

THE GENIUS OF ROME 1592–1623

Edited by Beverly Louise Brown

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Julia Harris Vass, of Cara Bertin, Ivona Rome, the award-winning author of each biography, was written by the contributor of the catalogue entry, not by the biographer's author.

Catalogue entries were written by the authors of the essays which they illustrate. In the following sections: 46–56: Paul Severy, Louise Brown, 46–56, 56–61, 61–62, 62–63 and 64–65: Francesca Cappelletti, 65–74: Patrizia Cavazzini, 74–83: Ben Treffers, and 83–90: Chris White.

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The Birth of the Baroque: Painting in Rome 1592–1623

FIG. 1
The dome of St Peter's, Rome

In the autumn of 1592 the twenty-one-year-old Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio arrived in Rome. The previous January Ippolito Aldobrandini had been elected Pope Clement VIII (1592–1605). Clement immediately rekindled the interest in artistic patronage that had marked the pontificate of his predecessor Sixtus V (1585–90), ensuring that a number of the earlier pope's enterprises were completed. The dome of St Peter's was crowned with a huge gilt-bronze ball and cross and a sumptuous decorative programme was initiated which stressed the supremacy of the papacy. Clement also pressed forward with plans to prepare Rome's churches for the Jubilee year of 1600, undertaking the refurbishment of San Giovanni in Laterano himself and encouraging individual cardinals to renovate other structures or complete new building projects.² This was especially important for the Oratorians, Jesuits and Theatines, the new orders that had come to prominence after the Council of Trent (1545–63) and were in particular need of space for their ever-increasing number of devoted followers.

Not only was ecclesiastical Rome transformed during these years, but so also was secular Rome. Although Clement lived in relatively austere piety, his *cardinali nipoti* (papal nephews) entertained in luxurious splendour. They and other eminent cardinals became serious patrons of the arts, forming impressive collections of antiquities and modern masters and having their palaces and villas frescoed with scenes from classical mythology. Thus Caravaggio's arrival in the Eternal City coincided with an artistic rejuvenation that marked the beginning of a new era.

This new artistic era has been described as a revolution of style: the very beginning of what by the mid-nineteenth century would be designated as baroque art.³ The birth of the new 'baroque' style stretched through Clement's pontificate into those of his immediate successors, Paul V (1605–21) and Gregory XV (1621–23).⁴ Ecclesiastical and secular patronage on such a grand scale meant that by the first decade of the seventeenth century, Rome had become a Mecca for artists from throughout Italy as well as the rest of Europe. By the time Urban VIII (1623–44) ascended the throne, the new style had evolved into what the late seventeenth-century art critic Giovanni Battista Passeri called 'the golden age of painting'.⁵ The ascent to this zenith was the combined achievement of many artistic personalities, but four artists in particular played a decisive role: Caravaggio, Annibale Carracci, Adam Elsheimer and Peter Paul Rubens. In their wake the seeds of a baroque style were sown, germinated and brought to fruition. By 1610 Caravaggio, Annibale and Elsheimer were all dead and Rubens had returned to northern Europe. Their influence on the artists who flocked to Rome, however, outlasted their brief presence in the city. Annibale's Bolognese followers entrenched themselves firmly in Rome during the first two decades of the seventeenth century and public taste shifted decisively in their favour. On the other hand, Caravaggio's more intensely naturalistic style remained almost entirely an affair for eccentrics, connoisseurs and foreign artists and, by the early 1620s, had run its course – at least as far as Rome was concerned.

While Caravaggio had come to Rome to seek his own fortune, Annibale Carracci had travelled there from Bologna in the autumn of 1594 to sign a contract with

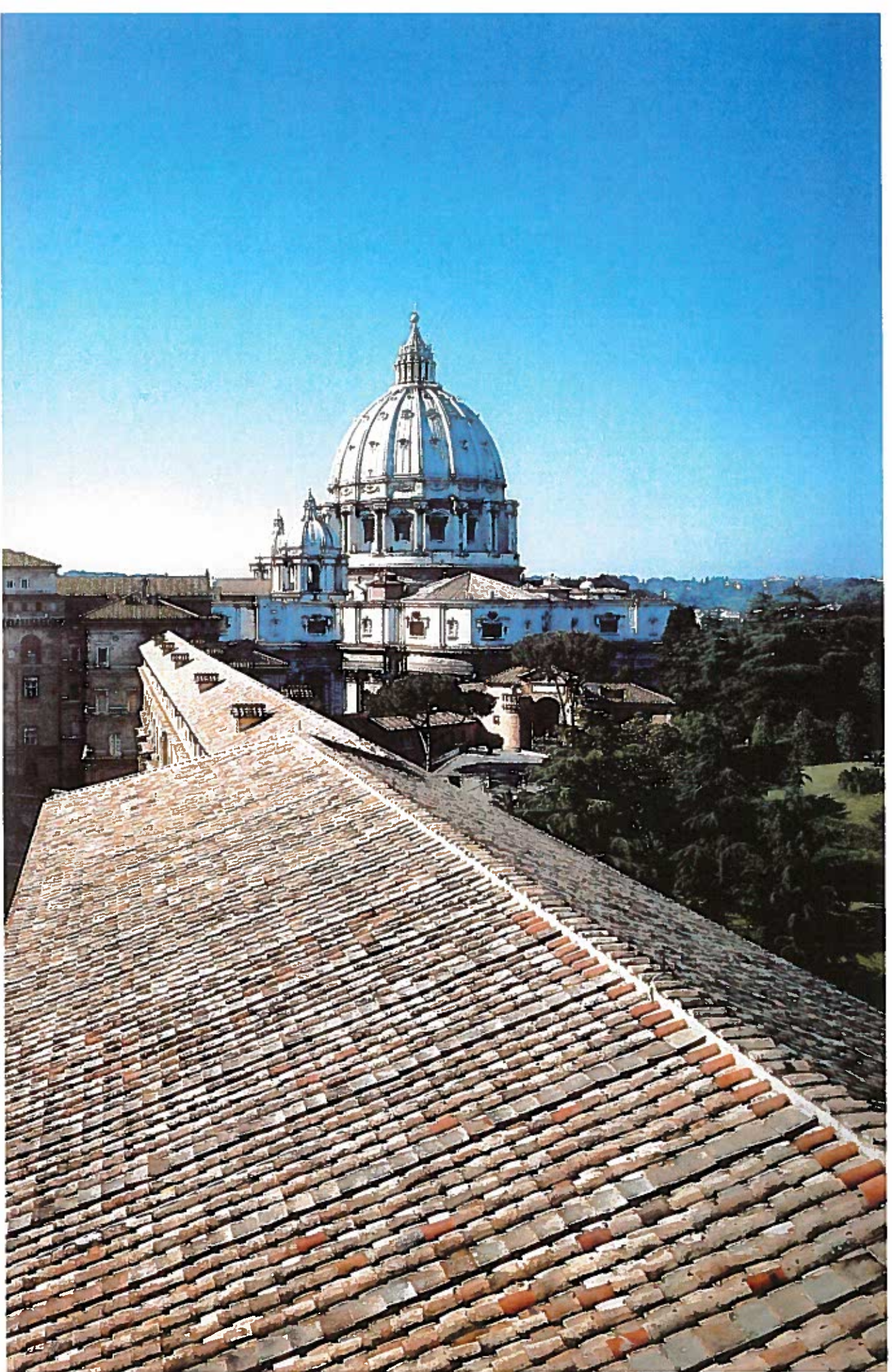


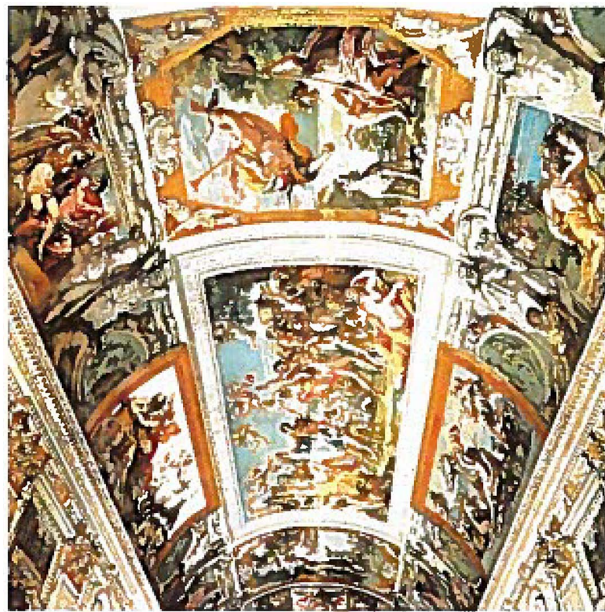
FIG. 2

Annibale Carracci

The Galleria Farnese, 1597–1604

Fresco

Palazzo Farnese Rome



Cardinal Odoardo Farnese for the decoration of his family's palace (figs 2, 42 and 44).⁸ Unlike Caravaggio, Annibale was already a well-established artist. Together with his cousin, Ludovico, and his brother, Agostino, he had founded an academy that is credited with reforming the way art was taught and practised.⁹ Annibale's temperate classicism is often seen as the antithesis of Caravaggio's naturalism. The academic style embraced by Annibale and his followers was based on selection, idealisation and the systematic use of preparatory studies, while Caravaggio drew directly on the canvas, creating a daring theatrical realism. To a certain extent, the two artists must also have considered themselves artistic rivals. Certainly Karel van Mander thought that they were both trying to outdo Clement VIII's favourite artist, Cavaliere d'Arpino.¹⁰ But the cultivated connoisseur and patron Marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani grouped them with Guido Reni in the highest of his twelve categories of painters. According to Giustiniani some of these painters might be more inclined towards nature than the *maniera* (drawing and painting from imagination without any model) and others more towards the *maniera* than nature, without, however, abandoning either method and emphasising good design, true colours and appropriate realistic lighting.¹¹ For Giustiniani, Annibale and Caravaggio were two sides of the same coin, combining formalism and realism in individual proportions. They were both part of the stylistic revolution that, to quote Walter Friedlaender, 'begins with the rationalistic "reform" of the Carracci and has as its nucleus of realism the works of Caravaggio'.¹²

But if what Annibale and Caravaggio were involved in was a stylistic revolution, it must have started as a very conservative one, for Clement VIII's taste ran decidedly to the traditional and unadventurous. His favourite artist was Giuseppe Cesari d'Arpino, whom he later rewarded with the title Cavalier di Cristo for his contribution to the renovation of San Giovanni in Laterano (fig. 3). Cavaliere d'Arpino can hardly be called innovative. His work has a clarity of form that is derived directly from Raphael but



FIG. 3
 The transept of San Giovanni
 in Laterano, Rome, looking
 towards the sacrament altar
 of Clement VIII with
 Cavaliere d'Arpino's fresco
The Ascension of Christ,
 1599–1601



Cat. 1

1

Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio (1571–1610)
Young Boy Peeling Fruit, c. 1592
 Oil on canvas, 65 × 52 cm
 Ishizuka Tokyo Collection

According to Caravaggio's biographer Giulio Mancini, when the artist first arrived in Rome he stayed in the house of Monsignor Pandolfo Pucci. There he painted copies of devotional images and works for the open market, including a boy being bitten by a lizard and a boy peeling a pear with a knife. Mancini seems to have been uncertain about this latter painting, since in one of the two manuscript editions of *Considerazioni sulla pittura* he refers to the fruit as an apple. A generically similar picture of a young boy seated at a table with an apple in his hand is listed without an attribution among the works confiscated in 1607 from Cavaliere d'Arpino's studio by Cardinal Scipione Borghese. The following year Cardinal Borghese was asked to annul the will of the Perugian collector Cesare Crispolti, who owned a picture of a boy peeling a peach by Caravaggio. To judge from these early seventeenth-century references and the dozen or so versions known today, the composition was clearly a popular success for the young artist. This version, in which the boy's sleeves are truncated by the frame, is generally considered to be the best of all the copies and the one most likely to be Caravaggio's earliest known Roman work. With it he virtually established a new type of genre, in which a half-length figure is combined with a still-life of fruit. Within a few years he would paint a number of similar pictures, including *Boy with a Basket of Fruit* (cat. 17) and the so-called *Sick Bacchus* (fig. 25). Whether these paintings were merely studies from nature or had more complicated iconographic meanings has been a subject of much debate. The *Young Boy Peeling Fruit* has been linked with Netherlandish prints representing allegories of the five senses or four seasons. It could be that the work is an allegory of taste or Autumn, yet it does not seem to have been part of a larger series. Much depends on how one identifies the piece of fruit the boy is holding. An apple might indicate that the boy represents humankind waiting to be redeemed from sin by Christ, whereas a popular proverb said that peeling a peach warded off evil. However, the rough, pitted texture and greenish colour of the fruit's peel resemble those of a bitter-tasting citrus fruit. The boy's choice of the bitter fruit over the sweet peaches, apples and grapes that lay before him probably had moralistic connotations that should be interpreted within a Christian context.

conveys none of the High Renaissance master's emotive feeling; his colours often seem washed-out and his surfaces overly polished. Nevertheless, he was perfectly suited to Clement's sanctimonious undertakings and became the most important interpreter of official Catholic orthodoxy. To judge from the substantial workshops he assembled to complete the projects at the Lateran and St Peter's, he must also have possessed superlative organisational skills. Most of the artists involved had previously worked for Sixtus V, including Cesare Nebbia, Cristoforo Roncalli, Paris Nogari and Giovanni Baglione, while others, such as Domenico Passignano, Cigoli and the Alberti brothers Giovanni and Cherubino, were called to Rome from Clement's native Tuscany. As the head of this team, Cavaliere d'Arpino was undeniably the rising star of the Roman art world; not surprisingly international artists flocked to his studio in search of training and employment. Late in 1593, they were joined by the young Caravaggio.

In Cavaliere d'Arpino's studio Caravaggio must have come across an invigorating mixture of the traditional and the new. Just as Raphael had done at the beginning of the century, Cavaliere d'Arpino retained artists who either specialised in painting decorative garlands of fruit and flowers or were able to supply the background landscapes for his larger commissions. In Rome at the time neither still-life nor landscape painting was firmly established as an independent genre. Both were considered inferior to figure painting and largely the prerogative of artists from beyond the Alps. Nevertheless, Cavaliere d'Arpino entrusted Francesco Zucchi, a Florentine 'well-known as an excellent painter of fruit and flowers', with the task of supplying the opulent garlands of overripe melons, zucchini and gourds that frame the Apostles and Doctors of the Church in the clerestory of the Lateran's nave.¹⁹ According to the biographer Giovan Pietro Bellori, when Caravaggio first entered the workshop he too was relegated to painting 'flowers and fruit, which he imitated so well that from then on they began to attain that greater beauty that we love today'.²⁰

It may well have been Caravaggio's ability to depict the varied surfaces and textures of fruit that first drew him to the attention of Cavaliere d'Arpino. It seems likely that *Young Boy Peeling Fruit* (cat. 1), in which a half-length figure is combined with a still-life of fruit and wheat, was completed soon after his arrival in Rome when he was staying with the miserly Monsignor Pandolfo Pucci, who reputedly served him only salad and was thus sarcastically dubbed 'Monsignor Insalata'.²¹ Once he joined Cavaliere d'Arpino's workshop, Caravaggio clearly perfected his technique for naturalistic depiction. Both the so-called *Sick Bacchus* (fig. 25) and the *Boy with a Basket of Fruit* (cat. 17) contain an array of translucent grapes, succulent peaches and verdant foliage whose opulence and tactile authenticity seem light years away from his first awkward attempt. Despite his obvious skill, Caravaggio was clearly not satisfied with painting flora and fauna. It was, he said, 'as much work for him to make a good picture of flowers as one of figures'.²² Undoubtedly, he wanted to pursue the more prestigious and lucrative field of figure painting. As visually arresting as the still-life in the *Boy with a Basket of Fruit* might be, it is the provocative image of the young boy unabashedly offering the viewer his wares that seems so intensely real. The picture's theatrically contrived naturalism suggests a new kind of art; an art in which everyday events are raised to the level of history painting.

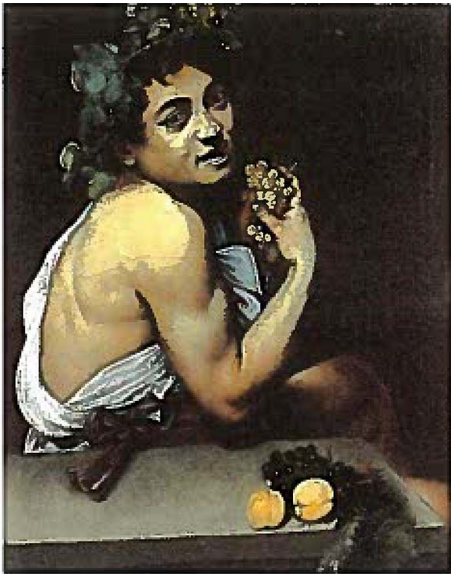


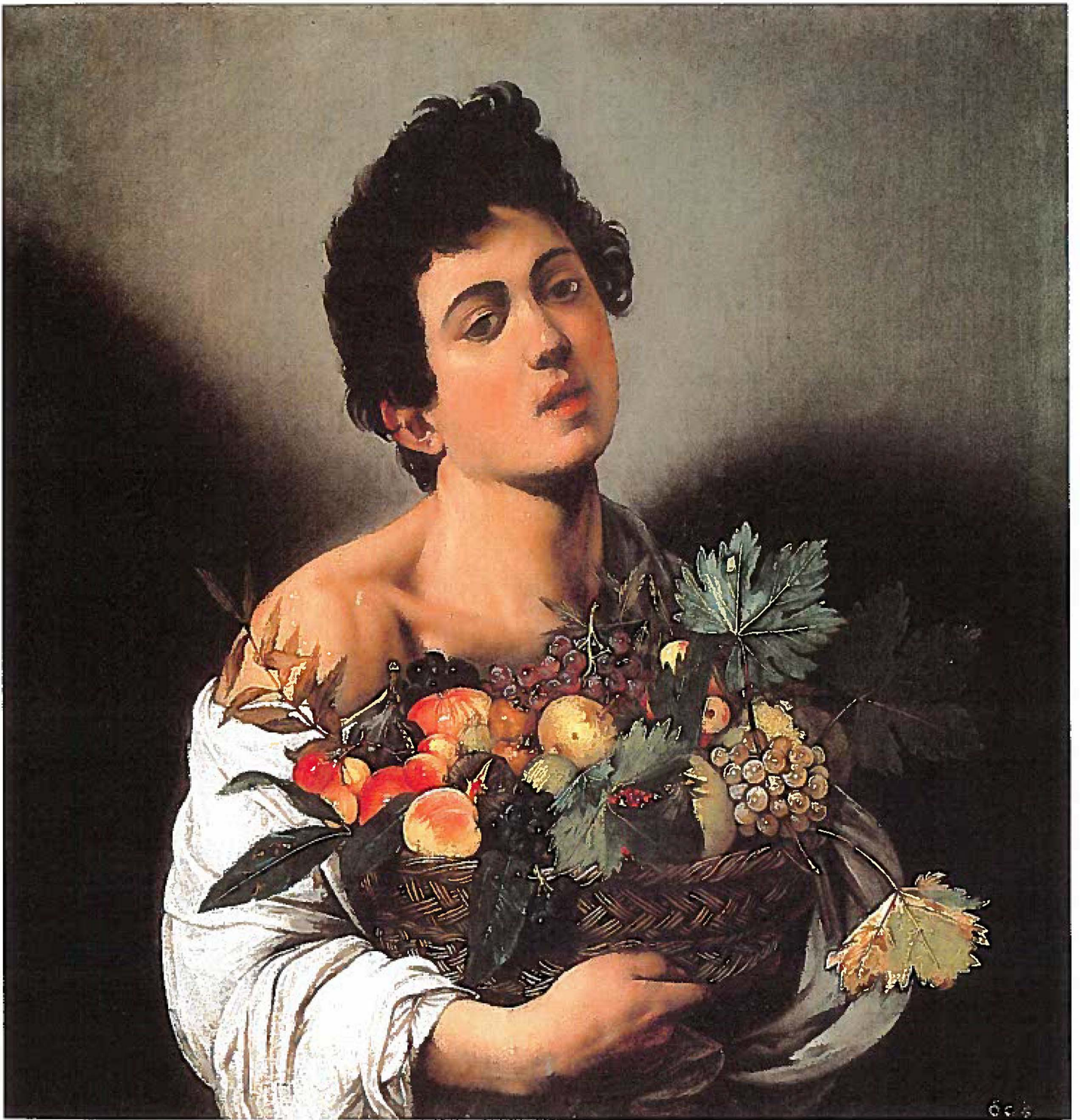
FIG. 25

Caravaggio

Sick Bacchus, c. 1593

Oil on canvas, 67 × 53 cm

Galleria Borghese, Rome



G. G.
Cat. 17



2

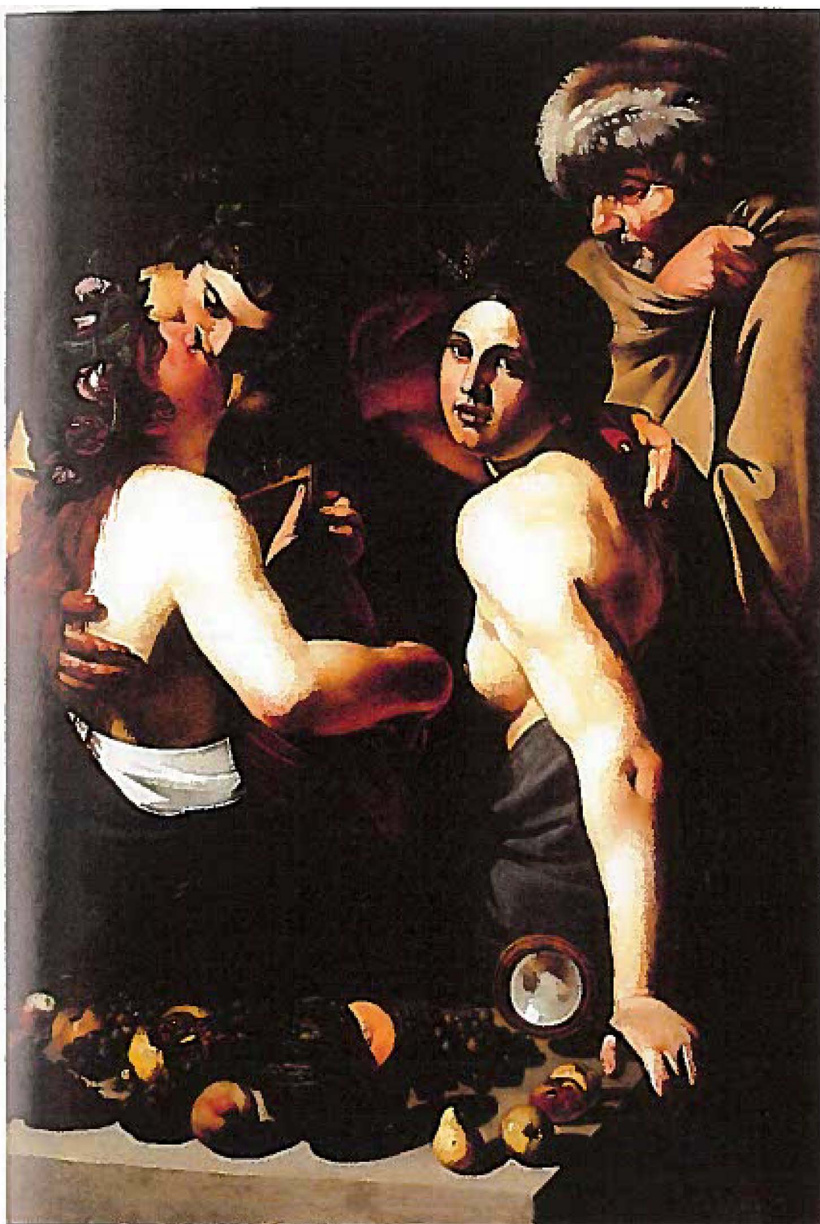
Bartolomeo Manfredi (1582–1622)

Bacchus and a Drinker, c. 1607

Oil on canvas, 132 × 96 cm

Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica di Palazzo Barberini,
Rome, inv. no. 1012

Manfredi was obviously influenced by Caravaggio's half-length representations of young boys enjoying fruit and drink, such as the so-called *Sick Bacchus* (fig. 25), *Boy with a Basket of Fruit* (cat. 17) and *Bacchus* (Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence). But he transformed these iconic images into an anecdotal genre scene by adding a second figure. Bacchus, the god of wine, squeezes sweet nectar directly into the glass of a young dandy poised to drink. The action seems to lie somewhere between the purely mythological and the contemporary bawdiness of tavern life. It is likely that the picture also carries an allegorical or moralising message. Perhaps it represents taste, although no pictures by Manfredi of the other four senses have come to light. It has also been suggested that it is an invitation to enjoy the pleasures of life as they are presented. Unlike Caravaggio's naturalistic adolescents, Manfredi's Bacchus is most likely derived from a statue of Bacchus with a similar raised arm (Galleria Borghese, Rome) acquired by Cardinal Scipione Borghese in c. 1607–08. Although the setting remains undefined, the two figures are turned at an oblique angle to the picture plane, providing the allusion of spatial recession which is reinforced through the aggressive contrast of light and shadow. Manfredi's *Bacchus and a Drinker*, with its monumentality, plasticity and heightened sense of drama, would find its nearest successor among the works of the Utrecht painters who came to Rome in the following decade. Allegorical figures, musicians and drinkers set diagonally against neutral backgrounds would become a standard format in their repertoire once they returned home. In the eighteenth century Manfredi's picture belonged to Cardinal Silvio Valenti Gonzaga and appears in Giovanni Paolo Panini's panoramic painting of the cardinal with his collection (Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford).



3

Bartolomeo Manfredi (1582–1622)

Allegory of the Four Seasons, c. 1610

Oil on canvas, 134 × 91.5 cm

The Dayton Art Institute, Gift of Mr and Mrs Elton F. MacDonald, inv. no. 1960 27

Manfredi's picture has been interpreted as an allegory of the Four Seasons, linked to the iconography of the Five Senses and explained as the four ages of man exemplified by various phases of love. There can be little doubt that its primary theme is the Four Seasons. The four figures, crowded behind a stone slab laden with fruit, are clearly identifiable as Spring (a young woman crowned with roses and playing a lute), Autumn (the young man adorned with a Bacchic crown of grapes), Summer (a bare-breasted woman who turns and stares directly at the viewer) and Winter (a shivering old man in a fur hat who is wrapped in a blanket). Nevertheless, their arrangement does not suggest the normal progression of the year and their interaction suggests a second level of meaning. The rich array of fruit carefully placed before the figures is composed entirely of autumnal produce: grapes, pears, apples, figs, a pomegranate and a squash. This is clearly the domain of Autumn, who kisses the lute-playing Spring but at the same time embraces Summer, who wears a sprig of his wheat in her hair. Summer holds a small round, transparent mirror, which was described in Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* of 1593 as a symbol of the Origin of Love. Autumn's kiss and embrace signify that music is born of love, while Winter's exclusion is a sad reminder that in old age one is less inclined towards amorous sentiments. Manfredi's facial features and tightly compressed composition find close parallels in Caravaggio's *Musicians* (cat. 28). The brightly illuminated fruit, so carefully displayed on cold, grey stone, and Summer's frank confrontation of the viewer over her bare shoulder seem to recall Caravaggio's *Sick Bacchus* (fig. 25) explicitly. Although two other versions of Manfredi's *Four Seasons* are known (formerly Feodor Chaliapin, Paris; and Rebora collection, Rome), he painted no other allegorical subjects.



FIG. 4

Caravaggio

The Calling of St. Matthew, 1598–1600

Oil on canvas, 322 × 340 cm

Contarelli Chapel, San Luigi dei Francesi, Rome



FIG. 5

Bartolomeo Manfredi

The Denial of St. Peter, c. 1615–16

Oil on canvas, 166 × 232 cm

Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig

Within the next few years, Caravaggio would perfect his low-life genre scenes of cardsharps, fortune tellers and musicians, eventually achieving a modicum of success. Soon after Cardinal Francesco Maria del Monte bought *The Gypsy Fortune Teller* (cat. 10) and *The Cardsharps* (cat. 11), he rescued the young artist by giving him an honoured place in his household.⁶ Nevertheless, the novelty of Caravaggio's style and subject matter did not instantly incite a revolution. His closest follower was Bartolomeo Manfredi, who only arrived in Rome from Lombardy around 1605. Perhaps it was a shared northern heritage that caused both to gravitate towards the portrayal of taverns and street life. The tradition of profane subject matter treated in a comic, moralising manner was already firmly established in Lombardy and the Veneto as well as in northern Europe.⁷ But in Rome Manfredi clearly found a new impetus through Caravaggio's work. He would become the most prolific interpreter of low-life genre scenes, devising what the seventeenth-century German historian Joachim von Sandrart called the 'Manfrediana methodus', or Manfredi's method.⁸

Although Manfredi repeated certain of Caravaggio's formal elements, such as a dramatic shaft of raking light cutting across a dark background wall, he reorganised the basic structure of genre scenes, making them less iconic and more anecdotal. In *Bacchus and a Drinker* (cat. 2), he enlivened the purely frontal placement favoured by Caravaggio by adding a second figure and turning the protagonists at an oblique angle to the picture plane. In his *Allegory of the Four Seasons* (cat. 3), the tightly compressed figures confront the viewer directly, just as they do in Caravaggio's *Musicians* (cat. 28).



FIG. 6
Gerrit van Honthorst
The Denial of St Peter, c. 1622–24
Oil on canvas, 110.5 × 144.8 cm
The Minneapolis Institute of Fine Arts



10

Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio (1571-1610)

The Gypsy Fortune Teller, 1593-94

Oil on canvas, 115 × 150 cm

Pinacoteca Capitolina, Rome, inv. no. 131

A foolish young man is snared by the charms of a gypsy, who lifts his ring as she reads his palm. Her turban and long cloak of woollen cloth worn over the shoulder are described in contemporary costume books as the garb of gypsies. The picture, indebted to Lombard and Venetian art, introduced a new kind of genre to Rome with three-quarter-length figures and bright contrasting colours. The celebrated collector Cardinal Francesco Maria del Monte bought *The*

Cardsharps (cat. 11) from a dealer and it is likely that he also bought *The Gypsy Fortune Teller* for only 8 scudi. The painting is probably a little earlier than *The Cardsharps*, for it was painted over a used canvas on which a Madonna in prayer, close in style to Cavalieri d'Arpino, had been roughed out. Caravaggio may have painted it while he was in Cavalieri d'Arpino's studio. Caravaggio's *Cardsharps* and *Gypsy Fortune Teller* are not the same size, but they do seem to have been exhibited as pendants, in similar frames, and with, close by, a now-lost painting of a carafe of flowers. Caravaggio later painted another version of *The Gypsy Fortune Teller* (Musée du Louvre, Paris), with more static figures and a more

complex mood. The subject became immensely popular with his followers, who were attracted by the exotic subject matter, the play of hands, and the intense relationship between the two figures. Lyric poets celebrated the work as a proclamation of the power of naturalistic painting: 'Who', exclaimed Gaspare Murto a, 'is the greater sorceress, the woman who dissembles, or the painter, who created her?' In 1614 Giulio Mancini described his pleasure at an opportunity to have the cardinal's painting copied, describing it as the most beautiful work that Caravaggio had ever painted.



11

Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio (1571–1610)

The Cardsharps, c. 1595

Oil on canvas, 91.5 × 128.2 cm

Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth,

inv. no. AP1987.06

Around a table, covered with an Anatolian carpet, two cardsharps fleece an ingenuous boy, enticing him with their display of raffish finery, of rich damask doublets and feathered hats. The older man, a sinister, theatrical villain, signals to his accomplice, who pulls a hidden card from his waistband. Caravaggio opens up the composition, daringly showing one of the main actors from the back, jutting the backgammon board

outwards into space, and involving the viewer in the trick. The picture is structured around crossing diagonals. At the apex of a triangle is the polished, over-sensitive finger, its tip revealed by the torn gloves, used by the cardsharp to feel marked cards. This is the start of a rake's progress, for in due course the girl will become the cheat, a point perhaps brought out by Caravaggio's use of the same model. The clear

light and bright colour suggest Caravaggio's debt to northern Italian art, perhaps particularly to Giovanni Girolamo Savoldo and Lorenzo Lotto. The painting launched his career. Having bought it from a dealer, Cardinal Francesco Maria del Monte offered Caravaggio an honoured place in his household. Over thirty copies are known.



28

Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio (1571–1610):
The Musicians, c. 1595
 Oil on canvas, 87.9 × 115.9 cm
 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York,
 Rogers Fund, inv. no. 52.81

The Musicians is one of several pictures with a musical theme painted by Caravaggio for Cardinal Francesco Maria del Monte and his circle of friends. It is among the first in which the painter adapted his naturalistic style to an allegorical subject. The picture is rooted in the Venetian concert pictures of Giorgione and Titian, but at the time must have seemed astonishingly novel. According to Giovanni Baglione, the work was painted from life. The pseudo-antique costumes of the lutanist, horn player and singer suggest that Caravaggio may have indeed been

recording the type of amateur musical performances that were given in Del Monte's palace by the young musicians who lodged there. Beyond this, however, the picture can be read as an allegory of Music and Love. Its composition derives from Cornelis Cort's engraving of the *Allegory of Music*. X-radiographs, as well as old copies of the picture, reveal that the figure on the left reaching for a bunch of grapes originally had the wings and quiver of Cupid. Similar ties have also been noted to the Bacchic processions on antique sarcophagi. Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, which was dedicated to Cardinal Del Monte, states that in images of Music wine should be present, since both music and wine make the spirits light; for this reason ancient writers said that Bacchus should be in their company. One is reminded of Shakespeare's famous line from *Twelfth Night*: 'If music be the food of love,

play on.' For the figures Caravaggio undoubtedly did use individually posed live models, which accounts for the picture's somewhat piecemeal nature. It has been suggested that Mario Minniti, a fellow painter, sat as the lutanist, although others have seen this figure and that of the horn player as self-portraits. The painting was once glued to a wooden support, which must have contributed to its present ruinous state. The lute is badly abraded, the strings completely obliterated, and the violin and the musical scores have been totally reconstructed. In addition the canvas has been cut down on the left and Cupid's wings scraped off and painted out (the overpaint has been removed, but the wings and arrows are still barely visible).

Even their oval faces, full lips and pointed chins are similar. *The Musicians*, which at first glance may appear to depict no more than a contemporary concert, is, in fact, an allegory of Music and Love, symbolised by the instruments, the open part-books and the winged Cupid picking grapes.²⁷ Likewise, the painstakingly rendered autumnal still-life in Manfredi's *Allegory* provides the clue to the picture's subject.²⁸ Autumn, crowned by a wreath of grapes, kisses the lute-playing Spring. But he also embraces Summer, who wears a sprig of wheat from the autumn harvest in her hair and holds a transparent mirror which symbolises the Origin of Love. Autumn's kiss and embrace are reminders that love is always accompanied by music.

It was among the northern painters from France and the Netherlands that Caravaggio's cardsharps, lute players and fortune tellers would find their true descendants. Valentin de Boulogne, Nicolas Tournier, Nicolas Régnier, Gerrit van Honthorst and Dirck van Baburen all arrived in Rome several years after 1606, when Caravaggio had had to make a hasty retreat after murdering Ranuccio Tomassoni. While it is fair to say that the northerners' initial encounter with his art had an overwhelming effect, in the end they often relied as much on Manfredi's interpretations as they did on the master's work itself. Manfredi excelled at combining the slice-of-life aspect of Caravaggio's early genre scenes with the physical and psychological drama of his later religious imagery. Frequently taking Caravaggio's *Calling of St Matthew* in San Luigi dei Francesi (fig. 4) as his starting point, Manfredi created a series of theatrically lit compositions in which bawdy figures crowd around a table gambling, drinking and making music. In his *Denial of St Peter* (fig. 5) the tavern scene is transformed into a religious narrative in which the soldiers' game of dice is given more prominence than Peter's betrayal. The religious event is thus cast within the context of secular life, but unlike the *Calling of St Matthew* there is none of the spiritual profundity. When northern artists such as Honthorst took up the same theme (fig. 6), the emphasis shifted towards the dramatic potential of artificial light.²⁹ The face of the maidservant who identifies Peter as one of the followers of Christ is sharply illuminated by the candle she holds. Its flame is hidden by the outstretched arm of another accuser, creating a complex pattern of superimposed bright and dark areas and enhancing the atmospheric effect of the glowing light.

Although candlelight and nocturnal scenes would have their greatest currency in the North, they were certainly not ignored by Roman cognoscenti. Among the most distinguished collectors of the day were Cardinal Benedetto Giustiniani and his brother the Marchese Vincenzo. Benedetto owned Honthorst's *St Peter in Prison Visited by an Angel* (Bodemuseum, Berlin),³⁰ a bold Caravaggesque painting, but it was Vincenzo who seems to have taken the greatest interest in northern art. In 1606, accompanied by companions, including the painter Cristoforo Roncalli, he made a seven-month trip through Germany, France, England and the Low Countries. Bernardo Bizoni's remarkable account of their journey reveals Vincenzo's acute visual faculties and his fascination with the tools and techniques of art.³¹ Vincenzo, who owned at least thirteen pictures by Caravaggio, supported his followers as well, voraciously collecting northern art and even providing David de Haen and Nicolas Régnier with rooms in his palace.³² The Carravaggesque paintings in the Giustiniani brothers' collection were of substantial



4

Paul Bril (1553/54–1626)

The Campo Vaccino with a Gypsy Woman Reading a Palm, 1603

Oil on copper, 24.5 × 32.5 cm

Inscribed: *ROM 1603*; Bril sign (spectacles) on the signboard at the left

Malcolm H. Wiener Collection, New York

This landscape with Roman ruins is another version of a small painting on copper now in Paris (Musée du Louvre) which was attributed to Bril in 1662 when Jabach sold it to the royal collections. It was inventoried by Charles Lebrun in 1684 but Bril's name was omitted from subsequent inventories. Because of the genre scenes dotted among the ruins, the Paris painting was subsequently attributed to an artist of the next generation, Bartholomeus Breenbergh, who

began his career in Rome in Bril's circle. However, the Paris painting, like this one, is signed with Bril's 'monogram', a pair of eyeglasses (a play on the word 'bril', which is Dutch for spectacles). In fact, Bril can be considered the inventor of this type of landscape painting in which Roman ruins depicted in great detail but often grouped together in a completely fanciful manner, are used as a background for scenes from everyday life. Here the artist's authentic Flemish vein can be clearly perceived. The gypsy woman reading a palm is reminiscent of the scenes of peasant life depicted so vividly by Pieter Bruegel the Elder and his followers. Bril's innovation was to locate such scenes in archaeological surroundings. In 1604 the Dutch biographer Karel van Mander mentioned a painting of the market in the Campo Vaccino by Bril in the Hendrik van Os collection in Amsterdam,

a work later identified by some as the painting in Paris. In both the Paris painting and this version, the columns of the Temple of Saturn in the Forum are seen at the left and the slopes of the Palatine Hill as well as the great entrance to the Farnese gardens at the right. Among the collection of buildings painted from the artist's imagination there are quotations from real Roman structures. The round building on the left has been identified as the church of Santa Maria della Febbre, which stood near St Peter's and was demolished during a terracotta excavations made to the nave in the seventeenth century.



FIG. 7
Adam Elsheimer
The Stoning of St Stephen, c. 1630
 Oil on silvered copper, 34.7 × 28.6 cm
 The National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh



FIG. 8
Peter Paul Rubens after Adam Elsheimer
A Turkish Prince on Horseback with Attendants,
 c. 1606
 Pen and brown ink and grey wash, with touches of
 red and yellow chalk, 27.1 × 21.1 cm
 British Museum, London

dimensions, but they also owned smaller works on copper, including a number of nocturnes by Jan Brueghel the Elder which were acquired before 1601.²⁴

Cavaliere d'Arpino, who in addition to his other activities was an astute art dealer, realised that there was a growing taste among Roman collectors for small, brilliantly detailed works on copper.²⁵ The inventory of pictures seized from his studio in 1607 lists a variety of *quadretti* that he no doubt had planned to sell.²⁶ His sequestered stock ended up in Cardinal Scipione Borghese's collection, but the Aldobrandini, Barberini, Colonna, Ludovisi and Mattei all owned small works on copper by both northern and Italian artists. Although painting in oils on copper had probably originated in Italy during the first half of the sixteenth century, the northern artists specialising in landscape painting vigorously embraced it as their own.²⁷ The Flemish artist Paul Bril and his brother Matthijs had started their careers in Rome as fresco painters, completing a number of large-scale cycles in the Vatican in the 1580s, including the biblical scenes set within a landscape frieze in the Torre dei Venti (fig. 77). By the early 1590s Paul had begun to paint similar scenes on copper that were vivid evocations of natural beauty, filled with dazzling colour and alive with picturesque detail.²⁸ Typical of this production is his exquisitely rendered panoramic view of a cattle market set amid ancient ruins (cat. 4), in which cows, sheep, pigs and peddlers mingle as a gypsy tells a traveller's fortune. Karel van Mander, the early seventeenth-century Dutch biographer, described a very similar work by Bril as 'a subtle little piece on copper with subtle, handsome ruins and little figures in the genre of the Campo Vaccino, that is, the ancient market of Rome'.²⁹

However, it was Bril's friend, the German painter Adam Elsheimer, who would take painting on copper to new heights. Elsheimer arrived in Rome in 1600 after a brief two-year stay in Venice. It was there, under the watchful eye of his fellow countryman Johann Rottenhamer, that he must have perfected his prodigious skill for rendering the minutest of details on small copper plates. Earlier, Rottenhamer too had been in Rome, where he is known occasionally to have collaborated with Bril, first painting figures and then letting Bril fill in landscapes around them.³⁰ Elsheimer's *Stoning of St Stephen* (fig. 7) was owned by Bril, whose daughter's inventory states that the landscape was by her father. This may have been nothing more than filial piety. Although the classical ruins and feathery trees are not unlike those in Bril's painting of the Campo Vaccino, it seems hard to believe that Elsheimer would have called on his friend to add them. The densely packed, multi-figured composition, the dazzling brocades, and the supernatural shaft of divine light piercing the centre of the composition are characteristic of the finesse and complexity that only Elsheimer could muster. The German doctor Johann Faber, who served as the official botanist to five successive popes and befriended the northern artists working in Rome, praised Elsheimer's unsurpassed ability: 'where small figures had to be represented as though living and breathing and at night-time too, or at sunrise or sunset, where rain-showers, tides or some such natural phenomenon had to be depicted and painted, he took the palm above all painters of his time.'³¹ He went on to say that Bril had learned so much from Elsheimer that his works were now golden, where as before they had been merely bronze.

**FIG. 77****Paul and Matthijs Bril***Landscape with Roman Ruins, c. 1580*

Fresco

Torre dei Venti, Vatican City

Bril was not the only artist to benefit from Elsheimer's example. Rubens was fascinated enough by the *St Stephen* to make a pen-and-ink sketch of the turban-clad Turks in the background (fig. 8).⁴³ He himself owned four pictures by Elsheimer, including *Judith Beheading Holofernes* (cat. 114) which served as the inspiration for his own *Great Judith*, now lost.⁴⁴ Italian artists, too, were captivated by Elsheimer's often haunting images of moonlit landscapes and painstakingly rendered details. Carlo Saraceni painted a series of six scenes on copper from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (Museo di Capodimonte, Naples), whose backgrounds never quite achieve the breadth or luminosity of Elsheimer's *Aurora* (cat. 80) but nonetheless repeat its asymmetrical structure and panoramic vista.⁴⁵ The cold striation of these early scenes would give way to a more gently rolling landscape filled with luxuriantly overripe vegetation in his slightly later *An Angel Appearing to the Wife of Manoah* (cat. 5). Like Saraceni's Ovidian scenes and *Wife of Manoah*, Orazio Gentileschi's *St Christopher Carrying the Christ Child* (cat. 6) was once attributed to Elsheimer.⁴⁶ The sheer intensity of the emerald green and robin's-egg blue, the foliage flecked with golden highlights and the shimmering reflections in the pools of still water recall the jewel-like intensity of Elsheimer's *St Stephen*. But the picture remains somewhat dogmatic, perhaps because Orazio did not fully integrate the figures into the landscape extending behind them nor shroud them in the more atmospheric effects of nocturnal light as Elsheimer had in his own now-lost *St Christopher*.⁴⁷

The problems that scholars have had in sorting out Elsheimer's work attest to the reciprocal relationship that existed among artists working in Rome at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Elsheimer's own stylistic development was undoubtedly stimulated by Rome's unique mixture of ancient and modern: the glorious ruins of antiquity and the new possibilities offered by Annibale Carracci and Caravaggio. So too was that of the young Rubens, who like a sponge absorbed whatever crossed his path. In his *Susanna and the Elders* (cat. 107), he synthesised the monumentalism of classical statuary with Annibale's sense of Venetian colourism and open brushwork. For the high altar of the Oratorians' Chiesa Nuova (fig. 9), he experimented with the spatial unification of lateral canvases already exploited by Caravaggio in the Cerasi Chapel in Santa Maria della Popolo (fig. 89).⁴⁸ By the same token Caravaggio looked to Rubens's *Crowning of Thorns* (Hôpital de Petit-Paris, Grasse) for his *Crowning with Thorns* (cat. 97). The influences which moved rapidly back and forth are not easily charted, for in truth Rome was a great melting pot. As Vincenzo Giustiniani pointed out, the profession of painting was at the peak of its esteem precisely because there was an amazing diversity of stylistic choice and artistic novelty available on the market.⁴⁹ This was true not only for patrons, but also for artists seeking inspiration among their peers.

Giustiniani made his comments in 1626, after an essential shift had occurred in attitudes towards both religious and secular art. Throughout his reign Clement VIII had adhered to an almost austere functionalism that was placed at the service of Catholic ideology. In this he had been well served by Cavaliere d'Arpino, so it is something of a surprise to learn that when he decided to refurbish his parents'



114

Adam Elsheimer (1578–1610)

Judith Beheading Holofernes, c. 1601–03

Oil on silvered copper, 24.2 × 18.7 cm

Victoria and Albert Museum, London,

inv. no. WM 1604-1948

Judith Beheading Holofernes is the first work by Adam Elsheimer on a silver ground. This technical innovation may in part account for the work's relatively small size. The painting represents an important stage in Elsheimer's development after he settled in Rome around 1600. The superior handling of the interior space as well as the solidity of the rendering of the figures is immediately apparent. Although Elsheimer used artificial illumination in other early Roman works, for instance, *The Burning of Troy* (fig. 110), the effects here are more concentrated and expressive. Not only has the double light source been rendered with the greatest technical skill, but it is now closely integrated with every aspect of the beautifully observed interior space. The classically inspired sacrificial frieze on the rear wall are allowed to emerge from the shadows and provide an appropriately antique flavour without overwhelming the narrative. Especially notable is the rendering of refracted light passing through the two transparent vases on the table; this sensitively observed detail suggests that Elsheimer was aware of Caravaggio's contributions to still-life painting. Elsheimer was also influenced by Caravaggio's *Judith Beheading Holofernes* (cat. 109) of c. 1599. The stark realism of the figures, not to mention the gushing blood, suggests that Elsheimer's work is one of the earliest Caravaggesque pictures by a northern artist. However, Elsheimer is too independent an artist to be placed under the rubric 'northern follower of Caravaggio'. The presence of other nocturnal depictions by Elsheimer in Utrecht must have been an impetus to Gerrit van Honthorst and Dirck van Baburen even before they travelled to Rome. Peter Paul Rubens, who later owned this picture, must have studied it closely when he was in Rome, for aspects of the interior setting of his c. 1609 nocturnal rendering of *Samson and Delilah* (National Gallery, London), as well as the foreshortened position of Holofernes in his lost *Great Judith*, are modelled on it. Although we are uncertain about what happened to this *Judith* after Elsheimer's death, what must have been a copy, given its larger size, was listed in the 1660 inventory of Don Camillo Pamphilj. It may have been the copy that Artemisia Gentileschi used as a source for the pose of her Holofernes (cat. 110).



80

Adam Elsheimer (1578–1610)

Aurora, c. 1606–07

Oil on copper, 17 × 22.5 cm

Inscribed on the back: *Adam Elsheimer fecit Romae*
Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig,
inv. no. 550

This small oil on copper is somewhat atypical of Elsheimer's production, probably because it was left unfinished and partially repainted. Elsheimer never concentrated his exclusive attention on the landscape in a painting, but rather created a profound integration, almost an enchanted union, between the figures and the background as in his *Flight into Egypt* (fig. 118). Originally *Aurora* represented not simply the first rays of the sun at dawn, but the myth of Polyphemus and Galatea. Infra-red reflectography has revealed the

giant head of Polyphemus under the dense tree along the slope and the two running figures of Acis and the nymph close to the lower left margin. In 1613 Count Hendrick Goudt, who almost certainly owned the painting, engraved it, leaving out a narrow strip on the left – precisely the area which was repainted – therefore eliminating all the figures. The title of *Aurora* derives from the caption on the print, but it has been suggested that Goudt, who knew Elsheimer well, chose it respecting Elsheimer's final intentions. The crown of the tree hiding Polyphemus' head reveals the extraordinary finesse of Elsheimer's own hand. It is possible, therefore, that the change of subject might have been made by Elsheimer himself. An autograph drawing of the Aniene valley near Tivoli (Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin) has exactly the same composition as the *Aurora* and was certainly drawn

from nature. Elsheimer's sensitivity to natural phenomena, and in particular towards light, is unparalleled among the painters of his generation. At the beginning of the seventeenth century there was nothing comparable to the magic golden-rose of *Aurora*'s early morning sky. Elsheimer's example, mediated through Agostino Tassi, would become fundamental for Claude Lorrain.



5

Carlo Saraceni (c. 1580-1620)

An Angel Appearing to the Wife of Manoah, c. 1610

Oil on copper, 41 x 55.5 cm

Öffentliche Kunstsammlungen Basel, Kunstmuseum,
inv. no. 1.112

Saraceni was mostly active as a figure painter and executed only a few landscapes. In the past most of them were attributed to Adam Elsheimer and, indeed, they rely heavily on the example of the German master. Saraceni, a native of Venice and a follower of Caravaggio, was probably attracted by Elsheimer's naturalism, although he never abandoned the Venetian component of his art. His works are more naive, and never match Elsheimer's ability to render light or create a mysterious, magical atmosphere

Elsheimer was a notoriously slow worker, who was even accused of sloth by Rubens. He kept his unfinished pictures in his workshop for long periods of time, which probably allowed other painters the opportunity to see them. Saraceni, for instance, must have known Elsheimer's *Aurora* (cat. 80) before it was overpainted, since his figure of *Atadne* in a canvas now in the Museo di Capodimonte in Naples exactly repeats the figure of *Galatea*, which is no longer visible. The landscape in *An Angel Appearing to the Wife of Manoah* is more robust, more concerned about depth and more dependent on Venetian prototypes than Saraceni's work in Naples. It should, therefore, be dated slightly later, around 1610. The subject, an angel announcing to the aged wife of Manoah the birth of her son Samson (Judges 13), was rarely

depicted. The biblical text specifies that the episode took place in an open field, not the mountainous setting formulated by Saraceni.



6

Orazio Gentileschi (1563–1639)

St Christopher Carrying the Christ Child

c. 1605–10

Oil on copper, 21 × 28 cm

Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin,
inv. no. 1707

The much-debated critical history of this painting is indicative of the close-knit web of relationships which existed between Caravaggesque circles in Rome and the art of the North. When the painting was acquired for the Berlin museum it was attributed to Adam Elsheimer, mainly on the basis of its copper support and the broad landscape view in the background. The attribution was soon changed to Orazio Gentileschi, a painter who during his long career experimented with

painting on copper supports, and situating characters from religious history in a natural background as in his *David Contemplating the Head of Goliath* (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin). While in the *David* Orazio concentrates on the human figure, in the *St Christopher* the atmospheric landscape dominates.

This striking background has on occasion cast doubt on Gentileschi's authorship, leading some scholars to ascribe it to a foreign painter working in the circle of Elsheimer or Carlo Saraceni. The saint's face, however, certainly looks like the work of Gentileschi – his furrowed brow can be found in many figures by the Florentine artist. Also characteristic of Gentileschi's style are the delicate tonal transitions of the child's clothing, the luminous quality of the whites and even the imperious gesture of the Christ Child, a gesture

used by Orazio for angels too. The broad landscape surrounding the figures is echoed in a number of works painted by Orazio around 1605 such as *The Magdalen* in Santa Maria Maddalena in Fabriano which may therefore offer some chronological guidance.



107

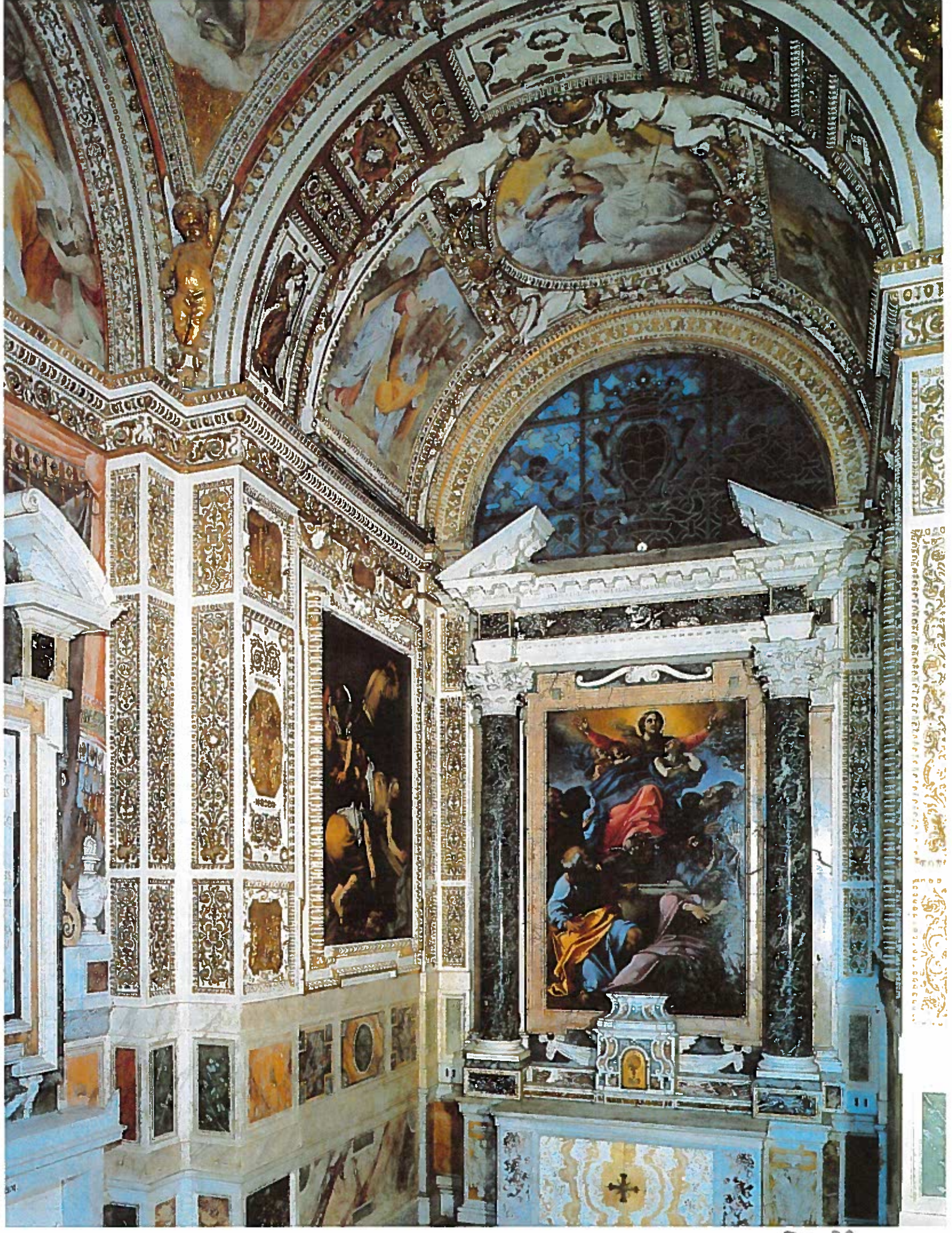
Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640)

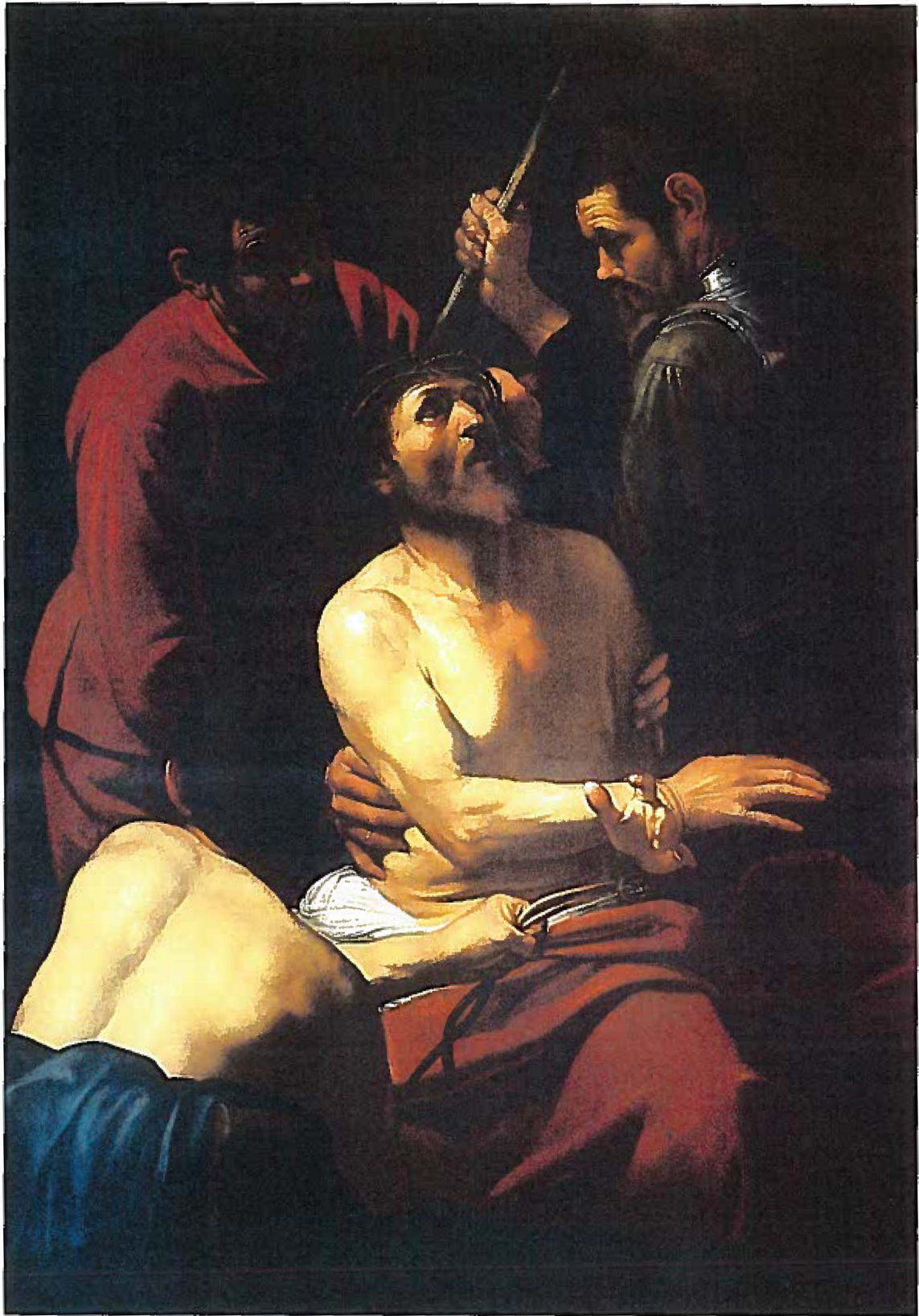
Susanna and the Elders, c. 1607

Oil on canvas, 94 × 67 cm

Galleria Borghese, Rome, inv. no. 273

The story of Susanna and the Elders comes from the apocrypha Book of Daniel. Susanna, the beautiful wife of Joachim, walked daily in her garden, where she was spied upon by two Elders, whose lust was so great that they decided they must seduce her. One day while Susanna was bathing, they sprang upon her, saying that if she did not succumb they would denounce her publicly. The chaste Susanna refused and was therefore tried and sentenced to death for adultery. She was only saved when the young Daniel came forward and revealed the Elders' treachery. While Susanna was traditionally a symbol of salvation and divine justice, by the sixteenth century her story had become a pretext for depicting an attractive female nude, especially in Venice. Rubens's cypress path and villa, as well as his placement of Susanna in front of the Elders are characteristic of Venetian versions of the theme. But his 'Venetianess' was undoubtedly filtered through his acquaintance with Annibale Carracci's well-known print (fig. 105) and lost painting of Susanna. Rubens's *Susanna and the Elders* also reflects his enthrallment with antique sculpture. On a sheet in the British Museum, London, there are two studies of a male nude model posing as the *Spinario*, which may have served as the basis for the figure of Susanna. The pose is particularly provocative, exposing as it does a great deal of Susanna's flesh. The transparent drapery barely covers her shoulders and although she attempts to hide her genitals, her hand has not yet reached this more polite position. She is suitably alarmed at seeing the Elders, one of whom appropriately has the facial features of a lustful faun. The painting is first mentioned in the Borghese collection in 1650. Circumstantial evidence, however, suggests that it was either commissioned or bought by Cardinal Scipione Borghese, who took a particular interest in Rubens's career during the artist's second visit to Rome.







7

Federico Barocci (c. 1535-1612)

The Institution of the Eucharist, 1608

Oil on canvas, 290 × 177 cm

Basilica di Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Rome

When in 1603 Clement VIII made it known that he wanted a painting by Barocci for his family chapel in Santa Maria sopra Minerva, there were already two important altarpieces by the artist in the Chiesa Nuova, the church of Filippo Neri's Oratorians. In 1586 *The Visitation* had been transferred from the artist's native Urbino to Rome. Neri himself was so impressed by the picture that he often prayed there and it is even said that he went into ecstasy several times while contemplating it. In 1603 the second work by Barocci, *The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple*, arrived. The Oratorian fathers were enthusiastic, a feeling shared – so they claimed – by all of Rome. It seems likely that this inspired Clement VIII to commission a work from Barocci. The fact that the painter was in poor health and notoriously slow does not seem to have bothered the pope. Clement exercised a great deal of control over the artist in order to be certain that he depicted the subject – referred to often in the correspondence as a 'Cena' – exactly to his wishes. This is a revealing example of how carefully artists were monitored when the commission involved an altarpiece. One of the most important differences between Barocci's preliminary studies and the final picture is the position of Christ's right arm. Following the pope's specific instructions, in the end Barocci executed the Saviour's hand so that it was more obvious that he was distributing the host. In a letter of 1604 Clement wrote specifically that Christ's hand had to be further away from his breast than in the sketch. The painter was also urged to pay more attention to the fact that the event had taken place at night. The picture was finally finished three years after Clement's death in 1605. When in 1611 Cinzio Aldobrandini at last unveiled the altarpiece, opinion was divided. The most notable complaint was that the figures were somewhat small. Giovan Pietro Bellori would later praise Barocci as one of the great masters of the sixteenth century. His sophisticated coloration, subtle *sfumato* and his depiction of the *affetti* or gestures were considered to be highly modern and suited to serve as a model to be followed by all of the artists who came after him.

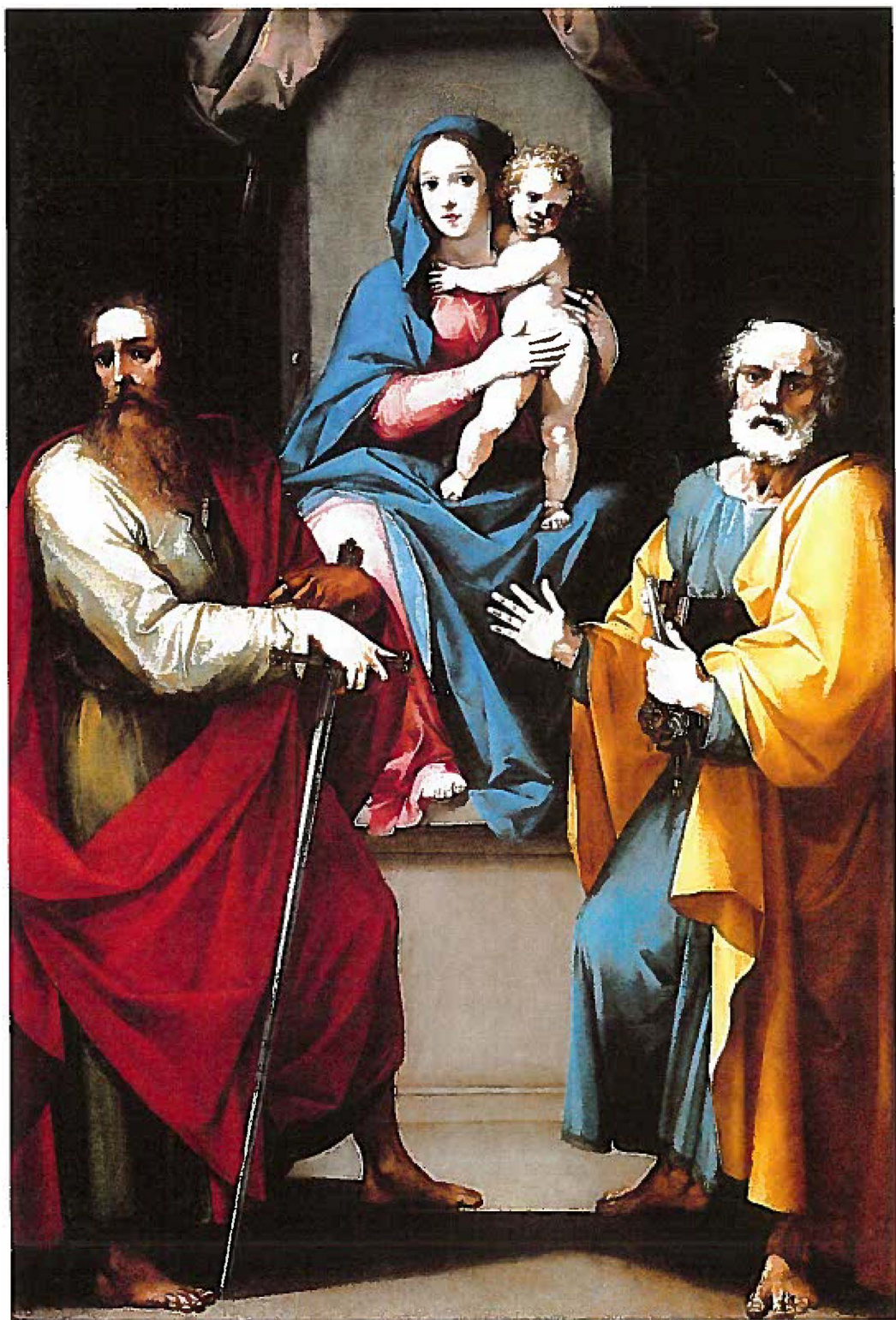


FIG. 9

The high altar of Santa Maria in Vallicella, the Chiesa Nuova, Rome

burial chapel in Santa Maria sopra Minerva in 1603 he commissioned *The Institution of the Eucharist* (cat. 7) from Federico Barocci. The pope, who asked the Duke of Urbino to keep the commission a secret out of respect for Cavaliere d'Arpino, took a very personal interest in the project.⁴⁶ After receiving Barocci's *bozzetti* he insisted that the hand of Christ be shown in stronger relief to emphasise the host, that the lighting be made more nocturnal and that the figure of Satan who councils Judas be eliminated.⁴⁷ Although Clement had changed artists, his strong notion of religious decorum remained intact. Unfortunately he was never to see the completed altarpiece, which was only finished three years after his death.

While under Clement VIII official art had been constrained by the rigid dictates of the Council of Trent, the pontificate of his successor Paul V (Camillo Borghese) marked the beginning of a renewed freedom of expression. Frugality and moral grandeur gave way to the cultivation of more worldly pleasures and pastimes. The pope and his *cardinal nipote*, Scipione Caffarelli (who adopted the name Borghese), spent spectacular sums on churches, chapels, palaces and urban renewal. Hundreds of workmen laboured literally day and night to demolish the last remnants of old St Peter's and replace them with a new nave and façade designed by Carlo Maderno.⁴⁸ Paul's taste for sheer opulence was manifestly expressed in the richly coloured marbles scavenged from ancient monuments



Cat. 8

8

Cavaliere d'Arpino (1568–1640)

The Madonna and Child with SS. Peter and Paul
c. 1608–09

Oil on canvas, 174.2 × 120 cm

The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City,
Purchase: Nelson Trust through exchange of the
bequests and gifts of numerous donors, and other
Trust properties, inv. no. 91-94

It is thought that Cavaliere d'Arpino himself probably gave this painting to the Borghese pope Paul V. It copies a mosaic designed by the painter in 1608–09 for the Portone di Bronzo, the official entrance to the Vatican Palace, although it is somewhat smaller in size. It remains unclear exactly why the artist made this painted replica for the pope. Certainly, the mosaic's location gave it a special significance. Its conservative character was probably the reason for its placement above the palace door, and for the fact that Cavaliere d'Arpino duplicated it for his patron. Interestingly, there is an almost identical depiction in the forecourt of Sant'Apollinare in Rome. This fifteenth-century fresco was particularly venerated. In 1484 Cardinal d'Estouteville had officially sanctioned the cult around the miraculous image, decreeing that a mass be held for it every year on the feast of the Assumption. In it the Madonna is also shown seated on a narrow throne and flanked by Peter and Paul, while the Christ Child stands on her lap. As in the mosaic and painting, she is placed on a stone dais. A particularly striking feature of Cavaliere d'Arpino's painting is its almost archaic style, as if the painter had set out to make a modern replica of an older composition. The extraordinarily delicate execution alone is an indication of the artist's virtuosity. The curtains in both the mosaic and painting are used to reveal the Madonna and Child, supporting the supposition that the consciously antiquarian nature of the image is an integral part of its message. In this sense, it is a precursor for later seventeenth-century images. It is not certain that the fresco in Sant'Apollinare was really the model for Cavaliere d'Arpino's composition. The image itself stands in a long tradition and can be found all over Rome. The devotional associations consciously summoned up by the highly traditional form may well have inspired the artist to make a replica of his mosaic to give to the pope. He thus created a painting whose conservative character made it an excellent instrument of devotion in the more private atmosphere of the papal chambers. Whether it was ever installed in one of the smaller chapels is, however, a matter of speculation.

that decorate the Cappella Paolina in Santa Maria Maggiore." Two new wings were added to the papal residence on the Quirinal hill, their rooms and a private chapel filled with frescoes by a team of artists that included Agostino Tassi, Carlo Saraceni, Giovanni Lanfranco and Guido Reni.⁴⁴

Paul was often advised on artistic matters by his young nephew, whose lavish lifestyle and insatiable passion for collecting defined a new level of conspicuous consumption. He was, in one author's words, 'at the centre of the most hedonistic society that Rome had known since the Renaissance'.⁴⁵ Often stooping to utterly ruthless methods, Cardinal Scipione Borghese amassed a huge collection of antique sculpture, old master paintings and contemporary works that still ranks today among the finest in the world. Raphael's *Deposition* (Galleria Borghese, Rome) was stolen on his orders in the middle of the night from the Baglioni Chapel in San Francesco in Perugia and brought to Rome.⁴⁶ When Domenichino refused to sell him *Diana and Her Nymphs* (cat. 43) because it had been commissioned by Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, he had the artist thrown into jail. In the spring of 1627, while Cavaliere d'Arpino was imprisoned for possessing an 'insurrectionary' collection of firearms, Borghese arranged to have the 120 paintings sequestered in the artist's studio transferred to his palace.⁴⁷

It would seem that at this point the unfortunate Cavaliere d'Arpino's fall from grace was complete. It has been suggested that to ingratiate himself once again with a reigning pope he presented *The Madonna and Child with SS. Peter and Paul* (cat. 8) to Paul V as a gift.⁴⁸ A curiously old-fashioned painting of bright primary hues and a stiff triangular composition, it more readily recalls Raphael or Andrea del Sarto than Caravaggio's contemporaneous masterpiece *The Madonna di Loreto* (cat. 134). Nevertheless, the ruse seems to have worked and Cavaliere d'Arpino returned to papal service, overseeing a number of enterprises including the frescoes in the dome and lunettes of the Cappella Paolina. Although Guido Reni played only a small role in the chapel's decoration, the contemporary commentator Giulio Mancini singled out his work, praising its colour, design and spirit.⁴⁹

On his arrival in Rome in 1621 Reni had briefly flirted with Caravaggism, but he soon perfected a more fluid and elegant style which embodied the artistic ideal of *grazia*: an intangible angelic perfection that transcends understanding and delights the soul.⁵⁰ With a favoured position in the household of Cardinal Borghese, Guido received the lion's share of papal commissions and his graceful classicism was soon established as the new official style. For the Cappella dell'Annunciata in the Palazzo del Quirinale, he conceived a brilliantly coherent programme that was meant to facilitate the pope's mediation on the virtues of the Virgin Mary and her Immaculate Conception. At the same time he created a visually unified space that soars like a musical crescendo from the altarpiece of *The Annunciation to The Glory of the Immaculate Virgin with God the Father* in the dome (fig. 1c), setting a precedent for the sumptuous ecclesiastical interiors of the 1620s and 1630s.⁵¹ Guido Reni's ethereal beauty and golden light hold the promise of heavenly triumph; a message that seems very distant from the penitential fervour of the Counter Reformation. Reni had, said the pope, 'brought to earth a small model of the glory that he would enjoy in heaven'.⁵²



43

Domenichino (1581–1641)

Diana and Her Nymphs, 1616–17

Oil on canvas, 225 × 320 cm

Galleria Borghese, Rome, inv. no. 53

Domenichino's painting was originally commissioned by Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini around 1616, but it was seized, with characteristic lack of scruple, by Cardinal Scipione Borghese, who imprisoned the artist when he was foolish enough to protest. The painting had been intended to hang alongside Titian's celebrated bacchanals, which the Aldobrandini had brought to Rome in 1598, and many critics have argued that the brilliant treatment of colour reflects the Venetian tradition. The picture is not a straightforward mythological narrative,

but belongs to a new genre, which revives a type of antique painting known from literary sources. Diana and her nymphs are seen engaged in hunting and other sports. It is a complex reflection on the nature of art, beauty and sight. The arrow fired by one of the nymphs hitting the tethered bird in the eye can be regarded as a metaphor for sight being struck by beauty, a theme which is emphasised by the voyeuristic behaviour of the shepherds in the bushes at the right, and by the frank gaze of the nymph reclining in the stream. It is rich in literary allusions (Virgil, Pliny the Elder describing a painting of Diana by Apelles, and Homer), as well as references to antique art, notably the *Aldobrandini Wedding* (Musei Vaticani, Vatican City), a fresco which had been excavated amid great excitement in 1601.

It has been argued that Domenichino's painting was conceived as a thematic and intellectual pendant to Annibale Carracci's *Sleeping Venus* (fig. 45), and the imagery of both works is well-suited to the erudite circle of the theorist Giovanni Battista Agucchi, then secretary to Cardinal Aldobrandini. It is entirely possible that Agucchi, who wrote a long description in praise of the *Venus*, was responsible for the programme of the *Diana*. The handling of colour may also reflect an aspect of Domenichino's theoretical concerns: it has recently been argued that it is closely based on the contemporary colour theories of Fra Matteo Zaccoloni, rather than simply paying homage to Venetian precedents.

Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio (1571–1610)

The Madonna di Loreto, c. 1604–05

Oil on canvas, 260 × 150 cm

Chiesa di Sant'Agostino, Rome

The most famous dirty feet in art belong to the two pilgrims in Caravaggio's *Madonna di Loreto*. In 1603 the widow of Ermete Cavaletti, Orinzia de Rossi(s), purchased the rights to a chapel in Sant'Agostino in the name of her young son. The family was made responsible for the erection of an altar to be decorated with a painting of the Madonna di Loreto. Shortly before his death in 1602, Ermete Cavaletti, who was from Bologna, had made a pilgrimage to Loreto. Caravaggio's work, which was probably finished in 1605, is directly linked to this pilgrimage in both its form and content. As the work clearly demonstrates, a pilgrimage was not the best way to keep one's feet clean. The man and woman kneel at the doorstep of a house. Their hands are joined and each has a pilgrim's staff. Their clothing characterises them as simple people. According to the large amount of devotional literature produced at the time, pilgrimages were to be embarked upon in complete humility. It was important to forgo all earthly pleasures during the journey, which – because only those who were meek in spirit would be blessed with salvation – had to be made in poverty. Having arrived in Loreto, an Italian town near the Adriatic coast, the pilgrim was to go immediately to the Madonna's house, which had miraculously been transported there. He was then to circle the dwelling three times, on his knees and with a humble heart. Caravaggio's pilgrims have done precisely this and been rewarded for their efforts with an appearance of the Madonna and Child. The Madonna turns towards them, while the Christ Child raises his hand in blessing. The Madonna's remarkable pose – her left foot resting on its toes – suggests that her advent is the direct result of the pilgrims' prayers. The dilapidated state of the house, too, was an established element in the Loreto literature. Caravaggio's extreme naturalism thus completely accords with the type of devotional practice the painting seems to enjoin. Moreover, it is in keeping with the moral of the story. Once again, Caravaggio succeeded in breathing new life into a conventional subject. The depiction of the traditional elements results in a picture of such directness that, until recently, doubts were raised about its religious nature.

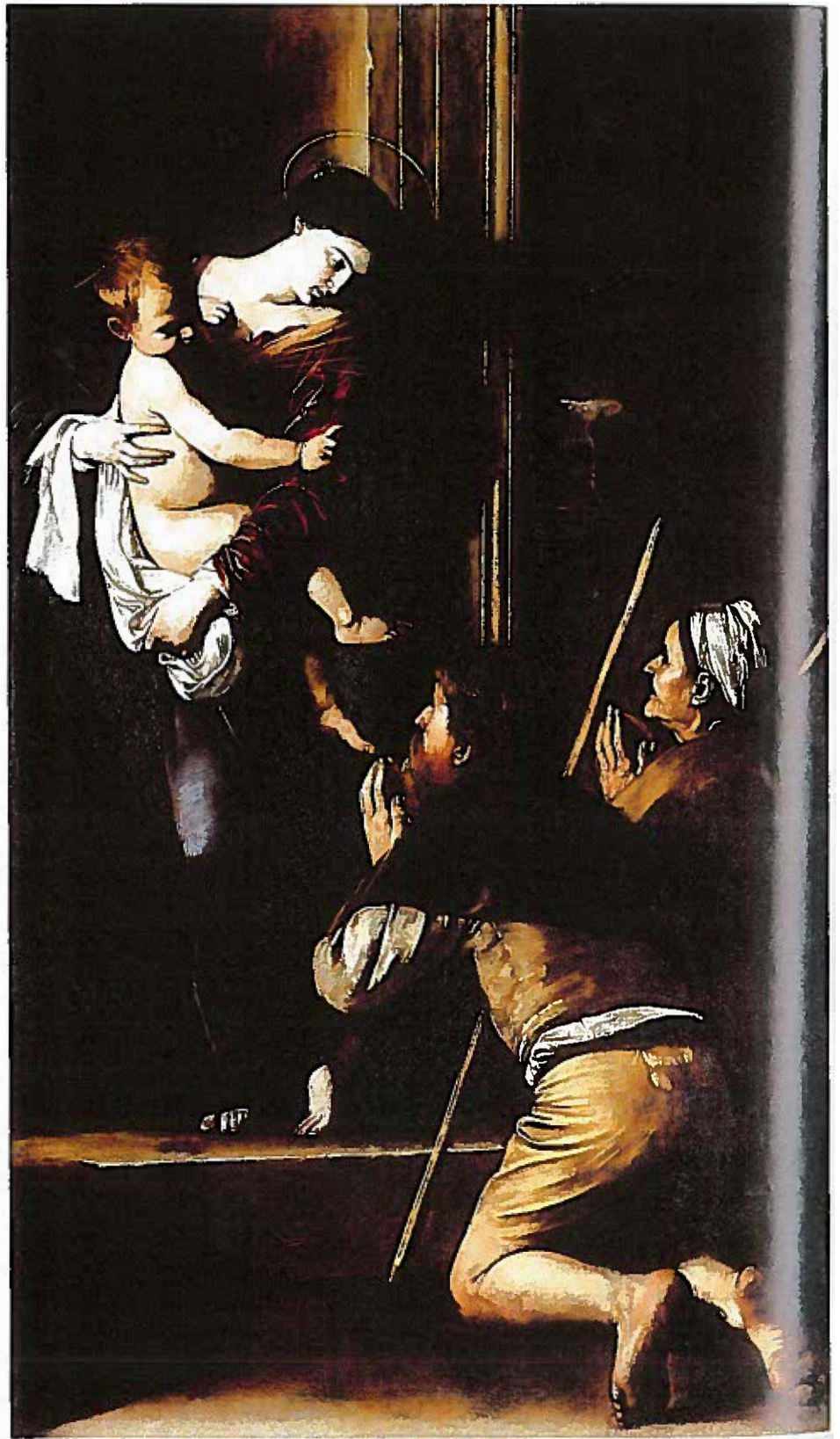


FIG. 10

Guido Reni

*The Glory of the Immaculate Virgin with
God the Father*, 1610

Fresco

Cappel a dell'Annunciata, Palazzo del Quirinale,
Rome

This same sense of optimism was propelled to even greater heights in Reni's celebrated *Aurora* (fig. 31), which graces the ceiling of one of the *casini* which Cardinal Borghese had built near his palace on the Quirinal hill. Inspired by the fluid, linked rhythms of dancing girls on an antique relief in the Borghese collection (now Musée du Louvre, Paris), Reni's Hours glide effortlessly across the celestial plane, the soft perfumed colours of their gowns set against a radiant burst of golden sunlight. *Aurora* is a remarkable distillation of classical idealism and Raphaelesque beauty that stands outside time. For the nineteenth-century historian Jacob Burckhardt, it was 'the most perfect painting of the last two centuries'.²³ Reni had become the most eminent artist in Rome, yet at the moment of his greatest triumph he chose to return to Bologna. He had, in effect, already left the service of the Borghese in December 1612, just as the vault of the Casino dell'Aurora was ready to be frescoed and the pope had been forced to order his return on pain of arrest.²⁴ It is not altogether clear why he left so abruptly, although financial matters and his personal relationship with the Borghese family must have played a role. Another seven years would pass before Guido Reni was again called to Rome, this time by a new pope, Gregory XV (Alessandro Ludovisi), who not surprisingly turned to his native city, Bologna, for artistic talent.

Gregory XV's short pontificate marks a juncture between the chaotic array of artistic styles tolerated by the Borghese court and the flamboyant and propagandistic cohesiveness that would emerge under Urban VIII.²⁵ Already old and ailing when he ascended the throne, Gregory's achievements were more political than artistic (he apparently believed that others had got there before him). Nevertheless, he understood the importance of collecting as a means of gaining prestige, solidifying power and establishing his family's dynasty. He also saw the imperative of acquiring works quickly. Nepotism was a recognised feature of the papal system and in Gregory's case the task of formulating



FIG. 50
Guercino
Aurora, 1621–23
 Fresco
 Casino Ludovisi, Rome



FIG. 51
Guido Reni
Aurora, 1613–14
 Fresco
 Casino Pallavicini-Rospigliosi, Rome

the family collection fell to his nephew, Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi. Within the 20 months of his uncle's pontificate, Cardinal Ludovisi assembled over 300 hundred paintings and 400 pieces of antique sculpture.⁶ The majority of these were politically motivated gifts donated in the hope of attaining official positions. The Farnese, Cesi and Borghese all presented works for diplomatic reasons. Olimpia Aldobrandini cemented her family's relations with the Ludovisi by contributing Titian's *Bacchanal, Worship of Venus*, and *The Madonna and Child with SS. John and Catherine* as well as Correggio's *Noli me tangere*. The few direct commissions made by Gregory XV went to his Bolognese compatriots. Domenichino was given the post of 'Architetto di Palazzo', although he had no experience whatsoever in this area. Guido Reni came briefly to paint the pope's portrait (Methuen collection, Corsham Court) as did Guercino (cat. 9).⁷ Although Guercino rarely worked as a portraitist, one can imagine that he would have found it nearly impossible to turn down the pope, especially since he had also been rewarded with other coveted commissions. Initially he was asked to paint the Benedictine Loggia at St Peter's, a project which was never realised, but he did complete the monumental *Burial and Reception into Heaven of St Petronilla* for a prized position in St Peter's new nave (now Pinacoteca Capitolina, Rome). Other works were carried out for Cardinal Ludovisi. Perhaps inspired by the cardinal's recently acquired *Worship of Venus*, Guercino painted *The Toilet of Venus* (cat. 30) in which a host of energetic putti tumble from the sky. His undisputed masterpiece, however, was the *Aurora* (fig. 50), frescoed on the ceiling of the Casino Ludovisi. Aurora sweeps across the sky, strewing flowers as the darkness of night evaporates below her and symbolising the dawn of the new era that began with the reign of Gregory XV. There can be little doubt that both patron and artist saw this as a deliberate *paragone* with Guido Reni's *Aurora* for the Borghese.⁸ The exquisite perfection and ethereal beauty of Reni's composition are replaced by a freedom of handling and an almost informal arrangement of figures and clouds. While Reni's fresco was surrounded by a large gilt frame, Guercino illusionistically exploded the vault, revealing the heavens and creating one of the first resolutely baroque ceilings.

Guercino's rich palette and theatrical command would have been unthinkable without the precedent of Caravaggio. To judge from his *Aurora* alone one might conclude that Roman art was about to revert to an earlier Caravaggesque phase of naturalism. At precisely this moment, however, a resurgence of interest in the classical mode of Annibale Carracci and his Bolognese followers occurred. This 'reorientation' is evident in Guercino's St Petronilla altarpiece of 1623, in which the figures are less vigorous and the composition more consciously balanced.⁹ This critical change was undoubtedly generated by the theories of Monsignor Giovanni Battista Agucchi, who after several years of imposed 'retirement' had returned to Rome to become the private secretary of Gregory XV. Between 1607 and 1615 he had written a treatise on painting which resolutely rejected Caravaggio's notion of extreme naturalism in favour of an art based on the ideal beauty embodied in the work of Raphael and the ancients.¹⁰ Agucchi's views not only led Guercino away from his earlier exuberance, but they ushered in a new brand of classicism. His belief, that ideal beauty was superior to natural beauty and attainable only by judicious selection from the various

9

Guercino (1591–1666)

Portrait of Pope Gregory XV, 1622–23

Oil on canvas, 133.5 × 98 cm

The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles,

inv. no. 87.PA38

The admiration that Ludovico Carracci felt for the work of the young Guercino is recorded in a letter he wrote from Bologna to Cardinal Scipione Borghese's secretary, Ferrante Carlo, in 1617: 'a young man from Cento has arrived here. He is a great draughtsman and colourist, a master of nature and one who astounds those who see his works. That is to say nothing, he makes even the leading painters look stupid...'. Eighteen months later Ludovico was dead, just before the Archbishop of Bologna, Alessandro Ludovisi was elected Pope Gregory XV. Ludovisi had already commissioned works from Guercino, so it was natural that he should bring the artist to Rome to paint the great altarpiece for St Peter's of *The Burial of St Petronilla* and also his own portrait. It is interesting that the Venetian character of the portrait, which led to its being mistaken for the work of Titian, was criticised by the historians Carlo Malvasia and Giovanni Battista Passeri. Their assessment reflects a change in fashion which would lead to a greater purity of form and attempts to understand and correct the perceived weaknesses in the art of the previous generation. Guercino's great intuitive ability engendered tremendous admiration from the older generation, but later patrons demanded a greater sense of order and clarity. The format of the pontiff's portrait was traditional and although it was not as dry as Cavaliere d'Arpino's portrait of Prospero Farinaccio (cat. 45) or as rigid as the work of Antonis Mor and Frans Pourbus, it was still in the manner best suited to the sitter's generation. Guercino's creativity was not to be exercised very often in this field: his pre-eminence as a history painter meant that he only rarely agreed to paint portraits. A papal commission, however, could hardly be turned down.





39

Guercino (1591–1666)

The Toilet of Venus, c. 1622–23

Oil on canvas, 149.9 × 190.3 cm

A Private Foundation, USA

Guercino became known to the Ludovisi family in his native Bologna, where he worked for the Cardinal Archbishop Alessandro Ludovisi in 1617. The latter's election to the papacy as Gregory XV in 1621 ushered in a new golden age for Bolognese painters in Rome. Guercino was soon summoned, with the prestigious commission (never executed, because of Gregory's

death) to fresco the Benediction Loggia at St Peter's. He received other important commissions from the Ludovisi, including an altarpiece for St Peter's, *The Burial of St Petronilla* (Pinacoteca Capitolina, Rome) and the dramatic ceiling painting of *Aurora* in the Casino Ludovisi (fig. 50). *The Toilet of Venus* is recorded in a Ludovisi inventory made shortly after Gregory's death. It takes up a theme made popular by Annibale Carracci and his pupils (cat. 42). Guercino's distinctive use of colour creates dramatic effects of atmosphere and lighting, so that the pale body of Venus is highlighted against her dark drapery and that

of her companions. It has rightly been pointed out that Titian's *Worship of Venus* (Museo del Prado, Madrid) entered the Ludovisi collection in 1621, and that this is likely to have influenced Guercino's depiction of the tumbling putti. The two putti lighting a torch at the lower left distantly echo a motif from the Galleria Farnese.

forms scattered through nature's different aspects, would have a lasting effect. His views dominated Roman art of the next generation and were eventually codified in Bellori's prodigious writings.⁴

The patterns in patronage and collecting set during the pontificates of Clement VIII, Paul V and Gregory XV would continue under Urban VIII. Cultural competition among the families of reigning popes and those aspiring to the papacy would become a defining characteristic of baroque art. The exaltation of a family's name became the *raison d'être* of the ceiling decorations of Pietro da Cortona and the tombs of Gianlorenzo Bernini. Under Urban VIII, the size and grandeur of altarpieces reached a new magnitude, but the imagery of saints gazing heavenward was less dogmatic and more pointedly splendid. In secular art, new genres which were introduced during the first quarter of the seventeenth century became firmly established. However, foreign artists were once again to play a decisive role, the most obvious case being the contributions made by Poussin and Claude Lorraine to the proliferation of pure landscape painting. The late Francis Haskell very astutely described Urban's pontificate as a sunlit afternoon following the new dawn of intensive artistic patronage that had opened some thirty years earlier. 'The austerity and strains of the Counter Reformation', he wrote, 'had been relaxing under the impact of luxury and enterprise. Intellectual heresy was still stamped out wherever possible: artistic experiments were encouraged as never before or since.'⁵ It is this dynamic period of fervent creativity that witnessed the birth of the baroque.

- 1 Between Sixtus V and Clement VIII there had been three short and politically traumatic pontificates during which little official attention was paid to artistic matters: Urban VII (15–27 September 1590); Gregory XIV (5 December 1590–15 October 1591); and Innocent IX (20 October 1591–30 December 1591).
- 2 For Clement's patronage, see Chappell and Kirwin 1974; Abramson 1976; Spezzaferro 1981; Zuccari 1984; Freiberg 1993; and Rice 1997, 27–34. For the impact of the Jubilee of 1600 on the arts, see Strinati 1980.
- 3 Friedlaender 1955, 60, called this new art 'pre-Baroque'. During the seventeenth century the word baroque was defined as 'irregular, bizarre and uneven' and by the mid-eighteenth century it was being applied to the visual arts as a form of abuse meaning strange and awkward. It was first used as a stylistic term in Burckhardt 1855; see Kurz 1960; Cropper and Dempsey 1987, 494; and Minor 1990, 13–30. For want of a better term it is still widely used today by art historians, although historians now prefer to call the period 'Early Modern'.
- 4 Clement VIII was followed by Alessandro de' Medici, whose pontificate as Leo XI lasted less than a month (1–27 April 1605), not long enough to have an impact on artistic developments.
- 5 Passeri 1995, 293: '...fu assunto al Ponteficato Urbano ottava, e parve veramente che in quel tempo ritornasse il secolo d'oro per la pittura...'
- 6 Zapperi 1986. Unfinished work in Bologna prohibited Annibale from moving to Rome until November of the following year. He had been accompanied on his brief trip in 1594 by his brother Agostino, who did not, however, move to the city until 1598. It has generally been assumed that Annibale first undertook work in the Camerino (cat. 37), but recently it has been suggested that he started work in the Galleria and that when this project was interrupted he painted the canvas for the Camerino and then returned to the Galleria. See Ginzburg Carignani 2000B.
- 7 On the Accademia degli Incamminati, see Dempsey 1989; and Feigenbaum 1993.
- 8 Noë 1954, 202–203.
- 9 Giustiniani's essay on the twelve methods of painting was written as a letter to his friend Teodoro Amadei; see Bottari and Ticozzi 1822–25, VI, 121–129. For an English translation, see Enggass and Brown 1970, 10–20.
- 10 Friedlaender 1955, 60.
- 11 Baglione 1642, I, 102: 'Ritraeva ancora per eccellenza i fiori e i frutti.' Virtually nothing else is known about Francesco Zucchi, although one picture of an Arcimboldesque head (fig. 26) has been attributed to him; see Cottino 1989, II, 600; and Naples 1994, 60–61.
- 12 Bellori 1672, 248: '...andò a servire il Cavalier Giuseppe d'Arpino, da cui fu applicato a dipinger fiori, e frutti sì bene contrafatti, che da lui vennero a frequentarsi a quella maggior vaghezza, che tanto hoggi diletta.'
- 13 Mancini 1620, I, 224. A number of versions of the *Young Boy Peeling Fruit* are known and a painting of this subject is also mentioned in several contemporary sources. The picture shown here was restored by Thomas M. Schneider after it was exhibited last year next to a second version with an extended composition; see Bergamo 2000, 183–187. It is now clear that the picture shown here was not cut down and that the truncated format was intended from the outset. This is also borne out by a copy with the same dimensions (Phillips, London, 10 December 1990, lot 50), whose outlines appear to have been traced from the picture exhibited here. Although the picture exhibited has considerable losses in the hair and the wheat shaft and portions of the flesh are badly abraded, it is generally considered to be the best of all the known versions. The new restoration revealed a lock of hair in the middle of the boy's forehead and a raking shaft of light in the upper left-hand corner.
- 14 Bottari and Ticozzi 1822–25, VI, 123: 'Caravaggio disse che tanta manifattura gli era a fare un quadro bouno di fiori, come di figure.' For the English translation, see Enggass and Brown 1970, 17.
- 15 Both Baglione 1642, I, 130, and Bellori 1672, 212, recount this episode.
- 16 For recent discussions of this topic, see Feigenbaum 1990; Porzio 1998; and Brown 1999.
- 17 Sandrart 1675, 170. There is still considerable scholarly debate about what Sandrart meant by the term 'Manfrediana methodus'; see Slatkes 1998, 39.
- 18 New York 1985, 229.
- 19 Cremona 1987, 62–63.
- 20 Judson and Ekkart 1990, 78–79. In a slighter earlier *Denial of St Peter* (Private collection, England), Honthorst included both the gambling scene and the woman holding a candle. See San Francisco 1997, 164–167; and Judson and Ekkart 1990, 77.
- 21 Danesi Squarzina 1997–98, 773–774 and 786, no. 97.
- 22 Banti 1942; Salerno 1960; and Haskell 1980, 29–30.
- 23 In addition to works by De Haen and Régnier, Vincenzo owned pictures by Vouet, Baburen, Vignon, Honthorst and Valentin; see the inventories published in Salerno 1960. While in residence, Régnier seems to have been employed to copy works by Caravaggio; see Danesi Squarzina 1997–98, 781, no. 81.
- 24 Danesi Squarzina 1997–98, 771.
- 25 In a postil to Baglione, Bellori wrote: 'Il Cavaliere era astuto e sapeva dar martello e vendere la sua mercanzia...'. quoted in Rome 1973B, 39. He also painted small works on copper, such as *The Betrayal of Christ* (cat. 125).
- 26 Herrmann Fiore 2000. Some *quadretti*, such as nos 20, 32 and 34, are specified as being on copper. The subjects of the small pictures are mainly religious or mythological, although a few are listed as *paese* (landscape). The artists are not named, making it difficult to identify the works with pictures currently in the collection of the Galleria Borghese.
- 27 For an overview of the development of painting on copper, see Bowron 1998. For the interest in northern landscape painting shown by Italians during the sixteenth-century, see Brown 1999B.
- 28 His earliest known copper is the *Landscape with St Jerome*, signed and dated 1592; see Salerno 1977–80, I, 12, fig. 2.1. The picture was last recorded in a sale at Sotheby's, London, 20 March 1969, lot 82.
- 29 Van Mander 1994–99, I, 426, fol. 202r, and VI, 15. According to Van Mander this picture belonged to the Amsterdam collector Hendrik van Os. Van Os's picture cannot be identified with certainty, although pictures by Bril of this description are in the Musée du Louvre, Paris; Gemäldegalerie, Dresden; and the Malcolm H. Wiener collection, New York (cat. 4).

- 30 Phoenix 1998, 148–150; and Pijl 1998.
- 31 'Una lapidazione di S. Stefano di mano di Adamo Salucci [sic], con il paese di Paolo Brilli, in rame di palmi uno e mezzo incirca.' Quoted in Andrews 1977, 14–45. For the painting, see Phoenix 1998, 187–190.
- 32 Fabri 1628, 748. English quoted in Andrews 1977, 153. For Faber's place in Roman artistic circles, see Huemer 1996, 470.
- 33 London 1977, 47. The drawing later became the basis for an etching by Pieter Soutman; see Cologne 1977B, 21 and 23; and Padua 1990, 190. Jaffé 1977, 53, also suggests that Rubens used the drawing as the basis for the figures in the background of two early works done in Rome, *The Adoration of the Magi* (Baron C.-A. Janssen, La Hulpe) and the *Ecce Homo* (Hôpital de Petit-Paris, Grasse). If this is true it is only in the most generic sense, for none of the figures in the paintings actually correspond with those in Elsheimer's copper.
- 34 For the Elsheimers in Rubens's collection, see Muller 1989, 111–112, nos 32–35. The *Great Judith* was in the collection of Charles Stuart, Prince of Wales, in 1621. It is known through a reverse engraving by Cornelis Galle the Elder; see d'Hulst and Vandenven 1989, 158–162. For more about the relationship of Rubens and Elsheimer in Rome, see Henneberg 1999B.
- 35 Ottani Cavina 1968, 118–119; and New York 1985, 192–194.
- 36 Most authors, including Waddingham 1972, 611, and Schleier, in New York 1985, 151–152, now agree that the picture is by Orazio. However, Bissell 1981, 207–208, no. X-21, still insists that it is by a northern master who moved in the Elsheimer–Saraceni circle.
- 37 The best version is the one in The Hermitage, St Petersburg; see Andrews 1977, 140–141.
- 38 For the influence of Caravaggio on Rubens, see Liedtke 1997. For Rubens's first proposal for the high altar, see cats 137 and 138.
- 39 See above n. 9.
- 40 Gronau 1936, 176–177.
- 41 Emiliani 1985, II, 378.
- 42 Hibbard 1971, 65–74, and 155–188; and Rice 1997, 34–46.
- 43 Dorati 1967; Herz 1981; and Ostrow 1996, 138–183.
- 44 Hibbard 1964; Briganti, Laureati and Trezzani 1993; and Cavazzini 1997.
- 45 Haskell 1981, 28.
- 46 Della Pergola 1955–59, II, 116–117.
- 47 Rome 1973B, 46; and Hermann Fiore 2000. It seems that to obtain his liberty, Cavaliere d'Arpino was forced to donate his collection to the Camera Apostolica from which it passed to Cardinal Borghese.
- 48 Rowlands 1996, 234.
- 49 Mancini 1620, I, 276: '...per il comun grido par che e per colorito, disegno e spirito s'avanzasse molto Guido in quel poco che fere'. Reni was responsible for the underarches of the vault and the two lunettes with images of the Virgin rewarding her defenders, Narses and Chosroes and SS. John Damascene and John Chrysostom; see Pepper 1984, 25; and Spear 1997, 148–152.
- 50 For the concept of *grazia* in Reni's work, see Spear 1997, 112–114.
- 51 Mann 1993 stresses the iconographical programme over the chapel's visual unity. In truth the two go hand in hand. See also Briganti, Laureati and Trezzani 1993, 30–47; and Spear 1997, 152–161.
- 52 Malvasia 1678, II, 16: 'che in due parole gli fece lo stesso Pontefice: essere cioè riuscito ella un picciolo modello in terra della gloria che dovressi godere in Cielo'.
- 53 Burckhardt 1855; English quoted in Wolf 1988, 343.
- 54 Pepper 1984, 26.
- 55 A complete survey of Gregory's artistic patronage is found in Wood 1988.
- 56 Garas 1967; and Wood 1992.
- 57 For the two portraits, see Washington 1986, 471–473 and 510.
- 58 Wood 1986.
- 59 Sir Denis Mahon describes this change in Guercino's style as a 'reorientation'; see Washington 1992, 202–210.
- 60 The treatise is published in Mahon 1947, 231–233.
- 61 On Bellori's 'idea del bello', see Rome 2000.
- 62 Haskell 1981, 3.