

Part II
DISPERSAL



Chapter 7

THE INTERVENTION OF EUROPE

- i -

IN 1669, five years after his bitter complaints about the impossibility of finding a patron in Rome, Salvator Rosa was writing to his loyal and long suffering friend G. B. Ricciardi that 'every day I have to turn down commissions (and important ones at that) from all over Europe'.¹ And indeed the patronage that the popes found increasingly difficult to maintain owing to the catastrophic financial and political decline of Rome was being taken over by a wide variety of figures from outside Italy.² Within a relatively short time a recession, so critical that it might well have inhibited the whole future of large-scale painting in Italy and turned the peninsula into a provincial back-water, was halted by foreign intervention and then actually reversed. Italian painters were soon in greater demand than ever before and they were quick to take advantage of the situation. In Messina, Don Antonio Ruffo was severely snubbed when, in 1671, he tried to get a picture from the Venetian Girolamo Forabosco.³ He would have to wait two years and he would have to pay 80 *doppie* for two half-length figures. It was no use, he was told, asking a painter of Forabosco's standing for cheaper work, as he was daily implored by the greatest princes in Europe to send them something. They were ready to pay anything he asked for the smallest head and they considered it a real favour to own anything by him at all. . . .

Blackmail of this kind was already commonplace. By the end of the century there were few Italian artists who did not rely upon foreign clients for a significant proportion of their commissions. Some lived in their native cities and painted for the princes and viceroys of Germany and Spain. Others found it more profitable to leave and settle in new countries. By playing off their Italian and many foreign patrons against each other these artists could claim exorbitant terms.⁴ Soon after the turn of the century the Bolognese painter G. M. Crespi wrote to the Prince of Liechtenstein who wanted him to come to Vienna to help in the decoration of his palace that 'I will be delighted to accept the proposed honour provided that suitable arrangements can be made between him who gives the orders and him whose duty it is to serve'.⁵ He then laid down his conditions: he refused to work in collaboration with an architectural painter; his

¹ Letter of 8 June 1669—De Rinaldis, 1939, p. 221.

² Haskell, 1959.

³ Ruffo, p. 289.

⁴ See, for instance, the case of Albani as reported to Don Cesare Leopardi d'Osimo as early as 1647: 'non la può servire sollecitamente perchè ha obbligo di alcune altre pitture da finire per varj Personaggi, per Francia, Spagna, et Italia. . . .—Gualandi, I, p. 38.

⁵ Miller, 1960, p. 530.

travelling expenses and those of his servant must be paid in full; both of them must be lodged in the palace which was to be painted; he must be given two hundred Spanish *doppie* for every space to be filled. And so the list proceeded. Crespi was exceptionally successful, and not all artists could afford to adopt such an independent attitude. In fact, in the artistic as in other fields, the law of supply and demand was relentless, but it operated with painful clumsiness. Some foreign princes were disappointed after repeated and strenuous attempts to attract a painter; some painters of equal merit were unable, despite the most sycophantic perseverance, to arouse sufficient interest in the courts of Europe. But in general the outlines are clear enough. Until the downfall of the Barberini the opportunities for work in Rome were so great that few foreign rulers had much chance of success when competing with the popes. With the decline of papal patronage, however, the situation was reversed and many painters became aware of the fact that there were greater opportunities for them abroad.

- ii -

Ever since the High Renaissance the complete predominance of Italian art over that of all other countries had been accepted without question by the rest of Europe. During much of the sixteenth century rulers such as François I, Charles V and Philip II had spent large sums in building up collections of paintings which they acquired either through agents or directly from the artist. No one yet believed in the superiority of the 'Old Master', but after the deaths of Titian and Michelangelo there was a general recognition that a great creative period had come to an end, and work by these artists continued to be revered and avidly sought for in a way that had hitherto occurred only with Raphael. None the less many modern painters were still greatly esteemed, and artists from all over Europe were drawn to Italy as much by the reputations of her existing masters as by the memory of those who had only recently died. And then, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, new stars appeared on the horizon. 'Some painters have made marvellous progress and improved their art', wrote the Flemish artist Carel van Mander in Amsterdam¹; 'among them there is one called Carracci, who is lodged by the illustrious Cardinal Farnese for whom he has painted many excellent works, especially a beautiful gallery which is so exquisitely painted in fresco that people say that it surpasses the manner of all other artists and that its beauty cannot be expressed. Another man working in Rome is someone called Michelangelo da Caravaggio, who does wonderful things. . . .' Such was the heady news that reached the North and turned the concentration of patrons once more to Rome and to Italy.

Throughout the first three or four decades of the seventeenth century we find frequent references in artistic literature to the odd commission from abroad, but these were busy times in Rome itself and few foreign princes could make much of an impact. Only one power was so firmly established in the peninsula that her rulers could compete on almost equal terms with the popes for the services of the leading Italian artists. Lords of Milan and Naples, enjoying the closest economic collaboration with Genoa and able

¹ Vaes, 1931, p. 202.

at times to apply decisive pressure on Rome, the Spaniards commissioned important works from painters in all four cities. It was in Naples, above all, that they were active. The viceroys maintained there a form of government which is still proverbial for its combination of ceremonial and exploitation, and in these conditions the visual arts flourished as never before. Moreover, Spanish love of the picaresque and a tendency to mock that classical mythology which still meant so much to Italian humanists gave a special imprint to painting in the city, exemplified in the cruel realism and grimy 'philosophers' of Ribera and his followers. The viceroys, almost without exception, employed these artists to decorate churches, palaces and galleries, and on their return to Spain they took back with them large and influential collections.

It was, however, a frequent practice to appoint as viceroy a man who had already served for some years as ambassador in Rome,¹ and this sometimes led to his developing a taste at odds with that of the subjects whom he later ruled. We find a striking example of this in the career of the Count of Monterey, the most conspicuous Spanish patron in Italy during the first half of the century. This small, vain, greedy man, whose features showed 'a certain ugly majesty', owed his position to the influence of his brother-in-law, the King's favourite, Count-Duke Olivarez.² In Rome, where he welcomed Velasquez in 1630, he purchased 'une infinité de beaus originaux de Raphaël et du Titien et autres excellents peintres',³ among which were two pictures of such outstanding importance that they were perforce acquired for the King. Titian's *Bacchanal* and *Worship of Venus*, which had so intoxicated Roman artists when in the collection of Cardinal Aldobrandini, had passed into the possession of the Hispanophil Ludovisi family. It was from them that Monterey managed to buy these masterpieces to the natural grief and indignation of all Italians.⁴

Monterey had also made contact with a number of contemporary painters and sculptors and when he was transferred to Naples in 1631 he wished to go on employing them. This was not altogether easy. Neapolitan artists were ferociously jealous of competition and were prepared to threaten violence in order to enforce their monopoly of local commissions. When Domenichino came to the city in 1631 to paint frescoes in the cathedral, he found himself compelled to seek the Viceroy's protection. This Monterey was prepared to give on his own terms: he insisted on the artist breaking his contract with the ecclesiastical authorities and working for him instead.⁵ Lanfranco, who had come to Naples to paint frescoes in the Jesuit church, was also employed by Monterey, who commissioned from him pictures in his palace and altarpieces for the Augustinian convent and church which he had founded in Salamanca.⁶ When the sculptor Giuliano Finelli, of Neapolitan parentage, came from Rome to work in the

¹ Colapietra, p. 30.

² Capecelatro, p. 94.

³ Jean-Jacques Bouchard—Marcheix, p. 61.

⁴ J. Walker, p. 78.

⁵ Passeri, pp. 61 and 64, note 3.

⁶ *ibid.*, p. 157; Trapier, p. 109. A series of ancient Roman scenes painted for the King of Spain is now in the Prado (Nos. 234-236), some of which are by Lanfranco.

Cathedral he too was at once taken up by the Viceroy, who commissioned life-size portraits of himself and his wife. He then used his influence with the Cathedral authorities to get Finelli a far larger share in the decoration than had originally been planned, though this met with the strongest opposition from the local sculptor Cosimo Fanzago.¹

Monterey's preference for the artists he had known in Rome did not, however, cause him to neglect the Neapolitan school. In particular he employed his compatriot Ribera on a number of altarpieces for his Augustinian church. But it is possible that the new Baroque composition and much lighter tonality of these pictures represented a concession by the artist to Monterey's clearly demonstrated admiration for Roman and Venetian painting. Certainly he, like other painters in the city, owed much to this Viceroy's patronage.² And as the Neapolitans watched him depart in 1637 with his forty shiploads of booty they must have had mixed feelings. Even by the standards to which they were accustomed he was outstanding for the zeal and ingenuity with which he had drained his provinces of men and money to help the Spanish cause during the Thirty Years War. Yet his extravagance and greed had undoubtedly given the arts a remarkable stimulus—and there might well be worse to come.

During all this time King Philip IV, whose appetite for painting was by no means satiated by the employment of Rubens and Velasquez, remained deeply interested in the Roman scene. In 1628 his ambassador commissioned one of Guido Reni's largest, most splendid and romantic compositions, *The Abduction of Helen*, to be followed three years later by an even finer pendant of *The Death of Dido* from Guercino in Bologna; but owing to some diplomatic confusion neither picture was sent to Madrid.³ Then, in about 1636, an agent of the King negotiated an ambitious commission for a set of more than a dozen large landscape paintings each of which was to include the figure of some hermit or anchorite.⁴ These were designed to decorate the palace of Buen Retiro which was being built at this very time on the site of a monastery of Jeronymites. The choice of subjects given to the artists is therefore self-explanatory: equally clear is the reason why Philip found it necessary to turn to Rome for the series. The type of picture in which landscape and figures balance each other in composition and echo each other in mood had been created in Venice in the early sixteenth century and then largely neglected until its reappearance in Rome about a hundred years later. Though the initial impulse for this revival had come from the classically minded Annibale Carracci and Domenichino, the convention had been greatly enriched by the more picturesque and irrational contributions of Northern artists, who by the 1620s and 1630s enjoyed almost a monopoly of the genre. It was practised mainly by the young Claude, by a number of Flemish painters, of whom the most-distinguished was probably Jan Both, and, to a lesser extent, by Nicolas Poussin. All of them were only just beginning to makenames for themselves and it was precisely to them that the King of Spain now turned.

¹ Passeri, p. 251.

² Trapier, p. 72.

³ Costello, p. 247.

⁴ Röthlisberger, 1961, I, pp. 155-60; Blunt, 1959, pp. 389-90.

It has been acutely pointed out by M. Marcel Röthlisberger that only a man who was in close touch with the very latest developments in Roman art and also fully aware of Philip IV's requirements could have been responsible for such an adventurous commission; and the same author has indicated one man who had both these qualifications. Giovanni Battista Crescenzi, who was born in 1577, came of a noble Roman family. His brother was a cardinal and the two men were not only enthusiastic patrons and collectors but also among the very first to employ Claude, who painted frescoes in their palace. Moreover, both were devoted to the Spanish cause. Giovanni Battista went to Spain 'ostensibly to serve as an architect, but some say that this is a pretext and that what he really plans to build is his [the Cardinal's] career as Pope'.¹ The Venetian ambassador was being too suspicious, for Crescenzi really did practise architecture and he played an essential rôle in the building of the Buen Retiro. It is therefore more than likely that either he himself, on a quick visit to Rome, or his brother, who was living there, ordered the landscapes. This was, in any case, the most important foreign commission placed in Italy during the first half of the seventeenth century. For Claude it was decisive. In all he painted several other large landscapes, besides those with hermits, for the King of Spain, and these firmly secured his reputation as the leading practitioner in the genre. Poussin painted one or possibly two which were among his earliest ventures into the field, and, in general, the whole school of landscape painting was given a vital impulse which helped to establish its respectability.

Only one other nation was in a position to rival Spain in the claims that it could make on Italian artists. Throughout the century French monarchs, statesmen and princes kept at least one eye turned to the south, but the extent of their actual patronage varied greatly with the confusing developments of international politics.

'On dit que je suis chiche, mais je fais trois choses bien éloignées d'avarice, car je fais la guerre, je fais l'amour et je bâtis', boasted Henry IV.² His assertion of the royal supremacy through great works of architecture was of revolutionary and decisive importance for the whole history of Paris; but, consciously or not, it was an essentially 'patriotic' programme, put into effect almost entirely by French architects and craftsmen—the first large-scale enterprise of the kind to be executed without Italian help or even specific Italian models in mind. Such a policy was justified by its triumphant success; but in the field of painting it led only to the provincial decoration of latter-day Mannerists such as Toussaint du Breuil and Ambroise Dubois. Henri's wife, however, was not a Medici for nothing, and it was largely under her guidance that a certain Italian influence began to make itself felt in Paris.

Historians are agreed that Marie de Medici was never very intelligent and always excessively stubborn in defence of the two causes that were nearest her heart: pleasure and power.³ Nor was her taste in any way remarkable. But she was closely related to two of the most cultivated families in Italy—the Medici in Florence (she was the niece

¹ Barozzi e Berchet, I, p. 242.

² Crozet, p. 49.

³ Batifol; Tapié, p. 67.

of Grand Duke Ferdinand) and the Gonzaga in Mantua (her sister married Duke Vincenzo)—and she was able to put these connections to good use. On her arrival in Paris in 1601 she was horrified by the Louvre—‘more fit for a prison than for the home of a great prince’—and she stayed for a time in the splendid palace of the Gondi, a Florentine family which had settled in Paris some fifty years earlier. The garden especially was famous and the King was so struck by a fountain of *Orpheus enchanting the wild beasts*, made by the Flemish-Florentine sculptor Pietro Francavilla, that he summoned him to Paris where he soon arrived with his assistant and future son-in-law Francesco Bordoni.¹ It was in 1604 that Marie undertook her first important service to the arts. She persuaded her uncle the Grand Duke to commission an equestrian statue of Henri IV from Francavilla’s master, Giambologna. This was to be placed on the newly built Pont Neuf. So impatient was she for the monument to arrive that she even asked Ferdinand to dismantle the one that had been made for himself and to send her the horse on which sat his own effigy. She explained that there would be plenty of opportunity for him to have it replaced at leisure. It need hardly be said that this request was not granted, and the monument, which was completed by Pietro Tacca and Francavilla, did not arrive for another ten years.²

From Florence Marie then turned her attention to Mantua and summoned to Paris the painter who is most associated with the earlier part of her reign, the Flemish Franz Pourbus the Younger. He arrived in 1609 and painted many portraits of her and the court. On the whole, however, while Henri IV was still alive, Marie confined her artistic interests largely to jewelry, silverware and other crafts. But after his assassination in 1610 she grew more ambitious as her regency became ever more disastrous. In 1611 she ordered her architect Salomon de Brosse to build for her a huge palace on the site of the one which she had bought from the duc du Luxembourg. Once again she looked to Florence for inspiration and she wrote to her aunt the Grand Duchess for the plans of the Palazzo Pitti on which she hoped that the new building would be based.³ In fact it was designed on wholly different lines and the work was in any case held up by the internal problems in which she soon became involved. By 1620 she was back in power and anxious to impress the world with the nature of her triumph. This she did through a commission so spectacular in conception and achievement that it overshadows everything else in her life. It was in 1621 that Rubens, himself probably chosen because of his connections with the court of Mantua, was approached and asked to paint the two long galleries in her new palace with allegorical scenes of her life and that of her husband. The project is of such immeasurable importance that it must at least be referred to; yet, in a chapter devoted to the work of Italian artists, more attention must inevitably be paid to another painter who entered her service not long afterwards, the Tuscan Orazio Gentileschi.⁴ He arrived in 1623 after sending a picture in advance from Genoa, and

¹ Baldinucci, IV, 1688, pp. 206–7; Desjardins, p. 49; Dhanens.

² Desjardins, p. 50. The monument was destroyed in 1792. In 1559 Catherine de’ Medici had commissioned an equestrian statue of Henri II from Michelangelo, but this was never executed. Tacca later made a similar monument for Philip III of Spain.

³ Batiffol, p. 430.

⁴ Sterling, pp. 112–20.

stayed for less than two years, discouraged no doubt by the welcome given to Rubens. During that time, however, he painted a number of pictures, the influence of which has been traced on the styles of artists as different as Louis Le Nain, Laurent de la Hyre and Philippe de Champaigne. Only one certain commission from Marie de Medici survives, but it is entirely typical of her interests at this time. It is a large allegorical painting of *Public Felicity triumphant over Dangers* (Plate 25)—a magnificent female figure holding the attributes of French royalty who gazes, defiant and yet serene, at the tempestuous storm clouds above her.

Marie de Medici was not the only ruler who was obsessively concerned with the promotion of her personal prestige. In 1624, while Rubens and Gentileschi were making use of all their gifts to this effect, her nephew Ferdinando, now Duke of Mantua, was worried by similar problems. He was most anxious to be addressed as 'Altesse' by the French court and he wrote to his ambassador in Paris for advice.¹ In reply he was told that pictures for the new palace would make a suitable gift. This answer must have delighted him, for Ferdinando like his father Vincenzo was a fanatical collector and patron who employed many of the leading artists in Italy, above all that most sensitive and poetic of painters Domenico Fetti. He therefore proposed sending ten pictures of Apollo and the Muses which Giovanni Baglione had brought with him from Rome a few years earlier. Marie especially asked that the Muses should not be 'tout à fait nues, ni trop lascives', but otherwise her reactions to the bribe are not known. On one man, however, they did make a great, if only indirect, impact. They turned the attention of her minister, Cardinal Richelieu, to Mantua whence he—and so many others—were soon to obtain treasures of incalculably greater importance than anything that poor Baglione could paint.

Yet Richelieu, though 'le plus grand ministre de la France et le plus illustre de ses amateurs', plays little part in this story.² In Italy he made use of agents of all kinds to acquire such masterpieces as the pictures painted for Isabella d'Este's *studio* by Perugino, Mantegna, Costa and Correggio—but all these artists were long since dead. For most of his career his dealings with the living were confined to Frenchmen and Flemings such as Simon Vouet, Philippe de Champaigne and Rubens. Indeed, even when he turned to Italy it was at first to commission the works of another Frenchman, Nicolas Poussin, from whom in 1635 he ordered three *Bacchanals* for his château at Richelieu. And then during the last few years of his life he suddenly embarked on a new policy of trying to bring to Paris all the leading artists south of the Alps.

The reasons for Richelieu's volte face are not hard to fathom. He must by now have heard with some envy of the triumphant success of the Barberini, who had turned Rome into a permanent memorial to their glory, and he must have realised that for all his encouragement there was no comparable talent available in Paris. Above all, an Italian protégé of his, Giulio Mazzarini, was beginning to play an important rôle in French politics. Throughout 1639 Richelieu was using all his pressure to have him made

¹ Baudson, pp. 28–33, and *Il Seicento Europeo*, 1956, p. 64.

² Bonnaffé, p. 269.

a cardinal and at the very end of that year he persuaded him to settle in France.¹ Soon Mazarin was appointed as delegate to represent French interests at the Congress of Cologne and thereafter he acted exclusively for the French court. In view of his nationality, his love of art and the vital rôle he was later to play in the policy of attracting Italians to Paris, it is not unreasonable to give him the credit for having initiated it.

Early in 1639 Poussin wrote to his friend Jean Lemaire that he was worried by these developments.² He realised that the best Italian painters were still far too well treated in Rome for them to want to accept French offers and he thought that only second-rate men 'autour desquels les François s'absent très grossièrement' would be likely to go. In the event his prophecy proved accurate enough. Some months earlier pressure had been put on him and the sculptor Duquesnoy to come to France, but both men had jibbed, and Poussin had laid down the most demanding conditions. To his surprise, and no doubt to his regret, these were accepted, and in May 1640 the Surintendant des Bâtiments sent his agent, Paul-Fréart de Chantelou, to Rome to bring back Poussin and with him the 'plus excellents peintres, sculpteurs, architectes et autres fameux artisans'. All of them, it was hoped, would respond to the appeals made by Mazarin and his friends in the upper reaches of Roman society.³ One of the artists they wished to attract was Pietro da Cortona⁴; another was Guercino.⁵ But it soon became clear that they had aimed too high. By October, after a series of refusals from everyone concerned, Chantelou had to be content with escorting Poussin and a few quite secondary painters. Even this limited success had been achieved only by using the most extreme pressure ranging from ugly threats to bribery. Two other positive results emerged from Richelieu's Italian policy. The brilliant etcher and draughtsman Stefano della Bella, who came to Paris in the service of the Florentine ambassador, found the climate sufficiently encouraging to settle and work there for ten years.⁶ And, after much begging, the Barberini finally allowed Bernini (and his pupils) to make a bust of the Cardinal, the most tremendous and dangerous of their so-called allies. This was almost certainly derived from a triple portrait by Philippe de Champaigne and it arrived in Paris in August 1641—cold, aloof and elegant—little more than a year before the death of its subject.⁷

Richelieu's death in no way interfered with French plans, as the Surintendant hastened to inform 'toute la troupe des vertueux' which now included Pietro da Cortona, Alessandro Algardi, François Duquesnoy and Poussin, who after an unfruitful two years in Paris had just got back to Rome on the pretext of fetching his wife.⁸ At long last Duquesnoy agreed to go to Paris—only to die as he was about to set sail from Livorno.⁹ This disaster merely spurred Mazarin, who had now replaced Richelieu, to more ambitious heights. Early in 1644 he made a determined effort to get Bernini himself to settle in France by offering him a huge salary. He was reckoning without Urban VIII,

¹ Mazarin, 1961.

² Correspondance, p. 15.

³ *ibid.*, p. 31, note 2.

⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 36 and 37; Briganti, 1962, p. 142.

⁵ Malvasia, II, p. 264.

⁶ Blunt, 1954, p. 89.

⁷ Wittkower, 1955, p. 202.

⁸ Poussin: Correspondance, p. 188.

⁹ Passeri, p. 115.

who, although nearly on his deathbed, still retained his authority over the great artist. 'You are made for Rome and Rome is made for you', he is reported to have told him—words powerful enough to detain Bernini even when this munificent patron died and bad days followed.¹

And so the utmost exertions by the most vigorous of European nations had almost wholly failed to compete with the attractions of the Barberini régime. English efforts to dislodge the principal Italian artists met with very similar results.

The passionate love of art felt by Lord Arundel, Charles I and a few of his courtiers is too well known to need stressing.² Equally familiar is the story of the King's purchase of the Duke of Mantua's collection of pictures and the great repercussions that this had on other European rulers.³ By 1638 Gabriel Naudé could already write, in terms that were to become so familiar in the eighteenth century, that some pictures in which he was interested would probably go to Lord Arundel, 'who leaves no stone unturned in his efforts to strip Italy of all her precious treasures'.⁴ Yet we hear very much less of the repeated failures of Charles I and his agents to patronise Italian artists and encourage them to come to England—failures that have been largely forgotten in our fully justified satisfaction over his employment of Rubens and Van Dyck. There is reason to believe that the King himself saw matters in rather a different light.

Charles I and his ministers were making a conscious effort to break down the isolation between England and Rome that had lasted ever since the most ferocious years of the Counter-Reformation.⁵ His own wife and many of his courtiers were Catholic; conversions were not infrequent; the penal laws remained in force but were applied with much less rigour. In Rome reciprocal gestures were made: Englishmen could travel there without fear of the Inquisition—indeed they were warmly welcomed by Cardinal Barberini—and diplomatic exchanges were encouraged. With this political relaxation came a growing English respect for contemporary Italian culture. The new Catholic humanism appealed to many who had been repelled by the intransigence of the previous half-century and, in any case, the rise of connoisseurship promoted a certain discrimination between the aesthetic merits of a work of art and its representational content. Such sophiscation was, however, characteristic only of a small, privileged élite, and, as puritan objection to the court increased, it became more and more difficult to maintain. The whole precarious balance broke down in 1642, but the tensions had been there from the start and must be taken into account in any estimate of Charles's artistic policy.

Almost as soon as he came to the throne in 1625 the new King made his first attempt to bring a leading Italian painter to England. After seeing a picture of *Semiramis* by Guercino he offered the Bolognese artist the most favourable terms if he would

¹ Baldinucci, 1948, p. 92.

² Stone, p. 92, and also Betcherman, pp. 325-31.

³ Luzio, pp. 63-167.

⁴ Lumbroso, p. 369, and in 1645 Gabriele Balestrieri wrote to the Duke of Modena that 'gli Inglesi . . . non hanno guardato a spesa per haver pitture di qual si voglia sorte'—A. Venturi, p. 252.

⁵ Albion, *passim*.

settle at his court. But, we are told, Guercino 'refused to accept, as he did not want to have dealings with heretics and thus contaminate his angelic character; nor did he want to undertake such a dreadful journey in a climate so different from that of his own country'.¹ It may have been immediately after this that Charles 'invited Albano into England in a letter written with his own hand'.² Whether it was the climate or the heretics that worried Albani is not known, but he too declined the offer. Nor was Charles any more successful with the sculptor Pietro Tacca whom he wished to come to London 'to make two horses for him'; the Grand Duke of Tuscany refused to authorise the visit.³ However, after some perseverance, the King managed to get both his painter and his sculptor, though neither was of the stature he had originally hoped for.

Orazio Gentileschi had already been working for some time in Paris when he was induced to come to England, probably at the end of 1625.⁴ He had there begun to shed the strong Caravaggesque influence of earlier years and had developed a lighter, less idiosyncratic, more decorative style. In England, where he was enthusiastically welcomed by Charles and the Duke of Buckingham, this process was carried still further, though his easel pictures retained a rather intimate, informal narrative approach to Biblical subjects which need not have offended any but the most rabid Protestant. His large-scale commissions were equally harmless politically—Stuart propaganda for the Divine Right of Kings was entrusted to the far abler brush of Rubens—and less up to date artistically. On a ceiling of the Queen's house, built by Inigo Jones, he painted canvases of the Muses and Virtues which looked back to Veronese and the Libreria in Venice. They are now badly worn and were probably never very distinguished. Gentileschi was old, tired and homesick, and, as in Paris, he found himself surpassed by the ubiquitous Rubens.⁵

Charles I was just as keen to employ an Italian sculptor and in about 1635 his efforts were rewarded. Francesco Fanelli, the 'one-eyed Italian', was a Florentine brought up in the traditions of Giambologna, Pietro Tacca and Francavilla.⁶ His work in England was almost entirely confined to small-scale bronzes whose restricted subject-matter—horses and portraits—seems like a parody of the perennial national taste but in fact reflected the special interests of one of his principal patrons, the Duke of Newcastle. The Duke was governor of Charles, Prince of Wales, and an enthusiastic rider. For him and his circle Fanelli ransacked sacred and profane literature to dignify his portrayals of the horse. He also made an attractive little bust of the young Prince and another of the King, whose features he caught in a work of great distinction though the expression is somewhat strained and the eyes lifeless (Plate 27a).

¹ Malvasia, II, p. 261, and Mahon, 1949, p. 222, who suggests that there was no link between the *Semiramis* and Charles I's invitation.

² Walpole, 1762, II, p. 51. Though this cannot be accepted as reliable evidence there is no reason to doubt its substantial truth.

³ Baldinucci, V, 1702, p. 361.

⁴ Crino, p. 203; Hess, 1952, pp. 159–87.

⁵ Orazio's daughter, the painter Artemisia Gentileschi, also came to England for a year or two in about 1638.

⁶ Pope-Hennessy, 1953, pp. 157–62; Whinney and Millar, pp. 121–2.

Fanelli's reputation in England was such that Lord Arundel planned to employ him on his tomb. But Charles's imagination was clearly stirred by more exalted visions. He used all his influence to obtain the authorisation of the Barberini for Bernini himself to carve his portrait, and by playing on the Pope's hopes and fears for English Catholics he achieved his aim. In July 1637 the bust, which was based on a triple portrait by Van Dyck, reached England. There it could be seen that Bernini, despite his reverence for royal splendour, had captured from Charles's favourite painter all the poetic and dandified melancholy that has so endeared the King to subsequent generations—and that was so appreciated by the sitter himself. Charles was delighted and loaded Bernini with rich presents while plans were put in hand for another bust to be made of the Queen.¹ Meanwhile his courtiers were intoxicated by the possibilities that appeared to open before them. Thomas Baker, who took Van Dyck's portrait to Rome, just managed to get the master to record his own fantastical features before the Pope, unwilling to devalue his original concession, clamped down on further English commissions.² Lord Arundel was less successful. 'I send by Francesco a Picture of my owne and my little Tom bye me', he wrote in November 1636 to William Petty in Rome,³ 'and desire it may be done at Florence in marble Bassorilievo, to try a yonge Sculptor there whoe is said to be valente Huomo, Francesco hath his name. I could wish Cavaliere Bernino, or Fra[n]cesco Fi[a] mengo [Duquesnoy], might doe another of the [sam]e.' But he wished in vain.

Many contemporary works of art reached England from Italy before 1642. We hear for instance that the King commissioned a number of paintings from Angelo Caroselli⁴; and Cardinal Barberini sent the Queen so many pictures that she put them on view in her private chapel at Somerset House—a particularly tactless gesture as there were already complaints that the King was being deceived by 'gifts of paintings, antique idols and such like trumperies brought from Rome'.⁵ The most famous of all these gifts was Guido Reni's large *Bacchus and Ariadne*, but the picture arrived when the civil war was already on the verge of breaking out and it was soon in French hands.⁶ Bernini's bust of the Queen had to be cancelled, Fanelli hurried off to Paris, and at about the same time Gentileschi died.

- iii -

The 1640s and 1650s mark a turning-point in the dissemination of Italian art abroad. In 1644 Pope Urban VIII died and, soon after, his nephews fled from Rome, thus removing from the scene by far the most important source of patronage in Italy. By the same year an Italian amateur of fine taste and insatiable appetite was in total control of French affairs. In 1648 peace at last returned to Germany and Central Europe, and

¹ Wittkower, 1955, p. 201.

² *ibid.*, with bibliography.

³ Hervey, p. 391.

⁴ Passeri, p. 191.

⁵ Albion, p. 395.

⁶ *Guido Reni*, p. 109.

thereafter recovery from the devastation of the Thirty Years War led to a new demand for Italian art just when England under the Puritans seemed to be losing interest. Whereas the period so far chronicled witnessed the powers struggling in vain to share in the marvellous flowering of the Italian Baroque, the second half of the century saw a comparative decline in talent accompanied now by Italian efforts to win a place in the new European balance of power. But this was not immediately obvious.

Cardinal Mazarin, who took over the government of France immediately on the death of Richelieu in 1642, had been born forty years earlier in a little village in the Abruzzi. He was educated by the Jesuits in Rome and soon entered the service of the Colonna for whom his father worked as *intendant*. He accompanied Girolamo Colonna to Spain and then served as captain of a regiment raised by the family to reconquer the Valtellina in North Italy. There his very great diplomatic ability attracted the attention of Giovanni Francesco Sacchetti, brother of Giulio and Marcello, and he soon became a special protégé of that all-powerful family. His position was further strengthened by the support of the Bentivoglio, who, as has been pointed out in an earlier chapter, were always on the alert for new talent. With such powerful backing he could hardly fail, and he was soon acting under Cardinal Antonio Barberini who was trying to put an end to the war between France and Spain over the succession of Mantua. It was in connection with this problem that Mazarin pulled off his most brilliant diplomatic coup and almost single handed fulfilled the Pope's highest hopes of him. He returned to Rome in 1632.

He was handsome, cunning and ambitious and he moved in the very highest ranks of the most brilliant social circles in Europe. He was befriended by the greatest families of the day, and he chose as his mistress Leonora Baroni, the singer whose fabulous success inaugurated the long and frenzied tradition of operatic 'stardom'.¹ The families with whom he was especially associated—the Barberini, the Sacchetti and the Bentivoglio—were all exceptional art patrons and it is certain that Mazarin now acquired that passion for collecting which never left him. It is much less certain how and in what way he expressed it. He was not yet rich, though the Bentivoglio apparently lent him money² and he had been appointed to a canonry of S. Giovanni in Laterano which brought him in a regular income. Most reports speak of him as mean where his own money was at stake, though always ready to spend that of others on himself. In view of all this it is significant that the artist from whom he first seems to have commissioned paintings was Poussin³: the nationality was suitable for a patron just beginning to show his political sympathies; the price was doubtless reasonable as Poussin was not yet celebrated; the artist was easily accessible in the centre of the Barberini circle yet not engaged on official commissions. Poussin may have painted for Mazarin two of his most beautiful pictures—the *Inspiration du Poète* and *Diana and Endymion*.⁴ Like the *poesie* of Giorgione and the

¹ Prunières, 1913, p. 41.

² Brienne, I, p. 315.

³ It is most unlikely that Mazarin could have commissioned anything serious before 1632, the date that Mahon (1960, pp. 352-4) has suggested for his purchase of the two Poussins.

⁴ In the Louvre and Institute of Arts, Detroit—see *Nicolas Poussin*, pp. 46 and 65.

young Titian, to which they owe so much, both are bathed in golden light and, although the subject of the former has not yet been fully determined, both look back to the lyric poets of antiquity and the world of fable and mythology which, as we know from other sources, so strongly appealed to Mazarin. Thereafter he took no further interest in Poussin's career and when, many years later, his taste was analysed by the intelligent, malicious and not wholly accurate courtier Loménie de Brienne he was reproached for his neglect of the artist's mature, severe and classical pictures.¹ When due account has been made for Brienne's prejudices his description of Mazarin emerges as consistent and generally convincing: a passionate enthusiast, unscrupulous in his ambition to acquire pictures, yet fastidious, almost effeminate, in his love of *objets d'art* and finery. We can visualise him, his beautifully expressive hands bathed in perfume, discussing the merits of some new acquisition with other amateurs and artists and carefully selecting exactly where to place it, for 'Son Eminence n'avoit point de plus grand plaisir qu'à ranger son garde-meuble et qu'à placer en symétrie, dans les armoires diverses, dont il est plein, ses superbes buffets d'argent et de vermeil doré, ses vases de porphyre, de porcelaine de la Chine, ses cristaux et ses aigues-marines, et mille autres raretés dont il faisoit ses délices. . .'.²

As yet this rich life of the senses was only just opening up to him. Increasing duties kept him away from Rome for years at a time as his association with France grew closer and closer, and he finally settled in Paris early in 1640 and was made Cardinal at the end of the following year. By the middle of 1643 both Richelieu and Louis XIII were dead and he was able to satisfy his artistic tastes and ambitions on an unparalleled scale.

It has already been pointed out that Mazarin's earliest attempts to attract Italian artists to France, made while Urban VIII was still alive, met with no success. He not only failed to get Bernini to enlarge the palace that he had forcibly acquired from the financier Jacques Tubeuf; he was at first not even able to bring to Paris some of the best Italian musicians, including his former mistress Leonora Baroni. But he was determined to make use of Italian artists of all kinds. It was the change of régime in Rome that made this possible. Early in 1646 Francesco Barberini fled from the persecution of Innocent X and arrived in Paris to put himself under the protection of his former protégé, Mazarin. Back in Rome his favourite painter Giovan Francesco Romanelli began to suffer from the first cold winds of neglect and hostility. A suitable arrangement was easily reached and by June Romanelli was already at work painting the newly built upper gallery of Mazarin's palace (Plate 26a).³ The artist proposed a series of Roman histories. But the Cardinal 'showed that he preferred the Metamorphoses of Ovid as being gayer and conforming more to the taste of the country'.⁴ The choice was wholly characteristic, as has been seen from the account of his probable relations with Poussin. It was also

¹ In fact Brienne says (I, p. 302) that Mazarin did not own a single Poussin, but he almost certainly meant one of the artist's later works which were far better known in France than his early pictures.

² Brienne, I, pp. 293-4.

³ Mazarin, p. xxxiii.

⁴ Letter from Romanelli to Francesco Barberini of 6 July 1646—Pollak, 1913, p. 52.

a wise one in view of the nature of Romanelli's talents. He was clearly far more at home in scenes of erotic or Arcadian feeling, such as *Ariadne being woken by Love*, *Narcissus* or *Romulus and Remus* (Plate 26b) than in those, such as *Jupiter sending down his Thunderbolts on the Gods*, where a more martial spirit was required. Glorification of Mazarin was out of the question in view of his nominal dependence on the boy King Louis XIV and the Regent Anne of Austria, and in any case the long tunnel vault of the narrow gallery was scarcely adapted to a great unified fresco as in the Palazzo Barberini. In the event, Romanelli divided the area into a number of oval, circular, rectangular and square compartments separated from each other by frames of gilt stucco. His figures are somewhat pale, academic and lacking in energy, and paradoxically enough, these frescoes played their part in conditioning French taste against the more exuberant and vital creations of the true Italian Baroque.

These early years of Mazarin's rule were important ones for the diffusion of Italian art. Operas, ballets, fashions of all sorts, as well as pictures, sculptures and works of elaborate craftsmanship were constantly arriving in Paris. In 1645 Giacomo Torelli, the most distinguished of all Italian stage designers, was sent there by the Duke of Parma for whom he had been working, and the beauty of his décors, as well as the elaboration of the new techniques which he introduced, attracted (as they had done in Italy) far more attention than the operas for which they were designed.¹ Then in 1648, soon after the departure of Romanelli, the Bolognese painter Giovanni Francesco Grimaldi came to complete the decoration of the Cardinal's gallery, by painting landscapes in the niches and embrasures of the windows.² In Rome, and indeed all over Italy, potentates who were anxious to secure his favour sent him pictures. His old friend the Marchese Bentivoglio had started the process as early as 1639 by commissioning for him a *Carità Romana* by Guercino.³ Some years later Mazarin himself acquired three further paintings direct from the artist—a *St Peter*, a genre picture of a girl with a basket of fruit, and a *Venus mourning over the Death of Adonis*.⁴ In 1647 we find him commissioning a landscape with the *Flight into Egypt* from Claude.⁵ And so the process continued.

Mazarin's ambitions to bring Italian artists to Paris had not been satisfied by the arrival of Romanelli and Grimaldi. In 1648 he wrote personally to Algardi and tried, through the most generous offers, to persuade him to reverse his refusal of some six years earlier. So advantageous were the terms proposed that the sculptor was on the point of departing when once again papal policy interfered. Algardi occupied the same pre-eminent position in the Pamfili court as Bernini had held in that of the Barberini. However mean Innocent X and his nephew might be, they could scarcely allow their principal artist to leave Rome, and so 'they made him so many offers, so many promises,

¹ Prunières, 1913, p. 68; Bjurström, 1961.

² Félibien, III, p. 530.

³ Malvasia, II, p. 264.

⁴ *ibid.*, II, p. 327.

⁵ Röhlisberger, 1961, I, p. 274, who points out that although Claude recorded the purchaser of this picture (now in Dresden) as the otherwise unknown 'M. Parasson', it belonged to Mazarin by 1653 and was most likely painted for him through an agent.

plied him with so much flattery and aroused in him so many hopes that they made him change his mind and cancel all his contracts [with the French].¹

Mazarin's assumption of power in France strengthened his position in Rome itself despite the hostility of the Pope. Soon after 1644 he bought the great palace of his one-time patrons, the Bentivoglio, and planned to use it for distinguished French visitors to the city.² Though he himself never returned to see once again the rooms where he had been received as an obscure and ambitious young diplomat, the thought that he owned the vast palace, whose casino contained the world-famous fresco of *Aurora* painted by Guido Reni for Scipione Borghese, must have given him intense satisfaction. Soon afterwards he commissioned, through Paolo Maccarani, an agent in Rome, the architect Martino Longhi the Younger to add a façade to the church of SS. Vincenzo ed Anastasio in the Piazza di Trevi.³ Mazarin himself could exert only little control over the architecture, and as the work dragged on he became increasingly harassed by economic difficulties. 'We are always talking about building,' he wrote to Maccarani shortly before his death in 1661, 'and yet it might be better to think of building for ourselves a certain and everlasting room in Paradise.' But such hesitations did not last and already the triumphantly bold façade served to proclaim the splendour and arrogance of the Cardinal's authority in the very centre of fashionable Rome.

In 1649 Mazarin's patronage of Italian artists met with a disastrous, though temporary, set-back. The first Fronde—that strange and shifting alliance of aristocratic and bourgeois factions—turned against the Cardinal with great violence. The political implications of the affair are far too complex to warrant investigation here, and it need only be said that one of the special targets of Mazarin's enemies was his employment of Italian artists in the field of music and painting—described in a coarse and cheap little lampoon as 'de ridicules personnages/Avec de lascives images'. Giacomo Torelli was financially ruined and imprisoned for many months.⁴ Stefano della Bella rushed back to Italy after a narrow escape from lynching.⁵ Giovanni Francesco Grimaldi had to hide in a Jesuit seminary before he too managed to get back home.⁶

The next four years saw a series of fantastic reversals of fortune in Mazarin's position. A return to power followed by exile; marches and counter-marches; sudden changes of alliance; the sale of his library and threatened dispersal of all his collections

¹ Passeri, p. 210.

² Mazarin bought the palace from the Lante family which had acquired it from the Bentivoglio. The exact date of the transaction is not certain, but it must have been before 1647—d'Aumale, p. 8. See also Callari, p. 298.

³ In 1646—see *avviso* published in *Roma*, 1938, p. 477. See also Elpidio Benedetti, p. 5, Mazarin: *Epistolario inedito*, p. 119 (letter of 3 June 1650 to Maccarani: 'mi piace riesca di Sua soddisfazione, perchè non può essere, se non bella . . .'), and Mazarin: *Lettres pendant son ministère*, IX, p. 693 (letter of 6 March 1661 to Maccarani). The inscription on the façade reads: ANNO GIUBILEI MDCL IULIUS S.R.E.D. CARD. MAZARINUS A FUNDAMEN. EREXIT. Besides being Mazarin's agent, Maccarani was a collector in his own right. In 1675 he owned 'une galerie de statues et de tableaux'—Spon et Wheler, I, p. 236.

⁴ Prunières, 1913, p. 149.

⁵ Baldinucci, VI, 1728, p. 245.

⁶ Pascoli, I, p. 47.

alternating with vital new purchases. For in the middle of these troubles, Charles I in England was being faced with far more ruthless and successful opponents, and his execution, followed by Parliament's sale of his picture gallery, put on to the international market the most remarkable treasures in European history. Somehow, in the intervals of his difficulties, Mazarin managed to take an interest in these affairs across the Channel and commissioned the rich German banker Everard Jabach to buy for him a number of pictures from the collection of his former rival.¹

By 1653 Mazarin was firmly back in power again and found that the vast majority of his paintings had survived the threats to which they had been exposed. An inventory was at once drawn up and from it we can gauge the extent of his collecting and patronage during the previous twenty years.² He owned some 500 pictures which, apart from Old Masters, had mostly been painted by artists with whom he had become familiar in his younger days in Italy. Guido Reni and Guercino were the best represented of seventeenth-century painters, but he also owned works by Sacchi and Pietro da Cortona among the Barberini favourites. To this taste he remained faithful all his life, paying almost no attention to the developments in Italian painting that had taken place since his departure or to pictures painted in cities other than Rome and Bologna. Nor did he modify his position now that he had the chance to resume collecting. Among all the works that he acquired between 1653 and his death in 1661 there is only one—a *Landscape with Apollo* by Salvator Rosa—painted by an artist whom he had not known when living in Italy.³ So many of the pictures in Mazarin's gallery were given to him by friends and clients that it is not always easy to understand his own taste from an investigation of their quality and subject-matter, but when we have specific evidence of direct commissions by him we see that he nearly always preferred to choose profane, even erotic, themes. The accusations of his enemies about 'lascives images', though grotesque when applied to a Titian or a Correggio, are not wholly incomprehensible.

Perhaps the best way of estimating Mazarin's taste is to compare it with that of his contemporary, Louis Phélieaux de la Vrillière, a secretary of state.⁴ Brienne said that he would prefer 'quatre tableaux de la galerie de la Vrillière à tous ceux du Cardinal Mazarin si l'on en excepte les trois Corrège et la Venus du Titien'. In his palace, specially built for him by François Mansart, La Vrillière kept splendid paintings by most of the artists represented in Mazarin's apartments. But the accent was very different. Far from finding that mythological subjects 'conformed more to the taste of the country', La Vrillière chose from the artists he employed themes taken from the high, heroic world of antiquity. Some time before 1635 he acquired a large and famous picture by Guido Reni of *The Rape of Helen* which had been purchased by Marie de Medici a few years

¹ de Cosnac, p. 144, and Taylor, p. 332.

² d'Aumale, pp. 293 ff.

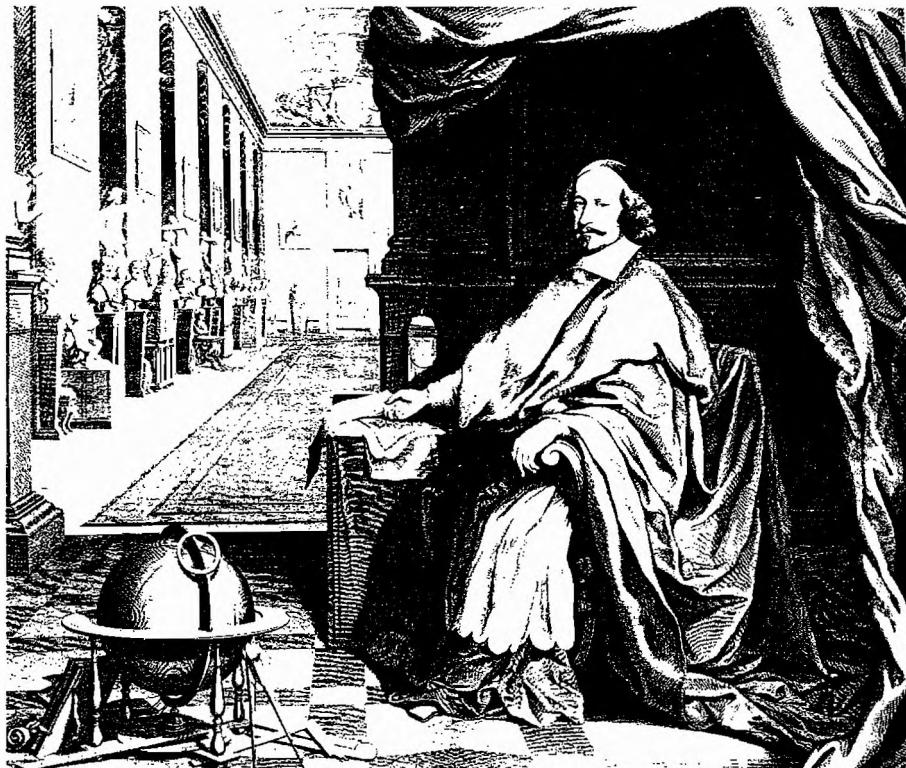
³ See the inventory of 1661 in de Cosnac, item 1240. Incidentally, among those who drew up this inventory was the Genoese painter and engraver Giovanni Andrea Podestà whose connection with Mazarin has not hitherto been noticed—see Blunt in *Revue des Arts*, 1958.

⁴ Bonnaffé, pp. 168-70, and Briganti, 1962, p. 230. Guercino's *Cato* is now at Marseilles—Hoog, pp. 270 ff.

ITALIAN ART AND FRANCE (*see Plates 25, 26 and 27 b*) Plate 25



GENTILESCHI: Public Felicity triumphant over Dangers



a. NANTEUIL: The Cardinal in his gallery



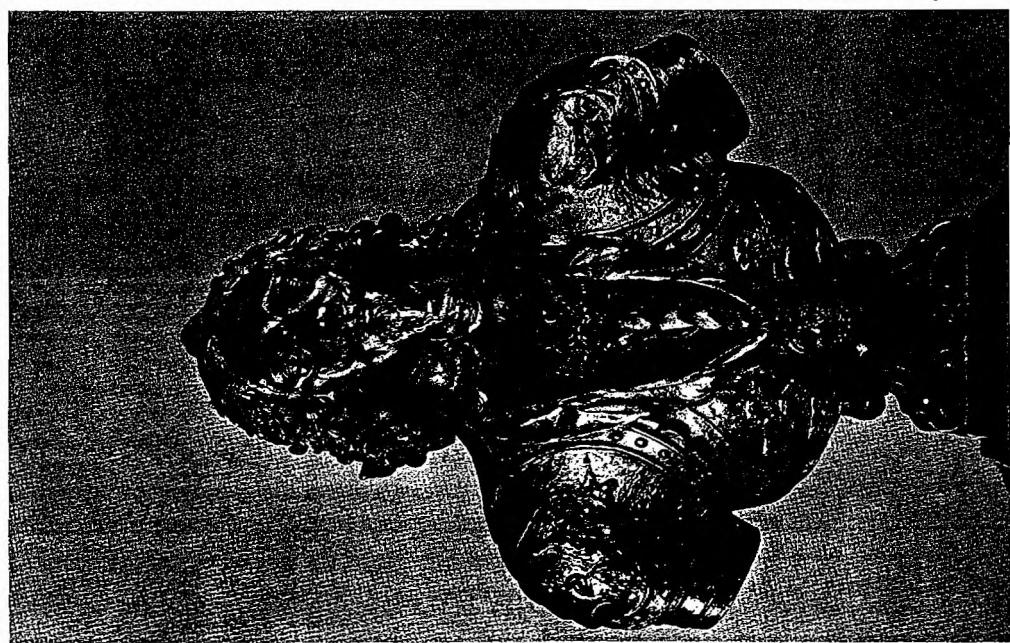
b. ROMANELLI: Romulus and Remus from ceiling of gallery in Palais Mazarin

FOREIGN ROYALTY AND ITALIAN SCULPTORS

Plate 27



b. BERNINI: Louis XIV



a. FRANCESCO FANELLI: Charles I



a. CAGNACCI: Death of Cleopatra

b. BURNACINI: *The Elysian Fields* from the opera *La Monarchia Latina Trionfante*, Vienna 167

earlier. He followed this with a commission to Guercino for a *Scene from the Life of Cato*, and in 1637 he ordered from Poussin *Camillus handing the Schoolmaster of the Falerii to his Pupils*. The subject was chosen from Livy and told of the generosity of the Roman republican hero Camillus who when besieging Falerium refused the offer of a schoolmaster to deliver his pupils as hostages and handed over the treacherous teacher to be stripped and beaten by the schoolboys all the way back to town. It is one of Poussin's largest paintings, austere, harsh and brutal. In the 1640s La Vrillière added to these a series of paintings by Guercino (*The War between the Romans and the Sabines* and *Coriolanus and his Mother*), Piëtro da Cortona (*Caesar restoring Cleopatra to her usurped Throne*, *The Sibyl announcing the Birth of Christ to Augustus* and the *Finding of Romulus and Remus*) and Alessandro Turchi (*The Death of Cleopatra*). The series was completed some years later with *Augustus closing the Temple of Janus* by Carlo Maratta. Even a bare list of the titles of these ten huge paintings is enough to indicate the differences in taste between La Vrillière and Mazarin. On the one hand we have the France of Corneille and the elaborate 'Spanish' tragedies of the early seventeenth century; on the other the world of Italian opera and ballet, of refinement and delicacy. Yet from one point of view both men shared the same ideals. For while they continued to look to Italy for their artists, a different group of patrons, made up mostly of bankers, lawyers and merchants, was beginning to reject the attractions of contemporary Italian painting and develop what was later to be considered a more specifically French taste for reticence and classicism. Neither quality was especially attractive to La Vrillière or Mazarin.

When Mazarin returned to Paris in 1653, the sale of Charles I's pictures in London was still proceeding. He was now far better placed to acquire some of the finest of them than he had been three years earlier. Through his ambassador M. de Bordeaux he was able to buy Correggio's *Jupiter and Antiope*, Titian's *Venus of the Pardo*, and a number of Van Dycks, including *The Children of Charles I*.¹ Perhaps it was because even he was satisfied by this fabulous haul that his collecting and patronage much decreased during the last years of his life. Romanelli was called back to Paris in 1655 but worked exclusively for the Queen Mother in the Louvre: this time he was encouraged to paint the Roman histories which Mazarin had rejected nine years earlier.² Gaspare Vigarani was summoned from Mantua in 1659 to build a theatre in Mazarin's palace, but found that there was not enough space and moved to the Tuileries instead.³ Mazarin was still the promoter of all these enterprises but, as if foreshadowing the coming rule of Louis XIV, they were executed far more in the name of the monarch than under his own aegis. Perhaps the hostility of the Fronde had had some effect. None the less his passion for Italian precious brocades and stuffs of all kinds was as strong as ever, and these he continued to acquire with febrile voracity.⁴ A month before his death he paid a last visit to his pictures, and the account given by Brienne of this occasion, familiar though it is, is too beautiful and too relevant not to be quoted once more⁵: '...je me promenois

¹ de Cosnac, pp. 169 ff.

² Hautecœur, pp. 39-49.

³ *ibid.*, pp. 84-9.

⁴ Alazard, pp. 18-28 and 55-86.

⁵ Brienne, III, pp. 88-90.

à quelques jours de là dans les appartements neufs de son palais et j'étois dans la petite galerie que étoit tapissée de Scipion tout de laine qui avoit été au maréchal de Saint-André, la plus belle tapisserie du Cardinal, sur les desseins de Jules Romain, je l'entendis venir au bruit que faisoient ses pantoufles qu'il trainoit comme un homme fort langissant et qui sort d'une grande maladie. Je me cachai derrière la tapisserie et je l'entendis dire "Il faut quitter tout cela!" Il s'arrêtoit à chaqūe pas, car il étoit fort foible, et se tournoit tantôt d'un coté tantôt de l'autre, et jetant les yeux sur l'objet qui lui frappoit la vue, il disoit du profond du coeur: "Il faut quitter tout cela!" et se tournant, ilachevoit: "Et encore cela! Que j'ai eu de peine à acquérir ces choses! Puis-je les abandonner sans regret? Je ne les verrai plus où je vais." J'entendis ces paroles très distinctement. Elles me touchèrent peut-être plus qu'il n'en étoit touché lui-même. . . . Je fis un grand soupir que je ne pus retenir et il m'entendit. "Qui est là? dit-il. Qui est là? —C'est moi, Monseigneur, qui attendois le moment de parler à Votre Éminence d'une lettre de M. de Bordeaux, fort importante, que je viens de recevoir.—Approchez, approchez", me dit-il d'un ton fort dolent. Il étoit nu dans sa robe de camelot, fourré de petit-gris et avoit son bonnet de nuit sur sa tête. Il me dit: "Donnez-moi la main; je suis bien foible, je n'en puis plus.—Votre Éminence feroit bien de s'asseoir." Et je voulus lui porter une chaise. "Non, dit-il, non. Je suis bien aise de me promener et j'ai affaire dans ma bibliothèque." Je lui présentai le bras et il s'appuya dessus. Il ne voulut point que je lui parlasse d'affaires. "Je ne suis plus, me dit-il, en état de les entendre. Parlez-en au Roi et faites ce qu'il vous dira. J'ai bien d'autres choses maintenant dans la tête." Et revenant à sa pensée: "Voyez-vous, mon ami, ce beau tableau du Corrège, et encore cette Vénus du Titien, et cet incomparable *Déluge* d'Antoine Carrache (car je sais que vous aimez les tableaux et vous vous y connoissez très bien). Ah! mon pauvre ami, il faut quitter tout cela! Adieu, chers tableaux que j'ai tant aimés et qui m'ont tant coûté!"

'Il faut quitter tout cela'—yet even from the grave Mazarin was able to promote the patronage of Italian art which had meant so much to him. In 1644 he had summoned to Paris a branch of the Theatine order, which settled on the banks of the Seine. In his will he left them a large sum with which to rebuild the church of St Anne-la-Royale and directed that his heart be buried in it. For this purpose the Theatines summoned a member of their own order, Guarino Guarini, who arrived in 1662. There he began work on the church which was interrupted in 1669 and only completed some fifty years later. With its curving façade, derived from Borromini's S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane, and highly idiosyncratic vault, the plan made no concession whatsoever to current French practice and remained as a wholly isolated-example of Italian Baroque architecture in the Paris of the Grand Siècle.¹ As such it may well have served more as a deterrent than as an inducement to further experiments of the same kind. For a reaction was already under way, though it was not yet apparent.

Both Fouquet, the unfortunate finance minister who was arrested as soon as Louis XIV took over power, and Colbert, who replaced him, had been employed by Mazarin,

¹ Wittkower, 1958, p. 269.

and both were enthusiastic collectors of Italian art.¹ For all his patriotic ambitions the young King found it absolutely natural to look to Italy for the painters, sculptors and architects whom he wished to employ. In Florence Baldassare Franceschini was commissioned to paint *Fame carrying the Name of the King to the Temple of Immortality*.² In Rome Ciro Ferri was also working for Louis XIV³ and Pier Francesco Mola was invited to come to Paris where he was offered an enormous stipend, but died as he was about to set off.⁴ Like other painters he had seen which way the wind was now blowing, and though the independent-minded Salvator Rosa refused an invitation to Paris in the same year (1665), he was soon writing that 'there is not a Frenchman fond of art who comes here without trying to get hold of something by me'.⁵ But the culmination and crisis of this French enthusiasm are to be found in Louis XIV's plans for the Louvre.

Soon after the onset of his rule Louis and Colbert began to consider proposals for building the eastern front of the royal palace. Colbert was hostile to Le Vau, who had been Mazarin's principal architect, but after searching for alternative French designers he was compelled to admit defeat and turn to Italy. As a first step he proposed submitting Le Vau's plans to some of the leading Roman architects, but he then went further and asked the Italians to send drawings of their own. The resulting tragicomedy has been examined in detail by many writers and only the outlines and significance of the story need be discussed here.⁶

Arrogant nationalism had become very powerful as a result of the unscrupulously patriotic policies of Richelieu and even, paradoxically, of Mazarin, but the French hostility to Italian art which now began to make itself felt was based on more than purely racial feeling. Criticisms of the plans submitted by Bernini, Pietro da Cortona, Carlo Rainaldi and the unknown Candiani were precise and consistent: none of these architects had paid any serious attention to French conditions; all of them were too elaborate, too 'Baroque' for native taste. Pietro da Cortona's drawing 'avait plutôt l'idée d'un temple que d'un palais . . .'. Candiani's were 'extravagant'; Rainaldi's 'fort bizarres et n'avaient aucun goût de la belle et simple architecture'. Modern opinion has endorsed most of these views. It was Bernini who came nearest to imposing his taste on Paris, and he did this mainly through the personal support of the King, but in the end he too was unsuccessful. His first plans were rejected, but he was then invited to submit further ones and to come to Paris himself to discuss the problem. After a triumphant progress through the provinces he was introduced to Louis on 4 June 1665. His first words set the right tone: 'J'ai vu, Sire, les palais des empereurs et des papes et ceux

¹ Alazard, *passim*, and Bonnaffé, pp. 68-9 and 113-15.

² Alazard, p. 110.

³ Ruffo, p. 298.

⁴ Pascoli, I, p. 127. Canini, who accompanied Cardinal Chigi on his visit to Paris in 1664, was also employed at the French court—Pascoli, II, p. 124.

⁵ Limetani, 1950, p. 21, and De Rinaldis, 1939, p. 193. Louis XIV's attitude to Rosa was later to change, for in 1697 a *Battle* by the artist which had been presented to him by the Papal Nunzio was sent to Paris from Versailles with the following note: 'tableau dont le roi ne veut point'—Bailly, p. 50.

⁶ For this section see, apart from Blunt, 1953, and Wittkower, 1958, Hauteceur and Chantelou,

des princes souverains, qui se sont trouvés sur la route de Rome à Paris, mais il faut faire pour le Roi de France, un Roi d'aujourd'hui, de plus grandes et magnifiques choses que tout cela. . . . Qu'on ne me parle de rien qui soit petit.' But Colbert could hardly see the matter in the same light. He too was anxious for grandeur, but as a practical administrator he was just as concerned with expense and the detailed arrangement of rooms. Bernini was not helpful in this respect, and he failed to appreciate one essential difference between the French monarchy and the papacy to which he was accustomed: despite the age-old history of the institution itself, each new pope was determined to outshine his predecessor and start afresh; a French king, on the other hand, was always succeeding a father and a grandfather whom he revered and he felt no ambition to obliterate their memories. Louis tried to explain to Bernini 'qu'il avait quelque affection de conserver ce qu'avaient fait ses prédécesseurs . . .', but this made no impact on the Italian architect whose proposals were uncompromisingly new. Thus the bitter hatred which he aroused through his contempt for all things French could be crystallised into reasoned opposition. There were factions at court; the King himself remained keen, but by October Bernini was on his way back to Rome and it was widely—and correctly—believed that his plans would not be executed.

During his stay in Paris Bernini had given one unchallengeable proof of his genius. Within two or three weeks of his arrival he had been commissioned to make a marble bust of the King and here at last he found a subject worthy of his exalted visions of royalty (Plate 27b). Moreover this was his first opportunity to portray a secular prince from the life and he was thus able to seize upon those individual traits of character which he felt to be so important as well as build up an idealised, hieratic image of personal monarchy at its most supreme.¹ The bust he made in 1665 remains the most compelling record of absolutism in the visual arts. Louis was sufficiently impressed to order an equestrian statue. Bernini began work on this four years after his return to Rome, but it did not reach Paris until 1684, some time after his death.² By now French self-satisfaction was at its peak. In military power, in literature and in every other sphere no country—or combination of countries—could rival her. Two years earlier the 'Gallican' principles had signified the King's desire to establish a State religion as independent as possible from papal influences. No wonder that Bernini's monument was found uncongenial. He had been asked to base it on his statue of *Constantine* in the Vatican—now these echoes of ultramontane claims must have seemed jarring and tactless. And on purely aesthetic grounds a native taste had developed which found Italian floridity repugnant. Louis wanted to break up the statue. He then relented, but had it banished to the remotest corner of the grounds at Versailles. Soon Girardon made the necessary alterations and the figure was called *Marcus Curtius*.

Bernini's failure in Paris is always said to mark the collapse of Italian artistic prestige in France. It is true that criticisms and hostility towards Italian art became increasingly powerful as the French grew more self-assured. It is also true that, with the full support

¹ Wittkower, 1955, pp. 230–1, with bibliography.

² *ibid.*, pp. 234–6.

of Bernini himself, Louis established in 1666 the French Academy in Rome with the declared purpose of enabling French artists to share with the Italians the privilege of studying the masterpieces of the past and thus eventually replacing them. And indeed Italian participation in Versailles—the greatest architectural and decorative enterprise of Louis XIV's reign—was negligible. None the less the habit of seeking artists in Italy died hard and certainly did not come to an immediate end. A Genoese landscape-painter Francesco Borzone who had been summoned to Paris at the beginning of the new reign was generously employed by the King until 1679.¹ A Roman sculptor of classicising tendencies, Domenico Guidi, was chosen by Louis 'from all those not only in Italy but in the whole of Europe' to make one of the sculptured groups for the gardens at Versailles—but it was to be based on drawings provided by Le Brun.² When, after many difficulties, the monument, which represented *Fame inscribing the glories of Louis XIV on the shoulders of Time*, finally reached France it was used to replace Bernini's equestrian statue. But even this Louis found 'un peu riche de draperie'. Meanwhile Carlo Maratta had been commissioned to paint a large picture of *Apollo and Daphne* for which he was well paid and given the title 'peintre du roi'.³ Some years later the director of the French Academy in Rome was making enquiries as to whether the Bolognese artist Carlo Cignani, who painted a couple of pictures for the King, might be prepared to go to Paris. But the matter was not pressed as Cignani's draughtsmanship was considered too weak—yet another instance of the divergencies between Italian painting and the more rigorous French taste.⁴

It would be perfectly possible to choose many other examples of Louis' patronage of Italian artists, but here it must be pointed out how disappointingly little this was compared to their expectations. Again and again we come across instances of Italian painters looking—and often looking in vain—to Paris for support now that the Pope was no longer able to employ them. The hints that they dropped were broad enough. Bellori's *Le Vite de' Pittori . . . Moderni* of 1672 was dedicated to Colbert, Malvasia's *Felsina Pittrice* (lives of the Bolognese artists) of 1678 to Louis XIV. The Bolognese, especially, were anxious to attract French attention. We are told that Carlo Cignani, Benedetto Gennari, Luigi Quaini and Donato Creti were all keen admirers of Louis XIV, and it is not being excessively cynical to suspect that such admiration was not wholly disinterested.⁵ Further south the situation was more complicated. Thus Mattia Preti made an allegorical portrait of Louis XIV which he intended to present to him as a gift, but when hostilities broke out between France and Spain he realised that his situation in Malta made such gestures imprudent and sold the picture elsewhere.⁶

Spain however retained a welcome interest in Italian painters and their works.

¹ Soprani, I, p. 254.

² Pascoli, I, p. 255, and Wittkower, 1938.

³ Montaiglon, I, p. 104, and Bellori, 1942, pp. 101 and 126.

⁴ Zanotti, I, p. 245, and Montaiglon, I, p. 190. In 1685 the director of the French Academy in Rome tried to persuade Luca Giordano to paint a picture for the King, but the artist defaulted on his obligations—Alazard, p. 142.

⁵ Zanotti, I, pp. 155, 170, 199, and II, p. 121.

⁶ De Dominicis, IV, p. 50.

Throughout the second half of the century Neapolitan artists were frequently employed by the Viceroy, who were themselves often acting on behalf of the court or other important collectors in Madrid. Against this general background certain specific occasions stand out. In 1649 Velasquez embarked on his second visit to Italy.¹ One of his duties was to acquire paintings and sculpture for the royal palace of the Alcazar, and in most of the towns he visited, but especially Venice, he looked at or bought pictures for this purpose. A living painter was also needed, and here Velasquez was not so successful. He had been told to try and persuade Pietro da Cortona to come to Madrid, but when he reached Rome he found that the artist was too busily engaged by the Oratorians to be able to move. So on his way back he stopped at Modena and made overtures to the architectural painters Angelo Michele Colonna and Agostino Mitelli, but with them too he had no luck and he was thus forced to return with several old masters in his baggage but no artist capable of reviving the practice of fresco painting in Spain. His employment of sculptors was more satisfactory: Giuliano Finelli, Alessandro Algardi and other less distinguished men in Rome and Naples made copies after the antique and original works for the royal collection. And in the long run even his attempts to induce Colonna and Mitelli to come to Madrid bore fruit, for in 1658 both men finally arrived and were assiduously employed.

Among all the viceroys of the second half of the seventeenth century one man stands out far above the rest both for his political ability and for his distinction as an art patron—a combination of qualities that was by no means frequent as this study will have shown. Don Gasparo de Haro y Guzman, known in Italy as the Marchese del Carpio, was appointed ambassador in Rome in 1677 at the age of 48.² His youth had been stormy and at one time he was even imprisoned for two years on suspicion of being implicated in an attempt on the King's life. Already he had shown a passionate love of painting and by 1651 he owned one of the masterpieces of his country's art: Velasquez's *Toilet of Venus* (the 'Rokeby' Venus).³ This was also one of the most 'Italian' pictures ever painted by a Spaniard and Del Carpio must have welcomed the opportunity to go to Italy himself. Within three months of his arrival in Rome we find him visiting the picture gallery of Salvator Rosa's friend Carlo de Rossi and spending more than an hour and a half there.⁴ Soon afterwards he was given a wonderful opportunity to add to his collections when Cardinal Camillo Massimi died full of debts and his heirs were compelled to dispose of his property. Del Carpio bought on a grand scale. He obtained two portraits by Velasquez—of the Cardinal himself and of Donna Olimpia—and a very large number of antiquities which he planned to have engraved.⁵ Indeed he clearly

¹ Harris, in *Archivo Español*, 1960, pp. 109–36, and 1961, pp. 101–105 (for Colonna and Mitelli).

² For the fullest account of his political career see Ghelli.

³ Maclare, p. 76.

⁴ *Avviso* of 12 June 1677 published in *Roma*, XIX, 1941, p. 308.

⁵ Harris, 1957, pp. 136–9. For his antiquities see the album, belonging to the Society of Antiquaries, of which the frontispiece is inscribed as follows: 'DISEGNI d'Idoli, Statue, Filosofi, Busti, Urne piccole, Bassi Rilievi, Medaglie, Inscriptioni, Vasi di Marmi, e Porfidi, Fontane di Marmi, Alabastri, e Metalli antichi, e moderni; Quali Comprò in Roma l'Ecc. mo Signore Don Gasparo d'Haro e Guzman, Marchese del Carpio e Helicce. I am most grateful to Enriqueta Harris for this and much further information about del Carpio's collection.'

felt an affinity between Massimi's classical taste and his own, for he paid special attention to assembling thirty volumes of drawings by old masters and contemporaries, particularly Carlo Maratta who was his favourite artist.¹

Del Carpio was also a great admirer of Bernini, who died during his term of office in Rome. He owned a small version of the Fountain of the Four Rivers in the Piazza Navona and looked upon it as the finest piece in his collection²; on a visit to the sculptor's studio, he was able to acquire one of his self-portrait drawings from his son Domenico³; and in Naples there were rumours that he was offering 30,000 *scudi* for the ill-fated equestrian statue of Louis XIV.⁴ We can share his disappointment that this offer was not accepted.

The Ambassador's enthusiasm for contemporary Roman painting is recorded in all the documents of the period. We are told that several times a week he would visit the studios of Niccolò Berrettoni, a pupil of Maratta, Giuseppe Ghezzi, later to be permanent secretary of the Accademia di S. Luca, and Giovanni Francesco Grimaldi, the landscape artist⁵; that he launched the career of the young painter Paolo de Matteis after finding him copying the altarpieces in St Peter's⁶; and that when he went to Naples at the end of 1682 'the painters lost a great lover and protector of their art'. They did indeed, for there was no native Italian to show such discriminating enthusiasm.

In Naples Del Carpio continued his patronage and increased his collection of paintings from 1100 to 1800,⁷ putting in charge of them an obscure Siennese painter, Giuseppe Pinacci, who proved to be an expert restorer.⁸ The palace, hung with masterpieces and rich furnishings of all kinds, impressed even those who were familiar with viceregal luxury.⁹ Luca Giordano, whom he had already met in Rome, replaced Carlo Maratta as his chief painter and decorated churches and the palace for him. When the Viceroy died in 1687, it was said that 'Naples had lost a loving father and her artists a great support'.¹⁰ Both parts of this judgement were true. For several years shiploads of pictures and antique statuary sailed out from Naples to enrich the collections of Del Carpio's descendants in Madrid.¹¹ And the city which they left behind was no longer what it had been only four years earlier. For Del Carpio's contribution to Neapolitan culture must be gauged not so much by the works he commissioned from local artists

¹ Bellori, 1942, pp. 117 and 121.

² See the introduction to the Society of Antiquaries' album and Pacichelli, Parte IV, Vol. I, p. 39.

³ Domenico Bernino, p. 28.

⁴ Letter from Duc d'Estrées to Louis XIV, dated 27 July 1684, in Montaignon, VI, p. 388.

⁵ Pascoli, I, pp. 48 and 186, and II, p. 202.

⁶ De Dominicis, IV, p. 315.

⁷ See *Discursos leídos ante la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando en la recepción pública del Excmo Sr. Duque de Berwick y de Alba*, Madrid 1924, p. 20.

⁸ Bottari, II, p. 105, and Orlandi, p. 236.

⁹ Pacichelli, Parte IV, Vol. I, p. 39.

¹⁰ De Dominicis, IV, p. 164. For Del Carpio's Neapolitan drawings see Saxl, p. 76.

¹¹ See *Listas de cuadros y objetos artísticos remitidos desde Italia a España por el puerto da Nápoles en los años 1683 a 1687*—MS. El Escorial &-IV-25 (photocopy in Warburg Institute).

as by the enlightened reforms with which he uprooted a hideously corrupt administration. The misgovernment of rulers such as Monterey, followed by civil strife and terrible natural disasters, had led to a situation unparalleled in civilised Europe. Brigandage was openly encouraged by an irresponsible aristocracy. Justice was non-existent despite an abundance of lawyers. The inequalities between rich and poor were too glaring even for an age not unduly worried by social problems. Del Carpio's brief administration made the first serious attempt to tackle these evils. In so doing he aroused bitter hostility from some sections of the nobility, but he also laid the foundations for a 'new civilisation' which was soon to lift Naples once again into the forefront of intellectual Europe.

When still in Rome Del Carpio had tried to persuade various painters, notably Giacinto Calandrucci and Niccolò Berrettoni, to take employment under the King in Madrid.¹ It was not, however, until 1692 that a considerable Italian artist left to work in Spain although quantities of Italian pictures were reaching the Alcazar. In that year Luca Giordano embarked on the voyage that was to keep him in Spain for nearly ten years. He was welcomed by the King with enthusiasm and a vast salary. In return he introduced into the many palaces and churches which he so beautifully decorated a type of painting in which the Spaniards themselves were deficient: colourful, exuberant, facile perhaps but composed with marvellous ability, making use of devices learned from all the Baroque masters, yet with a personal note of airiness and fantasy.² From every point of view the visit must be looked upon as the most fruitful paid by any Italian artist outside his native country during the seventeenth century. Luca Giordano's brilliance rightly dazzled the Spaniards and led eventually to their employment of such master decorators as Corrado Giaquinto and Tiepolo; and his influence, though at the time it may have proved enfeebling for some already feeble local painters, was much later absorbed with profit by the young Goya. For Giordano himself the years in Madrid were equally important. For, unlike Bernini in Paris a generation earlier, he was as ready to learn as he was to express himself. Already a keen admirer of Venetian art, he found in the royal palaces a collection of Titians unequalled in the world for quantity and quality and under their impact he dropped most of the remaining vestiges of his darker Neapolitan manner. He copied Rubens and he pleased his hosts through his sincere appreciation of Velasquez. When he returned to Italy he only had two years more to live, but even during that time he proved himself to be, at the age of 70, the most 'advanced' painter of his day.

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Despite the considerable impact of Spain, and even of France, on Italian artists, it was in the Holy Roman Empire and then England that the true successors of the great Italian patrons were to be increasingly found as the century drew to a close.

¹ Pascoli, I, p. 186, and II, p. 314.

² Griseri, 1956, pp. 33-9, and Longhi, 1954, pp. 28-39. Zanotti (I, pp. 247-8) says that Luca Giordano's invitation followed a refusal by Marcantonio Franceschini to go to Spain.

The Thirty Years War had devastated much of Central Europe, but though Vienna, the capital of the Hapsburg Empire, had been threatened with military occupation, it finally emerged in 1648 unscathed if greatly impoverished. The royal collections, however, had been housed in Prague, where they had been looted by Swedish troops for the ultimate benefit of Gustavus Adolphus's daughter Christina. Quite soon the effects of this disaster were mitigated by the return from the Netherlands, where he had been Governor, of the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm with the marvellous pictures he had acquired there, some of which came from the gallery of Charles I. The Archduke was especially fond of the Venetian painters of the early sixteenth century and one of the contemporaries whom he most patronised was Pietro della Vecchia, part of whose reputation depended on his forgeries of Giorgione.¹ He also persuaded the most successful Venetian painter of the day, Pietro Liberi, to come to Vienna in 1658 and stay there for a year during which he painted a large number of pictures and was made Count Palatine in return.² On his death in 1662 the Archduke left all his possessions to his nephew, the Emperor Leopold I.

Leopold, who ruled from 1658 to 1705, was a keen but fitful patron who like his predecessors found it natural to turn to Italy for artists. His father had summoned the architect Lodovico Ottavio Burnacini, and Leopold commissioned from him a new wing for the royal palace and a succession of the most magnificent stage sets ever seen in Central Europe (Plate 28b). It was the theatre, in fact, which remained the centre of Italian influences, for Vienna was still a fortified town under constant threat from the Turks, and little large-scale building or decoration was yet possible.

Another dynasty that recovered with some speed from the effects of the Thirty Years War was that of the Wittelsbachs in Munich. Their position had been strengthened by the Peace of Westphalia, and when, in 1652, the Elector Ferdinand Maria married Adelaide Enrichetta of Savoy they found themselves allied to the most astute ruling family in Europe.³ But Adelaide Enrichetta was also a keen lover of art and surrounded herself with a number of painters and architects from Italy. She failed in her attempt to attract Guarino Guarini, but in 1662 the Bolognese architect Agostino Barelli came to Munich and built a church for the Theatines, based on the Roman prototype of S. Andrea della Valle, and also the central block of the royal palace at Nymphenburg. He was followed by an architect of far greater versatility, Enrico Zuccalli, who, under the new Elector Max Emmanuel, was commissioned in 1712 to build a 'Versailles' at Schleissheim. A number of Italian painters, of whom the best known are Pietro Liberi, Antonio Triva and Pietro Bellotti, were also employed at Munich during the three decades that followed the end of the Thirty Years War.

Everywhere the pattern was much the same: autocratic rulers, intoxicated by the idea of Versailles, deprived of native talent and desperately anxious to make up for the

¹ von Holst, p. 132.

² Boschini, p. 44—The book is dedicated to the Archduke and discusses his collection of Venetian old masters; Gualdo, 1818, p. 15.

³ Lavagnino, p. 69, and Heilbronner, pp. 887-904.

glories of the Renaissance which had passed them by or been cut short by strife, all turned southwards. By 1669 Johann Georg III of Saxony was employing an Italian painter called Stefano Cadani at Dresden¹; in 1674 an Italian architect Arrighini built a theatre for Georg Wilhelm, the last Duke of Celle. Whole families of painters and craftsmen such as the Carloni moved into Germany and wandered from court to court. As yet these men tended to be only mediocre artists, but from the 1680s onwards several dozen German principalities were rich enough to attract the attention of the foremost Italian painters. So extensive and influential did this German patronage then become that there is little room here for doing more than recording its scope and indicating briefly its effect on Italy.

There can be no doubt that this was decisive for the very existence of painting. Three cities—Rome, Bologna and Venice—were principally affected by this new source of patronage, but all over the peninsula painters were devoting more and more of their labours to German princes, and in some cases almost the whole of their output was sent north of the Alps. The Liechtenstein family, which had been greatly enriched by the expropriations that followed Protestant defeats in the Hapsburg dominions, ordered forty-two paintings from the Bolognese Marcantonio Franceschini alone.² At Pommersfelden in Franconia the Schönborn family commissioned pictures from Antonio Balestra and Gregorio Lazzarini in Venice; Carlo Maratta, Benedetto Luti and Francesco Trevisani in Rome; Luca Giordano and Francesco Solimena in Naples; Carlo Cignani in Bologna.³ It was—and often still is—in the palaces of patrons such as these, rather than anywhere in Italy itself, that representative collections of Italian late Baroque painting could be found. It is by comparison with Vienna, Pommersfelden and Vaduz that a certain provincialism in Roman patronage becomes apparent, for no pope or cardinal could now hope to assemble pictures from such a wide variety of sources and over such a long period of time.

As the money, gold chains and titles poured down upon them, these Italian painters were faced with certain new problems. Their patrons were still mostly Catholics, and large-scale altarpieces or devotional pictures were easy enough to provide. But lack of direct contact with their German employers left them with some added responsibilities. ‘As for the subject,’ wrote the Prince of Liechtenstein to Franceschini in a fairly typical letter,⁴ ‘I leave that to your good taste: perhaps a Flora with a few putti would be a good idea; or some figure representing Spring: in any case something that alludes to gardens.’ Above all they were expected to send nudes.

There is no doubt that a careful and full-length study of the subject would reveal countless nuances of taste among the various German princes and show that some were far more discriminating than others; but a superficial survey such as the present indicates only an intense preoccupation with the erotic. ‘Tutte le pitture che intrano questa

¹ Lavagnino, p. 66.

² Zanotti, I, pp. 227, 229 and 231, and Wilhelm, *passim*.

³ Hantsch und Scherf and von Freeden, 1955.

⁴ Wilhelm, p. 136.

galleria, son mondane', wrote the Prince of Liechtenstein in 1691,¹ and he proceeded to elaborate: 'Carlo Cignani has painted a *Bacchanal*, a beautiful picture; Carlo Maratta a *Bathsheba*; Baccinelli a *Susanna*; Piola a *Vanità*; Carlo Loth one of *Lot and his Daughters*; Fumiani a *Christ driving the Jews from the Temple*; Peter Strudel a *Tarquin and Lucretia* and a *Joseph*.' A generation later Lothar Franz von Schönborn wrote to much the same effect: 'Une Souzanne et la Pudiphare seroit assez de mon gout; quant à la nudité je ne m'en scandalise pas trop dans les peintures, pourvue quelles ne soit obscène, et qu'il n'y ayent pas des actions ou gesticulations infames, et comme j'ay observé que le plus fort de Strudel consiste in dem nakenden, allso muss man ihn davon nicht abhalten outre qu'un beau corps et visage de femme orne bien un tableau.'² Every other German patron would have agreed with this sentiment and under their impact the female nude played a more important rôle in Italian painting during the half-century after 1670 than ever before or since. One artist especially, Guido Cagnacci, devoted much of his career to satisfying the demand. After coming to Venice from his native Romagna he was summoned to Vienna in 1657 and there poured out a stream of Cleopatras and Lucrezias whose virginal and immature bodies undergoing outrages of various kinds added a note of sophisticated perversion to what had long been a familiar repertoire (Plate 28a). Many other painters were interested in the same market, though they tended to have a less equivocal approach. 'As he had a special gift for painting pretty naked women, he attracted all the best amateurs,' we hear of Gregorio Lazzarini, who sent much of his output to Germany.³ So too did Carlo Cignani, of whom we are told that in his youth he painted 'subjects which were too alluring (*tenere*) and dangerous for lascivious men'.⁴ But this was a small price to pay for uninterrupted German order books.

Compared to the torrent of commissions that came from Germany and Austria, the impact of England upon Italian art was almost negligible before 1700. But in the next century it was to be so important that some outline of the earlier stages must be given here.

After coming to the throne in 1660, Charles II made a few attempts to recover those of his father's pictures that were still available, but his motives were based more on filial piety than on any love of painting. He certainly showed no interest in contemporary Italian art, and when, some fifteen years after his accession, the painter Antonio Verrio entered his service he was employed with little discrimination.

Verrio, like Gentileschi before him, came to England from Paris, though he had been born in Lecce and liked to call himself a Neapolitan. In common with the other artists employed by Le Brun at Versailles, he had there been required to lose rather than develop a personality, but in his case the process cannot have been a difficult one. He was brought over by the Ambassador and introduced to the King by his first English patron Lord Arlington in about 1675.⁵ His earliest royal picture—*A Sea triumph, being*

¹ *ibid.*, pp. 89 and 92. 'Mondane' seems a curious way to describe some of these subjects, but it gives us an indication of what the Prince was looking for even in sacred pictures.

² Letter of 10 October 1708—Hantsch und Scherf, p. 164.

³ Da Canal, especially pp. 71-3.

⁴ Zanotti, I, p. 154.

⁵ Whinney and Millar, pp. 296-302.

a large piece with King Charles II in it—was flattering if hardly very relevant to Charles's rule so far, and from then onwards he was much employed on a series of frescoes at Windsor designed to illustrate the extreme theories of later Stuart absolutism. In their possibilities of fulfilment these bore as much relation to the claims of Charles I as did the art of Verrio to that of Rubens. Basing himself partly on what he had learned in France, Verrio did, however, tardily introduce into England a type of Baroque decoration that had not hitherto been seen there. Whole ceilings were covered with illusionistic fresco and walls appeared to open up to the sky. The work was mediocre, but stylistically it brought this country into line with European developments.

Another Italian artist who came to England at about the same time as Verrio was Benedetto Gennari from Bologna.¹ He was the nephew of Guercino whom Charles I had tried to entice some fifty years earlier and he too was working in Paris, where he had enjoyed a certain success. We are told that in England he earned a regular salary of £500 a year and that he was given so many commissions from the King and Queen that he could scarcely fulfil those from other patrons 'not only for portraits but for other subjects more suitable for a good painter'. Some of these brash mythological paintings, heavily tinged with eroticism, have survived and we can see that in them he followed the current French practice of portraying his sitters in the guise of some ancient heroine or deity.

For a short time after 1685 James II's attempts to restore Catholicism to England led to an unprecedented demand for the work of these Italian artists. Gennari turned from *Danaë* or *Elizabeth Felton as Cleopatra* to altar paintings, and in combination with Verrio, Christopher Wren and Grinling Gibbons he helped to put into effect in Whitehall the most full-blooded Baroque decoration ever seen in an English church. But this could scarcely last, and in 1688 Gennari was compelled to leave 'quel funesto paese' and return to France and eventually Italy, having acquired abroad 'a new style ... which devoted special care to the rich decoration of his royal sitters'.

Verrio was more cunning. With his coach and horses, parmesan cheese, bologna sausages, olives and caviar, he left the court and worked for a time in a number of country houses. Before the end of the century, however, he had been taken up by the new régime and was being employed at Hampton Court, where in a complex allegorical fresco, whose subject was chosen from the writings of Julian the Apostate, he portrayed the triumph of William III over the Catholic powers led by France (Plate 29).² Even in an age used to changing allegiances his career was remarkable. Within little more than a generation he had put his art at the service of Louis XIV and his greatest enemy William III; he had painted the most Catholic and the most anti-Catholic programmes ever seen in this country; and he had been required to figure the 1st Earl of Shaftesbury in the guise of *Faction* and then take advice from the 3rd Earl, his grandson, in depicting the Protestant virtues. He lived on until 1707, receiving a pension from Queen Anne,

¹ Whinney and Millar, p. 182, and Zanotti, I, pp. 170-1. See also *Raccolta di Memorie di Benedetto Gennari*—MS. B.344 in Archiginnasio, Bologna (photocopy in Warburg Institute).

² Wind, 1939-40, pp. 127-37.

and was doubtless there to greet the Genoese artist Niccolò Cassana whom she employed as her portrait painter until his death in 1714.¹

But in the long run the patronage of English royalty is of little consequence compared to that of the tourists who flocked to Italy in increasing numbers during the second half of the seventeenth century. At first the majority of these were interested only in their own likenesses (Plates 30a, 30b, 31a); thus Thomas Killigrew, the playwright, James Altham, an artist, and Sir Thomas Baines, a medical student, each had his portrait painted by a leading artist in Rome, Naples and Florence.² The few men who were detained in Italy on business were more enterprising. Baines's friend, John Finch, who was Resident in Florence between 1665 and 1670, commissioned a number of religious pictures from Carlo Dolci and gave some of them to the royal family.³ And there are other collectors on this scale.

Somewhat later two men especially stand out for their far more extensive patronage of Italian artists. Sir Thomas Isham, a gentleman from Northamptonshire, left England in October 1676 and spent nearly eighteen months in Italy, where he visited most of the important towns with his tutor.⁴ Though he enjoyed a series of extravagant love affairs and got heavily into debt, he also managed to acquire a certain number of contemporary paintings, advised mainly by a dissolute priest called Buno Talbot. All his commissions were given in Rome and, apart from copies of famous works by Raphael, Guido Reni, Poussin, Pietro da Cortona and others, they included mythological pictures by Ludovico Gimignani, Giacinto Brandi and Filippo Lauri, as well as his portrait by Carlo Maratta (Plate 31b).

The 5th Lord Exeter was a collector and patron on a far larger scale.⁵ He was in Italy on two occasions between 1680 and 1685 and he commissioned paintings in all the cities he visited. In Florence he ordered nine from Carlo Dolci and fifteen from Luca Giordano, who was engaged on his frescoes in the Palazzo Riccardi. These two artists, whose contrasting qualities of gentle, sweet, primitive restraint and dashing virtuosity were glaringly obvious, seem to have been his favourites, and this in itself tells us much about the breadth—or inconsistency—of his taste. In fact Lord Exeter, coming from an England still largely bereft of Italian painting, proved himself a glutton for every kind of aesthetic experience. In Venice he bought Liberis; in Bologna, Lorenzo Pasinelli; in Genoa, Piola, Asereto and Valerio Castelli; in Rome, Maratta, Brandi, Gaulli and Calandrucci. No Englishman had ever commissioned contemporary Italian painting on such a scale before; few were ever to do so again. He also persuaded the Franco-Italian sculptor Pierre Monnot to make a tomb for him⁶ and when back again at

¹ Agnelli, printed at end of book after imprimatur. Ratti (Soprani/Ratti, II, p. 15) says that he died in 1713 after refusing an official post as the Queen's Painter. It is not known just when he came to England or whether he died in this country.

² Killigrew by Canini in 1651—Vertue, I, p. 114; James Altham as a hermit by Salvator Rosa in 1665 (Bankes Collection)—*Italian Art and Britain*, p. 20; Sir Thomas Baines by Carlo Dolci between 1665 and 1670 (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge)—*ibid.*, p. 19. ³ Baldinucci, VI, 1728, p. 503.

⁴ Burden, pp. 1–25. The pictures are all at Lamport Hall, Northants.

⁵ Waterhouse, 1960, p. 57; Bellori, 1942, p. 98. The pictures are mostly still at Burghley.

⁶ Pascoli, II, p. 491; Honour, pp. 220 ff.

Burghley, his country house, he took advantage of the circumstances that compelled Verrio to leave the court and employed him to paint ceiling frescoes.¹

Lord Exeter played a highly significant rôle in the history of English collecting. We are told that he introduced Carlo Maratta to several members of the nobility, and it is not long before the Italian biographies are full of vivid accounts of the English *milordi* visiting studios, paying fabulous prices and inviting artists from all over the peninsula to come and settle in England.² It was just this indiscriminate enthusiasm that led to the theorising of the 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury, by far the most cultivated English aesthete of the day. More than anyone he welcomed and stimulated English patronage of the arts and yet he felt that the whole subject needed far more consideration than it had yet received.

His own contacts with Italian art had been intense but not always happy. He had visited Italy in 1686 when still only 15, but though he 'acquired great knowledge of the polite arts', nothing is known of the results.³ Then as an eager Whig intellectual, deeply sympathetic to Holland and hostile to France, he had in all probability helped to draw up the programme for Verrio's frescoes at Hampton Court with their learned allusions to the policies of William III.⁴ In 1699 he sent the portrait painter John Closterman to Rome in order to find there a sculptor capable of making for him a series of *Virtues*—a wholly characteristic choice of subject in a pupil of Locke and the Cambridge Platonists.⁵ Closterman sent him some drawings of *Prudence* and *Justice* by Domenico Guidi with a highly discouraging letter which Shaftesbury must have endorsed, for nothing came of the project. At the same time Closterman, who had already painted a full-length portrait of his patron in classical dress with volumes of Plato and Xenophon at his side, suggested that Shaftesbury himself should give the most detailed instructions to those artists he proposed to employ in the future.

This became possible when in 1711 he was forced to retire to Naples because of ill-health. There he mixed in intellectual circles, bought pictures for his English friends and decided to put his aesthetic ideas into practice.⁶ He chose the painter Paolo de Matteis for his experiment and gave him detailed instructions (which were later published) for a picture of *Hercules at the Crossroads between Vice and Virtue* (Plate 32b). The bewildered artist was made to realise all the visual and philosophical implications of the theme, for 'the merely natural must pay homage to the historical or moral . . . nothing is more fatal, either to painting, architecture or the other arts, than this false relish, which is governed rather by what immediately strikes the sense, than by what consequentially and by reflection pleases the mind and satisfies the thought and reason'. Shaftesbury's elevated ideas and his conception of the artist as a mechanical executant were not new, but they had rarely been so stringently applied to an actual creation.

¹ *Virtue*, II, p. 132.

² See, for instance, Pascoli, I, pp. 140, 215, 226; Baldinucci, VI, 1728, p. 503; de Dominicis, IV, p. 292.

³ Brett, p. 38.

⁴ Wind, 1939-40, pp. 134-5.

⁵ Wind, 1938, pp. 185-8.

⁶ Croce, 1927, pp. 272-309; Shaftesbury, pp. 30-61; Wells, pp. 23-8; and de Dominicis, IV, p. 329.

Nor in fact did—or could—the resulting picture betray the complex thought that had gone into its making. Though his ideas were always to be of greater interest to theorists than to artists, he himself was well satisfied with the outcome, and in 1713 he commissioned one further and deeply moving picture from de Matteis: ‘Un homme de qualité, grand d’un certain Royaume, Virtuoso, Philosophe, et Auteur connu par ses Ouvrages, s’étant retiré dans une certaine Ville salutaire pour se soulager de ses Fatigues, poursuit encore ses Etudes, tout malade, épuisé, et presque mourant, comme il est.’ Despite—or because of—its biographical content, the picture was to be a ‘history’ and once again Shaftesbury enclosed a rough drawing of his own to guide the artist, prescribed details down to the exact inclination of the head and insisted on examining the preliminary sketches. But this time he was too late and he died within a month of giving the order.¹

Fortunately Shaftesbury had more to offer the English than doctrines which were bound to prove sterile in practice. He was one of the first to stress the rôle of art in ‘civilising’ society, though he extended this to the less acceptable concept that a good society would necessarily give birth to good art. And his informal writings prove that he was certainly not blind to the more emotional appeal of painting. Though the English soon showed a strong national taste for portraiture, views and landscape at the expense of the serious history pictures which he had recommended, the extent of their collecting and patronage was in some measure due to his example and preaching.

— v —

The conditions of art patronage in Italy had totally altered during the second half of the seventeenth century. Painters were compelled to look north rather than to Rome, and the declining prestige of the popes had thus, by a strange paradox, led to that very Italianising of Europe which had been one of their aims in happier days. Moreover, this loss of power had, by limiting the concentration of artists in Rome, indirectly encouraged the growth of a number of active ‘provincial’ centres. Roman art, represented above all by Carlo Maratta, continued to enjoy a great reputation, but it was no longer unique, for the aspiring collector in England and Germany could, and often did, turn instead to Bologna, Venice or Naples. Artists in these cities broke through the rather stifling barriers of the tight little régimes under which they lived and sent their works as far afield as London, Paris and Vienna, Munich, Stockholm and Madrid. Crespi and Franceschini, Luca Giordano and Solimena, Lazzarini and Sebastiano Ricci were European favourites just as much as were Maratta and Trevisani. The very end of the seventeenth and early years of the next century saw this isolation broken down still further, for a number of complex wars brought Italy back into the forefront of international politics and disrupted a *status quo* that had remained largely unaltered for nearly 150 years.

In 1683 Vienna was saved from the Turks and in the following year Venice joined a Holy League with the Holy Roman Empire and the King of Poland. Then came the

¹ Sweetman, pp. 110–16.

war of the Spanish succession. Victor Amadeus of Savoy broke loose from the tutelage of Louis XIV and after a series of tortuous manœuvres finally emerged as the leading independent ruler in Italy. The Austrians conquered Lombardy and seized Naples from the Spaniards. These changes, which were confirmed by the Treaties of Utrecht and Rastatt in 1713 and 1714, had their counterparts in the patronage of Italian art.

Military commanders of all the warring nations took advantage of the fleeting opportunities between campaigns to commission local talent and were served with fine impartiality by artists in many cities. There was Admiral 'Pekemburgh', for instance, who sailed into Genoa with a squadron of English ships sometime before 1703 and ordered his bust from the sculptor Domenico Parodi whom he then tried in vain to take back with him to England¹; or the French Maréchal de Noailles who arrived soon after and was more successful in persuading Gregorio de Ferrari to come to Marseilles and paint some pictures for him there²; or the Duc d'Estrées who visited Naples with Philip V, French candidate for the Spanish throne, and was so struck by Paolo de Matteis that he took him back to Paris and introduced him to a number of influential nobles and bankers.³ This was an important occasion for it stimulated interest in contemporary Italian painting among some of the younger generation of art lovers who were growing tired of the 'official' style at Versailles.⁴ But hardly had Paolo got back to Naples when the city was conquered by the opposing forces and he found himself working for the English Admiral 'Binchs' and the Austrian commander Count Daun who had been responsible for its capture.⁵ Daun, who in 1707 was made the first viceroy of the new régime, rivalled his Spanish predecessors in the patronage of Italian art.⁶ Solimena, Giacomo del Po and Paolo de Matteis all produced canvases to decorate his palace in Vienna which was frescoed by the Bolognese Marc'antonio Chiarini. Although his first appointment in Naples only lasted for a few months, he came back for a further six years in 1713 and was one of the principal agents through whom Neapolitan painting was introduced into Central Europe—a process which was carried much further after 1728 by the most cultivated of all the Austrian viceroys, Count Harrach.⁷ Besides these men there were a number of high commanders of Italian origin serving in the Imperial army and they were especially keen to take the opportunity of furnishing

¹ Soprani, II, p. 120. This may possibly be the famous 3rd Earl of Peterborough who arrived in Italy from Spain for a few months in 1707 and then returned for a much longer period in the next decade, when he certainly commissioned a number of pictures from dal Sole.—Zanotti, I, p. 309.

² Soprani, II, p. 115.

³ The duc d'Estrées arrived in Naples in 1702—de Dominicis, IV, p. 321. In Paris de Matteis worked for Pierre Crozat among other patrons—see Loret, p. 543.

⁴ Among these was certainly the duc d'Orléans, later to be Regent, who in 1715 invited Solimena to Paris (Bologna, p. 191) and became an important patron of contemporary Italian art.

⁵ De Dominicis, IV, pp. 258 and 336. 'Binchs', whom we know to have been back in Naples in 1719 (*Archivio Storico per la Provincia Napoletana*, 1906, p. 453), must be Admiral Byng, as from 1718 Commander of the British fleet in the Mediterranean.

⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 295, 332, 435-7, 444; Pascoli, II, p. 102; Zanotti, I, p. 277. In Bergamo he commissioned his portrait from Vittore Ghislandi—Tassi, II, p. 64.

⁷ Harrach was the most enthusiastic Austrian patron of Neapolitan art, as can be seen from his surviving collection—Ritschl, *passim*, and de Dominicis, IV, pp. 46, 439, 441, 444, 571.

Plate 29



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VERRUCIO: Fresco on staircase of Hampton Court Palace

Plate 30

ENGLISH VISITORS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY AND ITALIAN ARTISTS (*see Plates 30 and 31*)



a. MASSIMO STANZONE; Jerome Banks

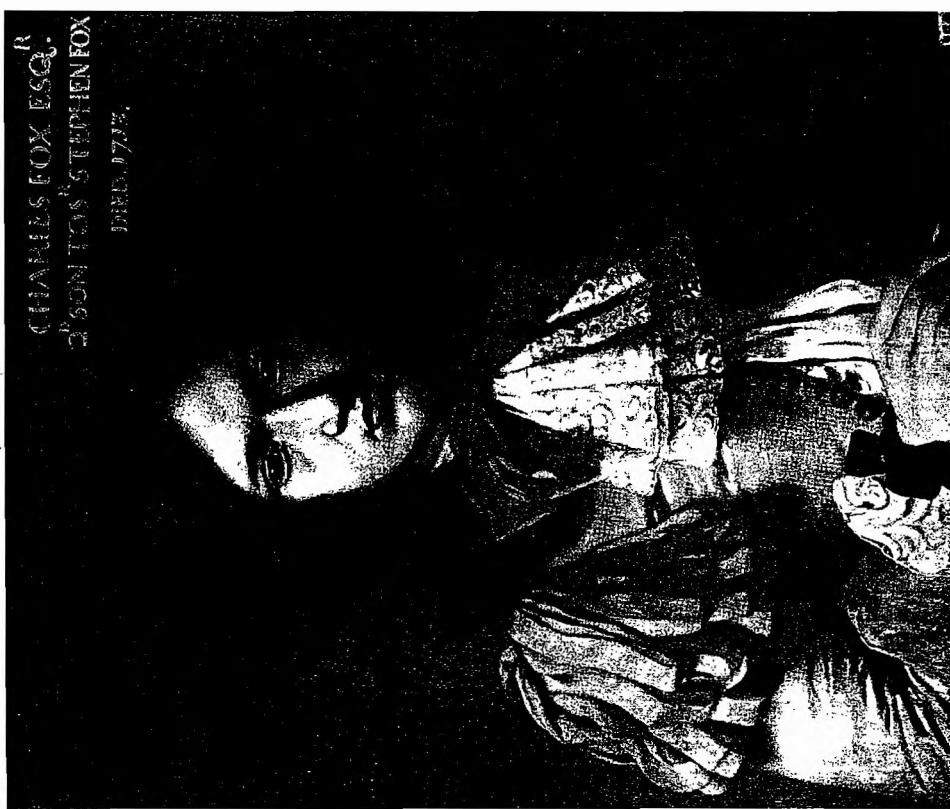


b. CARLO DOLCI; Sir Thomas Baines

Plate 31



b. CARLO MARATTA: Sir Thomas Isham



a. CARLO MARATTA: Charles Fox



a. RIBERA: Drunken Silenus painted for Gaspar Roomer



b. PAOLO DE MATTEIS: The Choice of Hercules painted for Lord Shaftesbury

their Viennese palaces with pictures from their native land. Thus Marshal Caprara commissioned many paintings in Bologna¹ and, above all, the great Prince Eugene of Savoy proved as loyal to Italy in the arts of peace as he was to Austria in those of war.

Prince Eugene was indeed the most grandiose and influential private patron in Europe.² His Winter Palace begun by Fischer von Erlach and the two Belvederes by Lucas von Hildebrandt are inspired testimonials to his passion for building; the marble *Apotheosis* by Permoser which he himself designed survives as an illustration of his megalomania if not of his taste; but his collection of pictures has been dispersed. Today it is celebrated chiefly for the unique Flemish primitives it once contained; but to the Italians of his own time Eugene was famous as a 'generous protector and supreme lover of the fine arts, especially those of our native land . . .'.³ He proved this by his magnificent patronage of Italian painters and sculptors. Louis Dorigny, Marc'antonio Chiarini, Gaetano Fanti, Carlo Carloni and others came from Italy to paint frescoes in the Upper and Lower Belvederes; Lorenzo Mattielli and Domenico Antonio Parodi made statues for the hall and gardens; Solimena sent altarpieces for the chapel. In the gallery hung pictures by Crespi, whom he employed for five years, dal Sole and many other Bolognese painters⁴; by the Neapolitans Giacomo del Po and Solimena, and by Vittore Ghislandi from Bergamo.⁵ These are only the most famous and the list could be doubled or trebled without difficulty. From the records and inventories that have survived we gain the impression that the subjects he loved best were those taken from the ancient poets, especially Virgil, whose 'portrait' writing the *Aeneid* he commissioned from Giacomo Antonio Boni in Bologna.⁶ His taste was above all for the sumptuous and heavy. Though he lived until 1736 he seems to have shown no interest whatsoever in the lighter manner of the Venetians, many of whom came to work in Vienna for other patrons.

For Prince Eugene was only one among a multitude of nobles who were commissioning Italian art at the time. Delivery from the Turks and then victory against the French established the city as a great European capital—a new Rome, which rivalled the old in its appeal to artists. Domenico Martinelli came to build the town palace of the Liechtenstein family in 1691, and in 1704 Andrea Pozzo, who had been summoned by the Emperor, began to paint the ceiling of the hall in their garden palace. Mattielli made sculpture for many an aristocratic garden. Ferdinando Galli-Bibbiena produced marvellous theatrical spectacles. Painters travelling north to Germany all stopped to work in Vienna. And from everywhere in Italy pictures poured in to enrich the new collections that were being formed in the city. With its feudal aristocracy and all-powerful religious foundations Vienna provided a civilisation that the Italians could

¹ Above all by Crespi and dal Sole—Zanotti, I, p. 302, and II, p. 45.

² Ilg, *passim*, and Tietze, pp. 891–907. For the fate of the collection much of which was bought by Carlo Emanuele III of Savoy see Baudi di Vesme, 1886, pp. 161–256.

³ Zanotti, I, p. 275.

⁴ *ibid.*, I, p. 302, and II, p. 43.

⁵ De Dominicis, IV, pp. 432–3, 439.

⁶ Zanotti, II, p. 234.

understand. It was the last conquest of the Baroque in a world whose values were already changing.

Savoy was the other continental state which emerged transformed from the war of the Spanish succession and here too victory was accompanied by a wonderful flowering of the arts.¹ During much of the seventeenth century the architecture of Turin had been of European significance, but patronage of painting had been almost laughable in its futility. Local talent was rare and attempts to attract artists from other towns had met with a long series of failures. Painter after painter had refused to make the journey north, and successive dukes, who were in any case more addicted to hunting and military pursuits than the cultivation of art, seemed generally resigned to the situation. Now in his hour of triumph Victor Amadeus was able, with the help of his artistic dictator Filippo Juvarra, to change all this. They followed the example of patrons in other uncreative centres and attracted leading painters, or at least their pictures, from a wide variety of more richly endowed cities. In carrying out this imaginative policy, however, they had already been anticipated in a number of smaller provincial towns and it is to them that we must turn in order to understand the significance of its origins and development.

¹ Claretta, 1893, pp. 1-309.