ARCIMBOLDO
BASSANO
BRUEGEL

ARCIMBOLDO BASSANO BRUEGEL

Edited by
Francesca Del Torre Scheuch

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Nature's Time

HANNIBAL

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ESSAYS

CATALOGUE

Foreword

The title of this publication, and of the exhibition it accompanies, focuses on two themes that play a central role in human life: the nature of time and the times of nature.

There have always been differing perceptions of time. Early on, humans realized that certain natural events repeated themselves frequently: animal migrations, seasonal and astronomical conjunctures, the alternating cycle of day and night. This knowledge helped them better understand (and master) their environment.

Time, however, can also be understood as a linear sequence of events. Greek philosophers such as Heraclitus and Aristotle associated time with change, moving forward inexorably in a predetermined direction, almost as if on a track. The Christian conception of time is also linear and proceeds from the creation of the world to the Last Judgement, when history and time will end. Today too we construct time as a linear progression over which we have no influence.

But linear perceptions of time did not replace cyclical ones. In the Middle Ages, for instance, they coexisted with a cyclical understanding of time made tangible in the repeating liturgical year. The church year traditionally starts on the first Sunday of Advent and is organized around recurring Sundays and holy days. For people living in the Middle Ages, the year and their lives followed this pattern. People anchored and reckoned large and small events in their lives in relation to this annual cycle, which is reflected in the annual cycle of horticultural life.

The Renaissance's growing interest in observing nature led to new scientific conceptions of time and to the development and refinement of clocks and calendars in Europe. The latter allow us to 'position (ourselves) in the sequence of generations', as Norbert Elias wrote in his analysis of temporality *Time: An Essay*. The perception of time was and remains a complex subject of study in human history.

The second major theme explored in this publication is the relationship between people and nature, which played a crucial role in public awareness long before the climate crisis. In the Renaissance, people began to explore nature in new ways, to observe the differences in the changing (of the) seasons, and to enjoy the abundance of the flora and fauna the seasons brought forth.

In 1336, Petrarch climbed Mont Ventoux purely out of curiosity and to enjoy the view from the summit. He no longer regarded the 'windy mountain' as an obstacle, as something that blocked his way and forced him to take a detour. His famous description of his ascent documents a new understanding of nature. In contrast to medieval people, who were more likely to view nature as hostile and threatening, something to be feared, in the Renaissance the natural world became a source of recreation and enjoyment.

That this was done in conscious imitation of much-admired antiquity is, of course, no coincidence. The new, positive view of nature was partially informed by literary works produced during the early Roman Empire, which celebrated bucolic life in a villa surrounded by magnificent gardens located far from the hectic metropolis, where one could indulge in creative leisure (*otium*) and enjoy the beauty of nature tamed.

The Renaissance's new interest in nature was, of course, not limited to climbing mountains and laying out gardens. Natural phenomena, fauna and flora were now examined with scientific intentions. All this was, of course, also reflected in the arts, in scientific studies and

in paintings, numerous examples of which are brought together in this volume.

Giuseppe Arcimboldo is the first of the three great artists featured in this publication. As court painter to three Habsburg emperors, his work celebrates the diversity and abundance of nature in a unique idiom. Unlike his more conventional (and numerous) portraits, now all but forgotten, his few fantastic composite heads composed of a wealth of natural objects depicted with unrivalled verisimilitude are unforgettable (cats. 28–30, 33, 90). Many of these paintings were conceived as part of different series depicting the seasons or the elements. They illustrate the abundance of Creation. I am particularly pleased that in addition to the four celebrated works by Arcimboldo held by the Kunsthistorisches Museum, we can show seven more paintings by him in the exhibition.

Pieter Bruegel the Elder painted his magnificent series depicting the seasons in 1565. Today, three of the (probably originally) six paintings are held by the Kunsthistorisches Museum (cat. 15). Bruegel dispensed with biblical scenes and concentrated on nature and the role of humanity during the progression of the seasons. Although the pictures with their elevated viewpoint recall Patinier's 'world landscapes', their realism and immediacy appear modern and timeless. Here, nature plays the leading role in the composition. Bruegel's *Hunters in the Snow* is simultaneously proof of the so-called Little Ice Age and perfectly captures the hues and the mood of a freezing winter's day (cat. 15.3).

A major focus is on cycles of the months and the seasons, which were immensely popular, especially in sixteenth-century Italy. The workshop founded by Jacopo Bassano and successfully carried on by his sons specialised in such subjects. This publication presents a particularly impressive series that was extensively restored for the accompanying exhibition. In it, biblical motifs are combined with scenes from everyday rural life (cat. 62). The paintings document Bassano's successful attempt to merge different conceptions of time – linear time, the liturgical year, and the seasons – in his compositions. The Venetian patricians, who commissioned Palladio and other architects to design their splendid new villas in the Veneto, presumably enjoyed the pastoral genre motifs that fill the foreground of his compositions, while appreciating his references to biblical events (cats. 62, 66).

For the exhibition, Francesca Del Torre Scheuch, curator of Italian Renaissance painting, combined many important loans from major museums with selected masterpieces from the endlessly rich collections of the Kunsthistorisches Museum for a narrative that explores these topics in fascinating ways and provides food for thought. My special thanks go out to her. She and the entire team of the KHM-Museumsverband have done a superb job.

I also wish to thank our lenders, whose generosity with their works made this exhibition possible.

And, last but not least, I want to express my deep gratitude to UNIQA, a long-standing partner of the Kunst historisches Museum, which has once again provided generous support.

Jonathan Fine
Director General

MINO GABRIELE

The Seasons of Man

All things change, but nothing dies: the spirit wanders hither and thither, taking possession of what limbs it pleases … but never at any time does it perish. Like pliant wax which, stamped with new designs, does not remain as it was, or keep the same shape, but yet is still itself, so I tell you that the soul is always the same, but incorporates itself in different forms. … So the moments of time at once flee and follow, and are ever new. What was before is left behind, that which was not comes to be, and every minute gives place to another. You see the nights, completed, pass into day, the shining rays of morning succeed the darkness of the night. … Or again, don't you see the year passing through a succession of four seasons, thus imitating our own life? [1]

Ovid, *Metamorphoses*

These famous lines of Ovid, set within his poetic explanation of the doctrine of Pythagoras,[2] express a view of the world in which all things are but the transitory expression of a larger cosmic transformation; that is, of a nature that constantly dies and renews itself, whose rhythm is dictated by the order of time, whose rhythms ensure perennial, stable impermanence. It is a conception that in different philosophical and religious inflections has permeated Western thought and beyond. The last two lines, still topical, compare the unfolding of human life to the seasons, following a relationship formulated by an ancient medical/cosmological tradition[3] – codified in Isidore of Seville,[4] who was able to draw on earlier sources – which juxtaposes and thus sets out the following pairs: spring/childhood, summer/youth, autumn/maturity, winter/old age, but which the same tradition correlates to a broader micro-macrocosmic network[5] of subjects, as summarized in the following table:

Fig. 1

Francesco dal Ponte, called Bassano, *Summer (June, July, August)*, detail, 1585/90. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Picture Gallery, inv. 4289

world	**year**	**sky**	**man**
East, air, hot-wet	spring	Jupiter	blood, sanguine, childhood
South, fire, dry-hot	summer	Mars	yellow bile, choleric, youth
West, earth, cold-dry	autumn	Saturn	black bile, melancholic, maturity
North, water, wet-cold	winter	Moon	phlegm, phlegmatic, old age

If we associate the signs of the zodiac with the ages of man[6] and the respective four seasons (childhood/spring: Aries, Taurus, Gemini; youth/summer: Cancer, Leo, Virgo (fig. 1); maturity/autumn: Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius; old age/winter: Capricorn, Aquarius, Pisces), we then have a complete space-time picture of the conjugation between man and the cosmos, and vice versa.

These are ancient, vital themes, that, precisely because of their pre-eminence, have been given endless testimony in art and science. Here we look at some of the principles behind those themes and their connection with the images and artistic language that have expressed them, substantiating them, in different forms and ways, in signs, colours, metals and more.

In the network and circulation of numerous elements, as in the table to the left, it is the sphericity of the cosmos that conflates everything and gives unity: the world is spherical[7] because, in containing the totality of creatures and elements, it can only have the figure that includes all

* This essay discusses, albeit briefly, the conceptual tradition that inspired the works shown in the current exhibition: cosmological and cosmographical speculations that since antiquity have influenced European iconographic and iconological culture in different times and ways.

1 'Omnia mutantur, nihil interit. Errat, et illinc / huc venit, hinc illuc, et quoslibet occupat artus / spiritus… / …nec tempore deperit ullo. / utque novis facilis signatur cera figuris, / … / sed tamen ipsa eadem est, animam sic semper eandem / esse, sed in varias doceo migrare figuras. / … / ipsa quoque assiduo labuntur tempora motu, / non secus ac flumen…. / Tempora sic fugiunt pariter pariterque sequuntur / et nova sunt semper, nam quod fuit ante relictum est / fitque quod haud fuerat momentaque cuncta novantur. / Cernis et emensas in lucem tendere noctes, / et iubar hoc nitidum nigrae succedere nocti. / … / Quid? non in species succedere quattuor annum / aspicis, aetatis peragentem imitamina nostrae?'; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 15, 165–200.

2 Ovid 1955, 339–40.

3 Schöner 1964; Klibansky, Panofsky, and Saxl 1964.

4 Isidore of Seville, *De natura rerum*, IV–XVIII Becker.

5 The specular relation between man and universe, or microcosm (μικρὸς κόσμος = small world) and macrocosm (μέγας κόσμος = big world) refers in its terminology to Plato and Aristotle, and constantly returned in subsequent centuries (essential reading: Conger 1922; Allers 1944; Des Places 1964). This relation has its foundations both in the celestial origin of the soul and in the analogy between the 'rationality' of man and of the divine, which regulates the normative function of the cosmos. It not secondarily concerns the human body and its health, such as in the medical theory and practice of melothesia, iatromathematics, and the associated astral influences: Gundel 1992, 33, 44, 132–5, 322–8; for the sources see Le Boeuffle 1987, 61–2; Saxl 1985, 47–146, 280ff.

6 Sears 1986; Chew 1962, 144–73.

7 See the armillary sphere (cat. 8), the painting by Bramante with the terraqueous globe in the centre (cat. 11), Dürer's skies (cat. 12), and Gerhard Mercator's terrestrial and celestial globes (cat. 14).

8 Plato, *Timaios*, 33b–34b; Aristotle, *De caelo*, 269a; Cicero, *De natura deorum*, 2, 47 Pease; Macrobius, *Commentarii in somnium Scipionis*, 1, 6, 46–8; 1,14, 22–6; Ficino, *Theologia Platonica*, 18, 3; cf. Obrist 2004, 55–76, 91–110; Bertoldini 2006.

9 On the different orders of the celestial spheres, on the ninth heaven, the Primum Mobile or Crystalline Heaven: Heninger 1977, 18–20, 34–8, 134–41; Gizzi 1974, vol. I, 45–77, 197–205; Grant 1994, 38, 308–14; Obrist 2004, 72–6; Eastwood 2007, 31–8.

10 The equilibrium of the heliacal motions and the seasons is aided by the winds, periodically fluttering and emanating from the four regions of the world, which are distinguished according to their origin: a subject of considerable importance for any cosmographic argument (see cat. 50.3). The four principal winds are represented in antiquity by two bearded men and two beardless youths, contrasted because they blow from opposite directions and thus indicate the two aspects of their nature: violence and stormy force on one side and beneficial tenderness on the other, according to the different seasonal periods in which the airs blow. The dual aspect recurs in a widespread iconography, in Greek and Latin monuments (sufficient to mention the famous octagonal Tower of the Winds in Athens, described by Vitruvius, 1, 6, 4–55, with the eight winds depicted winged, half of them bearded and half beardless: among them Boreas and Euros with beards, Notus and Zephyrus without). The four winds have indicated, since Homeric tradition, the cardinal points (Boreas blows from the north, Notus or Auster from the south, Euros from the east, Zephyrus from the west), the seasons, and the celestial zones of the world; Nielsen 1945; Obrist 1997; Eastwood 2007, 158–70.

11 *Constitutio limitum*, 131 Thulin; Gottarelli 2013.

12 Benveniste 1971, 51: 'In language everything must be defined in dual terms; everything carries the imprint and seal of oppositive duality'; on the subject: Cuillandre 1944; Curletto 1990, 57–63; Aretini 1998; Gottarelli 2013, 30–42, 67–74, 155–6; see note 16 below.

13 *De partibus animalium* 665a, 22–25 (trans. William David Ross and John Alexander Smith, Oxford 1912, vol. V, p. 110).

14 Plato, *Timaios* 44d; cf. *Timaios* 70a and *De Republica* 8, 13, 560b: the head 'rules' the body like the acropolis the city. To Plato, the head, the highest part of the body, is the seat of the *noûs* and its elevated position implies that man must be guided by his own divine nature.

15 Virgil, *Aeneid* 8, 302 'tua dexter adi pede sacra secundo'; Servius, *ad l.*, 'Dexter adi id est propitius. Pede secundo omine prospero'; Ovid, *Fasti* 1, 69; Persius, 5, 114; Statius, *Silvae* 3, 4, 63–4; Paulus-Festus, *s.v.*; cf. Lobeck 1829, vol. II, 914ff.; Bouché-Leclercq 1882, vol. I, 136–45; Cuillandre 1944, 185–279, 325–60; see note 13 above.

16 'Mutatus ordo est, sede nil propria iacet, / sed acta retro cuncta: non animae capax / in parte dextra pulmo sanguineus iacet, / non laeva cordi regio, non molli ambitu / omenta pingues viscerum obtendunt sinus: / natura versa est, nulla lex utero manet.' Seneca, *Oedipus*, 366–71 (trans. Seneca 1995).

17 Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1, 9, 2–9 (trans. Macrobius 1969, 66ff.); Ovid, *Fasti* 1, 121, 139, 171; Pliny, *Naturalis historia*, 34, 33; Plutarch, *Quaestiones Romanae*, 22; Servius, *Commentary on Vergil's Aeneid* 7, 607; *Mythographus Vaticanus III*, 4, 9 Bode.

18 Heidel 1906 is still fundamental; cf. Cerri 1998.

19 Aristotle, *De generatione et corruptione* 329a–336a; *Meteorologica* 378b–390b: cf. Düring 1944, 9–25; Baffioni 1981, 205–28.

20 Gettings 1981, 108–9.

21 *Timaios* 31a–33a, 53a–63e.

22 Hauber 1916; Saxl 1985; Bezza 1995, vol. I, 95–107, vol. II, 600–4, 681–2, 744–52, 820–1; Blume 2000, in particular 139–200; Venturi 2010, 49–105.

23 Stern 1953, 203–98; Burgess 2012; Burgess 2017.

24 Each image is accompanied by tetrastichs that define the qualities and activities of the month.

SYLVIA FERINO-PAGDEN

Reflections on Arcimboldo's *Four Seasons*

Giuseppe Arcimboldo's depictions of the *Four Seasons* (cats. 28, 29, 90) are renowned for their exceptional composite structure – a method of artistic expression that made the painter famous during his lifetime and, thanks to the Surrealist movement, led to a resurgence in his reputation during the twentieth century. At the time, this had less to do with the artist's chosen theme of the changing seasons. The current exhibition focuses on nature in the context of cosmogony and cosmology, as well as on the annual metamorphoses that occur from spring through to winter, which are structured by the passage of time and can be compared to the cycle of human life from birth to death. Ovid and other ancient writers composed wonderfully evocative descriptions of these phenomena, and philosophers have been attempting to explain them since antiquity. Planets, astrological signs, and smaller units of time such as months, but also the elements that make up earth's matter play key roles in these fascinating processes, as illustrated by the exhibited artworks and discussed in the contributions to this catalogue.

All three painters who feature in the current exhibition – Arcimboldo, Bassano, and Bruegel – created artworks on the theme of the four seasons. In contrast to the paintings made by the Bassano family (cats. 62, 66, 67) and by Pieter Bruegel the Elder (cat. 15), which represented the seasons as landscapes with human subjects performing corresponding activities, sometimes in combination with astrological signs or other elements, Arcimboldo's depictions drew on the ancient tradition of personification. Adopting a unique and highly distinctive approach that will be examined in greater detail in this essay, he created composite heads that incorporated the characteristic attributes of the different seasons.

Pictorial representations of the four seasons can be traced back to antiquity. Derived from Greek predecessors – the Horae – the dancing 'Pompeian' maidens who adorned chamber walls in private houses in Rome conferred seasonal blessings upon the inhabitants, as is conveyed in Roman prayers.[1] The propitious influence of these personified seasons was later incorporated into

1 Paruzzo 2021, 79–94, 80.
2 Boschung 2013, 179–200.
3 Rigon Forte 2021, 138ff., figs. 15 a, b, 16, 17, 18, 19.
4 Rigon Forte 2021, 220, figs. 31 a, b.
5 Paruzzo 2021, 80–1; Rigon Forte 2021, 255, fig. 37.
6 It would be taking it too far, of course, to view Lomazzo's mention of the *teste composte* in his *Trattato della pittura* from 1584 in the context of mercurial places – i.e. taverns – as possible illustrations of the seasons on the four walls of such an establishment. See, most recently, Ferino-Pagden in exh. cat. Rome 2017/18, 22.
7 Rudolf 2015, 133–65.
8 Santamaria and Salvador Palomo 1996, 141.
9 Lietzmann 2003, 259–63; Lietzmann 2007, 37–65; Schütz 2007/08, 73–9.
10 Lietzmann 2007, 56–8 describes the many attempts that were made to keep citrus trees alive during the winter. Heating rooms for this purpose even led to a fire breaking out in the castle in 1567.
11 Lietzmann 2003, 258, 378, cat. IV.26.
12 Schütz 2007/08, 75; Olmi and Tongiorgi Tomasi 2011, 115, 118, and cats. 158, 183, 184.
13 Schütz 2007/08, 76; Busbecq 1554–1562 (2005).
14 Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. med. gr. 1.
15 Lietzmann 2003, 262.
16 Lietzmann 1987, 30–3.
17 Schütz 2007/08, 75–7.
18 Lietzmann 1987, 36–7.; Schütz 2007/08, 77–8.
19 Ferino-Pagden 2011, 198–201, fig. 10.
20 The mediating role played by Jacopo Strada, who worked as an antiquarian and an architect, cannot be discussed in greater detail here. See, most recently, Jansen 2019, 430–519, and Hassmann 2024, 37, 44, 67, 83, 96.
21 Staudinger in exh. cat. Paris and Vienna 2007/08, 160, fol. 28r: Aplomadofalke (Aplomado falcon), 163, IV 24, fol. 28; Kaufmann 2009, 129, 270, note 62.
22 Staudinger in exh. cat. Paris and Vienna 2007/08, 156–7, cat. IV. 23; exh. cat. Milan 2011, 115.
23 Rainer 2015, 79–105. See also DaCosta Kaufmann 1993, 137–50.
24 Rudolf 2015, 133–65.
25 Porzio 2011, 230, esp. 230 and 252, note 4.
26 Porzio 2011, 221–53.
27 Beyer 2017, [140]–5.
28 In Geiger 1960. This excursus is not included in the Italian edition that was published in 1954, *I dipinti ghiribizzosi di Giuseppe Arcimboldi, pittore illusionista del Cinquecento* (1527–1593), Florence 1954.
29 Porzio 2011, 221–30.
30 Porzio 2011, 228, 230.
31 Further versions have most recently been reproduced in exh. cat. Rome 2017/18, 44–5, cats. I. 28, 29, 147, cats. V. 4, 5.
32 Morigia 1592, 566.
33 Perhaps in reference to the painter Zeuxis, who is mentioned by Pliny the Elder. Zeuxis demonstrated his wealth by having his name woven into his outer garments in golden letters. See Wied in exh. cat. Paris and Vienna 2007/08, 127–8, cat. IV. 3. One might be tempted to consider this a frivolous *scherzo* by Arcimboldo, an allusion to more generous patrons of the past, if we were not all so conditioned by the constant demand to see only 'serious' – in other words, elevated – 'jokes' in his depictions. Most recently, DaCosta Kaufmann 2018, 368–75; DaCosta Kaufmann 1990, 59–80.
34 DaCosta Kaufmann 1993, 123–4. Winter marked the beginning of the new year in ancient Rome, and we also know that Maximilian once took part in a pageant wearing a 'winter' costume. At this point, it is important to remember that almost all of the other series refer back to either the Viennese *Seasons* or the set (now held in Paris, Louvre) that was painted for the Saxon Elector, with the result that the straw cloak of *Winter* contains either the fire irons or the crossed swords, but not just simple triangles, as in Munich.
35 See essay Gabriele, p. 19.
36 Wied in exh. cat. Paris and Vienna 2007/08, 148, cat. IV.18.
37 Ferino-Pagden in exh. cat. Paris and Vienna 2007/08, 103–111, above all fig. 3.
38 DaCosta Kaufmann 1978; DaCosta Kaufmann 2009, 50ff.
39 On antiquity, see Rigon Forte 2021, 53–4, figs. 4a, 4b and pl. I. On Lorenzetti's frescoes on the theme of *Buono Governo* (Good Government) in Siena's Palazzo Publico, see, most recently, Paruzzo 2021.
40 DaCosta Kaufmann 1978; DaCosta Kaufmann 2009, 50ff.
41 Porzio 1979; Porzio 1987; Porzio 1993 (1994), 2/4, 37–42; Porzio in exh. cat. Lugano 1998; Porzio in exh. cat. Milan 2011, 221–53.
42 Distelberger 2002; Ferino-Pagden 2015, 39–76.
43 Porzio 1979, Porzio 1987; Porzio and Kahn Rossi 1998; most recently, Porzio in exh. cat. Milan 2011, 230–1.
44 Rudolf 2015, 141.
45 Schütz in exh. cat. Paris and Vienna 2007/08, 81–4.
46 As Porzio has already proposed, the series that was documented in Munich in 1598, of which only *Autumn* survives in a rudimentary state, could have entered the Munich collection on the occasion of the marriage between Maria Anna, daughter of Albrecht V (a keen patron of the arts), and Maximilian's son Charles in 1571.
47 Rudolf 2015, 155, note 4, rejects DaCosta Kaufmann's theory on the grounds that the *Seasons* were already hanging in Ferdinand's *camera* in 1564.
48 Berra 1988, 11–39.
49 Most recently, Beyer 2012, 287–9.
50 Ferino-Pagden in exh. cat. Paris and Vienna 2007/08, 144–6, cat. IV.15. Comanini 1591 (1962), vol. 3, 268ff. The 1656 inventory of the extensive and famous collection of Giovan Pietro Cortoni in Verona lists the painting 'Le quattro Stagioni che formano una testa', whose dimensions compare to this work. From this one may conclude that it was created after Arcimboldo's return to Italy and was still recorded there in the seventeenth century.
51 Comanini 2001, 27–8.
52 Parts of this essay were published in 2023 in the journal *Finestre sull'Arte* V, 17, in an article titled 'Giuseppe Arcimboldo e l'imperatore Ferdinando I'.

SABINE PÉNOT

The Cycle of the *Seasons* by Pieter Bruegel

A Milestone in the Development of European Landscape Painting

> According to reports, when the painter Eupompus was asked who he took as models, he pointed at a group of people and said it was nature itself that one should imitate and not an artist. This was also true for our Breugel, whose works I speak of not as works of art, but much more as works of nature. And I do not call him the best painter, but truly the nature of painters.
>
> Abraham Ortelius, *Album amicorum*

The *Cycle of the Seasons* (cat. 15) is the only verified series of paintings by Pieter Breugel the Elder. It is the high point of his oeuvre and also a milestone in the development of European landscape painting. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, the paintings have been traditionally known as *The Gloomy Day* (early spring; the painting of spring is lost), *Haymaking* (early summer; fig. 1), *The Harvesters* (late summer; fig. 2), *The Return of the Herd* (autumn), and *Hunters in the Snow* (winter). The division of the year into six pictures – which seems odd from today's point of view – was a common way of breaking up the annual cycle in the Netherlands since, at the time, early spring and spring were distinguished from one another, as were early summer and high summer.

Breugel's seasons were painted in 1565[1] when the painter (then probably almost 40 years old, in any case over 35)[2] was already established in Brussels. The monumental series of pictures represents the culmination of Breugel's career as a landscape painter. The genre had always been considered one of his primary focuses, first as draughtsman during his travels in Italy, later as a painter. According to Karel van Mander, it was, above all, the drawings that Bruegel made during his trip to Italy (1552–54) and the prints which followed that were decisive for his accurate depiction of nature. The critic describes those depictions in glowing terms: 'He drew many vedute from nature during his journeys, so that it was said that when he was in the Alps, he swallowed all the rocks and

Fig. 1
Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Haymaking*, 1565. Prague, Palais Lobkowicz, Prague Castle

Fig. 2

Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *The Harvesters*, 1565. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 19.164; Rogers Fund, 1919

Fig. 3

Winter, from: Limbourg brothers, *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*, c.1416. Chantilly, fonds principal, 0065 (1284), fol. 2v

Fig. 4

December, from: Simon Bening (workshop), *Calendar Cycles*, 15th cent. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 23637, fol. 6v

Ridolfi had already noted Jacopo's religiosity and his knowledge of holy scripture, from which he drew inspiration for the biblical-pastorals.[32] These reflect the artist's profound religious sentiment, perceptible also in the representation of New Testament stories by an 'exegetic' intelligence that transferred the divine word to pictures comprehensible to the public, in keeping with the precepts of the Council of Trento.[33] This highly personal religious tension is the key to interpreting Jacopo's artistic pathway and relevant to understanding how his sons developed such representations. Only three *Seasons* series and a few other odd pictures show biblical scenes in the background (fig. 9).[34] The others (currently known) are devoid of any religious element and show how the Bassano workshop adapted to the demand for new iconographies detached from a sacred context and aligned to the new trends widespread in Europe at the time. These are documented by engravings by 'northern artists', which also acted as a model for the applied arts (cats. 50, 73).[35] The series was repeated by Jacopo and his workshop in numerous variants of format and figure combinations, which the prints by the Sadeler family circulated throughout Europe in the seventeenth century.[36]

Fig. 8

Jacopo dal Ponte, called Bassano, *Summer (Sacrifice of Isaac)*, detail, c.1576. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Picture Gallery, inv. 4302

Fig. 9
Jacopo dal Ponte, called Bassano, *Summer*, 1575/80. London, Spier Collection

1 'Il Bassanese miracoloso nel pingere cose pastorali'; Benedetti 1571, 6v.

2 The bibliography on Jacopo Bassano is enormous. In addition to Arslan 1960 see the essays by Marini, Rearick and Ballarin in exh. cat. Bassano and Fort Worth 1992. Ballarin's fundamental studies reprinted in 1995; Nichols 2018, Brücher 2019, Nichols 2023 and the recent bibliographic update in exh. cat. Helsinki 2024 are fundamental.

3 Rearick 1992/93, 48, and broadly Cottrell 2009, 50–7; Cottrell and Humfrey 2021, 100–17.

4 Rearick 1992/93, 59.

5 Ballarin 1967, 77–101.

6 Vinco 2021, 54.

7 'fatta a colpi e di fierissima macchia'; Ridolfi 1648 (1914/24), Part I 386, 389, 394, 396.

8 Bassano's art is discussed in Boschini 1660 (1960), 297–405.

9 Verci 1775. Giovanni Battista Volpato's manuscript is conserved in the Biblioteca del Museo Civico di Bassano. See also the monograph by Bordignon Favero 1994. For a survey of the sources of Bassano's technique, see Avagnina 1992, 233–44 and Cerasuolo 2016, 787–801.

10 Ballarin 1966, 112–36, esp. 116; reprinted in Ballarin 1995b, Scritti, vol. 1, 71–95, esp. 75.

11 Marini 1992, 22–6; Rearick 1996/97, 53–82; Ballarin 2010, 41–55.

12 Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. RF 1994 23; see Brown 2021 with previous bibliography.

13 Ridolfi 1648 (1914/24), Part 1, 401.

14 See essay Infelise and Minuzzi, p. 89.

15 See a recent overview by Svalduz 2019, 133–50.

16 See essay Demo, p. 103.

17 Stockbauer 1874, 43; Jansen 2019, 615–19, dates the list to the early 1570s.

18 Cecchi 1999, 60, 64 note 11.

19 On the circulation of works by the Bassanos in Spain see Falomir 2001, 19–20 who cites a despatch of 21 January 1574 to Philip II from Diego Guzmán de Silva, ambassador to Venice between 1569 and 1578. On the circulation in France, see Caramanna 2013; Jimenez Diaz 2001, 101 and Aikema 2011, 121–3 for the knowledge of the Bassanos in Rudolf's circle. See also Caramanna 2024.

20 Arslan 1960, 183–226 (Francesco), 233–75 (Leandro); Alberton Vinco da Sesso 1986, 173–7 (Francesco); 188–92 (Leandro).

21 Jacopo Tintoretto for the Palazzo Barbo at San Pantalon, Venice, 1546–48: *Spring,* Chrysler Museum of Art, Norfolk, Virginia, inv. 71.1301, and *Summer*, National Gallery of Art, Washington, Samuel Kress Coll., inv. 1961.9.90. Later on he painted *Autumn and Winter* and *Spring and Summer* (1575–85) for an unidentified palace, now at Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh, invs. 62.13 and 63.6. Paolo Veronese: *Seasons*, Sala dell'Olimpo, Villa Barbaro Maser, 1560/61.

22 Paruzzo 2021, 87–9.

23 See essay, Pénot p. 39.

24 Bruegel's seasons were intended for a similar audience.

25 See essay Pénot, p. 39.

26 The series was completed with *Autumn* and *Winter* by Hans Bol.

27 Ballarin 2004, 91; Eskelinen 2024, 103.

28 See essay Gabriele, p. 19.

29 See essay Pénot, p. 39.

30 Rearick 1992/93, 145–6; Ballarin 1968, 240–1; Aikema 1996, 131–7: Mason 1999, 558–9; Eskelinen 2024, 97–109.

31 Eskelinen 2024, 105–8.

32 Ridolfi 1648, 395.

33 Berdini 1997, 60–80.

34 Musei Civici di Milano, Raccolte Artistiche (Pinacoteca and Museo d'Arte Antica), invs. 69–72, see also Bianchi in Mmus. cat. Milan 1998, 38–44; Galleria Borghese in large format. invs. 3, 5, 11, see Della Pergola 1959, 101–2 and Herrmann Fiore 2006, 9; entries by Antonio Jommelli in the online catalogue https://www.collezionegalleriaborghese.it/; Estate, coll. Spier.

35 See the wide circulation of engravings portraying the elements and planets by Maarten de Vos after Adriaen Collaert who illustrated the elements accompanied by zodiac signs, still combined with biblical episodes. For the prints by Etienne Delaune, see cat. 73.

36 Corsato 2010.

37 Paolo Veronese wanted his son Carletto to be trained in Francesco's workshop.

38 Ridolfi 1648, 406.

39 Mason 1999, 559: the owners of five *Seasons* cycles belong to the class of citizens that also included merchants and secretaries to the offices of the state administration. The works' success increased in the years after 1600 when a good sixteen series are recorded in inventories. For the inventory of Gerolamo Bassano, see Mason 2009.

40 Bottari and Ticozzi 1822, 265–6.

41 Borghini 1584, 564; Arslan 1936, 111–12; Rearick 1992/93, 166 note 376.

42 Cecchi 1999, 60, 61, 63.

43 Rearick 1992/93, 166 note 376. Moreover, Francesco Bassano painted altarpieces for churches in Florence and Rome; Kassel, Schloss Wilhelmshöhe, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, inv. GK 515.

44 Mason 1999, 559; Ballarin 1995b, vol. 1, 34–6.

45 For the markets see the *Big Market* painted before 1582 for Charles Emmanuel of Savoy signed by Jacopo, Bava 1995, 212–19; Bava 2016, 505–17 and that signed by Francesco, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Picture Gallery, inv. 4319, Del Torre Scheuch 2019, 38–40.

46 Ridolfi 1648, 399; Del Torre Scheuch 2009, 115.

47 Goldberg 1996, 535–6 note 47; Falomir 2001, 22–5, 125–33.

48 See Van Buchell in Lanciani 1900, 13 recently recalled by Caramanna 2024, 44.

49 The drawings, which faithfully reproduce the Viennese *Months*, are published in Schleier 1981, 15–29.

50 Berdini 1997, 19; Nichols 2023, 93. Both scholars refer to Agostino Valier's *De Rhetorica Ecclesiastica ad clericos libri tre* (Verona 1574); see also essay Infelise and Minuzzi, p. 89.

51 Moldovan 2021, 123–7.

52 Moldovan 2021, 137–8.

53 Del Torre Scheuch 2021, 159.

54 See essay Olmi and Tongiorgi Tomasi, p. 67.

Courtly Banquets and Conversations

(cats. 15–39)

Cat. 15.1, Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *The Gloomy Day (Early Spring)*

Cat. 15.2, Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *The Return of the Herd (Autumn)*

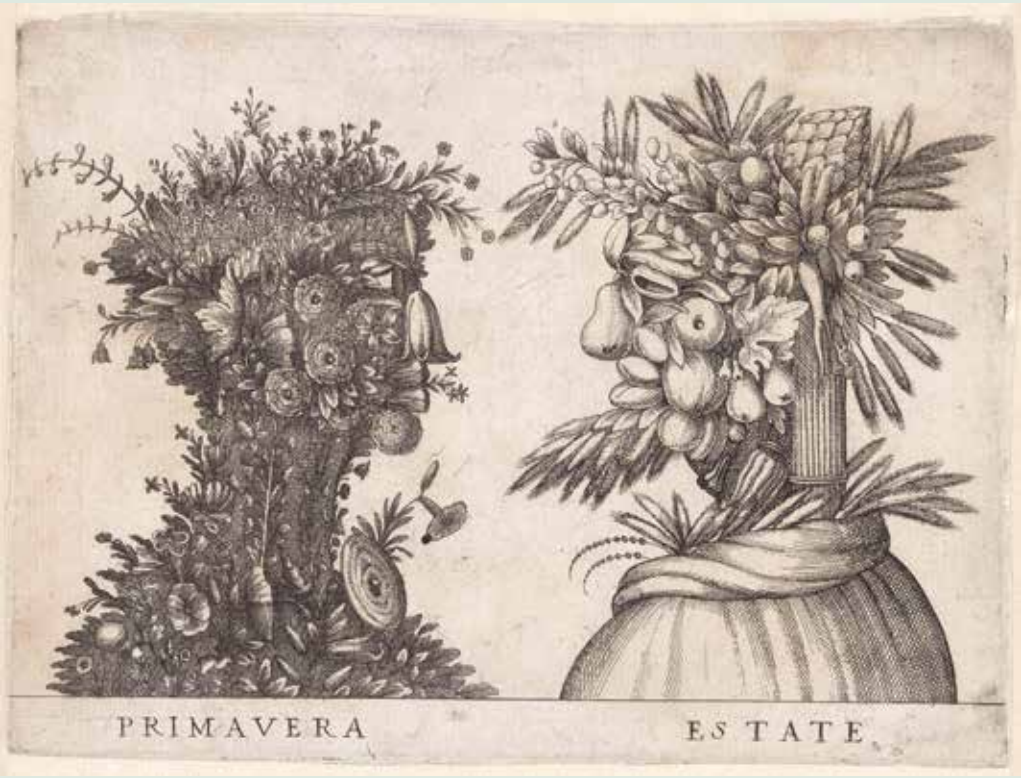
Cat. 15.3, Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Hunters in the Snow (Winter)*

interest in tapestries. Of particular importance is a commission for a series of six tapestries depicting extensive gardens, which combined his passion for tapestries with his passion for nature.

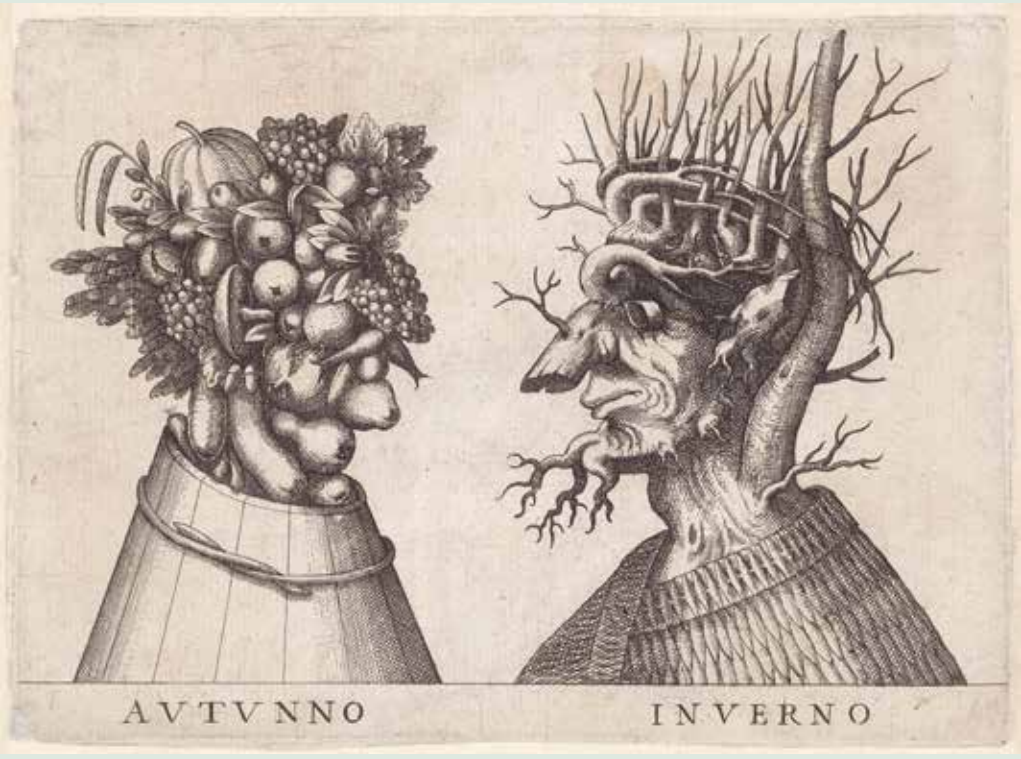
In 1564, the popular Brussels manufactory of Willem de Pannemaker undertook to make the tapestries, which – executed with technical perfection – convey a deceptively realistic impression. The compositions, which were based on ancient writings as well as contemporary architectural treatises, may also have appealed to the scholarly interests of the humanistically educated cardinal. Their symmetrical structure and their design, which adheres to the laws of proportion and central perspective, mark the idealized gardens depicted in the tapestries as artificial objects. The native and exotic plants and animals also do justice to the representative, costly appearance of the tapestries.

This tapestry with two fighting cocks is dedicated to the principle of Ionic architecture. The cock symbolises the sunrise and vigilance; here, it also symbolises pugnacity. The marbled columns with Ionic capitals are particularly graceful. Roses, a symbol of innocence and beauty, as well as being a token of the Virgin Mary since the Middle Ages, entwine the arched entrance to the garden. Together they accentuate the subtle yet dignified character of this composition.

Katja Schmitz-von Ledebur



Cat. 27.1, after Giuseppe Arcimboldo, *Allegory of the Four Seasons: Spring and Summer*



Cat. 27.2, after Giuseppe Arcimboldo, *Allegory of the Four Seasons: Autumn and Winter*

Cat. 28.1, Giuseppe Arcimboldo, *Spring*

Cat. 28.2, Giuseppe Arcimboldo, *Summer*

Cat. 28.3, Giuseppe Arcimboldo, *Winter*

Cat. 29.1, Giuseppe Arcimboldo, *Summer*

Cat. 67.10, Leandro Bassano, *September*

Cat. 67.11, Leandro Bassano, *October*

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