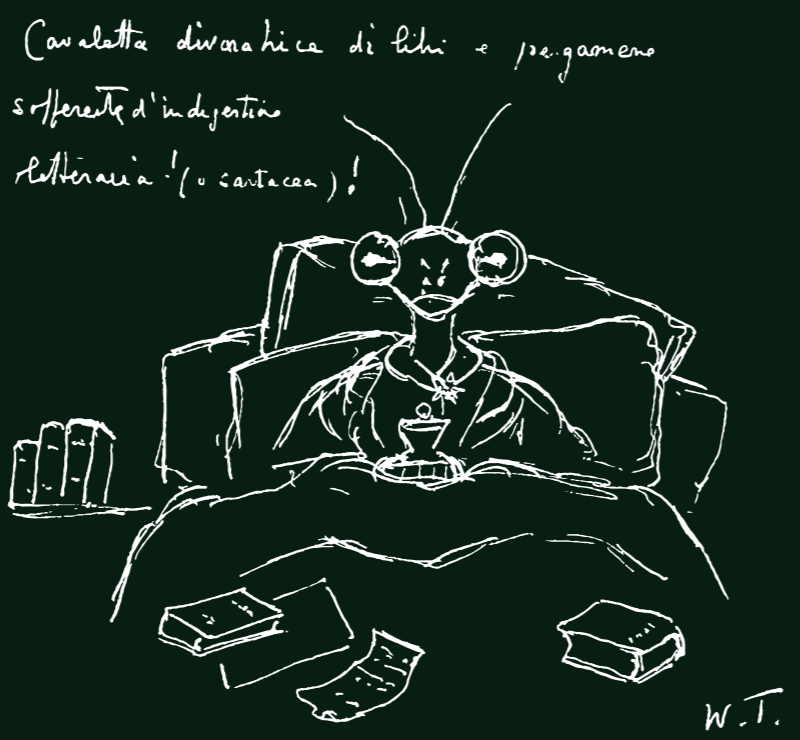


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Work Notebooks of Winifred Terni De' Gregory



Paola Venturelli

Work Notebooks
of Winifred Terni De' Gregory

“Pittura artigiana lombarda del Rinascimento”
a cultural review on Crema and Ceiling Panels



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Front Cover: Lombard Master, *Panel depicting a Lady*, c.1500, part of the series formerly in Benzoni Palace, now Private Collection

Back Cover: Self-portrait of Winifred Terni de' Gregory (“*Cavalletta divoratrice di libri*”), Terni de' Gregory Archive, Crema.

ARTES

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WORK NOTEBOOKS OF WINIFRED TERNI DE' GREGORY

*“Pittura artigiana lombarda del Rinascimento”
a cultural review on Crema and Ceiling Panels*



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Work notebooks of Winifred Terni de' Gregory. "Pittura artigiana lombarda del Rinascimento" - a cultural review on Crema and Ceiling Panels / Paola Venturelli - Palermo : New digital frontiers, 2021.

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CULTURA
CREMA

To my mother Lidia

Foreword

This book does not intend to tell the life story of Winifred Taylor (1879-1961), who became a citizen of Crema on her marriage in 1900 to Count Luigi Terni de' Gregory. That story was amply told by Giovanni Bonomi in his 1962 biography, and partly by herself in her 1956 volume covering the years of her infancy, from 1882 to 1889, spent together with her parents in China.

My aim, instead, was to rediscover and retrace the scholarly activities of Countess 'Winifred' (as she liked to be called and not 'Ginevra'), which were many and fruitful, distinguished by research on Bianca Maria Visconti, the history and art of Crema and, more generally, the decorative arts, especially, though not exclusively, regarding those involving wood.

Apart from her 1958 *Pittura artigiana lombarda del Rinascimento*, widely quoted by those engaged with painted wooden ceiling panels and a pioneering work for this type of study (but was its complex innovation fully understood?), her bibliography is, however, little known, due also to the difficulty in tracing it because published locally, or partly strewn around in magazines of limited diffusion.

Critical reception of the works of Winifred Terni de' Gregory also came up against the lasting prejudice in Italian culture touching the applied arts, the 'minor arts' as they are still called. Added to this was the intellectual freedom of this gifted woman, indifferent to cultural power games and, by choice, far from the 'conventicles of critics' and the Accademia. A scholar who openly declared her disdain of the methodology of those with the mania for "attributing", all powerful in Italian historic-artistic studies during the XX century, and who invoked instead the back-up of archive documentation and 'objective' supports.

Of independent personality, in the foreground also in her commitment to safeguarding artistic heritage, a model of civic engagement all too rare today, Winifred Terni de' Gregory was an outstanding figure. A scholar who, however, with the passage of time, risked being forgotten, buried under the avalanche of writings, from the most varied of authors, which is invading the publishing world, their diffusion helped also by the web.

It became imperative, therefore, to put her once more in focus and restore her to her proper place.

To trace the countess's intellectual biography, I have made use of unpublished material - her work notebooks, the foundation of this volume.

I came across them quite casually at the beginning of February 2014, just as I had equally by mere chance read *Pittura artigiana lombarda del Rinascimento* during my university years, a text I wished to use for my thesis but which, to my great disappointment, was not accepted by my professor. I was preparing an essay on a recovered exchange of Milanese letters between Winifred Terni de' Gregory and Fernanda Wittgens concerning the wooden ceiling metopes from Crema acquired in 1947 for the Museo Poldi Pezzoli in Milan, which was to be published in a volume in preparation, *Rinascimento cremasco* (2015), edited by me.

Through my friend Maria Verga Bandirali, I had contacted Ginevra Terni de' Gregory, great granddaughter of Winifred, while seeking documentation which might possibly hinge on the theme of painted panels and on Fer-

nanda Wittgens. During our meeting, which took place in the ancient residence where Winifred had lived and studied, I was shown a notebook, which I later named B.24, based on the assumed chronology of its compilation (c. 1954-1956), a date arrived at by linking its contents with publications by the countess.

Thinking merely of a preliminary appointment, I had not taken my computer with me, but only ('for all eventualities'), a notebook type A4, the inseparable companion of those who, like me, frequent archives and libraries mostly badly equipped, where even in this digital age it is not possible to use a PC. I therefore summarised the first work notebook of Winifred Terni de' Gregory in her own library and on a paper notebook not unlike those used by her, using paper and pen instead of computer and keyboard, thus reviving the materiality of gesture and writing.

Later, other notebooks joined this one, as they emerged during the reorganising of the family archive: fifty-two in all. An impressive amount, to be managed with due care, shaking off the inevitable and paralysing sense of awe and suggestion it excited, but particularly to be 'put in order', to arrange in sequence to understand best how to use it. There was nothing to do but begin reading. As I progressed in organising the notebooks, becoming aware of the stratified variety of information the pages offered, the need for a change in plan from the original intention inevitably arose. No longer a simple consultation for a small, targeted matter, but a wider-based work, to be carried out on all the Crema notebooks, generously put at my disposal so that through them I might understand the Author and her studies.

Containing as they do heterogeneous material, the notebooks constitute important tools for scholars and were compiled through tireless work requiring both physical and intellectual energy. They were also the haven to which she committed the observations and thoughts that came to mind as she researched. They served to fix her ideas and discoveries, and so retain them, as happened with the mysterious initials "IO F.F", which the countess suddenly connected to 'Giovanni di Fondulino Fonduli' while she was consulting works on the Fonduli, members of a wide-flung Crema workshop, active in Lombardy and Veneto. The notebooks also acted as 'memory tips' for things to do or people to meet, or for drafts of letters, and are therefore essential for tracing her circle of acquaintances and her contacts with editors. Or even to highlight those 'not frequented'. In Winifred's circle figure the 'Bookworms' of Crema, her 'friend' Fernanda Wittgens, 'Dear Gazzola', Professor Arslan etc, but not Roberto Longhi, the critic hostile to her revered Francesco Malaguzzi Valeri in a well-known affair, of disarming actuality, the start of the factiousness and ostracisms characterising many recent historic-artistic studies.

The countess favoured no particular type of notebook. Some were ordinary school copybooks with a black cover and red edge, others were covered with canvas or 'Varese' type paper. There was no real link between the words and the notebook used, as happens instead with other scholars. In the Crema notebooks are also to be found the initial compilations of articles to be published, which correspond almost completely, without therefore further drafting, with the text later given to the press. Apart from the laborious drafting of the dedication to Fernanda Wittgens, her writings contain practically no cancellations or second thoughts.

The practice of writing constituted an important role for the bilingual countess, who defined herself (B.17, c 26r) as a "Writer, and history and art scholar" or a "scribbler about local and art history". Her style is distinguished by freshness and precision, and by its easy flow. She adopted no established canons. To highlight something, she often used an exclamation mark or underlining, and sometimes employed dots. These she used to express her thought more clearly to her interlocutor or potential readers and co-involve them in creative reading, leaving the filling in of those dots to the imagination. Winifred did not, in fact, write for herself but for others, because she was convinced that culture was a means towards education and improvement, another focal point of her work. She therefore opted for a didactic and conversational tone, in contrast to elitist academic knowledge, and this prompted a quotation from Marie Curie she transcribed on the last page of B.26: "We cannot hope to build a new world without improving the individual".

With meticulous precision she created and developed a coherent and linear route, a path leading from the very first to Lombardy, and reaching then, along the dual tracks of history and the decorative arts, Crema, that small but lively Lombard city, rich in craftsmanship activities, an excellence in wood crafts, terracotta works and ceiling panels. This pathway reached its destination in 1958 with *Pittura artigiana lombarda del Rinascimento*, the essence of her intellectual journey.

It is this text which features as protagonist in the second part of my book, where it is analysed in the light of the notebooks. A brief chapter is reserved to “fashion” as a research tool, another of the countess’s pioneering contributions which emerged from this volume and from other works by her.

Accompanied always by the Crema notebooks, in the first part of my book I concentrated instead on Winifred’s cultural acquaintanceships, following clues, reconstructing fragmentary phrases, filling in abbreviations, and suggesting the names of not clearly identified interlocutors. Endeavouring, for example, to discover who lay behind the initial “M.C.” (for “Dearest Majesty”, alias Maria José of Savoy, or who was the “Dear Carlo” from Lucca to whom Mario Praz directed the countess for matters regarding furniture, very probably Carlo Ludovico Ragghianti. I also dwelt on people today forgotten, whom I attempted to revive through brief biographical and bibliographical indications, always placing, as I proceeded, the information collected within the cultural environment of the years involved, for their better understanding.

By analysing the sources of studies chosen by the countess, it has been possible to identify her interests and research methodology. With the latter in mind, I decided to add at the end of this book an appendix with two short articles written by Winifred, clearly indicating her ideas on “critics” and the investigating methods she used. The volume closes with a list of her publications on historic- artistic matters: in other words, what a scholar is, her self-presentation.



Lombard Workshop, Ceiling panel showing an *Illustrious Man*, c. 1500, part of the series formerly in Benzoni Palace, now in a Private Collection.

I. Work notebooks. An intellectual biography

The notebooks

From about 1905 to the end of 1960, Countess Winifred Terni de' Gregory elegantly covered, in her small and neat hand, the pages of fifty-two notebooks of various sizes and diverse bindings¹.

The entries were mostly in pencil, and in Italian, with no lack, however, of pages in English, French, German, or transcriptions in Latin. In these the author assembled bibliographies on subjects she was currently studying or intending to explore, recorded certain observations, made mention of texts, jotted down reminders to contact the directors or officials of museums, libraries, and archives, and arranged future editorial or work projects. The notebooks also contained texts of her articles and the chapters of the books she was publishing. Her style flowed harmoniously, showing a minimum of second thinking or corrections, obviously concretising concepts already clearly in mind. Drafts of letters also turned up sometimes, usually without mention of the intended recipient – or else missives received, loosely kept, and inserted casually among the leaves of her notebooks.

Compilation of her notebooks continued also in Rome, where she stayed with her family during the years of the First World War, and involved collecting material on the “Knights Hospitallers and their founders”, the “Crociferi” (orders dedicated to ministering to soldiers and pilgrims on the crusades), the “(Hospitals in times past)”, and the Augustinians. As well as on painters, sculptors, and architects of the Lombard school, on the Fonduli family, a dynasty of goldsmiths, architects, plasticisers operating between the Lombardy and Veneto regions, on the architect Giovanni Battagio from Lodi. Mentioned furthermore were the Bregno sculptors, the Sforzas, the theme of the “ancient Vicine of Crema” – in short, all the matters of her research over

the years, constantly intertwined and clearly identifiable in a single theme – Lombardy during the Renaissance.³

We also find in this notebook one of her most amusing drawings – the figure of a “Locust devourer of books and parchment. Suffering from literary (or paper) indigestion!”, alias the author herself (“W.T”) (fig.1). This is certainly not, however, the only one. In fact, the countess often entrusted to her rapid and able graphic skill the job of fixing details of the works she was researching, or of pictures found in books. Thus, to illustrate her publications on furniture, and her 1958 volume *Pittura Artigiana Lombarda del Rinascimento*, she used coats of arms, furnishing objects, portraits with coiffures or headgear which took her fancy, (Figg.2,3,4) such as, for example, those connected with masculine profiles taken from Pietro Toesca's 1912 volume *La pittura e la miniatura nella Lombardia*⁴.

What also astonishes in these pages, from the very beginning, is her complete mastery of the Italian language, faultlessly employed without mistakes of grammar or syntax, or lexical errors, to which must be added her knowledge of dialects and ancient graphics and her capacity to pass with ease from one language to another. Emblematic in this sense is the notebook entitled “London notes 1949”, initially begun between stays in England, Padua and Venice and crammed with data and notes, all done while she was endeavouring to work out the history of the Fonduli family, one of the central themes of her research (Fig 5). From these studies resulted later the article *Non de Fondulis* written in 1949 for the “Archivio Storico Lombardo” and, the following year, *Giovanni da Crema and his Seated Goddess* for the “Burlington Magazine”.

In the latter study, having examined the contract dated 29th of November 1490 in which Giovanni Fonduli, drafter of the whole document, engaged to create three altarpieces



Fig. 1. Self-portrait of Winifred Terni de' Gregory ("*Cavalletta divoratrice di libri*"), Terni de' Gregory Archive, Crema.



Fig. 5. Agostino de Fonduli, *Lamentation over the dead Christ*, detail c.1483, Church of Santa Maria presso San Satiro, Milan.



Fig. 6. Lombard Painter, *Portrait of Bianca Maria Visconti Sforza*, c. 1480, Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan.



Fig.7. Terni de' Gregory Palace, built following the plans drawn up in 1698 by Giuseppe Cozzi, Crema, facade.

century" (*The Venetian Settecento*). This was followed in 1930 by the more detailed *Italian Decorative Arts in the Eighteenth Century* for "The Antiquarian", and was further developed four years later in her *The Pottery of Milan and Lodi*⁷, once again for "The Antiquarian". Several notepads of a "thematic" nature also exist.

Of this kind were those centred on the figure of the much-loved Duchess Bianca Maria Visconti Sforza (Fig 6), a personage studied from about 1936, and the subject of a monograph in 1940. Or the notepad reserved to the "Liber Expensarum" of the St. Agostino complex, fundamental for information on the constructive phases of this building and on the artists who worked on it – for example the Fonduli family, a source first analysed and systematically employed, by her. There were, moreover, notepads dedicated to the "Visconti/Sforza", to "furniture", "costumes", or those relating to the drafting of the 1958 *Pittura Artigiana Lombarda del Rinascimento*, a work which constituted the point of arrival of her research and its essential synthesis⁸.

Acquaintances and contacts

To gain an idea of the countess's acquaintances and contacts, a perusal of her notes reveals the close network of cultural relationships enjoyed by her during her years of study.

These contacts proved fundamental for defining her scientific panorama and areas of interest.

Her husband's social position favoured contacts with the aristocracy and with the Royal House of Savoy. She was repeatedly received by Queen Margherita (1851 -1926) and by Queen Elena (1873- 1952), and she and her husband also acted as hosts to Umberto, the heir to the throne (1904- 1983) when he was in Crema to inaugurate the monument in Piazza Trento and Trieste⁹ to the *fallen soldiers of Crema during the Great War*. Furthermore, with Maria José of Savoy (1906-2001), Italy's last Queen, the Countess shared a passion for history.

She corresponded with the Queen regarding the "sepulchral tombstone" bearing the presumed portrait of Bianca of Savoy, the theme of a book by Maria José herself, even citing their mutual friend "Alex", Alessandro Visconti (1884-1955), a full professor in the history of law at the University of Ferrara, as well as author of a *Storia di Milano* in 1937.¹⁰

The relevant "conversation" is registered in the rough draft of a letter preserved in one of the Crema notebooks, and it also helps to throw light on the countess's research method. This consisted in moving with great ease through Milanese archives and museums, where she was obviously completely at home. Such was also the case with the headquarters of the *Società Storica Lombarda*, of which she was a member - an association founded in 1873 by Cesare Cantù (1804 – 1895) which in 1874 had begun publishing the magazine "Archivio Storico Lombardo".

Dearest Majesty,

During a week spent in Milan I discovered that the person engaged on your book is Alex, Alessandro Visconti, my good friend and colleague for more than 25 years!

We talked at length of what might interest you and found ourselves in complete agreement in this regard. Then I went to the photographer to get the photograph of the statue, ~~thought to be~~ that of Bianca di Savoia, preserved in the Museum at Sforza Castle [...] The sculpture is very



Fig. 8. *Terni de' Gregory Palace*, built following the plans drawn up in 1698 by Giuseppe Cozzi, Crema.

beautiful and constitutes an artistic problem. I totally agree with "Alex" that it can only be published as a presumed portrait of Bianca because no definite proof is known. It is said to have come from Pavia. There exists a document, legalised by a notary public, regarding the delivery of the corpse of Bianca to the Convento delle Clarisse.

Have you seen it?

I've been to the State Archives which contains many documents that might interest you and I shall arrange with my friend to examine those not yet examined.

Last of all I went to the Società Storica to see the issues of the Archivio Storico Lombardo [...] I managed to get the 1889 number which speaks [...] of Galeazzo Maria with Jolanda di Savoia but when I wanted to pay, the Secretary Professor Claudio Secchi refused payment and requested me to tell you it is a gift from the Società Storica and to express his personal devotion. I shall send it as soon as possible.¹¹

Before her husband Luigi, a naval officer, decided after the First World War to settle down permanently in Crema, in the majestic family palace facing the former Sant'Agostino monastery (Fig.7,8) commenced in 1698 following the architectural plans of Giuseppi Cozzi from Piacenza, Winifred had lived in Rome and Venice, and for short periods in Verona, Mantua, Fer-

rara, Bologna and Florence. She had appreciated the cultural wealth of these cities and accumulated a vast circle of acquaintances, which proved extremely precious for her studies¹². Among these were officials of museums or of the Sovrintendenza, of archives or libraries, to whom she applied when necessary for any research she was carrying out.

As happened, for example, when she was in Venice to consult material at the Marciana, and she jotted down a reminder to go and see Giuseppe Delogu (1898-1971), professor at the Accademia, later its director. Giulio Lorenzetti (1885- 1951) and Giovanni Maria-cher (1912-1994), instead, she met at the Museo Correr. In Padua, at the "Museo Civico" she arranged to see its Director Alessandro Prosdocimi (1913 -1994), together with the art historian Lucio Grossati and Erice Rigoni at the State Archives. While at Vicenza she was keen to contact the "Assistente al Museo Civico" Lisico Magagnato (1921-1987) and "Dott Giorgio (or Franco) Barbieri", the latter identifiable as the art historian Franco Barbieri (1922-2016)¹³.

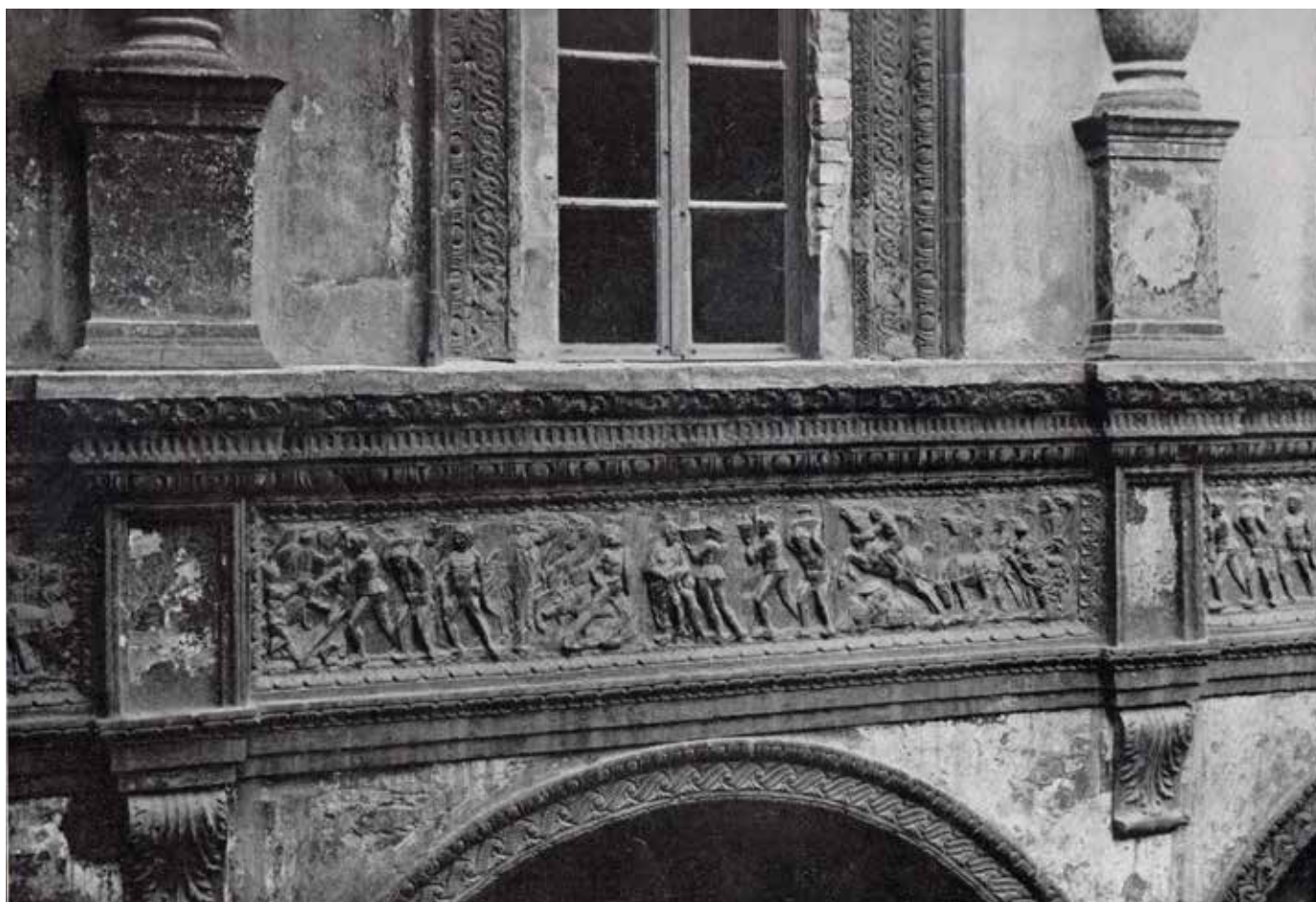


Fig. 9. *Terracotta freize from the courtyard*, end of XV century, Fodri Palace, Cremona.

Barbieri, an important figure in the field of the Veneto region's artistic culture, in 1956 promoted contact between the countess and the lawyer Giangiorgio Zorzi (1887-1969), a reference point for students of Vicentine art and an expert on the city's archives and documents. Two letters of his addressed to her remain in her Crema notebooks. In the first, sent from Trieste on the 23rd of April 1956, in reply to hers of the 21st April, he provided information on Bartolomeo Fonduli, one of the sons of Fondolino, the founder of this dynasty, indicating his profession as goldsmith, like his father's, and his presence in Vicenza with other Crema artists.¹⁴ In a brief article in memory of the countess, (*Omaggio alla memoria di Ginevra Terni de Gregory Taylor*) Giangiorgio Zorzi assembled together the Vicentine data concerning the Fonduli family for the 1961 issue of "Arte Lombarda".¹⁵

Very probably again through interest in the Fonduli family during the period when Agostino was working with his father-in-law Giovanni Battagio in 1484 on the façade of the Palazzo Landi in Piacenza – with Agostino responsible for the ornamentation in terracotta and Giovanni for the architectonic design – began the countess's contact around 1946 with Count Emilio Nasalli Rocca (1901 -1972), Director since 1932 of the Biblioteca Comunale Passerini Landi, professor of Mediaeval history at the Università Cattolica in Milan, and from 1953 Editor of the magazine "Bollettino Storico Piacentino"¹⁶.

Winifred's acquaintance with those scholars – authors of exhaustive contributions compiled in the wake of passionate archive scrutiny, who gravitated around the Archivio Storico Comunale of Cremona (founded in 1928) and are much quoted in the countess's notebooks



Fig. 10. Sanctuary of Santa Maria della Croce, Crema.

- probably dates from around 1930. It was during this period that she wrote her article *il naso del condottiere* for "Cremona" – a magazine founded in 1928 by Roberto Farinacci, published by the Istituto Fascista di Cultura. This refers to her ancestor Bartolino Terni (who died in 1518), portrayed in the commemorative statue of his funeral monument in the church of the Santissima Trinità in Crema, signed by the sculptor Lorenzo Bregno.¹⁷

A member of this group was the modest Colonel Carlo Bonetti (1866-1951), who liked to sign his manuscripts and sometimes his articles under the pseudonym "Book Worm". In line with modern historical methods based on tracing archival documentation, he published, inter alia, a series of fundamental contributions concerning Palazzo Fodri (a focal point of *Pittura artigiana Lombarda del Rinascimento*, as we shall see

later) (Fig 9). These articles -one of which appeared in the magazine "Cremona" significantly in the year 1930 - were written on the occasions of the two restoration campaigns which, between the end of 1910 and 1930, managed to bring this ancient construction before the public eye. Bonetti also published an article on the Bembo family in the first number of the "Bollettino Storico Cremonese", a magazine which he himself had helped promote in 1931, and his research initiated studies on this multi-task atelier, another theme of great interest to the countess.¹⁸

Marquis Agostino Cavacabò (1893-1960), expert palaeographer and historian, was also a member of the "Commissione Conservatrice" which ran the Archivio Storico Comunale, as well as being a member of the "Comitato di Redazione" of the "Cremona" magazine. Through his visiting card dated 8th June 1938 he



Fig. 11. Engraving depicting the Sanctuary of Santa Maria della Croce, XVIII century, Private Collection.

thanked the countess for "the photos of the documents and her two letters" and exchanged archive information with her¹⁹. Two years later, on the 16th and 20th of June the marquis reviewed Winifred's 1940 book *Bianca Maria Visconti, Duchessa di Milano* in the Crema newspaper "Il Regime Fascista", owned by Roberto Farinacci. Davide Vaiani, a technical expert at the provincial administration offices, often worked with Bonetti and Cavalcabò and in 1940, on the 21st of February, he sent the countess a postcard with "kindest regards" from Colonel Bonetti and Marquis Cavacabò.²⁰ The versatile Saverio Pollaroli (1855-1934) also published in the "Cremona" from the time of its first appearance. Pollaroli was a historian and painter, professor at the "Scuola d'Arte Romualdo Turrini" in Salò, founder (1907) and Director of the Museo Civico of Pizzighetone, the city in whose Fortress the French king Francis I had been imprisoned. This personage was researched by Pollaroli himself and seems also to have attracted the interest of the countess. On 30th March 1936 he wrote to her about certain "photographs" for an "article", probably that on Bianca Maria Visconti Sforza, published later, in 1938, in the "Cremona", inter alia mentioning material from the historic Pizzighetone photographic studio "Ganzini"²¹

Also figuring among the countess's contacts was Mons. Giuseppe Locatelli (1872-1951), scholarly palaeographer and historian, prior of Santa Maria Maggiore in Bergamo and director of the city's Public Library between 1927 and 1938.

As the Countess herself affirmed in the draft of a commemorative text found in one of the Crema notebooks, she made his acquaintance at the *Congresso Storico Lombardo* held in Bergamo between the 18th and the 20th May 1937.

He guided the many scholars present on archaeological trips – an absolute army of "bookworms" – and I believe that for all of these [...] he was the outstanding revelation of that Congress [...]. He was one of that prestigious category of priests who were also historians and archaeologists, to whom Italy owes so much for their preservation of antique relics and local memories, which otherwise would have disappeared without their patient and meticulous research work.²²

She later contacted him when writing her 1946 volume on the sanctuary Santa Maria della Croce (Figg10,11),

which presented an extraordinary architectonical adhesion to Donato Bramante's work in the San Satiro church in Milan. The sanctuary, designed by Giovanni Battagio, was erected near Crema, along the road to Bergamo, in memory of the miraculous events which had as their protagonist in 1490 Caterina degli Uberti, wife of the scamp Bartolomeo Peterbelli from Bergamo.²³

In 1953, when Monsignor Locatelli had been dead two years, the countess, as "President of the Commission of the Biblioteca Civica di Crema", after "extensive research and negotiation", managed to buy for the library a "Crema codex [...] (found in Venice) in small quarto/Paper 102(..) Bound in parchment" written by the lord of a manor in Crema, "*Il Diario di Giacomo Vendramini/1543-1547*", received "on loan" years before from the scholar, whose library the countess had very often consulted.²⁴

Another person in multi-decennial friendly relationship with the countess was Luigi Angelini (1884-1969), engineer and architectural historian, who also came from Bergamo. He wrote to her in August 1951, replying to a query about the frescoes in the Malpago castle, the ancient home of the military leader Bartolomeo Colleoni (1400 – 1475). This without doubt had attracted the attention of Winifred also because of the painted wooden ceilings in certain rooms, including that of "Medea", Colleoni's daughter, who had died in her teens. Angelini had been, besides, the author for "Emporium" of an article on the regional pavilions at the 1911 International Exhibition in Rome, instituted to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Unity of Italy – and among the buildings reconstructed for Lombardy had been the Castle of Malpaga and Palazzo Fodri²⁵.

Sometimes, instead, it was the scholars who contacted the countess to request opinions or information.

The director of the Archives of the Ospedale Maggiore in Milan, Giacomo C. Bascapè (1902-1993), asked her, "given your competent authority", for "your most welcome opinion" on the *Palazzi della Vecchia Milano*, published in 1945, declaring himself "grateful were she to favour him with observations and advice", perhaps in anticipation of the volume *Milano nell'Arte e nella Storia* which he was preparing with the architect Paolo



Fig. 12. Attributed to the Workshop of Bonifacio Bembo, *Tarot Card*, Yale University Library, New Haven.

Mezzanotte (1878-1969), and which came out in 1948.²⁶ Winifred was also contacted from New York for "the tarot cards of Pietro Brambilla" by the painter, antiquarian and collector Pietro Tozzi (1882-1974), resident in the United States since 1932, where he sold works to the Metropolitan Museum as well as to other American museums. Thereby intending the pack owned by the Milanese Brambilla family, acquired in 1971 by the Italian State and passed on to the Pinacoteca of Brera in Milan. It is one of three packs of this kind of cards, attributed to the Bonifacio Bembo workshop – and some of which were, at least up to 1954, possessed by Tozzi himself. The second pack was made up of the Colleoni-Baglioni series, split up between the Pierpont Morgan Library of New York, the Accademia Carrara in Bergamo, and a private collection. The third was once in the Milanese collection of the Visconti Modrone family and is now in Yale University's Beinecke Library, New Haven (Fig12). Pietro Tozzi's letter has not been found, but the draft of Winifred's reply, undated, remains. This also brings to light an aspect of her character, namely that she preferred the creative solitude of the dusty archives to the bright lights ("I have never held conferences- I speak very unwillingly in public). She had mentioned the tarot cards in her book on Bianca Maria Visconti, and in *Pittura artigiana Lombarda* she published some cards of the group in New Haven, with interesting iconographic insights, without, however, indicating their location.²⁷

On the 3rd of September 1960 and again, as it happened, from New York, the English historian Cecil H. Clough (1930-2017), an expert on the Italian Renaissance of international renown, at that time professor at Columbia University, wrote to her at Monasterolo, in Val Cavallina (Bergamo). Here, in 1937, the countess had bought an old manor house, had had it restored and stored there the prestigious antique furniture she was collecting. Monasterolo remained her residence during the Second World War and later during the summer months.²⁸

In anxious expectation of *Bianca Maria Duchessa di Milano*, Clough thanked her for "the Book on Crema. What a lovely Book and Gift", referring here to the second edition (1960) of "*Crema monumentale e artistica*". He moreover exchanged with the countess information on Maria

Savorgnan, adding that he was working "on the Pietro Bembo affair", presumably alluding to the well-known love affair between Savorgnan and Bembo. The acquaintance between the young researcher and his older countrywoman dated back, however, to some years earlier. In one of the notes inserted in her article published in 1958 in "L'Arte", she mentioned in fact the "verbal communication from Prof. C.H. Clough from Oxford University", saying he had engaged with this university to carry out research on the Italian men of letters of the Marcantonio Michiel circle²⁹. Her 1958 article in "Arte" had been about the frescoes by Giovanni Pietro da Cemmo, discovered by the countess herself in 1953 in the refectory of the Sant'Agostino monastery (Fig.13) after reading the manuscript of the Anonimo Morelliano at Marciana.

Shortly before, on the 9th of August 1957, while she was completing the volume *Pittura artigiana lombarda del Rinascimento*, in which she also wrote of wooden ceiling panels, she contacted the art historian Anna Maria Brizio (1902-1982), who replied on the 2nd of September on headed paper of the Università degli Studi in Milan. This was the institute where Brizio that very year, arriving from Turin, had taken over the chair from Paolo D'Ancona (1878-1964).

Excusing herself for "the delay", Anna Maria Brizio gave her some information on the "frescoes removed from the castle of Roccabianca" (adding "now in the Museum of the Castello di Milano"), the fascinating paintings showing the *story of Griselda* from the last tale in the Decameron. These had been removed towards the end of the 19th century from the Rossi Roccabianca Fortress (Parma), ascribed to a date around 1460 and considered the production of a qualified atelier of Paduan artists. They were acquired by the Comune of Milan in 1954 and were undoubtedly seen by Winifred when shown at the 1948 Florentine exhibition "la Casa italiana" (of which we shall speak later), when they were still part of a private collection in Turin. Brizio also informed her that in "Piedmont there exist some specimens of wooden ceilings decorated with coats of arms and portraits- in the eastern part", mentioning those "in Vercelli" and at Casale Monferrato in the palace of Anna d'Alençon (Fig.14). These, however, were already known to Winifred. Anna Maria Brizio concluded her letter recalling the countess's affectionate relationship with Fernanda



Fig. 13. Giovanni Pietro da Cemmo, *Frescoes in the Hall (ex refectory)*, c. 1507, ex Sant'Agostino Monastery, Crema.

Wittgens (1903 – 1957), who had died in July of that year. "If you need anything, let me know, I'll be more than happy to help a friend of Fernanda Wittgens, whose loss I regret with every day that passes"³⁰.

It was presumably Fernanda Wittgens who introduced Winifred to Paola della Pergola (1907 -1992), Director since 1949 of the Galleria Borghese in Rome. She was in Milan to escort the *Rondanini Pietà* on its arrival there on the 1st of November 1952, after an exhibition lasting 24 days (from the 4th of October) in the Galleria Borghese. Michelangelo's work had come to the Lombard capital thanks to the commitment of Fernanda who had succeeded in having it acquired by the Comune of Milan on the 30th June 1952, at a cost of 130 million - part of which donated by benefactors at her personal instigation. Paola Della Pergola reviewed for the "Bollettino d'Arte" Winifred's successful book *Vecchi Mobili Italiani*, first published in 1953³¹, as well as her 1955 "delightful book on Crema" i.e., *Crema monumentale ed artistica*.³²

With regard to the theme of painted ceilings, her exchange of letters with count Fausto Lechi (1892 – 1979), a collector and expert on the art of Brescia, proved long and fruitful. She had contacted him in 1947 for other matters through Gaetano Panazza (1914- 1999), future Director between 1956 and 1978 of the Musei Civici e Pinacoteca of Brescia, and collaborator in 1939 of Fausto Lechi on the catalogue of the exhibition *La pittura bresciana del Rinascimento* held between May and September.³³

At Panazza's suggestion, she wrote to Fausto Lechi on 12th April 1947 on letter- paper headed Natura ed Arte/ Unione degli Amici del Paesaggio/dei Monumenti e del Patrimonio Artistico e Turistico (Nature and Art/ Union of the Friends of Landscapes, Monuments and our Artistic and Touristic Heritage), the association founded by her in Crema in 1946 for the promotion of initiatives which actually anticipated the intentions and interventions of "Italia Nostra".³⁴ She suggested he "open in Brescia a representative office" of her association, making operative the important laws passed in Italy between 1922 and 1939 regarding the conservation of its artistic, historical and natural heritage.³⁵ In her letter, she did not forget Crema, the hub of her studies. In fact, she asked the count if he knew of "paintings, landscapes, planimetres or antique objects of any kind" regarding that city, mentioning that the exhibition called "*Crema*



Fig. 14. Plate showing: *Campata di soffitto, palazzo di Anna d'Alençon, Casale Monferrato; Campata di soffitto di Palazzo Fodri, Cremona; Campata di soffitto di Palazzo Bona, Brescia*, illustrated in *Pittura Artigiana Lombarda del Quattrocento*.

Vecchia" was under way, and that an exhibition on the painter Vincenzo Civerchio (c1470-1544) was imminent. These events, however, never took place.³⁶

Among the correspondence which the two exchanged up to May 1960, of interest is the letter she sent to Lechi on 22nd March 1960, as it offers an overview of the art market at the time and of the countess's less than tender opinion of "critics".

The following month Winifred expected

A certain Sig. Gouin from Paris – a great patron of the arts and a collector of paintings and antique objects, who had bought years before (in Paris) certain frescoes – or rather an important group of precious 15th century frescoes, removed many years ago from a 'Castle of the Federici family in Val Camonica', later passed to a certain Vitale (professor) from Brescia – and then exported, it is not known by whom, to France. In 1930 Toesca saw, I don't know whether the originals or photographs, and wrote a sort of "expertise" tract, of which Gouin sent me a copy- saying that the painter "had seen the Zavattari and the frescoes of Palazzo Borromeo", etc etc... in short, all those inconclusive things an expert says when faced with a work of art.



Fig. 15. Winifred Terni de' Gregory inaugurates the Museo Civico di Crema e del Cremasco, 21st of May 1960, Terni de' Gregory Archive, Crema.

The missive also contained full details regarding the last engagements of the countess, now near the end of her long and fruitful life (2nd January 1961). She informed him, in fact, that in Crema they were “extremely busy on restoration work on the convent of S. Agostino”, expecting to “inaugurate the first showrooms of the Museum on the 23rd of April and I should like to have one of Gianpietro da Cemmo’s frescoes restored for the occasion.”³⁷ She then mentioned one of the great research themes which had marked her path – the frescoes created between 1504 and 1507 by Giovanni Pietro Cemmo in the refectory of the Sant’Agostino Convent. She had dedicated her energies to this construction from the end of the Second World War, fighting to have it become the seat of the Museo Civico. (Fig.15). The painter Da Cemmo was certainly the theme which united her to the young art historian Maria Luisa Ferrari (1929-1978), a student of Roberto Longhi (1890-1970) and the author of a monograph on this artist. She was the scholar mentioned in Winifred’s last letter to Count

Lechi, dated 9th May 1960, in which she again brought up the question of the paintings from the Federici castle. In the course of the countess’s correspondence with Count Lechi, a reference to Ferrari is already to be found in the letter of 20th January 1958, in which she informed him that she had just sent him “a newspaper with some information on the frescoes by Giovanni Pietro da Cemmo as she had also to Marialuisa Ferrari who already knew about the discovery”.³⁸

The first trace of contact with this art historian in the Crema notebooks was dated 1953.

From Cremona, on the 14th of July, she replied to the countess who had asked her if archive data backed up the critical attribution to Antonio Della Corna, current in those years, of the paintings in the Fodri palace. Ferrari declared that no document had appeared in this regard and that “Longhi had mentioned that name “given its Mantegna -like character” and believing that the only painter shedding any light ” of the last decade of the century was Della Corna. She also thanked her “for the article which I read with interest”, referring almost certainly to *Importanti scoperte dell’arte Lombarda* published in “il Torrazzo” on the 4th of July 1953 concerning the already mentioned rediscovery by the countess of frescoes by da Cemmo in the Sant’ Agostino refectory³⁹. In her letter of 12th October 1956, Maria Luisa Ferrari alluded, instead, to a not clearly defined disagreement between Winifred and Mina Gregori (born 1924)⁴⁰, another student of Roberto Longhi, under whom she had graduated in 1949, succeeding him then in his university chair in Florence.

Longhi was the great absentee in the countess’s correspondence and was little considered in the immense bibliography the notebooks present to us.

Yet he must have been at home in Crema because of the collection of the industrialist Paolo Stramezzi (1884-1968), housed in the suburban villa called La Perletta, in the zone of San Bartolomeo ai Morti. This collection was renowned beyond the city confines, its nucleus being represented by the Macchiaioli and by 19th century painting.⁴¹ The daughter of Paolo Stramezzi, Giuliana (1919-2017), was the wife of Count Francis Terni de’ Gregory, one of Winifred’s two children. The Crema collection also contained a painting by El Greco, made the subject of a ferocious article in “Il Mondo” on 3rd

January 1953 by Edoardo Arslan (1899-1968). This article, "*La fabbrica dei capolavori*", attacked many attributions made by Longhi, highlighting the existence of a relaxed-style market based on attributions made for commercial reasons. Arslan, instead, during the 50s, felt the need for an attributive method with a scientific and objective base (radiography, study of the canvasses and supports, etc)⁴². Rodolfo Pallucchini (1908-1989) was also involved in the "El Greco Madonna" question, corresponding with Longhi and Paolo Stramezzi about the Arslan article.⁴³

Contributing to the countess's more than tepid attitude to Roberto Longhi was, without doubt, the unusual and affected "hyperstyle" of this much praised critic, its source being indicated as that of D'Annunzio, together with the formalistic research method adopted by Longhi who disdained documents and entertained no interest in the decorative arts.⁴⁴ And Roberto Longhi it was who had ferociously attacked Vincenzo Civerchio in *Cose bresciane del Cinquecento*, considering that he and Ferramola "had been useless"⁴⁵, and had expressed a harsh judgement on the important tomes of Francesco Malaguzzi Valeri, *La Corte di Ludovico il Moro*, with ungenerous and unmerited words which caused the ostracism of Malaguzzi by Italian critics until after Longhi's death.⁴⁶

Paolo Stramezzi was involved in the monthly magazine "Italia Contemporanea", which campaigned for Italy's artistic heritage and for an increase in tourism, and the publication had subscribers in both Italy and abroad. The magazine had been promoted by Winifred and directed by her together with Father Giovanni Bonomi (1907 – 1981), author of an ample biography on her in 1962.

The first number appeared in December 1945 under the title "*Libertà*", later changed to "*L'Italia contemporanea. Pensiero – Arte. Paesaggio*", and closed after five years, due, it would seem, to its not quite optimal financial management. The board of directors included Luigi Angelini and the architect/sculptor Amos Edallo (1908-1965), an important figure in the cultural history of Crema. Among the "contributors" was to be found Davide Cugini (1896-1991), a well-known lawyer from Bergamo, patron and collector, a lover of the arts, one of the first to understand the importance of the painter Giovanni Battista Moroni, who had participated with a piece (*Sulle cosiddette autenticazioni*) at the Meeting



Fig. 16. *The Interior of the Duomo of Crema during renovation works, c. 1955, Private Archive.*

of art critics in Florence in 1948. There was also the journalist and brilliant theatre writer Giovanni Cenato (1885-1974), director of the "Arena" of Verona and from 1922 member of the editorial staff of the "Corriere della Sera", a long-time friend of the countess.⁴⁷

Mario Mirabella Roberti, Piero Gazzola, Edoardo (Wart) Arslan

Over the years, the countess was able to make beneficial use of her contacts in the light of her fruitful commitment to safeguarding and preserving artistic heritage, working alongside the Sovrintendenza in defence of the historical and artistic environment of the cities in Lombardy. Among the positions she occupied were, in fact, those of "Ispettore Onorario alle Antichità per i Monumenti di Crema, Bagnolo, Trescore, Monte Cremasco, Vaiano e Palazzo Pignano" and "Monumenti



Fig. 17. Agostino de Fonduli, *Maddalena*, detail of the *Lamentation over the dead Christ*, c. 1510, Pieve, Palazzo Pignano.

ed oggetti d'Arte per il Comune di Crema", as well as "Ispettore" for the area of Trescore Balneario⁴⁸

Attested are her contacts with the archaeologist Mario Mirabella Roberti (1909-2002), who from 1953 had acted as Soprintendente alle Antichità in Lombardy. Their acquaintance continued also during the long and complex restoration of the Duomo of Crema (Fig.16), begun in 1952 thanks to the ministerial grant of a modest economic contribution. The restoration was directed by Amos Edallo under the supervision of Piero Gazzola (1908-1979), Soprintendente of the Architectonic Arts of the Verona, Brescia, Cremona and Mantua areas. Mirabella Roberti was called on in 1956 to make an on-the-spot inspection of the redis-

covery of a part of the apse. The countess was present with Edallo, who decided to obtain the opinion "of a highly esteemed expert in the field", "Professor Edoardo Arslan", well known to him "as both were members of the Restoration Committee of S. Simpliciano in Milan". On the 16th of June he then accompanied him and the countess to the place of discovery.⁴⁹ A constant interlocutor up to the final days of work was the architect and engineer Piero Gazzola, from 1941 Superintendent at Verona for the east Veneto region, an acquaintanceship dating back to just after the second world war, when the restoration of the Sant'Agostino complex got under way. Gazzola and the countess also fought for revision of the nefarious 1953 "Piano di

Fabbricazione" (City Planning Act), which envisaged the possibility of demolishing without making distinctions, and constructing buildings in the historic city centres with new heights of 20 metres, and they both campaigned for the safeguarding of local works of art. Two long drafts of undated letters contained in one of the notebooks, both addressed to "Dear Gazzola", confirm this common interest. The first concerned not better identified "pieces of land, under the Torrione di S. Marco" situated, that is, near one of the eight towers along the so-called 'Venetian walls', built around the city as from 1449 upon Crema's entry within the orbit of the Venetian republic, "a matter I wanted to come and see you about personally, because it is somewhat complicated", wrote the countess. With the other "inspectors" – i.e., the Count and engineer Mario Marazzi, the son of Fortunato (1851-1921) and the architect Beppe (Giuseppe) Ermentini (1929 -2003), she

had some years previously taken note of the map numbers and suggested you have those areas listed as "areas of regard" for the Torrione and in that part of the walls worthy to be considered as a listed monument. But as this listing (as far as I know) has never been notified to the owners, various buildings have arisen in that area, and lately a great building project has seriously alarmed me. It is true that those who buy the land have promised to leave a 'telescope' so that the Torrione may be seen, and 'and no building will adjoin the Wall', but I fear they intend to construct houses that are too high! What's the point of preserving the Torrione if huge buildings block its sight? / [...] limits could at least be put to buildings to be constructed, and it should be demanded that some free space be left and that the view of both the Torrione and the Walls should not be hindered. Don't you think so? I hope to speak to you about it [...]

The other draft, composed "urgently", concerned the fine fictile group with the expressionistic *Compianto* of Palazzo Pignano, identified by the critics as that requested from Agostino Fonduli in 1510 for the oratory of Maria Maddalena in Crema, (Fig.17). Seriously worried, the countess informed Gazzola that "because of the damp, the base had moved on which the statues of the magnificent 'Deposition' stood" and that "two of the large statues" have fallen and been damaged. The others are propped up". "New and immediate provisions must be made to save this important unit. (..) Can you come? Or could you give instructions and authorisation or some provision in this regard?"⁵¹ As already mentioned, in June 1956, during the restoration work on the duomo in Crema, in addition to Mirabella Roberti, Edoardo Arslan, in Pavia since 1942,

was called to take the chair of History of Art, instituted by Antonio Morassi (1893-1976) in 1936. This was the year during which the latter had curated the important and unrepeatable exhibition on *Antica oreficeria italiana* organized for the VI Triennale of Milan.⁵²

Edoardo Arslan had been in contact with the countess since at least 28th November 1954⁵³, and they shared many areas of research.

In 1949, he had announced in the "Critica d'Arte", the existence of ceiling panels in the Ospedale di San Matteo in Pavia, now a university seat, and he later wrote about the Fonduli family in the 6th volume of *Storia di Milano* (1956)⁵⁴. There was a further subject, however, that interested both. Arslan himself indicated it in the moving biographical note dedicated to the countess which appeared in 1961 in the magazine "Arte Lombarda", when he quoted among Winifred's publications the one for the "Archivio Storico Lombarda" regarding Giambattista Lucini (1639-1686). Lucini was the greatest painter in Crema during the late 1700s, known also for his luminist skills.⁵⁵ In 1946 Arslan had published a slim volume called "*Il concetto di luminismo e la pittura veneta barocca*" which grouped together his lectures at the University of Cagliari in 1940, and he dedicated particular attention to the period of transition between the figurative Baroque culture and the late Baroque one, spanning the XVII and the XVIII centuries.⁵⁶

Lucini was the subject of a letter draft addressed to Arslan, written by the countess while she was finishing *Pittura artigiana lombarda del Rinascimento*, for which she had just received from the professor his "his fine and all too flattering foreword".

And now I'd like to speak of a problem which interests you- that of Lucini and the two hypotheses regarding his identity and whether he is a painter of the 17th or 18th century.

If the Lucini we know is from the 18th century – that means the painter, whose will I found is a different, previous painter. I've searched for dates and clues and found a date that could favour the second hypothesis. There is a rather ugly, 17th century painting in the church of S. Giacomo, signed B. Lucini and dated (it seems to me) 1678. This painting is therefore certainly that of the painter testator in 1684 and might not be the artist who created the fine, modern paintings in the Duomo.

But there are strong indications in favour of the first hypothesis, i.e: 1) We have here at home a small painting by Lucini, which is included in a list of paintings drawn up by an ancestor, who died during the first quarter of the 18th century.

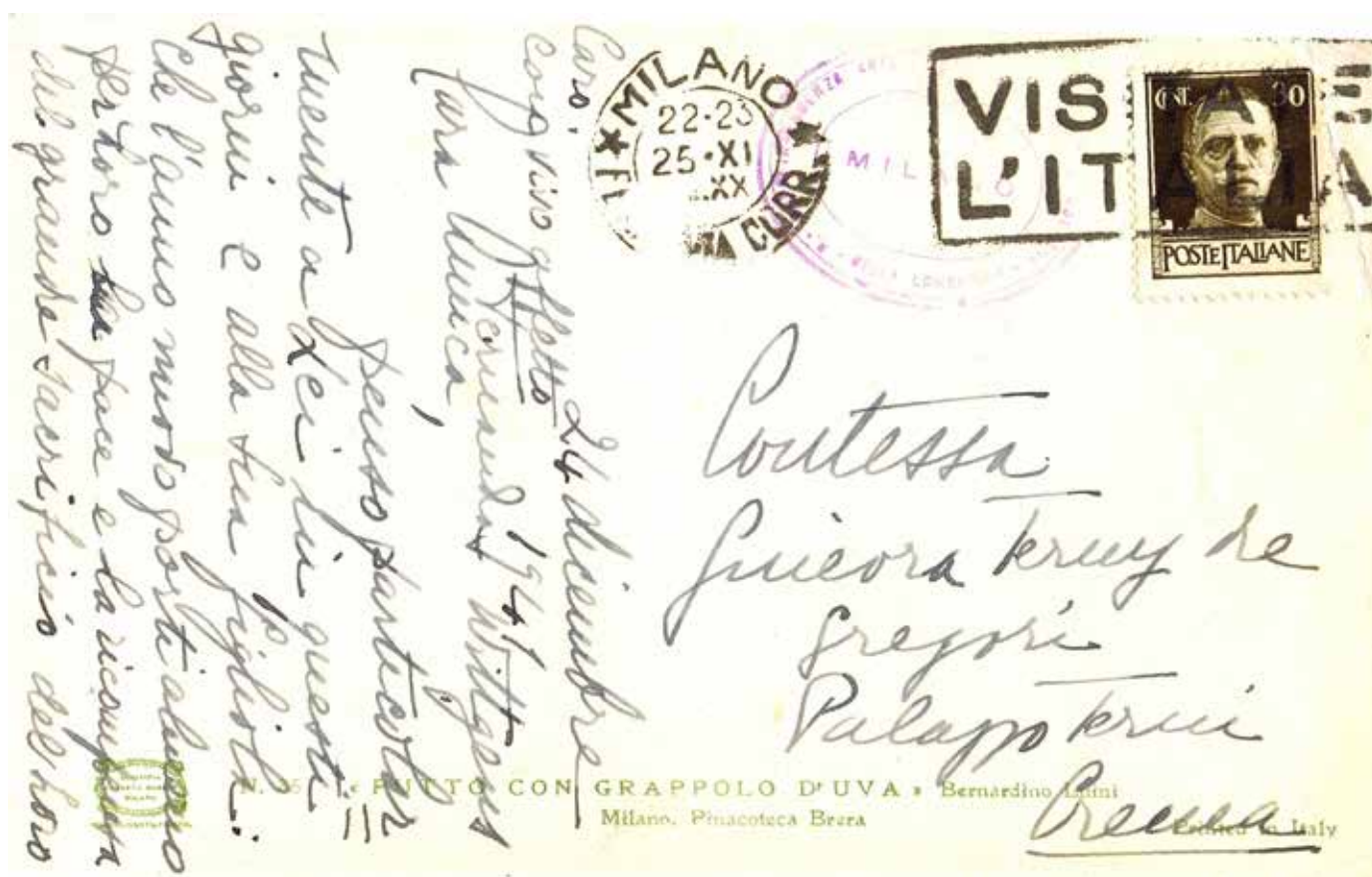


Fig. 18. Postcard sent on the 24th of December 1941 by Fernanda Wittgens to Winifred Terni de' Gregory, Terni de' Gregory Archive, Crema.

'very modern'

2) The paintings in the Duomo bear the coat of arms of two noted families of Crema. Martinengo and Vimercati. Around 1670 there were 3 married Martinengo -Vimercati couples, all however died without issue and their property all went in pious bequests. With them the Martinengo family of Crema died out.

3) At Ripalta Arpina there is a painting of S. Giovanni Battista traditionally attributed to G.B. Lucini clearly showing his free, vigorous style. /The work bears the name of the donor – Canon Camillo Albergoni, who died.....

I'm not prejudiced one way or the other-but it seems difficult to me to overcome the evidence of these indications, which appear to me on the whole strongly in favour of the first hypothesis i.e. There was just one painter Gianbattista Lucini – a precursor of 18th century painting!⁵⁷

This constitutes yet another important testimony to the countess's mode of research, unknown to scholars of Lucini, who was one of the main exponents of Lombard painting. The countess furthermore discovered Lucini's activity as an engraver.

"Cara amica". Fernanda Wittgens

Of long standing and true friendship was Winifred's tie with Fernanda Wittgens.⁵⁸

Two factors certainly contributed to strengthening the friendship between the two women– their common interest in the Bembo family, Foppa and in general in 15th century Lombard painting, as well as the friendly relations between Fernanda and Piero Gazzola. At the beginning of her career, the young functionary shared an office at the Palazzo Reale, the new headquarters of the Soprintendenza all'Arte Medievale e Moderna della Lombardia, and she collaborated with him in preparing the great 1939 Exhibition on Leonardo da Vinci in Milan. The two women were also united by their passionate commitment to safeguarding artistic heritage and promoting a culture open to all, one which would educate and inspire. Perhaps Fernanda's entry into Paolo Stramezzi's house came about through Winifred and there, from Stramezzi's collection,



Fig. 19. *Barbàra Palace, ex Vimercati, Crema.*

she studied Raffaello Sernesi (1838-1866), obtaining in 1951 as a gift for Brera *Il Terzo Concorso Nazionale di tiro in Firenze*, an oil painting attributed to this artist, now passed to Giovanni Estienne.⁵⁹

Their acquaintanceship probably began before the second world war, when the countess was preparing her book on Bianca Maria Visconti, published in 1940.

The notebooks contained, in fact, the draft of a letter written by Winifred, undated and without addressee, in which Wittgens was mentioned. The letter was a request for photographs, kept in the Musei Civici of Vicenza, relative to the statues of Francesco Sforza and of his wife Bianca Maria, created between 1494 and 1495 by Alberto Maffioli from Carrara for the façade of the Duomo of Cremona.

Proof of an increase in their friendship is to be found in the postcard sent to the countess by Fernanda on the 24th of December 1941, showing a painting by Bernardino Luini in the Brera, *Putto con grappolo d'uva* (Fig.18). With affectionate words Fernanda recalls the death of the second

husband of Winifred's daughter, Marinella (1901-1993), a lieutenant in the Alpini regiment called Michelangelo Emanuele Tommasi (1903-1940), member of an old venetian family, married in 1930 and reported missing in Albania during the battle of 8th December 1940.

Dear Friend, My thoughts during these days have been particularly with you and your daughter: may the new year bring at least for them peace and recompense for the great sacrifice of their loved one. With warmest affection. Fernanda Wittgens.⁶¹

Another sign of the mutual esteem and common interests between the two is the story of the purchase of a series of ceiling panels deriving from two adjoining spaces on the ground floor of an old palace in Via Civerchi, Crema, once the property of the powerful Vimercati family, intended for exhibition in the Museo Poldi Pezzoli in Milan. The latter, like other buildings in the city centre, had been badly damaged by the bombings which in August 1943 had ravaged the capital of Lombardy.⁶²



Fig. 20. *Barbàra Palace, ex Vimercati, Detail of the portico with Terracotta decorations, Crema.*

In 1944 Fernanda Wittgens had been nominated “Special Commissioner” of the Poldi Pezzoli Museum by the Ministry and, together with Guido Gregoriotti (1908-1990) and the architect Ferdinando Reggiori (1898-1976), had been engaged on its reconstruction at the expense of the Italian State (it reopened on 1st December 1951). On the death of Ettore Modigliani on 22nd June 1947, she had, as Director of the Pinacoteca, taken on the regency of the Sovrintendenza alle Gallerie della Lombardia, personally undertaking the reconstruction plan of the Milanese museums.

As is documented by a rich exchange of letters between Fernanda and the countess between 12th April 1947 and 23rd January 1948, the event also saw involved Piero Gazzola and the very active Alfredo Laini from Cremona (1883-1953), restorer between 1925 and 1927 of the ceiling with painted panels of another Vimercati palace, situated in present day Via XX Settembre 63. Among the losses sustained by the Poldi Pezzoli was also the so-called

“Sala d’Oro”, a vast room having as its main decoration a sumptuous late 19th century ceiling with gilded intaglios. As it was considered too costly and “anti-historic to reconstruct it”, she had, in agreement with the Soprintendenza Reggiori, “decided to realize a modern ceiling ennobled by the insertion of original antique elements” and seek, following Fernanda’s suggestion “therefore the characteristic ceiling panels of Crema which unfortunately have been, let us say, plundered by antiquarians and dispersed on the market.” In order to trace such works, Fernanda Wittgens had contacted the countess, asking if it were possible “to find an authentic Lombard ceiling [...] of that art of Crema which is awaiting revaluation and which possesses much artistic and iconographic interest”. The desired object was identified by the countess at the beginning of April 1947 in Palazzo Barbàra, ex Vimercati, in Via Civerchi. (Figg. 19, 20).

Happy at having traced this ceiling, the countess wrote to Fernanda on 12th April, saying she had “rushed to see about the availability of a group of 100 panels painted by a good painter (one of the Bombelli?) which make up the decoration of a fine ceiling in an old palace.” She had studied it the “previous year”, concluding from the coats of arms that the residence had belonged to the Vimercati, precisely to Bartolomeo Vimercati, and from the costumes [...] that it was painted during the period 1470-80”, deeming the “portraits” – some in profile, others full face [...] very interesting” and the panels “created with a natural and fresh style and so well preserved they seem done today”, absolutely perfect for the Milanese museum.

The countess continued by saying that the owner

had tried to sell them to “antiquarians from Milan at a thousand lire each (overall price a hundred thousand) and I grumbled, because the house is listed and therefore it should be possible to save this important ceiling. It seems to me, therefore, that you could invoke the right of pre-emption, which the law allows us, and acquire them for less. They would be safe and remounted with precision and catalogued as a “ceiling from an old Vimercati palace in Crema” and perhaps, once our studies are completed, also with attribution to one of my Crema painters, they would constitute a new important “exhibit” for Poldi Pezzoldi. [...].

As can be understood from the letter sent on 18th April 1947 to her “Dear friend” Fernanda, the ceiling had, in fact, been awaiting a buyer for over a year, and during the previous winter “the antiquarian Frattini in Milan” had shown interest but had not to date concluded the purchase.



Fig. 21. Crema Workshop, *Panel from the cycle housed in Barbàra Palace depicting a Lady*, Private Collection.



Fig. 22. Crema Workshop, *Panel from the cycle housed in Barbàra Palace depicting a Lady*, Private Collection.

Fernanda Wittgens immediately informed Gazzola of the traced panels – which she would (mistakenly) continue to attribute to Cremona craftsmanship within the sphere of the Bembo artists- requesting him to intervene to “impede the private sale as per the listing”, destining it instead to the Museum. In the meantime, thanks also to the intervention of Alfredo Laini, the owner of the panels, Rosa Chizzoli, had become convinced of the importance of the operation. This the countess communicated to Fernanda on 22nd August from her summer residence at Monasterolo, urging her to “act at once” and confirming her opinion of the ceiling (“one of the finest I know”), as well as of the dating” around 1470 – fine portraits- and extremely interesting costumes (..) Therefore to work – quickly!” (Figg 21,22).

The “100” metopes from Via Civerchi, offered at the price of “300 thousand lire plus systematisation of the ceiling”, and entrusted by the Soprintendenza di Milano to Alfredo Laini, were shortly afterwards dismantled, remaining for some time with the restorer because Fernanda Wittgens was in Zurich, engaged in preparing the exhibition on Lombard Art (*Kunstschatze der Lombardei. 1500 vor Christus/1800 nach Christus*) promoted by her and held the following year. This was an unrepeatable event undertaken to produce financing destined for the restauration of Italian museums, of interest also to Gian Alberto dell’Acqua (1909-2004), who had joined the Milanese Sovrintendenza before the Second World War, as also to Costantino Baroni (1905-1956). A member of the exhibition’s scientific committee was Stella Matalon (1907-1987) a former student of D’Ancona (curator for exhibitions in the miniature sector), who at that time was active at Brera with Fernanda Wittgens, helping her in her researches⁶⁴.

On 1st October 1947 Rosa Chizzoli ceded, for the sum of 350,000 lire to the “Soprintendenza alle Gallerie di Milano,/ for the Museum Poldi Pezzoli in Milan, number 100 illustrated panels dating from the end of the 15th century/ ”, removed “from the ceiling of a ground floor room of the Palazzo Barbara, Via Civerchio 42, Crema, for 350.000 lire.”. The transfer was countersigned by Fernanda Wittgens; it guaranteed that the ceiling would be “restored by the substitution of panels suitably painted under the guidance of Sig. Alfredo Laini”.

Fernanda’s organisational commitments for the Zurich exhibition did not, however, distract her from the

Crema undertaking. It was she who wrote on 26th October to Pietro Gazzola to have the Department for Education consent to the transport of the works from Crema to Milan, attributing them once more to the “Crema school of the Bembo workshop”. The Ministry’s permission for the transport arrived on 18th November, and on the 20th December authorisation for the purchase (at the price of 380.000 Lire) was also signed and brought by Fernanda Wittgens herself from Rome to Milan.

On the 23rd of January 1948, the works were safely housed at the Pinacoteca di Brera, transferred there also thanks to the financial aid of the Director of the Banca Popolare di Crema, Achille Gallini.

Arranged within a single framework (formed by six rows of sixteen panels), they were then placed on the ceiling of the new showroom at Poldi Pezzoli, forming a setting quite unlike their original one, as the disappointed countess was to remark “the panels have been remounted in the best way as regards the “aesthetic effect” but which does not give any idea of an authentic Lombard ceiling!”⁶⁵.

A few days later, on 4th March, Fernanda resumed her correspondence with the countess, but touching on a different matter.

This long letter, besides confirming the friendly bond between the two, offers an oversight on the Milanese institutions of those years, describing the environment in which both women were immersed.⁶⁶

The matter Fernanda wrote about involved Gaetano Panazza.

As mentioned in the letter, these were days during which Fernanda was “oppressed by the fulminating need to organise” within a few days the opening at the Museo Caccia in Lugano of an exhibition on Italian painting during the 19th century. She wrote the foreword to the catalogue of Paolo D’Ancona, the professor under whom she had taken her degree at the Università Statale in Milan, with a thesis on art books by painters of the 19th century.⁶⁷

Dear Ginevra, I was just about to reply to you when your card arrived. The very kind Dr. Stella Matalon, who aids me in scientific research relieving me a little in this area which today represents almost a mockery in my life as a “blue collar worker”, was indeed engaged in tracing in the Castle all that could have been kept by Busi in the Archives. Research in the Archives is impossible because the material is divided only by category – painting, sculpture, architecture. Panazza, (who knows the library and the archives inside out) should come and do the researching because



Fig. 23. Cover of *La meravigliosa Storia di Santa Maria della Croce*, published by Vincenzo Civerchi, Crema 1946

he could find very important photographs in the Beltrame collection, particularly of works not known and attributable to Civerchio. It was much easier to research with Busi and Dr. Matalon had done so but then I saw you had too and so I'll not communicate anything in this regard to you.

Between these sentences (in which Fernanda called herself a "blue collar worker", recalling the qualification of "temporary blue collar worker" with which she had been taken on in 1928 by the Soprintendenza Milanese) and the end of letter 67, was inserted a meticulous list concerning the tracing of photographic material connected with Vincenzo Civerchio. This was said to be necessary for the writing of a "book" with Winifred perhaps acting as "editor" with the "Civerchi" magazine, founded by her (Fig.23), and the "very organised" and "rather pedantic" Gaetano Panazza as author or co-author. At that time Stella Matalon had undoubtedly already well under way her book on the Pinacoteca di Brera (published

in 1952), written to update the one compiled by Francesco Malaguzzi Valeri in 1908, often consulted by the countess. She referred to this source using number "730" the first painting mentioned in his list: the "Crocefissione" a work which came to Brera in 1905 from Sant'Angelo dei Minori Osservanti, attributed by Malaguzzi Valeri to a follower of Foppa, today instead attributed to Giovanni Bernardino and Giovanni Stefano Scotti.⁶⁸

At the beginning of her letter Fernanda Wittgens had mentioned the "Archive" of the Sforza Castle and the "Beltrami Collection" – that enormous collection of photographs, manuscripts and drawings left by the architect Beltrami (1854-1933) after his death to the Comune of Milan- opened to public consultation in 1939, but heavily damaged during the Second World War and dismantled during the years immediately following it.⁶⁹ A certain "Busi" was also named, possibly identifiable as the "photographer Sig. Busi" thanked by the countess in her study on Bianca Maria Visconti Sforza, the "volume" recalled by Fernanda at the end of the letter⁷⁰. Also mentioned is Antonio Paoletti, engaged (probably in 1910) as photographer for the Musei Civici of the Castle by Beltrami, of whom he was also assistant, who died at the age of 55 in June 1943, and whose "plates" at the Castello Sforzesco are often cited in the countess's notebooks. Fernanda had contacted him and other photographers between the 9th and 10th March 1943 asking them to make their archives safe, aware of the need of photography for studying and safeguarding historic artistic heritage, a necessity very well understood by Corrado Ricci, the main creator of the Pinacoteca di Brera's photographic collection.⁷¹

Among indications as to where to find photographic material and who to contact to retrieve it as quickly as possible, Fernanda Wittgens interposed personal comments, sent in confidence to her friend Winifred, no longer so young. She was clearly anxious that she should not waste energy or time. Regarding a certain work at the "Archbishop's Palace" for example she says that the countess

Should write to the Curia Arcivescovile -in Milan- to Mons.Lanella, possibly requesting an appointment as I don't know if he'll respond. At the Curia they are used to measuring time in terms of eternity and so months can pass before an answer arrives. But Panazza, who regularly comes to Milan once or twice a week, could pass in and personally arrange an appointment with the Curia secretary".

And she continued, expressing to the countess her less

than affable opinion of the *work methods* of the "rather pedantic" Gaetano Panazza.

Hoping you will keep this letter private, I take the liberty of telling you that it is a very strange thing that Panazza should send you a list of the photographs to be taken ex-novo at your expense when a great deal of them already exists.

The first care of an author preparing a book (and you know this thanks to your work on Biancamaria) is to seek the necessary photographs. It has never happened that it was the especial care of the publisher. And this procedure is astonishing particularly in the case of Panazza, (who is highly organised, being rather pedantic). I'm not saying this for myself because, as you've seen, I passed the task on to my obliging friend, but exactly for a question of justice. After all, the essence of such a book lies in its photographs.

The last sign of the more than ten year-long friendship between Winifred and Fernanda, preserved in the Crema notebooks, was dated 18th February 1957. This was a letter written by Fernanda mentioning an amusing misunderstanding concerning the review in the "Corriere della Sera" of the autobiography published the year before by Winifred *Come vidi la Cina (bambina in Cina) (How I saw China (a child in China))*⁷². On 12th July 1957 the energetic functionary unfortunately died, at the age of 55.

The countess was finishing *Pittura artigiana lombarda del Rinascimento*, the contents of which she had shared with Fernanda, whom she had chosen to be author of the book's presentation.

She obviously therefore dedicated the book to her "dear friend", remembering in the opening lines of the first chapter ("La matrice dell'Arte Lombarda") Fernanda's "fundamental contribution" to the "revaluation" of Lombard art "through the dynamism characteristic of her outstanding personality, her important work on Foppa and even more her perceptive studies on the artist who was perhaps her favourite among the Lombards, Bonifacio Bembo"⁷³.

This dedication was of few and measured words, through which the countess sought to condense years of affectionate acquaintance and discussions on themes which inflamed them both. ("To the memory of Fernanda Wittgens is dedicated, with deep, grateful affection, this brief study of a particular aspect of Lombard art, particularly close to her heart."). Its terseness concealed great

emotional effort, having been achieved through numerous versions and rewritings of the piece, still present in one of the notebooks⁷⁴.

A procedure in decided contrast with that evident in the notebooks containing pages containing the texts of articles or parts of books, practically devoid, as mentioned, of corrections or second thoughts when compared with the works as published, but evidencing the sorrowful perturbation caused her by the loss of her "dear friend" Fernanda.

Notes

¹ The notebooks, never researched till now, are all to be found at the Archivio Privato Terni de' Gregory. Their classification, made by the present writer, is provisional, the Archivio being in

^a phase of reorganisation. The pages were at times numbered by Winifred Terni de' Gregory herself (in which case, they will be so marked in quotation).

² B. 2.

³ Cf. also A 9, ca. 1941 ca. cc. 137-138; on setting up the city's "vicinie" (12th century- 1787), grouped within the four city gate areas, i.e., Porta Ombriano, Porta Pianengo, Porta Ripalta and Porta Serio, cf. Terni de' Gregory, *Le antiche vicinie* 1949.

⁴ During her stay in Florence with her mother between 1892 and 1893, Winifred studied drawing and painting; "Contessa Terni" is mentioned in the article *Arte Femminile al Lyceum di Roma*, which appeared in "L'Epoca" on the 9th of December 1918, as one of the exhibitors with two "fresh, pleasant water-colours" (Bonomi 1962, pp. 19, 30). The exclusive Women's cultural club

"Lyceum" was founded in London in 1904, sister chapters were started in Paris and Berlin, and in 1908 similar clubs were opened in Italy. Winifred Terni de' Gregory was a member of the Lyceum in Rome first and then of the one in Milan until 1960 (cf. B.32, cc 62r-v). See A. 9: cc. 155v, 156r, with drawings of fourteenth century headgear from "(Toesca)"

⁵ Cf. Terni de' Gregory 1948- 1949; Eadem 1950a (bronze statuette of *Seated Goddess* in the Wallace Collection, London, attributed by the countess to Giovanni Fonduli, but recently attributed to Giovanni da Monte, cf. Tanzi 2004b, pp. 139-140); A 14, c. 35. Giovanni Fonduli arriving in Padua from Crema with his father, a goldsmith, in 1452; cf. Verga Bandirali 1958; Eadem 1997. For more on Anonimo Morelliano (Marcantonio Michiel?), cf. Benzoni 2010 (with bibliography).

⁶ For example, cf. B 11, the first page of which reads: "Bergamo begun Oct.1945".

⁷ B.4. For this exhibition, cf. further on in the text.

⁸ Cf. respectively: B.6; B.7. For Bianca Maria Visconti cf. the bibliographical update in Covini 2009. A.15 "Archivio Ospeda-

le” (a source systematically revisited, for example, by Piastrella 2006). A.41, B.5. A.17.

⁹ Bonomi 1962, pp. 137- 138.

¹⁰ In her last years, Maria José had devoted herself to historical studies. In 1952 Benedetto Croce wrote the preface for her book *Amedeo VI, Amedeo VII*, which appeared in 1956 (cf. Coltroneo 2016). Cf. B. 23, the notebook can be dated to 1953 ca. Also: Visconti 1937. Alessandro Visconti wrote to her from Milan on the 30th of December 1950:

“Dear Countess/at last I’m writing to you after such a longtime. Over the last few days I have read with great interest your ‘Fra Agostino da Crema’ and I really enjoyed it. I would like to speak about it on the ‘Tempo di Milano’ and I certainly shall do so./I do not know if the book would interest the partners of the Famiglia Meneghina- they are people who like to dance and not to read. [...] It would be a good idea to contact the ‘Libreria Vinciana’ (Via Brera 14). The owner is Sandro Piantanida, a good friend of mine. He is a real gentleman and not a shopkeeper. He is a member in fact of an old, noted Milanese family of good tradition [...] I too remember the pleasant conversations of times past and I also know that you have been to Milan: but if you had phoned me I should have been so pleased to see you [...]” (B. 16; Visconti was referring to Terni de’ Gregory 1950. In addition, Piantanida, together with Costantino Baroni, had edited the beautiful volume on the 1939 exhibition dedicated to Leonardo da Vinci in Milan.

¹¹ Bianca of Savoy (1336-1387), wife of Galeazzo II Visconti and mother of Gian Galeazzo Visconti; Winifred perhaps mentioned the 1387 will, now in the State Archives in Milan, *Sforzesco, Potenze Sovrane*, cart. 1455, in which Bianca requested to be buried in the church of the Convent of Santa Chiara in Pavia (Magenta 1883, pp. 179, 260-266); the person mentioned is Claudio Cesare Secchi (1897- 1981). The countess requested the publisher Vallardi that “Maria José” be amongst those to whom her volume *Pittura artigiana lombarda del Rinascimento* be sent. (B. 31, c. 33v).

¹² Bonomi 1962, p. 21. The monument had been given by General Fortunato Marazzi in memory of his son Ottaviano. Regarding the family residence, cf. Terni de’ Gregory 1960, pp. 65-66; Perolini 1975, pp. 14-18.

¹³ A. 14, c. 79v. Lorenzetti and Mariacher frequently worked together in Venice on different activities, amongst other things setting up the historical section of the Museo Correr during its reorganisation, as well as Goldoni’s Home; cf. Vianello- Chiodo 1952; Lorenzoni 1994- 1995; Idem 2001; Cottino 2017; Napione- Caputo 2018.

¹⁴ The other letter, dated 10th of October 1958 also sent from Trieste, talks about notarial deeds. The two letters, respectively in: A. 14, and B. 27. For more on Zorzi, cf. generally, Ceresa 2015-2016.

¹⁵ Cf. Zorzi 1961 (in which he describes in detail his first meeting with the countess: “My cultural relations with Countess Terni de’ Gregory date from April 1956, following the courteous intermediation of Dr. Franco Barbieri, then Director of the Museo Civico of Vicenza [...]).

¹⁶ B. 27, letter from Emilio Nasalli Rocca, from Piacenza, dated

30th May 1946: “Dear Countess, I congratulate you on the important research on Fondulo and I shall be very happy to see the results. [...] With greetings till your return [...] Yours Emilio Nasalli Rocca”; cf. also the card dated 12th January 1955 (in B. 22), in which Nasalli Rocca thanks the countess for the “beautiful gift” (1955 issue of *Crema monumentale e artistica*): “Thanks to you (and the organisations you inspire) Crema is now endowed with a publication which constitutes an authentic discovery of a city wrongly considered a minor one when instead it is one of the gems of Northern Italy”. For more on Nasalli Rocca, cf. Nicolini 1973.

¹⁷ Terni de’ Gregory 1930; Barbieri 2017.

¹⁸ I merely recommend Bonetti 1917; Idem 1930; Idem 1931; Idem 1932.

¹⁹ A 5: “[...] I don’t know how to thank you for your courtesy in answering my request. I shall return the photographs tomorrow: the contents are very interesting. Would you kindly let me have the N. of the Code of the Library in Paris? Colonel Bonetti requests me to inform you that those letters written in 1446 by Francesco Sforza are preserved in the Biblioteca Governativa of Cremona, but he does not remember the number of the envelop: I’ll see if I can trace it/” [...]. For more on Agostino Cavalcabò, cf. Rigoli 2003; Paglioli- Pisati 2013.

²⁰ B. 20; “Mr. Colonnello Bonetti passed me your card this morning [...] and he asks me to answer at once. The map of the Castle of S. Croce [...] is unknown to us, therefore we, here in the Archivio Storico, would be very grateful to you if we could have a photograph of it. [...] Kindest regards from Col. Bonetti and March. Cavalcabò and also from the undersigned D. Vaiani”.

²¹ A 2: on paper headed “Regio Ispettore Onorario / per gli scavi - Monumenti/ Antichità ed Arte/ Pizzighettone”: “I have received your letter undated and without address and I had therefore to consult the register of the Visitors to the Museum./ For the photographs you need to illustrate your article, you must contact the photographer Ganzini here in Pizzighettone, but I tell you beforehand that if you write to that man you will get nothing, you will have to come yourself with the numbers of the Rivista Cremona in hand and show the vignettes. / Toscani is an amateur who is no longer at Pizzighettone [...]. / If you are interested in the matter of the gifts made by the king of France you could take a look at the articles published by me in the ‘Rivista di Cremona e Provincia’ in the 1928 June and July issues where you will find comprehensive information. You could also gather useful information from the 1929 February, April, July and August issues of the ‘Cremona’ Magazine. Happy to be of use, I am at your service. /With regards/Prof. Saverio Pollaroli”. The photographer mentioned is presumably an heir of Mario Ganzini (1868-1924), son of the photographer Giovanni Battista (1836-1878); in 1894 Mario Ganzini and Rodolfo Namas founded ‘Ditta Ganzini, Namas & C.’, cf. S. Paoli, Giovanni Battista Ganzini, in Paoli 2010, n. 7, pp. 284-285. For information on Pollaroli, cf. Negri- Tansili 2017.

²² B. 21. Regarding Locatelli, cf. *Atti e Memorie* 1939; *Elenco degli Scritti* 1951.

²³ Terni de’ Gregory 1946, p. 117 note (“I owe to the distingui-

shed Bergamo scholar Monsignor Giuseppe Locatelli the indications for finding information on the family Petrobelli or Pedderbelli"); Bonomi 1962, p. 143 (which reports Mons. Giuseppe Locatelli's opinion, written on the 5th of December 1947 on the book *"La fede e la scienza, l'arte e la pietà sedute intorno al suo scrittoio hanno preparato il capolavoro"*).

²⁴ B. 18; B. 23 c. 9r; I note: B. 16 (3rd November 1950: Giuseppe Locatelli thanks the countess for her 1950 work on Agostino da Crema).

²⁵ B. 4: "[...] I mention that involved are paintings of different character and by various hands and with little and almost no cyclical ordering. [...] Not very good photographs were taken in Nov. 1945 when the restoration had just finished [...]. I am happy that you intend interesting yourself in these various 15th century Lombard frescoes, to evaluate them and deduct attributions: really a difficult task!". Cf. also "Biblioteca Civica A. Mai e Archivi Storici Comunali, *Archivio Luigi Angelini*, transcription of the original typescript in 1992 edited by Mario Casirati, Bergamo 2019: 74, *Angelini Insert* 3.360: 1962 draft of a letter from Luigi Angelini a Giovanni Bonomi thanking him for the book on the countess, *Un'inglese italiana* (cf. Bonomi 1962), "with whom I had friendly relations for decades". For more on the castle and its paintings, cf. Angelini 1947, pp. 112-115; Idem 1957; Mazzini-Mulazzani 1986, p. 297; for more on Angelini, cf. Barbero-Gambirasio-Zanella 1984. For the 1911 exhibition, cf. Angelini 1912; Buscioni 1990.

²⁶ Bonomi 1962, pp. 151-142. Cf. see also the draft letter "Dear Bascapè", undated (B. 17, cc. 5r-5v), therefore cf. further on in the text; e B. 21 (signed "Bascapè", letter dated 5th of May 1951: "[...] the friars of the 'ospedale dello Spirito Santo wore a black cloak with the double white cross on the left shoulder and a dark robe (perhaps black or dark grey, or a white cross) [...]. If you like, write to my good friend Gr. Uff. Prof. A. F. La Cava, Doc. di Storia Medic. Via S. Maria Segreta 6, Milano"; in other words, doctor Francesco La Cava (1877-1958).

²⁷ B. 22 (the countess wrote: "[...] I have never seen them, but I know the series they come from very well"); in the book 'Bianca Maria Visconti' 1940", she wrote of having "mentioned the Cremona Tarots and hope to speak of them again in a book I am preparing, 'Fifteenth century Painters of Crema and Cremona' [...]. What do your Tarots represent? What painter are they by? [...]" ; cf. Terni de' Gregory 1940, p. 83; Eadem 1958, p. 32 and note 8 at p. 152, Figg. 15-17, p. 31; Plate. XV. On tarot cards and Tozzi, cf. Van Marle - D'Otrange 1954; Moakley 1966; Algeri 1981, pp. 59-94; O'Neil 1987; Dummett 2007; Bandera-Tanzi 2013.

²⁸ Bonomi 1962, pp. 32-33.

²⁹ B. 8, Letter found amongst the pages, envelope addressed to C. H. Clough, 1017, John Jay Hall, Columbia University, New York 27, N Y; Terni de' Gregory 1958, note 2; Regarding the frescoes, Marazzani 2009. Regarding the 'Bembo question', cf. Dionisotti 1950; cf. as well as Michiel 1884.

³⁰ B. 8; regarding this letter, cf. Venturelli 2017b, p. 292. Cf. as well as B. 30, c. 57r. With regard to Brizio, in general, cf. Anna Maria Brizio 1976; Castelnovo 2000; Leonardi 2012-2014; regarding the frescoes in Roccabianca, cf. Giannini 1994.

³¹ B. 30, c. 53v: "Roma casa 848280/ Della Pergola Sig. Dott. Paola Direttrice Galleria Borghese, Roma/ pres. di Fernanda", cf. Venturelli 2016a; For more on Paola Della Pergona, cf. Rotondi Terminiello 2007; Tosini 2012.

³² Bonomi 1962, pp. 183-185; Venturelli 2016a.

³³ Cf. Bonfadini 2014, pp. 41-63 (I would like to thank the author for having sent me her work before publication; here she mentions the unpublished correspondence between Fausto Lechi and Terni de' Gregory). Her correspondence with Count Lechi mentioned from here on is preserved at the Archivio Lechi, Montirone (Brescia), *Lettere Winifred Terni- Fausto Lechi*, at the relative date: I would like to send my heartfelt thanks to Giulia Lechi for allowing me to consult the documents between 2013 and 2014. Regarding Panazza, cf. *Panazza Gaetano* 1994 and further in the text. Cf. also Panazza's brief letter dating back to the 16th of October 1958, inserted in B 27: "Dear Countess, thank you for your recent letter and for the cheque; I do not have the photographs of the siege of Crema, and I do not know if that episode is still frescoed or was destroyed during the bombings. I cannot even go to investigate these particulars because the owners of the palace, the counts of Salvadegno, have declared open war, without cause, on Soprintendenza, Museum Directors, critics and art scholars [...]".

³⁴ M. Verga Bandirali, in Terni de' Gregory 1964, p. 13.

³⁵ Cf. Salvagnini 2000, pp. 365-378, 385, 391-395 (on the 11th of June 1922 the first law on the protection of natural beauty in Italy was passed which, despite its shortcomings, is credited with introducing such concepts as 'notification' and 'panoramic beauty'. On the 21st of September 1938 the legislative decree, which was subsequently turned into law on the 16th of January 1939, was issued, setting up the "Consiglio Nazionale dell'Educazione, delle Scienze e delle Arti"; the various Sovrintendenze, just as in the past, were governed by the "Direzione delle Antichità e Belle Arti", and therefore by the "Ministero dell'Educazione Nazionale". On the 1st of June and 8th of August 1939 a law was passed on the "Tutela delle cose di interesse artistico o storico" (Protection of Items of Artistic and Historic interest), which not only took public property into consideration, but also stated that the rights of private property could not be prejudiced, with the discussed Art. 5, which envisaged the "possibility" – not the obligation of - "listing").

³⁶ "Prof. Panazza, with whom I have been in correspondence for some time, advises me to contact you on the question of opening in Brescia a representative office of this Company which has merged with the national company "Amici del Paesaggio" with headquarters in Florence, and will also take on representation of the Company "Paesaggi e Monumenti" of Bologna which is the oldest and most honourable./ We must open a representative office in every city because we collaborate with the Soprintendenza, and we must try to step up and make more effective application of the law for the protection of the beautiful and picturesque things and of the "traditional face" of each of our artistic cities. / Panazza tells me that, in his opinion, their Company "Amici delle Terre Bresciane" could adhere en masse [...]. Mention of a desirable upcoming exhibition on Crema painting is found in Giusto

1946, p. 22. The study on Civerchio researched over many years by Terni de' Gregory remained unfinished; a part was published posthumously in *Terni de' Gregory* 1964, pp. 45-67, with cards by Maria Verga Bandirali.

³⁷ The pronunciation of the collector's name is unclear: "Grouin"? In his reply on the 24th of March 1960, Fausto Lechi wrote: "as for Sig. Vitale, who called himself professor, as is done in Italy, where there are professors of ancient languages and of mathematics also and at the same time professors of fencing, dance and trombone, he was, as far as I remember hearing said, one of the many able researchers of antique things and an equally voracious buyer. He will have dismantled the frescoes in times long gone and then sold them etc.". On the 21st of May 1960, with the restoration of the Sant'Agostino complex still in progress, a temporary exhibition was opened to the public on the first floor of the northern cloister; the Museum was inaugurated on the 26th of May 1963.

³⁸ Cf. Terni de' Gregory, *Importanti scoperte dell'arte lombarda*, in "Il Torrazzo", 4th of July 1953; Eadem 1958a; Ferrari 1956 (who mentioned the studies and discoveries made in 1953 by the countess: note 18 a p. 120 and note 27 and 105 a pp. 121-122). The Countess wrote to Lechi: "[...] Thank you very much for your letter and I see we fully agree about the frescoes of M. Gouin [...]. As regards the attribution of the frescoes, I agree with you: they could also be by some minor member of the Bembo school, but before following this path I must free myself from a certain uncertainty: I seem to have seen something of the kind in ---Piedmont! Particularly those very pointed male "stockings and those exaggerated pieces of headgear have a slightly Piedmontese flavour. I must try and study them and I shall ask help from Maria Luisa Ferrari!", cf. further on in the text. Regarding Ferrari, cf. *Itinerari* 1979-1993; Poso -Galante 1991; Tanzi 2016.

³⁹ B-30, letter glued after c. 36. The name of Antonio Della Corna (cf. Tanzi, 1988, pp. 760-761; Marubbi 1990, p. 90; Pontiroli, 1990), was brought forward by Terni de' Gregory as possible collaborator of Giovanni Pietro da Cemmo in Crema (because of the frieze and medallions in the former Convent of Sant'Agostino), (Terni de' Gregory 1958, p. 8).

⁴⁰ B. 14: "Dear Countess/ Thank you most sincerely for your very welcome souvenir from Venice. [...] and I thank you again for indicating the presumed Callisto of Dresden: I think it is a question of that 'portrait of 2 spouses' which Mina attributed to Altobello Melone -About this I'm sorry not to have heard from you: I have the possibility to write to you and for All Souls' day to see you and I shall certainly find out more about the matter which I thought already ironed out, according to what Mina herself told me. I shall certainly see about informing you". Regarding Longhi and Mina Gregori, cf. Facchinetti 2005; Gregori- Bandera 2016; see further on in the text.

⁴¹ On the Stramezzi collection, cf. Mulletti 2007.

⁴² Cf. Arslan 1953; Idem 1958; Idem 1964; Mulletti 2007, p. 316 (for the El Greco painting in the Stramezzi Collection); on the "El Greco madonnero" question, cf. Casper 2012; Casati 2017; Eadem 2019.

⁴³ The story can be reconstructed by consulting the online Ar-

chive of Rodolfo Pallucchini, given in 2001 to the Università degli Studi di Udine, Biblioteca Umanistica e della Formazione. Cf. *Private People. Archivio Rodolfo Pallucchini*, 1, *Carteggio*, 1.1 *Correspondenza con Enti and Persone*, [teche.uniud.it/archivio/...](http://teche.uniud.it/archivio/), envelope 6, fasc. 1 (I merely note: 6th of January 1953, Roberto Longhi to Pallucchini: "Have you seen the ignoble article by Eduardo Arslan on the 'Mondo'? To me it seems enough to have him sent to jail; and it would not be bad to vacate a university chair... We'll talk about it again"; 28th January 1953, Pallucchini to Paolo Stramezzi: "You will certainly have seen the article by Edoardo Arslan some weeks ago in 'Mondo' which cast doubts on the recent discoveries on the El Greco "madonnero" [...] Could you let me have a declaration, even of just a few lines, by a technician like Pelliccioli, evidencing that the signature of your Greco is authentic [...] I hope you will be able to help me: it is after all in the interest of collectors [...]"; 25th March 1953, Pallucchini to William Suida: "[...] Prof. Arslan has published in a magazine a poisonous article against the recent discoveries of signed Greco works [...] I wish to answer that stupid article (tendentiously directed against Longhi who seemed to wish the Milan Chair)"). For more on Pallucchini, cf. Lorenzini 2019.

⁴⁴ Sciolla 2005, pp. 153-159, 168-179, 331-334.

⁴⁵ Longhi 1917, p. 329.

⁴⁶ See Venturelli 2014b (but cf. also Venturelli 2008, pp. 19-34); from the reviews which appeared on "L'Arte" (now in Longhi 1961 pp. 165-168, 379-38), I have extrapolated the following sentences: "Documents record facts about art, but only art records itself"; "Matter regarding environment, costume, and culture, cannot constitute positive value in historic artistic construction"; "art history being a history of pure stylistic development cannot be based on the works themselves"; "It will never be possible to give the legitimacy of art history also to these items in wood, minimum and such things [...] Even 'major' art has within it something of the 'minor' and the industrial and that is that quantity of non-artistic which became mixed with the creations for practical or utilitarian reasons of various kinds [...]".

⁴⁷ As regards the magazine, cf. Bonomi 1962, p. 183; M. Verga Bandirali, in *Terni de' Gregory* 1964, pp. 12-13; cfr. B. 12; B. 15. For don Bonomi, cf. Savoia 1985; *Non ci siamo tirati indietro* 2009, pp. 92-96. For Davide Cugini, cf. Lorandi 2005. See also in B. 16, the letter dated 18th of December 1950 by Giovanni Cenzato, on paper headed "Il nuovo Corriere della Sera. Redazione": "[...] it is a great pity that the so unmerited closure of Italia Contemporanea [...] made it no longer possible to collaborate with a person like you, so superior and distinguished intellectually and morally [...]"; also B 23, c. 47v: "Caro Cenzato", for which cf. further on in the text.

⁴⁸ Bonomi 1962, pp. 183, 188, 204, 217-219, 221-223; M. Verga Bandirali, in *Terni de' Gregory* 1964, pp. 12-13.

⁴⁹ Cf. Amos Edallo 2002, pp. 31, 139-141. Cf. B. 27: letter signed "Mirabella" dated 18th of November 1958: "Dear Countess/ Your letters always give me much pleasure. I am sure your next book will be extremely interesting, as were all the others of yours I know. I also believe that, even though my world is antiquity..., even if I cannot go deeply into the painting and art of the centu-

ries following, I have been along that path, and everything about it always interests me!". For more on Mirabella Roberti, cf. Tavano, online; cf. also Edallo- Gallini - Edallo Labadini et al 1955; Edallo- Edallo 2008; Angelini 2014.

⁵⁰ For example, cf. B 23, c. 21: draft of letter addressed to "Dear G.", i.e. Pietro Gazzola: "I have received your letter and two days ago I got that of Prof. Polfranceschi with a copy of the declaration of monumentality! A thousand thanks! It has already been taken to the Council and we hope to arrange a reunion next week for the definitive transfer to the Comune of the ex-barracks (and ex convent). Let's hope for the best!"; Cf. also Terni de' Gregory 1958a; Bonomi 1962, pp. 204, pp. 236-237 (after Winifred's death, Gazzola wrote to her daughter Marinella: "with the intent to honour the memory of your mother, whose life has given us a luminous example of volitive and accomplishing vitality, wisdom and serenity, I undertake to contribute with all my strength towards realising those cultural objectives which were at the base of her ethics and her way of being"); For more on Gazzola, cf. Aveta 2007; Lieti- Morgante 2009; Rinaldi 2019.

⁵¹ B. 31, cc. 38r, 67r. For information on 'Venetian walls', cf. Gruppo Antropologico Cremasco 2015; for the fictile statues, cf. Verga Bandirali 1958; Eadem 1990; Eadem 1999; Ericani 2015; Bensi 2016.

⁵² For more on Arslan, cf. the most recent Visioli 2019 (with previous bibliography); Morassi got his degree in Vienna alongside Max Dvořák (1874- 1921), cf. Ferrari Benedetti 2012.

⁵³ As attested by the correspondence preserved in the *Fondo Wart Arslan*, since 2005 in the Biblioteca d'Arte of the Castello Sforzesco in Milano, Centro di Alti Studi sulle Arti Visive -CASVA (the section concerning the two goes from the 28th of November 1954 to the 6th of December 1958; cf. also the correspondence with the countess's daughter Marinella, between 14th of January 1961 and 9th of January 1963); Regarding the *Fondo Wart Arslan* (partly consultable *online*), cf. Ruscio 2005.

⁵⁴ Terni de' Gregory 1949; Eadem 19 50; Arslan 1956; Terni de' Gregory 1958a; Arslan 1949, p. 280.

⁵⁵ Terni de' Gregory 1957b. Cf. Arslan 1961, p. 111 (and Arslan continued: "That involved in the matter of Lucini is not a mediocre author is known to those who are familiar with Crema works and the author herself showed it in one of her volumes on monumental and artistic Crema, published in 1955 – where as well as to values, by now known and consecrated, due importance is given to the magnificent examples of the Baroque in Crema"). Regarding Lucini, cf. Alpini 1987; Mander 2006.

⁵⁶ Cfr. Angelini 2017.

⁵⁷ B. 31, cc. 56v, 57v. The paintings in the Duomo to which the countess refers are those pertaining to the series Eucharistic Miracles, painted between 1680 and 1685, cf. G. Cavallini, in Cavallini- Facchi 2012, card 8.6, pp. 54-56.

⁵⁸ I have made the following summary from: Venturelli 2015a, to whom I refer for archival and bibliographic references. Their friendship is mentioned in Bonomi 1962, p. 152 ("Fernanda Wittgens became a very dear friend, in spite of the difference in age. They often met and animatedly discussed matters of art and history which inflamed both"). Fernanda Wittgens entered Brera

in 1928 as assistant to Ettore Modigliani and in 1933 she became Inspector; in 1935 she took over from Modigliani; in 1940 she was nominated Director of the Pinacoteca di Brera, first woman in Italy to cover this role (cf. Ragghianti 1958; Cavallone 2012-2014, pp. 31-51; Bernardi 2012-2014). Together with Modigliani, she organised the first exhibition of Italian art in London in 1930 (Royal Academy of Arts 1930; cf. Balniel Clark -Modigliani 1931; see: Haskell 2008, pp. 152-153, 167; Borghi 2011, pp. 13-25), and was made "Officer of the British Empire" by King George V.

⁵⁹ Wittgens 1951; Venturelli 2017b. In 1935 Gazzola was appointed to the Soprintendenza; in 1939 he was promoted to the role of Superintendent in Catania (cf. Di Lieto 2009, p. 2082).

⁶⁰ B 5, c. 129: "I wish to gather material for a book on Bianca Maria [...]. I need first of all to get the two photographs I already had and which Prof. Wittgens of the Sovr. passed to the Museum with the explanation that I wished to have others, clearer, made [...]".

⁶¹ A. 2. Regarding the husband of the countess's daughter Marinella, cf. M. Verga Bandirali, in *Terni de' Gregory* 1994, pp. 4-5.

⁶² I refer you to Venturelli 2015a.

⁶³ On Alfredo Laini, active in the city from 1907 with his colleague Giuseppe Papetti (1881-1962), cf. Venturelli 20015a, note 5, p. 167.

⁶⁴ It would seem that not all 100 metopes, however, reached the museum, cf. Venturelli 2015a (Rosa Chizzoli in 1935 lost her husband Cesare Barbàra, a Career Officer, and was left alone with three young children, aged respectively 10, 2 and nine months; the selling of the panels had been a very painful decision, dictated by the contingency of necessity - the Second World War had just ended and the bombings had damaged part of the residence). For more on palazzo Vimercati in via Civerchi, cf. Perolini 1995, card 17, pp. 75-80. On the Zurich exhibition; Kunstschatze der Lombardei 1948-1949; Podestà, 1948; Wittgens 1948. Regarding Dell'Acqua, cf. Gatti Perer 1988. On Paolo d'Ancona, cf. Pizzi 2010; as is known, it was Paolo d'Ancona who, at the beginning of the 20th century, introduced the teaching of History of Lombard Art first at the Accademia di Scienze e Lettere, where he taught between 1905 and 1923, and subsequently at the Università Statale, where he taught between 1925- 1939 and 1947- 1956.

⁶⁵ Terni de' Gregory 1958, note 20, p. 153; for subsequent instalments of this series, I refer to Venturelli 2015a.

⁶⁶ I have summarised below what can be found in Venturelli 2017b, to whom I refer for archival and bibliographical purposes.

⁶⁷ Fernanda Wittgens wrote "P.S. [...] Dear I am sending you the rough draft as it is as I have no typist to copy it out. [...] I am oppressed by the fulminating need to organise for the 28th of March an exhibition on the 19th century in Lugano"; regarding the exhibition, cf. D'Ancona- Valsecchi- Vitali 1948.

⁶⁸ "Brera 730. 'Crucifixion' does not seem to have been photographed because it is a stored painting and probably it won't be worth photographing. It would be better if Panazza could come first to see it and then we can decide." Cf. Malaguzzi Valeri 1908, n. 730, p. 181; Matalon 1952; regarding the painting, cf. M. T. Binaghi Olivari, in the Pinacoteca di Brera 1988, n. 166, pp. 366-370.

⁶⁹ Cf. Bellini 2006; Paoli 2006.

⁷⁰ Terni de' Gregory 1940 (amongst the people to whom she sent "a special thought of gratitude", for their "help in research", figure the "Director of the Museum of the Castello Sforzesco in Milan and the photographer Sig. Busi").

⁷¹ "S. Pietro in Gessate: I think it has been photographed, but I can't find the photographer; Busi could be asked or Paoletti -Via Pantana,5. At any rate, the church is under the authority of S. Maria alla Passione, and Panazza could contact the parish priest of the latter". Cf. Brigo 2004, pp. 131-148; Paoli 2009; Idem 2014. In 1899 Corrado Ricci (Director of the Pinacoteca di Brera from 1898), inspired by the founding of the Ufficio Fotografico del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione (1892), planned to set up a photographic library in Brera; amongst the supporters of the project was Luca Beltrami, cf. Miraglia- Ceriana 2000; Monciatti 2009. Regarding the "Paoletti plates", cf. A17; A.18.

⁷² B. 27 (Dear Ginevra, /what a mess: my office sent the letter to the wife of Missiroli coal- seller instead of to the wife of the Director of the "Corriere della Sera"/ Luckily I was dining yesterday evening with the wife of the "Corriere's" Director and having retrieved the book from the coal-seller Missiroli, I delivered it by hand "to the authentic Missiroli". Her husband grumbled that he was tired of recommendations for critical reviews; but at the end his wife, with a wink, told me that in the end she will manage to see to it that he choose the reviewer between Cecchi, Montale and Borgese. / This weekend, on returning to Rome, I'll know who the publisher must send the copy to for its review. Signora Missiroli says she was born in Crema and that for this reason too she is very happy to do something for your book. Anyway, we looked through it in the presence of some illustrious intellectuals, and I managed to extract words of admiration on China, you and your publisher. More than this I could not do! /Affectionate greetings and excuse the corrections/ Fernanda). The review was written by Emilio Cecchi, cf. Cecchi 1957. Involved was probably Regina Avanzini, wife of Mario Missiroli (1886-1974), from 1952 Managing Director of "Corriere della Sera" (cf. Pertici 2011; Simonelli 2013).

⁷³ Cfr. Terni de' Gregory 1958, p. 10, e note 1 a p. 151.

⁷⁴ 74 B. 31 (In square brackets are the words written and then crossed out; I indicate with an * the words that are illegible and which I therefore left out): 21v: "The work was finished too late to be able to offer it to her and in the bitterness of the cruel [great] loss which [has left] us deprived of the light [of] shed by her great and generous mind [intelligence, and generous heart, I feel that all those who knew her and shared her passion, must continue in her name her patient meticulous work]"; c. 53r: four versions, the last one written in pen and the others in pencil: To the great/ generous soul of Fernanda Wittgens / [She wanted] This [book]

brief study of a particular aspect of Lombard art, especially dear to her / [she followed its preparation]/ is affectionate dedicated"; "Fernanda Wittgens/ wished it to be written she followed its preparation with * and advice and was preparing to [present it to those] present it"; "To the memory of the great and generous soul of Fernanda Wittgens is dedicated with grateful affection this brief study of a particular aspect of Lombard art especially dear to her"; "To the [memory of the] great, generous soul of Fernanda Wittgens is dedicated, with grateful affection, this brief study of a particular aspect of Lombard art so dear to her"; c. 65 v: "In the general condolence for the death of the great scholar which [Prof] Fernanda Wittgens was, in the manifestations arranged to honour her memory, La Cassa di Risparmio delle Province Lombarde has generously participated [The recognition] Her [constant] illuminated generous and, in tragic moments, heroic work for the valorisation and the defence of our artistic heritage, is an example and inspiration to all [the connoisseurs] lovers of the culture and art created in our generous land./We are therefore happy to include in the tribute of gratitude also the (publication) presentation of this work [which she desired completed] which illuminates that particular aspect of Lombard art so dear to her./ She followed its preparation with [deep] interest [and constant] to present it [to the public of scholars] with some * words of her own. / And therefore in her name /I am therefore happy to include in the tribute of gratitude the presentation of this [work] study which she hoped to see appear and followed the preparation with deep interest, because it illustrates a particular aspect and * of Lombard Art., so dear to her"; c. 66r: "She should have had the task of presenting it to art lovers-because in her name/She looked forward to presenting it to the connoisseurs of Lombard art and * - with some of her erudite and * words./I should like therefore to dedicate it to her memory/GTG"; "it is therefore a great satisfaction to be able to include in the tribute of gratitude due to her from all lovers of Lombard culture, the presentation also of this brief work [historical critical]/ She [expected] hoped for its appearance with passionate interest and followed its preparation [because illuminates] as * * and * as an investigating essay on particular and till now neglected aspects of the Lombard art so dear to her. 66v:It is therefore a satisfaction to us to be able to dedicate to her name this study based on new research and aimed at giving a proper start to investigations on particular and until now neglected aspects of Lombard art, [so dear to her].It is a new manifestation of the constant and generous Cassa di Risparmio manifested in this way its constant generous interest and support of all manifestations of high Lombard culture./Besides representing a tribute and homage to the great deceased./ It is a new manifestation of the constant and generous interest and support the Cassa di Risparmio delle P. dedicates to all manifestation of high Lombard culture".



Fig. 24. Giovanni Pietro da Cemmo, *Marriage of the Virgin*, Church of the Annunciata, Piancogno.

The sources. /Tracing interests

On surveying the countess's notebooks, it is possible to map out her studies and highlight her themes of research.

From the very first notebooks it becomes evident that the material chosen was made up mainly of works based on documents, the *focus* being on Lombardy and the Sforza family.

Constantly appearing, therefore, were notes from articles published in the "Archivio Storico Lombardo", founded in 1874, with contributions in the issues of the first fifty years mostly concentrated on the history of the Visconti and Sforza families. Repeatedly examined also were the articles in the "Archivio Storico Italiano" founded in 1841, or in the "Archivio Storico

dell'Arte", the first number of which dated back to 1888 but which ceased to exist ten years later.¹

These magazines regularly hosted publications by Michele Caffi (1814-1890), with whom the countess shared both her documentarist method and a fondness for artists considered 'minor'. Caffi, the author of many studies on the applied arts, including those involving wood – a subject of primary importance among the countess's interests – in 1878, in an issue of the "Archivio Storico Lombardo", wrote of a lost *Pietà* in the San Agostino convent in Crema, the work of Vincenzo Foppa. Caffi also directed attention to the notes by Marcantonio Michiel on the refectory of this monastic construction, where the painter Giovanni Pietro da Cemmo ("zuan Pietro di Valcamonica") was said to have worked. On this information, as already



Fig. 25. Agostino de Fonduli, *The Lamentation over the Dead Christ*, c. 1483, Church of Santa Maria presso San Satiro, Milan.

mentioned, the countess worked tirelessly, until in 1953 she discovered the frescoes of this artist in the refectory. It was again Michele Caffi in “Archivio Storico italiano” who laid the basis in 1953 for a critical reappraisal of Vincenzo Civerchio. In addition, Giovanni Pietro da Cemmo became known in 1909 thanks to the studies on Vincenzo Foppa of Constance Jocelyn Ffoulkes and Rodolfo Maiocchi, whose book contained a brief but important chapter on this painter² (Fig.24) and was another precious source of research for the countess.

No less important for Winifred were the archival findings and close examination of sources of Girolamo Biscaro (1858-1937), thanks to whom a critical reappraisal of the Fonduli began at the beginning of the

XX century. Drawing on information culled from the rough draft of deeds drawn up by the notary public Boniforte Gira, Biscaro, in his 1910 article for the “Archivio Storico Lombardo”, unlike Adolfo Venturi (1856-1941), made a distinction between the style of Giovanni Antonio Amadeo (1447-1522) and that of the sculptured group with the polychrome fictile *Pietà* in the church of Santa Maria presso San Satiro in Milan (circa 1483) (Fig.25), attributing the group to Agostino -not Caradosso - Fonduli, rather than to Bramante as till then believed. Biscaro had shrewdly recognised its clearly Paduan tone, thus permitting a historic-artistic reappraisal of Agostino.³

Again with regard to the Fonduli (though not only), ample use was made of the 1940 volume by Cos-

tantino Baroni (1905-1956), *Documenti per la storia dell'architettura a Milano nel Rinascimento e nel Barocco*, in which, in fact, was shown the contract drawn up between the Members of the Fabbrica di Santa Maria at San Satiro and Agostino Fonduli, dated 5th April 1502, recording the artist's origins in Crema ("Augustinum de Fondutis de Crema dictum Paduanum, filium quondam domini Johannis, habitantem Creme").

Costantino Baroni was a firm supporter of the need for a revision of attributions, given as certain, in the light of documentary research and this was the theme of his contribution at the I° 'Congresso Storico Lombardo' in 1937 (*Il metodo storico e i problemi di valutazione critica dell'architettura lombarda da Bramante a Ricchini*). He had at first concentrated on pottery, contributing also to the 'Archivio Storico Lombardo', having begun this line of study in 1928 with an article on "Lombard majolica makers" for "Faenza", and had inter alia, published in 1940 *Maioliche di Milano*, previously the subject of a 1934 article by the countess for "The Connoisseur".

Baroni later reviewed the countess's 1953 book on furniture. Among the Italian magazines mentioned in the Crema notebooks was the "Emporium", founded in 1895 and inspired by the English "The Studio", a publication attentive to the decorative arts from its very first issue. It was of a philological and documentary bent, as were the "Rivista d'Arte", "Bollettino d'Arte" and "Rassegna d'Arte", all extensively used by the countess. The latter magazine had been started by Corrado Ricci in January 1901, the aim being to counter Adolfo Venturi's "L'Arte".⁵

Among the art historians and connoisseurs united by "Rassegna d'Arte" was Bernard Berenson (1865-1959), whose articles on Italian Renaissance painters the countess had read in English. During 1924-1925 she had also consulted Berenson's contributions to "Dedalo" regarding the Erri, a multi-task family workshop in Modena which produced chests, horse-armour, elements for painted wooden ceilings, paintings.⁶ The notebooks also gave attention to the works of Gustavo Frizzoni (1840-1919), an Italian who, from Milan, attentively followed the scholarly world abroad, and was invited by the 'Burlington Fine Arts Club' of London

in 1898 to organise an exhibition of Lombard Renaissance art works deriving from English collections⁷.

In his foreword to the 1907 edition of *North Italian Painters of the Renaissance*, Bernard Berenson, after thanking Giovanni Morelli (1816-1891) and Frizzoni, expressed his debt "to the various books or articles by Count Malaguzzi Valeri."⁸

Francesco Malaguzzi Valeri (1867-1928) was like a beacon to the countess, a constant and authoritative guide. With him she shared the firm conviction that the history of art should always be linked to its reference area and be receptive to the history of civilisation. It should furthermore be open to the conception of equality for the various artistic forms, including those considered 'minor' and devote, of course, proper attention to written documents, in the wake of studies of positivist inspiration⁹.

The countess constantly studied writings concerning embroiderers, tapestries and fabrics, Lombard painters, the church of San Satiro, Donato Bramante and Amadeo, the art of Crema, the catalogue of the Pinacoteca di Brera and, particularly, the books on the *Corte di Ludovico il Moro*, published between 1913 and 1923. While fruitfully employed by her were also the meticulous explorations into archives carried out by Malaguzzi Valeri.¹⁰

The concept of the history of art being linked with the history of civilization, adopted by Malaguzzi Valeri, and already present in 19th century German culture from the 40s on, had had among its supporters in France Eugène Muntz (1845-1902), an author whose work was often mentioned by Malaguzzi Valeri and consulted by the countess. This methodology had developed in Italian research from the last quarter of the 19th century, the prime theme being Renaissance courts. Along this line Alessandro Luzio (1857-1946) and Rodolfo Renier (1857-1915) explored the archives concerning the Gonzaga family, and these researchers were also relevant for Winifred's work¹¹.

The outline of sources traced up to this point clearly indicates the scant interest shown by the countess towards the contributions of Roberto Longhi, inclined as they were towards theories of art as pure visibility and permeated by an elitist vision of historical knowledge.

As already indicated when speaking of Longhi's harsh criticism of the volumes on the Court of Ludovico il Moro - which marked the beginning of a long halt in the field of Italian culture concerning the approach adopted by Malaguzzi Valeri - citations of Longhi's work were in fact extremely few among the systematic and exhaustive bibliographies present in the Crema notebooks. Mentions of his work were limited to his 1927 study on Piero della Francesca (of interest to the countess mainly because of this painter's choice of costume for the personages depicted), "Proporzioni" in 1948 (*Giudizio sul Duecento*), the 1940 essay *Fatti di Masolino and Masaccio* in "Critica d'Arte", and the two articles in 1928 and 1957 regarding Bonifacio Bembo, respectively for "Pinacoteca" and "Paragone"¹².

Along the same lines as the *Corte di Ludovico il Moro* was another source frequently quoted in the countess's notebooks - *La storia di Venezia nella vita privata* by Pompeo Molmenti (1852-1928), fundamental for that 'artisan culture' of such interest to her, being packed with notes on costume and products ranging from furniture to jewels and fabrics, gleaned from inventories, notary public archives, correspondences. Published in Turin in 1880, it went through seven editions, continuously up-dated and enriched, up to the years 1926-27. Editions in foreign languages also appeared, including that in English (1907) edited by Horatio F. Brown (1854-1926) used by Winifred¹³.

The Crema notebooks also confirm the attention paid by the countess to material culture and to scholarly texts founded on meticulous research, as is clear from her citing the book by Luigi Tommasi Belgrano (1838-1895) *Della vita private dei genovesi*, first published in 1866, and that of the keeper of manuscripts at the university of Bologna Ludovico Frati, (1855-1941) *La vita privata di Bologna del sec. XIII al XVII*, published in 1900 and again in 1925. In 1923 Frati had published *Il Settecento a Bologna*, similar in spirit to that of Malaguzzi Valeri's books.¹⁴

This attention to material culture, within the framework of her interest in Venice and the history of costume, explains the reason for her decision to "read [...] Elisa Ricci, *Antiche trine*". Elisa Guastalla Errera (1858-1945), whose second husband was Corrado Ricci,

signed as 'Aracne' her articles for the "Emporium" and the magazine "Regina". She was the author of the book *Antiche trine italiane*, published in 1908, later translated into English and reprinted in 1911. This was followed in 1913 by her essay *Women's Crafts* in the volume *Peasant Art in Italy*, edited by Charles Holme, treating of lace and embroidery, Ricci's main subjects of research, also found fascinating by the countess.¹⁵

The Decorative Arts

The choice of sources recorded in the notebooks denoted, besides a progressive exploration of historic-artistic material in Crema, a growing attention to the decorative arts, something quite in contrast to the trend current in Italy from the end of the 30s, when such studies, revitalised in the country towards the end of the 19th century, suffered a decided lull.

This change of course can clearly be identified by confronting the 1951 book by Pietro Toesca *Il Trecento*, with *I Manuali di Storia dell'arte, tra Medioevo e Rinascimento*, published at the end of the 19th century by Antonio Springer (1825-1891). The latter work, known to the countess, was edited in Italy from 1904 by Corrado Ricci and contained important up-dates on the applied arts by Ricci himself. The volume on the *Rinascimento* also included artists such as the Mantegazza family, Amadeo, the Solari in the Certosa of Pavia and Caradosso.

Hans Semper and Corrado Ricci used in fact the definition "industrial arts", Toesca that of "minor arts", obviously disparaging in tone. The historic-artistic contributions bear the mark of Adolfo Venturi, who ascribed a very modest role to the applied arts in his monumental *Storia dell'Arte*¹⁶.

Relegated to the sub-category of 'minor arts', the material which fascinated the countess attracted instead, with equal intensity and during the same years, the attention of such a great scholar as Maria Accascina (1898-1979) and of other female researchers, (to whom we shall presently allude), prompting ideas on the necessity of choosing themes suitable for paving a way "into a forum predominantly male (when not chauvinist)"¹⁷.

The countess's response within the framework of this area of research was made clear by her reviewing in 1929, for the English magazine "The Queen", the great exhibition *Settecento Italiano* held in Venice during the summer. This was organised at the Giardini della Biennale by Giulio Lorenzetti together with Eugenio (Nino) Barbantini (1884-1952), the scholars responsible in 1936 for preparing at Ca' Rezzonico the "Museo del Settecento Veneziano". More than forty showrooms were involved, hosting pictures, drawings, and a great quantity of applied art objects (furnishings, glass, pottery, silver items, textile materials). The same theme was also at the heart of the more ample review written the following year by the countess for "The Antiquarian". In this latter review, Winifred concentrated most particularly on the furniture, pottery and chinaware, materials in effect emblematic for the period in review, praising their quality and uniqueness, and offering only brief final notes on the paintings shown.

Of a vastly different tone instead was the opinion expressed in the review by Anna Maria Brizio published in the 1930 January issue of "L'Arte". Written from the viewpoint of Croce-style formalism and displaying an evident lack of interest in the 'minor arts' of the century covered by the Venice exhibition, Brizio concentrated only on "artistic weakness", speaking of an art "in a minor tone", of a "world of floating forms without rigour" lacking "interior motivation", mentioning - bunched together and generically- only at the end of her review the "furniture, fabrics, pottery etc".¹⁸

It was, however, an essay on Lombard pottery, once more appearing in a foreign magazine, that marked the countess's debut in the applied arts sector i.e., the article *The Pottery of Milan and Lodi* which appeared in the prestigious magazine "The Connoisseur", published in the United States from 1901 to 1992. The essay appeared in the 1934 issue, with one of the illustrations reproducing the identity brands used by the pottery makers she had written about, considering the 'information indisputable'. Authentic were also the signatures and the documents employed, which she, like Malaguzzi Valeri, considered indispensable for making attributions¹⁹. Herself a collector of works in this material, of the "white and blue pottery" type (Fig 26),



Fig. 26. Winifred Terni de' Gregory with her pottery Collection, Terni de' Gregory Archive, Crema.

the countess corresponded in 1935 on the question of "brands" with the historical Milanese firm for the "Commercio e Rappresentanza di Porcellane G. Soldini"²⁰.

The countess's interest in the applied arts, developed on her moving to Crema, led her to progressively examine the city's specific production - handiwork in terracotta and wood, ceiling panels, and to concentrate on the theme of artisan family workshops.²¹ She devoted 1949 and 1950 to the study of the Fonduli dynasty, architects, sculptors of terra cotta and goldsmiths, active in Lombardy, Padua and Vicenza, also focusing on Giovanni. To him she attributed the fine plaquettes signed IO.F.F, initials which she deciphered as signifying 'Giovanni di Fondulino Fonduli'. (Fig27,28). Her article 'La terracotta. Elogio del mattone' in the January 1948 issue of "L'Italia contemporanea" dealt expressly



Fig. 27. Master IO.F.F., Three plaquettes depicting *The Judgement of Paris*, *Ariadne on Naxos*, *Allegorical scene*.

Sior. d. Fondulino Fonduli
 90 F. T.
 80. F.

Fig. 28. *Winifred Terni de' Gregory*, initials of Giovanni Fonduli, son of Fondulino, Terni de' Gregory Archive, Crema.

with fictile production. The countess then devoted the fruits of these studies to her 1955 *Crema monumentale e artistica*, with a text in four languages, reprinted twice (1960,1989), the latter on the initiative of her daughter Marinella.

In this work she outlined dynasties and workshops - the Fonduli again, the De Marchi (architects, sculptors, woodcarvers, who worked between Crema, Pavia, Bologna) - painters, the two most important being Pantaleone Bianco and Bartolomeo Cadelupi Bombelli, then Vincenzo Civerchio, the Salserio de Bianchi (or Salasseri), the miniaturist Giovan Pietro de Medici, and others - with "information (..) based on the irreproachable evidence of the Comune's ancient registers". She also paid much attention to the painted wooden metopes of Palazzo Vimercati in Via Civerchi, acquired for the Museo Poldi Pezzoli in 1947, and to those in the ceiling of another Palazzo Vimercati which had become the headquarters of the Banca Popolare of Crema, "attributed to the Bombelli atelier" (Fig 29), indicating a theme she would later develop in her book *Pittura artigiana lombarda del Rinascimento*. Maria Verga Bandirali, (born in 1922), a long-time collab-



Fig. 29. Crema Workshop, *Panels from the third ceiling of Vimercati Palace, depicting two women*, c.1500, Banca Popolare, Crema.



Fig.30. Fragment of the predella of the terracotta polyptych for the Altar of the Chapel of San Marco showing the Nativity, formerly in the Cathedral of Crema, c. 1513, Museo Civico di Crema e del Cremasco, Crema.

orator of the countess, collected her observations on both the de Marchi and the Fonduli families and published, posthumously, a part of the work on Civerchio, an artist in both woodcarving and painting²².

With her 1949 *Non De Fondutis. I Fonduli dinastia di scultori cremaschi*, began in fact her studies on Crema terracotta work, drawing attention for the first time to the fictile altarpiece in the parish of Mozzanica (Bergamo) taken from the demolished church of Santo Stefano, one of the extremely few examples now surviving undamaged of the many altarpieces in terracotta which decorated the Lombardy churches during the XV century (Fig.30). Winifred also began to collect works in this material, and later donated them to the Museo Civico di Crema e del Cremasco²³ (Fig 31).

With this theme in mind the countess researched and read *the Terra-Cotta Architecture of North Italy (XII-XV centuries)* by Lewis Gruner (1801-1882), Prince Albert's 'trusted advisor on art and design', published in 1867, and Henry Strack's 1910 *Brick and Terra-Cotta Work during the Middle Ages and Renaissance Italy* (Fig.32).

Gruner had been the first, and perhaps the only, author to recognise the exceptional nature of the window in the belltower of the Crema Cathedral, choosing for his book cover this very window from all the reliefs of terracotta decorations he had had produced in North Italy by Friedrich Lose. Besides these works the countess furthermore consulted *La terracotta e i pavimenti in laterizio nell'arte italiana*, written in 1928 by Giulio Ferrari (1858-1934), director of the 'Museo Artistico Industriale di Roma', and author in 1925 of *Il legno e la mobilia nell'arte italiana*. On the subject of fictile art, she of course read works on Palazzo Fodri and the 1930 and 1932 series of articles in "Cremona", which analysed "Cremona pottery"²⁴ (Fig. 33).

Furniture and the last notebook for "Antiquariato Minore"

Emerging from the Crema notebooks is a clear picture of the lively publishing scene of the first decades



Fig.31. Maestro degli Angeli Cantori, *Head of a young man*, sixth decade of the 15th century, Museo Civico di Crema e del Cremasco, Crema.



Fig.32. Illustration of the Crema Cathedral, from Lewis Gruer, *The Terracotta architecture of North Italy (XII-XV centuries)*, 1867.



Fig. 33. Crema Workshop, *Church of Santa Maria di Bressanoro*, façade, Castellone.

of the XX century on the theme of the home and its furnishings.

Preceded by the 1930 study by the well-known archivist and palaeographer Clemente Lupi, *La casa pisana e i suoi annessi nel Medio Evo*, for the "Archivio Storico italiano", in 1908 Attilio Schiapparelli's *La casa fiorentina e i suoi arredi nei secoli XIV e XV* appeared, an important work, containing a systematic analysis of the structure, wall decorations, furnishings and garden of the 'typical house' during the Florentine Renaissance. Pietro Toesca took it into account when he produced *La casa artistica italiana: casa Bagatti Valsecchi in Milano*, a great work of cataloguing and of fine philology published in Milan in 1918, enriched by 160 photographic plates and a foreword and notes by Toesca himself. In 1925 Augusto Pedrini brought out *L'ambiente, il mobilio e le decorazioni del Rinascimento in Italia*, fol-

lowed three years later by *Il mobilio fiorentino* by the Tuscan Mario Tinti, accompanied by no less than 320 illustrations. In 1923, on the occasion of the *Prima Mostra Internazionale delle Arti Decorative* in Monza, Tinti had published for Enrico Somarè's "L'Esame" the article *Questioni delle arti decorative*, in which he sustained that the applied arts were not a sub-species of the so-called "arte pura" but were to be considered on a par with this.²⁵

That object of applied feminine creativity²⁶, the home, and the art of its furnishing also interested Elisa Ricci, author in 1921 of *La Casa*, amplified in its 1923 edition by the chapter *Casa di campagna*. The book was reviewed by Eva Tea (1886 - 1970), professor at the Accademia di Brera who taught as visiting scholar at the Università Cattolica, whose 1950 *Arti minori nelle chiese di Milano* was consulted by the countess.²⁷



Fig.34. Winifred Terni de' Gregory pictured in the postern at Monasterolo Castle, Terni de' Gregory Archive, Crema.

These, however, were studies mainly concentrated on Tuscany (Florence) and on the Renaissance. As far as Lombardy was concerned, during the years between the two wars, there existed merely the first volume (1913) of the important work on the *Corte di Ludovico il Moro* by Francesco Malaguzzi Valeri, *La vita privata e l'arte a Milano nella seconda metà del Quattrocento*, which provided a hoard of information on these themes also. A sprint to the subject of Italian furniture had also been given by Paolo D'Ancona with his *Artigianato regionale e arte decorativa*, published in 1921 in "La Nuova Antologia" which identified in regional art the heritage of high-quality craftsmanship, and later by the already mentioned *Prima Mostra Internazionale delle Arti Dec-*

orative inaugurated in May 1923 at the Villa Reale in Monza. This was intended as a "Census of regional productive capacity", with installations in which popular, modern and "rustic" arts were mixed. The exhibition was organised under the general direction of the indefatigable Guido Marangoni (1872-1941), curator of the Musei Civici of Milan and director of the magazine "La Casa Bella", as well as promoter of "Le arti Decorative" (published between 1923 and 1925) and author in 1928 of *Le stoffe d'arte e l'arredamento per la casa*, and of the two volumes *Arredo e Abbigliamento nella vita di tutti i tempi e tutti i popoli* which came out between 1937 and 1938.²⁸

In her Crema notebooks, besides Guido Marangoni, the countess cited Giuseppe Morazzoni (1883-1959), another pioneer in the history of Italian decorative arts, who published works on furnishings, pottery, and fashion. The Anglicist Mario Praz (1896 - 1982) also found mention there. Honouring a period otherwise neglected by critics, he published in 1940 '*Gusto Neoclassico*', in which literature and figurative arts intertwined, in 1945 '*Filosofia dell'arredamento*' and in 1958 '*La Casa della Vita*', on his residence in Rome, covering each room, one after the other.

Referring again to the subject of furnishings, the countess did not forget the architect from Como Carlo Enrico Rava (1903-1986), the theorist of Gruppo 7 and author of numerous articles on furniture, as well as Director since 1951 of the magazine "Prospettive", specialised in furnishings, décor, architecture, and scenography, of which we shall speak later²⁹.

The home had been the theme of an exhibition which I believe was fundamental in hastening the countess's decision to put to public use her knowledge of antiques and especially that regarding furniture, of which she had "a very large private collection" in her "picturesque home" in Monasterolo³⁰, and which was also the theme of her articles in "Italia Contemporanea" during the second part of 1948. (Fig 34).

Between May and November of that year, Palazzo Strozzi in Florence hosted *La casa italiana nei secoli. Mostra delle arti decorative in Italia dal Trecento all'Ottocento*. This was an exhibition on the decorative arts in Italy from the 14th to the 19th century, showing ob-



Fig.35. Attributed to Crema Workshop, *Chest showing the story of Lucretia*, Museo dei Mobili e delle Sculture Lignee, Civiche Raccolte di Arte Applicata of the Sforzesco Castle, Milan.

jects of the applied arts, paintings and sculptures, the catalogue being prepared by Licia Collobi Ragghianti (1914-1989), the wife of Carlo Ludovico Ragghianti (1910-1987). Ragghianti himself, in his "Foreword" described the exhibition as being of an "unusual, rather than original theme", an "attempt without precedence not only in Italy, but in Europe, at least in this form and with this historic development, from the 14th to the 18th century". It exhibited a category of works, defined as 'the minor arts', which Ragghianti considered important because, more than other types, it permitted an understanding of the epoch in which the objects shown had been created, and guided even the least prepared spectator to a comprehension of their style. He attributed therefore to this category an important function in educating the public, seeing it as constituting a sort of 'lens' for reading an epoch more easily, with explicit reference to Alois Riegl (1858-1905)³¹.

Regional 'committees' were set up to seek such works, with Luigi Angelini, Costantino Baroni, Paolo d'Ancona, Gian Alberto dall'Acqua and Fernanda Wittgens operating in the "Lombard" committee.

The exposition followed a chronological course, developing by way of 'thematic areas'. The sixth exhibition room was entitled "Stanza del Castello di Roccabianca", presented as emblematic of the "artistic period known as 'international Gothic'", with frescoes deriving from this castle, recorded in Brizio's already mentioned letter. This area also exhibited the large chest with *Storie di Lucrezia* (Milano, Civiche Raccolte d'Arte Applicata del Castello Sforzesco), here attributed to Bonifacio Bembo, a work of which the countess will write again in her *Crema monumentale e artistica* (1955). There, however, she was inclined to attribute it to a painter from Crema, influenced by the "Bembo style Cremona school" around 1460-1470, recognising on its shorter sides two Crema family crests, one of the powerful Benzoni and the other perhaps attributable to the Gandini. She also discovered the "Burning wheel" on the back panel, a reference to the Trivulzio family, a member of which was Gian Giacomo, born in Crema in 1442 (Fig 35). The chest had been brought to public attention in 1913 by Francesco Malaguzzi Valeri and later inserted by Paul Schubring in his census of Renaissance chests,

published two years later³².

In the following exhibition room, the "Stanza del Coretto di Torchiara" (so named from the décor in wood created for the Castle of Torrechiara, and acquired by the Comune of Milan in 1936), containing works chosen to illustrate the "the international Gothic of Lombardy", the "ceiling is modernly and schematically composed of lacunars including a series of 27 unknown original panels painted with 'profiles of ladies, knights and coats of arms'". These panels also came from the Castello Sforzesco in Milan and were said to have been "part of a typical ceiling decoration (placed originally like a horizontal frieze high on the walls)". Exhibited also was the diptych with the portraits of Francesco Sforza and his wife Bianca Maria from the Capitolo del Duomo di Monza (from 1932 in the Pinacoteca di Brera in Milan), attributed, following Fernanda Wittgens, to Bonifacio Bembo, as well as the *San Giuliano che uccide i genitori* by Antonio Della Corna (1478), in which the painter patently declared himself a disciple of Mantegna³³. The rather unfortunate title assigned to showroom XVIII, "Salotto del Maggiolino" (with furniture by the "great craftsman Giuseppe Maggiolini"), later inspired the countess to orchestrate a chapter of her *Vecchi mobili italiani* and name it "Un Maggiolino" e il Maggiolini".³⁴

Notwithstanding the rancorous criticism by Roberto Longhi, according to whom the exhibition "presented amusing features", it was a great success, counting twenty-six thousand visitors during the month of June alone, as confirmed by Licia Collobi Ragghianti in her 1948 article *La mostra della casa italiana nei secoli*, which appeared in "Firenze e il Mondo". In this contribution she furthermore refused the "label [...] critically mistaken, of 'minor arts' for many of the works shown, and declared that "the problem of the recovery, preservation and exhibition of the decorative arts be faced systematically and with adequate means, as is the case abroad - but in Italy, as far as I know, only in the Museums of the Castello Sforzesco thanks to C. Baroni, and in Venice due to G. Lorenzetti in the Ca' Rezzonico".

It was again Licia Collobi Ragghianti who organised and curated, for the IX Triennale in Milan between

May and September 1951, the exhibition *La sedia italiana nei secoli*, installed by the architect and designer Ignazio Gardella (1905-1999), the Executive Committee being made up of Costantino Baroni, Mario Praz, Gilda Rosa, and Luigi Angelini. The countess was asked through the latter for a "curious little rustic chair" from her collection which was, however, not exhibited³⁶.

For the countess, art in wood and particularly in wood décor, constituted one of the most important themes of her research.

Preceded by the 1949 publication *La mobilia antica dell'Italia settentrionale pregiata-usuale-rustica*, which united a series of articles appearing from June 1948 to May 1949 in "L'Italia contemporanea", in 1953 Vallardi brought out *Vecchi mobili italiani*, which enjoyed numerous reprints, including its 6th in 1969 edited by Giovanni Mariacher³⁷ (Fig. 36)

A mention of the plan for this book appeared in the draft of an undated letter, in reply to "Dear Bascapè" (Giacomo C. Bascapè) who - while urging her to write a monograph on Francesco Sforza ("a fascinating theme [...] but too vast, given the "documentation strewn all over Italy (and also abroad), enormous and no serious historian could undertake a 'Life' of Francesco- even if condensing it - without having examined them"), - had asked for her "brief study on furniture", which the countess declared herself happy to offer him. Making it clear, however, that it was merely "the summary of a series of brief articles- of a book (..) in preparation and I would prefer (if I manage to finish and publish it) to give you the work when more organic and complete"³⁸ A later draft, devoid of addressee, documented the realization of the project.

Two Milanese publishers appear to have been involved, one of which (Bompiani) was named, the other (Vallardi), intuitable, plus a third whose identity was not revealed. It may have been Mondadori, a publishing house the countess had contact with in 1959 for the "Antiquariato Minore" project. Mondadori was one of the most active among those making up the lively publishing panorama in Milan, unrivalled centre of the illustrated press.

The countess wrote in fact:



Fig.36. Cover of *Vecchi Mobili Italiani*, published in 1961 by Vallardi.

I know that Dott. Bompiani has written to you about a book of mine on antique furniture. The same day that book was accepted by a Milanese publisher and therefore I do not need to bother you about it, but I should very much like to meet you and talk with you on various artistic and antiquarian problems, the next time I go to Milan I'll come and see you in your studio³⁹.

The Milanese publishing house which secured the countess's work was Vallardi, a firm of old and solid origins, specialised in illustrated books.

The countess insisted from the very beginning on the importance of the iconographic aspect, and on how to organise it, supplying meticulous lists of images to be recovered, including those of "Paintings". She personally prepared the "panels" with details of furniture, sometimes elaborated from "Ill. Taken from Tinti Mario/Il Mobilio Fiorentino"⁴⁰. She also personally involved photographers and "illustrators", initially thinking of 30 "panels partly in photographs and partly illustrated, and at least 25 illustrations and diagrams to be inserted into the text". Her idea was to have "illustrations" both in the compound panels

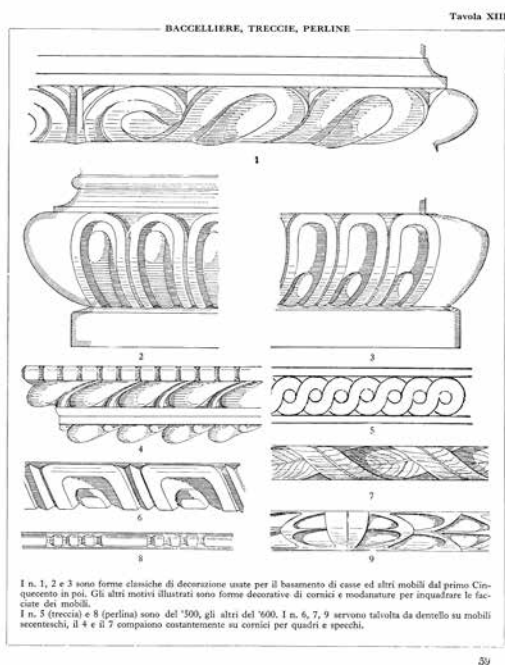


Fig. 37. Plate from *Vecchi Mobili Italiani*, published in 1961 by Vallardi.

(i.e. photographed and illustrated panels together) and in those which were “single”. She partly managed this herself, entrusting the rest to the architect Adriana Balcastri –who later collaborated also on her *Come vidi la Cina (bambina in Cina)* in 1956, and for *Pittura Artigiana Lombarda del Rinascimento* in 1958, – to Sandra Schena Loveriti, and to “Prof” Celso Moscatelli. Her final request was for “at least 40 panels and 25 illustrations in the text. I think the book will thus be sufficiently illustrated.”⁴¹

Obstacles and problems were not lacking on the way to publication. More than once the countess was forced to defend both the project’s deadlines and her role as inspirer and sole authoress of the captions for the illustrations.

In replying to an unidentified person at Vallardi, she affirmed in fact:

Your letter leaves me somewhat perplexed as you ask me to wait. According to our last agreement I was to collect the illustrative material [...], I should like the text left to me so that it can be organic – also because books on the subject are full of errors- par-

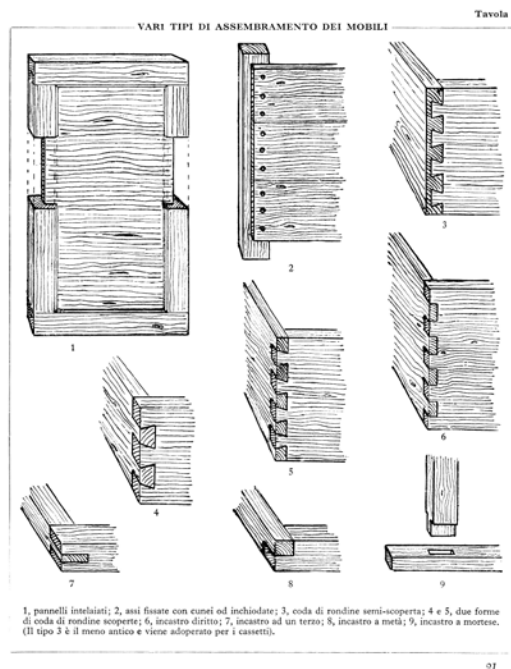


Fig. 38. Plate from *Vecchi Mobili Italiani*, published in 1961 by Vallardi.

ticularly dates and the regional places of origin of the objects. In any case, an agreement with any collaborator would be necessary. Please be so kind therefore as to let me have an explanation in this regard even by phone.⁴²

On the question of her name on the cover of the third reprint of her book in 1957, instead, she protested strongly. Having noticed that it had been omitted, she wrote in irritation to the publisher: “Everybody is protesting at the lack of my name on the book’s dust jacket and saying that like this it seems a catalogue of antique furniture compiled by the Vallardi company”, adding in no equivocal terms, “It is, of course, a question of real damage! See what can be done.”⁴³

But let us return to the first edition in 1953.

By summer the work “is at a good point”. The countess awaited “in August a typist” to re-copy “the “type-script” which is “full of amplifications and additions”. While working on the text, in fact, she had decided to widen the area of research, not limiting it anymore to “Northern Italian furniture”, as had been her “first intention” but, “while favouring this”, to speak also of

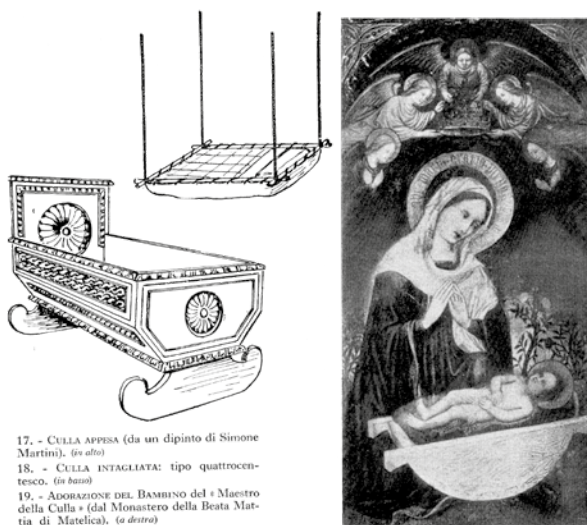


Fig. 39. Illustrations from *Vecchi Mobili Italiani*, published in 1961 by Vallardi.

“the Tuscan variety, alluding also to the Roman and Genoese styles”. She planned therefore to” entitle the book ‘*Il mobile italiano*’. This could assure wider diffusion, perhaps even abroad.” She then added a comment on the iconographic part (“really very laborious [...] because I have to find specimens which are authentic and typical of every style”), without forgetting either the economic or the organising aspects.

After your binding letter I have not received the “little contract” promised.

Seeing that the percentage you give me is very low, at least reserve for me a good number of copies for personal gifts. There are people who have procured illustrations and information for me to whom a book must be sent. [...] In September a meeting must be arranged with your ‘printer’s foreman’ and your photoengraver to determine the dimensions of each cliché and its place in the volume. Many illustrations are to be reduced and some photographs are instead to be enlarged.⁴⁴

Once the book was on the way to publication, the countess found herself having to supervise its lay-out and proofs and insist once more on the illustrative as-

pect (images, “illustrations” and “panels” with relative “captions”), which for her was in no way marginal to the book as planned but instead strictly linked with the text, and she envisaged them both in mutual dialogue.

I believe that before deciding on this it would be useful to see the illustrations and their captions – I have arranged this almost as a ‘book within a book’ – in the sense that whoever gives the book a quick look-over may already understand from the illustrations and the captions the characteristics of the various styles and of the various objects. [...] I have no difficulty about standardising a little more – so long as it does not become monotonous.

The term ‘figure’ may be used for all the photographs, whether in the text or on pages apart from it – and for the illustrations in the text. But the panels illustrated with many figures must remain panels and be so indicated (panel V1) fig.1-2-3 etc

She also insisted on terminological precision (“Knob is the word generally used by craftsmen, carpenters etc- and indicates both a large wood opening and a rounded bronze handle”) and pointed out unwelcome interventions on the text⁴⁵.

Praised by Costantino Baroni (“she provides the public of art lovers with observations collected day by day during a passionate experience envied by many”)⁴⁶, reviewed, among others,⁴⁷ also by Paola della Pergola for the “*Bollettino d’Arte*”⁴⁸, the countess’s 1953 book was, however different from other works on the history of furnishing. Apart from the graphic lay-out (illustrations and abundant captions, “almost a book within a book”), quite new was the ‘practical advice’ offered to those taking their first steps towards this form of art. This innovation sprang from the countess’s own experience and was placed at the readers’ disposal in a special chapter, the first, entitled “The apprenticeship of the amateur”⁴⁹. The didactic intention was evident, and quite absent from other publications of the kind. This was also the aim of the numerous images inserted among the pages depicting drawings of furniture details (“Dentelli” and “Mantovane”, “Baccelliere”, plaits, seedpearls, metal handles, etc.). Others referred to paintings, to help the reader understand the procedures in use in times past (Figg.37,38,39) or were photographs of handiworks accompanied by numerous captions, containing even the measurements of the various parts of the pieces of furniture, extremely useful to those studying these objects.

These were objects well known to the countess, who had had the opportunity of studying them personally. They were mainly owned by people she knew or were “belonging to various members of the Author’s family or were part of her personal collection”, kept in her beloved castle at Monasterolo ⁵⁰, as she said in the fourth edition of her book, “reviewed and amplified”, on which she worked towards the end of 1960, and which came out in 1961.

On the back cover of this edition the author mentioned as being “in preparation *Old Italian Furniture*’ and “*Cose Vecchie in case nuove*”.

No trace of these two publications remains, but they were at least planned and, perhaps, also in part begun by the countess, as emerges from her work notebooks. She had already in mind an English edition at the time her *Vecchi mobili italiani* was first published.

She makes this clear in the draft of a letter addressed to Conte Augusto Premoli (1911-2004), member of a historic family of Crema, at that time in London as Director General of Enit (Ente Nazionale Italiano per il Turismo).

Informing him of the book’s publication (“My little book on old Italian furniture has come out and is being [...] well received”), and referring to an untraced letter of the 4th of December 1952 in which, it would seem, the count had requested an English translation of the work – Winifred wrote “Signor Vallardi and I are considering bringing out an English version, using the same illustrations” adapting it “for English and American readers and I should like to include a few examples of Colonial (American and Canadian) furniture”.⁵¹

Mention was again made of an English edition under way in a letter sent to “Dear Carlo”, whom I believe to have been Carlo Ludovico Ragghianti, the critic and art historian already cited.

Involved are really two drafts of the same letter, probably written in Autumn-Winter 1960 interposed by long captions concerning furniture expressed in English.

In the first the countess introduced herself as the “author of “*Vecchi Mobili italiani*”, “the fourth reprint” of which “book” she was preparing with the publisher Vallardi, mentioning that she wished to add to this edi-

tion new “illustrations particularly from other regions”. On this subject she had been informed by “Prof. Mario Praz” that the recipient of the letter had “some interesting pieces of furniture”, but she wished to make it clear that she would prefer “simple things to Museum pieces”. In the second, addressed to a non-specified person, but most probably to Ragghianti again, the matter was taken up more extensively. She informed him that she was preparing an edition on “*Vecchi mobili*”, in “English – for use by foreigners”.

The book must give as general an overview as possible of the types in use during the 14th to the 20th century- but as I live in Northern Italy, I find it rather difficult to obtain photographs of furniture from other areas.

A person who knows your city has told me about Lucca which has a type of furniture all its own, and that then on the 19th century Elisa Baciocchi had had some Italian furniture in Empire style made by local craftsmen! Both these pieces of information interest us greatly and the same person has advised us to address ourselves to you for further explanations (sic) and perhaps for some photographs, obviously to be paid for by the publisher (Vallardi or Mondadori for which I run a column on antiques).

Perhaps my friend and collaborator- Architect Balestri- will be in Lucca and come and speak to you⁵².

She meditated instead on *Cose Vecchie in case nuove* between 1956 and 1960, even sketching out the themes.⁵³ This volume was intended to be about “antique furniture in modern environments” and “modern furniture”, with an interesting chapter on “adaptations”, i.e., “small furniture for bars, telephones, radios, televisions, record players, shelves”, thereby widening the horizon to include objects of modern life. In this case too, her idea was to draw on her own homes and on those of her family (her daughter Marinella, nephew Carlo and daughter-in-law Giuliana), appealing also to “Spinone” for “rural” pottery, candlesticks.” She therefore prepared a long and precise list: Small-sized furniture [...] for Carlino’s record player”, small-sized furniture in Marinella’s room, in Milan- altar card-bar. telephone stand. Maggiolini bedside tables – altar card footstool. Various candlesticks – fan shaped/ In Crema: pottery. Bar – silver objects, candlesticks – inkstands. Coffee pot. Milk jug. Footstool. Big candelabrum -Giuliana- her chest of drawers open and her dressing table open/ Elsewhere: large mirrors, mirrors, frames – silver objects”⁵⁴.

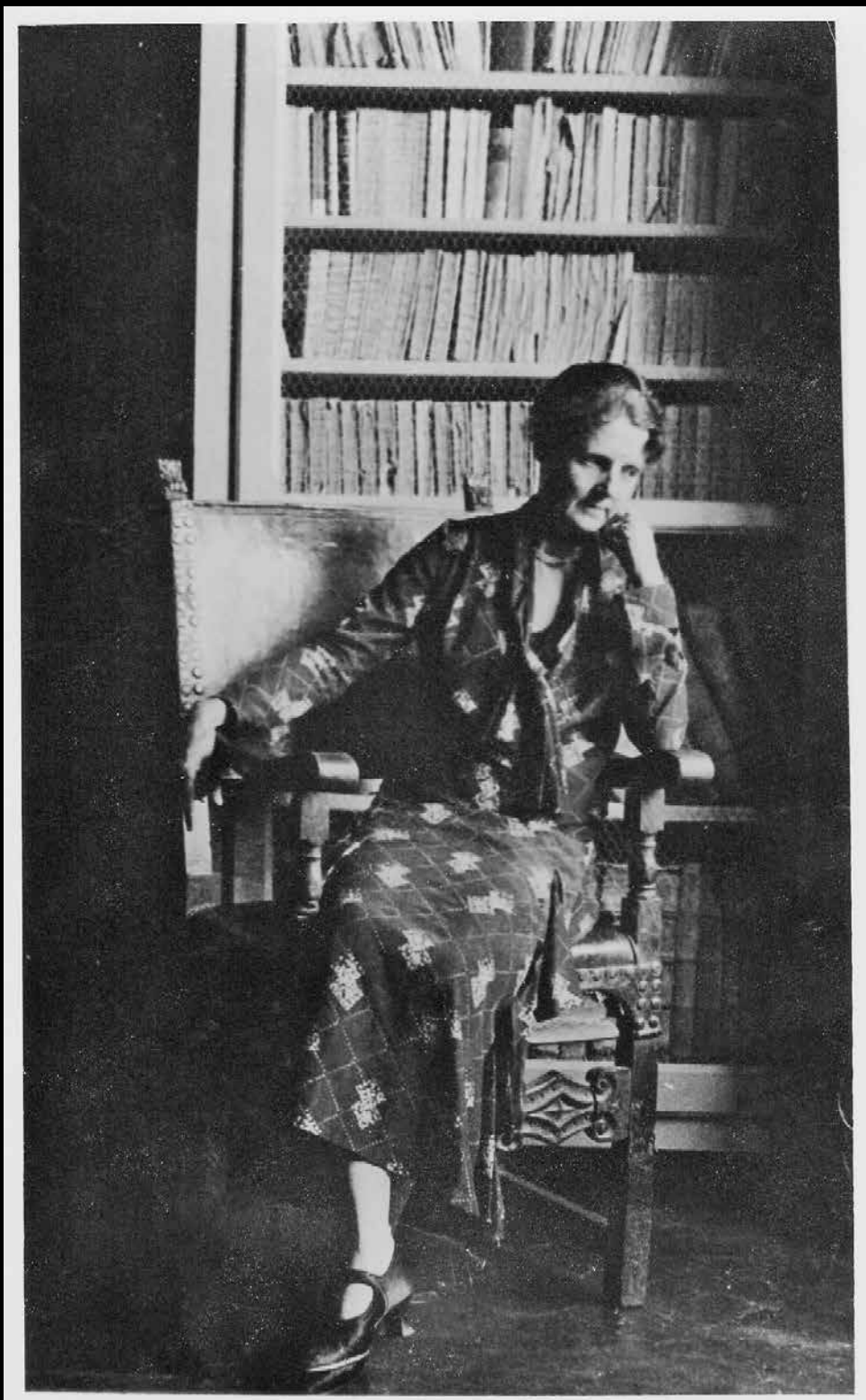


Fig. 40. *Winifred Terni de' Gregory in her library in Crema, 1934, Terni de' Gregory Archive, Crema.*

The countess worked on this project till her last days, developing it as well as her articles for “Arianna”, the new monthly magazine for women published by Mondadori from April 1957, which she had mentioned at the end of the letter draft to the mysterious person from Lucca⁵⁵. She hoped perhaps to unite these articles and so put together the volume *Cose Vecchie in case nuove*, never, however, completed.

For this magazine, aimed at an emancipated and cultured public, Arnoldo Mondadori (1889-1971) entrusted her with the column “Minor Antiques”, devised by the countess herself. The column consisted of a “a short article followed by a correspondence column” with readers, whom she asked to “write clear, possibly short letters”, and, when possible “to also send a good photograph”.

The idea was to discourse at a “level accessible to all” on “furniture and other antique objects of reasonable price”, revealing “the tricks and traps of the falsifiers”, and giving space also to “English pottery and rustic majolica”, as well as to “English and American décor objects.”⁵⁶

She carried out this work while the fourth reprint of *Vecchi mobili italiani* was under way, at the same time preparing lists of illustrations and where to find them both for “Mondadori” and for “Vallardi”⁵⁷

This publishing activity made evident her didactic intent, and her intelligence in suggesting themes, which were always developed with her usual verve and in conversational tones, and with the addition at times of some enjoyable imaginative anecdotes mixed with personal memories.⁵⁸

In the first issue, the author (“Countess W. Terni de’ Gregory”) was introduced to readers as a “noted scholar of history and history of art, passionate about antiquity and antiquarian objects, but also a woman alive to the problems of the modern housewife. The owner, and restorer, of an old Castle in Val Cavallina, and proprietor also of her ancestral palace in Crema”. Due mention is made of her many books, among which *Vecchi Mobili Italiani* and the “various booklets and articles on antique objects (one of which won her the “Connoisseur” prize), published in the most important international magazines.” (Fig. 40)

Having thus assured the quality of the new ‘expert’, the next thing was to make her aims known.

By guiding the “non -expert and the timid who fear ‘daring mixtures’ between the antique and the modern, she will help them to valorise a period piece, finding the right place in the home, and will show to all the way to refine their taste and to learn to distinguish the authentic piece from an imitation, however fine”.

As the column had as its main subject “Italian furniture- the richest of regional types”, it was not, however, aimed only at a female public.

In fact, it was also intended to appeal to the “unpretentious but enthusiastic art lover who enjoys hunting for antique objects”, as well as to

the numerous keen collectors of antique furniture, and (why not?) to those involved for professional reasons, such as art critics, anxious to know the date of the objects reproduced in old paintings, to directors and assistants in museums, film producers, set designers, antiquarians, restorers, and reproducers of artistic furniture⁵⁹

The countess devoted her usual energy to this last activity.

Her notebooks contained rough drafts of replies to the ladies who had asked her opinion about the value of furniture to be published in the magazine⁶⁰. Sometimes she mentioned in them acts of thoughtlessness or inattention on the part of the publisher to her, as the author, or to her activity. She wrote of it as “the best” of its kind, “because the specimens are numerous, varied and authentic, while the columns of other periodicals are illustrated with haphazard stuff, often false.”

After a few issues, and given the success her labours were achieving, she drew up the draft of a long message of remonstrance (“I have to grumble”) to send to Mondadori.

Bowing to commercial pressures, the publisher had “shortened the last article so that on the double page always reserved to her, “ads could also appear”. For this reason, she “had been forced to omit some explanations about chests which were certainly interesting for her readers, as well as a photograph of a certain importance”.

She felt wounded in her “reputation” as an “expert”, which she greatly valued. “Arianna now has quite a lot

of readers, professors or collectors, who write to me and call me the "leading expert on furniture and this reputation is important to me. A problem that had arisen with Vallardi once more presented itself and regarded the captions accompanying illustrations. These for her were not to be considered as mere accessories to the text and could not therefore be eliminated nor indeed in any way be cut. ("in two or three issues, reduce the captions, I seemed to say things not exact, to my great annoyance – it's a question of my reputation! Therefore, in the next articles I shall describe the furniture in the text and shorten the captions to the minimum"). This rough draft, which ended with a note on her health ("I have got over that boring illness but am

slow in regaining strength [...] time is needed [...] I'll be in Crema soon and we'll be able to talk at least on the phone)⁶¹, was followed by a few more disjointed sentences, ("The Giacomini altar is dated 1786/ Miniature Sig.na/ Viale Zara").

Here ended the compilation of the notebook, presumably her last.⁵²

Winifred Terni de' Gregory passed away on 2nd January 1961.

She had managed before this, however, to write another article for "Arianna", *I cinque Luigi re della mobilia* which she dictated over Christmas to her daughter Marinella⁶³.

It was published in the 1961 January issue of "Arianna".

Notes

¹ Cf. Sciolla 1999, pp. 27 et seq.; Terraroli 1999; Bonomelli 2007; Cioffi- Rovetta 2008; Sciolla 2013.

² Regarding Caffi and the art of woodcarving, cf. Caffi 1879; Idem 1888; Casciaro 2013; Ffoulkes- Majocchi 1909, pp. 166-168; for the critical re-evaluation of da Cemmo, cf. Ferrari 1956, pp. 11-23; Serafini 2001; Stofler 2018.

³ Cf. Biscaro 1910; Verga Bandirali 1958; Eadem 1990; Agostino Fonduli created terracotta decorations for San Satiro. Also, cf. Palumbo 1965; Craveri 1968; Botasso 2009.

⁴ Cf. Baroni 1928; Idem 1932; 1934; Idem 1940a; Idem 1940b; On Fonduli, cf. Baroni 1940, p. 245; regarding Baroni in general cf. Arrigoni 1964; Rovetta 2017.

⁵ Cf. Bacci- Ferretti- Fileti Mazza 2009; Rovetta 2003, pp. 101-122; Sciolla 2013.

⁶ For ex. in B. 30, c. 3v: "see Berenson in Dedalo 1924- 25"; A. 14, c. 1: "Extracts from Italian Art by Berenson". For more on Berenson's studies mentioned by the countess in her notebooks, cf. Berenson 1907; Idem 1924- 1925; Idem 1932; Idem 1936. For more on Berenson generally, cf. Samuels 1987; Freeberg 1989; Minardi 2015. Regarding the Erri Family, cf. Benati 1988, pp. 93-109, 135-62.

⁷ Cf. *Burlington of Fine Arts Club* 1898; Kannes 1998; Radaelli 2007; Aiello 2011.

⁸ Cf. Berenson 1907, p. VII; Rubbi 2014 (as the scholar observed on p. 63, note 4: "Malaguzzi, incidentally, was among the few who were conversant with English" in Italy).

⁹ For more on Malaguzzi Valeri, see now Rovetta- Sciolla... 2014; Sciolla 2014.

¹⁰ Often consulted were the following: Malaguzzi Valeri 1902a;

Idem 1902b; Idem 1904; Idem 1905; Idem 1906; Idem 1908; Idem 1913-1923; Idem 1924. In the notebooks, for ex.: B. 14, c. 6 ("Malaguzzi Valeri Emporium 1901"); c. 11 ("see I Solari by Malaguzzi Valeri"); c. 47 (Franc. Malaguzzi Valeri). B. 31, c. 19 ("In the inexhaustible mine of illustrations that is Malaguzzi Valeri's book"). B. 34 ("1908 Catalogue of the Pinacoteca di Brera"). B. 27 ("Pittori Lombardi del Quattrocento"), c. 72v ("Read F. Malaguzzi Valeri, Amadeo and Historical Notes on Crema Art/Art collection 1902, p. 140"). A. 14 ("ASL 1903 on fabrics, tapestry, etc"). B. 5, c. 74 ("ASL 1903, Malaguzzi Valeri Fabrics, tapestries etc the most antique mention of bobbin lace is in the deed of division of Angela and Ippolita Sforza 1493"). B. 30, c. 1 ("la Corte di Lud. Il Moro Vita privata pag. 98").

¹¹ Cf. Therrien 1998, pp. 110-111; Mozzarelli- Olmi 1999; Pertici 2006; Signorini 2005; Lucchini 2016.

¹² Cf. Facchinetti 2005 (in 1917 young Longhi had organised, with Raffaello Giolli, the Mostra dei Giocattoli in the Lyceum Club in Milan. Paolo Bassi, whom I thank with all my heart, kindly informed me on the 20th of December 2014 that there was no trace of the Countess in Longhi's Archive).

¹³ Regarding es., cf. B. 6, cc. 9, 33: "Studies in Venetian History (Brown)"; "Guerre di F. M (da Horatio Brown Studies in Venetian History)". Regarding Molmenti, cf. Pavanetto 2006; Sarti 2011; Nezzo 2014.

¹⁴ Sorbelli 1942.

¹⁵ A. 8, c. 3. On Elisa Ricci, cf. Bellomo 2002; Eadem 2006.

¹⁶ B. 4, c. 100; in B. 27, c. 58 the countess reports that: "The mistakes made by A. Venturi: History of Italian Art, vol. XI 16th Century Architecture- Part III (Hoepli)/ Cremona [...]"

Mantua [...]”. Cf. Springer 1913, pp. 97, 98-100; On Springer, cf. Sciolla 2006, pp. 70, 115; Bellomo 2008; also, cf. Bologna 1972; Terraroli 2000; Sciolla 2003; Idem 2007; Venturelli 2014b; Terraroli 2015. Cf. also the title of the article by Gilda Rosa for one of the volumes of *Storia di Milano* (“*Le arti minori nella seconda metà del XV secolo*”), cf. Rosa 1956.

¹⁷ Quote from Marin 2013, p. 290; in general, cf. Sciolla 2007; Terraroli 2018.

¹⁸ Cf. Brizio 1930; Tomasella 2007.

¹⁹ Venturelli 2014b.

²⁰ Quote from: B. 32, c. 9. The company for the “Commercio e Rappresentanza di Porcellane” was founded in 1901 and was notified in 1911, with headquarters in via Monte di Pietà 9 (cf. Camera di Commercio Milano, Monza Brianza, Lodi, Archivio Ditte, 696, “Soldini G.”). B. 4: “24th April 1935 X111° I found among my papers lost in a book of marks a request from you to know more or less to what epoch could be ascribed a piece of pottery bearing the mark [...] Please excuse the very involuntary delay, and if I can be of any use to you for anything else, contact me as I shall be very happy to serve you [...]”.

²¹ Cf. Venturelli 2015b; on the art of woodcarving, cf. Verga Bandirali 1965; Eadem 1982; Eadem 2015; Venturelli 2016a. For more on terracotta, cf. Barbieri- Bosio 2012; Bosio 2015; Eadem 2016; Verga Bandirali 2016.

²² Cf. Terni de’ Gregory 1949; Eadem 1950; Eadem 1955, pp. 23- 24, 97-99. Regarding the de Marchi and the Fonduli families, cf. Verga Bandirali 1958; Eadem 1965; Eadem 1982; Eadem 1990; Eadem 2015; also, Bandera 1997; Astolfi 2015; Ericani 2015. On Civerchio, cf. Terni de’ Gregory 1964; pp. 45-67 (with cards by M. Verga Bandirali); Marubbi 1986; Cavallini 2015 (with bibliography); on miniaturists, cf. Bonfadini 2015. For the ceiling panels see further on in the text. For the plaquettes by Master IO. F. F. cf. Venturelli 2002.

²³ Terni de’ Gregory 1949; Eadem 1958, pp. 11-12; also, cf. Bensi 2016; Bosio 2016; Ferrari 2016; Verga Bandirali 2016; in general, Loi- Patetta 2005; for the works in terracotta donated by the countess to the Museo di Crema, cf. Bosio 2016, pp. 49- 50.

²⁴ B.14, c.32r; B.27, c.52. Cf. Gruner 1867, pages 37-39, 41; Strack 1910; Ferrari 1925; idem 1928; cf. also Cambiè 1913; Verga 1956; Castelnuovo 1996.

²⁵ cf Pavoni 1992; Eadem 2000; Sciolla 2007.

²⁶ cf Cosseta.

²⁷ A. 17; B. 16; B. 20, c 29; B 21. Cf Tea 1922; Eadem 1950, Melzi 1971. On the foreign front there had been von Bode 1903; Schubring 1915.

²⁸ D’Ancona 1921; Mezzanotte 1923. Cf. Giubilei- Terraroli 2013; Terraroli 2017.

²⁹ For ex., cf. A. 14, c. 34 (“on Maggiolini ‘Gli intarsi’/ v. il Marangoni in Boll. Della Città di Milano III 1918 pag. 53-56”). A. 17, c. 9 (“G. Morazzoni Il Mobile Neoclassico italiano Görlich Milano 1955”); c. 25 (“da La casa della vita Mario Praz”). Marangoni 1928; Idem 1937-1938; Idem 1952. Rava 1937; Idem 1946; Idem 1947a; Idem 1947b; Idem 1950; also Mannelli 1946; Pignatti 1951. Regarding Mario Praz, cf. Cattaneo 2003; D’Amico 2016.

³⁰ B. 32, c.2.

³¹ Cf. Borgioli 2010, p. 299.

³² Venturelli 2016a.

³³ In the “Coretto”, cf. Summer 1991, pp. 23-24. For the diptych, cf. M. Tanzi, in Bandera- Tanzi 2013, card 12, p. 88; for this portrait of Bianca Maria Visconti Sforza, cf. Venturelli 1995; for Antonio Della Corna, cf. Tanzi 1988. Also, cf. Venturelli, in course of publication.

³⁴ Cf. *La casa italiana* 1948, pp. 27-28; 41, 43-44, 61-62; Terni de’ Gregory 1961, p. 177: “Many people, even among those considered of superior culture, on finding in their home an inlaid piece of furniture, declare with evident satisfaction possession of “a Maggiolino” (almost as if it were a beetle) [...] Let’s try to clear our ideas [...]”.

³⁵ Costantino Baroni’s collaboration at the Castello Sforzesco dated from 1935; he curated the new exhibition but died prematurely in 1956 on the eve of its inauguration. Cf. Collobi Ragghianti 1948; his comment was reprinted in Longhi 1989, p. 66.

³⁶ For the exhibition, cf. Collobi Ragghianti 1951. B. 2, letter dated 4th August 1951, signed by Luigi Angelini: “[...] P.S evidently the installers (Gardella and Ragghianti did not know where to place your curious little rustic chair (perhaps because of its size?) if it did not find place at the Triennale Exhibition. I am sorry above all for the bother sending it involved. Here he quotes Ignazio Gardella, about whom cf. Monestiroli 2009.

³⁷ Cf. further on in the text: *Principali Scritti d’argomento storico artistico* (Terni de’ Gregory 1948; Eadem 1949); refer to Venturelli 2016a; Eadem in course of publication. Gilda Rosa acknowledged the debt owed to Terni de’ Gregory, in Rosa 1956, p. 849, note 2; Eadem 1963, p. 9 Italian furniture has to date had few specialists making it the object of their studies. [...]. Only C.E. Rava and W. Terni de’ Gregory have tried to give it a wider panorama [...].

³⁸ B. 17, cc. 5r-5v.

³⁹ B. 22, c. 16r: the recipient’s name, written after “C. Dott.”, is illegible. In 1929 Valentino Bompiani (1898- 1992) founded his publishing house in Milan, with headquarters in via Durini 24, cf. Braidà 2003. For an overview of the Milanese publishers in the second half of the twentieth century, cf. Carrarini 2003.

⁴⁰ B. 21. Founder of Vallardi was Francesco Cesare Vallardi

(1736-1799), from an old family of Milanese book publishers and printers, cf. Benedetti 2016 (with bibliography).

⁴¹ Cf. draft of the letter written by Terni de' Gregory: "Dear. Dott. Vallardi, /when we met in Milan and reached a preliminary agreement on the book on antique furniture currently underway, you told me to get in touch with the illustrator and photographer, and let you know how much the illustrations and drawings would cost" - about 140-150 thousand lire - "Once I had this information, I was supposed to come to Milan to put the final arrangements into writing."; the publisher, however in the meantime decided to leave for America and not return until the end of July. "This is a major setback, as the Professor was counting on doing the drawings while on holiday, and I was hoping to hand everything in either in September or October - and as I had promised to give my collaborators a definitive answer by the end of June [...]" (B. 22, cc. 5r, 9r-16r; B. 12). The driving force of "Documenti d'Architettura", collaborator of the architect Antonio Cassi Ramelli (cf. Susani 2005), Adriana Balestri edited through Vallardi *Negozi* (1955; 1957) and in 1958 *Chiese. Documenti di architettura. Composizione e Tecnica Moderna*, prefaced by A. Cassi Ramelli.

⁴² B. 17, cc. 4, 5r.

⁴³ B. 31, c. 62r.

⁴⁴ The previous quotes from: B. 17, cc. 19r-v.

⁴⁵ "[...] I would like to point out that the correction made on page regarding the 'writing desks' alters the meaning of the sentence, thus creating an error - this would not have happened had the proof-reader been able to see the illustrations - there is a drawing of the two-piece wardrobe in the Panel of the wardrobes and a drawing of the 'writing desk' that needs to be put in the text" (B. 17, c. 29r).

⁴⁶ Bonomi 1962, pp. 161-162.

⁴⁷ As may be seen from the draft of a letter addressed to the already mentioned Giovanni Cenato: "A book of mine on 'Vecchi Mobili Italiani' (edited by A. Vallardi) is due out in the next few weeks. It is a (I hope) pleasant chat with some historical-chronological clarifications which may interest and amuse those people who either have old furniture at home or collect it [...]. This type of book is quite popular in England but did not yet exist in Italy. I naturally hope in a review in the *Corriere* and our common friend Aless. V." (i.e. Alessandro Visconti) "who will write a review for another magazine, suggested I get in touch with you." (B. 23, c. 51r).

⁴⁸ B16, typed sheet signed "P.D. P."; "Bollettino d'Arte" / Review: W Terni de' Gregory, *Vecchi Mobili Italiani*. Antonio Vallardi editor, Milan 1953/ The study on the minor arts is as always neglected in Italy, and it is a real shame, because few countries like ours can boast of so many creative presences in this sector of art. To be appreciated the more, therefore, is the

book which the Countess de' Gregory had dedicated to Italian furniture, starting from an enviable curiosity as a collector and arriving at tracing a picture, synthetic but precise and truly interesting, of the styles and results of craftsmen from the 14th to the 20th century [...] a particular sense of taste which comes to the Author from familiarity in the home with so much of the beautiful material illustrated. Countess de Gregory intends to continue and widen her study with a chapter dedicated to Roman furniture, and it will without doubt be another intelligent excursus into this field so little tilled".

⁴⁹ "A knowledge, even a superficial one, of antique things is not quickly acquired. [...] Reading the various books on how to recognise styles is useful, but it is not enough, as I learned to my cost when, armed with much theoretical erudition, I attempted for the first time the 'hunt for antiquities' [...]. To become connoisseurs one must see, purchase and keep at home many objects [...] Antique furniture always possesses a certain individuality [...] it tells many stories [...], whoever wants to commit to it with a certain competence must be armed with patience, and accept philosophically some unavoidable disappointments and delusions [...]. Dates are difficult to specify and the question of the relations between epoch and style lays many traps even to the most seasoned of connoisseurs. A specialist, manager of the 'Art in wood' sector in an important London museum, spoke to me recently of the lack of prudence of those who, without any documentation whatsoever, assign a fixed date to a piece of furniture. Very few are the objects we can date with a certain security, and it causes real dismay to see in museums furniture attributed to the 15th century merely because created in that 'international Gothic' style which in certain places continued up to 1600". (Terni de' Gregory, ed. 1961, pp. 11-16, to pp. 14, 15).

⁵⁰ Terni de' Gregory, 1960 edition, p. 212 (in the long list of owners figure: "Barone Bagatti Valsecchi", "Contessa Giulia Maria Premoli", Paolo Stramezzi, Elisa Stramezzi Paltrinieri, Corrado Verga, "Conte Gaddo Vimercati Sanseverino").

⁵¹ B. 23, c. 47v. On Premoli, cf. Spret 1928-1932, V, pages 501-502; Barrese 2020.

⁵² This second draft seemed to proceed in another point of the notebook: "then I may say that my book on Lombard Artisan Painting has been published by the Cassa di Risparmio. It is one of their Gifts, but it will also go on the market (Publisher Antonio Vallardi) because it contains a lot of unpublished material /In the meantime I'm seeing to the fourth reprint of my book "Vecchi mobili italiani" because the third edition is sold out, and at the same time the fifth (in English) will also be printed [...] and I have a column about antiques .. in Mondadori's magazine "Arianna" (having suffered a very bad flu I am and will remain for months shut up at home)" (B 32, cc. 62v- 63v).

⁵³ Cf. A. 16; A. 18, c. 78v (*“Cose vecchie in case nuove/ Pre-ambolo/ Mobili/ Cornici- specchiere/ Quadri e stampe/ Sopramobili”*); B. 31; B. 32, cc. 49r-50v.

⁵⁴ B. 31.

⁵⁵ Cf. B. 32; for the following, refer to Venturelli 2016a. From April 1973 on it becomes “Cosmopolitan Arianna”; from 1975 it changes again to “Cosmopolitan”.

⁵⁶ A. 17: *“COLUMN ON ANTIQUES* (level accessible to all). A short article followed by a correspondence column. / *Subjects/ “MINOR ANTIQUES/ i.e. furniture and other antique objects of reasonable price. The “fashion” for certain types. Prices. Where to find them. / ANTIQUES TO MEASURE”, i.e. how “pieces” authentic but too big are cut down for modern houses. Reduction by division (division of a big piece of furniture into two smaller ones) that is, a simple “slimming diet” (to reduce by some centimetres the height, width and depth of the piece). / THE ADVENTURES OF A “HUNTER” of antiques – that is the tricks and traps of fakers. The factories of imitation furniture. / THE PROMOTION OF THE CHEST OF DRAWERS which, from being a bedroom piece, has become a piece for the sitting room. The various types of chest of drawers, their epoch, prices. / THE BLUE WILLOW- the origin of trade-marked English pottery. The legend of the “Willow”: the inventor of the proceeding. The famous designs, the 19th century Italian imitations. / RUSTIC POTTERY- i.e. the collections of pottery, picturesque but costing little. The collections of holy -water fonts, etc./ ENGLISH AND AMERICAN DÉCOR, i.e. the current “fashion” for English and, consequently, for American models. / The types preferred. / THE FASHION OF THE 19TH CENTURY – The furniture of this period is in vogue. The preferred style is the Post-Empire i.e. “Luigi Philip”. “Agreements to be defined / Photographs”*). On women’s magazines in post-war Italy, cf. Carrarini 2013.

⁵⁷ A. 18, cc. 81r-82v; cc. 23r-24r, 61r: *“Measurements of the tables”, “Paoletti plates for Mondadori / (“Arianna”)*, furniture *“to be photographed for ‘Arianna’”. “For Vallardi/ Altar Cards/ Torch holders/ Plates”; Vallardi/ Ill. for the 4th edition Vecchi Mob”; four payments for negatives running from the 16th of December 1958 to the 20th of July 1959 (“N. B The price of every negative with 2 copies 13x18 is L. 1.500, all following cop. cost 250 lire each.”); “3 Arianna/ 8 Vallardi/ Amministrazione Rivista ‘Arianna’/ Casa Editrice Mondadori/ Via Bianca di Savoia 20/ Milano”; list of objects to have photo-*

graphed “for Vallardi” or “for Mondadori (Arianna)”.

⁵⁸ B. 32, cc. 69r-69v: *“Il Bar”* (appeared in the 1960 June issue): *“Whenever I spent an evening at my Aunt Carolina’s, who loved being surrounded by nephews and nieces and friends, the refreshment was always almost Franciscan in its simplicity, and this despite it being a wealthy house and my Aunt a very generous host / At nine o’clock Battista, in striped waistcoat and white gloves, helped by Paolina, wearing a white apron, would hand round cups of a pale infusion which my aunt called tea and large plates with ‘spumiglie’ (type of biscuits) and sweets from Novara [...]”*.

⁵⁹ B. 32, c. 19. Cf. also Bonomi 1962, pages 163-165; and A. 18.

⁶⁰ B. 31, cc. 19r-v; B. 32, cc. 25r-26r.

⁶¹ She also alluded to her health problems in the draft of a letter for the Lyceum’s *“Bollettino”*, presumably again written in 1960: *“[...] I see in the Bulletin that the members are invited to give an account of their artistic or literary activities, or other information. [...] Then I may say that my book on Lombard Artisan Painting has been published by the Cassa di Risparmio. (..) In the meantime I’m seeing to the fourth reprint of my book “Old Italian Furniture” because the third edition is sold out and at the same time the fifth (in English) will be in print (As if that were not enough to keep me busy, I am looking after the second edition of my little artistic guide to Crema and have a column on antiques in Mondadori’s magazine “Arianna”). / I really have no time to be bored. [...] having suffered a very bad flu I am, and will remain for months, shut up at home/I take the opportunity to send greetings and best wishes to you and to all Lyceum friends”* (B. 32, c. 62r-v). As recounted by Giovanni Bonomi, while in Monasterolo in September 1960, the countess fell and fractured her humerus, remaining bedridden (Bonomi 1962, p. 38).

⁶² B. 32, cc. 81r-82r (she had also written: *“I must tell you that I believe it necessary, indeed inevitable, to organise a sort of “exchange office” because at least half of those who write to me want to sell or buy some object [...], the readers want to know the value of the object offered and ask where and how to have it restored etc etc. ... this...has led to quite a heavy load of work because I have had to examine the photographs, judge the objects, write the answers and send them to the Secretarial staff in Milan for re-copying [...].”*

⁶³ B. 32, cc. 66r-68v). Cf. also Bonomi 1962, p. 38.



Lombard Workshop, Ceiling panel showing an *Illustrious Man*, c. 1500, part of the series formerly in Benzoni Palace, now in a Private Collection.

II. 1958. *Pittura artigiana lombarda del Rinascimento* – Themes, works and results

Origin

On the “31st December” 1958, the publisher Antonio Vallardi finished printing *Pittura artigiana lombarda del Rinascimento*, edited by the Cassa di Risparmio delle Province Lombarde.

The book contained one hundred and eighty-nine pages, with 101 illustrations and 29 plates, besides graphics and “illustrations” by the architect Adriana Balcastri. The “Presentation” was by Girolamo dell’Amore (1902-1981), President of the Cassa di Risparmio, and the “introduction” by Edoardo Arslan¹.

To be exact, the title does not immediately reveal the book’s contents, nor permit understanding of the well-constructed complexity of its chapters. On perusing further, however, and observing the illustrations- always of such great importance to the countess- in their given sequence, the key to the work becomes clear.

Within the Lombardy framework, and with specific reference to Cremona and Crema, works of various kinds parade before our eyes: paintings, plastic arts, wooden furnishing objects (altarpieces, chests, furniture), tarot cards. All exemplary products of that choral craftsmanship clearly to be seen as the centre of these densely packed pages, focused on the Fodri residence in Cremona with its friezes and medallions in terracotta and its ceilings decorated with a myriad of painted metopes.

There can be no doubt that ceiling panels constitute the main theme of this book.

The author spread images of them throughout the whole book and began it by showing a panel with the effigy of Francesco Sforza from the Palazzo Fodri ceiling (Fig.41) and ending, almost as if to seal it, with a

coloured illustration reproducing another panel from this aristocratic late 15th century residence, depicting a “*A Lady wearing a hat tied under the chin*” (Fig.42). Unusual headgear and not datable! Panel (retouched) from the ‘second ceiling’ of Palazzo Fodri (visible also in the ‘first’ ceiling)”. A long caption, which highlighted another of the book’s themes – the history of costume as an instrument of research.

This volume gave body to an idea already clearly worked out in the countess’s mind around 1954, when she thought about a “publication” centred on Lombard “15th and 16th century painting” and “painted ceiling panels”. She had been devoting attention to this artistic form at least since 1946, as has already been seen through her correspondence with Fernanda Wittgens concerning the works acquired for the Museo Poldi Pezzoli².

She alluded to the plan for this book, in fact, in a letter written to Fausto Lechi on the 12th of August 1954: a mutual friend tells me that you asked about what I was doing – and whether I was still interested in “ceiling panels”. The answer is yes – indeed “very”- because I am gathering material and preparing a publication. I’ve had some photographs arrive even from England and America.

In the meantime, the countess examined documents in Crema which showed in real terms the world of local artists and of craftsmen’s ateliers, research made evident in her volume *Crema monumentale e artistica*, published in 1955. This work also drew attention to some of “those beautiful and interesting panels with portraits and coats of arms for the magnificent ceilings (..) once so numerous in Crema”.

This rich harvest of gathered data brought to light the

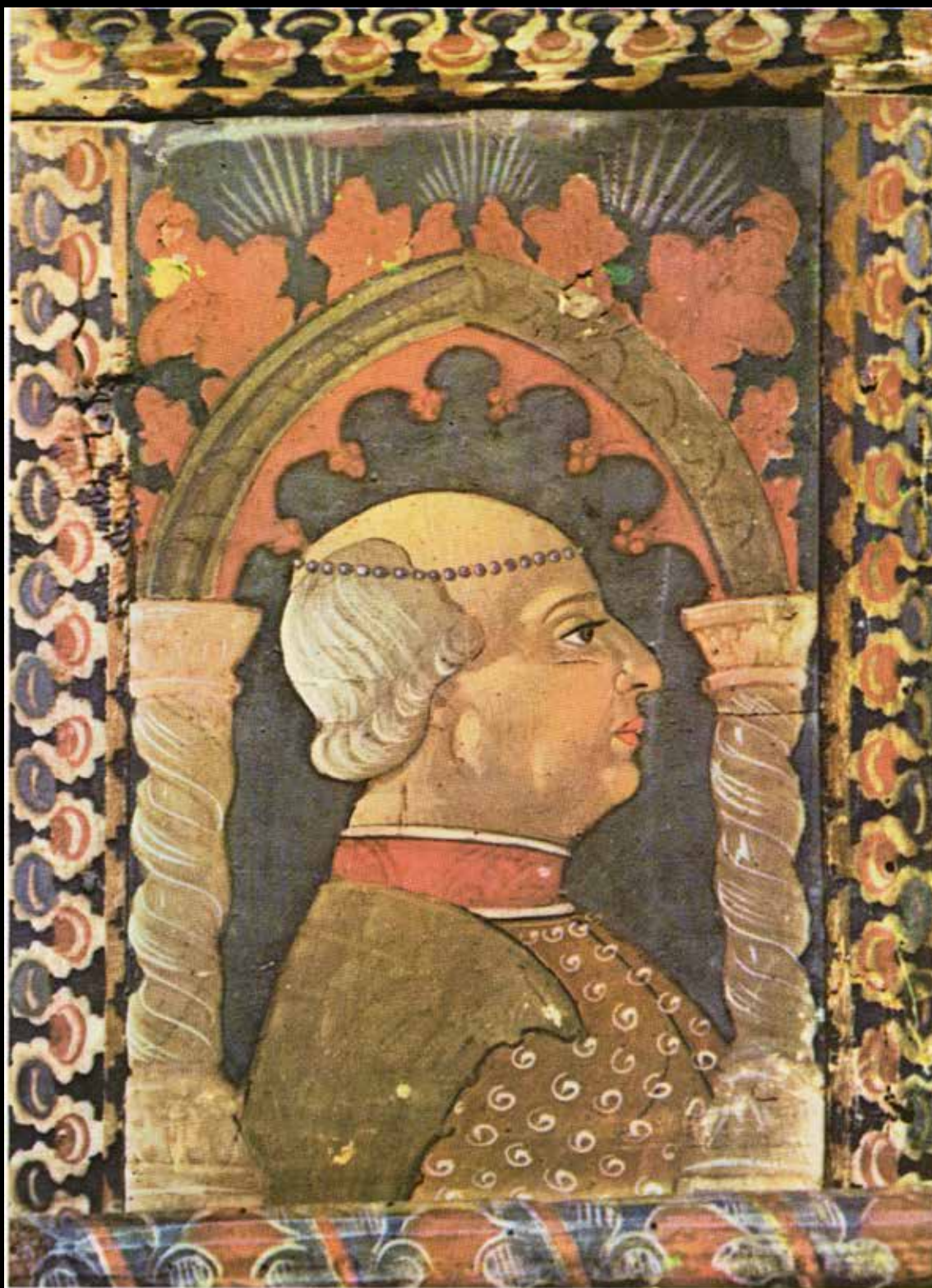


Fig. 41. Crema Workshop, *Ceiling Panel showing a Man*, Fodri Palace, Cremona, “first ceiling”.

vivacity of the artistic scene in Crema, marked between the XV and the XVI centuries, as already noted, by the dynasties of the de Marchi - architects, plasticizers, master woodworkers, when the noted Agostino operated alongside his sons for the prestigious worksite of San Petronio in Bologna, and Pantaleone was inlayer at the Certosa in Pavia (Fig.43); by that also of the Fonduli or those of the painters De Blanco and Cadelupi Bombelli, the latter an *atelier* in which Vincenzo Civerchi may have developed his skills. Again through the examination of documents, the countess recovered information on the coffered ceiling of Palazzo Pretorio (currently the Town Hall), created in 1943 by a team of masters, artists in woodwork, painters and carpenters.³

In 1955 preparations were being made in Milan for the exhibition *Arte Lombarda dai Visconti agli Sforza*, installed in the Spring of 1958 in Palazzo Reale thanks to the generous contribution of the Cassa di Risparmio delle Province Lombarde and of its President, Giordano dell'Amore. Its opening was announced in the first of the 1955 issues of the magazine "Arte Lombarda" by its director, Paolo D'Ancona.⁴ Before this, there had been the 1923 Milanese exhibition (*Prima mostra degli antichi pittori Lombardi*), organised by the Circolo d'Arte e d'Alta Cultura in Palazzo Pinetti⁵. The 1958 exhibition confirmed a growing attention to this region's art, a characteristic of the years after the end of the second world war, marked at exhibition level by the already mentioned show *Kunstschätze der Lombardei .1500 vor Christus /1800 nach Christus*, held between 1948 and 1949 in Zurich on the initiative of Fernanda Wittgens. Having completed *Crema monumentale e artistica*, the countess began work on *Come vidi la Cina (bambina in Cina)*, published in 1956, which offered a fascinating autobiographical account of her stay in China between 1882 and 1889 with her parents, Francis Edward Taylor and Elisabeth Theresa Mary Walcot⁶.

The idea of writing *Pittura artigiana lombarda del Rinascimento* and that of preparing this book had matured side by side. Or at least so it would seem, given the appearance in one of her notebooks of disconnected notes which maintained on paper the rapid flow of her thoughts as a scholar, and revealed three projects for books in quick, filmic sequences.



Fig. 42. Cremona Workshop, Ceiling panel showing a Lady, Fodri Palace, Cremona, "second ceiling".

In her usual neat and precise hand, after having written "Italian ceilings" (crossed out) and "Aspects of the Orient" 80 large sized pages, "Modern China/1 The little girl in Peking/11 the fiancée of Shanghai" (i.e. almost the chapters of the book which came out in 1956), she continued with "*Le terrecotte italiane: Gli artigiani-pittori di Crema*", crossing out with a stroke of her pencil the word "Crema" and putting in "Lombardi" instead. Turning over to a new page, Winifred continued by writing a few lines on the terrecotte from Palazzo Fodri ("There exists the temptation to attribute all the terracotta pieces of the palace to Rinaldo de Stavolis because he had business relations and perhaps family ties with Benedetto- the son of a de Stavolis [...]"). These lines were interrupted, and another page was turned. On the new page she wrote some phrases – "ceilings S. Agost."; "Space in chapter V for a



Fig. 43. Agostino de Marchi, *Drawing of a stall*, 1467, Archive of the Cathedral of San Petronio, Bologna.

Ceil. Pavia”; “Presentation” Foreword” “Text with illustr” / Notes (about page 5/illustrations 5 pages/ Comment on the Panels (about 5)”. Here she stopped and again turned page, writing “Old things in new homes’/the taste for variety, the search for the unusual, evasion from the present./ Contemporary furniture – break the tension- transports the mind to a more serene place”, at the end of these notes therefore outlining the contents of the book announced in the fourth edition of *Vecchi mobili italiani*, but never completed.⁷

The countess, moreover, had already for some time had another book under way, to which she attributed great importance– a” historic-biographic” monograph on Vincenzo Civerchio and “the cultural and artistic environment in Lombardy during the second half of the 15th century” which she wished to bring out at the

same time as the exhibition at Palazzo Reale⁸ (Fig 44). To this dynamic and fluid plan of activity must be added her meeting in Milan with some publishers, or more presumably, with someone from the ‘Commissione di Studi della Cassa di Risparmio’, not better identifiable.

In a fragmentary letter draft, devoid of addressee or date, when citing the “book on the Saronno frescoes” I.e., ‘*Gli affreschi del santuario di Saronno*’, published in 1955⁹ by the Cassa di Risparmio delle Province Lombarde, the countess wrote in fact:

I have the impression that the book on the artisan workshops of the painters etc, which I am preparing, might perhaps be too complex and, in a certain sense, too important to use as a gift. On the other hand, I believe it very opportune to describe and illustrate Lombard lacunar ceilings, extremely important as heraldic, iconographic and costume documents- and which to date have never been studied. One work would be suitable for a gift (..) i.e., a study on Palazzo Fodri- with its terracotta objects, frescoes and wonderful ceilings I shall return soon to Milan and take along the graphic documentation already collected.¹⁰ (Fig. 45).

This is practically the index for the volume *Pittura artigiana del Rinascimento*.

The planned trip to Milan mentioned in the draft must really have taken place and the project have interested her interlocuter. With that common sense and sense of timing which always characterised her, she herself told of this outcome to a dear friend, very probably Fernanda Wittgens, asking for help.

Dearest

I have urgent need of your help.

At the Cassa di Risparmio they have been studying for some time the idea of publishing a luxurious and amply illustrated edition of my work on Lombard ceilings.

In question are those 15th and 16th century ceilings with coats of arms and portraits- extremely interesting and unpublished. I have managed to collect [...] fresh Information, some of it very important for the history of Lombard art. The information is technical, historical, genealogical, heraldic [...] Only the Cassa (which has already published various books of the kind) is in a condition to do this as it should be done. Naturally I wish that all this material of such interest for scholars and above all for the Lombards not be lost and only the Cassa is able to have it published in a satisfactory manner. I’d like a word of encouragement from you. Dell’Amore – I know he is seriously thinking about this and is favourable. But a word that would ‘tip the balance’ would be very precious! Don’t speak to him about me, but about the beauty and importance of these unknown branches of Lombard art!¹¹



Fig. 44 Vincenzo Civerchio, *The polyptych with Saint Sebastian*, 1519, Cathedral, Crema.

Whether others were involved or not, the project met with success, as the countess enthusiastically announced to Fausto Lechi on 15th January 1958 – “My book, which will speak a lot on pannelled ceilings, will be published by the Cassa Risparmio of Milan and should come out in April for the inauguration of the exhibition on Lombard Art”. Thinking it impossible to reach “Brescia before the book goes to press” but hoping that “among the many specimens shown” might “figure a fine photograph of a Brescia panel” as there were already “very beautiful specimens from Mantua, Lodi, Crema and above all Cremona – and some other places” and asking the count for a fine specimen from the ceilings of his city. She wrote again to her “Colleague” five days later, confirming her interest in having some works from Brescia in her book,

a “pioneer work (which) could awaken the interest of scholars” in ceiling metopes.¹² Winifred again put pen to paper on the 8th of February, this time thanking the count for the “photographs, very interesting, which have arrived”, probably referring to the two panels bearing Brescia “portraits”, datable through the costumes between 1460 and 1470, visible in plate XXI of her book. Winifred also asked him for information on the Bona family, owners of a palazzo in Brescia (the *Casa di Dio*) (Fig.46), where there were other panels she wanted for her book. These, being stylistically linked to the decorative panels in the *Casa Canonica di San Lorenzo* in Brescia, had been cited by Maria Luisa Ferrari, who considered them the fruit of a local atelier influenced by the works of Da Cemmo¹³. Unfortunately, in contrast to the countess’s wishes, publication of her book was delayed.



Fig. 45. Cremona Workshop, *Ceiling panel showing a Lady*, Fodri Palace, Cremona, “first ceiling”.



Fig. 46. Brescia Workshop, *Ceiling in Bona (Averoldi) Palace*, end of XV century – beginning of XVI century, Fondazione Bresciana di Iniziative Sociali (Casa di Dio), Brescia.

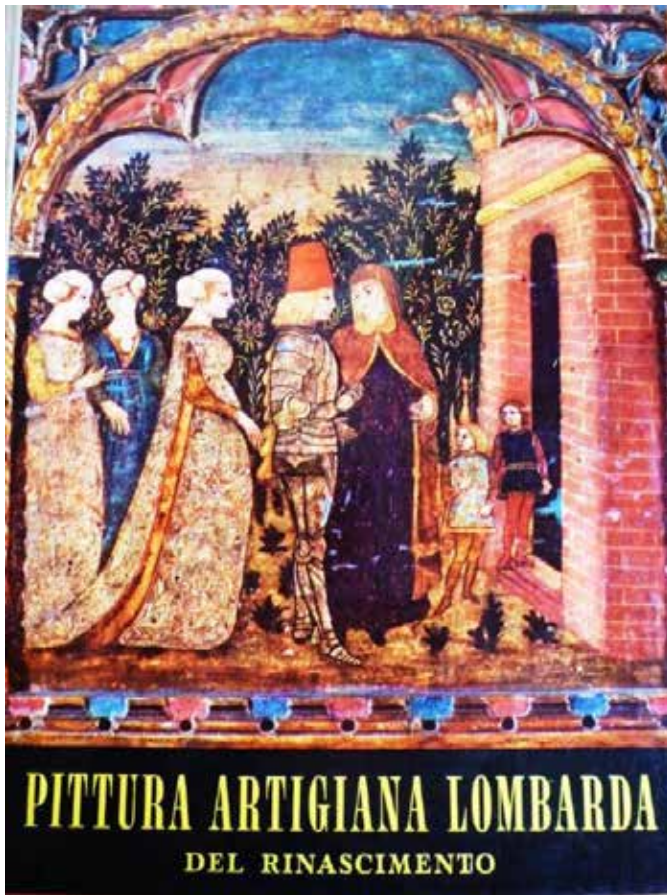


Fig. 47. Cover of the 1958 edition of *Pittura artigiana lombarda del rinascimento*.

The cause was the exhibition in Milan of *Arte Lombarda dai Visconti agli Sforza*, several scholars contributing to its installation and catalogue – Gian Alberto Dell’Acqua, Gianguido Belloni, Renata Cipriani, Maria Luisa Ferrari, Roberto Longhi, Franco Mazzini, Franco Russoli.

The countess herself wrote this in one of her notebooks, committing her annoyance to its friendly pages.

The book on ‘Pittura artigiana lombarda del Rinascimento’ is ready.

It would have been ready for the opening of the Exhibition – but the Heads of the Ufficio Studi got the notion it would be a good idea to wait and see if there might be some object shown at the Exhibition that it would be opportune to include in the Illustrations.

In fact, we have now added some photographs of objects exhibited and some small touches to the text.¹⁴

Among the works shown at Palazzo Reale was the chest previously in the Parisian Bacri collection, “indicated

to the exhibition” da Longhi, who attributed it to Bonifacio Bembo.

This work was chosen for the cover of *Pittura artigiana lombarda del Rinascimento* and shown also among the inside pictures, attribution, however, being omitted in the caption. Among the photographs added, and always duly assigned, (“Shown at the Exhibition of Lombard Art, Milan 1958”), was also that of the *Cassone delle Torri*, preserved in the Castello Sforzesco in Milan, an inlaid work a little out of place among the other pieces, all united under the theme ‘painting’¹⁵. It is notable, at any rate, that none of the objects in the Palazzo Reale contributed in any significant way to the book as already prepared by the countess, which, moreover, also contained works chosen for the Milanese exhibition. The *Cassone delle Sette Virtù*, for example, from the Bagatti Valsecchi collection in Milan, shown in the Hague in 1956 at the exhibition of decorative arts ‘Splendid Italy’, which appeared in Winifred’s book without mention of its presence at the Milanese show.¹⁶

In November, four months after the Palazzo Reale exhibition had closed, the countess’s book was still not ready.¹⁷

The reasons are unknown but were certainly not to be attributed to the very punctual author. Be that as it may, it was not until 10th December that Edoardo Arslan sent her the “foreword” (asking her to “check the proofs”) along with certain specifications regarding the text, which the countess had evidently sent him. Arslan’s observations were duly inserted by her in various places in the book and she was grateful to the professor for his “fine and too flattering foreword”, requesting him, however, to eliminate the “compliments as I should not like them to seem suggested.”¹⁸

She also wrote, of course, to Giordano Dell’Amore, thanking him “for the wonderful presentation of my book on Artisan Painting”, also expressing her pleasure “for the beautiful typographical form given to her work” and declaring herself “very happy to have been able to give this contribution, however small, to the history of Lombard art” to honour the “memory of dear Fernanda Wittgens”¹⁹.

There were further delays in the distribution, again not

to be laid at the countess's door, and she had to wait till 1959 for them to be overcome, as is seen from the draft of the letter sent to "Ma C", i.e., Maria José di Savoia, the "Dearest Majesty" intended.

Finally I have been able to send you the book I had promised you for Christmas!

The delay stems from the fact that the President of the Cassa di Risparmio, who wanted to make the presentation himself, was away and returned to Milan only at the end of December, with the result that the book could not be distributed as the 1958 gift [...] Two thousand will become gifts – and the other two thousand will be put on the market so that they may be accessible to scholars, who will find there much fresh information²⁰.

Already in proof form in the possession of Angiola Maria Romanini (1926-2002), a student of Arslan's in Pavia who, in her 1959 article for "Arte Lombarda", mentioned the countess's work on the ceiling panels of the Ospedale di San Matteo in Pavia, - one of which shown in colour in *Pittura Artigiana Lombarda*²¹ (Fig.48)- the published volume attracted the attention of Carlo Enrico Rava.

On the 12th of July 1960, in fact, the architect, a native of Como, wrote to her:

A few months ago, I bought your very fine book (...) and read it with the greatest interest, not only because it truly fills a void in this field but also, and especially, because I am myself a keen collector of antique art and possess various Lombard ceiling panels from the 15th century. Thus, a comparison with some of the *really splendid* reproductions which enrich your book, representing extremely precious material for study, largely unpublished, has permitted me, for example, to confirm my conviction that a panel showing a young man within an ogive of 'flamboyant' gothic style belongs to the narrow circle of the Bembo family²².

Carlo Enrico Rava was referring here to the metope in his collection showing a male portrait, part of a series published in 1957 by Franco Voltini, visible today in the Museo Berenziano of the Seminario Vescovile di Cremona, but originally situated in the Monastero della "Colomba" (Fig.49). The metope, with others, was discussed by Lionello Puppi in his 1962 article per "Arte Lombarda" which mentioned the "precious book by the late, lamented Terni d' Gregory"²³. The book "on the wooden ceilings with painted panels so frequent during the XV century in our eastern Lombardy" was later "useful" for Count Lechi's publications on Brescia residences, which contained many decorated ceilings of this kind, becom-



Fig. 48. Lombard Workshop, *Ceiling panel showing an Angel*, Pavia, ex Ospedale di San Matteo, now Università degli Studi di Pavia, Pavia.

ing an essential reference point for all scholars who devote their studies to this theme²⁴.

Framework. Themes and new ideas

In his "Introduction", Edoardo Arslan caught in its entirety the complexity of research and the many innovations to be found in the book.

He went straight to the heart of the work – the "development" and "clarification" of the "concept of the choral quality of Lombard art." "An opportunity not only" for giving "important information on the practice, characteristics and terminology of the minor arts" but, above all, for her "extremely informed treatise on 15th century Lombard ceiling panels", of which the author "(in pages that cannot be ignored) tells the accurate story, offering precious information on their use, possible authors and enormous diffusion".



Fig. 49. Cremona Workshop, *Ceiling panel showing a Lady from the 'della Colomba' cycle*, Colomba Monastery, Musei Civici Galleria Parmeggiani, Reggio Emilia.

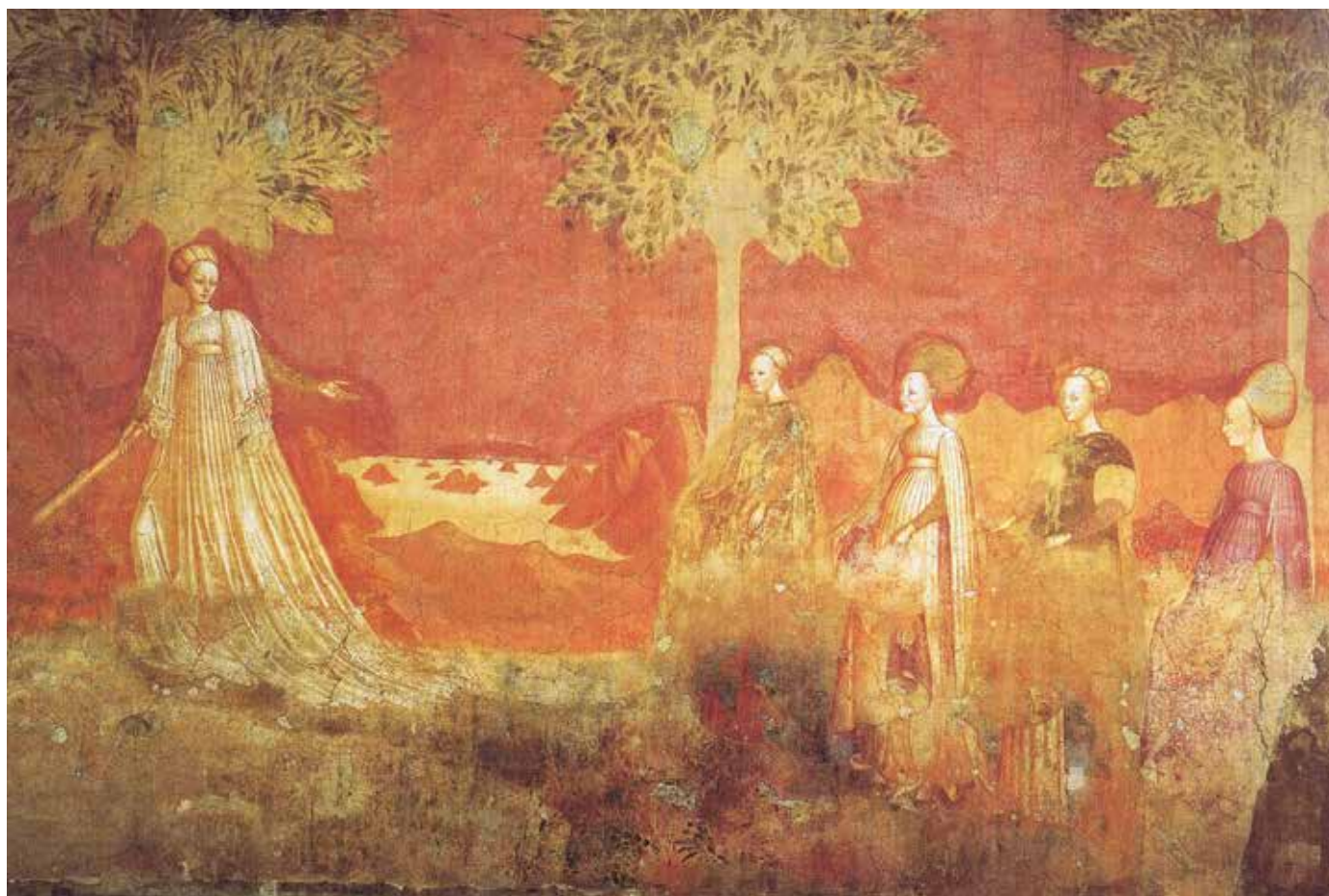


Fig. 50. Master of the 'Borromeo Games', *The ball game*, Borromeo Palace, Milan.

Among his methodological notes and critical definitions, Arslan did not spare some cutting remarks about certain colleagues.

He affirmed, in fact, that the countess's work "is of an importance which transcends the seeming modesty of the title; as it appears already enough to arouse a number of doubts on many conclusions come to by 'Official' critical opinion", which,

making use of an extremely limited number of relics, evidence of the industriousness of a numerous horde of artists and artisans (the number of unknown names which come to light through archival research runs into hundreds), seeks, through them, and ignoring important differences in quality and style, to give body to three, four figures of artists. Thus the reconstruction of a personality such as Bonifacio Bembo around a possible (but dubious) small nucleus of works (discordant however with his only documented work, the Sforza portraits in Sant'Agostino in Cremona), was able to feed on contributions by craftsmen such as those

represented by the ceiling panels, the frontal parts of chests, miniatures and frescoes; by works, in short, which emerge from the anonymity which marks an actually endless array of artistic and artisan products. And by means of such processes (we share the doubts expressed in this regard by the author) is emerging the equally unclear figure of Antonio Della Corna.

The "healthy boost of scepticism, together with the abundance of precious information and unpublished illustrative material" -concluded Arslan- cannot "but help those who try to reconstruct facts, not as we would like them to have happened, but how they really did happen; which means creating a true methodological and critical conscience"²⁵.

The idea of "choral painting", retrieved moreover by Paolo D'Ancona, who had identified in regional art a heritage of top quality craftsmanship²⁶, was also highlighted in the long and commendatory review

by another of Arslan's students, Rossana Bossaglia (1925-2013), published in 1960 in "Arte Lombarda", once again involving Bonifacio Bembo, one of the leading figures in the 1958 exhibition held at the Palazzo Reale.

An expression of the everyday life of the ateliers, where "teamwork is the norm" and "the craftsman-painter did not think it necessary to put his name to his works", the idea of "chorality", which marked all Lombard art was, according to the countess, illustrated by the work of the Zavattari, the Zenoni da Vaprio, the Bembo, or, for Crema, by the De Blanco, the Cadelupo Bombelli, the de Marchi, the Fonduli, active for many generations (Figg. 50, 51). As shown by the Bembo dynasty (studied by her friend Carlo Bonetti) or the Crema workshops she herself frequented, it was a matter of polyvalent ateliers where artists of the most diverse skills worked and practised with "nonchalance the goldsmith's art, sculpture and perhaps engineering while others added to painting intaglio and marquetry."²⁹

The Cadelupi Bombelli were part of the city's life from the fourth decade of the 15th century, with Bartolomeo head of an *atelier* in which his sons Silvestro, Bartolomeo, known as Sperandio, and Agostino also worked. This dynasty, known since the beginning of the XVI century, painted elements in wood for ceilings, benches, wall friezes, produced geographical and territorial maps and decorated paper flags. In 1504 and 1511 the atelier, through Agostino and his brother Silvestro, was also paid for "trementine", "sheets" made with linen cloth "clarified with five parts turpentine and one part olive oils". The recipe for its composition was found by the countess in documents in Crema. The "trementine", mostly decorated with geometric motifs, were identified by Winifred in a detail of the predella of the polyptych in the Palazzolo sull'Oglio representing the *Birth of the Virgin*, created by Vincenzo Civerchio, who also at times indulged in this form of work.³⁰ (Fig. 52).

Also quite outside the mainstream of the Italian historic-artistic scene around 1958 was the idea expressed in the book that an object of art is itself a "choral work".

To illustrate this, the countess chose the small triptych shown at the 1958 exhibition in Milan "in dark blue glass and gold leaf". This came from the Savini collection of Pizzigano in Rivergano (Pc), recorded by Pietro Toesca, who noted similarities with the altarpiece, signed

in 1460 by Jacopino Cietario, housed in the Museo Civico of Turin. "Who can have created it?" – the countess wondered – "A jeweller? A 'moiolaro' i.e., glassmaker? the connection between the painters' ateliers and those of the glassmakers, who would have to have available a 'furnace for glass' has not yet been explained by documents". She recalled at this point the figure of Franceschino Zavattari, remunerated between 1417 and 1453 for the great windows of the Milan Duomo, "without his role being clear (designer? Executer? Or both tasks?)"³¹.

Being a keen supporter of parity among the arts and rejecting the definition "minor arts" "for the material which engaged her research"³², the countess expressed in her book an approach at any rate very different to that of Longhi, as shown by the great attention she dedicated to documents and technical-material data, the latter being considered by her determinant in the matter of linguistic expression. Equally distant was her approach to that of Malaguzzi Valeri, for whom social life, both private and public, served as a simple introductory framework to artistic matters, and to the social history of art trend developed during the immediate aftermath of the war by Frederick Antal (1887-1954) or by Arnold Hauser (1892-1978)³³.

Written like *Vecchi mobili italiani* and her other publications in a fluid style aimed at popularisation, and easily understood even by the "uninitiated", *Pittura artigiana lombarda* adopted the important teaching of Matteo Marangoni (1876-1958) as expressed in his *Saper vedere*, published in 1933, a unicum in the field of Italian criticism during the 20th century. This work enjoyed the impressive number of 19 editions between 1933 and 1979, as well as reprints in the main European languages³⁴.

Functional in this sense were the ample captions accompanying the illustrations in her book, which again formed "a small book within the book". In this the various works were analysed with attention to historical, costume and iconographic elements, as for example in the XXI plate from the Fondazione Kress in New York, the "small bedroom painting on gold background" showing the '*Madonna con il Bambino, il donatore, I santi Giovanni evangelista e Antonio abate.*'

The information given by the countess went far beyond those in the terse card in the catalogue of the Palazzo



Fig. 51. Zavattari Workshop, Theodelinda Chapel, Cathedral, Monza



Fig. 52. Vincenzo Civerchio, *Polyptych*, Palazzolo sull'Oglio, detail.

Reale exhibition where the work was shown and attributed to a Lombard painter of the early 15th century. The caption in fact traced a biographical profile of the donor, Matteo Bazzegatti, known as “il Bolognino”, a nobleman in Pavia in 1447, from whom descends the noble family of the Attendoli Bolognini, noting the presence of the emblem of the Attendoli da Cotignola with the date ‘1452’. She even dwelt on the cut of the “Donors’s very short hair, a fashion very widespread from 1440 on until beyond 1460”.

Of equal didactic importance in her book were the illustrations showing a section of a “15th century Lombard ceiling”, with its constitutive parts, and also those displaying the “15th century headgear” or the “15th male hair styles and headgear”, of which we shall speak later.³⁵ Striking too is the realisation that when speaking of “choral aspect”, the countess practically always chose a single material -wood - which, she declared, when ‘carved’, could almost be said to unite “*all of the Lombard art*” of the Renaissance.³⁶

Wood was also the material used to make articles for the home - a small scale microcosm and vision of the world³⁷ - the real protagonists of this book. The sub-



Fig. 53. Crema Workshop, *Panel from the series in Barbàra Palace depicting a coat of arms*, Private Collection.

heading which appeared on the first page, corresponding with the reverse side of the plate showing the panel with the effigy of Francesco Sforza from Palazzo Fodri, is in fact “*Le arti della Casa Italiana*”. The countess examined objects from the point of view of executive techniques and when possible, depictions with coats of arms (Fig.53), important details in her research to which she had devoted much study from the beginning of her activity.

The “Small painting for a bedroom” for example connoted with the *Nativity*, “attributed to Giovanni Gastaldi da Caravaggio” (Lovere, Accademia Tadini), of which she reproduced on the reverse side the coat of arms of the Tadini da Martinengo, or with the already mentioned chest depicting the *Stories of Lucretia* (Milan, Museo Civico del Castello Sforzesco) bearing the Benzoni coat of arms and that of the ‘Burning wheel’ referring to the Trivulzio. (Fig.54). She assigned this work to anonymous painters from Crema (noting however its “Bembo characteristics”) and identifying a precise stylistic signature in the “particular artisan technique almost more coloured design than painting”, recognising however a “finer technique” in the *Chest of*



Fig.54. Crema Workshop, *Chest showing the story of Lucretia*, Museo dei Mobili e delle Sculture Lignee, Civiche Raccolte di Arte Applicata of the Sforzesco Castle, Milan.

the virtues from the Bagatti Valsecchi residence, traced generically to Lombardy³⁸.

Of painted wood are also the decorative elements of the ceilings she spoke of in her book, a visible documentation of "choral painting" in Lombardy, the creation of which required close collaboration between master painters, decorators, joiners, and carpenters.

Planned to ornate aristocratic residences or, more rarely, monasteries and sacred buildings, they decorated salons or smaller spaces, or passageways such as porticos and galleries, laid out along each side of every ceiling beam, placed in an inclined position in the custom-made grooves created in every rafter so that the lower border of the metope would lean on the beam. The finishing touches were comprised of additional wooden elements made in series -frames moulded in the intersection between the rafters and the beams, or between the ceiling and the walls, with rounded cover plate slats, painted with very simple, often repeated mo-

tifs. Exceptional skill and ability were required even for just mounting the panels, which had to be slid down from top to bottom following a precise and decidedly difficult work of embedding, which excluded the use of nails, and was carried out by craftsmen-artists organised in teams with well-defined tasks and mansions. The sequences of the panels were defined according to the precise iconographic programmes ordered by the commissioners, who intended these works as an exaltation of themselves and their lineage, producing in the end an absolute showcase of power. Portraits and coats of arms alternated with historical or biblical subjects, classical themes, effigies of illustrious personages of the past (Fig.56), zoomorphic or botanical figures - the whole, in fact, created an imaginative plurality of iconographs, a reflection of the cultural choices and lives of the proprietors, the result creating a type of décor which acted during Renaissance times as a very impressive status symbol (Figg.56,57).



Fig.55. Lombard Master, *Ceiling panel showing an Illustrious Man*, c. 1500, from the series formerly in Benzoni Palace, now a Private Collection.



Fig. 56. Lombard Master, *Ceiling panel depicting a Lady*, c. 1500, from the series formerly in Benzoni Palace, now Private Collection.



Fig. 57. Lombard Master, Ceiling panel *depicting a Gentleman*, c. 1500, from the cycle formerly in Benzoni Palace, now Private Collection.

The world within a room. Painted ceiling panels

The first four chapters of this book, which dealt with the idea of the "choral aspect" in Lombard art, guided the reader towards its central theme, *Arte e Iconografia nei Soffitti*, developed more specifically from the fifth chapter on. The reason for the countess's interest in this art was without doubt triggered by her move to Crema, a centre of excellence for the creation of painted wooden elements³⁹ between the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th, when works which stand out for their quality in the history of this artistic form were produced. Contributing without doubt to this passion were also her studies on Bianca Maria Sforza and, later, on the Bembo dynasty and on Cremona, not to mention the campaigns during the 30s regarding the restoration of various aristocratic residences in this city, which also resulted in bringing to light some decorated ceilings, duly made known through publications on the subject. In 1930, for example, appeared studies on Casa Sperlari and on Palazzo Fodri, touching on the controversial restoration work (1930-1932) directed by the architect Vito Restelli in accordance with the architect Carlo Calzecchi (1886-1943), director of the department of monuments of the Soprintendenza all'Arte Medievale e Moderna della Lombardia. Shortly before, examinations had been effected regarding the restoration of Palazzo Raimondi⁴⁰. The panels of the "magnificent Lombard ceilings" on which the countess decided to concentrate in her 1958 volume, rejecting those from other areas, of inferior formal value⁴¹, were not, moreover, a theme unknown to study.

Francesco Malaguzzi Valeri, in his 1902 *Pittori lombardi del Quattrocento*, a work remembered numerous times in the countess's notebooks, had indicated examples from Sforza times and of Sforza iconography in Milan and Cremona, in museums, private houses, and on the antique market. Malaguzzi had also inserted images of two painted wooden ceilings among the illustrations of the first volume of his *Corte di Ludovico il Moro (La vita privata e l'arte)*. The first of these depicted a "Free re-composition of a patrician environment", recreated for the Lombardy pavilion at the 1911 exhibition in Rome, the other an area of the

Casa della Podestà in Lonato del Garda, the 15th century residence acquired in 1906 by the cultured senator Ugo da Como (1869-1941) (Fig.58), restored by the architect Antonio Tagliaferri (1835-1909) also recreating period style areas, decorated with painted wooden panels in the Crema style. In one of her notebooks the countess dwelt on these pages by Malaguzzi.⁴²

In his *La pittura e la miniature nella Lombardia* (1912), Pietro Toesca had instead brought to the attention of critics two panels with *Storie di Giuseppe* in the Museo Civico of Cremona, part of the series of forty six pieces with *Storie della Genesi* from Palazzo Meli, (Fig.59) situated in the present day Via Decia, recovered in 1887 during the restoration of the building. He also cited the panel with *Peccato Originale* from the Wilczek Collection in Kreuzenstein, and the metopes in the Museo Civico of Milan, the Galleria Nazionale in Rome, the Museo of Cluny and in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, the latter forming part of the San Martino Gusnago cycle of which more anon.⁴³

In addition, from the end of the second decade of the century, the theme of painted ceiling panels had magnetised scholars through the 'Bembo question'.

The name of Bonifacio, attributed to quite a considerable number of works of art, had also come up for the panels in the Meli residence (from 1988 assigned to his brother Ambrogio), some of which had been shown at the 1958 Palazzo Reale exhibition. As it had indeed come up also for the many metopes which inexplicably and inexorably continued to be attributed to him.⁴⁴ In 1957 Franco Voltini had also connected to this painter's style the three works which had emerged during the restoration work on the Palazzo in Via Ettore Sacchi in Cremona - (today Istituto Casa Di Nostra Signora), an area where the monastery 'della Colomba' had perhaps stood - housed at the Museo Berenziano of the city's Episcopal Seminary and dated around the middle of the XV century⁴⁵. Another name frequently heard in critical circles in connection with painted wooden panels, though devoid of any documentary support, was that of Antonio Della Corna, a painter of somewhat less than the highest quality⁴⁶. In 1954 Ferdinando Bologna, influenced perhaps by the attribution to Della Corna of the Palazzo Fodri monochromes, assigned to him the ceiling with Apollo and the Muses, dismantled in 1887 for the



Fig. 58. *Casa del Podestà*, Lonato del Garda (Brescia).



Fig. 59. Attributed to Ambrogio Bembo, *Joseph sold by his brothers*, Ceiling panel from Meli Palace, Museo Civico Ala Ponzone, Cremona.



Fig. 60. Lombard Workshop, *Ceiling panels depicting male busts*, beginning of XVI century, Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

noted antiquarian Stefano Bardini (1836-1922) and purchased in 1889 by the Victoria and Albert Museum (paintings today however attributed to Alessandro Pampurini)⁴⁷. This was the “Ceiling from the ‘via Belvedere ‘Cremona” noted by the countess in the notebook entitled “1949 London Notes”, and which she intended to see during her stay in the British capital⁴⁸

At the Victoria and Albert Museum were also to be seen specimens from the Palazzo Secco Pastore in Gusnago San Martino (Mantua).

During work on the building between 1881 and 1882, forty-four wooden panels had been found and bought in 1882 as a block by the English antiquarian from

Brighton Henry Willet (1823-1905). Six were sold to the British museum (Fig.60) and twelve to the Metropolitan Museum of New York⁴⁹

These wooden panels formed the subject around which part of the countess's correspondence with Fausto Lechi revolved, of interest to us because it shows her research methods and the progress made in studying these products. Defining herself an “archive worm” and a “scribbler in the matter of local and art history”, she informed the count on 9th February 1952 that she had underway a “study on 15th and 16th century painting in this area, and the greatest research possible on the ceiling panels our painters produced in their thousands”, adding that the photographs had come from the Victoria and Albert Museum

the photographs of some very beautiful ceiling panels, bought in 1881 by an antiquarian or art lover and then passed to the Museum. A part of the series is however at the Metropolitan Museum of New York. In New York they say they come from the ‘Castle or Palace of S. Martino di Gusnago near Brescia’ – but I cannot find this locality! It doesn't figure in the official list of the Communes or outlying areas of Communes. Might it have changed name? Or could it perhaps be the name of the family owning the Castle? Could you illuminate me?

Besides suggesting a date “at around 1510-1520”, the countess continued by noting: “A curious detail, some of the portraits, beautiful and I believe attributable to Ferramola- have a decided somatic type”.

If the attribution to Floriano Ferramola from Brescia (1480-1528) was in line with that proposed in 1940 by the noted British art historian John Pope-Hennessy (1913-1994), curator moreover at the Victoria and Albert Museum between 1954 and 1965⁵⁰, altogether new instead was her observation on the somatic features of the personages portrayed. This led her to conjecture that the Palazzo of San Martino might have belonged to the family of Eusebio Malatesta, adopted by Paola Malatesta and considered – but perhaps mistakenly- a converted Jew. When discussing all this in *Pittura artigiana lombarda del Rinascimento*, she repeated this idea, dwelling also on another metope showing a personage identified by her from his headgear as a “Doge (Marco Barbarigo?)”⁵¹ (Fig. 61.)

The fragmentary draft of a letter, left in one of the countess's notebooks while she was preparing the first edition of *‘Vecchi mobili italiani’* and addressed to an unknown “Dear Sir”, again dwelt on the San Martino cycle in Gusnago, considering it as coming from near



Fig. 61. Lombard Master, *Ceiling panel showing a Man wearing double Headgear*, c.1500, part of the series formerly in Benzoni Palace, now Private Collection.



Fig. 62. *Ceiling of the Vimercati Palace, Banca Popolare di Crema, Crema.*



Fig. 63. *Crema Workshop, Panel bearing the Lupi coat of arms in the third ceiling at Vimercati Palace, c.1500, Banca Popolare di Crema, Crema.*

Brescia. She had in fact, been informed “by friend of the Victoria and Albert Museum” that the unknown addressee of the letter owned some “ceiling-boards with profile portraits of a bust, 1515 – that come from a Castle near Brescia. Some of them are at the Victoria and Albert”. She asked him, therefore, for detailed descriptions or photographs, and whether other specimens existed in London collections.

These lines may perhaps in some way be linked to the sale in January 1951, at Sotheby’s in London, of a panel from the Gusnago series, once in the collection of the art critic and well-known mountaineer Martin Conway (1856-1937), passed on to his daughter Agnes (1885-1950), the wife of George Horsfield, with whom it remained until 1992. It was then auctioned at Sotheby’s in London, while other panels of this series had been put on the market in 1938 and 1941, once again in London.⁵²

On 21st February 1952 the countess corresponded once more with Count Lechi on the question of the Gusnago panels, which had been unravelled in the meantime thanks to Monsignor Paolo Guerrini (1880-1960), “convinced it was S. Martino Gusnago” near Mantua, informing him of her publishing plans – “I’m hoping to publish a monograph (and an article) on panels in general” – and her intention to meet him in Brescia in the Spring to see “your panels- are they authentic?” Winifred had been in contact at least since September 1944 with Monsignor Guerrini, historic director of the Biblioteca Queriniana in Brescia, a member moreover since 1909 of the Società Storica Lombarda of which the countess was also a member, and author in 1926 of a study on the salon at Palazzo della Mercanzia in Brescia, decorated with painted wooden ceilings⁵³.

The chats with her “colleague” Fausto Lechi help reveal the countess’s methodological approach to painted ceiling panels and highlight the distance between hers and that of other scholars, merely interested in stylistic and attribution problems.

The countess instead believed that these works, the fruit of atelier activity – a ‘choral effort’ therefore – were to be studied also from the point of view of matter and iconography but, above all, were to be seen as a whole, closely linked to the architectural project for which they had been created. Equally important for her is identi-

cation of the person commissioning the work, effected through archive documents or from the coats of arms, the aim being to connect products and people, thereby revealing stories of life and of history.

In one of her notebooks, around 1957, while meditating on "S. Martino Gusnago", and after having listed sources for the history of Mantua ("Carlo D'Arco" and "Schivenoglia Andrea Cronaca di Mantova Milano 1857") she outlined from this viewpoint the longitudinal section of a panelled ceiling, writing underneath "Met. Museum "/44 panels bought in 1882 by Henry Willett/12 at N.Y. - 6 at Vic and A-1 by Martin Conway (and the others?)"

⁵⁴. In *Pittura artigiana lombarda del Rinascimento* she sought as much as possible to deal with cycles which had not been dismembered, giving information about the families which had commissioned them.⁵⁵

She furthermore coined the definition "genealogic ceiling", a typology recognisable thanks to the presence, at the centre of the sequence, of the coat of arms of the owner of the residence on each side of every beam. These were flanked by the insignia of his wife and of other members of the family, together with figures of ladies and gentlemen coupled together, and sometimes with those of emperors deriving from the coinage of Imperial Rome.

As regards Crema, she exemplified these results through what remained of Palazzo Vimercati in Via XX Settembre (now headquarters of the Banca Popolare di Crema), which had become a single space on the demolition of the dividing walls of three rooms, decorated at different times⁵⁶ (Fig.62). Having examined the coats of arms, and analysed the history of this illustrious family, she concluded that the third ceiling "perhaps from the 1500's", had been created on the occasion of the marriage between Ottaviano Vimercati and Domicilla Lupi from Bergamo (Fig.63), whose portraits she identified in the altarpiece showing the *Resurrezione* painted by Giovanni Cariani (1485-1547), preserved in the Pinacoteca of Brera⁵⁷. Thanks to the presence of the Vimercati coat of arms on the cap, hanging from an 'O', she identified Ottaviano Vimercati himself in one of the effigies. (Fig.64)

Having invoked the direct analysis of objects, warned against the often destructive and distorting interventions carried out by restorers and invited the use of "great caution so as not to arrive at completely erroneous

conclusions"⁵⁸, she introduced the theme of constructive practices, a subject she was the first to take up.

She illustrated this discourse by way of an appropriate image, drawing the "longitudinal section" and the "cross section" of a "15th century Lombard ceiling, "of the genealogical type, showing panels with coats of arms (from Crema) and busts of facing personages, completing the whole with a list of the constitutive elements of the ceiling."⁵⁹ (Fig. 65).

She had become familiar with the constructive aspects of the buildings she wrote of, not only by examining them personally, but also through minute archive research.

Though regretting her inability to find any contracts drawn up for the creation and decoration of the Lombard ceilings, for Crema she had discovered information concerning the wooden ceiling of the Sala Magna del Consiglio which the Comune decided in 1493 to have constructed. The municipal registers show payments made to the 'marangone' (joiner) Bernardino Salasari for unidentified mansions, and those to various wood merchants for the making of 179 "cantinelle", long, thin cover plate listels with very simple, repeated decorative motifs, painted in series and cut to measure at the moment of use. Payment was also made for such elements to Bartolomeo Bombelli, generally known as Sperandio. Payments were also recorded to Silvestro Cadelupi Bombelli for other "cantinelle" and "retortis" (presumably carved décors). Many "planks for painting" are shown paid for according to their linear measurement to Pietro Terni ⁶⁰. Thanks once more to these documents, the countess discovered that during work for a ceiling in the Municipio, the city treasurer paid a certain sum for "fatty cheese"⁶¹, probably a glue obtained by boiling left over pieces of soft cheese ⁶². In the course of time the Lombard ceilings also suffered from dispersion, due to the demolitions and reconstructions of the ancient palaces for which they had been created. Taken out of their context, the overall whole was broken up and the panels ended up on the market, totally deprived of their original meaning. Many of the specimens shown in the countess's book were the result of such dispersions and were almost all previously unpublished.

Some specimens came from her own collection, for example the panel deriving from an unnamed, demolished residence in Cremona, bearing a depiction of



Fig. 64. Crema Workshop, *Panel from the third ceiling of Vimercati Palace, depicting a member of the Vimercati family (Ottavio?)*, c.1500, Banca Popolare di Crema, Crema.

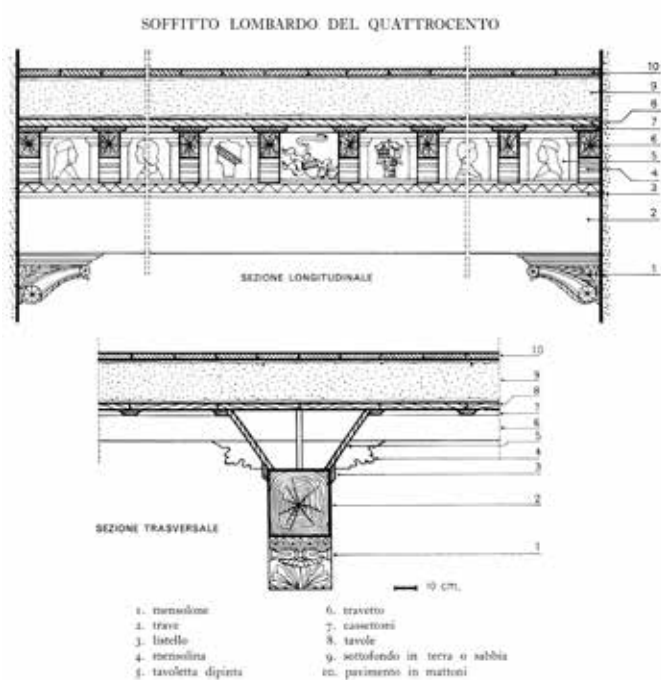


Fig. 65. Plate showing a "15th century Lombard Ceiling", in *Pittura Artigiana Lombarda del Quattrocento*.

Prudence (a woman with three faces), or the two panels endowed with explanatory *tituli*, the first of which showed an image referring to the popularisation of Boccaccio's poem on the loves of Mensola and Affrico, the second a scene from the *Story of Samson*⁶³. The latter panel presented personages in graceful poses, placed in perspective inside a small box, opened on three sides, complete with a lacunar ceiling recalling the scenes on the front of the already mentioned chest showing the *Stories of Lucretia*. All of this fell within the framework of a common Lombard figurative matrix, ranging between the 1446 *Story of Lancelot of the Lake*, attributed to the Bembo family (Palatino 556, Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale) and the Zavattari cycle in the Cappella di Teodolinda in the Duomo of Monza (1444-1446), of which it updates the relationship between architecture and personages⁶⁴. Also without indications regarding its original location was the panel with the busts of two young people which introduced the chapter "Fashions and Ways", ascribed to the "first half of the 15th century and attributable to Pantaleone de Blanco", the lady ornated with a showy "striped" piece of headgear. This specimen places us at the beginning

of the story of the painted metopes of Crema, linkable to the recently restored panels of the monastery belonging to the hospital order of Sant'Antonio di Vienne, annexed to the church of Sant'Antonio (Fig.66), which were however unknown to the countess. These panels too are characterised by a rectangular shape and by the presence of ladies with huge headgear, the stylistic cipher fully adhering to the Lombard figurative culture of the second quarter of the Quattrocento, between Masolino da Panicale, the so-called 'Maestro dei Giochi Borromeo' and the Zavattari⁶⁵.

The 1958 volume also showed a panel depicting a fable by Phaedrus, *The stork and the fox* (Fig.67), deriving from a building in Via Civerchi. The countess wrote of it as the "Property of the Istitueno Museo di Crema" in the ex-monastery Sant'Agostino. The countess had fought for the creation of this Museum from 1953, along with Amos Edallo and backed by Piero Gazzola (Fig.68). Again, with reference to Crema, appear two fine panels (circa 1500) of the series I have collected and linked to the notable group traced back in 2019 to a Benzoni Palazzo (Fig.69), their workmanship a proof of the high quality of this city's products⁶⁷.

Among the other panels treated in the book, updated by successive critical contributions, of note is that showing Marcus Aurelius from the Raccolta Parmeggiani in Reggio Emilia, which the countess considered as coming from Mantua. It really formed part of the group thought by Paola Bonfadini to have been originally situated in the Calvageglia Palazzo in Brescia, the construction of which began in 1494, a series mentioned by Fausto Lechi in 1975, specimens having been found in the Gerardini residence in Lavenone (Brescia)⁶⁸.

It is, however, to the painted metopes of Palazzo Fodri that the countess reserved her greatest attention.

To the panels located both on the ground and the first floors of the part of the building facing present-day Corso Matteotti, she dedicated in fact two chapters (*Un ambiente tipico* and *Miniera iconografica*), illustrated with nine coloured plates and twenty-two black and white images, including a drawing with the map of the Palazzo.

Of the one hundred and sixty-eight panels in the salon on the upper floor ("the first ceiling"), laid out in six spans, "with rows and counter-rows of 14/" - according to the countess the "most interesting iconographic ceiling



Fig. 66. Crema Workshop, *Ceiling panel showing a Lady*, c. mid-15th century, from the ex- Sant'Antonio Convent, now in the Cathedral Capitolo, Crema.



Fig. 67. Crema Workshop, *Panel depicting a fable by Phaedrus*, Museo Civico di Crema e del Cremasco, Crema.



Fig. 68. Cloister of the former Sant'Agostino Convent, now Museo Civico di Crema e del Cremasco, Crema.



Fig. 69. Lombard Master, *Ceiling panel depicting the Benzoni coat of arms*, c.1500, part of the series formerly in Benzoni Palace, now Private Collection.

in all Lombardy” which she considered discussing in a later study, never however carried out⁶⁹ (Fig.70) – she first underlined the strange absence of panels with coats of arms. She then offered very precise observations on the headgear of the ladies, of which more later. She furthermore arrived at the hypothesis that the whole ceiling had been created “during the life of Bartolomeo Fodri” perhaps around 1475, a conviction founded also on an examination of the decorative motifs characterising rafters and listels, as well as on the framing of the personages in each panel (“small Gothic arches with spiralling pillars” and the “stylised leaves over the small arches”), figurative styles recognised by her as typical of production in Crema “up to 1470 or a little later”. With relevance to this, she recalled the two metopes of the Raccolta Parmeggiani in Reggio Emilia shown in another part of her book (Fig.71), which she linked to those at the Museo del Seminario in Cremona, considering them “as deriving almost certainly from the Bembo atelier”⁷⁰.

On the question of ‘authors’ (...) “I speak of them in the plural as the collaboration of various artists is evident), she avoided even here, in the absence of relative documents, the temptation to apply a “card” with the name of a supposed creator. Evident, instead, were her doubts concerning the

attribution of the painted works in Palazzo Fodri to Antonio Della Corna, and very decided her rejection of him in connection with the wooden panels involved.⁷¹

Less detailed was her analysis of the “second” ceiling, that in the ground floor room, which showed panels of inferior quality and personages placed within a different type of architectonic frame, characterised by a rounded arch opening (Fig. 72), exemplars which she noted as having been often moved and retouched up in various epochs, but always alternated with the Fodri family’s coat of arms (Fig.73), placed at the centre of every row.

The countess did not propose an executive chronology in this case, leaving the answers to those who wish to study these interesting paintings in depth, which, although of the ‘artisan’ type, were often carried out by distinguished artists, and they can tell us many curious and useful things about the fashions- and the ways-of Renaissance Lombardy⁷².

Let us return in closing to the Crema notebooks, which also contained the texts of *Pittura artigiana lombarda del Rinascimento*.

We can see that there are no substantial changes when compared with the published text except rare reductions of certain passages, made to reduce the volume of information or smooth certain opinions.

The countess did not, for example, insert in the long caption illustrating the four metopes of San Martino in Gusnago, an observation which is, in fact, very interesting (“it is to be remarked that if the ceiling had only 44 panels it must have been that of a very small space”) and she cut details regarding Palazzo Vimercati in Via XX Settembre. Commenting on the motives which guided her selection of researchable material she omitted the phrase: “From the Veneto no high class specimens have arrived – even the many panels that can be found at the Museum of Viadana are of little value”⁷³. Her book evinced, besides, a less decided opinion about rejecting attribution to Della Corna of the Palazzo Fodri panels⁷⁴. The word “predella” was no longer used, a term not found elsewhere⁷⁵, but used systematically in the notebooks to denote “panel”, the word she chose though for use in her book.

In connection with the decorated wooden ceilings of Crema, however, the lexicological aspect is but one of the “many which await those who wish to deepen their study” of this fascinating type of artistic production⁷⁶.



Fig. 70. Cremona Workshop, *Panels in the "first ceiling"*, Fodri Palace, Cremona, "first ceiling".



Fig. 71. Cremona Workshop, *Two ceiling Panels showing a Gentleman and a Lady*, part of the 'della Colomba' series, Colomba Monastery, Musei Civici Galleria Parmeggiani, Reggio Emilia.



Fig. 72. Cremona Workshop, *Ceiling panel depicting an Ancient Hero*, Fodri Palace, Cremona, “second ceiling”.



Fig. 73. Cremona Workshop, *Ceiling Panel showing The Fodri coat of arms*, Fodri Palace, Cremona, "second ceiling".

Notes

“ed treasures, the Rivista will be able to offer precious documentation to scholars and therefore to make public new evaluations today not possible to specify” (in “Arte Lombarda”; I, 1955, p. I). The magazine was founded in 1955 by Maria Luisa Gatti Perer (1928- 2009), who had graduated with Paolo d’Ancona from the Università degli Studi di Milano; amongst the studies carried out by this scholar, later professor at the Università Cattolica di Milano and founder of ISAL (Istituto di Storia dell’Arte Lombarda), are the ones on the Agustinian building Santa Maria Incoronata di Milano (cf. Dell’Acqua 1999; as well as the Rovetta- Rossi 1999 essays).

⁵ Cf. Prevosti 2008.

⁶ The volume was illustrated with “water colours by Chu Pei Chun/ sketches by Adriana Balestri/ photographs by J. Chilo (1875) / and by F.E. Taylor (1885-1881)/four-colour processes and photo-engravings by Giuseppe Previtali”.

⁷ A. 16. But also cf. in B. 27, c. 20, where is set out the preparation of both the 1956 volume (“75 pages of typescript plus 10 -plus 10/Coloured cover”; Chinoiseries.) and that of 1958.

⁸ B 25, c. 18: “My work on Civerchio is almost ready and I hope to have it come out on the occasion [...] of the Exhibition of Lombard Painting [...] Historic-biographic monograph on the painter Vincenzo de Civerchio and on the cultural and artistic environment in Lombardy during the second half of the 15th century”.

⁹ Reggiori- Ottino della Chiesa- Mazzini 1955.

¹⁰ B 12, c. 41r.

¹¹ From the text the countess crossed out: “But it is of course a work for scholars, art lovers and the directors of museums and galleries and therefore a work no publisher would accept, as indeed happens with all works on art” (B. 25, c. 30r).

¹² She wrote: “I’m keen that Brescia should also figure! You could then devote a study to the beautiful Brescia panels and I do hope that my work- my pioneer work- may stimulate the interest of scholars and serve as a “sounding board” for your more detailed work”. In the 1958 volume, the panels from palazzo Bona are shown in plate XIV.

¹³ Cf. Terni de’ Gregory 1958, pp. 173, 180 plates. XIV c, XXI; Lechi 1974; II, p. 255-256; for more on the series at palazzo Bona- Averoldi, cf. Bonfadini 2005, pp. 51- 55, 57- 59. Also, Ferrari 1956, pp. 90 134, note 96.

¹⁴ B. 31, c. 3.

¹⁵ In the bibliography appearing in the accompanying catalogue card at the exhibition was sighted Gilda Rosa’s arti-

cle, which appeared in the Storia di Milano in 1956. Rosa, who, be it said, had enjoyed the counsels of the countess, whose works, however, were not mentioned (cf. Rosa 1956, p. 848; Arte lombarda dai Visconti agli Sforza 1958 Tav. XCII, nn. 252, 437, pp. 82, 137; Terni de’ Gregory 1958, figg. 18, p. 33, and 27, p. 47. For the Bacrì chest, cf. Ferrari 1964; cf. also, Venturelli 2016a.

¹⁶ Malaguzzi Valeri 1913, p. 110; Arte Lombarda dai Visconti agli Sforza 1958, n. 438; Terni de’ Gregory 1958, pp. 58, 60; For the *Cassone delle Virtù*, cf. the recent M. Tanzi, in Agosti- Stoppa- Tanzi 2010, n. 20, pp. 98-99.

¹⁷ As Mario Mirabella Roberti makes clear on the 18th of November in his already mentioned letter (“I am sure that your next book will be extremely interesting, as were all the others of yours I know”; B. 27).

¹⁸ Arslan wrote: “As regards the text, the date around 1460- 1470 could do for Schifanoia; but Tura has not been recognised among the fresco artists. It is indeed very probable that he directed the work. The ‘Wedding’ is by an anonymous artist reminiscent of Tura.”; the countess replied: “Thank you sincerely for your kind expressions – but I believe it would be better- for various reasons – to omit them./ Dear Professor/ I have received your fine and too flattering foreword and sent it at once to the Ufficio Studi della Cassa di Risparmio [...] I prefer however that you permit me to omit the compliments because I would not like them to seem suggested. (B-31, c. 56v). 19 A. 18, c. 17v.

²⁰ B. 32, c. 23r (the text continued: “I shall be leaving these days to return to Crema, my summer house”); cf. also Ivi, c. 62r.

²¹ Romanini 1959, p. 66; note 9: “Renaissance Artisan Painting, a work already written before the beginning of the restoration work on the Pavia ceilings, which I was able to see while still being printed thanks to the kindness of the author and of Prof. Arslan, author of the introductory pages”; note 10: “The examination of the different types of Renaissance wooden ceilings in Lombardy is carried out with deep knowledge of the subject by countess Terni de’ Gregory in the above mentioned work, of truly capital interest for all studies on the art (not only the handicraft) of Lombardy”.

²² Bonomi 1962, pp. 150- 151. On Carlo Enrico Rava, cf. Venturelli 2016a, and supra; in general, cf. Catini 2016.

²³ Voltini 1957; Puppi 1962, p. 50 (quote on p. 52), fig. 6 and note 9 on p. 56.

²⁴ From now on, if mentioned, the letters written by the countess to Fausto Lechi are to be intended as housed in the Archivio Lechi, Montirone (Brescia), Lettere Winifred

Terni- Fausto Lechi (at the relative data): cf. the letter sent by Lechi on the 27th of December 1975 to Winifred's daughter Marinella, concerning the 1958 publication: "it will be useful to me for comparisons and above all it will give me the opportunity to speak of the Countess Winifred's fine work"; for Fausto Lechi's use of the countess's studies, see the various cards in Bonfadini 2005; as regards the analysis of the Swiss ceilings, cf. Pini 1987; Pini- Legobbe 1995.

²⁵ In Terni de' Gregory 1958, pp. 5-6. Also in his lines in memory of the countess, Arslan wrote that *Pittura artigiana lombarda del Rinascimento*: "should also be remembered here as an example of those investigations which, starting from apparently humble bases and material of common sense, succeed sometimes in embarrassing very different, and self-styled advanced critical positions" (cf. Arslan 1961). Cf. Lechi II, 1974, pp. 236-245; Bonfadini 2005, card 2, pp. 43-49.

²⁶ Cf. D'Ancona 1921, pp. 64-72; Terni de' Gregory 1958, p. 28.

²⁷ Cf. Terraroli 2005.

²⁸ "The concept of 'choral painting'-asserts Rossana Bossaglia- permits "more than one answer to problems which became apparent to scholars following the Milanese exhibition two years ago on 14th and 15th century Lombardy: perhaps making it clear simply, and I would say definitively, that an answer is not possible; one which, for example, serves to re-evaluate the conclusions concerning fascinating artists such as Bonifacio Bembo, about whom the confusion is great and the deductions infinite, and gratuitous". (Bossaglia 1960, p.123). The countess considered Bonifacio an artist "to whom many, too many paintings are attributed which are perhaps by his father, his brothers or simply from the family atelier" (Terni de Gregori 1958, pp. 14, 32); cf. Also Sciolla- Terraroli 1995.

²⁹ Terni de' Gregory 1958, p. 12; but cf. also Eadem 1964, p. 55. Per For the Crema artisan workshops, cf. Venturelli 2015b.

³⁰ Terni de' Gregory 1958, p. 152 note 10 and 11; and fig. 25 on p. 44; Marubbi 1986, n. 21, p. 168; on the 'trementine', cf. Venturelli 2015c, note 10, p. 105 (can also be noted here it's important to underline that to create the "trementine", linen cloths were used, in the production of which Crema specialised during the 15th century).

³¹ Terni de' Gregory 1958, p. 45; Toesca 1950; M. Tanzi, in *Il Gotico a Piacenza*, p. 190 cat. 36 (with bibliography); for the altarpiece by Jacopino Cietario, cf. Pettenati 1978, n. 14, pp. 20-21; on Franceschino Zavattaro, cf. Gilli Pirina 1966; for the polyfunctional Lombard workshops, cf. Ven-

turelli 2021, pp. 69-121 ("Competenze, tangenze"), 222-247 (*A Milano con Leonardo. Tra botteghe, persone e cose. Vetri, smalti e medaglie*).

³² "What we usually call minor art or marginal activity was instead the fundamental activity of the atelier" (Terni de' Gregory 1958, pp. 29-30)..

³³ Authors not mentioned in her notebooks. Cf. Antal 1948; Idem 1949; Hauser 1951; Idem 1971; but cf. the negative reviews by Gombrich in 1953, pp. 79-84 and Meiss 1949 (a student of Erwin Panofsky, author in 1951 of *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death*); cf. in general, Sciolla 2006, pp. 233-265.

³⁴ Cfr. Marangoni 1921; on Marangoni, see Barreca 2007.

³⁵ Terni de' Gregory 1958, pp. 161-165, 181; *Arte lombarda dai Visconti agli Sforza* 1958, n. 196.

³⁶ "The painters" who "knew at least how to carve a frame in the shape of an ancon", the "engineers - architects" who "presented small wooden models of everything", the "terracotta craftsmen" who "carved in wood the models of the tiles, of the "torcilioni" (Terni de' Gregory 1958, p. 16).

³⁷ There are few studies on the decor of residences in Lombardy during the Renaissance in recent publications; in general, cf. Campbell- Miller Carroll Consavari 2013.

³⁸ Terni de' Gregory 1955, pp. 15, 18; Eadem 1958, pp. 43, 56, 58; on the author of the Tadini altarpiece, cf. Cavallini 2007, pp. 91- 92. Cf. Venturelli 2016a.

³⁹ See Ceserani Ermentini 1985; Eadem 1986; Eadem 1999; Eadem 2006; Venturelli 2014a; Eadem 2014c; Eadem 2015a; Eadem 2015B; Eadem 2015c; Eadem 2017a; Eadem 2018; Eadem 2020; Eadem under way.

⁴⁰ I merely note: Camelli 1929; Bellomi 1930; Bonetti 1930; Idem 1932; Calzecchi 1933; Bernardi 1982; Petracco 2005; Visioli 2008, pp. 266-272; Palazzo Fodri 2012.

⁴¹ Terni de' Gregory 1958, note 17 p. 153 (she notes examples in the Marche region and in Rimini, but "the paintings are however roughly done and very far from those of the magnificent Lombard ceilings").

⁴² Malaguzzi Valeri 1902a, pp. 147, 149; for the market in painted panels, cf. Venturelli 2020 (with bibliographies); Malaguzzi Valeri 1913, pp. 96, 97; p. 98 (with the painted murals of the vault from the palazzo in via Belvedere Cremona taken to the Victoria & Albert Museum); B. 30, c. 1r ("Ceiling from Cremona at the Victoria and Albert M/M V the Court of Lud. Il Moro Private Life page 98"). For the panels in the house of the Podestà, cf. Lusardi 2015.

⁴³ Toesca 1912, p. 561 (ed. 1966, pp. 229-230, figg. 502-504). 44 With indication of panels at Trento and Torcello, cf. Toesca 1912, p. 561; Longhi 1928, p. 86; Rasmus 1939;

Ragghianti 1949, II, p. 289; Puerari 1951, p. 41/4; *Arte lombarda dai Visconti agli Sforza* 1958, n. 250, p. 81; cf. M. Tanzi, in Bandera Tanzi 2013, card 5, pp. 58-60 (with previous bibliography).

⁴⁵ Voltini 1957; cf. Puppi 1962; Aglio 2005 (with previous bibliography); Agosti 2008, note 1 p. LXXVIII).

⁴⁶ Tanzi 1988; Agosti 2005, pp. 374- 375; 413- 414 notes 69-71.

⁴⁷ Cf. the online museum card, with detailed bibliography: collection. vam.ac.uk/item/072907. Cf. at least: Bonetti 1911; Tanzi 1984; Fabianski 1988; Fahy 2000, pp. 13, 18, 26, 84-87; Griego 2020; Orsini 2020, pp. 207-216.

⁴⁸ A. 14, c. 42v.

⁴⁹ Cf. Vignali 1997; Aglio 2018 (with the previous bibliography); for the Gusnago series, cf. online card on the website of the two Museums in question; all the changes of hand and auction sales of this series have been recorded by F. Zeri, in Zeri- Gardner 1986, pp. 72-74. Regarding Anglosaxon interest in Lombard art, cf. Damiani Cabrini 1993. On the Willet collection, cf. Rutherford 1982.

⁵⁰ Cfr. Pope- Hennessy; Higgins 2004. For previous and successive attributions of these panels, cf. Zeri 1986 (amongst the various attributions figure that of Suida to Bramantino; cf. Kent 1905; Koop 1905; Suida 1905, pp. 67-68; Suida 1953, pp. 145-146; Rutherford 1982).

⁵¹ Cf. Terni de' Gregory 1958, pp. 154, 171, figg. 43, 44, plates XXIII. The countess's observations were accepted by Federico Zeri (Zeri 1986), while considering the panels of superior quality to the Ferramola production, grouping with these other examples housed in various collections and museums. On Eusebio - the nephew of Paola Malatesta, wife of the Marquis Gianfrancesco Gonzaga - (erroneously known as "Zudeo" i.e. Jew, instead of "Zudeso" i.e. judge, probably his profession, cf. Tamalio 2007 (with discussion and bibliography). These "very beautiful panels" in *Pittura artigiana lombarda del Rinascimento*, where the countess repeats her observation on the "decidedly semitic type of some heads", are dated -I believe correctly- to "principio del Cinquecento" (Terni de' Gregory 1958, fig. 43, 44 Plate XXIII, p. 170); I do not agree with Aglio 2018, p. 207, who dates them to "1480 circa". I will not here discuss the question of 'tipi semitici', I would note, however, the panel once in palazzo Benzoni in Crema, now in a Private Collection. It shows a man with profile and headgear (a "Jewish doctor"?) similar to those examples depicted in the Victoria & Albert Museum discussed by the Countess Terni de' Gregory (inv. 663 and 664.1904), cf. Venturelli 2020, pp. 53 and fig. 42 p. 55.

⁵² B. 17, c. 8r; Sotheby's 1951, p. 5, lotto 23; Sotheby's 1992, pp. 30-32, batch 20; for more on this family, cf. Evans 1966. Of the Gusnago series in London, two from the W. B. Chamberlain collection were sold at Christie's (on February 25, 1938, n. 41), another four of the Henry Harris collection were sold by Sotheby's (August 20, 1941, no. 92).

⁵³ Cf. Guerrini 1926; for these panels, cf. Bonfadini 2005, pp. 37-40; on Mons. Guerrini, cf. Taccolini 2011 (with bibliography). B. 11 bis: letter from Monsignor Paolo Guerrini, written from Marmentino (Bs) on the 11th of September 1944, in which he said he had been two months in that area following the bombings of the 13th of July, "evacuated", "without books, therefore... without working tools"; he replied to the countess about the genealogy of the "Martinengo family during the XIV-XVI centuries" and about the Library in the Augustinian convent of San Barnaba in Brescia, "with frescoes not by Foppa but by Giovan Pietro da Cemmo"; for more on this convent cf. Terraroli 2015.

⁵⁴ B. 27, cc. 45 v, 46r, 49r (I deduce the chronology of these notes from the fact that they were compiled after mention had been made of the volume on Boccaccino by Alfredo Puerari, published in 1957). Cf. Conway 1914; Rutherford 1982. Involved were probably the two important volumes by Carlo d'Arco on Mantua artists, cf. D'Arco 1857- 1859).

⁵⁵ Cf. Terni de' Gregory 1958, plates XIII, XIV. 56 Terni de' Gregory 1958, fig. 41, p. 67, and pp. 72 et seq. For the panels of this residence, cf. Ceserani Ermentini 1999, pp. 61-99; regarding the third ceiling, cf. also Venturelli 2015c, pp. 96-102.

⁵⁷ Regarding the picture and Ottaviano Vimercati, cf. De Angelis 1991; Eadem 1993; Verga Bandirali 1990. Ottaviano's first wife was Lucrezia Benzoni, from whom he had a daughter, Caterina; later in life, he had his residence renovated, involving in 1499 Agostino Fondulo to renew the facade and the portico.

⁵⁸ Terni de' Gregory 1958, p. 76. For examples of alteration work, cf. Venturelli 2015b, pp. 27-28.

⁵⁹ Cf. Terni de' Gregory 1958, p. 161 ("large shelf", "beam", "listel", "small shelf", "painted panel", "small beam", "talboys", "panels", "earth or sand base", "brick floor"). For subsequent articles on constructive works, cf. Ceserani Ermentini 1999, pp. 181-184; Gheroldi 2004.

⁶⁰ Cf. Terni de' Gregory 1955; Eadem 1958, p. 139 and note 37a p. 156; regarding the terminology of the constituting parts, cf. Venturelli 2018.

⁶¹ Terni de' Gregory 1958, pp. 70, 138 p. 156 and note 27.

⁶² "To which is added quicklime to render the mixture in-

soluble in water when dried", cf. Gheroldi 2044, p. 110.

⁶³ Terni de' Gregory 1958, respectively: plate XVIII, b; fig. 45, 46; plate XX a-c.

⁶⁴ Venturelli 2015c, pp. 93-94; Eadem 2016a.

⁶⁵ Terni de' Gregory 1958, fig. 48, p. 79. Cf. Venturelli 2015c, pp. 92-93; Eadem 2017a.

⁶⁶ Terni de' Gregory 1958, plate XVIII c; For this panel, cf. Venturelli 2014a; Eadem 2015c.

⁶⁷ Terni de' Gregory 1958, plate III, fig. 64; Venturelli 2014c Eadem 2020.

⁶⁸ Terni de' Gregory 1958, fig. 42, p. 69; Lechi 1975, vol. IV. pp. 44- 47; Bonfadini 2018, pp. 238-250 (*Novità dal passato: le tavolette provenienti da palazzo Calzaveglia in Brescia*).

⁶⁹ After Terni de' Gregory's work, no further studies were carried out on the panels of this palazzo.

⁷⁰ Terni de' Gregory 1958, pp. 123, 136-138 and fig. 11 on p. 27; regarding the constructive works on the palazzo, left in 1479 by Bartolomeo to his son Benedetto who then began to renovate its from about 1490, engaging Guglielmo de Lera, cf. the summary in Visioli 2008, pp. 266-268.

⁷¹ "For all the painting decorations of the time of Benedetto Fodri the name of Antonio Della Corna has been suggested, though in dubitative form. But to accept his name, at least for some of the decorations, it would be necessary to decide whether to attribute to him the most beautiful or the most inferior"; "we must remember we have only two certain pictures by that curious painter [...], very lacking in perspective and design [...] how could we sustain the attribution to him of the fine Cremona ceiling in the Victoria and Albert Museum ?", cf. Terni de' Gregory 1958, pp. 130-131, 155 note 35; 141, 156 note 38 ("If I am not mistaken, it was Prof. Mina De Gregori who attributed it to Antonio della Corna").

⁷² Terni de' Gregory 1958, p. 147.

⁷³ Cf. Terni de' Gregory 1958, Plate XXIII, p. 171. Cf. B. 31 cc. 2 ("At the title on page 66 'Edoardo instead of Wart' / Chap.Fashion and Modes...what did I say before/At page 82 line 18 attributed to Tura"; "Chap.Horn and trains Corna e code/Page 98 line 2 and 3 of Schifanoia/..."); 11v ("it

is clear that the three ceilings were painted during different epochs at a distance of about 20 years from each other – i.e. about 1460-65 -about 1480-83 and about 1500./ This latter date is suggested by the fact that the women are still wearing the 'coazzone' while the caps of the men are of the type used during the very early 16th century. The ceiling recalls the second marriage of Ottaviano with the noble Domicilla Lupi of Bergamo [...] it is integral and organic, while the two previous ones are difficult to decipher. Some panels were removed, maybe added afterwards [...]. I believe that one recalls the first marriage of Ottaviano with one of the Benzoni, and the other, the oldest, the marriage of his father. / It is in the last of the three (the Vimercati – Lupi) that the portrait has been inserted – evidently painted over an older one. Of a person in the costume of the years 1510-1515 – perhaps one of the French governors of Crema of the period 1509-12"), 14. For the mediocre examples from Viadana, cf. Aglio 2013.

⁷⁴ B. 27 (It was thought that these panels were the work of Antonio Della Corna -after attentive examination I would exclude this attribution, except perhaps for some (few). / Ant. Della Corna was a very mediocre artist. At times almost a caricature and some of these heads are beautiful and worthy of a great maestro. Some have even been retouched but much less than ceiling 2); B. 30, c. 1, "The panels from Palazzo Fodri are attributed by Mina Gregori to Ant Della Corna".

⁷⁵ For example: one of the main "sources of work and of earning for the ateliers of 15th century painters was to be found in wooden ceilings [...] for which they prepared hundreds of small panels called predellas" (B. 28); "Panels or predellas for ceilings [...]Almost all Lombard houses during that period had wooden 'lacunar' ceilings, sustained by great beams against which the predellas were placed in rows and in an inclined position./The central predella of every span bore the family coat of arms" (B-12, cc. 41r, 42v); but also, cf. B 17, c. 9v, ("predella"). As far as is known, ceiling panels in Crema were called "zabì", as maintained by Pietro Savoia in his thesis, without however supplying information from archives or other sources, cf. Savoia 1949, p. 204.

“An at least approximate knowledge of the date of costumes is very necessary”

When underlining the countess's “extremely useful observations on fashions that notably integrate what Malaguzzi Valeri and other scholars of this rare and very little researched subject wrote on the matter”, Edoardo Arslan in his introduction recognised another important innovation in the book – that of viewing details of clothing as research tools. A “valid help” went on Arslan, for “those who seek aid for a better understanding of the work of art; to be used, of course, preferably as a post quem observation rather than as the precise indication of a date”¹. The countess herself indeed stated that “it is not possible to date the ‘stories’ painted on chests and the portraits on the ceilings without first being aware of the evolution of costume during the 15th century”, but she immediately warned against the mechanical and simplistic use of this sort of data as a tool for determining historic-artistic chronologies². Proof of the importance in her own research method of this particular element is given by the three central chapters of the book, respectively “*Mode e Modi*”, “*Corna e Code*” and “*Giubbe e Turche*”, the three together making up almost a quarter of the volume. Rossana Bossaglia in her 1960 review³, defined them as “delicious”, creating a sort of little history of Lombard fashion and forming the necessary introduction to the following two chapters which, as already seen, related to the painted wooden panels of the Palazzo Fodri in Crema. It was not, however, a question of sporadic observations, such as those of Pietro Toesca in his 1912 *La pittura e la miniature nella Lombardia* who, when describing works, sometimes paused to comment on the “style in clothes” and “dressing in Lombardy”, declaring however, that “it is not prudent, nor possible, to make use of observations on the styles reproduced by artists” to form conjectures “on influences or waves of style”. Thus, depreciating the efficacy of this mode of research and almost suggesting that it should not be used. Toesca, however, drew most of his information from a single source, Ettore Verga's article on the sumptuary laws of Milan published in 1898 in the “Archivio Storico Lombardo”, limiting himself to citing the studies it contained⁴.

The countess, instead, followed a precise methodology, in which fashion was seen as a tool for studying a work of art, and figurative and written sources held a sort of dialogue together. Over the years she systematically scoured archives and libraries searching for information on this subject and ransacked photographic archives and researched works of art, thus building up that valid “knowledge” of the history of costume which she considered “very necessary” for those wishing to analyse ceiling panels⁵.

Observations regarding fashion also appear in her correspondence with Fausto Lechi.

For example, in a postcard sent from Rome, its postal mark dated 15th March 1952, she replied to the count about the “interesting photographs” he had sent her, which the countess considered to be “from the ½ half of the 15th century- the men have headgear from the 1st half, but that of the woman came into fashion around 1450” (Fig.74). When writing to him on 8th February 1958 in connection with the already mentioned specimens of the fascinating series of seventy-five panels from Palazzo Bona (Averoldi), she noted that the “headgear of the lady (..) is not Italian. It could be Piedmontese, because in Piedmont more French than Italian fashion was in vogue”. The countess was here referring to the metope with the effigy of a lady wearing cone shaped headgear, of the French *hennin* type, made popular at the end of the XV century at the Sforza court by Beatrice D'Este, the wife of Ludovico il Moro. This metope, together with another three, in situ, appeared in one of the panels of *Pittura artigiana lombarda del Rinascimento* accompanied by a long caption in which the author returned to the “non-Italian headgear” of the lady, recognising replicas in “some frescoes from the family atelier of the Da Cemmo”.⁶

Winifred had previously made observations on costumes when writing on 12th April 1947 to Fernanda Wittgens about the panels in the ceiling of the Palazzo in Via Civerchi, acquired for the Poldi Pezzoli Museum: “from the costumes I deduce that it was painted during the period 1470-1480”. In this letter to her friend, she highlighted the importance of this cycle “also for the new study on costume during the 15th century” which she declared was underway, requesting “observations and some photographs” of the panels before they were taken down from the ceiling in Crema⁷.



Fig. 74. Postcard sent by Winifred Terni de' Gregory to Fausto Lechi, 1952, Terni de' Gregory Archive, Crema.

Winifred's research methods, already operative in her 1938 article on Bianca Maria Visconti Sforza, published in the magazine "Cremona", were decidedly before her time, besides being totally opposite to those of Roberto Longhi who was convinced that "the materials of environment, costume, culture cannot have a positive value for historic-artistic construction."⁸.

While noting and discussing Giulio Campi's monumental 1540 altarpiece in San Sigismondo in Crema -created for the church where Francesco Sforza and Bianca Maria Visconti married on 25th October 1441, depicting the Madonna and Saints and, lower down, the ducal pair – she pointed out that Bianca Maria wore "clothing of 16th century style. The only authentic detail is the white cap which became fashionable towards 1460, adopted by

the Duchess. And which seems to have hit the phantasy of all the painters and sculptors". At this point, to prove the truth of her observation, she indicated the figurative sources available regarding Bianca Maria, including also the miniature showing the ducal wedding, and the saints Gerolamo and Sigismondo, from the codex with privilege of donations conceded to the monastery of San Sigismondo (Cremona, Archivio Storico Diocesano)⁹. She had been able to examine it directly during one of her trips to Cremona and described it from the costume point of view in one of her notebooks, kept mainly around 1935-1936. The countess also mentioned here, while gathering bibliography regarding Cremona, her intention to go to see in "S. Agostino – frescoes", without doubt referring to the famous frescoes dismantled and taken



Fig. 75. Bonifacio Bembo, *Portraits of Francesco Sforza and Bianca Maria Visconti Sforza*, 1462, Church of Sant'Agostino, Cremona.

away on canvas with the effigies of Francesco Sforza and of his wife Bianca Maria, portrayed as donors. In 1902, these frescoes were linked by Malaguzzi Valeri to a payment made in 1462 to Bonifacio Bembo and considered by Edoardo Arslan in 1956, in dispute with Longhi, “the only starting point” for the knowledge of this artist¹⁰. The effigies of the ducal pair immortalised in these paintings dominate two of the panels shown in *Pittura artigiana lombarda del Rinascimento* (Fig.75). From the last decades of the XIX century, the themes of fashion and the history of costume throughout the Italian peninsula had entered the publishing world, and various authors employed them to speak of society, producing specific studies sometimes of a merely regional or chronological nature.

Within the Lombardy context, apart from the observations made by Malaguzzi Valeri throughout his books on the *Corte di Ludovico il Moro*, many articles had appeared in magazines, particularly in “Archivio Storico Lombardo”, in which inventories, dowry laws, sumptuary regulations etc. were studied. More in general, Elisa Ricci had also ventured into this area, publishing in 1925 the article *Parliamo della moda* in “La Lettura”, the

monthly magazine of the “Corriere della Sera”. Also published had been the two recapitulatory volumes by Guido Marangoni, *Arredo e Abbigliamento nella vita di tutti i tempi e tutti i popoli*¹¹. In addition, interest in fashion sociology had been gaining ground for some time. This had sprung up at the end of the 19th century and included *The Theory of the Leisure Class* by the American Thorstein Veblen (1857-1929), published in 1899 and translated into Italian by Einaudi in 1949¹².

During the aftermath of the second world war, the fashion theme also involved various institutions and stimulated expositive initiatives. The Ente Nazionale Moda was set up in Turin in 1935 and promoted the *Mostra Nazionale dell'Arte della Moda* at Palazzo Reale on 6th October 1946. The ‘Centro Italiano della Moda’, instituted in Milan in 1948 had, instead, founded the magazine “Arte e Costume”, while the *Primo Convegno Nazionale della Moda* was held in Rome in May 1949. Furthermore, from the end of the 40s, Franco Martinotti’s SNIA Viscosa was actively engaged in developing the Italian textile industry and contributed in 1951 to the founding of the ‘Centro Internazionale delle Arti e del Costume’ (CIAC) at Palazzo Grassi in Venice.

Between the 1st and the 8th of September 1952, the 1^o *Congrès international d'Histoire du Costume* was held in the CIAC’s prestigious Venetian headquarters, organised by Franco Marinotti and his son Paolo. Participating were scholars of the calibre of James Laver (1899-1975), from the Victoria & Albert Museum, and of François Boucher (1885-1966) from the Musée Carnavalet, respectively President and Vice-president of the congress. It was decided to accompany the congress with the exhibition *La leggenda del filo d'oro, la via della seta*, held between August and October, also at Palazzo Grassi¹³.

The self-taught Rosita Levi Pisetzky (1897-1985) future author of the five weighty tomes *Storia del costume in Italia* (1964-1969), had also participated at the Venetian initiative with an article on the role of colour in Italian fashion. She had begun by publishing, between October 1937 and August of the following year, eleven articles entitled *Storia del fazzoletto* in “Fili”, the monthly magazine brought out between 1934 and 1944 by Domus, a publishing house specialised in architecture and decorative arts, founded by Giò Ponti. On the 1948 September issue of “Le vie d'Italia” instead, appeared *Il costume italiano nel '48*. From 1954,

Levi Pisetzky had participated with the Fondazione Trecani degli Alfieri on the volumes regarding the *Storia di Milano* (1953-1966) with chapters on fashion, prepared though the meticulous reconnaissance of written sources, not however used by her for historic-artistic research¹⁴. Present at the 1952 Venetian congress with her *Les soieries sicilienne du "Tiraz" Normand au XVIII siècle* was also Maria Accascina (1898-1979), Sicilian art historian engaged in the study and preservation of the decorative arts. She had drawn up her post graduate dissertation on the goldsmith's art under Adolfo Venturi, another indispensable figure for studies on the applied arts but, like Levi Pisetzky was not in contact with the countess Terni de' Gregory, at least as far as can be seen from the Crema notebooks¹⁵. The importance of the Palazzo Grassi congress and the textile arts did not go unnoticed by the magazine "Arte Lombarda" which, for example, in its 1956 issue hosted an article by Bianca Maria Ugolotti on modern Lombard fabrics.¹⁶

In Florence in the meanwhile, in 1951 in the home of Giovanni Battista Giorgini, the "made in Italy" brand began to take shape. In the same year Anna Maria Brizio also entered the field of fashion, curating with Vittorio Vale, Carlo Aru, Noemi Gabrielli and Marziano Bernardi the exhibition *La Moda in cinque secoli di pittura*, installed at Palazzo Madama between May and June by the Ente Italiano della Moda. In "le Arti", Brizio had published that same year her article *La moda ispiratrice di pittura*, reprinted in a later edition of the exhibition catalogue, identical to the previous one except for the insertion of her article and that of Bernard Berenson, *Importanza della moda nella datazione delle opera d'arte*.¹⁷

The initiative had resulted in the anything but cordial comment by Roberto Longhi who, in a letter dated the 6th of October 1951, with the acrimony natural to him, clearly declared his disapproval, no doubt also intending to attack Berenson, with whom he had been at odds for years.¹⁸

Dear Brizio, Your letter places me in serious embarrassment ... If you wanted to see fine paintings in Turin, nobody stopped you from proposing a beautiful exhibition on Renoir, or perhaps the Impressionist group or Goya, in short something that declared art untouchable, even though doing it under the patronage and financed by the Ente della Moda. In this way you have chosen the most dangerous way, which leaves you open to all sorts of attacks. If I review this, have no doubt that I shall try not to be (too) cruel towards the good intentions of my friends and of yours particularly.¹⁹

In contrast to Berenson, who had underlined the objective value of the fashion element as a scientific tool, totally in line with the countess's opinion, Brizio had not, however, understood the possibilities which such tools could offer to historic-artistic research.

She declared, in fact, in her introduction to the catalogue that "Fashion during five centuries of painting is intended as the revocation of these intimate interpretations which the imagination of artists gave to costume during the rotation of the epochs, and not only an arid and literal documentation of outward particularities of clothing"²⁰. Thus distancing herself once more from the "arid" documents and approving a formalistic approach. To really function and permit the history of art and the story of costume to link together convincingly and fruitfully for both, such half investigative means must, however, be managed by keeping well in mind certain basic matters.

Such as the fact that fashion is a 'system', made up of diverse elements, subject to hierarchic and geographic variations, embracing both hyper clothing models and their local derivations – all elements of which the countess was fully aware.

In fact, Winifred wrote in "female fashion, many styles and many different types of headgear appeared at the same time" some of which

lasted a long time, others made a short appearance, while others again disappeared only to reappear, with some slight changes, some years later [...] There were so many variations in use at the same time, that dating becomes very difficult and before hazarding an opinion it is advisable to study other elements such as the collar or the neck-line, the sleeve [...] In profane paintings we find almost exclusively the styles used by the courts and the aristocracy. It is only in votive i.e., hagiographical paintings that we see groups of common people around the Madonna or middle-class donors [...] we can notice that they are wearing reduced and simplified versions of the reigning fashion²¹.

The countess also presented Bianca Maria Sforza, the niece of Ludovico il Moro and wife of Emperor Maximilian I of Hapsburg, in "Lombard costume", portrayed in the painting of the Leonardo school housed in the National Gallery of Washington, and in "German costume in the painting by Bernardo Strighel"²² (Figg.76,77). In the panels from Crema – a city, as already mentioned, under Venetian rule from 1449 but near Milan – she noted instead images of certain ladies



Fig. 76. Lombard Master, *Portrait of Bianca Maria Sforza*, c.1493, The National Gallery of Art, Washington.



Fig. 77. Bernard Strigel, *Portrait of Bianca Maria Sforza*, 1505-1510, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.



Fig. 78. Lombard Master, *Panel depicting a Lady*, c.1500, part of the series formerly in Benzoni Palace, now Private Collection.

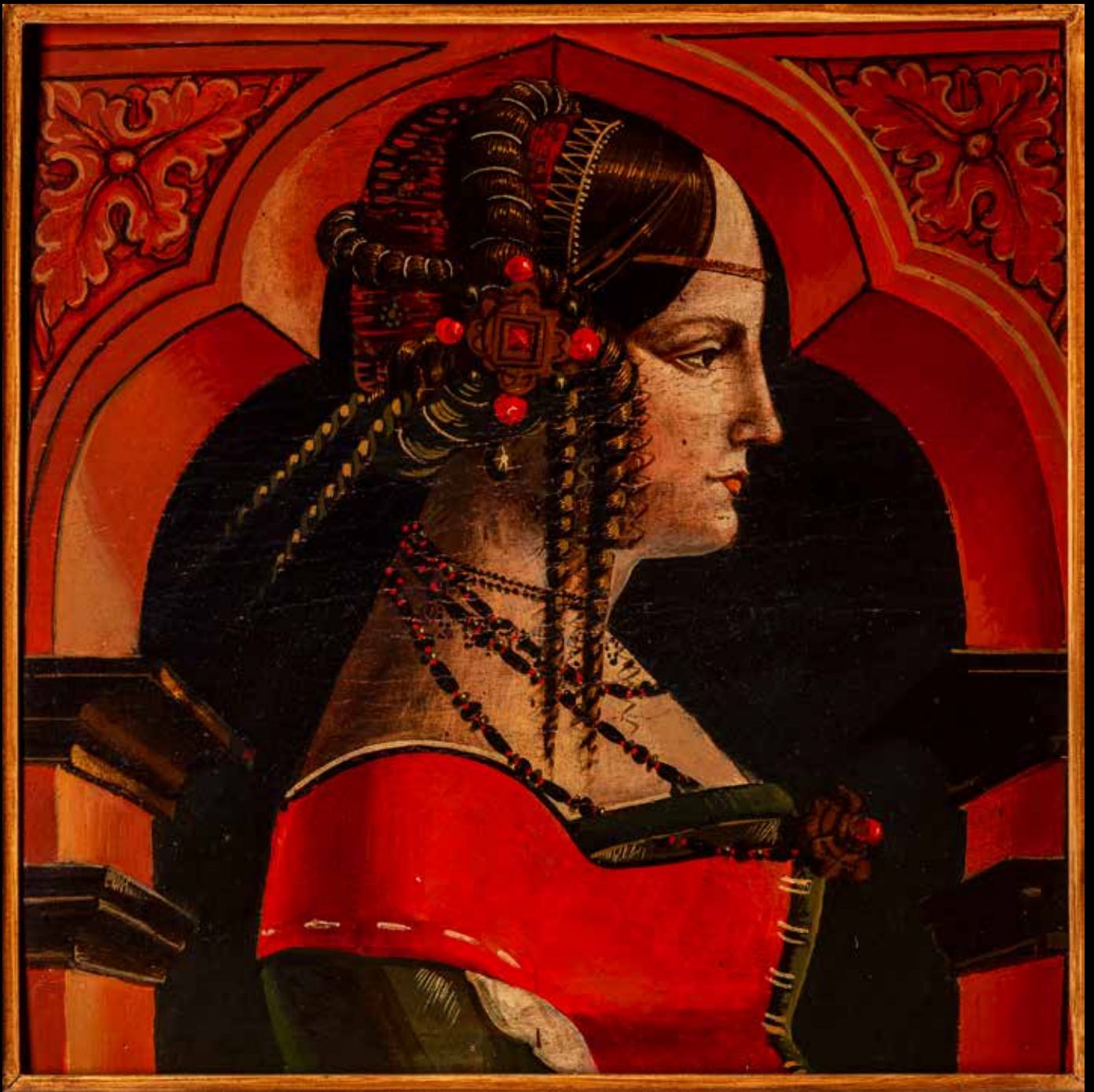


Fig. 79. Lombard Master,, *Panel depicting a Lady*, c.1500, part of the series formerly in Benzoni Palace, now Private Collection.



Fig. 80. Cremona Workshop, *Panel showing a Lady*, Fodri Palace, Cremona, “first ceiling”.

with “Venetian type hairstyles”, and of others with the “coazzone” and the caps influenced by the fashion set at the Sforza court by Beatrice D’Este (Fig 78) or with headwear showing the “clumsy provincial exaggerations” of local fashions. To illustrate the latter, she showed a fine metope with the profile of a lady, characterised by an unusual, bejewelled hairstyle, enlivened by long stiff ringlets, and wearing a precious cap and a lencia, or band, around her forehead²³. (Fig79). The countess was also aware of the thorny question of language, already brought up by Malaguzzi Valeri in his 1913 book on the ‘Corte di Ludovico il Moro’²³, which had lead Antonio Ceruti and Carlo Merkel to compile, at the end of their work in 1875 and 1893, a glossary gathered from the documents under consideration.²⁴

Winifred wrote “I must confess that our ideas about the names of clothing are somewhat vague. The letters of the Ducal family speak of ‘ziparelli’, ‘zipponi’, ‘zornee’, ‘turche’ and if we translate the first three words into modern language, we must say “giubbarelli”, giubboni, and giornee”. These observations she considered extendable also to the “fabrics which made up the clothes”: many efforts have

been made to list and recognise the materials, but with uncertain results”.²⁵. It is therefore always essential to at least keep to the historical term, avoiding modern and personal interpretations and ‘translations.’

Therefore, speaking of headgear in vogue at the time of Bianca Maria Visconti, which she had noted also in the Palazzo Fodri panels, she correctly used the term “veli da corna”, or “scudazoli da coprire le corna” (Fig.80), expressions found, for example, in the 1463 dowry trousseau of Drusiana Sforza, published in 1912 by count Alessandro Giulini (1873-1936). This was made up of an inventory of items of clothing and was meticulously recorded by the countess in one of her notebooks.²⁶

When she wrote to “allude to the sources from which we can gain information on fashion evolution” during the 15th century, the countess however stood aloof from the venerated Malaguzzi Valeri, guilty of not having tried to combat the predominance of figurative over written attributions - as she herself, aiming at the mutual control of said sources, had done - thereby leaving the former divorced from the latter.

In his important work on the ‘Court of Ludovico il Moro’, Malaguzzi Valeri included many precious illustrations of costumes and numerous reproductions of frescoes and portraits.... but unfortunately he did not attempt to specify the relative dates and we find illustrated together as ‘15th century costumes’ fashions in vogue from 1300 to 1500 and beyond!

This so precious and useful work cannot therefore represent a sure base for the study of costume.²⁷

To clearly identify the evolution of style, the countess felt compelled to create chronological props as exact as possible, through the presence of numerous dated works of art, or through the biographical data of the artists and personages depicted. Synthesising this project were the two panels showing “15th century headgear” and “15th century male hair styles and headgears” (Figg.81,82), accompanied with “dates” which, she pointed out, were “approximative”, extracted from “works in which can be seen a certain style of headgear”, but which “do not *exclude* the possibility of finding it in earlier or later works”²⁸.

This type of chronology occupied the entire notebook “Costumes /Dates etc”, drafted mainly between 1940 and 1950, entitled at chapter 1r “Dates etc of Pictures, sculptures medals etc -from 1450 to 1456 (& end of 14th century)” and at chapter 14r “Dates of people events etc”. In



Fig. 81. Plate showing "15th century headgear" in *Pittura Artigiana Lombarda del Quattrocento*.

these pages she furthermore grouped together bibliographies touching on the theme of clothing, studying contributions in which archive documents and portraits appear²⁹. To the theme "costumes - dates" was dedicated another, later notebook, which the countess used while studying the Palazzo Fodri panels and those of other Lombard buildings, compiled with a view to carrying out the project of publishing *Pittura artigiana lombarda del Rinascimento* with Vallardi. In this notebook were also to be found the pencil sketches of four male profiles in vertical succession similar to those in the plate showing "Male hair styles and headgear" and "Observations on the first ceiling (upper room) in Palazzo Fodri", formulating observations developed in the already mentioned two closing chapters of the volume, focused on this palazzo in Cremona. *Un ambiente tipico e Miniera iconografica*, which interested her also from the fashion point of view. While analysing in her book the panels of the "first ceiling", she noted in fact that "almost all the clothes, headgear and hair styles belong to the numerous types worn between 1465 and 1480", though she pointed out that "an exact opinion is not possible as the precise year a cer-

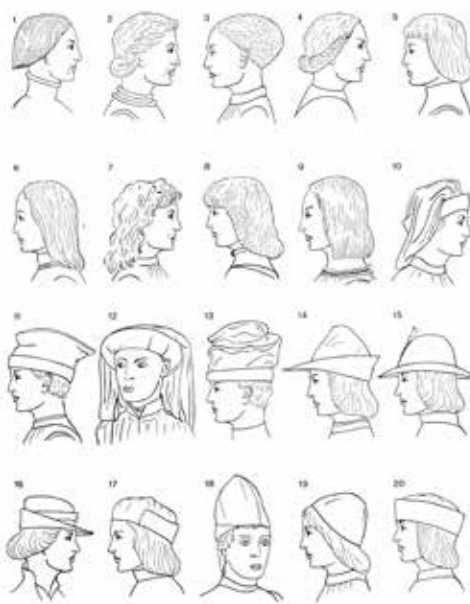


Fig. 82. Plate showing "15th century male haircuts and headgear", in *Pittura Artigiana Lombarda del Quattrocento*.

tain style appeared is not known". She also observed the general presence of the "horn" style of headgear, also in the last variations of this fashion, "i.e., the lateral 'scudazoli', adding that no lady showed a "hair style attributable to the end of the century and almost all wear 'camorra' type clothes, with contrasting type, richer sleeves." The hypothesis occurred to her that the decorated wooden whole had been created "during the life of Bartolomeo Fodri and respected by Benedetto during the revolutionary reform, because of its artistic and iconographic importance". She did not exclude a second possibility - that the ceiling had been commissioned by Benedetto shortly after the death of his father and "entrusted to an old atelier used to adopting the ornate Gothic style and representing people from a former age with the style of 1460 or shortly afterwards". Nor was a third hypothesis excluded: Benedetto Fodri had, that is, incorporated into his residence a previous house, already decorated, merely removing any coats of arms. These latter were entirely missing from this area "a circumstance unique if not rare because in iconographic ceilings at least the family coat of arms was never missing"³¹.



Fig. 83. Cremona Workshop, *Panel showing a Man (Galeazzo Maria Sforza ?)*, Fodri Palace, Cremona, “first ceiling”.

This would explain- I may add here- the updating of the stylistic method evident in some panels, "attributable" perhaps, according to the countess, to Antonio Della Corna, showing more dynamically conceived personages within the same framework characterised by ravioli shaped cippi and a lobed gothic opening.³²

Given the lack of exact dates, however, the author concluded with prudent pragmatism that for the moment it was unfortunately impossible to say more about the creators of this

"portrait gallery" of people "contemporaries of the family" or "perhaps of their most illustrious ancestors" with those of "reigning" figures of the Sforza family (Fig 83), and of other personages with "whom the family had contacts"³³ for the moment it is unfortunately impossible to say anything. Nothing remains but to hope that some document will appear to illuminate us, which would shed light also on "this extremely interesting review of Lombard, and especially Cremona, fashions during the second half of the 15th century"³⁴.

Notes

¹ E. Arslan, *Introduzione*, in Terni de' Gregory 1958, pp. 5-6. Regarding the question of paintings not being a fashion photograph, the 1988 observations by Quinta Valle are still valid. While examining the ceiling panels in the Ghirighelli palazzo in Bellinzona, Angela Pini- Legobbe records the contribution made by Terni de' Gregory through her observations on fashion, cf. Pini -Legobbe 1995, note 14, p. 115.

² Terni de' Gregory 1958, p. 123, e p. 79 ("it is not easy because, particularly during the second half of the century and in female fashion, many different styles and headgear types appeared").

³ Bossaglia 1960, pp. 123-124.

⁴ Toesca ed. 1966, pp. 131- 145, pp. 131 (quote at p. 133); cf. Verga 1898.

⁵ Terni de' Gregory 1958, p. 123.

⁶ The letter to Count Lechi continued: "your panels present a problem. The lady wears headgear which appeared after the middle of the 15th century, while that of the man is from the second half. But I believe that people holding a certain special office or qualifications used it in the second half as well. The ornate works of the two series are, though different from each other, attributable to the same period i.e., the third quarter of the century, perhaps around 1465-70". Terni de' Gregory 1958, plate XIV c, p. 169; for more on the panels at palazzo Bona, cf. Bonfadini 2005, card 4, pp. 57-59. Regarding the presence of this type of headgear in Lombardy at the end of the 15th century, cf. Venturelli 2019a, pp. 32-50, 145.

⁷ Venturelli 2015c, p. 164.

⁸ Quote from Longhi 1961 pp. 167-168. No historiography on fashion exists.

⁹ Terni de' Gregory 1938, pp. 179-180.

¹⁰ B. 3: "She clothes of scarlet gold/He green [...]", with

descriptions also of the clothing of the "Sforza heralds". Malaguzzi Valeri 1902, p. 100; Arslan 1956: "no mention is made here, of course, of the numerous attributions; rarely, on such a slight base, has so much been built" (quote from M. Tanzi, in Bandera- Tanzi 2013 card 11, pp. 86-88, a p. 86).

¹¹ I merely refer to: Belgrano 1875 (II^o ed); Lanza di Scalea 1892; Merkel 1893; Idem 1898; Verga 1898; Molmenti 1905; Montalto 1922; Frati 1923; Morandi 1923; Polidori Calamadrei 1924; Ricci 1925; also, cf. Pecchenini 2013.

¹² Veblen 1899; cf. Baudrillard 1980.

¹³ *Actes du Ier Congrès* 1952.

¹⁴ No studies on Rosita Levi Pisetzky exist; cf. Vergani 1999 ad vocem. Regarding "Domus", cf. Terraroli 2003.

¹⁵ Refer to Di Natale 2006-2007; Eadem 2007; Venturelli 2015d.

¹⁶ Ugolotti 1956. Regarding interest in these themes, cf. the comment by Giovanni Testori (1923-1993) made to Roberto Longhi, about the magazine "Arte Lombarda" and its scientific committee, in his opinion made up mostly "of young ladies, former pupils of D'Ancona and now devoted to dressmakers or Saint Vincent de Paul Conferences" (quote from Agosti 2008, p. LXV)

¹⁷ *La moda in cinque secoli di pittura* 1951.

¹⁸ For more on Berenson and Longhi, cf. Garboli- Montagnani 1993. Two letters by Pietro Toesca to Bernard offer observations on Longhi, who in the first is characterised as "the nymph Egeria" of the minister Bottai. Because of this political leaning, the chair of History of Art in Rome was given to Mario Salmi (1889-1980) instead of to Longhi. In the other letter (April 1946) Toesca wrote: "I received a most affectionate letter from Roberto Longhi (but why? Can it be trusted?)" cf. Pace 2014, p. 349; see also Cottino 2017, p. 296;

¹⁹ For this letter, cf. Leonardi 2010, p. 51, 62- 63.

²⁰ A. M. Brizio in *La moda in cinque secoli di pittura* 1951, pag. non n.

²¹ Terni de' Gregory 1958, pp. 85-86, 99- 100.

²² Cf. Terni de' Gregory 1958, figg. 66, 67, p. 103: for these two portraits from the point of view of fashion and of costume popular at the Sforza court, cf. Venturelli 2019a, pp. 51-63.

²³ Terni de' Gregory 1958, figg. 63, 64 on pp. 100, 101; for observations on these types of headgear and on the panels shown in fig. 64, cf. Venturelli 2020, pp. 60-61 and p. 87 fig. 5.

²⁴ Malaguzzi Valeri 1913, p. 401 ("complex terminology, it varies like fashion, above all not very precise, at least in the correspondence that has come down to us, thanks of course to men who, as is known, have never been very exact when speaking of garments and clothes"); cf. also Pecchenini 2014. Ceruti 1875; Merkel 1893, pp. 97-184 (p. 98: in this regard he wrote that involved here is a field of studies which in Italy is "at its beginnings and still leaves many gaps obscure"); for Merkel, cf. Corradi 2009.

²⁵ Terni de' Gregory 1958, p. 116.

²⁶ Terni de' Gregory 1958, pp. 95, 101; A. 9 (cc. 10v, 143r-154r); Giulini 1912; also cf. Venturelli 2016b; Eadem 2019c (sottovoce: *perla da testa, portatura da testa, schudazzoli*).

²⁷ Terni de' Gregory 1958, p. 84.

²⁸ Terni de' Gregory 1958, pp. 162-165 (quote on p. 162).

²⁹ A. 8, here she noted: "Read: Asl1903 (embroidery)/Asl

1902 page 221 and 1912 pag. 235 fabrics etc. /1909 inventaries of the duomo/Asl Calvi 1894 pag.141 (wool etc)/ Asl,/ Private Life in Bologna during the centuries XI11 to XV11 1900/Asl1898 pag. 5 Sumptuary Laws etc (Verga)2, "Asl 1910 Giulini Borromeo Wedding/Luzio and Renier Mantova and Urbino, " Court of L. il Moro (Vita Privata) page 143; "terms taken from the trousseau of Lucrezia Borgia 1903 Polifilo and that of Ippolita Sforza; Asl 1909 page 362 Magistretti", "Read il Vecellio Habiti antichi e moderni", "Motta Nozze principesche nel Quattrocento 1894", "Pasolini Caterina Sforza", "Asl 1901 Luzio Isabella (hairstyle); "Malaguzzi Valeri II vol.", "Asl 1910 e 1914 e Motta 1893 pag. 985; "look for photos of Giovan di A. de Predis Gall. Uffizi Firenze", by "Bernardino de Conti (?) Dama (principessa) in orazione coll. Johnson Philadelphia bella"; "Dates of people events etc-/"; "Description etc of Costumes).

³⁰ B. 27, inter alia: c. 63r "(Costumes - dates", listing: "Pisanello dies 1455; Andrea del Castagno "1457 (...)", etc; c.71;" Costumes"; then follow the four male profiles mentioned; c. 78r " "Sforza iconography" [...].

³¹ Terni de' Gregory 1958, quotes from: pp. 135, 135, 137.

³² Cf. Terni de' Gregory 1958, figg. 98, 99, pp. 145, 146.

³³ Terni de' Gregory 1958, p. 139; cf. Plates I, VII, XII and p. 143.

³⁴ Terni de' Gregory 1958, quotes from: pp. 141, 14



Lombard Workshop, *Panel showing an Illustrious Man*, c.1500, part of the series formerly in Benzoni Place, now Private Collection.

Appendix

“Given that history is made with facts and not with fantasy”

The method of Winifred Terni de’i Gregory

Visit to a gallery

(...) Even the bronze plaque on the frame said “Titian” but to me, ignorant but meticulous regarding the things to which I have dedicated particular attention and study, the costumes of the person depicted did not say the same thing; nor did his eyes, those eyes in paintings that tell us many things, even sometimes the author’s name... I dared a timid question: “Is it signed?”- “No”. Then another: “Is it documented?” – “No”.

Another question trembled on my lips: “Did you see him paint it?”. I swallowed it with an effort and asked with a humble and ingenuous air: “So how do you know it is a Titian?” Humility and ingenuousness did not save me from a black look and the reply was curt: “Because Professor Settestelle said so, and he is right. It is a Titian”. And then, with a pitying air: “X attributed it to Lotto; Z to Palma; Cook, who saw Giorgione everywhere, to him; but there can be no doubt, it’s a Titian”.

Full stop, the public is served.

So that painting is a Titian because Prof. Settestelle said so; but more than that, because the Director, who reigns supreme in the Gallery, was able to attach the card that pleased him, the last, (for now) of a series of cards attached by a series of autocrats. And the studious public of Whatdoyoucallit, which wishes to imprint in its memory the characteristics of Titian’s style, will study it conscientiously on a painting which Titian perhaps never even saw, and will suffer serious upset if after some years a new Director changes the card and perhaps places there the name of.... Bernardino Licinio!

This has happened to me various times. For some pictures I have seen the card change four or five times! In galleries, at exhibitions, application of the, let’s say, “absolute” card should be permitted only to those works of art with signatures presumably authentic, that is with contemporary and certain documentation. For all the others, as is beginning to be done in certain Exhibitions abroad, all previous and current attributions should be indicated, with the names of the relevant critics.

The public must learn to appreciate and evaluate works of art without giving undue importance to names.... (...).¹.

Questions regarding method

(...) Certain recent schools of criticism, which hold tradition in little account and sometimes neglect even documented evidence but busy themselves creating ‘artistic personalities’ based on stylistic reasons and personal opinions, tend to err in another sense. The inaccuracies of 19th century critics seem nothing when compared with the enormities perpetrated by some of their successors, engaged in a merry ‘attribution dance’ to wrench important works from their traditional creators and attach them to some mediocre artist to whom their stylistic

zeal has donated a totally new 'artistic personality'.

Over the last half-century we have seen, in the most famous Galleries, the card changes three or four times on paintings of world fame, not to speak of the pitched battles fought with pen and paper to demolish a painter and raise another to the heights. Happily, a trend is emerging towards more serious and considered systems, helped by the modern possibilities of scientific research. Radio and the chemical analysis of colours and paints have certainly contributed much not only to unmasking imitations and re-adaptations, but toward confuting attributions and forgeries. These systems help to give organic consistency to the complex production of pictorial data and aid in evaluating the technique preferred by the various schools and ateliers. Past writers on art ignored of course all forms of scientific research and none of them – or almost none – wondered if the style of a certain work responded to the epoch in which the supposed painter lived, and if the costumes of the people depicted existed during his time.

For less than a century it has become customary to methodically examine the canvas or the panel and to study the quality of the colours, the method used to trace the design and to apply colour (something as individual almost as handwriting), the date of costumes and head styles and their regional variations, as well as the small personal mannerisms which permit experts and sometimes also the public to recognise the author of a painting at first glance. Yet absolute certainty is never possible without an authentic form, an irreproachable document. There have always been clever imitators and, even just to be relatively safe, the material and technical study of a painting is not sufficient if historical, environmental, and psychological research is missing. For this reason the 'man on the street' lover of art should be very happy about the new criteria adopted in the compilation of catalogues by some important Galleries – criteria we hope to see adopted by all compilers of catalogues.

We would point out that the old system (in many cases still in vogue) was based on wishful thinking, that is on the wish to make one's gallery famous by filling the catalogue with important names. If a painting was clearly in the Raffaello style, the temptation to write "Raffaello" was almost irresistible, backed also by economic reasons. Suffice it to think of the financial abyss between a genuine Raffaello and a work of his school to understand the many good and bad reasons behind the choice of the more important attribution!

We still see, and always will see, this tendency towards superficiality, if not dishonesty, in the catalogues of private collections and exhibitions organised for commercial reasons. But the great national collections can, and do, renounce famous names and astronomical sums in homage to the truth.

A 'latest model' catalogue follows the name of the certain or presumed painter with the reasons for the attribution – signature, documentation, historic or stylistic reasons – and, for works which are, or were, under discussion, attaches to all previous attributions the names of the attributers, including the most recent, who must therefore face up to their responsibilities.

Each new, non-documented attribution may be based on the opinion of some important authority or on stylistic data, but it may also be founded on improved knowledge of the painter's life, of the cultural environment in which he lived and of his preferences, not only for certain human types, costumes and landscapes, but also for certain qualities of canvas and colour – clues which make probable the attribution, which however must never be presented as a 'certainty'. Sometimes this cautious and considered system restores to the traditional creator works taken from him by the 'demolishing' school so active some decades ago. This school, even if it did help to confute some ridiculous attributions, demolished many credible suggestions and, valiantly aided by the 'attribution' fans, created great confusion, aggravated by the contrasts between opposing groups and conventicles of critics.

Yet, notwithstanding this confusion, the conviction gains ground that the history of art is based above all on political and social history, and the modern critic is obliged to have a knowledge of the evolution which occurred over the centuries in social life, fashion, and political, religious and cultural thought.

Writers, poets, painters and artists of every category, including modest decorators, have always faithfully reflected,

even without knowing it or wishing to, the taste and thought of their epoch and the social environment in which they lived. It is therefore imperative to have an at least relative knowledge of the background against which stands out the figure of a given artist, and this requires meticulous and specialised study of the life and culture of the region and the epoch in which he formed his artistic personality. Whoever writes important histories of art must ever more frequently consult the humble efforts of those who dedicated themselves to historical studies and archival research circumscribed to certain areas and environments. This is particularly opportune in the study of Lombard art, which was formed among many confluent and contrasting currents in an environment differentiated by the diverse forms of government co-existing in the Lombardy region from the first quarter of the 15th century. If the study of environment is considered opportune in order to understand all Lombard artists, it is doubly so in the case of Civerchio, because few painters have been so ill-treated by fate and by the critics as he has been, especially by the 'attribution' groups, always ready to take every good thing from him and assign it to some greater artist, or to make him responsible for all the mediocre things they were unable to assign to others(..) ².

Notes

¹ This writing by Terni de' Gregory is recorded by Bonomi 1962, pp.64-65.

² Terni de' Gregory 1964 ("Vincenzo Civerchio"), pp. 45-47.

Brief Biography

Winifred was born on 20th May 1879 in Broadstairs, Kent, the only daughter of Francis Edward Taylor and Elisabeth Theresa Mary Walcot¹. In 1882 she and her mother joined her father in China². She lived there until 1889, first in Shanghai, then at Newchang (Manchuria) and lastly in Peking. On returning with her mother to England, she lived with her paternal grandparents in Richmond, London. The years 1891 to 1892 were spent in Germany (Dresden, Dusseldorf, Munich), after which she moved to Florence (1892-1893) where she studied drawing and painting and learned to speak perfect Italian. Later, from 1893 to 1897 her residence was at Montreux – Territet on Lake Geneva in Switzerland.

In 1897, at the age of eighteen, and having completed her education, she and her mother joined her father in China. There, in Shanghai, she met Count Luigi Terni de' Gregory, a naval lieutenant on the Italian warship "Marco Polo"³

Their wedding was celebrated in 1900 in the Catholic church of Montreux, as Winifred had renounced her Protestant religion and embraced Catholicism in order to marry. She then lived with her husband at La Spezia, where her children Maria Iolanda (Marinella) (1901-1993) and then Francis (1903-1984) were born, her permanence there being interrupted by a year spent in Venice.

During the First World War (1915-1918), she lived with her family in Rome, then moved permanently to Crema, to the Terni de' Gregory Bondenti Porta Puglia residence, a majestic late baroque palace situated in the present-day Via Dante Alighieri.

In 1927 her husband Luigi died at the age of 51.

Between 1937 and 1939, the countess had renovation work done on the fortress of Monasterolo del Castello, her favourite summer residence on the eastern shores of Lake Endine, in via Cavallina. Here, during the summer of 1960, while on holidays, she fell and fractured her humerus. She died a few months later, in Crema, on the 2nd of January 1961.

The countess had deeply committed to charitable and humanitarian work, devoting particular attention to women, but also to children, especially if affected by dyskinesia.

Between 1913 and 1943, the countess acted as Inspector for the Italian Red Cross, serving during the First World War at the *Ospedale della Regina Madre* in Rome. In 1919, she founded the "Associazione Nazionale Infermiere" and, in collaboration with the American "Rockefeller Foundation", introduced to Italy the *Opera Assistenti Sanitarie Visitatrici*, of which she was the first Secretary-General. In 1921 she set up in Crema, the "Colonia Fluviale", the "Colonia Montana", the "Ambulatorio del Balneatico per l'Assistenza alla madre al bambino" and in 1926 "l'Ambulatorio Gestaltico", besides the "Cattedra Ambulante di Puericultura" in Crema and Soncino. During the Second World War she opened an area in her residence to the city's poor and aged women. December 1951 saw the foundation in Crema of the "Patronato Assistenza Bambini Discinetici", the first in Italy, which later took her name. Her commitment to such charitable works found expression also in the publication of articles, starting in



Fig. 84. *Winifred Terni de' Gregory as a child*, Terni de' Gregory Archive, Crema



Fig. 85. *Winifred Terni de' Gregory, 1892*, Terni de' Gregory Archive, Crema



Fig. 86. *Winifred Terni de' Gregory at the Hockey Club in Shanghai, 1898*, Terni de' Gregory Archive, Crema.



Fig. 87. *Winifred and Luigi on their wedding day, 1900*, Private Collection, Crema.



Fig. 88. *Winifred Terni de' Gregory at Lake Endine*, Terni de' Gregory Archive, Crema



Fig. 89. Winifred Terni de' Gregory with her grandchildren Jolanda and Marco, 1950, Terni de' Gregory Archive, Crema.



Fig. 90. Winifred Terni de' Gregory at the inauguration of the Museo Civico di Crema e del Cremasco, on the 21st of May 1960, Terni de' Gregory Archive, Crema.



Fig. 91. Winifred Terni de' Gregory at the inauguration of the Museo Civico di Crema e del Cremasco, on the 21st of May 1960, Terni de' Gregory Archive, Crema.

1915 and continuing until her death.

She was awarded the “Argento della Sanità Pubblica” medal and the “Grande Medaglia d’argento della Croce Rossa Italiana”. She was also made a “Cavaliere al merito della Repubblica”.

Thanks to her role as “Ispettrice onoraria” of the Soprintendenza, she fought in defence of her city’s artistic heritage, and that of the Crema and Bergamo regions.

Convinced of the necessity of vindicating women’s rights, and opposed to the pervading male monopoly of culture, she claimed the right of women to participate in national and cultural life.

To this end she collaborated with “La Donna”, “La Tribuna”, “Nuova Antologia”, “Noi e il Mondo”, “Voci nel Tempo”, “Rassegna Nazionale”, “L’Osservatore Romano”, “L’Epoca”, “Giornale d’Italia”, “Bollettino dell’Organizzazione dell’Unione Femminile Cattolica Italiana”, “Rassegna Femminile Italiana”.

From 1918 she was a member of the “Lyceum, a women’s cultural association, first in Rome and then in Milan. An Academician of the Ateneo di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti in Bergamo, she was also a member of the Società Storica Lombarda⁵.

She employed her narrative skills also in the brilliant detective story, *Il Triangolo d’oro*, published in Milan in 1934⁴.

Notes

¹ I refer readers to the comprehensive biography of the countess written by Bonomi in 1962; cf. also M. Verga Bandirali, *Introduzione*, in Terni de’ Gregory 1964, pp. 11-14; C. S. Francia, *Winifred Adelaide (Ginevra Terni de’ Gregory Taylor)*, in Terni de’ Gregory 1994, pp. 223-225. ; Her mother, Elisabeth (Lily) was born in 1854 at Barbados in the Antilles, where the family had resided since 1632; after her daughter’s marriage, she left China for ever, and lived in England, Italy and Switzerland; she died in Crema in 1936.

² Francis Edward Taylor spent forty-one years as a functionary in the International Organisation of *Chinese Customs*. Besides receiving numerous posts and honours, such as that of “Mandarino Imperiale”, he also stipulated an Anglo- Chinese- Tibetan treaty at Darjeeling, where he remained for three years; he left China for Australia and Tasmania, dying in 1938 at Salisbury, formerly British Rhodesia.

³ Luigi Terni de’ Gregory was an “Ufficiale di Ordinanza di S. A.R. il Duca di Genova”, “Gentiluomo di Corte di S. A. R. la Duchessa di Genova” and, during the first world war, “Aiutante in Campo di S.A.R. il Duca di Genova”, later “Luogotenente generale di S.M. il Re” (Bonomi 1962, pp. 21-22).

⁴ Cf. her articles in “Rassegna Nazionale Femminile” and “Donna”, about the ladies of ‘buona società pigre e chiacchierone’; for the complete list of her publications see M. Verga Bandirali, *Elenco degli scritti di W. Terni de’ Gregory*, in Terni de’ Gregory 1964, pp. 69-71.

Winifred Terni de' Gregory

Most important articles on historic-artistic themes

Monographs

1940

Bianca Maria Visconti, Duchessa di Milano, Bergamo

1946

La meravigliosa storia di S. Maria della Croce, Crema (II ed. Crema 1954)

1949

La mobilia antica dell'Italia settentrionale pregiata - usuale- rustica, s. l., s. d. (ma Crema)

1950

Fra Agostino da Crema Agente sforzesco, Crema

1953

Vecchi mobili italiani. Tipi in uso dal secolo XV al secolo XX, Milano (I° edizione)

1955

Crema Monumentale ed Artistica, a cura della Deputazione storico artistica, Crema (II° ed. Crema 1960)

1956

Come vidi la Cina (bambina in Cina), Milano

1958

La pittura artigiana Lombarda del Rinascimento, Milano (II° ed. Milano 1981 editore Garzanti)

Posthumous publications

1962

Spinone e i vicini castelli, Crema (cit. 1962a)

Da Padre Camillo a Miss Florence, Crema (cit. 1962b)

1964

Scritti minori, a cura di Maria Verga Bandirali, Cremona

1994

Bianca Maria Visconti duchessa di Milano (ristampa dell'edizione 1940, con Prefazione di M. Verga Bandirali, e note biografiche di C. S. Francia), Crema

Articles and other contributions

1929

"The Venetian Settecento". This Exhibition of Eighteenth Century Italian Works of Art in One of Lido's Many Attractions, in "The Queen", October, p. 21

1930

Italian Decorative Arts in the Eighteenth Century. The Recent Exhibition at Venice showed a vast production of Paintings, Furniture, Sculpture, Ceramics, Glass and other Crafts, in "The Antiquarian", March, pp. 48-52 (cit. 1930a)

The Mystery Painter Salomon, in "The Connoisseur", March, pp. 174-176 (cit. 1930b)

Il naso di un condottiero, in "Cremona", VIII, 1930, anno II, numero 8, pp. 495-498 (cit. 1930c)

1934

The Pottery of Milan and Lodi, in "The Connoisseur", March, pp. 158-162

1935

The secret of Stradivarius. The Violin Maker of Cremona whose Genius lives in the Instruments which only He could created, in "The Sphere", 5, January

1938

Bianca Maria Visconti signora di Cremona, in "Cremona", X, n. 4, aprile, pp. 176-182

1939

La signoria cremonese di Bianca Maria Visconti, in *Atti e memorie del terzo Congresso Storico Lombardo. Cremona 29- 30- 31 maggio 1938*, Milano 1939, pp. 29-88

1946

Luci romantiche nella storia- Honorata Rodiani, in "L'Italia contemporanea", p. 24 (cit. 1946a)

Guerra ai vandali nostrani, in "L'Italia Contemporanea", pp. 25-28 (cit. 1946b)

1947

Ripresa turistica, in "L'Italia Contemporanea", pp. 24-26 (cit. 1947a)

Fatto personale con Boccasile, in "L'Italia Contemporanea", p. 9 (cit. 1947b)

Romite chiesette, in "L'Italia Contemporanea", pp. 14-15 (cit. 1947c)

Vecchio maniero pieno di ricordi!, in "L'Italia Contemporanea", p. 22 (cit. 1947d)

Venezia all'asta, in "L'Italia Contemporanea", pp. 6-7 (cit. 1947e)

1948

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