Chapter 4

THE PRIVATE PATRONS

THERE were other sources of patronage besides the papal court and the religious orders. Rome teemed with *amateurs* and *virtuosi* of all kinds, each with his gallery of pictures and antiques which were eagerly visited by the foreign travellers who flocked to the city. The vast majority of these private collectors were content to follow the general fashion set by the court. It would be wholly tedious to discuss in detail the innumerable cardinals, princes and private citizens who accumulated works of art during the seventeenth century—though it is painful to have to refrain from considering figures such as the engagingly named Jacopo Ghibbesio, a university professor born of English parents, with a facility for writing poetry in six languages and the enthusiastic owner of many paintings and drawings by Pietro da Cortona.[1] A few men, however, stand out as being of real importance in the artistic life of the city—either because their towering wealth made them indispensable to the painters who swarmed into Rome from all over Europe or because a firmly held and sometimes eccentric taste led these artists into unexpected channels.

– i –

Of the private collections in Rome at the time of Urban's accession, by far the most striking was the one belonging to the Marchese Giustiniani (Plate 17b).[2] But he was henceforward to be a somewhat isolated figure. Politically he belonged to the Spanish faction which lost all influence at court; artistically his taste had been formed during the first twenty years of the century, and now at the age of 59 he made little attempt to change it. It was a taste capable of appreciating quality in widely varying artists, and in a letter to one of his closest friends, Dirk Ameyden, a Flemish agent of the Spanish crown, he justified his eclecticism.[3] With a remarkable lack of dogmatism he ran through the various themes and styles of painting. He contrasted those who painted 'di maniera' —'where the artist after long study of drawing and painting does not copy but represents what he sees in his imagination'—such as Barocci, Passignano and the Cavaliere

[1] Bertolotti, 1886, who has, however, missed the reference to him in Skippon, p. 650.

[2] Salerno, 1960.

[3] This famous letter (Bottari, VI, p. 121) was published for the first time by the Abate Michele Giustiniani in 1675 (III, p. 417). It is undated but is always assumed to have been written in the 1630s because of a strange reference to Romanelli who only emerged as an independent artist at about that time. When reprinting this letter in 1951 (*Paragone*, 17, p. 50) Roberto Longhi made a wholly convincing emendation and changed Romanelli to Pomarancio. Benedict Nicolson plausibly suggested to me (verbally) that the error arose through a copyist substituting Romanelli for the similar word Roncalli (i.e. Pomarancio). This artist was Giustiniani's special painter and his exclusion from the list would be most surprising. We can now date the letter much earlier in the century—probably well before 1620.

d'Arpino—with those who painted making direct use of the model—such as Rubens, Honthorst, Ribera, the Flemish above all. And he concluded that the best way lay in combining these two styles as did Caravaggio, the Carracci and Guido Reni.

Now, however, he found himself unable to appreciate the Baroque masters of the new generation. Though he lived until 1637, he showed an interest only in three of the painters who had come to the fore under the aegis of the Barberini: Nicolas Poussin, Claude Lorrain and Pietro Testa, all of whom lay outside immediate court circles. With great discrimination he commissioned early works by these masters which showed that he retained all his suppleness of taste where his sympathies were engaged. Poussin painted for him a *Massacre of the Innocents*, remarkable for the austere restraint which he imposed on so brutal a subject, and an *Assumption of the Virgin*, which was among his first works to reveal the impact of Venetian colour and classical studies. From Claude he obtained a mythological painting notable for its romantic stillness.[1] But in general Giustiniani turned more and more to the past and devoted himself to his passion for the antique. Between about 1628 and 1631 he was concerned with the production of two splendid volumes of plates to record the main masterpieces of ancient sculpture in his palace. Northern artists chiefly were engaged on the enterprise, and on the publication of the volumes his gallery became better known in the Rome of Urban VIII for its antique statuary than for its early seventeenth-century paintings, many of which must have appeared unsympathetic to the younger generation.

While Giustiniani, the excessively rich Genoese banker with his newly acquired title and somewhat marginal position in Roman society (to be rectified in the next generation by the marriage of his heir Andrea to Maria Pamfili, niece of Innocent X), was steadily accumulating treasures of all kinds, the descendants of the great old Roman families were plunging ever further into debt and disintegration. And yet they too contributed, if only precariously, a lively note to artistic patronage in the city. Paolo Giordano II Orsini, Duke of Bracciano, was the last but one of his family to hold the title which he inherited in 1615 at the age of 24.[2] Brought up in Florence for the most part, he absorbed from his father Virginio a passionate love of music and spectacle which remained his prime interests to the end of his life. Year after year the chroniclers report him visiting the theatres, taking part in amateur productions of plays and ballets, and indulging to the full in the brilliant and cultivated social life of the Medici court,[3] around which there gravitated a dazzling group of artists and musicians, including Giulio Parigi, Jacques Callot, Giovanni da San Giovanni, Filippo Napoletano and Gerolamo Frescobaldi. After travelling throughout Europe as far as Scandinavia (where,

[1] Poussin's *Massacre of the Innocents* at Chantilly, incidentally the one of his pictures most likely to appeal to an admirer of Caravaggio, probably dates from 1628–9 and *The Assumption of the Virgin*, now in Washington, from a year or two later—*Exposition Poussin* and Mahon, 1960, pp. 288–304.

The figures in the Claude, formerly in Berlin, are described merely as 'ninfe'. Röthlisberger, 1961, p. 512, suggests that they represent Cephalus and Procris reunited by Diana. He points out that this is Claude's first landscape with an unusual subject.

[2] See Ferdinand Boyer's two articles of 1934, and Borsari.

[3] Solerti.

according to an attractive but probably inaccurate report, the Norwegians asked him to be their King) and soldiering in Germany, he moved to Rome and his life resumed its normal course.[1] He befriended musicians of all kinds, including Monteverdi[2]; he was responsible for publishing the poems written by a number of admirers in honour of Leonora Baroni, the singer who so captivated Milton[3]; and he invented a new musical instrument which he called Rosidra after the rose on his escutcheon.[4] His two volumes of poetry in the style of Marino are respectfully mentioned and sometimes even quoted by the more indulgent literary historians.[5]

Orsini's position in Rome was a strange one. Brilliant, versatile and handsome, the head of one of the oldest and most distinguished families in the city, he was inevitably attracted into the Barberini circle.[6] Yet he belonged to the Spanish faction, and his fortune and status were drastically falling as a direct result of Urban VIII's policies. In the fifteenth-century fortress of his ancestors, towering over the lake of Bracciano, where he came to relax from his palace on Montegiordano, he still went on with the old rituals—corresponding as an equal with sovereigns, reading news-letters that poured in from all over Europe, using his authority to secure advantageous positions for his retainers. . . . But these moves were gradually losing all real meaning, and he must sometimes have surveyed the Roman scene with a certain bitterness, enjoying no doubt the tart little notes from his more sarcastic correspondents: 'A gentleman who was asked what he had specially noticed in the play given by the Jesuits answered that he had seen three things—*raggion di stato* represented by the Jesuits, atheism represented by four Pantaloni and idolatry represented by the Prelates of the Court—and though this was said as a joke, yet as it has an element of truth I thought it right to mention it to Your Highness.'[7]

Paolo Giordano was a vain man and something of a dandy. His variation of the current fashion—thick wavy hair, bristling moustaches and pointed beard stemming from the lower lip—carried it to the verge of caricature. He was most anxious to have his features recorded by the best artists of the day—who clearly delighted to oblige him. Ottavio Leoni made a superb etching (Plate 17c),[8] and in June 1623, a few months before the election of Urban VIII, Bernini was already modelling his head in wax

[1] All the earlier accounts (such as Crescimbeni, Vol. III, lib. IV, p. 197) tell the story of Paolo Giordano being offered the crown of Norway. So too does Litta. But C. de Bildt in his important article of 1906 gives cogent reasons for rejecting it.

[2] Prunières, 1926.

[3] *Applausi poetici alle glorie della Sig. a Leonora Baroni*, Bracciano 1639.

[4] Mandosio, II, p. 35.

[5] *Rime, e Satire di Paolo Giordano II, Duca di Bracciano.* In Bracciano, 1649. See Croce, 1910, and Ferrero.

[6] Arch. del Gov. di Roma—Biblioteca Vallicelliana: *Fondo Orsini.* The vast collection of documents relating to Paolo Giordano contains a number of letters to the Barberini, though mostly formal Christmas wishes and so on.

[7] Vallicelliana—*Fondo Orsini*: 170, c. 529, 10 February 1623. It is true that this dates from before the Barberini assumption of power, but the series of gossipy, dry and sometimes cynical news-letters from a writer who signs himself only *Il solito humil. mo Ser.re* continues in much the same vein in later years.

[8] Bartsch, XVII, p. 253.

'with the very greatest pleasure'. A little more than a year later a bronze cast was made, and Bernini took time off from his work on the *baldacchino* to direct the operation.[1] Everyone agreed on its success, but unfortunately the head has disappeared, as have certain other smaller works which he undertook at this time. In 1631, however, we see him once more in a superbly spirited medal perhaps by Giulio della Greca[2] and a year or two later marble busts of him and his wife Isabella[3] who had already been painted by Simon Vouet.[4] The concern for elegance remains, but a decade of pleasure and anxiety have left their mark—the features are coarser, layers of fat bulge round the neck, aristocratic refinement has given way to vulgar sensuality. Troubles were great, though he tried adventurous methods to retrieve his fortunes. Lord Arundel, ever on the lookout for possible treasures, wrote to his agent in 1636 of rumours that the Duke though 'a generous Prince [is] mightily indebted, therefore methinks you might easily have of him the *vaso*, and those things you mentioned of his'.[5]

Yet he remained an enthusiastic if limited patron. He was very keen to obtain a bronze equestrian statue from the sculptor Pietro Tacca in Florence who sent him a *modello*.[6] He commissioned a picture from Claude (a notoriously expensive artist) of *A storm at sea*, designed perhaps to illustrate his motto of *contra ventos et undas*,[7] and he was in touch with the Genoese engraver Andrea Podestà, who dedicated to him various prints of Bacchanals loosely based on the Aldobrandini Titians.[8] He was the special patron of the Flemish artist Jan van den Hecke who dedicated to him a set of twelve etchings of various animals.[9] He passionately collected medals[10] and he took a personal interest in the decoration of churches on his estates in Southern Italy.[11] Above all he devoted his attention to music while keeping a close watch on developments in all the arts. He was therefore an ideal correspondent for the ardent young Queen Christina of Sweden, who was pining for news of the Roman scene.[12] In 1649 through the intermediary of a Swedish diplomat they began to exchange letters and she was soon telling him of her picture gallery which had been recently looted from Prague: 'an infinite number of items, but apart from 30 or 40 original Italians, I care nothing for any of the

[1] This early bronze has disappeared and has never hitherto been mentioned in Bernini literature. In Appendix 2 I reproduce four unpublished letters to Paolo Giordano relating to Bernini.

[2] See Dworschak, 1934.

[3] Faldi, 1955, pp. 13-15, dates the busts *c.* 1630. Wittkower (1955, p. 199) points out that the portrait of Isabella is largely studio work and suggests a date nearer 1635.

[4] Demonts, p. 314. The portrait has not been identified.

[5] Letter to William Petty from Ratisbon, dated 8 September 1636, published by Hervey, p. 386.

[6] I can find no reference to this work in Tacca literature, and in Appendix 2 I publish the letter from him to Paolo Giordano.

[7] Röthlisberger, 1961, p. 161. The picture has been lost, but it is recorded in the *Liber Veritatis*, No. 33. It probably dates from 1638-9.

[8] For Podestà see Blunt in *Revue des Arts*, 1958, pp. 5-16.

[9] Baldinucci, VI, 1728, p. 377, and Bartsch, I, pp. 103 ff. The Duke of Bracciano for whom Pietro Mulier painted so many pictures (see Chapter 1, p. 7, note 3) was a descendant of Paolo Giordano II.

[10] See various letters in the Vallicelliana—*Fondo Orsini*—184, cc. 212 and 218.

[11] *ibid.*, 181, cc. 227 and 267.

[12] de Bildt, 1906, pp. 5-32.

others. There are some by Alberto Dürer and other German masters whose names I do not know, and anyone else would think very highly of them, but I swear that I would give away the lot for a couple of Raphaels, and I think that even that would be paying them too much honour.' Paolo Giordano told her all the latest news—Pietro da Cortona was working better than ever, though he knew of no other famous painters in Italy except for Guercino who was now too old. Sculpture was in a much better way—apart from minor figures there were two most excellent masters: Algardi and Bernini. Both, said the Duke, were great friends of his and both, he flatteringly implied, would be delighted to work for the Queen. Three years later, in 1655, when she came to Italy after her sensational conversion, she spent a night at Bracciano on her way to Rome. Paolo Giordano ended a day of splendid ceremonies with a special concert in her honour.[1] Within six months he was dead. Less than half a century later his nephew sold the castle and estates of Bracciano to the papal nephew of the day, Don Livio Odescalchi.

Paolo Giordano's collection had probably never been a large one. He was important chiefly as a friend of *virtuosi*, poets and singers, all of whom could meet in his palace, and as an exceptionally highly placed example of those gentlemen such as the Barberini nephews and Marcello Sacchetti who were themselves dilettante artists.[2] Through men like Paolo Giordano, whose ancestors only a couple of generations earlier had been engaged in murderous blood feuds[3] and who themselves retained the most exalted ideas of their status, the arts entered into the very fabric of aristocratic life. No doubt manners were softened thereby; it is easier to show that the arts themselves were affected by such patronage.

– ii –

One private collector, however, entirely dominated the scene during the reign of Urban VIII and by his taste and intelligence exerted an influence on the arts wholly out of proportion to his income or limited political power. When Urban became Pope in 1623, Cassiano dal Pozzo had been living in Rome for about twelve years and had just begun to play an important rôle in the intellectual life of the city.[4] Though born in Turin in 1588 and educated partly in Bologna, he had spent most of his earliest years in Pisa in the household of an uncle, the extremely dominating Archbishop of the city. He was thus, to all intents and purposes, a Tuscan, as were most of his friends. In Rome he made little attempt to gain political preferment, but instead began to move in the intoxicating but risky world of scientific investigation. He consolidated a close friendship with Galileo whom he had probably first met in Florence or Pisa, and in 1621 the

[1] Galeazzo Gualdo Priorato, 1656, p. 183.

[2] Baglione, p. 367.

[3] His grandfather Paolo Giordano I had had his wife Isabella de' Medici strangled—an episode which inspired Webster's *White Devil*.

[4] The incidental literature on Cassiano dal Pozzo is enormous, but Lumbroso's is still the only broad outline of his life with a large selection of documents.

organisers of the Accademia dei Lincei, the recently created ancestor of all European scientific societies, proposed his name for membership. A year later he was admitted and thereafter much of his time and energy was devoted to the Accademia.[1] When Prince Federico Cesi, its founder, died in 1630 Cassiano bought a large number of his books and scientific instruments. He collected quantities of material relating to natural history and sponsored the publication of works on medicine, botany and ornithology.[2] Though he wrote nothing himself he was widely respected as a serious scholar.

The systematic organisation of scientific thought and experiment was a new idea, and it was promoted with a hard and tense fervour that must have left a deep mark on all those eager young men who participated. Only bachelors were admitted to the Accademia dei Lincei and the clergy were expressly excluded.[3] Clerical patronage was naturally sought, but the overriding objective of its members to discover and spread knowledge of 'the essence of things in order to ascertain their causes' inevitably led to trouble with the Church, however pious they might be individually. The steady, penetrating eyes of the lynx were not encouraged in seventeenth-century Rome and attempts were soon made to blind them. Dangerous charges of heresy and the first attacks on Galileo left the Lincei exposed but still firm; after Cesi's death in 1630 they quickly disintegrated.

The pursuit of scientific knowledge deeply affected Cassiano's interests in many other fields. His religious opinions which will be explored on a later page seem to have been independent and not wholly orthodox. His patronage of archaeological studies and contemporary painting had a seriousness and a consistency which were unique at the time.

Among his close friends during these early years in Rome were Alessandro Orsini, brother of Paolo Giordano, and the young Francesco Barberini. When Maffeo became Pope and Francesco a Cardinal, Cassiano was naturally among the very first to be favoured. He was given a series of posts in the Barberini household and many new sources of revenue. Yet by the standards of the day he was never a very rich man and certainly never a very ambitious one. His father bombarded him with advice: to marry into the rich nobility; to acquire a really lucrative job, anything: 'the only thing I beseech you is to do something, do not just idle, time is so precious. . . .'[4] Cassiano certainly took what opportunities came his way, but he showed no particular desire for office. At the height of his career his income was estimated at six thousand *livres* annually, and he used these entirely to promote the arts and sciences.[5] He was enthusiastically

[1] See Giuseppe Gabrieli, 1941, Parte seconda, sezione seconda, p. 736.

[2] Lumbroso: *passim*.

[3] Carutti, 1883.

[4] Lumbroso, p. 137—Letter of 27 August 1617.

[5] See the comment in *Naudaeana et Patiniana*, Amsterdam 1703, p. 29. 'Cassianus a Puteo est un Chevalier Piemontois, qui demeure à Rome, agé de quarante huit ans [in 1636]. Il a six mil livres de rente & est neveu d'un Archeveque de Pise qui portoit ce nom; il n'est point marié, & est fort versé aux choses naturelles; il nourrit quantité d'animaux étrangers & entretient commerce avec plusieurs Savans.'

admired by scholars all over Europe with whom he collaborated loyally. Peiresc called him 'la fleur des bons amys',[1] but to us, as to many of his contemporaries, he seems a figure more worthy of admiration than affection. He was a bachelor, rather cold and reserved, unwilling to disclose his inner feelings. As he grew older his features became distinctly military, the eyes ruthlessly clear, the moustaches stiff and defiant. Bernini's caricature (Plate 17a) confirms the impression made on us by the only known portrait: hard, splenetic, importunate.[2]

In 1625 and 1626 Cassiano accompanied Francesco Barberini on his missions to Paris and Madrid. His accounts of these travels show him carefully studying paintings and antiquities and during the course of them he became particularly interested in Leonardo da Vinci, whose *Leda and the Swan* and *St John the Baptist* he saw at Fontainebleau.[3] Characteristically he was fascinated by the 'very great diligence' with which the plant life was rendered in the former picture. Of the latter he noted that 'it is a most delicate work but does not please because it does not arouse feelings of devotion'. The reticent ambiguity of this comment is entirely typical of Cassiano. Whom does it not please? The French? Or himself? Would he have been so worried by a picture that did not 'arouse feelings of devotion'?

On his return to Rome he moved to the palace in the Via Chiavari behind S. Andrea della Valle which was to be his home until the end of his life. He shared it with his younger brother Carlo Antonio and his sister-in-law Teodora. Carlo Antonio too had considerable scientific and artistic interests and there is some evidence to suggest that his patronage was almost as significant as that of Cassiano—but as often happens in such cases it is the elder brother and head of the family who has been given all the credit.

In the palace Cassiano began to assemble a library and museum which soon attracted international attention. Rare living birds and plants were added to skeletons and anatomical drawings. Medals, prints and precious stones were stored with books, sculpture and mechanical instruments. Yet the collection had none of the recherché fantasy of a late mediaeval *wunderkammer*; it was, rather, an embryonic university

[1] Peiresc, IV, p. 107.

[2] This portrait forms the frontispiece to Carlo Dati's panegyric. For the question of dal Pozzo's portraits and for the most complete inventory of his pictures that has so far come to light see Haskell and Rinehart, 1960. In the inventory there published there is a portrait of Cassiano (and others of unnamed figures) attributed to 'Padov.no'. This was assumed by the authors to refer to Alessandro Varotari, 'il Padovanino', who is known to have gone to Rome in about 1638 and whose Venetian affiliations would certainly have made him attractive to Cassiano. However, it now seems far more likely to the present author that the reference is to Ottavio Leoni, the well-known portrait draughtsman and engraver, who is frequently called 'Padovano' in seventeenth-century literature. He was above all famous for his portraits of *virtuosi*, and it would be most surprising if he had omitted the most distinguished of them all. I know of no drawing by him that corresponds to Cassiano's features; there is, however, a drawing in Munich which A. Marabottini (1954, No. 2, fig. 13) attributes to Pietro Testa and which may well portray Cassiano.

[3] See Müntz and Molinier, 1885.

designed as an instrument of study and research—one of the first of its kind in Europe. From all over the Continent serious scholars and dilettantes would write to Cassiano asking for information and in return would send him reports of strange natural occurrences and local antiquarian investigations. In Spain vegetables had been found growing out of a man's stomach; from Milan a correspondent wrote, half convinced, half sceptical, of the ointments that were being deliberately used by diabolic agents to spread the plague; near Florence two bronze gladiators had been dug up by a peasant; in Provence an artist was carefully copying the Roman remains. Meanwhile Cassiano himself recorded everything of interest: the statue of a reclining figure 'with a most immoral inscription in praise of the Epicurean way of life' dug up during the excavations for the *baldacchino* in St Peter's; 'the very strange Priapic idol' in his collection found near S. Agnese beyond the Porta Pia; the two manuscripts of Cicero and Seneca 'written several hundred years ago with notes which are not contemptible' rescued by him from a goldsmith.[1]

In fact, nothing shows Cassiano's deep seriousness more clearly than his attitude to archaeology. He was a man of only moderate means and could not therefore collect ancient marbles on the scale of a Cardinal Ludovisi or a Vincenzo Giustiniani—indeed he once referred rather wistfully to the latter's 'very great wealth'.[2] But his criteria were in any case different. For him antiques were certainly objects of great beauty—though he is nearly always guarded in the expression of his feelings. But they were not just to be collected as one collected the paintings of Caravaggio (in the eyes of his contemporaries, at least, the most unclassical of painters). For Cassiano the remains of ancient Rome were the fragmentary clues to a vanished world whose values were of the greatest intrinsic interest. Consequently, everything that had survived was important, for even the most battered bas-relief or imperfect inscription might throw light on some Roman custom or ceremony. He therefore undertook an amazing enterprise—the recording of all traces of Roman civilisation that had survived. He collected the drawings and prints of earlier artists and for many years he employed young draughtsmen to copy antiquities throughout the length and breadth of the city. He then bound these drawings into volumes (over 23 of them according to contemporaries) which constituted what he himself called his 'paper museum'—the direct ancestor of the modern 'musée imaginaire'.[3] Veneration for antiquity had been common enough among artists and connoisseurs. Cassiano, however, gave this emotion a wholly new precision

[1] Lumbroso, pp. 176, 179, 197, 251, 299; Bottari, I, p. 369; Peiresc, IV, p. 525. See also the accounts of Cassiano's collection given by Naudé (p. 99, note 5), Evelyn, II, p. 277, and Skippon, p. 679.

[2] Lumbroso, p. 211.

[3] For Cassiano's *Museum Chartaceum* see Carlo Dati, 1664, who gives a list of its contents and mentions 23 volumes. Cassiano's brother Carlo Antonio says that there were more than this—Lumbroso, p. 167. The only modern treatment of the subject is by Vermeule, 1956, pp. 32-46. The drawings are now divided between the British Museum and the Royal collection. Blunt and Cooke, 1960, p. 81 point to a group at Windsor that derive from Pietro da Cortona and his studio, and Vitzthum, 1961, pp. 513-18, adds a few more. Blunt, 1971, pp. 121-3 also attributes a large group of these drawings at Windsor to Testa.

and historical interest. For his drawings were divided up according to subject-matter: 'in the first', wrote Baldinucci of some of Cassiano's volumes,[1] 'are contained all those objects which relate to the false opinions [of the ancients] as regards the Deity and sacrifices; in the second are drawings, also taken from antique marbles, of nuptial rites, the costumes of consuls and women, inscriptions, workmen's clothes, funerary customs, theatrical spectacles, and matters relating to the countryside, baths and *triclinia*; in the third are carefully drawn bas-reliefs from triumphal arches—Roman histories and fables; the fourth contains vases, statues, various ancient utensils and other things of interest to scholars; and finally in the fifth are figures taken from the ancient manuscripts of Virgil and Terence in the Vatican, the mosaic from the Temple of Fortune at Preneste, known today as Palestrina, and other things in colour.'

This iconographical collection naturally provided the artists who worked for Cassiano with material which they eagerly absorbed into their own pictures. For he was, in fact, almost as enthusiastic about contemporary painting as about the art of the past. The first artist whom he employed on a large scale to produce original painting as opposed to illustrations of antiquity or natural history was the Frenchman Simon Vouet, who had arrived in Rome in about 1614[2] and had quickly acquired a reputation as a follower of Caravaggio by painting scenes of melodrama and genre. Cassiano, who appears to have been Vouet's most consistent supporter in Rome, owned one such picture but he evidently preferred the artist's more flashy, bravura portrait busts of young rakes and dandies—derived, it is true, from the pages and subsidiary figures in Caravaggio's religious paintings, but, in their isolated context, turned into something more aristocratic and romantic.

This early appreciation of Vouet—Cassiano owned some fourteen pictures by him—is interesting partly because it marks a certain contrast with the manner of painting that he so soon began to encourage to the exclusion of almost every other style and partly because it shows that his tastes were much wider than is often implied. Although he owned one picture attributed to Caravaggio himself and although he occasionally made very cautious sorties into the Caravaggesque succession—a genre picture by Pieter Van Laer, two large architectural scenes by Viviano Codazzi—Cassiano's consistent preference was for a very different type of artist. In nearly every case the painters whom he took under his wing were men who either shared instinctively, or who were prepared to adopt, that passion for antiquity and the 'rational' which can legitimately be traced to his archaeological and scientific training.

Galileo himself had been the first to show how a scientific attitude almost inevitably gave a particular turn to aesthetic taste.[3] His favourite painter and occasional collaborator was Ludovico Cigoli, the leader of those Florentine artists who were breaking away from a late Mannerist style to a more rational and naturalistic manner.[4] When still

[1] Baldinucci, VI, 1728, p. 479.

[2] See the letters from Vouet to Cassiano of 1621 published by Bottari, I, pp. 331-3, and Demonts, p. 322.

[3] For all this paragraph see Panofsky, 1954.

[4] See Cigoli-Galilei Carteggio edited by A. Matteoli.

quite young Galileo gave a vivid impression of his views on painting in a discussion of the relative merits of Tasso and his own favourite Ariosto: 'Tasso's narrative more closely resembles a tarsia picture than an oil painting . . . dry, hard, without roundness and relief . . . Ariosto shades and models in the round. Tasso works piecemeal, dryly and sharply. . . . When setting foot into the *Orlando Furioso* I behold, opening up before me, a treasure room, a festival hall, a regal gallery adorned with a hundred classical statues by the most renowned masters, with countless complete historical pictures (and the very best ones, by the most excellent painters) . . . [with Tasso] . . . the study of some little man with a taste for curios . . . a petrified crayfish; a dried-up chameleon, a fly and a spider embedded in a piece of amber . . . and, as far as painting is concerned, some little sketches by Baccio Bandinelli or Parmigianino.' Galileo's was a plea for the classical against the Mannerist, the full-blooded and rational against the perverse and the illogical. When Cassiano began patronising modern artists, the situation was not quite the same. The Mannerists were no longer of much interest. The great generation reaching maturity in the 1620s—Bernini, Pietro da Cortona, Andrea Sacchi, Poussin and the slightly older Vouet—all embodied those very qualities that Galileo had specially singled out for admiration. Cassiano eagerly took them up. Well before his travels to France and Spain he owned 'a number of things' by Pietro da Cortona.[1] Bernini made him a posthumous bust of his uncle, the Archbishop of Pisa. But, in fact, these artists capable of working on a large scale were inevitably enrolled into the service of the Pope and his nephews. Cassiano, established at the very centre of power, was well placed to employ them and we know that on occasion he did so—he owned at least two large pictures by Pietro da Cortona (a *Madonna and Child* and an *Allegory of Coral fishing*) besides drawings by Bernini. But such works were exceedingly expensive, far beyond the resources at his disposal. And there was another, even more important consideration. As the reign of Urban proceeded it became clear that the balance between classical and colourful, restraint and exuberance, which all these artists had shared in the early 'twenties, was becoming more and more distorted. Grandiose effects were what the Barberini wanted even if the rules had to be broken to achieve them. Bernini experimented with techniques designed to break down the barriers between sculpture and paint, the spectator and the work of art. Pietro da Cortona made nonsense of his painted frame and his stucco borders in the interests of more powerful illusionism. To Cassiano dal Pozzo all this was clearly most distasteful although he remained on friendly terms with Pietro.[2] 'It's the great disgrace of our age', he used to say,[3] 'that although it has before it such beautiful ideas and such perfect rules in venerable, old buildings, none the less it allows the whim of a few artists who wish to break away from the antique to bring back architecture to barbarism. This was not the way of Brunelleschi, Buonarotti, Bramante, Serlio, Palladio, Vignola and the other restorers of this great art, who took the true proportions of those perfectly regular orders from Roman buildings. Departing

[1] Mancini, I, p. 263, and Haskell and Rinehart, 1960.
[2] See Pietro's letters to him published in Bottari, I, pp. 413-20.
[3] Carlo Dati [no pagination].

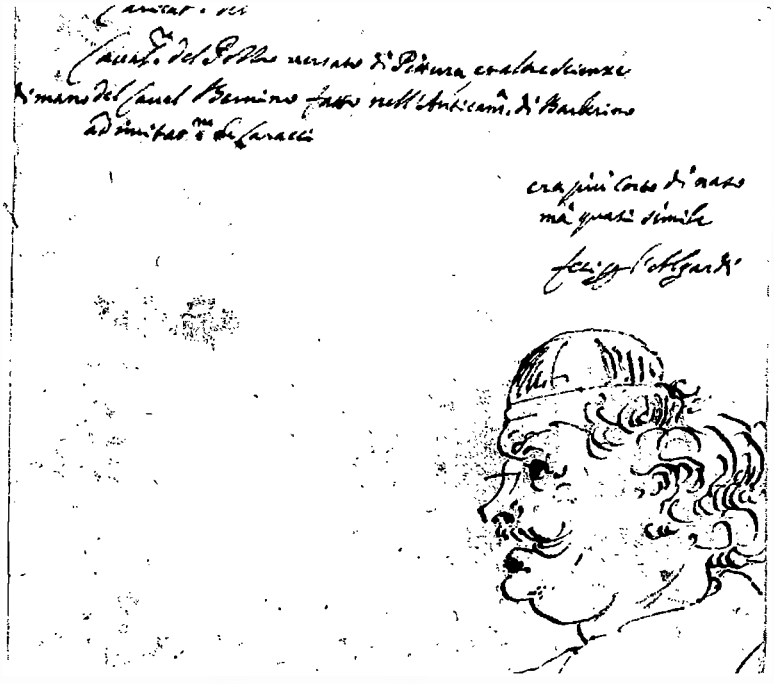
from these always leads to errors.' Borromini is usually singled out as the target for this outburst. No doubt he was, but not even Bernini is listed among the true heirs of antiquity, and it is the whole age that is being attacked. In fact, Cassiano's views of Bernini were changeable. In 1647 he drily reported without comment the fact that the tomb of Urban VIII 'though it has been praised has in no way diminished the reputation of Paul III's [by Guglielmo della Porta] opposite'. Seven years later he showed unreserved enthusiasm for the Fountain of the Four Rivers—but fountains notoriously were entitled to display the workings of an artist's fantasy.[1] The sculptor who really appealed to Cassiano's tastes and whose wax and terracotta *modelli* he collected was Bernini's Flemish rival, François Duquesnoy, who used to call the Greek style 'the true teacher of perfection' and whose own *St Susanna* in the church of S. Maria di Loreto was judged by his contemporaries to be equal to anything produced by the ancients.[2]

In fact, to others beside Cassiano dal Pozzo the extreme high Baroque style of the 'thirties cultivated by the Barberini appeared to be as opposed to the straight and narrow path of true, classical painting as had been the Mannerism or Naturalism of earlier generations. Of the team of artists who had made their first appearance in St Peter's under the auspices of the Barberini, only Sacchi and Poussin had kept to that path. Cassiano clearly admired Sacchi and obtained the *modello* for one of his most famous altarpieces, the *St Romualdo* of 1638. But the artist was interminably slow and constantly employed by Cardinal Antonio. Poussin, on the other hand, was Cassiano's closest protégé.

Poussin probably met Cassiano very soon after his arrival in Rome through Marcello Sacchetti, to whom he had been introduced by the poet Marino. But their relationship was almost at once interrupted by Cassiano's departure first for Paris and then for Madrid with Cardinal Francesco Barberini. Only on his return to Rome towards the end of 1626 could he begin to take a serious interest in the artist who was some six years younger than himself. Cassiano at once began to employ him to further the two interests which were nearest his heart—archaeology and the natural sciences. Poussin associated with that group of artists who were recording the vestiges of ancient Rome in some fifteen hundred drawings bound up into volumes according to subject-matter. He also painted large pictures—often life-size—of birds (eagles, ostriches and others) which were of special interest to Cassiano's brother, Carlo Antonio.[3] There can be little doubt that it was the first of these experiences that proved the more decisive. At this formative stage of his Roman career he was plunged into a world of classical studies, directed by the greatest European connoisseur of the age. More than any of the other artists employed in the enterprise Poussin absorbed the essential spirit of classical art, not only in formal methods of composition, which were indeed to become more pronounced later in his

[1] Lumbroso, pp. 190 and 194. [2] Passeri, p. 107.

[3] P. Olina's *Uccelleria* of 1622, dedicated to Cassiano, specially mentions Carlo Antonio's interest in the subject. Unfortunately these, surely the most surprising of all Poussin's paintings, have not been identified. When Skippon was taken round the collection in 1663 (p. 679) by Cassiano's nephew he noted a large number of bird paintings, but he failed to record whether or not they were by Poussin, the 'old French painter', who, he was told, was still living in Rome.



a. BERNINI: Cassiano dal Pozzo

b. MELLAN: Vincenzo Giustiniani

c. LEONI: Paolo Giordano II, Duke of Bracciano

a. TESTA: Rest on the Flight into Egypt

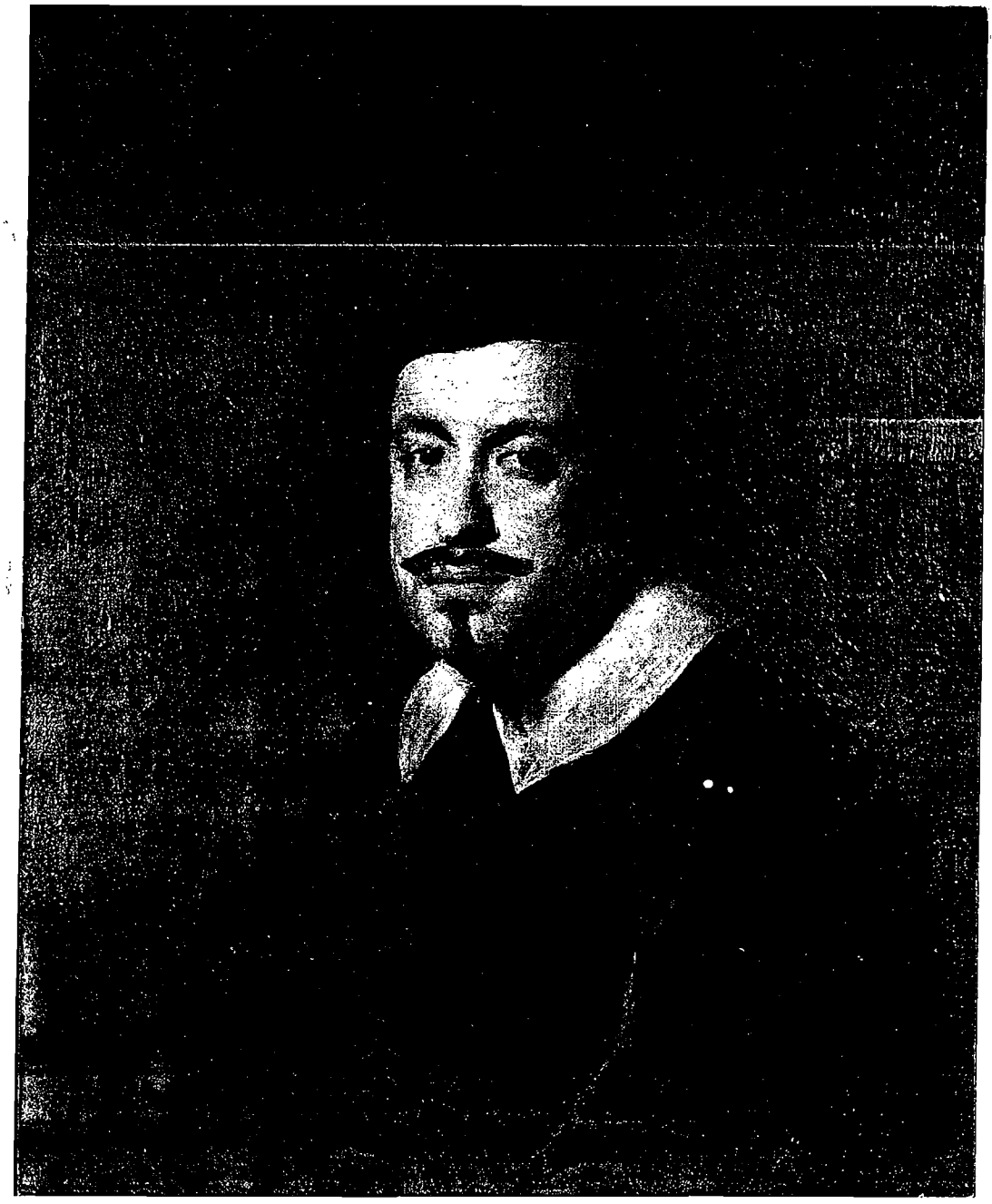
b. POUSSIN: The Sacrament of Marriage

CARDINAL CAMILLO MASSIMI
AND HIS PATRONAGE (*see Plates* 19 *and* 20) Plate 19

a. POUSSIN: Moses trampling on Pharaoh's crown

b. CLAUDE: View of Delphi with a procession

Plate 20



VELASQUEZ: Camillo Massimi

life, but in its more complex, intimate manifestations. Cassiano must have realised quite soon that he had in his service a painter who could do very much more than merely reproduce the remains of antiquity, and that Poussin was capable of breathing life into the old forms. For whatever his scholarly inclinations, Cassiano's taste in modern art was certainly not rigidly dogmatic or excessively pedantic. Indeed he fully appreciated the nostalgic associations of the antique: 'These remains of ancient buildings,' he wrote in 1629 of some *capricci* by Poussin's friend, Jean Lemaire, 'such as arches, the Colosseum, temples, aqueducts and such things are marvellously effective and give great delight.'[1] And he was also one of the most enthusiastic among that group of Roman connoisseurs who helped to launch the vogue for Venetian painting. The Genoese engraver Andrea Podestà dedicated to him a print taken from Titian's *Worship of Venus*; when that picture was sent to Spain in 1637 and Alessandro Varotari, 'il Padovanino', rushed to Rome to copy it, Cassiano acquired a number of pictures from the artist; and he maintained a watchful interest in the state of the Venetian picture market.[2] Indeed it was this combination of classical erudition and Venetian colour that was to prove so stimulating to Poussin. Cassiano was evidently keen that his favourite protégé should not adopt too dry a manner. 'Copy from the Carracci and leave your marbles', he is reported to have told him[3]—a significant choice, for Annibale Carracci had hitherto been the supreme interpreter of antique forms into acceptable seventeenth-century language.

All travellers to Rome were struck by the number of Poussins in Cassiano's collection—some fifty in all, according to the general estimate. Of those that have been identified a number are quite conventional in subject-matter, however fresh in treatment: a scene from Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*, a *Mars and Venus*, an *Aurora and Cephalus*—these all belonged to the stock repertoire of the seventeenth century. So too did many of the religious subjects—a *Sacrifice of Noah*, an *Assumption of the Virgin* and a *Mystic Marriage of St Catherine* possibly painted to celebrate one of his nieces Maria-Caterina. On the other hand there may well be far more recondite subjects among the pictures that have disappeared or that have not been directly associated with Cassiano. What of the *Sacrifice* mentioned by one traveller? This was a theme that enthralled Cassiano and that was recorded for him in many drawings. Or the *Bacchanals*? And even some of the many paintings so laconically referred to as *Landscapes* most likely contained mythological figures to give them deeper implications than mere records of nature, even though Cassiano did own some straightforward paintings of this kind. On the other hand, it is almost certainly a mistake to read too much esoteric significance into the nature of Cassiano's patronage of Poussin. On only very rare occasions do we have

[1] '. . . danno nell'occhio mirabilmente, e dilettano'—from a letter dated 3 November 1629 to Agnolo Galli in Florence for whom Cassiano was buying pictures—see Rinehart, 1961, p. 52.

[2] Haskell and Rinehart, 1960, but see also p. 100, note 2.

[3] According to Brienne in 1693-5—quoted by Thuillier, 1960, in *Actes du Colloque Poussin*, II, p. 210.

concrete evidence of his demands and then they were evidently simple, for we find Poussin writing to him from Paris[1]: 'I would like to be able to undertake the subject you propose of the *Marriage of Peleus* because it would be hard to find another giving the opportunity for greater invention than that (*plus pleine d'invention*).' In fact, the artist's really profound pictures were nearly all painted much later when he was working for different patrons. On the whole the very learned and subtle Cassiano certainly gave him the chance to widen and deepen his culture (Poussin acknowledged his debt as a 'pupil' of Cassiano's 'paper museum'), while himself commissioning a more conventional style of picture. There is little in Poussin's work before he made his visit to Paris between 1640 and 1642 to suggest that he was an isolated figure.

There are, however, two crucial exceptions to this estimate of the conservative nature of Cassiano's patronage. Among the papers in the Barberini library was a manuscript of Leonardo da Vinci's *Trattato della pittura*.[2] Cassiano who had seen the Florentine artist's *Leda* and *St John the Baptist* at Fontainebleau and who himself owned two portraits of women attributed to him—one of them apparently 'an indifferent copy' of the Mona Lisa—was deeply interested in this. In about 1635 he copied out the *Trattato* in his own hand and began to engage in correspondence with other scholars and owners of Leonardo manuscripts, notably the Barnabite monk Ambrogio Mazenta whose important collection had been dispersed even before his death and had then been largely reconstructed by Galeazzo Arconato, another acquaintance of Cassiano. His copy of the *Treatise* was designed for publication and he chose Poussin to illustrate Leonardo's notes. Though the resulting drawings are very fine, Poussin does not seem to have been enthusiastic about the task. His feelings about Leonardo were mixed, and in one angry outburst he exclaimed that 'anything of value in the book could be written in large letters on a single sheet of paper'. What in fact really irritated him was the actual publication. Cassiano kept the original drawings for himself and had them copied together with the version he had made of the manuscript. This set he gave to Poussin's friend, Paul Fréart de Chantelou, who took it to Paris where the *Treatise* was published in 1651. Poussin's vigorous drawings though far more finished than Leonardo's short-hand sketches were not considered elegant enough for the occasion. So before being engraved they were embellished by Charles Errard with architectural and landscape backgrounds, angrily described by Poussin as 'gaufes'. In fact, Poussin's real tribute to Leonardo was made many years after these drawings (though at about the same time as the publication) and took a very different form.

But by far the most startling of Poussin's work for Cassiano consisted in the series of the *Seven Sacraments* which he began to paint in the second half of the 1630s. Both the

[1] On 4 April 1642—see Poussin *Correspondance*, p. 130.

[2] For Poussin's reactions to Leonardo see the two articles by Jan Bialostocki, 1954 and 1960, and also Kate Trauman-Steinitz, 1953. For Cassiano's part in the venture see the important and little-known article by Enrico Carusi, 1929. There is a reference to Leonardo MSS. in one of the letters from Mazenta published by Lumbroso, p. 258. It is generally accepted that Cassiano's own version of the *Trattato* with Poussin's drawings is the one in the Ambrosiana, Milan [H 228 inf] and that the one given to Chantelou for publication is in the Hermitage, Leningrad.

general subject and Poussin's actual treatment of it are revolutionary events in the history of seventeenth-century painting. There are mediaeval precedents in sculpture, and very rare examples in Northern painting: in Italy the Sacraments had only once been painted as a series—in some frescoes ascribed to Roberto Oderisi in fourteenth-century Naples. But Poussin's iconography is quite new.

The *Seven Sacraments* have been acutely and rigorously analysed for the light that they throw on Poussin's religious views. Jansenism? Some schismatic sect? Possibly.[1] The artist had a stubborn mind capable of independent thought. But it is clear beyond any reasonable doubt that the idea for such an important set of paintings can only have come from Cassiano himself, and it is more than likely that he played a vital part in their development. It is thus worth trying to speculate what were his motives for the commission and what were his religious views in general. For Cassiano was in touch with artists and scholars of all kinds and we can perhaps trace echoes of his ideas in other works apart from those he ordered for himself.

The investigation is mysterious and treacherous, lit up only occasionally by fragments of gossip or confusing hints. Cassiano was the most prominent figure in the immediate entourage of the Barberini. But that was no guarantee of religious orthodoxy, as the French 'libertins', Jean-Jacques Bouchard, Gabriel Naudé and many others could readily testify.[2] They were among Cassiano's close friends. Was he then one of them, 'complètement déniaisé', one of those of whom Italy was full 'qui pénètrent le plus avant qu'il leur est possible dans la nature, et ne croyent rien plus'.[3] This is unlikely. Nowhere is he directly mentioned as sharing their beliefs by the French 'libertins', so keen (like all persecuted minorities) to proselytise.[4] In his jottings he insisted on the importance of decorum and expressed angry distaste for the kind of homosexual misbehaviour in church that most titillated and amused Bouchard and his friends.[5] He was by temperament a far graver, more serious man than they were. But that he knew of their beliefs we can hardly doubt. It was to Cassiano, 'viro nobilissimo eruditissimo et humanissimo' that Bouchard left not only his library and antiquities but also his private papers—those

[1] Blunt, 1967, pp. 177-207.

[2] See especially Chapter 2—'Les "déniaisés" d'Italie'—in Pintard's marvellous book on the subject.

[3] *Naudaeana*, p. 8.

[4] There is, however, one very strange passage in a letter from Peiresc to Monsieur de Saint-Saulveur dated 9 January 1635—III, p. 252: '. . . Je vous remercie trez humblement du soing que vous prenez des memoires du Cavalier del Pozzo pour les oeuvres de Baccon, dont il me mande avoir recouvré les considerations de la guerre d'Espagne, mais il m'en fauldra pourtant supleer un exemplaire pour moy si ne les avez desja envoyez, parce que le mien avoit passé les monts sur la demande du dict cavalier, ne l'ayant faict plus tost à cause de certaines paroles libertines que j'y avoys rencontrées. . . .' Unfortunately, it is not clear whether the 'paroles assez libertines' are attributed to Bacon or to Cassiano. Even allowing for the very widest interpretation that can be given to the word 'libertines' and assuming that in this case it means no more than 'politically suspect', it is still interesting to note that Cassiano was so keen to own the work and prepared, therefore, to risk the displeasure of the papal customs and police in getting it. I am most grateful to Professor Pintard for helping me to unravel the syntax and meaning of this quotation.

[5] Lumbroso, p. 207. After describing the incident in some detail he comments: 'tanto è poco il rispetto, che da questa sorte di gente alle chiese si porta.'

obscene and dangerously compromising documents that uncovered the coarse disbelief hidden under the professions of a potential bishop.[1] In 1641 we find Cassiano showing these to Christophe Dupuy, the prior of the Carthusian Order in Rome, a man who had known only the 'official' Bouchard 'whose conversation was so restrained'. Rather incoherently he wrote about this harrowing experience to his brother in Paris.[2] 'The Cavaliere dal Pozzo also showed me a large collection of the most impious verses that can be imagined in Latin, French and Italian; and with these was a collection of all the filth that can be envisaged, mostly of the kind that most pleases in this country, devilish things, so that when I began to glance at them, I was quite unable to continue any more, so horrified was I from the very beginning of the collection that I shut it up to send it back to the said Cavaliere, as I did that very hour.' We are not told whether Cassiano shared Dupuy's indignation. He can hardly have been surprised at the nature of his strange legacy.

It is, none the less, most unlikely that Cassiano himself was a 'libertin'. It is almost equally unlikely that he was a very convinced adherent of the orthodox religious views of his day. He was, after all, a passionate student of science, and when it came to a conflict between the papacy and the new thought, he showed where his sympathies lay. We find him writing in the most friendly spirit to his old colleague Galileo about a year after his condemnation by the Inquisition; and in 1641 he received a letter from the scientist, written 'from the Villa d'Arcetri, my unending prison and exile from town'. In this Galileo thanked Cassiano for including his portrait among those which he kept in his library.[3]

The serious pursuit of science certainly had its spiritual dangers as Cassiano's contemporaries recognised. There is surely something a little over-shrill in the page after page devoted by Carlo Dati, his Florentine disciple and friend, to the orthodoxy of his religious opinions and his detestation of alchemy.[4] How can anyone who studies Nature and Science, he asks rhetorically, 'not only not hate Atheism, but rather refrain from incessantly proclaiming and preaching the intoxicating greatness and goodness of the Almighty? Just as Cavalier Cassiano tirelessly exalted and demonstrated them with the most eloquent praise and the strongest arguments'. Certainly this was a possible, indeed a widely followed, response to the discoveries of science. Cassiano's great friend Gabriel Naudé was there to show that it was not the only one.

It is through the portraits (with suitable Latin inscriptions written by Naudé)

[1] Bouchard's will was published by Tamizey de Laroque in 1886. In it he leaves 'omnes libros meos manuscriptos, vel a me compositos' to Cardinal Francesco Barberini, but in fact he must have made an exception for his more dangerous papers. It is inconceivable that he can have meant them to be read by such an unlikely sympathiser. Moreover, Christophe Dupuy said that 'il laisse au dit Cavalier [dal Pozzo] tous ses escrits dont il faisoit un grand cas' (Pintard, p. 238), though in his will the only legacies to Cassiano that Bouchard mentions are his 'libros impressos', antiques, scientific instruments, etc. This suggests that he may actually have given his more private papers to Cassiano *before* his death, which would be still more compromising.

[2] Pintard, p. 238.

[3] Galilei, XVIII, pp. 290 and 296.

[4] Carlo Dati.

represented in Cassiano's collection that we can trace another of his unorthodox relationships.[1] In 1647 we find him pressing the scholar Paganino Gaudenzi to send him his likeness 'so that I can carry out my intention and with such a notable purchase increase the collection I have of the most illustrious men'. Some weeks later he acknowledges 'with the greatest pleasure [a portrait] which is very like and as it is derived from a most perfect original by the late Gherardo Saracini, the copy cannot help being good. . . . It will allow those who have not had the fortune to enjoy your pleasing and learned conversation at least to share your company in effigy . . .'.[2] As Cassiano well knew, however, Gaudenzi's conversation was likely to be unusually bold as well as 'pleasing and learned'. Some years earlier this former Calvinist of Grison origin, 'hardi et peu respectueux au Baronio' and a bitter enemy of the Jesuits, had come to conclusions in his History of the early church 'qui ne plaisent pas trop aux Ecclesiastiques de ce pays'.[3] Not surprisingly he had found it difficult to secure patronage at the papal court. The man who had done most to help him through his troubles had been Cassiano. Money was tight, he explained, owing to the 'unbelievable expenses of these gentlemen, especially our Cardinal Patron [Francesco Barberini]. I may speak quite freely with my Sig. Paganino. . . .' None the less he would do his best.[4]

It is not really surprising that Cassiano found Gaudenzi's work and ideas deeply interesting for he was always fascinated by the religious beliefs and rituals of different societies. His collection of antiques contained many examples of strange pagan imagery and we know that one of his volumes of drawings was entirely devoted to 'those objects which relate to the false opinions [of the ancients] as regards the Deity and sacrifices'. By extension he carried this interest into the forms of the early church and the society of his own day.[5] He himself gives us a direct clue to this attitude. 'To explain the purpose of my collecting them', he wrote,[6] 'I would put as a preface to my volumes of drawings copied from ancient marbles what P. Denis Petau wrote as a preface to his edition of the works of Julian the Apostate republished in Paris in 1630.' That devout and learned Jesuit had felt some alarm about his undertaking. There were people, he wrote in the preface designed to justify it, who said that no one should read the works of so wicked a man. But this was wrong. The true religion was now so firmly established that Julian represented no danger whatsoever. He could rather be read for the most interesting information he provided about early Christian practices.

This, no doubt, was what led Cassiano to commission the *Sacraments*. His devotion to the classics did not, as with so many scholars before and after, lead to a sort of neo-paganism. Rather, it encouraged in him a dispassionate enquiry into the fundamental

[1] *Epigrammata in virorum literarorum imagines, quaes Illustrissimus Eques Cassianus a Puteo sua in bibliotheca dedicavit, Cum appendicula variorum carminum*, Romae, excudebat Ludovicus Grignanus, 1641.

[2] Letters from Cassiano to Gaudenzi between 1641 and 1647 in Biblioteca Vaticana—Urb. Lat: 1626 and 1628, cc. 19, 89, 105 and 139, 164, 195, 200, 327.

[3] Pintard, pp. 251-3.

[4] As in note 2, above.

[5] Lumbroso, p. 165, points out Cassiano's interest in the ceremonial occasions of his own day.

[6] Lumbroso, p. 199.

rites of other religions. This was an attitude that could reconcile many differing viewpoints—his probably sincere if not ardent Christianity; his scholarship; his scientific enquiries; his 'libertin' connections. The marvellous solemnity of Poussin's paintings (Plate 18b) has, until recently, helped to disguise the fact that he took endless trouble to specify early and obscure Christian practices that were, however, certainly familiar to Cassiano and his learned friends. And although the motives for such accuracy were probably inspired mainly by historical curiosity—he took equal trouble to ensure exactitude in some of his pagan scenes of Sacrifices to Priapus and so on—it is perfectly possible that in his pursuit of authenticity he was driven to portray a kind of severe and purified religious imagery that was more acceptable to Cassiano than the flamboyant Baroque of some of his contemporaries. We know at least that he was enormously proud of the *Sacraments* and refused permission to have them copied.

This view of his beliefs is perhaps confirmed rather than belied by the unusual nature of some of the other sacred art produced under Cassiano's auspices. For, as was almost inevitable with a man of great culture and searching intelligence, his religious horizons must have been considerably wider than his position at the centre of the papal court might lead one to suppose. Besides Poussin's *Sacraments* there was also a print fulsomely dedicated to him by Pietro Testa, depicting a unique representation of the *Flight into Egypt* (Plate 18a).[1] In this the artist has relegated the figure of St Joseph to the background. Scarcely visible in the shadow of a huge gnarled tree which lifts its twisting branches to the very top of the sheet, he sleeps with his head resting on his hand while an angel appears to him and points out the route of his flight. The whole foreground is taken up by the Virgin, the Child, St Mary Magdalene and a host of angels and putti who stand or kneel in adoration of the Cross and the Instruments of the Passion. Above are God the Father and the Dove of the Holy Ghost. It was frequent enough in the imagery of the Counter Reformation to associate the Flight into Egypt with the Passion, as it was also with the Massacre of the Innocents—a theme which Testa himself treated in his masterpiece, a large and vigorous picture in the Spada Gallery.[2] In both instances, however, the artist has reversed the usual practice and has given the Flight itself an entirely subsidiary rôle. Such a treatment of the subject is unique, and Testa seems aware of the fact for he has found it necessary to provide a long explanation of his print. Despite the dedication there is no proof that Cassiano himself actually chose the subject. But Testa's other religious prints are all conventional enough and we can therefore assume that Cassiano was at least a willing recipient of such new ideas if not their positive inspirer. But what is the significance of the theme? In the whirling exuberant clusters of putti and angels who swarm above the Cross in the very centre of the composition and in the tender, almost child-like, simplicity of the kneeling Virgin it recalls a type of mysticism more common in Spain than in Italy. In sentiment it certainly stands at the opposite extreme from the austere world of Poussin's *Sacraments*. Yet the

[1] Bartsch, XX, p. 216.

[2] Zeri, 1954, p. 131. For other representations of *The Flight into Egypt* in seventeenth-century art see articles by Mitchell, 1938, and Voss, 1957, pp. 25-61.

work of both artists is linked by a common determination to move away from the more ordinary expressions of religious emotion to a private devotional imagery. And here surely we can trace the influence of Cassiano.

Testa, in fact, was anything but an ordinary artist and his tragic career brilliantly illuminates the fascination and power of Cassiano's inspiration. Like his close friend Poussin he was a stubborn, proud, self-educated man of independent views. He had come to Rome from his native Lucca when in his early twenties, sometime before 1630, and had at once drifted into the orbit of the private connoisseurs rather than the great patrons of the church.[1] He made a drawing for one of the prints of the *Galleria Giustiniani*, painted pictures for Marcello Sacchetti and members of the Lucchese community in Rome, especially the Buonvisi, and was taken up quite early in his career by Cassiano. This was the decisive point in his life. He was set to work drawing antiquities for the 'paper museum' and thereby acquired a vast classical culture which was only occasionally to prove of advantage to his art. For, unlike Poussin, Testa could not fuse a genuinely romantic temperament with an intellectually acquired classicism and thereby give added intensity to his recreation of antique myths. In him these opposing tendencies only rarely met to good purpose and then chiefly when he was under the direct impact of Poussin. His biographers all describe him as strange, solitary and melancholy, and his more attractive paintings reflect this side of his character—landscapes, above all, of Titianesque origin often disturbed by threatening winds, with small figures from the Old Testament or mythology sheltering from the elements or occasionally relaxing in the sun. In the intense intellectual climate of Cassiano's world such a 'frivolous' attitude may well have seemed insufficient—though more to a highly sensitive and self-conscious artist like Testa than to his patron. Indeed there is little reason to believe that Cassiano objected to such themes. Some of the landscapes that Poussin painted for him, though constructed on much more solid intellectual principles, have little more ideal content.[2] Yet the pressures in favour of classical painting were always strong wherever the theory of art was discussed. Salvator Rosa, himself probably influenced by Testa's romantic views, suffered bitterly from such conflicts, but for all his incessant grumbling he was a much tougher character and had a much wider clientèle. For Testa the clash seems to have been insuperable. He might perhaps have done better to escape from his excessively benevolent but oppressive patron. On one occasion he tried to do so—only to find himself in prison for breach of contract.[3]

And so he set about stifling one aspect, surely the most natural aspect, of his talent in order to concentrate on those ideas which he misguidedly felt would most appeal to

[1] Marabottini, 1954.

[2] Such as, for instance, the two landscapes formerly in Sir George Leon's collection published by Blunt in *Burlington Magazine*, 1945, p. 186. Contrary to Sir Anthony Blunt's opinion Denis Mahon suggests co ıvincing reasons for believing that these were painted in 1638–9 before the artist's visit to France—1961, p. 120.

It is all the same worth noting that though Cassiano made one passing reference to him (Lumbroso, p. 196), he evidently owned no landscape by Claude or by Testa's friend, Pier Francesco Mola, let alone Salvator Rosa.

[3] See Testa's letters from prison in September 1637 published by Bottari, I, pp. 358–61.

Cassiano's learned circle. He wrote a muddled *Treatise* on painting in which flashes of genuinely sensitive observation and a deeply felt love of colour alternate with second-hand doctrines 'that those arts which are nearest mathematics are the noblest because they are based on true reason. Of such is painting.' He put his increasingly classical ideas into practice, planning to represent in the apse of S. Martino ai Monti 'a glory of Paradise which should break away from the general custom started by Correggio. He wished to show it without clouds, for he said that it was a very serious mistake to surround the Throne of Light of the Trinity and the Home of the Blessed with clouds. For such places were havens of peace and everlasting serenity, and clouds only made them turbulent and dark.'[1] This was a direct attack on the whole Baroque tradition. Meanwhile the figures in his pictures became more and more hard and 'classical', and at the same time increasingly unpopular. In his discouragement he turned to engraving. Full of self-pity, he used all those trappings of antiquity which he had picked up on his drawing expeditions to portray 'the oppression of Virtue, the triumph of Vice, the misfortunes, the discomforts and the miseries of the Virtuous'.[2] Here, at last, he met with the success he deserved—but even that was bitter, for it only emphasised his failure as a large-scale painter. In an agony of despair he threw himself into the Tiber. Cassiano, who owned a number of pictures by him, summed up his career with a certain hard fairness: 'He was a good painter and an excellent draughtsman of the antique.'[3]

Testa's suicide took place in 1650. By this date Cassiano's own position had greatly changed. Under the régime of the Barberini he had been acknowledged as the most important private art patron in Rome and his reputation had travelled far beyond the frontiers of Italy. He was, wrote M. de Noyers, Surintendant des Bâtiments of the King of France, 'icy en un'estime singulière et tient lieu du chef des vertueux'.[4] Then in 1644 Urban VIII died. Cassiano recorded his last illness with a mixture of true scientific precision and deep regret for the head of a family which had so helped his career.[5] 'When the corpse was opened just two hours after the poor man's death they found six stones in his gall bladder, the largest of them the size of a cashew nut. . . . His heart was extraordinarily small, a sign of his vivacity and magnanimity, so the natural scientists say. . . .' With the flight of Cardinal Barberini his own official post, and part of his income, came to an end—though on the Cardinal's return to Rome he was reinstated.[6] Pope Innocent X was hostile both to associates of the Barberini and to the pursuits which appealed to Cassiano, as the latter acknowledged in a bitter comment.[7] Reluctantly or not, he was compelled to withdraw from 'the boring exercise of empty ceremonies'. In 1655 his friend Fabio Chigi was elected Pope Alexander VII, but by now

[1] Passeri, p. 187.
[2] *ibid.*, p. 186.
[3] Lumbroso, p. 211.
[4] Poussin: *Correspondance*, p. 34.
[5] Lumbroso, p. 185.
[6] In records of payments which appear to be dated 1656 he is listed in Cardinal Barberini's *famiglia*—Biblioteca Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 5635.
[7] Lumbroso, p. 202.

Cassiano's health was too weak to enjoy the revival of his fortunes. In 1657 he died, survived for more than thirty years by his brother Carlo Antonio.

It was all very well to withdraw from court life, but in the seventeenth century the arts were so closely linked to the centres of power that Cassiano's patronage suffered fully as much as his political status. Remarkably few pictures in his collection can be dated from after the death of Urban VIII and though he continued his scholarly and scientific activities as intensively as ever, his collection almost ceased to grow during the decade or so of activity that remained to him. Only the drawings after antiquity, made largely by secondary artists whose names have not survived, continued to enrich his museum. Poussin himself, after his return from Paris in 1642, now worked almost exclusively for the French friends and clients he had made on that unfortunate trip. Only one, though magnificent, picture was apparently painted by him for Cassiano during these years.[1] In 1651 the artist put to use the researches he had made into Leonardo's thought at Cassiano's behest many years earlier.[2] Clearly basing himself on a passage in the *Trattato* in which Leonardo describes the effects of a storm, Poussin wrote that he had painted 'un grand païsage, dans lequel . . . j'ai essayé de représenter une tempeste sur terre, imitant le mieux que j'ay pû l'effet d'un vent impétueux, d'un air rempli d'obscurité, de pluye, d'éclairs et de foudres qui tombent en plusieurs endroits non sans y faire du désordre. Toutes les figures qu'on y voit joûent leur personnage selon le temps qu'il fait. . . .' This picture was the *Tempest with Pyramus and Thisbe*, whose tragic story is portrayed in the foreground to introduce a note of human grief into the scene of natural desolation. In its wild, almost romantic, impetuosity, perhaps derived from the landscapes of his brother-in-law Gaspard Dughet, the picture is unique in Poussin's production and marks a worthy climax to his long co-operation with Cassiano. The two men went on seeing each other, but there is reason to believe that their friendship may have cooled.

Even in his retirement Cassiano naturally remained an influential figure. It was to him that the Archbishop of Tarso wrote in 1646 to announce the forthcoming visit of Velasquez, and the relationship between the two men probably resulted in an unfinished portrait.[3] But on the whole it was his encouragement of scholars that was most important, and that side of his activities cannot be discussed here.[4]

Cassiano was probably the first private patron in history to exert a serious influence on the arts of his day. Wielding no political authority and with only limited means he was yet able to give consistency to certain currents of taste which were undoubtedly shared by many others at the time but which were not those backed by the Court or the

[1] As stated in note 2, p. 111, Mr Mahon believes that the ex-Leon landscapes date from before Poussin's visit to Paris.

[2] See p. 106, note 2.

[3] Lumbroso, p. 314, and Haskell and Rinehart, 1960.

[4] For the eventual fate of the *Museum Chartaceum* see Vermeule, and Fleming, 1958, p. 164. The collection of paintings probably began to be dispersed not very long after Carlo Antonio's death in 1689—see Haskell and Rinehart, 1960. Only a small fraction of it can now be identified.

religious Orders. In its simplest form his taste can be summed up as 'classical', but in fact it was of sufficient intellectual and spiritual richness to imply far more than mere opposition to the prevalent course of Baroque art. Other men, such as his friend the archaeologist Francesco Angeloni with his large collection of medals and his drawings by Annibale Carracci, certainly endorsed this opposition but were not able to make of it anything constructive.[1] In Cassiano the very complexity, perhaps the very mystery, of his beliefs with their suggestions of hidden depths and contradictory forces, and the very width of his culture, open to ideas from all over Europe, could give valid inspiration to one of the most subtle of all seventeenth-century artists. Poussin was always ready to acknowledge his overwhelming debt to Cassiano, and it was, of course, he who gave lustre to his patron's collection. Without the fifty or so Poussins contemporary art would certainly not have made a specially good showing there; many other *amateurs* owned fine paintings by Vouet, Pietro da Cortona and Testa. But besides the work, which he actually owned, Cassiano's fertile ideas inspired many artists in whom he is not known to have taken a direct interest. There are, for instance, strangely beautiful drawings by the Genoese painter Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione, an admirer of Poussin, representing still unfathomed pagan ceremonies which must surely be derived from the 'paper museum'. There are the romantic landscapes by Testa's great friend, Pier Francesco Mola, which remind us that for all his intellectual interests Cassiano was among that group in Rome which had 'discovered' the beauties of Titian.

Unfortunately it was just this complexity in Cassiano's taste which was missed by the generation that followed and deeply admired him. Both the Italian critic Bellori and the French historian Félibien codified their enthusiasm for Poussin into a dogma. They paid attention only to the classical theorist and tended increasingly to ignore the other sides to him which had been appreciated by Cassiano. It is interesting to speculate whether, in fact, Cassiano's relative neglect of Poussin after his return from Paris was only due to the extreme pressure of work on the artist. Can it be that, despite his special admiration of the *Sacraments*, he did not altogether approve of the rigorous austerity of much of Poussin's figure painting at this time? It is certainly true that the one work he did commission from him, *The Tempest with Pyramus and Thisbe*, is striking as much for its romanticism as its learning, and it is notable that he owned copies of two or three of his 'heroic' landscapes painted between 1648 and 1651 but of nothing else.[2]

– iii –

This more picturesque tendency is well brought out if dal Pozzo's pictures are compared with two that were painted by Poussin soon after his return from Paris for his one other considerable Italian patron, Camillo Massimi. *Moses trampling on Pharaoh's Crown*

[1] There are frequent references to Angeloni by Cassiano himself (Lumbroso, p. 200), Poussin (*Correspondance—passim*) and other contemporaries. See Mahon, 1947, pp. 144 ff., and also later Chapter 6.

[2] See Sheila Rinehart in *Actes*, 1961, pp. 19-30. The pictures are versions of the *Landscape with Woman washing her Feet* (Ottawa), *Funeral of Phocion* (collection of Lord Plymouth), and possibly of the *Landscape with Man killed by Serpent* (National Gallery, London), though this has perhaps been confused with the (original) *Landscape with Man fleeing from Serpent* (Montreal).

(Plate 19a) and *Moses changing Aaron's Rod into a Serpent* are treated in his most uncompromisingly severe and learned manner. In both cases the colours are harsh and the dramatic events are frozen into a stiff, rhetorical formula. Rarely, if ever, did he paint concentrated action so tensely. The subjects are of equal interest. Though *Moses and Aaron's Rod* had appeared from time to time in art, the scene where as a child he accidentally trampled on Pharaoh's crown and only just escaped being stabbed to death was very rare. The story which does not occur in the Bible was taken from Josephus,[1] and although episodes from the life of Moses clearly obsessed Poussin he had never painted any for Cassiano dal Pozzo. His choice of this exceptional scene certainly suggests an exceptional patron. Such was indeed the case.

Camillo (*né* Carlo) Massimi was born in 1620 from a branch of one of the oldest and most distinguished of all Roman families.[2] He received a sound humanist education from private tutors and at the Sapienza. When aged 20 he succeeded to the estate of his cousin Camillo and took his name. This fact is of some interest for the elder Camillo had been the nephew, companion and testamentary executor of Vincenzo Giustiniani to whom the younger Camillo—the subject of this study—was himself slightly more distantly related through his grandmother. There is thus a direct link between the first and the last of the great Roman patrons of the seventeenth century, and there can be little doubt that Camillo inherited his love of art and antiquities—as well as a sizeable income—from his distinguished ancestor.

The two pictures by Poussin must have been among Camillo Massimi's earliest commissions, given at the very outset of his advancement which began with the downfall of the Barberini and the election of Giambattista Pamfili as Pope Innocent X in 1644. Almost at once Massimi, though still only in his twenties, began to gravitate round the centre of the new court and above all to give evidence of his considerable taste for the arts. It was during these years that he also acquired a large number of drawings by Poussin that had originally been commissioned by the painter's first known admirer, the poet Giambattista Marino. They consisted mainly of mythological subjects loosely inspired by Marino's most famous poem, the *Adone*. Marino bequeathed them to some unidentified friend, possibly Cassiano dal Pozzo, and when the French writer Félibien was in Rome, between 1647 and 1650, they belonged to Massimi, 'who kept them most carefully among several others by Poussin's hand.'[3]

[1] *Exposition Poussin*, p. 109.

[2] For Camillo Massimi see Litta, Moroni and the Abbate Michele Giustiniani, III, p. 319. To save future researchers the futile labour in which I have had to engage I would point out that Moroni is mistaken in his reference to a life of Massimi by Luca Bartolotti published at Asti in 1677. This book is, in actual fact, a biography of Cardinal Bona *dedicated to* Massimi. For other important references to him see Patrignani, 1948. The inventory of Massimi's collections was published in part by Orbaan, 1920, pp. 515-22. A photographic copy of the original (Biblioteca Vaticana: Capponi Lat. 260) is in the Library of the Warburg Institute.

For the first Camillo see Abbate Michele Giustiniani, II, pp. 62-3, and the will of Vincenzo Giustiniani in the Archivio di Stato, Roma—Archivio Giustiniani, Busta 10, n. 39.

[3] For the history of these drawings see Blunt, 1945, p. 32. Blunt has also shown (*ibid.*, p. 45) that Massimi must have been in contact with Poussin even before 1640.

Camillo Massimi was also one of the rare connoisseurs who appreciated the pictures of Claude as well as those of Poussin. This was a taste not always easy to gratify, for Claude was in constant and overwhelming demand from the highly placed and powerful. The yearly records of his patrons read like a guide to the varying fortunes and revolutions of social and political life in seventeenth-century Italy and France. A spate of those magical, sunlit landscapes would make life yet more pleasant for the successful; there would be none to comfort his disgrace. However, in the late 1640s Massimi's star was in the ascendant, and we find his name along with Camillo Pamfili and other new ones among the lists of Claude's clients. Two large pictures of *Argus guarding Io* and *A Coast View with Apollo and the Cumaean Sibyl* testify to his love of unusual subjects in pagan as well as sacred literature. Like Poussin's scenes from the life of Moses they may well conceal some more complex allusion to his own circumstances.[1]

There is another wonderful memorial to Massimi's success and perspicacity in these years. In 1649 Velasquez arrived in Rome.[2] We know that he was greeted by Francesco Barberini and Cassiano dal Pozzo—but that his principal portraits were all of members of the new régime: unforgettably, of course, of Innocent X, but also of Camillo Massimi (Plate 20). Though all reports speak of Massimi as a highly cultivated and attractive man, it must be admitted that the bulbous features, the thick, heavy nose and lips, the dark, unshapely moustache all suggest rather a surly and coarse character. He himself must, however, have been well satisfied, for he formed a close friendship with Velasquez that was to bear fruit somewhat later. He also acquired from the painter a portrait of Donna Olimpia, the Pope's greedy, ambitious and overbearing sister-in-law whose influence at court entertained and outraged the Roman newswriters.

In 1653 Massimi, who thus at the age of 33 owned some half-dozen masterpieces by three of the greatest painters of his (or any other) time, was made Patriarch of Jerusalem and a year later was sent as Nunzio to Spain. And now, for the first time, his brilliant career received a setback. Intrigues by the Spanish ambassador in Rome led to Philip IV refusing to receive him at court on the grounds that he was too friendly with the French. For a year he was forced to live in a small town between Valencia and Madrid. While negotiations proceeded he sought relaxation by visiting the local antiquities, a Roman theatre, fragments of statues and other ruins. He showed a certain contempt for prevalent standards of scholarship and took pleasure in deciphering Hebrew and other inscriptions for the researches of his learned friends in Italy.[3] While still waiting to be received in Madrid, he wrote to Velasquez and received a most friendly reply. With some courage the artist offered to be of service in any way he could and looked forward to seeing his former patron at court.[4]

This became possible only in 1655 after the accession of the new Pope, Alexander VII, and at some stage during the next few years Velasquez painted four more pictures

[1] Lord Leicester Collection and the Hermitage, Leningrad—see Röthlisberger, 1961, p. 240.

[2] Enriqueta Harris in *Burlington Magazine*, 1958, p. 299.

[3] Abbate Michele Giustiniani, II, p. 471. He had also taken with him the miniaturist Antonio Maria Antonazzi—MS. inventory of Antonio degli Effetti referred to in note 2, p. 156.

[4] Enriqueta Harris in *Burlington Magazine*, 1960, p. 162.

for Massimi—portraits of the King and Queen and of two Infantas. The purchase of these and of various jewels and other *objets d'art* must, however, have seemed the only benefits arising from his new circumstances. For Massimi's service as active Nunzio was almost as unproductive as his earlier humiliation. As if to belie his damaging reputation he wholeheartedly backed the Spaniards in their quarrels with France. Naturally enough the French, who were everywhere taking the initiative in Europe and who were about to seal the new balance of power through the Peace of the Pyrenees, protested violently. So too did the Venetians. Unfortunately for Massimi, a change of Pope in Rome had, as so often happened, led to a change in policy. Alexander VII was making great efforts to conciliate the Venetians, who had agreed to re-admit the Jesuits into their territory for the first time since their expulsion some fifty years earlier, and he was most anxious to avoid offending the French whenever possible. In 1658 Massimi was recalled to Rome and was given no further job for the next twelve years.

Disgrace, as always, led to difficulties in procuring work from the most fashionable modern artists. We hear little of Camillo Massimi's patronage during these years, and there is no doubt that he was now concentrating primarily on his library and his wonderful collection of antiquities. In many ways he seems to have been deliberately assuming the rôle left vacant by the death of Cassiano dal Pozzo whom he had known and accompanied on his visits to connoisseurs.[1] He too arranged for copies to be made of many of the older Roman buildings and paintings,[2] and above all he too enjoyed the closest relationship possible with Poussin, one of the only artists in the city whose independence allowed him to remain comparatively unaffected by changes in status among his clients. It may well have been now—and possibly even from the heirs of Cassiano, though there is no direct evidence for this—that he acquired a pair of that painter's most beautiful early works, whose melancholy mood if not actually moral was particularly appropriate to the circumstances of his own chequered career: the *King Midas washing his Face in the River Pactolus* and the first version of the *Arcadian Shepherds*, 'the one warning against a mad desire for riches at the expense of the more real values of life, the other against a thoughtless enjoyment of pleasures soon to be ended'.[3] Certainly the two men established a very close friendship. Bellori gives us a charming picture of Poussin showing Massimi downstairs late one night after they had been talking together in his studio[4]—Massimi was an amateur artist and probably took lessons from him[5]—and Poussin must have made many visits to Massimi's library when working on the increasingly abstruse pictures of his final years. One such—the very last of all and left uncompleted—he gave to Massimi in 1664 shortly before dying. This is the

[1] Lumbroso, p. 228.

[2] Thus he owned 160 drawings by Pietro Santo Bartoli of antique paintings—Michaelis, p. 50.

[3] For a discussion of these pictures, whose original patron is not known, see Blunt, 1938 and Panofsky, 1957.

[4] Bellori, p. 441.

[5] 'è di ottimo gusto, come intelligentissimo della pittura, disegnando egli di sua mano perfettissimamente et è partiale del signor Carlo Maratta' wrote the Resident of the Duke of Savoy in 1675—see Claretta, 1885, p. 550. For Massimi's lessons from Poussin see the inscription on the artist's self-portrait drawing in the British Museum.

Apollo and Daphne in which with a wealth of classical allusion which has still not been fully interpreted he summed up a theme that had long fascinated him: the conflict between fertility and sterility.[1]

In 1670 there was another sudden change in Massimi's fortunes. The newly elected Pope Clement X made him simultaneously Cardinal and Maestro di Camera. Massimi, who now began to shine 'no less for the troubles he has sustained with nobility and prudence than for the glory with which he has overcome them,'[2] celebrated the occasion by having his portrait painted by Carlo Maratta, the most distinguished representative of the classical trend in Roman painting. He commissioned several other works by this artist who was now his favourite, and when his connoisseurship was officially recognised and he was asked by the Altieri to superintend the decoration of their new palace (the kind of post held by Cardinal Bentivoglio nearly half a century earlier) he obtained for him the most important and influential opportunity in Rome—the main ceiling fresco depicting the *Allegory of Clemency*. This decoration, based on a punning allusion to the name assumed by the Pope, became a model for court art all over Europe.[3]

Massimi was now at the very centre of social life. He reorganised the most famous of Roman academies, the Umoristi, which had fallen into decay,[4] and he was at last in a position to obtain further work from Claude. In 1673 and 1674 that artist painted two large pictures for him—of pagan subjects as he always had for Massimi: *A View of Delphi with a Procession* (Plate 19b) taken from the obscure historian Justinus and obviously chosen for him by his patron, and *A Coast View with Perseus and the Origin of Coral*. The subject of this, possibly the most magical painting in the whole range of Claude's *œuvre*, was significant because Massimi already owned a drawing of it by Poussin in the volume he had acquired from the successors of Marino.[5]

In 1677 Massimi undertook the enterprise which most struck the imagination of his contemporaries. He had copies made by Pietro Santo Bartoli of the illustrations of one of the oldest and most famous manuscripts in the Vatican library—a late antique edition of Virgil.[6] This was to be his last service to the arts, for within a few months he was dead. His younger brother inherited his collections and his debts. He rapidly disposed of the former to liquidate the latter. Among the purchasers of some of the finest pictures, drawings and antiquities were the King of France, the Spanish Viceroy of Naples and an English gentleman, Dr Richard Mead. The transaction is almost symbolic. There were, of course, other important collectors in Rome at the time, but they were becoming increasingly rare. The combination of wealth, enthusiasm, catholicity of taste and discrimination that had marked the leading Italian patrons of

[1] Bellori, p. 444, and Blunt in *Journal of Warburg Institute*, 1944, pp. 165 ff.

[2] Barozzi e Berchet, II, p. 359: Antonio Grimani, 1671.

[3] See Chapter 6.

[4] Abbate Michele Giustiniani, III, p. 567.

[5] Röthlisberger, 1961, pp. 428 and 433. The pictures are now in the Chicago Art Institute and Lord Leicester Collection. Cassiano dal Pozzo had also owned a painting by Pietro da Cortona of the *Origin of Coral* the precise significance of which for seventeenth-century connoisseurs is not quite clear.

[6] The plates were not published until 1725 and were republished with a text by Bottari in 1741—de Nolhac, p. 25.

the seventeenth century did not really survive Massimi, and a largely new tradition had to be forged again in the neo-classical period. Opulence certainly continued; and also pedantry. But neither had been the distinguishing marks of the tradition that has here been examined. Massimi, a relation of Vincenzo Giustiniani and a friend of Cassiano dal Pozzo, had carried their principles into the last great creative period of Baroque art. With his masterpieces by Claude, Poussin and Velasquez, he was able to prove that a love of classical antiquity need in no way inhibit an appreciation of the most vital painting of his own day, and that profound learning and creative inspiration were not mutually exclusive.