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The Pictorial Wit of Domenico Tiepolo

in 2 volumes

(Volume I of II)

by

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The Pictorial Wit of Domenico Tiepolo

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Declaration of Originality

I declare that this work presented in this thesis is, to the best of my knowledge and belief,
original and my own, except as acknowledged in the text.

Signed _____

Sophie Bostock

Dated _____

Abstract

This thesis takes a new approach to Domenico Tiepolo's (1727-1804), *Divertimento Per li Regazzi* (c.1795-1804), it is arguably the artist's most enigmatic graphic work, which features the *commedia dell'arte* character Pulcinella. The drawings have hitherto been subject to rigorous connoisseurial analysis. Indeed, in his introduction to ten of the drawings in a catalogue of *Italian Eighteenth-Century Drawings* in The Robert Lehman Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, James Byam Shaw states that this particular series of drawings has now become so famous 'that it is hardly necessary to add to the literature of the series.'¹ In my opinion it would be a great pity if future generations of scholars were discouraged by this remark, for I believe the drawings still have much to 'tell' the contemporary art historian and would further benefit from increasingly interpretative readings.

Previously, scholars have regarded Domenico Tiepolo as an imitator of his father, Giambattista Tiepolo (1696-1770), and interpreted the re-appropriation of motifs in the *Divertimento* as signs of old age and fatigue. I suggest, on the contrary, that in this series of drawings in particular, Domenico was an innovator.

This project carves out new territories within the study of the series in that it focuses on the playful nature of the drawings, and how the suite can be understood in relation to contemporary theory concerning games and play, and ludic musical/improvisatory forms. Additionally, the drawings are discussed as a case history in a now popular emerging dialectic on the late works of aged artists: here I consider how these drawings, often funny, poignant, sensitive and delicate reveal how the elderly painter reconciles himself not only to the passing of his own life and the extinction of his family line but to an entire political, cultural and visual tradition.

¹ James Byam Shaw and George Knox, *The Robert Lehman Collection VI: Italian Eighteenth-Century Drawings*, (New York and Princeton: The Metropolitan Museum of Art New York in association with Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1987), p. 203.

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Fig. 123. Giambattista Tiepolo, *The Lone Philosopher*, from *Scherzi di Fantasia*, Plate 20, (with heads of infants erased), 1757-1762, Etching, 232 x 171 mm., London, The British Museum, inv. no. 1919,1220.37.

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Fig. 128. Domenico Tiepolo, *Pulcinella on a Swing*, 1793, Fresco, 2000 x 1700 mm., Venice, Ca' Rezzonico.

Fig. 129. Goya, *Los Caprichos, The Sleep of Reason Brings Forth Monsters*, plate 43, 1797-1798, Etching and aquatint, 216 x 152 mm., Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado.

Fig. 130. Giambattista Tiepolo, frontispiece, *Scherzi di Fantasia*, c.1743-1757, Etching, 225 x 180 mm., London, The British Museum, inv. no. 1919-12-20-14.

Fig. 131. Goya, *Volaverunt (They Have Flown)*, 1799, Etching with aquatint and drypoint, 206 x 149 mm., New Zealand, Auckland Art Gallery, inv. no. 1971/14/1.

Fig. 132. Goya, *Way of Flying*, 1820, Etching and aquatint, 245 x 350 mm., Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado.

Fig. 133. Goya, *They Love Each Other Very Much*, Black crayon on paper, 192 x 150 mm., Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado.

Fig. 134. Goya, *The Flying Dog*, 1824-1828, Black crayon on paper, 190 x 150 mm., Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado.

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Fig. 141. Titian, *Self Portrait*, 1562, Oil on canvas, 960 x 750 mm., Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, inv. no. 163.

Fig. 142. Titian, *Allegory of Prudence*, 1550-1560, Oil on canvas, 755 x 684 mm., London, The National Gallery, inv. no. NG6376.

- Fig. 143. Titian, *Pietà*, 1576, Oil on canvas, 3780 x 3470 mm., Venice, Galleria dell'Accademia, inv. no. 400.
- Fig. 144. Tintoretto, *The Entombment of Christ*, 1594, Oil on canvas, 2880 x 1660 mm., Venice, San Giorgio Maggiore.
- Fig. 145. Giambattista Tiepolo, *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, c.1767-1770, Oil on canvas, 600 x 450 mm., Private collection.
- Fig. 146. Giambattista Tiepolo, *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, c.1767-1770, Oil on canvas, 555 x 415 mm., Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie, inv. no. 3303.
- Fig. 147. Giambattista Tiepolo, *The Flight into Egypt*, c.1767-1770, Oil on canvas, 570 x 440 mm., Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga.
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- Fig. 151. Domenico Tiepolo, *The Lamentation at the Foot of the Cross*, 1755-1760, Oil on canvas, 642 x 425 mm., London, The National Gallery, inv. no. NG1333.
- Fig. 152. Domenico Tiepolo, *The Lamentation at the Foot of the Cross*, 1750-1760, Oil on canvas, 800 x 892 mm., London, The National Gallery, inv. no. NG5589.
- Fig. 153. Tintoretto, *The Miracle of the Slave of Provence*, 1548, Oil on canvas, 4160 x 5440 mm., Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia.
- Fig. 154-195. D. E. Chertablon, *La Maniere de Se Bien Preparer à la Mort*, 1700, plates from the book. British Library, classmark: C.17.b.7.
- Fig. 154. Frontispiece. '*It is Determined that all Men Should Die Once*'.
- Fig. 155. *Retiring to Bed with a Fever*.
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- Fig. 158. *The Confession*.
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- Fig. 161. *Viaticum*.

Fig. 162. *Receiving Holy Viaticum.*

Fig. 163. *Bodily Illness.*

Fig. 164. *The Notary Visits to Draft a Will.*

Fig. 165. *Drawing up the Will.*

Fig. 166. *Wealth is Distributed to the Poor.*

Fig. 167. *Discussions Concerning Inheritance.*

Fig. 168. *'It is Determined that all Men should Die Once, and Afterwards they shall be Judged.'*

Fig. 169. *The Notary Leaves and the Confessor Returns.*

Fig. 170. *Prayers and Preparation for Extreme Unction.*

Fig. 171. *The Priest Arrives for the Anointing.*

Fig. 172. *The Sacrament of Extreme Unction is Administered.*

Fig. 173. *The Guardian Angel Prepares the Dying Man for Demonic Attacks.*

Fig. 174. *The First Demon Attacks During the Night.*

Fig. 175. *The Demon Attacks the Dying Man's Faith.*

Fig. 176. *The Demon Presents the Dying Man with a List of His Sins.*

Fig. 177. *The Demon Takes a New Form to Continue the Temptations.*

Fig. 178. *Further Temptations Beset the Dying Man.*

Fig. 179. *The Father-Confessor Comforts the Dying Man.*

Fig. 180. *While Blood is Let the Bed is Changed.*

Fig. 181. *The Dying Man is Presented with a Crucifix.*

Fig. 182. *'Listen, and Act According to the Rule which was given to You on the Mountain.'*

Fig. 183. *The Women of the Family Weep as Death Approaches.*

Fig. 184. *The Offer of an Unpalatable yet Fortifying Drink.*

Fig. 185. *Final Preparations for Death.*

Fig. 186. *A Crucifix is Again Presented to the Dying Man.*

Fig. 187. *Prayers of Supplication and Resignation.*

Fig. 188. *Prayers and a Meditation on the Crucifix.*

Fig. 189. *The Olive Branch of Peace and Reconciliation.*

Fig. 190. *The Fever Worsens.*

Fig. 191. *A Meditation on The Repentance of 'The Good Thief'.*

Fig. 192. *The Dying Man Experiences a Burning Thirst.*

Fig. 193. *A Mediation on the Kingship of Christ.*

Fig. 194. *A Meditation on the Motherhood of Mary.*

Fig. 195. *Death Finally Arrives.*

Fig. 196. Domenico Tiepolo, *Pulcinella Receives Extreme Unction*, c.1795-1804, Pen and wash, dimensions unknown, Formerly Paris, Leon Suzor, current location unknown.

Fig. 197. Giambattista Tiepolo, *Memento Mori: Age and Death*, c. 1715, Oil on copper, 115 x 900 mm., Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia.

Fig. 198. Giambattista Tiepolo, Plate Accompanying *Canto 10* of an Italian translation of John Milton's *Paradise Lost*, *Il Paradiso Perduto*, translator Paolo Rolli, Gianalberto Tumermani, Verona, 1742.

Fig. 199. Domenico Tiepolo, *San Pascual Baylon*, c. 1770, Etching, 500 x 286 mm., Bassano del Grappa, Museo Civico.

Fig. 200. Giambattista Tiepolo, frontispiece, *Scherzi di Fantasia*, c.1743-1757, Etching, 225 x 180 mm., London, The British Museum, inv. no. 1919-12-20-15.

Fig. 201. Giuseppe Erts, *The Card Game of Death*, c. 1663, Oil on canvas, 400 x 280 mm., Missouri, University of Missouri Museum of Art and Archaeology, inv. no. 68.455.

Fig. 202. Domenico Tiepolo, *The Triumph of Art*, c.1759, fresco, 3500 x 2100 mm., Venice, Ca' Rezzonico.

Chapter I

Methodological Problems and Historiography

of Divertimento per li Regazzi

Domenico Tiepolo's *Divertimento per li Regazzi*¹ (literally, 'Entertainment for the Children') is a compendium of 104 drawings featuring the *Commedia dell'arte* character Pulcinella which he made between c. 1795 and 1804. It remains the artist's most mysterious series of drawings and presents a number of methodological challenges to the art historian because: (1) there was no apparent patron for the drawings, (2) their title is ambiguous, (3) they avoid any distinct genre categorisation, (4) whilst produced towards the end of Domenico's life, there is no easily discernible date of production, (5) the numeric order given to the sheets by the artist appears to be haphazard, and (6) they do not relate to a pre-existing textual or visual narrative.

Because of their elusiveness, the drawings could well be described as *bizzarie*, denoting an artistic form that is whimsical, unpredictable and impenetrable in character. One problem with such a deliberately enigmatic genre is that it is difficult to interpret beyond its own cultural context. This particular series of drawings, which first received sustained art-historical attention by James Byam Shaw in 1962,² has attracted primarily connoisseurial interpretation to date which, whilst inherently valuable, has tended to be conclusive and somewhat myopic in its nature. This is regrettable in view of the singularity of the series. My thesis aims to re-engage with, and broaden, existing dialogue on Domenico's *Divertimento per li Regazzi* in an attempt to extend the previously recognised boundaries beyond merely locating, identifying and describing the sheets that

¹ Domenico Tiepolo's spelling of 'Regazzi' as it appears on his frontispiece conforms to that in Giuseppe Boerio's *Dizionario del Dialetto Veneziano* of 1856. In contemporary Italian the common spelling is *Ragazzi*.

² James Byam Shaw, *The Drawings of Domenico Tiepolo* (London: Faber and Faber, 1962), (hereafter referred to as Byam Shaw (1962)).

comprise the series, searching for possible visual and textual precedents, and establishing their narrative order - which have been the primary concerns of scholars until now.

Thus, in my thesis, I have gestured towards the potential for a feminist reading of Domenico's portrayal of female figures in the *Divertimento*, as well as a psychoanalytic interpretation of the drawings, as this possibility has hitherto never been discussed.³ Moreover, I identify the ways in which Domenico's engagement with and reworking of existing visual versions of the Pulcinella figure reflect fundamental social shifts in the eighteenth century, and I discuss the inherent playfulness of the drawings, showing how they can be understood within frameworks of game theory and playful musical forms. Because the drawings were made by Domenico in his old age (he began the series c. 1795, when he was 68 years old),⁴ my work also considers the *Divertimento* as a fascinating case study of an artist's late work.

* * *

Formal Qualities of the *Divertimento* and Summary of the Subject Matter

All 104 drawings which comprise the *Divertimento* are made on watermarked paper using pen, brown ink and wash in varying tones of sepia over black chalk. They are all landscape in orientation and roughly the same size, measuring approximately 350 x 470 mm. – a large-scale format for drawings. Nearly all are signed in the bottom right-hand corner, although several are signed elsewhere, and most of the sheets carry a number written in brown ink in the upper-left-hand corner, which is universally assumed to be in Domenico's own hand. The frontispiece contains the title of the series *Divertimento per li Regazzi (carte 104)* written on a sarcophagus, and is vital since the word '*divertimento*' in the singular form implies that the 104 drawings were conceived as a suite.

³ See Chapters IV and V, pp. 121 and 142 respectively.

⁴ Byam Shaw (1962), p. 57.

Notwithstanding this, the drawings were originally unbound, which thus permitted the sheets to be combined and recombined according to the whim of their author and/or any possible third party. In the absence of a more fulsome account, here follows a summary of the series.

With the exception of one sheet,⁵ the drawings are unified by the presence in each of Pulcinella, the Neapolitan mask from the Italian form of theatre known as the *Commedia dell'Arte*.⁶ Episodes from Pulcinella's life from birth to death are included, and although the narrative initially appears to be simple, it becomes increasingly fantastic as the series progresses. The subject matter of the drawings is as follows: hatched by a turkey, the baby Pulcinella is born (Fig. 1; Cat. 1), and is raised by his parents in the Italian countryside and also in an urban environment (Fig. 2; Cat. 16). Pulcinella falls in love, marries, and sires a child who grows up and goes to school (Figs. 3, 4, 5, 6; Cat. 7, 3, 8, 18). Pulcinella eats and drinks prolifically, (Fig. 7; Cat. 21) and he entertains himself – playing bowls, shuttlecock, walking the tightrope, celebrating carnival, picking apples or simply passing the time of day taking walks in the country (Figs. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13; Cat. 20, 29, 45, 37, 88, 93). He commits an undisclosed misdemeanour for which he is flogged and imprisoned prior to being hauled before the magistrates and pardoned (Figs. 14, 15, 16; Cat. 85, 34, 35). He pursues various occupations: he is a barber, a tailor, a carpenter and an artist (Figs. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21; Cat. 53, 55, 56, 70, 71). He leaves his home and travels to Egypt; he also becomes engaged in less commonplace adventures involving eagles and centaurs (Figs. 22, 23, 24; Cat. 47, 62, 63). More dramatically, one of his clan is hanged and another shot. Finally, Pulcinella becomes ill, collapses, dies, is

⁵ There is one sheet without Pulcinella which shows a camel, a traveller resting, and two further travellers riding donkeys.

⁶ Chapter III 'Introducing Pulcinella' describes how *commedia dell'arte* troupes were peripatetic and disseminated throughout Europe. The stock characters have derivative names, and varying cultural *personae*, depending on the country in which they performed. Pulcinella therefore became Polichinelle in France for example, and is referred to as Punchinello or Punch in the English language. Within this thesis reference will be mainly made to the Italian character: Pulcinella (singular) or Pulcinelli (plural), as this is how the Tiepolos would have known him. When other sources are quoted, reference may be made to the Anglo-American version of the name, Punchinello.

buried and imperfectly resurrected: a behatted, skeletal apparition emerges from his grave (Figs. 25, 26, 27, 28; Cat. 99, 101, 103, 104).

Subsequent History of the Drawings

It is not known what became of the drawings following the painter's death (3 March 1804) until the series appeared in London and was auctioned by Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge on 6 July 1920.⁷ In the accompanying sale catalogue, the drawings are tersely described as 'Lot 41 One hundred and two Carnival Scenes, with many figures drawn with pen and bistre and enriched with washes of bistre and Indian ink, signed.'⁸ This comprises the earliest known written reference to, and description of, the compendium. From the annotated version of the auction catalogue (The British Library, London), it emerges that the series was purchased for £610 by Colnaghi's. Subsequently, the series was resold, in one lot, on 13 January 1921 to Richard Owen, a Paris-based dealer for £800.⁹ Owen then exhibited the complete set of drawings - for the first and last time - at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, the exhibition opening in Paris in May 1921.¹⁰ Following the exhibition, Owen sold the drawings piecemeal, and they were sadly dispersed amongst an international circle of buyers – including the Florentine collector Conte Alessandro Contini, Paul J. Sachs (eldest son of Samuel Sachs, the original Sachs of the Goldman Sachs firm),¹¹ the Austrian painter Italo Brass, and John Nicholas Brown (an

⁷ The drawings were auctioned anonymously, and it is therefore impossible to trace their provenance from this source.

⁸ London: Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, *Catalogue of Old Master and Other Drawings* (London: Spottiswood, Ballantyne & Co. Ltd., Printers), Lot 41, p. 9.

⁹ Byam Shaw and George Knox, *The Robert Lehman Collection VI: Italian Eighteenth-Century Drawings* (New York and Princeton: The Metropolitan Museum of Art New York in association with Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1987), (hereafter referred to as Byam Shaw and Knox (1987)), note 4, p. 203.

¹⁰ The exhibition was entitled, *Scènes de la Vie de Pulcinella par G-D Tiepolo*. Anne-Emmanuelle Piton, Documentaliste XVIIe-XVIIIe, at Le Musée des Arts Décoratifs Paris has confirmed that there was no catalogue to accompany the show (private correspondence: 16.iii.2009).

¹¹ Paul J. Sachs (1878-1965) was also Harvard Associate Director of the Fogg Art Museum, 1923-1948.

American collector). Since then the individual drawings have continued to change hands and just under half are now to be found in North American collections.

Because of their regrettable dispersal, scholars have been forced to rely on sets of photographic reproductions which were made by Richard Owen in Spring 1921,¹² a resource made all the more valuable in the case of one particular drawing of *Two Pulcinelli Resting on a Hillside*, which unfortunately has been mutilated since it was photographed.¹³

The Chronology of *Divertimento per li Regazzi*

The numbering sequence of the 104 sheets comprising the *Divertimento* has been a perennial source of confusion for scholars working on the series. According to Byam Shaw, writing in 1962, each sheet originally had a number in ink in the top left-hand corner of the margins which he attributed to Domenico's own hand.¹⁴ An example is *Pulcinella Plays Bowls* (sheet numbered 20) at The Cleveland Museum of Art, Ohio (Fig. 8). In some instances, these numbers have been obscured by the mount and in others they are not visible for different reasons, for example: the sheet showing the Pulcinella cattle-dealer has had its left-hand corner torn off; a sheet depicting Pulcinelli with an elephant has no margin, and therefore no number; and in some cases numbers have been altered, as for example the sheet showing Pulcinella playing shuttlecock. This is numbered 29 in the upper left-hand corner – the digit 2 is in the

¹² One set of photographs was originally owned by the late Sir Brinsley Ford, the other by the late Henry Sayle Frances of Cleveland, *Domenico Tiepolo's Punchinello Drawings* (exhibition catalogue, Indiana University Art Museum, Bloomington, 2 September – 6 October 1979, and Stanford University Museum of Art, 13 November – 30 December, 1979), eds Adelheid M. Gealt and Marcia Vetrocq (Bloomington: Indiana University Art Museum, 1979), (hereafter referred to as Bloomington 1979), p. 36.

¹³ A sheet now in the collection of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford showing a *Landscape with a Dog and a Farm Cart*, constitutes just half of the original drawing. The other half, showing two Pulcinelli on the right – one defecating and the other urinating, has been lost. However, thanks to Owen's photographs, a record of the original condition of the drawings exists. Christopher White, Catherine Whistler, Colin Harrison, *Old Master Drawings from the Ashmolean Museum* (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum Oxford in association with Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 110.

¹⁴ Byam Shaw (1962), p. 56.

original ink and the digit 9 is written in modern pencil over an erasure.¹⁵ As a result of these, and similar, anomalies a total of one-third of the numbers is not known.

When Richard Owen photographed the series of drawings in 1921, his photographic records did not show the original ink numeration in the margins. However, each photograph was, apparently, subsequently numbered in pencil on its reverse with its relevant ink number, presumably by Owen himself or an assistant. At some point three sets of Owen's photographs existed: one in the collection of Sir Brinsley Ford (now lost), a second set with Henry Sayle Francis and a third set in the photographic collection of The Fogg Art Museum. According to Byam Shaw, the numbers on the three sets of photographs do not concur. That said, it is generally accepted that the numbering on the Brinsley Ford set is more reliable than that on the Sayle Francis set, which is likewise more reliable than that on the Fogg set.¹⁶

Also according to Byam Shaw, two drawings were missing when the *Divertimento* was sold at Sotheby's in July 1920. One has subsequently been identified as the sheet showing *Pulcinelli with an Elephant* which was acquired in 1909 by J. Pierpont Morgan from the connoisseur and art dealer Charles Fairfax Murray (1814-1919), who sold Morgan his personal collection of 1,400 Old Master drawings.¹⁷ Because this drawing was sold prior to Richard Owen's exhibition of the series at the *Musée des Arts Décoratifs* in 1921, it was not photographed, and is therefore is not included in the numbering of or indeed any of the sets of photographs. The identity and whereabouts of the second drawing is not known.

Scholars have approached the challenge of the internal chronology of the *Divertimento* in a number of ways. In 1962, Byam Shaw proposed a history beginning with the birth of Pulcinella's father, his marriage, and then the birth and childhood of

¹⁵ Adelheid Gealt, *Domenico Tiepolo: The Punchinello Drawings* (New York: Braziller, 1986), p. 58, (hereafter referred to as Gealt, (1986)).

¹⁶ Private correspondence with George Knox, 6.iii.2009.

¹⁷ Byam Shaw and Knox (1987), note 3, p. 203.

Pulcinella, his occupations and adventures, through to his death and subsequent apparition, whilst admitting that Domenico's numbering does not entirely correspond to this pattern.¹⁸

In the Bloomington catalogue of 1979, Vetrocq chose to assemble the series according to subject-matter: Title Page (Cat. 1), the childhood, domestic life, and death of Pulcinella (Cat. 2-37), the rustic labours and amusements of Pulcinella (Cat. 38-71), Pulcinella's Venetian occupations, entertainments, and encounters with authority (Cat. 72-93), and finally, Pulcinella's travels and fantastic encounters (Cat. 94-104).¹⁹ This arrangement was, however, subsequently criticised by Byam Shaw for following no logical order.²⁰ However, Vetrocq includes a useful numerical concordance which tabulates the ordering of the drawings in the Bloomington catalogue alongside the numbers on the Brinsley Ford and Sayle Francis photographs.

In 1986, Adelheid Gealt chose to order the series to form, as far as possible, a coherent visual life-cycle narrative,²¹ but considered that Domenico's chronology was simply the artist's personal system for identifying and enumerating the individual sheets in the series, and not necessarily an indication of the artist's intended narrative sequence.²² Certainly, this would explain those instances where the numbering seems counterintuitive, for example, Pulcinella marries (sheet 3 in Domenico's hand) before he falls in love (sheet 7); and he celebrates his victory at shuttlecock (sheet 24) before he has played the game (sheet 29).

In 1996, Knox properly listed the drawings in the order given them by Domenico on the basis that this is the only historical record that remains and it should

¹⁸ Byam Shaw (1962), p. 56.

¹⁹ Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, p. 94.

²⁰ Byam Shaw and Knox (1987), note 9, p. 203.

²¹ Gealt (1986), pp. 195-197.

²² This was discussed in a recent correspondence with Adelheid Gealt (4.v.2009).

not be ignored. In this thesis, I have favoured this particular ordering.²³ Domenico's ordering (followed by Knox and myself) loosely follows a life-cycle narrative in that it begins with Pulcinella's birth and ends with his death, but with various improvisatory meanderings in between. Knox's order appears in an appendix to the 1996 catalogue co-authored with Gealt, in which he provides a checklist which prioritises Domenico's numerical order.²⁴ However, where there are gaps in Domenico's sequence, Knox privileges the numbers on the back of Brinsley Ford's set of photographs, and where this is not possible, those on the Sayle Francis set.²⁵

The 1979 catalogue includes a concordance of the numerical permutations applied to the *Divertimento*. I have updated the concordance compiled by Vetrocq in 1979 to include the chronologies latterly suggested by Gealt and Knox.²⁶ In addition to this, I have included thumbnails of the series in the various permutations proposed in the updated concordance so as to provide a concise visual record of the proposed options, in order to permit the reader to decide for her/himself which of the suggested orderings seem the most likely.²⁷

Historiography and Literature Review

References to the *Divertimento* before the early 1960s are few and far between and, when they do exist, they tend to be secondary to other main themes, thus making their sourcing serendipitous. A particularly interesting example is the second translated edition of Pierre Louis Duchartre's study of the *Commedia dell'arte* (London: G.G. Harrap & Co., 1929)

²³ In a recent e-mail exchange with George Knox, he confirms that his ordering of the series primarily follows that of Domenico, so far as this has proven possible. (Email correspondence, 6.iii.2009).

²⁴ *Domenico Tiepolo Master Draftsman* (exhibition catalogue, Castello di Udine 14 September - 31 December 1996 and Indiana University Art Museum, 15 January - 9 March 1997), eds Adelheid M. Gealt and George Knox, (Bloomington IN: Indiana University Press, 1996), (hereafter referred to as Udine 1996), pp. 244-247.

²⁵ In private correspondence, dated 19.iii.2009, Knox explains that he has never seen the Ford or Sayle Francis photographs but he has a complete set of photocopies from the Fogg collection, which shows the numbers on the recto of the images. Knox has taken the numbers from the concordance in the Bloomington (1979) catalogue.

²⁶ See Appendix I, p. 315.

²⁷ See Appendix II, p. 318.

when the author added newly discovered visual material to his text, which included three drawings from Domenico's *Divertimento*.²⁸ Duchartre's study must have been amongst the first to make use of the Pulcinella drawings as illustrations following their appearance on the art market in the early 1920s.

Although not directly concerned with the *Divertimento*, the earliest biography to appear on the Tiepolos is Giuseppe Marino Urbani de Gheltof's *Tiepolo e la sua famiglia*, which was published in 1879.²⁹ In the absence of other documentary-based texts, scholars have relied on Urbani's archival research. Although caution is required when utilising the work of Urbani de Gheltof,³⁰ with the exception of some spurious-sounding anecdotes in this volume, the archival facts published in this book are traceable, reliable and form the basis of subsequent biographical work by Antonio Morassi and Michael Levey amongst others.³¹

Literature directly addressing the *Divertimento per li Regazzi* is limited.³²

Pertinent art historical research can be said to have begun in 1962 with the publication of James Byam Shaw's book on Domenico Tiepolo's drawings.³³ It is a basic yet groundbreaking monograph which includes an eight-page chapter specifically dedicated to the *Divertimento*.³⁴ Here, Domenico's tendency towards emulation is regarded as central to

²⁸ Pierre Louis Duchartre, *The Italian Comedy: The Improvisation Scenarios, Lives, Attributes, Portraits and Masks of the Illustrious Characters of the Commedia dell'Arte*, Reprint of the 1929 translation of the second edition by R.T. Weaver (New York: Dover Publications, 1966), (hereafter referred to as Duchartre (1966)).

²⁹ Giuseppe Marino Urbani de Gheltof, *Tiepolo e la sua famiglia, noti e documenti inediti* (Venice: 1879), (hereafter referred to as Urbani de Gheltof (1879)).

³⁰ It is now a well-known fact that Urbani invented various documents. For an exposé of Urbani's fraudulent inventions, see G. B. Cervellina, 'Per una Revisione Critica di G.M. Urbani de Gheltof', *Civiltà Moderna* 11, no. 4-5 (1939), pp. 291-301. See also Timothy Wilson, 'A Victorian Artist as Ceramic-Collector: The letters of Henry Wallis, Part 2', *Journal of the History of Collections*, 14, no. 2 (2002), pp. 280, 288-89, note 164.

³¹ Antonio Morassi, *A Complete Catalogue of the Paintings of GB Tiepolo Including Pictures by his Pupils and Followers Wrongly Attributed to him* (London: Phaidon Press Ltd., 1962), (hereafter referred to as Morassi (1962)), and Michael Levey, *Giambattista Tiepolo his Life and Art* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986), (hereafter referred to as Levey (1986)).

³² My literature review concentrates on published material relating mainly to *Divertimento per li Regazzi* and work on the broader conceptual themes which I discuss in relation to the drawings. There is, in addition, a significant corpus of material on Giambattista and Domenico Tiepolo which I have consulted but which is not directly relevant to scholarship on the *Divertimento*.

³³ Byam Shaw (1962).

³⁴ *Ibid.*, (1962), pp. 52-59.

understanding the suite of drawings. Although Byam Shaw demonstrates an awareness of eighteenth-century values of ‘invention’,³⁵ in my opinion he misinterprets Domenico’s many quotations from his own work, as well as that of his father and of other artists, simply as signs of old age and fatigue.³⁶ Despite this, Byam Shaw’s work is seminal not least because it draws attention to Domenico’s personal collection of prints and engravings,³⁷ which were put up for sale in Paris in November 1845, and thus recorded in the accompanying auction catalogue – a fact which has been acknowledged, though not much utilised, by most scholars.³⁸ Indeed, this *Vente Tiépolo* catalogue is vital in any attempt to identify the artist’s possible sources of inspiration, offering evidence of visual sources and conceptual tools that were certainly available to Domenico. Byam Shaw also speculates on the intended spectatorship for the *Divertimento* and suggests, without providing any clear evidence, that Domenico had dedicated the drawings to the children in his neighbourhood. Undeniably, Byam Shaw’s contribution now seems dated, but it nevertheless raised awareness of the series of Pulcinella drawings amongst English and American scholars and provided the starting point for further investigation into the *Divertimento*.

In 1971, Adriano Mariuz published the first, and to date only, monograph on Domenico Tiepolo which included a *catalogue raisonné* of his work.³⁹ It is divided into an introduction and nine chapters delineating various stages in Domenico’s career, including his earliest work on carnival themes and a final chapter on the

³⁵ Ibid., (1962), p. 31.

³⁶ Ibid., (1962), p. 57.

³⁷ The Tiepolos’ fine collection of prints and drawings is briefly discussed by Keith Christiansen in *Giambattista Tiepolo* (exhibition catalogue, Museo del Settecento Veneziano, Ca’ Rezzonico, Venice, 6 September – 8 December 1996 and The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 24 January – 27 April 1997), ed. Keith Christiansen (Milan: Skira Editore, 1996 and London: Thames & Hudson, 1996), (hereafter referred to as Venice 1996), p. 275 and note. 4, p. 288.

³⁸ *Catalogue d’une Collection d’Estampes Anciennes Provenant de la Succession de Dominique Tiépolo* (auction catalogue, Hôtel des Ventes, Paris, 10-12 November 1845) auctioneers M. Bonnefons de la Vialle and M. Defer, (hereafter referred to as *Vente Tiépolo* (1845)). A copy of the catalogue is held in the National Art Library, London.

³⁹ Adriano Mariuz, *Giandomenico Tiepolo* (Venice: Alfieri, 1971), (hereafter referred to as Mariuz (1971)).

artist's sustained meditation on Pulcinella in terms of the Zianigo frescoes and *Divertimento per li Regazzi*. In ten pages, Mariuz summarises the social, political and cultural changes which were taking place in Venice at the time, including artistic tastes which were turning to Neo-Classical themes; as well as the last fourteen years of Domenico's artistic life which culminated in the production of the *Divertimento*. Mariuz ambitiously (in terms of his concision) attempts to provide an idea of the circumstances under which the 'disenchanted' Domenico took refuge in his modest country villa, where he arguably created his most innovative work in terms of the frescoes which decorated his home, and the series of drawings on which he worked. Of the Zianigo frescoes, Mariuz reflects on *il Mondo Novo* (1791), a panoramic fresco which adorned the entrance hall of the artist's villa, showing a panoply of characters, viewed from behind, which queue to see a magic lantern show (Fig. 29). It had earlier been suggested that two male figures, one in a green jacket, and another depicted in profile and, holding an eye glass, are portraits of Giambattista and Domenico respectively,⁴⁰ although Mariuz neither concurs nor disagrees with this interpretation. Mariuz suggests that this fresco can be understood as a cross-section of contemporary Venetian society, at the end of the eighteenth century, more generally.

In terms of the figure of Pulcinella, Mariuz situates the appearance of Pulcinella in Domenico's work with a revival of the *commedia dell'arte* in Carlo Gozzi's (1720-1806) writing in the 1760s. However, as far as the *Divertimento* is specifically concerned, Mariuz speculates about the ambiguity of its title. In my opinion, Mariuz's proposal is more plausible than Byam Shaw's suggestion that Domenico may have made the drawings for the children living near his villa in Zianigo,⁴¹ and concurs more closely with my own: when he suggests that the elderly Domenico may have, in general, dedicated the *Divertimento* to young workshop

⁴⁰ *Il Museo Correr di Venezia. I Dipinti del XVII e XVIII Secolo* (Catalogue, Museo Correr, Venice), ed. Teresio Pignatti, (Venice: Neri Pozza, 1960), p. 345.

⁴¹ Byam Shaw (1962), p. 59.

assistants who learned the art of drawing as they set out on their artistic careers.⁴²

Mariuz further drew attention to the similarity between the frontispiece of the *Divertimento* and one of Domenico's earliest series of etchings, the *Via Crucis*, and in doing so infers that the life of Pulcinella might be a (blasphemous) parody of the life of Christ – an idea which is further explored in Chapter III.⁴³

In 1975, the Indiana University Museum of Art acquired two drawings from the suite (Figs. 30 and 31).⁴⁴ This led to an exhibition of thirty-five of the drawings at Indiana and Stanford University Art Museums in autumn 1979, and represented the first exhibition dedicated to the Pulcinella drawings since their dispersal in 1921. The accompanying catalogue, *Domenico Tiepolo's Punchinello Drawings*, contains an introductory essay by the exhibition's curator, Adelheid Gealt, and an essay on 'Domenico Tiepolo and the figure of Punchinello', together with catalogue entries by Marcia Vetrocq, who at the time was a Stanford doctoral student in art history. As well as illustrations of the thirty-five exhibited drawings, the catalogue includes an appendix of sheets from the *Divertimento* not shown in the exhibition.

Certainly, one of the challenges implicit in Byam Shaw's eight-page chapter on the *Divertimento* was the sourcing of the entire series of drawings that constitute the Pulcinella suite.⁴⁵ In Chapter VI, footnote 3, Byam Shaw claims to have located the sources for over half of the drawings in the *Divertimento*, while in the main text, he boldly asserts that it is 'no longer possible to trace the whereabouts of them all ...', thereby throwing down the gauntlet to future generations of art historians interested in the series. Therefore, the Indiana exhibition aimed to bring together as many as possible of the original drawings, to document them in one catalogue and to consider unanswered

⁴² "Ma già il Callot, certamente uno degli incisori più amati da Giandomenico, aveva dedicato I suoi capricci "ai fanciulli che apprendono l'arte di disegnare." Mariuz (1971), p. 87.

⁴³ Chapter III, p. 106.

⁴⁴ One drawing shows Pulcinella in his crib and the second shows Pulcinelli with donkeys before a farmhouse: Gealt and Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, (Figs. 2 and 24), pp. 41 and 85 respectively.

⁴⁵ Byam Shaw (1962), p. 52.

questions about the nature and origin of Domenico's narrative, problems of sequence and possible purposes of the drawings. Gealt's introduction though, in effect, an expanded summary of the work of Byam Shaw, demonstrates greater sensitivity towards Domenico's habit of improvising on the work of other artists, considering it not as laziness but rather as an aspect of his own pictorial invention.⁴⁶

Vetrocq's contribution to the catalogue is derived from her doctoral research,⁴⁷ where she partially explored the evolution of Pulcinella in the visual arts and made reference to eighteenth-century textual sources. Vetrocq asks why the drawings were made, whether they illustrate a now lost story and identifies problems in reconstructing any such story. These problems include the seemingly anomalous sporadic numbering of the series, and the difficulty in identifying a single main protagonist (and therefore a sequential storyline) amongst the groups of Pulcinelli who inhabit the sequences. As part of her thesis, Vetrocq catalogued the entire series of the *Divertimento* and usefully identified some of the many sources quoted by Domenico in the suite. Her conclusions were summarized in the entries of the 1979 exhibition. Although Vetrocq's identification of Domenico's quotations is enlightening and saves much groundwork, there is no attempt at a more complex analysis and interpretation of the artist's sources and the way in which he juxtaposes these. This lacuna is one which the present thesis attempts to fill.

In my opinion, the most perceptive work on Domenico's Pulcinella imagery to date is an article by Philip Fehl published in 1978, in which he uses two of the drawings - one showing Pulcinella collapsing by a villa wall (Fig. 32; Cat. 83), the other showing a companion of Pulcinella being hanged (Fig. 33, Cat. 98) as a springboard to make insightful observations on the critical reputation of artists who come at the end of a

⁴⁶ Gealt in Bloomington 1979, p. 13.

⁴⁷ Marcia Vetrocq, *The Divertimento per li Regazzi of Domenico Tiepolo*, Stanford University, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 1979, (hereafter referred to as Vetrocq (1979)).

tradition, especially when that tradition is not revived.⁴⁸ Fehl attributes the deprecating comments made by Winckelmann in the 1760s on the work of Domenico's famous father, the history painter Giambattista Tiepolo (1696-1770), to a more general late-eighteenth-century taste for seriousness in art, which has subsequently made it problematic to appreciate fully the *capriccio* genre and, as a direct result, this aspect of the art of the Tiepolos. Fehl's cultural historical approach provides a refreshing alternative to the ongoing, connoisseurial and monographic debates between Gealt, Knox and others.

Another insightful contribution is George Knox's wide-ranging paper on satire published in 1983.⁴⁹ Here Knox considers the *Divertimento* as social satire, the numerical order of the series, the suite of drawings as biography/autobiography, Pulcinella as 'Everyman', the Tiepolo Pulcinella-type and finally Pulcinella and the theatre. Knox's article also includes an appendix comprising a checklist of those drawings that were numbered by Domenico in their original order.⁵⁰ On the basis of the checklist, Knox proposes the seductive, though ultimately unlikely, hypothesis that if one reconstructs the series according to Domenico's numeration, the storyline could be interpreted in biographical, or even autobiographical terms, as the story of Domenico and his famous father. It is true, however, that the *Divertimento* does, at times, offer certain insights into eighteenth-century Venetian life. However, any autobiographical reference is implicit, being made through the inclusion of specifically art-historical motifs and two sheets that portray a Pulcinella artist at work (Figs. 20 and 21; Cat. 70, 71). I propose in Chapter IV that whilst many of these motifs derive from the Tiepolos' work, from Domenico's own

⁴⁸ Philip P. Fehl, 'A Farewell to Jokes: The last Capricci of Giovanni Domenico Tiepolo and the Tradition of Irony in Painting,' *Critical Inquiry*, 5, 1978-9, pp. 761-791, (hereafter referred to as Fehl, (1978-9)).

⁴⁹ George Knox, 'Domenico Tiepolo's Punchinello Drawings: Satire or Labor of Love?' in *Satire in the 18th Century*, McMaster University Association of Eighteenth-Century Studies, ed. J.D. Browning ed (New York and London: Garland Publishing Inc., 1983), (hereafter referred to as Knox (1983)).

⁵⁰ Unfortunately, the potentially very helpful checklist is erroneous as the publisher excluded half of the list. This was rectified by George Knox in Udine 1996, pp. 244-247.

collection of visual references and from a tradition of European art more generally, they could be self-referential, but are not necessarily autobiographical.

Adelheid Gealt revisited the *Divertimento* in 1986, in a lavish book where seventy-seven of the 104 Pulcinella drawings are reproduced in colour and the remaining twenty-seven (which she was unable to locate) are illustrated in black and white.⁵¹ ‘The reproductions are four-fifths the size of the actual drawings and are thus close representations of the originals’.⁵² It is, therefore, an essential reference book for anyone working on the drawings. In her introduction, Gealt briefly acknowledges the concept of ‘old age style’, observing that the drawings are significant because they are understood to be the artist’s final effort.⁵³ She then infers - but without offering any substantial evidence - that they are paradoxical in both style and lively content for an elderly artist’s last work. To my knowledge, little has been written on subjects favoured by artists at the end of their lives, although certain sixteenth-century painters and sculptors for example, Michelangelo, Baccio Bandinelli, Titian and Tintoretto depicted themselves in *Pietàs* and depositions.⁵⁴ Gealt also considers the unity and, simultaneously, the flexibility of the series of images by questioning whether Domenico may have intentionally created many storylines within one series. Because they were originally unbound, Gealt raises a crucial question which, amongst other things, this dissertation will seek to address. Are we supposed to let this series tell us any number of tales by re-ordering the images?

⁵¹ Gealt (1986), p. 21.

⁵² This is the opinion of Sir Brinsley Ford who reviewed Gealt’s book for *The Burlington Magazine* in 1986. Ford owned twelve of the Pulcinella drawings at that time. Brinsley Ford, ‘Domenico Tiepolo’s the Punchinello Drawings by Adelheid Gealt, with a preface by James Byam Shaw’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 128, no. 1005, December 1986, pp. 907-908.

⁵³ In a recent correspondence with Gealt it emerges that she has now revised her opinion that Domenico’s mature drawing style is a product of ‘old age’. Gealt explained how her husband, Professor Barry Gealt, recently retired professor of Fine Art at Indiana University’s Henry Radford Hope School of Fine Arts, demonstrated how a trembling line (prevalent in Domenico’s later drawings) could be accomplished, the artist would have simply kept his arm stationary and relaxed his wrist. Consequently, Gealt now believes that Domenico’s graphic style was one he deliberately developed to distinguish himself from his father, Giambattista. Gealt is now of the opinion, and it is one with which I concur, that there is a quality of a ‘summa’ in this late series of drawings, i.e. the summing up of many aspects of the cycle of a multi-faceted life. (Email correspondence, 17.vi.2009).

⁵⁴ Sophie Bostock, ‘A Portrait of the Artist as an Old Man’, in Albrecht Classen (ed.), *Old Age in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: Interdisciplinary Approaches to a Neglected Topic* (New York and Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 2007), pp. 517-531 (hereafter referred to as Classen (2007)).

The next scholar to discuss the *Divertimento* was Catherine Whistler who, in 1994, in the opening pages of her contribution to *The Glory of Venice* catalogue, makes perceptive comments on the Punchinello drawings.⁵⁵ In contrast to Byam Shaw, Whistler appears to rate these, along with other late-life drawings, and the frescoes made for Domenico's villa, as amongst the artist's most imaginative and accomplished works. She observes that many of the scenes in the *Divertimento* directly quote Domenico's *Scenes of Contemporary life* of c.1790.⁵⁶ Whistler contrasts the Pulcinella of Domenico to that of his father, Giambattista – the former assumes almost human characteristics in a fictionalised world whereas the latter is more of a caricature.⁵⁷ In her enumeration of the sheer variety of scenarios in which Domenico places his Pulcinelli, Whistler gestures towards the improvisatory scope that Pulcinella offers the artist as well as the wit inherent in the suite, both of which are greatly developed in this thesis.

Unsurprisingly, there was a spate of publications regarding both Tiepolo senior and junior in 1996, since this was the tercentenary of the birth of Giambattista Tiepolo.⁵⁸ One such was *Domenico Tiepolo, Master Draftsman*, which was the catalogue produced to accompany an exhibition of this title.⁵⁹ The curators of the exhibition regarded the occasion as an opportunity to re-evaluate scholarship undertaken on Domenico since

⁵⁵ *The Glory of Venice Art in the Eighteenth Century* (exhibition catalogue, Royal Academy of Arts, London 15 September – 14 December 1994; National Gallery of Art, Washington 29 January – 23 April 1995), eds Jane Martineau and Andrew Robinson, (New Haven & London, Yale University Press, 1994), (hereafter referred to as London 1994).

⁵⁶ Catherine Whistler in London 1994, p. 329.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 329.

⁵⁸ Titles include: Bernard Aikema, *Tiepolo and His Circle: Drawings in American Collections*, translated by Andrew McCormick with an appendix by Peter Dreyer (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Art Museums, 1998); also translated as, *Tiepolo e la Sua Cerchia: l'Opera Grafica: Disegni dalle Collezioni Americani* (Venice: Canal & Stamperia, 1996); Bernard Aikema and Marguerite Tuijn, *Tiepolo in Holland: Works by Giambattista Tiepolo and his Circle in Dutch Collections* (Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, 1996); Rossana Bossaglia, *Tiepolo a Milano: l'Itinerario Lombardo del Pittore Veneziano* (Milan: Skira, 1996); (Venice 1996); Filippo Pedrocco and Teresio Pignatti, *Giambattista Tiepolo Venetian Itineraries* (Venice: Canal & Stampalia Editrice, 1996); Lionello Puppi (ed.), *Giambattista Tiepolo nel Terzo Centenario della Nascita: Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Venezia, Vicenza, Udine, Parigi, 29 October 4 November* (Padua: Il Poligrafo, 1998) (hereafter referred to as Puppi (1998)); Aldo Rizzi, *I Tiepolo a Udine* (Milan: Electa, 1996), (hereafter referred to as Rizzi (1996)); Cristel Thiem, *Ein Zeichnungsalbum der Tiepolo in Würzburg: Erkenntnisse zur Praxis und Funktion des Porträtzeichnens im Tiepolo-Studio* (Munich: Himer, 1996); Peter O. Krückmann (ed.), *Tiepolo in Würzburg, Der Himmel auf Erden* (Munich: Prestel, 1996).

⁵⁹ Gealt and Knox in Udine 1996.

Byam Shaw's pioneering work of 1962. The catalogue included three essays: the first by Adriano Mariuz placed Domenico's life and art in a chronological framework; the second by Knox dealt with Domenico's drawings, and how they relate to the paintings and etchings produced in the Tiepolo studio; the third by Gealt focussed on the artist as draughtsman/narrator. It is essentially little more than a synthesis of existing scholarship on Domenico although, as previously indicated, it contains a helpful revised checklist of those sheets of the *Divertimento* as numbered by the artist. In addition, various articles appeared in editions of *Ateneo Veneto* based on the archival research of Federico Montecuccoli degli Erri and these shed light on the personal wealth and property amassed by Giambattista during his lifetime and family dynamics amongst Domenico's siblings.⁶⁰

A further collection of hastily compiled exhibition catalogues appeared in Venice in 2004/2005 to mark the bicentenary of the death of Domenico. *Tiepolo Ironia e Comico* accompanied a commemorative exhibition at the Fondazione Giorgio Cini.⁶¹ It focuses mainly on caricatures by Giambattista and Domenico Tiepolo and their older contemporary, the connoisseur and caricaturist Anton Maria Zanetti (the elder) (1680-1767). Disappointingly, it is not much more than a fusion of previously published ideas on certain features of the Tiepolo repertory and contributes little towards advancing scholarship on the artists. However, one of the more interesting additions to the exhibition and catalogue was the inclusion of six coloured prints of scenes of contemporary Venetian life drawn by Domenico Tiepolo in the 1790s and engraved by Teodoro Viero (1740-1819).

⁶⁰ Federico Montecuccoli degli Erri, 'Giambattista Tiepolo e la Sua Famiglia: Nuove Pagine di Vita Privata', *Ateneo Veneto*, 1994, 192, no. 32, pp. 7-42; *ibid.*, 'Venezia 1745-1750: Case (e Botteghe) di Pittore, Mercanti di Quadri, Incisori, Scultori, Architetti, Musicisti, Librai, Stampatori, ed altri Personaggi Veneziani,' *Ateneo Veneto*, 1998, 196, no. 36, pp. 63-140, (hereafter referred to as Montecuccoli degli Erri (1998)).

⁶¹ *Tiepolo Ironia e Comico* (exhibition catalogue, Fondazione Giorgio Cini, 3 September – 5 December 2004), eds Adriano Mariuz and Giuseppe Pavanello (Venice: Marsilio, 2004), (hereafter referred to as Venice 2004 (b)).

Another exhibition in 2004 at Ca' Rezzonico,⁶² Venice, showed a collection of thirty-three copper plates of Tiepolo etchings owned by the collector Teodoro Correr, whose collection of artefacts forms the core of the *Museo Correr* in Venice. A further catalogue dealing ostensibly with Domenico's scenes from eighteenth-century life in Venice and on the terra firma was published in 2005 with the original intention that it should accompany an exhibition organized by the *Centro Studi Tiepolo* in Mirano.⁶³ Unfortunately, because funding for this project was not forthcoming the show itself did not take place but the catalogue was still published, and a complete set of facsimile photographs was shown in the *barchezza* of the Villa 22 aprile at Mirano.⁶⁴ Alongside essays by Adelheid Gealt, George Knox and Dario Sacchi, was an essay by Piermario Vescovo, 'Millesettecentonovantuno (e ditorni)' which largely focused on the *Divertimento*. Again, it partly synthesized scholarship on the series from Byam Shaw through to 2005, and it also considered the series in terms of Venetian carnival celebrations preceding Lent and, as its title suggests, contextualised the drawings against the cultural and historical background of the final decade of the eighteenth century.

Methodological Problems of the *Divertimento*

One of the enigmas that surround the series is that there is no record of any patron for the drawings, and it is generally assumed that Domenico made them for his own private amusement. The circumstances under which Domenico made the *Divertimento* are certainly obscure. Having virtually retired from public life in 1784, following the end of

⁶² *I Tiepolo: I Rami per le Acqueforti nelle collezioni del Museo Correr* (exhibition catalogue, Ca' Rezzonico, Museo del Settecento Veneziano, 15 December 2004 – 9 February 2005), ed. Camillo Tonini (Venice: Marsilio, 2004), (hereafter Venice 2004 (a)). This modest exhibition contained plates showing: *An Adoration of the Magi, Two Magi and a Child, Six People Guarding a Serpent, Pulcinella with Two Magi, Three Men and a Horse, The Discovery of Pulcinella's Tomb, A Lady Leaning Against an Altar, Three Virtues, The Virgin and Three Dominican Saints, The Last Supper, Pages an Urn and Parrot, St Joseph Calasanzio, Saint Margaret of Cortona, Martyrdom of St. John Nepomunk, Miracle of the True Cross*, a portrait of GB Tiepolo, fifteen heads of old men, mathematicians and philosophers etc., a portrait of GD Tiepolo, and *The Miracle of St. Anthony of Padua*.

⁶³ Adelheid M. Gealt and George Knox (eds), *Giandomenico Tiepolo Scene di Vita Quotidiana a Venezia e nella Terraferma* (Venice: Marsilio Editore, 2005), (hereafter Gealt and Knox (2005)).

⁶⁴ This was confirmed during correspondence with George Knox on 18.iv.2009.

his term of office as President of the Venetian Academy, Domenico spent most of his time in his country home in Zianigo di Mirano, twenty-four kilometres from Venice, which he had inherited from his father.⁶⁵ Domenico still maintained a rented house in Venice on the Riò Terrà Farsetti in the parish of San Marcuola.⁶⁶ Apart from the decoration of his country villa, and some sundry commissions, Domenico occupied himself in his later years by making large series of drawings. The first, made between 1785 and 1791 shows scenes from the life of Christ;⁶⁷ the second made in the early 1790s depicts aspects of eighteenth-century Venetian life,⁶⁸ and the third illustrates a life of Pulcinella made some time during the final decade of the artist's life. With the exception of six coloured prints which may have derived from the second series, and which were engraved by Teodoro Viero c. early 1800 (Figs. 34-39),⁶⁹ none of these drawings appear to have been the result of a specific commission and their purpose remains unclear.

Regrettably, little is known about Domenico's personality and character, although in a letter written to Antonio Canova on 30 April 1793, the painter Ferdinando Tonioli (purportedly a friend of Tiepolo) described the aging painter as being extremely withdrawn and stubborn.⁷⁰ This is an unprecedented, though not unbiased, insight into Domenico's personality. In this and other letters written to Canova, Tonioli seems to be exploiting his association with Domenico in order to acquire examples of Giambattista's work for Canova. Tonioli subsequently became Domenico's cousin by marrying Angelica Marcolina,⁷¹ the cousin of the painter's wife Margherita Moscheni. The correspondence is of interest on two accounts, first because it shows that Canova actively collected

⁶⁵ Clauco Benito Tiozzo, *Il Mistero dell'Eredità dei Tiepolo* (Venice: Editoria Universitaria, 2003), (hereafter referred to as Tiozzo (2003)), p. 16.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

⁶⁷ *Domenico Tiepolo A New Testament* (exhibition catalogue, Frick Collection, New York, 24 October 2006 – 7 January 2007), eds Adelheid M. Gealt and George Knox (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Art Museum in Association with Indiana University Press, 2006), (hereafter New York 2006 (a)), p. xv.

⁶⁸ Byam Shaw (1962), pp. 46-51.

⁶⁹ Catherine Whistler in Venice 2004 (b), pp. 177-179.

⁷⁰ For this letter, see Giuseppe Pavanello, *Canova Collezionista di Tiepolo* (Possagno: Fondazione Canova Possagno, Edizione della Laguna, 1996), (hereafter referred to as Pavanello (1996)), pp. 77-83.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

Giambattista Tiepolo's work; and secondly, because it provides a fleeting insight into Domenico's character in his old age. However, it should be borne in mind that Tonioli's unflattering remarks might have been influenced by Domenico's apparent reluctance to sell his father's work to him.⁷²

In the absence of a patron or biographical information to illuminate our understanding of the drawings, Adelheid Gealt and George Knox have endeavoured to situate the series amongst cognate works produced in eighteenth-century Venice, for example, a series of large-scale etchings by Pietro Monaco (1707-1772) which were made between 1739 and 1745, and published in 1763 under the title *Centododici stampe di storie sacre*.⁷³ Large groups of drawings had also been made by Domenico's father, as well as by his uncle, Antonio Guardi, who produced a series of fifty-nine large drawings showing scenes from Venetian history entitled *I Fasti di Venezia*.⁷⁴ Moreover, Francesco Fontebasso (1707-1769) had made twenty-eight large drawings on sacred themes,⁷⁵ which in terms of format and scale are similar to Domenico's *Divertimento*. However, Gealt and Knox both concur that these examples cannot be compared with either Domenico's biblical drawings or the *Divertimento* in terms of their originality and inventiveness. I have identified and summarised below six main methodological challenges which confront the art historian working on the *Divertimento*.

First, because no-one has been able to identify a patron or a commercial use for the drawings, it has generally been taken for granted that Domenico made the drawings to entertain himself. Whilst this may be true, to my mind it is equally possible that the artist may have intended to produce a commercial print-run from the series, especially if one considers that the artist had hitherto collaborated with Viero.

⁷² Ibid., p. 79.

⁷³ Gealt and Knox in New York 2006 (a), p. 3.

⁷⁴ Ibid, p. 3.

⁷⁵ Ibid, p. 3.

Second, conceivably, there may be a clue in the title of the series ‘*Divertimento per li Regazzi*’, which leads us to a further challenge, the title’s ambiguity. The word ‘*regazzi*’ initially suggests that Domenico’s intended spectatorship may have been a juvenile one.⁷⁶ However, this may be an over-literal interpretation and, in my opinion, the title requires further unpacking, given the fact that it is unlikely that the drawings were made for children for at least three reasons. The first reason is that the subject matter of some of the drawings - the execution scenes for example - seems inappropriate for children. This also pertains to the content of early Italian fairy tales purportedly written for children. For example, Gianbattista Basile’s (1575-1632) *Pentamerone* (published posthumously 1634-1636) as *Tale of Tales: Entertainment for Little Ones*.⁷⁷ For, as E.R. Vincent stated in his introduction to Sir Richard Burton’s (1821-1890) translation (published posthumously 1893), ‘It is unlikely, however, that Basile had children in mind as he sat down to embellish simple tales with his sly wit and exuberant style. Such a presentation was itself a novelty that would tickle the taste of an epoch that loved the unexpected and extravagant.’⁷⁸ The second reason is that many of the sophisticated internal iconographic resonances in the *Divertimento* would have been lost on a child. Finally, the large size of the drawings would render them very difficult indeed for a child to handle.

Alternatively, I would suggest, through an etymological study of the ambiguous term *regazzi* in both eighteenth-century Italian dictionaries and Giuseppe Boerio’s dictionary of Venetian dialect,⁷⁹ that Domenico could be making a gently ironic allusion to a connoisseurial viewer who would certainly appreciate the artist’s subtle visual

⁷⁶ Byam Shaw (1962), pp. 58-59; Gealt (1986), p. 26, and Whistler in London 1994, p. 329.

⁷⁷ See Chapter III, p. 95.

⁷⁸ E.R. Vincent, ‘Introduction’, *The Pentameron of Giambattista Basile Translated by Sir Richard Burton* (London: Spring Books, 1893), p. 5.

⁷⁹ Giuseppe Baretta, *A Dictionary of the English and Italian Languages ... To Which is Prefixed an Italian and English Grammar*. Vol. 1, Revised 2nd edition, Altieri ed., 2 Vols. (London: J. Nourse & others, 1778), unpaginated, (hereafter referred to as Barretti 1778). Giuseppe Boerio, *Dizionario del dialetto Veneziano*, Venice, 1856, Facsimile of 1856 edition (Florence: Giunti Editore, S.p.A.) 1998, (hereafter referred to as Boerio (1998)).

quotations. Conversely, it is feasible that Domenico may have had the young artist-apprentice in mind. Since the most rigorous emphasis on *disegno* would have been given during the artist's formative years as a trainee, the *Divertimento* may have been conceived by Domenico as a pedagogical tool, either for his own pupils, or more broadly for trainee artists in general.

Third, the series eludes any distinct categorisation of genre being instead a fusion of scenes from contemporary life, historical and mythological scenes and sometimes possessing Christological resonances, which has discouraged art historians from finding broader interpretative frameworks for the series. This is indeed underlined by the synthetic nature of recent writing on the *Divertimento* following the initial groundbreaking work by Byam Shaw, Gealt and Knox. It is therefore one of my aims to re-establish and perpetuate a more reflective dialogue around this particular series of drawings, for example, in terms of revealing how eighteenth-century connoisseurs looked at pictures and as a case history in 'old-age style'.

Fourth, there is no certainty as to the exact date when the drawings were made, although it is generally assumed to be the mid-to-late 1790s on account of the fashions worn by some of the 'human' characters in the scenes. The sheets used for some of the drawings reveal a number of different watermarks, which have been identified by Gealt.⁸⁰ According to the eminent paper historian, Tomás Stohr, the crescent moon and the *fleur de lys* were two of the most common watermarks in paper produced in Venice. The crescent moon was in use when Giambattista was active and these watermarks were produced at several paper mills, therefore imitations were not uncommon and only the

⁸⁰ Throughout her book, Gealt identified the watermarks as follows: graduated triple crescents, a crown with trefoils with the initials GAF, an indistinct crown above the letters GAF, an incomplete cartouche with the monogram GB, a coat of arms with indiscernible initials at centre, graduated triple crescents above the letters SOTTOIMPERIAL, a monogram in a large cartouche surmounted by a *fleur de lys*, a crowned eagle above the letters GFA, a leaf-shaped cartouche surmounted by a lily containing the monogram GA over F and an obscure monogram beginning with SO. Gealt (1986).

monograms and countermarks may help in dating the documents.⁸¹ Whilst some of the watermarks have been dated between 1791 and 1801, this is not necessarily a dependable indicator of when the images were executed as the paper could have been produced and then stored over time before being used, and therefore marks can only act as a reliable *terminus post quem*.⁸²

Fifth, because the drawings include depictions of birth and death there is the temptation to order them into a chronological narrative. This, however, does not always correspond with the numerical order given them by the artist, which appears to be arbitrary in relation to what might constitute a 'coherent' linear storyline.⁸³ However, there may be some internal logic for the numeration of the sheets: for example, the order in which Domenico created them.

Finally, apart from the temptation to order the *Divertimento* into a life-cycle narrative, there are further conundrums associated with narrative in that the drawings do not appear to relate to a pre-existing textual or visual narrative. Further, it is impossible to identify a main protagonist amongst the masked clan of *Pulcinelli* which inhabit the sheets. Consequently, it is difficult to understand the drawings as comprising a coherent and rational narrative form. It is my own theory that Pulcinella presents Domenico Tiepolo himself with infinite inventive potential, and that the *commedia dell'arte* character provided the ageing artist with an ideal figure to display his virtuosity and inventiveness as a draughtsman to best advantage.

⁸¹ I wish to thank Professor Tomás Stohr, Universidad Simon Bolivar, Venezuela for the following information: "the graduate triple crescent above the letters SOTTOIMPERIAL appears in a Venetian document of 1791, the shield cartouche surmounted by Fleur de lys appears in Naples, but it might also be Fabriano. The crowned eagle above the letters GFA appears in a loose fly leaf of a book of 1801 in the McBey collection." (Email correspondence: 19.x.2008).

⁸² For further discussion of the use of watermarks in dating works of art, see Nancy Ash and Shelley Fletcher, 'Watermarks in Rembrandt's Prints, The Use of Watermarks to Study the Prints of An Artist' in *Puzzles in Paper Concepts in Historical Watermarks: Essays from the International Conference on the History, Function and Study of Watermarks* (conference proceedings, 10 – 13 October 1996 Roanoke, Virginia), (London: Oak Knoll Press, British Library, 2000), pp. 57-66.

⁸³ See Appendix B, "Checklist of the *Divertimento per li Regazzi*" Knox in Udine 1996, pp. 244-247.

* * *

Wider Musing on the Broader Themes of the *Divertimento*

All of the above-mentioned recent catalogues are disappointing in their tendency to only underline extant publications on the Pulcinella drawings: they make no additional contribution to the series in terms of new insights and approaches. With this in view, I am extending this literature review to include some of the texts which inform the broader themes discussed in my thesis in relation to the Pulcinella drawings.

Although Francis Haskell's essay 'The Sad Clown' ostensibly concerns the depiction of the clown in nineteenth-century French visual and literary traditions,⁸⁴ Haskell makes observations which are insightful when considering the *Divertimento* and Domenico's use of the Pulcinella figure. Haskell uses Jean-Léon Gérôme's (1824-1904) *Duel after the Masked Ball* (Fig. 40) to reflect on the significance of the role played by sad clowns in French literary and visual culture from the early eighteenth century through to the last quarter of the twentieth century in the paintings of Pablo Picasso (1881-1973) and Marc Chagall (1897-1985). Haskell identifies Antoine Watteau (1684-1721) as the precursor to this tradition in his depiction of *Commedia dell'arte* characters, *fêtes galantes* and, most memorably, in his figure Pierrot or Gilles (Fig. 41). Haskell makes the interesting observation that Watteau's early biographers, individuals who had known the artist personally, had commented on the contrast between Watteau's pessimistic personality (Watteau's health was fragile, he suffered from consumption and this apparently showed in his demeanour) and the gaiety of his paintings.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ Francis Haskell, 'The Sad Clown: Some Notes on a 19th Century Myth,' in *French 19th Century Painting and Literature: with Special Reference to the Relevance of Literary Subject-Matter to French painting*, ed. Ulrich Finke (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1972), (hereafter cited as Haskell (1972)), pp. 2-16.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

Notwithstanding that Pierrot/Gilles was traditionally a farcical character; the rather tragic and delicate mien that Watteau gave to his figure of Pierrot/Gilles meant that his physiognomy bore little relation to the part of the vulgar buffoon that he acted in the *commedia dell'arte*. Consequently, some nineteenth-century critics came to the conclusion that the 'consumptive' artist identified with his portrayal of Pierrot/Gilles. Dora Panofsky subsequently built on this notion in her 1952 essay, which considered Watteau's depiction of Pierrot/Gilles, and suggested that Watteau may have perceived something Christ-like in the figure of Pierrot/Gilles.⁸⁶ Although Dora Panofsky's article is chiefly concerned with two points (first, that the painting went unnoticed for almost a century and second, whether the protagonist depicted in the picture is, in fact, *Gilles* or *Pierrot*), there are elements that relate to ideas discussed in this thesis in relation to the *Divertimento*. Some of these notions were also explored in a fairly recent exhibition and catalogue, *The Great Parade: Portrait of the Artist as Clown* (discussed below).

Dora Panofsky's first observation is the disparity between Watteau's sensitive depiction of Pierrot/Gilles and the soulless ruffian that constituted this character's actual stage persona. This inconsistency had earlier led Erwin Panofsky to conclude that Watteau had invested something of his own being into the figure of Pierrot/Gilles stating that, "If he need not be called a self-portrait, he is, certainly, a self-revelation."⁸⁷ Consequently, Dora Panofsky proceeds to suggest that Watteau's *Gilles* is the ancestor of a ponderous line of tragic clowns that has permeated aspects of literary and visual culture throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. She refers to two further compositions by Watteau showing a monkey sculptor and a monkey painter. These are two examples of *singerie*, a popular genre, which

⁸⁶ Dora Panofsky, 'Gilles or Pierrot? Iconographic notes on Watteau,' in *Gazette des beaux-arts*, 1952, 39, p. 319. (hereafter cited as D. Panofsky (1952)).

⁸⁷ Erwin Panofsky, 'Et in Arcadia Ego: On the Conception of Transcience in Poussin and Watteau', in *Philosophy and History: Essay Presented to Ernst Cassirer* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1936), p. 252.

originated with French decorator and designer Jean Bérain (1637-1711) and consisted of anthropomorphised monkeys, showing them fashionably attired and engaging in human activities. In these paintings Watteau depicts the monkey sculptor as vigorous and sanguine as he works on a bust, whilst he portrays the monkey-painter as weak and emaciated as he languorously contemplates his work. Therefore, with the benefit of biographical hindsight, Dora Panofsky suggests that there is further self-identification between Watteau and the monkey-painter. She then makes a further ideological and iconographic leap and compares the formal qualities of some of Watteau's portrayals of *Gilles/Pierrot* to compositions by Rembrandt (1606-1669) showing Christ, commenting on their stances, their isolation in a group, and the use of an ethereal light around the figures and the halo/hat framing *Gilles's* face. Most notably, Christ's stance in Rembrandt's etching *Ecce Homo: Christ Presented to the People* (1655), which depicts Pontius Pilate presenting Christ as a prisoner to the crowd (Fig. 42), is emulated in the figure of Watteau's *Gilles* which, according to Panofsky's hypothesis, was deliberately used by the painter.⁸⁸ Thus there emerged the *topos* of the Clown as having personal resonance for the disillusioned artist.

As we shall see, by the end of his own life, Domenico Tiepolo had sufficient reason to be disenchanted, having witnessed the late work of his much-admired father rejected by the Spanish court, the end of the Venetian Republic in 1797 and his inability to produce heirs to ensure the survival of the Tiepolo dynasty. As noted earlier in this chapter, Tonioli commented on Domenico's taciturn personality; it is hard however to relate Tonioli's comments about the artist to the playful and witty inventor of *Divertimento per li Regazzi* and the Pulcinella frescoes that adorned Domenico's villa. Haskell, in his paper, meditates upon the paradox, recognised since Antiquity, that somebody who is laughing ought to be weeping – a theme which

⁸⁸ 'For the dying man [Watteau], who had not hesitated to portray himself under the guise of a miserable ape, it was no sacrilege to compare the other, nobler, image of his sufferings, the *Pierrot-Gilles*, with the Lamb of God.' D. Panofsky (1952), p. 340.

became popular with a number of writers from the late eighteenth century.⁸⁹ Certainly there are iconographic Christological resonances in the *Divertimento*, beginning with its frontispiece and continuing intermittently throughout the series, which are discussed further in Chapter IV. Furthermore, the scope for seeing a similarity between Pulcinella and Christ was not lost on Domenico's contemporaries.⁹⁰

La Grande Parade, an exhibition which ran at both the Grand Palais, Paris and subsequently at the National Gallery of Canada, and its accompanying catalogue,⁹¹ raises interesting ideas concerning the portrayal of the clown in a variety of media. The stated aim of the show was to define the precise nature of the interest that prompted writers and painters of the nineteenth century to create so many pictures of circus and fairground life. It is partly explained by the visual charm exercised by circuses and fairgrounds in a post-industrialized society and also with the artist's self-identification with the figure of the clown. Again, Antoine Watteau and Domenico Tiepolo are regarded as precursors - though I would rather suggest pioneers - of this trend and the late eighteenth century is mentioned as the specific moment, art historically, when buffoons and puppets had taken over from the gods of Olympus.

In 'Parade and Palingenesis', Jean Clair evokes Charles Baudelaire's poignant portrayal of a clown in *Le Vieux Saltimbanque* (1865) who no longer pleases his public, and in whose image the poet sees the artist/writer who has fallen out of popular favour.⁹² Of particular relevance to this thesis is Clair's discussion of what he perceives to be the toppling of the artist from his noble status, and here Chapter VI 'A Portrait of the Artist as an Old Man' discusses the rise in status of the Venetian artists

⁸⁹ Haskell cites Samuel Richardson, Horace Walpole and Pierre Augustin Caron de Beaumarchais in this context.

⁹⁰ See Denis Diderot's allusion to the Pulcinella-Christ in the Venetian square in Chapter III, pp. 105-106.

⁹¹ *The Great Parade: Portrait of the Artist as Clown*, (exhibition catalogue, Grand Palais, Paris, 12 March – 31 May 2004 and National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, 25 June – 19 September 2004), ed. Jean Clair (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, in Association with the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, 2004), (hereafter cited as Paris 2004).

⁹² Clair in Paris 2004, p. 30.

beginning with the Bellini, and contemplates strategies used by Domenico to preserve his reputation in his own old age. I would concur with Clair that certain historical and sociological changes, albeit a different set of circumstances than those suggested by Clair for Baudelaire, had taken place which would no longer make it viable for the artist to depict himself as a nobleman, for example, in the vein of Titian in his late self-portraits.

A much-quoted, and controversial, text on carnival and folk culture is Mikhail Bakhtin's (1895-1975) *Rabelais and his World*,⁹³ which was first published in 1965. Bakhtin's book is essentially concerned with the writing of François Rabelais (c.1494-1553) whose work, whilst challenging for a contemporary reader, provides a valuable insight into the development of the folk culture of humour over a millennium.⁹⁴ Bakhtin's writing, together with Peter Stallybrass and Allon White's *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression*,⁹⁵ which emerged from a dialogue with the work of Bakhtin amongst others, can help the reader of this thesis understand a cultural shift which influences the way in which Domenico portrays his Pulcinella-types. This is mostly, though not entirely, quite different from the depiction of the character by other artists, including his father Giambattista whose Pulcinella-figures are obese, their deformities emphasised and who are frequently shown in the acts of imbibing, eating and excreting. Thus, in its grotesqueness, Tiepolo senior's portrayal of Pulcinella's body conflates with the *Rabelaisian* tenet of 'grotesque realism' where body imagery is preoccupied with food, drink, defecation and sexual life in an exaggerated form.⁹⁶

⁹³ Mikhail Bakhtin submitted his doctoral dissertation on the French Renaissance writer François Rabelais in 1941. The controversial ideas discussed in Bakhtin's thesis caused a great deal of disagreement, and Bakhtin was not awarded his doctorate. Consequently, 'Rabelais and the Folk Culture of the Middle-Ages' was not published until 1965 when it was given the title *Tvorchestvo Fransua Rable*, trans. *Rabelais and his World*, Here, I have referred to the 1984 edition: Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and his World*, translated by Helene Iswolsky (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), (hereafter referred to as Bakhtin (1984)).

⁹⁴ Bakhtin (1984), p. 18.

⁹⁵ Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (London: Methuen, 1986), (hereafter referred to as Stallybrass and White (1986)).

⁹⁶ Bakhtin (1984), p. 22.

According to Bakhtin, Pulcinella's fat stomach conveyed a powerful carnival spirit, and it was this spirit that became diluted during the latter part of the early modern period. In their riposte to Bakhtin, Stallybrass and Allon invoke Norbert Elias's (1897-1990) *The History of Manners (The Civilizing Process, I)* to show how the social control of bodily functions, such as eating, spitting, ejecting mucus and so forth, developed. Citing conduct books of the early eighteenth-century, Elias associates the advent of this way of controlling bodily functions with the proliferation of the middle classes. Consequently, I would argue that, poised as he was between the traditions of an old regime and emerging values, Domenico's Pulcinelli became more respectable than those of his father.

One of the themes explored in this thesis is the playful and witty quality of the *Divertimento*. Although a recent exhibition at the Hayward Gallery, *Laughing in a Foreign Language* (25 January – 13 April 2008),⁹⁷ was primarily concerned with the trans-cultural role of humour in an era of global communications, certain conceptual aspects of the catalogue reverberated with my own thoughts concerning the *Divertimento*. The catalogue addresses the role of the clown and its simultaneous embodiment of humour and melancholy. The use of masking is discussed in this context as is the way in which the mask conceals whilst stimulating the viewer's curiosity as to what lies beneath it. Whilst many of the works of art featured in this catalogue appear far removed from Domenico's Pulcinella drawings, the contribution by Jake and Dinos Chapman (b. 1962 and 1966 respectively) is reminiscent of the way in which Domenico subverts well-known themes in Western art in the *Divertimento*. In this case, the Chapman brothers rework William Hogarth's *A Rake's Progress* by creating masks of clowns, animals and *commedia dell'arte* caricatures which, in a spirit of iconoclasm, they superimpose over the main figures in Hogarth's

⁹⁷ Mami Kataoka and Simon Critchley, *Laughing in a Foreign Language* (London: Hayward Publishing, 2008), (hereafter referred to as London 2008).

social drama (Figs. 43 and 44), thereby reinforcing Henri Bergson's observation that 'comic meaning is obtained when an absurd idea [can be] inserted into some well-established phrasing.'⁹⁸ The playful qualities of the *Divertimento* lead in Chapter V of the present thesis, to a discussion of theoretical categories of game playing proposed by Johan Huizinga in *Homo Ludens* (1938),⁹⁹ and Roger Caillois in *Les Jeux et Les Hommes* (1958).¹⁰⁰ Indeed, it is on this ground that contemporary theory can meet eighteenth-century traditions.

What remains indisputable about the *Divertimento* is that the series was made in the latter part of Domenico's life, and can therefore be understood as a case history of late style. Recent literature which has informed my own thoughts on the subject has been Thomas Dormandy's volume, *Old Masters: Great Artists in Old Age*.¹⁰¹ The author is a consultant pathologist, and an amateur artist with an interest in the mechanism of biological ageing and its affect on artists. Philip Sohm's recent volume, *The Artist Grows Old: The Aging of Art and Artists in Italy 1500-1800*,¹⁰² meditates on various artists between his chosen chronological framework, and how artists experienced and (in some cases) marketed their old age. Sadly there are but fleeting references to Giambattista Tiepolo, and no mention of Domenico.

Whilst there has been a recent re-flowering of interest in elderly artists, it was clearly a subject of concern to art theorists such as Giorgio Vasari (1511-1574) and

⁹⁸ Henri Bergson, 'Le Comique de Situation et le Comique de Mot,' in *Le Rire: Essai sur la Signification du Comique* (Paris: Les Presses universitaires de France, 1900) Translation, *Laughter: An Essay on the Meaning of the Comic*, by Cloudesley Brereton and Fred Rothwell (London: Macmillan & Co., Limited, 1911), (hereafter referred to as Bergson (1911)).

⁹⁹ Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens. Proeve eener Bepaling van het Spelelement der Cultuur* (Haarlem, 1938). This has been translated by George Steiner as *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play Element in Culture* (London: Maurice Temple Smith Ltd. 1970), (hereafter referred to as Huizinga (1970)), p. 19.

¹⁰⁰ Roger Caillois, *Les Jeux et les Hommes*, first published in 1958, subsequently translated as *Man, Play and Games*. Translated by Meyer Barash (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2001), (hereafter referred to as Caillois (2001)).

¹⁰¹ Thomas Dormandy, *Old Masters: Great Artists in Old Age* (London and New York: Hambledon and London, 2000), (hereafter referred to as Dormandy (2000)).

¹⁰² Philip Sohm, *The Artist Grows Old: The Aging of Art and Artists in Italy 1500-1800* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007).

Raffaello Borghini (1537-1588) in the early modern period.¹⁰³ These sixteenth-century writers were particularly concerned with the physiological affects of aging upon an artist's work, and whilst it was generally accepted that the mechanical skills of some artists in their old age may be impaired, both critics generally concur on the enduring power of the artist's rational judgment in old age. Consequently, according to Borghini, an acceptable strategy for the elderly artist might be in the instruction of future generations of artists, whilst another was to retire from making public works and to turn his soul towards 'heavenly design'. This allusion to 'heavenly design' in the context of the life/work cycle of the artist is equivocal. Arguably, there are both spiritual and art-theoretical interpretations of Borghini's notion of 'heavenly design'. First is the idea that the artist's spiritual energies should turn towards God – his heavenly designer and, in terms of art theory, *disegno* was more than drawing precisely because it drew attention to the artist's intellectual abilities as well as his creative and manual skills. In Chapter V, I propose that Borghini's plan could be regarded as a model of emulation for the elderly Domenico. Given that one of Giambattista's closest associates was Count Francesco Algarotti (1712-1764) who, in the third volume of his *Opere, Saggio sopra le belle Arti* (1762),¹⁰⁴ recommends that a painter would do well to read Baldinucci, Borghini and Vasari, it is almost certain that Domenico would also have been personally acquainted with the text.

¹⁰³ There has been a spate of books and exhibitions on this subject over the past three years. For example, *Der Späte Tizian und die Sinnlichkeit der Malerei* (exhibition catalogue, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, 18 October 2007 – 6 January 2008, and at the Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice, 1 February – 21 April, 2008), ed. Sylvia Pagden Ferino (Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 2007); *Tiziano: l'Ultimo Atto* (exhibition catalogue, Palazzo Crepadona, Belluno and at the Palazzo della Magnifica Comunità, Pieve di Cadore, 15 September 2007 – 6 January 2008) ed. Lionello Puppi (Milan: Skira, 2007); Classen (2007); *Goya's Last Works* (Frick Collection, New York, 22 February – 14 May 2006), eds. Jonathan Brown and Susan Grace Galassi (New Haven & London: The Frick Collection, New York in association with Yale University Press), (hereafter New York 2006 (b)); Thomas Crow and Karen Painter (eds.), *Late Thoughts Reflections on Artists and Composers at Work* (Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute, 2006); Edward Said, *On Late Style* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2006), (hereafter referred to as Said (2006)); Pat Thane (ed.), *The Long History of Old Age* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2005), (hereafter referred to as Thane (2005)).

¹⁰⁴ *Opere del Conte Algarotti* (Venice: Presso Carlo Palese, edizione Novissima, 1791.), Vol. III, 'Saggio sopra le belle arti', pp. 63-4, (hereafter referred to as Algarotti, volume 3, 1791).

Of the numerous scholarly works dedicated to the art of drawing, the preface and first chapter of Ann Bermingham's volume, *Learning to Draw*, is of particular relevance to my own ideas.¹⁰⁵ Although Bermingham's study is primarily concerned with the history of drawing as a social practice in England, it includes a preliminary discussion of drawing as a social practice within Italian Renaissance discourses on courtesy, and as an essential accomplishment for the courtier. To this end Baldessare Castiglione's (1478-1529) *Il Libro del Cortegiano* (1528) is examined. In Bermingham's interpretation of Castiglione's text, drawing is not simply regarded as refined pastime for a gentleman, but good *disegno* reflected the draughtsman's mastery of both his mind and body in that it involved training of the imagination as well as the hand.¹⁰⁶ This notion of an artist's drawings being a purer expression of his intellectual and creative process than his paintings is pursued in a recent article (2008) by Kristel Smentek.¹⁰⁷ Smentek takes as a case history the famous French connoisseur Pierre-Jean Mariette (1694-1774) - who, incidentally, collected Tiepolo etchings - and shows how he would sometimes alter the fabric of old master drawings in his collection. Smentek argues that Mariette's interventions offer valuable insights into how eighteenth-century connoisseurs looked at their drawings and how they should be viewed. In Chapter V, I build on Smentek's research to show how Domenico may have intentionally designed the *Divertimento* with a connoisseurial viewer in mind, as well as pursuing what was patently considered a more cerebral aspect of art in his old age .

Although death in early modern Europe has been interrogated in a number of ways, the historiography of death in Europe has been discussed at length by French

¹⁰⁵ Ann Bermingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), (hereafter referred to as Bermingham (2000)).

¹⁰⁶ Bermingham (2000), p. 5.

¹⁰⁷ Kristel Smentek, 'The Collector's Cut: Why Pierre-Jean Mariette Tore up his Drawings and Put them Back Together Again,' *Master Drawings*, 46, no. 1, 2008, pp. 36-60, (hereafter referred to as Smentek (2008)).

historians, whose common goal has been to explore collective attitudes towards death, religious sentiments and changes of mentalities over periods of time.¹⁰⁸ Philippe Ariès work is an exhaustive account of the cultural history of death in Western societies from the Middle Ages through to the twentieth century. However, there does not appear to be a specific study devoted to death in eighteenth-century Venice. To compensate for this lack, it is helpful to consider a rather earlier source: a late sixteenth-century Venetian treatise on death by physician Fabio Glissenti entitled *Discorsi Morali contra il Dispiacer del Moriere, detto Athanatophilia*, which was published in Venice in 1596.¹⁰⁹ This is particularly so because, as will become apparent, Domenico Tiepolo was himself a reader of this type of literature, a well-established and highly traditional genre of devotional writing. According to George McClure, Glissenti's book is possibly the longest lay treatise on death to come out of Renaissance Italy. McClure further argues that it is a riposte to a volume on the professions by Tomasso Garzoni, *La Piazza Universale di tutti li Professioni del Mondo* (1585), mentioned in Chapter VI of this thesis. The *Athanatophilia* takes the form of a discussion between a philosopher and a courtier as they meander around the various *Sestieri* of Venice and interview characters from diverse professions and walks of life, and ascertain their attitudes towards death.

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¹⁰⁸ See Philippe Ariès, *Essais sur l'Histoire de la Mort en Occident du Moyen Âge à nos Jours* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1975), translated as *Western Attitudes Toward Death: From the Middle Ages to the Present*, Patricia M. Ranum (Baltimore & London: John Hopkins Press, 1974), (hereafter referred to as Ariès (1974)); Philippe Ariès, *L'Homme Devant la Mort* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1977), translated as *The Hour of Our Death*, Helen Weaver (New York: Knopf; distributed by Random House, 1981), (hereafter referred to as Ariès (1981)); and Michel Vovelle, *Piété Baroque et Deschristianisation en Provence au XVIIIe siècle. Les Attitudes Devant la Mort d'après les Clauses des Testaments* (Paris: Plon, 1973), (hereafter referred to as Vovelle (1973)).

¹⁰⁹ George McClure, 'The Artes and the Ars Moriendi in Late Renaissance Venice: the Professions in Fabio Glissenti's *Discorsi Morali contra il Dispiacer del Morire, detto Athanatophilia* 1596 Book by 16th Century Venetian physician' in *Renaissance Quarterly*, 51, no. 1 (Spring, 1998), pp. 92-127, (hereafter referred to as McClure (1998)).

With my methodologies and their relationship to a reading of *Divertimento per li Regazzi* established, I wish to outline the structure of my thesis. It is arranged in six chapters with a conclusion and Catalogue Raisonné: (I) ‘Methodological Problems and Historiography of *Divertimento per li Regazzi*’, (II) ‘Gio. Batta., and Domenico: Father and Son Tiepolo, Excellent Painters’, (III) ‘Introducing Pulcinella’, (IV) ‘Motifs, Visual and Textual Sources in *Divertimento per li Regazzi*’, (V) ‘On the Playful Qualities of *Divertimento per li Regazzi*’, (VI) ‘Old Age and Death’; Conclusion and a Catalogue Raisonné.

In Chapter II, I explore the Tiepolos’ relationships with individuals and cultural institutions within Venice and more broadly. This partly influences my hypothesis concerning a potential viewer for the *Divertimento* discussed in greater detail in Chapters IV and V. This chapter is necessarily a synthesis of existing scholarship on the Tiepolos, but draws on diverse sources including unpublished archival material, and thus provides an increasingly complete picture of the artists’ lives and concerns than has hitherto been available, as well as a more in-depth analysis of the issues which confronted Domenico towards the end of his life, and hence during the production of *Divertimento per li Regazzi*.

Chapter III introduces Pulcinella, the pervasive character of the *Divertimento*. In assessing the role of Pulcinella within the *Commedia dell’Arte*, his significance in eighteenth-century life and by comparing Domenico’s interpretation to other visual precedents, I propose that Pulcinella’s versatility offers Domenico the greatest variety of inventive possibilities, thus allowing for endless permutations in his drawings. Additionally, further to my observations earlier in this chapter, and in conjunction with ideas prevalent in the work of Bakhtin, Stallybrass and Allon, I suggest that the fundamental difference between Domenico’s Pulcinelli and earlier visual renditions

can be influenced by gradual social developments that take place in the eighteenth century.

The fourth chapter begins with a discussion on the themes, motifs and sources in the *Divertimento* and how Domenico playfully recontextualizes his own work and that of his father and other artists, and proceeds to discuss the relationship between art and play and how wit is manifested in the Tiepolos' art generally. It makes full use of the hitherto underutilized *Vente Tiepolo* catalogue in order to identify some of the motifs that Domenico quotes in his drawings, and his dialogue with an artistic tradition that spans some two hundred years. I raise the question as to whether Domenico may have been creating a visual game for connoisseurs on the basis of what is known about how *amateurs* looked at prints and drawings, this chapter works closely with Chapter V, in which I think about the historiography of play, considering in particular the categories proposed by Huizinga and Caillois, I demonstrate how Domenico's drawings fit into these categories. In addition, I draw parallels with eighteenth-century musical theory, in particular, a treatise written by the Paduan composer Giuseppe Tartini (1692-1770). This chapter suggests a completely new way of looking at and thinking about *Divertimento per li Regazzi*.

Chapter VI considers the *Divertimento* as a case study in old age style and builds upon a previously published essay of mine, 'A Portrait of the Artist as an Old Man with Emphasis on Titian', in which I discuss various art-theoretical strategies for artists as they approach old age, as proposed by Vasari, Borghini and Castiglione in so far as the latter discusses drawing as a 'courtly' act. In this chapter, I extend the discussions in my original paper to consider the late works of Giambattista and Domenico Tiepolo, as well as the practice of *disegno* for the artist in his old age. I further propose that various social changes in the last part of the eighteenth century may have impacted on the way in which the artist chose to represent himself

generally, and in his old age in particular. I contemplate a tradition whereby artists reveal a spirituality in their late work. Conversely, Domenico's work displays a curious reversal of this trend: as a young man he contemplates Christ, whereas in his old age, he populates his drawings with an extended family of buffoons.

This chapter is also a meditation on death and examines how, following the demise of Giambattista, Domenico handled the burden of his own artistic heritage and the obligation to perpetuate the Tiepolo dynasty both through a late marriage and by disseminating his family's work through the medium of print. Here, I reflect upon how Domenico engaged with his father's death, and the way in which he paid homage to Giambattista through the distribution of the latter's *Scherzi di Fantasia*. In terms of the extended meditation on the illnesses and multiple deaths of Pulcinella in the *Divertimento*, it is conceivable that Domenico may have been reflecting on his own mortality. For a good Catholic, as Domenico patently was, dying a 'good death' would have been critical. It is, therefore, not surprising that among the lots in the *Vente Tiepolo* catalogue is a French emblem book on the art of dying well which, in view of the elderly artist's concerns, is also given consideration here.

The catalogue raisonné of *Divertimento per li Regazzi* should be mentioned in view of the fact that Marcia Vetrocq first compiled a catalogue raisonné of the drawings in 1979 which formed a substantial part of her PhD thesis. Subsequently Adelheid Gealt and George Knox have added to, and updated the information in Vetrocq's catalogue: Gealt in her book (1986), and Knox in his checklist (1996). My catalogue raisonné synthesises the work of these scholars and updates the information since 1996 to take into account any changes in the ownership of the drawings; inventory numbers where available (whilst these are provided in earlier texts in some cases numbers have undergone modification to accommodate recent digitisation of museum collections); exhibition and bibliographic updates. Together with Chapter IV,

it offers an extensive analysis of the series, whilst taking into consideration the groundbreaking work in this area by Gealt and Vetrocq.

* * *

In his last and posthumously published book, Edward Said asks whether one grows wiser with age and whether artists, in particular, demonstrated unique qualities of form and perception as a result of age in the later phases of their career.¹¹⁰ Said differentiates between ‘late’ style which refer to those works of art made in the final years of an artist/creator’s life, and ‘mature’ style which conceivably refer to the works made at the zenith of an artist’s creativity, he then explains a phenomenon where, in some cases, ‘late works crown a lifetime of artistic endeavour.’¹¹¹ But he also proposes a less concordant resolution, of artistic lateness not as harmony and resolution but as intransigence, difficulty and unresolved contradiction. ‘What if age and ill-health don’t produce the serenity of ‘ripeness is all’?’¹¹²

Through this introduction, I have established my objects of study and suggested some of the problems in approaches to *Divertimento per li Regazzi*. It is my intention that the present study of the *Divertimento* as an example of an artist’s last work will contribute to an emerging dialectic on late-style, and our understanding of the drawings as a *memento mori* not only for Domenico Tiepolo himself, but also for the passing of an artistic tradition.

¹¹⁰ Said (2006), p. 6.

¹¹¹ Said cites the late works of Rembrandt, Matisse, Bach and Wagner as examples of aesthetic serenity and resolution. For further discussion, see Said (2006), p.7.

¹¹² Ibid., p. 7.

Chapter II

‘Gio. Batta., and Domenico: Father and Son Tiepolo, Excellent Painters’¹

In the extreme south-easterly corner of the European quarter of the ceiling fresco, *Apollo and the Four Continents* (Treppenhaus, Würzburg) is a likeness of the fifty-six year-old painter Giambattista Tiepolo scrutinizing his creation (Fig. 45). He is dressed for work in a loose-fitting burgundy robe, co-ordinating cap and yellow scarf, his mahlstick behind him. At his side stands his twenty-three year-old son and assistant, Domenico, who by contrast is dressed as a gentleman in blue jacket and powdered wig. Domenico looks sideways at his father as if in undisguised admiration at the world Giambattista has created with his brush. It is the only known portrait of father and son together. Domenico was Giambattista’s principal helpmeet and it has been suggested that the relationship between father and son was particularly profound and complex.² This was because Giambattista’s steady flow of commissions from 1720 onwards meant that Domenico was obliged to assist his father, until the latter’s death in 1770, arguably to the detriment of his own career and more fully developing his own style as a fine and remarkably observant genre artist.³

Although the primary focus of this thesis is upon the aging Domenico, his life and work cannot be fully understood in isolation from that of his father, and so aspects of this chapter are necessarily biographical. Not only was there a biological bond between the two artists, but also a professional union.⁴ The two lives were

¹ Giambattista and Domenico were thus described on 16 September 1759 by Cardinal Daniele Delfino (1686-1762), Archbishop of Udine, in his expenses ledger for their work in the Oratory of the Purità in Udine. Guglielmo Biasutti, *I libri “de scossi e spessi” del. Card. Daniele Delfino ultimo patriarca di Aquileia: (1734-1762)* (Udine: Tip. Arti Grafiche Friulane, 1957), pp. 23-24.

² Guillaume Cassegrain, ‘Tiépolo Père et Fils’ in *l’ABCdaire de Tiepolo* (Paris: Flammarion, 1998), p. 102.

³ Levey (1986), pp. 134-141.

⁴ There has been a recent flowering of interest in makers’ families. This topic was addressed, for example, in ‘Family Values,’ convened by Louise Bourdua (University of Warwick) and Thomas

interdependent and in order to comprehend the heritage that Domenico sought to preserve it is important to appreciate the dynasty that Giambattista created. The situations that Domenico faced at the end of his life when he was making *Divertimento per li Regazzi* were partly of a personal nature, for example, the extinction of the male line of the Tiepolos, together with the end of a cultural tradition which was to cast a shadow over the artistic heritage that his father had built. And yet circumstances were also political, as Domenico was to live through a cataclysmic moment in the history of Venice when Napoleon invaded the city, and a Republic which had flourished for a thousand years was defeated.

* * *

The original intention of this chapter was to contextualize the Tiepolos' work as a whole and *Divertimento per li Regazzi* specifically within its own cultural milieu. In other words, how their output was affected by contemporary religion, politics, social structures, cultural practices, traditions and intellectual currents. However, this has been made problematic by existing scholarship about the artists and by historical writing on eighteenth-century Venice in general. Scholarly approaches to the Tiepolos to date have shared a tendency to be somewhat myopic, and the way in which Michael Levey describes Giambattista in his monograph of the painter is common:

‘In temperament too, [Giambattista] Tiepolo seems the typical Venetian artist: a hard-working practitioner, absorbed by his art to the exclusion of other activities, with no theoretical views to propound on aesthetics, no ambition to shine in polite, literary society and no eagerness to claim particular status for the artist as such. His goals in life seem to have been simple, though strongly

adhered to: a happy family existence, reasonable prosperity and, above all, constant employment.’⁵

The very fact that Giambattista was appointed President of the first Venetian Academy of Painters and Sculptors on 15 February 1756, an initiative to provide institutional kudos and support for Venetian artists, coupled with the fact that as early as 1750 he had been invited by the University authorities of Padua to compile the rules of this Academy, shows that the painter *did* engage in local artistic politics when his busy schedule permitted, and therefore suggests that Levey’s evaluation of Giambattista is over-simplistic.⁶

Certainly, from the moment Giambattista’s name was first recorded in the Guild of Venetian Painters in 1717, his work was in constant demand and this steady flow of commissions may explain why we know so little about his views and preoccupations. Unlike his contemporary Rosalba Carriera (1675-1757), Giambattista was no great diarist or writer of letters and any correspondence which remains accessible to scholars is invariably perfunctory and business-like. Antonio Morassi quotes various extant examples from the painter’s correspondence with his patrons between 1731 and 1770, which reveal that Giambattista was constantly juggling demands for his services. For example, in a letter addressed to Lodovico Feronati in Bergamo dated 17 November 1734, he refers to the three months spent decorating the Villa Loschi al Biron in Vicenza, as ‘a difficult work ... which to have done with I painted, one may say, day and night without respite.’⁷ By 1761 the claims on

⁵ Levey (1986), p. 1.

⁶ For an account of the initiative to found a Venetian Academy, see Alice Binion’s *Antonio and Francesco Guardi: Their Life and Milieu with a Catalogue of their Figure Drawings* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1976).

⁷ ‘... per un forte impegno ... che per destigarmi ò dipinto si può dire giorno e notte senza respire’. An excerpt from the letter is cited by Morassi and the actual letter is preserved in the Accademia Carrara, Bergamo. Morassi does not provide the archival reference for the letter. See under the heading 17 November 1734 in Morassi (1962), p. 232.

Giambattista's time were overwhelming, if the information he imparted to Algarotti in a letter of March that year is to be believed:

'I tell you for your information only that at the end of this month I must without fail go some way beyond Milan for a matter of great concern to me, which will not detain me less than 10 or 12 days ... The picture of the Supper ... has for some time been very forward and also at finishing point ... Thus I find myself at the moment with much work, the most important is the biggest of all, which is the painting of the great saloon in Ca' Pisani at Strà, and over and above that another two pictures to be placed in a church in Rome, while labouring the while on a large ceiling on canvas for the Court of Moscow ...'.⁸

This chapter is also concerned with the Tiepolos' broader circle of acquaintances in order to establish a likely spectatorship for *Divertimento per li Regazzi*, a subject which will be discussed further in later chapters. It also seeks to explain connections between people, cultures and ideas beyond the Tiepolos' immediate milieu which may have influenced their work. Whilst much of the information in this chapter is synthetic, drawing upon existing scholarship on the artists, it is analysed in conjunction with a number of neglected sources, and as a result permits increasingly complex psychological insights into Giambattista, and thus results in a more complete picture of the Tiepolos, their lives and concerns.

* * *

⁸ '... solo le accenno per di lei lume che senza fallo alcun alla fine del presente mese dovrò portarmi qualche giornata sopra Milano per una mia premura, ove non sarò per trattenermi se non dieci o dodici giorni soli ... Il quadro della Cena ... è da molto tempo avanzato et anco al suo fine ... Io poi mi ritrovo al presente con molti impegni, il più grande è grandissimo soprattutto si è il dover dipingere il gran salone di Ca' Pisani a Strà, e soprattutto ancora due quadri per essere annicchiati in una chiesa di Roma, travagliando tuttavia un gran soffitto in tela per la Corte de Moscavia ...' Transcribed under entry dated 16 March 1761 in Morassi (1962), p. 237.

Setting the Scene: Eighteenth-Century Venice

In 1737, the Veronese nobleman, antiquarian and man of letters, Francesco Scipione Maffei (1675-1755) wrote his *Consiglio Politico*, a proposal for political reform addressed to the Council of Ten.⁹ Maffei's proposal was partly motivated by his observations during a European journey which took him through Switzerland, Paris, England, Holland and Austria. It revealed what he considered to be the weakness of, and suggested reforms to, the Venetian constitution, which had become institutionally archaic in comparison to other European states. The *Consiglio Politico* was largely based upon Maffei's observations of the Anglo-Dutch constitutions which had been reformed and restructured – England's in 1680 and Holland's in 1699. Compared to these, in Maffei's view, the Venetian state, in common with other Italian republican oligarchies, had become sclerotic. In Venice, political policy was cautious. It geared towards survival as opposed to regeneration, and was marked by a tendency to introspection and retrospection. At least from Maffei's perspective, Venice was falling behind other European countries and more advanced bordering states.

Perhaps this retrospective tendency, socially and politically, was reflected in Giambattista's only commission for the Doge's Palace, *Neptune Paying Homage to Venice* (1758) (Fig. 46). The large ceiling painting was commissioned specifically for the *Sala delle Quattro Porte* as a replacement to a fresco by Jacopo Tintoretto (1519-1594). It is an allegorical painting showing Venice, personified as a handsome, sumptuously adorned woman, wearing an ermine cape, a crown inlaid with pearls, gems and other precious decorations. In her left hand she holds a sceptre, symbolising her sovereignty. Her arm rests on a lion, an allusion to the heraldic animal of Venice: the winged lion of St Mark. She reclines against a swathe of golden fabric on the seashore. The god Neptune, accompanied by a triton, empties out before her a large

⁹ Scipione Maffei, *Consiglio Politico: Finora Inedito Presentato al Governo Veneto nell'Anno 1736 Diviso in Tre Parti* (Venice: Stamperia Palese, 1797).

shell filled with jewels, pearls, corals and coins. As an allegory of State it represents a genre rarely used in the eighteenth century. Stylistically, it derives from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, especially in its portrayal of the personification of Venice, which quotes a female-type frequently employed by Paolo Veronese (1528-1588).¹⁰ Consequently *Venice*, in Giambattista's painting, is not dissimilar to another richly dressed blonde woman, also representing *la Serenissima* in Veronese's *Triumph of Venice*, in the nearby *Sala del Maggior Consiglio*, which had been painted 173 years earlier in 1585.

Most likely, Giambattista's brief had been to make a substitute painting to complement an existing iconographic cycle produced in the *Cinquecento* when Venice had been a significant political force. It is nonetheless an interesting painting to consider when reflecting upon the Tiepolos in their broader historical and cultural context because the image supported a myth that was gradually being eroded by political and economic realities. In the final paragraph of his history of Venice, Logan observes that by the eighteenth century, Venice had become a political and economic backwater.¹¹ Dino Carpanetto concurs with this observation, yet asserts that Venice still maintained a position of some importance outside of Italy. He argues that this was partially due to the city's cultural heritage and also because of its former political and economic strengths and for what was externally perceived to be the wisdom of its governing infrastructure.¹² Thus, on a number of levels, it is not wise to summarise the situation in eighteenth-century Venice in absolute terms, and yet many historians have done just this.

¹⁰ Oliver Logan describes the way in which sixteenth-century artists had detailed iconographic programmes when commissioned to portray allegorical figures of Venice. Oliver Logan, *Culture and Society in Venice 1470-1790* (London: Batsford, 1972) (hereafter referred to as Logan (1972)), p. 188. For further discussion of how artists were employed to promote the 'myth of Venice', see David Rosand, *Myths of Venice: The Figuration of a State* (London: Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2001).

¹¹ Logan (1972), pp. 269-271.

¹² Dino Carpanetto and Giuseppe Recuperati, *Italy in the Age of Reason 1685-1789*. Translated by Caroline Higgitt (London and New York: Longman, 1987), p. 198.

There is a tendency, for example, to focus only upon the purely hedonistic aspects of Venice in the eighteenth century. Emphasis is laid in a somewhat caricature-like manner on the most frivolous features of Venetian life, for example the prolonged period of carnival, the number of theatres in the city and what would appear to be an alarming addiction to gambling. Such a view is based no doubt on certain types of literature – for example, in the writing of François-Marie Arouet de Voltaire (1694-1778), who sets an episode of *Candide* in Venice during carnival, which emphasised the oblivion to be found there at this time.¹³ Voltaire describes Venice as a site of pleasure as he explains how Candide searched for his valet, Cacambo, in the many taverns, coffee houses and brothels in Venice and how Candide himself had no appetite for the various diversions on offer there.¹⁴

The memoirs of Giacomo Casanova (1725-1798) are equally interesting for the local detail they provide on eighteenth-century Venice, as well as Italy and parts of Europe more broadly. Casanova occasionally moved in the same circles as the Tiepolos, and shared mutual acquaintances, for example, Francesco Algarotti. Moreover, he was also in Madrid when the Tiepolos were working at the Spanish Court.¹⁵ Much later, Levey would note that Venice in the eighteenth century ‘represented isolation and out-of-dateness at their extreme’ and cited an anonymous

¹³ François-Marie Arouet de Voltaire, *Candide ou l’Optimisme, traduit de l’Allemand de M. le Docteur Ralph* (Paris: Lambert, 1759), Chapters 24-25 (hereafter referred to as Voltaire (1759)).

¹⁴ ‘As soon as he reached Venice, he had a search made for Cacambo in all the taverns, all the coffee houses, all the brothels, but Cacambo was nowhere to be found. ... He fell into a black melancholy, and took no part in the fashionable operas or the other Carnival amusements; none of the Venetian ladies caused him the slightest temptation.’ Translation: Voltaire, *Candide or Optimism*, translated and edited by Theo Cuffe, with an introduction by Michael Wood (London: Penguin, 2007, first published in Penguin Classics, 2005), p. 70. Voltaire (1759), pp. 214-217.

¹⁵ Giacomo Casanova Chevalier de Seingalt, *History of My Life*, Vols. 1-12. First translated into English in accordance with the original French manuscript by Willard R. Trask (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1977), (hereafter referred to as Casanova (1977)). The memoirs, written by Casanova in French, were not published directly after his death. The manuscript re-emerged in Leipzig in 1820 where it was first published in 1821 in a heavily edited form. Subsequent edited versions appeared in France throughout the nineteenth century. It was not until 1960 that the memoirs were published, as Casanova wrote them, by Brockhaus and Plon.

friend of Montesquieu who compared Venice to ‘an old harlot selling her furniture’.¹⁶ John Julius Norwich perpetuates this notion in his chapter on the ‘short’ eighteenth century, which begins with a description of Venice as a place where its population – formerly famous for seafaring, shrewdness, and bravery - was now infamous for its gamblers, intriguers and pimps. Norwich ends this chapter with an account of the burial of Doge Paolo Renier (who served as Doge 1779-1789), conducted secretly and at night, putatively so as not to interrupt carnival.¹⁷

Yet, this sense of hedonism was only one facet of the society and times in which the Tiepolos lived, and William Barcham judiciously reminds his readers of Venice’s continued self-perception and self-promotion as a Christian city, with indeed, the number of consecrated altars in Venice outnumbering that of gambling tables.¹⁸ Indeed, as shall be discussed later, it seems that the Tiepolos were devout Catholics.

Giambattista Tiepolo and the Building of an Artistic Dynasty

Giambattista Tiepolo was born on 5 March 1696 in the Corte di San Domenico, which lay in the parish of San Pietro di Castello, legitimate son of Domenico Tiepolo, a merchant, and Orsetta Marangon.¹⁹ Giambattista was the youngest of six children: he was preceded by Ambrogio (born at an unknown date prior to 1687); Antonio Maria (born 10 November 1687), Francesco Gaetano (born 22 January 1689), Eugenia Giulia (born 2 March 1691), and Giovanni Francesco (born 29 July 1693).²⁰

Giambattista was baptised in his parish church of San Pietro di Castello on 16 April

¹⁶ Michael Levey, ‘Tiepolo and his Age’, in *Art and Ideas in Eighteenth-Century Italy: Lectures given at the Italian Institute 1957-8* (Rome: Istituto Grafico Tiberino, 1960) (hereafter referred to as Levey (1960)), p. 94.

¹⁷ John Julius Norwich, ‘The Eighteenth Century 1718-1789,’ in *A History of Venice* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1981), pp. 583-604.

¹⁸ William Barcham, *The Religious Paintings of Giambattista Tiepolo, Piety and Tradition in Eighteenth-Century Venice* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), (hereafter referred to as Barcham (1989)), p. 7.

¹⁹ Morassi (1962), p. 230.

²⁰ Urbani de Gheltof (1879), pp. 1-42.

1696.²¹ Giambattista's father died on 10 March 1697 when the painter was just a year old. Until recently, little was known about Giambattista's formative years, other than the fact that he was apprenticed to the painter Gregorio Lazzarini (1655-1730) around 1710. The first secure date we have for him is 1717, when his name appears for the first time in the records of the Guild of Painters.²² Indeed, it is a gap that Levey acknowledges in his monograph on the life and work of the artist: 'The family circumstances of the widow [Orsetta] and her children – most of whom were under the age of ten in 1697 – are not clear. They may possibly have moved from the Corte di S. Domenico, though remaining probably in the district of Castello. Of the painter's brothers and sisters not much has been traced.'²³

Furthermore, it is incorrectly assumed by both Morassi and Levey, and has subsequently been taken for granted, that the Tiepolos were left in comfortable circumstances by Domenico. However, a long-forgotten article by Mario Guiotto in *Ateneo Veneto*,²⁴ which refers to an inventory of furniture left by Domenico,²⁵ allows for some reconstruction of the living quarters into which Giambattista was born:

'From the inventory of the personal property left by his father Domenico, it is possible to deduce that the building consisted of a ground floor, storehouse entrance, small courtyard, wine store, a washing/bathing room, and a first floor with small dining room, opposite this another three rooms for the adults and children and a kitchen in an overhanging loft'.²⁶

²¹ *16 aprile 1696/Gio. Batta figlio del sig. Domenico q. Zuanne Tiepolo. Mercante, e della Signora Orsetta, giogali; nacque li 5 del pass.o: sta in C.S. Dom.co C. il N.H. Gio. Donà fu di C. Nicolò B.P. Gasparo Solta canonico nostro* (Archivio Storico del Patriarcato di Venezia, San Pietro di Castello, Libro dei Battezzati, no. 18, fol. 6); Cited in Urbani de Gheltof (1879), pp. 1-42.

²² Morassi (1962), p. 230 and Levey (1986), p. 6.

²³ Levey (1986), p. 5.

²⁴ Mario Guiotto, 'Vicende storiche e restauro della 'Villa Tiepolo' a Zianigo di Mirano' in *Ateneo Veneto Revista di Scienze, Lettere e Arti*, 14, no.1-2, January-December, 1976, pp. 7- 26, (hereafter referred to as Guiotto (1976)).

²⁵ ASV Inventari Giudici di Petizion, Busta n. 395/60, atto Primo, del 20 marzo 1697.

²⁶ 'Dall'inventario dei beni mobile lasciati del padre suo Domenico si può desumere che l'edificio consisteva: di un piano terra, con ingresso, magazzino, cortesella, caneva, lisiera; di un primo piano,

Moreover, a recently discovered document concerning the early life of Giambattista provides fascinating new information on the painter's childhood and adolescence, a biographical lacuna between 1697 and 1717, as will be seen from reading my transcription of the original (see Appendix III).²⁷

In February 1750, an enquiry was instigated against Giambattista by his nephews Domenico and Francesco and by his niece Tomasina all three children of the painter's older brother Ambroso.²⁸ Briefly stated, the enquiry, consisting of five series of identical questions addressed to five witnesses, sought to establish the profession of Giambattista's father, his age when his father died, the family circumstances thereafter, Giambattista's chosen profession, the age at which he became financially independent, whether he received financial support from his family and whether he, in turn, supported his family and continued to do so following his marriage to Cecilia Guardi in November 1719. The witnesses to this enquiry were selected from friends and acquaintances of the Tiepolo family who had lived in the same neighbourhood when Giambattista was growing up. The first witness was one Signor Domenico Monello, Canon of Castello, who had been a neighbour and whose father had been friendly with Domenico Tiepolo senior. The second witness was Reverend Lunardo Ferruti, parish priest of San Biasio, the small church which lay a short distance from the Arsenal. The third witness was Carlo Alberghetti, a State artillery-caster at the Arsenal who had been a neighbour and friend of Domenico. The fourth witness was Fortunato Pasquetti (1700-1773), a portrait painter, associate and, presumably close

con tinello, camera dirimpetto a questo, altre tre camere (fra cui quella del vecchio e dei putti) e cuisine; di una sovrastante soffitta.' Guiotto (1976).

²⁷ASVe, *Giudici del Proprio, Testimoni e Testificazioni*, Busta 123, document 150. I would like to thank Micky White, independent scholar and researcher at the Ospedale della Pietà, Venice for drawing my attention to this case brought against Giambattista Tiepolo and to Victoria Avery for her assistance with the transcription of this document, which is written in a very difficult hand.

²⁸ See Appendix IV (a): family tree showing Giambattista Tiepolo – His Parents and Siblings.

friend of Giambattista.²⁹ The fifth and final witness was Captain Marin Boldi, a friend of Giambattista's brothers, Ambroso and Antonio.

The witnesses unanimously confirmed that the family was desperately poor with its circumstances becoming increasingly dire within five years of Domenico's death. Their statements reveal how Giambattista's older brothers, Ambroso and Antonio, had had to work to support the family, with the former employed in the Arsenal as a naval assistant and the latter at the bronze foundry of Antonio Mazzarol, also based inside the Arsenal. Following the death of Domenico, the witnesses concurred that his widow Orsetta and their children had lived in the Calle del Boter in San Biasio.³⁰ Fortunato Pasquetti elaborates on this, claiming that the family had subsequently resided in miserable lodgings adjacent to the Ponte dei Meloni just off Campo dei Santi Giovanni e Paolo before moving to an equally impoverished abode in the Celestia district of Venice. In addition, Giambattista had also lived with his mother in his uncle's house in Campo della Tana: this was State-owned and granted to the uncle in his capacity as *Proto* of the *Marangoni* (carpenters). It appears that Giambattista continued to lead a peripatetic existence in his early twenties. Campo dall'Erbe in Santa Sofia is one of the addresses mentioned. The remarkably rich evidence from this unpublished document fills in some of the gaps in Giambattista's early life in terms of the residences occupied by the Tiepolo family between 1700 and 1722. Moreover, it complements Philip Sohm's research on Tiepolo's movements from the time that he lived with Ambroso's family near San Francesco della Vigna to

²⁹ Fortunato Pasquetti was also a witness at Giambattista's secret marriage to Cecilia Guardi, and a founder-member of The Venetian Academy in 1755, over which Giambattista presided (1755-1758). For further details, see Appendix V.

³⁰ Although this address no longer exists, it was presumably in the courtyard just off the Calle di San Domenico.

his gradual movement to increasingly high-status accommodation further up the Grand Canal.³¹

Significantly, it would appear that there was no connection with art and/or painting in the Tiepolo family and yet what emerges clearly from this document is Giambattista's early predilection and a precocious talent for painting and drawing. All five witnesses testified to the fact that Giambattista had been inclined to draw from a very young age, and each independently recalled that as a young boy he was always scribbling on walls. Indeed, Pietro Malta reported how the young Giambattista had had a habit of drawing over the door of the furnaces at San Biasio.³² Furthermore, the witnesses' independently recalled the fact that Giambattista had painted saints when he was eight or nine years old, and concur that by the age of eleven or twelve, he could support himself through his painting, although his mother had tried to support him as much as she – an impoverished widow – could.

The document also provides fascinating information about Giambattista's work ethic and ambition: it is made clear from several witness statements that Giambattista was hard-working and would never miss an opportunity to work – a fact additionally underlined in Morassi's chronology which records a relentless life of work from the artist's earliest public commission, *The Sacrifice of Isaac*, for the Church of Santa Maria dei Derelitti, in Venice c.1716, until his sudden death in Madrid in March 1770, aged seventy-two.³³

These new revelations regarding Giambattista's behavioural traits as a boy and young man prove that he shares characteristics in common with contemporary case histories of high achievers, such as those in Charles Harrington and Susan

³¹ Philip L. Sohm, 'A New Document on Giambattista Tiepolo's Santa Fosca Residence' in *Arte Veneta*, 40, 1986, pp. 239-240.

³² 'L'ho sempre conosciuto che inclinando alla Pittura disegnava sempre per fino sopra le porte di forni a S.Biasio anco da fanciullo et dove s'imbatteva.' [Appendix III], fol. 3. r]. The ovens are not better specified, but given the fact that they are mentioned in the plural, it seems highly likely that they were the State Biscuit 'ovens/bakeries' located close to the Arsenal.

³³ Morassi (1962), pp. 230-239.

Boardman's recent study published by Harvard University.³⁴ In modern terms, Giambattista might be described as a 'male pathfinder' or a 'negative prediction defier' (NPD) – in other words, as someone who becomes highly successful, notwithstanding their low status at the time of their birth. Harrington and Boardman identify five common characteristics of NPDs: first, they endure an early life of poverty; second, they suffer the loss of a parent at a young age; third, they are juvenile home-leavers who are unlikely to remain in contact with their birth families; fourth, they are extremely hard-working and, finally, they display a tendency to construct environments for their own children which are entirely different from their early experiences.³⁵

These defining features can, indeed, be applied to Giambattista Tiepolo. An early life of poverty is now supported by the new archival information discussed above; along with the loss of a parent at an early age. Being fatherless from early on probably had a profound effect on Giambattista, and although it is not within the scope of my thesis to explore this phenomenon in depth, perhaps it is no coincidence that Giambattista Piazzetta (1682-1754), another successful Venetian history painter, lost a parent (albeit his mother) when he was very young. If material wealth can be considered an indicator of success, Montecuccoli degli Erri's research into the accommodation occupied by artisans, painters and sculptors in Venice in the years 1745-1750 shows that Giambattista's rent and standard of living at that time surpassed that of his contemporaries living in Venice between these dates.³⁶ The rift between Giambattista and his extended family, which remained in a poorer part of Venice, implies that the artist may not have remained in contact with his family or perhaps wished to distance himself from his humble origins. It is also clear that Giambattista

³⁴ Charles C. Harrington and Susan K. Boardman, *Paths to Success: Beating the Odds in American Society* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1997), (hereafter referred to as Harrington and Boardman (1997)).

³⁵ Harrington and Boardman (1997), Chapter 7, 'Spouses, Children, Friends and Health', p. 132.

³⁶ Montecuccoli degli Erri (1998), pp. 64-140.

intended to provide a very different life for his own family than that which he had experienced in his formative years. Perhaps it is significant that, in the aforementioned portrait of father and son in the Würzburg fresco, Tiepolo senior is represented in his working robes, cap and scarf as the last ‘great’ Venetian history painter, while Tiepolo junior is depicted as the periwigged gentleman.

On 21 November 1719, Giambattista Tiepolo married Cecilia Guardi, daughter of the painter Domenico Guardi (1678-1718), and Claudia Picler.³⁷ Cecilia was the sister of painters GianAntonio (1699-1760) and Francesco Guardi (1713-1793). Giambattista’s family must have been opposed to the union for Giambattista had had to apply to the *Curia Patriarcale* asking to be married in secret.³⁸ It is not entirely clear why the painter’s family objected to his marriage to Cecilia Guardi, and the reason which Giambattista gave in his application is elusive: he stated only that his family objected to the reputational honour of his bride to be, ‘a grave pregiudico della reputacione e onore della medema mentre.’³⁹ It is entirely feasible that, having realized Giambattista’s prodigious talent, his family were hoping to make a more lucrative alliance for him, and the aspersions cast upon Cecilia’s reputation were little more than a thinly disguised excuse for renegeing on the agreement. Little is known about social mobility in eighteenth-century Venice, though chapter eight of Anna Bellavitis’s treatment of mobility, mainly through marriage, in the sixteenth century provides examples of individuals who eschewed the trade of their own fathers to take on the trade of their in-laws.⁴⁰ In Giambattista’s case, it appears that he was focused

³⁷ See Appendix IV (b), family tree, Giambattista Tiepolo – Wife and Children.

³⁸ ‘Il matrimonio di Cecilia Guardi con Giambattista Tiepolo viene celebrato in casa il 21 novembre 1719 ed è registrato nel Libro dei Matrimoni segreti il custodito alla relative documentazione dei due sposi presso l’Archivio Storico Patriarcale.’ (Hereafter cited as ASPV). Archivio Segreto Matrimoni Segreti 11-12, XI, 1719-1721. Giambattista’s letter is also transcribed and quoted in Don Gino Bortolan in ‘Asterischi d’archivio per il ‘700 veneziano’ in *Notizie da Palazzo Albani Rivista Quadrimestrale di Storia dell’Arte Università degli Studi di Urbino* (Urbino: Argalia Editore, Anno II, n. 3, 1973), (hereafter referred to as Bortolan (1973)), pp. 51-52.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, (1973), p. 51.

⁴⁰ Anna Bellavitis, *Identité, Mariage, Mobilité Sociale: Cityonnes et Citoyens à Venise au XVIe Siècle* (Rome: Ecole Francaise de Rome, 2001).

on becoming an artist from a very young age and, not being born into an artistic family, sought to make an alliance through a union with the Guardi.

Between 1720 and 1736, Giambattista fathered ten children with Cecilia, six of whom survived into adulthood: Elena (c.1720-1723); Anna-Maria (1722-1772); Giovanni Domenico (1723-1723); Elena Maria (1725, date of death unknown); Giovanni Domenico (1727-1804); Giuseppe Maria (1729, date of death unknown); Angela Maria (1731-1798); Francesco Antonio (1732-1740); Orsola Maria (1734-1791); and Lorenzo Baldissera (1736-1791). Later, Giambattista's son-in-law, Giuseppe Marco Bardese (husband of Elena Maria), was appointed clerk to the Venetian Academy (founded 1755) during Giambattista's presidency.⁴¹ What is apparent here is that, despite high infant mortality, the sheer number of children allowed for the formation of an artistic dynasty founded on the Guardi connection. It also provides evidence of Giambattista's ambition to build an artistic dynasty in the tradition of famous Venetian artists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in the mould of the Vivarini,⁴² the Bellini,⁴³ Titian⁴⁴ and Tintoretto⁴⁵ who it is well known were part of, or formed, artistic dynasties.

⁴¹ Elena Bassi, *La R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia* (Florence: Felice Le Monnier, 1941-1949) Appendix 18, p. 161.

⁴² There is a tradition of families of Venetian painters. The Vivarini was one of the earliest known families: Antonio Vivarini (c.1415-1484), the sister of Antonio Vivarini married the artist Giovanni d'Alemagna (active 1441-1449) while his younger brother Bartolomeo (1432-1499) also practised as an artist. Antonio's son Alvise (c.1445-1503) was trained by his uncle to be a painter. Rodolfo Pallucchini, *I Vivarini (Antonio, Bartolomeo, Alvise)* (Venice: Neri Pozza, 1961).

⁴³ Jacopo Bellini (1396-1470) was the father of artists Gentile (1429-1507) and Giovanni (1430-1516) and the father-in-law of Andrea Mantegna (1431-1506). Otto Pächt, *Venetian Painting in the Fifteenth Century: Jacopo, Gentile and Giovanni Bellini and Andrea Mantegna* (London: Harvey Miller Publications, 2003).

⁴⁴ Tiziano Vecellio's brother Francesco was a painter and acted as his brother's assistant in 1511 but later joined the army. However, of Titian's sons, Pomponio did not follow his father's trade but Orazio did. *Titian* (exhibition catalogue, National Gallery, London, 19 February – 18 May 2003), eds David Jaffé, Nicholas Penny, Caroline Campbell, Amanda Bailey (London: National Gallery Company Limited, distributed by Yale University Press, 2003), (hereafter referred to as London (2003)) pp. 11 and 18.

⁴⁵ Jacopo Tintoretto (1518-1594). Tintoretto's sons, Domenico (1560-1635) and Marco (1561-1637) were devoted assistants to their father; his eldest daughter Marietta (c. 1554-1590) was also a painter. Thomas Nichols, *Tintoretto: Tradition and Identity* (London: Reaktion Books, 1999), p. 7.

This was not the only way in which Giambattista embraced Venetian traditions. As mentioned above, in 1710 Giambattista entered the workshop of Gregorio Lazzarini to train as a painter. Although Lazzarini has been referred to pejoratively by Levey, he was esteemed in his day and his paintings of *Orpheus Massacred by the Bacchantes* in Ca' Rezzonico and *Moses and the Golden Calf* at San Michele in Isola reveal him to be an accomplished artist. It was simply that Giambattista eclipsed him. Levey concedes that Lazzarini was 'learned', studious and of a retiring nature and that he took the training of his pupils seriously.⁴⁶ For Lazzarini, Paolo Veronese was a leading influence from the past and he both copied and quoted extensively from Veronese's work. Certainly, this might well help to explain Giambattista's own predilection for Veronese and his own later reputation as Veronese *redivivus*, and as an artist who looked back to earlier Venetian traditions.⁴⁷ Indeed, on subsequent occasions Giambattista would be compared directly to Veronese. A case in point is Count Carl Gustaf Tessin (1695-1770), Swedish Minister in Venice, who tried unsuccessfully to appoint Giambattista to decorate the Royal Palace in Stockholm. In a letter to the Swedish court dated 25 May 1736, Tessin described Giambattista as following the style of Paolo Veronese.⁴⁸ In another letter, dated 17 June 1743, from Francesco Algarotti to Count Heinrich Brühl in Saxony, Algarotti testifies to Giambattista's esteem for Veronese and, in a further letter to Brühl in July of the same year he described how Giambattista imitated Veronese's style.⁴⁹

* * *

⁴⁶ Levey (1962), pp. 6-7.

⁴⁷ Philip Sohm, 'The Critical Reception of Paolo Veronese in Eighteenth-Century Italy: The Example of Giambattista Tiepolo as Veronese *Redivivus*' in *Paolo Veronese: Fortuna Critica und Künstlerisches Nachleben*, eds Jürg Meyer zur Cappellen und Bernd Roeck (Sigmaringen: Studio 8, Centro Tedesco di Studi Veneziani, 1990), pp. 87-107.

⁴⁸ Morassi (1962), p. 232.

⁴⁹ Morassi (1962), p. 233.

Giambattista's working life and commissions have already been amply researched by a number of scholars,⁵⁰ but salient details are worth reiterating here in order to provide context for his son's *Divertimento*. Giambattista's most frequently quoted works are: first, the frescoes for the Patriarchal Palace in Udine (1725-1727) which marks the moment where the artist found his own defining style, and *The Banquet of Anthony and Cleopatra* at the Palazzo Labia, Venice (1744-1745); second, of his mature work, *Apollo and the Four Continents*, Würzburg (1751-1753) and the decoration of the Villa Valmarana (1757); and third, his late works in Madrid.

Giambattista's work can be divided chronologically and geographically into four phases. During the first phase (1717-1750), he remained in Italy working for long-established patrician families, new patrician families and for religious institutions. He worked in the Veneto and Milan and, through the mediation of Algarotti, sent several canvases, including a *Triumph of Flora*, to the Court of Augustus III in Dresden in 1743-1744.⁵¹ In addition to paintings, Giambattista also produced drawings for prints. As early as 1720, Giambattista contributed four drawings after sixteenth-century painters for Domenico Lovisa's publication of *Il Gran Teatro delle Pittore e Prospettive di Venezia*: one by Francesco Bassano, another by Giuseppe Salviati and two by Tintoretto.⁵² In 1732, Scipione Maffei's *Verona Illustrata* was published, with reproductions of ten Roman busts and statues engraved by Andrea Zucchi (1679-1740) after drawings by Giambattista, and throughout the 1730s Giambattista continued to make drawings for various frontispieces, for example, a plate to accompany an Italian translation of John Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1742), which is discussed in further detail in Chapter VI.

⁵⁰ For general surveys of the painter's work, see Morassi (1962), London 1996, and William L. Barcham, *Giambattista Tiepolo* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1992).

⁵¹ Morassi (1962), p. 233.

⁵² *Venetian Books and Prints in the Age of Tiepolo* (exhibition catalogue, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 23 January – 27 April 1997), ed. Suzanne Boorsch (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997), (hereafter referred to as New York 1997), p. 4.

This was followed by the *Capricci* (first edition 1743, second edition 1749) and *Scherzi di Fantasia*, completed by 1757.⁵³ Engraving was an important aspect, albeit not the mainstay, of the Tiepolo workshop. It often involved quoting and interpreting paintings or objects by other artists/makers, and was an activity to which Domenico was to happily dedicate himself (most often citing his father's work) when he was not assisting his father or working on his own commissions for paintings.

Throughout the second phase of Giambattista's career, from December 1750 until November 1753, he worked at the Residenz of Prince Bishop Carl Philipp von Greiffenklau, Würzburg assisted by Domenico and Lorenzo. He initially frescoed the salon with the *Marriage of Barbarossa* and the *Investiture of Prince Harold* and also worked on two altarpieces for the Archiepiscopal Palace Chapel. In August 1752, Giambattista won the commission to decorate the great ceiling (some 677 square metres) above the staircase of the Residenz with a painting of *Apollo and the Four Continents*.⁵⁴ Giambattista returned to Venice in late 1753.

The third phase (1754-1762) again saw the painter working in Venice and the Veneto on a number of secular and religious commissions,⁵⁵ including the ceiling of the Church of the Pietà (1754).⁵⁶ It was during this period that Giambattista was appointed President of the first Venetian Academy (15 February 1756). Towards the end of this time, the painter (who by this time was suffering from gout),⁵⁷ was so overwhelmed with work that certain commissions, for example, a ceiling painting for the Scuola di San Giovanni Evangelista, was delegated to one of his workshop assistants.⁵⁸

⁵³ Christiansen in Venice 1996, p. 276.

⁵⁴ Werner Helmberger and Matthias Staschull, *Tiepolo's World: The Ceiling Fresco in the Staircase Hall of the Würzburg Residence* (Munich: Bayerische Verwaltung der staatlichen Schlösser, Gärten und Seen, 2008).

⁵⁵ Morassi (1962), pp. 235-238.

⁵⁶ See Deborah Howard, 'Giambattista Tiepolo's Frescoes for the Church of the Pietà in Venice', *Oxford Art Journal*, 9, no. 1, pp. 11-28, (hereafter referred to as Howard (1986)).

⁵⁷ Physiological conditions in elderly artists are further discussed in Chapter VI.

⁵⁸ Morassi (1962), p. 237.

Giambattista's fourth phase (1762-1770) involved a journey to the Royal Household in Madrid.⁵⁹ Although Giambattista must have considered it an honour to receive this commission (the fact that he followed in the footsteps of Titian, by working for the King of Spain, could not have been lost on him) it seems that he was initially reluctant to travel to Spain, but conceded after extreme pressure had been brought to bear on him.⁶⁰ He left Venice for Spain in April 1762, again with Domenico and Lorenzo, and arrived in Madrid in June of that year, he was never to return to his homeland. Perhaps it was the memory of the exhausting outbound voyage from Venice to Genoa, followed by a ship to Antibes and a stage-coach to Barcelona and Madrid,⁶¹ which discouraged Giambattista from returning home.⁶² Having fulfilled his obligation to decorate the *Throne Room*, the *Saleta* and *Sala de Guardias*, Giambattista wrote to Charles III and offered to remain on in Spain in order to paint canvases. The King acceded to Giambattista's request and in 1767 commissioned him to paint seven altarpieces for the newly- built church dedicated to San Pascual Baylon, some 48 kilometres south of Madrid.⁶³ Two years later Giambattista was commissioned to fresco the dome of the church of San Ildefonso at

⁵⁹ For further information on Giambattista Tiepolo's time in Spain see Catherine Whistler, 'G.B. Tiepolo at the Court of Charles III', *The Burlington Magazine*, 128, 1986, pp. 199-203.

⁶⁰ Morassi (1962), See entry under 5th December 1761, p. 238.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 238.

⁶² A manuscript, in Giambattista's own hand, listing the expenses of his two-month journey from Venice to Madrid was recently sold at an auction of Continental and Russian Books and Manuscripts, Sotheby's London, (Session 1: 10 June 2009 at 2.30 pm, Sale: L09772). The catalogue note reads as follows: 'The expenses trace the various stages of his journey by land via Padua, Turin, the Mont Cenis pass, Lyon and Barcelona and cover basic requirements such as carriages, horses' equipment, contracts with coachmen, the hiring of mules, provisions, and the occasional tip. They also reveal, for example, that the company included two more travellers (presumably the "servitori" for whom he bought "due vestiti"), and stayed four days in Turin and Lyon and five days in Barcelona. The journey appears to have been relatively gruelling, requiring frequent repairs to the carriages and the hiring of mules and men to cross rivers ("Spese occorse in far accommodar la carrozza piu volte, et altri accidenti occorsi di dover prender mule et uomeni per passar fiumi...300"). Eventually, after a twenty days' passage from Barcelona, a carriage met Tiepolo at Alcalá, where porters were hired to take his belongings home from the customs house. The expenses are rounded off with a gift to Tiepolo's travelling companion, the merchant Casina. According to published documents in the Spanish royal archives, the total sum (amounting to 20,027 piastres) was duly reimbursed within a month, by order of the Marquis of Esquilache.' This document will be published in a forthcoming article by Professor Bernard Aikema in *Arte Veneta*, 'Giambattista Tiepolo in viaggio per la Spagna: un nuovo documento.' Website, www.sotheby's.com (now disenabled) accessed 15.v.2009.

⁶³ Levey (1986), p. 272.

La Granja.⁶⁴ However, this last commission was never fulfilled, for without any warning of a prior illness, Giambattista died on 27 March 1770. His death was so sudden that there was no time for the painter to receive the last rites. Shortly afterwards, it was decided that Lorenzo would remain in Madrid in the service of the King, but as there was no further need for Domenico's services, his travelling expenses would be paid to allow him to return to Venice.⁶⁵

Although Giambattista's work had been consistently praised throughout his lifetime in 1763, Johann Winckelmann famously described the artist's work as unmemorable.⁶⁶ Whether Giambattista responded to this publicly delivered adverse criticism is not known. Neither is it clear whether Winckelmann had actually ever seen Giambattista's paintings with his own eyes, and his view may even have been influenced by partisan sentiments for his compatriot Mengs. After all, there had been ongoing debates concerning the place of history painting since the late 1720s,⁶⁷ and Winckelmann's writing in the 1760s crystallised these earlier concerns and accelerated a revival of (Greek) classicism. However, to compound Winckelmann's negative remarks, Giambattista's final commission for the church of Aranjuez did not find favour with the Spanish king. Although the paintings were installed in May 1770, they were replaced just six months later. The reason for this is not clear, but,

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 272.

⁶⁵ This information is derived from a document entitled, 'Il Memoriale presentato da Domenico e Lorenzo Tiepolo al Re di Spagna il 3 aprile 1770' (Madrid, Archivio del Palazzo Reale, lettera T, fascicolo 8). Giorgio Trentin, *Acqueforti Tiepolesche: Appunti sulle Acqueforti di G. Battista, G. Domenico, e Lorenzo Tiepolo incisori* (Venice: Arti Grafiche, Sorteni S.P.A. 1951), pp. 37-38.

⁶⁶ 'Tiepolo macht mehr in einem Tage, als Mengs in einer woche: aber jenes ist gesehen und vergessen; dieses bleibt ewig.' ('Tiepolo paints in a day what Mengs paints in a week, once seen [Tiepolo's] work is forgotten whilst (that of Mengs) remains forever.') Winckelmann criticised Giambattista Tiepolo's work in his 'Essay on the Beautiful in Art of 1763', *Abhandlung von der Fähigkeit der Empfindung des Schönen in der Kunst, und dem Unterrichte in Derselben* (Dresden: 1763).

⁶⁷ Philip Sohm describes a number of important art critics of the early eighteenth century, including Scipione Maffei and Anton Maria Zanetti (the elder) who, on the one hand, criticised florid painterly styles and yet celebrated local artists, for example: Sebastiano Ricci, Giambattista Tiepolo and Pellegrini. Thus, critics accorded praise to practitioners of both academic aestheticism and, its seeming antithesis, the Venetian painterly tradition. Philip Sohm, *Pittoresco: Marco Boschini, his Critics, and their Critiques of Painterly Brushwork in Seventeenth-and Eighteenth-Century Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), (hereafter referred to as Sohm 1991), p. 203.

according to Levey, it was decided by November 1770 that the paintings should be replaced by altarpieces by Maella and Bayeu and that Mengs should paint the altarpiece for the high altar.⁶⁸ As Levey suggests, it would have been a mortifying conclusion to Giambattista's stellar career, and it must have been equally distressing for Domenico and Lorenzo to have learned of the eventual fate of their father's last public commission. The challenge of assuring Giambattista's reputation must have weighed heavily on Domenico's mind as he returned to Venice in the autumn of 1770, and may explain and support my own hypothesis that Domenico should have chosen to posthumously commemorate his father through the medium of print, as well as in the *Divertimento*.

Little is known about the private life of Giambattista and his family following the painter's marriage to Cecilia Guardi. Virtually nothing is known about Giambattista's wife, though Casanova's brother, Francesco, was a lodger at the household of Cecilia's younger brother, also Francesco, in the 1740s. Here, Casanova observes that tyranny was as heavy on his younger brother as it had been on himself during his brief incarceration at the Somascan seminary at San Cipriano on the Island of Murano in 1740.⁶⁹ Whilst Casanova does not elaborate on what form of tyranny life at the Guardis assumed, it does imply a strict moral discipline which would feasibly have been applied to Cecilia during her adolescence. Indeed, the Tiepolo connection with the Somascans suggests that they were bound into specifically local religious and social practices. Giambattista's second son Giuseppe Maria, entered the priesthood serving the Somascans, where he was ordained on 11 December 1746.⁷⁰ This order had been founded by the Venetian nobleman Girolamo Miani (1481-1537)

⁶⁸ Levey 1986, p. 285.

⁶⁹ Casanova (1977), p. 174.

⁷⁰ Urbani de Gheltof (1879), note 3, p. 15. There is a disparity between the body of Urbani's text in which he states that Giuseppe Maria was ordained on 11 December 1746 (source: la Curia Partiarcale) and the Tiepolo family tree which appears at the end of his book (unpaginated) which states that Giuseppe Maria was ordained in 1748.

in 1532 for the support of orphans. From the mid-seventeenth century onwards, the order was based at the church of Santa Maria della Salute, and was exclusively a Venetian order with no administrative ties to Rome.⁷¹ It is evident that the Tiepolos felt a strong loyalty to the order because in 1759 Domenico decorated the chapel of the family villa at Ziangio with episodes from Miani's ministry: he painted a fresco of *The Holy Family* which was placed above the altar (Fig. 47), and there were two monochromes showing scenes from the life of the blessed Miani, and at either side, here were depictions of swarms of children gathering around the saints (Figs. 48 and 49). It is likely that Miani was the family's unofficial patron saint, given Giuseppe Maria's connection with the order. The Tiepolos may also have been engaged with some aspect of contemporary ecclesiastical politics because, in 1759, the Venetian nobleman Carlo Rezzonico became Pope Clement XIII, and there was a canonization campaign for Miani who was eventually declared a saint in 1767.⁷²

Very little is known about Giambattista's personality, though one might imagine that he must have been an extremely focused and ambitious man. As we have already seen, he was determined to become a painter from a young age and was sufficiently tenacious to marry into the Guardi family against his own family's wishes. Occasional primary source descriptions provide the merest glimpse of a spirited individual. One of the earliest references to Giambattista can be found in the writing of Vincenzo da Canal, Lazzarini's biographer, who refers to the painter when he was a young apprentice in Lazzarini's workshop and describes him as being 'Of

⁷¹ Andrew Hopkins, *Santa Maria della Salute: Architecture and Ceremony in Baroque Venice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 13-14.

⁷² Francis Merham, *The Catholic Encyclopedia Vol. 8*. <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/08343a.htm> (consulted March 2006). See also Owen Chadwick, *The Popes and European Revolution* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), p. 395.

spirited and fiery temperament, he departed from his [master's] studied manner of painting and, all spirit and fire, embraced a quick and resolute style'.⁷³

As an older man, Giambattista was subsequently described by Algarotti in the following way: 'If you give him a design, he will examine it, and consider it from all angles; he will work it in ten different ways, and reshape it into better forms, nor can he stop until he has found the best possible solution.'⁷⁴ In yet another of Algarotti's descriptions, the sixty-four year-old artist sounds equally dynamic: 'Open a path before him; and he will be like a tartar that has run and won the pallium.'⁷⁵

Giambattista was clearly an indomitable individual, and yet it also sounds as though he could be both 'gracious' and 'sensitive', in the light of Deborah Howard's perceptive comments on Giambattista's artistic and financial contributions towards the Church of the Pietà.⁷⁶ Nevertheless, one might wonder what it must have been like for Domenico, who certainly developed a different style from his father, to work as Giambattista's principal collaborator.

* * *

⁷³ 'G.B. Tiepolo figliuolo di Domenico, mercatante di negozi da navo, nato il di quinto del marzo dell'anno 1697, ora dig ran nome, gli è stato discepolo, quantunque si dipartisse dalla di lui maniera diligente, giacchè tutto spirito e foco ne abbracciò una spedita e risoluta.' Vincenzo da Canal, *La Vita di Gregorio Lazzarini* (Venice: Stamperia Palese, 1809), p. xxxi.

⁷⁴ Francesco Algarotti (1791 b) p. 104, in a letter dated 12 February 1760 addressed to the scenographer Prospero Pesci. 'se gli dia un pensiero, egli lo esamina, lo considera da tutti I lati; lo tratta in dieci maniere, lo modula nelli migliori forme, nè sa quietarsi ch'egli non abbia trovato l'ottimo'. The quotation is cited in Barcham (1989), p. 48, note 74.

⁷⁵ 'Apritegli una strada; ed egli è un barbaro che ha corso e vinto il pallio ...'. Ibid., p. 48, note 75.

⁷⁶ Howard's comments on Giambattista are insightful. She suggests that Giambattista, who undertook the commission for the ceiling of the Pietà following the death of his esteemed contemporary Giambattista Piazzetta, may have deliberately used a more restrained palette in his Pietà frescoes as a 'gracious and sensitive gesture of respect for his deceased colleague' who had contributed to the cycle, but worked in a more restrained style than Giambattista. Howard also testifies to Giambattista's generosity in not only accepting a relatively modest fee for the commission, but in lending the hospital the sum of 6,000 ducats towards the cost of the church. Howard (1986), pp. 11-28.

The Tiepolo Family's Social and Cultural Networks

Another area of interest in this thesis is the Tiepolos' social and cultural networks.

Arguably, by the late eighteenth century, Venice was a city in which many individuals were inter-related or at least part of the same social nexus. Certainly, throughout his working life in both Venice and the mainland, Giambattista came into contact with a wide range of influential individuals (many of whom were on familiar terms with each other) and, as Morassi's chronology shows, the painter was on cordial terms with many of his patrons. William Barcham demonstrates, in connection with

Giambattista's contribution to Scipione Maffei's *Verona Illustrata*, that Tiepolo senior was directly involved with one of the Veneto's most important intellectuals.⁷⁷

Giambattista also worked alongside the leading Venetian artists of the day, and by the time that he presided over the Venetian Academy [Appendix V] he must have been acquainted with nearly all of them. The archival information which relates to Giambattista's secret marriage to Cecilia Guardi, (at which the portrait-painter Fortunato Pasquetti was a witness), and the case against Giambattista by his niece and nephews in the 1750s, where Pasquetti again was a witness, indicate that this painter must have been a loyal friend.

One of Giambattista's most important and well-connected local patrons and associates was Anton Maria Zanetti the Elder (1670-1767), an amateur draughtsman, printmaker, collector and connoisseur, who was the son of Gerolamo Zanetti the physician who administered to Giambattista's father Domenico at his death.⁷⁸ Zanetti was described by the French connoisseur Pierre-Jean Mariette in his *Abecedario* as 'the most passionate collector I have ever known,'⁷⁹ and was arguably the most important Venetian collector of his time. Zanetti was acquainted with all the major

⁷⁷ Barcham (1992), p. 17 and note 14, p. 126.

⁷⁸ Levey (1986). p. 5.

⁷⁹ 'Le plus ardent amateur que j'ai jamais connu', Pierre-Jean Mariette, *Abecedario et Autres Notes Inédites sur les Arts et les Artistes*. ed. Charles Phillipe de Chennevières and Anatole de Montaiglon, 6 vols. (Paris 1851-1860) vol. 6, p. 155.

artists of his day, and visiting connoisseurs would gather at his home. Zanetti owned a complete set of etchings by Rembrandt (1606-1669) and Jacques Callot (1592-1634), as well as engravings by Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528) and Lucas van Leyden (1434-1533). During a visit to London, he had also acquired the Duke of Arundel's collection of 130 drawings by Francesco Parmigianino (1503-1540),⁸⁰ many of which are likely to have been owned during the latter part of the sixteenth century by the Venetian sculptor Alessandro Vittoria.⁸¹

Through his close association with Zanetti, Giambattista Tiepolo would thus have had access to the works owned by him. He would also have gained access to the collection of prints and drawings owned by Zaccaria Sagredo (1653-1729),⁸² which was generally considered to be the most important in Venice.⁸³ In 1739, following the death of Sagredo's heir, Gherardo, Giambattista and Piazzetta were employed, on the recommendation of Zanetti, to value and compile the collection.⁸⁴ This would have given the painters an unrivalled opportunity to familiarise themselves, first-hand, with the work of Rembrandt, Stefano della Bella (1610-1664), Salvator Rosa (1615-1673) and Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione (1610-1665). Zanetti was also the contact between the Tiepolos and the French connoisseur Pierre-Jean Mariette, with whom there is a tantalising hint of a friendship as well as a business relationship between the collector and the painters.⁸⁵

⁸⁰ Martineau and Robinson in London 1994, p. 513.

⁸¹ For further discussion of Vittoria's collection of Parmigianino drawings, see Victoria Avery, 'Alessandro Vittoria: the Michelangelo of Venice', in *Reactions to the Master: Michelangelo's Effect on Art and Artists in the Sixteenth Century*, eds. Frances Ames-Lewis and Paul Joannides (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2003), pp. 157-179.

⁸² M. Brunetti, 'Un Eccezionale Collegio Peritale: Piazzetta, Tiepolo, Longhi' *Arte Veneta*, no. 5, 1951, p. 159, (hereafter referred to as Brunetti (1951)).

⁸³ For a catalogue and further information on the Sagredo collection of prints and drawings, which formed part of Edmond de Rothschild's (1845-1934) bequest to the Louvre, see Florence 2009 *Disegni dal Louvre: Il Rinascimento Italiano nella Collezione Rothschild* (exhibition catalogue, Fondazione Casa Buonarroti, Florence, 27 May – 14 September 2009) ed. Catherine Loisel (Florence: Mandragora, 2009).

⁸⁴ Brunetti 1951, p. 159.

⁸⁵ L.C.J. Frerichs, 'Mariette et les Eaux-fortes des Tiepolo', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, Paris, 6ième Période, Tome, 78, 113ième Année, 1971, pp. 233-251.

Zanetti had a cousin, Alessandro, whose son, Anton Maria Zanetti the Younger (1706-1780), worked at the Marciana library and was responsible for a number of erudite publications, including a survey of Venetian painters entitled *Della Pittura Veneziana e delle Opere Pubbliche di Veneziane Maestri*.⁸⁶ This volume, published in Venice a year after Giambattista's death, includes a summary of the painter's life which alludes to his training with Lazzarini and the influence of Piazzetta on Giambattista's early work as well as the influence of Veronese and other sixteenth-century masters. Zanetti the Younger referred to Giambattista's spirit, and his good eye and marvellous *chiaroscuro*. He acknowledges the painter's work in Lombardy, Germany and Madrid, before listing and briefly describing each of Giambattista's works in Venice. Zanetti also mentioned Domenico Tiepolo and included a short list of his Venetian commissions to date.⁸⁷

Another important friendship was that between Giambattista Tiepolo and the writer, collector and polymath Francesco Algarotti (1712-1764).⁸⁸ Algarotti was born in Venice, and educated first in Rome and then Bologna, where he studied the natural sciences. He was well travelled and had a broad circle of acquaintances, both locally in Venice and beyond. Algarotti's brother Bonomo lived in Venice, and his sister Elisabetta married into old Venetian nobility when she became the wife of Enrico Dandolo in 1725.⁸⁹ Algarotti was certainly on friendly terms with Zanetti the Elder and Giacomo Casanova, and admired the Paduan composer Giuseppe Tartini. His international contacts extended to Voltaire, Lady Mary Montagu, and Frederick the Great, to mention but a few. Algarotti was a consummate *litterateur*, publishing *Newtonismo per le Dame* (1737), and was a prolific writer besides. In the early

⁸⁶ Levey (1986), p. 135.

⁸⁷ Anton Maria Zanetti (the Younger), *Delle Pittura Veneziana e delle Opere Pubbliche de Veneziani Maestri: Libri V* (Venice: 1771 nella stamperia di Giambattista Albrizzi a S. Benedetto), pp. 464-469.

⁸⁸ See Morassi (1962); Frances Haskell, *Patrons and Painters: Art and Society in Baroque Italy* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), (hereafter referred to as Haskell (1980)), pp. 347-360; Levey (1986), pp. 125-142; Barcham (1992), p. 33.

⁸⁹ Casanova (1977), vol. 2, note 19, p. 325.

1790s, a posthumous edition of seventeen volumes of Algarotti's work was published, which includes letters, poetical epistles, and letters on the fine arts. Of particular interest to this thesis are volumes three and eight, *Sopra la Pittura* and *Opera sulle Pittore* respectively, which provide valuable insight into contemporary thinking on, and tastes in, art and culture by an individual who was on amicable terms with Giambattista Tiepolo.⁹⁰

For example, Gino Fogolari refers to an exceedingly friendly letter written by Giambattista to Algarotti in October 1743 from the Villa Cordellina (which Tiepolo was then busy decorating), saying how much he would enjoy having a discussion with Algarotti about painting.⁹¹ What becomes apparent in both volumes of Algarotti's writing on painting, and which is of direct relevance to our understanding of Giambattista, is that, even in the mid- to late eighteenth century, there was a strong sense of a Venetian cultural tradition which harked back to the Renaissance and a widespread local taste for the work of, and in the style of, Veronese, *le stile Paolesco*.⁹²

Giambattista's business association and friendship with Algarotti blossomed during two of Algarotti's three relatively short visits to his native city. There is no evidence that Algarotti met Tiepolo in 1737, but he was certainly in contact with him during his second visit of 1743-1745 as well as during his third and final visit between 1753 and 1756. By 1743, Algarotti was instrumental in acquiring art for the collection of Augustus Elector of Saxony in Dresden, and it was in this connection that he first became acquainted with Giambattista. Therefore, in addition to his local and, sometimes conservative, patrons, Giambattista and his sons had connections with a

⁹⁰ Algarotti, vols. 3 and 8 (1791).

⁹¹ Letter of 26 October 1743, published by G. Fogolari 'Lettere inedite di GB Tiepolo,' in *Nuova Antologia* I (September 1942), pp. 32-37.

⁹² For further discussion of this phenomenon see, Klára Garas, 'Paolo Veronese – Copie, Falsi ed Imitazioni nel Settecento,' in eds. Jürg Meyer zur Capellen and Bernd Roeck, *Paolo Veronese: Fortuna Critica und Künstlerisches Nachleben* (Studien centro tedesco di studi veneziani 8, Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1990), pp. 65-71.

cosmopolitan circle of patrons and connoisseurs who were more broadly engaged with aspects of cultural and intellectual life beyond the Veneto, which would have given the painters an insight into cultures and ideas beyond their own.

It has been observed earlier in this chapter that there was in northern Italy in the early eighteenth century an anomaly between artistic practice and criticism which is now difficult to quantify, in that a number of connoisseurs criticised ‘florid’ styles and yet appreciated artists, such as Giambattista Tiepolo. Moreover, this tension between ‘academic’ taste and market demand does not appear to have affected Giambattista’s career in any way.⁹³ There is ample evidence to show that Giambattista was a highly versatile artist who could work across genre and in many media – his *Scherzi* and *Capricci* etchings were much admired and sought-after by collectors. In a fourth edition of the *Capricci* which were published in 1749, Zanetti included a dedicatory letter in which he notes that he had included prints which had been ‘invented and etched by the hand of the renowned Giovanni Battista Tiepolo, which being of a spirited and most piquant taste, are worthy of the highest esteem.’⁹⁴ To judge from examples of Giambattista’s portraiture and background landscape, it appears as though he could have enjoyed an equally successful career as a painter of portraits and views, and yet he nonetheless chose to work as a history painter. Certainly, the balance of power was weighted in favour of figure painters in the newly instituted Venetian Academy and Giambattista’s career flourished.

According to contemporary critics, by the 1740s, Giambattista had consolidated a reputation as ‘the most excellent painter of [his] time above all others’.⁹⁵ And Giambattista himself truly appears to have believed this as his famous statement in the *Nuova Gazzetta Veneta* on 20 March 1762, prior to his departure for

⁹³ Levey (1960), pp. 94-113.

⁹⁴ Christianssen in Venice 1996, p.348.

⁹⁵ Girolamo Zanetti thus described Tiepolo in his memoirs dated 2 June 1743, ‘Gio. Batta Tiepolo eccellentissimo pittore de’ nostri giorni sopra tutti gli altri,’ Morassi (1962), p. 233.

Spain, would imply: ‘painters must try and succeed in large-scale works capable of pleasing the rich and the nobility because it is they who make the fortunes of artists and not the other sort of people who cannot buy valuable pictures. And so the painter’s spirit must always be reaching out for the sublime, the heroic, the perfect.’⁹⁶

For Giambattista, founder of an artistic dynasty, the family business was concerned with the production of history painting which underlines a fundamental fissure between the stylistic predilections of father and son. However loyally Domenico was to assist his father, I am inclined to agree with Levey’s opinion that, ‘Domenico’s imagination, in which humour was a powerful constituent, declined to be stirred by epic history and heroic mythology and flights of lofty fancy.’⁹⁷ Thus Domenico’s true talent lay in a course counter to that which Giambattista proclaimed to be worthy of the painter’s spirit. As Gombrich was (much later) to point out, comic art was considered ‘incompatible with the ‘grand manner’ proper to the dignity of an artist.’⁹⁸

Domenico Tiepolo: *Diligentissimo Imitatore d’un Tanto Padre*

Birth and Early Life

Giovanni Domenico Anton Maria Tiepolo was born on 30 August 1727 and was the first surviving son of Giambattista Tiepolo and Cecilia Guardi.⁹⁹ He was christened at the church of Santi Apostoli eleven days after his birth, and held at the font by his godfather Nicolò Pellegrini, who was brother of the painter Antonio. Antonio was the husband of Angela Carriera, sister of the famous portraitist Rosalba.¹⁰⁰ This

⁹⁶ ‘Aggiunse che li Pittori devono procurare di riuscire nelle opera grandi, cioè in quelle che possono piacere alli Signori Nobili, e ricchi perchè questi fanno la fortuna de’ Professori, e non già l’altra gente, la quale non può comprare Qualdri di molto valor. Quindi è che la mente del Pittore deve sempre tendere al Sublime, all’Eroico, alla perfezione.’ Haskell (1980), p. 253.

⁹⁷ Levey (1986), p. 134

⁹⁸ Ernst Gombrich, Ernst Kris, *Caricature* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1940) (hereafter referred to as Gombrich and Kris (1940)), p. 3.

⁹⁹ Appendix IV (c), family tree, Domenico Tiepolo and his Family.

¹⁰⁰ Urbani de Gheltof (1879), p. 9.

connection may well have been through Domenico's mother, as it appears that the Guardis were loosely connected with the Pellegrinis.

Nothing at all is known about Domenico's childhood, but from the early 1740s onwards he is recorded as having had an active role in his father's studio.¹⁰¹

Giambattista's strategy was the traditional one - namely, to train his son to work for the family business. One of Domenico's earliest independent commissions was for two drawings for Algarotti: copies of two old-master paintings in Cà Renier, one by Jacopo Palma il Vecchio, the other by Titian.¹⁰² From an early age, Domenico was described as an imitator of his father. For example, in his correspondence to Count Heinrich von Brühl, Chancellor of Saxony, Algarotti wrote: 'at quite a tender age [Domenico] is already starting to walk in his father's footsteps, and I have no doubt at all that his progress in painting must correspond with his excellent disposition, which is infinitely encouraging for the master.'¹⁰³

Being the son of such a famous father may, however, have been a double-edged sword for Domenico. Domenico's debut, made at the age of twenty, was a series of twenty-four canvases of sacred subjects, including the *Stations of the Cross* for the Oratorio del Crocifisso of San Polo in Venice. They were criticised by the *trompe l'oeil* painter Pietro Visconti in a letter, dated 19 December 1749, to the artist Pietro Ligari on account of their historical inaccuracy, for Domenico's inclusion of various foreign types who did not exist at the time of Christ.¹⁰⁴ Furthermore, Visconti reported some hearsay that Domenico had received considerable help from his father

¹⁰¹ Cavalese 2002-2003: *Valentino Rovisi nella bottega del grande Tiepolo: 'il metodo di una vera e lodevole imitazione'* (exhibition catalogue published in connection with an exhibition held in Cavalese, Trento and Cencenighe 2002-2003), ed. Chiara Felicetti (Italy: Comunità di Fiemme con la collaborazione del Circolo Culturale Valentino Rovisi, 2002).

¹⁰² Levey (1986), p. 134. Levey does not specify the subjects of these drawings, and confirms they have since been lost.

¹⁰³ Levey (1986), p. 134.

¹⁰⁴ Mariuz in Udine 1996, p. 21.

who had even repainted some of his figures.¹⁰⁵ It is not possible to tell whether this remark was fair, or merely jealous conjecture; however, being the son of Venice's greatest history painter could conceivably have made Domenico the object of uncharitable remarks by his father's rivals.

As a young man, Domenico travelled to Würzburg with his father and younger brother Lorenzo, where he worked from December 1750 to November 1753. He painted several independent panels over the doors of the *Kaisersaal* and a panel depicting the *Emperor Justinian*, which he proudly signed. Significantly, the signature included the date as well as his age of twenty-three years. It was during this period that Domenico also produced a series of etchings, which bore the very elaborate title, 'Picturesque Ideas about the Flight into Egypt of Jesus, Mary and Joseph. Work invented and etched by me, Gio. Domenico Tiepolo,' which he dedicated to the Prince Bishop of Würzburg.¹⁰⁶ The twenty-four etchings depict various episodes of the Holy Family's journey from Bethlehem to Egypt. There is a story told in hindsight by Gianantonio Moschini (1773-1840) that, during this time, one of Domenico's patrons whose name is unrecorded, questioned the young artist's originality and accused Domenico of poverty of imagination, and that he made this series to defend his artistic reputation.¹⁰⁷ Although these etchings were made early in the painter's career, they foreshadowed what was to become something of an obsession for the artist towards the end of his life.

According to Mariuz, it is likely that Domenico also began to experiment with genre works at this time, carnival scenes and scenes showing aspects of everyday

¹⁰⁵ Filippo Pedrocco and Andrea Missori, *Giandomenico Tiepolo in the Church of San Polo* (Venice, Marsilio Editori, 2004), p. 6.

¹⁰⁶ *Picturesque Ideas on the Flight into Egypt*, etchings by Giovanni Domenico Tiepolo, introduction by Colta Feller Ives (New York: George Braziller, New York, 1972), (hereafter referred to as Feller Ives (1972)).

¹⁰⁷ Feller Ives (1972) unpaginated (this is suggested at the end of the first page/beginning of the second page of the introduction to the etchings).

life.¹⁰⁸ Mariuz suggests that Domenico's source of inspiration may be found in a series of tapestries, depicting scenes from the Venetian carnival, woven for a room in Würzburg.¹⁰⁹ On his return from Würzburg, Domenico painted a pendant showing a *Minuet* and *The Tooth Puller*, (both now in the Louvre, Figs. 50 and 51) for Algarotti. Domenico's genre paintings were acutely observed, and worked with humour and verve that was unsurpassed for paintings of their type, for example those by Pietro Longhi and Gabriel Bella, that were being produced in Venice at that time.

Presumably, Domenico's obligation to assist his father with the mainstay of the family workshop prevented him from further developing his talent in this area. However, in 1757, Giambattista and Domenico worked together on the Villa Valmarana outside Vicenza. While Giambattista decorated the main villa, Domenico decorated the guest annexe. Significantly, there are two divergent iconographies: Giambattista decorated the main villa with erudite scenes from Classical and Renaissance literature: *The Sacrifice of Iphigenia*, *The Iliad*, *Orlando Furioso*, *The Aenead*, and *Jerusalem Liberated*, whilst Domenico frescoed the rooms of the annexe with fanciful Chinese subjects, local pastoral scenes, a gothic pavilion and carnival scenes. Domenico's work was most famously praised by Wolfgang Goethe in a letter, dated 24 September 1786, to Lady von Stein:

‘Today I saw Villa Valmarana, which [Giambattista] Tiepolo decorated, giving full reign to his talents and shortcomings. He is not as successful in the sublime style as in the natural, but in the latter there are some splendid things. As a wall-painter in general he is full of ingeniousness and resources.’¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ Mariuz in Udine 1996, pp. 23-24.

¹⁰⁹ Mariuz, in Udine 1996, p. 23. Having viewed these tapestries during a visit to the Residenz in Würzburg on 29 August 2008, in my opinion Mariuz's suggestion is somewhat fanciful.

¹¹⁰ Renzo Chiarelli, *I Tiepolo a Villa Valmarana*, (Milan: Intergraf and Lito S.p.A., 2001), p. 5. For further information, see Pompeo Molmenti, *Les Fresques de Tiepolo dans La Villa Valmarana* (Venice: 1880).

Patently, Goethe mistakenly thought that Giambattista had decorated both the main villa and the annexe, and in expressing a preference for Giambattista's 'natural style' was, unknowingly, expressing a preference for Domenico's work. Clearly, Domenico was an accomplished painter in his own right and with a distinct style of his own but, seemingly, always in the shadow of his father. Although in the early modern period it was taken for granted that sons would take on the paternal trade and, in this case, the house style, it may not have been easy for the young artist whose strengths lay in a completely different genre of painting.

If the collaboration between Giambattista and Domenico at Valmarana underlined their divergent talents, so too did their commission for the Oratory of the Purità in Udine (1759). Whilst Giambattista created a ceiling panel depicting the *The Assumption of the Virgin* and an altarpiece showing the Virgin Mary (Figs. 52 and 53), Domenico painted eight monochromes showing scenes from the Old and New Testaments (Figs. 54 - 61).¹¹¹ The Archbishop of Udine, Cardinal Daniele Delfin, specified that Domenico should unify his scenes by including children. Significantly, not only do the monochromes demonstrate Domenico's remarkable graphic talent, but they point to a moment in time when he characterised children in his visual narrative. This he was to do again, in monochrome, later in 1759, in the chapel of his family villa where he depicted St. Girolamo Miani surrounded by children (Figs. 48 and 49). I would suggest that this preoccupation with children, at the end of a decade in which the collaboration between father and son had been artistically complementary and replete (Würzburg, Vicenza, Udine), evoked fond memories in the mind of Domenico, and may indeed provide an alternative explanation as to why he chose to dedicate his final work to children.

¹¹¹ For further discussion of the Tiepolo commissions in Udine in 1759, see Giuseppe Bergamini in Udine (1996), pp. 11-16. Aldo Rizzi, 'La Chiesa o Oratorio della Purità,' in *I Tiepolo a Udine*, (Milan: Electa, 1996), pp. 89 -108.

In 1762, Domenico and his brother travelled with Giambattista to Spain to decorate the ceiling of the throne room in the Royal Palace in Madrid, an arrival which preceded that of Francisco Goya y Lucientes (1746-1828) by just one year. The latter came to Madrid as a seventeen-year-old in 1763 to participate in the triennial competition of the Royal Academy of Fine Arts of San Fernando.¹¹² Various scholars have suggested that it is likely that there was some connection between Goya and the Tiepolos, and evidence to suggest this is circumstantial.¹¹³ However, because of certain similarities in aspects of the artists' work, which concerns the subject-matter of this thesis, this hypothetical association requires some discussion.¹¹⁴ Although not certain, the linchpin between Goya and the Tiepolos may have been the painter Francisco Bayeu (1734-1795), who arrived at the Spanish court in 1763 to assist in the decoration of the Royal Palace; Goya became apprenticed to Bayeu who eventually became his brother-in-law when Goya married Bayeu's sister Josefa in 1775.¹¹⁵ Juliet Wilson-Bareau speculates that when Domenico Tiepolo returned to Venice from Madrid in the autumn of 1770, the young Goya may have accompanied him as far as Genoa. Wilson-Bareau suggests, albeit without evidence, that the artists 'were certainly in close contact.'¹¹⁶

There appears to have been a mutual interest between Goya and the younger Tiepolo, in one another's work in the medium of engraving. Certainly, Goya's earliest experimentation in etching is informed by Domenico's work – Goya's first known

¹¹² Pierre Gassier and Juliet Wilson, *The Life and Complete Work of Francisco Goya with a Catalogue Raisonné of the Paintings, Drawings and Engravings* (New York: Reynal and Co. in Association with William Morrow & Co., 1971), (hereafter referred to as Gassier and Wilson (1971)), p. 36.

¹¹³ For further information see, Francisco Jarauta, 'Tiepolo e Goya', in ed. Lionello Puppi, *Giambattista Tiepolo nel Terzo Centenario della Nascita*, Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia, Dipartimento di Storia e Critica delle Arti, vol. 1, (Venice: Il Poligrafo, 1998), p. 149-152.

¹¹⁴ See Chapter V, 'On the Playful Qualities of *Divertimento per li Regazzi*'.

¹¹⁵ Janis Tomlinson, *Francisco Goya y Lucientes 1746-1828* (London: Phaidon Press Ltd., 1994), p. 12.

¹¹⁶ Madrid 1993: Juliet Wilson-Bareau, 'Italy and Spain: The Early Years', in *Goya Truth and Fantasy: The Small Paintings* (exhibition catalogue, Museo del Prado 18 November 1993 – 27 February 1994, London: Royal Academy of Arts 17 March – 12 June, 1994; Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago, 16 July – 16 October 1994), eds Manuela B. Mena Marqués and Juliet Wilson-Bareau (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1993), p. 100.

etching a *Flight into Egypt* concisely evokes Domenico's *Picturesque Ideas on a Flight into Egypt* (figs. 62 and 63), while Goya's etching of *St Isidore* and an etched head of *San Francisco de Paula* show close similarities in the style and technique used in the Tiepolos' etchings of various heads.¹¹⁷

There is also evidence that the artists owned examples of one another's work. Indeed, Domenico was amongst twenty-seven collectors to own a set of Goya's *Los Caprichos*, when they were first published in 1799, and the set appears as lot 77 in the 1845 auction of the painter's collection of prints, drawings and engravings. Similarly, a list of the paintings in Goya's house in the Calle de Valverde (which were made over to the artist's son, Francesco Xavier de Goya, following his mother's death in 1812) includes two paintings identified as being 'by Tiepolo'. Unfortunately, there is no reference either to the subject-matter of the compositions or to which of the Tiepolos painted them.¹¹⁸

Public Work: 1770-1804

Following Giambattista's death there was no further work at the Spanish Court for Domenico, although Lorenzo was retained at the court as a portrait painter, and so Domenico returned to Venice.¹¹⁹

Shortly after his arrival to his native city Domenico turned his attention again to the decoration of the family villa in Zianigo, where he painted monochrome mock reliefs showing satyrs at play. He also completed a series of eight canvases on the *Passion of Christ* for the church of San Felipe Neri in Madrid (now in the Prado), which he exhibited in Venice in 1772 prior to sending them to Spain. During the 1770s, Domenico was appointed as a teacher at the Venetian Academy, and continued

¹¹⁷ For further discussion, see Juliet Wilson-Bareau, *Goya's Prints* (London: British Museum Publications Ltd., 1981), p. 13.

¹¹⁸ Gassier and Wilson (1971), p. 381.

¹¹⁹ Madrid 1999: *Lorenzo Tiepolo* (exhibition catalogue, Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, 21 October – 15 December 1999) ed. Andrés Úbeda de los Cobos (Madrid: Museo del Prado, 1999).

to follow in his father's footsteps as a history painter. Between 1774 and 1778, Domenico also published four editions of etchings which contained his father's *Scherzi di Fantasia* and etchings by himself and his brother Lorenzo.

In the 1780s, Domenico once again emulated his late father by becoming President of the Venetian Academy, a post he held for three years. Thereafter, he continued to work, albeit ever decreasingly, in and around Venice for the remainder of the 1780s. After 1790, with the exception of one or two minor commissions local to his villa in Zianigo – a ceiling fresco for a village church in Cartura showing an *Assumption of the Virgin* (1793) and a fresco at the church of Zianigo (1799) - Domenico worked exclusively for himself and increasingly eschewed public life. An ongoing correspondence between the Venetian painter and middle-man Ferdinando Toniolo, who tried to acquire examples of Giambattista's work for the sculptor Antonio Canova in the 1790s, reveals that Domenico was solicitous of his father's work. What is clear is that in Zianigo, Domenico passed his time making large series of drawings. There is no evidence of any patron for any of these suites, and it is therefore taken for granted that the artist made them for his own pleasure. Knox indicates that in the last decades of the Venetian Republic there was no shortage of commissions for palace and villa decoration and that Domenico could, undoubtedly, have secured plenty of work in the tradition of his family workshop had he so wished.¹²⁰ It appears that Domenico's decision to withdraw to Zianigo, seemingly to concentrate on drawing, was deliberate.

Private Life: 1770 -1804

Other than coming to terms with his father's demise, Domenico had to face a number of bereavements. During the 1770s he was to lose several members of his

¹²⁰ Knox in Udine 1996, p. 48.

family: his older sister, Anna Maria, died in 1772 and his brother, Lorenzo, who had remained in Spain where he had married Maria Corrado (daughter of the Genoese bookseller Angelo Corrado), died without heirs, on 2 May 1776, aged only thirty-nine. It is my own hypothesis that Lorenzo's death may have influenced Domenico's subsequent decision, at the age of forty-nine, to marry Margherita Moscheni (1754-1823), daughter of Francesco Moscheni. Margherita, aged twenty-two, was presumably a pious young woman, having been educated at the convent of Santa Teresa in Dorsoduro. Her marriage to Domenico took place in the Scuola dei Forneri adjacent to the Madonna dell'Orto on 8 September 1776 and was witnessed by Lodovico Rezzonico and Alvisè Tiepolo.¹²¹

It would seem likely that, from Domenico's point of view, this was largely a strategy to produce heirs to perpetuate the Tiepolo line. It was, however, ill-fated. Domenico's wife gave birth to two daughters. Cecilia, born on 13 September 1777, died on 15 December of the same year.¹²² A second daughter, Cecilia Pasqua, died on 29 January 1779, aged just ten days.¹²³ This was not uncommon. It has formerly been overlooked that on folio one of the relevant *Libro dei Morti* for Santa Fosca, the very same page that records the death of Domenico's first daughter, it is recorded that Domenico's sister, Orsola Maria, lost her daughter Maria Anna of two-and-a-half months on 7 November 1777.¹²⁴ Infant mortality was high in the eighteenth century,

¹²¹ ASPV, Libro dei Matrimoni S. Zulian, vol. 9, 1770-1808, fol. 11. '8 settembre: Dispensate tutte le tre pubblicazioni da Mons. Lafranchi, Vicario Patriarcale, e provata la libertà d'ambi li sposi come in filza contrassero matrimonio ver verba de'presenti nella Scuola dei Forneri alla Madonna dell'Orto Ill.mo Sig.r Domenico q.m Gio: Batta Tiepolo della contrà di S.a Fosca e la signorina Margherita del Sig.r F.co Moscheni della mia contrà alla presenza di me Piovan Manuel ed alla presenza degli infrascritti testimoni, il N. H. D.o Lodovico Rezzonico Cav.Lier e Procurator fu de D.Messer D. Anzelio, sta a S.Barnaba, ed il N.H. Ser Alvisè Tiepolo Cav. Fu de Ser Franc.o, sta a S. Aponal, et villico celebrate la Messa nuziale da me suddetto, furono benedetti alla pres.za de' sudetti testimoni.'

¹²² ASPV, Parrocchia di Santa Fosca, Libro dei Morti 1777-1810, fol. 1, (published in Tiozzo (2003), p. 119, 'Cecilia figlia dell' illustrissimo Signor Domenico Tiepolo di giorni sei da spasemo sempre fini di vivere jeri all'ore 14. Levatrice Elisabetta Rossetti della Conegliana, della Contrà di S.Paternian.'

¹²³ ASPV, Parrocchia di Santa Fosca, Libro dei Morti 1777-1810, fol. 7, (published in Tiozzo (2003), p. 119, 'Cecilia Pasqua Agnese Maria figlia del Illustrissimo Signor Domenico Tiepolo di giorne diece fini di vivere sera all'ore 22. Levatrice Elisabetta Rossetti della Conegliana, della Contrà di S.Paternian.'

¹²⁴ ASPV, Parrocchia di Santa Fosca, Libro dei Morti 1777-1810, fol. 1, (unpublished), 'Anna Maria figlia dell'illustrissimo Sig. Giovanni Giacomo Poli di mesi due, e mezzo circa da spasemo dopo giorni

and according to demographic data, just one-third of eighteenth-century Europeans had a surviving child by the time they reached sixty.¹²⁵ Domenico had none.

To add to his grief, on 1 June 1779, Domenico's mother Cecilia Guardi died of tuberculosis aged seventy-eight.¹²⁶ Therefore, in the space of just one decade the painter had lost both parents, a sister, a brother, a niece and his two infant daughters. In the 1790s, Domenico's family circle contracted further. On 28 March 1791, his sister, Orsetta Maria, died¹²⁷ and two years later his uncle, the artist Francesco Guardi, passed away, aged eighty-one. His sister Angela Maria died on 11 December 1798.¹²⁸ The sheer number of deaths in Domenico's family, combined with the painter's failure to produce heirs to perpetuate the family tradition,¹²⁹ may have been a contributory factor to Domenico's melancholy disposition, described in Tonioli's letter to Antonio Canova. Certainly, in this period, Domenico would have been in and out of formal mourning on a regular basis.

These things apart, there was the painter's own death to prepare for and it is evident that Domenico was considering this, when he wrote his will,¹³⁰ in January 1795.¹³¹ Though perfunctory in its style and content, his will followed a standard form

otto di male fini di vevere all'ore a della decorsa notte. Levatrice Elisabetta Rossetti della Conegliana, della Contrà di S.Paternian.'

¹²⁵ Thane (2005), p. 11.

¹²⁶ ASPV, Parrocchia di Santa Fosca, Libro dei Morti 1777-1810, fol. 9.

¹²⁷ Tiozzo (2003), note 9, p. 119.

¹²⁸ Ibid., note 7, p. 119.

¹²⁹ Although the Tiepolo line became extinct upon the death of Domenico in 1804 and his priest-brother Giuseppe Maria (date of death unknown), the female line continued until the mid-nineteenth century. This is evident in Tim Knox's article which discusses the sculpture collection of Edward Cheney (1803-1884) of Badger Hall. Knox discusses Cheney's considerable collection of Tiepolo drawings and paintings, 'many of the former bought directly from a Signor Pagliano, who had married [Giambattista's] grand-daughter, and inherited many sketches and unfinished works.' Tim Knox, 'Edward Cheney of Badger Hall: A Forgotten Collector of Italian sculpture', in *Sculpture Journal*, vol. 16, no. 1 (2007), p. 10.

¹³⁰ Domenico Tiepolo's will is published both as a photographed manuscript and as a transcription in Clauco Benito Tiozzo, *Il Mistero Dell'Eredita dei Tiepolo*, Venice: Editoria Universitaria, 2003; and Christel Thiem, 'Neuentdeckte Kompositionsentwürfe von Giandomenico Tiepolo und sein unveröffentlichtes Testament von 1797', *Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg*, 2005

¹³¹ Ariès explains that, by this time, it had become an act of foresight to make a will in the expectation of eventual death as opposed to making last minute provisions once in the 'grip of death' – *articulo mortis*, Ariès (1981), p. 197.

described by Oliver Logan in his research into sixteenth-century Venetian wills.¹³² It began with a brief pious invocation, it went on to make various bequests to members of his extended family, and nominated his wife Margherita Moscheni as residual legatee. She was entrusted with discharging Domenico's debts and with taking care of his sister Angela and ensuring that she had a proper funeral.¹³³ There was a caveat in the will which stated that if any other beneficiary were to engage in litigation against Domenico's widow, he would lose half of what had been assigned to him - a standard clause in Venetian wills.

In fact, the caveat did not work. Archival research by Clauco Benito Tiozzo illuminates an intriguing postscript to this. The Bardese family, who Domenico's sister Elena married into through marriage with Giuseppe Marco Bardese in 1745,¹³⁴ contested the will. This branch of the family had, historically, been solicitous of the Tiepolo heritage, as Montecuccoli degli Erri's research into minor family disputes following the death of Giambattista reveals.¹³⁵ This particular disagreement was resolved when, by virtue of ecclesiastical dispensation, Margherita Moscheni married Domenico's nephew Giambattista Bardese on 7 May 1805. It has been rather uncharitably suggested by Adriano Mariuz that Margherita's May-to-December relationship with Domenico who had been twenty-seven years her senior, had been less than satisfactory and that the painter's nephew may have been her lover.¹³⁶ However, in view of the interest the Bardese branch of the family would have had in the Tiepolo inheritance, this union would have been a clear-cut solution for the Bardese and also for Domenico's widow, who may not have welcomed an ongoing legal wrangle with her late husband's family, and there is no evidence to substantiate

¹³² Oliver Logan, private correspondence (9.vi.2008 and 10.vi.2008).

¹³³ However, this turned out to be unnecessary, as she predeceased her brother by a little over four years.

¹³⁴ See Appendix IV (c), family tree: Domenico Tiepolo and his Family.

¹³⁵ Montecuccoli degli Erri (1994), p. 21.

¹³⁶ Pavanello (1996), pp. 80-83.

a hypothesis that the marriage between Domenico and Margherita was an unhappy one.

From Logan's observations, and according to Philippe Ariès and Michel Vovelle's groundbreaking work on death, the pious invocations in Domenico's will were outmoded and becoming increasingly unusual by the middle of the eighteenth century, by which time the main purpose of a testament had 'shifted from philanthropy to family management'.¹³⁷ Therefore, as far as Domenico's will is concerned, one may draw a number of conclusions. In keeping with evidence presented earlier in this chapter, the Tiepolos were devout, even old-fashioned, Catholics. The masses to be said for his soul were dearly important to him, and show that Domenico was aware that his family line would soon be extinct. Nevertheless, Domenico recognised his obligation to his surviving relations together with the spiritual obligation to his soul - through writing a will one demonstrated a detachment from one's material possessions which, it was thought, lessened one's time in Purgatory.¹³⁸

Notwithstanding the pious character of Domenico's will, there is a complete lack of funeral provision for the painter himself. Domenico died in his home on the Fondamenta Farsetti at San Marcuola, on 5 March 1804, from a fever of the chest.¹³⁹ His funeral took place the following day, in the church of San Marcuola (Fig. 64). Since no place of burial is mentioned, it is possible that Domenico was buried in San

¹³⁷ Ariès (1981), p. 197.

¹³⁸ Carlos M.N. Eire, *From Madrid to Purgatory The Art & Craft of Dying in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), (hereafter referred to as Eire (1995)), pp. 22-23.

¹³⁹ ASPV, libro dei Morti di Santa Fosca, Venezia 1777-1810. fol. 54. "Addi 5 Marzo 1804 - Illustrissimo Domenico quondam Giovanni Battista Tiepolo, in età di anni 77 circa abitante in nostra Parrocchia pel corso di anni 15, quale aggravato da febbre suppuratoria di petto in giorni 25 fini di vivere questa notte alle ora 5. Medico Giuseppe Parlasca. Sarà sepolto dimani al mezzo giorno. Farà seppelirlo sua moglie. Fond.a Farsetti, 1."

Marcuola, perhaps in an unmarked grave, in the *campo santo* of the church. This might have been the painter's final gesture of humility.¹⁴⁰

* * *

In this chapter I have sought to interrogate what resources were available for Domenico, the son of Venice's last great history painter, as an artist towards the end of the eighteenth century as he sought both to protect a family heritage which was soon to become outmoded, and to perpetuate a family which was soon to become extinct. Furthermore, he had lived through a cataclysmic moment in the history of Venice which may explain his use of Pulcinella in his last series of drawings and why they might be interpreted in an anarchic or sinister fashion.

What initially began as an attempt to contextualise the Tiepolos historically proved problematic. This was due partially to a paucity of biographical information and also to a tendency amongst historians to treat the Republic in the eighteenth century in a caricature-like manner. Historians reveal a tendency to focus on the city as a centre of hedonism, a space for tourists, and as a site of retrospection. If any connection can be made between the political and broader cultural situation in eighteenth-century Venice and the Tiepolos art it is through the theme of retrospection. Giambattista looked back to a Renaissance tradition in which he, and his contemporaries, had been imbued. Although Domenico had his own style, it was incompatible with the house style and as a result he chose to largely sublimate his own artistic preferences in favour of a style chosen by his father. Towards the end of Domenico's life his much-admired father's reputation underwent adverse criticism.

¹⁴⁰ Philippe Ariès discusses the notion of humility and how it can be expressed through the choice of burial sites, giving statistics of various people of quality who chose to be buried in cemeteries and common graves. Along with the act of making a will, this could be seen as a further expression of detachment. Ariès (1981), pp. 82, 88, 92, 337.

Had Giambattista and his sons eventually outlived that generation which they had dazzled with their brio for so long?

What were the circumstances and problems that Domenico faced when he was working on *Divertimento per li Regazzi*? By the mid-to late 1790s Domenico must have realised that he had failed to perpetuate the Tiepolo dynasty. Despite his father's impressive achievements in founding it and Domenico's efforts to perpetuate it through his late marriage, there were certain biological factors which countered these efforts: mortality within the family and the two surviving sons' inability to produce male heirs. Towards the end of his life, Domenico was able only to perpetuate the memory of his father and family through the dissemination of their work via the medium of print, and to try to protect the family's assets from fortune-hunters.

In terms of what informs the rest of the thesis it is important to remember that the Tiepolos had been well connected and that, through some of their contacts, both father and son had access to visual sources from an earlier Renaissance tradition. Certainly, Francesco Algarotti was a key figure in the artists' lives. Later, it shall be shown how ideas expressed in Algarotti's writings and his access to cosmopolitan circles may have influenced the Tiepolos.

In the final decade of the eighteenth century, the power of the doges, the ruling families of Venice, and the life that Domenico had known were all under threat by the pending political crisis. As Cecilia Powell strikingly observes:

'When Napoleon set his sights on conquering Europe, Italy was a prize in far more than a merely territorial sense. Within three months of his first crossing of the Alps and victories on Italian soil in 1796, he was demanding a hundred of Italy's (indeed the western world's) most celebrated works of art [...] for his own Musée Napoléon in the Louvre. In April 1797 the convoys of works of art began to leave for Paris where they were eventually paraded through the

streets accompanied by ostriches, camels, and caged lions in a triumphal procession to rival those of the most decadent of Roman emperors. In May 1797 the last Doge handed the city of Venice over to Napoleon without a struggle and soon many of its treasures also, including the Horses of St. Mark's, were on their way to France.'¹⁴¹

Was this really the background against which the elderly artist produced his Pulcinella series, considered, by some, to be made in a tone of extreme sarcasm? As this thesis will demonstrate, the series operates on a number of levels. On one level it shows the trials and tribulations of a clan of Pulcinelli, on another it quotes and echoes great themes of Western art, not least those used by Giambattista, Domenico himself and many of their artist associates in eighteenth-century Venice, which Domenico paraded through the sheets of the *Divertimento* for the very last time.

¹⁴¹ Dulwich 1998: *Italy in the Age of Turner: 'The Garden of the World'* (exhibition catalogue, Dulwich Picture Gallery, London, 4 March – 24 May 1998), ed. Cecilia Powell (London: Merrell Holberton Publishers, 1998), p. 9. Johnson's description is quoted in Andrea Gatti, 'La Forza dei Deboli. Thomas Gainsborough, Angelica Kauffmann e gli Altri', *Ateneo Veneto*, Anno 1999, 37 pp. 113-135.

Chapter III

Introducing Pulcinella

Pulcinella began to appear in Domenico's paintings from the mid-1750s. His earliest known work featuring the popular Neapolitan mask from the *Commedia dell'Arte* comprises two pendant canvases: *The Minuet* and *The Tooth-Puller* (Figs. 50 and 51). These oil paintings, measuring 75 x 110 cm and 80 x 110 cm respectively, originally from the collection of Count Francesco Algarotti, were in the collection of Princess Mathilde Bonaparte (1820-1904) by the middle of the nineteenth century.¹ They are both colourful and densely populated paintings showing aspects of eighteenth-century Venetian life. The first canvas shows Columbina, in a yellow dress, dancing a minuet with Harlequin. These figures are surrounded by a large audience, some masked, others unmasked. In the background to Columbina's right is a line of Pulcinelli – the first two figures show the masked heads of the character: however, the presence of the remaining three is marked by the tops of their white, sugar-loaf hats, just discernable in the crowd. The second canvas shows a tooth-puller plying his trade, again surrounded by figures, some displaying a macabre curiosity, whilst a female figure covers her head as the quack dentist publicly operates on his victim. Again, three further Pulcinelli are recognisable in this crowd.

Between 1754 and the early 1790s, Pulcinella appears only intermittently in Domenico's work. In 1797, however, he suddenly becomes the main protagonist and most of the supporting cast in the frescoes decorating the *Camera dei Pagliacci* in Domenico's villa in Zianigo. Hereafter, Pulcinella seems to have occupied a

¹ Mathilde Bonaparte was the daughter of Jérôme Bonaparte (1784-1860), youngest brother of Emperor Napoleon I of France. According to Mariuz and Pavanello, following the Princess's death in 1904, they were purchased by Alexandre Robert Le Roux who bequeathed them to the Louvre following his death in 1938. Stéphane Loire in Venice 2004 (b), pp. 146-149.

prominent place within Domenico's artistic endeavours for the remainder of his life, and above all in the *Divertimento per li Regazzi*.

Pulcinella is a 'stock' character from the *commedia dell'arte*, and he would have been a familiar mask to Domenico specifically, because of his appearances in Giambattista's work, and his viewers more generally, as a popular carnival mask. By the mid-eighteenth century, Pulcinella had been established in the theatre for over a century and a half, and was a well-known figure in public displays, entertainments and literature. Moreover, he had been portrayed in art since his debut on stage. One of the questions which will be addressed within this chapter is why Domenico should have chosen Pulcinella to be the hero of his final visual narrative. This is a question to which no conclusive answer has yet been proposed, though in my opinion several plausible explanations can be put forward.

By comparing Pulcinella with other characters in the *commedia dell'arte* cast, one can begin to understand why Domenico may have chosen Pulcinella: Pulcinella had a set of flexible characteristics and these served to complement Domenico's own inventive practices. It has been noted above that these practices were developed early in Domenico's artistic career when, in 1753, at the age of twenty-three, he designed a set of twenty-seven etchings entitled *Picturesque Ideas on the Flight into Egypt* in which he showed the Holy Family travelling through a landscape very reminiscent of rural Italy. In choosing *The Flight into Egypt*, Domenico deliberately selected for himself a challenging story to display his skills, since this is not a narrative that is replete with activity but rather a journey. As a result, it was a subject which would have tested his inventive abilities to the limit. In the last fourteen years of his life, the aging artist then returned to working with series, and, in his final effort, he used the character of Pulcinella who, in contrast to the meanderings of the Holy Family, offered Domenico far more wide-ranging artistic possibilities.

Pulcinella was a flexible mask and should be considered not only within the *commedia dell'arte* context, but also as a street entertainer, a carnival mask and as Erica Esau suggests, as an assistant to charlatans.²

Esau's arguments, although they relate to the occasional appearance of Pulcinella in Giambattista's *Scherzi*, would also account for Pulcinella's presence in some of Domenico's earlier paintings: in the two variations on *The Minuet* and *The Tooth Puller*, and later in *The New World* (Fig. 29), Pulcinella appears in a crowd where a charlatan is plying his trade. Furthermore, as this chapter will show, contemporary verbal sources would suggest that people dressed as Pulcinella were a pervasive character in the public spaces of eighteenth-century Venice. This may be corroborated visually by images produced from mid-century onwards by the *vedutisti* and genre painters, for example, in the work of Luca Carlevarijs (1663-1730) and Gabriel Bella (1730-1799) which will be discussed later in this chapter. Beside images of Pulcinella mingling with crowds in paintings and etchings of Venice, there was also a strong visual tradition of depicting *commedia dell'arte* characters, particularly Pulcinella, in northern Italian art, a tradition of which the Tiepolos were part.³

Given that Pulcinella was to play such a pervasive role in what Byam Shaw, Gealt and Vetrocq consider to be the final artistic enterprise of Domenico's life, this chapter first and foremost explores who Pulcinella was and the theatrical tradition from which he came. It should be observed at an early stage that, owing to the peripatetic nature of the *commedia dell'arte*, Pulcinella quickly adopted a multi-cultural persona. His costume and characteristics could alter, depending on where he was portrayed. Therefore, throughout this dissertation, the Italian Pulcinella-type as

² Erica Esau, 'Tiepolo and Punchinello: Venice, Magic and Commedia dell'Arte,' *Australian Journal of Art*, 9, 1991, pp. 40-57, (hereafter referred to as Esau (1991)).

³ For further discussion of this see, Franco Carmelo Greco ed. *Pulcinella: Una Maschera tra gli Specchi: Convegno su Pulcinella tra Immaginazione e Rappresentazione* (Naples: Edizione Scientifiche Italiane, 1990).

he would have been recognised by Domenico will be privileged. A formal analysis of Domenico's portrayals of Pulcinella cannot be fully appreciated before one has a sense of what the character may have meant to the artist and to eighteenth-century viewers. As has already been implied, to them Pulcinella may have meant a number of things. This would have largely depended upon the contexts in which he was seen – primarily theatrical, but also social.

This chapter therefore falls into two distinct parts. First, it considers why Domenico should have chosen a character from the *commedia dell'arte* to figure in the *Divertimento per li Regazzi* so extensively. It is, therefore, important to understand what attitudes were to the *commedia dell'arte* in eighteenth-century Venice, so as to appreciate the social and cultural contexts which may have determined the artist's choice of Pulcinella as the chief protagonist of his final work. The second part of this chapter explores why Domenico should have specifically chosen Pulcinella from amongst the *commedia* cast to be the hero of the *Divertimento*. This chapter, then, is a preliminary study of Pulcinella's origins, an attempt to understand Pulcinella's theatrical character and his semantic resonances. It also includes an exploration of the iconographic contexts in which the pictorial tradition of Pulcinella emerged and developed to support the formal analysis in Chapter IV.

The *Commedia dell'Arte*

There is a vast amount of material on the *commedia dell'arte*, and it is not my intention to make a contribution to this area. This chapter shall merely offer a synthesis of a selection of existing scholarship so as to explore the theatrical form from which Domenico's portrayal of Pulcinella is most likely to have emerged. This section also offers an insight into this genre of theatre which, though no longer at its peak of popularity, was still an accepted form of entertainment in Domenico's day

and also widely depicted in the visual arts. Works on the subject have been chosen from a range of disciplines, and my aim is to combine a selection of cultural-historical, anthropological and art-historical perspectives on this type of theatre.

The most extensive work on the *commedia dell'arte* is Pierre Louis Duchartre's book of 1924.⁴ Duchartre's book covers every aspect of the Italian comedy: its origins, the technique of improvisators, the masks, the scenarios, the theatres, what is known about the original actors and troupes of this theatrical form, its dissemination into France and other parts of Europe, the *commedia* at fairs, and its theatrical revival in the early 1760s by Domenico's close contemporary, the Venetian playwright Carlo Gozzi. A chapter is devoted to each 'mask', that is to say, to each character, giving an account of the mask, possible predecessors and any derivative masks. The *Enciclopedia dello Spettacolo* is another equally valuable work, which incorporates entries on the *commedia dell'arte* in general and on Pulcinella in particular, including a survey of the first actors to interpret the character in the early sixteenth century.⁵

To supplement these more general works, Timothy Hyman offers an anthropologist's view of carnival in a catalogue which accompanied a touring exhibition which began at the Brighton Museum and Art Gallery.⁶ As part of his commentary, Hyman considers the Venetian carnival and uses both Giambattista's and Domenico's Pulcinella drawings to illustrate his text. In another, even more recent work, Lynne Lawner surveys the depiction of *commedia dell'arte* in the visual arts from the sixteenth century through to the present day and asks why this theatrical

⁴ Duchartre (1966).

⁵ Rome, *Enciclopedia dello Spettacolo*, 9 volumes (Rome: 1954-1962).

⁶ *Carnavalesque* (exhibition catalogue for exhibition tour in conjunction with the Hayward Gallery, London. Brighton: Brighton Museum and Art Gallery; Fabrica Gallery, and University Gallery Brighton, 6 May – 2 July 2000; Nottingham: Castle Museum and Art Gallery, Djanogly Art Gallery, 15 July – 10 September 2000; Edinburgh: City Art Centre, 21 October – 16 December 2000), eds Timothy Hyman, Roger Malbert and Malcolm Jones (London National Touring Exhibitions: Hayward Gallery Publishing, 2000), (hereafter referred to as Brighton 2000).

form should have had such a powerful impact on the visual arts.⁷ Yet, despite these diverse accounts of the Italian comedy, its origins have remained obscure.⁸ There is, therefore, no exact date for the beginning of the *commedia dell'arte*. What follows, then, is a brief history of this complex genre. The aim is to provide an insight into attitudes towards the *commedia dell'arte* current in eighteenth century Venice, drawn from the sources mentioned above.

Whilst the *commedia dell'arte* is generally acknowledged by historians to have emerged in Italy in the early sixteenth century, aspects of the *commedia* seem to be derived from an ancient theatrical form which emerged in the Etruscan city of Atella. It is important to consider this possible ancient derivation of the *commedia dell'arte* here for, according to Vetrocq, discussions surrounding this theatrical form, the use of masks and particularly the mask of Pulcinella, formed part of an attempt by some eighteenth-century Italian scholars to 'demonstrate the continuity of Italian culture from antiquity to their own period.'⁹ Vetrocq relates this eighteenth-century debate to a broader, ongoing cultural debate which, in part, constituted a feud amongst playwrights - most famously between Carlo Goldoni (1707-1793) and Carlo Gozzi - and also, in part, amongst social reformers who claimed that the *commedia dell'arte* had become tired, artificial and corrupting.

The underlying rationale in relating the *commedia dell'arte* to ancient theatrical forms resided with those traditionalists who sought to preserve the *commedia*. They argued that it was part of an indigenous tradition that could be traced, in a continuous line, to antiquity. Furthermore, Vetrocq relates this debate to that specific historical moment when Domenico was making the Zianigo frescoes and

⁷ Lynne Lawner, *Harlequin on the Moon: Commedia dell'Arte and the Visual Arts* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1998), (hereafter referred to as Lawner (1998)).

⁸ Duchartre (1966), p. 19.

⁹ Vetrocq does not state who the scholars involved in this debate might have been. Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, p. 31.

the *Divertimento*.¹⁰ The *commedia dell'arte* and Pulcinella, who was also thought to have descended from antique predecessors, were also both endowed with a strong proto-nationalist resonance, which may have acquired greater significance during the political unrest of late eighteenth-century Italy.¹¹ If it is true that Domenico introduced Pulcinella into his final series of drawings in the year 1797, Pulcinella would have been on the one hand a suitably subversive character, but on the other also be a 'safe' figure to depict during the social chaos of the fall of the Venetian Republic. This was because he was generally regarded as a fool and buffoon.

The aforementioned debate accounts for any latent connection between the *commedia dell'arte* and the *Atellanæ*. One can only speculate as to how aspects of this genre of ancient theatre might have been devolved to Renaissance Italy over the centuries – possibly by itinerant actors and an oral tradition. Nevertheless, Atella was one of the first cities to have a purpose-built theatre,¹² and it was here that a particular type of play, the *Atellanæ*, originated. The *Atellanæ* were comedies, farces, parodies and political satires. According to Duchartre, even in ancient times actors would have drawn freely from contemporary life for their material.¹³ Common characteristics of the *Atellanæ* and *commedia dell'arte* were as follows: (1) all plots would include the same characters; (2) the characters wore masks, and; (3) action and dialogue were improvised from a plot outline. The form of the plot outline differed only in concision with some scenarios being so concise that they could be hung on the wall behind the stage to be consulted by participating actors. This custom of referring to a scenario posted behind the scenes is described by Carlo Gozzi, who is cited by Duchartre, 'The subject which serves as guide for these excellent players is written entirely on a small slip of paper and posted under a little light for the greater convenience of the troupe.'

¹⁰ Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, p. 31.

¹¹ Ibid, p. 31

¹² Duchartre (1966), p. 25.

¹³ Ibid, p. 18.

It is astonishing to think that, with such a trifling aid as this, ten or twelve actors are able to keep the public in a gale of laughter for three hours or more and bring to a satisfactory close the argument which has been set for them.¹⁴

The reasons for the wearing of masks are obscure. Another contemporary of Domenico's was the playwright Carlo Goldoni, who suggested in his memoirs that, in ancient times, masks were designed to be used as a kind of megaphone whose purpose was designed to amplify actors' voices throughout the amphitheatres. Goldoni's view is of interest because it again shows that there was an ongoing dialogue concerning the origins of the mask in eighteenth-century Venice, thus reinforcing the point that Domenico's contemporaries thought that the theatrical form had ancient roots. Some of the *commedia dell'arte* masks, including that of Pulcinella, were believed, on the basis of analogy between the Italian masks and Roman mimes, to have evolved from those of the *Atellanæ* and survived in hybrid forms.¹⁵

In keeping with the putative classical origins of the *commedia dell'arte*, Pulcinella may have had his antecedents in three of the masks of the *Atellanæ* – Maccus, Bucco and Dossenus.¹⁶ Maccus and Bucco particularly shared comparable characteristics to Pulcinella in terms of both physical appearance and personality traits. Maccus was quick, witty, impertinent and occasionally cruel; Bucco could be self-sufficient, sycophantic, timid, boastful and a thief. The physical characteristics that Maccus shared with Pulcinella were a large hooked nose, a hunched back, and from Bucco, Pulcinella seems to have inherited his flabby cheeks and enormous mouth. Evidence of the physical appearances of these ancient theatrical types has been revealed through archaeological finds.¹⁷ For example, the Louvre owns an

¹⁴ This unfootnoted reference to Gozzi appears in Duchartre. Ibid, p. 51.

¹⁵ The thesis is explored in Duchartre, but readers are advised by the author to view any similarities between the ancient theatre and Renaissance form with caution. Ibid, p. 219.

¹⁶ Ibid, pp. 208-224.

¹⁷ Ibid, p. 209.

ancient terracotta statuette representing one of the masks of the *Atellanæ*,¹⁸ possibly Maccus, and in 1727 an ancient bronze statuette of Maccus was excavated in Rome. Significantly, this statuette and an engraving of Bucco were recorded by the Roman antiquary Francesco Ficoroni (1664-1747) in his posthumously published engravings of Italian theatre and theatrical masks, entitled *De Larvis Scenicis et Figuricis Comicis* (1754).¹⁹ This, once again, demonstrates the firm eighteenth-century belief in the classical origins of the *commedia*. So, Domenico many have chosen Pulcinella as a subject for his last series because of the classical resonance conjured up by this figure. Such resonance would confer a veneer of antique dignity on his playfully entitled *Divertimento per li Regazzi*. That, in turn, would have seemed appropriate for a former president of the conservative Venetian Academy.

Whatever the case, by the middle of the sixteenth century, the *commedia dell'arte* was flourishing in Venice and Lombardy.²⁰ The first known record of a professional *commedia dell'arte* troupe dates to 1545, when 'eight men from Padua signed a contract to form a troupe, performing under a manager and sharing profits.'²¹

Although some of the principal types of the *commedia dell'arte* seem to have evolved from the *Atellanæ*, local types, recognisable through their dialects, were apparently first deployed by playwrights Angelo Beolco (1502-1542) and Giovanni Cecchi (1515-1587) who introduced local contemporary events into this genre of theatre.²² As a result of this fusion of local types and aspects of everyday life, the regional stereotypes that formed the cast of the *commedia dell'arte* emerged. The stock masks included Arlecchino from lower Bergamo and Brighella from upper Bergamo. Pantalone was a Venetian merchant whilst Il Dottore was the Bolognese

¹⁸ The ancient precedent of *commedia* masks was highlighted in Paris 2008: *Masques de Carpeaux à Picasso* (exhibition catalogue, Musée d'Orsay, Paris, 21 October 2008 – 1 February 2009, eds Jean Luc Nancy, Edouard Papet et al (Paris: Éditions Hazans, 2008).

¹⁹ Duchartre (1966), p. 209.

²⁰ Martin Esslin (ed.), *Illustrated Encyclopaedia of World Theatre*, (London: Thames & Hudson, 1977).

²¹ Lawner (1998) p. 11; regrettably, Lawner does not cite her sources.

²² Duchartre (1966), pp. 18-19.

man of letters. Il Capitano was a satirical mask based on mercenary soldiers (these overran Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but later became associated with Spanish invaders following Spain's domination of the Italian peninsula from the 1520s onwards). Pulcinella derived from a Neapolitan peasant type and Pedrolino, whose origins are unclear, is thought to be of Sicilian origin. The *inammorati* were associated with Tuscan court culture.²³ The female characters, of whom the best known is Colombina, originally spoke with a Tuscan dialect; and there were the Zanni and other lesser-known characters.²⁴ Most of the characters have derivatives which developed over time and in different cultures. These derivative masks shall be disregarded as they often appear to be the original mask in a diluted form, and focus will remain upon the primary figures in the cast.

The *commedia dell'arte* became popular throughout Europe and gained particular regard in France, which was remarkable because the actors did not start to perform in the language of their audiences until 1668.²⁵ Apparently, the use of gesture in this art form was so strong that neither mask nor language was a barrier to its dissemination and appreciation.²⁶ Therefore, the physical expressiveness of *commedia dell'arte* may be a key to understanding why Domenico chose a *commedia* character to be the main protagonist of the *Divertimento*. Could there have been a conceptual link with an art theoretical debate, partly concerning expression, which had been ongoing since the sixteenth century?²⁷ Pragmatically, a *commedia dell'arte* figure

²³ The Italian for Lovers of whom two pairs were usually required for a full *Commedia dell'arte* scenario. The types were borrowed from an amateur, courtly form of theatre known as the *commedia erudite*, the plays from which were based on those of Terence and Plautus. John Rudlin, *Commedia dell'Arte An Actor's Handbook* (London: Routledge, 1994) (hereafter cited as Rudlin (1994)), p.106.

²⁴ *Zanni* is the Venetian diminutive of the name Giovanni and is often a servant type or a character who is not usually sufficiently defined to have a name.

²⁵ Duchartre (1966), p. 21.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

²⁷ I refer generally to the doctrine *ut pictura poesis* and, more specifically, to Lomazzo on expression. See Appendix 3 of Rensselaer W. Lee, *Ut Pictura Poesis, The Humanistic Theory of Painting* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1967), pp. 71-72.

would have allowed Domenico the potential for depicting expansive gestures and a freedom to dispose the body in a number of exaggerated poses.

Another crucial characteristic that the *commedia dell'arte* shared with the *Atellanæ* was that it was wholly improvised from schematic scenarios. Over a thousand or more of these scenarios survive and a collection of these can be seen in the Museo Correr, Venice. The best-known extant series of scenarios is that of actor and stage-manager Flaminio Scala (1547-1624), who had travelled throughout Italy with the *Gelosi* troupe during the latter part of the sixteenth century. Scala left fifty scenarios which were printed in 1611 under the title of *The Drama of Tales fitted for Representation upon the Stage; or Comic, Tragic, and Bucolic Entertainments divided into Plays for Each of Fifty Days, and Composed by Flaminio Scala, Comic Playwright to His Most Serene Highness the Duke of Mantua. In Venice. By Gio. Batt. Pulciani. 1611.*²⁸ Each scenario gives a list of characters, the props required, the division into acts and the entries and exits of the protagonists (unfortunately, the character of Pulcinella does not appear in any of Scala's scenarios). The plots tended to be comic, tragi-comic and were developed around disguise, identification, misunderstandings, shipwrecks, kidnappings, spells and magic. The central theme was usually a love intrigue of a young couple, rivalries and jealousies of older characters or intrigues amongst servants.²⁹

One feature of the scenarios was that they were punctuated by *lazzi*³⁰ or burlesque interludes to the plot which would involve humorous distractions and even acrobatics. Domenico made pictorial reference to these *lazzi* in the *Divertimento* when

²⁸ Flaminio Scala, *Il Teatro delle Favole Rappresentative Overo la Ricreatione Comica, Boscarella e Tragica, divisa in Cinquanta Giornate, Composte a Flaminio Scala detto Flavio, Comico del Sereniss. Sig. Duca di Mantoua. In Venetia. Appresso Gio.-Batt. Pulciani. 1611.* The scenarios were translated into English in 1967 as [*Il Teatro delle Favole Rappresentative.*] *Scenarios of the commedia dell'arte Flaminio Scala's Il Teatro delle Favole Rappresentative.* Translated by Henry F. Salerno, (New York: New York University Press; London: University of London Press, 1967).

²⁹ Giacomo Oreglia, *The Commedia dell'Arte.* Translated by Lovett F. Edwards. (London, Methuen & Co., 1968), p. 18.

³⁰ The term *lazzi* was a Lombardian expression meaning 'knots', and was used to denote scenes of comic relief whereby buffoons interrupt the story with pranks and acrobatics. Duchartre (1966), p. 310.

Pulcinella turns acrobat and again in a fresco for the Tiepolo villa showing *I Saltimbancs and Pulcinelli* (Fig. 65). Here, an adult Pulcinella, with a pretty tumbling girl to his right, holds an infant Pulcinella so that he is better able to see the performance of the tumblers in the foreground. Perhaps, even subliminally, Domenico suggested there was a similarity between the improvisational nature of his artistic sub-genre and that of the theatrical *intermezzi*.

The actual content of the *commedia dell'arte* scenarios today is of historic value only, as the plots belong very much to the period in which they were made and would now be elusive to the present-day reader. What can be deduced from this, however, is that the success of the *commedia dell'arte* relied more upon its actors, whose powers of improvisation would have brought the scenarios to life, than on the dramatists. To summarise, the *commedia dell'arte* was a playful, flexible and diffuse genre of theatre. It was not excessively dependent on any verbal structure – scenarios developed for this dramatic form were deliberately loose, allowing the individual performer unusually expansive scope for interpretation and improvisation. Surely this was one of the chief reasons why Domenico chose to focus on the *commedia dell'arte* so intensively in the *Divertimento*.

The actors of the *commedia dell'arte* were usually peripatetic troupes who would carry with them a simple, portable stage transported in a cart along with the props, scenery, costumes and curtains. Stages were generally built high so that the platform was on a level with the eyes of the spectator. These outdoor performances are recorded in the visual arts and we are therefore able to get a fairly clear idea of what they would have been like. Jacques Callot (1592-1635) was amongst the earliest artists to depict such performances in his series of etchings entitled *I Balli di Sfessania* (1622). In the etching *Razullo and Cucurucu* (Fig. 66) from this series there is in the middle ground a makeshift stage-set in a city square, with four actors performing a

scenario. Behind them is a painted backdrop and a crowd of spectators who surround three sides of the stage – Callot’s engraving enables one to envisage how an open-air staging of the *Commedia* may have appeared.

In eighteenth-century Venice, scenes showing similar outdoor entertainments were equally popular. Luca Carlevarijs and Gabriel Bella were among the *vedutisti* who chronicled public festivals, ceremonies and entertainments. Both depicted scenes showing *commedia dell’arte* performances in the Piazzetta San Marco (Figs. 67 and 68). Carlevarijs’ painting shows a *commedia* performance in the Piazzetta, in which one can see Il Dottore, Arlecchino, Colombina and another unidentifiable figure performing on a portable stage with the square and lagoon as the setting. The stage is surrounded by a crowd of people, some wearing the *bauta* mask of Carnival, others strolling, conversing and going about their daily business. Bella’s scene includes a description on a cartouche which reads: ‘Entertainment Offered Every Day by Charlatans in Piazza San Marco for the Crowds from Every Nation who Gather Here.’³¹ In itself, this inscription lends further support to Esau’s observations on the link between certain characters from the *commedia* and charlatans. In Bella’s painting we see various performances, simultaneously staged, again in the piazzetta: a *commedia dell’arte* performance to the right and another, unmasked, performance to the left under the arches of the Doge’s Palace. There are also at least two puppet theatres, and charlatans drawing crowds amongst which mingle two Pulcinelli.

Always allowing for artistic licence, these images provide some insight into how Domenico and his contemporaries might have experienced these performances and side-shows which occupied the subsidiary space of the Piazzetta. What these visual and verbal sources imply is that, for Domenico, it would have been a commonplace rather than an extraordinary experience to encounter a multitude of

³¹ Lawner (1998), p. 80.

street performers and people dressed in a variety of costume and disguise for a quarter of the year in eighteenth-century Venice.³² This decision to focus on the *commedia* was perhaps prompted by its characteristic of being a very ordinary sign of carnival, of the world turned upside-down, the world of licence, jokes and games.

The *commedia dell'arte* flourished from the sixteenth century through to the eighteenth century. According to Duchartre, the *commedia* had, by the mid-eighteenth century, begun to decline ‘... in the end the Italian comedy scarcely served for more than gross farces, which were sometimes amusing because they were so inept, but more often were simply tedious and vulgar’.³³ However, if one is to believe a source used by John Addington Symonds in his introduction to the memoirs of Count Carlo Gozzi,³⁴ the alleged deterioration of the *commedia* set in much earlier. Addington Symonds quoted from a late sixteenth-century source, Tommaso Garzoni’s *La Piazza Universale di Tutte le Professioni del Mondo*,³⁵ which was an attempt to describe, albeit in general terms, every type of street art and occupation – including comic, mimes, acrobats and jugglers. Addington Symonds chose to focus upon a section which described the apparent decadence into which the *commedia dell'arte* had, by the end of the sixteenth century, already declined:

‘These profane comedians pervert the noble use of their ancient art by presenting nothing which is not openly disreputable and scandalous. The filth which falls continuously from their lips infects themselves and their profession

³² This is discussed by James Christen Steward in Berkeley 1996, who writes that in Venice, Carnival officially began on 26 December and lasted until Shrove Tuesday. Steward also mentions that certain aspects of Carnival, notably masking, was evident from as early as the beginning of October. See, *The Mask of Venice: Masking, Theatre, and Identity in the Art of Tiepolo and His Time* (exhibition catalogue, University of California, Berkeley Art Museum, 11 December 1996 – 4 March 1997), eds George Knox and James Christen Steward (Berkeley: University of California, Berkeley Art Museum, 1996), (hereafter referred to as Knox and Steward in Berkeley 1996), pp. 18-19.

³³ Duchartre (1966), p. 17.

³⁴ John Addington Symonds, *The Memoirs of Count Carlo Gozzi with Essays on Italian Impromptu Comedy, Gozzi’s Life, the Dramatic Fables, and Pietro Longhi by the translator*. Vol. 1, (London: John C. Nimmo, Strand, 1895), (hereafter cited as Addington Symonds (1895)), p.75.

³⁵ Tommaso Garzoni, *La Piazza Universale di Tutte le Professioni del Mondo ... Nuovamenta Formata*. [with notes by F. Driuzzo] (Venice: 1585).

with the foulest infamy. They are less civil than donkeys in their action, no better than pimps and ruffians in their gestures, equal to public prostitutes in their immodesty of speech. Knavery and lewdness inspire all their motions. In everything they stink of impudicity and villainy. When occasions offer for veiling grossness under a cloak of decorum, they do not take these, but pique themselves on bringing beastliness to sight by barefaced bawdry and undisguised indecency.'

So it would seem that already in the sixteenth century the *commedia dell'arte* was regarded by its detractors as a debased and profoundly problematic art form. Nevertheless, for reasons already discussed, masked comedy underwent a revival in Venice in the mid-1760s.³⁶ Carlo Gozzi championed this form of theatre to counter the popularity of his rival, Carlo Goldoni, who had endeavoured to revolutionise the Italian comic stage in the 1750s by writing plays for unmasked characters. In his memoirs, Gozzi describes how his scenario *The Love of Three Oranges* was staged, to great acclaim, at the theatre of San Samuele, Venice, during the Carnival of 1761.³⁷ Gozzi described how he wrote *The Raven* and *The Stag King* which he had extracted from a Neapolitan story book Basile's *Tale of Tales: Entertainment for Little Ones*.³⁸ Gozzi congratulated himself that his fables - partly plagiarised from nursery tales and fused with a folk and fairy tale tradition, which he rhetorically alluded to as 'children's stories' - should have successfully undermined Goldoni's aspirations. So there was in fact a deliberate if somewhat controversial revival of the *commedia dell'arte* at a time when Domenico had started to portray *commedia* characters in his canvases. It should also be observed that Gozzi's memoirs appeared in Venice in 1797

³⁶ Gozzi's scenarios had their roots in fables and fairy-tales, enhanced with poetry, burlesque and drama: *The Love of Three Oranges* (*L'Amore delle Tre Melarance*), *The Raven* (*Il Corvo*), *The Stag King* (*Il Re Cervo*), *Turandot*, *The Serpent Woman* (*La Donna Serpente*), *I Pitocchi Fortunati*, *The Blue Monster* (*Il Mostro Turchino*), *The Green Bird* (*L'Augellin Belverde*): Duchartre (1966), p. 117.

³⁷ Addington Symonds (1895), Vol. I, p. 130 ff.

³⁸ For further comment on this, see Chapter I, p. 22.

following the fall of the Republic and at the time when it seems that Domenico began his final series of drawings.³⁹ Could it have been that Domenico had acquired for himself the memoirs of his close contemporary and was inspired by Gozzi's account to create his own visual story rooted in witty entertainments putatively for children? The title that the artist himself gave to the drawings showing scenes from the life of Pulcinella is *Divertimento per li Regazzi* ('Entertainment for the children') given on the frontispiece to the whole series (Fig. 69; Cat. Frontispiece).

To summarise, in my opinion, there are at least three plausible reasons why Domenico should have looked to the *commedia dell'arte* to provide a hero for his series of drawings. These are simultaneously political, technical and environmental. Whilst the origins of the *commedia* are obscure and it is only known with any certainty that this genre of theatre emerged in sixteenth-century Italy, it does share characteristics with an ancient theatrical form – the *Atellanæ*. Given that there was an contemporary debate which sought to establish ancient links with the *commedia* it is, as Vetrocq argues, likely that Domenico was aware of this. In view of the specific moment in time when he is thought to have started the *Divertimento per li Regazzi*, it is quite possible that Pulcinella embodied certain Italian proto-nationalist tendencies.

From a technical viewpoint, the *commedia dell'arte* shared much with Domenico's own artistic practices. Throughout his artistic life, Domenico experimented with improvised forms and with different points of view. This was particularly marked in the final fourteen years of his life when he worked on series of drawings. By depicting what was in essence an improvised dramatic form, Domenico could exploit the expressiveness and flexibility of that form and thus appropriate it for his own work.

³⁹ Gozzi's *Memorie Inutili* were partly composed by 1780 but had been suppressed by the government. The author took advantage of the chaos caused by the French occupation of Venice to send his memoirs to the press. Addington Symonds (1895), Vol. II., p. 332.

From an environmental viewpoint, it has been observed that the *commedia dell'arte* was a visible and familiar aspect of Venetian life and it is quite logical that Domenico should have chosen a figure from that aspect of his own life. The remainder of this chapter introduces the character of Pulcinella and explains why, of all the *commedia dell'arte* characters, Domenico should have chosen Pulcinella to inhabit his work.

An Introduction to Pulcinella, his Origins and a Panorama of his Life

Pulcinella's name derives from the Italian noun '*pulcino*', meaning 'chick'. One of Domenico's drawings from the *Divertimento* shows Pulcinella being hatched by a turkey from a giant egg (Fig. 1), a drawing which might possibly be a reference to the etymology of the character's name. It is, however, equally likely that Domenico may have been aware of a visual tradition of images showing fools being hatched from eggs, established in Flanders by the sixteenth century. Hyman, who wrote 'on the conjunction of the egg and the fool'⁴⁰ refers to a drawing, possibly by Pieter Bruegel, showing a jester-type drinking astride an egg, his marotte being visible inside the cracked egg (Fig. 70).⁴¹ Hyman also refers to an anonymous sixteenth-century Flemish painting showing a giant hen hatching fools,⁴² and suggests that the egg motif in the birth of Pulcinella may have been a reference to carnival when eggs were sometimes used as missiles during the festivities.⁴³ In itself, this conveys something of Pulcinella's anarchic character.

⁴⁰ Hyman in Brighton 2000, pp. 21-25.

⁴¹ The marotte is the jester's dummy, or sceptre, which represents his 'second self'. Ibid, p. 21.

⁴² Anon, Flemish, (16th Century), *The Everlasting Regeneration of Foolishness*, showing a great hen hatching fools. Sixteenth Century (Université de Liège, Belgium).

⁴³ Hyman refers to carnival traditions in Belgium and Venice where eggs were used as missiles. Apparently they were thrown in the Belgian town of Binche until the late nineteenth century and in Venice there was the tradition of pelting one's *inammorata* with hollowed-out eggs filled with rosewater. (Hyman in Brighton 2000), p. 25.

Whether or not Pulcinella truly evolved from ancient types cannot be established with certainty. What is certain, however, is that he made his appearance on the Italian stage towards the end of the sixteenth century.⁴⁴ As far as is known, Pulcinella was conceived as a Neapolitan servant-type by actor Silvio Fiorillo (active 1590-1632). Pulcinella's traditional Italian costume consists of a white shirt and breeches. Michele Scherillo, who according to Duchartre has made one of the most important contributions to the study of Pulcinella, argued that the figure wears a derivative form of the attire in general use among the peasants of Acerra, a town near Naples.⁴⁵ He wore a black mask and a tall sugar-loaf hat (*coppolone*), he had a beaked nose, a hunched back and protruding stomach; and he acquired a dagger and truncheon. In time, his dagger disappeared and he sometimes held a horn in the shape of a shell, filled with macaroni. In Italy, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, Pulcinella wore a white blouse, filled by his protruding stomach and fastened in front by very large buttons; a starched ruff which was, by this time, quite old fashioned,⁴⁶ pantaloons which were exaggeratedly wide and too short, and the distinctive hat.⁴⁷ All in all, it is conceivable that Pulcinella's ill-fitting, somewhat 'parochial', attire, taken together with his physical deformities, seem to have been chosen deliberately to make him appear ridiculous to an eighteenth-century viewer.

Having considered Pulcinella's sartorial peculiarities, what follows is an account of his character traits. It has already been observed that Pulcinella's characteristics could vary according to the time and country in which he was played.

⁴⁴ Addington Symonds (1895), p.49.

⁴⁵ Duchartre refers to an article published by Dr Scherillo in *The Mask*, 'The *commedia dell'arte*. Capitan Fracassa. The Genealogy of Pulcinella', *The Mask*, 3, (July, 1910), pp. 22-29.

⁴⁶ According to Aileen Ribeiro, ruffs were fashionable in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. Ribeiro mentions artists such as Jean Antoine Watteau who included historic dress in his paintings of *fêtes gallants*, and Jean Honoré Fragonard (1732-1806) 'who was influenced by a wide range of visual and artistic sources which provided romantic links with the past ... these included the carnival, the *commedia dell'arte*, the *fêtes gallants* ...' Aileen Ribeiro, *The Art of Dress: Fashion in England and France 1750-1820* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), p. 165.

⁴⁷ In the same way that Pulcinella's character traits could vary according to where he was seen so, too, could his costume. For example, in 17th-century France, he wore red breeches, a green jacket and a hat with cock feathers. Duchartre (1966), p. 220.

The anglicised version of Punch, with his dark, misogynistic tendencies, for example, is quite different from his Italian predecessor. Pulcinella played many parts within the *commedia dell'arte* scenarios - he could be a servant, peasant, dentist, physician, pirate, famous advocate, painter, simple soldier, or retired general. As a rule he appears as an old bachelor, often an eccentric and selfish old curmudgeon strongly inclined to sensual and epicurean gluttony. He is a changeable and slippery character and could be played as stupid pretending to be clever or clever pretending to be stupid. His chief predilections are women, drink and food. He can be any type by turns, 'a chameleon, despite the distinctiveness of his appearance, faithful, revengeful, sly, gullible, nervy, audacious, jealous, cowardly, bullying, sentimental, lazy.'⁴⁸ According to Duchartre, 'Pulcinella grew mellow with age, and lapsed into a sort of second childhood which softened his cruelty into mere teasing and his sensuality into coarseness. He became an honest citizen and waxed dull, though fortunately he never lost his wit entirely.'⁴⁹

These descriptions of Pulcinella's characteristics and professions clearly indicate that he was an apposite embodiment of an Everyman figure. Nevertheless, Pulcinella is really a humanoid character in that he displays human characteristics but belongs to the world of fiction.⁵⁰ In this way, he can almost engage our sympathies as one of us, though he is not so entirely human that he cannot be placed in incredible situations in terms of plot. For example, in the *Divertimento per li Regazzi* he can credibly be hatched by a turkey from an egg, *and* seen learning to walk in the room of an eighteenth-century Venetian house (Fig. 71; Cat. 11). Similarly, one can see Pulcinella labouring in the countryside of the Veneto, but he also appears in some of

⁴⁸ Rudlin (1994), p.161.

⁴⁹ Duchartre (1966), p. 215.

⁵⁰ Here I would disagree with Vetrocq who appears to regard Pulcinella as a purely fictional figure. Domenico's portrayal of the character, sometimes in 'everyday' situations and occasionally interacting with humans would suggest that the artist's relationship with Pulcinella is more subtle. Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pp. 24-28.

the broader mythological themes of European art – he participates in a *Triumph of Flora* (Fig. 72; Cat. 26) or is carried away on the wings of an eagle in a comically clumsy re-enactment of *Ganymede* (Fig. 22; Cat. 47). This very versatility would have made Pulcinella an ideal figure for Domenico's inventive purposes. He is not restricted by age, class, profession or temperament, is likeably roguish and belongs to a liminal world - part fantasy, part contemporary reality - and because of this, Pulcinella does not interfere with the artist's or the viewer's suspension of disbelief.

Pulcinella Amongst the *Commedia dell'Arte* Cast

One way of establishing why Domenico may have chosen Pulcinella to be the primary character of the *Divertimento per li Regazzi* is to compare him with the other *commedia* masks which Domenico could have chosen as alternatives – Arlecchino, Brighella, Pantalone, Il Dottore, Il Capitano and Pedrolino.

Although the Venetian mask, Pantalone, might appear to be the obvious choice for a Venetian artist, Pantalone could only be cast in a limited range of roles because of his advanced age. Il Dottore was also restrictive for the same reason and also because of his specific occupation. By contrast, Pulcinella is not restricted to a certain age, and can thus be a newborn baby, in his dotage, or any permutation in between, thus allowing Domenico to show the character at any stage in his life. The most likely alternatives to Pulcinella would have been Pedrolino and Arlecchino.

Pedrolino, though traditionally an unmasked character, is sartorially similar to Pulcinella. Pedrolino was a servant-type, but unlike the other *commedia* servants his character was somewhat naïve; he was mostly charming and trustworthy and frequently in love.⁵¹ Like the *inammorati*, Pedrolino's function was to express a state of mind as opposed to a specific set of characteristics. Although Pedrolino's charms

⁵¹ Duchartre (1966), p. 251.

were visually exploited by Jean-Antoine Watteau, one would suspect that this figure did not possess Pulcinella's native cunning and thus it would not be creditable to place him in the numerous sub-plots in which Pulcinella appears in Domenico's drawings. As a youngster Pulcinella is punished for contaminating the family's well with a dead fowl, in some scenes he is licentious and quarrelsome, in others he is over-indulgent, whilst later in life he is publicly flogged and imprisoned before being hauled before the magistrates and pardoned (Figs. 14, 15 and 16; Cat. 86, 34, 35). Whereas Pedrolino is often punished for playing tricks, these are normally conceived by others and not himself.⁵² Pulcinella, on the other hand, is usually the catalyst and instigator of mischief. In short, he is a far more active and versatile character.

Arlecchino's characteristics were as numerous as those of Pulcinella but arguably more predictable and less flexible. This is apparent from their description, cited by Duchartre, from the *Calendrier Historique des Théâtres* (1751):

'His character is that of an ignorant valet, fundamentally naïve, but nevertheless making every effort to be intelligent, even to the extent of seeming malicious. He is a glutton and a poltroon, but faithful and energetic. Through motives of fear or cupidity he is always ready to undertake any sort of rascality and deceit. He is a chameleon which takes on every colour. He must excel in impromptu, and the first thing that the public always asks of a new Harlequin is that he be agile, and that he jump well, dance, and then turn somersaults.'⁵³

Many of Arlecchino's character traits are similar to those of Pulcinella and, combined with his flexibility and physical agility, Arlecchino might equally have served as the main protagonist for Domenico's drawings. But perhaps he is too agile and thus possibly too elegant. Pulcinella's often clumsy movements certainly lend a far greater comic effect to Domenico's images, as can be seen in *Pulcinelli Pick*

⁵² Duchartre (1966), p. 251.

⁵³ Ibid, p. 133.

Apples and Fight, which to the right of the foreground shows a profusion of flailing arms, legs and sugar-loaf hats (Fig. 12, Cat. 88).

There is a precedent for using Arlecchino as a chief protagonist within a series of paintings by the Florentine artist, Giovanni Domenico Ferretti (1692-1768). He portrayed Arlecchino in a series of fifteen paintings, *The Disguises of Harlequin* (1740-1760), where Arlecchino is shown in a variety of stock disguises and situations: as a crippled soldier, a peasant, a scholar, a valet, a beggar, a victim, a painter (Fig. 73), a doctor, a brigand, a rejected lover, a cook, a glutton, a dancing master, a lacemaker and in a scene with Pulcinella and a cooking pot (Fig. 74).⁵⁴ Domenico was, on occasion, to depict themes like those of Ferretti in his *Divertimento*. For example, there is a Pulcinella as a schoolmaster, whilst on two occasions Pulcinella appears as an artist (Figs. 20 and 21; Cat. 70, 71) and; he is also shown in the guise of a cook, a doctor, a tailor, a dressmaker and a lover. Nevertheless, unlike Domenico, Ferretti does not show a mass migration of Arlecchini into his paintings, perhaps because the complexity of Arlecchino's costume precluded him from being used in the way that Domenico employed Pulcinella. Certainly, Arlecchino's multi-coloured costume would lend itself much better to painting than drawing: the complexity of Arlecchino's suit would be more time-consuming to draw than Pulcinella's comparatively simple, monochrome outfit. Secondly, Pulcinella's sartorial simplicity makes him easier to see duplicated as opposed to Arlecchino who, with his more complicated costume, could create a visually confusing composition if reproduced *en masse*.

From all of this it follows that various attributes possessed by Pulcinella – his flexibility in terms of age and occupation, his roguish but nonetheless likeable character, his clumsiness and his distinctive monochrome costume, made him the

⁵⁴ *I Travestimenti di Arlecchino*. The series forms part of the collection in The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota.

ideal means of exercising and displaying Domenico's virtuosity and his inventiveness as a draughtsman.

Pulcinella as Street Entertainer, Carnival Mask in the *Burattini* and Assistant to Charlatans

On the northern Italian stage, Pulcinella was not one of the cardinal masks but a familiar marginal character. In the southern-Italian scenarios which were often performed in Venice, Pulcinella would often be substituted by Arlecchino.⁵⁵ However, in Venice, Pulcinella was extremely familiar as a carnival mask, a street entertainer and in puppet booths (*burattini*) and appears to be a familiar fixture in genre scenes and *capricci* painted by Luca Carlevarijs, Francesco Guardi, Pietro Longhi and Gabriel Bella. The appearance of Pulcinella as a familiar figure in the scenes of the Piazzetta by the likes of Carlevarijs and Bella has already been mentioned. Similarly, Guardi and Longhi would sometimes show Pulcinella as a mask, presumably donned by some contemporary Venetian at the *Ridotto*, the public gaming house in Venice (Fig. 75). Often, in these scenes which depict aspects of Venetian life, Pulcinella is a liminal character, a discernable costume in a crowd.

Pulcinella is also present in eighteenth-century etchings. For example, the eighth engraving of Domenico Lovisa's album *Il Gran Teatro delle più insigni di Prospettive di Venezia* (1720) shows a hoard of Pulcinelli congregating amongst the crowd in Piazza San Marco on the last day of Carnival. Pulcinella can be seen once again in a puppet booth in Gaetano Zompini's series of etchings on the street criers in Venice, *L'Arti che vanno per via nella Città di Venezia* 1785 (Fig. 76).⁵⁶ Domenico

⁵⁵ In northern Italy, local character types flourished – Pantalone, Dottore, Arlecchino and Brighella, Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, p. 25.

⁵⁶ Gaetano Gherardo Zompini, *L'Arti che Vanno per Via nella Città di Venezia, Inventate ed Incise da G.Z. Aggiuntavia una Memoria di ditto Autore* (Venice, 1785).

also shows Pulcinella as a puppet in drawings on at least two occasions.⁵⁷ The most interesting of these is a variation of his uncle Francesco Guardi's famous painting depicting the Antechamber of the Nunnery at San Zaccaria which shows two boys watching a puppet show whilst their mother visits a relative in the convent (Fig. 77). Domenico's drawing depicts a similar scene, but gives a fascinating perspective, for we see the *parlatorio* of the convent from a vantage point somewhere behind the Pulcinella puppet booth (Fig. 78). It appears as though the main part of the audience is seen from the viewpoint of Pulcinella himself. In Guardi's interpretation, Pulcinella solely figures as being entertainment for children, whereas in Domenico's drawing, the children, the adult visitors and nuns all appear mesmerised by the puppet. This suggests something of Domenico's own attitude to Pulcinella – an apparently powerful figure who is able to command universal attention.

Pulcinella is often regarded as a trickster and is depicted as such in Venetian genre paintings of the era such as the aforementioned *Charlatans in Piazzetta San Marco* by Gabriel Bella (Fig. 68). Here we see two Pulcinelli, one is shown roaming among the crowd where quacks, fortune-tellers, charlatans and tumblers are plying their trades, and the other appears to be standing behind a table on which is placed an open box, adjacent to a tooth-puller. This visual evidence would again reinforce the connection, already noted, between Pulcinella and charlatans made by Erica Esau.⁵⁸ Esau is primarily concerned with the manifestation of Pulcinella in Giambattista's *Scherzi di Fantasia* series.⁵⁹ She asks how the figure of Pulcinella fits within these enigmatic compositions rife with magical connotations and how his appearance in the etchings would have been understood by his contemporaries (Figs. 79 and 80).

According to Esau, Pulcinella's relation to the charlatan and the prevalence of such

⁵⁷ One of these forms part of the collection formerly owned by the Duc de Talleyrand and shows a Punch and Judy show on the street.

⁵⁸ Esau (1991), p. 57.

⁵⁹ Ibid, pp. 40-57.

perpetrators of popular magic in eighteenth-century Europe are central to a plausible interpretation of Giambattista's *Scherzi* etchings. Esau's observations are also apposite when it comes to a consideration of Domenico's early easel paintings and in the 1791 version of *Il Mondo Nuovo* (Zianigo), where Pulcinella often appears in a crowd, sometimes where a charlatan is operating. Yet, interestingly, they do not always seem to apply to the *Divertimento per li Regazzi*. There, Pulcinella is not a liminal figure but instead becomes the main protagonist and, as has already been observed, also most of the supporting cast. Moreover, while Pulcinella generally retains his trickster qualities, he is now autonomous, and there are no examples where he is depicted as an accomplice to a dubious street entertainer.

In keeping with this, in eighteenth-century writing, Pulcinella certainly seems to have been regarded as an outrageous trickster. For example, Vetrocq alludes to eighteenth-century accounts of the antics of Pulcinella in public spaces in Venice. One might also make reference to the written accounts of various tourists in eighteenth-century Venice. One such was Abbé Croyer, who visited Venice in 1764 and was struck by the Pulcinelli among the charlatans and *saltimbanques* in the Piazza San Marco.⁶⁰ Similarly, Denis Diderot, in a letter to Sophie Volland dated 5 September 1762, relates the account of a dinner guest, Doctor Gati, who, during his travels to Italy, experienced first-hand a Venetian square during Carnival:⁶¹

‘He stopped in Venice, where Carnival lasts for six months and where the monks themselves dress in domino and mask, where in a single square you can see on one side a stage with mountebanks performing merry, but monstrously indecent farces, and on the other another stage with priests performing farces of a different complexion and shouting out: “Take no notice of those wretches;

⁶⁰ G.F. Croyer, *Voyage d'Italie* (Paris 1776), pp. 79-80.

⁶¹ Diderot's allusion to Pulcinella has previously been discussed by Vetrocq in Blomington (1979) p. 24, and by Adriano Mariuz, in 'I disegni di Pulcinella di Giandomenico Tiepolo', *Arte Veneta*, XL, 1986, pp. 265-273.

gentlemen; the Pulcinella you are flocking to is a feeble fool; here (displaying the crucifix) is the genuine Pulcinella, the great Pulcinella".⁶²

Diderot uses the opposing sides of the Venetian square rhetorically to create an impression of the full panoply of what Pulcinella could be – the agent who summons crowds to watch a vulgar farce and, at the same time, attracts crowds to a performance more holy and profound in nature; he is the crucified Christ. Therefore, in eighteenth-century Venice, where Pulcinella was a mask with such an incredible range of meanings, Diderot dares to suggest with ill-concealed anti-clericalism that one could even see Christ masking as Pulcinella. Perhaps the potential similarity between Pulcinella and Christ was not lost on Domenico whose frontispiece to the *Divertimento* (Fig. 69) parodies the title page to his *Via Crucis* (Fig. 81), and within the storyline of the *Divertimento* Pulcinella himself dies and is resurrected, albeit imperfectly (Fig. 28; Cat. 104).

Nevertheless, from Diderot's description, it would appear that Pulcinella acted as a marginal character, an agent who would summon crowds to a main event. From this and other accounts,⁶³ it seems that the Pulcinella street performers were vulgar buffoons, and that anyone who donned the Pulcinella mask could publicly indulge in the horseplay that became associated with the character of Pulcinella. In fact, by 1760 the problem had become so serious that the Procurator Marco Foscarini considered banning all Pulcinelli from the Piazza.⁶⁴ In itself, this suggests that Domenico may

⁶² 'On s'arrêta surtout à Venise; le moyen de ne pas s'arrêter dans un endroit où le carnaval dure pendant six mois, où les moines mêmes vont en masque et en domino, et où, sur une même place, on voit d'un côté, sur des tréteaux, des histrions qui jouent des farces gaies, mais d'une licence effrénée, et de l'autre côté, sur d'autres tréteaux, des histrions qui jouent des farces d'une autre couleur et s'écrient: "Messieurs, laissez là ces misérables; ce Polichinelle qui vous assemble là n'est qu'un sot: et en montrant le crucifix: "Le vrai Polichinelle, le grand Polichinelle, le voilà"', Paris, le 5 septembre 1762. Diderot, *Lettres à Sophie Volland: texte en grande partie inédit, publié pour la première fois d'après les manuscrits originaux, avec une introduction, des variants et des notes, par André Babelon* (Paris: 1930); *Diderot's Letters to Sophie Volland: a Selection*, translated by Peter France (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 119.

⁶³ Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pp. 24-25.

⁶⁴ Ibid, p. 24.

have focused on Pulcinella precisely because he was considered to be somewhat controversial and unruly in eighteenth-century Venice.

A Visual Tradition of Depicting Pulcinella

Pulcinella, along with other *commedia dell'arte* characters, has been depicted in the visual arts since this theatrical genre emerged in Italian Renaissance theatre. It would however be an insurmountable task to investigate every artistic representation of Pulcinella, and it would moreover be rather redundant given the fact that the representation of Pulcinella in art has been treated in part by Vetrocq, by Lawner in her book on *commedia dell'arte* in the visual arts, and, indeed, investigated extensively in a catalogue which accompanied an exhibition staged in Naples in 1990. This catalogue provides an ample survey of representations of Pulcinella from the fifteenth through to the nineteenth centuries.⁶⁵ It traces the earliest representations of Pulcinella as a two-dimensional theatrical type and shows his evolution into a distinct character acting out a part within a community of Pulcinelli. This is prevalent in the work of Alessandro Magnasco (Genoa, 1667-1749) and Pier Leone Ghezzi (Rome, 1674-1755). Pulcinella then evolves into a proto-human, a social being, interacting with members of Venetian society as he is depicted in Domenico's canvases and the *Divertimento*.

Given the already ample treatment of this topic, my focus remains upon the tradition of depicting the character in northern Italian art and on Pulcinella's development from a simple type in the engravings of Callot to the greater humanisation of the character in later imagery. It would appear that a veritable fashion for depicting Pulcinella developed in forms of popular eighteenth-century visual

⁶⁵ Naples 1990-1991, *Pulcinella Maschera del Mondo: Pulcinella e le Arti dal Cinquecento al Novecento*, (exhibition catalogue, Museo Prince Diego Aragona Pignatelli Cortes, Naples, 6 November 1990-6 January 1991), ed. Franco Carmelo Greco (Naples: Electa, 1990).

culture. The chief aim of this section, then, is to explore how the Tiepolos, and particularly Domenico, contributed to and situated themselves within this tradition.

As already noted, the seventeenth-century French engraver, Jacques Callot is amongst the earliest known artists to make a visual record of *commedia dell'arte* characters and to establish a tradition of theatre iconography. Although Callot was French, and his engravings, *I Balli di Sfessania*, were etched in Nancy c.1622, the *commedia* characters in his engravings seem to have been influenced by types the artist had encountered whilst working at the Florentine court of Cosimo II de' Medici.⁶⁶ It is known that Callot's images were widely disseminated in eighteenth-century Italy, and it is likely that the Tiepolos may have been acquainted with *I Balli di Sfessania*. Certainly, there is firm evidence that Domenico did own various other engravings by Callot.⁶⁷

I Balli di Sfessania comprise a frontispiece showing actors on a stage and twenty-three etchings, each one showing a pair of *commedia dell'arte* characters in stylised poses. The figure of Pulcinella is included – he is referred to as *Pulliciniello* in the Callot engraving – and we find him alongside the figure of Signora Lucretia, an *inammorata* (Fig. 82).⁶⁸ Because women had been absent from the stage for many centuries, when they began to reappear on the stage in the *commedia dell'arte*, their roles were not developed in the same way as the cardinal masks.⁶⁹ The *inammorata* could range from the most noble and tender lover to a worldly courtesan. Here, in a

⁶⁶ Gerald Kahan, *Jacques Callot Artist of the Theatre* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1976), p. 9.

⁶⁷ I refer to Lots 156 – 159 by, or after, Callot in the *Vente Tiépolo* (1845). Lot 156 – *La foire de Florence. Fe Florentia et excudit Nancy*. Lot 157 – *Vues de Paris, parterre de Nancy. L'Éventail, le jeu de boules, la chasse au cerf, portrait de Dervet, etc., figures grotesques d'après Callot*. Lot 158 – *Trattato delle piante et imagines de sacri edifizii de terra santa in Firenze. 1619*, Lot 159 – *Scetta d'Alcuni miracoli, e Grazie della santissima nunziata di Firenze, figure gravées par Callot*, p. 22.

⁶⁸ 'The *inammoratas* of the sixteenth century went by such names as Cornelia, Isabella, Lucinda, Flaminia, Lucrezia, Lavinia.' Duchartre (1966) p. 271.

⁶⁹ According to Duchartre, throughout the Christian world all women were prohibited from acting in the theatre. Women began to appear upon the stage in the sixteenth century in the more important *commedia* troupes, such as the Gelosi, and the ban was lifted against the appearance of women on the stage in several of the Italian states, though the exclusion of women on stage lasted in the Papal States into the eighteenth century. *Ibid*, p. 262.

scene full of implicit innuendo, Callot's Pulliciniello and Signora Lucretia occupy the foreground. Pulliciniello holds his hat downwards and sideways on towards the lower part of the inammorata's body, whilst Signora Lucretia holds Pulliciniello's arm; they gaze at one another and Pulliciniello holds his sword in a suggestively upright manner. The background is a busy village scene with characters fighting a duel, others chasing one another, several onlookers and a dog. It is not clear as to whether the chaotic background – showing the chasing and sparring of characters, directly reflects the foreground, unless it is supposed to be a painted backdrop against which Callot's main protagonists are meant to perform. Nevertheless, Callot's engravings are quite simple illustrations of *commedia* types – they do not appear to show any specific performers, but a pair of performers in stylised, characteristic poses. Unlike later visual representations of *commedia* characters, neither Callot's Pulliciniello, nor indeed any of the types in this series of illustrations are developed so far as to appear to live in a fictional world within the image they inhabit. Instead, they literally strike a pose in the foreground of a shallow space they populate.

By the eighteenth century, Pulcinella had become a favourite character in genre scenes, prints and engravings. The adjective, *pulcinellate*, emerged to describe interludes involving comic dances and diversions performed by Pulcinella and the other stock masks as part of theatrical routine. This term appears to have been extended to refer to a popular eighteenth-century genre of images featuring Pulcinella.⁷⁰ Carmelo Greco's survey indicates that images of Pulcinella were widely disseminated by the eighteenth century. Greco traces Pulcinella's development from caricature to a fictitious personality in the work of various named and anonymous

⁷⁰ Fort Worth 1986, 'Genre Painting in Eighteenth-Century North Italian Collections and Art Literature' in *Giuseppe Maria Crespi and the Emergence of Genre Painting in Italy* (exhibition catalogue, Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, Texas, 20 September – 7 December 1986), ed. John T. Spike (Fort Worth, Texas: Kimbell Art Museum, 1986), p. 85.

artists practising in the Veneto, as well as in the work of the Tiepolos.⁷¹ Therefore, although Domenico was to develop his Pulcinella type in a very specific way, the Tiepolos were most definitely participating in a eighteenth century vogue for illustrating *commedia* characters in general, and Pulcinella in particular, in the visual arts.

Even within the Tiepolos' oeuvre Pulcinella is shown in a number of ways. First, there are the caricature drawings of Giambattista. Here, the Pulcinelli have long, hooked noses and hunchbacked, dwarfish, bodies and they usually appear surrounded by groups of their own kind (Fig. 83). Pulcinella's appearances in the enigmatic *Scherzi* are difficult to define. In the *Scherzi di Fantasia* Pulcinella makes a surprising appearance, isolated from his tribe, amongst Orientals, satyrs and a range of unfathomable props where he appears to be in conversation with magi and acolytes (Fig. 79). In another scene, he is a tomb effigy surrounded by a youth, a wizard and a bare-breasted woman (Fig. 80). There are also pendant easel pieces; the first shows a group of Pulcinelli cooking and eating gnocchi (Fig. 84), the second has a group of Pulcinelli sitting around with a central figure, looking rather shame-faced, apparently in the act of defecating.⁷²

So, for Giambattista, Pulcinella was both a highly mysterious figure, yet also more basic and closely associated with fundamental bodily functions. These might consciously evoke what Peter Stallybrass refers to as the 'excremental obsession' in carnivalesque imagery, where rituals of consuming and discharging were often celebrated.⁷³ There is something verging on the tragic and the profoundly intolerant in the patent deformity of Giambattista's caricatures, for example, the large, bloated specimen that fills the sheet of the drawing now in the Courtauld Institute (Fig. 85).

⁷¹ Carmelo Greco (1990), pp. 343-357.

⁷² Current location unknown.

⁷³ Stallybrass and White (1986), p. 106.

When Domenico began to include Pulcinella in his work, it is not stylistically apparent that he drew upon his father's prototypes although he must have known them well. It may be a sign of changing times that Domenico's Pulcinelli were, by contrast, a lot less scabrous than his father's. It is through a reading of Norbert Elias's *Civilizing Process* that we gain awareness of a social and cultural shift in public comportment arguably generated by the proliferation of the middle classes, together with the control over 'inadmissible (bodily) impulses and tendencies'.⁷⁴ For example, Elias quotes from LaSalle's *Les Règles de la Bienséance et la Civilité Chrétienne* (Rouen, 1729).

'When you need to pass water, you should always withdraw to some unfrequented place. And it is proper (even for children) to perform other natural functions where you cannot be seen. It is very impolite to emit wind from your body when in company, either from above or from below, even if it is done without noise; and it is shameful and indecent to do it in a way that can be heard by others'.⁷⁵

This conscious emergence of the oppression of socially unacceptable inclinations in the form of courtesy literature might partially account for the difference in Domenico's interpretation of Pulcinella. In the *Divertimento*, Pulcinella is not just anthropomorphised, going about his daily business as part of a large, extended family, but in Domenico's hands he is aestheticised, made respectable and engages our sympathies.

Some of Giambattista's contemporaries, Ghezzi, for example, depicted Pulcinella as a buffoon in his earliest, rapidly treated pen drawings of the character,

⁷⁴ Norbert Elias, 'Changes in Attitude Toward the Natural Functions,' Part V, Chapter Two, *The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1978) (hereafter referred to as Elias (1978)), p. 150.

⁷⁵ Elias (1978), p. 132.

dated 1710.⁷⁶ In these, Ghezzi portrays Pulcinella in a cartoon-like manner, usually shown alone or with a cat or a donkey, somewhat clumsily performing a task – such as dancing, fencing or swinging his unfortunate feline companion by the tail. In a later series of engravings by Ghezzi, the artist's compositions move from the simple to the increasingly complex and recall similar compositions by Alessandro Magnasco (1667-1749). In the first of a pendant by Magnasco (c.1730, oil on canvas, Columbia Museum of Art), Pulcinella is shown in somewhat dark and impoverished circumstances with a large family of children, while in the second of the pair he is shown eating eels in front of Colombina, accompanied by a lute-playing Pulcinella and again with various young Pulcinelli in the foreground and background. Although there is no evidence to suggest that Domenico would have seen the work of Magnasco or Ghezzi, it is possible that their development of more complex depictions of Pulcinella may have prompted Domenico to develop his own more intricate elaborations.

George Knox posits an anthropological explanation for Giambattista's Pulcinella caricatures, which show Pulcinelli engaged in the activity of cooking and eating gnocchi (Fig. 83).⁷⁷ Knox suggests that many of these drawings by the elder Tiepolo may have been inspired by a tradition which took place at the festival of *Venerdi Gnoccolare* in Verona on the last day of Carnival. This involved the children from San Zeno, the poor quarter of the city, going to the Palazzo of the *Podestà* so as to invite him to the Piazza San Zeno to offer him a dish of gnocchi and a glass of wine.⁷⁸ Pulcinella's preoccupation with the cooking and eating of gnocchi is certainly a central feature of most of Giambattista's Pulcinella drawings, but is treated only

⁷⁶ The first folio of these drawings can be found in the *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Gabinetto delle Stampe e dei Disegni; Codice Ottoboniano Latino*.

⁷⁷ George Knox, 'The Punchinello Drawings of Giambattista Tiepolo' in *Interpretazione Veneziane: Studia di storia dell'arte in onore di Michelangelo Muraro*, ed. David Rosand (Venice: Arsenale Editrice, 1984) (hereafter Knox (1984)), pp. 439-446.

⁷⁸ Knox obtains his information from Alessandro Torri's, *Cenni storici ... Il Venerdi Ultimo di Carnevale denominato Gnoccolare ...* (Verona: Libanti, 1847). Knox (1983), note 22, p. 133.

intermittently in Domenico's interpretation of the character.⁷⁹ Nevertheless, the association between Pulcinella and festivals was clearly recognised by their contemporaries. The Veronese artist Marco Marcuola (1740-1793), who also depicted Pulcinella, decorated the Villa Canossa in Grezzano di Mozzecanne (date unknown) with scenes reputed to represent traditional rites of the Veronese carnival.⁸⁰ Unfortunately, the frescoes are badly dilapidated and the images can no longer be seen properly.

Marcuola's work is thought by Antonio Morassi to be autonomous, and there is no reason to believe that he was influenced by the Tiepolos.⁸¹ What this does show, however, is the fact that there was a well-established precedent for depicting Pulcinella in northern Italian villa decoration before Domenico's own efforts in the Zianigo villa. The scenes in Zianigo, however, are not related to festivities but show Pulcinelli engaging in various aspects of eighteenth-century life.

Domenico's early renditions of Pulcinella bear some resemblance to those of his uncle Francesco Guardi (1712-1793), who mainly specialised in views and scenes from eighteenth-century Venetian life. It is evident from Domenico's drawing showing the Pulcinella booth in the *parlatorio* of a convent that the artist was influenced by this aspect of his uncle's work (Figs. 77 and 78). Guardi's genre paintings occasionally showed Pulcinella as a figure in the crowd, as we can see in the *Sala Grande of the Ridotto* of c.1750 (Venice, Ca' Rezzonico) and in a later work, *Architettura con Maschere Carnevalesche*, of c. 1770 (Bergamo, Accademia Carrara), showing a small community of Pulcinelli in an architectural setting (Fig. 86).

⁷⁹ Giambattista's interest in Pulcinella appears to date from the 1730s, when he was working with Scipione Maffei on *Verona Illustrata*. Giambattista worked in Verona again in 1759 when he may have returned to the subject of Pulcinella – Knox refers to an important account of *Venerdì Gnoccolare* published by Gianalberto Tumermani in Verona in 1759.

⁸⁰ For a detailed description of the Veronese carnival rites illustrated in the Villa Canossa, see Mercedes Precerutti-Garberi, *Frescoes from Venetian Villas* (London: Phaidon, 1971) (hereafter Precerutti Garberi (1971)), pp. 401-403.

⁸¹ Precerutti Garberi (1971), p. 17.

Domenico's earliest paintings depicting Pulcinella show the character playing a subordinate role in a sub-genre similar to that of Guardi's *Ridotto* painting. However, by the mid-1750s, Domenico had developed and demonstrated his own identity as an artist depicting scenes from everyday life, and it is in this way that his first paintings of Pulcinella can be most readily understood. Although Pulcinella was to reappear in this way to a greater or lesser extent in the artist's work, it is not until the final decade of Domenico's life that Pulcinella became pervasive as part of the fresco cycle in the artist's own villa and in the *Divertimento per li Regazzi*.

It has already been observed how Domenico may have begun the *Divertimento* in 1797, the year of the fall of the Venetian Republic. Although this cannot be proved conclusively, it is perhaps worth considering the artist's choice of Pulcinella as the main protagonist for his drawings in the light of the political upheaval in Venice. Perhaps the apparent 'innocence' and humour associated with Pulcinella and Domenico's 'entertainment for children' enabled the artist to convey messages obliquely that may have been impossible to convey directly at the time. Certainly, Vetrocq is of the opinion that the execution scene, the sheet showing the Pulcinella before a firing squad (Fig. 87; Cat. 97), relates to events following the Napoleonic invasion of Venice.⁸² She makes similar points about the scene showing Pulcinella in a Malvasia (Fig. 88; Cat. 41), which includes the graffito of the winged lion of St Mark on the tavern wall, which may be a symbol of defiance. It is possible that Domenico was, in part, using a liminal character traditionally associated with pranks and jokes to comment on the political situation in Venice at the end of the eighteenth century. However, the scenes that may be associated with political dissent account for only a small fraction of the series and therefore it is most unlikely that this was the main or only purpose behind the making of the suite of drawings.

⁸² Vetrocq (1979), p.91 and 104 respectively.

I have tried to imagine why, towards the end of his life, the aging Domenico should have produced the *Divertimento per li Regazzi*, an enigmatic series of 104 drawings showing the character of Pulcinella amongst eighteenth-century Venetians and as a protagonist in broader art-historical themes. This chapter raised two broad questions. First, it asked why Domenico should have chosen a *commedia dell'arte* character to be the hero of the *Divertimento*. To understand this, the attitudes to the *commedia* as a genre of theatre in eighteenth-century Venice have been explored. The question has also been raised as to why, in particular, Domenico should have chosen to depict the character of Pulcinella in the suite of drawings.

There are three possible factors which may have influenced Domenico's choice of a character from the *commedia dell'arte* for his work. These are political, technical and environmental. Looking at the first of these again, in view of the supposition that the *Divertimento* is thought to have been started in 1797, there has been a tendency to automatically link these drawings with this monolithic moment in Venetian history. Vetrocq's hypothesis that there was a contemporary, proto-nationalist, move to establish a connection between the *commedia dell'arte* and what was thought to be its ancient derivative, the *Atellanæ* has been explored. Since it is likely that Domenico would have been aware of this debate, it could be seen as an act of defiance to have evoked the *commedia dell'arte*, an indigenous theatrical form, during the Napoleonic invasion. It ought to be reinforced, however, that the origins of the *commedia dell'arte* remain ambiguous, and whilst aspects of this genre of theatre appear to share similar characteristics to those of the *Atellanæ*, this line of argument needs to be regarded with some caution.

There was clearly a tradition in art of depicting *commedia dell'arte* characters, generally, and Pulcinella more specifically. This is a tradition which began in the sixteenth century and reached its most expansive form with Domenico's interpretation of the character. Although it would be tempting to conclude that Domenico was most likely influenced by his father's interpretation of Pulcinella, on balance it is more probable that his earliest depictions were more in keeping with those of his uncle, Francesco Guardi. However, whilst Guardi's Pulcinella figures may have inspired Domenico's early paintings, in my opinion Guardi's Pulcinelli were little more than picturesque props on his canvases. In contrast, the Pulcinelli of Domenico's *Divertimento* represent an integrated community of the creatures, which could more appropriately be compared to the forty-three scenes of the history, life and customs of the Turks which were commissioned from his other uncle, Antonio Guardi (1698-1760) by Field Marshal Schulenberg in c. 1742.⁸³

However, to my mind, the improvisatory quality of the *commedia dell'arte* and the very flexibility of Pulcinella himself, may provide the real key to understanding Domenico's choice of the character for the *Divertimento*. The main features of this genre of theatre were: firstly, it was masked theatre; secondly, the characters exploited regional stereotypes; and, thirdly, the dialogue and action was wholly improvised. This was punctuated with *intermezzi* involving dance routines and acrobatics. In this respect there is a correlation between Domenico's own inventive practices and the improvisatory nature of the *commedia*. The way in which the *commedia dell'arte* was regarded is particularly well documented in eighteenth-century visual and verbal sources. Visually, from Jacques Callot through to the eighteenth-century Venetian *vedutisti*, there is material which shows how the *commedia dell'arte* performances would have been staged and also how the character

⁸³ Venice 1993, *Guardi Quadri Turcheschi* (exhibition catalogue, Galleria di Palazzo Cini, 28 August – 11 September 1993), ed. Alessandro Bettagno (Milan: Electa, 1993).

of Pulcinella would have appeared to the eighteenth-century tourist and native Venetian alike. He would have been a familiar figure but, at the same time, regarded as a liminal character, often drawing the crowd's attention to another performance or displays by charlatans. Pulcinella's behaviour was associated with vulgarity, bawdiness and licentiousness and, for this very reason, he could be an appealing mask to wear during carnival, allowing his wearer the scope to behave with abandon but also with profundity if we recall Diderot's Pulcinella-Christ.

In short, the figure of Pulcinella allowed Domenico endless scope for his improvisatory talents. Clearly, an artist depicting this character would have the opportunity to place Pulcinella in a variety of circumstances that arguably would not be feasible with other masks as these were often restricted by age, appearance or narrowly defined traits of character. It has also been argued that, sartorially, with his striking yet simple monochrome costume, Pulcinella would make an ideal subject for Domenico's draughtsmanship, as well as for a product which may have been intended to be converted into black and white prints. Undeniably, even from an early age, drawing was the medium to which Domenico most happily committed himself when he was not obliged to contribute to the history paintings for which his family workshop was most renowned, and it was the medium to which he returned in his old age, to divert himself, and with which to mark time.⁸⁴

⁸⁴ Mariuz in Udine 1996, p. 23.

Chapter IV

Motifs, Visual and Textual Sources in *Divertimento per li Regazzi*

‘Comic meaning [is] obtained when an absurd idea is inserted into some well-established phrasing’¹

What follows is an analysis of the motifs, themes, visual and textual sources of the drawings that comprise the *Divertimento per li Regazzi*. Chapter I of this thesis included a summary of the contents of the drawings, a description of their dimensions, the materials used by Domenico in their execution, and referred to their unbound format. The aims of the present analysis are threefold: first, to suggest a possible purpose for the drawings; second, to understand who the potential viewers for the series might have been, and third, to demonstrate Domenico’s gamesmanship and humour in these sheets. These aims will support the hypotheses and connections made later in this chapter and in Chapter V which is particularly concerned with the high incidence of quotation from the artist’s own work, together with quotations from his father’s work and that of other artists, both Domenico’s contemporaries and artists of the past.

An important resource for elaborating an analysis of the *Divertimento* is the *Vente Tiépolo* catalogue, first mentioned by Byam Shaw and also used to a certain extent by Marcia Vetrocq to identify the artist’s sources when she first catalogued the drawings as part of her doctoral thesis.² As mentioned above, the auction catalogue provides a record of Domenico’s own collection of drawings, old master prints, books and some ornaments which were auctioned in Paris in November 1845 and, as such, furnishes vital documentary evidence of some of Domenico’s sources of inspiration. With the help of this and Adam Bartsch’s *Le Peintre Graveur* (1803-1821) from

¹ Bergson (1911), p. 112.

² See Chapter I, p. 10.

which the text of the catalogue quotes heavily, it has been possible to locate some of the references used by Domenico in this series. The auction catalogue demonstrates that, for example, Domenico had a decided penchant for suites of prints: in addition to Goya's *Caprichos*, there are engravings of Raphael's Vatican *stanze* and series or groups of similar items, which is significant in view of the artist's own preference for drawing in series.³ In the catalogue there are also sheets of ornamentation, such as details of jewellery and chandeliers, and engravings of ruins, architectural details, urns and emblem books, which on occasion inform motifs and iconographic details in the *Divertimento*.⁴

One of the methodological difficulties I have already identified for any scholar approaching the *Divertimento* is the ordering of the series. As already noted, two-thirds of the drawings are visibly numbered, in the artist's own hand, at the bottom right-hand corner.⁵ However, as observed above, Domenico's ordering of the series has rarely been followed by art historians working on the drawings.⁶

³ Lot 2: Life and adventures of a hermit saint, 28 drawings; Lot 3: Suite of Italian drawings; Lot 7: Suite of subjects from a fable after the fresco paintings of Gaspare Poussin and Pietre de Cortonne; Lot 22: Suite of 13 drawings of the Apostles; Lot 36: Caraglio's *Labours of Hercules*; Lot 47: Raphael's *Fables of Psyche*, engraved by Augustin de Vénitien; Lot 56: 47 sheets depicting *The Marriage of Psyche* by Franco Baptista; Lot 77: Goya's *Caprichos*, 80 sheets; Lot 87: Anon., 32 woodcuts of pious subjects from *The Chronicles of Nuremberg*; Lot 88: 97 woodcuts of *The Dance of Death*; Lot 93: Albrecht Dürer's suite of 37 sheets showing *The Passion of Christ*; Lot 94: Dürer, *Scenes from the Life of the Virgin* (20 sheets); Lot 96: Hans Beham, Suite of 79 engravings showing various subjects from the Old Testament. Suite of 28 engravings of *Visions of the Apocalypse*; Lot 140: Androuet-Ducerceau, *Suite of Arabesques* (98 pieces); Lot 152: Claude Lorrain, suite of landscapes; Lot 164: Albert Flamen, Suite of four prints showing Paris and its *environs*, Lot 193: C. Floris, Antwerp, Suite of 16 vases. Although many of the remaining lots contain large numbers of engravings by the same artist, here only those specifically described as suites are enumerated.

⁴ Lots 201-209 include: 201: Decorations for Jewellery, of which some drop earrings were designed by Pierre Woeriot (c.1532-1599) goldsmith, sculptor, draughtsman and engraver; others from unknown designers. 18 pieces; 202: Copperplate engravings for goldsmiths and other artisans by Théodor de Bry (1528-1598); 203: Locks, keys, console, sword handles, engraved by Jacquard, Master gunsmith of Bordeaux, ca. 1613, 8-10 rare pieces. 204: Designs for tapestries in leather 16C. 12 pieces; 205: Sheets of designs for goldsmiths, invented by P. de la Barre, master goldsmith in Paris. Three pieces engraved by J. Briot, rare; 206: Several arabesque ornaments by de La Feuille, 1693, drawings of embellishments for thrones by N. Loir, various drawings of decorations by Le Paultre, apartment panels and chimneys by Beurain, 45 pieces; 207: New drawings for goldsmiths invented and engraved by Masson, others by Gilles l'Égaré (17C jeweller to Royalty). 25 pieces; 208: Decorations for jewellery, earrings etc, 24 pieces, anonymous; 209: Decorations for jewellery and goldsmiths, earrings, hooks, tiaras, belts, buckles, boots, cases etc. By Albini, Morison, Bourdon, 1703-1744. 40 pieces.

⁵ See Chapter I, 'The Chronology of the Drawings', pp. 5-8.

⁶ See Appendix I: Updated Concordance Showing Scholars' Chronological Interpretations of *Divertimento per li Regazzi*.

Analysing the sources, themes and motifs in the drawings, and pursuing any thematic structure is inherently problematic in view of the fact that the various categories conflate. For example, in addressing Domenico's sources, the artist could be quoting his father who, in turn, is quoting Veronese; consequently, Domenico is not only quoting Giambattista but another artist simultaneously. A similar problem arises when considering the series thematically: a sheet which appears to be dealing with paternity might also contain Christological resonance – consequently a thematic 'reading' of the images is often subject to the viewer's own perspective. An apposite cognate textual comparison to the *Divertimento* would be Stefane Mallarmé's (1842-1898) *Igitur* (published posthumously in 1925), in which the poet deliberately uses blank space, with words strategically placed upon a page, so as to allow his reader to make multiple non-linear readings of his text, and re-interpret the work.⁷

This notion of 'intertextuality' was explored by Roland Barthes in his essay, 'The Death of the Author' (1967).⁸ Its corollary in the realm of the visual might be 'intervisuality' or 'interpictoriality', which relates to the pictorial recontextualisation of existing iconographic material,⁹ and which Domenico does to a significant extent in the *Divertimento*, whilst simultaneously offering any potential viewer the structural flexibility to reconfigure and reinterpret the Pulcinella series for her/himself.

⁷ The problems of Staging *Igitur* were discussed by Dr Danae Stefanou (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki) in her paper 'Sounds of Absence: on the Elusive Identity of Re-imagined spaces', at *Image Music Identity*, a Royal Musical Association Study Day at The University of Nottingham, 6 June 2009.

⁸ Roland Barthes, 'The Death of the Author', in *Image, Music Text*, translated by Stephen Heath, (London: Fontana, 1977), pp. 142-148.

⁹ This concept will be discussed in 'Intervisuality in Medieval Art', at a forthcoming conference of The Association of Art Historians, University of Glasgow, 15-17 April 2010.

Repetition of Motifs and their Iconographic Significance in *Divertimento per li Regazzi*

Throughout *Divertimento per li Regazzi*, certain motifs are repeated, for details of which see Appendix VI. The most frequently used is that of the striped fabric, which occurs no less than sixty times within the series.¹⁰ The distinctive striped and tasselled hat worn by a human character in the barber's shop (Fig. 17; Cat. 53) is also worn by the Pulcinella-couturier's assistant. Moreover, a variety of breeds of dog make forty-nine appearances in the *Divertimento*: for example, the terrier begging to his mistress in the drawing where Pulcinella learns to walk (Fig. 71, Cat. 11) is the same dog shown in the badminton match (Fig. 9, Cat. 29) and the schoolroom (Fig. 6; Cat 18). The watch tower at the end of the wall in the game of bowls reappears, reversed, in the Pulcinella firing squad (Figs. 8 and 87; Cat. 20, 97).

Many of the objects included in the frontispiece (Fig. 69, Cat. Frontispiece), for example, represent motifs that recur throughout the series of drawings. The doll often resembles the female figure which recurs in the series, leaning over the balcony in the drawing depicting *Pulcinella Marries a Human Bride* (Fig. 4; Cat. 3), she reappears at the wedding feast, and leans over yet another balcony in a drawing showing Pulcinella with the ostriches (Fig. 89; Cat. 81) and makes further appearances in eight other sheets. Incorporating her into the frontispiece as a doll would imply, in a post-feminist interpretation of the series, that she is merely an accessory in the predominantly fraternal world of the Pulcinelli, along with the dog

¹⁰ Striped fabric and striped garments are a recurring decoration in the *Divertimento*. Striped garments were often, though not always, an Orientalising motif. There are examples of striped garments in Topkapi Sarayi's *Costumes et Tissues Brodés sous la Direction de J.M. Rogers* (Paris: Les Éditions du Jaguar), 1987, pp. 168-169. For a more general work on the stripe on eighteenth-century fabrics see 'Dall'Orizzontale al Verticale e Ritorno (XVI-XIX secolo)' in Michel Pastoureau, *La Stoffa del Diavolo: Una Storia delle Righe e dei Tessuti Rigati*, ed. Massimo Scotti (Genoa: Il Melangolo s.r.l., Genova, 1993), pp. 41-46.

and the other passive objects present in the drawing.¹¹ As Griselda Pollock observes, ‘Art History itself is to be understood as a series of representational practices which actively produce definitions of sexual difference’ and whilst it is not within the remit of this thesis to discuss in depth the gendered representations within the *Divertimento*. Domenico’s representation of female figures varies, in some cases they are subservient or passive, in others, and their agency appears at least equal to that of the male figures. It is also interesting to note how the female figures are represented in the private and public spheres, pre- and post marriage, the frequency with which they appear masked and unmasked and their roles as mainly wives, mothers and maids, fecund or as androgynous post-menopausal crones.

Of course, some objects may be riper with iconographic significance than others. The sarcophagus/altar, which appears in the frontispiece and in further compositions throughout the series, is redolent of death and often has Christological resonance denoting the death and resurrection of Christ, and would therefore be consistent with other references to the life of Christ, episodes of which are sometimes parodied in this series.¹² The sarcophagus should not be regarded as a one-off device to frame the title of the suite for it appears, as will be shown, in four other places. It is also a favourite motif in Domenico’s earlier work: it featured in his etchings of the *Via Crucis* (1749) and also in his adapted frontispiece of the *Scherzi di Fantasia* (c.1772) which he reworked as a memorial to his father. Vetrocq has observed that the frontispiece to the *Divertimento* is an ironic replay of one of Giambattista’s etchings in the aforementioned *Scherzi*, which shows a group, including a shepherd, stumbling upon Pulcinella’s tomb (Fig. 80).¹³ Giambattista’s *Pulcinella’s Tomb* in turn could be

¹¹ See, for example, Griselda Pollock, Chapter Three ‘Modernity and the Spaces of Femininity’ in *Vision and Difference: Feminism, Femininity and Histories of Art* (London and New York: Routledge, 1988), (hereafter referred to as Pollock (1988)), p. 11.

¹² Helen E. Roberts (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Comparative Iconography: Themes Depicted in Works of Art* (Chicago and London: Fitzroy Dearborn, 1998).

¹³ Vetrocq (1979), p. 95.

a satirical reference to *Et in Arcadia Ego*, which most famously appears as a title of two paintings by Nicolas Poussin (1594-1665), depicting pastoral shepherds clustering round an austere tomb (Fig. 90). In view of the personal and iconographic reverberations in this composition, and the fact that the artist was consciously making this series late in his life, I would infer that the *Divertimento* was intended as the artist's own *memento mori*, a hypothesis which is further explored in Chapter VI. The sarcophagus appears in the sheet which shows *Pulcinella in Love*, which is possibly a comment on the sometimes ephemeral nature of love; it reappears in *A Triumph of Pulcinella*, and arguably in a more conventional context in drawings showing Pulcinella collapsing by a villa wall and Pulcinella's ghost.

The ladder which is another prominent feature of the frontispiece recurs in sixteen sheets. Whilst its presence may be read as functional, it should also be remembered that in Western European art, it is regarded as one of the Instruments of the Passion and features in scenes portraying *The Raising of the Cross* and *The Descent from the Cross*. Similarly, the presence of the wine and gnocchi could be interpreted as a substitute, in Pulcinella's world, for the Eucharistic elements. As mentioned earlier, dogs are a recurring motif. Pulcinella frequently has a canine companion which, along with other breeds of the species, is often included in the drawings which follow and has been described in Pliny the Elder's *Natural History* as the animal most faithful to man. In Dominican iconography, dogs *Domini Canes* or 'dogs of the Lord' can be understood as a pun on St. Dominic's name.¹⁴

Each sheet may largely be a new composition, but it is often possible to recognise a dog, an accessory, an individual or an item of clothing across a number of sheets. An oval grilled-window in the drawing showing Pulcinelli at supper recurs in

¹⁴ A reference to Dominican iconography and *Domini Canes* can be found in Joseph Polzer's 'Andrea di Bonaiuto's *Via Veritatis* and Dominican Thought in late Medieval Italy', *The Art Bulletin*, 77, no. 2, June 1995, pp. 263-289. Here, Polzer reflects upon the symbolism in di Bonaiuto's fresco *Via Veritatis* in the priory of Sta. Maria Novella, Florence, p. 268.

the drawing of the workshop of the Pulcinella-carpenter (Fig. 19; Cat. 56). Although she appears only twice, once in a scene showing Pulcinella being entertained by dancing dogs, and again in a pastoral vignette, the figure of the spinning woman is striking. The spindle is the attribute in Greek mythology of Lachesis or her sister Clotho, who spins the threads of a human life with her distaff, and occasionally in Byzantine images the distaff is held by the Virgin Mary thus the motif simultaneously concurs with the *memento mori* theme which is so prevalent in the series and also makes reference to biblical narrative.

The figure holding an eyeglass is repeated twice, once in the sheet showing Pulcinella in Love and again in the flogging scene. In the love scene, Pulcinella, viewed from behind, observes the couple through an eye glass. The man with an eyeglass is a favourite Tiepolo motif, occurring in a caricature by Giambattista, a figure in Domenico's *The New World* fresco in Zianigo and an elderly gentleman in a flogging scene in the *Divertimento* (Figs. 91, 29, and 14 Cat. 85). The eyeglass has a long iconographic tradition, dating back to Pieter Breughel the Elder's (c.1525-69) drawing of the painter and the connoisseur (Fig. 93).

Another interesting motif which is repeated, albeit only three times, is the shuttlecock. It appears first in the scene showing Pulcinella in love, where a racquet and shuttlecock is strewn on the ground in the immediate foreground. It appears again in sheets depicting the victor of a game of shuttlecock and the game in progress. The Italian noun *volano* particularly emphasises the flighty nature of the game, and this whole notion of flight has various art-historical and conceptual resonances that will be explored in the following chapter. Moreover, Pulcinella appears to be a 'flighty' character, and this is reinforced elsewhere by his avian ancestry and various airborne exploits such as swinging, trapeze and tightrope walking.

One of Domenico's practices as a draughtsman was to adapt pictorial elements by placing a familiar figure or object in an unfamiliar context; thus the reworking of favourite motifs within the series lends a sense of resonance and familiarity to individual sheets within the suite. Consequently, a figure in biblical clothing may not immediately seem out of place at Pulcinella's burial, and an eighteenth-century Venetian context for *The Calling of Matthew* would seem unremarkable were it not for the entrance of Jesus and two of his followers in conventional biblical attire (Fig. 27; Cat. 103 and Fig. 94). This technique is most commonly used in *capricci*, a form of visual joke. The leading practitioners in this genre in Venice were Giambattista Tiepolo, Antonio Canal and Francesco Guardi, and it would therefore have been a very familiar practice to Domenico. Furthermore, Domenico's tendency to illustrate circumstantial aspects of an incident can give the impression of a moment caught in time that can make a *vignette* appear as though it should be part of a longer continuous narrative. This may well build on the tradition of the 'eye witness' style of painters such as Vittore Carpaccio,¹⁵ thus offering Domenico the opportunity to again celebrate a particularly Venetian tradition.

Having enumerated the repetition of individual motifs, I do not believe that any special significance can be attached to their repetition, which was used by Domenico to give a sense of narrative continuity to the *vignettes*. This type of repetition is too frequent to enumerate here; however, it was surely designed to give Domenico's viewers the impression of being already acquainted with the drawing. It also gives a teasing sense of a coherent storyline in a series containing various subplots and where the endgame is ambiguous.

¹⁵ For further discussion of the 'eyewitness' style, see 'The Eyewitness', in Patricia Fortini Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting in the Age of Carpaccio* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988), pp. 125–134.

Visual and Textual Sources in *Divertimento Per li Regazzi*

One of the most striking characteristics of the series is that Domenico quotes from other works of art, most notably his own earlier work, citation of his father, Giambattista's work, and those occasions where he paraphrases the work of others, both contemporaries such as fellow academician Pietro Longhi, as well as artists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The quotations range from the precise to more subtle evocations of an artist's works.

In the *Divertimento*, Domenico paraphrases at least ten drawings from his own *Scenes of Contemporary Life*, whilst he also reworks some of the satyr and centaur monochrome frescoes from his villa, as well as making subtle allusions to his earlier work. Altogether thirty-six drawings in this series, in some way, recall facets of Domenico's personal iconographic repertory.¹⁶

Quotations from the Work of Giambattista Tiepolo

Pulcinella's wedding banquet evokes Giambattista's painting of *Anthony and Cleopatra* (Palazzo Labia, Venice) (Fig. 95), which Domenico quotes previously in a drawing of a Venetian banquet in *Scenes of Contemporary Life*. In this composition Domenico evokes the spirit of Veronese's famous banquets such as *Christ in the House of Levi* (Accademia, Venice) through the medium of his father's work.¹⁷

The drawing showing Pulcinella in love is replete with quotations from his father as well as other sources: it shows a doting Pulcinella kneeling before a masked woman whom he embraces: this recalls the amorous couple in a monochrome depicting the courtship of Pulcinella at Zianigo (Fig. 96) and also one of Giambattista's variations on *Rinaldo and Armida* (Fig. 97) although here Domenico simultaneously quotes other aspects of his own and his father's work for example, the

¹⁶ This is discussed in detail in the catalogue entries in Vetrocq's unpublished Ph.D. thesis. Vetrocq (1979), pp. 93-190.

¹⁷ Chapter II refers to Giambattista Tiepolo's reputation as *Veronese Redivivus*, p. 53.

central middle ground shows a Pulcinella bending over a large hound similar to the dog belonging to the architect Balthasar Neumann (Fig. 98), who appears in the European quarter of *Apollo and the Four Continents* at Würzburg.

In a depiction of a Pulcinella *Triumph of Flora*, a triumphal procession led by Venus in which Flora rides on a chariot drawn by putti, Domenico closely quotes his father's work, a painting of the same subject which was commissioned by Francesco Algarotti for the Dresden Court in 1743 (Fig. 99). In Giambattista's prototype, Flora is being transported into view by three *putti*, while a nymph dances alongside Flora's coach with two nymphs, one is playing a tambourine. There are discarded items of clothing in the right foreground, a stone drinking vessel and a stick. To the left crouch a shepherd and a soldier, their hands full of blossom with which to shower Flora and her attendants. The action is situated against a villa wall and an avenue of poplar trees. Sphinxes sit on the columns which form the entrance to the garden (which are metamorphosed into urns in Domenico's composition). Behind the wall are three statues: a male figure holding a sheep which could represent a statue of Hermes, a central statue of a woman holding a laurel wreath and a statue of a woman, potentially a vestal virgin, who could be a nymph or a river goddess. Centrally, in the far distance, is an ornate stone water feature which was apparently in the patron's garden in Dresden.¹⁸

Many other drawings, a sample of which is discussed here, include incidental details drawn from Giambattista's work. For example, the drawing showing Pulcinella cooking polenta (Fig. 100; Cat. 30) modifies one of Giambattista's compositions, which was etched by GB Schmidt in 1751 (Fig. 101). Four sheets depict the arrest, imprisonment, trial and release of Pulcinella (Figs. 102, 15, 16 and 103; Cat. 33, 34, 35, 36). The first of the sheets that form this sub-plot is heavily populated with human

¹⁸ Barcham (1992), p. 84.

and Pulcinella figures, the figure in a tricorn hat who resembles a study of a man for the European quarter of *Apollo and the Four Continents* in Würzburg (Fig. 104).

Giambattista's Würzburg commission is again cited in a drawing of Pulcinella with an ostrich (Fig. 89; Cat. 81). This composition depicts three ostriches strutting across the lower foreground and the first bird is being apprehended by a Pulcinella who stops to examine its wing. The ostrich being apprehended by a monkey originally appeared in the African quarter of the Würzburg fresco (Fig 105), itself a copy by Giambattista derived from Stefano della Bella. The group of ladies and gentleman derive from Giambattista's frescoes for the Villa Contarini alla Mira (c.1750).

The amount of detail in Domenico's quotations from his father's work varies enormously, from the occasional figure, to blatant pastiche as is the case with *Pulcinella's Marriage*, *Pulcinella in Love* and *Pulcinella Triumph of Flora*. Although it is not possible to speculate why Domenico felt these compositions in particular merited such close re-contextualisation, the sheer detail in Domenico's subversion of these three paintings in particular is an indication of his intense engagement with his father's work and a further opportunity to recall, commemorate and perhaps even to satirise it.

Quotations from the Work of Pietro Longhi

Of his Venetian contemporaries, Domenico most frequently quoted the genre painter Pietro Longhi (1701-1785). For example, Domenico's sheet depicting Pulcinelli being entertained by dancing dogs evokes a composition by Longhi whose painting of *The Lion's Cabin* (1762) can be seen in the Querini Stampalia (Fig. 106).¹⁹ Likewise, the drawing depicting the flagellation of Pulcinella paraphrases a composition by Pietro Longhi showing a schoolboy being flogged (also Querini Stampalia).

¹⁹ Gealt (1986), p.76.

The sheet showing Pulcinella shooting waterfowl is the first of three hunting scenes in the *Divertimento*. Vetrocq observed, a sunrise fowl-hunt was depicted in seven paintings by Longhi, and Domenico's subject corresponds most closely to the sixth scene (Querini Stampalia).²⁰ Three sheets from the *Divertimento* depict Pulcinella with exotic animals: an elephant and a caged leopard. These drawings quote Longhi's most famous genre paintings, such as *The Rhinoceros*, and a painting showing an elephant (Ca' Rezzonico), and commemorated a tradition of displaying exotic animals in Venice during Carnival.²¹ A further sheet from the *Divertimento* showing a caged lion is quoted directly from *Scenes of Contemporary Life*, although Pietro Longhi depicted a lion during the carnival of 1762.²² Longhi was most famous for chronicling aspects of the daily lives and entertainments of eighteenth-century Venetians: a genre to which Domenico happily committed himself when he was not obliged to assist his father on grandiose paintings in the family tradition.

Quotations from the Work of Venetian Painters from the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries

Other Venetian artists evoked by Domenico, albeit fleetingly, are Titian, Paolo Veronese, the Bellini and Carpaccio. Veronese is paraphrased, albeit through Giambattista's work most notably in the scenes depicting Pulcinella's wedding scene and wedding banquet. They are primarily re-workings of Giambattista's compositions

²⁰ Vetrocq (1979), p. 135.

²¹ Clara the Rhinoceros (1738-1758) was adopted at the age of one month by Jan Albert Sichterman, Director of The Dutch East India Company in Bengal after her mother had been killed by Indian hunters. Sichterman brought her to Europe where she was publicly exhibited, to great acclaim, for the duration of her twenty-year life. She was an attraction in the Venetian carnival of 1751 where she was immortalised by Longhi. Glynis Ridley, 'Laying down with the Lion – Carnival in Venice', *Clara's Grand Tour: Travels with a Rhinoceros in Eighteenth-century Europe* (New York: Grove Atlantic Ltd, New York, 2004), (hereafter referred to as Ridley (2004)), pp. 162-186.

²² The Lion was a carnival attraction, displayed in St Mark's Square in 1762. According to Ridley, the animal was so tame that 'for many contemporary commentators and subsequent historians of Venice, the poor beast only seemed to emphasize the fact that this was a once mighty power in real decline.' *Ibid.*, p. 196.

mentioned above, in which Giambattista paid tribute to Veronese who, it is documented, he admired.²³

Titian is suggested in two sheets in the *Divertimento*: the drawing showing *Pulcinelli Stealing Apples and Fighting* is reminiscent of Titian's *Worship of Venus* which depicts a significant tangle of *Putti* picking up golden apples (Fig. 107). It is a painting which Tiepolo would undoubtedly have known, having worked in Madrid. Titian is more overtly lampooned in the drawing depicting *Pulcinella Cattle-Dealers* where a bearded figure, in white, wearing a skull cap, whose facial features significantly recall those of Titian in his late *Self-Portrait* (Madrid) which again Domenico may well have seen during his sojourn in the city.

The turbaned Oriental figure which appears no less than sixteen times in the *Divertimento* is a recontextualisation of a recurring feature in Venetian paintings depicting the near and middle East from the Bellini and Carpaccio.

Quotations from Other Artists

There are two particularly striking examples of Domenico quoting other Italian artists. The first is Michelangelo Buonarroti's (1475-1564) famously elegant drawing of *Ganymede* (Fig. 108), which is commemorated and parodied by Domenico in his own deliberately clumsily comic re-enactment of the scene in the *Divertimento*. The second is the entire section of a drawing showing Pulcinella's ghost. The part of the composition showing a *transi* figure beside Pulcinella's grave and an ornate sarcophagus with caryatids has been quoted verbatim from Giorgio Ghisi's (1520-

²³ Morassi, in his chronology of Giambattista Tiepolo, describes how Francesco Algarotti acquired a *Rape of Europa* by Veronese for Augustus III of Saxony. Morassi quotes an excerpt of a letter from Algarotti to Heinrich Count von Brühl, statesman at the Court of Saxony, which describes Tiepolo's enthusiasm for Veronese's painting: 'J'ai consulté particulièrement Tiepolo, qui a étudié toujours et imité si bien la manière de Paul Veronese. Il a été longtemps en extase devant ce tableau. ...' ('I consulted Tiepolo, who has always studied and imitated Paul Veronese's style very well. He was in ecstasy in front of this painting for a long time ...'). Morassi cites Hans Posse, *Die Briefe des Grafen Francesco Algarotti an den Sächsischen Hof und seine Bilderkäufe für die Dresdner Gemäldegalerie, 1743-1747* (Berlin: 1931), pp. 41, 45. Morassi (1962), p. 233.

1582) engraving of Giovanni Battista Bertano's (1516-1576) *Vision of Ezekiel* (1554) (Fig. 109).

Other European artists are fleetingly evoked. One such was Domenico's younger contemporary Francisco Goya. One of Domenico's animal studies, the monkey riding a donkey, paraphrases Goya's studies with monkeys in *Los Caprichos*, etching 38 *Bravissimo!* (Fig. 110), which shows a monkey serenading a donkey with a guitar, and etching 41 *Neither more nor less* (Fig. 111), depicting a monkey-artist painting a donkey's portrait.

The image of the swing became popular in the eighteenth century, it was most famously depicted by Jean-Honoré Fragonard in 1766. Domenico sends up Fragonard's gently erotic composition with Pulcinella taking the place of Fragonard's flirtatious female figure on the swing. Domenico uses the swing elsewhere in his work, in compositions showing a satyr on a swing in one of the Zianigo frescoes, and in an engraving printed by Teodoro Viero in 1791 (Fig. 36).²⁴

Jacques Callot is memorably cited in Domenico's *Pulcinella Firing-Squad*. The source for Domenico's sheet is the twelfth plate of Callot's *The Miseries and Misfortunes of War* (Fig. 112). Domenico is documented to have known Callot's work, although it is nowhere recorded that he possessed the *Miseries of War*.²⁵ However, as noted in Chapter II, Anton Maria Zanetti the Elder owned a complete collection of Callot's etchings. Certainly the execution and death scenes form a striking, and most extensive, part of the *Divertimento* and anticipate Goya's famous painting, *The Third of May 1808* (1814) (Fig. 113).

²⁴ In the early nineteenth century, Goya produced lithographs which show an old man, thought to be a self-portrait, on a swing. The significance of these will be discussed in the following chapter.

²⁵ Domenico owned engravings by Callot as proven by *Vente Tiepolo* (1845), Lot 156, p. 22.

Quotations from Textual Sources

Textual sources that Domenico draws most heavily upon in the *Divertimento* are the Bible and those from classical antiquity, most notably, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

Arguably, Domenico is at his most subtle when making references to the Bible. For example, the turkey birth may be an indirect reference to the Birth of Christ (Fig. 1), and in the final sheet Pulcinella is imperfectly resurrected. One reason for Domenico's restraint might be his piety. However, according to Paul Barolsky, a hallmark of wit prevalent in Italian art in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is its ambiguity.²⁶ The hatching scene could be understood as a parody of the Virgin Birth for, according to iconographic tradition, an egg is a symbol of creation in ancient and near eastern religions as well as a Christian symbol of the resurrection, and the ostrich's egg would have been understood by Domenico as symbolising the Virgin Birth. Other childhood and birth scenes have Christological resonance, for example, the drawing showing Pulcinella in swaddling bands is reminiscent of the biblical text.²⁷

Sheet two, which shows Pulcinella arriving on the brow of a hill (Fig. 114; Cat. 2), and its direct juxtaposition to the turkey birth, is reminiscent of the Gospel narratives of Christ's life which relates Christ's birth and then jumps thirty years to the start of his ministry. The next drawing, showing Pulcinella's wedding ceremony is conceivably reminiscent of the fact that Christ's first miracle was the transformation of water into wine at the Marriage at Cana. The drawing showing Pulcinella riding a donkey (Fig. 115; Cat. 28) again concords with the Christological inferences in the drawings, since the donkey as a vehicle of triumph is reminiscent of Christ's triumphal entry into Jerusalem. Various compositions with Pulcinelli and camels

²⁶ Paul Barolsky, *Infinite Jest: Wit and Humour in Italian Renaissance Art* (Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 1978), (hereafter referred to as Barolsky (1978)), p. 8.

²⁷ 'And she brought forth her firstborn son, and wrapped him in swaddling clothes, and laid him in a manger; because there was no room for them in the inn', Luke, 2:7, King James Bible.

evoke *The Flight into Egypt*. This is especially paraphrased in the sheet showing a Pulcinella caravan, which shows Pulcinella with a female figure and child, as though they are exiting the sheet to the extreme right in front of the pyramid. Other scenes which recall the *Life of Christ* are a Pulcinella Supper which evokes *The Last Supper*, Pulcinella collapsing by a villa wall (Fig. 32; Cat. 83) in which Domenico has arranged the figures to suggest a Lamentation of Christ, and of the drawings depicting the death of Pulcinella, the hanging scene evokes Calvary, and Pulcinella's Ghost Emerging from the Tomb is reminiscent of Christ's resurrection.

Most prevalent of the classical resonances in the *Divertimento* are the allusions to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.²⁸ The allusion is first made in the drawing showing the Turkey birth. For whilst the sheet has Christological inferences, the scene also evokes the story of Leda and the Swan, given that Leda was loved by Jupiter, who came to her in the form of a swan and that, as a result of their union, she laid eggs from which their infants were born.²⁹ The presence of the racquet in the scene showing *Pulcinella in Love* could be a reference to a, characteristically witty, subversion of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* by Giambattista in his depiction of the *Death of Hyacinth* which shows Hyacinth having been killed by a tennis ball, as opposed to the discus of the original story (Fig 116).³⁰ Likewise, *Pulcinella Ganymede* is a comical re-interpretation of a narrative form taken from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Ovid describes how Ganymede, a beautiful shepherd-boy, was snatched by Zeus in the form of an eagle and carried off to Mount Olympus.

²⁸ *Vente Tiepolo* (1845), Lots 292 and 295 reveal that Domenico owned 2 editions of Ovid's *Metamorphosis*: one produced in Lyon by Ian de Tournes, 1564, and the other, a Dutch translation published in Antwerp, 1608.

²⁹ An interesting visual depiction of *Leda and the Swan* is that by Francesco Melzi (c. 1491-1568) which shows Leda and the Swan with two pairs of twin babies emerging from eggs at Leda's feet. Uffizi Gallery, Florence (Inv. No. 9953).

³⁰ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, A New Verse Translation by David Raeburn with an introduction by Denis Feeney (London: Penguin Books, 2004), pp. 390-392. Fehl refers to Giambattista Tiepolo's interpretation of *The Death of Hyacinth*, (Fehl, 1979), p. 778.

No less than ten sheets of the *Divertimento* meditate on the illness and death of Pulcinella. Sheets 97-104 of which 97, 98, 99, 103 and 104 are numbered by Domenico,³¹ all deal with the death and burial of Pulcinella. There are several death-related scenes –*The Firing Squad* (Cat. 97), *The Hanging of Pulcinella* (Cat. 98), *Pulcinella Making his will* (Cat. 99) and *Pulcinella's Burial* (Cat. 103) (Figs. 87, 33, 25 and 27). Amongst the unnumbered sheets one also finds Pulcinella collapsing on a road, the doctor's visit, Pulcinella receiving extreme unction, Pulcinella viewed by mourners and Pulcinella's funeral. So, in Domenico's hands, Pulcinella suffers prolonged, elaborate and various deaths. Vetrocq suggests that Domenico may have intended to parody the simultaneously visual and textual convention of rendering deathbed scenes, especially in the *ars moriendi*.³² Significantly, among the lots in the *Vente Tiepolo* catalogue is an emblem book (lot 256), *La manière de se bien préparer à la mort* (Antwerp, 1700).³³

The Function of *Divertimento per li Regazzi*

Having demonstrated that the drawings in the *Divertimento* operate on a number of levels, I now wish to consider their function. First, it is worth meditating more generally on the function of drawing within an artist's studio, and specifically that of the Tiepolo family. Although drawing was eventually to become a significant aspect of the work undertaken in Giambattista's *bottega*, according to Knox, prior to the 1740s, Giambattista's oeuvre appears to have included only a few sheets of drawings, because very few were made.³⁴ Indeed, the only graphic works from this date are

³¹ To avoid confusion, I wish to clarify that here I am referring to the chronology of the illness and death sheets as they were numbered by Domenico, thus distinguishing them from the chronology they are given in the illustrations referenced in this thesis which are listed as (Figs. 87, 33, 25 and 27).

³² Vetrocq (1979), pp. 122-3. For conventions in eighteenth-century genre painting see, David Solkin, *Painting for Money: The Visual Arts and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century England* (Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1993).

³³ This is discussed at length in Chapter VI.

³⁴ George Knox, *Tiepolo Drawings in the Victoria and Albert Museum*, (London: H.M.S.O., 1960), (hereafter referred to as Knox (1960)), p.10.

preliminary studies for the decorations in the Villa Loschi near Vicenza, dated 1734.³⁵ However, Knox's view is contradicted by Da Canal in his biography of Giambattista's master, Gregorio Lazzarini, who states that in the early stages of his career, Giambattista worked on highly finished drawings made for sale to collectors, amongst whom they were in great demand.³⁶ In the second half of Giambattista's career, drawings were made, but preserved in his studio with some care, conceivably to act as visual inspiration and so that the painter could bequeath a visual repertory to his sons to enable them to continue with the family business beyond his death.

Another purpose for the production of drawings in the artist's studio would have been as a stage in the production of books and prints. The production of printed material in eighteenth-century Venice was considerable, and the percentage of leading artists making prints was unprecedented.³⁷ Certainly Giambattista became involved with printmaking early in his career, making copies after sixteenth-century artists for Lovisa's project.³⁸ This is significant, for it reveals that copying other artists' work was a process familiar to the Tiepolos and an accepted part of their artistic production. Similarly the adaptation of an artist's work from one subject to another was common practise. Boorsch describes for example how the printmaker, Pietro Monaco, worked on making prints after sacred subjects. In the process, he adjusted Giambattista's painting of the *Banquet of Anthony and Cleopatra* (1743) by removing Cleopatra's pearl and renaming it the *Banquet of Nabal*, thus qualifying it as a biblical subject.³⁹ Consequently, reusing a work of art and transforming it from a secular to a biblical scene, or vice versa, would have been another familiar process to Domenico and one that he used extensively in his work.

³⁵ Knox (1975), p. 10.

³⁶ Da Canal (1809).

³⁷ Boorsch in New York 1997, p. 3.

³⁸ Chapter II, p. 54.

³⁹ Boorsch in New York 1997, p. 22.

It is likely that Domenico produced the drawings of the *Divertimento* with a print series in mind. Domenico had worked with the engraver Teodoro Viero (1740-1819) in the early 1790s to produce a short series of etchings deriving from *Scenes of Contemporary Life*. It is therefore conceivable that he may also have been thinking about disseminating the *Divertimento* in this way. Indeed, the Roman artist, Giovanni Domenico Ferretti (1792-1768) painted a series of canvases, *The Disguises of Harlequin* (1740-1760), showing Harlequin in various professions and situations.⁴⁰ The series was certainly known in Venice because Ferretti's paintings were engraved by his pupil, Francesco Bartolozzi for the Venetian print-publisher Giuseppe Wagner in 1760, and this may have provided Domenico with the inspiration to produce a similar series using Pulcinella.⁴¹

Although Byam Shaw once suggested that Domenico had intended the *Divertimento* as a series of etchings, he later dismissed his own hypothesis. This was based on his own assumption that Domenico had neither the need nor the inclination to please a general public or patron.⁴² However, in view of the fact that the drawings are highly finished and numbered, one viable hypothesis might be that Domenico was planning to disseminate the *Divertimento* as a print series. After all, as already discussed the Tiepolos had direct dealings with collectors who, as can be seen in Domenico's correspondence with Mariette, were often anxious to receive the artists' etchings.⁴³ Moreover, they were in touch with the leading connoisseurs of their day and this could account for the high level of quotation in their drawings – if the intended viewers had been *amateurs*.

Whilst the majority of the quotations in the series are from the Tiepolos' own oeuvre, and the more obscure references present a challenge to the contemporary art-

⁴⁰ For further discussion, see Chapter III.

⁴¹ Vetrocq (1979), p. 164.

⁴² Byam Shaw (1962), pp. 58-59.

⁴³ For further discussion, see Chapter II, p. 65.

historian, they would have been familiar to an eighteenth-century connoisseurial coterie who would have enjoyed the intellectual challenge of the identification of sources and a discussion of how meanings had altered between the source and quotation. Additionally, approximately one-fifth of the drawings show the vestiges of charcoal under drawing which give an insight into the way in which Domenico planned and altered his sheets if the drawings were to be examined in their original form.⁴⁴

Consequently, it seems that Domenico may have been inventing a ‘game’ for those connoisseurs who would have relished the opportunity to identify in the *Divertimento* motifs from other works of art - a hypothesis which is further explored below. Moreover, the aleatoric nature of the drawings is apparent by the fact that they are difficult to conclusively categorise in terms of theme, narrative and iconography, and demonstrated by the way in which themes merge and conflate. Gealt has suggested that in his biblical drawings, Domenico devised ways of dealing with non-linear narrative and that this re-emerges in the *Divertimento*. It might also form a visual counterpart to *musikalisches würfelspiel* (musical dice game) a system for using dice to randomly compose music.⁴⁵ Such games were popular in eighteenth-century Europe.

A further reason as to why Domenico should have quoted from other sources might be that the artist was working on this series as a summation of his artistic life

⁴⁴ The following drawings show varying degrees of alteration: *Pulcinella is born to a Turkey-mother*, *Pulcinella in Swaddling Bands*, *Pulcinella with a Leashed Bird*, *Young Pulcinelli Beg for Treats*, *Pulcinella’s Wedding Banquet*, *Pulcinella brings Home his Bride*, *Pulcinella Learns to Walk*, *Pulcinella: The Shuttlecock/(Volano) Champion*, *Pulcinella Goes to School*, *Pulcinelli at Dinner*, *Pulcinella Dancing*, *Pulcinella Chops Logs*, *Pulcinella Barber*, *Pulcinella Tailor*, *Pulcinella-couturier Fits a Lady*, *Pulcinella Rides a Dromedary*, *Pulcinella Ganymede*, *Pulcinelli Hunt Boar*, *Pulcinelli and Humans Walk in the Rain with Umbrellas*, *Pulcinelli Firing Squad*.

⁴⁵ In 1787 Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756-1791), wrote the instructions for a musical composition dice game, a system for using dice to randomly generate music. Another famous example is Joseph Haydn’s (1732-1809) *Philharmonic Joke* (1790), and the Paduan composer Antonio Calegari (1797-1828) wrote *Gioco Pitagorico* (1801) in which he suggests the possibility of composing music using a combination of mathematical formulae and of throwing dice. For further information see David Cope, *Experiments in Musical Intelligence* (Madison (MI): A-R Editions, 1996), pp. 7 and 8.

and, as part of that summation, he consciously drew on past works, using motifs that were not just from his family repertory but quoting favourite artists too.

In view of the artist's advanced years, and the extended meditation on Pulcinella's death, the question lingers as to whether Domenico might have been preoccupied with his own mortality, and whether he may have created a witty conclusion to a life devoted to artistic production. This would certainly make sense in view of Domenico's partial commemoration of other artists' work and more general themes in Western art. Certainly the *Divertimento* could be described, albeit anachronistically, in a 'Proustian' sense, as Domenico using the work of art to recapture and commemorate the past.

CHAPTER V

On the Playful Qualities of *Divertimento per li Regazzi*

*'In my own field, the history of art, we have become intolerably earnest. A false prestige has come to be attached to the postulation of profound meanings or ulterior motives. The idea of fun is even more unpopular among us than the notion of beauty.'*¹

What is the relationship between art and play? In his book, *Homo Ludens* Johan Huizinga (1872-1945) remains unconvinced that visual art can possess the same quality of playfulness inherent in poetry and music, partially because it is based in matter, and its formal limitations do not allow for 'the flight into ethereal spaces open to music and poetry.'² I would argue that, on the contrary, works of art can be both deliberately and inherently playful and that *Divertimento per li Regazzi* is just such a case. The analysis of sources and themes in the series, undertaken in the previous chapter, read in conjunction with the descriptive paragraphs in the *catalogue raisonné* entries reveal that the drawings possess playful qualities. Such qualities are apparent in terms of their content, the way in which Domenico made them, and within the broader context of the Tiepolos' *oeuvre*.

To recapitulate, there is the mass use of the figure of Pulcinella, the archetypal *commedia dell'arte* buffoon, who infiltrates his way into designs reconfiguring well-known stories and themes depicted in Western art, for example, *The Life of Christ*, *Ganymede*, and *The Triumph of Flora* to mention but a few. There are Pulcinella's playful exploits, most notably his airborne activities: swinging on a trapeze, tightrope walking and his favourite game of volano/shuttlecock (Figs. 117, 10 and 9; Cat. 45,

¹ E.H. Gombrich, 'The High Seriousness of Play: Reflections on *Homo Ludens* by J. Huizinga (1872 - 1945), pp. 139-163, in *Tributes: Interpreters of our Cultural Tradition* (Oxford: Phaidon Press Limited, 1984), p. 161.

² Huizinga (1970), p. 190.

46, 29).³ Domenico is also teasing in the way in which he assembled his drawings by quoting other artists' works, and in the way in which he tantalisingly leaves vestigial evidence of under-drawing on his sheets – indications of different scenarios as well as minor compositional adjustments, for instance was Pulcinella originally visualized as being born in a stable before he became the progeny of a turkey? (Fig. 1, Cat. 1) And is Domenico intentionally giving his viewers a glimpse into his own creative vacillations?

There is demonstrably a pervasive sense of playfulness underlying the art of the Tiepolos, and it was this absence of earnestness together with a re-emergence of seriousness in late eighteenth-century art that, according to Philip Fehl, has made it difficult for a contemporary viewer to fully appreciate the artists' work.⁴ In Chapter IV of this thesis, there is reference to Giambattista's characteristically witty subversion of 'The Death of Hyacinth' in Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, in which the painter shows the youth Hyacinth having been dealt his fatal blow by a tennis ball rather than by a discus as in the original story. Fehl also cites Giambattista's *Rape of Europa* which pays homage to Paolo Veronese's interpretation of the same subject. In my opinion, in its comic quality, it also paraphrases Rembrandt's *Rape of Ganymede*. Rembrandt depicts Ganymede as a frightened child, hanging from the eagle's beak, simultaneously crying and urinating, whereas Giambattista includes Cupid standing on a cloud and urinating into the air at his approaching companions, as Jupiter's eagle stands gazing upwards, as if in admiration, at the young boy at his side (Figs. 118 and 119). There is also Giambattista's two series of wittily-enigmatic etchings, the

³ Gealt (1986) pp. 58 and 60, describes Pulcinella as playing badminton although badminton as a game had not come into being in the eighteenth century. It evolved in the 1870s when British military officers played a derivative of shuttlecock at Badminton Hall, the Cotswold estate of the Duke of Beaufort; the game subsequently became known by the name of the Duke's country seat. Shuttlecock is an ancient game which originated in the Far East and which reached Europe by the seventeenth century. See Marilyn Simonds Mohr, *The Games Treasury: More than 300 Indoor and Outdoor Favourites with Strategies Rules and Traditions* (London: Robert Hale, 1994) (hereafter referred to as Simonds Mohr (1994)). For further discussion, see below, (Figs. 9 and 126).

⁴ Fehl (1978-9), pp. 761-791.

Capricci and *Scherzi di Fantasia*. The latter, posthumously published by Domenico in what I suggest in Chapter VI was his homage to his late father, and to which the *Divertimento* completes the trilogy as the artist's own *memento mori* – laughing concurrently in the face of art history and of death.

It is evident that the Pulcinella drawings do not fall easily into any particular category. The drawings are ambiguous, containing elements of eighteenth-century genre scenes, Christological resonance, great historical and mythological themes from Western art, citing and occasionally blatantly parodying the work of other artists, and all of which is then thrown into confusion by the appearance of many Pulcinella figures, and the farcical nature of some of their activities. Consequently I propose that Domenico was being deliberately playful when he made the *Divertimento*. The playfulness of the series is apparent on a number of levels.

It is my own hypothesis, on account of internal evidence in the drawings, that Domenico was creating a sophisticated visual game for connoisseurial spectators. Related to this is the fact that the *Divertimento* sits most comfortably in the *capriccio* genre – that of visual jokes. This can be substantiated by unpacking seventeenth and eighteenth-century terms such as *capriccio* and *scherzo*, and also by considering examples of these forms, and suggesting their significance to *amateurs*. In view of musical interpretations of the terms, and other 'playful' musical titles that Domenico used in the posthumous publication of etchings of his father's work, this chapter reflects on the formal qualities of the *Divertimento* within the context of eighteenth-century musical practice and theory, and its similarity, albeit in a visual form, to musical improvisation.⁵

⁵ From the moment the Pulcinella drawings met with public gaze, they inspired musical and terpsichorean interpretation. It has become something of an urban myth, which cannot be substantiated, that Igor Stravinsky (1882-1971) saw the drawings, and as a result, was inspired to compose his *Pulcinella Suite* – but as Stravinsky's ballet premiered in Paris on 15 May 1920, six weeks before the drawings were sold at Sotheby's in London, this hypothesis seems unlikely. However, the drawings were viewed in the Paris exhibition in 1921 by Madame Fauchier-Magnan, wife of a renowned

A study of the historiography of play will reveal that the circumstances under which Domenico made this series of drawings were, according to game theoreticians, generic to play. Consequently, on the basis of anthropological models and classifications proposed by Johan Huizinga in *Homo Ludens* and Roger Caillois (1913-1978) in *Les Jeux et les Hommes*, this chapter also explores how the drawings fit into categories suggested by these writers. Indeed, it is on this ground that contemporary theory can meet, in this instance, eighteenth-century traditions.

From the art of antiquity to that of the present day, there is a long-established history of humour in art. Whilst artists sometimes reveal a keen sense of playfulness in their work, humour is often used in an anarchic or sinister fashion. Even before Freud's *Jokes and Their Relation to the Unconscious* (1905), comedy, both playful and serious, repeatedly surfaced as a subversive or disturbing element in art. However, jokes can be difficult to understand trans-culturally, as they are often culturally and temporally specific and thus can be lost in translation – 'a joke explained is a joke killed', a point raised by the recent Hayward Gallery exhibition, *Laughing in a Foreign Language*.⁶ With regard to the notion of temporal specificity and jokes, what was considered to be amusing at one moment in time might not be at another. Paul Barolsky's writing on wit and humour in Renaissance art underlines that what now might be considered monstrous, ugly or politically incorrect as an object of humour (i.e. laughing at deformity in the case of Pulcinella's distorted hunchbacked figure) was often considered risible in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries if we consider Giambattista's Pulcinella-types.⁷

collector. She subsequently choreographed a ballet, *La Vie de Polichinelle* which was presented with music by Nicolas Nabokov, and with Serge Lifar, in the leading role, at the Paris Opera in June 1934.

⁶ Kataoka and Critchley in London 2008.

⁷ Barolsky (1978), p. 20.

Philosophical writings on the nature of comedy generally concur on the need for distance from the object(s) which incite amusement.⁸ In the case of the *Divertimento*, we are distanced by time and, for a foreign viewer of the series, from the burden of history which would inform a Venetian spectator. Therefore, whilst it might appear comic to a twenty-first century viewer of Domenico's drawings to see the mass migration of Pulcinelli figures into the elderly artist's work, within the context of Domenico's personal situation, and political events in late eighteenth-century Venice, it might also be viewed as darkly sarcastic or profoundly tragic.⁹ Hence, Ernst Kris alludes to the aggressive impulse underlying comic caricature which, I would infer, can only be understood within the context of the troubling circumstances faced by the elderly painter.¹⁰ Moreover, such an undertaking is problematic as one may only speculate on the mental processes of those no longer alive.

* * *

The term ludic is derived from the Latin noun *ludus* from the verb *ludere*, to play. The etymology of the word lies in the sphere of non-seriousness, 'semblance' or 'deception' and encompasses children's games, recreation, contests, liturgical and theatrical representations and games of chance.¹¹ The word ludicrous has also devolved from this source, and originally pertained to play or sport in the early seventeenth century.¹²

⁸ Bergson (1900), pp. 4-5.

⁹ For biographical details of Domenico's life and the burden of circumstances endured by the artist towards the end of the eighteenth century, see Chapter II, pp. 77-81.

¹⁰ Ernst Kris, 'The Psychology of Caricature' in *Psychoanalytic Explorations in Art* (Madison, Connecticut: International Universities Press, 1952), pp. 174-175.

¹¹ Huizinga (London, 1970), p. 55.

¹² Its current meaning, connoting a sense of the ridiculous, only came into usage in the late eighteenth century. Barolsky (1978), p. 7.

What follows are seventeenth- and eighteenth-century definitions of the term *capriccio*. Etymologically, the term *capriccio* denoted the unexpected jump of a young goat.¹³ From the early seventeenth century onwards, the word was borrowed by musicologists to denote the imaginative improvisations in musical forms. It first appeared in this context when used by the German composer Michael Praetorius (1571-1621). Praetorius defined *capriccio* as an improvised fantasy in which the composer passes from one theme to another and could freely express his imagination and virtuosity in an improvisatory fashion. The term appeared, again in a musical context, in the mid-eighteenth century in Grassineau's dictionary of musical terms where it was thus defined: '... the term is applied to certain pieces, wherein the composer gives a loose to his fancy, and not being confined either to particular measures or keys, runs divisions according to his mind, without any primiditation; this is also called *Phantasia*.'¹⁴ *Capriccio* was first applied to the visual arts in 1681 by Filippo Baldinucci (1624-1696) who described it as a 'work of art born of a fantastic improvisation by the author.'¹⁵ A further definition which applied to music, poetry and painting appeared in Antoine Furetière's *Dictionnaire universel* of 1690 where it implied the breaking of rules of composition and harmony for expressive effect: 'pieces of music, poetry, or painting wherein the force of the imagination has better success than the observation of the rules of art.'¹⁶

In the mid-eighteenth century, *capricci* were defined in Lacombe's dictionary of fine art where its musical and artistic definitions are combined: '[*Capricci*] are those compositions, in which the musician, without following any previously

¹³ Harold Osborne, *Oxford Companion to Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 202.

¹⁴ James Grassineau, *A Musical Dictionary, Being a Collection of Terms and Characters as Well Ancient as Modern. Including the Historical, Theoretical and Practical Parts of Music*. First edition, (London: J. Wilcox, 1740).

¹⁵ Filippo Baldinucci, *Vocabolario Toscana dell'arte del disegno con la notizia de' nomi e qualità delle gioie, matalli, pietre duri, marmi et egn' altra material, che server possa, tanto alla costruzione di edificj e loro ornato, quanto alla stessa pittura e scultura* (Florence: S. Franchi, 1681), p. 28.

¹⁶ Christiansen in Venice 1996, p. 349.

reasoned score and without being restrained by an established performance, nor by a specific bar, follows the freedom of his genius [whim]. Other craftsmen as well think it legitimate to use the *Capricci*, those ingenious and bizarre compositions, which are opposed to the rules and models of Nature and Art; but are enjoyed because of their certain lively singularity and their free and audacious execution.’¹⁷

In Barretti’s English-Italian dictionary of 1778, *capriccio* is described as a foolish fancy or thought and is linked with the words *Fantasia* meaning whim or humour and *Ghiribizzo* which describes a device, invention, feigned story or fantastical conceit.¹⁸ Therefore in both music and the visual arts, the *capriccio* describes an improvised work in which there is a tension between rules of compositional harmony and the artist’s unfettered imagination. From these definitions it is clear that, as artistic and musical forms, *capricci* provided a playful tension between the rule-bound and the expressive. Thus it is possible to understand why they would have become prized amongst connoisseurs and were widely collected in the eighteenth century.

In 1775, Domenico compiled a book of etchings after works by his father, his brother Lorenzo, and his own hand. The dedication, to Pope Pius VI, is revealing (Fig. 120): ‘*Most Blessed Father, for a long time I have been aspiring to collect in a single volume the oeuvre of copper-engraved drawings from my departed father and from myself and my brother, both stimulated by a natural talent to imitate our father’s*

¹⁷ Jacques Lacombe, *Dizionario portatile delle Belle Arti. Trasportato per la prima volta dalle Franzese nella lingua Toscana* (Bassano: Nella Stamperia di Bassano a spese Remondini di venezia, 1768), pp. 80-81: ‘Il Capriccio, il Preludio – sono certi componimenti, in cui Il Musicista senza seguitare alcun disegno innanzi meditato e senza confinarsi a stabilito numero, o ad una data spezie di battuta, si da in balia alla liberta del proprio genio. Gli altri Artefici pure si fanno leciti Capricci vale a dire certe cotali composizione ingegnose, e bizzarre, che s’oppongono alle regole, ed ai bei modelli della Natura, e dell’Arte; ma, che piacciono per una certa vivace singolarita, e per un’esecuzione libera, e audace’.

¹⁸ Giuseppe Barretti, *A Dictionary of the English and Italian Languages ... To Which Is Prefixed an Italian and English Grammar*. Revised 2nd Edition. 2 vols. Vol 1 (London: J. Nourse and Others, 1778).

*studies. This collection is to serve the pleasure of the numerous amateurs of this art ...*¹⁹

Above I suggest that *Divertimento per li Regazzi* functions as a ‘game’ for connoisseurs both on account of the visible remains of under drawing together with evidence of corrections apparent on the sheets, and because of the high level of quotation from other works of art.²⁰ Here, in this earlier volume of etchings, Domenico unequivocally states that the book was compiled with a connoisseurial viewer in mind. Chapter II partially discusses the Tiepolos’ social network and identifies Zanetti the Elder as the link between the Tiepolos and the French collector Pierre Jean Mariette who purchased etchings of Giambattista’s work, and with whom Domenico corresponded. Consequently, it is certain that Domenico would have understood how connoisseurs viewed his work and how they would have relished both the opportunity to identify in the *Divertimento* motifs from other works of art as well as attempting to understand the artist’s inventive process. It is well-known that Mariette would annotate his collection, sourcing the original paintings to which the etchings refer and commenting on the alterations the artist made to his work.²¹

Kristel Smentek in her recent groundbreaking article,²² describes how Mariette would make interventions with, and even deconstruct and reassemble valuable drawings in his collection by the way he presented, mounted and annotated them: ‘completing, trimming, and reassembling the works – even on occasion splitting double-sided sheets into two separate works.’²³ This enables us to understand how an eighteenth-century *amateur* would view and interrelate with a work of art in his

¹⁹ ‘Beatissimo Padre Fin da gran tempo avrei desiderato, Beatissimo Padre, di poter raccogliere in un solo Volume le operazione disegnate, ed incise in Rame del su mio Padre, e da me stesso, e del mio Fratello portati da natural genio ad imitarne gli Studi, accioché potessero servire al piacevole trattenimento dei moltissimi Dilettanti di questa non ispregievole Professione ...’.

²⁰ See p. 142.

²¹ Frerichs (1971), p. 235.

²² Smentek (2008), pp. 36-60.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

collection. Here, through a discussion of a number of contemporary theoretical writings,²⁴ Smentek explains that drawings were of utmost importance to collectors for it was through this medium that the workings of an artist's mind could be more readily understood, and was thus articulated by Mariette himself: 'in a drawing, refined and enlightened eyes discover the whole of the Master's mind, the creative spirit, the sparkling and wholly divine fire that emanates from the soul and which a moment of reflection is prepared to extinguish and make disappear.'²⁵

Smentek's research highlights those physical attributes of drawings and etchings which would have been of importance to a connoisseur. These include the size and scale of a sheet and the collector's ability to 'take in' the picture at a single glance or '*coup d'oeil*'; and the ability to spontaneously appreciate a composition was also important in terms of the complexity of detail in subject matter. Smentek describes how Mariette would rearrange certain drawings in his collection so as to juxtapose the *recto-verso* of a sheet, as he famously did by deconstructing a drawing by Raphael. Smentek also describes how Mariette himself completed two unfinished drawings of a *Wise Virgin* by Parmigianino, on the basis of traces of objects left visible on the sheets by the artist, and by consulting other cognate examples.²⁶ In view of this, it is not surprising to a contemporary reader that in the third paragraph of a letter, dated 21 June 1758, written amidst extreme pressure of work, Domenico Tiepolo suggested that Mariette (who was also a keen print collector) makes

²⁴ See for example, Roger de Piles, *Abrégé de la Vie des Peintres, avec des reflexions sur leurs ouvrages, et un traité du peintre parfait, de la connoissance des dessins, & de l'utilité des estampes* (Paris: François Muget, 1699); Jonathan Richardson, *An Essay on the Theory of Painting* (London: A Bettesworth, 1725); Antoine Joseph Dézallier d'Argenville, *Abrégé de la vie des plus fameux Peintres, avec leurs portraits graves en taille-douce, les indications de leurs principaux ouvrages, quelques réflexions sur leurs caractères, et la manière de connoître les dessins des Grands Maîtres, Par. M*** de l'Académie Royale des Sciences de Montpellier*, 2 volumes (Paris: 1745).

²⁵ Pierre-Jean Mariette, *Description sommaire des statues, figures, bustes, vases ... du Cabinet de feu M. Crozat* (Paris, 1750), p. iii.

²⁶ Smentek (2008), pp. 44-6.

adjustments to four, incomplete, etchings of Giambattista's work with his own pen (Fig. 121).²⁷ This is further discussed below.

Given that the Tiepolos were connected with Mariette, I would suggest here that we can use Smentek's valuable research into Mariette's collecting practises to support my hypothesis that in the *Divertimento*, Domenico may have been constructing a playful diversion for connoisseurial viewers, as Tiepolo senior had patently done in his iconographically-inscrutable *Capricci* and *Scherzi di Fantasia*. It has already been observed in Chapter I that the sheets of the *Divertimento* were unbound. Smentek reveals that whereas Mariette mounted his individual drawings (to protect them against physical handling), he did not confine them to an album or a fixed order. This would subsequently enable the collector to study the drawings alongside works of other artists of diverse periods. Therefore, the flexible formatting of the *Divertimento* together with the extensive quotation within the compositions suggests that Domenico may have been specifically catering to a connoisseurial process. Indeed, the very process of classifying the drawings for this chapter, revealed what a tantalising 'game' Domenico had invented with this series - which merges and conflates in such a variety of ways that it becomes challenging indeed to impose any definite taxonomy on the sheets.

Shortly after Mariette's death in 1774, his collection of prints was acquired by the French Royal Print Collection where it was catalogued by Hugues-Adrien Joly (1708-1800), Keeper of the Royal Print Collections of the French Court. Joly's manuscript records instances where Mariette annotated his etchings, and Joly himself also comments on the etchings, in one instance citing, and disagreeing with Francesco

²⁷ The original manuscript can be consulted at the *Bibliothèque Nationale de France* (Paris). Despite email correspondence, I have not been able to acquire confirmation of an inventory number for this document.

Algarotti in his *Essay on Painting*.²⁸ One example of Mariette's annotations are on two impressions of an engraving of a philosopher by Giambattista Tiepolo which forms part of the *Scherzi di Fantasia*, and which shows a turbaned figure of an old man reading a book. The first impression includes the heads of two infants on the right hand side of the figure and, in the second impression, the heads have been erased (Figs. 122 and 123). Under this impression Mariette notes, 'There are examples before the artist erased the two heads which were badly placed between the book and the [main] figure.'²⁹ Such an example shows precisely how the stages in an artist's conceptual process would have been of interest to the collector. Similarly, Genevieve Warwick describes how the late seventeenth-century collector Padre Sebastiano Resta ordered his collection of drawings according to what he perceived to be their place in the artist's preparatory process.³⁰ This therefore shows how a reproduced print could present a collaboration of different originalities: the artist/inventor who, as in Domenico's case, might cite other artists or existing works of art, the printmaker, the connoisseur, and the museum cataloguer.

Let us now return to Huizinga's hypothesis that play can encourage the formation of clubs and social groupings, the formation of which became particularly popular in the eighteenth century. A *coterie* of connoisseurs is most famously depicted in Johan Zoffany's (1733-1810) *Tribuna of the Uffizi* which depicts a group of connoisseurs admiring some of the most important works of art from the Medici collection in the Uffizi Gallery (Fig. 124). Warwick observes that collecting in the eighteenth century was a communal and social activity, and in my opinion the

²⁸ Mirano 1988, 'Note sull'Acquisizione Mariette delle incisioni dei Tiepolo' in *I Tiepolo Virtuositismo e Ironia* (exhibition catalogue, Barchessa e Villa Morosini XXV Aprile, 11 September – 30 November 1988), eds Dario Succi and Madeleine Barbin (Venice: Umberto Allemandi & C., 1988). pp. 45-52.

²⁹ "Il y a des exemplaires avant que l'artiste eût effacé deux têtes qui se trouvoient assez mal places entre le livre et la figure." Frierichs (1971), p. 240.

³⁰ Genevieve Warwick, 'Connoisseurship and the collection of drawings in Italy c.1700: the case of Padre Sebastiano Resta,' in eds., Baker, Elam and Warwick, *Collecting Prints and Drawings in Europe*, (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing) pp. 141-152.

Divertimento was invented by Domenico chiefly to meet the tastes of contemporary connoisseurs and to provide these collectors with many hours of entertainment - which would certainly be in keeping with the title of the series. Moreover, thinking about the *Divertimento* in this way, enables a modern viewer to appreciate more about the nature of artistic invention and imitation in the late eighteenth century. Living in a post-modern era obsessed with originality, it is important to understand concepts of invention and imitation as historical values and not just absolute ones and further supports my own belief that Domenico was an innovator as opposed to an imitator.

Consequently, an interesting approach to the etchings of Giambattista and Domenico is one that has been explored in a conference paper given by Nigel Llewellyn, and which can be extended to apply to the *Divertimento*.³¹ In his paper, Llewellyn used Giambattista's *Capricci* and *Scherzi di Fantasia* and Domenico's *Via Crucis* and *Picturesque Ideas on the Flight into Egypt* to explore his hypothesis that these enigmatic forms of expression employed specifically by the Tiepolos and other 'Baroque' artists more generally will never be fully understood if art historians merely seek to clarify iconographic categories and search too hard for textual sources. Instead, Llewellyn proposed that the works of the Tiepolo and Antonio Vivaldi appear to be mutually revealing in their improvisatory methods, and what the Tiepolos do in these etchings invites close analysis, by analogy, with musical improvisation. It is also interesting, when considering the *Divertimento* and the prevalence of Pulcinella, that Llewellyn not only made a connection between the Tiepolos' improvisatory art and

³¹ Nigel Llewellyn, 'The Sound of Tiepolo's fantasy: Visual Culture and Music Theory in Baroque Italy'. This paper was given at an international symposium at the Instituto Português do Património Arquitectónico, Braga, Portugal, 1996 and published subsequently in, *Struggle for Synthesis The Total Work of Art in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, 2 volumes, eds Mafalda Magalhães, César Valença, Aida Mata, Isabel Lage (Lisbon: Ministry of Culture 1999) (hereafter referred to as Llewellyn (1999)), pp. 85-94.

musical forms but focused on the improvisatory skills of the *Commedia dell'Arte* performer.³²

Antonio Morassi has further observed that Domenico's predilection for inventiveness and working on thematic variations *may* have been inspired by musical practices of the time.³³ Certainly, it was usual for applicants for organ positions at San Marco to improvise on a given theme: the *Folias*, of Portuguese origin, was a classic form which consisted of standard chord progression together with a standard melody line which could be considered a structure on which to improvise. A more playful and one of the best-known eighteenth-century examples of musical improvisation on a simple theme is Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's twelve variations on the French children's nursery rhyme, *Ah! Vous dirais-je Maman* (For which the music and lyrics were first published c.1765).³⁴

Although the publication of instructional works was less common in Italy than in France, it should be highlighted how the Paduan composer Giuseppe Tartini (1692-1770) wrote a *Treatise on Ornaments in Music* (first published as *Traité des Agréments* in Paris in 1771),³⁵ which was the first work to be exclusively devoted to ornamentation.³⁶ Whilst there is no evidence to indicate that Domenico Tiepolo would have personally known Tartini or been familiar with his writing, there may have been an association with, or at least a knowledge of, Tartini and his ideas on improvisation

³² Llewellyn (1999), p. 90.

³³ Antonio Morassi, *La Fuga in Egitto di Domenico Tiepolo* (Milan: Il Saggiatore, 1960), p. 8.

³⁴ Mozart's variations were composed c.1778, and published by Dr Ludwig Ritter von Köchel in his complete chronological catalogue of compositions by W.A. Mozart. Leipzig, 1862.

³⁵ Giuseppe Tartini, *Traité des Agréments de la Musique. Treatise on Ornaments in Music: Giuseppe Tartini (1692-1770)*, Trans. Cuthbert Girdlestone (Berlin: Moeck, Verlag, 1961).

³⁶ A note is essential on the publication of the history of the *Traité*. It was circulated amongst Tartini's pupils in several handwritten copies and was never published in its original Italian form. It was published by Sig. P. Denis of Paris in 1771. However, a copy of the Italian M.S. embodying the contents of Tartini's *Traité* turned up in an important collection of eighteenth-century Italian manuscripts of string music acquired by the University of Berkeley in 1958. See David Boyden, 'The Missing Italian Manuscript of Tartini's 'Traité des Agréments'', *The Musical Quarterly*, vol. 26, no. 3, 1960, pp. 315-318. Boyden states that Italian MS copies were being circulated up to 20 years after the composer's death in 1770, which is of direct relevance to the present argument.

through Francesco Algarotti, who knew the composer.³⁷ The section of the *Treatise* which most closely corresponds to the present discussion of artistic improvisation is a short paragraph in Chapter Eight on *Artificial Cadences*. Here, Tartini describes an artificial cadence as a *capriccio*:

‘because nowadays every singer or instrumentalist feels entitled to lengthen it, with such different expressions, that it is unreasonable to speak of a ‘cadence’ but rather a ‘whim’ or *capriccio*, since the *capriccio* can be as long as one likes and be made up of different pieces and sentiments, with varied bar time. But as listeners today like hearing this kind of thing, however disorderly or unsuitable, one must know how to write it.’³⁸

It is clear from his tone, that Tartini is unconvinced by this whimsical form. Indeed, Llewellyn refers to an eighteenth-century vogue for the *concerto cadenza* which offered soloists the chance to display their virtuosity through improvisation, and who often exceeded the boundaries of decorum in so doing. This is memorably depicted by Zanetti’s caricature of the castrato Antonio Bernacchi (1685-1756) who is shown, in a pen and ink drawing, singing in the Piazza San Marco, his notes ‘going over the top’ of the exaggerated campanile (Fig. 125).³⁹ Arguably, there is a formal similarity between the musical and visual *capriccio* in that its length is not restricted by its form, and can consist of any number of internal sub-forms and resonances. Therefore the birth, life and death of Pulcinella would constitute Domenico’s ‘bassline’ in a visual form, upon which he overlays his own lifetime of experience and visual repertory as an accomplished painter and draftsman to create visual diversions and prolonged meditations upon certain themes.

³⁷ For details of the association between Algarotti and Tartini see, for example, Paul Bernard’s ‘Tartini and the Sonata for Unaccompanied Violin,’ *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, vol. 14, No. 3, Autumn 1961, pp. 383-393.

³⁸ Philip Whitmore, ‘Towards an Understanding of the Capriccio’, *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 113, no. 1, 1988, pp. 47-56. The quotation from Tartini’s *Traité des Agremens* is cited, p. 52.

³⁹ Llewellyn (1999), p. 91.

Scholarly writing on play often stresses the private nature of playing and the benefits of play during periods of oppression. The earliest encyclopaedia of games in European literature is the *Libro del Juegos*, commissioned by King Alfonso X of Castille (1221-1284). It contains 150 colour illustrations and 98 pages of text containing descriptions of various games including chess, dice, and ‘tables’ a family of games that included backgammon. Although this book is essentially instructive, its meditation on the nature of games and play is not so far removed ideologically from more recent cultural reflections on play. In the introduction to the book, Alfonso is quoted as saying that he intended the book for ‘Those who like to enjoy themselves in private to avoid the annoyance and unpleasantness of public places, or those who have fallen into another’s power, either in prison or in slavery, as seafarers, and in general all those who are looking for a pleasant pastime which will bring them comfort and dispel boredom.’⁴⁰

In view of this, it may be no coincidence that Domenico made his most playful series of drawings around the time that the Venetian Republic fell to Napoleon, and in his latter years. In his book *On Late Style*, Edward Said paraphrases the ideas of the philosopher Theodor Adorno (1903-1969) on the phenomenon. Adorno described ‘late style’ as being like old age itself, ‘in, but oddly apart from the present.’⁴¹ Furthermore, he observes that ‘lateness is the idea of surviving beyond what is acceptable and normal.’⁴² This was certainly true in Domenico’s case, as the painter had outlived what had, for most of his life, been acceptable and normal, both in artistic (in that the hitherto unchallenged reception of his father’s art had been undermined by Winckelmann’s observations), and in political terms (following the invasion of Venice by Napoleon and his army). In this respect, the circumstances in which Domenico found himself at the end of his life were ripe for the sort of

⁴⁰ Simonds Mohr (1994), p. 11.

⁴¹ Said (2006), p.xiv.

⁴² Ibid., p. xiv.

amusement which is described by Said as a form of resistance, ‘amusement, [which] like pleasure or privacy, does not require reconciliation with a *status quo* or a dominant regime.’⁴³ In view of the fact that Domenico had virtually retired from public life, was living in the country and had been described by one of his contemporaries as reclusive, his amusement was in the first place, at least, a private one.

Play, as a cultural phenomenon, is discussed by Johan Huizinga in his seminal text of 1938, *Homo Ludens*.⁴⁴ Here, Huizinga’s main hypothesis is that genuine, pure play is one of the fundamental bases of civilization. Huizinga defines play as a cultural, rather than biological function and therefore chooses to ignore ‘instinctive’ play as it appears in the lives of children or animals. Huizinga concentrates on play as a voluntary activity; thus one cannot play to order. Furthermore play is a thing apart, a distraction or *divertimento*, from everyday life. Essentially, the formal characteristics of play, as defined by Huizinga, are that it is a free activity which stands outside of everyday life. Moreover, play can be very serious indeed, as in the case of competitive games, and can absorb the player entirely. It is not associated with material interests or profit, and proceeds within its own boundaries of time, according to fixed rules, and in an orderly manner and it can promote the formation of social groupings, for example, connoisseurial viewers in the case of the *Divertimento*.

Huizinga considers play as it appears in various aspects of cultural life: law, war, poetry, philosophy, music, dance and the visual arts. In a chapter dedicated to ‘Play forms in Art,’ Huizinga examines the innate playfulness of poetry and, above all, music and dance, the function of which he describes as being purely ‘social and ludic’.⁴⁵ For Huizinga, the manual labour that goes into the production of a work of art, and the fact that an artist is usually commissioned to produce the painting or

⁴³ Ibid., p. xiv.

⁴⁴ Huizinga (1970).

⁴⁵ Huizinga (1970), p. 187.

object, which often attains commercial value post-production, could preclude it from the play-factor. Arguably, Huizinga does not focus on exceptions to his hypothesis, of which the *Divertimento* is surely one: an apparently uncommissioned work of art, made by an artist who has retired from public and professional life, and who appears to be using his creative talent as a personal diversion.

Huizinga makes the interesting, though arguably over-generalized observation, that certain periods of Western civilization were more playful than others, and cites the eighteenth century as being an epoch particularly given over to playfulness and play elements. To expand on Huizinga's point, I would suggest that aspects of Venetian culture, such as masking, carnival, tourism, gambling houses and a predilection for games of chance, indicate that Domenico not only lived in a particularly playful era but also in a playful environment. Indeed Roger Caillois who builds on Huizinga's meditations on play in *Les Jeux et les Hommes*, comments at length on eighteenth-century Venice being, in part, a masked society. Caillois observes how the mask gave Venetians of both genders, and every strata of the ostensibly rigid social hierarchy, the freedom to move through the city's public and private spaces. Masks were worn by patricians during political conferences with ambassadors; they were worn for secret assignations and a whole variety of disguises were donned during the prolonged period of carnival, which allowed for transgressions of class, age and gender.⁴⁶ It is likely that Domenico would have engaged in masking himself. Certainly, masks are listed in the probate inventory of his mother, Cecilia Guardi, following her death in 1779.⁴⁷

In his book, Caillois further identifies four broad categories of play.⁴⁸ These are (1) *agôn*, the Greek word for competition; (2) *alea*, the Latin word for dice or

⁴⁶ Caillois (2001), note 61 on masquerade pp. 197-200.

⁴⁷ Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Giudici di Petizion, Inventari, Busta 473/ 138, no. 7/ 68. A reference to the inventory can be found in Montecucoli Degli Erri (1994) p. 26.

⁴⁸ Caillois (2001), see 'fundamental categories', pp. 14-19.

‘chance’ in more general terms; (3) *mimicry* deriving from the Greek but also current in contemporary English as simulation; and (4) *Ilinx*, a rare Greek word for a whirlpool, meaning vertigo in this context and describing games involving ‘whirling’ and airborne exploits. Caillois then summarizes six formal qualities of play: (1) it should be a ‘free’ activity in that it is not obligatory; (2) it is separate in that it is restricted to certain limits of space and time; (3) play is uncertain, its outcome cannot be determined and there is scope for the individual player’s initiative; (4) play should be unproductive – creating neither goods nor wealth (here Caillois concurs with Huizinga); (5) it should be governed by rules that suspend ordinary laws; (6) it can be ‘make-believe’; that is, removed from the realities of everyday life. Apart from the notion of productivity, the circumstances under which Domenico was making the *Divertimento* would mean that the series possesses in abundance the qualities of play defined by Huizinga and Caillois.

Of the categories discussed by Caillois, the notions of *alea*, *mimicry* and *ilinx* are particularly apposite to a discussion of Domenico’s Pulcinella drawings. Earlier in this chapter, I gesture towards the similarity between the *Divertimento* and playful musical improvisatory forms.⁴⁹ Although jazz as a musical art form did not emerge until the early twentieth century, Nigel Llewellyn compares the improvisatory twists of the jazz musician to Giambattista’s *Capricci* and *Scherzi di Fantasia*. Llewellyn reminds us that the improvisatory meanderings in jazz are aleatoric, so named after the Latin noun for dice, where one can be waiting, possibly in vain, for a certain number to occur as the die is cast.⁵⁰ We are reminded here of the teasing sense of narrative continuity in the *Divertimento* which is never quite fulfilled.

In the case of *mimicry* there is, as was demonstrated earlier, the high level of quotation from other artists’ work in the *Divertimento*, and Domenico’s use of a clan

⁴⁹ See pp. 150-152.

⁵⁰ Llewellyn (1991), p. 91.

of masked clowns to take the place of human figures in his sometimes ludicrous parodies of great themes of Western art. This can conceivably be construed as *agôn*, where a competitive element is apparent in the *Divertimento* by the way in which Domenico quotes from and situates himself alongside other artists, in particular his father whose style, from a young age, he could seamlessly emulate.

Ilinx is invariably apposite in terms of Pulcinella's preoccupations – playing shuttlecock, swinging and working the trapeze. Five sheets that form the *Divertimento* (Figs. 9, 126, 127, 117 and 10; Cat. 29, 24, 27, 46, 45) and a fresco from the *camera di Pagliacci* (Fig. 128) in Domenico's villa remind the viewer of the sporadically airborne exploits of Pulcinella or at least the flighty nature of his preoccupations. In Chapter III, I made references to Pulcinella's numerous birdlike characteristics: the etymology of his name, his ancestry, having been hatched from an egg by a bird, and the large, beak-like nose of his mask which distorted his voice to a chirping rasp.⁵¹

One of Pulcinella's favourite games is *volano* played with a shuttlecock and racquets, the name suggests flight and certainly the objective of the game was to keep the shuttlecock in the air. There are two shuttlecock scenes in the *Divertimento*. Moreover, a shuttlecock is also apparent in the right hand foreground of a further drawing showing Pulcinella in love, and there is evidence of a discarded game in one of the Zianigo frescoes. Domenico's Pulcinella is frequently shown in the air, sometimes being carried on the wings of an eagle, at others on a swing or in the circus, a place where bodies defy gravity, as a tightrope walker and trapeze artist. Air is also one of the four humours, and denotes sanguine, happy and amorous characteristics, all qualities that Pulcinella possess in abundance and are amply illustrated by Domenico.

⁵¹ Sacherverell Sitwell refers to Domenico Tiepolo's 'birdmen' in *Southern Baroque Art, A Study of Painting, Architecture and Music in Italy and Spain of the 17th and 18th Centuries*, Third Edition (London: Duckworth, 1930), pp. 88-91.

This theme of flight was also explored visually by Goya in late-life. It is noted in Chapter II, both on the basis of circumstantial evidence and because the artists owned examples of one another's work that there may have been a continuing relationship between Goya and Domenico.⁵² Gassier and Wilson suggest that Goya was inspired by the Tiepolos' etchings, for example, a relatively early etching of *The Blind Guitarist* has much in common, both compositionally and in its technical handling, with the engraving of Domenico's painting of *Il Cavadenti* (Louvre). It is also possible that Goya had been inspired by Giambattista's enigmatic *Vari Capricci* when he created his prints *Los Caprichos* – the inspiration is more than a titular one

Certainly, there is internal, stylistic evidence in the artists' work that suggests that there was some visual exchange between Goya and the Tiepolos, taking for example plate 43 of Goya's *Caprichos*, 'The sleep of reason produces monsters.' This shows the artist asleep at his desk, on which is inscribed '*il sueno de la razon produce monstruos*', with a cat seated behind the artist who is surrounded by owls and bats. It is reminiscent of the frontispiece to Giambattista's *Scherzi di Fantasia* which shows a parliament of owls atop a sarcophagus (Figs. 129 and 130). It has already been observed in the Introduction and elsewhere that Domenico was amongst the earliest collectors to own a complete series of *Los Caprichos*. But the artistic influence went both ways as we have already seen in Chapter II.

Several scenes in Goya's *Los Caprichos* are concerned with flying, sometimes expressed through the inclusion of insect wings (Fig. 131). Also, Goya's last album of drawings, made in Bordeaux, depicts men and animals trying to fly (Figs. 132, 133, and 134).⁵³ According to José Matilla, in Goya's work, flight is used as a metaphor of instability, human irrationality and the fickleness of fortune and, like Domenico, Goya

⁵² See Chapter II, pp. 71-72.

⁵³ *Goya The Butterfly Bull: Flight Entertainment and Laughter* (exhibition: 31 October 2007- 3 February 2008), Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado. José Manuel Matilla wrote a short leaflet to accompany this exhibition.

was experimenting with images of flight during a period of political instability in his country. In the case of a series of late drawings by Goya, which includes two self-portraits as an old man on a swing, one drawing c. 1824 shows him swinging in space, smiling, and a later etching shows him swinging against a darkened sky and laughing (Figs. 135 and 136). According to Victor Stoichita and Anna Maria Coderch, one of the most important treatises on the significance of games was written in seventeenth-century Spain by Rodrigo Caro.⁵⁴ According to Caro, 'Swings were invented so that through their instability we might contemplate the fickleness of things human that go up and rise, so that, a moment later they can come down swiftly and without fail.'⁵⁵ As we have seen, in the eighteenth century, the swing was most famously used by Fragonard, to suggest the sometimes capricious nature of the human heart.

More recently, art historians have debated the playful characteristics of certain works of art. For example, James Elkins has discussed those 'monstrously ambiguous' pictures which have formed the basis of intense art historical discussion.⁵⁶ In Elkins's view, such pictures are similar to puzzles in so far as interpretation is a matter of sorting through a multitude of wrong answers to find the best alternative. A chapter entitled 'What Counts as Complexity?' discusses the art-theoretical fascination for idiosyncratic compositions that depart from the norm and for 'endings, borders, margins, transitional states, blurred categories, 'remnant art' and unclassified hybrids.'⁵⁷ More specifically, Elkins refers to the use of liminal characters such as those from the *commedia dell'arte* in Watteau's *fêtes galantes* that conflate the actions in pictures so as to offer a number of meanings.⁵⁸ He also discusses the notion

⁵⁴ Victor I. Stoichita and Anna Maria Coderch, *Goya The Last Carnival* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 1999), pp. 285-287.

⁵⁵ Rodrigo Caro, *Dias Geniales o Lúdricos*, facsimile reproduction (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1978), p. 193.

⁵⁶ James Elkins, *Why are our Pictures Puzzles? On the Modern Origins of Pictorial Complexity* (New York and London: Routledge, 1998), (hereafter referred to as Elkins (1998)).

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 12, 160-161, 164-165, 172, 256.

of *fantasia* and *invenzione*, citing examples of artists who ‘play’ with their patrons, inviting playful exchanges between their own fantasy and that of the viewer. He uses a sketch of six pillows by Albrecht Dürer as an illustration. Potentially, Domenico has a similar game in mind if he had intended the *Divertimento* to be for a connoisseurial spectatorship.

A sixteenth-century Venetian example that has attracted an unprecedented level of discussion is Giorgione’s *Tempest* (Fig. 137). For those who have tried to decipher the image, from Marcantonio Michiel in the sixteenth century to the present, the painting is enormously enigmatic. *The Tempest* has been the principal subject of three entire books and over 150 other essays and notices.⁵⁹ For over four hundred years art historians and others have identified many important components of Giorgione’s composition and have tried to make sense of the painting’s various parts so as to fit them together into a single persuasive framework of meaning. From this, therefore, we can infer a notion of the picture as a puzzle. Puzzles can be about making sense of a problem but can equally function as absorbing games in themselves. It is evident from Zanetti the Younger’s writing that Giorgione’s work was considered ‘playful’ in eighteenth-century Venice. In fact, Zanetti goes so far as to argue that Giorgione had been the first Venetian painter to experiment with the *capriccio* genre before the term *capriccio* had entered the language:

‘By allowing [his genius] to run completely free, he abandoned the correct and simple way of reason, and added the freedom of invention and impulse to real knowledge in order to entice and please ...’⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Salvarote Settis, *Giorgione’s Tempest Interpreting the Hidden Subject* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990), pp. 78-79.

⁶⁰ [Giorgione] ‘Lasciando spaziare il genio a sua voglia si parti dalla diritta via della semplice ragione, maestra della sola scienza, e aggiunse alle sode cognizioni gli arbitrii della fantasia e del capriccio, per allettare e piacere ...’ Anton Maria Zanetti (the Younger), *Della Pittura Veneziana e della Opera Pubbliche de’ Veneziani Maestri* (Venice, 1771), p. 89.

If one of the qualities of visual playfulness is ambiguity, then Domenico has created a particularly playful work of art in the *Divertimento*. The series is certainly ambiguous from a narrative viewpoint. In fact, Gealt (who has worked on this area since she first became engaged with the series in the 1970s) contacted the now late Herbert Siegel, an American collector and specialist on children's games.⁶¹ Siegel confirmed that in the eighteenth century, games existed where the meaning, character and context of the game could alter – for example, there were puzzles made up of flexible cubes with different images and the story told by the image could change by reformatting the cube.⁶² Therefore although such games might exist, my research did not yield a specifically eighteenth-century Venetian or Italian game that told a number of stories by reshuffling the images in the way that the *Divertimento* does.

However, in her most recent collaboration with Knox, Gealt has formulated an interesting hypothesis that Domenico's ideas about flexible narrative may have come from the New Testament where the artist had to interpret the non-linear accounts of Christ's ministry in the synoptic gospels and apocryphal texts.⁶³ Gealt has suggested that in his biblical drawings, Domenico devised ways of dealing with non-linear narrative and that this re-emerges in the *Divertimento*. Moreover Christ, in an

⁶¹ Gealt acknowledges Siegel in note 13 prefacing the main text of her book (1986): 'I am grateful to Herbert Siegel for affording me information on eighteenth-century children's games. Among them are numbers of card games, yielding diverse narratives depending on how they were sorted; puzzles, including one called *metamorphosis*, in which a single figure cut in seven strips yields a variety of characters; fill in the blank card games, in which the narrative takes on new meaning depending on how the blank is filled; narrative puzzles and so on. If Domenico was thinking of such children's diversion to this picaresque biography, he could easily have evolved such a distinctive solution.' Gealt (1986), note. 13, p. 22.

⁶² I also located illustrated mythological card games in the Strangers' Hall Museum, Norwich which told stories relating to mythological themes. One card in the collection showed Ganymede and bore a resemblance to Domenico's Pulcinella/Ganymede, but as the game was an English eighteenth-century version this is likely to be coincidental (Fig. 138).

⁶³ Gealt and Knox in New York 2006, pp. 23-31: the idea that Domenico used alternative narrative accounts of the life of Christ other than the Synoptic Gospels forms the basis of Knox's contribution on 'The Literary Sources.' Another area that Knox and Gealt could have usefully explored is that of typology. This is where there are pre-ordained representative relationships between certain persons, events and institutions in the Old Testament and those in the New Testament. See Milton S. Terry, *Biblical Hermeneutics. A Treatise on the Interpretation of the Old and New Testaments*. In George Crooks and John Hurst, *Library of Biblical and Theological Literature*. vol. II. (New York and Cincinnati: Phillips & Hunt and Cranston & Stowe, 1884-5).

important sense, is both inside and outside of time. Thus the narrative ambiguity in Domenico's work forms part of that playfulness defined by Elkins – undeterminable endings, borders and margins.

Another category of playful qualities identified by Elkins is that of transitional states, unclassified hybrids and the use of liminal characters.⁶⁴ Because of its curious hybrid, it is most likely that the *Divertimento* fell into the *capriccio* genre. We have seen that the term was simultaneously a musical term but were also applied to the visual arts. Indeed, Giambattista in his *Scherzo* and *Capricci* etchings produced some of the most inscrutable iconography, appearing at once profound yet eluding interpretation. Canaletto was a keen practitioner of this genre as was Francesco Guardi. One of the earliest practitioners of the *capriccio* genre in the visual arts was Callot. Callot had spent twenty years working in the Medici court and consequently his work was well-known throughout the Italian states and his engravings were known to artists. Other artists who worked in this genre and who may have influenced the Tiepolos were Salvator Rosa (1615-1673) and Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione (1609-1664).⁶⁵

I have tried to demonstrate the ludic qualities of *Divertimento per li Regazzi*. Much of this account shows how contemporary theoretical ideas about play intersect with the *Divertimento*, partially in regard to the iconographic content of the drawings together with the circumstances in which the series was made. There is no evidence to suggest that the series was commissioned, and certainly, Domenico was wealthy in his old age and did not need to work for a living. Consequently, it is feasible that the series was made for the artist's own amusement. However, aspects of the drawings, the quotation, visible signs of under drawing combined with evidence as to how connoisseurs looked at, and annotated drawings and etchings might suggest that the

⁶⁴ Elkins (1998), p. 161.

⁶⁵ In Chapter I it is noted that in 1743 Giambattista Tiepolo and Piazzetta assisted in compiling an inventory of Zaccaria Sagredo's collection which included over 350 drawings by Castiglione.

Divertimento had also been conceived as a game for such an viewer. The series possessed many of the qualities associated with seventeenth- and eighteenth-century definitions of the *capriccio* genre – which was particularly enjoyed by *amateurs* because it was this genre that offered most insight into the artist’s inventive process. The visual and musical *capricci* were a whimsical form practised by both composers and practitioners in the visual arts – and perhaps it is in this genre that visual matter can most closely aspire to what Huizinga described as the ‘ethereal spaces open to music and poetry.’⁶⁶

⁶⁶ Huizinga (1970), p. 190.

Chapter VI

Old Age and Death

A Portrait of the Artist as an Old Man

*'It would be madness to place a boy, who, after repeated trials, hath discovered a natural genius for Painting in the usual track of study, and send him, with the common herd of children, to the Latin school. Instead of Latin, he should be made to learn thoroughly the rudiments of his own tongue; and instead of Cicero's epistles, he should be made to read Borghini, Baldinucci, Vasari.'*¹

In his essay *Saggi sopra le belle arti* (1762), Giambattista Tiepolo's friend and patron Francesco Algarotti suggested that the writings of Giorgio Vasari, Raffaello Borghini and Filippo Baldinucci should form an essential aspect of the aspiring young painter's education. Notwithstanding the fact that Vasari and Borghini's books had been written almost 200 years earlier, it is clear that Algarotti considered them to be seminal sources of reference for his contemporaries. As well as providing useful instruction for the young painter, it is evident that the writings of Vasari and Borghini also contained ideas on the proper comportment of elderly artists.

In view of the Tiepolos' relationship with Algarotti, together with the fact that they were heavily influenced by Renaissance artistic traditions, it is highly likely that both father and son would have been aware of these early theoretical concepts. Indeed, not only did the Tiepolos have access to these art-theoretical models but to actual role models, since there was a strong tradition of venerable artists in Venice from the fifteenth century onwards. Three consecutive generations of painters were

¹ 'Conosciuto a varie prove un ingegno fatto da natura per riuscire nell'arte del dipingere, mal farebbe che lo mettesse nella solita strada degli studj, e col branco degli altri fanciulli lo mandasse alla scuola per apprendere il latino. In cambio dell'Emanuelle, di dovrà farlo ammaestrare nei rudimenti della lingua italiana: e in cambio delle Epistole di cicerone gli si dovrà [p.64] far leggere il Borghini il Baldinucci il Vasari.' Algarotti (1791 a.), p. 64.

particularly long-lived: Giovanni Bellini (1430-1516) had lived to be eighty-six, Tiziano Vecellio (Titian) (c.1488-1576) until his late eighties, and Jacopo Tintoretto (1518-1594), seventy-six. As indicated in the Introduction, the present chapter builds on my previously published contribution to a series of papers on old age and includes the late work of the Tiepolos, and particularly Domenico who spent the latter part of his life drawing.² It takes into consideration the late private, devotional works - four *Capricci on the Flight into Egypt* and two *Meditations on the Passion of Christ* - which Giambattista made in Spain when he was in his early seventies. Through this visual contemplation of the dead body of Christ, I would propose that the elder Tiepolo followed the established examples of earlier Venetian painters, such as Titian and Tintoretto. Significantly, this is in strict contrast to Domenico who, in his lengthy pictorial rumination on the adventures of Pulcinella, establishes a different precedent, one that has been subsequently repeated by other artists in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The question as to when an artist should gracefully retire was one that had been debated by Vasari and Borghini, and was conceivably inspired by Baldassare Castiglione's observations on old age in his famous *Book of the Courtier* (1528).³ In order to understand why it was important that the aging artist should withdraw from making public commissions at a certain time of life, a preamble is required on early art-theoretical debates concerning the image and status of the artist and how it was perceived that the elderly artist might compromise both his own status, and that of other artists, by producing inferior work. The notion of what constituted 'old' in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is pertinent to this discussion, as is the view that Venice was a locus in which old age was particularly revered.

² Bostock in Classen (2007), pp. 517-532.

³ Baldassarre Castiglione, *Il Libro del Cortegiano* (Florence: Per li heredi di P. di Giunta, 1528).

Although old age is generally an under-researched area, it has intermittently been the focus of art-historical interest. Kenneth Clark's Rede Lecture *The Artist Grows Old* addressed the topic in 1970, as did a series of papers published in *The Art Journal* in 1987, following a symposium convened by David Rosand on 'Style and the Aging Artist'.⁴ More recently, the consultant pathologist Thomas Dormandy wrote *Old Masters: Great Artists in Old Age* (2000), which considered how and why so many elderly artists reached new heights of creativity in their seventies and eighties. Most recently, Pat Thane has edited a volume on the topic.⁵

Whilst acknowledging current demographic realities – that nowadays people live for longer and that older people outnumber the young – Pat Thane challenges contemporary misconceptions concerning old age in the past. Refuting suppositions that fewer people lived to be old, Thane observes that past societies often supported large numbers of elderly people and that at least ten percent of the populations of England, France and Spain were aged over sixty in the eighteenth century.⁶ Moreover, Thane reveals that life expectancy was influenced by high infant and child mortality rates, but that those who got through their hazardous early years in the 'pre-industrial past' had a good chance of survival.⁷

There is also the question of what constitutes old age. Drawing upon diverse genres of sixteenth and seventeenth-century texts, Creighton Gilbert addressed this issue in his article 'When Did a Man in the Renaissance Grow Old?'.⁸ The basis of Gilbert's enquiry arose from a patent issued by the Duke of Parma in January 1562 appointing a new architect, Giacanto Vignola, to work in tandem with his father,

⁴ David Rosand, 'Style and the Aging Artist', *Art Journal*, 46, 1987, pp. 91-93.

⁵ Thane (2005).

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁸ Creighton Gilbert, 'When Did a Man in the Renaissance Grow Old?', *Studies in the Renaissance*, 14 (1967), pp. 7-32 (hereafter referred to as Gilbert (1967)).

Giacomo Vignola, ‘so as to subtract labour from his years’.⁹ The fact that Vignola was aged just fifty-four at the time struck Gilbert as extraordinary. Further research revealed that in a letter to Domenico Boninsegni, the business agent of his Medici patrons, Michelangelo claimed to be old when aged just forty-two years. Yet he went on to live for an additional forty-seven years.¹⁰ In a survey of the time of death of the subjects featured in Vasari’s *Lives*, Gilbert remarks that the age of forty was not considered untimely by the author. However, those artists who did die in their thirties were still described by Vasari as dying prematurely. This observation, along with a reference to an excerpt from Thomas Elyot’s medical handbook *The Castle of Health* (1539), reveals that there appeared to be neither the concept of, nor the vocabulary for, ‘middle age.’¹¹ There was simply youth, maturity and old age.

However, as other scholars have shown, this was just one way of periodising the life of man among several ages of life traditions, both textual and visual.¹² These could consist of anything between four ages (corresponding with the seasons) to seven (coordinating with the planets) or even twelve (the months of the year) and there were other permutations in between.¹³

The youth, maturity and old age cycle is also borne out visually in the well-known pictorial theme of ‘The Three Ages of Man’.¹⁴ It first emerged in Venice in c.1501 in a painting by Giorgione known as *The Three Ages of Man* (Palazzo Pitti,

⁹ Gilbert (1967), p. 7.

¹⁰ Michelangelo Buonarroti, *Le Lettere di Michelangelo Buonarroti. Pubblicate coi ricordi ed contratti artistici per cura di Gaetano Milanesi* (Florence: Comitato Fiorentino per le Feste del IV. Centenario della Nascita di Michelangelo, 1875), p. 384.

¹¹ Cited by Gilbert (1967), p. 13 from *The Castel of Helthe*: ‘Adolescency to XXV yeres, hotte and moyst in the whiche time the body groweth / Iuventute unto xl yeres hotte and drye, wherein the body is in perfyte growthe. / Senectute, unto lx yeres, colde and drie, wherein the bodye beginneth to deceace / Age decrepitate, until the last time of lyfe, accidently moist, but naturally cold and dry, / Wherein the powers and strength of the body be more and more minished.’

¹² Anouk Janssen in Leiden 2005, ‘The Iconography of Old Age in Rembrandt’s Early Work’, in *Rembrandt’s Mother: Myth and Reality* (Exhibition Catalogue Leiden, Stedelijk Museum De Lakenhal 16 December 2005 – 19 March 2006), eds Christiaan Vogelaar, C. Korevaar (Zwolle: Waanders, 2005), pp. 53-66.

¹³ See Harry Peters, ‘Jupiter and Saturn; Medieval Ideals of Elde’, in Classen (2007), pp. 375-392.

¹⁴ J. A. Burrow, *The Ages of Man: a Study in Medieval Writing and Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986).

Florence, Fig 139). The picture shows a boy holding a sheet of music, a mature man to the left of the boy possibly instructing him and a much older man gazing out of the picture. The same theme is translated quite differently in Titian's *Three Ages of Man*, which he painted c.1512-14 (Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland, Fig. 140). This shows a landscape with a putto, symbolising childhood, and two sleeping babies to the right. To the left is a pair of youthful lovers and, in the middle distance, a white-haired, balding and bearded old man sits alone, contemplating two skulls and, presumably, his own mortality. Thus, these pictorial examples corroborate the textual evidence and Gilbert's hypothesis that the notion of middle age would not have been readily understood in the sixteenth century.

If forty were thought to mark the beginning of old age, then to live until one's seventies, eighties or even nineties must have been considered remarkable. Because of its potential extent, old age is considered to be a mixed phase of life, encompassing a variety of physiological changes. For the most part, however, individuals tended to be judged not by their numerical age but in terms of their physical fitness. As in many areas of life, the eighteenth century appears to have been a transitional era in the history of old age. According to David Troyansky, the life expectancy of an adult increased and the socio-economic order began to alter.¹⁵ Enlightenment thinkers encouraged respect for old age and the French Revolutionary *fête de la vieillesse* celebrated it. Nonetheless, it would appear that youth and maturity covered much shorter time spans than old age, which could extend from age fifty to over one hundred years, although the biblical life span of three score years and ten has been accepted by many over time, and is the benchmark I shall use in this study.

I would also argue that old age appeared to be particularly venerated by the Venetians, certainly amongst the patrician classes, in the early modern period. This is

¹⁵ David D. Troyansky, 'The 18th Century', in Thane (2005), pp. 175-210.

apparent from the normally advanced years of the political head of state, the Doge. Between 1400 and 1600, the average age of the Doge at election was seventy-two.¹⁶ It is because of this that Robert Finlay in his 1978 article described the Venetian Republic as a gerontocracy. He further suggested that, because the Republic was governed by venerable statesmen, there were cognate images in Venetian civic iconography. Finlay drew his reader's attention to the contrast between the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence, in front of which stands Michelangelo's statue of *David*, and the Doge's Palace, where a carving showing *The Judgement of Solomon* features among the statuary on the façade. Whereas David is young and vital, Solomon is shown as a more mature man sitting upon his judgement throne which suggests that, amongst other qualities, the Venetians respected wisdom in their heads of state. Perhaps it was because the primary political figure in Venice assumed office at an advanced age that three generations of elderly Venetian artists continued to be admired in their . Titian, in particular, was venerated for his unsurpassed skill, together with the fact that he practised his art as a very old man.¹⁷ Titian certainly lived at a time and in an environment where the prevailing attitude towards the elderly (at least of certain social standing and accomplishment) was benign. It is also likely that Titian's reputation was enhanced by his own self-fashioning, as he painted himself no less than four times in the last two decades of his life.¹⁸

That said, admiration for the elderly Titian was equivocal. In the second (1568) edition of his *Lives*, Giorgio Vasari observed of the aging painter that, 'He has earned a great deal of money because his paintings have always commanded high prices; but during these last few years he would have done well not to have worked

¹⁶ Robert Finlay, 'The Venetian Republic as a Gerontocracy: Age and Politics in the Renaissance', *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 8 (1978), pp. 157-178.

¹⁷ In an unfootnoted account, Dormandy mentions that, in his 8th and 9th decade, Titian was called upon by every important state visitor to Venice, including Henri III of France. Dormandy (2000), p. 212.

¹⁸ Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: from More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

save to amuse himself, for then he would have avoided damaging with inferior work the reputation won during his best years before his natural powers started to decline'.¹⁹ Vasari states that Titian had accumulated sufficient wealth and that working on public commissions was no longer a financial necessity for the artist. The message is clear. Titian should have ceased to work on public commissions whilst his star was in its ascendancy.

In response to what Erin Campbell describes as Vasari's 'critical ambivalence' towards the elderly Titian, a corpus of art-theoretical literature emerged. This offered strategies by which an artist could avoid revealing any deterioration in his work as a consequence of the physiological changes associated with aging.²⁰ This was important because the sixteenth century marked the approximate time when a transformation in the status of the artist was beginning to take place.²¹ According to Joanna Woods-Marsden, one's professional occupation was amongst the most important determinants of social rank. The prestige of an individual's occupation was evaluated on the basis of its proximity to or distance from physical labour.²² Emma Barker describes how traditionally there was little distinction between 'artists', (i.e. painters, sculptors and architects) and craftsmen. During the Medieval period, artists were aligned with the mechanical arts, that is, in work that involved manual labour, as opposed to the liberal arts (arithmetic, music, geometry, astronomy, grammar, logic and rhetoric) which

¹⁹ 'Ha guadagnato assai, perchè le sue opera gli sono state benissimo pagate; ma sarebbe stato ben fatto che in questi suoi ultimi anni non avesse lavorato se non per passatempo, per non scemarsi, coll'opere manco buone, la riputazione guadagnatasi negli anni migliori, e quando la natura per la sua declinazione non tendeva all'imperfetto,' Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' piu eccellenti pittori scultori ed architettori scritte da Giorgio Vasari*. Con nuove annotazioni e commenti di Gaetano Milanesi, Volume 7, (Florence: Sansoni Editore, 1981) (hereafter Vasari (1981)), p. 459; for the English translation, see: Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Artists*, A Selection Translated by George Bull, Volume I (London: Penguin Books, 1987) (hereafter Vasari (1987) trans.), p. 462.

²⁰ Erin Campbell, 'The Art of Aging Gracefully: The Elderly Artist as Courtier in Early Modern Art Theory and Criticism,' *Sixteenth Century Journal*, XXXIII.2 (2002) (hereafter Campbell (2002)), pp. 321-331.

²¹ See eds Emma Barker, Nick Webb, and Kim Woods, *The Changing Status of the Artist*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999) (hereafter Barker et al (1999)).

²² Joanna Woods-Marsden, *Renaissance Self-Portraiture* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998) (hereafter Woods-Marsden (1998)).

were associated with the intellect.²³ Woods-Marsden describes how Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo in particular sought to re-classify art as one of the liberal arts by emphasizing the role of the intellect in artistic production.²⁴ Although the transformation of the position of artists did not occur in any single or linear development, a number of things crystallised in the sixteenth century to enhance artists' status.

First, a group of particularly successful artists emerged contemporaneously, Gentile Bellini (1429-1507) and Giovanni Bellini (1430-1516), Michelangelo Buonaorroti (1475-1564), Raffaello Sanzio (Raphael) (1483-1520) and Titian. All of these men attained an unprecedented level of wealth, fame and, in some cases, ennoblement.²⁵ Second, the first official academy, the Florentine *Accademia del Disegno*, was founded in 1563 with Michelangelo and Duke Cosimo de' Medici as honorary presidents. The appearance of this quasi-academic institution elevated the role of the artist from a craftsman into a scholar. Third, Vasari's *Lives*, first published in 1550 and again in a substantially expanded edition in 1568, underlined the contribution made by individual artists to a notional progress of art.

The question of what occupations the artist might legitimately pursue in old age arose in Vasari's *Lives*. In his biography of Michelangelo, Vasari describes the artist's two final paintings, a *Conversion of Saint Paul* and the *Crucifixion of Saint Peter*, made for the Pauline chapel in the Vatican. Here it becomes apparent that the physically demanding work of painting and creating fresco was not considered an appropriate pursuit for the elderly artist: 'These scenes, which he painted at the age of

²³ Barker et al. (1999), p. 14.

²⁴ Woods-Marsden (1998), p. 4.

²⁵ Gentile Bellini was ennobled by the Emperor Frederick III, Giovanni Bellini became first painter to the Venetian Republic and was succeeded by Titian who was also knighted by Emperor Charles V. For further information on Bellini see, Jürg Meyer zur Capellen, 'Biographie und Fortuna Critica,' in *Gentile Bellini* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GMBH, 1985), pp. 9-38. For Titian see chronological table in Hans Tietze, *Titian: The Paintings and Drawings* (London: The Phaidon Press Ltd., MCML), pp. 407-408.

seventy-five, were the last pictures he did; and they cost him a great deal of effort, because painting, especially in fresco, is no work for men who have passed a certain age'.²⁶ Instead, Michelangelo turned to the practice of a long-established liberal art in his old age - he wrote poetry.²⁷

Although this was not a new pursuit for the artist, who had written verse throughout his life, the elderly Michelangelo composed sonnets. In his letters of 1554 and 1555 addressed to Vasari, Michelangelo enclosed examples of his poetry and he joked that Vasari would warn him against writing because he was old: 'God wishes it, Vasari, that I should continue to live in misery for some years. I know that you will tell me that I am a foolish old man to want to write sonnets, but since there are many who say that I am in my second childhood I have wanted to act accordingly.'²⁸

The question remains: what was deemed a dignified pastime for the aging artist according to art-theoreticians of the time? Campbell observes that sixteenth-century writings on art emphasized the enduring power of rational judgment in the elderly artist and that theoretical study was recommended as a way of transcending the effects of aging.²⁹ One might also turn to the examples of courtesy literature, such as Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano*, to find models of behaviour leading to a dignified identity for the elderly artist. Amongst the literature that followed the second edition of Vasari's *Lives* was Raffaello Borghini's *Il Riposo* (Florence, 1584), so named because it embraced the form of a fictitious dialogue taking place over four days at an actual country estate called *Il Riposo* outside Florence.³⁰ It comprises four books, the

²⁶ 'Queste furono l'ultime pitture condotte da lui d'età d'anni settantacinque, e, secondo che egli mi diceva, con molta sua gran fatica; avvenga ch'è la pittura, passato una certa età, e massimamente di lavorare in fresco, non è arte da vecchi' Vasari, (1981), p. 216; Vasari (1987, trans.), p. 384.

²⁷ Michelangelo Buonarroti, *The Poetry of Michelangelo*, an annotated translation James M. Saslow (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991).

²⁸ 'Dio il voglia, Vasari, che io la tenga a disagio qualche anno; e so che mi direte bene che io sia vecchio e pazzo a voler fare sonetti, ma perchè molti dicono che io sono rimbambito ho voluto fare l'uffizio mio.', Vasari, (1981); Vasari (1987), trans., p. 406

²⁹ Campbell (2002), p. 321.

³⁰ Lloyd H. Ellis, 'Raffaello Borghini's *Il Riposo*: A Critical Study and Annotated Translation,' unpublished Ph.D. thesis (Cleveland, OH: Cape Western Reserve University), August 2002.

first of which discusses iconography, the second style and technique, the third and fourth Italian artists. The most interesting comment on old age can be found in a section of the second book, which describes a tour of the chapel of San Lorenzo in Florence, and considers the work therein of Jacopo da Pontormo (1494-1556). The decline in quality of invention, perspective, and composition in Pontormo's late work gives rise to a brief discussion about what artists should do as they age. One suggestion that emerges from Pontormo's biography is that the elderly artist should teach: 'One can judge from this that when men want to overreach they do worse and that people when they begin to age do better in giving advice than putting it into practice.'³¹

Another recommendation that Borghini makes is that artists should turn their skills to *disegno* or drawing:

'Sculpture and painting, Sirigatti responded, are very difficult arts which require steady judgment in order to observe carefully and a practiced and firm hand. Time weakens and consumes all these things. Therefore, every sculptor and painter, who studied in youth and worked in maturity with praise, should retire from doing public work in old age and leave the world and turn his mind to heavenly design, noting that all human activity finally climbs up to a certain level at which it is usual for men, having arrived almost as at the top of a mountain, wanting to pass further forward, to descend downward. Therefore many works are seen by capable men, done when age begins to fail them, much different in grace and beauty from the things that they first did.'³²

³¹ 'Dal che si può giudicare che quando gli huomini vogliono strafare fanno peggio e che le persone quando cominciano a esser d'età vagliano più nel dar consiglio, che nell'operare' Raffaello Borghini, *Il Riposo di Raffaello Borghini In Cui della Pittur[a], e della scultura si fa uella de più illustri Pitturi, e Scultori, e delle più famose oper[e] loro si fa mentione; e le cos[e] principale appartenenti à dette arte s'insegnano*, (Florence: Giorgio Mareschotti, 1584) (hereafter Borghini (1584)), p. 485.

³² 'La scultura, e la pittura, ripose il Sirigatto, son arti difficilissime, che ricercano guidicio fermo, vedere acuto, e mano pratica, e salda, le quai tutte cose il tempo indebolisce, e consuma. Perciò dovrebbe ogni scultore, e pittore, che in gioventù ha studiato, e nell'età virile ha co[n] laude operato, nella vecchiezza ritirarsi dal fare opera pubbliche, e volger l'animo a disegni celesti, e lasciare i terreni, conciosiacosa che tutte l'attioni humane salgano infino a un certo segno, al quale essendo l'huomo

Arguably, there are both spiritual and art-theoretical interpretations of Borghini's notion of 'heavenly design.' First, there is the idea that the elderly artist's intellectual energies should turn toward God - his heavenly designer. And, in terms of art theory, it should be noted here that, in the sixteenth century, the concept of *disegno* encompassed more than drawing, precisely because it drew attention to the artist's intellectual abilities as well as his creative and manual skills.³³ Furthermore, *disegno* was described by Michelangelo's biographer, Ascanio Condivi (1525-1574) as the fount and body of painting, sculpture and architecture.³⁴ Essentially what emerges from this debate is a route by which the artist could continue to practice in old age without jeopardizing social and intellectual status. Even so, another alternative which the sixteenth-century theorists failed to recommend was self-portraiture - a genre that emerged in the fifteenth century and was developed throughout the sixteenth. Self-representation became a strategy by which the artist could both augment his status and represent himself with dignity in old age, as is evidenced by Titian.³⁵

Titian painted many self-portraits throughout his life, including four in old age. He made one in his early sixties and two in his early seventies. In addition, he worked on an ex-voto *Pietà* which included a self-portrait, which he made for his (never finished) tomb for himself and his family at the altar of the crucifix in the church of the Frari in Venice.³⁶ Certainly, the artist himself appeared proud of his considerable age, and even wrote to Philip II in 1571 stating that he was more than

arrivato, quasi come alla cima d'un monte, gli conviene, volendo più avanti passare, scendere in basso. Perciò si veggono molte opera di valendhuomini fatte quando l'età cominciava à mancare, molto di gratia, e di bellezza differenti dall'altre prime fatte da loro.' Borghini (1584), p. 402.

³³ The following definition of *disegno* can be found in a chapter on Vasari in Eric Fernie's *Art History and its Methods* (London: Phaidon, 1999), p. 39: 'Design is the imitation of the most beautiful things in nature, used for the creation of all figures whether in sculpture or painting; and this quality depends on the ability of the artist's hand and mind to reproduce what he sees with his eyes accurately or correctly onto paper... or whatever surface he may be using. The same applies to works of relief in sculpture. And then the artist achieves the highest perfection of style by copying the most beautiful things in nature and by combining the most perfect members.'

³⁴ Sir Charles Holroyd, *Michel Angelo Buonarroti: with Translations of the Life of the Master by His Scholar Ascanio Condivi and Three Dialogues from the Portuguese by Francisco d'Ollanda*, 2nd edition (London: Duckworth, 1911), p. 275.

³⁵ Woods-Marsden (1998), pp. 159-69.

³⁶ The painting can now be seen at the *Accademia* in Venice.

ninety-five. It is highly likely that the artist exaggerated his own age to make himself seem even more venerable.³⁷ However, it should also be noted that in addition to self-portraiture and notwithstanding Vasari's opinion, Titian was actively engaged in the execution of numerous public commissions in the latter part of his life.³⁸ In the light of sixteenth-century art-theoretical debates on the elderly artist, which recommended a withdrawal from painting, it is interesting to examine how Titian constructed his own identity in later life.

Following the death of Giovanni Bellini in 1516, Titian became First Painter to the Most Serene Republic of Venice. On the back of this he became renowned throughout Europe from the 1530s onwards when he worked increasingly for aristocratic patrons outside Venice.³⁹ Apart from Gentile Bellini, Titian was one of the earliest artists to be awarded noble status by a monarch. He was appointed Count Palatine by Emperor Charles V in 1533 who later elevated him to the rank of Knight of the Golden Spur.⁴⁰ With the exception of Michelangelo, who was very highly thought of, the esteem in which Titian's work and persona were held was exceptional. He proudly proclaimed this status in the self-portrait he made in the early 1550s, (Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen, Berlin), (Fig. 141).⁴¹ It is not known for whom this portrait was intended, however, in this image, Titian signifies his rank sartorially. He fashions himself as a richly-attired patrician in a coat with heavy fur lapels and a gold brocade shirt. The heavy gold chain, bestowed on the artist when he was awarded the honour of Count Palatine, is placed conspicuously at the centre of the

³⁷ There is some disagreement over Titian's date of birth, which varies by up to 13 years, for further discussion of this see, Frank J. Mather, 'When was Titian Born?', *Art Bulletin* 20 (1938): pp. 13-25. 'Titian wrote to Philip II, August 1, 1571, that he himself was in his 'last years' (*ultima età*)—and ninety-five years old.', p. 22, note 11. See also the additional bibliographical references concerning this question in See Zbynek Smetana, 'Thematic Reflections on Old Age in Titian's Late Works,' *Growing Old in Early Modern Europe: Cultural Representations*, ed. Erin Campbell (Aldershot, England, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006) (hereafter, Smentana (2006)), pp. 117, note 1.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 117-35.

³⁹ Charles Hope in London 2003, p. 19.

⁴⁰ Woods-Marsden (1998), p. 160.

⁴¹ Titian's Self-Portrait, Inv. No. 163 Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie.

portrait, drawing attention to the honours that his conceptual and technical skills merited him. Moreover, Titian averts his eyes from the viewer, and this avoidance of eye contact has been compared by Woods-Marsden to the effect of aristocratic distance followed in earlier portraits of princes.⁴² It has often been observed that Titian presents himself with a distant gaze,⁴³ a contemplative pose calculated to signify intellectual as well as physical strength. The portrait certainly signifies that in terms of social status and fame, the artist had ‘arrived’. Despite clear signs of aging as evidenced by the hooded eyes and the long grey beard, Titian’s image is strong: he is shown with an upright physical bearing and large strong hands. Here, Titian does not represent himself with the attributes of his trade, but appears to be portraying himself as an intellectual genius as well as the ‘grand old painter’.

In the Prado self-portrait, painted toward the end of the 1560s,⁴⁴ when the artist was in his eighties, Titian appears even more distant and withdrawn. The portrait was made at a time when, according to contemporary accounts, Titian’s age had started to betray him. In a letter dated 29 February 1568, art dealer and patron Niccolò Stoppio wrote to Hans Jacob Fugger that Titian ‘was virtually blind and all his new works are done by a German assistant.’⁴⁵ In addition to his failing sight, Titian’s hand had begun to tremble and according to the Spanish ambassador in Venice, Don Guzman de Silva, his temperament had become mercurial.⁴⁶ Although this portrait is far more restrained than the previous one, the artist’s image remains dignified notwithstanding the reports of physical deterioration and a tendency toward

⁴² Woods-Marsden (1998), p. 162.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

⁴⁴ Madrid: Prado, (inventory no. P00407).

⁴⁵ See Bert Meijer, ‘Titian and the North’, in *Renaissance Venice and the North Crosscurrents in the Time of Bellini, Dürer, and Titian*, ed. Bernard Aikema (New York: Bompiani, 1999) pp. 498-557; ed. Jaffé (2003) p. 152; Hans Tietze, ‘Earliest and Latest Works of Great Artists’, *Gazette Des Beaux-Arts*, 26 (1944), pp. 273-84.

⁴⁶ ‘Unfortunately he is unsteady and subject to extremes of mood ... and sometimes he seems surprised at what he himself has just said or falls asleep. His temper, usually benign, has also become uncertain, and he can be terrible when roused.’ Taken from Rodolfo Pallucchini, *Tiziano* (Florence: G. C. Sansoni, 1969), p. 342.

irascibility. Here, the palette is dark and the artist is dressed discreetly in black and the gold chain, though apparent, appears to be shorter and is not given the same prominence as in the earlier portrait. A touch of white at the collar draws the gaze to the artist's head, again in profile, to avoid direct eye contact, and staring into the distance.

In this portrait, in contrast to the earlier one, it is possible to detect the effects of time on the artist's face, which is gaunt and the nose, one part of the body that grows over time whilst other parts diminish, is hawkish. The physical power and intellectual strength that were apparent in the first portrait of the aging artist are no longer in evidence. Even so, at the bottom left corner of the painting the artist's right hand clutches a paintbrush. Woods-Marsden suggests that this portrait refers to an active life in that the painter includes one of the tools of his trade in the representation,⁴⁷ she also proposes that it could be interpreted symbolically as Titian consciously placing himself in a liminal space between life and death. From this I would infer that the artist has represented himself in such a way that he is merging in with the background of the portrait in terms of his palette, and portrays himself in profile and totally disengaged from his viewer.

Titian's third self-portrait in old age, known as the *Allegory of Prudence*, shows the artist in profile wearing a red skull-cap (Fig. 142). This painting has, most famously, been analyzed by Erwin Panofsky, who claimed that the central portrait showing the man in his prime was Titian's son Orazio, and the youth in profile was Titian's nephew, Marco Vecellio. There is a Latin inscription above the trio of heads in the painting which reads, '*Ex Praeterito / Praesens Prudenter Agit/ Ni Futurum actionem deturpet*' ('[Instructed] by the past, the present acts prudently lest the future

⁴⁷ Woods-Marsden (1998), p. 167.

spoil [its] action.’)⁴⁸ This implies that the present learns from the past and acts with due regard to the future. According to Panofsky’s interpretation, Titian’s profile represents the past, his son’s portrait stands for the present, and his nephew’s profile signifies the future. In this painting, Titian has an ashen complexion which is contrasted by the brightness of the skin tones of his son and nephew. Apart from a striking scarlet cap he is wearing, the artist is barely discernible and no longer bears the trappings of his worldly fame. Having provided for his family, Titian is disappearing into the shadows. His mortal identity is fading out.

The painting is divided visually into two parts. The upper or anthropomorphic area shows the human heads. The lower, or zoomorphic, zone shows images of the heads of a wolf under the head of the old man, a lion below the mature man, and a dog corresponding with the head of the younger man. The animal iconography is explored in depth by Panofsky who suggested that it may have derived from the god Serapis, traditionally worshipped in Hellenistic Egypt. An image of the god showed him with a three-headed quadruped at his feet with the heads of a wolf, lion, and dog.⁴⁹ Panofsky explained how descriptions of this creature were disseminated textually over the intervening centuries and interpreted by Macrobius (5th century A.D.) as signifying Time, the lion being the present, the wolf the past, and the dog the future.⁵⁰ The imagery was resurrected by Petrarch who associated it with the Graeco-Roman god Apollo. This coincided with fifteenth-century book illuminations showing Apollo enthroned upon a three-headed animal composed of a lion a wolf and a dog.

An equally possible interpretation of the animal iconography resides in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century German and Netherlandish rhyme traditions

⁴⁸ Erwin Panofsky, ‘Reflections on Time,’ *Problems in Titian Mostly Iconographic* (London: Phaidon, 1969) (hereafter Panofsky (1969)), pp. 88-108.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 105-06.

⁵⁰ In Hall’s *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art* both the dog and the wolf are mentioned as part of a three-headed monster symbolising prudence. There is no mention of the lion in this connection, see James Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art* (London: John Murray Ltd., 1996), (hereafter Hall (1996)), pp. 105 and 343 respectively.

concerning the ten ages of life.⁵¹ One such book, the *Liederbuch der Clara Hätzlerin* (the song book of Clara Hätzlerin) published in Augsburg in 1471, describes the ten ages of life with animal analogies and their attributes. In this particular song, age forty was associated with a lion, sixty with a wolf and eighty with a dog. Only the lion has positive attributes, being powerful and noble. The wolf meanwhile is associated with ill-temper and greed, and the dog is devoid of strength.⁵² Visual counterparts to this textual example can be found in contemporary German woodcuts, an example of which can be consulted in the British Museum, London.⁵³ Relating this textual and iconographic tradition to Titian's *Allegory of Prudence* would certainly resonate strongly. Yet, according to this, the presence of the dog under the younger man is rather incongruous, even if there are iconographic traditions of dogs being associated with youth elsewhere.⁵⁴ If this painting shows a shift in Titian's representation from a strong and venerable elderly gentleman to a shadow of his former self, in his final portrait the artist is patently concerned with his spiritual welfare.⁵⁵

By his late eighties, Titian must have been aware that he was approaching the end of his life and, presumably would have been making preparations for the moment of his death. As Albrecht Classen observes in his introduction to *Old Age in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, the ideal was to die a 'good death', surrounded by one's family, having put one's affairs, both secular and spiritual, in order. There were also ways of preparing for death peculiar to artists and, more generally in the realm of

⁵¹ I would like to thank Anouk Janssen who has researched the iconography of old age for her Ph.D. thesis for sharing this material with me. Animal iconography is discussed in paragraphs 3.2 and 3.5 in Chapter 1 of the following book: Anouk Janssen, *Grijsaards in zwart-wit: De verbeelding van de ouderdom in de Nederlandse prentkunst (1550-1650)* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2007).

⁵² *Liederbuch der Clara Hätzlerin*, ed. Carl Haltaus. Mit einem Nachwort von Hanns Fischer. Deutsche Neudrucke. Reihe: Texte des Mittelalters (1840; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1966), LXIX. See also Albrecht Classen, *Deutsche Liederbücher des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts. Volksliedstudien*, 1 (Munster, New York, et al.: Waxmann, 2001), III, 30: 'O Junger man sich an mich' p. 180.

⁵³ Anonymous, *Ten Ages of Man and Animals*, 1482, woodcut. British Museum London, inv. no. 1872-6-8-351.

⁵⁴ There is an engraving in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam, showing the six ages of life by Crispijn de Passe where the second age (*adolescencia*) is associated with a dog, which fits in the iconography of youth and hunting. Although this was published in 1599 (thus post-dating Titian), it was presumably grounded in earlier traditions.

⁵⁵ See also Smetana (2006), pp. 125-26.

the visual. In his late *Pietà*, the elderly Titian was using the very act of painting to prepare for a good death (Fig. 143). In a powerfully dramatic composition, the painting shows the body of Jesus, bathed in an unearthly light, being cradled by his mother who sits in a stone niche below a mosaic depicting a pelican which, according to legend, feeds its young with the blood from its own breast.⁵⁶ Titian places himself in the foreground as a barely-clothed ascetic, contemplating the broken body of Christ and touching His wounds.

The notion of preparing for a ‘good death’ would most certainly have been understood by Titian and his contemporaries, and the fashioning of a pious self-image would have been of utmost concern to the elderly artist. Here, by meditating upon the suffering of Jesus, it is most likely that Titian was demonstrating his piety in the hope that he would be redeemed. In the words of Borghini, he is turning his mind to ‘heavenly design.’ The practice of elderly artists showing themselves in the *Pietà* context was not unprecedented, and the most famous example of this is, of course, Michelangelo’s *Pietà*. This, in turn, inspired his imitator Baccio Bandinelli (1488-1559) who designed his own tomb in Santissima Annunziata in Florence, which shows the sculptor holding the dead Christ. Titian’s late working is nevertheless striking in that it appears to have been the source of spiritual inspiration for other elderly Venetian artists including his younger contemporary Tintoretto and, indeed, Giambattista Tiepolo in the eighteenth century.

Tintoretto’s last painting, an *Entombment of Christ* (Fig. 144), was painted in 1594 for the mortuary chapel of the Benedictine monks at San Giorgio Maggiore.⁵⁷ It is a typically dark composition, showing the body of Christ being taken from the cross. A portrait of the aging, bearded, Tintoretto seems to appear twice, once as

⁵⁶ ‘The motif of the pelican piercing its breast to feed its young with its blood became the symbol of the sacrifice of Christ on the cross’. Hall (1992), p. 238.

⁵⁷ I would like to thank Dom. Andrew McNeill of S. Giorgio Maggiore for allowing me access to Tintoretto’s *Entombment* in the Winter Choir in S. Giorgio Maggiore.

Joseph of Arimathea, at the shoulders of Christ, and again, as another holy man, at his feet.⁵⁸ The composition is spiritually comparable to Titian's *Pietà* insofar as it is a pious contemplation of Christ's body by the painter as he approached death. An interesting contrast can be seen, however, in the way in which the two artists chose to portray themselves: Titian depicts himself as a scantily clad old man – the personification of humility, while Tintoretto appears to present himself twice-over as a finely-dressed rich man. Interestingly, this contrasts with one of the anecdotes in Carlo Ridolfi's biographies of the artists. Whereas Titian appears proud of the external trappings of his wealth and fame in his self-portraits, Tintoretto was sartorially indifferent. In Ridolfi's biography Tintoretto showed little regard for his right to wear the *cittadini's* toga, and it would satisfy his sense of humour to wear it in a deliberately careless manner, which recalls Vasari's descriptions of Donatello.⁵⁹ Therefore, the self-portrayals display a curious reversal of character that, in this instance, Titian should construct himself in such an unworldly light, whereas Tintoretto should have chosen to appear as the sumptuously-robed Arimathea. Titian may have considered it to be an act of profound humility to portray himself virtually naked in front of Christ's body. It may also have been a matter of decorum: Titian's image was a personal painting for his own tomb whereas Tintoretto's altarpiece was a public commission for the Benedictine Order.

Philip Sohm, in his paper on the eighteenth-century reception of Giambattista Tiepolo, describes how eighteenth-century scholars and patrons tried to situate contemporary painting within the context of a noble, though often burdensome,

⁵⁸ Tintoretto has been identified on two occasions. First, by John Pope-Hennessy, in *The Portrait in the Renaissance* (London: Phaidon, 1966), pp. 295-96, and subsequently by Peter Humfrey, in *Painting in Renaissance Venice* (1995; New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996), p. 239. It is my own hypothesis that Tintoretto represents himself twice in this painting.

⁵⁹ Carlo Ridolfi, *Le Maraviglie dell'arte, Overo, Le Vite degli Illustri Pittori Veneti*, [ed.] Detlev Freiherrn von Hadeln (Rome: Società Multigrafica Editrice Somu, 1965).

artistic tradition.⁶⁰ As revealed by Sohm, the eighteenth-century writer Scipione Maffei believed that history was cyclical and that a new Renaissance could be realized through the study of the first Renaissance. According to Sohm, Giambattista ‘straddled an awkward position across the treacherous straits of tradition and innovation’ at a time when most painters faced the dilemma of pursuing the new or returning to established models.⁶¹

In Chapter II, I demonstrated how Giambattista favoured the established models, and whilst Domenico dutifully followed the style - chosen by his father - of the Tiepolo family workshop, he also had his own style, which became increasingly apparent following the death of his father. In their respective approaches to old age, I would suggest that Giambattista again embraced tradition by following the spiritual prototype established by the elderly Titian in his altarpiece, whereas Domenico largely abstained from the making of public commissions and favoured the ‘intellectual’ approach proposed by Borghini, and practised by Michelangelo albeit through his poetry. In Domenico’s case, this became manifest through his commitment to making large series of drawings thus turning his mind to the cerebral process of *disegno*.⁶² Notably, neither artist took the route of self-portraiture, although a study of their *oeuvre* shows that the Tiepolos would, albeit rarely, depict themselves - Giambattista in his frescoes, and Domenico and Lorenzo in etchings and in personal work.

⁶⁰ Sohm (1990), p. 89.

⁶¹ See also, Sohm (1991), p. 203.

⁶² During a recent discussion at The Saatchi Gallery, Stephen Bayley, founding director of London’s Design Museum’, observed that the act of drawing assisted the creative process, and that the architecture of the brain is such that the practice of draughtsmanship encourages the flow of ideas. Bayley observed that Swiss educator Johann Pestalozzi (1746-1827) and the German pedagogue Friederich Froebel (1782-1852) believed that drawing could enhance a child’s spatial awareness. Whilst it is not within the scope of the thesis to further investigate these ideas, it may be a fascinating angle for future exploration, both as an explanation for Domenico’s predilection for drawing in his , and to offer a further interpretation for his enigmatic title *Divertimento per li Regazzi*. Source: Stephen Bayley, ‘Can Art be Taught to the Facebook Generation?’ at The Saatchi Gallery, London, 1 July 2009.

By the time Giambattista had reached his early sixties, it is known that he was suffering from gout and that this occasionally interfered with his ability to work, as inferred in a letter to Francesco Algarotti dated 10 May 1760.⁶³ According to Dormandy, gout (a specific biochemical disorder of uric acid metabolism) was more common in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries than it is today. However, the term was also loosely used to describe many forms of painful and crippling arthritis.⁶⁴ Claude Lorrain (1600-1682) had also suffered from gout in his eighties, and needed to bathe his fingers in hot wax and exercise them each morning, and whilst he continued with his craft, the act of painting caused him great pain.⁶⁵ In view of this, one might imagine that the physical exertion of fresco painting, particularly the ceiling commissions in the Spanish court, would have tested Giambattista to the limit, and this may also explain his initial reluctance to travel to Spain, and why much of the work around the periphery of the ceiling was undertaken by Domenico and Lorenzo.

Although, like Titian, Giambattista continued to work on public commissions until the very end of his life, he also made a series of small paintings – four variations on *The Flight into Egypt* (Figs. 145-148),⁶⁶ and two meditations on the *Passion of Christ*, a *Lamentation* and an *Entombment* (Figs. 149-150). There is a question of attribution over *The Entombment* and *Lamentation*. Christiansen observes that the paintings have sometimes been attributed to Giambattista but have more recently been attributed to Domenico, although it is thought that Giambattista had been involved in

⁶³ 'Io pure second oil mio impegno nell'ora che scrivo dovrei ritrovarmi a Milano, ma la gotta insolentissima ... mi levò il modo onde poter sodisfare al mio impegno e difficilmente di poterlo più adempiere ...' ('I ought, according to my commitments, to be again at this moment in Milan, but the intemperance of gout ... denied me the means of fulfilling my obligation, and with difficulty will I be able to meet it ...'). Morassi cites Fogolari, 1942, pp. 35-36. Morassi (1962), p. 237.

⁶⁴ Dormandy (2000), p. 185.

⁶⁵ Dormandy (2000), p. 185.

⁶⁶ The canvases comprise, *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, c.1767-1770 Private Collection; *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, ca. 1767-1770 Staatsgalerie Stuttgart (inv. no. 3303); *The Flight into Egypt*, c.1767-1770 Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon; and *The Flight into Egypt*, c.1767-1770, Private Collection: New York.

their design.⁶⁷ The paintings bear a striking resemblance to two lamentations by Domenico in the National Gallery, London (Figs. 151-152), although the background landscape is different, as are the figures surrounding the Virgin and the body of Christ. For the purpose of my argument here, and in the absence of new published evidence or opinion, I shall assume that these paintings were late private works produced by Tiepolo senior.⁶⁸

Whilst it is the *Entombment* that is of particular concern, it is noteworthy that Domenico had made his *Picturesque Ideas on the The Flight into Egypt* when the artists had been working in Würzburg (1750-1753), and Goya had worked on the same theme when he was travelling to Italy. So, presumably this theme of travel and estrangement from one's homeland as experienced by the Holy Family may have had particular resonance for artists who were working far from their native countries. It is interesting to note that the *Lamentation over the Body of Christ* (Fig. 149), is painted with, according to Keith Christiansen, a cityscape of Madrid in the background.⁶⁹ However, in contrast, in the *Entombment* (Fig. 150), Giambattista is transported back to Venice, his spiritual home, because of the way in which this composition may be compared to Tintoretto's *Entombment* (San Giorgio Maggiore) and Titian's *Pietà* (Accademia, Venice), as a last meditation on the dead body of Christ by a Venetian painter as he approaches the end of his life.

Giambattista's painting is set in a dark, cavernous tomb, to the extreme left is a pine tree with St John, Mary Magdelene and the swooning Virgin in the foreground, while near the Virgin's feet lays the lid of the tomb, the crown of thorns and two

⁶⁷ For further discussion, see Christiansen in Venice 1996, p. 347. During a conversation with George Knox on 23.x.2006, Knox mentioned that he was planning to write a paper on these compositions, re-attributing them to Domenico.

⁶⁸ A visit to Würzburg (29 August 2008) where restoration is being undertaken in the Kaisersaal, enabled me to climb the scaffolding and inspect the frescoes (a joint enterprise between Giambattista and Domenico) at close quarters, and to consult the restorers working on the project. It was unanimously agreed that it was virtually impossible to differentiate between the work of Giambattista and Domenico. Thus, from the age of 23, Domenico could emulate his father seamlessly, and it would appear that the artists would only make their individual styles apparent when they so wished.

⁶⁹ Christiansen in Venice 1996, p. 344.

poles. Central to the composition is Christ, his body an unearthly pallor being lowered into the tomb by two figures – a man in a yellow tunic to the right and a turbaned figure, face bowed, easing Christ's legs into the sarcophagus. At Christ's shoulders kneels the figure of an elderly man, in a red robe, possibly Arimathea, and at his side another female figure, whom I believe to be Veronica, because of what appears to be the imprint of a man's face on the garment which covers her shoulder. Above the crowd hovers an angel in a golden robe. Viewed from the back, the angel is reminiscent of the one in Tintoretto's *The Miracle of the Slave of Provence*, painted for the *Scuola Grande di San Marco* (now Accademia, Venice) (Fig. 153). To return again to the turbaned figure at Christ's feet, the turban, the aquiline nose and dark eyes recall Giambattista's own self-representations as a young man in a tongue-in-cheek interpretation of *Apelles and Campaspe*, and in middle age in a self-portrait with fellow-artist Girolamo Mengozzi-Colonna (1688-1766) in *The Banquet of Cleopatra* at the Palazzo Labia, Venice. It is in this way that, I would suggest, Giambattista situates himself alongside two great Venetian painters, and follows their spiritual example in old age.

By the time Domenico reached his old age which, taking the biblical benchmark as a guide, would have been August 1797, there had been alterations both in the painter's personal life and in cultural and social events more generally. The last third of Domenico's life, as we saw in Chapter II, was a period of loss for the painter as ten of his close relatives had died between 1770 and 1798, and a time when the world as he knew it was changing. Unlike Giambattista, in the last fourteen years of his life and in line with Vasarian advice to the elderly artist, Domenico rarely undertook public commissions preferring to focus on drawings instead and, in common with the elderly Goya some twenty years later, he turned his attention to the completion of the decoration of his own villa. Of the various dates (1759, 1771, 1791

and 1797) inscribed on the frescoes in his home, the last two phases are of particular interest here.⁷⁰ In 1791, Domenico completed the fresco *The New World*, for the reception room in his villa (Fig. 29). ‘The new world’ was a popular theme amongst Venetian genre painters and had been worked previously by Domenico at the Villa Valmarana.⁷¹ From the early eighteenth century, itinerant showmen would travel with optical devices which would open up perspectival views to their spectators and these devices often showed foreign and exotic worlds.⁷² Panoramic in its form, Domenico’s fresco shows a cast of characters, mostly viewed from behind, queuing to see the showman’s device. Compositionally, the crowd is bracketed by Pulcinella on the extreme left and a lady in a white bonnet with blue ribbon to the extreme right. In front of this lady and another, in a black hat and orange gown, stands a man in profile who, in common with the connoisseur, holds an eyeglass. In front of him, stands another man, arms folded, also in profile.

It has been suggested that the man with the eyeglass is Domenico standing behind Giambattista.⁷³ The painters stand in a liminal position, sideways on, between the remainder of the figures who are largely a panoply of familiar subsidiary figures from the Tiepolo repertory. The figures can only be viewed from behind as they face inwards waiting to catch a glimpse of the new world. Assuming the two figures occupying the intermediary space are indeed portraits of the Tiepolos, it would appear as though they had been skilfully choreographed to reflect a position they occupied in the latter part of their lives – one that was balanced on the cusp between an old and a new world.

⁷⁰ Mariuz in Udine 1996, p. 30.

⁷¹ For further discussion, see Mariuz (1971), pp. 54-60.

⁷² *Eyes, Lies and Illusions* (exhibition catalogue, Hayward Gallery, London, 7 October 2004 – 3 January 2005), eds Laurent Mannoni, Werner Nekes, Marina Warner (London: Hayward Gallery Publishing, 2004), (hereafter London 2004), p. 20.

⁷³ Pignatti (1960), p. 345.

The last nine years of the painter's life had, after all, represented a period of particularly intense cultural and political transition which, one might surmise, Domenico felt too old and too weary to embrace. Hence, he devoted his old age to making large series of drawings, and through his command of good *disegno*, he mastered his aging body and mind. However, on this occasion, in his art at least, Domenico did not revert to tradition but, rather, to irony. His reflection on the birth, life and deaths of Pulcinella have been described by Constance Naubert-Riser as 'a moving and dramatic evocation of Venice's festive and independent spirit, created as the city's political power was declining after its occupation by Napoleon's troops.'⁷⁴

In the conclusion to his memoirs of 1797, Domenico's contemporary, Carlo Gozzi commented on the 'vast undulation called the French Revolution, which swept over Europe, upsetting kingdoms and drowning the landmarks of immemorial History,' and the 'ululations of dreamers, yelling out *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity*' and described how he, and those of his compatriots who remained unmoved by 'the sweet delusive dream of a democracy,' were 'forced to feign themselves dreamers, in order to protect their honour, their property and their lives.'⁷⁵ Conceivably, in a climate such as the one described by Gozzi, it would have been undesirable for the elderly artist to fashion himself pictorially as a nobleman. We have seen in this chapter how Titian through his self-portraiture compared himself to those of noble status, and indeed the art historian Jean Clair must have had Titian in mind when he argued in his essay on 'Parade and Palingenesis' that biographies of painters from the Renaissance to the end of the eighteenth century are replete with anecdotes describing how the artist acquired social status through his creative talent.⁷⁶ Clair proceeded to describe the toppling of the artist's status which, in his opinion fell into two phases: the first beginning, in Domenico's time, with the French Revolution in 1789, the

⁷⁴ Clair in Paris 2004, p. 78.

⁷⁵ Addington Symonds (1895), pp. 328-329.

⁷⁶ Clair in Paris 2004, p. 30.

second culminating at the end of the American Civil War in 1863. The desire for Liberty, Equality and Fraternity in certain quarters may explain why Domenico did not follow Titian's example and portray himself as the grand old painter, and why the spiritual meditation on the body of Christ favoured by Giambattista, and a whole lineage of artists before him, gave way to self-parody in the *Divertimento*. Finally, in this, his last work, Domenico sloughed off the customary role of 'diligent imitator' and pursued the uncharted territory of pioneer.

Death in Venice

It has been observed in the Introduction to this thesis that although death is a subject which has been interrogated in a number of ways, specific analysis of death in eighteenth-century Venice remains an under-researched area. However, it has been possible to make use of studies devoted to death in other Catholic cultures in Europe, for example, Carlos Eire's research on dying in sixteenth-century Spain.⁷⁷ For despite any temporal and possibly cultural differences, the liturgy of the Catholic Church remained virtually unchanged following The Council of Trent (1545-1563) until the second Vatican Council (1962-1965).⁷⁸ Certain ideologies were accepted trans-culturally, for example, notions of dying a 'good' and 'bad' death endured over time in both Catholic and Protestant traditions.

Nigel Llewellyn, in his study on the visual culture of death ritual, focused on the notion of 'good' and 'bad' deaths and noted that both were used as subjects in art.⁷⁹ 'Bad' deaths such as suicides, deaths resulting from duels, assassinations, executions and accidental deaths were recorded by several artists. Thomas Rowlandson (1756-

⁷⁷ Carlos M. N. Eire, *From Madrid to Purgatory: The Art & Craft of Dying in Sixteenth-Century Spain*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

⁷⁸ Catholic Encyclopaedia <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/index.html>. Website visited, December 2006.

⁷⁹ Nigel Llewellyn, *The Art of Death: Visual Culture in the English Death Ritual c. 1500-1800* (London: Reaktion Books, in association with the Victoria & Albert Museum, 1991), (hereafter referred to as Llewellyn 1991), p. 30.

1827) for example, created a series of watercolours in 1791 entitled *Dreadful Deaths*. Indeed, in the *Divertimento*, Domenico shows Pulcinella dying in a variety of ways, experiencing both good and bad deaths.

Whilst it is not certain that Domenico would have been familiar with the Rowlandson imagery, it is apparent that Domenico was engaged with the idea of dying a ‘good’ death. Exactly what a ‘good’ death involved may be explored by reference to an emblem book, with etchings by Romeyn de Hooghe (1645-1708), and annotated by De Chertablon: *La Manière de se bien préparer à la Mort Par des Considérations sur la Cène, la Passion & la Mort de Jésus-Christ*, published in Antwerp in 1700.⁸⁰ Domenico was certainly familiar with this volume as he owned a copy of it, as revealed by the *Vente Tiépolo* (Lot no. 257). The painter’s ownership of this book reveals that he would not only have been acquainted with the idea of preparing himself for death, but that he had at his disposal a series of visual references for illustrating it. This particular series of prints presents a visual example of a ‘good’ death consisting of three general plates and 39 prints of a man on his deathbed.⁸¹

The main body of De Chertablon’s book is divided into three sections, and there are thirteen etchings illustrating each section. The etchings are all accompanied by a verse from the synoptic gospels cited first in Latin, and underneath in French. Each engraving includes a small picture within the main picture: the subsidiary image illustrates the passage quoted from the gospel, whilst the main image shows a man in late seventeenth-century costume in the various stages of his preparation for death. It is a didactic treatise and includes a preliminary essay discussing the origins of and fear of death, a prayer in preparation for death and proverbs in Latin and French.

⁸⁰ The print-series was first published with texts in French and in Dutch by David de la Vigne, at Antwerp and Amsterdam in 1673. The plates must have gone astray as the series was published again with Dutch text by David de la Vigne in 1694, with the plates newly engraved in slightly smaller size and in reverse.

⁸¹ De Chertablon’s book is discussed in Chapter Seven of John McManners’s volume, *Death and the Enlightenment: Changing Attitudes to Death among Christians and Unbelievers in Eighteenth-Century France* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), pp. 204-205.

The role of the frontispiece as a device which foreshadows the ensuing actions of a text or a series of prints/drawings is considered in Chapters IV and the *Catalogue Raisonné*. In De Chertablon's volume, the frontispiece consists of Death, in the form of a skeleton, standing on top of man's worldly goods, on a tomb, knocking on its door with his scythe (Fig. 154).⁸² Over the tomb is the inscription '*Statutum est omnibus hominibus semel mori*' ('it is determined that all men should die once'). On the base of the sarcophagus is a skeleton being placed in a shroud and tomb, surrounded by living figures and two skeletons, one blowing a trumpet, indicating the last judgement, another with a scythe. These compliment a cartouche on the lower-right-hand-side of the engraving showing the hand of Atropos, one of the Three Fates, about to cut a thread with her shears. In the middle-ground is a formal garden with carousing couples enjoying its precincts. The background shows a winding mountain path on which a small figure of Christ carrying his cross can be discerned. On the summit the path ends in a gateway surrounded by trees. On top of the gate is a single eye, presumably the omniscient eye of God, encircled with schematic rays. This genre of imagery and writing falls into a long *memento mori* tradition which translates as 'remember you are mortal'.

The forty-one etchings (Figs. 154–195) show a dying man on his path towards spiritual redemption. In the formulaic convention of *ars moriendi* the main protagonist, according to Ariès, always died in bed: 'In the iconography of death [the bedroom] became the arena of a drama in which the fate of the dying man was decided for the last time, in which his whole life and all his passions and attachments

⁸² For further reference to this frontispiece see William F. Scherer, 'A "Living" Baroque "Exemplum" of Dying', *The Bulletin of the Rocky Mountain Modern Language Association*, 27, no.1, March 1973, p. 7.

According to George McClure, *Ars Moriendi* as a genre emerged in the 15th century, growing out of the *De Scientia Mortis* of Jean Gerson, an illustrated *Ars Moriendi* of c.1450. See McClure (1998), p. 96.

were called into question.⁸³ This was certainly the case in the volume which Domenico possessed. In the first engraving (Fig. 155), the moribund has been afflicted by a fever and prepares to rest. His guardian angel (who remains at his side throughout his spiritual journey) indicates that he must reflect upon imagery, in the form of small framed pictures, which show *The Last Supper*, *The Passion* and *Crucifixion of Christ*. A monk and a doctor arrive at the ailing man's bedside (Fig. 156). His wife appears at his bed, and takes issue with the monk because she doesn't believe her husband is in danger (Fig. 157). The sick man nevertheless asks to confess his sins. Following confession, candles are brought to his bedside and the monk carries the *Viaticum* to his bed. The dying man vomits and is indisposed. Following this, the monk ushers a lawyer to a desk so that the invalid might make his last will and testament, and the notary transcribes his client's final wishes. The ailing man is shown surrounded by the poor, to whom he offers money and a small box, so as to demonstrate his detachment from worldly goods. Historically, the public nature of death is stressed by Ariès, both in the realms of the *ars moriendi* and in reality, dying privately or alone is a relatively recent phenomenon.⁸⁴ Here, after the lawyers and witnesses take their leave, a second monk kneels at the sick man's bedside and offers further prayers for his soul.

A parish priest then arrives to perform the sacrament of Extreme Unction (Fig. 172), the sacrament which consists of the anointing of the organs of the five external senses (eyes, ears, nostrils, lips, hands), of the feet, and, for men, of the loins; and in the following phrase repeated at each unction with mention of the corresponding sense or faculty: 'Through this holy unction and His own most tender mercy may the

⁸³ Ariès (1981), p. 108.

⁸⁴ Ibid, p.10.

Lord pardon thee whatever sins or faults thou hast committed [quidquid deliquisti] by sight [by hearing, smell, taste, touch, walking, carnal delectation]’.⁸⁵

Following the administration of Extreme Unction, the Guardian Angel prepares his charge for the possibility of demonic attacks (Fig. 173). On the arrival of the first devil, the sick man recoils in fear (Fig. 174); a second demon arrives with a scroll on which a list of the man’s sins is recorded (Fig. 176). A further devil in the guise of a woman, representing temptation, arrives (Fig. 177). Drained by this succession of infernal assaults, the dying man lies prone on his bed. A doctor arrives to draw the sick man’s blood (Fig. 180), followed by a monk who offers a crucifix to the dying man (Fig. 181). Another man arrives and offers the dying man a goblet containing a disagreeable tonic (Fig. 184). He is then offered another crucifix which, he is reminded, he should contemplate often and kiss at intervals (Fig. 186). The sick man prays to God, and during his prayers he accepts the Almighty’s will and is ready to die at the appointed time (Fig. 188).⁸⁶ The guardian angel then offers the dying man an olive branch signifying his reconciliation with God (Fig. 189). Meanwhile the monk and the moribund’s family pray at his bedside. Another monk shows him a plaque with the inscription IHS (*Iesus Hominum Salvator*/Jesus saviour of men) (Fig. 193), and a further monk proffers a plaque MRA (Fig. 194), an abbreviation of the name Maria (i.e., the Virgin Mary). The sick man draws his final breath whilst his confessors and family pray and mourn at his bedside; the ravages of pain and illness have disappeared from his formerly tortured physiognomy. He has died a ‘good’ death.

⁸⁵ This sacrament is thus described in The Catholic Encyclopaedia <http://www.catholic.org/encyclopedia/view.php?id=4506>. Website visited, January 2008.

⁸⁶ Although attachment to life is now considered to be quite usual, historically and trans-culturally resistance to death was thought to be bad. According to Ariès, this attitude towards death has been the same from Homer (8th Century BC) to Tolstoy (1828-1910), resisting the pressure of evolution for about 2000 years. Ariès (1981), p. 28.

Aspects of the text which accompanied the imagery suggest that this book is not solely a devotional work for an individual preparing for death, but could equally serve as a manual for the artist who may be illustrating dying and death. This is apparent in the commentary throughout the text, where attention is frequently drawn to the facial traits and bodily disposition. Therefore, in some respects, it can be compared with, and may have been influenced by, Charles Lebrun's (1619-1690) posthumously-published lecture, *Méthode pour apprendre à dessiner les passions* (1698). Lebrun had developed a highly sophisticated theory of 'pathognomics', which related to how the expressive movements of the features may reveal the passions. These ideas had, in turn, been influenced by René Descartes (1596-1650) treatise, *Les Passions de l'Âme* (1649), which identified the seat of the soul in the pineal gland, located at the centre of the brain. Lebrun applied Cartesian theory to the area of pictorial expression, and techniques by which the artist could convey certain sentiments to his viewer. He presented these thoughts, in two parts, to the *Académie Royale* in April and May 1668.⁸⁷ The lecture consisted of descriptions of the physiognomies associated with each passion (translated into English as Admiration, Esteem, Veneration, Ravishment, Scorn, Horror, Terror, Simple Love, Desire, Hope, Fear, Jealousy, Hatred, Sorrow, Bodily Pain, Joy, Weeping, Anger, Extreme Despair and Rage) and accompanied by LeBrun's own line drawings.⁸⁸ The appearance of Chertablon's commentary just two years after the publication of LeBrun's lecture may be circumstantial. However, the way in which De Chertablon frequently draws his reader's attention to the way in which the illustrator, through expression and bodily disposition, conveys the corporeal pain and mental anguish of the dying man and its

⁸⁷ See Jennifer Montagu, *The Expression of the Passions: The Origin and Influence of Charles Le Brun's Conférence sur l'Expression Générale et Particulière* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994).

⁸⁸ Eds Charles Harrison, Paul Wood and Jason Gaiger, *Art in Theory 1648-1815: An Anthology of Changing Ideas* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 2000), pp.131-138.

contribution to, and continuation of, Lebrun's dialectic makes a compelling hypothesis.

It is highly likely that Domenico was inspired by the *ars moriendi* tradition and even this particular book in the making of the *Divertimento*, as no less than nine sheets from the series meditate on the illness and death of Pulcinella. Cat. 97-104, (of which 97, 98, 99, 103 and 104 are all numbered) deal with Pulcinella's death and burial. Amongst the unnumbered sheets one also finds Pulcinella collapsing on a road, the doctor's visit, Pulcinella receiving extreme unction, Pulcinella viewed by mourners and Pulcinella's funeral. In drawings depicting *The Last Illness of Pulcinella* and *Pulcinella Receives Extreme Unction* (Fig. 196; Cat. 100) Domenico shows Pulcinella dying a 'good' death. In the one drawing he is lying prone, whilst a doctor takes his pulse, flanked by grieving relatives. At the foot of the bed, attended by two pulcinelli and a bearded man, a lawyer transcribes Pulcinella's will, though the last-minute nature of this transaction implies that Pulcinella was not as attentive to the needs of his immortal soul as he might have been. In the other drawing, Pulcinella lies propped up on a bed whilst the last rites are being administered by a Pulcinella priest. An aging Pulcinella stands at the foot of the bed and a group of children and a Pulcinella kneel at the bottom of it, in prayer whilst a seated woman cries into a handkerchief and a servant-woman to the left of the dying Pulcinella cries into her apron. After his death, Pulcinella's body has been taken to another room to be visited by mourners (Fig. 26; Cat. 101). A veritable crowd of people file into a room where the body is laid out on a wooden palette, dressed in a shroud, a candle burning at his head. So, in Domenico's hands, Pulcinella suffers prolonged, elaborate and various deaths.

As well as the *ars moriendi* volume, Domenico owned a series of ninety-seven woodcuts illustrating the dance of death. This was a popular visual theme from the

early fifteenth century onwards; the best known example is by Hans Holbein the Younger (1497-1543).⁸⁹ The dance is an endless round in which the living and dead participate, and where death is no respecter of age or rank. Its purpose was to serve as a reminder that death could strike at any moment. If Domenico Tiepolo grew up with such prints he would have known from an early age that death was an ever-present danger. His father certainly did. One of Giambattista's earliest surviving works is a small *memento mori* on the theme of age and death (Fig. 197). It is a miniature, painted on copper which shows a young man supporting an older man on crutches, against the background of a stormy sky. The young man averts his gaze whilst the old man looks into an open grave from which a skeleton emerges proffering an hourglass. In addition to this, Giambattista designed a plate to accompany Canto 10 of an Italian edition of John Milton's (1608-1674) *Paradise Lost* (Fig. 198).⁹⁰ The engraving, 'Death unleashed into the world' shows death, in the form of a skeleton, sitting on a sarcophagus his scythe propped behind him, here he is embracing Eve who is entwined with a serpent, redolent of sin and temptation. The purpose of this and similar visual/textual matter was to remind the viewer/reader of his own mortality. *Ars Moriendi* were supposed to serve a moralizing, as opposed to a *carpe diem*, purpose - a reminder of the ephemeral aspects of earthly life. Iconographic symbols relating to such material, with which Domenico was demonstrably well acquainted, are the hourglass, skull, the grim reaper with his scythe, skeletons and *transi* figures.⁹¹

⁸⁹ For further discussion on Hans Holbein the Younger's 'Dance of Death' in particular see, James M. Clark, *The Dance of Death by Hans Holbein* with Introduction and notes by James M. Clark (London: Phaidon Press 1947); for monographs on the artist see, Alfred Friedrich Gottfried, *Holbein und seine Zeit*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: 1874-1876); Arthur B. Chamberlain, *Hans Holbein the Younger* (London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1913); Derek Wilson, *Hans Holbein: An Interpretation* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1996).

⁹⁰ John Milton, *Il Paradiso Perduto*, translator Paolo Rolli, Gianalberto Tumermani, Verona, 1742. Giambattista's source of reference may have been the frontispiece to the *Ars Moriendi* by De Chertablon, (1700) which was the one owned by Domenico, discussed above.

⁹¹ I would like to thank Jeffrey Wilcox, Curator of Collections at the Museum of Art and Archeology, University of Missouri-Columbia for sending me, in an Email dated 15.i.2009, a PDF of the docent guide of *Final Farewell: The Culture of Death and the Afterlife*, which accompanied an exhibition of the same title at the University Museum, 10 February – 20 May, 2007.

Another peculiarly Venetian resource which falls into the *memento mori* tradition is Fabio Glissenti's book *Discorsi morali contra il dispiacer del morire, detto Athanatophilia* (Venice, 1596). To elaborate on the summary of Glissenti's text, which appears in the introduction, the discourse takes place between a philosopher and a courtier who engage in discussions with Venetians from a range of classes and professions. In its own way, the tract follows a similar format to the sacrament of Extreme Unction, in that the author organises his book into five days of dialogue schematically structured around the five senses, each one signifying a different response to death:

'Thus, in the first book – symbolized by 'sight' – the noblest of senses – the *Filosofo* and *Cortigiano* alone discuss death at a lofty, philosophical level. The second book – associated with 'taste,' the most corporeal of senses – finds these two discussing death with labourers, lower artisans, and beggars, figures who, because they are most enslaved to the appetitive embrace life at any cost and at the most carnal level. In the third book – devoted to 'hearing,' a sense that imparts reasoning but is potentially deceptive – the two principals engage the more skilled artisans and a Captain, while the fourth book's devotion to 'smell', also a potentially unreliable sense, portrays an actress proclaiming her revulsion at death and defending the practice of her craft. In the fifth book and its devotion to 'touch', the least deceptive sense, the philosopher and courtier speak with a well-educated man on his deathbed, seeing him through to a tranquil end.'⁹²

Throughout his treatise, Glissenti complains that the art of living and dying well has been superseded by the 'art' of earning a living, and he chastises fathers for

⁹² George McClure (1998), pp. 99-100.

being overly-concerned with the professional training of their sons to the possible neglect of their spiritual progress.

We have seen in Chapter II how from an early age Giambattista Tiepolo was entirely focused on earning a living as a painter. Indeed, the fact that ‘he always worked, and never missed the opportunity to work’ was an observation made about the young Giambattista by his contemporary Pietro Malta, and corroborated by three other witnesses in the case brought against Giambattista by members of his late brother’s family in February 1750.⁹³ Giambattista’s absolute commitment to work, combined with an exhaustive lifetime of commissions to the last, may have been a contributory factor to the painter’s sudden, unshriven and unannointed, end. The *mors repentina*, *mors improvvisa*, or unexpected death which came before confession and the forgiveness of sin was greatly feared in the early modern period,⁹⁴ hence the central message of Glissentini’s text is that fathers should teach their children the art of living and dying as they teach their children a trade. In view of the fact that Giambattista died without the benefit of the last sacraments, it would seem reasonable to deduce that, for Domenico, the very notion of dying was closely bound up with his father, the father who also taught him a trade.

The desire to preserve memory in terms of monuments and objects of commemoration can be a natural response following the death of relatives or admired individuals. Such a desire, it seems, was acutely felt by Domenico following Giambattista’s death in 1770. This is reflected by the fact that Domenico made a commemorative etching of Giambattista’s last public commission, the painting showing San Pascual Baylon for the church dedicated to the saint on the outskirts of Aranjuez, underneath which he added the following telling inscription: ‘Giambattista

⁹³ “*To so che ha auto sempre da lavorare e mai gli è mancato il lavoro.*” See Appendix III, this statement is made by the first witness to the case, and corroborated by three further witnesses – Lunardo Ferruti, Carlo Alberghetti and Fortunato Pasquetti.

⁹⁴ See Ariès (1981) pp. 10-13.

Tiepolo, Venetian painter in the Service of the King of Spain, in 1770, ‘before his death’ (Fig. 199).⁹⁵ This was clearly Domenico’s homage to his father’s last public painting. When Domenico returned to Venice from Spain, one of his priorities was patently to commemorate his father. He did this by publishing four editions of the family etchings between 1774 and 1778; these were mostly of Giambattista’s masterpieces, alongside etchings by Lorenzo and himself. Domenico’s dedication to Pope Pius VI, already cited in Chapter II of this thesis, prefaced the volume, in which the artist clearly stated his intention to bring together, in a single volume, etchings of his father’s work. Similarly, the *Scherzi di Fantasia*, a series of twenty-three prints made by Giambattista, which had not been circulated during the artist’s lifetime, was widely disseminated by Domenico in a number of editions. Significantly, Domenico annotated his father’s frontispiece in order to commemorate Giambattista: thus, the originally blank stone tablet, surmounted with owls, was subsequently inscribed by Domenico to read: ‘*Scherzi di Fantasia*, from the celebrated Signor Gio. Batta Tiepolo, Venetian Painter, [who] died in Madrid in the Service of King Charles of Spain. Including an Adoration of the Magi’ (Fig. 200). Clearly, this was another of Domenico’s memorials to his father.⁹⁶ In addition to celebrating Giambattista’s life and work Domenico was, as we have seen in Chapter II, concerned with trying to start his own family in an attempt to carry on the Tiepolo dynasty.

Additionally, as I have already argued, in view of his father’s spiritually inconclusive end, he was also concerned with ordering his own affairs in preparation for his eventual demise and, taking into account, his artistic heritage there was also the question of how, as an artist, he could approach old age in a dignified manner. If Tiepolo senior followed a tradition established by some of the great artists of the

⁹⁵ Joan Bapta. *Tiepolo Venet Pict apud Hisp. Reg inv et pinx an 1770 ante suum decessum.*

⁹⁶ Domenico’s efforts to celebrate his father through the medium of print would contribute an interesting case study to the economic history of death, and how the deaths of significant individuals impacted on the print trade. See for example, Paul S. Fritz, ‘The Trade in death: The Royal Funerals in England, 1685-1830,’ in *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 15, no. 3, Spring 1982, pp. 291-316.

fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, arguably Tiepolo junior may have followed the great theoreticians. Certainly the pedagogical route, suggested by Borghini, was one that he observed first by becoming a *maestro* at the Venetian Academy in 1772,⁹⁷ where he was eventually elected President in 1780.⁹⁸ Apart from frescoing his villa, and the sundry commission outlined in Chapter II, Domenico committed himself to making large series of drawings. In the light of the fact that he had chosen a selection of his father's drawings and etchings for posthumous publication, perhaps Domenico's drawings were to become his own memorial. Possibly the large biblical drawings celebrated his faith and that aspect of his work which had been concerned with religious themes, the scenes of contemporary life commemorated the people and the city in which he had grown up, flourished and lived most of his life, and the broad themes that Domenico addresses in the *Divertimento* are the themes of life itself. Occasionally Domenico refers to specific aspects of eighteenth-century Venetian life such as *villeggiatura* and *carnevale*, and even self-referentially to familiar themes and facets of his own working life as an artist.

Towards the end of *Remembrance of Things Past*, Marcel Proust undergoes an epiphany when it dawns on him that all the material for his work of art could be drawn from his own past experiences:

‘And then a new light, less dazzling, no doubt, than that other illumination which had made me perceive that the work of art was the sole means of rediscovering Lost Time, shone suddenly within me. And I understood that all these materials for a work of literature were simply my past life; I understood that they had come to me, in frivolous pleasures, in indolence, in tenderness, in unhappiness, and that I had stored them up without divining the purpose for which they were destined or even their

⁹⁷ Tiozzo (2003), p. 29.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

continued existence any more than a seed does when it forms within itself a reserve of all the nutritious substances from which it will feed a plant.’⁹⁹

And so it was for the elderly Domenico in his visual ‘life’ of Pulcinella where the themes comprise: paternity, birth and childhood, love and marriage, family life, work, entertainment, flight, crime and punishment, Venice, travel, fantastic adventures, illness and death.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ Marcel Proust, ‘Time Regained,’ in *Remembrance of Things Past Volume Three: The Captive, The Fugitive, Time Regained*, translated by C.K. Scott Moncrieff, Terence Kilmartin and Andreas Mayor, (London: Chatto & Windus, 1981), pp. 935-936.

¹⁰⁰ In private correspondence, Adelheid Gealt expressed the following opinion: ‘Domenico’s Punchinello subject with its reference to clan, family, town, country, occupations, amusements, and life-cycles – is a kind of *summa* that evokes a lifetime’s experience – in that sense it is a reflection of a mature artist on life itself – yet still done with wit, humour and certainly, in my view, also with a sense of play and game narratively-speaking.’ (Email correspondence: 15.vii.09).

Conclusion

Domenico Tiepolo's *Divertimento per li Regazzi* is a series of *vignettes* which, in a graphic form, contain musings about life and art itself. The sequences which form Pulcinella's life, more often than not, amount to episodic meditations about art, and many familiar motifs from Domenico's world which were connected with it. It is as though advancing age might lend itself to reflection of this sort about one's art, whether it be writing, sculpture, painting, or musical composition, and to using the same medium – in Domenico's case, drawing – to articulate these reflections.

In this sense, *Divertimento per li Regazzi* represents an important, albeit unusual, art-historical case-study which offers an opportunity for exploring how one artist responded to the onset of old age, the extinction of his family line, and the prospect of his own mortality, as well as the end of a cultural and political tradition. Whilst there is some textual, pictorial and circumstantial evidence to construct an account of Domenico's reasons for making a pictorially complex series such as the *Divertimento* in his , the hypotheses explored in this narrative must ultimately be framed in the subjunctive.

This thesis began by exploring Domenico's roots and the fact that he was born into a Venetian artistic dynasty established by his ambitious father. He was raised, to borrow the words of his contemporary, Alessandro Longhi, to be his father's 'most diligent imitator', and primarily practiced as a history painter in Giambattista's workshop, notwithstanding a personal predilection for painting scenes of contemporary Venetian life. His well-respected father undoubtedly eased Domenico's debut into local artistic circles, and leading figures in the Venetian art world of the eighteenth century, most notably Anton Maria Zanetti the Elder and Count Francesco

Algarotti, in turn, gave him entrées with important connoisseurs and patrons throughout Europe.

Through a formal analysis of the *Divertimento*, examining the level of quotation and under drawing which remains visible in the series, I have argued how the drawings may have been intended to function as a sophisticated diversion for connoisseurs. Smentek's research reveals how connoisseurs 'looked' at prints and drawings, and the *Divertimento* shows how the artist/draughtsman, with an occupational interest in connoisseurial gatherings, may have made these drawings with such an audience in mind. In fact, the dedication which prefaced the book of prints published by Domenico in the 1770s, with the primary objective of honouring his father, clearly states that the volume was made for amateurs, and certain internal evidence in the *Divertimento* – the 'finished' quality of the drawings together with the fact that the artist had numbered them – makes it conceivable that the suite was destined for a similar end.

Chapter II argued that the Tiepolos were a very traditional family and that Giambattista sought to situate himself in the line of great Venetian history painters. That he was to come at the very end of that line is only apparent with the benefit of hindsight. This chapter also delineated the circumstances that prevailed in Domenico's life during the making of the *Divertimento*: there were no male heirs to carry forth the Tiepolo heritage, the Venetian state was in a period of irrevocable change, it was a phase of cultural transition, and Domenico was elderly. Therefore, I proposed in Chapter VI that another purpose of the *Divertimento* may have been a very personal one, namely that it was Domenico's own *memento mori* and also, in view of the wonderfully diverse iconography in the series, the artist's own 'remembrance of things past'.

Chapters III and IV demonstrated that Pulcinella was a flexible figure, and one which offered Domenico infinite improvisatory capacity in his draughtsmanship. Pulcinella allowed the artist to ‘play’ and not only enabled Domenico to engage endlessly with the intellectual challenges of *disegno* but also may have proven cathartic given that the ‘world’ as Domenico knew it was fast disappearing. If the *Divertimento* can be considered Domenico’s swansong, he approached it in a witty rather than poignant manner – evoking ‘playful’ musical terminology and ludic motifs and by populating the suite with Pulcinelli.

An interesting Venetian visual counterpart to the notion of game-playing and the ludic in the face of death is a seventeenth-century painting attributed to Giuseppe Erts (University of Columbia Museum of Art) (Fig. 201). In this allegorical painting, Erts depicts a card game taking place on the orb of the world. It is being played out against an Arcadian background with four players: Time, depicted by a winged, bearded, white-haired male figure; Love a winged, curly-haired, rosy-cheeked putto, his bow and arrows propped in the foreground next to an hourglass which has fallen on its side; Beauty with long, flaxen hair, seated on a broken column – perhaps indicating a life cut short; and Death a grinning skeleton. The stakes are high as these figures appear to be playing for ‘the world.’ Whilst three of the allegorical players are ephemeral, constant and certain Death holds the winning suite which he lays emphatically down on the globe.¹ Fugitive Time has discarded his three court cards and an Ace of Diamonds, whilst Beauty swoons and holds her cards above her head, and Love glowers at a court card, possibly a Jester, which he clutches in his right hand.

¹ Dr Alex Barker, Director of the collection of the University of Columbia’s Museum of Art started a blog on the museum’s website, where he appears to have identified the card game as *primero*, based on Justin du Coeur’s reconstruction of the game – <http://maa.missouri.edu/blog/index.php?cat=3&paged=4>, consulted 12.ii.2009.

Ultimately, for Domenico, Death held the trump card, and the artist was faced with a series of circumstances beyond his control, which must have become increasingly evident to him as he made the administrative and spiritual preparations for his own death. He was unable to produce male heirs to perpetuate the family line, and the memories of the Tiepolos could only be continued through Domenico's art. However, I would argue that in his courageous late efforts to preserve, commemorate and extend his family name and reputation, it was in his valedictory piece, *Divertimento per li Regazzi* that he surely produced his own *magnum opus*. Thus, in the face of Death, we witness the Triumph of Art (Fig. 202).²

* * *

Although this thesis has mainly been concerned with endings – old age, death, extinction and the passing of traditions – it also represents a continuation. Domenico's response to old age and impending death makes a fascinating contribution to the emerging dialectic on creative production in old age, especially the work of elderly artists. Indeed with the current growth of the elderly aging population in contemporary Western culture, a fuller understanding of late-life creativity is important. Additionally, in the climate of inter-disciplinary work, Domenico's drawings make a vital contribution as they allow us to revisit the late work of any number of long-lived artists from Michelangelo to Henri Matisse, Pablo Picasso and Marc Chagall, to cite more recent examples, and to allow us to reconsider creativity in old age, both trans-culturally and trans-historically. Moreover, by understanding the creative strategies of elderly artists, both in the distant and more recent past, it invites a reassessment of art history alongside other disciplines, for example, gerontology, and suggests new ways forward for research into late-life creativity.

² One of the earliest frescoes that Domenico made, in the entrance hall to the Tiepolo family villa in c. 1759, was a *Triumph of Art* (now in the Ca' Rezzonico, Venice).

A Catalogue of Works

Introduction

A catalogue of *Divertimento per li Regazzi* was first compiled by Marcia Vetrocq in 1979, and formed a substantial part of her unpublished PhD thesis.¹ It also formed the basis of the catalogue *Domenico Tiepolo's Punchinello Drawings*, written by Gealt and Vetrocq which accompanied exhibitions at Indiana University Art Museum and Stanford University Museum of Art in 1979.² Subsequently, Adelheid Gealt and George Knox have continued to work on the series, enhancing and updating the information in Vetrocq's catalogue: Gealt in her book *Domenico Tiepolo: The Punchinello Drawings* (New York, 1986), and Knox in his checklist which comprises Appendix B of *Domenico Tiepolo: Master Draftsman* (Udine, 1996).

The catalogue of works presented here synthesises the work of these scholars and updates the great body of information which has been published since 1996, recording changes in the ownership of the drawings and in inventory numbers where known,³ and updating exhibition and bibliographic citations, of which there are many as the bicentenary of Domenico Tiepolo's death was commemorated with numerous shows in 2004 and shortly thereafter. Its purpose is to be a complete, scholarly reference tool for future use, and will no doubt be updated in its turn.

* * *

¹ Vetrocq (1979), pp. 93-190.

² Gealt and Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979.

³ Whilst inventory numbers are provided in some of the earlier texts, certain numbers have undergone modification to accommodate recent digitisation of museum collections.

Using the Catalogue of Works

Titles

Apart from the Frontispiece to the series, which includes Domenico Tiepolo's title, '*Divertimento per li Regazzi*', on a sarcophagus, Domenico did not apply titles to the individual drawings in the sheets. These have subsequently been allocated by Vetrocq, Gealt and Knox, resulting in three sets of titles. I have applied my own titles to the series as it is my opinion that past titles have been interpretative rather than descriptive. Consequently, I have endeavoured here to concisely and accurately describe the content of the drawings so that they can be easily identified, which is particularly important where Domenico repeats and reinterprets subject-matter. My catalogue entries aim to succinctly describe the content of the sheets as opposed to applying an interpretative narrative to the drawings. However, I have included an element of iconographic analysis in those instances where the drawings are especially replete with iconographic resonance.

Categories used in cataloguing the drawings

I have used the following format: the title of the drawing in question (see above) with a thumbnail sketch of it underneath followed by the ensuing information (where it is known):

1. The current location (public or private collection) of the drawing. If it forms part of a public collection the inventory number is included wherever possible.
2. Dimensions: this includes the size in millimetres of the overall sheet and the size of the drawing within the margin.
3. Whether or not the drawing is signed and the location of the artist's signature.
4. The number of the drawing (where present).
5. The watermark.
6. The provenance of the drawings.
7. An up-to-date bibliography pertinent to that specific drawing.
8. A list of exhibitions where the drawing has been shown.
9. A factual description of each drawing.

Location of Drawings

The drawings are currently distributed as follows: of the 104 drawings, forty-six are now in North American public collections; six drawings are in European public collections; one sheet is in Australia; twelve formed part of the collection of the late Sir Brinsley Ford (b. 1908 – d. 1999) and are still part of the family collection at Ford's former London home in Wyndham Place; fifteen drawings are privately owned, and the locations of twenty-four sheets are unknown

References

The principal references cited are: Byam Shaw 1962; Gealt and Vetrocq 1979; Knox 1983; Knox 1984; Gealt 1986; Byam Shaw and Knox 1987; Gealt and Knox 1996. Full details of these and other publications are given in the main bibliography to the thesis.

Exhibitions

These are cited below according to locations and year of exhibition. In cases of touring exhibitions, for purposes of concision, only the first location of the exhibition is given in the descriptive body of catalogue entries. This list is distinct from the list of exhibition catalogues (i.e. literary sources) which follow on from the main bibliography in the thesis.

Exhibitions Cited

This section synthesises and builds upon the work of Vetrocq (1979), Gealt (1986), Byam Shaw and Knox (1987) and Gealt and Knox in Udine 1996.

The abbreviated list of exhibitions which appears immediately below, are exhibitions with accompanying catalogues. Full details of these appear in the main bibliography, under the sub-heading exhibition catalogues. An expanded list, which follows the abbreviated list, is a list of exhibitions in which sheets from the *Divertimento* have been shown and where there were no accompanying catalogue.

Exhibitions with catalogues:

Baltimore 1959; Berkeley 1996; Birmingham (AL) 1978; Bloomington (IN) 1979; Brighton 2000; Brussels 1983; Canterbury 1985; Chicago 1938; Detroit 1950; London and Washington 1994/1995; London 1955; London and Birmingham 1951; Los Angeles 1975; Montreal 1953; New York 1994; New York 1973; New York 1975; New York 1971; New York and Wellesley 1960; Paris 1971; Paris 1952; Paris 1950; Poughkeepsie 1961; Providence 1967; Udine 1996; Venice 2004 (b), Washington 1983; Washington 1974; Washington 1995.

Exhibitions without catalogues:

CAMBRIDGE (MA) 1940

The Fogg Art Museum, *Master Drawings lent by Philip Hofer, Class of 1921*.

CAMBRIDGE (MA) 1935

The Fogg Art Museum, 1 March – 30 March 1935, *The Tragic and the Grotesque Expressed by Masks and Clowns*.

EXETER 1946

Royal Albert Memorial Museum and Art Gallery, 7 March – 5 April, *Works of Art from the Ford Collection*.

HARTFORD (CT) 1930

Wadsworth Atheneum and Morgan Memorial, 22 January – 5 February, *Italian Paintings of the Sei and Settecento*.

LONDON 1955

William Hallsborough Gallery, 21 March – 30 April, *Fine Paintings of Four Centuries*.

LONDON 1953

Royal Academy of Arts, 13 August – 25 October, *Drawings by Old Masters*.

LONDON 1929

Savile Gallery, January, *Drawings by Old Masters*.

NEW YORK 1939

Jacques Seligman & Co., 3 April – 22 April, *The Stage*. (A loan exhibition for the benefit of the Public Education Association).

SAN FRANCISCO 1940

Palace of Fine Arts, *Master Drawings*.

SOUTHAMPTON 1971

Parrish Art Museum, *Commedia dell'Arte*.

VENICE 1929

Città di Venezia (exact location unspecified), 18 July – 10 October. *Il Settecento Italiano*.,.

Frontispiece



Kansas City, The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, inv. No. 32-193/9

Margin 294 x 410 mm. Sheet 355 x 470 mm.

Signed lower right: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f.*, and inscribed on the tomb: '*Divertimento per Li Regazzi Carte No. 104*'.

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris.

Bibliography: Byam Shaw (1962), pl. 81, pp. 58 and 91; Mariuz (1971), fig. 30 unpaginated; G. Knox (1983), pp. 126, 144; G. Knox (1984); Gealt (1986), pl. 1, pp. 26-27; Knox in Udine 1996, pl. 155, p. 216; Knox in Berkeley 1996, pl. 17, p. 45; A. Gealt in Venice 2004, p1. 124, p. 189.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; Detroit 1950, no. 49; Birmingham (AL) 1978, no. 118; Bloomington (IN) 1979, no. 1; Venice 2004, no. 124.

The Frontispiece includes the title that Domenico himself gave to the series and proves that he conceived the suite as 104 sheets.⁴ This page depicts a solitary Pulcinella standing before a sarcophagus with the title of the series inscribed on the front side. A ladder leans against the sarcophagus as do various urns, which not only resemble gnocchi pots but also Pulcinella's distinctive sugar-loaf hat. Some of these urns lie on their sides whilst others stand upright on top of the tomb. Pulcinella is holding a finely-dressed doll under his right arm and a dog stands behind him. This scene is set outdoors and behind the sarcophagus is a picket fence and some looming fir trees; whilst littering the left foreground are a pile of sticks, a discarded jacket, an apparently empty basket on its side, a jug, a wine carafe and a plate of gnocchi with a fork. The objects in the frontispiece represent some of the props that recur most frequently throughout the series. Indeed, one of the functions of a frontispiece is to foreshadow the ensuing story, and so it is that the objects strewn around Pulcinella refer to the substance of his life.

⁴An interesting scholarly study on the function of the frontispiece is Margery Corbett and Ronald Lightbown, *The Comely Frontispiece. The Emblematic Title-Page in England 1550-1660* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979).

1. *Pulcinella is Born to a Turkey-Mother*



London, Collection of the late Sir Brinsley Ford

Margin 292 x 419 mm.

Signed lower right: *Dom. Tiepolo f*

Numbered 1 in ink in upper left corner of margin

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; the Conte Alessandro Contini, Florence.

Bibliography: G. Fogolari et al (1932), vol. I, pl. cxcvii; Bragaglia (1953), pl. 33; Byam Shaw (1962), p. 55; Mariuz (1971), Fig. 31; Fehl (1978-1979), p. 786; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S1, pp.116, 138; Knox (1983), pp. 127, 144; Gealt (1986), pl. 2, pp. 28-29; Gealt in Udine 1996, p. 97; Gealt in Venice 2004, pl. 125, p. 190.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; Venice 1929; Exeter 1946, no. 125; London 1951, no. 138a; Venice 2004, no. 125.

In this, the first sheet of the series, Pulcinella's birth is depicted. The drawing shows a nest with a turkey astride a giant egg from which a small Pulcinella emerges. Strutting in the background is a turkey-cock, and in a portrait on the wall behind is another turkey – possibly an ancestor. The mother turkey is surrounded by a group of gesticulating Pulcinelli and is accompanied by a crone seated, hands clasped, in the foreground. A ladder rests against the back wall, and some visible under drawing remains here – it looks as though the scene may have originally been conceived as taking place in some kind of outhouse or stable.

2. Pulcinella Leads a Procession



Private Collection, Location Unknown

Margin 282 x 404 mm.

Signed lower right: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

Numbered 2 in ink in upper left corner of margin

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; Celia Tobin Clark, San Francisco; sale, London, Sotheby's, July 1 1971, lot 65; E.V. Thaw & Co., New York.

Bibliography: Byam Shaw (1962), pl. 82, pp. 55, 91; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. 7, pp. 50-51; Gealt (1986), pl. 80, p. 181.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; Bloomington (IN) 1979, no. 7; Stanford University, 1979; New York.

Pulcinella arrives on the brow of a hill with his bride who resembles the doll in the frontispiece; he is flanked by another female character while a procession follows them in the background. There is a band of fiddlers to the left and a small dog stands in front of the crowd.

3. Pulcinella Marries a Human Bride



The Art Institute of Chicago, inv. no. 1968.312

Margin 294 x 413 mm. Sheet 351 x 472 mm.

Signed on column: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

Numbered 3 in ink in upper left corner of margin

Watermark: crescent

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; the Duc de Talleyrand; Mrs. D. Kilvert, New York; Helen Regenstein, Chicago.

Bibliography: Byam Shaw (1962), p. 57; Mariuz (1971), p. 88; H. Joachim (Chicago, 1974), no. 17; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S18, pp. 121, 144; Knox (1983), pp. 127, 131, 144; Gealt (1986), pl. 10, pp. 44-45; Knox in Udine 1996, pl.156, pp. 217, 245.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; Udine 1996, no. 156; Bloomington (IN) 1997.

This drawing depicts Pulcinella's wedding ceremony. A Pulcinella bishop presides over the ceremony, a swathe of fabric covers his Pulcinella hat instead of the customary mitre. The human bride and Pulcinella groom kneel before the bishop and there is a melange of mainly Pulcinelli, but some human guests, including a rear view of a man in a tricorn hat. A woman leans over the balcony in the background, with Pulcinella musicians behind her.

4. Pulcinella Brings Home his Bride



New York City, National Academy Museum and School of Fine Arts

Margin 294 x 400 mm.

Signed lower left: *Dom. Tiepolo f*

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; Paul Suzor, Paris; Hôtel Drouot, Paris, December 8, 1978, lot 30; Collection of Eugene V. Thaw and Co. Inc., New York.

Bibliography: Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S14, pp. 120, 143; Knox (1983), pp. 127, 144; Gealt (1986), pl. 12, pp. 48-49; New York 1994, p. 74; Knox and Steward in Berkeley 1996, p. 86.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; New York 1994; Berkeley (CA) 1996-1997, no. 36.

Pulcinella brings home his bride. She is being greeted by a crone who resembles the old woman present at the hatching scene; at her side another Pulcinella removes his hat. There is a mixture of Pulcinella and human characters in this drawing. Some appear to have followed the entourage and are seen from behind to the left of the composition and the group greeting the couple are situated to the right facing the viewer.

5. Pulcinella's Wedding Banquet



New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, inv. no. EVT 175

Sheet 354 x 472 mm.

Signed lower right: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

Numbered 5 in ink in upper left corner of margin

Watermark: incomplete cartouche with monogram GB

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; W.W. Crocker, San Francisco; San Francisco Art

Association: Mr and Mrs Eugene Victor Thaw.

Bibliography: Byam Shaw (1962), p. 58; J. Scholz (1964), pp. 195, 187; Felice Stampfle and Cara D. Denison in New York 1975; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl.8, pp. 52-53; G. Knox (1983), pp. 127, 144; Gealt (1986), pl. 11, pp. 45-46; Knox in Udine 1996, pl.157, pp. 218, 244; Knox in Berkeley 1996, p. 46; Piermario Vescovo in eds Gealt and Knox (2005), pl. p. 53.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; New York 1971, no. 269; New York 1975, no. 62;

Bloomington (IN) 1979, no. 8; Udine 1996, no. 157.

The sheet depicts a wedding party on a raised stage, and includes Pulcinella and human guests, and Pulcinella servers. In the immediate foreground a cloaked Pulcinella, viewed from behind, walks up the steps towards the celebratory party and descends. A dog is seen from behind, about to forage under the table.

6. Pulcinella Dances



Providence, Museum of Art – Rhode Island School of Design, inv. no. 57.239

Margin 286 x 413 mm. sheet 362 x 476 mm.

Signed lower left: *Dom. Tiepolo f*

Numbered 6 in ink in upper left corner of margin

Watermark: graduated triple crescents

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; George Pierce Metcalf, Providence.

Bibliography: Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl.19, pp. 74-75; Gealt (1986), pl. 24, p. 72; Pedrocco (1990), pl. 36; Knox in Udine 1996, pl.158, pp. 219, 244.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; New York 1960, no. 69; Providence Museum of Art 1961, no. 112; 1967, no. 142; Bloomington (IN) 1979, no. 19; Udine 1996, no. 158.

This composition depicts a local dance, *La Furlana*.⁵ Notably, this contains just two Pulcinelli, one to the extreme left seen from behind, surveying the scene and the other engaging in the dance itself. This drawing is set in the countryside, in front of a loggia; a group of fiddlers provide the musical accompaniment for this entertainment. A pile of sticks is situated upright against the loggia wall, and a ladder rests against its third column.

⁵ Charles K. Salaman, 'Music in Connection with Dancing (concluded)', in *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, Vol. 19, no. 424 (June 1, 1878), pp. 318-321. In his article, Salaman explains that: 'Every state and province of Italy has given her name to a special dance to which a particular music is attached. Venice has given the *Furlana*' (p. 319). The dance is further described, p. 320.

7. Pulcinella Falls in Love



New York: Formerly in the collection of the late Regina Slatkin

Sheet 356 x 474 mm

Signed lower right: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

Numbered 7 in ink in upper left corner of margin

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; Robert Goelet, New York; sale, London, Sotheby's, 6 July 1967, lot 39; Colnaghi's, London.

Bibliography: Byam Shaw (1962), pl. 83, pp. 55, 91; Mariuz (1971), p. 88 and p.142 under no. 378; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl .6, pp. 48 – 49; Knox (1984), p. 127; Gealt (1986), pl. 9, pp.42-43; Knox in Udine 1996, pl.159, pp. 220, 244.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; Bloomington (IN) 1979, no. 6; Udine, 1996.

Pulcinella is in love. Logically this scene would have preceded the wedding procession, service and banquet and this is one of several such anomalies in the numeration of the series. This image portrays a doting Pulcinella kneeling before a masked woman whom he embraces. Behind the couple is part of an ornate sarcophagus with a caryatid at its base and an urn on its lid. In the foreground lie a discarded tambourine, racquet and shuttlecock. The central middle ground shows a Pulcinella bending over a large hound. As well as fidelity, the dog traditionally symbolised lust and passion, and perhaps it is significant that Pulcinella is attaching a leash to its collar. To the left a further Pulcinella, viewed from behind, observes the couple through an eye glass.

8. Pulcinella's Human Baby is Born



New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Robert Lehman Collection, inv. no. 1975.1.465

Margin 293 x 411 mm. Sheet 351 x 467 mm.

Numbered 8 in ink in upper left corner of margin.

Watermark: coat of arms.

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; Lady Elliot, London; sale, Sotheby's, London, 6 March 1957, Lot 34 (to Kauffmann); Marianne Feilchenfeldt, Zürich.

Bibliography: Byam Shaw (1962), pp. 55-56; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl.S2, pp. 116, 138; Szabó in Washington 1983, no. 77; Gealt (1986), pl. 15, pp.54-55; Byam Shaw and Knox (1987), pl. 168, p. 205; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 244; Gealt in Venice 2004, p.191.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; New York 1971, no. 271; Birmingham (AL) 1978, no. 119; New York 1980, no. S2; Huntington (N.Y.) 1980, no. 41; New York 1981, no. 130; Rochester 1981, no. 48; Detroit 1983, no. 58; Venice 2004, 126.

A family gathers around a human baby and mother in bed, alongside a Pulcinella father. A female figure with a young child on her knee, and a crib at her feet, sits at the foot of the bed of the nursing Pulcinella-mother.

9. A Baby Pulcinella is Breast-fed



Private Collection

Sheet 355 x 470 mm.

Signed lower left: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; H.S. Reitlinger; sale, London, Sotheby's, 9 December 1953, lot 105; Christie's, 2 July 1996.

Bibliography: Byam Shaw (1962), pl. 84, p. 91; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S2, pp. 116, 139; Gealt (1986), pl. 81, p. 181; Gealt and Knox in Udine 1996, pl.160, pp. 221, 244.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; London 1953, no. 178; Udine 1996, no. 160.

The baby Pulcinella, now masked, is being breast-fed by a female figure. A young Pulcinella bends over a cradle in the foreground and three Pulcinelli stand behind the feeding mother, whilst another bends proprietarily over the group. An unhatted Pulcinella stands in the extreme background, and in front of him two female figures make a bed.

10. **Pulcinella in Swaddling Bands**

Bloomington (IN), Indiana University Art Museum, inv. no. 75.52.2

Margin 292 x 413 mm. Sheet 352 x 470 mm.

Numbered 10 in ink in upper left corner of margin

Watermark: graduated triple crescents.

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; Raymond Bloch, Paris; Mme. Guy Schwob, Paris; sale, London; Robert M. Light, Santa Barbara.

Bibliography: Gealt (1979), pp. 153-155; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl.2, pp. 40-41; Knox (1983), pl. 2; Knox (1984); Gealt (1986), pl. 3, p. 31; Knox in Udine 1996, pl 161, pp. 222, 244.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; Bloomington (IN) 1979, no. 2; Udine 1996, no. 161; Venice 2004, no. 127.

A baby Pulcinella swaddled and peering out of a strange receptacle - it is not a crib but rather a small square tower. His eyes are gazing into his mother's who his seated close to him. There is an equally intense dialogue going on between the Pulcinella who leans over the mother's chair who engages with the Pulcinella in front of him. Behind stand two additional figures, one of the cloaked crone and, at her side, another of what appears to be the back view of small serving girl shown rolling a band of swaddling. A further pile of swaddling is heaped in a basket at the Pulcinella-mother's feet. In the background stands a table bearing a large pot of gnocchi. A dog, reminiscent of the canine depicted in the frontispiece is placed, head bowed, in the right foreground. Curiously, a table leg on the right hand side is missing. Some under-drawing remains around the table, in this instance indicating slight adjustments to the composition, and a diagonal line defining shade to the right and light to the left runs down the page.

11. Pulcinella Learns to Walk



London: Collection of the late Sir Brinsley Ford

Margin 297 x 415 mm.

Signed lower right: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

Numbered 11 in ink in upper left corner of margin

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; Matthiesen Ltd., London.

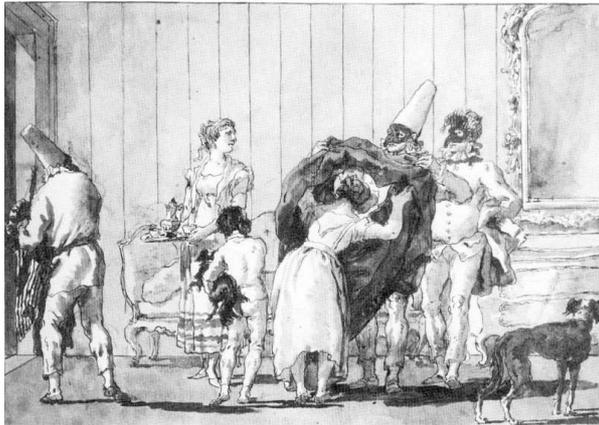
Bibliography: Byam Shaw (1962), pl. 85, p. 92; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl.S5, pp. 117,139; Gealt (1986), pl. 16, pp. 56-57; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 244; Gealt in Venice 2004, p. 192, pl. 128.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; London 1939, no. 139; Exeter 1946, no. 143; London 1951, no. 138 b; Venice 2004, no. 128.

One of the most endearing *vignettes* in the series shows a young Pulcinella in a walking basket. He is being enticed by an adult Pulcinella clasping a *ciambello*, a distinctive ring-shaped Venetian biscuit, in his outstretched hand. A group of four Pulcinelli stand solicitously behind the infant as he advances to claim his prize, in an elegant drawing room decorated with Chinese vases on wall-sconces, flanking a mirrored mantelpiece. The drawing is split into two parts – Pulcinella's mother, now masked,⁶ is handling a swathe of striped fabric, a terrier begs at her knee, whilst a Pulcinella sits to her left with an unmasked woman to her right. A group of four Pulcinelli stand behind the baby, three of the figures survey the action and a fourth has his back to the party.

⁶ The motif of masking is fascinating, and presumably bound up with the Venetian tradition of *Carnevale*, a theme which is explored further in Chapter V.

12. Pulcinella-couturier Fits a Lady



New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Robert Lehman Collection, inv. no. 1975.1.466.

Margin 292 x 412 mm. Sheet 354 x 470 mm.

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; Mrs D. Kilvert, Paris; Rosenberg & Stiebel, New York; Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1961.

Bibliography: Byam Shaw (1962), p. 56; Szabó (1975), fig. 179; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S17, pp. 121, 144; Szabó in Washington 1983, no. 78; Gealt (1986), pl. 53, pp. 130-131; Byam Shaw and Knox (1987), pl. 169; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 244.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; New York 1971, no. 278 (repr.); Birmingham (AL) 1978, no. 121 (repr); New York 1980.

A woman being is being fitted for a gown by a Pulcinella. His assistant, in an unusual striped cap, stands behind the principal figure. A young Pulcinella, holding a terrier, surveys the scene, viewed from behind in the mid-foreground of the composition. A further Pulcinella holding a length of striped fabric stands with his back to the viewer, and a woman carrying a tea tray stands in the background.

13. Pulcinella Falls Ill on a Road



Location unknown

Sheet 304 x 420 mm

Signed lower right: Dom^o. Tiepolo f

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; Leon Suzor, Paris.

Bibliography: Byam Shaw (1962), p. 56, note 3; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S20, pp. 122, 145; Knox (1983), p. 127; Gealt (1986), pl. 100, p. 191; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 244.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; Paris 1950, no. 148; Paris 1952, no. 56; Paris 1971, no. 311.

Pulcinella has collapsed, and is sitting upright with the assistance of a Pulcinella whose arms are clasped around his ribcage. Pulcinella is flanked by a kneeling woman, wearing a scarf, to his right; and a kneeling Pulcinella on his left. There is a veritable tangle of Pulcinelli behind him, and two youthful female figures in the crowd. Standing behind the kneeling female figure is a somewhat large Pulcinella-figure with folded arms, seen in profile. He dwarfs the other figures in the scene. In the extreme foreground is a rear view of a Pulcinella riding a donkey.

14. Pulcinelli Assist a Swooning Woman



London, collection of the late David Carritt

Sheet 358 x 475 mm

Signed lower right: Dom^o. Tiepolo f

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris.

Bibliography: Sotheby's Sale, 28 June 1979, pl. 236; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S14 pp. 120, 143; Sotheby's Sale, 3 July, 1980, pl. 63; Gealt (1986), pl. 13, pp. 50-51; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 244.

Exhibition: Paris 1921.

This composition depicts a woman fainting by a wall, and shows the collapsing woman being held up by two Pulcinelli, a third figure stands upright, surveying the event with folded arms. To the left, three further Pulcinelli look on, one carrying a raffia-covered bottle. To the right, the crone, who appears at the hatching and homecoming scenes emerges, arm outstretched in a gesture of concern, followed by another female figure gesturing concern. A cat, with arched back, looks out from the bottom right had corner of the sheet.

15. Pulcinella Administers to a Vomiting Woman



New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Robert Lehman Collection, inv. no. 1975.1.470

Margin 295 x 414 mm. Sheet 353 x 470 mm.

Signed bottom left: *Dom. Tiepolo f*

Numbered 15 in ink in upper left corner of margin.

Watermark: Crescent

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; Savile Gallery (sale), London, 1929, no. 5.

Bibliography: Borenius (1929), p. 149; Morassi (1941), p. 279; Byam Shaw (1962), p. 56, note 3; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S16, pp. 121, 144; The Metropolitan Museum of Art (1981)⁷, no. 132; Knox (1983), p. 127; Gealt (1986), pl. 14, pp.52-53; Byam Shaw and Knox, (1987); pl. 167, p. 204; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 244; Gealt in Venice 2004, pl. 129, pp. 192, 197.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; Chicago 1938, no. 104; New York 1939, no. 10; New York 1971, no. 270; New York 1980, no. S16; New York 1981, no 132;⁸ Detroit 1983, no. 59; Venice 2004, no. 129.

This sheet is an example of the series lacking synchronicity and shows Pulcinella's wife pregnant and vomiting. Logically this should precede the birth drawings. She is being attended by a maid and two Pulcinelli, one of whom holds out a bowl into which the distressed woman is violently sick. Two lady visitors, dressed in hats and jackets look towards the indisposed woman, one visitor's arm is outstretched and she gestures towards the woman with her fan. A dog stands at her side. The significance of the depiction of bodily functions, albeit particularly in relation to Pulcinella figures and carnivalesque imagery, is discussed in detail in Chapter III.

⁷ See Byam Shaw and Knox (1987), p. 204.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

16. **Pulcinella with a Leashed Bird**

Location unknown

Signed lower left: *Dom.º Tiepolo f*

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; Paul Suzor, Paris; David Carritt, Ltd., London;
Robert M. Light, Santa Barbara; Mr and Mrs Leigh Block, United States.

Bibliography: Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S6, pp. 117, 140; Knox (1983), p. 127; Gealt (1986) pl. 4, pp. 32-33; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 244.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; Paris 1971, no. 209.

This drawing is set outdoors adjacent to a villa and depicts a female figure holding a captive bird to a young Pulcinella who stands before her, arms outstretched. He is being attended by a kneeling girl in a striped dress, and the composition includes six additional Pulcinelli observing the situation in a variety of poses.

17. Young Pulcinelli Beg for Treats



Location unknown

Signed lower right: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

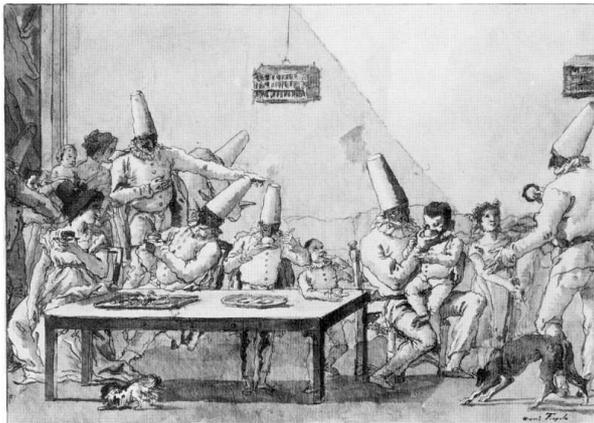
Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris.

Bibliography: Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S4, pp. 117, 139; Gealt (1986), pl. 82, p. 182; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 244.

Exhibition: Paris 1921.

Pulcinelli-children agitate for the unseen contents of a basket being carried by a woman in a striped dress. The situation is being observed by a standing Pulcinella, who wears a patched overcoat, and by his canine companion. To the right there is a table with a seated Pulcinella, human figures, and a standing Pulcinella and woman.

18. Pulcinella-children's Tea Party



San Francisco, The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, Achenbach Foundation for Graphic Arts, inv. no. 1967.17.134

Margin 291 x 410 mm. Sheet 346 x 468 mm.

Signed lower right: *Dom. Tiepolo f*

Numbered 17 in ink in the upper left hand corner of margin

Watermark: crown with trefoils over initials GAF (?)

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; Georges de Batz, New York.

Bibliography: Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. 3, pp. 42-43; Knox (1983), p. 127;

Gealt (1986), pl. 5, pp. 34-35; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 244.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; Bloomington (IN) 1979.

The foreground of the drawing is dominated by a low table, on which sit two trays of biscuits. Pulcinelli mix with human females and children, and a Pulcinella on the right offers a *ciambello* to a child. To the right of the table, a Pulcinella helps a child to drink from a cup whilst it sits on his knee. Two bird cages hang from the ceiling, and two dogs are foraging for crumbs.

19. **Pulcinella Family in a Villa Garden**



Location unknown: formerly. Paris, Madame Henri Lapauze

Signed lower right: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris.

Bibliography: Byam Shaw (1962), p. 88; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S11, pp. 119, 142; Gealt (1986), pl. 83, p. 182; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 244.

Exhibition: Paris 1921.

Pulcinella sits together with his, by now extensive, family in a villa garden.

Compositionally it is divided into two parts: Pulcinella, surrounded by his, unmasked, children with two more of his clan standing behind him, and a baby with a birdcage in the extreme right foreground occupy the right section of the sheet alongside a female figure, with babe in arms, two crones, and two additional Pulcinelli. The middle ground is occupied by two children and a dog.

20. **Pulcinelli Play Bowls**

Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art, inv. no. 37.571

Margin 297 x 416 mm. Sheet 355 x 474 mm.

Signed lower left: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

Numbered 20 in ink in upper left corner of margin.

Watermark: Indiscernible initials at centre

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; Italicco Brass, Venice.

Bibliography: Francis (1939), p. 48, pl. p. 50; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. 21, pp. 78-79; Gealt (1986), pl. 23, pp. 70-71; Pedrocco (1990), pl. 35; Knox in Udine 1996, pl. 163, pp. 224, 244; Gealt in Venice 2004, pl. 130, pp. 193, 197.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; San Francisco 1940, pl. 100; Montreal 1953, no. 67; Baltimore 1959, no. 223; Bloomington (IN) 1979, no. 21; Stanford University 1979; New York 1980; Udine 1996, no. 163; Bloomington (IN) 1997; Venice 2004, no. 130.

Pulcinella is engaged in a game of bowls or *bocce*. This is set against a background of a wall with a sentry box. It shows a circle of Pulcinelli and human spectators, some of whom resemble figures in other drawings, intently observe one Pulcinella who has just rolled a wood and his companion who prepares to follow on.

21. **Pulcinelli at Supper**

Location unknown

Margin 295 x 414 mm.

Signed lower right: Dom^o. Tiepolo f

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; Jean Cailleux, Paris.

Bibliography: Byam Shaw (1962), p. 80 under no. 40; Cailleux (1974), p. xxviii;

Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S9, pp. 118, 141; Gealt (1986), pl. 21, pp. 66-67;

Knox in Udine 1996, p. 244.

Exhibition: Paris 1921.

Pulcinella presides over an informal kitchen supper. The family are mainly seated and participating in the meal whilst two standing Pulcinelli gesticulate extravagantly at opposite corners of the table. There is a highly distinctive oval window with a *grille* and a fireplace both motifs appear in another *vignette* in the *Divertimento* (Cat. 30, 52)..

22. Pulcinelli and Dancing Dogs



Cambridge, Massachusetts, The Fogg Art Museum, inv.no. 1965.421.

Sheet 350 x 473 mm.

Signed lower left: *Do: Tiepolo f*

Watermark: graduated triple crescents above the letters *SOTTOIMPERIAL*

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; Paul J Sachs, Cambridge.

Bibliography: A. Mongan and P. Sachs (1940), pl.181, pp. 176-177; Morassi (1941), p 277; Bragaglia (1953), p. 200; H. Comstock in London 1955, pp. 276-277; Byam Shaw (1962), p. 57 note 1; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. 22, pp. 80- 81; Gealt (1986), pl. 26, pp. 76-77; Knox in Udine 1996, pl. 164, pp. 225, 244.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; Hartford (CT), Wadsworth 1930, no. 63; Cambridge (MA) 1935, no. 63; Chicago 1938, no. 107; New York 1939, no. 8; Udine 1996, no. 164; Bloomington (IN) 1979, no. 22.

A group of Pulcinelli are depicted as being entertained by a troupe of eight dancing terriers. To the right, a huddle of Pulcinelli enjoy the spectacle and one member of the audience appears unable to resist joining in the dance. In the background, a Pulcinella with bagpipes, another with a tambourine and a woman with a tambourine provide the musical accompaniment for the canine performers. The spinning woman, who reappears in another sheet (Cat. 44), is in the background and a Pulcinella figure before her points towards something. To the right, two Pulcinelli sit on a grassy mound watching the dogs. Two Pulcinelli lie over their hats in the foreground.

23. Pulcinelli and a Giant Crab



London, Collection of the late Sir Brinsley Ford

Signed lower right: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

Numbered 23 in modern pencil in upper left corner of margin

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; the Conte Alessandro Contini, Florence.

Bibliography: Gino Fogolari (1932), vol. I, pl. cxvi; Bragaglia (1953), pl. p. 308; Byam Shaw (1962), p. 56 note 2; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S34, pp. 127, 150; Gealt (1986), pl. 27, pp. 78-79; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 245; Gealt in Venice 2004, pl. 131, pp. 194, 197.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; Venice 1929; Exeter 1946, no. 144; London 1951, no. 138d; Venice 2004, no. 131.

A group of Pulcinelli gather round, observing with intense curiosity, a giant crab. To the right of the drawing a female figure appears to be retreating as if in panic. The crab denotes Cancer, the fourth sign of the Zodiac. There is an abundance of crab imagery in Venice, for example, on the clock face which dominates the *Torre del'Orologio* in St. Mark's Square. They also appear on the south well-head in the courtyard of the Doge's Palace.

24. **Pulcinella: The Shuttlecock/Volano Champion**



Providence, Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, inv. no. 57.240.

Margin 292 x 413 mm. Sheet 352 x 472 mm.

Signed lower right: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

Numbered 24 in ink in upper left corner of margin.

Watermark: graduated triple crescents.

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; George Pierce Metcalf, Providence.

Bibliography: Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. 5, pp. 46-47; Gealt (1986), pl. 18, pp. 60-61; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 245.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; Baltimore 1959, no. 224, p. 53; Providence 1961, n. 113; and 1967, no. 145; Bloomington (IN) 1979, no.5.

This drawing depicts the victor of a game of shuttlecock. It would appear that shuttlecock is one of Pulcinella's preferred games. There is a second sheet showing a game of shuttlecock (cat. 29). Both drawings show the game being played in a domestic interior, without a net, before a Pulcinelli and human audience. This, the first drawing, shows the players of the game lifting the winner to the right of the composition, in the left foreground stands a Pulcinella beside a lady in a hat and shawl, accompanied by a dog. In the back right hand corner a seated, elderly Pulcinella clutches a fan in his raised arms, and behind him stands a ghostly Pulcinella form, barely discernable. In the centre background is a large mirror which subtly reflects the shadow of a Pulcinella hat. As is the case with some of the drawings, there is evidence of Domenico's original charcoal under drawing on this sheet, with a curious pair of diagonal lines coming down from the left hand side of the drawing, showing where the artist delineated shadow and light, and the fact that mirror was originally intended to be smaller and of a different shape. The Italian noun *volano* particularly emphasises the flighty nature of the game, and this whole notion of flight has various art historical and conceptual resonances which are explored in Chapter V.

25. **Pulcinella Goes to School**

Location Unknown

Margin 294 x 413 mm. Sheet 353 x 470 mm.

Signed on table edge: *Dom. Tiepolo f*

Numbered 25 in ink in upper left corner of margin.

Watermark: graduated triple crescents.

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; The Duc de Talleyrand, Saint-Brice-sous-Fôret.

Bibliography: Morassi (1958), p. 21, no. 41; Byam Shaw (1962), p. 57; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. 4, pp. 44-45; Gealt (1986), pl. 19, pp. 62-63; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 245.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; Bloomington (IN) 1979.

Pulcinella goes to school. This is a somewhat crowded drawing showing Pulcinelli taking their sons to school. The crone who appears in some of the other drawings stands in the background in this instance. There is a curious tall Pulcinella with a long wig who stands towards the left of the composition, a dog at his heels. In the background is a desk behind which is seated a Pulcinella beside a clerk. A bird cage, a familiar motif from other sheets, hangs above this desk. Vetrocq observes that this drawing is an adaptation of all but the leftmost portion of a (now lost) drawing of a Venetian Academy made by Domenico in 1791.⁹

⁹ Vetrocq 1979, p. 108.

26. **A Pulcinella Triumph of Flora**

New York, Mrs Heinemann.

Margin 292 x 413 mm.

Signed lower left: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

Numbered 26 in ink in upper left corner of margin.

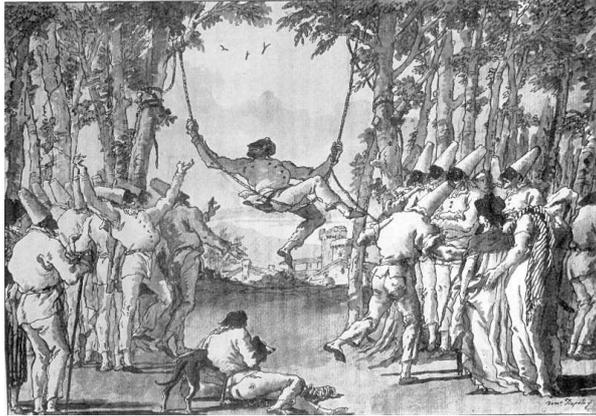
Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; Countess Wachtmeister; sale, Sotheby's, 15 December 1954, lot 107; Tomás Harris, London.

Bibliography: Levey (1957), p.90; Mariuz (1971), fig. 32; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S42, pp. 129, 154; Gealt (1986), pl. 79, p. 180; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 245.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; London Arts Council 1955, no. 67; New York 1971, no. 272; New York, Pierpont Morgan Library 1973, no. 114; Bloomington (IN) 1979, no. S42; New York 1980.

This composition depicts a Pulcinella *Triumph of Flora*; a subversion of the more conventional depiction which would show a triumphal procession led by Venus in which Flora rides on a chariot drawn by putti.¹⁰ Domenico's asymmetrical composition shows a woman in a nymph-drawn coach being followed by stampeding Pulcinelli, with some human figures. On the left hand side of the drawing two Pulcinelli await the party, one with folded arms and the other with arms outstretched. The scene takes place against a villa wall with a stern-looking statue which appears to be averting its gaze from the activity below; the statue is centrally-placed with another statue towards the right. The female figure, depicted here as Flora, appears in several other episodes, which suggests continuity throughout the series. The background shows poplar trees and a country landscape.

¹⁰ Hall (1996), pp. 125-126.

27. **Pulcinella on a Swing**

Location unknown

Margin 290 x 410 mm.

Signed lower right: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris.

Bibliography: Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S39, pp. 128, 153; Gealt (1986) pl. 78, p. 180; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 245.

Exhibition: Paris 1921.

Pulcinella is on a swing. An avenue of trees, with a rope between two of them provides a swing for Pulcinella who is being watched by an assembled crowd flanking the avenue. This is set in the countryside, with evidence of a small hamlet on the horizon.

28. **Pulcinella Rides a Donkey**

New York, Mrs Heinemann

Margin 305 x 419 mm

Signed lower left on altar base: *Do Tiepolo f*

Numbered 28 in ink in upper left corner of margin

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; Brinsley Ford, London; sale, London, Sotheby's, 10 November 1954, lot 40.

Bibliography: Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S41, pp. 129, 154; Gealt (1986), pl. 70, pp. 164-165; Knox in Udine 1996, pp. 57, 245.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; London Matthiesen Ltd., 1938;¹¹ Exeter 1946, no. 149; London 1951, no. 138e; New York 1971, no. 273; New York 1973, no. 113; New York 1980.

This drawing shows a Triumph of Pulcinella. In a very crowded composition there are two Pulcinelli astride donkeys, one occupies a central foreground space in the drawing, its rider, a caped Pulcinella joyfully brandishes a fork, speared with a piece of gnocchi. There are a crowd of Pulcinelli behind him and a Pulcinella in front leading the donkey, festooned with a laurel wreath. To the left, a jubilant band of Pulcinelli with flags and tambourines crowd around a sarcophagus with a gnocchi pot on its lid, and caryatids on its base, thus echoing, albeit more ornately, the sarcophagus on the frontispiece. The Pulcinella riding a donkey in the foreground to the extreme left is comically rendered from behind to look as though he has the hindquarters of a donkey.

¹¹ Vetrocq (1979), p. 88.

29. **Pulcinella Plays Shuttlecock/Volano**



London, Collection of the late Sir Brinsley Ford

Signed lower right: *Do. Tiepolo f*

Numbered 29 in upper left corner of margin; first digit ink, second modern pencil over erasure

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; Matthiesen Ltd., London.

Bibliography: Byam Shaw (1962), p. 56 note 2; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S13, pp. 120, 142; Gealt (1986), pl. 17, pp. 58-59; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 245; Gealt in Venice 2004, pl. 132, pp. 195, 197, 201.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; Exeter 1946, no. 128; London 1951, no. 138; Bloomington (IN) 1979, no. S13; Venice 2004, no. 132.

In this sheet the larger Pulcinella who wins the game in the earlier composition (Cat. 24) is taking a serve whilst a group of Pulcinelli and a seated lady are positioned behind the smaller contestant. A dog sleeps under a table in the background, and the figure of a small terrier is shown in the foreground.

30. **Pulcinella Cooks**

London, Collection of the late Sir Brinsley Ford

Signed on hearth: *Do: Tiepolo f*

Numbered 30 in ink in upper left corner of margin

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris.

Bibliography: Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S10, pp. 119, 141; Gealt (1986), pl. 20, pp. 64-65; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 245; Gealt in Venice 2004, pl.133, pp. 196, 201.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; London Matthiesen Ltd. 1938;¹² Exeter 1946, no. 145; London 1951, no. 138; Venice 2004, no. 133.

A Pulcinella, minus hat, and in his shirt sleeves labours under a large chimney over a pot of polenta. One of three helpers to the left of the drawing fans the fire with bellows, whilst the other two appear to be discussing the proceedings. Further left there is a doorway showing the hunched back of a retreating Pulcinella, together with three further sugar-loaf hats, denoting the presence of his companions who can be seen beyond the doorway. In front of this is a female figure seen from behind. On the right hand side of the drawing are six further Pulcinelli figures, two of whom are holding large plates and one sucks on a clay pipe. The masked female figure sits on the extreme right with her lapdog, and a further female figure with bonnet stands behind the Pulcinella-cook. A larger, standing, dog occupies the right foreground.

¹² Vetrocq (1979), p. 88.

31. **Pulcinella at a Country Dance**

San Francisco, Achenbach Graphic Arts Council, inv. no. 1967.17.133

Margin 293 x 410 mm. Sheet 353 x 470 mm.

Not signed

Numbered 31 in ink in upper left corner of margin

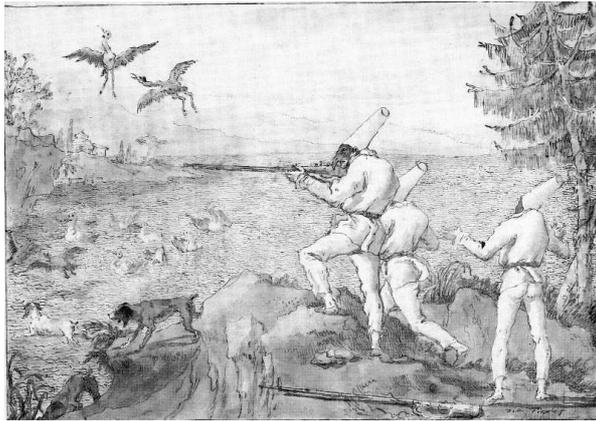
Watermark: graduated triple crescents

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; Georges de Batz, New York.

Bibliography: Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. 20, pp. 76-77; Gealt (1986), pl. 25, pp. 74-75; Knox in Udine 1996, pl.165, pp. 226, 245.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; Bloomington (IN) 1979, no.20; Stanford University 1979; New York, The Frick Collection, 1980; Udine 1996, no. 165; Bloomington (IN) 1997.

The figures in this composition engage in a country dance set in the hillside with a hamlet in the background. A Pulcinella's head in profile appears to the left of the composition with a partial figure of a standing Pulcinella, and they observe the gyrations of a Pulcinella dancing with a woman, just in front of them. The band of fiddlers are drawn in the middle distance with a Pulcinella, viewed from behind, meandering in front of them, to his left is a woman playing a tambourine with further human and Pulcinelli figures behind her. Two male figures in contemporary dress dance at her side and part of a female figure shaking a tambourine disappears off the picture plane to the right. A group of trees on the right barely conceal a man on a ladder observing the proceedings from a tree. Some remains of the original charcoal under drawing on this sheet reveal that Domenico repositioned the background mountains and trees.

32. **Pulcinella Hunts Ducks**

Washington DC, National Gallery of Art, Woodner Collection, inv. no. 2006.11.23.

Margin 294 x 414 mm. Sheet 351 x 474 mm.

Signed lower right: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

Numbered 32 in upper left corner of margin; first digit in ink, second in modern pencil over an abraded area

Watermark: graduated triple crescents

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; sale, Paris' Palais Galliera, 16 June 1967, lot K; William Schab Gallery, New York.

Bibliography: Byam Shaw (1962), p. 55; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. 18, pp. 72-73; Gealt (1986), pl. 62, pp. 148-149; Knox in Udine 1996, pl. 166, pp. 227, 245.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; New York 1973; Bloomington (IN) 1979, no.18; Stanford University 1979; New York 1980; Udine 1996, no. 166; Bloomington (IN) 1997.

Three Pulcinelli stand on a grassy mound overlooking water. The most prominent Pulcinella stands at a higher vantage point, his left leg bent with rifle on his shoulder as he aims at two cranes, one of which has been struck and is about to fall. A retriever is poised at Pulcinella's feet, whilst another swims in the water, which is well-stocked with birds. A landscape on the far side of the shore shows a villa and trees.

33. **Pulcinella is Arrested**

Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art, inv. no. 1937.570

Margin 295 x 413 mm. Sheet 352 x 466 mm.

Signed lower right: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

Numbered 33 in ink in upper left corner of margin

Watermark: shield cartouche containing initials VC surmounted by *fleur-de-lys*.

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; Italic Brass, Venice.

Bibliography: Francis (1939), p. 48; Cleveland (1939), p. 15; Byam Shaw (1962), p. 58; Gealt and Vetrocq (1979) pl. 32, pp. 100-101; Knox (1983), pp. 128, 131; Gealt (1986), p. 36, pp. 96-97; Knox in Udine 1996, pl. 167, pp. 228, 245; Gealt in Venice 2004, pl. 134, pp. 196, 201.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; Bloomington (IN) 1979, no. 32; Udine 1996, no. 167; Venice 2004, no. 134.

The first of the sheets that form this sub-plot is heavily populated with human and Pulcinella figures. Two figures, a Pulcinella and a man, appear to have been arrested, their wrists are bound and they are being led away, Pulcinella, by a figure in a tricorne hat. A man in a cloak in front of the criminals is in a *contrapposto* pose, and various human figures observe the event. The shutters on a window of a nearby house are open, and a shadowy female figure is discernable. To the extreme left, a turbaned oriental, a recurring feature in Venetian painting from Bellini and Carpaccio onwards, is seen from behind, hand on hip, and is counterbalanced by a Pulcinella figure on the opposite side of the sheet with his hand outstretched. In a footnote to this sheet, Gealt observes that Pulcinelli were often arrested during *carnevale* for their outrageous behaviour.¹³

¹³ Gealt (1986), note 1, p. 96.

34. **Pulcinella is Visited in Prison**

Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, inv. no. 1979.76.3

Margin 295 x 410 mm. Sheet 351 x 474 mm.

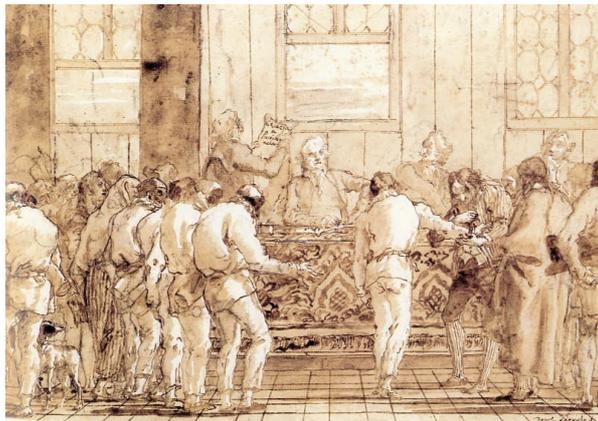
Signed on bridge: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; Paul Suzor, Paris; David Carritt, Ltd., London, Robert H, and Clarice Smith, given to NGA in 1979.

Bibliography: Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. 33, pp. 102-103; Gealt (1986), pl. 38, pp. 100-101; Whistler in London 1994, pl. 224, p. 330; Knox in Udine 1996, pl. 168, pp. 229, 245.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; Paris 1971, no. 310; Bloomington (IN) 1979, no. 33; Stanford University 1979; New York 1980; London, The Royal Academy of Arts, 1994, no. 224; Udine 1996, no. 168; Bloomington (IN) 1997.

The prison visit is set in a typical Venetian backwater, showing a small bridge over a subsidiary canal, and Pulcinella behind prison bars, his flailing figure barely discernable, with a cloaked figure who appears to be visiting him. To the extreme right stands an oriental in a striped cloak, a quotation from station seven of Domenico's *Via Crucis* in the church of San Polo. Two Pulcinelli, one sitting on the ground, another crouching with gnocchi pots and a plate, appear as though they have arrived in a gondola with sustenance for their incarcerated friend. A group of characters process over the small canal bridge, while at the bottom are portrayed a bearded man in what resembles a monk's habit, a young woman together with a cloaked woman holding a basket, a human male figure smoking a pipe and a youthful figure with arms raised above his head, followed by two additional Pulcinelli.

35. **Pulcinella is Tried**

Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art, inv. no. 1937.569

Margin 292 x 413 mm. Sheet 351 x 465 mm.

Signed lower right: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

Numbered 35 in ink in upper left corner of margin.

Watermark: large ornate shield containing initials VC surmounted by crown with *fleur-de-lys*.

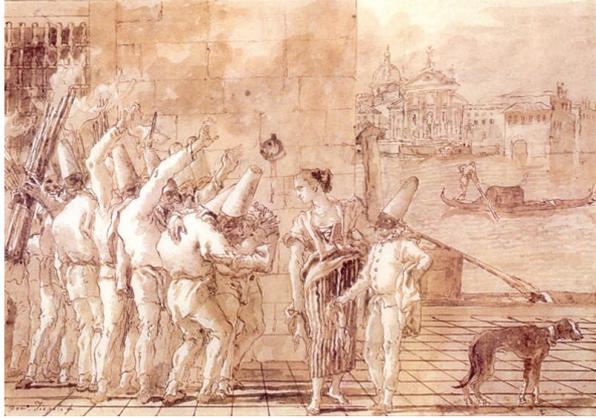
Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; Italic Brass, Venice.

Bibliography: Francis (1939), p. 48; Cleveland (1939), p.15; Bonicatti (1971), p. 34; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. 36, pp. 108-109; Knox (1983), p. 128; Gealt (1986), pl. 39, pp. 102-103; Knox and Gealt (1996), pl. 169, pp. 239, 245; Knox in Berkeley 1996, fig. 18, p. 46; Gealt in Venice 2004, pl. 136, pp. 199, 201-202; Vescovo in eds Knox and Gealt (2005), p. 55.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; Kansas City 1956, no. 181; Bloomington (IN) 1979, no. 36; Udine 1996, no. 169; Venice 2004, no. 136.

Pulcinella stands before the magistrates who sit behind a table finely adorned with a damask cover. Pulcinella is being granted clemency as a figure, standing behind what appears to be the principal magistrate (judging from his dignified demeanour), holds a sheet which reads *grazia a Puch'nella*. Pulcinella's wrists are being carefully unbound by a figure in striped garb to his right. To his left stand a further, unhatted, group of his clan, along with two women and the ubiquitous canine.

36. Pulcinella is Released from Prison



Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, inv. no. 1979.76.4

Margin 292 x 412 mm. Sheet 346 x 463 mm.

Signed lower left: *Dom° Tiepolo f*

Numbered 36 in upper left corner of margin.

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; Countess Wachtmeister; Sale: London, Sotheby's, 15 December 1954 lot 110; Hallsborough Gallery, London; Richard S. Davis, Minneapolis.

Bibliography: Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. 37, pp. 110-111; Knox (1983), pp. 128, 131, 144; Gealt (1986), pl. 40, pp. 104-105; Knox in Udine 1996, pl. 170, pp. 231, 245; Lawner (1998), p. 141; Gealt in Venice 2004, pl. 137, pp. 200, 202.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; London 1955, no. 24; Bloomington (IN) 1979, no. 37; Udine 1996, no. 170; Venice 2004, no. 137.

Pulcinella's release from prison is interesting because it is the only drawing to show a specific location in Venice: one can see in the background the Benedictine monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore across the Giudecca Canal. Knox in Udine (1996) suggests that Pulcinella is being released from the prison on the Riva degli Schiavoni from which Casanova famously escaped in 1753,¹⁴ It is an asymmetrical composition but on this occasion the figures emerge from the left of the drawing (it seems that Domenico generally works from the right). One Pulcinella who, it appears, has been released from prison is being embraced by another of his clan and a whole tangle of Pulcinelli queue behind the embracing pair, gesturing and holding up smouldering sticks. There is a building with a barred window behind the gathering. An unmasked, shoeless woman and a young Pulcinella stand centrally surveying the crowd, a dog stands on the right hand side looking away from the group.

¹⁴ Knox 1996, p. 231.

37. **The Triumph of Pulcinella**

Detroit (Michigan), The Detroit Institute of Arts, inv. no. 55.487

Margin 285 x 413 mm. Sheet 355 x 474 mm.

Signed upper left: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

Numbered 37 in modern pencil over abrasion in upper left corner of margin.

Watermark: graduated triple crescents

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; Countess Wachtmeister; sale, London, Sotheby's, 15 December, 1954 lot 109; Marianne Feilchenfeldt, Zurich.

Bibliography: J.S. Newberry, Jr. (1955-1956), pp. 92-94; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S53, pp. 133, 158-159; Knox (1983) pp. 132, 137, 144; Knox (1984); Gealt (1986), pl. 41, pp. 106-107; Knox in Sharp (1992), pl. 65; Knox in Udine 1996, fig. p. 58, p. 245; Knox and Steward in Berkeley 1996, pl. 37, p. 87.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; Birmingham (AL) 1958, no. 20; Berkeley 1997, no. 37.

This is a variation on an earlier triumph of Pulcinella (cat. 28). Here, Pulcinella is being transported on a litter, covered in a brocade cloth. He holds a fork with a piece of gnocchi in the air, and is carried aloft by members of his clan, waving flags and blowing trumpets. To the extreme right is the figure of a maiden playing a tambourine which reappears in other sheets. To the left is a brick wall and a pillar behind which stand two orientals, a woman with a fan facing the viewer, a woman viewed from behind pointing, and her companion, a gentleman with a top hat. This corresponds to a painting showing a triumph of Pulcinella made by Domenico in the 1760s.¹⁵

¹⁵ Gealt (1986), note 2, p. 106.

38. Pulcinelli and a Caged Leopard



Ottawa, The National Gallery of Canada, inv. no. 17585

Sheet 354 x 473 mm

Signed lower left: Dom^o. Tiepolo f

Numbered 38 in ink in upper left corner of margin

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; Robert Goelet, New York; sale, London, Sotheby's, 6 July 1967, lot 37; Slatkin Galleries, New York.

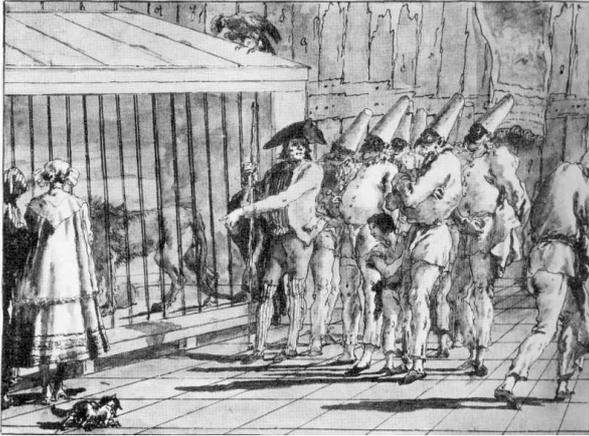
Bibliography: New York (1967), pp. 110-111; M.C. Taylor (1974), p. 53; *Artscanada* (1976),¹⁶ p. 53; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. 30, pp. 96-97; Knox (1983), pp. 128, 144; Gealt (1986), pl. 85, p. 84; Knox in Udine 1996, pl. p. 101, p. 245; Constance Naubert-Riser in Paris 2004, pl. 8, p. 80.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; New York 1967, no. 14; Bloomington (IN) 1979, no. 30; Paris 2004, no. 8.

A group of Pulcinelli, and a woman in bonnet and shawl, view a caged leopard which is being shown by other Pulcinelli standing adjacent to the leopard's cage and pointing. Curiously, the leopard's front right paw resembles a human hand. A monkey sitting on a drum occupies the extreme front right foreground of the design.

¹⁶ Gealt (1986), p. 84.

39. Pulcinelli and a Caged Lion



Location unknown

Signed on banner: *Dom Tiepolo f*

Numbered 39 in ink in upper left corner of margin.

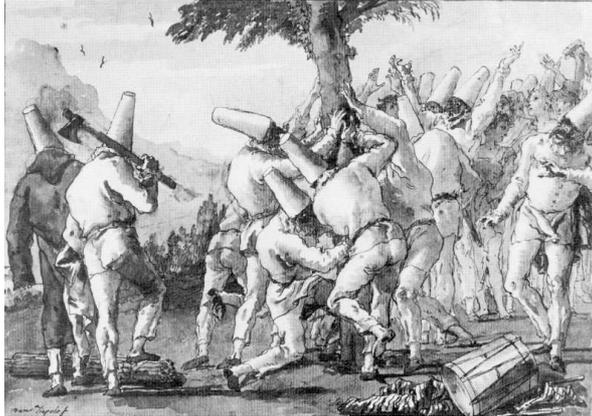
Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; Robert Goelet, New York; sale, London, Sotheby's, 6 July 1967, lot 36; Agnew & sons Ltd., London.

Bibliography: New York (1967), pp. 110-111; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S55, pp. 134, 159; Gealt (1986), pl. 84, p. 183; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 245.

Exhibition:

Paris 1921.

Pulcinelli visit a caged lion. A group of Pulcinelli are being shown the cage by a human guide in a tricorn hat. The creature is also being observed by two female figures entering the composition from the left. Pietro Longhi depicted a lion during the carnival of 1762. The parrot, which is perched on the lion's cage, is a motif used by Giambattista at Würzburg and by Domenico in Zianigo.

40. **Pulcinelli Fell a Tree**

New York, Metropolitan Museum, Robert Lehman Collection, inv. no. 1975.1.468

Margin 294 x 414 mm. Sheet 353 x 473 mm.

Signed lower left: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

Numbered 40 in ink in upper left corner of margin

Watermark: Graduated Triple Crescents

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; sale, Paris, Palais Galliera, December 6, 1966, no. 10.

Bibliography: Byam Shaw (1962), p. 58; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S28, pp. 125, 148; New York (1981)¹⁷, no. 135; Gealt (1986), pl. 44, pp. 112-113; Byam Shaw and Knox (1987), pl. 171, p. 208; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 245; Vescovo in eds Gealt and Knox (2005), p. 56.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; New York 1971, no. 274; New York 1980.

Pulcinella chops a tree. In another, very crowded, composition the main focus of action shows a knot of Pulcinelli, a tangle of wildly gesticulating arms and legs with sugar loaf hats around a falling tree. A melange of hats, arms and some human faces form the illusion of a crowd to the right background, meanwhile a Pulcinella in the right hand corner observes the operation. To the bottom front foreground on the right lie a discarded drum and striped fabric. To the left, seen from behind, is a Pulcinella in a dark, hooded, overcoat and another with an axe leaning on his shoulder. Gealt suggests that this vignette might also be satirising the planting of the trees of liberty in Italian town squares by Napoleon's troops in the 1790s.¹⁸

¹⁷ Byam Shaw and Knox (1987), p. 208.

¹⁸ Gealt (1986), p.112

41. **Pulcinelli Visit a Wine Cellar**

New York, Gilbert Butler

Margin 288 x 410 mm.

Signed on table edge: *Do: Tiepolo f*

Numbered 41 in ink in upper left corner of margin

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; Raymond Bloch, Paris; Mme. Guy Schwob, Paris; sale, London, Sotheby's, 23 March 1971, lot 66; sale, London, Christie's, 13 December 1984; sale, Colnaghi's, London; Robert M. Light, Santa Barbara.

Bibliography: Byam Shaw (1962), pp. 57 note 1 and 58; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. 27, pp. 90-91; Gealt (1986), pl. 52, pp. 128-129; Whistler in London 1994, pl. 226, p. 331; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 245; Vescovo in eds Gealt and Knox (2005), pl. p. 48.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; Bloomington (IN) 1979, no. 27; London, The Royal Academy, 1994.

Pulcinella visits a *Malvasia*. Two Pulcinelli dancing a jig, and toasting one another occupy the centre of the sheet. To their left a Pulcinella sommelier with a fringed apron and jacket gestures towards a cask, in front of which stands a dog in profile. Behind this figure is a rear-view drawing of a man in a tricorn hat. To the left, two Pulcinelli sit at table, one Pulcinella consumes his wine directly from a jug, and they are attended by a figure with a basket on his head. In the upper left hand corner is a staircase with three exiting figures. On the background wall is the winged lion of St. Mark with a "W" *eviva* symbol above it, meaning long-life. Vetrocq has interpreted the winged lion together with the "W" graffito as evidence of Domenico's nationalist sentiments during the Napoleonic invasion of Italy.¹⁹

¹⁹Vetrocq (1979), p. 162.

42. **Camel with Resting Traveller**

Location unknown

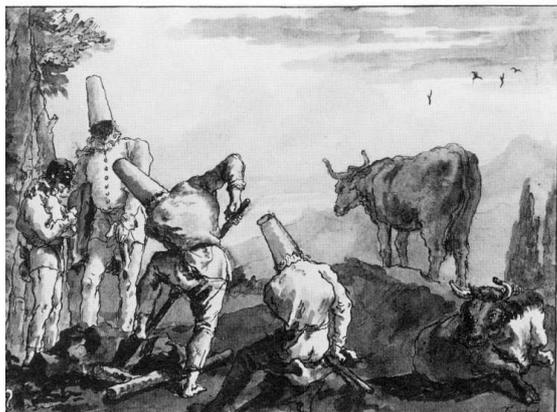
Not signed; monogram DT on bale

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris.

Bibliography: Byam Shaw (1962), p. 56 note 2; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S59, pp. 135, 161; Gealt (1986), pl. 89, p. 185; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 245.

Exhibition: Paris 1921.

This is a very odd composition as it is the only sheet in the series which does not include any Pulcinella figure, just two human travellers on donkeys, one in the middle-distance and another in the far distance. A resting camel occupies the right hand side of the drawing, and a reclining peasant type occupies the right foreground.

43. **Pulcinella Digs a Hole**

London, Collection of the late Sir Brinsley Ford

Signed lower right: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

Numbered 43 in ink in upper left corner of margin.

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; Matthiesen Ltd., London.

Bibliography:

Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S30, pp. 125, 149; Gealt (1986) pl. 8, pp. 40-41; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 245.

Exhibitions:

Paris 1921; Exeter 1946, no. 146; London 1951, no. 138g.

A young Pulcinella, with a melancholy demeanour, watches adult Pulcinelli digging a hole. This sheet is set in a mountainous landscape with two cows, one standing and the other resting. One Pulcinella, viewed from behind digs a hole with a spade, and another is seated. To the left, in front of some trees stands a Pulcinella with his arm resting on the shoulder of a mournful-looking Pulcinella child, arms folded, seen in profile. The wine jug, one of the frontispiece accoutrements appears to the left of the composition.

44. **Pulcinella Helps to Spin Thread**

London, Collection of the late Sir Brinsley Ford

Signed upper left: Dom^o. Tiepolo f

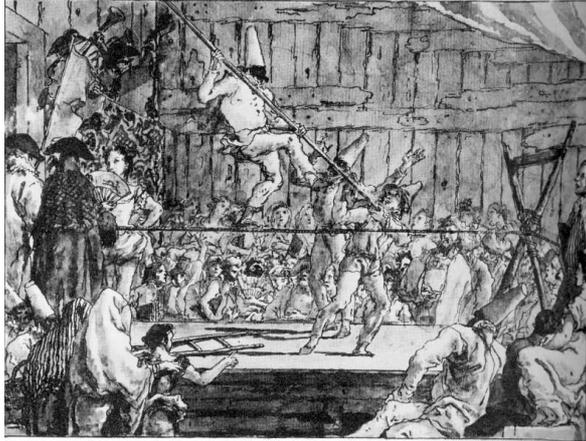
Numbered 44 in ink in upper left corner of margin.

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris.

Bibliography: Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S7, pp. 118, 140; Gealt (1986), pl. 6, pp. 36-37; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 245.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; Exeter 1946, no. 148; London 1951, no. 138 h.

A coterie of Pulcinelli is in the countryside with the spinning woman who occupies the centre of this drawing. To her left, three Pulcinella children play, one with a terrier, another standing with a stick and gesturing to the field behind him, and the other lying on his front over his hat. To the left by the wall of a villa, a ladder perched against its side, a seated Pulcinella unravels a skein of wool, a basket at his side, whilst his companion looks over his shoulder and another Pulcinella figure disappears off the page.

45. **Pulcinella Walks a Tightrope**

Location unknown

Signed on platform: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; Victor Rosenthal, Paris; sale, Paris, Palais d'Orsay, 24 November 1977 lot 21.

Bibliography: Byam Shaw (1962), p. 55; Duchatre (1966), p. 211; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S56, pp. 134, 160; Gealt (1986), pl. 85, p. 183; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 245.

Exhibition: Paris 1921.

Pulcinella on a tightrope is composed asymmetrically with a figure clumsily proceeding along the rope from the right, surrounded by spectators. The scene is divided horizontally by the tightrope and vertically by a pole held by the performing Pulcinella. Some of the faces in this composition are familiar, and can be located back to the Zianigo fresco showing Pulcinella and the tumblers. The Pulcinella-acrobat may be a reference to the entertainment provided by *commedia* masks during the *lazzi* or intervals as part of theatrical performance, and also to the troupes of acrobats (*Le Forze di Ercole*) who performed in the Piazza San Marco during *carnevale*. In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries small bronze groups of putti acrobats were popular. It could equally be a reference to Pulcinella's parentage as well as his predilection for being airborne and to playing 'flighty' games such as *volano* which can be understood in relation to one of the playful qualities as discussed in Chapter V.

46. **Pulcinella Trapeze-Artist**

London, Hazlitt, Gooden & Fox.

Margin 293 x 413 mm. Sheet 350 x 468 mm.

Signed lower right: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

Numbered 46 in ink in upper left corner of margin.

Watermark: graduated triple crescents

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; Victor Rosenthal, Paris; sale, Paris, Palais d'Orsay, 24 November 1977, lot 20.

Bibliography: Byam Shaw (1962), p. 92; Duchatre (1966), p. 213; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. 31, pp. 98-99; Gealt (1986), pl. 31, pp. 86-87; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 245.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; Bloomington (IN) 1979, no. 31; Venice 1980, pl. 103; Brussels 1983, pl.54; Canterbury 1985, pl. 36.

In the drawing depicting Pulcinella on a trapeze, a large audience looks up at Pulcinella's flying figure. Several figures in this sheet are recognizable – the female figure who stands on the stage, viewed from behind, features in a similar pose in *Il Mondo Novo*, Zianigo and the wildly gesturing Pulcinella on the steps to the right can be seen again in the Ganymede episode.

47. **Pulcinella Ganymede**

London, Collection of the late Sir Brinsley Ford

Signed lower right: *Dom. Tiepolo f*

Numbered 47 in ink in upper left corner of margin

Provenance: Richard Owen Paris; Matthiesen Ltd., London.

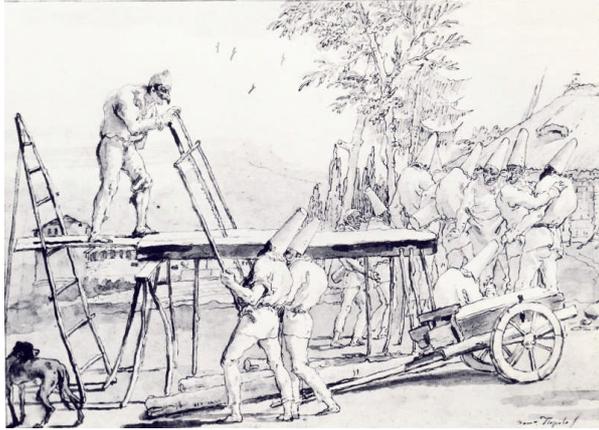
Bibliography: Fehl (1978-1979), p. 787; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S65, pp. 137, 160; Gealt (1986), pl. 58, pp. 140-141; Knox in Udine 1996, pl. p. 99, p. 245; Gealt in Venice 2004, pl. 138, pp. 202-203.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; London Matthiesen Ltd, 1939, no. 138²⁰; Exeter 1946, no. 129; London 1951, no. 138i; Bloomington (IN) 1979, no. 65; Stanford University 1979; Venice 2004, no. 138.

Pulcinella re-enacts *Ganymede* in a comical interpretation of a narrative form taken from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.²¹ Ovid describes how Ganymede, a beautiful shepherd-boy, was snatched by Zeus in the form of an eagle and carried off to Mount Olympus. Pulcinella takes the role of Ganymede and is placed off-centre as he clumsily holds on to the eagle for dear life. To the right of this design, an alarmed group of Pulcinelli and two female figures gesture wildly at the abduction of a member of their group. The scene is divided vertically by the mast of a boat and horizontally foreshortened by the distant coastline. The foreshortened bow of the boat is a familiar device, used by Domenico in plate 17 of his *Flight into Egypt*. *The Rape of Ganymede* has been extensively illustrated by artists, Domenico's version appears to parody Michelangelo's famous drawing (fig. 108).

²⁰ Vetrocq (1979), p. 88.

²¹ *Vente Tiepolo*, Lot 295.

48. **Pulcinella Saws a Log**

Providence, John Nicholas Brown

Margin 290 x 410 mm.

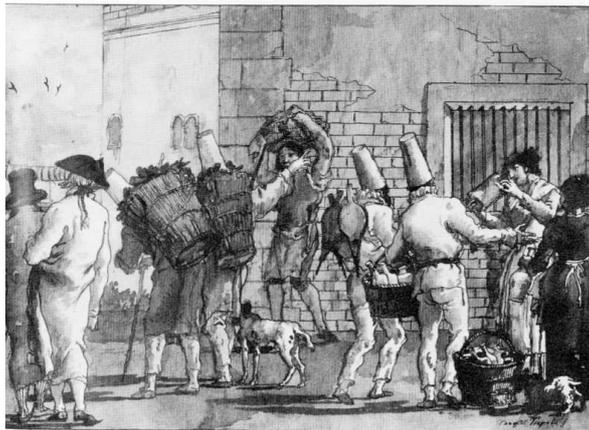
Signed lower right: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris.

Bibliography: Morassi (1941), p. 278; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. 12, pp. 60-61; Gealt (1986), pl. 45, pp. 114-115; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 245.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; Providence 1931; Chicago 1938; Boston 1939; Omaha 1941-1946; Cambridge (MA) 1962; Bloomington (IN) 1979, no. 12; Stanford University 1979; New York 1980.

A log is balanced precariously between a stepladder, a trestle and several sticks; one Pulcinella stands atop the log, pushing down on a large saw, while two other Pulcinelli push the saw from below. A group of eight Pulcinelli stand to one side, talking amongst themselves. Two look back at the workers. A dog stands in the left hand corner of the drawing, also observing the action. A small cart stands to the right of the picture. It is set in a rural location, with mountains in the background and a large building in the middle distance.

49. **Pulcinelli as Itinerant Pedlars**

Formerly Paris, Richard Owen.

Signed lower right: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris.

Bibliography: Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S48, pp. 131, 156; Gealt (1986), pl. 47, pp. 118-119; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 245.

Exhibition: Paris 1921.

This sheet shows Pulcinella pedlars. It is a street scene, taking place against a building, the back of which is bricked, with a square barred window towards the right. The side of the building is more ornate with arched windows. On the right stand two Pulcinelli, one with bellows attached to his back and the other with two baskets of bottles, one over his left arm the other basket at his feet. A small dog stands by the basket. Two women wearing aprons stand in front of the Pulcinella, one is placed sideways on and is drinking from a bottle and the other can be seen from behind and is holding a bottle. In the central space stands a man carrying a basket on his head, similar to the figure in Cat. 34. To the left of him are two Pulcinelli carrying baskets of kindling, viewed from behind, wearing overcoats, their hats peaking out from above the baskets. To the left of these are two human characters viewed from behind, the familiar figure of a man with a tricorn hat adjacent to a male figure in a top hat.

50. **Pulcinelli Wait Outside a Circus**

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Robert Lehman Collection,
inv. no. 1975.1.469

Margin 291 x 412 mm. Sheet 349 x 464 mm.

Signed on poster on fence: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

Numbered 50 in ink in upper left corner of margin

Watermark: Crescent

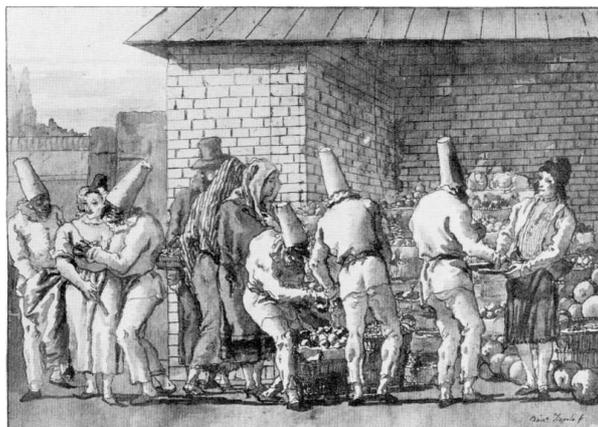
Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; Paul Suzor, Paris; sale, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 19
March 1965, lot 72.

Bibliography: Byam Shaw (1962), p. 56; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S54, pp.
133, 159; Szabó (1983), no. 79; Gealt (1986), pl. 28, pp. 80-81; Byam Shaw and
Knox (1987), pl. 172, p. 209; Knox in Udine 1996, pp. 245-246; Gealt in Venice
2004, pl. 139, pp. 202, 204.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; Paris 1950, no. 147; New York 1971, no. 275; New York
1980; Venice 2004, no. 139.

Four Pulcinelli wait outside a circus. The background is a wooden fence on which a poster advertising the main attraction, an elephant, is posted. A further small flysheet pinned on the right of the wall bears the artist's signature. There are just four Pulcinelli figures and the rest are human, some of which are familiar. To the extreme right is a Pulcinella, seen from behind, urinating. Of the others, one is lying prone as if taking a nap and the other two are crouching. A lamp-bearer depicted face on, points towards the fence.

51. Pulcinelli Buy Fruit



London, Collection of the late Sir Brinsley Ford

Signed lower right: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

Numbered 51 in ink in upper left corner of margin.

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris.

Bibliography: Byam Shaw (1962), pp. 53, note 5 & 57 note 2; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S47, pp. 131, 156; Gealt (1986), pl. 48, pp. 120-121; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 246.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; Exeter 1946, no. 131; London 1951, no. 138j.

The drawing is set against a brick outhouse against which stand many baskets filled with produce. A stallholder with a striped scarf serves Pulcinella whilst another Pulcinella is serving apples to a member of his clan. Three human figures queue at the stall. To the left, a pair of Pulcinelli flank a buxom woman. There is a visual pun between the Pulcinella with his hand on the woman's breast and the pile of melons in the right foreground.

52. **Pulcinella Chops Logs**

Chicago, Illinois, The Art Institute of Chicago, inv. no. 1957.309

Margin 292 x 413 mm. Sheet 345 x 467 mm.

Signed lower right: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

Numbered 52 in ink in upper left corner of margin.

Watermark: indistinct crown above the letters GAF

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; The Conte Alessandro Contini, Florence;

Brinsley Ford, London; sale, London, Sotheby's, 10 November 1954, lot 41;

Knoedlers, New York; gift of Emily Crane Chadbourne.

Bibliography: G. Fogolari et al. (1932), Vol. I, pl. cvcvi; Mariuz (1971), fig 33;

Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S27, pp. 124, 148; Joachim (1979), pl. 2C7, p. 55,

Gealt (1986), pl. 43, pp. 110-111; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 246.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; Venice 1929; Exeter 1946, no. 127; London 1951, no. 138k;

New York 1963, no. 24; Bloomington 1979, no. 27; Chicago and Washington 1979-

80, no. 145; Chicago, 1985; Hannover and Dusseldorf 1992, no. 152D.

Of the sheets which show the professions of Pulcinella, Pulcinella is most frequently portrayed as handling wood. Here, he is shown chopping logs in a farmyard. The centrally-placed figure with discarded hat is shown with an axe, whilst two Pulcinelli to his right bring him further logs to chop. A cluster of three Pulcinelli to the left stand next to a donkey, and another Pulcinella sitting on a wall with a woman at his side is overseeing the labour. The gridded oval window of the farmhouse is the same as the one shown in the interior where the Pulcinelli take an informal supper (cat. 21).

53. **Pulcinella as Barber**

London, Collection of the late Sir Brinsley Ford

Signed lower right: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

Numbered 53 in ink in upper left corner of margin

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; sale, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 23 December 1931, lot 30; Matthiesen Ltd., London.

Bibliography: Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S49, pp. 132, 157; Gealt (1986), pl. 49, pp. 122-123; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 246; Gealt in Venice 2004, pl. 140, p. 204.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; Exeter 1946, no. 147; London 1951, no. 1381; Venice 2004, no. 140.

The scene is set in a barber's shop. The rear wall has a large picture of a Madonna and Child, either side of which is a sconce, one holding an ornate jug and the other a plate. Below the sconce holding the jug is a row of wigs. In the centre foreground a human customer is being shaved by a Pulcinella, while a human assistant stands ready, behind the chair, with a large white towel. To his right, another human assistant approaches with a shaving bowl and jug. To the far left of the picture another human customer sits in a chair, while a Pulcinella-barber wraps a towel around his neck. To the right of the picture a Pulcinella stands in profile with folded arms, observing the action. To his right is a large wig-stand, and behind him stands a shadowy figure of another human customer wearing a flamboyant wig. There is considerable visible under drawing in this picture.

54. **Pulcinella Gathers Wood**

Cleveland, Ohio, The Cleveland Museum of Art, inv. no. 1937.572.

Margin 293 x 410 mm. Sheet 350 x 470 mm.

Signed lower right: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

Watermark: crowned eagle with outspread wings above initials GFA

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; Italicco Brass, Venice.

Bibliography: Francis (1939), p. 48; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S26, pp. 124, 147; Gealt (1986), pl. 42, pp. 108-109; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 246.

Exhibition: Paris 1921.

This composition can be divided into two parts. To the right of the picture is a group of three Pulcinelli; one carries a basket of logs on his head, another pushes a wheelbarrow, and the other holds a large bunch of sticks. To the left of the drawing, an ungainly Pulcinella stoops to pick up a branch from the ground. Looking towards the centre, and pointing towards the group on the right stands a Pulcinella figure which appears to be directing the work. A further group of Pulcinelli occupy the central middle distance of the composition. In the background, to the left of the picture, is a small village.

55. **Pulcinelli Tailors**

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Robert Lehman Collection, inv. no. 1975.1.472

Margin 293 x 411 mm. Sheet 353 x 470 mm.

Signed lower left: *Domº. Tiepolo f*

Numbered 55 in ink in upper left corner of margin

Watermark: graduated triple crescents

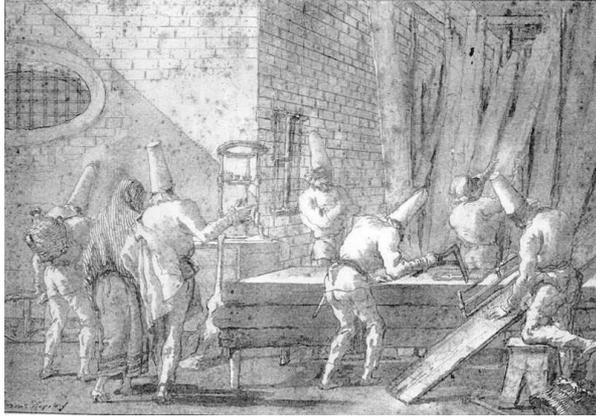
Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; Mrs D. Kilvert, New York; Rosenberg & Stielbel, New York.

Bibliography: Byam Shaw (1962), pl. 88, p. 92; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S50, pp. 132, 157; The Metropolitan Museum of Art (1981), no. 136; Knox (1983), pp. 129, 145; Gealt (1986), pl. 50, pp. 124-125; Byam Shaw and Knox (1987), pl. 170, p. 207; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 246; Gealt in Venice 2004, pl. 141, p. 205.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; New York 1971, no. 277; Venice 2004, pl. 141.

A large workbench dominates the central space of this composition. Sitting centrally upon it, is a human tailor who appears to be sewing a garment. To the left and behind the bench are three Pulcinelli and to the right are two more – all are engaged in indeterminate tasks. At far left are two male figures, presumably customers, viewed from the rear. They have a dog. On the wall is a tricorn hat, and two cloaks, and a pair of Pulcinella's pantaloons all of which look as though they are still inhabited by their owners. Behind the seated figure stands a youthful male figure who is about to hang another garment on the wall.

56. Pulcinelli as Carpenters



London, Collection of the late Sir Brinsley Ford

Signed lower right: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

Numbered 56 in ink in upper left corner of margin.

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; The Conte Alessandro Contini, Florence.

Bibliography: G. Fogolari (1932), Vol. I, pl. cvcvii; Bragaglia (1953), p. 36; Mariuz (1971), fig 34; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S51, pp. 132, 158; Gealt (1986), pl. 51, pp. 126-127; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 246.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; Venice 1929; Exeter 1946, no. 130; London 1951, no. 138m.

The picture is [compositionally] divided into two parts. To the right of the picture a group of four Pulcinelli are occupied around a central bench. Behind the bench one Pulcinella stands with folded arms overseeing the work, a further Pulcinella selects a plank from a number which lean against the back wall of the workshop. In front of the bench one Pulcinella, his knee resting on a stool, saws a plank of wood while another bends over the bench, a set square in his right hand, as though he is drawing or planning. On floor in the extreme right foreground, a basket lies on its side, and a hammer lies discarded next to the stool. The left side of the picture appears to represent a showroom, where various pieces of furniture are displayed. We view the backs of two Pulcinelli and a woman. The Pulcinella on the left has a wine flask strapped to his back, and the woman wears a striped shawl.

57. Pulcinella Abducted by Centaur (Pursued by Woman)



London, The British Museum, inv. no. 1925.0406.1.

Margin 295 x 413 mm. Sheet 355 x 473 mm.

Not signed

Numbered 57 in ink in upper left corner of margin; second digit altered in original ink.

Watermark: triple crescents

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris.

Bibliography: Byam Shaw (1962), p. 93; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S62, pp. 136, 162; Gealt (1986), pl. 61, pp. 146-147; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 246.

Exhibition: Paris 1921, London 1984, no. 35; Bristol, Stoke-on-Trent and Sheffield 1991-1992, no. 134; Cologne, Zurich and Vienna 1996-1997, no. Z28.

In the centre foreground of this drawing is a centaur, and it has a Pulcinella on its back, which it grips with both arms. A woman pursues this group, running and waving her arms in the air, in obvious distress. The Pulcinella looks back at the woman. In the background are mountains, and a small village with a church nestles behind the brow of the hill to the left of the composition.

58. **Pulcinelli Examine a Reclining Horse**



Location unknown

Signed lower left: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

Bibliography: Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S33, pp. 126, 150; Gealt (1986), pl. 91, pp. 186-187; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 246.

Exhibition: Paris 1921.

In the centre foreground of the composition, a horse or ass lies inanimately. To the far right of the composition, two Pulcinelli stand observing the scene and apparently discussing it. Three Pulcinelli are standing over the creature, as though talking about its plight, while a further five Pulcinelli stand in the background to the left. To the extreme left a woman with long dark hair is running towards the animal waving her arms as if in distress.

59. *Pulcinelli on Horseback.*



Switzerland, Private Collection.

Dimensions unknown

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris.

Bibliography: Byam Shaw (1962), p. 57, note 1; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S32, pp. 126, 150; Gealt (1986), pl. 98, pp. 190; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 246.

Exhibition: Paris 1921.

The left of the composition is occupied by three Pulcinelli horsemen, whose horses appear to be rearing up at the sight of a villa or castle just over the crest of a hill.

There is a mountainous landscape in the background.

60. **Pulcinelli Surround Centaur and Woman with Tambourine.**



Cleveland, Ohio, The Cleveland Museum of Art, inv. no. 1947.12.

Margin 297 x 416 mm. Sheet 355 x 473 mm.

Signed lower right: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

Numbered 69 in ink in upper left corner of margin; first digit apparently changed from 5 in original ink.

Watermark: eagle with the letters GFA

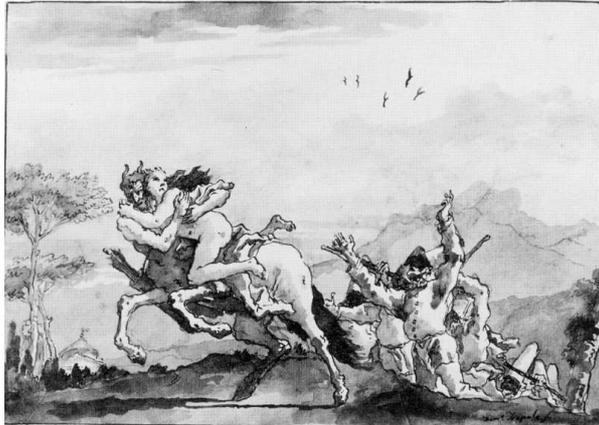
Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; Richard H Zinser, New York.

Bibliography: Byam Shaw (1962), p. 56 note 2; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S11, pp. 119, 142; Knox (1984), p. 145; Gealt (1986), pl. 56, pp. 136-137; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 246.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; Bloomington (IN) 1979, no.39.

The scene suggests an oasis in a desert with palm trees. The central middle ground is occupied by a centaur lying on its side with its head in the lap of a maiden. The demeanour of the centaur is languorous. The maiden plays a tambourine which she holds above her head. To the left of this group, five Pulcinelli observe, and to the right, a Pulcinella sits with a human-looking boy.

61. **Pulcinelli Pursue a Centaur who is Abducting a Naked Woman**



Location unknown

Signed lower right: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

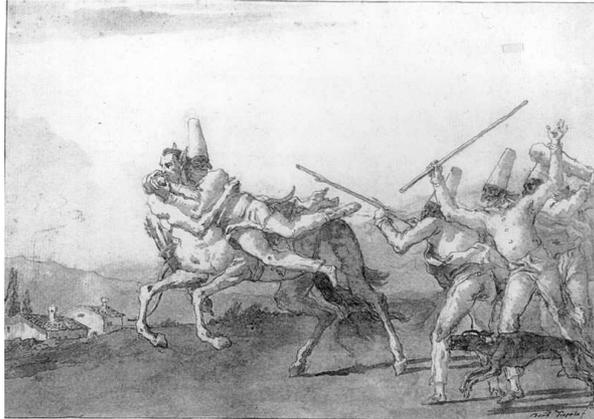
Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris.

Bibliography: Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S64, pp. 137, 163; Knox (1983), p145; Gealt (1986), pl. 90, pp. 186-187; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 246.

Exhibition: Paris 1921.

An animate figure of a centaur is positioned towards the left foreground of this composition, on its back is a naked woman her arms clasped firmly around the creature's neck. Emerging from the brow of the hill to the right of the drawing is a stampede of Pulcinelli, waving their arms and sticks in the air. To the extreme left of the drawing is a tree, behind which is a group of buildings, including a church.

62. **Pulcinella is Abducted by a Centaur (Pursued by Stick-Wielding Pulcinelli)**



Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. R.F. 36.506.

Sheet 310 x 420 mm.

Signed lower right: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; sale, Paris, Palais Galliera 16 June 1967, lot L; Mme. H. Gross, Paris.

Bibliography: Cailleux (1974), p.xii; *Revue du Louvre*, vol 27, no. 4, 1977, p. 253; *Vetrocq* in Bloomington 1979, pl. S63, pp. 136, 162; Gealt (1986), pl. 60, pp. 144-145; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 246.

Exhibition: Paris 1921.

In the central foreground of the picture is a centaur, carrying a Pulcinella on its back. They are pursued by a group of three Pulcinelli, two brandishing sticks and the third holds a large club. A dog joins the pursuit.

63. **Young Pulcinella is Lifted by a (Benign-looking) Centaur**



Bloomington (IN), Indiana University Art Museum, inv. no. LTL5175.3.

Margin 291 x 412 mm

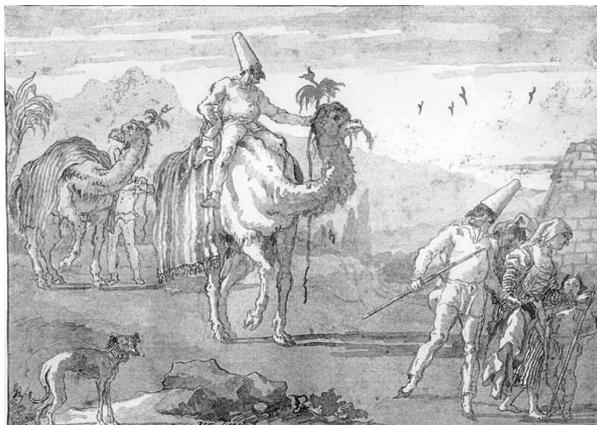
Not signed

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; Jean Cailleux, Paris; sale, Sotheby's New York, 16 January 1985, lot 126; Jeffrey E. Horvitz, New York; sale, Jeffrey E. Horvitz collection, Sotheby's New York, 23 January 2008, lot 61.

Bibliography: Cailleux (1974), p. xxii, fig. 64; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S61, pp. 136, 162; Knox (1983), p. 145; Gealt (1986), pl. 59, pp. 142-143; Knox in Udine 1996, pl. 171, pp. 232, 246.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; Udine 1996.

In the central foreground of the composition a centaur reclines on a striped blanket, and in an avuncular fashion, lifts a young Pulcinella above his head. To their right stands a young female figure, and a Pulcinella waves his arms. To the left of the drawing a pig lies in front of its trough, and in the background is a well and a wall.

64. **Pulcinella Rides a Dromedary**

Paris, private collection.

Margin 302 x 420 mm.

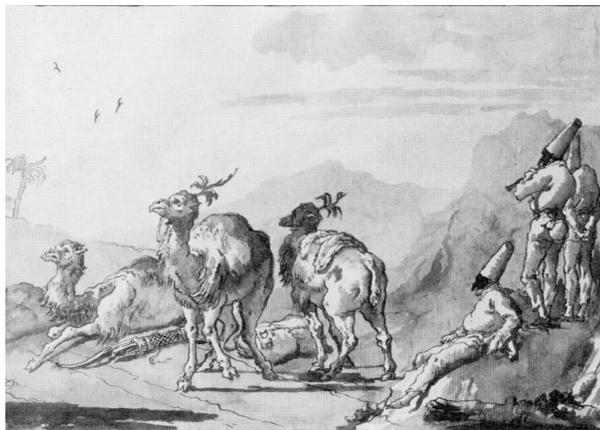
Signed lower centre: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris.

Bibliography: Byam Shaw (1962), p. 93, pl. 91; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S58, pp. 135, 161; Knox (1983), p. 145; Gealt (1986), pl. 55, pp. 134-135; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 246.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; Paris 1971, no. 312.

In the centre of the picture, a Pulcinella sits astride a dromedary, and this is followed by a second camel led by a Pulcinella. Both camels have striped blankets over their backs. In the right foreground is a Pulcinella, with a woman who carries a basket on her back and child. The Pulcinella looks over his shoulder at the camel. The composition appears to be set in Egypt as evidenced by a pyramid to the extreme right of the drawing, and a palm tree to the extreme left. In left foreground stands a whippet-like dog.

65. **Pulcinelli and Camels Rest**

Formerly Paris, Richard Owen. Current location unknown.

Dimensions unknown

Signed lower right: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; sale, Paris, Palais Galliera 16 June 1967, lot M.

Bibliography: Byam Shaw (1962), p. 58, note 1; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S60, pp. 135, 161; Knox (1983), p. 145; Gealt (1986), pl. 88, p. 185; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 246.

Exhibition: Paris 1921.

The main space of the composition is occupied by three camels. Their burdens lie beside them on the ground. To the left of the drawing are three Pulcinelli, one seated and two standing. One of the standing Pulcinelli plays a flute.

66. **Pulcinelli with Sheep, Goats and Donkeys**



Formerly Paris, Richard Owen. Current location unknown.

Signed lower right: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris.

Bibliography: Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S29, pp. 125, 149; Knox (1983), p. 145; Gealt (1986), pl. 92, p.187; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 246.

Exhibition: Paris 1921.

A small herd of goats and sheep occupies the foreground of this picture. Behind them and to the left, a donkey carries a barrel on its back, baskets from its side, and looks into the distance. Next to it is a smaller unencumbered donkey and a small goat. To the right stand two Pulcinelli, apparently in conversation, one of the Pulcinelli carries a large basket on his back.

67. **Pulcinelli Hunt Stags**

New York, Mr and Mrs Paul Wick.

Margin 290 x 410 mm.

Not Signed

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; Cambridge, Philip Hofer.

Bibliography: Byam Shaw (1962), pl. 92, p. 93; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S37, pp. 128, 152; Knox (1983), pp. 129, 145; Gealt (1986), pl. 64, pp. 152-153; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 246.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; Cambridge (MA) 1940, no. 36.

The foreground is occupied by a stag which has been intercepted by two dogs, and is about to be grounded. Two further dogs approach from the left, followed by two Pulcinelli. A further group of Pulcinelli appear from the other side of the hill. A second stag is being attacked by another dog on the right hand side of the drawing. The background consists of trees, hills and birds.

68. **Pulcinelli Hunt Boar**

Cambridge, Massachusetts, The Fogg Art Museum, Bequest of Meta and Paul J. Sachs, inv. no.1965.420

Margin 292 x 413mm. Sheet 350 x 473mm.

Signed lower centre: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

Numbered 68 in ink in upper left corner of margin.

Watermark: graduated triple crescents

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; Paul J. Sachs, Cambridge.

Bibliography: A. Mongan & P. Sachs (1940), pl. 180, p. 176; H. Comstock (June 1955), p.277; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S38, pp. 128, 152; Knox (1983), pp. 129, 145; Gealt (1986), pl. 63, pp. 150-151; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 246.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; Hartford (CT) 1930, no. 62; Cambridge (MA) 1935, no. 64; Chicago 1938, no. 105; New York 1939, no. 9; Cambridge and New York 1965-1966 and 1966-1967, no. 38.

This sheet depicts a scene in the country, on a hillside, with fir trees and shows a pack of hounds savaging a boar with Pulcinelli figures appearing as though they are running, arms wildly gesturing in the extreme right hand corner of the composition.

69. **Pulcinelli and Lady Feed Peacocks**

New Haven, Connecticut, The Yale University Art Gallery, inv. no. 1981.32.

Margin 294 x 408 mm.

Signed lower right: *Dom. Tiepolo f*

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; Cambridge, Philip Hofer.

Bibliography: Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S43, pp. 130, 155; Knox (1983), p. 145; Gealt (1986), pl. 65, pp. 154-155; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 246.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; Chicago 1938, no. 103; Cambridge (MA) 1940, no. 37.

Nine peacocks occupy most of the area of this sheet. To the right, a Pulcinella and a masked woman throw seed for the peacocks' consumption. A further Pulcinella is just visible at the edge of the drawing. A wheelbarrow occupies the bottom right corner.

70. Pulcinella as a Portrait Painter



New York: Mr and Mrs Jacob B. Kaplan

Margin 292 x 414 mm. Sheet 355 x 470 mm.

Signed lower left: *Dom° Tiepolo f*

Numbered 70 in ink in upper left corner of margin, with second digit altered from '9' in original ink

Watermark: leaf-shaped cartouche surmounted by lily containing the monogram GA over F

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; Robert Goelet, New York; sale, London, Sotheby's, 6 July 1967, lot 38; Seiferheld Galleries, New York.

Bibliography: Byam Shaw (1962), pp. 57, 92; New York (1967), p. 112; 'Parrish Art Museum Annual Report', New York;²² L. Bantel, *The Alice M. Kaplan Collection*, New York;²³ Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. 28, pp. 92-93; Knox (1983), pp. 129, 131, 145; Gealt (1986), pl. 54, pp. 132; Whistler in London 1994, pl. 225, p. 331; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 246; Knox in Berkeley 1996, fig. 20, p. 47; Lawner (1998), p. 142.

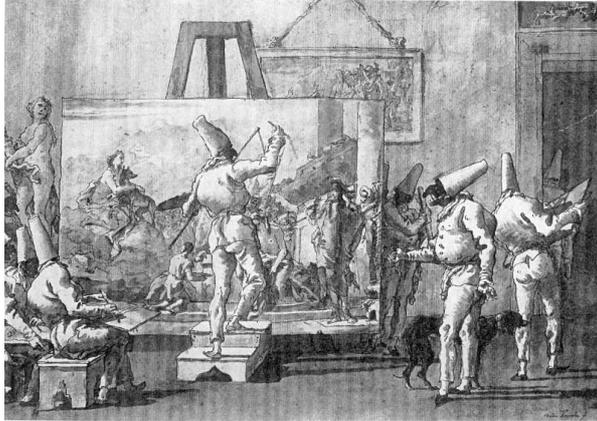
Exhibitions:

Paris 1921; New York 1971, no. 279; Southampton 1971; Bloomington (IN) 1979, no. 28; London and Washington 1994-1995, The Royal Academy of Arts, 1994, no. 225, Washington D.C. 1995.

The Pulcinella portrait painter refers, compositionally, to Giambattista's *Alexander and Campaspe in the Studio of Apelles*. In the foreground on the right of the page, are two Pulcinella apprentices grinding pigments. The *maestro* is painting a seated woman in a bonnet, and a further Pulcinella assistant stands behind him striking a pose reminiscent of the *Apollo Belvedere*. A crowd of, mainly Pulcinelli and some human, figures gather to observe the master at work.

²² Gealt (1986), p. 132.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

71. **Pulcinella as History Painter**

Formerly Paris, Richard Owen. Current location unknown.

Margin 290 x 410 mm.

Signed lower right: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris

Bibliography: Byam Shaw (1962), pl. 89, p. 92; Mariuz (1971), pl. 35, p. 88.; Bean & Sampfle (1971), p. 110 under no. 279; Bonicatti (1971), p. 30; P. Fehl, (1978-1979), p.787; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S52, pp. 133, 158; Knox (1983), p.145; Gealt (1986), pl. 87, p.184; Mariuz and Knox in Udine 1996, pp. 37, 246.

Exhibition: Paris 1921.

In what is arguably one of the most self-referential studies in the *Divertimento*, the drawing shows the interior of an artist's studio, the *maestro* stands upon purpose-built steps in order to reach the top of a large canvas. The painting being composed here is Giambattista's *Sacrifice of Iphigenia*. Various Pulcinelli and a dog mingle to the right of the drawing and to the left of the canvas is a statue of Diana. Seated in the foreground to the left are two pupils copying the master's work, one Pulcinella-pupil looks over his neighbour's shoulder as if to inspect his draughtsmanship.

72. **Pulcinella Rides a Dromedary and Carries a Flag**



Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Mr and Mrs George Cheston.

Margin 290 x 410 mm.

Signed lower right: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

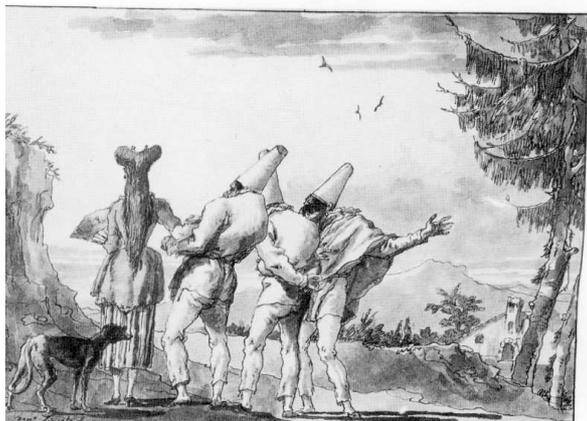
Numbered 86 in pencil in upper left corner of margin, next to faded or rubbed ink number, possibly 85.

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; Mrs D. Kilvert, New York; Rosenberg & Stiebel, New York.

Bibliography: Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. 38, pp. 112-113; Knox (1983), p. 145; Gealt (1986), pl. 57, pp. 138-139; Knox in Udine 1996, pl. 172 pp. 233, 246.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; Bloomington (IN) 1979, no.38; Udine 1996, no. 172.

In the foreground to the right a Pulcinella sits atop a camel. He holds a flag. Several Pulcinelli are standing behind this camel. Another camel and a group of six or seven Pulcinelli stand in the background. To the left, a Pulcinella stands, hand on hip, observing the scene. He has a small dog which is sniffing his coat.

73. **Three Pulcinelli and an Elaborately-Coiffed Lady in Countryside**

Formerly Paris, Richard Owen. Current location unknown.

Signed lower right: *Dom. Tiepolo f*

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris

Bibliography: Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S46, pp. 131, 156; Knox (1983), p. 145; Gealt (1986), pl. 94, p. 188; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 246.

Exhibition: Paris 1921.

We view the back of a woman who is standing at the left of the drawing, observing a landscape. To her right and behind her stand three Pulcinelli, who assume various postures and appear to be deriving great amusement from the woman's hairstyle. A dog occupies the bottom left corner, and it appears to be observing the Pulcinelli. The right of the composition is occupied by a group of trees and a small building.

74. **Pulcinelli and Humans Walk in the Rain with Umbrellas**

Cleveland, Ohio, The Cleveland Museum of Art, inv. no. 1937.573

Margin 295 x 413 mm. Sheet 355 x 472 mm.

Signed lower right: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

Numbered 74 in modern pencil over abraded area of paper in upper left corner of margin.

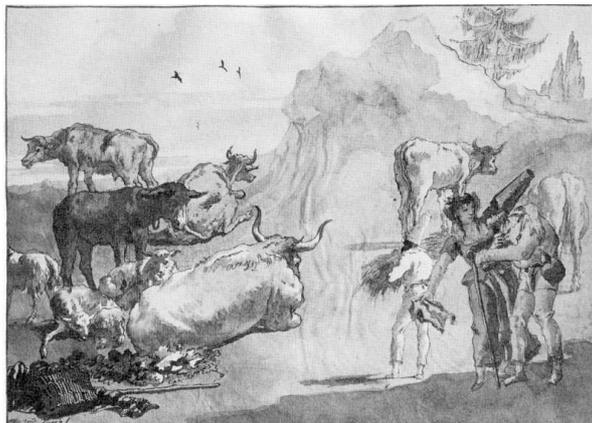
Watermark: graduated triple crescents

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; Italic Brass, Venice.

Bibliography: Francis (1939), p. 48, pl. p. 50; *Art News*, vol. 37, April 1939, p. 8; O. Benesch (1947), no. 42; H. Tietze (1947), no. 99; Morassi (1953), pl. p. 53, p. 54; Mariuz (1971), fig. 36; Fehl (1978-1979), p. 791; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. 23, pp. 82-83; Gealt (1986), pl. 68, pp. 160-161; Whistler in London 1994, pl. 223, p. 329; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 246.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; San Francisco 1940, no. 99 (reproduction); Detroit 1950; Detroit 1952, no. 82 (reproduction); Bloomington (IN) 1979, no. 23; London 1994, no. 223.

This is a group of seven figures, all drawn with their backs to the viewer, and only two of whom are Pulcinelli. Two of the female human figures and one of the Pulcinelli carry umbrellas, the male figures wear hats. The Pulcinella standing to the left of the drawing has pulled his coat up over his hat, and his form is apparent beneath the coat. A dog stands at his heels.

75. **Pulcinelli With a Young Woman and Resting Steer**

Cleveland, Ohio, The Cleveland Museum of Art, inv. no. 1947.13.

Margin 295 x 415 mm. Sheet 355 x 473 mm.

Signed lower right: Dom^o. Tiepolo f

Numbered 75 in faint ink and lightly overwritten in upper left corner of margin.

Watermark: graduated triple crescents

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; Richard H. Zinser, New York.

Bibliography: Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S31, pp. 126, 149; Gealt (1986), pl. 66, pp.156-157; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 246.

Exhibitions:

Paris 1921; London 1938.

The left half of the picture is occupied by three steer (two of which are reclining), a donkey and three sheep. There is also in the foreground a blanket, a basket and a stick. The right side of the drawing shows two steer grazing in the background, whilst in the foreground a young woman has her arm around an elderly Pulcinella. To the woman's right is a small Pulcinella carrying an armful of hay.

76. **Attentive Pulcinella Walks with a Lady, Children and Dog (foreground) whilst Two Pulcinelli Tend a Horse (background)**



Paris, Lady Mendl

Signed lower right: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris

Bibliography: Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S44, pp. 130, 155; Knox (1983), p. 145; Gealt (1986), pl. 93, p.187; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 246.

Exhibition: Paris 1921.

The central foreground of this drawing contains an elegantly dressed, masked woman, who wears a striped cloak and who is being solicitously administered to by a Pulcinella, a dog at their heels. To the left are two children, a boy and a girl, again both elegantly dressed, looking like miniature adults. In the background a Pulcinella bridles a horse whilst two of his companions crouch behind him.

77. Pulcinelli Surround a Monkey as it Rides a Donkey



London, The British Museum, inv. no. 1925.0406.2.

Margin 294 x 412 mm. Sheet 360 x 470 mm.

Signed lower left: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

Numbered 77 in ink in upper left corner of margin; second digit changed from 6 in original ink.

Watermark: monogram in large cartouche surmounted by fleur-de-lys

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris.

Bibliography: Byam Shaw (1962), p. 82 under no. 48; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S40, pp. 129, 153; Gealt (1986), pl. 32, pp. 88-89; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 246.

Exhibition: Paris 1921.

A monkey, holding a dead bird, sits on the back of a donkey. Behind the donkey stand a group of five Pulcinelli. A further group of Pulcinelli stand before the donkey, one of whom wields a long stick. There are houses and hills in the background.

78. **Pulcinelli Rides a Donkey Adjacent to Dancing Pulcinelli**

Bloomington (IN), (IN) University Art Museum, inv. no. 75.52.1

Margin 295 x 420 mm. Sheet 358 x 472 mm.

Signed lower left: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

Numbered 78 in ink in upper left corner of margin

Watermark: leaf-shaped cartouche surmounted by lily

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; Raymond Bloch, Paris; Mme. Guy Schwob, Paris; sale, London, Sotheby's, 23 March 1971, lot 65; Colnaghi's, London; Robert M. Light, Santa Barbara.

Bibliography: A.M. Gealt (1979), pp. 153-155; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. 24, pp. 84-85; Gealt (1986), pl. 69, pp. 162-163; Knox in Udine 1996, pl. 173, pp. 234, 246; Gealt in Venice 2004, pl. 142, p. 205.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; Bloomington (IN) 1979, no. 24; Udine 1996, no. 173; Venice 2004, no. 142.

Three donkeys occupy the foreground, the donkey in the middle has an ornate saddle which is occupied by a Pulcinella. A donkey to the left is tended by a Pulcinella holding a large flag. To the right of the composition, a group of Pulcinelli dance with a woman playing a tambourine, whilst one of the Pulcinelli accompanies the band with a flute. In the background is a large single-storey thatched building – probably a farmhouse or a barn.

79. **Pulcinelli with Donkey-Dealer**

Location unknown

Signed lower left: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; Paul Suzor, Paris; sale, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 16 March 1966, no.66.

Bibliography: Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S35, pp. 127, 151; Knox (1983), p. 145; Gealt (1986), pl. 96, p. 89; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 246.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; Paris 1950, no.146.

This composition shows six donkeys and a foal. One of the donkeys has been singled out for close inspection by a group of Pulcinelli. The backdrop to this scene is a brick wall and in the foreground sits a boy with a small dog.

80. **Pulcinella Cattle-Dealer**

Cleveland, Ohio, The Cleveland Museum of Art, inv. no. 1937.574.

Margin 295 x 416 mm. Sheet 354 x 472 mm.

Signed lower right: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

Upper left corner of margin torn off

Watermark: indiscernible initials at centre

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; Italic Brass, Venice.

Bibliography: Francis (1939), p. 48;²⁴ Byam Shaw (1962), p. 56 note 2; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. 14, pp. 64-65; Knox (1983) p. 145; Gealt (1986), pl. 46, pp. 116-117; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 247.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; Appleton (WI) 1968, no. 27; Bloomington (IN) 1979, no14.

This drawing shows a Pulcinella cattle dealer. This composition is arranged in two parts, the left of the page shows a herd of steer from which a Pulcinella has selected one, and is showing it to a gathering on the right. This gathering consists of the bearded oriental in a striped robe and plain shawl and a bearded man, in white, wearing a skull cap, whose facial features significantly recall Titian's in his late self-portrait (Madrid) which Giambattista may well have seen during his sojourn in the city. Four Pulcinelli figures stand behind the two human representations in this drawing.

²⁴ Gealt (1986), p. 116.

81. **Pulcinelli with Ostriches in a Villa Garden**

Oberlin, Ohio, Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin College, inv. no. 1955.7.

Margin 295 x 415 mm. Sheet 355 x 473 mm.

Signed lower left: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

Numbered 81 in modern pencil over abraded area in upper left corner of margin

Watermark: graduated triple crescents

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; Countess Wachtmeister; sale, London, Sotheby's, 15

December 1954, lot 108; Richard Zinser, New York.

Bibliography: Allen Memorial Art Museum Bulletin, Vol 16, No.2, 1959 pp. 92-93 and Vol 16 no. 3, p.253;²⁵ Byam Shaw (1962), pp. 93-94; W. Stechow (1976), pl. 139, pp. 70-71; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. 25, pp. 86-87; Corsaro, New York (1984); Gealt (1986), pl. 33, pp. 90-91; Pedrocco (1990), pl. 37; Knox in Udine 1996, pl. 174, pp. 235, 247. Wolk-Simon, New York (1997).

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; University of Michigan 1956; New York 1959, no.42; Minneapolis 1961, no.90; Kenwood House (London) 1962; Minneapolis 1966; Birmingham (AL) 1978, no.120; Bloomington (IN) 1979, no.25; Udine 1996, no. 174.

This composition depicts three ostriches strutting across the lower foreground and the first bird is being apprehended by a Pulcinella who stops to examine its wing. The drawing is divided vertically by an iron fence upon which a group of onlookers gaze at the interaction between the Pulcinelli and the birds. They are set against a background showing an avenue of trees and a statue of Ganymede with an eagle perched clumsily on the statue's head.

²⁵ J.S. Wilker, Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin.

82. **Pulcinella is Sick and has his Pulse Taken by an Ass-Eared Doctor**



London, formerly in the collection of Osbert Sitwell, Sacheverell Sitwell.

Dimensions unknown

Signed lower right: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; sale, London, Sotheby's, 31st May 1932, lot 18.

Bibliography: Byam Shaw (1962), pp. 55, 94; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S21, pp. 122, 146; Knox (1983), p. 145; Gealt (1986), pl. 101, p.191; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 247.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; Chicago 1938.

In the centre of the drawing is a Pulcinella slumped in a chair, a character with large ass-like ears stands to Pulcinella's left, taking his pulse. To his right a woman places a cushion under Pulcinella's head. Behind this woman stand four Pulcinelli, two men in tricorns hats, and an elderly woman. In the left foreground a serving girl carries a tray with a bowl. To the right background a woman and Pulcinella are making up a bed. A bed-warmer lies discarded in the right foreground. Pulcinella's hat and coat hang on the wall behind his bed.

83. Pulcinella Collapses Near a Villa Wall



Stanford, California, Cantor Arts Center at Stanford University, inv. no. 1941.277.

Margin 297 x 415 mm. Sheet 355 x 472 mm.

Not Signed

Numbered 83 in ink in upper left corner of margin.

Watermark: crowned eagle with outspread wings above the letters GPA

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; sale, London, Savile Gallery, 1929, no. 7; Dan Fellows-Platt, Englewood, New Jersey; Mortimer C. Leventritt, San Francisco.

Bibliography: D. Rich (1938), p.7; Byam Shaw (1962), p. 56, note 3; P. Fehl (1978-1979), p.762; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. 9, pp. 54-55; Gealt (1986), pl. 73, pp. 170-171; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 247.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; Chicago 1938, no. 106; Stanford 1941, no. 277; Berkeley 1968, no. 61; Seattle 1974, no.22; Bloomington (IN) 1979, no.9.

Pulcinella collapses by a villa wall. The wall provides the backdrop to this drawing, and there is a sarcophagus with a statue of a sphinx on top of it at the point where the wall ends. Trees and mountains are in the distance. The action for this composition occupies a shallow space on the left hand side. Pulcinella has collapsed, and his concerned friends gather round him. The crone who appears in the birth scene is kneeling at his feet and another Pulcinella kneels at his shoulders. To his right two Pulcinelli appear anxious from their gestures. One bends over with his hands on his knees, the other folds his arms. To the left, stands a Pulcinella with a walking stick who is interacting with another Pulcinella who gestures towards the right.

84. **Pulcinella Retrieves Dead Fowl from a Well**

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection, inv. no. 1975.469

Margin 290 x 413 mm. Sheet 350 x 465 mm.

Signed lower right: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

Numbered 84 in ink in upper left corner of margin; second digit indecisively altered in original ink from possible 8

Watermark: graduated triple crescents

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; Savile Gallery, London.

Bibliography: Borenus (1929), p. 149, pl. p. 194; Morassi (1941), p. 280, pl. p. 277; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S8, pp. 118, 140-141; Gealt (1986), pl. 7, pp. 38-39; Byam Shaw and Knox (1987), pl. 173, p. 210; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 247.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; London 1929, no. 4; Chicago 1938, no. 112; New York 1939, no. 11; Cincinnati 1959, no. 233; New York 1971, no. 280; New York 1980, no. S8; New York 1981, no. 131.

A dead chicken is being retrieved from a well, which occupies the middle of the drawing. A Pulcinella is emerging on a ladder, a dead chicken in his hands, a further dead bird lies on the edge of a well. To the right a small Pulcinella with flailing legs is being carried off by an adult Pulcinella – perhaps he is the perpetrator of this ill-considered jape. A familiar female figure with waving arms observes from the right of the drawing, and a group of Pulcinelli look down the well, some raising their arms in a gesture of dismay and the others pointing and peering into the well. A Pulcinella figure in profile, in a hooded overcoat, with a pack on his back stands to the left. In the background is a large building with an arched entrance through which a dog disappears. Some pots, Pulcinella's jacket and a rope litter the centre foreground.

85. **Pulcinella is Flogged**

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Robert Lehman Collection, inv. no. 1975.1.467

Margin 295 x 412 mm. Sheet 355 x 472 mm.

Signed lower right: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

Numbered 85 in ink in upper left corner of margin, second figure altered in original ink

Watermark: crowned eagle above the letters GFA

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; sale, Paris, Palais Galliera, 6 December 1966, no. 11.

Bibliography: Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S57, pp. 134, 160; New York (1981),²⁶ no. 138; Knox (1983), pp. 134, 145; Gealt (1986), pl. 37, pp. 98-99; Byam Shaw and Knox (1987), pl. 74, p. 211; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 247; Gealt in Venice 2004, pl. 143, pp. 206, 209.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; New York 1971, no. 281; New York 1980, no. S57; New York 1981, no. 138; Pittsburgh 1985, no. 43; Venice 2004, no. 143.

This drawing depicts the flagellation of Pulcinella. There is a crowd of Pulcinelli and humans who watch as Pulcinella, lying prone over the back of another figure, his trousers pulled down and bottom exposed, waits for his punishment to be meted by another of his clan. To the left stand two turbaned figures; to the right, an elderly figure in profile holds an eyeglass.

²⁶ Byam Shaw and Knox (1987), p. 211.

86. **Pulcinelli at Dinner**

London, Collection of the late Sir Brinsley Ford

Margin 292 x 419 mm.

Signed on bust: *Dom. Tiepolo f*

Numbered 86 in ink in upper left corner of margin

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; Matthiesen Ltd., London.

Bibliography: Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S12, pp. 119, 142; Gealt (1986), pl. 22, pp. 68-69; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 247; Gealt in Venice 2004, pl. 144, pp. 207, 209-210.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; Exeter 1946, no. 126; London 1951, no. 138n; Venice 2004, no. 144.

Pulcinella's family take dinner. This is a more formal setting, in a room with double doors, and the bust of a moustachioed Pulcinella ancestor on a plinth, which bears the artists' signature. There are ten Pulcinelli and one female figure around the dinner table, and a dog in the foreground. One figure is gesticulating wildly with outstretched arms and the others hold their plates out anxiously as the central, standing, Pulcinella dispenses gnocchi. It is reminiscent of a Last Supper, and Domenico used a similar arrangement in a painting of a *Last Supper* at the Chiesa della Maddelena c.1775.²⁷

²⁷ Vetrocq (1979), p. 107.

87. **Pulcinella Rides a Donkey Backwards (left) Pulcinella on Bended Knee Before a Man and Group of Pulcinelli (right)**



Zurich, Galerie Nathan

Margin 300 x 410mm.

Signed left of centre: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; Paul Suzor, Paris; Nouveau Drouot sale, 29 April 1972.

Bibliography: Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S36, pp. 127, 151; Knox (1983), p. 145; Gealt (1986), pl. 97, p. 189; Knox in Udine 1996, pl. 175, pp. 236, 246.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; Udine 1996 no. 175; Bloomington (IN) 1997.

Pulcinella rides a donkey backwards. This is a curious composition which appears to show two disparate vignettes, which operate in reverse (i.e. going from right to left) diagonal corners. In the left corner of the composition is a Pulcinella, riding a donkey backwards, the donkey being led by one of his clan. Gealt suggests that this is a reference to *Carnevale*, where donkeys were commonly ridden like this to represent an upside down world.²⁸ The right corner shows the hind quarter of a donkey, a cluster of Pulcinelli and a Pulcinella genuflecting, as if in supplication, before the bearded gentleman who appears in the sheet depicting the Pulcinella cattle dealers. Again, the figure of the old gentleman resembles late self-portraits of the elderly Titian in his skull cap. The foreground is littered with a log and a discarded piece of striped fabric.

²⁸ Gealt (1986), p. 189.

88. **Pulcinelli Pick Apples and Fight**

New York, Mr and Mrs Powis Jones

Margin 294 x 408mm.

Signed lower right: *Dom. Tiepolo f*

Watermark: crescent

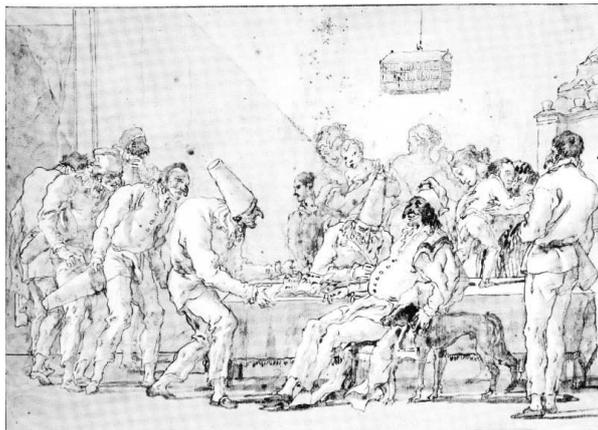
Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; New Gallery, New York.

Bibliography: E. Van Schaack (1962), p.86; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. 15, pp. 66-67; Gealt (1986), pl. 34, pp. 92-93; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 247.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; Poughkeepsie 1961, no. 69; New York 1971, no.282; Bloomington (IN) 1979, no.15.

This composition shows Pulcinelli picking apples and fighting, the figures are disposed in a very lively and comical manner before a villa wall. The statuary behind the villa wall, an urn on top of a plinth and a sculpture of a female figure which turns its head, as if to avert its gaze from the undignified proceedings on the other side of the wall, are reminiscent of the statues in Cat. 81 and 83, respectively showing Pulcinelli with an ostrich and recumbent Pulcinella in front of a villa wall.²⁹ The right foreground of this drawing shows a Pulcinella climbing a ladder propped against an apple tree, in the act of picking an apple and passing it to one of his companions who is steadying the ladder at its base. To the right is another group of Pulcinelli, engaging in a fight, a comical knot of flailing arms and legs, which has caused the basket in the foreground to tip onto its side and the apples to roll onto the ground.

²⁹ These 'living statues' may be a witty parody of Pygmalion in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, in which the eponymous sculptor falls in love with a statue he has made, which is brought to life by Venus. This story has been the source of inspiration in visual and textual traditions from Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale* (1623), to a version by Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) in 1762, to visual interpretations by a number of artists such as Francisco Goya, Thomas Rowlandson and Edward Burne-Jones.

89. **Pulcinella Rent-Collector**

Canberra, National Gallery of Australia, inv. no. 81.735.

Margin 290 x 412 mm.

Signed on book: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

Numbered 89 in ink in upper left corner of margin.

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; Raymond Bloch, Paris; Mme Guy Schwob, Paris; sale, London, Sotheby's, 23 March 1971, lot 67; Colnaghi's, London.

Bibliography: Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. 17, pp. 70-71; Knox (1983), pp. 124, 146; Gealt (1986), pl. 86, p. 184; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 247.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; Bloomington (IN) 1979, no. 17.

A Pulcinella landlord receives rent. The background is similar to the Pulcinella schoolroom scene, reversed, with a birdcage hanging off centre (Cat. 18). A Pulcinella is seated in front of a large table, and he points to a book which contains the artist's signature. A Pulcinella-clerk sits on the opposite side of the table. A queue of Pulcinelli enters through a doorway on the left and side, the first figure in the queue is holding out his empty hands to the seated Pulcinella. On the other side of the table there is a cluster of female figures with children, and behind the seated Pulcinella stands another Pulcinella figure in profile.

90. **Pulcinelli Stroke Deer (left) whilst a Lady and Pulcinelli Look on (right foreground), and Pulcinella Engages in an Amorous Adventure with Nymph.**



Location unknown

Signed lower left: *Dom° Tiepolo f*

Numbered 89 in ink in upper left corner of margin.

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; Celia Tobin Clark, San Francisco; sale, London, Sotheby's, 1st July 1971, lot 64; Colnaghi's, London.

Bibliography: Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S45, pp. 130, 155; Knox (1983), p. 145; Gealt (1986), pl. 95, pp.188-189; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 247.

Exhibition: Paris 1921.

To the left of the drawing a group of six Pulcinelli stand around and feed a small deer. To the right of the composition stands a woman in a *contrapposto* pose, looking back at the deer. She is attended by two Pulcinelli. A third Pulcinella is walking away carrying a small dog. In the background a Pulcinella and a young girl are engaged in an intimate embrace.

91. **Pulcinelli in Garden with Classical Statues**³⁰

Providence, Rhode Island, John Nicolas Brown.

Margin 292 x 413 mm.

Signed lower left: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris

Bibliography: Morassi (1941), p. 278; Byam Shaw (1962), pl. 94, p. 94; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. 16, pp. 68-69; Bonicatti (1971), pp.32-33; Knox (1983), p. 146; Gealt (1986), pl. 35, pp. 94-95; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 247.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; Providence 1931;³¹ Chicago 1938, no. 109; Omaha, Joslyn Art Museum, 1941-1946; Cambridge (MA) 1962; Bloomington (IN) 1979, no. 16.

Pulcinelli gather beside a villa wall in front of an ornate garden. The foreground and background are divided by the wall. In the foreground, from left to right, lies a reclining Pulcinella resting on his sugar-loaf hat, a basket at his side. Two Pulcinelli appear to be conversing by the villa wall, whilst a further Pulcinella, hand on hip, looks towards the horizontal figure in an attitude of concern. At his side stands a monolithic figure of a turbaned, bearded male, and to the extreme right a Pulcinella in profile is positioned as though he is in the act of walking off the picture plane. The background shows a line of sculpted figures in a garden, to the left is a statue of *Leda and the Swan*. This is an apposite quotation in view of Pulcinella's origins. The next sculpture shows an urn decorated with a satyr and satyress, sitting over a shell with a head festooned with garlands. Towards the right, stands a statue of a naked woman, her head turned in profile, holding drapery.

³⁰ This was previously no. 92 in Knox's checklist, Knox (1996) he allowed a space (numbered 92) for the missing drawing so as to preserve synchronicity with Domenico's numbering. From this point onwards, the chronology falls one behind Domenico's.

³¹ Gealt (1986), p. 94.

92. Pulcinelli Observe Gentry Walking in Countryside



Philadelphia, Mr and Mrs George Cheston.

Signed lower right: *Dom. Tiepolo f*

Numbered 93 in ink in upper left corner of margin.

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; Mrs D. Kilvert, New York; Rosenberg & Stiebel, New York.

Bibliography: Byam Shaw (1962), p. 57, note 2; Knox (1975), p. 98 under no. 311; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. 26, pp. 88-89; Gealt (1986), pl. 67, pp. 158-159; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 247.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; Bloomington (IN) 1979, no.26.

To the right of the composition an elderly man with a walking stick stands at the side of an elderly woman. In front of this couple are two younger women, in hats, viewed from behind, they are walking with a small terrier. To the left, three Pulcinelli, also viewed from the rear are grouped as if they are observing the gathering and talking amongst themselves.

93. **Pulcinelli with an Elephant**

New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, inv. no. IV151b

Margin 295 x 412 mm.

Signed on card on wall: *Domo Tiepolo*

Watermark: graduated triple crescents

Provenance: Charles Fairfax Murray, London; J. Pierpont Morgan, New York.

Bibliography: Byam Shaw (1962), p. 52 note 1 and p. 56; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. 29, pp. 94-95; Knox (1983), p. 146; Gealt (1986), pl. 29, pp. 82-83; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 247.

Exhibitions: Chicago 1938, no.113; New York 1971; no.276; Bloomington (IN) 1979, no.29.

Two thirds of this composition is occupied by a large elephant. In the left foreground stand a couple with their backs to the viewer, in front of the couple there is a crowd of Pulcinelli behind which stand a crowd of turbaned orientals. Another group of Pulcinelli (discernable by their hats only) can be seen in a doorway, to the right of the drawing. The legs of an additional Pulcinella can be seen at the other side of the elephant's body. A basket and stick litter the right foreground.

94. **Pulcinelli with a Farm Cart**

Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. no. WA1935.163

351 x 290 mm (full sheet).

Originally signed lower centre: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

Numbered 95 in ink in upper left corner of margin

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris

Bibliography: K.T. Parker (1956), pp. 542-543; Byam Shaw (1962), p. 59, note 2; Knox (Milan: 1974), under no. 5; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. 13, pp. 62-63; Knox (1983), pp. 131, 146; Gealt (1986), pl. 99, p. 190; eds White, Whistler and Harrison (Oxford: 1992), pl. 43, pp. 110-111; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 247; Gealt in Venice 2004, pl. 145, pp. 207, 210.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; Bloomington (IN) 1979, no. 13; Rome 1991; Oxford 1992; Venice 2004 no. 145 (reproduction).

This drawing shows a farm cart. It is set in the countryside with a picturesque village and church in the distant background. In the left foreground, a basket is strewn on the ground, together with a stick and is being sniffed by a dog. There is a cart covered with striped fabric, behind which is a tree. In the right foreground one Pulcinella is seated, his trousers are pulled down and he is in the act of excreting. Behind him, another Pulcinella is adjusting his trousers as if in the act of urinating.

The original sheet has been cut, only the left half of the drawing showing the dog, the farm-cart and background landscape remains. The location of the right hand side of the drawing is unknown.

95. **Aged Pulcinella Walking Towards an Armchair**

Los Angeles, California, J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. no. 84.GG.10

Sheet 353 x 470 mm.

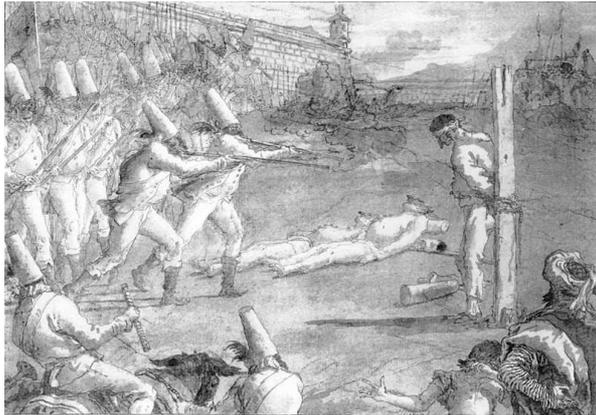
Signed lower right: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; Paul Suzor, Paris

Bibliography: Byam Shaw (1962), pl. 95, p. 94; P. Fehl (1978-1979), p. 787; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S19, pp. 122, 145; Knox (1983), p. 146; Gealt (1986), pl. 103, p.192; Goldner (1988), pl. 50; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 247.

Exhibition: Paris 1921.

An elderly Pulcinella is being led to an armchair by a young woman dressed as a maid, whilst two Pulcinelli stand at the other side of the maid and her charge. To the right of the composition a Pulcinella figure is partially shown at the edge of the sheet with a folded umbrella. Centrally a Pulcinella is preparing a chair for the old Punch, while a cloaked Pulcinella and woman with a fan (viewed from behind) stand to the left of the sheet. A dog disappears off this side of the drawing.

96. **Pulcinelli Firing Squad**

Location unknown

Margin 296 x 415 mm. Sheet 353 x 472 mm.

Signed right of lower centre: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

Numbered 97 in ink in upper left corner of margin

Watermark: graduated triple crescents

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; H.S. Reitlinger; sale, London, Sotheby's, 9

December, 1953, lot 106; Zurich, Mrs Feilchenfelt, 1959; Richard S. Davis,

Minneapolis; Rosenberg & Stiebel, New York.

Bibliography: Byam Shaw (1962), p. 61 note 6; Mariuz (1971), p. 88; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. 34, pp. 104-105; Knox (1983), pp. 131, 146; Gealt (1986), pl. 71, pp. 166-167; Vescovo in eds Gealt and Knox (2005), p. 65.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; Bloomington (IN) 1979, no. 34; London, Hazlitt, 1991.³²

The Firing Squad is a particularly interesting composition with a Pulcinella towards the right of the drawing, blindfolded and tied to a post whilst a number of Pulcinelli in military dress are lined up against the left and aim rifles at him. Two victims lie on the ground. In the immediate foreground there is a Pulcinella on a horse and another Pulcinella holding the horse's rein, a distressed boy who looks away, his hand covering his eyes, and a turbaned Oriental. In the extreme distance on the right is a group of Pulcinelli holding spears, though it appears as though the artist changed his mind as they are partially covered by the landscape, therefore one intention was overlaid with another. The background shows a fortified wall with a watch-tower, which had been used earlier in the game of bowls (Cat. 20).

³² Knox in Udine 1996, p. 247.

97. **Pulcinella is Hanged.**

Stanford, California, Cantor Arts Center at Stanford University, inv. no. 1941.278.

Margin 296 x 415 mm. Sheet 355 x 475 mm.

Signed lower left: *Domº. Tiepolo f*

Numbered 98 in ink in upper left corner of margin.

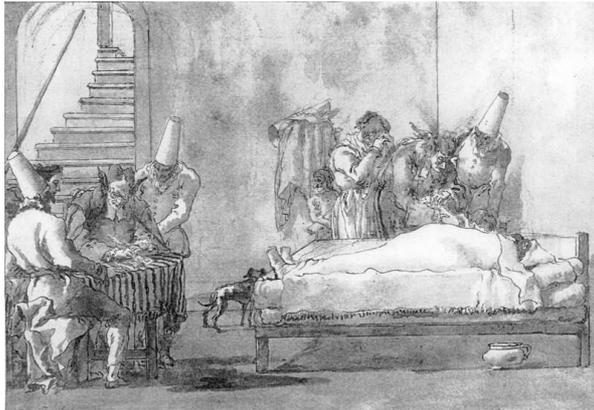
Watermark: graduated triple crescents

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; sale, London, Savile Gallery, 1929, no. 6; Dan Fellows Plat, Englewood, New Jersey; Mortimer C. Leventritt, San Francisco.

Bibliography: D. M. Mendelowitz (1967), pp. 93-95; P. Fehl (1978-1979), pp. 762-763; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. 35, pp. 106-107; Knox (1983), pp. 129, 131, 146; Gealt (1986), pl. 72, pp.168-169; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 247.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; Chicago 1938, no. 110; Stanford 1941, no. 278; Berkeley 1968, no. 60; Claremont, Montgomery Art Center 1976, no.58; Bloomington (IN) 1979, no.35.

A further illustration of an execution shows a solitary Pulcinella hanging from gallows with a crowd of Pulcinelli and human spectators gathered around, and a solitary Pulcinella on horseback looks out of the drawing.

98. **Pulcinella Makes His Will on Death-Bed**

New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, Thaw Collection, inv. no. EVT 174

Margin 292 x 412 mm. Sheet 351 x 465 mm.

Signed lower left: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

Numbered 99 in ink in upper left corner of margin.

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; Léon Suzor, Paris; sale, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 19^t March 1965, lot 69, pl. 4; Galerie d'Oeil, Paris.

Bibliography: Byam Shaw (1962), pl. 96, p. 94; Bonicatti (1971), pp. 34, 37; P. Fehl (1978-1979), p. 787; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. 10, pp. 56-57; Knox (1983), pp. 129, 146; Gealt (1986), pl. 74, pp. 172-173; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 247.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; Paris 1950, no.149; Paris 1952, no. 57; New York 1975, no. 63; Bloomington (IN) 1979, no.10.

Here Pulcinella is lying prone, whilst a doctor takes his pulse, he is flanked by grieving relatives. At the foot of the bed, attended by two pulcinelli and a bearded man, an ass-eared lawyer transcribes Pulcinella's will.

99. **Pulcinella Receives Extreme Unction**



Formerly Paris, Leon Suzor, current location unknown

Signed lower left: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; Léon Suzor, Paris; sale, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 16 March 1966, lot 64.

Bibliography: Byam Shaw (1962), p. 55; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S22, pp. 122, 146; Knox (1983), p. 146; Gealt (1986), pl. 102, p. 192; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 247.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; Paris 1950, no. 150.

Pulcinella lies propped up on a bed whilst the last rites are being administered by a Pulcinella priest. An aging Pulcinella stands at the foot of the bed, and a group of children and a Pulcinella kneel at the bottom of it, in prayer whilst a seated woman cries into a handkerchief and a servant-woman to the left of the dying Pulcinella weeps into her apron.

100. **Pulcinella is Mourned**

Formerly Paris, Leon Suzor. Current location unknown.

Not signed

Richard Owen, Paris; Léon Suzor, Paris; sale, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 16 March 1966, lot 65.

Bibliography: Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S23, pp. 123, 146; Knox (1983), p. 146; Gealt (1986), pl. 104, p. 193; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 247.

Exhibition: Paris 1921.

After his death, Pulcinella's body has been taken to another room to be visited by mourners. A veritable crowd of people file into a room where the body is laid out on a wooden palette, dressed in a shroud, a candle burning at its head.

101. Pulcinella's Corpse Arrives in Funeral-Gondola.



London, formerly Thomas Solley, current location unknown.

Margin 296 x 414 mm. Sheet 355 x 470 mm.

Signed on plinth of Portrait-bust: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris

Bibliography: Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S24, pp. 123, 147; Knox (1983), p.146; Gealt (1986), pl. 75, pp. 174-175; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 247.

Exhibition: Paris 1921.

Pulcinella's body, now in a coffin, is transported to its final resting place in a gondola. The body lies in an open coffin which is being removed from a stand surrounded by four tall candles. It is an ornate coffin, embellished with skulls, crossbones and a fluted base.

102. **Pulcinella is Buried**

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Robert Lehman Collection , inv. no. 1975.1.473

Margin 295 x 413 mm. Sheet 353 x 473 mm.

Signed lower left: *Dom^o. Tiepolo f*

Numbered 103 in ink in upper left corner of margin

Watermark: graduated triple crescents

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; Léon Suzor, Paris; sale, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 19 March 1965, lot 70.

Bibliography: Bean and Stampfle in New York 1971, no. 284, p. 111; Vetrocq in Bloomington 1979, pl. S25, pp. 124, 147; Gealt (1986), pl. 76, pp. 176-177; Byam Shaw and Knox (1987), pl. 125, p. 212; Knox in Udine 1996, p. 247.

Exhibition: Paris 1921.

Pulcinella's body is unceremoniously hoisted into a hole in a flag-stoned floor near the entrance of a building, presumably a church or its cloisters. A small crowd of Pulcinelli and mourning female figures stand to the left, while to the right a curious bearded-man (attired like a biblical ascetic) looks on.

103. **Pulcinella's Skeleton Emerges from its Tomb**

New York, Mrs Jacob B. Kaplan.

Margin 290 x 410 mm. Sheet 350 x 470 mm.

Signed lower right: *Do: Tiepolo f*

Numbered 104 in ink in upper left corner of margin.

Watermark: obscure monogram beginning with SO

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris; Léon Suzor, Paris; sale, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 19 March 1965, lot 71; Georges Bernier, Paris; E.V. Thaw & Co., New York.

Bibliography: Byam Shaw (1962), indirect reference, p. 55; P. Fehl (1979), pp.787, 789; Bantel, (1980), *Vetrocq* in Bloomington 1979, pl. 11, pp. 58-59; Knox (1983), pp. 130,146; Gealt (1986), pl. 77, pp. 178-179; Knox in Udine 1996, pp. 98, 247.

Exhibitions: Paris 1921; Paris 1950, no. 152; New York 1971, no. 284; Southampton 1971; Bloomington (IN) 1979, no.11.

In the final drawing of the series, Pulcinella appears to have been buried outside of any town or city.³³ Here, Pulcinella emerges from a hole in the ground in the countryside, alongside an ornate sarcophagus with caryatids. A rather grisly, decomposing corpse lies at the side of Pulcinella's grave.

³³Ariès (1981), pp. 42-45.