BERNARD BERENSON

Formation and Heritage
Bernard Berenson: formation and heritage.—First [edition].

pages cm.—(Villa I Tatti ; 31)

“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.”

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-674-42785-3 (first)

   I. Connors, Joseph.

2013036803

Book and cover design: Melissa Tandysh
Book production: Dumbarton Oaks Publications

Cover illustration: William Rothenstein, Bernard Berenson, 1907.
Frontispiece: James Kerr-Lawson, Bernard Berenson, ca. 1898.
Both images are from the Berenson Collection, Villa I Tatti—The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies.
(Photo: Paolo De Rocco, Centrica srl, Firenze, © President and Fellows of Harvard College.)
Contents

One
Introduction
1
JOSEPH CONNORS

Two
Bernard Berenson and Jean Paul Richter
The Giambono’s Provenance
19
DIETRICH SEYBOLD

Three
Art, Commerce, and Scholarship
The Friendship between Otto Gutekunst of Colnaghi and Bernard Berenson
33
JEREMY HOWARD

Four
Palaces Eternal and Serene
The Vision of Altamura and Isabella Stewart Gardner’s Fenway Court
69
ROBERT COLBY

Five
Bernard Berenson and “Tactile Values” in Florence
101
ALISON BROWN

Six
Bernard Berenson’s Florence, 1900
121
BERND ROECK

Seven
Bernard Berenson and Aby Warburg
Absolute Opposites
143
CLAUDIA WEDEPohl
Eight
Bernard Berenson and Islamic Culture
“Thought and Temperament”
173
MARIO CASARI

Nine
Bernard Berenson and Asian Art
207
CARL BRANDON STREHLKE

Ten
Bernard Berenson and Kenneth Clark
A Personal View
231
WILLIAM MOSTYN-OWEN

Eleven
Bernard Berenson and Arthur Kingsley Porter
Pilgrimage Roads to I Tatti
249
KATHRYN BRUSH

Twelve
Bernard Berenson and Paul Sachs
Teaching Connoisseurship
269
DAVID ALAN BROWN

Thirteen
“The Cookery of Art”
Bernard Berenson and Daniel Varney Thompson Jr.
283
THEA BURNS
Fourteen
The Antiquarian Carlo Alberto Foresti of Carpi, a Correspondent of Bernard Berenson
*Unknown Documents for the History of a Dispersed Collection*
309
ELISABETTA LANDI

Fifteen
Bernard Berenson and Archer Huntington
331
ISABELLE HYMAN

Sixteen
Bernard Berenson and Count Umberto Morra
“Do Not Forget Me”
349
ROBERT AND CAROLYN CUMMING

Seventeen
Bernard Berenson and Katherine Dunham
*Black American Dance*
363
JOSEPH CONNORS

Bibliography
393
Contributors
413
Index
419
bernard berenson and asian art

Carl Brandon Strehlke

On 2 January 1907, at I Tatti, Mary Berenson wrote in her diary: “I walked up the hill & got some marvellous Japanese effects of mist & hills & trees.”¹ Likewise in 1931, her husband Bernard said of the Settignano countryside: “With the snow high on the mountains all around and vapors of fog in the valleys going down to the Arno, this could be a Japanese landscape.”² Neither had been to Japan, but Bernard had long trafficked in such analogies, publishing as early as March 1894 in Venetian Painters of the Renaissance that Carlo Crivelli’s forms “have the strength of line and the metallic lustre of old Satsuma or lacquer” and “are no less tempting to touch.”³ This statement engendered a violent reaction from Charles Eliot Norton, Bernard’s former professor at Harvard University, who, as Bernard later recalled, “protested vigorously against my venturing to give naturalization papers . . . to Japanese art and ranking Carlo Crivelli for his essential qualities with their lacquers, rather than with European painting.”⁴ The puritanical Norton, who had

¹ Unless otherwise stated, all letters and diaries are in the Bernard and Mary Berenson Papers, Biblioteca Berenson, Villa I Tatti—The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies. Villa I Tatti holds photocopies of Mary Berenson’s letters to her family, which are held by the Lilly Library at Indiana University, as well as photocopies and some originals of Bernard Berenson’s letters to Yashiro Yukio, which come from Yashiro’s family. Some of the material in this essay appears in my essay “Berenson, Sasseta, and Asian Art” (Strehlke 2009).
² Quoted in Morra 1965, 2.
³ Berenson 1894, ix–x.
⁴ Berenson 1949, 45.
upbraided the undergraduate Berenson for reading Walter Pater, was not going to let the adult Berenson get away with slipping Satsuma ware into a text about a Renaissance master. He also may not have been happy that Crivelli, a painter much loved by his generation—close to that of Charles Eastlake, who in the 1850s and 1860s had bought significant works by the artist for the National Gallery in London—was only mentioned in the preface and not the text. So too Satsuma and lacquer spoke of clipper ships and overstuffed Victorian drawing rooms—Norton’s Boston, not Berenson’s new world, or at least the one that was soon to be, for as we shall see, in October of that year Berenson’s view of Asian art changed radically.

Italian critics of the *Venetian Painters* took the opposite track of Norton. For them the book was too scientific. Angelo Conti, the then recently appointed director of the Accademia in Venice, in his monograph on Giorgione published the same year, felt that the new criticism, such as represented by Berenson, was unable to “capture that element of poetry that makes up every artistic soul.” Conti later wrote in an article with the apt title of “La visione imminente” that to experience a Venetian master to full effect, one needed to imbibe the atmosphere of the Serenissima: “the stillness of the waters” and “the walls laden with color.” The publisher Putnam’s cover design of the *Venetian Painters* with its gondola embossed in gold (Fig. 1), which had so disappointed Bernard as touristy, would have suited Conti, who in a later direct attack on Berenson described the myriad impressions of a ride through the lagoon—significantly in the company of the Italian writer and aesthete Gabriele D’Annunzio—as a counter to the vacuity of the American’s aesthetics.

A taste for the East also characterized turn-of-the-century Italian aestheticism, so much so that the *verista* literary critic Felice Camerioni had called Japan “that suburb of Europe.” Camerioni had superintended the production of Carlo Dossi’s *Amori*, for which the author wanted a cover like a Japanese manga (Fig. 2) as the most fitting expression of the chaste childhood loves recounted therein. It was designed by Luigi Conconi, who was proud of what he termed the “giapponesismo” of his own work. D’Annunzio was less delicate in his appropriation of the East. He had written an article about the 1884 arrival in Rome of the Japanese ambassador, Tanaka Fujimaro, a westernizing educational reformer who had been to Amherst College, but whom D’Annunzio turned into a mystery from the East in order to find an excuse for a languid description of the Roman boutique of Maria

5 On Berenson’s Italian critics in the 1890s, see Cinelli 1986, 176–178; and Strehlke 2009, 42.
6 See Conti 1894, 10. Conti had previously been director of the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, during which time he wrote the monograph, which was published by the Fratelli Alinari in Florence. He ended his career as director of Capodimonte in Naples. On Conti, see the introduction by Pietro Gibellini in *La beata riva: Trattato dell’oblio* (Conti 2000), and the introduction by Ricciarda Ricorda to the 2007 reprint of *Giorgione*.
8 Samuels 1979, 182.
10 Quoted in Dossi 1977, 178. The cover of this edition of *Amori* reproduces the original.
Beretta, who specialized in Japanese objects and aristocratic clients. There was a similar shop, the Atelier Janetti, in Piazza Antinori in Florence. Japanese characters and things also appear at key moments in D’Annunzio’s 1890 novel *Il Piacere*, which brought the aesthetic movement to full flower in Italy. The protagonist, Andrea Sperelli, claims that Count Sukumi, part of his nation’s delegation to Rome, who has a face like a Katsushika

---


12 Becattini 2003a.
Hokusai and who has fallen in love with Elena, Duchessa di Scerni, would commit ritual suicide with a wakizashi that their hostess uses to cut the pages of a Western book, because Sukumi espied the duchess touching it. As for his conational, the Princess Issé, she fails to fit in because she looks so maladroit in her European dress. Sukumi had also appeared in D’Annunzio’s novella Mandarina, in which a Roman lady decides she wants a love affair with a Japanese man but then recoils at actual physical contact. Whereas D’Annunzio used the foreigners to underscore the divide between the cultures and to heighten the exotic sensuality of the narrative in Il Piacere by having the semiautobiographical Sperelli and the Asian Sukumi pursue the same nobildonna, Berenson tried to reconcile East

and West, most famously in his 1903 articles on Sassetta, which took full account of his discovery of Asian art that was specifically not Satsuma, lacquer, or the ukiyo-e print.14

If asked whether their statements on the Japanese effects of the I Tatti landscape with which I opened this essay brought to mind any particular artist, the Berensons, I believe, would have replied Andō Hiroshige, a woodblock artist known for his snow scenes, whom Bernard said in a letter to Mary of 1894 was better than James McNeill Whistler, the American painter most associated with Japonisme. (Whistler even ate with chopsticks and lined his Chelsea studio, nicknamed “Nagasaki,” with Hiroshige prints, such as can be seen in his Caprice in Purple and Gold: The Golden Screen [Freer Gallery of Art, Washington], in which that artist’s views of the 60-Odd Provinces are spread before the kimono-clad sitter.) The occasion that led to Bernard’s comment on Hiroshige and Whistler was a visit to Boston’s Museum of Fine Arts, in which he spent an afternoon looking at Japanese prints until, as he wrote, “there was no more light in the sky,” also reminding Mary of the print exhibition that they had attended in Paris in 1890. The latter event, I believe, was the first time either had taken a sustained look at any Asian art; certainly, it was the first time together. This was the exhibition that Mary Cassatt had brought Edgar Degas to see and that famously inspired her own set of ten drypoint and aquatint prints, exhibited in 1891 as an “Essai d’imitation de l’estampe japonaise.” She had previously written enthusiastically to Berthe Morisot about going to the exhibition, where she had already bumped into Henri Fantin-Latour and James Tissot, saying that she now only dreamed of color on copper.15 Berenson got enough out of his two forays into the ukiyo-e world to make some amusing analogies, but not much else. In the North Italian Painters of the Renaissance, he wrote: “Hokusai, in his extreme old age, used to sign himself ‘The Man-mad-about-Drawing,’ and with equal fitness, Tura, all his life, might have signed ‘The Man-mad-about-Tactile-Values.'”16 This was in 1907, by which time Berenson had begun collecting Asian art, but ostensibly not woodblock prints.

If four years earlier, in September 1903, a subscriber to The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs let that month’s issue fall open by chance to an illustration of a Chinese painting (Fig. 3), she might have been surprised to see that it was in an article signed by Bernard Berenson that was about the Sienese artist Sassetta. In the Chinese painting, Berenson wrote, “we feel an ecstasy of devotion and vision, here we behold a transubstantiation of body into soul, whereof we rarely get as much as a vanishing glimpse in our own art.”17 Berenson asked why Christian art had never found a common manner for depicting its founder, and he went on to compare Buddhism with Franciscanism: “for what can be more like in spirit than certain phases of Buddhism and certain phases of Franciscanism?”

We can be forgiven, however, for suspecting some amount of playacting in this assessment, as is sometimes the case with Berenson. Indeed, he virtually admitted as much in an epilogue to a 1946 reprint of articles:

14 Berenson 1903a.
15 Cited in Matthews 1984, 214.
16 Berenson 1907, 58.
17 Berenson 1903a, 8.
Zhou Jichang, Lohan
Demonstrating the Power
of the Buddhist Sutras
to Daoists, ca. 1178, as
reproduced by Bernard
Berenson with the
caption “Chinese
Painting of the
Twelfth Century” in
Bernard Berenson, “A
Sienese Painter in the
Franciscan Legend,”
Burlington Magazine 3
(1903). Denman Waldo
Ross Collection,
Museum of Fine
Arts, Boston.
At the... time pre-Ken-Lung, even pre-Ming Chinese art was revealed to us and what had hitherto been undreamt of, Tang, Sung and even Buddhist paintings. As early as the winter of 1949–50 of the last century I had the good fortune to help unpack a shipload of Chinese pictures that Fenollosa had procured for Boston and in the following Spring I brought back the news to an incredulous Europe. I naturally tended to exaggerate its expressive qualities as opposed to those of our mediaeval artists.  

Regardless, in 1903 Berenson had inquired, “why is Christian art so unreligious, so unspiritual, as compared with the art of Buddhism?” The answer was that Western art had “a fatal tendency to become science” and “an inherent incapacity for spiritual expression.” “Of European schools of design,” Berenson wrote, “none comes so close to those of the far east as the school of Siena.”

Sassetta was his example, but Berenson actually missed the only element in that artist’s oeuvre that can lay claim to Asian influence: the pastiglia in the frame of the San Sepolcro altarpiece, in which the pattern of intertwined morning glories with the buds and leaves seen from different points of view is Chinese in origin (Fig. 4). The pattern began as a naturalistic representation of the plant in the underglaze decoration of Yuan pottery, becoming more abstract as the design moved throughout Asia, as can be seen in derivations of the theme in Korean lacquerware. Its arrival in the West is due to Turkish derivations in tiles of Chinese ceramics dating from the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century. Probably from some such source, or textiles, the design made its way to Siena, finding a natural home as a decorative subsidiary element of altarpieces, and not only Sassetta’s.

In books about Far Eastern art from the early 1900s, it was not uncommon to assert specific influences, not just parallel developments, as Berenson had done. Ernest Francisco Fenollosa’s Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art of 1912 contains chapters with the now improbable titles of “Greco-Buddhist Art in China. Early Tang” and “Greco-Buddhist Art in Japan. Nara Period.” The Hellenistic influence on Indian art—and consequently on that of East Asia—was a popular notion at the time, but it irritated Indian nationalists like the Irish-born Sister Nivedita and other Asian writers like Okakura Kakuzo, the Japanese curator of Asian art at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, with whom Berenson was in touch via Isabella Stewart Gardner; in 1906, Berenson wrote her to ask Okakura what he thought of Lafcadio Hearn’s Japan: An Attempt at Interpretation. Okakura’s and others’ denials of any Greek influence in Asian art (Gandharan sculpture, however, being

18 Berenson 1946, 49–50. I quote from Berenson’s 1945 English-language manuscript preserved in the Berenson Archive.  
19 Berenson 1903a, 13.  
20 On the tiles in the mosque of Sultan Murad II, or the Muradiye, in Edirne, which are the best surviving example of the transmission of Chinese motifs in ceramics to the West, see Carswell 1998, 18–24; and Degeorge and Porter 2001, 196.  
21 On this subject, see Guha-Thakurta 1992, chap. 5; and Strehlke 2009, 49.  
22 “I am reading it with great interest, but am eager to know what such an intellectual Jap as Okakura thinks of it”: Berenson to Gardner, I Tatti, 11 January 1906; Hadley 1987, 373.
4a


4b


4c

Tiles, Turkish, ca. 1435–36. Murad II Mosque, Edirne.

4d

a sticking point) later forced Fenollosa to reduce the question to a matter of dating. The controversy can also be found in other writings of the time and the influential 1908 book on the art of Sri Lanka by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, lifelong curator of Indian art at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts from 1917. He and his then wife Ethel Partridge (later Mairet) used contemporary folk practices to illuminate medieval Sinhalese art.  

The practice of making broad cultural comparisons persisted to mid-century. In his 1955 Pelican volume on Japanese art, Robert Treat Paine, also a curator in Boston, whose very name encapsulates that old Boston of which the young (and even old) Berenson was always somewhat enthralled, asserted just as Berenson had in 1903 that “the Japanese feeling for art is summed up in the problem of decorative designing. . . If one thinks of European parallels, of illuminated manuscripts or of Sienese painting, the analogy is again between arts dependent on faith and feeling rather than on reason and science.”

The key moment in the formation of Berenson’s taste for Asian art came during an October 1894 visit to the Boston Museum of Fine Arts with the Harvard fine arts professor Denman Ross, to meet Ernest Francisco Fenollosa. At the time, Fenollosa was organizing his huge collection of Japanese art, which eventually came to the institution, as well as a show of paintings from Daitokuji in Kyoto. From the Harvard class of 1874, Fenollosa had gone to Japan and become “native,” entering the rarefied cult of Tendai Buddhism and officially cataloguing the country’s national treasures for the Japanese government. He also brought texts of Japanese and Chinese poems to the West, including the Tale of Genji, which (thanks in part to his literary executor Ezra Pound) was later translated by Arthur Waley, a keeper at the British Museum who was also a friend of the Berensons. The couple read the novel, but as indicated by Mary’s penciled note in one of the tomes of the multivolume work, it was only at chapter five of the fifth volume that they began to think it was getting interesting. Nevertheless, Bernard was an avid reader of Asian literature; on 4 May 1914, Mary wrote to Bernard’s mother Judith Mickleshanski: “My tray is carried into his room, where he lies reading Chinese poetry, listening to the wind in the trees.”

Fenollosa showed Berenson various things in Boston, including “a figure of a saint with all the literary qualities and much of the charm of Lorenzetti” and

a series of Chinese paintings from the 12th century, which revealed a new world to me. To begin with they had composition of figures and groups as perfect and as simple as the best that we Europeans have ever done. Then they had, what we never dream of in oriental art, powerful characterization, now surpassing Dürer, and now Gentile Bellini . . . they are profoundly contrite, full of humility, love, humanity, of the quality of the tenderest passages in the Gospels, or in the story of St Francis . . . I was prostrate. Fenollosa shivered as he looked. I thought I should die, and even Denman Ross who looked dumpy Anglo-Saxon was jumping up and down. We had to poke and pinch each other’s necks and wept . . . We ended

---

23 Coomaraswamy 1908.
24 Paine and Soper 1955, 3.
with seeing a large screen by Koreen [sic] [Fig. 5], a wild sea with green waves, toothed and fanged like terrible beasts gnawing rocks as strange as in Lorenzetti. Oh, the freedom, the wind, the sunshine, the salt smell, the coolness, and great spirit of nature that was in this!\textsuperscript{16}

What should we make of this sudden, overwhelming aesthetic experience? First of all, it was typical of the mid- to late nineteenth century,\textsuperscript{17} and in the Anglo-Saxon world, Asian, not Western art, was often the stimulus. The American artist John La Farge had felt a similar ecstasy some decades before on stumbling across a Japanese print in a New York City junk shop, later writing that he could “well remember the various impressions and rapid conclusions of the moment.”\textsuperscript{18} Secondly, Berenson’s session with Fenollosa opened up a whole new world of Asian art. From then on, Berenson became primarily interested in Chinese art, largely ranging from the Tang dynasty through to the Song. The series of Song paintings from Daitoku-ji—of which Ross purchased a group for Boston—were later the impetus for the comparison between Siena and the art of the East. For the Sassetta article, Berenson simply quoted directly from Fenollosa’s catalog of the exhibition, which toured three East Coast cities in 1894–95. Until recently, the I Tatti copy was for the most part uncut, showing that Berenson’s interest in obtaining actual information about the paintings dated only from when he had to put something about them in his Sassetta article. The aesthetic experience or memory of the pictures remained primary.

Over the next decade, Berenson became more serious about Asian art. When he first republished his article on Sassetta in 1909, he wrote that he had planned to add three other essays “elaborating what I had to say about the religious painting of Japan, about imaginative design, and above all about the claims of illustration as a separate art.”\textsuperscript{19} One reason why he may never have finished these essays is an awareness of a growing professionalism in the field. In 1904, Gardner wrote to the Berensons that “Okakura is busy at the Museum, cataloguing the Japanese things that have been huddled there since Fenollosa’s time, and finds forgeries and forgeries!!! And has a great contempt for Fenollosa. Sic transit.”\textsuperscript{20}

The attractions of Asian art continued to fascinate, however; after a 1914 visit to Charles Lang Freer’s collection, then in Detroit, Berenson wrote to Gardner: “How I wish I were starting out in life! I should devote myself to China as I have to Italy.”\textsuperscript{21} And in

\textsuperscript{26} Berenson to Mary Smith Costelloe (later Berenson), Northampton MA, 26 October 1894.

\textsuperscript{27} This is what the art historian Kenneth Clark would describe as “pure aesthetic sensation.” Such an experience had also formed part of Clark’s artistic awakening. In his autobiography, he described seeing in 1965 some Fusuma-e screens in the Chishaku-in, a little-visited temple in Kyoto, which provoked the uncovering of a buried childhood memory of having viewed them at a London 1910 show of Japanese art, and the realization that this youthful experience with such a totally unfamiliar work of art had contributed to his beginnings as an aesthete. It was his Japanese friend Yashiro Yukio, who had been at I Tatti in the 1920s (see below), who told Clark that he was indeed right about the screens having been in London: see Clark 1974, 43–44.

\textsuperscript{28} La Farge 1903, 221; see also Strehlke 2009, 41.

\textsuperscript{29} Berenson 1909, vii.

\textsuperscript{30} Hadley 1987, 335.

\textsuperscript{31} Ibid., 531; see also Strehlke 2009, 46.
1918, he published another book on Sienese art in which he again took himself to task for never completing his essay on “the relations between Sienese Art and the Arts of the Far East.” He had, however, been collecting and reading about Asian art. During a 1909 visit to Boston, he even sat for the society photographer Sarah Choate Sears looking at a Tang equestrian figure of the type of which he later bought two. The next year at the British Museum, he saw the Tang paintings that Aurel Stein had recently discovered in the caves of Dunhuang. This experience must have inspired Berenson’s acquisition in 1914 of his most important painting, the Dancing Girls of Kutcha, then also thought to be original Tang. Stein and Laurence Binyon, the English poet and keeper of Oriental prints and drawings at the British Museum, later published Berenson’s picture. Stein wrote his part of the article while on a mission in Kashmir with the aid of color photographs specially prepared at Berenson’s request in Milan (Fig. 6) and sent to Stein from there.

In an earlier 1912 letter to Gardner, Berenson said that “personally I only buy Chinese and Persian” but also admitted “Mary’s dislike for Oriental things.” Because of that aversion, her letters to her family in England are invaluable for gauging Berenson’s thinking about Far Eastern art. In one from 31 October 1909, she wrote of how when her husband

32 Strehlke 2009, fig. 15.
33 Stein and Binyon 1928–29. On Berenson and Asian art at the British Museum, see Ying Ling Huang 2013, 466.
brought back from Paris an eighth-century Javanese tufa head of the Buddha (Fig. 7), he proclaimed it a tremendous example of “Tactile Values” and glorious as “pure art.” “But,” Mary went on,

it is so idol-like, and so hideous as representation, that you are quite upset to have it in the room. I am afraid it is going to knock all our other things to pieces, artistically and spiritually, but yet it is awful and revolting, in a way. I must have a photograph of it taken for you to see what B.B. considers a real ‘Masterpiece’.”

On 5 December, as she later wrote to her mother, Mary was in for another shock:

A case arrived, & I told [Roberto, the manservant] to open it & bring the contents up for me to see. This he did, & then he placed on my bed two Chinese works about 2000 years old, we both burst into irresistible roars of laughter. This is what they looked like. B.B. says that they are “of the very essence of art,” but if so, they are so “essential” that they really look like nothing at all. We laughed & laughed. When I told B.B., he smiled a superior smile, in the consciousness of holding the doctrine (Fig. 8).

Two days later, Bernard’s Matisse, now in Belgrade, arrived; this, as Mary said, “again caused Roberto and me to unite in a hearty laugh.”

34 Mary Berenson to her family in England, I Tatti, 7 December 1909.

Carl Brandon Strehlke
Mary’s attitude began to change in 1910, following a visit to the great Munich exhibition of Muslim art—one of those shows, like the 1890 Paris exhibition of Japanese prints, that helped transform European taste. She wrote: “I have just got back from the exhibition, dead tired, but so interested and pleased that I really can’t express half. All my sort of foolish prejudice against Oriental Art has gone—I begin to understand its fascination. I have no more ‘grudges’.” And indeed she did not. Six years later, Mary wrote in her diary, “The new library looks splendid—the Buddha is very impressive seen at the end of my corridor (Fig. 9).”

35 Mary Berenson to her family in England, Munich, 7 September 1910; see also Strachey and Samuels 1983, 161.
36 Mary Berenson, diary, 29 February 1916. The Buddha is actually of the Buddha’s disciple Ananda.
Mary Berenson, letter to her family with drawing of fig. 8b, dated Settignano, 5 December 1909. Hannah Whitall Smith Archive, Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

__8a__

Mary Berenson, letter to her family with drawing of fig. 8b, dated Settignano, 5 December 1909. Hannah Whitall Smith Archive, Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

__8b__

_Tomb Figure of a Kneeling Woman,_ Chinese, Han dynasty (202 BC–AD 220), second century BC. (Photo: Gabinetto Fotografico, Polo Museale Fiorentino.) Photograph taken for the Berensons by Vittorio Jacquier, ca. 1911.
Bernard Berenson and Asian Art

9a
View of the niche in the New Library, as installed in 1916 with the sculpture of Ananda, ca. 1960.

9b
Ananda, Chinese, Northern Qi dynasty (550–77), ca. 570.
(Photo: Gabinetto Fotografico, Polo Museale Fiorentino.) Photograph taken for the Berensons by Vittorio Jacquier, ca. 1911.
Whereas the landscaping of I Tatti is often cited for the way it influenced garden design in Tuscany and elsewhere, the innovation of its interior decoration does not often get credit. Most of the design was set in the years before the First World War. (The Berensons rarely bought any Asian art after that date.) The combination of Italian gold-ground and other pictures with art from Asia that was largely pre-Song Chinese and for the most part figurative was absolutely new (Figs. 10 and 11). There is, for instance, hardly any porcelain, then part and parcel of most gatherings of Asian art. Furthermore, the installation is very clean, with no accumulation of knickknacks and the other paraphernalia typical of an early twentieth-century house, particularly in Umbertine Italy, but also America and England. The difference between I Tatti and other collections of Asian art, like the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, is striking. Perhaps the best comparison would be with Frank Lloyd Wright’s Taliesin, his Wisconsin studio that was begun in 1911 (though rebuilt twice), in which Asian art is cleanly arranged along the shelving (although high and unreachable). Unfortunately, it is not known if Wright

Bernard Berenson and Asian Art

visited I Tatti and saw its collections when he lived nearby in Fiesole for a few months in 1910.39

Berenson did not become the scholar of Chinese art that he had hoped. It was his Finnish colleague Osvald Sirén, professor at Stockholm University, who took up its study after a career devoted to Florentine Trecento and Quattrocento painting from Giotto to Buffalmacco to Lorenzo Monaco.40 This included in 1916 a catalog of the Jarves collection of early Italian painting at Yale University—a work that in 1927 the critic Richard Offner systematically destroyed in a magisterial display of the new connoisseurship.41 Speaking of the troubled history of the collection’s display and upkeep at the university, he wrote that Sirén’s catalog was “a final sop to its story.”42 If anyone, then, it was not Sirén but Berenson who was Offner’s principal interlocutor.43 The poor reception that Sirén’s attri-

Levine 1996, 67–71. A website by Gianpaolo Fici and Filippo Fici, Frank Lloyd Wright Fiesole 1910 (architettura.supereva.com/wright/index.htm), also gathers information about Wright’s stay and his design for a house and studio in Fiesole.


In November 1908, Berenson told the Philadelphia collector John G. Johnson that he had once wanted to catalog the Jarves collection. See Strehlke 1989–90, 428.

Offner 1927, 1.

butions received in the small world of connoisseurs concerned with such things does not seem to have been the reason he turned to China, which he first visited in 1918, because throughout his life he continued to write articles on Tuscan art—but by the 1920s, his publications on China began to overtake all other subjects. A talented photographer, Sirén illustrated many of them himself, and as John Harris has noted, they were often magnificent examples of printing. Sirén’s compilation of Chinese criticism (first published in 1936) is still consulted as a primary source, and his essays on Chinese gardens, including a study of eighteenth-century European chinoiserie gardens, were important early investigations on the subject. Sirén’s friendship with Berenson dates to 1902, and Berenson owned many of Sirén’s publications on Chinese art, though late in life Berenson told his Japanese friend Yashiro Yukio that he was “deeply disappointed in Sirén’s first volume on Chinese painting.”

Berenson and Yashiro had an acquaintance going back to the 1920s. It was revived after the war and engendered a regular correspondence between Settignano and Tokyo, with Berenson sometimes even asking Yashiro to welcome distinguished friends like the New York collectors Charles and Jayne Wrightsman and the dancer Katherine Dunham to Japan, and sending him a book on contemporary Japan by Fosco Maraini for his opinion. Maraini was an inveterate traveler in Asia who later became professor of Japanese at the Università di Firenze. In 1950, Berenson had written a short introduction to Maraini’s first book, an account of Maraini’s travels in Tibet. In 1953, Maraini took a particularly engaging photograph of Berenson at the Villa Palagonia in Bagheria, Sicily, which he titled Homo civilissimus, and he served as a guide to Berenson and Nicky Mariano throughout their stay in Sicily at that time (Fig. 12).

Berenson and Yashiro first met in 1921, after Laurence Binyon of the British Museum, who had been close to Fenollosa, wrote Berenson a letter of introduction to "a young Japanese friend of mine called Yashiro who has just lately gone to Florence . . . He is much more articulate than most Japanese & talks English quite well. He has come to Europe to study European art, but hasn’t turned his back on his own. He cares about poetry, too, and

44 Theosophy, a religion that combined elements of Eastern mysticism and of which Sirén was a member, may have influenced Sirén’s attraction to Chinese art, but unlike Berenson’s commentary on Sassetta, Sirén’s writings never sought to explain Chinese spirituality in art.
45 Sirén 1936, 1949, and 1950. The latter was reprinted by the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection in 1990 with an introduction by Hugh Honour.
47 “Show them all the best in Japan that they can see in a short time.” Berenson to Yashiro, Casa al Dono, Vallombrosa, 5 September 1956.
48 Maraini 1958. Berenson’s interest in East Asian art was known to a wide circle. The dedication on a catalog of the postwar traveling show of Japanese masterpieces (Exhibition of Japanese Painting and Sculpture Sponsored by the Government of Japan) reads, “To BB / With affectionate wishes / from Fern Shapley.” As Berenson warmly acknowledged in the preface, Fern Shapley had seen the second edition of his Drawings of the Florentine Painters (1958, ix) through the press.
49 Maraini 1951, 5–6. The preface is dated I Tatti, 23 March 1950.
50 Maraini and Chiarelli 1999, 89.
in himself he seems to me really charming.” Yashiro worked in the I Tatti Library, seemingly having a pleasant effect on the household. After resettling in Tokyo as the director of the newly found Institute of Art Research in Ueno Park, he wrote to Berenson:

It is a nice little building, and I am sure that both Mr. and Mrs. Berenson would smile, imagining that naughty boy Yuki installed in it as director! What I want really to show to you is the work itself, and it is one of my most cherished dreams to be told by Mr. Berenson that he did not educate Yuki uselessly, seeing that a new method of study in the field of Oriental art is actually being opened according to the idea of Mr. Berenson, transmitted to the Far East by Yuki!!

In an earlier letter to Mary, he claimed that his “special interest is in the comparative study of the Eastern and Western arts, and in Japan one gets absolutely no chance to study the western art in the original.” In Florence, he set out to remediate this with a study of Sandro Botticelli, as well as an acquisition of a Botticelli for Japan. In the latter he failed. About that, he wrote to Mary Berenson from London on 10 January 1924:

52 Binyon to Berenson, London, 21 October 1921. Also on Yashiro, see Takagishi 2007.
53 Yashiro to Berenson, Tokyo, 1 August 1928. The institute, bequeathed an endowment by Viscount Kuroda Seiki, a painter in the yōga, or Western style, officially opened in 1930. It is now the National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, which oversees research on Japan’s artistic heritage. The original building, which still stands and is now a gallery, was designed in a Beaux Arts style by Okada Shinichirō.
54 Yashiro to Mary Berenson, Paris, 10 November 1923.
Perhaps you remember how I was enthusiastic when I told you that I saw a real Botticelli in the restorer’s room in the Uffizi Gallery. I understood at that time that it belonged to Prof. Toesca. At that time I was anxious to get it bought by a Japanese collector & I had a big hope in it when that damned earthquake put an end to it.

He later also wrote to the Berensons about his find of Botticelli’s Trinity, this time admitting that he had tried to buy it for himself.57

Yashiro’s three-volume monograph on Botticelli, published in 1925, was distinguished for the quality of its illustrations (Fig. 13), and particularly the details, an innovation for the time. Because of the expense of reproducing them, Yashiro had long despaired of finding a publisher, but Sirén and the British travel writer Edward Hutton finally found him one. Yashiro occasionally enlisted the Berensons to help procure photographs from private collectors like Gardner, but otherwise Giorgio Laurati of the Brogi firm took the photographs. In the acknowledgments, the author credited Laurence Binyon and Arthur Waley with first encouraging his “‘Oriental’ enthusiasm for Botticelli”; indeed, Yashiro persevered in finding Asian undercurrents in Botticelli. My favorites are in chapter five, in the book’s second section dedicated to the “Sensuous Botticelli,” in which he discusses the artist’s flowers; the subtitiles include “Flowers of the Japanese Painters: Korin and Old Tosa Schools,” “Sensuous Flowers,” “Utamaro’s Flowers,” “Sensitive Flowers,” “Flowers in Buddhistic Paintings,” and “Oriental Influences in Flower Painting in Italy.” Yashiro’s acknowledgments are a veritable who’s who of Italian art history at that time, and include a wide range of art historians and museum officials. Berenson may have been irritated by the equal acknowledgment to both him and Herbert Horne (1864–1916), whom Yashiro had never met but whose Alessandro Filipepi, Commonly Called Sandro Botticelli was an invaluable precedent.61

Tensions over other aspects of the book caused temporary fallings-out with the Berensons, and seemingly Yashiro’s removal from significant research on the revised edition of Berenson’s Drawings of the Florentine Painters (a position later filled by

55 Pietro Toesca, an influential art historian, created a distinguished collection of Italian paintings. This Botticelli was probably the Annunciation sold by Toesca to Louis F. Hyde (now at the Hyde Collection, Glens Falls, NY). It was published by Berenson in the June 1924 issue of Art in America. Lorizzo 2009, 113.
56 He is referring to the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1 September 1923, which devastated Tokyo, Yokohama, and surrounding areas.
57 Yashiro to Bernard and Mary Berenson, London, 5 November 1924. It is not clear if Yashiro was also the potential purchaser of the Toesca picture. The Trinity is in the Courtauld Institute, London.
58 Kenneth Clark acknowledged that this inspired him to do the same in his books of photographs of the National Gallery, One Hundred Details from the National Gallery (Clark 1938), and More Details of Pictures from the National Gallery (Clark 1941). See Clark 1974, 259.
59 Sandro Botticelli was published by the Medici Society in London and Boston in an edition of 630 copies (Yashiro 1925). A second, revised edition was issued in 1929.
60 On the firm, see Silvestri 1994.
61 Horne 1908. Berenson and Horne had had a falling-out over Botticelli attributions; see Strehlke 1989–90, 427–438.
Kenneth Clark). In late 1923 and early 1924, Yashiro passed a lonely period in Paris and London worried about the Great Kanto Earthquake and the Botticelli volumes. Berenson introduced him to Salomon Reinach, whose Apollo was the first book on Western art that the Japanese scholar had read. Otherwise, Yashiro complained about depression, passing time in “stupid cinemas,” his mother alone in Japan, and the absence of the Jahrbuch der Preußischen Kunstsammlungen in the Bibliothèque nationale. In another letter, he wrote that he had “no friend in U.S.A., except perhaps Offner, but I don’t know where he is, he never writes me.” In the preface to Botticelli, he would write that Offner “in our daily company in Italy gave me sound influence by his seriousness of study in Florentine masters.”

During his time in London, Yashiro laid plans for the new Tokyo art history institute, writing to Berenson that he had persuaded “the interested people in Japan to establish an institute where practically your method of study is to be pursued in the field of Oriental art. You may have heard of this ‘Institute of Art Research’ from Sir Robert Witt.”

A number of years later, Berenson wrote to Yashiro expressing how much he was looking forward to seeing something from Yashiro’s hand:

But I am happy to learn that you have been applying our methods to the study of Chinese painting, & I beg of you as a personal favour to make haste & give me a specimen of your work. I am so bored with most everything, whether general or particular about Eastern art that it would give me joy to read something that was neither soap-bubbles nor microscopic pebbles.

There was a misunderstanding over a request by Yashiro’s publishers for the Berensons to provide letters of introduction for his first trip to the United States. A letter from Yashiro to Mary Berenson dated London, “late in the night” on 25 August 1924, indicates that their refusal distressed him. Mary later did write to Isabella Stewart Gardner for him; see Hadley 1987, 665–666. As can be deduced from a letter dated London, 4 November 1924, Bernard was annoyed with Yashiro’s draft for a list of Botticelli’s works, and even told Yashiro that he could only do photographic research on the revision of Drawings of the Florentine Painters. Though the preface of the Botticelli monograph suggests that Yashiro planned to return to Japan, he stayed in Europe for several more years, and his time at I Tatti overlapped with that of Clark. Yashiro tried to meet Clark in England in October 1925 (letter to the Berensons, dated 4 October: “I have heard that your book of Drawings is being prepared for a smaller edition & that an excellent young scholar from Oxford, whom I was about to meet & missed the chance, is helping you. I am very glad to hear that, as I am among the most ardent to see the book come out in a form within convenient reach of a student”). Yashiro and Clark became good friends, and Yashiro gave the Clarks’ first baby, born at San Martino, a Mensola, a present of pink Japanese silk (Clark 1974, 168). Other misunderstandings with the Berensons may have followed, as a later, undated letter reveals that Yashiro was not visiting I Tatti, but nevertheless frequenting the Clarks’ residence at San Martino.

Yashiro to Mary Berenson, Paris, 10 November 1923. The library still does not own a run of the periodical.
Yashiro to Mary Berenson, London, 10 January 1924.
Yashiro 1925, xii.
Yashiro to Bernard and Mary Berenson, 4 October [no year indicated].
Berenson to Yashiro, I Tatti, 31 January 1936.
The war years were difficult for Yashiro because, as he wrote in an undated letter (now at I Tatti) to John Coolidge at the Fogg Museum, of “his international way of thinking.” Berenson had addressed a letter to Paul Sachs at the Fogg recommending that the university take on the Japanese scholar: “Far Eastern studies are as all other art-historical subjects being pursued in a way that makes me despair of the subject & wish often that the teaching of art history should be altogether abandoned. Yashiro would be a corrective.” 68 The corrective was, of course, the Berensonian method; Yashiro also admitted this, saying that the “history of Eastern Art, especially that of Eastern painting, is just like [the] History of Italian painting, before it was reconstructed with a new scientific method by Morelli and B.B.” 69

68 Berenson to Sachs, I Tatti, 5 February 1949. See McComb 1963, 259.
69 Yashiro to Coolidge, Oiso, Japan, 1949.
Yashiro did not get a position at Harvard and remained in Japan, visiting both Europe and America occasionally. Ill health delayed publication of his 2000 Years of Japanese Art, which came out in 1958 with a dedication to Berenson, whom, he said, “illuminated and enriched my work in Eastern fields.” The then ninety-four-year-old Berenson was losing his energies, but Nicky Mariano wrote of how pleased he was by the book.

For a long time, Yashiro had also been shepherding the publication of a Japanese translation of Berenson’s Italian Painters of the Renaissance. It was issued in 1961. However, in 1954, the same year as a Cecil Beaton photo of Berenson in front of his Sassetti and statues of the Buddha, Berenson had already prepared a dedication of the translation to Yashiro in which he spoke of Botticelli’s affinity with Japanese art with the same enthusiasm that he had of Sassetti’s in 1903:

Botticelli’s swift flame-like yet modelling line is almost unique in European art but I have encountered it frequently in Japanese drawings. Indeed there is a great affinity between the draughtsmanship of Florentine and Japanese artists. 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.

---

70 A position at Harvard had already been discussed in 1924. Mary Berenson mentioned in a letter to Isabella Stewart Gardner (I Tatti, 15 January 1924) that Edward Forbes, director of the Fogg Museum, had talked of bringing Yashiro to Harvard; see Hadley 1987, 665–666. Yashiro had given lectures at Harvard in 1933, and had also returned to Boston in 1936 on the occasion of an exhibition of Japanese art sent by the government to the Museum of Fine Arts to celebrate the tercentenary of Harvard University. At that time, he studied other works in the Boston museum. See Fontein 1992, 14.

71 In January 1952, Yashiro brought one of Berenson’s most important Chinese paintings, In the Palace, or Ladies of the Court (Kong-zhong tu), to Tokyo for restoration; see Roberts 1991, 27–31, cat. 2.

72 Yashiro 1958.

73 “Your book has been in the house already for over a week, but B.B. has taken a long time looking at it and now I can tell you how delighted he is with it and with the quality of the illustrations and deeply grateful for the dedication.” Mariano to Yashiro Yukio, I Tatti, 4 March 1959.

74 In November 1956, the translator Yashiro Masui visited Berenson at I Tatti. In New York in April of the same year, Yashiro Yukio began negotiating with Phaidon Press about the translated version.

75 Strehlke 2009, fig. 16.

76 Berenson to Yashiro, 3 December 1954; see Yamada 1961.
Bibliography

ARNOLD, FRANZ AUGUST, ed. Septem Ma’allahat, carmina antiquissima Arabum. Leipzig, 1850.


———. Venetian Painting, Chiefly before Titian. London, 1895.


———. The Central Italian Painters of the Renaissance, New York, 1897.


---

**Bibliography**

---

BONTE, GUSTAVO. *Le collezioni Agosti e Mendoza.* Milan, 1936.


BREWSTER, HILDEBRAND, ELIZABETH. *Natura e bellezza: Elisabeth Brewster Hildebrand.* Edited by SUSANNA RAGIONIERI and FRANCESCA CENTURIONE SCOTTO BOSCHIERI. Lucca, 2007.


—–. “La visione imminente.” Il Marzocco, 19 April 1896.
COOMARASWAMY, ANANDA K. MEDIAEVAL SINHALASE ART. Broad Campden, 1908.
DAMISCH, HUBERT. “These Are All about Me.” In MEYER SCHAPIRO ABROAD: LETTERS TO LILLIAN AND TRAVEL NOTEBOOKS, edited by DANIEL ESTERMAN, 6–16. Los Angeles, 2007.
DUNHAM, KATHERINE. JOURNEY TO ACCOMPANY. Introduction by RALPH LINTON, drawings by TED COOK. New York, 1946.
—–. LAS DANZAS DE HAITI. Edited by JAVIER ROMERO. Mexico City, 1947.
—–. ISLAND POSSESSED. Garden City, 1969.


FIXLER, MICHAEL. “Bernard Berenson of Butremanz.” Commentary, August 1963, 135–143.


Bibliography 399


Bibliography


HORNE, HERBERT. Alessandro Filipepi, Commonly Called Sandro Botticelli. London, 1908.

Bibliography


MALAGUZZI VALERI, FRANCESCO. “La pittura reggiana nel Quattrocento.” *Rassegna d’arte* 3 (October 1903): 146.


MARAINI, FOSCO. *Segreto Tibet.* Bari, 1951.


Bibliography
MITCHELL, MARY, and ALBERT GOODRICH. The Remarkable Huntingtons: Chronicle of a Marriage.
MUIR, WILLIAM. The Life of Mahomet. 5 vols. London, 1858.
NÖLDEKE, THEODOR. Das Leben Mohammds. Hannover, 1863.
OFFNER, RICHARD. Italian Primitives at Yale University: Comments and Revisions. New Haven, 1927.

Bibliography


—. Beyond Architecture. Boston, 1918.


SCHUBRING, PAUL. Cassoni: Truhen und Truhenbilder in der Italienischen Frührenaissance; Ein Beitrag zur Profannalerei im Quattrocento. Leipzig, 1915.


SIRÉN, OSVALD. A Descriptive Catalogue of the Pictures in the Jarves Collection Belonging to Yale University. New Haven, 1916.


SPIKE, JOHN T. Giuseppe Maria Crespi and the Emergence of Genre Painting in Italy. Florence, 1986.
SPINELLI, ALESSANDRO GIUSEPPE. Sosta a Carpi. Modena, 1902.
SRENGER, ALOYS. Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammad. 3 vols. Berlin, 1861.


WEIL, GUSTAV. Muhammad der Prophet, sein Leben und seine Lehre. Stuttgart, 1843.
YASHIRO YUKIO. Sandro Botticelli. London and Boston, 1925.


Contributors

ALISON BROWN

DAVID ALAN BROWN
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.

KATHRYN BRUSH
Brush earned her PhD at Brown University; she is professor of art history in the department of visual arts at the University of Western Ontario, Canada. Her research focuses on Romanesque and Gothic art, medieval sculpture, the historiography of cultural-historical thought, and histories of museums, archives, and art collecting. Her books include *The Shaping of Art History: Wilhelm Vöge, Adolph Goldschmidt, and the Study of Medieval Art* (1996) and *Vastly More than Brick and Mortar: Reinventing the Fogg Art Museum in the 1920s* (2003). She recently organized an exhibition, with accompanying book, on *Mapping Medievalism at the Canadian Frontier* (2010). Currently, she is preparing a book that explores the scholarly imagination of the pioneering American medievalist Arthur Kingsley Porter.
THEA BURNS
Burns received her PhD from the Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London; her MAC from the art conservation program, Queen’s University, Kingston, Ontario; and her BA (honors, first class) from McGill University, Montreal. She received a certificate in paper conservation from the Center for Conservation and Technical Studies, now Straus Center, Harvard University Art Museums. She served as Helen H. Glaser Senior Paper Conservator for Special Collections in the Weissman Preservation Center, Harvard College Library, as associate professor in the art conservation program, Queen’s University, and as a conservator in private practice. She has published in numerous professional journals and conference postprints. She is the author of *The Invention of Pastel Painting* (2007) and *The Luminous Trace: Drawing and Writing in Metalpoint* (2012); she is currently an independent scholar.

MARIO CASARI
Casari studied Persian and Arabic languages in Italy and the Middle East, and obtained his PhD in Iranian studies at the Istituto Universitario Orientale, Naples. He is lecturer in Arabic language and literature at the Italian Institute of Oriental Studies, University of Rome “La Sapienza.” His research deals with cultural relations between Europe and the Islamic world from late antiquity to the modern age. He has published a number of studies concerning the transmission of narrative works in the Arabic and Persian traditions—in particular the *Alexander Romance*—and on the circulation of literary, iconographic, and scientific themes between East and West. In 2011, he was awarded the Al-Farabi-UNESCO prize for his book *Alessandro e Utopia nei romanzi persiani medievali* (1999). For his research on Oriental studies in Renaissance Italy, he was made Andrew W. Mellon Fellow at I Tatti in 2008–9, where he became acquainted with the Berenson Archive.

ROBERT COBLY
Colby holds a PhD in art history from the Courtauld Institute of Art. He is currently working on a book about Bernard Berenson’s aesthetic utopia, Altamura. In 2012, he held a Craig Hugh Smyth Visiting Fellowship at Villa I Tatti. In 2013, he received a Franklin Research Grant from the American Philosophical Society. He is currently a fellow at the Institute for the Arts and Humanities at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

JOSEPH CONNORS
Connors, a New Yorker by birth and formation, earned his doctorate in 1978 at Harvard University and has taught Renaissance and baroque art at the University of Chicago, Columbia University, and Harvard University. He was director of the American Academy in Rome from 1988 to 1992 and of Villa I Tatti from 2002 to 2010. He has held fellowships from the Guggenheim Foundation, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and the American Council of Learned Societies; he has published books on Francesco Borromini, Roman urban history, and Giovanni Battista Piranesi.
ROBERT AND CAROLYN CUMMING

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

Howard is head of research at Colnaghi and senior lecturer in the history of art at the University of Buckingham, where he heads the department of art history and heritage studies. He studied English at Oriel College, Oxford, and Italian Renaissance art at the Courtauld Institute of Art. After working for thirteen years in the London art market, he taught history of art for ten years at the University of Buckingham and for three years at Birkbeck, University of London, before rejoining Colnaghi as head of research in 2006. He also runs an MA program in eighteenth-century interiors and decorative arts in collaboration with the Wallace Collection. His research interests lie mainly in the field of British eighteenth-, nineteenth-, and early twentieth-century collecting and the development of the London art market. Recent publications include *Frans Hals’s St. Mark: A Lost Masterpiece Rediscovered* (2007), *Cranach* (2008), *Colnaghi: The History* (2010), and “Titian’s Rape of Europa: Its Reception in Britain and Sale to America” (2013).

ISABELLE HYMAN

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 Loveno 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 two-zero-four catalog of that collection’s early Italian paintings. He has been involved in exhibitions on Sienese 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.

**Claudia Wedepohl**

Wedepohl (PhD, University of Hamburg) is an art historian who joined the staff of the Warburg Institute in two-zero-zero-zero. Since two-zero-zero-six, she has been the institute’s archivist. Her research focuses on two fields: the reception of late antique models in fifteenth-century Italian art and architecture, and the genesis of Aby Warburg’s cultural theoretical notions. She is the author of In den glänzenden Reichen des ewigen Himmels: Cappella del Perdono und Tempietto delle Muse im Herzogpalast von Urbino (two-zero-nine), coeditor of Aby M. Warburg’s Per Monstra ad Sphaeram: Sternglaube und Bilddeutung (two-zero-eight; Italian edition, two-zero-nine), and coeditor of the multivolume edition of Aby Warburg’s collected writings, Gesammelte Schriften, Studienausgabe (ninety-eight–).
Index

Abbott, Senda Berenson (sister of Bernard Berenson), 110, 111
Adams, Henry, 4
Aestheticism: Dionites, “Altamura,” and The Golden Urn, 80–84, 86, 87, 89–90, 93–94; Islamic art and culture and, 197–198, 203; Panofsky’s condemnation of, 168; Il Piacere (D’Annunzio, 1890) and aesthetic movement in Italy, 209; Warburg’s rejection of, 154, 156, 159, 160
Aesthetics and History (Berenson, 1950), 102, 107, 115–116, 238
Aga-Oglu, Mehmet, 179, 180
Agnew’s (art gallery), 37, 52
Ailey, Alvin, 361
Alberti, Guglielmo degli, 352–353
Alberti, Leon Battista, 352
Alberti Lamarmora, 361
Alessandro Filipepi, Commonly Called Sandro Botticelli (Horne), 134, 226
Algeria: Bernard Berenson’s travels in, 185; Bernard Berenson’s views on revolt against the French, 200–201
Allendale Nativity (Giorgione), 5
Allegory (Bellini), 326
Allen, Marion Boyd, 340
Alliata di Salaparuta, Topazia, 225
Altamura Garden Pavilion, Fenway Court, 9–10, 69–100; artistic and cultural evolution of Gardner and, 77–86, 79, 81; as “carriage house,” 69, 72, 73, 75, 75–77, 97; design and construction of, 71, 72–77, 76, 77, 96–99, 98; Dionites, “Altamura,” and The Golden Urn, 9–10, 69–70, 71–72, 84, 85–86, 87, 88–96, 97, 98–99, 100; Monte Oliveto Maggiore and, 91, 91–93, 94; postcard of Bari Gate, Altamura, inspiring, 9, 70–71, 73, 97; purpose of, 69, 70, 73–74, 97, 99; Tremont Entrance to Olmsted’s Back Bay Fens and, 73–74, 74, 75
Alte Pinakothek, Munich, 63
Altman, Benjamin, 33
Altman, Robert, 33, 57, 336
American Academy of Arts and Letters, Bernard Berenson’s membership in, 17
American, Bernard Berenson’s self-identification as, 345–347, 390
The American Scene (James, 1907), 80
“Amico di Sandro” (Berenson, 1899), 7
Amori (Dossi, 1887), 208, 210
Ananda statue (Chinese, Northern Qi dynasty, ca. 570), 210, 221
Anderson, Jaynie, 7
Andreas-Salomé, Lou, 323, 327
Anrep, Walther, 188, 192
Angeloelli, Walther, 323, 327
Antruther-Thomson, Clementina Caroline (Kit), 117
Annunciation (Botticelli), 226–227
Annunciation (attrib. Catena), Pio chapel, Carpi, 319
Annunciation (Lippi), 23
Annunciation (Masolino da Panicale, ca. 1423/1424), 271, 273
Annunciation (Scarsellino), 318
Anrep, Baronessa Alda von, 4
Anthology (Prince Baysunghur), 12, 190, 192, 192–193
Apollo (Reinach, 1904), 227
Apollonio di Giovanni, 146n12, 149, 151, 152, 156
“Apologia of an Art Historian” (Clark, 1950), 242–243
The Archangel Gabriel (Scott, after Botticelli, 1923), 291
Architecture of the Renaissance in Italy (Burckhardt), 127
Ardizzzone, Heidi, 5
Aretino, Spinello, 316
"Ariosto" (Titian), now called *Man with a Quilted Sleeve or Portrait of Girolamo (?)*
Barbarigo, 38, 47

*Aristotle with a Bust of Homer* (Rembrandt), 337

Armenian miniatures, Bernard Berenson’s brief interest in (ca. 1920), 194n59

Arnold, Matthew, 88

*Art and Illusion* (Gombrich, 1960), 107, 239

arts and crafts movement, 134

Ashburnham, Lord, 38–39, 44


Aspertini, Amico, 323

Assing, Ludmilla, 129

Assisi, Bernard Berenson’s experience of color in, 103n4

*At the Seashore* (Conder), 6

avant-garde, Florence and emergence of, 121, 133–135, 136, 138–142

Azzolini, Tito, 312

Back Bay Fens, Boston, 73–74, 74

Bagnacavallo, 322, 323

*Baigneuse Blonde* (Renoir), 245

Balchance, George, 364

Balbo, Italo, 200

Baldi, Bernardino, 156n59

Ballet Nègre, 365

Ballets Russes, 365

Balzac, Honoré de, 133

Bambach, Carmen, 7

Banti, Anna, 321

*Baptism of Christ* (Calvaert), 314, 318

Barbantini, Nino, 321

Barberino Master, 257n18

Bardin, Stefano, 37–38, 314

Barr, Alfred H., Jr., 271, 285

Bassetti, Marcantonio, 322

*Bathing Woman* (Cézanne), 135

*Battle of the Sea Gods* (Mantegna), 327–328

Baudelaire, Charles, 131, 238

Baysunghur, 12, 190, 192, 192–193

Beaton, Cecil, 229

Beatty, Talley, 375, 376, 377

"Beauty and Ugliness" (Lee, 1897), 108n19, 116–117

Beecher, Henry Ward, 335

Begarelli, Antonio, 315

 Behzad, 190, 192

Beit, Sir Alfred, 40, 41

*Bella Nani* (Veronese), 329

*Belle Ferronière* (da Vinci), 290

Bellini, Gentile, 215

Bellini, Giovanni, 41, 164, 241, 322, 323–324, 325–327

Bellini, Jacopo, 322, 324–325, 326

Benzioni, Giuliana, 356n11, 360

Berenson and the Connoisseurship of Italian Painting (exhibition, National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1979), 269, 270

"Berenson at Harvard: Bernard and Mary as Students" (virtual exhibition, Villa I Tatti, 2012), 6

Berenson, Bernard, 1–18; as agent and dealer, 5; American Academy of Arts and Letters, membership in, 17, 346–347; American, self-identification as, 345–347, 390; art collection of, 6; “Bernard Berenson at Fifty” conference (October 2009), 1; Catholicism, conversion to, 91, 201; childlessness of, 278; connoisseurship of, 7–10 (See also connoisseurship of Berenson); correspondence of, 4–5, 7–8, 17, 18 (See also specific correspondents); critical reception of (1959–2009), 1–77; death of (1959), 231, 378; education at Harvard, 6, 113, 175–177, 179; fascism, opposition to, 10, 181n34, 201, 351–353, 359n45; Florence of, 11–12, 121–142 (See also Florence, ca. 1900); Gardner and, 7–10 (See also Altamura Garden Pavilion, Fenway Court; Gardner, Isabella Stewart); Hemingway and, 18; Herrick novel, response to, 93–94; Islamic and Asian art, interest in, 12–14 (See also Asian art; Islamic art and culture); Jewishness of, 2, 6, 13, 16, 24n22, 93, 163, 175, 198, 201–202, 272; legacy of, 247; marriage
of, 30, 54, 93; modern art, attitudes toward, 2, 6, 11, 125, 238, 274, 340, 381–382; Museum Course, Fogg Museum, Harvard, and, 275–278; on Nazism, 201–202; Parker Traveling Fellowship application, rejection of (1887), 13, 84, 175, 177–179, 198n68; photographs, use of, 149, 194–195, 255; protégés of, 14–17, 266n43, 278–281 (See also specific protégés); public attention, dislike of, 243; publishing and writing inhibitions of, 148, 149n26, 253n10, 358; scholarship of, 6–7; tactile values, concept of, 10–11, 101–120 (See also tactile values); technical aspects of art, lack of interest in, 16, 275, 283–284; Warburg and, 11–12, 143–169 (See also Warburg, Aby); women and, 5, 18, 54n69, 187, 264, 369–373, 378–380, 384

Berenson, Bernard, photographs of: in chauffeured automobile with Mary, Italy (ca. 1910), 255, 256; with Clark (1949), 233; with Dunham (ca. 1950), 370, 371; in hall of I Tatti (1903), 253; with Maraini family (1953), 225; with Morra (1932), 351; with Mostyn-Owen in garden of I Tatti (1954), 246; in Poggio allo Spino (1931), 241; in study at I Tatti (1948 and 1952), 239, 252; traveling in Islamic world (1921–55), 182–184; with Walker (1939), 279, 280; writing in bed (n.d.), 240

Berenson, Bernard, works of: Aesthetics and History (1950), 102, 107, 115–116, 238; “Amico di Sandro” (1899), 7; on Arch of Constantine, 15; Central Italian Painters of the Renaissance (1887), 11, 86, 104n6, 119, 129, 255n11; Drawings of the Florentine Painters (1903), 7, 10, 14, 15, 87, 224n49, 226, 232–234, 237, 258, 278; Florentine Painters of the Renaissance (1896), 11, 86, 104, 107, 108, 110, 111, 116, 117, 157, 255n11; “Ghazel: Thought and Temperament” (poem), 174, 204–205; Italian Painters of the Renaissance (1930), 14, 101, 102, 104, 116, 119, 120, 156, 229, 245; Italian Pictures of the Renaissance, 14, 101, 102, 327; Lorenzo Lotto (1895), 6–7, 86; North Italian Painters (1907), 24n23, 104n6, 155n11, 211; One Year’s Reading for Fun (1942), 240; publishing and writing inhibitions of Bernard Berenson, 148, 149n26, 255n10, 358; The Rudiments of Connoisseurship (1902), 16, 161, 277; Rumour and Reflection (1952), 353; Sketch for a Self-Portrait (1948), 3, 86–87, 111, 114–115, 168–169, 175, 204n90, 255n10, 359n44; Three Essays in Method (1927), 16, 24n23, 277; The Venetian Painters of the Renaissance (1894), 44, 68, 84, 86, 104, 207–208, 209, 255n11; on Venetian painting in New Gallery (1895), 28. See also lists compiled by Bernard Berenson

Berenson, Mary (née Smith, then Mary Costelloe; wife): Dionites, “Altagura,” and The Golden Urn, 9–10, 69–70, 72, 84, 87, 90, 93–94; art trade, encouragement of Bernard Berenson to enter, 263n4, 42; Asian art and, 207, 211, 215, 217–219, 220; cassone panel from Jarves collection, Yale University, attribution of, 12, 152–153, 156; childlessness of, 278; Clark and, 232–233, 234, 278, 279, 345, 350n2; correspondence of Bernard Berenson and, 4; death of (1945), 238; on flowers in dining room at I Tatti, 123; Gutekunst and Colnaghi Gallery, 52–55; Herrick novel, response to, 93–94; on Hildebrand, 104, 105n11; Huntington, Archer, and, 17, 332–333, 337, 338, 339, 346; on Islamic art and culture, 13, 180, 181, 185–186n39–41, 186, 188n48, 195–196n61, 200n70, 200n74, 343–344; James, William, and, 113, 114, 115; “Life of BB,” 263n4, 306n4; linguistic abilities of, 351; list of Bernard Berenson’s reading matter (1890), 175, 176n14, 177n18; marriage to Bernard Berenson, 30, 54; marriage to Frank Costelloe, 86, 87; Mayor, A. Hyatt, and, 341, 343, 345; Morra and, 356; Obrist and, 139; photographs of, 182, 256; Porters and, 264; as public speaker, 275–276; Richter and, 27, 306n4; as student at Harvard, 6; tactile values and, 103, 104, 107–111; typewriters given to, 4, 322; Walker and anthology project, 281; on wealthy clients, 163, 332–336; Yashiro Yukio and, 225–226, 227n62, 229n71

Beretta, Maria, 208–209

Bergson, Henri, 344

Berkeley, George, 103n5

Bernard Berenson: The Making of a Connoisseur (Samuels, 1979), 4

Bernard Berenson: The Making of a Legend (Samuels, 1987), 4

Bernheim (dealer), 137

Bettini, Maria Teresa (“Licia”), 353

Beyond Architecture (Porter, 1918), 259

Beyond Good and Evil (Nietzsche), 109

Biagio d’Antonio, 318

Bicci di Lorenzo, 316, 317, 323

Index

421
Biddle, Katherine, 364
Bindo Altoviti (Cellini), 51
Bing, Gertrude, 145, 146, 156n63, 168
Binyon, Laurence, 14, 217, 224, 226
Birth of St. John (Ghirlandaio), 159, 160
The Birth of Tragedy (Nietzsche, 1872), 103, 109
Black Square (Malevich), 135
Blair, Sheila, 13
Blake, William, 88
Blechen, Karl, 139
Blenheim Palace, Raphael altarpiece from, 37
Blochet, Edgar, 190n53, 191, 197
The Blood of the Redeemer (Bellini), 326–327
Blue Boy (Gainsborough, ca. 1770), 40, 47–49, 48
Blues for the Jungle (ballet; Pomare), 377
Boas, Franz, 366
Bode, Wilhelm von, 231n4, 27, 39–42, 44, 45–46, 52, 238, 315
Boito, Camillo, 311
Bonaparte, Paulina, 373
Bonomi (industrialist), 321, 328, 330
Book of Tea (Okakura Kakuzo), 82
Bordone, Paris, 329, 330
Borghese Gallery, Rome, 26–27
Borgo San Sepolcro altarpiece (Sassetta), 13–14, 211, 213, 214, 216, 223, 224n44, 229
Bosanquet, Bernard, 116n56
Botticelli, Sandro: Alessandro Filipepi, Commonly Called Sandro Botticelli (Horne), 134, 226; “Amico di Sandro” (Berenson, 1899), 7; Annunciation, 226n55; The Archangel Gabriel (Scott, after Botticelli, 1923), 291; Bernard Berenson’s appreciation of, 135; in Berenson and the Connoisseurship of Italian Painting (exhibition, National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1979), 269; Gutekunst and Colnaghi Gallery, 9, 38–39, 51; Madonna of the Eucharist (early 1470s), 38, 39, 51; “myth of Florence” and, 123, 130; Pallas and the Centaur, 123; Prince Chigi’s export sales of works of, 37n15, 38; tactile values and, 101; Tragedy of Lucretia (ca. 1500–1501), 9, 38–39, 44, 45; Trinity, 226; Uhde on, 136; Venus Rising from the Sea, 101; la Virgine col bambino benedicente l’offerta d’un angelo, 37n13; Warburg and, 11, 150; Yashiro Yukio’s study of, 14, 225–227, 228
Bowes, Claude G., 376
Bracchi family, 352, 355
Bradley, Katherine (“Michael Field”), 112
Braglia, Martinelli, 315, 316
Brancacci Chapel frescoes (Masaccio), 110
Brancusi, Constantin, 135
Braque, Georges, 11–12, 137, 138, 141
Breughel, Pieter, 316
Brewster, Christopher, 117
Brewster, Henry B., 117–118, 118, 120
Brewster, Lis Hildebrand, 106, 107, 117, 118, 119
British aristocracy, sales of old masters by, 36–37, 38–40
Brockhaus, Heinrich, 136, 145, 151, 153
Bromhead, Mr., 57
Bronzino, 251n25
Brown, Alison, 10–11, 101, 413
Brown, Charlotte Cabot, 360
Brown, David Alan, 16, 269, 413
Brown, J. Carter, 16, 279n13
Brown, John Nicholas, 271
Brunelleschi, Filippo, 130
Brush, Kathryn, 15, 249, 413
Buccleuch, Duke of, 63
Buddha head (Head of Ananda, Javanese, eighth–eleventh century), 14, 218, 219
Buddha statue of Ananda (Chinese, Northern Qi dynasty, ca. 570), 219, 221
Buddhist altar (sixth century), 14
Buddhist and Franciscan spirituality, Bernard Berenson’s comparison of, 13, 211–213, 215
Buffal Marco, Buonamico, 223
Burckhardt, Jacob, 12, 123–128, 130, 131, 136–137, 140, 141, 202n83, 238
“Burgundian Heresy” of Porter, 261–262
The Burial of a Franciscan Friar (Magnasco), 321
Burne-Jones, Edward, 135
Burning of Troy (Jolli), 315
Burns, Thea, 16, 283, 414
Burrel Madonna (Bellini), 324
Burroughs, Alan, 275
Burton, Richard Francis, 179
Callmann, Ellen, 149n30
Calk, Mary Ann, 6
Calvaert, Denys, 314, 318
Cameroni, Felice, 208
Campori, Marchese Matteo, 312, 320
Campori, Marchese Onofrio, 319
Canon, Henry W., 306n3
Caprice in Purple and Gold: The Golden Screen (Whistler), 211
Carandini, Elena, 352
Caravaggio, Michelangelo Merisi da, 319, 330
Carlisle, Earl of, 36
Carlyle, Thomas, 145–146, 147–148, 176
Cole, Fay Cooper, 365
Collingwood, R. G., 102, 120
Colnaghi, Dominic, 36
Colonna Madonna (Raphael), 337
Columbus, Christopher, 126, 249
Commissione di Storia Patria e Belle Arti, 311
“An Comparative Analysis of the Dances of Haiti” (Dunham, 1938/1947), 367
The Concert (Vermeer), 44
Concert Champêtre (Titian), 278
Conconi, Luigi, 208, 210
Corder, Charles, 6
connoisseurship of Berenson, 7–10; ambivalence of Bernard Berenson regarding, 33, 42, 134, 87, 275; approach to study of art influenced by, 143, 154, 161–162; critical reception and, 1, 3, 5–6, 7; teaching of, 274–275, 277–281; Three Essays in Method (Berenson, 1927) and, 277; Warburg and, 12. See also Gardner, Isabella Stewart; Gutekunst, Otto, and Colnaghi Gallery, London; Morelli, Giovanni; Richter, Jean
Connors, Joseph, 1, 102, 359, 363, 414
The Consecration (Magnasco), 321
Constantine I the Great (Roman emperor), 15, 344
The Construction of Lombard and Gothic Vaults (Porter, 1911), 257
Conti, Angelo, 208
Contini Bonacossi, Alessandro, 309, 310, 318, 319, 321, 324, 327
Conversations with Berenson (Morra), 10, 360
Coolidge, Baldwin, 81
Coolidge, John, 228
Coomaraswamy, Ananda K., 215
Cooper, Edith (“Michael Field”), 112
Corot, Jean-Baptiste-Camille, 141
Costa, Enrico, 24–25, 26, 30, 66–64
Costelloe, Frank, 86, 87
Costelloe, Mary. See Berenson, Mary
Coster, Charles Henry, 201
Count-Duke of Olivares (Velázquez), 339
Crespi, Giuseppe Maria, 321–322
Creswell, Keppel Archibald Cameron, 13, 179, 180, 196
Crispi, Francesco, 26
Crivelli, Carlo, 53, 207–208
Crucifixion (del Fiore), 323
Crucifixion with Saints (Puccio di Simone and Master of Barberino), 257

Cruttwell, Maud, 110
cubism, 135, 137–138, 140–141
Cumming, Carolyn, 10, 349, 415
Cumming, Robert, 10, 349, 361, 415
Cummins, Paul, 341
Cunard, Nancy, 62
Cvjetčanin, Tatjana, 6
Cyrenaicism, 83, 89–90
da Carpi, Girolamo, 322
Daddi, Bernardo, 257
Daitokuji paintings, exhibition, Boston
Museum of Fine Arts (1894), 215–216, 217
Dali, Salvador, 142
Damascus, Great Mosque of, 195, 195–196
Dancing Girls of Kutch (scroll painting, tenth–eleventh century), 14, 217, 218
Dandolo, Andrea, 196–65
D’Annunzio, Gabriele, 208–210
Darnley, Lord, 38, 40, 45–47, 49, 50
Darwin, Charles, 103
Davenport-Hines, Richard, 5
Davies, Norman de Garis, 185
Davis, Theodore M., 29, 371
De arte illuminandi (trans. and ed. Thompson, 1934), 294
De Marchi, Andrea G., 323, 327
de Montesquieu, Count Robert, 344
De rerum natura (Lucretius), 89
Deacon, Gladys, 364
The Death of the Gods (Nietzsche), 109
Degas, Edgar, 11, 110, 120, 135, 211, 281
Del Turco, Pellegrina, 364
Delaunay, Robert, 137
Demoiselles d’Avignon (Picasso), 135
Demotte, Georges, 188, 190, 318
Denis, Maurice, 135, 141
Deposition (van der Weyden), 231, 232
Deprez, Edmond, 35, 36, 38, 21, 55, 56, 57
Derain, André, 12, 138
Derriére, Jacques, 130
Di Stefano, Dino, 376
Diana, Benedetto, 322
A Different Person (Merrill, 1993), 360
Dionites, “Altamura,” and The Golden Urn, 9–10, 69–70, 71–72, 84, 85–86, 87, 88–96, 97, 98–99, 100. See also Altamura Garden Pavilion, Fenway Court
Doetsch sale (1895), 281
Dolmetsch, Arnold, 134
Donna Laura Minghetti (da Vinci), 29
Doria, Count, 23
Duveen, Joseph: Bernard Berenson as agent

Dörner, Max, 286

Dossi, Carlo, 208

Douglas, Robert Langton, 52, 63, 271, 310, 320

Drawings of the Florentine Painters (Berenson, 1903), 7, 10, 14, 15, 87, 224 n.49, 226, 232–234, 237, 258, 278

Drigo, Paola, 364

Dufy, Raoul, 138

Duky, Jean, 11–12

Duncan, Isadora, 365

Duncan, Sally Anne, 269, 273–274

Dunham, Albert (brother), 365, 373

Dunham, Albert (father), 365

Dunham, Fanny June (mother), 365


Dunhuang, Caves of the Thousand Buddhas, Western China, 290–293

Durand-Ruel, Paul (dealer), 137

Dürer, Albrecht, 40, 146, 151, 215, 326

Durkheim, Émile, 132

Dussler, Luitpold, 68

Duveen Brothers, 336

Duveen, Henry, 5983

Duveen, Joseph: Bernard Berenson as agent for, 5, 33, 34, 55, 59, 143, 235, 275, 332, 336; Clark and National Gallery, 235; Forestis and, 314, 327; Gutekunst and Colonaghi Gallery, 9, 34, 40, 57–59, 60, 63–64; Hahn lawsuit, 290; Huntington and, 336–337, 338; rivalries between clients fomented by, 338; Thompson and, 289–290

Eastlake, Charles, 45, 208

Egg (Brancusi), 135

“Egg and Plaster” course of Edward Forbes, Harvard University, 285

Egypt: Bernard Berenson’s following of political events in, 201; Bernard Berenson’s travels in, 181–185, 182, 198, 343–344

Eibner, Alexander, 286

Einfühlung, 12, 157

Einstein, Lewis, 153

Eisler, Robert, 146

El Cid, Huntington translation of, 17, 338

The Energies of Men (James, 1906), 113, 115

Epicureanism, 82–84, 89–90

“Epistle to the Americanized Hebrews” (Berenson, 1944), 198 n.68

Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art (Fenollosa, 1912), 213

“Essai d’imitation de l’estampe japonaise” (Cassatt, 1891), 211

Este, Isabella d’, 9, 51, 96

Estimé, Dumarsais, 364, 367

Eittinghausen, Richard, 188–189, 191–192

Europa (Titian, 9, 40, 45–51, 46, 53

Eye of the Beholder (exhibition, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2003), 6, 8

Fabbri, Egisto, 6

Fantin-Latour, Henri, 211

Farhād va Šīrīn (Farhad and Shirin; Mulla Vahshi, early seventeenth century), 190

Fascism, 10, 181 n.34, 201, 351–353, 354, 355, 359 n.45

Fenollosa, Ernest Francisco, 14, 213, 215–216, 217, 224, 264 n.36

Fenway Court. See Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum/Fenway Court

Ferdowski, 12, 189, 190, 194

Ferguson, Wallace, 123

Ferrari, Defendente, 164

Fiedler, Konrad, 104, 108

Field, Michael (Katherine Bradley and Edith Cooper), 112

Figure in Landscape (attrib. Lotto), 322

Fiocco, Giuseppe, 310, 316, 328, 329

Fiorentino, Pier Francesco, 152 n.4

Flaubert, Gustave, 90–91

Florence, ca. 1900, 11–12, 121–142; avant-garde, emergence of, 121, 133–135, 136,
Index

Forster, E. M., "one.o/two.o/zero.o, "one.o/two.o/eight.o 
Foresti, Luigi (son), "three.o/two.o/zero.o 
Foresti, Luigi (ancestor, "one.o/six.o/eight.o/zero.o), "three.o/one.o/two.o 
"Four Gospels" (Berenson), "two.o, "one.o/five.o, "two.o/five.o/five.o. 
See also Foresti, Erminia (wife ), 
Forbes, Edward, "one.o/seven.o, "two.o/two.o/nine.on/seven.o/one.o, "two.o/seven.o/five.o, "two.o/eight.o/five.o–/two.o/eight.o/six.o, 
Fogg Museum, Harvard. 
Foresti, Carlo Alberto, "one.o/seven.o, "three.o/zero.o/nine.o–/three.o/three.o/zero.o; additions 
Foresti altarpiece (a/t_trib. Grimaldi), "three.o/one.o/five.on/three.o/one.o 
Harvard 
Uhde and, "one.o/one.o–/one.o/two.o, "one.o/two.o/one.o, "one.o/three.o/five.o–/one.o/four.o/two.o 
"myth of Florence," "one.o/two.o/one.o, "one.o/two.o/two.o, "one.o/two.o/three.o–/one.o/two.o/five.o, "one.o/two.o/eight.o, "one.o/three.o/two.o–/one.o/three.o/three.o; scent of, "one.o/two.o/two.o–/one.o/two.o/three.o, 
Florence, "one.o/three.o/zero.o, "one.o/three.o/one.o–/one.o/three.o/three.o; scent of, "one.o/two.o/two.o–/one.o/two.o/three.o, 
modernity and, "one.o/two.o/one.o, "one.o/two.o/two.o, "one.o/two.o/three.o–/one.o/two.o/five.o, "one.o/two.o/eight.o, "one.o/three.o/two.o–/one.o/three.o/three.o; scent of, "one.o/two.o/two.o–/one.o/two.o/three.o; scent of, "one.o/two.o/two.o; scent of, "one.o/two.o/two.o–/one.o/two.o/three.o, 
Fry, Roger, "seven.o, "four.o/two.o, "one.o/three.o/zero.o, "two.o/three.o/eight.o–/two.o/three.o/nine.o, "two.o/four.o/zero.o, "two.o/seven.o/nine.o 
fruit-bearing girl, Warburg on, "one.o/five.o/nine.o, "one.o/six.o/zero.o 
Fromm, Erich, "three.o/six.o/four.o, "three.o/six.o/six.o, "three.o/seven.o/three.o 
Fourth Crusade, 196n63 
Fra Angelico, 51, 139, 140 
"Fragment of the Nymph" (Warburg, 1900), 159–161 
France, Anatole, 122 
Franciosi collection, 313, 318 
Francis, Frances, 364 
Francis, Henry, 364 
Franciscan and Buddhist spirituality, 
Bernard Berenson’s comparison of, 13, 211–213, 212, 215 
Freedman, Jonathan, 82 
Freer, Charles Lang, 216 
Freer Gallery, Washington, 14 
Freud, Sigmund, 103, 128, 132 
Frick, Henry Clay, and Frick Collection: 
Clark and Bernard Berenson on Bellini’s 
St. Francis in the Desert, 241–242; Gardner compared, 84; Gutekunst and Conlngh 
Gallery, 34, 36, 38, 42, 56, 57, 59–60, 61n89, 63; Huntington, Arabella, and, 336 
Friedländer, Max, 40, 42n30 
Friedrich, Caspar David, 139 
Frizzoni, Gustavo, 7, 22, 26, 27n42, 312, 315, 320 
Fromentin, Eugène, 238 
Fromm, Erich, 364, 366, 373 
fruit-bearing girl, Warburg on, 159, 160 
Fry, Roger, 7, 42, 130, 238–239, 240, 279 
Fujimaro, Tanaka, 208 
The Funeral of Patroclus (Aspertini), 323 
futurists, 134 
Gainsborough, Thomas, 40, 47–49, 48 
Galilei, Galileo, 128 
Galton, Arthur, 93 
Ganz, Paul, 63 
Gardner, Isabella Stewart, 7–10; artistic and 
cultural evolution of, 77–86; Asian and 
Islamic collections of, 175, 186, 188, 190n55, 213, 216, 222; Bernard Berenson as agent for, 
5, 8, 29, 34, 42, 84–85, 337; Choice of Books 
from the Library of Isabella Stewart Gardner, 
Fenway Court (1906), 82; correspondence 
with Bernard Berenson, 7–8, 9, 84–85, 100, 
175, 186, 190n55, 213, 216, 265, 334; financing 
of Bernard Berenson’s early European 
travels by, 7–8, 44, 84, 98, 179; on Greene, 
Belle da Costa, 382; Gutekunst/Bernard 
Berenson/Gardner, triangular relationship 
between, 9, 34, 38, 39, 40, 42–47, 49–55; 
Huntingtons and, 334, 336, 338; Matisse, 
appreciation of, 6; Pole-Carew Holbein 
138–142; Burckhardt’s historiographic 
concept of the Renaissance and, 12, 
123–128, 130, 131, 136–137, 140; as European 
Other, 128–131; light of, 128–129; literary 
salons and artistic circles, 129, 133–134; 
May Troubles (1898), 131, 132; modernism/ 
modernity and, 121, 122, 123–125, 128, 132– 
133, 135, 140–142; “myth of Florence,” 121, 
122–124, 130; noise levels in, 132–133; “real” 
Florence, 130, 131–133; scent of, 122–123, 
128, 129; tactile values, concept of, 102; 
Uhde and, 11–12, 121, 135–142 
Florentine Painters of the Renaissance 
(Berenson, 1896), 11, 86, 104, 107, 108, 110, 
111, 116, 117, 255n11 
Florenz 1900: Die Suche nach Arkadien 
(Roeck, 2001), 11 
Fogg Museum, Harvard. See Harvard 
University 
Forbes, Edward, 17, 229n71, 275, 285–286, 287, 
287n19, 290, 291, 296 
Foresti altarpiece (attrib. Grimaldi), 315n31 
Foresti, Carlo Alberto, 17, 309–330; additions 
to Carpi civic collections and restoration 
of Castello Pio, 17, 318–319; art collection 
of, 309, 310, 320, 321–330; attributions 
and publications of Foresti paintings by 
Bernard Berenson, 316, 318, 320n78, 321, 
322, 326, 327, 330; correspondence with 
Bernard Berenson, 324–330; death of 
(1946), 310; education, influences, and 
development as antiquarian and connaisseur, 319–321; family background and 
father’s art collection, 311–318, 312, 313, 319; 
Fototeca Berenson used to trace collection 
of, 322, 323–324, 325, 326, 330; photograph 
of, 311; relationship with Bernard Berenson, 
318, 319–316, 323, 324; sale of father’s art 
collection (1913), 315–318. See also Carpi 
Foresti, Erminia (wife), 311, 329 
Foresti, Luigi (ancestor, 1634), 312 
Foresti, Luigi (ancestor, 1680), 312 
Foresti, Luigi (son), 320 
Foresti, Pietro (father), 17, 310, 311–318, 319, 320 
Forster, E. M., 120, 128 
Forti, Fermo, 312 
Forty Years with Berenson (Mariano, 1966), 
181, 350 
“For Four Gospels” (Berenson), 2, 15, 255. See also 
Central Italian Painters of the Renaissance; 
Florentine Painters of the Renaissance; 
North Italian Painters; The Venetian 
Painters of the Renaissance
scandal, 52–53; Sargent portrait, 43; Stuart dynasty and, 51, 79; Villa I Tatti, visit to, 96; Yashiro Yukio and, 226, 227n62, 229n71. See also Altamura Garden Pavilion, Fenway Court; Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum/ Fenway Court
Gardner, John Lowell ("Jack"; husband), 51n54, 52, 78, 84, 85
Gardner Museum, See Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum
Garstang, Donald, 34
Garton, John, 329–330
Gates, Helen Manchester, 339
Gauguin, Paul, 31
Geld, John, 302, 303, 304
Gelder, William, 302
Gelder, Willem, 302
Garben, Johannes, 15n80
Gellhorn, Martha, 18
Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, 27n44–42, 34, 39, 40, 43–46
Gems of the Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition (Colnaghi and Agnew’s, 1858), 37
Genettes, Madame Roger des, 90–91
Genga, Girolamo, 31
Geroni, Niccolò di Pietro, 31
Germay, Bernard Berenson on
“Orientalization” of, 202
“Ghazel: Thought and Temperament” (poem; Berenson), 174, 204–205
Ghirlandaio, Domenico, 159, 160, 161, 322
Giacomo, Michele, St. Michael Archangel
Enthroned (1440–45), 8, 19, 20, 27–30
Gibbon, Edward, 176
Gide, André, 344
Ginori, Richard, 131
Giorgetti, Alceste, 151
Giangone, Giorgio Barabelli da Castelfranco, 5, 8, 27, 235–236, 262, 279n12
Giotto di Bondone, 15, 101, 120, 139, 140, 223, 259, 344
Giovanni di Paolo, 237
Glaenzer, Eugene, 55
Gli Anglo-Americani a Firenze (Fantoni, 2000), 6
Gli indifferenti (Moravia), 361
Glucksmann, Carl, 153
Gobetti, Piero, 10, 352, 355, 358, 359n44
Gobineau, Arthur de, 198
Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von, 3, 7, 123–124, 177
The Golden Urn (periodical), “Altamura,” and Dionites, 9–10, 69–70, 71–72, 84, 85–86, 87, 88–96, 97, 98–99, 100. See also Altamura
Garden Pavilion, Fenway Court
Goldman, Henry, 271
Goldman Sachs, 271
Goldschmidt, Adolph, 154
Gombrich, Ernst, 10, 103n5, 107, 108, 149n30, 152, 157, 159n83, 239
Gondola Days (exhibition, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2004), 8
The Gospel of Freedom (Herrick, 1898), 93
Gospels of Anarchy (Lee, 1908), 118
Gothic Revival, 78, 79, 84, 134, 233
The Gothic Revival (Clark, 1928), 233, 278
Goupil et Cie, 35–36
Grabar, Oleg, 13
Granville-Barker, Harley, 339n41
Gray, Simon, 5
Great Kanto Earthquake (1923), 226, 227
Great Mongol Shahnama (Ferdowsi): ca. 1335
manuscript of, 12, 189, 190; ca. 1524–76
manuscript of, 190, 194
Greene, Belle da Costa, 4, 5, 18, 294, 301, 303, 364, 382
Greener, Richard Theodore, 382
Greenslet, Ferris, 204n90
Gregorovius, Ferdinand, 124
Grimaldi, Lazzaro, 315n31
Gronau, Georg, 52, 154n54, 310
Grossi, Carlo, 312
Grouset, René, 197
Guarotti, Francesco, 63, 316, 322
Guéralt, Robert, 36n10
Guercino, Giovanni Francesco Barbieri, 318, 322
Guernica (Picasso), 141
Guicciardini, Francesco, 131
Gulbenkian, Calouste, 63
Gurney, Edmund, 103, 113
Gutekunst, Heinrich G. (father), 35–36
Gutekunst, Lena Obach (wife), 36, 62, 64, 65, 66, 68
Gutekunst, Otto, and Colnaghi Gallery,
London, 9, 33–68; American market and,
40, 42, 56–57, 63–64; background and
ey early career, 35–36; Bernard Berenson as
agent for, 5, 44, 55; Berenson, Mary, and,
52–55; British aristocracy, purchases of
paintings from, 36–37, 38–40; Carstairs
and, 38n21, 56, 59; death of Gutekunst,
66; Duveen and, 9, 34, 40, 57–59, 60,
63–64; first meeting with Bernard
Berenson, 37n16, 42; Gardner/Bernard
Berenson/Gutekunst, triangular rela-
tionship between, 9, 34, 38, 39, 40, 42–47,
49–55; Great Depression, retirement of

Index 427
Gutekunst and World War II, 64, 66–67; Gritt portrait, contention with Bernard Berenson over attribution of, 65–66, 67, 67–68; Holbein affair, 57–60, 58, 60, 61; Old Bond Street offices, 66; as Old Master dealer, 36–42; Pall Mall East offices, 36, 38–39, 61–89, 64; Partridge Building offices, 61–62, 62, 66; photograph of, 35; relationship between Bernard Berenson and Gutekunst, 53–55, 64–68; before and during World War I, 60–63

Gutekunst, Richard (brother), 36

Hadley, Rollin Van N., 8, 70

Hafez, 17, 77, 205

Hahn lawsuit, 206, 207

Hall, Nicholas, 34

Hals, Franz, 37

Halsted, Isabel Hopkinson, 287

Hamilton, Carl, 26–44

Hamilton, George Heard, 294

Hand, Learned, 345

“Hans Across the Sea” (Punch cartoon, 1909), 59, 60

Hardwick, Elizabeth, 38

Hare, Augustus, 37

Harris, John, 224

Harvard Monthly, 176, 204

Harvard University: Bernard Berenson’s education at, 6, 113, 175–177, 179; China Expeditions, 290–293; “Egg and Plaster” course of Edward Forbes, 28; Museum Course, Fogg Museum, 16, 17, 269–271, 272–273, 274, 275–278, 276, 279; Parker Traveling Fellowship, rejection of Bernard Berenson’s application for (1887), 13, 84, 175–178, 179, 188–68; Porter appointed to research professorship at, 266; Porter’s art collection at Fogg Museum, 257; Thompson at, 285–286; Villa I Tatti bequeathed to, 10, 16, 272, 276, 281, 347; Warburg’s interest in connection with, 163, 166–168; Yashiro Yukio and, 228–229

Haskell, Francis, 126

Hazlitt, William, 34, 240

Head of Anada (Javanese, eighth–eleventh century), 14, 218, 219

Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich, 103, 109, 120, 125–126

Heinmann, Jacob, 310, 321

Heinemann, Fritz, 322, 323, 324, 326

Hemingway, Ernest, 18

Hemingway, Mary, 18

Hendrie, Robert, 285

Hendy, Sir Philip, 68

Hercules Strangling Antaeus (Pollaiuolo), 11, 116

Herskovits, Melville, 306, 367–368

Herodotus, 242

Herrick, Robert, 88, 93

Herringham, Lady Christiana, 296

Hesse, Hermann, 122, 128

Heydenreich, Ludwig Heinrich, 147


Hildebrand, Lisel (later Brewster; daughter), 106, 107, 118, 119

Hill, Constance Valis, 377

Hill, Derek, 372

Hillenbrand, Robert, 13

Hinks, Roger, 116, 120

Hiroshige, Andō, 211

Hispanic Society of America and Archer Huntington, 17, 238, 341, 346

Histoire de France (Michelet, 1855), 126

History of Aesthetic (Bosanquet), 116, 56

History of Greek Culture (Burckhardt), 136

The History of Philosophy (Hegel), 125

Hitchcock, Henry Russell, 271

Hokusai, Katsushika, 135, 209–210, 211

Holbein, Hans, 42, 51, 52, 53, 57–60, 58, 63

Holiday, Billie, 376

Holmes, Charles, 38

Holroyd, Charles, 60

Holy Family (formerly attrib. Mainieri), 314

Holy Family with Saint John (Mantegna), 27

Holy Land (Palestine and Syria), Bernard Berenson’s “pilgrimage” to, 183, 185, 195, 198–68

homosexuality: Clark believed by Bernard Berenson household to be gay, 232; Hafez love poems, Bernard Berenson’s amazement of celebration of men in, 177; of Uhde, 137

Hope Collection, 40

Horne, Herbert, 7, 37, 52, 129, 130, 134, 226

Horowitz, Vela, 245

“house of life,” 114, 115

Howard, Jeremy, 9, 33, 415

Huizinga, Johan, 123
Huntington, Anna Vaughan Hyatt (second wife), 336n20, 339, 340, 341
Huntington, Arabella (mother), 334, 335–337
Huntington, Collis P. (biological father/stepfather), 335, 335–336, 339n41
Huntington, Ellen Maria (aunt), 339n41
Huntington, George, 201
Huntington, Helen Manchester Gates (first wife/cousin), 339
Huntington, Henry E. (cousin/stepfather), 336n18
Hutchins, Robert Maynard, 364, 365
Hutton, Edward, 226
Hyde, Louis F., 226n55
Hyman, Isabelle, 17, 331, 415

I Tatti. See Villa I Tatti
Ibn-Khaldun, 202
Ikonologie, Warburg’s concept of, 144, 155n57
An Illuminated Life (Ardizzone, 2007), 5
impressionism, 103–105, 120, 139. See also specific artists
Imru’I Qays, 176, 178
In the Palace, or Ladies of the Court (Kongzhong tu), 229n72
Innocence (formerly attrrib. Franceschini, now School of Guido Reni), 316
International Conference of 1911, Florence, 11
Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum/Fenway Court: aerial photograph (1925), 77, 79; Asian art collection compared to Villa I Tatti, 222; commemorative elements of, 98; “cultural re-enchantment,” total design of Fenway Court as expression of, 77–86, 79, 81; design and construction of, 85–86, 98; Dionites, “Altamura,” and The Golden Urn as inspiration for, 100; Eye of the Beholder (exhibition, 2003), 6, 8; Gondola Days (exhibition, 2004), 8; Journeys East: Isabella Stewart Gardner and Asia (exhibition, 2009), 8; Old Masters paintings at, 9, 51; Palazzo Barbaro, Venice, and, 80, 98–99; photographs of, 79, 81; public mandate of, 80. See also Altamura Garden Pavilion, Fenway Court
Israel, Bernard Berenson’s views on, 198n68, 201–202
Israëls, Machtelt, 6, 13
Italian Art Exhibition, London (1930), 234
Italian Journey (Goethe, 1816–17), 123–124
Italian Painters of the Renaissance (Berenson, 1930), 14, 101, 102, 104, 116, 119, 120, 156, 229, 245
Italian Pictures of the Renaissance (Berenson), 14, 101, 102, 327
Italy, art export laws in, 37
Ivins, William M., Jr. (“Billie”), 341, 349
Jacob Blessing the Sons of Joseph (copy of Guercino, before 1646), 318
James, Henry, 80, 87, 111, 117, 128, 133–134
James, William, 7, 11, 103, 104, 109, 111–116, 112, 117–120, 157, 176
James, William, Jr., 119

Index

429
Janson, Horst W., 271
Japanese art. See Asian art
Jarves collection, Yale University: cassone
panel from, attribution of, 12, 145, 146, 149–156, 150, 165; Porter and, 15, 255, 257;
Siron’s catalog of, 223, 257
al-Jazari, 12, 190, 191
Jewishness of Bernard Berenson, 2, 6, 13, 16, 24n12, 93, 165, 175, 198, 201–202, 272
Johnston, John G., 223n41, 223n43
Jolles, André, 159, 160
Jolli, Antonio, 315
Joni, Icilio Federico, 283–284, 286–287
Journeys East: Isabella Stewart Gardner and Asia (exhibition, Isabella Stewart Gardner
Museum, 2009), 6, 8
Justi, Carl, 28n46
Kahn, Addie (Mrs. Otto H.), 364
Kahn Collection, 41
Kahn, Rodolphe, 57
Kahnweiler, Daniel-Henry, 136, 138
Kandinsky, Vassily, 1, 3, 5
Kandinsky, Marie, 135
Kan, Rodolphe, 337
Karageorgevic, Prince Paul and Princess
Elizabeth, 6
KBW (Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek
Warburg), 143, 145, 149, 150, 151
Keats, John, 88
Kelekian, Dikran, 188
Khayyam, Omar, 193n58
Kiel, Hanna, 14
Kirstein, Lincoln, 271
Kitāb fi ma’ rifat al hiyal al-handasiyya (Book of Knowledge of Ingenious Mechanical
Devices; al-Jazari, 1354), 12, 190, 191
Klee, Paul, 122–123
Klinger, Max, 137
Knoedler & Co., 34, 38n21, 42, 56–57, 59–60, 63, 64, 66
Kokoschka, Oskar, 141
Kollwitz, Kathe, 137
Körin, Ogata, 216, 217
Krautheimer, Richard, 15
Kress, Samuel H., and Kress Collection, 318, 321, 322, 326n118, 327
Kristeller, Paul Oskar, 325
Kühnel, Ernst, 180n27, 191
kulturwissenschaftlich (cultural-scientific)
approach of Warburg to study of art,
144, 154
Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek Warburg
(KBW), 143, 145, 149, 150, 151
Kunstreligion, 123
Kunstwollen, 115
Kuroda Seiki, Viscount, 225n53
Kurz, Isolde, 128, 129
La Farge, John, 216
Labidi, 176
Lacasse, Natalie, 364
Landi, Elisabetta, 17, 309, 416
Landi, Neroccio di Bartolommeo de’, 320
Landscape into Art (Clark, 1949), 238
Lanham, Charles Rockwell, 175
Larelli, Giovanni, 322
Laurati, Giorgio, 226
Laurencin, Marie, 138
Lautari, Arthur Pillans, 286, 289
Lazzaroni, Barone Michele, 319
Lazzoni, Tommaso, 312
Le Corbusier, Charles-Edouard Jeanneret, 141
Leclerc, Charles Victor Emmanuel, 173
Lee, Vernon (Violet Paget): Bernard
Berenson on Arabic verse and, 177; “Beauty
and Ugliness” (1897), 108n19, 116–117;
concept of personhood and aesthetics of,
7; on Einfühlung, 12, 157; Gospels of Anarchy,
118; Mayor, A. Hyatt, on Bernard Berenson
and, 34, 4; in Mayor journal, 17; photograph
of, 109; plagiarism charge against Bernard
Berenson (1897), 109, 116; tactile values
and, 104, 105n11, 108, 109, 111, 116–118, 120
“legend of the artist,” 140
Lehman, Robert, 316
Lehmann, Rosamond, 364
Leland, Charles Godfrey, 118
Leo X (pope), 124
Leonardo da Vinci: Belle Ferronière, 290;
Clark and, 234, 237, 247, 278; Donna Laura
Minghetti, 29; Freud’s engagement with,
128; Mona Lisa, 110; Richter’s edition of
notes and manuscripts of, 8, 21, 22, 30n64;
tactile values and, 110; Warburg on, 158n77,
161; woodworm in panel of, 130
Leonardo da Vinci (Clark, 1939), 237, 247, 278
Lessing, Julius, 312
Lévi-Strauss, Claude, 367
Lewis, Katie, 364
Il libro dell’arte (Cennini, late fourteenth
century), 16, 285, 291, 293, 294, 296, 305
Libya: Bernard Berenson on Italian cam-
paign in, 200; Bernard Berenson’s travels
in, 184, 185
Lichtenstein, Prince of, 41
Lipari, Filippo, 7, 64, 102, 160, 164
Lipari, Fra Filippo, 231n8
Lippmann, Walter, 345
Lisli von Herzogenberg Playing the Organ
(Hildebrand), 106, 107
lists compiled by Bernard Berenson:
Altamura and Dionites, 10, 88; critical
reception and, 1, 2, 3–4, 7; Gutekunst
and, 65, 69; publication in 1932, 277–278;
viewed as distraction from other work, 239
Lochhoff, Nicholas, 286
Loeser, Charles, 6, 11, 37n16, 42, 129, 327
Lothen Demonstrating the Power of the
Buddhist Sutras to Daoists (Zhou Jichang,
ca. 1178), 211, 212
Lombard Architecture (Porter, 1915–17),
251n2, 257–259
Longhi, Roberto, 7, 108, 120, 309, 319, 321,
325–327, 355n25, 360
Looking at Pictures with Bernard Berenson
(Brown, 1974), 16
Lorenzetti, 215
Lorenzo Lotto (Berenson, 1895), 6–7, 86
Loschi, Bernardino, 318, 319
Lotto, Lorenzo, 6–7, 86, 134, 135, 271, 322
Loves, Matteo, 312
Löwy, Michael, 78
Lucretius, De rerum natura, 89
Ludwig II of Bavaria, 23
Luther, Martin, 126
lynching, as topic of Dunham’s Southland,
375–378
Lyon, David Gordon, 175
Machiavelli, Niccolò, 123, 131
Macclagan, Eric, 260n26
Macrìdy, Teodor, 180n27
Madonna (Giotto), 15, 101
Madonna and Child (Bellini), 323
Madonna and Child (Gerini), 257, 258
Madonna and Child and St. Nicholas of
Tolentino (Loschi), 318
Madonna and Child with Sts. John the Baptist
and Jerome and Donors (Nelli), 322
Madonna and Child with the Infant St. John the
Baptist (attrib. Sassoferrato), 314
Madonna and Child with the Young St. John the
Baptist (attrib. Titian), 322
Madonna del Latte (Landi), 320
Madonna dell’Orto (Bellini), 326
Madonna of Bergamo [Madonna Lochis]
(Bellini), 326
Madonna of the Eucharist (Botticelli), 38, 39, 51
“The Madonna of the Future” (James), 133–134
Madonna of the Pinks (formerly attrub.
Raphael), 314
Madonna with Child (after Rondinelli), 324
Madonna with Child and the Young St. John the
Baptist (Bagnacavallo), 323
Madonna with the Standing Child (Circle of
Bellini), 322
Magnasco, Alessandro, 316, 321
Maineri, Gianfrancesco, 314
Malaspina monument, 261n38
Malatesta, Adeodato, 316, 318
Mâle, Émile, 238
Malevich, Kazimir, 135
Malinowski, Bronislaw, 365
Mallet, Lady, 375, 391
Man with a Quilted Sleeve or Portrait of
Girolamo (?) Barbarigo (Titian), formerly
called “Ariosto,” 38, 47
Mandarina (D’Annunzio, 1884), 210
Manet, Édouard, 137, 139, 140
Mann, Heinrich, 128
Mann, Thomas, 122, 128
Mantegna, Andrea, 8, 27, 320, 325, 326,
327–328
Maraini, Dacia, 225
Maraini, Fosco, 224, 225
Maramotti, Bosi, 315
Maratti, Carlo, 322
Marco del Buono Giamberti, 149, 151, 152
Marconi, Rocco, 322, 324
Mardrus, J. C., 179
Marées, Hans von, 104, 108, 135, 139, 141
Marghieri, Clotilde, 364, 371–372, 378
Mariano, Elisabetta “Nicky”; on Bernard
Berenson’s sense of Jewishness, 198n68; on
Clark, 232, 345; correspondence of Bernard
Berenson and, 4; in Dunham letters, 386,
389, 390; Foresti correspondence and, 324,
325, 327, 328, 330; German fluency of, 295;
Islamic art and culture, Bernard Berenson’s
interest in, 179n21, 180, 181, 185n37–38,
186n41; James’s Energy of Men and, 115; on
loves in Bernard Berenson’s life, 364, 370,
378; Mayor, A. Hyatt, and, 341, 342–343,
345; Morra and, 350–351, 356; Porters
and, 264; privacy of Bernard Berenson
protected by, 245; running of I Tatti after
death of Mary Berenson by, 238; travels
with Bernard Berenson, 180, 181, 224, 254n5;
Warburg, on Bernard Berenson’s 1927 visit
to, 145, 146, 165; on Yashiro Yukio’s 2000
Years of Japanese Art, 229

Index
Index

Mickleshanski, Judith (mother of Bernard Berenson), 215
Millais, John Everett, 135
Milton, John, 88, 332, 334
Mnemosyne Atlas (Warburg, 1920s), 149, 151
Mocetto, Girolamo, 326
modern art: avant-garde, Florence and emergence of, 121, 133–135, 136, 138–142; Bernard Berenson’s attitudes toward, 2, 6, 11, 125, 238, 274, 346, 381–382; cubism, 135, 137–138, 140–141; futurists, 134; impressionism, 103–105, 120, 139 (See also specific artists)
modernity/modernity and Florence, ca. 1900, 121, 122, 123–125, 128, 132–133, 135, 140–142
Mohammed, Bernard Berenson on, 176, 202, 203
Moments of Vision (Clark, 1954), 242, 281
Mona Lisa (da Vinci), 110
Monaco, Lorenzo, 223
Mond, Ludwig, 2118, 22, 29
Monet, Claude, 129
Monte Oliveto Maggiore, 95, 91–93, 94
Montefeltro, Federico da, Count of Urbino, 155, 156
Montesquieu, Count Robert de, 344
Monument to General Manfredo Fanti, model of (Trubetzkoy), 313
Moore, Henry, 238, 247
Morassi, Antonio, 310
Moravia, Alberto, 35118, 352, 361–362
Moravia, Elsa, 361
Morelli, Giovanni: anti-Jewish sentiments of, 24122; Bernard Berenson and, 3, 24–27, 28, 161, 277; on Bode, 40; Foresti, Carlo Alberto, and, 320; Richter and, 8, 21–28, 30164; studies of scientific connoisseurship of, 7; Warburg and, 12, 154, 160, 161, 168; Yashiro Yukio on, 228
Morgan, J. P., 57, 84, 237, 336, 337, 382
Morisot, Berthe, 211
Moroni, Giovan Battista, 314, 316, 320
Morra di Lavriano, Count Roberto (father), 353
Morra di Lavriano, Count Umberto, 10, 349–360; character and personality of, 356–359, 361, 362; Clark and, 349, 357136; Conversations with Berenson (1965), 10, 360; family background, education, and early life, 353–355, 360; fascism, opposition to, 10, 351–353, 354, 355, 359145; on Frizzoni and Bernard Berenson, 26; Moravia and, 35118, 352, 361–362; photographs of, 351,
Index

NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People), 375
NAACF (National Art Collections Fund), 59
Naples Manuscript, published as De arte illuminandi (Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale), 294
Nash, Paul, 247
Nasser, Gamal Abdel, 201
National Art Collections Fund (NAACF), 59
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), 375
Nativity (Loschi), 318
Nazism, Bernard Berenson on, 201–202
Nelli, Ottaviano, 322
Nelson, Jonathan K., 6, 7
“The New Art Criticism,” 113
New Deal, 346
New Theory of Vision (Berkeley, 1709), 10315
Newhall, Beaumont, 271
Nietzsche, Friedrich Wilhelm, 103, 104, 109–110, 114, 115, 117, 161
Nivedita, Sister, Margaret Elizabeth Noble, 213
Nöldeke, Theodor, 176
Norfolk, Duke of, 57, 59
North Italian Painters (Berenson, 1907), 24123, 10416, 155111, 211
The Nude (Clark, 1956), 234, 238, 247
Obach family, 36, 62, 64
Oberlin cassone (Apollonio di Giovanni), 152
Obrist, Hermann, 130, 135, 139
Oeffner, Richard, 156, 223, 227, 265
Okakura Kakuzo, 85, 98, 213, 216
The Old Man and the Sea (Hemingway, 1952), 18
The Old Masters (play; Gray), 5
Olmsted, Frederick Law, 73–74, 74
Olympia (Manet), 137, 140
One Thousand and One Nights, Bernard Berenson’s fondness for, 179, 197167, 203
One Year’s Reading for Fun (Berenson, 1942), 240
Order of the White Rose, 79
Orientalism, 12–13, 176, 198–200, 203, 20489
Original Treatises on the Arts of Painting (Merrifield, 1849), 285
Origo, Iris, 1–2, 344
Orleans Collection, 49
Orne, John, Jr., 176–177, 178
Orsi, Lelio, 322
Orsini, Prince, 131
Otium, 89
Oxford Movement, 78
Oxford University, 5, 7, 93, 232, 277, 384
Pagan Sacrifice (panel, attrib. Roberti/School of Mantegna/Bellini), 325–327
Pagan Sacrifice (pendant at Saltwood Castle), 326
Paget, Violet. See Lee, Vernon
Paine, Robert Treat, 215
Palazzo Barbaro, Venice, 80, 98–99
Palestine and Syria, Bernard Berenson’s “pilgrimage” to, 183, 185, 195, 19868
Palladio, 124
Pallas and the Centaur (Botticelli), 123
Palma il Giovane, 319
Palmezzano, Marco, 319
Pancrazi, Pietro, 352, 355
Panofsky, Erwin, 168, 276
Panciatichi, Marchese, 317
Papafava, Francesco, and Papafava family, 352135, 360
Parker Traveling Fellowship application, rejection of (1887), 13, 84, 17585, 177–179, 19868
Partridge, Ethel (later Mairét), 215
passatism, 139
Passerin d’Entrèves, Alessandro, 352, 359, 361
Passerini, Count Lorenzo (“Renzo”), 356832, 357
Passerini, Lyndall, 357
Pater, Walter: Bernard Berenson influenced by, 29, 84, 89–90, 148, 168, 208, 238, 241, 254; Bernard Berenson unable to gain entrance to Oxford class of, 277; on Botticelli, 7; Clark influenced by, 238, 241; Dionisio, “Altamura,” and The Golden Urn, 88; on Florence, 124, 130; on Galton, 93; Gardner and, 78, 82; Marius the Epicurean (1885), 82–84, 89; Norton on, 208; Porter influenced by, 254; The Renaissance: Studies in Art and Poetry (1873), 82, 83; Richter and, 22; Smith, Logan Pearsall, influenced by, 87
Patridge, Bernard, “Hans Across the Sea” (Punch cartoon, 1909), 59, 60
Payne, John, 179
Pelham-Clinton-Hope, Lord, 39–40
Perowne, Stewart, 201
Perugino, Pietro, 129
Pesaro altarpiece, 326
Pesellino, Francesco, 105
Philip II of Spain, 44–45, 49
The Philosopher (Circle of Ribera), 319 photographs, scholarly use of, 149, 194–195, 256, 314
Il Piacere (D’Annunzio, 1890), 209–210
Picasso, Pablo, 11, 135, 137–141
Piemontesi, Angelo, 13
Piero della Francesca, 7, 63, 130, 135, 141, 158, 242, 330
Piero della Francesca (Clark, 1951), 238, 247
Pietà (Raphael), 51, 53
Pietro Leopoldo (archduke), 124
Pignatti, Terisio, 329
Pilory, Karl Theodor von, 134
Piombo, Sebastiano del, 315
Piper, John, 247
Pissarro, Camille, 6
Pitati, Bonifazio de’, 30
Pitture italiane in America (Venturi, 1931), 321
Placci, Carlo, 105, 114n47, 120n71, 129, 352, 360
plagiarism charge by Lee against Bernard Berenson (1897), 109, 116
Planiscig, Leo, 309
Platonism, 141, 160
Platt, Dan Fellows, 251n2
Pole-Carew Holbein scandal, 52–53
Pollaiuolo, Antonio, 11, 116, 281
Pomare, Eleo, 377
Pomian, Krzysztof, 311
Pope-Hennessy, Sir John, 265n43, 345
Porter, Lucy Kingsley (wife), 146, 165, 252–253, 256, 257, 259–262, 260, 264, 266n44, 267
Portrait of a Friar (attrib. Caroto), 330
Portrait of a Gentleman (Moroni), 316
Portrait of a Lady (attrib. Piero della Francesca), 330
Portrait of a Young Artist (School of Rembrandt), 360n12
Portrait of a Young Man (Giustiniani Portrait; Giorgione), 27
Portrait of Alfonso d’Este (attrib. Titian), 321
Portrait of Anna Vaughan Hyatt (Mrs. Archer Huntington) (Allen), 340
Portrait of Arctino (Titian), 38, 57
Portrait of Ciro Menotti (Malatesta), 318, 320
Portrait of Collis P. Huntington (Shaw), 335
Portrait of Dama (formerly attrib. Veronese, now Circle of Paris Bordone), 329, 329–330
Portrait of Edward VI (Holbein), 63
Portrait of Girolamo (?) Barbarigo or Man with a Quilted Sleeve (Titian), formerly called “Ariosto,” 38, 47
Portrait of Hendrickje Stoffels (Rembrandt), 337
Portrait of Isabella Stewart Gardner (Sargent), 43
Index 435

Portion of Laura Dianti (attrib. Sebastiano del Piombo, after Titian), 315


Portrait of the Earl of Arundel (Rubens), 51

Portrait of the Family of Aeaded Malatesta (Malatesta), 316

Post, George B., 331

postage stamps, Warburg’s presentation on (1927), 145, 150, 151

Pound, Ezra, 215

Power of Sound (Gurney, 1892), 103

Praterita (Ruskin), 240

Pratt, John (husband of Katherine Dunham), 373, 378

Pratt, Marie-Christine Dunham, 373

Pre-Raphaelites, 134, 135, 161

Preacher Anslo and His Wife (Rembrandt), 39

Preti, Mattia, 319

Previtali, Andrea, 235, 279

primitivism, 107–108, 257

Primus, Pearl, 376

The Principles of Art (Collingwood, 1938), 102

Principles of Psychology (James, 1893), 111–112, 114, 118663, 157

Das Problem der Form in der bildenden Kunst (Hildebrand, 1893), 11, 105–107, 108, 129, 157

Prophet (Circle of Ribera), 319

Proust, Marcel, 344

Puccio di Simone, 257n18

Punt e Mes, 353n23

Purple Beeches (Matisse), 6

Puvis de Chavannes, Pierre, 135, 141

Queen of the Air (Ruskin), 240

race: Bernard Berenson’s feelings about, 374n14; social boundaries imposed by, 5, 18, 372, 374n34, 382–383. See also Dunham, Katherine; Greene, Belle da Costa

Radcliffe-Brown, Alfred, 365

Rainbow ‘Round My Shoulder (ballet; MacKayle), 377

Ranieri, Guidagnolo di, 146, 155, 156n59

Raphael, 37, 38, 53, 129, 164, 269, 314, 337

Al-Rasā’il (‘Treatises,’ known as Anthology; Prince Baysunghur, 1427), 12, 190, 192, 192–193

Redfield, Robert, 365, 366, 368

Redon, Odilon, 137

Redslob, Edwin, 146n11, 151n34

Reformation, Hegel’s theory regarding, 125–126

Reinach, Salomon, 227

Rembrandt and the Italian Renaissance (Clark, 1966), 247

Rembrandt van Rijn: Aristotle with a Bust of Homer, 337; Bernard Berenson on, 238; Clark and, 245, 247; Gutekunst and Colnaghi Gallery, 36n12, 39, 40, 42, 46, 51, 56, 57, 63; Huntington, Arabella, and, 337; Portrait of a Young Artist (School of Rembrandt), 36n12; Portrait of Hendrickje Stoffels, 337; Preacher Anslo and His Wife, 39; Self-Portrait, 42, 63; Uhde on, 137

Renaissance, as historiographic concept, 125–127

The Renaissance: Studies in Art and Poetry (Pater, 1873), 82, 83

Renan, Ernest, 198

Reni, Guido, 316

Renoir, Pierre-Auguste, 245, 247

Reperusals and Re-Collections (Logan Pearsall Smith, 1936), 88n9

Revenge of Procne (after Veronese), 319

Ricci, carteggio in Biblioteca Classense, Ravenna, 315

Ricci, Corrado, 312, 313, 314, 315, 317, 319

Richardson, Jonathan, 274

Richter, Jean Paul, 8, 19–31; anti-Jewish sentiments of, 24n12; background and career, 21–23; as connoisseur, 21–22, 52; Gutekunst and Bernard Berenson, meeting between, 37, 42; Leonardo da Vinci’s notes and manuscripts, as editor of, 8, 21, 22, 30n64; Mond, Ludwig, and, 21n8, 22, 29; Morelli and, 8, 21–28, 30n64; photograph of, 22; relationship with Bernard Berenson, 23–31; St. Michael Archangel Enthroned (Giambono) and, 8, 19, 20, 27–30; at San Felice Circeo, 30n63; silence of Bernard Berenson regarding, 19, 30–31

Riegl, Alois, 15, 115, 238, 239

Rilke, Rainer Maria, 122, 129, 131, 133, 134

Rinascimento Americano (Trotta, 2003), 8

Road of the Phoebe Snow (ballet; Beatty), 377

Road to Calvary (attrib. Roberti), 322

Roberti, Ercole de’, 322, 325, 326

Rocke, Michael, 13

Rodin, Auguste, 135, 141

Roeck, Bernard, 11–12, 121, 416

Rokey Venus (Velázquez), 57


Romanino, 322
romanticism-as-worldview, 78, 84, 85, 88
Rondinelli, Niccolo, 324
A Room with a View (Forster, 1908), 120
Rorimer, James, 271
Roscoe, William, 124
Rosenberg, Léonce Alexandre, 188, 190n53
Ross, Denman, 14, 15, 215, 216, 263–264n36
Ross, Janet, 350n2
Rossetti, Dante Gabriel, 135
Rossi, Lelio, 3, 5, 8
Ruffino family, 2
Ruskin, John: Bernard Berenson influenced by, 3, 15, 238, 240–241, 254; Clark influenced by, 3, 15, 238, 240–241; Dionites, “Altamura,” and The Golden Urn, 78, 79; Florence, ca. 1900, and, 124, 128, 131, 134, 136, 138, 139, 141; Foresti, Pietro, and, 311; Gutekunst and, 67; Porter influenced by, 254; Praeterita, 240; Queen of the Air, 240; on technical aspects of art, 285n3; Warburg and, 161
Russell, Bertrand, 111
Russell, John, 231
Sachs, Paul, 16, 269–281; as art collector, 273; Asian art and, 228; background, education, and career, 271; books of Bernard Berenson’s used by, 277–278; Clark and, 279; connoisseurship, teaching of, 274–275; correspondence with Bernard Berenson, 271–272, 277; Museum Course, Fogg Museum, Harvard, 16, 17, 269–271, 272–273, 274, 275–278, 276, 279; photographs of, 272, 276; similarities to and differences from Bernard Berenson, 272–274; twelfth-century art, Bernard Berenson’s interest in, 263; Walker and, 279–280, 281; Warburg and, 166, 168
Sacred and Profane Love (Titian), 53
The Sacrifice of Abraham (carved capital from abbey church of Cluny), 261, 263
Said, Edward, 204n89
St. Catherine of Alexandria (Vivarini), 323
Sts. Filippo Neri and Joseph (Loves), 312
St. Francis and the Wolf of Gublio, 287
St. Francis in Glory (Sassetta), 245, 264
St. Francis in the Desert (Bellini), 241–242
St. Jerome (attrib. Biagio d’Antonio), 317–318
Sts. John the Baptist and Matthew (Bicci di Lorenzo), 316–317, 317
St. Luke (Pierpont Morgan Library), 301, 303
St. Mark (Thompson), 287, 288
St. Michael Archangel Enthroned (Giambono), 8, 19, 20, 27–30
St. Peter and Saint Paul (Lazzoni), 312
St. Peter Martyr, St. Augustine (?), St. John the Baptist, and St. Stephen (Carpaccio), 321
St. Sebastian (attrib. Signorelli/Genga), 316
Salting, George, 36
Saltwood Castle, 236, 244, 326
Saltzman, Cynthia, 5, 9, 34n6, 50n49, 61n88, 337
Salvemini, Fernande, 352
Salvemini, Gaetano, 352, 372
Samarini, Achille, 311
Samson Destroying the Temple (Jolli), 315
Samuels, Ernest, 4–5, 18, 34, 42n4, 71n3, 204n90, 251, 344
San Francesco, Arezzo, Piero della Francesca’s frescoes in, 242
San Giobbe altarpiece, 326
San Pietro outside Spoleto, facade of, 102, 103
Sandro Botticelli (Yashiro Yukio, 1925), 14, 225–227, 228
Sano di Pietro, 257
Sargent, John Singer, 43, 119n67, 134–135
Sarre, Friedrich, 179, 180, 186, 187, 188n47
Sassetta: Asian art, Bernard Berenson’s interest in, and Borgo San Sepolcro altarpiece of, 15–14, 211, 213, 214, 216, 223, 224n44, 229; Bernard Berenson’s study of, 259n24; Clark to Bernard Berenson on panels National Gallery intended to buy, 234–235; Mystic Marriage of St. Francis, 259n24; St. Francis in Glory, 245, 264
Sassoferrato, Giovanni Battista Salvi da, 314
Sassoon, Lady, 164
Satsuma ware, 207–208, 211
Saxl, Fritz, 145, 146
Sayre, Robert, 78
Scala, Bartolomeo, 10
Scarsellino (Ippolito Scarsella), 323
Schedula (Theophilus), 285, 301, 305
Schiff, Jacob H., 163
Schmarsow, August, 145
Schongauer, Martin, 57
Schopenhauer, Arthur, 89, 115, 127
Schubring, Paul, 152
Scillian, Gregorio, 320–321
Scott, Henry, 291
Scott, Mary McNeill, 217
Sears, Sarah Choate, 217
Sears, Willard T., 9, 73, 76, 85, 97n94, 98
Secrest, Meryle, 5, 71nn3, 234, 237, 251n5, 333, 336
SECRETUM PHILOSOPHORUM, 301
Seidel, Linda, 253n8
SELF-PORTRAIT (Rembrandt), 42, 63
SELF-PORTRAIT IN HIS STUDIO (Crespi), 322
SELF-PORTRAIT WITH DONORS (Walker), 16
Seligman, Edwin R., 167
Seligmann, Arnold, 57, 322
Seljuk architecture, 203
Semper, Hans, 311, 312, 319
Senghor, Léopold, 364
Serbia, Bernard Berenson’s travels in, 344
Serristori, Countess Hortense, 364, 379
Searat, Georges, 247
Severini, Gino, 355
Seybold, Dietrich, 8, 19, 42n34, 416
Shapley, Fern Rusk, 2, 22, 61–69, 326, 327
Shaw, James Byam, 51, 61n89, 62, 66
Shaw, Stephen William, 335
Sicily, Bernard Berenson in, 224
Signorelli, Luca, 316
Simonds, Edith, 287
Simpson, Colin, 263n3
Simpson, Joseph 34
Simpson, Mariana Shreve, 12–13
Sirens, Oswald, 223–224, 226, 257
Siro, Prince Giovanni, 320
Sismondi, Simonde de, 12.4
60-Odd Provinces (Hiroshige), 211
SKETCH FOR A SELF-PORTRAIT (Berenson, 1948), 3, 86–87, 111, 114–115, 168–169, 175, 204n90, 255n10, 359n44
Smith, Alys, 95
Smith, Logan Pearsall, 5, 9, 69–70, 72, 84, 87–88, 90–93, 95, 232
Snake Charmer (Rousseau), 138
Soissons Cathedral, 260
“Something Has Turned Up” (Westminster Gazette cartoon, 1909), 59, 61
Sontag, Susan, 130, 139
Souchek, Priscilla, 12
Southern Landscape (ballet; Beatty), 376
Southland (ballet; Dunham), 18, 375–378, 385, 386–390
Spain, Bernard Berenson’s travels in, 261
SPÄTRÖMISCHE KUNST-INDUSTRIE (Riegl), 239
Spencer, Stanley, 247
Speranzeva, Ludmilla, 365
Spinelli, Alessandro Giuseppe, 312
Sprenger, Aloys, 176
Sprigge, Sylvia, 2, 4, 360
stacco, 290
Stark, Freya, 364
The Statuette and the Background (Brewster, 1892–96), 117
Stechow, Wolfgang, 152
Stefano da Verona, 28
Stein, Aurel, 217
Stein, Leo and Gertrude, 136, 137
Stimilli, David, 159n80
Stormy Weather (film, 1943), 369
Story of Damon, four pastoral scenes (Previtali), 235–236, 279n12
Strange Fruit (song), 375–376
strappo, 290, 291
Strozzi, Carlo, 151
Suida, William, 309
Sutherland, Graham Vivian, 247
Sutton, Denys, 191–192n57
Swarzenski, Georg, 164
Symonds, John Addington, 254
Syria and Palestine, Bernard Berenson’s “pilgrimage” to, 183, 185, 195, 198n68
Tacitus, 93
Taine, Hippolyte, 160
Tale of Genji, 215
Taliesin, 222–223
Talmud, Bernard Berenson’s references to, 168111, 175
Taylor, Alicia Cameron, 30663
Taylor, Francis Henry, 271
technical aspects of art: Bernard Berenson’s lack of interest in, 16, 275, 283–284; *Il libro dell’arte* (Cennini, late fourteenth century), 285, 291; in Museum Course, Fogg Museum, Harvard, 275; wall paintings, removing, 290, 291, 291–293. See also Thompson, Daniel Varney, Jr.
Ter Borch, Gerard, 40
Terk, Sonja, 137
Theocritus, 88
Theophilus, 285, 301, 305
*The Theories of Anarchy and of Law* (Brewster, 1887), 117
Theosophy, 224744
Thode, Henry, 136
Thompson, Grace, 286
Thorndike, Paul and Rachel, 74–75, 76
*Three Essays in Method* (Berenson, 1927), 16, 24723, 277
*Thus Spoke Zarathustra* (Nietzsche), 109, 161
Tietze, Hans, 68, 271
Timurid dynasty, 190
Tintoretto, Domenico, 46, 137, 323
Tiryakian, Edward, 78
Tissot, James, 211
Titian: “Ariosto,” now called *Man with a Quilted Sleeve or Portrait of Girolamo (?) Barbarigo*, 38, 47; *Europa*, 9, 40, 44–51, 46, 53; Foresti collections and, 315, 321, 322; Gutekunst and Colnaghi Gallery, 9, 38, 40, 44–47, 53; Huntington, Arabella, and, 338; *Madonna and Child with the Young St. John the Baptist* (attrib. Titian), 322; portrait acquired by brother of Paul Sachs as, 271; *Portrait of Alfonso d’Este* (attrib. Titian), 312; *Portrait of Aretino*, 38, 57; *Portrait of Laura Dianti* (attrib. Sebastiano del Piombo, after Titian), 315; *Portrait of the Doge, Andrea Gritti* (Catena, formerly attrib. Titian), 65–66, 67, 67–68; *Sacred and Profane Love*, 53; Udeh’s concept of modernity and, 140; *Venus of Urbino*, 140
Tobias and the Archangel Raphael (attrib. Biagio d’Antonio), 317–318
Toesca, Pietro, 120, 226, 310, 319, 327
Tolstoy, Sergei, 369
*Tomb figure of kneeling woman* (Chinese, Han dynasty, 202 BC–AD 220), 14, 218, 220
Torlano Chapel, Santa Maria Novella, Florence, 159
*A Touch of Innocence* (Dunham, 1959), 182
*Tournament in Piazza S. Croce* (cassone panel painting, attrib. Apollonio di Giovanni and workshop), 12, 145, 146, 149–156, 150, 165
Towsley, Prentice, 115, 116
Toy, Crawford Howell, 113, 175–178, 17919–20
*Tragedy of Lucretia* (Botticelli), 9, 38–39, 44, 45
Tremont Entrance to Olmsted’s Back Bay Fens and Altamura Garden Pavilion, Fenway Court, 73–74, 74, 75
Trevelyan, Sir George, 85
Trevor-Roper, Hugh, 5, 201
*Trinity* (Botticelli), 226
*Triumph of Death*, 289
*Triumph of Neptune* (Circle of Mantegna), 327
Trivulzio, Prince, 321, 325, 32617–118
*Tropic Death* (ballet; Dunham), 375
Trotta, Antonella, 6, 8
Trotti (dealer), 38
Trubetzkoj, Prince Paolo, 313
Tunisia, Bernard Berenson in, 185
Turbyfill, Mark, 365
Turkey: Bernard Berenson’s consideration of role in World War II, 201; Bernard Berenson’s travels in, 182, 185, 19664, 198–200, 199; Seljuk architecture and, 203
Turkmen dynasty Persian miniature in Berenson Islamic collection, 190
2000 Years of Japanese Art (Yashiro Yukio, 1958), 14, 229

Über das optische Formgefühl (Vischer, 1873), 157–158

Ugo da Carpi, 318

Uhde, Wilhelm, 11–12, 121, 135–142

Usener, Hermann, 159

Utili, Giovan Battista, 318

Uzbek dynasty Persian miniature in Berenson Islamic collection, 190, 193

Vahshi, Mulla, 190

van der Weyden, Rogier, 231, 232, 337

van Dyck, Anthony, 38, 57, 135, 316

van Gogh, Theo, 36

Van Honthorst, Gerard, 316

Van Marle, Raymond, 310

Vasari, Giorgio, 127, 130

Vavasour Elder, Irene, 311, 328

Vélazquez, Diego, 46, 54, 57, 338

The Venetian Painters of the Renaissance (Berenson, 1894), 44, 68, 84, 86, 104, 207–208, 209, 255111

Veneziano, Domenico, 146, 156, 344

Veneziano, Lorenzo, 323

Venturi, Adolfo, 26, 27, 120, 309, 312, 314, 315, 319, 321, 328–329

Venturi, Lionello, 120, 309, 319, 321

Venus of Urbino (Titian), 140

Venus Rising from the Sea (Botticelli), 101

Vermeer, Johannes, 44, 57, 61

Verona, Bernard Berenson and Richter’s interest in painters of, 24

Veronese, Paolo, 137, 319, 328–330, 329

Vertova, Luisa, 7, 29–3060

Victory of Pleasure over Virtue (Palma il Giovane), 319

Vidal-Nacquet, Alain, 356734

Vieuxseux, Gabinetto, 128

Vignon, Charles, 188

Villa I Tatti: archives at, 4, 12; art collection at, 8, 12, 13; Asian and Islamic books in library at, 179–180; Asian art and interior decoration of, 219, 221–223, 222–223; Bernard Berenson and Mostyn-Owen in garden of (1954), 240; Bernard Berenson in hall of (1903), 253; Bernard Berenson in study at (1948 and 1952), 239, 252; as Bernard Berenson’s chief legacy, 247; bequeathed to Harvard, 10, 16, 272, 276, 281, 347; Berensons’ move into, 29–30; “Bernard Berenson at Fifty” conference (October 2009), 1; Clark at, 232–233, 238, 265, 345, 349; Clark’s Saltwood Castle and, 236, 2444; Dunham at, 364, 370, 371, 373–374, 377, 378, 379; first conceived of as center for scholarly research, 265–268; in Florentine literary and artistic circle, 129; foundation document for, 10; Gardner’s visit to, 96; Huntington friendship and financing of, 332–334, 338; “Japanese” landscape of, 207, 211; Mayor diary on, 341–345, 342; Morra at, 355–356; myth of Florence and, 122; performance of Gray’s The Old Masters at (2009), 5; Porter and, 250–251, 264–268, 267; as run by Mariano after death of Mary Berenson, 238; Warburg, Felix, at, 164; Warburg’s KFW compared, 149

Villani, Giovanni, 131

Villard de Honnecourt, 326

Vincioni, Ivo, 360

Virgil, Aeneid, 12, 88, 152, 153

Virgil Master, 12, 152–153, 156

Virgin and Child with Saints Jerome and Bernardino (Sano di Pietro), 257118

la Virgine col bambino benedicente l’offerta d’un angelo (Botticelli), 377115

Vischer, Robert, 12, 157–158

Visconti, Luchino, 23

Visitation (Crespi), 321–322

Vivarini, Antonio, 323

Vlaminck, Maurice de, 12, 138

Volkelt, Johannes, 11656

Vollard, Ambrose, 129, 137

Volpe, Carlo, 323

Volpi, Elija, 37

Waagen, Gustav Friedrich, 45

Wadsworth, Mary, 27012

Wagner, Richard, 136

Waldman, Louis, 18, 359

Waley, Arthur, 215, 226

al-Walid (caliph), 196

Walker, John, 16, 265, 271, 279–281, 280

wall paintings, techniques for removing, 290, 291, 291–293

Walters, Henry, 5, 17

Warburg, Aby, 11–12, 143–169; aestheticism, rejection of, 154, 156, 159, 160; approach to study of art compared to Bernard Berenson’s, 143–144, 154–155, 156–162, 168–169; Bibliotheca Hertziana lecture (1929), 139114; cassone panel from Jarves collection, Yale University, attribution of,
12, 145, 146, 149–156, 150, 165; Clark and,
15, 168, 233–234, 247; on Florence, 129, 130;
“Fragment of the Nymph” (1900), 159–161;
meeting with Bernard Berenson at KBW,
Hamburg (1927), 143, 145–149, 155, 156, 162,
163, 165, 170–171; Mmemosyne Atlas, 149, 151;
personal opinion of Bernard Berenson,
129, 156, 162, 165; photograph of, 144; pho-
tographs, use of, 149; Porter and, 146, 165,
251; postage stamp presentation of (1927),
145, 150, 151; publishing inhibitions of,
148–149n26; reasons for rapprochement
with Bernard Berenson, 162–169; Uhde
and, 136, 138
Warburg, Felix (brother), 145, 152n44, 162–166
Warburg, Frieda (wife of Felix), 164
Warburg, Mary (wife), 145n7
Warburg, Nina (sister), 148n23
Warburg, Paul (brother), 145n9, 153
Warner, Langdon, 290–292, 291
Warner, Robert, 365
Warren, Ned, 25n25
Warren, Samuel, 48
Warren, Susan Cornelia, 48, 49–50
Waves at Matsushima (Körin, eighteenth
century), 216, 217
Wedepohl, Claudia, 12, 143, 417
Wei-ch’ih I-Seng, 218
Weil, Gustav, 176
Weltknoten, 124
Wemyss, Earl of, 271
Wendell, Barrett, 113, 148
Wertheimer, Asher, 40
West-Östlicher Diwan (Goethe), 177
Westminster, Duke of, 47, 48
Wharton, Edith, 119–120, 186, 261, 349, 375
Whistler, James McNeill, 14, 67, 98, 147, 211
White, Hayden, 127
Widener’s Widener Collection, 57, 61, 65, 75,
276, 336
Wilde, John, 68
Wildenstein, Georges, 34, 245
The Will to Believe (James, 1896), 113, 114
Willys Madonna variation (attrib. Marconi,
after Bellini), 322
Wise, Louise Waterman, 285
Witt, Sir Robert, 59, 227
Wolfe, Catharine Lorillard, 80
Wölflin, Heinrich, 116n56, 202n83, 238
Woman Weighing Gold (Vermeer), 57, 61
Wordsworth, William, 88
The World as Will and Representation
(Schopenhauer), 89
Wright, Frank Lloyd, 222–223
Wright, John K., 339
Wrightsman, Charles and Jayne, 224
Yale University. See Jarves collection, Yale
University
Yashiro Yukio, 14, 216n27, 224–229, 228
Zafar name (Book of Victory; Sharaf al-din
Yazdi, 1436), 190
Zaganelli, Francesco, 322, 323
Zambrano, Patrizia, 7
Zeri, Federico, 309, 310, 316, 323, 327
Zhou Jichang, 212
Zimmerman, T. Price, 360
Zionism, 198n68, 201
Zorzi, Rosella, 80