



Caravaggio to Canaletto

The Glory of Italian Baroque and Rococo Painting



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The Glory of Italian Baroque and Rococo Painting

EDITED BY

Zsuzsanna Dobos

IN COLLABORATION WITH

Dóra Sallay, Ágota Varga

SZÉPMŰVÉSZETI MÚZEUM

BUDAPEST

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The exhibition is the closing event of the Hungarian–Italian Cultural Year

EXHIBITION CONCEPT

Zsuzsanna Dobos, László Baán

CURATOR OF THE EXHIBITION

Zsuzsanna Dobos

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EXHIBITION IDENTITY GRAPHIC DESIGN: Ágnes Megyeri, Dávid Remsey, Zsolt Vidák

EXHIBITION DESIGN AND INSTALLATION: Narmer Architectural Studio, Zsolt Vasáros DLA

ASSISTANTS IN INSTALLATION DESIGN: Gábor Nagy, Ákos Vasáros, Ágnes Véner, Renáta Zsarnóczky

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EDITED BY Zsuzsanna Dobos

ASSOCIATE EDITORS: Dóra Sallay, Ágota Varga

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TRANSLATION: Catherine Bolton (part of the translation was done at the Casa delle Traduzioni in Rome), Andrew Boreham, Steve Kane, Richard Robinson, Timothy Stroud

LANGUAGE REVISION: Diana Davies

EDITORIAL COORDINATION: Zsuzsanna Dobos, Dóra Sallay, Sára Schilling, Ágota Varga

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Foreword

In 2006 the Szépművészeti Múzeum took the decision to organize two separate, consecutive exhibitions parading the glorious centuries of Italian old master painting. The first of these, *Botticelli to Titian*, proved one of the greatest successes in the museum's history: over 230,000 visitors from Hungary and around the world thronged to see the works, and the exhibition catalogue was also a major achievement. Similarly this new selection of works takes its core from the Old Masters' Gallery, with thirty-four masterpieces from its extraordinarily rich and internationally acclaimed Italian Baroque and Rococo collection. The majority of these derive from the museum's historic Esterházy, Pálffy and Pyrker Collections, but there are also a number of works which were purchased or donated later. Our own paintings are complemented with a hundred and six additional works kindly loaned by no less than sixty-six museums, institutions and collections from ten different countries.

One of the main challenges in the *Botticelli to Titian* exhibition was how to obtain the delicate, fragile works by the celebrated Renaissance masters, often jealously guarded as national treasures; the issue with the current exhibition was how best to show this unprecedented wealth of material in its full diversity and glory. The hundred and forty works on display will allow visitors to familiarize themselves with the dominant stylistic trends in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Italian painting, the dazzling array of genres, themes and techniques, and the most exquisite range of artistic talent. The selection would naturally be incomplete without works by the defining master of the period, Caravaggio, who, around the year 1600, launched in Rome one of the most radical revolutions in painting. His new, naturalistic way of seeing, the very personal tone of his art, and his dramatic use of chiaroscuro captivated not only his contemporaries, but also the artists of later ages: his influence on the visual arts, on literature, and even on film-making, can still be felt today. The Italian and international community of art historians, experts and art lovers commemorated the quarter centenary of the artist's death in 2010. Then and since, there have been many exhibitions devoted to Caravaggio and his followers which have striven to present this truly autonomous, modern genius, and his continuing influence, from a number of different perspectives. Of these, this exhibition in Budapest occupies a prestigious place, with nine works by the master himself – from different creative periods and belonging to a variety of genres, and including a number of emblematic masterworks – together with dozens of outstanding paintings in the Caravaggesque tradition. Among the hundred or so other artists whose works feature in this exhibition, of special note is the second master in the title, Canaletto, who was the supreme and internationally most successful exponent of what remains perhaps the most attractive genre of eighteenth-century painting, the townscape or veduta. The four scintillating views of Venice on display here extol his art to the highest degree.

It is my sincere hope that this exhibition will be relished not only by art historians, but also by the general public, who can now discover the infinite variety, and still somewhat underappreciated values, of this artistic period. Former ages saw disproportionality, excess and the bizarre in the Baroque, but now, instead, we can see uniqueness, originality, passion and an impressive degree of technical virtuosity. Visitors will be able to get acquainted with some artists who are perhaps less popular in Hungary, and will realize that the Baroque, which answered many of the problems posed by the Renaissance, was a period when painting was truly triumphant.

I hope this exhibition, one of many events in the Hungarian-Italian Cultural Season 2013, will play an important role in further strengthening the ties between Italy and Hungary, which, stretching back many centuries, are intertwined in many respects.

This exhibition would not have been possible without many years of dedicated work by a considerable number of museum experts. I am extremely grateful to every one of them, but above all, I would like to express my particular gratitude to the directors of the collections, and to the Hungarian and foreign private collectors, who, through their kind loans, have helped to bring this exceptional exhibition to life. I am indebted to the forty-six scholars from Hungary and abroad who participated in writing the catalogue, and, by their scholarly and authoritative expertise, contributed to its high standard and prestige. Last but not least, I owe a debt of thanks to Zsuzsanna Dobos, curator of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Italian paintings at the Szépművészeti Múzeum, whose tirelessness and commitment have made this exhibition a reality. Special acknowledgment is also due to Dóra Sallay and Ágota Varga for their exhaustive and meticulous work in preparing the catalogue. Additional thanks go to Vilmos Tátrai for his collaboration in the curatorial work. I would finally like to convey my personal gratitude to John T. Spike for his support for the exhibition, and for the invaluable advice he gave on making the selection of artworks.

Never before in Hungary, and not for decades anywhere in the world, has such a comprehensive and expansive overview of Italian painting from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries – the period of the Baroque and the Rococo – been held, and I wholeheartedly invite everyone to visit this exhibition.

DR. LÁSZLÓ BAÁN

GENERAL DIRECTOR OF THE SZÉPMŰVÉSZETI MÚZEUM



Giovanni Domenico Tiepolo
Pulcinella in Love
(detail)
Detached fresco from the Villa Tiepolo at Zianigo, Mirano
1797
Ca' Rezzonico, Venice

János Jernyei-Kiss

Italian Painting in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

For two centuries, Italian painting was dominated by the Baroque, the prevalent style in Europe. The first quarter of the seventeenth century (seicento) was the period of the early Baroque, which began at the end of the previous century and whose foundations were laid by Caravaggio and his followers, and by the development of Bolognese classicism as practised by the Carracci. The high Baroque, lasting a good fifty years, is characterized by the vigorous art of Pietro da Cortona and other great decorative painters, by the Baroque classicism of Maratta, who was a generation younger, and by the irrational proto-romanticism of artists like Salvator Rosa. The last decades of the seicento can be considered the period of late Baroque, in which can be detected a slight emptiness, and routine regurgitating of the great masters' traditions. In the eighteenth century the Venetian rococo *(barocchetto)* gave a sparkling conclusion to the era; by the middle of the settecento the beginnings of neo-classicism were becoming apparent.

The origin of the term "Baroque" is disputed: the word *barocco,* perhaps derived from a word of Portuguese origin used to denote pearls of irregular shape, was first used in Italian literary criticism to label everything in art which departed from the rules classical harmony, was bizarre, or displayed no sense of proportion. In the second half of the nineteenth century the expression "Baroque" began to be used art historically to denote the art of the period between the Renaissance and neo-classicism. It was first considered to be a period of decline of Renaissance art: in 1855 Jakob Burckhardt wrote that Baroque architecture, through the heightening of sensual effect, distorted the classical idiom into a "wild dialect". Widespread recognition of the Baroque as an independent style, essentially different from the Renaissance, came at the end of the nineteenth century.[1]

However, the stylistic concepts and periods discussed above are only of use in laying out the general framework of the chronological narrative. In line with the Renaissance approach to painting, art theory of the seventeenth century as stated in treatises and essays considered that the primary purpose of a painting was to imitate reality: one of the main benchmarks of artistic ability was the persuasive power of the illusion of the tangible *presence* of things. In various forms, the heightened sense of reality of the Baroque was a common feature in all of the regional schools. Through a masterfully produced impression of reality, the reality of the work and that of the ob-

server seem to merge. Yet pictures are never merely representations of nature: even works of the purest naturalism manipulate what is seen with shrewd painterly techniques, and abide by certain artistic conventions. In the early modern era, various branches of art ascribed an important role to rhetoric, whose validity covered not only the art of speaking or writing but the visual arts as well. Like poems or speeches, the spectacle created by an artist includes ready-made panels: (visual) metaphors, allegories, and conventional stylistic tools.

Within the framework of the generally prevalent stylistic idiom of Baroque and rococo art, various modes of expression can be distinguished. Annibale Carracci and the classical, academically inclined artists typically adopted a high-flown style. They took their subjects from important events of the past, their main genres being *istoria* – which treated history, the Bible, mythology – and allegory, which portrayed abstract concepts. These serious, exalted subjects were expressed through the classical artistic forms sanctified by time. For this very reason, a kind of eclecticism characterized the academic artists, particularly in Italy and France: they revived the forms of antiquity and the High Renaissance, and adjusted the observation of reality to canonized templates and idealized forms. Other artists used the means of "simplicity", of "naturalism", emphasizing everyday realistic traits, presenting their subjects in an apparently direct way. This manner of communication was typical of the "realist" or "naturalist" schools, such as Caravaggio's circle or the art of the eighteenth-century Giacomo Ceruti (whose works were often labelled inferior and vulgar by academic theorists), and of genres that "imitated nature": the likewise underrated pictures of everyday subjects, landscapes and still lifes.[2]

In the Baroque era Italy was divided into duchies and city-states. Lombardy, the Kingdoms of Sicily and Naples, and Sardinia belonged to the Habsburgs, and large territories belonged to the Papal States, the Duchies of Tuscany and Parma, the Kingdom of Piedmont and the Republic of Venice. The Church, the states, the rulers and aristocrats soon recognized the effectiveness and persuasive power of Baroque forms of expression, and exploited it as a means of education and propaganda. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, however, were also the age of connoisseurs and lovers of art: this was a time when the reception of painting based on erudition, and independent of differences of wealth or social position, played a significant role. A considerable number of works by Caravaggio and Annibale Carracci were created specifically for intellectuals, who took delight in discovering new talent.[3] Collecting art was naturally a status symbol as well, and the unbridled greed of certain collectors knew no bounds. For instance, Scipione Borghese, the nephew of Pope Paul V, sometime simply confiscated pictures, but at the same time he discovered and generously supported young talent. Villas and palaces full of art treasures were open to locals and travellers alike – anticipating the modern institution of the public museum –, and printed guides were often available to assist their perusal. Painters usually studied at academies, but the practice of training in workshops continued, and art dynasties of several generations were not unusual. Many "professional" antique dealers and experts were at work, and the plethora of inventories, biographies and theoretical writings show the intellectual importance attached to art in this era.

CARAVAGGIO

Caravaggio (1571–1610) started his career in Milan, but no works are known from his early years. He moved to Rome around 1592–1593, but even from this period few pictures are extant before his first public commission in 1599. According to early biographers he painted fruits and flowers, as well as half-length pictures for which he was often his own model.[4] Many paintings of his youth have not only Lombard and Netherlandish stylistic links but can also be related to classical pictorial and literary traditions, and even those now known by mythological titles are more often naturalistic genre pictures and still lifes.[5]



Fig. 1
Michelangelo Merisi,
called Caravaggio
Virgin and Child
with Saint Anne
(Madonna dei Palafrenieri)
1605–1606
Galleria Borghese, Rome

This kind of small-scale gallery picture was made for an erudite elite, and came into the possession of cardinals Scipione Borghese, Francesco Maria Del Monte, Girolamo Mattei and other high-ranking collectors. These discriminating owners would have appreciated Caravaggio's sophisticated painterly means, the carefully painted naturalistic details revealed in the close-up view, the pervasive linear rhythm of the compositions, and the unusual, often provocative way the figures address the viewer. They would certainly have recognized Caravaggio's ingenious transformation of the rules and conventions of various subjects and modes of depiction.[6]

After 1600, Caravaggio received monumental public commissions – primarily for the decoration of church interiors – through influential patrons (fig. 1). Seventeenth-century critics with academic views made no bones about criticizing these compositions, with a moralistic recounting of stories about the consequences of the painter's "sinful" naturalism and his

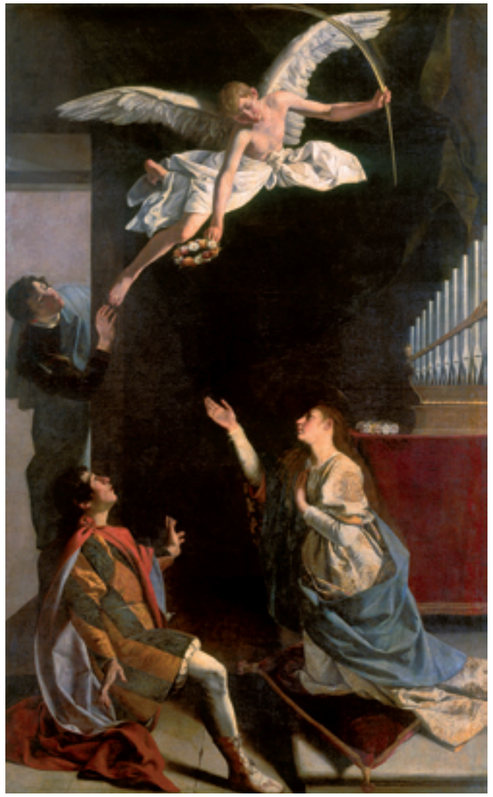


Fig. 2
Orazio Gentileschi
Saints Cecilia, Valerianus and Tiburtius
ca. 1620
Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan

excessively naturalistic "inferior" depiction of everyday figures. Ignoring the conventional rules, Caravaggio came into conflict with the tenets of religious painting, so his pictures were removed from altars. However, modern research has revealed the theological depths of Caravaggio's sacred painting, and the connection between his "naturalism" (through which the event is brought close to the viewer to the point of palpability) and the trends in Tridentine devotion that attempted to lead believers to experience the supernatural through the senses.[7]

One essential tool in Caravaggio's art is tenebrism *(tenebroso)*. This new method is apparent in the monumental works which he executed during his Roman period. In these works he set the figures before a dark background in order to emphasize their plasticity by illuminating them with strong light. The light comes from a well-defined source above, and illuminates the figures and objects as massive and impenetrable surfaces. The spectacle is thus far removed from everyday experience, and the settings often suggest instead an abstract, studio milieu: the figures are placed in a narrow space, close to the observer. In fact, on several occasions Caravaggio openly reveals that his figures are posed and costumed studio models. In this particular artistic interpretation of religious and mythological themes, the radical rewriting of the customary rules of the visual narrative and of the conventional manner of reading pictures has a central role. This is even more



Fig. 3
Valentin de Boulogne
Martyrdom of Saint Processus and Saint Martinian
1628–1629
Pinacoteca Vaticana, Rome

true of Caravaggio's gallery pictures painted after 1600, which are particularly suitable for innovations because of their horizontal format and their three-quarter length, close-up view.[8]

CARAVAGGISM

Caravaggio's fractious nature often led him into conflicts: in 1606 he was accused of murder and had to flee Rome. In the vexed years that followed he passed through Naples, Malta, Syracuse and Messina. He died in July 1610 of malaria, while on his way back to Rome. He had no immediate pupils, but numerous followers. His art exerted an influence on the academic Roman painters Guido Reni, Domenichino and Guercino. Rubens learned much from his work, and other painters from Flanders, Holland, France and Spain studied his works avidly. Caravaggism became an international trend, with the most important European centres in Naples, Utrecht and Seville.[9]

In the œuvre of Orazio Gentileschi (1563–1639) from Pisa, Caravaggio's influence appeared primarily in the borrowing of tenebrism and in the practice of painting after a model, though Gentileschi did not employ these methods exclusively. For him, Caravaggism was not a trend dominating his entire artistic career or a particular phase of his art, rather it was an alternative mode of expression, a way of painting which he chose consciously for certain artistic tasks, while at the same time using different idioms in other works. Thus Gentileschi was also drawn to a lyrical manner of interpretation and to bright, decorative colours, nor was he averse to the refined figural ideal of late Mannerism (fig. 2). Outside Rome he was active in Fabriano and Genoa; later he went to Paris to the court of Maria de' Medici, and finally, in 1626, to London where he was employed by Charles I.[10] Similar traits can be observed in the œuvres of other early Caravaggisti. Giovanni Baglione (1566–1643), also famous as an art writer, was an exponent of the late, academic phase of Mannerism, and a determined rival of Caravaggio, yet unable to escape his influence. Roman-born Orazio Borgianni (1574–1616) grew up in Sicily and was active in Spain, in the service of Philip II. In 1605 he returned to Rome where he was employed primarily as a religious painter. In his altarpieces and devotional paintings he successfully merged Venetian Mannerism with the naturalism and the tenebrism of the Caravaggisti. Carlo Saraceni (1585–1620) was Venetian by birth, and returned there after his stay in Rome. In Rome he was greatly influenced not only by Caravaggio's works, but also by the nocturnal scenes of Adam Elsheimer (1578–1610), also active there. Bartolomeo Manfredi (ca. 1580 – ca. 1620) was part of Caravaggio's circle in Rome, and after Caravaggio left Rome in 1607, the success and dissemination of his style were mainly due to Manfredi, who was the master of most northern painters arriving in Rome.

In his large-scale genre pictures he populates inns, taverns and guard-rooms with card-players, carousers and musicians.[11] Such subjects became extremely popular with the Caravaggisti, including those in France. The court of Henry IV and Maria de' Medici employed primarily Italian artists, and sent young French painters to Italy to study. Simon Vouet (1590–1649) was one of the first on such a study trip, and when he arrived in Rome he too was bewitched by the Caravaggisti's *chiaroscuro* and realistic rendering.[12] Just like his compatriots Nicolas Tournier (1590–1639), Valentin de Boulogne (1591–1632) (fig. 3) and Nicolas Régnier (1591–1667), he painted countless pictures of merry-making companies made popular by Manfredi. Thanks to the Francophile policies of Urban VIII, French artists were greatly respected in Rome. Altarpieces by French painters were commissioned for Saint Peter's Basilica. Caravaggism was represented by Valentin, whose altarpiece borrowed from Caravaggio's art not just its raw naturalism and the effects of light and shade, but also pictorial quotations.[13]



Fig. 4
Ludovico Carracci
The Penitent Saint Peter
1590s
Sotheby's, London,
8 July 2009

THE CARRACCI

The story of the Carracci begins in Bologna, where Annibale (1560–1619), his brother Agostino (1557–1602) and their cousin Ludovico (1555–1619) opened an academy in 1582, which they called the *Accademia degli Incamminati,* the "academy of those on the right path".[14] The aim of the school was to reform painting and to move it beyond the artificial modes of expression of Mannerism. Thus they gave particular attention to drawing from nature, painting after models – indeed the Carracci often captured in sketches the features and activities of ordinary people on the street. Annibale's genre pictures clearly show his desire to reproduce reality, similar to that of the northern genre painters, even if the artificial poses of Mannerism sometimes return in his figures. At the same time, the training in the academy included study of the great masters of antiquity and the Renaissance, for it was they who showed the students the "right" way to imitate nature. In Annibale's religious and mythological works painted in Bologna he convincingly interwove the strict Florentine-Roman approach to composition and figures with Venetian *colorito* and Correggio's *sfumato*. His eclecticism, an approach already widespread in High Renaissance art, could be seen as an attempt to find as perfect a means of expression as possible, taking from each master what he was best at.[15] With this method for instance he was able to design altarpieces that were both monumental and human, which won him great popularity, and also conformed to the Council of Trent's requirements for renewed piety. Annibale was also happy to paint portraits and landscapes, and the brothers were famous for their caricatures. We know from their biographer Malvasia that the curiosity of the Carracci knew no bounds: there was nothing they found insignificant or uninteresting, and their attention was caught by the amusing, the bizarre and even the obscene in everyday life – indeed such details also found their way into works of a serious nature.

The Carracci's fame spread as far as Rome, where in 1595 they were invited by Cardinal Odoardo Farnese to paint his palace. The commission was taken up by Annibale, followed by Agostino two years later. It was in Rome that Annibale's work reached its apogee. While in Bologna he had relied fundamentally on northern Italian prototypes, in Rome the works of antiquity, and of Raphael and Michelangelo, helped him to find his monumental idiom, which for centuries was admired as the embodiment of the "Roman style".

Ludovico's character as a painter differed from that of his cousin. Unlike Annibale with his restrained classicism, Ludovico developed a more dynamic, more passionate Baroque style as early as the beginning of the 1590s (fig. 4). He was attracted to the Venetian Mannerists' complex compositions initially difficult to grasp, to dramatic *chiaroscuro,* and to shafts of light that create a supernatural effect. His ecstatic, heroic



Fig. 5
Domenico Zampieri,
called Domenichino
The Last Communion of Saint Jerome
1614
Pinacoteca Vaticana, Rome

manner, his propensity for decorative forms, his strong contrasts of light and dark, and intensive palette offered a genuine alternative within the Bolognese school, and found followers in the younger generation.[16]

BOLOGNESE CLASSICISM

Of all the pupils of the Carracci in Bologna, Domenico Zampieri (Domenichino) (1581–1641) adhered the closest to Annibale. In 1602 he accompanied him to Rome, where he assisted in painting Palazzo Farnese. He painted pictures for Cardinal Ippolito Aldobrandini (the great-nephew of Clement VIII) and Giovan Battista Agucchi, also one of the papal confidents, and as an art writer and friend of the Carracci supported the academic style.[17] Domenichino painted many frescoes: the *Life of Saint Cecilia* (1616–1617) in San Luigi dei Francesi, the *Evangelists* in the pendentives of Sant'Andrea della Valle, and the *Life of Saint Andrew* (1624–1628) in the choir there. Because of the peculiar power relations between the rival painters and their supporters, Giovanni Lanfranco (1582–1647) painted the fresco in the dome of Sant'Andrea, above Domenichino's pendentives. Countless anecdotes are told about the altercations during the works, the most memorable being that Lanfranco attempted to calumniate his rival, claiming that Domenichino stole the idea of the altarpiece of the *Last Communion of Saint Jerome* (1614, fig. 5), one of his most popular works, from Agostino Carracci's painting on the same subject. In Domenichino's defence, his later biographer Gian Pietro Bellori explained that the similarity was a sign "not of theft, but of praiseworthy imitation". Indeed, in the seventeenth century the notion of originality was viewed quite differently from today. Part of the legacy of humanism was that the educated public of the era enjoyed discovering quotations in a text or a picture, and took pleasure in recognizing motifs seen elsewhere, and in the associations aroused by seeing the old in a new context.[18]

In fact behind the conflict between Domenichino and Lanfranco lay the dispute about who could legitimately continue the Carracci legacy. Domenichino's painting well illustrates the essence of his art praised by so many: a simple, easily understandable tone, a realistic yet noble rendering of figures. It was a style his contemporaries compared to that of Raphael or Annibale. Lanfranco set out from a different tradition: he began his career in Parma, and followed the style of Correggio, giant of the local cinquecento, while in the academy in Bologna he was deeply touched by the spirit of Ludovico. He arrived in Annibale's workshop in Rome in 1602. His fresco in the dome of Sant'Andrea and his altarpieces are imbued with the dynamism and colouristic brilliance derived from Correggio but which he made his own.[19] In the 1630s Domenichino and Lanfranco both moved to Naples, and there secured monumental commissions, a clear sign that by this time in Rome priority was given to Pope Urban VIII's protégé, Giovanni Lorenzo Bernini (1598–1680), and the Tuscan artists.[20] The importance of Bernini's genius in the development of the Baroque cannot be overstated. No architect, sculptor or painter of the High Baroque was immune from the influence of his art, at once sensual and intellectual, dynamic and rich in invention.

Guido Reni (1575–1642) joined the Carracci reform in Bologna after Annibale had left, around 1595, as a pupil of Ludovico. In 1601 he went to Rome where he came under the influence of Caravaggio and Annibale Carracci, and was also deeply impressed by Raphael and classical sculpture (fig. 6). In 1615 he moved back to Bologna, and from the 1620s became one of the most sought-after painters in Europe:[21] he took commissions from Naples, Genoa, Rome, Ravenna, Paris, Madrid and Warsaw. He was the most versatile and prolific painter of the Carracci school, had many followers in Bologna, and almost every important painter in the following generation began as his pupil. His sure technique, his virtuosity, the modest beauty of his forms, and his emotive rendering were highly appreciated. In his early works painted under Caravaggio's influence he worked with strongly contrasted *chiaroscuro,* painting monumental figures of great plasticity. His mature period is characterized by a colourful, bright, shining palette, which was later replaced by colder, silvery tones. Many contemporary commentators pointed out how appropriate this late manner of painting was for religious pictures and heavenly scenes. For instance, Carlo Cesare Malvasia emphasized the supernatural effect of Reni's late manner, contrasting it with Caravaggio's raw style, more suited to ruder subjects.[22]



Fig. 6
Guido Reni
Aurora, 1614
Palazzo Pallavicini-Rospigliosi, Casino dell'Aurora, Rome

Guercino (1591–1666) was also a pupil of Ludovico Carracci in Bologna. He was greatly influenced by his master's dramatic *chiaroscuro,* but also by the full, dark colours of Tintoretto and Jacopo Bassano. When his patron Alessandro Ludovisi became Pope Gregory XV in 1621, Guercino, like several of his Bolognese colleagues, moved to Rome, where he received commissions from the pope and his nephew Cardinal Ludovico. At the beginning of the papacy of the Barberini pope Urban VIII, Guercino left Rome to live mainly in Cento, then after Reni's death he took over the leadership of the academy in Bologna.[23]

THE MIDDLE AND THE END OF THE CENTURY IN ROME

Of the Florentine artists employed by Urban VIII, Pietro da Cortona (1596–1669) was important both as an architect and as a painter.[24] In Rome he painted the church of Santa Bibiana, the ceremonial hall of Palazzo Barberini, the gallery of Palazzo Pamphilj, the Chiesa Nuova and San Carlo al Corso; and in Florence he executed the rich ceiling decoration for the rooms of the Olympian gods in Palazzo Pitti. His art is a good example of the energetic, burgeoning "Baroque" trend which developed in Roman painting from the 1630s. In comparison with the painterly richness, dynamism and brilliant colours of Pietro's works, the products of Bolognese classicism often appear dry and rigid, while the charge levelled at Pietro's art was often that of expansiveness, and a cluttering of forms resulting in confusion *(confusione).*[25] The artist himself usually designed the ornamentation around the frescoes and covering and transforming the architecture, which unites the various parts and directs the spectator's gaze, for this kind of art flourished best in decoration encompassing the whole interior. Further important exponents of the pomp of the High Baroque and its engaging illusionism were the painters Andrea Sacchi (1599–1661), Ciro Ferri (1628/1634–1689) and Giovanni Battista Gaulli (1639–1709), whose most significant works were executed during the papacies of the Tuscan popes Urban VIII, Alexander VII and Clement IX. The end of this period was marked by Bernini's journey to

Paris and his lack of success there, the founding of the French academy in Rome and Bellori's lecture in the academy on the idea of the arts, which was followed by the renewed interest in the Bolognese tradition and the academic trend. The papal throne was once more occupied by a Roman aristocrat, Emilio Altieri, known as Clement X, who gave important commissions to Carlo Maratta (1625–1713), whose style was much indebted to Raphael and Annibale Carracci.



Fig. 7
Jusepe de Ribera
The Cripple
1642
Musée du Louvre, Paris

PAINTING OF THE SEICENTO OUTSIDE ROME

Many masters of both Caravaggism and Bolognese classicism passed through Naples, the seat of the viceroyalty under Spanish rule.[26] Caravaggio painted several important works here when in 1606–1607 he lived some six months in the city, returning there for a short time in 1609. Of local artists on whom he was thus able to exercise direct influence, of particular importance was Giovanni Battista Caracciolo (1578–1635), who went to Rome in 1614 in order to see Caravaggio's earlier works and meet his followers. On his return to Naples he became the leading local exponent of Caravaggism. However, a true giant among painters was to step onto the stage: Jusepe de Ribera (ca. 1588–1652), who was born in Játiva and began his career in Valencia. He passed through Parma, Rome and Venice. In Naples he came into contact with illustrious clients through the viceroy of Spain. He worked for several local and Genoese aristocrats, for the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and had important commissions from the Church. Violence, suffering, old age and disability are frequent themes in his art, and his realism was at times crude, shocking and grotesque (fig. 7).[27]

Artemisia Gentileschi (1593–1652/53), daughter of Orazio Gentileschi, moved to Florence from Rome on her marriage; from 1621 she was again living in Rome. Between 1627 and 1630 she was in Venice, then moved to Naples. In 1638 she followed her father to England where she lived for fourteen years before returning to Naples. She is known today primarily for her "protofeminist" pictures of biblical heroines painted in the 1630s, which offer a thrilling spectacle of temptation and cruelty to the viewer.[28] In these works, the Caravaggesque light effects against the dark background highlight the erotic attraction and bravado of the young female figures.

An exponent of the new generation of the Neapolitan seicento was Bernardo Cavallino (1616–1656), who combined Ribera's realism with idealism, and also drew on the works of Rubens and van Dyck. The career of the Calabrian Mattia Preti (1613–1699) was more varied. From 1630 he lived in Rome, where among other things he decorated the choir of Sant' Andrea della Valle with frescoes. He arrived in Naples after 1656, following an epidemic of the plague, and undertook monumental works in the city. In terms of both style and subject he was influenced by Caravaggism, though he excelled primarily in dramatic narrative



Fig. 8
Luca Giordano
Homage to Velázquez
1692–1700
National Gallery, London

compositions, painting his *istorie* now with powerful expression, now with subtle psychological insight.

One of the most popular decorators of the second half of the century was Luca Giordano (1634–1705). He was born in Naples and was first influenced by Ribera and Preti, then by the Bolognese and Venetian schools. In Rome he studied primarily Pietro da Cortona and fresco painting. Throughout his life he excelled in virtuoso imitations and adaptations of various *maniere,* and was popular for his bright colours and fluidity. He worked with incredible speed and confidence, and had a sure sense of how to fill large surfaces. He painted the interiors of many Neapolitan churches, and the Medici commissioned him to decorate the gallery of their palazzo in Florence (1682–1685). In 1692, Charles II invited him to Spain where he painted frescoes and oil paintings for the royal residences and churches (fig. 8).[29]

Despite the proliferation of art centres with different traditions, Florence retained its prestige. Matteo Rosselli (1578–1650), who had also been in Rome, considered excellent drawing and brilliant local colours to be typical Florentine qualities. These are clearly evidenced in the work of Cristofano Allori (1577–1621), who painted with a craftsman's meticulous care. Francesco Furini (1603–1646), the outstanding master of the new generation, also trained in Rome, and was most influenced by the refined painterly means of Reni. He was particularly famous for his sensual female nudes, and heightened the attraction of his pictures with gentle *sfumato* effects and the calligraphic outlines of figures.[30]

The importance of Genoa is indicated by the fact that it attracted the two great Flemish masters, Rubens and Van Dyck, in the first half of the century, and Orazio Gentileschi and Simon Vouet also worked there. Two outstanding local artists were Bernardo Strozzi (1581–1644), who developed an individual colouristic style inspired by Rubens and the Venetians, and Gioacchino Assereto (1600–1649), who captures the viewer's attention with his particular combination of colours and bold brushstrokes applied in a patch-like manner.[31]

In the development of Baroque painting in Venice, Johann Liss (1590–1629) played a key role. Of German origin, he first studied in Haarlem and Amsterdam, and visited Paris before moving to Italy. As a result of spending some years in Rome, his works initially showed the influence of Caravaggio, but after he settled in Venice in 1621 his palette became richer, and his brushwork freer. The Roman-born Domenico Fetti (ca. 1589 – 1625) was first active as a court painter in Mantua, then in 1622 moved to Venice. He painted mainly small-format pictures in which he combined the visual means of the Caravaggisti with rich colouring applied with broad brushstrokes. Bernardo Strozzi left Genoa, as Nicolas Régnier left Rome, for the sake of Venice.[32]

GENRES OF "LOWER RANK"

Several new independent genres were established in the seventeenth century, such as genre pictures, landscapes, and still lifes. In the wake of the Renaissance tradition, history painting *(istorie)* showing human deeds, and allegorical compositions depicting abstract concepts, with themes from history, literature and religion, were held in higher esteem than the genres merely imitating nature, but this hierarchy was not inflexible.[33] Around 1600 both Caravaggio and Annibale Carracci played a crucial role in disseminating in Italy these "lower ranking" genres of northern origin. They both painted genre pictures, and while Caravaggio had a predilection for still lifes, Annibale had a special interest in landscapes. The academic



Fig. 9
Salvator Rosa
Landscape with Saint Anthony Abbot and Saint Paul the Hermit
ca. 1660–1665
Sir Denis Mahon Collection, London (on long term deposit to the National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh)

artists preferred idealistic and heroic landscape painting, with historical or bucolic scenes in which they organized natural forms into balanced compositions. For instance, Francesco Albani (1578–1660) was named the "Anacreon of painting" after his mythological and allegorical scenes which are set in nature and radiate harmony. Salvator Rosa (1615–1673), active in Naples, Rome and Florence, represented a completely different approach, gaining distinction for his bold fantasies and his discovery of the majesty and terrible power of nature (fig. 9). One fine exponent of seventeenth-century "proto-romanticism" was Pier Francesco Mola (1612–1666), who spent long periods in Venice and then Rome. He was known for his small-scale lyrical landscapes, often elegiac in tone; even in his monumental works the mood suggested by the landscape had an important role.[34] The Bergamesque Evaristo Baschenis (1617–1677) became famous mainly for his compositions with musical instruments. In his paintings, the objects, lit with sharp studio lighting and rendered with near photographic faithfulness, have an almost unrealistically intense presence: the forms

are organized into a complex geometric order both in space and on the picture surface. Using the means of imitation disparaged by academic theory, the artist invites the viewer to ponder on the concept of sight and on the significance of making things visible.[35]

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY IN NAPLES AND ROME

Most of the important seventeenth-century centres of art retained their leading role in the settecento.[36] In Naples, a student of Luca Giordano, Francesco Solimena (1657–1747), continued the traditions of decorative painting in panels and frescoes. In vast compositions thronging with figures, he combined the figural types and the depictions of movement of the classical masters into dynamic groups richly articulated by contrasts of light and shade. One of his pupils, Sebastiano Conca (1679–1764), gave similar importance to *chiaroscuro* and decorative patches of colour, and arranged his figures, painted with graceful movements, into classical compositions. His appealing style met with success in both Rome and Turin. Another important pupil of Solimena, Corrado Giaquinto (1703–1765), integrated the rococo's refined painting style and sensual treatment of surfaces into monumental painting. He was invited to work in Rome and Madrid, which well demonstrates the continuing popularity of Neapolitan decorative painters. The cultural status of Naples was also greatly enhanced by the excavations underway in the vicinity:



Fig. 10
Pompeo Batoni
Portrait of John Staples
1773
Museo di Roma, Rome



Fig. 11
Giovanni Paolo Panini
Sermon of Saint Paul Amidst the Ruins
1744
The State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg

the finds at Herculaneum (1738) and Pompeii (1749) showed antiquity in a new, hitherto unknown, light.

During the eighteenth century Rome became a truly cosmopolitan place.[37] Painters received commissions not only to meet local families' liturgical or representational needs, but also suited to the city's new cultural role and image. Local painting at the beginning of the century was shaped first and foremost by the classical legacy of Maratta. Among his many imitators, Pope Benedict XIV's favourite artist, the French painter Pierre Subleyras (1699–1749) stood out with his *istorie* rendered with noble pathos, and his portraits and genre pictures full of character. In the œuvre of Pompeo Batoni (1708–1787) of Lucca, rococo was combined with the budding neo-classicism. He won fame with his lyrical honeyed religious and mythological paintings, then become a favourite portrait painter of aristocrats passing through Rome during the Grand Tour, whom he often depicted surrounded with Roman antiquities and buildings (fig. 10). Giovanni Paolo Panini (1691/92–1756) from Piacenza also chose the Eternal City as his main subject. He was active in Venice and Paris, but became famous mainly for his *vedute* painted in Rome. He painted both real and imaginary vistas: in some works he reproduced the city's well-known squares and buildings with topographical faithfulness, whereas in his *capricci* he arranged the ruins in a picturesque manner in a landscape (fig. 11).

In Bologna, which belonged to the Papal States together with all of Emilia Romagna, local tradition under the influence of the Carracci academy lived on. The classicism of the first half of the eighteenth century had become slightly mannered, as shown by the cool, pure forms and affected gestures of the art of Donato Creti (1671–1749).[38] The most original Bolognese painter of the period was Giuseppe Maria Crespi (1665–1747) who was accomplished in many genres and media. He lived in Venice and Florence as well as Bologna, painting frescoes, religious canvases, and portraits, drawing clever caricatures and making excellent etchings. Yet he became famous mainly for his realistic genre pictures, in which he depicted grotesque and humorous scenes as well as moments from the quiet world of everyday life.[39]

One of the most unusual figures in northern Italian painting was Alessandro Magnasco (1667–1749), active in Genoa and Milan. He imbued the pictorial



Fig. 12
Alessandro Magnasco
Christ Served by the Angels
ca. 1730
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid

topoi of seventeenth-century tragic landscapes with new power, inserting bizarre figures and dreamlike scenes into gloomy landscapes interspersed with architectural backdrops, a raging sea or dark trees. The special effect of his pictures is heightened by his technique, an extreme form of painting composed of patches: the thick paint is applied to the surface with jagged brushstrokes (fig. 12).

VENETIAN MASTERS OF THE FIRST HALF OF THE SETTECENTO

The Venetian school was without doubt the most important school of Italian painting in the eighteenth century.[40] With its sights, its feasts and its art, the city was already attracting numerous visitors, and its brilliantly talented painters were in demand throughout Europe. One of the leading figures of the early years of the century was Sebastiano Ricci (1659–1734),[41] who returned to Venice at the turn of the century after several years of travelling around Italy, and discovered there the art of Veronese, which became his prime inspiration. In the first two decades of the eighteenth century Ricci was also active in Vienna, Paris, the Netherlands and London. In some of his paintings classical models and a calm narrative manner dominate, while other works are characterized by pathos and dynamism, and impetuous gestures. Basic characteristics of all of his works are, however, a refined, pale colour scheme, an ethereal figural type with elongated proportions, and realistically painted details. Among his pupils, Giovanni Antonio Pellegrini (1675–1741), who developed a spectacularly decorative style with graceful forms and bright colours,



Fig. 13
Giambattista Piazzetta
Saint James the Greater Led to Martyrdom
1722
San Stae, Venice

stands out. In 1708, he went to England with the Earl of Manchester, who was the British ambassador to Venice, where he was entrusted with the decoration of stately homes. Later he travelled to Düsseldorf where for two years he was employed by Elector Johann Wilhelm von der Pfalz (1658–1716). In Paris he painted an allegorical ceiling fresco for the Banque de France; he also worked in Dresden and Vienna.

Venetian painting also contained currents which went against the external pomp of aristocratic art, rejecting its decorative splendour. Some painters were impressed by Caravaggism, and mixed its traits with the refined style of eighteenth-century Venetian painting. Giovanni Battista Piazzetta (1682/83–1754) had studied in Venice, but found his true source of inspiration in Bologna, where he arrived in 1703.[42] Here he came into contact with Giuseppe Maria Crespi, and through him with the art of Caravaggio. In his genre pictures painted after his return to Venice (1711), he countered the refined manner of his fellow painters by increasing the size of his figures, placing them closer to the viewer, and enhancing their three-dimensionality. At the same time, he used painterly light effects to fill his everyday subjects with an unusual lyricism. His later art is characterized by more penetrating psychological insight and a search for serenity (fig. 13).



Fig. 14
Giovanni
Domenico Tiepolo
Pulcinella in Love
(detached fresco from the Villa Tiepolo at Zianigo, Mirano)
1797
Ca' Rezzonico, Venice

TIEPOLO AND HIS CIRCLE

The greatest talent of the Venetian settecento, Giambattista Tiepolo (1696–1770) established his outstanding reputation in the early 1720s, when he received his first large fresco commissions from both religious and secular circles.[43] Initially he was active in Venice and its vicinity, Udine, Verona and Bergamo, but his fame quickly spread further afield. Although Tiepolo's first experiments in monumental genres resemble Piazzetta's works in many respects, his brilliant originality was manifest early, and opened a new chapter in the history of decorative painting. His works, in which there is no place for punctilious symmetry, have an undulating ornamental rhythm, and he never encumbers his light airy spaces with dark ponderous figure groups. This serene lightness became the main characteristic of Tiepolo's painting. During his career, the plasticity of the figures remained unchanged but his palette became significantly lighter. The influence of Sebastiano Ricci's work had an important role in this, and Tiepolo also showed great interest in the painting of the Venetian cinquecento, studying in particular Veronese's imposing compositions, his range of bright colours and his decorative costumes. On the walls and ceilings of palaces and churches, Tiepolo created an imaginary world whose fantasy figures and scenes affect

the observer with the power of reality. He often treated similar themes but never repeated himself. He painted many visions and apotheoses, and often depicted the Virgin Mary appearing before enraptured saints. His virtuosity went hand and hand with an incredible rapidity of execution: "he paints a picture faster than others can mix the paints", said the Swedish count Carl Gustaf Tessin of this exceptional ability, when he negotiated with the artist on the painting of the royal palace in Stockholm in 1736.

From the end of the 1740s Tiepolo painted the largest-scale decorative works of his career, mostly with secular subjects. In 1750 he was commissioned by Prince Primate Karl Phillip von Greiffenklau to decorate the great hall and staircase of the palace in Würzburg. Tiepolo and his sons Domenico and Lorenzo executed the splendid decorative ensemble in three years. The etchings in the series *Scherzi di Fantasia,* published after the Würzburg years, are poetic and bizarre, attesting to Tiepolo's unbridled imagination, and to how much he enjoyed portraying a personal fantasy world in these etchings, filled with his own favourite motifs. Many of the latter recur in the decoration of the Villa Valmarana near Vicenza. Tiepolo completed the ceiling and wall frescoes in the hall and four ground-floor rooms of the villa, and the seven rooms in the *foresteria* (guesthouse) adjacent to the villa, in 1757, with Domenico's assistance. Invited by Charles III, in 1762 he moved to Madrid with his sons to decorate the monarch's residences, and died there.

Giambattista Pittoni's (1687–1767) talent as an artist were far more modest, and less versatile, but in his time he was popular and inundated with commissions. After Tiepolo's death he was elected chairman of the Venetian academy, and commissioned to make altarpieces in Germany. With his sentimental pictures of sugary colours, he represented a local variety of the rococo. Francesco Fontebasso (1709–1769) followed in the footsteps of Ricci, Piazzetta and Tiepolo, receiving commissions mainly as a decorator. As such, he was also invited to Saint Petersburg by Catherine the Great. His frescoes and vast canvases delight the eye with theatrical scenes set among splendid architectural backdrops.

PORTRAITS AND GENRE PICTURES

The Bergamesque Vittore Ghislandi (1655–1743), who was active in Bologna, Milan and Venice, was very popular with the local aristocracy. He had an excellent talent for conveying the character of his sitters, whom he portrayed before a dark background, rendering the textures of their rich attire with virtuoso skill. The rococo portraits of Rosalba Carriera (1675–1757) belong to the intimate world of cabinets and boudoirs. She began her career as a lace-maker, then went on to paint ivory miniatures to decorate caskets. When she switched to the pastel technique and the portrait genre, she met with great success. Not only was she known throughout Venice, in 1705 she was elected to the Accademia di San Luca in Rome, and in 1720 she was invited to Paris, and became a favourite of Europe's monarchs and elite. Her popularity was due to her delicate, sensitive approach, and her outstanding ability to depict character (fig. 15).[44]

Even more modest was the talent of the Bergamesque Bartolomeo Nazari (1699–1763), who painted primarily official portraits, though his smaller likenesses are characterized by intimacy and an immediate realism.

The eighteenth century gave birth to many types of genre painting. The range was broad indeed, from convincing representations of the ordinary life of various strata of society to scenes based on older pictorial and literary conventions. Giacomo Ceruti (1698–1767), originally from Milan but active in Brescia and Venice, was an excellent portrait and still life painter whose sincere realism set before the viewer the world of poverty and hardship. He painted the lowest classes of society, beggars, tramps, cripples and street vendors in a terse, descriptive painterly style.[45] The small genre pictures of Pietro Longhi (1702–1762) conjure up the charms of the everyday social life of the well-heeled Venetian bourgeoisie. Longhi generally leads the viewer into a modestly elegant interior where, as in the English "conversation pieces", people go about their daily tasks or pursue some form of entertainment.[46]



Fig. 15
Rosalba Carriera
Portrait of Barbara Campanini
ca. 1739
Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister,
Staatliche Kunstsammlungen
Dresden, Dresden

LANDSCAPES AND *VEDUTE*

Sebastiano Ricci's nephew Marco (1676–1730) was one of the most important landscape painters of the eighteenth century.[47] In his travels around Italy he passed through Rome, Naples, Florence and Milan. He worked in London twice, in 1708 (with Pellegrini) and between 1712 and 1716, and then finally settled in Venice. In his landscapes inspired by Salvator Rosa and Magnasco, he often depicted "romantic" motifs – storms at sea, waterfalls, mountains and dense clouds. His dynamic pictures are dominated by the dramatic spectacle created by stark contrasts of light and shade, and the mood conveyed by the various seasons, the times of day, and the weather. He and his uncle painted several *capricci* together, which with their decorative, imaginative approach are quite different from the compositions fashionable in Rome, steeped in archaeological interest. In contrast, Francesco Zuccarelli (1702–1788) always portrayed the attractive and pleasant side of nature, painting landscapes characterized by an enchanting atmosphere, with blue skies, verdant trees, mythological figures, biblical heroes or daydreaming peasant girls, but always a sugary-sweet scene bathed in a delicate pink mist. His somewhat facile art was particularly loved by the English. He often worked for Joseph Smith, the British consul to Venice, and went to London several times, where, like Marco Ricci, he painted stage backdrops.[48]

The genre of the *veduta*[49] (which had a long history in Venice, prefigured by the multi-figure compositions of Vittore Carpaccio and the Bellini) gained true pop-



Fig. 16
Francesco Guardi
Fire in the Oil Depot at San Marcuola, 1789
Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek, Munich

ularity in the eighteenth century with the art of Luca Carlevarijs (1663–1739). Carlevarijs arrived in Venice from Udine in 1679, then travelled to Rome, where he developed his individual themes and method of painting.

The *vedute* of Antonio Canale, known as Canaletto (1679–1768), depict cityscapes with topographical faithfulness. He captured the characteristic features not only of Venice, but also the Venetian mainland, Padua and Mestre, and spent an extended period in London where he painted a series of views of the river Thames. In his paintings, town squares, streets and canals are populated by small figures engaged in their everyday pursuits or gathering for a celebration. His paintings are brought to life by the architectural surroundings depicted with perfect accuracy, and by the colourful bustle of figures, the contrasts of shady and sunlit areas, the cloud-flecked sky, the rippling water, and the delicate rendering of the atmosphere. In addition to a careful treatment of the colour surfaces, a dense pattern of paint applied in dots and thin lines, often with the end of the brush, indicate the highlights and the reflections. Many of Canaletto's works were purchased by English travellers, and Venice's high turnover of tourists made the *veduta* genre even more sought after.[50] His nephew Bernardo Bellotto (1720–1780) painted views of Venice, Florence, Lucca, Padua and Rome in a similar manner, then in 1747 went to Dresden and, following trips to Vienna and Saint Petersburg, settled in Warsaw.[51]

Francesco Guardi (1712–1793) shared a workshop with his brother Gianantonio, and painted not only *vedute* but also figural compositions and religious works; furthermore, he and his brother painted copies of popular contemporary pictures, to sell. His *vedute,* painted with rapid brushstrokes, capture momentary impressions: the sunlight sparkling on the water, buildings in the glow of the sun's rays, canals full of gondolas, and figures dashed off with a few specks of paint. His works clearly show that the artistic aim of the best painters was not limited to imitation, to the duplication of visual reality: their primary object was artistic effect and the creation of a new visual experience (fig. 16).[52]

NOTES

1 Martin 1977; Bauer 1992; Széphelyi 2003; Sutherland Harris 2008.
2 Minor 1999.
3 Haskell 1980; Gilbert 1995; Paul 2008.
4 Baglione 1642, 136; Hibbard 1983, 50–88.
5 Ebert-Schifferer 2002.
6 Gilbert 1995; Puttfarken 2007; Rosen 2009.
7 Friedländer 1955, 117–35; Calvesi 1975; Chorpenning 1987; Askew 1990; Pericolo 2007.
8 Jones 2008, 75–135; Rosen 2009; Fried 2010.
9 Bartoni ed. 2007; Poggi et al. ed. 2007; Calvesi–Zuccari ed. 2009.
10 Bissell 1981; *London–Bilbao–Madrid* 1999; *Rome – New York – Saint Louis* 2001.
11 *Cremona* 1987; Hartje 2004.
12 Bonfait 2011.
13 Windorf 2006, 132–57.
14 Boschloo 1974, 38–53; Feigenbaum 1993; Keazor 2007.
15 Mahon 1947, 193–229; Freedberg 1984; Goldstein 1988.
16 Brogi 2001.
17 Spear 1997; Popp 2007.
18 Cropper 2005.
19 Bernini 1985; *Colorno–Naples–Rome* 2001; Costamagna 2003, 195–233.
20 Mochi Onori et al. ed. 2007.
21 *Frankfurt* 1988; Spear 1997.
22 Wimböck 2002.
23 *Washington* 1992; Negro 2004; Unger 2010; *Rome* 2011b.
24 Briganti 1982; *Rome* 1997b; *Florence* 2010c.
25 Merz 1991.
26 *Budapest* 1985; *Madrid* 2008; Della Ragione 2011; Spinosa 2011.
27 *New York* 1992; Spinosa 2006; Papi 2007; Portús Pérez 2010; *Naples–Madrid* 2011.
28 Garrard 1989; *Rome – New York – Saint Louis* 2001; Mann 2005; *Milan* 2011.
29 *Naples – Vienna – Los Angeles* 2001; Ferrari–Scavizzi 2003.
30 *Pontedera* 2005; *Florence* 2007.
31 Pesenti 1986; Gavazza 1990.
32 Pallucchini 1981; Safarik ed. 1996; Klessmann 1999.
33 Minor 1999, 209–64.
34 *Bologna* 1962; Lagerlöf 1990; Trezzani ed. 2004.
35 Bott 1997; Morandotti 2009.
36 *Budapest* 1985; Spinosa 1993; Borsellino–Casale ed. 2001; Pavone 2008.
37 *Philadelphia–Houston* 2000; Borsellino–Casale ed. 2001; *Rome* 2005b; Bowron–Kerber 2007.
38 Riccòmini ed. 1998.
39 Emiliani ed. 1990.
40 Levey 1980; Briganti ed. 1990, 169–96; Favilla 2011.
41 Rizzi ed. 1989; Scarpa Sonino 2006; *Venice* 2010.
42 Knox 1992.
43 Levey 1986; *Venice – New York* 1997.
44 Sani 1988; Mehler 2005; Sani 2007; *Venice* 2007; Pavanello ed. 2009.
45 *Cremona – New York* 2004.
46 *Venice* 1995.
47 *Belluno* 1993.
48 Spadotto 2007.
49 Levey 1980, 91–136; Pedrocco 2001; Brogi 2007; *London–Washington* 2010.
50 Links 1994.
51 *Vevey* 1994; Marini ed. 2002.
52 Friedrichs 2006; *Venice* 2012.



Michelangelo Merisi, called Caravaggio
The Supper at Emmaus (detail), 1606
Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan

John T. Spike

Caravaggio and the Caravaggesque Movement

In the Jubilee year of 1600, when Rome was filled to overflowing with pilgrims from every corner of Europe, two painters recently arrived in the city unveiled their revolutionary new works. Annibale Carracci (1560–1609), an acknowledged master, had been brought from Bologna by the Farnese family to paint frescoes in their enormous palace. When the first part of his ceiling in the Palazzo Farnese was finished in 1600, Carracci's fame was complete.

By contrast, the young painter from Lombardy, Michelangelo Merisi, called Caravaggio (1571–1610), had been living in penury until his discovery by Cardinal Francesco Maria del Monte, the ambassador of the Medici family. As a leader of the pro-French party, Cardinal del Monte was able to provide Caravaggio with the commission to decorate a chapel in San Luigi dei Francesi, the French national church. At the close of the year, when the *Calling of Saint Matthew* and the *Martyrdom of Saint Matthew* were displayed in public, Caravaggio's fame was launched, and Carracci, much to his dismay, had a rival. These two painters, and their followers, would be the founders of the two major currents in early seventeenth-century painting.

The Farnese ceiling, Carracci's masterpiece, was an heroic attempt to recover the grand style of Michelangelo's Sistine ceiling and Raphael's *Stanze* in the Vatican. Annibale was a decade older than Caravaggio, and a superb draughtsman, who habitually drew studies from the live model. After coming to Rome in 1595, he succumbed to the majesty of classical statuary, exactly as Michelangelo and Raphael had done before him, and like those masters, he created a classical style based on antiquity and peopled with figures more beautiful than nature.

Around this time, Annibale Carracci was asked to give his opinion of Caravaggio's painting, *Judith Beheading Holofernes* (fig. 4), which had caused a sensation. Carracci responded as politely as possible: "What can I say, except that it is too natural."[1] His criticism, not surprisingly, was the polar opposite of Caravaggio's approach. Asked by a judge to define the essence of a good painter *(valentuomo),* Caravaggio replied, "one who can paint well and imitate natural things well". [2]

Caravaggio's statement, as simple as it seems today, was based on the revolutionary principle that the best artists should be able to capture the endless variety of the natural, visible world. Without citing his source, he was echoing the practice of Leonardo

da Vinci, whose notebooks had come again to light in Milan in the 1580s, when Caravaggio was an apprentice in that city.[3] By the end of the 1590s, Caravaggio was inventing new subjects by portraying his friends and neighbours in everyday activities, including gambling at cards or chatting with a gypsy in the street. Painting in bold, rapid strokes, he rendered his actors with a portrait-like immediacy and a focused light that seem modern, even today. If the theme were historical or biblical, he posed his models in natural attitudes and contemporary clothes so that Judith's murder of Holofernes – much to Annibale Carracci's distaste – seems to be taking place in the backstreets of Caravaggio's Rome, rather than Bethulia in the seventh century BC. Concealed in this approach is the indefinable quality that makes Caravaggio the first artist in history whose paintings seem to reflect his own life.

Michelangelo Merisi was born in Milan on 29 September 1571 into a family in the service of Francesco I Sforza, the *marchese* of Caravaggio, a rural town between Milan and Cremona. Caravaggio, as he came to be called, had apprenticed in Milan, leaving no identifiable works when he left his native region and came to Rome in the autumn of 1592 or soon thereafter.[4] Caravaggio was but one of the numberless throng of artists and artisans who were pouring into the city. The approaching Jubilee promised plenty of employment for artists.

At the close of the sixteenth century, the Eternal City was in resurgence, rebuilding and restoring everywhere. The catastrophes of the Sack of Rome in May 1527, and the ensuing waves of famine, had reduced the population of Rome from sixty thousand to thirty thousand by mid-century. The revival came quickly under the vigorous pontificate of Paul III Farnese (1534–1549), who determined to make the city itself the showpiece of the Catholic Counter-Reformation, launching an array of architectural and urban projects that would be continued by the popes after him, especially Sixtus V (1585–1590). By the 1590s, when Caravaggio arrived, the civic population had risen to 115,000 souls and was growing.

Paul III had re-committed the papacy to the construction of the immense new basilica of Saint Peter, whose columns had been standing idle and domeless like a giant modern ruin. His plans to reorganize the tangled medieval streets of Rome were almost as spectacular. By straightening the Via del Corso and completing the Via Clementina[5] (today the Via del Babuino), the pope created the "trident" of three long, straight streets that emanate from the Piazza del Popolo, the most important northern entrance, and cut through the heart of the city. The third tine of the trident was the Via Leonina, opened by Leo X in 1515, which leads, at its distant end, under the name of Via della Scrofa, to the area of the Piazza Navona and the Palazzo Madama, the Roman residence of the Medici family. Filled with artists, artisans and *osterie,* the Via della Scrofa was the thoroughfare of the city's liveliest quarter. When Caravaggio was living there in 1604, more than seventy-eight of his neighbours were artists.[6]

Caravaggio's early difficulties in Rome were probably exacerbated by the inconvenience of his first lodgings. Penniless and barely trained beyond his apprenticeship, the young man was presumably dependent upon the introductions provided by his uncle, Ludovico Merisi, a priest in the household of the archbishop of Milan.[7] It was likely through his uncle that Caravaggio was taken into the house of Pandolfo Pucci, the infamous "Monsignor Insalata", who in Caravaggio's recollection, "fed him only salad, never a piece of meat".[8] The house that Pucci rented in the Borgo *rione* on the Vatican side of the Tiber, between the river and Saint Peter's, has recently been identified.[9] The Borgo was a residential zone more suitable for priests, than painters.

To compensate his host, Caravaggio painted some devotional pictures that the monsignor took to Recanati and have never been identified.[10] The earliest paintings that Caravaggio made to sell are both known today: the *Boy Peeling Fruit*[11] and the *Boy Bitten by a Lizard*.[12] These paintings clearly display the young artist's artistic formation in his native Lombardy. The *Boy Peeling Fruit* is a pure genre



Fig. 1
Michelangelo Merisi,
called Caravaggio
Boy Bitten by a Lizard
ca. 1595
National Gallery, London

scene of a humble intimacy unknown in Rome, where the Mannerist painters were entranced by the intellectual intricacy of Michelangelo Buonarroti's contorted figures. Caravaggio's picture traces its lineage back to the allegorical half-length figures invented by Leonardo da Vinci early in the century and popularized by Leonardo's followers in Milan, where Caravaggio had trained in the 1580s.[13]

The early *Boy Bitten by a Lizard* (fig. 1) shows the young artist's progress in technical skill, and a new boldness in taking on a genre theme that had been made famous by two celebrated older painters in Cremona, Sofonisba Anguissola and Vincenzo Campi. The theme ultimately goes back to one of Aesop's fables, which had recently been translated by the Cremonese Gabriele Faerno.[14] Caravaggio would have known by heart Vasari's praises of Anguissola's drawing of a boy who is crying from the bite of a crayfish, having impetuously reached into a basket to take one.[15] Campi painted the same motif among rustic fishmongers.[16] No doubt in an attempt to surpass these precedents, Caravaggio translates the story into a Roman court scene, where a boy dressed *all'antica* is toying with some flowers, and is disagreeably surprised by a lizard hiding among the roses (see also cat. 2).

Caravaggio's early biographers name a number of persons who gave him shelter and provisions during his first three or four years in Rome. His other problem, since he was living with ecclesiastics, was to find his way into the world of artists and collectors. The most common solution for artists starting out was to find a corner in the studio of an established painter. It was not uncommon in Rome for painters to keep on hand for sale the canvases of other artists. The early sources mention three artists whose workshops were close together in the area of Via della Scrofa and the church of Sant'Agostino, both near the Piazza Navona. Lorenzo Carli, a Sicilian, was the least accomplished of these, specializing in small pictures of saints, popes and icons that were barely better than souvenirs for pilgrims.[17] None of these has ever been identified, not even the "heads" painted for him by Caravaggio. Nevertheless, Carli and Caravaggio remained good friends until Carli's unexpected death from illness in March 1597. The other two artists, Antiveduto Gramatica (1570–1626) and Giuseppe Cesari (1568–1640), better known to history as il Cavalier d'Arpino, were both rising stars in the Roman art world. D'Arpino, only three years older than Caravaggio, was regarded as a prodigious talent and was already receiving important church commissions.[18]

Caravaggio found d'Arpino a willing customer for his life-like pictures of youths holding flowers and fruits. Two such paintings, the *Self-Portrait as Bacchus* (the *"Bacchino malato"*) (Galleria Borghese, Rome) and the *Boy with a Basket of Fruit* (cat. 1) were in d'Arpino's possession when the contents of his workshop were sequestered in 1607 and transferred to the collection of Cardinal Scipione Borghese.[19] The *Self-Portrait as Bacchus* is an irreverent look at the Roman god of wine, who appears to have overindulged in the fruit of the grapevine. This is one of



Fig. 2
Michelangelo Merisi,
called Caravaggio
Cardsharps
ca. 1594
Kimbell Art Museum,
Fort Worth



Fig. 3
Michelangelo Merisi,
called Caravaggio
Fortune Teller
ca. 1594
Pinacoteca Capitolina,
Rome

the smallest, and most personal of Caravaggio's paintings. The *Boy with a Basket of Fruit* shares with it the same provenance and the same distinction of never having been copied, which means that these early decorative canvases helped Caravaggio pay the rent, but did not attract any imitators. The boy who posed with the basket has been putatively identified as Mario Minniti, a young Sicilian painter with whom Caravaggio is believed to have made friends in the studio of Carli. Perhaps the most significant observation about these two paintings is that neither these, nor any other early paintings by Caravaggio, show the influence of Cavalier d'Arpino's Mannerist style.

The breakthrough paintings in Caravaggio's realism were his *Cardsharps* (fig. 2) and the *Fortune Teller* (fig. 3), his first compositions to represent the life he observed around him in the streets – or back rooms – of the city. These scenes of gambling and strolling gypsies were imbued with an illicitness calculated to startle his viewers and infuriate the church censors.[20] Caravaggio saw them daily in the section of the city, called the *Ortaccio,* located between the Arch of Portugal and Piazza del Popolo, which was reserved for brothels[21] and where Caravaggio and his friends found the liveliest taverns and the rowdiest companions. The French and Netherlandish painters who would follow his style after 1610 or so would specialize in such subjects of taverns and streets. Baglione reports that when Caravaggio's paintings of these themes were offered for sale at a small picture shop in the neighbourhood of San Luigi dei Francesi, they attracted the attention of Cardinal Francesco del Monte, who lived nearby in the Palazzo Madama.[22] Caravaggio's new approach won him the helpful attention of Prospero Orsi (ca. 1558 – ca. 1633), a sociable artist some ten years older who en-



Fig. 4
Michelangelo Merisi,
called Caravaggio
Judith Beheading Holofernes
ca. 1598
Palazzo Barberini, Rome

joyed lending a hand to young talent.[23] Baglione describes enviously the favourable word of mouth that Orsi spread around on Caravaggio's behalf.[24]

Cardinal del Monte was so pleased with these paintings that he inscribed the artist on the roll of his household, providing him residence, victuals, and sustained employment. The cardinal also cultivated the young man's mind and introduced him to the pinnacle of Roman society. When Caravaggio entered the Del Monte household, he was receiving the protection of one of the most powerful houses in Italy at the height of its influence and prestige. The Medici party enjoyed the full confidence of the papacy – much to the discomfit of the Farnese. Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini and the rest of the pro-Medici party – Cardinal Mattei and his brother Ciriaco, Cardinal Giustiniani and his brother Marchese Vincenzo, Cardinal Baronio, Cardinal Federico Borromeo, Monsignor Barberini, and others – were fixtures at the dinners and musical entertainments offered by the engaging young Del Monte at his Palazzo Madama residence. Within the next five years, every one of these dignitaries would acquire a painting by Caravaggio, very often as a gift from Del Monte.[25] Many of them had their portraits painted by Caravaggio, which suggests that portraiture was used as a way to introduce the painter.

By the time that Caravaggio arrived at the Palazzo Madama, Del Monte had assembled one of the most complete collections of fine musical instruments in Italy. No doubt at Del Monte's urging, Caravaggio began to immortalize his patron's passion for music with paintings representing singers and lute players. The painter inserted his own self-portrait in the *Musicians* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), alongside three other boys dressed in filmy white chemises *all'antica*. For Vincenzo Giustiniani he painted a *Lute Player* (The State Hermitage Museum, Saint



Fig. 5
Michelangelo Merisi,
called Caravaggio
The Calling of Saint Matthew
ca. 1599–1600
San Luigi dei Francesi, Rome

Petersburg) and a *Victorious Cupid* (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin) that both feature exquisite still lifes of musical instruments. The seductive powers of music and the enchantment of still life details would become core elements in the repertory of the Caravaggisti painters, who used the setting of taverns, not having had access to the cardinals' salons.

Caravaggio's development proceeded rapidly in the stimulating milieu of the Palazzo Madama. New clients meant new subjects he had never thought about or had not cared to try: *Judith Beheading Holofernes* (fig. 4), *Saint Catherine of Alexandria* (Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid), or *The Conversion of the Magdalen* (Detroit Institute of Art, Detroit). His immediate response in each case was to transpose the action to his own world, making the old stories seem universal and contemporary. In or around 1598, he painted a revised and improved version of the *Fortune Teller* (Musée du Louvre, Paris) in which the gypsy and the young gallant are as vivid and colourful as actors on a stage. Their forms are sculpted in three dimensions by a single beam of raking light that descends from the upper left. The shadows on the background wall add to the randomness and immediacy of this chance encounter in a street. This picture, along with the *Judith and Holofernes* that Carracci considered "too natural" are examples of the works of Caravaggio's early maturity that will be

imitated by other artists and become the foundations of a Caravaggesque movement. Bellori was right on the mark when he identified the *Saint Catherine* as a pivotal picture in which Merisi was abandoning the "sweet, clean" ("dolci, schiette") style he had brought to Rome "in favour of strengthening his shadows". Without mincing words, Bellori pointed out that Caravaggio painted "a portrait of the model", an observation that he could not have imagined would sound one day like praise.[26]

In the summer of 1599, Caravaggio contracted with the congregation of San Luigi dei Francesi to complete the two lateral paintings in the Contarelli Chapel, *The Calling of Saint Matthew* (fig. 5) and *The Martyrdom of Saint Matthew*. We have Baglione's contemporary witness that the contract tendered to Caravaggio on 23 July 1599 for paintings came to him through the direct intervention of "his cardinal," in Baglione's envious words.[27] Caravaggio received final payment for the paintings in July 1600, but the paintings were not installed until December and immediately attracted attention for their bold naturalism and theatrical contrasts of light and dark.

Cardinal del Monte had returned from a 1598 journey to Venice with an enthusiasm for Venetian Renaissance painting that evidently struck a nerve with Caravaggio. There are remarkable correspondences between Caravaggio's *Martyrdom of Saint Matthew* and Jacopo Tintoretto's masterpiece, *Saint Mark Freeing the Slave,* 1548, in the Scuola di San Marco.[28] Small wonder that Federico Zuccari (1539–1609), the founder and head of the Roman Accademia di San Luca, when brought by Baglione to see the paintings in the Contarelli Chapel that had caused so much commotion, said only, "I see nothing here but the manner of Giorgione".[29] Zuccari's remark was informed, not trivial, as is usually thought. At age sixty – he was already a working painter in 1564 when Michelangelo died – Zuccari had seen it all. He knew at a glance that Caravaggio had imported into Rome the Venetian tradition, exemplified by Carpaccio, Giorgione, and Savoldo, of portraying the ancient sacred subjects in contemporary dress and settings, representing the protagonists "not as plaster casts but in person, as figures full of life and color … the embodiment of antiquity as the early Renaissance saw it".[30]

For a young Venetian artist recently come to Rome and trying to make a career, Carlo Saraceni (1579–1620), the unveiling of the Contarelli paintings must have been exhilarating. Saraceni would become one of the most ardent Caravaggists, but for the next five years or so, he mostly produced small paintings on copper. Saraceni was enthralled by the unprecedently natural approach to landscape featured in the works of Adam Elsheimer, who came to Rome in the Jubilee year 1600. Saraceni was barely twenty-one years old when he met, or heard of, Caravaggio for the first time.

Another artist who met Caravaggio in 1600 and became his adherent was Orazio Gentileschi (1563–1639), who had trained in Pisa. At age thirty-seven Gentileschi was already an affirmed painter in the undistinguished, if prolific, school of Roman ecclesiastic wall decorations. His career was overshadowed by the younger artists Giuseppe Cesari, later called Cavalier d'Arpino, and Giovanni Baglione, but he had been given minor parts in several important projects in recent years, including a fresco in the nave of Santa Maria Maggiore, 1593, an altarpiece in San Paolo fuori le mura, 1596, and one of the large frescoes of apostles in the transept in San Giovanni in Laterano, completed in August 1600. Despite having the responsibility of a wife and children, Gentileschi abandoned this earlier life in order to follow the uncertain new path of the mercurial and contentious Caravaggio.

For the Roman public, Caravaggio's paintings at the Contarelli Chapel were breathtakingly new, a theatrical evocation inside a church of the real world outside. Caravaggio had not expected, however, to have to share his triumph in front of the Jubilee crowds with the acclaim that was being showered on Annibale Carracci, who had completed the first part of his spectacular mythological frescoes in the Gallery of the Palazzo Farnese. Carracci had been

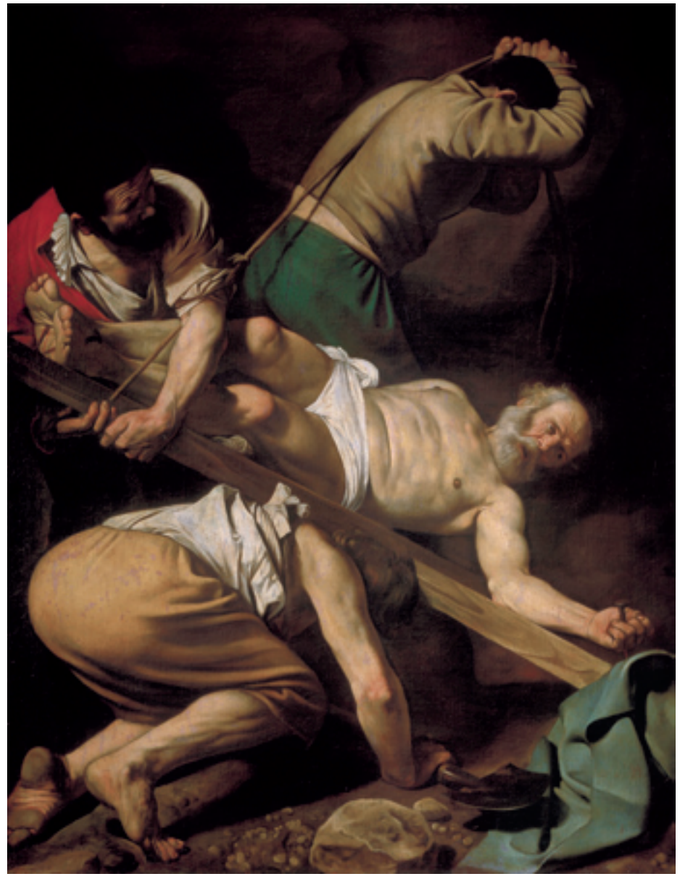


Fig. 6
Michelangelo Merisi, called Caravaggio
Crucifixion of Saint Peter
ca. 1600–1601
Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome

brought from Bologna in order to revive and update the monumental style of the early Roman works of Raphael and Michelangelo. To a surprising extent, assisted by his brother Agostino, he had fulfilled this impossible mission. The pro-Spanish Farnese family were the political enemies of the Francophile Medici of Florence, whose ambassador in Rome was Cardinal del Monte. There was no spectacle more enjoyable to Roman society than the confrontation between rival champions and so in short order it was arranged that Caravaggio and Annibale Carracci would face off in the same space.

On 24 September 1600 Caravaggio was commissioned to paint two paintings representing *The Conversion of Saint Paul* and *The Crucifixion of Saint Peter* (fig. 6) for the side walls of the Cerasi chapel in the church of Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome.[31] In his contract were inserted the words, no doubt at his insistence, "egregius in Urbe pictor", the outstanding painter in the city. He was assigned the same Christian subjects, a conversion and a martyrdom that had just vaulted him into the front rank of ecclesiastic painters. Before leaving Bologna, Annibale Carracci had executed numerous acclaimed

altarpieces representing the Virgin Mary. Thus he was assigned the chapel's altarpiece, *The Assumption of the Virgin*.

Each artist outdid himself and both factions could claim the victory, but Caravaggio whose approach was astonishingly realistic attracted the larger crowds. No one, not even Titian, had ever painted such tangible solid bodies, seemingly close enough to touch and enveloped in an opaque darkness to draw the viewer into the pictorial space. Caravaggio portrayed the apostles Peter and Paul with the features of the two Roman models who posed for him, or so he leads us to believe. Carracci followed tradition and good decorum, representing his subject as a mystical event, replete with angels and the same saints dressed in bright classical raiment.

There was a third artist, Giovanni Baglione (1566–1642), who justifiably considered himself a contestant in this dispute among painters. Though Caravaggio had tried to ignore him, Baglione soon made his presence irresistibly felt by the surprising tactic of adopting major elements of Caravaggio's style. And he went so far as to seek to embarrass in public both Caravaggio and his patron, the *marchese* Vincenzo Giustiniani.

In between the Contarelli and Cerasi chapels, Caravaggio had painted the marvellous *Victorious Cupid,* or *Earthly Love* (1601–2), in which an unabashedly nude boy in the guise of a winged cupid frolics in the midst of musical and architectural instruments, military armour, and other symbols of worldly virtues associated with Giustiniani's accomplishments.[32] Baglione took it upon himself to paint his own composition in which the sensual realism of the Cupid's nudity is explicitly criticized. Caravaggio's model is believed to have been a studio assistant, the twelve year old Cecco del Caravaggio. Baglione's response, which he entitled *Divine Love Overcoming the World, the Flesh and the Devil,* was dedicated to the *marchese*'s older brother, Cardinal Benedetto Giustiniani and is today in the Berlin Gemäldegalerie (cat. 13).[33]

What must have most irked Caravaggio was Baglione's borrowing of his signature traits of a deep, dark background and a figure that resembles the portrait of a real boy. Direct observation of nature was previously unknown to Baglione, a confirmed Mannerist.

The surprise unveiling of Baglione's picture can be considered the first public exhibition of paintings by Caravaggio's followers. In 1602 Orazio Gentileschi had placed his painting of a *Saint Michael Archangel* in the art exhibition staged at San Giovanni Decollato in Rome on 29 August, the confraternity's feast day.[34] Suddenly, Baglione appeared and installed his painting of *Divine Love* next to it. According to Gentileschi's testimony a year later, everyone knew that Baglione's work was meant as a challenge to Caravaggio.[35] To add injury to the insult, Cardinal Giustiniani proceeded to reward Baglione's cleverness with the gift of a chain of gold – decisively more compensation than Caravaggio had received for his *Victorious Cupid.*

The acrimony festered beneath the surface until the event that sent Caravaggio into an uncontrollable fury. The following Easter, 1603, Baglione unveiled his huge painting of the *Resurrection of Christ* which was positioned in the right transept of the church of the Gesù. The commission had gone to Baglione in 1601, and now it was revealed to Caravaggio's horror that Baglione had used this prominent altarpiece in one of Rome's most monumental churches to showcase his appropriation of Caravaggio's style. Baglione's adoptive Caravaggism was most evident in the handsome youths disguised as angels and in the raking light that casts shadows across Christ's body.[36]

To Caravaggio's agitated mind, the plagiarism was intolerable – Baglione could not be allowed to take credit for Caravaggio's innovations. The *Resurrection* and its painter would have to be mercilessly attacked. With the assistance of Gentileschi and two other friends, Caravaggio organized a campaign of distributing in their neighbourhood of Via della Scrofa, anonymous pieces of paper bearing scurrilous rhymes about Baglione. By the end of the summer, Baglione felt sufficiently threatened to file a suit for libel against Caravaggio and his accomplices. The testimonies taken from the defendants contain

Caravaggio's only direct statements about art, in which he defended painting from nature in all cases, and claimed (rightly) that Baglione was not a very good painter.[37]

Caravaggio's public confrontation with Annibale Carracci and, to a lesser extent, with Baglione attracted more attention to the contemporary painting in Rome than all the frescoes in the previous forty years. In his famous *Letter on Painting* of circa 1620, Vincenzo Giustiniani proudly stated that the art of painting was enjoying the height of its appreciation, "not only for the use of Rome, but also to send abroad to Spain, France, Flanders and England and other places …," adding that in Rome, Venice and other parts of Italy, not to mention Flanders and France, it had become "the modern practice to decorate palaces completely with paintings … and this new custom greatly favoured the circulation of painters' works …".[38] Giustiniani did not mention that the competition by princes and prelates to form prestigious collections had acted as a magnet to bring artists from abroad, including those who would imitate Caravaggio, especially after his flight from Rome in 1606 and unfortunate death in 1610.

Due to his demonstrated touchiness, Caravaggio did not immediately inaugurate a movement while he was in Rome, but had painters around him. A "Bartolomeo servitore del detto Michelangelo" in



Fig. 7
Orazio Gentileschi
Madonna and Child
ca. 1604
Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Palazzo Corsini, Rome



Fig. 8
Carlo Saraceni
Rest on the Flight into Egypt, 1606
Eremo di Camaldoli, Frascati

his workshop cited in the transcript of the 1603 trial may well have been the young Bartolomeo Manfredi. In 1605 Caravaggio was cited in an Easter census as resident with an assistant, Francesco, who is believed to be the painter Francesco Boneri, called Cecco del Caravaggio, who posed for several paintings by Caravaggio before beginning his own brief, but impressive career.[39] Meanwhile within these same years reinforcements arrived from Bologna in support of Carracci's classicism. These included the artists Francesco Albani (1578–1660), Domenichino (1581–1641), Giovanni Lanfranco (1582–1647) and Guido Reni (1575–1642). Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640), a polyglot genius in his own right, arrived from Antwerp and perfected himself by studying everything.

Caravaggio's intermittent friend, Gentileschi, continued his efforts to supplant his Mannerist origins with the lessons of his reluctant mentor. Around 1604, but these dates are approximate, Gentileschi painted a *Madonna and Child* (fig. 7) that so captures Caravaggio's genius for finding the sacred story in the lives of real persons that for centuries it was assigned to the master himself. Orazio Borgianni (1574–1616) is another of the handful of artists who held friendships, at least for a time, with Caravaggio. Born in Rome, Borgianni worked restlessly in Sicily and in Spain, having departed Italy just prior to Caravaggio's revolutionary works of 1599–1602.

In the fateful year 1606, Borgianni was again in Rome long enough to be accused of assault by Giovanni Baglione, who described him as an aggressive "adherent" of Caravaggio.[40] Carlo Saraceni inaugurated his mature style as a Caravaggist in 1606 in a large *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (fig. 8). But these events were overshadowed by Caravaggio's flight from Rome in May following his possibly accidental killing in a duel of Ranuccio Tomassoni, a young man in the service of the Farnese family. Thus began the third and last phase in the artist's brief and furious life.

To avoid capture he left the city at once and sought refuge in the estates of the Colonna family in the Roman countryside. During these anxious months of vulnerability to arrest, he was condemned to death *in absentia* by the justice authorities of the papacy of Pope Paul V Borghese. An elegiac, almost monochrome, painting of *The Supper at Emmaus* (fig. 9), datable to this period, inaugurates his late style, in which he employs a severely limited palette of colours.

By the end of the year Caravaggio had moved, no doubt under the protection of Don Marzio Colonna, to the more prudent distance of Naples where he immediately received lucrative commissions for altarpieces in prominent churches. His *Seven Acts of Mercy* in the Pio Monte della Misericordia was completed in January 1607. Its depiction of the crowded streets of Naples, animated by bustling passers-by and flashes of light slicing through the dimness, electrified two local painters, one major and the other minor. The former was Battistello Caracciolo (1578–1635) who understood the power of Caravaggio's weighty figures and immediately began to incorporate them in his altarpieces, beginning with the *Immaculate Conception* in Santa Maria della Stella, of the same year. Carlo Sellitto (1581–1614) was the lesser new follower, but his courageous adoption of Caravaggio's rustic facial types and sharp chiaroscuro was remarkable.

In July, Caravaggio abruptly abandoned his instant success in Naples in order to transfer to Malta, where after a year's residence, he was received into the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem, Rhodes and Malta as a Knight of Obedience. In lieu of the ob-



Fig. 9
Michelangelo Merisi,
called Caravaggio
The Supper at Emmaus
1606
Pinacoteca di Brera,
Milan



Fig. 10
Michelangelo Merisi,
called Caravaggio
Beheading of Saint John the Baptist
1608
Saint John's, Valletta,
Malta

ligatory entrance donation, Caravaggio painted one of the century's masterpieces, *The Beheading of Saint John the Baptist,* which was installed in July 1608 in the Knight's Oratory of the Conventual church of Saint John in Valletta (fig. 10). His membership in the Order of Saint John was tantamount to a pardon for his crime so long as he remained under the protection of the grand master Alof de Wignacourt.

Nevertheless, he could not constrain himself from his habitual disorder and in October of 1608 he was already incarcerated for fighting. Under mysterious circumstances he managed to flee from Malta and paused in Syracuse before proceeding to Messina and Palermo, executing altarpieces in each city. By the autumn of 1609 Caravaggio had returned to Naples and was once again a fugitive at risk of arrest or assault from his accumulated enemies. His declining spirits are vividly revealed in the two paintings of *Salome with the Head of John the Baptist,* both executed in Naples and both exhibited in this show (cats. 35 and 36). In July 1610, perhaps in response to news from Rome of a pardon, Caravaggio sailed unescorted from Naples towards Civitavecchia, the port of Rome, where he never arrived. The boat carrying his belongings, including two paintings, returned to Naples without him and it was reported in letters that he had died of a fever in Porto Ercole, although no trace of his body was ever found. In a passage probably known to Caravaggio when he painted his *Beheading of John the Baptist,* Saint Augustine wrote, "Poetry has well said: He who has no tomb has the sky for his vault."[41]

Although precise dates are lacking, it is customary to associate the next phase of the Caravaggesque movement with 1610, the year of the artist's death. Bartolomeo Manfredi (1582–1622), born near Mantua, painted his *Bacchus with a Drinker* (fig. 11) around that date. Looking back after some decades, Bellori's view of such paintings was that Manfredi "was not a mere imitator, but had transformed himself into Caravaggio, and when he painted it seemed as though he were looking at nature through that



Fig. 11
Bartolomeo Manfredi
Bacchus with a Drinker
ca. 1610
Palazzo Barberini, Rome

man's eyes".[42] Soldiers, gypsies and dandified youths drinking, making music, and gambling into the dark hours of the night are the hallmarks of Manfredi's version of Caravaggism. Joachim von Sandrart was the first writer to recognize that Manfredi's raucous scenes of tavern-life in the *Ortaccio* quarter constituted a distinctive style, which he called the "Methodus Manfrediana".[43] His influential followers were mainly not Italians, coming, as if on cue, from all over Europe, in the early years of the second decade: Gerrit van Honthorst (1592–1656) around 1610, Valentin de Boulogne (1594–1632) in 1611 and Nicolas Régnier (1591–1667) around 1615. The Frenchman, Nicolas Tournier (1590–1631), is believed to have been an apprentice in Manfredi's workshop between 1610 and 1617.[44] Of these foreign artists, Honthorst was the most successful in gaining commissions for works on public view in churches.

By 1613, a young Spanish painter, Jusepe de Ribera (1591–1652) had come to Rome after passing through Parma just long enough for his precocious talent to excite the jealousy of the Farnese court painters. At first Ribera found work in other artists' studios, as Caravaggio had twenty years earlier, but he soon had as many patrons as he needed. Giulio Mancini, the physician and *marchand-amateur* who

knew all these artists, explains Ribera's hasty departure for Naples after only three years as the result of his disorderly lifestyle, which included an aversion to paying his bills. Mancini also informs us that before his departure in 1616, Ribera "made many things here in Rome and in particular for a Spaniard, such as [a series of] five half-length figures representing the five senses, very beautiful, and a *Deposition of Christ* and others that are truly of exquisite beauty".[45] Ribera's *Five Senses,* e.g. the *Allegory of Taste* (fig. 12) resemble characters from a tavern scene by Manfredi. The porcine client in a greasy shirt is a Caravaggesque parody of the refined and erudite personifications found in sixteenth-century Mannerist emblems and allegories.

Not all of the circle of painters around Caravaggio followed Manfredi's lead, of course. Gentileschi and Saraceni, for example, preferred to make names for themselves with the venerable Bible stories that would make them eligible for public commissions in churches. In Mancini's opinion, Saraceni followed Caravaggio only "in part",[46] and Gentileschi followed his own path, no doubt because he was older than the others.[47] Orazio's new career as a Caravaggist began auspiciously. On 25 November 1607, Cardinal Paolo Emilio Sfondrato visited the church of Santa Cecilia in Como, north of Milan, where he saw above the altar, "a new picture by the Florentine Gentileschi, who, with his valour, walks in step with any of the more illustrious and famous painters in Rome".[48] Gentileschi had been paid 303 scudi for his altarpiece of *The Vision of Saint Cecilia* (Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan), a price that is comparable to the best fees earned by Caravaggio. The three figures on the ground and a boyish angel who floats across the top of the towering altarpiece emerge from the shadows as if picked out by a focused spotlight descending from the upper right. Gentileschi had dedicated hours, it seems, to the study of Caravaggio's *Martyrdom of Saint Matthew* (San Luigi dei Francesi, Rome) and successfully simplified its composition.

The *Vision of Saint Cecilia* shows a greater progress in Orazio's conversion towards naturalism than his *Baptism of Christ* in the Olgiati chapel in Santa Maria della Pace, Rome, which was commissioned in March of the same year, 1607. The *Baptism* displays a host of symmetrically placed angels, evidently painted from live models. On the other hand, the idealized faces of Saint John the Baptist and of Christ convey an unmistakeable sense of the Mannerist baggage he was struggling to lose. In these years and well into the second decade, Gentileschi enjoyed the patronage of several leading Roman families in addition to the Olgiati, including the Sannesi – who owned two fine originals by Caravaggio – and the Savelli. It was apparently through their intervention that Orazio regularly received lucrative commissions to send his paintings to churches in other cities, such as Como, Fabriano and Ancona. [49]

Orazio's daughter, Artemisia Gentileschi, born in 1593, demonstrated a remarkable talent in her earliest dated work, a *Susanna and the Elders* (Graf von Schönborn Collection, Pommersfelden), boldly signed and dated 1610, which reveals her working closely with her father, especially in the flawless depiction of Susanna's nude figure.[50] Artemisia's early *Madonna and Child* in the Galleria Spada, Rome, is from this same moment. Broadly based upon a *Madonna and Child* by Orazio in Bucharest, signed and dated 1609,[51] Artemisia's version does not emulate her father's portrait-like rendition of the model and her baby's features.[52]

Artemisia Gentileschi's life and career were cruelly altered by her seduction and rape by Agostino Tassi (1578–1644), a painter, in May 1611.[53] Tassi had been collaborating with her father on decorations in the Sala del Concistoro and other rooms in the Palazzo del Quirinale beginning in March 1611. That autumn Tassi and Gentileschi proceeded to paint fresco decorations in the Casino delle Muse belonging to the pope's nephew, Scipione Borghese, when Tassi announced his refusal to honour his promise to marry Artemisia. In March 1612, the offended father had no recourse but to bring action against Tassi for rape. The tumultuous trial required months



Fig. 12
Jusepe de Ribera
Allegory of Taste
1614–1616
Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford

of testimony and dragged on until Tassi's condemnation and banishment from Rome in November. Artemisia courageously remade her life by marrying Pierantonio Stiattesi and relocating to Florence, where she had soon established a career that was completely independent of her father. In 1616, she was admitted into the Accademia del Disegno. During her Florentine period she forged a valuable friendship with Cristofano Allori (1577–1621), the leading artist in the city. Under Allori's influence she momentarily accom-



Fig. 13
Valentin de Boulogne
Four Ages of Man
ca. 1626–1628
National Gallery, London

modated her Caravaggesque style to the Florentine taste for rhetorical gestures and luxurious fabrics.

Artemisia returned to Rome in 1621, no doubt attracted by the notices of the extraordinary commissions being awarded to the swelling ranks of the multi-national Caravaggesque movement. Her father's successes had been intermittent, or hidden in the provinces, but the steady activity of Carlo Saraceni, who now specialized in altarpieces, and the spectacular success of Honthorst's night-pieces had culminated around 1617 in a succession of *anni mirabiles* during which it must have seemed as if Caravaggesque paintings were being installed in churches all over Rome.

Saraceni's reputation as heir to Caravaggio had been cemented at the beginning of the second decade when his *Death of the Virgin* was installed in Santa Maria della Scala, Rome, as the replacement for Caravaggio's altarpiece, today in the Louvre in Paris, which had been rejected. Saraceni usually followed Caravaggio's practice of dressing his classical subjects in contemporary clothes, but he watered down his realism by employing the same pleasant, round facial types in different pictures. His good-natured details taken from daily life made his style popular with patrons and painters alike. The actors in Saraceni's stories tend to smile, even Judith as she holds the severed head of Holofernes, which was one of his favourite compositions. An enthusiastic Francophile, who enjoyed speaking French, Saraceni is documented in 1617 in residence with three pupils, including Jean Le Clerc.

To touch on all the Caravaggesque artists working in Rome at the movement's peak would require more space than is available in this brief introduction, but pausing a moment on a single year, 1617, is perhaps indicative. Saraceni, for example, was simultaneously engaged that year with the decoration of a chapel in the ancient church, Santa Maria in Aquiro, and two altarpieces for Santa Maria dell'



Fig. 14
Simon Vouet
Saint Francis Receiving the Habit, 1624
San Lorenzo in Lucina, Rome

Anima, the German national church located behind the Piazza Navona.

Despite belonging to rival camps, Saraceni and Giovanni Lanfranco, the pupil of Agostino Carracci, were contentedly painting frescoes together in the Sala Regia of the Palazzo di Montecavallo (today's Palazzo del Quirinale) for which they received payment of 200 *scudi* on 10 March 1617. The other painters in the project included Saraceni's friend, Giovanni Antonio Galli, called Spadarino, who was cited by Mancini as one of the truest and best Caravaggists.[54]

In 1617, Honthorst was living in the palace of Caravaggio's former patron Vincenzo Giustiniani and painting for his collection. Honthorst had just received the commission for one of his most acclaimed altarpieces, *The Beheading of Saint John the Baptist* in Santa Maria della Scala, Rome. The success of the Dutchman's night-pieces had earned him the popular nickname, "Gherardo delle Notti". Two of Honthorst's countrymen, and followers, Dirck van Baburen and David de Haen received the commission this year to execute their ruggedly Caravaggesque paintings in the chapel of the Pietà in San Pietro in Montorio, which was considered one of the most venerated sanctuaries in the Eternal City.

Finally, to complete this view from the top of the peak of Caravaggism, the year 1617 will also be remembered for the bold attempt by the Medici correspondent in Rome, Piero Guicciardini, to decorate his family chapel in Santa Felicita, Florence, with the most impressive Caravaggesque paintings ever assembled, consisting of three major works by three different artists. The altarpiece of the *Resurrection of Christ* was assigned to Cecco del Caravaggio. From Honthorst, Guicciardini acquired a beautiful *Adoration of the Shepherds.* Spadarino was the third artist selected, who was duly paid for a towering canvas in 1620.[55] But the project came to naught: only Honthorst's picture is known for certain to have been installed.[56] Cecco's spectacular *Resurrection,* today considered a masterpiece, did not please Guicciardini. The painting was sold to Cardinal Scipio Borghese and today is in the Art Institute of Chicago. Spadarino's painting has disappeared without a trace.[57]

After her return from Florence, Artemisia Gentileschi remained in Rome long enough, 1621–1626, to observe the declining fortunes of Caravaggism and its evolution into a style mostly used by Netherlandish artists for their genre paintings. Many Italians of the first generation went to work in other cities, and did not ultimately return: Saraceni to Venice in 1621, Orazio Gentileschi to Genoa and then, in 1626, to England. Manfredi died in 1622. A sign of the times, perhaps, was the decision in 1622 by Asdrubale Mattei to engage Pietro da Cortona (1597–1669), instead of a Caravaggist, to paint the decorations in his new picture gallery, which, besides Caravaggio, included works by Antiveduto Gramatica, Giovanni Serodine (ca. 1600–1630) and Valentin de Boulogne. Caravaggio had lived and painted in the palazzo Mattei di Giove in 1601–1603.

Meanwhile, the careers of two French painters, Simon Vouet (1590–1649) and Valentin de Boulogne (fig. 13) were flourishing. Among the marvels of 1617 was Vouet's successful sale of a low-life *Fortune Teller* (Galleria Nazionale di Arte Antica, Roma) to the arch-classicist collector, Cassiano Dal Pozzo. In his attractive Caravaggesque style influenced by Gentileschi and Saraceni, Vouet executed paintings for two prominent churches in the centre of Rome, San Francesco a Ripa, 1620, and San Lorenzo in Lucina, 1624 (fig. 14). In the autumn of 1624, backed by Cardinal del Monte, Vouet received the signal honour of election as *principe* of the Accademia di San

Luca. Three years later he returned home to Paris, leaving Rome and Caravaggism forever.

In the years between 1620 and 1623, the influx of Dutch and Flemish artists had risen to such numbers that a group of them began to meet as a fraternity, which they named the *Schildersbent.* The founders included Caravaggesque artists like Dirck van Baburen and Paulus Bor, and, after 1626, Pieter van Laer, who pioneered genre scenes of peasants, soldiers and travellers, set in the Roman *campagna.* From Van Laer's nickname, his innumerable followers became known as the Bamboccianti. Their works were abhorred by the leading painters in Rome and Bologna, including Andrea Sacchi (ca. 1599–1661), Francesco Albani and Guido Reni.

Caravaggesque painting laid down its deepest roots in Naples, no doubt because of the presence of important autograph examples by the master and the influential career of Battistello Caracciolo, his friend and faithful follower. Both Ribera and Massimo Stanzione (who first came to Rome in 1617) assimilated Caravaggio's naturalism and strong chiaroscuro in their formative years.

By the late 1620s, Rome was depleted of major Caravaggists except for Spadarino, who was little known, and Serodine and Valentin, both of whom died prematurely, in 1630 and 1632, respectively.

At the very moment that the old guard passed away, and the new epoch of Cortona, Sacchi and Poussin opened, a young man from the southern mountains of Calabria arrived in Rome to teach himself the art of painting. Mattia Preti (1613–1699) came to join his older brother, Gregorio, who had already been looking at the art of Domenichino. Without access to the classical collections in the noble palaces, Mattia studied the paintings in the churches and eventually persuaded his brother that the most exciting were by Caravaggio, Guercino and Lanfranco. The Preti brothers were able to support themselves during the 1630s by painting musical pictures in a sedate and respectful version of the "Methodus Manfrediana". Mattia Preti's success grew, and he began to receive commissions for paintings of saints and stories of Christ. He looked with appreciation at Vouet's paintings in San Lorenzo in Lucina, and there was one altarpiece of Orazio Gentileschi that struck him deeply: *Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata* in San Silvestro in Capite, which was painted between 1616 and 1620.[58] The divine light of grace that fills the saint's face was an idea of Caravaggio's that went beyond naturalism and towards the mystical. The drama of the saint's outflung arms is a gesture that Preti would make his own through his long career. Mattia Preti would be the last great follower of Caravaggio.

NOTES

1 Malvasia [1678] 1841, I, 344.
2 Testimony of Caravaggio, 13 September 1603 ("così in pittura valent'huomo che sappi dipingere bene e imitare bene le cose naturali"), Friedländer 1955, 277.
3 Caravaggio found justification for his philosophy in Leonardo da Vinci's *Treatise on Painting*. The Renaissance master had clearly stated that "the secrets of nature can be interpreted through personal experience" (Tabarrini ed. [1890] 1989, xviii).
4 Lothar Sickel (2009–2010, 8) points to the possibility that Caravaggio may have first visited Rome in the company of Ludovico Merisi between November 1591 and May 1592.
5 Thus Paul realized the vision of his predecessor, Clement VII Medici. The Via Clementina was for a time renamed the Via Paolina Trifaria, which means "Pauline street of the Trident".
6 The number of artists living between Santa Maria del Popolo and San Lorenzo in Lucina was counted by Olivier Bonfait (2003, 68).
7 Sickel 2009–2010, 8.
8 Giulio Mancini ([1617–1621] 1956–1957, I, 224) cites Caravaggio as the source of this epithet for Pucci.
9 For an outline biography of Pucci and the location of his house in the Borgo, see Sickel 2011, 78–79.
10 Mancini [1617–1621] 1956–1957, I, 224.
11 See Spike 2010, 28–30, cat. 1, for a discussion of the various interpretations and extant versions of the *Boy Peeling Fruit*.
12 See Spike 2010, 40–45, cat. 7.1 and cat. 7.2 for the two autograph versions.
13 For example, the *Flora* in the State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg, by Francesco Melzi.
14 The fable of the boy and the scorpion is included in Gabriele Faerno's translation of Aesop's *Fabulae,* published in Rome in 1563.
15 Vasari [1568] 1878–1885, V, 81.
16 Vincenzo Campi, *Fishmongers (Allegory of Water),* Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan.
17 Lorenzo Carli has been rediscovered in recent years through the research of several scholars. For the latest contribution, with bibliography, see Curti 2011.
18 Giuseppe Cesari became Cavalier d'Arpino when he was granted a papal knighthood in 1600.
19 Recently, Francesca Curti (2011, 65) has shown that Caravaggio was closely associated with d'Arpino in the later months of 1596, i.e. several years after Caravaggio's probable arrival in Rome. Since the *Self-Portrait as Bacchus* and the *Boy with a Basket of Fruit* are executed with the tentative technique of the artist's earliest works, Caravaggio must have sold them to d'Arpino prior to that date, as seems probable from the sources. It cannot be ruled out that d'Arpino bought them from an intermediary, not directly from the artist.
20 Gabriele Paleotti (1582, 160v) specifically proscribes portraits of "persone vitiose ó infami".
21 Symonds 1937, 113. The Hadrianic arch, near San Lorenzo in Lucina, was pulled down in 1667 to construct the present Corso.
22 Baglione (1642, 136) identifies the owner of the shop as a certain "Maestro Valentino". Sandro Corradini and Maurizio Marini suggest, however, that "Valentino" may be Baglione's misnomer for Costantino Spada, a picture dealer in the same area, who was a friend of Caravaggio (Corradini–Marini 1998, 25).
23 Mancini [1617–1621] 1956–1957, I, 252.
24 Baglione 1642, 137.
25 A great part of Del Monte's official correspondence is concerned with gifts of all kinds (clocks, foodstuffs, medicines, works of art) made to influential people. Mario Biagioli (1993, 39) quotes a Roman courtier saying he was required to "impoverish himself in order to become rich; to give in order to receive".
26 Bellori [1672] 1976, 217–18.
27 Baglione 1642, 136–37.
28 Roxanne Robbin kindly shared her research as to Tintoretto's influence on Caravaggio.
29 Baglione 1642, 137.
30 Warburg 1999, 161. The signal work in this tradition is considered to be Vittore Carpaccio's *Saint Augustine in His Study,* Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni, Venice, ca. 1502.
31 Mahon 1951, 226–27.
32 Orazio Gentileschi lent Caravaggio the wings as props to be used in the painting (see note 35 below).
33 Baglione made a second version of the *Divine Love,* signed and dated 1602, for Cardinal Giustiniani, which is in the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica in Palazzo Barberini, Rome.
34 Herwarth Röttgen (1993, 326) first identified this date for the confrontation of Baglione's and Gentileschi's paintings at San Giovanni Decollato.
35 Friedländer 1955, 277. Gentileschi's testimony (14 September 1603) included the fascinating detail that he had recently lent a Capuchin frock and a pair of wings to Caravaggio.
36 For a reconstruction of Baglione's lost Resurrection altarpiece, see Papi 2011, 109–11, figs. 1–3; see also F. Trevisani, in *Rome* 2011c, 198–200, cat. 10.
37 Caravaggio, 13 September 1603, Friedländer 1955, 277.
38 Giustiniani [1620–1630] 1981, 45.
39 For the identification of Francesco Boneri with Cecco del Caravaggio, see Papi 1992b, 14–15.
40 See Spike 2010, 263: 1606. On 2 November 1606, Baglione testified he was assaulted by a young painter, Carlo il Bodello, whom he says was instigated by Saraceni and Borgianni, as adherents of Caravaggio (Corradini 1993, doc. 110). Saraceni spoke to Baglione through the painter Paolo Guidotti, attempting to avoid the legal action. In 1604 Borgianni was briefly in Rome where he painted a portrait of Tommaso Laureti for the Accademia di San Luca.
41 Augustine of Hippo, *The City of God,* Book I, Ch. 12.
42 Bellori [1672] 1976, 234.
43 Sandrart ([1675] 1925, 277) in his biography of Gerard Seghers uses the phrase, "Manfredi Manier", which is translated as "Manfrediana methodus" in the 1683 Latin edition of the Teutsche Akademie, Nuremberg, 1675.
44 C. Lollobrigida, "Nicolas Tournier", in *Rome* 2011a, 374.
45 Mancini [1617–1621] 1956–1957, I, 251.
46 *Ibid.,* 254.
47 *Ibid.,* 111.
48 Cited by Keith Christiansen, in *Rome – New York – Saint Louis* 2001, 72, cat. 9.
49 See the discussion of his Roman patrons by Keith Christiansen, *ibid., 12–18.*
50 K. Christiansen, *ibid.,* 11; J. W. Mann, *ibid.,* 298, cat. 51.
51 National Gallery of Romania, Bucharest, see K. Christiansen, *ibid.,* 91–92, cat. 15.
52 K. Christiansen, *ibid.,* 92.
53 P. Cavazzini, *ibid.,* 432.
54 Mancini ([1617–1621] 1956–1957, I, 108) listed only five painters in the "school" of Caravaggio: Manfredi, Ribera, Cecco del Caravaggio, Spadarino, and, "in part", Saraceni.
55 For a recent discussion of the Guicciardini chapel, see Papi 2003b.
56 Honthorst's *Adoration of the Shepherds* was moved to the Uffizi in 1836, but destroyed by a bomb in 1993.
57 Gianni Papi (2003a, 167) notes that the subject of Spadarino's lost altarpiece was probably a Crucifixion since a painting of this subject by Lorenzo Carletti was placed in the chapel in 1667.
58 K. Christiansen, in *Rome – New York – Saint Louis* 2001, 137–39, cat. 25 (the painting now belongs to the Italian Ministry of the Interior).



Annibale Carracci
Butcher's Shop (detail)
ca. 1583
Christ Church Picture Gallery, Oxford

Daniele Benati

The Carracci Academy: From Nature to History

At the end of the sixteenth century, Bologna was an avant-garde centre of the arts. Numerous exceptional painters were active in the city, part of the papal states and second in importance only to Rome, and with them came intense theoretical reflection on the role of art in civic and religious society. Mannerism had been questioned as early as the 1560s because of its intellectualistic language, comprehensible only to a small aristocratic elite. In his *Discorso intorno alle immagini sacre et profane* (1582) Gabriele Paleotti, bishop of Bologna, discussed the dictates of the Council of Trent, which had ended in 1564, underscoring the educational function of painting, viewed as a "book" for the illiterate (*biblia pauperum)*. This entailed a new figurative language that could lend itself to being grasped readily and without any misunderstandings: the controversy over nudes was merely one aspect of this change in viewpoint, compelling painters to cater not only to a narrow circle of cultured figures, but also the masses.

Although the innovations the Carracci introduced in the artistic field cannot be explained solely in relation to the new climate of the Counter-Reformation, we must nevertheless examine it above all to understand the difficulties these artists initially had to face in order to become established, which Malvasia, their main biographer, recounts in a romanticized way.[1] The importance attributed to painting intensified control over painters' works by religious authorities and, paradoxically, this encouraged the corporative spirit of the Company of Painters, of which those who wanted to obtain public commissions had to be members. The accusation of impropriety in terms of dogma or of the lack of "decorum", meaning the dignity befitting the portrayed subject, became a weapon the Company used to eliminate outside competitors.[2]

Although all three Carracci were born in Bologna, their family hailed from Cremona and their Bolognese colleagues, who disparagingly called them "i Cremona", did not welcome their attempt to become part of the local painterly milieu. Another strike against them was the fact that no one in the family had ever been a painter: Vincenzo, the father of Ludovico (1555–1619), was a butcher and his brother Antonio, the father of Agostino (1557–1602) and Annibale (1560–1609), was a tailor. In short, the Carracci were not qualified to compete with more accredited Bolognese colleagues. Even now, it is unclear why the three cousins decided to embark on this career in the first place, nor how they trained as painters.[3] The sources provide rather un-



Fig. 1
Annibale Carracci
Crucifixion with Saints, 1583
Santa Maria della Carità,
Bologna

convincing information about this. Regarding Ludovico, the oldest of the three, Malvasia says he was an autodidact, thanks to a long educational journey that had brought him to Parma, Venice and Florence. In the oration read at Agostino's funeral in 1603, the *litterateur* Lucio Faberi noted that he had studied painting, sculpture and engraving with three different masters.[4] As to Annibale, first Mancini (ca. 1617–1621) and then Malvasia wrote that he had been Ludovico's pupil,[5] which is certainly plausible, although from the outset his style was very different to his cousin's.

In fact, we do not have any public paintings by Ludovico dated before the second half of the 1580s, and Agostino was known initially for his activity as an engraver, which brought him to Venice as early as 1582.[6]

It seems that the first to debut with a work made to be displayed publicly was Annibale, the youngest of the three, who in 1583 painted a *Crucifixion with Saints* for the church of San Nicolò (fig. 1).[7] Based on testimony probably obtained from the pupils of the Carracci still alive in his day, Malvasia recounts that this painting was harshly criticized by Annibale's fellow painters, as it broke the rules of *decorum* and had been executed carelessly, with a style better suited to a "sketch" than an altarpiece. Moreover, the saints' expressions were not idealized enough and even the crucified Christ resembled "a nude porter" ("un facchino nudato").[8]

Annibale's painting indubitably differs enormously from the works executed in Bologna during



Fig. 2
Annibale Carracci
Butcher's Shop
ca. 1583
Christ Church Picture
Gallery, Oxford

that period and, indeed, it challenged all the conventions accepted until then: he contrasted meticulous and well-finished brushwork with broken brushstrokes and thick, rough impastos of colour, and in lieu of his colleagues' carefully studied arrangement of figures he used poses that almost seem random, with characters overlapping each other. It is hard to explain why the young Annibale would have made choices that so clearly went against standard practice. Venetian painting has sometimes been cited in this regard, but at this point in time Annibale would only have had passing knowledge of it and, in any event, neither Titian nor Tintoretto nor the Bassano would ever have painted with such utter disregard for the rules. It is evident that, instead, Annibale deliberately intended to defy his colleagues with this painting. Both he and the other two Carracci, who clearly recognized themselves in that outcome, must already have been aware of the sort of criticism they would have to face.

Annibale employed the same style of painting in a work with a far different subject: the large *Butcher's Shop* at the Christ Church Picture Gallery in Oxford (fig. 2).[9] The Bolognese sources make no mention of this painting, due also to the fact that it soon entered the Gonzaga collections in Mantua and was then sold to Charles I of England in 1627. Its original destination is thus unknown, but the Canobi family, which owned several butcher stalls at the Mercato di Mezzo, has been suggested.[10] We know that in 1583 Giacomo Canobi – who, however, taught at the university – commissioned Annibale to paint the *Baptism of Christ* for the church of Santi Gregorio e Siro, which was not completed until 1585, and this confirms his relationship with the family. Yet it is incomprehensible why the Canobi family would commission such a large painting (the figures are life-sized) explicitly evoking the source of their wealth, and it is unthinkable that a painting like this would have been displayed as a "sign" in a butcher's shop.

We must also bear in mind that on these dates, thanks chiefly to Bartolomeo Passerotti, the painting of tradesmen had also been introduced to Bologna, but these scenes of the working class going about their tasks were intended to amuse the more well-to-do classes and, in fact, canvases of this kind were referred to as "ridiculous pictures" ("pitture ridicole").[11] In effect, the butchers painted by Passerotti are farcical characters, whereas Annibale's men perform their work carefully and professionally, and there is no comic intent here.[12] Therefore, it is likely that the recipients of the painting – whoever they might have been – decided it was not "ridiculous" enough, just as Annibale's first altarpiece had been deemed not "decorous" enough.

The fact that, in these early paintings, Annibale had still not pondered the problem of "language", of the stylistic choices needed in specific figurative contexts, makes the aim that would underpin his entire career particularly evident. As Roberto Longhi perceived, the rationale underlying the Carracci reform, and that of Annibale in particular, is the "return to nature".[13] In the numerous notes jotted down in the margins of a copy of Vasari's *Lives* (1568), which constitute the sole declaration of "poetics" handed down to us by a painter who rejoiced in declaring "we painters must speak with our hands" ("noi altri dipintori habbiamo a parlare con le mani"), Annibale asserted that a painter must adhere as closely to the "living" ("vivo") as possible.[14]

This represented a difficult goal, initially implying the outright rejection of any pre-packaged model. For example, when Vasari boasted in his biography that he had painted a work with numerous figures in a matter of just days, Annibale commented that there is no merit in painting figures based entirely on others' models and that true skill lies in imitating the immediacy of "living" things. The numerous drawings from life and the different versions, always varied, of the *Boy Drinking* (Museum of Art, Cleveland; Christ Church Picture Gallery, Oxford; private collection, Switzerland) illustrate how much study was required to record reality without filters, in order to restore their truth as if simply at a glance.

Even after Annibale moved beyond the radical approach of his early phase and realized that, in some ways, other artists (Correggio, the Venetians and, once in Rome, also Raphael and Michelangelo) had already moved in the direction he sought, he would not merely imitate them, but use their results to get as close as possible to the "living", which thus remained the ultimate aim of his research. What is evident here is not only the dispute with Mannerism, based on noncritical imitation of the models handed down by tradition, but also the intent to give the painter's *métier* a new morality. Annibale felt that reference to nature was the only guarantee of honesty towards the public, whom the artist cannot allow himself to cheat by seeking easy shortcuts in others' models.

We do not know how Annibale came by these convictions, which seem so modern. It is likely that the time was ripe, although investigation of the Bolognese milieu offers us few means to contextualize his ideas. The activities conducted in Bologna by several literary academies, authorized by the pontifical government, were chiefly encomiastic or allegorical and, in relation to the need for freedom and truth of the Carracci, they proved disappointing. When the Carracci founded their own academy in 1582, initially calling it the "Accademia dei Desiderosi" and then "degli Incamminati", it would not be to mimic these coteries, the rendezvous of intellectuals sharing bonds of friendship, but to circumvent the hostility shown to them by the Company of Painters.[15]

Affinities have been sought between what the Carracci professed in painting – particularly the young Annibale – and the sound concreteness of Giulio Cesare Croce (1550–1609), a man who intentionally kept himself at the sidelines of "official" culture, preferring to be a *cantastorie* for the masses. With his *Bertoldo* Croce examines the dispute against the hierarchies of the constituted order, and this is explicit in the theme of the shrewd peasant, quite popular in northern Italy at the time. Nevertheless, the ridiculous and mocking tone with which Croce conveys his ideas is far removed from the depth and gravitas Annibale seeks in his paintings. If his *Bean Eater* (Galleria Colonna, Rome) indeed represents Bertoldo,[16] the way Annibale depicts him, gruff and without any comical undertones, is more modern than how Croce describes him.

In Annibale's works, the dispute with the social organization of the era is replaced by confident awareness of the role each one is expected to play and of the chance for improvement offered by work performed skilfully and professionally. This conviction can be grasped not only in some of his famous phrases cited in the sources, such as his admonition to his brother, "Remember, Agostino, that you are the son of a tailor!" ("Ricordati Agostino che sei figliolo d'un sarto!"), but also his self-portraits, in which he depicts himself in humble garb reflecting his status as an artisan and where the role he assigns to his art, destined to survive him, emerges (*Self-portrait on an Easel*, The Hermitage, Saint Petersburg). His rapport with labour, positive rather than conflictual, can also be grasped in the drawings with the *Mestieri di Bologna* (trades of Bologna), now known thanks to a popular series of engravings published in 1646,[17] which Annibale had executed "in the hours of leisure" ("nell'hore di ricreazione") or, in other words, as a pastime while far more arduous undertakings awaited him in Rome. The bustling of various labourers (from the baker to the knife grinder, the hunter and the hawker of sacred images) offers an orderly and hardworking image of society, in which each one serenely performs his duties.

The impression that Annibale was ahead of his contemporaries and the society for which he worked is heightened when we examine his move from Bologna to Rome. At the time – the years before the Jubilee of 1600 – there was appalling social inequality



Fig. 3
Ludovico Carracci
Annunciation
ca. 1585
Pinacoteca Nazionale,
Bologna



Fig. 4
Ludovico Carracci
The Death of Amulius
ca. 1590
Palazzo Magnani,
Bologna



Fig. 5
Agostino Carracci
Battle of the Romans
and Sabines
(Hersilia Separating
Romulus and Tatius)
ca. 1590
Palazzo Magnani, Bologna

and Annibale, who was counting on attaining definitive legitimation, was called in for a completely subordinate role as a court artist. His reaction to this disenchantment also seems quite modern. Unlike Caravaggio, who delighted in dressing like a nobleman, Annibale never abandoned his simple ways, feeling that his reward was the affection and admiration of his pupils. Nevertheless, fatigue and frustration triggered serious depression, followed by a nervous disorder that would lead to his early death.

Ludovico was an equally ambitious artist, but unlike Annibale he worked in a local setting that satisfied him and that rapidly recognized him as its leader, at his cousin's expense.[18] Although his style immediately seems highly personal, he did not take equally clear positions. Nevertheless, it is likely that he played an important role in the training of both cousins, at least as a point of reference and a catalyst of ideas. It is just as likely that he orchestrated their first collective undertaking, the *Stories of Jason,* to decorate the hall of honour of the *palazzo* of Filippo Fava, completing the work in 1584.[19] Here too, Annibale took up a storytelling tone that is at once amused and emotionally involved, pointing to his studies, between 1583 and 1584, of the works Correggio left in Modena, Reggio Emilia and Parma.

Starting with the *Annunciation* (fig. 3) and the *Fall of Saint Paul* (Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna), Ludovico perfected his style. Less resolute than Annibale in rejecting every Mannerist memory, he was carefully selective; evocations of Parmigianino, Nicolò dell'Abate and Pellegrino Tibaldi were revisited in a naturalistic vein, and used to imbue the compositions with a restless but emotionally enthralling tone. With Ludovico, Annibale's rendering of the "natural" becomes "sentimental".

Admiration for the great Venetian painting of Titian, Tintoretto and, above all, Paolo Veronese, which as of the late 1580s characterized all three Carracci, can be gleaned yet again in a collective undertaking, the frieze with the *Stories of the Founding of Rome* adorning the hall of honour in the *palazzo* of Lorenzo Magnani, elected senator in 1590.[20] While Agostino reflects the brilliant palette of Veronese on an exterior level, Annibale taps into an epic tone in which nature and history are inextricably fused, and Ludovico forces the expressive potential of storytelling, vaunting a vivid imagination in terms of both composition and colour. The collaboration of the three cousins thus determines what Malvasia celebrates as a "peaceful, agreeable and, indeed, concerted contrast". The Carracci themselves were pleased with the coherent results of this undertaking. Asked about each one's responsibilities in it, Ludovico stated, "It belongs to the Carracci; all of us did it" ("Ell'è de' Carracci, l'abbiamo fatta tutti noi").

In the late 1580s, once success had arrived and there was no reason to show a united front against the attacks of envious colleagues, Ludovico – being the eldest – began to acquire the most important commissions and took over as the head of the Academy, which had been run on equal footing until then. He was further encouraged in this because of his acclaimed vocation as a teacher, which began to yield results with his most promising pupils. Faced with this situation, which nevertheless did not affect the cousins' rapport, Annibale and Agostino understandably sought to make a name for themselves outside Bologna. The city where Annibale's ambitions were able to emerge unfettered was Reggio Emilia,[21] which was flourishing financially and was very lively from a cultural standpoint. Here he completed impressive altarpieces (from the *Madonna Enthroned with Saint Matthew,* fig. 6, to the *Alms of Saint Roch*) that subsequently entered the Galleria Estense in Modena and were sold in 1746 to the elector of Saxony in Dresden; they would long constitute the core collection of masterpieces laying the groundwork for his fame in Europe.

Nevertheless, Annibale's aspiration was Rome and in 1595 Cardinal Odoardo Farnese invited him there with the intent of commissioning the decoration of the hall of honour in the *palazzo* near Campo de' Fiori, with frescoes portraying the battles fought



Fig. 6
Annibale Carracci
Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saint Matthew, 1588
Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Dresden

by his father Alessandro in the Netherlands in the service of Philip II.[22] The postponement and then definitive abandonment of this project probably marked the first disappointment for Annibale, who thought that, through it, he could make a name for himself as a painter "of history" ("di historia"), the genre that humanistic treatises considered the highest level of painting. This first source of discontent would be compounded by the numerous duties simultaneously assigned to him by the cardinal, an ambitious but irresolute and temperamental man who, to boot, showed little regard for his painter. As proven by the marvellous preparatory drawings left to us in great numbers, Annibale devoted himself with extraordinary commitment to the decoration of the Gallery designed to house the Farnese collections of ancient sculptures, the vault of which was completed by 1600.[23] Nevertheless, he must have viewed it as a compromise, since the subject he was asked to paint, the *Love of the Gods,* was a "fable", an escapist theme far removed from what he had expected to tackle. Yet the Farnese Gallery, in which a love for classical antiquity goes hand in hand with extraordinary naturalism, set in a highly effective illusionistic layout, would become his most famous and hailed achievement, a source of inspiration continually updated in later centuries.

The Bologna milieu in which Ludovico continued to work (Agostino had joined his brother in Rome,



Fig. 7
Annibale Carracci
Venus and Anchises
ca. 1598–1600
Palazzo Farnese, Galleria, Rome

but died in Parma in 1602) did not offer equally demanding opportunities. Religious painting remained the most important testing ground and it was in this field that Ludovico achieved his most compelling results. Pervaded by sincere piety foreign to Annibale, he deftly translated the spirit of the Counter-Reformation in a modern way, at first bringing the sacred story to an everyday level, just as Annibale had done in the *Baptism of Christ,* and then moving on to a declamatory and theatrical scope aimed at drawing in the spectator with images imbued with great imaginative power bordering on the visionary.

These propensities, which in reality varied constantly, underpinned the language of his young pupils, some of whom entered the Accademia degli Incamminati after other experiences: for example, Guido Reni and Francesco Albani, who had trained at the workshop of the Fleming Denys Calvaert. Ludovico's great qualities as a teacher, able to encourage tendencies that diverged from his own without influencing them, were also manifested towards Reni (1575–1642), the artist who would channel the ideas of the Carracci reform in an entirely different direction.[24] Nevertheless, it was Reni, as exacting with others as he was with himself, who soon clashed with his teacher and began to compete with him.

Like Annibale, Reni soon felt that Bologna could not satisfy his ambitions and he tried his luck



Fig. 8
Guido Reni
Crucifixion of Saint Peter
1604–1605
Pinacoteca Vaticana, Rome



Fig. 9
Guido Reni
Massacre of the Innocents, 1611
Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna

in Rome, arriving there by the end of 1601. Even in his works executed in Bologna he had shown a marked proclivity for the ideal world of Raphael, studied through the *Ecstasy of Saint Cecilia,* which the master had sent to the city around 1513. Therefore, it is quite singular that what captured his attention in Rome was not so much Annibale's classicism, which instead fascinated Albani and Domenichino,[25] but Caravaggio, then at the height of his career. Reni was powerfully attracted to Caravaggio – so different to him – and this can be gleaned at its highest level in the *Crucifixion of Saint Peter* painted in 1604–1605 for Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini (fig. 8). It was a brief digression, however, from which he emerged a mature artist convinced that his path was precisely the opposite of the one taken by Caravaggio.[26]

For both Caravaggio and Reni, the main problem with painting was how to express the presence of the sacred in human life. Ludovico had already raised this problem in modern terms, whereas it essentially



Fig. 10
Giacomo Cavedoni
Virgin and Child with Saint Alò and Saint Petronius, 1614
Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna

remained irrelevant to Annibale, who, for this reason as well, emerges as the last "humanist". For Caravaggio – and much has been written about his controversial religiosity – this presence could be depicted exclusively in its *effect;* Reni instead wanted to arrive at its *cause*. While for the former only the visible exists, for the latter the truth must be sought beyond appearance, in a world of metaphysical certitudes. In 1611, Reni sent his *Massacre of the Innocents* from Rome to Bologna for the Berò family chapel in San Domenico (fig. 9): the painting clearly shows how important Caravaggio's example was for him and how he exploited it to achieve opposite results. He too describes the horror of the scene, but at the same time he conveys the divine plan determining it. The painting thus beckons prayer and meditation.



Fig. 11
Giovanni Francesco
Barbieri,
called Guercino
The Dead Christ
Mourned by Two Angels
ca. 1617–1618
National Gallery, London

In so doing, however, the "divine" Guido – as he would soon be called – repudiated the motivations that had driven the Carracci. For him, the "living", as Annibale would have said, was no longer the point of arrival of lengthy research, but the point of departure to reach a higher and wholly mental order. The step taken within a matter of just two decades, from the naturalism of the young Annibale to Guido's idealism, was truly enormous.

It was thus with a sense of relief that, in a letter dated 1517, the elderly Ludovico recorded the arrival in Bologna of the young Guercino (Giovanni Francesco Barbieri, 1591–1666): "here there is a young man from Cento, who paints with the most astonishing *invenzione*. He is a great draughtsman and an extremely skilled colourist …. I will say nothing else: he astounds even the top painters" ("qua vi è un giovane di patria di Cento, che dipinge con somma felicità d'invenzione. È gran disegnatore, e felicissimo coloritore …. Non dico nulla: ei fa rimaner stupidi li primi pittori"). After working brilliantly in his hometown, Guercino moved to Bologna and demonstrated that he wanted to take up the ideas of the old master, along with artists such as Giacomo Cavedoni and Alessandro Tiarini. In fact, we might even say that, during this phase, Guercino managed to accomplish what Ludovico, a less talented painter, had not.[27] The master's prophecy would be fulfilled only in part, however, because after his stay in Rome for the short papacy of Gregory XV (1621–1623), Guercino too would convert to more idealized painting, but without managing to match Reni, who remains the



Fig. 12
Giovanni Francesco Barbieri, called Guercino
Hersilia Separating Romulus and Tatius, 1645
Musée du Louvre, Paris

leading Bolognese painter of the first half of the seventeenth century.

In any case, the Bologna school had established two poles around which its entire later history would revolve, thereby assuring it a perfectly recognizable and independent identity. Presenting itself as an eminently important centre of artistic production that could satisfy the most important commissions of much of Europe, Bologna would see the alternation of the "Baroque" naturalism founded by the Carracci (for example, with Carlo Cignani and then Giuseppe Maria Crespi) and the "classical" idealism established by Reni (Dal Sole, Franceschini, Creti), and they would continue to be its fixed points of reference for at least two centuries of extraordinary painting.

NOTES

1 Malvasia [1678] 1841, I, 263–368.
2 Zapperi 1989.
3 On the Carracci in general: *Bologna* 1956a. On Ludovico: Bodmer 1939a; *Bologna – Fort Worth* 1993; Brogi 2001. On Annibale: Posner 1971; Cooney–Malafarina 1976; *Washington* 1999; *Bologna–Rome* 2006; Robertson 2008. However, there is no comprehensive study of Agostino.
4 Faberi's oration is quoted in Malvasia [1678] 1841, I, 306–11. We must nevertheless consider the fact that the funeral of Agostino, who had died in Parma the previous year, was a great moment of self-celebration for the Carracci and the Accademia degli Incamminati they had founded. As a result, rather than providing us with sure information, Faberi's discourse was instead aimed at discussing a model of academic completeness in which, in their early years, even the Carracci would not have recognized themselves.
5 Mancini [1617–1621] 1956–1957, I, 216.
6 De Grazia 1984, 73–223.
7 D. Benati, in *Bologna–Rome* 2006, 136–37, n. III.2.
8 Malvasia [1678] 1841, I, 267.
9 So called to distinguish it from the small *Butcher's Shop* at the Kimbell Art Museum in Fort Worth, Texas (D. Benati, in *Bologna–Rome* 2006, 94–95, cat. II.1), possibly slightly earlier and showing a greater debt to the Bassano.
10 Fanti 1980a, 130–36; Dickerson 2010.
11 Wind 1974.
12 It was once thought that the three butchers were the Carracci themselves and that the painting might have an allegorical meaning.
13 Longhi [1935] 1973, 199.
14 The glosses to Vasari's *Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori italiani* (Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, ms. B 4224) were cited in early literature and most scholars thought they were by Agostino Carracci (Bodmer 1939b), but Fanti recognized that they are in Annibale's hand (Fanti 1980b). More recently, there have been various editions: Fanti 1980b; Perini 1990, 158–64; Keazor 2002; *Bologna–Rome* 2006, 460–64.
15 Cammarota 1984.
16 Ebert-Schifferer 2011.
17 On the *Diverse figure al numero di ottanta, disegnate di penna nell'hore di ricreazione da Annibale Carracci*, engraved in 1646 by Simon Guillain: Mahon 1947, *passim;* Marabottini 1966; Marabottini 1973; McTighe 1993; Robertson 1997, 20–23; Sapori 2011.
18 Paradoxically, the fact that Annibale had left Bologna for Rome, whence the new Carraccesque style of painting spread throughout Europe, was considered a discredit and a betrayal of sorts. Malvasia constructed his entire *Felsina pittrice* (1678) as a monument to Ludovico, and even in more recent years the master was the first to be rewarded with a monographic exhibition in his birthplace (1992), whereas Annibale had to wait until 2006.
19 On the frescoes by the Carracci in the Palazzo Fava, which include the "camerino" with the *Stories of Europa*: Ottani 1966; Emiliani 1984; A. Stanzani, in *Bologna–Rome* 2006, 431–38; Keazor 2007, 149–92; Benati 2009; Emiliani 2010.
20 On the frescoes by the Carracci in the Palazzo Magnani: Volpe 1972; Brogi 1985; Emiliani 1999; *Bologna* 2000; Bettini ed. 2009; Vitali 2011.
21 Benati 1999; Robertson 2011.
22 This can be gleaned from a letter dated 21 February 1595 from Odoardo to his brother Ranuccio, duke of Parma.
23 Martin 1965; Briganti–Chastel–Zapperi 1987; Ginzburg 2008.
24 On Guido Reni: Pepper 1984; Spear 1997.
25 On Albani and Domenichino: Puglisi 1999; Spear 1982.
26 Benati 2004–2005.
27 On Guercino: *Bologna* 1968; Salerno 1988; *Bologna–Cento–Frankfurt–Washington* 1991.



Johan Zoffany
The Tribuna of the Uffizi (detail)
1777
The Royal Collection, Windsor Castle

Cesare de Seta

The *Grand Tour:* The European Rediscovery of Italy in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

During the *Ancien Régime,* those who embarked on a European journey did so to shape and refine their personality, and to learn about others. In fact, the Grand Tour became a regular practice in England under Queen Elizabeth I and this model of the educational journey for the ruling classes was adopted – and altered in some cases – by every European nation, great and small, with the exception of Spain.[1]

For a scholar who has written reams about the Grand Tour, providing a succinct description of it is more difficult than one might think. Nevertheless, I will attempt to do so through paintings, drawings, etchings and engravings by foreign artists, chosen rigorously from a boundless iconographic selection, depicting aspects of the Italian civilization in its multifaceted complexity. These works promoted an understanding of Italian culture but, above all, they introduced this civilization to the artists' respective homelands. Some of these foreigners were so captivated by the *Bel Paese* (*"Italia Bella",* to take up Dante's words from the *Divine Comedy*) that they became adoptive Italians, not only in the sense that they chose Italy – with its culture, monuments and landscapes – as their homeland, but also because they lived and died there.

I will cite two great painters and landscapists by way of example: in the seventeenth century, Claude Lorrain lived in Rome and was buried in the church of Trinità dei Monti; in the eighteenth century Jacob Philipp Hackert died in Careggi, in the hills of Florence, after spending most of his life in Naples. In short, a Frenchman in the 1600s and a Prussian in the following century chose Italy as their home. The story of this rapport between foreign artists and Italy, spanning around three centuries of the Grand Tour, is complex, ramified and stratified. Consequently, here I will employ the figure of speech of metonymy: the part for the whole.

In the Middle Ages Rome was a steadfast focal point in the history of the discovery of Italian civilization in its broadest acceptation and it remained so until the dawn of the nineteenth century. In 1553, the Dutch artist Maarten van Heemskerck painted his self-portrait in the style of Michelangelo, adopting the iconography or *facies* the master handed down to posterity: the stern, bearded face, strong nose



Fig. 1.
Maerten van Heemskerck
Self-Portrait, with the Colosseum Behind, 1553
The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

and curly hair typically acknowledged as pertaining to Michelangelo (fig. 1). To the left of his self-portrait, Heemskerck depicted the Colosseum, a classic topos of Italy and, specifically, of Rome. This moment represents antiquity and Rome, and in the Dutchman's mind, it was so important that it occupies half of the painted surface.

Many decades later, probably in 1617, Claude Lorrain arrived in Rome. After his first, youthful works, his style matured, and he began his *Ports* series. However, he painted only one port with the Capitoline. This work was thus a picturesque reverie in which the Capitoline – and all it represents – became part of an imaginary maritime scene (fig. 2). Nevertheless, the painted architecture is unquestionably the Capitoline and not one of the vaguely classicizing Palladian or Raphaelesque images found on so many canvases of the era. Claude chose that structure as an unmistakable sign of the centrality of Rome *caput mundi,* a city that is also the heart of Christianity, although here its religious role has clearly been overlooked. Rome is indeed the centre of the Christian world, but in this work it is instead viewed as the centre of Western civilization, the eternal capital of the ancient world.

In his *Italian Journey,* the first thing Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (fig. 3) describes upon his arrival in Rome is Piazza del Popolo, the entrance to the city for all visitors coming from the north. Gaspar van Wittel was a Dutch traveller who reached Rome a century before Goethe. The immensely gifted painter became a naturalized Italian and died in Rome. In fact, the name of his son, born in Naples, is Italianized as Luigi Vanvitelli. Gaspar was Europe's first great *vedutista* and during his very active life he constructed an extraordinary repertory of images of Italy between the second half of the seventeenth century and the early eighteenth. He depicted Piazza del Popolo



Fig. 2.
Claude Lorrain
Seaport with the Campidoglio
1636
Musée du Louvre, Paris

many times and from many viewpoints. He naturally depicted also Piazza di Spagna, the church of Trinità dei Monti and Bernini's Barcaccia Fountain, and he made an exquisite drawing (Palazzo Reale, Caserta) of an extraordinary machine used in 1704 to hoist the Antonine Column, a daring feat of engineering.



Fig. 3.
Johann Heinrich Wilhelm Tischbein
Goethe in the Roman Campagna, 1787
Städelsches Kunstinstitut und Städtische Galerie, Frankfurt am Main

Gaspar demonstrated his talents in Venice, Naples, Florence and Verona as well, and became one of the most successful *vedutisti* of his day. And what do his paintings, gouaches and drawings represent? We can consider them the equivalent of a modern CD with beautiful Italian scenery and were like splendid high-quality postcards that circulated throughout Europe. In effect, Van Wittel's leading customers and patrons were English lords, French and German aristocrats, and high-ranking clergymen who travelled to or lived in Italy. For example, Luis de la Cerda, Duke of Medinaceli and Viceroy of Naples, was bewitched by his *vedute* and invited the Dutch artist to his court for three years. All of these men wanted to bring back a memento of what they had seen in Italy, just as today we buy a postcard of a place we love and that has left a lasting impression on us. Gaspar is the typical example of a Northern European who fully embraced the Italian culture. It was he who set the tone for the



Fig. 4.
Joseph Heintz
the Younger
Procession for the Feast of the Redeemer
1648–1650
Museo Correr, Venice

great European tradition of *vedutismo* and, without him, there would be no way to explain the advent of the likes of Luca Carlevarijs, Canaletto, Antonio Visentini, Giovan Battista Panini and Antonio Joli. The entire tradition originated with this Dutchman, dubbed *Gaspare dagli Occhiali* – Gaspar of the spectacles – because he was so short-sighted. In fact, if this were not the case, we would be forced to speculate that these *vedutisti* sprung up in Venice, the Po Valley, Rome and Naples like mushrooms after a night of rain, but instead their precursor was this extraordinary painter who came to Rome at a very early age to work as a topographer.

Vedutismo can be considered a *leitmotif* in the history of the Grand Tour. Neither photography nor cinema existed in those centuries, but there were hundreds of artists who revealed Italy to Europe through their canvases and an infinite production of prints, which were much cheaper than paintings. These were the media that introduced Europeans and, later, North Americans, to the *mirabilia* of *"Italia Bella"*.

Venice was the great passion of the British, from the day of Lord Arundel and Lady Alethea to that of John Ruskin. The city was portrayed not only by its great painters – Carlevarijs, Canaletto, Bellotto and Francesco Guardi. Two of its key ceremonies, the Feast of the Redeemer and the Bull Race, were depicted by Joseph Heintz the Younger, a somewhat mediocre painter from the seventeenth century. Here it is interesting to note that it was a German rather than a Venetian who chose to portray Venice. This is emblematic of the passion and attention of the whole of Germany towards this ancient city of the doges. Long before this – in the late fifteenth century – Albrecht Dürer arrived in Venice, as he wanted to learn the secrets of perspective from Jacopo de' Barbari; he would return to the city in 1505, painting memorable works. Although Heintz did not have even half the talent of Albrecht, he was a decent painter who represented important moments in Italian civilization: ceremonies and celebrations. He illustrated the Feast of the Redeemer, depicting an extraordinary, lavish cortège with the doge, the patriarch, noblemen, the jubilant populace, and countless boats and gondolas in Saint Mark's Basin (fig. 4); in another canvas Heintz represents the Bull Race at Campo San Polo, a popular festival for the benefit of the lower classes, although Venetian aristocrats also participated (fig. 5). In any event, it was a light-hearted festival, unlike the eminently religious ceremony honouring the Redeemer. Such celebrations were recurrent in Italian cities: the Feast of the Redeemer in Venice, Christmas and Easter, Saints Peter and Paul in Rome, Saint Januarius (San Gennaro) in Naples, Saint Rosalia in Palermo, Saint Lucy in Syracuse and many others. Every Italian city had religious feasts and civic commemorations, and foreigners thus viewed Italy as a land of ongoing celebrations. We need only think of the popularity of Carnival in Rome and Venice. The discovery of the country also took place through this anthropological interest in customs, aspects that emerged between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries but little known previously.



Fig. 5.
Joseph Heintz
the Younger
Bull Race at Campo San Polo
1646
Museo Correr, Venice

Florence was a key city in the geography of the Grand Tour, but it was far less important than Venice and Naples, which as of the early eighteenth century even vied with Rome in appealing to European sensitivity. Florence was an important art centre for countless reasons. For example, in a marvellous canvas, the English painter Thomas Patch depicted his aristocratic countrymen visiting a studio. The work features the artist's self-portrait and comical caricatures of the lords, some of whom clearly military men, who went to the studio to choose paintings. In short, Italy was considered a marketplace for art, not only ancient works, marbles, coins and medals, but also contemporary art. In another canvas by Patch, of better quality from a strictly artistic standpoint, the painter depicts himself with the consul Horace Mann (fig. 6). In Rome, one of the most celebrated artistic studios was Pompeo Batoni's – it was akin to a seaport visited by every high-ranking foreigner.

The role of consuls in Italy between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was exceptionally im-

portant because these men were de facto ambassadors. We have already mentioned Horace Mann, but the consul Joseph Smith was just as important in Venice and can be credited with Canaletto's success in England, initially among the aristocracy and then with the Crown itself. Smith was also a middleman and entrepreneur, as he purchased works by Canaletto, introduced his favourite *vedutista* to England and organized his nine-year sojourn in London. The widely documented role of Sir William Hamilton in Naples is equally relevant. A connoisseur of antiquities, collector, numismatist and naturalist, Sir William would go on to sell his collection of ancient vases to the English Crown. This collection represents virtually eighty percent of what can be seen today at the British Museum, but unfortunately half of the collection was lost in a shipwreck in the English Channel and thus never made it to London. Hamilton's residence was effectively a safe haven for artists from all countries who, like Goethe, were fascinated by his beautiful young wife Emma. Venice, Florence and Naples were points of reference with three consuls or ambassadors who, at different times in the eighteenth century, served as bridges between Italy and the country they represented. As is the case with any envoy, they were men who boasted an extraordinary figurative culture. All three were collectors, and friends of painters.

One of the leading English artists of the mid-eighteenth century was Sir Joshua Reynolds and, with a hefty dose of sarcasm, he painted a fantastical *School of Athens* (fig. 7). The painting, dated 1750–1751, portrays real and picturesque figures, all of whom English gentlemen – "milords" as they were dubbed – who instead of being shown in a sumptuous representation, as in the case of Raphael's *School of Athens,* are very ill-mannered fellows. One is even lying on the ground, modelled after Raphael's *Diogenes,* and, naturally, there are dogs. This coterie includes other figures who are laughing and making faces. The setting has a Gothic air and the palette is very dark. This was an exceptionally critical and grotesque representation of these circles that toured Italy, which Reynolds parodied heavily. It was this outlandish aspect of the Grand Tour that Reynolds held up to ridicule.



Fig. 6.
Thomas Patch
British Gentlemen at Sir Horace Mann's Home in Florence
1763–1765
Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, New Haven



Fig. 7.
Sir Joshua Reynolds
Parody of Raphael's 'School of Athens'
1750–1751
National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin

Johan Zoffany, a German artist who trained in his homeland but then moved to London, was very successful in England and even became a member of the Royal Academy, making him an English painter to all intents and purposes. Between 1772 and 1778, Zoffany painted the *Tribuna of the Uffizi* (fig. 8), commissioned by Queen Charlotte. The work, of extraordinary quality, portrays the very finest the Italian artistic culture had to offer, from antiquity – the *Medici Venus,* the *Wrestlers* and the *Dancing Satyr* – to contemporary painting. It provides a realistic representation of many works, some of which still in the Tribuna of the Uffizi today. Zoffany, who included a self-portrait in this painting, viewed these works as exceptionally significant representatives of Italian art. Therefore, he offered a distinctive selection of them in this picture, as well as of several high-ranking figures of the period, including Sir Horace Mann. The men are arranged in different groups observing the works. In the foreground we find Titian's *Venus of Urbino* with other works set around it: to the left, somewhat further back, there is Raphael's *Madonna and Child,* purchased by Zoffany himself and sold to Lord Cowper, who is depicted in the foreground (the painting is now at the National Gallery of Art in Washington).

Naturally, some of these paintings were sent to their owners' homelands, namely, England, Germany and France, and thus many ancient and modern works of art became exceptional messengers of the Italian civilization. The myth of Italy was rooted in its artistic culture. Moreover, there were residents who were part of a unique upper class, people who not only travelled to Italy but also lived there for decades, some for the rest of their lives. For example, Zoffany portrayed the Gores, who lived in Florence. Charles Gore is shown with his wife and three daughters (fig. 9). Lord Cowper, standing behind one of the daughters, was one of the wealthiest men in England and he had asked for the hand of one of the Gore girls in marriage. He travelled to Florence for their betrothal and his future father-in-law decided to celebrate the event in a painting. The hills of Fiesole are



Fig. 8.
Johan Zoffany
The Tribuna of the Uffizi, 1777
The Royal Collection, Windsor Castle

visible in the background. The girl is not looking at her fiancé, who instead gazes at her intently, whereas Charles and one of his daughters are playing the cello and the spinet, respectively; the mother looks pensive. The chromatic intensity of this canvas is that of an enamelled work. With analytical realism, Zoffany successfully renders the psychological interplay of sentiments linking these personages. The Gores were a typical English family that had chosen Florence as its home. Eighteenth-century Florence boasted a large English colony, but in the following century the expatriate community burgeoned following the arrival of numerous wealthy Americans, many of whom famous intellectuals.

There were also many foreign residents in Rome and Naples. In 1793 Lady Webster, née Vassall, had her portrait painted by the Englishman Robert Fagan. She was the wife of Sir Godfrey Webster and had herself portrayed with her beloved dog on the terrace of a villa on the slopes of Posillipo, with Mount Vesuvius in the background. Dogs were a key element in the iconography of English portraiture and there are innumerable examples: they were the attribute of



Fig. 9.
Johan Zoffany
The Gore Family with George, 3rd Earl Cowper
ca. 1775
Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, New Haven



Fig. 10.
Pompeo Batoni
Portrait of Charles William Ferdinand, Duke of Brunswick and Lüneburg, 1767
Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Brunswick



Fig. 11.
Jacques Sablet
Roman Elegy, 1791
Musée des Beaux-Arts,
Brest

a lifestyle, just as globes, ancient artefacts and books were for other patrons, according to their tastes. Pompeo Batoni's *Portrait of Charles William Ferdinand, Duke of Brunswick and Lüneburg* is significant in this regard. The noble intellectual had himself depicted leaning against an enormous antique vase he had purchased from Raphael Mengs (fig. 10).

There were many reasons to fall in love with Italy. Naturally, there was the passion for antiquity, launched by the French above all in the sixteenth century and, starting with Rabelais and Montaigne, the myth and rediscovery of antiquity would spread throughout Europe. William Chambers, one of the greatest British architects of the eighteenth century, owned a private collection of plaster casts in the 1770s, which became the model for Sir John Soane's residence, the Museum. The architect of the Bank of England surrounded himself with ancient casts and Piranesi's engravings. His museum-residence is one of the most enchanting and eloquent places for understanding the allure Italy held for an architect of the era. The Swiss painter Jacques Sablet interpreted the myth of antiquity with a very different sensitivity that I would almost define as proto-romantic. In his 1791 painting entitled *Roman Elegy* (fig. 11) he depicted a powerfully evocative nocturne with a pyramid and two sophisticated gentlemen dressed in black. Here we can recognize a series of masonic symbols, illustrating the influence of the iconography of antiquity on the imagination of certain artists. The title is clearly a tribute to Goethe's *Roman Elegies*.

Italy was the elective homeland of the picturesque and Naples the city that best embodied the aesthetic ideal formalized by Edmund Burke. After all, what could be more picturesque than the scenario of the Gulf of Naples with a fire-spewing mountain in the background? One of the greatest European capitals offered this stunning spectacle during the century of the picturesque, when the very concept of this movement began. Everyone was fascinated by this display and wanted paintings and engravings of Mount Vesuvius erupting. Consequently, Neapolitan, French and German artists made their fortune depicting these scenes. Its eruptions became an iconographic stereotype that circled the globe. The walls of English, French, German and Russian homes were covered with paintings by Pietro Fabris, Pierre-Jacques Volaire, and Jacob Philipp Hackert, whereas members of the middle class who could not afford these canvases purchased gouaches and engravings portraying this picturesque world. The discovery of the Phlegraean Fields (*Campi Flegrei* in Italian, meaning "burning fields") was equally relevant. This naturalistic phenomenon is linked with the story of Mother Earth as narrated by Lucretius (*De rerum natura*, II, 591–99). However, the Phlegraean Fields as well as what was known as the Gulf of the Sirens also represented the topoi of great Greek and Latin literature with their myths, which Virgil set down in the *Aeneid*. Although it was even more picturesque, the spectacle of Mount Etna was not nearly as well known. Indeed, the conquest of southern Italy was slower and did not occur until the late eighteenth century, whereas the popularity of Naples, Rome and Venice never declined among those embarking on the Grand Tour.

Italy was the land of theatre, comedy and music, and Naples and Venice were famous for their conservatories, theatres and performers. The peninsula was the extraordinary centre stage of the theatre of life and its scenography was exported along with its singers and instrumentalists, who conquered the courts of Europe. This is a topic we can merely mention in passing here. Nevertheless, the castrato Farinelli, composers such as Vivaldi, Paisiello, Cimarosa, and Alessandro and Domenico Scarlatti, and the playwrights and librettists Goldoni and Metastasio dominated the European scene.

NOTES

1 The literature on the Grand Tour is immense and can be classified by subject, country, city and chronological order. The most important general exhibitions, examining this history from its origins in the sixteenth century to the Napoleonic Wars that marked the end of an intellectual adventure of aristocrats and the upper bourgeoisie, are *London* 1996 and *Rome* 1997a, with an introduction by me in both cases. For a sweeping overview with an extensive bibliography, see De Seta 1999, De Seta 2001, and De Seta 2011.



Carlo Cignani
The Fall of Man (detail)
ca. 1700
From the Esterházy collection
Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest

Axel Vécsey

The Reception of Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Italian Painting in Hungary: Taste and Collecting

STRANGERS TO PAINTINGS

"The miracle of art is the dome of the church, painted on a plane surface, especially in regard to the incidence of light, which is conveyed with brushwork as if it were natural light." These words, which suggest a discerning eye, were written in praise of the painted dome of the church of Sant'Ignazio, Rome, by Baron László Sennyey, rector of the Jesuit University of Nagyszombat (today Trnava, Slovakia), in the journal he kept during his visit to Rome in 1687; a few pages later, the iconography of this emblematic work of Baroque ceiling painting is described in detail.[1] However, the erudite Jesuit did not consider it worth mentioning the name of the painter, Andrea Pozzo, which is all the more surprising, for the artist was a notable member of Sennyey's own order. Nevertheless, the name of Pozzo soon became well known among Jesuit circles in Hungary; what is more, they were aware that his talent was something exceptional. When the Jesuits gained control – in the very same year as Sennyey's journey to Rome – over the principal church of the Hungarian capital, Buda, after the city's recapture from the Ottoman Turks, they spared neither effort nor expense to commission a new altarpiece from Pozzo himself. And when the painting, celebrating the mission of Saint Francis Xavier (fig. 1), was installed, they proudly eulogized the artistic brilliance of the work and the greatness of its creator ("our dearest fellow brother, the genius Andrea Pozzo").[2] Just a few years later, the painter was invited by Leopold I, Holy Roman Emperor, to spend the rest of his days in Vienna, the capital of the Habsburg Empire. His Viennese masterpiece, the ceiling of the Liechtenstein Gartenpalais, was widely admired by his contemporaries, and Pozzo's works exerted an enormous influence on art in central Europe.

The above story encapsulates the full spectrum of the problems faced by anyone researching the reception and collectionism of Italian Baroque painting in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Hungary. The art collections of the age have disappeared with barely a trace; the inventories that have survived give hardly any clues as to the collectors' tastes or style preferences. To all intents and purposes, the written sources are devoid of any conscious interest in the fine arts. And this is despite the fact that the Grand Tour had, since the seventeenth century, been a usual



Fig. 1
Andrea Pozzo
Saint Francis Xavier Baptizing Queen Neachile of India, 1701
Conceived as an altarpiece for the Church of Our Lady ("Matthias Church"), Budapest
Budapest History Museum, Budapest (on permanent loan to the Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest)

finishing touch to the education of aristocratic youth.[3] During their travels – aided by their guidebooks – these young men would obediently make their way through all the famous monuments and art collections. Yet while their travel diaries contained countless reflections on the systems of government in the countries they visited, their literary and theatrical scenes, the state of the economy and the sciences, the strange local customs or even how clean the streets were – and while they evinced a genuine interest in the precious, rare or bizarre items held in treasuries, armouries and cabinets of curiosities – they were apparently unable to form any original thought when it came to the works of art. At most, they would note anecdotal oddities about them, or marvel at the money and work that had been invested in their execution. To go by the written sources, then, it would appear that the Hungarian secular nobility in those days lacked any knowledge or understanding of the aesthetic values of art or the intellectual aspect of artistic creation.[4] And it is no different in the travel diaries kept by the offspring of two seventeenth-century noblemen whose sensibility and affinity with the fine arts were incomparably greater than those of their contemporaries: the sons of Ferenc Nádasdy III and Pál Esterházy I.[5]

The overall picture is occasionally altered by a few morsels of information that crop up here and there. First and foremost are the inventories of the legendary gallery of Ferenc Nádasdy III (1623–1671): this stood out among Hungarian collections of the time, both for its scale and for its quality (that is, the consciousness of its programme). If, however, we strip away the legends and restrict ourselves to first-hand sources, we are forced to the conclusion that the Nádasdy gallery is accorded its special status because of the general state of Hungarian collecting rather than because of the actual merits of the gallery.[6] Apart from its series of portraits, the collection in fact consisted predominantly of copies and engravings, with perhaps a few originals of lesser worth. A unique feature of the inventory, though, is that one artist was regarded as sufficiently important to be named: Albrecht Dürer.[7] Of the two pictures ascribed to him, one was fitted into an ornate silver frame and was treated as a treasure-chamber item; in this instance the fame of the artist palpably added to the value of the work.

Inventories dating from the seventeenth century contain no other reference to named artists. This does not rule out the possibility that the castles of Hungary may have held some masterpieces of painting, but it seems unlikely.[8] We should not forget that the slow process whereby the Hungarian peerage became part of the aristocracy of the Viennese court was taking place around this time. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Hungarian elite only occasionally attended court, spending most of their time on their family estates. Their strategies for signalling status and identity – which employed, among many other means, art collections – addressed two distinct audiences, and therefore were of a dual nature. The first pattern of self-representation was targeted at the old Hungarian elite and followed a traditional model, which, in the field of moveable works of art, involved a preference for treasure chambers over paintings or sculptures. The obstinate survival of an approach that had meanwhile grown archaic is encapsulated in an anecdote about Queen Maria Theresa's visit in 1751 to Prince Antal Grassalkovich's residence in Gödöllő; she was dumbfounded by the lack of paintings on the walls of the splendid palace.[9]

THE VIENNESE MODEL

The second – modern and cosmopolitan – pattern of self-representation, which involved the collectionism of paintings, only slowly caught up with the archaic model, eventually to surpass it in significance.[10] The two models of signalling involved two distinct types of location: the ancestral family homes, with their treasure chambers, and the modern palaces, furnished with theatres and galleries. In the course of the eighteenth century, the latter were progressively relocated to Vienna. By the end of the century, the Hungarian nobility had gradually become a fully integrated part of the Viennese court elite: they now had their main residences in the imperial capital, and they adopted the Viennese models of lifestyle and self-presentation. The pioneering role was played by the Esterházy family, who were unwavering in their loyalty to the Habsburgs, and who, by the end of the seventeenth century, had become the wealthiest and most powerful family in Hungary, thanks to the efforts of Prince Pál Esterházy I (1635–1713). Prince Pál was exceptional among his countrymen in conscientiously employing the fine arts as a means of

signalling,[11] and thus the concept of his gallery also reflected an endeavour to express his support for the Habsburgs and to position himself as part of the Viennese aristocracy. The core of his collection consisted of copies of works from the imperial gallery and, moreover, he even modelled the architectural design of the gallery in his palace in Vienna on the arrangement of the emperor's collection in the Stallburg.[12]

Like the period's artistic production in Hungary, the Hungarian aristocratic reception and collecting of art cannot be discussed and interpreted except in the context of Vienna. Hungary's *de facto* capital, the centre of Hungarian political and cultural life, would remain Vienna until the mid-nineteenth century. The secular elite acquired their cultural models from Vienna, and it was also from here that architects, painters and sculptors – both the vast army of Italians and those from other parts of the Habsburg empire who had completed their training in Italy – were invited to bring the achievements of the Italian Baroque to their residences in Hungary.[13] When it came to easel paintings, the Hungarians bought them from Viennese dealers, and the paintings themselves were for the most part by the very same artists who were passing through Vienna, or were copies of works from the imperial gallery or other collections in Vienna.

Due to politics and geography, the overwhelming majority of Italian artists contracted to the Habsburg empire were from northern Italy or from Naples. The first harbingers of the Baroque style – apart from the very early but isolated experiment at the Wallenstein Palace in Prague[14] – came from Lombardy. The trail-blazer was Carpoforo Tencalla (1623–1685), born in the Italian-Swiss Canton of Ticino, but trained in Milan, who brought the latest trends in fresco painting to central Europe.[15] Tencalla was a highly erudite artist, who was probably engaged in the invention of programmes for integrated fresco cycles abounding with allegorical and literary references. He made his first central European appearance in 1655, at the Baroque rebuilding of the castle of a Hungarian peer, Count Miklós Pálffy IV (1619–1679), in Vöröskő (now Červený Kameň, Slovakia), directed by his compatriot, the architect Filiberto Lucchese.[16] Later – besides countless other commissions in Austria and Moravia – he created the masterpiece of seventeenth-century mural painting in Hungary, the decorations of the palace of Prince Pál Esterházy I in Kismarton (now Eisenstadt, Austria), the first Hungarian palace built in a truly Baroque style.[17] Andrea Lanzani (1641–1712),[18] Marcantonio Chiarini (1652–1730), Paolo Pagani (1661–1716), Giulio Quaglio (1668–1751), and Luca Antonio Colomba (1674–1737) were also engaged chiefly in murals, the latter being especially sought after in Hungary.[19] In easel painting, the greatest successes were garnered by the still life artist Margherita Caffi (1647–1710). Giacomo Francesco Cipper (1664–1736), though born in Austria, lived from an early age in Milan, from where he supplied paintings to his many clients in the empire. His low-life scenes – which reveal the influence of Giacomo Ceruti, and indirectly also Caravaggio – must have been particularly favoured by his Hungarian contemporaries, as a large proportion of his œuvre could be found in the older Hungarian private collections.[20] Far greater numbers of artists from Lombardy and Ticino were at work in the Habsburg empire after 1713, when Milan came under Austrian control following the War of the Spanish Succession. Now, for example, Carlo Innocenzo Carlone (1686–1775) and Davide Antonio Fossati (1708–1795) were also active here.[21]

Naples fell into Austrian hands due to the same war, and Naples soon became a favourite destination for aristocrats escaping the chills of winter. However, it was not only *tour*ists but also the officers of the Habsburg administration who developed a passion for the city's outstanding painters, and showered them with commissions. The most celebrated of the Neapolitan painters in Vienna was Francesco Solimena (1657–1747), who never travelled in person to the imperial seat, but was nevertheless ubiquitous through his works.[22] Although there is no evidence that he had any Hungarian patrons, paintings attributed to him appear in the inventories of eighteenth-century Hungarian collections.[23] Solimena's style, however, spread throughout the empire mainly through his Austrian students, Bartolomeo Altomonte, Daniel Gran, Paul Troger and Johann Jakob Zeiller. The former main altarpiece in Saint Michael's Church in Sopron, for example, painted by Bartolomeo Altomonte in 1739, was based on Solimena's fresco in the sacristy of San Domenico Maggiore in Naples.[24] While the fame of Solimena cast all others in the shade, other major Neapolitan masters also earned commissions from the monarchy: Giacomo del Po (1652–1726), Paolo De Matteis (1662–1728) and Nicola Maria Rossi (1690–1758). Of the later Neapolitan artists, Gennaro di Basile (1722–1782) also worked in Hungary.[25]

Venetian artists had been in constant high demand since the time of Emperor Charles V and Titian. When the lack of local commissions forced them to wander from court to court in search of work, the most obvious destination was Vienna. In the seventeenth century such visitors were still relatively rare: Pietro Liberi (1614–1687),[26] who also found his way to Hungary, and Andrea Celesti (1637–1712), who created an altarpiece in Linz. In the eighteenth century, however, countless leading Venetian masters spent a longer or shorter period of time in the empire, including Sebastiano Ricci (1659–1734) (cat. 122), Antonio Bellucci (1654–1727), Giovanni Antonio Pellegrini (1675–1741), Sebastiano Bombelli (1635–1719), Bernardo Bellotto (1722–1780), Pietro Rotari (1707–1762), Rosalba Carriera (1675–1757), and Francesco Casanova (1727–1803), who was also a guest at the castle of Prince Esterházy in Köpcsény (today Kittsee, Austria).

Less frequently, and in smaller numbers, artists from the other main Italian centres also arrived in the Habsburg empire. Andrea Pozzo, as we have seen, came from Rome; in his wake came countless other architectural painters, especially the many members of the Galli-Bibiena family, who stemmed from Bologna.[27] Another Roman, Gregorio Guglielmi (1714–1773), came to Vienna at the recommendation of his patrons in Naples, and played a key role in exploding Pozzo's principles and initiating a new rococo style of ceiling painting instead.[28] Obviously, the international star of the entire European elite, Pompeo Batoni (1708–1787), was sought after in Vienna too. Also from Rome, although originally from Florence, Mario Balassi (1604–1667) paid a brief visit here; his fellow countryman, Cecco Bravo (1601–1661), travelled to Austria for a lengthy stay, but his early death scuppered his plans. Among the Bolognese artists who passed through were Guido Cagnacci (1601–1663), and the *quadraturista* Gaetano Fanti (1687–1759). It was inevitable that the fame of the school of Bologna would also reach the Habsburg empire, and even if the greatest masters could not be tempted here, commissions were placed regularly with Carlo Cignani (1628–1719), Marcantonio Franceschini (1648–1729), and Giuseppe Maria Crespi (1665–1747). The latter was commissioned by Count Miklós Pálffy VII (1699–1734), who was on military duty in Italy, to paint stately, full-length portraits of the count and his six-year-old son, but before he could take the paintings home, Pálffy died in a battle near Parma.[29]

The names listed above turn up again and again in the descriptions of art collections from this time and from the nineteenth century, either because the works were indeed by the artists named, or simply because these were the most familiar names to the experts. There is reason to suspect, however, that the greater part of these paintings were by Austrian imitators of the Italian artists: let us just refer to the case of a monumental allegorical cycle commissioned in 1755 by the Archbishop of Esztergom, Miklós Csáky, which was at some later time inscribed with the forged signature of Solimena, and the fictive date of 1714.[30]

THE CHURCH ALTERNATIVE

There was, however, one section of Hungarian society which was linked more directly to Italy than via Vienna: the Catholic clergy. Cultured sons of the church – the prelature, as well as members of the monastic orders that ran the very best educational institutions – visited Rome regularly, and imbibed the intellectual mores of its cultural elite. It was natural that their attitude towards the fine arts would also

differ. As Géza Galavics noted, "There were but a few exceptional patrons in Hungary who regarded the power of artistic presentation and the wealth of formal expression as functional requisites of a work of art. Most of them were church dignitaries (Imre Esterházy, Ferenc Zichy, Károly Eszterházy, József Batthyány, János Szily *et al.*) who spent years of study in Rome, and who developed a sense of discernment among people with a distinct taste for art. Secular patrons, by contrast, rarely, if ever, had access to such opportunities."[31] In addition, episcopal sees in Hungary were frequently occupied by prelates from other parts of the empire.[32] For such people, if they were actually present in their diocese, there was no alternative to the Vienna-style – modern and cosmopolitan – patterns of signalling their status, mentioned above.

We have already mentioned the enthusiastic response of the Jesuit László Sennyey to the ceiling painting in the church of Sant'Ignazio. When György Pongrácz, Bishop of Vác, visited Rome in 1675, the journal kept by his nephew, Imre Pongrácz, not only heaps praise on the *Last Judgement* in the Sistine Chapel, but also deigns to name Michelangelo.[33] Ferenc Faludi, an erudite Jesuit poet, refers to paintings by Caravaggio and Masucci in his Roman diary of 1740–1745.[34] Among a number of art books listed in the 1768 inventory of the estate of Archbishop Ferenc Barkóczy is a copy of the *Perspectiva pictorum atque architectorum* by Andrea Pozzo,[35] a sign that the artist's illusionistic *quadratura* techniques enjoyed continuing popularity among the Hungarian prelature well into the mid-eighteenth century. This is, of course, reflected more obviously by the *trompe l'œil* dome ceiling in the Holy Trinity Church in Pozsony (Bratislava, Slovakia), painted by Antonio Galli-Bibiena in 1744–45 on commission from Imre Esterházy, Archbishop of Esztergom.[36]

Archbishop Barkóczy not only collected books, but also had an impressive number of pictures: the inventory of his estate lists a total of 321 paintings, although the artist's name is given in only one instance: the Solimena mentioned earlier.[37] This was the largest collection of art in Hungary in the eighteenth century, although it may have been less impressive in terms of quality. However, even though the majority of the works were most likely copies or provincial paintings, a few of them had probably accompanied the archbishop home from Rome.

Most of the collection of another bishop, the Czech-born count Michael Karl von Althann (1702–1756), was certainly from Italy, more precisely from Naples.[38] He succeeded his uncle, Michael Friedrich von Althann (1682–1734), to the diocese of Vác, although for a long time Michael Friedrich only nominally held this post: he resided in Naples, as viceroy. Towards the end of his life, however, he lost favour with the emperor, was stripped of his viceroyship, and settled down for the rest of his days in Vác. In Naples he had been one of Solimena's main clients, but during his residency in Vác, the painter he favoured was the Roman Girolamo Pesce, a student of Carlo Maratta and Francesco Trevisani. Pesce probably never travelled to Hungary, but he painted five altarpieces for Michael Friedrich, presumably for the cathedral of Vác.[39] During his twenty-two-year bishopric (1734–1756) Michael Karl focused mainly on construction work. It is highly likely that the vast majority of the 170 paintings described in his estate were from Rome and Naples, both places where the younger Althann had stayed with his uncle. Once again, regrettably, only one painting is credited with the artist's name: *"Imago Beatae Virginis Mariae de Caravagio"*. In the case of another picture, a view of Vesuvius, the subject makes clear that it was from Naples. The latter reappears in several later inventories of the Vác bishopric, suggesting that at least part of Althann's estate was inherited by the diocese.

Althann was succeeded to the bishopric of Vác by an influential prelate who belonged to the innermost circles of Queen Maria Theresa: Christoph Anton von Migazzi (1714–1803), Prince-Archbishop of Vienna, a native of South Tyrol. As bishop of Vác he commissioned the construction of the new cathedral and the city's famous triumphal arch. The 1787 inventory of his assets in Vác lists 130 paintings, but no artists are mentioned by name. Surprisingly for someone with his background, Migazzi later became – due to a disagreement with Emperor Joseph II – a follower of the Hungarian nationalist movement in his old age, and the relatives who inherited his personal wealth also settled in Hungary.[40] Consequently, many items from his art collection have ended up in Hungarian ecclesiastical museums, and from these works we can glean a rough idea of the character of his collection. It would appear that Migazzi rejected copies of famous pictures in favour of original works, and some of the paintings reveal a predilection for the dramatic chiaroscuro of Caravaggesque tradition.[41]

The peak, and also the finale, of ecclesiastical art collections in eighteenth-century Hungary was reached in a gallery that was present in the country for barely five years, leaving it little time to spread its fame. However, the inventory of the collection survives, drawn up to record the estate of Franziskus Herzan von Harras (1735–1804), Bishop of Szombathely, by his Italian secretary, Canon Alvise Emiliani, and uniquely providing attributions for every painting. While it might be assumed that the pictures ascribed to some of the greatest artists may in fact have been by followers with lesser talent, the names themselves suggest a collection with a marked character and distinctive taste.[42] Almost all seventy-six paintings in the collection are Italian, mostly Baroque, with special focus on the schools of Rome and Bologna. The inventory itemises Caravaggio, Annibale Carracci, Guido Reni



Fig. 2
Follower of Guido Reni
Holy Family with Saint Elizabeth
seventeenth century
From the collection of Franziskus Herzan von Harras,
Cathedral of the Visitation
of Our Lady, Szombathely

(four paintings), Guercino, Elisabetta Sirani, Francesco Albani, Francesco Romanelli, Salvator Rosa, Luca Giordano, Francesco Trevisani, Sebastiano Conca, Agostino Masucci, Simone Cantarini – the very names among Italian Baroque masters that would be most revered by Hungarian art collectors in the following century. Beside these greats, however, are a number of less familiar names: references to Ludovico Gimignani, Giacomo Brandi, Luigi Garzi, Filippo Lauri, Giuseppe Chiari, Nicolò Berettoni and Ottavio Viviani (present with three architectural paintings) may imply either signed paintings or such a degree of expertise in art history that would not be matched in Hungary for a very long time.

Bishop Herzan was the son of Czech aristocrats. He attended university in Rome, and soon rose swiftly through the ranks of the clergy and diplomatic circles. He lived in Rome between 1769 and 1796, initially serving as an auditor on the papal tribunal, before becoming the emperor's envoy to the Holy See. In 1796, he fled from Napoleon's forces to Szombathely, where he stayed with Bishop János Szily, his friend and former fellow-student at university. In exchange for the shelter he received, he commissioned two paintings from Rome for the cathedral that Bishop Szily was building in Szombathely: copies of two famous Roman Baroque altarpieces (Pietro da Cortona's *Baptism of Saint Paul* and Guido Reni's *Archangel Saint Michael*).[43] In 1799, after the death of Bishop Szily, the emperor appointed Herzan to the bishopric of Szombathely, a post he enjoyed only briefly, as he died in the summer of 1804. He had certainly assembled his magnificent gallery while in Rome. After his death, the collection was dispersed, but one work is still in Szombathely: a *Holy Family with Saint Elizabeth* (fig. 2). An inscription on the reverse claims that it was painted in collaboration by Guido Reni and Elisabetta Sirani.[44] In his will, Herzan left the painting to Canon János Eölbey, his faithful confidant in Szombathely, and in 1819 Eölbey gifted the painting to the prebendal sacristy. The inscription giving the artist names is surely an exaggeration, but the painting does indeed appear to be a product of Reni's circle. Another painting in the collection – which eventually found its way, via the Esterházy collection, to the Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest – retained the traditional attribution to Francesco Trevisani, given in the Herzan inventory, until very recently.[45]

Herzan was the last of the erudite churchmen for whom the Baroque was still a contemporary style. Yet the clerical intelligentsia continued to spearhead the responsiveness to the fine arts, the establishment of art history institutions and collecting. Without the contributions of later generations – Tamás Kovács, János László Pyrker, Arnold Ipolyi, János Simor, Béla Bartakovics and Zsigmond Bubics – brought up in line with the Baroque traditions of priests who frequented Rome, the history of Hungarian artistic culture would have been very different and much poorer.

EXPATS FROM VIENNA

The great eighteenth-century art galleries of church dignitaries in Hungary were, as we have seen above, already complete when brought from abroad by their owners, and so were the first significant baronial galleries in the country. Not only did Hungarian aristocrats go to Vienna to learn the novel ways of self-representation, but the Viennese model itself had also come to Hungary. First of all, there was the imperial collection itself, though obviously just a tiny fraction of it. From 1766 to 1780, Hungary was governed by a husband and wife whose passion for the arts is legendary: Prince Albert von Sachsen-Teschen (1738–1822), founder of the Albertina in Vienna, and Archduchess Maria Christina (1742–1798), the favourite daughter of Maria Theresa. They decorated their residence, the Royal Castle in Pozsony, with a splendid ensemble of paintings, chosen from the imperial collections in Vienna. The inventory, drawn up when the paintings were returned to Vienna after the couple had been reassigned to Brussels, lists 294 paintings.[46] The list, besides delineating a characteristic taste, suggests that the pictures were selected according to the function of the pictures, that is, to decorate the rooms where everyday life was spent, rather than to form a picture



Fig. 3
Alessandro Turchi
Tancred and Erminia
ca. 1630
Formerly Royal Castle, Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest

gallery. Consequently, most of the works have a secular theme: landscapes, game pieces, mythological scenes, portraits and still lifes. The thematic choices necessarily resulted in an overwhelming dominance of Dutch and Flemish works (the connection is suggested by the larger number of Italian works in the gallery hall), yet it is easy to imagine that besides the thematic preferences, stylistic taste also played a role in selection. As for the Italian Baroque, Bernardo Bellotto's scenes of Vienna were, obviously, the most numerous, amounting to thirteen pieces. There were four paintings by Domenico Fetti, revealing the couple's particular fondness for this artist; there were also romantic landscapes by Salvator Rosa, Jacques Courtois and Nicola Vaccaro, floral still lifes by Mario dei Fiori, mythological scenes by Benedeno Gennari, Francesco Trevisani and Pietro Liberi, one religious painting each by Solimena and Maratta, a *Drunkenness of Noah* by Andrea Sacchi which pushed the boundaries of decency, and a copy of Guido Reni's famous Genoese *Saint Sebastian:* this was the extent of Italian Baroque painting represented in the collection.

When the couple left Pozsony, the ensemble was taken back to Vienna, but soon afterwards another stock of paintings was sent in its stead. Three years later, when Joseph II decided to centralize the government of Hungary in a single city, this second ensemble was transferred to Buda: the Royal Palace there became the residence of governors (who, from 1790, bore again the traditional Hungarian title of palatine *[nádor]*).

With the paintings already there, and a number of additional consignments, the collection in Buda Castle grew by the turn of the century to more than 700 works, including a number of genuine masterpieces.[47] After the death of Joseph II, when the Hungarian Treasury (the organ of financial administration) was once again separated from the governor's office, the residence of the Treasury president was decorated with 78 paintings from the palace: later – during the Hungarian Revolution of 1848, after the independent Hungarian Finance Ministry had inherited the functions and buildings of the Treasury – the Finance Minister, Lajos Kossuth, decreed that the paintings be transferred to the then-recently built Hungarian National Museum, from where they eventually passed to the Szépművészeti Múzeum. After the Revolution was quelled, the majority of the paintings from the Royal Palace were transported back to Vienna,[48] while the rest were auctioned off in Pest in 1856.[49]

Due to the piecemeal information available, it is extremely hard to reconstruct the original character of the collection in the Royal Palace at the end of the eighteenth century. What we can affirm is that, unlike the earlier ensemble in Pozsony, the Buda collection rather echoed the Viennese collections, but in miniature: a preference for the Venetian Cinquecento prevailed, accompanied by several early Netherlandish works, including at least one Bruegel. Family portraits abounded, of course, as did the inevitable Dutch and Flemish paintings; but it would seem that, here too, the Italian Baroque was rather poorly represented. Of the paintings which have been identified, a few stand out: Artemisia Gentileschi's *Jael and Sisera* (cat. 40), a pair of landscapes by Salvator Rosa (cats. 89–90), Domenico Fetti's *Young Monk* and Alessandro Turchi's *Tancred and Erminia* (fig. 3).[50]

The other great Viennese gallery that found a home in Hungary was that of Baron Sámuel Brukenthal (1721–1803).[51] This Transylvanian-Saxon nobleman built up his famous gallery in Vienna between 1759 and 1774, and in 1773 it was referred to as one of the most outstanding collections in that city. A few of the paintings were gifts from the imperial collection, but the majority were purchased from Viennese dealers, which suggests that the art market was surprisingly strong and versatile at that time. When Brukenthal was appointed governor of Transylvania in 1777, he moved his collection to Nagyszeben (today Sibiu, Romania), eventually bequeathing the works to the local evangelical church. Since then the collection has been open to the public. Even in his lifetime, Brukenthal's collection was installed as a picture gallery, in thirteen halls on the second floor of his palace: four rooms were devoted to Italian works, six housed Dutch masters, and three were dedicated to the German school.[52] The core of the collection consisted of seventeenth-century Dutch landscapes and low-life scenes, but unlike the ensemble in Pozsony, there was no functional reason for this. Art collectors of that period, whichever class of society they stemmed from, were drawn to Dutch and Flemish cabinet paintings. This attraction lasted up until the early twentieth century – as did the disparaging view of the art critics, who yearned for *"grand art"* instead. Nevertheless, the Brukenthal gallery is also rich in works by Italian Baroque artists, including Antiveduto Gramatica, Domenico Fiasella, Massimo Stanzione, Sisto Badalocchio, Sebastiano Ricci, Giovanni Battista Langetti, Giacomo del Pò, Pietro Liberi, Domenico Brandi and Andrea Celesti; and, above all, it boasts a series of large-scale paintings by Alessandro Magnasco, which is especially interesting given the fact that – as we shall see later – this artist was rather neglected until his rediscovery in the twentieth century.[53]

This is undoubtedly an exquisite collection, but it may give us a distorted image of Brukenthal's tastes. The governor, like contemporary visitors to his gallery, did not regard these canvases as the jewels in the crown (not even the portrait by Van Eyck or the *Calvary* by Antonello da Messina, which take pride of place today). The main objects of delight, lavished with praise in the old descriptions of the gallery, were the paintings by Guido Reni, Domenichino, Carracci and Albani – all painters who were considered at the time to be the pinnacle of Italian Baroque painting, the desiderata of every collector, and essential components of any gallery worthy of the name.[54] Ferenc Kazinczy, who will be given more attention later in this essay, wrote the following words on his visit: "So many confoundedly bad pieces among precious few good ones! … Yet Guido's Sebastian, which pleased me still more than his Hieronymus, would stand its ground even in Napoleon's Museum."[55] The object of his praise was, alas, just one of many hundreds of copies, inundating Europe in those days, of Guido's celebrated images of *Saint Sebastian* (a copy of another of these, as we have seen, once hung in the Castle in Pozsony).

The names of Guido, Domenichino, Carracci and Albani define the spirit of artistic taste and contemporary painting of the age. Viennese art was still in thrall to the *Zopfstil,* or the late, neo-classical phase of Baroque style. The writings of Winckelmann were nowhere more avidly read in those days than in central Europe,[56] while the Vienna Academy of Art was ruled by Friedrich Heinrich Füger, the protégé of Count Lamberg and Prince Albert. While Füger made frequent reference to the severe, masculine classicism of Jacques-Louis David, his style was rather rooted in the sensuality of Anton Raphael Mengs. Among contemporary artists, Mengs and Antonio Canova were admired, whereas the preferred old masters, alongside Raphael and Correggio, were from the Bolognese academic school of Carracci and Reni. Guido Reni was regarded as the supreme master, and this opinion held sway until the end of the nineteenth century.

Today, the Guido Reni and Domenichino paintings in the Brukenthal gallery have all been relegated to copies, or reattributed to followers, and the focus is now on the original, authentic works. When attempting to assess the tastes underlying nineteenth-century collectionism, it is vital to remember that the works regarded as masterpieces today might have received only incidental attention in their own time. Conversely, it must be said, the pieces which were the pride and joy of the collectors are now, much too often, confined to oblivion in the museum warehouse.



Fig. 4
Luca Giordano
Flight into Egypt
ca. 1670
From the Esterházy collection,
Szépművészeti Múzeum,
Budapest

THE FIRST MAJOR ARISTOCRATIC GALLERIES

The above mentioned portrait commissions from Crespi by Miklós Pálffy show that in the eighteenth century, albeit rarely, Hungarian aristocrats did indeed return from Italy with paintings. The first secular aristocrat about whom we can say, in all certainty, that he purchased a significant art collection during his travels, was Count Ferenc Zichy III (1749–1812), who hung the collection that he assembled in the 1780s in his newly built palace in Vedrőd (Voderardy, Slovakia), admired for its sumptuous garden.[57] His collection may have been the source of the paintings, attributed to Ricci, Sassoferrato and Carlo Francesco Nuvolone, which were lent by his descendant a century later to the first major exhibition of works from Hungarian private collections.[58] Count Antal György Apponyi (1751–1817) commenced his own collection around 1790, and he was reputed to be such a distinguished art expert that he habitually overruled the opinions of his dealers. His remarkable collection hung in his palace in Vienna until his death, after which it was auctioned off. Of the 260 pictures that came up for auction, there was an abundance of Guido Renis (six works!), Domenichinos, Carraccis, Albanis, Schedonis, Paninis, Sassoferratos, Cignanis and other names of that ilk.[59]

Journeys abroad, predominantly in Italy, gave rise to the greatest chapter in the history of Hungarian collecting, namely the Esterházy gallery, the most valuable part of which eventually formed the backbone of the Old Masters' Gallery at the Szépművészeti Múzeum. The collection did not, of course, appear out of thin air. The gallery of Prince Pál I has been already mentioned. His grandson, Pál Antal Esterházy II (1711–1762), was envoy to Naples between 1750 and 1752, but it is unclear whether he returned home with any artwork. His French wife, Marie-Anne Louise de Lunati-Visconti, preferred to commission paintings from her compatriots residing in Rome, rather than from Italian artists, such as an enormous, allegorical cycle of the *Four Elements*.[60] It may have been Marie-Anne who prompted the construction of the new family residence on their Fertőd estate, modelled on Versailles, although work only began after the death of Pál II. The new palace had its own separate picture gallery,[61] but we can only guess at what hung on the walls. In any event, the quality of the palace's gallery was no match for its musical life, which had Haydn at its centre.

The seeds of passion for collecting paintings were undoubtedly sown in Prince Miklós Esterházy II (1765–1833), the true founder of the art collection, during his first tour of Italy, undertaken at the age of nineteen, in particular the months he spent in Naples as the guest of his uncle, the imperial envoy count Anton Franz de Paula von Lamberg-Sprinzenstein (1740–1822).[62] Lamberg was one of the foremost connoisseurs and collectors of art in his time, as well as president of the Vienna Academy of Arts and the founder of the academy's paintings gallery. He not only lit the collector's flame in Esterházy, but also assisted him in setting up the collection, and they even exchanged paintings. When Prince Miklós became head of the family estate (the *fideicommissum*) ten years later, his first step was to take Count Lamberg with him on another tour of Italy, this time with the express purpose of building up a collection of paintings that would rival the best in the world. Lamberg was not his only aide in this task: in Naples, Mattia Zarullo, guardian of the Royal Museum of Capodimonte, acted as Esterházy's agent,[63] while in Rome, Aloys Hirt was engaged as a guide and adviser.[64] This German archaeologist-art historian lived for a decade and a half in Rome, acting as cicerone for the great and the good from Germany, including Goethe and Herder. Upon his return to Berlin, he was appointed curator of the royal collection as well as university professor.

These names alone show that Esterházy's taste in art – like that of most of his contemporaries – was grounded in academic classicism, or "Fügerism" (although he was no great admirer of Füger himself). The prince commissioned a full-length, life-size statue of his daughter from Canova, and he fell so utterly for a painting by Mengs that he begged his agent to obtain it as soon as possible: "I feel I cannot live without it."[65] Esterházy maintained this passionate attitude throughout his life. Aloys Hirt would later recall, "As an avid friend of the arts, he spared no expense



Fig. 5
Carlo Cignani
The Fall of Man
ca. 1700
From the Esterházy collection,
Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest

whenever he saw any good work by a great master for sale. … It was rare indeed for a foreigner such as Prince Esterházy to acquire such a handsome number of mainly classical paintings in such a short time."[66] In the autumn of 1796, even the collector himself staggered under the vast quantities of paintings arriving, and he urged his agent in Naples to send no more, as there was not even room for the ones he had; but, he hastened to add, Guido Reni, Correggio, Domenichino or Andrea del Sarto would still be welcomed.[67] Alas, at this time, everybody else demanded works by these very same artists, so they were in very short supply: no surprise, then, that his highly esteemed "Domenichinos" and "Renis" have not withstood the test of modern scholarship, nor have the majority of the Carraccis, Guercinos, Albanis or Siranis.[68] His enthusiasm for the stylistic ideals of Winckelmann is thus today more evident from his correspondence than from the current highlights of the collection.

Miklós Esterházy II was indeed an obsessed collector, as he is called in the title of his biography by Stefan Körner: in his lifetime the prince bought over a thousand paintings, 3500 drawings and 50,000 engravings. Of course, regardless of the impact of Füger or Winckelmann, the Esterházy collection was dominated by seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish pieces of the *"petits genres"*, but the prince was a veritable omnivore. In addition to the dubious Bolognese classical masterpieces, there was also a large number of other Italian Baroque paintings. Even before the collection's move to Vienna in 1811, it included its most enigmatic masterpiece, *Sleeping Girl* (cat. 11); *Moses Striking Water from the Stone* by Antonio de Bellis (Szépművészeti Múzeum, inv. 767); Luca Giordano's *Flight into Egypt* (fig. 4); Andrea Vaccaro's *Saint Sebastian Tended by Saint Irene* (inv. 521); Andrea Pozzo's *Jesus among the Doctors* (inv. 495); and *Lucretia* (inv. 500), then thought to be by Trevisani, but now reattributed to Andrea Casali. Two exquisite series of *bozzetti* were also acquired in this early period: the sketches for the altars in the Karlskirche in Vienna by Venetian masters (cats. 122–123), and Solimena's sketches for Montecassino (cat. 114). Many of the earlier acquisitions, however, were later discarded, and remain unidentified today, such as the cycle of large-scale Old Testament scenes once attributed to Mattia Preti.[69]

The great turning point in the history of the Esterházy collection came in 1811, when the prince moved his chief residence, and his gallery, to Vienna.[70] The gallery was now more than Esterházy's personal hobby, it was also his principal instrument for expressing his status. Just as Prince Pál I had done a few generations earlier, Miklós II used the gallery to position



Fig. 6
Giambettino Cignaroli
Death of Cato, 1762
From the collection
of Károly Andrássy,
Szépművészeti Múzeum,
Budapest

himself as an intrinsic member of the Viennese court elite, that is, the multinational yet homogeneous aristocracy of the empire, loyal to the Habsburg rulers. (Miklós II must have felt it necessary in those days to express his firm position on this side, because Napoleon was seeking to divide the monarchy by promising Hungary its independence, with Esterházy as its king.) Nevertheless, unlike his ancestor, Prince Miklós presented himself not merely as a member of this community, but also as one of its most powerful leaders. He no longer sought subserviently to imitate the imperial collection, but to compete with it, and with the two greatest galleries of the Viennese aristocracy: the Liechtenstein and the Czernin collections. Esterházy opened his gallery to the public, and had a printed catalogue made by his curator, the outstanding artist-connoisseur Joseph Fischer.[71] Newspaper articles on the collection were written by his librarian, the scholar György Gaál, who was more at home with the written word.[72]

In this rivalry, the Esterházy gallery's claims to superiority rested mainly on the presence of certain schools that were absent from the other collections: the articles from Gaál's pen emphasized first of all the paintings by Leonardo da Vinci and the seventeenth-century French landscapes. For a good decade after his move to Vienna (1811–1823) Esterházy enthusiastically added further exclusive sections to his gallery, setting the Fügerian principles of taste aside, and in effect adopting the "Orléans taste", which was becoming fashionable with the European aristocracy.[73] He purchased an entire gallery of Spanish works from Edmund Bourke (1761–1821), former Danish envoy to Madrid, and he commissioned an army of monumental statues from contemporary master sculptors in Rome: one astonished British traveller observed, "[Prince Esterházy's] orders are to be seen executing by almost every artist in Italy".[74] It was during this expansive period that he also purchased the majority of his Italian Baroque trophy pieces. Tiepolo's grandiose *Saint James of Compostela* (cat. 125), Cavallino's extraordinary *Meeting at the Golden Gate* (cat. 70) and Strozzi's *Tribute Money* (cat. 58) all came with the Bourke purchase. A second Strozzi, *The Annunciation* (inv. 596), and Daniele Crespi's *Deposition of Christ* (cat. 61) (then attributed to Mattia Preti) were acquired at the sale of Wilhelm von Sickingen's collection in Vienna in 1819. The Esterházy collection was also enriched during this period by, to mention but a few, Bellotto's splendid pair of Florentine *vedute* (cats. 136–137), Furini's *Venus Lamenting the Death of Adonis* (cat. 63), Renieri's *Card Players* (obviously attributed then to Caravaggio) (cat. 8), Assereto's *Mocking of Job* (cat. 59), Dolci's *Guardian Angel* (cat. 64), and Marco Liberi's *Jupiter and Asteria* (inv. 616). The monumental paintings purchased from the Viennese collection of Prince Alois Wenzel von Kaunitz-Rietberg (1774–1848) played an especially important part in shaping the princely nature of the gallery; among them were the immensely forceful *Martyrdom of Saint Andrew* by Ribera (cat. 33) and Carlo Cignani's colossal canvas, *The Fall of Man* (fig. 5). The latter used to be a most celebrated piece of the Kaunitz gallery (and originally commissioned by the family),[75] but at the auction of 1820 it failed to find a buyer, because – as Fischer wrote to Esterházy – art lovers found the work "excessively large in size".[76] Esterházy, on the other hand, was not deterred by grandness. In fact, this was exactly what his gallery needed: a masterly representative of the Bolognese school, which even by its scale would dominate the collection, and act as a proclamation of Esterházy's style preferences. This stupendous work, a perfect blend of Correggiesque tenderness and classicizing design, may rightly be regarded as the emblem of the Esterházy collection, which justifies the prominent place it occupies in the Szépművészeti Múzeum today, in the central axis of the Baroque Hall.

The Kaunitz collection was a rich hunting ground for other collectors too. Count János Keglevich (1786–1856), the antiquarian Hungarian aristocrat, assembled a small, but choice collection of paintings in his palace in Vienna, to accompany his library of twenty-thousand books. The core of his gallery constituted works purchased at the Kaunitz auction. The supreme trophy was a great allegory by Bronzino;[77] the rest were mainly Netherlandish paintings, with just a handful of Italian Baroque pieces: a *Holy Family* ascribed to Simone Cantarini, a *Supper at Emmaus* said to be by Luca Giordano, two Franceschinis painted on copper, a pair of Roman *vedute* bearing the name of Canaletto, and a view of Milan by Viviano Codazzi.[78]

We do not know how the impressively sized pair of works by Giambettino Cignaroli from the Kaunitz gallery found their way into a Hungarian aristocratic collection. The brilliantly executed yet shockingly naturalistic *Death of Cato* (fig. 6) and *Death of Socrates* were commissioned by the Austrian envoy to Milan, Karl Joseph von Firmian (1716–1782), in 1762, and after his death they were acquired by Kaunitz. Thereafter, we lose track of them until Count Károly Andrássy (1792–1845) presented them to the Hungarian National Museum in the year of his death.[79] The speculations that they might have belonged to the legendary collection of Andrássy's father-in-law, Count Péter Szapáry IV (1766–1827), are unsubstantiated.[80] An interesting point, however, is that Prince Kaunitz's daughter married the Hungarian count Lajos Károlyi (1799–1863), who became trustee of the Kaunitz estate in 1830, and brought a number of paintings to Hungary for sale.[81]

FERENC KAZINCZY AND HIS TIMES

The decades spanning the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are known, in the history of Hungarian culture, as the age of national awakening. Indeed, the instinctive indignation against the arrogant, homogenizing rationalism of Joseph II slowly gained momentum, and a large part of the Hungarian elite came to the conclusion that Hungary had to modernize, and not just its economy; people at that time sincerely believed that progress in culture and

thinking was a precondition of material development. The Hungarian language was updated, periodicals and scientific societies were founded, and in 1802 the Hungarian National Museum was set up, albeit initially with just a library, a natural history collection and an assortment of historical relics.

The inclusion of the fine arts in the curriculum of cultural enlightenment was largely due to the poet Ferenc Kazinczy (1759–1831).[82] This one man virtually single-handedly established Hungarian intellectual life and every aspect of it, from cultivation of the language to patronage of the arts. His *chef d'œuvre* was not a literary work, but his correspondence, which was published in twenty-one weighty tomes. Kazinczy was especially devoted to painting, and, for inspiration, covered his walls with engraved copies of famous masterpieces – works by Raphael, Correggio, Guido Reni, Cignani, Dolci, Canova, Vernet and Oeser. His visits to the imperial gallery in Vienna were among his most formative experiences: on his first visit, at the age of eighteen, he was enthralled by Van Dyck, but later he valued the Italians most highly.[83] He flaunted his expertise, and eagerly acted as consultant when the wealthy were compiling their collections.

From his writings and letters, Kazinczy emerges as an uncompromising standard-bearer for Fügerian taste. He held Füger himself, the "poetic painter", in high esteem: not only did he wish to have his portrait painted by Füger, he also encouraged all his contemporaries to do so.[84] Without Kazinczy, the cult around Guido Reni and the Bolognese school, which lasted well into the nineteenth century, may never have come about. Kazinczy, in his writings, refers to Guido more than any other painter, and when he was visiting the Brukenthal gallery and heard that the collector himself was most delighted by a work by Teniers, he spluttered, "As if a person who stops before Teniers could understand painting, when Guido, Correggio, Rubens and Van Dyck are there to admire!".[85] For Kazinczy, even copies of works by the masters he admired were of greater worth than "mediocre originals": he compared copied paintings to translations of works of literature.[86] He enthused when Pál Balkay (1785–1846), a painter from Kassa (Košice, Slovakia), produced copies of some celebrated pieces in the imperial collection, and displayed them to the public.[87] (Balkay studied under Füger in Vienna, and despite his moderate talent, he was well-regarded for his copies. Kazinczy took him under his wing, invited him home to Hungary, and sought patrons for him.) Kazinczy's enthusiasm is understandable. The works that Balkay chose to copy were Kazinczy's darlings too: pictures by Guido, Furini, Dolci, Batoni, Correggio, Mengs and Angelika Kauffmann. "This I would choose above all", he writes, standing before the copy of Furini's *Penitent Magdalene*. "Such warm hues around the eye! Such a body!", he continues, enraptured.[88] (Of course, he was not alone in his adoration: a plethora of surviving copies testifies to the fact that in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Furini was perhaps the most popular of all the paintings in the imperial collection in Vienna.[89]) Over the years, Balkay became a faithful standard-bearer for Kazinczy, and an important player in artistic awakening. He not only painted (and started the collection of fine art at the National Museum with the gift of his own large-scale allegorical work), but also wrote: Hungarian art criticism was born with the newspaper articles of Kazinczy and Balkay. In his essay *On the Practice and Value of Painting*, Balkay laid down a methodical programme for the development of the fine arts in Hungary.[90] Part of this was the cultivation of art collections, the cornerstone being the demand to transfer the Esterházy gallery to Hungary: Balkay was the first to propound this idea.[91]

The rallying cry was not in vain: a number of Hungarian collections came into being at the start of the nineteenth century, many of them begun by the intellectual elite around Kazinczy, and with his personal intervention. Naturally, they reflected more or less the same taste as Kazinczy's. The brightest pearls in the galleries of both János Fáy (1773–1833) and Miklós Jankovich (1772–1846) were paintings said to be by Guido Reni, Domenichino and Carracci, although signs of different personal preferences occasionally peek out from beneath Kazinczy's dictatorship. János Fáy, for example, was very taken by a game piece by Hondecoeter, but Kazinczy persisted in pressing his arguments until Fáy chose works that suited "the elevated taste" (although he eventually also bought the Hondecoeter).[92] Jankovich – whose collection was purchased by the Hungarian National Museum in 1836 – was none too interested in aesthetics: he was an old-fashioned antiquarian, for whom any object – whether it was a cameo, a Roman relic, an ancient sword or a painting – was a channel for understanding history.[93]

Much more substantial than the two preceding collections were those of Count Mihály Viczay (1756–1831) and Count József Brunszvik (1750–1827), which followed the tradition of collecting pursued by the elite of the Viennese aristocrats. Each collection



Fig. 7
Pompeo Batoni
Allegory of Mercy and Truth
1745
From the collection
of Mihály Viczay,
Gallery of the Benedictine
Archabbey, Pannonhalma

numbered around 300 paintings, and in Hungary at the time, only the gallery in the Royal Castle was larger. Viczay's collection was overwhelmingly dominated by Dutch and Flemish masters; only slightly over ten per cent were works by Italians (fig. 7). Intriguingly, Kazinczy's ideals did not necessarily prevail even in this small group.[94] While the erudite Viczay was building up his collection on his country estate for his own pleasure and that of his close circle of like-minded friends, the Brunszvik palace in Buda was not only a home for the count's prestigious collection, but also functioned as the first public gallery in the city. Brunszvik allegedly intended to donate the collection to the city of Buda, to set up a museum, but the city's aldermen were not interested. His collection had a far greater percentage of Italian Baroque paintings than Viczay's, with the main focus – as one might expect – partly on the school of Bologna and its kindred spirits in Rome (Guido Reni, Domenichino, Annibale and Agostino Carracci, Guercino, Albani, Maratta, Andrea Sacchi, Sassoferrato, Batoni), and partly on Italian artists who also worked in central Europe (Bellotto, Rotari, Solimena, Liberi, Casanova). The gallery also gave a little taste of Caravaggism: the *Card Cheats* was ascribed to Caravaggio himself, with another similar painting attributed to Bartolomeo Manfredi; and there was a scene of martyrdom by Ribera, which was highly valued at the end of the nineteenth century.[95] In Kazinczy's time, however, the laurels were given to Guido Reni's *Mater Dolorosa*. Balkay wrote: "Never will a finer, more natural and more moving work than this be found in the Foreign Picture Galleries. It vividly expresses every painful sorrow, and is drawn with lines of beauty and colours of innocent tenderness and languor."[96] The same stylistic preferences were reflected in a much smaller but well-known picture gallery on the other side of the Danube. According to a handbook of 1821, Károly Müller, a citizen of Pest, kept pictures by Guido Reni, Annibale Carracci, Ribera, Solimena and Gandolfi in his apartment next to the city hall, alongside numerous still lifes from Holland.[97]

When the Viczay collection went to auction, many works were bought by the archabbot of the Benedictine Archabbey of Pannonhalma, Tamás Kovács (1783–1841), in order to set up a gallery to accompany the archabbey's long-established library and its collection of antiquities and *naturalia*. This marked an important step in the history of Hungarian museums, as it was the first time that the fine arts were integrated into a universal museum. Within a few years, Kovács extended the collection of paintings, through additional purchases, to almost a hundred pieces, including a number of Italian Baroque works. Chief among these are the two magnificent allegories by Pompeo Batoni (fig. 7) and a *Saint Sebastian* by Giuseppe Vermiglio, as well as a copy after Caravaggio, and the two already mentioned Caravaggesque works from the Migazzi collection.[98]

As time passed, critics of Kazinczy, and even rivals, began to appear on the scene. First and foremost was Károly Kisfaludy (1788–1830), painter and poet, who, with his successful periodical, even took on the older master at the literary game. Kisfaludy was a champion of the new movement of romanticism, and strove to promote the new style in Hungary, in both literature and painting.[99] His relationship with Kazinczy was distinctly hostile, and they met only once, for a "peace" meeting. Eavesdroppers to the debate, which went on behind closed doors, reported hearing the names Vernet, Ruysdael and Poussin. Kisfaludy had his own art collection, and even traded in paintings, but aside from one picture attributed to Annibale Carracci and one to Tiepolo, his works were exclusively by Dutch and Flemish masters, and Fügerian painters in Vienna.[100] The first writer to analyse Kisfaludy's œuvre as a painter was of the opinion that he had been influenced most deeply by Salvator Rosa. It is true that his stormy landscapes convey the same spirit as Rosa's paintings: if he had known Rosa, he would surely have studied him with delight. Still, his "calamities" – as Kazinczy called his paintings – are rather rooted in the art of the age of Füger: his models were Vernet and Wutky, who were also favoured by Lamberg and Esterházy.



Fig. 8
The Morosini salon in the Budapest palace of László Szapáry, 1913
On the ceiling Giovanni Battista Tiepolo:
Apotheosis of Angelo della Vecchia, 1750 (today Palazzo Isimbardi, Milan);
on the back wall Alessandro Longhi:
Portrait of the Procurator Francesco Morosini (untraced)
Photography by Lipót Kurcz
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THE SPELL OF THE LAGOONS

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, world events took a turn that had a decisive impact on Hungarian collecting: With the end of the Napoleonic Wars, Venice came under the control of the Habsburgs and the rulers appointed a large number of Hungarians to the highest ranks of government in the city. Lists of governors, military commanders and other senior officials are peppered with the names of Pálffy, Zichy, and other noble Hungarian families. At one time, even the director of the academy of art was a Hungarian. "I was astonished that a Hungarian had been placed there as Director, but the governance of Count Reviczky was sufficient explanation", wrote the painter Mihály Kovács while travelling through Italy.[101] Before long, streams of people were heading for Venice, even those without an official post. Hungarians were enthralled by the city, and aristocrats in search of unbridled luxury bought rows of palaces along the Grand Canal. An array of dazzling treasures was frequently included in the price – if not, they could always be bought. From this moment on, Venetian art became one of the main focuses of Hungarian collecting. The Cinquecento was, of course, the favourite century, but they devoured everything that reflected the city's golden glamour and its grandiose, sensual beauty.

Heading the list was János László Pyrker (1772–1847), Patriarch Archbishop of Venice from 1820 to 1827, by command of the emperor. This scholarly churchman, member of Kazinczy's circle and accomplished poet, was, perhaps more than any other Hungarian, in thrall to the lagoon city, and he used all his energies to improve its conditions. He would always talk of his years in Venice as the happiest time of his life, and when he was appointed Archbishop of Eger in 1827, he took his truly remarkable art collection with him. At first, the paintings were displayed in a public gallery in the Episcopal Palace, but in the spring of 1836, he offered the collection to the Hungarian National Museum. The Pyrker donation was a milestone in the history of the museum, the start of a comprehensive collection of international art, which already included a few outstanding masterpieces. The majority of the paintings were from the Renaissance (Giorgione, Veronese, Gentile Bellini), but the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were also represented by some fine pieces by Tiepolo, Strozzi, Pittoni, Nicola Grassi, Lazzarini, Carpioni, Marieschi, Guardi and Zuccarelli.[102] The list shows that devotees of the Mengsian taste were even able to rediscover the classicizing trends in the Venetian Baroque: Giulio Carpioni and Gregorio Lazzarini enjoyed tremendous popularity among collectors in the early nineteenth century.[103]



Fig. 9
Giovanni Battista Tiepolo
The Arrival of Henry III at the Villa Contarini
1744–1745
Formerly collection of Sámuel Festetits, Private collection

The most magnificent Venetian palace ever owned by a Hungarian aristocrat was that of Count László Zselénszky (1811–1863): the Ca' Rezzonico. He bought it in 1837, but did not enjoy it for long. After the fall of the 1848 Revolution, he was sentenced to ten years in a dungeon and the palace was then offered for lease, up until the 1880s when Zselénszky's son sold it to the family of the English poet, Robert Browning. Palazzo Loredan was owned by the lesser branch of the Esterházy family, while Palazzo Dario belonged to the Zichy counts.[104] But it was not only the aristocracy who could afford such splendour: Palazzo Grassi was bought in 1850 by the Hungarian painter József Ágost Schöfft (1776–1850); after his death it was owned by the philanthropic industrialist, Baron Simon Sima (1810–1876), who despite his Greek origins was one of the most impassioned Hungarian patriots.

We do not know of any treasures that those named above would have brought from their Venetian palaces to their homes in Hungary. This is not the case with Count Antal Berchtold (1798–1875) and his British wife, Lady Mathilde Strachan (1813–1899), who owned Palazzo Contarini degli Scrigni between 1856 and 1886. It may be assumed that with the purchase of the palace, they also obtained a number of *objets d'art,* but the lady of the house certainly did much to add to the splendour of the home. After she was widowed, Lady Strachan took a significant majority of the paintings with her to the family's Hungarian estate in Nagyoroszi, including an outstanding Tiepolo and ten (!) *vedute* by Canaletto. The key items in the collection were auctioned off in New York at the end of the century, but quite a few paintings remained in Hungary.[105]

The most magnificent Venetian ensemble of works to come into the possession of a Hungarian nobleman was not purchased, but inherited. When Count József Szapáry married Johanna von Gatterburg in 1799, he could not have imagined the fortune he was acquiring for his descendants. The death in 1894 of Lauredana Gatterburg-Morosini brought the historic Venetian Morosini dynasty to a close, and her estate was shared out among a few distant relatives, Count Géza Szapáry (1828–1898) among them. An attempt was made to sell the treasures of Palazzo Morosini at auction, but a slump in the Italian art market meant that most of the paintings remained unsold.[106] Szapáry therefore brought his share home to Hungary, locating them partly in his country house in Sorokújfalu, and partly in his palace in Budapest, where he arranged a Morosini salon (fig. 8), decorated with the enormous ceiling painting by Tiepolo from Palazzo Morosini, and, on the back wall, a life-size, full-length portrait of a Venetian procurator by Alessandro Longhi, placed in a sumptuous sculptured frame, worthy of the painting's stature.[107]

As the above suggests, the admiration the Hungarians felt for Venice was primarily directed at, as far as the Baroque period is concerned, Tiepolo and Canaletto. Szapáry was not the only person at the end of the nineteenth century who could imagine nothing finer to crown the grand hall of a palace in Budapest than a ceiling by Tiepolo. The greatest turn-of-the-century art collector in Hungary, Count Gyula Andrássy the Younger (1860–1929), also had a Tiepolo ceiling painting decorating the grand staircase of his palace.[108] The Károlyi counts made do with a lesser name, but only because the decoration itself, purchased from the Palazzo Bernardi, was more sumptuous than any other. Francesco Fontebasso's sparkling and sprightly set of paintings comprised a ceiling canvas, a sequence of allegorical grisailles, and two gigantic *panneaux,* using the excuse of an ancient historical theme to bring the rococo world of Venice to life in a colourful crowd, swirling in dainty dancing steps.[109] When it came to Tiepolo, Hungarian collections did not restrict themselves to enormous ceiling paintings. On the contrary, in the second half of the nineteenth century there was virtually no Hungarian private collection of note which did not boast a Tiepolo, although many of these paintings later turned out to be by Ricci, Pittoni, Fontebasso, or Giandomenico



Fig. 10
Canaletto
(Giovanni Antonio Canal)
The Punta della Dogana in Venice
ca. 1724–1730
Formerly collection of Sámuel Festetits, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

Tiepolo. However, the five Tiepolos that were in the collection of Sámuel Festetits in the mid-century are still acknowledged as autograph works (fig. 9).[110]

The *vedute* of Canaletto, Bellotto and Guardi enjoyed uninterrupted popularity, virtually from the moment they were painted, irrespective of changing tastes and styles. Nevertheless, while these three names keep appearing in the written sources, only the pair of *vedute* once owned by Sámuel Festetits (fig. 10),[111] and the small painting acquired by the Szépművészeti Múzeum from the collection of Bernát Back (cat. 135), were irrefutably painted by Canaletto.[112] There were several *vedute* by Bernardo Bellotto in Hungarian collections, though most of them were not views of Venice.[113] A total of seventeen postcard-sized *vedute* by Francesco Guardi and his son Giacomo passed into the hands of the Szépművészeti Múzeum from a variety of provenances,[114] but there were also plenty of larger canvases in the old private collections.[115]

DETHRONING GUIDO

Students of the Vienna Academy rebelled against the Fügerian dictatorship of taste as early as 1809. They founded a society that would later be called the Nazarenes (mother to all modern art groups), and secluded themselves in a monastery near Rome, aiming to regain the pure spirituality of Quattrocento painting. The movement (or rather the intellectual momentum behind it) had an enormous impact on art history and on taste. Not only Füger, Mengs and Batoni, but also their idols, were sent to the pillory as wanton virtuosos and insipid imitators.

This intellectual environment witnessed the rise of Hungarian art history, which stamped its mark on attitudes to Italian Baroque painting. The main criticism which the founding fathers levelled at the Italian Baroque – identified as the Carracci school – was the very reason why Kazinczy and his generation had so admired Guido and company: their adherence to the traditions of Raphael and Correggio. This was now derided as a lack of independence, a vacuous obedience to form, in short – to use the preferred term of the age – a "mannerism" (not to be confused with the word's current meaning, denoting a style and period, which was coined much later, in the twentieth century). In this context, their style was necessarily regarded as decadent.[116] This was reinforced in Hungary by the national ideology which regarded the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as an odious period *ab ovo,* since it had witnessed the low point of Hungarian statehood, when the country was just a backward colony of the alien Habsburg house. It was for this reason that early proponents of the discipline of art history turned to the Middle Ages, which were regarded as Hungary's golden days. The programme of the new taste was first expounded by Ferenc Pulszky (1814–1897), in his inaugural address to the academy in 1841 titled *On the impact of ancient monuments on modern art.*[117] His underlying thesis, essentially a methodical demolition of the Kazinczy principles, was that blind admiration and imitation of works by the old masters, far from inspiring advances in the arts, would instead strangle them. Winckelmann and his associates – says Pulszky – rightly realized that art had reached a period of decadence; but their flawed views inevitably condemned their efforts to failure: "they fell into the very same error that had caused the erstwhile death of art, for they wanted to revive it not from life, but from the art of yore". In Pulszky's view, artists of every nation should go about art in accordance with their own place and time. Rembrandt was one of the positive examples he gave, and another was Rubens, who "did not wish to be a Hellene among Flemings, nor an Italian, nor to espouse, in the seventeenth century, the pious humility of the earlier Middle Ages. Yet he conceived of life as it appeared before him, wholesomely, sensually, animatedly, sometimes foully, always nationally, and he therefore painted people, portly Netherlanders". Pulszky does not denounce the Baroque as a whole, only its academicist stream (and the Nazarenes, who were the other side of the same coin). In his narrative, the decay of Italian art commenced in the period which we now call Mannerism. Caravaggio and the Carracci did indeed, for a short while, revive a desire for reality, but in the hands of their successors, art suffered total degeneration, "because in nature they saw only archetypes, and in monuments only canons".

A similar view of the historical situation of the Italian Baroque is found in the writings of Pulszky's fellow founding father of Hungarian art history, Imre Henszlmann (1813–1888). The "degeneration" of Italian art set in around 1520, when the idea of beauty did not accord with the views and habits of the artists' own time, but rather conformed to the recently discovered relics of the Roman Empire, which were "esteemed in excess of their merit". The Carracci school "at least excelled in that they strove to restore nature to an art that had grown distant from life". And although the Carracci were the instigators of the academies, "still, their practice, derived from viewing nature with an assured eye, could not degenerate as it did in the works of their immediate students". Later, the artists of Bologna descended into the "bland, broad ocean" of eclecticism, which "may produce no masters, only aping mediocrities".[118]

Unlike the other two founders, Arnold Ipolyi (1823–1886) was not scornful of the Nazarene school; contrariwise, his attitude to art was rather similar to theirs. In his view, Gothic architecture was the pinnacle of art, and the imitation of classical prototypes had led to decadence already in the Quattrocento. He rejected Baroque art so vehemently that one of his main initiatives as bishop was the "regothicization" of old churches, which meant the removal of all Baroque adornments. This radical attitude was reflected in his important, and extraordinarily rich, collection of art, in which painting after the year 1500 was almost totally ignored – "almost", because it did contain here and there a few Italian paintings from the sixteenth century, and even one from the seventeenth: none other than a copy after Guido Reni.[119]

Pulszky and his ilk threw the Italian Baroque, with no exceptions, on the rubbish heap of history; they did not bother to outline an alternative history of the period, or to select from its rich diversity any long-neglected artists or "schools" which would have been more in tune with their own sympathies. Indeed, they did not know of any. Pulszky and Henszlmann proudly declared themselves disciples of the Hungarian medallist József Dániel Böhm (1794–1865),[120] resident of Vienna and the most influential art expert in the entire Habsburg empire, and they could not praise his art collection highly enough.[121] Henszlmann wrote: "[Böhm] devoted attention to every relic which either had intrinsic artistic value, or which could, in whatsoever regard, shed light on the general development of art. His collection was therefore a history of art: one which revealed clearly the gradual progress of art through time, and the influence of one nation's art on another's; his collection was to art what archives are to history."[122] Pulszky and Henszlmann went to Böhm in order to learn the history of art from his collection, which, because of its supposed all-encompassing universality, they regarded as finer even than the Esterházy gallery, notwithstanding that the latter was far richer in masterpieces. Seen from today's perspective, the true worth of the Böhm gallery lies not in its completeness, but in its bold embrace of early, "primitive" art. It showed nothing novel when it came to the Italian Baroque: an Agostino Carracci, a Guido, two Riberas, a Luca Giordano, two Courtois battle scenes and three Canalettos[123] – the same roll-call as any other collection in the age of Füger. It is therefore not so surprising, as it may appear at first glance, that when Henszlmann in his final year of life was invited to contribute something from his own collection to the first great exhibition of Hungarian private galleries, the elderly scholar presented a *Christ on the Cross* attributed to Guido Reni as his greatest treasure.[124]

Böhm was also visited by the greatest Hungarian art collector of the mid-nineteenth century, Count Sámuel Festetits (1806–1862). However, the reclusive, eccentric count did not go to Böhm to brush up on his art history, but for advice on more practical issues. Böhm helped build Festetits's collection, using his contacts and expertise, but Festetits himself set the agenda, and only in a couple of "primitive" works can Böhm's influence be suspected. One thing that Böhm does deserve at least partial credit for, however, is the exceptional quality of the collection. Unlike most Hun-

garian art collectors of the day, Festetits owned a gallery full of true masterworks, rather than a lot of second-rate imitations purchased on account of their tantalizing names. His was a classical, aristocratic palace gallery, echoing the tastes of the Viennese court collections, with magnificent works by Titian, Veronese, Tiepolo, Rigaud, Teniers, Kalf and Ruisdael. He kept it in Vienna, of course. Festetits was at heart a child of the end of the eighteenth century, an unwavering believer in cosmopolitan enlightened absolutism, and utterly aloof from the Hungarian nationalist movement. Few people would have seen his collection while it was in his possession, and only when it came up for auction in 1859 did the general public realize its extraordinary value. While the main character of the gallery was defined by Netherlandish and Cinquecento works, the Italian Baroque section was also of an exceptional standard. Tiepolo and Canaletto have already been mentioned, and Zuccarelli was a further representative from Venice. The jewel of the Bolognese paintings was a magnificent portrait by Agostino Carracci; but alongside this were works ascribed to Guercino, Albani, and the school of Guido Reni. There was also a Strozzi, and animal paintings by Domenico Brandi.[125]

It is unlikely that the legendary gallery of the "wild count" Sándor Teleki (1821–1892) ever matched this level of quality. Teleki, famous for his patronage of the Hungarian national poet Sándor Petőfi, bought his paintings on his Italian journeys in the 1840s, but his collection was lost without trace during the tempestuous years of the twentieth century. It is only from the enthusiastic description of the novelist Mór Jókai that we know that the walls of his mansion in Koltó (today Coltău, Romania) were covered top to bottom with "masterworks by Bronzino, Andrea Salerno, Guido Reni, Gerardo de la Notte, Salvator Rosa, Artemisia Gentileschi, Luca Giordano (glass painter), Pauji, Ribeyras, Solimena, Markó, Velasquez, Murillo, Tiepolo, Delamonica, Pagliano Palini and innumerable other great masters, accumulated by Sándor Teleki on his wide roamings of the world, picked up for a farthing at a rag-fair, or else bought for a king's ransom".[126] Count Lajos Batthyány (1807–1849), the martyred prime minister of the 1848 Revolution, and his wife, Countess Antónia Zichy (1816–1888), also purchased works for their collection while travelling through Italy: their pride and joy was, of course, a Guido Reni.[127]

Trips to Italy played a decisive role in defining the tastes of Hungarian art lovers, a much larger role than that of the writings on art history then emerging in Hungary. Diaries and journals recording travellers' experiences reveal a wealth of information about their tastes, and sometimes even about their evolution. When Lajos Gyulay (1800–1869), on his journey to Rome, sees his fourth Guido, he greets it as if it were a bosom friend, calling it "my dear old Guido Reni".[128] Count István Széchenyi (1791–1860), the great modernizer of the nation, even ranks the artists in order of merit: "Had we to classify the painters, that Sanzio would indubitably stand at the head, then no one for long after him, and in the end Michel Angelo Buonarotti, Caravaggio, Leonardo da Vinci, Dominichino, et cetera."[129] Male travellers still wrote rather sparely about the paintings and other art treasures they saw. Female travellers, by contrast, could be much more effusive, and none more so than the passionately romantic baroness Polixéna Wesselényi (1801–1878). In the book she wrote on her Italian tour of 1842, Wesselényi cast her omnivorous eye on everything, was constantly enraptured by what she saw, and enthused in the strongest terms about the paintings of Raphael, Correggio, Guido and Domenichino. "The dearest treasures of the brush", she wrote, rapt with wonder at the Vatican gallery's paintings by Guido, Guercino and Raphael.[130] The others – works by Caravaggio and Titian among them – were merely listed. After a while, though, she grew bored of the Bolognese artists: "In numerous paintings of his, Guido Reni did no more than adapt a single countenance to one figure or another."[131] Then she began to appreciate cruder tastes: the same fervour she had previously reserved for Guido was now accorded to Caravaggio, Salvator Rosa, or the *Judith* by Cristofano Allori (cat. 38): "Such manly resolve and conviction shine in her eyes as she brandishes her sword in triumph!", she wrote of Judith, "And this detracts naught from her ladylike beauty".[132] Wesselényi was indeed an exceptional woman; her fellow female writers were more restrained, and more sober in their response to art. Nevertheless, they always viewed pictures in galleries with more interest and feeling than their husbands, which was partly due to the differences in male and female education. There is therefore some justification in supposing that the influence of women on the fashioning of taste was much more powerful than the available data suggest, and one may even wonder whether many an art collection bearing a man's name may have been in fact the result of his wife's efforts.

Collecting in the mid-nineteenth century was, then, still dominated by the Kazinczy taste. The avenue opened up by the three founding fathers could not be travelled by the public at large. The attraction of Italy could not be banished from the hearts of art lovers. Raphaels were no longer available, and not everybody had the desire to deck their walls with gold-ground Madonnas. Lacking guidance, general opinion retained Guido Reni and his fellow artists from Bologna at the apex of Italian Baroque painting. This is hardly



Fig. 11
Sebastiano Ricci
Venus and Satyr
ca. 1716–1720
Formerly Esterházy collection, Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest

surprising, as in many respects, contemporary art still adhered to the classicizing streams of the Seicento, a phenomenon that Henszlmann furiously railed against.[133] The romantic path walked by Kisfaludy brought no followers, and there was renewed enthusiasm for neo-classical taste in the 1830s. This is clearly reflected in the art collection of the leading architect of the age, Mihály Pollack, which contained, besides a wealth of Netherlandish landscapes and still lifes, pictures ascribed to Albani, Furini, Cignani, Solimena, Padovanino and Bartolomeo Manfredi.[134]

BETWEEN REJECTION AND NOSTALGIA

After the failed 1848 Revolution, Hungary sank into a period of passivity, but the Compromise of 1867 – which regulated the relations between Austria and Hungary – marked the beginning of an incredibly strong economic upturn. Immense fortunes were made, leading to a golden age in art collecting. National institutions also flourished, and a long-held dream finally came true: the Esterházy gallery was moved to Pest in 1865, and bought by the state soon afterwards. Károly Pulszky (1853–1899), son of the art historian Ferenc Pulszky, was appointed to establish a national gallery that would present the history of art in a systematic manner: the Szépművészeti Múzeum. The scheme involved not only the construction of a new, suitably capacious building, but also an expansion of the collection, based on a clearly defined concept. Meanwhile, in cities the length and breadth of Hungary, the local elite were founding museums in the spirit of local patriotism.[135] In 1868, an auction of artworks was held in Pest.[136] The treasures of private collections were presented in several exhibitions, starting with displays of applied arts, and followed by two great exhibitions of pictures in private collections in 1888 and 1902.

This truly was a golden age in Hungary, both for artistic institutions and for collecting in general; it was, however, a barren period for Italian Baroque painting. The opinions of Pulszky and his associates slowly entered the public consciousness, and were accepted by many. Some private collections – though quite distinguished in other respects – were completely lacking in the Italian Baroque, such as the collections of György Ráth (1828–1905) and Frigyes Glück (1858–1931), to mention but two. Ludwig von Baldass wrote of the latter – although he could have said the same about any number of Hungarian collections of the day –: "it represents the type of art-historically conceived collections that started in the second half of the nineteenth century under the guidance of Bode, which focused, as they did, on seventeenth-century Netherlandish painting, but which also constituted certain works of the Florentine Quattrocento and the Venetian High Renaissance, as well as one or two fine works by sixteenth-century northern masters, and a few pictures from the eighteenth century".[137]

The same taste prevailed in the Szépművészeti Múzeum under the leadership of Károly Pulszky. Even the Esterházy collection, when purchased, lost its original balance, as only half of the collection made it to the museum, while the other half, deemed worthless, was sold off. Needless to say, the now unfashionable Italian Baroque section faced the severest losses; even some excellent masterpieces were discarded, such as Sebastiano Ricci's *Venus and Satyr* (fig. 11).[138] Pulszky defined three main targets in his agenda for developing the collection: sculpture, Tuscan painting from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and seventeenth-century Dutch painting.[139] The plan was approved by the state, which also allocated a large sum of money, and within two years Pulszky had bought 297 paintings on the international art market (not to mention statues and drawings).[140] The vast majority of these, however – reflecting Pulszky's personal tastes rather than a systematic expansion of the collection – were Quattrocento and early Cinquecento works from north and central Italy. Among them were just eight Italian Baroque paintings, and unfortunately some of these only serve as proof that Pulszky's distaste was based on a relatively superficial knowledge of this period.[141] His views are evident in the report he wrote rejecting the initiative to purchase the distinguished Pozsony gallery of Enea Lanfranconi: "In the main, the Italian pictures are from the end of the seventeenth century and the eighteenth century. This period in the history of Italian painting represents a period of academic decadence in painting, and its works offer the least benefits for scholars in art history and for creative artists of the present day."[142]

It was true that the "creative artists of the present day" would not have felt that Italian Baroque painting "offered benefits" to them. The dominant academic trends sought inspiration rather in Rubens, Rembrandt and Velázquez. Even Caravaggio was less inspirational to artists for his paintings than for his exciting life story, as exemplified by the series of drawings made by Bertalan Székely on the subject. Similarly, Alajos Degré's romantic novel on Salvator Rosa – which was also adapted for the stage as a melodrama, with music by Ferenc Erkel – was inspired not by Rosa's paintings, but by the innumerable French literary works on the artist's life and personality.[143] Moreover, modernist movements, of which only the Barbizon School was yet gaining ground in Hungary, clearly sought inspiration anywhere but in the Baroque.

Scholars were also disinclined to deal with the Italian Baroque. When Gyula Pasteiner (1846–1924), the eminent university professor, wrote the first major summary of the history of European art in the Hungarian language in 1885, he devoted just four of its more than seven hundred pages to Italian painting in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. No Hungarian art historian was ever more hostile to the Italian Baroque: Caravaggio's figures were "utterly banal", his paintings "do not achieve an artistic effect"; Guido's works were "artificial, and without persuasive power"; Tiepolo was simply "superficial". Domenichino at least painted one good picture, the *Saint Cecilia* in the Louvre: "Such a nobly simple, heartfelt, true and therefore moving work, however, he never painted again. Nor did his century have a sense for this." The art of the Carracci alone receives a modicum of merit: "though it lent no true vitality to painting, … it did at least delay its ultimate decline."[144]

But one scholar was more tolerant. Zsigmond Ormós (1813–1894) in fact belonged to the generation of the founding fathers, but as he did not participate in the pioneering work of institutionalizing the discipline of art history, he has not been incorporated in the pantheon. He was, though, perhaps the true intellectual successor to József Dániel Böhm in that instead of deducing the history of art from broad historical concepts, he constructed it from the works themselves. He worked his way through the two great Viennese galleries: the imperial collection and the Esterházy gallery, and strove to find their points of connection and their wider-reaching ramifications. The books based on these studies were in fact the first systematic art-history handbooks in Hungarian, pre-dating Pasteiner.[145] (The method was, of course, still derived from Winckelmann.) His own collection of art, though no rival to those of the higher aristocracy in terms of quality, possessed a peculiar character, with a distinct attraction for the classicizing stream in Venetian painting in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries (Gregorio Lazzarini, Antonio Balestra, Niccolò Bambini, Giulio Carpioni). Happily, this collection was not randomly dispersed: Ormós selected fifteen works as a gift to the Hungarian National Museum in 1859, and gave the bulk of the collection (427 paintings) to his home town, Temesvár (Timişoara, Romania), thereby establishing the city's museum.[146]

Ormós was drawn to a career in art history by his flaming passion for Venice, and he stayed true to this passion throughout his life. For him, Italian painting remained the touchstone, no matter how Italophilia was derided by Pulszky and his associates; and within Italy, Venice took the prize. "The truth of the matter is: the source of art is humour and sensibility, and its mother is imagination, and this is not so apparent in the art of any other nation as in the Italian. No art is as great, nor on equal footing as various and charming, as the Italian", he wrote.[147] Overall, his narrative of art history is not so different from the others; yet it is constantly imbued with the collector's attitude, which softens the blow of negative assertions, and is capable of seeing value even in the products of the "decadent ages". When discussing the Carracci, for example, he points out that, although the tenet of



Fig. 12
Marcantonio Franceschini
Sybil
From the collection
of Edmund Zichy,
Szépművészeti Múzeum,
Budapest

eclecticism was indeed a bad direction, "the doctrine remained more in the realm of theory than practice", and the works of the Carracci have "artistic perfection".[148] In Strozzi's works, he writes, "life and character, though oft times ignoble, can yet be traced".[149] Salvator Rosa – whom he compares with Károly Markó – is accorded unconditional praise, and the epithet "genius".[150]

Despite all the scholarly talk of decadence and "characterless mannerism",[151] a novel interest in the Baroque reared its head towards the end of the nineteenth century. The first author to address this phenomenon was Tibor Gerevich (1882–1954), in a sweeping, programmatic essay of 1910.[152] The text is especially interesting in the present context, as it also attempts an exploration of the processes at play in the background of this change of taste, and in this endeavour it is a pioneering work in Hungarian art criticism. "Every age chooses as its ideal, and as the subject of its research and its labour of love, that period from the past which conforms with its own emotions and aspirations, which provides ready arguments for the defence of its ideals. … The second half of the nineteenth century was of an excessively rational nature. … This age was drawn naturally towards the fifteenth century. There, they found as much to admire in the rough fist of the *condottiere* as they did in the reasoning minds of the founding mathematicians, and in the watchful eye, and worldly regard, of the pioneering artists. … Today's ideals are different. Our sympathies towards the past have changed. … We can, and we dare, to feel again. Sobriety has been replaced with zeal. Religiosity is once more becoming a necessity, indeed we are turning straight to mysticism, which is also finding expression in literature."[153] Gerevich carries on a polemic with the Viennese art historians, especially Alois Riegl, who initiated the re-evaluation of the Baroque. His general thesis is surprising, yet it is the direct consequence of his personal propensities: on the one hand, his biased connection with the art of Bologna, the adored backdrop to his youth; and on the other hand, the discourse of "national characterology" that determined his train of thought.[154] In Gerevich's view, the Carracci school is not fundamentally rooted in the precedents from Rome, but in local traditions: the art of Francesco Francia, Amico Aspertini and Prospero Fontana. And while he acknowledges that Caravaggism was more progressive than academicism, he regards it as natural that, in the battle between the two, the Bolognese won, for their art lies closer to the Italian soul: "Caravaggio suffered defeat, and his adherents fled through the port of Naples to Spain. Had this not happened, perhaps Velasquez and Goya would have been born in Italy. The loss however was offset by the fact that the artistic conscience of the Italian race remained eternally pure."[155]

Gerevich, then, returned afresh to the old heroes of Kazinczy; in the absence of a better alternative, the art collectors followed suit. Not only did the two great late inheritors of the Viennese palace gallery traditions – Count Edmund Zichy (1811–1894) and Count János Pálffy (1829–1908) – maintain their support for Guido Reni and his colleagues, but the new magnates and the bourgeois collectors also could do nothing else. Zichy and Pálffy were in every respect the heirs to the classical, cosmopolitan tradition: the collections they kept in their Viennese palaces consisted mostly of Dutch and Flemish cabinet paintings, with a strong showing of the Italian Cinquecento. Zichy's collection was smaller and less grandiose: he bought most of his paintings between 1850 and 1875, almost exclusively from Viennese art dealers; quite a number of these had once formed part of the Festetits collection, and a few pieces from the former Viczay collection were also acquired. The unique flavour of his collection was derived from his incomparable series of Austrian and German works from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The collection was given, by his son, to the city of Budapest, and the works were eventually housed in the Szépművészeti Múzeum. Of the Italian Baroque items, the Guido Reni and Guercino paintings have been proven to be copies, and the "Elisabetta Sirani" is actually by Marcantonio Franceschini (fig. 12); however, the works by Crespi, Bellucci and Solimena are fine, authentic pieces, and also important are the two large *vedute* of Rome, which were until recently believed to be early works by Antonio Canaletto (cat. 131).

Pálffy was a genuinely quixotic figure. An immensely wealthy nobleman, he had palaces in Pozsony, Vienna and Budapest, as well as a number of mansions across the country, and his residences were arranged in accordance with a meticulously staged plan, each communicating a different message. In Vienna, he showed his modern, cosmopolitan face, decorating the walls with first-rate French contemporaries (although the furniture, in harmony with the style of the building, was made up of empire pieces); in Bajmóc (Bojnice, Slovakia) he kept his ancestral family seat, furnished in imitation of seventeenth-century Hungarian castles; conversely, in Királyfa (Kráľová pri Senci, Slovakia) and Pozsony, the atmosphere of the country houses and city palaces of the age of Maria Theresa was brought to life.[156] For half a century he was a regular client of the most notable art dealers in Paris, Milan and London. The minor part of the Italian Baroque paintings in the collection were in Pozsony, and were bequeathed by the count to the Szépművészeti Múzeum; the vast majority, however, were part of the accoutrements of the country house in Királyfa,

which were later dispersed through auction.[157] The crowning glory of the Italian Baroque works in the Pálffy collection was Guercino's enormous altarpiece (cat. 53), in addition to which there were countless paintings attributed to Carracci, Guido Reni, Domenichino, Dolci, Furini, Fetti, Procaccini, Bellotto, Ghislandi, Castiglione, Piazzetta, and Balestra.

Close to Pálffy's palace in Pozsony was another gallery with a similar character, but in this case the owner was not a born aristocrat. Enea Lanfranconi (1850–1895), a water engineer, came from Lombardy, settled in Hungary and amassed a Croesan fortune as a mine owner, with which he built an impressive collection of 221 works of art, displayed as a public gallery.[158] Most of the paintings were – as ever – seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish works, but there was also a respectable quantity from the Italian Renaissance and Baroque. After Károly Pulszky – as we saw earlier – so vehemently turned down the chance to buy the collection, it was auctioned off in Cologne.[159] Among the paintings, which had mostly been purchased from Viennese art dealers, the catalogue listed no fewer than four works attributed to Guido Reni, two to Domenichino, three to Annibale Carracci, two to Elisabetta Sirani, two to Cantarini and three to Maratta; there were also, representing Naples, two Riberas and three Salvator Rosas; and from Venice there was one work each by Bellotto, Guardi and Tiepolo. The Tiepolo was described by Pulszky as "entirely satisfying the requisite standard for a public gallery …, but this artist is represented in the National Gallery by such momentous works that its acquisition may hardly be described as filling a gap, because it does not show the personality of the artist from a different angle to the kind already represented in our Gallery".[160]

The three collections detailed above were just a few of the largest and most famous galleries of the time. Different sources reveal hundreds of private collectors:[161] most of them had just five or ten paintings to decorate their homes (and create their bourgeois milieu[162]), but others had over a hundred. These collections were quite diverse, but some general trends could be observed, if not in every collection, then in the majority. First, as has been mentioned before, was the numerical superiority of Netherlandish cabinet paintings. In many instances this was a conscious choice based on personal taste, while in other cases it was justified by practical considerations. Within the sphere of Italian Baroque paintings, one might observe the following tendencies: first of all, the continuing heritage of the tastes of the Enlightenment, which is to say the classicizing school of Bologna (Guido Reni, Domenichino, Carracci, Albani, Guercino) and the kindred spirits of Dolci, Furini, Sassoferrato and Maratta; secondly, the attraction of the Venetian masters (Tiepolo, Ricci, Bellotto, Guardi, Canaletto, Fontebasso, Pellegrini, Pittoni, Diziani, or even Lazzarini and Carpioni); thirdly, the school of Naples (Caravaggio, Ribera, Mattia Preti, Salvator Rosa, Solimena) – interest in Caravaggism was growing slowly but surely; and finally, the sources also reveal a surprisingly large number of Italian cabinet paintings – still lifes, genre pieces, landscapes: the popularity of works by Cerquozzi, Courtois, Locatelli, Domenico Brandi, Giorgio Durante and Cipper was clearly driven by the same factors as that of the Netherlandish artists.

By the start of the next century, even the Szépművészeti Múzeum had come to appreciate the value of Italian Baroque painting. The purchasing policy of the director at the time, Gábor Térey (1864–1927), had greater equilibrium than Pulszky's, and Térey saw his mission as filling in the gaps in the collection without prejudice of taste. Despite the fact that the Hungarian collections of the nineteenth century were teeming with paintings bearing the name of Carracci, Térey was forced to face up to the unpleasant truth that none of the works in the museum's collection was truly representative of the artist. It was natural, therefore, that when the opportunity arose to purchase one of his true masterpieces – moreover, one with a glittering provenance – he seized it with both hands (cat. 43). This, however, was the only significant addition to the Italian Baroque collection during Térey's time.



Fig. 13
Alessandro Magnasco
Monks at Supper
1740s
Formerly with Marcell Nemes,
Szépművészeti Múzeum,
Budapest

"BROUGHT CLOSER TO OUR AGE BY FLAMING PASSION"

Although Gerevich had the intention, through his essays, of starting a new chapter in the reception of Italian Baroque painting in Hungary, all he really did was put a crown on the old period, and then seal it forever. The true revolution took place with the arrival on the scene of Marcell Nemes and Mór Lipót Herzog.

Marcell Nemes (1866–1930) is an almost mythical figure in the history of art collecting in Hungary. The myth was created by the man himself: all his life, he cultivated the image of a regal art collector and chivalrous patron, and sorely objected if anyone dared call him an art dealer. His contemporaries, though, were well aware of what Nemes was really like: according to the witty put-down of Ferenc Hatvany, son of a wealthy sugar baron, the self-image Nemes

projected was as if his own father were to assert that he was a *collector* of sugar, not a trader in it.[163] And yet Nemes's self-fashioned legend still pervades his general assessment.[164] In a sense, it is irrelevant whether he was collector or dealer: without a doubt, he breathed fresh air into the musty Hungarian art trade, which had grown mouldy for lack of new impulses. He was wise to the fact that those who had accumulated astronomical wealth over the last few decades were thirsting for a way to convert their fortunes into social prestige; and he correctly gauged that one of the most appropriate tools for this was to collect art. He aspired to become the Hungarian Joseph Duveen, the "court" art dealer to the moneyed aristocracy, and he was equipped with a natural talent – in both art and business – as well as the requisite magnetic personality. Only one thing was missing to bring his grand plans to fruition: money. Then he met the industrialist Midas, Mór Lipót Herzog (1869–1934), who at first saw only the business potential in the whole enterprise and put up a hefty amount of start-up capital, but before long he too caught the collecting bug.

The true significance of Nemes lies in the fact that he was not content simply to meet the traditional demands of art collectors, at a higher level of quality. Nemes was not personally averse to donning *díszmagyar* (the traditional Hungarian gala-dress), and he also bought a palace on the Grand Canal in Venice and a fortified mansion close to Munich. Nevertheless, he understood that the prevailing model used by the nouveau riche for displaying wealth – imitating the lifestyle of the nineteenth-century aristocracy – had grown anachronistic. And conjoined with that the traditional taste, to which the Hungarian collectors still adhered for want of proper guidance, became outdated too. Nemes wanted to dictate new trends in taste, to modernize the collecting of art in Hungary, and to encourage interest in new artists and new movements. He achieved this so successfully that the canon of Hungarian art of his age is still, to this very day, greatly influenced by his work. He was substantially helped in his endeavours when he found an ally in Elek Petrovics, director of the Szépművészeti Múzeum, who realized that supporting Nemes could also reap rewards for the museum, and that Nemes's activities could be a powerful force in furthering Petrovics's own efforts to modernize public tastes.

Marcell Nemes had the acuity to know that the artists and, especially, the collectors of modern movements were in need of forerunners who would legitimize their artistic pursuits. Nemes was ready to deliver what they wanted and thus he not only enhanced his reputation, but also stumbled upon a goldmine. "I consistently anticipated contemporary taste by many years in my purchases. When I bought, the artists of the pictures were unknown; when I passed these paintings on, the painters had come into fashion", he said in an interview given in 1913.[165] He bought a huge number of works, at low prices, by the artists he had singled out for "rediscovery", and after he had constructed their "pioneer" image with a well-orchestrated and vociferous campaign, he "passed them on" at enormous profit. Famously, his first, and greatest, coup was the "rediscovery" of El Greco; what is less well remembered, however, is that his next great discovery was the long-neglected Genoese Baroque master mentioned earlier in this essay, Alessandro Magnasco. In 1915, as the opening fanfare to this grand scheme, Nemes gave, with a blaze of publicity, two paintings by the artist to the Szépművészeti Múzeum (fig. 13).[166] But critics reacted rather coolly to this gesture: "Alessandro Magnasco, one of the most extreme exponents of the decadent Baroque, did not rank among the misunderstood greats in his own age. … It is understandable, however, that today, when we no longer flinch from the piquant, and are prepared to overlook untold superfluous appendages, and even huge deficiencies, in exchange for individual values, responsiveness has once again arisen to the affected and uneven, yet dazzlingly blessed, master from Genoa. It is quite natural that after the resurrection of Greco, that of Magnasco should follow. Nor should we wonder that the enterprising spirit has striven to unveil this new re-evaluation for its own benefit. This newfound enthusiasm for Magnasco must be accepted with some reservation, for its subject is no force for creating epoch-making values. Magnasco is not even as exceptional a soul as Greco. His worth is to be found not in his isolation, but in the fact that he reveals the most complete panorama of the culture of his times", wrote Zoltán Felvinczi Takács.[167] Collectors, on the other hand, scrambled for this new flavour, and just like the El Greco fever of a few years before, the art world was gripped by Magnasco mania. Indeed, in 1937, at the next exhibition of Hungarian private collections, *Old Italian Masters*, there were no fewer than six paintings by Magnasco, all from different collections[168] – and this was just a small fraction of the countless paintings ascribed to him in Hungarian private collections during the twentieth century.[169] It also speaks volumes that in the sumptuous art collection of Adolf Kohner (1866–1937), which, in painting, focused almost solely on modern movements, the only other old master alongside Goya and Tiepolo was Magnasco.[170]

The 1937 exhibition reflected perfectly the revised canon of old Italian art. The vast majority of the exhibited works were from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; of the 155 items, only five represented the Seicento, with twenty-five from the Settecento. The school of Bologna had completely disappeared off the radar of collector interest. At the same time – alongside Magnasco, and Ricci, Tiepolo and Pittoni from the Venetian Settecento – the somewhat unexpected star of the Baroque section of the exhibition, also with six works, was the Mantuan Giuseppe Bazzani.[171]

Although nowhere near the same number of articles were written about Bazzani, his popularity clearly arose for the same reasons as that of the Genoese master. As one exhibition reviewer wrote: "After the works of the great centuries of the Renaissance, our attention is captured by two eighteenth-century painters, Giuseppe Bazzani and Alessandro Magnasco, who, in a number of exhibited paintings, are characterized, and brought closer to our age, by flaming passion and free handling."[172] A painting by Bazzani had been acquired by the Szépművészeti Múzeum as early as 1895, when Károly Pulszky bought it in Italy – but before any astonished eyebrows are raised, we must emphasize that Pulszky believed it was by Van Dyck.[173] It was not reattributed to Bazzani until 1927, when the artist's revival was already underway. A sign of the increasing regard for Bazzani came in 1930, when the museum bought two virtuoso half-length compositions from a private collection in Budapest,[174] and it was possibly in the same decades that the *Adoration of the Magi* (cat. 118) in the current exhibition was also brought to Hungary.

The mania for *bozzetti* during this period can also be understood in the context of the modernist movements, although there had already been precedents for this in the nineteenth century. "The *bozzetto* becomes especially important in the age of Baroque art. … The sketch is almost the only thing that can convey, in all its purity, the Baroque feeling, will, inspiration and irrationalism", wrote the eminent art historian László Éber in 1924.[175] The *bozzetti* of Tiepolo, Pittoni, Fontebasso, Gandolfi and Carlo Innocenzo Carlone, with their quick brushstrokes and liveliness, enjoyed particular favour among collectors. These masters – though they were far from in need of rediscovery – also fitted in perfectly with the new canon. The context, though, had changed: the focus had shifted from the continuity of the Venetian Cinquecento onto more modern features.

Interest in northern Italian Settecento painting was boosted by one other stimulus: the rediscovery of the Hungarian – or more broadly, the central European – context. As interest in the domestic Baroque grew (the various reasons for this are too many to enumerate here), so new light was cast on the international – that is, the Viennese and, indirectly, the Italian – connections to it. Naturally, the pioneer in this was – as in almost every field of research into Hungarian Baroque art – the outstanding scholar, János Kapossy. The ideas that he propounded in his ground-breaking 1927 study, *Towards the Issue of the Italian Connections to our Baroque Art*, are still valid today.[176] He pointed out that, while the art of Hungary was teeming with Italian influences, these – with a few scattered exceptions – arrived in Hungary through the filter of Vienna: "the reawakening nation, organized in the spirit of Habsburg federalism, will necessarily be a province of Vienna, even in the arts. Art and artists are imported from where its cultural and political connections are tied most directly … Italian masters come over to us not directly, but almost always through Austria, through Vienna." The majority of these artists – he continues – even if they were Italian by nationality, now belong, in their cultural identity, purely to the Viennese "Hochbarock". "Only the greatest, who travelled North as guests, remain, in their personas and in their art, the bearers of Italian artistic culture", wrote

Kapossy, referring to Tiepolo and Pozzo. In conjunction with this – Kapossy emphasizes – "however novel is the synthesis that outside influences are absorbed into, and however unmistakably, beyond these influences, emerges a unique local character that differs from every other German style, *[eighteenth-century Viennese painting,]* directly or indirectly, feeds primarily on Italian sources". These sources are expounded upon in detail by Kapossy, who demonstrates the influence of Piazzetta, Crespi and Trevisani on the paintings of Troger, and the importance of Pittoni, Ricci, Tiepolo, Luca Giordano, and Piazzetta once again, for the art of Maulbertsch; he also reveals that many of the products of Hungarian Baroque painting can ultimately be traced back to engravings after Pittoni and Ricci.

It is no coincidence that precisely those names mentioned above appear in a number of art collections from that time in the company of works by their Viennese contemporaries: Troger, Maulbertsch, Kracker and Kremser Schmidt. Of these collections, mention must be made of the exceptionally conceptual, scholarly collection of Rudolf Bedő (1891–1978), which took shape between the end of the 1910s and the 1940s.[177] The very same "Italian-Austrian-Hungarian" context was to be seen in the 1931 exhibition of new acquisitions at the Szépművészeti Múzeum, where a separate room was dedicated to the Baroque, which was much richer than in previous exhibitions of new acquisitions.[178] In the same year that Kapossy published his essay, the Szépművészeti Múzeum bought, from a private collection in Pécs, Pittoni's captivating *bozzetto, Saint Elizabeth of Hungary Giving Alms,* for the altarpiece in the castle chapel in Bad Mergentheim, South Germany.[179] It was not only the subject of this picture that captured Hungarian interest: Andor Pigler, who was by then the museum's highly respected curator, proposed that the sketch had been made for one of the altars in the Karlskirche, Vienna. According to this since disproved theory, Pittoni would have used this sketch in his bid to paint the Saint Elizabeth altarpiece, which was later executed by Daniel Gran.[180] In this case, the new work would have been linked – in witness to the direct presence in Vienna of the great masters of the Venetian Settecento – to the same project as the four *bozzetti*, eventually executed on the altars (cats. 122–123), which came to the museum from the Esterházy collection.

These new perspectives, and the new areas of research they gave rise to, led inevitably to the need to publish new, comprehensive studies. The pioneering venture was the celebrated "Barát–Éber–Takács" volume, first published in 1926, and followed by a vastly expanded and revised edition in 1939. Even the concept of the volume was exceptionally modern, as oriental art was discussed almost to the same extent as European art. The author of the section on modern Europe,[181] László Éber (1871–1935), was the first person in Hungary to compose a synthetic discourse that dispensed with the positivist art-historical taxonomy, which went through the individual national schools one by one and discussed them in isolation. Éber's text – like the contemporaneous great summaries of literary history – can be read as *belles lettres*: the author does indeed write the *story* of art, narrativizing historical facts in order to reveal the latent structure underpinning artistic developments. In his treatment of seventeenth-century Roman art, for instance, the main character, or rather the narrator, is Rubens, arriving on a visit to Rome. And so the significance of the Carracci–Caravaggio rivalry lies in how their conflicting ideals helped form the great Flemish master's style.[182] Éber states, however, that "today, the contrast between these two directions does not seem as sharp as it appeared in the eyes of contemporaries"; he points to the influence of Giorgione on Caravaggio's art, and Caravaggio's influence on the pupils of the Carracci, noting that, while it remained superficial and extraneous in the case of Guido, it "struck deeper chords" in Domenichino. Domenichino then reappears as the source of Poussin's landscape painting, which is contrasted with that of his contemporary Salvator Rosa, and the "recently highly admired" Magnasco, who is presented as Rosa's spiritual heir.[183] Later, when discussing eighteenth-century southern German architecture, at Würzburg he tackles Tiepolo, who is discussed in the context of Troger and Maulbertsch.[184] Éber travels up and down in time and space as an unfettered citizen of the world: it is this free spirit that makes his story such inspiring reading. Breaking the chains of geographical and chronological categorization allows him to shine a light on new, apposite connections, but he is not quite so capable of sustaining this lack of restraint when guiding the reader through the intricacies of the third dimension: some of his characterizations of individual œuvres barely scratch the surface.

A much more traditional synthesis was issued in response by the doyen of Hungarian art history, Károly Lyka (1869–1965), in 1931. In his *History of the Arts* there is hardly a trace of the results of the preceding decades. The Italian Baroque is granted four pages, with only enough space to deal with four artists, and more surprising still is the cast: Caravaggio and Tiepolo are joined by Tintoretto and Veronese. Following in the footsteps of the older critics, Lyka condemns the vast majority of the masters of that period as lacking independence, as plain imitators of Raphael and Correggio, and derides the scholarship in their work as an exercise in philological futility. What is interesting, however, is that with Tiepolo he no longer concurs with his predecessors in seeing him purely as a "resurrector" of the noble aims of the Cinquecento. For Lyka, Tiepolo is no Rip Van Winkle, stumbling in from a vintage age, but the greatest exponent of his own epoch, the rococo, and the inspiration for the following generation.[185]

Two years later, the illustrious professor and chair of the department at the university, Antal Hekler (1882–1940), published the third volume of his history of art, which also covered the Baroque. The fact that twenty-one pages of the volume, traditionally structured according to the national schools, were devoted to Italian painting of the period, is in itself a sign of shifting attitudes.[186] Hekler hints at this in the foreword – somewhat surprisingly following the previously quoted arguments of his abhorred rival, Tibor Gerevich. He closes with the words, "In the stylistic endeavours of the Baroque we no longer see the deterioration of classical art, but the promising, silent budding of new art".[187] For Hekler, the mannerist period is characterized mainly by asceticism, and it is in this light that he defines the role of Caravaggio and the Carracci: "From the 1600s onwards, the fog of the ascetic atmosphere lifts from the world. People reconnect with earthly reality. A jubilant, sensual *joie de vivre* is trumpeted all over, even gaining a hold over religious imagination. Increasing rationalism clothes even extra-terrestrial visions in the mantle of viable, sensual reality." There is also a new component in Hekler's evaluation of Caravaggio: "in historical importance, he surpassed even the greatest masters of the Baroque era. The fertile power of his innovations was felt throughout European art. The path of self-knowledge and self-realization, even for the very best of the seventeenth century – Rubens, Rembrandt and Velázquez – led through the problems in Caravaggio." Hekler's judgement of Guido is spiteful ("his bloodless vacuity and sickly-sweet sensibility lie so far from the soul of modern man") but, by comparison, he holds Guercino in high esteem. Unlike his predecessors, he touches upon Bernardo Strozzi, Domenico Fetti and Johan Liss, whom he calls "modern", and he comments approvingly on Giuseppe Maria Crespi and Alessandro Magnasco, the "advocates of religious sentiment". The Venetian Settecento is presented as the nonpareil of pan-European rococo painting, which, after Ricci and Piazzetta had laid the groundwork, came to its "consummation of genius" with Tiepolo. In terms of its erudition and its evaluation of individual processes, Hekler's volume was the most modern of the three books, but the outdated structure, organized by national schools, prevented it from exerting as great an impact as Éber's narrative.

THE COLLAPSE AND ITS AFTERMATH

The story of collecting international old master paintings in Hungary, as told so far, ends on 29 May 1938. On that day the Hungarian parliament passed the first Anti-Jewish Law, which imposed quotas limiting the number of Jews in commercial and administrative professions. The measures themselves were not as yet calamitous, but the Hungarian elite who were classified as Jews clearly sensed that they were heading towards an impossible future. Those who were classed as Jews – and most major art collectors belonged in this category – began to move their art treasures to safety abroad, or to convert them into cash.[188]



Fig. 14
Paolo Domenico Finoglia
Annunciation
ca. 1635–1645
Szépművészeti Múzeum,
Budapest

From that day on, the influx of artworks stopped, and the exodus began, sometimes a flood, sometimes a trickle, and often clandestinely, and this has continued for seventy-five years. The collecting of international art in Hungary was, and still is, limited to the constant recirculation of the ever-decreasing remnants of the old collections which are still in the country and which have not entered a public collection. The Anti-Jewish Laws and the communist confiscations also resulted in a tendency for private collectors to remain anonymous and out of sight, and this is still true today: tellingly, the 1937 exhibition of private collections was the last occasion in Hungary when the owners' names were shown next to the paintings. There have been two similar major shows since then: the first was immediately after World War II, and the second took place in 1981. Not only did the majority of paintings in the first show vanish in the intervening period, but even more disturbingly, a good half of the Italian Baroque works on display at the 1981 exhibition can now only be found on the police database of works that have been stolen or illegally smuggled out of the country.

Against this background, there is little point in talking about current trends or tastes in the collecting of old masters. Given the circumstances, most private collectors after World War II obviously specialized in contemporary Hungarian art, and despite today's very different opportunities, little has changed. For anyone who still insisted on collecting old masters after the war, the dwindling choice meant that quality was often the sole criterion. There was perhaps one collector (or rather, a pair of collectors) in the decades after 1945 who demonstrably showed a special attraction towards the period under discussion: the stage director Gusztáv Barlay (1922–2005) and his wife, the actor Zsuzsa Bánki (1921–1998). They assembled an excellent collection of works by foreign old masters, focusing on Italian painting from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[189]

After World War II, the neo-Baroque tendencies that had dominated official art (albeit only in architecture and sculpture) in the preceding period generated a palpable resistance towards Baroque art in general.[190] After the communists took over, however, the so-called socialist realists began to realize that in the "barefoot realism" of Caravaggio there was potential for him to be held up as their precursor. Evidence of this is the monographic work on Caravaggio by Ágnes Czobor (1914–1987), curator of the Szépművészeti Múzeum, which was published as part of a series entitled *The Great Masters of Realism,* alongside volumes on Ilya Repin and Vasily Surikov. Czobor was, of course, far too intelligent to call Caravaggio a "low-life realist", as he was described in the popular brochures.[191] There were occasions, however, when she deviated from her otherwise strictly factual style with remarks such as: "Official church opinion did not like the simple people to be given a place on altar paintings; in church, the pious crowd, the working populace, should see only saints on high, and should not be tempted to compare them with themselves, mere struggling, fallible mortals."[192] In the main, though, she avoided setting Caravaggio's work in a social context, or indeed any other, focusing instead on analysing his solutions to professional artistic problems, and on narrating his biography.

There is a clear link between Czobor's research on Caravaggio and the attention she devoted to the previously neglected genre of still life. In her introduction to the major exhibition showing the history of the genre, which she organized in 1962, she wrote: "Whereas in the Netherlands, in France and in Germany, the legions of still lifes were painted by specialists, in Italy … Michelangelo da Caravaggio demonstrated that the autonomous still life was indeed worthy of a great artist's brush too."[193] The collection of the Szépművészeti Múzeum, however, contained hardly any Italian Baroque still life paintings, although there were many of them in private collections. All nine of the Italian still lifes on display at the exhibition were borrowed from private collections, though one of them was purchased by the museum just before the exhibition opened.

Many acquisitions were similarly linked to exhibitions or to research carried out by museum curators. When, for example, Miklós Mojzer published his highly acclaimed 1956 study on Giacomo Francesco Cipper, five of his works were purchased by the museum very soon afterwards. Aside from this factor, however, there was no particular emphasis or concept when it came to expanding the collection. The acquisition policy of the Szépművészeti Múzeum at this period was basically to buy the finest pieces that had remained in Hungary from the great domestic collections. No priority was given to any specific style or national school. The extremely low prices, enabled the museum to purchase a huge number of works: between 1956 and 1989, more than a hundred new acquisitions from the Italian Baroque alone were recorded in the inventory, including masterpieces such as Artemisia Gentileschi's *Jael and Sisera* (cat. 40); Francesco Rustici's *Salome* (inv. 83.1); *The Sacrifice of Noah* by Agostino Beltrano (inv. 81.6); Corrado Giaquinto's *Allegory of Painting* (inv. 58.50); and the processional banner by Gianantonio and Francesco Guardi (inv. 65.3), each side painted by a different brother.

At the start of the 1980s, there was an explosion of interest in the Baroque in German-speaking countries, in particular Austria, sparked by the passionate row over the future of the *Hofstallungen* (Imperial Stables) in Vienna.[194] The discourse naturally also spread to Hungarian art professionals, who have always kept a keen eye on developments in Vienna. The upsurge in interest probably also prompted the publication, in 1985, of a new Hungarian-language study of the Baroque period, from the pen of the renowned university professor György Kelényi. The

great virtue of his work is that it finally does away with the national schools as the primary principle for classification; according to Kelényi's criteria, both chronology and the distribution of genres take precedence. The period of competition between Carracci and Caravaggio is approached from the point of view of the *disegno–colore* debate, and he sees Annibale Carracci as being of key importance for having enforced the primacy of *colore*.[195] Yet Kelényi regards Caravaggio as the greater of the two; he even asserts that the master of Lombardy had a greater influence than Carracci.[196] More intriguingly, Kelényi reinstates Guido Reni to the throne from which the Pulszky generation had deposed him. "The most important artist of the Carracci school … was Guido Reni", he states, quoting Goethe's and Stendhal's enthusiasm for him, before continuing: "… from the second half of the nineteenth century, his abilities as a painter were – unjustly – contested. Not until the œuvre exhibition of 1954 did judgement change again."[197] Like Hekler, Kelényi also highlights Strozzi, Fetti and Liss from the Venetian Seicento, but he no longer sees the initiator of landscape painting as Domenichino, but credits Annibale Carracci. Regarding the eighteenth century, he devotes a significant amount of space to the art of Tiepolo and the *vedutisti* (also pointing out the influence of Luca Giordano in the case of the former), but he makes no mention of their contemporaries.[198]

The intensified interest in the Baroque also left a strong mark on the collections of the Szépművészeti Múzeum. During the directorship (1989–2004) of Miklós Mojzer, the museum's acquisition policy expressly favoured the Baroque, in particular Italian Baroque painting. Of the ninety-nine old master paintings purchased during this period, thirty-nine fall into this category, including some outstanding pieces, such as Paolo Domenico Finoglia's *Annunciation* (fig. 14); Luca Giordano's *Prometheus* (inv. 92.6); and Felice Ficherelli's *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife* (inv. 95.6). Mojzer, whose main objective was the reconstruction of the museum building, revived the so-called Baroque Hall on the ground floor to create – according to a concept that was progressive in his day – a Baroque palace interior. The hall was replete with large-scale Baroque paintings, which were hung in the crammed style of their age, and thus were reinterpreted in the historical context of a contemporary palace gallery. Closely linked to this project was the exhibition *The Children of Eve and Venus*, curated in 1997 by Zsuzsanna Dobos, which, for the first time in a century, attempted to redirect attention to the classicizing movements of Italian Baroque painting, and to the extraordinarily rich collection of such works at the Szépművészeti Múzeum.[199]

As a direct result of the developments in Vienna (not to mention the political changes), the Year of the Baroque (1992–1993), under the aegis of the Central European Initiative, was organized to focus attention once more on a unified central European perspective. This duo of major exhibitions,[200] which mobilized an extraordinary amount of intellectual energy, presented the Italian masters working in the Habsburg Empire or under commission in Hungary as an integral part of central European art, and revealed a wealth of important connections. These results, however, could not have been possible without the major researches in this field carried out in the preceding decades. Among these, particular importance should be given to the studies of Klára Garas, which – besides the writings already cited – were manifest in the 1974 exhibition *Maulbertsch and His Times.*[201]

The diverse and important achievements of the art experts have not, however, yet touched the consciousness of the general public. The Baroque still tends to be viewed with the same enduring, visceral resistance that emerged on the back of the official artistic conventions of the inter-war period. In reality, however, this aversion has been present more or less constantly since the mid-nineteenth century, only interrupted by the brief interlude of interest awakened in the early decades of the twentieth century. The stereotypical image of the "chubby angels" has become entrenched in the public mind, and is as hard to eradicate as daisy roots. It is our hope that the present exhibition, with its spectacular scale and depth, will serve as the starting point for dispelling this image and for engendering fresh interest. And who knows? Perhaps this exhibition will be the spark that re-ignites the Hungarian passion for collecting old masters.

NOTES

1 For the original Latin text, see Iványi 1929, 91, 95. The importance of this text in the history of the reception of the fine arts in Hungary was first pointed out by Sándor Iván Kovács (Kovács 1988, 181, 187–88).

2 Andrea Pozzo, *Saint Francis Xavier Baptizing Queen Neachile of India*. Oil on canvas, 235 × 137 cm. Budapest History Museum, Kiscell Museum, Budapest, inv. 20114; on permanent loan to the Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest. See Z. Szilárdfy, in *Budapest* 1993, 324, cat. 128.

3 Toma 2005, 192–94.

4 In the extensive literature on this topic, two of the most distinctive opposing opinions are voiced by Kovács 1988, 181–99, and Gácsi 1987.

5 See Toma 2005 and Badál 1982.

6 See Buzási 2010 and Viskolcz 2010.

7 Buzási 2010, 903, 912–14.

8 In the absence of any ample proof, we cannot share the view of Géza Entz (Entz 1937, 20–21) that the gallery of the Draskovich family must have followed a modern, aesthetic approach, even if the numismatic expertise of Miklós Draskovich was indeed internationally acclaimed.

9 Galavics 1991.

10 It should be noted, however, that painted pictures became increasingly common as decorations in the home throughout the seventeenth century, even in less wealthy strata of society. See Szana 1896, 7, and Garas 1953, 110–12.

11 Galavics 1992.

12 Körner–Kopp 2010, 222–28.

13 See Kapossy 1927, and Garas 1993.

14 The ceiling fresco (1623–1625) by the Florentine Luigi Baccio del Bianco derives from the virtually contemporaneous Roman decorations of Guido Reni and Guercino. See DaCosta Kaufmann 1995, 250–51.

15 For Tencalla, see, most recently, *Rancate* 2005. It is remarkable how many of the Italian artists working in Vienna came from Ticino. Undoubtedly, their knowledge of the German language helped them to get by.

16 Medvecký 1994.

17 Schemper-Sparholz 1987.

18 Colombo – Dell'Omo 2007, 63–77, 162–63, 168–74, 189–90.

19 Dobos 1997.

20 Mojzer 1956.

21 Garas 1993, 47, 49.

22 Hojer 2011, 43–86.

23 The posthumous 1768 inventory of the estate of the archbishop of Esztergom, Ferenc Barkóczy (1711–1765) mentions a *Christ on the Cross* by Solimena in the study of the bishop's summer palace in Pozsony (Bratislava, Slovakia) (Entz 1939, 177).

24 Jávor 1977.

25 Garas 1993, 53.

26 Garas 1979, 130; Ruggeri 1996, 27, 46, 95, 101.

27 Galavics 1984.

28 Garas 1963a.

29 Enikő Buzási, in *Székesfehérvár* 1993, 155–57, cat. A7–A8.

30 Pannonhalma, Gallery of the Benedictine Archabbey. See Szilágyi 1997.

31 Galavics 1991, 220.

32 Beke 2008, 241–42.

33 Szelestei Nagy 1985.

34 Faludi 1991, II, 985, 987–88.

35 Entz 1939, 183, 186.

36 Galavics 1984, 225–34.

37 Entz 1939, 176–80.

38 Entz 1937, 43–45.

39 K. Garas, in *Budapest* 1993, 314–16, cats. 123–24. The finest of these paintings is *The Martyrdom of Saint Januarius*, currently on display in the Marble Hall of the Szépművészeti Múzeum, on permanent loan from the Diocese of Vác.

40 Mravik 2002, 370.

41 In 1835, the Benedictine monastery in Pannonhalma was given several paintings from the Migazzi estate, including two Italian Baroque works: a powerful, Caravaggesque *Dead Christ*, and a similarly dramatic *Saint Francis in Ecstasy*. Both paintings have as yet eluded attribution (Zs. Dobos, in Takács ed. 1996, III, 26, cat. A.7, and 74–75, cat. A.48). In 1873, the museum of Eger acquired a signed *bozzetto* by Luca Giordano (but ascribed to Jacopo Bassano), *Supper at Emmaus*, with the collection of Flóris Bartakovics (*Lengyel ed.* 2008, 56–61). In 1875 Archbishop János Simor obtained six Migazzi paintings for the planned Christian Museum in Esztergom, but none of these are Italian (Prokoppné 1960, 91–92). The Szépművészeti Múzeum's collections hold one painting from the Migazzi estate, Albrecht Altdorfer's magnificent *Calvary*.

42 Kapossy 1924.

43 The *Saint Michael* was on one of the cathedral altars until 1928, when it was removed to the sacristy; the *Saint Paul* was destroyed in World War II. See Géfin ed. 1929–1935, I, 230.

44 Cathedral of the Visitation of Our Lady, Szombathely, prebendal sacristy. See H. Simon 2013, 34. The precise inscription reads: *"Bambino e S. Giuseppe fu fatto da Guido Reni il resto dalla Sirani sua Scolara. Cosi stava scritto anticamente dietro la"*, that is, it refers to an older inscription that claimed that the infant Jesus and Saint Joseph were painted by Guido Reni, while the rest was by Sirani. See Géfin ed. 1929–1935, I, 311.

45 Nicolas Vleughels, *Investiture of Pope Clement XI*, inv. 504. See Loire 2009.

46 Gruber 2007.

47 Garas 1969b; Garas 2000; Gruber 2007, 362–63.

48 Gruber 2007, 363.

49 Garas 1969b, 97.

50 Cf. Garas 2000, 409–10.

51 See *Munich* 2003 and *Luxembourg* 2012.

52 Avram–Dávid 1996, 178.

53 Muti – De Sarno Prignano 1994, 206, 255–56. The Esterházy collection also possessed a painting by Magnasco, the *Torture Scene*, though its autograph status has been doubted recently (Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. 594; see *Summary Catalogue* 1991, 71).

54 *Munich* 2003, 39–41.

55 Kazinczy 1891–1911, XIV, 1904, 258.

56 DaCosta Kaufmann 1995, 448–51.

57 Vende 1895, 126–27; Ciulisová 2006, 24–25, 33, 170.

58 *Budapest* 1888, cats. 180, 181, 183, 200, 204.

59 Auctioned in Vienna, 15 February 1818 (Lugt 9298); cf. Frimmel 1913–1914, I, 1913, 56–60.

60 Garas 1963b; Szigethi 2004, 161–66.

61 Dávid 2002, 245–46.

62 Körner 2013, 38–39.

63 Körner 2013, 80.

64 Hirt 1808.

65 Körner 2013, 72.

66 Hirt 1808, 570.

67 Meller 1915, 13, no. 42.

68 Of the eight pieces ascribed to Guido Reni in the 1820 inventory, only two are recognised by modern research as being at least the product of Reni's studio (Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. nos. 490, 498);

the rest have been proven to be copies (the 1820 inventory was published by Meller 1915, 199–250; for the current attributions of the pieces now in the Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, see *Summary Catalogue* 1991). Domenichino is also listed in the inventory as the creator of eight paintings, but none of these attributions stood the test of time. Most of the seven attributions to Annibale Carracci were dropped in the nineteenth century, and all the rest have now also been disproved, as have the three Albani and two Elisabetta Sirani works. However, at least one of seven Guercinos has retained its attribution: a small *Head of Christ* (inv. 485).

69 Meller 1915, 199, nos. 9, 13, 16.

70 Körner 2013, 235–38, 291–96.

71 Fischer 1812; further editions followed in 1815, 1835 and 1844.

72 Gaál 1822.

73 The "Orléans taste", which was brought about by the hype surrounding the sale of the collection of Philippe-Égalité, Duke of Orléans, at the end of the eighteenth century, meant an express preference for unsystematic trophy purchases, as opposed to the academic principle of encyclopaedism. Practically speaking, this approach transferred the emphasis from edification to delectation. See Haskell 1976, 24–28.

74 Morgan 1821, II, 229.

75 Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. 514. The painting was commissioned by Count Dominik Andreas Kaunitz (1655–1705) around 1700. See Buscaroli Fabbri 1991, 189, no. 66.

76 Meller 1915, 122, no. 458.

77 Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. 163.

78 Frimmel 1913–1914, II, 363–67; Gräffer–Czikann ed. 1835–1838, III, 177. Auctioned at Miethke–Egger, Vienna, 21–24 March 1878 (Lugt 38191).

79 Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. nos. 648 and 653. See P. Marini, in *Verona* 2011, 216–17, cat. 69/a–b.

80 Géber 1970, II, 342; Mravik 2002, 371. There is no factual information about the collection – which Szapáry assembled throughout his life, allegedly "spending almost his entire substantial fortune" – except for the valuable collection of minerals, which the count donated to the Hungarian National Museum in 1809. Though not belonging to the period discussed in this passage, it is worth noting that the last remains of the Kaunitz collection, housed in the palace in Austerlitz (Slavkov) of the family's Moravian branch, also passed – in 1882, through marriage – into the possession of the Andrássys. Included among these pictures was, for example, the splendid *veduta* of the Kaunitz palace in Vienna, painted by Bernardo Bellotto (Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. 52.207).

81 Viszota 1904, 111–15.

82 For more on Kazinczy and his relationship with the fine arts in general, see Csatkai 1983; Entz 1937, 59–71; Fried 1986; *Budapest* 2009. For the impact exerted by his ideas on art on contemporary men of letters, see Fried 1989.

83 Kazinczy 1979, 237, 282.

84 Kazinczy 1891–1911, V, 1894, 509–10, XII, 1902, 226; Kazinczy 1979, 849.

85 Kazinczy 1979, 652.

86 Countless studies of this aspect of Kazinczy's aesthetics have been published, such as Csatkai 1983, 28–29; Sinkó 1983, 272–73.

87 Kazinczy 1979, 850; Kazinczy 1891–1911, XIII, 1903, 338–39.

88 Kazinczy 1891–1911, XIII, 1903, 339.

89 Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, inv. GG 193; See Ferino-Pagden – Prohaska – Schütz ed. 1991, 60. One copy of the picture was also in the Esterházy collection (Meller 1915, 199), while another was donated to the Szépművészeti Múzeum in 1939 by the wife of Count Miklós Dessewffy (inv. 7743; see *Summary Catalogue* 1991, 45).

90 Balkay 1819. Incidentally, in a letter Balkay wrote to Kazinczy, it appears that the article was not written entirely alone, but with the help of Mihály Bernát. See Kazinczy 1891–1911, XVI, 1906, 397–98.

91 This idea had already been expressed two years earlier in Balkay 1817.

92 For the Fáy collection, see Zoltai 1936; Kazinczy 1891–1911, XIV, 1904, 177–79; Balkay 1819, 70–71; Kazinczy 1979, 566, 848. János Fáy was mayor of Debrecen, but his gallery was located in the Lyceum in Eger. After his death, most of the collection allegedly remained intact until the late nineteenth century, but today the works are unidentifiable. As for Italian Baroque works, the collection reputedly included a pair of paintings each by Domenichino and Agostino Carracci, as well as a large *Death of Cato* by Gregorio Lazzarini. The main highlight purchased by Kazinczy for a considerable sum, however, was – somewhat surprisingly – a *Nativity* by Gaudenzio Ferrari, decades before his "rediscovery" in Europe (see Haskell 1976, 52, 56).

93 See *Budapest* 2002. The key item in Jankovich's collection was a "Raphael" Madonna, actually the work of Prospero Fontana. He was also proud of his Guido Renis: one painting and one coloured drawing – naturally copies. His lack of art-historical expertise is apparent from some shocking misattributions: his "Annibale Carracci" was in fact by Hans von Aachen, while the *Holy Father* ascribed to Titian has turned out to be a fine, authentic work by Giovanni Domenico Tiepolo (Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. 641; see Zs. Dobos, in *Budapest* 2002, 90–91, cat. 35).

94 Viczay's Italian Baroque paintings were dominated by Ribera, with three works; in addition we can read the names of Guido Reni, Sirani, Albani, L. Carracci, Furini, Maratta and Batoni, as well as Salvator Rosa, Canaletto, Casanova and Zuccarelli. After his death, Viczay's collection was auctioned off and widely dispersed. The auction (Steinfeld & Engert, Pozsony (Bratislava, Slovakia), 4 March 1833) – timed to coincide with the session of the National Assembly in Pozsony, and aimed at its members – was the first major auction of paintings in Hungary. Many paintings were bought by the Benedictine Abbey in Pannonhalma, forming the core of its art collection (see Takács ed. 1996, 12–13). Several works were also purchased by József Rudics (1792–1879), the representative for Bácska, a significant art patron, and friend of Károly Kisfaludy (Kölcsey 1848, 149). For more on Viczay see also Entz 1937, 54–57.

95 Three hand-written inventories (one original and two photocopies) are in the Library of the Szépművészeti Múzeum; they are shelfmarked, in chronological order: Budapest 67/8, 67/4, 67/7. See also Schams 1822, 328–46. After the death of József Brunszvik, the inheritors sold roughly half of the collection, and placed the rest in the family home in Alsó-Korompa (Dolná Krupá, Slovakia). Under the following generation, the collection was split further, with its greater part finding a home in the palace of Count Lipót Nádasdy (1802–1873) in Pest. Around forty–sixty paintings remained in Alsó-Korompa, and this ensemble was nationalized by the Czechoslovakian government after World War II. (This collection is not to be confused with the gallery of the other branch of the family, in Martonvásár, which was set up by Count Antal Brunszvik [1745–1793] and auctioned off in Vienna in 1902.) See Ciulisová 2003; Mravik 1994; Buzási 2011, 316.

96 Balkay 1819, 69.

97 Schams 1821, 235.

98 For the history of the gallery see Takács ed. 1996, III, 12–13. – Pompeo Batoni, *Peace and Justice; Mercy and Truth,* 1745. From the Viczay collection, 1833; Giuseppe Vermiglio: *Saint Sebastian.* Gift from the priest József Dresmitzer, 1836; After Caravaggio, early eighteenth century, *The Incredulity of Saint Thomas*. From the overseer of the Counts Pálffy estates, ca. 1835, see Zs. Dobos, in Takács ed. 1996, III, 89–92, cats. A.64–65, 72–74, cat. A.47, 26–27, cat. A.8.

99 See Vayerné 1973.

100 Viszota 1904, 92–93; Vayerné 1969, 170–75.

101 Kovács 1992, 28–29.

102 See Haraszti né 1987.

103 A total of seven paintings by Giulio Carpioni (1613–1678) joined the Szépművészeti Múzeum. Three came from the Esterházy collection, one from Pyrker, and two from Zsigmond Ormós. The museum acquired four paintings by Gregorio Lazzarini (1657–1730): two from Pyrker, and two in the twentieth century (see Garas 1981). It is surprising, yet insightful, that Giovanni Battista Tiepolo's graceful masterpiece, *Virgin with Six Saints* (inv. 651) was listed in the Pyrker inventory as by Lazzarini.

104 Szana 1896, 12–13.

105 Marcell Nemes donated a portrait to the Szépművészeti Múzeum, at the time believed to be a Longhi painting of Carlo Goldoni. A hand-written label on the reverse states that the painting came into Berchtold's possession from the Palazzo Contarini (inv. 3790; Gaetano Prada [?], *Portrait of a Venetian Lawyer,* see *Summary Catalogue* 1991, 99) – Fourteen paintings from the Berchtold collection featured in the 1888 exhibition of Hungarian private collections: as well as two Canalettos and a "Goldoni" portrait, there was also one by Carracci and one by Luca Giordano (*Budapest* 1888, cats. 76, 167, 169, 264, 292). – As far as I am aware, of the paintings sold at the Berchtold auction (William B. Norman, New York, 19 September 1896; Lugt 54751) only the Tiepolo can be identified (*Apollo Receiving Homage from the Muses*, last auctioned at Christie's, London, 6 July 2006, lot 35; See Gemin–Pedrocco 1993, 366, no. 305). – The Guardi series which was exhibited from the collection of Hugó Kilényi at the 1902 exhibition of private collections probably also had its provenance in the Berchtold collection (see note 112).

106 Sambon, Venice, 15–22 May 1894. The two paintings referred to below are lots 614 and 637.

107 See Siklóssy 1913. The Tiepolo ceiling canvas (*Apotheosis of Angelo della Vecchia*, 6 × 9 m) now graces the ceiling of the Palazzo Isimbardi, Milan (Gemin–Pedrocco 1993, 419). The portrait of the procurator (dimensions without frame: 265 × 170 cm, with frame: 465 × 305 cm) was later in the Budapest collection of Ferenc Hatvany, but it is currently untraced (Delorenzi 2010, 159–60). – Géza Szapáry already had an art collection before the Morosini inheritance, which included, among others, a *Head of Madonna* attributed to Lanfranco (*Budapest* 1888, cat. 112).

108 *Bacchus and Ariadne*. See Gombosi 1927, 81, ill. 65.

109 Francesco Fontebasso, *Sacrifice of Iphigenia* (ceiling painting); *Antiochus and Stratonice; The Continence of Scipio* (panneaux); and four allegorical grisailles. This suite of works was on loan to the Szépművészeti Múzeum from 1945 to 2013; it is now planned to be reinstalled in the Károlyi family mansion in Fehérvárcsurgó. See Magrini 1988, 30, 127–30, 298.

110 *The Arrival of Henry III at the Villa Contarini* (*modello* for the fresco in the Villa Contarini) was owned by Francesco Algarotti in the eighteenth century. Festetits auction (Artaria, Vienna, 11 April and 2 May 1859): lot 162. Last auctioned at Christie's, New York, 25 January 2012, lot 38. See Gemin–Pedrocco 1993, 388–89, no. 361a. – *Four scenes from the Tasso cycle* (auction 1859, lots 104–105). National Gallery, London, inv. nos. 6302, 6304, 6305, 6306.

111 *The Dogana in Venice*; *The Riva Degli Schiavoni in Venice*. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, inv. nos. GG 6331, GG 6332. Oil on canvas, 46 × 63.4 cm and 46 × 63 cm. At the Festetits auction (Artaria, Vienna, 11 April and 2 May 1859, nos. 79–80) they were attributed to Bellotto. Festetits acquired them from the Manfrin Gallery. See Ferino-Pagden – Prohaska – Schütz ed. 1991, 39.

112 The pair of large, theatrical *vedute* of Rome (cat. 131) that came to the Szépművészeti Múzeum from the collection of Jenő Zichy were long held to be the work of Giovanni Antonio Canaletto. At the 1888 exhibition of private collections, three *vedute* bore the name of Canaletto (*Budapest* 1888, cats. 132, 136, 152): one of these, obtained by the Eger Picture Gallery, proved to be the work of a follower (Lengyel ed. 2008, 34–35); the other two were perhaps among the ten *vedute* attributed to Canaletto that were auctioned in New York from the Berchtold collection (William B. Norman, New York, 19 November 1896, nos. 413, 414, 418, 419, 424, 425, 429, 430, 434, 435). In 1902, Hugó Kilényi exhibited three Canalettos (*Budapest* 1902, cats. 434, 435, 437), but only one of these was part of the auction of his collection (Ernst Múzeum, Budapest, 26 November 1917, no. 21, ill. XX/a). Other works attributed to Canaletto were in the collections of, for example,

József Dániel Böhm (auctioned at Posonyi, Vienna, 4 December 1865, nos. 1644, 1645, 1646, the latter purchased by Ignác Pfeffer: Pfeffer 1882, no. 35); János Keglevich (auctioned at Miethke–Egger, Vienna, 21–24 March 1878, nos. 8–9); Gyula Andrássy (Gombosi 1927, 81, ill. 65) and Gusztáv Gerhardt (auctioned at Lepke, Berlin, 10 November 1911, nos. 52, 84, ill. 26); the latter is still in Hungary, but has been reattributed to Francesco Tironi (auctioned at Nagyházi, Budapest, 22 May 2012, no. 46).

113 Aside from the two virtuoso Florentine *vedute* of the Esterházy collection (cats. 136–137), it is essential also to mention: the large canvas showing the terrace of the Kaunitz palace in Vienna, which entered the Budapest collection of Géza Andrássy through his marriage to Eleonóra Kaunitz in 1882, and from there, the Szépművészeti Múzeum (inv. 52.207; see Kozakiewicz 1972, II, 211); the fine pair of views of Vienna purchased ca. 1855 from an unnamed Hungarian collection by Count Harrach and Princess Lobkowitz (Kozakiewicz 1972, II, 201–2, 208); and the *Detail of Venice,* which was included at one time as a companion piece to Canaletto's *Dolo* in the collection of Bernát Back (Kozakiewicz 1972, II, 450; last auctioned: Kieselbach, Budapest, 11 April 2003, no. 189). The pair of views of Dresden in the collection of Ödön Batthyány-Strattmann suffered a sorry fate (*Szombathely* 1912, cats. 64, 65; Kozakiewicz 1972, II, 510): at the end of World War II, one was severely damaged by looting soldiers, while the other was completely destroyed (the surviving painting was auctioned at Christie's, London, 9 December 2005, no. 229; for a reproduction of the destroyed work, see Kádas 1912, 326). The *veduta* of the Pantheon in Rome from the Pyrker collection (cat. 138) is no longer attributed to Bellotto.

114 *Summary Catalogue* 1991, 51–52.

115 Above all, it is important to mention the series of four canvases that was once in the collection of Hugó Kilényi, and which allegedly came from the Palazzo Contarini (and therefore from the Berchtold collection) (*Budapest* 1902, cats. 432, 433, 436, 438). Based on their description, the pictures were probably smaller replicas of four pieces from the *Solennità Dogali* series (Morassi 1984, I, 354–57). Among the paintings of Marcell Nemes, exhibited at the Szépművészeti Múzeum in 1911, was the splendid *Capriccio with Ancient Ruins* (Museum Heylshof, Worms; see Morassi 1984, I, 441). A *veduta* depicting *Santa Maria della Salute* (Alte Pinakothek, Munich; Morassi 1984, I, 399) was once owned by Baron Hatvany. Another *Detail of Venice with Santa Maria della Salute* (41.8 × 56.5 cm) is still in a private collection in Hungary (see Mravik 1992, 20, 73, ill.)

116 Széphelyi 1993, 217.

117 Pulszky 1914, 140–61; republished in Marosi ed. 1999, 18–29.

118 Henszlmann 1990, 130–34.

119 Of the copious literature on Ipolyi, let us refer to the two most recent summary studies, Sinkó 2006 and Varga 2012. More or less accurate records on his art collection are published in Cséfalvay 1989, 103–15.

120 Pulszky 1874, 238.

121 The definitive work on Böhm is still: Eitelberger 1879, 180–27.

122 Henszlmann 1990, 220.

123 Auction of the Böhm collection: Posonyi, Vienna, 4 December 1865 (Lugt 28730); the paintings listed had the following lot numbers: 1644–46; 1648; 1651–52; 1671; 1707–09. – Lot 1646 (Canaletto) was later in the collection of Ignác Pfeffer, see Pfeffer 1882, no. 35.

124 *Budapest* 1888, cat. 86/a. See Mihalik 1903, 297, no. 4164. Andor Pigler defined the work as "German artist, eighteenth century" in his hand-written list (1935) of the paintings in the Museum of Kassa (Košice, Slovakia).

125 Festetits auction: Artaria, Vienna, 11 April and 2 May 1859 (Lugt 24820). – Lot 140: Agostino Carracci, *Portrait of Anna Parolini Guicciardini*. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, inv. 372A. – Lot 63: after Niccolò Renieri (in the catalogue: school of Guido), *Penitent Magdalene*. Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. 53.471. – Lot 125: Anthonis Van Dyck et al., *Study of a Male Head (Saint James the Greater)* (in the catalogue: Guercino). Last auctioned at Sotheby's, London, 1 June 1990, lot 82 – The present whereabouts of the other works is unknown.

126 Jókai 1909, 336–37.

127 *Budapest* 1888, cat. 125.

128 Gyulay 2004, 354.

129 Széchenyi 1890, 96.

130 Wesselényi 1981, 71.

131 Wesselényi 1981, 119.

132 Wesselényi 1981, 231.

133 Henszlmann 1990, 152.

134 Zádor 1989.

135 To mention only museums that were founded with a significant collection of old master paintings: Eger (Archbishop Béla Bartakovics, 1873), Esztergom (Archbishop János Simor, 1875), Kassa (Košice, Slovakia) (Béla and Ferenc Klimkovics, 1876), Temesvár (Timişoara, Romania) (Zsigmond Ormós, 1895).

136 *Erste Pester Kunst-Auction von Oelgemälden, Antiquitäten und Münzen,* Pest, 25 May 1868 (Lugt 30560)

137 Baldass 1924, 308.

138 Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. 58.43 (acquired in 1958), see Zs. Dobos, in *Paris* 2011, 130–33, cat. 15.

139 Tóth 2007.

140 *Budapest* 1988, 82–112.

141 He paid a high price for a work sold as a Caravaggio, *Elderly Lady Spinning* (inv. 1383), which is today attributed to the circle of Giacomo Ceruti. – An outlandish sum was given in exchange for the *veduta* of Venice (inv. 1343) ascribed to Francesco Guardi, which is actually a copy after an engraving by Michele Marieschi. – At the same time, he purchased two excellent and authentic pictures by Vittore Ghislandi, *Young Painter* (inv. 1148, see cat. 104 in this volume), and *Portrait of Lodovico Rota* (inv. 1241) – He bought a pair of paintings, believing them to be Pietro Longhi's portraits of the Austrian emperor Joseph II and his wife (inv. nos. 1347–1348), but which are today considered to be Francesco Liani's portraits of the Neapolitan royal couple. – The portrait of a woman by Alessandro Turchi (inv. 1155) is today held to be the work of an unknown artist. – Finally, he bought a "Van Dyck", which is in fact by Giuseppe Bazzani (inv. 1367), and which will be referred to later.

142 Pulszky 1895.

143 Oral communication by Zsuzsanna Dobos.

144 Pasteiner 1885, 635, 693–96.

145 Ormós 1859; Ormós 1865. For Ormós's approach to the writing of art history, see Keserű 1985.

146 Cornea 2012, 35–39.

147 Ormós 1865, 15.

148 Ormós 1859, 38.

149 Ormós 1865, 129.

150 Ormós 1865, 130.

151 Henszlmann 1990, 57.

152 Gerevich 1910.

153 Gerevich 1910, 45–47.

154 Cf. Szakács 2006.

155 Gerevich 1910, 59.

156 Horváth 2007.

157 Peregriny 1909b.

158 Catalogue: Ranzoni ca. 1893.

159 J. M. Heberle (H. Lempertz' Söhne), Cologne, 21–23 October 1895.

160 Pulszky 1895.

161 See Takács 2012, including for all the individually mentioned art collectors. A list follows of a few collectors from the era who owned Italian Baroque paintings of high quality and/or quantity: Count Gyula Andrássy the Younger (1860–1929: Canaletto, Tiepolo, Guardi, Felice Ficherelli, Carlo Bononi, Valerio Castello, Pietro della Vecchia, Francesco Casanova, 13 more unknown); Hugó Kilényi (1840–1924: Tiepolo, Guardi, Canaletto, Benedetto Veracini, Sassoferrato); Ferenc Pesti (?–1910: Strozzi, Montanini, Giandomenico Tiepolo, Carlo Dolci, Annibale Carracci, Salvator Rosa); Lukács Enyedi (1845–1906: Pietro Liberi, Gioacchino Pizzoli, Lodovico Cardi, Giambettino Cignaroli, Giovanni Paolo Panini, 8 more unknown); Sándor Lederer (1854–1924: Giandomenico Tiepolo, Elisabetta Sirani, Pietro da Cortona, Furini); Bishop Miklós Széchenyi (1868–1923: Pittoni, Luca Giordano, Cantarini, Piazzetta, Ribera, Ricci, Nicola Bertuzzi); Ignác Pfeffer (1821–1892: Canaletto, Albani, follower of Salvator Rosa); Imre Szivák (1849–1912: Annibale Carracci, Salvator Rosa); Károly Perci (Guercino, Furini); Count Manó Andrássy (1821–1891: Guercino, Pietro Liberi); Count János Nepomuk Zichy (1820–1911: Lodovico Carracci, follower of Caravaggio); István Delhaes (1843–1901: follower of Solimena, Aniello Ascione); Róbert Scholtz (1837–1912: school of Domenichino, follower of Ribera).

162 Cf. Interview with the art collector Rudolf Bedő [1951]. Published in Molnos ed. 2010, 305.

163 Herman 1958, 117–18.

164 See *Budapest* 2011. In modern literature, only István Barkóczi has so far attempted to unravel the truth from the myths surrounding Nemes (Barkóczi 1991).

165 Quoted in Tímár 2011, 137.

166 *Monks at Supper,* inv. 4877; *Summary Catalogue* 1991, 71. *Landscape with Trees* (inv. 4945; *Summary Catalogue* 1991, 128) is no longer regarded as by Magnasco. – The *Soldiers Feasting* (De Young Museum, San Francisco, inv. 49.7; see Muti – De Sarno Prignano 1994, 253, no. 310) was also with Marcell Nemes once. Cf. note 168 below. It should be noted that Magnasco was not completely neglected, even before he was "rediscovered": at the 1902 exhibition of private collections, Lajos Kaczvinszky exhibited a painting attributed to Magnasco (*"I fraticelli"*; *Budapest* 1902, cat. 479), and Bernát Back most probably also acquired Magnasco's *Stormy Sea* before 1915 (*Szeged* 1917, 73, cat. 19; Rózsaffy 1926, 107).

167 Felvinczi Takács 1915, 375–76.

168 *Budapest* 1937, cat. 131, 134: *Monks in a Grotto* and *Monks in their Hermitage,* companion pieces, both 38 × 28 cm (from the collection of Rudolf Bedő). Last auctioned at Phillips, London, 11 December 2001, lot 101. See Vécsey 2010, 210. – Cat. 133: *Monks,* 58.5 × 73 cm (Pál Ary) – Cat. 137: *Landscape,* 142 × 114 cm (László Wolfner). Previously with Marcell Nemes; sold Helbing, Munich, 16 June 1931, lot 38. – Cat. 138: *Nuns at Work,* 46 × 38.8 cm (Richárd Tőszeghy) – Cat. 143: *Stormy Seascape with Fishermen,* 93.5 × 71 cm, repr. (József Cseténi). See Mravik 1998, 173, no. 4357.

169 Among the mass of paintings, just the most important are highlighted here: the magnificent pair of *The Convent* and *Scene with Monks* (once owned by Lajos Hatvany, Budapest; now Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt, inv. nos. GK 661–662; see Muti – De Sarno Prignano 1994, 210, nos. 60–61), and the Peruzzinesque *Landscape with Figures* (once owned by József Cseténi, Budapest; see *Budapest* 1946, 13, cat. 54, ill. XV). – In 1929 the Szépművészeti Múzeum bought another Magnasco from a private collection in Budapest, which is now regarded as the work of an imitator: *Castle Ruins on the Mountain,* inv. 6339. See *Summary Catalogue* 1991, 71. – Recently, a *Rocky Landscape* (inv. 57.17), previously attributed to Sebastiano Ricci, was also reattributed to Magnasco. See Muti – De Sarno Prignano 1994, 206, no. 42. – The museum houses three other paintings by followers of Magnasco, see *Summary Catalogue* 1991, 71.

170 *The Penitent Monks* (later in the Budapest collection of Lóránt Kartschmaroff; see *Budapest* 1981b, 87, cat. 120, ill. 227, and Muti – De Sarno Prignano 1994, 241, no. 238).

171 *Budapest* 1937, cat. 105: *Saint Francis of Assisi*, 77.2 × 62 cm (owned by György Kákay-Szabó). *Budapest* 1946, cat. 7. – Cat. 106: *Ecstasy of a Female Saint*, oval, 78.5 × 59 cm (Baron Ferenc Hatvany). See Mravik 1998, 231, no. 16813. – Cat. 107: *Saint Anthony of Padua with the Infant Jesus*, 78.5 × 62.5 cm (Dr. János Kausz) – Cat. 109: *Lamentation of Christ*, 62.5 × 78.2 cm (Fülöp Weiss). Today in a private collection in Budapest. See Caroli 1988, 213, no. 333. – Cat. 123: *Madonna and Children,* 115.5 × 92 cm (Widow of Andor Miklós). See Caroli 1988, 209, no. 325. – Cat. 124: *Ecstasy of a Female Saint*, 68 × 53 cm (Rudolf Bedő). See Vécsey 2010, 210, 212.

172 A. Tóth 1938, 95.

173 *The Prodigal Son,* inv. 1367. See *Summary Catalogue* 1991, 7; Caroli 1988, 162, no. 239.

174 *Ecstasy of Saint Teresa* (inv. 6400); *Saint Joseph with the Infant Jesus* (inv. 6401). See *Summary Catalogue* 1991, 7; Caroli 1988, 110, no. 121, and 109, no. 118.

175 Éber 1924, 198.

176 Kapossy 1927.

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I

FACE-TO-FACE WITH REALITY

1 MICHELANGELO MERISI, CALLED CARAVAGGIO | Milan, 1571 – Porto Ercole, 1610

Boy with a Basket of Fruit

ca. 1593

Oil on canvas; 70 × 67 cm
Galleria Borghese, Rome, inv. 136

This ravishing picture of a handsome young man holding a basket of fruit is one of the painter's earliest works and perhaps the most directly accessible image in his career, and yet, characteristically, Caravaggio obliges us to consider if the real subject of this painting might be the interaction between the artist and his model. Who is this youth in glowing health who stands before us, his arms filled with a cornucopia of purple and green figs, black and green grapes, striated Roman apples, peaches, and autumnal medlars? A flood of warm sunlight flows over his face and his enticing fruits, and yet reveals nothing more. The lad parts his lips as if to speak but his expression does not really suggest that he is offering these fruits for sale. Instead his handsome face is so life-like and individual that we cannot escape the impression that we are seeing the boy exactly as he posed to have his portrait painted. Faced with an ostensible portrait, the writers on Caravaggio have tended to name Mario Minniti, a young Sicilian painter who became his intimate friend, as the most likely model for this picture. The indefinable quality that makes Caravaggio's paintings seem directly concerned with his own life is the reason that he has been called the first modern artist.

These resplendent fruits comprise a pastoral poem in praise of nature for nature's sake. By describing them in such detail, as if they were portraits of the peaches, apples and grapes purchased that same morning in the market, Caravaggio places his still life on an equal standing with his model. Caravaggio told his patron, the marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani, "it was as much work for him to make a good picture of flowers as one of figures" (Giustiniani [1620–1630] 1981, 42). This also was an astonishingly modern attitude, contrary to the prevailing academic system of ranking the importance of paintings according to their subjects. Whoever the good-looking young man may be, he must share the scene with Caravaggio's virtuoso painting of a dazzling variety of fruits contained within a basket that almost appears to belong to a different composition. Neither the fruits nor the boy are generic types. They are alluring, and we can see that Caravaggio feels their attraction, because they are real. His painting reflects Leonardo da Vinci's observation that "It is through seeing that you understand the beauty of created things, the greatest of the things that induce love …" (Robb 1998, 73).

The artist's early biographers do not mention this *Boy with a Basket of Fruit,* which was first specifically ascribed to Caravaggio in a 1693 inventory of the Palazzo Borghese in Campo Marzio in Rome. Caravaggio scholars in the last century established that the painting was in Cavaliere d'Arpino's workshop, together with the early *Self-Portrait as Bacchus* (the "Bacchino malato"), in July 1607 when d'Arpino's paintings were seized by the administrators of Pope Paul V and transferred to the collection of Cardinal Scipione Borghese (De Rinaldis 1936).

When Caravaggio first arrived in Rome around 1593, Giuseppe Cesari, later knighted as the Cavaliere d'Arpino, was one of the established painters whom Caravaggio approached for employment. The leading artists often kept decorative and other inexpensive paintings in their studios for sale. There was a ready market in Rome in the early 1590s for pleasant depictions of handsome youths and maidens holding flowers and fruits or looking amorous while playing a lute. Giovan Pietro Bellori, writing many years later, believed that Caravaggio was employed by Cesari only as a still life specialist (Bellori [1672], 1976, 213]). It appears, however, that Cesari appreciated Caravaggio's revival of a Renaissance formula that featured attractive youths (usually maidens) accompanied by finely painted fruits and flowers. He would have known Caravaggio's sources since he owned a *Girl with Flowers* by a follower of Leonardo da Vinci (Herrmann-Fiore 2000, 68).

The *Boy with a Basket of Fruit* has always been recognized as a very early work, no doubt on the basis of the young painter's numerous errors in the rendering of his subject's anatomy (Friedländer 1955). For example, the young man appears to have but one shoulder. His head is awkwardly attached to his cylindrical neck, which in turn attaches to his collarbone in an unnatural way. Recently documentation has been found of Caravaggio at work inside Cesari's studio in 1596, and it has been proposed to move the presumed date of Caravaggio's arrival to 1595 (Curti 2011, 70), which would imply that the *Boy with a Basket of Fruit* was executed around 1595–1596. This later date seems unlikely, as Caravaggio's other paintings datable to that period demonstrate a markedly improved ability to paint anatomy. Cesari could have acquired paintings from Caravaggio prior to 1596, or even subsequently from different sources.

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2 MICHELANGELO MERISI, CALLED CARAVAGGIO | Milan, 1571 – Porto Ercole, 1610

Boy Bitten by a Lizard

ca. 1600

Oil on canvas; 65.8 × 52.3 cm
Fondazione di Studi di Storia dell'Arte Roberto Longhi, Florence, inv. 78

The *Boy Bitten by a Lizard* is an early work by Caravaggio that immediately attracted attention, and, according to one witness, encouraged the poor, young artist to think that he would be able to make his own way in Rome (Mancini [1617–1621] 1956–1957, I, 224 n. 11). Even his severest critic, Giovanni Baglione, praised it unreservedly, "He also made a boy who is bitten by a lizard *(lucerta)* coming out of some flowers and fruits; it seems as if the boy truly shrieks; and the whole picture is diligently executed" (Baglione 1642, 136). In addition to his innovative use of strong contrasts of light and dark, and his naturalism, the *Boy Bitten by a Lizard* is the first painting in which Caravaggio revealed his ambition to surprise the viewer with extreme emotions and states of mind.

An important precedent for Caravaggio's invention would have been the hundreds of drawings of contorted faces by Leonardo da Vinci, who advised artists to take note of the most remarkable faces they saw in the street (Tabarrini ed. [1890] 1989, 114, paragraph 324). Caravaggio's boy recoils with an abruptness that surpasses any movement that even Leonardo foresaw for painting. This simple composition, which he invented around 1595 and replicated in the present painting around 1600, was the forerunner, in this sense, of his *Judith Beheading Holofernes* of circa 1598. Caravaggio's interest in the expression of involuntary reactions to extreme sensations became one of the foundations of the Baroque style. Gian Lorenzo Bernini, for example, is believed to have studied this image as part of his research for his sculpture of the *Anima Dannata (Damned Soul)* of circa 1619 (Wittkower 1997).

The three poles of Caravaggio's early formation in Lombardy were three cities that form a triangle around the hometown of his family, Caravaggio: Cremona, whose painters were the nearest and best known to him; Milan, where he apprenticed and the influence of Leonardo da Vinci was still palpable; and Bergamo (and nearby Brescia), where he absorbed the influence of Venetian painting. Caravaggio's *Boy Bitten by a Lizard* derives unmistakably from the similar subjects treated by Sofonisba Anguissola and Vincenzo Campi, two Cremonese artists probably inspired by Aesop's fable, "The Boy and the Scorpion". Since Vasari had singled out in his *Vite de' pittori...* (Vasari [1568] 1878–1885, V, 81) Anguissola's drawing of a *Boy Pinched by a Crayfish*, it is likely that the young Caravaggio was openly attempting to surpass her by transforming the story from a childish fable into a courtly allegory of the painful disappointments of amorous love.

A young man with classical curls and a gauzy tunic *all'antica* is shown disagreeably surprised by a lizard hiding in a vase of flowers. The lizard that bites his middle finger, then as now associated with carnality, underscores the nasty surprises that lie in wait for the unsuspecting. The rose tucked behind the boy's ear, and the cherries, are emblems of love. The painter's choice of a *ramarro,* a variety of lizard that does not usually bite, has perplexed some critics but was necessary to make an ingenious play on words. Petrarch found treasure in the paradox that the Italian words for "love" *(amore)* and "bitter" *(amaro)* are nearly the same (cf. Spike 2010, 43).

The present version of the *Boy Bitten by a Lizard* was discovered and acquired by Roberto Longhi in 1928, a few years after the first publication of an almost identical picture in the Korda collection, London, which later entered the National Gallery in London (Spike 2010, 39–45, cat. nos. 7.1 and 7.2; Coliva 2010, 36). Due to a prevailing presumption at the time that Caravaggio would not have painted replicas, scholars were long agreed that the Longhi version represented Caravaggio's original and the London *Boy Bitten by a Lizard* was an anonymous copy. Many years of discussion passed until scholars arrived at the conclusion that both the London and Florence versions were executed by Caravaggio himself. The question remains open as to which of the two was executed first. Both the Longhi Foundation and the National Gallery in London propose the chronological primacy of the version in their collections. The present writer regards the execution of the London picture as consistent with a dating in the mid-1590s in accordance with the opinion of the sources Mancini and Baglione. The Longhi *Boy Bitten by a Lizard* displays the denser pigments and firmer technique used by Caravaggio around the turn of the century, ca. 1600. Despite the fame of this image, which was praised by all the sources except Bellori, no light has yet been shed on the seventeenth- or even eighteenth-century provenances of either version.

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3 MASTER OF THE HARTFORD STILL LIFE | active in Rome at the turn of the seventeenth century

Table with Fruit and a Vase of Flowers

ca. 1605–1610

Oil on canvas; 101 × 139 cm
Haboldt & Co., Paris

Employing a vantage point that is slightly elevated and set back from the edge of the surface, the painter depicts a table laden with delicious fruit, arranged in groups according to specific spatial relations, and adorned with a vase of colourful flowers. The composition is static and still tied to the schemes of late Roman Mannerism but it is clearly conceived by a lucid, rational and very sophisticated mind. It revolves around three key elements: the elegant round glass vase with magnificent irises and roses on the left, the fruit stand with green and purple figs in the middle, and the finely woven wicker basket brimming with green and red grapes on the far right. The two sides of this conceptual triangle, converging at the vertex represented by the fruit stand, and the base formed by the line connecting the glass vase with the basket delimit an area in which we find cherries, hazelnuts, plums and a heap of little pears. The essentially horizontal layout of the composition is suggested by the edge of the table and is underscored by the paratactic arrangement of the fruit in the foreground, juxtaposed according to a balanced tonal rhythm.

In keeping with the principles of Caravaggesque aesthetics, the dark, impenetrable ground of the canvas helps highlight the protagonists of the scene, illuminated by the intense analytical light coming from the left that not only serves a structural function for the plastic modelling of the volumes, but also creates dense cast shadows. This detail evokes the table in the famous *Supper at Emmaus* at the National Gallery in London, which Caravaggio painted in 1601 for Ciriaco Mattei. The work examined here and Caravaggio's painting have several elements in common: the vantage point is elevated and set back, the items on the table are shown in perspective, and there is a table cover with stylized geometric motifs, overlaid by a white tablecloth. The artist's fervent embracement of Caravaggio's expressive language is also evident in the naturalism that distinguishes his painterly investigation, aimed at offering the observer the most faithful representation of reality. The master's highly refined brush thus dwells on examining the different surfaces of the pieces of fruit with admirable precision – the polished pears, the somewhat wrinkled and cracked skin of the overripe figs, the powdery bloom on the grapes and plums – as well as the botanical details of the flowers, the optical transparency of the glass, the weaving of the wicker basket and the gossamer wings of the butterflies.

Published rather recently by Alberto Cottino (in *Florence* 2003), the canvas is one of the masterpieces of the Master of the Hartford Still Life, the conventional name art historians have assigned to an anonymous still life specialist active in Rome at the turn of the seventeenth century and part of Cavaliere d'Arpino's entourage, in close contact with the young Caravaggio. Starting with the famous *Still Life with Flowers and Fruit* at the Wadsworth Atheneum in Hartford, which Charles Sterling (in *Paris* 1952, 54) believed was a copy of Caravaggio's lost original, over the past sixty years various scholars have grouped together about ten works whose stylistic and, above all, compositional evolution points to a rather long time span (for a detailed reconstruction of the lively critical debate on the painter, see Maria Cristina Terzaghi's summary in *Forlì* 2010).

Thanks to the brilliant insight of Federico Zeri (1976), who suggested that two canvases from the Galleria Borghese in Rome, *Fruit, Flowers and Vegetables* and *Dead Birds,* and the Wadsworth Atheneum painting were among those Scipione Borghese confiscated from Cavaliere d'Arpino in 1607, it has been possible to establish an important *terminus ante quem* for the execution of these three still lifes, which seem to be the earliest within the corpus assembled to date. Compared with these works, the painting exhibited here clearly shows a conceptual evolution towards a more articulated and complex compositional architecture, softer brushwork and greater maturity in rendering light. Consequently, the most plausible dating is the second half of the first decade of the seventeenth century, around the time of the similar canvas formerly in the Frederick Mont collection in New York (Zeri 1976, fig. 96), and the *Composition with Two Vases of Flowers, Mushrooms and Fruit on a Table* sold at the Fraysse auction house in Paris on 5 December 2012 (lot 47), which I presented and discussed at the "Giornata di Studi sulla Natura Morta Italiana" held at the Fondazione Longhi in Florence on 24 November 2012.

DAVIDE DOTTI

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4 Roman painter from the first quarter of the seventeenth century (attributed to Giovanni Battista Crescenzi)

Still Life with Fruit, Vegetables and Mushrooms

ca. 1615–1620

Oil on canvas; 122 × 162.5 cm
Galleria Estense, Modena, inv. 219

Although the provenance of this important canvas is unknown, it was already part of the Galleria Estense collections by 1854, when it was attributed to the Tuscan painter Domenico Bettini (1644–1705). It can be considered one of the most captivating Roman still lifes of the early seventeenth century. Its perspective is quite complex, with a wooden table on the left depicted from an elevated viewpoint, a horizontal stone surface on the right that appears to be taller and is set diagonally with respect to the table, and two shelves in the background bearing an array of fruits (figs, cherries, wild strawberries, apricots, plums, pears, peaches, green and purple grapes, a festoon of pomegranates, slices of watermelon) and vegetables (asparagus, mushrooms set on fern leaves, celery, artichokes, fava beans, squashes).

The fruits and vegetables are arranged in small separate groups, and this provides key insight into the work's rather early dating, given that as of around 1630 still lifes would display a freer and more lavish composition. Another version of this composition, seemingly identical but not as well preserved, was part of the Medici collections as early as 1624 (E. Fumagalli, in *Aosta* 2010, 172) and allows us to date the canvas no later than the early 1620s.

It is thus a rather early still life boasting high quality and was unquestionably produced by a Roman workshop. Clear and swathing light – powerfully analytical – defines the fruit and vegetables with tactile and almost illusionistic naturalism, qualifying the painting as a "Caravaggesque" still life. This type of composition seems to be a development of those ascribed to the so-called Master of Hartford, the only ones in Rome that, as of the early seventeenth century, presented perspectival triangulation designed to give the scene depth; those from city's most productive *bottega*, that of Agostino Verrocchio (1586–1659), and the even rarer ones of Pietro Paolo Bonzi (1575–1625) instead use a single plane parallel to the observer. The Master of Hartford was indubitably the first major still life painter in Rome and his works seem to start around 1601, as they draw on the compositional solutions adopted by Caravaggio in the *Supper at Emmaus*, now at the National Gallery in London, dated the same year (Cottino 2011, 29).

The author of the Modena painting was clearly inspired by these works, but employs softer brushwork and a fluidity absent from the works of the Master of Hartford, pointing to a slightly later date. This canvas is part of a small group of similar paintings I have analysed on several occasions (A. Cottino, in *Rome* 1995a, 140–41, cat. 32; A. Cottino, in *Florence* 2003, 158–59), a smaller one that was on the English market, another one – almost identical – at the Musée Magnin in Dijon and attributed to the "École napolitaine XVII siècle", and one at the North Carolina Museum of Art in Raleigh. In this group, we can probably include a canvas, possibly cut, auctioned by Christie's (King Street, London) on 9 July 2008 (lot 232A, 62.3 × 84 cm, attributed to Giovanni Battista Crescenzi).

In 1973 Mina Gregori ascribed this canvas to Giovanni Battista Crescenzi and then reiterated this attribution in her fascinating reconstruction of the artist for the Florentine exhibition of 2003, when I cited it under this name in the exhibition entry. So far, however, we have no signatures or documents that would confidently allow us to ascribe still lifes to this artist (his only known work is a *Saint Anthony Abbot*, not exceptionally well made and still fully Mannerist in style). Therefore, Elena Fumagalli has recently preferred to catalogue the work as anonymous and, based on our current knowledge, this is probably the best choice.

ALBERTO COTTINO

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5 TOMMASO SALINI, CALLED MAO (?) | Rome, ca. 1575 – Rome, 1625

Boy with a Flask and Vegetables

ca. 1620–1625

Oil on canvas; 99 × 73 cm
Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid, inv. 363

This is one of the most fascinating – and problematic – Roman paintings of the early seventeenth century. It entered the Caravaggesque literature thanks to Federico Zeri's renowned study (1971–1976) when it was still part of the Salavin collection in Paris.

The scholar thought that Tommaso Salini, Caravaggio's archenemy in the 1603 trial, painted the still life and that a collaborator from the circle of Michelangelo Cerquozzi painted the figure. This sparked a heated critical debate that called Salini's production into question, but that has yet to ascertain the author of this work and its dating (Contini 2002, 90–99). The reconstruction of Salini's work is also arguable, although several signed paintings are known: a *Saint Cecilia* in the Lino Stefanini collection and a *Saint Charles Borromeo* from a private collection, to which we can now add a *Still Life with Vegetables and a Turtle,* likewise in a private collection, bearing the signature "MAO fec." on the back. The latter work in particular marks a solid point of reference in the reconstruction of Salini's production of still lifes (Cottino 2010).

From a compositional standpoint, the Thyssen canvas presents a rather odd and unusual subject that is hard to explain: a smiling lad holding a partially ruined wine flask in front of a still life of cabbages. Whose gaze is he seeking? Why is he smiling at someone we cannot see? Could it be a vegetable vendor at the market, but with the raised and prominently displayed flask as a tribute to wine, to an amusing and ironic "proletarian Bacchus"?

The young man, whose shirt is slipping off his shoulder as the light strikes his chest, is reminiscent of the half-figures of boys in Caravaggio's youthful paintings (although probably without maintaining the latter's profound symbolism, possibly traceable to Christian circles). Yet the characteristics of the light – in flashes and cutting diagonally across the background – are instead closer to the master's later public works, starting with those at San Luigi dei Francesi in Rome, reflecting a "contamination" process common to all the Caravaggesques.

The still life in the foreground shows a certain naturalism and solid, tactile brushwork, with luminous reverberations along the edges and in the illuminated areas. A scene of this kind is at the verge of genre painting and opens up complex scenarios, particularly if we choose to continue to attribute the work to Salini who, according to the biography left to us by his close friend Giovanni Baglione (1642), devoted himself chiefly to painting flowers (Cottino, in Zeri–Porzio ed. 1989). Stylistic analysis of the signed *Still Life* does not contradict the attribution of the Thyssen painting to Salini, at least for the actual still life. Nevertheless, Zeri noted a difference in quality between the latter and the noteworthy figure of the boy, and therefore attributed the work to two different hands. Perhaps the great scholar was moving in the right direction: it is possible that the painting was done by two artists, as the still life seems to encroach on the field allocated to the boy, covering part of his sleeve and bodice, and giving the composition a somewhat unbalanced feeling.

In a recent re-examination of Salini's production as part of an overall study of Caravaggism, however, Simona Capelli (in Strinati–Zuccari ed. 2010, II, 640) fully credited the artist with both the Thyssen canvas and the well-known *Flask* from the Pinacoteca Comunale in Forlì. Nevertheless, current scholarship rightly tends to ascribe the latter to an anonymous painter, due to differences in both style and execution.

ALBERTO COTTINO

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6 PENSIONANTE DEL SARACENI | active in Rome in the 1610s

The Bird Seller

ca. 1618

Oil on canvas; 95 × 71 cm
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, inv. P02235

The canvas was part of the collections of the duke of el Arco in Madrid and later entered the royal collections (colección Felipe V, Quinta del duque del Arco, El Pardo–Madrid, 1745, [no. 283?]; Quinta del duque del Arco, 1794, no. 224). No previous locations are known.

It depicts the half-figure of an old man with a long white beard (partially illuminated by evocative raking light), who is wearing a broad-brimmed straw hat with feathers and holds two chickens in his right hand. A young man behind him is holding up two coins to purchase the poultry while, with his left, he is reaching surreptitiously behind the vendor's back to steal another chicken. The unwitting old man turns slowly towards his buyer and seems to be pointing at the coins as the young man looks at him intensely. The power and immediacy of the scene stem from this fast-paced dialogue of gestures and gazes, and the complex and sophisticated luminist rendering – fully Caravaggesque – that is at once analytical and concise, playing on deft contrasts and refined, shimmering shadows. The three-dimensionality of the hands is enhanced by the interplay of light and shadow, as luminous reflections radiate delicately across the face of the young wrongdoer and the underside of the hat brim, exalting its soft texture. The painting is extraordinary in both quality and communicative incisiveness.

The figures are very close-set and physically immanent, and the subject thus diverges from the scenes of vendors and markets that became popular in Flanders and northern Italy in the late sixteenth century (through Vincenzo Campi and Bartolomeo Passerotti), which relied on a much broader and more descriptive angle. It is closer to genre painting, but maintains an evident moralistic tone tied to the theme of deception. This reflects a custom typical of northern European art but sometimes also found in Italy, specifically in the Caravaggesque milieu (for example, the master's two youthful versions of the *Fortune Teller*, in which the woman slips the ring from the distracted young man's finger, the numerous variants of this subject produced by his followers – chiefly foreigners – up to those of de La Tour, the theme of the *Cardsharps* and several others, cf. cats. 7 and 8).

The painting is part of the small group of praiseworthy works, both genre paintings and still lifes, that in 1943 Roberto Longhi attributed to the mysterious "Pensionante del Saraceni", the sobriquet the scholar gave a painter he felt was stylistically tied to the Venetian Caravaggesque artist Carlo Saraceni, further suggesting that he may have been French. In the decades that followed, little progress was made regarding Longhi's theory: several works were added to the painter's œuvre but his identity has yet to be clarified and he remains nameless (Aurigemma, in Strinati–Zuccari 2010).

The most important piece in this group is the *Denial of Saint Peter,* known in three versions (Musei Vaticani, Vatican City; National Gallery, Dublin; Musée de la Chartreuse, Douai), which Longhi rightly deemed one of the finest Caraveggesque paintings of the 1610s. Alongside this is the *Fruit Vendor,* now at the Detroit Institute of Arts, which shows many stylistic parallels with the Prado *Bird Seller* discussed here. However, it also vaunts a noteworthy still life of fruit on the table, with a basket derived directly from Caravaggio's *Supper at Emmaus* (1601, National Gallery, London) and not – as Judith W. Mann has sustained (in *Montpellier–Toulouse* 2012, 109) – from the *Basket of Fruit* (Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, Milan), which was not visible in Rome as it immediately entered Federico Borromeo's collection in Milan. The *Still Life with Fruit and Carafe* at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., formerly attributed to Caravaggio, is by the same hand as the Detroit canvas, although it is unclear whether here we are dealing with the same figure painter or a specialist at painting fruit (Cottino, in Zeri–Porzio ed. 1989).

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7 LEONELLO SPADA | Bologna, 1576 – Parma, 1622

The Gypsy Fortune Teller

before 1618

Oil on canvas; 213 × 158 cm
Galleria Estense, Modena, inv. 243

The painting is one of Leonello Spada's most typical portrayals drawn from Caravaggio's figurative repertory. In effect, the moralistic tenor of the scene can be compared with that of the master's *Fortune Teller* (Musée du Louvre, Paris; Pinacoteca Capitolina, Rome): a veiled condemnation of the vice of those who want to discover what fate has in store for them without respecting the inscrutability of divine will. The young man, who is having his fortune read by an insouciant gypsy, is fastidiously dressed and is positioned asymmetrically, details that emphasize his disarming innocence but also his spinelessness. The man on the left, his finger pointing to his eye, seems to be trying to warn his friend to be careful, but the boy peeking out in the middle of the painting is already pickpocketing the man's moneybag.

The work is from the collection of Cardinal Alessandro d'Este in Rome and, following his death in 1624, it was inherited by his niece Giulia, entering the Este collections in Rocca di Scandiano. From there it was brought to Modena in 1751 along with a series of paintings selected by the ducal painter/restorer Antonio Consetti to re-establish the Este collection, which lost its finest masterpieces following the "Dresden sale" (1746) (Negro–Roio 2002).

The sources depict the Bolognese painter Leonello Spada as a self-important man who was somewhat of a braggart. Born into a very poor family, thanks to painting he became the perfect gentleman, dressing with exceeding refinement, acquiring flamboyant and arrogant manners, and eventually giving himself up to a life of luxury. Protected by high-ranking figures who sent prestigious commissions his way, he enjoyed great privileges, but his bravado made him insufferable to many of his colleagues. His vaunted cohabitation with the quintessential *maudit* painter Michelangelo Merisi earned him the famous but spiteful sobriquet of "Caravaggio's ape". During his final period in Parma, Spada was completely unable to paint due to years of inactivity and overly zealous devotion to his new life as a man of the court, preferring to dabble in music, poetry, hunting and an array of other pastimes. The unexpected death of his main protector, Ranuccio Farnese, suddenly wiped out all the support he had enjoyed until then. Sick and impoverished – he had squandered everything he had earned through his talent – he died in the city ruled by the Farnese family.

The Gypsy Fortune Teller was probably painted around the time Spada moved to Parma (spring 1616), and unquestionably before 1618, the year it appeared on the list of works to be sent from Modena to Cardinal Alessandro in Rome (Cremonini 1998). Moir was the first to link this painting with the one at the Galleria Pallavicini in Rome (Moir 1967, fig. 310), in all likelihood derived from a Caravaggio prototype from the same period (Zeri 1959, 73–74, cat. 107, citing an anonymous print dedicated to Cavaliere d'Arpino with the same subject). More recently, Langdon (2001, 56, fig. 18) noted that Spada's painting shows the same overtly moralizing style as the "gypsies" of northern European art, with a touch of Bosch or Pieter Bruegel the Elder. It is possible that, for his subject, Spada was influenced not only by the small Pallavicini painting but also the print dedicated to Cavaliere d'Arpino (signed "M.A.A.I.F."), placing the accent on the ridiculous, frivolous dupe with his pompous garb and affectations, and counterpointing classical sculpture. The more majestic figure of the gypsy may have been inspired by one of Nicolas Cordier's sculptures (*Zingarella Borghese,* 1607, Galleria Borghese, Rome: Langdon 2001, fig. 14). Moreover, it is important to note that, as is often the case in Spada's works, here too the artist "tends to straddle Carraccesque and Caravaggesque taste" (Campori 1855). In other words, his language figuratively embraces Caravaggio's, but is stylistically closer to the "academic" vision of the Carracci.

When he painted this work, Spada's creativity was waning, and he was increasingly "sloppy and faltering" (Calvesi 1959). Even the memory of Caravaggio proves to have faded irremediably, giving way to a Caravaggesque "subgenre" manifested through the choice of "tavern" themes and spawning the commercial exploitation of these subjects in the Po region.

NICOSETTA ROIO

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8 NICOLAS RÉGNIER | Maubeuge, ca. 1588 – Venice, 1667

Cardsharps and Fortune Teller

ca. 1623–1626

Oil on canvas; 174 × 228 cm
Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. 610

This painting was listed among the new acquisitions made by Prince Nicholas Esterházy in 1821, which were purchased in 1871 by the Hungarian state along with the rest of his collection. Earlier attributed to Caravaggio, the painting was given to the Franco-Flemish painter Nicolas Régnier in 1943 by Roberto Longhi. It is a masterpiece typical of the *pittura al naturale* and representative of the artist's Roman – or "Caravaggesque" – period (ca. 1617–1626).

With this assembly of card players, cheats and a fortune-teller, Régnier was responding to a new fashion for scenes of gypsies, drifters, rogues and other members of low society frequently portrayed in picaresque literature, the commedia dell'arte, popular songs and paintings by Caravaggio. But, unlike the Italian painter, who focused on one subject at a time, Régnier, like Caravaggio's imitators Manfredi, Honthorst, Vouet and Valentin, introduced several actions at once: here he has combined the card game *primiera* (a very popular game at the time for four players) with fortune-telling: he thus employs the *topoi* of cheats, a gullible sap, and an enticing and crafty woman at the same time.

Devised around two centres of action along two diagonals that cross in the centre of the canvas and two superimposed horizontal planes, the composition is more ambitious than that in his earlier works: Régnier was by this time completely conversant with the inventions of his colleagues, such as Ribera, Manfredi and Valentin. The use of strong chiaroscuro has a twin purpose: the light sets off the two young swells and the women who are tricking them (the courtesans and the gypsy; the latter wears the traditional white headscarf and striped overgarment knotted at the shoulder), while the half-light in the background hides their accomplices. Régnier plays on the naturalistic immediacy of the image when he combines portraits *al naturale* and standard characters, emphasises the physical presence of the figures, and adds a note of sensuality with his virtuoso description of the fabrics, the unusual effects of the light (like the reflections on the tips of the three noses emerging from the darkness), and the gleaming scarlets and yellows.

The key to this sophisticated construction is the fragment of an ancient entablature being used as an improvised table. The corner of the brightly lit block in the centre of the composition seems to protrude into the space of the viewer and thus to create a sort of bridge between the painted universe and the real world. It separates the two principal figures, presented almost frontally: the opulent courtesan and the young card player, who seems absorbed in his own thoughts. The turn of the courtesan's head and the position of her hand suggest that she is deliberately showing us her cards, and thus making us complicit in the deception. Is she, as has been suggested by Michael Fried, also attempting to turn the young man's attention away from what her colleague is up to or is she trying to seduce him? The cards themselves, considered at that time as attributes of scandal, complete the narration of the swindle. The helmeted fraudster in the background conceals a six of clubs, a suit that, in accordance with the conventions of the period, represented success, good fortune and money, whereas the young woman, who, though she holds a card of each suit in her hand, clearly displays the five of hearts: does this suit represent the promise of a happy future or perhaps indicate that she is in love?

We are thus placed on our guard but find ourselves drawn into this virtuoso work. We are complicit in the trickery and also the "victims" of the painter's trap. The theme of deceit becomes the symbol of the painting's illusionist power, and the scene is bathed with a strange atmosphere of melancholy, similar to the works of Bartolomeo Manfredi and Valentin de Boulogne. While the two activities – the card game and the palm reading – are taking place, it is as though everything has come to a standstill: the characters seem frozen while waiting for their individual destiny to be decided. It will inevitably be an unexpected future as the rules of the game have been tampered with. Over and above the splendour of the costumes and their shimmering colours, this painting is an invitation to meditate on human destiny.

An ambitious, complex and perfectly controlled work, the *Cardsharps and Fortune Teller* was probably painted at the time of Régnier's stay with his famous patron, the marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani (ca. 1622–1623, or immediately afterwards), at a time when he enjoyed a "very considerable reputation", in the words of a contemporary, and executed "paintings of half-length figures from live models", including "gatherings of players" (Sandrart [1675] 1925, 368). An autograph replica is in the Musée d'art et d'histoire, Geneva (inv. 1974-11).

ANNICK LEMOINE

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9 NICOLAS TOURNIER | Montbéliard, 1590 – Toulouse, 1639

The Guard Room

early 1620s

Oil on canvas; 169 × 239 cm

Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Dresden, inv. 411

This large canvas, one of the most important, complex and demanding by Nicolas Tournier, first appeared in the 1754 inventory of the royal collections of Dresden under the name of Caravaggio. There is very little documentation about the French painter's Roman period, apart from the fact that he was unquestionably there between 1619 and 1626, but it is likely that he had arrived earlier, given that by 1619 he was twenty-nine years old.

The painting's *fortune critique* is very complex, marked by a heated debate on whether it is attributable to Bartolomeo Manfredi or Tournier. In the late nineteenth century Manfredi's name was suggested in the catalogue of the German collection (Woermann 1887) and authoritatively confirmed by Voss in 1924. The first to shift attention to Tournier's authorship was Roberto Longhi ([1935] 1972), who confidently rejected the attribution to the Mantuan painter and, grasping the French artist's sentimentality, deemed it "essentially less rowdy, less bloody and more phlegmatic than any Valentin [de Boulogne]"; he then returned to the subject in 1943, specifying that the painting could have been the work of a "young Tournier".

It would take years for the attribution to Tournier to make inroads, because in later decades other scholars became convinced it was by Manfredi (Ainaud de Lasarte 1947; Mesuret 1957; Moir 1967). The 1973–1974 exhibition *Caravaggeschi francesi* (Brejon de Lavergnée – Cuzin 1973) was decisive for this affirmation, as in a fascinating problematic entry the two scholars underscored the evident parallels with Manfredi's milieu, but ultimately opted for Tournier, dating the work to the artist's Roman period.

The reference to Tournier was no longer debated subsequently and the canvas is cited with this attribution in the two editions of Nicolson's repertory (1979, 1990). It was also discussed by Giuseppe Merlo (in *Cremona* 1987), who reasserted Tournier's paternity, comparing *The Guard Room* and Manfredi's *Denial of Saint Peter* in Braunschweig, which at the time – and perhaps even now – Brejon de Lavergnée (1979) believed was by Tournier. Merlo emphasized the differences between these two canvases, above all grasping "a veiled but incisive admiration for classical models that Manfredi never demonstrated" ("velata, ma incisiva ammirazione per i modelli classici che Manfredi non ha mai dimostrato").

In 2001 the painting was part of the monographic show on Tournier in Toulouse. In his entry, Axel Hemery evocatively described the image: "As a genre scene without moral connotations and a historical painting without heroes, this work has the charm of a secret and mysterious ceremony" ("Scène de genre sans connotation morale, peinture d'histoire sans héros, ce tableau a le charme d'une cérémonie secrète et mystérieuse"). The scholar also suggested it is datable to the early 1620s (close to the execution, likewise hypothetical on a chronological level, of the Prado *Denial of Saint Peter* and the Pommersfelden *Judgement of Solomon*), emphasizing Tournier's compositional debt to Manfredi's Braunschweig painting, which, following the documentation uncovered by Michele Maccherini (1999, 133–34, 137, n. 14), is likely datable around 1617 (see Papi 2013a). I am convinced there is no longer any doubt regarding Tournier's authorship; his language, with more sharply outlined figures, the paper-like drapery, and the more defined light and shadows, clearly diverged from Manfredi's atmospheres by this time. Certain details, such as the sleeve of the soldier turned with his back to us in the foreground, with folds that have an almost mineral-like texture and are set in a broken, triangular arrangement, can almost be considered a signature and can also be found – treated in exactly the same way – in the *Denial of Saint Peter* from a private collection (see G. Papi, in *Milan* 2005, 324–25) and the *Dice Players* at the Speed Art Museum in Louisville. Certain physical features, such as those of the pensive card player on the left, with a broad, round face and prominent nose, are undeniably reminiscent of Manfredi, but the harsh light on the face and hands of the young man in the centre of the composition, and the sharpness of the feather in his cap leave no room for doubt as to the author of the painting.

Here Tournier devised one of his most important inventions, creating a marvellous genre scene – detached and elegant – far removed from Manfredi's emotional involvement in his direct and somewhat rustic scenes. It revolves around the beautiful pagan altar that serves as a gaming table, the true focus of the composition, and Tournier's recurring motif of large horizontal scenes (as in the two versions of the *Denial of Saint Peter* at the Prado in Madrid and in Atlanta, the *Concert* in the Musée du Berry, Bourges, and the Attingham Park *Dice Players*).

GIANNI PAPI

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10 MATTIA PRETI | Taverna, Calabria, 1613 – Valletta, Malta, 1699

The Concert

ca. 1635

Oil on canvas; 107 × 145 cm
Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid, inv. 327 (1997.25)

This intimate *Concert* is one of Mattia Preti's earliest works, painted soon after his arrival in Rome around 1630. In a darkened interior, a quiet evening of music is taking place around a simple table. At left, a violinist wearing a fancy ruff and a serious expression accompanies the delicate singing of a boy, while the pretty girl seated between them listens thoughtfully and rests her hand on the boy's shoulder as if to encourage him. The *mise-en-scène* and the descending ray of light that isolates the three youths in the darkness reflect the influence of the tavern and gambling scenes painted by Bartolomeo Manfredi and Valentin de Boulogne and other early followers of Caravaggio. Unlike those masters, however, Preti habitually avoided allusions to bawdiness or excessive drinking. Rather than a flirtatious evening of merry-making in a tavern, this well-mannered trio seems engaged in a music lesson. In a sense, Preti has assimilated the solutions of Caravaggio's followers with Caravaggio's own sources in the Renaissance paintings of Giorgione and Titian.

Preti's decorous revision of the "methodus manfrediana", as it was called, was a successful specialty of the workshop that he shared with Gregorio Preti (1603–1672), his older brother, who probably taught him the art of painting. Gregorio was ten years older and preceded him to Rome, arriving perhaps as early as 1624 (R. Vodret, in *Cosenza* 2004, 6). In 1632, Gregorio Preti is recorded in attendance at a meeting of the Accademia di San Luca, the painter's society of Rome. In 1636, Gregorio and Mattia were sharing rooms near the church of S. Biagio a Montecitorio, which was attached to the Palazzo Ludovisi in the Colonna district. Around that time, they painted in collaboration the *Madonna della Purità,* an altarpiece commissioned by one of the leading families of Taverna, their native town (Spike 1999, 294–5, cat. 234).

Many years ago, the present writer observed that the figure of the violinist in this *Concert* appears to represent the participation of Gregorio Preti in a work by his brother, Mattia (Spike 1989, 18–19). This observation has been accepted by some scholars, rejected by others, and it has to be admitted that the two painters' hands are often difficult to distinguish at this early moment in their shared development. Recently, the Thyssen-Bornemisza Museum has published an exemplary technical analysis of this canvas, concluding that it was painted by Mattia Preti alone (Nieto Fernández 2008). Only one significant *pentimento* was found – in the outline of the boy's left hand. The X-rays and infrared reflectographs revealed a well-preserved canvas with no overt inconsistencies in the underlying strata of paint. On the other hand, if Mattia Preti painted the violinist, he was uncharacteristically imitating his brother's upright and frontal poses, as well as the hand that seems to stop at the knuckles. The singing boy sits logically at his end of the table, his shoulders foreshortened, while the violinist's body spreads across the table in a confusing way. Even in the X-rays, Gregorio's tight handling of paint is evident in the violinist's face, which is skillfully painted, but immobile compared to the girl and boy's faces softly bathed in the grey crepuscular light favoured by Mattia.

JOHN T. SPIKE

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11 Unknown Artist (Theodoor van Loon?)

Young Woman Sleeping

ca. 1630

Oil on canvas; 67.5 × 74 cm
Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. 609

The sumptuous triangle formed by the girl slumped over the rich brocade, her open arms bent at the elbow suggesting a hypotenuse, is by no means the precursory symbolic expression of some emotion (where the white linen of the embroidered handkerchief might allude to pangs of love) but, rather, the fragment of a larger composition, as the canvas was cut on all sides and a new strip was added along the top.

One of the most famous works of the seventeenth century, the painting – formerly part of the Esterházy collection – entered the state collections in 1871 with an anachronistic attribution to Veronese, although a far more likely attribution to the Roman Domenico Fetti had been posited just a few years earlier (Mündler 1869; followed by Venturi 1900 and Fiocco 1929). In 1943, Roberto Longhi shifted the paternity of the work to the Florentine Sigismondo Coccapani, an artist who studied with Cigoli in Rome at the same time as Fetti; specialists agreed (Gregori, in *San Miniato* 1959; Borea, in *Florence* 1970; Cantelli 1976).

With the exception of a suggested attribution to Bernardo Strozzi (Takács 1957), modern scholarship long anchored its opinion to the alternative between Fetti and Coccapani. However, Fetti specialist Eduard Safarik (1990) expunged the work from the artist's œuvre, while advances made in studies on seventeenth-century Florentine art, along with the downsizing of Coccapani's corpus in favour of Alessandro Rosi, active much later, led to abandonment of Longhi's attribution as well. Only István Barkóczi (in *Atlanta–Seattle–Minneapolis* 1995) continued to attribute the work to Fetti during his Mantuan period, dating it around 1615.

More recently, the *Young Woman Sleeping* was ascribed to the Frenchman Claude Vignon (Goldfarb 2003), an idea its propounder has since rejected (oral communication to the present writer, 2012). Instead, Heiner Krellig (2007) posited that the same hand had painted the Budapest work and the large *Mary Magdalene Repentant* at Pollok House in Glasgow (inv. PC.26; oil on canvas, 158.7 × 203.8 cm). This painting was previously ascribed to the Spaniard Antonio de Pereda, but according to Krellig it is the work of a central or southern Italian artist.

If we embrace the idea that the original iconographic intent of the Budapest fragment revolved specifically around the theme of the Penitent Mary Magdalene, then we must also imagine that, in this broader context, it served a function similar to that of the boy asleep on the musical score, the captious inclusion in the lost *Flute Player* from the Galleria Corsini in Florence. Indeed, Longhi cited this painting in his arguments that Coccapani was the author of both the latter painting and the Budapest canvas.

These ties are indubitably intriguing, yet reservations must be advanced regarding the general tone of this work, as we cannot automatically link the overblown expressionism – in a Flemish/Dutch sense – of the lost Corsini canvas with the sadly elegiac and profoundly authentic tone emanated by this model borrowed from everyday life, one that would likely have benefitted from a less lavish – though admittedly sublime – array of textile and sumptuary accoutrements.

These elements rendered with an air of realism, the black pigments on the frothy white sleeves and the rusty shadows on the figure's damp face create a "picturesque" three-dimensionality that alludes, if not to a more restrained Artemisia Gentileschi (as suggested by Zsuzsanna Dobos), then to other contemporaries from Naples but also elsewhere, almost as if it were a lyrical and more mellow work by Cavallino or an Eberhard Keil ahead of his time.

Considering the naturalism and the creamy density of paint in the *Young Woman Sleeping,* it would not be farfetched to consider Francesco Guarino and Jusepe de Ribera. Yet if we were to advocate the equally difficult Neapolitan origin of the work (Pulini, 2004, cautiously evoked Francesco Fracanzano as well), we would inevitably have to cite Artemisia's colleagues such as Paolo Finoglia and Pacecco De Rosa, who indulged in costume-like frills as much as she – if not more so.

Perhaps Finoglia's works alone offer suitable parallels in the faces wrested from the shadows (the clerics in *Saint Peter Consecrates Saint Aspren* in Pozzuoli) and the jewellery (Armida's strings of pearls in the *Rinaldo and Armida* in the gallery at the Castle of Conversano), but the buttery whites of the sleeves of the young woman in the Budapest painting, smutted with coal, seem unrelated to this painter's distinctive geometrizing style. While this type can indeed be found in Gentileschi's works (*Mary Magdalene*, private collection, ca. 1630), the philological definition of this magnificent painting is still at an impasse. We have yet to create a group of works with the same stylistic hallmarks but, forcing our hand, we can glean a similar air in Theodoor van Loon's altarpieces at the pilgrimage church of Scherpenheuvel.

ROBERTO CONTINI

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12 PIETRO PAOLINI | Lucca, 1603 – Lucca, 1681

Allegory of Life and Death (Meditation of a Young Gentleman on Death)

late 1620s – early 1630s

Oil on canvas; 69 × 120 cm
Museo Nazionale di Palazzo Mansi, Lucca, inv. 1258

Artistic literature of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and archival documentation in Lucca do not cite this work, as is the case for most of Paolini's paintings for private patrons, particularly with regard to allegorical subjects whose iconography is often hard to understand. Moreover, the same sources unhesitatingly report the patchy information about the production he left in his birthplace and the complete lack of knowledge about the works executed while he was in Rome between around 1620 and 1630 and then in Venice until 1632, and those sent outside the Venetian republic. The ongoing expansion of the corpus of his paintings – with additions that are often of excellent quality – commenced in the 1960s following the research of Anna Ottani and Alessandro Marabottini (Marabottini 1963; Ottani 1963; Ottani 1965).

The existence of this allegory, for which the title *Meditation of a Young Gentleman on Death* seems most appropriate, was virtually unknown until 1997, the year the government purchased it on the antiquarian market for a room on the *piano nobile* of the Museo Nazionale di Palazzo Mansi. The acquisition represents compensation – albeit quite partial – for the dispersion of the numerous *quadri da stanza* with a musical, didactic and moralizing theme, or with scenes of everyday life and history once present in many of Lucca's urban palaces and country villas. The painting was first mentioned in print by the present writer in 2000.

The perfect correspondence of stylistic resolution, composition and intellectual climate between this painting and Paolini's *Young Artist Working by Lamplight* at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (inv. 47.118), once owned by the Buonvisi family (Fredericksen–Zeri 1972, 157; Nicolson 1979, 77; Giusti Maccari 1987, 125; Giusti Maccari 2000), allows us to theorize the same provenance, despite the fact that it cannot be clearly identified in the surviving inventories of their picture gallery (for information on the collection and its dispersion in the early nineteenth century, see Lucarini 2000; Giusti Maccari 2009, 438–39; on Paolini's paintings owned by the family, Giusti Maccari 1987, 172–73; Giusti Maccari 2008). It is possible that it is the "picture of a painter drawing", likewise ascribed to Paolini. The error in the description may be due to the difficulty in succinctly describing the allegorical theme: in the darkness of his study, with sad awareness, a young gentleman tempered by philosophical studies – the volume on which he has placed his left hand – is meditating about death, represented by the two skulls. Behind him, a girl futilely tries to get his attention, while in front of him an older man, possibly his teacher, looks at him sympathetically.

The two works, which are clearly pendants (they are identical in size) eloquently express the painter's stylistic, compositional and intellectual efforts between the late 1620s and early 1630s, a period in which the influence of his experience in Rome with Angelo Caroselli, the chronology of which must be re-examined with respect to what has previously been thought (Rossetti 2010), fully converged with his well-assimilated and congenial knowledge of the innovative style and contents expressed there by the Caravaggesque naturalists of northern Europe. The nocturnal setting of the scenes is Honthorst's invention, beautifully taken up by the so-called Candlelight Master, possibly identifiable as Trophime Bigot (Helmus 2005; Prohaska 2005). The Utrecht painter's influence is even more powerful in this work, as the source of light – an oil lamp – has intentionally been placed behind the skull in the foreground in order to create diffused luminosity that lends subdued intimacy to the scene. As already demonstrated elsewhere, Paolini was eminently skilled at uniting great artistic quality with an educational and moralizing commitment, aimed at demonstrating that pursuing the correct propensities, in this case through study and meditation, is essential in order to escape the tenuous impermanence of worldly things.

PATRIZIA GIUSTI MACCARI

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13 GIOVANNI BAGLIONE | Rome, 1566 – Rome, 1642

Divine Love Overcoming the World, the Flesh and the Devil
(The Archangel Michael Overcoming Lucifer and Protecting Earthly Love)
1602

Oil on canvas; 183.4 × 121.4 cm
Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin, inv. 381

This painting is perhaps Baglione's best. It belongs to the most relevant – though very short – phase of his activity, when he was strongly impressed by the new realistic style of Caravaggio.

The dating of the work is based on indirect evidence. On the one hand, the artist himself quotes two paintings with the theme of Divine Love (the "Amor Divinus") in his autobiography of 1642; on the other hand, a painting of the same subject was mentioned by Orazio Gentileschi at the famous trial of 1603, in which Baglione accused Orazio, Caravaggio and others of having libelled him. Gentileschi states that he had displayed a painting of Saint Michael in the church of San Giovanni Decollato in Rome and that Baglione wanted to challenge him by showing his painting of "Amor Divinus", realized in response to Caravaggio's famous *Victorious Cupid* (now Gemäldegalerie, Berlin). In fact, the young winged protagonist of the painting exhibited here, carrying a divine thunderbolt, is to be identified as Saint Michael, hence it is thematically consistent with Gentileschi's own work (described by the sources but now lost or untraced). In Benedetto Giustiniani's 1621 inventory Baglioni's canvas is described as the "the fall of Lucifer" ("caduta di lucifero") (Danesi Squarzina, in *Rome* 2001). It was purchased by the king of Prussia at the auction of the rest of the Giustiniani collection in Paris in 1815.

Gentileschi had severely criticised this first version of *Divine Love Overcoming Earthly Love* by Baglione because of conceptual mistakes, the main one being that Divine Love should have been depicted as a naked child, not as a man in armour. Gentileschi states furthermore that his rival realized another version of the theme, in which Cupid was entirely nude.

Even though a second version of the subject is known (Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Rome, 240 × 143 cm), according to some scholars (Martinelli 1959; Vodret 2002) it cannot be identified with the version quoted by Gentileschi because in their opinion the changes in the composition (Divine Love is still in armour, even if his legs are now bare) are not sufficient to support this identification. Yet conservation treatment in 1979 revealed an inscription with Baglione`s signature and the date 1602 (G. Magnanimi, in *Rome* 1982), and to the present writer it seems less probable that a third version once existed than the possibility that Gentileschi exaggerated in his report.

There had long been unanimous agreement among scholars that the first armoured "Love" criticized by Gentileschi is the same painting as the one now in Berlin. In fact, after Cardinal Benedetto Giustiniani's death in 1621, this canvas passed, together with the Barberini version, into the collection of his brother, the marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani, and was listed in the inventory of the latter's estate in 1638. Both paintings remained with the Giustiniani family until 1802 (Vodret 1994). Then the Berlin version was acquired in 1821 as a work by Caravaggio, an attribution accepted in museum catalogues until 1931, while the other (then labelled as a copy after Caravaggio) remained in the family's household until 1857. It entered the Galleria Nazionale in 1895 but, curiously enough, between 1908 and 1945 it was also in Berlin, at the Italian embassy in the Tiergarten. Lost after World War II, it was rediscovered in a private collection by Robert Oertel, director of the Gemäldegalerie (I. Faldi, in *Rome* 1970).

Recently, the status of the Berlin canvas as the prototype has been challenged by Vodret (2002), who suggested that the Roman canvas may have been executed first, because the X-radiograph appears to show a preparatory drawing under the paint, whereas according to Vodret a cartoon was employed for the Berlin picture.

In 2005 the Berlin *Divine Love Overcoming the World* was submitted to conservation at the Getty Center, Los Angeles, and this now allows a more reliable reading of the painting. A *pentimento* correcting the position of the right arm of Saint Michael/Divine Love had been revealed earlier by an X-radiograph (communication by Erich Schleier to Silvia Danesi Squarzina, in *Rome* 2001, 298 fig. 1).

Even if one views this work, like other similar works by Baglione, as an amazingly prompt emulation of the brand new naturalistic style of Caravaggio, and thus aggravating the bitter rivalry between the two painters, the merits of the seductive plasticity and convincing light effects (particularly on the armour) must not be underrated.

A possible preliminary sketch for the figure of Divine Love is in the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe of the Uffizi in Florence (Smith O'Neal 2002, 29–30, repr. on p. 29).

ROBERTO CONTINI

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14 Orazio Riminaldi | Pisa, 1593 – Pisa, 1630

Victorious Cupid

ca. 1624–1625

Oil on canvas; 142 × 112 cm
Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti, Florence, inv. 1912 no. 422

The painting belonged to the collection of the gran principe Ferdinando de' Medici (d. 1713) and the inventories in which it is mentioned clearly indicate its author as Orazio Riminaldi from Pisa. Riminaldi was a well-known artist in his day, but was subsequently completely neglected and it was a long time before he was rediscovered. In fact it was not until the twentieth century that his work was re-evaluated, thanks to Roberto Longhi (1943).

The precedent for the subject is Caravaggio's notorious canvas *"Amor vincit Omnia"*, which illustrates a line from Virgil's *Eclogues* and was painted around 1601–1602 for the marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin). In Riminaldi's work, however, the ambiguities suggested by the naughty adolescent depicted by Caravaggio are abandoned in favour of a simpler narrative, which results, perhaps, from the artist's quest for a more controlled, though still slightly homoerotic, content. The complexity of the allegorical implications is no less acute when compared to Caravaggio's prototype. Indeed Cupid seems to be, if not necessarily victorious over various human activities, at least the source of their inspiration.

Whereas the pike loosely held in Cupid's right hand is a reminder of the way in which the god of Love "brings down" his victims, the tambourine laid across the sheets of music are allusions to music and the sword, possibly, the art of war. Perhaps not the pike, but certainly the bow and the arrows in the lower right corner are specific weapons of Cupid (called the "Genius of Virtue" in old Medici inventories), while other elements of a soldier's armour are placed on the ground behind Cupid's right leg – the breastplate on which he rests his leg, and the helmet. The scales negligently abandoned on the open book are the symbol of Justice, and also of the administration of this fundamental civic and political virtue; the armillary sphere partly merging into the dark background is an allusion to Astronomy, one of the seven Liberal Arts, as well as, more generally, to knowledge.

Some scholars (Borea, in *Florence* 1970; Macioce, in *Rome–Siena* 2000) have interpreted the presence of bees flying out of the helmet as an allusion to the coat of arms of the Barberini family, and consequently to a commission from that eminent house.

Even if this is a plausible interpretation, since Rome at the beginning of the 1620s – the very decade when the *Victorious Cupid* was painted – was politically and culturally ruled by the Barberini (indeed, Cardinal Francesco Barberini was the head of the Accademia di San Luca in 1624–1625), one has to remember that bees are one of the classic symbols of Love (Gregori 1972, 63 note 66; Carofano 2009), following a tradition embraced by authors from Theocritus to Andrea Alciati in his *Emblematum Liber* (1531).

Like a literary topos, the painting expresses the patron's belief that only Love can master, with ethical awareness, matters pertaining to the different fields of the Liberal Arts (such as Music) and political action (War).

Although the learned patron "embodied" by the handsome adolescent is unknown, Riminaldi's artistic preferences are perfectly clear. Cupid's pose is indebted to Caravaggio's celebrated *Saint John the Baptist* (Pinacoteca Capitolina, Rome, cat. 26), painted for Giustiniani's friend Ciriaco Mattei. While somewhat distanced from the raw naturalism of Caravaggio's naked Saint John, Cupid's features still recall the naturalistic tendency. At the same time, due to the classicizing, almost didactic pose of the young god, and the clarity of the objects and the rich colours, this rhetorical masterpiece is far from its prime source, showing instead a parallel with the *"accomodata naturalezza"* (that is, a sort of intellectually artificial devotion to nature) of Caravaggio's followers from the mid-1610s onwards. These include artists like Battistello Caracciolo and Bartolomeo Cavarozzi (the similarity of the pointing hand of Cupid and that of the angel in Cavarozzi's *Saint Jerome* in the Galleria Palatina, Florence, is indeed striking), as well as the French artists Simon Vouet and Valentin de Boulogne, the Florentine Francesco Furini and not least, on account of the soft blurring of the face and flesh, the Genoese Bernardino Strozzi.

There is another autograph version of the *"genio della virtù"* (X-rays show evidence of *pentimenti* so it is presumed to be autograph) in a private collection in Milan (Marina Mojana, communication to Papi 1992, 261; Mojana 1994; Carofano 2004; Carofano 2005; Carofano 2009), whose provenance prior to auction in 1970 is unknown.

ROBERTO CONTINI

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15 BATTISTELLO CARACCIOLO | Naples, 1578 – Naples, 1635

Sleeping Cupid

Late 1610s – early 1620s

Oil on canvas; 95 × 159 cm
Pier Luigi Pizzi Collection, Venice

The canvas depicts an adolescent, seemingly a sleeping Cupid stretched out on a crimson damask bedspread and pillow trimmed with dark ochre braiding and tassels. A bow and arrow are set on them in the foreground, the tip of the arrow tucked into the folds of the spread.

The boy's pose piqued the interest of Pierluigi Carofano (in *San Marino* 2011), who included the canvas in the current sparked by Caravaggio's painting by the same name at the Palazzo Pitti, theorizing that it had been developed based on models from classical statuary, such as the "Piccolo donario pergameno", now in Naples but formerly in Rome in the Farnese collection, and the *Barberini Faun,* found in 1627 in the moat of Castel Sant'Angelo. Carofano pinpointed the subject in a specific passage from Apuleius' *Metamorphoses,* in which, by the light of her lantern, Psyche saw Cupid with his weapons set "at the foot of the bed". Based on this finding and other examples of seventeenth-century *concettismo* (see Pizzorusso 1983, 54–55; Capriotti 2009, 135–37), the scholar thought it conceivable that this portrayal could trigger literary and erotic transference, allowing the observer to identify with Psyche. I further extended the scope of the literary interpretation (Leone, in *Rome* 2011) and, through the intriguing detail of the hand clutching locks of hair, I reprised previous comparisons between the theme of the Sleeping Cupid and that of the Blind Cupid and thus Blindfolded Fortune (see Panofsky 1939; Calvesi 1971, 109), viewing this as a warning that one must grasp Love – Fortune – when he passes, to keep him from going elsewhere.

The original location of this *Sleeping Cupid* is unknown and it first appeared in studies in 1967, when it was in the Jones Mercadante collection in New York (Moir 1967; see Leone, in *Rome* 2011a); afterwards it passed through various auction houses and private collections (sold Christie's, New York, 1981; Haboldt & Co., Paris, 1990; Christie's, London, 1993; Whitfield Fine Art, London, 1993) before coming to its present location in 2009. Its stylistic interpretation is quite complex and not at all unequivocal, even though all the scholars who have studied it deem it to be of high formal quality and virtually unanimously recognize its successful synthesis of a vivid naturalism inspired by Caravaggio and the classicizing transformation of the same source. In this formal context, of the names scholars have advanced so far for the attribution of the work (see Leone, in *Rome* 2011a), the most plausible thus seem to be Orazio Riminaldi and Battistello Caracciolo. The former was proposed by Alfred Moir (1976) and Stephen Pepper (1983a), the latter by Benedict Nicolson (1979; 1990) and Wolfgang Prohaska (1993, written communication). The treatment of the surfaces, with the magnificent effect of the contrast between the figure's pearly skin and the bright red fabric, is typical of both artists' production of the late 1610s and much of the 1620s.

In my opinion, however, the attribution to Battistello is currently the most convincing, not only because of the ties between the pose in this work and that of the *Sleeping Cupid* at the Palazzo Abatellis, ascribed to the artist, and the valid stylistic implications with his graphic and pictorial production (Prohaska, 1993, written communication), but also certain parallels in execution. Diagnostic analysis has revealed the presence of underlying elements that can be interpreted as a drawing as well as brushwork similar to that of the painter's other works datable to this time frame (see Leone – De Ruggieri, forthcoming), and thus they can effectively be linked with the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* at the Palazzo Pitti in Florence and the *Trinitas Terrestris* from the church of the Pietà dei Turchini in Naples, as Prohaska proposed. The dating of these works to Battistello's post-Florentine period could thus explain the suggestions that have been glimpsed vis-à-vis the painting of Orazio Riminaldi, although they are still latent.

GIORGIO LEONE

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16 Giovanni Antonio Galli, called Spadarino | Rome, 1585 – Rome, 1652

Venus with Doves

ca. 1620

Oil on canvas; 125 × 176 cm
Collezione Amata, Rome

Spadarino remains one of the least known followers of Caravaggio despite numerous attempts by art historians to appraise his importance. Compared to the other leading Caravaggists, and especially to Bartolomeo Manfredi and Jusepe de Ribera, Spadarino's works are surprisingly rare, numbering fewer than forty paintings from more than forty years of activity. Born in 1585 in Rome, of Sienese parentage, Spadarino had barely passed his thirtieth year when he was already recognized by Giulio Mancini ([1617–1621] 1956–1957, I, 108) as one of the premier followers of Caravaggio. Alone among the Caravaggists, Spadarino never left the Eternal City and was thus obliged to adapt to the later developments in Roman painting.

This *Venus with Doves* demonstrates how Spadarino supplemented his early formation with borrowings from the Venetian influences that were introduced into Roman painting by both Caravaggio and his rival, Annibale Carracci. Indeed, this *Venus* is an open homage to Titian's famous paintings of the goddess of love, albeit viewed through the lens of Caravaggio's ironic treatment of mythological themes. Red roses, pearl earrings and a pair of affectionate *colombe* are the symbols of Venus, but this seductive woman with her hair hidden by a turban more resembles an oriental paramour in her boudoir. An unseen candle casts a deep shadow over her eyes. She casually pulls back the heavy drape as if to call attention to the approach of evening and its amorous pastimes.

In keeping with his usual practice, Spadarino made more than one autograph version of this composition (see Spike 2005 for the illustrations). Busiri Vici (1977, 343–44) first published a similar reclining *Venus with Doves* then with Trafalgar Galleries in London, whose attribution to Spadarino had already been recognized by Carlo Volpe and confirmed by Federico Zeri (see Papi 2003a, 41 n. 78, for the bibliography). Busiri Vici noted, moreover, that the London picture was an elaboration of a somewhat larger *Venus with Doves*, erroneously attributed to Domenichino, in the York Museum and Art Gallery. The present *Venus with Doves* appears to have been painted as early as the latter years of the second decade of the seventeenth century, near in date to the York version, and thus many years prior to the later, evidently more classical, version formerly in London.

Orazio Gentileschi's various representations of Danaë reclining nude, her arm raised, is the Caravaggesque composition most comparable to the present *Venus* (cf. Bissell 1981, 45–46, no. 49). If the compositions are related, as seems probable, Gentileschi must have responded to Spadarino – and not vice versa – because Gentileschi first painted his *Danaë* in two autograph versions in Genoa immediately after his arrival from Rome in 1621.

Spadarino's paintings are difficult to identify today because they were difficult to identify even during his own century. The confusion between the dates and documents of Giovanni Antonio Galli and his older brother Giacomo (also called "Spadarino") was dispelled only in 1979 in a fundamental contribution by Clemente Marsicola. Spadarino was overlooked by the major writers on art until 1704, when the abate Pellegrino Antonio Orlandi mentioned him in his *Abecedario pittorico* (Orlandi 1733, 225), marvelling at the unjustness of this neglect, as did Luigi Lanzi later ([1789] 1968–1974, I, 375).

After centuries of semi-anonymity, Spadarino made his first, unsteady re-appearance on the stage of art history in 1902, when his *Guardian Angel* in Rieti was cited as an original Caravaggio (see Papi 2003a, 121, for the bibliography). The *Guardian Angel* in Rieti is now recognized as Spadarino's masterpiece: a Roman counterpart to the thoughtful Caravaggism practiced by Battistello Caracciolo in Naples. In 1943, Longhi rectified these mistakes in his fundamental *Ultimi studi sul Caravaggio e la sua cerchia*, in which he compiled the first convincing reconstruction of this long-neglected artist. Even today, our knowledge of Spadarino is essentially reliant on Longhi's scholarship. Spadarino's hand has been often confused with Gerrit van Honthorst's, as well with other Caravaggists who employed a firm, dense brushwork, such as Gentileschi and Saraceni.

JOHN T. SPIKE

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II

DIVINE LIGHT – DIABOLIC SHADOW

17 MICHELANGELO MERISI, CALLED CARAVAGGIO | Milan, 1571 – Porto Ercole, 1610

Crowning with Thorns

ca. 1605

Oil on canvas; 178 × 125 cm

Collezione di Banca Popolare di Vicenza, Vicenza

Christ's crowning with thorns at the hands of the Roman soldiers under Pilate's command is described in the gospels of Matthew (27:27–31), Mark (15:16–20) and John (19:1–3). After Christ was sentenced to death, the soldiers led him into the governor's palace and called together their whole company, who surrounded him and stripped and scourged him with a lead-tipped whip. Putting a purple robe on him, they plaited a crown of thorns and placed it on his head. Then they knelt before him and mocked him, saying, "Hail, King of the Jews!" And they spat on him and struck his head with a reed until, finally, they led him away to crucify him.

The Crowning of Thorns is one of the central episodes of Christ's Passion. The heightened realism and deep darkness of Caravaggio's paintings made them especially powerful expressions of this tragic theme. In the earlier of his two extant canvases of this subject, painted for the marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani around 1603–1604 (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; cf. Spike 2010, cat. 38), Caravaggio portrayed Christ as a classical hero with a sculpted torso, who bends stoically under the pounding rain of blows.

During 1604, Caravaggio's occasional infractions of the law evolved into a pattern of deliberate provocations followed by his arrest and incarceration. His nerves were evidently fraying under the combined pressures of hostility against his work and reduced income. In May of that year, having left (or been asked to leave) his room and board in the Palazzo Mattei, he signed a lease for his own studio. By July 1605, he had fallen six months behind in the rent and was sued by his landlord, who won the right to confiscate the contents of the artist's studio to recoup the debt, which was easily accomplished in early August since Caravaggio had fled to Genoa to escape arrest for his assault on the notary, Pasqualone.

These intervening crises may perhaps explain why, when Caravaggio executed the present picture no more than two years later than the Giustiniani *Crowning with Thorns,* he proposed an entirely different reading of the same event. A murky penumbra has replaced the bright flesh tones and abundant details in the earlier picture. Circling around the dim fluorescence of Christ's chest and shoulder are the shadows of three anonymous tormentors. In their midst, Christ seems noticeably older and helpless. Most unusually, perhaps uniquely in the history of Christian art, Christ appears to seek understanding as he raises his head and looks directly into the face of his aggressor. His bound hands strain against the cords as if attempting to gesture in some way. The introspective quality of this representation, as opposed to the physicality of the Giustiniani version, is comparable to the oft-noted transformation in mood from Caravaggio's first, triumphant *Supper at Emmaus* in the National Gallery, London, of 1601 and his second *Emmaus* in the Brera, Milan, 1606.

This *Crowning with Thorns,* formerly in the Cecconi collection in Florence, was considered a copy after a lost Caravaggio by most scholars, beginning with a verbal comment by Roberto Longhi in 1916 (Longhi 1943). Following its cleaning in 1976, in which various *pentimenti* were discovered, especially in Christ's hand, Mina Gregori (1976) proposed the painting as an autograph original. The attribution acquired circumstantial support in 1987 with the discovery in the Massimi family archives in Rome of two autograph notes by Caravaggio and Lodovico Cardi, called Il Cigoli, both of which refer to Caravaggio's recently completed painting of this subject (Barbiellini Amidei 1989). In Caravaggio's own hand, signed and dated 25 June 1605, he declared, "I, Michel Ang.o Merisi da Caravaggio, obligate myself to paint by the first of August for Sig. Massimo Massimi a painting of the same value and size as that I have already made for him of the *Crowning of Christ with Thorns*". Cigoli delivered to Massimi one of his most celebrated paintings, his *Ecce Homo* (Galleria Palatina, Florence; 175 × 135 cm), which has similar dimensions to the present *Crowning with Thorns,* and may have comprised a pair with it (rather than with Caravaggio's *Ecce Homo* in Genoa [cat. 18], which is generally identified by scholars with the painting Caravaggio promised to Massimi, although its format is noticeably smaller).

Caravaggio's execution of a *Crowning with Thorns* for the Massimi collection in Rome had been overlooked by Baglione, Bellori and the early sources. The attribution is still debated, although the handling of Christ's face, shoulder, and hands and, possibly, also the red mantle, seem attributable to the master himself. By contrast, the three assailants on all sides of Christ appear to be perfunctory in quality. During the distractions and imprisonments of his last two Roman years, Caravaggio devoted himself with varying degrees of concentration to his private commissions, frequently availing himself of studio assistance in the secondary passages.

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18 MICHELANGELO MERISI, CALLED CARAVAGGIO | Milan, 1571 – Porto Ercole, 1610

Ecce Homo

ca. 1605

Oil on canvas; 128 × 103 cm
Galleria di Palazzo Bianco, Genoa, inv. PB 1638

After Christ had been scourged by the Roman soldiers, and, in mockery, dressed in a robe and crowned with thorns, he was brought before Pontius Pilate for judgement. The sight of Jesus moved the Roman governor to exclaim, "Ecce homo" ("Behold the Man") (Jn 19:5), in an appeal to the populace who shouted out, "Crucify Him!" (Jn 19:6). Pilate then replied to the crowd's cry for Jesus's death, "Why, what evil has he done?" (Mt 27:23; Mk 15:14; Lk 23:22).

In Caravaggio's depiction of this text, Pilate appears to confront the viewer as if demanding a response. Christ stands mutely, his eyes downcast, holding a broken reed, his mock scepter, in his tied hands. Behind him, a jailor with a grimy face gently places the purple mantle over his shoulders. Christ's loincloth of funereal white enhances the luminosity of his body. By contrast, the black-robed governor standing next to him resembles the personification of evil.

The Ecce Homo episode was usually included in late antique and medieval cycles of the Passion and the Life of Christ. In Renaissance paintings, the *Ecce Homo* was increasingly represented as a separate subject with emphasis on the figure of Christ. During Caravaggio's lifetime, a new tendency emerged in north Italy, perhaps under the influence of Flemish painting, in which an ugly figure of Pilate, wearing a turban, appears prominently in the foreground, gesturing with hands that come disrespectfully close to Christ's body. Caravaggio was surely aware of such compositions, which had been painted by Raffaellino da Reggio (engraved in 1586), Agostino Carracci (1587–1590), Giulio Cesare Procaccini (1602–1603) and others (see *Milan* 2012, 34–43, figs. 2, 10, 11). In the Genoa *Ecce Homo,* Caravaggio similarly emphasizes Pilate's disturbing power over the captive Savior.

In his characteristic departure from tradition, however, Caravaggio portrays Pilate robed in contemporary Italian dress, wearing a soft black cap instead of a turban, as if he were a diabolical Italian magistrate with the pointed ears of a faun. As explicitly as possible, Caravaggio has underscored the immorality of Pilate's actions as a governor who yielded to political expediency and condemned to death a man in whom he found no fault. By setting his composition in his own time, omitting any references to a Roman palace in ancient Jerusalem, Caravaggio places Pilate's corrupt justice into a universal and contemporary context. A personal significance to the artist himself is probably inescapable, moreover. By 1605, the probable date of this painting, Caravaggio had been incarcerated several times and stood helpless before many hostile magistrates.

On 25 June 1605, Caravaggio agreed to deliver by August to Massimo Massimi, a painting of the same size and value as the *Crowning with Thorns* already in the Massimi collection in Rome. Early sources confirm that Caravaggio painted an *Ecce Homo* for Massimo Massimi. In 1607 the artist Ludovico Cigoli was commissioned by Massimi to paint a pair to a picture by Caravaggio already in his possession. Cigoli's nephew, Giambattista Cardi, wrote in his *Vita di Lodovico Cardi,* pre-1628, that Massimi commissioned paintings representing Ecce Homo by Caravaggio, Cigoli, and Passignano.

Given these facts, Roberto Longhi and other scholars concluded that the present painting in Genoa is to be identified with the lost Massimi *Ecce Homo*. The date of the dispersal of that collection is not known, but the *Ecce Homo* by Cigoli (now Palazzo Pitti, Florence) had already been transferred to a Florentine private collection by 1628.

The identification of the present picture with the Massimi *Ecce Homo* remains to be proved, and the attribution to Caravaggio has been frequently questioned, though it was supported by Roberto Longhi and many other authorities. The dense application of opaque colours is unusual for Caravaggio, but no alternative attribution has ever been proposed. *Pentimenti* show that this Genoa picture is the prime version of this subject and the dramatic intensity is fully worthy of Caravaggio.

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19 GIULIO CESARE PROCACCINI | Bologna, 1574 – Milan, 1625

Ecce Homo

ca. 1602–1603

Oil on canvas; 157 × 113 cm
Private collection

Born in Bologna in 1574, Giulio Cesare Procaccini, one of the leading seventeenth-century Lombard painters during the day of Archbishop Federico Borromeo, was actually a highly regarded sculptor until 1599, working on the Milan cathedral and the church of Santa Maria presso San Celso. It seems likely that, at the turn of the century, possibly inspired by the growing success of his brother Camillo among the city's public and private patrons, he decided to abandon sculpture for painting. After being commissioned in 1602 to decorate some of the chapels in the church of San Celso, the master travelled to Venice, Parma and central Italy to study and update his artistic knowledge. Upon his return, he immediately showed a decidedly mature and modern figurative language with respect to the hackneyed Late Mannerist formulas that distinguished Milan's artistic milieu in the early seventeenth century.

The present writers identified this intense and powerful *Ecce Homo,* recently shown in Milan at the Museo Diocesano (*Milan* 2012), as immediate testimony of the painter's study journey, also mentioned by the Bolognese biographer Carlo Cesare Malvasia in *Felsina Pittrice* (Malvasia [1678] 1841, I, 220). In-depth investigation of the work has revealed a series of models the artist evidently embraced during those travels. For the intense figure of Christ he observed Correggio's *Ecce Homo,* now at the National Gallery in London but formerly in the Prati collection in Parma; for the thug lifting the curtain, he instead turned to Ludovico Carracci's *Christ Presented to the People,* frescoed in the early 1590s under the portico of the Casa Ercolani in Bologna.

Procaccini's originality emerges above all in the irrepressible, ruddy figure of Pilate, whose uncommon vitality is rendered through the dense Venetian palette (the rapid brushwork of the velvet jacket, embellished with burgundy lacquer, shows clear references to Tintoretto) and, above all, direct contact with the revolutionary painting of Peter Paul Rubens. It is likely that Procaccini admired the great Flemish master's *Crowning with Thorns,* formerly in the church of Santa Croce di Gerusalemme in Rome (now in Grasse cathedral, France), and the painting examined here shows parallels in the palette and lighting, but also the plastic rendering of Christ's chest and that of the backlit figure on the left.

Moreover, it is almost unquestionable that the young Procaccini must personally have seen Agostino Carracci's splendid *Ecce Homo* datable approximately to 1587–1590. The painting, purchased in Bologna by the marchese Giacomo Filippo Durazzo II in 1720, is now part of the Durazzo Pallavicini collection in Genoa. Indeed, it inspired the layout of the scene set out on several levels and the imperious figure of Pilate in the foreground, with his thick grey beard and silk turban, who grips the staff of command as he turns his stern and penetrating gaze towards the spectator. He is counterpointed by the swarthy, half-clothed thug lifting the cloth on the pole of his pike, his arms wide as he grips both ends; behind Christ, the soldier with a faun-like grin and aquiline nose looks down scornfully, showing his disdain for the man claiming to be the Son of God.

Given the lack of figurative works prior to the frescoes commenced at San Celso in 1602, it is difficult to conceive that the vestrymen overseeing the work on the prestigious Milanese church would have given Procaccini such a prestigious commission – moreover, directly competing with the great Giovan Battista Crespi, called Il Cerano – unless he had already provided important proof of his painterly talent. The *Ecce Homo* thus seems to be the missing link.

GIULIO BORA AND DAVIDE DOTTI

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20 Orazio Gentileschi | Pisa, 1563 – London, 1639

Way to Calvary

ca. 1605–1607

Oil on canvas; 138.5 × 173 cm
Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, inv. 1553

Orazio Gentileschi was almost forty years old when he abandoned his early mannerist style and joined the followers of Caravaggio. For a brief time around 1602, the two artists were friendly, exchanging studio props and a brown Capuchin habit to depict in their paintings of Saint Francis. In September 1603, Gentileschi testified, unsuccessfully, on Caravaggio's behalf in the libel suit brought by Giovanni Baglione. By that time, an ardent advocate of painting from nature, Gentileschi may have been the author of one of the scurrilous verses Caravaggio was accused of writing.

This *Way to Calvary* is one of the most impressive examples of Gentileschi's new style in the middle of the first decade of the seventeenth century. Executed around 1605–1607, this remarkable composition is clearly based on the Dublin *Taking of Christ* (National Gallery of Ireland) painted by Caravaggio for Ciriaco Mattei in 1603. The two paintings are the same size: Gentileschi's canvas is larger by only 4–5 centimeters on each side (138.5 × 173 cm compared to 133.5 × 169.5). In both pictures, the foreground is crowded with life-size figures jumbled together, their forms and faces seeming near enough to touch. Gentileschi has borrowed Caravaggio's use of visual confusion as a metaphor for a world turned upside down: in the *Taking of Christ,* Christ is betrayed by a kiss. In the *Way to Calvary,* the Son of Man is punished as a criminal.

The sacred event of Christ's carrying of the Cross, or *Via Crucis,* is cited in all four gospels. The procession followed the path leading from the gate of Jerusalem to Mount Calvary, or Golgotha, just outside the city walls, where the Romans conducted their executions. Gentileschi has also adopted the Caravaggesque practice of concentrating the action on a few essential participants, allowing the spectator to contemplate them individually. The painting can be read as a sequence of events: at far left, a brutal executioner stands in Christ's path and seems to contend with him for the Cross. Perhaps his intention is to pull the procession forward, since Christ, at centre, has paused to speak with the young woman, at right. Saint Luke records the dire words spoken by Christ to the multitude of people and wailing women as they followed him to Calvary: "Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourselves and for your children" (23:28). In later Christian exegesis and art, the women were understood to include the Three Marys and the Virgin Mary, who is barely glimpsed, wearing a dark blue robe, in Gentileschi's painting at the far right. The young woman with long, flowing light-coloured hair is probably identifiable as Mary Magdalene. Behind her, and half-hidden by the Cross, appears a young man, who looks back and calls out. Gentileschi has given him a red fez hat, no doubt as an Eastern Mediterranean motif, although the fez did not yet exist in the time of Christ.

The arrangement of the actors in a massive, moving frieze, is indebted, as we have noted, to Caravaggio's *Taking of Christ* of a few years earlier. Christ's clasped hands in a way associated with prayer is another borrowing from the same picture. The executioner who confronts and grimaces at Christ evokes the authoritative precedent of Giorgione's *Christ Carrying the Cross* (Scuola di San Rocco, Venice), in which the two figures are paired in face-to-face opposition. Gentileschi's composition displays his knowledge as well of Sebastiano del Piombo's celebrated *Christ Carrying the Cross,* in which Christ's face is viewed almost frontally, looking down on his shoulder. Gentileschi could have known a copy of this painting, of which there are autograph versions in Budapest and in the Museo Nacional del Prado in Madrid. Although Christ's arms bearing the cross have appeared in innumerable variations in paintings of the *Via Crucis,* Gentileschi's representation of Christ embracing the cross with his hands elevated about his head is unprecedented in Italian painting, so far as I know. Hans Multscher, the noted Northern Renaissance painter and sculptor, used the motif to impressive effect in his Wurzach Passion of 1437 (Schiller 1966–1991, II, 424, fig. 292). Caravaggio and his followers were often influenced by the realistic ugliness of Christ's tormentors as portrayed in German and Netherlandish engravings and paintings.

The present painting was only recognized as a major early Caravaggesque work by Gentileschi in 1971, after more than a century of conflicting proposals (Pepper 1971). Roberto Longhi (1943) had long maintained an attribution to Caravaggio himself. While its dating in the first decade of the seventeenth century is generally accepted, the chronology of Gentileschi's development in these crucial years awaits definitive clarification.

JOHN T. SPIKE

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21 Francesco Boneri, called Cecco del Caravaggio | Documented between 1601 and 1620

Christ Falls on the Road to Calvary

ca. 1610–1611

Oil on canvas; 98 × 130 cm
Slovenská národná galéria in Bratislava, inv. O 4175

First attributed to Cecco in the 1985 catalogue of the Slovakian museum (Vaculík 1985), the canvas was accepted by Benedict Nicolson, albeit with reservations (1990). Previously Arnauld Brejon de Lavergnée (1973–1975) had identified the hand of the same artist credited with the *Players Fight over Cards* at the Statens Museum for Kunst in Copenhagen (which I later ascribed to the Master of the Fight, see Papi 2000 and Papi 2005) and the *Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian* at the Muzeum Narodowe in Warsaw, which is actually Cecco's work (see cat. 32). I reconfirmed the attribution to Cecco (Papi 1992b; Papi 1996, 130; Papi 2001a; and more recently when the painting was displayed at the Rome exhibition in 2011), whereas contrasting opinions have been put forward by Federico Zeri (in a letter to me, 1992), Anna Ottani Cavina (1994) and Gerlinde Gruber, who in the catalogue for the Milanese exhibition (*Milan* 2005) suggested Pedro Nuñez del Valle; the name of the Spanish painter was repeated by Giuseppe Porzio (2012).

While I must acknowledge that the attribution to Nuñez has made inroads, I cannot see any connection between the rigidity of the Spaniard's figures (although the elements of his language are drawn from Cecco's work) and the dynamic tension and turned muscles of the men in the Bratislava painting, nor do I credit him with the ability to conceive such a complex and intertwined scene, all of which inscribed in the foreground, with the figures saturating the surrounding spaces. Therefore, my opinion has not changed and I am increasingly convinced that, difficult as the painting may be to decipher stylistically, it constitutes important testimony for reconstructing a crucial phase in Cecco's career: one that remains fleeting, as it must rely on only a few works that have emerged, but without any chronological or documentary evidence. In other words, I am referring to the period in which Cecco had powerful stylistic connections with the earliest expressions of Neapolitan naturalism and the works Caravaggio left in Naples.

In 1992 (but also in Papi 1996, Papi 2001a and, above all, Papi 2008), I pondered the problematic timeline according to which Cecco seems to have arrived extremely early on the Neapolitan scene, a debut marked by the influence of Caravaggio's late works as well as obvious contacts with Louis Finson and Battistello Caracciolo, and which may even have directly inspired the development of the language of artists such as Filippo Vitale. It was a debut far more coloured with expressionistic turgidity (and it is no accident that, particularly for the work examined here, a Northern European hand has been suspected), accentuated features and marked crudeness than the works we can rather confidently date to the first half of the 1610s in Rome (the fresco at the Villa Lante in Bagnaia and *Christ Driving the Money Changers from the Temple* in the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, by which time Cecco had acquired a more personal style, in which we find the decidedly Savoldesque echoes that would become the painter's hallmark and fundamental heritage).

The two thieves leading the procession (the same sequence can be found in a painting with the same subject, formerly in Spain, that I attributed to Cecco in 1992) are typical of the artist in this violently expressive phase, and they can be connected with the nude Saint Sebastian in the Warsaw canvas. Their bodies are bathed in light, with sculpted muscles and a somewhat Romanist accentuation of the legs and square faces (features viscerally linked with Cecco's figures), confirming his contact with Finson (it is pointless to repeat the long-term confusion vis-à-vis attributions to the two artists, largely settled by Roberto Longhi in his 1943 study); such contact would more reasonably and logically have occurred in Naples, where the artist from Bruges is repeatedly documented up to 1612, rather than Rome. It is difficult to date the painting, but it nevertheless must have been executed at the time of the very young artist's debut (and what a debut!) and thus around 1610–1611, when Cecco must have been barely twenty years old.

GIANNI PAPI

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22 Orazio Borgianni | Rome, 1574 – Rome, 1616

Lamentation of Christ

ca. 1615

Oil on canvas; 73.8 × 90.3 cm

Fondazione di Studi di Storia dell'Arte Roberto Longhi di Firenze, Florence, inv. 81

This seems to have been Borgianni's favourite subject in his final years. The fact that it came up time and again in his production is witnessed by the signed etching dated 1615 and at least four other painted versions. The etching was dedicated to Francesco de Castro, the Spanish ambassador to Rome and, along with several variations of the Longhi painting, it depicts the dead Christ and three mourners. The same composition returns in the canvas from the Ruffo di Motta Bagnara collection, now at the Palazzo Venezia in Rome, whereas the painting at the Galleria Spada, the canvas in the Koelliker collection (G. Papi, in Papi ed. 2006, 96–98), and the fresco in the sacristy of the Roman church of San Salvatore in Lauro represent the versions with two mourners. We must note that, with respect to the iconography with the two mourners, the present scene shows a more sweeping pace and the viewpoint is more distant and slightly higher, due to the inclusion of the intriguing figure of Mary Magdalene (simply an ochre cloak clutched by a pair of hands).

When Roberto Longhi published the etching in 1914, he did not know about this work. Nonetheless, he guessed that there must have been a painting after which the etching was made, a "prototype with an additional mourner" with respect to the Spada version, which only has two. It would not take long for it to emerge: two years later, the scholar published the painting owned by Mingoni, which would later become part of his own collection.

The iconography unquestionably goes back to previous centuries. Whereas Longhi viewed Tintoretto's *Rediscovery of the Body of Saint Mark* as the most important precedent, Voss (1924 [1999]) and Zeri (1954) dwelled on the evident link with Mantegna's famous painting, now at the Pinacoteca di Brera in Milan; moreover, Zeri noted that Annibale Carracci's milieu circulated this famous image in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century (for example, see the Chigi *Dead Christ* at the Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart, cat. 23). I have also noted the further spread of Mantegna's prototype in the Emilia area with the *Dead Christ Flanked by Charity and Justice* at the Galleria Estense in Modena, a work by Lelio Orsi, who must have had a very significant influence on Borgianni's complex formation. In fact, due also to his relations with Ludovico Carracci, we can theorize that as a young man Borgianni must have spent time in Emilia before leaving for Spain in 1597. Marco Gallo (1997, 107–13) has mentioned the possibility that Borgianni personally saw Mantegna's painting, perhaps identifiable as a work listed in the Roman inventory (1603) of the cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, but he also noted that Camillo Procaccini's *Lamentation* dated 1587 may have served as an additional iconographic model (Reggio Emilia, Basilica di San Prospero).

Like the Palazzo Venezia painting, the Longhi canvas shows very close parallels with the 1615 etching dedicated to Francesco de Castro, above all in the poses of the four figures. However, the objects in the foreground are reversed and they are somewhat different in style (the ointment jar) and position (the two crossed nails). Furthermore, in the etching the scene is set outdoors, in a desolate landscape with squared boulders and dry branches. Despite these differences, Gallo (1997, 108, 112–13) thought the Longhi canvas should be identified as the picture that, based on the caption under the engraving, Borgianni painted for the ambassador.

In my opinion, all the versions of this subject (with two as well as three mourners) were painted over a short time frame. The dark, sorrowful climate of the scene, repeated obsessively up to the climax of the Longhi canvas, seems to suggest a period of great depression, and this seems to be the case with the last years of Borgianni's life, as he was crushed by the terrible dispute with Gaspare Celio and an inexorably advancing illness; in Baglione's words, "he slowly wasted away until his death" (Baglione 1642, 142, "a poco a poco si andò consumando fino alla morte").

Given his choice of deep and contrasting tones, with sudden flashes of light (the white of the shroud, Christ's waxy legs, the face and neck of Saint John the Evangelist) juxtaposed with the darkness that almost seems to engulf Mary's veil and plunges Christ's anguished face in the shadows, this is probably the most intimately Caravaggesque version of this subject. It thus seems likely that it was executed at the end of the painter's career, after all the other versions and probably around 1615, the date of the etching.

GIANNI PAPI

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23 LORENZO GARBIERI | Bologna, 1580 – Bologna, 1654

Dead Christ

ca. 1610–1615

Oil on canvas; 70.8 × 88.8 cm
Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart, inv. 2785

This painting, which has enormous dramatic impact and has become widely known, portrays the dead Christ laid out on the shroud and surrounded by the symbols of the Passion. It was first mentioned in a 1693 inventory of the paintings Cardinal Flavio Chigi kept in the Palazzo Chigi Odescalchi in Rome, in which it is described unequivocally but is generically listed as "by Carracci". It then entered the collection of the Incisa della Rocchetta family, also in Rome, and arrived at its current venue in 1968, when it was purchased on the art market, backed by the oral opinion of Roberto Longhi, who refined the old attribution by ascribing it to the youngest and most talented of the Carracci, Annibale (*Jahrbuch* 1968). This prestigious authorship was immediately embraced by Posner (1971), followed by other scholars (Ewald 1982; Freedberg 1983; Emiliani 1984; Dempsey 1985).

The work was dated around 1582, at the height of the painter's wild youthful phase, characterized by an aggressive and coarse language openly disputing that of the last representatives of Mannerism, far more polished but stagnant by this time. In essence, it is the same language expressed by Annibale's large *Butcher's Shop* now in Oxford (see p. 65., fig. 2) and the *Crucifixion* for the church of San Nicolò in Bologna, dated 1583 (see p. 64., fig. 1). Some scholars even interpreted the crude realism of the image from a secular standpoint, considering the sacred subject to be a pretext of sorts (Freedberg 1983), but this is undoubtedly not the case. The theme and invention are part of an eminent tradition going back to Mantegna's famous painting (Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan), known in the sixteenth century through copies and various prints, and revived in the early seventeenth century on numerous occasions, also by a great Caravaggesque artist of the calibre of Orazio Borgianni (see cat. 22 and Papi 1993). Indeed, the clearly isolated display of Christ's dead body, without any mourners and with the symbols of the Passion visible, explicitly manifests and almost dwells on the religious intent of the painting, unquestionably made for private devotion and reflecting a sensitivity typical of the Counter-Reformation.

It was this very aspect, the powerfully charged and almost didactic character of the image, that instilled serious doubts in me regarding the true authorship of the canvas. Consequently, a number of years ago I put forward the name of a younger artist who had trained at the workshop of Annibale's cousin Ludovico Carracci: Lorenzo Garbieri (Brogi 1989). Claire Robertson (2008) did not agree with this opinion, but it was accepted by Nora Clerici Bagozzi (2002), who has long studied the artist, and it was also shared by Daniele Benati (personal communication). The sombreness of the sentimental tone is closer to Ludovico's style than that of his cousin, and the heavy shadows framing the body and candid brutality of certain observations used for effect – the blood trickling from the wounds and the macabre glint of Christ's teeth – do not seem to pertain to Annibale, a far more complex and sublime artist; the same holds true for the coarse and perfunctory brushwork.

All of these aspects, along with several slight lapses and the simplicity of the artist's expressive media, can instead be noted in the confirmed production of Ludovico's vigorous pupil, an artist with a troubled, gloomy imagination marked by great evocative intensity. In my opinion, this does nothing to detract from the power of this painting, the precious testimony of the modernizing action of the Carracci during their Bologna years. Indeed, it was so significant that it profoundly influenced the mindset of an entire generation of young artists who, as a whole, constituted the rich connective tissue of a new pictorial culture. It was a culture that, in the early decades of the seventeenth century, spawned highly respectable minor figures such as Garbieri and images like this one, demonstrating such a strong grasp of physical and human truth that it no longer had anything in common with the tradition of the *Maniera*, which that generation had dismissed once and for all.

ALESSANDRO BROGI

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24 GIOVANNI SERODINE | Rome (?), 1600 (?) – Rome, 1630

Christ among the Doctors

1625

Oil on canvas; 145 × 224 cm
Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. R.F. 1983-4

It was not until 1983 that Giovanni Serodine finally received the international attention he deserved, which came as late compensation for the ridiculously small number of his masterpieces that, outside Rome, can be found chiefly in the Swiss canton of Ticino, whence his family hailed.

The Musée du Louvre purchased this Olympian assembly of venerable men, the magnificent epitome of reality captured with an austere palette and naturalistic immanence, from the Fine Arts Gallery in London (Cuzin, in *Paris* 1985). In all likelihood, it is one of the three canvases painted by this outstanding "post-Caravaggio" artist for the Mattei, a distinguished Roman family. Consequently, the work can accurately be dated 1625, since Asdrubale Mattei had commissioned three paintings with the same format from Serodine, respectively, the *Parting of Saints Peter and Paul* (now in the Galleria Nazionale di Arte Antica in Palazzo Barberini, Rome), *The Tribute Money* (National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh) and our canvas, "a disputation of Our Lord among the doctors" ("una disputa che fece NS fra li dottori"), for which he was paid in January 1626 (Archivio Antici Mattei, Rome; see Cappelletti–Testa 1994, 150, n. 40).

However, the inventorial history of the Mattei paintings, and particularly of *Christ among the Doctors,* is exceedingly complicated due to the interference of other versions of the subject, either autograph or by different artists, and some of which might even be identical to the distinguished work shown here.

Asdrubale Mattei inherited a painting with this subject, the work of Antiveduto Gramatica, from his brother Ciriaco, Caravaggio's famous patron, who died in 1614. It stayed in the family until the late eighteenth century, when it was purchased – along with other paintings (including Caravaggio's *Taking of Christ*, now in the National Gallery of Ireland in Dublin) – by the Scotsman William Hamilton Nisbet.

Another "Christ among the doctors" ("Cristo fra i dottori") is listed in Duke Asdrubale's inventory of 1638, but without any indication of its author, in the one of 1676 and in a third inventory drawn up before 1729, in which it was ascribed to Bartolomeo Manfredi; the work was probably sold during the eighteenth century. Furthermore, a marginal note written after 1624 in one of Asdrubale's inventories, dated 1613, describes yet another anonymous painting of the same subject. If this was by Serodine, it must have been different from the Louvre painting, precisely because of its earlier date.

In the remote but not impossible event that Asdrubale Mattei had two paintings of the same subject by Serodine, one would be tempted to identify the older version as a work of almost the same size (147 × 218 cm) in a private collection (marked by a very experimental appearance and clearly inspired by Gramatica's earlier *Christ among the Doctors*), which only the present author considers an autograph work by Serodine (Contini 1996; Contini, in *Rancate* 2012).

In relation to Serodine's impetuous style, the Louvre painting is the most calmly constructed. In this sense, it betrays classicistic tones in the cadenced circular arrangement of the magnificent coterie of sages, standing out against the architectural elements alluding to the Temple and anchored to the device of the figures that, like theatre wings, are set at the edges of the composition. Nevertheless, the sublime, austere air of the canvas is countered by the choice of figures who are clearly members of the working class: a humanity whose models – as was often the case in Serodine's works – were drawn largely from his family.

Even if we wanted to enumerate possible Roman visual sources for such a painting (Ribera and Valentin de Boulogne on the one hand, Guercino and Vouet on the other), such a personal outcome, dominated by the powerful tactility of the thick fabrics, with touches of red and dirty white to temper the overall tobacco tone, is truly unparalleled in the quite varied context of second-generation naturalists.

While the doctor portrayed from behind on the left, with a rudimentary cloth twisted into a turban and wearing sumptuous gold brocade, is indebted to Utrecht Caravaggism in both foreshortening and essence, an aura of coarse truthfulness instead informs the figure diametrically across from him. Thus, although the latter figure is somewhat different, with softer, more "Venetian" colours but, at the same time, an almost overly realistic spirit, in terms of affinities the only name we can cite here is that of Velázquez.

ROBERTO CONTINI

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25 BATTISTELLO CARACCIOLO | Naples, 1578 – Naples, 1635

Noli me tangere

ca. 1620

Oil on canvas; 109 × 130.5 cm
Museo Civico, Prato, inv. 1378
Signed on the ointment jar: B. CA

The episode illustrated in this work is from the Gospel of John (20:17), which, as we know, was written in Greek. Mary Magdalene gazes in astonishment at the empty tomb where Christ had been buried and from which he arose from the dead, when he appears in front of her wearing a peasant's hat and holding a spade in his right hand. The woman, surprised, does not recognize him immediately and thinks he is the watchman of the grounds or a gardener. She approaches him, but Christ stops her, saying, "Do not touch me" (*Noli me tangere* in Latin) or, according to a more compelling translation, "Do not stop me, for my Father awaits me in heaven".

The painting was discovered at the Palazzo Comunale in Prato in 1949, the canvas crumpled and no longer mounted; its earlier history is unknown. Following restoration, it was first published in 1958 by Giuseppe Marchini, who promptly ascribed it to Battistello Caracciolo, one of the first and most important Neapolitan exponents of the Caravaggesque trends straddling luminism and naturalism between 1607 and 1615. Around 1618, however, the artist turned to monumental forms and carefully studied compositional solutions, taking up the example of Annibale Carracci in particular. The attribution to Caracciolo was later confirmed when his initials were noted on the vase of ointment.

At that time, scholars dated the work to the mid-1620s, but in 1970 Evelina Borea shifted the date to the period immediately after Caracciolo's second Florentine sojourn, in 1618, when he was in the service of Grand Duke Cosimo II de' Medici. Carlo Volpe agreed in part (1970), but specified that, based on stylistic elements, the work could not have been executed at the same time as the Neapolitan painter's other two Florentine canvases: *Salome with the Head of Saint John the Baptist* in the Galleria degli Uffizi (Corridoio Vasariano), which scholars have variously dated to either the artist's Florentine period (Borea, in *Florence* 1970) or around 1630 (Bologna 1993, 245), and his *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* at the Palazzo Pitti (Cappella delle Reliquie), the only painting by Battistello documented in 1618, when he was at the grand-ducal court in Florence. In 1984, in the catalogue for the Neapolitan exhibition on the civilization of the seventeenth century, Michael Stoughton proposed that it should instead be dated to the 1620s. This dating was accepted by Maria Pia Mannini in 1990, but rejected in 1991 and 2000 by Stefano Causa, according to whom it was executed in the late 1610s, an opinion shared by Marina Picone Causa in 1996. At the time, Stefano Causa noted that Battistello's plastic solutions in this canvas show growing attention to the Neapolitan sculpture of the turn of the seventeenth century, by masters such as Michelangelo Naccherino and Pietro Bernini.

Regarding the iconography of Christ wearing a gardener's hat, in 1986 Marilena Mosco commented that the same solution had been adopted in the sixteenth century by Luca Penni (Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid) and, later, by Lavinia Fontana (Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence) and Denys Calvaert (Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna).

Further studies, including radiographic analysis, have revealed various *pentimenti* (such as Christ's left hand and chest). Moreover, beneath the pictorial surface depicting Christ's encounter with Mary Magdalene, a headless bust and a woman's head can be noted. They have been considered either trials by Battistello for a composition that was never completed (the headless bust resembles that of Christ in the *Burial of Christ,* known in two versions, one at the Fondazione Longhi in Florence and the other in a private collection in Naples: Ciatti–Mannini 1998, 154–56; Picone Causa 1996, 69–71; Causa 2000, 192, nos. A69, A70, figs. 250–51) or, due to differences in the brushwork, by another painter (Ciatti–Mannini 1998).

NICOLA SPINOSA

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26 MICHELANGELO MERISI, CALLED CARAVAGGIO | Milan, 1571 – Porto Ercole, 1610

Saint John the Baptist

1602

Oil on canvas; 129 × 95 cm
Musei Capitolini – Pinacoteca Capitolina, Rome, inv. 239

This *Saint John the Baptist* is perhaps Caravaggio's earliest representation of the saint during his childhood, which is only known from a single line in the gospels, "And the child grew, and waxed strong in spirit, and was in the deserts till the day of his shewing unto Israel" (Lk 1:80). Several Renaissance painters, from Domenico Veneziano to Leonardo da Vinci and Andrea del Sarto, had portrayed John as a beautiful unbearded youth living alone in the desert in the years prior to his preaching in public.

In Caravaggio's canvas, John appears as a boy with a cherubic face and a joyful smile who reaches up to embrace a ram. Caravaggio seems to have deliberately omitted most of the customary attributes of Saint John the Baptist, beginning with the transformation of the lamb, symbolic of the *Agnus Dei,* into a ram with prominent horns. The reason for the boy's happiness is not immediately evident, nor is his identification certain. Saint John's garment of camel's hair has been replaced by a thick fur pelt. While the red cloth on the ground is characteristic of the saint, his nudity is unusual.

Caravaggio painted this *Saint John the Baptist* for Ciriaco Mattei in 1602, when the artist was living in the palazzo Mattei in Rome. The work is clearly described in an inventory of 1616, as "Un quadro di San Gio: Battista col suo Agnello di mano del Caravaggio" (Spike 2010, 126–30, cat. 29), which is proof that his patrons, at least, viewed the subject as the Baptist and ignored the difference between a lamb and a ram. On the other hand, the artist Gaspare Celio gave the painting the pagan title of the *Pastor friso* (Celio [1620–1624] 1638 [1967], 134), which has been variously translated as a Phrygian shepherd, or, less likely, the mythological Phryxus, who was rescued by a ram (Slatkes 1972, 67; Posèq 1990, 147; Gilbert 1995, 10). This interpretation was no doubt inspired by the figure's elegantly articulated classical pose, which Caravaggio has borrowed, in fact, from one of the *ignudi* on the Sistine Chapel ceiling by Michelangelo Buonarroti. A few years later, the painting passed from the Mattei collection to Cardinal Francesco del Monte, in whose estate inventory it was entitled *Il Coridone,* i.e. Corydon, a word for "shepherd" based on a character in Virgil's "Eclogue 2".

In modern scholarship, the most convincing new hypothesis has pointed to the correspondences between Caravaggio's portrait of the young John the Baptist with the Genesis story of Abraham and Isaac (Papa 1998, 28–32). The boy's jubilant expression, which is out of character for the Baptist, would be explained both by his last-minute rescue from sacrifice and by his name, Isaac, which means "God has smiled, he has shown his favour". It appears that these differing readings from antiquity to Christianity were not intended to be mutually exclusive (Spike 2010, 126–30). It can hardly be coincidental that both are concerned with love and sacrifice. Caravaggio has knowingly superimposed the allusions to Phryxus, Isaac, and the Sistine *ignudi* on a composition that recalls the iconography of the young John the Baptist. The process of overlapping levels of meaning is analogous to poetry and, indeed, to religious allegory.

The round face and tousled hair of the model are strikingly similar to the boy who had posed a year or two before in Caravaggio's painting of *Victorious Cupid* or *Amor Vincit Omnia* (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin) for Vincenzo Giustiniani. Research into the artist's studio has shown that Francesco Boneri, called Cecco del Caravaggio, aged twelve, entered Caravaggio's employ at this time. In this moment of his early maturity, Caravaggio repeatedly painted his close circle of friends and acquaintances as models performing a variety of roles, both sacred and profane. The effect, especially for his contemporaries who naturally recognized his models, was to make his paintings seem less historical, than modern adaptations of the ancient themes.

The painting was recently restored by Nicola Salini (October 2009 – January 2010). The restoration revealed the natural details with which Caravaggio meticulously described the saint's surroundings, including the plants, branches and roots on the right-hand side of the canvas and the group of leaves in the upper area. A few *pentimenti* were also discovered. Two small white marks on the red mantle at left are the remnants from an initial, much more extensive, rendition of the white cloth. In the mullein plant at the Baptist's feet, the diagonal leaf was originally executed in a vertical position. One of the vine leaves in the upper right corner of the canvas was covered over with white lead pigment and a bitumen glaze.

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27 NEAPOLITAN CARAVAGGESQUE PAINTER

Saint John the Baptist

ca. 1610–1615

Oil on canvas; 136 × 99 cm
Private collection, Budapest

The attribution of this fascinating painting is a puzzle. The picture was sold at the 1930 auction of the Postatakarékpénztár (Budapest Post Savings Bank) as a work by Pedro Orrente (László Lengyel, oral communication). Its earlier provenance is unknown. As far as I know, it has never received scholarly attention before, and is being shown here for the first time.

It clearly pertains to the naturalistic language that developed following the Caravaggesque revolution of the early seventeenth century. Its somewhat coarse and acerbic air also leads me to believe that the anonymous author of the canvas embraced this language quite early. This coarseness and acerbity coincide in particular with the reflections sparked by Caravaggio's presence in Naples as early as the end of the first decade of the seventeenth century. The leading figures in these developments were artists such as Battistello Caracciolo, Carlo Sellitto, Louis Finson, Martin Faber (possibly identical with the Master of San Silvestro; see Papi 2013b), Cecco del Caravaggio (I have long been convinced of his presence in Naples; see Papi 2008) and Filippo Vitale (who may also have been the author of a group of paintings ascribed to the Master of the Pau Supper at Emmaus).

The naturalism that made inroads in Naples during this short period (up to the mid-1610s, i.e., Ribera's arrival) vaunts highly distinctive features, in which we find the convergence of daring iconographies bordering on the unpleasant, with a style of painting that is unafraid of expressive harshness and clearly does not aim to please; naturally, each artist presents different nuances. The effects are often intense and the brushwork does not aspire to bravura, instead striving for concise, spare portrayals that, devoid of stylistic embellishments, verge on formal harshness. This was a fascinating and powerful moment – one that is re-emerging clearly thanks to various recent studies – to which I think this work also pertains.

This painting, too, is "terse" (and its terseness is part of its appeal) and does not indulge in elaborate solutions in the drapery or the rendering of the nude young man's skin. All of this responds to choices reduced to the root of the image, giving it an archaizing air. Some of the details, such as the lamb raising its head to be stroked by John the Baptist, arrive at the forced expressiveness (by subtraction) I have already mentioned. In the case of the lamb, for example, it almost resembles a sort of prehistoric amphibious creature rather than the saint's gentle woolly companion.

Although it seems that the language informing the painting reflects the specific Neapolitan milieu I have described (following the overpowering presence of Caravaggio, who, as we know, was in the city between 1606 and 1607 and then again between 1609 and 1610), none of the artists known to date can be named as its author. There may be ties with the group of works referable to the early career of Filippo Vitale (in other words, those ascribed to the Master of the Pau Supper at Emmaus), if for nothing else than their rigorous forms and reduced colour scheme. For example, we can consider a painting such as *Cain and Abel*, which Stefano Causa has linked with the Neapolitan painter (Causa 1994, 203–11, fig. 106), an attribution about which some doubts can be raised; nevertheless, the painting is an important example of the very extremist artistic climate that, in my opinion, also inspired our *Saint John*. And perhaps we can also find ties with some of Battistello's acerbic naturalistic works such as the Capodimonte *Crucifixion,* the *Baptism of Christ* at the Museo dei Gerolamini in Naples, and the *Saint John the Baptist*, known only through a photograph (fig. 181 in Causa's monograph on the painter, 2000). One work that is particularly close to our painting is *Christ among the Doctors* (if we accept that it is by Caracciolo, as has been suggested). The work reappeared a decade ago on the Neapolitan art market and in 2001 I ascribed it to the Master of the Pau Supper at Emmaus (I confess that I have never seen it firsthand, but only in a photograph from the Voss Photographic Archives at the Istituto Olandese di Storia dell'Arte in Florence, in the section devoted to Caracciolo; Papi 2001b, 37–38, plate 11).

GIANNI PAPI

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28 LEONELLO SPADA | Bologna, 1576 – Parma, 1622

Saint Jerome

after 1610

Oil on canvas; 112 × 143 cm
Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica in Palazzo Barberini, Rome, inv. 2218

The first documentary record of this painting is the inventory of assets that Maffeo Barberini left his brother Carlo before being elected pope, taking the name Urban VIII: "Saint Jerome with spectacles by Leonello with a gilt frame" ("S. Girolamo con gl'occhiali del Leonello con la cornice tocche d'oro"; 1623). It is mentioned again in the inventories of Taddeo (1648–1649) and Maffeo Barberini (1655; after 1672) (Lavin 1975), but from the eighteenth century on it was attributed to Spagnoletto (Jusepe de Ribera) and Salvator Rosa.

Dispersed with the Barberini collection in 1934, the *Penitent Saint Jerome* entered the Galleria Nazionale in Rome in 1952 with an attribution to Ribera's school, the same one with which it was catalogued among the second-class paintings that stayed in the Barberini family in the fidecommissary inscription of 1817 (registered as no. 8; "F.8" is still visible on the lower left of the canvas). In a conference held in Rome in 1996, Sebastian Schütze connected the painting with earlier inventories, correctly restoring its authorship to Leonello Spada (Schütze 2002).

The scene portrays Saint Jerome (namely, Eusebius Hieronymus, pseudonym Sophronius, born in Stridon, Dalmatia), who became one of the four Fathers of the Western Church and is renowned for translating the Bible into Latin: it is no accident that the first of the three books depicted in the lower right corner bears the word "Biblia" written upside down. The scene shows the saint living as a hermit, seated on the ground and covered with a sheet and a heavier cloth; he is wearing spectacles and is writing with a quill as he holds an inkwell in the other hand. The still life in the foreground is composed of a crucifix, a skull, a candlestick, a sheaf of handwritten papers and another quill, details alluding to moments of prayer and profound meditation on the transience of the elderly Jerome's life as a hermit. A rolled mat, which he used as a bed, emerges from the dark background.

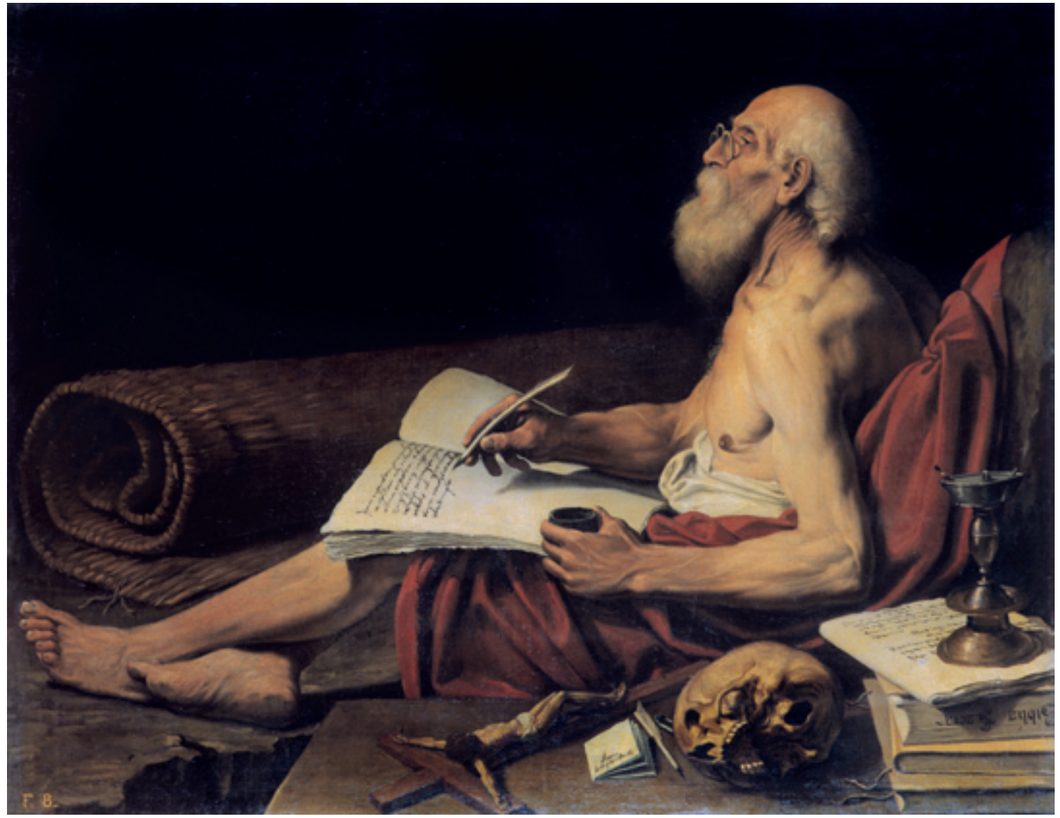
The unique idea of portraying the saint wearing glasses can also be noted in the analogous composition – but in counterpart – of Leonello's canvas painted for the sacristy of the church of San Domenico in Bologna. The large altarpiece entitled *Saint Dominic Burning the Heretics' Books* (also displayed in this church, in the chapel dedicated to the saint) also shows a bespectacled figure (Negro –Roio 2002, cats. 56 and 66).

The evident stylistic references to Neapolitan Caravaggism, qualities indirectly underscored by the early attributions to Ribera and Rosa already cited here, also allude to the famous historiographical circumstance of Leonello's contact with Caravaggio, whom he says he met and frequented in Rome. It is in this light that we must view the details "crowding" the scene, as well as the lovely golden glow of the heavy red mantle. It is not unlikely that, in painting this work, Leonello was inspired by Caravaggio's *Saint Jerome* (1608), which he almost certainly saw at Saint John's Co-Cathedral, built by the Knights of Malta, when he was in Valletta to decorate the friezes at the Palace of the Grand Masters in 1610 (Negro–Roio 2002, 98–104, 113–21). Consequently, the Barberini work must be dated following the artist's return to Italy.

NICOSETTA ROIO

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29 JUSEPE DE RIBERA | Játiva (Valencia), 1591 – Naples, 1652

Saint Jerome

ca. 1620

Oil on canvas; 123.5 × 95.5 cm
Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. 73.3

The number of Ribera's works in Budapest has been growing in the last decade, mainly thanks to archival research and intensive stylistic analysis conducted by Gianni Papi and Nicola Spinosa which have led to new discoveries. A painting depicting Saint Thomas (inv. 788), previously thought to be by Jusepe Martínez or an anonymous painter called the Master of the Judgement of Solomon, was accepted by these scholars as an autograph work by the young Ribera, from the period after his arrival in Italy. Spinosa and the present writer attribute the canvas of Saint Jerome exhibited here to Ribera as well.

This type of Saint Jerome appears frequently in Ribera's early works, and the subject as well as the painting technique indicate that Ribera executed it after settling in Naples in 1616. The attribution to Ribera was first suggested by Spinosa in Budapest in 1984; he subsequently published it erroneously illustrated with a photograph of another work in a Spanish private collection (Spinosa 2006). The present writer endorsed this attribution in the catalogue of the exhibition *Il Giovane Ribera tra Roma, Parma e Napoli, 1608–1624* (Nyerges, in *Madrid–Naples* 2011). The work, of outstanding quality, had first been published in 1982 by Vilmos Tátrai, who attributed it to the Dutch Caravaggist Hendrick van Somer, active also in Naples, on the basis of a painting with a similar composition (private collection, Germany).

Saint Jerome, immersed in the translation of the Vulgate, is depicted by Ribera in a beautifully balanced and perfectly proportioned composition. The fall of light masterfully outlines the contours of the figure: the virtuoso brushwork is quick and brilliant. The Saint Jerome recorded in a note written by Ribera's biographer, Giulio Mancini, to his brother Deifebo on 7 April 1617 as having been painted in no more than two days ("… pintada … al più in due giorni"; quoted in Papi 2007, 248) may have been executed in a similar manner. The elderly saint sits in a dark cell by a tabletop; a shaft of light falls diagonally onto the wall of the cell. His figure, particularly the marked features of his face shown in left profile, the wrinkles in his skin, his grey beard and hair are picked out by the sharp light, while a mysterious glimmer is thrown around the curve of his back. In his right hand, which is rough and that of a manual labourer, he holds a quill, while with his left he follows the text on the sheets spread out in the foreground. Around him, on the table, are sheets of parchment, books both open and closed, an inkwell and a cardinal's hat, all arranged into a captivating still life. The muted palette of the work, reduced to browns, ochres and reds, and with sharply contrasting shades of white and grey, is typical of Ribera's early period under the influence of Caravaggio.

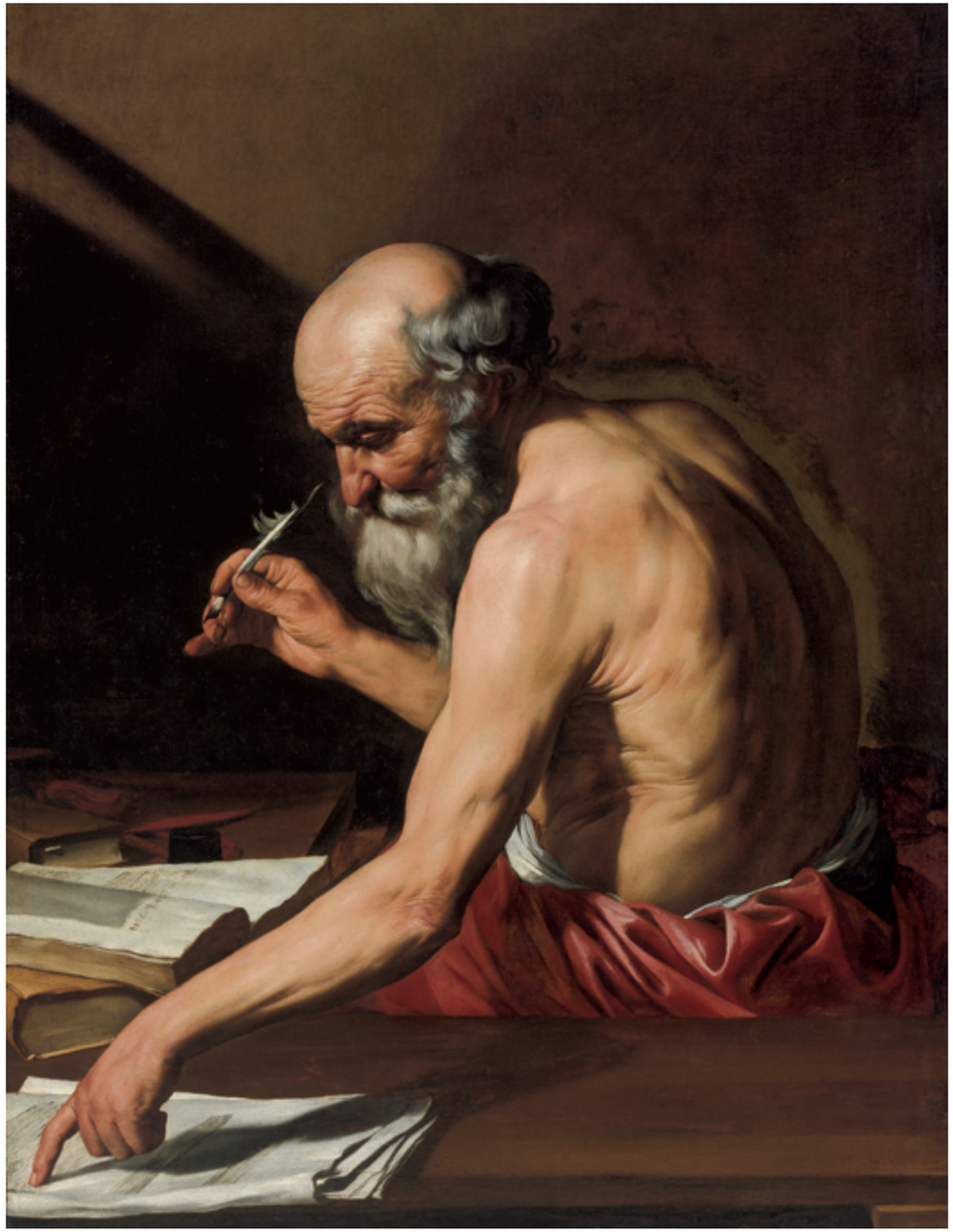
The elderly, balding man recurs in a seated figure holding an open book in the *Christ among the Doctors* (Church of Saint Martin, Langres), in the *Saint Peter* (Galleria Nazionale, Cosenza), and in another *Saint Jerome* (private collection, Barcelona, see N. Spinosa, in *Salamanca* 2005, 88, cat. 13). The same figure also appears in Ribera's print of *Saint Jerome Reading in the Wilderness*, which Jonathan Brown dated to around 1624 (in *Madrid* 1992, 138–39). It is thus more likely that the Budapest *Saint Jerome* was executed not in 1617, but around 1620, or a little later. Papi recently identified another picture showing *Saint Jerome Writing,* which he dated to 1615–1616, earlier than the Budapest painting (Museo de Casa Colón, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria [deposit from the Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid]; Papi 2012). In terms of concept and monumentality the Budapest picture could be a pendant to the *Saint Andrew in Prayer* (Quadreria dei Girolamini, Naples), which Spinosa published and dated to 1615–1618 (N. Spinosa, in *Madrid–Naples* 2011, 176–77, cat. 35). The dimensions of the two works are similar, and although the Budapest piece has been slightly cut and relined, the visible traces of the original stretching method clearly show that only a few centimetres are missing from the picture.

The inventory of Vincenzo Giustiniani mentioned a series of half-lengths depicting the Four Church Fathers by Ribera (Salerno 1960, 101, nos. 141–44). Although their dimensions are not known, scholars have identified *Saint Augustine* (Galleria Regionale della Sicilia, Palermo) and *Saint Gregory the Great* (Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Palazzo Barberini, Rome) as part of this series. It is possible that the Budapest picture, restored in 2013 on occasion of this exhibition, once belonged to the same group.

ÉVA NYERGES

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30 MICHELANGELO MERISI, CALLED CARAVAGGIO | Milan, 1571 – Porto Ercole, 1610

Saint Francis in Prayer

ca. 1608

Oil on canvas; 130 × 90 cm
Museo Civico "Ala Ponzone", Cremona, inv. 234

Saint Francis (1181–1226) is shown kneeling in prayer before a crucifix, which has been laid on the pages of a Bible, as if to keep it open. The book leans against a white skull: the three symbolic elements are the saint's most familiar attributes. Caravaggio has composed them into a remarkably original still life, that clearly refers to the Franciscan motto, "Cristo povero e crocifisso è il nostro libro" ("Christ, poor and crucified, is our book"). The Franciscan Capuchin Constitution of 1536 enjoined the friars "not to carry with them many books, so that they may attentively study the most excellent book, the Cross".

The saint is immersed in his meditations alone in the wilderness. Kneeling and reading his "book" on the open earth is an emblem of his humility. Similarly humble is Caravaggio's decision to execute the painting entirely in tonalities of brown. Several scholars have pointed out that wilderness settings can be found in the paintings and prints of Saint Francis made by Ludovico and Annibale Carracci in the 1580s, in the early part of their careers, when they were pioneers in naturalism (M. Gregori, in *New York – Naples* 1985, 310, cat. 88). Around 1583, Ludovico painted Saint Francis kneeling before a crucifix on the barren ground (Galleria Capitolina, Rome, inv. 148; this work was also the subject of an engraving) and in 1585 Annibale made an etching in which Saint Francis is seated on a fallen tree, his fingers knotted together in prayer as he contemplates a skull in his lap (De Grazia Bohlin 1979, 343, no. 7). These well-known precedents by the Carracci were surely influential on Caravaggio's depiction of Saint Francis as a kind of hermit in the woods. Not previously cited in relation to the iconography of the Cremona *Saint Francis in Prayer* is an engraving of the early 1580s by the third and youngest Carracci, Agostino. Agostino depicted Francis placing his hands on an open book of the Gospels as he looks directly at a crucifix (Bartsch 1803–1821, XVIII, 70, no. 66).

In Caravaggio's painting, Francis's face has the individuality of a portrait, although not perhaps a self-portrait. The figure's deeply furrowed brow and broad cheekbones do not correspond to the traditional facial type of this saint. The curious gesture of the saint, who rests his beard on his folded hands, also seems the idiosyncrasy of a real person known to the artist, but unidentified today.

The *Saint Francis in Prayer* was donated in 1879 by the marchese Filippo Ala Ponzoni to the city of Cremona, where it remained overlooked in the civic museum until 1943, when Roberto Longhi published it as a "good, old copy". Longhi maintained that attribution in the Caravaggio exhibition in Milan in 1951. Reviewing the exhibition for *The Burlington Magazine,* Denis Mahon responded with a firm endorsement as an original by Caravaggio: "It was painted hurriedly, and has probably suffered damage from cleaning, but is a fine work." This view was sufficiently surprising that it was not universally accepted for more than thirty-five years, i.e. not until it was widely seen in the *The Age of Caravaggio* exhibition curated by Mina Gregori at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1986.

The early provenance of this *Saint Francis* is unknown. Most scholars would date it, following Mahon's original suggestion, to 1606–1607, the time of Caravaggio's flight from Rome and first year in Naples. A Maltese provenance has been proposed (Azzopardi 1996). Most recently, it has been suggested that this *Saint Francis* might have been given in gratitude by Caravaggio to Monsignor Benedetto Ala, who was *governatore* of Rome (1604–1610) and the ancestor of the marchese Filippo Ala Ponzoni. In a deposition of 1605, Caravaggio stated that Monsignor Ala had granted him permission to carry a sword. The following year, alas, Caravaggio used his sword to kill Ranuccio Tommasoni.

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31 GIOVANNI FRANCESCO BARBIERI, CALLED GUERCINO | Cento, 1591 – Bologna, 1666

The Liberation of Saint Peter

ca. 1622

Oil on canvas; 105 × 136 cm
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, inv. 200

Giovanni Francesco Barbieri, called Guercino, was one of the great geniuses of Italian Baroque painting. His nickname comes from the Italian, meaning "squinter", an impairment he is said to have developed at an early age from a shock he received while in the care of his nurse. He was born in the small Emilian town of Cento where he spent much of his career, apart from a short period in Rome in 1621–1623. Following this visit, he returned to Cento where he remained until 1642, when he transferred to Bologna. His compositional inventiveness, confident touch and subtle juxtaposition of colour and texture are traits that remain consistent over his long career, in spite of several changes of style.

As a result of the astonishing success of Guercino's early work amongst influential ecclesiastical and secular patrons, the newly-elected pope Gregory XV, Ludovisi (reg. 1621–1623), invited the painter to Rome to undertake a succession of highly prestigious official projects, among them *The Burial and Assumption into Heaven of Saint Petronilla*, the first and grandest of a sequence of altarpieces commissioned to decorate the newly-completed interior of the basilica of Saint Peter's (Salerno 1988, 174–76, no. 92). *The Liberation of Saint Peter* is generally dated around 1622, soon after the beginning of Guercino's Roman stay (Salerno 1988). The picture was already in Spain by the eighteenth century, when it is recorded in the distinguished collection of the Marqués de la Ensenada (1702–1781). By 1772, it had passed into the Spanish Royal Collection, since it features in an inventory of pictures in the Royal Palace.

With its vibrant textures and rich, sombre palette of lush blue, ochres and oranges, all beautifully modulated by the half light, *The Liberation of Saint Peter* illustrates how the influence of Titian (ca. 1485–1576), the great Venetian Renaissance painter and colourist, was still strongly embedded in Guercino's work, even after his arrival in Rome. At the same time, new sources of inspiration may be seen, for example that of Caravaggio (1571–1610), and his followers, as well as Guido Reni (1575–1642). The clarity of brushwork in the grizzled head of Saint Peter and the smooth, muscular forms of his ageing body, for example, betray the influence of Reni's pristine handling.

In its design, Guercino's Prado painting has a simple but meaningful geometry that is typical of his inventions right up to the end of his career. In relation to his body, Saint Peter's arms form a square, parallel to the picture plane; the youthful soldier in armour sleeping at the right seems to be a mirror image of the upper body of his elderly captive; the pose of the beautiful young angel, to whom the saint listens so intently, makes a long right-angled triangle, with the angel's head in the middle and his left arm pointing to the right the long side, opposite the top left-hand corner. This outstretched arm makes for a powerful metaphor of escape and gives a diagonal thrust to the composition.

As a result of his sight defect, Guercino's vision was essentially monocular and this may explain his reluctance to depict spatial intervals between figures in his paintings. In general, his dramatically staged compositions are constructed by means of a series of interlocking shapes, parallel to the foreground, as in the present canvas. The angel is seen only head, shoulders and arms, and his body impinges almost uncomfortably on Saint Peter's. This tendency to make his figures into movable "cut-outs", whole or half length, or heads and shoulders, also reflects the way he charged for his work by these same measures. Economy of effort seems to explain why some of the motifs in the *Saint Matthew and the Angel,* in the Pinacoteca Capitolina, Rome, which was painted at the same time as the present canvas, seem to overlap with those seen here (Salerno 1988, 172, no. 89).

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Salerno 1988, 172, no. 90.



32 Francesco Boneri, called Cecco del Caravaggio | Documented between 1601 and 1620

Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian

ca. 1611–1612

Oil on canvas; 124 × 162.5 cm
Muzeum Narodowe, Warsaw, inv. M.Ob.645

Traditionally ascribed to Valentin de Boulogne, the canvas was later attributed to Bartolomeo Manfredi by Białostocki and Walicki (1957), but subsequently to Paolo Finoglia by Longhi (1964), Briganti (oral communication reported in Bodart 1970) and Valcanover (oral opinion reported in *Braunschweig et al.* 1988); the first to cite Cecco's name for this painting, the provenance of which is unknown, was Charles Sterling (in a letter reported in Białostocki 1969–1970). Bodart immediately accepted this opinion (1970), but did not comment on the attribution, listing it among a group of uncertain paintings by Cecco. Nicolson (1979) considered it the work of a Neapolitan Caravaggesque influenced by Finoglia and Cecco, whereas Marini (1979) published it as unquestionably by the latter. Despite this new position in favour of Cecco, his paternity of the work was not embraced at the exhibitions of works from the Polish museum staged around Europe in the late 1980s (*Braunschweig et al.* 1988; *Gorizia* 1990). Nevertheless, I firmly took up the attribution to this artist (1992b, 1996, 2001a).

I believe that Cecco's authorship can no longer be questioned now that more attention has been focused recently on the painter's style and its variables. In addition to being shown at this exhibition, the work also represented Cecco at the Caravaggesque shows in Milan (2005) and Rome (2011[a]).

It is a rather typical work by Cecco (the pictorial surface is fairly well preserved, with the exception of the figure of the saint, where there is some damage and signs of restoration), with numerous elements that can be found in other works. For example, we can cite the figure of the soldier, readily recognizable as one of the painter's creatures, with his impeccable gleaming cuirass and the unmistakable slashed sleeves of fabric (which can also be noted in the garments in *The Musician* and the *Magdalene* paintings), his melancholy, sadistic attitude as an executioner, the plumed hat (the same one worn by the soldier in the foreground in *Christ Falls on the Road to Calvary* in Bratislava [cat. 21] and by the frowning man standing on the far left in the Giustiniani *Christ Driving the Money Changers from the Temple*, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin), and the motif of the gloved hand. The parallels continue with the wrinkled face of the bald old assistant, a type found in the works of Manfredi and Ribera, but which can also promptly be noted in Cecco's earliest works, from the Bratislava painting to the Berlin *Christ Driving the Money Changers from the Temple*. As to the phosphorescent white edge of the shirt visible on the shoulder of the semi-nude figure on the bottom, it is one of Cecco's unmistakable motifs. Its astonishing quality, taking up the luminist solutions studied on Savoldo's fabrics, is also present in the dazzling white robes of the angels in the Guicciardini *Resurrection,* now at The Art Institute of Chicago, and *The Guardian Angel* at the Museo Nacional del Prado in Madrid. In this regard, I have already suggested that the painting might have been cropped along the bottom (Papi 1992b, 21; Papi 2001a, 112–13), because the placement of this figure in such a low position seems rather incongruous and narrow.

The Warsaw canvas constitutes the most important testimony for theorizing Cecco's involvement in the Neapolitan milieu. Notably, the names of Neapolitan painters (such as Finoglia) have been cited several times, and Nicolson placed it in this context too, albeit without naming a specific painter. Now that the canvas has unquestionably been attributed to Cecco, an explanation must be found for its powerfully "Neapolitan" air. In ascribing it to Cecco, I have already noted relations with Filippo Vitale that are by no means marginal – particularly with regard to the *Liberation of Saint Peter* (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nantes) – and are evident above all in the trenchant appearance of the foreshortened figure on the lower right (Papi 1992b, 21; Papi 2001a, 112–13). Later Stefano Causa (1992, 1999) also reflected on these intriguing circumstances, admitting that "the references in Cecco del Caravaggio's Polish painting to coeval Neapolitan experiences point to an unexpected situation that merits further development" ("i riferimenti del dipinto polacco di Cecco del Caravaggio alle coeve esperienze napoletane prospettano una situazione imprevedibile, e meritevole di sviluppi"). Referring the reader to my essay in the catalogue from the exhibition on Filippo Vitale (Papi 2008) for a more in-depth assessment of this fundamental juncture in Cecco's career, I think it is important to emphasize that the Warsaw canvas constitutes important proof of the painter's presence in Naples between the end of the first decade of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the second, and his influence on the city's artistic milieu.

GIANNI PAPI

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33 JUSEPE DE RIBERA | Játiva (Valencia), 1591 – Naples, 1652

The Martyrdom of Saint Andrew

1628

Oil on canvas; 206.1 × 177.7 cm
Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. 523
Signed bottom right on the block of stone: Joseph.a Ribera Hispanus / Valentinus. Setaben. / Acc.ˢ Rom.ˢ / Partenope. F. 1628.

Judging by the date 1628 on the canvas, this work was painted in Naples and may be identical to the picture designated as "Martirio de San Andres", for which Ribera was paid by the Lombard merchant Mattia Noris in the Banco dello Spirito in Naples on 2 October 1627 (Delfino 1985, 104, doc. 49). Within the artist's lifetime the picture passed to Spain with the collection of Don Juan Alfonso Enriquez, admiral of Castillia, then viceroy of Sicily and between 1644 and 1646 viceroy of Naples (Duro 1902, 184, 188, no. 410). It features in the 1647 inventory of Don Gaspar Enriquez de Cabrera, son of Don Juan Alfonso, with an estimated value of 6,000 reals. The son then donated the painting to the monastery church of San Pascual in Madrid, where the painter, art writer and topographer Don Antonio Ponz saw and described it at the end of the eighteenth century (Ponz [1772–1794], 1947, 422). In 1816 the picture was documented in the possession of the Madrid painter and gilder Andrés del Peral (Glendinning, in *Madrid* 1992), but around 1818 it was purchased by Prince Alois Wenzel Kaunitz for his Vienna collection, from where it passed to the Esterházy collection (*Inventar Journal* [1820–1850] 1915, 239, no. 1046, purchased in 1821).

Andrew and his brother Simon Peter came from a family in Bethsaida, and were fishermen in Capernaum. As the first disciple chosen by Jesus, Andrew is one of the first four apostles. He spread the gospel initially in the Black Sea region, then in Scythia, Thrace and finally in Greece. Around 60–62, he was crucified in Patras by the prefect Aegeates. The saltire or X-shaped cross *(crux decussata)* is traditionally known as Saint Andrew's cross.

In this monumental and dramatic work, Ribera depicts the moment before the martyrdom. The bright light radiating from the sky fully illuminates the apostle's ascetic body and his transfigured face, shown in profile, but only partial details of the other figures are highlighted in the gloom. This light retains its transcendent nature while at the same time being one of the most important structural elements of the picture, and the means by which so much detail is naturalistically presented. The representatives of power – the soldier standing on the left and the pagan priest attempting to reconvert the saint with the gold statue of Zeus – stand over Andrew triumphant in his martyrdom, while one of the henchmen with stolid concentration tightens the ropes around the saint's legs, and another looks up momentarily at the statue. Representing the believers viewing the picture, is a weeping figure in the middle-ground in front of a patch of blue sky. As this painting proves, Ribera has attained full mastery of his craft; he has skilfully arranged the complex foreshortenings and crossing diagonals so that form serves expression and together they create a perfect unity.

The *Martyrdom of Saint Andrew* was executed at the beginning of Ribera's mature period, before his palette started to become lighter. Its subject fits into the monumental series of penitent saints and martyrs, and in terms of composition it is perhaps the most perfect of the group. With its naturalism and chiaroscuro showing a deep understanding of the spirit of Caravaggio, it bears an affinity to the *Saint Jerome* signed in 1626 (The State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg) and the *Saint Jerome and the Angel of the Last Judgement* (Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples), but the closest in Ribera's œuvre is the *Preparations for the Crucifixion* in the church of Santa María in Cogolludo (Guadalajara) (Nyerges, in *Madrid–Bilbao* 1996). In dramatic intensity it surpasses even highly important works such as the horizontal format *Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew* (Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti, Florence), *Saint Sebastian Tended by Saint Irene* (The State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg), and the vertical format *Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew* (Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Barcelona).

ÉVA NYERGES

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Not exhibited.



34 Orazio Gentileschi and Giovanni Lanfranco | Pisa, 1563 – London, 1639; Parma, 1582 – Rome, 1647

Saint Cecilia and an Angel

ca. 1618–1621

Oil on canvas; 87.8 × 108.1 cm
National Gallery of Art, Washington, Samuel H. Kress Collection, inv. 1961.9.73

Orazio Gentileschi was among the first artists to embrace Caravaggio's insistence on painting directly from the posed model. Their friendship was short-lived, but they shared studio props, and for Orazio the experience was transformative. We know from the testimony of one of his models – a seventy-three year old pilgrim from Palermo who in 1610–1611 posed for a picture of Saint Jerome – just how laborious a process painting from the model was. Work on that picture lasted over a month. From the same model he also made a head study to use in the production of other pictures (Christiansen 2003, 9–12). We do not know the identity of the models who posed for Saint Cecilia and the angel, but they appear in a contemporary altarpiece, *The Vision of Santa Francesca Romana*, that he painted for the Marchigian town of Fabriano (now in the Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino). Whether it was painted in Rome or Fabriano, where between 1613 and 1620 he was intermittently active, cannot be said. The *Saint Cecilia* is first recorded in a 1662 inventory of the Rondanini family in Rome; it was probably acquired from the artist by Natale Rondanini (d. 1627).

Saint Cecilia, who was reputedly martyred under the emperor Severus around 230 AD, was a popular saint in Rome, where her body was discovered in October, 1599 during a renovation of the ninth-century church dedicated to her in the Trastevere. The Accademia di Santa Cecilia, the famous music academy that was founded in 1585, bears her name in recognition of her status as the patron saint of music. As such she is usually shown playing a violin or organ. Gentileschi shows her accompanied by an angel who holds a sheet of music.

It has now been established on the basis both of the 1662 inventory and an X-radiograph that Orazio left the picture unfinished, completing only the heads and busts of both figures as well as Saint Cecilia's bodice and skirt. The sleeves of Cecilia's dress, the drapery over her left leg, the sheet of music, the drapery and wings of the angel, the hands of both figures and the organ were completed by Giovanni Lanfranco. Why Orazio should have left the picture incomplete remains uncertain. One possibility is that the picture was conceived in preparation for the Santa Francesca Romana altarpiece – a study of the two heads – and that it was then transformed into a subject picture by Lanfranco, who around 1620–1621 painted a picture of the same subject for Natale Rondanini (now in the Bob Jones University Museum of Art Gallery, Greenville, South Carolina). Might Rondanini have gotten hold of Orazio's unfinished canvas following the artist's departure for Genoa in 1621 and asked Lanfranco to transform it into another picture of a favourite subject? This remains pure speculation, and the more common interpretation is that Orazio's Saint Cecilia was created from tracings made from the Santa Francesca Romana altarpiece – a practice for which we also have good evidence (K. Christiansen, in *Rome – New York – Saint Louis* 2001, 21–27).

There is another, inferior version of the canvas in the Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, Perugia. Its status as an autograph work has been much discussed but the exhibition of both works in the Gentileschi exhibition of 2001 left little doubt that the Perugia picture is merely a copy of the painting exhibited here.

KEITH CHRISTIANSEN

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35 MICHELANGELO MERISI, CALLED CARAVAGGIO | Milan, 1571 – Porto Ercole, 1610

Salome with the Head of Saint John the Baptist

ca. 1608

Oil on canvas; 91.5 × 106.7 cm
National Gallery, London, inv. NG6389

In this somber painting, Caravaggio depicts the terrible moment when the executioner displays the severed head of John the Baptist. The gospels recount the imprisonment and execution of John the Baptist by King Herod in reprisal for John's humiliating accusation that Herod's marriage to his brother's wife, Herodias, was in violation of Hebrew law. Herodias wanted him killed immediately, but Herod, fearing a protest from John's followers, more prudently sent him to prison. Herodias soon found an occasion to take her revenge. At a banquet in honour of the king's birthday, Herodias' daughter, Salome, danced so seductively that he rashly promised to grant her any anything she wished. Urged by her mother, the girl asked Herod for the head John the Baptist's (Mt 14:3–11; Mk 6:17–29). Caravaggio's painting of the *Beheading of John the Baptist* in the Co-Cathedral of Saint John in Valletta is considered one of the artist's masterpieces, which he painted while in Malta from July 1607 until August 1608.

Most scholars date the present painting to the late period of Caravaggio's career, ca. 1607–1610. The artist's reading of the scene is coarsely carnal: fully half of the canvas is occupied by the thuggish executioner with a squashed nose, who takes John's lifeless head by the hair and seemingly offers it for the viewer's inspection. His other hand is wrapped around the bulbous pommel of his modern sword. The young woman holding the salver looks away uncomfortably. The old woman in the background views the prophet's severed head with appropriate piety, much like her counterpart in the Valletta *Beheading of Saint John*.

The colourless palette and the hastily brushed execution are characteristic of Caravaggio's late works, in which the participants struggle to emerge from the abysmal darkness that engulfs them. Each of the actors is dressed in funereal white, the colour of a burial shroud. This painting is an extreme example of Caravaggio's method of telling the ancient stories in the present tense: there are no details or attributes to confirm the time and place or even the identity of the victim.

Caravaggio's preferred gesture for the display of a head – thrusting it forward – is a classical motif that he learned from a late classical statue of *Apollo with the Head of Marsyas* in the collection of his patron, the marchese Giustiniani (Posèq 1998, 126–27, fig. XI.12). Caravaggio used it again in one of his last creations, the famous David (1609, Galleria Borghese, Rome), in which the head of Goliath is Caravaggio's self-portrait.

It is possible, but as yet unproven, that the present picture is identifiable with the "half-length figure of Herodias with the head of John the Baptist in a Basin" ("una mezza figura di Herodiade con la testa di San Giovanni nel bacino") Caravaggio reportedly made and sent to placate the ire of Grand Master Alof de Wignacourt after the artist's escape from detention and flight from Malta in 1608 (Bellori [1672] 1976, 228). The provenance of this painting is unknown prior to its rediscovery in France in 1959. Indeed Caravaggio's authorship of this *Salome* was doubted as recently as the National Gallery's own catalogue of 1971, although today the painting is universally accepted.

JOHN T. SPIKE

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36 MICHELANGELO MERISI, CALLED CARAVAGGIO | Milan, 1571 – Porto Ercole, 1610

Salome with the Head of Saint John the Baptist

ca. 1609–1610

Oil on canvas; 116 × 140 cm
Palacio Real, Madrid, inv. 10010026

In the final, turbulent years of his life, Caravaggio was a fugitive from Rome for the capital crime of murdering Ranuccio Tomassoni in 1606. Traveling restlessly between Naples, Malta, Sicily, and, finally, Naples again, he managed somehow to paint more than twenty paintings, several of them large and containing many figures. At least twice during his last four years of life, Caravaggio painted the haunting scene of Salome holding the salver that bears the severed head of John the Baptist. The version in the National Gallery of London is generally considered to have been painted first, around the time of Caravaggio's passage from Naples to Malta in July 1607 (cf. cat. 35). The *Salome with the Head of Saint John the Baptist* in the Palacio Real, Madrid, appears to date from Caravaggio's last year of life, 1609–1610, when the artist was in Messina and Palermo, Sicily. The two paintings are in this exhibition, which provides a rare opportunity to compare them side by side.

The story is the same: Salome's dance so inflamed King Herod at his birthday feast, that he promised her anything she desired "unto half his kingdom". Following her mother's instructions, the girl demanded, "Give me the head of John the Baptist". The king was too embarrassed to retract the oath he had sworn in public. An executioner was sent to the Baptist's prison. Thus the king's crime of imprisoning John was followed by one even worse (Mt 14:3–11; Mk 6:17–29).

In an arc of no more than three years after the London picture, Caravaggio again painted Salome accompanied by an executioner and an old maidservant, but he changed their roles significantly. In the Madrid picture, Salome is clearly the protagonist; her eyes hold the viewer with a sensual gaze. The old woman studies the prophet's head with the detachment of one who has seen such things before and countless times. The brutal axeman who vaunted his power in the London version has been transformed into a beautiful young man whose arms and shoulders are damp with sweat. The sword hilt in his hand makes a respectful cross above the martyr's head. The canvas seems soaked in the sweltering heat of a Sicilian night. Roberto Longhi wrote of it, "in this tremendous original, Caravaggio rivals Shakespeare" (Longhi 1951, 17).

Like Shakespeare, Caravaggio laced his art with calculated ambiguities. Let the reader be the judge – if he can. It is clear that the women must be Salome and a hand-maiden, but Salome is inexplicably mature for her part. A knowing smile plays on her lips as she engages our attention. Her right shoulder is completely draped in a mantle dyed the colour of the martyr's blood. In his last months, the only pigments remaining on Caravaggio's palette were ochre, red, white and brownish/black, which were all he needed to paint flesh, blood, light and darkness. Salome is dressed as a Roman courtesan, except that one side of her bodice is demurely veiled, the other is wantonly undone. Caravaggio seems to have chosen her for a Janus-like personification of the temptations and corruptions of the flesh. The old crone's ghostly head rises from Salome's shoulders as though it is she who holds the silver tray and looks at it with grim satisfaction. The deep shadows are so arranged as to make the two faces belong to the same woman. If we mentally subtract Salome's face, we suddenly see that the hand on the tray is too old to be hers.

A single line in Bellori's biography is our sole source for the possible origin of this painting: "He then left the island of Sicily and returned to Naples … seeking to placate the Grand Master, he sent him as a gift a half-figure of Salome with the head of the Baptist in a basin" (Bellori [1672] 1976, 228). Longhi (1951, 16–17) believed that the picture in question was more likely the Madrid *Salome,* than the London version, because he detected the former's influence on the development of two Caravaggist painters active in Naples in 1609 and 1610: Battistello Caracciolo and Louis Finson. One thing is certain: by 1666, the present *Salome* was already in the Alcázar Royal Palace in Madrid.

JOHN T. SPIKE

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37 BARTOLOMEO MANFREDI | Ostiano, 1582 – Rome, 1622

Cain Slaying Abel

ca. 1606–1610

Oil on canvas; 152 × 115 cm
Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, inv. 363

Manfredi's painting represents two nude men locked in a deadly struggle. The younger man has fallen to the ground and looks up in terror, unable to defend himself. His assailant stands over him, gripping a wooden club with both hands, and prepares to strike with all his strength. The intense flames on top of the stone altar, at left, and the animal skin beneath the victim, are the only signs that the two combatants are the brothers Cain and Abel, whose story is told in Genesis (4:1–15).

After Adam and Eve went forth from the garden of Eden, Eve conceived and bore two sons: Cain, who became a tiller of the ground, and Abel, who became a shepherd. Desirous to make an offering to God, Cain laid the fruits of his labor on an altar, and Abel brought the firstlings of his flock. God was pleased by Abel's sacrifice, which was consumed by flames, but Cain's offering was rejected. Angry and envious, Cain persuaded Abel to come out into the field, where he raised his hand and slew him. When God said unto Cain, "Where is Abel thy brother?" Cain replied falsely with the famous words, "I know not: Am I my brother's keeper?" And Cain was banished to wander the earth.

This dramatic conception of the ancient tragedy of Cain and Abel appears to be an early work by Bartolomeo Manfredi, in which he emulates Caravaggio in the suppression of secondary details in order to achieve an effect of timelessness. The murder by the envious brother could be taking place in ancient history or in the Roman countryside. Perhaps not by chance, Manfredi painted this rare Old Testament subject a few years after Caravaggio's flight from Rome following the murder of his rival Ranuccio Tomassoni on 29 May 1606.

Many scholars believe that Manfredi can be identified with the "Bartolomeo, servitore di Caravaggio", who was mentioned in the proceedings of the libel suit filed by Giovanni Baglione in 1603 (Morselli 1987, 32). He would have been twenty-one at the time. Ten years later, Giulio Mancini, the highly placed physician and art collector, cited Manfredi as a promising young talent in a letter of March 1613 (Maccherini 1999). In Mancini's art treatise, 1617–1620, Manfredi is listed first among Caravaggio's followers, and noted that his paintings already commanded high prices from collectors in Rome and Florence. His unexpected death from illness, aged forty, no doubt hastened the decline of Caravaggesque painting in Rome.

Despite its simplicity, this *Cain and Abel* by Manfredi soon attracted the attention of distinguished collectors outside of Italy. By 1651 the painting had entered the famous collection of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm in Brussels, where it was prominently displayed in the midst of Renaissance paintings by Titian and others, as seen in David Teniers the Younger's painting of the picture gallery (Petworth House, The National Trust, Sussex). The *Cain and Abel* was a prized new acquisition for the archduke from the collection of the marquess Hamilton only two years before. The picture was correctly attributed in the Hamilton inventory of 1638, "A peice [sic] of Cain killinge [sic] of Abel with a clubb [sic], the figures naked and so great as the life, of Monfredo" (transcribed by Garas 1980, 273). Transferred with the archduke's collection to Vienna in 1659, the painting was attributed over the next two centuries to Simone Cantarini or the Bolognese school, no doubt out of respect for its accurate rendition of male anatomy. The archival research of Klára Garas in 1980 restored its authorship to Manfredi, confirmed by Wolfgang Prohaska in the Museum's files (Hartje 2004, 297).

JOHN T. SPIKE

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38 CRISTOFANO ALLORI | Florence, 1577 – Florence, 1621

Judith with the Head of Holofernes

ca. 1615–1617

Oil on canvas; 139 × 116 cm
Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti, Florence, inv. 1912 no. 96

This is the only painting from the long neglected Florentine school of the seventeenth century whose reputation has always remained at the highest level, and it has therefore gained a sort of symbolic value. Moreover, its fame as a masterpiece of the seicento spread beyond regional borders, thanks in part to its temporary confiscation and subsequent display in the Musée Napoléon in Paris between 1799 and 1815.

The work is by far the best of the many existing versions, copies and derivations. Although it is not the prime version of this much-painted composition, it is possibly the only fully autograph surviving example.

To judge from the inscription written on the captivating, though much damaged, version in the Royal Collection at Hampton Court, which bears the date 1613, the prototype must have been created as early as about 1610–1612. The present work was a gift of the grand duke Ferdinando II Medici to his uncle, Cardinal Carlo, in 1626. It entered the collection of the Palazzo Pitti with the latter's heritage in 1666. Apart from the appeal of the lavishly varied hues of the yellow, blue, red and green fabrics, the masterful draughtsmanship (preparatory drawings for the composition survive at the Uffizi and the Musée du Louvre), and the convincing rendering of the flesh tones, what made this painting extraordinarily popular is its autobiographical references, pointed out by the biographer Filippo Baldinucci. According to Baldinucci, the composition is a nostalgic reflection of the artist's unrequited love for the famous beauty Mazzafirra, depicted here as the Old Testament heroine Judith, who holds by the hair the severed head of the Assyrian general Holofernes. The features given to Holofernes, the enemy of Judith's people, are in fact those of the painter. In turn, the features of Judith's old servant Abra, on the right, are based on those of Mazzafirra's mother.

The painting was celebrated in contemporary literature and was particularly praised by the poet Giovan Battista Marino. Referring to a version of the *Judith* then in a private collection in Paris, Marino wrote that everybody would have been eager to purchase a copy, even a weak one, to record the famous composition by Allori. In contemporary love poetry based on Petrarch, Love, as a dangerous expression of Beauty, can be identified as Death.

Allori fell seriously ill during the summer of 1618 and was subsequently almost unable to paint; his work was to a large extent taken over by his assistants (among them, the gifted Zanobi Rosi). Furthermore, the fact that Mazzafirra died the same year, means that Allori's *Judith* can under no circumstance be dated later than 1618.

Even if it is known and documented that Rosi painted most of the backgrounds of his master's later works, it is not easy to interpret the phrase "non interamente fornito" ("not entirely accomplished" or "not fully completed") which appears on the delivery note of the Pitti *Judith* in 1626.

It is certainly misleading to argue that the work might not have been fully completed, as its execution appears to be finished and absolutely consistent. It has been suggested that the phrase could mean that some (minor) details were still missing, as for instance the lace of the cloak over the breast of the young woman, which is present in all the other known versions, and is therefore very likely based on the prototype.

Baldinucci says that the *Judith* had as a pendant a David by Giovanni Bilivert, and a sheet of sketches at the Uffizi (Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, inv. 7954 F) is of particular interest as it shows various ideas for the themes of both Judith and David. It is signed with Bilivert's monogram and dated 1608. For this reason, one may speculate whether the *Judith* was perhaps conceived earlier than is generally thought.

It is possible that Bilivert and his workshop may have assisted Allori's workshop in satisfying the large demands of the market: a version of the *Judith,* currently on loan to the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, from a private German collection, seems in fact more akin to Bilivert's style. In this version, as well as in others, blood is dripping down from the severed head of Holofernes, perhaps inspired by Artemisia Gentileschi's brutal depictions of the subject during her stay at the Medici court (1613–1620). In the somewhat idealized Pitti painting this macabre detail is absent.

ROBERTO CONTINI

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39 JOHANN LISS | Oldenburg, ca. 1595/1600 – Verona, 1631

Judith in the Tent of Holofernes

ca. 1624–1625

Oil on canvas; 129 × 104 cm
Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. 4913

Richard E. Spear's apt remark that "Liss gave as much to the history of art as he took from it" (Spear 1976, 582) is perfectly demonstrated by the present work, which was donated to the Old Masters' Gallery by Ernő Kammerer, the museum's first director, in 1916, two years after he resigned. Not only is it a splendid example of Liss's influential artistic talent and the impulses at work in him, but it also exhibits everything the Baroque demanded: agitated movement, theatricality, passion, emotional fervour, heroism, and eroticism.

The subject is taken from an Old Testament text (Jdt 13:1–12). The story takes place in ancient Bethulia, at the time when Holofernes, the Assyrian warrior, was laying siege to the city. Judith, a beautiful Jewish widow from the city, pretends to be a traitor to get into the enemy camp and ingratiate herself with Holofernes. She seduces him, gets him drunk, and then beheads him, thus freeing her city from the invaders.

The story is rendered in an unusual and bold, almost provocative, way. It is far removed from the static, portrait-like Renaissance depictions of Judith, which show her holding the general's head with careless ease, either in her hand or on a tray. Here no emphasis is given to the sword or to the severed head, which Judith passes to the barely visible blackamoor servant girl. The spectacle is dominated by the heroine's brisk movement, her twisted body, and the swing of her arm. She looks back over her shoulder at the viewer, whom she draws into the picture by her gaze, forcing us into the role of eyewitness. The muscular, unclothed corpse of her victim is laid on its side, extended perpendicular to the picture plane, and his bleeding truncated neck creates a sense of horror.

While he certainly treats the subject ingeniously, Liss also brilliantly employs and reinterprets his sources. The three-quarter-length figure of Judith with her back turned towards the viewer, her backward glance, low-cut dress and turban, is reminiscent of Pordenone's treatment of the subject (Galleria Borghese, Rome). The unusual perspective that Liss employed for the mutilated body of Holofernes likewise has a precedent: his corpse is similarly orientated and set in almost the same pose in an engraving by Agostino Carracci after Lorenzo Sabatini's design (Banca del Monte di Bologna e Ravenna, Bologna). The spiral vortex of the bodies as they twist in opposite directions is most probably borrowed from Bernini's famous statue, *The Rape of Proserpina* (Galleria Borghese, Rome).

A native of Oldenburg in northern Germany, Liss developed a special predilection for robust figures in his apprenticeship and the years he spent in the Amsterdam workshop of Hendrick Goltzius. The inclination was further strengthened during his travels in Flanders, when he encountered the art of Rubens, Jordaens and Abraham Janssens, so full of vigour and sensuous even in its monumentality. It can reliably be assumed that Liss was already a fully mature artist, armed with the traditions of his homeland and a discerning appreciation of contemporary northern painting, when he moved to Italy. As his work attests, he was influenced above all by Venetian colourism, by the powerful stylistic innovations of Caravaggio and his followers, and by the realism of Domenico Fetti. In contrast to the shockingly powerful and brutal images of his Italian peers (Caravaggio, Artemisia Gentileschi), Liss chose to represent, rather than the gruesome act of decapitation, the victorious moment that follows. Then again, Judith's sensual appearance lends additional flavour to the atmosphere. Her firm awareness of the power of her sexuality speaks unabashedly of woman's sway over man, of man's vulnerability to female seduction and stratagems. The power of woman, *Weibermacht,* exemplified most often by the figures of Eve, Venus, and Judith, had been a popular theme since the Renaissance, particularly in the cultural milieu in which Liss was trained.

The composition is known in several versions. Rüdiger Klessmann, Liss's monographer, considers the one in the National Gallery in London, surely autograph, to be the prime version, dating it to the master's Roman period, around 1624–1625. He placed the Budapest version among the copies, although most previous scholars (e.g. Andor Pigler, Eduard A. Safarik, Rodolfo Palluchini, Ágnes Szigethi, Klára Garas) had not doubted its autograph status. The version in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna is assumed to be by the workshop, as is the extended, horizontal variant in the Ca' Rezzonico, Venice. Several other copies are extant, some contemporary and some later, and the painting was also engraved in horizontal format by Pietro Monaco in 1739.

ANNAMÁRIA GOSZTOLA

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40 Artemisia Gentileschi | Rome, 1593 – Naples, after January 1654

Jael and Sisera

1620

Oil on canvas; 86 × 125 cm
Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. 75.11
Signed and dated on the pillar to the left: ARTEMITIA LOMI / FACIEBAT / MDCXX

One of the most relevant additions to the œuvre of the Roman painter, not least because of the visible date of execution, 1620, "carved" on the pillar to the left, this canvas was acquired by the Szépművészeti Múzeum in 1974 and published by Ágnes Szigethi after a conservation treatment in 1978 (Szigethi 1979). The illustrious Habsburg provenance of the painting had already been traced *in absentia* by Klára Garas (1969b).

For Artemisia the year 1620 is of utmost significance, since it corresponds to the end of her eight-year stay in Florence and her sudden flight back to her native Rome.

Most probably executed while she was still in Florence, this painting may be one of those sent by her lover, the patrician Francesco Maria Maringhi (Florence, 1593 – Naples, after 1653), to the artist in Rome in March 1620 ("una Iole" = Jael?, see letter of Pierantonio Stiattesi, the artist's husband, to Maringhi, Rome, 20 March 1620: F. Solinas, in *Milan* 2011, 46 letter 15, 47 endnote 18; F. Solinas, in *Milan* 2011, cat. 17). In fact, the reference to the year 1620 could even have been added, together with the last touches given to a not yet fully finished work, "post factum" in Rome.

This famous episode of the Old Testament (Jgs 4:17–24) focuses on the courage of the Bedouin woman Jael who invited Sisera, the general of the enemies of the Israelites, into her tent and after letting him fall asleep, killed him by driving a nail into his temples. The episode was frequently depicted in Baroque art.

A possible reference to an etching by Philipp Galle (1537–1612) could indicate that Artemisia knew Galle's successful composition, particularly since, like Galle, she set the scene not in Jael's tent, as in the biblical source, but in a palace interior that features a similar large pillar. The dramatic composition, showing only the two main actors, almost without a context, with the exception of the pillar bearing Artemisia's declaration of authorship (a rare occurrence), compensates for the weaknesses of the picture, noticeable for example in the zigzagging folds of Sisera's dark blue garment.

The palette is consistent with that employed by the artist during her Florentine years, particularly the golden yellow of Jael's dress. Certainly the gentle tones mitigate the violence inherent in the drama.

The heads of the two protagonists are well preserved, and their physiognomies are far from standard. They truly seem to be intended as portraits, as there are also some biographical allusions. The distinctive features of Jael, as well as her dishevelled coiffure, recall the gallery of self-portraits which dominate the female representations in Artemisia's Florentine works, including the *Allegory of Inclination* in the Casa Buonarroti in Florence (1615–1616), the *Saint Catherine of Alexandria* in the Uffizi, the *Mary Magdalen* in the Galleria Palatina and of course the *Self-Portrait Playing the Lute* in the Curtis Gallery, Minneapolis. The square, regular face of the sleeping Sisera, with his enhanced thick moustache, could well match the real features of Maringhi, both lover and companion of Gentileschi throughout her life, even during her short marriage of convenience with Stiattesi.

The face of Sisera in the Budapest painting is very similar to that of a young man sitting for a portrait in a painting generally interpreted as an "Allegory of Painting" (Sotheby's, Milan, 6 October 1999, lot 682; D. Jacquot, in *Nantes–Besançon* 2008, 116, fig. 67 bis), but which could actually be "Artemisia depicting her lover". The same male person recurs, as an isolated portrait, in a canvas by Simon Vouet in the Musée du Louvre in Paris (D. Jacquot, in *Nantes–Besançon* 2008, no. 15; F. Solinas, in *Milan* 2011, 80, fig. 1). Curiously enough, these alleged features of Maringhi appear together with a caption naming his famous lover Gentileschi in a drawing by Leonard Bramer in the Kupferstichkabinett of the Kunsthalle Hamburg, one of a series of portraits of Rome-based artists.

ROBERTO CONTINI

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41 DOMENICO FETTI | Rome, ca. 1591 – Venice, 1623

David with the Head of Goliath

ca. 1617–1619

Oil on canvas; 173 × 127 cm
Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice, inv. 669

The work is from the mature phase of a painter who played a significant role in the development of Baroque art, despite his untimely death. We are talking about Domenico Fetti, as first suggested in 1929 by Giuseppe Fiocco, an attribution unanimously accepted ever since.

He was probably born in Rome to a Florentine father around 1591. Because of this background, as a boy he worked with Ludovico Cardi, known as Cigoli, and Sigismondo Coccapani, Tuscan painters active in Rome in the early seventeenth century. In Rome he also saw Caravaggio's works, but the direct consequences of this encounter became evident above all in his production following his move to Mantua at the beginning of 1614 (Gori 2006). Fetti was summoned to the capital of the small duchy in the Po Valley by Ferdinando Gonzaga (1587–1626), who had lived in Rome until 1612, becoming a cardinal but then resigning so he could succeed Francesco IV Gonzaga as Duke of Mantua. Ferdinando was Domenico's patron in Rome, but he also cultivated friendships with other Roman painters such as Giovanni Baglione, as well as Emilian artists, including Guido Reni and Guercino.

In 1622 Fetti moved to Venice, where he died the following year. Our *David* was executed during the painter's Mantuan period and is probably datable around 1617–1619 (Safarik 1990). It marks the climax of Fetti's embracement of Caravaggio's language and, in fact, according to Safarik (1990, 48), in the treatment of chiaroscuro (and in the vestments) the figure of the biblical hero seems to have been inspired by the *Calling of Saint Matthew* at San Luigi dei Francesi in Roma. At the same time, the painting also seems to prelude various elements of the works of Bernardo Strozzi, a Genoese who settled in Venice after 1630.

Modern experiences and the legacy of the Late Mannerist culture crossed paths in Mantua around 1618. Cremona native Antonio Maria Viani, the refined heir of the tradition of Friedrich Sustris, was court painter and *prefetto delle fabbriche*. Moreover, the works of Caravaggio (*Death of the Virgin*, now at the Musée du Louvre, Paris), Rubens (the important triptych of the Holy Trinity) and Ludovico Carracci (the *Martyrdom of Saint Margaret* in San Maurizio and the *Martyrdom of Saint Ursula* in Sant'Orsola) could be seen in the city.

The documented history of our canvas is linked, however, to Venice (at least from the middle of the eighteenth century on). It entered the Gallerie dell'Accademia in 1838 as part of the bequest of Alvise II Contarini, known as Girolamo. One of his forebears was Giorgio Contarini dagli Scrigni, who lived in the early decades of the seventeenth century and was Fetti's patron. In fact, the eulogy at Fetti's funeral in 1623, written by Giovanni Alessandro Martinelli, was dedicated to him (Morselli 1999, 46–57).

Based on current knowledge, the painting did not enter the Contarini collections until at least 1766, but at the time it was ascribed to Johann Liss (Scarazzolo 2009–2010, 448); the inaccurate attribution points to a late acquisition (Scarazzolo 2009–2010, 448). When the canvas entered the Gallerie, it was described as a "Portrait of a Grandee" ("Ritratto di Grande di Spagna") by a Flemish artist. It was then reattributed to Liss, until Fetti was finally credited with the work again in 1929.

The subject of this canvas was a leitmotif of seventeenth-century Italian painting (Pigler 1974, I, 140–44): David has just defeated Goliath and decapitated him, and he gazes at us pensively, cloaked in semi-darkness. He is a young man dressed in the fashion of the early seventeenth century, in a jacket with puffy sleeves and a feathered cap, and he almost seems unaware of what he has just done, indifferent towards the head lying at his feet. Once again, Fetti proves to be an attentive observer of an anti-heroic humanity, as well as a consummate painter.

In Mantua there were entire cycles devoted to the biblical hero. First of all, we can cite the frescoes by Giulio Romano and his workshop in the Loggia di Davide at the Palazzo Te; in the seventeenth century Andrea Motta (one of Fetti's disciples) painted a series of ten canvases formerly at the Palazzo Ducale, only one of which now remains at the city church of San Maurizio; two other cycles of twelve canvases each were documented in local aristocratic collections in 1680 and 1744 (L'Occaso 2008, 97, n. 29).

STEFANO L'OCCASO

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42 Antonio d'Enrico, called Tanzio da Varallo | Varallo, ca. 1580 – Varallo, 1633

David with the Head of Goliath

mid-1620s

Oil on canvas; 120 × 90 cm
Pinacoteca, Varallo, inv. 689

In 1831 Gaudenzio Bordiga donated this work to the "Società di Incoraggiamento allo Studio del Disegno di Varallo", an association promoting art education in Valsesia, whence it entered the local picture gallery a short time later. Unfortunately, however, there are no clues allowing us to trace the prior history of the canvas, datable to the artist's full maturity, around or slightly earlier than the mid-1620s (Frangi 1999). Thus, it was painted close the period of the altarpiece with the *Virgin and Child in Glory, Adored by Saints Dominic and Francis,* in the parish church of Lumellogno (Novara), which we know is slightly later than 1623.

The young biblical hero is portrayed just after beheading the giant Goliath, as with his right hand he brandishes the sword – still bloody – and forcefully clutches his rival's head by the hair. Dressed in the humble clothing and fur of a shepherd, he has tied the weapons of his duel around his waist: a net containing rocks and a rope slingshot.

Starting with the fundamental studies of Giovanni Testori (in *Turin–Ivrea* 1955 and *Turin* 1959), the canvas has rightly been recognized as one of the finest and most emblematic among the fascinating expressive works of Tanzio da Varallo, who in the conception of this spectacular image has brought together the different components of his figurative culture with marvellous concision. At first glance, the painting is distinguished by its powerful realism, evident not only through the penetrating optical truthfulness of some of the details, such as the slingshot and the net holding the rocks (almost a small still life), but also the careful rendering of chiaroscuro, which can be noted in particular in David's brawny arm, diagonally cutting across much of the painting and almost emerging as the true protagonist of the scene. In these predilections, we can readily see the still-influential echo of Tanzio's Caravaggesque training during his long sojourn in central Italy, between Rome, Naples and Abruzzo from 1600 to 1615.

These elements are juxtaposed by a different orientation revealed by the vibrant characterization of David's face, turned towards the spectator with an impetuous movement underscored by his tousled blonde hair, awash in light. In this, we can readily grasp the influence on Tanzio, starting with his return to northern Italy in the mid-1610s, of the overwrought figurative culture of the Milanese painters of the early seventeenth century, and particularly the inventions of Giulio Cesare Procaccini and the young Daniele Crespi. The trepidatious sentiment that seems to run through this figure like an electrical charge alludes above all to these artists and it is also evident through the sudden flashes of light in the painterly rendering of certain key elements, such as the luminous locks of hair.

The importance of this moment in Tanzio's career lies precisely in his ability to combine Caravaggesque naturalism and the expressive intensity of painters in Archbishop Carlo Borromeo's Milan. It is also documented by equally intense coeval works, such as the *Saint John the Baptist in the Wilderness* at the Philbrook Museum of Art in Tulsa, probably painted around the same time, and *The Penitent Saint Jerome* at the Nelson-Atkins Museum in Kansas City, likely just slightly earlier (for the two works, see *Milan* 2000, 105, 129–32, although the date suggested here for the Tulsa canvas is too late). The paintings also share an insistent focus on rendering the athletic bodies of the leading figures, studied with surprising draughtsmanship: never in an academic or classicistic sense, but used instead by the painter with a late Mannerist sensitivity, aimed at emphasizing the figures' vital energy and the way they thunderously burst onto the scene. And this is precisely the case with the memorable, oversized arm of our David, whose disproportionate power marks the strong-willed nature of the painting's unforgettable character.

FRANCESCO FRANGI

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III

IDEAL AND NORM

43 Annibale Carracci | Bologna, 1560 – Rome, 1609

Christ and the Woman of Samaria

ca. 1596–1597

Oil on canvas; 76.5 × 63.5 cm
Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. 3823

The episode illustrated here, from the Gospel of John (4:1–26), is that of the Samaritan woman Jesus converted near Jacob's well. It was one of the most frequent subjects in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries for works made for private devotion or, as they were known at the time, *quadri da stanza*. The fact that the subject provided the chance to use delightful scenery as the setting for the story unquestionably contributed to its popularity.

The attribution to Annibale Carracci of this marvellous painting, already famous in the seventeenth century, is backed by various mentions, the earliest being that of Scannelli (1657), who cited it in the collection of the Oddi lords of Perugia. This was later confirmed by the great theoretician of seventeenth-century classicism Giovan Pietro Bellori ([1672] 1976), according to whom it had been "sold in Holland" in the meantime. Shortly thereafter it was also cited by Malvasia ([1678] 1841), the main biographer of the Bolognese painters, who also mentioned an etching by the young Carlo Maratta, confirming the identification of the painting as the one now in Budapest: at the bottom of the print, faithful in every detail and dated 1649, we find "Anibal Caracc. Inv." and "Perusiae in Aedibus D. D. de Oddis". Definitive confirmation – rectifying a previous hypothesis (see Zapperi 2003 and Robertson 2008) – has very recently come from the identification of the patron of the painting, which cost twenty scudi, as Lodovico degli Oddi (Vannugli 2011a), a wealthy man of property and art enthusiast, as well as a member of the illustrious noble family from Perugia that, at the turn of the century, commissioned Raphael to paint the famous eponymous altarpiece, now at the Vatican. The painting was subsequently transferred from the Six Collection in Amsterdam, where it was documented in 1669 (Mariani, in *Rome* 1986), to Marquis de Seignelay in France. It then entered the renowned Orléans Collection at the Palais Royal but ended up in England in 1792 following the Revolution. In the nineteenth century it was transferred to Prague and then back to Amsterdam (Brogi 2006), finally reaching its current venue in 1905 (Frimmel 1905).

The invention of this work partially takes up the one the artist used for a canvas, now in Milan (Pinacoteca di Brera), that portrays the same subject but is much larger and was painted shortly before he moved to Rome in 1595. As opposed to the Brera work, however, the Oddi *Woman of Samaria* has a vertical layout and cannot be considered a replica of the Milanese painting. In addition to the different format, there are numerous compositional variants in the figures as well as the landscape that distinguish this canvas from the Brera painting. Indeed, otherwise there would be no reason for the immense popularity it enjoyed long ago, judging from the large number of copies reported by Posner (1971) and the five existing printed versions, in addition to the one by the young Maratta (Mariani, in *Rome* 1986). Nevertheless, the key elements that make this painting so unique in its own right are its exquisite brushwork and palette, which can be explained only if we date it to the early years of the artist's Roman period, of which – by general consensus – it is considered a brilliant example.

Although the Milanese *Woman of Samaria* already moves towards solemn and grandiose classicism, comparison with this work clearly reveals the specific features of the painting examined here. The delicately honed form and the light, noble palette point to the effects of the new cultural milieu the painter discovered upon his arrival in Rome. However, it was not contemporary artistic production – still Late Mannerist in style – that appealed him but, rather, the great models of the beginning of the century, first and foremost Raphael, thus laying the groundwork for modern classicism. We can find further proof in the filtered sweetness of manner, the prudent dosage of gestures and affection. Indeed, from this standpoint Malvasia gleaned a high point in Annibale's art in the Samarian woman's pose, capable of expressing at once "attention, reverence, awe". The *historia,* marked by a new and wholly idealized clarity, is thus resolved in a perfect device marked by dancing rhythms, with the action that delicately yet majestically revolves around the cylindrical well, set against a delightful landscape with light neo-Veronesque hues in the background. It is unsurprising that Maratta, a leading figure of the triumphant *fin-de-siècle* Roman classicism, turned to this example around 1685 for his exquisite *Samaritan Woman* for Nicolò Maria Pallavicini (see S. Rudolph, in *Rome* 2000, II, 473–74, cat. 19). And its influence was felt even at the height of the Arcadian period, as evidenced by Giuseppe Bartolomeo Chiari's enormous *Samaritan Woman,* painted in 1712 for the count of Schaumburg-Lippe (Brogi 2004).

ALESSANDRO BROGI

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44 Bartolomeo Schedoni | Modena, 1578 – Parma, 1615

The Charity of Saint Elizabeth of Hungary

ca. 1610–1611

Oil on canvas; 180 × 128 cm
Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples, inv. 373

Bartolomeo Schedoni's painting entered the collections of the dukes of Parma on 10 October 1611 (the date of the notarial deed with a receipt from Flaminio Giunti, *guardarobiere* of Ranuccio I Farnese) thanks to the mediation of *Cavalier* Alessandro Danella. It was brought to Naples in 1734 with the Farnese collection inherited by the Bourbon family, but was seized by Napoleon's forces in 1799; following the restoration of the Bourbon rulers it was finally returned to Naples.

Schedoni's ties to Parma go back to 1608, when he became court painter to Duke Ranuccio. His pictorial style has long been compared with that of Correggio, as he is considered his seventeenth-century heir, and of Caravaggio, although his northern Italian Caravaggism is chiefly superficial, such as the use of black grounds, his emphasis of the figures in the foreground, and the choice of genre themes with "less-than-noble" key figures. These artistic qualities are also present in this painting, the true iconography of which was essentially unknown until just a few years ago. Although it was entitled the *Allegory of Charity* or *Charity to the Blind Man*, its meaning was not clarified even in the purchase deed of 1611: "Large painting with a blind man, a putto leading him, and a woman begging with a child" ("Quadro grando co'un'orbo un'Putto che lo conduce, et una donna che li fa elemosina co'un'putino").

Only young figures are portrayed: two beggars (one blind), a woman offering them bread concealed in her cloak, and a lovely golden-haired Correggesque child. The woman is clearly the key player in the scene, along with the child in the foreground looking directly at the observer, one of Schedoni's most typical schemes. These details allowed Negro and Roio (2000) to recognize the woman – for the first time – as the personification of Saint Elizabeth of Hungary. The noblewoman born in Sárospatak around mid-1207 was the daughter of Andrew II, the Hungarian king from the Árpád dynasty, and Gertrude of Merania, a direct descendant of Charlemagne. She was betrothed to the son of the landgrave of Thuringia when she was still a child, and she was trained in her duties as queen at the castle of Wartburg. During the frequent absences of her husband, Louis IV, she often had to rule alone and was a resolute sovereign, an affectionate wife, the mother of three children, and the patroness of the poor and afflicted. Widowed when she was twenty, she devoted her life to God, though she was often hampered by her in-laws. Therefore, she relinquished the luxury of life at court and, with her dowry, in 1228 she established a hospital for the poor in Marburg, dedicating it to Saint Francis and dying there at the age of just twenty-four. On Pentecost of 1235 she was canonized by Pope Gregory IX in the presence of her brothers and three children.

Schedoni's canvas commemorates two of Elizabeth's best-known miracles: the transformation of bread into roses, which saved her from her husband's rage, as he was opposed to her generous offerings; and the transformation of the young leper into the Christ Child (the beautiful, blonde, plump boy – albeit in beggarly garb – gazing at the observer), which occurred after Elizabeth's jealous husband discovered she had let the young patient sleep in her bed.

In reality, however, the Farnese family was familiar with the subject of the canvas, but it was not understood in the inventories of the late seventeenth century, when it was mistaken for another work by Schedoni, the *Meeting of Saints Anne and Joachim at the Golden Gate* (now in the Palazzo Reale, Naples) depicting another scene of "charity", and it was thus wrongly recorded with the title of this painting, the "Charity of Saint Elizabeth" (Negro–Roio 2000, 88–89, cat. 34.1).

Ranuccio may have asked Schedoni to paint this subject as an ex-voto, hoping to cure his eldest son Alessandro, born deaf-mute in 1610 after ten years of marriage with Margherita Aldobrandini. The inclusion of the detail in the upper left corner may be connected with this plea for grace: namely, the white sheet with a handwritten text (unfortunately illegible), set over a printed poster of which only one edge is visible, creating a *trompe-l'œil* effect. The connection with this iconography is also backed by the fact that Ranuccio's favourite order was the Franciscan one of Saint Elizabeth of Hungary, and the dukes' many works of charity have been documented, such as the numerous times they gave bread to the poor in gratitude for all the grace they had received.

EMILIO NEGRO

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45 GIOVANNI LANFRANCO | Parma, 1582 – Rome, 1647

Saint Peter Healing Saint Agatha

ca. 1613–1614

Oil on canvas; 100 × 132.6 cm
Galleria Nazionale, Parma, inv. 65

The painting was first documented in the 1652 *Inventario di tutti li quadri che si ritrovano in casa delli Marchesi fratelli canonico et Papiniano Dalla Rosa* (Bertini 2001, 119). It was probably commissioned by Pier Maria Dalla Rosa, with whom Lanfranco exchanged several letters. Nevertheless, it is important to note that the painting was not in the previous *Inventario delle pitture* of 1612 that, while representing an incomplete list of the collection, may be a useful *terminus post quem* (Bertini 2001, 117–18). The canvas is not mentioned again until the mid-nineteenth century, when it was included on the list of paintings offered by the Dalla Rosa Prati family and then purchased by the Accademia Parmense di Belle Arti (see *Inventario della Collezione Dalla Rosa Prati … Carteggio 1832–1851*, manuscript, Soprintendenza BSAE di Parma e Piacenza).

Doubts about its autograph status were raised by Armando Ottaviano Quintavalle, who considered it a copy of the painting at the Galleria Corsini in Rome (1939, 66), but they were later dispelled and the work is now considered one of the cornerstones of the artist's œuvre.

As to its dating, Luigi Salerno ascribed it to the artist's time in Parma around 1611 (1958, 53), but Giovanni-Pietro Bernini pushed it up to 1615–1616 (1982, 41–42). Erich Schleier instead dated it around 1613–1614 (most recently in *Colorno–Naples–Rome* 2001, 110–11), immediately after Lanfranco returned to Rome in 1612, a proposal unanimously embraced by later scholars, underscoring the close parallels with the works of 1615 in the Bongiovanni Chapel at Sant' Agostino and at the Palazzo Mattei (Negro 2011, 57–58).

In addition to an old copy sold on the antiquarian market (Loda 2011, 221), there is also another version of this work, known starting from a doubtful reference in a 1624 inventory of Ottavio Corsini's assets, but ascertained in a 1642 inventory (Cosma 2011, 43). It was long considered a copy, but following recent restoration it is now thought to be an autograph work painted earlier, given its *pentimenti* (Negro 2011, 49–53; there is no third version, instead mentioned here on pp. 49–50, as I demonstrated in Loda 2011, 222, n. 10).

The Corsini canvas – which is smaller – differs from the Parma work in that the three figures are set closer together, but there are also other divergent details. For example, in the Parma painting Saint Peter is holding the bowl, whereas in the Corsini version it is the angel; his outstretched hand partially covers the apostle's.

It is important to note that in a painting by Simon Vouet – possibly lost – based on Lanfranco's work and of which there are many known derivations (Loda 2011, 221), it is the saint who holds the bowl, indicating that the artist must have seen the Dalla Rosa Prati canvas, before it arrived in Parma, rather than the Corsini version.

Despite the use of reflectography, it is still difficult to establish which one was painted first (Frosinini–Bellucci 2011, 86): the Parma version displays more confident brushwork, whereas in the Roman one the artist appears to seek the best compositional rendering.

The painting is clearly instilled with Caravaggesque elements in the choice of the medium-sized format for domestic use, the horizontal layout with half-figures, and the artificial light of the torch illuminating the scene diagonally in a nocturnal setting, in keeping with the hagiographic account.

At the same time, the painting is imbued with a manifestly Correggesque tone, particularly in the figures of the young Saint Agatha and the ephebic angel, as well as the soft brushwork of the lighting and the subdued air of the scene, in which the violence of the episode dissolves into a gentle symphony of languid gestures.

Lanfranco's is a subtly sensual interpretation of the theme of the imprisoned martyr visited by the apparition of Saint Peter, whose trembling hand grazes her just-amputated breast, almost entirely re-formed, as he applies a healing ointment to the wound, in a scene referred to as *curatio mamillarum*. This iconographic subject was quite common in the early decades of the seventeenth century, but few artists interpreted it with such ill-concealed eroticism, which can also be found – albeit to a far lesser extent – in some of the Florentine paintings of Vignali, Pignoni and Martinelli (Loda 2011, 224–25).

ANGELO LODA

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46 Domenico Zampieri, called Domenichino | Bologna, 1581 – Naples, 1641

The Cumaean Sibyl

ca. 1622

Oil on canvas; 138 × 103 cm
Musei Capitolini – Pinacoteca Capitolina, Rome, inv. PC 134

Elegant and sumptuous, Domenichino's *Sibyl* comes across as a felicitous combination of the classical ideal and soft sensuality. Only the presence of the scroll in Greek, bearing the words ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ ΜΟΝΟΣ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΥΠΕΡΜΕΓΕΘΗΣ ΑΓΕΝΗΟΣ, alluding to the Sibyls' prophetic role ("There is only one God, infinite and unborn", penned with a mistake in the last word, which should be spelled ΑΓΕΝΗΤΟΣ), and the girl's devout gaze turned heavenward, permit correct interpretation of this figure.

The painting was first mentioned in the post-mortem inventory of Cardinal Carlo Emanuele Pio of Savoy, drawn up in Rome in 1641 – "A painting with a Sibyl resting her hands on a book, and holding an all'antica text in one, on canvas, 6 palms high and 4 1/2 palms wide, unframed" ("Un quadro con una Sibilla quale appoggia le mani sopra un libro, et in una tiene una scrittura all'antica in tela alto p.mi 6 largo p.mi 4 1/2 senza cornice") – and it remained with his heirs until it was transferred to the Musei Capitolini in 1750. Starting with one of the Pio family inventories of 1697, the reference to Domenichino is a constant, and it was not until the twentieth century that the authorship of this work was occasionally questioned (see the entry by Patrizia Masini, in Guarino–Masini ed. 2006) due to its poor state of conservation, which prevented adequate judgment. After it was restored in 1987, however, its attribution to the Bolognese painter – previously confirmed by Richard E. Spear in his 1982 monograph – was unanimously accepted by scholars.

Based on parallels with the frescoes the artist painted in the Roman church of Sant'Andrea della Valle, the canvas, datable to around 1622, is considered part of a group of four *Sibyls* that Domenichino executed with the same general composition starting in the mid-1610s. The prototype is the *Cumaean Sibyl* at the Galleria Borghese in Rome, which was commissioned by Cardinal Scipione Borghese, who on 21 April 1617 paid the painter 150 *scudi* for it and the *Hunt of Diana* (see Richard E. Spear, in *Rome* 1996, 422–23, cat. 25). The version from the Wallace Collection in London – a *Persian Sibyl*, which differs in the position of her hands, both resting on a closed book – dates to the early 1620s, as do two other versions derived from it with some variations: the picture exhibited here and a *Cumaean Sibyl* in a private Scottish collection, discovered by John Gash (1985, 259–60) and then studied in greater depth by Richard E. Spear and Hugh Brigstocke (see Spear 1994, 595–96, Brigstocke–Spear 1996, and the entry by the two scholars in *Rome* 1996, 454–55, cat. 41). The precedence of the London version is clear from the fact that, as radiographic analysis has revealed, this is the only one with *pentimenti,* which are not present in the other two.

A *Study of Hands* (362 × 233 mm, Windsor Castle, Royal Library, inv. 84; see Pope-Hennessy 1948, no. 100v; A. Tantillo, in *Rome* 1996, 490, no. 64, with previous bibliography) shows not only two essentially identical poses for the right hand, but also three variants for the left, two of which are for the painting in the Wallace Collection and the third instead linked with the two canvases respectively at the Musei Capitolini and in the private Scottish collection. This may indicate that these three *Sibyls* were painted rather close together, but later than the Borghese prototype.

In the canvas from the Musei Capitolini, the accentuated Raphaelism of the Galleria Borghese painting, clearly derived from the Urbino master's *Saint Cecilia,* gives way to a more confident classical composition and a "dilatation of form" (see Masini, in Guarino–Masini ed. 2006). Moreover, we can also note more self-assured brushwork, allowing the artist to indulge in virtuoso touches in the woman's drapery and the curtain on the left.

The sources do not provide specific information. The only short observation is from Carlo Cesare Malvasia, who in his *Felsina Pittrice* of 1678 notes that Domenichino's works preserved in Bologna include "a half-figure Sibyl, but quite coarse, in the home of the Ratta family, and a similar one in the Albergati home" (Malvasia [1678] 1841, II, 244, "Una Sibilla, mezza figura, ma cruda assai, in casa dei Signori Ratta, ed in casa Albergati una simile"). The *Sibyl* at the Ratta residence has been identified as the Scottish canvas (in addition to the studies already mentioned, see Tommaso Mozzati's more recent essays in *Perugia* 2005 and Mozzati 2009). The one from the Albergati home cannot be identified as the Capitoline canvas either, as the latter was documented in the Pio collection as early as 1641. Therefore, the "Albergati" Sibyl must coincide with the painting in the Wallace Collection.

SERGIO GUARINO

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47 SISTO BADALOCCHIO | Parma, 1585 – Parma, after 1621

Mars and Venus

ca. 1610–1612

Oil on canvas; 84 × 119.5 cm
Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen, inv. D 803.20

While three *amorini* are busy disarming him, Mars futilely attempts to resist the enticement of Venus, lying on a precious bed; a pleasant landscape opens up in the background. This is the subject of Badalocchio's lovely painting, obviously for private use. The canvas, which marvellously expresses the dawn of the seventeenth-century "classical ideal", also bears witness to the enormous credit enjoyed by the Emilian school during this century among the highest-ranking European collectors. While we do not know who actually commissioned it, there is no question that in the late seventeenth century the canvas belonged to André Le Nôtre (1613–1700), the eminent French landscape architect who designed gardens such as those of Versailles (Guiffrey 1911); he may have purchased it in Rome in 1679 (Rosenberg 1966) and then gave it to his king, Louis XIV, in 1693. After leaving the royal collections and moving to various venues, it finally reached its current venue during the Napoleonic period (1803).

The painting promptly lost its attribution, however, and was long ascribed to Giovanni Lanfranco, the great Parma painter who was a fellow citizen and friend of the true author of the painting, Sisto Badalocchio who, like Lanfranco, was also a pupil and collaborator of Annibale Carracci in Rome in the early seventeenth century. It was not until the twentieth century that Badalocchio, like many less-known but highly respectable artists, was finally rediscovered through serious scholarship, which allowed Donald Posner (1960) to ascribe this painting to him. Since then, it has regularly been accepted among the painter's works.

Despite divergent opinions as to its dating, 1609–1610 according to some but 1616–1617 according to others, there is no longer any doubt as to its attribution, which has been confirmed based on comparisons with ascertained works by this fascinating *petit maître,* the author of altarpieces as well as fresco decorations in both Rome and Parma. Nevertheless, he was especially esteemed for *dipinti da stanza* – gallery paintings – such as this one; for example, we can cite his participation in 1614 in the famous series with the *Stories of Alexander the Great* commissioned by Cardinal Alessandro Peretti Montalto, nephew of Sixtus V, for his villa on the Esquiline Hill (Granata 2012). Badalocchio's training with Annibale left a deep mark on him, as can clearly be seen in this painting. We can credit his example with the nobly ideal conception of painting that marks figures, poses and gestures, and that guides the artist's compositional choices, through which the "story" unfolds clearly and elegantly – yet with lively animation – as if it were an ancient frieze.

That fruitful contact also inspired Badalocchio's impeccable draughtsmanship, which earned him his teacher's praise: according to an exceptional witness such as Monsignor Giovan Battista Agucchi, a key figure in the theoretical development of seventeenth-century classicism, "Annibale often said that [his pupil] drew better than he did" ("il sig. Annibale soleva dire [di lui] che disegnava meglio di se medesimo"). The delightful, very "local" colour and exceptional sensitivity towards landscape, also inspired by the great models offered by Carracci, were equally important for Badalocchio's fine-tuning of an appealing and very successful formula, effectively a "classical ideal" in miniature. Despite the small size of the support, this is a solemn landscape with great breadth, constructed as an architecture in which the work of man and nature are perfectly harmonized, yet it radiates atmosphere and is sensitive to the variegated passage of light in the sky.

As to dating, the allusion – still fresh – to the models set by Carracci, the honed volumes, the palette still untouched by the influence of Bartolomeo Schedoni and the preciousness of the details point to the earlier of the two dates theorized by scholars. As is always the case with Badalocchio, the theme, mythological in this case, is resolved in a minute and graceful story appreciated by a selected and demanding clientele. It is no accident that the painting seems to have been quite famous, judging from the existence of an old copy sold on the Roman art market (Laurina Arte, 1991) a number of years ago, documenting the work's original format, altered during the eighteenth century – as was often the case – but now restored (Volle, in *Paris–Milan* 1988).

ALESSANDRO BROGI

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48 Alessandro Tiarini | Bologna, 1577 – Bologna, 1668

Vulcan Forges Arrows for Cupid

ca. 1622–1624

Oil on canvas; 218 × 181 cm

Fondazione Pietro Manodori, Reggio Emilia

As is often the case for paintings with profane subjects in the modern age, made to decorate a private residence, the episode illustrated here was taken from classical mythology and represents the god Vulcan forging arrows for Cupid, unaware that they would be the means allowing his companion Venus to betray him with Mars.

The painting, which entered its current venue in 1997 from a private Roman collection, had previously been attributed to Ludovico Carracci, the great patriarch of modern Bolognese painting. It was Daniele Benati (1996) who promptly ascribed it to another artist, Alessandro Tiarini, also from Bologna but younger by a generation. Moreover, the scholar incontrovertibly identified this beautiful painting as the one that Carlo Cesare Malvasia ([1678], 1841), the main Bolognese source of the seventeenth century, mentioned as the painter's work at the Palazzo Marsili in Bologna, where he recalled it was set over a fireplace. At aristocratic residences in Italy, it was customary to decorate the upper part of monumental fireplaces with a painting (or fresco), the subject of which was related to fire, as in this case. The work was mentioned again a century later in equally unequivocal terms by the Bolognese scholar Marcello Oretti, who documented a "Vulcan at the forge making arrows for Cupid, by Tiarini" at the Palazzo Marsili.

Early reports are also fully confirmed by an examination of the style of this painting, wholly typical of this important artist, who received his initial but fundamental training in Florence under a famous "reformed" Mannerist, Domenico Cresti, called Passignano. He subsequently returned to his birthplace shortly before 1612, when the figure of Ludovico Carracci dominated the city's art scene with virtually no rivals. Comparisons with ascertained works by the artist cited by scholars, Benati first and foremost, have also made it possible to narrow down the dating of the work quite accurately. It was unquestionably painted at the height of the artist's maturity, in the early 1620s, when Tiarini was working on an impressive series of public commissions in Reggio Emilia. This is proven by the evident parallels with the large, mournful *Elevation of the Cross,* painted for the Compagnia della Buona Morte in 1622 (now Galleria Estense, Modena) and the *Martyrdom of Saint John the Evangelist* dated 1624 and still at the church in Reggio dedicated to the saint.

The influence of Ludovico's works on Tiarini upon the latter's return to Bologna can readily be seen in his ability – as a true Carraccesque – to give even a mythical story an earthly, believable and even everyday tone, which emerges in the familiar naturalness of gestures, poses and sentiments. The dramatic, sharp contrasts of light can be traced to the same source, yet they also make the event captivating and romantic, full of emotion and evocative power. At the same time, however, the influence of the artist's training as a young man in the "reformed" artistic circles of Tuscany continued to hold sway throughout his career. The well-articulated space, often drowned in shadows, and the closed and monumental form, dramatically emphasized by light, constitute powerful corrective factors for Ludovico's sometimes overblown ardency. The new Bolognese painting, influenced by Ludovico, was distinguished by profoundly human sentimental inspiration, regardless of the subject. As we can see here, Tiarini always expressed this through a noble, solemn and eloquently cadenced language.

ALESSANDRO BROGI

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49 GUIDO RENI | Bologna, 1575 – Bologna, 1642

Atalanta and Hippomenes

ca. 1615–1620

Oil on canvas; 191 × 264 cm
Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples, inv. Q 349

This work may well be the most famous modern pictorial representation of the myth of Atalanta, daughter of King Schoeneus. Opposed to marriage, she agreed that she would only wed the suitor who could beat her in a footrace. The winner was Hippomenes who, as he ran, dropped three golden apples given to him by Aphrodite so that, charmed by him, the girl would stop to pick them up, losing the race. The painting captures the key moment of the contest, but takes several liberties with respect to Ovid's fable (*Metamorphoses,* X), starting with the setting: not a crowded stadium but a broad, semi-deserted sandy shore.

There are two examples of this magnificent invention and, in recent decades, there have been heated debates about both their autography and dating. One is the canvas shown here; the other is at the Prado (Madrid). All traces of a third one, which in the nineteenth century was owned by the painter José de Madrazo, were lost after 1867. In any event, it is intriguing that so little is known about the genesis of such a great masterpiece. The only early mention is that of the Bolognese biographer Malvasia ([1678] 1841), who recalled a composition of this kind among the engravings after works by Guido "cut by others", but did not detail anything about the painting. This information was later taken up by Luigi Crespi (1769). Due to a misunderstanding, it was once thought that in the seventeenth century the painting was part of the Gonzaga collections in Mantua (Braghirolli 1884, 97). In reality, no work with this subject has ever been in the Gonzagas' possession, and the misinterpreted source referred to the Madrid canvas, originally owned by Marquis G. F. Serra and sold in Naples in 1664; the Spanish viceroy purchased it the following year and it entered the royal collections in 1666 (Vannugli 1989; Pepper 1991).

Regarding the work shown here, all we know is that in the eighteenth century it was in the Pertusati collections in Milan but was then brought to Rome, reaching its current venue in 1802.

While most scholars recognize the Spanish canvas as a marvellous autograph work, there have been serious reservations about the Neapolitan painting, formerly thought to be the only original. Pepper repeatedly deemed it a workshop copy, possibly retouched by the master (1984, 1988, 1990a, 1990b, 1991). Other scholars have instead emphasized that this canvas is likewise autograph, although penalized by wear of the paint layer, as noted by Tommaso Conca as early as 1803. Moreover, scholarship has not been unanimous about its dating. Today the most common opinion is 1618–1620, as confirmed by comparisons with the *Labours of Hercules* (Louvre, Paris) painted for Ferdinando Gonzaga in 1617–1621, which show the same relationship between figures and background, and the same eminently sensitive modelling. The vaguely Caravaggesque emphasis on chiaroscuro and the compactness of the rendering seem to link the canvas to this period, before Reni's idealism turned to the complete sublimation of form and colour evident in works from the 1620s. The charm of the painting lies in the fact that, though transfigured, Nature still palpitates beneath the skin, making the two adversaries quiver with sensuality, captured in their timeless race. Chaste, cold light – like that of a full moon – caresses their bodies, enhancing their pure nudity. Yet none of what that light reveals is grounded in objective reality: neither the forms of the two young people, veritable flesh-and-blood statues in heroic solitude, nor the weightless fabric, the divine counterpoint to the roundness of their bodies, nor even the action itself, an implausible race that is effectively an airy, suspended *pas de deux,* a perfect arabesque of limbs. All of this acquires profound meaning thanks to Fumaroli's insightful interpretation of the work as a Christian allegory (1987, 1995), which explains many aspects of this poignant yet metaphysical masterpiece. First of all, there is Hippomenes' wave of refusal, according to a well-codified figure of classical rhetoric of gesture (Bulwer 1644): rejection of the girl's moral baseness, as – according to the Christian exegesis of the myth – she was willing to lose the race, giving in to the impure urges of the senses. She thus personifies the sensual pleasure and lust that lead to perdition, whereas the young man aspires to save his soul, though not without anguish. The master of a noble language and sublime syntax, Guido brings the ancient myth to a level of absolute "meditative" ideality in which motion and stillness coexist, thus making the dimension of time its linchpin. In the synergic interweaving of gestures, the story unfolds before our bewitched gaze with its "before" and "after", in a sort of silent and almost hypnotic multiple time.

ALESSANDRO BROGI

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50 GUIDO RENI | Bologna, 1575 – Bologna, 1642

Saint Sebastian

ca. 1617–1618

Oil on canvas; 170.1 × 131.1 cm
Dulwich Picture Gallery, London, inv. DPG 268

Reni's *Saint Sebastian* appears in Charles Kingsley's novel *Alton Locke* of 1850. The protagonist of the book, an unworldly tailor and poet, visits Dulwich Picture Gallery and having seen the painting is entranced before it and admires "The breadth and vastness of light and shade upon those manly limbs, so grand and yet so delicate, standing out against the background of lurid night, the helplessness of the bound arms, the arrow quivering in the shrinking side, the upturned brow, the eyes in whose dark depths enthusiastic faith seemed conquering agony and shame". In front of the picture Alton Locke experiences an emotional revelation: "My heart swelled within me, my eyes seemed bursting from my head with the intensity of my gaze, and great tears, I knew not why, rolled slowly down my face." Reni's *Saint Sebastian* has remained one of the most popular religious images from seventeenth-century Italy, praised by writers such as Stendhal, Oscar Wilde, Gabriele D'Annunzio, and Yukio Mishima. In a single image Reni magnificently combined religious fervour and beauty of a more secular kind.

Guido Reni was one of the most admired and prolific painters in seventeenth-century Italy. He trained in his birthplace – Bologna – and spent most of his career between his native city and Rome. Reni's pictures are characterised by a particular religious pathos and by an extraordinary polished painting technique. Over his career the artist and his workshop produced two types of images of Saint Sebastian, which exist in various versions. An exhibition in Genoa and London in 2007–2008 offered the opportunity to directly compare most of these paintings and reach new conclusions about their status. The first type of Reni's *Saint Sebastian,* from around 1615, exists in the superb autograph work now in the Musei di Strada Nuova – Palazzo Rosso in Genoa, and in an inferior replica now in the Pinacoteca Capitolina in Rome. Reni returned to the subject around 1617–1618 with a different, larger composition. Many versions exist of this work; the Dulwich one is most likely the original and first one. Comparison between the painting and the two other pictures of the same subject, at the Musée du Louvre in Paris and Museo del Prado in Madrid, shows that the London painting is superior in quality, even if affected by a substantially damaged paint surface. The Paris and Madrid paintings are likely to have been executed in the workshop under the master's close supervision. The Dulwich canvas is the only one in the series to show significant changes in composition (the saint's loincloth, for example, was originally much higher on Sebastian's waist), while the other versions exactly follow this prototype. Two further pictures of the same subject, usually attributed to Reni, in the Museo de Arte de Ponce, Puerto Rico and the Auckland Art Gallery in New Zealand are later copies, most likely executed after Reni's death.

The saint, according to Jacobus de Voragine's account, was a captain in the Roman army; he was martyred because of his Christian beliefs and shot with arrows. Powerfully Caravaggesque in its dramatic *chiaroscuro,* Reni's Sebastian is shown as a striking nude, indebted in its form to antique sculpture and to the classicism of the Bolognese school of the Carracci. The Dulwich *Saint Sebastian* is first documented in 1802, after it was acquired by the French dealer and collector Noel Desenfans in London. The painting was said, at the time, to have a provenance from the Palazzo Barberini in Rome, but this cannot be proved by any of the existing family inventories; its original patron is still, therefore, unidentified. When Dulwich Picture Gallery first opened to the public, Reni's painting was displayed in Sir John Soane's building as the focus at the end of the enfilade, framed by Reni's other picture of *Saint John the Baptist* and Paolo Veronese's *Saint Jerome and Girolamo Petrobelli;* a place of honour that the *Saint Sebastian* still holds in the gallery.

XAVIER F. SALOMON

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51 MICHELE DESUBLEO | Maubeuge, 1602 – Parma, 1676

David with the Head of Goliath

ca. 1630–1640

Oil on canvas; 98.5 × 84.4 cm
Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. 499

This marvellous canvas of exceptional quality can be considered a masterpiece by one of the most intriguing painters active in northern Italy in the mid-seventeenth century: Michele Desubleo, Flemish by birth but Italian by choice.

The painting is from the Esterházy collection, most of which was put together by Prince Nicholas (1765–1833) through purchases in Italy, France and England. We know nothing about its history before 1823 when the prince purchased it in Rome as a work attributed to Domenichino. Nevertheless, we can surmise that it must have been in Rome in the mid-eighteenth century, as its fascinating subject was unquestionably the model for a painting by Johann Zoffany now at the National Gallery of Victoria in Melbourne, signed and dated 1756 (M. Postle, in *New Haven – London* 2011, 177–78, cat. 3).

It continued to be ascribed to Domenichino until 1982, when Richard Spear expunged it from the Bolognese painter's œuvre, albeit without offering an alternative attribution. As part of the first sweeping reconstruction of Desubleo's activity, in 1992 I was the first to ascribe it unquestionably to the Flemish-Italian master, likely from his early maturity, and I confirmed this in my later monograph on the painter (2001). Desubleo's presence in Rome in 1624–1625, when he lived with his stepbrother Nicolas Régnier and the latter's family in Via di Ripetta, is testified by an extant document (Lemoine 1997, 55, 62), but it is highly likely that he continued to stay in touch with his Roman patrons – chiefly the Colonna – and sent paintings from Bologna, Venice and Parma. Many of his works are still in Rome, including three in the private apartments of the Palazzo Colonna, inventoried as of 1679 and probably sent from Venice; another work is documented in the Roman collections of the princes Torlonia.

The painting depicts a young man in a three-quarter pose, donning a feathered cap and holding a sword in his left hand. He is turned towards the observer, his chin resting in his right hand, and his gaze is pensive and intent, as if the painter wanted to capture the young hero in a moment of reflection or doubt after slaying the giant Goliath, whose head is visible on the lower right. In the position very close to the observer, the complex orchestration of light – with a ray illuminating the back wall, allowing the artist to render the three-dimensionality of the head through the refined backlighting of the figure's left cheek and cap, while also emphasizing the distance from the ground – and the soft naturalism of the pelt partially cloaking the young hero, we find obvious reminiscences of Caravaggio's painting, probably mediated also by Régnier. Nevertheless, Desubleo shows a clear tendency towards abstraction of form, pondering the classicizing idealization of Domenichino's figures, and this would be one of the hallmarks of his art throughout his long career. This stylistic orientation makes Desubleo one of the leading representatives of Italian classicism. Moreover, the hero's face and expression distantly evoke Guido Reni's *David*, now at the Musée du Louvre in Paris, and we know that the painter spent many years studying with Reni in Bologna, where he is documented starting around 1633.

The Gordon collection at Haddo House near Aberdeen has a version of this painting with variations. In this work, the back wall is replaced by a broad landscape and the lighting is much brighter. Spear considered the painting better than the Budapest canvas, but first-hand examination leaves no room for doubt: the Scottish painting is a copy – perhaps also later – of the Budapest work of much better quality.

ALBERTO COTTINO

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52 Giovanni Francesco Barbieri, called Guercino | Cento, 1591 – Bologna, 1666

Christ and the Woman of Samaria

1640–1641

Oil on canvas; 116 × 156 cm
Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid, inv. 176 (1976.55)

Guercino painted this imposing half-length composition of *Christ and the Woman of Samaria* in 1640–1641, less than two years before his move from his native Cento to the metropolis of Bologna, in 1642 (Salerno 1988). The figures are stately, their expressions tranquil and their dress opulent – typical of the polished elegance of his mature style. The canvas was commissioned by a certain Giuseppe Baroni of Lucca, who sent Guercino a down payment of thirty ducats in March, 1640, and the balance of seventy ducats in November of the same year: fifty ducats was Guercino's standard charge for a half-length figure (Ghelfi 1997, 101, no. 216, and 104, no. 231). Before the end of the seventeenth century, the canvas passed into the collection of Marchese Ferdinando Vandeneynden, in Naples, a wealthy banker and art collector.

Christ's chance meeting with a Samaritan woman at a well whilst he was on a journey in Samaria is told in the Gospel of John (4:1–26). Thirsty and in need of rest, he asked the woman to give him to drink from the water-carrier she had just lowered into the well. She was surprised at this request from a complete stranger to drink from her vessel since, as a Samaritan, she belonged to a tribe strongly hostile to the Jews and was herself a social outcast by being both an adulteress and a courtesan. In Guercino's picture her diffident look, as well as her décolleté dress and elaborately coiffed hair seem to allude to these details in the story. As always, the painter has subtly choreographed the encounter: both figures are half turned to the right, so the woman appears to walk away from her interlocutor as he speaks to her. Christ's head is in profile, like that of a ruler on a coin or medallion, while his body is silhouetted sharply against the sky, adding to his air of authority. She pauses and turns her head back to the left to listen to him, while her vessel and the tree behind lean to the right, in the opposite direction, a residue of her initial thought to exit to the right.

The composition of the Thyssen painting was evidently admired, as a number of replicas, some autograph or partly autograph, were made from it. In spite of some differences of detail, the quality of the handling in these is not as high. The finest of these replicas is in the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, also datable 1640–1641, and it must have been made when the Thyssen painting was still in the artist's studio for a tracing to be made and the colouring and details to be so accurately reproduced – no easy task for either master or pupil (Salerno 1988, 272–73, no. 190).

Many successful artists, such as Titian (ca. 1485–1576), made autograph versions of their own paintings, but the production of replicas in Guercino's studio, a practice covering almost the whole of his long career, remains to be studied. Like other artists, Guercino was persuaded by influential patrons to repeat the compositions of pictures they admired, though, from the painter's point of view, the task of copying his own work cannot have been as agreeable as starting out afresh on a new composition. Already busy with new commissions, such an extra demand on his creative resources caused him to turn sometimes for support to his studio, whose intervention in such repetitions is detectable from their inferior handling.

The Thyssen painting may be compared with an earlier, half-length picture by Guercino of the same subject, datable ca. 1619–1620, previously thought lost but recently acquired by the Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth (inv. AP 2010.01; for a copy after it, see Salerno 1988, 143, no. 64). In the Fort Worth picture, the meeting between Christ and the Samaritan Woman is informal and both protagonists seem humble in both appearance and dress. They are close to the foreground plane, as well as to each other, and are engaged in an intense discussion, their arms hanging over the mouth of the well as Christ emphasizes a point with his hands to the young woman.

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53 Giovanni Francesco Barbieri, called Guercino | Cento, 1591 – Bologna, 1666

The Flagellation

1641–1644

Oil on canvas; 351 × 176.5 cm
Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. 4225

In 1641, Baldassare Beregani of Vicenza commissioned Guercino to paint an altarpiece of *The Flagellation* for their family chapel in the church of San Biagio Nuovo of that city (Salerno 1988; Dirani Mistrorigo 1988; Barbieri 2003; Boschini [1676] 2008). Guercino and his brother, Paolo Antonio Barbieri received the payments for the work in 1644. Guercino, who was then settled in Bologna, was perhaps the most experienced painter of altarpieces alive in Italy at that time. He charged for his pictures according to the size and number of the figures within them: *The Flagellation* contains three whole-lengths, one half-length and some five heads, for which he was paid the substantial sum of 500 ducats (Ghelfi 1997, 121, no. 313). With the suppression of San Biagio Nuovo following the Napoleonic invasions of Italy in 1796–1797, the picture came into the custody of Count Girolamo Porto Godi Pigafetta, municipal councillor in Vicenza. In 1802 it was reacquired by the heirs of the Beregani family and kept in their private chapel in Treviso. It was subsequently sold to an Englishman, and in 1854 it was with a dealer called Righetti in Venice. Ten years later it was purchased by Count János Pálffy, who kept it in his palace in Pozsony (today Bratislava, Slovakia). The work entered the Szépművészeti Múzeum in 1912 with Pálffy's collection.

The Flagellation is a good example of Guercino's late, classical style. During the 1620s, the painter's development had begun to alter course significantly, a change in style eloquently described by the late Sir Denis Mahon (Mahon 1947, *passim*). Several reasons explain his adoption of a more austerely classical manner, including the increasing influence of his Bolognese rival Guido Reni (1575–1642) and the emergence of a more sophisticated, courtly taste amongst his clients. In *The Flagellation*, the slender figures are set towards the rear of the foreground stage, their balletic movements softening the brutality of the scene. This takes place out of doors, with the daylight picking out the figures' brightly coloured costume, as well as a number of incidental details: the shining armour of the knight with a plumed helmet; the bundles of twigs with which Christ is being scourged; and the gaudy and ill-fitting clothes of the torturers. A carefully choreographed piece of theatre, the storytelling of *The Flagellation* is in potent contrast to that of the *Liberation of Saint Peter* (cat. 31), painted during Guercino's Roman period (1621–1623), some twenty years before. With nerve-racking immediacy, Guercino provides the spectator with a close-up view of a prison break, the robust figures crammed so tightly within the foreground that they seem on the point of spilling over into the spectator's space.

The Flagellation was painted some two years after Guercino had moved to Bologna from his native Cento, where he had so long been active. His transfer had been precipitated by the First War of Castro (1641–1644), which threatened the security of the town. To keep Guercino from danger, one of his Bolognese patrons, Conte Filippo Aldrovandi invited him to stay in his palace, and the painter arrived in Bologna in September 1642. Another factor influencing his decision to move must have been the death in the previous month of Guido Reni, an occurrence that gave him the tempting prospect of stepping into his deceased rival's shoes as the city's leading painter. At this highly spiritual moment of the ageing painter's career, Reni's work continued to exert an impact on him and this is detectable in the delicate, classical forms, silvery light and pastel hues of his late paintings.

Several preparatory drawings by Guercino for *The Flagellation* are known, including a newly-identified, finished *modello* in the Art Institute, Chicago (Turner 2006, 55–58). Only exceptionally did the painter make such *modelli,* expecting his patrons to trust in his abilities and not waste his time with such preliminaries. Difficulties in communicating with the Beregani at a time of hostilities and the distance between Bologna and Vicenza may explain why a prototype was necessary. Whatever the explanation, the Chicago *modello* shows that the format (square topped instead of round, and broader as well as lower), the proportion of the figures in relation to the compositional space, and their poses, were all changed in the finished result.

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54 Carlo Cignani | Bologna or Forlì, 1628 – Forlì, 1719

Joseph and Potiphar's Wife

ca. 1670–1680

Oil on octagonal canvas; 99 × 99 cm

Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Dresden, gallery no. 387

During the Renaissance, Bologna was ranked among the leading art centres in Italy. As the seventeenth century dawned, the city developed into one of the most influential birthplaces of the Baroque, first and foremost due to the influence of the Carracci, whose works combined pronounced realism with powerful emotions. Carlo Cignani can be located in this tradition going back to the Carracci, though his works also resonate with Bologna's late Baroque classicism (Malvasia [1678] 1841, II, 198–209; Buscaroli Fabbri 1991; A. Matteoli, in *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon* 1992–[…], XIX, 1998, 195–97).

The work on show here is an outstanding example of Cignani's intense artistic expression, impressive not only for its strongly emotional content, but also for the brilliance of its formal composition. Cignani painted this subject several times in his workshop, but only the Dresden version is acknowledged to be entirely his own work (Buscaroli Fabbri 1991, 132).

Cignani has highlighted the physical and psychological tension between the two protagonists by reflecting the conflict between sexual desire and chaste virtuousness in their gestures and facial expressions. As a child, Joseph was sold into slavery in Egypt. He later became the successful overseer of the household of Potiphar, one of the pharaoh's high-ranking officials. When Potiphar's wife fell in love with Joseph and attempted to seduce him, he resisted her advances to avoid sinning against God. One day when she resolutely sought to press her charms on him again, Joseph could bear it no longer and fled the house, leaving his cloak in her hands. Potiphar's wife later presented this garment to her husband as proof that Joseph had tried to rape her (Gen 39:1–20).

Cignani has selected the story's most dramatic moment. Potiphar's wife, passionately in love with Joseph, tries to clasp the young man in her arms. Gazing heavenwards, Joseph stretches his arms out upwards and twists his body around as he tries to free himself from her grasp (Kerber 2008, 49–50). Cignani cleverly contrasts Joseph's distraught gestures with the beauty and sensuality of the female body. The woman's graceful and charming facial features also contrast sharply with Joseph's emotional body language as he seeks to escape. The strength of the painting's aesthetic effect, though, is largely derived from the composition itself. With a fine sense for formal structure, Cignani has set the opponents intimately within the cropped octagonal image so that the beholder can, as it were, emphasise vividly and directly with Joseph's plight. Cignani only used this octagonal picture format for the Dresden painting. All the other well-known versions of this subject are on rectangular canvases which, moreover, show the protagonists more or less as full-length figures, forgoing this close-up of the scene which so heightens the drama of the situation.

The biography of Cignani compiled by the so-called *Muto Accademico* in 1702 lists an octagonal work showing Joseph and Potiphar's wife painted by the artist for Carlo Contarini, procurator of San Marco in Venice (see Buscaroli Fabbri 1991, 132; on the procurator see Ceschi 1999, 225). Since no other octagonal version of this subject is known, this is most likely the painting in Dresden. In 1749, the work was acquired from Pietro Guarienti from the *Casa Contarini* in Venice for August III, elector of Saxony and king of Poland *(Inventar Dresden* 1747–1750, fol. 21v, no. 411). Just four years later, it was included in the first volume of prints showing the best works from the royal painting gallery (Heineken 1753–1757). The selection of this work as one of the engravings is an indication of just how much the Dresden court valued Cignani's painting.

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55 Carlo Maratta | Camerano, 1626 – Rome, 1713

The Holy Night (The Nativity)

ca. 1650–1660 (?)

Oil on canvas; 99 × 75 cm

Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Dresden, gallery no. 436

Maratta's painting is one of the most frequently copied works in Dresden's Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister. The painting was widely acclaimed soon after the royal collection opened in the mid-eighteenth century. Pietro Guarienti, one of the gallery's inspectors, praised Maratta's painting as one of the artist's most outstanding works: *"Opera delle più pregiate dell'Autore"*. In particular, Guarienti pointed to Maratta's carefully structured use of light, with all the figures lit by the divine light emanating from the Christ Child (*Inventar Dresden* 1747–1750, fol. 33v, no. 145).

Today, Maratta is rightly regarded as the pre-eminent exponent of late Baroque classicism in Rome. His large altarpieces had a major influence on art in the Eternal City in the second half of the seventeenth century. Between 1651 and 1656, early in his career, Maratta was commissioned by Flavio Alaleona to paint Saint Joseph's Chapel in the church of San Isidoro in Rome. This commission included frescoed lunettes of the *Adoration of the Shepherds:* in the centre, Mary is sitting by the crib, holding the sleeping Christ Child in her arms; Joseph is on the right; on the left, shepherds are hurrying to the scene (Daly 1971, 41, fig. 13). For the Dresden painting, Maratta copied the central scene from the fresco. The Virgin Mary and the Christ Child, as well as the heads of the two outermost angels, are exact copies of the fresco in Rome. Only the landscape and the head of the central angel, looking out so boldly at the viewer, are new additions.

Both the church fresco as well as the painting on show here are notable for their effective use of light, which could already be found in the late fifteenth century in works by such Flemish artists as Geertgen tot Sint Jans (1455/65–1485/95), and then in the late 1520s in Correggio's large altarpiece of the *Adoration of the Shepherds* with its striking nocturnal lighting. Correggio's *Adoration* (today also in Dresden's Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister) commissioned for the church of San Prospero in Reggio Emilia, was a famous work in the seventeenth century in the d'Este collection in Modena and provided a major inspiration for Maratta's painting. Maratta has not only directly borrowed the pose and position of Mary and the Christ Child from Correggio's altarpiece, but also the youthful grace of the Virgin's features. In their use of light, both artists clearly evoke the light of God promised in the Old Testament, which became a reality with the birth of Jesus. As Christ himself says: "I am the light of the world: he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life" (Jn 8:12).

Maratta's painting was among fifty copperplate engravings included in the first volume of major works in the royal gallery collection. According to Carl Heinrich von Heineken, who published the collection of engravings, Maratta's work originally belonged to Cardinal Melchior de Polignac, who died in Paris in 1741 (Heineken 1753–1757, I [1753], 24–25, no. 44). However, some scholars also sought to show that the work had come from the collection of Amadeus of Savoy, Prince of Carignano (1690–1741) (see the respective entries in the lists of acquisitions by Hyacinthe Rigaud and Théodore Le Leu [Hans Posse's transcriptions] in the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden archive, Nachlass Posse, XVI, fol. 5r and fol. 6v; Spenlé 2008, 288, Appendix 2).

It is more than likely, however, that Maratta's painting is identical with that purchased by Francesco Algarotti in 1743 from the Meratti family home in Venice. In a number of places, Algarotti notes that he acquired three works by Maratta from Francesco Meratti's children for August III, elector of Saxony and king of Poland, including a Nativity scene. Such an identification is not only suggested by the description of the light emanating entirely from the Christ Child, but first and foremost by a comparison of Maratta's painting with Correggio's *Adoration of the Shepherds* as *"dans le gout de la nuit du Correge"* (Algarotti in a letter to Prime Minister Heinrich von Brühl dated 19 July, 1743; see Posse 1931, 47; *Dresden* 2000, 75).

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IV

ELOQUENCE, ILLUSION, SPLENDOUR

56 Domenico Fetti | Rome, ca. 1591 – Venice, 1623

Parable of the Sower

ca. 1619

Oil on panel; 62 × 44.5 cm
Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid, inv. 1979.62

The *Parable of the Sower* is a subject Domenico Fetti painted at least twice. Of the numerous existing versions, a panel at the picture gallery of Prague Castle is considered the first of the series, while there are various workshop or later copies, all of which listed by Safarik (1990, 77–84). The work exhibited here – also considered autograph – may have come from the Barberini collection in Rome.

The painting depicts the New Testament parable (Mt 13:24–30), but it is set during the daytime rather than at night, while the farmers stop to take a nap. Their enemy is identified as a diabolical creature, in keeping with the gospel (Mt 13:37–39). With respect to the Czech version of this subject, our painting presents slight differences in the pose of the devil sowing discord with his right hand – rather than his left – and the landscape, which opens up onto a lake.

The *Parables* series, which Fetti painted for Duke Ferdinando Gonzaga possibly between 1619 and 1621 (Safarik 1990, 71), has a particularly important place in his œuvre. In fact, it represents the largest ensemble of paintings by the artist, and perhaps also of his most widely replicated and copied inventions. Safarik counted thirteen different subjects, taken from the gospels of Luke and Matthew, although two works from the series are known only through copies (the *Parable of Lazarus and the Rich Man* and the *Parable of the Pearl*). All thirteen compositions are on panels of approximately the same size, 60 × 45 cm, with the exception of the *Parable of the Blind Leading the Blind* and the *Parable of the Good Samaritan* (Gemäldegalerie, Dresden; respectively 55 × 72 and 68 × 82.5 cm). An undated document attached to letters from 1613 refers to two of Fetti's *Parables* that were to adorn the fireplaces at the Palazzo Ducale (Safarik 1990, 332, doc. 14). The horizontal format of the two works mentioned above would have been ideal for this purpose, but on stylistic grounds they should be dated later.

All of these paintings were intended for a particularly significant location: the Grotto of Isabella d'Este in the Palazzo Ducale in Mantua, which the Ferrara-born marchioness set up at the turn of the sixteenth century. The Grotto originally vaunted masterpieces of ancient and modern art – including two marble *Cupids,* one by Michelangelo and the other attributed to Praxiteles – but in the seventeenth century it underwent radical "restoration". The furnishings and *boiserie* were brought from the Corte Vecchia to the Domus Nova of the Palazzo Ducale, where the Grotto was reassembled but with a different layout. Scholars continue to discuss the chronology of this move: it either took place during the years of Ferdinando Gonzaga's dukedom, around 1620 or by 1623, or under Carlo I Gonzaga-Nevers, following the sack of 1630 (for a summary of this issue: L'Occaso 2011, 328–29).

Consequently, we can theorize – essentially agreeing with Safarik – that the *Parables* were commissioned for the reassembly of the Grotto in its new location. The duke thus gave the Grotto a specific symbolic and moralizing meaning.

Nevertheless, the painting examined here may not have been made for the Grotto (where the Prague panel may have been located) and was documented in the Barberini collections as of 1648, albeit without any indication of its author. It then entered the Sciarra Colonna collection, where Morelli (1890, 305) saw it and ascribed it to Fetti working under Bartolomeo Schedoni's influence. The painting subsequently entered the Silvano Lodi collection in Campione d'Italia and was reported by Luigi Salerno (1977–1978, 166), who attributed it to Fetti. Since then, and following its transfer to the collection of Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza, who exhibited it at Daylesford House (Young 1983, 68), the autography of the panel has not been doubted.

Salerno noted a certain freedom in both composition and brushwork, but also gleaned ties with Roman realism and the Venetian-like style of Annibale Carracci. The subject indubitably evokes slightly earlier prints (Safarik 1990, 81) and Bassano's *Parables,* but from a formal standpoint we should not underestimate Fetti's debt to Flemish painters such as Pieter Lastman, Jacob and Jan Pynas, and Jan Tengnagel (Aikema 1997, 143).

STEFANO L'OCCASO

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57 NICOLAS RÉGNIER | Maubeuge, ca. 1588 – Venice, 1667

Saint Sebastian Tended by Irene and Her Servant

ca. 1630–1640

Oil on canvas; 170 × 220 cm

Hull Museums, Ferens Art Gallery, Kingston upon Hull, inv. 853.6

The sumptuous *Saint Sebastian Tended by Irene and Her Servant* from Kingston upon Hull is one of the masterpieces of Nicolas Régnier's Venetian period (1626–1667). It passed through the hands of important art lovers, among them, in all probability, Giovanni Andrea Lumaga, one of the most illustrious collectors in Venice and a contemporary of Régnier, Cardinal Fesch, in the mid-nineteenth century, and various British collectors, including E. W. Drury, who donated it to the Ferens Art Gallery in 1925. Nonetheless, this masterpiece has long remained unknown. It is, however, a milestone for understanding the evolution of the painter within the distinctive universe of the Serenissima. It is the outcome of the development of a theme begun by Régnier while in Rome, with the *Saint Sebastian Tended by Irene and Her Servant* now in Stanford and Rouen (Lemoine 2007, 230–31, cat. 27, 342–43, cat. 42), while also representing the beginning of a new period.

When the depiction of the episode of Saint Sebastian being tended by Irene, the widow of the martyr Castulus, after being shot with arrows was approved by the Council of Trent it became established as an example of active piety. In the seventeenth century the theme was inseparable from the idea of helping others. In his two paintings executed in Rome, Régnier demonstrated his ability to depict this particular narrative and its associated emotions by combining his study of a live model with references to ancient statuary frozen in symbolic gestures – *exempla doloris* that could communicate Sebastian's suffering. In Venice, however, Régnier no longer attempted to depict the intimacy of an act of mercy, despite retaining the same formula, and elected instead to focus on the celebration of pathos. Sebastian's body is arranged in dramatic fashion in the foreground: he lies on a large crimson drape in a voluptuous pose also inspired by ancient statuary, in particular the *Barberini Faun* and the *Dying Niobid*. His body is laid out on a powerful diagonal, his chest raised as if he was offering himself to the viewer as both an object of delectation and an *exemplum doloris*. His pose, which has the flowing lines of an arabesque, together with the use of a red cloth to set off the contours of his nude body, bring to mind the scheme devised by Rubens to depict the death of Adonis lamented by his beloved (*Adonis Mourned by Venus*, private collection, New York), and seen again in Ribera's *Venus and Adonis* (Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Palazzo Corsini, Rome) and Poussin's *Adonis Mourned by Venus* (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Caen). Nicolas Régnier here boldly employs the motif, not in a profane scene of the tragic death of a beloved, but in a religious painting of one of the first Christian martyrs.

The principal expedients in this new scenography inaugurated in Venice are the immense crimson cloth that provides a frame for the saint's nude body, the opening onto the distant landscape, the elegance of the women's dress, the sophisticated interplay of light and shadow that makes the movement of the light palpable and enhances the beauty of the rendering of the flesh, and the powerfully effective chromatic contrasts between the blood-red of the cloth, the pearly flesh of the saint, and the cooler, nuanced tones – mauve, grey and bronze green – of the wistful servant.

In this contrived decor, the patent exhibition of the saint's muscular body painted *dal naturale* contributes to the ambiguity of the image, in which death verges on eroticism and the beauty of the women's finery matches that of Sebastian's nudity. Régnier emphasises the saint's flesh damp with perspiration and draws our attention to certain carefully depicted details, such as his navel, a nipple and the deathly grey lips of a martyr: an unsettling fusion of suffering and ecstasy whose nature is not easy to identify.

How is it possible to ignore the equivocal, not to say deliberate, association of eroticism with the description of the martyr? This rhetorical blend of melodrama and sensuality calls to mind the œuvre of a Guido Cagnacci or of a Bernini. It must above all be considered as intrinsic to the culture of the Serenissima during the seicento, which was affected by the preferences of the famous Accademia degli Incogniti (1630–1661), unquestionably the most influential of Venice's literary circles. Ardent admirers of Ovid and Giovan Battista Marino, and impassioned by erotic poetry and heroic literature, the Incogniti – like Régnier and other painters close to them, such as Sebastiano Mazzoni, Piero della Vecchia and Francesco Ruschi – favoured tragic themes that united drama and eroticism, scholarship and the celebration of the senses, the macabre and the obscene.

ANNICK LEMOINE

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58 Bernardo Strozzi, called Il Prete Genovese | Genoa, 1581 – Venice, 1644

The Tribute Money

1630–1635

Oil on canvas; 158 × 225 cm
Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. 614

This picture, whose commissioner is not known, is perhaps identical to the painting described in Francesco Bartoli's travel guide (1793, 241) as being in the Silvestri collection in Rovigo, but when the *guida* was published it must already have been in Robert Udny's (1722–1802) collection in London, for it was there that Ch. H. Hodges made a mezzotint of it in 1787 (Pigler 1967). A considerable part of the Udny collection was auctioned at Christie's on 18–19 May 1804. The Strozzi picture was no. 62, and the catalogue gives this brief but accurate description: "the colouring brilliant, design fine, and strong Expression in the different Characters" (quoted in Vécsey 2012). The next documented location of *The Tribute Money* is in the London collection of Edmund Bourke, who had been the Danish ambassador to Madrid. In 1821 the work was acquired from Bourke's widow by Prince Nicholas Esterházy in Paris, and finally in 1870, when the prince's collection was purchased by the Hungarian state, it passed to the National Picture Gallery, the predecessor of the Szépművészeti Múzeum.

The subject is taken from the gospel of Saint Matthew (22:15–21). The Pharisees wanted to trick Jesus into criticizing the authorities and asked him: "is it lawful to give tribute unto Caesar, or not?", to which he replied: "Render … unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's; and unto God the things that are God's." Devotion to the church and loyalty to worldly authority ensured that the theme was always pertinent, so it is far from obvious why the depiction of the episode should have become widespread only from the sixteenth century (Facchin, in *Rome* 2009). Alongside Titian's versions with two main figures (1516, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen – Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden) and with three (1568, National Gallery, London), in the cinquecento a multi-figure composition also appeared. Examples of the latter include Rubens's *Tribute Money* painted in 1612 (Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco), which Strozzi certainly knew from Lucas Vorstermann's print of it, if not also from some other source. He may have borrowed the three-quarter-length horizontal format either from there or from the narrative compositions of the Venetian cinquecento, many of which portray the scene of Christ and the Adulteress, whose iconography is related. Although Rubens's role in the development of Strozzi's Baroque style is obvious, a comparison of the two compositions shows that the Italian painter did not follow the Flemish master in his decidedly satirical caricaturing of the Pharisees, derived from the Bruegelian tradition. Strozzi's villains are plebeians presented with lively realism, but they are not the embodiment of scheming and cunning. This idealizing transfiguration of naturalism is in line with the classical harmony of the composition, recalling the High Renaissance. In no way contradicting this, the spirited gestures and animated facial expressions carry enormous emotional charge, and the theatricality (in the best sense of the word) of the scene emphasizes the contrast between the wisdom and meekness of Jesus and the derisive curiosity and cunning of his enemies. The masterly manipulation of lighting, the contrasts of colour and chiaroscuro, and the brilliant brushwork lend the scene a captivating vitality. *The Tribute Money* alone would entitle us to place Strozzi among the greatest virtuosi and colourists of art history.

Seven replicas of the composition are known. Only if all eight versions could be viewed together could a clear idea be formed of how much the master contributed to each one, and how much the workshop. The indisputable high quality of the Budapest work leaves no doubt that it is entirely autograph. The same can be said of the variant in the Munich Alte Pinakothek, likewise copied several times. Unlike Rolf Kultzen (1986), Luisa Mortari (1995), Laura Facchin (in *Rome* 2009), and Camillo Manzitti (2012, 188, cat. 255), who consider the Munich painting later than the Budapest one, I concur with István Barkóczi, who places the present work chronologically after the Munich one (Barkóczi, in *Frankfurt* 1999). Indeed, the varied facial types in the Munich picture, the more complex composition, the darker hues and the more marked naturalism show it to be from Genoa, while the Budapest work is linked rather to the Venice period. That Strozzi painted the Budapest picture shortly before or after his arrival in Venice in 1633 has already been acknowledged in the literature. However, considering the relationship between the two versions of *The Tribute Money* it is highly likely that the more mature, purer composition shown here was executed a good few years later than the Alte Pinakothek painting.

VILMOS TÁTRAI

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59 GIOACCHINO ASSERETO | Genoa, 1600 – Genoa, 1650

Mocking of Job

ca. 1645–1650

Oil on canvas; 121.5 × 148.5 cm
Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. 783

Following the dispute between God and Satan on the profoundness of Job's religious sentiment, the man was tested to ascertain if his faith was authentic or if it was instead facilitated by his wealth and good fortune (Jb 18:13–22). In Assereto's depiction, Job – elderly and with a white beard – is seated on straw, covered only by a coarse cloth. Gazing towards heaven, he invokes God's merciful intervention as his wife insults him. Peering from behind him on the left are two demons.

As in the biblical text that inspired the painting, the story of Job – prefiguring the Passion and, particularly with regard to this scene, the mocking of Christ – shows great expressiveness. Its profound truth and topicality stems from the fact that it touches the eternal question of human suffering: the admonishment here is coherence in ideas and faith alike, perseverance and strength of mind in believing that virtue will ultimately be rewarded.

The canvas was acquired by the museum in 1871 and comes from the collection of Prince Nicholas Esterházy (1756–1833), who purchased paintings in Italy and obtained works – chiefly Spanish – from the Viennese Kaunitz collection (see Szigethi 1993). It entered Esterházy's collection in 1823, after his paintings were transferred to Vienna, to the palace formerly owned by the Kaunitz family in the Mariahilf district. Esterházy acquired it as a work by Murillo, which is how it is listed in the 1823 inventory (no. 1112; see Pigler 1967) and in Louis Viardot (1844). Mündler (1869) attributed it to "Miguel Martínez" but was probably thinking of Jusepe Martínez, a follower of Velázquez, under whose name the work appears in museum catalogues from 1881 on. In Spanish literature it continued to be attributed to Jusepe Martínez for many years, even after Roberto Longhi rightly ascribed it to Assereto (Longhi et al. 1926). Its Sevillian provenance, sustained by Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez (1965; 2002), is intriguing, as are the previous attributions to Murillo and Martínez. In fact, the biographer Raffaele Soprani (1674, 167–73) tells us that Assereto sent works to the Andalusian city, and the Sevillian provenance of his *Moses Drawing Water from the Rock,* now at the Museo Nacional del Prado (Zennaro 2011, I, 417–20, cat. A121, pl. LXXXV), has been documented; Murillo was inspired by the latter work for his painting of the same subject in the Hospital de la Caridad in Seville (Guerrero Lovillo 1950).

The numerous derivations on the part of pupils and imitators – I have identified at least five to date – demonstrate the great success of the Budapest canvas, which I think is from the last years of the artist's career, around 1645–1650 (Zennaro 2011). Here, as in other works from his final period, Assereto very effectively unites Caravaggesque naturalism, imbued with humanity, and vibrant pictorial rendering, moving towards the tenebrism that was later fully developed in Venice by another Genoese master, Giovan Battista Langetti. Although this painting is pictorially open to Baroque inspiration in the metamorphosis of substance, Mannerism's *horror vacui* prevails in its structure, which serves to underscore the sense of human suffering and hardship faced by Job. This aspect stems from Assereto's close youthful rapport with the painting of Giulio Cesare Procaccini and Cerano.

In his early period (1610s and 1620s), Assereto had the chance to see the works of Caravaggio and the Caravaggesques – notably Ribera – pertaining in particular to the collections of Giovan Carlo and Marcantonio Doria in Genoa, and thus well before the trip to Rome in 1639 cited by Soprani (1674, 170), to which scholarship has generally ascribed his knowledge of the master and his followers.

Ribera's influence on Assereto, already evident in youthful paintings such as *Saint Peter* at the Museo Lázaro Galdiano in Madrid (mid-1620s), continued in the 1640s, as is evident from the central scene of the salon in the Palazzo Ayrolo-Negrone in Genoa (*Marsyas Flayed by Apollo,* 1644), as well as in other canvases from this period – including the one examined here – in the truthful naturalism of the face and body of Job, his elderly wife and the old woman next to her. In this phase Assereto's works also show strong affinities with those of the Utrecht Caravaggist painter Matthias Stom (Zennaro 2011, I, 64–65) and of Velázquez, documented as passing through Genoa in 1629 and 1649, during his two trips to Italy.

Based on current knowledge there is no sure evidence that Assereto actually met Velázquez or saw his works. Nevertheless, there is a common sentiment – and this did not escape Longhi (1926–1927, 374, 376) – tying his humanity with the figures of the Spanish master. It was this aura of human truth, the ability to probe the "natural", that made Assereto popular among Sevillian patrons and a number of coeval Spanish artists even at a relatively early stage (1630s), as is emerging from my current studies.

TIZIANA ZENNARO

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60 GIULIO CESARE PROCACCINI | Bologna, 1574 – Milan, 1625

Holy Family

ca. 1618–1620

Oil on panel; 145 × 92.6 cm
Statens Museums for Kunst, Copenhagen, inv. 7319

At the edge of a brook, the Virgin leans gently towards her son to prop him up, as Joseph, behind them, observes his family. As the saviour of humanity and new Adam, Jesus is clutching an apple, whereas Mary is holding a nosegay with lilies, the symbol of purity.

The Copenhagen museum purchased this work on the antiquarian market in London in 1986 (around 1950 it was with the art dealer Julius Weitzner in London, and later in a private collection in Switzerland, see P. Matthiesen, in *London* 1985, 73; Francesco Frangi has kindly informed me about an old photograph of the painting, which bears the annotation "Coll. Duke of Abercorn"). Its author, Giulio Cesare Procaccini, was one of the most important artists active in Milan between the late 1500s and the early decades of the following century, and along with Cerano, Morazzone and the younger Daniele Crespi, he helped renew the Milanese school of painting during the episcopate of Federico Borromeo.

The panel may have been owned by the Genoese Giovan Carlo Doria (Brigstocke 1989), Procaccini's biggest patron and collector, but based on more certain documentation we know it was in Genoa at the Palazzo Carrega in 1761, when Jean-Honoré Fragonard, travelling in Italy with the abbot of Saint-Non, sketched it and noted that it was located in this palace (Saint-Non [1759–1761] 2000; two paintings, both portraying a *Holy Family* by Procaccini, are listed in the 1828 inventory of Giovanni Battista Carrega, see P. Matthiesen, in *London* 1985, 74). Fragonard's drawing, now at the British Museum in London, depicts a work with exactly the same composition as the panel discussed here, the sole difference being the presence of a donkey on the right, thus transforming the scene from a *Holy Family* into a *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*. Nevertheless, it is more than likely that the work can be identified as the panel now in Copenhagen, also because we know that the French master often made slight changes in the paintings he copied (P. Rosenberg, in Saint-Non [1759–1761] 2000, 28–29). The decision to copy this composition must have been due to the appreciation of the abbot of Saint-Non and Fragonard for the style of Procaccini who, in the tender embrace between mother and son but also in the refined execution evident in the soft rendering of the Virgin's auburn locks, proves to be the intelligent interpreter of the lesson of Correggio and Parmigianino. Even during his lifetime Procaccini was viewed as the heir of the great tradition of the two Emilian artists, which he rapidly updated following the spatial innovations and powerful emotional impact of the works Peter Paul Rubens left in Genoa.

As far as the dating of the *Holy Family* is concerned, Hugh Brigstocke (cited by P. Matthiesen, in *London* 1985, 73) proposed that it was painted late in the artist's career, around 1620–1625, comparing it with the *Apotheosis of Saint Charles Borromeo* at the Pinacoteca di Brera in Milan, the *Holy Family* in Kansas City (Nelson-Atkins Museum) and, more recently (H. Brigstocke, in *New York* 2002, 52–53), the *Madonna and Child with Saints Francis and Charles* in the church of Santa Maria di Carignano in Genoa. According to Olaf Koester (1987, 132, 134), however, the execution of the panel should instead be shifted to 1613–1615, as its brilliant brushwork links it with the *Holy Family with Saint Anne and the Young Saint John* at the Neues Schloss in Schleißheim (collections of the Alte Pinakothek in Munich).

From a compositional standpoint, the Copenhagen work evokes other variations on this theme that Procaccini painted around the 1620s, and particularly those in the Royal Collection in London (Shearman 1983, 204–5, no. 212, fig. 182) and at the Gemäldegalerie in Dresden (A. Henning, in Marx ed. 2006–2007, I, 178). In these works – as is the case here as well – the figures occupy a compressed space and emerge from the darkness with great plastic force. (Tellingly, Procaccini started his career as a sculptor, continuing to cultivate this art even after he turned mainly to painting, see Berra 1991.) While both of the latter paintings show close stylistic parallels with *Constantine Receives the Instruments of the Passion* at the Castello Sforzesco in Milan, dated 1620 and distinguished by the stiffer forms typical of the master's final works, the fluid and vibrant brushwork of the faces of Saint Joseph and the Virgin – with their soft, delicate features – instead points to a slightly earlier date for this *Holy Family*, around 1618–1620.

ODETTE D'ALBO

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61 Daniele Crespi | Busto Arsizio or Milan, ca. 1598 – Milan, 1630

The Entombment of Christ

1626

Oil on canvas; 122.5 × 98.5 cm
Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. 539

At the beginning of the nineteenth century this painting was the property of the engraver Giuseppe Longhi (1766–1831), in Milan, the main centre of Crespi's activity. Longhi, exercising his craft, made an engraving of it with the inscription "Da Quadro di Daniele Crespi Milanese / dipinto nel 1626, esistente presso l'Incisore" ("After the picture painted by the Milanese Daniele Crespi in 1626, which the engraver owns"). There is no serious reason to doubt Longhi's date of 1626 for the painting and no arguments on stylistic grounds can be levelled against it. The engraving is an important document in another respect too: it shows that at a later date a few centimetres were cut off the right side of the picture. This probably happened after the picture entered the Esterházy collection, where, curiously, Daniele Crespi's authorship was forgotten. In the 1820 inventory of the collection the work was attributed to Mattia Preti, also known as Il Cavaliere Calabrese (Fischer–Rothmüller 1820, 234, no. 925).

True to the biblical text, Christ's entombment takes place at night. The figures hold up the corpse over a sarcophagus, but behind the group (and clearly visible in the engraving) is the "tomb hewn out in the rock" of the gospels. The moon just appearing through the clouds illuminates the figures for a moment; the natural setting and the sacred act are melded into a cosmic unity. The undulating interplay of the light and shade, now highlighting now concealing, continually deflects the viewer's gaze; the ellipse formed by the heads, the arch of the corpse and the diagonal positioning of the sarcophagus give rise to a powerful dynamic energy. Two figures, the woman supporting the Virgin and the apostle John, his face buried in his hands, can hardly be seen; there is only the merest hint of their presence in the gloom. The *chiaroscuro,* the shocking naturalistic effect and the dynamism of the composition culminate in the depiction of the body of Christ: his head drops to one side, one hand falls onto his lap. The anatomical details clearly visible in the bright light remind us with elegiac sorrow of one who suffered and died in suffering. From close up the parallel ridges of the brushstrokes are visible, a painterly microstructure that becomes a crucial formal element in the overall effect. The striking profile of the man holding the jar of ointment suits the basic sombre mood of the Passion theme. Is this Nicodemus? Or is he the figure with the light shining on his skull who holds the legs of the corpse – it is difficult to say. This is one of those questions about the basic themes of Christian iconography which continue to surprise scholars.

The *Entombment* is one of the paintings which clearly shows Daniele Crespi's conscious distancing himself from the expressive Late Mannerism of the trio of Lombard painters – Giovanni Battista Crespi (Il Cerano), Morazzone, and Procaccini. It is well known that it was Daniele Crespi who steered art to the Baroque style in Lombardy, in accordance with the rules for religious art set out in the tract *De pictura sacra* published in 1624 by Cardinal Federico Borromeo: a content-based sacred art, generating devotion. The novelty of the painting's clear, concentrated narrative can be easily understood if we recall, for example, two earlier compositions on the subject, both executed with true artistic greatness and authenticity. Firstly the large-scale altarpiece painted by Il Cerano for San Lorenzo dei Cappuccini in Novara (signed 1610), now in the Museo Civico in Novara, with its angular, geometric forms and finely chosen bright colours applied in broad fields; and secondly Giulio Cesare Procaccini's work, dated by Viktoria E. Markova to around 1615 (Markova 2002, 251–53, cat. 221), in which the movement of the huge figures crowded into the narrow space creates an unbearable tension. Writing on aspects such as the emotional overtones of the Budapest picture, Andrea Spiriti (2006) plausibly suggests the influence of Spanish mystical literature. Regarding the artistic idiom, one can just as convincingly refer to the presence of the Emilian stylistic element, evident here too. The names most often linked in the literature with this influence are those of Lanfranco, Tiarini, and Guercino. But in the case of the *Entombment,* one might well have the impression that Daniele Crespi turned for inspiration to the earliest possible model: Correggio himself. The forms, colours, contours, naturalistic details, light and shade are all subsumed in the current of emotionally charged circular movement, which defines the composition of many of Correggio's mature works.

Among Crespi's drawings two studies can be found on this subject, one in the Musée du Louvre in Paris (V. Orlandi Balzari, in *Busto Arsizio* 2006, 282–83, cat. 48) and the other in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan (Á. Szigethi, in *Milan* 1993, 76). However, both of them show too many discrepancies to be confidently considered as preparatory drawings for the Budapest painting.

VILMOS TÁTRAI

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62 Francesco Cairo | Milan, 1607 – Milan, 1665

Herodias with the Head of Saint John the Baptist

ca. 1635

Oil on canvas; 114 × 94 cm

Pinacoteca di Vicenza, Musei Civici, Vicenza, inv. A-206

The canvas entered the Vicenza gallery in 1834 under the name of the Bolognese Lorenzo Garbieri, and was displayed with this attribution at the major exhibition of 1922 at the Palazzo Pitti in Florence, devoted to seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Italian painting (Tarchiani, in *Florence* 1922a). At the time, the painting attracted the attention of Roberto Longhi, who compared it with Cairo's painting of the same subject at the Pinacoteca Sabauda in Turin and recognized the hand of the seventeenth-century Milanese painter in the Vicenza work as well. The attribution to Cairo was immediately entered in the second edition of the 1922 exhibition catalogue (Tarchiani, in *Florence* 1922b) and accepted by all later scholarship. In turn, the painting was acknowledged as one of the best inventions of the artist's early years, still marked chiefly by the expressive tension of the Lombard figurative culture of the turn of the century, and particularly of the models of Cerano and Morazzone.

The leading character in the scene is Herodias, the wife of Herod Philip I, who then married his brother, Herod Antipas. As recounted in the gospels of Matthew (13:1–12) and Mark (6:14–28), the woman played a key role in the death of John the Baptist, as it was she who instructed her daughter Salome to ask Herod Antipas for the saint's head as a reward for her celebrated dance. This explains why, following his execution, Salome presented the platter with John's head to her mother.

While the image of Salome alone with John's head is quite common in Renaissance painting, the portrayal of Herodias in the same scenario is far rarer. Nevertheless, the theme was one of Cairo's favourites and in his early years he replicated it at least four times, as documented not only by the canvas shown here, datable around 1635 (Frangi 1998), but also the varied versions of the subject at the Metropolitan Museum in New York (ca. 1633), the Galleria Sabauda in Turin (1633–1635) and the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (ca. 1635).

As is the case in the other versions, in the Vicenza canvas the painter offers a very singular interpretation of the scene, characterized by the portrayal of Herodias swooning. Her hand is outstretched towards the saint's severed head, which is in turn distinguished by the surprising motif of his tongue pierced by a needle, a detail also present in the Turin version. The conception of this disturbing image, which does not seem to have any precedents in the representation of the subject (Merkel 1990, 186–88), is based on two different literary sources. The first is the thirteenth-century *Legenda Aurea* by Jacobus de Varagine, relaying a tradition according to which, as Herodias abused the head of John the Baptist, she was overcome by mortal fumes emanating from the saint's mouth. While this indication may help explain Herodias' pose and the gesture of her hand, the detail of the needle thrust into the saint's tongue can instead be traced to an even older source, Saint Jerome's *Apologia adversus Rufinum*. Among the examples of foolhardy revenge, the text cites the behaviour of Herodias, who, unable to counter the awkward truth coming from John's mouth, pierced his tongue with a needle after he was martyred, a gesture obviously linked with the words the saint had uttered against her marriage to Herod Antipas.

It is important to note that the choice of these rare iconographic motifs perfectly reflects the gloomy imagery of Cairo's early works, which interpret the dramatic exaggeration of previous Milanese painting during Federico Borromeo's tenure as archbishop in an original way, striving to focus on individual dramas and explore extreme states of consciousness. All of these qualities are spectacularly confirmed in the closely timed and impressive sequence of works devoted to Herodias' experience. Equally significant in these canvases is Cairo's attention to the new conception of the gallery painting *(quadro da stanza)* developed by Caravaggio's followers. This aspect is revealed in particular by the powerful naturalism and attention to chiaroscuro that dignify the work discussed here.

FRANCESCO FRANGI

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63 Francesco Furini | Florence, 1603 – Florence, 1646

Venus Mourning the Death of Adonis

ca. 1626–1628

Oil on canvas; 233 × 190 cm
Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. 493

This work, painted for the little-known Florentine merchant Giovambattista Baccelli, was considered by the biographer Filippo Baldinucci to mark the starting point of Furini's early career, and is essential for assessing the œuvre of this fascinating personality of the Florentine seicento.

The modern appraisal of the painting began in the twentieth century, initially in the museum's own catalogues, then in the specific studies on Furini, beginning with Elena Toesca's short monograph (1950), followed by the writings of Cantelli, McCorquodale and Barsanti in the 1970s.

Based in part on Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (X, 708–39), this masterpiece is one of the works that translated into visual terms Giovan Battista Marino's poem "L'Adone" ("Adonis") (II, 18; III, 154–61), and was painted very soon after the poem's publication in Paris in 1623 (for an overview of the literary sources, see Maffeis, in *Florence* 2007).

A resident of Rome in the early 1620s (1619–1624), living a life of destitution with his fellow painter Giovanni Mannozzi, Furini had an exceptional *cursus studiorum* in comparison to other Florentine artists of his day. On the one hand, he was clearly attracted by the sensual rendering of textiles which characterized the local seicento school of Bilivert and Rosselli, artists who depended on the colourful palette of Cigoli, and by the *sfumato* treatment of flesh in the spirit of the legacy of Leonardo da Vinci. On the other hand, Furini's style was also shaped by his apprenticeship with the Roman artist Bartolomeo Manfredi, a close follower of Caravaggio, and his unquenchable passion for classical sculpture, for which Rome (and, to a lesser degree, Florence) was the primary source. This Roman element of the Florentine artist's education is attested by an anonymous biographer of Furini, who was most likely his student Domenico Peruzzi (Barsanti 1974a). The insights provided by Anna Barsanti (1974b) have indeed opened new ways of critical interpretation. As regards the Budapest composition, Furini is indebted in equal measure to the *Allegory of the River Nile* (this complex sculptural composition was possibly the source for the boy in the lower foreground extinguishing a torch in water), the *Laocoön* in the Vatican Museums (for Venus' raised left arm and expression of sorrow), and the *Menelaus and Patroclus* in the Medici collection (Loggia de' Lanzi, Florence). The latter group is a reference for the dead body of Adonis supported by a nymph.

Maffeis (in *Florence* 2007) has pointed out other sources for Furini's Budapest composition, particularly for the right-hand side of the canvas: the dead body of Adonis transported by the nymphs quotes, in reverse, such illustrious precedents as the *Deposition of Christ* by Raphael (Galleria Borghese, Rome) and Caravaggio (Pinacoteca Vaticana). In fact, in this spectacular painting Furini shows both his Florentine side – manifest in the theatricality of the scene and the rich, lavishly coloured paraphernalia – and his Roman side – the young explorer fascinated by the Roman world in all its different styles and periods.

The *Venus Mourning the Death of Adonis* is a progressive picture, which reflects the various facets of the somewhat diluted naturalistic tendency in the 1610s and 1620s and particularly the world of the Utrecht followers of Caravaggio. Among the latter are David De Haan (*Entombment,* formerly in Berlin; the figure of Christ is comparable to that of Adonis, and the position of Christ's legs is adapted for Venus' pose), Dirck van Baburen (the figure of Malchus in *The Arrest of Christ,* Fondazione Longhi, Florence, and Prometheus in *Prometheus Chained to the Rock,* Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1623, are both very close to Furini's *Adonis;* similarly, the Virgin in the *Entombment* in San Pietro in Montorio, Rome, 1617, and the *Procuress* in the Residenz, Würzburg, 1623, are both comparable with Furini`s *Venus*), Jan van Bijlert, and the Antwerp painter Theodoor Rombouts (the figure of Furini's *Venus,* reversed, is akin to the figure of Taste in *The Five Senses,* Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Ghent).

It is also important to remember the documented acquaintance of Furini and Orazio Riminaldi, another Tuscan artist, and Furini's neighbour in Rome, who shared his interest in the Caravaggesque milieu (Manfredi, Vouet) and in classical sculpture. The poses of Venus and Adonis can be compared to those in Riminaldi's *Moses and the Bronze Serpent* (Cathedral, Pisa, 1623–1625). Furthermore, the figure in the foreground of Riminaldi's *Martyrdom of Saint Catherine of Alexandria* in Assisi has the same dramatic expression as Furini's Venus, both are derived from the Vatican *Laocoön.*

ROBERTO CONTINI

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64 Carlo Dolci | Florence, 1616 – Florence, 1687

Guardian Angel Tutoring the Christian Child

1630s

Oil on canvas; 86 × 65 cm

Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. 494

Dolci entered the workshop of Jacopo Vignali at the age of nine. A documented portrait painted when he was fifteen, and another he painted at the age of sixteen demonstrate that even as a child he had mastered the craft of painting. In 1642, at the age of twenty-six, when he signed the *Virgin with Lilies* (Musée Fabre, Montpellier, see Baldassari 1995, 70–71, cat. 34) his style had matured, and he had found the voice which would characterize his works throughout his life. The main recognizable traits are immaculate pure forms, painstaking execution, glazed surfaces, brilliant colours, and, in terms of content, an unmistakable expression of devotion, faith, and piety. The Medici family and other sophisticated aristocratic collectors greatly appreciated Dolci's works, which aimed at perfection. The refined, polished surfaces give an effect reminiscent of ornamentation or goldsmith work, or of ivory carving, rather than any kind of realism. There is a striking similarity with the splendid semi-precious stone inlays *(pietre dure),* which were produced in large quantities in Florence.

The art of Dolci is unlike any of the three main trends in seventeenth-century Italian painting: Bolognese classicism, Caravaggism, and the High Baroque. His extreme refinement of execution (so at variance with the requirement of moderation) sets him apart from the classicizing trend, as do the small number of his narrative works (which present the artist with an opportunity to harmonize poses and gestures rhetorically). Alien to Caravaggism is his pronounced penchant for idealizing and beautifying. Finally, most of his works, made for private devotion and requiring close viewing, are intimate even in their opulence, and thus far from the triumphant tone of the High Baroque, with its dramatic contrasts, its grand, intricate polyphony and dynamic sweep.

According to his biographer and friend Filippo Baldinucci ([1681–1728] 1845–1847, V [1846], 358), Dolci suffered a grave psychological crisis in 1682 with the arrival in Florence of Luca Giordano, one of the great masters of the Baroque. The purity of Dolci's forms and expression links him most closely to the Roman painter Sassoferrato, who was likewise somewhat isolated in his own milieu. But Dolci was at heart a Florentine painter through and through: the precise definition of plastic form was as dear to him as it had been to the Mannerist Bronzino, but he also made the city's fifteenth-century tradition his own. On the occasion of his admission to the *Accademia del Disegno* he painted a portrait of Fra Angelico. He viewed the painter monk as his predecessor, both as master of the purified form and as the interpreter of unconditional faith. Indeed, Dolci's faith should be considered no less sincere than Fra Angelico's. That the modern viewer senses greater conviction behind the earlier master's beliefs is due to many different factors, but in particular to the struggle between the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation, perhaps the gravest conflict in the history of Christianity, which had as a consequence the emphasis on didactic propaganda even in the expression of the deepest faith, and such was Dolci's.

The picture exhibited here is one of Dolci's many half-length compositions. The title *Guardian Angel,* used until now, is not an entirely accurate description of the subject. In the seventeenth century, the iconography of the guardian angel is generally close to the depiction of Tobias and the angel. A work by Dolci of around 1645 in the Lord Methuen collection in Corsham Court is an example of this commonly found type: the angel on the road gently leads the child, the embodiment of the Christian soul, while indicating heaven with his right hand (Baldassari 1995, 88–89, cat. 55). Here, however, the angel holds a Bible and with his right hand points to a line therein. The child, his hands clasped together in prayer, looks not at the book, but at the angel, showing with his rapt expression that he has understood the message of the Scriptures. The title *Guardian Angel Tutoring the Christian Child* thus seems more appropriate than the one previously used.

Dolci's monographer Francesca Baldassari (1995) dates the picture to 1631–1632, whereas Carlo del Bravo (1963) and Charles McCorquodale (in *Florence* 1986a) believed it to be about a decade later. The dating is uncertain because only two securely dated works prior to the *Virgin with Lilies* of 1642 are known: the *Portrait of a Youth* in the Pitti Gallery (1631, Baldassari 1995, 34–37, cat. 4) and the *Portrait of Ainolfo de' Bardi* (1632, Baldassari 1995, 37, cat. 5) in the Uffizi in Florence. To compare a religious painting with portraits is a dubious undertaking, so all that can be stated with certainty is that there is more of the naturalness traceable to Dolci's master Vignali in the modelling of the faces, hands and clothes in the Budapest picture than in the *Virgin with Lilies*.

VILMOS TÁTRAI

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Not exhibited.



65 ONORIO MARINARI | Florence, 1627 – Florence, 1716

Judith with the Head of Holofernes

ca. 1680

Oil on canvas; 72 × 57 cm
Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. 480

This canvas, which entered the Budapest museum from the Esterházy collection in 1871, was first published by Gábor Térey in 1916; the museum also owns its pendant, which is exactly the same size, portraying *Salome with the Head of John the Baptist* (inv. 481). Having been listed among Marinari's works in the first edition of the dictionary overseen by Emmanuel Bénézit (1919), the painting was mentioned briefly several times by Quintavalle (1939), Castelnovi (1958) and Olsen (1961 and 1966). It was catalogued by Andor Pigler in 1954 and 1967, and published by Anna Matteoli in 1971 in her notes to the partial edition of the previously unpublished *Vita di Onorio Marinari fiorentino, pittore* by the Florentine painter Giovanni Camillo Sagrestani. The painting is also mentioned in Silvia Meloni Trkulja's entry in the Bolaffi dictionary (1975) and catalogued in the present writer's monograph of the Florentine artist (2011).

With regard to the provenance of the painting discussed here, it is worth noting that Marinari's two canvases depicting Judith, from the Bartolini Salimbeni and Uguccioni collections, were displayed in 1737 in the courtyard of the basilica of Santissima Annunziata in Florence (Borroni Salvadori 1974, 101). Furthermore, a painting by Marinari with this subject was auctioned by Christie's in London on 4 April 1840, along with its pendant, *Salome with the Head of John the Baptist* (lot nos. 18–19).

As I have already stated elsewhere (Benassai 2011), I agree with Paola Bruscoli's proposal (in *Florence* 1986a) that both this canvas and the *Salome* are datable between the late 1670s and the early 1680s, as it marks a perceptive continuation of the style of Carlo Dolci, Marinari's teacher and cousin, but interpreted in a luminist vein reminiscent of Pietro da Cortona.

The canvas and its pendant raised the attention of Roberto Longhi, who in the short handwritten entries based on his notes taken during his European tour of the 1920s described it in these terms: "It is like a Dolci that is a little less highly finished, with more rippling folds because of the Cortonesque influence. Herodias – the pendant – is the same" (Archivio della Fondazione di Studi di Storia dell'Arte Roberto Longhi, Florence, "Marinari" entry, unnumbered papers).

The biblical heroine, one of the favourite themes of Florentine Baroque painting, is portrayed here almost in profile. In her right hand she is holding the sword with which she has just severed Holofernes' head, which swings hideously from her left hand. There is no expression of horror on Judith's face, which is quite similar to that of the *Female Martyr Saint* at the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art in Sarasota (inv. SN129), but, rather, the hint of a smile, giving the scene a peaceful and relaxed air. The famous biblical episode, captured by the painter in the dramatic moment just after Judith killed the general sent by Nebuchadnezzar to lay siege to Bethulia, is described in the verses of the Old Testament: "Her sandals ravished his eyes, her beauty made his soul captive, with a sword she cut off his head" (Jdt 16:9).

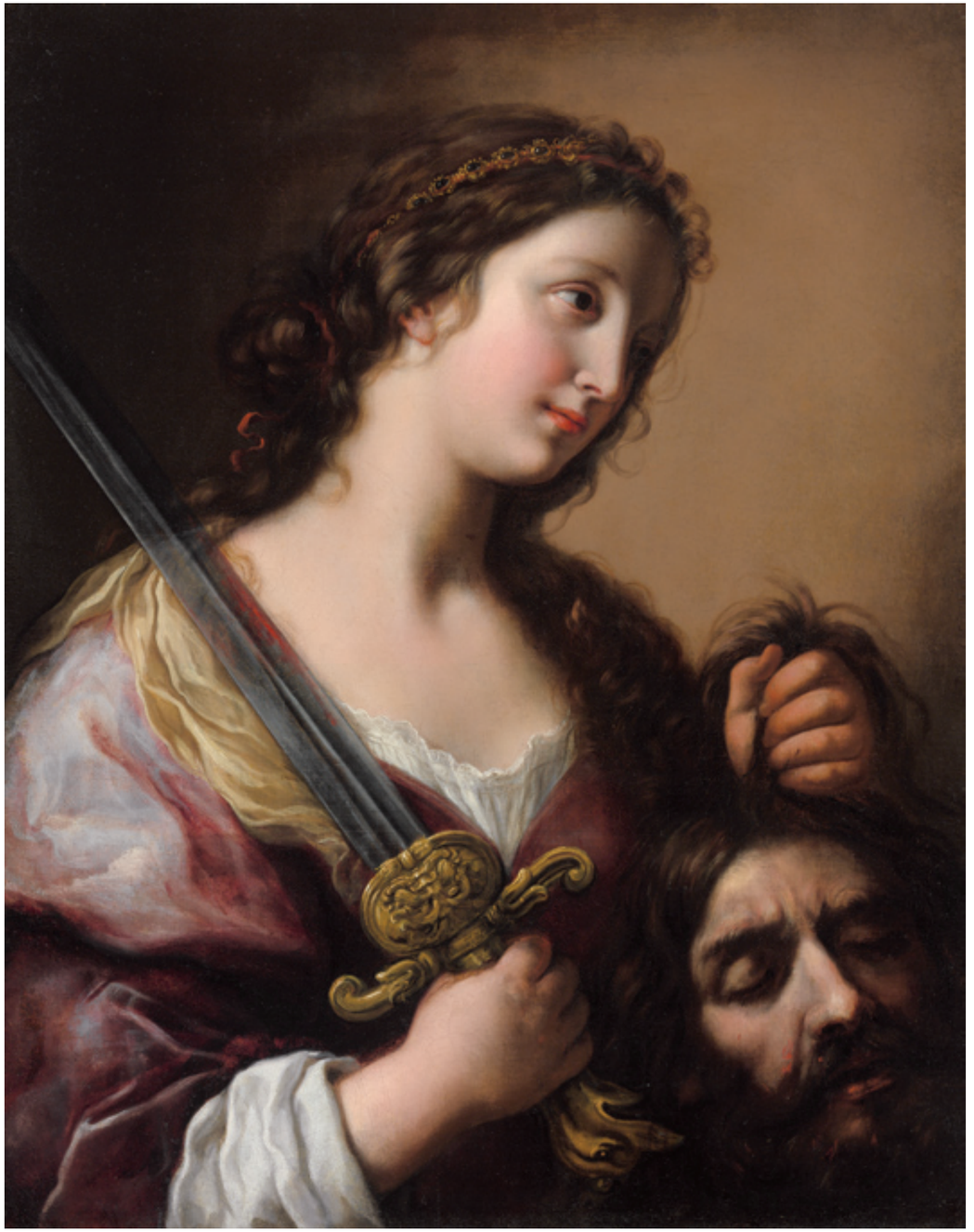
There are evident parallels between *Judith* and its pendant, *Salome*. Both women, who emerge from similar dark grounds, are inspired by Dolci's language, but as Sandro Bellesi observed (1996), they share suggestions derived from the work of Francesco Furini, which can be noted in the chiaroscuro intensity that models their forms and delineates their complexions. It is also possible that Marinari considered the example of the famous canvas with the same subject that Artemisia Gentileschi painted for Grand Duke Cosimo II de' Medici at the turn of the century (Galleria Palatina, Florence, inv. 1912 no. 398). The utter lack of pathos, despite the terrible dramatic power of the subject, is a key element of this painting, one of the most compelling examples of the artist's maturity, and from a stylistic standpoint, it can be compared with the noteworthy *Christ Meets the Samaritan Woman* at the Palazzo Vescovile in Arezzo (see Casciu 1994).

SILVIA BENASSAI

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Not exhibited.



66 PIER FRANCESCO MOLA | Coldrerio, 1612 – Rome, 1666

Allegory of the Phlegmatic Temperament

ca. 1650

Oil on canvas; 76 × 114 cm
Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice, inv. 1155

This mysterious painting was painted soon after 1647 when Mola came under the influence of Mattia Preti, following his return to Rome after several years in northern Italy. As the chronology of Mola's paintings remains unclear, an alternative proposal of a slightly earlier date and execution in Venice should also be considered (Schleier 1989). The foreground is dominated by the massive figure of a turbaned Turk who has fallen asleep on the steps of a classical marble fountain. Although his strong face and handsome robes are fully illumined, the darkened trees in the distance and the deep shadows on all sides suggest that the scene takes place under the light of a brightly shining moon. Dimly glimpsed on the ledge next to the Turk's shoulder is another incongruous visitor, a tortoise, whose presence provides the key to the painting's subject.

It was a Hungarian scholar, Andor Pigler, who recognized the painting's subject as an *Allegory of the Phlegmatic Temperament*. Pigler demonstrated that Mola had derived his iconography from the *Iconologia* by Cesare Ripa, the famous illustrated emblem book that was reprinted many times, including in Padua in 1630, and Venice in 1645 (Pigler 1939).

The ancient medical theory of the four temperaments, first formulated by the Greek physician Hippocrates (460–370 BC), survived unchallenged, and indeed significantly developed by astrology, through the Renaissance and into the modern era of the seventeenth century. It was the belief that human typology and personality were dependent upon four main fluids, or humours, flowing through the body. The four humours – blood, choler, phlegm and melancholy – are related to Aristotle's four basic elements of life: air, fire, water, and earth, which need to be in balance to prevent illness. Ripa cites the thirteenth-century *Regimen Sanitatis Salernitanum* of the medieval medical school of Salerno as the basis of his knowledge of the four human "complexions", i.e. temperaments. His description, accompanied by a simple woodcut, of the "FLEMMATICO PER L'ACQUA", differs in many particulars from Mola's painting, but several significant correspondences allowed Pigler to recognize the allegory.

"A man of heavy body, and white colour, who sits dressed in a badger skin, holding both arms on his chest, and his head inclined, wrapped in a black cloth that covers him almost to the eyes, and next to him there is a turtle … He is dressed in a badger fur, since this animal is sleepy and lazy, so it is with the phlegmatic man, who has little spirit, and those are oppressed by a great coldness, which in him predominates, so that it happens that he gives little effort to studies, having an obtuse and sleeping intellect … He's represented with the head inclined, because he is negligent, delaying in the operations of the intellect, as in all the others of the body, similarly to the turtle, which is beside him, and that which was optimally described by the Salernitan school in the verses that follow …" (Ripa 1645, 96–97).

Like most artists, Mola ignored Ripa's peculiar prescriptions for the personification, while respecting the author's research. The most notable correlations between the *Iconologia* and the painting are the man's hat that descends to his eyes, tilted head, arms folded on the chest, the turtle, and the element of water (Acqua). The fur trim on the Turk's sleeve appears to be the grayish badger fur recommended by Ripa.

The question remains open as to why Mola elected to represent an allegory of the phlegmatic temperament in the guise of a powerful Turk in the prime of his life. Ripa's woodcut, although varying slightly in the different editions, does not portray the figure as turbaned or specifically Turkish. His loose clothes are only vaguely oriental in character, at most. Given the centuries-old belligerence between the Ottoman empire and the countries of Western Europe – which, at this time, ca. 1650, was about to be re-engaged in deadly earnest, it is difficult to explain why Mola portrayed this dangerous adversary as a soundly sleeping man with a surplus of water-as-phlegm in his veins (symbolized by the fountain), who slumbers under the spell of the phlegmatic and damp humors that the moon increases – at least until the sun dries them up. It has not been possible to identify Mola's source for this portrayal. By the early nineteenth century, however, the concept of "phlegmatic Turk" had become a cliché in travel guides and diaries. A typical passage can be quoted from Josiah Condor's *The Modern Traveller: Turkey*, who writes of the Turk's "phlegmatic temperament, which generally disposes him to quiescence and indolence … but when provoked, he is infuriated" (1827, 211). One wonders whether this truism was already current in Mola's time, in which case, the political message of his painting would be that the Turk, though prone to idleness, might awake to action when the night changes into day.

JOHN T. SPIKE

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67 PIETRO BERRETTINI, CALLED PIETRO DA CORTONA | Cortona, 1597 – Rome, 1669

Guardian Angel

1656

Oil on canvas; 225 × 143 cm
Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica in Palazzo Barberini, Rome, inv. 1753

The painting is cited in the biography by Lione Pascoli (1730) along with a *Saint Michael the Archangel* as a gift from the painter to Pope Alexander VII (born Fabio Chigi) to thank him for bestowing him with the title of Knight of the Golden Spur in 1656. This information, also reported by Narciso Fabbrini (1896), was contradicted to a certain extent by documents Leandro Ozzòla published in 1908, according to which in July 1656 Cortona received 500 *scudi* from the pope in payment for two paintings. This means it was a regular commission and not a gift. That it refers to the two paintings in question can be gleaned from the fact that the documentary notes drawn up a short time earlier – on 16 March of that year – cite the payment to Antonio Moretto, "palace jeweller" ("gioielliere di palazzo") for the "cost and manufacture of a gold necklace with an attached small crucifix given by him [Moretto] to serve His Lordship and bestowed to Pietro Berrettino da Cortona, painter, created knight by His Holiness" ("per prezzo e fattura di una collana d'oro con una crocetta allacciata data da esso per servizio di N.S. e donata a Pietro Berrettino da Cortona, pittore, creato da Sua Beatitudine Cavaliere"), clearly correlating the information regarding the appointment and the works confirming it in a certain way. Today there is no trace of the *Archangel Michael*, which was in the Vatican in 1671 (*Relation du Voyage* 1865). However, the *Guardian Angel* has remained at the Chigi residence; in 1692 it was loaned for the annual exhibition held in the cloister of San Salvatore in Lauro (De Marchi 1987).

Purchased by the Italian government in 1918, following a misunderstanding ascribing it to the Viterbo artist Giovan Francesco Romanelli, it was sent to the Museo Civico in Viterbo, where it was cited by Augusto Gargana (1927), Stephanie von Below (1932) and Ellis K. Waterhouse (1937). It was not until later, when the canvas was sent to Rome during World War II, that it was ascribed to Pietro da Cortona and allocated to the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica. It was restored in 1956 and then shown at the exhibition celebrating the master that year, when it was confirmed as Pietro's work, an attribution then backed up by Giuliano Briganti.

A *bozzetto,* or oil sketch, for the composition was mentioned in the collection of Carlo Moretto in 1704, during one of the periodic exhibitions at San Salvatore in Lauro, when it was described as the "concept and sketch of the Guardian Angel by the late Pietro da Cortona, the larger one of which is now owned by Signor Don De Agostino [Chigi]" (De Marchi 1987, "pensiero e sbozzetto dell'Angelo Custode, fatto dal quondam S.r Pietro da Cortona, che hora il grande è posseduto dal S.r D.Agostino").

The painting takes up an iconography that Domenichino had already tackled in 1615 (Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples). A comparison of the two versions gives us an idea of the gap between the two artists in Cortona's late phase. Domenichino's work – static and erudite – portrays the angel frontally as, with his shield, he protects the Child from the devil, depicted on the right; on the opposite side is an ancient altar, probably a reference to paganism. In Cortona's work, however, every aspect is fluid and mobile, starting with the twisting diagonal line delineating two figures, with the angel gripping the Child by his wrist. Behind them – and barely visible – we can glean another angel accompanying and guiding a man, confirming that he will be his lifelong guardian and companion.

Cortona's intriguing innovation was enthusiastically embraced by younger painters, starting with Giovanni Battista Gaulli, who – as noted by Maria Vittoria Brugnoli (1956) – took it up in two works now in private Roman and Genoese collections, and further accentuating the vibrancy of Cortona's prototype.

Even a classicizing artist such as Carlo Maratta clearly relied on the Chigi painting in his *Guardian Angel* painted as a tribute to Giovanni Pietro Bellori, since lost but documented by an engraving by Pietro Aquila, which almost seems to be a citation from Cortona (Mezzetti 1961). Therefore, it is unsurprising that Cortona's most famous pupil – Romanelli, to whom the painting was ascribed following its purchase – was inspired by this work, interpreting it with the elements of graceful classicism that distinguished his language. The comparison between the two versions, the large canvas of the Galleria Nazionale and Romanelli's small painting (sold Milan, Finarte, 12 June 1989, lot 129), has provided essential insight into the relationship between the two artists. Romanelli counters Pietro's vibrant energy with intentional allusions to Domenichino's prototype in the diabolical figure on the right and a more symmetrical sense of space in the classical group of angels above.

As Briganti noted, there is a preparatory drawing for Pietro's work at Windsor Castle (inv. 4519).

ANNA LO BIANCO

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68 GIOVAN BATTISTA GAULLI, CALLED IL BACICCIO | Genoa, 1639 – Rome, 1709

The Three Maries at the Empty Sepulchre

ca. 1684–1685

Oil on canvas; 87 × 112.5 cm
The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, inv. PD.7-1987
Lent by the Syndics of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Acquired with contributions from the National Art Collections Fund and the Regional Fund administered by the Victoria and Albert Museum on behalf of the Museums and Galleries Commission.

This work is one of the most emblematic examples of the mature years of Gaulli, Bernini's counterpart in painting. Alongside Carlo Maratti, called Maratta, he was considered one of the leading figures of the Roman Late Baroque. Excelling as a portraitist and fresco artist (the decoration of the church of the Gesù is one of the apexes of Baroque art), he also painted majestic altarpieces and refined canvases for private galleries.

The Cambridge painting was probably purchased in Rome in 1684–1685 by John, 5th Earl of Exeter, known as Lord Burghley, along with *Christ in the House of Simon,* still at Burghley House, Stamford, Lincolnshire. It is listed in the Burghley House's inventory of 1738 as "3 angels coming to the Sepulchre, two Angels sit upon it, the Apostles at a great distance" (Brigstocke–Somerville 1995, 72). In the 1815 guidebook to the noble residence, this painting and its pendant were attributed to Eustache Le Sueur, and William, 3rd Marchess of Exeter, had it auctioned by Christie's in London on 9 June 1888 as Le Sueur's work. After entering the Donaldson and Goodstein collections, it changed hands several times and was re-auctioned at Sotheby's in London in 1986; it then entered the antiquarian gallery of Somerville and Simpson Ltd. in London, and was finally purchased by the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge in 1987. It was reported by Robert Enggass, who was familiar with it solely though a photograph and did not know its location; the scholar was unsure whether to consider it a very good copy or an original. Through drawings, it was then analysed by Hugh Macandrew and, above all, Dieter Graf, based on comparisons with the photograph at the Witt Library, Courtauld Institute. The painting was then published with a lovely colour photograph and studied in depth by Christopher Baker for the *Effigies & Ecstasies* exhibition held in Edinburgh in 1998, where it was displayed, and its authorship and exceptional quality were confirmed.

The description follows the gospels of Luke and John, according to which Mary Magdalene, Mary of Clopas and Mary Salome went to Christ's tomb to anoint his body and found two angels there announcing his resurrection (according to Matthew, there was only one angel). "On the first day of the week, very early in the morning, the women took the spices they had prepared and went to the tomb. They found the stone rolled away from the tomb, but when they entered, they did not find the body of the Lord Jesus. While they were wondering about this, suddenly two men in clothes that gleamed like lightning stood beside them. In their fright the women bowed down with their faces to the ground, but the men said to them, 'Why do you look for the living among the dead? He is not here; he has risen! Remember how he told you, while he was still with you in Galilee: "The Son of Man must be delivered over to the hands of sinners, be crucified and on the third day be raised again."' Then they remembered his words" (Lk 24:1–8).

The painting emblematically expresses the main stylistic and expressive elements of the artist, who was at the height of his success following his magnificent work at the church of the Gesù. First of all, we find "Berninism" – Gaulli's full embracement of Bernini's language – not only in the focus on "sculptured painting", typical of the Roman Baroque, but also his adoption of the figurative types of this milieu. It is evident that the angels are closely related to those of the Ponte Sant'Angelo, whereas the women – particularly the one on the right – evoke sculptures such as *Blessed Ludovica Albertoni* (San Francesco a Ripa, Rome) and *Bust of Maria Raggi* (Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Rome). The luminous, shimmering palette reflects Gaulli's late evolution towards eighteenth-century painting, of which he was one of the prime forerunners. The obsessive, intellectualistic attention to draughtsmanship, expressed by the sophisticated drapery, intricately set in contrived folds, and by the measured balance of the composition, is also typical of the artist's mature production, in what can be termed a neo-sixteenth-century Baroque.

A folio with a drawing on the recto of the angel standing near the tomb and, on the verso, a study for the figure of Mary in the middle is at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford (inv. 1970.55). The Museum Kunstpalast in Düsseldorf has two studies in India ink for the figure of the seated angel pointing to the sky and a pencil sketch for the left arm of one of the Maries.

FRANCESCO PETRUCCI

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69 MASSIMO STANZIONE | Orta di Atella, 1585 – Naples, 1656

Virgin and Child

ca. 1645

Oil on canvas; 106 × 81 cm

Musei Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples (on loan from the Sant'Agostino degli Scalzi, Naples)

The *Virgin and Child* may well have been part of a group of paintings which Stanzione donated to the church of Sant'Agostino degli Scalzi in order to assure himself a burial place there, but it is first mentioned explicitly only in the nineteenth century by Luigi Catalani (with an attribution to Pacecco De Rosa) and Carlo T. Dalbono.

The painting belongs to a group of smaller devotional works which Stanzione produced in the mid-1640s. The Virgin is represented half-length and holding the Christ Child in her lap. While she is serenely, even somewhat severely, addressing the viewer, the innocent Child is gazing at his mother and holding up a minuscule cross with his right hand.

The picture is dominated by the vibrant red, blue and orange tones of the Virgin's robe. It well represents Stanzione's most classical phase in the early 1640s, and the pure colours and the white porcelain-like flesh tones are certainly due to his close examination of Domenichino's work in the Cappella del Tesoro in Naples Cathedral, which he was asked to complete after Domenichino's death in 1640. At the same time, Stanzione's figures emerge with great physical presence from the dark ground. They fill the entire pictorial field and are arranged close to the picture plane, thus emphasizing the intimate and familiar atmosphere. Stanzione's almost contemporary *Virgin and Child* in Tokyo (Ishizuka Collection) is slightly larger in format and also more distant from the viewer: the setting is more spacious, and the Child is standing on the fragment of a fluted classical column, creating a rather grander impression.

These gallery pictures are exquisitely modelled and executed with great detail and care. They were meant for close inspection, for the refined eye of the connoisseur who would appreciate the virtuoso brush of the master.

Stanzione had a large workshop and many pupils to assist with his growing number of commissions and large-scale decorative projects. But, as this *Virgin and Child* eloquently demonstrates, even in his late years he was eager to display for a select and certainly well-paying clientele the best of his art in such gallery pictures.

SEBASTIAN SCHÜTZE

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70 BERNARDO CAVALLINO | Naples, 1616 – Naples, 1656 (?)

Meeting of Anne and Joachim at the Golden Gate in Jerusalem

ca. 1640

Oil on canvas; 229 × 178.5 cm
Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. 766

Two different episodes from the lives of Mary's parents, saints Anne and Joachim, are illustrated in a narrative continuum, according to the words of the *Legenda Aurea (Golden Legend)* by Jacopo da Varazze (Jacobus de Varagine). In the foreground we find their encounter; the figures in the background, smaller in size, illustrate the angel's annunciation that Joachim is about to become a father. Derided for being childless, he took refuge among shepherds, but has now been asked to meet Anne – already pregnant – at the Golden Gate in Jerusalem. Following the Council of Trent, almost identical iconographic solutions were also used to illustrate the episode of Mary, with Christ in her womb, as she visits Elizabeth, in turn about to give birth to John, the future Baptist. In the early seventeenth century, both were often represented in painting in Naples and other parts of Italy.

In the past, the canvas was ascribed to Spanish painters (Francisco Ribalta, Francisco Pacheco, Alonso Cano, Pablo Legote) as well as the Neapolitan Massimo Stanzione. Because of the figures in the foreground, however, in 1972 Raffaello Causa finally credited the work to Bernardo Cavallino – during the painter's early years, and thus around 1635 – although the scholar attributed the landscape and figures in the background to Scipione Compagno. Subsequently, the entire composition was confirmed to be the work of Cavallino alone, as was its dating to the mid-1630s.

The painting is also one of the rare known examples of compositions with life-sized figures by this artist, known chiefly for small and medium-sized formats throughout his career. Therefore, it is likely – though not certain – that it was originally intended for an altar in a church or private oratory. When the work was shown at the monographic exhibition on Cavallino staged in Cleveland, Fort Worth and Naples in 1984–1985, Ann Tzeutschler Lurie observed that the artist's possible iconographic and compositional precedents may have included an engraving by Adriaen Collaert after Jan Van der Straet (1523–1605), a Flemish artist known in Italy as Giovanni Stradano, and based on the representation of the same scene on a silver altar frontal now at the Museo degli Argenti in the Palazzo Pitti in Florence. Nevertheless, it is more likely that, for the stylistic rendering as well, Cavallino turned to solutions that had already been adopted for canvases with similar subjects by other Neapolitan painters and, particularly for the three figures in the foreground, by Stanzione around 1630. For the figure of the young shepherd on the right, turning to the spectator and smiling, the artist instead took up the naturalistic models of Jusepe de Ribera, the Master of the Annunciation to the Shepherds, and Aniello Falcone around 1630. Such elements can also be noted in Cavallino's other compositions painted between 1635 and 1640, including the *Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew* at the Museo di Capodimonte in Naples, the *Adoration of the Shepherds* at the Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum in Braunschweig and the *Flight into Egypt* at the Wadsworth Atheneum in Hartford, likewise with figures that are almost life-sized. For the landscape and small figures in the background, it seems more likely that Cavallino was thinking above all about paintings from the late 1630s, or immediately thereafter, by Domenico Gargiulo, also known as Micco Spadaro.

This combination of different elements – documenting studied formal elegance, deft compositional arrangement, shrewd definition of facial features and expressions, and the refined use of dense paint – point to the painter's maturity, following his younger works around 1630. Consequently, for the *Meeting of Anne and Joachim* the present writer would posit a different year: not 1635, as suggested in the past, but around 1640.

There are two smaller known versions of this canvas, considered either copies of the original in Budapest or replicas by Cavallino himself. One is at the State Hermitage Museum in Saint Petersburg (82.5 × 62.5 cm), formerly attributed to Juan Baptista del Mazo and Francisco Ribalta, and of better quality, but without the figure of the young woman in the middle ground on the left; the other is indubitably a later anonymous copy of the Budapest canvas. The latter version was formerly in the collection of the Duke of Wellington at Apsley House, known today solely through the photographic reproduction in the Weitzner Archives and now at the J. Paul Getty Museum Library.

NICOLA SPINOSA

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71 LUCA GIORDANO | Naples, 1632 – Naples, 1705

Justice Disarmed

ca. 1670

Oil on canvas; 168 × 286 cm
Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. 4229

This painting was purchased by Count János Pálffy, probably in Venice. In the inventory of his palace in Pozsony it is mentioned as *An Allegory of War* (Peregriny 1909a, 22, no. 28). Since then many attempts have been made at interpreting the complex composition.

Luca Giordano follows Cesare Ripa's description of *Justitia,* depicting the figure of Justice in a gold-trimmed white dress and a blue mantle. The type of justice we see here is that practised by judges in courts of law. The blond female figure gazes heavenwards and above her head is a small tongue of fire, which refers to the divine inspiration for the judges' correct decisions.

The female figure sits on a throne with steps; on the left Deceit, depicted as a satyr with Midas-like asses' ears, attempts to purloin her sword, while on the right Cupid prepares to relieve her of her scales. The blindfold representing impartiality has been taken by a putto, who playfully ties it over his own eyes. In front of the tree on the right a nymph holds a mirror in the company of a satyr and a maenad, a fourth figure approaches from the middle-ground. In the foreground, the round shield by Deceit's foot and the bundle of rods in front of Justice (the *fasces,* a Roman symbol of power) remind us of the punishment necessary in justice, and also that judgement should not be hasty. The dead ostrich symbolizes the speed with which justice is dispensed. In the bottom right corner lie Cupid's weapons, a bow and a quiver full of arrows, and a mask. If Justice were disarmed, the basis of judgement would be Appearance: hence the mask and the mirror. Yet the mirror can also be one of the attributes of wisdom, so the nymph holding the mirror may also personify wise judgement.

In the female figure of Justice the influence of the Venetian cinquecento can be felt. The source of Luca Giordano's picture may have been the figure of Venice in Paolo Veronese's ceiling fresco *The Triumph of Venice* (Palazzo Ducale); the idealized female type, the rich attire and the theatricality of the poses may have been borrowed from there. Venetian painting may also have inspired the bright colours of the work, imbued with light, and the opal shades of the background. At the same time, the influence of Giordano's training with Ribera is palpable, particularly in the figure of Deceit and the painting of the tree. Based on this stylistic dichotomy, the work can be dated to about 1670.

In his biography of Luca Giordano, Francesco Saverio Baldinucci ([1725–1730] 1975, fol. 149v, 346) mentions a picture in the estate of the Venetian merchant Giuseppe Giogalli which had as its subject "Justice Oppressed" ("Allegoria della Giustizia oppressa"). Giogalli paid 700 ducats to Giordano for three pictures (Nappi 1991, 160), and his name was subsequently connected for several decades with payment for Giordano's works.

Scholars have also suggested that the Budapest painting is identical with item 19 in an inventory (1712) of the estate of the Venice lawyer Giacomo Recanati (1649–1712) from Crete, which painting "shows Justice resisting Passion" ("rappresenta la Giustizia che resiste alle Passioni"). The inventory also contains an annotation that the picture was acquired by Recanati from the marquis Pallavicino of Genoa for 1000 ducats (Pavanello–Mariuz 2000–2001).

The Budapest painting may be a historical allegory: the figure of Justice has been linked to Venice and the war that ended with the loss of Crete (Barkóczi, in *Budapest* 1996; Oreste–Ferrari 2003, 48). The present author has suggested (Nyerges, in *Naples – Vienna – Los Angeles* 2001 and Nyerges 2002) that the map discernible on the shield by Deceit's feet was no imaginary map, but depicted the area of Rethymnon and Chania on the northern coast of Crete, and may have been inspired by the sixteenth-century Cretan maps available to Giordano.

The administrative centre of the Kingdom of Crete, under Venetian dominion, was Candia (Chandaka). It was protected by extensive fortifications, but after months of siege Admiral Francesco Morosini signed it over to the Ottomans. Perhaps it is this deed to which Deceit refers, as Morosini was put on trial for this contract, though later acquitted. The Budapest picture may thus be an allegorical depiction of the loss of Crete in 1669 and the unjust contract for Venice. In this picture the town of Candia is manifested in the semi-nude female figure (nymph) on the right. A similar female figure appears in Giordano's allegory depicting *Messina Returned to Spain* (1678, Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid). There she is surrounded by three taunting satyrs, who perhaps represent the Ottomans who conquered the island. Alternatively, they may feature as the first to hear the bad news – an interpretation which is possible also in the case of the Budapest painting.

During restoration it transpired that the bottom edge had been slightly cut. This is corroborated by a copy perhaps from Luca Giordano's workshop (Sotheby's, London, 9 July 1998, lot 321), which has a higher flight of steps in the foreground.

ÉVA NYERGES

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72 MATTIA PRETI | Taverna, Calabria, 1613 – Valletta, Malta, 1699

Saint Sebastian

ca. 1656

Oil on canvas; 240 × 169 cm

Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples (on deposit from the church of Santa Maria dei Sette Dolori)

According to the medieval *Legenda Aurea (Golden Legend),* Sebastian was a native of Narbonne, who became a captain of the Praetorian Guard during the reign of Diocletian. Through his prowess, Sebastian rose in the ranks to become one of the emperor's favourites. When his Christian faith was discovered, however, he was sentenced to death. Bound to a stake, the archers shot at him till he was "as full of arrows as an urchin is full of spines" (*Golden Legend* 1993, 99). That night a Christian woman, Irene, came to take his body and bury it, but she found him alive. Bringing him to her house, she cared for him until he was healed.

Some centuries later, Christians began to invoke the sainted martyr's protection against the plague, whose afflictions were likened to arrows of illness raining down from heaven. Mattia Preti painted several memorable representations of Saint Sebastian, whom he venerated also as the patron saint of Taverna.

The heroic monumentality of the martyr is a final legacy from Preti's experience of Roman High Baroque painting. Yet the statuesque torso and limbs seem dissolved by the liquid, mystical light that streams down upon the saint as though a messenger from God. The silver gray tint of the flesh as well as the animated outline of the figure are signs of his response to the vast corpus of works executed in Naples by Giovanni Lanfranco, although the spiritual quality of light remains Caravaggesque.

The *Saint Sebastian* must have been painted in Naples around 1656 in a moment mid-way between the three Martyrdoms commissioned by Ferdinand Vandeneynden (*The Martyrdom of Saint Peter*, The Barber Institute of Fine Arts, Birmingham; *The Martyrdom of Saint Paul*, The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston; *The Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew*, Currier Museum of Art, Manchester, New Hampshire) and his paintings on the ceiling of the nave and transept of San Pietro a Maiella. This dating on the basis of style conforms perfectly to the assumption by almost all writers that the painting was commissioned in response to the plague of 1656.

It is not possible to verify Bernardo De Dominici's report (1742–1744, III, 348) that a controversy surrounding this *Saint Sebastian* led to its rejection by its original patrons, the nuns of the convent of San Sebastiano in Naples. According to De Dominici, the nuns were quickly and maliciously persuaded by the criticisms advanced by Preti's enemies – the painters loyal to his rival, Luca Giordano – to refuse it for their church. "They said to those pious ladies that the figure seemed awkward and lacking in the nobility and the beauty appropriate to such a noble person. The saint's face, they said, seemed more like a labourer's than a captain of soldiers, which was Sebastiano's true station. Having imbibed these false concepts, the nuns denied the merits of the work and gave the painting to a gentleman, who had built the first chapel to the left of the entrance to the church of Santa Maria di Ognibene, also known as the Madonna of the Seven Dolors, where today it is seen situated. This *Saint Sebastian* has become the school of those youths who wish to learn from a perfect draftsmanship and from the best naturalness."

The story seems implausible in view of the admiration that the painting has always attracted. More copies are known of this *Saint Sebastian* than almost any other composition by Preti; indeed, it is today perhaps his best known work.

So far as we know, only the last parts of De Dominici's story are true, that is, that Preti's *Saint Sebastian* was donated by an unknown benefactor to the church of Santa Maria dei Sette Dolori in Naples, and that generations of Neapolitan painters have stood in awe before this painting, taking note of its sculpturesque form and heroic expression. Chief among those artists who admired and learned from it was the young Francesco Solimena.

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73 MATTIA PRETI | Taverna, Calabria, 1613 – Valletta, Malta, 1699

Saint Peter Liberated from Prison

ca. 1665

Oil on canvas; 181 × 301 cm

Akademie der Bildenden Künste, Gemäldegalerie, Vienna, inv. 449

The imprisonment of Saint Peter and his deliverance by an angel are recounted in the Acts of the Apostles. The early Christian church in Jerusalem was persecuted by King Herod, who sent the apostle Peter to prison. The night before his trial, when he was to be condemned to death, Peter was sleeping in chains in the midst of soldiers when a light shone in the cell, an angel appeared and woke him, saying, "Arise, and follow me". The chains fell off Peter's hands and the angel led him out of the prison (Acts 12:3–11).

This *Liberation of Saint Peter* is one of the most important works, datable around 1665, that Preti was able to conceive and execute on canvas during the years of his laborious painting of the vault of Saint John's in Valletta, Malta, 1661–1666. There are notable similarities between the drapery folds that resemble facets or ripples of pure colour in this painting and the garments worn by the figures represented in the sixth and last section of the vault. Saint Peter's yellow mantle and the soldier's vermilion blanket stand out as passages of pure colour enhanced by the warm grey stones of the prison. A comparable application of splendid oil pigments are found in the beautiful altarpiece that Preti painted around this time for the Tal-Mirakli church in Lija.

The liberation of Saint Peter was frequently treated by Caravaggio's followers, who appreciated the opportunity to paint nocturnal light effects and the grimy realism of the dungeon setting. Mattia Preti represented the story in all phases of his career, in at least five paintings. In the present picture, Preti does not show the angel waking the apostle, but rather leading him out. The guards are locked in their sleep, not waking. Recently, Devin Therien (2012, 130–31) has observed that Preti positioned the figures and organized the pictorial space so that the story unfolds from left to right, as if on a theatre stage. The soldier who sleeps as if sedated marks the dark cell from which the saint was freed. The raking light that enters the prison from the right-hand side seems to draw Peter towards its source. As he exits stage right, bearing his golden key of Paradise, the apostle looks directly at the viewer to engage our attention.

One of the major themes in the iconography of Peter is that the apostle's life and death, as told in the Book of Acts and in apocryphal sources, followed in the footsteps of Christ. The cell in which Peter lay in chains evokes the tomb, and Peter's liberation represents Christ's resurrection from death into eternal life. These parallels were not unprecedented in Caravaggist painting. In his painting of *Saint Peter Released from Prison* (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin), Gerard van Honthorst explicitly compares the saint's dungeon to a windowless burial chamber from which the angel summons him forth as Christ did Lazarus with an extended arm.

The fame of Preti's *Liberation of Saint Peter* in the artist's own time deserves mention. Bernardo De Dominici, Preti's biographer, published an extraordinarily detailed description of it: "We shall only mention some of the paintings purchased in Malta by the Commendatore Parisi, a distinguished knight and amateur of painting … and we will pause particularly on the beautiful painting that … represents Saint Peter who was freed by the angel from prison. The figures are life-size, and seen down to the knees. The principal figure in the painting is a soldier wearing an armored breastplate, who is sleeping almost supine, his shoulders and head resting against a pilaster, his left arm serving as a cushion, his right arm holding the lance abandoned by his sleeping hand. After this figure, follows that of Saint Peter, who is being guided by the angel, and has in his left hand the keys. His right hand is extended towards the spectators in a gesture of amazement. Very beautiful is the figure of the angel dressed in white who receives most of the light that spreads across Saint Peter and ends at the sleeping soldier, since this picture is painted with a light falling from the right … The beauty and the goodness of this painting are beyond description, therefore, I only say, so as not to tire the reader further, that … that this painting is a wonder to everyone who sees it" (De Dominici 1742–1744). The painting was cited in the Parisi inventory of 1742.

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V

NATURA MORTA – NATURA VIVA

74 GIOVAN BATTISTA RECCO | Naples (?), ca. 1610 – Naples (?), before 9 July 1675

Still Life with Fish, Shellfish and Copperware

ca. 1655–1660

Oil on canvas; 102 × 130 cm
Private collection, Modena

We have very little biographical information today about Giovan Battista Recco, the artist who, along with Luca Forte and the little-known Giacomo Coppola, was one of the leading representatives of the first generation of Neapolitan still life painters. Often mentioned in old inventories of private collections in Naples with the nickname "Titta Recco", he was probably born at the end of the first decade of the seventeenth century, was active for at least three decades, and unquestionably died before 9 July 1675. In fact, in a letter addressed to Filippo Baldinucci bearing this date and informing the Florentine biographer about artists working in Naples and the kingdom from 1640, we find: "Giovanbattista Recco, painter of fish, dead" (Baldinucci [1681–1728] 1845–1847, ed. 1975, VI, 366, "Giovanbattista Recco, pittore di pesci, morto").

The documents available to scholars have not yet made it possible to establish with any certainty how the artist was related to other members of the Recco family, but it is quite likely that he was the brother of the mysterious Giacomo and uncle of the renowned Giuseppe. Construction of his catalogue was made possible thanks to the pioneering work of Giuseppe Delogu (1962, 134–36; 1964), Stefano Bottari (1961) and, above all, Nolfo Di Carpegna who, in the pages of the *Bollettino d'Arte* (1961), published the marvellous *Composition with Fish in an Interior*, formerly in the Mendola collection in Catania, which bears the inscription "Gio. Batta Recco 1653". Other cornerstones in his limited corpus are represented by the *Kitchen Interior,* formerly part of the Astarita collection in Naples and signed "GBR", the *Still Life with Plucked Chicken, Spit and Wine Bottle,* formerly in the Rappini collection in Rome, which is signed in full "G.B. Recco" and dated 1654 (Delogu 1962, 135, 193), and the *Still Life with Fish and Basket with Oysters* at the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm in which, on a white ceramic plate, the monogram "GBR" and the date "1653" are visible.

The latter canvas shows ties with the magnificent painting discussed here – published recently by Giuseppe De Vito (2008) and displayed publicly at this exhibition for the very first time – in the balanced articulation of the compositional structure, the scaling in depth, and the subdivision of the three display levels constituted by chipped stone parallelepipeds set at different heights, with the glimmer of light grazing their surfaces and contrasting with the dense, marked shadows cast by the fish. The work formerly in the Mendola collection instead shows significant affinities in the powerful naturalistic accents inspired by Caravaggio, the confident and refined brushwork, the material that becomes denser on the surface to bring out the reflections of the fish scales and the skilled dosing of light, but also in two very characteristic elements of the iconographic repertory of "Titta Recco": the hand-beaten copper cauldron filled with water that glistens in the light (the same one can be seen in the foreground on the right in the aforesaid *Kitchen Interior* formerly in the Astarita collection) and the large fish (a bass in this case) strung by its gills on the cord tied to the jutting nail. Giuseppe Recco would take up these motifs in his first works of the 1660s, demonstrating the close artistic bond forged between uncle and nephew. The muted tones, with brown earthy hues that dialogue with iron grey, silvery white and gold, the dramatic chiaroscuro contrasts, the suspended atmosphere – with its metaphysical aura – and the Caravaggesque oblique light shattering the dark interior from above, illuminating the back wall, can also be found in *Kitchen Interior with Copperware, Fish and Squid,* published by Denise Pagano as one of Giuseppe's youthful paintings (in *Madrid–Salamanca* 2005, 62–63, cat. 26). Instead, in my opinion this work is actually by Giovan Battista and, like our *Still Life with Fish, Shellfish and Copperware*, it is datable around the time the Mendola canvas was painted, and thus likely in 1655–1660. This was a phase when Recco's poetics were oriented towards compositional formulas that already showed Baroque taste and would reach their maximum expression in the overflowing kitchen interiors of the 1660s.

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75 PAOLO PORPORA | Naples, 1617 – Rome, 1673

Underbrush with Tortoise and Crab

1650–1655

Oil on canvas; 61 × 76 cm
Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nancy, inv. 27

Along with Giuseppe Recco and Giovan Battista Ruoppolo, Paolo Porpora was one of the leading figures in Neapolitan still life painting during the Baroque. As testified by his apprenticeship contract dated 2 November 1632 (Prota-Giurleo 1953, 12–13), the young artist trained at the workshop of the still-mysterious Giacomo Recco and then continued his studies under Aniello Falcone. He soon left Falcone's studio, however, because he was uninterested in painting battle scenes and figures, instead preferring to portray "fish, oysters, snails, murexes and other shells", "lizards, pigeons and kitchen things in great variety" and "different species of animals … and fruit, citruses, chickens, poultry and other foodstuffs" (De Dominici 1742–1744, III, 80, 223).

In the late 1640s Porpora moved to Rome to seek new commissions and, after coming into contact with the works of the Northern European masters Matthias Withoos and Otto Marseus van Schriek, active in the city at the time, he began to produce his famous "underbrush" paintings. The circulation of this singular iconography in private collections was also encouraged by the scientific interests cultivated by a number of Roman intellectuals (Bellori cites figures such as *Cavalier* Corvini, Antonio degli Effetti, Niccolò Simonelli and Cardinal Flavio Chigi), who at their palaces set up veritable "museums of natural and artificial curiosities", displaying botanical and zoological charts, fossils, precious objects, and rare plant and animal species, some of which Porpora depicted in his works.

In this magnificent painting from the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Nancy, datable around 1650–1655, the Neapolitan master represents the magical secret world of shadowy underbrush, where flora (moss, lichens, mushrooms and aquatic plants) and fauna (the tortoise, the crab, the snail and two white butterflies) live in perfect symbiosis. The artist's brush inquisitively investigates this natural microcosm, described with great lucidity down to the tiniest details, such as the dense venation pattern of the leaves and the flawless morphology of the crab. In addition to the excellent quality of the pictorial line, what is most striking about this painting is the artist's exceptional ability to orchestrate the effects of light and the rendering – almost tactile – of the different surfaces: from the tortoise's rough shell to the fragile lightness of the wings of the butterflies, and on to the viscidness of the mushrooms and shiny smoothness of the stones, some of which under water. The palette is also particularly well balanced and, in the fusion of the different shades of brown, ochre, yellow and green, it creates a varied and eminently sophisticated tonal cameo.

As already noted here, Porpora was directly influenced by the works of Withoos and Van Schrieck, and he embarked on the production of underbrush paintings chiefly during the first phase of his Roman period. Today only a few examples of these works remain and, from a stylistic and formal standpoint, some of them are close to this work from the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Nancy. In the pair of underbrush paintings owned by the Museo Pignatelli in Naples, for example, in addition to the vespertine setting, the calibrated effects of backlighting and the bed of round pebbles bathed by the crystal-clear water in the foreground, we can note the presence of the snail, the crab, the butterflies and even the tortoise, a recurrent motif in the master's figurative repertory, which also returns in the canvas at the National Museum of Wales in Cardiff and the painting at the Galleria Nazionale di Capodimonte in Naples.

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76 GIUSEPPE RECCO | Naples, 1634 – Alicante, 1695

Glassware on a Marble Table

ca. 1675–1680

Oil on canvas; 89 × 113 cm
Muzeum Narodowe, Warsaw, inv. M.Ob. 670
Signed in the middle of the base: GIOS. RECCO

A member of one of the most famous families of still life painters active in Naples in the seventeenth century, Giuseppe Recco was born in the city at the foot of Mount Vesuvius on 12 July 1634 (De Dominici 1742–1744, III, 296). He had a very extensive high-quality production, characterized by marked cultural eclecticism ranging from the Spanish still life genre to those of northern Europe and Rome, and by uncommon iconographic versatility. In fact, during his glorious career, the master painted cupboards and kitchen still lifes inspired by the works of Giovan Battista Recco; compositions with fish and shellfish, bouquets and underbrush paintings showing the influence of Paolo Porpora; assemblies of fruit and game; tables laid with food and sweets; compositions with musical instruments, books, curios and objects alluding to moralizing symbolism or the theme of *vanitas*. In the 1670s Recco also tried his hand at a distinctive, extremely original and sophisticated genre: displays of archaeological findings, ceramics, earthenware vases and, above all, glassware and crystal, of which the canvases at the Fundación Casa Ducal de Medinaceli in Sevilla (Pérez Sánchez 1965, 428) and the Muzeum Narodowe are the finest examples known today.

Displayed on a bevelled grey marble table in an otherwise bare room is a collection of valuable Murano, Catalonian and "façon de Venise" glassware in different shapes and sizes that may have belonged to the patron of the painting. The delicate goblets, cups, vases, cruets and fruit stands are portrayed with lucid realism and impeccable accuracy, not only in terms of their fragile decorations but also the glistening reflections light creates on glass surfaces. On the right of the base, the bowl overflowing with freshly picked flowers brings a note of colour to the scene, while the table covered with a red cloth in the background holds two curiously shaped earthenware vases and a blue glass *rinfrescatoio* full of water.

The work, which enchants the observer with its exceptional pictorial quality, the originality of its iconography, the illusionistic transparency of the glass vessels set in front of each other and the Baroque lavishness of the composition, was published in 1961 by Nolfo Di Carpegna, who noted a direct relationship with the mastery of Paolo Porpora. Raffaello Causa rightly disagreed and for the famous exhibition entitled *La natura morta italiana* (*Naples–Zürich–Rotterdam* 1964), he emphasized the influence of Flemish and Dutch models (Willem Claesz Heda, Osias Beert the Elder and Willem van Aelst, first and foremost), which Recco probably had the chance to see in a noble picture gallery in Naples or Rome. We must also recall that "façon de Venise" glass is also depicted in some of the paintings that Francesco Noletti, called Fieravino, and his circle painted in Rome around the mid-1600s.

The Warsaw canvas is analogous to three works portraying a *Composition with Flowers, Sweets and Glass* (respectively at the Derek Johns Gallery in London, the Museo Civico in Pesaro and the Museo Pignatelli in Naples) by virtue of its rigorous layout, refined formal elegance and the incisive naturalness of the meticulous pictorial rendering, and it can be dated to the second half of the 1670s. This is also suggested by the compelling stylistic parallels with the *Allegory of the Five Senses* at the Galerie Canesso in Paris, signed and dated "GIOS. RECCO F. 1676" (V. Damian, in *Paris* 2007, 102–3), and the masterpiece at the Fundación Casa Ducal de Medinaceli, bearing the inscription "GIOS. RECCO F. 1679" on the inside edge of the ceramic jug with blue motifs in the foreground.

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77 MARIO NUZZI, CALLED MARIO DEI FIORI, AND GIOVANNI MARIA MORANDI

Rome, 1603 – Rome, 1673; Florence, 1622 – Rome, 1717

Portrait of Mario Nuzzi at the Easel

1658–1659

Oil on canvas; 191 × 262 cm
Palazzo Chigi, Ariccia, inv. 426

In the genre of floral still lifes, Mario Nuzzi, called Mario dei Fiori and the nephew of the Caravaggesque painter Tommaso Salini, was unquestionably the leading specialist active in Italy in the seventeenth century. Praised by early biographers (Pascoli 1730–1736, II, 57–64), he was admitted to the prestigious Accademia di San Luca on 12 August 1657 and worked for the most powerful Roman families, including the Colonna, Barberini and Chigi. As documented by the payment records dated between April 1658 and December 1659, Nuzzi executed this true masterpiece of seventeenth-century Roman painting for Cardinal Flavio Chigi, along with a cycle of four canvases, approximately the same size, depicting the *Seasons*. In addition to sublime pictorial quality and the perfect balance between still life elements and figures, what is also unique about this marvellous series – originally kept at the Palazzo Chigi in Piazza Santi Apostoli in Rome – is that Mario was assisted by five of the era's talented historical painters: Filippo Lauri worked on *Spring,* Carlo Maratta on *Summer,* Giacinto Brandi on *Autumn,* Bernardino Mei on *Winter* and Giovanni Maria Morandi on the *Portrait of Mario Nuzzi at the Easel*. The latter was a gifted Florentine painter who, under Pope Alexander VII (1655–1667), managed to become one of the leading portraitists active in Rome at the time.

In keeping with the theatricality typical of the Roman Baroque, the large ochre curtain has been raised to bring the observer directly into Nuzzi's studio. The master is portrayed sitting on a stool as he dips his fine brush in the paint on the palette in his left hand. In accordance with his *modus pingendi,* he is busy painting the luxuriant bouquet of flowers in a finely gilded repoussé metal vase set in front of him on a stone base. The canvas on which he is working has not been completed yet; on the upper part and to the left we can clearly see the hasty sketch in white lead that cursorily outlines an iris, a convolvulus, and a carnation. Besides the meticulous detailing of the wooden easel and Nuzzi's elegant garb, the feeling that he is inspired by real life is accentuated by his gesture, as he suddenly looks to the left, seemingly distracted by a voice or noise. Perhaps he has noticed our surreptitious presence!

What can be gleaned here is not so much the desire for a rhetorical celebration of the fame and prestige the master attained during his dazzling career, working for Rome's wealthiest patrons, but to show – simply and effectively – the secret world of the painter's workshop and his passionate first-hand study of nature, of the flora he cherished and painted so masterfully that he was nicknamed Mario dei Fiori: Mario of the Flowers. It is no accident that in the elegant autograph compositions known today, of which the work exhibited here represents a fundamental term of comparison for both style and chronology, we never find the use of replicable models or "cartoons". Nuzzi's bouquets instead vibrate as if moved by an inner life, and their colours are utterly realistic.

DAVIDE DOTTI

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78 Evaristo Baschenis | Bergamo, 1617 – Bergamo, 1677

Musical Instruments and a Small Statue

ca. 1660

Oil on canvas; 86 × 115 cm
Accademia Carrara, Bergamo, inv. 58AC00119
Signed on the lute: EVARISTVS BASCHENIS F. BERGOMI

The descendant of an old family of painters hailing from the Val Brembana, Evaristo Baschenis invented the genre of still lifes with musical instruments. He was born in Bergamo on 7 December 1617 and learned the rudiments of art in Cremona at the workshop of Gian Giacomo Barbelli. Following his three-year apprenticeship, he returned to his hometown in 1643 and decided to become a man of the cloth, thus earning him the moniker "Prevarisco", a contraction of "priest" and "Evaristo". The master travelled in Italy a number of times, going to Milan, Rome (where he was first documented in 1650), and possibly Venice, where there was formerly a famous cycle of eight canvases that Abbot Francesco Superchi commissioned from him in the mid-1670s for the library of the monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore. He worked intensely to respect the numerous commissions from the noble families of Bergamo and, alongside his main production devoted to musical instruments, he also painted kitchen still lifes with poultry, fish, fruit, vegetables, and baskets of sweets. Baschenis died in his home in Bergamo on 16 March 1677 and, as stipulated in his will, his art collection was auctioned in the square in the district of San Leonardo between the end of March and early April of that year.

Inventoried in 1810 in Leonino Secco Suardo's collection (no. 717), this fascinating painting was first published by Biancale (1912, 344) when, along with its pendant, *Kitchen Interior* (see D. Dotti, in *Sassari–Pordenone–Bologna* 2011, 33), it was part of Giacomo Marenzi's collection in the town of Torbiato, in the province of Brescia. This work, which entered the collections of the Accademia Carrara in 1926 and was exhibited in the famous show entitled *Evaristo Baschenis e la natura morta in Europa* (De Pascale, in *Bergamo* 1996), testifies to Baschenis's uncommon choice of juxtaposing a composition of musical instruments with the interior of a kitchen, demonstrating that the master simultaneously employed both iconographies with an intent that may have had a subtle symbolic significance which now escapes us. Along these lines, Alberto Veca suggested an intriguing interpretation: the kitchen was the place "of man's active life and interest in material needs and goods, whereas the music room seems to satisfy both contemplative life and the inclination for luxury" (see E. De Pascale, in *Bergamo* 1996, 154).

In a sophisticated interplay of volumes, the musical instruments, inkwell and quill, books, sheet of music and, on the left, the statuette of a nude male, twisted in a Michelangiolesque style, are set on a table covered with a red cloth. The statue was probably part of the master's art collection, because it also appears in the magnificent painting at the Museum Boijmans van Beuningen in Rotterdam (inv. 2688). The soft, pervasive light coming from the left enhances the realism of this pictorial study, but at the same time it amalgamates the hues of the palette, ranging from the dark green of the gold-embroidered drapery to the warm brown of the wood, the burnt tones of the background and the scarlet tablecloth. The metaphysical atmosphere permeating this refined composition, typical of the works of the artist's maturity, beckons the observer to indulge in silent contemplation of the posed objects. The intricate spatial solutions and attention to the ornamentation of the work as a whole have led scholars to date it around 1660–1665, at the beginning of the "Baroque phase" of the master's career. The presence of numerous copies of the painting, attributed to the "Monogrammista B. B." and to Baschenis's shop, testifies to his popularity in Bergamo in the last three decades of the seventeenth century. Lastly, we should note that John T. Spike (in *New York – Tulsa – Dayton* 1983) suggested that the work should be interpreted as an "Allegory of the Arts", in which the books and pen allude to poetry, the instruments to music and the statuette to sculpture.

DAVIDE DOTTI

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79 ANGELO MARIA CRIVELLI, CALLED CRIVELLONE | Milan (?) – died ca. 1730

Turkeys, Cock, Mother Hen and Chicks in the Countryside

ca. 1700–1710

Oil on canvas; 147 × 117 cm
Accademia Carrara, Bergamo, inv. 06ACDP042

Angelo Maria Crivelli, called Crivellone, was the most important specialist in scenes with wild and barnyard animals, as well as representations of game active in Lombardy at the turn of the eighteenth century. For his vast and varied production – very popular among the petite noblesse and wealthy bourgeoisie of Milan – his points of reference were local painters such as Angelo Maria Rossi as well as northern European artists of the calibre of Frans Snyders, Jan Fyt, Pieter Boel and Melchior d'Hondecoeter. His son Giovanni, called Crivellino (Milan, ? – Parma, 1760), followed in his father's footsteps and developed his themes, interpreting them in a more markedly decorative light, creating various cycles of large canvases designed to adorn the lavish salons of country villas.

As usual, Crivellone has set his rural scene with barnyard animals *en plein air,* in a luminous landscape that gently nuances towards the pale blue mountains in the distance. The old tree with vines clinging to it on the left serves as the wings of a theatre in which two big turkeys take centre stage: one roosting on the large cage supervises the situation from above, while the other, stiff and circumspect, carefully observes the cock's movements. Inside the cage is the mother hen surrounded by her brood of chicks, some of which have ventured outside the wooden slats, dangerously out in the open. The cock with a magnificent red crest has noticed and, concerned, crows threateningly at the turkey, warning it to stay away from the chicks.

As Ferdinando Arisi emphasized (2004, 47), for this specific type of Crivellone's subjects, "the closest reference is to the examples of Hondecoeter and, by contrast, the barnyard animals that enliven David de Coninck's Roman gardens, where, however, it is poultry that represents the intruder". There are several versions with variations of the composition entitled *Turkeys, Cock, Mother Hen and Chicks in the Countryside*. With respect to the other two, respectively at the Pinacoteca Ambrosiana in Milan (Arisi 2004, 55, no. 94) and in a private Lombard collection (Arisi 2004, 184, no. 95), the one owned by the Accademia Carrara unquestionably shows the highest quality. The intense, brilliant palette and the highly effective, meticulous brushwork rendering the speckled plumage of the turkey in the foreground define the execution of the painting, in which a subtly narrative spirit is perfectly balanced with the realistic study of nature.

The canvas, which has been on deposit at the Accademia Carrara since 1874 and is in perfect condition, is an excellent example of Crivellone's mature production and, like the other two canvases mentioned here, it dates to the first decade of the eighteenth century. Interestingly, it comes from the monastery of San Paolo d'Argon in the province of Bergamo, formerly the location of Evaristo Baschenis's *Composition with Musical Instruments on a Table and Red Curtain* (D. Dotti, in *Sassari–Pordenone–Bologna* 2011, 26–27, cat. 1), which the abbot Francesco Superchi probably commissioned from the Bergamo painter in the early 1670s. The fact that "Two paintings depicting Animals. Author Tazzoni" ("Due quadri rappresentanti Bestie. Autore Tazzoni") and "Two Ovals with Birds and Animals. Flemish School" ("Due Ovati di Uccellami e Bestie. Scola Fiamminga") entered the collections of the Accademia Carrara in 1874 from San Paolo d'Argon and were likely once displayed in the refectory or one of the state rooms in the building, along with the works by Baschenis and Crivellone, makes this Benedictine monastery unique in the Lombard collection of still lifes from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

DAVIDE DOTTI

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80 CRISTOFORO MUNARI | Reggio Emilia, 1667 – Pisa, 1720

Cabbage, Ham, Pumpkin, Earthenware and Plate with Knife

ca. 1710

Oil on canvas; 73 × 87 cm
Fondazione Pietro Manodori, Reggio Emilia

Cloaked in soft shadows, this elegant composition is centred on the large cabbage, which catalyses the incisive light coming from the left. Around it are the objects typical of Munari's iconographic repertory, evoking the genre of the so-called kitchen scenes that the biographer Francesco Maria Gabburri (*Vite di pittori,* 1719–1741, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Fondo Palatino, MS E.B. 9.5, 4 vols., II, fol. 618) considered the most important of the still life subjects painted by the master from Reggio Emilia.

In the foreground on the right we see a small overturned jar and a white ceramic plate with a sharp knife resting on it, while behind the cabbage on the left, almost swallowed up by the impenetrable blackness of the background, we can glimpse a glazed earthenware vessel that gives off a gleaming reflection. As is the case in his finest works, Munari devotes a great deal of attention to studying the interplay of colour, chiaroscuro and the arrangement of elements in order to give the entire composition perfect formal balance. Indeed, the inclination of the pumpkin is certainly not random, as it reflects the diagonal line of the ham set elegantly against the cabbage. The same holds true for the decision to juxtapose the spherical volume of the cabbage with the almost perfect circle of the jar, highlighted by the very thin filament of white lead. We must also underscore the balanced illusionistic effect governing the scene, as well as the artist's skill – limpid and well controlled – in rendering the raised veins of the cabbage leaves, the shadow the knife casts on the plate and the blackish impurities on the earthenware.

Now at the Fondazione Cassa di Risparmio di Reggio Emilia Pietro Manodori along with its pendant, *Earthenware, Steak and Two Roosters,* it was originally part of the furnishings of the castle of Uzzano in Greve in Chianti, which was owned by the Masetti da Bagnano family in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Tuscan provenance and the expressive maturity characterizing this masterly execution allow us to date the canvas to Munari's Florentine period (1706–1715), during which he worked for the Medici court and local nobility. Tellingly, among the most relevant comparisons we can cite the two *Kitchen Still Lifes* that were once part of a cycle of six canvases painted around 1710 for the Medici villa of Artimino (see Baldassari 1998, cats. 82–83), in which we find close parallels not only in the choice of elements – the cabbage with its outer leaves opened next to a large pumpkin, its leaf stalk cleanly severed, the poor earthenware, the ham with a wide streak of fat – but also in the pungent realism of Munari's pictorial investigation, enriched by subtle stylistic elements and the tactile thickness of the surfaces.

As opposed to Felice Boselli's kitchen still lifes, which directly influenced Munari's production of the same subject, the work at the Fondazione Manodori demonstrates that the artist was able to tone down the rustic air that tended to distinguish this iconography, thanks to the elegant and refined eighteenth-century-like temperament that distinguished his sophisticated aesthetic conception. Consequently, Grand Prince Ferdinando de' Medici and the Tuscan nobility had the highest regard not only for his magnificent compositions with crystal, Chinese porcelains, musical instruments and precious objects – for example, see the canvas described in the prince's 1713 inventory (Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Guardaroba Medicea, filza 1222, fol. 55v) and now at the Museo della Natura Morta in Poggio a Caiano (inv. 1890, no. 7591) – but also his kitchen still lifes, reflections of which we can glean in the works of the Romagnolo still life artist Carlo Magini a few decades later.

DAVIDE DOTTI

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81 BARTOLOMEO BIMBI | Settignano, 1648 – Florence, 1723

Oranges, Limes, Lemons and Citrus lumia

1715

Oil on canvas; 174 × 233 cm
Villa medicea di Poggio a Caiano e Museo della Natura Morta, Florence, inv. 594

Born in Settignano in 1648, Bartolomeo Bimbi was the leading and most inventive still life specialist active in Tuscany at the turn of the eighteenth century. After travelling to Rome to study when he was about twenty, in 1685 the master began to work regularly for the powerful Medici family; Cosimo III and his children Ferdinando and Anna Maria Luisa were among his most important patrons. In addition to his refined floral compositions and canvases depicting very rare species and the malformations affecting certain flora and fauna, the artist was also famous for the series of large botanical paintings that, like a scientific overview, classified the various known species of cherries, plums, apples, pears, apricots, grapes and citrus fruits, most of which grown in the Medici gardens.

The theatrical composition of *Oranges, Limes, Lemons and Citrus lumia* is a magnificent example of Bimbi's highly distinctive production in this field. Together with three similar works, it was originally part of the famous series of citrus *"palliere"* executed for Grand Duke Cosimo III de' Medici in 1715 to decorate the lodge at the Villa della Topaia near Florence, where they were documented as of October of that year (Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Guardaroba Medicea, filza 1227, fol. 95r). Subsequently, they were also described in great detail by the man of letters Francesco Saverio Baldinucci ([1725–1730], 1975, 249) and, in 1733–1736, by the court botanist Pier Antonio Micheli (S. Casciu, in *Poggio a Caiano* 2008, 34).

Like the three companion works now at the Museo della Natura Morta in Poggio a Caiano, the painting examined here illustrates the era's most common citrus species as well as rarer varieties – the outcome of hybridization experiments by Florentine gardeners – trained on wooden trellises supported by two herms. As is the case in all of Bimbi's specimens, each piece of fruit is life-sized, portrayed with tactile realism and numbered with a tag, and can be identified thanks to the beautifully lettered legend on the large stone cartouche in the lower foreground. The painter uses great compositional skill to expand the spatiality of the work. The chipped stone wall divides the observer's space from that of the citrus trellis dotted with orange blossoms, beyond which we can glimpse a patch of sky with scuttling clouds. An eye for naturalism yields pictorial results of exceptional quality in the tactile rendering of the different surfaces – rough for the citrus fruit and jagged for the leaves – thanks also to the modulation of the crystalline light entering from the left. The bold, contrasting colours are also perfectly realistic, and are exquisitely nuanced in the infinite shades of golden yellow, orange and green.

As has already been noted (Strocchi 1982, 11–15), these works by Bimbi are unquestionably tied to the specialized treatises of the era, but they also reflect the grand dukes' interest in training citruses on trellises, keenly stimulated by the scientific studies of Francesco Redi and Pier Antonio Micheli. Indeed, in the early decades of the eighteenth century Tuscany's citrus science rose to the highest levels in Italy and Bimbi, uniting Baroque magnificence and grandeur with the need for careful botanical taxonomy, forever captured on canvas the marvellous fruits nature bestows upon us.

DAVIDE DOTTI

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82 BARTOLOMEO BIMBI | Settignano, 1648 – Florence, 1723

Sunflower

1721

Oil on canvas; 101 × 78 cm

Villa medicea di Poggio a Caiano e Museo della Natura Morta, Florence, inv. 6932

Imported to Spain from Central America in the sixteenth century, the sunflower *(Helianthus annuus)* immediately became widespread in the magnificent gardens of noble residences in Europe. Its different species were keenly studied by botanists and were the subject of numerous scientific illustrations. For example, in the early seventeenth century, in the Codice Casabona owned by the University of Pisa, the German artist Daniel Froeschl portrayed a specimen cultivated at the time in the botanical garden of this Tuscan city, portraying it with very detailed precision from two viewpoints (L. Tongiorgi Tomasi, in *Washington* 2002, 56–57).

The magnificent canvas examined here was instead painted by Bartolomeo Bimbi in the summer of 1721, two years before his death, at the personal commission of the sophisticated collector Cosimo III de' Medici. Bimbi's aim was not scientific classification, but documentary: with his masterly brush, he wanted to capture on canvas – to show posterity the surprising marvels that Mother Nature often bestows upon us – the majestic elegance of this enormous double sunflower, which probably grew in such an unusual fashion in the Medici gardens thanks to the care lavished on it by the grand duke's gardeners.

In fact, this work was originally intended for the sixteenth-century hunting lodge of La Topaia, situated above the Villa di Castello, where in the early 1690s Cosimo III had amassed a large collection of paintings immortalizing fruit and plants that were exceptionally rare and astonishing in size (such as the doubled-flowered Indian jasmine, called Gimé; two giant carnations; the plate with African dates), as well as vast selections of fruit, with cherries, plums, peaches, apricots, apples, pears and espaliers with citrus trees, of which an excellent example can be seen at this exhibition (cat. 81). At the Villa dell'Ambrogiana there was instead a display of the most incredible curiosities and deformities of the animal world, such as the canvas depicting the Chinese pheasant, the Norwegian falcon, the Moluccan cockatoo, and the two-headed calf and lamb.

Portraying it first-hand and life-sized, the master very effectively investigated the distinctive colours and morphological aspects of the plant that, standing so tall, almost seems to look at the observer. Rising from the green basal leaves, striated in various shades of brown, are two sturdy stalks, topped by huge sunflowers delineated with hundreds of short, concise brushstrokes laden with a dazzling golden yellow. The layout of the scene is simple, linear and intelligently studied to enhance the monumentality of this "prodigy of nature", deftly exploiting the contrast between the photographic foreground and the countryside in the background, gently shading off into the distance under the turquoise sky crisscrossed with heavy pink clouds.

The well-preserved canvas fully allows us to appreciate the accomplished pictorial rendering by this elderly artist, seventy-three at the time: sharp, precise brushstrokes describe the corollas of the two flowers, on which the oily paint is thick and dense, whereas the broad leaves are rendered with lighter and more fluid brushwork, using little paint and, in some areas, akin to sketching. Lastly, we must emphasize that the "double sunflower, yellow, seen frontally" ("girasole doppio in faccia di colore giallo"; Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Guardaroba Medicea, filza 1292, fol. 36v) is still in its magnificent original frame, finely carved and gilded by the Dutch sculptor Vittorio Crosten, to whom the canvas was entrusted on 29 July 1721.

DAVIDE DOTTI

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83 ATTRIBUTED TO DOMENICO REMPS | Active in the second half of the seventeenth century

Cabinet of Curiosities

ca. 1689

Oil on shaped canvas; 99 × 137 cm
Museo dell'Opificio delle Pietre Dure, Florence, inv. 790
On the paper with a red wax seal: Al Ill[ustrissi]mo Sig[no]re mio Sig[no]re et P[ad]rone Osse[rvandissi]mo / Il Sig[no]re Marchese Francesco Ricardi / Firenze

The painting, in excellent condition, is one of the most astonishing *trompe-l'œil* in Italy's public collections. Executed on a canvas shaped like a cabinet (a *scarabattolo*) with open doors to create a compelling illusionistic effect, it was probably commissioned by the wealthy Florentine marquis Francesco di Cosimo Riccardi, as suggested by the words on the beautifully penned letter wedged between the glass and the protective bar on the left door. Recently Jan Muylle (in *Florence* 2009b, 75) theorized that the nobleman commissioned the work in January 1689, when at his urban residence, the Palazzo Medici Riccardi, he organized a lavish reception to celebrate the wedding of Grand Prince Ferdinando de' Medici and Violante Beatrice of Bavaria. Marco Chiarini (1975) can instead be credited with identifying this work as the painting in the inventory of Ferdinando's assets (Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Guardaroba Medicea, filza 1222, fol. 38v), drawn up in 1713 following his death: "A similar [painting] 1 2/3, *braccia* high and 2 1/3, *braccia* wide depicting a cabinet, or *scarabattolo,* with various small paintings, medals, prints, coral branches and a letter addressed to the Lord Marquis Francesco Riccardi" ("Un simile [quadro] alto br.1 2/3, largo br.2 1/3, dipintovi un armadio, o scarabattolo con vari quadretti, medaglie, stampe, branche di corallo, et una soprascritta di lettera diretta al Sig. [nor] M.[arches]e Fran[ces]co Riccardi"). This was probably the same painting referred to by the biographer Francesco Maria Gabburri in his *Vite di pittori* (1719–1741, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Fondo Palatino, MS E.B. 9.5, 4 vols., II, p. 685) where, in reference to the Grand Prince's collection, he mentioned a "particularly beautiful" work by Domenico Remps. The Flemish artist was active in Venice in the second half of the seventeenth century (he was cited by Pellegrino Antonio Orlandi in 1719 in the *Abecedario pittorico*, 130), but there is very little – and vague – information about him. Even now we still do not know when and why the *trompe-l'œil* entered Ferdinando's collection, but there is no question that the artist must have had access to the vast Medici collections.

In fact, these collections boasted many of the objects depicted here, some of which still exist, such as the curious skull surmounted by a branch of red coral, purchased by Grand Duke Ferdinando I as a prehistoric artefact and now displayed at the Museo di Storia Naturale e del Territorio in Calci. In addition to being an intriguing work of great quality, characterized by striking hyperrealism (for example, the wood grain and knots, and the broken glass on the doors, creating a different optical refraction), the *scarabattolo* also bears valuable witness to the kinds of objects kept in a late-seventeenth-century *cabinet d'amateur,* in which the taste for rarities and marvels was associated with the desire to learn about natural phenomena, in a perfect balance between art and science. If we take a closer look at the contents of the cabinet, we can recognize two categories of objects: *naturalia* (shells, coral, minerals, scarabs, the skull) and *artificialia,* represented by the convex mirror reflecting the interior of a room with windows, the pocket watch, the magnifying glass, the pistol and the alcohol thermometer hanging over the top shelf, said to have been invented by Ferdinando II de' Medici. Some of the objects may also allude to the theme of *vanitas*.

The grand prince's cabinet naturally had to include precious small objects of the applied arts, such as the exquisitely wrought historiated plaquettes, the two refined lathe-turned ivories, the small bronze with a sleeping nymph and the two cameos, respectively depicting the profile of Minerva and the Phoenix, the symbol of rebirth, possibly alluding to the dynastic continuity of the Medici family. In an excess of *horror vacui,* the doors and the inside of the cabinet are covered with small landscapes and seascapes in the Flemish and Dutch style, which according to old inventories were quite numerous in the Medici collections. On the second shelf, to the right of the colourful floral painting, we can also observe a miniature with the portrait of a man in his forties, dressed in black: this may be the self-portrait of the painter, who wanted to be part of a masterpiece that continues to intrigue and deceive us today, in the wake of the contest between Zeuxis and Parrhasius in ancient Greece.

DAVIDE DOTTI

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84 Carlo Leopoldo Sferini | (?), 1652 – Verona, 1698

Trompe-l'œil Still Life with a Painting, a Drawing and Painting Tools

1677

Oil on canvas; 128 × 96.5 cm
Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. 87.7
Inscription on the letter tucked under the corner of the frame of the fictive painting: Al m[ol]to ill[ust]re sig[nor] mio oss[ervandissimo] / il sig[nor] Isepo Sperone in (Speronin?) / Verona
On the paper slip in the letter-rack at the upper left: Ill[ust]re sig[nor] mio oss[ervandissi]mo … [Spe]rone in (Speronin?) / Verona
Under the musical notation at the upper left: Al m[ol]to ill[ust]re sig[nor] mio oss[ervandissimo] il sig[nor] Antonio …; slightly left of the centre of the shelf: 1677

This painting was in a Budapest private collection until 1986, when it passed to the Kuny Domokos Múzeum in Tata; it was purchased by the Szépművészeti Múzeum in 1987. Its earlier provenance is unknown, although it may be identical with a work offered for sale at the 40th auction of the Saint George's Guild (Szent György Czéh) in Budapest, 1918, and listed at the time, with wrong dimensions, as a work by Francesco Bossi da Este (*A Gyűjtő* 7 [1918], 196–97). Ágnes Czobor (in *Budapest* 1962) and later Ágnes Szigethi (in *Summary Catalogue* 1991) tentatively attributed it to the still life painter Sebastiano Lazzari active in Verona in the second half of the eighteenth century. This attribution was recently rejected by the present writer, who identified its author as Carlo Leopoldo Sferini, called Carlo Tedesco (or Todesco), a painter probably of German origin and also active in Verona (Dobos 2010).

Art historians long considered Sferini as a *quadratura* painter and a painter of figural frescoes working in churches and villas in the Veneto, particularly in Verona and its surroundings (e.g. San Domenico, Verona, ceiling *quadratura;* Chiesa dell'Ospedaletto, Venice, the four fathers of the church; Santa Maria in Organo, Verona, *grisaille* frescoes in the Chapel of San Bernardo), and also acknowledged him as a skilled draughtsman (see, for instance, "Carlo Todesco", in Thieme–Becker 1907–1950, vol. 33, 1939, 236; *Verona* 1978).

In 1989 Eduard A. Safarik and Francesca Bottari were the first to publish a *trompe-l'œil* still life by Sferini, dated 1677 (Bottari–Safarik 1989, 374–75, pl. 446), which in recent decades has repeatedly appeared on the art market as a work by Antonio Calza. That painting, which serves as the starting point for identifying other still lifes by Sferini, is evidence that alongside Remps, also of northern origin and active in the Veneto (cf. cat. 83), Sferini was the earliest exponent of the independent *trompe-l'œil* genre in Italy.

The Budapest painting, also from 1677, displays, like the master's other known works, clever illusionism, wit and a characteristic northern attention to detail. In these pictures, Sferini combines one of the most widespread forms of *trompe l'œil* – known as the "studio wall", invented by the Antwerp painter Cornelis Norbertus Gijsbrechts (ca. 1630 – after 1683) – with elements of another typical form of the genre, the *quodlibet* (Latin for "as it pleases"), or medley, that is, an array of personal odds and ends, letters, books, without any apparent link in content or form.

On the fictive board partition in the painter's studio, hanging on a hitching ring decorated with a dark green velvet bow, is a painting of the *Virgin and Child with the Infant Saint John the Baptist Sleeping,* in a Dutch-style black frame. Its composition derives from a highly popular drawing by Parmigianino (*Virgin in the Rose Garden*, Baldin collection, Moscow, formerly Kunsthalle, Bremen), which became widely known through an oval woodcut by Antonio da Trento, and an engraving of the same format by Aegidius Sadeler. The torn and dog-eared fictive drawing pinned behind the picture with a palette knife and attached also with wax seals, is a tribute to Sferini's Venetian–Vicentine master, Giulio Carpioni (1613–1678). *The Holy Family with the Infant Saint John the Baptist* in its centre is a copy of an etching by Carpioni dateable to around 1640–1660, while the red chalk sketches decorating its border are *pastiches* after Carpioni's drawings.

On the shelf supporting the painting, we see various tools and equipment of the painter's trade: brushes, a palette, an India ink pen, and a maulstick. Alongside them and elsewhere in the painting there are letters with mysterious dedications, a half-open book, a musical notation, combs and a velvet pouch holding needles and thread. The random, chaotic positioning of the objects is counterbalanced by emphatic horizontal and vertical lines. Sferini paints the knots, splinters and faults of the planed spruce board with bewildering realism, and the rendering of the shadows cast by the shelf, the bow and the palette knife is expressive and accurate.

The randomly chosen objects belong to the everyday, physical world, but also speak to us in a symbolic language. For instance, the deteriorating, "desecrated" drawing and the ragged book proclaim the concept of *Vanitas,* while the combs convey the idea of "Purgat et ornat" ("it cleanses and adorns") expressed in Dutch emblem books. Marco Ciampolini (written communication, 2011) conjectured that the fragmentary words of the book may contain a hidden reference to artworks that are capable of transcending reality. And this notion has been the quintessence of *trompe-l'œil* painting since Zeuxis and Parrhasius in the fifth century BC.

ZSUZSANNA DOBOS

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85–86 CARLO MAGINI | Fano, 1720 – Fano, 1806

Wicker Basket with Tea Towel, Candle, Ceramic Cup, Flask, Fruit and Peas
Candle, Bottle, Ceramic Plate, Veal Loin, Fennel and Orange
ca. 1760–1770

Oil on canvas; 55 × 84 cm each
Private collection, Modena

Following the glorious flowering of the still life genre during the Baroque, around the third decade of the eighteenth century Italy saw its progressive decline, with the exception of a few isolated cases of eminent painters committed to rediscovering the true essence of reality, the humble and the quotidian. Along these lines, we can cite the rustic tables laden with food, investigated by the dazzling Lombard realism of Giacomo Ceruti; the famous bookshelves by Giuseppe Maria Crespi, which in their poignant simplicity establish a long-distance dialogue with the works of Chardin; and the rational kitchen tables – with their extraordinary optical lucidity – by the Marchigian master Carlo Magini, whose magnificent pair of pendants, examined here, is one of the leading examples known today.

The two canvases from the Silvano Lodi collection, datable to the artist's mature period (ca. 1760–1770), were shown at two exhibitions of still lifes from the renowned antiquarian's collection, one held in Tokyo in 2001 and the other in Ravensburg in 2003. These works, in excellent condition, exemplify the simplicity and tactile naturalism – in many ways typical of the Enlightenment (the scientific investigation of real elements, the calculated modulation of light) – that mark the expressive language of the Marchigian artist, whose precedents can be identified in the sober compositions of the Painter of Rodolfo Lodi and Cristoforo Munari. As can often be noted in his autograph works, here Magini used various elements typical of his iconographic repertory, taking them from the prepared models (cartoons) he assembled differently for each work to create compositions varying in complexity.

For example, the wicker basket with the white tea towel returns in a work from a private collection in Faenza (Zampetti ed. 1990, 135, no. 65), the pile of peas can be noted in the painting at the Molinari Pradelli collection in Marano di Castenaso (D. Benati, in *Florence* 2003, 466–67) and the cutting board with a veal chop can be seen in the work from a private collection in the Marche region (Zampetti ed. 1990, 141, no. 94), whereas the fennel bulbs resemble those in the aforesaid still life from the Molinari Pradelli collection, which – uncoincidentally – is stylistically close to our pendant.

Moreover, we must note the fact that, in both paintings, there is a partially burnt candle – also one of Magini's very typical leitmotifs alluding to the inexorable passage of time – as well as the clear flask of wine, curiously stoppered with crumpled paper (for a detailed comparison, see Zampetti ed. 1990, 143, no. 108).

In addition to the balanced spatial arrangement of elements with an illusionistic projection towards the foreground to accentuate their realism, the master also shows his exceptional aesthetic sensitivity in breaking up the chromatic timbre – tones of grey and beige – with sudden splashes of colour, ranging from the white of the cloth to the bright green of the peas, the rosy hue of the meat and the orange of the tangerine, as well as the delicate decorative motifs on the majolica (cobalt on the fluted plate from Lodi; light blue, red and green on the lidded cup attributable to the manufactory of Pasquale Rubati, active in Milan in the second half of the eighteenth century). The affectionate contemplation of everything pertaining to the rustic world of the kitchen, far removed from allegorical concerns, is united with a rarefied, silent and almost meditative atmosphere.

The poetry of simple, everyday things distinguishing Magini's refined production makes this eminent specialist one of the most fascinating figures on the scene of Italian still lifes of the second half of the eighteenth century: so much so that we can easily glean echoes of his art in the sublime canvases painted by the great Giorgio Morandi in the mid-twentieth century.

DAVIDE DOTTI

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87 Francesco Albani | Bologna, 1578 – Bologna, 1660

The Toilet of Venus

ca. 1610

Oil on canvas; 89 × 99 cm
Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna, inv. 6503

This work was probably painted as a pendant to a *Landscape with Diana and Callisto* (collection of the Duke of Sutherland, Mertoun House, St Boswells, Roxburghshire), executed around 1589–1599 by Annibale Carracci (1560–1609), with which it remained until 1798. The precise circumstances of its creation are unknown but it was taken from Italy to France around 1634 by the painter Jacques Stella before passing through several collections in Paris, one of which belonged to the regent, Philippe d'Orléans (1674–1723), the nephew of Louis XIV. The painting remained in the Orléans collection until 1798, when it was sold in London. After various changes of ownership, it was purchased by the Pinacoteca Nazionale of Bologna in 1972.

In the seventeenth century the work was ascribed to Annibale Carracci but this attribution was questioned by Donald Posner (1971), who suggested that Carracci had developed the composition of the *Toilet of Venus* several years after his *Landscape with Diana and Callisto* and that the greatest part of its execution was left to Albani, his pupil. After a brilliant career in Bologna, his hometown, Carracci moved to Rome in 1595 to paint the most ambitious work of his career, the ceiling of the gallery in the Palazzo Farnese (1597–1601). Towards the end of 1604, Carracci was struck down by a serious illness that obliged him to cease his activity for his principal patrons, and Albani, who arrived in Rome in 1601, took control of the project, painting his own interpretations of Carracci's mythological inventions. The close rapport between the two artists at the start of the century permits the supposition that some of the works were painted in collaboration, but for Catherine Puglisi (1999) the *Toilet of Venus* was executed by Albani alone. His hand can be identified in the slightly stiff and angular nudes, the uncertain construction of the landscape and the atmospheric treatment, which link this work with the *Assumption of the Virgin* in the series of Aldobrandini lunettes (Galleria Doria Pamphilj, Rome), which can most probably be attributed to Albani.

The theme of the toilet of Venus was often tackled by the painters of the Italian Renaissance, in Venice in particular, by Giovanni Bellini and Titian among others, before being taken up at the end of the sixteenth century in Bologna and Rome. Homer (*Odyssey* VIII, 266–365) relates that when Venus returned to Cyprus after she and her lover Mars had been surprised by her husband Vulcan, she is adorned by the Graces and their presence has a particular significance here. Carracci had painted the subject around 1594–1595 in a large work (National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC) from which Albani borrowed the main group of figures arranged like a frieze, but inverted the direction they faced. In Albani's composition, the figures have lost some of their importance as they are set in a vast landscape in which large trees establish a succession of intermediate planes beneath a blue sky scattered with clouds. Bathed by a delicate light, the setting created by the painter provides a natural stage for the activities of the elegant figures. Furthermore, Albani added to the earlier composition flying putti, a sculpted fountain and an ornate chariot that together add a touch of lightness to the scene.

Some of these motifs were to become recurrent in Albani's mythological landscapes: in particular they are found in other treatments of the same subject painted for the Palazzo Giustianini in Bassano di Sutri (1609–1610), the Palazzo Verospi in Rome (around 1611–1612), and two of the paintings in the cycles of the *Story of Venus* today in the Galleria Borghese in Rome (1617) and the Musée du Louvre in Paris (1621–1633).

STÉPHANE LOIRE

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88 Giovanni Battista Viola | Bologna, 1576 – Rome, 1622

Landscape with a River

ca. 1604–1605

Oil on canvas; 38.5 × 50 cm
Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. 520

Giovanni Battista Viola was mentioned by several contemporary sources as a painter active in the circle of Annibale Carracci (1560–1609), and, in 1642, Giovanni Baglione wrote that "Viola aroused the interest of painters with his landscapes inspired by the fine Italian manner of painting, quite different from the overly dry style of the Flemish" (Baglione 1642, 173, "Viola diede gusto alli Pittori con quel modo di far paesi; poiché erano formati alla maniera pittoresca buona Italiana, lontano da quella seccaggine Fiamminga"). But the artist was long forgotten and his works have often been rather too generously attributed to Carracci or Domenichino (1581–1641).

Having arrived in Rome in 1601 with Albani (1578–1660), Viola worked with both Albani and Domenichino on the decoration of Villa Giustiniani in Bassano di Sutri (1610). He then collaborated with Domenichino at Villa Aldobrandini in Frascati (1616–1618) and Villa Ludovisi in Rome (1621–1622), where a *Landscape with Travellers* can be attributed to him with certainty. Fifteen or so works have recently been assigned to him on the basis of various mentions in inventories drawn up in Rome, but also in France, where some paintings were attributed to him in the collection of Cardinal Mazarin as early as 1653.

Built around a less rigorous structure than Domenichino's compositions, the paintings ascribed to Viola clearly reveal his importance in the diffusion of classical landscapes, which he helped to popularise in Rome at the start of the seventeenth century. Of mostly small format, a common factor is their composition constructed around strict parallel planes, featuring clumsily rendered figures in the foreground, and a range of cool colours in which browns, greens and intense blues prevail. Often executed in pairs, his works are frequently religious or mythological in subject but may also show fishing and hunting scenes, or simply figures in the midst of nature.

This painting and its pendant, *Landscape with Hunters* (inv. 510; both from the Esterházy collection), were long considered as "School of Domenichino", then ascribed to Giovanni Francesco Grimaldi (1605/1606–1680), before Marco Chiarini (1969) proposed their attribution to Viola on the basis of a comparison with a work inventoried under the artist's name in 1693 (Galleria Borghese, Rome). The painting in Budapest is indeed constructed in a similar manner to the one in Rome, with a large cliff, partially in the shade, blocking the view, which encourages the eye to wander into the distance. A comparable range of colours is also employed, with an expanse of greenish-blue water, the reflective surface of which is described by the painter in minute detail, while the few figures in the foreground are summarily executed.

The painting in Rome cannot be identified with any of those for which Viola received a payment from the Borghese family in 1613. Its date of execution has in fact been more readily placed around 1604–1605 on account of its affinities with the youthful works of Domenichino painted at that time. This dating is suitable for the Budapest pair of paintings as well. Viola's later landscapes seem characterized by a broader, more spacious vision, due to his contact with Domenichino and Paul Bril, first at the Villa Aldobrandini, then at the Villa Ludovisi.

STÉPHANE LOIRE

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89–90 SALVATOR ROSA | Arenella, Naples, 1615 – Rome, 1673

Rocky Landscape with Waterfall
Harbour with Ruins
ca. 1640

Oil on canvas; 86.5 × 110.5 cm and 87.5 × 111 cm respectively
Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. nos. 529, 535
Signed *Rosa* at lower centre on the *Harbour with Ruins*

This pair of paintings was correctly attributed to Salvator Rosa in the 1663, 1719 and 1773 manuscript inventories of Ambras Castle. The National Picture Gallery's 1897 catalogue still adhered to this attribution, at least as regards the signed *Harbour with Ruins* (*Országos Képtár* 1897, 321, 325; the *Rocky Landscape* is ascribed to a follower of Rosa). Andor Pigler, however (1967), believing the signature to be a forgery, attributed the *Harbour* to an unknown follower of Andrea Locatelli, and endorsed Raffaello Causa's attribution of its pendant to Michele Pagano, a follower of Rosa.

Tracing the pair's history back to their execution, Klára Garas established the authorship of Salvator Rosa beyond doubt. As Filippo Baldinucci relates (1930, 154), Rosa painted the pictures for his friend Francesco Cordini, who sold them in Rosa's lifetime to Ferdinand Charles, Archduke of Austria, who was visiting Florence. Upon the latter's death they were inherited by Sigismund Francis, Duke of Tyrol, who kept his treasures in Ambras Castle, near Innsbruck. When he died the collection passed to the imperial house, and was transferred to Vienna in 1773. The Rosa landscapes were then taken first to Pressburg (Bratislava) in 1781, then in 1784 to the residence of the president of the Treasury in Buda. In 1848 they were transferred to the Hungarian National Museum, from where they passed to their present location.

Rosa was born near Naples, where he produced his youthful works, primarily battle scenes inspired by Aniello Falcone. His monographer Luigi Salerno was quite justified in calling him "one of the greatest artistic figures of the Italian seicento, who had a very considerable influence in Europe" (in *Naples* 1984, I, 173). Moving to Rome he came into contact with the prevailing classicizing trend, then from 1640 to 1649 he worked at the Medici court in Florence. Returning to Rome he lived there until his death, but remained firmly rooted in the Neapolitan tradition. His talents were not limited to painting and drawing, he was a poet, musician, and actor too. His outstanding erudition is apparent in the choice of subjects for his pictures and in his rich stock of motifs.

Rosa's landscapes betray his familiarity with the realism of the Bamboccianti (Dutch and Flemish genre painters active in Rome) as well as the work of Pietro Testa and Nicolas Poussin. Rosa's impact extended beyond the eighteenth century, reaching as far as Goya's expressive visions and nineteenth-century Romanticism.

The Budapest pair date from the beginning of the painter's Florentine period, around 1640. As Aurora Spinosa pointed out, the motif of the coastal cave, which recurs throughout Rosa's landscapes, may have been inspired by a rock formation in Posillipo. In the romantic scenery of the Budapest *Rocky Landscape,* a rocky outcrop forms an arch on the right, and water cascades through it. On top of the rock stands an old oak tree, more firmly rooted than the other younger, windswept trees to either side, and with a handsome crown of foliage. The figures in the foreground – a woman on a mule, accompanied by a child and a shepherd – are the traditional accessories of landscape painting. No more than a wisp of cloud graces the sky above this scene, which radiates pastoral tranquillity. The composition shows close parallels with the *Bridge* in the Galleria Palatina in Florence, where a road leads through the rock cleft. The pendant of the *Bridge* is probably the *Coastal View with a Tower* in the same collection. The pendant of the Budapest *Rocky Landscape* is likewise a harbour view, depicting various boats anchored in the bay and a group of fishermen at work on a flat ledge of rock in the centre. The masterful composition is framed by an ancient ruin to the left, while to the right towers a cliff worn through with caves. Further back, a tiered rising coast protrudes into the sea, enveloped in mist. Soft light pervades the scene.

This early concept recurs in the *Seascape with an Arch in a Cliff* (Galleria Doria Pamphilj, Rome), which is similarly dominated by a mass of rock in the centre, although the overall format is wider and the shore is more extensive. In *The Finding of Moses* (Detroit Institute of Arts), which dates from later in the artist's career, the crevice with water gushing out is again a central motif.

A *Harbour* by the Neapolitan landscape painter Domenico Gargiulo (Museo Correale, Sorrento, inv. 2802) shows the same coastline, though a much greater emphasis is given to the stevedores and fishermen in the foreground. Although dating from around 1650 (B. Giordano, in *Naples* 2002, 47), it can be linked to Rosa's *Harbour* in Budapest on account of its combination of imaginary and real elements.

ÉVA NYERGES

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91 Francesco Zuccarelli | Pitigliano, 1702 – Florence, 1788

Landscape with Bridge

ca. 1735

Oil on canvas; 56 × 73 cm
Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. 650

This extraordinary painting, which together with its pendant (*Landscape with a Castle*, inv. 652) was in the Esterházy collection before entering its current location in 1871, inaugurated Francesco Zuccarelli's long and successful career in Venice (Haumann 1927, 37).

Zuccarelli trained in Rome with the figure painters Giovanni Maria Morandi (Florence, 1622 – Rome, 1717) and Pietro Nelli (Carrara, 1671 – Rome, 1740), but after a fundamental period in Florence, where he refined his store of knowledge thanks to the protection of the influential connoisseur Francesco Gabburri, he decided to abandon a promising career in the Tuscan city and attempt to make a name for himself at the forefront of the prestigious – and far more lucrative – artistic scene of Venice.

His timing could not have been better, as only two years separated Francesco's arrival from the death of Marco Ricci (Belluno, 1676 – Venice, 1730), the era's most important Venetian landscapist, whose legacy our painter chose to take up in a milieu in which he had no rivals. Indeed, landscape painting was a foreign genre in Venice, because although Ricci had skilfully translated it through a pictorial language rich in light and colour that softened the sharp lines and the palette of Northern European masters, it did not boast a true tradition, thereby paving the way for unexpected results.

Our painting must thus be viewed in these terms. It shows Zuccarelli to be an artist intent on getting his career under way in Venice, but looking elsewhere for inspiration and, specifically, the artistic territory of Salvator Rosa (Naples, 1615 – Rome, 1673), which he had had the chance to "explore" through his contact with Gabburri.

If we compare this painting and the great master's famous work on the same subject (see *The Bridge,* Gallerie Palatine, Palazzo Pitti, Florence), it is clearly a sort of tribute to his teachings, albeit skilfully re-elaborated by a young artist intent on earning himself a place not only among the leading figures on the Venetian art scene, but also outside it. Having set aside Marco's rustic accents and Salvator's subtle disquietude, Zuccarelli proves here that he had an already mature personality. He ushers in a formula capable of seducing the most sophisticated palates through the unique charm of his brushwork that, combined with his light, fresh pictorial phrasing, eschews narrativity to transform itself into poetry. Indeed, this work resembles a sweet pastoral poem in the way the pretty young shepherdess advances slowly over the stone bridge as, bathed by the warm noonday sun, she seems heedless of the toil and countless difficulties of everyday life in the country.

The girl immortalized in the setting of an eternal spring does not fear highwaymen or the sudden devastating storms that rage in Ricci's works; she does not face steep paths, nor does she stumble over split tree trunks or encounter the innumerable perils of a hostile environment. The few elements reminiscent of northern works, which can be noted in the roots clinging to the boulder on the far left of the composition, almost resemble furnishings, and would soon be replaced by the sweet and colourful little flowers found in later rural backgrounds.

Warm, lucid realism pervades Zuccarelli's brushwork – clean and dry – guided by an eye for good draughtsmanship, learned during his recent Roman sojourn and solidly rooted in the pictorial phrasing that distinguishes this work, one of the most significant in his artistic career because of the extraordinary pregnancy of its syntax and content. It is almost a conceptual manifesto, a declaration of intent, announcing to the public the destiny of Europe's most beloved landscape artist of his era.

FEDERICA SPADOTTO

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92 LUDOVICO CARRACCI | Bologna, 1555 – Bologna, 1619

Portrait of the Tacconi Family

ca. 1590

Oil on canvas; 97 × 76 cm
Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna, inv. 6484

The family portrayed in this painting is that of the painter's sister, Prudenza, with her husband Francesco and their two children. The older boy, Innocenzo, would soon commence his career as an artist, becoming Annibale Carracci's main pupil and collaborator during the master's early years in Rome. Indeed, it is possible that his contribution can even be discerned on the vault of the Galleria Farnese.

The identity of the figures and the attribution of the work is the merit of Carlo Cesare Malvasia ([1678] 1841), who mentioned that the painting was owned by the noble Bonfiglioli family of Bologna. From there, it was transferred to the Marquises Carrega of Genoa in the eighteenth century, where Mario Bonzi traced it last century (1933), and it finally entered the public collections of Bologna in 1971. To date it is the only known portrait of those ascribed to Ludovico by early sources and, in any case, it is one of the very few attributed to him with any certainty.

The work is one of the benchmarks of the youthful production of this artist, patriarch of the so-called "Carraccesque reform" that overturned the principles of languishing Mannerism by renewing contact – frankly and passionately – with reality. Indeed, this marvellous group portrait is characterized by its tone of simple truth, intimate and private, and its touchingly informal conception, capable of conveying the human warmth of each figure with moving intensity, but also their bonds of love: "as real and unaware as life itself", to use Arcangeli's masterly words (1956). The rich, fluid painting style, echoing the Venetian emphasis on colour but with subdued tones, combined with a brand-new sensitivity for natural light – the tranquil and muted light of an interior – transforms what we might define as the *existential* presence of the group into something vivid and tangible, and the father's sudden arrival from the wings, as if this were a snapshot, contributes decisively to this. The sense of the portrait is thus completely regenerated, akin to moving "from the pose to the moment immediately preceding it", when all the figures are distracted, still lost in their own thoughts (Stanzani 2006). Precisely at the time in which Mannerist-style official portraiture was celebrating the last triumphs of the "state portrait", Ludovico – moving past its intents and premises – instead seems to have become attuned to an artistic tradition that had remained along the sidelines until then: the Lombard tradition, marked by austere naturalism, going from the Bergamasque Giovan Battista Moroni to Giacomo Ceruti two centuries later.

As Zapperi noted (1989), the portrait is also enriched by what can be termed a "biographical" element, as Prudenza was the man's second wife and he is hugging his son Innocenzo from his first marriage, leaving the child they had together in the mother's arms.

Lastly, the social significance of this poignant work is equally important, as it conveys a tranquil and extremely modern bourgeois air that, with affable bonhomie, seems to celebrate the virtues – modesty and decorum – typical of an entire rising class. This aspect is even more touching because it seems to express the ingenuous desire of the head of the household, a carpenter by trade, for honest social advancement. Dressed in his Sunday best, like his wife and two sons, he is even wearing a hat and, taking up a renowned topos, in his left hand he is holding an open letter rather than a tool of his humble *métier*.

ALESSANDRO BROGI

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93 GINEVRA CANTOFOLI | Bologna, 1618 – Bologna, 1672

Sibyl (formerly thought to be *Portrait of Beatrice Cenci*)

ca. 1650

Oil on canvas; 64.5 × 49 cm
Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica in Palazzo Barberini, Rome, inv. 1944

The girl's expression of sad resignation and her quizzical gaze towards the observer must have fuelled the mysteries and ambiguities that have made this work one of the most famous and replicated icons in the world.

Before entering the Palazzo Barberini collection, the canvas belonged to that of the Colonna princes, and it was not until the eighteenth century that it began to be considered a *Portrait of Beatrice Cenci*. In effect, the image lent itself to representing the physical features and emotions of the young parricide who, following her execution, came to be considered a popular heroine: a secular martyr of sorts.

Another misunderstanding that unquestionably helped make the painting famous was its attribution to Guido Reni as, based on an erroneous tradition, the Bolognese artist had painted Beatrice's portrait in 1599 while she was imprisoned at Castel Sant'Angelo.

In reality, Guido arrived in Rome at least two years after these events unfolded, although the style of the painting alone should suffice to make this reconstruction unfeasible. This type of purism, with a controlled and neo-Raphaelesque style of painting, would not be seen in Reni's œuvre until the 1630s. In any event, the artist's hand cannot be gleaned in this canvas, which, while refined, seems somewhat spiritless and is far removed from Reni's aristocratic brushwork.

As early as 1787 Friedrich Wilhelm Basilius von Ramdohr raised doubts about the attribution to Reni, providing a lucid and insightful interpretation of the growing misinterpretations of the girl's identity: "Cenci is the ideal of the sweetest female soul, not the ideal of forms, not that of great expressiveness. One could be more beautiful, perhaps more interesting, but not more amiable" (Ramdohr 1787, II, 62). Ramdohr also asserted that he was familiar with the real portrait of Beatrice Cenci, then at the Villa Mondragone, and he judged it to be quite different with respect to the idealized features of the young woman portrayed in this canvas. Nonetheless, misunderstandings continued throughout the twentieth century, with an alternation of confirmations and refutations regarding both its authorship and the identity of the portrayed figure. In 1954, during the monographic exhibition devoted to Reni in Bologna, the Barberini painting was attributed to Francesco Albani (*Bologna* 1954).

The first to suggest the name of Ginevra Cantofoli, connecting the Roman canvas with the *Allegory of Painting* at the Brera, was Renzo Grandi, whose opinion was reported by Anna Maria Degli Angeli in a forgotten article from 1987 (Degli Angeli 1987), then taken up by Fiorella Frisoni in the entry on the Milanese painting (*Pinacoteca di Brera* 1991). Following careful restoration, the canvas was later analysed by Rossella Vodret (in *Rome* 1999), who revived the attribution to Reni based on the numerous *pentimenti* during its execution that point to an original invention.

Nevertheless, the painting's complicated *fortune critique* can now rely on a vast repertory of comparisons, following publication of the first monograph devoted to Ginevra Cantofoli (Pulini 2006), which offers eloquent terrain in terms of close parallels in both physical features and style (versions can be found in Stourton, Wiltshire, as well as Paris, Berlin and Saint Petersburg). The consistency of form, expression and execution observed in all the works ascribed so far to the Bolognese paintress allow us to confirm that they were by the same hand.

This compact group of paintings also provides definitive confirmation for the iconographic interpretation of the Roman painting as a *Sibyl,* given that some other canvases attest to the execution of complete series of *Sibyls,* characterized by a broader perspective that also includes the book and, in some cases, the words identifying the Old Testament figure.

The refined style of Cantofoli, who was the collaborator and perhaps also the guardian of Elisabetta Sirani, combined with the enigma of an obsessive "different repetition" of the same idealized face, should be interpreted through a vaster culture than that of mid-seventeenth-century Bologna. Indeed, we have yet to study relations between Cantofoli and painters active in Rome, such as the Perugia native Giandomenico Cerrini and the Dutchman Louis Cousin, called Luigi Gentile, whose works show affinities that are anything but superficial.

MASSIMO PULINI

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94 MICHELANGELO MERISI, CALLED CARAVAGGIO | Milan, 1571 – Porto Ercole, 1610

Portrait of Fra Antonio Martelli, a Knight of Malta

ca. 1608

Oil on canvas; 118.5 × 95.5 cm
Palazzo Pitti, Galleria Palatina, Florence, inv. 717

When Caravaggio was newly famous, he was asked his opinion on the definition of a good painter. He replied, "one who can paint well and imitate natural things well" (Friedländer 1955, 277). His critics complained that he could only paint what he saw before him, and derided Caravaggio's paintings because the figures were merely portraits of his models. It stands to reason that Caravaggio would be an excellent portrait painter, which he surely was. Cardinal Francesco Del Monte introduced him to his influential circle of friends by encouraging them to have their portrait painted by Caravaggio. Of this group, only the portrait of Monsignor Maffeo Barberini, the future pope, has been identified. At least ten original Caravaggio portraits are as yet untraced (Spike 2010, 54).

In 1607, Caravaggio arrived in Malta with the objective of obtaining membership in the Order of Saint John. Though disqualified as the murderer of Ranuccio Tommasoni, Caravaggio came bearing the powerful recommendation of the noble Colonna family. Indeed, he had sailed from Naples on a ship commanded by Fabrizio Sforza Colonna, an admiral in the Order of Saint John and the son of the marchesa del Caravaggio. And, according to the sources, both Baglione and Bellori, the first thing he did after disembarking in Valletta was to "pay his respects to the Grand Master Alof de Wignacourt whose portrait he painted" (Baglione 1642, 138). Bellori ([1672] 1976, 226) writes of two portraits of Wignacourt, "standing dressed in armour" and "seated without armour". The former is believed to be the *Portrait of Wignacourt with a Page* today in the Musée du Louvre in Paris. "As a reward, the Grand Master presented him with the Cross of Malta" (Bellori [1672] 1976, 226).

It was either during his year in Malta, or in the year afterwards, 1609, when he fled Malta to Sicily and went to Messina, that Caravaggio painted the *Portrait of Fra Antonio Martelli* (1534–1618). Aged seventy-four, Martelli was still a powerful man, the prior of Messina and of Hungary, and a knight who had seen everything in his career. Born in 1534 into the Florentine aristocracy, Martelli entered the Sacred Military Order of Saint John of Jerusalem, Rhodes and Malta in 1558. During the Great Siege of 1565, Fra Antonio Martelli would be one of the five hundred knights, who, with a few thousand soldiers, miraculously repulsed the Turkish invasion of six thousand janissaries and twenty thousand other soldiers. The losses on both sides were so steep that to survive the siege was itself a miracle. Over the course of his ensuing career, Martelli had risen to the office of admiral and served valorously in numerous military campaigns before his appointment to the important priory of Messina.

Caravaggio, who both painted well and saw his model acutely, dedicated one of his greatest portraits to this extraordinary man. Fra Antonio is seen in three quarter length in the habit of the order, a huge eight pointed Maltese cross in shimmering silk on his chest. His gaze is steady, his chin seems strong and resolute. Only the soft folds of skin at his collar betray his age. He bears a noticeable resemblance to another old knight, his ancient companion at arms, Alof de Wignacourt. Some scholars have questioned if this portrait might in fact represent the grand master, not the prior. The earliest record, however, a Medici inventory of 1666, clearly identifies the sitter as Martelli, and its provenance from the Martelli family in Florence.

JOHN T. SPIKE

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95 Ottavio Leoni | Rome, 1578 – Rome, 1630

Portrait of Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi

1621

Oil on canvas; 136 × 100 cm
Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. 747
Inscribed on the letter the Cardinal holds in his left hand: Al Ill / Card L'- Luduisio / Rom[a]

In delicate health and well into his sixth decade when he ascended to the papal throne, Alessandro Ludovisi, as Pope Gregory XV (1621–1623), wisely chose his youthful protégé, Ludovico Ludovisi (Bologna, 1595 – Bologna, 1632), to execute an ambitious Counter-Reformation agenda. On 14 February 1621, the day following the papal coronation, Ludovico became cardinal-nephew. In the short twenty-nine months of the papacy, their felicitous partnership left an extraordinary legacy to the church and to the art world. Their accomplishments for the faith included the return of Bohemia and Bavaria to Catholicism, a reform of papal elections, the creation of a unified missionary office and the canonizations of Ignatius Loyola, Teresa of Avila, Philip Neri, and Francis Xavier. In the arts, they sponsored large construction campaigns especially for Jesuit causes, brought Bolognese artists like Guercino to Rome, and amassed an important collection of antiquities, most of which is held today in the Palazzo Altemps, Rome.

This sensitive portrait of Ludovico, turning his head to meet the gaze of the viewer, must have been painted by Ottavio Leoni shortly after Ludovico became cardinal. Wearing the ring symbolic of his new office, his lively right hand grasps the chair, while his left hand languidly holds a letter, likely alluding to Ludovico's duties as secretary of state. Scholars have noted the persistence of Raphael's influence on ecclesiastical portraiture in the seated, three-quarter length format. This conservatism, understandable against the backdrop of the tumultuous sixteenth century with the Sack of Rome and the rise of Protestantism, also reveals the role portraiture served in the church. Succession in the papal states was inherently unpredictable. Unlike aristocratic Europe, where power and title were hereditary, men of widely divergent economic, social, and political circumstances could be elected to the papacy. A consistent visual language bolstered the sense of continuity within the papal office. This portrait thus serves as an immutable statement of the power, prestige, and responsibility of attending to the vicar of Christ, being both agent of papal policy and confidant.

Within this formal visual language, Leoni responded to the artistic currents of his own time. Taking cues from northern Italian naturalism and the counter reformatory zeal for images of clarity, simplicity and directness, artists such as Leoni in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries abandoned backgrounds of monumental architecture or sumptuous interiors common to earlier and later ecclesiastical portraits. Instead, they focused on erasing the boundary between the viewer and the painted subject. The life-like immediacy of Leoni's portraits, built up with softly modeled forms, engages the viewer directly through eye contact and gesture that often appears to break through the picture plane into the viewer's space.

Leoni's acclaim as a portraitist was widely acknowledged by his peers and patrons. For many years, he was an officer in Rome's art academy, the Accademia di San Luca, even serving as an instructor to Pietro da Cortona. Leoni was knighted by Pope Gregory XV for his portrait of the pontiff, according to seventeenth-century biographer and fellow artist, Giovanni Baglione, who wrote: "In all Rome there was no one who had not his portrait by Ottavio – whether prince, princess, gentlemen, or persons of private rank – and not a house in which some portrait from the hand of the Cavaliere was not to be seen" (Baglione 1642, 321).

In subsequent centuries, while Leoni's portrait drawings continued to be admired, his paintings largely were lost. Obscured by attributions to Caravaggio, Titian, Domenichino and others, restoration to Leoni's painted œuvre only recently began (Robbin 1990; Robbin 1996; Robbin 2000; Sani 2005; Tordella 2001; Tordella 2011). This portrait of Ludovico is a model of such restitution. Traditionally ascribed to Domenichino in the Esterházy collection, its rightful place in Leoni's œuvre has been firmly established by Tordella after Spagnesi's publication of the preparatory drawing in the Accademia Colombaria, Florence (inv. 730, inscribed "183/febraro/1621"; see E. Spagnesi, in *Florence* 1985, 87; Tordella 2001, 327). The same drawing makes it possible to identify other paintings by Leoni including a standing portrait (Museo di Roma, Palazzo Braschi, Rome) and a bust-length portrait (whereabouts unknown; see Tordella 2011, 58–59). On the occasion of this catalogue's publication, a new painting can be added: a replica of the Budapest portrait, formerly ascribed to an unknown artist in the Musée Fesch, Ajaccio (inv. MFA 852.1.355), appears to be by Leoni's hand and can now be restored to his œuvre.

CARMEN R. ROBBIN

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96 Bernardo Strozzi | Genoa, 1581 – Venice, 1644

Portrait of a Maltese Knight

ca. 1640

Oil on canvas; 129 × 98 cm
Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan, inv. 5639

The painting entered the Pinacoteca di Brera in 1903 as one of the sixty-three works from the collection of the art merchant Casimiro Sipriot, representing one of the largest bequests to the gallery.

The man portrayed here has yet to be identified and is distinguished solely by the large white octagonal cross on his robe, demonstrating that he is a member of the Sovereign Military Order of Malta.

As to the dating of the painting, opinions have differed, but this is not uncommon for Bernardo Strozzi, who worked in Genoa, his birthplace, as well as Venice, where he moved in 1633 when he fled from the monastic segregation to which Church authorities planned to relegate him. Ascribed to the artist's Venetian period by Orlando Grosso (1914) and Giuseppe Fiocco (1921), the work was then dated to the end of his Genoese period by Antonio Morassi (1942), followed by Luisa Mortari (1966), who found stylistic similarities with the *Portrait of a Bishop* at the Palazzo Durazzo Pallavicini, an opinion shared more recently by Marco Bona Castellotti (in *Pinacoteca di Brera* 1989). In reality, based on incontrovertible documents, the analogous *Portrait of a Bishop* was purchased by Giacomo Filippo Durazzo III in 1788 from a certain Venetian by the name of David Antonio Fossati, casting doubt on the idea that the work was painted while Strozzi was in Genoa. Nevertheless, we must note that, with respect to the *Portrait of a Bishop*, the *Maltese Knight* now in Milan shows great fluidity and an essentiality of expression, suggesting an even later date and leaving few reservations as to the fact that it must pertain to Strozzi's more mature Venetian years.

True enough, in moving away from the portraiture of Van Dyck, which had virtually become codified in this period – and not only in Genoa – Strozzi rarely indulged in describing the surroundings of the figures he portrayed, nor in detailing their accessories. Nevertheless, his disregard for this type of decorative element reaches new levels in this work, as he merely hints at – rather than actually painting – the folds in the fabric covering the table, placed there merely as a support for the nobleman's arm. And some of the carmine brushstrokes to his left, light and barely visible, seem to allude to a curtain left unfinished, halfway between concept and execution, as a sort of *pentimento*.

The use of white lead to sketch out the clothing loses the magmatic consistency typical of Strozzi's previous period, breaking up into more edgy patches painted without an orderly rhythm, yet maintaining an exceptionally cogent style in their seeming randomness.

This is an exceptionally powerful work by Strozzi, unquestionably one of the leading portraitists of his day. With respect to Van Dyck's typical models, here Strozzi's exuberant personality demonstrates unique independence that was gradually accentuated during his time in Venice. In his full-figure portraits, Van Dyck would position his models so their attention is focused on indeterminate points in an imaginary space; they rarely gaze at the spectator and, in the few cases in which they do, they look haughty and almost distracted, glancing sideways from an essentially three-quarter pose. But Strozzi – above all in this more mature period – sets his figures frontally: their gaze always locks with that of their portraitist, as if they want to convey their mood and innermost spirit. Here the painter's attention is intensely focused on the person, on the character manifested by his facial features, on the truthful and unique representation of humanity to be conveyed in the picture – and without any decorative forays to distract us.

CAMILLO MANZITTI

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97 GIOVAN LORENZO BERNINI | Naples, 1598 – Rome, 1680

Self-Portrait

ca. 1645

Oil on canvas; 53 × 43 cm
Galleria Borghese, Rome, inv. 545

This is one of the few sure portraits of Bernini and one of the very rare canvases in his pictorial production that is unquestionably autographic. In fact, although the sources and documents attribute over two hundred paintings to the great artist – the North Star of the Roman Baroque – and, going as far back as Baldinucci's biography, he is cited not only as a sculptor and architect, but also a painter, most of his works of this type have been lost (see Petrucci 2006).

The work is characterized by its terse "neo-Venetian" rendering, showing the typical taste for unfinished sketch-like works. In effect, the immediacy and psychological vivacity of Bernini's portraits evokes those of Annibale Carracci, Andrea Sacchi and Pier Francesco Mola.

The painting is from the collection of Baron Otto Messinger (formerly in Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne, Rome), who donated it to the Galleria Borghese in 1911. It is possible that, along with the self-portrait at the Prado once part of the same collection, the canvas originally came from the Chigi collection, given the large number of works Messinger purchased from it.

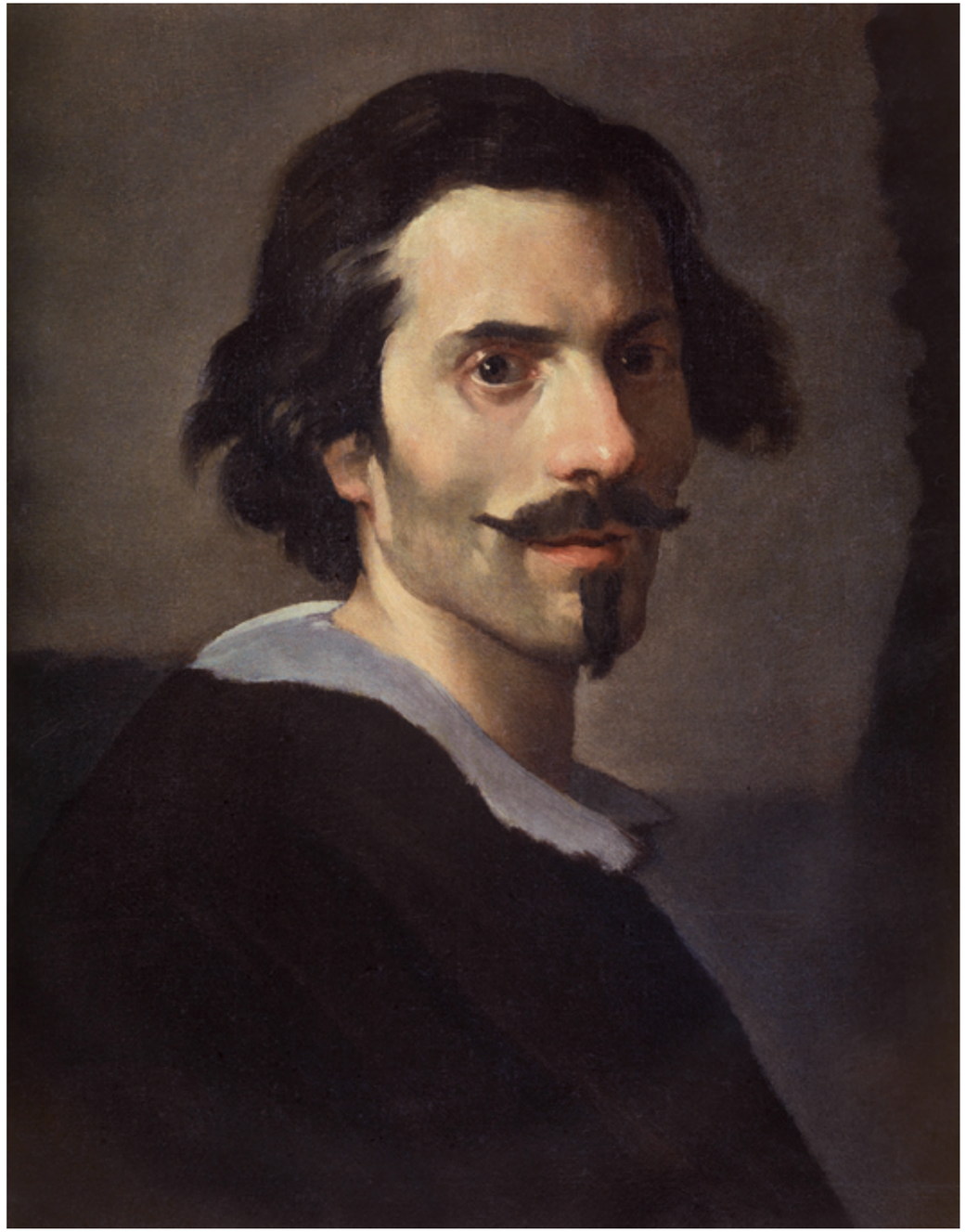
Pietro D'Achiardi can be credited with attributing the work to Bernini and identifying it as a self-portrait, as confirmed by all later literature. Maurizio Fagiolo dell'Arco dated it circa 1635, whereas Valentino Martinelli suggested it was painted around 1655. Luigi Grassi also theorized that it is a late work, executed after the Uffizi self-portrait. According to Martinelli, Bernini must have painted it immediately after his illness in 1655, due to the fact that he seems to have aged with respect to previous self-portraits. In my opinion, it was painted in the 1640s, whereas Tomaso Montanari dates it around 1638–1640.

Based on what Maurizio and Marcello Fagiolo dell'Arco suggested (1967), Kristina Herrmann-Fiore (1992, 1998) theorized that the painting is part of the canvas described in the inventory of Bernini's estate, which also included the portrait of his paramour Costanza Bonarelli: "two portraits painted on a canvas with the portrait of the late *Signor Cavaliere* and the other the half-bust of a woman, which [canvas] has been cut and two have been made ("due ritratti in una tela vi è depinto il ritratto della bo.[nani]ma del Sig. re Cav.re e l'altro una mezza testa di donna quale è stato tagliato, e se ne sono fatte due")." The edge on the back of the canvas is more frayed on the right side, thereby indicating that it may have been split up. In this case, however, it would have been painted before Bernini's marriage to Caterina Tezio in 1639, which seems unlikely given considerations on its dating. Moreover, there is nothing in the composition to suggest a pictorial and compositional connection with a right half of the canvas. The portrait seems to be the latest of the artist's known works of this kind, as demonstrated by his shock of white hair, the deep circles under his eyes and his drawn face, and is thus referable to the papacy of Giovanni Battista Pamphili (Innocent X) (1644–1655). Bernini's inactivity after he temporarily fell into disgrace may explain the mood – and haunted look – of this intense self-portrait, datable around 1644–1645.

FRANCESCO PETRUCCI

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98 Pompeo Batoni | Lucca, 1708 – Rome, 1787

Self-Portrait

1773–1774

Oil on canvas; 75.5 × 61 cm
Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. 1890 no. 1853

The reason Batoni's self-portrait for the celebrated collection of artists' likenesses in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence remained unfinished was, ultimately, money. As the German historian Johann Wilhelm von Archenholz, who met the artist in the late 1770s, recounted: "Batoni, at Rome, was requested to send his [self-portrait], but that artist will not work without money. Upon expressing to him my surprise at not having seen his portrait in the gallery of Florence, he answered: 'I have no time for such work, if they pay me, it shall be done'" (Archenholz 1791, I, 154). Similarly, the painter James Northcote wrote in a letter from Rome in 1778: "You may be sure so eminent a man as Pompeo has been asked for his portrait for the Duke's gallery, but so great is his pride … that he will not send it without being paid his own price for it" (Steegman 1946, 55).

The inclusion in this Florentine "pantheon" of artists was a matter of great prestige, and after his rival Anton Raphael Mengs had finished a self-portrait for the collection, Batoni wrote to Florence on 23 October 1773 to express his surprise that his own portrait had not yet been commissioned. The director of the Uffizi, Raimondo Cocchi, responded on 11 December that Peter Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany, wished to acquire Batoni's portrait, and on 25 December, the artist informed him that "I have already started to paint it with the greatest possible diligence and exactitude, and I am adhering to the measurements of the canvas of the same size that Mr. Mengs has recently used for his portrait" (Prinz 1971, 209: "ho già incominciato a farlo con tutta quella applicazione ed esattezza, che mi viene permessa dalla mia capacità, essendomi regolato nella misura della tela dell'istessa grandezza di cui si è servito Monsieur Meng[s] ultimamente per il suo Ritratto").

The self-portrait was still unfinished at the time of Batoni's death in 1787. It was left to his widow, Lucia, to offer the canvas to a subsequent director of the Uffizi, Giuseppe Pelli, on 17 November 1787: "I am sending you … the portrait of my deceased husband Pompeo Batoni. Only the head is finished because he suffered a stroke which incapacitated him for many months, followed by a second stroke that took his life after three days. I have thought it best to send the canvas in the same size in which he began it so that His Royal Highness can have it reduced to a size of his choice" (Prinz 1971, 209, "Si spedisce con il corrente Procaccia diretto a V.S. Ill.ma per questa R. Galleria il ritratto della felice Memoria del mio marito Pompeo Batoni, e la cagione di non esser ridotto a fine, che la sola Testa, fu la sorpressa di un colpo Apoplettico che tenendolo per molti mesi insufficiente a tutto, con una seconda replica dopo tre giorni lo privò di vita. Ho creduto bene per altro di spedirlo in quella medesima grandezza di tela, in cui lo aveva cominciato per lasciare la libertà a S.A.R. di ridurlo a quella misura, che più gli piacerà").

Explaining the difficult financial situation of Batoni's widow and family, and pointing out that the self-portrait had been requested from the painter in 1773, Pelli recommended the acquisition in a letter of 1 December 1787 to Conte Luigi di Schmidweiller, one of the grand duke's counsellors: "This portrait was begun on a large canvas, on which Batoni apparently intended to show himself in the act of painting a picture, but only the head is fully finished, and the torso with the right arm in a fur-lined coat is only sketched in. If it pleases His Royal Highness to accept this portrait in the state it is in …, the size can easily be reduced to a small oval. The fame of the artist will ensure that, while imperfect, this portrait shall not fail to please, all the more so since the head is extremely well done both in terms of the likeness and the quality of the execution" (Prinz 1971, 210: "Questo ritratto è principiato in una gran Tela in cui pare che volesse il Batoni collocarsi in atto di dipingere qualche Quadro, ma la Testa sola è ben terminata, ed il busto con il braccio destro in pelliccia rossa è solo abbozzato. Se piace alla R.A.S. l'accettare questo ritratto nello stato in cui è giacchè non può aversi altrimenti, sarà facile di ridurlo in un piccolo ovato, e la celebrità del Professore farà sì che non dispiaccia quantunque imperfetto, tanto più che la testa e per la somiglianza e per il lavoro è condotta benissimo"). Peter Leopold agreed to acquire the painting from the widow for 50 *zecchini*.

The present size of the canvas has been reduced from its original dimensions, which would have matched those of Anton Raphael Mengs's *Self-Portrait* of 1773 (97 × 72.6 cm; see Roettgen 1999–2003, I, 339–41, no. 275). Notwithstanding Lucia Batoni's explanation that her husband had been unable to finish the portrait due to his death, it is unlikely that he worked on it at any time other than in late 1773 and early 1774.

PETER BJÖRN KERBER

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99 VITTORE GHISLANDI, CALLED FRA' GALGARIO | Bergamo, 1655 – Bergamo, 1743

Portrait of Giovan Battista Vailetti

ca. 1710–1715

Oil on canvas; 226 × 137 cm
Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice, inv. 827

The painting can unquestionably be identified as the portrait of the Bergamo nobleman Giovan Battista Vailetti, of the Salvagno marquises, that Francesco Maria Tassi admired in his early and detailed biography of Fra' Galgario (Tassi 1793). The portrait remained in the Vailetti family until 1820, when, as part of an inheritance, it entered the important collection of Guglielmo Lochis, who had married a Vailetti. Following the great collector's death in 1859, the work was not included in the prestigious group of Lochis's paintings that entered the picture gallery of the Accademia Carrara in Bergamo, but was instead left among those assigned to the donor's heirs, who a few decades later – in 1912 – tried to sell it to an unidentified hotel in New York. However, the exportation office (Ufficio Esportazione) in Florence refused to let the portrait leave Italy, acquiring the canvas and allocating it to the Gallerie dell'Accademia in Venice (Brambilla Ranise 2007).

Portrayed while still relatively young, Vailetti is wearing a spectacular green dressing gown (known as a *zimarra*) decorated with floral motifs, over a gold silk waistcoat, likewise embellished with large red flowers. His garb is completed by a big jabot tied around his neck and a tall dark beret, a particular type that upper-class men would traditionally don at home when they took off their wigs. That the scene is set in a domestic environment is also clearly indicated by the details of the furnishings around the figure, who is portrayed next to a chair upholstered in red damask, while behind him are table and frame in a similar colour.

The great attention Fra' Galgario lavishes on describing Vailetti's clothing and the setting of the scene make this painting an extraordinarily effective visual document, offering us a convincing snapshot of the comfortable lifestyle of an early-eighteenth-century gentleman from the Venetian mainland. This achievement is due in large part to the painter's masterly use of colour and his skilled, objective rendering of the quality of the fabrics and the sartorial preciousness of the garments. However, it is important to emphasize that even in such a spectacular image, the Bergamo artist avoided the temptation to make this a celebratory portrait, instead favouring a relaxed *mise-en-scène* that does not emphasize the personage, in keeping with the realism that is one of the hallmarks of his language. This is confirmed by Vailetti's pose, as he is portrayed with his left arm resting on the back of the chair, almost as if he were leaning on it for support, with a very natural attitude that assures the spontaneous and non-rhetorical air of this work.

Unfortunately, we do not have accurate information about when Vailetti was born, but in 1733 he was mentioned in a document regarding a commission to Giovan Battista Tiepolo to decorate the Colleoni Chapel in Bergamo (Bossaglia 1989, 53). Nevertheless, there is good reason to believe that this portrait, which shows him when he was about thirty, was painted in an earlier stage of his life. The meticulous naturalism of the painting and its refined brushwork – using the tip – are specific to the works Fra' Galgario painted around the first half of the 1710s, when his pictorial technique had not yet turned to the succulent impastos that would characterize his works from around 1720. This time frame is also corroborated by the aforesaid testimony of Tassi, who mentioned the painting along with other lost works by the painter that are referable to 1711 and 1714 (for a different interpretation of the historian's words, however, see Rossi, in *Bergamo* 2003).

FRANCESCO FRANGI

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100 MASTER OF THE BLUE JEANS | Active in Lombardy in the late seventeenth century

A Beggar Boy with a Piece of Pie

ca. 1680–1690

Oil on canvas; 86 × 71 cm
Galerie Canesso, Paris

The painting reappeared on the antiquarian market about fifteen years ago, but Roberto Longhi had already been familiar with it and kept a picture of it in the folder of his photographic archives devoted to the Flemish painter Michael Sweerts (1618–1664). As Gerlinde Gruber noted more recently (in *Brescia* 1998; 2006), however, the work should actually be ascribed to the so-called Master of the Blue Jeans, a mysterious and intriguing genre painter who specialized in portraying scenes of the poorer classes and was active in the last few decades of the seventeenth century. This figure has been examined in detail over the past few years (see in particular the exhibition catalogue *Paris* 2010).

Given the lack of information about the artist's identity, it is difficult to shed light on his birthplace and background. Nevertheless, the keen physical characterization and rather sketchy spatial conception of some of his earlier works, such as the noteworthy *Frugal Meal* at the Museum voor Schone Kunsten in Ghent (*Paris* 2010, 38–41), point to the idea that the artist was not Italian. Indeed, it is no accident that many of the paintings now attributed to him were previously ascribed to other areas: whereas the Ghent canvas was attributed to the Spanish school in the early twentieth century, names of the calibre of Vermeer and the Le Nain brothers were advanced for the *Woman Sewing with Two Children* now in the collection of the Cariplo Foundation in Milan (*Paris* 2010, 42–43). Despite these widely varied indications, to which we must add Longhi's suggestion that Sweerts painted the work discussed here, there are few doubts that, at a certain point in his career, the artist seems to have settled in Lombardy.

This is demonstrated not only by the fact that some of his later works came from this area, such as the *Woman Begging with Two Children* at the Galerie Canesso in Paris (*Paris* 2010, 44–45), but also by parallels between the paintings from this phase of his career and works by the Austrian painter Giacomo Francesco Cipper called Il Todeschini, executed when the latter first moved to Lombardy at the end of the seventeenth century. Il Todeschini was another "foreign" specialist on lower-class subjects who was long active in northern Italy.

While similarities with Il Todeschini can be confirmed in terms of pictorial technique and chiaroscuro register, they do not extend to the expressive register of the master's works. In fact, he counters the cheerful and anecdotal tone of the Austrian painter's inventions with a decidedly sombre and empathetic depiction of poverty, one that manages to lend dignity to the key figures of his scenes and portrays their problems with poignant accents, anticipating those of the great scenes of *pitocchi* – peasants – executed in Brescia by Giacomo Ceruti in the early 1720s.

This approach is fully demonstrated by the *Beggar Boy* exhibited here, in which the painter compellingly captures the child's intense, frightened gaze as he beseechingly looks at the observer. That the forlorn character in this painting desperately needs help is demonstrated by his poor, improvised meal as well as his curious garb, characterized by a tattered oversized jacket, ransacked from who knows where. The latter detail was attentively investigated by the master, who even rendered the weave of the fabric, a blue twill with a white warp, a type of cotton cloth popular in Genoa at the time and thus promptly called "jeans" in English-speaking countries (from "Genoa", attested since the sixteenth century). Singular in itself, this detail of the material culture becomes quite significant if we consider that most of the master's works portray figures in denim garments that are almost identical to those worn today and vaunt the same colour. While the reasons for this choice, which accounts for the artist's conventional name, may be obscure, it is important to bear in mind that this particular fabric, in demand particularly among the less well-to-do classes, was made not only in Genoa but also other European centres, such as Nîmes. Thus, the distinctive garb of the figures portrayed by this painter cannot be used to identify his ambiguous origins, destined to remain mysterious for the time being.

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101 GIACOMO CERUTI, CALLED IL PITOCCHETTO | Milan, 1698 – Milan, 1767

Boy with a Basket

ca. 1730

Oil on canvas; 117 × 92 cm

Private collection (on deposit to the Pinacoteca Tosio Martinengo, Brescia)

Early in the eighteenth century, an unknown painter named Giacomo Ceruti began to make a speciality of depicting poor people, labourers, cripples and beggars in life-size figures on large canvases "as if he had found the most important subject in the world" (Longhi [1953] 1991b, 26–27). Born in Milan in 1698, Ceruti was already working in nearby Brescia by 1720 and very soon these unassuming, yet deeply imposing canvases began to take their places in the patrician villas in the countryside. In place of the brilliant and luxurious colours of the Venetian portraits of the noble and well-to-do, Ceruti composed his pictures in the pale tints of the dust and rags in which his mendicants, known as *pitocchi,* dwelt. And for this strange speciality, Ceruti came to be called by the uncomplimentary nickname, the "little beggar", *il pitocchetto.* In general, the major collections in Brescia did not favour these subjects, but surviving inventories reveal that three families in particular – the Barbisoni, Avogardo and Lechi – acquired as many of Ceruti's *pitocchi* as they could.

Ceruti often painted the seemingly countless boys who earned a meagre living as porters for hire in the city streets. The winters are cold in Brescia, near the Alps, and a young boy has wrapped himself as warmly as possible, his buttonless jacket tied with a rope. He strides purposefully across an open space, not breaking his stride, but looks directly at us, as if the painter has asked him to show his face. Today his burden is more delicate than heavy – eggs and a small package – and the child easily carries his basket behind his head with a grip that has become second nature at a very early age.

In the background are seen the crumbling walls of a rustic hospice that provides shelter to the poor and invalid. At left, a man strains to pull a cripple seated in a cart with wooden wheels; at right, an old woman approaches with the aid of a cane. This sad scene of common people bent over by work and infirmity appears to represent the future that awaits the young porter with his basket. Ceruti made this reading explicit by the device of pairing this painting with a pendant composition of a *Porter* (private collection, Milan; Gregori 1982, p. 438, no. 71, ill. p. 221), in which another boy looks solemnly at the viewer and points to the hospice in the present painting. Ceruti copied both the background building and the seated pointing figure from *The Hospice,* an etching in Jacques Callot's famous *Capricci di varie figure,* published in Florence around 1617 (Lieure 1969, I, 251; Gregori 1982, 56).

The widely-circulated etchings by Jacques Callot and Rembrandt were the most important seventeenth-century precedents for Ceruti's paintings of *pitocchi.* In 1622, Callot published his groundbreaking series of twenty-five *Beggars,* which constituted the first major artistic statement in favour of representing a wide variety of mendicants and homeless people as impartially as possible, without heavy overtones of caricature or disdain. With Callot's characters before his eyes, Rembrandt made the theme uniquely and his own, publishing in 1629 his first etchings of beggars, in which a spirit of compassion prevails. When Rembrandt sometimes portrayed saints and even Christ with the soiled hands and humble clothes of the poor, he was influenced by Caravaggio and the Caravaggists' paintings of apostles.

When Ceruti began painting his beggars and labourers around 1725, the nearest precedents were the paintings of daily life and country bumpkins by two artists of the previous generation, Antonio Cifrondi (1657–1730), who was then active in Brescia, and Giacomo Francesco Cipper, called Todeschini (1664–1736), an Austrian who headed a prolific workshop in Milan. Both artists tended to seek humour in their depictions of the lower classes, generally adopting a patronizing, rather than a sympathetic attitude. Neither made any attempt to portray their subjects as individuals. It was Ceruti, unexpectedly, who looked back more than a century earlier to the same tradition of Lombard naturalism in which Caravaggio had been formed: the Renaissance painters of Brescia and Bergamo, Alessandro Bonvicino (ca. 1498–1554), called Moretto da Brescia, Girolamo Savoldo (active between 1506 and 1548), and Giovanni Battista Moroni (ca. 1524–1578). Some internal instinct, yet to be understood, pushed Ceruti to discover a new clear-eyed view of his contemporary world, as if he were a "new Caravaggio" (Longhi [1953] 1991b, 23).

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102 Giacomo Ceruti, called Il Pitocchetto | Milan, 1698 – Milan, 1767

Three Beggars

1736

Oil on canvas; 130.5 × 95 cm
MNAC. Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Barcelona.
Colección Thyssen-Bornemisza, on deposit to the MNAC, 2004, inv. 86 (1975.43)

Giacomo Ceruti was native to Milan and trained as a portrait specialist in the same tradition of Lombard naturalism that had molded Caravaggio. During his career, Ceruti moved restlessly between the cities of Lombardy and the Veneto. In Brescia, Gandino, Venice, Padua, Piacenza and Milan, he painted portraits of remarkable intensity. During his early activity in Brescia, he developed a theme that seemed unusual to his contemporaries but is in fact the basis of his modern reputation, no doubt through his connection to Caravaggio. When not working on a commission, Ceruti began to render the daily life of the poor in paintings that are objective and yet touching in a way that anticipates Goya later in the eighteenth century. "These are works of genuine realism, observed neither with sympathy nor disgust", was the comment of Ellis Waterhouse (1962, 150). Unlike Giuseppe Maria Crespi, his optimistic counterpart in Bologna, Ceruti was a fatalist: his images of the poor and downtrodden rarely hold out any promise of relief.

After leaving Brescia in 1734 for employment in the small towns of Artogne and Gandino, Ceruti suddenly made an astonishing improvement over his provincial patronage. For at least a year, between 1735 and 1736, he was actively employed, first in Verona, then in Venice, by Field Marshal Count Johann Matthias von der Schulenburg (1661–1747), a renowned collector and major patron of important artists, including Giambattista Piazzetta and Gian Antonio Guardi. Ceruti's name figures frequently in Schulenburg's accounts from February to July 1736, as he received payments for twelve paintings in all, including *pitocchi* ("beggars"), portraits, and still lifes. It is believed that Ceruti remained for a time in the field marshal's service, after his return to Venice in November 1736 (Binion 1990, 80 n. 22).

The *Three Beggars*, which is rightly considered one of the masterpieces of Ceruti's career, was first published by Carlo Volpe (1983), who corrected its erroneous, if prestigious, attribution to Louis Le Nain. Through research in the Schulenburg archives in Hannover, Mina Gregori (1982) was able to identify the painting with a picture of *"tre Pitocchi"*, for which Ceruti was paid eight *zecchini* in February 1736 (Binion 1990, 148). The distinguished Schulenburg provenance was unexpected for a painting of beggars and it provided a key document for the understanding of a transitional moment in the artist's chronology.

In contrast to his works of the 1720s, Ceruti has positioned the old, poor people in this painting without a discernible background. His emphasis on the human figures in isolation was possibly influenced by Piazzetta, who also advised Schulenburg on his collection. Although the *Three Beggars* displays the monochromatic palette of dusty ochres and brown of the earlier Brescian paintings, Ceruti has noticeably heightened the acuity and detail of his observations. As a result, the old woman and the two elderly men with their canes possess the individuality of portraits, which no doubt they are.

In 1986, when the present painting was included in the first significant presentation of Ceruti's art in the United States, Mira Pajes Merriman contrasted its achievement against the sentimental myths of country life that prevailed in eighteenth-century painting. "Ceruti's head-on confrontation with these wretches, in which he captured their individual pain in some of the saddest pictures ever made, anticipated by over thirty years a wider recognition that Arcadian eulogies of bucolic life seriously distorted reality" (Merriman 1986, 67). In Italy, Ceruti and Crespi stand out and alone as the deepest and most sympathetic painters of the poor and the wretched. There would be no one comparable in Europe until Goya etched the *Disasters of War* in 1810.

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103 GIACOMO CERUTI, CALLED IL PITOCCHETTO | Milan, 1698 – Milan, 1767

Girl with a Distaff

ca. 1740

Oil on canvas; 48 × 39.2 cm
Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. 643

This painting was bought, as a work by Bartolomé Murillo, by Prince Nicholas Esterházy in Vienna in 1831, and later attributed by Otto Mündler (1869) to the Veronese painter Pietro Rotari, who specialized almost exclusively in *teste di carattere* (studies of heads) of young girls. This attribution survived for over a century (Pigler 1967; Garas 1968; Garas 1972) until it was refuted first by Mauro Natale (written communication, 1984), then by Mina Gregori (in *Brescia* 1987), who both identified the artist as Giacomo Ceruti. Ceruti's authorship has since been accepted by the majority of scholars (Á. Szigethi, in *Summary Catalogue* 1991; Zs. Dobos, in *Atlanta–Seattle–Minneapolis* 1995; Morandotti 1996; Righi 1996; Francesco Frangi, oral communication, 2012). Franco Moro's suggestion (written communication, 1990) that the work was painted by Paolo Borroni of Voghera, who copied and imitated the works of Ceruti, has received little support, due to the vivid brushwork of the picture and its high quality, which shines through even in the more abraded details.

The young peasant girl rests her head in her palm, in a pose taken from depictions of *Melancholia,* and the resignation (or is it just fatigue?) reflected in her face may conjure up a similar mood. This gentle wistfulness cannot, however, extinguish the vitality and brazen coquettishness that radiate from her green eyes, nor hide the enigmatic smile nestling in the corner of her lips. She is wearing simple peasant clothes, consisting of an off-white headscarf, a loosely tied shawl and a daringly low-cut dress, complemented by the bright patch of colour of the distaff with its cinnabar-red tip, which diagonally bisects the lower part of the picture. With her unadorned, roguish beauty, the girl is in natural harmony with the dark monochrome background, which Ceruti frequently used in his paintings as he often had difficulty in conveying a sense of depth.

The distaff, so prominent in the painting, is a traditional symbol of women's work as well as an attribute of the Fate Clotho. As demonstrated by Filippo Pedrocco (1990, 90–92), it was also part of the iconography used in depictions of courtesans and brothels in Venetian art. Even if this particular sense is not intended here, its erotic message, coupled with the girl's provocative expression and clothing, could not be more obvious. It is conceivable that this work once had a companion piece of a boy playing a flute, as these two themes, each evoking amorous associations, were often paired in eighteenth-century Italian genre painting (see, for example, Antonio Cifrondi's pictures on the theme [Italy, private collection]; Frangi 1998b, 52–53).

Gregori (in *Brescia* 1987) referred to "the idealized, Arcadian atmosphere, the more concise structure and the blended tones of skin colour" when placing this work alongside the half-length portraits Ceruti painted while in Venice. Subsequently, several scholars shared this opinion, and the painting has been dated to around 1740 (Morandotti 1996; Righi 1996). The *Girl with a Distaff,* by virtue of the above stylistic characteristics, is closely linked with the *Young Girl with a Cat* and *Young Boy with a Dog,* dated to 1736–1740 (formerly Matthiesen Gallery, London), the *Young Boy Resting on a Table* and *Young Girl Resting on a Basket* (Cicogna Collection, Milan), and the *Portrait of a Man Smoking in an Oriental Habit* (private collection).

Nobody has yet, however, pointed out that the painting also offers important proof of Ceruti's direct experience of the art of Giovanni Battista Piazzetta. The composition harks back to one of the Venetian master's inventions, which is preserved in an engraving from around 1770–1780 by Teodoro Viero. The motto on the engraving could form a text to accompany the *Girl with a Distaff* in Budapest: "Tacita siede, e al guardo forse attende, / Chi di novella fiamma il cor le accende" ("She sits quietly, as though waiting to see who will ignite her heart with new flame"). It is likely that Ceruti took the original Piazzetta work, after which the engraving was made, as the basis for the close-up view and the model's pose, resting on her left elbow, which simultaneously demarcates the diagonal of the composition extending from the bottom right corner. The influence of the Venetian master also explains the soupçon of sentimentality in Ceruti's presentation, and the fact that he depicted the model with a magnetism and sprightliness that belie her youth, and not as a victim of cruel destiny, as he did, for instance, in the harrowing and astonishing genre pieces of the Padernello cycle (for example *The Encounter in the Wood,* Pinacoteca Tosio-Martinengo, Brescia). At the same time, Ceruti's commitment to the naturalist traditions of Lombardy is apparent in his crude rendering of outward appearances, and in the way he records, with his customary objectivity and no attempt at embellishment, the girl's irregular, curiously curling eyebrows, the dark circles under her eyes, and the natural asymmetry of her face.

ZSUZSANNA DOBOS

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104 VITTORE GHISLANDI, CALLED FRA' GALGARIO | Bergamo, 1655 – Bergamo, 1743

Young Painter in His Studio

ca. or shortly after 1730

Oil on canvas; 92 × 73 cm
Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. 1148

Purchased in 1894 from the painter and merchant Achille Glisenti in Brescia, the painting was commentated and published by Sándor Lederer a short time later (1906) as the work of Fra' Galgario. The attribution was repeated by Burchard (1920) and in later catalogues of the Budapest museum (Térey 1924; Pigler 1954; Pigler 1967; *Summary Catalogue* 1991), and was then taken up by Filippo Maria Ferro (1968) and Maria Cristina Gozzoli (1982). In her catalogue raisonné of the works by the Bergamo painter, the latter dated it around the late 1730s.

During his mature years, starting particularly in the 1710s, Fra' Galgario flanked the traditional portraiture of Bergamo's aristocrats with a different type of painting, depicting eccentrically garbed young men, often represented as painters or sculptors with their respective work tools. The frank, naturalistic air of these inventions and the fact that the same faces often reappear in other works tell us that the artist always created these paintings based on first-hand observation of real models, who may have been the young men frequenting his workshop. In any case, it is also clear that observers of the era did not view these canvases as true portraits but lovely genre paintings. This is the only way to explain the information provided by the artist's reliable and knowledgeable biographer, Francesco Maria Tassi (1793, II, 61), who reported that collectors around Europe contacted Fra' Galgario to request works depicting these young men, without any specific interest in their identity. This suffices to confirm that the works followed patronage dynamics differing entirely from those that have usually distinguished portraiture.

These indications are helpful for our analysis of the work discussed here, depicting a young painter holding a brush, his arm resting against a blank canvas. Seated on a straw-bottomed chair with his back turned almost entirely to the viewer, the boy is presented in an extremely relaxed pose, with a theatrical touch created by the showy gold-trimmed tricorn hat he is wearing, resembling the one found in other similar works by Fra' Galgario, such as the *Portrait of a Boy with a Tricorn Hat* now in a private collection (Gozzoli 1982, 109, no. 48). Consequently, there is no doubt that the painting can be classified among the works we have just described, of which the Budapest canvas fully exemplifies both the character of the images – always original and unexpected – as well as the surprising expressive naturalness, determined by the confidential and entirely informal approach to the model. In addition to the figure's nonchalant pose, this effect of fresh spontaneity is also ensured by the exceptional pictorial technique of Fra' Galgario who, through impastoed and intentionally blurred brushwork, captures the rosy tenderness of the young man's complexion with great immediacy, along with his psychological mutability and melancholy expression. The same bravura can be noted in his violet tail coat: its iridescent hue is investigated with great luminist sensitivity through the dense texture of overlaid areas, created with a sheer and luminous lacquer that, as coeval testimony tells us, the artist produced himself.

Due also to these choices in pictorial technique, the painting is likely datable around or just after 1730. As Pigler (1967) noted, Fra' Galgario replicated it in a work whose location is currently unknown (Gozzoli 1982, 129, no. 194), in which the only significant variant is the fact that the canvas depicted on the lower left is no longer blank but bears the image of a face.

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105–106 BARTOLOMEO NAZARI | Clusone, near Bergamo, 1699 – Milan, 1758

An Old Man
An Old Woman
ca. 1730–1735

Oil on canvas; 49.5 × 38.5 cm and 49 × 37.5 cm respectively
Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Dresden, gallery nos. 587, 588

On 1 July 1743, art agent Francesco Algarotti bought these two paintings from Bartolomeo Nazari in Venice for August III, elector of Saxony and king of Poland (Posse 1931, 46, n. 2). The price of fifteen gold ducats for each picture was so surprisingly low because, as Algarotti commented, the artist hoped to receive other commissions from the Royal House of Saxony.

The first inventory listing these two works by Nazari in the royal painting collection in Dresden dates from 1754. It records the two paintings among those hung in the "Inner Gallery", which was primarily dedicated to Italian history and portrait painting (*Inventar Dresden* 1754, fol. 3r, no. 10, and fol. 3v, no. 11). The first printed catalogue of the royal painting collection also listed both works as among those hung in the Inner Gallery (Riedel–Wenzel 1765, 222, nos. 282 and 283). The attribution of the paintings was never doubted (see, among others, Hübner 1856, 135; Woermann 1887, I, 201; Posse 1929, 282; Marx ed. 2007, 381, inv. nos. 587 and 588). The works were dated to around 1730–1735 (Noris 1982, 230, no. 19).

Nazari was regarded as one of the best portrait painters of his day (Tassi 1793, II, 82–97; Noris 1982). Born near Bergamo, he initially trained with Vittore Ghislandi, known as Fra' Galgario. Throughout his life, Nazari travelled extensively. Although he was mainly active in Venice, he also worked in many other towns in central and upper Italy as well as, for a short period, in Frankfurt am Main in Germany. Angelo Trevisani was one of Nazari's key sources of inspiration in Venice, while in Rome he was inspired by Benedetto Luti and Francesco Trevisani. Nazari's Venetian portraits include many dignitaries, for example, the doges Alvise Pisani (Accademia dei Concordi, Rovigo) and Pietro Grimani (Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice), as well as such artists as Luca Carlevarijs (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford) and Sebastiano Ricci (Landesmuseum, Hanover).

The two Dresden paintings have all the features of Nazari's character studies. They display his impressively exact painting style, with finely blended brushstrokes, and the use of pronounced chiaroscuro to lend the portrayed figures psychological depth. Despite the considerable detail of the robes, these works are unlikely to be genuine portraits and instead should be located within the character study tradition. In his biography of artists from Bergamo written in the second half of the eighteenth century, Francesco Maria Tassi described similar works by Nazari as *capricciose teste* ("fanciful heads") (Tassi 1793, II, 93). In that sense, they belong to the *tronie* ("face") genre (Gottwald 2011), developed primarily in the Netherlands. Indeed, even in the eighteenth century, Tassi already mentions Rembrandt as an inspiration for Nazari's work (Tassi 1793, II, 93), while Algarotti noted that the exceptionally realistically painted portraits reminded him of works by Balthasar Denner (Posse 1931, 46).

Even if these two works were acquired for the Dresden Gemäldegalerie as companion pieces, they were not painted as such since the light in them comes from different directions. Rather, these character studies could be repeatedly combined in a variety of different hangs to create new narratives, similar to, for example, Pietro Rotari's *varie teste* which were so popular at the Dresden court. As is apparent from the collections in Warsaw (Museum Narodowe) and Bergamo (Accademia Carrara) (Dimitrio 1999, III, n. 21), Nazari tended to portray elderly figures in such works. In some cases, the figures have exceptionally expressive faces, while others are displayed with attributes associated with age, such as spectacles or walking sticks. The two Dresden paintings are anthropological studies of two old people whose features reflect a wonderful inner equanimity and cheerfulness, indicating long and fulfilled lives lived well. In his realism here, Nazari anticipates developments beyond the idealising world of the rococo.

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107 Rosalba Carriera | Venice, 1673 – Venice, 1757

Fortitude

ca. 1710

Pastel on paper, mounted on canvas; 35.2 × 29 cm
Private collection, Florence

In 1989, this pastel by Rosalba Carriera was auctioned as *The Goddess Minerva as an Allegory of Wisdom* (Sotheby's, Florence, 10 April 1989, lot 635). However, the subject can be more precisely identified from a largely identical pastel that the artist created as one of a series of the four cardinal virtues. This series belonged to the collection of August III, elector of Saxony and king of Poland. In the mid-eighteenth century in Dresden, August III acquired a total of 157 of Carriera's pastels, thus assembling the world's largest collection of her pastel works (Henning 2007; Henning 2009). However, the series of cardinal virtues is among the art works which have gone missing from Dresden's Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister since 1945.

The series comprised four pastels representing the virtues of Fortitude, Justice, Temperance, and Wisdom. With minor differences, the allegory of Fortitude (see Sani 2007, 192–93, no. 191a; Henning 2009, 320, no. II-6) is identical with the pastel from a private collection in Florence on display here (see Sani 2007; www.pastellists.com/articles/carriera2/pdf, 10, accessed 7 January 2013; it is not included in Sani 1988 or Jeffares 2006). Even though the Dresden pastel has been wrongly described as an allegory of wisdom a number of times since the early nineteenth century (first by Matthäi 1835, II, 123, no. 30), it can be quite conclusively identified as the virtue of Fortitude within the context of all four cardinal virtues.

Bernardina Sani has rightly pointed out the high quality of the Florentine pastel. In comparison, the Dresden series could be regarded as only a workshop production (Sani 2007, 193). Rosalba Carriera often kept copies of the sheets she sold. In some cases, these copies were executed by the workshop and were also sold – this practice explains why there are two works with exactly the same subject, as in this case. As yet, it has not yet been possible to verify whether the three other cardinal virtues were also produced in such high quality pastels in the artist's own hand.

In some parts of the work, the style of the pastel, applied in a markedly graphic manner, has been justifiably compared with those pastels produced by the Tuscan artist Benedetto Luti who influenced Rosalba Carriera at the start of her career (Sani 2007, 193). This reference may also be decisive in dating the pastel. Even though works by Rosalba Carriera are generally very difficult to date, and in many cases cannot be dated at all, the style of this pastel suggests that it belongs to the early part of the artist's career.

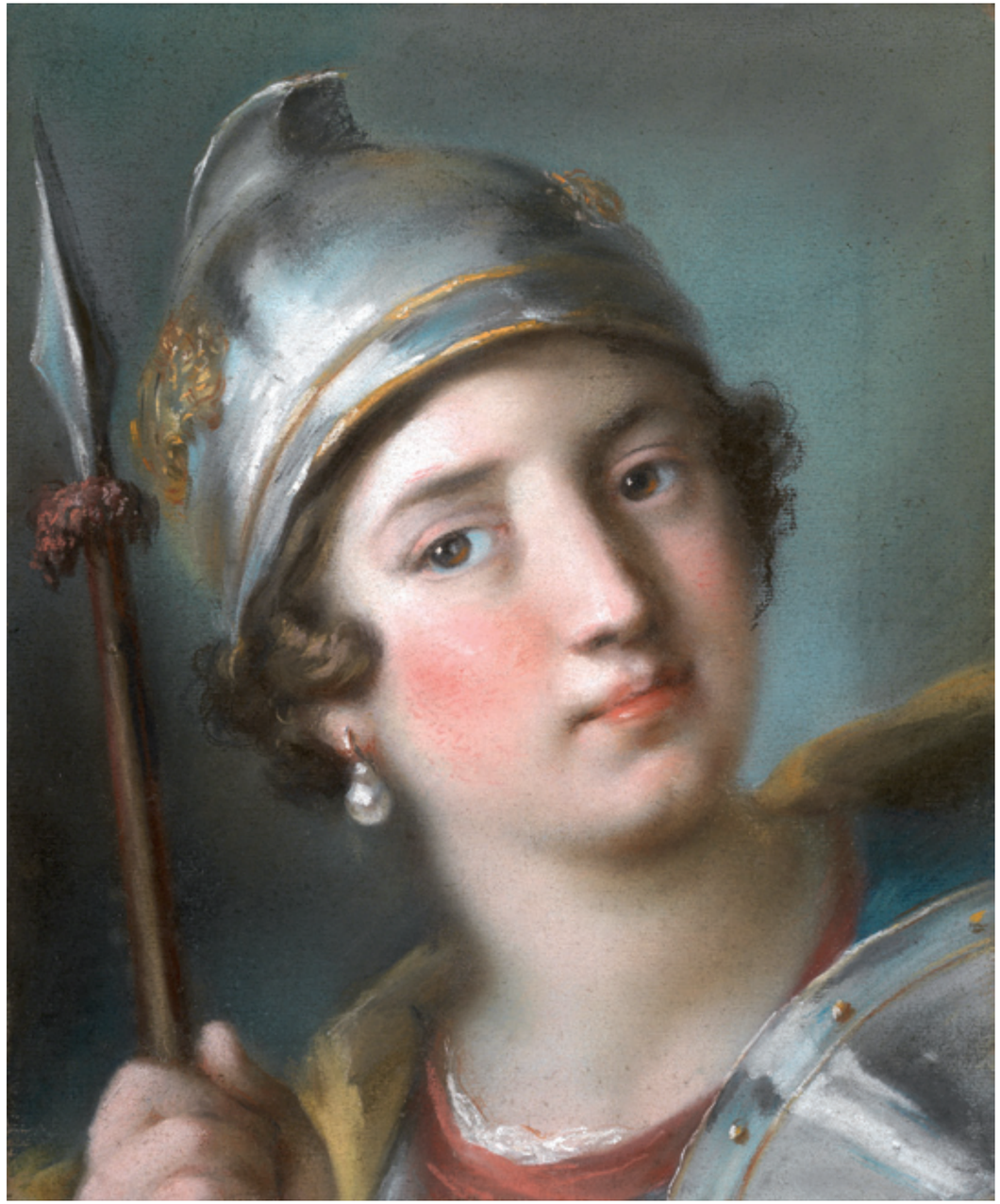
The elegance, grace and rich colours of Carriera's pastel works are a highpoint in Italian rococo art. At that time, no other female artist was as successful. The question, though, of where she received her artistic training is the subject of differing and conflicting views. While she was admitted into the Accademia di San Luca in Rome in 1705 primarily as a miniaturist, she was received into the Académie Royale in Paris in 1720 specifically as a pastel painter. For most of her life, she worked in her home city of Venice, with only three longer stays in Paris, Modena and Vienna. Rosalba Carriera not only portrayed Venetian dignitaries, musicians and artists, but her atelier in Venice was also visited by many European aristocrats and art connoisseurs on the *Grand Tour*. As well as her portraits, Carriera produced a series of works with allegorical and religious subjects. These not only included the series of the four cardinal virtues mentioned above but also the four seasons (in The State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg, for example) or individual works such as *Spring* (Ca' Rezzonico, Venice), *Vigilance* (Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart) and *Transience Hand in Hand with Eternity* (Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden).

Pastel painting was, without doubt, a genre strongly characteristic of the rococo. In the first half of the eighteenth century, such bright, shimmering works were not only created by Rosalba Carriera but also by Maurice Quentin de la Tour, Jean-Etienne Liotard and Anton Raphael Mengs. Through the intensive translucent colours, elegance of the figures and enchanting idealisation of the subjects portrayed, these pastel works lend this era a patina of carefree light-heartedness.

ANDREAS HENNING

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VI

POETRY AND VIRTUOSITY

IN THE SETTECENTO

108 Giuseppe Maria Crespi | Bologna, 1665 – Bologna, 1747

The Farmer's Family

ca. 1715–1720

Oil on canvas; 58 × 57.3 cm
Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. 519

Crespi has painted a day like countless others in the agrarian countryside of Bologna. The sky is overcast with dark gray clouds and a family of farmers is gathered near the shelter of their *fienile,* or open-air hay barn. It is late afternoon and the father is attending to the livestock. A shepherd girl has come in from the pasture and is sitting down, tired. She turns to watch the boys scuffling over something to relieve their boredom. In the midst of the little group, a mother quietly nurses her infant, their figures an island of peace. Crespi added a few strokes of light behind her head to make the simple point that even in the humblest of settings, life is always sacred.

This intimate glimpse of the farmer's life once formed part of the famous Esterházy collection (Fischer 1812, 86–87, no. 58). Early in the twentieth century, following a long period of neglect for the Italian artists of Crespi's time, this small painting, which was by then in the Szépművészeti Múzeum, was one of the works most often cited and exhibited by the leading Italian scholars as they sought to restore the artist to his rightful reputation. The *Farmer's Family (La famiglia del contadino),* as they called it, was illustrated and listed in the first monographic article ever devoted to Crespi, in which the author argued on behalf of the painter's "modernity", citing the influence of his acute observations of reality and his knowing use of contrasts of light and dark on Giambattista Piazzetta (Marangoni 1920–1921, 667).

In 1929 the painting was exhibited in Venice at the landmark exhibition of *Il Settecento Veneziano,* where Crespi's stature among his contemporaries first emerged to public attention. A few years later, Crespi's native city of Bologna organized an international exhibition on *Il Settecento Bolognese.* The dominating presence of the 1935 show was Crespi, and the Budapest painting was illustrated in several scholarly reviews (Arfelli 1935, 162). In 1970 the city of Bologna organized a major exhibition to explore paintings from several centuries that exemplified the *Nature and Expression in Bolognese Art.* In the catalogue Francesco Arcangeli called the *Farmer's Family* a "masterpiece", likening its warm dark tones to those of a *largo,* or movement, by Vivaldi (Arcangeli 1970, 266). The same critic compared Crespi's "solitary poetry" to the proto-romantic passages in the works of Rembrandt and Gainsborough (Arcangeli 1970, 260).

The figures in Crespi's *Farmer's Family* were carefully studied, and he no doubt kept drawings or sketches of them in his studio, because they reappear in various combinations in other works. The identical rendering of the mother and child appears in paintings by Crespi in Bologna and New York; indeed, all of the figures on the left side, were used by the artist in a lost painting executed between 1715 and 1720 for the Faresini in Venice, whose appearance is recorded in an etching of 1762 by Giacomo Leonardis (Spike 1986, 138–40). The present painting appears to date in the same years or perhaps in the early 1720s.

The painting was conserved in 2000, when its original tondo format was restored.

JOHN T. SPIKE

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109 GIUSEPPE MARIA CRESPI | Bologna, 1665 – Bologna, 1747

Woman Washing Dishes

ca. 1725

Oil on canvas; 52 × 43 cm

Galleria degli Uffizi, Collezione Contini Bonacossi, Florence, inv. 20

Bathed in the mid-day sunlight that streams down from an unseen window, a kitchen maid is intently washing dishes, unaware of our presence. To reach the sink, she stands on a wooden step surrounded on all sides by the stacked, shelved, and suspended tools of her trade – pots and plates. This is a comfortable, quiet household. The maid's dress is clean and colourful, the floor is well-swept, the cat napping on the chair by the fire is plump and content. The kitchen where she works is amply stocked, but not luxurious. There is a single iron skillet, otherwise the maid cooks her master's supper in red earthenware pots, whose lids and covers are hanging neatly in a row on the wall. The family dine on pewter plates, not majolica or silver. Two copper cauldrons for boiling water hang over the sink next to the maid's head, but most of the vessels are simple terracotta.

Since the modern rediscovery of Giuseppe Maria Crespi, this unpretentious interior where nothing is happening except the washing of dishes, has been considered one of Crespi's best (Longhi 1948, 21[ed. 1991, 151]), an Italian equivalent to the domestic scenes of Jean-Baptiste-Siméon Chardin (1699–1779). Mira Merriman (1980, 316) pointed out that the kitchen seems observed from life, rather than imaginary. If so, then this kitchen is likely to be the artist's own.

Crespi's greatest, and least expected, achievement as an artist was to direct his brush to incidents so commonplace that none of his compatriots saw their potential as art. Indeed, his contemporaries were largely unable to see the difference between Crespi's respectful representation of working people, as in this *Woman Washing Dishes,* also called *The Scullery-Maid,* and his comic representations of the escapades of country bumpkins, such as his series of prints illustrating Giulio Cesare Croce's folktale about Bertoldo, Bertoldino, and Cacasenno. Crespi's classically-biased biographer Zanotti was sparing in his praises for the genre paintings, and even his adoring son, Luigi Crespi, noticeably de-emphasizes this aspect of his father's career. For them, all these paintings were meant to be humorous. Yet it was his sympathetic attention to the details of everyday life that constitutes Crespi's most lasting contribution to the history of art.

The early sources attest that Crespi painted genre paintings from the beginning of his career in the 1680s, although none have survived. He chose subjects, such as a butcher shop, that had precedents in the early works of the Carracci but were ignored by Bolognese artists by Crespi's time. His first five etchings represented the craftsmen of Bologna – another theme pioneered by Annibale Carracci and revived by Giuseppe Maria Mitelli. By 1709, when Crespi had established a school, he moved his family to Florence, where they spent eight months as guests of the grand prince Ferdinando de' Medici at his villa in Pratolino. Encouraged by Ferdinando, who urged him to study his collection of paintings by the genre painters known as the Bamboccianti, Crespi renewed his interest in genre subjects, painting two important works, *The Fair at Poggio a Caiano* (1709; Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence) and the *Flea Hunt* (1709; Museo Civico, Pisa).

In the first few years following his return to Bologna, he concentrated on genre subjects, painting the working class pressing wine grapes, making silk, doing laundry. In 1712, Crespi painted his startling *Confession* and then each of the other six Sacraments, depicting them as events enacted by real persons of his own time and place (now all in the Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden). Crespi's breakthrough was to demonstrate that every episode of daily life – even the religious life of ordinary people – was a conceivable subject of art. After 1720, Crespi's genre style became subtly more intimate in comparison with the boisterous market scenes of the previous decade. One of his most famous genre scenes, *The Woman Washing Dishes,* is datable to 1720–1725 on the basis of its thinner application of paint, fibrous quality of the highlights, and the elegiac emotion that suggests the aging artist's personal involvement in the subject.

JOHN T. SPIKE

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110 DONATO CRETI | Cremona, 1671 – Bologna, 1749

Hermes and Paris

1710s

Oil on canvas; 272 × 166 cm
Musei Civici d'Arte Antica, Collezioni Comunali d'Arte, Bologna, inv. P40

The subject is taken from the poignant tale recounted in Homer's *Iliad,* according to which, in order to settle the heated beauty contest among the irascible Hera, Athena and Aphrodite, the father of the gods chose Paris, considered the handsomest of mortals, to be the judge. Until then, the young man had lived as a shepherd in the rocky mountains of Crete: donning a cloth and armed with a staff, he had humbly taken his flock to graze accompanied by a faithful dog, despite the fact that he was the son of Priam, the king of Troy, and Hecuba, in turn the daughter of the king of Thrace (but, as usual, it is a long and complicated story). One fine day – which Creti pictured as cloudy and almost dark and menacing at dusk – he was surprised by Hermes. The messenger of the gods (recognizable in the painting by his *petasos,* the winged cap, and the wings on one of his feet so he can fly) brought him the golden apple, the prize to be handed to the winner of what, in modern terms, we would call the "Miss Olympus" contest. We know the tragic ending to this story: Aphrodite, praised for her divine beauty, helped Paris kidnap Helen, the wife of the king of Sparta, and the war that ensued "brought countless ills upon the Achaeans".

The monumental canvas was painted in the 1710s as a pendant to the *Hermes Bringing the Head of Argos to Hera* in the Appartamento del Gonfaloniere at the Palazzo Comunale in Bologna. It seems to have been painted to hang on its right, as the balance of the composition suggests and as we can also glean from the broken branch on the left in the middle of the canvas, which emerges in the other painting at the foot of the clouds bearing Zeus's lovely and scantily clad wife. Both paintings, eruditely tied to Homer's tales and, more specifically, to the myth of the Greek deity Hermes (the Roman god Mercury), entered the municipal collections in 1744 as part of the bequest to the senate by the Bolognese nobleman Marco Antonio Collina Sbaraglia (1681–1744), a patron of the Cremona-born artist and the heir of the eminent anatomist Giovanni Girolamo Sbaraglia (celebrated by Creti in 1713 with his *Memoria,* a *secco* mural painted in the upper courtyard of Bologna's Archiginnasio).

The life-sized iconic image – actually larger than life-sized – of the young and classically handsome Greek shepherd is one of the eighteenth century's most sublime scholarly syntheses of ancient and modern figurative culture. It is the successful crossbreeding of two great masters of seventeenth-century Bolognese art: Annibale Carracci and the "divine" Guido Reni, in two masterpieces Creti had long admired. Here he took up the same spatial arrangement of the figures and the representation of Mercury in flight in the mythological scene Annibale frescoed at the gallery of the Palazzo Farnese in Rome at the turn of the seventeenth century; at the same time, he drew on the frontal pose of Guido's *Samson Victorious* (Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna), a heroic and brazen virile nude painted no later than the first quarter of the seventeenth century. The painting is also a manifesto of academy draughtsmanship, a coloured pencil study of an athletic model posing on the pedestal during a nude lesson, his right hand gripping a rope hanging from the ceiling to bear the weight of his arm. It has the stern dignity of a cold, headless Roman marble work or its eighteenth-century plaster copy, like those at the Accademia Clementina in Bologna, or one of Robert Mapplethorpe's ebony-framed photographs, or even, since it is coloured, of David LaChapelle, grappling with an intricate Greek soap opera in which immobile melancholy heroes pose against the painted backdrop of a dappled twilight.

MARCO RICCÒMINI

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III DONATO CRETI | Cremona, 1671 – Bologna, 1749

Sibyl

late 1710s or early 1720s

Oil on canvas; 43.8 × 37.5 cm
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, inv. 1984.138
Signed and inscribed in upper left: NASCETU[R] / DE / VIRGINE / DONATO CRETI / BOLOGNESE

A virgin with prophetic virtues and the dispenser of venerated and feared oracles, the Sibyl is a key figure in Greek and Roman mythology and literature. Of those known in the classical era – and there were at least ten – the one depicted in Creti's painting is probably the "horrendous" Cumaean Sibyl, Apollo's priestess sung by Virgil in "Eclogue 4" of the *Bucolics* and Book VI of the *Aeneid,* and Aeneas' guide in the underworld. Her name is derived from the lost city of Cumae in ancient Magna Graecia, which stood between the modern towns of Bacoli and Pozzuoli on the coast northwest of Naples. The mysterious Latin words on the sheet unrolled by the standing Cupid mean "He will be born of a Virgin" and, according to certain Christian exegetes, refer to the advent of the Redeemer. As a result, the Cumaean figure is one of the most commonly portrayed Sibyls in the art of the modern age.

A mature work by Creti, it was probably executed in the late 1710s or early 1720s, similarly to four pictures portraying Virtues, which were part of the bequest of the collector Marco Antonio Collina Sbaraglia (1681–1744) to the Bologna Senate (Collezioni Comunali d'Arte, Bologna). There are no known documents regarding the small Boston painting, and its relation to the *Virtues* is therefore purely stylistic. Given its small size, it would be difficult to identify it as the only *Sibyl* by Creti that the Bologna historian Marcello Oretti saw at the Palazzo Fava in Bologna, described as a "life-sized figure" (Oretti [ca. 1770], fol. 167, "figura dal vero"). It can be linked, however, to numerous pen drawings of individual mythological or allegorical female figures. A direct comparison can be made with the so-called *Erythraean Sibyl* in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle (inv. 3784, see Riccòmini 2012, 85, no. 96.2), in which on the open book we can see a prophetic text in Latin identical to this one.

The iconographic success of this "American" *Sibyl* is testified by a small grisaille, approximately the same size (44.5 × 34 cm), at the Ackland Art Museum (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, The William A. Whitaker Foundation Art Fund, inv. 87.10; see Roli 1988, 328, fig. 24). This monochrome work has been previously considered a preparatory model for the Boston canvas, but it is in fact a faithful workshop replica of one of the master's fortunate inventions, albeit in black and white. Creti used this figure at least one other time, putting her in the same pose – but with a quick change of clothes – at the foot of his *Allegorical Tomb of Boyle, Locke and Sydenham* (1729, Pinacoteca Nazionale di Bologna, inv. 1202; see Roli 1967, fig. 71), one of the paintings celebrating eminent Englishmen that Owen McSwiny commissioned from the most famous eighteenth-century Italian painters for the collection of the Duke of Richmond.

The marvellous outcome of the Boston image lies in the balanced juxtaposition – as scientific as a chemical formula – of its forms and colours. The ice-blue mantle edged in gold, the cerulean pillow, the shimmering cloth tied under the Sibyl's chest and wrapped around her head, and the pot-belly vase of flowers are the worldly affectations of an elegant Magdalene. At the same time, however, they are also the otherworldly ostentations of a dreamy *Geometry* (in the *Allegorical Tomb* in Bologna), armed with a compass and lost in a forest amidst bearded philosophers and their silent young pupils, or the attributes of an erudite ancient Sibyl in modern garb, her gaze distant from the spectator and his worldly sufferings as she is absorbed in her prophetic thoughts.

MARCO RICCÒMINI

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112 Pompeo Batoni | Lucca, 1708 – Rome, 1787

Venus Delivering the Arms of Vulcan to Aeneas

1748

Oil on canvas; 98.7 × 73.5 cm
Liechtenstein – The Princely Collections, Vaduz–Vienna, inv. GE 163
Signed with initials and dated at lower right: P·B·1748

Transfixed by the sight of a finely wrought shield, Aeneas stands on the bank of the river Tiber as his mother Venus presents him with the armour forged by Vulcan. Batoni followed Virgil's description of this episode in the *Aeneid* (8:608–731) with precise attention to detail: the presence of the she-wolf identifies the river god sitting by the stream as the Tiber; Venus shines amidst a cluster of dark clouds; the weapons, placed under an oak tree, gleam in the sunshine. The goddess directs her mortal son's gaze to the shield decorated with "the story of Italy, Rome in all her triumphs" in the wars to be fought by the descendants of Aeneas' son Ascanius, culminating in the pair of central scenes showing the Battle of Actium (above) and Octavian's triumphal entry into Rome (below). An eighteenth-century viewer would have understood this glimpse of a glorious future leading up to the foundation of the Roman Empire – with Octavian, as Augustus, becoming the first emperor – as a visual tribute to the Holy Roman Empire and the present Habsburg emperor Francis I (reigned 1745–1765).

Together with a pendant picture representing the *Choice of Hercules* (Clark–Bowron 1985, 243, no. 123), the painting was commissioned by a senior imperial diplomat and military commander, Prince Joseph Wenzel von Liechtenstein (1696–1772). This is confirmed by a letter of 4 December 1751 from Abate Giuseppe Dionigio Crivelli to Count Ernst Guido von Harrach in Vienna, conveying the news that Batoni had completed a painting for the count (Clark–Bowron 1985, 251–52, no. 152) and that "the painter desires that Your Honour has it shown to Prince Wenzel von Liechtenstein for whom he painted two [pictures] with full-length figures" (Ferrari 2000, 138).

The subject, offering evocative contemporary parallels, may well have been chosen by Prince Joseph Wenzel himself. After Francis I had appointed him field marshal of the imperial army and its commander in Italy during the final phase of the War of Austrian Succession in 1745–1746, his victory in the Battle of Piacenza secured Austrian dominance in northern Italy. His greatest military accomplishment, however, was providing the Austrian army with the modern equivalent of Aeneas' new weapons: an advanced artillery. This radical overhaul, the costs of which he partly covered out of his personal fortune, included the introduction of a new generation of field cannons, howitzers, and mortars of various calibres and turned the artillery into the most effective force in the imperial arsenal.

The composition echoes, in reverse, Pietro Testa's etching of the same subject of ca. 1638–1640 (see Cropper 1988, 117–21, no. 59), but features a shield of an entirely different character. Unlike Testa, Batoni lavished enormous care on this object, the focal point of the narrative and of prime significance to the patron. In reminiscence of the metal-working skills acquired during his boyhood training as a goldsmith, the artist prepared a meticulous red-chalk drawing of the shield in full face, occasionally condensing several episodes into a single scene but otherwise adhering to Virgil's extensive description of the motifs (Philadelphia Museum of Art; Clark–Bowron 1985, 386, no. D175; *Philadelphia* 1980, 50, no. 38).

PETER BJÖRN KERBER

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113 POMPEO BATONI | Lucca, 1708 – Rome, 1787

Holy Family

ca. 1760

Oil on canvas; 98.5 × 74 cm
Musei Capitolini – Pinacoteca Capitolina, Rome, inv. PC 359

Saint Joseph, engrossed and perhaps rather tired, has set down his book – which he must have been reading attentively, judging by the spectacles he is clutching – to gaze at the Virgin and Child: mother and son are clasped in an affectionate embrace, underscored by their interlocked gazes, the way the Child stretches his body towards his mother, and the Virgin's hand that, almost as if closing a loving circle, holds his left foot.

This delicate *Holy Family* merges memories and references that seem to run through the whole of Italian art: it recalls Correggio and Parmigianino in the Virgin's pose, Raphael and Guido Reni in the classical composition, and early-seventeenth-century Bolognese painting in the figure of Saint Joseph. Moreover, due also to the description of the frame, it can almost unquestionably be identified as the "Painting measuring 4 palms high representing the Most Holy Virgin with the Christ Child and Saint Joseph, by Pompeo Battoni, with a frame with four carved registers and a gilt bow at the top" ("Quadro per alto di pmi 4 rapp.te la Madonna SSma, con Gesù Bambino, e S. Giuseppe, opera di Pompeo Battoni, con Cornice a quattro Ordini d'intaglio, e Cappio sopra dorata"; see Amadio, in *Lucca* 2008) recorded in 1763 in the inventory of Cardinal Girolamo II Colonna at the family *palazzo* in Rome. The work was also listed in the 1783 Colonna inventory as "a painting over the bed measuring 3 [palms in width], and 4 1/2 [palms] in height = The Virgin, Child and Saint Joseph" (Safarik 1996, 1783 inventory, lot 1074; "Un Quadro a Capo del Letto di 3, e 4 1/2 per alto = La Madonna, il Bambino, e S. Giuseppe = Pompeo Battoni") and, in all likelihood, it corresponds to the one Antonio Canova saw on 18 March 1780 at the Palazzo Colonna, in the apartment that was then the residence of Cardinal Pamphilj: "we entered the room where the cardinal sleeps and, above the bed, there is a Madonna, Saint Joseph and Child, by Batoni, [and it is] a very beautiful thing" ("entrassimo nella stanza ove dorme il cardinale e sopra il letto è una Madonna, San Joseppe, il Bambino di Batoni, cosa bellissima"; *Canova* 1994, 120, see Masini, in Guarino–Masini ed. 2006).

The suggestion that the canvas could be a Holy Family recorded in the collection of Cardinal Silvio Valenti Gonzaga (see Morselli 2005) has been rejected, because thanks to the wording on the back, the painting once owned by Valenti Gonzaga can readily be identified as Batoni's work with the same subject now at the Pushkin Museum in Moscow (see Amadio, in *Lucca* 2008). The hypothesis that the *Holy Family* of the Musei Capitolini came from the Barberini collection (advanced by Clark–Bowron 1985, 277–78, no. 223) can likewise be rejected.

The painting was published nearly a century ago by Giulio Cantalamessa (1914; but see D'Achiardi 1912, reproducing a report by Cantalamessa mentioning the painting), who saw it at the *palazzo* of Ignazio Lavaggi in Rome. It was inherited by Lavaggi's daughter Giulia, wife of Marquis Carlo Centurione Scotto, who left the canvas to the Musei Capitolini following her husband's death in 1937.

In 1964 Isa Belli Barsali reported a high-quality copy in a private collection in Rome, whereas the monograph by Clark and Bowron (1985, 278, no. 224) listed an autograph replica of exactly the same size from the Boncompagni collection.

SERGIO GUARINO

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114 Francesco Solimena | Canale di Serino, 1657 – Barra (Naples), 1747

Saint Maurus Healing the Sick

1699–1702

Oil on canvas; 75 × 153 cm
Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. 542

Francesco Solimena laid the foundations for the Neapolitan late Baroque, and his rich œuvre exercised an influence throughout Europe in the development of contemporary painting. He settled in Naples in 1674. Although he rarely left the city, it is certain that he went to Rome in 1700. Several times between 1697 and 1708 he stayed in the Benedictine abbey at Monte Cassino, where he arrived as a young but reputable master in the period following Luca Giordano's activity there. In a biography of Solimena his contemporary Bernardo De Dominici noted that "he was called to Monte Casino where he painted four large oil paintings to be placed in the choir of that celebrated church, showing the miracles of the Holy Father Saint Benedict. He also painted frescoes in three chapels there" (De Dominici 1742–1744, III, 379, "Fu chiamato a Monte Casino ove dipinse quattro gran quadroni ad olio da situarsi nel coro di quella celebre chiesa, esprimendo in essi fatti miracolosi del Santo Padre Benedetto, e vi dipinse eziandio tre capelle a fresco").

Four oil sketches in the Szépművészeti Múzeum, including the *Saint Maurus Healing the Sick,* were first documented as Solimena's work, in 1812, in the Esterházy palace in Laxenburg. This makes it likely that the pictures were purchased by Nicholas Esterházy during his first stay in Naples in 1795, with the mediation of Abbot Zarullo, the prefect of the Palace of Capodimonte, who helped the prince acquire many important Neapolitan works. The four Budapest *modelli* were originally made for the large-scale paintings of the Abbey of Monte Cassino, and depict scenes from the lives of the order's founder, Saint Benedict of Nursia, and his peers: *Saint Benedict Receiving the Roman Patricians Equitus and Tertullius in Subiaco, who Entrust their Sons Placidus and Maurus to him; Saint Maurus Healing the Sick; The Martyrdom of Saints Placidus and Flavia;* and *The Family of the King of the Longobards Being Clothed by Pope Zacharias with the Habit of the Benedictine Order.*

Founded around 530, the abbey was bombed on 15 February 1944 (Enggass 1987, 50). The works of Luca Giordano, Francesco Solimena, Paolo de Matteis and Francesco de Mura, all masterpieces of Neapolitan painting, including the four pictures decorating the choir, were destroyed, along with the Baroque church and monastery. In the eighteenth century Martin Speer of Regensburg had made a series of painted and etched copies of the series, and the writer Andrea Caravita gave a detailed description of them in 1869–1870 (Caravita 1869–1870).

An autograph drawing for the composition of *Saint Maurus Healing the Sick* is in the Musée du Louvre, Paris. Two workshop copies of the Budapest *modello* are also known (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Toulon, and private collection, Naples). In the *modello* a mule pulls the hand-cart, but Speer's etching shows that Solimena later, presumably at the request of the patron, painted a human figure here, thus enlarging and emphasizing the central scene of the healing. Andor Pigler noted that the naked man gazing directly at the viewer on the far right first appears in 1690 in *The Fall of Simon Magus* (sacristy of San Paolo Maggiore, Naples), and again in the right-hand corner of the composition (Pigler 1923–1926, 225). As Speer's etching reveals, in the large-scale work at Monte Cassino this figure has turned his back to the viewer in order to witness the holy miracle.

The execution of the four *modelli* (Ferdinando Bologna mentions only two in his 1958 monograph) is not uniform. The *Martyrdom* for instance is painted very thinly, so that even the ground was utilized for the composition. Common to all of them, however, is their high quality. They are not only autograph works by the master but some of the most excellent examples of his skill in the creation of *modelli*. Aglow with red, brown and blue colours and displaying brilliant effects of light, these passionate *capricci* from Solimena's mature period were painted as the artist moved from the Baroque towards the rococo.

ÉVA NYERGES

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115 Francesco Solimena | Canale di Serino, 1657 – Barra (Naples), 1747

Saint John the Baptist

ca. 1725–1730

Oil on canvas; 83 × 70 cm
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, inv. P00351

The subject is taken from scripture: "In those days came John the Baptist, preaching in the wilderness of Judea, and saying, Repent ye: for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand" (Mt 3:1–3). In the traditional iconography, John the Baptist is represented as a bearded ascetic, rudely dressed in a camel skin and crusted with dirt from the wilderness. Francesco Solimena, by contrast, has portrayed the Baptist as a handsome young man, clean shaven and well-muscled. His fine physique is draped in a luxuriant mantle, whose red colour is symbolic of the Passion. Fixing his eyes squarely on the viewer, the young saint points heavenward to tell us from whence the Messiah has come. To secure the identification, Solimena includes the Baptist's traditional symbols of a reed cane with a cross at the top and, in his left hand, a banderole inscribed "Ec. Ag. Dei" [Ecce Agnus Dei], "Behold the Lamb of God" (Jn 1:29). The head of a lamb is glimpsed in the shadows.

The present *Saint John the Baptist* is an excellent example of Solimena's art at the peak of his maturity in the 1720s, when he was the leading artist in Naples and renowned throughout Europe. By 1746 the painting had already entered the collection of Isabella Farnese, the queen consort of Philip V of Spain, in the palace of La Granja near Segovia. Ferdinando Bologna (1958, 257, no. 351) observed that Solimena painted a youth with the same features in the foreground of his famous *Departure of Rebecca* (Musée Fesch, Ajaccio), datable around 1730.

The deep shadows, dramatic presentation and robust muscularity of the saint are reminiscent of the style of Mattia Preti, whose works Solimena is known to have admired. Indeed, the present picture was evidently conceived in open homage to Preti, because the pose is directly borrowed from Preti's figure of the same saint in his painting, *Saint John the Baptist Preaching* (Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco). A major canvas executed on Malta around 1665, the early provenance of Preti's *Saint John the Baptist Preaching* is not known, but it must have been in Naples in time for Solimena to copy this detail. In Preti's picture, the Baptist appears older, gaunter, and bearded. Solimena smoothed over these rough edges.

Solimena and Mattia Preti received the major biographies in the *Vite dei Pittori Napolitani* of Bernardo De Dominici, who devotes many pages to anecdotes regarding Solimena's praises of the old artist. "The celebrated Francesco Solimena, could be called the disciple of the Calabrese [Preti], having borrowed his beautiful style with the excellent *chiaroscuro,* but idealizing it to avoid the defects. For this Solimena has been called 'Il Cavalier Calabrese nobilitato' [The Cavalier Calabrese ennobled]. He exhorted others who wished to paint to follow the same footsteps, often saying to them, 'Whoever follows the Calabrese will not stray from the road that leads to perfection'" (De Dominici 1742–1744, III, 385). History has vindicated that judgement, and, unexpectedly, diminished Solimena's fame in comparison to Preti's.

JOHN T. SPIKE

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116 Corrado Giaquinto | Molfetta, 1703 – Naples, 1766

Allegory of Peace and Justice

1753–1754

Oil on canvas; 216 × 325 cm
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, inv. P104
Signed on the column in the foreground: Corrado Giaquinto

The theme illustrated in this work is represented by the allegorical personifications of Peace and Justice, and, in accordance with the iconographic tradition originating with Cesare Ripa's famous treatise, they are embodied by two charming and elegant young women. Embracing each other and holding their respective attributes, they are sitting on a pearly cloud; around them are festive putti who, on one side, are driving out evil, represented by a monstrous demonical creature, and on the other are holding ears of wheat and olive branches. The fasces, the sword, the scales and the flying dove are the symbols of Justice, portrayed with a crown on her head and a sceptre in her right hand, which she uses to judge the actions of men. Next to her is an ostrich and, given that this animal can chew and digest iron, it alludes to the resoluteness with which obstacles and difficulties must be faced and overcome in order to make and hand down just decisions. The attributes of Peace are the olive branch in her left hand and the cornucopia at her feet, and it is through her presence that the lion and the lamb can coexist peacefully in the lower right.

It has also been noted that, although this is a secular subject, with regard to Justice in particular there are elements such as the dove that specifically allude to the divine as well. As is the case in other paintings with identical or similar allegorical subjects illustrated in the eighteenth century at other European courts, it is evident above all that the painting reflects the intentions of its patron, the Spanish king Ferdinand IV of the House of Bourbon, who credited himself with bringing peace to his kingdom and ruling it justly, thus bestowing benefits and well-being upon citizens.

The painting was commissioned from Corrado Giaquinto immediately after his arrival in Madrid from Rome in 1752. Following the death of Jacopo Amigoni, Giaquinto was called to the Spanish court when, before him, Francesco De Mura turned down the position because his wife did not want to leave Naples to move to Spain. Painted between 1753 and 1754, this composition – thanks also to its pictorial rendering – can be considered one of the most significant examples of the painter's production at the height of his maturity. It is characterized by a felicitous convergence of ideas, straddling sober classicism and refined rococo, which the artist had already attempted successfully in an extensive series of decorative works – canvases and frescoes executed in the 1730s and 1740s, above all in churches and palaces in Rome and Turin – after he completed his training, initially with Francesco Solimena in Naples and then under Sebastiano Conca in Rome. These ideas would reach sublime levels in the fresco decoration of the grand staircase, the vaults of some of the rooms on the *piano nobile* and the dome of the chapel in the new royal palace being built to plans by Filippo Juvarra, and in a large series of canvases – with both religious and secular subjects – for Spanish churches and royal residences. These works are marked by compositional clarity, formal elegance and a lighter palette of delicate hues resembling those of refined pastels, with studied charm in both style and expressiveness.

A short time after painting this canvas, of which there is a preparatory drawing at the Indianapolis Museum of Art in the United States, Giaquinto painted another version – of the same size but with a few changes – for the Council Room of the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando in Madrid.

NICOLA SPINOSA

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117 GASPARE TRAVERSI | Naples, ca. 1722 – Rome, 1770

The Secret Letter

ca. 1755

Oil on canvas; 131 × 146 cm

Collezione Intesa Sanpaolo, Gallerie d'Italia – Palazzo Zevallos Stigliano, Naples

This pendant to the canvas entitled *The Concert* is from the Gualtieri De Biase collection in Naples, where both works were ascribed to Giuseppe Bonito until 1927, when Roberto Longhi attributed both to Gaspare Traversi. Longhi dated the pair prior to 1752, when Traversi moved from Naples to Rome. In 1980, Ferdinando Bologna agreed with this dating, but I then moved it to the mid-1750s or, in other words, a few years after the date of 1752 visible on several of the six canvases Traversi painted in Rome. According to some scholars (Heimbürger Ravalli 1982; Barocelli 1982), these works were painted for the church annexed to the convent of San Crisogono or the church of San Gallicano and then transferred to the basilica of San Paolo fuori le Mura. Based on archival documents attesting to the presence of the paintings in San Paolo fuori le Mura since at least 1782, however, others (Filippi–Perazzone–Borsellino 2002) posit that they were executed specifically for the basilica (for a summary of the different theories regarding the original location of the six canvases illustrating various episodes from the Old Testament, see Brigitte Daprà in *Naples* 2003, 78–80, cats. 5a–5b).

The subject illustrated in this painting – a young woman receiving a letter from a secret lover, delivered by a page and observed by her two elderly parents and an older gentleman dressed in the French style and with a cane, possibly a well-to-do "official" suitor – pertains to the long sixteenth- and seventeenth-century tradition of genre painting, as does *The Concert*. Like Giuseppe Bonito, another Neapolitan painter known for numerous paintings with scenes from lower-class life (and with whom our artist was often confused in the past), Traversi trained with Francesco Solimena in the final years of the master's career. He must have been familiar with the genre scenes painted in the first half of the seventeenth century in Rome and Naples as well as those by the circle of Caravaggio (for example, the works of the so-called Bamboccianti painters). Nevertheless, it seems likely that the artist turned to the numerous representations of contemporary theatre for his scenes, above all those of "bourgeois" life. He seems to have been inspired above all by the commedia dell'arte, which played an important role throughout the eighteenth century, above all in Venice, Rome and Naples.

Forced to move to Rome for work after completing several commissions in his birthplace (the canvases of 1749 for the church of Santa Maria dell'Aiuto), Traversi developed solutions that had already been used in the Neapolitan milieu and, with tones halfway between the satire of customs and sympathetic embracement of the ups and downs of everday life, the concrete appearances of a class that, powerful because of wealth but devoid of extensive and profound culture, aspired to attain socially prestigious roles and positions by adopting the attitudes, behaviours and customs of the ancient but decadent coeval nobility.

This work and others with scenes of daily and "bourgeois" life (*The Card Game* and *The Concert* at the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Rouen, *Posing for Portrait* and *The Brawl* at the Musée du Louvre in Paris, *The Music Lesson* and *The Drawing Lesson* at the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art in Kansas City, *Teasing a Sleeping Girl* at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and many others in both public and private collections in Europe and the United States), as well as noteworthy portraits of real figures and various compositions with sacred subjects – but without any trace of coeval devout religiosity – were distinguished by increasingly studied and effective compositional slants, with a lighter and more brilliant palette following Traversi's move to Rome, pointing above all to the probable influence of Marco Benefial's style. Several recent studies (in particular by Ferdinando Bologna) have interpreted Traversi's scenes of daily life – perhaps with a touch of unjustified exaggeration – as the painter's specific and confident commitment to serve as a moral critic of contemporary society, anticipating the trends and issues of the Enlightenment that arose in Europe in the middle of the century.

NICOLA SPINOSA

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118 GIUSEPPE BAZZANI | Mantua, 1690 – Mantua, 1769

Adoration of the Magi

1750s

Oil on oval canvas; 84 × 68 cm
Private collection, Budapest

The outstanding importance of Bazzani in the Italian settecento cannot be doubted, but time and again we are perplexed by two peculiar circumstances regarding his life. One is that in the century of journeymen artists, he probably did not set foot outside of Mantua, which in his lifetime was on the periphery of the land under Austrian rule. The other is that his earliest securely dated works were executed when he was close to the age of forty, and his first documented piece, the *Delivery of the Keys to Saint Peter* (parish church, Goito), is from 1739. According to Flavio Caroli an explanation for the absence of earlier works may be that Bazzani only recognized his vocation as a painter later in life, and as a young man he worked alongside his goldsmith father mainly, if not exclusively, as an art expert (Caroli 1988, 9). Evidence of his activity in this field is provided by the 1723 inventory of the collection of Marquis Odoardo Zenetti, which shows that Bazzani had a sound knowledge of a very wide range of pictorial subjects, as well as of the styles and qualities of earlier painters (Tellini Perina 1988, 63–74). He absorbed the influence of the artists that he studied in Mantuan collections with the confidence and spontaneity characteristic of geniuses, and developed a highly individual, easily recognizable style. His idiom matured primarily under the influence of colourist geniuses like Veronese, the Bassano, Rubens and Fetti, who were equally able to depict theatrical spectacles and express the minutest tremors of the soul. By the late 1740s and early 1750s, Bazzani was a leading exponent of the Italian rococo on a par with Pellegrini and Pittoni, and developed his wit and virtuosity, and his seemingly effortless style, to a level that justifies a comparison with Fragonard, whose works Bazzani in all probability never had a chance to see. His art, which found its successors in the colouristic visions of Gianantonio and Francesco Guardi, is best understood in the context of the multifaceted culture of eighteenth-century Italy, especially when compared with the sympathetic naturalism of Giacomo Ceruti (cats. 101, 102, 103) or the polished classicism of Pompeo Batoni (cat. 112, 113).

The Budapest picture was correctly attributed to Bazzani in 1973 when it was catalogued by the Hungarian state office for the documentation of important works of art in private collections. The artist used here the oval format that he particularly favoured and even used for large-scale compositions and multi-figure narrative works. The subject of the Adoration of the Magi, and the traditional way it is depicted, demand a large, spacious pictorial field. Bazzani, however, compensated for the absence of showy conventional motifs by his virtuoso technique and intensity of expression. There is not a hint of architecture, and the landscape is present only in the form of a cloud-streaked sky. The sleeping Joseph and two of the kings are relegated to the background and veiled in darkness; their movements are adapted so skilfully to the curve of the composition that they seem quite natural. The three figures who are the centre of attention, the Virgin Mary, the Christ Child and the eldest king, are linked by the serpentine line winding upwards towards the middle ground. The momentum and elegance of this line are heightened by the difference in size between the heads of the old king and the broad-nosed Mary, but in terms of perspective this disparity is not justified by the small distance between them. The fluid, glazed applications of paint also give the viewer the impression of a fast-flowing current. Rather than the traditional blue mantle the Virgin wears red, the better to showcase the mother-of-pearl sheen of the body of the Christ Child. The most accurate idea of Bazzani's greatness as a painter can be gained from observing the frothy white sheet spread beneath Jesus, the faint lights flickering over the Virgin's mantle, the deepening of red into claret on the velvet cloak of the middle king and then fading into dullness on the turban of the Saracen king. A spontaneity and sensitivity similar to the brushwork can be found in the psychological nuances. The reverence of the old king, the Virgin's tender emotion, the liveliness of the Christ Child bordering on ecstasy, Joseph's troubled sleep, the intense attention accorded to the Virgin by the king looking at her from the side, and the joyful preparation of the Saracen king all indicate that Bazzani's seemingly effortless touch is anything but frivolous superficiality.

Caroli dates a painting of *The Holy Family with Saint Clare* to around 1750 (Caroli 1988, 120, cat. 143), in which the Christ Child appears in a posture very similar to that in the Budapest picture. Yet its fully accomplished rococo character links the latter work to two series of frescoes executed in the second half of the 1750s in the Palazzo Cavriani and the Palazzo Vescovile in Mantua, and to the more-or-less contemporary *soprapporte* (overdoors) in the Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart, depicting the four seasons (Caroli 1988, 167–70, cat. 248, 171–73, cat. 249, 178–79, cat. nos. 257–60).

VILMOS TÁTRAI

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119 Alessandro Magnasco | Genoa, 1667 – Genoa, 1749

Refectory of the Observant Franciscan Friars

ca. 1740

Oil on canvas; 176 × 143 cm

Museo Biblioteca Archivio, Bassano del Grappa, inv. 189

The painting, which entered the museum in Bassano del Grappa through the bequest of Patrizio Mercante in 1892, is one of the most prominent works by the great Genoese painter.

The scene is part of the theme of friaries investigated by the artist on various occasions, at the time of the significant transition from his earlier representations of moments in the life of Franciscans as a model of poverty and evangelical coherence to a new critical consideration of the order's moral conduct.

In fact, in his early works Magnasco painted scenes of friars in situations of deprivation, praying devoutly or busy performing everyday tasks – *The Friars' Hearth* (Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt), *Contrite Capuchins before their Superior* (Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, Madrid), *Monks Shaving* (Museum of Western and Oriental Art, Odessa) – but the image he offers with the *Refectory of the Observant Franciscan Friars,* exhibited here, has exactly the opposite meaning. In this scene, described in great detail, the Capuchins are enjoying a banquet, seated at long sumptuously laid tables covered with red and white tablecloths, where they are served an abundance of food and drink.

The scene unfolds inside a lavish palace, in an enormous hall with a barrel vault with a large chandelier hanging in the middle. The side walls, distinguished by arches, niches with sculptures and stringcourses – have candelabras and festoons that some of the figures climbing on tall ladders have almost finished setting up. The presence of other spaces beyond the pillars can be perceived thanks to perspectival openings in the side arches, offering a glimpse of other friars seated around laid tables. A few small hidden doors and the large window on the back wall allow Magnasco to further expand the space of the building in which the banquet is being held, making the representation even grander and more magnificent.

The work clearly shows the adherence of the artist and his patrons, chiefly Milanese and Lombards, to the "regulated" reformism of Catholic thinkers such as Ludovico Muratori and the examples of rigour promoted by several representatives of the order itself, including the greatest preacher of the era, the Capuchin priest Gaetano Maria da Bergamo, a contemporary of Magnasco.

Rodolfo Pallucchini (1946) and Licisco Magagnato (1978) already emphasized that this canvas and numerous other works by the Genoese painter clearly reveal not only how much he influenced coeval Venetian painting, and particularly Francesco Guardi, but the extent to which he, in turn, drew inspiration from Venetian artists, especially Sebastiano Ricci, whom he met in Florence in the early eighteenth century.

However, no one has so far noted the work's affinities with the paintings of Jacopo Tintoretto, which Magnasco must certainly have had the chance to admire during his theorized stay in Venice, and particularly the series for the Scuola Grande di San Marco. Unintentional but close parallels with the *Finding of the Body of Saint Mark* (now in the Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan) can be noted in the perspectival construction with a similar barrel vault, while the figures climbing up tall ladders as they violate the tombs evoke the friars on ladders lighting candles and attaching festoons in the *Refectory;* likewise, the friar carrying a tray of steaming chicken on the left alludes to the posture of the figure of Saint Mark. References to the large canvas with the *Wedding at Cana* in the Venetian church of Santa Maria della Salute can be noted, furthermore, in the rendering of the perspective of the laid table, which likewise ends at the opening of the arch on the back wall, and in the figures bent over a bowl in the foreground on the left, as in Magnasco's painting.

The pictorial technique also shows parallels with the Venetian tradition of the use of a vibrant colour in which the highlights are applied with the tip of the brush, and almost resemble white filaments, while the palette, revolving around shades of brown and grey, is brightened by counterpoints of white, red and light blue.

FEDERICA MILLOZZI

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VII

SWANSONG IN VENICE

120 GREGORIO LAZZARINI | Venice, 1655 – Villabona Veronese, 1730

Rinaldo and Armida

ca. 1690

Oil on canvas; 121 × 161 cm
Narodna galerija, Slovenija, Ljubljana, inv. NG S 3057

The subject of the painting is one of the best-loved episodes from Torquato Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered:* the romance of Rinaldo and Armida. The work depicts the most popular scene from this enthralling tale, in which the lovers indulge in a languid amorous dialogue in the enchanted garden, while Carlo and Ubaldo spy on them (see Lee 1970, *passim*). This subject generally includes references to the military context of the story and Rinaldo is often depicted in armour, his weapons and shield left lying on the lawn. In other cases, as in this painting, it is eroticism that predominates, with the couple portrayed simply as lovers, so that the scene resembles a variation of the mythological theme of *Venus and Adonis* (Mariuz 1995, 213). Only the mirror in which the two figures gaze at themselves and the presence of Rinaldo's fellow soldiers make the identification of the episode incontrovertible.

The painting, which came from the antiquarian market, bore an attribution to Antonio Bellucci, which Ferdinand Šerbelj rightly changed to Gregorio Lazzarini. The simplified, streamlined interpretation of Emilian classicism evident in the work is ascribable to Lazzarini, a friend and contemporary of Bellucci, and it contrasts the latter's elegant and almost affected style. The lean draughtsmanship of the bodies of the two figures is distinctive of Lazzarini, as is the lavish verdant floral backdrop of the garden, a type that, even in mythological-erotic scenes, Bellucci rarely used, generally preferring elaborate architectural backgrounds or luxurious palace interiors. Moreover, the awkwardly rendered torsion of Rinaldo's neck represents one of the typical formal weaknesses that can be noted throughout the artist's career.

In the long list of works included in the *Vita di Gregorio Lazzarini,* written by Venetian aristocrat Vincenzo da Canal in 1732 and known through Giannantonio Moschini's transcription, published in 1809, this subject is cited only once: the painting of "Rinaldo in the arms of Armida, life-sized" ("Rinaldo in braccio ad Armida, al naturale") mentioned – unfortunately without any indication of the date – as being in the home of Antonio Lin, the painter's biggest collector, who managed to obtain over eighty of his paintings (Da Canal [1732] 1809, L). Although this trace is too weak to allow us to identify it indisputably as the canvas discussed here, it is important to note that several of the artist's works were not mentioned by his biographer, who ended his list with the comment that "in addition to these works, our Gregorio executed others for other places outside the Venetian State, but he either did not know where they went or he forgot" (Da Canal [1732] 1809, XL–XLI, "oltre a queste fatture il nostro Gregorio altre ne fece per altri luoghi fuori del Veneto Stato, ma o non seppe egli stesso dove sieno andate, o se ne dimenticò").

In fact, Lazzarini unquestionably painted this episode on at least two other occasions: the canvas in a private collection published by Claut (1985, 77–79), with a composition similar to that of our painting, and the fresco in the so-called Music Room at Villa Uccelli Zenobio in Santa Bona Nuova near Treviso (A. Craievich, in Pavanello–Mancini ed. 2010–2011, II, 218–29, cat. 179).

Our canvas is datable around 1690 and thus the artist's early maturity, given that it still has a late-seventeenth-century air, as can be noted in the figures' monumental pose as well as the broad, uniform fields of colour of the garments, with sweeping, simplified drapery that would later give way to an accentuated interplay of folds marked by vibrant dynamism.

ALBERTO CRAIEVICH

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Šerbelj, forthcoming.



121 SEBASTIANO RICCI | Belluno, 1659 – Venice, 1734

Bathsheba at her Bath

ca. 1724

Oil on canvas; 118.5 × 199 cm
Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. 57.9

The story of King David's passionate, illicit love for Bathsheba, whom he saw while she was taking a bath, is told in the second book of Samuel: "And ... in an eveningtide ... David ... walked upon the roof of the king's house: ... he saw a woman washing herself; and the woman was very beautiful to look upon. ... And David sent messengers, and took her; and she came in unto him, and he lay with her ..." (2 Sam. 11:2–4). The episode later led to the death of her husband Uriah the Hittite, and, as divine punishment, of their common child.

The subject of *Bathsheba at her Bath* – a biblical equivalent of the depiction of the mythological *Toilet of Venus* – was highly popular in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Italian painting. Sebastiano Ricci, whose richly coloured, decorative art formed a transition between the Venetian High Baroque and the rococo, treated it in various formats and sizes, and with different settings (Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid; Gemäldegalerie, Berlin). The Budapest composition, of which several autograph versions exist (Coin collection, Venice; private collection, Padua), is a product of his late period, which at once displays self-confidence and charming freshness, classicizing discipline and rococo *joie de vivre*. This Bathsheba, a descendant of the Venuses and Danaës of the Venetian High Renaissance, exudes a luxuriant and unrestrained sensuality, untempered even by the instinctive gesture of her right hand – vaguely reminiscent of the *Venus pudica* – clutching a white silk sheet to her loins. The ritual ablution is assisted by lithe servant girls of noble beauty, who rather than mere inferiors seem to be companions for Bathsheba, who is absorbed in contemplation of her own reflection. Nobody has yet drawn attention to the fact that in Francesco Maggiotto's treatment of the theme, recorded by Giovanni Volpato's engraving of 1770–1771, the figure of the servant girl combing Bathsheba's hair recurs almost unchanged, proving that Ricci's attractive figure types were happily utilised even by later artists of the Venetian settecento.

The Renaissance courtyard bordered by an arcade with a balustrade (which here conceals the spying figure of King David), the fluted pair of columns and the marble fountain are frequent backdrops to Ricci's compositions, and indicate the painter's enthusiasm for Venetian cinquecento masters, particularly Paolo Veronese. In Ricci's album of drawings (Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice) there is a compositional sketch for the work that includes more landscape details, which Ricci, in the spirit of Veronese, transformed into architectural elements in the painted work. Daniels (1976a) pointed out that the composition may have been inspired by Luca Giordano's *Bathsheba at her Bath* in Toronto (Art Gallery of Ontario). However, the composition shows an even stronger link to a drawing of ca. 1665 by Giordano on the same subject (Hallie Ford Museum of Art, Willamette University, Salem), which was probably the source for the figure of the servant girl drying Bathsheba's leg, as well as the pose of Bathsheba herself.

It is not known who commissioned the picture, nor can it be traced back to any eighteenth- or nineteenth-century collection. In 1926 it was in the Budapest Csetényi collection, where it was attributed to Giovanni Battista Tiepolo and formed a pendant with *Moses Defending the Daughters of Jethro* (inv. 57.10, Éber et al. ed. 1926; Mravik 1998). Ágnes Czobor was the first to publish them as works by Sebastiano Ricci (1954a), an attribution that has been unanimously accepted (Daniels 1976a; Daniels 1976b; Scarpa 2006). From the size of the autograph replicas it can be concluded that about 13–14 cm have been cut from the upper edge of the Budapest *Bathsheba,* and almost certainly at the same time the quadrilateral format was transformed into an irregular rectangle rounded at the corners (as published by Czobor 1954b, 133, plate 3; the original format of the work was later restored). In fact it is doubtful whether the painting was conceived as a pendant to the *Moses Defending the Daughters of Jethro,* which it matches in neither size nor subject. It has not yet been noted, however, that at some time it must have been paired with Ricci's *Rebecca at the Well,* a canvas of the same size and format (private collection, Brescia), and the mutilation of the support was perhaps done to bring the two pictures into harmony.

Czobor dated the picture to about 1730 (1954a), whereas Daniels (1976a; 1976b), Rizzi (in *Passariano* 1989) and Scarpa (2006) all dated it to about 1724, not long before Ricci sent pictures to Turin on commission for Victor Amadeus II, Duke of Savoy. The figure of Bathsheba recurs as Susanna in Ricci's *Susanna before Daniel*, and the classical architecture bathed in light appears in *The Idolatry of Solomon* (both Galleria Sabauda, Turin).

ZSUZSANNA DOBOS

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122 SEBASTIANO RICCI | Belluno, 1659 – Venice, 1734

The Assumption of the Virgin

1731–1734

Oil on canvas; 95 × 51.5 cm
Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. 642

Over thirty years after he had painted the ceiling of the Blaue Stiege ("Blue Staircase") in Schönbrunn Palace, Sebastiano Ricci returned to the services of the Habsburgs with an extremely prestigious commission: *The Assumption of the Virgin,* an immense altarpiece for the Karlskirche in Vienna, for which the emperor established a payment of six thousand florins (Derschau 1922, 139). This was Ricci's "last laborious effort" ("l'ultima sua laboriosa fatica"), as his widow Maddalena Vendermer recalled a month after his death, during one of the many legal disputes surrounding the painter's inheritance that were the source of a great deal of gossip (Moretti 1978, 122). It is likely that, given his advanced age and the "mal della pietra" – kidney stones – that had long ailed him, Ricci relied on assistants to complete the large canvas, possibly Francesco Fontebasso and Francesco Polazzo, who often visited the master's home at the Procuratie Vecchie (Montecuccoli degli Erri 1994–1995, 141–42).

However, no intervention by his collaborators – as excellent as they may have been – can be noted in this famous *bozzetto,* one of the masterpieces of Ricci's final years. In this work, his painterly virtuosity reaches its climax, as he displays dazzling brushwork that transforms the composition into an enthralling visual enchantment in which every detail is rendered with refined, bold impastos of colour in infinite hues.

Of all of Ricci's paintings, the *Assumption* for the Karlskirche in Vienna is the one for which we have the largest number of real or presumed *bozzetti*. We can cite at least seven others, some of which traced by Ważbiński (1971) and some documented through old photographs from the Fototeca Pallucchini at the Fondazione Giorgio Cini in Venice. Scholars do not unanimously agree on the autography of the various works. While in most cases they generically refer to the "workshop of Sebastiano Ricci", in others the names of pupils and collaborators have been proposed, as in the case of the canvas at the Staatsgalerie Aschaffenburg im Schloss Johannisburg (Kultzen 1986, 58–59) ascribed to Fontebasso, although not everyone agrees (see Magrini 1988, 227, cat. 1A; Scarpa Sonino 2006, 338); another case in point is the dizzying oil sketch in the Nysa Museum in Poland, attributed to Gaspare Diziani (Ważbiński 1971, 104). Among these versions, the only one ascribed to Ricci unanimously (with the exception of Ważbiński) is the one at the Národní Galerie in Prague (on permanent loan from the Mělník Lobkowicz collection, see A. Craievich, in *Venice* 2010, 104, cat. 29). To varying degrees, all these paintings betray inferior execution with respect to the sublime Budapest canvas. The "priority" of the Budapest model is substantiated not only by the extraordinary quality of its execution, but also by a particular element that does not seem to be a mere coincidence.

As Safarik observed (1964, 111), the painting entered the Budapest museum from the Esterházy collection along with the *bozzetti* of three other altarpieces for the Karlskirche: *Christ Healing the Paralytic* by Antonio Pellegrini (cat. 123), the *Resurrection of the Widow's Son at Nain* by Martino Altomonte and *Saint Elizabeth of Portugal Giving Alms to the Poor*, one of the two canvases by Daniel Gran (Zava Boccazzi 1983, 87, n. 62). All of them are nearly identical in size. Therefore, it is plausible that these were the actual models presented to the patron, before they entered the collection of the important Hungarian family (where they are documented from 1812).

ALBERTO CRAIEVICH

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123 Antonio Pellegrini | Venice, 1675 – Venice, 1741

Christ Healing the Paralytic

1730–1731

Oil on canvas; 95 × 50 cm
Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. 654

For Antonio Pellegrini, the large altarpiece representing *Christ Healing the Paralytic,* painted for the Karlskirche in Vienna, marked the end of a long and successful relationship with the Habsburg court lasting approximately five years. Through the works he completed in this period, Pellegrini brought a wave of rococo freshness to the imperial capital and the local art scene, still oriented towards late Baroque tastes.

He first went to the city when he was still in his teens, probably in 1691, as part of the retinue of the painter Paolo Pagani, but he does not appear to have left any works there during this period (Geddo 1998, 198).

His next trip – in 1725 – was of a far different calibre. Pellegrini arrived in Vienna towards the end of September, coming directly from Dresden, where he had enjoyed great success at the court of Frederick Augustus the Strong. He was an artist at the height of his fame and aspired to a very prestigious commission: decorating the dome of the Salesianerinnerkirche, sponsored by the dowager empress Amalia Wilhelmina. It was probably thanks to the help of Daniele Antonio Bertoli, an influential figure at the imperial court but also an old friend, that he obtained this commission, which he completed in just five months – and without any assistants – two years later, in 1727, along with two altarpieces for the same church. Pellegrini returned to Vienna yet again in January 1730, and was joined a few months later by the Carriera sisters (his wife Angela, along with Rosalba and Giovanna). The artist stayed in the imperial capital until November of that year, and it is possible that he was hired to paint the ceiling of the Schwarzspanierkirche – since lost – and, above all, the canvas for the Karlskirche (Zava Boccazzi 1983, 42–48).

In fact, it was in this period that, after Johann Michael Rottmayr had finished frescoing the dome, Emperor Charles VI decided to commission six altarpieces to complete the decoration of the magnificent basilica in order to fulfil a vow of gratitude for deliverance from the plague of 1713. The paintings were commissioned from the most respected painters active in the capital: Martino Altomonte, Daniel Gran and Jacob von Schuppen, joined by Antonio Pellegrini – probably thanks yet again to Bertoli's good offices – and Sebastiano Ricci, the most famous Venetian artist of the era and a long-time rival of Pellegrini, with whom he now found himself competing outside Venice (cat. 122).

Christ Healing the Paralytic documents the daring freedom Pellegrini took with his brushwork in his maturity. Employing his proverbially fluent and very rapid strokes, he created weightless evanescent figures, nuancing the colours of the garments with unnatural, magical hues: "a sweet dream, a purely sensual enchantment" ("un dolce sogno, un incanto puramente di senso"), as Anton Maria Zanetti would describe the work many years later (Zanetti 1771, 396). The same elements are accentuated in the extraordinary *bozzetto* at the Budapest museum, of which there are numerous versions presenting more careful execution than this one (Knox 1995, 263, cat. P.484). Unlike what has been suggested, they are not interpretations pertaining to the artist's creative path, but fully fledged replicas of the canvas exhibited here. Such replicas are rare in the production of our artist, who usually kept the *bozzetti* in his studio as tools for his preparatory work, without turning them into independent works of art that would then be copied for commercial purposes – as Sebastiano Ricci instead did during the same period. The fact that, in this case, Pellegrini painted replicas is indicative of the importance of his undertaking for the Karlskirche and its fame among collectors.

There is a preparatory drawing for the painting at the Kunsthalle in Bremen (see Knox 1998, 105).

ALBERTO CRAIEVICH

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124 GIOVANNI BATTISTA TIEPOLO | Venice, 1696 – Madrid, 1770

Apollo and Daphne

1741

Oil on canvas; 96 × 79 cm
Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. R.F. 2107

This painting comes from the collection of Baron Basile de Schlichting (1857–1914), a Russian art lover who bequeathed an important collection of eighteenth-century French art objects and sixty-eight paintings to the Louvre. Eduard Sack (1910, 228, cat. 560, 254) was the first to draw attention to a print of similar composition made by Ferdinando Gregori (1743–1804) from a drawing by Ranieri Allegranti. The sheet comes from an opulent publication devoted to the collection of Marchese Gerini of Florence (1786), which also included the reproduction of a *Diana and Endymion* by Giambattista Piazzetta (1682–1754) probably conceived as *Apollo and Daphne*'s pendant, but which has never reappeared. The print suggests that the painting in the Louvre must then have been in the possession of the Gerini family, who may have kept it until the family collection was dispersed in 1825. Earlier, in 1767, Carlo Gerini had lent his Tiepolo to a public exhibition held in the cloister of the Basilica della Santissima Annunziata in Florence, which featured seventy-nine of his paintings and sculptures.

The existence of another version of the composition, whose whereabouts have not been known since 1938, and the absence of documentation on the Louvre's *Apollo and Daphne* before the twentieth century, raised suspicions that it was not identical with the Gerini painting. However, Antonio Morassi (1962) had reinstated it on the basis of its quality and his favourable judgement was supported by the last restoration of the painting in 1991. Most recently, Bożena Anna Kowalczyk (2011) published details of a payment that specified the origin of the Gerini *Apollo and Daphne:* it was delivered to the marchese Andrea Gerini (1691–1766) on 3 June 1741 for a price of 26 *zecchini*. Gerini had commissioned it, together with its pendant by Piazzetta, through Antonio Savorgnan del Torre (1693–1768), a Venetian patrician and collector of medals, coins and ancient objects. A year later, Pompeo Batoni (1708–1787), the Tuscan painter who was then enjoying great success in Rome, delivered two paintings of similar size of the Feats of Hercules (now Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti, Florence) to Gerini, who had perhaps wished to have the works of three of the greatest living painters in his "cabinet" of mythological subjects.

The subject is taken from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (I, 452–567). Derided by Apollo for the use he makes of his bow, Cupid, the son of Venus, fired two arrows, one of which aroused love in the person struck, and the other filled its victim with the desire to flee. Daphne, the daughter of the river god Peneus, was wounded by the second, but Apollo, whom Cupid shot with the first, makes advances to her to declare his passion. As she flees, Daphne calls on her father for help, and he transforms her into a laurel just as Apollo catches hold of her. Like many painters before him, Tiepolo painted the moment when Apollo reaches the nymph and her metamorphosis begins. Blonde, almost nude, wrapped only in a pink drapery with yellow highlights held up by an *amorino,* Daphne attempts to twist away but already leaves are sprouting on the ends of her fingers. Bounding forward with his bright red cloak flying out behind him, Apollo attempts to grab her but watches helpless as her transformation begins. Peneus, seen from behind in the foreground, holding a long oar, rests on an urn. The episode takes place beneath a blue sky and before an idyllic landscape; the umbrella pine that appears above Daphne's head makes her metamorphosis into a tree explicit. If Tiepolo's painting gives the impression that the figures are about to burst into the viewer's space, it is because his composition is based on the group sculpted by Bernini in 1622–1624 (Galleria Borghese, Rome). The Venetian painter must have known it through a print and created a brightly coloured version of it on canvas.

STÉPHANE LOIRE

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125 GIOVANNI BATTISTA TIEPOLO | Venice, 1696 – Madrid, 1770

Saint James the Great Conquering the Moors

1749–1750

Oil on canvas; 317 × 163 cm
Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. 649
Signed on the sword: G. TIEPOLO F

In August 1749 Richard Wall (1695–1777), Spanish ambassador in London at the time, commissioned Giovanni Battista Tiepolo to paint an altarpiece with the image of the patron saint of his country for the chapel at his English residence. The painting was finished rather quickly and, as had been done on other occasions, before being shipped it was displayed publicly and was praised by Doge Pietro Grimani, as the duke of Montealegre, Spanish ambassador to Venice, hastened to write to his colleague. The work arrived in London in September 1750, but was met with great perplexity, marking one of the few times the work of the great master did not gain his patron's favour.

These circumstances were reconstructed by Pérez Sánchez (1977) through the correspondence between Wall and Prime Minister José de Carvajal y Lancaster, republished more recently in its entirety by Magrini (2002, 150, 153–56, 167–70). This tells us that, from the very outset, the ambassador was unsure about hiring the Venetian and would have preferred a Spanish artist. Furthermore, he had given the painter the wrong measurements, so when the painting arrived it was too big for the altar. Lastly, the embassy chaplains did not like the way Tiepolo had represented the episode, feeling that the emphasis on the majestic white horse could potentially fan the English Protestants' aversion towards the Catholic penchant for sacred images. Consequently, Wall decided not to install the work in the chapel and sent it directly to Madrid – where it was documented from at least 16 October 1751 – as he was convinced that, for the originally planned location, a "traditional" subject such as a *Crucifixion* would be more acceptable to the English. Nevertheless, he settled on a painting portraying Saint James dressed as a pilgrim and commissioned the Sevillian painter Francisco Preciado de la Vega (1713–1789), who as of 1737 had lived in Rome, where he had gone to complete his training with Sebastiano Conca.

We do not know what happened to the painting after it arrived in Madrid. Its whereabouts are not documented with any certainty until the early nineteenth century, when it was listed among the assets of Count Edmund Burke, Danish ambassador to the Madrid court; before 1821, he sold it in London to Prince Nicholas Esterházy. In 1870, it entered its current venue, along with the rest of this collection.

Before the correspondence was published, studies commonly identified this work as the "very beautiful altarpiece with Saint George on horseback, commissioned from him by the Ambassador of the Spanish King to the court of London, where he sent the painting worth 200 sequins" ("Palla d'Altare con un San Giorgio a cavallo di molta bellezza e comessale dall'Ambasciadore del Rè Cattolico alla corte di Londra, dove spedì il quadro del valore di 200 zecchini") that, in his *Notatori*, Pietro Gradenigo mentions under the date of 5 July 1757 (Livan 1942, 32). It is evident that, in his description, the scholar inadvertently mistook the date or confused this work with another painting executed the same year.

The Budapest canvas portrays a legendary episode from the Battle of Clavijo (844), where Saint James appeared on a white horse and helped the army of Ramiro I of Asturias defeat the Moors. With an image of rare and disturbing effectiveness, Tiepolo "evoked a heroic figure, an unblemished knight on the whitest of horses, at whose apparition light seems to become more intense and the sky bluer. He rises, serene and determined, over the tumult of the battle and, looking skyward, allows us to perceive that his strength comes from faith rather than arms; not only does he subdue the Moor, but he also converts him. Indeed, the Moor has bowed his head and bent his knee in a pose of submission but also that of one about to be baptized" (Mariuz 1994, 198).

For this work, Knox (1980, *ad nomen*) lists numerous chalk preparatory drawings (some are copies by Giandomenico), one of which for the head of the Moor (formerly in the Talleyrand collection in Paris) that, according to Byam Shaw, was used by the master's son as the model for one of the etchings in the *Book of Heads* (Morassi 1958, 18, cat. 30). A red chalk drawing of the head of Saint James by Giandomenico is now at the Department of Prints and Drawings of the Szépművészeti Múzeum.

ALBERTO CRAIEVICH

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126 Giovanni Domenico Tiepolo | Venice, 1727 – Venice, 1804

The Rest on the Flight to Egypt

ca. 1752–1753

Oil on canvas; 47.7 × 65 cm
Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. 6536

In November 1753 Domenico Tiepolo returned to Venice from Würzburg, where with his brother Lorenzo he had been helping his father Giovanni Battista execute the frescoes for the prince-archbishop's residence. Before he left the town, he was commissioned by Christoph Balbus, the abbot of Münsterschwarzach, to paint an altarpiece for the abbey's church. The subject of this painting (now in the Staatsgalerie Würzburg, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen) was specified in correspondence in February 1754 as the Martyrdom of Saint Stephen. In gratitude for the commission, Domenico Tiepolo offered the abbot a cabinet painting of the Nativity of Christ, which would be a pendant to another painting by him already in the abbot's collection. This pendant was very probably identical to a picture described as a full-figure composition depicting "the Holy Family with many Angels", by Giovanni Battista Tiepolo, which features with dimensions in a list (compiled on 17 February 1803 when the abbey was dissolved) of paintings to be sent to the collections of the prince-elector. The same picture is mentioned in a document of 1850 as the "Rest on the Flight into Egypt", again attributed to Giovanni Battista Tiepolo, "from the monasteries of Franconia" and sold from the state collections (Syre 1996; Schneider 2008). This work is almost certainly identical with the picture exhibited here, which was bought on the Munich art market by József Konstantin Beer (1862–1933), a painter of Czech-German origin and for decades a restorer at the Szépművészeti Múzeum, and donated by him to the Budapest gallery in 1932. Indeed, the painting mentioned in the 1803 inventory matches the present painting in both subject and size, and it is natural that in the nineteenth century Domenico's style should have been mistaken for his father's.

The same composition, with minor discrepancies, can be found in the thirteenth print of a series of etchings in Domenico Tiepolo's *Idee Pittoresche Sopra la Fugga in Egitto di Gesù, Maria e Gioseppe* (Picturesque Ideas on the Flight of Jesus, Mary, and Joseph into Egypt), dated 1750 (Rizzi 1971). The series was published in 1753 in Würzburg with a dedication to Prince-Archbishop Carl Philipp von Greiffenklau, and is indisputably one of the most important graphic works of the eighteenth century. The subtle variations on the theme – such as the differences in the sweeping light, the shading, the billowing mantles, the windswept trees, and the ethereal beauty of the angels' faces, the transfigured gazes, the simple but noble, gestures, the motley crowd of onlookers – together with the fluctuations of line, the spatial intervals, and the unexpected asymmetries, raise this series to the level of genius, combining the human with the supernatural.

Since the etching is a mirror-image of the painting, some critics have logically assumed that the painting preceded the print. Adriano Mariuz, the author of the monograph on the painter, left open the question of what should be considered a stronger argument for the chronology: the mirror relationship between the painting and the etching, or the stylistic aspects, which suggest a somewhat later execution date for the painting (Mariuz 1971, 115). In fact, the composition of the painting is more concentrated and more mature than that of the graphic work, so it may well be a later reworking executed, as the sources show, when the painter was still in Würzburg. The two groups formed by the angels and the Holy Family are closer to one another in the painting, which reinforces the figure of Joseph as a structural axis. Furthermore, the picturesque dynamic between the palm leaves and the angels' wings is better realized, and the colours of Mary's and Joseph's garments provide a more striking counterbalance to the mass of angels. Whatever the case, both the print and the painting are predated by a sketch auctioned at Christie's in London on 6 July 1977 (lot 90) and published by George Knox (1979), in which there are no angels.

A survey of Domenico's œuvre as a whole clearly shows the essence of his (relative) artistic independence from his father. In this early painting suffused with tender pathos we see only that the son had mastered his father's idiom to the highest level of virtuosity, and with his more subdued palette and a greater emphasis on line had begun to develop his own style.

VILMOS TÁTRAI

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127 GIAMBATTISTA PIAZZETTA | Venice, 1683 – Venice, 1754

Sleeping Girl with a Basket of Turnips

ca. 1715

Oil on oval canvas; 66 × 83 cm
Residenzgalerie, Salzburg, inv. RG 475

Giambattista Piazzetta was a promising Venetian painter in the grand manner when, following his apprenticeship, he went off to Bologna to complete his studies, carrying letters of introduction to several painters, including Giuseppe Maria Crespi (Spike 1986, 30). After his time in the older artist's studio, between 1703 and 1711, Piazzetta returned home and began to paint pictures of peasants and popular life in addition to his commissions for altarpieces and other traditional subjects. As one of the leading lights in the internationally renowned school of eighteenth-century Venice, Piazzetta's favourable attitude towards genre painting was immensely influential.

Among the earliest of these works is this *Sleeping Girl with a Basket of Turnips,* which, like its pendant of *A Peasant Boy,* also in the Salzburg Residenzgalerie, is generally dated around 1715 (Spike 1986, 182–84, nos. 34 and 35; Knox 1992, 71). The subject could not be simpler: we see a farm girl in a deep sleep, resting on her arm. Her plump bosom spills carelessly forward, and a round turnip tumbles forth from her basket. Piazzetta's first impulse is always to draw the spectator closer to the figure, which emerges from the darkness as if sculpted by the light. As in the bucolic scenes by Crespi, the overtones of eroticism are only suggestive, not insistent. In the pendant painting, the peasant boy is shown in profile, facing the girl, which implies the possibility that he might come upon the recumbent girl and "perhaps play the satyr to her slumbering nymph" (Merriman 1986, 55).

An early date for the Salzburg genre pictures is suggested by their affinities with a pair of paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: *Flea Hunt* and *Young Farmer Counting Money,* which have generally been dated to the second decade of the eighteenth century (Mariuz 1982, 77–78, nos. 13 and 14). The depth of his interest in half-length figures is first revealed in these paintings. By this date, Piazzetta has fully assimilated Crespi's naturalism, offering glimpses of intimate moments, as opposed to the frenetic, sometimes aimless, compositions of his Venetian masters. His intention was not to portray his subjects as individuals, as Giacomo Ceruti did, but rather as types of people with whom he clearly sympathized, as Crespi did (Pallucchini 1956, 24).

In contrast to the ruddy cheeks and slight awkwardness of the Boston pair, however, the Salzburg canvases display a cooler, more classical palette of olive green and ivory tones. Thus it appears that the present painting and its pendant should be regarded as anticipatory of the polished charm of his "character heads", which he had developed by the 1730s, and perhaps earlier.

The oval format and *di sotto in su* perspective in the Salzburg pair are probably evidence that they were made to serve as overdoor decorations. Their broad smooth surfaces and delicate tones invite comparison with Piazzetta's famous altarpiece of *The Martyrdom of Saint James* (1722) in the church of San Stae, Venice. The pair were presumably painted slightly earlier than that date and prominently placed in a private *palazzo,* to judge from the numerous copies of this sleeping girl that are known (Mariuz 1982, 78–79, nos. 15a and 15b).

JOHN T. SPIKE

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128 GIAMBATTISTA PIAZZETTA | Venice, 1683 – Venice, 1754

Pastoral Scene (The Fortune Teller)

ca. 1740

Oil on canvas; 154 × 114 cm
Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice, inv. 706

Piazzetta has painted two conversations taking place in the bright open air of the Venetian countryside. A barefoot peasant girl who strikes a saucy pose and grins enticingly is evidently the centre of attention. Hers is the largest figure in the painting and she sits perched on a rock as if holding court in the midst of the other three figures. Despite her peasant garb and simple straw hat, the young woman's unladylike demeanour seems more suited to the demimonde than to the pastures. Another woman, younger and dark-haired, leans casually across her thigh and pokes her abdomen in a gesture that either refers to fortune-telling – hence, the title once given to this painting – or to money. If the latter is true, the impudent shepherdess and her girlfriend would appear to be young women of easy virtue and the two men glimpsed in the shadows would be their prospective clients. No explanations have yet been offered as to why Piazzetta portrayed the dark-haired woman looking attentively into the eyes of the lapdog who peers out from under the "shepherdess's" arm.

The *Fortune Teller* is one of three celebrated, and mysterious, "pastoral idylls" painted by Piazzetta towards the end of his career. An old label on the back of the painting gives its date as 1740 (Knox 1992, 186, figs. 133–35), although scholars tend to place this picture a few years earlier than the other two pastoral scenes, which Piazzetta painted as a pair for Field-Marshal Johann Matthias von der Schulenburg in Venice in 1740 (Art Institute of Chicago) and in 1745 (Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne). Beyond their proximate dating, the three paintings are visually unified, first of all, by their extraordinary dimensions. The conception of these grand pictures was a brilliant improvisation by Piazzetta inspired by Giuseppe Maria Crespi's earlier paintings of genre subjects with full-length figures that are nearly life-sized – although, as far as we know, Crespi never painted pastoral subjects on this scale (Spike 1986, 32).

Upon further examination, these three pastoral paintings also form a group for their dream-like qualities that has caused them to be compared to pictorial "idylls". Aldo Ravà, the first modern critic to comment on them, described them as "a pleasant novelty among the usual paintings of historical or mythological subjects, and landscapes, that usually decorated the salons of palaces and villas" (Ravà 1921, 31). By 1995, Rodolfo Pallucchini described their importance beyond mere decoration, indeed as "a staking out of an absolutely new position within the figurative culture of the time" (Pallucchini 1995–1996, I, 381).

Some scholars of Piazzetta have concluded that these paintings are deliberately elusive, that the *Fortune Teller,* for example, might be no more than "an ideal vision of a somewhat overpoweringly healthy country wench and her companion in an alliance which may have no more solid base than mutual admiration for the little dog" (Knox 1992, 187). Other scholars, noting the monumentality of its conception, have sought to read this painting as a political allegory in which Piazzetta meant the central figure as a "harlot" and therefore as the personification of Venice in its decline (White and Sewter 1960, 131). Writing of Piazzetta's paintings in this vein, Leslie Jones concluded that their unusual iconography probably derived from the "erotic genre imagery inspired by seventeenth-century Dutch examples" (Jones 1981, II, 45, cat. 74). The relationship can be demonstrated between these paintings and Netherlandish paintings of amorous peasant girls: Piazzetta's pupil, Domenico Maggiotto (1712–1794) painted a series of them that were engraved under the title of "Capricci fiamminghi" – Flemish caprices.

Piazzetta could have drawn upon his knowledge of original Netherlandish paintings – of which there was no shortage in Venice – but doubtless he was always inspired by Giuseppe Maria Crespi's Italian translations of the same pictorial sources. Early in the century, that is, around the time when Piazzetta came to Bologna to study with him, Crespi etched a *Shepherdess Tickling a Sleeping Shepherd.* He also made a pretty painting on copper of a shepherd boy teasing a sleeping shepherdess (his companions watching in amusement). This small painting was acquired by Piazzetta's friend Anton Maria Zanetti in 1736. A few years later Piazzetta's assistants Maggiotto and Giuseppe Angeli painted erotic pastorals based on the tickling motif invented by Crespi (Spike 1986, 32, figs. 23–25).

JOHN T. SPIKE

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129 PIETRO FALCA, CALLED LONGHI | Venice, 1701 – Venice, 1785

The Rhinoceros

1751

Oil on canvas; 62 × 50 cm
Ca' Rezzonico – Museo del Settecento Veneziano, Venice, inv. Cl. I, no. 1312
Inscribed: Vero ritratto / di un Rinocerotto / condotto in Venezia / L'anno 1751 / Fatto per mano di / Pietro Longhi / per commissione / del N. O. Giovanni Grimani / dei Servi Patrisio Veneto

Following a hugely popular European tour, a female Indian rhinoceros named Clara arrived in Venice for the Carnival of 1751, promptly garnering attention. In his *Notatori,* under the date of 23 January Pietro Gradenigo recalled the event: "A rhinoceros, a most beautiful animal supposedly unseen in Europe since the emperor Titus, has arrived in Venice. Captain Davide Montvandermeer transported it from Asia in the year 1741. Said rhinoceros was weighed in Stuttgart, in Württemberg, on 6 May 1748 and was 5,000 pounds at the time. Daily it eats 60 pounds of hay and 20 of bread, and drinks 14 buckets of water" (Codice Gradenigo Dolfin 135, H 67/1, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Venice). A medal was even coined in its honour (Molmenti 1927–1929, 254). Its owner, Douwe Mout van der Meer, was a captain with the Dutch East India Company who brought the animal back from Bengal, promptly turning it into an attraction that travelled to all the main European cities until Clara's death in 1758 (Ridley 2004, *passim*).

During carnival, the *casotti* set up around Saint Mark's offered an array of curiosities and hawkers of all kinds – puppeteers, magicians, astrologers, mountebanks – depicted by Pietro Longhi in many of his paintings. However, exotic animals were the most popular attraction. Gradenigo (ibid.) recalls that, also in 1751, people could also admire "a live lioness in a *casotto,* brought to Venice by a Frenchwoman". Longhi immortalized many of these animals, in most cases commissioned directly by Venetian aristocrats. For example, the artist portrayed the rhino not only for Giovanni Grimani, but also another nobleman, Girolamo Mocenigo, on the canvas now at the National Gallery in London (Levey 1971, 154–56). There are other versions, not autograph, of the same subject, as well as a well-known print by Pietro's son, Alessandro.

In 1762 Pietro Longhi depicted a lion in the painting now at the Fondazione Scientifica Querini Stampalia in Venice. In 1774 it was the turn of an elephant, portrayed in the work now at the Galleria di Palazzo Leoni Montanari in Vicenza and in another one in a private collection, respectively painted for Marina Sagredo Pisani and Domenica Dolfin Valier (G. Fossaluzza, in *Venice* 1993, 148–50). Other replicas have recently been added to these two versions, known for some time: one was auctioned (Sotheby's, New York, 31 January 2013, lot 78) and bore a dedication to Sebastiano Rizzo, while the other, presenting an almost illegible inscription (A. Delneri, in *Gorizia* 2008, 182), is the least convincing in the group.

Among these patrons, the one about whom we have the most information is Giovanni Grimani ai Servi (1728–1784). According to Francesco Scipione Fapanni, "since he loved to keep strange animals and had a menagerie at this villa, he would request portraits of those that would be most difficult to purchase and maintain" (Del Negro 1993, 236). Grimani's keen interest in exotic animals thus explains his request for such a curious subject. Aside from this particular circumstance, however, the nobleman also turned to the painter for other works. In fact, he had thirteen paintings by Longhi at his villa in Martellago, where he had set up his personal zoo. He was unquestionably an admirer of our artist, given that, for his wedding with Caterina Contarini a year before this painting, Carlo Goldoni dedicated a famous sonnet to Grimani, noting: "Longhi, you who summon my sister Muse / with your paintbrush that seeks the truth" (Moretti 1993, 251, "Longhi, tu che la mia Musa sorella / chiami del tuo pennel che cerca il vero").

The couple had an only child, Loredana Maria (1751–1801), who married Francesco Morosini from the Santo Stefano branch in 1772; upon her father's death, the picture gallery and the Grimani villa at Martellago entered the Morosini family. When the latter died out with Loredana Morosini-Gatterburg (1806–1884), at the great sale of 1895 the city of Venice purchased twelve of these paintings (now on display at Ca' Rezzonico), including *The Rhinoceros,* whereas the thirteenth, the *Theatrical Scene (The Artful Fan),* ended up at The State Hermitage Museum in Saint Petersburg (Moretti 1993, 252).

The Rhinoceros is indubitably one of Longhi's masterpieces. Far more than the simple "portrait" of a strange animal, as in the works of Jean-Baptiste Oudry, it encapsulates all the distinctive elements of the artist's "original manner" (Goldoni). Alongside the curious, anecdotal inspiration of this uncommon guest in the city, he magically combines intimacy and society life, setting the animal in the intriguing atmosphere of the Venetian Carnival, adding a kernel of historical truth. Indeed, in the centre of the composition we do not find an ordinary visitor but the man who commissioned the painting, next to his beautiful but unfortunate bride, soon destined to die in childbirth.

ALBERTO CRAIEVICH

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130 PIETRO ROTARI | Verona, 1707 – Saint Petersburg, 1762

Sleeping Girl with her Beau (The Tickle)

ca. 1750–1755

Oil on canvas; 106 × 84 cm

Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen – Alte Pinakothek, Munich, inv. M.Ob. 670

Born into a noble Veronese family, Count Pietro Rotari received his earliest artistic training in the city under Antonio Balestra. Between 1723 and 1725 he stayed in Venice, where he saw the paintings of Giambattista Piazzetta and Rosalba Carriera, and had the chance to study the masterpieces of Titian and Veronese. Between 1725 and 1729 he was in Rome at the school of Francesco Trevisani, whereas in 1732 he moved to Naples, where he was influenced by Solimena. Upon returning to Verona towards the mid-1730s, he opened a flourishing workshop specializing in mythological paintings and altarpieces for the churches in the city and province of Verona.

Following his father's death, he started travelling in Europe. In 1751 he spent a short time in Vienna, where he had the chance to see the works of Jean-Étienne Liotard; a short time later he moved to Dresden and the court of Augustus III, prince elector of Saxony and king of Poland; lastly, in 1756 he was invited to Saint Petersburg by Tsarina Elizabeth Petrovna, who showered him with honours and conferred him with the Academic Chair of Painting. Rotari became famous in the capital of the tsars and received the highest artistic accolades, painting portraits of the most important court members and government elites, but above all creating an extraordinary series of more than three hundred paintings (most of which now at the Peterhof Palace) portraying half-busts, chiefly of cultured young women in an array of attitudes, poses and moods. They were not portraits from life, however, but imaginative works in a standard format (approximately 45 × 35 cm) characterized by great artistic calibre, through which, with great insight and psychological depth, the painter probed various "human types": wrinkled, time-worn faces alternated with the fresh clear-complexioned faces of youths showing us their passions, emotions and most recondite sentiments.

In addition to this specific type of work, immensely successful among private collectors of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Rotari also produced a limited number of larger paintings illustrating episodes of daily life and romantic scenes, of which his *Sleeping Girl with her Beau (The Tickle)* at the Alte Pinakothek in Munich is a prime example. With great sensitivity and mastery, the painter perfectly rendered the dozing girl's utter abandonment: her head, slumped towards her left shoulder, rests gently on the back of the armchair; the red carnation in her hair is about to fall; her left arm has dropped; and her right hand can barely hold the book, her thumb marking the page. Her beau playfully takes advantage of her slumber, tickling her cheek with an ear of wheat, the grace and tenderness of his movements conveying their intimate rapport.

From a pictorial standpoint, the rendering of the compact, smooth complexions – resembling the finest Meissen porcelain – is truly astonishing, like that of the elegant costumes, particularly the girl's pink-striped bodice, so iridescent and vibrant that the fabric's softness seems real. The master's absolute command of technique permits highly evocative and dramatic effects (such as the studied interplay of chiaroscuro), possible thanks to skilled brushwork combining the softness of pastels with the brilliant palette of oils. Unquestionably reminiscent of similar works by Piazzetta and his pupils (notably, Federico Fedeli, known as Il Maggiotto, and Giuseppe Angeli) in Venice in the first half of the eighteenth century, the *Sleeping Girl* at the Alte Pinakothek, datable around 1750–1755, can unquestionably be listed among the masterpieces of Count Pietro Rotari, the aristocratic painter at European courts.

DAVIDE DOTTI

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VIII

ITALIAN JOURNEY

131 BERNARDO CANAL | Venice, 1674 – Venice, 1744

Temple of Antoninus and Faustina in Rome

1720–1721

Oil on canvas; 147.5 × 199 cm
Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. 53.498
Inscribed lower left on the stone: A. Canale 17[1?/4?]9

The attribution of this large canvas, a *veduta* of the Roman Forum framed as a capriccio by the outside wall of the Colosseum, and its pendant *Santa Maria d'Aracoeli and the Piazza del Campidoglio* (inv. 53.483, C. Beddington, in *Venice* 2001, cat. 29), was the subject of a heated debate that can only now be considered settled. Klára Garas, who accepted the authenticity of the inscription, which she read as "A. Canale 17[1]9", suggested the name of Giovanni Antonio Canal, called Canaletto (Garas 1968, cats. 27 and 28). Based on the illustrations, however, her reviewer F. J. B. Watson (1969, 82–83) was unconvinced by both the interpretation of the date and the attribution. J. G. Links included the photographs of the two works in the 1976 edition of W. G. Constable's monograph, citing the two divergent opinions and leaving open the question of their autography, but raising doubts as to whether the obvious lack of technical expertise could be ascribed entirely to Canaletto's youth. For the exhibition entitled *Canaletto prima maniera* (*Venice* 2001), Charles Beddington, Viola Pemberton-Pigott and I examined the two paintings at the British embassy in Budapest, where they had been deposited. The technical features they share with acknowledged works by the young Canaletto (the coarse Venetian canvas, the Armenian bole preparatory layer, the brushwork infused with light) and the unquestionable ties with the two Roman drawings from the series of twenty-three now at the British Museum, London, and the Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt, confirmed on that occasion to be the work of Canaletto (H. Chapman, in *Venice* 2001, 43–46, 54, cat. 6; W. G. Constable 1962, cat. 713 [238/18]), suggested that they be included in an exhibition devoted to the study of Canaletto's early activity.

In his entries on the paintings, Beddington argued with conviction for an attribution to Canaletto. While I embraced this possibility and underscored the "Venetianness" of the works, in my introductory essay I noted the lack of the impetuous genius that has been associated with the young Canaletto, along with the fragility of the architectural structures, the flatness of certain passages and the theatrical lighting, pointing to the quantum leap in quality instead evident in works executed immediately after these. The name of Bernardo Canal as the author of the two pendants was first proposed by Dario Succi (2001) and should be accepted unreservedly.

Bernardo and his son Giovanni Antonio are documented in Rome as the stage-scenery painters for Alessandro Scarlatti's operas *Tito Sempronio Gracco* and *Turno Aricino,* held at the Teatro Capranica during Carnival in 1720. We know that, according to the biographer Anton Maria Zanetti Jr (1771, 463), Canaletto's Roman sojourn marked the advent of his *vedutismo,* when "he started to paint views from life" ("si diede a dipingere vedute dal naturale") and found many subjects "particularly in the genre of antiquity" ("nel genere specie di antichità"). The two Budapest paintings show unquestionable technical and stylistic parallels with similar capriccio compositions with Roman motifs that have appeared on the art market in the last decade. This testifies that Bernardo, who taught Giovanni Antonio scenography painting, must have embarked on the same path at that time, probably following his son, who may have collaborated on the pendant, in which the fantastical colonnade on the right and the figure of the gentleman seen from the back show a more spontaneous and full-bodied facture. Like the Budapest paintings, *The Colosseum* and *The Arch of Septimius Severus,* two pendants that first appeared at an auction at Christie's, London, on 6 July 2011 (lot 216) with the correct attribution to Bernardo Canal, take up Canaletto's Roman drawings and present the same rarefied texture, clumsy figures, dogs, and the skies with zigzagging clouds. The four architectural capricci, listed at the Dorotheum, Vienna, 17 October 2012 (lot 767), as works by the eighteenth-century Venetian school but attributed here to Bernardo (ca. 1720–1721), show more veiled links with Canaletto's drawings, but they introduce Venetian motifs, similar to the *Capriccio with Obelisk,* published by Succi (in *Madrid* 2001, 132–33, cat. 33).

Upon returning to Venice, Bernardo resumed his activity as *vedutista,* following his son's lead. Several works recently put on the market show fine quality (Bonhams, London, 7 December 2011, lot 6; Sotheby's, New York, 29 and 30 January 2013, lot 28).

Von Frimmel (1913–1914, II, 83) notes that the two Budapest canvases were auctioned in Vienna on 26–29 May 1868; the catalogue for the subsequent Viennese auction of 1872, where the paintings were purchased for the Ödön Zichy collection, gives their provenance as the Galerie Schleißheim of Maximilian I Joseph, king of Bavaria.

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132 GIOVANNI ANTONIO CANAL, CALLED CANALETTO | Venice, 1697 – Venice, 1768

The Molo towards the Riva degli Schiavoni

ca. 1738

Oil on canvas; 110.5 × 185.5 cm

Raccolte d'Arte Antica e Pinacoteca del Castello Sforzesco, Milan, inv. 1473

This canvas and its pendant, *The Molo, Looking West with the Column of Saint Theodore* (Constable 1962, I, pl. 25, II, cat. 95), came from the Canaletto collection of the Dukes of Leeds at Hornby Castle, Bedale, Yorkshire. In 1882 John Murray cited eight paintings, particularly admiring the four in the Billiard Room: "Canaletti: 4 very fine Venetian scenes, 2 of them festivals, with the Bucentaur conspicuous. The 2 others are views from the head of St. Mark's Place. These are among the best Canalettis in England. The skies are especially clear and beautiful" (Murray 1882, 303). The festival scenes are now at the National Gallery in London (Constable 1962, cats. 333 and 350); the collection also included two *vedute* of Saint Mark's Square (The Detroit Institute of Art and The Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge; Constable 1962, cats. 14 and 24) and five other paintings now in private collections. In 1902 the Canaletti were displayed in the Second Drawing Room, along with two *vedute* of Rome by Van Wittel, purchased at a London auction in 1737 (*Catalogue* 1902; Briganti 1996, cats. 14 and 141), and an exquisite pair of pendants by Giovanni Paolo Panini, *The Interior of Saint Peter's* and *The Interior of San Paolo Fuori le Mura*, both signed and dated 1741 (Christie's, London, 7 July 2004, lot 106).

Despite the lack of archival documents, the exceptional Canaletto collection was indubitably assembled by Thomas Osborne (1713–1789), 4th Duke of Leeds, documented in Venice between March and June 1734 during his *Grand Tour.* "One of the indispensable acts of English noblemen 'on the grand tour' was to buy Venetian views of Canaletti" (*Athenaeum* 1878, 342), but the idea of commissioning or purchasing the artist's paintings – possibly inspired by this trip – was likely implemented later, around 1740, following the example set in 1738–1739 by Henry Howard, 4th Earl of Carlisle, at the nearby Castle Howard. The intermediary here was unquestionably the British consul Joseph Smith, as this painting and its pendant were etched by Antonio Visentini for the second series of the *Prospectus Magni Canalis Venetiarum*, published in 1742 (II, XI and XII). Consequently, they were in the home of Canaletto's shrewd patron and were not sent to England before 1742, when Bernardo Bellotto reproduced two of the figures in the foreground of the pendant, the gentleman wearing a tricorn and the Oriental man seen from the back, in *The Piazzetta Looking North* at the National Gallery, Ottawa (Constable 1962, cat. 67). Osborne's collection of works by Canaletto and Panini paralleled that of William, 3rd Earl of Fitzwilliam, documented in Venice in April 1740. For the latter, Canaletto painted eight views of Venice in 1742–1744, including two versions of the Castello Sforzesco paintings in a smaller format (Constable 1962, cats. 98 and 114).

All eleven Canaletto paintings from Hornby Castle were auctioned at Christie's on 11 June 1920, and in 1924 this painting and its pendant entered the collection of Senator Luigi Albertini, representing Milan's finest collection of Venetian *vedute*. The city of Milan purchased the two in 1995.

These exceptional compositions daringly expand space, developing the themes already tackled in similarly formed pairs at Chatsworth (ca. 1729) and Tatton Park (1730) (Constable 1962, cats. 115, 149 and cats. 97, 111). The narrative interest and variety of the scenes, with large and meticulously detailed figures, are reminiscent of the first half of the 1730s, but the precise three-dimensional rendering of the architecture and the intricate alternation of light and shadow reflect a later phase, thus justifying scholars' uncertainty as to their chronology (see *Venice* 1967, Puppi 1968, Pignatti 1970). In my opinion, they were painted after 1735–1736, when Canaletto executed the magnificent *Bacino di San Marco* now at Sir John Soane's Museum, but before the *Bacino di San Marco* at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, dated 1738–1739.

The pendant offers a sweeping view towards Santa Maria della Salute and the Giudecca with the Redentore, converging on the scene in front of the Molo with the fish and poultry market. Instead, this painting takes in the entire Riva degli Schiavoni, from the Column of Saint Mark and the Doge's Palace to the Arsenal, captured in striking detail, but it shifts the accent to the basin, where the water acquires density thanks to deftly applied layers of colour. The boats are animated by luminous well-characterized figures, such as the young foreign gentleman in the foreground, riding in a gondola and enchanted by the scene before him.

The paving on the Riva is finished here and in later versions (see also Constable 1962, cat. 113[a]), whereas work was still under way in the version once owned by the Earl of Normanton, which must be slightly earlier (Constable 1962, cat. 112 [note]).

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133 Giovanni Antonio Canal, called Canaletto | Venice, 1697 – Venice, 1768

Saint Mark's Square in Venice

ca. 1740

Oil on canvas; 45 × 76 cm

Institute de France, Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris, inv. MJAP-P-577-2

This iconic *veduta* of Saint Mark's Square, looking towards the basilica, was purchased by Édouard André (1833–1894) with its pendant, *The Grand Canal from the Palazzo Dolfin-Manin to the Rialto* (Constable 1962, cat. 228[a]) at the Charles Pillet sale of the collection of the prince de Beauvau, Hôtel Drouot, on 21 April 1865 (N. Sainte Fare Garnot, in *Paris* 2012a, 54). The price it commanded – 18,500 francs – fully expressed the status attained by Canaletto and his *veduta* of Venice, particularly compared with the 285 francs paid by the same collector a year earlier for a beautiful capriccio in gouache by Franceso Guardi, the only other work by a Venetian *vedutista* in the collection at the Musée Jacquemart-André (Kowalczyk, in *Paris* 2012a).

Nonetheless, Canaletto's paintings were soon downgraded to his "school" in the museum's guidebook, as reflected by the labels still on the frames today; the name of Bernardo Bellotto was later suggested by Terisio Pignatti (Rosenberg, in *Paris* 1971). I have demonstrated that Canaletto's young nephew was the author of two preparatory drawings for the pendant, taking up the precise description of the architecture and the rigorous definition of space, but the execution of the paintings is entirely autograph (Kowalczyk 1996). The existence of the two drawings sheds light on the problem of collaboration between Bellotto and Canaletto: from 1735 until around 1740 Canaletto significantly increased his production due to Bellotto's participation in the work process at the *bottega*.

Canaletto's authorship is backed by the fine brushwork, the transparent sky, the delicate luminosity, with a sophisticated interplay of light on the façade of the basilica and the domes, and the masterly figures are of Canaletto's type yet already show Bellotto's influence. The dimensions are standard, those of the canvases produced for English collectors and not used by Bellotto until about twenty years later, during his second stay in Dresden. The different and strong artistic personality of Canaletto's nephew, who also painted two similar views of the square (Constable 1962, II, cat. 5 and 3 [note]), is fully distinguished in the two coeval Florentine paintings on display here, due to the elongated figures – bordering on caricature at times – but also the powerful light contrasts and the marked draughtsmanship of the details (see cat. 136 and cat. 137).

Canaletto executed numerous versions of this *veduta,* starting in 1722 with the canvas now at the Flagler Museum (Palm Beach, Florida) that, modelled after a print by Luca Carlevarijs (*Fabriche, e vedute,* 1704), studies the spatial relations of the monuments, the rendering of architectural details and the lighting, in a manner that anticipates the 1723 masterpiece now at the Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza in Madrid, which also documents the work being done for the new paving on the piazza (B. A. Kowalczyk, in *Paris* 2012a, cats. 11 and 12). In later versions, the vantage point and perspective changed, though very little. Above all, these show Canaletto's development in style and technique: the canvas at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, executed around 1730; those of the Duke of Bedford, Woburn Abbey, dated ca. 1734–1735; those of the Duke of Leeds, now at the Fogg Art Museum (Cambridge, Massachusetts), datable to 1738–1740; the canvas formerly owned by Arthur Bisgood, London, ca. 1739; and the version, probably executed shortly thereafter, owned by Earl Fitzwilliam (Milton Park, Petersborough) and chosen by Antonio Visentini for a 1742 engraving of the *Prospectus Magni Canalis Venetiarum* (III, XII). In England, around 1750 Canaletto painted yet another version of this *veduta* (Links 1998, 5, cat. 8*).

The fact that the pendant was reproduced for the same (second) edition of the *Prospectus*, published at the expense of the British consul and patron of Canaletto, Joseph Smith, and printed by Giambattista Pasquali in Venice, tells us that this pair of paintings – as indicated on the title page for all the engraved works – was part of Smith's collection before it was sold at an unknown time to an English collector enjoying his *Grand Tour.*

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134 Giovanni Antonio Canal, called Canaletto | Venice, 1697 – Venice, 1768

Saint Mark's Square and the Piazzetta in Venice, Looking South

ca. 1741

Oil on canvas; 68.5 × 91.5 cm

Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica in Palazzo Barberini, Rome, inv. 1005

The painting is from the series of four *vedute* of Venice – two of Saint Mark's Square and two of the Grand Canal – from a collection established in Rome by Prince Giovanni Torlonia (1754–1829) in the 1780s and bequeathed to the Italian state in 1892. Giovanni Antonio Guattani, an academician at San Luca, drew up the inventory of the picture gallery in 1817–1820, in which the paintings were first mentioned as works undoubtedly by Canaletto, and "among the freshest and most diligent by this author" ("de' più freschi e diligenti di questo autore"; Venturi 1896, 91–92). Adolfo Venturi, however, who published Guattani's inventory in 1896, attributed them to Bernardo Bellotto (1722–1780): "the views are fresh, with some of the greenish hues typical of this painter, but are sincere, utterly true scenes of Venice in the last century" ("le vedute sono fresche, con certi toni verdastri proprii di quel pittore, ma sincere, verissime scene di Venezia nel secolo scorso"; Venturi 1896, 124). Several twentieth-century scholars agreed, notably H. A. Fritzsche, author of the first monograph on Bellotto, comparing their cold hues, incisive description, strong light and shade, and the figures with small heads and round noses with the features of the earliest canvases Bellotto painted in Dresden for the Royal Gallery (Fritzsche 1936, VG 39–42). Eventually a restoration in 1956 is said to have unanimously convinced scholars of Canaletto's authorship, corroborated by William G. Constable in 1962 (II, cat. 29) and Stefan Kozakiewicz in 1972 (II, A 12, A 32, A 173 and A 178; German ed. Z 12, Z 32, Z 173 and Z 178).

The stylistically uniform series stands out in Canaletto's repertory because of its dramatic tone and the grandeur of its conception, the breadth of the sky and foreground, and its unusual size, instead typical of Bellotto. The presence of the artist's young nephew at his studio and the influence of his dramatic, incisive style are clearly reflected in the *vedute* from the former Torlonia collection. In effect, based on style, the series is datable to the early 1740s, when Bellotto was already active as a painter of Venetian *vedute,* rather than around 1735, as some scholars continue to assert. The fact that two compositions in the series repeat *vedute* painted by Canaletto around 1740 and reproduced by Antonio Visentini in prints executed at the same time or shortly thereafter for the second edition of the *Prospectus Magni Canalis Venetiarum*, published in 1742, also point to this period. Another painting in the group is likewise connected with the *Prospectus*, the *veduta* entitled *The Grand Canal Looking South-west from the Rialto to Ca' Foscari*, published both in the first edition of 1735 and the one of 1742 (Constable 1962, cat. 219), which confirms the success of Joseph Smith's publishing and propagandistic initiative targeting British collectors on the *Grand Tour,* one of whom likely commissioned the Torlonia canvases.

The painting, unique in this series as it has no precedents in the *vedute* engraved by Visentini, represents a fortunate convergence of various solutions adopted since the artist's youth, in the wake of Gaspar van Wittel (1652/1653–1736) and Luca Carlevarijs (1663–1730). From the vantage point of the area by the Torre dell'Orologio or its first floor, it embraces the main monuments of Saint Mark's Square, depicted against the backdrop of the Bacino di San Marco and the island of San Giorgio Maggiore. A rapid sketch dated 1729, at the Kunstmuseum in Basel, and the more detailed drawing in the British Royal Collection dated a short time later (Constable 1962, cats. 545 and 546), are the most direct precedents for this composition. Using these drawings as a starting point, Canaletto expands the space of the Piazzetta and the width of the basin, which now extends from the Palladian façade of San Giorgio to the tip of the Giudecca, with the bell tower of San Giovanni Battista, which no longer exists. From the square in the foreground, populated with conventional little groups and the ever-present small dogs, the fast-paced perspective leads to the marvellous image of the Piazzetta, dotted with minute figures in both the sun and the shade, close to the green water of the basin crisscrossed by large sailing ships, with a light galley moored at the Molo under the grey sky on the horizon.

Giovanni Torlonia was, like Consul Smith, a banker and patron of the arts who formed a collection of the finest quality thanks to his taste and passion. In his will, he stipulated that his picture gallery of 380 works could not be broken up, an enlightened idea like that of Smith, who in 1762 sold his collection to the British Crown.

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135 GIOVANNI ANTONIO CANAL, CALLED CANALETTO | Venice, 1697 – Venice, 1768

The Lock at Dolo

1763

Oil on canvas; 30.5 × 44.5 cm
Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. 78.14
Signed on the back: "Io Zuea Antonio Canal deto il Canaleto, feci"

Dolo was unquestionably the most popular mainland subject among eighteenth-century Venetian *vedutisti*. The village, which *La Serenissima* wrested from Paduan rule in 1505, was closely tied to the activities of Venetian nobles and citizens. It was not only a *burchiello* (a Venetian wherry) station for the journey on the Brenta between Venice and Padua, an agricultural and trade centre, and a holiday venue, but it also served as a crossroads for hunting expeditions in the plains and valleys along the lagoon.

In 1742, Canaletto executed a series of drawings in Dolo depicting the village's main attractions – the mills and the lock, the riverbank with the parish church of San Rocco and the aristocratic villas – for five etchings in the famous series of thirty-five, along with the title page, for *Vedute Altre prese da i Luoghi altre ideate*. The series – undated – was published after Joseph Smith (ca. 1674–1770) was appointed consul on 6 June 1744.

Following the artist's definitive return to Venice before 12 December 1755, after living in England for about nine years (Montecuccoli degli Erri 2002, 6–7), he constantly made use of his own prints. Around ten paintings, some of the most enchanting works of his final years, literally reproduce – in various versions – the most beautiful etchings of the 1740s. They are the same size as the plates but vary in minor details and in the figures.

The painting exhibited here takes up the composition of the etching entitled *Le Porte Del Dolo,* which portrays the old lock, viewed from the bridge under which the *burchiello* passes and admired by elegantly garbed noble tourists (Bromberg 1974, 66–71, no. 6). The lock, flanked by houses and shops, was built in the seventeenth century on the canal linking the two branches of the Naviglio del Brenta, which picturesquely framed the heart of the village. Now situated further downstream, towards Venice, the lock was enclosed by ellipsoidal walls that still stand. In another print by Canaletto, *Ale Porte Del Dolo,* the *burchiello,* heading in the opposite direction towards Venice, has already gone through the lock and passed under the bridge, and is about to enter the Brenta in the town centre of Dolo (Bromberg 1974, 60–64, no. 5).

The dark tones, strong light and shade, the bluish clouds gathering on the horizon, and the exceedingly refined brushwork, with rippling touches and streaks of white lead for the highlights – elements typical of Canaletto's late manner and evident here – have been mistaken in the past with the style of Bernardo Bellotto (1722–1780) around 1740. This painting and its traditional pendant, *Capriccio with San Giacometto di Rialto* (private collection), which merits in-depth study, were published by Stefan Kozakiewicz in 1963, when they were both in a private collection in Budapest, as works on which Canaletto and Bellotto collaborated (see Kozakiewicz 1972, I, 40, II, A 268 and A 294; German ed. Z 268 and Z 294). It was not until 1990, when the artist's signature was discovered on the back of the original canvas following restoration, that this work was fully ascribed to Canaletto, representing an important discovery for studies on the artist's late activity; in the meantime, *The Lock at Dolo* was sold to the Szépművészeti Múzeum in 1978. The similarities between the writing on the back of this work and that on *The Piazza San Marco Looking South and West* (Los Angeles County Museum of Art), where the year 1763 also appears, provide rare chronological indications. Two other versions of the same composition were later ascribed to Canaletto, one formerly owned by A. Beurdeley (1847–1919) and published by H. A. Fritzsche (1936, 107) as the work of an anonymous imitator, which reappeared on the German antiquarian market under Bellotto's name (now at Robilant + Voena, in London; B. A. Kowalczyk, in *Turin* 2008, 242–43, cat. 99) and the other in the Feltrinelli Collection (1930), likewise formerly ascribed to the younger *vedutista* along with its pendant, *View of Dolo* (Kozakiewicz 1972, II, Z 295 and 298; Links 1998, 35–36, cats. 371* and 377*).

There is a known sketch of the composition, executed with a camera obscura, in which the main shaded areas are carefully defined by hatching with regular parallel lines. It is clearly a preparatory work for the engraving, which faithfully portrays the appearance of the buildings and the lock, but shows, as the present painting, the corner of the house on the right and introduces some new figures (Constable 1962, cat. 668). Each of the three pictorial versions shows differences with respect to the composition of the print, thereby representing original creations. Bellotto was inspired by the same print for a capriccio painting now at the Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, executed in Italy around 1745, and for the signed and dated work painted in 1748 for the Royal Dresden Gallery, where it is still located (Kozakiewicz 1972, II, 83, cats. 106 and 107).

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136 BERNARDO BELLOTTO | Venice, 1722 – Warsaw, 1780

The Piazza della Signoria in Florence

1740

Oil on canvas; 61 × 90 cm
Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. 645

Bernardo Bellotto's two *vedute* of Florence at the Szépművészeti Múzeum – this one and its pendant, *The Arno in Florence* (cat. 137) – are the most celebrated early works of the artist, and their powerful rendering of chiaroscuro, incisiveness and vivid portrayal still astonish and entice us today. With his first trip outside Venice, Bellotto proudly demonstrated that he was able to vie with his famous teacher and uncle, Canaletto, even on the most prestigious commissions.

The most recent archival studies have made it possible to date these works to 1740, two years earlier than traditionally thought, thereby underscoring their importance as a manifesto of Bellotto's artistic precocity and making them fundamental for any examination of the painter's early activity in Venice. The rediscovered documentation also allows us to contemplate Bellotto as a pioneer of eighteenth-century Florentine *vedutismo*.

The two paintings were in the personal collection of the marchese Vincenzo Riccardi (1704–1752) in Florence as early as 1741, when they were listed in his inventory, albeit under the name of Canaletto (Kowalczyk 2012, 29–30). Other recently found documents tell us that Bellotto arrived in Florence after 22 April 1740, invited by the marchese and collector Andrea Gerini (1691–1766). The trip was sponsored by Gerini's Venetian friend Anton Maria Zanetti the Elder, and the young *vedutista* remained there until at least 30 September, when he was paid 84 *zecchini* and 18 *paoli* (a considerable sum) for four views of Florence commissioned by Gerini. It was probably Gerini, from an old Florentine family of merchants and bankers closely tied to the Medici court and then that of the Lorraine, who piqued the interest of his friend Riccardi, a niece's husband, in contemporary Venetian painting and *vedutismo*.

The works do not appear in the complete inventory of the Riccardi collection drawn up on 20 July 1810 for an auction. They are documented in 1815 in the gallery of the Kaunitz Palace in Vienna, set up by Prince Nicholas Esterházy; they are cited in the 1820 catalogue of the Esterházy collection, which was sold to the Hungarian government in 1871.

Two other pairs of Florentine *vedute* by Bellotto are known, but neither is documented. The two *vedute* of the Arno at the Alfred Beit Foundation, Russborough House, Wicklow (Kozakiewicz 1972, II, 38, 41, nos. 52 and 56), are unquestionably coeval and, among known works, they are the only ones that could have been commissioned by Gerini. Their "Florentine" character with the sweeping panoramic views – as opposed to the precise "Venetian" perspectives evident in the Budapest pendants – can no doubt be ascribed to the artist's rapport with Giuseppe Zocchi (1717–1767) who, under Gerini's protection, commenced his short career as a *vedutista* in 1740. The third set, now at the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge (Kozakiewicz 1972, II, 38, 41, nos. 54 and 55) and dated 1742–1743, is an excellent example of Bellotto's more mature style and testifies to his popularity among collectors of Florentine *vedute*.

Bellotto painted this fascinating image of Piazza della Signoria, the only one among his known *vedute* of Florence, for the young marchese Riccardi, ambassador extraordinary to Rome as early as 1738–1739 and a passionate collector of landscapes, seascapes and battle scenes, and views by Flemish, Dutch, French, Roman and Venetian artists. The main square of the Tuscan capital, adorned with famous Renaissance sculptures at the foot of the Palazzo Vecchio, and with the Loggia dei Lanzi cloaked in darkness, is depicted through a lucid interplay of light and shadow, episode by episode, with matchless coherence and narrative power. Bellotto intentionally presents himself as an avant-garde artist even if, through the story unfolding in the foreground parallel to the picture plane and the grotesque backlit figures, he reveals his admiration for the prints of Jacques Callot (1592–1635), who was in Florence between 1612 and 1621 at the service of Christina of Lorraine. A similar compositional scheme, with deep shadows in the foreground and elongated figures, was employed in *The Piazza San Martino, Lucca* (York Art Gallery, Museums Trust; Kozakiewicz 1972, II, 42, no. 58), probably painted a short time later, and in the *Campo Santi Giovanni e Paolo, Venice* at the Museum of Fine Art, Springfield, executed following Bellotto's successful trip to Tuscany, as confirmed by the date of 8 December 1740 on the preparatory drawing at the Hessisches Landesmuseum in Darmstadt (Kozakiewicz 1972, II, 20–25, nos. 24 and 25).

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137 Bernardo Bellotto | Venice, 1722 – Warsaw, 1780

The Arno in Florence

1740

Oil on canvas; 62 × 90 cm
Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. 647

The two paintings by Bernardo Bellotto at the Szépművészeti Múzeum, this one and *The Piazza della Signoria* (cat. 136), are listed as pendants in the 1741 inventory of the personal collection of the Florentine marchese Vincenzo Riccardi: "Two companion paintings with carved and gilded Salvator Rosa frames, one portraying the square of the grand duke and the other a view of the bridges with the Arno from the Ponte Vecchio looking west, by Canaletto" ("Due Quadri compagni con cornice intagliati, e dorati alla Salvador Rosa rappresentante L'uno La Piazza del Granduca, e L'altro La veduta de Ponti coll'Arno, porta dal Ponte Vecchio verso Ponente del Canaletto"). Riccardi also collected *vedute* of Venice by Gaspar van Wittel (ca. 1652/53–1736) and Michele Marieschi (1710–1743); the latter's pendants, purchased by Prince Artur Potocki in 1824, are in the collection of the Muzeum Narodowe in Warsaw (Kowalczyk 2012, 29–30; Appendix, *The Burlington Magazine* website).

During his trip to Florence in 1740 (see cat. 136) the young *vedutista* exploited what he had learned as a painter of Venetian scenes while he was Canaletto's pupil and assistant, but from his earliest works he interpreted them with his own expressive approach, perspectival rigour and a penchant for realistic portrayal with topographical accuracy. In its perspective lines and the distribution of shadows, this view of the Arno, extending from the Ponte Vecchio to the Ponte Santa Trinita and the Ponte alla Carraia, resembles the *Grand Canal Looking East from the Palazzo Flangini to the Palazzo Vendramin Calergi,* now part of a private collection, painted shortly before his journey to Florence (B. A. Kowalczyk, in *Venice–Houston* 2001, 11–12). Nevertheless, with respect to the earlier painting, which still shows Canaletto's influence, the work exhibited here clearly reveals the young artist's ambitious personality in the powerful contrast of light and shadow, accurate rendering of the architecture, well-characterized figures, and cold, silvery hues. New documentation uncovered at the State Archives in Florence demonstrates that, although he craved autonomy, Bellotto presented himself with the name of Canaletto since his arrival in Tuscany and, therefore, it is unsurprising that his works are cited as such.

Bellotto's invitation to Florence and the commission of *vedute* of the city by the marchesi Gerini and Riccardi are the expression of contemporary Florentine taste for collecting these works and of Gerini's desire to establish Florentine *vedutismo* as a noble response to the new Lorraine sovereign's indifference towards Tuscany. In 1740–1741 Giuseppe Zocchi (1717–1767), painter for the Gerini family, began to execute a series of drawings with views of the capital and Tuscan villas, which were etched by the best Italian and foreign engravers and published in 1744 by Giuseppe Allegrini as two series of prints, *Scelta di XXIV vedute delle principali contrade, piazze, chiese e palazzi della città di Firenze* and *Vedute delle ville e d'altri luoghi della Toscana* (see G. M. Guidetti, in *Florence* 2009a, 262–67, cat. 94, 276–81, cat. 99; Kowalczyk 2012, 27–28).

In Florence, Bellotto must indubitably have been the master of the Canalettian technique of the *veduta,* a modern painter who brought with him Venetian luminist qualities. An interpretation of his style and handling of light can be found in the small series of *vedute* of the city that Zocchi painted in the early 1740s, while his perspective compositions reflect the Tuscan tradition.

The two Riccardi *vedute* "interpreted in the Venetian style" ("interpretate alla veneziana"), as Adolfo Venturi described them (1900, 236), are entirely exceptional in eighteenth-century Florentine *vedutismo*. Charles-Nicolas Cochin (1715–1790) was the first to commentate them in 1758 when they were displayed at the Palazzo Medici, mistakenly attributing them to "Gasparo delli Occhiali" (Van Wittel): "they are well executed, but the shadows are dark and hard" ("elles sont bien exécutées, mais les ombres en sont noircies & dures"; Cochin 1758, 258). The singular "hardness" of Bellotto's shadows, with outlines incised on the fresh paint, is part of his language, the modernity and charm of which have only been pointed out by studies conducted over the last few decades.

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138 Master of the Langmatt Foundation (Apollonio Domenichini)

Venice, 1715 – Venice, ca. 1770

View of Piazza del Pantheon in Rome

ca. 1750

Oil on canvas; 71 × 118 cm
Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. 659

This magnificent *veduta* illustrates one of the most famous scenes of ancient Rome with impeccable topographic precision: Piazza della Rotonda, also known as Piazza del Pantheon. The structure, which rises majestically between the two perspectival wings of the palazzi, was built by Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa in 27–25 BC as a pagan temple dedicated to all the gods of Olympus. Damaged in a fire in 80 AD, it was then restored during Domitian's reign, but Trajan had it completely torn down in 110. It was then rebuilt by the emperor Hadrian between 118 and 128, and was miraculously saved from the demolitions of the early Middle Ages because, after Pope Boniface IV received it as a gift from the Byzantine emperor Phocas, in 609 he turned it into a Christian church he named Sancta Maria ad Martyres. The twin bell towers visible on the façade, designed by Bernini and dubbed "the ass's ears", were torn down in 1903.

The work was donated to the Hungarian National Museum in 1836 by Archbishop János László Pyrker (1772–1847), in whose collection it was attributed to Bernardo Bellotto. However, twentieth-century scholars gave little credit to the attribution to the great Venetian master (Camesasca 1974, no. 330A) and ascribed the work to Canaletto's milieu: Kozakiewicz (1972, no. Z331) sustained that "there are so many instances of the direct influence of Canaletto's manner … that it cannot have been painted anywhere other than in the master's immediate circle", whereas Constable (1976, no. 391) stated that "the picture is best regarded as the work of a Roman architectural painter, perhaps influenced by Canaletto". Federico Zeri instead tentatively attributed the canvas to the Modena painter Antonio Joli (Fondazione Federico Zeri, Bologna, Fototeca, entry no. 64147).

Thanks to the progress made by studies on Venetian *vedutismo* in recent decades, we can unquestionably assert that the *View of Piazza del Pantheon in Rome* represents an extraordinary addition to the œuvre of the "Master of the Langmatt Foundation", an artist who owes his conventional name to the series of thirteen *vedute* of Venice at the Stiftung Langmatt Sidney und Jenny Brown in Baden, Switzerland. In the wake of specific archival research that has uncovered detailed inventory references, Dario Succi (in *Passariano* 2003, 103–7) suggested that the "Master of the Langmatt Foundation" can be identified as Apollonio Domenichini, a painter born in Venice in 1715, listed in the registry of the Fraglia (the guild of painters) in 1757 and active until at least 1765–1770. Domenichini painted numerous architectural *capricci,* fantastic landscapes and views of Venice – often based on prints – that are clearly indebted to the works of both Michele Marieschi (for the facture with patches of colour) and Canaletto (for the sharp rendering and lively figures). His extensive body of works includes rare *vedute* of Rome in which the artist was inspired by Canatello's prototypes, such as the *View of the Arch of Constantine* dated 1746 (Christie's, London, 10 December 2003, lot 49) and the *View of the Piazza del Campidoglio with the Church of Santa Maria d'Aracoeli* at the Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge, Mass. (inv. 1939.228), both of which resemble the two youthful drawings of the same subject by Canaletto, now at the British Museum in London (inv. 1858-6-26-221) and the Hessisches Landesmuseum in Darmstadt (inv. 2186).

In the case of the *View of Piazza del Pantheon in Rome,* however, it has been impossible to identify the model of the great Venetian *vedutista*. Nevertheless, it is likely that such a work must have existed, as we can glean from the strong parallels in both composition and perspective that can be noted in various works executed between 1730 and 1760 by Canaletto's immediate circle (by way of example, the two canvases that Constable attributed to Canaletto [1976, I, no. 391aa–392], respectively at the Walter P. Chrysler Collection, Norfolk, Va. and the Dayton Art Institute, Dayton, Ohio, the former actually by his father, Bernardo Canal, and the latter by an anonymous imitator who likely copied one of Canaletto's originals that can no longer be traced).

Characterized by the very typical dry and elongated splashes of colour of figures dressed in the Venetian style and the diffused atmospheric light of the sky with its hazy cloud cover, also found in his views of Venice, the Budapest canvas – a rediscovered gem in Domenichini's œuvre – was painted shortly after the aforesaid *View of the Arch of Constantine* and probably in the late 1740s or early 1750s.

DAVIDE DOTTI

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139–140 FRANCESCO GUARDI | Venice, 1712 – Venice, 1793

The Torre dell'Orologio
The Piazzetta with the Libreria Vecchia
1770–1775

Oil on canvas; 62.5 × 89.5 cm each
Akademie der bildenden Künste, Gemäldegalerie, Vienna, inv. nos. 502, 504

The Gemäldegalerie of the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna vaunts a significant set of works by Francesco Guardi. Composed of ten paintings, the group entered its current venue in 1822 through the bequest of Count Lamberg-Sprinzenstein (Trnek 1997, 15–21) and, as a whole, it documents almost his entire artistic path. Interestingly enough, in the collection of provenance the author of these works was never cited as Francesco Guardi or even just "Guardi". All the *vedute* were listed as "Canaletti" and the two small altarpieces were instead attributed to Giuseppe Maria Crespi.

The canvases exhibited here and another pair of paintings in the same collection depicting the *Grand Canal with Santa Lucia and Santa Maria di Nazareth* and the *Grand Canal with San Simeone Piccolo and Santa Lucia* (inv. 451, 604) present an unusual feature: X-ray images have revealed in each of them an earlier composition portraying religious episodes. In the case of the pendants discussed here, they are respectively an *Adoration of the Magi* and an *Adoration of the Shepherds* (Hutter 1967, 15–16). Antonio Morassi (1973, 378) posited that the underlying scenes were probably executed by Francesco's brother Antonio. Today, however, also considering the gap between the latter's death (1760) and the plausible date of our canvases, it is reasonable to think that Francesco painted the two *Adorations* close to the time of the *vedute,* given the fact that he continued to execute historical paintings even late in his career (see M. Fleischer, in *Treviso* 2008, 292).

In both cases, Francesco replicated these *vedute* several times. Regarding the *Torre dell'Orologio*, Morassi (1973, 377–78) cites over a dozen versions – not all of which are autograph – executed over a very long period (1758–1775) and presenting an essentially identical angle, wider in some cases and narrower in others. One of these, formerly part of the Rothschild collection in Paris, was also engraved by Antonio Sandi (D. Succi, in *Gorizia–Venice* 1983, 349). According to Rainer Michael Mason (*Geneva* 1973, 51), we can also add another anonymous print, possibly by Dionigi Valesi (unfortunately not illustrated in the catalogue), portraying the painting at the Viennese academy, albeit with slight variations.

Of all the versions of this subject painted by Guardi, the one shown here is probably the best. Instead, this was not one of Canaletto's favourite subjects and he chose it on just one occasion: the canvas now at the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art in Kansas City, engraved by Henry Fletcher in London in 1739 (Finberg 1932, 204–5). The building designed by Mauro Codussi can, however, be seen – foreshortened diagonally – in the *Saint Mark's and the Clock Tower, Venice* now at the National Gallery of Canada in Ottawa and in the preparatory drawing for this work in the British Royal Collections (Constable 1976, 205, cat. 45).

As can be noted in other works by Guardi, it is a less common view of the square that has caught the artist's eye. He captures the vibrant hues of the building, enhancing the luminous whiteness of the façade, which stands out from the buildings around it.

The composition of its pendant is more traditional, inspired by one of Canaletto's etchings, which Guardi copied a number of times in his earliest *vedute,* as in the case with one of the four youthful canvases from the same collection. With respect to Canaletto's prototype, however, in this painting Guardi has shifted the view towards the left, cutting the Libreria Vecchia in half, but opening up our visual field to include the Piazzetta and Saint Mark's Basin. The dramatic spatial expansion of Sansovino's architectural work, marked by a long perspectival line, is thus overshadowed.

Ever trustful of his sensitive eye, Guardi shifts the subject from the monumental building to the lagoon and the lively crowd milling about in the Piazzetta.

The dating of this pair of canvases has long been debated and a broad time span from 1755 to 1780 has been put forward. I share the suggestion of Goering (1944, 48), later taken up by Trnek (1997) and Fleischer (in *Treviso* 2008), that they were executed between 1770 and 1775, based on parallels with the paintings from the *Doge's Feasts* series. Byam Shaw recognized a drawing at the Albertina in Vienna as a preparatory work for *The Piazzetta with the Libreria Vecchia* (Byam Shaw 1951, 66, cat. 32; Morassi 1975, 139, cat. 342), whereas one from the Musée du Petit Palais in Paris (Morassi 1975, 137, cat. 333) has been identified for *The Torre dell'Orologio*.

ALBERTO CRAIEVICH

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141 GIOVANNI PAOLO PANINI | Piacenza, 1691 – Rome, 1765

Interior of an Imaginary Picture Gallery with Views of Ancient Rome (Roma Antica)

1756–1757

Oil on canvas; 169 × 227 cm
Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart, inv. 3315

This painting was commissioned by Étienne-François de Choiseul-Stainville, later duc de Choiseul (1719–1785), French ambassador in Rome from 1754 to 1757. It shows an imaginary picture gallery hung with views of ancient Roman monuments and furnished with antiquities; in its pendant, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (dated 1757), the views are of contemporary Rome and the sculptures date from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The paintings in this gallery are by the painter of the picture, Giovanni Paolo Panini, who stands in the centre wearing a frock-coat and holding his palette and brush. He is accompanied by four other men, one of whom supports the frame of the ancient wall painting known as the *Aldobrandini Wedding* that another studies closely. Distributed across the foreground are antique sculptures, including the *Farnese Hercules*, the *Dying Gaul*, the *Silenus with the Infant Bacchus*, the *Borghese Vase* and the *Laocoön*. Two students with drawing boards are preparing to make drawings of these antiquities.

Panini's conception is based on his *Picture Gallery of Cardinal Valenti Gonzaga* in the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Conn., where the artist includes himself beside the patron, asserting a special relationship between them and implying that the picture is a celebration of painting itself. In the Stuttgart–Boston pair the artist appears in one picture and the patron in the other, while the presence of subsidiary artists in both asserts Choiseul's claim to be a patron of the arts. But whereas the paintings in the Valenti Gonzaga picture were painted by a variety of artists and formed part of a real collection, here they are notionally all by Panini himself, and do not seriously claim to be Choiseul's property: rather it is Rome itself that constitutes his "collection". In addition, by juxtaposing ancient and modern Rome, Panini plays on the trope of the equivalence between the two: the Renaissance ambition of restoring ancient Rome has been achieved, and modern Rome is its equal.

Choiseul commissioned a second such pair, now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, where the protagonist of the *Roma Antica* is no longer Panini but Choiseul. The two pairs are often considered to belong to two sets of four, the other pairs representing *Piazza San Pietro* and the *Interior of Saint Peter's*, but the relationships are complicated. The first pair to be commissioned was the *Entry of the Duke de Choiseul into Piazza San Pietro*, now in Berlin and dated 1754, and an *Interior of Saint Peter's*, now in Washington. These record Choiseul's first visit to the Vatican in 1754. Following his official entry to the Vatican on 28 March 1756, Choiseul commissioned a further such pair, now divided between the Duke of Sutherland collection (the *Entry*), and the Boston Atheneum (the *Interior*). This commission was almost certainly associated with that for the Stuttgart–Boston pair, as the dimensions match closely, and they remained a set until 1837. Dated 1757, the Metropolitan pair must have been commissioned almost immediately afterwards, but no effort was made to match the smaller dimensions of the 1754 pair.

Choiseul's commissions gave Panini the opportunity to make a comprehensive survey of his adopted city, as Canaletto had done for Venice and as Piranesi was doing with his engraved *Vedute di Roma*. It is the summation of his life's work as a topographical painter, but most of these fictive paintings do not correspond to actual paintings by Panini, whose usual genre was the *capriccio,* where individual monuments from diverse locations are united in a common pictorial space. Here Panini employs a different strategy: single monuments are confined by their frames to individual pictorial worlds, while the pictorial space they share is that of the picture gallery. It is not a real place, though, but a confection, not fully resolved architecturally, that exists only to provide spaces to hang paintings. Moreover, the pictorial space of the fictive paintings sometimes competes with the "real" space of the gallery. The sequence of partially open vaulted spaces in the oval view of the Baths of Diocletian, held in place by stucco angels, interacts strangely with the sequence of similar spaces of the gallery itself. Similarly, the two canvases representing the Pantheon and Santa Costanza on either side seem to contradict the flatness of the piers against which they are hung. Panini must have enjoyed this effect, since in the Metropolitan version (and in a third one now in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, painted in 1758–1759 for Monsignor de Canillac, *chargé d'affaires* of the Embassy of France to the Holy See) he extended the paintings upwards, causing their domed interiors to appear to hollow out the masses of the piers.

DAVID R. MARSHALL

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142 ANTONIO JOLI | Modena, 1700 – Naples, 1777

The Royal Procession to the Church of Santa Maria di Piedigrotta

ca. 1770

Oil on canvas; 55.3 × 97.3 cm

Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples, inv. OA 4770 (on loan to the Museo di San Martino)

Part of the Bourbon collections, the painting depicts the royal procession that, according to a tradition established in 1734 by the Bourbon king, Charles VII of Naples (who became king of Spain as Charles III in 1759), wound its way through festive crowds along the Neapolitan seafront from the Palazzo Reale to the sanctuary of Santa Maria di Piedigrotta, an ancient place of worship and widespread popular devotion.

The canvas portrays the procession with the royal carriage bearing Ferdinand IV, the third son of Charles and Maria Amalia of Saxony, who became king of Naples in 1759 when his father was called to the Spanish throne, and his wife Maria Carolina of Austria, the daughter of Empress Maria Theresa of Habsburg and sister of Marie Antoinette, who married Louis XVI of France. The royal carriage, which no longer exists, goes through a crowd of aristocrats, merchants, entrepreneurs and members of the lower class who ply different trades, and numerous beggars and tramps. Following at a distance is the carriage of the *Eletto del Popolo* (today's equivalent of the mayor), still visible at the Museo di San Martino, and the procession is accompanied by a garrison of imperial guards, recognizable by their light tail coats and blue sashes. The presence of Ferdinand and Maria Carolina, who were married in 1768, and of the imperial guard allows us to date the painting around 1770.

Antonio Joli had painted the same event earlier, between 1756 and 1760, when he executed a number of Neapolitan *vedute* for Lord John Brudenell, whom he had accompanied on the nobleman's travels in Italy; these works are now in the collection of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry in Bowhill, England. Joli had already made a name for himself as a set painter who had trained studying works executed in the wake of the Bibbiena and Panini, but who also specialized as a *vedutista* in the style of Canaletto. For the English aristocrat he depicted Naples and its seafront with the royal procession from two vantage points: from the east, with a view of the hill of Posillipo in the distance, and from the west, with the smoking Mount Vesuvius in the background. These two viewpoints were first employed by Gaspar van Wittel at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and they subsequently became part of the repertory of all painters of Neapolitan *vedute*. The latter were, for the most part, foreign artists who embarked on the classic itinerary of study and leisure referred to as the *Grand Tour d'Italie,* travelling to Naples and beyond to capture the urban and natural landscape of the southern part of the peninsula, along with local traditions and customs, and famous ancient Greek and Roman monuments. In view of this visual tradition, it is likely that the painting exhibited here, in which the royal procession is portrayed from the west, originally had a pendant – unfortunately lost – with a view of the gulf from the east. In the present work, on the right we can note the church of San Leonardo (destroyed in the nineteenth century), while on the left side of the painting are the *palazzi* of the city's noble families, constituting the ancient district of Chiaja (on the seafront is the so-called Casino degli Invitti, owned by the Conca princes and likewise destroyed in the nineteenth century). Further back, we can make out the Castel dell'Ovo, Mount Echia with the former Collegio dei Gesuiti (later transformed into a military school known as Nunziatella) perched on top, Mount Vesuvius and, in the distance, the coast of the Sorrento peninsula.

It was theorized that the canvas discussed here may have been a preparatory work (improbable, given its highly finished details) or, more likely, an autograph replica of the large *veduta* (74 × 128 cm) that – together with its pendant depicting the royal procession from the east – is at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, sent by Ferdinand and Maria Carolina to their imperial relatives as a gift and "memento" of the city of Naples. In fact, we know of other *vedute* of Naples, with and without the royal procession, replicated by Joli and his assistants to be sent as "tributes" from the Neapolitan rulers to other European courts with which they had ties.

There are also other known *vedute* of the royal procession showing the entire Gulf of Naples on a single canvas. One of them is in the Valerio collection in Geneva (64 × 150 cm; A. Buondonno, in *Madrid* 2005, 110–12, cat. 52); others have appeared at different times on the international market.

Lastly, it is important to note that, in addition to being a lucid "portraitist" of various aspects of Naples and the surrounding territory, when Joli moved permanently to the capital of the southern kingdom in 1760, he was promptly appointed court set painter at the Real Teatro di San Carlo. His paintings with theatre sets are preserved chiefly at the Reggia di Caserta and in the Museo di Capodimonte.

NICOLA SPINOSA

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