Chapter 5

THE WIDER PUBLIC

– i –

POUSSIN became one of the leading painters in Rome. Yet he never worked in fresco, was hardly ever employed by the Pope, only once or twice painted an altarpiece.[1] Such was now the power of the independent patron to make the reputation of an artist and to guide his development. Deliberately confining himself to a restricted circle of scholars and humanists, he soon moved from the generalised battle pictures with which he had been forced to begin his career to a more and more complex interpretation of religion and mythology, often as difficult to understand as the great paintings of the Florentine Renaissance produced in somewhat similar circumstances nearly two hundred years earlier. The times were favourable. Never was Rome so closely aligned to French policy and culture as during the twenty-odd years of Urban VIII's pontificate. Not for many generations had there been such a circle of intellectually minded connoisseurs, interested in all the latest developments in science and aesthetics, ready to encourage complex imagery and a more aristocratically restrained form of artistic expression than that which filled the churches and palaces of the great. Yet independent patrons of this kind were not the only ones who broke down the monopoly of Church and aristocracy in early seventeenth-century Rome. With the increasing attraction of the city to tourists and growing economic uncertainties conditions of patronage gradually loosened and we come across an ever larger number of professional art dealers in direct contact with living painters.

Dealers at first played an important part only in the careers of young and unknown artists. Every time we hear of them it is in connection with some painter newly arrived in Rome, unable to fit at once into the established system. Such, for instance, was the case of Caravaggio, who sold some of his early works to a French dealer called Valentin and through him met the Cardinal del Monte[2]; or of the Spaniard Giuseppe Ribera, who on his arrival in Rome 'took to painting by the day for those who deal in pictures with all the trials such work involves for young men'.[3] Indeed, once an artist had made his reputation there would be no question of his ever working again for a dealer unless driven by the most acute distress. For they had a bad reputation both with painters and with the public. We hear that they tried to keep the young Salvator Rosa away from

[1] The *Martyrdom of St Erasmus*, now in the Vatican Gallery, is the only altarpiece that Poussin painted for an Italian church—St Peter's in 1628-9; for this, incidentally, he did make a preparatory *modello* (Ottawa). There is a tradition that the *Annunciation* (National Gallery, London) comes from Pope Alexander VII's chapel at Castel Gandolfo. As it is inscribed with his name this may well be correct, though the evidence is not conclusive—see Blunt in *Société Poussin*, 1947, pp. 18-25.

[2] Friedlaender, p. 101.

[3] Mancini, I, p. 249.

direct contact with possible clients so that he would be forced to work exclusively for them, and as early as 1635 Claude found himself compelled to keep a record of all his paintings, as copies of his works were being sold 'throughout Rome' as originals.[1] One of the collectors who may well have been tricked by unscrupulous dealers of this kind was Lelio Guidiccioni, a poet in the Barberini circle, who 'burned with extraordinary zeal and lust for pictures and spared no labour or expense in acquiring them'—only to find that he had been landed with many a doubtful 'Michelangelo', 'Raphael' and 'Perino del Vaga'.[2]

But quite apart from cases of dishonesty, it was felt that the whole business of dealing in the liberal arts was degrading and somehow humiliating to the arts themselves. 'It is serious, lamentable, indeed intolerable to everybody to see works destined for the decoration of Sacred Temples or the splendour of noble palaces, exhibited in shops or in the streets like cheap goods for sale'—so complained the Accademia di S. Luca. For these reasons it forbade its own members to engage in dealing on pain of expulsion.[3] But the Accademia was ever on the lookout for new sources of income, and in 1633 it managed to get papal authority to impose a special tax of ten *scudi* a year on all art dealers. As might be expected this caused a good deal of trouble, and ensuing controversies give us some insight into the situation.[4]

Dealers usually combined their businesses with some other activity on the fringes of art such as selling colours or gilding. But—and this obviously accounts for much of the resentment—they also included barbers, tailors, cobblers and so on.[5] They were prepared to sell both old masters and works specially commissioned from those unfortunate enough to fall into their clutches. There were also sellers of rosaries and other religious goods who dealt only in small devotional pictures. All of them were bitterly hostile to the proposed tax and many succeeded in dodging it for years, although it was not until 1669 that they managed to get it reduced. By then their numbers had grown considerably and in 1674 there were at least a hundred, most of them installed around the Piazza Navona.[6] As in so many branches of European trade, the great majority seem to have been Genoese, who naturally often dealt in the works of their compatriots.[7]

[1] Pascoli, I, p. 65, and Baldinucci, VI, 1728, p. 357.

[2] Jan Niceo Eritreo, II, pp. 127-30. There is a print by Giovanni Battista Mercati after Correggio's *Marriage of St Catherine* dedicated to Lelio Guidiccioni with an inscription recording his love of painting.

[3] Missirini, pp. 126 and 122.

[4] Hoogewerff, 1913, p. 116, and 1935, pp. 189-203, with bibliography.

[5] Missirini, p. 96. In the Archives of the Accademia di S. Luca (Filza 166, n. 68 c. 22r) is a 'Nota delli Rivenditori di quadri che devono pagare alla Chiesa di S. Luca per 1636.' This includes dealers in the Piazza Navona, Campo Marzio, Trastevere and other parts of Rome.

[6] Hoogewerff, 1913, p. 104. Many guidebooks refer to the Piazza Navona in this connection. In 1645 Evelyn (Vol. 2, p. 368) 'spent an Afternoone in Piazza Navona, as well to see what Antiquities I could purchase among the people, who hold Mercat there for Medaills, Pictures, & such Curiosities, as to heare the Mountebanks prate, & debate their Medicines'.

[7] Giovanni Stefano Roccatagliata, who was in close touch with Poussin and who sold pictures to Valguarnera, was a Genoese—Bertolotti: *Artisti subalpini*, p. 185. So too was Antonio Maria Visconti, whose shop was near the Albergo del Moretto and who in 1699 denounced the theft of eleven pictures—*ibid.*, p. 199. And see the following note.

We hear frequently of one Pellegrino Peri who lived near the statue of Pasquino during the second half of the seventeenth century and who employed the young Gaulli on his arrival in Rome, as well as Gian Andrea Carlone who refused to pay back a debt he owed him.[1] The Flemish were also prominent dealers. The artist Cornelius de Wael, for instance, who left Genoa in 1657, engaged in extensive commercial activities and had a large gallery of pictures which were evidently for sale. He dealt principally with his own compatriots, both as regards artists and clients. Though he also owned early works by Gaulli whom he must have known in Genoa as well as smaller pictures by Italian genre, flower and battle painters, he played little part in the lives of the more important artists.[2]

It was the financial turmoil that followed the pontificate of Urban VIII that changed the whole situation and gave dealers their first large-scale opportunities. Artists were left helpless by the policy of economic retrenchment pursued by Innocent X. Large numbers had been attracted to Rome and their clientèle was mainly Roman, built up over the long and prosperous reign of Urban VIII. Now suddenly the market seemed to crash. We get vivid accounts in contemporary biographies of what this meant to artists at the time.[3] Among other results more and more painters had to work for dealers, many of whom exploited their distress to the full. Others apparently offered generous terms. Thus we hear of one Pellegrino de Rossi who gave work to Mattia Preti among a number of unemployed artists who were attracted by his kindness.[4] Another factor that encouraged the rise of dealers was the increasing number of Italian pictures which were being sent to France, Spain, England and other European countries during the second half of the century. Foreigners who came to Rome for a short time must certainly have found it easier to go to dealers than direct to the painter, who might often be capricious and unreliable. Similarly dealers themselves sometimes took the initiative in exporting works of art. Thus an innkeeper called Andrea Ottini used to get Giacinto Brandi to settle his debts in pictures. He did so well out of this that he said that if Brandi could be induced to work regularly for him he would close his inn and take to the art trade. Without going as far as that, he still commissioned several works from him and sent them to France.[5]

But in general such commissioning of pictures from artists was rare enough, for as one dealer, Cornelius de Stael, explained to a client in 1663: 'It's very troublesome to do business with these gentlemen [painters]. I find it much better to buy pictures already painted than to commission new ones.'[6] Professional dealers did play a significant

[1] For Pellegrino Peri and his dealings with Gaulli see Pascoli, I, p. 198. In 1666 he was attacked by Giovanni Andrea Carlone, who refused to pay him back a loan. In 1681 he denounced the robbery of two pictures by Filippo Lauri and Giovanni Perusini which had been stolen from his shop—Bertolotti: *Artisti subalpini*, p. 199.

[2] Vaes, 1925, pp. 137-247.

[3] Passeri, p. 301. The whole question is discussed at some length in Chapter 6.

[4] De Dominici, IV, p. 19.

[5] Pascoli, I, p. 66.

[6] Letter from Cornelius de Stael to Don Antonio Ruffo dated 9 June 1663 published by V. Ruffo, p. 170.

part in breaking down the tight relationship between artist and patron, but although we hear more and more of them as the years go by, it is very doubtful whether, in the seventeenth century, they ever ventured much beyond the relatively unknown painter.[1]

However, alongside dealers of this kind were figures more difficult to define—those *marchands-amateurs* whose activities even today are often not easily determined and who turn up again and again in any history of patronage. This type of dealer makes his first appearance cautiously, so cautiously that for a long time we fail to notice him. Thus Ferrante Carlo, born in Parma in 1578, was a most cultivated lawyer and poet who was employed as secretary first by Cardinal Sfondrato and then by Cardinal Borghese, in whose palace he lived.[2] Of a rather combative temperament, he took part in many of the literary and artistic quarrels of the day and managed to become embroiled with the two greatest favourites of the early seventeenth century—first the poet Marino and then Bernini whom he 'wished to see exterminated' because of some precarious alterations the architect had made in the structure of St Peter's.[3] His real passion was for pictures, and although contemporaries were doubtful about his taste and understanding, he was in touch with Cassiano dal Pozzo and many leading artists. His special favourites were the Bolognese and Giovanni Lanfranco from his native Parma. He befriended and commissioned works from all of these and owned a notable collection. But his passion was not wholly disinterested as we gather from an episode in 1631 when the Sicilian adventurer Don Fabrizio Valguarnera called on Ferrante Carlo with a few friends. For a time they talked in generalities about the qualities of the various painters represented on his walls and then Valguarnera asked if Carlo was prepared 'to deprive himself of some of his pictures'. The answer was immediate: 'I agreed,' said Carlo when describing the incident later, 'as long as I received an honourable deal.' We recognise the type. Beneath the Oriental courtesies there must have been some shrewd bargaining.

Another strange sort of dealer, even better placed for taking advantage of his connections, was the Pope's doctor Giulio Mancini.[4] Like many a man in such a situation his inflated reputation as a great healer allowed him a degree of freedom unimaginable to ordinary citizens. A virtually self-confessed atheist, he deliberately encouraged his friends to eat meat during Lent and carried on a notorious affair with a married woman whose criminal sons he successfully saved from justice. As a doctor he was said to be

[1] Certainly there are no cases, other than those referred to here, of distinguished artists working systematically for dealers. This should be compared with the situation in contemporary Holland—Martin, 1907.

[2] For Ferrante Carlo see above all the evidence quoted by Miss Jane Costello. Dumesnil in 1853 devoted a chapter to Carlo, but this does little more than summarise the many letters to him published by Bottari, I. Like all writers before Miss Costello, he was unaware of Carlo's activities as a 'dealer' and considers him purely as a patron. There is further information in Borzelli, 1910, about his contacts with Cassiano dal Pozzo which are documented in letters now in the Montpellier Library. Some most interesting letters from Ludovico Carracci to Carlo have been published by Giorgio Nicodemi, 1935, who also refers to other sources for his career.

[3] Fraschetti, p. 71, publishes an *avviso* of 1637 which refers to Carlo as a 'nemico' of Bernini 'et che vorrebbe vederlo esterminato'.

[4] The main and most vivid source for Mancini's life is Jan Niceo Eritreo, II, pp. 79–82. See also the critical edition of his works, 1956.

efficient but brusque and he cunningly made use of his medical gifts to further his very real artistic interests. For when visiting his distinguished and fashionable patients he would suggest at the critical moment that some of their pictures would make an acceptable gift. Few felt like refusing just then, and from such opportunities he derived decisive advantages over all rival dealers and the knowledge needed to write a learned and most valuable artistic *Treatise*.

A third and almost equally influential figure who indulged in a certain amount of unofficial dealing was Niccolò Simonelli.[1] An obviously efficient administrator, he served under various cardinals before ending up in charge of the Chigi household during the papacy of Alexander VII. He had some reputation as a connoisseur and liked to give advice on artistic matters. He assembled a notable collection of drawings by Giulio Romano, Polidoro da Caravaggio and Annibale Carracci, his special favourite, as well as paintings, antiquities and cameos. He was clearly a man of independent and cultivated taste, for he was in very close touch with a number of interesting artists outside the main stream of fashion—Salvator Rosa whom he helped to launch, Pietro Testa to whom he lent money, Castiglione whose publisher dedicated to him a fine print of Diogenes searching in vain for one honest man. Simonelli too took advantage of these contacts though he was obviously a much more respectable figure than Mancini. When the French traveller Monsieur de Monconys visited Rome in 1664 it was Simonelli who took him round the studios, introduced him to Poussin and Claude and sold him the odd picture. No doubt he did the same for other visitors.

All three figures, Carlo, Mancini and Simonelli, thus had many features in common. All enjoyed distinguished careers in the clerical bureaucracy of the mid-seventeenth century without themselves being in the Church, and all were friends and patrons of many of the leading artists of their day. But though they were prepared to use these

[1] See Monconys' *Journal des Voyages*, 2ème partie, p. 439, for Simonelli's contacts with artists in 1664. Some information about his own collecting is given in Bellori's *Nota dei Musei*, which says that he owned a 'Studio di disegni li più eccellenti di Giulio Romano, di Polidoro, di Annibale Carracci, & de'migliori Artefici, con vario museo d'intagli, gemme, antichità, e cose peregrine, siccome anche di varie pitture eccellenti'.

Passeri, p. 388, who refers to his relations with Salvator Rosa, says that Simonelli 'stava in credito d'intendente' and there are many references to him in Rosa's letters.

Luigi Scaramuccia dedicated a print to him of *Venus and Adonis* on which he writes that Simonelli was 'inamorato dell'Opere dei Carracci'. On the back of a drawing by Pietro Testa at Windsor is a letter from the artist to Simonelli which seems to show that he owed him money—Blunt and Cooke, 1960, p. 115.

The occasional fact about his career in the Chigi household can be traced in that family's archives—Golzio, 1939, p. 155. The suggestion that his outlook on the world was not wholly conformist comes from Castiglione's print of *Diogenes* with its strange dedication from the publisher: 'Al Sig: Nicolo Simonelli Mio Sig.re—Quel Diogene Cinico che con tanta gloria serba piu vive che mai le sue memorie baldanzoso risorge al mondo co delineamenti del Celebre Castiglioni e perche so quanto ella l'imiti ne suoi virtuosi Costumi e particolarmente nel cercar con la lanterna gli uomini ho giudicato che il dedicarlo a lei sara un accoppiamento felicissimo e che in altro non discordaranno salvo che esso pote con tanta severità disprezzare i favori d'un Alessandro e V.S. per superarlo ne gli atti della benignita sapra con cortesissimo animo gradire gli Ossequij della mia devotione la quale vivam. te la riverisco Di V.S. Aff.mo Amico e Servitore G.D.R. [Gian Domenico Rossi] D.D.D.'

advantages, shrewdly yet discreetly, to deal in pictures, to call them professional dealers would not only have bitterly offended them but would also give a wholly wrong impression.

– ii –

Far more effective than any kind of dealer in bringing the artist into contact with a wider public was the gradual extension of art exhibitions.[1] The principal occasions for these were provided by the many saints' days and processions which were such a feature of seventeenth-century life. The feast of Corpus Domini above all was associated with the display of pictures, but it certainly had no monopoly. No exact spot seems to have been indicated and artists probably exhibited indiscriminately with other craftsmen or merchants showing their wares. Obviously no artist of established reputation would ever think of lowering his dignity in this way, and those that we generally come across are minor specialists in landscape and genre and above all painters newly arrived in Rome or returning after a long absence. For such men exhibitions seem to have been useful and to have attracted connoisseurs of standing. They also inspired other artists: we hear of a young peasant boy who decided to take up painting as the result of seeing a stall covered with pictures at the fair of Sinigaglia, and Claude is supposed to have seen landscapes by the Flemish artist Goffredo Wals at an exhibition in Rome and to have been so struck with them that he went to study under him in Naples—a move which played a decisive part in his career. And another exhibition—though very different in aim and organisation—was actually arranged under pressure from the painters in Rome. In 1607 the Duke of Mantua's agent was forced to satisfy them by putting on view Caravaggio's *Death of the Virgin* which he had just bought for the Duke on Rubens's advice—an occasion which was apparently attended by all the leading artists, who thus provided striking evidence of their growing influence and emancipation.

More organised exhibitions were sometimes held on 24 August by the Bergamasque community in Rome to celebrate the feast day of their patron saint, St Bartholomew. These took place in the courtyard of the church of S. Bartolomeo and were paid for by the *Guardiano*. As in all Roman exhibitions of this kind, the occasion served primarily to put on a spectacular decorative show in honour of the saint and his devotees. The façade of the church was hung with tapestries, as were the houses round about, and an observer confessed that it was hard to decide which was the more impressive: the general effect created by the hangings outside or the pictures spread round the inner courtyard. It is not certain when the exhibitions began, but they were certainly flourishing by 1650. S. Bartolomeo all'Isola arranged exhibitions for the saint's name day, but they were less important. Despite their devotional purpose the exhibitions certainly provided artists with the opportunity to display their works and were far more dignified

[1] See Haskell, in *Studi Secenteschi*, 1960, for the whole section on exhibitions with full references. For the exhibitions at S. Salvatore in Lauro I have made extensive use of the papers of Giuseppe Ghezzi now in the Museo di Roma.

occasions than the casual saints' day fairs. They attracted the attention of potential buyers, but it seems certain that here, as in all these exhibitions, purchases could not be made on the spot.

The most famous and well attended of all the regular exhibitions in seventeenth-century Rome was the one held in the Pantheon each year on 19 March to celebrate the feast day of St Joseph. This was organised by the Congregazione dei Virtuosi, a confraternity consisting largely of artists which had been founded in 1543. Created in the characteristic Counter Reformation atmosphere that prevailed at the time, its main purpose was to promote good works in the form of charity and so on. As a secondary aim it planned to make use of the fine arts to glorify religion. These objectives were responsible for the nature and scope of the exhibitions which were certainly not designed to serve the artist's desire for recognition and were at first rarely so used. They probably began early in the seventeenth century and came to an end some time before 1764. Each artist could submit one picture and a selection was made by the members of the Congregazione. The pictures chosen were then arranged under the colonnade of the portico, while above the balustrade was hung a large *Dream of St Joseph* and probably tapestries. Both old masters and contemporary works were shown.

Quite soon artists began to make use of the Pantheon exhibitions in order to attract attention to themselves. In 1650, for instance, Velasquez, then on his second visit to Rome, showed the portrait of his servant Pareja which understandably caused a sensation. As the great Spanish artist was already a member both of the Congregazione dei Virtuosi and of the Accademia di S. Luca, and as he had already been commissioned to paint his famous portrait of Pope Innocent X, he probably wished to make his name known to an even wider public. In this aim he was certainly successful and it is all the more surprising that we hear so little of other artists taking advantage of the opportunity. In the seventeenth century by far the most conspicuous of those who did so was Salvator Rosa, who exhibited whenever possible. He was engaged in a running fight with the critics, he loved publicity and he was therefore determined that every year the public should see something new by him: 'The important thing', he wrote before the exhibition of 1651, 'is that until now no one except Simonelli has seen the picture, as I have always kept it shut up in a special room.'

For Salvator Rosa, as for Velasquez, exhibiting at the Pantheon was exceedingly useful. 'Last week', he wrote in 1652, 'I turned down the chance of going to Sweden—it all sprung from the applause I won from the last picture I exhibited in S. Gioseppe in Rotonda.' In fact, the painter's main intention was to increase his reputation rather than bring in immediate cash, for pictures were not sold on the spot and admirers waited for the artist to take his canvas home before making an offer.

Some still saw the occasion primarily as a means for paying homage to St Joseph. When making his will in 1654, the Flemish painter Jan Miel left 300 *scudi* to the Congregazione (to which he had belonged since 1650) on condition that a yearly mass was sung for his soul 'and that the brethren be obliged to celebrate every year the feast of the glorious St Joseph by having the portico of the Madonna of the Rotonda decorated

with pictures, as is and has been done each year'. But although the main purpose of the exhibition was religious, the earliest records we have make it clear that devotional pictures were not insisted on and that portraits and pagan history paintings were often among those shown. Indeed, at the exhibition of 1680 the authorities ordered the police to seize two of the pictures on the grounds that they were indecent. We need not take the charge too seriously—a wave of puritanism swept through Rome that year and in any case among those who sprang to the defence of the offending pictures was a cardinal.

The other great annual exhibition held in Rome took place in the cloisters of S. Giovanni Decollato on 29 August, the saint's day. The circumstances were somewhat different. It was held under the auspices of the leading patrician families and evidently redounded to their credit at least as much as to that of the artists represented. It is recorded as a regular institution as early as 1620, but there are traces of it some twenty years previously. In 1603 Orazio Gentileschi explained to the judge during the course of a trial that there was a good deal of rivalry among the artists at work in Rome. 'For instance,' he went on, 'when I had placed a picture of the Archangel Michael at S. Giovanni de' Fiorentini, he [Giovanni Baglione] competed with me by putting a picture just opposite it. And this picture which was called *Divine Love* he had painted in competition with Michelangelo da Caravaggio's *Earthly Love*.' But though painters might look upon the exhibition in this light, it is most unlikely that this was the sort of purpose it was intended to serve. Almost certainly the pictures were designed to decorate the church as part of the celebrations in honour of the saint. Salvator Rosa, however, made full use of the exhibition to show his work to the public, and much of our information about it is derived from him and dates from rather later in the century.

In 1662 it fell to the Sacchetti to organise the exhibition. Naturally, writes Rosa, pride of place was given to Pietro da Cortona, the family painter. But as the Sacchetti still had great influence with the Roman aristocracy they were also able to obtain the loan of old masters from many of the most famous galleries of the city. Six years later the Rospigliosi were responsible and they challenged all previous patrons by the lavishness of the display they organised. For Camillo Rospigliosi was the Pope's brother, and he and his four sons had just been admitted as novices to the Compagnia della Misericordia which administered the church. The whole façade, the cemetery, the piazza and even the adjoining street were draped with rare and precious tapestries, silver and magnificent pictures. Owners of private galleries willingly lent their masterpieces, whereas before they had always been reluctant to do so because, so an *avviso* informs us, the papal nephews of the day found some pretext or other for laying hands on them. In particular Queen Christina lent some of her most famous pictures. The Rospigliosi decided that only old masters should be shown and that all contemporary work should be excluded. But this resolution merely encouraged Rosa to challenge it. Though, because of the spectacular competition he was forced to face, he called the occasion the 'Valley of Jehoshaphat', he managed—alone among living artists—to get two of his pictures exhibited. It may well have been, therefore, in this year that his band of supporters went round Rome asking people: 'Have you seen the Titian, the Correggio,

the Paolo Veronese, the Parmigianino, the Carracci, Domenichino, Guido and Signor Salvatore? Signor Salvatore is not afraid of Titian, of Guido, of Guercino or anyone else.' But this misguided enthusiasm appears to have done the artist more harm than good.

Another lavish exhibition was arranged for the Holy Year of 1675 when over two hundred pictures were shown by the Medici. Outside the church were hung tapestries and damasks giving the illusion of stage scenery as the public walked among them; while inside the cloisters and in one of the rooms opening on to them were works by living and dead artists including Raphael, Titian and the Carracci.

In later years when the great patrician families were more interested in selling than in displaying their pictures, the exhibitions seem to have become far more commercial. Thus 212 pictures, old and modern, were exhibited in 1736, a catalogue was issued, and there were hopes that the Pope would make a bid.

There was one more regular art exhibition which began much later in the century than those so far considered. This was held in the beautiful cloisters of S. Salvatore in Lauro, a church that was bought for the Marchigian colony in Rome by Cardinal Azzolini in 1669. Soon afterwards the members of this group began to celebrate the anniversary of the arrival of the Holy House in Loreto on 10 December with elaborate celebrations which included concerts and a picture exhibition. We know that in the Holy Year of 1675, so rich in exhibitions, the one at S. Salvatore in Lauro was said to equal any held in Rome. But here too the intention was to decorate the church and glorify the lenders—often families from the Marche—rather than provide publicity for the painters. Despite this, the exhibitions in S. Salvatore in Lauro were organised far more professionally than any of the others. As from 1682 the painter Giuseppe Ghezzi, life secretary of the Accademia di S. Luca and himself from Ascoli Piceno, was in charge of the arrangements and he went to great trouble to perfect them. Families prepared to lend had to be approached in good time; reliable porters had to be hired for the transport and soldiers employed on 24-hour guard duty over the 10 and 11 December, during which days the paintings remained on view; adequate lighting had to be arranged and criticisms of the public taken into account. Pride of place was always given to a representation of the Madonna, but every kind of painting was included in the exhibition. Ghezzi recommended five or six large canvases and about 200 smaller ones as the ideal to be aimed at, but numbers obviously varied from year to year.

Quite soon considerable prestige attached to creating a striking effect, and—as so often in Rome—rivalries between the various owners came powerfully to the fore. Thus in 1697 Prince Pio agreed to lend his pictures entirely at his own expense—on condition that his alone were shown. They included a number of Venetian old masters and were all hung together under the arcades of the loggia. But in order to satisfy other collectors who also wanted to display their treasures further pictures were hung separately in the upper gallery of the cloisters. The occasion turned into a brilliant social ceremony with a sermon from the preacher of St Peter's and a great assembly of cardinals. We find a similar situation in 1708 when the Marchese Ruspoli at first

insisted that only his 194 pictures should be exhibited but finally agreed to Ghezzi's tactful suggestion that Monsignor Olivieri be allowed to hang 23 of his.

In all these exhibitions old masters were given far greater prominence than contemporary work and many pictures were repeatedly shown year after year. Sometimes, however, they provided an opportunity for the public to see current painting of a kind that would not normally be easily accessible. Thus Cardinal Ottoboni showed pictures by Trevisani whom he assiduously employed, and in 1707 Cardinal Grimani, in a fit of patriotic enthusiasm, sent in 23 'historie di maniera veneziana' by Antonio Molinari who, although he had died 25 years earlier, was still quite unknown to Roman collectors. At other times the exhibition was used for more directly propagandist purposes. In 1704, for instance, the Pope wished to make better known the victories won by King John of Poland and encouraged his widow to lend a series of portraits and battle pictures for this purpose.

Thus by the end of the century there were four regular exhibitions in Rome each year—in March, July, August and December—quite apart from a large number of occasional ones arranged for special events and casual affairs spontaneously organised by a particular patron or artist. But none of the regular exhibitions had as its primary aim the opportunity for a painter to show new work, and some deliberately excluded this. Essentially all of them made use of pictures, as of tapestries and banners, for decorative purposes. From the strictly artistic point of view it is probable therefore that the more informal showings were the most fruitful and that it was only gradually that artists managed to turn to their own purposes what had been designed as a religious function. For this reason the importance of regular patronage, and the need to exhibit work on a permanent basis by painting altarpieces in the more frequented churches, were comparatively little affected by seventeenth-century exhibitions.

None the less, the exhibitions cannot be considered in isolation. We must remember also the increasing prevalence of dealers as Rome became more easily accessible to travellers of all kinds, including Protestants; the ambitions of foreign rulers and patrons who wanted artists from their own countries to record the glories of Rome and reproduce for them the triumphs of Italian painting; the consequent settling in Rome of different national colonies of artists who often drew attention to themselves by their strange dress and still stranger customs. When all this is taken into account it will be appreciated that exhibitions were among a number of factors that introduced into Rome the art of alien cultures often bearing little organic relationship to conditions in the city. Still more significant, exhibitions helped to make painting a far more 'public' business than it had ever been before. Pictures were readily available and within the reach of everybody: no longer confined to the altar or to the family palace, they now hung outside the church on ceremonial occasions, were propped up against the walls of cloisters on specified days of the year, enticed the public into the dealer's shop, were bought, sold, exchanged, criticised, argued about. The artists themselves were more visible than they had been: sketching in the ruins or among the great modern buildings that sprang up everywhere and sketching each other so doing; making rapid impressions

of the colourful life that they saw around them to send back to their northern homes, reeling back drunk after the traditional ceremony of enrolling a new member into the *bentveughels*. All this was leading to a growing appreciation of pictures as pictures rather than as exclusively the records of some higher truth; a body of connoisseurs was coming into being prepared to judge pictures on their aesthetic merits, and consequently the subject-matter of painting was losing its old primaeval importance. This attitude is one that only generally becomes apparent in the eighteenth century and that has been pushed to its extreme limits in our own day; but it is already noticeable in a patron such as Vincenzo Giustiniani and is enshrined in Caravaggio's comment to him 'that it was as hard work to paint good pictures of flowers as of figures'.[1] It is an attitude that inevitably led to the triumph during the early years of the seventeenth century of still-life painting, landscapes and a whole range of subjects which had hitherto not been treated as worth attention in their own right. As an explanation of the main currents of painting during the century it is fully as important as the far more publicised counter-attacks of those theorists who wished to enforce a rigid hierarchy of suitable subject matter on the artist.

At the same time, and partly owing to these very circumstances, a very wide and hitherto unimportant range of the general public was beginning to take an interest in painting and consequently to influence its development. We frequently come across references to these anonymous patrons in the artistic literature of the seventeenth century. Giulio Mancini was among the first to address them. In his *Treatise* he devoted a small section to the 'rules for buying, hanging and preserving pictures'.[2] Carefully distinguishing between the rich and the aristocratic on the one hand and the 'huomini di stato mediocre e di stato basso' on the other, he pointed out that the latter would not be in a position to distribute their largesse very freely. If they had to bargain with the painter over the price, they should find out how long the work took him and estimate what his daily earnings should be 'by comparison with the pay of a craftsman engaged on similar work'. They were only likely to have two rooms available for hanging pictures—the bedroom and the reception room. Devotional works should be placed in the former; 'cheerful and profane' ones in the latter.

But what were the actual pictures owned by this submerged public? We can safely assume that the great majority would today be of little interest to the art historian: devotional pictures, above all, mass produced in the studios of successful painters or copied from the most influential altarpieces. We often hear of young artists being employed on such work when they first came to Rome, and no doubt this was the public with which they bargained for their living. If we move rather higher up the social scale—to the clergy, traders, doctors and lawyers outside the ruling circles—we are no better informed, but certain possibilities suggest themselves. Can it have been for men such as these that Sassoferrato painted his restrained and archaising devotional pictures which were long taken to be by some follower of Raphael (Plate 21b)? A

[1] Bottari, VI, p. 123.
[2] Mancini, I, p. 139.

prolific painter, unrecorded by his contemporaries, he came to Rome from his native Marche some time during the reign of Urban VIII. There he confined himself almost exclusively to pictures of the Holy Family, basing himself on three or four prototypes which he varied from time to time. His models were Raphael, Annibale Carracci and Domenichino at his most austere, and his simple pictures, which at their best are very beautiful, appear to be almost polemical in their opposition to the current Baroque style.

At the beginning of his career he enjoyed a certain success. In 1641 the priests of the Calabrian national church dedicated to S. Francesco da Paola commissioned from him a painting of the titular saint kneeling in adoration while the Virgin and Child appears on the clouds holding an emblem of charity. As the same priests also employed their fellow-Calabrian Francesco Cozza on an altar painting it was probably he who recommended Sassoferrato, for both had been pupils of Domenichino and were almost certainly associated.[1] Two years later what must have been an especially congenial task led to his masterpiece. The Dominicans of Santa Sabina, anxious to raise money, had decided to sell a Raphael *Holy Family* in their possession to Vincenzo Giustiniani, who offered 2000 *scudi*. When negotiations fell through in 1636 they rashly gave it to Cardinal Antonio Barberini on the understanding that he would make it worth their while. The Cardinal gratefully took the picture and regarded the matter as closed. Only in 1643 did the Princess of Rossano, wife of Pope Innocent X's nephew Camillo Pamfili, decide to have it replaced by a *Virgin and Child holding Rosaries with Saints Catherine and Dominic* for which she paid Sassoferrato a hundred *scudi* (Plate 21a).[2]

Despite its great beauty the picture evidently did not please, for thereafter Sassoferrato's public commissions became exceedingly rare. He was not ignored by the grander patrons since the odd work by him turns up in many patrician collections, though probably acquired towards the end of his life when classicism and Raphael were once again the supreme and unchallenged guides. He drew and painted many clerics, including an occasional cardinal and governor of some of the papal states.[3] But the great bulk of his work was for unknown patrons, and this fact, together with its unfashionable style and limited range of subject-matter, strongly suggests that Sassoferrato was principally employed by the professional community of which we know so little—men like Giacinto Gigli, minor civil servant and amateur poet, who kept a detailed diary diligently recording the great religious festivals and miraculous occurrences which were the most striking aspects of Baroque Rome to those outside the grander circles of society.[4]

– iii –

The self-made man, unaffected by the traditional values and culture of those called upon to rule, has often expressed an artistic taste offensive to the established canons.

[1] Pollak, I, 1927, p. 129. [2] Berthier, p. 315.

[3] Blunt and Cooke, pp. 102 ff. In the Galleria Nazionale di Arte Antica in Rome is a signed portrait of Monsignor Ottaviano Prati, who at different times was Governor of Benevento and Viterbo-Moroni, LXI, p. 216, and CII, p. 363. [4] Gigli *passim*.

When not in a position to enforce such taste, his expression of it has been of little consequence. But when singly or in concert with his fellows he has become sufficiently influential to attract artists willing to gratify him, denunciations have been many and scathing. Such was the case in Baroque Italy. Beginning rather tentatively, the attacks on the 'ignorant', those who were not wellborn or true connoisseurs, mounted in violence as the numbers of such patrons increased. One fact was especially outrageous: the support that was won by the *bambocciate*, those little pictures which represented scenes from everyday life. Though this support eventually came from the highest ranks of society (an additional cause for indignation) there is reason to believe that it started with the 'uomini di stato mediocre e di stato basso'. Certainly a desire for the more picturesque aspects of 'reality' in art has linked the uninitiated connoisseurs of many different civilisations, and has been met by artists ranging from the sublime to the abysmal. The history of the movement in seventeenth-century Rome is difficult to unravel, but its occasionally visible course throws light on many different aspects of patronage there.

The *bamboccianti*—so called in derision from the nickname given to their deformed leader Pieter van Laer—were (in the words of the critic Giambattista Passeri) opening a window on to life.[1] What did they see out of it? Men at work—the cakeseller with his ring-shaped loaves; the water-carrier outside the walls of the town; the tobacconist filling the pipes of resting soldiers; the peasant feeding his horses; the smith. Men at play—gulping down a quick drink at the inn but still on horseback to save time; dancing the tarantella before a group of admiring spectators; playing *morra* in an old cave; dressed in brilliant costumes for the carnival procession. Or a sudden glimpse of violence as the dandified brigand—plumed hat gay against the stormy sky, pistol about to fire—rides into the farm and terrorises the stable lad and his dog. Sometimes, but very rarely, the *bamboccianti* turn some simple scene from ordinary life into a story—an old donkey has died at last, fallen to the ground while still at work; the owner casts a last lingering look at the pathetic corpse as he carries away the saddle; his womenfolk give way to unconcealed grief. The one support of their livelihood has gone. What will they do now? Much more often an ostensibly 'historical' subject is treated as a setting for a realistic representation of everyday life. Erminia arrives distraught among the peasants and finds them milking the cows while the washing hangs out on a line outside the thatched cottage; John the Baptist preaches to a crowd of gossiping, dice-playing country-folk and soldiers. Such is the world of the *bamboccianti* in the 'thirties and 'forties.[2] The setting is Rome and the campagna, but not the great city of the humanists and the tourists. It is a Rome where the broken column is used as a rough and ready chair or the foundation for a farm house; where the fragment of a classical statue lies unheeded beside a horse-trough; where buying and selling take place in dingy archways

[1] Passeri, p. 72: '. . . egli [Van Laer] era singolare nel rapresentar la verità schietta, e pura nell'esser suo, che li suoi quadri parevano una finestra aperta, per la quale si fussero veduti quelli suoi successi senza alcun divario, et alteratione. . . .'

[2] For a general survey see introduction by Giulio Briganti to *I Bamboccianti* exhibition, Rome 1950.

and side-streets and no one bothers to look at the soaring obelisks or fountains dimly visible in the distance. The characters are a satisfied and lively peasantry, hard working and sober, merging almost imperceptibly into an urban proletariat of reasonable prosperity.

The most regular condition of the Italian peasant's life in the seventeenth century was one of extreme poverty punctuated by periods of real starvation. Grain shortages were endemic. Desperate and extraordinary measures totally failed to cope with them. In 1648 free pardons were offered to the bandits who ravaged the campagna if only they would bring corn into Rome. Beggars roamed the streets often in organised bands held together by strange rituals. Epidemics threatened the population herded together in overcrowded hovels. At frequent intervals the Tiber burst its banks and devastating floods swept through the low-lying parts of the city. Unrest was always present; when the Pope died and Rome was only partially governed by authorities with temporary powers this permanent discontent would become crystallised. Crime assumed terrible proportions, libels and riots came out into the open; soldiers were stationed at strategic points to prevent the mob destroying the statue which only a few years earlier a sycophantic administration had erected to the Pope's eternal memory. And the soldiers themselves who came in large numbers to protect the princes and cardinals as they assembled for the conclave took part in the riots and fought with the regular police appointed to keep order. But such violence was prevalent enough without the occasion of a vacant papacy to provide further stimulus. The French and the Spaniards attached to their respective embassies lived in a state of permanent tension: often this exploded into bloody riots which the armed police of the popes found exceedingly difficult to repress.[1]

All this violence and misery was recorded with monotonous regularity by contemporary diarists: yet we find only the barest hint of it in those works of the *bamboccianti* which have come down to us and which tend to convey a picture of untroubled serenity. The view from their window was evidently a somewhat restricted one. We do not find in their works the distortions of Georges de la Tour or the brutality of Jacques Callot; nor yet the vulgar buffoons that so many of their contemporaries accused them of putting into their pictures. It is certain that many *bambocciate* have not survived; yet few of those that have, or that are recorded in inventories, have that aggressively offensive character that their very vocal opponents claimed. How then should we interpret them? Certainly not as social protest. Only Michael Sweerts gives his peasants the dignity and monumentality that is almost polemically asserted by their contemporaries in the paintings of Le Nain or Velasquez. Such an attitude was scarcely conceivable in seventeenth-century Rome where cultivated society and all who aped it looked upon the poor with extreme distaste. Arcadian sentiment was a purely literary phenomenon with no repercussions as yet on actual social behaviour or inclinations. 'It must not be imagined', wrote Giovanni Battista Doni of contemporary operatic performances, 'that the shepherds who are brought on to the stage are the sordid and

[1] Gigli *passim*, especially pp. 77, 162, 290, 324-5.

vulgar fellows who look after the flocks these days. . . .'[1] There is much point in Salvator Rosa's bitter protest about the welcome given to the *bambocciate*:

> Cosi vivi mendichi affliti e nudi
> non trovan da coloro un sol danaro,
> che ne' dipinti poi spendon gli scudi:
> . . . . .
> Quel che aboriscon vivo, aman dipinto;
> perchè omai nelle corti è vecchia usanza
> di aver in prezzo solamente il finto . . .[2]

'What they abhor in real life they like to see in a picture'—within limits at least. The figures in the *bambocciate* are the 'good poor', and they are cut down to safely small proportions. Everyone insisted on this: 'Every day', wrote Passeri of Van Laer, 'he would paint pictures of varying size but with small figures, about one *palmo* (22½ cm.) high—never any bigger.'[3] Later the backgrounds were to increase—the hills and the trees, the churches and palaces with great flights of steps and spacious colonnades were to assume overwhelming proportions and engulf the little beggars and shepherds who lay at their bases; and then the poor would become purely 'picturesque' additions to the setting. It is an attitude that is already implicit even in much of the earlier work of the *bamboccianti*.

None the less, Pieter Van Laer did introduce something quite new into Italian painting; he and his followers brought within the scope of art an enormous range of new material; his shepherds were not those 'of the past when the profession was still a noble one'.[4] There had been some precedents of course—Bassano and Caravaggio perhaps, who are linked together in Bellori's denunciation of the trend, but how much more satisfying they had been for the cultivated *amateur*! And Caravaggio himself had never painted a secular painting of ordinary people going about their ordinary occupations. The proletarian models of his earlier works, dazzlingly dressed or undressed, are clearly adapted to a sophisticated, not to say corrupt, taste. And the deeply moving peasants of his later pictures always take part in a conventional religious scene. But Caravaggio's was the spiritual and aesthetic revolution that cleared the ground for the *bamboccianti*. For the first time the poor emerge from a shadowy background and are given as much prominence as the great or the sacred. His immediate followers in Italy only rarely pursued the line of development implicit in this attitude. A sober appraisal of daily life is not what we look for in their work, which recalls far more the fanciful and sometimes grotesque incidents of the picaresque novel. More significant had been some of the pictures of Annibale Carracci—the *Beaneater* in the Colonna gallery, for instance, or his drawings of the working classes at their daily occupations. But these

[1] G. B. Doni, II, p. 16: '. . . non debbiamo immaginarci, che i Pastori, che s'introducono, siano di questi sordidi, e volgari, che oggi guardono il bestiame. . . .'

[2] Rosa: *Della Pittura*, lines 255-8 and 262-5.

[3] Passeri, p. 72.

[4] Continuation of quotation in note 1, above: 'ma quelli del secolo antico, nel quale i più nobili esercitavono quest'arte'.

had only been incidental to a far more orthodox career, as had all such ventures until now. Thus there were no real forerunners to the *bamboccianti*, and this absence was in itself a significant indication of some of the difficulties which were bound to face any artist interested in breaking away from the recognised categories of painting.

When Pieter Van Laer came to Rome in 1625 he was already 31 years old, and hence a fully mature painter. He had grown up in the Protestant town of Haarlem where a tradition of 'realistic' painting was firmly established, free from the interference of aristocratic or idealistic prejudice. In Rome itself he associated with the newly formed *schildersbent*, and lived the typically 'bohemian' existence of its members. Thus by religion and social circumstances he was for some years at least totally cut off from official patronage. Unattached to the household of any prince or ambassador, he evidently sold his little scenes of peasant and animal life how and where he could—at the fairs of Corpus Domini, perhaps, and certainly to dealers.

Success came quite soon; within ten years he could ask 30/35 *scudi* a picture, an astonishingly high price, much more than many an established painter of the day could expect.[1] Indeed Van Laer soon acquired a reputation, which he never lost, of being a very expensive artist. But it is difficult to find out exactly who bought his works. Other painters, we are told, 'even those of some reputation looked at his pictures with great delight, and tried to possess some for themselves as examples of how to express reality so well'.[2] His Northern compatriots must have been in the forefront of these admirers; indeed we know that Hermann Swanevelt, the Dutch landscape painter, owned two.[3] It is a greater surprise to find that Pietro Testa himself, in later years so scornful of realism in art, was in touch with the world of the early *bamboccianti* and may therefore have owned examples of their work.[4] Quite soon the most influential patrons in Rome began to take a cautious interest in this new phenomenon. Niccolò Simonelli, the amateur dealer, a man very proud of his discernment as a collector, owned two for a short time—one showing a peasant with a lamb and a dog, the other a night scene—before exchanging them for something else.[5] Vincenzo Giustiniani, the especial protector of Caravaggio's Northern followers, acquired two rather uncharacteristic examples —a *Landscape with figures and animals* and a small scene of *St Eustace hunting*—though he did not bother to frame them. Even Cassiano dal Pozzo seems to have been tempted and to have owned one painting by Van Laer. Finally about three years before leaving Rome the artist dedicated a series of eight engravings of animals to Don Ferdinando

[1] In 1636 two small paintings by Van Laer were worth 32 *scudi*—see note 3, below.

[2] Passeri, p. 74.

Lely seems to have been an admirer, for in his sale catalogue (*Burlington Magazine*, 1943, pp. 185-191) various genre scenes are attributed to 'Bamboots'. For the reactions of painters to other *bamboccianti* see Baldinucci, VI, 1728, pp. 602-4.

[3] Bertolotti: *Artisti belgi e olandesi*, pp. 127 ff., reports the case brought by Swanevelt against Francesco Catalano of Benevento whom he accused of stealing two pictures by Van Laer. The testimony provides much useful information about the artist's circumstances.

[4] *ibid.*, p. 134.

[5] *ibid.*, p. 133. Another friend and admirer of Van Laer was the Roman merchant Bernardino Lorca—see letter of Sebastiano Resta dated 27 February 1704 published by Bottari, II, p. 106.

Afan de Ribera, the Viceroy of Naples—but, as will become clear, the Spaniards were at all times closely associated with the success of the *bamboccianti*.

For all this success Van Laer himself probably remained on the outer fringes of society and we must assume that the bulk of his clientèle was not made up of the great princes and the learned patrons who figure so prominently in this story but was to be found rather among the anonymous 'uomini di stato mediocre' about whom we know so little. It is therefore a significant sign of the times that he was able to make such a great impact on painting in Rome and indeed Europe. By the time he left Rome in about 1639 he had proved that the demand for his little genre paintings was large and rewarding. There were many ready to exploit it.

Among these was Michelangelo Cerquozzi, a Roman by birth.[1] He too probably began by selling his pictures cheaply to dealers before attracting the attention of connoisseurs. But his nationality, if nothing else, made his situation much easier and brought him into far closer contact with his patrons than had been possible for a foreigner such as Van Laer. Because of this, Cerquozzi's life and work perfectly illustrate the limits within which a 'realistic' painter could express himself in the essentially aristocratic society of seventeenth-century Rome.

He too was much admired by his fellow-artists. His two closest friends were painters—Domenico Viola and Giacinto Brandi—and he was on excellent terms with Pietro da Cortona. He was always generous with younger men and he went out of his way to encourage his potential rival Giacomo Borgognone. We also know that some of his most important admirers and patrons came from the professional classes. There was, for instance, the distinguished lawyer Raffaelo Marchesi to whom he bequeathed some of his works, and the doctor Vincenzo Neri whom with a group of other friends he immortalised in one of his finest paintings (Plate 22a).[2]

Cerquozzi was soon taken up by some of the leading aristocratic families, but of a kind rather different from those who circled round the Barberini court and helped to spread the fame of artists such as Romanelli, Poussin and Testa. His first great successes were apparently painted for an official at the Spanish Embassy and it is possible that he may have been employed there at the very time that Velasquez came to stay as a guest of the Ambassador Monterey in 1630.[3] There is also some evidence to suggest that both Cerquozzi and Velasquez painted *bambocciate* for the most important of the Hispanophil clans in Rome, the Colonna, though this is more likely to have been during the great artist's second visit.[4] Certainly Cerquozzi's career was closely linked to Spain and her supporters in Rome. He himself used to wear Spanish dress and until his later years

[1] See the lives of Cerquozzi by Passeri and Baldinucci and also his will published by Bertolotti in *Arte e Storia*, V, 1886, p. 22.

[2] *ibid.*

[3] Baldinucci, VI, 1728, p. 190. It is however exceedingly unlikely that this early work was painted in 1615 when the artist was aged only 15. Van Laer did not come to Rome until 1624. The significance of Cerquozzi for Velasquez was pointed out by Roberto Longhi in 1950, and though his attribution to Velasquez of the so-called 'Rissa all'ambasciata di Spagna' is not altogether convincing, the general point is valid, and it is perfectly reasonable to assume that the two men may have met at the Spanish Embassy.

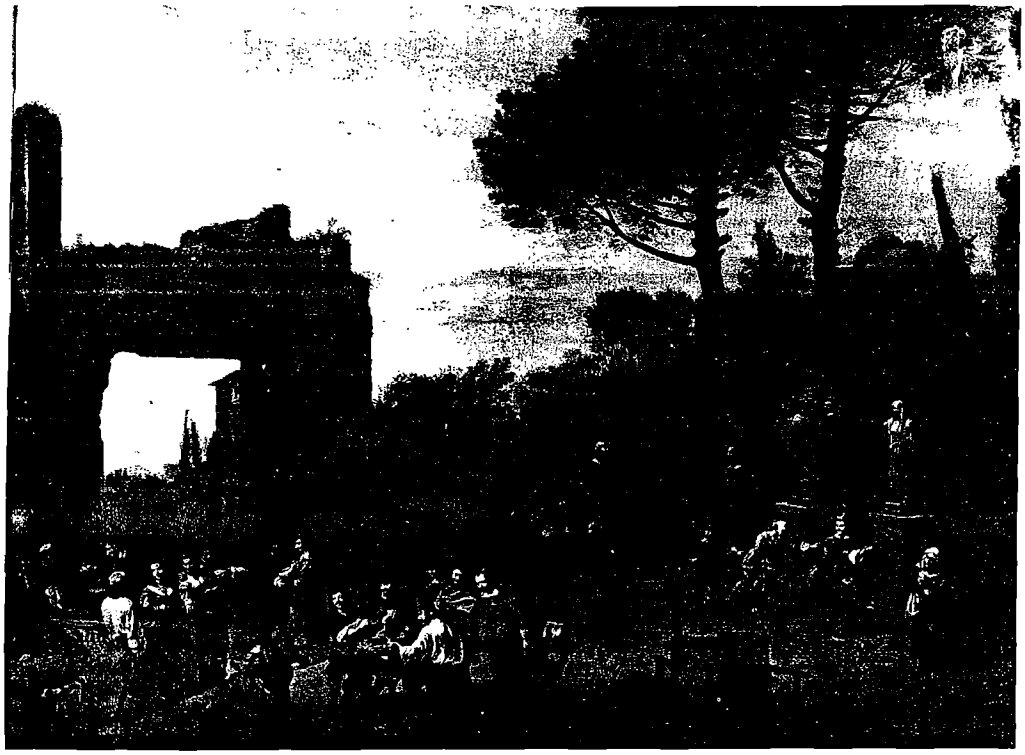
[4] In Ghezzi's notes on the Colonna collection (see p. 125, note 1) there is a reference to *Due bambocciate di Velasco*. Cerquozzi certainly painted a good deal for the Colonna—see Ferdinando Colonna.

a. SASSOFERRATO: Madonna of the Rosary with Saints

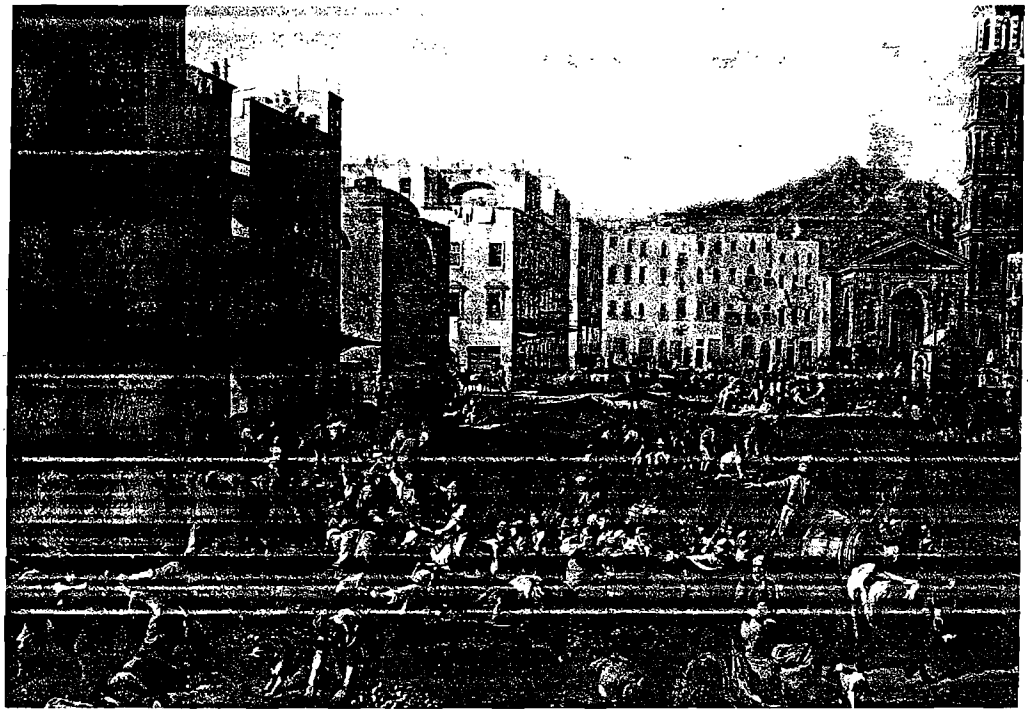
b. SASSOFERRATO: Madonna and Child

Plate 21

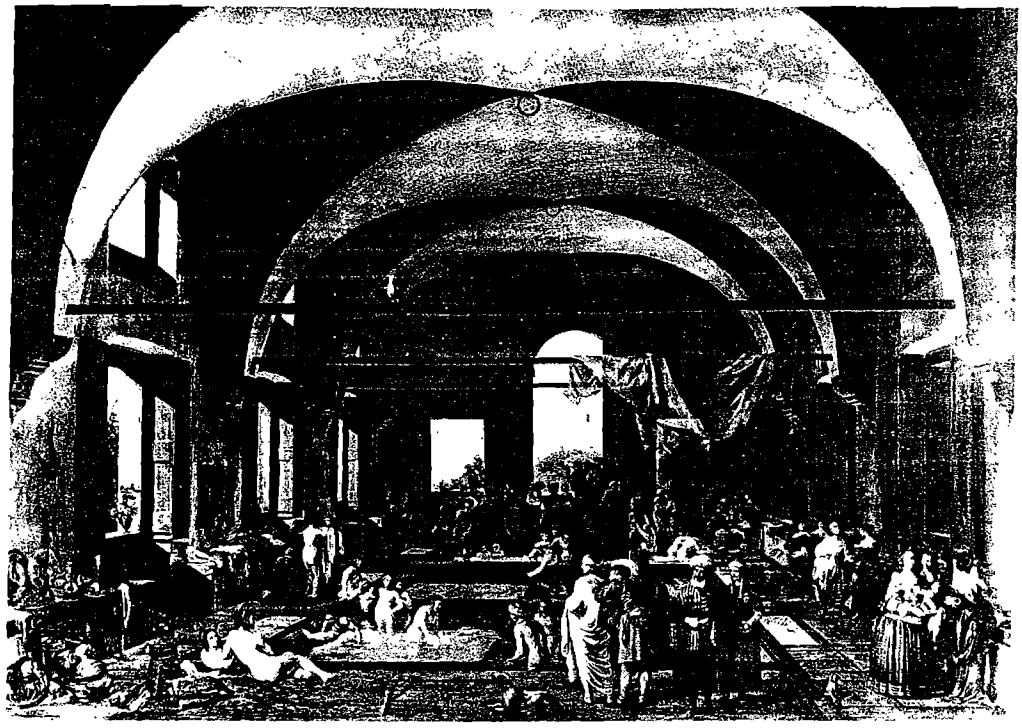
Plate 22



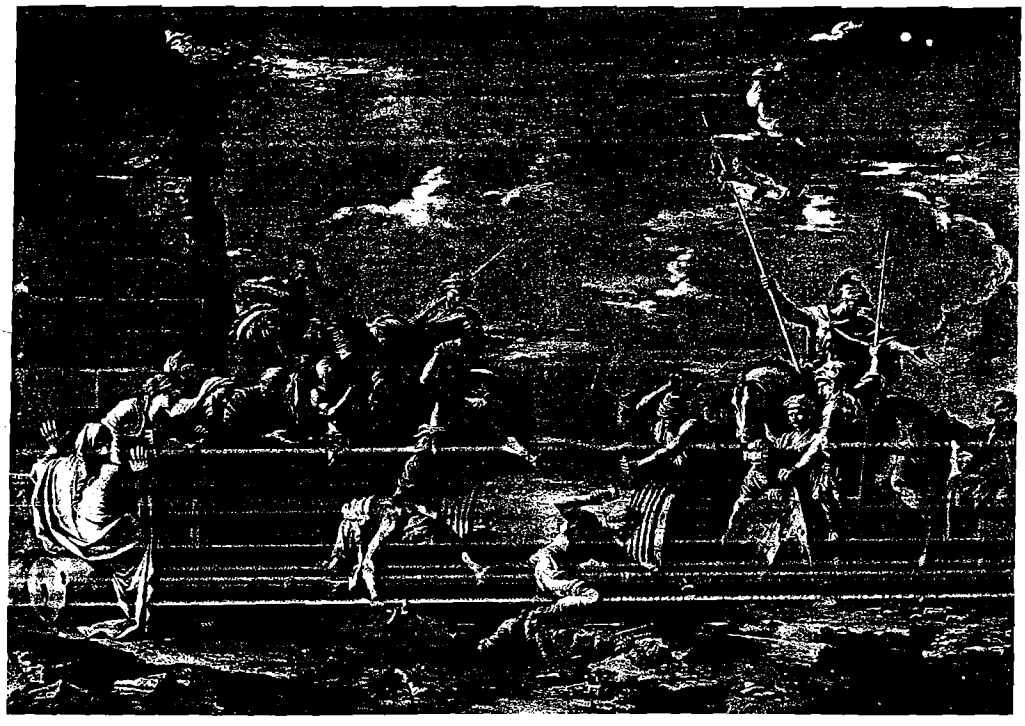
a. CERQUOZZI: The artist with a group of friends



b. CERQUOZZI: The revolt of Masaniello



a. CERQUOZZI: Women's bath



b. SALVATOR ROSA: The death of Regulus

Plate 24

SALVATOR ROSA: Fortune

nearly all his more important patrons were within the Spanish sphere of influence. In 1647, for instance, he was collaborating with Jan Miel, Giacomo Borgognone and others on the illustration of the second volume of Famiano Strada's *De Bello Belgico*, a celebration of Alessandro Farnese's campaigns on behalf of the Spaniards in the Low Countries; Cardinal Rapaccioli, who died in 1657, and who owned many of his pictures, was boycotted by the French in the conclave of 1655 because of his Spanish affiliations[1]; Monsignor Raggi, another of his admirers, was a Genoese and also devoted to the Spanish cause. So too was the Modenese Count Camillo Carandini.[2]

Whatever their political affiliations, most of these families showed a striking contrast in taste with the more cultivated Barberini circle. They tended to ignore the grander history painters and the noble balance between classicism and Venetian colour which these artists were fostering as well as the exuberance of the Baroque. Again and again we find them concentrating on landscape painters such as Gaspard Dughet or Salvator Rosa as well as on other artists who specialised in subjects similar to those of Cerquozzi—Jan Miel, for instance, or Giacomo Borgognone, the battle painter—and *bamboccianti* of later generations. Three of Cerquozzi's most enthusiastic patrons, the Counts Carpegna and Carandini and Monsignor Raggi, were all collectors of this type of picture.

And yet his success with the aristocratic society of Rome is certainly reflected in his art. As far as dating can be established at all, it seems that the small pictures with scenes from popular life belong mostly to his early years when he was closely following Van Laer and largely working for dealers, but that later he turned more and more to much larger pictures, which were painted to commission, and that he then widened the range of his subject-matter. There is not much reason for believing that this change was the direct result of specific pressures from his patrons, for we know that the more authentically popular and coarse *bambocciate* continued to fetch very high prices.[3] Rather it seems to have sprung naturally from his closer association with them and, consequently, from a gradual acceptance of their values—a process not unknown among artists of all kinds since Cerquozzi's day. It may not be extravagant to see his dilemma reflected in the manner of his private life—the life of a man who painted the essentially anti-Spanish common people for sympathisers with Spain[4]: careful and conscientious in his

[1] In 1654-5 the French Ambassador reported that Rapaccioli was 'autant Espagnol que Cardinal'—Valfrey, p. 220.

[2] Raggi's patronage of Cerquozzi is mentioned by Baldinucci and is confirmed by the fact that in 1701 the Marchese Raggi lent 'cinque quadri bellissimi bislunghi tutti d'una misura' by the artist to the exhibition at S. Salvatore in Lauro—Ghezzi papers in the Museo di Roma.

Conte Camillo Carandini (1619-1663) is referred to briefly in the history of the family by G. A. Lotti of 1784. I am most grateful to the Marchesa Elisa Carandini for drawing my attention to this book.

[3] Even in Florence the Marchese Filippo Corsini was proud to own a painting by Jan Miel of a 'barone, che in atto di sedere, attraversatosi alle ginocchia un piccolo fanciullo, con un certo suo straccio gli toglie l'immondezza dalla deretana parte'—Baldinucci, VI, 1728, p. 368.

[4] In 1642 Amayden reported that on the French side were the 'bottegari e Gente bassa' and on the Spanish side the 'Gentiluomini e cittadini più onorati'—*Relazione della Città di Roma fatta nell'Anno 1642*—MS. in Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome, 5001. Amayden was a Spanish protégé and this should be borne in mind when evaluating his report.

work, the friend of princes and prelates, yet coarse and vulgar in his speech; ordering a couple of artichokes on his deathbed 'che io mi voglio saziare a mio modo' in an almost symbolic last minute return to the popular life he had so often depicted, and then buried with full pomp by the Accademia di S. Luca, by now the very stronghold of that classical idealism which he had seemed to thwart but which had perhaps thwarted him.[1] In fact, once Cerquozzi was taken up by the Roman aristocracy it became almost impossible for him to paint the life of the very poor with sympathy and understanding.

This is apparent in his large still lifes with figures—lush clusters of grapes cascading down over prettified boys and girls, somewhat sentimentally or erotically posed.[2] In these pictures he showed that he was quite prepared and able to move away from the direct observation of the life which he saw around him 'without any kind of alteration' —the claim that Passeri made for Van Laer. Indeed, his reputation to some extent rested on the extraordinarily imaginative nature of his talents—his ability to paint scenes he had never actually witnessed himself. And these paintings could be admired by his contemporaries for certain purely aesthetic elements—'that exquisite quality of his paint and colour which made it appear like crushed jewels'.[3] This, presumably, was the appeal of his work to a cultivated connoisseur such as Cardinal Massimi, the admirer of Claude, Poussin and Velasquez, but also the owner of four scenes of country life by Cerquozzi.

Above all he specialised in battle pictures, a more respectable genre than *bambocciate*, and one in which his success is testified by the nickname of 'Michelangelo delle Battaglie'. His work in this field demonstrates the truth of Fritz Saxl's subtle analysis of the 'battle scene without a hero'—pictures painted for a society that was only indirectly affected by the wars that raged throughout Europe during most of the seventeenth century.[4] Brilliantly dressed cavaliers charge at each other; solidly built horses collapse and trample soldiers underfoot; the air is lit up with the flames from discharged guns and smoke rises to the clouds; afterwards the dead are plundered, the wounded are treated, and couriers are sent off to announce victory. Victory for whom? That hardly mattered; the attraction of these pictures lay in the opportunity that they offered for vicarious participation in battles that were changing the shape of Europe far outside the backwater into which Italy had now sunk. Such detachment also played its part in stressing the 'realism' of the scene. The anti-heroic confusion, the smoke rising from distant battlefields—at times these almost seem to foreshadow Stendhal's equally incoherent, though far more subtle, view of Waterloo.

Cerquozzi's position was naturally affected by the death of Urban VIII, when exclusive French influence came to an end and his natural patrons, the Spanish party, began to occupy the centre of the stage. A crisis may have occurred in about 1648 when

[1] Passeri, p. 289.
[2] Briganti, 1954, pp. 47-52.
[3] Passeri, p. 288.
[4] Saxl.

he probably painted one of his masterpieces *The Revolt of Masaniello* (Plate 22b). The circumstances are very mysterious and in many ways the picture marks something of a turning-point in his career, for such records of contemporary events were almost unknown in Italian art of the seventeenth century unless specifically associated with a particular patron.[1] Who commissioned this remarkable picture? We only know that by the end of the century it belonged to the Spada collection.[2] If it was actually painted for Cardinal Bernardino, who brought together most of the pictures in the palace, it must surely have had some political significance. For Spada who had been papal nunzio in Paris was firmly in the French camp. Indeed a few years later Mazarin told the supporters of France to vote for Spada in the conclave that followed the death of Innocent X: but the plan came to nothing for the Spaniards used their veto.[3] Cerquozzi, deeply committed to the Spanish cause, painting the spectacle of their most humiliating defeat for the most Francophil of Cardinals—it was typical of much in his career. The picture itself is inscrutable; never was Cerquozzi's 'neutrality', his anti-heroic element, so much in evidence. Vividly it portrays the events of 7 July 1647 with the most scrupulous accuracy, a remarkable instance of objectivity exercised on a subject that stirred the passions of Europe.[4] It has none of the melodramatic features that we find in the portraits of the fishmonger destined to pass into Neapolitan folk-art. Compared to the almost mediaeval vision of Cerquozzi's contemporary Micco Spadaro who depicts Masaniello like some early saint twice in the same canvas—in the background exhorting the crowd with his crucifix, in the foreground at the height of his power, in velvet headdress and white plumes on his way to visit the Spanish viceroy—the Roman seems cold and detached.[5]

With the *Revolt of Masaniello* probably began Cerquozzi's main phase of collaboration with the architectural painter Viviano Codazzi who arrived in Rome from Naples towards the end of 1647 and who may well have supplied the eye-witness account on which the picture is based.[6] The collaboration was of great importance because it confirmed Cerquozzi's move away from the more simple and direct presentation of peasant life towards the grandiose and even the exotic. Some time after 1657, only three years before Cerquozzi's death, the two artists painted several pictures for Cardinal Flavio Chigi, nephew of Pope Alexander VII and consequently the most influential

[1] The most extraordinary case of such a painting is *The Death of Wallenstein* by Pietro Paolini—see Marabottini, 1963.

[2] Baldinucci, VI, 1728, p. 192, says only: 'si vede nel Palazzo del Bali Spada. . .'.

[3] Leman, pp. 13 ff., and Hanotaux, p. 9.

[4] There are a number of accounts of Masaniello's revolt, but for the immediate impact it made in Rome at the time see the dispatches of Cardinal Filomarino published in *Archivio Storico Italiano*, IX, 1846, pp. 379-393.

[5] Micco Spadaro's pictures are in the Museo di S. Martino, Naples.

[6] To claim as Professor Longhi and Estella Brunetti (1958, p. 311) have done that Codazzi was painting with Cerquozzi and others in Rome between 1625 and 1635 is to fly in the face of Codazzi's own words of 1636: 'Io venni dalla predetta mia patria [Bergamo] da quindici anni e venni in Napoli, et sempre ho abitato in Napoli al Baglivo'—Prota-Giurleo, p. 77. None of Dr Brunetti's evidence, stylistic or documentary, seems to me to be really conclusive and I can see no reason for not assuming that the collaboration between the two artists began in Rome after 1647.

patron in Rome.[1] Two of the works that Cerquozzi, now at the centre of the artistic scene, painted for him stand out for their curious subjects, about which we can only say that they are certainly not representations of anything seen in seventeenth-century Italy. Indeed no actual villa or palace ever corresponded to the vast, fantastic structure that Codazzi envisaged as the setting for Cerquozzi's princely family in *The Arrival at the Palace*, although these figures, with coach and horses, retinue and dogs, are acutely realised as, still more, are the peasants selling water melons or lounging on the ground unperturbed by the general grandeur. Still less plausible is the vaulted *Women's Bath* (Plate 23a)—in itself a surprising choice for a cardinal, were it not for the fact that Chigi 'only thought of hunting, of conversations and of banquets in order to overcome the venereal impulses which powerfully raged within him'.[2] A turbaned Oriental wistfully surveys the scene while elegant young dandies prepare to make the most of the obvious opportunities that await them. Though the dress is certainly contemporary, the events described must surely refer obliquely to the notorious *stufe* of Renaissance Rome or perhaps evoke some traveller's tales from the East. So far had Cerquozzi moved from his original inspiration.

The allurement of a predominantly aristocratic patronage was the most important but not the only obstacle that stood in the way of a school of 'realistic' painting in Rome; there was also the antagonism to such painting expressed on theoretical grounds —in some circles even before the arrival of Van Laer and later to become a widely held dogma. This need not in itself have proved decisive, for the very bitterness with which contemporary writers reported the success of the *bambocciantí* shows that many patrons were far outside the reach of such theoretical considerations when buying pictures. But it did serve to keep the *bambocciantí* in an inferior position from which they were always tempted to extricate themselves once they had achieved any success. Cerquozzi toyed with becoming a 'history painter' and Jan Miel also found himself veering between a profitable *bambocciante* manner, which earned him discredit in the social circles to which he aspired, and the more acceptable branch of 'history painting' which was far less suited to his talents.

To a large extent the theoretical objections to the *bambocciantí* were the direct outcome of the very conditions which had made their success possible: the democratisation of art and its wider response to a growing public. Rome in the seventeenth century was a society of constantly changing *nouveaux-riches* and parvenus desperately anxious to conceal the fact by marrying into the great old patrician families, now bereft of

[1] Once again it cannot be conclusively proved that the two pictures, along with a number of others recorded by contemporary sources and still in the collection of the Chigi descendants, were actually painted for Cardinal Chigi although all writers of the time refer to his owning them and they are listed in his inventories. There is, however, no document showing any actual payment to Cerquozzi and it is just conceivable—though most unlikely—that these pictures also were painted for the Colonna and then acquired with many others by the Chigi in 1661 when they bought the palace (later Palazzo Odescalchi) at SS. Apostoli with all its contents from the Colonna—Golzio, 1939, p. 3.

[2] From a report by Ferdinando Raggi, Genoese diplomatic agent in Rome quoted by Achille Neri, 1883.

power and bankrupt. But an aristocratic taste had to be acquired as well as aristocratic relations, and the problem was not always as easy to solve. Again and again the attacks launched on the *bamboccianti* by other artists and theorists were deliberately designed to rub this sore spot of the new ruling class. The most powerful plea to snobbery was scarcely even concealed by more abstruse considerations. Admiration of the trivial world of Van Laer and Cerquozzi was contemptible because it was widespread, an attribute of the crowd rather than the connoisseur. All the still embryonic distinctions between the general public and the man of taste were pressed into service to discredit the movement, and in the course of these attacks the *bambocciate* were described in terms that often bore little resemblance to the actual pictures. And inevitably the onslaught grew more fierce as that more 'liberal' form of connoisseurship, which was one of the reasons for Cerquozzi's success, became more widespread.

His early admission into the Accademia di S. Luca shows indeed that in the 'thirties there was no hostility from that quarter.[1] The attacks seem rather to have reached their peak in the late 'forties and 'fifties, at the time when he was achieving his greatest triumphs. This was a period of acute financial depression, and no doubt the success of the *bamboccianti* was linked to their considerably cheaper prices in the struggle for survival. Indeed this is one of the charges specifically brought against them by the many artists who were among their most ferocious enemies. Guido Reni (who died in 1642) was among the first of these, but the terms in which he expressed his hatred of the movement make it reasonably clear that his biographer Passeri was attributing some of his own feelings to the master.[2]

In 1651 came a famous exchange of letters between Andrea Sacchi and Albani.[3] The Roman artist wrote to his ageing master in Bologna to tell him of the success of the *bamboccianti* and to ask for his opinion on the matter. This came quickly enough in the form of a stream of abuse. But though the correspondence has always been treated as of cardinal importance in the history of the movement, in fact its significance is not altogether clear. When Sacchi wrote to Albani of this new and deplorable phenomenon, the *bamboccianti* had already been painting for a quarter of a century. And the reference to their earning six or eight *scudi* for a picture is absurd, as both artists must have known.[4] Long before this the leading figures had been charging several times that sum. Though Albani and Sacchi no doubt held the hostile views attributed to them, it seems quite possible that the letters themselves were carefully doctored by their not very scrupulous editor Malvasia. Two points, however, stand out: that intense hatred for the *bamboccianti* developed relatively late, when for the first time they were being taken seriously by the grandest patrons, and that financial questions played a considerable part in their success and in the opposition they aroused.

[1] Hoogewerff, 1913, p. 50.
[2] Passeri, p. 96.
[3] Malvasia, II, pp. 179 ff.
[4] Between 1646 and 1648, for instance, Don Antonio Ruffo bought a battle picture by Cerquozzi, size 4 × 6 palmi, for 80 ducats. By 1671 a Van Laer, size 4 palmi, was valued at 350 ducats—Ruffo, p. 189.

– iv –

Some years earlier another opponent with very mixed motives had joined the virulent onslaught. Salvator Rosa's career was confused with and bedevilled by the triumph of the *bamboccianti* from the very start. On his arrival in Rome in 1637 one of his first patrons had been the amateur dealer Niccolò Simonelli who also showed an interest in Pieter van Laer.[1] Driven from Rome not long after, partly through the hostility of the all powerful Bernini, he settled in Florence only to find there some of Michelangelo Cerquozzi's keenest admirers, above all the Corsini and Salviati families. Cerquozzi and Rosa were considered to be rivals as landscape painters[2]—an outrageous insult to Salvator who looked upon himself as a serious painter of moral 'histories', only compelled to indulge in landscapes and battles because of the obtuseness of his clients. Back in Rome in 1649 he found Cerquozzi more fashionable than ever. Unable to bear the situation, he launched into the attack.[3] After enumerating the sort of subjects that were treated by the artist and his followers, he too showed that his real bitterness was reserved for their patrons: 'And these pictures are so much admired that they can be found magnificently framed in the apartments of the great.' That was the real insult. But still the *bamboccianti* pursued Rosa. No sooner was Cerquozzi safely dead in March 1660 than he found himself having to buy a copy of a Van Laer to gratify his closest friend Giambattista Ricciardi.[4]

Rosa's career was, in fact, a tribute to the good judgement of a wide variety of Roman connoisseurs who compelled him to stick to the small romantic landscapes which show his true genius. But to him it appeared very different. He was desperately anxious, and even prepared to humiliate himself, to be given some great public commission and it is somewhat surprising that he so dismally failed.[5] Far worse painters than he were given the chance, and his bitter quarrels with the Accademia di S. Luca would not have deterred a really authoritative cardinal. However, there is little doubt that Rosa wished above all to find some Cassiano dal Pozzo or Camillo Massimi to foster what he considered to be his special talent—the painting of tragic and complex allegories and histories. Though he referred to him only once in passing, he seems to have visualised himself as a Poussin working for a cultivated élite, and curiously enough when settled in Italy at the end of the century Lord Shaftesbury drew a parallel between these two 'honest moral men' who had, so he heard from 'old virtuosos and painters', been good friends.[6] But Rosa never succeeded in his ambition. In Florence he did indeed find himself at the centre of a brilliant society where his talents for conversation, music,

[1] Passeri, p. 388. It was Simonelli who in 1638 arranged for the exhibiting of Rosa's *Tityus* at the Pantheon.

[2] Baldinucci, VI, 1728, p. 191.

[3] The date of Rosa's satire on Painting is not certain. It was mentioned for the first time in a letter of 1651 and may have been written in Florence. For an analysis see Limentani, 1961, pp. 163-79.

[4] Letter from Salvator Rosa to G. B. Ricciardi dated 2 April 1660—de R...ldis, 1939, p. 109.

[5] See the lives of Rosa by Passeri and Baldinucci.

[6] Shaftesbury, *Second Characters*, p. 15. As far as I am aware this interesting passage has never been noticed by art historians.

poetry and mime were as much admired as his painting, and it is true that in Rome also he fascinated a number of highly placed churchmen, but never in the way that he really wanted. 'I know that as a Stoic you would mock all this,' he wrote to a friend, describing some social success, 'but what is one to do? He who cannot have the roast meat must needs satisfy himself with the aroma.'[1] With its combination of bitterness, assumed self-depreciation and homely proverb the phrase is characteristic. So too is the allusion to Stoicism. All over Europe this philosophy had been gaining ground ever since the late sixteenth century until for some daring thinkers it virtually replaced Christianity as a guiding creed. Even when not so intense it still coloured the ethics and imagery of men of action and artists alike. With its proud disdain for the vicissitudes of fortune it was a philosophy well suited to the storm-tossed seventeenth century. And as men are more likely to look to their beliefs for support in misfortune than for self-control in triumph, it particularly appealed to those who felt that the world had treated them badly or that its more ostentatious prizes were not for them. Plutarch and Seneca were ransacked for quotations, and innumerable paintings recorded the deeds of the virtuous, iron-willed heroes of antiquity. Salvator Rosa, in particular, would passionately study the Stoics and search in their writings for themes for his pictures and prints. But far from tapping a responsive chord in a public which doted on such stories, he would find that his potential clients only wanted his landscapes, small ones at that, 'always they want my small landscapes, always, always, my small ones'.[2] He did not make it easy for them. When the unfortunate prelate who was responsible for this outburst tactfully enquired about the price of a large picture, Rosa merely answered 'a million', and thus ended the discussion.[3] In another fit of ill-temper he wrote: 'I am delighted that these pictures of mine are going to the bad, so that people will forget that I ever painted landscapes.'[4] Of course they did not forget, for he was keenly and rightly admired. But always by the wrong people—those who specialised in *bambocciate*, like the Conte Carpegna and the Marchese Teodoli, or those whose tastes were notoriously frivolous like the Duke of Modena who wrote to his agent in Rome asking for battles by Rosa and Borgognone, flower pictures by Mario 'de Fiori' and Cerquozzi, landscapes by Gaspard Poussin and fables by Pier Francesco Mola.[5] Only rarely did the learned connoisseurs whom he hoped to impress with his frigid and rhetorical history paintings show any interest.

His greatest patron in Rome was his banker, Carlo de' Rossi, brother of the famous composer Luigi and himself a talented musician.[6] De' Rossi paid him a regular 6 per cent. interest on the 4000 *scudi* that Rosa deposited with him, but in 1667 the two men quarrelled bitterly—'he has treated me very meanly and showed little gratitude',

[1] Letter to Ricciardi of 9 October 1666—Limentani, 1950, p. 138.

[2] Baldinucci, VI, 1728, p. 581. Rosa referred to himself as a Stoic in a letter to Ricciardi dated 27 May 1651—Limentani, 1950, p. 79.

[3] Baldinucci, VI, 1728, p. 581.

[4] In 1666—de Rinaldis, 1939, p. 191.

[5] A. Venturi, pp. 264-5.

[6] Limentani, 1950, p. 139.

claimed the artist.[1] Before that, however, De' Rossi had assembled what amounted to a private museum of Rosa's works consisting of a large gallery and several small rooms.[2] In these he hung allegorical and history paintings such as the *Prometheus*, *La Fortuna* and above all the artist's masterpiece, *Regulus killed by the Carthaginians* (Plate 23b), in which Rosa's grudging obligation to the *bamboccianti* and instinctive love of the picturesque are raised to high, heroic tragedy through his study of the Stoic historians. De' Rossi also obtained quantities of the smaller pictures which Rosa so affected to despise—battles, sea pieces, landscapes and weird scenes of witchcraft—and he combined his esteem for the artist with a shrewd sense of business by filling the family chapel in the Madonna di Montesanto with altarpieces which Rosa painted without charge so as to make at least one appearance in public.[3]

Yet De' Rossi, for all his friendship, was no Dal Pozzo. There is no evidence to suggest that he ever gave Salvator Rosa the encouragement and intellectual stimulus which he clearly wanted despite his show of bravado. To find such a patron Rosa had to turn to Florence, the home of his closest friend the poet Giambattista Ricciardi. For him he went on painting a number of pictures long after he had settled in Rome and to him he looked for constant advice: 'if you happen to get hold of some lively story involving a soldier with a woman I would be very grateful . . .', he wrote on one occasion.[4] Or again, in a revealing letter: 'Remember that I want something new with only a few figures. And as the canvas is a tall one, it would not matter if there had to be a figure in the air above the clouds or something. I had wondered (if you thought so too) whether that image in Virgil's *Georgics* might not be suitable: when Justice departs from the Earth and leaves her sword and scales with some shepherds. Do please think about this; Rome has heard that I have the most original ideas, and so I must live up to this reputation as much as possible.'[5]

To Ricciardi too he disclosed those astonishing impressions of the landscapes he visited which showed how deeply felt and genuine was the romantic sentiment in his painting. The country, he wrote,[6] 'is such an extravagant mixture of the horrid and the tame [d'un misto cosi stravagante d'orrido e di domestico], of the flat and the precipitous, that the eye cannot hope to find anything more pleasing. I can swear to you that the colours of one of those mountains are far more beautiful than everything I have seen under the Tuscan sky. Your Verrucola (which I used to think had a certain horrid quality) I will in future call a garden by comparison with the mountains I have crossed. Good God, how many times I wanted you with me, how many times I called to you to look at some solitary hermit sighted on the way—Fate alone knows how much they tempted me! We went to Ancona and Sirolo and on the way back to Assisi over and above the journey—all places of extraordinary fascination for a painting.

[1] De Rinaldis, 1939, p. 199.

[2] Baldinucci, VI, 1728, p. 570. There is also a reference to De' Rossi's collection in Bellori's *Nota de' Musei*.

[3] *ibid.* p. 569. The paintings are now at Chantilly.

[4] De Rinaldis, 1939, p. 17—Letter of 24 April 1651.

[5] *ibid.*, p. 19—Letter of 12 May 1651.

[6] Bottari, I, p. 450. Letter of 13 May 1662.

'At Terni (that is four miles off our road) I saw the famous waterfall of the Velino, the river of Rieti. It was enough to inspire the most exacting brain through its horrid beauty: the sight of a river hurtling down a half-mile mountain precipice and raising a column of foam fully as high. Believe me, nowhere there did I look or move without thinking of you. . . .'

Would Ricciardi, in fact, have responded to Rosa's precocious eighteenth-century enthusiasm? As his letters have not survived, we must accept the artist's trust, but nothing in his frigid and pedantic literary work suggests that he was the sort of man to have any true appreciation of Rosa's qualities. He was certainly a devoted and much-loved friend, but Rosa does not seem to have thought very highly of his artistic judgement: 'the little picture which you consider to be Florentine seems to me to be Flemish, and the one which you damn I find the least bad', he wrote on one of the rare occasions he ever discussed pictures other than his own.[1] And, in any case, Ricciardi lived in a different town and could not therefore give him the personal patronage he wanted.

Thus Rosa, despite his immense, though fitful, artistic and social success, was rather an isolated figure, proud and melancholic though buoyant, fiercely independent and contemptuous of most of his fellow-artists, a failed intellectual painter whom no one would take seriously and who was all too frequently confused with the *bamboccianti*—the very artists who most consistently rejected the elevated moral and poetic qualities to which he so avidly aspired. It was in these circumstances that he found it necessary to launch the onslaught on conventional patronage which has already been described: to use every method open to him to impose the image of an intensely serious artist of a wholly new kind.[2] Failing to appeal to a select clientèle of fastidious tastes, he was paradoxically forced to look beyond even the outer circles of contemporary patronage, and thus, as Passeri points out in commenting on his situation, 'by one of those strange and unavoidable accidents that intervene in the affairs of this world, his pictures could be seen not only in many houses belonging to gentlemen and princes but also in those owned by "persone di mediocre stato" '.[3] It can scarcely have comforted this most disdainful of artists to know that such pictures must have been of a higher quality than any that had yet been seen in such humble dwellings, but perhaps, like Luca Giordano, 'he used three brushes—one of gold to satisfy the nobility, one of silver for private citizens, and one of copper for the populace'.[4]

[1] De Rinaldis, 1939, p. 164—Letter of 31 May 1664.
[2] See Chapter I.
[3] Passeri, p. 396.
[4] De Dominici, IV, p. 186.