

POSTSCRIPT TO SECOND EDITION

Chapter 1

A great deal of material (visual as well as documentary) which touches on almost every one of the chapters devoted to Rome in my book has been assembled by Fagiolo dell'Arca and Carandini in their study of seventeenth-century festivals in the city.¹ Drawing on sources which have been hitherto barely explored they have illuminated the relationship of these festivals not only to the arts, but also to the patrons, the politics and the intellectual climate of the period, and their researches will be of the highest value for anyone concerned with Baroque Rome.

Chapter 2

Our knowledge of the patronage and collecting of various members of the *Barberini* family has been transformed by the well-indexed publication by Marilyn Lavin of all the inventories which eluded me when I was working in Rome.²

Further documents published by Cesare d'Onofrio are of interest in elucidating the character and poetry of Maffeo Barberini (Pope Urban VIII),³ but one major problem concerning his patronage is now more confusing than ever. The reliable Bellori specifically states that Caravaggio painted a portrait of Maffeo Barberini—and this was already hinted by Mancini, a contemporary of the artist.⁴ Following many other writers, in the first edition of this book I reproduced and described as such a well-known but not at all good portrait in the Corsini collection (which had originally belonged to the Barberini). Not long afterwards Roberto Longhi published another candidate for the role (then, as now, in an undisclosed private collection),⁵ and as—from a photograph—this looked much more persuasive, I substituted it for the Corsini picture in the Italian edition of this book. Unfortunately, however, we can now see that the Barberini inventories record no portrait of Maffeo by Caravaggio. I am, nonetheless, reproducing the 'Longhi version' with a very tentative attribution as it at least carries conviction as a vivid portrait of the young and energetic Barberini (Plate 2a).

Howard Hibbard's monograph on Carlo Maderno has greatly clarified our understanding of the origins of the family palace,⁶ and Irving Lavin's very thorough and important analysis of Bernini's transformation of the crossing of St Peter's has confirmed my own far more casual impression that this was (in Lavin's words) 'an

¹ Fagiolo dell'Arca and Carandini.

³ d'Onofrio, 1967.

⁵ Longhi, 1963.

² Lavin, M. A.

⁴ Bellori, 1976, p. 224; Mancini, I, p. 227.

⁶ Hibbard, 1971.

evolutionary process that took place over a considerable period and that was never fully realised. There is no evidence to suppose that all the details of the crossing were worked out in advance as a general scheme'.¹ On the other hand, Hibbard's discussion of Lavin's book and of recent literature on Borromini shows that my straightforward attribution of the *baldacchino* to Bernini and his Barberini patrons needs some qualification.²

The tapestries given to Cardinal Francesco Barberini by the French have been fully described by David Dubon,³ and those that were woven much later to celebrate the papacy of Urban VIII have been discussed in an article by Don Urbano Barberini which replaces previous literature on the subject and which alters some of the attributions repeated from this literature in the first edition of my book.⁴

Cardinal Antonio Barberini's patronage of Sacchi has been fully discussed by Ann Sutherland Harris.⁵ Her monograph on the artist modifies many of my statements on the style of his ceiling in the Palazzo Barberini (though I still feel unable to give it more than 'half-hearted praise') and provides a balanced interpretation of its complicated iconography which, she suggests, could have been inspired by Sforza Pallavicino. Above all, she qualifies the traditional view of a sharp division between 'classical' and 'baroque' artists in mid-century Rome, and Poirier has reaffirmed that the so-called 'debate' between the two camps was not, as has sometimes been claimed, concerned with the merits of colour and drawing.⁶

Of the patrons other than the Barberini mentioned in this chapter, the *Ludovisi* have been discussed by Garas, who has published an inventory of Cardinal Ludovico's pictures dating from 1633.⁷ It is, however, *Cardinal Del Monte* who has received by far the most attention from recent writers. In 1966 Heikamp investigated his relations with the Tuscan court and drew on a number of published and unpublished sources to illustrate the range and depth of his artistic tastes.⁸ Five years later important inventories of his collection were published by Christoph Frommel (in the course of a lively enquiry into the nature of the Cardinal's influence on Caravaggio)⁹ and by W. Chandler Kirwin;¹⁰ while Luigi Spezzaferro—also starting from the extreme importance that he attributes to the Cardinal's patronage of the young Caravaggio—examined his cultural formation in considerable detail and laid particular stress on his interest in scientific investigation.¹¹ A different aspect of Del Monte's character has been emphasised by Posner who, following up a suggestion made in the first edition of this book, has drawn attention to the 'homo-erotic' nature of Caravaggio's early works which was probably encouraged by the Cardinal and members of his circle.¹²

Another patron whose early career has been much illuminated in recent years is *Giambattista Agucchi*—so much so that we now probably know (or feel we know)

¹ Lavin, I., 1968.

³ Dubon.

⁵ Harris, A. S.

⁷ Garas, 1967.

⁹ Frommel.

¹¹ Spezzaferro.

² Hibbard, 1973.

⁴ Barberini, 1968.

⁶ Poirier.

⁸ Heikamp.

¹⁰ Kirwin.

¹² Posner, 1971.

more about his taste in art than we do about that of anyone else of the time. D'Onofrio has attributed to him a remarkably fresh, as well as detailed, description of the Villa Aldobrandini (Belvedere) at Frascati¹ and has also suggested—again plausibly but without conclusive evidence—that it was Agucchi who commissioned or bought the forty or so Bolognese paintings in Cardinal Aldobrandini's collection, of which he certainly drew up the inventory.² Battisti has published a number of vivid, even if sometimes recondite, letters that he wrote to a friend about an *Erminia and the Shepherds* he had commissioned from Lodovico Carracci,³ and Whitfield later discovered and analysed Agucchi's 'programme' for this picture.⁴

The collecting and approach to art of *Giambattista Marino* have been studied by Viola,⁵ and we can derive an extraordinarily vivid impression of the imaginative role played by *Guido Bentivoglio* as artistic adviser and entrepreneur for Cardinal Borghese from the series of documents published by Baschet in 1861 and 1862 but hitherto overlooked by me.⁶ Van Dyck's magnificent portrait of the Cardinal has recently been cleaned, and I have therefore substituted a new photograph for the one published in my first edition (Plate 4a).

Chapter 3

Of the various Orders discussed in relation to the arts, only the *Jesuits* have continued to attract widespread attention and a symposium was devoted to this theme at Fordham University, New York, 1969. Some of the papers (which have all been published) bear directly on this chapter and need to be singled out.⁷ Wittkower's suggestion that 'while it seems futile to speculate on whether there was a way from their spiritual stewardship to artistic sublimation, we are certain that they had a firm and measurable hold on what they wanted to have represented in their churches' is clearly one that I can only accept with great reservations. Indeed in my own paper I tried to demonstrate again the conflicts that repeatedly arose between the Jesuits and their princely patrons about the architecture and decoration of their churches; and I also emphasised that even when they did have sufficient wealth and power to impose their own will successive Jesuit leaders could, and did, differ radically among themselves about artistic issues. In his investigation of the sources of the Gesù, James Ackerman pointed to 'two camps: a Borgia [i.e. Jesuit] camp committed to the Sangallesque architectural tradition, and a Farnese camp, under Alessandro Cardinal Farnese, supporting Vignola. . . . The Farnese, like the princes they were, wanted an elegant avant-garde building by a famous architect—one that would have a Farnese "look". And they ultimately won, because it was they who had the money, and they gave lavishly.' But, in a persuasive

¹ d'Onofrio, 1963.

³ Battisti, 1962, pp. 201-3 and 529-49.

⁵ Viola.

⁷ Wittkower and Jaffé.

² d'Onofrio, 1964.

⁴ Whitfield.

⁶ Baschet.

paper, Howard Hibbard pointed out that though the Jesuits were not interested in stylistic uniformity they did, even at an early stage in the history of the Gesù, control the ornamental and iconographic programme far more than I had allowed for: 'although the chapels were painted with funds from private patrons, the dedications were already set at the time of transfer and are often mentioned in the earliest documents; Jesuit decorators remained in charge; and the money paid to the artists, even of the altarpieces, was paid through Jesuit intermediaries. The patrons may have had some limited say in the character of the programme—as they surely had their choice of artists for the altarpieces—but the coherence of the chapel iconography did not allow room for much independent choice of subject.'

In 1976 an interesting article by Thomas Buser also challenged my scepticism about the reality of 'Jesuit art'.¹ Drawing attention to the engravings in a book of gospel meditations by the Jesuit Jerome Nadal, which had been commissioned by St Ignatius himself, he discussed their influence not only on one of the chapels of the Gesù (as had already been noted by Hibbard), but, 'in their didactic intent and format' (though not in their actual compositions), on the horrific scenes of martyrdom painted by Circignani in the Jesuit church of S. Stefano Rotondo and elsewhere. Buser has some valuable comments on the significance of these frescoes and also on the curiously 'pastoral' episodes of torture depicted in the church of S. Vitale, whose style—he suggests—may have been chosen out of a desire, influenced by Roman wall painting, to give an 'antique feeling' to the sufferings of these early Christian victims. As I have always emphasised that it was with just such scenes of martyrdom that 'a truly Jesuit style was brought into being for the first time' I am puzzled to find Buser referring, in the context of these frescoes, to my view that elsewhere the Jesuits were nearly always forced, by political or economic weakness, to accept gratefully what they were given by powerful patrons.

My account of Gaulli's frescoes in the Gesù also needs to be supplemented (and sometimes corrected) by Robert Enggass's important monograph on the artist which appeared at much the same time as the first edition of my book.² Enggass's study of the content of the frescoes is far more complete than my own, but he discusses their iconography essentially within the general context of the 'church triumphant' rather than in relation to those specific theological issues which (partly following Lanckoronska) I describe at some length and which, I infer from his silence, he considers to be largely irrelevant. In this attitude he is clearly right for, in the course of an important article partly concerned with Bernini's relationship to the Jesuits, Lavin has confirmed the conclusions of a number of recent historians in rejecting Lanckoronska's theory that the drawings by Gaulli (now in Berlin and Düsseldorf) related to Bernini's composition of the *Sangue di Cristo* were made for an alternative—and rejected—design for the dome of the Gesù.³ I was therefore wrong in proposing that the theme could have been turned down by the Jesuits because of its possible association with Quietism.

¹ Buser.

² Enggass, 1964.

³ Lavin, I., 1972, pp. 169-71.

In addition to his monograph on Gaulli, Enggass has written an essential article on the altar of St Ignatius in the Gesù,¹ and in a book on eighteenth-century sculpture in Rome he has added to our knowledge of the statues by Théodon and Legros in the church—and thus to our knowledge of Jesuit patronage in general.²

Finally, an edition by Vittorio Casale of the treatise on painting and sculpture jointly written by the Jesuit father Ottonelli and by Pietro da Cortona has examined the parts contributed by the theologian and the artist to this strange publication,³ and Casale's subsequent discovery of the censor's comments on it at last gives us some indication of the way in which these issues were discussed in Jesuit circles.⁴

Other religious orders have aroused much less interest, but the documents about the early building history of the *Oratorian Chiesa Nuova* published and analysed by Jacob Hess provide further evidence of the control maintained by that Order on its construction and also demonstrate the autonomy that the patrons of individual chapels insisted on trying to maintain as regards their decoration.⁵ This control was in fact a consequence of the deliberate (and exceptional) policy of self-restraint exercised by the patron Cardinal Cesi which contrasts strikingly with Cardinal Farnese's treatment of the Jesuits. 'There is no need to send me copies of the plans so that a design that appeals to my taste can be chosen', he wrote to a leading Oratorian in 1581, 'because my taste will be whatever satisfies you and the other Fathers.'⁶ Maria Teresa Bonadonna Russo who publishes this and many other letters to the same effect does, however, point out that the appointment of Martino Longhi the Elder as (the second) architect of the church was probably due to the Cardinal's intervention and that his brother, Monsignor Angelo Cesi, was a much less accommodating patron.⁷

Chapter 4

The most recent discovery concerning the patronage of *Cassiano dal Pozzo* has been referred to in print but not yet published: this consists of the inventories, dated 1689 and 1695, of the collections of Cassiano's brother and heir Carlo Antonio (himself a notable collector and patron) and of the latter's son Gabriele.⁸ Only the French pictures recorded in these inventories have been studied in detail.⁹ Cassiano's early taste has been illuminated by an article on his journey to Spain in 1626, during the course of which he disapproved of a (now lost) portrait of Cardinal Barberini by the young Velasquez as being 'd'aria malinconica e severa', preferring in its place one (also lost) by Juan van der Hamen.¹⁰ Only that section of his journal describing his visit to the

¹ Enggass, 1974.

³ Ottonelli and Berrettini.

⁵ Hess, 1963.

⁷ Bonadonna Russo, 1967 and 1968.

⁸ Bréjon, p. 94, note 21—the documents were found in 1969 by Marcello del Piazzo.

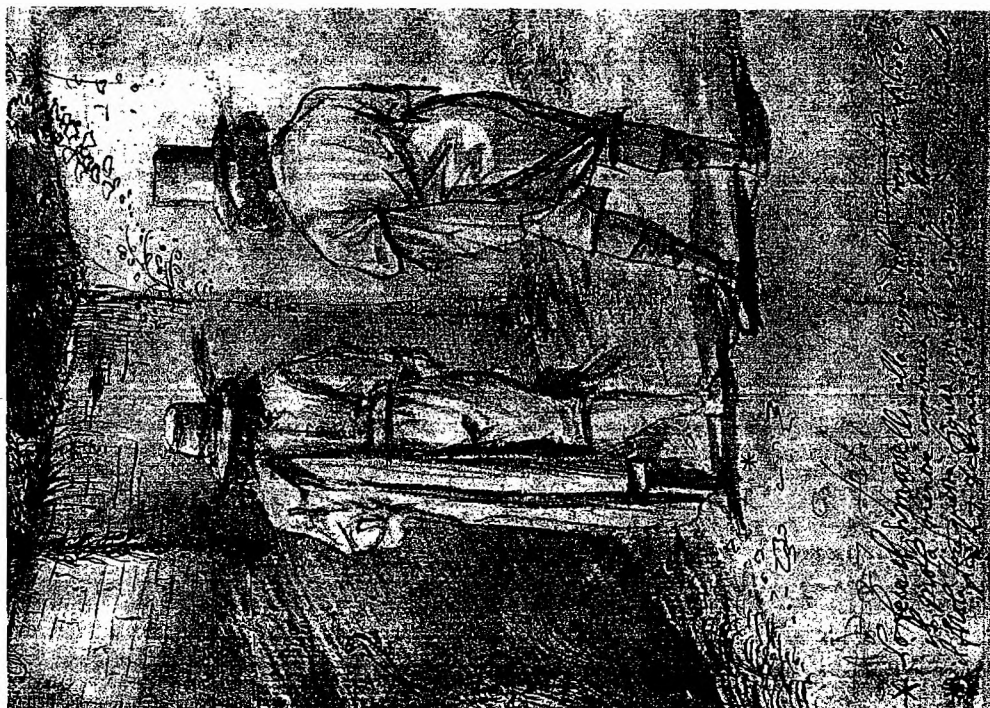
⁹ Bréjon.

² Enggass, 1976.

⁴ Casale.

⁶ Bonadonna Russo, 1968, p. 135.

¹⁰ Harris, 1970.



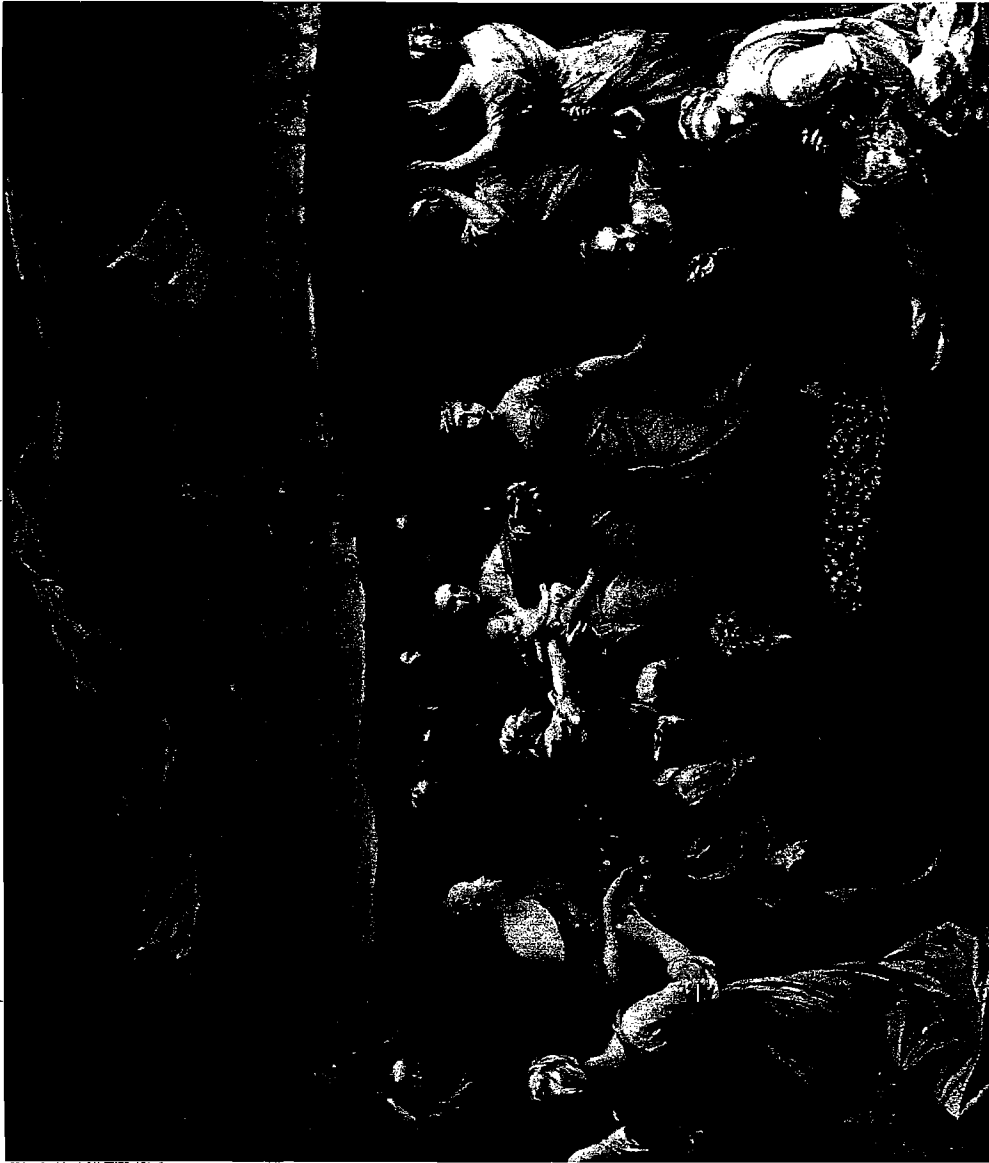
a MOLA and SIMONELLI: Joint caricature of
Simonelli and Mola



b AGOSTINO MASUCCI: Mola painting the portrait
of Pope Alexander VII



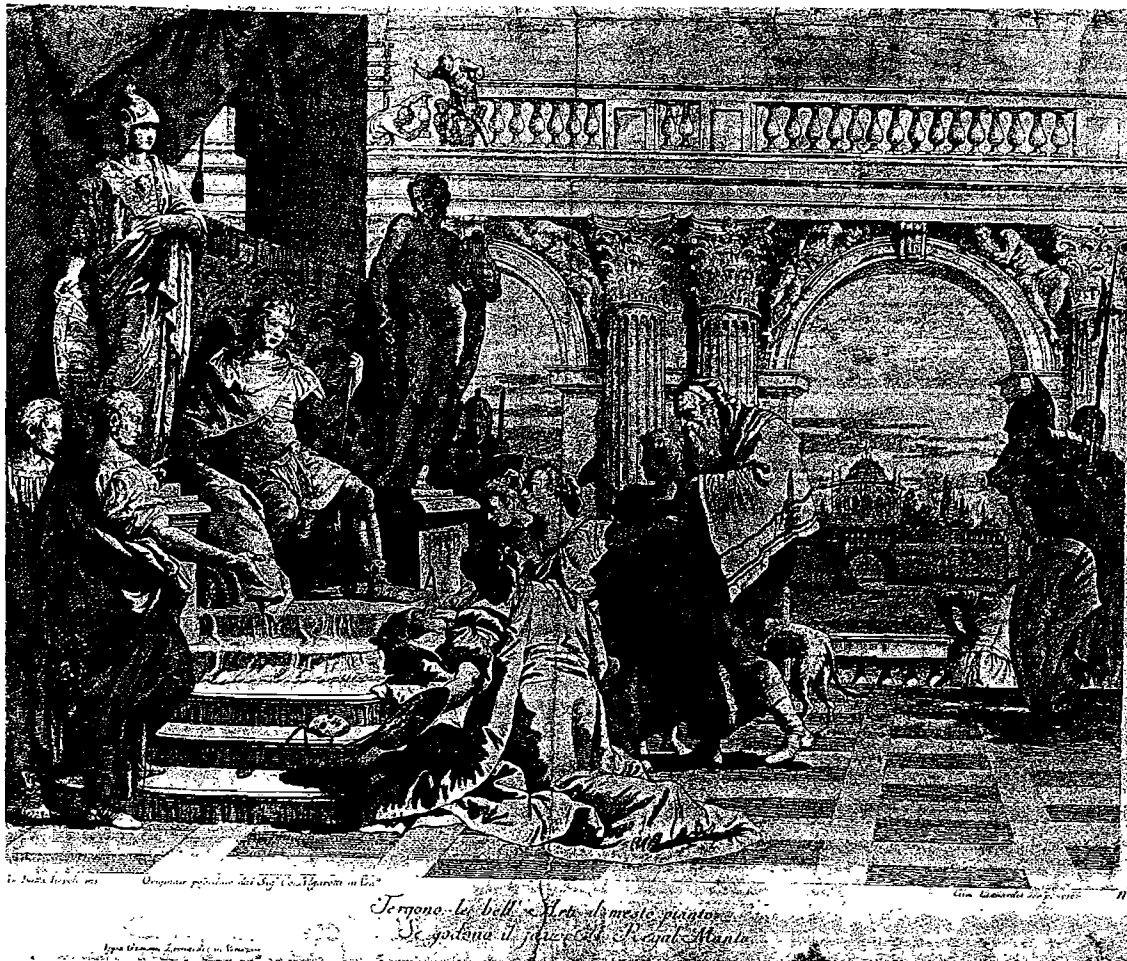
BALDASSARE FRANCESCHINI: Fame carrying the name of Louis XIV to the Temple of Immortality



G. M. CRÆSPER: Jupiter handed over by Cybele to the Corymbantes to be fed



a FRANCESCO MAGGIOTTO: Three portraits of Doges



b TIEPOLO (engraved Leonardis): Mæcenas presenting the Arts to Augustus

Escorial has been published in full. As was to be expected this interesting account shows his keen appreciation of the great Titians and other pictures to be found there, and also his particular fascination with drawings of plant and bird life in Mexico.¹ Some support for my suggestion that Cassiano may not altogether have liked Poussin's 'austere' style can perhaps be found in the report, made in 1664, that he had at one time actually thought of giving away the 'Seven Sacraments' to an un-named friend.²

After the appearance of the first edition of this book a small bronze bust of *Paolo Giordano II Orsini, Duke of Bracciano* came into the possession of Cyril Humphris, London, and in 1966 Wittkower proposed that this was the portrait of him by Bernini about which I had published a number of documents³ (another version, in the City Museum and Art Gallery, Plymouth, was discussed by Anthony Radcliffe in 1978 and 1979).⁴ I understand, however, that there are convincing documentary reasons for believing that the attribution to Bernini of this attractive bust has to be rejected.

Chapter 5

An engaging double caricature made by *Niccolò Simonelli* and his friend the artist Pierfrancesco Mola has come to light (Plate 65a).

Chapter 6

Some of the general conclusions drawn in this chapter are discussed in the introduction to the new edition of this book. The continued absence of any economic history of Rome in the seventeenth century makes it impossible as yet to investigate the period at all adequately. Petrocchi contains some useful information and a bibliography, but the author himself acknowledges how little the economic life of the city has been studied.⁵

On the other hand our knowledge about some of the individual patrons has been enriched by a number of new works. The documents from the Doria-Pamphili archives necessary for a serious account of the art patronage of *Innocent X* and his family were published in 1972,⁶ and we can get an unusually fresh view of *Alexander VII's* interest in the arts (Plate 65b) through the publication of the relevant extracts from his diary. Though his comments are always terse, we learn from them that Bernini was a very frequent visitor and that—as the editors emphasise—the Pope 'apparently felt that it was he, rather than Bernini or Cortona, who ultimately decided the planning of a building'.⁷ And the nature of *Clement IX's* patronage of Bernini has been analysed in a careful study of the decoration of the Ponte S. Angelo.⁸

¹ Harris and de Andrés.

³ Wittkower, 1966, pp. 203-4.

⁵ Petrocchi, 1970, p. 158.

⁷ Krautheimer and Jones.

² Pierre du Colombier.

⁴ Radcliffe, 1978 and Sotheby's, 1979, pp. 31-2.

⁶ Garms.

⁸ Weil.

A good deal of material concerning *Queen Christina's* life and artistic patronage in Rome was assembled at the Council of Europe exhibition held in Stockholm in 1966, and information about this is to be found in the catalogue¹ and a related volume of studies and documents:² these provide the essential starting point for any further research.

There have been some important contributions to our understanding of *Bellori*, most of which are discussed in Giovanni Previtali's spirited and polemical introduction to a superb new critical edition of the *Lives* and are not therefore mentioned here.³ However, Nicholas Turner's demonstration that some of Bellori's most famous critical comments on Lanfranco were very closely derived from the writing of *Ferrante Carlo* shows that I did not fully appreciate the significance of this latter figure when writing about him in Chapter 5.⁴

Chapter 7

The subject with which this chapter is concerned—the 'Italianisation' of European culture during the seventeenth century—is clearly so vast that now, as when writing the first edition of this book, I can offer no more than a few indications of some of the material that might one day be used for a general survey.

Spanish patronage of Italian Baroque art is briefly summarised by Perez Sanchez in the preliminary chapters of his catalogue of the Italian seventeenth-century paintings still to be found in Spain, while the catalogue itself and the documents and bibliography provide a vast amount of information which has hitherto been inaccessible and which will at last make possible a study of the subject as a whole.⁵ Some notable information about individual Viceroy's in Naples has also been published by Wethey.⁶

By far the most enterprising patron and collector of Italian art in *France* was in fact the Italian Cardinal *Mazarin*, and in a series of very fully documented articles published since the appearance of my book Madeleine Laurain-Portemer has shown how relentlessly determined he was to introduce into the country of his adoption Italian Baroque artists or, failing that, the finest examples of Italian Baroque art, both under Richelieu and when he himself held supreme power. These articles endorse my own view of the Cardinal's individual taste, but they go well beyond what I wrote in 1963, for they show that his artistic policy (to characterise which Mme Laurain-Portemer freely uses some very aggressive military metaphors) was directed to far wider ends than to satisfying the personal hedonism to which, by implication, I attributed his ambitions.⁷ In stressing that the young *Louis XIV* continued to look to Italy for artistic talent I alluded to Alazard's reference to a picture commissioned

¹ *Christina of Sweden*.

³ Bellori, 1976.

⁵ Perez Sanchez.

⁷ Laurain-Portemer (with a list of her other important articles on the subject).

² Von Platen.

⁴ Turner.

⁶ Wethey.

(through Colbert and the Abate Luigi Strozzi) from Baldassare Franceschini, il Volterrano, of *Fame Carrying the Name of the King to the Temple of Immortality*: this picture, which is still at Versailles, has now been identified and published by Pierre Rosenberg¹ (Plate 66).

Of the patrons of the *Holy Roman Empire* specially interested in Italian art we have learned a great deal more about *Prince Liechtenstein* through the researches of Lankheit,² and there have been contributions to this aspect of *Prince Eugen's* collecting.³

There is a general survey of *English* royal patronage of Italian painting of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Michael Levey's catalogue of the later Italian pictures in the Queen's collection,⁴ and Croft-Murray's very detailed (and very entertaining) account of the career of Antonio Verrio in England adds substantially to our knowledge of patronage in the Restoration period.⁵ Of the individuals I discussed *Sir Thomas Isham* has been the subject of an exhibition of which there is a useful catalogue.⁶

Chapter 8

The art of seventeenth-century Florence has been radically reappraised since 1963, and in the light of fine exhibitions in New York (1969), Florence (1965 and 1974) and London (1979) I now realise that I rather underestimated the quality of much that was being painted in the city in order to pinpoint the achievements of the *Del Rosso* brothers and especially of *Grand Prince Ferdinand de' Medici*. I still believe that the Prince's patronage was marked by a quite exceptional flair and originality, but one of the gratifying features of the new interest in Florentine *Seicento* art is that it has been accompanied by a close study of many of the Medici patrons, and this allows one to form a more balanced appreciation of the Prince's taste than was possible when this book was first published. A general survey of the patronage offered by the Medici court in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was provided by the exhibition 'Artisti alla Corte Granducale' of 1969 for which the important catalogue was written by Marco Chiarini.⁷ In an article,⁸ and in a well documented book⁹ (which also throws light on the patronage of the *Barberini* and the *Sacchetti*) Malcolm Campbell demonstrated the great significance of Grand Duke Ferdinand II's decision in 1637 to break with provincial Florentine artists and employ Pietro da Cortona on the decoration of the Palazzo Pitti. In her catalogue of the exhibition devoted to the collection of Don Lorenzo de' Medici, that Grand Duke's uncle, Evelina Borea¹⁰ amply illustrated the nature of just that provincialism from which Ferdinand II and his brilliantly gifted brother Cardinal Leopoldo so successfully helped to rescue Florentine culture: an

¹ Rosenberg.

³ *Eugen, Prinz*, especially pp. 115-41.

⁵ Croft-Murray, 1962, pp. 50-60 and pp. 236-42.

⁷ Chiarini, 1969.

⁹ Campbell, 1977.

² Lankheit, pp. 326-38.

⁴ Levey, 1964.

⁶ *Sir Thomas Isham*.

⁸ Campbell, 1966.

¹⁰ Borea.

exhibition,¹ and a series of articles by the Procaccis,² Muraro,³ Meloni,⁴ Chiarini de Anna,⁵ and Bandera⁶ have greatly added to our knowledge of the Cardinal's taste, while the formation of the Uffizi gallery of self-portraits has been analysed by Prinz.⁷

Klaus Lankheit has shown that the role even of Cosimo III, a blinkered 'villain' to me in 1963 as to most previous writers, was far more positive (especially as regards sculpture) than I then suggested,⁸ and this became clear beyond all doubt in 1974 when an important exhibition devoted to late Baroque Art in Florence was mounted successively in Florence and Detroit.⁹ In two interesting articles, one of them devoted to the 'stile Cosimo III', Stella Rudolph has discussed Florence in the context of a more general revival of Italian provincial culture at the end of the seventeenth century (a revival that went hand in hand with the decline of Rome) and has emphasised the very lavish patronage of many of the aristocratic families in the city.¹⁰

So much valuable research on some of the forerunners and contemporaries of *Grand Prince Ferdinand* has fortunately been accompanied by the discovery of much new information about the Prince himself in the form of inventories published by Chiarini¹¹ and Strocchi.¹² From these I was glad to discover, among much else, that Ferdinand did (as I had so much hoped and expected but could never establish) employ Magnasco, a painter whose talents must surely have been congenial to him, and the significance of this (admittedly limited) patronage has been stressed by Guelfi in her monograph on the artist.¹³ Finally a very full account of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century art exhibitions in Florence has helped to clarify the Prince's part in organising the one held in 1706¹⁴ (though the discovery of a catalogue for the exhibition of 1705 shows that I somewhat exaggerated his role in inaugurating this aspect of the exhibition)¹⁵, while the cleaning of a number of paintings by Antonio Domenico Gabbiani in the Pitti and interesting articles on him by Chiarini¹⁶ and Ewald¹⁷ have convinced me that I much underrated the merits of this talented artist—and hence the perception of the Grand Prince who so much admired him.

The other Florentine patrons whom I discussed, the *Del Rosso* brothers, have also been set in a wider context by Silvia Meloni who has discussed the work of Luca Giordano in the city and who has identified many of the pictures they owned.¹⁸

The patronage of *Raimondo Buonaccorsi* has suffered grievously. His uniquely fascinating 'Gallery of the Aeneid', which survived virtually intact until the early 1960s, was acquired by the Comune of Macerata in 1967, but not alas before many of the finest pictures in it had been dispersed.¹⁹

¹ *Omaggio a Leopoldo de' Medici*.

³ Muraro, 1965.

⁵ Chiarini de Anna.

⁷ Prinz.

⁹ *Twilight of the Medici*.

¹¹ Chiarini, 1975.

¹³ Guelfi, pp. 65 ff.

¹⁵ Meloni Trkulja, 1972, p. 53.

¹⁷ Ewald, 1976.

¹⁹ *Urbino: Restauri*, pp. 532–52.

² Procacci, Lucia e Ugo.

⁴ Meloni Trkulja, 1975.

⁶ Bandera.

⁸ Lankheit.

¹⁰ Rudolph, 1971 and 1973.

¹² Strocchi.

¹⁴ Borroni Salvadori.

¹⁶ Chiarini, 1976.

¹⁸ Meloni Trkulja, 1972.

It is some consolation that *Stefano Conti's* last commission—a picture by Crespi of *Jupiter among the Corybantes*, cunningly described by him as *The Finding of Moses* because, as a sacred subject, it would pay less customs duty—which was known to me only from documentary sources has now turned up¹ (Plate 67).

Chapter 9

The political and economic situation of the Venetian aristocracy in this last phase of its ascendancy, when its numbers and wealth were diminishing, has been discussed by James C. Davis,² and a great deal of incidental information about its artistic patronage can be derived from a number of monographs devoted to individual artists and also from the extensive investigations of the last few years into the decoration of country villas, much of which has been made conveniently accessible in a volume edited by Pallucchini.³ Of the individual families referred to in this chapter, the patronage of the *Zenobio* has been looked at in some detail,⁴ and Puppi has demonstrated beyond the shadow of a doubt that I was quite wrong in attributing to the sweet-tempered and humble *Leonardo Valmarana* the commissioning of Tiepolo's frescoes in the family Villa near Vicenza illustrating scenes from Homer, Virgil, Ariosto and Tasso. These beautiful works, so different in feeling from those generally produced by Tiepolo for the local nobility, were in fact commissioned by Conte Giustino Valmarana (who died in 1757)—about whom we know little except that he was a very rich, efficient and retiring landowner.⁵ Puppi has also given us new information about the patronage of *Carlo Cordellina* (another employer of Tiepolo), and especially about the palace in Vicenza which he began to have built in 1770 at the age of 73 and where he died eighteen years later.⁶

Chapter 10

The second volume of Croft-Murray's book on *Decorative Painting in England* now gives by far the fullest account of the work of the Riccis, Pellegrini, Amigoni, Bellucci and other Venetians who were attracted to Britain,⁷ and additional information about Sebastiano Ricci is to be found in the monograph on him by Daniels.⁸ The hostility to Amigoni which was felt and propagated in some quarters is explored in a lively article by Shipley.⁹ Barbara Mazza has made a full survey of all the literature relating to the commemorative pictures painted for *Owen McSwiny*, some of which have emerged since the first edition of this book. Her conclusions concerning the nature and progress of the enterprise confirm my own, but her detailed catalogue of all those at

¹ Merriman.

³ Pallucchini, 1978.

⁵ Puppi, 1968, pp. 211-50.

⁷ Croft-Murray, 1970.

⁹ Shipley.

² Davis.

⁴ Aikema.

⁶ Puppi, 1968, pp. 212-16.

⁸ Daniels.

present identified, either as originals or in the form of copies (with four more possibly still to be discovered) replaces the summary list I published in 1963. In general Dr Mazza is as baffled as I was—and as were McSwiny's own contemporaries—about the precise meaning of these strange and attractive pictures.¹

There is a useful survey by Ivanov of contemporary *French* interest in eighteenth-century Venetian art,² but the most important contribution to this subject that has become accessible since the appearance of my book is the authoritative account by Garas of everything that can now be ascertained about the appearance of Pellegrini's destroyed decoration of the Banque Royale in Paris. Dr Garas believes that the influence of this has been overestimated.³

In the same article Dr Garas discusses Pellegrini's employment in Vienna, and in another article on him in *Germany* she points out that, contrary to what I wrote in my first edition, he did in fact paint the frescoes in the Zwinger in Dresden for which he had been proposed. These survived much longer than his work in Paris, but they were destroyed long before the destruction of the city itself in 1945.⁴ An article on Bellucci in Vienna (and especially on his decorations in the Liechtenstein palace there) makes it appear likely that the artist was in the city between 1692 and 1704, well before I suggested.⁵

Tessin's taste in the arts and his standing as a collector of drawings have been discussed by Bjurström, who gives important bibliographical references to the Swedish literature on him.⁶

The interest of the eighteenth-century *Russian* court in attracting artists from Venice was investigated in a fully documented book about Giuseppe Valeriani in 1948,⁷ and two further articles have been devoted to the topic in recent years.⁸ My assumption that Catherine the Great herself purchased one of the great masterpieces of the century, Tiepolo's *Banquet of Cleopatra* (Plate 61b), now seems to me over-confident.

Chapter 11

In some articles and a book Frances Vivian has added much to our knowledge of *Consul Smith* as merchant and collector, but unfortunately she has not been able to solve the baffling problem of Smith's 'second collection' (which I discuss at length in Appendix 5)—i.e. the several hundred paintings which were recorded as being in his palace when he died in 1770, eight years after he was believed to have sold all his pictures to George III. Like me, however, she is inclined to believe that in 1762 he sold only a portion of what he then owned and she argues therefore that the pictures later in his possession had probably been acquired at an earlier date.⁹ Jeffrey Daniels

¹ Mazza.

³ Garas, 1962.

⁵ D'Arcais.

⁷ Konopleva.

⁹ Vivian (with references to earlier articles).

² *Venise au dix-huitième siècle*.

⁴ Garas, 1971.

⁶ Bjurström, 1967.

⁸ Ernst; Fomiciova.

disagrees with a number of writers (including myself) who think that Smith's large paintings by Sebastiano Ricci may have derived from another commission that had fallen through, and writes that 'there is no reason to believe that Smith was not the originator of his set'.¹ The precise details of Smith's financial arrangements with Canaletto are still not entirely clear, and W. G. Constable (supported, implicitly, by Links) is not convinced—as I was when I wrote my first edition—of the likelihood that the two men, or even Canaletto alone, paid a visit to Rome in the early 1740s.² Michael Levey has, however, given us a particularly fascinating insight into one side of Smith's patronage by showing us that in 1751 Canaletto was required to alter a view of Venice he had made for Smith sixteen years earlier in order to paint in the grand new façade which had just been added to his patron's palace on the Grand Canal.³ This touch of vanity makes it all the more surprising that no portrait has yet come to light. Another aspect of Smith's patronage of Canaletto—his 'glorification of Palladio and his architectural principles'—which found expression in the evidently carefully devised commission for a series of fantasising overdoors depicting sixteenth-century buildings and monuments has been analysed by William Barcham.⁴

Marshal Schulenburg's collection has been discussed in two recent articles. After tracking down the whereabouts of some of the pictures he once owned, Alice Binion concludes that he was unlikely to have had 'a discriminating mind. Apparently he was no match for Zanetti in artistic erudition, for Algarotti in aesthetic sensitivity, or for Joseph Smith in experience with the art market. Nor does he seem to have influenced the painters he patronised, or to have discovered unknown talents. He did buy treatises on painting and lives of the painters, and must have developed some artistic discernment over the years. But collecting for the sake of collecting, with a view to establishing a permanent gallery, appears to have been the greatest part of the fun for him.'⁵ As Binion acknowledges, we know too little about Schulenburg to be sure of his taste, but I find it difficult to accept that the man who could commission in succession from Piazzetta the two great 'pastorals' in Chicago and Cologne (Plate 54)—works so different in feeling from anything else produced in eighteenth-century Venice—can either have lacked sensitivity or failed to have influenced at least some of the painters who worked for him. Elizabetta Antoniazzi Rossi concentrates essentially on the 'wrongly called "minor genres"' to be found in Schulenburg's collection—small landscapes, battles, animal pictures, and so on—and after examining some of these in rewarding detail she accepts Alice Binion's conclusion about the general nature of his patronage only in so far as it can be turned to his credit: 'it seems as if he conceived of his collection as illustrating on a grand scale the local school of painting . . . as if he felt the duty, not quite consciously perhaps and certainly without any special enthusiasm, of defending and spreading a taste for minor types of painting.'⁶

¹ Daniels, p. xv.

³ Levey, 1962, p. 338.

⁶ Binion.

² Constable (revised by Links), p. 32.

⁴ Barcham.

⁶ Rossi.

Chapter 12

The Venetian Enlightenment has received serious attention in recent years from Franco Venturi¹ (who pays much attention to the significance of *Lodoli*)² and Gianfranco Torcellan³ (but for whose tragic death at the age of twenty-eight this book would have been much improved). It is now clearer than ever that my own use of the term can only be thought of as very vague, but the ideas and art patronage of two of the very varied figures whom I discussed in connection with this movement of ideas have been clarified since 1963. James Byam Shaw has shown that the German painter in whom *Antonio Conti* was interested because his invention of a new method of colour printing could be related to the theories of Sir Isaac Newton was in fact Jakob Christoffel Le Blon, whose invention made a notable impact in England as well as in Italy.⁴ And Thomas J. McCormick has published in his catalogue of selections from the Vassar College Art Gallery another of the very bizarre allegorical canvases by Felice Boscarati which helped to create such a political uproar around *Giorgio Pisani* when they were displayed along his processional route as he took up his appointment as Procuratore di S. Marco.⁵ In a recent article Loredana Olivato accepts my tentative suggestion that the choice for such an occasion of these abstruse pictures, originally painted some years earlier for someone quite different, was more likely to have been casual than deliberately provocative. Dr Olivato also quotes from Boscarati's evidence at the trial of Pisani during which he claimed that his patron showed little interest in the subject matter of the pictures he commissioned, and she makes it clear that Boscarati himself continued to hold subversive opinions long after Pisani's downfall.⁶

Chapter 13

Of the patrons mentioned in this chapter *Anton Maria Zanetti (the Elder)* has received some attention recently because of the discovery of an album containing 350 of his caricatures. This was presented to the Fondazione Giorgio Cini in Venice, and the catalogue by Alessandro Bettagno of the exhibition held there to mark the gift contains a useful summary of his life and activities while the illustrations give a vivid indication of the circles in which he moved.⁷

Students of *Maffeo Pinelli* have also been rewarded by a discovery, though it is less spectacular. At least six of the little oval portraits on copper of the Doges which were painted for him by Francesco Maggiotto (to which I referred on the basis of documents only in the first edition of this book) have now come to light (Plate 68). As Sir Karl Parker (who first told me of their reappearance) has pointed out to me, they are adapted from engravings—probably those by Piccino in *Matina's* volume

¹ Venturi, 1969 and 1976.

³ Torcellan, 1969.

⁵ Vassar College Art Gallery, p. 24.

⁷ Bettagno.

² Venturi, 1969, pp. 295-99.

⁴ Byam Shaw, 1967, pp. 21-6.

⁶ Olivato, 1977.

consisting essentially of 'portraits'—in the form of medallions—of all the Doges who had presided over Venice until 1659, the date of publication.¹ Maggiotto's paintings thus provide an exceptionally fascinating instance of mediaeval and later portraiture as seen through the eyes of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Chapter 14

Two scholars have added significantly to our knowledge of *Algarotti* in recent years. Giovanni da Pozzo has published both a critical edition of the essays (with a useful bibliographical commentary)² and also the full text of his will for a discussion of which previous writers (including myself) have had to rely on inadequate summaries.³ This shows that the two pictures which, much to the sarcastic amusement of Diderot, Algarotti left to the Elder Pitt were painted by Mauro Tesi, and also that Algarotti bequeathed to Cosimo Mari two paintings by Tiepolo 'uno che rappresenta Cristo condotto al Calvario e l'altro un convitto di Marco Antonio e Cleopatra'. Pictures by Tiepolo of these subjects were known from other sources to have belonged to Algarotti,⁴ and their absence from the catalogue of his collection drawn up twelve years after his death can thus now be explained. *The Road to Calvary* is almost certainly the sketch in Berlin for the large painting in the church of S. Alvise in Venice, and the sketch of 'The banquet of Mark Anthony and Cleopatra' is perhaps the one in the Musée Cognacq-Jay in Paris (Plate 61a), though there are difficulties in the way of accepting this.⁵

The late Dr Maria Santifaller published a series of articles bearing on Algarotti. She showed that the vast majority of portraits of him—of which she illustrated some hitherto not known—were derived from the classicising print made in Berlin by Georg Friedrich Schmidt in 1752, a year after the same artist had etched for Algarotti the rather epicene features of a singer called Felice Salimbeni;⁶ and Dr Santifaller has also explored in detail the etchings made by Algarotti himself, sometimes in collaboration with Tiepolo.⁷ In connection with this fruitful friendship Michael Levey has pointed out that the theory that Tiepolo either projected or began a portrait of Algarotti as, following previous writers, I suggested in the first edition of this book, is based on a misreading of the documents⁸—a conclusion with which one must reluctantly concur.

Finally Dr Santifaller has also discussed the charming painting of Algarotti's tomb in the Campo Santo in Pisa⁹—a picture probably derived from the Volpato engraving (Plate 60). When I wrote about the picture in 1963 it was in the John Bryson collection in Oxford, and it is now in Schloss Charlottenburg, Berlin. Dr Santifaller followed

¹ Matina.

² Da Pozzo.

³ Haskell, 1958, p. 213.

⁴ Santifaller, 1977.

⁵ Santifaller, 1978.

⁶ Algarotti, 1963.

⁷ Haskell, 1958, p. 213; Levey, 1960, p. 250.

⁸ Santifaller, 1976.

⁹ Levey, 1978.

earlier writers in ascribing it to Bernhard Rode, but Marianne Roland-Michel who has made a special study of it believes it much more likely to be by an Italian artist.

A detail from this picture is reproduced on the dust jacket.

Chapters 16 and 17

Sasso has attracted some attention recently because of his close association with a number of cultivated scholars and artists in and around Venice who were rediscovering the 'primitive' Italian painters of Northern Italy;¹ and in the catalogue of an important exhibition devoted to methods of reproducing Italian art before the invention of photography Christopher Lloyd has set his projected, but uncompleted, *Venezia Pittrice* within the context of other similar publications². As a dealer he has been discussed in an interesting article by Loredana Olivato which corrects some errors by me and includes a number of letters linking Sasso to some of the other figures mentioned in these chapters.³

Among these is the *Abate Della Lena*, whose treatise on the 'Spoliation of Pictures from Venice' I published after the appearance of this book.⁴ This treatise gives an extremely illuminating, and sometimes lively, account of the many foreigners who, aided by Della Lena himself and his friends, were removing works of art from Venice during the last years of the Republic, and it also demonstrates that Della Lena's intense enthusiasm for Guardi in no way inhibited an admiration for the 'beautiful simplicity' of Vivarini, Carpaccio and Bellini.

The dispersal of the *Manfrin* collection (which at one time included Giorgione's *Tempesta*) belongs to the history of nineteenth-century Venice, and we are still badly informed about the sources from which he obtained his pictures. However, the part he played in manufacturing tobacco—and hence the fortune with which to build up his collection—has been emphasised in an article by Vincenzo Fontana.⁵

¹ Previtali, 1964, pp. 153-8.

² *Art and its images*, pp. 75-6.

³ Olivato, 1974.

⁴ Haskell, 1967.

⁵ Fontana.