JRMMRA 11 (1990)

An Airborne Rescuer from the North in El Paso: "Ruggiero" or "Perseus"? "Hippogriff" or "Horse"?

by

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I. A QUESTION OF PROCEDURE

LIKE POLICE DETECTIVES, art historians weigh evidence according to certain established or traditional procedures. It is a dogma of our discipline that one of the primary tasks confronting the art historian is that of determining authorship; by so doing, we establish a more or less likely date of execution for a work. Having done this, then (if not before) the art historian should certainly attempt to identify correctly a picture's subject matter and, if possible, establish the nature of its sources, either textual or iconographic. Things have changed since the long-gone days when it was sufficient that the art historian be merely a sensitive connoisseur wholly devoted to ferreting out certain stylistic peculiarities. The current generation of art historians are the products of labored Ph.D. programs; therefore, we fancy ourselves scholars. The result is that we are increasingly interested in matters iconographic, and these interests naturally lead us toward certain iconological considerations.

Iconology involves us in historical study and analysis of the evolution of ways of pictorially telling stories; it demands a thorough knowledge of standard literary conventions and specific textual sources. Therefore, as commonly practiced, the order of questions posed by the present-day art historian-scholar placed before an obscure or undocumented work proceeds

as follows: (1) the tentative assignment of authorship, (2) the nearly automatic determination of a time and a place of execution, (3) the entertaining of certain conclusions as to likely subject matter and its implications.

I would like to present an odd example of these procedures by discussing an accepted – nevertheless, quite impossible because it is clearly posthumous – authorial attribution that has arisen largely due to an overlooked instance of confused iconographical borrowing. In this case, I shall first examine the possible subject matter of the painting, which is apparently Italian in origin, by pursuing the matter of its nearest compositional equivalents. In this case, the purpose of the procedure is to expose an overlooked case of nonauthorship, leading in turn to other cogent suggestions for a more likely author, with results additionally pointing to the probability of a very different dating for the painting. I shall close the case with some general observations about the implications of the working relationships between Italian painters and northern prints.

II. THE CASE IN POINT AND A QUESTION OF PROCEDURE BY CONSENSUS

The object of my pursuit is a painting from the Kress Collection currently held by the El Paso, Texas, Museum of Art (fig. 1).[1] Unsigned, undated, and untitled, this picture is painted in oils on a small wooden panel measuring only 43 x 34.4 cm. Its provenance is rather obscure, and all that is certainly known of the painting is that it turned up in the late nineteenth century in a private collection in Ferrara, Italy. It was acquired by the Kress Collection in 1939 and first publicly exhibited in 1945 at the National Gallery in Washington, D.C. For want of sixteenth-century documentation, all that can be known about the possible intrinsic significance of this panel is what can be seen today, and even the art historian's professionally trained eye can ascertain only (as a near fact) that this is a painting belonging to that vague art historical entity called international mannerism. The bare result is that the work is generally European and that it may date anywhere from ca. 1550 to 1620. This initial nonconclusion is supported by one of the expert written opinions kept in the Kress Archives:

> So little is recorded of the sketchy surface that it is difficult to identify the brushwork. The most evident tricks of style are a flitting, but not rapid, small stroke combined with much blotting of the wet pigment – a trick which appears in other pictures

> of various attributions and which is possibly not significant. . . . The influence of Dosso [Dossi] is evident in the subject matter, but not in technique. The x-ray evidence is too slight for a definite attribution.[2]

Notwithstanding this carefully considered opinion of stubborn anonymity, the El Paso panel is presently (and authoritatively) attributed to Girolamo Sellari da Carpi (Carpi, 1501–Ferrara, 1556). Although this conclusion has since been disputed by a couple of scholars (namely, Frederick Antal in 1948 and, later, Roberto Longhi), the current attribution to Girolamo da Carpi still represents the accepted one. The present-day authorial status is mainly due to the "facts" contained in certain opinions pronounced as long ago as 1939/40, as presented by a panel of internationally ranked experts. This committee consisted of six connoisseurs (now deceased). Those supporting the Carpi attribution included Giuseppe Fiocco, F. Mason Perkins, William E. Suida, and Longhi.[3] The two dissenters were, however, perhaps even more impressive – Bernard Berenson and Adolfo Venturi – but they thought only that the El Paso panel was the work of Lelio Orsi (1511–87).[4] As far as I can tell, the committee members never collectively met face-to-face. Worse, it appears that some (but probably not all) of these experts had never studied this work firsthand. Some, if not all, of the opinions kept in the archives of the Kress Foundation were exclusively based on the analysis of *photographs.* Even worse, these photographs were black-and-white glossies – definitely not color prints or transparencies (now common aids, these were rare in 1940). Whether the piece by Orsi or by Girolamo (and I would say neither), the arguments of these world-renowned experts were all sound, at least according to the conventions of connoisseurship in their time – half a century ago!

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As far as I can tell, no one has since bothered to question in any serious or searching way the cumulative weight of those authoritative evaluations laid down fifty years before in regards to the admittedly obscure El Paso picture. Theirs was a problem of procedure that has since become largely obsolete. A widely dispersed and geographically centrifugal entity like the Kress Collection is now largely an artifact of the past. This kind of artistic conglomerate has become largely extinct due to restrictive tax laws and because of changing patterns of taste, now favoring less-omnivorous and

less-eclectic patterns of collecting. For the purposes of our larger concerns – the traditions of evidential procedures – it may be pointed out that all those scholars exemplified the great age of connoisseurship. Belonging to what might be called the "preiconological" age, they mainly asked Who did it? Since subject matter meant much less to them than it does for the next generation of art historians (the Ph.D.-holding scholars), the connoisseurs did not perhaps consider as deeply that *other* question, of at least as much consequence, What does the picture really represent? My case study reveals the manner in which pure connoisseurship can occasionally trip over its own blinkered ignorance of humanist literature. In this particular case, the three other procedural problems specifically to be attached to the El Paso panel can be called (1) connoisseurship by committee, (2) connoisseurship by photograph, (3) connoisseurship by (in one case, trans-Atlantic) mail.

Besides briefly noting the stylistic traits they thought were generally attributable to Girolamo da Carpi's obscurely documented oeuvre, some of the half-dozen experts hired by the Kress Foundation had also remarked upon another factor, even more nebulous than that of "style." This other element is the "spirit" of the picture. Thus, particular mention was made of the "premonitions of romanticism" and the "humorous, melodramatic implications" in the El Paso panel. These are, of course, wholly subjectively perceived traits. Nevertheless, it was felt that these numinous factors added a certain, strictly geographically predetermined character to the panel, namely, "the spirit of the picture that would have been more at home in Ferrara than anywhere else in sixteenth-century Italy."[5] The background of that enthusiastic endorsement is easily ascertained: since the picture turned up in Ferrara (a fact), it is logically assumed to have been painted in the same place centuries before (a nonfact). Moreover, by this self-propelled line of reasoning – "painted in Ferrara" – the initial Girolamo da Carpi hypothesis naturally leads to the equally hypothetical idea of an immediate Ferrarese cultural source. Due to the completely unfounded environmental supposition, a three-part formula inexorably evolves: (1) picture by a Ferrarese artist = (2) ambience of Ferrara = (3) Ferrarese-authored narrative. The inevitable result is signaled in the statement published in the catalog of the El Paso Museum of Art:

> In Ferrara, and in honor of the Este house of Ferrara, [Ludovico] Ariosto had written his *Orlando furioso,* a delightful parody on medieval chivalry [therefore *quod erat demonstrandum*] the subject of our painting comes from that poem [and, again therefore, specifically it depicts the subject of] "Ruggiero saving Angelica from the Sea-Monster."[6]

III. THE STORY OF RUGGIERO AND ANGELICA

The particular story cited as representing this picture's textual *fons et origo* is found in Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* (10.93–112), first published in 1516.[7] In many ways, Ariosto's dramatic vignette does unquestionably appear to correspond to the narrative elements seen in this painting. As was fancifully told by Ariosto, Angelica, the ravishing daughter of the great khan of Cathay, was chained to a rock by the seashore in the Outer Hebrides. Here she is about to be attacked by a hideous sea monster, the orc:

> That very morning she'd been brought and bound
> To where the orc would swallow her alive.
> Such giant monsters in those seas abound
> And on such monstrous diet seem to thrive.
>
> (10.94–95)

After introducing his dread orc – *avant la lettre,* another Scottish Loch Ness Monster – Ariosto now draws up a piquant picture of the gorgeously undraped and forlornly abandoned damsel:

> The harsh, inhospitable islanders
> Exposed the lovely maiden on the strand.
> So absolute a nakedness was hers,
> She might have issued them from Nature's hand.
> No veil or filmiest of gossamers
> Had she to hide her lily whiteness and
> Her blushing roses, which ne'er fade nor die,
> But in December bloom as in July.
>
> (10.95)

Ruggiero, a brave son of the king of Reggio, swiftly flies to her rescue, mounted on another fabulous monster, the "hippogriff," which according

to Ariosto was the hybrid progeny of a griffin and a horse. Whereas it had an equine body – as well as eaglelike wings and the head and claws of the griffin – it lacked the griffin's leonine body and hinder parts. Ruggiero's flying mount was earlier described by the Italian poet as follows:

> His horse was not a fiction, but instead
> The offspring of a griffin and a mare.
> Its plumage, forefeet, muzzle, wings and head
> Like those of its paternal parent were.
> The rest was from its dam inherited.
> It's called a hippogriff. Such beasts, though rare,
> In the Rhiphaean mountains, far beyond
> The icy water of the North, are found.
>
> (2.18)

Ruggiero first dazzles the marine dragon with his refulgent shield. The monster thus distracted, the hippogriff-mounted hero then places a magic ring on the maid's hand to protect her and undoes her bounds. Freed, she mounts behind him on the hippogriff and away they fly into the heavens:

> Leaving the orc unslain, Ruggiero set her free.
> The hippogriff, responding to the spur,
> Braces its hooves and rises in the air;
> Away Ruggiero's pillion carries her,
> Depriving thus the monster of its fare.
> It was, indeed, no fitting connoisseur
> For this *bonne bouche,* so delicate and rare.
> He looks behind and thinks he can surmise
> A thousand kisses promised in her eyes.
>
> (10.112)

IV. A PROBLEM OF CHRONOLOGY – AND ANOTHER OF COMMON SENSE

For fifty years there has seemed no problem with the Girolamo da Carpi authorship of a picture in El Paso of "Ruggiero and Angelica" – that is, until one takes into serious consideration two entirely different factors. The first is a fact of the paucity of known illustrations of the story that was later known as Ruggiero and Angelica.[8] In short, lacking evidence to the contrary – mainly due to the fact that the picture bears no such

inscription – why should a modern scholar opt for what turns out to be an extremely rare subject at that time? The answer is (that is, if you have not looked for any other representations of Roger and Angelica from that period) that Carpi was the artist who painted the El Paso panel, and that he lived in Ferrara, and that Ariosto, the author of the story, certainly was a cultural hero in Ferrara. *Quod est demonstrandum.* The second problem is iconographical – but also chronological, and thus wholly factual – and this other factor has never before been taken into consideration in the matter of the El Paso panel.

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As any serious student of Renaissance art knows, artists called upon to illustrate fanciful stories, for instance, that of Roger and Angelica, commonly turned to previous illustrations of similarly fanciful tales for their pictorial inspiration. After all, which painter has ever seen an orc? In this case (as a representative of many others), one ought to suppose that the author of the El Paso panel most likely looked for a pictorial precedent. As I would suggest, he found his inspiration in a specific print by Bernard Salomon (ca. 1508–61; fig. 2). This woodcut reportedly came on the market in 1557. If this is so, then obviously Girolamo da Carpi cannot possibly be the author of the El Paso panel as he had died the year before the appearance of this print. The striking compositional resemblances between the El Paso painting and Salomon's print include the following factors: (1) the pose and placement of the energetic figure of the diving rescuer in the upper left-hand corner of the picture, (2) the motif of the terrified and unclothed maiden, tied to the craggy rocks on the right side of the composition, (3) the arrangement of the architectural and landscape elements, functioning like repoussoirs, (4) the most important (meaning unique) feature of all these – the sea-borne dragon – endowed with the same kind of twisted pose and bizarre anatomical details as those seen in the painting in question. *Q.E.D:* the El Paso panel was based on Salomon's print.

V. A PRINT OF PERSEUS AND ANDROMEDA

Now comes the anomalous factor. In the case of Salomon's print there is absolutely no question at all regarding its conventional literary subject matter: Perseus and Andromeda. Salomon's print was one of 178 woodcuts

he designed to illustrate *Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide,* published in Lyon in 1557 by Jan de Tournes.[9] In this case, the major point to be made is not so much whether Salomon's print was *the* print that was put before the still unnamed El Paso Master – although this certainly seems the case. What interests us instead is the nature of the subject matter of our painting in El Paso. In short, whereas Ariosto was but rarely illustrated at this time, Ovid certainly was, and in great quantity.[10] Salomon was, however, probably the first Renaissance printmaker to illustrate the scene drawn from Ovid of Andromeda's rescue by the fleet Perseus. His image became authoritative in its own right, and it was, therefore, later adapted by another notable Netherlandish printmaker, Crispijn van de Passe, who illustrated the *Metamorphoseon . . . Ovidianarum* (Cologne, 1602) with 134 copper plates. Included among these engravings was the nearly inevitable illustration of the dramatic and fabulous subject of Perseus and Andromeda (fig. 3).[11] Whether the motif now recognized to appear in the El Paso panel had indeed been "invented" by Salomon himself, or perhaps by any of his other later followers, it now seems unquestionable that the El Paso Master had made a close study of one (or more) of those numerous northern prints that illustrate the wholly Ovidian theme of Perseus and Andromeda and that range in date between 1557 and 1606.

VI. OVID INADVERTENTLY RENDERS AN OPINION ON THE EL PASO PANEL

On the one hand, given the compositional factors inherent to these two graphic prototypes and, additionally, the known dates of their respective publication, it is obvious that the El Paso picture cannot be by Carpi; more likely, it was executed some fifty years after his death. On the other hand, given the unmistakable – Ovidian vs. Ariostan – derivation of the printed source materials, what then is the subject of the El Paso picture? Whatever its narrative basis may be, what follows certainly makes it clear that Ariosto had himself also drawn upon the ubiquitous and decidedly prestigious Ovidian source materials. According to Ovid (*Metamorphoses* 4.665–739), Andromeda, an Ethiopian princess, was chained to a rock by the seashore to serve as a sacrifice to a hideous marine, "menacing monster."[12] According to the Latin source, the hero Perseus was flying overhead and chanced upon the forlorn damsel. However, as Ovid clearly specifies Perseus had made himself airborne *without* the aid of any adjunct steed:

"The hero took up his wings again, and bound them to either foot . . . and with the motion of his winged sandals, he cut his way through to the clear air." This, the autonomous Ovidian aviator motif (*avant la lettre*), was a significant iconographical detail that was only to be *visually* corrected or restored in 1602 by Crispijn van de Passe (fig. 3). Previously, as in Salomon's print of 1557 (fig. 2), the Ovidian hero was "incorrectly" (that is, according to the classical *fons et origo*) shown to be mounted upon a Pegasus-like steed.

As told by Ovid, the orbiting and decidedly horseless Perseus saw the nude and bound Andromeda on the seashore below him:

> Her arms chained to the hard rock, he would have taken for a marble statue had not the light breeze stirred her hair, and warm tears streamed from her eyes. Without realizing it, he fell in love. . . . Before she had finished [calling to him], the waters roared and from the ocean wastes there came a menacing monster, its breast covering the waves far and wide. The girl screamed. . . . The monster came on, parting the waves with the impact of its breast. . . . Then Perseus flew downwards [and] attacked the monster's back and, to the sound of its bellowing, buried his sword up to its hilt in the beast's right shoulder. . . . The hero, on his swift wings, avoided the greedily snapping jaws, and dealt blows with his curved sword. . . . The girl stepped down, freed from her bonds.

VII. THE ICONOGRAPHIC PARADOX OF THE EL PASO PANEL

Notwithstanding the now apparent fact of two unmistakably Ovidian pictorial prototypes, a comparative reading of the two texts by Ariosto and Ovid makes it nevertheless quite clear that the subject matter of the El Paso picture must indeed represent Ariosto's vignette of Ruggiero rescuing Angelica. How can this be? The key motif by which to establish the proper textual source is the hippogriff. As is clearly shown in the El Paso picture, Ruggiero's magic steed has an eagle's curved beak set into its face and, additionally, aquiline talons on its forefeet. In the event, it is still quite ironic – but nevertheless now easily understood – that the El Paso Master had most likely based the (reverse) pose of Ruggiero's hippogriff upon the arrangement of the Ovidian airborne rider and his textually quite anomalous horse – just as these odd elements were portrayed in Salomon's print

Perseus Rescuing Andromeda (fig. 2). One's overall conclusion is that dramatically rendered prints probably carry much more weight with painters than does the printed word. As is also to be expected, Ariosto knew his Ovid; additionally, he felt no compunctions whatsoever in borrowing one of the more dramatic episodes that he had perused in the *Metamorphoses,* subsequently redoing the marine scene of the maiden's rescue by the airborne hero in his own, peculiarly pictorial, kind of poetry.

VIII. ANOTHER FLYING HIPPOGRIFF TO THE RESCUE

Once again the influence of the two prints by Salomon and van de Passe can be demonstrated to have operated upon yet another painter. In this case the artist is Italian and named, and – unlike the El Paso Master – he faithfully adhered to the letter of the Ovidian subject matter, such as this was once again passed on to him through the means of now identifiable Netherlandish graphic models (fig. 4). As is now believed, ca. 1593 Giuseppe Cesari, il Cavaliere d'Arpino (1568–1640), executed a small panel painting (65.5 x 51.5 cm.; Museum of Art, Providence, Rhode Island) entitled *Perseus Rescuing Andromeda.*[13] Whatever its real date (and I suspect it is near to 1610),[14] this is yet another picture apparently based upon Salomon's archetypal print of 1557 (fig. 2). This observation would conveniently explain the unintentionally misunderstood nature of the flying hybrid vehicle of Andromeda's heroic savior in d'Arpino's picture. In that case, van de Passe's more textually correct depiction of the airborne rescuer, showing the steadfast but steedless Perseus with winged sandals, had probably not yet been published. Lacking that other, more humanistically correct, graphic prototype, d'Arpino drew upon the still unimpeached authority of Salomon's more dramatic rendering of the hero – even though this print clearly departed from the strict letter of Ovid's text. Thus there was perpetrated a certain airborne error, initiated by Salomon in 1557, that was still given credence some fifty years after its initial appearance.

IX. WHO PAINTED THE EL PASO PANEL?

Even though about fifty years ago Longhi had chosen to change his mind, ascribing the El Paso panel to d'Arpino, this credible identification still has not found much favor in West Texas.[15] D'Arpino, the last great painter of the international mannerist movement, was, in any event, mainly supported by Roman patronage; accordingly, he had no apparent

connections with courtly circles in Ferrara. Nevertheless, as much as in style as in subject matter, clearly the picture in El Paso is very much like the picture by d'Arpino in Providence (fig. 4). Longhi's arguments have been easily ignored, probably in part because they were not bolstered by the iconographic discoveries presented here, showing the mutual dependence of both the El Paso and the late Providence panels upon certain widely circulated prints from the *later* sixteenth century illustrating Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Also, Longhi obviously did not have available these arguments showing that, although the two compositions by d'Arpino came from the same print sources, the Italian painter had cleverly adapted these to his own ends. In one instance, the El Paso panel, the painter seized upon the unusual story of Ruggiero and Angelica, whereas in the other painting in Providence, he sticks much more faithfully to the original graphic model, Perseus and Andromeda. As we now understand, the slightly smaller picture in Texas by d'Arpino had employed Ovid's menacing marine monster as a model for Ariosto's ferocious orc, a creature that had evidently never before been depicted in a painting. If this iconographic observation is correct, then the El Paso panel is of much greater art historical significance than has been recognized. However that may be, since the orc in the El Paso panel and its horrific companion, "a menacing monster, its breast covering the waves," in the Providence picture are near twins, I believe that the proof of d'Arpino's authorship of the former seems adequately demonstrated, a conclusion further bolstered by our (merely) "stylistic" examination of the picture in El Paso.

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It appears there was yet a third Ovidian print that may have also contributed to d'Arpino's unprecedented depiction of Ruggiero and Angelica in the El Paso panel (fig. 5). Although this other print issued from one of the many northern European presses, its author was an Italian, Antonio Tempesta. His depiction of Perseus and Andromeda was one of the 150 plates that comprised the *Metamorphoseon . . . Ovidianarum* (Amsterdam, 1606), perhaps the most famous of the Ovidian iconologies; as such, this picture book has been repeatedly cited by art historians as representing a significant iconographical influence on many important baroque painters. Perhaps to show his independence from van de Passe's illustrations, appearing in an album of the same name that was published only four years

earlier, Tempesta reverted to the persistent airborne error, the winged steed of Perseus, inaugurated in 1557 by Salomon. If, as seems likely, d'Arpino drew upon this other source – Tempesta's *Perseus and Andromeda* – for the El Paso panel, then this picture must be now dated after 1606. Nevertheless, d'Arpino appears to have also consulted van de Passe's print of 1602, correctly showing Perseus without the horse (fig. 3), since d'Arpino's panel has the same kind of craggy backdrop behind Angelica as the one that shelters Andromeda in the Dutchman's engraving, whereas the rocky wall behind Andromeda in the Providence panel seems to come from Salomon's *Urbild.* Furthermore, the pose of Tempesta's Andromeda – left arm chained and uplifted, the right warding off the orc – is probably the source of Angelica's expectant attitude in the El Paso panel.[16]

X. CONCLUSIONS REGARDING THE VALUE OF INCONCLUSIVE EVIDENCE

Regardless of the authorship of the El Paso panel – certainly not Girolamo da Carpi, and most likely il Cavaliere d'Arpino – this brief excursus on print-derived hippogriffs and orcs serves to throw into relief a larger anomaly that allows for some valuable insights about the actual mechanics of later Renaissance visual culture. In certain cases (and many more like the present need to be examined in detail in the future), when an Italian painter wished to illustrate an exotic or somewhat obscure literary subject, he evidently would by preference have turned to a trans-Alpine graphic prototype. This should seem curious as, obviously, one would have expected the Italian artists to have been the visual definers during the Renaissance of canonic classical and postclassical texts. All the evidence however indicates that this was certainly not the case. What we have just witnessed by means of this, iconographer vs. connoisseur, type of exercise is a good example of just how actual physical proof overthrows the presumptions engendered by untested logic. We have looked at a pair of very similar passages from two famous authors, one Latin and the other Italian, both in their different ways the cornerstones of humanist literature in the cinquecento. We have seen how their works were illustrated – in every case as based upon the models created by printmakers in the north, and those artists were of course geographically distant from the wellsprings of Renaissance humanism in Italy.

Thus the outstanding corpus of dramatically conceived book illustrations that had been produced in great quantity by the technically highly

advanced printing presses of the north provided the preferred iconographic models to the late mannerist painters of Italy. These printed images were obviously regarded as representing standard illustrations of certain key textual passages. Nevertheless, as we have also seen, even though their work was accepted as setting the canons of scriptural accuracy, it appears that the creators of these visual standards probably did not always scrupulously read the texts that they illustrated with such verve and apparent conviction. The Italian painters evidently were no more familiar with the texts in question than were the engravers of the north, and so the Italians blithely took those northern book illustrations "on faith" as accurate representations of what they purported them to be: strictly textual equivalents. Relieved in this way of what might be called an ethical obligation to the writers, the Italian painters saw that their special task was to turn these predigested (and sometimes inaccurately transcribed) literary materials into the readily marketable products of their suave and ingenious painterly art.[17] All this has been demonstrated by the case of a particular iconographic anomaly, an unsuitably horseborne Perseus flying en lieu of Ariosto's hippogriff.

NOTES

The results of this investigation have been greatly improved by the advice and criticism of Dr. Albert Blankert, Hooogsteder-Naumann Mercury Foundation, The Hague, and Dr. Lubomír Konecny, Institute of Theory and History of Art, Prague. I am also most grateful to the staff of the El Paso Museum of Art for providing me with copies of all the documentation relating to the painting discussed here.

1. Fern Rusk Shapley, *The Samuel Kress Collection: El Paso Museum of Art* (El Paso, 1961), cat. no. 20.

2. Report by Alan Burroughs of 29 January 1940, Kress Collection Archives. Curiously, Burroughs entitled the picture *St. George and the Dragon.* The picture was cradled, cleaned, and restored in dry color dammar varnish isolator early in 1940. Upon its arrival in El Paso in 1961, the painting received another coat of Rembrandt varnish.

3. After studying copies of all the reports from the Kress Collection Archives, it appears to me that the committee's examination of this picture must have been rather a rushed and cursory affair. As it also appears, most of the experts seem to have deferred to the opinion of Roberto Longhi – and his judgment was made in Florence in November 1939, and wholly on the basis of an examination of a black-and-white photograph. Since Longhi's judgment of 1939/40 is the opinion that has

prevailed until the present day, the relevant parts of his statement should be quoted: "This amazing subject [is] borrowed from the poem of Ariosto [and depicts] Ruggiero saving Angelica from the sea-monster. [It] is in my opinion a Ferrarese work of about the middle of the XVIth century [and I] suggest the name of *Girolamo da Carpi* as the most probable author." Nevertheless, Longhi was soon to change his mind about the identity of the most likely creator of the El Paso panel (see note 15 below). Curiously, this is a telling observation that is not recorded in the Kress Archives even though it enhances the (monetary, if not spiritual) value of their painting. Additionally, both William E. Suida and Giuseppe Fiocco had suggested alternative titles: *Perseus Liberating Andromeda* or *Andromeda Delivered.* These are, as we shall quickly see, more logical choices than the specifically "Ferrarese" subject of Ruggiero and Angelica.

4. Longhi's statement. Actually, even though he was presumably paid for his efforts, Bernard Berenson did not really render an opinion and only signed a sheet of paper bearing the typed title and two artist's names, Girolamo's and Lelio Orsi's. There are two other variant opinions about the El Paso panel. On the one hand, the painting had been labeled "Florentine," perhaps the work of Maso da Friano, by Frederick Antal, "Observations on Girolamo da Carpi," *Art Bulletin* 30 (1948): 101. On the other hand, and even though Suida hewed to the Girolamo da Carpi attribution, much closer to the mark was his handwritten statement, dated April 1940, in the Kress Archives: "This composition is a prophecy of later versions painted by the Cavalier d'Arpino." Longhi later came to hold a similar opinion. For the Cavaliere d'Arpino attribution, which I now strongly favor (following Longhi's *pentimento*), see notes 13–15 below.

5. Shapley, cat. no. 20.

6. Ibid. As we saw however (in note 3), two committee members – Suida and Fiocco – had proposed more reasonable, and non-Ferrarese, titles: *Perseus Liberating Andromeda* and *Andromeda Delivered* [by Perseus]. In this case, the argument is focused upon a purely literary question of procedure: Was the subject of the painting derived from a classical or a Renaissance text? As it turns out, the question of procedure – subject matter over stylistic handling – gets to the heart of the way that Renaissance (vs. modern) connoisseurs inevitably evaluated artworks. On this matter of sixteenth-century procedure (a point consistently ignored by most modern art critics), see Svetlana Leontief Alpers, "*Ekphrasis* and Aesthetic Attitudes in Vasari's *Lives*," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 23 (1960): 190–215.

7. My citations are taken from an elegant translation in verse: Barbara Reynolds, ed., *Orlando Furioso (The Frenzy of Orlando): A Romantic Epic by Ludovico Ariosto* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1975). For the cultural background of this neoepic poem, see D. Kremers, *Der "Rasende Roland" des Ludovico Ariosto: Aufbau und Weltbild* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1973).

8. There is, for instance, no mention of the subject of Ruggiero and Angelica in the standard listing of Renaissance artistic subject matter, even though another subject by Ariosto, Medoro and Angelica, does appear there; see Andor Pigler,

Barockthemen. Eine Auswahl von Verzeichnissen zur Ikonographie des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts (Budapest: Verlag der Ungarischen Academie der Wissenschaften, 1956), 2:444–45. For the scarce traces of this literary subject in art, see R. W. Lee, "Roger and Angelica in Sixteenth-Century Art: Some Facts and Hypotheses," in *Studies in Late Medieval and Renaissance Painting in Honor of Millard Meiss* (New York: New York University Press, 1977), 302–19, citing an illustrated publication of the epic poem – in which the earliest known pictures of the text had appeared – *Orlando furioso di M. Lodovico Ariosto, ornato di varie figure* (Venice, 1549). New book illustrations appeared slightly later: *Orlando furioso di Lodovico Ariosto, tutto ricorretto et di nuove figure adornato* (Venice, 1562). Although the subject "Roger and Angelica" was nearly nonexistent in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century painting, it became rather popular later, particularly in the nineteenth century (especially as seen in paintings and prints by Ingres and Doré); see J. V. Svanberg, "Roger ock Angelica – ett Ariosto-motiv i konsten," in *Studier i kinstvetenskap tillägnade Brita Linde* (Stockholm, 1985), 181–92.

9. M. D. Henkel, "Illustrierte Ausgaben von Ovids Metamorphosen im XV., XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts," *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg* 6–7 (1926/27), 58–144 (Salomon's print, Abb. 56, is discussed on pages 75–77, 117). For more on the illustrated Ovids, see Georges Duplessis, *Essai bibliographique sur les différentes éditions des œuvres d'Ovide ornées de planches publiées aux XVe et XVIe siècles* (Paris: Techener, 1889); A. Geerebaert, *Lijst van de gedrukte nederlandsche vertalingen der oude griekschе en latijnschе schrijvers* (Ghent: Samenwerkende maatschaappij "Volksdrukkerij," 1924).

10. For instance, Pigler, 2:22–26, "Die Befreiung der Andromeda," lists over 140 depictions of this episode. For later depictions (with however no mention of print sources), see V. Pérez Guillén, "Del barroco calderoniano a la sacralización rococó: Perseo y Andromeda," *Goya: Revista de arte* 187–88 (1985): 90–96.

11. For van de Passe's *Perseus and Andromeda,* see Henkel, 117–18, Abb. 57. Even though the inscription of this print states that the artist had based his composition on a print by Martin de Vos, Henkel remarks that "der aber seinerseits wieder [Bernard] Salomon kopiert." After Salomon's print, another important artistic precedent was Titian's famous canvas in the Wallace Collection, London, particularly as known from Fontana's print of 1562. For another Salomon-derived composition, see also the painting of *Perseus Freeing Andromeda* by Jan Thilens (ca. 1610) in *A Selection of Dutch and Flemish Seventeenth-Century Paintings* (New York, 1983), cat. no. 9.

12. My citations of this classic are taken from M. M. Innes, trans., *The Metamorphoses of Ovid* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1955), 121–23.

13. H. Röttgen, *Il Cavaliere d'Arpino* (Rome: De Luca, 1973), cat. no. 10, where the panel is dated ca. 1592/93.

14. Whereas Röttgen dates the painting ca. 1593, I am inclined to date the work rather later, ca. 1608. I do so on the basis of its apparent debt to Tempesta's print (fig. 5) as seen in the unique Tempesta type of a "beardless orc," adopted here by

d'Arpino but not seen previously. Since this is admittedly a minor detail, I will not belabor the point.

15. Although Longhi in 1940 had supported the Girolamo da Carpi attributions (see note 3 above), he later changed his mind, stating that the El Paso picture was instead conceived by d'Arpino; see Longhi's guidebook, *Amplimenti nell'officina ferrarese* (Ferrara, 1956), 167–68, tav. 389 (this is the second printing of a text first published in 1941; since the first edition is unavailable to me, I can only assume that Longhi's reattribution of the El Paso picture dates that early, rather than some fifteen years later). Perhaps in this case Longhi followed up on what was only a suggestion put forth by Suida in 1940 (see note 4 above). Evidently, Suida had seen much more of d'Arpino's work than had Longhi. In short, il Cavaliere's kind of mythological *capricci* was much more characteristic of his oeuvre than it ever was of Girolamo da Carpi's.

16. The distinctive arm arrangement of Salomon's pleading Andromeda (as in fig. 2) may be traced (in reverse) in van de Passe's print (fig. 3) and, as well, in Hendrik Goltzius's well-known print, *Andromeda* (1583: see *A Selection* . . . , 82, fig. 2), and in Wtewael's painting in the Louvre, *Persé et Andromède* (1611; see P. J. J. van Thiel, "La réhabilitation du manierisme hollandais: Deux tableaux de Cornelis van Haarlem," *La revue du Louvre* 36 (1986): 111–20, fig. 6.

17. The real issue here is the well-known fact of artists' perennial dependence upon the "schemata of art," which is to say certain preestablished visual formulas. The foremost student of this topic is, of course, E. H. Gombrich, who has observed in his *Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, [1960], 83) that "an existing representation will always exert its spell over the artist, even while he strives to record the truth. . . . You cannot create a faithful image out of nothing. You must have learned the trick, if only from other pictures you have [already] seen." As Gombrich repeatedly shows in his classic study, prints, rather than paintings, were the pictures "you have seen."

Fig. 1. Giuseppe Cesari, il Cavaliere d'Arpino (formerly attributed to Girolamo da Carpi, ca. 1555), *Ruggiero Rescuing Angelica,* ca. 1606–10, Museum of Art, El Paso, Texas

Fig. 2. Bernard Salomon, *Perseus Rescuing Andromeda,* from *Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide,* Lyon, 1557

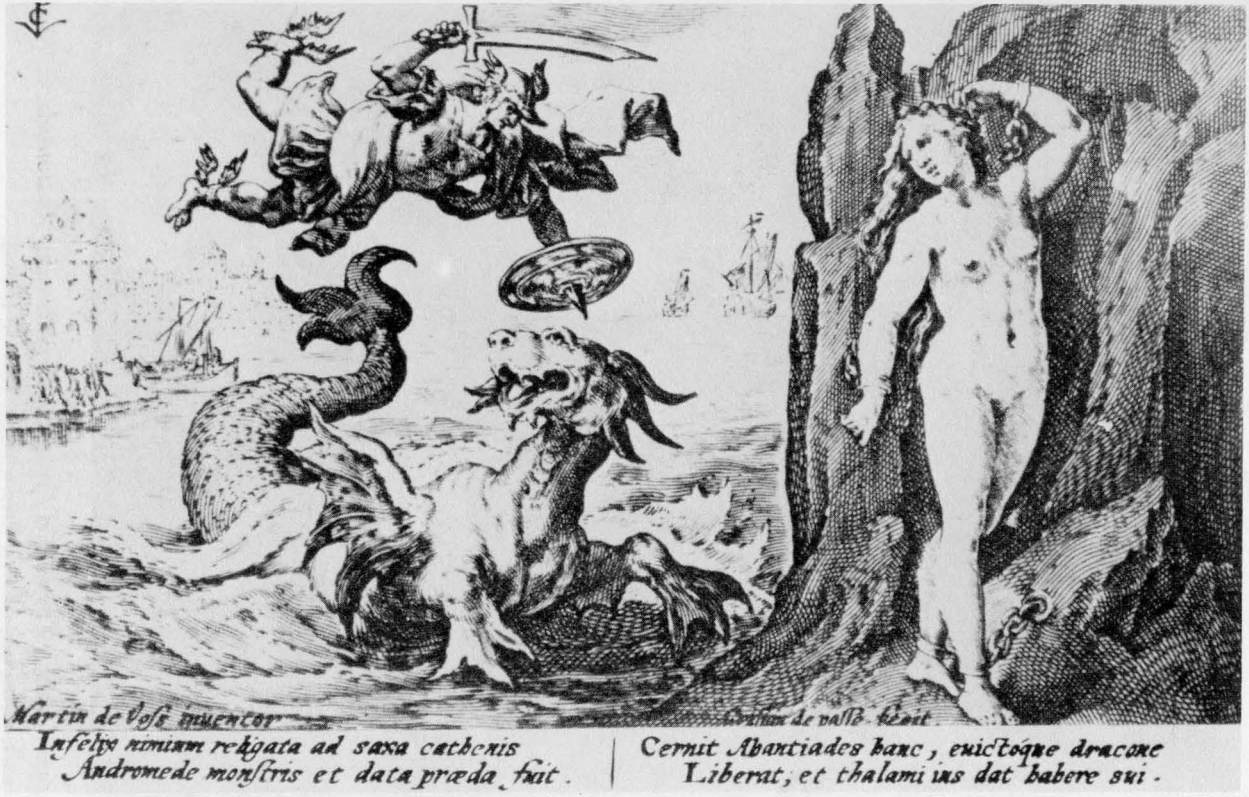

Fig. 3. Crispijn van de Passe, *Perseus Rescuing Andromeda,* from *Metamorphoseon . . . Ovidianarum,* Cologne, 1602

Fig. 4. Giuseppe Cesari, il Cavaliere d'Arpino, *Perseus Rescuing Andromeda,* ca. 1593 (or ca. 1608–10?), Museum of Art, Providence, Rhode Island

Fig. 5. Antonio Tempesta, *Perseus Rescuing Andromeda,* from *Metamorphoseon . . . Ovidianarum,* Amsterdam, 1606