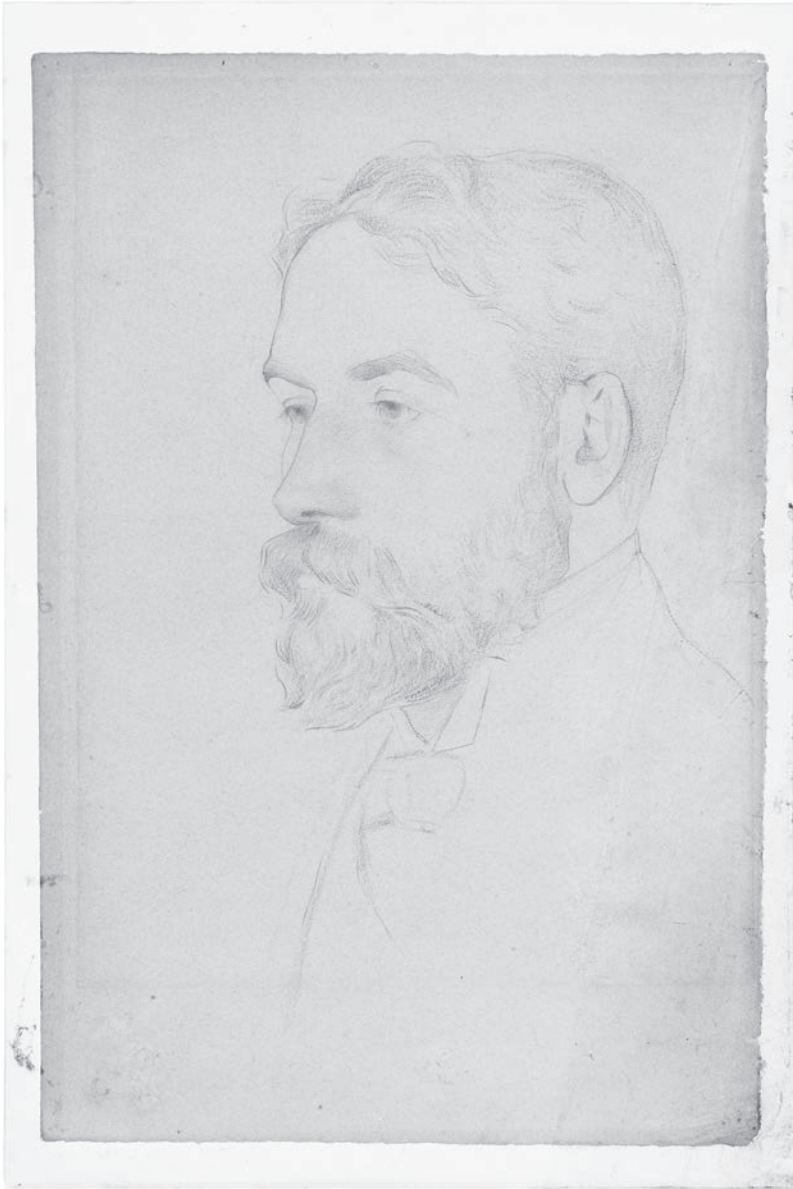


BERNARD BERENSON

*Formation and Heritage*



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VILLA I TATTI SERIES, 31

BERNARD BERENSON

*Formation and Heritage*



JOSEPH CONNORS AND  
LOUIS A. WALDMAN



VILLA I TATTI

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THE HARVARD UNIVERSITY CENTER FOR ITALIAN RENAISSANCE STUDIES

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ONE

## Introduction

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JOSEPH CONNORS

### *Bernard Berenson: Critical Reception, 1959–2009*

THE CORE OF THE PRESENT volume consists of the papers presented at the conference “Bernard Berenson at Fifty,” held at I Tatti from 14 to 16 October 2009, on the fiftieth anniversary of Mr. Berenson’s death on 4 October 1959. Somewhat to our surprise, we found that there was a passionately engaged public and enough fresh research to fuel a much longer conference. Indeed, several papers have been added post-conference that represent interesting new research. The cult of personality that surrounded Berenson as he aged had dissipated for the most part in the decades following his death, and his ideals as an art historian can no longer be said to be at the center of the field. But there is a new generation deeply concerned with the historiography of art history and the intellectual roots of connoisseurship. It was this interest that we principally wanted to address.

In the years immediately following Berenson’s death, aside from numerous obituaries in the Italian and international press, one might single out three more thoughtful evaluations of his life and work: two glowingly positive and one distinctly negative. In her warm memoir of 1960, Iris Origo avoided any evaluation of Berenson’s literary production and left aside the commercial side of a life built on connoisseurship in order to dwell on the man she knew as a reader of catholic tastes and an insatiable traveler. Even in old age, she reminds us, he traveled to distant and uncomfortable lands, never without the famous lists or the projected book on the decline of classical form on his mind, but driven as well by an unquenchable thirst for knowledge through sight. Zest for life came with intense

looking, whether in the distant Balkans, or in Libya, or in the hills above Vincigliata and the garden at I Tatti: “Each day, as I look, I wonder where my eyes were yesterday.”<sup>1</sup>

Meyer Schapiro visited I Tatti on 21 May 1927, after a year of travel in Europe and the Middle East. Then twenty-three and a graduate student at Columbia University, Schapiro had been born, like Berenson, in Lithuania, although his family emigrated soon afterward to America. Schapiro recorded his impressions in a letter later that day: Berenson was at first crusty and created a bad impression by ranting against Schapiro’s teacher at Columbia. But he soon changed his tone and eventually gave this unknown student many hours of his time, walking through the collection and inviting his views. Berenson also wrote of the visit shortly afterward, not without admiration for the intellectual acumen of his young countryman: “I put him to the task, I showed him my jade libation cup and my little bronze candlestick and he praised them and discoursed about them as smartly as Solomon did about the hyssop that grows on the wall.”<sup>2</sup> The admiration was not reciprocated, however. The mature Schapiro, socialist in politics, brilliant interpreter of modern art, and theoretician of art history, felt a mounting disdain over the years for the “Sage of Settignano.” He revisited I Tatti in 1931, but it did not heal the rift, and by the 1940s we find him drawing a satirical cartoon featuring “Mr. Berenson and the Collector.”<sup>3</sup> Berenson’s death in 1959 seemed to call for comment, and the appearance of Sylvia Sprigge’s journalistic biography in 1960 provided enough information on the commercial side of Berenson’s career to arouse his indignation. Schapiro articulated his distaste for everything that the older man stood for in an article published in *Encounter* in January 1961.

“Mr. Berenson’s Values” is a thoroughly negative obituary. Schapiro criticized Berenson for rejecting his Jewish identity, but thought it showed through in character traits such as his “Talmudic” fondness for working over the fine points of attribution. He belittled claims that Berenson discovered Paul Cézanne and established the reputation of Henri Matisse, focusing instead on the rejection of modern art in the latter half of Berenson’s career. Schapiro grudgingly found value in the abstract concepts of his early writings—ideated sensations, tactile values, life-enhancement—but lamented that Berenson failed to summon up the intellectual energy to revise and synthesize the “Four Gospels.” Instead, Schapiro complained, he concentrated on the refinement of the lists under the influence of his clients and retainers: “His sensibility became the instrument of

☞ I would like to express my thanks to all the staff of Villa I Tatti for their help in organizing the symposium of 2009, in particular to Louis Waldman for his enthusiastic collaboration, and to Susan Bates, Angela Lees, and Françoise Connors for the smooth running of the event. Thanks for their suggestions during planning also go to Jaynie Anderson, Jane Martineau, Patricia Rubin, and Patrizia Zambrano. Over my term as director of Villa I Tatti, access to the photographic and documentary archives at Villa I Tatti was graciously facilitated by Fiorella Superbi, and in the year preceding the conference by Ilaria Della Monica, Giovanni Pagliarulo, and Sanne Wellen. Publication of this volume is indebted to Lino Pertile, the current director of Villa I Tatti, and to Jonathan Nelson, who expertly took over production. To them and to all who assisted with this book, I express my warmest thanks.

1 Origo 1960, 153.

2 Damisch 2007, 15f, n. 2.

3 Schapiro and Esterman 2000, 172.

a profession.”<sup>4</sup> Rubbing in Berenson’s own misgivings late in life about the path his career had taken, Schapiro treated him as a miraculously surviving symbol of the sweetness of life before 1914, with its untaxed income and opportunities for an aesthetic style of life.

Kenneth Clark, who had lived at I Tatti in 1925 and, in spite of personal differences and the diverging direction of his scholarship, remained a brilliant disciple of Berenson. He delivered a magisterial eulogy in Florence, in Palazzo Vecchio, which was published in *The Burlington Magazine* in September 1960. In it, Clark elaborates some of the points already made in an obituary he wrote for the London *Times* the previous year. Although Clark’s *Burlington* article came out four months before Schapiro’s, it reads uncannily like a point-by-point response to the American scholar’s attack. There are naturally some concessions to the genre of eulogy, such as the lines on Berenson’s love for the Italian landscape and his lifelong bond, in war and peace, with the Italian people. The main thrust of the piece, however, is a critical examination of Berenson’s intellectual achievements, exactly the domain disparaged by Schapiro. Clark perceptively sees the origin of his aesthetic concepts in Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and, closer to home, in the writings of the Florentine-based sculptor Adolf von Hildebrand. He captures their impact on a world dominated by Ruskinian appreciation of art as illustration, and he finds Berenson’s most original idea, ideated sensations, to be a valid basis for criticism. On the other hand, Clark explores Berenson’s initiation into Morellian connoisseurship, the skill that would eventually derail his career as a writer and aesthete. He notes the swelling of Berenson’s reputation after his reviews of the New Gallery Exhibition of 1894, when, as Clark memorably puts it, “his attacks so alarmed collectors and dealers that there was nothing for it but to persuade this terrible poacher to turn game-keeper.”<sup>5</sup> Clark re-poses the question Berenson often asked himself late in life—that is, whether, in pursuing connoisseurship, he had taken the wrong path. Clark reminds us that Berenson says, in his *Sketch for a Self-Portrait*,

I cannot rid myself of the insistent inner voice that keeps whispering and at times hissing “you should not have competed with the learned nor let yourself become that equivocal thing, an ‘expert.’ You should have developed and clarified your notions about the enjoyment of the work of art. These notions were your own. They were exhalations of your vital experience.”<sup>6</sup>

In a thought experiment, Clark puts himself inside the head of Berenson and tries to see why, at the crossroads of his early maturity, he chose connoisseurship over criticism, the lists over the essays. Though the lists were originally, according to Clark, “a sharp weapon used to assault an inert mass of tradition, they themselves became the mass, the canon, the object of assault.”<sup>7</sup> They could not be left forever as they stood in the 1890s. The

4 Schapiro 1961, 64.

5 Clark 1960, 382.

6 *Ibid.*, 384.

7 *Ibid.*, 383.

demand for names was relentless; the lists were constantly being updated in his head, and it was infuriating for him to be sent corrections that he had already made, but not published, years before. On the other side of the balance, Clark observes that the aesthetic concepts were already embodied in such rich, dense texts that Berenson feared he would only be repeating himself if he went back to them. In any case, he felt that his real achievement was conversation, not the written word. Clark gives Berenson's melancholic self-evaluation Homeric resonance by saying that Berenson treated ideas and knowledge in the way the ancient bards treated legend and poetic imagery: as an inexhaustible reservoir to be drawn on for the delight of his audience, without wanting to deprive them of life by fixing facts and ideas on a printed page.

Correspondence is by its nature reciprocal, and in Berenson's case it was conversation meditated in the slow pace of letters that were eagerly opened and, "except for *billets-doux*,"<sup>8</sup> read aloud before Mary Berenson and Nicky Mariano. Berenson consecrated hours each day to his correspondence. Although Joseph Duveen gave Mary a typewriter in 1922, she thought it impolite to use the device for personal correspondence. Berenson's hand became crabbed with age and it takes great patience to read the late letters, though sometimes Mariano would type them up, not to send but as records. The archives at I Tatti contain thousands of letters from hundreds of correspondents. Mariano managed to put them in order when cleaning out the house after Berenson's death; she felt that even the unimportant letters might help to create an image of his "spiderweb," with its threads spun out in every direction. She relied on them to supplement her reminiscences in the charming memoir that she published in 1966, *Forty Years with Berenson*. Her inventory of the correspondence was published in 1965; a continually updated copy is kept in the archives of Villa I Tatti and is now available on their website.

The letters sent out from I Tatti by the thousand are findable to some extent in the archives of the Berensons' correspondents, and several of the articles in this volume are based on discoveries in far-flung repositories. Some, like Belle da Costa Greene, destroyed Berenson's letters, which, in Samuels's apt phrase, seemed to him a kind of homicide.<sup>9</sup> Many more kept them, however, and they are waiting to be brought to light.

The known correspondence and diaries, not available to the first biographer, Sylvia Sprigge, were the basis for the major event in the study of Bernard Berenson since his death, the publication of Ernest Samuels's two-volume biography, *Bernard Berenson: The Making of a Connoisseur*, in 1979, and *Bernard Berenson: The Making of a Legend*, in 1987. Samuels had consulted the Berenson Archive while doing research for his biography of Henry Adams, and he realized that the master of I Tatti could himself be the subject of a fascinating study. Between Berenson's death in 1959 and Mariano's in 1968, the archives were the property of Berenson's companion, Elisabetta "Nicky" Mariano, and not initially part of the bequest to Harvard University. After her death in 1968, the archive passed to Mariano's heirs, the family of her sister, the Baronessa Anrep, only coming into the possession of the Harvard Center in 1984. Samuels had unlimited access to

8 Trevor-Roper 2006, 157.

9 Samuels 1987, 541.

the archives during this time of transition and used them to produce a scrupulous, even-handed biography, “official” only in its unfettered access to the sources, but in fact anything but hagiographic. Among its other qualities, it is beautifully written—anyone who reads the first chapter on Berenson’s Lithuanian childhood, for example, will want to read further. Samuels’s work will long be the basis of scholarship about Berenson and his world, and every article in the present collection is indebted to it.

Two recent books explore individual correspondents who are represented in the archive by extensive *fondi* of colorful and zesty letters. Heidi Ardizzone’s *An Illuminated Life* relies in the earlier chapters on Belle da Costa Greene’s 615 letters to Berenson, many of which are passionate love letters. As noted in the essay on Katherine Dunham in this volume, Ardizzone’s fine book sheds light on the boundaries imposed by race in the society in which Berenson moved, and the strategies by which these boundaries might be transgressed. Hugh Trevor-Roper, historian of early modern England and later Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford University, Master of Peterhouse in Cambridge University, and Lord Dacre of Glanton, visited I Tatti in the summer of 1947 on the recommendation of Mary’s brother, Logan Pearsall Smith. Berenson enjoyed the meeting enormously and invited Trevor-Roper to return whenever he was in Italy and to write from Oxford. This he did, with gusto—the historian and the connoisseur maintained an avid correspondence for the dozen years prior to Berenson’s death. Trevor-Roper’s half of the exchange was published in exemplary form by Richard Davenport-Hines in 2006; Berenson’s half, now kept with the Dacre papers in the Bodleian Library, was judged to be less interesting and only occasionally appears in Davenport-Hines’s notes. Essentially, Berenson offered Trevor-Roper an ear that delighted as much as his own in the wicked and the cutting, and his rehearsals of academic battles at Oxford were preparation for the grand narratives of English history that he planned and researched, but in the end failed to write.

The business of connoisseurship, dismissed with contempt by Schapiro and explained away with regret by Clark, has attracted wave after wave of interest, especially in publications of the past decade. Berenson’s participation in the art market, first as agent for Isabella Stewart Gardner, then in collaboration with Otto Gutekunst of Colnaghi, and finally on retainer from Joseph Duveen, has been studied in Cynthia Saltzman’s 2008 book on American collectors of the belle époque and in Meryle Secrest’s detailed biography of Joseph Duveen, published in 2004. A play by Simon Gray, *The Old Masters*, which opened in London in 2004 and moved to New York in 2010 (and was even performed at I Tatti in 2009), draws attention to the drama of Berenson’s final encounter with Duveen, when Berenson refused to attribute the Allendale *Nativity* to Giorgione, as advantageous as that would have been for both parties. Ironically, most scholars now believe, contra Berenson, that the painting is indeed by Giorgione. Recently there has been work on some of the other relationships that allowed Berenson to maintain his high style of life. In his book on Henry Walters and Berenson, published in 2010, Stanley Mazaroff documents in fine-grained detail the formation of the Walters collection from the point of view of the collector, delineating a relationship in which Berenson appears more of a dealer than he does with Gardner.

Berenson's changing attitudes to the art of his own day, from his early championing of Matisse and Cézanne to his later rejection of modern art, have already been the subject of a probing book of 1994 by Mary Ann Calo. A light has been turned more recently on the appreciation of Matisse by Gardner and her friends, in Anne McCauley's essay of 2003 in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum catalog, *Eye of the Beholder*. McCauley explores the appreciation of this revolutionary artist in generally conservative circles that overlapped so much with Berenson's. A paper presented at the I Tatti conference by Alan Chong, which is not included in the present collection, also addressed the nexus between Gardner and the fauvist painter. Berenson acquired a small painting by Matisse, *Purple Beeches*, in Paris in 1910. Eventually he gave it to his friend Prince Paul Karageorgevic of Yugoslavia, and he presented paintings by Camille Pissarro (*Rural Scene*) and Charles Conder (*At the Seashore*) to the future Museum of Contemporary Art in Belgrade that was being built up with Prince Paul's encouragement. The Serbian connection has now been illuminated thanks to the efforts of his daughter, Princess Elizabeth Karageorgevic, to bring her father's vision as a collector to light, principally via the catalog of the Prince Paul Museum in Belgrade, published by Tatjana Cvjetćanin in Serbian in 2009 and in English in 2011.<sup>10</sup> Berenson's Matisse returned to Florence in 2007, one is tempted to say in triumph, for the exhibition *Cézanne a Firenze*, held in Palazzo Strozzi. The accompanying catalog is a pioneering study of the reception of Cézanne in Florence through the collecting activities of two American expatriates, Berenson's friend Egisto Fabbri and his rival Charles Loeser—fascinating figures who were explored further in the exhibition of 2012, *Americans in Florence*.

The evolution of the collection over time and its placement in the villa have been the subject of several recent studies. In 1997, Patricia Rubin, at that time acting director of the Harvard Center, delivered a paper on this topic at a conference in the Georgetown villa in Fiesole, Le Balze, which was then published in 2000 in the acts of the conference, *Gli Anglo-Americani a Firenze*. The formation of the entire collection will be the subject of a detailed chapter in a forthcoming catalog being prepared under the direction of Carl Brandon Strehlke and Machtelt Israëls.

To return to a point raised by Schapiro, there will be a sensitive treatment of Berenson's ambiguous relationship to his Jewish roots in a forthcoming biography by Rachel Cohen in the series *Jewish Lives*. A prelude to her findings can now be read on the internet, in a virtual exhibition curated by Jonathan K. Nelson in 2012 on the Villa I Tatti website, entitled "Berenson at Harvard: Bernard and Mary as Students." The online catalog presents helpful, short biographies of the personalities who taught Berenson at Harvard, including his instructors in Hebrew and Oriental languages. It also collects his writings in Harvard literary publications as an undergraduate.

Finally, some mention should be made of recent studies of Berenson's scholarship. In a monograph of 2006, Antonella Trotta has returned to Berenson's first work of art history, *Lorenzo Lotto*, which originally came out in 1895 and has been republished

<sup>10</sup> Cvjetćanin 2011.

several times, most recently by Luisa Vertova in 2008.<sup>11</sup> In 2009, Carmen Bambach contributed an exemplary study of Berenson's 1903 *Drawings of the Florentine Painters*, published for a series of critical articles on the founding books of art history in *The Burlington Magazine*. She offers a remarkable analysis of Berenson's method as a pioneer in a new field, underlining in his monumental achievement while not glossing over its shortcomings.

Paradoxically, the essay by Berenson that was most quickly doubted and eventually rejected by the connoisseurship community is the one that has recently received the most attention. It is the famous article "Amico di Sandro," first published in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* in 1899 and republished in *The Study and Criticism of Italian Art* in 1901. In it, Berenson isolates the oeuvre of a painter close to Sandro Botticelli and deeply influenced by him, but distinct from his best-known disciple, Filippino Lippi. Patrizia Zambrano published the first Italian translation of the article in 2006, with an in-depth introduction. Hard on the heels of her monograph on Filippino, which was coauthored with Jonathan Nelson in 2004,<sup>12</sup> her introduction charts the influence of Walter Pater's image of Botticelli on Berenson, as well as the idea, expressed by Gustavo Frizzoni as early as 1891, that there had to be an intermediate personality. She notes the earliest skepticism of the new and as yet unnamed artist on the part of Herbert Horne, who eventually won over the initially credulous Roger Fry. Fond of his own creation, Berenson would keep Amico di Sandro in his lists until 1932. Zambrano also traces the great schism between Berenson and Roberto Longhi, finding the ultimate refutation of Berenson's Florentine-centric Renaissance in Longhi's 1927 monograph on Piero della Francesca. Her introduction is closely argued and her wide reading in the history of connoisseurship is demonstrated in cornucopian notes. "Amico di Sandro" is also the subject of a close reading in 2011 by Jeremy Melius, who emphasizes, in postmodern critical prose, the concept of personhood in relation to the psychology of William James and the aesthetics of Vernon Lee.<sup>13</sup> All such studies refer to the founding of scientific connoisseurship by Giovanni Morelli. The burgeoning field of Morelli studies was opened up by a conference in Bergamo in 1987 and by Jaynie Anderson's ongoing publication of Morellian sources as well as interpretations of his personality and work.<sup>14</sup> These publications seldom explore the Berensonian world, which is a generation later, but they lay the foundation for the study of the origins of scientific connoisseurship.

## The Essays in the Present Volume

### *Connoisseurship in Theory and Practice:*

*Isabella Stewart Gardner, Jean Paul Richter, Otto Gutekunst, Umberto Morra*

Isabella Stewart Gardner helped to finance Berenson's travels in Europe after Harvard, when he was a promising literary figure with the ambition of becoming a new Goethe. After months of seemingly directionless letters from Europe from the young Harvard graduate,

11 Trotta 2006.

12 Zambrano and Nelson 2004.

13 Melius 2011.

14 Anderson 1999 and 2000; and Morelli 1991.

she grew disillusioned and broke off their correspondence. A chance meeting in London in 1893, however, rekindled the friendship at just the right time. Gardner had come into her full estate of \$2 million with the death of her father in 1891, and Berenson had refashioned himself into the leading connoisseur of early Italian art, with many contacts among dealers and noble families in need of money. It was a match made in heaven. The letters between Berenson and his first important patron were published in full by Rollin Van N. Hadley in 1987. They form the foundation of a perceptive article by Patricia Rubin in a 2000 issue of *Apollo*, and are also the basis of Antonella Trotta's Italian monograph of 2003, *Rinascimento Americano*. Gardner exerts a perennial fascination. The world of personalities and objects that she built around herself, first in Back Bay and later in Fenway Court, has been studied in two recent exhibitions at the Gardner Museum: *The Eye of the Beholder*, held in 2003; and *Gondola Days*, held in 2004. Her interest in the Orient and voyage to the Far East, a trip Berenson never managed to make, were the subjects of another innovative exhibition, *Journeys East: Isabella Stewart Gardner and Asia*, held at Fenway Court in 2009.

Several essays in this volume return to Gardner and the formation of her collection, exploring the origins of Berenson's eventual vocation as a paid expert. Dietrich Seybold examines the role that Jean Paul Richter (1847–1937), art historian and connoisseur-dealer, had in the development of Berenson's self-conception. At first, the connection might seem purely commercial. The Giambono *St. Michael Enthroned* that presides over the I Tatti dining room today came onto the London market in 1893 as "German school." Berenson immediately saw the correct attribution and acquired a partial interest in the painting along with Richter. The Giambono continued to hang in Richter's London house until Berenson bought out Richter's interest. It entered I Tatti in 1900, the year of the Berensons' marriage.

Seybold shows, however, that the connection ran deeper than commerce. When the twenty-four-year-old Berenson first met Richter in 1889, he was, of course, the well-known author of the great two-volume collection of Leonardo da Vinci's notes and manuscripts, first published in 1883. He was also the rising star in scientific connoisseurship, achieving the height of fame in this field after the death of his master, Giovanni Morelli, in 1892. Berenson's youthful appraisal of the older figure showed his own ambition: "This is a very famous critic—but I did not feel so very little beside him."<sup>15</sup> Richter made his fortune with the export from Italy of two major works by Andrea Mantegna and Giorgione. His lesson for the young American was that one could live by connoisseurship. Although it would take a dozen years, Berenson eventually came to outshine his early role model as the foremost connoisseur of his day, and he engaged in the trade more than Richter ever had. Richter opened up possibilities for the young Berenson, but he also foreshadowed the ambiguities that Berenson never shed about his own career.

15 See Berenson to Senda Abbott (Berenson), Easter Sunday (21 April) 1889, Bernard and Mary Berenson Papers, Biblioteca Berenson, Villa I Tatti—The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies (hereafter BMBP).



Otto Gutekunst, director of Colnaghi's gallery in London from 1894 to his retirement in 1939, has now emerged as a key figure in most of the Gardner acquisitions that used to be credited to Berenson alone. Jeremy Howard, head of research at Colnaghi's in London, draws in his article on the archives of the firm as well as on the Berenson Archive to illuminate the relationship between Berenson and this dealer of high aesthetic sense. Howard's essay complements both Cynthia Saltzman's book of 2008 on the formation of Old Master collections in America and his own history of the Colnaghi firm, published in 2010. Gutekunst had started as a print dealer but then entered the field of Old Master paintings just at the time when the British aristocracy was looking for ways to cope with debilitating death duties. He was the essential middleman in Gardner's acquisition of the thirty or so Old Master paintings that form the core of her collection, in particular Botticelli's *Tragedy of Lucretia* and Titian's *Europa*. Berenson and Gutekunst encouraged Gardner to think of herself as an Isabella d'Este. They did not just sell her paintings, but transformed them into objects of sublimated desire. Beginning in about 1904, Berenson began to drift away from Colnaghi as he came into the powerful gravitational field of Joseph Duveen. Howard closes with one of the most touching of the many letters quoted in this book, in which Gutekunst, indignant for a moment at his friend's excessive high-mindedness, questions the arrogance of an elite inner circle whose hands are always clean and who think they make no mistakes. The friendship nevertheless endured until Gutekunst's death in Geneva in 1947.

The mixture of flattery, idealism, and banter that characterizes Berenson's letters to Gardner came to shape a little-known appendage to Fenway Court. Robert Colby's essay on the Altamura garden pavilion that stood at the rear of the Gardner Museum from 1907 to 2009 shows how architecture, even *architettura minore*, can be a bearer of symbolic meaning. When Fenway Court was finished in 1903, Gardner turned to the rear garden, which was supposed to be surrounded by walls and a high, ivy-covered trellis to keep out the prying eyes of a fast-developing quarter. It became possible to build the garden wall and its attached gatehouse once the final vacant lots were acquired in 1907. Gardner's architect, Willard T. Sears, submitted a design for a handsome Venetian-style garden pavilion, four stories high with a clock and open loggia, to serve as rear entrance and centerpiece of the garden-encompassing wall. But when Gardner received a postcard from the Berensons, dated 4 May 1907, showing the Bari Gate of Altamura, a picturesque fortified town in the instep of the boot of Italy, she immediately adopted this baroque design, with its violin-curve volutes, instead of the Venetian-style loggia that was, in effect, more consonant with the character of her museum.

Altamura had a meaning for the Berenson circle that went deeper than a modest city gate. It was the title of an essay published in the third and last number of a short-lived periodical, *The Golden Urn*, in 1898. Logan Pearsall Smith, Mary's brother, later claimed authorship, probably rightly, but there was considerable input, partly playful and partly serious, from Bernard and especially Mary as well. The essay described a fictional monastic community, Altamura, which sheltered the worshippers of St. Dion, who went through a ritual year dedicated to the cultivation of beauty and the rejection of everything that smacked of capitalism, modernity, and the values of the middle class. Only true aesthetes

could be Dionites, but occasionally grandes dames could visit, a hardly veiled allusion to Isabella Stewart Gardner. The rest of this number of *The Golden Urn* was devoted to an extensive list, organized by city and museum, of the Renaissance paintings that Dionites would cherish as icons of the religion of beauty. This was certainly the contribution of the Berensons, in the format that would eventually grow into their famous lists.

Colby's research, conceived while he was a curatorial fellow at Fenway Court, and later continued as a fellow at I Tatti, might have deepened the debate surrounding the enlargement of the Gardner Museum, had it been taken into account. But the preservationist community was not, in the end, successful in preventing the demolition of the Altamura gatehouse, which occupied the site that Renzo Piano intended for the new entrance to the museum. It succumbed to the wrecker in 2009. The ideal expressed in 1898 in the "Altamura essay," as important as it was in the self-conception of the Berenson circle, succumbed soon enough to Berenson's dealings in the art market and to the realities of connoisseurship as a profession, with all the tedious labor involved in revising the *Drawings of the Florentine Painters* and the ever-changing lists. Much of Berenson's writing in old age shows his regret at his turn away from the more purely aesthetic and literary ideals of his youth. But the ideal of a "lay monastery" devoted to conversation and the contemplation of beauty, to enhancement of the whole personality, and to "life-enhancing" scholarship survived in the foundation document for the Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies that I Tatti was to become after Berenson's death.

Count Umberto Morra di Lavriano (1897–1981) was a close friend of Berenson from his first introduction to I Tatti in 1925 to Berenson's death in 1959. Both felt an elective affinity across an age gap of thirty years. Both were passionate about English literature and both were deeply interested in contemporary political events. Morra, the aristocrat with a royalist background, was intensely antifascist, especially after his friend Piero Gobetti was attacked by fascist thugs, dying soon afterwards as the result of his beating. After that point in 1926, Morra went underground, operating clandestinely from his villa near Cortona, though making frequent visits to I Tatti until the time Berenson himself was forced into hiding in 1943. One of the qualities that endeared Berenson to Morra was his skill as a listener, one who abetted conversation by his ability to hold up the less vocal end of a dialogue without flattery but with deep sympathy and understanding. It is said that Morra's *Conversations with Berenson* comes closer than any other source to capturing the evanescence of Berenson's conversational flow. Robert and Carolyn Cumming knew Morra well in their student days in Italy in the 1970s. In their essay, they recount their experience of the man and describe the deep personal qualities that drew both them and Berenson to him.

#### *Berenson and the Germans: Adolf von Hildebrand, Aby Warburg*

The most widely recognized phrase in all of Berenson's aesthetic writing is "tactile values." Alison Brown is a distinguished intellectual historian and student of Renaissance politics, an author of books on Bartolomeo Scala and on the fortune of Lucretius in the Renaissance as well as on works on the circle of Anglo-Saxon expatriates around the Berensons. She was a student of Ernst Gombrich at the Warburg Institute and first came

across tactile values in his lectures. Her essay looks at this concept in the writings of the sculptor and theorist Adolf von Hildebrand and in the philosophy of William James.

In Hildebrand's *Das Problem der Form in der Bildenden Kunst*, which Berenson read and annotated, the sculptor says that, for the visual artist, the central problem is to endow a flat surface with three-dimensionality. The artist rouses the tactile sense and creates ideated sensations that communicate vitality and life-enhancement. Reading Hildebrand helped break Berenson's writer's block when starting on *Florentine Painters of the Renaissance* and eventually allowed him to see the affinity between Masaccio and modern artists, such as Edgar Degas. On the other hand, William James, Berenson's teacher at Harvard and a visitor to Florence in 1892–93, helped shape his conceptions of will, energy, and life-enhancement. Although there was mutual suspicion between the professor and the future connoisseur, somehow they felt, in common, that when we look at a work like Antonio Pollaiuolo's *Hercules*, a fountain of energy springs up under our feet and works its way into our veins. The psychologist-cum-philosopher and the aesthete-cum-connoisseur helped each other to see Renaissance art in new ways.

Florence was important in the shaping of the other great protagonist of early twentieth-century art history, Aby Warburg. Bernd Roeck, who holds the chair of general modern history and Swiss history at the Universität Zürich, published a book on the young Warburg in 1997, then turned to a study of Warburg in the Florentine context in the largest sense—*Florenz 1900: Die Suche nach Arkadien*, published in German in 2001 and in English translation in 2009. He explores the multifaceted society in which Warburg moved, beginning with his first visit as a student in 1888 and continuing through his famous lecture at the International Conference of 1911 in Florence. Roeck explores Warburg's Botticelli in terms of the late nineteenth-century cult of the artist, but also studies the larger German expatriate community, the antiquarians and dealers, the litterateurs, and the aesthetes of all stripes, including a perceptive chapter on Berenson and Anglo-Saxon villa culture. All of this is put into the context of the other Florence—the “real” world of violent labor unrest, lopsided economic development, and conflict between the demolishers of the historic center and the international outcry in the name of preservation.

In his paper, Roeck begins by returning to the fundamental theme of his book, “the people who come to terms with the present by attempting to flee from it.” He seeks to understand the paradoxical roots of modernity and the space opening up for an avant-garde in the midst of world-renowned collections of Renaissance masterpieces. The essay is focused not so much on Berenson as on the stage on which Berenson acted out his performance. Hildebrand and Berenson's rival in collecting and connoisseurship, Charles Loeser, makes an appearance. We are reminded that the first mention of Cézanne in the literature of art history occurs in Berenson's *Central Italian Painters of the Renaissance* of 1897, evoking a theme that was explored in the groundbreaking exhibition, *Cézanne a Firenze: Due collezionisti e la mostra dell'Impressionismo del 1910*, organized in Palazzo Strozzi in 2007. Roeck intersperses, in pointillistic detail, evocations of the sounds and scents of the city on the Arno as noted by perceptive visitors. The second half of the essay deals with the Parisian art dealer, Wilhelm Uhde, now little known but in his day a pivotal figure of the avant-garde, who formed a collection of works by Pablo Picasso, Georges

Braque, Henri Rousseau, Jean Dufy, André Derain, and Maurice de Vlaminck, thus combining a love of the Florentine Quattrocento and the Florence of Jacob Burckhardt with a veneration for Edouard Manet's *Olympia*.

Claudia Wedepohl, an art historian and archivist at the Warburg Institute in London, highlights a key meeting in Hamburg in 1927, when Berenson first visited Warburg's library. The two scholars had not met since 1898 and each held the other in relatively low esteem: Berenson disdained iconography, while Warburg belittled mere connoisseurship and disliked Berenson's arrogant personality. The surprise was mutual when the meeting went rather well. Warburg dwelt on a *cassone* panel from the Jarves collection at Yale University, which he had discovered in a visit to Berenson's photographic archive at I Tatti in 1898. Mary had attributed the panel to the "Master of Virgil's *Aeneid*," a constructed personality of the sort that delighted early twentieth-century connoisseurs. Warburg, on the other hand, wanted to fit the panel into his analysis of festivals and jousts in Florentine society, an example of "cultural-historical iconography." The two schools of thought could, in this fruitful moment of truce, focus on the same work of art. Warburg went further and tried to show Berenson that his method could complement that of the connoisseur. Both felt the appeal of Hildebrand's theory of forms, which stood at the heart of Berenson's tactile values. Wedepohl shows how Warburg's psychology ultimately derives from Robert Vischer's 1873 doctoral dissertation, which introduced *Einfühlung*, a term later translated by Vernon Lee as "empathy," into art history. Warburg warns the viewer not to succumb to empathy but to keep a distance from the work, quite the opposite of Berenson's approach. Wedepohl also shows how, as early as 1900–1, Warburg began to distance himself from the aestheticizing approach and from the Morellian method to which Berenson was to remain faithful all his life. Thus, the meeting of 1927 was a moment of cordiality masking an ever-widening intellectual divide.

### *Islamic and Oriental Art*

On a tour of I Tatti, the perceptive visitor will be struck by a small number of Islamic works discreetly interspersed with the Renaissance paintings that dominate the collection. In the Berenson Reading Room (known in the Berensons' time as the "Big Library"), visitors may note a pair of colorful miniatures from a treatise on automata, *Kitāb fī ma'rīfat al-ḥiyāl al-handasiyya* (*Book of Knowledge of Ingenious Mechanical Devices*) by al-Jazari, illustrated in Mamluk Egypt in 1354. Near the Signorelli corridor hangs a leaf from the Great Mongul (formerly Demotte) *Shahnama*. There are several illuminated manuscripts kept under lock and key, and one of the great privileges of I Tatti is to be shown the illustrated *Anthology* of Baysunghur, the princely hero of the book but also the incarnation of the Orientalist-Renaissance ideal that guided collectors and scholars at the opening of the twentieth century, a phenomenon studied by Priscilla Soucek in a perceptive article of 2001.

These works have justly attracted attention. The great scholar of Islamic art, Richard Ettinghausen, studied them closely for his catalog of the Berenson Islamic collection, published in 1961. The Great Mongol *Shahnama* from which Berenson's leaf derives is treated in depth in a number of publications from the 1979 thesis of Mariana Shreve

Simpson, through the 1980 monograph by Oleg Grabar and Sheila Blair, to the 2004 book by Robert Hillenbrand. Angelo Piemontesi treated the Persian manuscripts in an article of 1984, while Gauvin Bailey wrote on the Islamic manuscripts in a pair of useful articles in *Oriental Art* in 2001 and 2002. All these scholars concern themselves with the dating and attribution of the objects, but what remains to be studied is the place of Oriental art, and of a larger image of Islam and the Orient, in Berenson's imagination, a task begun by Michael Rocke in an article of 2001.

Mario Casari, who teaches classical Persian literature at the University of Rome "La Sapienza," explores Berenson's interest in Islamic art. Berenson conceived of himself in this early period partly as a literary figure and partly as a philologist in the late nineteenth-century sense of the term, when language was seen as the key to culture. From his upbringing in the Jewish world of Lithuania, Berenson of course knew some Hebrew, but at Harvard he added courses in Sanskrit and Arabic. Had he been granted the Harvard traveling fellowship for which he applied in 1885, to study Arabic in Berlin, he might have had a serious career in Oriental research, but instead he followed his literary bent and let the difficult languages lapse. His remained a romantic Orientalism. Casari illuminates the roots of this mentality in unpublished juvenilia from the Harvard period. Berenson's openness to Islamic art (and Mary's as well) came from a visit to the great Munich exhibition of 1910. The enthusiasm for Islamic and especially Persian art, seen as an Oriental parallel to the patronage of the Medici, set off a phase of collecting lasting only a short time, from 1910 to 1913. There was much selling as well as buying, but I Tatti retains a small but refined collection, with three illuminated Persian manuscripts and six detached miniatures (four Persian and two Arabic) at its core.

By 1917, Berenson's resources had become strained and he had ceased collecting Islamic and Oriental art. In any case, by that time the collection was largely closed, and only a handful of Western paintings entered I Tatti in the 1920s or later. His archaic and amateur Orientalism was beginning to become apparent to colleagues and specialists. As time passed, his attitudes hardened and skepticism of emerging postcolonial countries in the Middle East set in, accompanied by an anti-Arab attitude over the founding of the state of Israel. Still, he continued collecting books on Islamic art. Newcomers to the Biblioteca Berenson often note with surprise the existence of the Asian and Islamic Collection, now housed in two rooms in the Geier Library, containing a thousand exhibition and sales catalogues, 1,200 periodical volumes, and 3,500 books, many unique in Italy, as well as a set of the photographs of early Islamic architecture taken by K. A. C. Creswell, a project partially subsidized by Berenson.

In the publication of the Sassetta altarpiece carried out under the editorship of Machtelt Israëls in 2010, Carl Brandon Strehlke, adjunct curator at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, contributed a penetrating essay on Berenson's interest in the art of Asia, showing how Berenson absorbed the culture of Oriental art fostered in the Boston of his youth. Against this backdrop, it becomes easier to understand the rapturous parallel Berenson drew in 1903 between Buddhist and Franciscan spirituality. Perceptive visitors note that the three Sassetta panels at I Tatti stand amid a small collection of East Asian bronzes, reinforcing the point made in Berenson's writings. One of the treasures of the

Berenson collection is the sixth-century Buddhist altar kept in the Signorelli Corridor amid Renaissance paintings and other Chinese objects dating from the third millennium to the nineteenth century.

Strehlke continues and deepens this research in his essay for this volume. Berenson's early Japonisme (as a Harvard student he had pronounced Hiroshige "better than Whistler") matured during his 1894 visit to the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston with Denman Ross to meet Ernest Fenollosa. At that visit, Chinese paintings of the twelfth century sent all of them into rapture. On a visit to the Freer Gallery in Washington in 1914, Berenson said that if he were starting out he would devote himself to the arts of China. In that year, he acquired the precious early scroll painting now exhibited in the Signorelli Corridor, *Dancing Girls of Kutcha*, then thought to date from the Tang dynasty. Mary at first refused to share his enthusiasm for Asian art, and mocked the Javanese Buddha head from Borobodur and the Chinese saint which came from a Paris dealer in 1909. But she converted to Oriental art in general after the couple's visit to the Islamic exhibition in Munich in 1910. Berenson's juxtaposition of Asian and Renaissance art was without parallel in the late Victorian world.

Strehlke also traces Berenson's long friendship with Yashiro Yukio. Berenson was introduced to this young art historian from Japan by Laurence Binyon in 1921. Yashiro aspired to absorb the master's critical methods and introduce them to Japan. Berensonian ideals and connoisseurship pervade Yashiro's monograph of 1925 on Botticelli. Although contact was cut off during the war years, Yashiro's loyalty remained firm. He dedicated his book, *2000 Years of Japanese Art*, to Berenson in 1958. He shepherded the Japanese translation of *Italian Painters of the Renaissance* through the press in 1961. It bore a dedication to Yashiro that Berenson composed before his death in 1959. Stressing the analogy between Botticelli's swift, flame-like modeling and Japanese line drawings, Berenson praised his one Asian disciple: "Thanks to you, my dear Yashiro, we Europeans have come to have subtler and more penetrating appreciation of the achievement of your countrymen and they of ours."

#### *The Protégés:*

*Kenneth Clark, Arthur Kingsley Porter, Paul Sachs, Daniel Varney Thompson Jr.*

William Mostyn-Owen, one of the most authoritative and eloquent voices at the conference, fortunately managed to submit his essay before his death in 2011. He came to know Berenson well as his amanuensis and confidant for six years in the late 1950s, and he published the complete bibliography of Berenson's writings on the occasion of Berenson's ninetieth birthday in 1955. He writes with wit and subtlety on the relationship between Berenson and Kenneth Clark, lasting three decades, during which the devoted but sometimes reluctant disciple became, through his public role in Britain and through television, known to a far wider public than the scholar he acknowledged as his master.

Clark came to I Tatti in 1925. Berenson took him on as assistant, not full collaborator, in the preparation of the second edition of the *Drawings of the Florentine Painters*. It was not the right role for Clark, and although the residence was long and the returns

frequent, he felt the need to strike out on his own and make a career in the museum world in Britain. Still, Clark absorbed a great deal from Berenson, even while remaining open to other currents of thought, including those of Alois Riegl and Aby Warburg. Their letters show Berenson's longing for a figure who might fill the role of spiritual son, while Clark, for all this admiration, maintained the distance of the disciple. Mostyn-Owen paints a deft portrait of the two personalities, highlighting the differences between Berenson, who, if he needed listeners, shunned publicity, and Clark, who needed the adulation of a large audience. Opening with the long obituary that Clark wrote of Berenson in the *London Times* in 1959, he closes with Clark's address at I Tatti in 1980. Clark told the assembled fellows that Berenson's value as a critic was as high as John Ruskin's, and that at the heart of his old books and dry lists there was learning, intelligence, sensibility, and faith in man, even if imperfectly expressed.

Kathryn Brush is a medievalist who also writes on the origins and historiography of the field in America and Germany. She is the author of a 2003 book on the Fogg Museum at Harvard University, the repository of the papers of one of its early professors of medieval art, Arthur Kingsley Porter. The Porter Archives are rich and vast, forming the basis of her forthcoming intellectual biography of this seminal figure in the historiography of medieval art in America. In the present volume, she studies the deeply imbricated friendship between Berenson and Porter, which spanned a gulf of wealth and class and traversed barriers now tacitly accepted between specialists of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Porter was an internationalist who disregarded modern frontiers as he charted the spread of medieval sculpture along the pilgrimage roads. Berenson's early mission was to show his generation that one could live with the primitives, and Porter absorbed this lesson as a student at Yale, studying the famous Jarves collection of Italian painting while reading Berenson's "Four Gospels." Porter was wealthy, and his collecting followed Berenson's lead, with Niccolò di Pietro Gerini and the early Sieneese masters as his first acquisitions. Porter modeled his corpus of Lombard churches on Berenson's 1903 corpus of Florentine drawings. It was daring to take a format conceived for painting and rework it for architecture, but it worked well, and was later followed by Richard Krautheimer in his corpus of early Christian basilicas in Rome.<sup>16</sup>

Porter and Berenson explored Burgundy together after the First World War, but it was Berenson's influence that nudged Porter away from the devastated regions of France to the pilgrimage roads, which Berenson explored for three months in 1919 before Porter had seen them in person. Porter, in turn, whetted Berenson's appetite for the twelfth century and provided him with material and ideas for his overarching study, never completed, of the decline and resurrection of form between Constantine and Giotto. Much later, Berenson's short book on the Arch of Constantine, a fragment of the larger project published in 1954, was dedicated to the memory of Porter and to that of Denman Ross, his mentor in Chinese art. Berenson was so fond of Porter that he invited him and his wife to live at San Martino a Mensola in 1919 and then loaned them the main villa at I Tatti in the winter of 1920–21. Porter's most famous book, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage*

16 Krautheimer et al. 1937–77.

*Roads*, was penned, in part, at Berenson's desk. Porter the medievalist was, in Berenson's eye, the ur-I Tatti fellow, and as the concept of a center for Mediterranean art after his demise took shape, Berenson thought of Porter as his successor. All this was cut short by the tragedy of Porter's death, probably by suicide, in 1933.

David Alan Brown, curator of Italian painting at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, is himself a veteran of the famous Museum Course given over four decades at the Fogg Museum. He examines the figure who did most to shape that course between 1921 and 1948, Paul Sachs. Both Sachs and Berenson were short, dapper men with a cosmopolitan outlook, Jews whose exceptional abilities won them high positions in the art world and in society. Neither had studied art history in a university setting, though both affected the teaching of it profoundly. Sachs was more the popularizer, while Berenson was one of the most intellectually ambitious scholars of his time, but a bond of trust formed between them. Sachs was the first person at Harvard to whom Berenson revealed his intention of bequeathing I Tatti to his alma mater. Berenson lectured in Sachs's course in 1921, and his *Rudiments of Connoisseurship* and *Three Essays in Method* were required reading in addition to his lists. David Alan Brown also gives a profile portrait of a protégé whom Sachs sent to Berenson, John Walker, who stayed at I Tatti for three years, from 1930 to 1933. Like Clark, Walker went on to become head of a national gallery, and his influence was important in insuring that the reluctant Harvard Corporation ultimately accepted Berenson's bequest. Walker eventually left a lively picture of daily life at I Tatti in his autobiography of 1969, *Self-Portrait with Donors*. His successor at the National Gallery of Art, J. Carter Brown, left his own touching reminiscence of Berenson in the last years of his life in a preface to Hanna Kiel's collection, *Looking at Pictures with Bernard Berenson*, in 1974.

Walker and Clark were gilded youths, but Berenson also maintained a warm friendship with an engineer and scientist from much further down on the social and academic scale, Daniel Varney Thompson Jr. (1902–1980). Every Anglo-Saxon student of medieval painting will know something of pigments and techniques through the English translation of Cennino Cennini's *Il libro dell'arte*, published by Thompson in 1933 and thereafter kept constantly in print. Thea Burns, an I Tatti fellow and, at the time of the conference, a paper conservator at the Weissman Preservation Center of Harvard University, resurrected this forgotten and improbable friendship, which was maintained through letters up to the time of Berenson's death. Berenson never affected an interest in the techniques of tempera and oil painting, which he dismissed along with his other bugbears, Germanic philology and American art appreciation. None added to the deeper aesthetic appreciation that was his life's goal. To some extent, theirs is a dialogue of the deaf, with Thompson constantly stressing that art cannot exist without craftsmanship, and Berenson retorting that technical data was like prenatal information, irrelevant to a person's biography. Nonetheless, the friendship somehow endured. Thompson emerged as a key figure in establishing the laboratory approach to painting in England and America. He also wrote on colors and on the making of parchment, and helped to establish the text of several important medieval treatises on the arts in Latin and German. Burns contrasts Thompson's purely philological approach with more modern methods that might



question the literary genre of a text or the historical milieu in which it was written. This Thompson did not attempt. He remained, however, the master of the medieval recipe, giving painstakingly exact translations of technical terms and experimenting with the processes described to see how they actually worked. What Berenson rebuffed, Harvard embraced. The Museum Course of Edward Forbes was an inspiration to Thompson, and he, in turn, furthered the scientific analysis which eventually became a distinguishing mark of the culture of art history at the Fogg Museum.

*Pietro and Carlo Alberto Foresti, Archer Huntington, Katherine Dunham*

Elisabetta Landi uses the archives of the Landi-Foresti family to reconstruct a friendship and to sketch profiles of a father and son who were major figures in the intellectual life of their native town, Carpi, during Berenson's youth and maturity. Pietro Foresti was a protagonist of the "imagined, rediscovered Renaissance" of the later nineteenth century. His ambition as a collector is apparent in the rooms of Palazzo Foresti in Carpi, a worthy sibling of the more famous house museums of the time, such as the Bardini and Sacrati Strozzi in Florence and the Poldi Pezzoli and Bagatti Valsecchi in Milan. Pietro Foresti was also involved in the founding of the Museo Civico of Carpi and subsidized the restoration of the vast Palazzo Pio di Carpi. His son, Carlo Alberto Foresti (1878–1944), moved to Milan and formed his own art collection and dealership. The paintings that passed through his gallery are studied here in the light of a correspondence with Berenson that lasted from 1926 to 1935. Several are identified with the help of the "homeless" paintings section in the Berenson photographic archive. In the essay, local patriotism and civic pride intertwine with the world of collecting, dealing, and international trade in Old Masters.

Mary Berenson's charm and love of literature captured the attention of the man the Berensons most wanted to meet during their visit to the United States in 1908–9. Archer Huntington was one of the richest men in the country as well as a scholar of note, translator of *El Cid*, and founder of the Hispanic Society of America. Isabelle Hyman, professor of Renaissance art and architecture at New York University, discovered the correspondence between Berenson and Huntington in the library of Syracuse University, which is the repository of the Huntington family papers. Their epistolary friendship lasted from 1908 until Archer's death in 1955. Their correspondence, unlike that which Berenson carried out with Isabella Stewart Gardner or Henry Walters, was not generally about the acquisition of works of art, but simply testimony to an enduring friendship. Huntington nominated Berenson for membership in the American Academy of Arts and Letters, and in his letter of thanks, Berenson reveals how important this American honor was for him as an expatriate. The Huntington archives also contain the journal of A. Hyatt Mayor, eventually the distinguished curator of prints at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, during his visit as a young Oxford student to I Tatti in 1925–26. It provides a rare glimpse into life at I Tatti at the time of Berenson's rapprochement with the exhaustingly talkative Vernon Lee and the arrival of Kenneth Clark.

The editors of this volume, although immersed in Berensoniana as director and assistant director for programs at I Tatti, chose to look not at Berenson as an art historian but

rather at his relationships with figures of contemporary culture in mid-twentieth-century America, personalities famous in their own right but seldom linked in the popular mind with I Tatti. Ernest Samuels had already consecrated a few pages to the epistolary relationship between Berenson and Ernest Hemingway. The two men never met, but they remained in touch by letter over the years 1949 to 1957. Berenson was already in contact with Hemingway's third wife, Martha Gellhorn, and greeted his fourth wife, Mary Hemingway, with "What number are you?" when she visited in 1948. At Hemingway's request, Berenson wrote a tribute for the dust jacket of *The Old Man and the Sea*, "this short but not small masterpiece." The Hemingway letters are at I Tatti. Louis Waldman discovered the Berenson half of the correspondence, and so was able to reconstruct one of the liveliest, and certainly the most profane, of the literary exchanges of Berenson's later years; it is hoped that his findings will soon be published in another format.

As Samuels observed, Berenson took a good deal of pride in the variety of his notable guests. Once, however, the parade of celebrities included someone who touched his heart. Katherine Dunham was an Afro-American social scientist trained in anthropology at the University of Chicago, but also a professional dancer and choreographer. Following field research in Jamaica and Haiti in 1935, she founded the first black dance troupe in the United States and toured regularly on five continents until 1955. She was also the founder of dance anthropology as a field. She sought out Berenson during a visit to Florence in 1948 or 1949 and maintained a correspondence with him until his death a decade later. About 130 letters testify to a loving friendship that ignored barriers of race and age and anchored Dunham's career during a period of personal turmoil and global travel. When she revealed her plan to perform *Southland*, a ballet about lynching in America, in Paris in 1953, Berenson advised against it. Their friendship briefly cooled, but soon returned to a greater degree of intimacy than ever. Berenson's relationship with Belle da Costa Greene a generation earlier had rapidly turned into a passionate affair with a woman who had, in effect, "passed" from her father's world of black activism to white society. In contrast, Katherine Dunham fully identified with her black heritage and campaigned vocally against discrimination. A world traveler with her dance troupe, in her long and beautifully crafted letters she lent the aging Berenson an anthropologist's eye through which to view the rapidly changing societies of Asia, Latin America, and even the United States. When an honorary doctorate was conferred on her by Harvard University in 2002, at the age of 92, she cited Berenson as one of the major influences on her life. The letters she and Berenson wrote to each other testify to the depth of a most unusual friendship.

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Brown is curator of Italian paintings at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, where he has organized many international loan exhibitions, including *Bellini, Giorgione, Titian, and the Renaissance of Venetian Painting* (2006). Brown’s monograph on Andrea Solario earned him the Salimbeni Prize, Italy’s most distinguished award for art books, in 1987. His study *Leonardo da Vinci: Origins of a Genius* (1998) won the Sir Bannister Fletcher Award in 2000 for the most deserving book on art or architecture. In recognition of his achievement in furthering the appreciation of Italian culture, Brown was awarded the Order of Merit of the Republic of Italy in 2003.

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Robert Cumming is an adjunct professor of the history of art at Boston University. Educated at the University of Cambridge, he worked for the Tate Gallery and was then responsible for founding and running Christie's Education. In 2005, he joined Boston University to lead its London campus. He and his wife Carolyn, who is an independent scholar and garden designer, have devoted many years to the study of connoisseurship and the Berenson circle. Carolyn Cumming, who is high sheriff of Buckinghamshire and fellow of the Royal Society of Arts, has supported the Buckinghamshire and Milton Keynes Community Foundations by horse riding from the north to south of the county to raise funds for charities that support families and children.

#### JEREMY HOWARD

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Hyman is professor emerita in the department of art history at New York University, where she taught for forty years. She received her BA from Vassar College, her MA from Columbia University, and her MA and PhD in art history from New York University's Institute of Fine Arts. Her fields of specialization are the history of architecture, Italian Renaissance art and architecture, and the architecture of Marcel Breuer. She has been the recipient of a Guggenheim Fellowship and a grant from the Graham Foundation for Advanced Studies in the Fine Arts; she was Kress Fellow at Villa I Tatti in 1972–73. She was Robert Sterling Clark Visiting Professor at Williams College, and for several terms served as editor and coeditor of the College Art Association's scholarly monograph series. In addition to articles and reviews, she is the author of *Brunelleschi in Perspective* (1974), *Fifteenth-Century Florentine Studies: Palazzo Medici and a Ledger for the Church of San Lorenzo* (1977), and *Marcel Breuer, Architect: The Career and the Buildings* (2001)—the latter was one of two winners in 2002 of the Alice Davis Hitchcock Book Award given annually by the Society of Architectural Historians for "the most distinguished work of scholarship in the history of architecture." She is also coauthor with Marvin Trachtenberg of *Architecture: From Prehistory to Postmodernity* (2002). She has served

on the boards of the College Art Association, the Society of Architectural Historians, the Friends of the Vassar Art Gallery, and the Muscarelle Museum at the College of William and Mary.

#### ELISABETTA LANDI

Landi, an official in the national heritage administration, is the granddaughter of the collector Carlo Alberto Foresti; she studied medieval and modern art at the University of Bologna. She focuses on the history of collecting, especially that of Carlo Alberto and Pietro Foresti, as well as the latter's connection with Adolfo Venturi, and the patronage of the artist Giovanni Muzzioli. She has published numerous articles on the baroque and neoclassical decorations of Emilia-Romagna, specifically on Stefano Orlandi, including his entry in the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*. She has also studied the iconography and iconology of Pomona, Venus, and Heliades, and emblematic literature. Her current research is on mystical and ascetic women. She also contributes to several scholarly journals and organizes conferences.

#### WILLIAM MOSTYN-OWEN

Mostyn-Owen, who died on 2 May 2011, was introduced to Bernard Berenson and I Tatti by Rosamond Lehmann in the autumn of 1952 and acted as Berenson's assistant until the connoisseur's death in 1959, working on the revision of *Lorenzo Lotto* and, with Luisa Vertova, on the Venetian and Florentine Lists. He compiled the *Bibliografia di Bernard Berenson* (1955) and was instrumental in obtaining Harvard University's acceptance of the villa. He joined the Old Master department of Christie's, London, in 1965, was appointed a director at Christie's in 1968, and was made chairman of Christie's Education in 1977. He retired in 1987.

#### BERND ROECK

Roeck studied history and political science at the University of Munich, where he earned his PhD in 1979. Thereafter, he was a fellow of the Leibniz Institute of European History (Mainz) as well as scientific assistant at the University of Munich. In 1987, he obtained his habilitation with a study on the city of Augsburg during the Thirty Years' War. From 1986 to 1990, he was director of the Centro Tedesco di Studi Veneziani in Venice. From 1991 to 1999, he held the chair of medieval and modern history at the University of Bonn; from 1997 to 1999, he was on leave and filled the position of secretary general of the Villa Vigoni Association in Lovenjo di Menaggio, Italy. Since 1999, he has held the chair of modern history at the University of Zurich, Switzerland. His work covers the artistic, cultural, and social history of the Thirty Years' War and the European Renaissance.

#### DIETRICH SEYBOLD

Seybold, independent scholar at Basel, has, after completing his PhD at the University of Basel (2004), carried out research in the areas of history and art history. His book on Leonardo da Vinci and the Oriental world (2011) has reexamined the myth of Leonardo

traveling to the East and provided the first overview on all Oriental references in Leonardo's life, notes, and oeuvre. His main area of research is now the history of connoisseurship, with a forthcoming biography of the Leonardo scholar and pupil of Giovanni Morelli, Jean Paul Richter (1847–1937), as well as a brief history of the painting collection of Henriette Hertz, commissioned by the Bibliotheca Hertziana (2013, in Italian).

CARL BRANDON STREHLKE

Strehlke, adjunct curator of the John G. Johnson Collection at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, is the author of the 2004 catalog of that collection's early Italian paintings. He has been involved in exhibitions on Sieneese Renaissance art, Fra Angelico, Pontormo, and Bronzino at both the Philadelphia Museum of Art and the Metropolitan Museum of Art. He is chief editor of the forthcoming catalog of paintings in the Bernard and Mary Berenson Collection at Villa I Tatti.

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