

## THE AWAKENING OF PARIS AND THE BEAUTY OF THE GODDESSES: TWO *CASSONI* FROM THE LANCKOROŃSKI COLLECTION

by Jerzy Miziołek

*Great was the grief he began when he came to Ida's glens,  
Hermes, Zeus' and Maia's son,  
leading there a lovely band  
of goddesses, a triple team,  
contenders in beauty, accoutred for black, ugly strife,  
to the cowherd's steading,  
the young recluse's cottage,  
and lonely hearth.*

Euripides, *Andromache*, 274-282<sup>1</sup>

The extraordinarily vivid tale of the Trojan prince, Paris/Alexander, which has been recounted in many ways since Homer, is one of the most popular subjects of Italian marriage chests or *cassoni*.<sup>2</sup> Count Karol Lanckoroński's collection in Vienna included two painted versions of this story, both dating back to the mid-1450s but executed in two different cities: one in Florence, the other in Verona. The first version comprises three pictures, two of which are relatively well-known thanks to Schubring's *cassoni* corpus<sup>3</sup>, whereas the third one was published only after the Lanckoroński collection had been donated to the Royal Castle (known as the Wawel Castle) in Kraków in 1994.<sup>4</sup> The second version of the tale of Paris decorates a completely preserved *cassone* (fig. 1) with paintings on the front as well as the side panels (*lateralì*). The side panels show busts in profile of emperors or kings wearing crowns (fig. 2).<sup>5</sup> On the front panel there are two small scenes with Paris inside flower-shaped compartments, which have six 'petals' each. They are located on either side of the coat of arms of the original owners of the *cassone*, which is in the centre of the panel. Both scenes show three standing nude goddesses and Paris, seated in one scene and standing in the other. As is the case in many other fifteenth century mythological representations, these scenes remain somewhat enigmatic; no one has yet explained why two similar depictions appear on the same *cassone*. Unfortunately this *cassone* did not reach Kraków. After the World War II, through the intermediary of Julius Boehler, the well-known Munich antiques dealer, it was sold to a private collection in Germany or Switzerland. The present owner, who wishes to remain anonymous, did, however, provide colour images of the *cassone*.<sup>6</sup>

Lanckoroński failed to mention the Verona chest in his 1903 guide to the collection, or in his "Einiges über italienische bemalte Truhen" of 1905, which is a brief description of his collection of domestic paintings, but it can be seen in a photograph, probably dating from 1906, showing the Italian Room in the Lanckoroński palace at Jacquingasse 18 in Vienna (fig. 3).<sup>7</sup> Together with it in this room was displayed Botticelli's tondo depicting *Madonna and Child*, which was lost during World War II, as well as Apollonio di Giovanni's *cassone* front with scenes from the *Odyssey*, and Dosso Dossi's famous canvas, *Jupiter painting butterflies*, which since 2000 also belongs to the Wawel Castle.

This paper is an attempt at a complete analysis of both versions of the myth on the Florentine and Veronese *cassoni*. Since the *cassone* from Verona is inaccessible, we shall focus on the three paintings presently housed in the Wawel Royal Castle, which have recently undergone restoration and cleaning. One of these in particular, known as *The dream of Paris*, is both fascinating and unique in the art of the early Renaissance. It has recently been the subject of an interpretation, which failed to adequately explain its iconography.<sup>8</sup> We shall also be examining a painting from the Burrell Collection in Glasgow (fig. 12), which was most probably originally part of the same series as the Lanckoroński paintings. However, before discussing any of the works mentioned above, we will give a brief account of Count Lanckoroński's interest in antiquity and his collection of mythological paintings and then look at the literary sources for the story of Paris and Helen, including medieval ones. The latter, which have been consulted rarely by art historians, appear to be most important for reading the narration of the *cassoni* in question.

#### Karol Lanckoroński and his collection of Italian painting

Count Karol Lanckoroński (1848-1933), an eminent art collector and writer, amateur art historian, and classical archaeologist, lived in Vienna, where he received his doctorate in law in 1870.<sup>9</sup> He was the descendant of a family that played a leading role in Polish history and cultural life from the beginning of the fourteenth century, owning extensive demesnes in the former southeastern part of Poland. Many members of the family held high-ranking posts and were civil servants working in the upper echelons of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, earning the reputation of great patriots. They were also known as patrons of the arts and culture; they supported the Jagiellonian University, commissioned works of art for churches in Krakow, and, in the



1 *Cassone* from Verona with scenes depicting the myth of Paris (poplar wood, tempera and pastiglia dorata, ca. 1450). Once in the Lanckoroński collection, now in a private collection.

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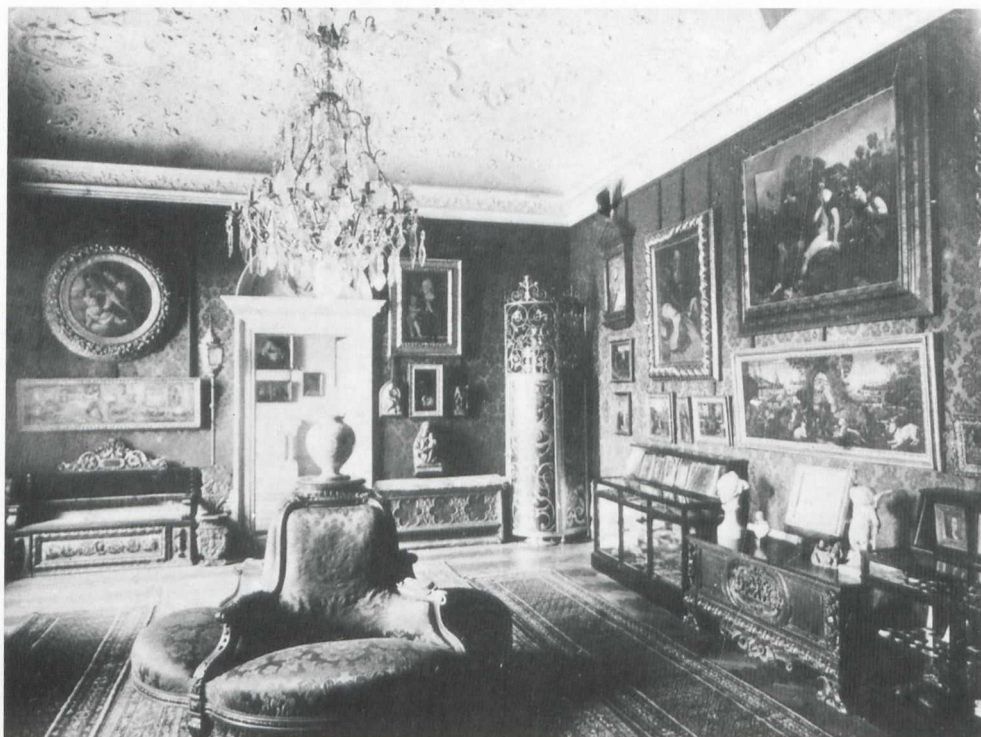




2 Portrait of an Emperor, side panel of fig. 1.

last quarter of the eighteenth century, they were involved in the Commission for National Education. After the partitions of Poland between its three neighbors at the end of that century, the Lanckorońskis settled in Vienna, like many other Polish aristocratic families from Galicia.<sup>10</sup> When Poland appeared again on the map of Europe in 1918 Count Lanckoroński adopted Polish nationality, became a member of the General Clearing Committee in Warsaw and was very much involved in the revindication of Polish collections and archives from the territories of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Shortly before his death in 1933, while still living mostly in Vienna, he pronounced to an Austrian journalist the significant words: "Ich bin ein Pole, meine Familie lebte in Wien, aber wir unterhielten immer Verbindung mit Polen".<sup>11</sup>

Like his predecessors, Karol Lanckoroński held an important position at the court and administration in Vienna. He was the Emperor's secret advisor and a hereditary member of the House of Lords of the Austro-Hungarian Parliament. In 1903, the Emperor Franz Josef I made him a Knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece, and in 1913 he appointed him *Oberstkämmerer*, the Great Chamberlain, a function which was connected with being in charge of culture and the conservation of monuments, among other things. Because of this, on the title pages of some volumes of one of the most important periodicals on art history, "Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses", published in 1913-14 and 1915 (vols. XXXI-XXXII), is to be found the count's name as its editor.





5 “Studiolo” created in 1999 in the Royal Wawel Castle in Kraków, northern wall.



Already in his youth the Count showed a great interest in art history, classical archaeology and literature. Most probably Alexander von Warsberg, the author of “Homerische Landschaften” (1884) and “Odysseische Landschaften” (1887), and Wilhelm von Hartel, a distinguished classical philologist, had a great influence on his studies, interests and archaeological investigations. In a painting by Rudolf von Alt of 1869 the bearded master and his young pupil are shown in conversation (fig. 4). In the 1870s and 1880s Lanckoroński came to know nearly the whole of Europe and the Near East.<sup>12</sup> In 1874 he went to Syria, and in the following years,

3 The Italian Study in Lanckoroński's Viennese Palace on Jacquingasse 18. Photograph, ca. 1906.

4 Rudolf von Alt, Karol Lanckoroński and Wilhelm von Hartel in Lanckoroński's Viennese residence at Schenkenstrasse 10. Watercolour, 1869. Present whereabouts unknown.



6 Florentine painter, *The childhood of Paris* (tempera on wood, 46 x 53,2 cm, ca. 1450). Kraków, Royal Wawel Castle.

to Egypt, North Africa and twice to Turkey.<sup>13</sup> The visits to Turkey resulted in an important international archaeological expedition to Asia Minor in the years 1884 and 1885. He wrote the following about the experience: "Encouraged by an expedition to Likya which took place in 1877 under the leadership of Benndorf, and which I helped bring to fruition, I went that year for the first time on a journey to the northwestern part of Asia Minor. In the company of several scholars and artists (including Dr. Luschan and the painter Bar), I spent several weeks on Rhodes [...]. At the end of October [...] we landed in Adalia [...] and went to the nearby Perge to make a plan of that town. Part of the winter of 1882-1883 was spent in Constantinople building up relations (through the intermediary of our Embassy) with the Turkish authorities in respect of our future archaeological research."<sup>14</sup> Both Austrian and German scholars participated in these, as well as Marian Sokolowski, the first Polish professor of art history, and Jacek Malczewski, a distinguished Polish painter.<sup>15</sup> In 1893, the Count undertook archaeological and conservation works in the cathedral of Aquileia which lasted ten years. The results of the expeditions to Asia



Minor and of his research in Aquileia were published in 1890-92 and 1906, respectively, in monumental scholarly books. Both publications provided with Lanckoroński's introductory essays serve until today for further studies on these subjects.<sup>16</sup> In the late 1880s, the Count took a trip around the world, which he described beautifully in his "Rund um die Erde" (1891), also published in Polish in 1893. In this book, he very often refers to his love of Italy. In the introduction are to be found the following words: "Ich freue mich nach Indien [...] aber mein Herz gehört doch der großen Landzunge zwischen den adriatischen und tyrrhenischen Meere. Mit Robert Browning kann ich sagen: 'Open my heart and you will see / Engraved inside Italy!'"<sup>17</sup>

Count Lanckoroński was also the author of several other books and papers, in which he wrote about his other travels, the problem of restoring historic monuments and museology, all of which are a reflection of his broad interests and erudition.<sup>18</sup> He also wrote some poetry, mostly in German, concerning Italy and masterpieces of Renaissance art, such as "Lido", "San Francesco in Deserto", and "Michelangelo's Moses".<sup>19</sup> His services to research on art and archaeology earned him the title *Doctor honoris causa* of the Universities of Berlin and Krakow in 1907. He was also made a member of the Viennese Akademie der Wissenschaften, Akademie der Bildenden Künste, Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, as well as the Kunsthistorisches Institut, established in Florence in 1897, which Lanckoroński supported with many donations. He once gave the Institut 5,000 marks, which was a substantial amount of money in those times (funds given by others typically ranged between 20 and 100 marks).<sup>20</sup> In the Institut's famous photographic collection, there are hundreds of photographs that were donated by the Count.<sup>21</sup> Apart from these, in the rooms on the library there are large portraits of his friends Adolph Bayersdorfer and Eduard von Liphart, photographs of a painting by Hans Thoma and of a drawing by Franz von Lenbach, the latter in his own possession, which were also donated by the Count to the Institut; his name is inscribed on the metal plaques below them. Ludwig Curtius and Johannes Wilde called Karol Lanckoroński "the last true Humanist".<sup>22</sup>



7 Embriachi workshop, Scenes from the life of Paris (The birth of Paris, An attempt to put Paris to the sword, Paris being delivered to the shepherd and being given to his new mother). Oxford, Ashmolean Museum.



8 Embriachi workshop, Scenes from the life of Paris (The birth of Paris, Paris being given to his new mother). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

Lanckoroński's Viennese collection, amassed mainly in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, was one of the biggest in central Europe. It was composed of antique, medieval, renaissance and modern art, but it was mostly famous for its large number of Italian late Mediaeval and early Renaissance paintings and sculptures. The already mentioned Adolph Bayersdorfer was the Count's most important adviser, although Henry Thode was also of help.<sup>23</sup> Guy de Tervarent thus wrote in his book "Les Énigmes de l'art": "La galerie Lanckoroński à Vienne passe pour la collection privée la plus riche en panneaux italiens des premiers temps de la Renaissance."<sup>24</sup> Initially, it was housed in the Count's residence at Riemergasse 8, then at Schenkenstrasse 10, Wasagasse 6 and finally, from the late 1890s, in a spacious palace at Jacquingasse 18, near the Belvedere in the heart of Vienna. From Theodor von Frimmel's "Lexikon der Wiener Gemäldesammlungen" (1914), among others, we know that the collection was completely moved only in 1901 to the palace at Jacquingasse.<sup>25</sup> The splendid new residence was officially opened to the public one year later; on this occasion the Count delivered a celebratory speech that was afterwards printed.<sup>26</sup> The collection contained about two hundred and fifty Italian paintings, of which more than thirty were produced between 1400 and 1550 in Tuscany and Northern Italy for domestic settings. They derive from *cassoni* (marriage chests) and *lettucci* (day-beds) or are *spalliera* and *cornice* panels (wainscotting), and mostly depict mythological and secular subjects.<sup>27</sup> *Forzieri* or *cassoni*, often in the shape of ancient sarcophagi, were usually executed on the occasion of weddings, and were almost always produced in pairs. Very often the subject depicted on such *cassone* fronts recounted only one story, a myth or a legend shown in numerous small scenes pictured in the manner of a continuous narrative spreading over two panels. However, at times the side panels of the chests were also adorned with narrative paintings; the cases in point most probably are the Lanckoroński panels with the story of Paris, presently at the Wawel Castle.



In the interwar period, the Lanckoroński collection was one of Vienna's greatest attractions. Karolina Lanckorońska, one of the Count's daughters, who received her Ph.D. in the history of art at the University of Vienna in 1926, often acted as a guide. In 1924, Kurt Weitzmann, who was to become one of the most renowned Byzantinists of the twentieth century, was one of those who went to see it. In his memoirs he writes: "Among the students was countess Lanckorońska, who took us around the excellent and well-known collection in her father's palace. At that time the collection included Uccello's *St. George*, which currently belongs to the British Museum (*sic!*)".<sup>28</sup> Subsequently Weitzmann mentions other famous Viennese collections — those of the Liechtensteins and the Harrachs. In 1939, the collection was confiscated by the Nazis, and in 1943, a major part of it was hidden to the salt mines in Alt Aussee and Immendorf. In 1945, it was found by the U.S. army and moved to the so-called Collecting Point in Munich, whereupon it was returned to the Count's heirs.<sup>29</sup>

In the late 1940s, the collection was deposited in a bank in Switzerland. In the course of time, mostly in the 1950s, numerous paintings and all the sculptures were sold and now they belong to some of the most prestigious collections all over the world. For example, Paolo Uccello's *St. George and the dragon*, as well as Domenichino's famous frescos from the Villa Aldobrandini at Frascati, are to be found in the National Gallery in London, while Masaccio's panel depicting *St. Andrew* was acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum in Malibu. In the early autumn of 1994 the paintings, which had remained in the hands of Karol Lanckoroński's descendants became the property of the Polish nation; most of them were donated by Professor Karolina Lanckorońska to the Royal Wawel Castle in Kraków.<sup>30</sup> The donation included twenty-six domestic panels and about sixty other paintings, among them Dosso Dossi's famous canvas, mentioned above, which reached Wawel Castle in 2000.<sup>31</sup> The domestic paintings from the Lanckoroński collection, even in their incomplete state, comprise one of the largest groups of this artistic genre in the world. The majority of them shows classical subjects, such as the Adventures of Ulysses, the myths of Psyche, Orpheus and Eurydice, Perseus, Narcissus, Pyramus and Thisbe, and the stories of Marcus Curtius, Horatius Coclès, Scipio, Julius Caesar as well as the tales of Aristotle (*The mounted Aristotle*) and Virgil (*Virgil in the basket*). Thus they perfectly reflect Count's fascination in antiquity, classical literature and archaeology. To the most interesting of these belong the three panels with the *Story of Paris and Helen*, now on permanent display in the Study Gallery of the Wawel Castle (fig. 5).



9 School of Giorgione, The handing of Infant Paris to a Nurse. Once Milan, private collection.



10, 11 Florentine painter, Paris's dream-vision and the three Goddesses by the well (tempera on wood, 42,2 x 49,6 cm, ca. 1450) and detail. Kraków, Royal Wawel Castle.

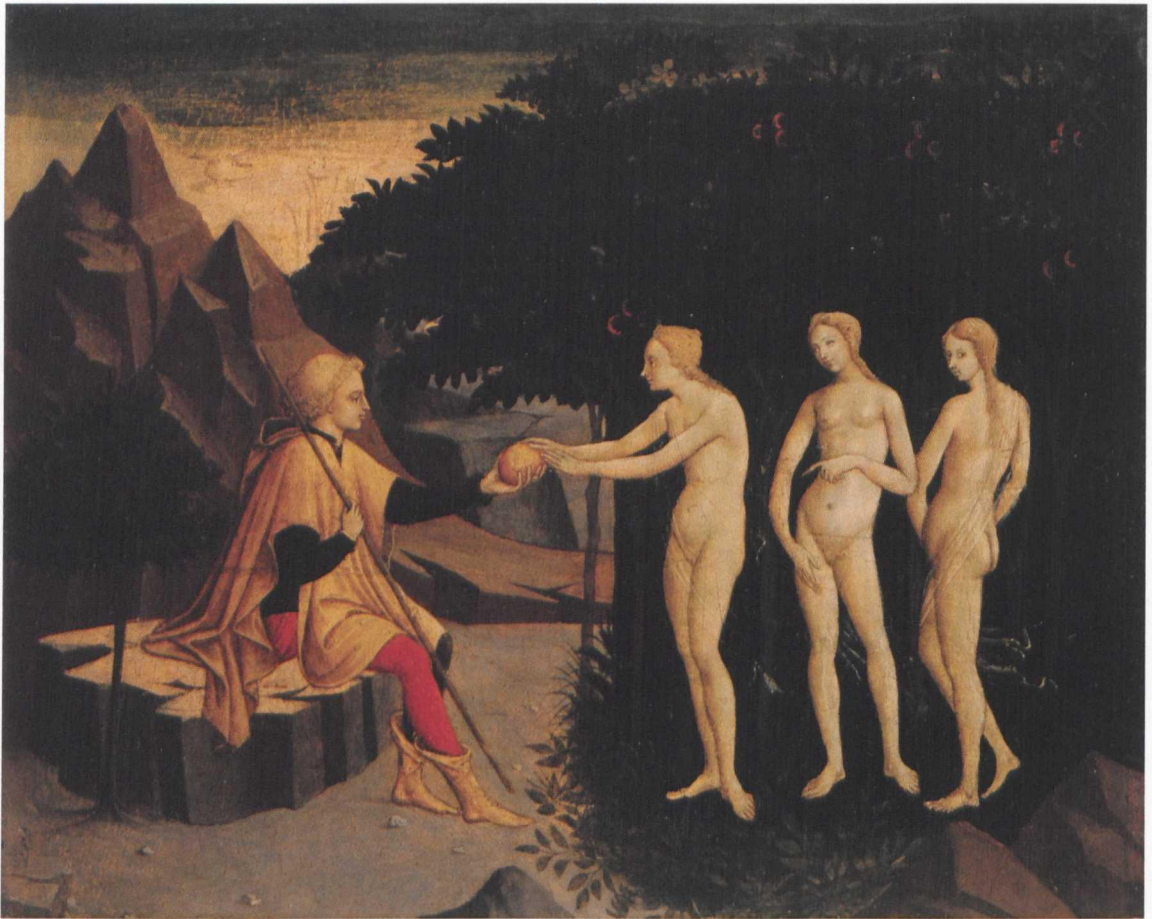
#### The myth of Paris and Helen in literary sources

The Trojan War broke out over a seemingly trivial inadvertence — a forgotten invitation.<sup>32</sup> At the great banquet celebrating the wedding of Achilles's parents — Peleus and Thetis — the uninvited Eris/Discord threw an apple bearing the inscription "for the most beautiful" among the Olympic goddesses Hera/Juno, Athena/Minerva and Aphrodite/Venus. Nobody dared to select a winner, so Zeus/Jove ordered Hermes/Mercury to force a shepherd named Alexander of Mount Ida (better known as Paris) to make the decision. Venus promised him that if he chose her, he could claim the most beautiful woman in the world for his wife. This was Helen, the sister of the Dioscuri and the wife of Menelaus, king of Sparta. Her subsequent abduction resulted in Troy's total devastation at the end of a ten-year siege. The myth of Paris is of Greek origin, but many well-known versions were written by the Latin poets and mythographers. In the Middle Ages, as well as in early-modern times, the myth was often retold and transformed, sometimes acquiring a new meaning.



The Judgment of Paris is first mentioned by Homer: "Ilios became hateful in their [Hera, Poseidon and Athena] eyes and Priam and his folk, by reason of the sin of Alexander, for that he put reproach upon those goddesses when they came to his steading, and gave precedence to her who furthered his fatal lustfulness" (Iliad, XXIV, 25-30), but it is possible that the relevant verses were added only in the Hellenistic era.<sup>33</sup> Numerous Greek writings from the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., in which the tale of Paris is prominent, are known only from fragments or from later summaries, for example, in the work of the mythographer Apollodorus of Athens.<sup>34</sup> His version of the myth of the Trojan prince is modelled on *Kypria* from the seventh or sixth century B.C., which was also referred to by other authors, including Sophocles and Euripides. It is important to point out that in Sophocles' lost drama entitled "Crisis" (Judgment) two *dramatis personae* are allegorized: Aphrodite is Delight, while Athena stands for Wisdom and Virtue.<sup>35</sup> He says nothing about the symbolism of Hera, or it could be that the passage referring to her has not survived. Euripides mentions Paris in several of his works on the Trojan war, for instance in "Andromache" (276-295), the Trojan is depicted in the traditional way, as the shepherd of Mount Ida, chosen to judge the beauty of the three goddesses whom Hermes has brought along.<sup>36</sup> However, his decision is not based on the charm and beauty of the goddesses, but on the attractiveness of their promises. Later, in the fourth century B.C., in a rhetorical piece on Helen, Isocrates states that Paris simply could not have made a judgment about the three goddesses because he was too overwhelmed by their beauty, and he was therefore forced to make a choice based on what they were offering him.<sup>37</sup> In his exposition of the myths entitled "Mythologiae" written in the late fifth century A.D., Fulgentius, the bishop of Ruspe described the *Judgment of Paris* as a choice between a sensual (Venus), a contemplative (Minerva) and an active (Juno) life.<sup>38</sup>





12 Florentine painter, *The Judgment of Paris* (tempera on wood, 41 x 50,2 cm, ca. 1450). Glasgow, Burrell Collection.

Other interesting versions of the myth, which are based on earlier sources that are no longer extant, are to be found in Ovid's "Heroides" (Letters V, XVI and XVII), and in Lucian's "The Judgment of the Goddesses".<sup>39</sup> According to Margaret J. Ehrhart, despite the fact that Lucian's "Dialogues" were written in Greek, they were an important source of inspiration not only during the Renaissance when his works were translated into Latin, but also in the Middle Ages due to the numerous compilations and summaries made of it, of which several are not preserved.<sup>40</sup> In Lucian's version, Paris is selected as arbiter because, as Hermes put it: "you are handsome yourself, and also well schooled in all that concerns love, Zeus bids you be judge for the goddesses."<sup>41</sup> However, when Hermes tells him who his guests are and whose beauty he is to judge, Paris is astounded and terrified, although he soon regains his self-confidence and asks the goddesses to appear naked, which is an innovation compared with the earlier versions of the myth.<sup>42</sup> Lucian's "Judgment of the Goddesses" and "Dialogues of the Sea-Gods" (301) introduce yet another new element — the golden apple inscribed with the words "For the queen of Beauty", or "For the fairest", which is given to Paris by Hermes. The apple with this inscription also appears in the "Excidium Troiae" (VIth or IXth c. A.D.)<sup>43</sup> and in the "Istoriotta troiana" (XIIIth



c. A.D.), which will be referred to later.<sup>44</sup> For most ancient writers, Paris's choice was deliberate, but Dares the Phrygian, the author of "*De excidio Troiae historia*", written probably in the first century A.D. (known are only late antique Latin versions), stated that choosing the most beautiful goddess was not a real event but a dream.<sup>45</sup> Notwithstanding its poor literary value, Dares's work was widely read in the Middle-Ages and even in early modern times. Its huge success was mainly due to the lack of Latin translations of Homer's epic until the second half of the fourteenth century, and the romance character of the work. Dares's version of the judgment as a dream-vision was adopted by most medieval authors and was thus presented in art until the early sixteenth century, especially north of the Alps. It should be pointed out that dreams and visions, often described in the literature of antiquity, including the Bible, became one of the favourite motifs of Medieval and early Renaissance literature and art.<sup>46</sup>

Poets and mythographers provide several different accounts of the circumstances and the exact place of Helen's abduction. Some say it was Sparta, while others claim it took place on the island of Cytherea.<sup>47</sup> According to Homer (*Iliad*, III, 445-452) and many other authors, Helen left Sparta voluntarily and gave herself to Paris in the first port they came into. Only a few authors have tried to exculpate her by stating that she was abducted by force. According to Ovid's "*Heroides*", Helen must have been induced to leave her lawful spouse with promises of many gifts. Paris's letter to Helen says: "And yet let me not presume to look down upon your Sparta; the land in which you were born is rich for me. But a niggard land is Sparta, and you deserve keeping in wealth; with fairness such as yours this place is not in accord. Beauty like yours it benefits to enjoy rich adornments without end, and to wanton in ever new delights."<sup>48</sup> Nevertheless, Helen's answer to this proposal is very cautious and left practically without conclusion. Both versions of the event can be found in the literature and art of the late Middle Ages and early Renaissance. Benoît de Sainte-Maure, in his widely-read work "*Le roman de Troie*", from the second half of the twelfth century<sup>49</sup>, and the Sicilian Guido delle Colonne, in his famous "*Historia destructionis Troiae*"<sup>50</sup>, written a hundred years later, affirm that Helen did not overly resist and went of her own free will to Troy. In Boccaccio's "*Esposizioni sopra la Comedia di Dante*" and "*De claris mulieribus*" there are descriptions of Paris and Helen's mutual love, although Helen still feels obligated to her husband Menelaus and is led to the ship against her will.<sup>51</sup>



13 Embriachi workshop, The Judgment of Paris. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.



14 Master of the Judgment of Paris, The Judgment of Paris (*desco da parto*, tempera on wood, ca. 1430). Florence, Bargello.

It seems that the story of Paris's childhood was invented much later than the tales about his judgment and the abduction of Helen. The tale of a prophecy was made up to explain somehow the circumstances of the famous judgment. According to this story, the fall of Troy was not only due to the fact that Eris had not been invited to Thetis's and Peleus's wedding party, but also because several prophetic dreams and visions had been ignored. One of these prophecies said that Priam's wife would give birth to a boy who would be the "brand of a great fire". The oldest extant literary reference to Hecuba's dream occurs in Pindar's VIIIth Pean, and the same version can also be found in Euripides's "Andromache".<sup>52</sup> Meanwhile, Virgil refers to the tale as follows: "Blood of Trojan and Rutulian shall be thy dower, maiden, and Bellona awaits thee as thy bridal matron. Nor did Cisseus' daughter alone conceive a firebrand and give birth to nuptial flames" (Aeneid VII, 317- 320).<sup>53</sup> It is also mentioned in Ovid's "Heroides"<sup>54</sup> and again in Hyginus's "Fabulae", which include all the key events of Paris's story.<sup>55</sup> Many medieval and modern writers also recount this tale, such as the anonymous author of the so-called "Compendium historiae Troianae-Romanae"<sup>56</sup>, Armannino Giudice (also known as Armannino da Bologna)<sup>57</sup> in his "Fiorita", and Giovanni Boccaccio.<sup>58</sup> These authors also relate Paris's birth and the events directly following it.





15 Francesco di Giorgio Martini (attributed to), *The Judgment of Paris as a dream-vision* (fragment of a *cassone* front, tempera on wood). Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum.



16 *The Judgment of Paris*, woodcut, from *Francesco Colonna, Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, Venice 1499, fol. k vii r°.

### The panel with Paris's infancy

As was already mentioned, two of the Florentine paintings from the Lanckoroński collection that reached the Royal Wawel Castle depict respectively the *Dream of Paris* and the *Abduction of Helen*. The third panel, of approximately the same dimensions as the other two and undoubtedly executed by the same painter, as indicated by the similar colouring and the identical way in which the people and nature are depicted, was published only in 1995 (fig. 6).<sup>59</sup> In its background, there is a hilly landscape with a city surrounded by high walls in the upper part, and in



17 *Cassone* with scenes from The Judgment of Paris (tempera and pastiglia on wood). Florence, Palazzo Davanzati.

the foreground, a male figure is handing over a newborn baby to another older man. To the right, there is a woman with (another?) infant seated in front of a modest hut. This could be the next scene in the same episode, in which the baby is entrusted to his new mother's care. It is clear that the painter was not trying to render a historically accurate view of antiquity since all the personages in the picture are dressed in typical early Renaissance clothes, such as the characteristic caps, hose or stockings and short coats (*guarnaca*) with hoods. The man holding the baby has a long sword buckled to his belt and the city in the background resembles most mid-fifteenth century Italian cities. Given the context of these two scenes, there is no doubt that this picture does indeed show the episode from Paris's infancy, in which he is given as a newborn baby to a shepherd family.<sup>60</sup>

In his "Fabulae", Hyginus not only writes about the prophecy that Hecuba and Priam's newborn son would bring Troy to ruin, but also about how he was saved. Furthermore he recounts the circumstances of his return to his real family as a handsome young man.<sup>61</sup> The infant is condemned to death, but a merciful servant leaves him in the forest where he is found by a family of shepherds who bring him up.<sup>62</sup> When, several years later, Priam's servants take a shapely bull from his herd by force, he resolves to regain it at all costs and sets off for Troy, where an athletic competition is taking place. When he arrives in the city, he enters the games, defeats all the other contestants and is thereby recognized (or detected as a member of the royal family in a vision by his sister). According to other versions, also known in the Middle Ages, the tale of the bull contained yet another thread, of great significance to the event of the judgment. One day a new bull appears in Paris's herd and defeats all his own bulls. Although this animal did not belong to his herd, the shepherd placed the wreath of victory on its head. This is why he was deemed by the gods to be a fair judge and was eventually considered worthy of being an arbitrator in the venerable beauty contest.<sup>63</sup>





18 *Cassone* front with scenes from *The Judgment of Paris* (tempera on wood). Once New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, sold at Christie's 15 October, 1992.



19 The awakening of Paris and the Judgment of Paris, detail of fig. 1.



To return to Paris's infancy, it should be noted that (e.g., in the "Compendium historiae Troianae-Romanae") it is Priam who decides that the baby should be killed, but his mother orders that her newborn son is to be given to the shepherds who are to care for him. In Armannino Giudice's "Fiorita", Alexander is taken to some far-away country, so that Hecuba will never be able to figure out where he is. The baby, abandoned in a valley, is found by shepherds and given to a woman who is awaiting her parturition, and who looks after him with love and tenderness. It is thus quite probable that both the "Compendium" and the "Fiorita" served as the literary source for the panel.

The story of the abandonment of Paris does not belong to the most popular themes in art. It was, however, of interest to Giorgione, but his painting of it, once in Taddeo Contarini's collection, has unfortunately disappeared and is only known from badly preserved copies and from an excellent engraving and a panel by David Teniers the Younger produced in 1658.<sup>64</sup> It depicts the moment when Paris is found by the shepherds, as in the version described both in the "Fabulae" and "Fiorita". Many other depictions of the myth were executed in Venice already in the first half of the fifteenth century. They adorn small caskets (*forzierini*) made of bone or ivory, and wood by the Florentine-Venetian Embriachi family.<sup>65</sup> Some of these objects, which probably originally served as gifts for young brides, depict episodes from Paris's early life. The caskets housed in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford (fig. 7) and in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (fig. 8) not only show the moment of the baby being delivered to the shepherd, but also his birth, the scene in which he is being carried away from the city, and finally the scene in which the shepherd gives the baby to his new mother. The cycle finishes with the bull episodes, the election of the most beautiful goddess, and the abduction of Helen. The other versions also show the scene of the failed attempt to put the baby to the sword.

The subject in question is hard to find in Tuscan Renaissance art produced for domestic settings. As far as I know, the only painted representations dated to the fifteenth century are to be found on two small panels produced in Veneto, which were once housed in a private collection in Milan; luckily, photos of them are preserved in the Berenson Fototeca at I Tatti.<sup>66</sup> One of them depicts the moment of the shepherds' discovery of the abandoned son of Priam (as on the Teniers's engraving), while the other (fig. 9) shows the scene with Paris being handed to his new mother (as on the Lanckoroński panel). Bernard Berenson was of the opinion that both paintings were produced within Giorgione's school; he also assumed that these were originally fragments of a piece of furniture and can therefore be included in the genre of *cassone* paintings.

The dream of Paris and the election of the most beautiful goddess

The most interesting of the three Lanckoroński Florentine paintings representing the story of Paris is the second one (fig. 10). It shows two scenes taking place in a hilly area on the outskirts of a forest or in a clearing. In the first scene, on the left, a young man is asleep; he has a refined coiffure and his head is resting characteristically on his right hand. He is wearing green and red stockings, as is the man handing over the baby in the previously discussed panel, and a short yellow coat (*guarnaca*) with a hood. Three beautiful golden-haired ladies in long, colourful dresses have approached a stone well nearby. Two of them are shown in profile and seem to have their eyes fixed on the water, on the surface of which are vertical lines, most probably representing splashes of water. The goddesses are putting their hands in the water as if they want to wash them, or rather, to take something out of it (fig. 11). The way in which the two scenes are shown and the fact that they are located in a hilly wooded wilderness, lends a certain air of mystery to the picture.

Schubring, and Van Marle in his wake, who were the first to publish the painting, were both of the opinion that it depicted Paris and the three goddesses — Juno, Venus, and Minerva — although they did not explain its iconography.<sup>67</sup> Schubring pointed to Ovid's "Heroides" (Letter V: *Oinone to Paris*) as its literary source, but the text makes no mention of a sleeping Paris or



the goddesses at the well. There was only one further attempt to solve the enigma of the Lanckoroński panel, made by Fiona Healy in her book on Rubens's depictions of the *Judgment of Paris*. She attempted an in-depth discussion, not only of Rubens's works, but also of many other representations of this subject in Renaissance art, though without consulting some Italian Trecento literary sources. Healy writes, "it is clear that the Lanckoroński panel illustrates two distinct aspects of the story leading up to the fateful decision: the shepherd sleeps and the goddesses wash their hands, a scene which to my knowledge is unique".<sup>68</sup> She also believes that the passage from Euripides's "Andromache", which relates that the goddesses took a bath in the stream before they appeared in front of Paris, might be the painting's literary source.<sup>69</sup> However, even if Euripides's work was known in mid-fifteenth century Florence, it is hardly recognizable as the painting's literary source, since it does not mention Paris's dream. Nevertheless, Healy is correct in stating that the picture is unique. One can agree with her opinion on one other point, which corresponds to Schubring and Helmut Wohl's suggestion that the panel should be associated with the one depicting *The Judgment of Paris*, housed in the Burrell Collection in Glasgow<sup>70</sup>, in which the future lover of Helen is seated on a rock and is handing the golden apple to Aphrodite (fig. 12). However, before presenting a more detailed analysis of the Glasgow painting, it is necessary to solve the mystery of the panel from the Lanckoroński collection. Here an important point worthy of mention is the fact that Hermes appears in neither panel.

As already referred to it was Dares the Phrygian in his "De excidio Troiae historia", who first treated the *Judgment of Paris* as a dream-vision and not a real event.<sup>71</sup> In his version there is no word about Paris's childhood among the shepherds, and in the judgment story he appears as a hunter and not a shepherd. Dares recounts the judgment very briefly: "While hunting in the woods on Mount Ida, he [Paris] had fallen asleep and dreamt as follows: Mercury brought Juno, Venus, and Minerva to him to judge of their beauty. Then Venus promised, if he judged her most beautiful, to give him in marriage whoever was deemed the loveliest woman of Greece. Thus, finally, on hearing Venus' promise, he judged her most beautiful".<sup>72</sup> Curiously enough "De excidio Troiae historia" fails to mention the "apple of discord". Later, the dream-story was elaborated by Benoît de Sainte-Maure and Guido delle Colonne. The former places the action at the well in the Cytherean Valley (*Val des Cythariens*), and emphasizes the fact that the golden apple had an inscription in Greek on it (a version repeated by Guido).<sup>73</sup> In more than sixty verses dedicated to this event by Guido delle Colonne, Hermes gives the apple to Paris the hunter and narrates the story about the goddesses' dispute and their tempting promises.<sup>74</sup> After the verdict, Paris immediately awakens. Also Christine de Pisan<sup>75</sup>, Armannino Giudice<sup>76</sup> and Giovanni Boccaccio<sup>77</sup> adapted Dares's version of the Judgment of Paris as a dream-vision.

However, the main literary source of the Lanckoroński panel was most probably the "Istorietta troiana", which seems to have been written in the XIIIth century, but the earliest copy of which (bound together with Ovid's "Heroides") comes from the beginning of the XIVth century. It is largely based on Benoît de Sainte-Maure's "Le roman de Troie"; nevertheless, it does contain some important new elements.<sup>78</sup> It recounts how Paris, exhausted when hunting, found a fountain (*una chiara fontana*), washed his face and hands and fell asleep close by (*e posta la guancia sopra la guarnaca s'addormento*). When at another beautiful fountain nearby there appeared the three goddesses in their midst had fallen the golden ball engraved with the words "let the fairest have it" (*avenne che nel mezzo di loro cadde una palla d'oro, ove era scritto 'pulchriori detur', cioè 'Alla più bella sia data'*). Since they could not decide amongst themselves who was the fairest, they went to search of an arbiter. They soon came across the sleeping Paris, whom they knew to be a fair judge from the aforementioned fight of the bulls. The goddesses roused Paris from his sleep (*e andando per la foresta, s'abbattero alla fontana, ove Paris dormia [...] Allora destaro Paris, alle quali el gli fecie meravigliosa gioia ed onore*), who, having heard their promises, gave a verdict which caused both Juno and Minerva to be very angry.<sup>79</sup>





20 The awakening of Paris, detail of fig. 17.

Thus, there are two distinct episodes described; in the first, a tired Paris lies down on the ground and falls asleep, and in the second, he is an arbiter who is entirely aware of his verdict. Therefore, in this case the judgment cannot have been a vision in a dream, but a 'real' event, as written about by the ancient mythographers and poets. Furthermore, what is interesting in the "Istorieta" version is the absence of Hermes (the wedding of Thetis and Peleus also remains unmentioned) and the fact that the golden ball is thrown amongst the goddesses by unidentified forces — it simply falls from the sky. The judgment described in the "Istorieta" clearly refers to earlier sources (among them Benoît de Sainte-Maure, who mentions Paris's dream by the fountain), but the concept of the two fountains and, above all, the idea of Paris being awoken by the goddesses, is an original invention by the author of the "Istorieta". On this point, the painter showed great imagination since he probably added yet another new element. It would



seem that the water spraying over the well was a sign that the golden ball had fallen into it. No similar depiction is known to me except, perhaps, that on the *cassone* in the Palazzo Davanzati in Florence which will be discussed later (fig. 17). There is one important detail which speaks in favour of this hypothesis; the manner in which the goddesses are putting their hands into the water suggests they want to take something out of it. In the next panel in this cycle, belonging to the Burrell Collection, a large golden ball appears in Paris's hand when he is already seated in front of the three naked goddesses and announcing his choice.

Several scholars have noticed that the Burrell painting is one of the earliest examples in the art of the Italian Renaissance depicting completely naked women (fig. 12).<sup>80</sup> Slender, long-legged and still slightly Gothic in appearance, the deities present the charms of their heavenly bodies while assuming different poses, as though taking part in a pantomime. The first is in three-quarter view facing the front, while the second is shown almost frontally and the third in three-quarter view from behind. On the caskets from the Embriachi workshop, the goddesses sometimes appear stark naked (fig. 13)<sup>81</sup>, but on the Florentine paintings from the first half of the fifteenth century, for instance on the *deschi da parto* ascribed to an artist called the Master of the Judgment of Paris, they are fully dressed (fig. 14).<sup>82</sup> The same applies to the panel by the Master of the Argonauts in the Fogg Art Museum or that of Botticelli's follower in the Fondazione Giorgio Cini in Venice, produced in the last quarter of the fifteenth century.<sup>83</sup> At this point it is worth noting that the nudity of the goddesses is not a common subject either in the literature or in the art of this period. As previously said the first author to mention their being naked at Paris's request was Ovid in his "Heroides", followed by Lucian in the "Judgment of the Goddesses" and Apuleius in "The golden Ass".<sup>84</sup> Dares, Benoît de Sainte-Maure, the author of the "Istorieta troiana" and many other authors make no mention of this. Guido delle Colonne, however, does refer to it by describing the judgment as a dream in which Mercury, not the goddesses, informs Paris of the gifts he would obtain from each of them if he gave her the golden apple. So says Paris in Guido's version: "I, however, when I had heard of these promises and gifts from Mercury, replied to him that I would not give the truth in this judgment unless they all presented themselves naked to my sight, so that by my observation I might be able to consider the individual qualities of their bodies for a true judgment".<sup>85</sup> Thus the author of the programme of the set of paintings in question must have known several versions of Paris's story; as we have already noticed most of them were easily available in vernacular.

It is interesting that even the scenes of the *Judgment of Paris* from the XIVth and XVth centuries (which are to be found in the manuscripts of the works by Benoît de Sainte-Maure and Christine de Pisan's "Epitre d'Othea") depict the scene as described by Guido, with naked or half-naked deities.<sup>86</sup> Once in a while a new element is added, such as the fountain inspired by Benoît's text, or, as some scholars have suggested, by the description of the fountain in the "Roman de la Rose" (though it contains no mention of the Judgment of Paris).<sup>87</sup> A beautiful, Gothic fountain (and not a well) adorns a small terracotta tondo dating from the mid-fifteenth century, which is housed in the Schweizerisches Landesmuseum in Zurich.<sup>88</sup> The composition is very decorative, due to the large number of banderoles covered with inscriptions containing the words of the goddesses and Mercury, who this time is also present. The author of the terracotta took great pains to accentuate the charms of the virtually naked goddesses who are wearing only ropes of pearls and sophisticated headdresses. The sleeping Paris, lying in a flower-filled meadow, is neither a shepherd nor hunter, but typically of transalpine art, a knight in armour, armed with a sword.

Before trying to demonstrate that the paintings from the Lanckoroński collection (*The Dream of Paris*) and the Burrell Collection (*The Judgment of Paris*) have in fact much in common with the paintings on the front of the *cassone* from Verona (figs. 1 and 19), some other examples of this subject in Italian art should also be mentioned. Consider the Embriachi *cofanetto* in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna showing two scenes referring to the election of



the most beautiful goddess (fig. 13).<sup>89</sup> In the first of these all the goddesses are dressed, and in the second they are stark naked. Only Paris's strange pose, who is recumbent and pointing at the deities with his left hand, is the same. There is no doubt that both scenes depict the sleeping Paris who, as described by Guido delle Colonne, decided to judge the goddesses' beauty only once they took off their clothes. There is an interesting analogy between these scenes and a *cassone* front attributed to Francesco di Giorgio Martini, now in the J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles, dating from ca. 1470 (fig. 15).<sup>90</sup> In this panel, which unfortunately has been considerably repainted, only Venus is completely naked, while Juno (in the centre) and Minerva (identifiable due to the shield at her side) are wearing some clothing. Paris, in his golden armor, is recumbent, and although his eyes are open he is undoubtedly asleep. This is obvious not only from his pose, but also from the fact that he is not looking at the goddesses, but rather in another direction. A further connection between the Vienna casket and the paintings in Los Angeles, Kraków, and Glasgow is the complete absence of Hermes, who is also not present on the *deschi da parto* by the so-called Master of the Judgment of Paris, a side panel of a *cassone* in the Rudolphinum in Prague<sup>91</sup>, in one of the woodcuts adorning the "Hypnerotomachia Poliphili" (fig. 16)<sup>92</sup>, nor on either of the *cassoni* fronts which will be discussed later. The Venetian woodcut, especially the scene in the background which probably represents Paris being woken up, is worth mentioning. In the foreground scene, he is already seated with a wreath on his head, handing over the golden ball to Venus, and thus irking the other two goddesses.

Now let us consider the already mentioned *cassone* front in the Palazzo Davanzati in Florence (fig. 17).<sup>93</sup> This panel appears to be cut off at the bottom and inserted into a modern chest of a rather poor quality. It is adorned with a *pastiglia dorata* decoration and divided into three compartments containing narrative scenes. The first compartment shows a polygonal fountain in which a lady is bathing, while two other women are standing nearby; in the sky zone there is another female figure, but only the upper part of her body can be seen. In the second compartment, the three ladies, this time fully dressed, are walking through the forest in a procession towards the right; the first of them is holding a small golden ball. In the last compartment, they are standing in front of a young man who is seated and are talking to him or rather trying to wake him up. This as yet little studied panel is reproduced in Schubring's *Cassoni*; he was of the opinion that it represented scenes from the myth of Paris without, however, providing further explanation.<sup>94</sup> In light of our previous considerations, it can be assumed that the lady in the sky in the first scene is Eris throwing the golden apple into the fountain. In the second scene, as in the text of the "Istorietta troiana", the goddesses are strolling through the forest with the ball in search of a judge who can put an end to their dispute.<sup>95</sup> There is no doubt that originally the chest formed a pair together with another one (now lost), probably adorned with representations of successive episodes in the story. They may have depicted the actual judgment of the nude goddesses, the journey to Sparta or to Cythera and finally the abduction of Helen. Such narration can be found on the front of a *cassone*, this time of Florentine origin, which until 1992 belonged to the Metropolitan Museum, New York. Here the narration starts with the *Judgment of Paris*, continues with the *Arrival of Paris and Helen at Cythera* and finishes with the *Meeting of Paris and Helen in the Temple of Venus* (fig. 18).<sup>96</sup>

Let us now return the Verona *cassone* and its description in the catalogue of Boehler's (figs. 1 and 19), which reads: "The right painting depicts a young man with a lute at his side, three nude women before him, one handing a ball pointing at it with her raised finger, a landscape with hills, trees, fortresses and towns in the back. The left painting depicts the same young man with the three nude women handing the first one the ball [...]. The rocky landscape with the sea [*sic!*] and a ship in the background inhabiting small figures, some fighting with each other [...] Schubring interpreted the paintings as depictions of Paris who is being given the golden apple by Jupiter (on the right) and Paris who is handing the golden apple to Aphrodite (on the left).



These depictions, however, do not represent the usual iconography".<sup>97</sup> Thus, this description leaves little doubt that Schubring never saw this *cassone* and this is where his mistake about Jupiter originated; since this god of course does not appear in the painting.<sup>98</sup>

In light of the arguments presented so far, it seems unlikely that the artist was inspired by "a humanist novel", as the author of the entry in Boehler's catalogue suggests, but rather by the version contained in the "Istorietta troiana" or another piece of literature of the kind. It would then be possible that the scene on the right simply shows Paris being woken up — the same can be seen in the Davanzati *cassone* (fig. 20) —, as indicated by his passive behaviour (hands on his knees and his head sloping downwards), and the instrument lying on the ground. Another fact worth noticing is that in this picture the goddesses are not totally naked, since their *pudenda* seem to be covered up by sashes. The sashes are absent in the left-hand scene, which is evidently not the first painting in the narrative sequence but the second. Here we can see the verdict being given and Paris, standing with his left foot forward, handing over the golden ball. If this interpretation is correct, then the iconography of the painting on the Verona *cassone* front once with Boehler is similar to that of the Burrell and Wawel panels. The author of the Verona chest, or rather the person who commissioned it, must have been a great admirer of nude females, since in both scenes the goddesses reveal their nakedness in all its sublimity.<sup>99</sup>

Depictions of the *Judgment of Paris* appeared in the art of the Quattrocento not only on *cassoni* and *deschi da parto* but also on *spalliere*; one of them is the already mentioned panel with fully dressed goddesses by a follower of Botticelli in the Cini collection. Another one, which unfortunately has not survived, was painted by Paolo Uccello and was to have adorned the apartments of the Medici palace in Florence. The "Libro d'Inventario dei beni di Lorenzo il Magnifico" reads: "Sei quadri chorniciati atorno e messi d'oro sopra la detta spalliera et sopra al lettuccio, di br. 42 lunghi et alti br. iii, dipinti, c[i]oè tre della Rotta di San Romano e uno di battaglie e draghi et lioni et uno della storia di Paris, di mano di Pagholo Ucello e uno di mano di Francesco Pesello".<sup>100</sup> Whether Uccello's goddesses were shown naked or dressed is not known.

### The Abduction of Helen

The third Lanckoroński panel with the story of Paris, which appears to be rather poorly preserved, especially in its central portion, is not particularly mysterious (fig. 21). Only three characters are shown in a sea-shore landscape; Paris's companion is effortlessly carrying Helen who resembles more a statue than a real woman, while Paris, armed with a long spear, is running along; they all are heading for the ship on the sea-shore. The ship has a stern shaped like a shed covered with a ridge roof without coping. In the upper left hand corner of the painting there is a *monopteros* supported by Doric columns and a statue on a high plinth in the centre. These elements clearly indicate that the event takes place at Cytharea, as described by Dares. According to him, Helen's abduction occurred in the temple of Apollo and Diana<sup>101</sup>, while Guido delle Colonne<sup>102</sup> and the author of the "Istorietta troiana"<sup>103</sup> maintain that it happened in the temple of Venus; either way, it was not in Sparta, as recounted in the works of ancient mythographers. The scene is a kind of *pars pro toto* of the whole event which included the despoliation of the temple's treasures and the battle against the Greeks who defended it. As mentioned previously, many authors (such as Guido delle Colonne and Armannino Giudice) claimed that Helen boarded the ship of her own free will.<sup>104</sup> Almost the same version can be found in the "Istorietta troiana", but in this particular case Menelaus's wife hesitates, and in the end says: "the force is on your side (*la forza è tua*)". She lets Paris take her by the hand and lead her towards the ship (*e Paris di ciò la rende grazie e presela per mano econ sua compagnia la condusse infino alle navi*).<sup>105</sup> As mentioned earlier, Boccaccio describes Helen's resistance by saying "E così, avendo preso la città presene Elena, resistente quanto potea".<sup>106</sup> It is this or other similar version, which is most probably shown in the painting in question.





21 Florentine painter, *The Rape of Helen* (tempera on wood, 43,4 x 50,3 cm, ca. 1450). Kraków, Royal Wawel Castle.

The *Abduction of Helen* was much less popular in the art of the Renaissance than the *Judgment of Paris*.<sup>107</sup> There are, however, some interesting depictions of this scene, which deserve to be cited here, for instance a small panel (most probably the *franco* of a *cassone*), dated ca. 1440, now in the Národní Galerie, Prague.<sup>108</sup> It shows Paris carrying Helen, who is obviously resisting. As in the Lanckoroński panel, there is also a ship, but this time it is depicted on the left hand side of the painting. Some analogies are to be found in two contemporary representations of this subject on *deschi da parto* or birth salvers in the National Gallery in London (figs. 22-23). The first is a work attributed to the Master of the Judgment of Paris, while the second to a follower of Fra Angelico, perhaps Zanobi Strozzi.<sup>109</sup> Both paintings depict a temple; on the former, it is rather small and dedicated to Apollo, whereas on the latter, it is much larger, with a statue of Venus inside. In addition, there is a ship on the seashore and many participants to the event. The scene on the first *desco da parto* depicting slender, elegant women, is still some-





22 Master of the Judgment of Paris, The Rape of Helen (*desco da parto*, tempera on wood). Private collection, on display in London, National Gallery.



23 Follower of Beato Angelico (Zanobi Strozzi), The Rape of Helen (tempera on wood). London, National Gallery.



24 Paris, the inside of a *cassone* lid (tempera on wood). Florence, Museo Horne.

what Gothic, while the second by Fra Angelico's follower is somewhat similar in style to the panel from the Lanckoroński collection, but is of a higher artistic quality and certainly much better preserved. There is a great tumult, yet without any visible signs of a battle, despite the presence of many witnesses; a companion of Paris is carrying the beautifully clad Helen over his shoulder, while Paris himself is probably the figure in armour shown frontally in company of a group of men armed with spears or swords. Other Greeks in wake of Paris's servant are running towards the ship carrying the women who have already been abducted, while others are trying to follow their example. Francesco di Giorgio Martini also depicted this subject ca. 1470, although this time not on a *cassone* front but rather on a *spalliera* panel, which, unfortunately, was cut into pieces.<sup>110</sup> His work also clearly shows a real abduction and not Helen voluntarily making her way to the ship.

Evidently the authors — or the clients who commissioned the paintings, which most probably served as wedding gifts — preferred more dramatic scenes. According to “*Li nuptiali*”, a once famous book by Marco Antonio Altieri, dating from to the beginning of the sixteenth century, the kidnapping of women (*rapimento*, *ratto*) was nothing but a presage to the wedding.<sup>111</sup> This is what happened to the daughters of Leucippus, the Sabine Women and Chloris, raped by Zephyr who later married her (as described in Ovid's “*Fasti*” and depicted by Botticelli in his *Primavera*). When commissioning the scenes from the myth of Paris and Helen, it was as if the fifteenth century Italians did not want to be reminded of Homer's words about Aphrodite's “gift of debauchery” (*Iliad*, XXIV, 25-30) or about the adultery, which is accentuated in many versions of the myth. They were simply fascinated by the beauty of Paris and Helen. It is no coincidence that the paintings depicting a handsome young man and a beautiful naked girl, which often adorned the inside of *cassone* lids, are sometimes identified with Paris (fig. 24) and Helen.<sup>112</sup> In his discussion on subjects suitable for the bedroom, Leon Battista Alberti wrote the following: “Whenever man and wife come together, it is advisable only to hang portraits of men of dignity and handsome appearance; for they say that this may have a great influence on the fertility of the mother and the appearance of future offspring”.<sup>113</sup> It is worth quoting at this point Ernst H. Gombrich's observation concerning the semi-magical power of the images of Paris and Helen depicted on *cassoni* lids: “What else could be the purpose of displaying those exemplars of beauty [Helen and Paris] to the eyes of the bride alone than that of a lucky spell for fair offspring? The belief that pictures seen during pregnancy would influence the child is universal”.<sup>114</sup>



### The authorship and the original function of the Lanckoroński paintings

What was the original function of the paintings from the Lanckoroński and Burrell collections (figs. 6, 10, 12, 21) and who was their author? Schubring and Van Marle attributed them to an anonymous, still enigmatic painter called the Master of Paris.<sup>115</sup> Mario Salmi and Helmut Wohl, among others, suggested they were made in the workshop of Domenico Veneziano.<sup>116</sup> In his review of the exhibition catalogue of Italian paintings at the Wildenstein Gallery, London (1965) Federico Zeri wrote: "There is no reason to continue to place this panel [the Burrell *Judgment of Paris*] in the proximity of Domenico Veneziano since all its features are utterly Pesellinesque, and close to the early period of Domenico di Michelino. The Pesellinesque character (already indicated by the Catalogue) is further emphasized by its proximity to Domenico Veneziano's panels from Cambridge, which belong to an entirely different culture".<sup>117</sup>

I myself originally believed that Domenico di Francesco (1417-1491), known as Domenico di Michelino (from the name of his Florentine master, the *cassone* painter) might have been their author.<sup>118</sup> His oeuvre is mentioned in written sources since 1440. According to recent research, in the mid-fifteenth century he made several *cassoni* currently housed, among others, in the Musée du Petit Palais in Avignon and in a private collection in Switzerland.<sup>119</sup> Comparing the Wawel paintings, especially the scene showing the *Abduction of Helen*, with the scene of the *Escape of Theseus and Hyppolita* on the *cassone* from a Swiss collection, some similarities can be seen in the way the people, mountains, trees and even the ship with the characteristic shed-shaped construction are depicted. However, a more in depth study of the Lanckoroński/Burrell paintings shows that they present considerably higher artistic quality and different style than Domenico di Michelino's panels. It would, thus, seem that Francesco di Stefano (ca. 1422-1457), known as Pesellino is their author.

It is well known that Pesellino's work shows the influence of Domenico Veneziano and Fra Angelico, but his main source of inspiration was Fra Filippo Lippi.<sup>120</sup> He was initially trained by Pesello, his grandfather, and in 1440s most probably joined Fra Filippo's workshop. In collaboration with him he produced ca. 1445 the beautiful altarpiece depicting the *Madonna with Child and four Saints*, now at the Uffizi; the five predella panels from it (three of them are at the Uffizi while two belong to the Louvre), are usually regarded as Pesellino's earliest works.<sup>121</sup> His small, brilliantly executed panels, reminiscent of miniature, as well as his *cassoni* must have made him well-known if not famous. In 1455 he was commissioned to paint the altarpiece of the *Trinity with Saints* (National Gallery, London); after his death in July 1457 it was appraised by Fra Filippo and Domenico Veneziano.<sup>122</sup> We know from Vasari that Pesellino also worked for the Medici: "E lavorò in casa de' Medici una spalliera d'animali, molto bella; ed alcuni corpi di cassoni, con storiette piccole di giostre di cavalli".<sup>123</sup> His *cassoni* are now preserved, among others, in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston (with Petrarch's *Trionfi*) and in the National Gallery, London (with *David and Goliath* and the *Triumph of David*).<sup>124</sup>

It is enough to compare the Burrell panel (fig. 25) with a drawing attributed to Pesellino (fig. 26) depicting the *Nativity and Adoration of the shepherds* in the Louvre (ca. 1445)<sup>125</sup> to find immediately interesting analogies in the profiles of Paris and the shepherds, as well as in the way in which their clothes, particularly their hoods are shown. In both cases the clearly constructed figures are robed in thick draperies that fall in angular, pleated folds; furthermore they have similar curling hair and the same refined grace, particularly in elegant, quietly expressive hand gestures. In the same pose as Paris in the Burrell panel Pesellino depicted David in the London *cassone* (fig. 27).<sup>126</sup>

Considering the problem of the function of the four paintings in question, Schubring already suggested that the panels depicting *The sleeping Paris* and *The Abduction of Helen* derive from the same *cassone* as *The Judgment of Paris* in the Burrell Collection, and was convinced that they



25 The Judgment of Paris, detail of fig. 12.

26 Pesellino, The Nativity and Adoration of the Shepherds, drawing. Paris, Louvre.

27 Pesellino, Story of David, detail of *cassone* front, tempera on wood. London, National Gallery.



adorned the front of a chest. Raimond van Marle and Ellen Callmann were of the opinion that they originally constituted the *lateralis*, or the side panels.<sup>127</sup> Like Fiona Healy, all these scholars were unaware of the existence of another painting, discussed above, showing *The Infancy of Paris*. It would seem that all four panels, which are of almost the same size and clearly constitute the same cycle, could not have had any other function than that of the side panels of a pair of chests commissioned on the occasion of the same nuptials. Could they have been the side panels of the marriage chests, ordered in 1447 and finished a year later for the wedding of Marco Parenti and Caterina Strozzi?<sup>128</sup> It is known from written sources that it was Domenico Veneziano who painted the chests for this wedding. The front panels have not survived or perhaps have not yet been identified. Still, one can put forward the hypothesis that the most important part of these *cassoni*, i.e. the fronts, were executed by the master himself, while the *lateralis*, much less visible, may have been produced by Pesellino who in 1447 was still at the beginning of his career.

### The myth of Paris in the context of Renaissance Kraków

In 1994, while making the donation to the Wawel Royal Castle, Professor Lanckorońska wrote: "The Wawel Castle will receive [...] a number of paintings. Seventy-six of these are Italian, dating from 14th to the 16th century. They come from the country whose architects built the courtyard and the rooms of Wawel Castle".<sup>129</sup> Indeed, the Royal Castle on Wawel Hill was built by Italian architects such as Francesco Fiorentino and Bartolommeo Berrecci and therefore it will perhaps be illuminating to conclude this paper with some observations about the *all'antica* and *all'italiana* 'aura' that exists there, which the Lanckoroński donation complements beautifully.<sup>130</sup> Apart from the architects and sculptors, there are also many other distinguished Italians whose names are associated with the castle.

In April of 1518, the wedding of the Italian princess Bona Sforza d'Aragona with the Polish monarch Sigismund I took place at the castle.<sup>131</sup> On this occasion, a talented poet Andrzej Krzyski eulogized the bride in an ephitalamium, entitled "Alma Sismundi nova nupta Regis", in a manner appropriate to the context of The Judgment of Paris:

Alma Sismundi nova nupta Regis  
Bona caelesti decorata vultu  
dotibus raris animi refulgens  
Numinis instar

Cui dedit pulchrum Venus alma vultum  
Et caput Pallas probitas pudorem  
Et dedit tanti diadema regni  
Provida Iuno.<sup>132</sup>

A few years later, in the Wawel apartments, a play by the German humanist Jacob Locher was staged entitled "Iudicium Paridis", which was written 20 years earlier. It was performed in February 1522 under the direction of the master Stanisław of Łowicz, while the king went to Lithuania (Polish monarchs were both Kings of Poland and Grand Dukes of Lithuania). As if in an ancient theatre, all the parts were played by men, students of the Kraków Academy, the inhabitants of the Jerusalem Dormitory. The part of Discord was played by Jakub Krzyski, Pallas by Jerzy Latański, Juno by Szymon of Łowicz, Venus by Paweł Głogowski, etc.<sup>133</sup> The play began with the scene of the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, and finished with the abduction of Helen, which presages the outbreak of the war between the Greeks and the Trojans. In this version of the story, it was Mercury who ordered Paris to take the golden apple and give it to the most beautiful goddess; he also asked him to be a fair judge and to not be deceived by their "false gifts".<sup>134</sup>

The Wawel spectacle must have been an extraordinary event. Already in January of that same year, the entire Latin text of the drama had been published. What is more, it was translated into Polish and frequently staged for the general public, yet the Polish version was published only in 1542. The title page of the Latin edition was decorated with a fitting xylograph depicting the *Judgment of Paris* as a dream-vision (fig. 28), which was modelled on the 1508 etching by Lucas

Cranach the Elder.<sup>135</sup> This etching shows a mature Paris on the left with his horse (this animal is mentioned by Guido delle Colonne), while Mercury and the three goddesses approach from the right. Here, Paris is neither a shepherd nor a hunter, but a knight in armour, very much as in the already mentioned terracotta in Zurich. The difference between the Kraków illustration and its prototype lies in the fact that it does not depict Paris's steed and that Paris himself is a young man with a serene face. The title of the publication in question leaves no doubt that the denouement of the play and, most probably, of the engraving which decorates it, was taken from the above-cited work by Fulgentius: "Iudicium Paridis de pomo aureo inter tres deas, Palladem, Iunonem, Venerem, de triplici hominum vita, contemplativa, activa ac voluptaria". An unknown reader, who defaced this copy of Locher's work was oblivious to the moral of this scene, tried to conceal the nudity of the goddesses by smudging their groins with a pencil.

### Conclusion

Returning to the four Florentine *cassoni* side panels which were the main subject of this paper, it should be noted that what connects them with the Kraków woodcut from 1522 is the magic of the dream-vision and the goddesses' nudity. Even if the painting with the central scene — *The Judgment of Paris* — is housed not in the Wawel Castle, but in the Burrell Collection, nevertheless, the former is in possession of the depiction of *The Dream of Paris and the Goddesses at the Well* (fig. 10), which is unique as far as the whole art of the Italian Renaissance is concerned. Its 'aura' recalls the cult of antiquity, as it was understood in the Middle Ages and the early Renaissance, and is somehow similar to the woodcut on the front page of the Kraków edition of Locher's play. However, while the Florentine painter tried his best to depict the tale in a manner appropriate to the marital context, the Kraków engraving emphasizes the moral values, as does the staging of the "Iudicium Paridis", which is more a play-exemplum than a genuine humanistic work. Furthermore, in the case of both, the four Florentine panels and the *cassone* made in Verona (figs. 1, 19), we are able to see a symbolic 'turning point' of sorts for the artistic depiction of this story, as the dream scene, which derives from medieval literature, is juxtaposed with the 'real' *Judgment of Paris*, which is much more *all'antica* and thus much more Renaissance in spirit.

### IVDICIVM PARIDIS

de pomo aureo inter tres deas Palladem, Iunonem, Venerem,  
de triplici hominu vita, contemplativa, activa, ac voluptaria.



CRACCOVIAE APVD FLORIANVM.  
Anno 1522.

28 Title Page of Jacob Locher, *Iudicium Paridis*, Kraków 1522. Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa.



## NOTES

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- <sup>1</sup> Quote from T. C. W. Stinton, *Euripides and the Judgment of Paris*, London 1965, p. 13.
- <sup>2</sup> For this subject see, among others, *Edward S. King*, The legend of Paris and Helen, in: *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, II, 1939, pp. 54-72; *Nanette B. Rodney*, The Judgment of Paris, in: *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bull.*, XI, 1952-53, pp. 57-67; *Margaret R. Scherer*, The legend of Troy in art and literature, New York/London 1963, pp. 15 ff. See also *Marc Rosenberg*, Von Paris von Troja bis zum König von Mercia, Darmstadt 1930; *Guy de Tervarent*, Les enigmes de l'art. L'héritage antique, Paris 1946, pp. 25-26. A recent monograph on the theme is *Hubert Damisch*, The Judgment of Paris, trans. by *John Goodman*, Chicago/London 1996 (1st French ed. 1992), see also *Fiona Healy*, Rubens and the Judgment of Paris. A question of choice, Turnhout 1997.
- <sup>3</sup> *Karl Lanckoroński*, Einiges über italienische bemalte Truhen, Vienna 1905, p. 13; *Schubring*, Cassoni, Leipzig 1923 (1st ed. 1915), nos. 166-167; *van Marle*, X, p. 570, fig. 347 (*The Dream of Paris*); *De Tervarent* (n. 2), p. 21 (without reproduction); *Helmuth Wohl*, The paintings of Domenico Veneziano ca. 1410-1461, New York/London 1980, pp. 154-155, 192-193 and plates 185-186. This panel is also listed in *Jane D. Reid*, The Oxford guide to classical mythology in the arts, 1300-1990s, New York/Oxford 1993, II, pp. 822 and 832.
- <sup>4</sup> For the history of the collection, see *Jerzy Miziołek*, The Lanckoroński Collection in Poland, in: *Antichità viva*, XXXIV, 3, 1995, pp. 27-49; *idem*, The "Odyssey" Cassone panels from the Lanckoroński Collection: on the origins of depicting Homer's epic in the art of the Italian Renaissance, in: *Artibus et Historiae*, 53 (XXVII), 2006, pp. 79-84. For the panels in question, see *idem*, Toskańskie malarstwo cassonowe z kolekcji Karola Lanckorońskiego w zbiorach Zamku Królewskiego na Wawelu (Tuscan domestic paintings from the Count Karol Lanckoroński collection at the Royal Castle in Cracow), in: *Studia Waweliana*, 6/7, 1997/1998, pp. 113-116, figs. 20-22; *idem*, Mity, legendy, exempla. Włoskie malarstwo świeckie epoki Renesansu ze zbiorów Karola Lanckorońskiego – Miti, leggende, exempla. La pittura profana del Rinascimento italiano della collezione Lanckoroński, Warsaw 2003. This third panel is mentioned but not reproduced in *Lanckoroński* (n. 3), p. 13 and *van Marle*, X, p. 570.
- <sup>5</sup> From the Boehler catalogue (K/91/0007) we know that the device on the side panels is most probably that of the Algarotti family from Verona.
- <sup>6</sup> *Schubring*, no. 648. See also *van Marle*, VII, p. 333.
- <sup>7</sup> For the guide with short description of each room in the palais and a list of the art-objects in them displayed see *Karl Lanckoroński*, Palais Lanckoroński Jacquingasse 18, Vienna 1903.
- <sup>8</sup> *Healy* (n. 2), p. 13.
- <sup>9</sup> For Lanckoroński and his collection, see *Karolina Lanckorońska* in: *Dictionary of Art*, ed. *Jane Turner*, London 1996, XVIII, p. 692; *Ausgewählte Kunstwerke der Sammlung Lanckoroński*, Vienna 1918; *Miziołek*, 1995 (n. 4), pp. 27-49; *idem*, 2003 (n. 4), with earlier bibliography. See also *Siegfried Käss*, Der heimliche Kaiser der Kunst. Adolph Bayersdorfer, seine Freunde und seine Zeit, Munich 1987, pp. 191-200.
- <sup>10</sup> For the history of Poland, see *Norman Davies*, God's playground. A history of Poland, New York 1981.
- <sup>11</sup> *A. Ernst*, Beim Grafen Lanckoroński, in: *Neues Wiener Tageblatt*, no. 195, 1933.
- <sup>12</sup> *Janusz A. Ostrowski*, Karol Lanckoroński (1848-1933) – Polish connoisseur and friend of art, in: *Studies in ancient art and civilisation*, *Zeszyty Naukowe UJ*, MCXI, Prace z Archeologii, LVI, Kraków 1993, pp. 53-79.
- <sup>13</sup> *Ein Ritt durch Kilikien*. Aus dem winterlichen Afrika, Vienna 1889.
- <sup>14</sup> *Karl Lanckoroński/Georg Niemann/Eugen Petersen*, Die Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens, Vienna 1890-1892, I, pp. I-II.
- <sup>15</sup> *Ostrowski*, 1993 (n. 12). *Mieczysław Paszkiewicz*, Jacek Malczewski in Asia Minor and in Rozdół, London 1972.
- <sup>16</sup> The work on the Towns of Pamphylia and Pisidia (n. 14), including a total of 500 pages with numerous maps, plans, drawings and plates, appeared also in French (Paris 1890-1893) and in Polish (Kraków 1890-1896). For the book on Aquileia, for which the Count received the *cittadinanza onoraria* of Aquileia, see



- Der Dom von Aquileia. Sein Bau und seine Geschichte, unter Mitwirkung von Georg Niemann/Heinrich Swoboda, ed. Karl Graf Lanckoroński, Vienna 1906; see also Giuseppe Bovini, *Antichità cristiane di Aquileia*, Bologna 1972, pp. 25-27.
- <sup>17</sup> Karl Lanckoroński, *Rund um die Erde. Geschautes und Gedachtes*, Stuttgart 1891, p. 4; *idem*, *Na około Ziemi 1888-1889: wrazenia i poglądy*, Kraków 1893, p. 3 (Polish version). In this book he often refers to Italian culture and even to *cassoni*, see pp. 61-62: "Whenever I wanted to consider the impression made on me by the people and animals of Jodhpur I could think of nothing to compare them with except, perhaps, the paintings on the chests made in Florence and Umbria in the Renaissance: the frescoes of Benozzo Gozzoli and the paintings of Carpaccio struck me in a similar way. And the more I think about it, the more I believe it to be true. It is a living Quattrocento; Rajputana gives us a picture of Italy between 1380 and 1450; of course it is less polished and less refined, but it exudes the same robust lust for life, the same thirst for sensation, the same naïve liking for original dress, jewellery, patterned cloth and useless ornaments."
  - <sup>18</sup> See for example his *Etwas von japanischer Malerei*, Vienna 1901; *Künstler und Kunsthistoriker*, Vienna 1924. His publications in Polish are mentioned in Jerzy Miziołek, *The last of the Lanckorońskis as the benefactors of the Polish culture and learning*, in: *Art and national identity in Poland and England. Papers delivered at the University of London History of Art Conference, April 1995*, ed. Anka Bednarek/Francis Ames-Lewis, London 1996, pp. 73-84.
  - <sup>19</sup> A selection of his poetries are to be found in Julius von Twardowski, *Lanckoroński. Vortrag gehalten im Verein der Museumsfreunde zu Wien am 26. November 1934*, Vienna 1934.
  - <sup>20</sup> See *Jahresbericht des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, Florence 1902-1903, p. 10; Hans Hubert, *Istituto germanico di Storia dell'Arte di Firenze. Cent'anni di storia 1897-1997*, Florence 1997, pp. 16, 18, 48, 125, 175, 179.
  - <sup>21</sup> Concerning the Lanckoroński donation to the Institute's photographic collection, see Anchise Tempestini, *La Fototeca del Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz: catalogazione tradizionale e schedatura informatizzata*, in: *Revista de história da arte e arqueologia*, 1, 1994, p. 267.
  - <sup>22</sup> Johannes Wilde, *Der letzte Humanist*, in: *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 1933, no. 196; Ludwig Curtius, *Deutsche und antike Welt*, Stuttgart 1956, p. 195.
  - <sup>23</sup> For Bayersdorfer and his friendship with Lanckoroński, see Käss (n. 9) pp. 191-200; Thode is mentioned e.g. in *Lanckoroński* (n. 3), p. 20. The history of the Lanckoroński collection deserves further studies; important written sources (letters and unpublished writings of the Count) are housed in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, *Handschriften, Autographen und Nachlaß-Sammlung*, no. 612/13-1. It is worth adding that several of the art objects in the Lanckoroński collection were of Siense origins; more than ten paintings produced in Siena between 1300 and 1550 were donated in 1994 to the Royal Castle, Cracow. One of the Siense sculptures from the collection was donated by Professor Karolina Lanckorońska to the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo in Siena; see Enzo Carli, *Testa d'angelo dalla facciata del Duomo di Siena*, in: *Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Roberto Salvini*, Florence 1984, p. 169. For the Count's collection of antique art, now dispersed, see Werner Oenbrink, *Die ehemalige Skulpturensammlung des Grafen Karol Lanckoroński (1848-1933) in Wien*, in: *Archeologia śródziemnomorska w Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim 1897-1997*, Kraków 1998, pp. 159-181.
  - <sup>24</sup> *De Tervarent* (n. 2), p. 35.
  - <sup>25</sup> Theodor von Frimmel, *Lexikon der Wiener Gemäldesammlungen*, Munich 1914, p. 490.
  - <sup>26</sup> Begrüßungsrede gehalten von Karl Grafen Lanckoroński am Abend des 10. Mai 1902 beim Empfang der Teilnehmer der Gesellschaftsabende Österreichischer Kunstfreunde in Seinem Hause (als Manuscript gedruckt), Vienna 1902 (copy in the Library of the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florence). The Gesellschaftsabende Österreichischer Kunstfreunde was founded by the Count in 1900.
  - <sup>27</sup> Several religious paintings are reproduced and discussed in *To the donor in homage. A catalogue of restored paintings and family mementoes from Karolina Lanckorońska's donation*, Kraków 1998; for domestic paintings, see Miziołek, 2003 (n. 4).
  - <sup>28</sup> For Paolo Uccello's painting, see Dillian Gordon, *National Gallery catalogues: the fifteenth century Italian paintings*, I, London 2003, pp. 398-405.
  - <sup>29</sup> On the Collecting Point, see Craig H. Smyth, *Repatriation of art from the Collecting Point in Munich after World War II*, Maarssen/The Hague, 1988.
  - <sup>30</sup> For Professor Lanckorońska, a historian of Italian Renaissance art and one of the disciples of Max Dvořák and Julius von Schlosser (the latter was the supervisor of her Ph.D. concerning Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* in 1926), see Miziołek (n. 18).



- <sup>31</sup> See Kazimierz Kuczman/Jerzy Miziołek, *Perły w koronie: arcydzieło Doss'a Dossi'ego i późnoantyczna gemma z kolekcji Lanckorońskich w zbiorach Zamku Królewskiego na Wawelu* [Pearls in the crown: the masterpiece of Dosso Dossi and the celebrated late-antique gem added to the Lanckoroński Donation in the Wawel Royal Castle Collections], in: *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, LXII, 2000, pp. 241-247; Vincenzo Farinella, *Dipingere farfalle. Giove, Mercurio a la Virtù di Dosso Dossi: un elogio dell'otium e della pittura per Alfonso I d'Este*, Florence 2007.
- <sup>32</sup> E.g. *Lucian's Dialogues of the Sea-Gods* (301), in: *Lucian*, transl. M. D. MacLeod, Cambridge, Mass./London 1961, VII, pp. 202-205 reads: "Discord had crept in unseen [...] and she threw a beautiful apple amongst the guests — an apple of solid gold [...] with the inscription 'For the queen of Beauty'. The apple rolled, as if aimed, to where Hera, Aphrodite and Athena were at table". The literary sources are conveniently assembled in Reid (n. 3), pp. 821-823. See also King (n. 2), pp. 55-72. On Eris/Discord and the Judgment of Paris in Greek art, see H.A. Shapiro, *Personifications in Greek art: the representation of abstract concepts*, 600-400 B.C., *Akanthus* 1993, pp. 58-61.
- <sup>33</sup> *Homer, The Iliad*, transl. A. T. Murray, London/New York 1925, II, p. 565. See also *Damisch* (n. 2), pp. 101-102.
- <sup>34</sup> *Biblioteca*, III, 12, 5, see *Apollodoro, I miti greci*, transl. Maria G. Ciani, Verona 1996, p. 265; *Apollodorus, The Library of Greek Mythology*, transl. Robin Hard, Oxford/New York 1997, pp. 124-125.
- <sup>35</sup> Margaret J. Ehrhart, *The Judgment of the Trojan prince Paris in Medieval literature*, Philadelphia 1987, pp. 3-4.
- <sup>36</sup> *Euripides, II: Electra, Orestes, Iphigeneia in Taurica, Andromache, Cyclops*, transl. Arthur S. Way, London/New York 1912, II, p. 439. For a commentary on this and other passages in which Euripides refers to the Judgment of Paris, see Stinton (n. 1).
- <sup>37</sup> *Ehrhart* (n. 35), pp. 4-5.
- <sup>38</sup> *Fulgentius the Mythographer*, transl. Leslie G. Whitbread, Columbus 1971, pp. 64-67 (II, 1).
- <sup>39</sup> *Ovid, Heroides and Amores*, transl. Grant Showerman, Cambridge/London 1947, pp. 61 and 203 (Letter V: *Oinone to Paris*; Letter XVI: *Paris to Helen*); *Lucian, The Judgement of the Goddesses*, in: *Lucian*, III, transl. A. M. Harmon, London/New York 1921, pp. 384-409. See also *Apuleius, Metamorphoses*, transl. J. Arthur Hanson, Cambridge, Mass./London 1989, II, pp. 274-281 (X, 30-32).
- <sup>40</sup> *Ehrhart* (n. 35), p. 9.
- <sup>41</sup> *Lucian* (n. 39), III, pp. 385 and 395. See also his *Dialogue of the Sea-Gods* (n. 32), p. 205.
- <sup>42</sup> *Ovid* (n. 39), p. 203; *Lucian* (n. 39), III, p. 395; see also *Apuleius* (n. 39), pp. 280-281 (X, 32).
- <sup>43</sup> *Excidium Troiae*, ed. Elmer B. Atwood/Virgil K. Whitaker, Cambridge, Mass. 1944, pp. 3-5.
- <sup>44</sup> *La Istoriotta troiana*, in: *La prosa del Duecento*, ed. Cesare Segre/Mario Marti, Milan/Neaples 1959, pp. 538-541.
- <sup>45</sup> *The Trojan War: The Chronicles of Dictys of Crete and Dares the Phrygian*, transl. R. M. Frazer, Bloomington/London 1966, pp. 138-139.
- <sup>46</sup> *I sogni nel medioevo. Seminario Internazionale, Rome, 2-4 October 1983*, ed. Tullio Gregory, Rome 1985; *Träume im Mittelalter. Ikonologische Studien*, ed. Agostino Paravicini Bagliani/Giorgio Stabile, Stuttgart/Zurich 1989. See also Millard Meiss, *Sleep in Venice. Ancient myths and Renaissance proclivities*, in: *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 110, 5, 1966, pp. 348-362 (reprinted in: *idem*, *The painter's choice*, New York 1976, pp. 212-239) with several illustrations depicting dreaming persons.
- <sup>47</sup> For this island (which is mentioned in Pausanias III, 23, as well as elsewhere — see Pausanias, *Guide to Greece*, II: *Southern Greece*, transl. Peter Levi, Harmondsworth 1985, pp. 85 ff.), in Renaissance literature, see Luciano Patetta, *Il mito di Plusiapolis, dell'Insula Citera e la città ideale del Rinascimento*, in: *Il mito nel Rinascimento*, ed. Luisa Rotondi Secchi Tarugi, Milan 1993, pp. 101-106. In reality, it is the seventh of the Ionian islands and in time it was considered to be Aphrodite's birthplace, endowed with pastoral enchantments; see Richard Stoneman, *A literary companion to travel in Greece*, Malibu 1994, pp. 80-81. According to Euripides, Helen (1-69), in: *Euripides*, transl. Arthur S. Way, London/Cambridge, Mass. 1942, pp. 467-471, Paris only brought a phantasm of Helen to Troy, while she herself was taken to Egypt for the whole period of the Trojan War; see Norman Austin, *Helen of Troy and her shameless phantom*, Ithaca/London 1994.
- <sup>48</sup> *Ovid* (n. 39), p. 211 (Letter XVI: *Paris to Helen*).
- <sup>49</sup> *Benoît de Sainte-Maure, Le roman de Troie*, ed. Emmanuèle Baumgartner/Françoise Veilliard, Paris 1998, pp. 163-165.
- <sup>50</sup> *Guido delle Colonne, Historia destructionis Troiae*, transl. Mary E. Meek, Bloomington/London 1974, p. 74 (VII, 318-319). There are also several Italian translations of this book, one of them is by Filippo Ceffi; see

- Libro de la destructione de Troya*. Volgarizzamento napoletano trecentesco da Guido delle Colonne, ed. Nicola De Blasi, Rome 1986.
- <sup>51</sup> Giovanni Boccaccio, Concerning famous women, translation by Guido A. Guarino, New Brunswick 1963, p. 75; *idem*, *Esposizioni sopra la Comedia di Dante*, in: *idem*, Opere minori in volgare, ed. Mario Marti, IV, Milan 1972, p. 430.
- <sup>52</sup> See The Odes of Pindar, transl. John Sandy, Cambridge, Mass. 1968, pp. 545-547; Euripides (n. 36), p. 439 (Andromache, 280-300).
- <sup>53</sup> Virgil, transl. H. Rushton Fairclough, II: Aeneid VII-XII, London/New York 1925, p. 25.
- <sup>54</sup> Ovid (n. 39), p. 201 (Letter XVI: Paris to Helen).
- <sup>55</sup> The Myths of Hyginus, transl. Mary Grant, Lawrence 1960, pp. 82-83 (*Fabulae* XCI and XCII).
- <sup>56</sup> *Compendium historiae Troianae-Romanae*, ed. H. Simonsfeld, in: Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde, XI, 1886, pp. 241-251.
- <sup>57</sup> Armannino Giudice, in: Egidio Gorra, Testi inediti di storia troiana, Turin 1887, pp. 532-561, in particular p. 539. For this author who lived at the turn of the XIIIth and XIVth centuries, and his *Fiorita* written ca. 1325, see Ghino Ghinassi, in: Diz. Biogr. Ital., IV, 1962, pp. 224-225.
- <sup>58</sup> Giovanni Boccaccio, *Genealogie deorum gentilium libri*, ed. Vincenzo Romano, Bari 1951, pp. 302-303 (VI, 22); *idem*, *Esposizioni* (n. 51), p. 430.
- <sup>59</sup> This panel is mentioned but not reproduced in *Lanckoroński* (n. 3), p. 13. It was unknown to Schubring, however it is referred to by van Marle (n. 3), X, p. 570 (without reproduction). It was first published by Miziolek, 1995 (n. 4), p. 36, fig. 26.
- <sup>60</sup> Such an interpretation was proposed by *idem*, 1995 (n. 4), note 86; *idem*, 1997/1998 (n. 4), pp. 113 and 116, fig. 20.
- <sup>61</sup> Hyginus (n. 55), pp. 82-83 (*Fabulae* XCI and XCII).
- <sup>62</sup> Apollodorus, III, 12, 5; see Apollodoro (n. 34), pp. 263-265.
- <sup>63</sup> *Excidium Troiae* (n. 43), p. 4; *Istoriotta troiana*, in: Gorra (n. 57), pp. 381-382.
- <sup>64</sup> For Giorgione's original in the Contarini collection in Venice (ca. 1525) see Notizia d'opere di disegno nella prima metà del secolo XVI, ed. D. Jacopo Morelli, Bassano 1800, p. 65; for the copies of this painting see Terisio Pignatti, Giorgione, Venice 1978, pp. 131 and 143, figs. 221, 224-225; Jaynie Anderson, Giorgione, the painter of 'Poetic Brevity'. Including catalogue raisonné, Paris/New York 1997, p. 317, who reproduces Teniers's panel with the same subject which is housed in a private collection in London.
- <sup>65</sup> Julius von Schlosser, Die Werkstatt der Embriachi in Venedig, in: Jb. Kaiserhaus, XX, 1899, pp. 220-282; Elena Merlini, La "Bottega degli Embriachi" e i cofanetti eburnei fra Trecento e Quattrocento: una proposta di classificazione, in: Arte Cristiana, 727, 1988, pp. 267-282, esp. 274 and fig. 8. See also King (n. 2), p. 69, note 37.
- <sup>66</sup> Bernard Berenson, Italian pictures of the Renaissance. A list of the principal artists and their works with an index of place. Venetian school, London 1957, p. 86; Reid (n. 3), p. 818. Both paintings (once on wood now on canvas) are reproduced in Mauro Lucco, Giorgione, Milan 1995, nos. 59-60 on p. 150.
- <sup>67</sup> Schubring (n. 3), no. 166, p. 261; van Marle (n. 3), X, p. 570, fig. 341.
- <sup>68</sup> Healy (n. 2), pp. 12-13, fig. 11. See also Marina Vidas, Representation and marriage: art, society and gender. Relations in Florence from the late fourteenth through the fifteenth century, Ph. Diss., New York University, Ann Arbor 1997, pp. 122-123, fig. 9.
- <sup>69</sup> The passage indicated by Healy is as follows: "These, when they came to the wooded glade on the mountainside, / washed their bodies, gleaming white, / in water gushing from a spring; / then they came to Priam's son, / bidding high with spiteful words, / the rivals; the Cyprian won with her soft-spoken wiles, / a delight for the hearer / but a cruel upheaval / for the towers of Troy"; quoted from Stinton (n. 1), pp. 13-14.
- <sup>70</sup> Schubring (n. 3), no. 165; Wohl (n. 3), no. 27, pp. 154-155, plate 184.
- <sup>71</sup> Trojan War (n. 45), pp. 138-139 (chap. 7).
- <sup>72</sup> Benoît de Sainte-Maure (n. 49), p. 135.
- <sup>73</sup> Guido delle Colonne, 1974 (n. 50), pp. 59-61 (chap. VI, 188-247). Interesting observations on representations of the sleeping Paris are to be found in de Tervarent (n. 2), pp. 15-20.
- <sup>74</sup> Guido delle Colonne, 1974 (n. 50), pp. 60-61 (VI, 205-253).
- <sup>75</sup> Christine de Pisan, The Epistle of Othea, transl. Stephen Scrope, London/New York/Toronto 1970, pp. 73-75 (chap. LX).
- <sup>76</sup> Armannino Giudice in: Gorra (n. 57), p. 541.
- <sup>77</sup> Boccaccio (n. 58), pp. 302-303 (chap. VI, 22).



- <sup>78</sup> *Istorietta troiana*, in: *Gorra* (n. 57), pp. 381-382. Similar elements are to be found in *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*, which is the oldest version of the chronicle of the world written in *volgare*; see *Hugo Buchthal*, *Historia Troiana*. Studies in the history of Mediaeval secular illustration, London 1971, pp. 4-5; *Ehrhart* (n. 35), pp. 62-63. Here neither the marriage of Thetis with Peleus nor the presence of Mercury are mentioned; as in the *Istorietta troiana* the goddesses wake up Paris and ask him to be the arbiter of their beauty. On the importance of medieval versions of Paris's story for Italian Renaissance artists, see *Michele Tomasi*, *Miti antichi e riti nuziali: sull'iconografia e la funzione dei cofanetti degli Embriachi*, in: *Iconographica*, II, 2003, pp. 129-130.
- <sup>79</sup> Here is the whole passage from the *Istorietta troiana* (in *Gorra* [n. 57], pp. 381-383) concerning both the dropping of the ball, the awakening of Paris and his judgment:
- Un altro di ando Paris accacciare nella selva, e quando fue il grande calore nel mezzo di, si parti Paris da' compagni e ando a una chiara fontana maravigliosamente dilettevole ebbene assisa, nel quale luogo gli uccelli riparavano con dolci canti. Quivi Paris si riposo ellavo le mani e rinfrescossi il viso; poi piego una sua guarnacca e puosela allato alla fontana, e posta la guancia sopra la guarnacca s'addormento. Un'altra fontana non meno bella di quella era più presso, alla quale erano venute addonneare tre dee, l'una delle quali fue madonna Giuno, l'altra fue madonna Pallas, la terza madonna Venus, ella si diportavano, e ragionando intra loro avvenne che nel mezzo di loro cadde una palla d'oro ove era scritto pulchriori detur, cioe alla piu bella sia data. Quando le dee videro la palla, lette le lettere, ciascuna disse che allei dovea esser data, assengnando ciascuna ragioni per se, e nata tra loro la discordia alla quale data esser dovesse, l'una di queste dee disse: "Non e bella cosa che per tale cagione sia discordia trannoi, ma troviamo alcuno soficiente accio giudicare, checcio diffinisca". Eccio accordato intra loro, si mossero a trovare accio giudicatore; e andando per la foresta s'abbatterono alla fontana ove Paris dormia. Allora disse l'una all'altra: "Vedete, vedete Paris qui, il figliuolo del re Priamo; piu leale di lui non potremo noi trovare ed elli il mostro bene alla battaglia del toro istrano che vinse il suo, quello che elli ne giudico; epperchio io lodo chennoi ne facciamo lui giudicatore". E accio s'accordaro. Allora destaro Paris, alle quali egli fece maravigliosa gioia ed onore. Elle gli comtarono la quistione che intralloro era e diederli la mela dell'oro e disser chella desse a quella che allui fosse avviso che piu dengna ne fosse. [...] Madonna Venus conta e bella, nobile e piacente, sottrattosa e smovente, gli promise tutta sua forza e disse: "Paris, settu se' leale uomo, tu mi dei la mela donare, per cio che alla piu bella debbe essere data. Settu mi fai ragione io l'avro, essettu fai ch'io l'abbia, io ti donero bello dono. Cio fia chetutte le donne chetti vedranno t'amaranno e qualunque tue vorrai, sitti daro; e ancora vedi che io sono la piu bella". Alla fine fecie tanto che Paris le diede la mela, onde l'altre due dee n'ebbero grande ira.
- See also *Marilena Caciorgna/Roberto Guerrini*, *La virtù figurata. Eroi ed eroine dell'antichità nell'arte senese tra Medioevo e Rinascimento*, Siena 2003, pp. 197-200 for a somewhat similar text written in Siena.
- <sup>80</sup> *Wohl* (n. 3), p. 27, pp. 154-155, plate 184; *Healy* (n. 2), pp. 12-13.
- <sup>81</sup> *Schlosser* (n. 65), plate after p. 262; *Merlini* (n. 65), fig. 8.
- <sup>82</sup> *Enrica Neri Lusanna*, *Aspetti della cultura tardo-gotica a Firenze: il "Maestro del Giudizio di Paride"*, in: *Arte Cristiana*, LXXVII, 1989, pp. 409-426, figs. 10-11; *Cecilia De Carli*, *I deschi da parto e la pittura del primo Rinascimento toscano*, Torino 1997, nos. 21-22.
- <sup>83</sup> Both paintings are discussed by *Healy* (n. 2), pp. 12-13 and figs. 8-9.
- <sup>84</sup> See notes 41 and 43-44.
- <sup>85</sup> *Guido delle Colonne*, 1974 (n. 50), pp. 60-61 (chap. VI, 235-245).
- <sup>86</sup> *Ehrhart* (n. 35), pp. 211-229, figs. 1-6; see also *Buchthal* (n. 78), pp. 37-39, figs. 34a-b.
- <sup>87</sup> *Ehrhart* (n. 35), pp. 221.
- <sup>88</sup> *Damisch* (n. 2), fig. 38.
- <sup>89</sup> *Merlini* (n. 65), fig. 8. The *cofanetto* in the Victoria and Albert Museum is reproduced and discussed by *Berthold Hinz*, *Nackt/Akt – Dürer und der "Prozess der Zivilisation"*, in: *Städél-Jb.*, XIV, 1993, pp. 205-206. See also *Tomasi* (n. 78), pp. 129-130.
- <sup>90</sup> *Ralph Toledano*, *Francesco di Giorgio Martini pittore e scultore*, Milan 1987, no. 36, p. 96. The artist also produced a bronze plaque with the same subject which is now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington. This time Paris is seated on a rock and is listening to one of the goddesses, see *idem* no. 49, fig. 129. For the Getty *cassone*, see also important observations by *Caciorgna* in: *Caciorgna/Guerrini* (n. 79), pp. 193-201 who found its possible literary sources, a Siennese vernacular poem concerning Enone and Paris by Domenico da Monticchiello and the *Fiorita*, already referred to in the present paper.
- <sup>91</sup> *Schubring* (n. 3), no. 163.
- <sup>92</sup> *Francesco Colonna*, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, ed. *Giovanni Pozzi/Lucia A. Ciapponi*, Padua 1968, I, p. 157.
- <sup>93</sup> *Luciano Berti*, *Il Museo di Palazzo Davanzati a Firenze*, Milan 1972, pp. 199-200, fig. 49.



- <sup>94</sup> *Schubring* (n. 3), no. 905, who dated it ca. 1440 and attributed it to the Florentine School.
- <sup>95</sup> The *cassone* was recently discussed by Rosanna C. Proto Pisani in: *Mythologica et erotica. Arte e cultura dall'antichità al XVIII secolo*, exh. in Florence, ed. Ornella Casazza/Riccardo Gennaioli, Florence 2006, p. 316, no. 316; however, the author of the entry did not resolve its enigmatic iconography and its literary sources.
- <sup>96</sup> Federico Zeri/Elizabeth E. Gardner, *Italian paintings. A catalogue of the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Florentine school*, New York 1971, pp. 103-105.
- <sup>97</sup> Boehler catalogue (as in note 5), with reference to *Schubring* (n. 3), no. 648. It is worth mentioning that the reference in the catalogue is not precise; cf. original version of *Schubring* (p. 369), which reads: "Wien, Graf Lanckoronski: Gotische Truhe mit vergoldetem Stuckdekor: an der Front drei Bilder in Sechspässen. 1.35 x 0.61. Gewölbter Deckel. Veronesisch, um 1450. In der Mitte das gemalte Wappen; rechts wird Zeus der Apfel der Eris von den drei nackten Göttinnen Hera, Athena, und Aphrodite überbracht; links überreicht Paris ihn Aphrodite. Seitlich Imperatorenköpfe, von Kränzen gerahmt."
- <sup>98</sup> In the illustration to be found in *Schubring* (n. 3), plate CXL, in fact one can easily be misled by the identifications of the *dramatis personae* since they are hardly visible, and indeed, standing Paris looks somewhat like Zeus. However, there are extant depictions of the *Judgment of Paris* which begin with the dialog of Zeus with the three goddesses. The case in point is a panel attributed to the Master of the Argonauts, which is preserved in the Fogg Museum at Harvard University, Cambridge, MA; see Healy (n. 2), fig. 9. I believe that this painting may have been inspired by a passage in Boccaccio's *Esposizioni sopra la Comedia di Dante*, which reads: "E in questo tempo che esso così dimorava, avvenne che Pelleo menò per moglie Tetis, e alle sue noze invitò Giunone, Pallade e Venere. Di che gravandosi la dea della Discordia, che essa non v'era stata chiamata, preso un pomo d'oro, vi scrisse su che fosse dato alla più degna e gittollo sopra la mensa, alla quale esse sedevano; di che, lette le lettere, ciascuna delle tre dee diceva a lei, sì come a più degna, doversi il detto pomo. Ed essendo tra loro la quistione grande, andarono per lo giudicio a Giove; il quale Giove non volle dare, ma disse loro: 'Andate in Ida, e quivi è un giustissimo uomo chiamato Paris: quegli giudicherà qual di voi ne sia più degna.'" See Boccaccio (n. 51), p. 428.
- <sup>99</sup> After *Schubring* (n. 3), the only illustration of this *cassone* is available in Lucas Cranach. Ein Maler-Unternehmer aus Franken, ed. Claus Grimm/Johannes Erichsen/Evamaría Brockhoff, Regensburg 1994, p. 5; it shows only the right compartment of the *cassone* front in question. The transparencies sent to me by the present owner of the *cassone* leave no doubt that it must have been cleaned and restored recently.
- <sup>100</sup> Libro d'Inventario dei beni di Lorenzo il Magnifico, ed. Marco Spallanzani/Giovanna Gaeta Bertelà, Florence 1992, p. 11. See also Franco/Stefano Borsi, Paolo Uccello, Milan 1992, pp. 308 ff., cat. no. 14. For the decoration of the Medici palace, see Wolfer A. Bulst, Die sala grande des Palazzo Medici in Florenz. Rekonstruktion und Bedeutung, in: Piero de'Medici "il Gottoso" (1416-1469): Kunst im Dienste der Mediceer, ed. Andreas Beyer/Bruce Boucher, Berlin 1993, pp. 89-127. One more *spalliera* with *The Judgment of Paris*, as yet unpublished, which originally depicted naked goddesses is in a private collection in Italy (Pistoia). However, the panel is badly preserved; it was apparently reused in time of Savonarola in that way that the original painting was almost completely destroyed and on its back an image of *Madonna* was pictured.
- <sup>101</sup> See Daretis *Phrygii De excidio Troie historia*, ed. F. Meister, Lipsia 1873, pp. 11 ff.; Trojan War (n. 45), p. 141-142. For Helen in ancient literature and art, see Lily Kabil, s.v. Helene, in: LIMC, IV, 1, 1988, pp. 498-563.
- <sup>102</sup> Guido delle Colonne, 1974 (n. 50), pp. 70-74 (chap. VI, 70-320). The Temple of Apollo is mentioned in the *Fiorita*; see Armannino Giudice in: Gorra (n. 57), p. 543.
- <sup>103</sup> *Istorieta Troiana*, in: Gorra (n. 57), p. 386.
- <sup>104</sup> See note 50. For the image of Helen in European literature, see J. L. Backès, Le Mythe d'Helène, Clermont-Ferrand 1984; Matthew Gumpert, Grafting Helen. The abduction of the classical past, Madison 2001.
- <sup>105</sup> *Istorieta Troiana*, in: Gorra (n. 57), pp. 387-388.
- <sup>106</sup> Boccaccio, 1972 (n. 51), p. 430. Cf., however, Boccaccio, 1963 (n. 51), p. 75.
- <sup>107</sup> For depictions of this subject in the art of the early modern period, see *De Tervarent* (n. 2), pp. 21-24.
- <sup>108</sup> *Schubring* (n. 3), no. 164.
- <sup>109</sup> Both are reproduced and discussed by *De Carli* (n. 82), pp. 27-28 and 108-109. See also *Neri Lusanna* (n. 82), p. 416, fig. 8. Some of the scholars ascribe this panel to Benozzo Gozzoli; see *Pittura di luce. Giovanni di Francesco e l'arte fiorentina di metà Quattrocento*, exh. cat., ed. Luciano Bellosi, Milan 1990, pp. 109-117, fig. on p. 116; cf. *Gordon* (n. 28), pp. 426-431, who proposes Zanobi Strozzi as its author.
- <sup>110</sup> Fabio Bisogni, Risarcimento del Ratto di Elena di Francesco di Giorgio, in: *Prospettiva*, 7, 1976, pp. 44-46.
- <sup>111</sup> Marco Antonio Altieri, *Li nuptiali*, ed. Enrico Narducci, Rome 1873, p. 62.
- <sup>112</sup> *Schubring* (n. 3), nos. 156-157, 184-185, 289-290.



- <sup>113</sup> *Alberti, De Architectura*, book IX, 4, see *Leon Battista Alberti, On the art of building in ten books*, transl. Joseph Rykwert/Neil Leach/Robert Tavernor, Cambridge MA 1988, p. 299.
- <sup>114</sup> *Ernst H. Gombrich, Apollonio di Giovanni. A Florentine Cassone workshop seen through the eyes of a Humanist poet*, in: *idem, Norm and form*, London 1966, s. 11-28, p. 21. There are many examples of such a believe described already in Antiquity; they concern images of *Narcissus* as well.
- <sup>115</sup> *Schubring* (n. 3), nos. 165-167; *van Marle* (n. 3), X, p. 570. They ascribed several paintings to this anonymous artist. It should not be mistaken with another painter known as the Master of the Judgment of Paris, cf. *Neri Lusanna* (n. 82), pp. 409-426.
- <sup>116</sup> *Mario Salmi, Paolo Uccello, Andrea del Castagno, Domenico Veneziano*, Rome 1938, pp. 85-86, 175-176, pl. 195a; *Wohl* (n. 3), pp. 154-155, 192-193 and figs. 185-186.
- <sup>117</sup> *Federico Zeri, Italian Primitives at Messrs Wildenstein*, in: *Burl. Mag.*, CVII, 1965, p. 255.
- <sup>118</sup> *Colnaghi, Dictionary*, pp. 181-182; *La pittura in Italia. Il Quattrocento*, ed. *Federico Zeri*, Milan 1988, II, p. 619 (*Francesca Petrucci*) with bibliography. For an identification of the painter of the panels in question with Domenico di Michelino, see *Miziołek, 1997-1998* (n. 4), p. 116.
- <sup>119</sup> For the cassone in Switzerland, see *Gaudenz Freuler, "Manifestatori delle cose miracolose". Arte italiana del '300 e '400 da collezioni in Svizzera e nel Liechtenstein*, Einsiedeln 1991, cat. no. 96, fig. on pp. 245-246, with a wrong interpretation as the *Rape of Helen*; it was rightly deciphered as the *Story of Theseus with Hyppolita* by *Ellen Callmann*, Subject from Boccaccio in Italian painting 1375-1525, in: *Studi sul Boccaccio*, 23, 1995, pp. 19-78, p. 37. The literary source is Boccaccio's *Teseida*, I, 91-143; see *Boccaccio*, 1972 (n. 51), II, pp. 285-299. Domenico di Michelino's cassone in Avignon is reproduced and discussed by *Michel Laclotte/E. Mognetti, Avignon – Musée du Petit Palais. Peinture italienne*, Paris 1987, nos. 86-87; see also *Laurence B. Kanter, The 'cose piccole' of Paolo Uccello*, in: *Apollo*, August 2000, pp. 11-20.
- <sup>120</sup> *Werner Weisbach, Francesco Pesellino und die Romantik der Renaissance*, Berlin 1901; *Francis Ames-Lewis*, s.v. Pesellino, Francesco di Stefano, in: *The Dictionary of Art*, XXIV, 1996, pp. 537-539.
- <sup>121</sup> See *Mina Gregori, Uffizi e Pitti. I dipinti delle Gallerie fiorentine*, Udine 1994, figs. 82 and 86.
- <sup>122</sup> For this altarpiece, see *Gordon* (n. 28), pp. 260-287.
- <sup>123</sup> *Vasari-Milanesi*, III, p. 37.
- <sup>124</sup> *Frances Ames-Lewis, Francesco Pesellino's "Story of David" panels in the National Gallery, London*, in: *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, LXII, 1/2, 2000, pp. 189-203.
- <sup>125</sup> *Weisbach* (n. 120), pp. 54-56, fig. after p. 54.
- <sup>126</sup> *Gordon* (n. 28), pp. 288-295, fig. on p. 290; *Ames-Lewis* (n. 124), fig. 8.
- <sup>127</sup> *Van Marle* (n. 3), p. 570; *Ellen Callmann*, s.v. Cassone in: *The Dictionary of Art*, VI, 1996, p. 3.
- <sup>128</sup> For the wedding of this couple and the ordering of marriage chests for it, see *Marc Phillips, The Memoir of Marco Parenti. A life in Medici Florence*, Princeton 1987, pp. 40-43.
- <sup>129</sup> For this letter, see *Miziołek, 1995* (n. 4), p. 38, and *To the Donor in Homage* (n. 27), pp. 8-9.
- <sup>130</sup> The Italian and Polish artistic relations in the Renaissance period have been studied by several scholars; see, among others, *Stanisław Mossakowski, Bartolomeo Berecci à Cracovie: la chapelle Sigismond*, in: *Revue de l'art*, 1993, pp. 67-85; *Anne M. Schulz, Giammaria Mosca called Padovano: a Renaissance sculptor in Italy and Poland*, University Park 1998; *Jerzy Miziołek, L'ideale classico nelle raffigurazioni dei re di Polonia come capitani (secoli XVI-XVII)*, in: *Il "perfetto capitano", immagini e realtà (secoli XV-XVII). Atti dei seminari di studi, Georgetown University a Villa Le Balze/Istituto di Studi Rinascimentali di Ferrara, 1995-1997*, ed. *Marcello Fantoni*, Rome 2001, pp. 401-447; see also *Polen im Zeitalter der Jagiellonen 1386-1572*, exhib. cat., Schallaburg/Vienna 1986; all four with further bibliography.
- <sup>131</sup> For history and culture of Renaissance Poland see *Harold B. Segel, Renaissance culture in Poland. The rise of Humanism 1470-1543*, Ithaca/London 1989.
- <sup>132</sup> "Sposa recente del re Sigismondo / Bona dal volto celeste / fulgida di rari spirituali doni / quasi quanto una dea. / Bellezza, dono dell'alma Venere; / Senno dono di Pallade, e nobiltà e pudicizia. / Diadema di Giunone che veglia sul grande regno (nostro)": *Andreae Cricii Carmina*, ed. *Casimirus Morawski*, Kraków 1888, p. 77; transl. *Danilo Facca*.
- <sup>133</sup> *Barbara Król/Stanisława Mrozińska/Zbigniew Raszewski, Inscenizacja 'Iudicium Paridis' na Wawelu z roku 1522*, in: *Pamiętnik Teatralny*, 9, 1954, s. 3-22, pp. 3-22.
- <sup>134</sup> *Teatr polskiego renesansu. Antologia*, ed. *Julian Lewański*, Warsaw 1988, pp. 39-65.
- <sup>135</sup> *Iudicium Paridis de pomo aureo inter tres deas, Palladem, Iunonem, Venerem, de triplici hominum vita contemplativa, activa ac voluptaria*, Kraków (apud Florianum) 1522.

## RIASSUNTO

Quest'articolo tratta delle raffigurazioni del mito di Paride dipinte su quattro tavolette di scuola fiorentina e su un cassone veronese interamente conservato. Sia questo, venduto dagli eredi del conte Lanckoroński dopo la seconda guerra mondiale, sia le tavolette, in origine laterali di una coppia di cassoni (tre di questi si trovano dal 1994 presso il Castello di Wawel a Cracovia, il quarto è ora conservato a Glasgow) sono della metà del '400. Come molti altri dipinti di argomento mitologico del Quattrocento, anche questi presentano molti punti oscuri. Sul cassone veronese figurano due scene molto simili, mentre sulle tavole di origine fiorentina sono rappresentate: *La prima infanzia di Paride*, *Il sogno di Paride e tre dee al pozzo* (soggetto estremamente raro nel primo Rinascimento), *Il giudizio di Paride* e infine *Il ratto di Elena*.

L'articolo mira principalmente a risolvere il problema delle fonti scritte, inquadrando le raffigurazioni in esame nel contesto dell'iconografia di Paride del tardo Trecento e del primo Rinascimento. Prima di tutto viene discussa l'importanza della cosiddetta *Istorietta troiana*, opera del XIII secolo (la cui copia più antica risale al primo Trecento), in gran parte basata su *Le roman de Troie* di Benoît de Sainte-Maure. Vi si parla di Paride che, stanco dopo la caccia, trova nel bosco "una chiara fontana" e, dopo essersi lavato le mani e rinfrescato, si assopisce. Lì accanto, dinanzi a una fontana altrettanto bella, compaiono le tre dee ai cui piedi cade una sfera dorata dove è scritto *pulchriori detur*, "Alla più bella sia data". Non riuscendo a dirimere la disputa tra loro, le dee attraversano il bosco alla ricerca di un giudice degno. All'improvviso si imbattono in Paride addormentato; egli viene svegliato e, ascoltate le loro attraenti promesse, emette la sua sentenza, che provoca la furia di Era e di Atena. Questa versione contempla due distinti episodi, Paride dormiente e Paride ormai sveglio e del tutto cosciente, intento a formulare il suo giudizio. Il giudizio, perciò, diventa come nell'antichità un evento reale. La lettura approfondita dell'*Istorietta Troiana* consente di sciogliere l'enigma sia del cassone veronese sia dei dipinti fiorentini. Tutte e due le versioni del mito di Paride e di Elena della collezione Lanckoroński si inquadrano bene nel contesto nuziale. Trattano di un grande amore tra personaggi belli e riguardano — in qualche modo — anche la procreazione. Come scrive Leon Battista Alberti nel *De Architectura* (IX, 4) "Negli ambienti ove ci si unisce con la moglie raccomandano di dipingere esclusivamente forme umane nobilissime e bellissime: ciò — dicono — ha grande importanza per la bontà del concepimento e la bellezza della futura prole".

Viene dimostrato, infine, che le quattro tavole fiorentine potrebbero essere state dipinte dal Pesellino e che si intonano perfettamente alle atmosfere del Castello Reale di Cracovia, e non soltanto perché la dimora dei re di Polonia fu edificata da architetti italiani. Qualche anno dopo le nozze di Bona Sforza con re Sigismondo I (1518), nelle stanze del Castello fu rappresentata un'opera teatrale intitolata *Iudicium Paridis*, nel febbraio 1522; in tale occasione fu pubblicato il testo latino. L'incisione sul frontespizio raffigurava il giudizio come una visione onirica.

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