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ADOPTED PAPAL KIN AS ART PATRONS IN EARLY MODERN ROME (1592-  
1676)

by

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Dr. Tod Marder

and approved by

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## ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Adopted Papal Kin as Art Patrons in Early Modern Rome (1592-1676)

by KAREN J. LLOYD

Dissertation Director: Dr. Tod Marder

This dissertation examines the art patronage of adopted papal nephews in Baroque Rome (1592-1676), exploring the relationship between adoption and the arts in the context of a political system based on clientage and nepotism. When the nephew was not from the same paternal line as the pope, the onus fell on the pope and his nephew to publically proclaim, thereby reifying, the solidity of their relationship. Adopted nephews used the visual arts to create public displays of the unity of the ruling papal family, to demonstrate allegiance to a new paternal affiliation, and as part of the client system, in which works of art acted as signs of favour.

Chapter 1 offers an outline of adoption and its reception based on primary source documents; subsequent chapters are case studies of individual patrons. Cinzio Passeri Aldobrandini's (1551-1610) career demonstrates the essential link between paternity and authority. This chapter presents unpublished documentation regarding Cinzio as a collector and reconsiders the significance of his ties to poet Torquato Tasso.

Scipione Caffarelli Borghese's (1577-1632) commissions reiterate the hierarchical relationship between pope and nephew, preempting potential dissent by reaffirming the source and limitations of his authority and proclaiming the unity of the

Borghese papacy. The first detailed reading of Guido Reni's 1608 Vatican Palace frescoes anchors this chapter.

Contemporary commentary regarding the first true adopted nephew, Camillo Astalli Pamphili (1619-63), illustrates the extent of the resistance to adoption. His few commissions, from Velázquez and Claude Lorrain, present him as a worthy nephew in an attempt to normalize his unprecedented situation.

The three adopted nephews of Clement X (1670-76) used their projects to proclaim their crucial role in the Altieri papacy and the illustrious heritage of their Albertoni family roots. From new analyzes of Carlo Maratti's Altieri Palace fresco and its development, to the rediscovery of a lost painting by Baciccio, this chapter highlights the issues at the crux of early modern resistance to adoption: loyalty, memory, and legitimacy.

As the first study of adoption and its relationship to the visual arts in Seicento Rome, this dissertation reconstitutes a key component of baroque society and culture.

## PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Often, when discussing my dissertation topic, one of the first questions I am asked is if I am adopted. I am not, and as an art historian it seems odd to me that one should be expected to have such a direct and personal connection with what is, after all, intended to be a scholarly work of historical research. However, adoption is a topic that does tend to attract writers and thinkers with a personal stake in the issue. For example, the 2005 book *Adoption matters: philosophical and feminist essays*, opens with brief biographies of the authors, wherein each person identifies some immediate connection to the theme: they were adopted, or a sibling was, or their own children are adopted.<sup>1</sup> I have also been told in the course of my research that my work will be particularly interesting to those who have been adopted, as it will give them a chance to see the historical manifestation of the practice. I hope not to disappoint them, however I myself doubt if it will be as interesting to them as expected. This dissertation deals with a very specific context, the seventeenth-century papal curia in Rome, and a version of adoption that has little in common with how we understand the practice today. My only possible connection to adoption may in fact be closer to seventeenth-century concerns than to those of today: it has been a matter of joking dismay in my family for many years that, as mine is a generation of girls, my family name will likely come to an abrupt end with us. Luckily, the patriarchal concerns that haunted 17<sup>th</sup> century Romans do not much preoccupy me, and I think I am content to let the other Lloyds of the world carry us forward.

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<sup>1</sup> Sally Anne Haslanger and Charlotte Witt, eds., *Adoption matters: philosophical and feminist essays* (Ithica, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005).

In the process of completing this project I have incurred many debts, some of which I imagine I am not even aware. I am utterly grateful to everyone who helped me along the way and will do my best to thank them here; should I err and forget someone please know that you have all my gratitude much more than I have all my faculties.

First thank you to my advisor, Tod Marder. For his unfailing support, critical reading and editing, untold patience, and bottomless enthusiasm I am profoundly grateful. I could not imagine a more rewarding and enjoyable relationship between an advisor and advisee, and I hope between colleagues and friends. Similarly I would like to extend my thanks to all the faculty in the Art History department of Rutgers University, particularly Sarah McHam, Catherine Puglisi, and Erik Thunø. Thanks also to friend and colleague Benjamin Paul: in agreement, and more often, disagreement, always a pleasure. From my years of coursework and beyond I would also thank Tracy Ehrlich, in whose course on Roman baroque architecture I first studied the Altieri family; Louise Rice, with whom I also studied Roman baroque architecture, and who I thank moreover as someone whose knowledge of and love for baroque Rome is inspiring; and finally John Pinto, for his boundless generosity with his time and expertise. Thanks also to Thomas Kuehn for first discussing the topic of adoption with me via email, and Michael Hill for discussing Scipione Borghese.

I could not have survived my years at Rutgers without the help and humour of Geralyn Colvill, and I am permanently in her debt.

As this dissertation is the culmination of many years of studying art history I would also like to take the opportunity to thank those who shaped my undergraduate degree at the University of Toronto: Mark Cheetham, Una D'Elia, Michael

Koortbojian, Alexander Nagel, and Philip Sohm. They, and others, offered an unsurpassable education and academic training, and I appreciate everything I experienced and absorbed during my years in Toronto on a regular basis.

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During my years in Rome I have been fortunate to have been warmly taken in by the Bibliotheca Hertziana, first as a Kress fellow and subsequently as a guest. I could not have completed this project without the resources, bibliographic and human, of the Bibliotheca Hertziana. My thanks to the directors, Elisabeth Kieven and Sybille Ebert-Schifferer, for opening the doors of the Hertziana to myself and the other Kress fellows, and to Ralph Dobler, Susanne Kubersky, and all of the staff and *borsisti* at the Hertziana, for their patience, assistance, and camaraderie. Particular thanks to my stalwart office mates, Linda Nolan, Anna Seidel, and Erik Wegerhoff.

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Rome who facilitated my work in the Aldobrandini archives. Thanks also to the archivists at the Aldobrandini and Pamphili family archives, Dottoressa Antonella Fabriani Rojas and Dottoressa Alessandra Mercantini, respectively, for their assistance and for allowing me access to the private archives.

Getting through a dissertation requires not only funds, libraries, luck, and patience, but also bottomless fonts of moral support. For that, and more, my thanks go to: Walter Cupperi, Carol Nater, Miles Pattenden, Mike Portt, Lisa Neal Tice, Sascha Scott, Justin Sookraj, Sarah Stanners, Karolina Zgraja, my sister, Cathy Lloyd, and all of my relatives who have supported me throughout the last decade. They were always there with a sympathetic ear, a laugh, and rivers of encouragement. I would particularly like to remember my grandfather, Charles Misener. His memory was a source of encouragement to me through the final stages of this project, as vivid as he himself had always been in life.

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I sketch from Nature, and the picture's true;  
Whate'er the subject, whether grave or gay,  
Painful *experience* in a distant land  
Made it mine own.

S. Moodie



## DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents, Deborah and George Lloyd. They are wonderful parents, who have encouraged me with their love and support in everything that I have done, rejoicing with every success and cheering me on through every defeat. Moreover, they are amazing people, who through their own lives have given me an endless source of joy and inspiration. They have taught me, among other things, that respect is self-perpetuating and that good humour (in both senses of the phrase) is life's saving grace. Thank you.

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## INTRODUCTION

“How serious it seems to me, the task of representing to Your Serenity the state of the court of Rome, labyrinth of the world...”<sup>1</sup> This is how Venetian ambassador to Rome Pietro Mocenigo began a 1674 report back to the Serenissima. Mocenigo’s metaphor is well chosen: the Roman court was a political labyrinth, shaped by a myriad of shifting political allegiances and alliances to factions within the court itself and to foreign powers, particularly France and Spain, as well as other Italian centres such as Florence and Venice. Those who strove to establish themselves had to forge strong client relationships, professing and demonstrating their loyalty to carefully chosen superiors, while in turn fostering and grooming similar loyalties toward themselves on the part of individuals lower down in the hierarchy.<sup>2</sup>

The situation has been compared to Norbert Elias’ analysis of the court society created in France under Louis XIV, where demonstrations of favour by the king had a real effect on the social and economic status of the members of his court.<sup>3</sup> Interpersonal relationships form the foundation of such a society and are shaped by etiquette and perceptions of partiality. The seventeenth-century papal court functioned similarly, yet with the added complexity that the monarch was not a representative of a dynasty, but rather an elected official whose influence would last beyond his death

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<sup>1</sup> “Quanto mi riesca grave il rappresentare a Vra Serenità lo stato della Corte di Roma, laberinto del mondo...” Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Italiens, 690, 52r. *Relazione della Corte di Roma fatta all’Ecc.mo senato di Venezia dall’Ecc.mo Mozenigo stato Ambasciatore appresso Clemente X. L’anno 1674.*

<sup>2</sup> Gigliola Fragnito, “Cardinals’ Courts in Sixteenth-Century Rome,” *The Journal of Modern History* 65 (1993): 34, 38, 51; Barbara McClung Hallman, *Italian Cardinals, Reform and the Church as Property* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 101-103.

<sup>3</sup> Klaus Jaitner, “Il nepotismo di papa Clement VIII (1592-1605) e il dramma del cardinale Cinzio Aldobrandini,” *Archivio Storico Italiano* 535 (1988): 66. Norbert Elias, *The court society*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983).

only through the vestiges of his cardinal nephew and ‘creatures.’<sup>4</sup> The members of the papal court had to cultivate relationships that would allow them to ascend in the social and political order established under the reigning pope, while hopefully remaining advantageous through the inevitable changes that would come after the successive conclave. Such relationships were forged in a myriad of ways: appointment to offices, assignment of benefices, protection extended to family members, offers of lodging and hospitality, and gifts of art or naturalia are only some examples. Relationships of this kind carry the most weight if there is a public to perceive them – an individual gains influence from the protection of, for example, the powerful Barberini family only if it was widely known that one enjoys their protection. Even at the highest levels of the papal bureaucracy, in the relationship between the pope and his cardinal nephew, it was critical for the pope to establish the authority of his nephew by bestowing on him key offices, prominent political positions, and the markers of family identity, in particular the family palace and feudal properties.

This dissertation examines art patronage in the context of four papacies where the familial relationship between the pope and his nephew did not fit the norm, and as a consequence the nephew’s identity and authority could be called into question. The papacies in question are those of Clement VIII Aldobrandini (1592-1605), Paul V Borghese (1605-1621), Innocent X Pamphili (1644-55), and Clement X Altieri (1670-76). All four cases involve an adoption or an aggregation, that is, when an individual is absorbed by their maternal, rather than paternal line, taking on that family name and moving into the maternal line of descent. Although each case is different, and none fit the criteria we associate with full legal adoption in the modern sense, all of these cases

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<sup>4</sup> ‘Creatures’ in the seventeenth-century Roman sense of the word, namely the cardinals created by a given pope and expected to pursue their interests.

problematize central tenets in early modern society regarding the nature and authority of paternal lineage and blood ties, both of which were at the core of political and social relationships.

The blood tie between the pope and his nephew was, moreover, particularly critical, as the cardinal nephew was seen as the pope's alter ego, and it was due to his status as proxy for the head of the Papal States that foreign ambassadors were willing to deal with him in the name of their respective kings, one of the main aspects of the nephew's position.<sup>5</sup> Adoption and, to a lesser extent, aggregation, called that status into question, and could be a socio-political point of weakness. In such cases, the onus fell on the pope and his nephew to publically proclaim, and thereby reify, the legitimacy and solidity of their relationship. The visual arts could be a powerful tool in this process. Artistic commissions provided opportunities for public displays that established the nephew's critical role in papal government and allowed him to demonstrate his allegiance to his new paternal affiliation; works of art also played a critical role as signs of favour in the client system.

Structurally this dissertation takes a biographical approach, presenting a series of case studies of individual patrons.<sup>6</sup> As such, it falls into the line of historiography

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<sup>5</sup> On the role of the papal nephew from a seventeenth-century perspective see: BAV, Barb. Lat. 5672, '*Cardinale nipote di papa*'.

<sup>6</sup> Within the time frame addressed in this dissertation there is one other aggregated nephew who I have chosen not to consider, namely Alessandro Damasceni Peretti, also known as the Cardinal di Montalto, the maternal nephew of Pope Sixtus V Peretti. He was an important patron of the arts, however the bulk of his projects date from after his uncle's death and are more appropriate to a study of what Michael Hill has referred to as the 'dis-enfranchised nephew'. Michael Hill, "The patronage of a disenfranchised nephew: Cardinal Scipione Borghese and the restoration of San Crisogono in Rome, 1618 – 1628," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 60 (2001): 432-449. On the Cardinal di Montalto's patronage see, among other things: Erina Russo de Caro, "I cardinali Alessandro Montalto e Andrea Peretti committenti di artisti e soccorritori dei poveri," in: *I cardinali di Santa Romana Chiesa: collezionisti e mecenati*, ed. Marco Gallo (Rome: Edizioni dell'Associazione Culturale Shakespeare and Company, 2002), 9-13; Patrizia Cavazzini, "New documents for Cardinal



inaugurated by Francis Haskell's 1963 *Patrons & Painters* (re-published in 1980), which provided a broad survey of the arts in Italy in the early modern period from the point of view of the concerns of individual patrons and institutions. Subsequently, scholars have largely taken a more focused approach, examining the patronage of a single individual or family in order to address issues of the stylistic change, historical context, and social significance of the arts in a carefully delineated context. Notable among these are Pamela Jones' work on Federico Borromeo, John Beldon Scott on the Barberini, and Xavier Salomon on Pietro Aldobrandini. This dissertation attempts to negotiate a middle ground between the two methods, presenting case studies of the patronage of a series of individuals linked by the related phenomena of adoption and aggregation, over the long historical span of almost a century. The time-frame under consideration fits within the boundaries of what has been identified as the age of 'minor nepotism', which began in 1567 with Pius V's bull prohibiting popes to enfeoff their blood relatives, and ended in 1692 with Innocent XII's bull *Romanum decet Pontificem* abolishing nepotism. In general terms the nephews considered in this dissertation functioned within a similar set of parameters in terms of the opportunities afforded to them by their position and in the expectations attached to their role by contemporaries and family members.

On a strictly historical level this dissertation aims to re-consider fundamental aspects of early modern Roman society, in particular the role of the papal nephew and the primacy of familial relations, by looking at adoption, a social practice that calls

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Alessandro Peretti-Montalto's frescoes at Bagnaia," *The Burlington magazine* 135 (1993): 316-327; Carla Benocci, "Lo sviluppo seicentesco delle ville romane di età sistina: il giardino della Villa Peretti Montalto e gli interventi nelle altre ville familiari del cardinale Alessandro Peretti Montalto (parte prima: 1606 - 1614)," *L'urbe* 55 (1996): 261-281; Carla Benocci, "Lo sviluppo seicentesco delle ville romane di età sistina: il giardino della Villa Peretti Montalto e gli interventi nelle altre ville familiari del cardinale Alessandro Peretti Montalto (parte seconda: 1615 - fine sec. XVII)," *L'urbe* 56 (1996): 117-131.

into question many of those core values of Seicento Roman society. The purpose of examining this material is to then use it as the basis for a consideration of how adoption is reflected in and shaped the visual arts, focusing specifically on the patronage of papal nephews. I have chosen in part to focus on papal nephews due to the wealth of primary and secondary source material related to them, but also because the particular nature of the role of the papal nephew puts the issues raised by adoption into stark relief.

Each chapter begins with a biographical outline of the respective cardinal or nephews and attempts to characterize the particular nature of their adoptive or aggregated situation. The bulk of each chapter is a presentation of some of the respective nephews' commissions and how those commissions reflect an adoption or aggregation. There are key themes that underlie all of the chapters, foremost among them legitimacy, authority, and loyalty, however the chapters do not attempt to dogmatically respond to a single over-arching question. Instead, I have attempted to present how the patrons' adopted or aggregated status affected their ability to function as a patron of the arts, or how that status critically affected the projects and works that they commissioned. I have specifically not chosen to present this material in a way that attempts to answer the question of what these nephews did *differently* than other nephews, as it does not appear to me to be the most fruitful approach. Camillo Astalli Pamphili, Innocent X's adopted nephew, for example did not undertake projects that drastically departed from what his immediate predecessor, the first Camillo Pamphili, had done. Instead, Astalli took Pamphili as a model, and attempted to fit himself into pre-established parameters. Similarly, Scipione Caffarelli Borghese, Paul V's aggregated nephew, did not invent a new approach to the visual presentation of the cardinal nephew. Rather, the persistent way in which he visualized the role of the

papal nephew as a vital support for the pope reflects the concerns of a nephew preoccupied with establishing his authority through visual means. When viewed against the backdrop of concerns regarding adoption and aggregation in early modern Rome, and particularly in the curia, the incessant return of such themes takes on notable significance.

The first Renaissance pope who aggregated a nephew into his family was Pius II Piccolomini (r. 1458-1464), who gave his surname to his sister's son, Cardinal Francesco Todeschini.<sup>7</sup> The same situation would not arise again until more than a century later, when Sixtus V Peretti (r. 1585-90) absorbed his nephew Alessandro Damasceni into the Peretti family. From that point on the manipulation of such family ties accelerated. Both Clement VIII and his successor Paul V aggregated nephews into the paternal line; Paul V perhaps did not have a plethora of realistic alternatives for a cardinal nephew, while Clement VIII was likely hedging his bets, taking on the experienced but volatile Cinzio and the promising yet untested Pietro. After the relatively anomalous Barberini papacy, which abounded with fraternal nephews, came the difficulty-ridden Pamphili papacy and the equally difficult Camillo Astalli. Astalli's adoption can be seen as paving the way for Clement X Altieri's adoption of three members of the Albertoni family, an unprecedented three-person adoption that shifted the balance of power in the newly created Altieri family away from the pope and onto his newly created nephews. All of these familial manipulations should be set against the increasing contemporary discontent and discomfort with nepotism that surfaces throughout these two centuries. An example can be found in the cautionary statements against nepotism published by the Council of Trent, Pius V's 1567 bull

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<sup>7</sup> Alfred A. Strnad, "Francesco Todeschini-Piccolomini: Politik und Mäzenatentum im Quattrocento," *Römische historische Mitteilungen* 8/9 (1965): 101-425. Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini was subsequently the very short-lived Pope Pius III (r. Sept.-Oct. 1503).

*Admonet nos* that forbade popes from enfeoffing their nephews, Urban VIII's inquiry into the licitness of his behavior toward his nephews, and Alexander VII Chigi's initial refusal to bring his family to Rome or name a cardinal nephew.<sup>8</sup>

In order to understand the concerns of adopted and aggregated nephews in seventeenth-century Rome we must first take an overall look at these practices, how they functioned and were perceived, before turning to a consideration of adoption and aggregation in a specifically papal context. The first chapter of this dissertation begins with an examination of the historical roots of adoption, and a summary of the historiography on the topic in relation to early modern Europe. I have attempted to look at the theme from a legal and a social perspective, at how the practice functioned technically and how it was received. I am not a legal historian, and a full legal analysis remains to be done, but I hope that the chapter lucidly provides materials and raises issues for further study. The second part of the chapter looks at adoption in the papal court, and maps out links between adoption and nepotism in order to situate the practice in the context of papal politics.

The second chapter of this dissertation looks at the career and patronage of Cinzio Passeri Aldobrandini, one of Pope Clement VIII's two cardinal nephews. Cinzio was a blood nephew of Clement VIII's, but by Clement VIII's sister (a sororal nephew), thus he did not carry the Aldobrandini name. He was aggregated into the family by Cardinal Ippolito Aldobrandini at an unknown point prior to the latter's election as pope in 1592. Although not a full adoption, Cinzio's case is key to this study as his career and patronage provide a vivid demonstration of the significance of paternal lineage in the role of the cardinal nephew. Cinzio's career as a cardinal was shaped

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<sup>8</sup> See Chapter 1 and the Conclusion of this dissertation.

and in part determined by the hostile competition that broke out between himself and the other cardinal nephew, Pietro Aldobrandini. Although Clement VIII initially strove to treat both nephews equally, the combination of Cinzio's weaker position as an aggregated nephew and his temperamental character, set against Pietro's driving ambition, eventually led to Cinzio's eclipse by Pietro in the curia and in the art world.

Despite his political failures, Cinzio's career is important as a demonstration of how the appearance of papal favour had a real affect on political influence, and how the arts could be utilized in order to project the impression of such favour. With his limited resources and secondary position, Cinzio would not become a leading patron of the arts like his cousin Pietro. The few works with which he can be associated are disparate and their full histories are still unclear, yet examining them allows us to consider the role of the arts as they relate to three different aspects of the position of the cardinal nephew: the use of the arts in presenting a self-image as a devoted prince of the church, particularly at the outset of the pontificate and cardinal's career; the arts as a political tool to broadcast the deeds of the cardinal's papal uncle and family; and finally the cardinal as a private collector and his possessions as a reflection of his personal and political interests.

Chapter Three examines the patronage of Cardinal Scipione Borghese, an individual whose familial status was identical to that of Cinzio Aldobrandini, but whose career took an entirely different path. Like Cinzio, Scipione was Paul V's nephew through his sister and had to be aggregated into the Borghese family when he was elevated to the cardinalate in 1605. Unlike Cinzio, Scipione enjoyed the position of papal nephew without competition and was able to consolidate his standing to the point that he became one of the richest and most powerful cardinal nephews in the history of the papacy. Again, personal temperament, in this case his complete

willingness to accept his uncle's authority, no doubt played a significant part in Scipione's success. However, as this chapter demonstrates, from the first commissions that can be associated with his name, Scipione projected an image of the papal nephew as dependent for influence on the goodwill and power of the pope and as the support system to his uncle, conforming to the ideals of the time. Willing subordination to a higher power is a theme that recurs in Scipione's patronage. His use of such themes positively confirms what we see in reverse in Cinzio Aldobrandini's career, that public displays of favour on the part of the pope and of loyalty on the part of the nephew, and the larger perception of those ties of affection and dedication, had a real affect on political and artistic influence.

My evaluation of Borghese's patronage focuses on a project that has thus far gone largely unremarked in art historical literature, despite the fact that it involves leading patrons, Paul V and Scipione Borghese, and one of the seventeenth century's most important painters, Guido Reni. In 1608 Reni executed two sets of frescoes in Paul V's new Datary wing of the Vatican palace. Reni painted three scenes showing, respectively the Transfiguration, Pentecost, and Ascension, on the ceiling of the second floor room now known as the Sala delle Dame, and three scenes showing events from the life of Samson on the ceiling of the Sala delle Nozze Aldobrandini, found directly below on the piano nobile. Both rooms were antechambers, the former to the pope's apartments and the latter to the cardinal nephew's apartments, and they should be read together as an expression of the nature and goals of the Borghese papacy. The scenes in the Sala delle Dame represent the public mission of the papacy and express themes common to Paul V's later patronage, in particular the need for the evangelical spread of the church and the central importance of Mary. In the Sala delle

Nozze Aldobrandini we see an expression of the public role of the papal nephew as a support system to the pope and the militant protector of the church.

Reni's frescoes lead to an analysis of a set of tapestries depicting events from the life of Samson. Commissioned by Scipione Borghese in 1610, the tapestries are now lost or in private collections. Extensive surviving correspondence between Scipione and the nunzio in Brussels, Guido Bentivoglio, allows us to reconstruct a considerable amount of information about these works. Moreover, the letters give us insight into Scipione as a patron, something that is often seen as lacking in studies of the cardinal's artistic endeavours. Scipione acted as an attentive and careful patron, intent on getting full value for his money and the highest quality works. Scipione's concerns, as they emerge from this correspondence, reflect a patron who is most interested in fundamental aesthetic qualities such as color and good design, and in the social valence of such elaborate artistic displays.

The next portion of the chapter considers another manifestation of the theme of the nephew as 'support' and his willing subordination to the pope in a secular sculpture, focusing on Gian Lorenzo Bernini's *Aeneas and Anchises* (1618-1619), still in the collection of the Galleria Borghese. Considering this sculpture as a representation of the ideal relationship between cardinal nephew and pope allows for new insights into Bernini's youthful masterpiece.

Chapter Three closes with a brief consideration of the Caffarelli chapel in S. Maria sopra Minerva, an undertaking that at first reflection goes against the grain of this view of Scipione Borghese as dedicated to projecting his image of the good Borghese nephew. Borghese's restoration and re-decoration of the chapel began with the erection of a tomb to his father, Francesco Caffarelli, from whom he was legally

emancipated. His decision to undertake the redecoration of the Caffarelli family chapel could have been considered problematic, as possibly undermining the public perception of his complete identification with the Borghese. Yet even in this project ostensibly inspired by filial devotion to his natal family, Scipione did not break with his loyalty to the Borghese, instead using his status as a member of the papal Borghese to glorify his Caffarelli parentage. On the whole, Borghese's patronage exemplified the comportment of an ideal adopted nephew: he visually acknowledged and celebrated his subordination and servitude to his papal uncle, which in a circular manner solidified the legitimacy and power of his position, thereby serving the Borghese papacy as a whole.

In marked contrast to Chapter Three, Chapter Four examines the brief career of a papal nephew who can be generously considered an abject failure. Camillo Astalli was raised to the purple and given the Pamphili family name by Pope Innocent X in 1650, following the abrupt abandonment of the position by Camillo Pamphili proper, Olimpia Maidalchini Pamphili's son. Astalli held the position for only four short years, before being ignominiously removed from Rome and the Pamphili clan in 1654 as a result of his ill-advised political intriguing. Although he had neither the time nor influence to become a major patron of the arts, Astalli is key for this study as he represents the first true adoption of a papal nephew – he was related to the Pamphili only very distantly, through a marriage, and his status and rise to power were loudly and insistently criticized by contemporaries. Through Astalli we see the full extent of the opposition that could be drummed up against an individual whose status in their relative papal family was fabricated and tenuous. This allows us to better understand the insistence with which the Altieri would proclaim their legitimacy later in the century.



Only two works can be associated with Astalli with any certainty: a portrait of the cardinal by Diego Velázquez (New York, The Hispanic Society) and Claude Lorrain's *Landscape with Apollo and the Muses* (Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland).

Both commissions suggest that Astalli was attempting to integrate himself into the Pamphili through visual means, first by having his likeness painted as part of a series of portraits made of Innocent X and his court and secondly by imitating the patronage of, in the hopes of surpassing, the previous cardinal nephew, Camillo Pamphili proper. Astalli's primary importance in the context of this dissertation lies in the vitriolic reactions elicited by his elevation to the cardinalate, which exposed the distrust that adoptees and the process of adoption could elicit in Seicento Rome.

Finally, Chapter Five examines several of the key works commissioned by the three adopted nephews of Pope Clement X Altieri: Gaspare, Angelo, and Cardinal Paluzzo Paluzzi degli Albertoni. Considering the patronage of Clement X's adopted family members is significantly different than looking at that of a single cardinal nephew, as here we are dealing with three distinct individuals participating in different spheres of contemporary life, ecclesiastical and secular. Unfortunately, the task of differentiating the interests of these three patrons, their goals, and their roles in the family is made much more difficult due to the issue of access to the family archives, still held in Palazzo Altieri and largely unexplored.<sup>9</sup> I therefore acknowledge from the outset that this chapter will, by necessity, be a rough sketch of only a few projects undertaken by the Altieri nephews. I aim to provide an outline of what we are able to say from the available information, with a *caveat* that all conclusions will hopefully

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<sup>9</sup> The last scholar to work there for any length of time was Armando Schiavo in the late 1950s and 1960s.

one day be subject to revision in light of the full documentary history of these projects and the Altieri family during these years.

With these limitations in mind, I begin this chapter with a discussion of the main fresco painted in Palazzo Altieri after its reconstruction in the 1670's, Carlo Maratti's *Triumph of Clemency*. Maratti's fresco offers a propagandistic image of the Altieri papal government through allegorical representations of the main members of the family. This fresco is only one work in an extensive cycle of paintings that were executed in Palazzo Altieri during Clement X's reign, and that should be considered together. A complete analysis of the palace's decorative program cannot realistically be attempted without full knowledge of what sources there may be in the Altieri archive, thus this portion of the chapter remains a *bozzetto*.

Continuing with works associated with Palazzo Altieri, I then turn to a discussion of an unexecuted work that is known of only through a brief mention in an *avviso*, an equestrian statue of Gaspare Altieri commissioned from Gian Lorenzo Bernini and intended to be placed in the courtyard of the family palace. While we can make several comments on the likely installation of the horse, there is no surviving visual evidence that could give us a clear idea of what Bernini intended, and thus the project can only be analyzed for its ideological associations. These are of sufficient importance in themselves to warrant a discussion of Gaspare's equestrian portrait. The choice of artist, timing, and the only documentary mention of the project all suggest that it was conceived as a response to the increasingly fractured relationship between the papacy and the French crown and as a means of reasserting the hegemony of the pope and his family in the Christian world.

The final portion of the chapter is dedicated to the patronage of Angelo Altieri, specifically his commission of a painting of the Beata Ludovica Albertoni from Giovan Battista Gaulli and the redecoration of his funerary chapel in S. Maria in Campitelli, unveiled in 1705. Angelo's patronage represents another facet of the adoptee's situation, as the works he commissioned were entirely dedicated to celebrating the Beata Ludovica Albertoni, his ancestor through his natal family. The most famed of these commissions is Bernini's statue of the beata in the Altieri chapel in the Trastevere church of S. Francesco a Ripa. This complex and subtle work has been analyzed and re-analyzed, but a unanimously accepted reading of its meaning has yet to be established.<sup>10</sup> While Ludovica's beatification and the celebration of it brought honour to both the Altieri and Albertoni families, and thus would have been encouraged by all members of the newly fused families, it appears to have been Angelo who was the driving force behind her monumental commemorations. This is significant as, of the three Altieri adoptees, Angelo was the least integrated into the Altieri and the most closely tied to the Albertoni. He had no clear role in the new Altieri family, as he was neither cardinal nephew nor secular head of the family, and his allegiance to the Albertoni is strongly suggested by additional evidence, such as the fact that in the 1690s Angelo moved back to Palazzo Albertoni, where he lived out the remainder of his life. Angelo's patronage confirms that individuals who changed families later in life retained strong ties to their original clan, regardless of their official shift in allegiance.

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<sup>10</sup> Although it is the best known of the Altieri projects and Angelo's most prominent commission, I have chosen not to discuss the S. Francesco a Ripa chapel in this dissertation. At this time, without access to the family archive, I feel that we simply do not have the available information to fully and correctly read Bernini's statue, and the development of the chapel as a whole. Rather than re-hash the largely unsatisfactory arguments that have already been put forward regarding the chapel I have chosen to focus on works that are significantly understudied and for which there is still much that can be said.

## CHAPTER 1: ADOPTION, ADOPTION AND NEPOTISM, BRIEF NOTES ON ADOPTION IMAGERY

### *Adoption*

Adoption was common in the Greek and Roman worlds, and was practiced at the highest social and political levels, most prominently by the series of adopted Roman emperors: Nerva (AD 30 – AD 98), Trajan (AD 53 - AD 117), Hadrian (AD 76 - AD 138), Antoninus Pius (AD 86 - AD 161), and Marcus Aurelius (AD 121 - AD 180). As is often the case, there was something of a split between theory and practice in Roman law regarding adoption. In legal theory, adoption could only be undertaken by living participants, thus testamentary adoption, that is naming an heir and successor in a will, which we often see in seventeenth-century Rome, was not permissible.<sup>1</sup> However, literary evidence indicates that testamentary adoption did take place. Post-classical and Justinian law regarding adoption derived from Roman law, specifically from the view that *adoptio naturam imitatur*, adoption imitates nature, creating a likeness of filiation.<sup>2</sup> This meant that women could not adopt, since they could not wield *patria potestas*, or complete paternal rights, and that the adopter had to be at least eighteen years older than the adoptee, since he should be analogous to a natural father. There are overlaps and divergences between the ancient and early modern Roman practices regarding adoption: in the latter testamentary adoption was common, and as we will see there does not appear to have been a stipulated age difference between adopter and adoptee. As in antiquity, in the seventeenth century women do not appear to have been able to undertake adoptions, which is not

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<sup>1</sup> ‘Adozione,’ *Enciclopedia del Diritto*, vol. I. Ab-Ale, ed. Francesco Calasso (Milan: Giuffrè Editore, 1958), 580.

<sup>2</sup> ‘Adozione,’ *Enciclopedia del Diritto*, vol. I. Ab-Ale, ed. Francesco Calasso (Milan: Giuffrè Editore, 1958), 581.

surprising given the vital links between the practice and inheritance issues. Yet the most fundamental and critical link between the ancient and early modern Roman conceptions of adoption is in the basic view of the practice as the construction of a legal fiction. Adopted sons were an imitation of a real son; they could fill the filial role, yet they were fundamentally different from a blood relative. This distinction meant that an adopted son or nephew was always in a somewhat precarious position: their filiation was a legal one, and as such did not carry the instinctive sentimental ties of loyalty and devotion that come from a blood connection; moreover, as a legal process, adoption could be contested and in some cases reversed. As we will see in examples of testamentary adoptions and adoption clauses in seventeenth-century wills, the practice was taken up as an absolute last resort, and in some cases without careful consideration of the adoptee – an adopted heir was already an *ad hoc* heir.

After the fall of the Roman empire, the practice was discouraged by the Catholic church and seems to have fallen out of favour. However, the argument that adoption was entirely eliminated throughout Europe, put forward by social historian Jack Goody and followed by subsequent scholars until recently, is exaggerated.<sup>3</sup> Goody's thesis was essentially an economic one, as he argued that the church discouraged adoption in order to collect the goods and funds left behind by childless couples. Among other aspects of the phenomenon, Goody overlooked specific instances of dynastic adoptions approved by the church, for instance when Pope Clement VII confirmed the 1380 adoption of Louis d'Anjou by Jeanne I, Queen of

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<sup>3</sup> Jack Goody, *The Development of the Family and Marriage in Europe* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 46. Goody's thesis was widely accepted, and can be found in more recent literature on the family, for example the work of Corbier. See: Mireille Corbier, "Divorce and Adoption as Roman Familial Strategies," in *Marriage, Divorce, and Children in Ancient Rome*, ed. Beryl Rawson (Oxford, U. K.: Clarendon Press, 1991), 47-78.

Naples.<sup>4</sup> In 1504, Julius II persuaded Guidobaldo da Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino, to adopt Francesco Maria della Rovere, the pope's nephew, in order to bring the duchy of Urbino into the Della Rovere family patrimony. In that case the adoption was approved by the College of Cardinals and publically celebrated in a grand ceremony in the Duomo in Urbino.<sup>5</sup> Further, there is commentary from preeminent theologians that does not cast adoption in a wholly negative light, for example in the work of Thomas Aquinas. Aquinas used the idea and practice of adoption as a means to describe the relationship between God and man, in the process providing another definition of the act:

...a man adopts another as his son, accepting him by his goodness as a participant in his inheritance. But the goodness of God is infinite and for this reason he accepts his creatures to take part of his goods, and above all rational creatures that, made in the image of God, are capable of divine beatitude...it is said therefore that God adopts man, because in his goodness he accepts them in the inheritance of his beatitude. – Divine adoption surpasses human adoption in this, as God with the gift of grace renders the adopted man fit for celestial inheritance, while man does not render the adopted man fit, but rather chooses him as suitable to be adopted.” (III, q. 23, a. 1)<sup>6</sup>

Two aspects of Aquinas' description of adoption are particularly relevant for a consideration of the practice in seventeenth-century Rome: that he puts inheritance at the crux of the practice and issue, and that he suggests that the adoptee has to be a

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<sup>4</sup> Kristen E. Gager, *Blood Ties and Fictive Ties. Adoption and Family Life in Early Modern France* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 47.

<sup>5</sup> Christine Shaw, *Julius II. The Warrior Pope* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), 184. Bernardino Baldi, *Della vita e de' fatti di Guidobaldo I da Montefeltro, Duca d'Urbino* (Milan: Silvestri, 1821), 173-178.

<sup>6</sup> “...un uomo adotta un altro come figlio ammettendolo per sua bontà alla partecipazione della propria eredità. Ma la bontà di Dio è infinita e per questo motivo egli ammette le sue creature alla partecipazione dei suoi beni, e soprattutto le creature razionali che, fatte a immagine di dio, sono capaci della beatitudine divina (...). si dice quindi che Dio adotta gli uomini, perché per sua bontà li ammette all'eredità della sua beatitudine. – L'adozione divina supera l'adozione umana in questo, che Dio con il dono della grazia rende l'uomo adottato idoneo all'eredità celeste, mentre l'uomo non rende idoneo l'adottato, ma piuttosto lo sceglie già idoneo per adottarlo” (III, q. 23, a. 1). Battista Mondin, *Dizionario Enciclopedico del pensiero di San Tommaso d'Aquino*, 2nd ed. (Bologna: Edizioni Studio Domenicano, 2000), 26.

suitable or worthy individual. In antiquity and early modern Italy the conception of adoption as a dynastic act overshadowed that of it as a charitable act. Thomas' concept of adoption is firmly rooted in the Roman past, as he remarks that "[a]doptive filiation is a shared likeness of natural filiation," enacted in man through the Holy Spirit, which is the love of the father for the son.<sup>7</sup> The idea of adoption as a legal fiction of a natural bond is fundamental for understanding the reception of the practice in early modern Rome, particularly within the papacy.<sup>8</sup>

Historians working on medieval and early modern France, in particular Franck Roumy and Kristen Gager, have disproven Goody's thesis, demonstrating that adoption did continue to take place in France.<sup>9</sup> Thomas Kuehn has examined adoption in medieval Florence and Nicholas Terpstra has touched on the subject in his work on orphaned children, but no extensive analysis of the practice exists for Renaissance and Baroque Italy.<sup>10</sup> This dissertation will provide documentary material regarding adoption in Seicento Rome and add to the work done by Kuehn and Terpstra, in the hopes of providing initial material for a more extensive future study.

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<sup>7</sup> Mondin 2000, 26. "La filiazione adottiva è una somiglianza partecipata della filiazione naturale, ma secondo il linguaggio di appropriazione si compie in noi per opera del Padre che è il principio della filiazione naturale, e per la donazione dello Spirito Santo che è l'amore del Padre e del Figlio." (III, q. 3, a. 5, ad 2)

<sup>8</sup> Martino Jugie, "Adozianismo," *Enciclopedia cattolica*, vol. 1 (Florence: Sansoni, 1948), 327-330. Thomas' discussion of adoption was a reaction to an early christian doctrine known as 'adoptionism' that was subsequently condemned as heretical. Adoptionists, in particular a Spanish archbishop and bishop, argued that in human form Christ was the adopted, rather than the natural son of God. As it directly denies the Incarnation, the belief was officially deemed heretical by Pope Hadrian I toward the end of the eighth century.

<sup>9</sup> Franck Roumy, *L'Adoption dans le Droit Savant du XII.e au XVI.e Siècle* (Paris: LGDJ, 1998) and Gager 1996.

<sup>10</sup> Historian Thomas Kuehn notes in the introduction to his *Illegitimacy in Renaissance Florence* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002), that he had wanted to write a book on adoption in the same period, but could not for lack of documentation. Considering the wealth of available primary source materials on adoption stemming from Seicento Rome, it seems that a significant shift occurred between Renaissance Florence and Baroque Rome in regard to this social practice.

In looking at the relationships formed between orphans and new families in Renaissance Florence and Bologna, Terpstra outlines some of the most common objections that were made to the practice of adoption.<sup>11</sup> The fundamental objection derives from inheritance issues: the adoptee was depicted as a thief, taking goods and funds away from the extended family.<sup>12</sup> To prevent this from happening, adopted children were barred from inheritance.<sup>13</sup> Terpstra's discussion of adoption is based on the idea of the practice as the legalization of a sentimental tie on the part of an adult toward an orphaned or abandoned child. This view of the adoptee as thief makes sense when we consider Kuehn's description of a *famiglia* or *casa* as "a moral entity, made up of people and property (real and symbolic). The continuity of this entity itself was a moral imperative..."<sup>14</sup> An individual who allowed patrimony to move out of the family line was breaking a moral code that was focusing ever more rigidly on the goal of maintaining family wealth over generations. In her work on the *fedecompresso* and primogeniture, Maura Piccialuti has shown that throughout the seventeenth-century Roman families became increasingly concerned with such issues, and devised ever more elaborate legal means to ensure the eternal consolidation and inviolability of family patrimony.<sup>15</sup> As we will see, in this context adoption was more often than not utilized only when such moral imperatives were no longer relevant, that is, when a

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<sup>11</sup> Nicholas Terpstra, *Abandoned Children of the Italian Renaissance. Orphan Care in Florence and Bologna* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), 13-14.

<sup>12</sup> Terpstra 2005, 13.

<sup>13</sup> Terpstra 2005, 14.

<sup>14</sup> Thomas Kuehn, "Inheritance and Identity in Early Modern Florence," in *Society and Individual in Renaissance Florence*, ed. William J. Connell (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 138-139.

<sup>15</sup> Maura Piccialuti, *L'immortalità dei beni: fedecompressi e primogeniture a Roma nei secoli XVII e XVIII* (Rome: Viella, 1999), 5. Piccialuti defines the *fedecompresso* as "a legal mechanism which reifies the transfer of goods from father to son *ad infinitum*, holding them united, indivisible and inalienable." Primogeniture is the stipulation that the firstborn son gain exclusive control over the family patrimony.



family line was already facing extinction and thus forced to choose between adoption or erasure.

Similarly, in her work on adoption in early modern France, Kristen Gager has presented some of the writings that represent the negative view of the practice, which would also surely have resonated in seventeenth-century Rome. For the fifth-century French priest Salvian, adoption was fundamentally selfish. Salvian rebuked those “very wretched and most unholy people, who are not bound by the bonds of children, [yet] nevertheless provide themselves with chains to bind the unfortunate necks of their own souls.”<sup>16</sup> A similar view was offered by Charles Dumoulin, a sixteenth-century jurist, who saw adoption as going against God. He criticized those who adopt saying that “those who wish that their name live forever after them rise up against God himself as well as against the vicissitudes of Nature, trying to imitate the giants.”<sup>17</sup> In Dumoulin’s view, adoption is a kind of hubris, in which individuals strive to put themselves above or outwit a larger plan. Dumoulin’s view would have resonated in Renaissance Italy, where writers like Marsilio Ficino depicted the family, and in particular the relationship between father and son, as sacred. For Ficino, the father was a “second God,” the son “a mirror and image of the father”, and “the house...nothing other than the union of the father with his sons in one residence.”<sup>18</sup> Fabricating the God/father correlation through a legal fiction, rather than divinely sanctioned procreation, could be seen as false, if not worse.

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<sup>16</sup> Gager 1996, 42.

<sup>17</sup> Gager 1996, 44. “Ceux qui veulent que leur nom vive toujours après eux, s’élèvent contre Dieu mesme, et contre les changemens de la Nature, à imitation des géants.”

<sup>18</sup> John M. Najemy, “Giannozzo and His Elders. Alberti’s Critique of Renaissance Patriarchy,” in *Society and Individual in Renaissance Florence*, ed. William J. Connell (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 55.

Adoption could also give rise to other, seemingly unrelated legal issues that might have cast the practice in a poor light. A *General proclamation concerning the government of Rome* from 1595 expressly forbids fraudulent name changes performed in order to cause damage to someone, or to escape from debt.<sup>19</sup> The penalty was a fine of one hundred *scudi* or corporal punishment, depending on local law. As one of the compulsory aspects of an adoption was just such a name change, it is possible that the practice was looked upon with suspicion as those involved could have ulterior, and less than savoury, motives for wanting to take on a new identity.

Evidence regarding the practice and reception of adoption in early modern Italy comes from various sources, including wills, *avvisi* or early modern news notices, legal documents, and marriage contracts, among other resources. Humanist and architect Leon Battista Alberti briefly refers to adoption in his treatise *Della famiglia* (c. 1433-34), saying that “[the ancients] adopted children, as some do today.”<sup>20</sup> Although Alberti specifically refers to the adoption of children his understanding of its practice and the ideal way to pursue it is focused on the continuation of a lineage, rather than charity. He argues that adoption is the right thing to do to save a family name from extinction, and that it is wise to adopt “sons who are already older” so that “it is not so difficult to see what kind of men they can become through our zeal and care.” Early modern Romans tended to take this a step further when faced with the possibility of the end of a family line, adopting adult males rather than children in the hopes that the adopted son would immediately avert the crisis by

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<sup>19</sup> BAV, Capponi IV 908, *Bando generale concernente il governo di Roma*, 1595, 178r. “11. Et se alcuno fraudolentemente per nuocere ad alcuno, o scampare ad altri la debita pena si mutasse il suo nome, & cognome, incorra nella pena di cento scudi & altre ancora corporali, ad arbitrio di S. Sig. & in altri casi mutandosi il nome, incorra nella pena imposta dalle leggi communi.”

<sup>20</sup> Leon Battista Alberti, *The Albertis of Florence: Leon Battista Alberti's “Della famiglia”*, trans. Guido A. Guarino (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1971), 135.

fathering an heir. Fundamentally then, there are two different conceptions of the practice and purpose of adoption: one that sees it as a charitable act, whereby a family legally takes responsibility for an orphaned child, and another that can be loosely considered a dynastic act, where adoption is undertaken in order to preserve and continue a family line.

A useful reflection of seventeenth-century views of adoption can be found in Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, where an allegorical representation of the practice is included for the first time in 1618 [Fig. 1.1].<sup>21</sup> That the figure does not appear in the earlier Italian editions (of 1593, 1603, 1611, and 1613) may itself indicate that the practice was becoming more conspicuous in the course of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. In subsequent editions of the *Iconologia* there are three different, but related, versions of the "adoption" entry.<sup>22</sup> In the 1618 edition Ripa does not include an illustration of the emblem, but there is a long description (see Appendix 1.1). The figure is described as a matronly woman, who in her left hand holds a type of bird known as a *folica* or *ossifraga*, and has her right hand on the neck of a young boy. The *folica* was said to mercifully take in abandoned eagle chicks, making it an emblem of charitable adoption. Ripa's Adoption has her right hand on the boy's neck as a sign of welcome and warm reception. Ripa notes that, following the ancient laws regarding adoption, the allegorical figure is shown as a matron: since adoption imitates nature, the adoptive parent should be noticeably older than the adoptive child. Despite the specifics associated with the emblem, Ripa's description of the practice is

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<sup>21</sup> Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia*, 1618 edition. ed. Piero Buscaroli (Turin: Fògola, 1986), 255-56. The illustration included here comes from an eighteenth century German edition of Ripa's text.

<sup>22</sup> Yassu Okayama, *The Ripa Index. Personifications and their Attributes in Five Editions of the Iconologia* (Dornspijk: Davaco Publishers, 1992), 4.

much more general and tends toward the view associated with dynastic issues. He defines adoption as:

...a legal act to console those that do not have children, that almost imitates nature, but since adoption is also done by those who have children, it could simply be defined as follows: Adoption is a legitimate act through which one is made a son, who is not, and that it almost imitates nature.<sup>23</sup>

Ripa's definition stresses that adoption is a legal fiction meant to imitate the natural bond of a father and son, of which it will implicitly always fall short. Although he specifically terms it a 'legitimate act', there is a negative view of the practice inherent in his definition stemming from the emphasis on the idea of creating a fiction of nature.

Ripa then presents two different views of adoption drawn from ancient sources, continuing the ambivalent attitude embedded in his definition. Ripa first refers to Euripides, who argued that someone who does not have children and yet takes foreign offspring into his home is crazy, and said that they should instead accept the situation with patience if God has not conceded them their own children, rather than taking those of others. For an alternative opinion Ripa then cites Democritus, who said instead that a dutiful man should adopt the son of a friend, so that he may choose the son that he desires. Euripides' criticism recalls that voiced by Salvian and Dumoulin centuries later, and represents an enduring theme in the critical view of adoption, namely that it is a kind of hubris and goes against nature. Such a view can also be seen in other legal sources, for example in comparisons between adoption and legitimization. The latter was legally the stronger of the two since, in that case, the bond

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<sup>23</sup> "L'Adottione secondo alcuni è un'atto legale per consolatione di coloro che non hanno figlioli, che quasi imita la natura: ma perche si fa l'adottione anco da quelli che hanno figlioli, semplicemente cosi potrassi definire. L'Adottione è un legitimo atto per il quale uno si fa figliolo, che non è, & quasi imita la natura." Ripa 1986, 255.

was “real, that is, natural.”<sup>24</sup> The view of adoption as an affront against nature and a divine plan underlies much seventeenth-century criticism of adopted nephews such as Camillo Astalli Pamphili and the three Altieri adoptees, most notably in the epithet of ‘false’ (*posticcio*) that is frequently applied to them.<sup>25</sup>

Finally, Ripa’s description of adoption is important for seventeenth-century Rome as it explicitly locates adoption in the act of taking on a new name, that of the adopting family. Determining exactly when and how an adoption takes place is difficult, particularly at a time when little was systematized or normalized regarding the legal practice. Adoption could be seen as taking place only when an individual took on full *patria potestas* over another, or when the adopted individual was made sole heir of the family patrimony. The former is often difficult to demonstrate as it does not seem to have been enacted through discrete legal procedures, and the latter valid only in secular adoptions; adoptions in an ecclesiastical sphere are particularly challenging to define. Ripa places the act of changing one’s name at the core of the practice. He notes that the *folica* is the symbol of adoption and piety, since it took in children of others who were not under its guardianship, feeding them, treating them like their own children, and giving them the name of their own family.<sup>26</sup> Elsewhere in his discussion, Ripa points out that the ancient practice was for the adoptee to take on

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<sup>24</sup> “Legitimation was greater than adoption, for here agnation was real, that is, natural.” Consilium 3, fol. 165r: “Nec legitimatio est agnatio dativa sed vera quia inheret naturali generationi et ideo legitimatio favourabilior est quam arrogatio, vel dicit ipse procurator non est hic proprie procurator sed supplicator...” Kuehn 2002a, 147.

<sup>25</sup> For example: “Il Povero Pontefice nella disperatione della sua salute si doleva de rebus gestis nell’administratione del suo Papato, timoroso di non ritrovar misericordia apperso Dio, con esclamationi di Povero Me, et abbandonato dai nepoti posticci hebbe desiderio vi vedere quelli del sangue, et particolarmente il Cardinale Gabrielli, ch’anche esso con il suo male se ne sta a Ravenna a pellar la gatta.” BAV, Barb. lat. 6415. July 25, 1676. 551v-552r.

<sup>26</sup> “Per tal pietosa natura la Folica, overo Ossifraga è attissimo simbolo dell’adottione, la quale appresso gli Antichi Romani era molto in uso sicome anco l’alimentare figli d’altri, che ne meno erano in tutela, ne in adottione, ma erano tenuti come figli proprij, e davano à quelli il medesimo nome gentilitio della casata loro, come si vede nelle inscrittioni stampate da Smetio.” Ripa 1986, 255.

the name of his adopter, but to retain his own as well in an altered form, as can be seen in the example of Caius Ottavius who was adopted by Caius Julius Cesar and called himself Caius Julius Ottavianus. This aspect of ancient adoption is entirely contrary to the practice in seventeenth-century Rome, which hinges on the complete identification of the adoptee with his new family, including the compulsory assumption of the new family name without continued association with the old one.

The other two pictorial variants of the Adoption figure that appear in Ripa's *Iconologia* take up different aspects of the theme, the idea that adoption is the joining or fusion of two families and a view of it as a pious practice. One version, which appears in Italian editions by 1624, describes the emblem as two people clasping hands, with the inscription: IMP. CAES. TRAIAN. HADRIAN. OPT. P. I. AUG. GERM. DAC. PART. HIC. DIVI. TRAIAN. AUG. P. M. TR. P. COS. PP.

ADOPTIO.<sup>27</sup> This image explicitly equates the practice of adoption to antiquity and to the emperors, giving the practice a lustre of authority and grandeur that is perhaps lacking from the earlier version. This version may also represent a more widely accepted view of adoption in the seventeenth century. At that time in Rome adoption appears to have been undertaken largely in order to avoid the extinction of a family line. It consequently took the form of a kind of consensual agreement between adult members of two families, often to the good of both: one family would provide themselves with an heir and progenitor, and the other would be able to place a son into an advantageous economic position. The image of two people clasping hands coupled with the inscription referring to the continuation of a dynasty through adoption resonates profoundly with the seventeenth-century approach to the practice. The second variant again appears by 1624 and is described as a human figure with raised

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<sup>27</sup> Okayama 1992, 4.

arms. In this case there were two inscriptions, one identical to that above and another that read PIETAS. This version thus unites the two aspects of adoption, dynastic and charitable, but further gives it a kind of religious veneer, invoking notions of paternal mercy and filial piety.

Despite associations with affection, charity, and mercy, the surviving documentation that we have for adoption in seventeenth-century Rome suggests that it was largely an economic and dynastic undertaking.<sup>28</sup> Adoption clauses are common in wills, as a kind of last-ditch option for continuing the family. Generally the will nominates every possible family member and their heirs before stating that, in the absence of any other possible member of the family, a suitable individual from outside can be found. In such a case that individual could access the family wealth only on the condition that they then take up the family name and arms without any mixture with their natal name. One example that can stand in for many is found in the will of Tarquinia Albertoni, which was drawn up in September 1614.<sup>29</sup> Here we find the following clause:

...and in the event that the aforementioned Baldassare [Paluzzi Albertoni, d. 1652], does not have legitimate male sons as defined above, or having children lacks legitimate male sons, in that case I want and order that Baldassare my heir must adopt or elect one or more male persons, chosen of his free will, and that naturally when taking a wife can have children, whom, adopted or elected, will have to have and use the arms and last name of the Paluzzi Albertoni family without mixture of any other family, and this person, or people, adopted or elected popularly by fideicommeso and in any other better way, I substitute in that case and desire, that they succeed to Baldassare my son in all my goods, but

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<sup>28</sup> Admittedly, this may be an issue of documentation and survival. The materials that we have stem from the higher social classes, the upper-middle class and up, and thus the information skews toward the interests and concerns of the upper echelons of society. It is entirely probable that lower class families were also undertaking adoptions, but for which we do not have documentary materials.

<sup>29</sup> Archivio Capitolino, Fideicommissi, Protocollo 2. Fasc. 54. Paluzzi-Albertoni, Antonio and Augusto. 1666.10.11, 425r-.

with the substitutions, conditions, and ways that will appear right to Baldassare...<sup>30</sup>

The will makes a distinction between adoption and election to the fidecommesso, which is “a legal mechanism which reifies the transfer of goods from father to son *ad infinitum*, holding them united, indivisible and inalienable,” but does not clarify the legal difference.<sup>31</sup> It is apparent from this document and many others that the crucial aspects of seventeenth-century Roman adoption are taking on the name and arms of the family, and being named universal heir. The seriousness of the first requirement can be seen in the 1651 will of Cesare Blanchetti, in which he stipulates that if theoretical heirs attempt to retain their natal name or create a combined coat of arms, they automatically lose their status and the right to inherit his patrimony.<sup>32</sup> An extreme of such protectionist thinking can be found in the 1669 will of Gaspare Antonio de Nostri.<sup>33</sup> De Nostri specifies that his heir must use “in speaking and in writing” (*in voce et in scriptis*) only the de Nostri name, and only his coat of arms, which may never be quartered. Moreover, anyone who breaks those stipulations after having enjoyed his income and the interest on his goods should be considered a thief and

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<sup>30</sup> Archivio Capitolino, Fideicommissi, Protocollo 2. Fasc. 54. Paluzzi-Albertoni, Antonio and Augusto. 1666.10.11, 436r. “...et in evento che detto Baldassare non havesse figli maschi come sopra legitimi, overo havendoli mancassero senza figli come sopra maschi legitimi in tal caso voglio et ordino che detto Baldassare mio herede debbia addottare altrimente eleggere una ò piu persone à sua libera volonta maschi, e che naturalmente con il pigliar moglie possi fare generatione, al quale, ò alli quali addottare, ò eletto habbino d’havere, et usare l’arme e cognome di Casa Paluzzi Albertoni cola senza mescolanza d’alcuna Famiglia, e questa tal persona, ò persona adottate, overo elette volgarmente per fideicom.sso et in ogni altro miglior modo sostituisco in dd. casi e voglio, che succedino à detto Baldassare mio figliolo in tutti i miei beni, ma con le substitutioni, conditioni, e modi che pareranno à detto Baldassare...”

<sup>31</sup> Piccialuti 1999, 5.

<sup>32</sup> Archivio Capitolino, Fideicommissi, Protocollo 2, 607r. “...e se si dette femine resterà, o nascerà alcun maschio legitimo, e naturale, come sopra (quando sia unico) questo vuole, che sia herede, & hora per all’hora instituisce, e sustituisce in ogni miglio modo, che di ragion si può, con obbligo di chiamarsi della fameglia de’ Bianchetti, e far l’Arma di detta fameglia, rinontando al proprio Cognome senza nominarlo, nè meno possa inquartar l’Arma propria con quella de’ Bianchetti, & in caso d’inosservanza, o contraventione, vuole esso Testatore, ordina, e dichiara che detto Herede decada, e s’intenda decaduto ipso facto, dall’heredità predetta d’esso Testatore...”

<sup>33</sup> Archivio Capitolino, Fideicommissi, Protocollo 2, Fasc. 56, 1356r.



crook (*truffatore*) and severely punished.<sup>34</sup> At that point the next individual would be called to the patrimony, “as if [the first] were dead.” Finally, a similar but slightly more unusual clause was laid down by Francesco Angeloni, an antiquarian and author who attempted to adopt Giovan Pietro Bellori, likely his illegitimate son, in his will.<sup>35</sup> Angeloni required that Bellori assume:

...together with his children, should God grant him any, and other descendents in perpetuity, my surname Angeloni, and sign himself so on any document, private or public, and also on works composed by him and to be published, even while I live, and furthermore use my seal, with a red gryphon rampant, crowned, in a yellow field, as his device.<sup>36</sup>

Angeloni had essentially trained Bellori, and wanted to ensure that both his monetary patrimony and intellectual legacy were ensured for the Angeloni family. The Bellori/Angeloni case is particularly important as it also demonstrates the legal weakness of adoption in seventeenth-century Rome. After Francesco’s death his brothers challenged the validity of the will and won the case in court, and Bellori was never able to take on the Angeloni family name or gain access to the inheritance. In this case the wishes of the individual, Francesco, and the practice of adoption, lost when faced with a legal claim made by blood relatives.

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<sup>34</sup> Archivio Capitolino, Fideicommissi, Protocollo 2, Fasc. 56, 1382r-v. “Comando espressamente che tutti e singoli miei heredi e primogenituri e siano di che grado e conditione si voglia che debbano in voce et in scrittis usare privativamente il mio cognome e ne mai unito con altro cognome e portare la mia arme che sono dui [gli iss scrsiasi] insieme non mai in quartata con qualsivoglia altra arme ma sempre sola quello dunque che non si chiamava solamente di Nostri ma che portera questo Cognome congiunto in qualsivoglia modo adesso per allora lo provio e voglio sia privato e decaduto da questa heredita comandando che si succeda l’altro chiamato come si fusse morto di morte naturale il quale rigorosamente comando che rescota tutto quello che il trasgressore e trasgeressor haveranno rescosso e recuto di questa mia heredita mentre adesso per allora dichiero e dico che non come possessori di bona fede hanne haute e godata le entrate e frutti di quelli miei beni ma come essi e certi truffatori e ladri e che in forofori e foro censcienze devono e meritono di esseri severamente castigati.”

<sup>35</sup> Giovan Pietro Bellori, *The lives of the modern painters, sculptors, and architects: a new translation and critical edition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 4-5.

<sup>36</sup> Rome, Archivio di Stato, *Trenta notai capitolini*, ufficio VII, notaio Ilario Paradisi, *Testamenta et donationes*, II, fols. 792v.

For the most part, adoptions tended to take place between families of the same social class, and many attempted to choose an individual who already had ties to their family in some way, as with the Altieri and Albertoni, whose families had intermarried in the sixteenth century. The adopted party could be a second son in his blood family: denied the patrimony of his own family due to strict primogeniture inheritance clauses, he could move up financially and socially through adoption into another family. This was the case with an unidentified member of the Colonna family – the family schemed for his adoption by Duke Pietro d’Aragona in the hopes that he would inherit the province of Cordoba.<sup>37</sup> The close link between adoption and inheritance becomes particularly clear in the case of Alessandro Marescotti Capizucchi. In 1669 Count Alessandro Marescotti was adopted by the Capizucchi family; the Capizucchi already had a secular head, Francesco Capizucchi, but he was gambling away their resources and it was deemed prudent to entrust the family fortune to someone who would care for it in a more responsible manner.<sup>38</sup>

When writing their testaments most individuals attempt to anticipate several generations of descendants ahead, offering every possible solution for finding an heir before turning to adoption, at which point some interesting solutions could be offered. In his 1643 will Francesco Antonio Roberti offered an interesting solution for finding an heir should his son, daughter, or nephew all be unable to take up the fedecompresso. He instructs the executors of his will to go to the church of S. Maria in

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<sup>37</sup> BAV, Barb. lat. 6405. *Avvisi di Roma*, December 20, 1670. 517v. “Detto Contestabile Colonna fa metter all’ordine molte cose per servitio del suo 2.do genito, che inviara g[?] prima in Spagna, cosi volendo la casa d’Aragona private successori per hereditare lo stato di Cardona.” Barb. lat. 6406. Feb. 21 1671, [179r-v. “Essendo questo coggetto Cavaliere [D. Pietro d’Aragona] ricchissimo e non havendo successori, si è condotto via seco il secundo genito del Contestabile Colonna giovane di X.<sup>a</sup> Anni, avendoselo fatto adottivo farlo suo Erede.”

<sup>38</sup> Joseph Connors, “Alliance and enmity in Roman Baroque urbanism,” *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana* 25 (1989), 254-255.

Aquiro, which had an orphanage attached to it, and say a mass.<sup>39</sup> After the mass they were to choose the names of five orphans who had been educated by the fathers at the orphanage, apparently at random. The oldest of the randomly selected orphans would take on the Roberti name and arms and become Francesco's heir. Moreover, Francesco stipulates that this same procedure should be performed whenever his line lacked an appropriate heir.

Maria Piccialuti has worked extensively on the development of primogeniture and the fidecommesso in Seicento Rome and has noted that, slightly ironically, while the goal of primogeniture was to preserve patrimony in the eternal family line, the effect of increasingly complicated primogeniture documents was to sanction the extinction of the blood family line by including clauses that anticipate the possibility and allow for an adoption.<sup>40</sup> Adoption can thus be fit into the matrix of developments that Piccialuti has identified taking place in Seicento Rome. She has noted the contemporary development of three different phenomenon: the wide diffusion of the fedecomesso at every social level; the reinforcement of nepotism, and the related creation of a new pontifical aristocracy through the estates of papal nephews; and the legal elaboration of the fedecomesso on the part of legal theorists.<sup>41</sup> The increasing visibility and formality of adoption are part of this process, as it was embedded into fedecomesso and primogeniture practices and came to be practiced at the highest social and political levels, including in the papacy itself.

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<sup>39</sup> Archivio Capitolino, *Fideicomessi*, Protocollo 2, 3v-4r.

<sup>40</sup> Piccialuti 1999, 127. "L'istituto primogenitoriale ha per scopo precipuo – come s'è detto – la prosecuzione *ad infinitum* della famiglia, attraverso la trasmissione unitaria e indivisibile del patrimonio. Ma talvolta è proprio in un atto di primogenitura che si sanziona l'estinzione d'un ceppo familiare, destinando di conseguenza patrimonio e titoli a un soggetto d'altra famiglia che ne assumerà il cognome e il compito di proseguire la dinastia. È quanto avviene nella primogenitura Ginetti-Lancellotti, rogata il 18 luglio 1695."

<sup>41</sup> Piccialuti 1999, 11.

The case of the 1667 agreement established between the Altieri and Albertoni families is relatively typical for adoption in Seicento Rome. In 1667, while still a cardinal, Emilio Altieri effectively adopted Gaspare Albertoni when Gaspare wed Emilio's distant relative (second cousin once removed), Laura Altieri. Laura was the sole heir of the family fortune, and thus it was imperative that her husband take on her name if the lineage and patrimony were to survive intact. The marriage contract was drawn up on May 17<sup>th</sup>, 1667 and included a primogeniture document stipulated by Emilio Altieri.<sup>42</sup> In these documents it was determined that Gaspare would take on the Altieri name and arms, as would his sons.<sup>43</sup> At that point however, Gaspare was *not* made Emilio Altieri's heir. Instead it was Laura and her descendents who were entrusted with the family fortune, and again every possible circumstance was provided for. If Laura died without male heirs, the patrimony would return to Mons. Altieri – Gaspare would not become the universal heir. From the point of view of establishing heirs Gaspare was not fully adopted into the Altieri line. Both Laura and Gaspare were required to live in Palazzo Altieri on Piazza del Gesù, “as in that way the memory of the Altieri family is better preserved,” an indication of the visual significance of the palace as a representation of a unified and strong family.<sup>44</sup> After Emilio Altieri's election to the papal throne in 1670 as Pope Clement X he extended the adoption, bringing Gaspare's father Angelo and his uncle Cardinal Paluzzo Paluzzi degli Albertoni into the Altieri family and naming the latter cardinal nephew. Documents from 1671 refer to these two as: *Cardinalem Palutium iam Palutium de Albertonij*

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<sup>42</sup> ASR, Fondo Notai Auditor Camerae, Laurentius Bellus, 871, ff. 307-476.

<sup>43</sup> ASR, Fondo Notai Auditor Camerae, Laurentius Bellus, 871, 395r, 396r. He is also legally required to take on the Delfini name, but that stipulation was quickly dropped. The contract is however, full of exceptions. For example, if Gaspare finds himself the only remaining Albertoni relative in that case he is allowed to use all the last names (Paluzzi Albertoni Altieri Delfini) and quartered arms.

<sup>44</sup> ASR, Fondo Notai Auditor Camerae, Laurentius Bellus, 871, 389v. “...perche in tal modo si conservi ancor maggiormente la memoria della detta famiglia Altieri...”

*nunc vero Alterius* and *D. Angelus olim Palutium nunc de Alterijs*, defining Cardinal Paluzzo as “now true Altieri” and Angelo as “once Paluzzo, now de Altieri.”<sup>45</sup> More importantly, the process was termed an adoption in the documents themselves, as Clement X, addressing Cardinal Paluzzo, said that he has “with [a] generous adoption transported you, and your whole family” into his own.<sup>46</sup> At that point the new composite family made significant changes to the *fedecommissi* and primogenitures of both families. Gaspare and Angelo were officially freed of the *fedecommissio* placed on the Albertoni family patrimony by Angelo’s grandfather, Baldassare, and they were able to establish a new *fedecommissio* uniting the patrimony of both families.<sup>47</sup> Piccialuti has suggested that the *fedecommissio* as a legal instrument became particularly popular in seventeenth-century Rome due to the “open élite” of new families associated with papal government. With the election of each new pope a wave of families came to establish themselves in the Eternal City. For these new arrivals the *fedecommissio* was a means to legitimize themselves, to make themselves recognizable as noble in their new social context, and to protect the resulting wealth generated by the pope.<sup>48</sup> In the case of the Altieri/Albertoni we have instead two old Roman families of the lower nobility who made use of the *fedecommissio* as a means of solidifying the sudden leap in their ability to accumulate wealth that came with Emilio Altieri’s election to the papal throne. It is likely no coincidence that Clement X is the only seventeenth-century pope to have placed his testament in the Archivio

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<sup>45</sup> ASR, Fondo Notai Auditor Camerae, Laurentius Bellus, 871, 427v.

<sup>46</sup> ASR, Fondo Notai Auditor Camerae, Laurentius Bellus, 871, 438r. “...e d’haver noi con liberale adottione trasportata nella famiglia degl’Altieri voi, e tutta la vostra casa...”

<sup>47</sup> ASR, Fondo Notai Auditor Camerae, Laurentius Bellus, 871, 439r-v; 440v. This document is dated September 12, 1670. The document dissolving Baldassare’s *fedecommissio* does not seem to be the one actually referred to here, rather this makes reference to another document that has not appeared yet in the archives. This rather seems to deal with a specific aspect of Baldassare’s testament related to an orphanage.

<sup>48</sup> Piccialuti 1999, 9.

Urbano (now in the Archivio Capitolino) during his pontificate, in 1672.<sup>49</sup> Not all individuals chose to register their testament in the public archive established by Urban VIII, and Piccialuti has argued that the need to do was directly related to the risk that the goods involved in the *fedecomesso* could be claimed by creditors.<sup>50</sup> In this case I would argue that the risk had more to do with the fact that Clement X's heir, Cardinal Paluzzo, was an adopted nephew and in theory other relatives, such as the bitter Cardinal Gabrielli, could attempt to contest the pope's wishes. Publically registering the document may have been a way to further legitimate and solidify the ties between the Altieri and the Albertoni.

The particular nature of the Roman aristocracy may have favoured the development of the practice and standardization of adoption. Unlike other major Italian city-states, Venice in particular, the Roman aristocracy was not formally 'closed' until 1746.<sup>51</sup> Although there was certainly a group of generally accepted noble and baronial families, such as the Orsini and Colonna, there was no fixed and universally recognized aristocracy as there was in Venice. Moreover, the fabric of the city was frequently reshaped by the interventions of arriving papal families from outside of Rome. These new arrivals in turn strove to establish themselves in the city's social structure through various means, including buying feudal properties and arranging marriages with the old Roman baronial families. This particular kind of social fluidity may have predisposed Romans to be open to the practice of adoption and to familial shifts in general.

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<sup>49</sup> Piccialuti 1999, 85.

<sup>50</sup> Piccialuti 1999, 84.

<sup>51</sup> Richard Joseph Ferraro, "The Nobility of Rome, 1560-1700: A study of its composition, wealth, and investment," (PhD diss., The University of Wisconsin – Madison, 1994), 46-47.

The final product of the increasing visibility and standardization of adoption can be seen in the only true seventeenth-century adoption contract that has come to light (Appendix 1.2). The contract dates to May 1695 and was drawn up between the Dukes of Bracciano, Flavio and Lelio Orsini, and Prince Livio Odescalchi (c. 1652-1713). It is titled a ‘Policy of Adoption, or Adrogation’, and it is important that the two terms are conflated. Adoption refers to the situation where one individual, the adopter, gains *patria potestas*, or full paternal rights, over the adopted individual. Adrogation on the other hand refers to a situation where an individual was made part of another family, taking on their name, but without coming under the *patria potestas* of another person. Instead they remain *sui iuris*, or legally emancipated.<sup>52</sup> Legally the two are very different, yet the Orsini-Odescalchi contract conflates them, indicating that the legal definition of adoption and related practices in the seventeenth century was flexible, and that adoption did not necessarily entail the establishment of *patria potestas*. The terms of the Orsini-Odescalchi contract do not establish blanket ‘paternal’ rights for the Orsini dukes, but they do carefully outline all the obligations to which Odescalchi would be subject, creating a kind of limited form of *patria potestas*. Odescalchi was bound to allow the Orsini dukes to continue to live in the palaces on Piazza Pasquino in Rome and in the fortress at Bracciano, to pay them a joint annual salary of 8,000 scudi a year, as well as a much smaller salary of 16 scudi a month to their sister Ippolita, a nun in the monastery of S. Lucia in Selci.

The contract is fundamentally economic and dynastic in character, and the adoption clauses do not appear until more than halfway through. The first two-thirds are given over to a careful enunciation of all of the goods and income that were to be alienated from the Orsini family patrimony to Odescalchi, as the latter was not to be

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<sup>52</sup> *Enciclopedia del Diritto*, vol. I, 1958, 579.

able to make claims on the whole of the former family's wealth. Among other things, Odescalchi received the duchy of Bracciano and the family palace in Rome behind Piazza Navona, but also the right to compete for the patrimonies of several other families, including the Borromeo, as a legitimate Orsini heir. The arrangement had a fundamentally economic impact, as Odescalchi bought the position of Flavio and Lelio Orsini's heir by promising in turn to pay their debts, including one to the Orsini family itself. Following all the preceding financial machinations, Flavio Orsini declared Odescalchi his universal heir not only to the aforementioned goods, but also in all the "dignities, treatments, prerogatives, pre-eminence's, titles, rights to precedence, and honours, that the Duke currently enjoys not only in the ecclesiastical state and principate, but also in any state, court, or place in the world..."<sup>53</sup> Subsequent to this, there appears an explicit adoption clause; the fact that the identification of Odescalchi as Orsini's heir and the adoption itself are treated separately indicates that the former alone was not enough to constitute an adoption. The clause reads:

And since, for the decorum and dignity of the Duchy of Bracciano, Pope Pius IV ordered and established the union of goods, so I the Duke of Bracciano, wishing to conserve the ancient splendour of that Duchy and of the Orsini family, and seeing myself deprived of offspring, have decided to unite also blood and the family by establishing legal cognation and kinship with Sir Prince Livio, promising, as in this contract, to adopt and adrogate him as a son, and incorporate him in the Orsini family, and to publish the Instrument and act of adoption or adrogation, that will by necessity also be done through an Apostolic Consent, in such a way that Sir Livio will esteem and consider himself as an adopted and adrogated son, retaining his own name and that of the Orsini family.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Appendix 1.2 101v-102r. "...come anche in tutte li Dignità, trattamenti, prerogative, preeminenze, titoli, precedenza, et honori, che adesso il Sig.re Duca gode non solo nello stato, e Principato Ecclesiastico ma anco in qualsivoglia stato, corte, e luogo del mondo, perche cosi..."

<sup>54</sup> Appendix 1.2 102r. "E si come per decoro e Dignità del Ducato di Bracciano la S. M.e di Pio 4.o ordino e stabili l'unione de Beni, cosi il medesimo Sig.re Duca di Bracciano volendo conservare l'antico splendore del medesimo Ducato, e della famiglia, Orsina vedendosi destituito di prole ha deliberato d'unire anche il Sangue, e la famiglia con contrahere la cognazione, e parentela legale con il medesimo Sig.re Pnpe D. Livio, promettendo, si come



It is notable that this arrangement also had to be recognized by the papacy in order to be formalized. This formality may be influenced by the large sums of money and goods involved, which included the income from an abbey and thus involved ecclesiastic returns. But it also indicates that adoption was a practice that required approval from the church. Even more important is the stipulation that these documents must be published and made public in a way that forced Odescalchi to present himself and to be accepted as a member of the Orsini family. The document breaks with all the previous adoption testamentary adoption clauses that we have considered in that it allows Odescalchi to retain his natal name. This is unusual, and likely is the result of a certain inequality between the Orsini and Odescalchi. The former found themselves without heirs and riddled with debt. As such, they were in desperate need of someone like Odescalchi, while he likely did not have comparable pressures.

Odescalchi was a former papal nephew under Innocent XI Odescalchi (r. 1676-89), but he did not enjoy the fruits of nepotism as his uncle took steps to eradicate the institution and did not favour his nephew.<sup>55</sup> However, Odescalchi's art collecting in the 1690's suggests that he had ample financial resources, and thus it is likely that the Orsini had more need of him than he did of them, giving him the leverage necessary to retain his own name.<sup>56</sup> In the end, it seems that Odescalchi was never widely

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l'adesso promette di addotarlo, et arrogarlo per figlio, et incorporarlo nella Sua famiglia Orsina, e di fanno celebrare l'Instro, et atto dell'adottione, o arrogazione, che farà di bisogno anco con il beneplacito Apostolico in modo, che i Sig.r D. Livio habbia da stimarsi, e reputarsi per figlio adottivo, et arrogato con Ritenere il medesimo Cognome, e famiglia Orsina, perche cosi." It is interesting that the contract uses the Latin *contrahere* instead of the Italian *contrarre* for 'contract', perhaps in an attempt to make the agreement as authoritative as possible.

<sup>55</sup> Marie-Louise Rodèn, "Cardinal Decio Azzolino, Queen Christina of Sweden and the Squadrone Volante: Political and Administrative developments at the Roman Curia, 1644-1692" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1992), 174.

<sup>56</sup> It would of course also have been flattering for the Orsini to have an Odescalchi in the family, as they were a papal clan. For Odescalchi as a collector see: Maria Gabriella Pezone, "Architettura e committenza arcadica: la vigna di Livio Odescalchi fuori porta del *Popolo a*

recognized as an Orsini, and modern sources unanimously report that he simply purchased the duchy of Bracciano from the Orsini, with no indication of the legal strings that were attached.

The Odescalchi-Orsini adoption document exemplifies the haphazard and varied nature of adoption in the seventeenth century: it was closely tied to the nomination of a universal heir, financial obligations to a new family, and the exclusive assumption of a family's name and coat of arms, yet all of these aspects were in some way negotiable. As it was often in essence a business proposition, each adoption was shaped by the relative clout of the involved parties. Moreover, even a legally contracted adoption was not necessarily socially propagated, which is precisely the issue that comes to the fore when considering ecclesiastical adoptions, in general the adoption of cardinal nephews by their papal uncles.

### ***Adoption and Nepotism***

Wolfgang Reinhard has called the period between 1538 and 1692 the age of “institutionalized nepotism”, as the practice became standardized as a means of social

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*Roma*,” in *L'architettura nella storia: scritti in onore di Alfonso Gambardella*, ed. Gaetana Cantone, Laura Marcucci, and Elena Manzo (Milan, Skira, 2007), 315-321; Marco Pizzo, “Livio Odescalchi e i Rezzonico: documenti su arte e collezionismo alla fine del XVII secolo,” *Saggi e memorie di storia dell'arte* 26 (2003): 119-153; Stefanie Walker, “Livio Odescalchi, Pietro Stefano Monnot e Carlo Maratta: una rivalutazione alla luce di nuovi documenti,” *Sculture romane del Settecento: la professione dello scultore*, ed. Elisa Debenedetti (Rome: Bonsignori, 2001), 23-40; Marco Pizzo, “Far Galleria”: collezionismo e mercato artistico tra Venezia e Roma nelle lettere di Quintiliano Rezzonico a Livio Odescalchi (1676 - 1709),” *Bollettino del Museo Civico di Padova* 89 (2001): 43-84; Stefanie Walker, “The sculpture gallery of Prince Livio Odescalchi,” *Journal of the history of collections* 6 (1994): 189-219; Enrico Noè, “Le medaglie di Livio Odescalchi,” *Medaglia* 17 (1989): 79-96; Marcel Roethlisberger, “The Drawing Collection of Prince Livio Odescalchi,” *Master Drawings* 23 (1985-1986): 5-30. There is also the forthcoming: Sandra Costa, *Dans l'intimité d'un collectionneur: Livio Odescalchi et le faste baroque*, 2009.

and political ascent and practiced by almost all the popes and their families.<sup>57</sup> This long historical arc has been further broken down into a period of “grand nepotism”, which ended in 1567 with Pius V’s bull prohibiting popes to enfeoff their blood relatives, and another of “minor nepotism”, which ended in 1692 with Innocent XII’s bull *Romanum decet Pontificem* forbidding the practice.<sup>58</sup> A further chronological moniker has been contributed by Madeleine Laurain-Portemer, who refers to the period from 1605 to 1692 as the age of “classical nepotism”, again in reference to a fully institutionalized conception of the role of papal nephew.<sup>59</sup> Throughout the century to century-and-a-half of Reinhard and Laurain-Portemer’s institutionalized nepotism, the practice was at times criticized by outsiders and reform-minded popes alike, scaled back, and practiced anew with gusto, depending on the ruling family. Historians have concentrated on attempting to track the shifts in power between the cardinal nephew and the Secretary of State, finding in the eventual triumph of the latter the root of a shift toward a modern, bureaucratic papal state.<sup>60</sup> Reinhard has argued that by about 1600 the position of cardinal nephew had lost its real political or diplomatic power, with the nephew becoming instead “a social substitute for the pope”, and the position directed entirely toward maintaining the social status and

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<sup>57</sup> Wolfgang Reinhard, “Papal Power and Family Strategy in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries” in *Princes, Patronage and the Nobility: The Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age, 1450-1650*, eds. R. Asch and A. Birke (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 329-356. 330, 334.

<sup>58</sup> Antonio Menniti Ippolito, *Il tramonto della Curia nepotista. Papi, nipoti e burocrazia curiale tra XVI e XVII secolo* (Rome: Viella, 1999), 16.

<sup>59</sup> Menniti Ippolito, “The Secretariat of State as the Pope’s Special Ministry,” in *Court and Politics in Papal Rome, 1492-1700*, eds. Gianvittorio Signorotto and Maria Antonietta Visceglia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 145. Beginning with a brief issued by Paul V in September 1605, extending to Scipione Borghese the same authority that Clement VIII had given to Pietro Aldobrandini.

<sup>60</sup> Menniti Ippolito 2003; Rodèn 1992; Reinhard 1991, 329-356, 330; Madelaine Laurain-Portemer, “Absolutisme et népotisme. La surintendance de l’Etat ecclésiastique,” *Bibliothèque de l’Ecole des Chartes* 131 (1973): 487-568.

public face of the papal family.<sup>61</sup> In claiming, in response to the work of Madeleine Laurain-Portemer, that papal nephews in the seventeenth century were essentially powerless puppets, Reinhard no doubt goes too far.<sup>62</sup> However, in the course of the century the position does seem to have undergone a kind of attenuation, and we should consider how the practice of adoption might have contributed to that process.

In his 1667 *Il Nipotismo di Roma*, Gregorio Leti embeds adoption at the root of his discussion of the abuses of nepotism. He begins his account of the practice with Sixtus IV for, as he says, “he was the first that delivered up Rome and the Popedom [sic] in prey to his Nephews.”<sup>63</sup> Sixtus IV is condemned by Leti for his “inordinate passion” and his ambition that was so great that “not being content with that great number of true Nephews that he had, he substituted and adopted some, that were no relation to him at all, to whome he gave an infinity of places and commands.”<sup>64</sup> Leti gives several examples of these adoptions, including Guidobaldo di Montefeltro’s adoption of Francesco Maria della Rovere, and that of Raphael Samson “son to a sister of Pietro Riario, whom he promoted to that Dignity [the cardinalate], when he was but seventeen years old, upon condition that he should change his name, and take that of the Pope’s Family.”<sup>65</sup> A similar criticism arises in the context of Leti’s discussion of the unexpected and much-criticized election of Camillo Astalli to the cardinalate as Innocent X’s papal nephew. On hearing the news, Leti reports that Cardinal Sforza quipped, “Now that Pope Innocent hath introduced the custome of making false Nephews, the other popes will never fail of Nephews, for they will make

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<sup>61</sup> Reinhard 1991, 342-343.

<sup>62</sup> Similarly, see Gigliola Fragnito, “Cardinals’ Courts in Sixteenth-Century Rome,” *The Journal of Modern History* 65 (1993): 34.

<sup>63</sup> Gregorio Leti, *Il nipotismo di Roma*, English edition, (London: For John Starkey, 1673), Part II, Book 1, 41.

<sup>64</sup> Leti 1673, Part II, Book 1, 44.

<sup>65</sup> Leti 1673, Part II, Book 1, 45.

whole Regiments of them, and fill with such a generation our Colledge [sic] of Cardinals.”<sup>66</sup> The perceived, and no doubt exaggerated, risk was that through adoption an ambitious and morally lax pope could extend his power unchecked by creating a College of Cardinals entirely filled with ‘relatives’. Leti puts adoption and the unchecked dynastic ambition and hubris that it could represent at the core of his criticism of institutional nepotism.

In order to understand how adoption could have weakened the institutional position of the cardinal nephew, it is necessary to first consider contemporary justifications for the practice. Leti lists three reasons why the popes should call their relatives to them: to demonstrate “the affection which naturally we bear to our blood and Kindred,” to protect themselves, and for the “policy of their government.”<sup>67</sup> In regard to the first argument, Leti says: “I hold him little better than a Beast, that has no tie of Consanguinity upon him...”<sup>68</sup> Leti’s sentiment may explain in part why Innocent X, for example, felt that it was imperative to have a cardinal nephew even when there was no suitable candidate for the position within his own family: for the pope to be without a nephew could be seen as a personal short-coming, a lack of largesse or of humanity. Hence, in a letter written to Innocent X the anonymous author informs the pope that one of the criticisms circulating against him is that he “does not have any affection to give to his blood, since he has given it all to a man of foreign blood...”<sup>69</sup> In defense of the natural tendency to favour kin Leti also invokes

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<sup>66</sup> Leti 1673, Part 1, Book 3, 122-123.

<sup>67</sup> Leti 1673, Part 1, Book 2, 7.

<sup>68</sup> Leti 1673, Part 1, Book 2, 7.

<sup>69</sup> Abbot Gualdi (Gregorio Leti), *Vita di donna Olimpia Maldachini che governò la chiesa durante il ponteficato d'Innocentio X doppo l'anno 1644 sino all'anno 1655* (Ragusa: Giuli, 1667), 225. “Si mormora che V. S. ama più la Cognata, che la Chiesa, che non ha affetto per dare al Suo Sangue, per haverlo dato tutto ad un Sangue Straniero...”

Christ himself, and his admonition that “we ought not to despise our own flesh.”<sup>70</sup>

Similar sentiments were invoked even in the context of attempts to stem the tide of nepotism. A 1514 bull that warned against nepotism equivocated, stating that:

...although it is in no way proper to neglect blood relatives and relatives by marriage, especially those deserving and lacking in resources, but rather just and praiseworthy to provide for them, we still do not deem it fitting to shower them with a multitude either of benefices or of ecclesiastical incomes, with the result that others suffer damage from such intemperate largess, and scandal is born.<sup>71</sup>

Similarly, Leti invokes Christ again, noting that he particularly favoured his two relatives, John the Apostle [sic] and John the Baptist, thus there is precedent for the practice in the most unimpeachable of figures.

Leti’s second reason is slightly hyperbolic, and stems from the belief that the popes have need of someone in the Curia who would be inclined to protect their life (against poisoning, plots etc.) and to avenge their death should they to meet an untimely end.<sup>72</sup> His argument is that, as the papacy is non-hereditary, the members of the College of Cardinals have no real motivation to protect the pontiff’s life – there are no blood princes to avenge his death, and his demise necessarily means that one of them will be promoted. This justification overlaps with Leti’s final reason, that nepotism is in the best interest of effective government as it gives a wider pool of individuals a vested interest in collaboration and cooperation with the reigning pope. All of Leti’s reasons are rooted in the issue of loyalty and what he sees as the fundamental problem of a non-hereditary monarchy. Nepotism, to Leti, is a means to link one papacy to the next, creating a kind of continuity between papal governments,

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<sup>70</sup> Leti 1673, Part 1, Book 2, 9.

<sup>71</sup> Barbara McClung Hallman, *Italian Cardinals, Reform and the Church as Property* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 97.

<sup>72</sup> Leti 1673, Part I, Book 2, 11-16.

and, by giving the nephews a direct stake in the workings of papal government, creates a more responsible group of rulers.<sup>73</sup>

Subsequently, Leti suggests another three reasons that nepotism is indispensable, and these serve loosely to outline of the role of the papal nephew: through the nephews the pope can learn the interests of foreign princes, with a nephew present the pope will “govern with more care and affection”, and he will be able to maintain greater secrecy in his court.<sup>74</sup> All three of these reasons are grounded in the idea that the cardinal nephew, as the pope’s blood relative, is the only individual at the papal court in whom the pope can truly trust. This is a fundamental principle that is compromised when the cardinal nephew is adopted. It should be no surprise to find that Leti roundly condemns Camillo Astalli in the role of papal nephew. Leti recounts that after Astalli’s fall and ejection from the Pamphili family, Cardinal Mazarin remarked to a ‘confident’ at court, “I have never relied much upon the Cardinal Astalli, and I shall now scarce rely upon the Pope himself.”<sup>75</sup> Although Mazarin’s comment seems sparked more by the inconsistency of the pope than by the fall of his misguided adopted nephew, Leti concludes from the story that “[t]hus we see, that not only the Popes must have near them those that have the title of Nephews; but they must be really such, as consanguinity may be obliged to the same interest with the Pope, if he means that others should trust them.”<sup>76</sup> The same sentiment is voiced by the anonymous author of a letter to the College of Cardinals following the incidents between Cardinal Paluzzo Altieri and the foreign ambassadors in 1674 (See Chapter 5). First the author posits that Pope Clement X could have avoided the problem of

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<sup>73</sup> Leti 1673, Part I Book 2, 18-21.

<sup>74</sup> Leti 1673, Part I Book 2, 21.

<sup>75</sup> Leti 1673, Part I Book 2, 24.

<sup>76</sup> Leti 1673, Part I Book 2, 24-25.

nepotism, as “God call[ed] him to the Apostolate stripped of interests and of blood [relatives] as a sign that he could surpass the glory of every other more zealous pope in the rebirth of the decorum of the power of the church...”<sup>77</sup> Instead, Clement X has done the opposite, and

for [the] political passions of some prince he makes of his blood, he who is not, and adopts as a nephew one who is rather a destructor of his honour, and a denigrator of his glory...All the world knows, and recognizes, that he who has no blood connection has no part in the desire for glory, and looks out for his own interests, nor do his thoughts go any higher.

In his description the anonymous author parrots Ripa’s definition of adoption, “a legitimate act in which one is made a son, who is not”, almost exactly, suggesting that the conception of adoption as a legal fiction held throughout the seventeenth century. In theory these adopted nephews should be utterly loyal to their papal uncles, as it was their adoption and elevation to the cardinalate that endowed them with an elevated social standing and considerable wealth. Hence the anecdote related by Teodoro Ameyden that when Camillo Astalli thanked Innocent X for raising him up to the cardinalate, Innocent responded to him that “we take you from the House of Astalli nude, in such a manner that you wear not even a shirt, and we transplant you into [our family].”<sup>78</sup> Regarding Astalli Leti concludes that:

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<sup>77</sup> British Library, Add. 8288. *Al Sacro Collegio Em.mi e Rev.mi Sig.re Dicembre 1674*, 143r-v. “Ognun sa la Purità delle viscere di Emilio Altieri, ognun sa l’Innocenza de suoi costumi, Dio lo chiamo all’Apostolato privo d’Interesse, e di Sangue a segno che po-poteva superare la Gloria d’ogni altro più Zelante Pontefice nel Resarcimento del Decoro della Potenza della chiesa e pure da Pulitiche Passione di qualch’Elettore si fa del suo sangue, chi non è, et se li fa Addottare come un Nepote più d’un Distruttore del suo Honore, e Denigratore del sua Gloria; [...] Tutto il Mondo lo sà, e conosce, che chi non ha attinenza di Sangue non ha parte nel Desiderio della Gloria bada al suo proprio Interesse, nè il Pensiero va piu in alto.”

<sup>78</sup> BAV, Barb. lat. 4819, Teodoro Ameyden, *Diario dell’Anno M.D.C.L.*, 105r, September 24, 1650. “Subito dopo la promotione il nuovo cardinale fu a ringratiare il Papa per il beneficio ricevuto, il Papa gli disse, vi pigliamo dalla Casa Astalli ignudo, in guisa tale, che neanche vi portiate la camiscia, e vi traspiantamo nella nostra.”



...the State and Church can never be well governed, as to the point in hand, if the Popes be without Nephews to rely on, and in whose secrecy they may confide. Innocent the tenth was so convinced of this truth, that finding himself deprived of those helps which he could not receive from his lawful kindred by reason of their inabilities; and withall seeing that he was exposed to the unsatiable avarice of a woman, his sister-in-law, he was fain to take the young Astalli and declare him Cardinal Nephew, and Padrone, giving him the name of Pamphili; and in a word, made him in Rome, as Pharoah was in Egypt, the governor of all things. But what happened? This young Cardinal not being able to comply with the Popes humours, and having no tie of consanguinity upon him, was rather a traitor to him than a nephew...<sup>79</sup>

In the case of a papal nephew, adoption calls into question the unshakeable loyalty stemming from a blood tie that should exist between uncle and nephew, which is the defining aspect of the position.

Two of the four cases considered in this dissertation deal not with adoptions, but with aggregations: Cardinals Cinzio Passeri Aldobrandini and Scipione Borghese were blood relatives of their respective uncles and thus fall outside of discussions of blood vs. non-blood. Yet Aldobrandini and Borghese merit inclusion in this study as their aggregation and careers illuminate the importance of the paternal name as the primary determining factor in personal identity, one of the key elements of early modern adoption. While taking on the new family name was standard in an adoption and aggregation, there is nonetheless reason to pause over this requirement in an ecclesiastical context. For a secular adopted nephew the prohibition against mixing names was vital, as it ensured that not only the adopted nephew, but more importantly his children, would carry on the adopted family name without dilution. As the goal in a secular adoption was to ensure the continuation of the family, this stipulation was essential. In the case of a cardinal nephew the issue of mixed last names should have been, in theory, less critical. As they were prohibited due to their office from having children, there was no question of issues of familial continuity and they could leave

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<sup>79</sup> Leti 1673, Part 2, Book I, 39.

their patrimony to whomever they chose. In an ecclesiastical context, the prohibition against mixing last names takes on primarily a symbolic importance: in order to be treated with the full respect due to a papal nephew and to wield the full authority of the office, an adopted or aggregated nephew must present himself, and be perceived as, a creature entirely loyal to his papal protector. Multiple last names suggest multiple paternal ties, and thus the possibility of conflicted loyalties.

The cases considered in the last two chapters of this dissertation on the other hand, those of Camillo Pamphili and the Altieri nephews, are adoptions in the strict sense, and fully demonstrate the political ramifications of adoption within papal government. The Altieri nephews were particularly criticized toward the end of Clement X's pontificate in the *avvisi* and in pasquinades that appeared following his death.<sup>80</sup> Three days after his July 22<sup>nd</sup> 1676 demise, two *avvisi* appeared recounting Clement X's last hours, both of which are harshly critical of his adopted nephews. The first reports that:

The poor Pope in desperation for his health pains himself over the deeds in the administration of his papacy, fearful of not finding mercy from God, with exclamations of 'Poor me'. Abandoned by the false nephews, he wanted to see those of blood, and in particular Cardinal Gabrielli, who also is not well and is in Ravenna to deal with his problems.<sup>81</sup>

As we will see elsewhere in this dissertation, blood ties tended to assert themselves at significant social moments, for example in arranging marriages, and in moments *in extremis*, such as death. Whether Clement X really did yearn for his blood kin during

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<sup>80</sup> For the pasquinades see, Gregorio Leti, *Il vaticano languente la morte di Clemente X: con i rimedij, preparati da Pasquino, e Marforio per guarirlo* (Geneva: "Ad Istanza degli Amici", 1677), as well as: BAV, Vat lat 14137, 3r-101r.

<sup>81</sup> "Il Povero Pontefice nella disperatione della sua salute si doleva de rebus gestis nell'administratione del suo Papato, timoroso di non ritrovar misericordia apperso Dio, con esclamationi di Povero Me, et abbandonato dai nepoti posticci hebbe desiderio vi vedere quelli del sangue, et particolarmente il Cardinale Gabrielli, ch'anche esso con il suo male se ne sta a Ravenna a pellar la gatta." BAV, Barb. lat. 6415. July 25, 1676. 551v-552r.

his last moments or not, contemporaries expected that he would and framed his death accordingly.

The second *avviso* was circulated on the same day and indicates how deeply mistrusted the adopted nephews were. It reads:

It was said to be too cruel, the tyranny practiced by the Paluzzi brood with His Holiness, as they deprived him of the sacristan, the confessor and of confidant Padre Polini, as suspects. Then in the last of hours of [his] life they intervened with Padre Raccanati, when the pope was already lacking spirit, and awareness.<sup>82</sup>

The adopted nephews were referred to often in contemporary documents as tyrants, particularly Cardinal Paluzzo, who was seen as having such a hold on the pope that it was said that it was the pope who blessed and sanctified, but Paluzzo who ruled and governed the papal states.<sup>83</sup> Along similar lines, a 1672 *avviso* referred to the “Paluzzi, adopted relatives” as ruling with a “despotic dominion” that was not

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<sup>82</sup> BAV, Barb. lat. 6415. July 25, 1676. 552r. “È stata riputata troppo barbara la tirrania praticarsi dalla razza de Paluzzi con la Santità Sua nell’haverla privata del Sagrista, confessore, e del P. Polini intrinseco, e familiare, come sospetti, che poi nell’ultime hore della vita assistirono con il P. Raccanati, quando al Pontefice erano mancati li spiriti, e la cognitione.”

<sup>83</sup> L. Osbat, “Clement X,” *DBI*, vol. 26 (1982), 301. A sonnet included in Leti’s *Il vaticano languente* has the same theme (Leti 1677, 258).

**Sonetto.**

Chi fosse Papa Paluzzo Paluzzi, ò Emilio Altieri.

Qual di lor fosse Papa, io, non sò bene  
 Ch’il primo hebbe il poter’ e l’altro il nome  
 Del Papato ei portò le gravi some,  
 Quello n’hebbe l’honor, le gratie il vanto.  
 Della Chiesa succhiò costui le vene,  
 Anzi succhiato hauria due cento Rome  
 Mi maraviglio ben e non sò come  
 Un’ uomo si forfante il Ciel sostiene.  
 Alla fine un morì l’altro si lagna  
 Che son finiti i Palatini honori  
 E terminata la Papal Cuccagna.  
 Non vibra contro molti i suoi dolori  
 Mà si duol perche più non si guadagna  
 E piange perche più non corron gli ori.

appreciated by the people of Rome.<sup>84</sup> Although similar criticisms were certainly levelled against other papal regimes, the Altieri nephews were particularly vulnerable as their reign could be seen as unmerited. In the same sense that adopted children were depicted as thieves of a family's patrimony, adopted papal nephews could be seen as usurpers of power, influence, and funds that they had no right to. Moreover, as in the case of Cardinal Paluzzo's difficulties with the foreign ambassadors, contemporaries sensed that their authority was not absolute, and could be annulled.

The Altieri nephews were roundly criticized for their lavish spending. From the moment Clement X took the throne in 1670 the family began putting large sums of money into building and decorative projects, in particular Palazzo Altieri on Piazza del Gesù, which was more than doubled in size during Altieri's reign. The *avvisi* from these years contain a continuous commentary regarding how much the Altieri were spending on the project. This latent criticism periodically came to the surface in the mouth of the anonymous voice-of-the-people Pasquino:

Pasquino is causing a racket, and says that the Pope is starting to listen to the passionate appeals of his relatives, that make him see black for white, trying to convince him to undertake an immense expense to enlarge a palace – Pasquino enjoys seeing Rome enriched with sumptuous buildings, but at this point doesn't willingly see his people reduced to going to take up house in the Colosseum, to make room for these princes' new undertaking.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> “Non ha però questo Pontefice le acclamationi Popolari, che haveva Clement Nono, il quale sempre ch'era veduto per Roma si conciliava con la sua presenza in tal guisa l'amor del Popolo, che lo stordivano con tanti viva viva Clemente Nono, la cagione di cio è la gran vecchiara, ma molto più la natural bontà del Papa, che pare cangiato in statua, e in veder Roma i Paluzzi parenti adottivi regere con sì dispotico dominio la Monarchia del governo, non è dalla Corte molto aggradito, e massimamente dalla Plebe, che vorrebbe veder dominare i veri Nepoti del sangue.” BAV, Barb. lat. 6408. March 5, 1672. 214r.

<sup>85</sup> “Strepita Pasquino, e dice, che il Papa comincia a dar orecchio all'appassionate istanze de suoi congiunti, che li fanno vedere il bianco per il nero, volendo imbarcare in una spesa immensa per l'aggrandimento di un Palazzo = Gode Pasquino di veder la sua Roma arricchita di sontuosi edificij ma non vede volentieri la sua cittadinanza ridotta ormai ad andare ad alloggiare al' [468v] al' Coliseo, per dar luogo a questi Prencipi noviter impresi/impresi.” BAV, Barb. lat. 6405. November 29, 1670. 468r.

The Altieri nephews resolutely followed the path laid by previous nephews: they enlarged and decorated the family palace, constructed a villa, and bought up feudal properties such as Monterano and Oriolo Romano in order to increase their titles and social status.<sup>86</sup> However, as adopted nephews their actions could be cast more critically than if they had been blood relatives. In an anonymous letter written in the aftermath of a political crisis in 1674, the author advises Paluzzo to:

Leave aside such avidity for money, and such greed, that clutters up your mind. Take an example from the real nephews of past popes, that made themselves loved through the splendidence that they used to bring others into the grace of God, it is not then all about taking everything for yourselves, as you have done. Model yourselves after your worthy predecessor, whose position you have so unworthily occupied.<sup>87</sup>

It was common for cardinal nephews to be advised to model themselves after illustrious predecessors, as in the anonymous recommendation to Cinzio Passeri Aldobrandini to take Carlo Borromeo as his exemplar.<sup>88</sup> In the case of adopted nephews this was not simply rhetoric, but real political necessity. In 1670 Cardinal Paluzzo posted a general proclamation renewing all proclamations regarding cardinal nephews published by previous popes, as he did not want to be seen as “less than other papal nephews.”<sup>89</sup> Public recognition of the papal nephew was critical in order for the position to have a purpose. In the case of Camillo Astalli, the ambassadors of the various foreign powers made sure that his promotion was public knowledge, as they would not deal with anyone who did not have the rank of papal nephew. Thus it

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<sup>86</sup> See Armando Schiavo, *Palazzo Altieri* (Rome: Associazione Bancaria Italiana, 1960).

<sup>87</sup> “Dismettete la tanta avidità del danaro, e la tanta Avaritia, che v’ingombra la mente. Pigliate essemplio da veri Nipoti de passati Pontefici, che si sono fatti amare mediante la splendidezza, che hanno usato, con far parte ad altri della gratia di Dio, è non già coll’appropriare à se il tutto, come havete praticato voi. Specchiatevi nel degno vostro Antecessore il di cui posto si indegnamente ne havete occupato.” British Library, Add 8394. Letter to Cardinal Paluzzo. 36r.

<sup>88</sup> See Chapter 2.

<sup>89</sup> “Non volendo S(ua) E(minenza) il Card.le Altieri esser di meno degl’altri Nepote de Pont(efi)ci ha fatto di questo giorno affigger un Bando generale rinovando in esso tutti i Bandi publicati fino al pnte dagli altri Pont(efi)ci.” BAV, Barb. lat. 6405. August 12, 1670. 80v.

was universally and openly affirmed that the pope had declared Astalli “his nephew, giving him the false name of Cardinal Pamphili, and the title of *cardinal padrone*.”<sup>90</sup>

In the courtly environment of the curia, where power was indelibly tied to the appearance of influence, such public recognitions were vital to political survival.

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<sup>90</sup> Leti 1667, 192-193. “Ma perche gli Ambasciatori non sogliono negoziare con altri, che non chi porta il carattere di Nipote, onde seguita la promotione dell’Astalli al Cardinalato prima di portarsi da lui all’udienza, vollero gli Ambasciatori che si publicasse per Roma, e si deschiarasse molto bene questo punto, che per ciò fu dechiarato dal Papa suo Nipote dando segli il nome posticcio di Cardinal Panfilio, & il titolo di Cardinal Padrone, qual dechiaratione havendo fatto cessare le difficoltà degli Ambasciatori, si disposero alla comunicazione de’ loro negotij, non senza loro nausea, con detto nuovo Nipote.”

## PROLEGOMENA TO CHAPTER 2: *THE CARDINAL NEPHEW AS SUPPORT IN THE VISUAL ARTS*

One of the most pervasive means of visualizing the role of the papal nephew was through the use of iconography that presented him as a physical support for the pope.<sup>1</sup> This reflects how the position was theorized by contemporaries, as we have seen in Leti's writings where the cardinal nephew is the only individual in the curia indisputably loyal to the pope and willing to take on burdens on his behalf, from keeping state secrets to avenging a suspicious passing. Early examples of the iconography of nephew as 'support' most often took the form of depictions of the story of Hercules, and in particular of the scene of Hercules helping Atlas to support the globe of the world. Atlas appears in the context of a papal nephew's commission for the first time in the Cinquecento, in Taddeo Zuccaro's decorations for Cardinal Alessandro Farnese in the Palazzo Farnese at Caprarola. The representation of Atlas in the *Aurora* room at Caprarola situates the god within a larger cycle of depictions of pagan deities, and Cesare D'Onofrio has argued that the imagery does not make an explicit connection between Cardinal Farnese and Hercules.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, works commissioned by Gregory XIII Boncompagni make allusions to Atlas, but not to Hercules, suggesting that a complete identification between Atlas and the pope/Hercules and the cardinal nephew was not established.<sup>3</sup> Instead, as D'Onofrio has argued, the conceit of the pope as Atlas and the cardinal nephew as Hercules is

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<sup>1</sup> In the course of preparing this dissertation it has become clear that we lack a comprehensive text assessing how nepotism was expressed in the visual arts in Renaissance and Baroque Rome, namely from the return of the popes to the Eternal City in the first quarter of the fifteenth century to the official abolition of the practice in 1692. Given the importance of the role of the papal nephew in terms of contemporary influence and access to wealth, such a study would be immensely valuable to students and scholars of early modern Rome.

<sup>2</sup> Cesare D'Onofrio, *Roma vista da Roma* (Rome: Edizioni "Liber", 1967), 229.

<sup>3</sup> Gregory XIII's cardinal nephew, Giacomo Boncompagni, was in fact the pope's son. As a result, he kept a low profile. D'Onofrio suggests that this is the reason he does not feature prominently in the iconography of Gregory XIII's papacy. D'Onofrio 1967, 230.

codified for the first time in the sculptural decorations of Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini's water theatre at the Villa Aldobrandini in Frascati.

Pope Clement VIII Aldobrandini inherited the property in Frascati in 1598, and gave it to the younger of his two cardinal nephews, Pietro Aldobrandini. The villa and its grounds were rebuilt and reorganized beginning in 1601 under Giacomo della Porta, the project taken over after 1602 by Giovanni Fontana and Carlo Maderno, and finished around 1611.<sup>4</sup> One of the most prominent features of the Villa Aldobrandini is the Teatro dell'Acqua, an elaborate fountain and sculptural ensemble situated directly behind the villa and extending back into the grounds, up the steep hill on which the villa stands. The main portion of the Teatro takes the form of a large exedra punctuated by five niches of equal size, each of which holds a statue; the whole exedra is fronted by a pool. Rising up the hill behind the exedra is a *scaletta d'acqua* marked where the water begins its descent into the exedra with two monumental columns decorated with spiraling bands.

The central niche of the grand exedra now houses a statue depicting Atlas holding the globe of the world [Fig. P.1]. Early prints and drawings of the exedra indicate that originally Atlas was flanked on the right by a statue of Hercules reaching up to take the globe, and on the left by two female figures.<sup>5</sup> In the rocks below Atlas is a fifth personage, now only a grimacing face and a single fist, which has been identified as Tantalus. As punishment for a crime variously identified as revealing the secrets of the gods or stealing from them, Tantalus was surrounded by water but

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<sup>4</sup> For the history of the project and relevant bibliography see: Ronald Martin Steinberg, "The Iconography of the Teatro dell'Acqua at the Villa Aldobrandini," *The Art Bulletin* 47 (1965): 453-463.

<sup>5</sup> Steinberg suggests that the two female figures were personifications of astronomy and geometry. Steinberg 1965, 458. Earlier, K. Schwager interpreted the figures as representations of Atlas' wife and daughter. K. Schwager, "Kardinal Pietro Aldobrandinis Villa di Belvedere in Frascati," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* IX-X (1961-1962): 310.



unable to drink and teased with luscious fruits which he was unable to reach to eat.<sup>6</sup>

Ronald Steinberg has interpreted the central group's meaning in philosophical terms, arguing that Hercules' action in the Teatro dell'acqua sculpture is intended to represent the "positive and ...voluntary choice to seek divine wisdom" on the part of Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, just as Hercules attained divine wisdom by assuming Atlas' celestial sphere.<sup>7</sup> Tantalus, in Steinberg's interpretation, is the negative counterpoint to Hercules – a demonstration of the perils of rejecting divine guidance.

In contrast to Steinberg, Cesare D'Onofrio emphasizes the political implications of the iconography, arguing that the Atlas/Hercules pairing is the first clear articulation of an iconography in which the reigning pope is identified with Atlas and the papal nephew with Hercules. Both authors cite contemporary poetry in honour of Pietro, particularly Giambattista Guarini's evocation of Pietro in the context of the Atlas myth: "O of the great father to whom the world kneels / Worthy nephew, O Pietro, heaven's delight / and almost Hercules, elected to bear / the great weight of the most holy Atlas."<sup>8</sup> Guarini's emphasis on Pietro's status as a nephew and his evocation of the 'great Father' signals the political implications of his verses, and suggests a similar reading for the fountain's main sculptural group.

The inscription in the frieze of the exedra clarifies the political dimension of the villa and its fountain - the villa was constructed by Pietro "after restoring peace to Christendom and reacquiring the Duchy of Ferrara for the Papal States...as a place of

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<sup>6</sup> The latter aspect of his punishment may explain why the figure in the fountain is shown with his fists raised toward the sky. W. Walter Merry, James Riddell, and D. B. Monro, eds., *Homer's Odyssey* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1886-1901), 582.

<sup>7</sup> Steinberg 1965, 458.

<sup>8</sup> "O del gran Padre a cui s'inchina il mondo/Degno nepote, O Pietro, al ciel diletto / E quasi Alcide a sostenere eletto / Del santissimo Atlante il grave pondo." D'Onofrio 1967, 230-232.

repose after his work in the city...’’<sup>9</sup> The Villa Aldobrandini was Pietro’s reward for his hard work and success in the political sphere, and for his campaigns on behalf of the church under his uncle Pope Clement VIII. Moreover, it is important that the inscription also carefully indicates Pietro’s relationship to the pope, identifying him as “CLEM. VIII. FRATRIS F.” – “Clement VIII’s *brother’s* son. [italics mine]” In his English version of the inscription Steinberg translates this as simply “Clement VIII’s nephew”, which while technically correct loses the significance of the phrase. By identifying himself as Clement VIII’s brother’s son, Pietro proclaims himself as a member of the paternal Aldobrandini line, a fact that, as we will see in Chapter 2, was key to his political and professional success.<sup>10</sup>

As D’Onofrio has suggested then, the central sculptural group likely refers to Pietro’s willingness to shoulder the burdens of papal government as the pope’s dutiful nephew. If the central sculptural group of the Teatro dell’Acqua represents Clement VIII and Pietro Aldobrandini in the guises of Atlas and Hercules, then the pathetic figure of Tantalus may well be a slighting reference to Cinzio Passeri Aldobrandini – Tantalus and Cinzio were both presumptuous figures who took advantage of the favours offered to them by those in power and suffered the consequences. Alciati used Tantalus as the emblem for Avarice, comparing him to the miser who cannot appreciate the things that he has, instead always grasping for more.<sup>11</sup> In the estimation

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<sup>9</sup> Steinberg 1965, 453. The full inscription reads: ‘PETRUS CARD. ALDOBRANDINUS S.R.E.CAM.CLEM. VIII. FRATRIS F. REDACTA IN POTESTATUM SEDIS APOST. FERRARIA PACE CHRISTIANAE REIP. RESTITUTTA AD LEVANDAM OPPORTUNO SECESSU URBANARUM CURARUM MOLEM VILLAM HANC DEDUCTA AB ALGIDO AQUA EXTRUXIT.’

<sup>10</sup> Again, as we shall see in Chapter 2, Clement VIII’s other nephew, Cinzio Aldobrandini is, almost without exception, identified as Clement VIII’s nephew through his sister, and thus of another paternal line.

<sup>11</sup> John F. Moffitt, trans. and ed., *A Book of Emblems. The Emblematum Liber in Latin and English* (Jefferson, North Carolina, and London: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2004), 103.

of his contemporaries, Pietro Aldobrandini in particular, Cinzio was in a similar position – straining for power beyond his grasp and certainly beyond his prerogative.

A return to Hercules iconography is seen in the stuccoes of the Villa Belrespiro, the cool architectural gem of the Villa Dora-Pamphili. The villa was constructed quickly in the two years following Giovan Battista Pamphili's assumption of the papal throne as Innocent X in 1644, and payments indicate that the stucco decoration was finished by the fall of 1646.<sup>12</sup> The scenes of the ground level apartment depict motifs and myths drawn from antiquity, including an extensive cycle of images depicting the myth of Hercules. On the vault of the eponymous Sala di Ercole the scene of Hercules and Atlas flanks Cardinal Camillo Pamphili's coat of arms, and Olga Raggio has suggested that the other stuccoes in the room, such as that of *Hercules armed by Minerva to defend Thebes* refer specifically to Camillo as papal nephew, in the latter case to his role as defender of the church.<sup>13</sup> Similar imagery can be found in Pietro da Cortona's Barberini palace frescoes, where the figure of Hercules is identified with Taddeo Barberini as general of the Church.<sup>14</sup>

The use of Hercules/Atlas imagery by papal nephews is important in light of Wolfgang Reinhard and Madeleine Laurain-Portemer's debate over the existence and nature of the cardinal nephew's authority.<sup>15</sup> Representations of the myth of Hercules and Atlas explicitly represent the cardinal nephew as the pope's subordinate and eager assistant. That powerful nephews such as Pietro Aldobrandini chose to represent themselves in this manner indicates cognizance of the workings of the client system

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<sup>12</sup> Olga Raggio, "Alessandro Algardi e gli stucchi di Villa Pamphili," *Paragone* 251 (1971): 5.

<sup>13</sup> Raggio 1971, 6.

<sup>14</sup> John Beldon Scott, *Images of Nepotism. The Painted Ceilings of Palazzo Barberini* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 140.

<sup>15</sup> See Chapter 1, p. 25 of this dissertation.

within the papal government. The power of the papal nephew derived from his proximity to the pope, and from his ability to maintain the pope's trust and favour, with the scope of acting as his surrogate. Michael Hill has rightly argued that Reinhard errs in equating power with independence.<sup>16</sup> Instead, as Hill notes, the nephew's power comes from "his contribution to the state's decision-making mechanism, from his supervision of its executive apparatus, and from his personal contact with its many important friends and enemies."<sup>17</sup> The imagery discussed briefly above and further on in this dissertation, particularly in Chapter 3, suggests that cardinal nephews in Seicento Rome were well aware of the limitations and source of their power, and that rather than trying to conceal their subordinate position to the pope celebrated it as the font of their prestige. Astute cardinal nephews cultivated an image of willing subservience and personal access to the pope as a means of representing the foundations of their influence and further establishing their authority.

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<sup>16</sup> Hill 1998, 24-26.

<sup>17</sup> Hill 1998, 25.

## CHAPTER 2: WHAT'S IN A NAME? CINZIO PASSERI ALDOBRANDINI (1551-1610) AS COLLECTOR AND PATRON

### *Cinzio Aldobrandini's life and career*

When Cardinal Ippolito Aldobrandini was elected to the papal throne on January 30<sup>th</sup>, 1592, taking the name Clement VIII, it was generally anticipated that the new pontiff would appoint Cinzio Passeri Aldobrandini to the position of cardinal nephew [Fig. 2.1a, b].<sup>1</sup> Cinzio was the son of Aurelio Passeri and Elisabetta Aldobrandini, Ippolito's sister.<sup>2</sup> Born in Senigallia in 1551, he transferred to Rome in 1566, where he was first raised by his uncle Giovanni (until the latter's death in 1573) and subsequently by Ippolito. He was educated in Perugia and then Padua, where he graduated in 1578. After the completion of his studies he returned to Rome, where he worked closely with then Cardinal Ippolito Aldobrandini for years. It is unknown when he took the Aldobrandini name, although it was apparently prior to his uncle's

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<sup>1</sup> Klaus Jaitner, "Il nepotismo di papa Clement VIII (1592-1605) e il dramma del cardinale Cinzio Aldobrandini," *Archivio Storico Italiano* (1988): 58; Angelo Personeni, *Notizie Genealogiche storiche critiche e letterarie del Cardinale Cinzio Personeni da Ca Passero Aldobrandini Nipote di Clemente VIII. S. P. Raccolte dall'Ab. Angelo Personeni* (Bergamo: Per Francesco Locatelli. 1786), 67. On Cinzio see: E. Fasano Guarini, "Aldobrandini (Passeri), Cinzio," *DBI*, vol. 2 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960), 102-104.

<sup>2</sup> Christopher Witcombe ("The Vatican Apartment of Cinzio Aldobrandini," *Archivium Historiae Pontificiae* 19 (1981): 173) gives Cinzio's mother's name as Giulia, 173; while the *DBI* identifies her as Elisabetta (*DBI*, vol. 2 (1960), 102). 'Giulia' appears in the inscription on a portrait of Cinzio in Bergamo which labels him as "Cynthius Aurelii Passeri Bergomatis, & Juliae Aldobrandinae Clementis VIII sororis filius" (Personeni 1786, 148), while a portrait in Senigallia says Elisabetta. Parisi and Personeni agree on Elisabetta, D'Onofrio and Salomon choose Giulia. There seems to have been considerable confusion over Cinzio's mother's name from the earliest sources, as Personeni and Parisi already note the mistake, which is unresolved today. Parisi cites a number of documents confirming that Cinzio's mother's name was Elisabetta, but Parisi's references to primary materials are problematic, thus his affirmations even when supported by such evidence should be treated with some skepticism.

election to the throne of St. Peter.<sup>3</sup> Until 1571 Cinzio was the sole male heir in the family line, and it has been suggested that he was initially intended for the role of the secular head of the family, thus necessitating that he be assumed into the Aldobrandini family proper.<sup>4</sup> However, in letters written to Pietro Aldobrandini senior in 1577 and 1578 Cinzio continued to sign his name as simply ‘Cintio Passeri’, without any indication of a change in his familial status.<sup>5</sup> By the time his uncle was elected to the papal throne the situation appears to have changed. An avviso of February 1<sup>st</sup>, 1592 outlined the situation, saying that the new pope, Clement VIII:

has many relatives and the closest are his two nephews, one of which, his sister’s son, named Sig. Cintio, 28 years old, will be cardinal, to whom Our Lord has given the last name of the Aldobrandini household, since he is from the Passarini [sic], loving him very much; the other nephew, his brother’s son, is called Sig. Pietro Aldobrandini. He is 19 and already it is said that he will succeed in marrying Sig. Don Virginio Orsino’s sister.<sup>6</sup>

This is one of the few passages in seventeenth-century sources where affection is given as a reason for this kind of ‘adoption’, otherwise so clearly carried out for political or familial reasons. However, although Cinzio was a close blood relative of the pope’s, and a true nephew, his onomastic roots in the Passeri family and

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<sup>3</sup> *DBI*, vol. 2 (1960), 102. Torgil Magnuson states that Clement VIII’s secular nephew, Gian Francesco Aldobrandini, was Cinzio’s brother, and therefore also born Passeri and then adopted into the Aldobrandini family, but this is incorrect. Gian Francesco was born to a separate branch of the Aldobrandini family that had remained in Florence. Torgil Magnuson, *Rome in the age of Bernini*, vol. 1 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1982), 42; Francesco Parisi, *Della epistolografia di Francesco Parisi bibliotecario dell’ecc.ma casa Borghese libro primo diuiso in tre parti. La prima contiene le memorie della vita del cardinal Cinzio Passeri Aldobrandini detto cardinal di S. Giorgio. Le altre due contengono le lettere scelte di esso card. ed altre scritte a lui*, vol. 1 (Rome: Antonio Fulgoni, 1787), 66, n.1; *DBI*, vol. 2 (1960), 104.

<sup>4</sup> Jaitner 1988, 58.

<sup>5</sup> Parisi 1787, vol. 1. 61-62; 66.

<sup>6</sup> BAV, Cod. Urb. lat. 1060, part I c. 68. Cited in Cesare D’Onofrio, *Villa Aldobrandini* (Rome: Staderini, 1963), 19. “...ha molti parenti et li più prossimi sono due suoi nepoti, un de’ quali è figliuolo di sorella, chiamato sig. Cintio di anni 28 che sarà cardinale, a cui Nostro Signore ha dato il cognome di Casa Aldobrandina, essendo egli dei Passarini, amandolo assai; l’altro nipote figliuolo del fratello si chiama sig. Pietro Aldobrandino di anni 19 et già si parla che potrà maritarsi nella sorella del sig. Don Virgino Orsino.”

subsequent assumption of the Aldobrandini name would indelibly mark his career, giving rise to a battle for authority and influence that he would, in the end, lose.

For political commentators later in the seventeenth century, Cinzio and Pietro Aldobrandini, the other and more prominent cardinal nephew, became prime examples of *antiquas fratrum discordias*, or the trouble that could be caused in a reigning government when two nephews are in competition for power. The anonymous author of the *Novo Governo di Roma Sotto il Pontificato di Clemente Pontefice X.o*, discussing competition between Clement X's two potential nephews, Giulio Gabrielli and Paluzzo Albertoni Altieri, cites historical examples of the harm that can come to good government when there is more than one pretender to power:

while for reasons of state he [Cardinal Gabrielli] is excluded from the usual participation in the Government, that does not want companions, as hidden *antiquas fratrum discordias*, and unsociable rule, would reduce Nero to kill Britannicus his brother, and that today compels the Ottomans to massacre their own kin, we have the example of the two Aldobrandini cardinals, of which Cinzio agreed finally to cede the reigns of government to Pietro...<sup>7</sup>

Although the author's comment on the Aldobrandini nephews is in itself relatively neutral it is noteworthy that it follows two other negative examples of 'fratrum discorias': Nero killing his brother Britannicus, and the Ottomans, who are in general

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<sup>7</sup> BAV, Barb. 1665, *Novo Governo di Roma Sotto il Pontificato di Clemente Pontefice X.o. Compendio della Sua Vita, Carichi sostenuti da esso nella sua minorità, e distribuiti nel tempo del Suo Ponteficato*, 396v-397v. "...mentre dalla ragione di stato [Gabrielli] viene escluso dalla solite partecipazioni del Governo, che non vuol Compagni, poiche per tacere *antiquas fratrum discordias*, et insociabile Regnum, che ridussero Nerone a dar la morte a Britannico suo fratello, e che sforza hoggi di gl'Ottomani a fare stragge de proprij congiunti, habbiamo l'esempio delli due Cardinali Aldobrandini, de quali Cintio convenne finalmente cedere le redini del Governo a Pietro, e del Cardinal Barberino, che non prima permise a Papa Urbano Ottavo di promuovere al Cardinalato il fratello Antonio, che havesse da questi ferma promessa, che mai si sarebbe intruso nelle cure del Supremo Comando, come ingenuam.te osservo in tutto il Ponteficato del Zio, e tanto piu del appagarsi della sorte presente Gabrielli, quando, che l'età cadente del papa non può fargli desiderabile un Posto, che viene appreso di poco durata, come che col darsi delle mani attorno si potesse supplire con la rapacità i difetti del tempo."

said to ‘massacre their own kin’, certainly not a flattering comparison.<sup>8</sup> Whether or not his was a case of full legal adoption, the example of Cinzio Passeri Aldobrandini as an adopted papal nephew clearly demonstrates the importance of a natal tie to a family name as the basis for claims to power. It is precisely the discrepancy between Cinzio’s actual blood relationship to the reigning pope and the extent to which he was eventually barred from real authority due to his aggregation that demonstrates the social and political weakness of adoption and aggregation in the Seicento.

Cinzio’s early curial career is characterized by his struggle for dominance over the second papal nephew, Pietro Aldobrandini. Pietro, born in 1571 to Ippolito’s brother (also Pietro), was exactly twenty years Cinzio’s junior and comparatively little experienced in political and ecclesiastical affairs when Ippolito was elected Clement VIII in 1592. Pietro too was originally slated to take up secular leadership of the Aldobrandini family, however he resisted, seeing in the Curia a surer path to power, influence, and wealth.<sup>9</sup> Each nephew relied on the support of, and led, a different factional group within the curia – Cinzio was supported by the Spanish and Cardinal Montalto in particular, while Pietro was promoted by the Florentines.<sup>10</sup> Clement VIII,

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<sup>8</sup> In her biography of Julius II, Christine Shaw gives another Renaissance precedent for such a situation, namely Julius’ nephews Giuliano della Rovere and Pietro Riario who “are prime examples of how papal *nipoti* could be bitter rivals, more intent on the promotion of their own interests than on working together.” Christine Shaw, *Julius II. The Warrior Pope* (Oxford, England: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 1996), 12.

<sup>9</sup> Jaitner 1988, 58. In the end the mantle of secular prince would be taken over by Gian Francesco Aldobrandini. Apparently from a separate Florentine branch of the family that had maintained the name, Gian Francesco married Pietro’s sister Olimpia, thus sidestepping the issue of a name change that should have arisen with Olimpia’s inheritance. Although the couple had twelve children, six of them boys, the family would still be extinct by the end of the seventeenth century. On Gian Francesco see E. Fasano Guarini, “Aldobrandini, Gian Francesco,” *DBI*, vol. 2 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960), 104-105.

<sup>10</sup> Connections between Cinzio and Cardinal Montalto extended beyond the political sphere, as they seem to have also had similar taste and interest in music, both acting as patrons to the contemporary madrigalist Luca Marenzio. See: Steven Ledbetter, “Marenzio’s Early Career,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 32 (1979): 304-320 and James Chater, “Luca Marenzio: New Documents, New Observations,” *Music & Letters* 64 (1983): 2-11.



for his part, attempted to maintain the appearance of parity between the two nephews. He raised them to the purple together on September 17, 1592 and jointly named them Secretaries of State on the following day.<sup>11</sup> The responsibilities of the latter position were divided between the two – Cinzio dealt with all matters concerning the Imperial court, Colonia, Graz, Switzerland, Poland, Florence, Venice, Naples, and the Italian principates, while Pietro dealt with France, Spain, Portugal, Savoy, and Avignon. Initially it appeared that the two would share the duties and responsibilities of the position equally.

For all of the appearance of impartiality however there are telling indications of an intrinsic imbalance of authority between the two nephews from the outset of their joint assumption of power. Perhaps as a reflection of their parentage, Pietro was raised to the cardinalate with the title of *Cardinale Aldobrandini*, while Cinzio was officially known as the *Cardinale di San Giorgio* after his titular church, S. Giorgio in Velabro.<sup>12</sup> Less than six months after their election, contemporaries were already commenting on tension and a spirit of competition between the two nephews.<sup>13</sup> By April this rivalry was surfacing publicly in the *avvisi*. The envoy from Urbino was recorded as remarking in regard to a banquet that Pietro threw for the Bavarian princes in the Castel Sant'Angelo, that the cardinal was prompted to do so as he was: "Indignant, so it is believed, that Mons. Cinzio was the first to hold a banquet for [the

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<sup>11</sup> Jaitner 1988, 57; 61. The briefs naming the two to the cardinalate are found in: ASV, Segreteria dei brevi 195, ff. 186-188. Clement VIII named two others to the cardinalate on the same day, namely Lucio Sassi and Francisco Toledo.

<sup>12</sup> Jaitner 1988, 61. It was not unusual for a cardinal to be known by his titulus, however in this context it is nonetheless significant, as the recognition of Pietro as the Aldobrandini cardinal publically marked his primacy in the family and curia. Moreover, it should be noted that after his removal from the Pamphili family Camillo Astalli became known by his titulus, rather than the Pamphili family name, in order to mark his demotion. See Chapter 4, 233.

<sup>13</sup> Ludwig Von Pastor, *Storia dei papi: dalla fine del medio evo*, trans. Pio Cenci, vol. 11 (Rome: Desclée, 1958), 36, n. 9.

Bavarian princes]” so “he made a display and large banquet that would have been suited to the King of Spain.”<sup>14</sup>

A distinct inequality can also be traced in the finances of the two nephews. In 1597 Pietro received 25,713 scudi in ecclesiastical revenues, a sum which rose to 80,897 in 1598 and 112,992 in 1600. In contrast, Cinzio received only 30,000 scudi in 1600, a number which does not appear to have varied much in the course of his career under Clement VIII.<sup>15</sup> Financial favouritism in Seicento Rome was not simply a numbers game. As the above quote from the envoy of Urbino suggests, a significant aspect of power in papal politics was based on display. The proper sumptuous attire, ostentatious carriages, an ample *famiglia*, as well as the ability to play the proper host to visiting dignitaries, give lavish gifts, and throw elaborate banquets did not just reflect power and influence – it also created it. For cardinals, as the princes of the church, the ability to maintain a certain lifestyle was a requirement and those whose incomes were below a certain level could petition for extra funds in order to maintain themselves in a manner befitting their station. As papal nephew Cinzio’s income was obviously well above this base level, but his was a problem of relativity, that is, of his ability to wield social influence in comparison to Pietro. The latter’s substantial income would have allowed him to fulfill the role of papal nephew in a manner that Cinzio could not, putting the Cardinal di San Giorgio at a considerable political disadvantage. As evidenced by his later written complaints to Clement VIII himself, Cinzio felt this disadvantage acutely, not only on a financial level, but also as a personal affront.

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<sup>14</sup> Pastor 1958, vol. 11, 36, n. 9. BAV, Urb. 1061, p. 236. “Sdegnato, come si crede, che Mons. Cinthio fosse il primo a banchettarlo, li fece un apparato et banchettone che sarebbe stato bene al Re di Spagna.”

<sup>15</sup> Jaitner 1988, 62.

Another tangible measure of the disparity between the two nephews can be drawn from nunzios' reports. As early as 1596 most of the nunzios, even those who officially fell under Cinzio's governance, began sending copies of their reports to Pietro, indicating that Cinzio's authority was weakening.<sup>16</sup> It is again Paruta who tells us that by this time it was necessary to petition Pietro in order to see results from the papacy. However, Paruta's observation that Cardinal San Giorgio had begun to cede power to his rival, although in the end accurate, was premature prior to 1599. Although their professional fates were perhaps sealed from the outset, as indicated by their finances, until the events surrounding the recapture of Ferrara in 1598 Cinzio would continue to vie with Pietro for power in the curia and influence over their papal uncle, and would continue to have some support in his endeavours. It is only after the events in Ferrara, unequivocally a political triumph for Pietro, that Cinzio stepped out of the ring, as it were.

While Clement VIII may have attempted to maintain the appearance of parity between the two nephews, it seems that from the outset Cinzio was perceived to be in a vulnerable position with respect to Pietro. It is likely this perception of weakness that inspired an anonymous author to write a manuscript dedicated to Cinzio, outlining a plan for how he could increase his influence and win out over his younger cousin.<sup>17</sup> The text is influenced by reform ideas of the time – it advises Cinzio to follow the example of Carlo Borromeo and work toward “the progress of religion and to the union of the Catholic princes and to fight against heresy.”<sup>18</sup> The author also offers advice with an eye toward more local politics, such as to look after grain supplies in

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<sup>16</sup> Jaitner 1988, 63.

<sup>17</sup> On the manuscript see Jaitner 1988, 60 and Appendix. A copy can be found in Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Ms. Pal. 465, ff. 94-100v; Ms. Pal. 618, ff. 221-228, copy, October 1598. Jaitner dates the manuscript to around 1592, although does not indicate precisely why.

<sup>18</sup> Jaitner 1988, 60.

Rome and tackle the problem of banditry in the countryside south of the city, which had been a problem in Rome for decades.<sup>19</sup> In at least one instance the counsel offered was specifically targeted toward putting Cinzio on par with Pietro: the author recommends that Cinzio be ordained as a priest, a move that would make him Pietro's equal in a concrete and indisputable way.<sup>20</sup> Pietro himself was apparently aware that maintaining his power was a task demanding continual labor and attention. Bentivoglio records that in 1600 during negotiations with Henry IV for the return of the duchy of Saluzzo, Pietro was anxious to return to Rome. He justified his anxiety, explaining:

how important it is for nephews of the popes to be close to them [the popes], to obtain so much more easily those graces that in such times one hopes for, and for the advantage of their person and for the good of their house [...] he wanted to be able to return as soon as possible to the court of Rome, where he did not lack for imitators and enviers, some of which were even among his own relatives.<sup>21</sup>

The final line is likely a reference to Cinzio, and suggests that although the Cardinal S. Giorgio had accepted his secondary position, Pietro was still wary of rivalries and challenges. His comment also underscores the conscious deliberation with which he orchestrated his dominance in the curia.

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<sup>19</sup> The pope best known for his vigorous battle against banditry is Sixtus V, although the extent to which he was successful in eliminating the problem is a matter of some debate. See: Irene Polverini Fosi, "Justice and its image: political propaganda and judicial reality in the pontificate of Sixtus V," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 24 (1993): 75-95.

<sup>20</sup> Cinzio only took major orders after Clement VIII's death, while Pietro took minor orders in 1592. DBI, vol. 2 (1960), 104, 108.

<sup>21</sup> Guido Bentivoglio, cited in Maria Teresa Fattori, *Clemente VIII e il Sacro Collegio (1592 - 1605): meccanismi istituzionali ed accentramento di governo* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 2004), 357, n. 174. "...nel discorso di Pietro Aldobrandini ad Enrico IV durante la trattativa per la pace di Saluzzo [1600]: voleva tornare prontamente a Roma, spiegando "quanto importasse a' nepoti de' pontefici lo stare appresso di loro, per conseguire tanto più agevolmente quelle grazie che in tempo tale si speravano, e per vantaggio delle loro persone e per beneficio delle loro case [...] egli desiderava] poter quanto prima tornare alla corte di Roma dove a lui non mancavano emuli e invidiosi, e qualcheduno ancora fra i suoi parenti medesimi" Bentivoglio, *Memorie*, 223.

The rivalry between the two nephews spread through the curia visibly, like cracks in a pane of glass – the Venetian ambassador Paolo Paruta noted that “[t]hese nephews of His Holiness divide the souls, judgements, and expectations of this court.”<sup>22</sup> In 1595 Paruta also observed that “between these two cardinals so tied by blood there was born such a great rivalry, that if respect for the Pope did not hold them in check, they would pass to open enmity.”<sup>23</sup> More importantly in this context, Paruta then suggests the cardinals’ unequal family ties as part of the reason for this discord: “but Cardinal San Giorgio begins to cede to Cardinal Aldobrandini, as he clearly sees that such is the will of the pope, either for the closer blood tie (*la congiunzione maggiore del sangue*), since [Pietro] is of the same house and his brother’s son, while [Cinzio] is his sister’s son; or because he is more confident in him...”<sup>24</sup> The same explanation is given by Bentivoglio, who notes the initial expectation that Cinzio would take the top position in Clement’s court as cardinal nephew and the subsequent alteration.

But that court, that should rarely be fooled, this time was notably deceived, because the Pope, *giving the just rights to blood* [italics mine], after having first seen grow little by little the manageable talent in Pietro with the years, then endowed him with ever greater responsibilities, and then ever with greater advantages, and finally with such superiority in everything, that at my arrival at Court (at the end of 1600) the Government of the Pontificate was being managed

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<sup>22</sup> Jaitner 1988, 60. “Questi signori nipoti di S.S.tà dividono gli animi, gli giudittii et le aspettationi di questa corte.”

<sup>23</sup> Jaitner 1988, 62. “Onde tra questi due cardinali così congiunti di sangue ne è nata così grande emulatione, che se il rispetto del Papa non li tenesse in freno, passerebbe in aperta nimistà. [...] Ma comincia il Cardinal San Giorgio a cedere ad esso Aldobrandino, poiché vede palesemente tale esser la volontà del Pontefice.”

<sup>24</sup> “...ma comincia il cardinal S. Giorgio a cedere ad esso Aldobrandino, poiché vede palesemente tale essere la volontà del Pontefice o per la congiunzione maggiore del sangue, per esser questo della stessa sua casa e figliuolo di fratello, ove egli è figliuolo di sorella; oppure perché più confidi in lui, riputandolo, come le ha avuto a dire più volte, più destro nel negoziare, benché si mostri nel cardinal S. Giorgio maggior vivacità d’ingegno.” cited in D’Onofrio 1963, 19. From Paruta, *Relazione*, 1595.

by Cardinal Aldobrandini with such great authority, that Cardinal S. Giorgio retained only a weak, and vain appearance of it.<sup>25</sup>

Similarly, in a report sent to Alessandro d'Este in the spring of 1600, the author explains Pietro's dominance, suggesting that "[i]t could still be that the Pope, recognizing that the authority of the cardinal nephew is reduced when divided between two individuals, wanted to unite all that authority in a single individual, who is the closer relative [*ch'è più congiunto*]..."<sup>26</sup> The author of the report also specifies to d'Este that "[Cardinal] San Giorgio was born to a sister of the Pope married in Sinigaglia into the Passeri family, whose name and arms he would carry, if the Pope had not aggregated him into the Aldobrandini."<sup>27</sup> While the biological bond between the two nephews and their uncle the pope was entirely equal, in the context of contemporary family relations Pietro's tie to Clement VIII was unquestionably the privileged of the two, and the distinction between the two nephews' positions was noted and taken into account throughout the Italian peninsula.

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<sup>25</sup> Personeni 1786, 66-67. "Ma la Corte, che suole ingannarsi di raro, s'ingannò questa volta notabilmente, perchè il Papa dando il giusto diritto al sangue, dopo aver veduto crescere prima a poco a poco il maneggiabil talento in Pietro con gli anni, aveva fatto in lui crescer di poi poco a poco il maneggio, e poi sempre con maggiori vantaggi, e finalmente con tal superiorità in ogni cosa, che nel mio arrivo alla Corte (sul finire del 1600) il Ministero del Pontificato si maneggiava dal Cardinale Aldobrandino con autorità così grande, che al Card. S. Giorgio veniva a restarne solo una debole, e vana apparenza."

<sup>26</sup> *Relatione fatta all'ill.mo sig. cardinale d'Este al tempo della sua promotione, che doveva andar in Roma*. Cod. 6619 pp. 79-125, Biblioteca Nazionale, Vienna; Cod. 10059 n. 4, Biblioteca Nazionale, Parigi; Cod. Vat. 10337, BAV. In: Pastor 1958, vol. 11, 759-770. "Può essere ancora che il Papa conoscendo che l'autorità de nipoti divisa in due diventava minore di se stessa, habi voluto congiungerla tutta in quel solo, ch'è più congiunto..." Pastor 1958, vol. 11, 764.

<sup>27</sup> *Relatione fatta all'ill.mo sig. cardinale d'Este al tempo della sua promotione, che doveva andar in Roma*. Cod. 6619 pp. 79-125, Biblioteca Nazionale, Vienna; Cod. 10059 n. 4, Biblioteca Nazionale, Parigi; Cod. Vat. 10337, BAV. In: Pastor 1958, vol. 11, 759-770. "Nacque San Giorgio d'una sorella del Papa maritata in Sinigaglia in casa di Passeri, da quali sarebbe il cognome e l'armi, s'el Papa non l'havesse aggregato a gl'Aldobrandini." Pastor 1958, vol. 11, 764.

Often the effects of adoption can be most readily seen in significant individual and family events such as baptisms, marriages, and funerals. Thus it is telling that it was Pietro who looked after marriage arrangements for the women of the Aldobrandini family, the daughters of Clement VIII's secular nephew, Giovan Francesco Aldobrandini, and his wife Olimpia.<sup>28</sup> This is a significant indicator of family identification and interest, as can be seen later with the Albertoni-Altieri: Paluzzo Altieri in particular was heavily criticized for his lack of interest in the futures of his purely Altieri nieces. In the Aldobrandini family, it was Pietro who, as the offspring of the male Aldobrandini, tended to the future generations of his line. Cinzio, instead, appears to have continued to tend to the affairs of his family and their circle in Senigallia after his transfer to the papal court. For example, he paid the dowry for a certain Delia, daughter of Flaminia Passeri, allowing her to marry Count Alessandro Scala of Jesi.<sup>29</sup> Moreover, Cinzio was apparently the sole heir of his father and a Passeri uncle, although, as we see with Scipione Borghese, that does not necessarily mean that he maintained legal ties to his paternal line.<sup>30</sup>

At the end of his life, Cinzio was not buried anywhere associated with the Aldobrandini family, but rather in the church from which he derived his *titulus* at the time of his death, S. Pietro in Vincoli. His funerary monument, which can be seen in the church today, was not erected until a century after his death, and not by an Aldobrandini (or a Passeri for that matter), but by a member of the Pamphili family with maternal ties to the Aldobrandini. Nor was Cinzio involved with significant Aldobrandini family monuments, such as the well-known chapel in the church of

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<sup>28</sup> Irene Fosi and Maria Antonietta Visceglia, "Marriage and politics at the papal court in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries," in *Marriage in Italy, 1300-1650*, ed. Trevor Dean (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 220.

<sup>29</sup> Parisi 1787, 48.

<sup>30</sup> Parisi 1787, 44.

Santa Maria sopra Minerva.<sup>31</sup> Thus in matters both practical and symbolic, such as marriages and memorials, Cinzio remained a secondary player in the Aldobrandini hierarchy. Although he was given the role of papal nephew and the Aldobrandini name, his influence and ability to operate effectively as a nephew was limited from the outset by his paternity and in the end by his character.

### ***Ferrara and Pietro's Triumph***

In 1597, Alfonso II d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, died without a legitimate heir. Attempting to keep the duchy within the d'Este family, Alfonso named his cousin, Cesare, his successor. Cesare, who was illegitimate, was not acceptable to the papacy, who immediately proclaimed that control over the duchy should automatically devolve to the pope. Clement VIII was unwilling to forego the opportunity to take back a valuable piece of former papal territory, and on November 8, 1597 he named Pietro legate to the city and charged him with the task of recovering the duchy, against the claims of Cesare d'Este.<sup>32</sup> Pietro set off for Ferrara with a military force, although in the end he swiftly and peacefully settled the matter through diplomatic channels. Pietro met with Lucrezia d'Este, who not only agreed to hand Ferrara over to the papacy, but also made Pietro her universal heir.<sup>33</sup> Cesare, whom the pope threatened with excommunication, retired to Modena.

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<sup>31</sup> On the Minerva chapel, see: Sylvia Pressouyre, "Actes relatifs aux sculptures de la chapelle Aldobrandini à Sainte-Marie-de-la-Minerve à Rome," *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* (1971): 195-206. Colp Abromson's study of patronage, particularly of painting, under Clement VIII, does not include Cinzio at all. Morton Colp Abromson, *Painting in Rome During the Papacy of Clement VIII (1592-1605): A Documented Study* (New York: Garland, 1981).

<sup>32</sup> Jaitner 1988, 64.

<sup>33</sup> E. Fasano Guarini, "Aldobrandini, Pietro," *DBI*, vol. 2 (1960), 109. Lucrezia's estate provided Pietro also with an extensive artistic patrimony, as it included 250 paintings. Colp Abromson 1981, 212. On Lucrezia's motives for handing over Ferrara, as well as her earthly possessions, see: D'Onofrio 1963, 27-31.



The peaceful reacquisition of Ferrara was a major coup for Pietro, solidifying his value to the papacy and firmly establishing his political dominance. It was also a triumph for Pietro as a patron. As a reward for this success, Clement VIII gave Pietro the property and buildings in Frascati that became the Villa Aldobrandini; the subsequent decoration of the villa stridently commemorates the event [Fig. 2.2]. Moreover, as Lucrezia d'Este's heir, Pietro became the owner of a significant collection of paintings. This became the nucleus of the Aldobrandini collection, and included such famous works as the mythological paintings made for the Camerino d'Alabastro, several works by Mantegna, including an *Adoration of the Shepherds* (New York, Metropolitan Museum) and an *Agony in the Garden* (London, National Gallery), and paintings by Raphael, Giulio Romano, and Andrea del Sarto.<sup>34</sup> In contrast, the events that accompanied the recuperation of Ferrara demonstrated the Cardinal di San Giorgio's relative weakness with finality, and precipitated the complete submission that Paruta had predicted several years previously. The fictive balance of power between the two nephews was decisively shattered following Pietro's triumph in Ferrara, and their different courses as patrons were cast.

For Cinzio, the reacquisition of Ferrara and its political fallout was a long and drawn-out humiliation, apparently in large part of his own making. He did not travel with the initial legation to take back the city, led by Pietro, but instead stayed in Rome and for a time took over all the responsibilities of the Secretary of State. He departed for Ferrara as part of the pope's entourage in April of 1598, after the city had been

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<sup>34</sup> See: Francis Haskell, *Patrons and painters: a study in the relations between Italian art and society in the age of the Baroque* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), 25. These paintings were not in fact intended to be part of Pietro's haul from the collection – he essentially stole them. Cesare D'Onofrio, "Inventario dei dipinti del cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini compilato da G. B. Agucchi nel 1603," *Palatino: rivista romana di cultura* 1-3 (1964): 15-20, 158-162, 202-211; Paola Della Pergola, "L'inventario del 1592 di Lucrezia d'Este," *Arte antica e moderna* 7 (1959): 342-351.

returned to papal control, but he did not remain long. He travelled extensively while the papal court was in Ferrara, until finally he fled, spending the following year traveling from city to city in the north of Italy. His flight was nominally sparked by an ugly carriage incident in October 1598 between a member of his staff and an individual in the entourage of Alessandro Centurione, vice-legate of Ferrara.<sup>35</sup> As Cinzio himself explained to the pope in a letter:

Beyond what I have put up with up to now, intolerable to anyone and still more to me, if it were not [for] the respect that I have had of not saddening Your Holiness, finally this morning my coachman and my carriage itself were beaten by a groomsmen of Mons. Centurione in the house of Your Beatitude.<sup>36</sup>

For Cinzio the event was the last straw – the final clear demonstration of the general lack of respect shown to him by the members of the papal court and, by extension, the pope himself. In a letter to Clement VIII Cinzio complained of the pontiff's "diffidence" (*diffidenza*) towards him, which led to the creation of a dramatic distance between himself and the curia, and denied him any authority.<sup>37</sup>

Pietro, for his part, put the blame back on Cinzio and his 'impatience.'<sup>38</sup> As Klaus Jaitner has argued, Cinzio's hyper-dramatic behavior and lack of self-control were fatal flaws when it came to Seicento papal politics. Essentially a court system, power in papal Rome stemmed in large part from one's personal relationships and in

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<sup>35</sup> The incident took place on the occasion of a funeral. It was raining, and the both Pietro and Cinzio Aldobrandini's coaches had been lodged under a portico to protect them against the weather. On the arrival of Alessandro Centurione's carriage a dispute ensued over whose vehicle should move to allow the Vice-legate to pass. The dispute gave rise to a physical encounter between the various noblemen's servants, an encounter that Cinzio's coachman apparently lost.

<sup>36</sup> Jaitner 1988, 65. "Oltre quello che io ho sopportato insino a qui, intollerabile ad ogn'altro et a me ancora, se non fosse stato il rispetto che io ho havuto di non contristare la S.tà V., finalmente questa matina da un staffiere di Mons. Centurione in casa di V.Bne è stato bastonato il mio carrozziere in su la propria carrozza mia."

<sup>37</sup> Jaitner 1988, 71.

<sup>38</sup> Jaitner 1988, 65.

particular from one's ability to obtain favours from the reigning monarch - in the case of Rome, the pope. This required "self-knowledge, an extreme self-control and an attitude of superiority" – none of which would describe Cinzio's actions in 1598.<sup>39</sup> If anything, Cinzio's flight was a demonstration of his "inferior position" compared to that of Pietro, tipping the scales permanently in the latter's favour.<sup>40</sup> Cinzio's actions were contrary to the very core ideal of the papal nephew, as laid out later by Gregory XV in his missive to his nephew Ludovico Ludovisi: that the nephew be the instrument of the pope, carrying out papal commands without question.<sup>41</sup>

Cinzio's flight from Ferrara and subsequent absence from papal affairs was of considerable concern to the Clement VIII, who attempted to keep the matter hidden while sending letters to Cinzio asking him to return.<sup>42</sup> Certainly the pope was loathe to project the impression that he could not control the behavior of his own nephews, although it has also been suggested that he feared that Cinzio would turn definitively to Spanish protection, possibly taking sensitive information with him.<sup>43</sup> The events of the subsequent months made the division between the two nephews, and Pietro's ascendancy, clear. In November 1598 Pietro was sent north to collect Margherita of Austria, the future Queen of Spain, just outside of Verona and accompany her to Ferrara for her marriage ceremony – a prestigious diplomatic trip. While on this

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<sup>39</sup> Jaitner 1988, 70.

<sup>40</sup> Jaitner 1988, 71.

<sup>41</sup> Jaitner 1988, 68-9. Gregory lists a series of Ludovico's strengths as a papal nephew, such as his 'jealous protection of the pope's dignity and reputation', 'the modesty' with which Ludovico 'has valued the authority' that Gregory conceded to him, "and finally the very obedient readiness that we have always recognized in you of conforming in everything and for everything to Our will, valuing our hints as express commands." [...e finalmente l'obedientissima prontezza che habbiamo sempre conosciuta in voi di conformarvi in tutto e per tutto alla nostra volontà, stimando i nostri cenni com'espressi comandamenti."]

<sup>42</sup> Jaitner 1988, 66; *DBI*, vol. 2 (1960), 103.

<sup>43</sup> *DBI*, vol. 2 (1960), 103. This is reminiscent of what would happen later in the century with Camillo Astalli, who did in effect become something of a Spanish vassal following his fall from power – itself precipitated by his decision to share state secrets with the Spanish.

mission Pietro attempted to visit Cinzio in Milan, a conciliatory gesture intended to pave the road for the rogue cardinal's return to the papal court.<sup>44</sup> Rather than face his triumphant cousin, Cinzio literally fled the house from a side door, avoiding the meeting. Cinzio subsequently wrote to the pope in an attempt to explain his actions, but without offering to return to the family fold.<sup>45</sup> As a result of his uncontrolled actions, Cinzio began to lose what support he still had within the curia, while back in Rome Pietro gradually assumed all the responsibilities of a papal nephew.

Cinzio finally did acquiesce and return to the papal court, arriving in early May, 1599.<sup>46</sup> Following his return, he seems to have accepted the secondary role predicted for him by Paruta, and even to have fundamentally changed his character.<sup>47</sup> It was said that he “does not amuse himself anymore in Rome, he is no longer seen on the Corso, nor does he go anymore *alle stationi* at authorized hours, he detests comedies, games are banned.”<sup>48</sup> His acceptance of the norms of papal politics and of his own secondary role in the Clementine papacy was such that he fully supported the Aldobrandini faction, led by Pietro, in the conclave following Clement VIII's death in 1605.<sup>49</sup> His own death came on January 1<sup>st</sup> 1610, and he was buried in his titular church of S. Pietro in Vincoli. Pietro would live another eleven years, dying just before the end of the 1621 conclave that saw the election of Gregory XV Ludovisi. He was buried in the family chapel in Santa Maria sopra Minerva.<sup>50</sup> As will also be seen

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<sup>44</sup> Jaitner 1988, 72-73.

<sup>45</sup> Jaitner 1988, 73. Archivio Doria Pamphili, Fondo Aldobrandini 27, ff. 169-170, Milan, December 9, 1598.

<sup>46</sup> Jaitner gives the date as May 1<sup>st</sup>, the *DBI* May 7<sup>th</sup> (*DBI*, vol. 2 (1960), 103).

<sup>47</sup> Jaitner 1988, 77.

<sup>48</sup> Jaitner 1988, 77. “Non si spasseggia più per Roma, non si vede più il Corso, non si va più alle stationi a hore competenti, le comedie si detestano, il giuoco è bandito.”

<sup>49</sup> Jaitner 1988, 78.

<sup>50</sup> In his will Pietro actually requests to be buried in his titular church, S. Nicolo in Carcere, although this was not carried out. Pietro named Clement VIII, as a private individual, his personal heir, and Cinzio as one of the executors of his will. The will was rogated Sept. 22

with the Altieri, when it came to arranging their eternal resting places, family loyalty ran deep.

### ***Patrilineal associations and literary patronage***

The earliest and most extensive sources regarding Cinzio Aldobrandini are two polemical eighteenth-century biographies. These works implicitly present two sides of a debate regarding the city of Cinzio's origins and patrilineal ties, arguing whether he should be claimed by the city of Senigallia, in the Marches, or Bergamo.

Coincidentally then, both of these biographies pivot around one of the issues that caused Cinzio difficulty during his own lifetime, his paternal lineage. The earlier of the two, published by Angelo Personeni in 1786, was meant to establish that Cinzio's patrilineal roots were in Bergamo, rather than Senigallia, the city in the Marches where the cardinal was born and raised.<sup>51</sup> Personeni's decision to write the biography was apparently sparked by an active debate regarding the cardinal's origins, for he says within the opening two pages of the text that Cinzio was a member of the Passeri family from Bergamo, and not from Ravenna or Senigallia, "as some have believed."<sup>52</sup> The urge to write Personeni's biography appears to have been inspired by the beatification process begun in 1785 for a certain Francesco Passeri of Bergamo (1536-1626), a Capuchin monk and possibly Cinzio's relative.<sup>53</sup> Personeni was

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1600. Pastor 1958, vol. 11, Appendix no. 63, 773, as well as a copy in the Aldobrandini archives, Rome, t. 286, n.9. There is currently nothing in the chapel to indicate that Pietro is buried there, no monument or marker. However, ten years after his death his sister Olimpia did commission a monument for him from Giuliano Finelli, which was never executed. On this project see: Xavier F. Salomon, "The contract for Giuliano Finelli's monument to Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini," *The Burlington Magazine* CXLVI (2004): 815-819.

<sup>51</sup> Personeni 1786.

<sup>52</sup> Personeni 1786, 2.

<sup>53</sup> The beatification process was begun September 24<sup>th</sup>, 1785.

attempting to prove the existence of blood ties between Cinzio and Francesco in order to furnish the presumptive *beato* with a more illustrious family tree.

In his biography of the Cardinal San Giorgio, Personeni refers to a portrait of the cardinal in the Sala del Consiglio in Bergamo.<sup>54</sup> Personeni does not describe the painting in any detail, but does record the inscription found on the work, which reads as follows:

Cynthius Aurelii Passeri Bergomatis,  
& Juliae Aldobrandinae Clementis VIII sororis filius  
in sacrum Cardinalium Collegium,  
& in Aldobrandinam gentem  
ab Avunculo cooptatus.  
Anno MDXCIII

There are several noteworthy aspects to this inscription, the first of which is the reference to Bergamo. The thrust of Personeni's biography of the cardinal is to demonstrate Cinzio Aldobrandini's link to Bergamo, through his father Aurelio Passeri, and to claim the cardinal as a part of the cultural patrimony of that city. It is entirely in line with the author's aims that he is able to cite a portrait of Cinzio Aldobrandini housed in a major Bergamasque public space, and which itself proclaims the cardinal's origins in that city.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Personeni 1786, 148.

<sup>55</sup> Another portrait of Cinzio was at one time located in Palazzo Gherardi in Florence, although its location is now unknown. (See: <http://www2.hu-berlin.de/requiem/db/>) It is not a particularly high quality work to begin with and is in quite poor condition and thus it is difficult to evaluate. The format is conservative, with Cinzio shown seated at a table in a three-quarter view, his left hand raised in an ambiguous rhetorical gesture. This portrait too includes a long inscription, which reads:

CYNTHIVS PASSERI ALDOBRANDINVS S. R. E. CARDINALIS  
TIT·S·GEORGII CREATVS DIE XVII SEPTEMBRIS MDXCIII  
AVRELII PASSERI PATRITII SENOGALLIENSIS ET ELISABETTAE AL  
DOBRANDINAE CLEMENTIS VIII PONT·MAX·SORORIS FILIVS

This portrait may have been made on the occasion of Cinzio's elevation to the cardinalate, although the inscription errs by a year, indicating that Cinzio was made a cardinal in 1593, rather than 1592. Cinzio would have been roughly forty-two at the time, which fits with his

The inscription also mentions Cinzio's ties to the Aldobrandini family through his mother, the pope's sister.<sup>56</sup> In fact, the maternal tie is referred to twice – once when Giulia [sic] is identified as “Clementis VIII sororis” and then again more indirectly, when stating that Cinzio was “in Aldobrandinam gentem / ab Avunculo cooptatus”; ‘*avunculo*’ specifically referring to a maternal bond. The inscription seems to equate Cinzio's election to the cardinalate with his election to the Aldobrandini family. Although this is inaccurate, it is entirely possible that it was only with Cinzio's nomination to the College of Cardinals that his affiliation with the Aldobrandini became commonly known and formalized. The inscription also provides a date, 1593, suggesting that it was painted to commemorate Cinzio's elevation to the cardinalate in the previous year, although without physically examining the painting we cannot be certain if Personeni was referring to an actual 16th century work. As this portrait was placed in the city of his paternal heritage, it makes sense that the inscription would put the emphasis on Cinzio's Passeri roots, while also lauding his ties to the reigning papal clan.

Personeni's biased biography sparked an equally blinkered reaction in Francesco Parisi's 1787 *Della Epistolografia*, a second biography of Cinzio's life with a heavy emphasis on letters, hence the title.<sup>57</sup> A native of Senigallia, a city in the

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relatively youthful appearance in the painting. Here as well he is identified by his full name, Cinthio Passeri Aldobrandini, as well as by his titular church, San Giorgio. As for his parentage, this time his mother's name is given as Elisabetta and his father's origins located in Senigallia rather than Bergamo. Perhaps this work was destined for a civic space in Senigallia. Parisi also mentions that there was a painting of Cinzio in the Collegio Germanico in Rome, where he studied as a young man. The portrait was kept in the ‘gran sala’ of the Collegio and was “not dissimilar” to that included at the front of the *Tempio*, a portrait that Parisi notes was “many times recalled (‘più volte rammentato’).” Parisi 1787, 54.

<sup>56</sup> On the issue of Cinzio's mother's name see note 2 of this chapter.

<sup>57</sup> Parisi 1787. Parisi's text has significant mistakes, for example on the family tree where he indicates that Cinzio's goods were inherited by a certain ‘Ottaviano Acciajuoli’, called to take up the fidecommesso of one of Cinzio's cousins, a member of the Torriglioni family of

Marches on the Adriatic coast north of Ancona, the thrust of Parisi's text was to reclaim Cinzio for the city of his birth. Parisi acknowledged the Passeri family's ties to Bergamo, but stressed that four generations of the family prior to the cardinal's birth were established in Senigallia, and thus that Cinzio himself was entirely Senigalliense.<sup>58</sup> While the specifics of the debate carry little importance today, Parisi's text is useful for this study as the author collected a wealth of material that demonstrates Cinzio's continued ties to his paternal city of Senigallia. This material, such as letters to the Duke of Urbino on behalf of his Senigallese subjects and on Cinzio's own behalf regarding property in Senigallia, demonstrates that after his adoption into the Aldobrandini family Cinzio remained morally (and financially) tied to his paternal family and its dependents.<sup>59</sup> Parisi also specifies that Cinzio was sole heir of his father, Aurelio Passeri, and partial heir of his uncle, Ascanio Passeri.<sup>60</sup>

Cinzio seems to have felt the pull of both these paternal ties, showing his continued connections to both Bergamo and Senigallia at various times in his career. The Bergamasque affiliation may have been one of the bonds between Cinzio and the famed author Torquato Tasso (1544-1595). Like Cinzio, Tasso himself was not Bergamasque by birth but through his paternal lineage, and he spent only a short time in Bergamo.<sup>61</sup> He did however take advantage of his paternal ties to the city, claiming

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Ancona, Giambattista. Parisi 1787, 242. All of the Roman documentation instead indicates that Cinzio's estate was left to Carlo Aldobrandini.

<sup>58</sup> Parisi makes his goal entirely clear in the preface to the reader where he says: "ho io avuto particolarmente in mira di vendicare alla Città di Sinigaglia la gloria di aver prodotto quest'illustre Cittadino, che uno scrittore non ignobile ma tuttavia non ben informato ha procurato di scemarle in gran parte nelle sue *memorie Istoriche Critiche, e Letterarie* sullo stesso argomento date alla luce in questo medesimo anno in Bergamo, la cui confutazione era dovuta alla verità della Storia, ed al decoro di Sinigaglia." Parisi 1787, VII-VIII.

<sup>59</sup> See Parisi 1787, 48-9, 224-6; vol. 2 121-2, 28-30, 133-4, 137-8, 145. Cinzio apparently also inherited goods and money from the Passeri side – from his father, and from a more distant relation, Delia Passeri, whose dowry he had paid much earlier.

<sup>60</sup> Parisi 1787, 44.

<sup>61</sup> For Tasso's biography see: Claudio Gigante, *Tasso* (Rome: Salerno Editrice, 2008).



it as his “*patria ideale*” and defining himself as “Bergamasque by affection, not only by origin” (“*bergamasco per affezione, non solo per origine*”) when making a plea to the city council in 1585 for financial assistance.<sup>62</sup> Cinzio was closely tied to Tasso, and apparently tried to entice other Bergamasque writers to his academy in Rome as well.<sup>63</sup> Cinzio also maintained close ties with his native city of Senigallia and with the Passeri family members that remained there. In a 1593 letter he refers to himself as a “very loving, and very obliged son of this city [Senigallia]” (“*amorosissimo, ed obbligatissimo figliuolo di codesta Patria [Senigallia]*”).<sup>64</sup> He paid the dowry for a Passeri cousin and intervened with the Duke of Urbino on behalf of several Senigallian servants in the Duke’s service.<sup>65</sup>

The association between Cinzio and Senigallia appears to have lasted to the end of his life and to have been common knowledge to his peers. In 1607 Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini related to the Duke of Urbino that he believed it would be in Cinzio’s best interest to retire from his duties in order to recuperate from ill health. Aldobrandini proposes that the best place to do that would be Senigallia, where Cinzio

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<sup>62</sup> Gigante 2008, 13. Tasso acknowledged the pragmatic aspect of his view of his origins in a 1589 letter to the Bergamasque G. B. Licino, where he commented ironically: “Non voglio vantarmi d’essere italiano, ma sono in guisa bergamasco che non ricuso d’esser napoletano o sorrentino: e con tre patrie ho bisogno di molte cose, le quali avanzano a chi ne ha una solamente.” (Lett., 1093, IV, p. 167, 3 feb. 1589.)

<sup>63</sup> Angelo Solerti, *La vita di Torquato Tasso* (Turin & Rome: Ermanno Loescher, 1895), 737. Solerti comments that Fontana couldn’t be convinced to abandon “le patrie colline bergamasche.”

<sup>64</sup> Parisi 1787, 273-4.

<sup>65</sup> In 1598 Cinzio apparently paid for Flaminia Ciambotti, daughter of a ‘cousin’ Delia Passeri Ciambotti, to marry Count Alessandro Scala of Jesi. Parisi 1787, 48-9. In 1595 a certain Bartolomeo Pelignotti was attempting to extract payback for a dowry from Paolo Vigerio, a Senigallian servant in Cinzio’s service. Cinzio wrote to the Duke of Urbino on Vigerio’s behalf, trying to keep the latter out of court and from having to pay. See Parisi 1787, 121-2. In addition, in an anonymous *Relatione fatta all’ill.mo sig. cardinale d’Este al tempo della sua promotione, che doveva andar in Roma* dated spring 1600, the author notes that Cinzio is particularly close to the Duke of Urbino because he was born in Senigallia. Pastor 1958, vol. 11, 765.

would breathe “native air”, apparently the best cure.<sup>66</sup> His allegiances to Bergamo and to Senigallia again set Cinzio apart from the Aldobrandini family at large, with their deep-rooted Florentine ties. Such ties were also played out politically, as it was the Florentine faction within the College of Cardinals that supported Pietro’s elevation to the cardinalate, while the Spanish supported Cinzio.

Parisi went so far as to posit Cinzio’s Senigalliese roots as the decisive factor in the election of Alessandro de’ Medici to his brief reign as Leo XI (April 1-29, 1605).<sup>67</sup> The Aldobrandini faction were hostile to Cardinal Medici as the Aldobrandini still felt the bitterness of their family’s exile from Florence under the Medici. Parisi suggests that it must have been Cinzio, whose Florentine ties were relatively weak, who convinced Pietro to support Cardinal de’ Medici’s election, putting public interests above private concerns. This suggestion is unlikely, as

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<sup>66</sup> Parisi 1787, 224-6. Letter from Pietro Aldobrandini to the Duke of Urbino, June 21 1607. “E’ molto tempo ch’ io persuado al Sig. Cardinal S. Giorgio mio cugino di ritirarsi un poco da’ negozj, ed uscir di Roma per qualche tempo, per attendere a curar le sue indisposizioni; ma ora con essere stato scosso da particolare infermità sono concorsi i medici nel mio parere, e vi hanno aggiunto la neccessità di andare ai bagni. Onde volendo ciò eseguire senza dubbio sopravverrà il caldo, ficchè bisognerà, che pensi a non ritornar per questa state in Roma. In questa neccessità sono andato pensando di esortare S.S. Illma di ritirarsi in qualche luogo, ove la sua persona ne riceva gusto ed utile per l’animo, e per la sanità, ed anch’io possa con la vicinanza soddisfare a quelli officj, che l’obbligo mio per tanti rispetti mi costringe di usare con quel Sig. Tra molti luoghi, che mi sono sovvenuti, quello mi pare, che corrisponda ai suddetti oggetti è la Città di Sinigaglia, dove intendo esser de’ luoghi ameni, che con la vicinanza dell’aria nativa può essere al Signor Cardinale di gran servizio e comodità. [...]” Pietro goes on to say that he hasn’t yet told Cinzio of his thoughts; it seems that he was first preparing the ground with the Duke of Urbino before making the suggestion to his cousin. There is perhaps the whiff of something rotten here – in these years Pietro himself was largely absent from Rome, spending a considerable amount of time in Ravenna in order to escape problems with the reigning Borghese, and in particular Scipione Borghese. It is possible that he was attempting to persuade his aging cousin to leave Rome for his own reasons, namely in order to ensure that Cinzio did not gain any undo influence over the curia in his absence.

<sup>67</sup> Parisi 1787, 213-4. “Questa elezione si può dire opera principal di S. Giorgio. Poichè sebbene’ discendenti di Silvestro Aldobrandini non si estinse mai la memoria dell’esilio dalla Patria, che soffrirono per la persecuzione de’ Medici, la cui dominazione essi tentarono di estinguere, per restituire a Firenze la libertà di Repubblica: era nondimeno la famiglia Medici in quel tempo salita in sì alta riputazione, e sostenuta da regie alleanze, e parentele con Principi potenti, che fu facile a S. Giorgio l’indurre Aldobrandino a preferir la causa pubblica, ai privati risguardi, ed a seguir l’esempio di Clemente, che non volle mai aderire a’ consigli de’ Spagnuoli bramosi della depressione de’ Medici.”

contemporary sources are in agreement that after Cinzio's return to the court he was entirely loyal to the Aldobrandini faction, and moreover he never gained the kind of influence that would have decided a conclave, seemingly always playing a subsidiary and supporting role to his cousin Pietro. Both Personeni and Parisi were looking to exploit Cinzio's dual identity – claiming him as a compatriot of their respective cities through his paternal lineage while also attempting to harness the prestige he gained through his adoption and promotion by his maternal kin.

In the nineteenth century Cinzio appears prominently as patron and protector in two biographies of poet Torquato Tasso, by Angelo Solerti and Pier Antonio Serassi respectively.<sup>68</sup> Sketching the relationship between patron and poet through letters and contemporary sources, these biographies provide a glimpse into the literary circle Cinzio convened in his apartment at the Vatican palace and later in the palace at SS. Apostoli (see the Excursus at the end of this chapter). However, both biographies also propagate misinformed conjectures that have since colored the study of Tasso and Cinzio, and in particular of Torquato Tasso's 1593 *Le Lagrime della Vergine Maria Santissima e di Giesù Christo*, and by extension Cinzio's artistic possessions, ever since.<sup>69</sup>

Subsequently, there was no significant scholarly interest in Cinzio Aldobrandini until the 1980's, when Christopher Witcombe published documents regarding the decoration of Cinzio's Vatican apartments and Klaus Jaitner examined

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<sup>68</sup> Solerti 1895, and Pierantonio Serassi, *La vita di Torquato Tasso* (Bergamo, 1785).

<sup>69</sup> Torquato Tasso, *Le lagrime della Vergine Maria Santissima e di Giesù Christo* (Rome: Giorgio Ferrari, 1593). The text was first published in Rome; a second edition appeared in the same year in Bologna and in Rome by publisher Vittorio Bennacci. It was then subsequently published in Venice (Giorgio Angelieri), Bergamo (Comin Ventura), again in Rome and Ferrara (Benedetto Mammarelli), and in Lucca (Vincezo Busdraghi). The two poems were also collected into a larger volume, *Nuova Raccolta di Lagrime di più poeti illustri*, published in 1593 in Bergamo by Comin Ventura with a dedication to Aluigi Prioli, the *Podestà* of Bergamo.

Cinzio's conduct during the 1598 reacquisition of Ferrara for the papal states.<sup>70</sup>

Witcombe's article presents payment documents found by the author in the Roman state archives that describe in some detail a series of frescoes executed in Cinzio Aldobrandini's Vatican apartments. The primary source material published by Witcombe is important for a study of Cinzio Aldobrandini's patronage, however the author does not ask several vital questions about the material in question, the most important of which is whether the decorations represent Cinzio's interests or those of another patron; we will return to this question later on in this chapter. Klaus Jaitner's work demonstrates how Cinzio's erratic personal conduct prevented him from developing significant political influence at the papal court, further exacerbating his personal liabilities in contrast to his cousin Pietro.

In recent years several articles have appeared dealing with Cinzio's literary patronage. Since 2001 Maria Teresa Imbriani, Pasquale Sabbatino, and Matthew Treherne have discussed Tasso's *Lagrime*, while Luisa Giacchino has analyzed the major themes of a collection of poems published in 1600 in Cinzio's honor, known as the *Tempio all'Illustrissimo Cardinale Aldobrandini*.<sup>71</sup> Imbriani, Sabbatino, and Giacchino's studies are literary, with the larger social issues of patronage for the most part set aside, while Treherne provides a deeply flawed reading of the *Lagrime*'s relationship to the visual arts. Giacchino presents an overview of the major themes

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<sup>70</sup> Christopher L. C. Ewart Witcombe, "The Vatican Apartment of Cinzio Aldobrandini," *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 19 (1981): 173-189. and Jaitner 1988, 57-93.

<sup>71</sup> Maria Teresa Imbriani, "Intertestualità tra le "Lagrime" di Luigi Tansillo e di Torquato Tasso," *Critica letteraria* 110 (2001): 15-32; Pasquale Sabbatino, "Torquato Tasso e la letteratura sulle "lagrime" della Madonna," in *Nel mondo mutabile e leggiadro: Torquato Tasso e la cultura del suo tempo*, ed. Dante Della Terza (Naples: Edizioni scientifiche italiane, 2003), 75-138; Matthew Treherne, "Pictorial Space and Sacred Time: Tasso's *Le Lagrime* della beata Vergine and the experience of religious art in the Counter-Reformation," *Italian Studies* 62 (2007): 5-25; Luisella Giacchino, "Tra celebrazione e mito. Il "Tempio" di Cinzio Aldobrandini," *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 178 (2001): 404-419; *Tempio all'illustrissimo et reverendissimo Signor Cinthio Aldobrandini, Cardinale S. Giorgio, nipote del Sommo Pontefice Clemente Ottavo*, ed. Giulio Segni (Bologna: Rossi, 1600).

presented in the *Tempio*, and her work is particularly useful as it draws out the links between the several hundred poems included in the book and establishes the range of metaphorical and poetic ideas applied to Cinzio. Giacchino's article provides a basis against which to compare other fruits of Cinzio's direct or indirect patronage. Tasso's *Lagrime* in particular merits further examination under the rubric of a more rigorous art historical approach and taking into account the social context of its production. There are significant connections between Cinzio's status as an adopted nephew, his troubled position at court, and the publication of Tasso's *Lagrime* that have thus far escaped notice, and they serve to broaden the historical importance of Tasso's two poems.

#### CINZIO ALDOBRANDINI, TORQUATO TASSO AND THE *MATER DOLOROSA*

Cinzio watched over Torquato Tasso's late career quite carefully, and was closely involved in the publication of the *Gerusalemme conquistata*, looking at the manuscript before publication and paying the printing costs. Tasso, in gratitude for the cardinal's support, named Cinzio his heir in his will.<sup>72</sup> Cinzio's patronage of Tasso is important as another of Tasso's works, the 1593 poem *Lagrime della Maria Vergine e di Giesù Christo* offers us a unique piece of evidence regarding Cinzio and the visual arts.<sup>73</sup> Cinzio appears to have utilized his connections with the celebrated poet in order to improve his status at the papal court, demonstrating his piety and elite cultural

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<sup>72</sup> *DBI*, vol. 2 (1960), 104. It should be noted however that Cinzio was not Tasso's only Aldobrandini patron – the writer dedicated his *Discorsi dell'Arte poetica* to Pietro Aldobrandini (edition printed in Naples, 1594). In addition, Pietro was an author himself, and we know of one book written by him, the *Aphorismi politici, Institutionem perfecti principis et artem bene imperandi continentes ab Henrico Farnesio Eburone iot. congesti*, published in Frankfurt in 1614. See: *DBI*, vol. 2 (1960), 112.

<sup>73</sup> For a general discussion of Tasso and the visual arts see: Ellis Waterhouse, "Tasso and the Visual Arts," *Italian Studies* III/3-4 (1947-8): 147-62.

connections through Tasso's *Lagrime*. Tasso dedicated works to both Pietro and Cinzio Aldobrandini, but all the available evidence indicates that his ties were much stronger with the latter.<sup>74</sup> Pietro appears to have had closer ties with another celebrated poet of the age, Giambattista Marino. It seems that both cardinals attempted to use their influence to draw key cultural figures into their inner circles in order to expand their cultural cachet. Giambattista Manso hints that Tasso was something of a pawn in the struggle between the two cardinals. At the end of a long litany outlining all the suffering and injustices that Tasso had supported during his lifetime (Manso's biography cannot be described as anything other than blatantly apologetic), he finishes by noting that Tasso, "already oppressed by years and by infirmity", found himself "navigating between two cardinals, Pietro and Cinzio Aldobrandini."<sup>75</sup> Manso notes that Tasso was advised that Pietro would in all likelihood emerge the dominant cardinal due to his youth and energy. Tasso in return explained his ties to Cinzio, which included similar or compatible characters, ages, and educations, but perhaps the most important element, Manso explains, was the "tie of a common *patria*" which "would have had its weight in Torquato's soul."<sup>76</sup> Here Manso is referring to the fact that both Tasso and Cinzio could trace family origins back to Bergamo, although neither had lived there for any length of time. As Cinzio's ties to Bergamo were through his father this is another indication that his paternity continued to play a role in his career, even after his aggregation into the Aldobrandini family. In the end the struggle for Tasso's loyalties appears to be the last contest between the relatives and the only one from which Cinzio would emerge the victor.

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<sup>74</sup> Virginio Prinzivalli, *Torquato Tasso a Roma* (Rome: Desclée, Lefebure & C., 1895), 59.

<sup>75</sup> Giambattista Manso, *La vita di Torquato Tasso* (Venice: Tipografia di Alvisopoli, 1825). [http://www.classicitaliani.it/tasso/critica/Manso\\_vita\\_tasso\\_02.htm](http://www.classicitaliani.it/tasso/critica/Manso_vita_tasso_02.htm). "...ed ultimamente nell'avvedimento che, già oppresso dagli anni e dall'infermità, ebbe nel temporeggiare fra' due cardinali Pietro e Cintio Aldobrandini."

<sup>76</sup> Solerti 1895, 739.

A further interesting detail regarding Tasso and the visual arts comes from an agent of Duke Alfonso II, Matteo Parisetti. In a letter, Parisetti wrote that:

Sig. T. Tasso is truly worthy of being celebrated in his own lifetime as singular for his poetry, and is equally worthy of Cinzio Aldobrandini's magnanimous gesture of erecting a crowned statue to him, with a thousand other ceremonies and expenses, as it is said that [Tasso?] will be seen, and to give him a place on the Campidoglio among the most worthy and ancient ceremonies, so that the people can glory in having had such a man, and he to be exalted by such a noble spirit and friend of virtue...Rome, August 21, 1593.<sup>77</sup>

Parisetti indicates that a sculpted effigy was part of Cinzio's plan to honor the poet.

While this work was certainly never realized, we do know that Cinzio commissioned for himself a portrait of the poet by Federico Zuccari.<sup>78</sup> The painting, identified as a work now in the Locatelli-Milesi collection in Bergamo, was apparently requested by the cardinal in 1594, while Tasso was passing his last days in the monastery of Sant'Onofrio.<sup>79</sup> Marc'Antonio Foppa, who published a collection of Tasso's works in 1666, later owned a portrait of the poet painted by Zuccari. The work is mentioned in his testament, where he says that he left it to Abbot Francesco Tasso, and that it remained in the Tasso house in Bergamo.<sup>80</sup> Confirmation that the painting did not always remain with Cinzio is found in the fact that no portrait of the poet appears in the inventory made of the cardinal's possessions after his death.

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<sup>77</sup> "E' veramente degno il sig. T. Tasso d'esser celebrato in questi medesimi tempi come raro per la sua poesia, ed è parimenti degno della grandezza dell'animo del sig. Cinzio Aldobrandini di erigergli una statua laureata, con mill'altre cerimonie e spese, come dicono che toso si vedrà, e dargli luogo in Campidoglio fra le più degne e antiche cerimonie, acciocchè il popolo si possa gloriare avere avuto nome tale, ed egli di essere esaltato da così nobile spirito e amico di virtù...di Roma li 21 agosto 1593." Prinzivalli 1895, 106-7.

<sup>78</sup> Prinzivalli 1895, 107, Solerti 1895, 749-50.

<sup>79</sup> See: Tranquillo Frigeni, "Aggiornamento sul ritratto di "Torquato Tasso" di Federico Zuccheri," *Bergamum. Bollettino della Civica Biblioteca Angelo Mai di Bergamo* 2 (1989): 169-174; *La Raccolta Tassiana della Biblioteca Civica "A. Mai" di Bergamo*. ed. Banca Piccolo credito Bergamasco. 1960: 725.

<sup>80</sup> F. Pignatti, "Foppa, Marc'Antonio," *DBI* 48 (1997): 776-778. Solerti 1895, vol. III, 98. Solerti attempted to trace the work, but without success.

Cinzio's portrait of the poet was apparently also commemorated in a poem by Tasso's contemporary and friend Antonio Costantino. Costantino sent his sonnet to the poet himself and received it back with editorial commentary by Tasso.

Costantino's text, with Tasso's edits in bold, reads as follows:

Ferrando [**Amici**], questi è il Tasso, il Tasso [**i dico 'l**] figlio,  
 Che nulla si curò d'umana prole  
 Ma fe' parti più chiari assai del sole [**Ma fece parli più chiari de 'l sole**]  
 D'arte, di stil, d'ingegno e di consiglio.  
 Visse in gran povertade, e in lungo esiglio,  
 Ne' tempîi [**palagi**], ne' palagi [**ne' tempîi**] e ne le scole:

Fuggissi, errò per selve incolte [**inculte**] e sole,  
 Ebbe in terra, ebbe [**ed in**] in mar pena e periglio.  
 Picchiò a l'uscio di Morte, e pur la vinse

Or con le prose, or con i dotti [**gl'istessi**] carmi:  
 Ma non vinse Fortuna empia nimica. [**Ma Fortuna non già, chè 'l trasse a 'l fondo.**]  
 Premio d'aver cantato amori ed armi,  
 E mostro il ver, che mille vizi estinse,  
 È breve fronda/verde lauro che le chiome implica. [**È verde fronda e ancor par troppo a 'l mondo.**]<sup>81</sup>

Tasso's response to Costantini was self-deprecating and lightly flattering to his friend: "I far preferred the description of my disgraces to that of my virtues, since of the latter you said much more than you should have, while of the former much less than you could have."<sup>82</sup> Based on the final line of Costantini's poem it would appear that, even if Tasso was not officially crowned poet laureate in real life, he was crowned symbolically in painting.

### ***The Lagrime della Vergine Maria***

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<sup>81</sup> Solerti 1895, 749. The sonnet was initially believed to have been written by Tasso himself, this mistake was corrected only in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>82</sup> Solerti 1895, 749.



The first artistic project produced in Cinzio's circle following his promotion to the cardinalate was Torquato Tasso's *Le lagrime della Vergine Maria Santissima e di Giesù Christo* (1593). This fact suggests that Cinzio aimed to counter his secondary status through the dissemination of Tasso's erudite and pious poetry.<sup>83</sup> The publication of Tasso's verses promoted an image of Cinzio as a favoured nephew of Pope Clement VIII, a cultured patron of letters and the visual arts, and an erudite and pious Counter-Reformation cardinal. An examination of Cinzio's position at the papal court, the main issues surrounding the painting that inspired Tasso's *Lagrime*, and finally a brief consideration of Cinzio's patronage relative to that of Pietro Aldobrandini, allows us to reconstruct the context and significance of Tasso's *Lagrime* and add to what we know of Cinzio Aldobrandini as a patron.

Recently, several articles have dealt with Cinzio's literary patronage. Since 2001 Maria Teresa Imbriani, Pasquale Sabbatino, and Matthew Treherne have discussed Tasso's *Lagrime*, while Luisa Giacchino has analyzed the major themes of a collection of poems published in 1600 in Cinzio's honor, known as the *Tempio all'Illustrissimo Cardinale Aldobrandini*.<sup>84</sup> Imbriani, Sabbatino, and Giacchino's studies for the most part set aside larger social issues of patronage, while Treherne offers a methodologically and conceptually unconvincing reading of the *Lagrime*'s

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<sup>83</sup> Torquato Tasso, *Le lagrime della Vergine Maria Santissima e di Giesù Christo* (Rome 1593). The text was first published in Rome; a second edition appeared the same year in Bologna and in Rome by publisher Vittorio Bennacci. It was then subsequently published in Venice (Giorgio Angelieri), Bergamo (Comin Ventura), again in Rome and Ferrara (Benedetto Mammarelli), and in Lucca (Vincezo Busdraghi). The two poems were also collected into a larger volume, *Nuova Raccolta di Lagrime di più poeti illustri*, published in 1593 in Bergamo by Comin Ventura.

<sup>84</sup> Imbriani 2001, 15-32; Sabbatino 2003, 75-138; Treherne 2007, 5-25; Giacchino 2001, 404-419; *Tempio all'illustrissimo et reverendissimo Signor Cinthio Aldobrandini, Cardinale S. Giorgio, nipote del Sommo Pontefice Clemente Ottavo*, Bologna 1600.

relationship to the visual arts.<sup>85</sup> The *Lagrime* merits further examination under a more rigorous approach that takes into account the social context of its production.

Soon after his entry into Cinzio Aldobrandini's household, Tasso published *Le Lagrime di Maria Vergine e di Giesù Christo*, a set of two poems, the first dedicated to the theme of the tears of the Virgin and the second to those of Christ. Both poems are examples of the so-called "lagrimoso" genre that was born around the second half of the sixteenth century and continued to be popular into the first decades of the seventeenth. Between 1556 and 1586 similar works dedicated to the tears of Christ, Saint Peter, and Mary Magdalene appeared by Vittoria Colonna, Luigi Tansillo, and Erasmo da Valvasone, respectively. In 1593 a collection of such watery lines, including Tasso's two poems, was published in Bergamo.<sup>86</sup> Colonna's work is a particularly apt precedent, as it too is said to have been inspired by a work of visual art, a drawing by Michelangelo of the Pietà.<sup>87</sup> While deeply devotional in tone and

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<sup>85</sup> Treherne 2007, 5-25. Treherne attempts to connect Tasso's use of ekphrasis to the development of single-point perspective and new approaches to the representation of space in Renaissance art. The argument is overly general, eliding early Quattro- and Cinquecento experimentations in perspective with Tasso's Counter-reformatory poetry and treating the painting under discussion and Dürer's graphic work as conceptually interchangeable, a significant methodological problem. Treherne's extended discussion of the representation of space in canonical Renaissance paintings and of 'sacred action' is ultimately misguided as the painting under discussion, whatever its origins, would have been without any action and essentially without any attempt to create a convincing representation of space. Instead, such paintings, as noted in the text of this article, show the Virgin motionless in an empty void, presenting a timeless devotional image rather than an extension of the viewer's physical world.

<sup>86</sup> Sabbatino 2003, 77; Gigante 2008, 388. Imbriani credits Tansillo with having created the genre proper. Imbriani 2001, 18. Vittoria Colonna, *Pianto della Marchesa di Pescara sopra la passione di Cristo* (Venice 1556); Luigi Tansillo, *Le Lagrime di San Pietro* (Vico Equense 1585); Erasmo da Valvasone, *Le Lagrime di Santa Maria Maddalena* (Ferrara 1586); *Nuova Raccolta di Lagrime di più poeti illustri* (Bergamo 1593). For more examples of works in this genre see Imbriani 2001, 18, n. 12.

<sup>87</sup> Sabbatino 2003, 76. On Colonna and Michelangelo see: Una Roman D'Elia, "Drawing Christ's Blood: Michelangelo, Vittoria Colonna, and the Aesthetics of Reform," *Renaissance Quarterly* 59 (2006): 90-129; Abigail Brundin, "Vittoria Colonna and the Virgin Mary," *The Modern Language Review* 96 (2001): 61-81; Alexander Nagel, 'Gifts for Michelangelo and Vittoria Colonna,' *The Art Bulletin* 79 (1997): 647-668; Marjorie Ann Och, *Vittoria Colonna: art patronage and religious reform in sixteenth-century Rome* (PhD diss., Bryn Mawr, 1993).

function, these poems caused some controversy. Colonna's poem, the earliest of the group, was tainted by suspicions regarding Colonna's own heterodoxy<sup>88</sup>; for the rest, there was debate as to what extent tears were an appropriate response to Christ's Passion and the saints' suffering, as the former is, in theological terms, a source of joy for humanity as the wellspring of redemption, and the latter a positive model of extreme piety.<sup>89</sup> Mary's tears, in particular, were problematic as they were apocryphal. Counter-Reformation theologians under Roberto Bellarmino attempted to restrict the veneration of Mary's suffering to precise scriptural moments associated with the Passion, for example when Mary found herself at the foot of the cross, or depositing her son's body in the tomb.<sup>90</sup> The kind of emotional reaction the authors of these *lagrimosi* poems intended to incite can be compared in the sphere of the visual arts to noted events such as Filippo Neri's rapturous response to Barocci's *Visitation*, installed in the Chiesa Nuova in 1586.<sup>91</sup> Yet, regardless of the ambiguous atmosphere regarding the exaltation of tears, there is no indication that Tasso's poems were poorly received; rather, judging from the six editions that were published in the space of a year in Rome, Bologna, Venice, and Bergamo, it appears that the poems were a success.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> Sabbatino 2003, 76.

<sup>89</sup> For some commentary on tears and the visual arts see: James Elkins, *Pictures & Tears. A History of People who have cried in front of paintings* (New York: Routledge, 2004).

<sup>90</sup> Sabbatino 2003, 82.

<sup>91</sup> Clement VIII had particularly close ties to Neri and his order, the Oratorians, and specifically chose Barocci to execute the altarpiece for the Aldobrandini family chapel in Santa Maria sopra Minerva. Thus while Clement's commissions as pope, such as the frescoes in the Lateran by the Cavaliere d'Arpino and his studio, tend toward a dry didacticism, in his personal commissions it seems that the Aldobrandini pope was drawn to the more sentimental side of late Cinquecento painting. By publicizing his possession of a *Sorrowing Madonna* through Tasso's poem, Cinzio was perhaps appealing directly to his uncle's personal tastes and hoping to underscore their shared affection for such painting. The attempt to publicly link himself to his papal uncle is a characteristic common to the patronage of both Cinzio and Pietro and reflects the simmering competition between the two nephews.

<sup>92</sup> Treherne 2007, 12-13.

The ‘Note to Readers’ that opens the *Lagrima* states that the poem was inspired by a devotional painting owned by Cinzio. The ‘Note’ reads:

The inspiration to compose these first 25 octaves came to Sig. Torquato Tasso from a painted image of our lady that is kept by the most Illustrious and Reverend Signor Cinzio Aldobrandini in his own room with much reverence; this painting is, among all other things, of exquisite style, so that the work must be of learned and expert artifice – it is for this particularly miraculous; [Mary] is depicted with palms and brow in the act of devout contemplation, shown with those holy eyes so vividly full of tears, and those cheeks hold their blessed tracks of true tears, such that it fools those seeing [the painting], [and] invites every pious hand to dry them.<sup>93</sup>

A sixteenth-century source states that this painting was a work by Albrecht Dürer, given to Cinzio by the pope.<sup>94</sup> The connection to Dürer was noted, although not without reservation, by Solerti and Serassi, and has trickled down into modern scholarship largely unchallenged. Yet, as Solerti pointed out in 1895, from the sixteenth century up to his own day, there was a marked tendency commonly to ascribe ‘ancient’ German or Flemish paintings to Dürer, a fact that should cast immediate suspicion on such an attribution.<sup>95</sup> Moreover, there is no work in Dürer’s painted or printed oeuvre that approximates the description of the painting, scant as it is, offered in the ‘Note to Readers’. Pasquale Sabbatino is the sole author to reject the

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<sup>93</sup> “Ha dato occasione al sig. Torquato Tasso di comporre queste prime venticinque ottave un’immagine di nostra Donna in pittura, che dall’Ill.mo e Rev.mo Signor Cinzio Aldobrandini [...] viene con molta riverenza tenuta nella sua propria camera; la quale, come che sia per tutt’altro di maniera esquisita, onde convien ch’opra fosse di dotto ed esperto artefice, è per ciò particolarmente miracolosa; ché, essend’ella figurata con le palme e co’l ciglio in atto di devota contemplazione, mostra havere quei suoi santi occhi sì vivamente pregni di pianto, e tien quelle guance sue benedette rigate di tanto vere lagrime, che l’altrui vista ingannando, invita a rasciugargliene ogni pia mano.” Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are mine; my thanks to Walter Cupperi for his ever gracious help. Tasso 1593, 2r.

<sup>94</sup> Solerti 1895, 752. See also Sabbatino 2003, 89. The source for this information is: Ruggerio Tritonio Pinaroli Abbate Auctore, *Vita Vincentii Laurei S. R. E. Cardinalis Monte Regalis Bononiae*, apud Haeredes Ioannis Rossij, CIC IC IC, 83: “Romano Collegio, quod Gregorio XIII pont. maximus erexerat, bibliothecam non mediocri impensu congestam legavit. Addidit insuper deiparae Virginis collachrymantis signum, cuius cultu plurimum oblectebatur, ab Alberto Durero, celeberrimo illo pictore olim adeo affabre tantoque artificio pictum, ut veras lachrymas profundere, et inspicientium animos ad ipsam in coelis regnantem Virginem traducere videretur. Quod tamen postea Clemens VIII, qui in praesenti summo christianae reipublicae commodo Christi vice in terris gerit, sibi a patribus concedi petiit.”

<sup>95</sup> Solerti 1895, 752.

attribution outright, but for the most part his assertion does not seem to have been integrated into the relevant literature.<sup>96</sup> Matthew Treherne, the only scholar seriously to address the poem's relationship to the visual arts, unconditionally accepts the attribution to Dürer.<sup>97</sup> Dürer was famed in early modern Italy for his woodcuts and graphic work, but comparatively little known as a painter.<sup>98</sup> While it is likely that the work in question was executed in Northern Europe, the probability that it was a painting by Dürer is decidedly low; and the identification should not be a foundation for further argument about Tasso's literary aspirations. What we can establish about the painting that inspired the *Lagrime*, in conjunction with an unpublished inventory documenting Cinzio's possessions, allows us some insights into the problem, although we cannot identify the work or its author with certainty.

The 'Note to Readers' provides little in the way of a substantive description of the painting, apart from noting that the Madonna was shown "with palms and brow in the act of devout contemplation", and of course that her cheeks were stained with tears. In the course of the poem Tasso adds a further detail, when in describing Mary he says that "this high Queen of heaven / in her pain bows down her eyes to the earth."<sup>99</sup> All the elements of this description – mature age, palms in a gesture of prayer, downcast eyes, and prominent tears – are in accord with the small woodcut image of the Virgin printed as part of the frontispiece of the first edition of Tasso's *Lagrime* [Fig. 2.3]. Sabbatino has noted that it is apparent that Tasso's Mary is no longer a young woman, and the same is true of the woodcut – short incisions trace a

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<sup>96</sup> Sabbatino 2003, 88-89. The exception is Gigante 2008, 388.

<sup>97</sup> For Treherne 2007, see note 85.

<sup>98</sup> On Dürer and Italy see: Kristina Herrmann Fiore, ed., *Dürer e l'Italia* (Milan: Electa, 2007) and Giulia Bartrum, *Albrecht Dürer and his Legacy. The Graphic Work of a Renaissance Artist* (London: British Museum Press, 2002).

<sup>99</sup> "...Però questa del cielo alta Reina / Gli occhi nel suo dolore a terra inchina." Tasso 1593, XVI 7-8.

faint curved furrow from her nose to her chin, while around her mouth further incisions suggest no-longer supple lips.<sup>100</sup> The woodcut also includes a sunburst behind the Virgin's head – this most likely stems from the print tradition of Deposition images, where Mary is often shown with such a visual emphasis, rather than from the painting, as a thin halo or no halo at all was more common in the fifteenth and sixteenth century paintings that could have been Tasso's inspiration. Despite the sunburst however, the woodcut does not present Mary as the Queen of Heaven, as she is identified in Tasso's text.<sup>101</sup> The artist responsible for the woodcut likely based his image on one similar to that which inspired Tasso himself, images that, as discussed below, emphasized Mary's humble and solitary suffering, rather than her exalted position in the celestial hierarchy. In the end however, the woodcut is too schematic and abstract to be of help in precisely identifying the source of Tasso's inspiration.

An anonymous sonnet about the painting that inspired Tasso follows the opening 'Note to Readers'.<sup>102</sup> The poem begins with a rhetorical question: "Who is he, that expresses this weeping and these tears with such a learned brush? Rather, who was he? / of an art so sublime, it seems that today such knowledge is lost."<sup>103</sup> The writer cryptically identifies the painting as the work of "one...of the two, that down

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<sup>100</sup> Sabbatino 2003, 93.

<sup>101</sup> My thanks to Catherine Puglisi for pointing this out to me.

<sup>102</sup> Cited in the initial publication as 'Anonymous', in the second edition the poem is attributed to Angelo Ingegneri. Cinzio engaged Ingegneri to assist Tasso in preparing the manuscript for the *Gerusalemme conquistata*, and he remained involved in Tasso's affairs even after the poet's death. See Gigante 2008, 348-50; 393-395 and A. Siekiera, "Ingegneri, Angelo," *DBI*, vol. 62 (2004): 358-361.

<sup>103</sup> The poem in its entirety reads: "Chi è costui, che questo Pianto, e queste / Con sì dotto Pennel Lagrime esprime? / Anzi chi fu? che d'arte sì sublime / Par che tanta notitia hoggi non reste: / Apelle forse? ò Zeusi? Ahi troppo preste / Furo al mancar le costor glorie prime. / L'opra è de l'un (se vien ch'io dritto estime) / De' duo, c'hebbèr quà giù nome celeste. / Benche non è virtù d'humano ingegno, / Che di tai gocce il santo volto asperga; / E l'occhio ancor ne renda humido, e pregno: / Ma miracol del Ciel: perch' à lui s'erga / L'anima errante; e'l suo fallire indegno / Lavi quest'onda; e questa man la terga."

here had a celestial name.” In Cinquecento Rome this designation would immediately call to mind Raphael and Michelangelo, whom Vasari identified as divine gifts to man.<sup>104</sup> This could also be a reference to Leonardo, whom Vasari specifically referred to with the epithet ‘celeste.’<sup>105</sup> In terms of style, twice Tasso uses the term ‘*smalto*’, or ‘enamel’, to describe his imagined scene of Christ’s death and the painting owned by Cinzio respectively. The use of *smalto* as a descriptor suggests a painting with the kind of rich, dense, and lacquered finish associated with enamels, and by extension with the deep color and light effects achieved in oils by northern Renaissance masters. While the painting in question was certainly not a Dürer, given the subject matter and Tasso’s descriptive hints, it is probable that the work was the product of a Flemish master or of a type inspired by northern Renaissance exemplars. Furthermore, as the work was held by Cinzio in his Vatican apartments and used for private devotion, we may also assume that the painting was a relatively small devotional work suited for a private chapel or altar. Given that the painting is referred to as an anonymous work, the attempt to link it to any of the three High Renaissance giants was no doubt largely an empty rhetorical flourish, a show of erudition, or an indirect compliment aimed at the poem’s implicit patron, Cinzio Aldobrandini.

Several authors have noted that the *Lagrime* have a ‘chiaroscuro’ motif in the imagery, alternating metaphorical references to light and dark, sun and shadow. Treherne has argued that this motif is a reflection of Dürer’s graphic work, which he elides with the painting that was Tasso’s inspiration. Given that the ‘Note to Readers’ specifies that the work in question is a painting and that the other descriptors used by Tasso bear that out, there is no basis on which to make a link to prints or engravings.

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<sup>104</sup> Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori*, vol. 2 (Florence 1568), 64-89 and vol. 3, 715-767.

<sup>105</sup> Vasari 1568, vol. 2, 2.

Rather, it is more significant to note that because of the association with the god Apollo's birth on Mount Cynthus, the name 'Cinzio' was interpreted by contemporary poets as a reference to the sun. As Giachino has shown, metaphors linking Cinzio Aldobrandini and solar imagery make up one of the central themes of the poems collected in the 1600 *Tempio all'Illustrissimo Cardinale Aldobrandini*.<sup>106</sup> Tasso himself links Cinzio and the sun in two poems dated to 1595, where he refers to the cardinal as the "new sun, who adorns / the new century" and as the "true sun" and "True Apollo of Rome."<sup>107</sup> In Tasso's poem the elements of light (sun, moon, stars) first grieve at the Passion and the Virgin's pain, before becoming elements of triumph – in Tasso's vision the resurrected Christ in heaven is crowned by stars and dressed in the sun.<sup>108</sup> The use of a chiaroscuro theme allows Tasso to subtly praise his patron, transmuting a pagan reference into a Christian one. Furthermore, as seen above, using astronomical imagery to create juxtapositions of light and dark also allows Tasso to make repeated references to stars, which are one of the two elements of the Aldobrandini coat of arms.<sup>109</sup> The poem dedicated to Christ's tears ends with just such an image: "It seems to be heavenly Rome to our eyes / As is the idea in the starry cloisters."<sup>110</sup> The reference to Rome roughly jolts the poem back into the poet's and reader's present, and in combination with the 'starry cloisters' suggests that Tasso intended to praise the piety of Clementine Rome. It is likely that the chiaroscuro

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<sup>106</sup> Giachino 2001, 411-414.

<sup>107</sup> Torquato Tasso, *Rime inedite di Torquato Tasso*, ed. Marco Vattasso (Rome: Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana, 1915), 37, 38.

<sup>108</sup> Sabbatino 2003, 88-99.

<sup>109</sup> The other is the *rastrelli*, rakes or embattlements.

<sup>110</sup> Tasso 1593, XX 7-8. "Sembra Roma celeste agli occhi nostri / Com'è l'idea negli stellanti chiostri."



theme was inspired by Tasso's patron's name and family *stemma*, rather than directly from Cinzio's painting.<sup>111</sup>

The dual format of Tasso's *Lagrima*, with one poem dedicated to the weeping Virgin and the other to Christ, has been largely overlooked by literary scholars who have focused only on the poem dedicated to the Madonna. The double structure suggests that Tasso was familiar with devotional diptychs combining the *Sorrowing Madonna* and *Man of Sorrows*, a canonical pairing since the Quattrocento.<sup>112</sup> In the *Lagrima*'s opening 'Note to Readers' the author states that "the second twenty [verses, ie. the poem dedicated to Christ's tears] then are derived from the first, as the concepts ("*i concetti*") ... sprout one from the other."<sup>113</sup> No second painting is mentioned, but a biological link (the term used is *germogliare*) is posited between the image of the Sorrowing Madonna and that of Christ. Tasso may have seen or known such a pair of paintings in the collections of the Aldobrandini family, although not with Cinzio. A 'Note of Goods' attached to a list of items transferred to Palazzo Aldobrandini on the Corso when Olimpia Aldobrandini senior moved there in 1621 includes a pair of

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<sup>111</sup> Along with his assumption of the Aldobrandini family name, Cinzio also used the family coat of arms, as can be seen most prominently on his tomb.

<sup>112</sup> There had been one such painting with papal connections in Renaissance Rome, namely a single panel showing the *Sorrowing Virgin and Christ as Man of Sorrows*, attributed to Gerard David. The painting was in the possession of Clement VII, who kept it in his bedroom until it was stolen by Charles V's soldiers during the Sack of Rome. Sixten Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative. The Rise of the Dramatic Close-Up in Fifteenth-Century Devotional Painting* (The Netherlands: Davaco, 1944), 34. The painting is now in the treasury of the Cathedral of Cagliari. See: Carlo Aru, "Il trittico di Clemente VII nel tesoro del Duomo di Cagliari," in *Mélanges Hulin de Loo*, (Brussels: Librairie Nationale d'Art et d'Histoire, 1931), 16-23; Cecilia Tasca, "Il Sacco di Roma (1527) e la donazione di Clemente VII alla Cattedrale di Cagliari di alcune reliquie e di un trittico fiammingo," *Gli Anni Santi nella Storia*, ed. Luisa D'Arienzo (Cagliari: Edizioni AV, 2000), 374-430; Caterina Limentani Virdis, "Il trittico di Clemente VII del Capitolo di Cagliari," *Nord/sud: presenze e ricezioni fiamminghe in Liguria, Veneto e Sardegna*, ed. Caterina Limentani Virdis (Padua: Il Poligrafo, 2007), 97-102. For an illustration of this painting see: Renata Serra, *Pittura e Scultura dall'età romanica alla fine del '500* (Nuoro: Ilisso, 1990), 202-203.

<sup>113</sup> "Le venti seconde [ie. poem to Christ] poi sono derivate dalle prime, come i concetti (là, dove sia fertilità d'ingegno) germogliano l'uno dall'altro." Comin Ventura, ed., *Nuova Raccolta di Lagrime di più poeti illustri* (Bergamo 1593), 4.

eight-sided paintings showing, respectively, Christ crowned with thorns and holding a reed and the Madonna “who is crying”, “both with gilded frames.”<sup>114</sup> The structural basis of Tasso’s *Lagrime* may have been drawn from the binary relationship between Mary’s empathetic, and Christ’s experienced, pain, established more than a century earlier in Flemish devotional paintings.

The most likely source of Tasso’s inspiration was an image of the *Mater dolorosa*, or Sorrowing Madonna. In general such pictures are composed as a close-up bust- or shoulder-length portrait-like presentation of the Virgin seen against a dark or gold ground, her face framed by a veil [Fig. 2.4]. The visual formula concentrates all the emotive power of the image in the stark minimalism of a weeping woman in a void. The relatively consistent key elements of the image are Mary’s isolation, her hands held in prayer, and the reddened eyes and fat tears that sit like gems on her pallid cheeks. Distilled from narrative images of the Passion, the iconography was developed in the north first by the Master of Flémalle (generally identified as Robert Campin) and subsequently by Rogier Van der Weyden, Hans Memling, and Dieric Bouts, among others.<sup>115</sup> These are powerful devotional works of the kind intended to

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<sup>114</sup> Francesca Cappelletti, “Una nota di beni e qualche aggiunta alla storia della collezione Aldobrandini,” *Storia dell’arte* 93/94 (1998): 347. “74. Un quadro in ottangolo ov’è dipinto N.S. coronato di spine con una canna in mano. 75. Un altro quadro simile ov’è dipinto la madonna che sta piangendo tutti doi cornice dorate.” The numbering is Cappelletti’s, it is not present in the original ‘Nota dei beni.’ The paintings have not been identified. Pietro Aldobrandini also had a painting showing the Sorrowing Madonnas in his collection by 1603. It is listed in the inventory redacted in that year by G. B. Agucchi as: (no. 215) “Una Madonna dolorosa, che tiene le mani piegate in quadro corniciato di negro, di *Gaspare Ferrarese*.” The painting appears again in the 1665 inventory of paintings belonging to Olimpia Aldobrandini-Pamphili as “Un quadro in tela, la Madonna della Rosa, che tiene le mani piegate alto p. tre e mezzo con cornice nera con qualche bugio, di mano di Gaspare ferrarese, segnato n. 215.” D’Onofrio 1964, 205.

<sup>115</sup> See: Ringbom 1944 and Martha Wolff, “An Image of Compassion: Dieric Bouts’s “Sorrowing Madonna,” *Art Institute of Chicago Studies* 15 (1989): 121-125, 174-175. Of the group, Bouts’s studio was perhaps the most prolific - roughly twenty different examples of his *Mater dolorosa* survive. See: Wolfgang Schöne, *Dieric Bouts und seine Schule* (Berlin: Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1938), 129-133. Oddly, these works are not discussed at all in

inspire “empathetic meditation” as it has been discussed by Sixten Ringbom and David Freedberg; they are particularly appropriate for the kind of sustained individual meditation on the themes of Christ’s Passion and Mary’s suffering for which Tasso used the cardinal’s *Mater Dolorosa* picture.<sup>116</sup> It should be noted that the best-known early Flemish versions of the *Mater Dolorosa* show Mary with her hands together in prayer, the fingertips lightly touching, as in the version by Bouts [Fig. 2.5], or with her arms crossed across her chest and fingers pointing upward, in counterpoint to Christ’s passively crossed arms displaying the wounds, as in the many copies after Rogier Van der Weyden’s lost version of the theme [Fig. 2.6].<sup>117</sup> The latter form was taken up by Leonardo followers Andrea Solario and Bernardino Luini, while other Italian artists, from Titian’s 1550 version on, tended to show the Virgin with her hands clasped more tightly, often with the fingers woven together in a tense gesture somewhere between prayer and supplication [Fig. 2.7].<sup>118</sup> The woodcut that opens the 1593 edition of Tasso’s *Lagrima* tends slightly more toward the first Flemish model, both in the position of the hands and in the visual emphasis placed on the exaggerated teardrops.

In early modern Italy the overt emotionalism seen in the *Mater Dolorosa* was particularly associated with Flemish and northern art. This truism has long been

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the most recent monograph dedicated to Bouts, namely Catheline Périèr-D’Ieteren, *Dieric Bouts. The Complete Works* (Brussels: Mercatorfonds, 2006).

<sup>116</sup> David Freedberg, *The Power of Images. Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1989): 161-191. Ringbom 1944. For a critical assessment of the historiography and importance of Ringbom’s work see: Alessandro Nova, “Icona, racconto e dramatic close-up nei dipinti devozionali di Giovanni Bellini,” *Giovanni Bellini*, ex. cat. Rome, Scuderie del Quirinale, Sept. 30, 2008 - Jan. 11, 2009 (Milan: Silvano, 2008), 105-115.

<sup>117</sup> For illustrations of the many variations on and versions of the theme see: Ringbom 1944, images 81-82, 96, 95, 107-108, 109, 110-111, 113, 126-7.

<sup>118</sup> For Solario and Bernardino Luini see: Ringbom 1994, image 126; David Alan Brown, *Andrea Solario* (Milan: Electa 1987), cat. 48-49, pp. 182-183, 221-212; Angela Ottino della Chiesa, *Bernardino Luini* (Novara: Istituto Geografico De Agostini, 1956), 106-107, figs. 119-120.

supported by a credulous reading of Francesco de Holanda's Roman dialogues, in which the Portuguese author has 'Michelangelo' say that northern painting will appeal particularly to the devout, women, the very young, and the very old, because it sets alight their own inherent piety.<sup>119</sup> As Laura Camille Agoston has recently shown, de Holanda's text was shaped by the author's literary and professional ambitions; the characters involved and the opinions they present are de Holanda's artful creations, their repartee meant to push the status of painting as a liberal art in Portugal and procure de Holanda royal patronage.<sup>120</sup> The criticism of northern painting offered by 'Michelangelo' in the first book of the dialogues is contradicted in the second, where the same Michelangelo supports the notion that the aim of sacred painting is "[to move] mortals to tears and devotion".<sup>121</sup> Whether viewed negatively or positively, sacred painting, in particular sacred painting from the north, was fundamentally seen as an emotional instigator. Agoston's analysis of de Holanda's text suggests that our understanding of the reception of northern painting in late sixteenth-century Italy has been skewed due to a misreading of the available primary source evidence. Cinzio Aldobrandini and Torquato Tasso's literary dissemination of a *Mater Dolorosa* image with, in all likelihood, northern origins, supports Agoston's point. That the cardinal nephew possessed such a painting and considered it a suitable springboard for literary invention suggests the elevated, even if controversial, status of intensely emotional private devotional painting in Counter-Reformation Rome.

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<sup>119</sup> Francisco de Holanda, *Diálogos em Roma (1538): Conversations on Art with Michelangelo Buonarroti*, ed. Grazia Dolores Folliero-Metz (Heidelberg: Universitätsverl, 1998), 76-77.

<sup>120</sup> Laura Camille Agoston, "Male/Female, Italy/Flanders, Michelangelo/Vittoria Colonna," *Renaissance Quarterly* 58 (2005): 1175-1219.

<sup>121</sup> Agoston 2005, 1192.

In the sixteenth century notable Italian examples of the *Mater Dolorosa* were produced by Titian and Andrea Solario, among others.<sup>122</sup> Titian's painting may be a particularly important precedent for Cinzio's painting and Tasso's poem. Between 1553 and 1560 Titian painted two *Sorrowing Mothers* for Emperor Charles V and a third for Philip II, King of Spain [Figs. 2.7, 2.8, 2.9]. Further evidence that this iconography was branded as particularly 'northern' can be seen in the fact that Charles V sent the Venetian artist a drawing of a northern *Mater dolorosa* to use as a model for his second, hopefully improved, version. By the mid-1560's all three of these paintings were on display in the Escorial, before being sent to the Alcázar in Madrid in 1600. Philip II's painting was widely disseminated through prints made by Luca Bertelli in 1564 [Fig. 2.10]. The links between a particularly well-known example of the Sorrowing Madonna and the Spanish crown are significant as Cinzio Aldobrandini was a known hispanophile, and his support in the curia came from Spanish-leaning cardinals, as opposed to Pietro who was supported by the Florentines.<sup>123</sup> Cinzio's ties with the Spanish were strong enough that at the height of his estrangement from Clement VIII, the cardinal contemplated removing himself to Salerno and accepting a position under the protection of the King of Spain.<sup>124</sup> In keeping, venerating, and publicizing a 'miraculous' *Mater Dolorosa* in his possession Cinzio may have intended to associate himself with both his uncle and his potential foreign protector by expressing shared religious and aesthetic values.

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<sup>122</sup> Brown 1987, 211-212. Peter Humfrey, *Titian. The Complete Paintings* (London: Ludion, 2007), 264-265, 288; Filippo Pedrocco, *Titian. The Complete Paintings* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2001), 229, 239; Harold E. Wethey, "Titian's Ecce Homo and Mater Dolorosa," *Evolution générale et développements régionaux en histoire de l'art: actes du XXIIe Congrès International d'Histoire de l'Art*, ed. György Rózsa, vol. 2 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1972): 753-758; Harold E. Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian. I: The Religious Paintings* (London: Phaidon, 1969), 88-89, 115-117.

<sup>123</sup> Jaitner 1988, 59.

<sup>124</sup> *DBI*, vol. 2 (1960), 103.

Cinzio Aldobrandini's will was drawn up on December 31<sup>st</sup>, 1610, the day before he died.<sup>125</sup> In it he names an unidentified cousin, Carlo Aldobrandini, as his universal heir, but aside from a short codicil outlining what was to be done with his ecclesiastical possessions, there is no list of his goods. However, a previously unpublished inventory of all of his possessions made after his death allows us to establish that the Cardinal San Giorgio did indeed own a painting like that described by Tasso.<sup>126</sup> The inventory, drawn up on March 1<sup>st</sup> 1610 to assist Pietro in disposing of Cinzio's belongings, lists two paintings that could be identified with the work that inspired Tasso: first a "Madonna who is crying, with [an] ebony frame, red curtain, [and] silver hook", followed, after several other entries, by a "tearful Madonna, black gilded frame, red curtains."<sup>127</sup> As is typical for inventories drawn up in these years, no further information is furnished as to the authorship of these paintings, nor is it possible to determine which of the two can be tied to Tasso's poem (although with its distinguishing silver hook, the former seems slightly more likely). The inventory also lists a painting showing a Dead Christ and another of Christ with the Crown of Thorns, but neither appears to have been paired with either of the tearful Madonnas to form the typical devotional pairing.<sup>128</sup> The organization of the inventory indicates that these images of the Madonna were kept, together with the majority of Cinzio's paintings, in a room on the main, piano nobile, floor of the cardinal's apartment on

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<sup>125</sup> Archivio Aldobrandini, Frascati. Tomo 2, No. 19. Rogated by notary Giovanni Battista Ottaviano, December 31<sup>st</sup> 1610. Officially the Gregorian calendar, decreed in 1582, moved the start of the new year to January 1<sup>st</sup>, however, the alternative tradition of calculating the new year from December 25<sup>th</sup> endured. Thus Cinzio's will was drawn up on December 31<sup>st</sup>, 1610, and he died on January 1<sup>st</sup>, also in the year 1610, as calculated in the old style.

<sup>126</sup> ASR, Notai Tribunali AC, Fuscus notai, anno 1610. vol. 3331, 1r-20v. March 1610. My thanks to Dott.ssa Antonella Fabriani Rojas for granting me permission to work in the Aldobrandini archives in Frascati, and for alerting me to this key document.

<sup>127</sup> "Madonna che piange con Cornici d'ebano taffetta rosso con attaccatoro d'argento"; "Madonna lagrimante cornice negra indorata taffette rosse." ASR, Notai Tribunali AC, Fuscus notai, anno 1610, 4r.

<sup>128</sup> "Un Christo morto con la sua cornice et taffetta rosso"; "Un Christo con la Corona cornice negra schillata d'oro". ASR, Notai Tribunali AC, Fuscus notai, anno 1610, 4r; 4v.

Piazza dei SS. Apostoli. This room was also outfitted with a notable number of chairs and tables, and thus probably served for receiving guests.<sup>129</sup> That the painting was not kept in the chapel (whose contents are listed separately elsewhere in the inventory), but rather in a more public space, reinforces the possibility that this work was endowed with certain aesthetic and political, as well as spiritual, values.

What became of these paintings is unknown. Pietro Aldobrandini left his possessions to his sister Olimpia, and it is possible that a painting owned by Cinzio and passed on to Pietro would have finished in the collection of Olimpia or one of her children. However, no paintings matching the descriptions of Cinzio's Madonnas appear in Aldobrandini inventories after 1610, thus the fate of these works is unclear after the Cardinal San Giorgio's death.<sup>130</sup>

The hypothesis that Cinzio was attempting to weigh the political balances in his favour through the publication of Tasso's *Lagryme* is encouraged when the poem is considered in relation to Pietro's patronage in the opening years of Clement VIII's pontificate. Pietro's first major project, begun in 1593, was the decoration of the Aldobrandini family chapel in Santa Maria in Via. Dedicated to the Virgin, the chapel was begun by Pietro Aldobrandini, Ippolito's brother, and left unfinished at his death. His son, Cardinal Pietro, had the chapel decorated with frescoes by the Cavaliere d'Arpino and Jacopo Zucchi. Xavier Salomon has suggested that Zucchi was chosen

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<sup>129</sup> ASR, Notai Tribunali AC, Fuscus notai, anno 1610, 3r-5r. On the location of Cinzio's apartment after leaving the Vatican palace, see: Prinzivalli 1895, 70-73.

<sup>130</sup> There is documentary evidence that Pietro was selling off some of Cinzio's possessions, thus it is entirely possible that the work was sold, or given back to the Apostolic Camera. Inventories of Aldobrandini family holdings were drawn up in 1611, 1626, and 1682. These include several paintings of crying saints, including a Peter and Magdalene, but no trace of either of Cinzio's Madonnas. For the inventories see: Paola Della Pergola, "Gli Inventari Aldobrandini," *Arte Antica e Moderna* 12 (1960): 425-444; Della Pergola 1962, 316-322; Paola Della Pergola, "Gli inventari Aldobrandini: l'inventario del 1682 (II)," *Arte Antica e moderna* 21 (1963): 61-87; Paola Della Pergola 1963, 175-191; and Cappelletti 1998, 341-347.

for his Florentine roots, a shared heritage of patron and painter, while d'Arpino was selected due to the prestige he had accrued as a leading artist under previous popes.<sup>131</sup> Thus, Pietro's first significant project as a papal nephew was to decorate an Aldobrandini family chapel, using artists that underscored the Aldobrandini family's Florentine background and Pietro's own newly-established power. The decoration of a family chapel was a project that Cinzio, as an honorary Aldobrandini, could not undertake. Similarly, after Clement VIII's death, it was Pietro who was charged with completing the family chapel in S. Maria sopra Minerva, begun by Clement VIII himself, and the main monument to the Aldobrandini family as a whole. While Cinzio turned to literary patronage to communicate his pious personal life and elite cultural connections, to elevate his image and status in Rome and the curia in the eyes of his uncle, Pietro undertook projects that underscored his paternal origins in the Aldobrandini family and thus his closer blood ties to Clement VIII.

Pietro's campaign to link himself as closely and as publicly as possible to his uncle is glaring in the redecoration of the apse of the church of Santa Maria ad Scala Coeli [Fig. 2.11]. The project was begun under Cardinal Alessandro Farnese and completed by Pietro around 1598. The mosaic decorating the apse depicts the dedicatory saints of the church, flanked by, on the left, Clement VIII, and on the right, Cardinal Pietro. These mosaic portraits express Pietro's attempts to visually link himself to his uncle and his desire to be the sole holder of the title of cardinal nephew. Later cardinal nephews, in particular Scipione Borghese, would undertake similar public ecclesiastical projects designed to visually demonstrate their solidarity to and allegiance with their respective papal uncles.

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<sup>131</sup> Salomon 2005, 57.



Torquato Tasso's *Lagrime* is the most prominent cultural project to which Cinzio Aldobrandini can be linked following his rise to the position of cardinal nephew. This connection to one of the leading poets of his time and to the prevailing atmosphere of renewed religious zeal and orthodoxy served to promote the image of Cinzio as a pious prince of the church. As the appreciative owner of a miraculously poignant painting, Cinzio is cast through the *Lagrime* as an ideal Counter-Reformation cardinal, and as the means by which a pious poet found his muse. As the painting was said to have been given to Cinzio by his uncle, the publication of Tasso's work would have underscored Cinzio's connection to the pope, bolstering his image as a favoured nephew. In early modern Rome such perceptions could have very real political ramifications.<sup>132</sup> The heady combination of illustrious poet and powerful painting also generates an image of Cinzio as a connoisseur in two distinct artistic spheres, even if he would not develop into a significant patron of the visual arts. Torquato Tasso's *Lagrime* can be seen as a cultural weapon intended to gain Cinzio Aldobrandini ground in his ultimately doomed struggle with Pietro Aldobrandini for dominance in papal affairs and balance out the weaknesses inherent in his position as adopted nephew.

#### CINZIO ALDOBRANDINI'S VATICAN APARTMENTS

Two distinct decorative projects were carried out in 'Cardinal Cinzio's rooms' before the turn of the seventeenth century. The first intervention dates to 1597 and primarily concerned the cardinal's chapel, while payments for a second campaign in some un-named 'stanze' date back as early as August 1598 but for the most part were

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<sup>132</sup> See Jaitner 1988, 66-69.

made in 1599.<sup>133</sup> The decorations in Cinzio's chapel represent a first moment in his career as an Aldobrandini cardinal nephew, as he attempted to integrate himself into the family through visual means, invoking specific family saints and the other major figures in the family and papal government, such as Pietro and the pope. The 'stanze' decorations on the other hand, which depict events related to the restitution of Ferrara to the Holy See, illustrate Cinzio's total eclipse by Pietro and were likely not chosen by the Cardinal San Giorgio. These two decorative campaigns indicate how closely the visual arts can reflect and reinforce shifts in political power and influence.

From a 1594 list and description of the apartments in the Vatican palace, the so-called *Ruolo*, we know that Pietro lived "under the apartment of His Holiness", while Cinzio resided in the "second loggia, at the level of His Holiness under the Bologna", where he had an apartment made up of "a large room, four small rooms, a small chapel, and attached a little room serves as the credenza of His Illustriousness."<sup>134</sup> Based on the reference to the Sala di Bologna (a large audience hall featuring frescoes of the second papal city as well as an astronomical ceiling) Witcombe has argued that this apartment must have taken up the majority of the second floor of Gregory XIII's wing of the Vatican Palace. The rooms Witcombe

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<sup>133</sup> The documentation for these changes begins in March 1597 with payments to the *muratore* Tomasso del Pozzo, and continues through to March 1598 when Ambrogio Buonvicino was paid for his stucco work. Witcombe 1981, 177-179. The only publication on this decorative project is Witcombe 1981, 173-189. Witcombe publishes the documents related to these commissions and attempts to determine their location and to some extent their connection to the surrounding frescoes, however he does not pause to investigate the ramifications of the imagery.

<sup>134</sup> "...una sala, quattro camere, una capelletta, contiguo una stantia, con un camerinetto, serve per la credenza di S. S. Ill.ma." Fl. Cesare Colnabrini, *Ruolo degli Appartamenti e delle stanze nel Palazzo Vaticano al Tempo di Clemente VIII (1594)* (Rome: Tipi della Vaticana, 1895), 7; Witcombe 1981, 173 and Pastor 1958, vol. 11, 39, n. 4. On the *Ruolo* see Tod Marder, *Bernini's Scala Regia at the Vatican Palace* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 262, n. 96. The 1612 dictionary published by the Accademia della Crusca defines a *credenza* as: "quell' armario, dove si ripongon le cose da mangiare, e vi si distendon sopra i piattelli per lo servizio della tavola. Lat." [http://vocabolario.signum.sns.it/\\_s\\_index2.html](http://vocabolario.signum.sns.it/_s_index2.html).

refers to have been substantially altered, with extensive repainting and the installation of an elevator in part of the space, meaning that any decoration stemming from the late Cinquecento has been lost.

From receipts we know that in 1592 Cinzio had Pietro Oldrado decorate the apartment's chapel with frescoes. This project was fairly simple, conservative, and suited to Cinzio's new position as papal nephew. The decoration involved fictive architecture in the form of two arches, a frieze of angels holding festoons, a painting of the Annunciation, and the extensive deployment of the pope's coat of arms, both as part of the frieze and incorporated into grotteschi. Cinzio's arms were also included, apparently at the level of the frieze.<sup>135</sup> It is unclear exactly who the chapel was dedicated to, but the altarpiece appears to have been a painting by Girolamo Muziano depicting Saint Anthony Abbot and Saint Paul the First Hermit, which had been painted for Gregory XIII and likely installed in the space by 1597.<sup>136</sup> The relatively simple decorations, heavily featuring the pope's *stemme*, would have flattered Clement and been entirely appropriate to Cinzio's new position in the Aldobrandini papacy as cardinal nephew and co-Secretary of State.

These decorations did not last for very long, as in 1597 Cinzio ordered further work that eliminated Oldrado's previous frescoes.<sup>137</sup> This 1597 project was more elaborate, involving gilding, frescoes, and stucco work and encompassing the majority of the apartment. The changes to the chapel were substantial. Upon completion the space featured: four history paintings concerning the life of St. Sebastian; depictions of the four doctors of the church 'under the cornice'; two paintings – one showing the

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<sup>135</sup> Witcombe 1981, 176.

<sup>136</sup> Witcombe 1981, 176-178, n.15.

<sup>137</sup> Witcombe 1981, 176 etc.

story of St. Peter's release from prison and the other the *Domine quo vadis?*; two evangelists; three fictive bronze narrative paintings showing stories from the life of St. Peter; eight small paintings showing events from the lives of S. Francis, S. Paul hermit, S. John the Baptist and the Magdalene (two for each, one of which was in *grisaille*, with the first set of four emphasizing their experiences as hermits); seven small paintings under the altar showing events from the life of S. George; a fictive door with an illusionistic cleric, and finally the cardinal's coat of arms amidst festoons and *grotesche*.<sup>138</sup>

The emphasis on hermit saints was carried over from the chapel's original decorations and Muziano's altarpiece. There were direct personal references to Cinzio Aldobrandini in the scenes from the life of St. George, since Cinzio was known as the *Cardinale di San Giorgio* after the name of his titular church, S. Giorgio in Velabro. The scenes from the life of St. Peter, which included his coronation as pope, are entirely appropriate for a chapel in the Vatican Palace, and again a flattering nod by a devoted papal nephew to his uncle. However, these scenes of St. Peter raise the possibility that Pietro Aldobrandini was also considered when the imagery was chosen for this room. Cardinal Pietro favoured images of St. Peter, his name saint, and had nine paintings featuring scenes from the life of St. Peter in his collection.<sup>139</sup> One of those was Annibale Carracci's *Domine quo vadis?*, commissioned just after Carracci's

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<sup>138</sup> Witcombe 1981, 186-187. Appendix 9. Unfortunately the document does not specify details such as which scenes from the life of St. George were depicted, which would perhaps have allowed us to further reconstruct Cinzio's self-image.

<sup>139</sup> Xavier F. Salomon, *The religious, artistic and architectural patronage of Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini (1571-1621)* (PhD diss., The Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 2005), 118. Among these was a painting of a weeping St. Peter by Pomarancio and another of the same subject by Annibale Carracci. Salomon 112, 119. Salomon suggested that Pietro had a particular interest in this subject – he also had an image of the weeping Magdalene by Annibale Carracci. This may be true, and yet Pietro does not appear to have made any effort to keep Cinzio's two paintings of the weeping Madonna, as there is no later evidence of the paintings in Aldobrandini collections.

Farnese ceiling was finished in 1601. Xavier Salomon has noted that the subject was fairly rare around this time – the only other example is to be found on the ceiling of the Cerasi chapel.<sup>140</sup> Cerasi worked for the Aldobrandini pope as a treasurer and was involved in the purchase of the villa in Frascati. It is possible that Cerasi's selection of the *Domine quo vadis?* as a subject for his chapel influenced Pietro's commission of a painting of the same subject. However, the presence of the same scene in Cinzio's rooms in the Vatican, painted just three years previously, may be an indication that Pietro had an alternative source for his inspiration.

Similarly, the presence of images of St. Sebastian indicates that Cinzio was considering the Aldobrandini family and its traditions in selecting the decorative motifs for his chapel. The Roman martyr was the patron saint of the Aldobrandini family and he appears frequently in works commissioned by them: a statue of Sebastian by Niccolò Cordieri is on the right wall of the Aldobrandini chapel in Santa Maria sopra Minerva, the chapel set in the *teatro dell'acqua* in the Villa Aldobrandini in Frascati is dedicated to the saint, and, later, the Aldobrandini owned a statue of him sculpted by the young Bernini.<sup>141</sup> Pietro Aldobrandini's painting collection included four images of Sebastian.<sup>142</sup> On the other hand, no images of St. Sebastian are documented in the inventory made of Cinzio's belongings after his death, indicating that he himself had no particular devotion to the Aldobrandini family saint. The inclusion of narrative scenes of St. Sebastian suggests that in the chapel's decorations

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<sup>140</sup> Salomon 2005, 111-116.

<sup>141</sup> On Cordieri's work in the Aldobrandini Chapel, S. Maria sopra Minerva see: Barry Robert Harwood, *Niccolo Cordieri: his activity in Rome 1592-1612* (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1979); Pressouyre 1971, 195-206. On the Villa Aldobrandini see: R. M. Steinberg, "The Iconography of the Teatro dell'Acqua at the Villa Aldobrandini," *The Art Bulletin* 47 (1965): 453-463; Kurt Schwager, "Kardinal Pietro Aldobrandinis Villa di Belvedere in Frascati," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, IX-X (1961-1962): 289-382. The second Bernini St. Sebastian is now lost. See Rudolf Wittkower, *Bernini: the sculptor of the Roman Baroque* (London: Phaidon Press, 1997), 231-232.

<sup>142</sup> Salomon 2005, 120.

Cinzio was consciously calibrating the room's decorations to demonstrate his allegiance to and integration into the Aldobrandini family. The earliest payment for the chapel dates to July 12, 1597, when Ambrogio Buonvicino was paid for stucco work.<sup>143</sup> The chapel's redecoration was likely conceived and begun early in 1597, when Cinzio's role in the curia, although perhaps not as solid as Pietro's, was still of considerable importance. The iconography of the chapel reflects his desire to remain close to and flatter his uncle. The last payment for the chapel decorations was made on July 31<sup>st</sup>, 1598. As Cinzio had left for Ferrara as part of the papal entourage in April of that year, it is possible that he did not see the work completed before his return to Rome in 1600.

In addition to the chapel, payment records survive for decorations carried out in the 'Camerone' and 'scale nove' of Cardinale di S. Giorgio between 1598 and 1599. The first payment is recorded August 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1598 and the final one on September 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1599.<sup>144</sup> Witcombe has argued that the staircase is behind the small chapel and that what was once the *Camerone* is now a space in line with the so-called Focconi rooms and altered to accommodate elevator shafts and a vestibule [Fig. 2.12].<sup>145</sup> This room would have been the third in a series of halls, the other two of which were decorated under Gregory XIII with images of key events in the Buoncompagni pope's reign. The frescoes executed in the 'stanze' of Cardinal S. Giorgio were carried out by one of the

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<sup>143</sup> Witcombe 1981, 185. Buonvicino would continue to work for the Aldobrandini, namely on the redecoration of the transept of S. Giovanni in Laterano and on the Aldobrandini chapel in S. Maria sopra Minerva for which he produced two angels and a recumbent figure of Giovanni Aldobrandini which was subsequently removed from the chapel and lost. See: Harwood 1979, 261.

<sup>144</sup> The first payment to Sasso, on August 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1598, was for 50 scudi. Another payment of equal value followed on October 10, 1598 and a final payment of 120 scudi was recorded on March 9<sup>th</sup> 1599. Thus the second payment of 50 scudi represents 49 days of work, while the final payment of 120 scudi reflects 149 days of work, just over 5 months. Rate of approximately one scudo a day for the second payment (0.98) while for the second is around 1.24.

<sup>145</sup> Witcombe 1981, 183.

artists who had also worked in the chapel, the painter Riccardo Sasso. The vault of the Camerone featured five separate scenes – first seven putti who carry ‘il Regno’ to heaven ‘con i suoi ornamenti’, which was most likely at the centre of the vault, and four depictions of recent events, likely arranged around the celestial scene at centre. The ceiling must have been similar to works carried out by the Cherubini brothers in Rome, such as the ceiling of the Aldobrandini family chapel in S. Maria sopra Minerva [Fig. 2.13]. The four scenes surrounding the heavenly apparition illustrated: ‘when His Holiness gave the legation to His Eminence Aldobrandino’, ‘when the Holy Sacrament departed for Ferrara’, ‘when His Holiness entered into Ferrara’ and finally ‘the Duomo of Ferrara and the peace of France and Spain.’<sup>146</sup> The decoration was completed by eight figures in the corners holding the arms of Clement VIII and Cardinal S. Giorgio as well as *grotteschi*, banderoles, and fictive medals.

Witcombe has noted these frescoes were “a remarkable record of events in contemporary history, painted within months of their occurrence”, although there are certainly precedents, including the adjoining Gregory XIII rooms.<sup>147</sup> One can glean from the description of the work made by the *stimatori* in 1599 that Sasso took some care in making the scenes particular and site-specific. The first scene showed ‘la Cappella’ (this is most likely meant to indicate that the scene showed all the cardinals gathered together, although it could also refer to a specific architectural space), the second showed “all the buildings that can be seen in the piazza of S. Pietro, along with

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<sup>146</sup> Witcombe 1981, 189. “...cioè nella volta sette putti che portano il Regno al Cielo con i suoi ornamenti et quattro istorie, la prima quando N.S. da la legatione all’Ill.mo Aldobrandino presentando la Cappella, second a quando il Sanctissimo Sacramento si partì per Ferrara presentando tutte le fabbriche si vedano nella piazza di S. Pietro accompagnato da tutto il popolo, terza quando N.S. fa l’entrata in Ferrara presentando la Città et accompagnato da tutti li Principi et popolo, quarta reppresentando il Domo di Ferrara e la pace di Francia et Spagna. Nelle Cantonate otto figure sostenendo l’armi di N.S. et dell’Ill.mo S. Giorgio con suoi Cartelli e ornamenti grottesche dalle bande et figure et medaglie finte con le sue finestre depinte sin’ in terra et l’arme fatte alle scale nove con figure et putti.”

<sup>147</sup> Witcombe 1981, 182, n. 33.

all the people”, the third “presenting the city [of Ferrara] and accompanied by all the Princes and people” and finally the fourth featuring Ferrara’s cathedral and no doubt its urban surroundings. The frescoes included portraits of the principal figures involved, most prominently Clement VIII, Pietro, and perhaps Cinzio among the ‘Princes’, secular princes and princes of the church, or cardinals.

It seems curious that Cinzio would have chosen to commemorate the events that led to his year-long self-imposed exile and to the definitive triumph of his cousin as Cardinal nephew in such a monumental fashion. The first scene in particular, which specifically lauds Pietro, and the final scene, featuring the peace between France and Spain, in which Cinzio had little to no involvement, would seem to be unlikely choices on the part of this jealous and touchy cardinal nephew. The only scene in which he could have been relatively prominently featured was the second scene, as Cinzio also departed Rome along with the pope and the Holy Sacrament. Given the dating and circumstances, it seems likely that the Cardinal San Giorgio had little input into the subjects chosen for these frescoes. They would have represented, instead, Cinzio’s eclipse in the Aldobrandini papacy by his ambitious cousin Pietro, and thus, in a circular fashion also reinforced Pietro’s dominant position.

The first payment made to Sasso for work done “nelle stanze del card.le San Giorgio” is dated August 22, 1598; payments continue until September 3<sup>rd</sup> 1599, however the work appears to have been finished by March 29<sup>th</sup> 1599, when a final assessment was made.<sup>148</sup> Considering that the pope and his entourage did not depart Rome for Ferrara until April 1598 it seems unlikely that the frescoes, including as they do a scene of the pope entering Ferrara, would have been begun before that date.

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<sup>148</sup> For the documents related to this project see Witcombe 1981, Appendix.



Certainly the last scene, featuring the peace between France and Spain, could not have been executed before that event took place on May 2<sup>nd</sup> 1598. Cinzio went with the group that followed the pope to Ferrara, thus if he did arrange for the frescoes he must have done it before his departure, or via letters from Ferrara. Further, because of his almost year-long peregrination around northern Italy, Cinzio did not return to Rome until May of 1599, by which point the frescoes were most likely finished. The frescoed decoration of these rooms was thus carried out entirely in his absence, and to date no epistolary evidence has surfaced which would indicate that he was keeping a close eye on the commission from afar.<sup>149</sup> The fact that the rooms were decorated with Cardinal San Giorgio's coat-of-arms would not really have identified the decorations with Cinzio in particular: he used the Aldobrandini stemma in combination with the cardinal's hat without alteration, thus his coat-of-arms and that of Pietro were identical.<sup>150</sup>

In his attempt to locate and discuss the frescoes "in the Cardinal San Giorgio's rooms", Witcombe overlooked a piece of documentary evidence published by Johannes Orbaan that suggests that Cinzio may not even have been living in his initial apartment under the Sala di Bologna by 1597/8. On October 30<sup>th</sup>, 1596, an avviso reported that:

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<sup>149</sup> In contrast we know that Pietro Aldobrandini, while in Ferrera and elsewhere, kept more than a watchful eye on developments in Rome through his *confident* and aide Giacomo Sannesio. All letters were to go through Sannesio and further Parisi notes that "e ne faceva a lui relazione aggiungendovi quelle glosse, che favourivano il suo padrone, e che screditavano il Cardinal Cinzio." Parisi 1787, 115.

<sup>150</sup> See for example the frontispiece of the *Tempio all'Illustrissimo e Reverendissimo Signor Cinthio Aldobrandini Cardinale S. Giorgio*, where the Aldobrandini stemma with the cardinal's hat above crowns the page; or Cinzio's tomb in the church of San Pietro in Vincoli, where the Aldobrandini stemma is the only visual indicator of the occupant's identity. Parisi's *Della Epistolografia* does not illustrate the Aldobrandini *stemma* at all, but rather that of the city of Sinigaglia, showing two leopards tied to a lemon tree.

This winter His Holiness does not plan to leave the Vatican Palace; he will live in the new palace and he will sleep in the Bologna, because of which it will be necessary for Cardinal San Giorgio to leave that apartment, and retire to the rooms over the Swiss (*li svizzeri*), where Cardinal Toledo lived, and over these he will have Cardinal Pepoli; those of monsignore Cappone, contiguous to those, will be those attached to the Sala di Costantino, where Signore Statilio was living, [will be given to] to Cardinal Tarugi.<sup>151</sup>

In the fall of 1596 Cinzio was forced to vacate the apartment where he had been living at the time of the 1594 *Ruolo*, and we have no way of knowing whether he returned to that apartment once the winter months had passed. The apartment in question was evidently one that the pope had a preference for, as he had resided there for some time before his two nephews moved into the Vatican Palace.<sup>152</sup> The difficulty then lies in the question of where to look for the frescoes that decorated “the rooms of Cardinal San Giorgio”, whether to search for them, as Witcombe did, based on the information from the 1594 *Ruolo*, or whether to rely on the 1596 *avviso*. As mentioned above, Witcombe proposed that the rooms in question were in the palace of Gregory XIII, next to the two rooms known as the Focconi Rooms, and that the frescoed hall had been altered beyond recognition due to structural changes and in order to install elevator shafts. However, it is possible that the rooms considered to be those of the Cardinal San Giorgio in 1597/8 were no longer those referred to in the 1594 *Ruolo* on the level of the second loggia and under the Bologna, but rather an apartment “over

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<sup>151</sup> Johannes A. Orbaan, *Documenti sul barocco in Roma* (Rome: Miscellanea della R. soc. Rom. di Storia Patria, 1920), 52. Cod. Urbin. lat. 1064, c. 693 B: “1596 ottobre 30. Sua Beatitudine disegna per questo inverno di non partir più dal palazzo Vaticano; habitarà nel palazzo nuovo et dormirà poi nella Bologna, per il che il cardinale San Giorgio sarà necessitato partirsi da quell'appartamento, dovendosi ritirare nelle stanze sopra li svizzeri, ove habitava il cardinale Toledo et sopra queste le haverà il cardinale Pepoli; quelle di monsignore Cappone, contigue a queste, saranno quelle attaccate alla sala di Costantino, ove habitava il Signore Statilio, al cardinal Tarugi.”

<sup>152</sup> Urbin. lat. 1059, c. 196: “1591 aprile 6. Il Papa, che si è ritirato ad habitare le stanze sotto la Bologna, contra la opinione de medici...” Orbaan 1920, 52.

the Swiss”, probably a reference to the portal of the Vatican Palace entrance, watched over by the Swiss Guards.<sup>153</sup>

The 1594 *Ruolo* perhaps provides further help. There Cardinal Toledo is listed as having:

an apartment in the middle of the aforementioned *salita* [the *salita* was a ramped entrance to the Vatican Palace], where there is a hall, six rooms, a *camerino*, a small chapel, with a small gallery and an overlook that looks toward Piazza San Pietro, it leads also to the above-mentioned spiral staircase.<sup>154</sup>

In order to have a view toward Piazza San Pietro this apartment must have been on the south side of the Vatican palace. Tod Marder has identified this apartment as one designed by Giulio Romano before he left for Mantua in 1524.<sup>155</sup> The ‘overlook’ can be identified as the Loggia dei Trombetti, which looked out over Piazza San Pietro and was located slightly east of the *prima porta*, a gated entrance to the *atrium helvetorium*. When the *Ruolo* was composed the apartment was inhabited by Clement VII’s datary, Giammatteo Giberti. It is possible then that this was the apartment where Cinzio was living in 1598 when the frescoes “in the rooms of Cardinal San Giorgio” were executed, and thus the fact that Witcombe found no surviving trace of these works may not be due to structural changes at all, but because that portion of the palace was destroyed under Pope Paul V. Regardless of where Cinzio’s apartments were in 1598, the fact remains that Cinzio was not in Rome for the entirety of the time that the frescoes were executed and that the scenes, even with the little we know about them, do not reflect his best political interests. It seems likely that the subject matter

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<sup>153</sup> Thanks to Tod Marder for clarifying this reference.

<sup>154</sup> Colnabrini 1895, 9. "L'Ill.mo S.r Cardinal Toledo tiene uno appartamento a mezo la sopradetta salita dove sono, una sala, sei stantie, un camerino, et una capelletta, con una gallerietta et uno scoperto che guarda verso la piazza di San Pietro, riesce anco alla sopradetta lumaghetta."

<sup>155</sup> Marder 1997, 48. For diagrams and illustrations see page Diagram A, page 33 and Fig. 41, page 49.

for the decoration of Cinzio's Vatican *stanze* was chosen by another party, perhaps even Pietro Aldobrandini, who would later monumentally glorify his success in Ferrara and subsequent consolidation of power in the decorations and inscriptions at the Villa Aldobrandini in Frascati.

#### CINZIO'S COLLECTION AT PIAZZA SS. APOSTOLI

Cinzio Aldobrandini's will was written on December 31<sup>st</sup> 1610, the day before he died.<sup>156</sup> In the extremely brief document he names an unidentified Carlo Aldobrandini, his cousin, his universal heir, but aside from a short codicil outlining what was to be done with his ecclesiastical possessions, there is no list of his goods.<sup>157</sup> Thankfully, an inventory of all of his possessions was made after his death; this unpublished document, drawn up March 1<sup>st</sup> 1610, allows us to sketch out Cinzio's character as a collector and to examine to what extent his collection reflected or was influenced by his role as papal nephew.<sup>158</sup> In comparison to the much better known and exponentially larger collection of his cousin Pietro, Cinzio's collection was decidedly modest.<sup>159</sup> The collections were also markedly different in character. It has

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<sup>156</sup> Archivio Aldobrandini, Frascati. Tomo 2, No. 19. Rogated by notary Giovanni Battista Ottaviano, December 31<sup>st</sup> 1610. Officially the Gregorian calendar, decreed in 1582, moved the start of the new year to January 1<sup>st</sup>; however, the alternative tradition of calculating the new year from December 25<sup>th</sup> endured. Thus Cinzio's will was drawn up on December 31<sup>st</sup>, 1610, and he died on January 1<sup>st</sup>, also in the year 1610, as calculated in the old style. Although the will seems to suggest that this Carlo Aldobrandini was also living with the cardinal at the time of his death, there is no Carlo Aldobrandini registered in the parish Stati di Anime records for SS. XII Apostoli in 1608 or 1609.

<sup>157</sup> It is always stated in secondary sources that Cinzio named Pietro his heir, and other documents, such as the inventory, seem to indicate that Pietro did fulfill that role. However, the will preserved at the family archive clearly names a Carlo Aldobrandini, his cousin, as heir.

<sup>158</sup> ASR, Notai Tribunali AC, Fuscus notai, anno 1610. vol. 3331, 1r-20v. March 1610. My warmest thanks to Dott.ssa Antonella Fabriani Rojas for granting me permission to work in the Aldobrandini archives in Frascati, and for alerting me to this key document.

<sup>159</sup> On collecting by cardinals see: Patricia Falguières, "La Cité Fictive. Les Collections de Cardinaux à Rome, au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle," in *Les Carrache et les Décors profanes* (Actes du

been argued that Pietro's represents the interests and cultural programs of a number of personalities, primarily Giovan Battista Agucchi and Clement VIII.<sup>160</sup> Cinzio's, on the other hand, was much more private and personal, perhaps influenced by his cultural academy but certainly not intended to represent the public face of the papacy in the way that Pietro's would have served. This is certainly due to Cinzio's significantly lower income and secondary role as a papal nephew. Yet the collection was known, and from a quite early date, among a close circle of intellectuals. In 1594 Giulio Cesare Capaccio wrote to Cinzio, lamenting that:

Oh that I could have even the lowest place in the museum that is your home, where, as I am told, you make an honored collection of so many beautiful spirits, I assure you that I think I would have created a work more illustrious than *Alcide* ever did.<sup>161</sup>

Here Capaccio surely intends *museo* to have a double meaning, referring both to the physical collection of art and scientific objects that the Cardinal San Giorgio was beginning to gather, and his intellectual academy, a kind of museum of minds. In general, Cinzio's collection confirms the descriptions that we have of the cardinal following his return to Rome in 1599, which relate that he led a devout and quiet life

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Colloque organisé pour l'Ecole Française de Rome, 1986) (Rome: De Boccard, 1998), 215-333.

<sup>160</sup> Laura Testa, "La collezione del cardinale Pietro Aldobrandini: modalità di acquisizione e direttive culturali," in *I cardinali di Santa Romana Chiesa. collezionisti e mecenati*, ed. Marco Gallo (Rome: Edizioni dell'Associazione Culturale Shakespeare and Company 2, 2001), 38-60.

<sup>161</sup> Solerti 1895, 737. "Or s'io potessi nel museo di Sua casa, ove di tanti begli spiriti fa ella onorata raccolta, come mi vien riferito, aver l'infimo luogo, l'assicuro che mi parrebbe d'aver fatto un'opera più illustre di quante ne fe' mai Alcide." On Capaccio see: S. Nigro, "Capaccio, Giulio Cesare," *DBI*, vol. 18 (1975), 374-380. Capaccio, although primarily an author and public functionary, also had connections with the art world: he was known in Naples for his erudition and in 1606 was employed by vice-roy don Juan Alfonso Pimentel to examine and catalogue the ancient statues that were found in the countryside around Naples. In 1604 he published the *Historia Puteolana*, republished in 1607 in Italian with the title *Vera antichità di Pozzuoli*. The connection between Capaccio and Cinzio is worth further research to see if the two had any other exchanges regarding the arts, particularly antique statues.

steeped in scientific studies, resigning himself to Pietro's dominance and remaining loyal to the Aldobrandini family.

At the time of his death, Cinzio was living in Palazzo Bonelli on Piazza Santissimi Apostoli, where he had moved after Clement VIII's demise.<sup>162</sup> The inventory made in 1610 is organized by rooms, giving us a general idea of the layout of his apartment, which was divided between the ground floor and *piano nobile* of the palace. On the ground floor there were three rooms – one held a distinct portion of Cinzio's collection and appears to have been a quite formal room, equipped for sizeable gatherings, while the others served more mundane purposes, holding primarily cooking utensils. Above was the apartment proper, comprised of at least another four (possibly five) rooms: a reception room, two rooms making up the *guardaroba*, and the chapel.<sup>163</sup> Cinzio's collection of paintings and precious objects was divided between one room on the ground floor and one on the piano nobile, with the majority located in the latter.

The first room on the ground floor was quite luxurious – it contained a number of sculptures and appears to have been arranged as a portrait gallery, as it held almost all of the portraits in Cinzio's possession, to the exclusion of any other painted subject. There were nine portraits of various unnamed popes (one which was said to have a '*propertio spitiale*' – a 'special property', a reference that suggests a quasi-magical aspect); three full-length portraits of cardinals; nine portraits of members of

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<sup>162</sup> Prinzivalli 1895, 70.

<sup>163</sup> ASR, Notai Tribunali AC, Fuscus notai, anno 1610. vol. 3331, 3r. The rooms on the piano nobile begin with the heading "In una stantia di sopra al primo piano aparo alla sala", suggesting the presence of two distinct rooms, but their contents are not listed separately. There must also have been a bedroom, so it is possible that not all of the rooms were carefully indicated. The first page of the inventory is badly damaged, making some of the items impossible to read, such as the eighty-three small portraits. For a transcription of the inventory see Appendix 2.1.

the Aldobrandini family; six portraits of unnamed princes; eighty-three small portraits of unidentified individuals (princes? popes?); and finally a portrait of ‘Padre Bernardo’. It is likely that this last work was a portrait of the Sicilian Jesuit Padre Bernardo Colnago (1544-1611), to whom Cinzio has been linked following his return to Rome.<sup>164</sup> There were also a number of statues, although due to the badly damaged state of the first page of the inventory it is extremely difficult to make out any further information about what these were. There were seven works total, five busts (*cinque teste*) and two larger figures (*l’altre doi figu...*).<sup>165</sup> Another statue is listed separately, as a half bust set on top of an unidentifiable piece of gilded wooden furniture; there was as well a piece of marble most likely worked as a bas relief (*[pe]zzo di marmo lavorato à disegno*). In addition, the room was outfitted with nine sets of shelves; forty-five *scabelli* and *scabelloni*, which can be stools or pedestals, ten of which were of walnut and engraved with the cardinal’s coat of arms; two buffets, or large armoires, in ebony intarsiated with ivory; and two mirrors in a round walnut case (*Doi specchi aviario dentro in una cassa di noce tondo con suo piede*). There were also a number of objects that hinted at Cinzio’s scientific and humanistic interests, including a bronze sphere with a sextant (an astronomical and navigational instrument used to measure distances between stars), four globes (two large and two small – technically the inventory identifies these as maps of the world, *mappamondo*, but since it mentions that they had stands, they were most likely globes), and a case with twenty-two bronze architectural instruments (*un stuccio con venti doi ferri d’ottone d’architettura*). On the whole the objects in this room would have represented to the visitor Cinzio’s political and familial ties in the portraits of Aldobrandini family members; the basis of his relatively influential social position as it derived from the

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<sup>164</sup> Jaitner 1988, 77.

<sup>165</sup> ASR, Notai Tribunali AC, Fuscus notai, anno 1610. vol. 3331 1r.

papacy in the portraits of popes; his broader network of political alliances in the portraits of princes; and his interest in the arts and sciences in the globes, architectural and scientific instruments, and statues.

The second room on the ground floor held almost exclusively cooking utensils – bowls, ovens, pans, knives, etc. These items are decidedly banal, however they could have a greater significance. In the sixteenth century it was rumored that Cinzio was an alchemist.<sup>166</sup> As indicated by the items already mentioned in the first room, such as the sextant and architectural tools, he was certainly interested in the sciences; there is further evidence of his study of the natural and magical sciences in the rest of the collection, which as we will see contained a number of different stones, scientific instruments, and natural specimens. Items such as a quantity of lead (*Una quantita di piombo in canne di libri*, [2v]), three slabs of ancient lead [11r], and a number of ovens of various sizes and materials (*Un forno di postriai di rame con il suo coperchio*, *Un altro forno piccolo tondo con piede et un altro simile senza piede* [2v]) could have had entirely quotidian uses, or could provide another piece of evidence that Cinzio was pursuing alchemical experiments. The last item listed in the room – ‘twenty large white poplar pedestals to hold statues’ (*Scabelloni d’albuccio da tenere statue numero vinti* [2v]) – hints at a larger sculpture collection.<sup>167</sup> As these were stowed with the kitchen goods it appears that they were not in use. However the fact that these *scabelloni* were intended to function as pedestals suggests that some of the forty-five found in the first room were used for a similar purpose.

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<sup>166</sup> Jaitner 1988, 77.

<sup>167</sup> ASR, Notai Tribunali AC, Fuscus notai, anno 1610. vol. 3331, 2v.



The final ground floor room appears to have been a relatively small storage room, holding out-of-use furniture: window shutters, tables, lanterns, and white poplar panels for various purposes.<sup>168</sup>

The bulk of Cinzio's collection of both art and scientific objects was found on the *piano nobile* of the palace, apparently in one large room.<sup>169</sup> This must have been the main reception room as it included a baldacchino (*Un baldacchino di taffetta rosso con francia di seta rossa* [4v]), likely to mark the chair that Cinzio would use as the cardinal-host. The room appears to have been connected to the rooms on the lower level as the inventory refers to an internal door set at the '*capo alla lumaca*', or located at the head of a spiral staircase.<sup>170</sup> The room was outfitted for large gatherings – there were thirty red stamped-leather chairs, as well as an additional fourteen chairs with silk fringes and another fourteen with Cinzio's coat of arms, plus two large white poplar tables and a number of smaller tables and sideboards. The furniture was elaborate – two walnut sideboards intarsiated with bone and mother-of-pearl, and six smaller walnut and two ebony sideboards all intarsiated with ivory. There were also two sets of walnut shelves that were specifically used to hold books (*Doi scantie di noce con suoi taffettani di tener libri* [4v]). The reference to books is interesting, as it points to a startling and significant gap in the inventory. Apart from one entry for 'Two chests and a *tamburo* full of writings' (*Doi casse et un tamburo piene di scritture* [18v]), the inventory includes absolutely no books or manuscripts of any

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<sup>168</sup> ASR, Notai Tribunali AC, Fuscus notai, anno 1610. vol. 3331, 2v-3r.

<sup>169</sup> ASR, Notai Tribunali AC, Fuscus notai, anno 1610. vol. 3331, 3r-5r.

<sup>170</sup> ASR, Notai Tribunali AC, Fuscus notai, anno 1610. vol. 3331, 5r. The inventory refers to *una bussola*, which is most likely an internal door, although it could be a type of chair or a compass.

kind.<sup>171</sup> Cinzio was famed as a patron of literature who held an academy at his house for writers, musicians and other intellectuals. Moreover, Cinzio was patron and host to Torquato Tasso, and the poet made Cinzio his universal heir when he died in 1595. Tasso no doubt left behind a good quantity of books, and we certainly know that he left manuscripts, as following his death a battle erupted over their rightful ownership and over whether some of the manuscripts should then be published or not.<sup>172</sup> It is particularly disappointing that an inventory of Cinzio's books was not drawn up, as such a document would have given us considerable insight into the cardinal's scientific pursuits and artistic interests.

The majority of the items listed in this large room on the piano nobile are paintings, giving us an outline of the subjects of the works in Cinzio's art collection, although unfortunately little more. Roman inventories from this time tend to be sparse, and this is no exception.<sup>173</sup> No names of painters or further information is provided beyond the subjects of the works; thus we can determine only the character of his collection. Including the portraits already mentioned, Cinzio owned more than one hundred and seventy paintings.<sup>174</sup> Of the works whose subjects or genres are listed, thirty-two were landscapes, ninety-three were portraits and the rest were sacred works of some kind – images of saints, the Madonna, Christ, or biblical subjects. Only one landscape, a marine scene, is identified with any specificity. Of the others we know only that seven were large, and that seven were old and on paper.

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<sup>171</sup> *Tamburo* here most likely refers to another kind of portable wooden chest covered in leather. See: [http://vocabolario.signum.sns.it/\\_s\\_index2.html](http://vocabolario.signum.sns.it/_s_index2.html).

<sup>172</sup> Prinzivalli 135-136.

<sup>173</sup> See Patrizia Cavazzini, *Painting as Business in Early Seventeenth-Century Rome* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), 81-115.

<sup>174</sup> In several places the inventory lists simply 'quadretti' or 'quadri diversi', thus it is impossible to establish the number with certainty. There were for example more portraits than the ninety-three counted here, but a further number cannot be determined.

Although landscape paintings made up a relatively small portion of Cinzio's collection their presence is notable. Landscape paintings began to feature in private collections in Rome only from about 1575 onward, and on the whole they belonged to a quite closely connected group of patrons that included both Pietro and Giovan Francesco Aldobrandini.<sup>175</sup> These collectors were for the most part ecclesiastics with notable Counter-Reformation links, and included among their ranks Federico Borromeo. Given the almost entirely sacred nature of Cinzio's collection and his noted piety at this time it is not surprising that he would also participate in promoting and enjoying a genre with such a clear stamp of approval from respected religious reformers. Cinzio's seven large landscape paintings and the marine scene indicate that he can also be placed into this group of early collectors of the genre, and suggests that he was influenced both by the collections of his Aldobrandini relatives and by the new currents in taste of the age.

Apart from the portraits and few landscapes, the subjects of the paintings in Cinzio's collection were entirely sacred; there were absolutely no mythologies, allegories, stories from contemporary literature, or genre scenes. Of the sacred subjects he appears to have had a preference for scenes of Judith (three paintings), and the Agony in the Garden (also three paintings); unsurprisingly he also had numerous depictions of the Madonna with the Christ child, numbering around twelve works. Cinzio also had several representations of St. George, no doubt due to the fact that his first titular church was S. Giorgio in Velabro and that was the title that he carried as cardinal. Of the two images he had of the saint one must have been a miniature as it was kept in an ivory case; the other may have been a drawing, as it states that it was *in carta pecorina*. He also had three statues of St. George – one in *metallo gettato*

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<sup>175</sup> Cavazzini 2008, 109.

*indorato*, so likely a gilded cast bronze figure, one in wood that was also gilded, and finally one in ivory. In contrast, Cinzio had no images of St. Sebastian, the patron saint of the Aldobrandini family, suggesting that he had no particular devotional tie to the Aldobrandini protector. There were of course also the two paintings of the crying Madonna, made famous by Tasso.

Cinzio's dedication to sacred art can also be seen in the sculptures he owned. Aside from the few busts listed in the first ground floor room, he owned several carved representations of St. George, the *Agnus dei*, and numerous crucifixes, some of them quite elaborate. There was a small ivory crucifix in a black case spattered with gold [3v], another of ebony [8v], one held by three small lions with relics and glass inside [9v], another with a base made out of crystal and with a figure of Christ tied to the column, the latter portion made out of agate [10r], another small wooden cross engraved with the Passion of Christ [10r], and finally two small crucifixes with holy earth inside [11r]. On the whole the art objects in Cinzio's possession were sacred in subject and in function, as in the crucifixes that were also reliquaries. The overall tenor is in accord with the descriptions that we have of Cinzio following his eventual defeated return to Rome after the devolution of Ferrara. By all reports he became a model cardinal, no longer carousing in the streets, attending comedies, or allowing games to be played in his household.<sup>176</sup> His collection reinforces this image of an ideal cardinal, down to the presence of a portrait of Carlo Borromeo, the model ecclesiastical reformer.

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<sup>176</sup> Jaitner 1988, 77.

There is only one work in Cinzio's possession for which we can identify the author, thanks to later related documents.<sup>177</sup> This is the 'Judgment made in stone, inside a box' [4r]; the painting in its case was apparently not kept in a *studiolo*, but out in the open, as it is listed along with the rest of the paintings in the collection. The work in question was a scene of the Last Judgment painted on agate by Antonio Tempesta. It seems to have been given to Cinzio as a gift around 1607 by the Cardinal Sant'Eusebio, Ferdinando Taverna. After Cinzio's death Pietro Aldobrandini tried to sell the work through a *rigattiere*, or used-goods dealer, named Domenico De Marco. Taverna, whom Pietro had nominated as the executor of Cinzio's will, then took steps to recover what he still perceived as his property. He had Tempesta testify in writing that three years earlier (ie. three years before Cinzio's death in 1610) he had painted a Last Judgment on agate (the subject chosen by the painter, at his whim) and given it to Francesco Leonello to be passed on to Cardinal Sant'Eusebio; Tempesta also swears that he was "nobly presented and more than paid" by Leonello.<sup>178</sup> The work was subsequently returned to Leonello, and its value discounted from the inventory that had been drawn up of Cinzio's goods, which had apparently been put in their entirety into the care of the *rigattiere* De Marco for resale. Of the numerous paintings on stone known to be by or attributed to Tempesta, none shows a scene of the Last Judgment; the whereabouts of this work are now unknown.<sup>179</sup>

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<sup>177</sup> See ASV, Notai tribunali AC Fuscus Notai, 3332, anno 1610 3.o parte, 936r-937r.

<sup>178</sup> Leonello is a relatively unknown figure who appears to have been of some importance in early Seicento Rome. He is recorded as part of Cinzio's *famiglia* in the 1594 *Ruolo* and appears in the 1608 and 1609 *Stati di Anime* records for SS. XII Apostoli again as part of Cinzio's *famiglia*. In the 1608 census he is identified as Cinzio's *Maior Domus*. Archivio Vicariato, Stati di Anime, SS XII Apostoli, 15/45; 1595-1609. Unfortunately the records for 1605-1607 are lacking.

<sup>179</sup> On such works see: Marco Bona Castellotti, ed., *Pietra Dipinta. Tesori nascosti del '500 e del '600 da una collezione privata milanese* (Milan: Federico Motta Editore, 2000).

The *Last Judgment* does not seem to have been the only work by Tempesta in Cinzio's collection. Documents drawn up in 1615 indicate that Tempesta was trying to recuperate two hundred and fifty scudi owed to him for some pictures he had made for the cardinal.<sup>180</sup> Here again we are unfortunately provided with no further information from which to identify these pictures.

In addition to the portraits that have already been mentioned, Cinzio owned images of an unnamed bishop, a 'German lady', and the King and Queen of Spain. The latter were two pairs of miniatures, both painted on copper; their presence hints at Cinzio's hispanophile leanings, well known at the time. These are the only works in the collection specified as being painted on copper. The image of a German lady is intriguing as it was painted on, or more likely carved from, rock crystal and decorated with gold. Its presence in the collection likely has little to do with the identity of the sitter. It would instead have been valued for the workmanship and skill that were required to create such a portrait. Similar works were found in the Medici collections, for example a *Portrait of Cosimo I de' Medici* carved from rock crystal in the form of a small cameo [Fig. 2.14]. Both sets of portraits of the king and queen were kept in a small ebony *studiolo* decorated with silver statuettes.<sup>181</sup>

The individual who recorded the inventory listed all the items that were kept together in this *studiolo*, giving us some indication of how Cinzio arranged the items in his possession, and perhaps of how they were perceived. In this small precious piece of furniture, in addition to the works already mentioned, there was a portion of Cinzio's medal collection, 'a stone with a head with a small gold circle' (*Una pietra con una testa con cerchietto d'oro*), a small silver tooth-cleaner (*Un nettadenti*

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<sup>180</sup> ASR, Notai AC, Antonius Palmerius, 1615, vol. 4951, 800r-v, 841r-v.

<sup>181</sup> ASR, Notai Tribunali AC, Fuscus notai, anno 1610. vol. 3331, 17v-18r.

*d'argento piccolo*), two bones bound in gold, a mullet made out of gilded silver (*Uncefalo d'argento indorato*), a gold medal of St. Helen, a German lock (*Una serratura tedesca*), a lead compass with amber, and two small purses. The contents are an odd mix of scientific instruments like the compass; objects related to the study of the natural sciences, like the bones and perhaps the mullet; and art objects such as the portraits already mentioned. The 'stone with a head' is a puzzling piece – this may refer to a portrait painted on stone, or it may be a type of object collected as a *meraviglia*, a piece of some natural material untouched by man but that seems to represent an anthropomorphic or recognizable form.<sup>182</sup> Such objects were not unusual in natural science collections, and could be found for example in that of Ulisse Aldovrandi, the famed Bolognese naturalist. These objects in Cinzio's *studiolo* may all have been stored together simply because of their small size. However, with one or two exceptions they are united by the fact that they are all made of relatively precious materials – gold, silver, rock crystal, amber, copper. The contents of Cinzio's small *studiolo* represent the kind of encyclopedic, multi-channel vision that was characteristic of Renaissance humanist collections. Such collections aimed to gather together specimens representing every aspect of the human and natural world, the man- and divine-made, finding the similarities and links between seemingly disparate objects.

The same kind of impulse can be seen in the contents of the subsequently listed ebony *studiolo*: a portrait of 'Beato Carlo' (presumably Carlo Borromeo)<sup>183</sup> in crystal and gold with its case; a small Agnus Dei in crystal and decorated with gold; a

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<sup>182</sup> On such objects see: Adalgisa Lugli, *Natura et Mirabilia. Il collezionismo enciclopedico nelle Wunderkammern d'Europa* (Milan: Mazzotta, 1983), 108-112.

<sup>183</sup> Borromeo was beatified in 1602 and canonized on November 1<sup>st</sup>, 1610, less than a year after Cinzio's death.

small red box holding ultramarine pigment; a ‘nail of the great beast’ bound in gold with turquoise; a gilded pepper pot; two small oval stones, one white and bound in silver; a small ivory Saint George; four bezoars - two set in gold, one wrapped in red thread, and one without a setting; a green stone used to combat hip pain; a white stone bound in gold and wrapped with white thread; a large sapphire ring; a small box holding twenty-eight rings; five small heads, one with a hook and bound in gold; and finally two more rings, one with a seal and the other another sapphire. Here again the art objects (the portrait of Carlo Borromeo, the Agnus Dei, and the St. George) were likely grouped together with the other objects because of their precious materials. In this second *studiolo* Cinzio’s interest in the natural sciences and magic aspects of nature is clear in the presence of the four bezoars – masses found in the gastrointestinal systems of animals, bezoars were believed to have powerful healing properties, acting as an antidote to any poison – and in the ‘nail of the great beast’. The latter was not the only piece of the unfortunate ‘great beast’ to end up in Cinzio’s collection – he also had two legs, apparently from the same animal.<sup>184</sup> Without any further information we cannot hazard a guess regarding what exactly this animal was. However the presence of such objects in Italian collections goes back to antiquity, as Suetonius records that Augustus had “the remains of monstrous beasts...called giant’s bones and hero’s arms” in his house.<sup>185</sup> Similar interest in the monstrous and the fantastic prompted most collectors, including Aldovrandi and others, to seek out specimens of some of the most famous examples of such animals, above all the type

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<sup>184</sup> ASR, Notai Tribunali AC, Fuscus notai, anno 1610. vol. 3331, 16r.

<sup>185</sup> Sergio Venturi, “Tra meraviglia, arte e scienza: il collezionismo,” in *Le Grandi Dimore Storiche in Emilia Romagna. Palazzi privati urbani* (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 1986), 197-233, 198. Suetonius, II, 72.



of dragon known as a basilisk.<sup>186</sup> Cinzio's interest in exotic animals extended to living specimens – he apparently had a pair of live camels, one male and one female.<sup>187</sup> The natural science aspect of Cinzio's studies may also explain two slightly curious statues in his collection, a metal duck (*un anatra di metallo*) and the aforementioned gilded mullet made out of silver.<sup>188</sup> The duck is reminiscent of Giambologna's series of bronze birds now in the Bargello, Florence and made for the Villa Medici at Castello, or Bolognese engraver Bartolomeo Coriolano's series of sixty-six prints representing various types of birds.<sup>189</sup>

The objects collected in these *studioli* indicate Cinzio's interest in the natural sciences, and particularly in minerals and stones. This can be seen in other items in his collection, such as 'various dried pieces of agate' [7r]; four small fountains, two made of *paragone* (touchstone) and two of mixed stones; eight balls of different colors of stone [8v]; a *navicella* (a type of plate) made of jasper and decorated with gold [10r]<sup>190</sup>; a cup made of cornelian and another of amber [10r]; a rock crystal salt cellar [10r]; a crucifix with a crystal base; a statue of Christ tied to the column made of agate (attached to the crucifix with the crystal base); an alabaster St. Agatha [10v]; and thirty-five pieces of glass painted to look like agate [10v]. Cinzio appears to have had

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<sup>186</sup> Venturi 1986, 225. On Aldrovandi see: Giuseppe Olmi, *Ulisse Aldrovandi: scienza e natura nel secondo Cinquecento* (Trento: Libera Università degli Studi di Trento, Gruppo di Teoria e Storia Sociale, 1976); Raffaella Simili, ed., *Il teatro della natura di Ulisse Aldrovandi* (Bologna: Compositori, 2001).

<sup>187</sup> ASR, Notai Tribunali AC, Fuscus notai, anno 1610. vol. 3331, 17v (Una Camella) 19v (Un Camello). He also had a 'pontifical mule' (19v).

<sup>188</sup> ASR, Notai Tribunali AC, Fuscus notai, anno 1610. vol. 3331, 10v.

<sup>189</sup> Emma Micheletti, "I "Ritratti di Uccelli" del Giambologna per la grotta di Castello," in *Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Ugo Procacci*, ed. Maria Grazia Ciardi Duprè Dal Poggetto (Milan: Electa, 1977), 408-414. Bertelà 1973, cat. 373/1-66.

<sup>190</sup> *Navicella* could also refer to the biblical subject, but as this object appears in the inventory grouped together with other functional items such as glasses produced from luxurious materials like cornelian and amber and a rock crystal salt-cellar it seems more likely that the term here refers to the type of dish. On the other hand, it may be the biblical subject that is referred to with the: "tazza indorata a navicella ed testa di anetra libra una et once nove" [9r].

a marked preference for agate, a stone known, like bezoars, as an antidote for poisons, and for the ability to quench thirst if held in the mouth.<sup>191</sup> Given the inclusion of the fictive pieces of agate, it is entirely possible that Cinzio appreciated the stone as much for its aesthetic as its possible magical-medicinal value. Sapphire, another stone for which Cinzio appears to have had a particular preference, was known for a number of different medical properties. In general it was said to fortify the body, but it may have appealed to Cinzio for what were its powerful moralizing qualities: it was believed to “cool the ardors of lust and render man very modest” and to make men “peaceful, loveable, [and] pious.”<sup>192</sup> It also protected eyesight when touched to the eyes, was useful for healing spider and scorpion bites, and, like agate, when held in the mouth relieved thirst. The small box in the ebony *studiolo* holding ultramarine is also interesting – as the pigment is produced from the precious stone lapis lazuli it is entirely possible that this too was kept as a representation of the mineral world. However, ultramarine was also a material carefully controlled by art patrons due to its steep price – is it possible that Cinzio was commissioning art works and providing the precious pigment himself? Unfortunately this is a question that cannot be answered without contracts and more information about his commissioning habits.

In addition to the objects attesting to Cinzio’s interest in the biological sciences, there are several items that indicate that he had a secondary interest in the mechanical sciences. In the second room of the *guardaroba* there were a number of clocks in various forms: a sundial in the form of a glass [*Un orologio a sole in modo di bicchiere once tre et mezza*; 9v], one of gilded copper in the form of a vase [*Un*

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<sup>191</sup> Agostino del Riccio, *Istoria delle pietre*, eds. Raniero Gnoli and Attilia Sironi (Turin: Umberto Allemandi & C., 1996).

<sup>192</sup> del Riccio 1996, 154-155. Crystal was also believed to have this thirst-relieving effect, apparently one of the reasons that the material was so often used to make glasses and cups.

*orologio fatto a vaso dei rame indorato*; 10v], another in the same material formed like a tower with four columns [*Un'altra simile fatto a torre con quattro colonne*; 10v], two other smaller ones also shaped like towers, and finally a small eight-sided clock. Elsewhere in the apartment there were 'a balance with its weights' [5v], the aforementioned lead compass with amber and the sextant, and an '*Un'occhiale d'avolio*' – possibly a set of eyeglasses, or a telescope? [11r]. Again, such objects were a standard part of an early modern humanist collection, reflecting the desire to represent all aspects of human and natural ingenuity. Similarly, Cinzio also possessed some musical instruments, another typical element of such collections; there were six *viole di gamba*, or violas, with their cases and bows, all held inside a white poplar chest (*Sei viole di gamba con sua cassa da et archetti dentro una cassa d'albuccio*, [6r]), a violin case [8v], and in the chapel a two-octave *cimbalo*, or harpsichord. The presence of these instruments also points toward Cinzio's musical contacts; he was a noted patron of madrigalist Luca Marenzio, among others.<sup>193</sup>

On the whole, Cinzio's collection follows the norms of an early modern humanist collection, on a modest scale. The variety of objects in his possession is quite similar to Raffaello Borghini's 1584 description of the collection kept in the villa of *Il Riposo*. Borghini describes, with great wonder:

...a study with five shelves where small statues of marble, bronze, clay, and wax are arranged in beautiful order. Fine stones of many sorts are arranged there, vases of porcelain and of rock crystal, seashells of many kinds, pyramids of precious stones, jewels, medals, masks, fruit and animals frozen in very fine stone [fossils], and so many new and rare things coming from India and Turkey as astonishes whoever sees them.<sup>194</sup>

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<sup>193</sup> Marco Bizzarini, *Luca Marenzio. The Career of a Musician Between the Renaissance and the Counter-Reformation*, trans. James Chater (Aldeshot: Ashgate 2003), 197-321.

<sup>194</sup> Raffaello Borghini, *Il Riposo*, trans. Lloyd H. Ellis Jr. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 50.

Elsewhere in the collection there were "...displays of lifelike dried-out fish, mother-of-pearl mollusk shells and other seashells, vases of jasper and crystal, ivory and ebony lutes, harpsichords, viols, zithers, flutes, and other musical instruments, and very beautiful books of music of many kinds...".<sup>195</sup> The combination of art objects, such as small marble and bronze statues, with items that we would now consider decorative arts such as porcelain pieces, rock crystal vases, jewels, and medals, along with objects from the natural world like shells (of which Cinzio had several), loose stones, rare things from India (Cinzio had two '*noce d'india*', one made into the form of a vase; 10v]), and exemplars of dried fish and natural specimens, as well as the presence of musical instruments all quite closely reflects the make-up of Cinzio's collection. His collection was certainly not the kind of scientific tool put together by individuals like Ulisse Aldovrandi, but it does demonstrate the characteristic spirit of early modern humanist collections, with one eye toward the sciences, another for the fine arts, and an ear cocked toward the magical.

As was standard for erudite collectors of the time, Cinzio also had a considerable number of medals. Like his collection in general, this aspect of his holdings was modest, totaling roughly 400 objects. More than half were of bronze, the least valuable of the precious metals. The rest were gold and silver, with a larger number of the latter. Fifty-seven of the silver medals were large, ten 'smaller' and one identified as 'very small'. There is a similar division among the gold medals, with forty-one identified as large and 'of various printings', six small, and two very small. The only coin for which a subject is identified is that showing Saint Helen. None are identified as being ancient. Pietro's collection of medals far outstripped Cinzio's, by hundreds of medals, and Pietro does not seem to have been particularly interested in

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<sup>195</sup> Borghini 2007, 54.

the artistic genre.<sup>196</sup> However, in some aspects Cinzio was perhaps more selective in his collecting; proportionally the number of gold medals in Cinzio's collection outweighed the number in Pietro's – Pietro had only forty-four gold medals, a slight number considering the seven hundred that he had in silver. Cinzio's medals were kept in two different *studioli*, both located in the second room of the guardaroba; roughly two thirds were in a small walnut studiolo holding only medals, the others, as we have noted previously, were kept together with a variety of other art and natural science objects. That both these *studioli* were located in the guardaroba instead of the main room with the rest of the art collection perhaps suggests that they were objects intended for Cinzio's private study and reflection rather than for a larger audience.

As with most collections the works were accumulated over time, and through a combination of commissions and gifts. At least one of the paintings of the weeping Madonna was in Cinzio's collection by 1593 at the latest, since Tasso's poem was published that year. Tempesta's *Last Judgment*, on the other hand, cannot have been in the collection any earlier than 1607, based on Tempesta's own testimony. Both of these works were gifts – the former from Clement VIII and the latter from Cardinal Sant'Eusebio, Francesco Taverna. Gift-giving was an essential part of early modern political culture, used as a way to grease diplomatic wheels, forge alliances, and demonstrate respect or gratitude.<sup>197</sup> Cinzio no doubt valued the image of the crying Madonna as much for its political value as a physical representation of Clement VIII's favour (the lack of which is his prime complaint in his long *Memorial* following the events of Ferrara) as for its spiritual and aesthetic qualities. It appears that Cinzio did

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<sup>196</sup> Salomon 2006.

<sup>197</sup> On gift-giving, a topic that has received considerable attention recently, see, among many: Nagel 1997, 647-668; Gadi Algazi, Valentin Groebner and Bernhard Jussen Göttingen, eds., *Negotiating the gift: pre-modern figurations of exchange* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003).

also commission works directly, as indicated by the two hundred and fifty scudi owed to Tempesta at the cardinal's death. The ultramarine and the glass pieces of fictive agate may also have been intended as the raw materials for art works.

On the whole Cinzio's collection was relatively small and focused; there were clearly quite specific and personal motivating factors behind each of the objects present in the collection. The portraits represented Cinzio's familial and political ties, the basis of his social influence. Other objects, such as a 'brass fountain with six stars above' [10v], a carved wooden coat of arms of Clement VIII [6v], and the various pieces of furniture stamped with the cardinal's personal coat of arms similarly indicated Cinzio's family ties. When attempting to reconstruct the personal spaces of cardinals and nobility in the imagination it is important to remember that such signs of family allegiance and identity would have been omnipresent, a constant visual hum pervading the domestic sphere. There is no indication that Cinzio displayed anything indicating his Passeri roots, although it is possible that images of family members from his paternal line would have been included among the many anonymous portraits in his collection – the Passeri were certainly not as notable as the Aldobrandini and it is entirely likely that their likenesses would have been passed over without recognition or comment. The sacred scenes in Cinzio's collection, and even more so the complete lack of profane subjects, speak loudly of his reformed lifestyle and spiritual convictions. The only indications we have as to the quality of the works are the connections to Tempesta, which is not enough to generalize about the collection as a whole. Apparently the contents of the collection were of no interest to Pietro Aldobrandini or the Aldobrandini family in general, as they all appear to have been sold off; whether this reflects the quality of the collection as a whole is difficult to

say.<sup>198</sup> All of the *naturalia* and technical instruments reflect his interests in the natural sciences and, perhaps, in alchemy. Unfortunately the inventory offers no material from which to broaden our picture of Cinzio as a literary patron; there are only the suggestive ‘shelves for books’, and, later in the inventory an entry stating simply ‘libreria’ [20r], to attest to this aspect of Cinzio’s cultural life. On the whole, Cinzio’s collection seems to have been intended for a quite selective audience, made up of the cardinal and the intimates in his intellectual and cultural circle. It was evidently determined by his personal interests and inclinations, but also included prominent gifts and signs of political allegiance. There does not appear to be an underlying organizing principle like the broad art historical narrative that has been proposed for Pietro’s collection.<sup>199</sup> However, it is interesting to note that it may have been in the context of Cinzio’s collection and home, rather than Pietro’s, that Tasso and Agucchi met. Testa has suggested that their intellectual encounters heavily influenced Agucchi’s art theory and perhaps provided the theoretical basis for the works present in Pietro’s collection. Cinzio’s personal collection as papal nephew may thus have provided the cultural crucible from which was born the collection of another papal nephew, the public face of the papacy.

#### EXCURSUS: TORQUATO TASSO AND CINZIO ALDOBRANDINI’S CULTURAL CIRCLE

As a patron Cinzio is better known in the field of literature than in that of the visual arts; he gathered around himself a circle of writers that was esteemed by

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<sup>198</sup> In 1610 Pietro was no longer papal nephew, and did not have access to the funds that were previously available to him. He had political and financial troubles, and it is possible that the opportunity to sell off all of Cinzio’s goods was attractive financially.

<sup>199</sup> Laura Testa, “La collezione del cardinale Pietro Aldobrandini: modalità di acquisizione e direttive culturali,” in *I cardinali di Santa Romana Chiesa. collezionisti e mecenati*, ed. Marco Gallo (Rome: Edizioni dell'Associazione Culturale Shakespeare and Company 2, 2001).

contemporaries as an elite literary academy.<sup>200</sup> The identification of Cinzio's cultural circle as an academy comes foremost from the cardinal's master of ceremonies, Girolamo Lunadoro. Writing after the cardinal's death he described his former boss's habits:

The Cardinal S. Giorgio, of happy memory, established that a person who had been invited and had dined only one time with His Eminence, could always come to set himself at his table, without another invitation, and that good Prince, in the seventeen years that he was a cardinal, every morning held a roundtable that was a public Academy, and his house a Seminary of the virtuous, among which I will name his *famigliari*, Monsignor Bonifatio Vannozzi, a gentleman of Pistoia, and Signore Giovanni Battista Raimondo, a Cremonese gentleman...<sup>201</sup>

Lunadoro also mentions Tasso and Francesco Patrizi, a Ferrarese professor, among Cinzio's small court. Indeed it is believed that Cinzio proposed to crown Tasso poet laureate on the Campidoglio, as had been done for Petrarch centuries earlier.<sup>202</sup> In the earlier biographies on Tasso, particularly Solerti's, there is considerable doubt as

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<sup>200</sup> To date the primary source material found regarding this 'Academy' is scant, and the estimation of its membership seems to be something of a patchwork project based on epistolary connections. Guido Bentivoglio said that: "[Cinzio] Mostravasi specialmente gran parziale de' letterati, faceva accademia di lettere nelle sue stanze del Vaticano...", while Lunadoro, a member of Cinzio's *famiglia* records that the cardinal always had his table set for six people and that it was a 'vera accademia'. Solerti 1895, 734. Drawing on Lunadoro, Solerti provides a long list of names of members of this 'academy' without providing documentation. Solerti 1895, 735-737.

<sup>201</sup> Prinzivalli 1895, 59. "Il Cardinale di S. Giorgio, di felice memoria, usava che una persona, che fusse stata invitata, et che havesse mangiato una volta sola con Sua Eminenza, poteva andare sempre ad ammensarsi, senza altro invito, e quel buon Prencipe, in diciassette anni, che fu Cardinale, ogni mattina fece tavola, la quale fù una pubblica Accademia, e la sua casa un Seminario di virtuosi, tra' quali ne nominerò due suoi *famigliari*, Monsignor Bonifatio Vannozzi, Gentil'huomo Pistoiese, e il Signr Giovanni Battista Raimondo, Rentil'huomo Cremonese..." *Famigliari* implies both a close acquaintance and perhaps also a paid servant or courtier. I have left it in the Italian to preserve both meanings.

<sup>202</sup> A 1595 avviso announcing Tasso's death identified him as 'poet laureate', however there is considerable speculation as to whether this event ever took place. See: Prinzivalli 1895, 106-107. For a considerably longer discussion as to whether the idea of crowning Tasso poet laureate is entirely a myth or not, see Solerti 1895, 790-791. One of the main sources for this information is Tasso's earliest biographer, Manso, who Solerti deems not always worthy to be believed.



to whether the event ever occurred or was even considered. Subsequently, primary source material referring to the possibility makes it seem clear that the idea was at the very least proposed by Cinzio Aldobrandini, although we cannot assess the seriousness of his intentions.

Many writings were dedicated to Cinzio – among them a *Discorso* by Ubaldo Domo on Petrarch, a volume of odes by Guido Casoni, and a collection of writings known by the title *Tempio all'illustrissimo et reuerendissimo signor Cinthio Aldobrandini cardinale S. Giorgio*.<sup>203</sup> The poet Isabella Andreini (c.1562-1604) also dedicated a volume of poetry to him, which was printed first in 1601 and then again in 1605.<sup>204</sup> Cinzio's literary circle also included Battista Guarini, author of the *Pastor fido*. It is possible that Cesare Ripa, author of the *Iconologia*, was also connected to this literary group.<sup>205</sup> The most important member of this group was undoubtedly Torquato Tasso, who dedicated several works to Cinzio, including a *Dialogo dell'imprese* and his *Gerusalemme conquistata*.<sup>206</sup> On Cinzio's tomb, he is memorialized as a 'most kind patron of literature' (LITTERATORVM FAVTORI BENEFICENTISSIMO) [Fig. 2.15 & 2.16].

Based on the surviving documents and objects it is difficult to assess the extent of Cinzio's involvement with the visual arts, even if his household furnished the

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<sup>203</sup> Ubaldo Domo, *Discorso di Ubaldo de Domo, nel quale si espone la vigesima seconda canzone del Petrarca, secondo il suo vero sentimento, contro le varie opinioni de gli altri*, Perugia: per Vincentio Colombara, 1604; Guido Casoni, *Ode dell'illust. et excell. signore Guido Casoni dedicate all'illustriss. & reuerendiss. sig. cardinale Cinthio Aldobrandini*, Venice: by Gio. Battista Ciotti, al segno della Minerua, 1601; *Tempio all'illustrissimo et reuerendissimo signor Cinthio Aldobrandini cardinale S. Giorgio...* Giulio Segni, ed. Bologna: by the heirs of Giouanni Rossi, 1600.

<sup>204</sup> Isabella Andreini, *Rime d'Isabella Andreini comica gelosa, academica intenta detta l'Accesa*. Milan: Girolamo Bordone, & Pietromartire Locarni compagni, 1601 and 1605.

<sup>205</sup> Christopher L. C. E. Witcombe, "Cesare Ripa and the Sala Clementina," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 55 (1992): 278, 279.

<sup>206</sup> Torquato Tasso, *Dialogo dell'imprese* (Naples, prob. 1594).

setting for intellectual exchanges that would indelibly mark the development of artistic taste and art criticism in the Seicento. Silvia Ginzburg Carignani has argued that Cinzio is a more important figure in the artistic scene of Clementine Rome than has thus far been believed, and that he functioned as a local link to developments that began around the Carracci and their followers in Bologna and that began to transfer to Rome in the early 1590s.<sup>207</sup>

There is concrete evidence of ties between the Carracci and Cinzio Aldobrandini. A drawing by Agostino Carracci of the allegorical figures of Justice and Prudence flanking a shield was used by the same artist to design a commemorative sheet for the 1594 public disputation of a thesis by Marcellus Tranquillus Bodiensis. Cinzio Aldobrandini was Bodiensis' patron, and his arms adorn the top portion of the page [Figs. 2.17 and 2.18].<sup>208</sup> The existence of this drawing suggests that Cinzio's position in the world of the visual arts was perhaps more deeply embedded, and more influential, than has been so far presumed, but without documentation it is difficult to establish the extent of Cinzio's exchanges with the Carracci and others.

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<sup>207</sup> Silvia Ginzburg Carignani, *Annibale Carracci a Roma. Gli affreschi di palazzo Farnese* (Rome: Donzelli, 2000), 149-150. In a note regarding Cinzio in her article on Agucchi and his circle, Ginzburg Carignani signals that she has found other material on Cinzio that is in the course of publication, however this material has not yet appeared. Silvia Ginzburg Carignani, "Giovanni Battista Agucchi e la sua cerchia," in *Poussin et Rome. Actes du colloque à l'Académie de France à Rome et à la Bibliotheca Hertziana 16-18 novembre 1994*, ed. Olivier Bonfait (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1996), 289, n. 19.

<sup>208</sup> On these drawings and engravings see: Babette Bohn, *The Illustrated Bartsch*, 39 *Commentary Part I. Italian Masters of the Sixteenth Century. Agostino Carracci* (New York: Abaris Books, 1995), Cat. 189. [B.160 (124)], .189S1, .191 [B.161 (124)]; Diane DeGrazia Bohlin, *Prints and Related drawings by the Carracci Family*, exh. Cat, National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C. (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1979), .243x [B162 (125)]; Babette Bohn "Malvasia and the Study of Carracci Drawings," *Master Drawings* 30 (1992): 396-414.

One of the key figures in the Aldobrandini, and subsequently the Ludovisi, cultural milieu was Monsignor Giovan Battista Agucchi.<sup>209</sup> Agucchi was officially secretary to Ippolito Aldobrandini, before moving into Pietro's service as his personal secretary. The author of an unfinished *Trattato sulla pittura* (Bologna, Bib. U., MS. 245), he had a marked influence on contemporary taste, and in particular on the rising importance of Bolognese artists in Rome, starting with Annibale Carracci and continuing with artists affiliated in one way or another with the Carracci school or Bologna, such as Domenichino and Guercino. Haskell has suggested that Agucchi was likely responsible for the presence of more than forty paintings by Bolognese artists in the Aldobrandini collection at a time when these artists were still relatively unknown.<sup>210</sup> In art historiography Agucchi is best known for developing a novel apparatus for understanding the development of Italian art, a theory stressing the existence of distinctive and autonomous regional schools. Largely in response to Vasari's Florentine-centred views, Agucchi proposed that Italian art and artists could be divided and understood according to geographic region, namely art of the Veneto, Emilia Romagna, Tuscany, and Rome. The links were not strictly based on geography, but rather on style – Michelangelo and Raphael make up part of the Roman school. Laura Testa has argued that Agucchi's conceptual framework was inspired and influenced by contemporary debates regarding Italian language, debates in which Tasso and his companions on the Roman literary scene were deeply involved.<sup>211</sup> Again, the aim was to balance the Tuscan-based view of the Italian language which had reigned since Dante and been codified by the Accademia della Crusca. Tasso and his circle proposed a more inclusive approach to the written

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<sup>209</sup> On Agucchi see: Denis Mahon, *Studies in Seicento Art & Theory* (London: Warburg Institute, 1947) and Ginzburg 1996, 273-291.

<sup>210</sup> Haskell 1980, 398.

<sup>211</sup> Testa 2001, 49.

language, incorporating elements of many regional dialects to create a more representative reflection of the spoken language. Testa has argued that this pluralistic approach directly influenced Agucchi's thinking about the development of Italian art.<sup>212</sup> During his sojourns in Rome in the 1590's Tasso lived in Cinzio's apartments, first in the Aldobrandini family palace on the via dei Banchi Vecchi and then in the Vatican palace, making the poet a daily presence in the cardinal's literary academy. It is likely that Agucchi, who was Pietro Aldobrandini's secretary, would have encountered Tasso there. While Cinzio may not have had the resources, or even the interest, to create a painting collection like that of his cousin Pietro, it appears to have been his gatherings of writers, musicians, and intellectuals that provided the opportunity for the development of new approaches to the understanding of Italian art.

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<sup>212</sup> Testa 2001, 39.

### CHAPTER 3: SCIPIONE CAFFARELLI BORGHESE (1577-1632), THE IDEAL NEPHEW

Scipione Caffarelli was born on September 1<sup>st</sup>, 1577 to Francesco Caffarelli and Ortensia Borghese.<sup>1</sup> His maternal uncle, Cardinal Camillo Borghese, took a warm interest in him, and after his mother's death in 1598 and his father's subsequent departure for Naples, began to look after his education, providing him with an income and ensuring that he was able to study law in Perugia.<sup>2</sup> Due to the long-standing close relationship between the two, it was not a surprise when Camillo Borghese, newly elected to the papacy as Pope Paul V in May 1605, immediately called his nephew to Rome. At the Roman court there was some discussion as to whether Scipione would be called upon to marry and carry on the family name, or if he would be assigned to the ecclesiastical life.<sup>3</sup> Scipione's selection as cardinal nephew may not have been as inevitable as it is generally presented. There were other candidates for the position, including Paul V's cousin, who held the position of Bishop of Montalcino; a Sienese prelate named Camillo Borghese; as well as Giovanni Battista Borghese's brother-in-law Marcello Lante or one of Paul V's several Vittori nephews.<sup>4</sup> Contemporaries speculated that Scipione's promotion was in part due to the influence of Spanish

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<sup>1</sup> V. Castronovo, "Borghese Caffarelli," *DBI*, vol. 12 (1970), 620; Cesare D'Onofrio, *Roma vista da Roma* (Rome: Liber, 1967), 203; Michael Hill, "Cardinal Scipione Borghese's Patronage of Ecclesiastical Architecture, 1605-1633" (PhD diss., University of Sydney, 1998), 204.

<sup>2</sup> Hill 1998, 233-234; Wolfgang Reinhard, "Ämterlaufbahn und Familienstatus. Der Aufstieg des Hauses Borghese 1537-1621," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 54 (1974): 373.

<sup>3</sup> Ludwig von Pastor, *Storia dei papi dalla fine del medio evo*, vol. 12 (Rome: Desclées, 1962), 44. The pope's brother Giovan Battista, who was responsible for continuing the family line, as well as his son, were both in poor health. It was suspected that perhaps to secure progeny Scipione would take over as secular head of the family. Giovan Battista would indeed die shortly afterward in 1609, while his son Marcantonio would successfully go on to ensure the continuation of the Borghese name.

<sup>4</sup> Reinhard 1974, 392; Aloisio Antinori, *Scipione Borghese e l'architettura: programmi, progetti, cantieri alle soglie dell'età barocca* (Rome: Archivio Guido Izzi, 1995), 3.

ambassadors and Cardinal Montalto, indicating that standard seventeenth century factional politics within the curia may also have played a part in his election.<sup>5</sup> On July 18<sup>th</sup>, 1605 Scipione was raised to the cardinalate and given the Borghese name and arms, with the standard stipulation that they not be mixed with those of the Caffarelli.<sup>6</sup> Subsequently, Scipione filled the role of cardinal nephew perfectly, to the point that it is frequently forgotten that he was not actually a Borghese, and his career can be examined as a kind of case study of the ideal cardinal nephew. However, his adoption, elevation to the cardinalate, and acceptance as cardinal nephew should not be regarded as inevitable, and consideration should be given as to why and how his nomination and integration into the curia were remarkably smooth.

It appears that from the outset Paul V kept his adoptive nephew on a short leash, carefully orchestrating his integration into the curia and Roman court society. In 1605 the Venetian ambassadors reported that Borghese “still does not have any authority, nor does he open his mouth.”<sup>7</sup> He was forbidden to hold audiences until his official inaugural visit with the College of Cardinals, a decision that would have preempted any appearance of presumptuousness on the part of the young cardinal nephew.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, for the first two years of his tenure as papal nephew Scipione did

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<sup>5</sup> Reinhard 1974, 393.

<sup>6</sup> Hill 1998, 19-20, n. 8. “Nostro Signore in fine di detto consistoro dichiarò Cardinale il Signore Caffarelli suo nipote per parte di sorella. Giovane di 25 anni [sic.] che per esser dotto, et accustamato questa promotione fù approvata da tutto il sacro collegio, il quale per due sere fece fare pubbliche allegrezza, et in part(icola)re gli ambasciatori da principi, et altri signori, et in somma tutta la città con li baroni, e gentil huomini, la maggior parte parenti del Papa, è per conseguenza del Nipote. Si compiacque Sua Beatitudine di dichiarare detto suo nipote cardinale prete per esser in età 25 anni, e di più da si dovesse per l’avenne chiamare il Cardinale Borghese, e far la medissima arme come fa il Papa, senza metter nel sendo altra casa dell’arme de Caffarelli...” *Avviso* from July 23, 1605. Urb. Lat. 1073, 420v-421r.

<sup>7</sup> Hill 1998, 243-44. “...non ha sin qui alcuna autorità nè ardisse aprir bocca...”

<sup>8</sup> Reinhard 1974, 394. It is unclear where Borghese was living in the early years of the pontificate. Reinhard has suggested that he moved into the Caffarelli family palace, which would explain why he would be forbidden from receiving visitors, but that seems unlikely. An early *avviso* reports that the apartment of the cardinal nephew in the Vatican was being

not control his own finances or exclusively enjoy his income; instead, his funds were administered by his aunt and uncle, Orazio and Virginia Lante, and were considered the property of the Borghese family, to be distributed as needed.<sup>9</sup> This explains Scipione's delayed emergence as a major patron of the arts and indicates that Paul V took no chances with his relatively young and inexperienced nephew. For his part, Scipione does not appear to have rebelled in any way against this exacting control, rather accepting it and slowly learning how to maneuver in his new position.

Primary-source descriptions of Scipione delineate a cautious and watchful man who spent the first year, at least, of Paul V's pontificate working out his new role in the curia. Venetian ambassador Giovanni Mocenigo noted that Scipione:

...deals very cautiously with everything, and, while not promising anyone the Pope's good will, in a most humane fashion he at least satisfies each with good words...On account of this His Holiness loves him with extraordinary affection, for the Pope is naturally one who does not like anyone to do anything that might be regarded as originating from any hand except his own and his particular decision.<sup>10</sup>

In other words, Scipione capably carried out one of the key functions of the cardinal nephew: he fielded requests made to the pope without committing Paul V to anything that might prove to be problematic, and he wielded the authority of his position without losing sight of the fact that his power was entirely dependent on that of his uncle.<sup>11</sup> Scipione was aware of the extent to which his success hinged on the continued good favour of his uncle to such a degree that a contemporary *avviso* reported that Scipione "moves with much care...such that he does not even risk asking

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prepared for him, and it is most likely that he was lodged somewhere in the Vatican palace in temporary apartments while more permanent quarters were arranged. Reinhard 1974, 392.

<sup>9</sup> Orazio's control ended only on July 31, 1607, although he continued to have unrestricted access to Scipione's income. Reinhard 1974, 399.

<sup>10</sup> Hill 1998, 20.

<sup>11</sup> This was apparently an approach that Scipione maintained throughout Paul V's pontificate, as in 1612 Giovanni Mocenigo is still reporting back to Venice that Borghese never directly grants favours or makes decisions, instead leaving it all up to the pope. D'Onofrio 1967, 204.

if he can bring his father to Rome from Nepi.”<sup>12</sup> In the context of the relationship between family ties and power, this is particularly noteworthy – the presence of Scipione’s father (who apparently had ongoing money problems) in Rome could have strained Scipione’s loyalties, or at least the appearance of them, within the curia. As we have seen in the case of Cinzio Aldobrandini, the perception of loyalty and favour had a real impact on authority and influence. Scipione’s reluctance to request his father’s presence suggests that he was aware of the role that family dynamics played in curial politics and in his authority as cardinal nephew.

Like Cinzio Aldobrandini, Scipione did not undergo a true adoption. He was the pope’s nephew, but as a sororal relation he lacked the Borghese name. As we have seen in the case of the two Aldobrandini cardinals, such a seemingly minor detail could have a significant effect on a cardinal’s social and political status. Yet, although they had identical relationships to their respective papal uncles, Scipione’s authority appears to have been carefully constructed from the outset of Paul V’s papacy, while Cinzio’s was systematically undermined. Although there were other candidates for the role of Paul V’s papal nephew, it does not appear that any of them were seriously considered, a fact that significantly improved the security of Scipione’s position. In Scipione’s case, moreover, there is documentary evidence of a legal separation from the Caffarelli, making his change from one family to another an official and binding one. Scipione and his career should be studied with a view to understanding how his comportment, both personally and as a patron, negated possible dissent to his promotion and led him to personify the role of the ideal cardinal nephew.

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<sup>12</sup> von Pastor 1962, vol. 12, 44. The *avviso* was circulated on June 17<sup>th</sup>, 1605, thus before Scipione’s elevation to the cardinalate. Caffarelli apparently did come to Rome, based on a 1607 *avviso*, and was buried in the family chapel in S. Maria sopra Minerva after his death. von Pastor 1962, vol. 12, 52. On the chapel see the Postscript to this chapter.



Contemporary sources describe Scipione as “very approachable and very polite,” which apparently won him the goodwill of the court, and “by nature timid, with a jovial face, a handsome appearance, and of such affability and friendliness that common consent deems him the delight of Rome.”<sup>13</sup> All the sources that discuss his elevation to the cardinalate also mention his young age, a factor that must have influenced contemporary perceptions of him, contributing to the general profile of him as an ingenuous and perhaps malleable young prelate, more interested in the arts than in taking the reigns of power for himself. In the faction-dominated world of the Roman curia Scipione may have been seen as open to influence and particularly attractive as a potential ally.

Only a few surviving contemporary sources indicate that Scipione’s absorption into the Borghese family was protested. Several Venetian ambassadors, reporting back to the Serenissima, noted that when Scipione took on the Borghese name it was “with great jealousy on the part of the [Pope’s] brothers and of his cousin, the Bishop of Montalcino...”<sup>14</sup> The ‘brothers’ were Paul V’s younger brothers, Francesco (c. 1556-1620) and Giovanni Battista (1554-1609), who continued to chafe at Scipione’s rise in power. In 1607 the two were jockeying for the greater role in the secular side of the Borghese government.<sup>15</sup> In the course of their power struggles, Francesco conceded slightly, and rather than compete with Giovanni Battista, asked the latter to instead act as an ally. Francesco’s goal was to prevent Scipione, who Francesco specifically

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<sup>13</sup> Anna Coliva, “Casa Borghese. La committenza artistica di Cardinal Scipione,” in *Bernini scultore. La nascita del barocco in Casa Borghese* (Rome: De Luca, 1998): 393.

<sup>14</sup> Hill 1998, 197. The report was drafted in 1605 by Francesco Molin, Pietro Duodo, Giovanni Mocenigo and Francesco Contarini. “Il cardinal Borghese, che è di età di 26 anni [sic] di molto et di ottima volontà, amatissimo sopra tutti dal Pontefice per haverlo tenuto sempre appresso allevatolo, mantenuto in studio a Perugia, messolo in habito, datole il suo capello et le sue entrate ecclesiastiche, et fattole rinontiar al cognome de Caffarelli et assumer quel de Borghesi con gran gelosia de’ fratelli, et del cugino Vescovo di Montalcino...”

<sup>15</sup> Reinhard 1974, 391-2, 395-6, 400.

identified as “the [Pope’s] sister’s son” from becoming more powerful than “the pope’s brother”.<sup>16</sup> Francesco’s comment hints at perceived infractions of proper social order: he presumed that Giovanni Battista would share his indignation at the possibility that a relative not from the paternal Borghese line could wield authority over them. Yet their evidently shared resentment toward Scipione does not appear to have had a tangible impact on the young Cardinal Borghese’s career.

It is difficult to pin down exactly why Scipione was so readily and widely accepted in the curial circles that rejected Cinzio in a previous era, but the reasons may be largely due to character and circumstances. Scipione was not competing with a cousin for position or precedence, as was the case with Cinzio Aldobrandini. He was, instead, a strong candidate for cardinal nephew in a family already challenged to identify heirs and successors. It was therefore in the pope’s best interest to reinforce Scipione’s legitimacy from the outset. Moreover, Scipione appears to have intuited precisely what his uncle desired and needed in a cardinal nephew and managed to fill the role with a natural aptitude lacking in the competitive situation fostered in the previous pontificate. The relationship between Scipione and Cinzio may in fact illustrate and explain the nature of Scipione’s success. During the Borghese pontificate Scipione was famously at odds with Pietro Aldobrandini, and Pietro’s troubles were such that he eventually left Rome to wait out the reign in the peace of his archbishopric of Ravenna.<sup>17</sup> By contrast, there are several contemporary references

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<sup>16</sup> Reinhard 1974, 400. Barb. lat. 4810, 25f, December 23, 1607. Giovanni Battista immediately passed this information along to Scipione and Francesco’s hoped-for alliance never took place. By the time of his death in 1609 Giovanni Battista was essentially uninvolved in papal government.

<sup>17</sup> See E. Fasano Guarini, “Aldobrandini, Pietro,” *DBI*, vol. 2 (1960), 107-112.

hinting at a good and sympathetic relationship between Cinzio Aldobrandini and Scipione.<sup>18</sup>

The sympathy between the two men is suggested by the fact that Cinzio can be associated with Scipione's literary circle, one of the cardinal's most important cultural undertakings. Angela Negro and Marina Beer have illuminated the key role of humanist and scholar Antonio Querenghi in Scipione's cultural world, and suggested that he may be the author of the program for the decorative cycle in the various villas on Scipione's Quirinal property.<sup>19</sup> Before taking up the position of Paul V's secretary in 1605, Querenghi had served as personal secretary to Cinzio Aldobrandini. Cinzio in turn introduced Querenghi to Torquato Tasso and Francesco Patrizi; Querenghi apparently lived in the same apartment as Tasso in the Vatican.<sup>20</sup> Given the importance of the figure of Tasso in Scipione's literary circle, and the connective cultural tissue of Querenghi's presence, it would seem likely that Cinzio Aldobrandini, would also have had a role in Scipione's court. Thus, in his immediate circle, Scipione may have had extensive contact with an ex-papal nephew whose position was similar to his own, but whose fate and fortunes had been seriously compromised. In strategizing the proper path to take as an adopted papal nephew Cinzio's career would have provided an example of 'what not to do'. In contrast, Scipione so successfully embodied Borghese family ambitions that his adoptive status is frequently forgotten.

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<sup>18</sup> An anonymous contemporary writer, lamenting Scipione's lavishness, noted that the cardinal: "banchettava anche in tempo di quaresima, a gara di scialo e di addobbi con il cardinale Cinzio Aldobrandini." Maurizio Calvesi, "Tra vastità di orizzonti e puntuali prospettive: il collezionismo di Scipione Borghese dal Caravaggio al Reni e al Bernini," in *Galleria Borghese*, ed. Anna Coliva (Rome: Progetti Museali Editore, 1994), 283.

<sup>19</sup> Angela Negro, "Il giardino di Scipione Borghese a Montecavallo ovvero un percorso simbolico verso l'esercizio della virtù," in *Bernini dai Borghese ai Barberini: la cultura a Roma intorno agli anni venti*, ed. Olivier Bonfait, (Rome: De Luca, 2004), 22.

<sup>20</sup> Caterina Volpi, "Ozio e Negozio: In merito agli scambi tra Roma, Ferrara e il Veneto al tempo di Scipione Borghese," in *Bernini dai Borghese ai Barberini: la cultura a Roma intorno agli anni venti*, ed. Olivier Bonfait (Rome: De Luca, 2004), 25.

Ludwig von Pastor recounts how in a subsequent era Innocent X Pamphili, frustrated with his own adopted nephew Camillo Astalli, berated Astalli for not being more like Cardinal Borghese, who “though sprung from the House of Caffarelli, became a complete Borghese.”<sup>21</sup> In his frustration the Pamphili pope neatly summarized why Scipione could be seen as the ideal adopted cardinal nephew – he integrated himself so fully and seamlessly into the reigning papal family that his paternity could be suppressed, ignored, or forgotten. This fact has also been overlooked when considering his career and his patronage.

#### SCIPIONE BETWEEN CAFFARELLI AND BORGHESE

As with the other adoptions considered in this dissertation, Scipione was constrained to abandon his original name on taking up his new position, and he had to promise not to mix it with his original last name, Caffarelli.<sup>22</sup> Moreover, in this case we have documentation recording the legal separation of Scipione from the Caffarelli family. A *moto proprio* issued in 1613 ended Scipione’s legal ties to the Caffarelli “specifically freeing him from filial duties to his father (*exemptio ex potestate paterna*).”<sup>23</sup> The date of this *moto proprio* is unlikely to be coincidental. It was in these years that Scipione was feverishly acquiring and decorating various private villa properties, most famously those on the Quirinal and Pincian hills, as well as the complex of villas in Frascati centred around the Villa Mondragone.<sup>24</sup> At that time it would have become imperative to ensure that Scipione’s Caffarelli relatives (for

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<sup>21</sup> Ludwig von Pastor, *Storia dei papi dalla fine del medio evo*, vol. 14.1 (Rome: Descl  es, 1961), 34. On Astalli see Chapter 4 of this dissertation.

<sup>22</sup> Hill 1998, 19.

<sup>23</sup> Reinhard, *Papstfinanz*, vol. 1, 26, citing ASV Sec. Brev. 597, 32. Hill 1998, 107.

<sup>24</sup> On Mondragone see: Tracy L. Ehrlich, *Landscape and identity in early modern Rome: villa culture at Frascati in the Borghese era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

example his debt-ridden father) had no basis on which to make claims on these real assets and to secure their status as Borghese holdings.

Although Scipione did eventually decorate a chapel in his father's honor and receive a modest sum in the latter's testament, officially he was entirely free of any obligations or responsibilities to the Caffarelli.<sup>25</sup> Yet his origins do surface periodically as a factor in his social and cultural life. One of the most extensive sources regarding Scipione's life and art collection is Giovanni Tommasi's poem *De Paulo V et cardinalibus*.<sup>26</sup> The poet discusses Scipione's various positive character attributes and his aptitude for the position of cardinal nephew. Tommasi emphasizes Scipione's nobility from birth, distinguishing between and discussing separately his nobility stemming from his father's side of the family, and that stemming from his mother's.<sup>27</sup> Thus, we have at least one instance where Scipione's Caffarelli origins are invoked to praise rather than criticize him. It seems that Scipione may also have promoted various members of the Caffarelli family. For example, a poet in Scipione's literary circle named Massimiliano Caffarelli devoted a tract titled the *Diagolo tra Amore e Sdegno* to the cardinal.<sup>28</sup> Massimiliano's career is otherwise obscure; Victoria Von Flemming describes him as a 'dilettante' and a traditionalist who

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<sup>25</sup> Scipione inherited 517 scudi from Francesco. Volker Reinhardt, *Kardinal Scipione Borghese (1605-33). Vermoegen, Finanzen und sozialer Aufstieg eines Papstnepoten* (Tuebingen: Niemeyer, 1984), 105, n. 96.

<sup>26</sup> Leone Vicchi, *Villa Borghese nella storia e nella tradizione del Popolo Romano* (Rome: Forzani, 1885), 152-153. Johannes Thomasius, "Tractatus de Cardinalibus." 1616. Biblioteca Casanatense.

<sup>27</sup> Vicchi 1885, 152-153.

<sup>28</sup> Marina Beer, "I sogni di Scipione: visione, allegoria, letteratura nel Casino dell'Aurora di Palazzo Rospigliosi Pallavicini a Roma," in *Percorsi tra parole e immagini*, ed. Angelo Guidotti and Massimiliano Rossi (Lucca: Pacini Fazzi, 2000), 193. Massimiliano Caffarelli is a basically unknown figure, apart from his connection to Scipione. It is impossible to determine even if he was related to the cardinal, however in favour of that possibility is the fact that Massimiliano was a name used in the Caffarelli family – Teodoro Amayden refers to a Massimiliano Caffarelli who died in 1596. Teodoro Amayden, *La storia delle famiglie romane*, vol. 1 (Rome: Collegio Araldico, 1910), 225.

followed the mode of Petrarch, rather than the innovations introduced into seventeenth century poetry by Giambattista Marino and his followers.<sup>29</sup> Scipione's taste ran in both directions, and it is not surprising that he would have supported a Petrarchan poet. Given the dubious quality of Caffarelli's poetry, however, it is likely that a family connection played a part in the poet's inclusion in the Borghese cardinal's court.

Scipione's Caffarelli roots may also have had a positive role to play in the larger scheme of Paul V's cultural program. As evidenced by the inscription across the façade of St. Peter's [Fig. 3.1], Paul V was intent on promoting his *Romanitas* and that of the Borghese family, which was Sienese in origin and had been established in Rome only since the end of the sixteenth century.<sup>30</sup> The Caffarelli, on the other hand, were an old Roman noble family who were recorded in the city as far back as the fourteenth century.<sup>31</sup> With this heritage Scipione could add a genuine claim to the much-desired image of *romanità* in Paul V's cultural politics. Even if the Caffarelli family's prestige did not reach the exalted social spheres occupied primarily by the Orsini and Colonna, Scipione could legitimately claim the authenticity of old Roman nobility.

#### SCIPIONE BORGHESE. FROM THE 'DELIGHT OF ROME' TO A NEW APOLLO AND THE POPE'S SUPPORT: PRESENTING THE IDEAL CARDINAL NEPHEW

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<sup>29</sup> Victoria von Flemming, *Arma Amoris: Sprachbild und Bildsprache der Liebe; Kardinal Scipione Borghese und die Gemäldezyklen Francesco Albanis* (Mainz: von Zabern, 1996), 214-216.

<sup>30</sup> D'Onofrio defines the pontificate in part as an: "ambito di una furiosa e quasi improvvisa ventata pseudo-culturale intesa a ricreare una cortigiana atmosfera di motivi antico-romani e, per estensione, greco-romani, cioè classici, il cui epicentro sarà la famiglia romana dei Borghese, con particolarissimo riguardo per il "Cardinal Padrone"." D'Onofrio 1967, 204.

<sup>31</sup> Amayden 1910, 223-228.

The view of Scipione's character most prevalent in modern literature stems largely from contemporary reports written by Venetian ambassadors to the *Serenissima*, and knowledge of these notices was widely diffused by Francis Haskell. His *Patrons and Painters* characterized Scipione as "a man of few intellectual attainments" and, quoting the Venetian ambassador, "devoted to the cultivation of pleasures and pastimes."<sup>32</sup> More recently scholars following the lead of Victoria Von Flemming have sought to modify this view, emphasizing the erudite nature of the court of poets, scholars, and artists that Scipione gathered and highlighting his own intellectual pursuits, such as his study of Aristotle.<sup>33</sup> A considerable body of modern research is, not surprisingly, devoted to Scipione's avaricious collecting, and aims to tease out a clear idea of his tastes from the massive bulk of his possessions; but the majority of scholars tend simply to invoke an appreciation of 'variety' as their defining characteristic of Borghese's aesthetic.<sup>34</sup>

Scholarly emphasis on Scipione's rapacious cultural consumption and unprecedented wealth was furthered by Volker Reinhardt in his 1984 study of Scipione's finances, in which he calculated the cardinal's total income over the course of his career and the subsequent redistribution of that income in property, goods, and artistic projects.<sup>35</sup> Reinhardt's work responds in large part to the single overarching question of why Scipione would spend significant amounts of money on projects that produced no income or economic gain. In response Michael Hill has criticized

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<sup>32</sup> Francis Haskell, *Patrons and painters: a study in the relations between Italian art and society in the age of the Baroque* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), 27.

<sup>33</sup> von Flemming 1996.

<sup>34</sup> Rudolf Wittkower characterized the second decade of the Seicento in general with the term 'variety'. Bruno Toscano, "Wittkower, Longhi, Haskell e la fortuna storico-artistica del papato Borghese," in *Arte e immagine del papato Borghese (1605 - 1621)*, ed. Bruno Toscano (San Casciano V.P.: Libro Co. Italia, 2005), 12; Coliva 1998, 398, 406.

<sup>35</sup> Reinhardt 1984.

Reinhardt's presentation of Scipione as reductive, failing to take into account the significant quantities of other types of primary source material that fall beyond the strictly economical and that could shed light on Scipione's motivations for this financial strategy.<sup>36</sup> Hill's critique is justified. In seeking to explain why Scipione Borghese would spend large sums of money on investments with no economic return, Reinhardt's conclusions tend to lack subtlety. While Reinhardt justifiably relies on the standard criteria of prestige, status, and social ascent as explanations for the cardinal's patronage, his conclusions are ultimately superficial.<sup>37</sup>

Developing a newer approach, Hill and Aloisio Antinori have reconsidered Borghese architectural patronage during and after Paul V's pontificate, while Elena Fumagalli has worked extensively on major Borghese projects, in particular the family palace near the Tiber river.<sup>38</sup> Tracy Ehrlich's work on the Villa Mondragone is significant as a monographic study of a Borghese monument, providing insights into the significance of villa culture in the political life of Seicento Rome.<sup>39</sup> Finally, there is a broad body of literature on specific projects carried out for Scipione, in particular the complex of *casini* on the Quirinal hill, on which Angela Negro, Marina Beer, and Ralph Ubl have provided significant insights, not all of which are in complete

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<sup>36</sup> Hill 1998, 7-8.

<sup>37</sup> See: Volker Reinhardt, "Le mécénat des cardinaux-neveux au XVIIe siècle et Scipione Caffarelli Borghese," in *Gli aspetti economici del mecenatismo in Europa secc. XIV – XVIII*, ed. Simonetta Cavaciocchi (Prato: Istituto Internazionale di Storia Economica "Francesco Datini", 1999).

<sup>38</sup> Michael Hill, "The patronage of a disenfranchised nephew: cardinal Scipione Borghese and the restoration of San Crisogono in Rome, 1618 – 1628," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 60 (2001): 432-449; Elena Fumagalli, *Palazzo Borghese: committenza e decorazione privata* (Rome: De Luca, 1994); Hill 1998; Elena Fumagalli, "Guido Reni (e altri) a S. Gregorio al Celio e a S. Sebastiano," *Paragone* 41 (1990): 71-74.

<sup>39</sup> Ehrlich 2002.



accord.<sup>40</sup> What is lacking in these studies is a synthetic view of Scipione's artistic projects and collecting, which takes into account his social and political status and in particular the more sophisticated view we have of his tastes and activities thanks to von Flemming's work. This chapter will set aside Scipione's collecting as simply beyond the scope of what can be considered here, and focus on a limited number of Scipione's commissions. The commissions discussed here clearly demonstrate themes of filial loyalty, the willing subordination of the cardinal nephew's position to the pope, and the role of the cardinal nephew as an instrument of papal and familial aspirations in the seventeenth century. These themes will be shown to compose a significant part of the larger goals of the Borghese pontificate and the mission of the papacy.

As will be shown here, Scipione Borghese consistently demonstrated and conscientiously evoked themes of filial loyalty and the cardinal nephew as 'support' in works that he commissioned. From his earliest ecclesiastical projects to secular sculptural works commissioned at the height of his power, Borghese returned to the themes that underscored how his role in papal government depended on the good graces and approval of his uncle. In contrast to Cinzio Aldobrandini, Scipione appears to have grasped early on and tenaciously reiterated throughout his career the contemporary conception of an ideal papal nephew: unfailingly loyal to the pope and to the (adoptive) family, dedicated to increasing their social and political standing and financial security, and endowed with authority derived from voluntary subordination. In works of art and architecture, these themes emerge in different ways from the

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<sup>40</sup> Beer 2000, 179-201; Negro 2004, 13-23; Ralph Ubl, "Guido Renis Aurora: politische Funktion, Gattungspoetik und Selbstdarstellung der Malerei im Gartenkasino der Borghese am Quirinal," *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien* 1 (1999): 209-241.

choices of subject matter from classical antiquity and religious history to hierarchical arrangements that codify the relationship between pope and papal nephew.

**The Public Mission of the Papacy, the Public Mission of the Cardinal Nephew: Guido Reni's Vatican fresco cycles (1608-1609)**

Between the summers of 1608 and 1609 Guido Reni executed two related fresco cycles in the Vatican palace that have, thus far, been largely overlooked in both the literature on Reni and on Borghese patronage.<sup>41</sup> They have never been extensively analyzed. The frescoes are located in the wing of the Vatican palace, designed and constructed for Paul V by Flaminio Ponzio, known as the Datary. It juts west toward the Vatican gardens from the western wing of the Cortile del Belvedere [Fig. 3.2].<sup>42</sup> The piano nobile was intended to be used as the apartment of the cardinal nephew, while the second floor was an apartment for the pope. In the antechamber to each apartment, rooms stacked directly above one another, Reni executed two sets of three ceiling frescoes with similar dimensions. Each room is decorated with three scenes: in the Sala della Dame two circular compositions at the ends of the long axis flank a larger rectangular composition at the centre, while in the Sale delle Nozze Aldobrandini there are three rectangular scenes, that in the center slightly larger than the other two [Fig. 3.3, 3.4]. Both rooms originally had elaborate stucco frames

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<sup>41</sup> Edi Baccheschi, *L'Opera completa di Guido Reni* (Milan: Rizzoli Editore, 1971), no.'s. 42-4. 91; D. Stephen Pepper, *Guido Reni, A Complete Catalogue of his works with an introductory text* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1984), 223; Jacob Hess, "Affreschi di Guido Reni del Palazzo Vaticano," *L'illustrazione vaticana* 5 (1934): 649-53; Antonino Bertolotti, *Artisti Bolognesi, Ferraresi ed alcuni altri...in Roma nei sec. XV, XVI e XVII* (Bologna: Regia Tipografia, 1886), 140. Pepper dates the Samson frescoes to 1607, yet the earliest payment, published by Bertolotti, dates to August 1608.

<sup>42</sup> This then connects to a second wing on a north-south axis that facilitates access to the Vatican Gardens. Early attributions to Carlo Maderno have since been dismissed. Howard Hibbard, *Carlo Maderno*, ed. Aurora Scotti Tosini (Milan: Electa, 2001), 275; Deoclecio Redig De Campos, *I palazzi vaticani* (Bologna: Cappelli, 1967), 204-205; Giovanni Pietro Chattard, *Nuova descrizione del Vaticano, o sia Della Sacrosanta Basilica di S. Pietro*, vol. 2 (Rome: Barbiellini, 1766), 95-96; 247-248.

surrounding each fresco and filling out the entire space of the ceiling; only that in the Sala delle Dame survives [Fig. 3.5].<sup>43</sup> In the apartment of the cardinal nephew there are three scenes showing deeds of the Old Testament hero Samson, while in the papal apartment are three New Testament scenes, the Transfiguration, Pentecost, and the Ascension. Executed consecutively, the two sets of frescoes were thematically linked and should be read together. They represent the public missions of the papacy and the cardinal nephew, respectively, and present pope and nephew as complementary roles. The public mission of the papacy is presented as a continuation of the divine mission of Christ and, as is characteristic of Paul V's patronage, puts Mary at the theological and visual centre of the program. The cardinal nephew represents the militant arm of the church, endowed with indomitable strength through dutiful obedience to God in the immediate service of the pope.

The three frescoes of the *Ascension*, *Pentecost*, and *Transfiguration* occupy a room now called the Sala delle Dame that served as Paul V's apartment [Fig. 3.6-3.8]. These frescoes have remained in situ, whereas the Samson scenes in the room below them were later detached from their original location on the ceiling.<sup>44</sup> In the Sala delle Dame Reni's frescoes are surrounded by an elaborate stucco frame incorporating papal symbols, such as the keys and tiara, and the Borghese symbols of the eagle and dragon. In addition to praising the Borghese family, the stuccoes also refer to the events of the Passion, which are not otherwise pictured. The space between each end scene and the Pentecost at centre is filled with a stucco garland of fruits and flowers [Fig. 3.9]. Among the identifiable elements are pomegranates, bunches of grapes, and sheaves of wheat. These are all symbols of the passion and the

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<sup>43</sup> For a description of the frame that was in the Sala delle Nozze Aldobrandini, see Chattard 1766, 95-96.

<sup>44</sup> They have since been put back up, see note 60.

Eucharist and thus allude to Christ's sacrifice, otherwise absent from the program.<sup>45</sup>

At the midpoint of each long side of the frame, flanking the centre of the Pentecost scene, is a fragment of an inscription, which reads 'Da robur, fer auxilium', or 'Thine aide supply, thine strength bestow' [Fig. 3.10, 3.11].

Below the Sala delle Dame, in what is now known as the Sala delle Nozze Aldobrandini after the eponymous painting exhibited there, the scenes are: *Samson fighting the lion*, *Samson killing the Philistines with an ass's jawbone*, and *Samson carrying off the gates of Gaza* [Fig. 3.12-3.14]. Unfortunately the stucco frame that originally surrounded these works was later destroyed and the frescoes moved to the walls. Early sources mention that this frame was also adorned with Borghese symbols, but they do no mention an inscription, a considerable loss when considering the relationship between these two frescoes and their overall program.<sup>46</sup> The Samson scenes are simple and monumental, with the fewest possible figures and no indication of an interest in landscape. The same is true of the Sala delle Dame frescoes, with the exception of the scene of *Pentecost*: this includes more figures than strictly necessary, but the expansion of the crowd is intrinsically tied to the program of the fresco and is intentional and appropriate. It is true that these two sets of frescoes cannot be physically seen or experienced at once, however they should nonetheless be

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<sup>45</sup> The outermost portion of the stucco frame is a series of roughly rectangular spaces with tassels that look much like the panels that hang from a baldacchino. These panels contain in alternation bishop's mitres, cherubim, the papal tiara and keys, and a type of double-barred cross known as a patriarchal or cardinal's cross. The mitres, tiara, and keys undoubtedly refer to Paul V. The cross is more problematic – it could be a reference to Scipione Borghese, as the double bars distinguish it from the triple-barred papal cross, but it is also associated with archbishops (a title Scipione did not receive until 1610) and the eastern orthodox church. George Willard Benson, *The cross: its history & symbolism* (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1976), 292.

<sup>46</sup> Chattard 1766, 95-96. Chattard mentions 'crowned Eagles', an interesting reference when considering the imagery of the same birds holding crowns in the Casino del Aurora on the Quirinal property. That Chattard does not mention an inscription is by no means proof that there was not originally one included – he does not cite an inscription in the frame of the room above, and yet we know that there is one.

considered as a single program. They were painted consecutively, by the same artist, for two patrons working together, but moreover, as we will see their meanings are complementary and together they project a unified message regarding the public mission of the pope and his cardinal nephew.

In 1886 Antonio Bertolotti published the payment documents for Reni's work in the Datary, and in 1934 Jacob Hess offered a brief examination of the frescoes limited to a description of the paintings and identification of sources for several of the scenes. Since then discussion has been limited to cursory catalogue listings. Reni's Vatican frescoes are a significant expression of the papal hierarchy, expressing the role of the papal nephew and the goals of the institution of the church under Paul V.

When Reni came into contact with the Borghese and whether that contact first came through Paul V or Scipione are matters of debate in the literature, although it seems most likely that Reni first encountered Camillo Borghese before his election to the papacy.<sup>47</sup> After Camillo was raised to the papal throne as Paul V, Guido gave him “due rametti da letto graziosissimi” as a gift.<sup>48</sup> Reni would subsequently work on numerous Borghese projects, including the Cappella Paolina in S. Maria Maggiore and Scipione's Quirinal villa. Howard Hibbard dated the Vatican frescoes to 1607-8, a judgment followed by Stephen Pepper (although Hibbard later revised his dating to the second half of 1608). Hibbard's dating would place them before Reni's frescoes in the church of S. Gregorio, which constitute the other major project by Reni for Scipione Borghese from these years.<sup>49</sup> Archival documentation presented by Elena

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<sup>47</sup> Fumagalli 1990, 71. Reni also made a portrait of Cardinal Borghese. The portrait is perhaps one now in the Matthiesen Gallery, London. Susan L. Caroselli, ed., *Guido Reni: 1575 – 1642* (Bologna: Nuova Alfa Ed., 1988), 170.

<sup>48</sup> Fumagalli 1990, 71.

<sup>49</sup> Fumagalli 1990, 72. Although much of this dating depends on account books and payments, there is a date included in one of the frescoes. The scene of Samson and the Philistines has an

Fumagalli has shown instead that the Vatican frescoes post-date the work at S. Gregorio, and that Scipione Borghese was already paying Reni a monthly stipend by January 1608.<sup>50</sup> The Vatican works, presented by Pepper as a kind of ‘test’ for entry into Borghese’s circle were, rather, products of Reni’s role as a kind of court-painter to Scipione.<sup>51</sup> As they represent both the pope and his cardinal nephew and occupy both of their personal apartments, the project for the Vatican frescoes was likely a joint one involving both Scipione and Paul V, and the expenses were paid by the papacy.<sup>52</sup> Given the close working relationship between Scipione and Reni – it would break down in 1612 – it is reasonable to assume that Scipione had a significant hand in crafting the presentation of his role as papal nephew in Reni’s frescoes.

### *Typological Links*

There is a visual and literary tradition stemming from a fourteenth-century text known as the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* for linking Old Testament imagery featuring Samson with New Testament scenes, and this source surely informs these two sets of frescoes. The *Speculum* is an anonymous text believed to have been produced in a Dominican context in order to provide material for preaching monks and clerics. The core is composed of a series of New Testament scenes, each accompanied by three stories or events taken from the Old Testament and presented as prefigurations, among which are four events from the life of Samson. Almost all surviving copies of the *Speculum* are illustrated, mostly likely after a fourteenth

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inscription at the base reading: PONTIFIC. / AN. III, namely the third year of Paul V’s pontificate, or 1608.

<sup>50</sup> Fumagalli 1990, 72.

<sup>51</sup> Fumagalli 1990, 71.

<sup>52</sup> Bertolotti 1886, 140.

century prototype.<sup>53</sup> The book enjoyed a greater diffusion in northern Europe and England than in Italy, and was never translated into Italian from the Latin. Recently Evelyn Silber has suggested that it may have been composed in Italy, near Bologna, at the beginning of the fourteenth century.<sup>54</sup> A copy is cited in a pre-1386 inventory of the library of S. Domenico in Bologna and was still there in the sixteenth century, while at least one copy of the text was in Rome by 1655 as part of the library of Queen Christina of Sweden.<sup>55</sup> The text has a pervasive subtext of Marian devotion.<sup>56</sup> The third chapter, which treats Redemption, begins with the Annunciation to Joachim of the conception of the Virgin Mary, thus implying that humanity's redemption begins with Mary herself. In addition, the last two chapters of the text are fully devoted to Mary, dealing with, respectively, her Seven Sorrows and Seven Joys.<sup>57</sup> In the typological combination of Old and New Testament scenes, in particular the Samson scenes, and in the emphasis on Marian devotion, the *Speculum* is a pertinent conceptual precedent for Reni's frescoes. Its relevance becomes clearer from a study of the Samson scenes in particular.

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<sup>53</sup> Adrian Wilson and Joyce Lancaster Wilson, *A medieval mirror: speculum humanae salvationis; 1324-1500* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 24.

<sup>54</sup> Evelyn Silber, "The reconstructed Toledo Speculum Humanae Salvationis: the Italian connection in the early fourteenth century," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 43 (1980): 44-47; Wilson and Wilson 1984, 24.

<sup>55</sup> Silber 1980, 44; M. P. Levi della Vida, "Un manoscritto fantasma nel Fondo Reginense della Biblioteca Vaticana: il Reg. lat. 1117," *Scriptorium* xxxii (1978): 51. Victoria von Flemming has kindly confirmed for me via correspondence that there are no copies of the *Speculum* listed in the inventory of Scipione's library at the Pincian villa, however that made up only a part of his collection and it remains possible that he himself had a copy. Victoria von Flemming, email correspondence, 07.07.2009.

<sup>56</sup> Wilson and Wilson 1984, 26.

<sup>57</sup> Wilson and Wilson 1984, 26.

Of all the Old Testament heroes depicted in Renaissance and Baroque Italian art, Samson appears relatively rarely.<sup>58</sup> Among depictions of his life, his bloody triumph over the Philistines and his battle with the lion appear with the greatest frequency. His escape from the city of Gaza by ripping off the city gates and carrying them up a nearby mountain is less frequently encountered. Reni's Vatican cycle does not include any scenes with Delilah, which are by far the most frequently represented aspect of the Nazarite's turbulent tale. It is likely that a copy of the *Speculum* influenced the choice of scenes, as those that appeared on the Vatican ceiling occur also in the medieval text.<sup>59</sup> Indeed it is unusual for a Samson cycle to include the three scenes while excluding all scenes with Delilah. The connection with the *Speculum* gains in persuasion since in both cases the presentation of the scenes is typological.

If a version of the *Speculum* was the basis for the selection of the subjects for Reni's Samson frescoes, the typological connections to the New Testament were nevertheless not drawn directly from the medieval text. In the *Speculum* standard pairings of New Testament and Samson scenes are the following: 1) Christ defeating his enemies with a single word and Samson defeating the Philistines with the jawbone of an ass; 2) the Resurrection and Samson carrying off the gates of Gaza; 3) Christ conquering the devil and Samson tearing apart the lion [Fig.'s 3.15-3.17].

The New Testament scene in the first pairing comes from John 28.6, recounting how four soldiers sent to arrest Christ were miraculously stopped when he

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<sup>58</sup> For a compendium of Samson scenes in Baroque painting see: A. Pigler, *Barockthemen: eine Auswahl von Verzeichnissen zur Ikonographie des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Budapest: Verlag der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1956), 124-132.

<sup>59</sup> Minus one: the *Speculum* also includes the Philistines mocking the blinded Samson. Wilson and Wilson 1984, 178-9. Also, the *Speculum* does include both Pentecost and the Ascension, but they are paired with different scenes.



proclaimed his identity, stating, “I am he.”<sup>60</sup> The ass’s jawbone, as a kind of makeshift weapon that only became lethal through the power of God bestowed upon Samson, was seen as comparable to Christ’s words, for both words and the jawbone have no power other than the physical force granted through divine grace. In the second pairing Samson’s forceful escape from the city of Gaza, which had been secretly sealed to prevent his exit and allow the Philistines to kill him, was read as comparable to Christ’s spiritual strength and triumph over death in the Resurrection. The final pair stresses physical and spiritual combat, with Christ triumphant over the forces of evil, as Samson triumphed over the power of bestial and ferocious nature.

The scenes in the Sala delle Dame have a strong visual cohesion, with each composition topped by a bright flash of light related to either Christ or the Holy Spirit. As we shall see, the three scenes in the upper room can be read as a coherent and independent unit that conveys a unified message.<sup>61</sup> However, considering that the two sets of frescoes, the three in the Sala delle Dame and the second three in the Sala delle Nozze Aldobrandini, are placed directly above one another, they can also be read as three vertical pairs. Eighteenth-century descriptions of the Vatican palace tell us the order in which the Samson scenes appeared on the ceiling of the Sala delle Nozze Aldobrandini.<sup>62</sup> When the two rooms, the Sala delle Nozze Aldobrandini and the Sala

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<sup>60</sup> Wilson and Wilson 1984, 174-175.

<sup>61</sup> It appears to have been the Samson scenes to have determined the order of the scenes in the room above, as the former follow the narrative order of the biblical text, while the latter do not.

<sup>62</sup> Agostino Taja, *Descrizione del Palazzo Apostolico Vaticano* (Rome: Pagliarini, 1750), 99-101, 279-280; Chattard 1766, 95-96; 247-248. The three Samson frescoes have been moved back to the ceiling of the Sala delle Nozze Aldobrandini, however I believe that they have been installed incorrectly. As they are now placed, the scenes are oriented so that they read from the end of the room opposite the main entrance. The viewer has to traverse the small space and turn around in order to read the scenes correctly. This is not the case in the Sala delle Dame, where the scenes are oriented toward the entrance. As the Sala delle Dame frescoes have never been moved from the original location, and as it is most likely that the

delle Dame, are considered together the pairings (in the sense of which scenes are physically placed above each other) are: 1) the Ascension – Samson defeating the lion; 2) Pentecost – Samson defeating the Philistines; 3) the Transfiguration – Samson carrying off the gates of Gaza [Fig. 3.18]. Although the pairings do not correspond with those traditionally included in the *Speculum*, there are connections that indicate that they are deliberate and meant to be considered together.

The scene normally associated with Samson killing the Philistines, Christ defeating his enemies with a word, can be connected to the Pentecost, the scene that replaced it, through the idea of the power of speech. Pentecost is a triumph of the word – it is the moment when Mary, the Apostles, and unnamed others were given the power to speak in every existing tongue and thereby enabled to go forward and spread the Christian message throughout the world. At that moment the church, as an institution, is endowed with the power of the divine word. The conceptual connection traditionally established in the *Speculum* between Christ's words and Samson's jawbone has been maintained, with the selection of a New Testament scene representing a similar moment of the triumph of divine will, however with the scene of Pentecost focus is shifted away from Christ as an individual and placed on the Church as an institution.

The connections between the remaining two sets of scenes are similar: Samson's defeat of the lion can be read as a sign of the divine power that made him indomitable, while the Ascension is the last demonstration of Christ's divinity and victory over death. Samson carrying off the Gaza gates was seen as representative of Christ's triumph over death. One visual example of this interpretation of the story can

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orientation of the scenes in the two rooms would have corresponded, I would argue that the Samson frescoes should be rotated one hundred and eighty degrees.

be seen in Correggio's frescoes for the Abbey of S. Giovanni, Parma, where Samson appears on the underside of one of the crossing arches [Fig. 3.19]. He is placed in an oval field on the underside of a pendentive which features St. Mark and is paired on the same pendentive with another pendant showing Jonah emerging from the whale. Jonah and Samson were seen as prefiguring the Resurrection, and their pairing in Correggio's dome illustrates a standard interpretation of Samson with the Gaza gates.<sup>63</sup> In Reni's paired frescoes in the Vatican palace the Gaza scene is paired with the Transfiguration, the moment when Christ reveals his divinity and character as the immortal son of god to his followers, ensuring that he will in time triumph over the human limitation of mortality.<sup>64</sup> It appears that Reni and his advisors devised the scheme of the Sala delle Dame and Sala delle Nozze Aldobrandini with the *Speculum* in mind, but choose different New Testament pairings for the Samson scenes that allowed them to create a coherent message in the papal apartment, one focused on the role of Mary and the public mission of the church.

### ***The Sala delle Dame: the Public Mission of the Church***

The scenes in the Sala delle Dame can be read as expressing the public mission of the church to spread the word of God to heathen nations, with particular emphasis on the importance of Mary and the papacy, as an institution embodied by Paul V himself. The choice of Pentecost as the main scene can be linked directly to Paul V, as he was crowned on the feast of the Pentecost, May 29<sup>th</sup>, 1605.<sup>65</sup> The Ascension may also be connected to Paul in a similar fashion – Paul was elected on

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<sup>63</sup> Giuseppe M. Toscano, "Guida all'iconografia," Lucia Fornari Schianchi et. al, *Correggio e le sue cupole* (Parma: Grafiche Step Editrice, 2008), 147-149.

<sup>64</sup> Franca Zava Boccazzi, "Battista Zelotti a Praglia," in *L'Abbazia di Santa Maria di Praglia*, eds. Callisto Carpanese and Francesco Trolese (Milan: Silvana Ed., 1985), 154.

<sup>65</sup> Steven F. Ostrow, *Art and spirituality in Counter-Reformation Rome: the Sistine and Pauline chapels in S. Maria Maggiore* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 141.

May 16<sup>th</sup> 1605, and the feast of the Ascension followed just a few days later, on May 19<sup>th</sup>, thus falling between his election and coronation. As is traditional in Transfiguration iconography, such as Raphael's monumental version of the event, in Reni's depiction of the scene Peter has a privileged position directly below Christ, and is the only apostle to be bathed in the divine light from above. The *Transfiguration* and *Ascension* are traditionally seen as the opening and closing events in Christ's public life, which begins when he reveals his divinity to the chosen apostles and ends when he ascends to heaven. The Pentecost is, rather, the moment when Peter takes on the mantle of that mission. Following the miracle that takes place during the Pentecost the apostles, led by Peter, go out to preach to the world. The event is generally interpreted as the moment of the creation of a priestly class and a manifestation of the church's mission of conversion and expansion, with Peter at the head.<sup>66</sup>

Carolyn Valone has shown that under Pope Gregory XIII Pentecost scenes began to include greater numbers of figures, from the apostles and Mary to as many as 120 extra bodies, based on a relatively vague reference in the biblical text to other people present at the event.<sup>67</sup> An example may be seen in the Vatican in Girolamo Muziano's 1577 depiction of the Pentecost on the ceiling of the Sala di Concistoro [Fig. 3.20].<sup>68</sup> Valone associates this development with Gregory XIII's zealous emphasis on the proselytizing purpose of the church and his hope for its continued expansion through missionary efforts. Reni's fresco also includes more figures than the apostles and Mary, and likely reflects a similar emphasis on the importance of evangelical activities.

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<sup>66</sup> Carolyn Valone, "The Pentecost: Image and Experience in Late Sixteenth-Century Rome," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 24 (1993): 801.

<sup>67</sup> Valone 818.

<sup>68</sup> Valone, 806.

Evangelical themes are present in other projects commissioned by the Borghese pope, mostly notably the fresco cycle found at the Quirinal Palace in the Sala Regia, where foreign embassies to Rome during Paul V's reign are depicted [Fig. 3.21].<sup>69</sup> Kristina Hermann-Fiore has identified the key figures depicted in these scenes, and has suggested that perhaps it was Paul V himself who requested that these embassies, rather than generic spectators, be depicted.<sup>70</sup> She concludes that the Sala Regia frescoes express the idea of the *Ecclesia Triumphans* prominent in the opening decades of the seventeenth century with increasing confidence in the church's continued growth and expansion. If so, that hope is first expressed in Reni's frescoes in the Sala delle Dame. The combination of the *Ascension*, *Pentecost*, and *Transfiguration* scenes in Reni's fresco cycle communicate the pope's dedication to the evangelical mission of the church under his guidance, as a continuation of Christ's earthly mission.

While the *Ascension* and *Transfiguration* clearly focus on Christ, he is not present in the largest scene in the cycle, the *Pentecost*, where instead the emphasis shifts to the Holy Spirit and Mary. Steven Ostrow has demonstrated how Paul V's profound Marian devotion underpins one of his largest decorative projects, the Pauline Chapel in S. Maria Maggiore.<sup>71</sup> In particular, Ostrow has shown that the main themes of the frescoes are Mary Immaculate and her role as Theotokos, or mother of God. She is also presented in the Pauline Chapel as the conqueror of heresies and a symbol of the church itself.<sup>72</sup> All of these themes are anticipated in the Sala delle Dame

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<sup>69</sup> Kristina Hermann Fiore, "Testimonianze storiche sull'evangelizzazione dell'Oriente attraverso i ritratti della Sala Regia del Quirinale," in *Da Sendai a Roma. Un'ambasceria giapponese a Paolo V* (Rome: Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali, 1990), 91-102.

<sup>70</sup> Hermann Fiore 1990, 94.

<sup>71</sup> Ostrow 1996.

<sup>72</sup> Ostrow 1996, 210.

frescoes, where Mary is at the centre of the cycle and at the centre of the Pentecost scene. The depiction of the event is conspicuously flanked by the inscription that reads 'Thine aide supply, thine strength bestow'. The two halves of the inscription are visually linked to Mary through their placement and through color: the gold letters are set against a bright blue ground that picks up and emphasizes the vibrant blue of Mary's mantle, making the three, Mary and the two cartouches with the inscriptions, pop out against the overall orange, yellow, and red tones of the rest of the fresco. The phrase in the inscription comes from a hymn, "Verbum supernum prodiens", used at the hour of Lauds in the liturgy of the feast of Corpus Christi, and was probably written by Thomas Aquinas between 1261 and 1263.<sup>73</sup> The last two stanzas of the hymn, which begin 'O Salutaris Hostia' and from which the phrase in the Sala della Dame was taken, were then used as the basis for another hymn celebrating the Blessed Sacrament.<sup>74</sup> In its original contexts the phrase is thus meant to refer to the body of Christ, and to the divine grace received through his sacrifice and the re-enactment of that sacrifice in the mass. The implications of the inscription fit with the symbolic imagery already noted in the stucco frame, the pomegranates, grapes, and wheat that evoke the Passion and the Eucharist. The opening verse of the hymn suggests clear links to Reni's frescoes. It begins: "The heavenly Word proceeding forth, / yet not leaving the Father's side, / went forth upon His work on earth / and reached at length life's eventide."<sup>75</sup> The hymn refers to the Incarnation of Christ, and emphasizes that

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<sup>73</sup> M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 185-196. P.M. Gy, "L'office du Corpus Christi et S. Thomas d'Aquin: Etat d'une recherche," *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques* 64 (1980): 491-507; R. J. Zawilla, "The 'Historiae Corporis Christi' Attributed to Thomas Aquinas: A Theological Study of their Biblical Sources" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1985); Barbara R. Walters, Vincent Corrigan, and Peter T. Ricketts, *The Feast of Corpus Christi* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006): 33-36.

<sup>74</sup> Rubin 1991, 187; Walters, Corrigan, and Ricketts 2006, 84.

<sup>75</sup> Rubin 1991, 191.

Christ was human, ‘flesh’ and a ‘fellowman’, however in the invocation of the descent of the word and Christ’s humanity the verses can also be related to Mary and to the Pentecost. In Reni’s fresco the phrase is associated with Mary and the Holy Spirit through its placement, and visually it reads as a plea to her for help and strength.

The Pentecost scene is focused on Mary, who is placed at the horizontal centre of the composition, below the Holy Spirit. Through an open path between the apostles the viewer is afforded direct visual access to Mary. As we have seen, this scene is flanked by two images that demonstrate Christ’s divinity, the Ascension and the Transfiguration. The subjects of the end scenes suggest that Mary is celebrated here as the Theotokos, and her primary position at Pentecost justified as stemming from her role as the mother of God. That she is at the centre of a scene whose theme is the missionary expansion of the church connects her to the second main theme noted by Ostrow in the Pauline chapel, which presents Mary as the conqueror of heresies. Considered together Reni’s frescoes in the Sala delle Dame represent the preoccupations of Paul V’s papacy and of the Counter-Reformation church: the emphasis on conversion through missionary activity, the fundamental importance of Mary in her role as the mother of god and vanquisher of heresy, and the authority of the pope as successor to Christ in his earthly mission.

***The Sala delle Nozze Aldobrandini: the Public Mission of the Cardinal Nephew***

In a complimentary fashion, Reni’s frescoes in the Sala delle Nozze Aldobrandini represent the public mission of the papal nephew as the active, militant arm of papal authority. Hess identified this room as Scipione’s main audience hall,

giving the message found in the frescoes a particularly public resonance.<sup>76</sup> In his catalogue raisonné of Reni's work Stephen Pepper noted in passing that the figure of Samson should be identified with Scipione Borghese, an observation that can be considerably expanded.<sup>77</sup> The Samson frescoes are the first major work related to Scipione Borghese following his financial emancipation, which took place early in 1608. For the first three years of his tenure as papal nephew Scipione's income was overseen by his uncle. Scipione was given primary control over his finances only in 1608, and Reni's frescoes date soon thereafter. The payment records for Reni's work published by Bertolotti unfortunately do not help to identify the patron of these works, but it is reasonable to conclude that Paul V and Scipione worked together, as the payments were made from the papal coffers. In either case the Samson scenes encapsulate the role of the papal nephew and should be read as a monumental representation of the power of the newly emancipated nephew.

As with the Sala delle Dame frescoes, in the Sala delle Nozze Aldobrandini we find several themes that will reappear in Scipione Borghese's patronage. The name Samson, stemming from the Hebrew *sémes*, means sun, and Samson has been connected to various solar divinities.<sup>78</sup> In 1614 Reni would paint another sun god for Scipione Borghese, the Apollo in the *Aurora* fresco in the eponymous casino in the cardinal's Quirinal hill villa complex [Fig. 3.22]. The decorations of the Quirinal casino, in particular the representation of Apollo, have been interpreted as a reference to Scipione and to the arrival of a new golden age under Borghese rule.<sup>79</sup> In her extensive studies of Scipione's library and intellectual circle, including the poems and

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<sup>76</sup> Hess 1934, 649.

<sup>77</sup> Pepper 1984, 223.

<sup>78</sup> P. Testini, "Sansone. Iconografia," *Enciclopedia cattolica*, vol. 10 (Florence: Sansoni 1953), 1818.

<sup>79</sup> Among other things, see: Ubl 1999, 209-241; Beer 2000, 179-201; Negro 2004, 13-23.



literature produced in his honor, Victoria von Flemming has noted the use of themes praising Scipione as a ‘bringer of light’ and connecting him with various solar images and ideas.<sup>80</sup> Reni’s Samson frescoes indicate that the connection between Scipione and solar imagery was present from the outset of the cardinal’s career as a patron of the arts.

Chattard tells us that the original frieze in the Sala delle Nozze Aldobrandini featured crowned eagles, ‘*Aquile con corona in testa*’.<sup>81</sup> This same iconographic combination appears in the frieze painted by Cherubino Alberti in the Aurora casino, where putti hold crowns over the heads of the Borghese eagle and dragon [Fig. 3.23]. In regard to the Aurora casino, Ralph Ubl has used this iconographic detail as a key element in his argument that the casino’s decorations refer to the young Borghese heir, Marc Antonio, rather than Cardinal Scipione.<sup>82</sup> The appearance of crowned eagles in the decoration of the Vatican apartment, which is indubitably meant to refer to Scipione, undermines Ubl’s claim and suggests that these features, and by extension the decoration of the Aurora casino, refer, as has more generally been held, to the cardinal and to the clerical branch of the Borghese family.

The choice of an Old Testament hero as an emblem for Cardinal Scipione also recurs later in Scipione’s patronage in Bernini’s *David*, made for the cardinal in the early 1620s and installed in the Pincian villa [Fig. 3.24]. Samson and David are similar in many ways, primarily as victorious exemplars of faith, despite their deep character flaws and errors in judgment. In the Book of Hebrews (11.32), David and Samson are listed together along with a series of other Old Testament heroes as

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<sup>80</sup> von Flemming 1996, 208.

<sup>81</sup> Chattard 1766, 95-96.

<sup>82</sup> Ubl 1999, 225. His argument has been generally, and I think rightly, dismissed by many Italian scholars.

exemplars of faith; they are also joined in the *Speculum*, where David killing eight hundred Philistines appeared with Samson's similar massacre as a prefiguration of Christ's triumph over his enemies with the word. David with the head of Goliath and Samson with the ass's jawbone also appear close together among the crowd of figures in Correggio's dome of S. Giovanni Evangelista in Parma (c. 1530) [Fig. 3.25].<sup>83</sup> The subject of Bernini's statue may have been chosen before Scipione Borghese took over the commission, while Reni's frescoes were devised for Cardinal Borghese from the outset; in any case, given the chronology, Reni's frescoes represent the earliest example of Borghese's self-representation in the guise of an Old Testament hero.<sup>84</sup>

Samson was depicted relatively rarely in the visual arts, and so there were limited examples for Reni to draw on for inspiration. Several of them can be found in works belonging to the papacy in the Vatican. The scene of Samson fighting the lion was often shown in a way popularized in a print by Albrecht Dürer, with the hero straddling the lion almost as one would ride a horse and the two figures set into an expansive landscape background [Fig. 3.26]. While the general profile of Reni's lion can be connected to Dürer's depiction of the scene, the Bolognese painter chose a different pose for Samson, with one knee against the animal's neck and the other planted on the ground. The source for the pose may be a painted scrap of fabric dating to between the 7<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> centuries, likely originally used as a purse to hold relics, which shows Samson kneeling on the lion in an identical manner [Fig. 3.27].<sup>85</sup> In the

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<sup>83</sup> Carolyn Smyth, *Correggio's Frescoes in Parma Cathedral* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997): 61-2.

<sup>84</sup> Anna Coliva, *Bernini scultore. La Nascita del barocco in casa borghese*, ed. Anna Coliva and Sebastian Schütze (Rome: De Luca, 1998), 267.

<sup>85</sup> See: W. F. Volbach, *Catalogo del Museo Sacro della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. vol 3. I tessuti del Museo Sacro Vaticano* (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1942), 38-39. The pose does appear in other works, most significantly for this dissertation, in the same scene in the series of tapestries that Scipione Borghese commissioned in 1610, discussed later in this chapter. The tapestries were based on drawings made in the second half

seventeenth century this textile fragment was held at the Sancta Sanctorum, and it is possible that Reni drew on it as the inspiration for a simple, monumental depiction of the scene, distinct from the versions set in extensive landscapes that were more common up to that point. The Samson depicted in this Early Christian fragment is also similar to Reni's in that the hero is shown as a young beardless man, rather than the mature bearded man that would become the standard mode of depicting the hero. Reni perhaps chose the beardless version of Samson in order to strengthen the visual identification between the Old Testament hero and the young Cardinal Borghese.

The possibility that this fragment was a crucial source for Reni's fresco may have larger implications for our view of Borghese patronage. Francis Haskell assessed the arts under Paul V as characterized by a shift from 'austere functionalism' to the promotion of more hedonistic values, and Borghese patronage has frequently been portrayed as a deliberate repudiation of the sober, historicizing, scholarly approach to the arts promoted by Cesare Baronio and the Oratorians.<sup>86</sup> Reni's possible use of an early Christian visual source, held in the Sancta Sanctorum, suggests that the Borghese perhaps did not intend to make an irreparable ideological break with the historicism of the recent past.

Hess has indicated two main sources for Reni's Samson in his victory over the Philistines: one is Raffaellino da Reggio's depiction of Hercules and Cacus on the ceiling of the Sala Ducale in the Vatican palace [Fig. 3.28], the other is the triumphant personification of Divine Love in Giovanni Baglione's 1602-3 *Sacred and Profane*

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of the sixteenth century by a doubtfully-identified Flemish artist – perhaps Michael Coxcie, perhaps an unknown Gillo Mechelaon from Malines – for King Henry II of France. The tapestries were never woven, and it seems unlikely that Reni could have known the preparatory designs.

<sup>86</sup> Haskell 1980, 27; Coliva 1998, 394. Antinori 1995, 10-15, 21-24.

*Love* [Fig. 3.29].<sup>87</sup> Both identifications are apt, as both figures are conquering heroes and thus appropriate both formally and conceptually for Samson. To these we should add a sculptural source, Giambologna's statue of *Samson Slaying a Philistine* executed for the Medici in the 1560's [Fig. 3.30].<sup>88</sup> The statue was commissioned by Francesco de' Medici and remained in Florence until 1601 when Grand-Duke Ferdinando sent it as a gift to the Duke of Lerma, King Philip III of Spain's chief minister.<sup>89</sup> In his *Descrizione del Palazzo Apostolico Vaticano*, published posthumously in 1750, Agostino Taja perhaps sensed the sculptural source for Reni's Samson, as he describes the frescoed Samson as depicted "in gigantic proportions" (*in proporzione gigantesca*), evoking colossi such as Giambologna's seven-foot tall statue.<sup>90</sup>

For his depiction of Samson carrying away the gates of Gaza, Reni's possible visual sources are those that underscore connections between Samson's feat of strength and Christ's resurrection. His Samson has a single hefty door resting on his back, his body leaning slightly forward under its weight. The figure was likely influenced by depictions of Christ carrying the cross to Cavalry, such as Alvise Vivarini's version of the subject in the Basilica of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice [Fig. 3.31].<sup>91</sup> Such a pose reinforces the traditional identification between Samson's feat of strength, performed to liberate himself from the threat of death at the hands of the Philistines, and Christ's defeat over death.

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<sup>87</sup> Hess 1934, 650.

<sup>88</sup> Charles Avery, *Giambologna: the complete sculpture* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1987), 253 cat. no. 3, 75-76, 213.

<sup>89</sup> Avery 1987, 253, cat. no. 3; Malcolm Baker, "'A Peece of Wondrous Art': Giambologna's *Samson and a Philistine* and its Later Copies," *Antologia di belle arti* 23-4 (1984): 62-71.

<sup>90</sup> Taja 1750, 100.

<sup>91</sup> See: John Steer, *Alvise Vivarini: his art and influence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 156-157, cat. 32; 15-17.

A similar approach to Samson with the Gaza gates can be seen in Battista Zelotti's ceiling fresco of the same subject in the library of the Abbey of Santa Maria in Praglia, in the Veneto.<sup>92</sup> The scene of Samson carrying away the Gaza doors is one of fifteen monumental scenes that adorn the library ceiling, and the whole ensemble also included paintings installed along the top of the library walls [Fig. 3.32, 3.33]. This group of paintings, which were executed around 1564, is particularly relevant as a precedent for Reni's frescoes, as the main theme, expressed in the central octagonal panel of Faith Triumphant with the Four Evangelists, is based on the idea of the church triumphant and the importance of its public evangelical mission. Moreover, both Ambrose and Augustine, who specifically wrote about Samson's significance, also appear on the library ceiling. Samson with the Gaza gates appears as a prefiguration of Christ carrying the cross. As in Reni's fresco, Samson is shown alone, bowed under the weight of a single massive door that he carries on his back. Zelotti's Samson strains more than Reni's, and the emphasis is on his bulky legs and arms as he struggles up the hill. As we will see with Bernini's *Aeneas*, the lightness and grace with which Reni's Samson carries his load may be related to the idea of the ideal cardinal nephew, willingly shouldering the pope's burdens.

Given the rarity of this scene, it is essential to note that another layer of meaning may come from an earlier depiction of Samson with the Gaza doors also found in the Vatican palace. Samson appears as the only biblical figure in the frescoed decoration of the *Sala vecchia degli svizzeri*, which functioned as a waiting room to the Sala di Costantino, where the pope formerly received visitors. The *Sala vecchia degli svizzeri* is otherwise peopled with allegorical figures in a program expressing the

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<sup>92</sup> Franca Zava Boccazzi, "Battista Zelotti a Praglia," in *L'Abbazia di Santa Maria di Praglia*, ed. Callisto Carpanese and Francesco Trolese (Milan: Silvana Ed., 1985), 149-159; Katia Brugnolo Meloncelli, *Battista Zelotti* (Milan: Berenice, 1992), 100-101.

virtues of the Swiss guards [Fig. 3.34].<sup>93</sup> Samson, who was painted by the Cavaliere D'Arpino, Giuseppe Cesari, is included as a representation of *Fatica* – Toil, or Labour. He is shown with an ox or steer at his feet, and he holds the doors over his right shoulder, his arms held up and back in a tense posture that thrusts his chest forward. The animal is drawn from Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, where it appears as part of the emblem of *Fatica*, or hard labour. These symbolic indications of Samson's virtuous character as a faithful labourer are elaborated in two inscriptions set below him that read: IN LABORE ET FATICATIONE and PER LABORES VIRTUS INCEDIT. D'Arpino's depiction of Samson presents the Old Testament hero as the sum of a series of physical trials, a kind of sacred labour. It also implicitly presents him as subordinate to a higher power for which he toils, in his case the Lord, since he is a Nazarite and his hard work was dedicated to god from birth. The figure is appropriate for the Swiss guards in their labour in the service of the pope, reminding them that they too have been dedicated to the care of the church and labour in its service. Similarly, such an interpretation of Samson is particularly apt as a representation of the role of the papal nephew, whose primary purpose is to toil tirelessly and selflessly in the service of the pope and the church. In choosing the subject matter for the Sala delle Nozze Aldobrandini Scipione may have been influenced by this earlier representation of the story of Samson. The version of Samson presented in the *Sala vecchia degli svizzeri*, with the emphasis on his heroism,

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<sup>93</sup> Herwarth Röttgen, *Il Cavalier Giuseppe Cesari D'Arpino. Un grande pittore nello splendore della fama e nell'incostanza della fortuna* (Rome: Ugo Bozzi, 2002), 8-10, 227-228. D'Arpino would paint Samson again as part of the decorative program of the Certosa di San Martino, Naples. Röttgen has identified the representation of Samson in one of the pendentives there as a self-portrait, and associated it both with Samson's legendary ability to defeat his enemies and with the artist's own biography – apparently he too found himself trapped in the house of a prostitute one night, although his experience did not end with a dramatic escape. Röttgen 2002, 74. Giambologna too identified with his statue of the Old Testament hero to such a degree that it was included in a portrait drawing made of the sculptor by Federico Zuccaro. Avery 1987, 76-77.

toil, and labour, brings him closer to Hercules, who shoulders Atlas' burden of the world, and who was also used to represent the role of the papal nephew. Both literally shoulder burdens that can be read as representative of responsibility or duty, and thus are alter egos for the good cardinal nephew, who takes on the burdens of his papal uncle.

It is clear that Samson and his deeds were interpreted by theologians as prefigurations of Christ and the events in his life. Further investigation into the scattered appearances of Samson in the writings of prominent Church fathers broadens the various meanings attached to this Old Testament figure. For example, Augustine invokes Samson twice in *The City of God against the Pagans*, in both cases to justify violent actions as divinely ordained. In Book I Augustine poses the question of '[w]hat explanation we should adopt to account for the saints' doing certain things that they are known to have done which it is not lawful to do.'<sup>94</sup> Augustine uses Samson as his second example in answering the question stating:

... Compare the case of Samson, where it would be a sin to hold any other view [Augustine refers to an earlier argument that the saints, when seemingly acting against the laws of god, are in reality following his command]. When God, moreover, gives a command and makes it clear without ambiguity that he gives it, who can summon obedience to judgment? Who can draw up a brief against religious deference to God?...

This aspect of Samson's legend is embedded in the biblical text itself. When Samson announces to his parents that he plans to marry the woman from Timnah (Judges 14.2-4) they ask him why he would marry a Philistine, rather than a woman of their own tribe. Samson responds simply (and obstinately) 'Because I like her'. The text then provides a gloss, explaining that the decision 'came from the Lord, who looked for pretexts to battle with the Philistines' as the latter were oppressing Israel at the time

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<sup>94</sup> Saint Augustine, *The City of God against the Pagans* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1957), 111.

(Judges 14.4). Augustine does not clarify exactly what aspect of Samson's story he is referring to, but there are certainly many possibilities, as it is rife with contradictions and problems. Samson chose his first wife from among the neighboring, and enemy, peoples, setting in motion a chain of events that ends with the slaughter of the Philistines and his betrayal by his own people; his escape from Gaza is necessitated by the fact that he has gone to the city to spend time with prostitutes, thus delivering himself anew into the hands of the Philistines; and it is eventually his profound weakness for Delilah that leads him to reveal the secret of his divinely-given strength, even though he knows that Delilah is betraying him, and thereafter to lose that strength, leading directly to his death.

The gulf between Samson's capacity for virtue and profound spiritual weakness is the point used most frequently to characterize him. In his 1653 *Mondo simbolico* Filippo Picinelli references Samson in his discussion of the bull as a symbol, specifically the manifestation of the powerful beast that can be tamed simply by placing a garland of leaves around its neck. Picinelli describes "Samson, terror of armies", who "in Delilah's arms appeared to have become someone else."<sup>95</sup> Picinelli's underlying point is a moral one: he sees both the tamed bull and Samson as representative of how "the strength of the most generous degenerates into vileness when they allow themselves to be held back by obscenities and earthly needs."<sup>96</sup> The whole entry is summed up by a paraphrase of Virgil, 'MVTATVS AB ILLO,' for Aeneas says of Hector "Quantum mutatus ab illo" ("How much he is changed from

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<sup>95</sup> Filippo Picinelli, *Mondo simbolico o sia Università d'imprese scelte, spiegate, ed illustrate con sentenze, ed eruditioni sacre, e profane* (Milan: Mognagha, 1653), Book V, 202.

<sup>96</sup> Picinelli 1653, 202. "...tale la fortezza de i più generosi, traligna in viltà, quando dalle lascivie, e voluttà mondane si lasciano trattenere."



what he was!’’).<sup>97</sup> Samson is presented as a figure with boundless power and potential, destroyed by his own weaknesses. In this aspect Samson can also be compared to Hercules at the crossroads, another scene used frequently to refer to papal nephews and kin. As in the example painted by Annibale Carracci in Palazzo Farnese [Fig. 3.35], we see the powerful hero seated, contemplating two paths open to him – the difficult one leading to Virtue, and the one of easy pleasures, leading to Vice and ruin. The theme of the choice between virtue and vice, and the temptation of the latter even for the strongest will, would certainly have been current in Borghese’s circle. In 1586 Antonio Querenghi, the humanist and scholar who played an important role at Scipione’s court, sent Odoardo Farnese a poem that provided the first inspiration for Annibale Carracci’s frescoes in the *Camerino Farnese*. Both Querenghi’s texts and Annibale’s frescoes share themes of the ascent to virtue, the need to control passions and refuse pleasures and the importance of moral discipline.<sup>98</sup> Hercules chooses virtue and is eventually deified, while Samson repeatedly chooses the tempting pleasures of vice and finds himself imprisoned, blinded, and humiliated. In the end he does redeem himself through a final act of self-sacrifice, choosing the path of Virtue at the final opportunity by killing several thousand Philistines and himself. Samson’s story is strewn with pitfalls and errors, which likely explains why he never became as popular an image for papal kin as Hercules and others. Reni’s frescoes include no hint of Samson’s weaknesses, representing instead his ideal heroic role as a defender of the Israelites.

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<sup>97</sup> Thanks to Eleanor Rust for translating this for me and providing the crucial context. The quote comes from: Virgil, *Aeneid* 2.274.

<sup>98</sup> Beer 2000, 22. This is of course also a fundamental theme in later works commissioned by Borghese, most notably Bernini’s *Aeneas and Anchises*.

Augustine presents Samson primarily as an emblem of obedience to God, even in the face of apparent irrationality and self-destruction. This interpretation of Samson makes him a remarkably apt personification of the role of the cardinal nephew, whose principal duty, above all else, is to promulgate the pope's policies. The cardinal nephew is very much like Samson – when he obeys the dictates of his lord, he is endowed with unlimited power, yet if he breaks those dictates he loses everything. The power and authority of the obedient nephew is comparable to that of Samson when he follows divine will and protects the Israelites.

In his text *On the Holy Spirit* Ambrose digresses on the subject of Samson in the context of a discussion of Old Testament figures who understood the concept of the Trinity, or the heterodoxy of a tridentine view of god.<sup>99</sup> Ambrose was a particularly important figure in the Seicento, as prominent reformers such as Cesare Baronio and Carlo Borromeo were closely associated with him. Baronio wrote a biography of Ambrose at the request of Felice Peretti (later Pope Sixtus V) that first appeared in print in 1587, in the sixth volume of Peretti's edition of the collected works of St. Ambrose.<sup>100</sup> The biography was then printed again in 1593 in the fourth volume of Baronio's *Annales*.<sup>101</sup> For his part, Borromeo was particularly devoted to his predecessor as bishop of Milan, specifically taking Ambrose as an ideal model of the good bishop in his program of reform.<sup>102</sup> Ambrose's views on the figure of

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<sup>99</sup> Saint Ambrose, *Opere dogmatiche II. Lo Spirito Santo*, trans. Claudio Moreschini (Rome: Città Nuova Editrice, 1979), 169-177.

<sup>100</sup> Cyriac K. Pullapilly, *Caesar Baronius Counter-Reformation Historian* (Notre Dame, London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1975), 43.

<sup>101</sup> Pullapilly 1975, 43.

<sup>102</sup> John M. Headley and John B. Tomaro, eds., *San Carlo Borromeo: catholic reform and ecclesiastical politics in the second half of the sixteenth century* (Washington: Folger Books, 1988), 115-120. The connection between the two is architecturally monumentalized in the church known as San Carlo al Corso in Rome, which has a joint dedication to St. Ambrose and Carlo Borromeo. The church was begun in 1610, following Borromeo's canonization.

Samson may have had particular relevance for Reni's cycle, particularly if, as speculated previously, the frescoes were in part influenced by early Christian imagery.

In *On the Holy Spirit*, Ambrose moves from Abraham to Samson, and offers a lengthy analysis of the Nazarite's life. The most pertinent aspect of Ambrose's writings for Reni's frescoes is the church father's interpretation of Samson's battle with the lion, and his presentation of Samson as a representation of wisdom. Samson encounters the lion on his way to meet his ordained bride, who was chosen from an 'alien' people and thus already what Augustine would categorize as one of Samson's seemingly irrational and yet divinely ordained actions. Although not depicted in Reni's fresco, after tearing apart the lion Samson discovers honey inside the animal's carcass; he takes the honeycomb home and offers it to his parents. Ambrose places considerable emphasis on the honey and the idea of the sweet reward torn from the body of the beast, and he presents the whole scene as a symbol of the conversion and salvation of the Gentiles who believed and as a precursor to Christ's sacrifice. He writes that:

And perhaps this [ie. defeating the lion] was not only a miracle of strength, but also a mystery of wisdom, a prophetic oracle. It is not coincidental that, when he was making his way toward the mystery of the wedding, he met a roaring lion. He tore it apart with his hands, and when he returned from taking his desired bride Samson found in its body a swarm of bees. Removing these he also found honey in the lion's mouth, which he gave to his parents to eat. The pagan peoples who believed had the honey: first a ferocious body, now instead the body of Christ.<sup>103</sup>

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Gaetano Drago and Luigi Salerno, *Ss. Ambrogio e Carlo al Corso e l'arciconfraternita dei Lombardi in Roma*, (Rome: Marietta, 1967).

<sup>103</sup> Saint Ambrose 1979, 171. "E forse questo non fu soltanto un miracolo di forza, ma anche un mistero di sapienza, un oracolo profetico. Non sembra senza significato il fatto che, quando si stava dirigendo al mistero delle nozze, gli se fece incontro un leon ruggente: fattolo a pezzi con le sue mani, Sansono, quando tornò per prendere la sposa desiderata, trovò nel suo corpo uno sciame di api; tolse, anche, dalla bocca del leone, del miele, che dette a suo padre e a sua madre perché ne mangiassero. Aveva il miele il popolo pagano che credette: prima corpo di ferocia, ora invece corpo di Cristo."

Ambrose presents Samson and his parents as prefigurations of individuals who are open to the message of Christ, and thus to the possibility of salvation. Further on Ambrose argues that, "...that lion, therefore, Samson killed as a Jew, but when he found the honey in it, he found it in his role as the representative of the inheritance that should be redeemed, since "the remains are to be saved" by the election of grace."<sup>104</sup> The scene of Samson fighting the lion can thus be connected not only with Christ's defeat over the devil and death, but also with the saving grace of Christ in general. This interpretation of the scene complements the message in the frescoes of the Sala delle Dame, that the public mission of the church is to spread the word of God and bring in new converts, particularly through Christ's sacrifice and the Eucharist. As Samson is implicitly identified with the cardinal nephew, Scipione Borghese is presented as a personification of wisdom and the instrument of the papal mission through which the church will continue to be strengthened. The identification of the lion and honey with Christ's body invokes the Eucharist, and complements the references to the feast of Corpus Christi and Christ's passion found in the Sala delle Dame.

Ambrose invokes the wisdom of Samson again in his brief discussion of the Nazarite's battle against the Philistines. He writes:

And the Scriptures say, that "the Spirit of the Lord descended upon him, and he went up to Ascalon and killed thirty men from among them." Certainly one that was able to see mysteries could do nothing less than bring home victory. Those, therefore, that resolve and enunciate the question receive with those robes the prize of wisdom, the emblem of their life.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> Saint Ambrose 1979, 173. "...quel leone, quindi, Sansone l'avrebbe ucciso in quanto giudeo, ma in esso avrebbe trovato il miele quale figura della eredità che si doveva redimere, perché "se ne salvassero i resti" secondo la elezione della grazia."

<sup>105</sup> Saint Ambrose 1979, 173. "*E cadde su di lui, dice la Scrittura, lo Spirito del Signore, ed egli scese ad Ascalona e quindi uccise fra loro trent uomini.* Certo non poteva non riportare

In Ambrose's formulation, Samson, in the scene of his battle with the Philistines, the focal point of the Sala delle Nozze Aldobrandini, can also be seen as a representation of divinely-bestowed wisdom. Ambrose's characterization of Samson is in accord with Reni's representation of the hero as a stoically resolved conqueror who shows no signs of rage but instead a kind of pliant determination in his impassive face.

A laudatory view of Scipione similar to this presentation of Samson can be found in contemporary writings. In his 1614 *Dicerie sacre* Giambattista Marino writes:

To the immortality of Paul V, under whose eagle the dragon lies prostrate, by whose feet heresy is trampled; in the merit of whose magnanimous Nephew, Cardinal of the Vatican, Column of the universe, son of the purple, prize of the prophetic miter of Rome, miracle of the century, object of geniuses, subject of pens, he supports the weight of great cares.<sup>106</sup>

Scipione is Paul V's support in his main mission, stamping out heresy. This notion provides another link between the two sets of frescoes: in the Sala delle Dame the main public mission of the church is expressed as the spread of the Word and the defeat of heresy, while Samson is presented as a figure who battled against the non-believers, the Philistines, in order to protect the Israelites.

#### SCIPIONE'S SAMSON TAPESTRIES (1610)

Scipione Borghese's interest in the figure of Samson did not end with Reni's frescoes. In 1610, shortly after Reni's fresco cycle was completed, Scipione

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vittoria colui che era in grado di vedere i misteri. Coloro, dunque, che risolvono ed enunciano la questione ricevono con quelle vesti il premio della sapienza, la insegna della loro vita."

<sup>106</sup> D'Onofrio 1967, 215. "Alla immortalità di Paolo Quinto...Sotto la cui Aquila giace prostrato il Dragone, dal cui piede è conculcata l'heresia; nel valore del cui magnanimo Nipote, Cardinale del Vaticano, Colonna dell'Universo, figlio della porpora, pregio della mitra oracolo di Roma, miracolo del secolo, oggetto dell'ingegni, soggetto dell'inchiestri, s'appoggia la macchina delle cure gravi."

commissioned a set of sixteen tapestries showing events from the life of Samson. This is a fascinating commission, which has never been considered in conjunction with the pre-existing connection between Scipione Borghese and the figure of Samson through Reni's frescoes. Scipione commissioned the tapestries through the then nuncio to Brussels, Guido Bentivoglio. Numerous letters written from Bentivoglio to Scipione, as well as one from the cardinal to the nuncio, allow us to follow the progress of this project remarkably closely and provide ample evidence that Scipione was an involved and discerning patron.

The first letter dates to January 9, 1610 and was written by Bentivoglio to Scipione. Bentivoglio appears to have already been charged with organizing the project. At the time Bentivoglio was in Flanders, and his credentials for Cardinal Borghese included having already overseen the commission of a set of tapestries for Cardinal Montalto.<sup>107</sup> He notes in the letter that Cardinal Montalto requested the same things that Cardinal Borghese has asked for: well woven works based on excellent designs. This is the first indication that Scipione has decided to commission a set of tapestries without first having specified their subjects. In the process of commissioning the tapestries Scipione dismissed numerous other sets and subjects that would have been significant to him, thus the Samson story must have held particular appeal for him. The intended location for the tapestries, certainly central to the commission, is also unclear, especially as Scipione's thinking developed and changed throughout the planning process. Bentivoglio mentions several times that it

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<sup>107</sup> G. J. Hoogewerff, "Prelaten en Brabantsche Tapitwevers," *Mededelingen van het Nederlandsch Historisch Instituut te Rome* I (1921): 130. For more on Guido and Enzo Bentivoglio as art connoisseurs and intermediaries see: Haskell 1980, 48-49, 56. On Bentivoglio see: Merola, A. "Bentivoglio, Guido", *DBI*. [http://www.treccani.it/Portale/elementi/categoriesItems.jsp?pathFile=/sites/default/BancaData/Dizionario\\_Biografico\\_degli\\_Italiani/VOL08/DIZIONARIO\\_BIOGRAFICO\\_DEGLI\\_ITALIANI\\_Vol08\\_004926.xml](http://www.treccani.it/Portale/elementi/categoriesItems.jsp?pathFile=/sites/default/BancaData/Dizionario_Biografico_degli_Italiani/VOL08/DIZIONARIO_BIOGRAFICO_DEGLI_ITALIANI_Vol08_004926.xml).

would be best if all the tapestries could be hung in one room, where they would be seen together, and this implies that a location had not been specified to him.

Eventually, as we will see, Scipione requests certain pieces with specific sizes, suggesting that he did have their placement in mind. Given the timing of the commission it would seem most likely that they were intended to be hung in the Vatican near Reni's frescoes or in Scipione's palace, the present-day Palazzo Giraud Torlonia on the Via della Conciliazione. Composed of nearly eighty metres of tapestry, the set would have required an immense length of wall space.<sup>108</sup> From this fact, it seems unlikely that they would have been destined for one room, but rather would have been meant for a suite of apartments.

Collectively the Bentivoglio correspondence conveys a fascinating picture of the agent's character: shrewd and perhaps manipulative, he appears to have had a deep understanding of Scipione's taste and needs as an art patron with political ambitions. He repeatedly invokes the specter of competing cardinals, the idea of a work that is a *unicum*, and implications for prestigious patrons that together foster a claustrophobic atmosphere of competition. Bentivoglio understood that the tapestries had a role in contemporary social machinations. He informs Scipione at the outset that there are not any already-woven tapestries in the Brussels workshops that fit his criteria, and so

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<sup>108</sup> The tapestries could definitely not have been hung as a complete set in the Sala delle Nozze Aldobrandini. The room measures approximately 5 x 15 metres, for a total of approximately 40 metres, not taking into account doors and windows. The tapestries could in theory have been split between the Sala delle Dame and the Sala delle Nozze Aldobrandini, as the two rooms have a combined total of approximately 80 metres of space, but it is implausible as such a hanging would have covered everything, including the main entrance. It seems more likely that, if they were hung in the Vatican, they would have been arranged in and near the Sala delle Nozze Aldobrandini.

recommends that they do as Cardinal Montalto and find a worthy design that can then be woven.<sup>109</sup>

In the first letter Bentivoglio tells Scipione that he has come across a set of drawings that would be appropriate for the tapestries.<sup>110</sup> They show the story of Samson, and were made on the orders of King Henry II of France. Due to the king's death the project never got beyond that stage, and the tapestries were never produced. Bentivoglio says that the designs were made by a 'painter from Malines.' The artist has frequently been identified as Michiel Coxcie, but may also be an otherwise unknown 'Giles Mechelaon.' The attribution is still the subject of much debate.<sup>111</sup> The designs had two very appealing aspects: they were originally designed for a king and thus had an intrinsically high social value, and they were never woven so they would be something never before seen. The nuncio praises the designs as 'full of very large figures that move with extraordinary majesty.'<sup>112</sup> He then goes on to press the idea of competition: he says that these designs are superior to those that Cardinal Montalto used for his set of tapestries showing the story of Noah. Montalto's designs had been used many times, whereas the Samson scenes would be totally new. Bentivoglio notes that some of the designs had not even been colored, promoting their lack of finish as a sign of their originality. Finally, he observes that Samson's story is one of the most curious to be found in both profane and sacred literature, pushing the intrinsic value of

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<sup>109</sup> Hoogewerff 1921, 130.

<sup>110</sup> Hoogewerff 1921, 131.

<sup>111</sup> See: Luisa Bandera, "Gillo Mechelaon di Malines: una proposta per i cartoni delle Storie di Sansone," in *Arazzi per la Cattedrale di Cremona. Storie di Sansone. Storie della vita di Cristo*, ed. Loretta Dolcini (Milan: Electa, 1987), 75-93.

<sup>112</sup> Hoogewerff 1921, 131.



the narrative, knowing that Scipione had already demonstrated his identification with the Old Testament hero.<sup>113</sup>

In an addition to this first letter Bentivoglio tells Scipione that he has had a painter, a friend who had lived in Italy for many years, also view the designs in order to procure a second expert opinion on their worth. Not surprisingly, this unidentified painter announces that they will produce the most beautiful and majestic tapestries ever made in Flanders. At this point Bentivoglio again notes that the designs could be hung in large or small rooms (*‘Il disegno può servire per sale e per stanze’*), high or low, and that several pieces could also be made narrower in order to fit the cardinal’s needs.

Despite Bentivoglio’s enthusiasm for the Samson tapestries, it appears that Borghese still wanted to assure himself that a set of already woven tapestries did not exist somewhere on the market that would suit his needs. Apparently the cardinal was concerned about the length of time required to produce the new tapestries (Bentivoglio assured him only a year), and was considering buying pre-existing works in order to have them in Rome as quickly as possible. On January 16<sup>th</sup>, 1610 Bentivoglio wrote to say that he had sent someone from his household to Antwerp to see what pieces were already available that could be appropriate for Borghese. With the letter he sends a list of works that were considered possibilities.<sup>114</sup> Of the seventeen sets of tapestries on the list, eight portrayed subjects drawn from ancient history. Of these, three were sets of the life of Scipio – clearly the hunt for appropriate

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<sup>113</sup> Bentivoglio finishes his missive with a clear attempt to seal his relationship with Scipione, namely by informing the cardinal that he is going to send him a painting as a gift since he “recalls the taste, that [Scipione] showed himself to have for antique pictures”, as well as an unusual clock. Hoogewerff 1921, 132-3.

<sup>114</sup> Hoogewerff 1921, 135-137.

tapestries had taken the patron into account. The other ancient subjects were Aeneas and Dido, Paris and Helen, and Alexander the Great. There were three sets dealing with the latter, two identified simply as the *Istoria* of Alexander and the third showing Alexander and Xerxes. Evidently, Alexander's exploits were also thought to hold particular appeal. Six of the sets showed religious subjects: Joshua (two sets), Noah (two sets), Joseph, and the story of Saint Paul, as designed by Raphael. Given the implicit competition between Cardinals Borghese and Montalto, it is unlikely that the Noah tapestries were ever seriously considered for purchase, while the Saint Paul series must have been appealing for its association with Raphael. Only one set of tapestries had a subject drawn from modern literature as it depicted Petrarch's *Triumphs*. The final two sets were essentially decorative: one showed grotesques, while another showed *poesie* and gardens.<sup>115</sup>

For each set of tapestries Bentivoglio and his assistant provided the size of the pieces, the materials, the price and, in some cases, noted if the design was of particularly high quality, rare, or *antico*. With a few exceptions the prices are within a similar range. The most expensive by far was the first Scipione set, at 17,200 ducats, followed by the Aeneas and Dido set, valued at 9,166 ducats. The remaining fifteen sets had prices between 1,325 and 4,680 ducats, with most clustered around the median.<sup>116</sup> In the end Scipione spent approximately 11,066 florins on his newly woven Samson cycle. It is likely that the florin in question for the 1610 commission refers to Florentine coinage, while the ducat in the 1617 correspondence is that of the Spanish Netherlands, which had roughly equal values in the period. In the end

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<sup>115</sup> Borghese did commission another set of tapestries showing similar subjects in 1617 from the same tapestry weavers. See Hoogewerf V (1925), 137-160.

<sup>116</sup> Hoogewerff 1921, 135-137.

Borghese saved in respect to the most expensive set that was offered to him, but spent well above the value of what was available on the market.<sup>117</sup>

With the exception of the Joseph set, which was made up of ten pieces, the proposed sets included between six and nine pieces. All were therefore considerably smaller than the sixteen piece Samson series that Borghese eventually commissioned. Why in the end Cardinal Borghese chose not to accept one of the pre-existing sets and instead take the much longer option of commissioning new weavings remains a matter of speculation. That he passed on subjects like the three Scipione sets indicates that the Samson designs held the same appeal that generated Reni's recently finished frescoes.<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> This is admittedly an assumption, and may not in fact be accurate. However, the only Dutch *florin* in use at the time was a silver coin, which is unlikely, while in an international transaction involving *ducats* the likelihood is that they refer to the Netherlandish coin. However, determining how much Scipione paid for these tapestries is not an easy task. Bentivoglio never states a final price in his letters to the cardinal. Instead, we find out in the letters documenting the 1617 tapestry commission, conducted through Ascanio Gesualdi, then nuncio to Brussels, that Borghese paid 15 *fiorini* per *ana* in 1610 (the total size of the finished tapestries is 737.75 *ane*, thus a total of 11,066.00 *fiorini* for the whole). Comparing the two sets of letters is a fascinating and informative exercise, and will be the basis for a future project. In the surviving letters Bentivoglio never mentions a price for the Samson set; the only place he indicates prices are with the market tapestries, and there is no haggling over sums. Bentivoglio's letters are refined and courteous, with practical concerns for the most part concentrated on the issue of the size of the pieces, the quality of the weaving, and the importance of the color. Essentially the concerns are aesthetic. The second set of letters written by Gesualdo is completely different, and a significant portion of them is given over to bargaining and estimating different possible prices. It is through Gesualdo that we learn that Borghese paid 15 *fiorini/ana*, a price that Gesualdo is unable to get again. The difficulty in determining price lies in several factors. One is that in the course of the letters three different currencies are referenced: *fiorini*, *ducats*, and *scudi*. There is also the possibility of inflation, however between the short span of 1610 and 1617 it should not be an issue. Angelo Martini, *Manuale di metrologia ossia Misure, pesi e monete in uso attualmente e anticamente presso tutti i popoli* (Rome: Ed. E. R. A., 1976), 208, 599, 110. My sincerest thanks to Rachel King for helping me with these money matters.

<sup>118</sup> Although it is not documented in the letters, Borghese appears to have ordered a second set of tapestries through Bentivoglio from the same workshop of Jan Raes. In 1617 he orders another five or six pieces to accompany the six piece set he already had from Raes, which apparently depicted gardens. G. J. Hoogewerff, "Prelaten en Brabantsche Tapitwevers," *Mededelingen van het Nederlandsch Historisch Instituut te Rome* V (1925): 137-160. The decision also fits with general trends at the time. Thomas Campbell has noted that in the first decades of the seventeenth century new tapestry compositions produced in Flanders were

Subsequently there is a gap of several months in the correspondence. When it resumes on April 24<sup>th</sup>, 1610 Scipione has decided on the Samson iconography, and weaving has begun. Borghese also changed his mind about how tall the works should be, and Bentivoglio had to inform him that since the work had already begun, it was too late to alter the dimensions. Borghese had apparently initially asked for works that were no higher than six and a half ells (a unit of measure in fabrics), and then later requested that they be reduced to six and a quarter ells.<sup>119</sup> Bentivoglio was surprisingly blunt with Borghese, explaining that if there is any fault in the situation it lies with Borghese himself, for changing his mind. Bentivoglio then tries to smooth over the situation by noting that in the end the difference in the sizes is not that considerable and the tapestries will be able to be hung regardless of the difference in dimensions, but he does not indicate where they will be installed.<sup>120</sup>

The nuncio then proposed to resolve the problem of the new dimensions in an improvised way. The tapestry set will have three pieces that are four ells wide and two that are five, larger than the cardinal would like. Bentivoglio tells Borghese that once the tapestries reach Rome they can solve the size problem by simply folding these smaller pieces over along the decorative frieze that makes up the border (*“ripiegando sotto il freggio da’lati, dove la parete non capisca il pezzo disteso”*) – a make-shift solution that was apparently not uncommon even with such elaborate, expensive, and

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quite awkward, and it became more common for patrons to look back to mid-sixteenth century designs. This trend similarly justifies the presence of the Saint Paul set of tapestries woven after designs by Raphael found on the list of possibilities sent to Scipione. Thomas P. Campbell, ed., *Tapestry in the Baroque. Threads of Splendor* (Yale University Press: New Haven and London, 2007), 69.

<sup>119</sup> In the documents cited as an *ala*, *ana*, or *auna*, an ell was an old unit of measure for fabrics, used in particular in France and Flanders. The Brabantine *ala*, current in Brussels until 1816 corresponded to 0.695 metres. Franco Voltini, “Arazzi per la Cattedrale: elementi di storia e iconografia,” in *Arazzi per la Cattedrale di Cremona. Storie di Sansone. Storie della vita di Cristo* (Milan: Electa, 1987), 56-74.

<sup>120</sup> Hoogewerff 1921, 137. “Se in questo particolare si sarà fatto errore la cagione sarà nata da v. S. Ill<sup>ma</sup> medesima, ch’ha mutato il predetto ordine.”

time-consuming commissions.<sup>121</sup> Bentivoglio also tries to assuage Borghese's concerns that the tapestries will be touched up with paint after the weaving process. Apparently this was a relatively prevalent means used by Flemish tapestry workshops to lightly fleece customers, creating the appearance of brilliant colors through the later addition of paint, rather than through the purchase of the best quality materials at the outset.<sup>122</sup> Presumably Borghese was concerned about getting value for his money, and receiving works that were truly of the highest quality and worthy of his social position.

There was also some difficulty in settling on the number of pieces. On Borghese's behalf Bentivoglio ordered a set of sixteen tapestries, whose subjects he lists in a folio sent a week after this letter. However, Borghese changed his mind several times in the course of finalizing the commission, and tracking the changes is a difficult task. Bentivoglio mentions that, in his first note, Borghese had asked for a seventeen-piece set: "And in the end there will be precisely sixteen pieces, as many as you want, even though the first note said seventeen." ("E ben vero ch'i pezzi saranno appunto sedici, quanti elle ne vuole, ancorchè la sua prima nota ne contenesse deciesette").<sup>123</sup> The cardinal decided on the sixteen-piece set that was eventually produced, but subsequently changed his mind a second time, requesting a set of sixteen tapestries in which twelve of the pieces followed subjects described by Bentivoglio and four were made to order. Bentivoglio writes: "I understand then from Your Excellency's most recent letter that you have changed your mind also in the

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<sup>121</sup> Hoogewerff 1921, 138. A similar approach has been suggested in regard to the tapestries in Cremona cathedral as well, namely that they were folded around the piers in the nave. Voltini, "Arazzi per la Cattedrale," in *Arazzi per la Cattedrale di Cremona* (1987), 67.

<sup>122</sup> Hoogewerff 1921, 138. Guy Delmarcel, "L'arazzeria antica a Bruxelles e la manifattura di Jan Raes," in *Arazzi per la Cattedrale di Cremona. Storie di Sansone. Storie della vita di Cristo* (Milan: Electa, 1987), 52.

<sup>123</sup> Hoogewerff 1921, 138.

division of the pieces that I already sent, and that you would ask instead that they make twelve, following the note that I already sent, and then four others, each three ells.”<sup>124</sup> It appears that the initial project for Henry II involved twelve tapestries, which Scipione and Bentivoglio then expanded and altered to form a sixteen piece set. By the time that Scipione had reconsidered the initial project for a variation on Henry II’s tapestry designs, Bentivoglio had already put in the order, and the arrangements could not be interrupted. These details will be important when considering the relationship between Borghese’s tapestries and the surviving Samson set in Cremona cathedral.

Bentivoglio sent the cardinal a summary of the tapestries that were being woven for him, listing the size and subject of each. The list is as follows:

1. The sacrifice made by Samson’s father and mother [Judges 13.19-21]. (8 ells / 5.56 metres)
2. The birth of Samson. [Judges 13.24] (8 ells / 5.56 metres).
3. Samson making love to Delilah. (8.5 ells / 5.9 metres)
4. Samson fighting the lion. [Judges 14.5-6] (8.5 ells / 5.9 metres)
5. Samson’s marriage. (9 ells / 6.3 metres)
6. Samson sending the foxes with torches tied to their tails into the Philistine’s fields. [Judges 15.3-5] (9 ells / 6.3 metres)
7. Samson killing the Philistines with a *ferro d’aratro*. (9 ells / 6.3 metres)
8. Samson killing the Philistines with the jawbone of an ass [Judges 15.15-16] (6.5 ells / 4.5 metres)
9. Samson drinking water from the jawbone. [Judges 15.18-19] (5 ells / 3.5 metres)
10. Samson fleeing from prison with the doors on his back, *in figura grande*. [Judges 16.2-3] (5 ells / 3.5 metres)
11. The city of Gaza with a small Samson with the doors on his back. (4 ells / 2.8 metres)
12. Samson’s hair is cut. [Judges 16.18-19] (9 ¾ ells / 6.8 metres)
13. Samson destroying the [Philistine’s] palace. [Judges 16.30] (8.5 ells / 5.9 metres)
14. Samson’s body being carried for burial. (4 ells / 2.8 metres)

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<sup>124</sup> Hoogewerff 1921, 137. “Parmi ancora di raccogliere da quest’ultima lettera di V.S. Ill.ma ch’ella habbia cambiato parere anche nella divisione de’ pezzi, che già mandò, e che mostri di voler che se ne facciano dodici, conformi alla nota mandata da me, e poi quattro altri di tre anne l’uno.”

15. Samson's body embalmed and buried. [Judges 16.31] (6  $\frac{3}{4}$  ells / 4.7 metres)
16. Unknown subject. (4 ells / 2.8 metres)

The design for the final piece was made to order by a painter in Antwerp, and Bentivoglio says only that the painter will “find some subject from the story of Samson, and make a good design.”<sup>125</sup> Even though in later letters Bentivoglio seems to remain unaware of where these tapestries are to be installed, the request for sixteen pieces with an extra, unnamed subject, likely requested simply to fill up wall-space, suggests that by this point Scipione had selected a location for these works to be hung.

The remaining letters sent over the course of 1610 chart the course of the production of the tapestries, for the most part recording Borghese and Bentivoglio's impatience with the slow process, and the latter's assurances that despite delays, the project was progressing.<sup>126</sup> In a letter of December 4, 1610 Bentivoglio gives us another clue as to how these tapestries were meant to be viewed, which could perhaps help to pinpoint where they were eventually installed. After expressing, yet again, his hope that all the tapestries will be hung in one room, Bentivoglio further specifies that he hopes Borghese will see them all together “hung up high”, creating a view to fill one's eyes (*“Spero che se gli vedrà tutti insieme distesi in alto avrà una vista da*

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<sup>125</sup> Hoogewerff 1921, 139.

<sup>126</sup> G. J. Hoogewerff, “Prelaten en Brabantsche Tapitwevers,” *Mededelingen van het Nederlandsch Historisch Instituut te Rome*, III (1923), 209-222. In trying to convey how diligently he is agitating for the tapestries to be finished, Bentivoglio tells the cardinal that others are referring to him as “the most annoying Italian man to ever visit these lands” (*Dicono ch'io son il più fastidioso huomo che sia capitato d'Italia in questi paesi*). Hoogewerff 1923, 218.

*riempir gli occhi*").<sup>127</sup> This implies that the designs were intended to be hung around the top of the room, perhaps even as a kind of fabric frieze.<sup>128</sup>

On March 5, 1611 Bentivoglio wrote to Borghese to announce that the tapestries would be ready to be shipped to Rome within a few days. On June 18<sup>th</sup> Borghese replied to the nunzio to inform him that the tapestries had reached him in good condition, and to thank him for his efforts.<sup>129</sup> Borghese says that the tapestries are "entirely to his liking" (*"d'intiera mia sodisfattione"*), particularly in the *vaghezza* of the colors.<sup>130</sup> The reference to the beauty of the colors is in-keeping with Scipione's concerns throughout the process, which focused on the need for the colors to be a result of good materials and not added post-production; it could also be a way of thanking the nunzio for having paid particular attention to that aspect of the production.

Unfortunately, we have no further information as to what happened to these tapestries after they reached Rome, and only three surviving pieces have been tentatively identified, all now in private collections.<sup>131</sup> These pieces, which belonged to the Edson Bradley family and include *Samson fighting the lion* and *Samson's hair cut by the Philistines*, can be connected to the Brussels studio of Jan Raes and feature borders in a distinctly cinquecentesco style [Fig.'s 3.36, 3.37].<sup>132</sup> Raes' studio produced numerous other tapestries showing scenes from the life of Samson, however

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<sup>127</sup> Hoogewerff 1923, 218.

<sup>128</sup> A common method of display at the time. James Harper, "Changing taste for tapestries," talk given at the *Display of Art in Roman Palaces in the Long 17<sup>th</sup> Century (1550-1750)*, American Academy in Rome, July 1-2, 2009.

<sup>129</sup> Hoogewerff 1923, 221.

<sup>130</sup> On *vaghezza* see: Philip Sohm, *Style in the Art Theory of Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 110-112, 193-200.

<sup>131</sup> Bandera "Gillo Mechelaon," in *Arazzi per la Cattedrale di Cremona* (1987), 81.

<sup>132</sup> Nello Forti Grazzini, *Arazzi del Cinquecento a Como* (Como: Società Archeologica Comense, 1986), 54-55. I have been unable to obtain the sale records for these tapestries, and none of the secondary source materials mentions the subject of the third tapestry.



all of the surviving examples have borders that are seicentesco in style.<sup>133</sup> The fifteenth-century designs produced for Henry II would have had corresponding borders; drawing on Nello Forti Grazzini, Luisa Bandera has argued that as the designs had never been woven before, when they were finally created in 1610 for Scipione there was no need to change or update the borders as they were original designs that had never been produced.<sup>134</sup> Subsequent patrons who commissioned copies of the same set altered these borders to individualize and update the tapestries.

The ex-Bradley tapestries can also be connected to another set of tapestries showing twelve scenes from the life of Samson, commissioned in 1629 for Cremona cathedral. Luisa Bandera has argued that the Cremona and ex-Bradley tapestries, assuming these to be the remains of Scipione's set, were both based on the designs produced for Henry II.<sup>135</sup> In any case, the twelve tapestries in Cremona must have been produced from the same drawings as the ex-Bradley tapestries, as the designs are almost identical, with the exception of the borders. The Cremona tapestries are known to have been produced in Jan Raes' atelier in Brussels, the same workshop that produced Borghese's Samson tapestries. There appears to be a connection between Scipione's tapestries and those in Cremona and the ex-Bradley collection, however the nature of that connection, and the connection of all three to the drawings produced for Henry II, needs to be re-examined.<sup>136</sup> As we have already seen, Bandera has used the style of the borders of the ex-Bradley tapestries to connect them to Scipione's works, and there is overlooked evidence in one of Bentivoglio's letters that supports Bandera's suggestion. However, Bandera has overlooked obvious discrepancies

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<sup>133</sup> See: Forti Grazzini 1986, 54.

<sup>134</sup> Bandera, "Gillo Mechelaon", in *Arazzi per la Cattedrale di Cremona* (1987), 80-84.

<sup>135</sup> Bandera, "Gillo Mechelaon", in *Arazzi per la Cattedrale di Cremona* (1987), 86.

<sup>136</sup> Delmarcel, "L'arazzeria antica a Bruxelles e la manifattura di Jan Raes", in *Arazzi per la Cattedrale di Cremona* (1987), 51.

between the letters and the surviving tapestries that shed light on Scipione's set of Samson tapestries.<sup>137</sup> Looking at connections between what we know of Scipione's tapestries and the Cremona Samson set may allow us to make some observations regarding Borghese's works.

Late in 1629 the prefects of Cremona cathedral commissioned a set of twelve tapestries showing the life of Samson from the workshop of Jan Raes, the same atelier that had woven Scipione's tapestries. It has been suggested that the tapestries were hung along the nave of the cathedral on a wooden framework, giving a sense of overall unity to the interior of the church.<sup>138</sup> The twelve Cremona tapestries include the following subjects: [Fig.'s 3.38-3.49]:

1. The birth of Samson.
2. Samson meets the woman of Timnah.
3. Samson fighting the lion.
4. Samson offers his parents the honeycomb.
5. Samson presents himself at the house of his bride and is sent off by his father-in-law.
6. Samson killing the Philistines.
7. Samson killing Philistines with the ass's jawbone.
8. Samson carrying the doors of Gaza up the mountain.
9. Marriage of Samson (and Delilah?).<sup>139</sup>

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<sup>137</sup> Bandera also seems to have misread the letters. She implies that the list of subjects sent by Bentivoglio to Borghese is identifiable as a list of the subjects of Henry II's tapestries. Read carefully it is clear that this is not the case, as Scipione has already requested alterations at that point and Bentivoglio refers to a missing twelve-piece list. Moreover there is the obvious problem that the Cremona tapestries and Bentivoglio's list cannot both represent one set of drawings.

<sup>138</sup> Franco Voltini, "Arazzi per la Cattedrale", in *Arazzi per la Cattedrale di Cremona* (1987), 67.

<sup>139</sup> It is quite problematic to identify this scene as the marriage of Samson and Delilah, as nowhere in the biblical text does it say that such an event took place. The only marriage Samson had was that with the woman of Timnah. The Cremona tapestry has been identified as the marriage of Samson and Delilah based on the group of men looking on to the proceedings from the right hand side of the composition, which it has been suggested are the Philistines waiting and plotting about how they will get revenge. However, it is equally possible that these are the guests invited by Samson's father to the feast thrown for Samson's marriage to the woman of Timnah, the men to whom Samson will pose a riddle inspired by the lion he has just killed. In general, the subjects of the Cremona tapestries are weighted more toward the earlier portion of Samson's life, and it seems to me to be more fitting to identify this as Samson's marriage to the woman of Timnah.

10. Samson sleeping on Delilah's lap while the Philistines cut his hair.
11. Samson pulling down the temple and dying among the ruins.
12. The burial of Samson.

Without giving reasons, Bandera has asserted that these twelve tapestries were based on the drawings made for Henry II. Support for that idea is found in Bentivoglio's letters. As noted previously, in his letter of April 24, Bentivoglio refers to Scipione Borghese's latest request that his tapestries be executed as a set of twelve based on a list of subjects that Bentivoglio has already sent him, plus an additional unspecified four. In the surviving letters that Bentivoglio sent to Scipione there is no detailed list of the subjects of the designs for Henry II, information he must have provided to the cardinal, and that is most likely the list of twelve to which he later refers. The coincidence of a twelve-panel cycle in Bentivoglio's original list and the Cremona set make it likely that the latter was executed on the basis of Henry II's lost cartoons.

No scholar has heretofore studied these sets and taken into account the significant discrepancies between the Cremona series and the description that Bentivoglio provided to Borghese of his Samson scenes. Comparing the two may indicate how Borghese personalized his set of tapestries. There are nine subjects common to the two sets of tapestries: the Birth of Samson, Samson fighting the lion, Samson killing the Philistines, Samson killing the Philistines with the jawbone of an ass, Samson carrying the doors of Gaza up the mountain, the Marriage of Samson, the Philistines cutting Samson's hair, Samson destroying the temple of the Philistines, and the Burial of Samson. These are the canonical scenes of Samson's biography, with some omissions, for example, of the frequently depicted moment when Samson sets the firebrand-foxes loose in the Philistine's fields, which does not appear in the Cremona set. We can say for certain that two of these scenes were included in Henry II's cycle, as Bentivoglio mentions that it would be a poor idea to alter the dimensions

of the designs showing Samson killing the Philistines with the ass's jawbone and Samson pulling down the Philistine's temple. As these are standard scenes we would expect to find them in any expanded Samson cycle.

Nevertheless there are some details in Bentivoglio's descriptions and in the Cremona tapestries that support the suggestion that these nine tapestries were based on the same set of designs as those used for Scipione. First there is the doubling of the scene of Samson killing Philistines. The depiction of Samson with the ass's jawbone was of course canonical, and arguably Samson's defining moment. It is more unusual to see a second scene of Samson slaughtering the Philistines, which could represent a number of different moments in Samson's biography, as he faced off against them several times. Based on the appearance of burning buildings in the background, it has been suggested that the Cremona tapestry illustrates Judges 15.6-8, when Samson attacks and kills the Philistines in revenge for the murder of his wife and her father.<sup>140</sup> Bentivoglio's description of the extra Philistine scene includes the information that Samson is attacking his enemies with a "*ferro d'aratro*", that is with a plough iron. There is no mention anywhere in the biblical text of Samson using a plough iron to attack the Philistines. It is thus particularly noteworthy that in the Cremona panel Samson appears to be holding just such an object [Fig. 3.43]. Samson stands over an enemy at the centre of the composition, his arm lifted above his head and brandishing a large dark weapon that stands out against the lighter background. The weapon is a long relatively straight blade with a thick handle, all made out of a single piece of metal. It is similar in appearance to a coulter, a blade attached to a plough just in front of the plough itself in order to break up the earth and ease the process of creating a

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<sup>140</sup> Loretta Dolcini, ed., *Arazzi per la Cattedrale di Cremona. Storie di Sansone. Storie della vita di Cristo* (Milan: Electa, 1987), 114.

furrow [Fig. 3.50]. It is possible that this detail comes from a mix-up or fusion of Samson's story with that of another Old Testament hero from the Book of Judges, Shamgar. Shamgar is mentioned in passing in Judges 3.31 for killing six hundred Philistines with an ox goad, a farming implement that was depicted sometimes as simply a very long pointed stick and sometimes as something more like a shovel [Fig. 3.51]. Moreover, Shamgar is also included in the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, alongside Samson killing the Philistines with an ass's jawbone. Two Philistine-massacre scenes and the presence in both of the unusual, non-textual weapon, creates a convincing link between the Borghese and Cremona cathedral tapestries.

Another tentative connection between the two sets of images may be established for the *Burial of Samson*. Bentivoglio describes the scene as Samson being “embalmed and buried”, which is a more accurate description of the Cremona panel than its standard title.<sup>141</sup> In the Cremona tapestry we do not actually see Samson's burial [Fig. 3.49]. In the distance at the upper right is the funerary procession carrying Samson's body to be interred. The scene is dominated by a large bearded figure in the centre-foreground who wields a lever to help another burly man move the slab of stone that will seal Samson's tomb in the back left. There a group of men prepare to wrap Samson's body, visible with his hands folded over his chest, in a shroud, while outside to the left and right of the composition several women wring out clothes and pour liquids between highly decorated pots, no doubt in reference to the recent cleaning and embalming of the body. Bentivoglio's two-part division of the scene's subject closely reflects the composition and narrative of the Cremona cathedral panel, again suggesting that the two panels share a common source.

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<sup>141</sup> Hoogewerff 1921, 139.

Despite these connections it cannot be argued that Scipione's final set of tapestries and the Cremona set were both executed faithfully from Henry II's drawings, as there are also numerous divergences in the subjects. It appears that Borghese used the Henry II designs for some of the fundamental events of the narrative, but then significantly altered the series. This is also implied in Bentivoglio's letters. Between January 16<sup>th</sup> and April 24<sup>th</sup> Scipione changed his mind and asked that twelve of the tapestries be executed based on the list (the one now missing) that Bentivoglio had previously sent him, and another four be executed after unidentified designs. There would be no need to return to the subjects of the original set if Borghese had not already made significant changes. Assuming that the Cremona tapestries were based faithfully on Henry II's designs, Scipione must have cancelled three scenes from the original cycle and added seven new ones. The cancelled scenes are all from the beginning of the hero's biography, and are related to his marriage to the Philistine woman from Timnah: Samson meeting the woman from Timnah, Samson offering his parents the honeycomb, and Samson being sent off from the house of his father-in-law. In the final cycle these relatively sedate moments have been replaced by more active, dramatic ones related to the same events: Samson fighting the lion, and the action-packed scene of Samson sending the firebrand-foxes into the Philistine's fields. This change may then have been primarily cosmetic, designed to enliven the set as a whole.

We may also reconsider the significance of the scenes that were added, although without more information this must remain hypothetical. With one exception, it could be argued that the additional scenes were intended to underscore Samson's heroic character as a prefiguration of Christ. The six added scenes with named subjects are: 1) the sacrifice of Samson's father and mother, 2) Samson

releasing the firebrand-foxes, 3) Samson drinking water from the ass's jawbone, 4) Samson fleeing Gaza with the city doors on his shoulders, 5) Samson making love to Delilah, and 6) Samson's body being carried for burial.

The first scene is described in Judges 13.15-23. Samson's mother, who is identified only as Manoach's wife, is sterile until an angel appears to her and announces that she will conceive a child who will be a Nazarite dedicated to God. Later in the text the angel returns to affirm the prophecy to Manoach, who asks if he may make a sacrifice to demonstrate his gratitude. The angel says that he may, if he offers it to the Lord, and then while the animals are burning, he rises up to heaven before the startled couples' eyes. It is only then that they understand that they were speaking to an angel. The story thus underscores some of the parallels between Samson and Christ, specifically that both were conceived miraculously and consecrated to the Lord before their births, and the inclusion of the scene in Scipione's set may have been intended to emphasize the Christological connections inherent in Samson's biography and Scipione's role as a guardian of the church.

The same could be said of the doubled scenes of Samson carrying the doors of Gaza. As previously discussed, Samson's escape from Gaza was seen as a typological prefiguration for Christ's Resurrection. Including two versions of the scene, one apparently with Samson in the foreground and another with him in the distance, would put visual emphasis on the event most closely associated with Christ's triumph over death.

Other scenes, in particular Samson setting the foxes loose in the Philistine's fields and Samson drinking from the jawbone would have underlined his nature as a hero and protector of the Israelites against their enemies. Samson's release of the

firebrand-foxes into the Philistine's fields was an act of pure (if misplaced) revenge for his wife's betrayal of the answer to his riddle (Judges 14.14), but was seen as another instance of his willingness to protect his people against his enemies. The moment when Samson drinks from the jawbone, although generally associated again with Samson as a hero, also represents his special relationship with the Lord.<sup>142</sup> After defeating the Philistines in God's name, Samson calls on the Lord to slake his thirst, so that he does not become weak and end up in his enemies' hands. The scene thus represents the reward given to virtue, and Samson's status as a hero of the Israelites, chosen by God. The scenes that were added to Scipione's tapestry set can be read as emphasizing Samson's role as a prefiguration of Christ and an Old Testament hero sworn to protect his people.<sup>143</sup> Such an emphasis would underscore Scipione's own role as protector of the church, implicitly presenting him as a righteous defender of the faith.

The letters pertaining to the commission for the Samson tapestry cycle reinforce and expand our view of Cardinal Borghese as a patron. Previous studies of Borghese's collection at the Pincian villa have established that in several cases the cardinal had works with similar themes installed together as a means to stimulate conversation. For example, Borghese is known to have displayed Barocci and Bernini's respective treatments of the story of Aeneas fleeing Troy together in order to create a kind of paragone.<sup>144</sup> From this perspective it would be unsurprising for him to

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<sup>142</sup> The idea that water came from the jawbone is actually a misunderstanding of the original text – Samson asks God to slake his thirst, since he has just defeated the Philistines in his name, and God causes water to flow from a nearby rock (Judges 15.18-19).

<sup>143</sup> The exception to this is the scene of Samson making love to Delilah, for which no such interpretation can be offered.

<sup>144</sup> Rudolf Preimesberger, "Enea e Anchise," in *Bernini scultore. La Nascita del barocco in casa borghese*, ed. Anna Coliva and Sebastian Schütze (Rome: De Luca, 1998), cat. 8, 110-123.



display treatments of the same theme in different media close to each other, in this case frescoed and woven versions of the story of Samson. Scipione's connection to two projects involving Samson iconography may further inflect our consideration of another painting in the Borghese collection, an image of Samson in prison attributed to Annibale Carracci [Fig. 3.52].<sup>145</sup> The painting has been dated on stylistic grounds to c. 1594, and is recorded in the Borghese collection for the first time in 1650 by Iacomo Manili, who mistakenly attributed it to Sebastiano del Piombo. The painting shows a nude Samson, his hands tied behind his back, his face turned down and in deep shadow, the jawbone with which he killed the Philistines lying at his feet. Scipione's established interest in the Samson theme supports the possibility that the painting came into the Borghese collection during Scipione's lifetime.

The Samson tapestries are important for a number of reasons. The surviving letters allow us an unusually detailed look into the process of a commission, and they indicate that Borghese was an attentive patron who carefully followed the project, making informed decisions as to the size, subject matter and price of the works. Michael Hill has argued that the lack of similar information for other Scipione commissions does not denote a disinterested patron. Rather, it is more likely that when possible Borghese was physically present to discuss his commissions and make decisions, and that it was only when a project had to be developed from afar that he would resort to letter-writing.<sup>146</sup> The surviving letters do not indicate a highly refined or intellectual interest in projects. Instead, his concerns appear to have focused on the quality of the drawings and weavings, the importance of getting his money's worth (again part of the quality of the weavings), a fundamental aesthetic appreciation of

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<sup>145</sup> Paolo Moreno and Chiara Stefani, *Galleria Borghese* (Milan: Touring Editore, 2000), 83; Gianfranco Malafarina, *L'opera completa di Annibale Carracci* (Milan: Rizzoli, 1976), 105.

<sup>146</sup> Hill 1998, 12.

artistic qualities like color, and (by inference) a need to compete with other cardinals, in this case Cardinal Montalto. Von Flemming's recreation of Borghese's cultural circle is thus particularly important, as it is to the individuals of that group that we should look in order to explicate Borghese's more complicated works.

#### GIAN LORENZO BERNINI'S *AENEAS AND ANCHISES*

Scipione Borghese is particularly noted for his early patronage of the young Gian Lorenzo Bernini, and for the series of brilliant sculptures that the latter executed for him between 1618 and 1625. Like the Vatican frescoes, Bernini's *Aeneas and Anchises* (1618-1619) contains references to themes of filial piety, familial loyalty, and the willing subordination of the cardinal nephew [Fig. 3.53]. As Cesare D'Onofrio suggests, Bernini's *Aeneas and Anchises* takes up and 'Romanizes' the metaphor of the nephew as "support" for his uncle, the pope. The statue depicts a moment in the legendary narrative of the founding of Rome when Aeneas, carrying his father Anchises on his shoulder and with his young son Ascanius at his side, flees the burning city of Troy. With their household gods and hearth fire, symbols of faith and home, the group would eventually arrive at the shores where they would found the city of Rome. The work is technically and conceptually virtuosic, fusing three figures, which respectively typify different stages in human life, from childhood, through maturity, and finally to old age. The attention to details of surface texture and anatomy, seen in a chain of contrasts starting with the slack skin and flabby stomach of Anchises, through the taut physique and unlined visage of Aeneas, and completed in the full, chubby body of Ascanius, is typical of Bernini's work.<sup>147</sup> On its

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<sup>147</sup> It should be noted that there has been considerable discussion concerning the exact authorship of this work. In the past it was given completely to Pietro Bernini (by Muñoz and

completion the statue was placed in the Villa Borghese below a painting by Federico Barocci of *The Fall of Troy* [Fig. 3.54].<sup>148</sup> Barocci's painting, whose presence in the Borghese collection pre-dated Bernini's work, would have provided the complete narrative context for Bernini's sculpture, a complementary visual interpretation of the Anchises group.<sup>149</sup>

The narrative and both works exemplify ideals of familial loyalty and lineage, and Rudolf Preimesberger has argued, relying on D'Onofrio, that the subject of Bernini's statue was chosen in order to underscore Scipione's filial piety and eternal loyalty to his uncle Paul V.<sup>150</sup> Scipione's choice of the Aeneas story for his first major commission from Bernini appropriately emphasized his loyalty and submission to Paul, while casting himself in a leading role for the reign of Paul V. In addition, the subject is a punning reference to Scipione's first name, which can be translated as "a staff to lean on."<sup>151</sup> As Preimesberger has reiterated, the work presents an iconography of nepotism, a depiction of the cardinal nephew as the pope's support system and a

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Longhi), although this view is no longer accepted. It is more likely that the sculpture is largely the work of Gian Lorenzo, with the supervision and possible intervention of his father. For a summary of these attribution issues see Rudolf Wittkower, *Bernini: the sculptor of the Roman Baroque* (London: Phaidon Press, 1997), cat. 8, 233-234.

<sup>148</sup> Howard Hibbard, *Bernini* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1974), 235. The relationship between Bernini's sculpture and Barocci's painting is given in a description of the Villa by Manilli from 1650. Preimesberger, "Enea e Anchise," in *Bernini scultore*, 1998, cat. 8, 110-123.

<sup>149</sup> On Barocci's painting see Hubertus Günther, "Federico Barocci *Die Flucht des Aeneas aus Troja*," *Weltkunst* 47 (1977): 1858-1859, and Andrea Emiliani, ed., *Mostra di Federico Barocci*, ex. cat. Bologna Museo Civico, 14 settembre-16 novembre 1975 (Bologna: Edizioni Alfa, 1975), 150-153.

<sup>150</sup> Preimesberger, "Enea e Anchise," in *Bernini scultore* (1998), 110-123. See also Rudolf Wittkower, *Bernini: the sculptor of the Roman Baroque* (London: Phaidon Press, 1997), cat. 8, 233-234.

<sup>151</sup> Preimesberger, "Enea e Anchise," in *Bernini scultore* (1998), 121. In Latin 'scipio' means "the stick on which to support oneself." See also: Ann Thomas Wilkins, "Bernini and Ovid: Expanding the Concept of Metamorphosis," *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 6 (2000): 385.

key element of papal good government.<sup>152</sup> We have seen this iconography in a different form in the Vatican, and it is notable how Scipione continues to evoke it in his works, even after his position in papal government was assured.

Of critical importance to the sculpture is Bernini's formulation of the effect of the weight of the aged Anchises on Aeneas, an interpretation that can be related to the text of the *Aeneid* from which the narrative comes. To hasten their departure Aeneas says to his father, "Quick, then, dear Father, I said, 'climb onto my back, and I will / Carry you on my shoulders – that's a burden will not be burdensome.'" <sup>153</sup> The key to this passage, and its applicability to a papal nephew, is the idea of a load willingly assumed and easily carried – a burden that is not a burden. The papal nephew was expected to put the welfare of his pontiff above all else, to act as an unquestioning and unfailing support system. In the Aldobrandini water theatre Hercules reaches out to take the celestial globe from Atlas, his eagerness an expression of duties willingly assumed.

The aspect of a welcome and weightless burden leads to further consideration of the relationship between Bernini's sculpture and two works most often cited as its visual influences – Raphael's frescoed depiction of the same group in the Vatican *Fire in the Borgo* and Michelangelo's sculpted *Risen Christ* in S. Maria sopra Minerva [Fig. 's 3.55, 3.56] – as well as the painting that provided its immediate context, Barocci's *Flight from Troy* [Fig. 3.54]. Raphael's Aeneas is a solid, muscular nude, and yet he is bowed by the awkward weight of his father. Aeneas has a wide stance, his knees slightly buckled, and his shoulders bent forward by Anchises, who is draped

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<sup>152</sup> Preimesberger, "Enea e Anchise," in *Bernini scultore* (1998), 121-122.

<sup>153</sup> Hibbard 1974, 34. From Vergil, *Aeneid*, C. Day Lewis, trans. (Oxford, 1952), ii, lines 707 ff.

over his back. He looks down at the ground in front of him, his faint grimace hidden by shadow. The representation of Anchises' weight is emphasized by the lack of other attributes or action. He holds neither household gods nor hearth fire, weakly clutching Aeneas' shoulder with his left hand, and allowing his right wrist to be hauled forward and held by his son for balance. This is not 'a burden that will not be burdensome', but rather a naturalistic depiction of the challenge of one grown man carrying another.

The same can be said for Barocci's Aeneas group. Barocci chose to pose his figures in a similar fashion, with Anchises draped over Aeneas' shoulder. However, in this arrangement Anchises faces back and the bulk of his body and weight falls across Aeneas' chest, with his legs further impeding Aeneas' forward progress. In Barocci's work, as in Bernini's, Anchises does perform the important task of carrying the household gods, thus contributing to the preservation of family and tradition. Yet the overall relationship in the two-figure group is that of an awkward burden, of a solid and still-powerful man being carried like an overgrown child. Barocci's work emphasizes a sense of panic and confusion in the fiery setting, Creusa's forward-lunge over the militaristic still life in the foreground, and finally Ascanius' touchingly realistic gesture of covering his ear against the noise of the collapsing city to his right. While Bernini clearly was limited in the number of figures he could portray, and the depiction of a cityscape in flames well beyond the reach of a single sculpture, it is notable that his Ascanius shows no outward signs of fear. The child is tucked under his father and grandfather in the manner of children sticking close their protectors, yet he moves forward with an open, decisive stride similar to that of Aeneas himself, and carries out of his task of maintaining the family hearth fire with no apparent hesitation. Considered together, as they were in the Borghese collection, the differences in the two works become increasingly significant. Barocci's painting was

commissioned for and given to Scipione as a gift by Monsignore Giuliano della Rovere, and the choice of theme in general was meant to flatter the Borghese in their quest for Roman roots.<sup>154</sup> Baroccio's work would not have been executed under Scipione's watchful eye, as Bernini's could have been, and it is likely that the latter more faithfully represents the message that Scipione desired in his Aeneas group.

In contrast to both Raphael and Barocci's versions of the group, Bernini's Aeneas is slim and light, his hold on his father easy. While his left knee bends as he steps forward, his right leg curves gracefully back, holding the weight of himself and his father on only a few toes. While Bernini's Anchises is represented with the marks of age and approaching decrepitude, he is still an active and important player in the scene – he holds the household gods in his left hand, maintains a firm but not desperate grip on Aeneas with his right, and gazes into the distance with a look of grim resolve. Finally, there is no hint of a struggle in Bernini's Aeneas. The vestiges of Mannerism that have been seen in the serpentine composition are an indicator of the easy grace with which Aeneas carries his load, the “screw-like build-up of the bodies” lending the whole a sense of rising motion rather than crushing weight.<sup>155</sup> In contrast to the detail from the Raphael fresco and Barocci's version of the scene, Bernini's interpretation of the group is adjusted to the political message of the work as a representation of a load willingly assumed, the welcome burdens of the role of cardinal nephew to a still-vital papal father figure.

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<sup>155</sup> Rudolf Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Baroque Italy*, 6th.ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 145.

Bernini's desire to visualize a heavy load lightly carried may well have been what led him to Michelangelo's *Risen Christ* as a model.<sup>156</sup> Preimesberger has argued that Bernini's work is a revision of Michelangelo's, where the marked contrapposto pose of Christ is taken up and given narrative justification by Anchises' weight.<sup>157</sup> However, Bernini may also have turned to this work precisely for its unsettling sense of weightlessness, as an example of a muscular body resting lightly on its pedestal. Inspired by Michelangelo's example, Bernini's sculpture is a critical revision of Raphael's group. Bernini draws on the work of his predecessors to express the role of the papal nephew, in this case specifically Scipione Borghese, in such a way that a specific set of contemporary political-familial associations complements the historical narrative. For the informed viewer the easily recognized sources for Bernini's composition underscored the intentions of artist and patron.

#### POSTSCRIPT: THE CAFFARELLI CHAPEL, S. MARIA SOPRA MINERVA

Scipione Borghese insistently maintained his role as a Borghese and as cardinal nephew in the works that he commissioned, expressing his subordinate position in the papal hierarchy and his understanding of that position as a supporting figure to his uncle throughout his career. However, despite the fact that he officially and legally separated himself from members of his natal family, he did maintain ties with them. As with Cinzio Aldobrandini at the beginning of the century and the

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<sup>156</sup> On the relationship between Bernini and Michelangelo see: Catherine M. Soussloff, "Imitatio Buonarroti," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 20 (1989): 581-602. In addition, in his diary Chantelou records several comments made by Bernini in regard to this statue, both of them implicitly critical of the work for having "more art than grace" and for straying too far from nature. Paul Fréart de Chantelou, *Diary of the Cavaliere Bernini's Visit to France*, ed. Anthony Blunt (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 42-43, 137.

<sup>157</sup> Preimesberger, "Enea e Anchise," in *Bernini scultore* (1998), 117-118. Preimesberger, drawing on Hibbard, also suggests that Bernini's work is a criticism of Michelangelo's 'monotonous' approach to the nude, positing a model of decorum and natural variety in the skin textures and depictions of age.

Albertoni-Altieri nephews at the end, Scipione continued to care for the fortunes of his original family, even if in a limited way.

His interest in maintaining the respectability and memory of the Caffarelli culminated in the 1621 decoration of the family chapel in S. Maria sopra Minerva in honour of his father [Fig. 3.57].<sup>158</sup> In the period immediately following Paul V's election to the papal throne and Scipione's promotion to the role of papal nephew, Scipione's father Francesco Caffarelli was intentionally kept far from Rome, as it was felt that his presence could damage Scipione's burgeoning career.<sup>159</sup> Francesco had consistent financial problems, and this was likely the main motivation to distance him from the new nephew.<sup>160</sup> Francesco would eventually transfer to Rome in 1607, where he lived on a stipend provided by Scipione.<sup>161</sup> In turn, Scipione was named a beneficiary in Francesco's will, and received a modest income every year after his father's death on Caffarelli investments that were passed down to him.<sup>162</sup> Finally, although he bestowed on them nothing close to the favours he received, Scipione did promote several of his Caffarelli relatives. His nephews Prospero and Fausto both had successful curial careers: Prospero's career was launched in 1611 when he was created a canon at the Lateran and at St. Peter's, while Fausto got his start in 1616 when he was named a consistorial advocate in Ferrara. It should be noted that neither of these promotions came at the outset of Borghese's pontificate – Scipione's largesse with Caffarelli family members came once his own position was assured. Wolfgang

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<sup>158</sup> Michael Hill is currently preparing an article that will publish all the documentation related to the chapel. In this postscript I have chosen to provide essentially a summary of the information already provided by Hill, and will await the appearance of his article in order to fully analyze the chapel.

<sup>159</sup> Reinhard 1974, 408. Coliva 1998, 391.

<sup>160</sup> V. Castronovo, *DBI*, "Borghese Caffarelli", 620; Reinhard 1974, 373; von Pastor 1962, vol. 12, 52.

<sup>161</sup> Reinhard 1974, 408.

<sup>162</sup> Reinhardt 1984, 105, n. 97, 106, n. 106, 106, n. 117, 107, n. 127, 107, n. 135, 107, n. 146, 108, n. 162, 109, n. 182, 110, n. 197, 113, n. 259.



Reinhard has argued that both of these appointments were intended to serve Borghese's financial interests in Rome, demonstrating how the client system ideally functioned in two directions, with both the party offering the favour and that receiving it benefiting from the situation.<sup>163</sup> As we have already seen, Scipione also involved relatives in his cultural life, with the poet Massimiliano Caffarelli taking part in the cardinal's literary circle. In ways that served the Borghese, Scipione succeeded in dutifully assisting his natal family without damaging his reputation or calling into question his loyalty to the Borghese. Similarly, it was only in 1620, five years after his father's death in 1615 and when his position was consolidated without question, that Scipione began to restore the Caffarelli family chapel in S. Maria sopra Minerva.<sup>164</sup>

The Caffarelli chapel is the second chapel to the right on entering the church of S. Maria sopra Minerva. From 1522 to 1670 the chapel was dedicated to S. Antoninus, a Dominican bishop of Florence. The chapel was restored and partly redecorated after being rededicated to the newly canonized Dominican S. Louis Beltran in 1670, and then redecorated again in 1848 and 1855, and thus what remains of Borghese's project is partial and scattered.<sup>165</sup> Work began with the erection of a tomb for Francesco on the wall to the left side of the altar, and continued with the altar itself, which was outfitted with yellow marble columns to either side and a green marble fascia around the whole [Fig. 3.58].<sup>166</sup> Michael Hill has suggested that the design of the altar was perhaps by Giovanni Vasanzio, Scipione's court architect,

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<sup>163</sup> Reinhard 1974, 409.

<sup>164</sup> Paul V died in January 1621 at the age of 69, only a year after Scipione began to redecorate the Caffarelli chapel. The coincidental dates lead one to suspect that perhaps Scipione sensed that his uncle's health was beginning to fail and so decided to commence the project while he still had unlimited access to papal funds. This is unlikely though, as Paul V was apparently in good health until the week that he died. von Pastor 1962, 599-600.

<sup>165</sup> Hill 1998, 220, 221.

<sup>166</sup> Hill 1998, 106.

however Hill has also noted that it shows stylistic links to the works of Carlo Maderno, Girolamo Rainaldi, and Giovan Battista Soria, and thus it remains essentially anonymous.<sup>167</sup> This portion of the project was then completed with an altarpiece showing the Virgin and Child with S. Dominic kneeling before them and two paintings to either side, with unknown subjects, all executed by one of Borghese's preferred painters, Giuseppe Cesari, the Cavaliere d'Arpino.<sup>168</sup> The location of Cesari's altarpiece is unknown, while Hill has suggested that the side paintings may be those now found in the half lunettes above the altar, flanking the image of St. Dominic. Gaspare Celio also worked in the chapel, executing scenes from the life of St. Dominic 'above the cornice' later in the 1620's for Fausto Caffarelli.<sup>169</sup> These are probably the two scenes now found in the cells of the chapel's groin vault, showing St. Dominic reviving Napoleone Orsini and exorcising demons, respectively. Put together over several centuries without an overarching or grandiose plan, the decorations of the chapel appear cobbled together and uncoordinated in form or intention.

Francesco's tomb is relatively simple: at the centre is a black marble inscription set into an architectural surround featuring yellow and black marbles, the whole topped by a heavy pediment broken by the Caffarelli family coat of arms. The focal point of the tomb is the inscription that reads:

**D O M / FRANCISCO CAFARELLO / ROMANO / HORTENSIAE  
BURGHESIAE / PAULI V PONT. / MAX / SORORIS VIRO /**

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<sup>167</sup> Hill 1998, 221.

<sup>168</sup> Hill 1998, 106, 222. Among other things, D'Arpino executed the altarpiece and several frescoes (now lost) for the Caffarelli chapel in S. Maria sopra Minerva (See Hill 1998, 106, 222), was involved in the decorations for the 1610 funeral organized by Scipione for Giovanni Battista Borghese (See Minou Schraven, "Giovanni Battista Borghese's Funeral 'Apparato' of 1610 in S. Maria Maggiore, Rome," *The Burlington Magazine* 143 (2001): 23-28) and oversaw the decoration of the Cappella Paolina from 1610 on.

<sup>169</sup> Hill 1998, 222.

NOBILITATIS IUXTA AC / PROBITATIS ANTIQUAE / QUI  
 CANDOREM / ANIM / ETIAM IN SENILI PRUDENTIAM / ET IN  
 OMNI FORTUNA / MODERATIONEM SUI / TENVIT / OFFICIA IN  
 AMICOS / AVXIT / OBIIT ANNO DOMINI MDCXV / IIII IDVS  
 AVGVSTI / VIXIT / ANNOS LXXIII / MENSES II DIES XX / **SCIPIO**  
**CARD BVRGHESIVS** / PARENTI POSVIT.

The inscription is an expression of Scipione's social and legal absorption into the Borghese family, more notable here given the context. Francesco is identified principally as the husband of Pope Paul V's sister.<sup>170</sup> It is revealing and perhaps unique that Scipione identifies himself as Francesco's "kinsman" and not his 'son'. He thus maintained the separation between himself, his father and his natal family that had been legally enacted in 1613, likely to protect Borghese property interests, but socially and visually proclaimed since 1605.<sup>171</sup>

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<sup>170</sup> This is particularly the case as his wife, Hortensia Borghese Caffarelli is not actually buried in this chapel, but rests rather in the Church of Trinità dei Monti. She pre-deceased her husband by many years, dying in 1598. Hill 1998, 220.

<sup>171</sup> Hill 1998, 197. Borghese himself is buried in the Pauline chapel in S. Maria Maggiore, arguably his uncle's primary artistic undertaking, although no monument marks the location or his memory. Scipione's fundamental dedication to the Borghese is also seen in his will. He names Marcantonio his heir, but also includes a standard adoption clause: should the family lack a male heir and the husband of a female heir be the only possibility to continue the family, that man must take on the name and arms without any mixture from another family. Ehrlich 2002, 33.

#### CHAPTER 4: 'A COUNTERFEIT NEPHEW': THE FAILED TENURE OF CAMILLO ASTALLI PAMPHILI, (R. 1650-54; 1619-1663)

##### *Astalli's tenure as papal nephew*

On September 19<sup>th</sup> 1650 Pope Innocent X Pamphili shocked the Curia when he endowed Camillo Astalli, a young cleric in the Apostolic Camera, with the cardinal's hat, the Pamphili name, and the title of cardinal nephew [Fig. 4.1]. As the new cardinal nephew Astalli was assigned S. Pietro in Montorio as his titular church, given the apartment in the Quirinal palace traditionally reserved for the position, and assigned extensive benefices;<sup>1</sup> as the new Pamphili nephew he was given the family palace on Piazza Navona and the villa, then under construction, near San Pancrazio.<sup>2</sup> In his *Diario Romano* Giacinto Gigli records that Astalli promptly moved himself into the palace on Piazza Navona the same day as his promotion.<sup>3</sup> Writing to Cardinal

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<sup>1</sup> BAV, Barb. lat. 4910, *Discorso sopra le famiglie papali moderne*, 165v. Astalli was made the governor of Fermo, and given the legate of Avignon (with 30,000 scudi), and a gift of 10,000 ducats. Maria Celeste Cola, "Giovan Angelo Canini e la committenza artistica degli Astalli nel Palazzo di Sambuci," *Bollettino dell'arte* 6 (1998): 53.

<sup>2</sup> Ludwig von Pastor, *Storia dei papi dalla fine del medio evo*, vol. 14.1 (Rome: Desclées, 1961), 32. Giacinto Gigli, *Diario Romano (1608-70)*, Giuseppe Ricciotti, ed. (Rome: Tumminelli Editore, 1956), 372-3. "A di 19. di Settembre Lunedì avanti le quattro tempora, papa Innocentio creò un solo Cardinale, il quale fu Camillo Astalli Romano Chierico di Camera, giovane di età di 30. Anni in circa; et non lo fece solamente Cardinale, ma dichiarò, che lo faceva suo Nepote dandoli il cognome, et l'Arme sua, et lo fece, come dicono, Cardinal padrone, al quale immediatamente dopo il Papa dovessero tutti gli altri Cardinali conferire le cose occorrenti, et però vivente esso Pontefice dovesse risiedere in Palazzo nell'habitatione destinata alli Nepoti de' Papi. Gli donò in vita sua il Palazzo in piazza Navona con tutti li mobili, argenteria, et addobbamenti, che vi erano, gli donò anco la sua Vigna posta fuor di Porta S. Pancratio, et gli assegnò per allora trentamila Scudi di entrata, et di presente un regalo di dieci mila Scudi." The villa was subject to the Pamphili primogeniture and fidecommesso however. See Olimpia Pamphili's will: Ignazio Ciampi, *Innocenzo X Pamfili e la sua corte: storia di Roma dal 1644 al 1655; da nuovi documenti* (Rome: Galeati, 1878), 350-376.

<sup>3</sup> Gigli 1956, 373. Stephanie Leone has recently suggested that this is unlikely to be true, noting that as Olimpia Maidalchini was unwilling to receive Astalli it is doubtful that she would have been willing to live with him. Stati d'anime records for 1653/4 do not record Astalli's presence in the Piazza Navona palace. Astalli most likely actually resided at one of the apostolic palaces, either at the Vatican or the Quirinal. Stephanie Leone, *The Palazzo*

Barberini a week later, Camillo himself affirmed his adoption and rather gracefully acknowledged that for this he could only give “thanks without measure.”<sup>4</sup> On February 7<sup>th</sup> 1653 Astalli was named protector of the Pamphili family church of S. Agnese in Piazza Navona. The bull issued by Innocent X on this occasion is of particular importance in the context of this study as it explicitly refers to Camillo as “*Filijs nostri*” or “our [i.e. the Pope’s] son”, stating Astalli’s place in the Pamphili family and the acceptance of his adoption by the church in clear terms.<sup>5</sup> This also suggests that in the case of a pope adopting a cardinal nephew the prohibition against clerics exercising the right of *patria potestas*, or the absolute power of a father over his family established by Roman law, was overlooked.<sup>6</sup>

Astalli was the second individual to take up the post of Innocent’s cardinal nephew after the abdication of the true nephew, Camillo Pamphili. The first Camillo, the son of Innocent’s influential sister-in-law Olimpia Maidalchini Pamphili, abdicated the position in 1647 in order to marry Olimpia Aldobrandini, widowed after

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*Pamphilj in Piazza Navona: constructing identity in early modern Rome* (London: Miller, 2008), 266.

<sup>4</sup> BAV, Barb. lat. 8765, 76r. The letter reads:

“A Cardinal Antonio Barberini.

L’esser io stato promosso al Cardinalato, et ammesso ancora da Nostro Signore alla sua Casa, non può riconoscersi da me che per grazia fuori d’ogn’altro paragone grandissima. Onde ne meno posso pienamente goderla senza parteciparne l’avviso a V. Em.za a quale son certo si rallegrerà, che chi ha sempre professato verso di lei molte obbligazioni si trovi ora sollevato a qualche propozione per degnamente servirla. E le bacio humilissimamente le mani. Di Roma Li 24 Settembre 1650.

Humilissimo [Ass.mo?] Ser.

C. Cardinale Pamphilio”

<sup>5</sup> Archivio Doria Pamphili, Chiesa di Sant’Agnese in Agone (breve pontificato) 7 Feb 1653, Scaffale 94, busta 1, interno 4. “...Ac de singulari pietate, prudentia, et cultus divinizelo dile[c/t]i Filijs nostri Camilli Sancti Petri in Monte Auro Sanctae Romane Ecclesie Presbyteri Cardinalis Pamphilij nuncupati plene in Domino confisi, eundem Camillum Cardinalem illius vita durante, et eo vita functo alium Cardinalem acceptare volentem (quem ex nunc requirimus, et lortamur) pro tempore esistenti Patrono Ecclesiae nova praefata benevisuno, ac de ipsius Patroni libitum, et arbitrium toties, quoties opus fuerit nominandum, et eligendum ejus dem Ecclesie nove Sancte Agnetis...”

<sup>6</sup> Clerics technically could not exercise *patria potestas*, or paternal rights. Private correspondance with Thomas Kuehn, 29.09.2005. John Crook, “Patria Potestas,” *The Classical Quarterly* 17 (1967): 113-122.

the death of her first husband Paolo Borghese.<sup>7</sup> Camillo's decision to leave the church was apparently not entirely pleasing to the pope, however it was Donna Olimpia who was truly outraged, as she feared losing power over her son and, without him, influence in the Curia.<sup>8</sup> She would indeed fall from Innocent's good graces after 1650 and for a time was banished from the papal palace. In the years immediately following the 1647 marriage (which neither the pope nor Donna Olimpia attended) the couple was essentially exiled from Rome, living first in Caprarola and later at the Aldobrandini family villa at Frascati. Camillo was reconciled with Innocent in 1651, through the agency of the pope's sister Agata, a nun at the Tor de' Specchi. After Camillo's departure for a secular life, the post of cardinal nephew was briefly filled by Francesco Maidalchini, a relative of Donna Olimpia's, who was quickly found to be gravely incompetent.<sup>9</sup>

Camillo Astalli, in his early thirties at the time of his election to the cardinalate, also owed his success up to that point to Donna Olimpia. She was related to him by marriage and had procured a post for him as a consistorial advocate, before convincing him to use almost all of his patrimony to purchase a clerical position in the

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<sup>7</sup> Camillo's official resignation from the cardinalate was accepted January 21<sup>st</sup> 1647, and the marriage contract concluded Feb 2<sup>nd</sup> of the same year. von Pastor 1961, 38.

<sup>8</sup> Torgil Magnuson, *Rome in the age of Bernini*, v. 1 (Stockholm, Sweden: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1982), 6. It is often stated that Innocent was also against Camillo's decision to leave the church, and this may be true to some extent, however Pastor's counter-argument is convincing: "In view of the fact that the Pope had previously dissuaded his nephew from taking priest's orders, people surmised that he had from the first looked on the cardinalate as no more than a transition and that there had existed between the Pontiff and Camillo a secret understanding concerning the match." Pastor 1961, vol. 14.1, 31. Placing Camillo in the church allowed the family to reap extensive and lucrative benefices for a time, yet it also left them without a legitimate heir, a situation which could not have been acceptable. See also: Marzio Bernasconi, *Il cuore irrequieto dei papi. Percezione e valutazione ideologica del nepotismo sulla base dei dibattiti curiali del XVII secolo*, (Bern: Peter Lang, 2004), 199.

<sup>9</sup> Magnuson 1982, 7. Apparently Astalli's elevation to the cardinalate was considered as early as 1647, but Maidalchini, the closer relative, was chosen as a first option. Pastor 1961, vol. 14.1, 32, n. 3.

Apostolic Camera.<sup>10</sup> The investment proved to be a fortunate one for Astalli. In his curial position he worked with the Secretary of State, Cardinal Giovanni Giacomo Panciroli, an influential individual whose sway over Innocent was for a time almost equal to Olimpia's. Astalli's 1650 elevation to the purple and nomination as papal nephew was based on Cardinal Panciroli's recommendations, as he hoped to increase his own power in curial politics and over Innocent through an indebted and pliable Astalli.<sup>11</sup> Innocent accepted the suggestion in part out of resentment for his own family and, perhaps, based on his faith in Panciroli. After Camillo Pamphili's resignation and the subsequent failure of Francesco Maidalchini, Innocent was apparently so irritated with his relatives that he contemplated taking official steps to end nepotism as an institution.<sup>12</sup> He was dissuaded from taking such drastic measures, and instead opted for the equally unprecedented choice of placing someone from outside his immediate family lineage in the position, no doubt hoping that Astalli's comportment following such unexpected good fortune would demonstrate complete loyalty. Astalli's promotion to cardinal nephew was not at Donna Olimpia's instigation, and it caused a brief rupture in the close relationship she enjoyed with the pope. Yet Panciroli too would be disappointed by Astalli. The new cardinal was

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<sup>10</sup> G. De Caro, "Astalli, Camillo," *DBI*, vol. 4 (1962), 453. Cola 1998, 52. Camillo Astalli's brother Tiberio married a niece of Donna Olimpia's. Her name is variously given in the secondary literature as both Vittoria and Caterina, but she is recorded in the *Stati d'Anime* for the parish of San Marco of 1666 as Vittoria. Archivio Vicariato, *Stati d'Anime*, Chiesa di San Marco, 1666, 23.

<sup>11</sup> Pastor 1961, vol. 14.1, 3.

<sup>12</sup> Bernasconi 2004, 201. From an avviso: "Ha Innocentio collocata tutta la Gloria del Suo Pontificato nell'essere il primo a togliere il Nepotismo et vuole perché di lui resti memoria perpetua fare una Bolla giurata dalli Cardinali nella quale si proibirà che per l'avenire li Parenti dè Pontefici non devano mettere le mani nella Dominatione. Et sta tanto fisso in questo pensiero che non si avverte della parte del Governo che senza ragione concede alla Cognata; dalle mormoratione che publicamente se ne fanno; et che è venuto in questa risoluzione doppo essersi chiarito che Don Camillo non haveva habilità per li Negozi; doppo che ha rinosciuto la Porpora, et si è accasato; et doppo che perseguitato dalla madre, Sua Santità si è lasciato indurre a scordarsi di lui, et a trattarlo come un estraneo." ASV, Segretaria di Stato, *Avvisi* 99, f. 386v.

anything but grateful and docile, and the two became rivals; Astalli briefly triumphed when Panciroli retired from his position and from the papal court. The elderly former Secretary of State died a year later, in 1651.<sup>13</sup>

As with his immediate predecessor, Francesco Maidalchini, contemporary sources tell us that Astalli was neither capable nor interested in carrying out the actual political duties of cardinal nephew. On November 26, 1650, shortly after Astalli's elevation, Teodoro Ameyden recorded in his diary that "it is observed that the anticamera of Cardinal Pamphili, is not frequented [as] Cardinal Nephew, rather the true anticamera of the Cardinal Nephew is that of Cardinal Panzirolo."<sup>14</sup> As we have seen with Cinzio Aldobrandini, the willingness of ambassadors and courtiers to deal with the cardinal nephew was a critical measure of his effectiveness in the position and a critical factor in his consolidation or loss of power. Astalli's shortcomings became more apparent after Panciroli's departure, when for a time the full weight of his position and that of Secretary of State fell on his shoulders. To alleviate the burden Cardinal Fabio Chigi was brought on as Secretary of State, and Chigi's clear skill in the role further eroded Astalli's standing with the Pope.<sup>15</sup> Astalli was aware that his position in the Pamphili pontificate and the pope's affections was precarious and in 1654 he sought to create some political insurance for himself through a covert demonstration of allegiance to Philip IV, King of Spain and the Kingdom of Sicily

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<sup>13</sup> It is unclear whether Panciroli retired out of frustration with the situation but of his own volition or if he was forced out of his position. Pastor says that Panciroli died "almost in disgrace" and the DBI states that he was "forced to leave." Pastor 1961, vol. 14.1, 34 and DBI, vol. 4 (1962) 453, Panciroli also arranged for a kind of testamentary adoption after his death. He left four thousand scudi as well as valuable furniture to his sister's third son, on the condition that the son take the Panciroli name. (She was married to Giacomo Brianzi). Gigli 1956, 388.

<sup>14</sup> BAV, Barb lat 4819. Teodoro Ameyden, *Diario dell'Anno M.D.C.L.* 132r. November 26, 1650. "Si osserva che l'Anticamera del Cardinal Pamfilio, non è frequente da Cardinal Nepote, anzi la vera Anticamera del Cardinal Nipote è quella del Cardinal Panzirolo."

<sup>15</sup> In order to strengthen his own role, Astalli tried unsuccessfully to recommend his cousin Francesco Gaetani for the position. Pastor 1961, vol. 14.1, 34.



and Naples. The cardinal most likely hoped to obtain a title from the Spanish king that would ensure him some income and social status should his relationship with Innocent X sour. Astalli had a contact and ally in Madrid, his relation Cardinal Camillo Massimo, who at that time was serving as papal nuncio to the Spanish court.<sup>16</sup> In 1654 the pope, with Donna Olimpia and the Barberini, plotted to attack Naples and install Maffeo Barberini as the Prince of Salerno.<sup>17</sup> Astalli learned of the plan and warned Philip IV, foiling the attack.<sup>18</sup> Through Cardinal Decio Azzolino, a protégé of Donna Olimpia's, the pope learned that it was Astalli who had betrayed him.<sup>19</sup> Initially Innocent X was surprisingly lenient – he proposed to distance Astalli from the papal court by assigning him to the bishopric of Ferrara.<sup>20</sup> Once again Astalli seems to have completely failed to respond appropriately to the situation, and refused to make the transfer. Finally fed up, the pope stripped Astalli of the Pamphili name, his lucrative benefices, and the position of cardinal nephew, although he did allow him to retain the cardinalate. Interestingly, the bull issued by Innocent X that named Cardinal Gualtieri protector of S. Agnese in Camillo's place repeats that Camillo was "*filium nostrum*", however it expands the formula and notes that Camillo was "*tunc Pamphilium nunc Astallium*" ("then Pamphili, now Astalli"), stressing his demotion from the papal family.<sup>21</sup> Leti notes that following his demotion the cardinal would also be known by

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<sup>16</sup> On Massimo see: Lisa Beaven, 'Cardinal Carlo Camillo II Massimi (1620-1677): patron and collector in seventeenth-century Rome' (PhD thesis, University of Melbourne, 2000), as well as Beaven's subsequent publications on Massimo, M. Buonocore et al., *Camillo Massimo: collezionista di antichità* (Rome, 'L'Erma' di Bretschneider, 1996).

<sup>17</sup> Magnuson 1982, 16. This is Don Maffeo Barberini (1631-1685), son of Taddeo Barberini, Urban VIII's brother. He was Prince of Palestrina and husband of Olimpia Giustiniani.

<sup>18</sup> *DBI*, vol. 4 (1962), 454.

<sup>19</sup> *DBI*, vol. 4 (1962), 454.

<sup>20</sup> *DBI*, vol. 4 (1962), 454.

<sup>21</sup> Archivio Doria Pamphili, Chiesa di Sant'Agnese in Agone (breve pontificato) September 16, 1654. scaffale 94, busta 1, interno 5. *Alias Nos Motuproprio. Breve di Papa Innocenzo X. Revoca del Protettore Card. Camillo Astalli Pamphili, e nomina del nuovo Protettore in persona del Cardinale Carlo Gualtieri. "Ac Dilectum filium nostrum Camillum tituli S. Petri in Monte Aureo S. R. E. Praesbiterum Cardinalem tunc Pamphilium nunc Astallium*

his original family name, while Gigli records that the pope instructed that Astalli be called by the name of his titulus, S. Pietro in Montorio, as Cinzio Aldobrandini had been.<sup>22</sup>

Camillo and his brother Tiberio were both exiled from Rome on February 3<sup>rd</sup> 1654 and until Innocent's death lived in the village of Sambuci, outside Tivoli, where the Astalli family owned a palace.<sup>23</sup> Astalli apparently did not accept his demotion immediately, as later in the month Innocent X was forced to send a messenger to Sambuci instructing Astalli, again, that he was no longer allowed to use the Pamphili family name.<sup>24</sup> Greedy to the end, Astalli did not accept a letter of absolution sent to him by the dying Innocent X – apparently he would accept only the restitution of his benefices.<sup>25</sup> Astalli did return to Rome at the time of Innocent's death and attended the requiem masses held at St. Peter's for the deceased pontiff. However, this was no show of long-suffering fidelity, as he pointedly did not wear the deep violet mourning robes stipulated for cardinals.<sup>26</sup> His later career, although quiet, was not completely without successes. Alexander VII readmitted him to court and restored some of his benefices. Furthermore, perhaps in compensation for the extensive revenues Astalli

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nuncupatum illius vita durante, et eo vita functo, alius Cardinalem acceptare volentem protempore existenti Patrono ecclesia nova pta bene visum, ac ad ipsius Patroni libitum, et arbitrium toties quoties opus fuerit nominandus, et eligendum, eiusdem ecclesiae novae S. Agnetis, illiusque fabrice et Sacristie, nec non predictiono Cappellanonus Ministrorum, et personarum, durante pto illorum servitio dumtaxat nec non earundem Ecclesie fabrice et sacristie...”

<sup>22</sup> Gregorio Leti, *Vita di Donna Olimpia*, (Cosmopoli [but Geneva], 1666), 379; Gigli 1956, 429.

<sup>23</sup> On the decoration of the palace see Cola 1998, 52, and later in this chapter.

<sup>24</sup> Gigli 1956, 431. “In questo tempo [following a notice of the 18th of Feb.] Papa Innocenzo mandò un Cursore a Sambuci, il quale intimò al Cardinale Camillo Astalli, che per l'avvenire non si nominasse più di Casa Pamfilii, et intanto si facevano in Roma Processi rigorosi contro di lui, et furono carcerati molti della sua Famiglia, et esaminati...”

<sup>25</sup> DBI, vol. 4 (1962) 454.

<sup>26</sup> Magnuson 1982, 119. And, as the scandal surrounding the burial of Innocent's body suggests, clearly Astalli did not cough up any funds to bury his former protector and adopted father.

lost as a result of his actions for the Spanish king and as recognition of his loyalty, on July 14<sup>th</sup>, 1661 Philip named him to the Bishopric of Catania.<sup>27</sup>

Astalli died on December 21, 1663 at the young age of 44 and was buried in the chapel or minor apse to the right of the high altar in the cathedral in Catania.<sup>28</sup> The chapel, dedicated to Catania's patron Saint Agatha, is the cathedral's most sumptuous, containing in the adjacent sepulchral chapel the jewel-encrusted reliquary of the saint's head and the elaborate precious-metal pyx that is carried in procession around the city every year. Astalli's tomb [Fig. 4.2] is located to the right hand side of the chapel's fifteenth-century marble altar, and forms a pendant to the tomb of Bishop Andrea Riggio, who was one of the key figures in the reconstruction of the city following the disastrous 1693 earthquake that essentially leveled Catania. To the right of Astalli's tomb is that of Viceroy Ferdinando de Acuña, carried out in 1495 by the Messinese artist Antonello Freri – in death Astalli is keeping quite respectable company.

The construction of the tomb must date to between 1663, the year of Astalli's death, and 1693, the year of his brother Tiberio's death, as the latter is named in the inscription as the patron of the work.<sup>29</sup> However, the tomb as it appears today is most likely not the original monument, since the majority of the buildings in Catania were gravely damaged in the 1693 earthquake and rebuilt in the following years. The inscription itself, which is crudely done, does not seem to fit properly onto its

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<sup>27</sup> Barb. lat. 4910, *Discorso sopra le famiglie papali moderne*, 165v. DBI, vol. 4 (1962), 454.

<sup>28</sup> The only published description of the tombs, from Francesco Paternò Castello's 1841 *Descrizione di Catania*, says simply that they are "sorretti da due atlanti." Francesco Paternò Castello, *Descrizione di Catania e delle cose notevoli ne' dintorni di essa* (Catania: Giuntini, 1841), 157. For some images of the chapel as a whole, however without views of the Astalli and Riggio tombs, see: Roberta Carchiolo, *Catania: splendore del Barocco, un itinerario attraverso le chiese del centro storico* (Catania: Edizioni Arcidiocesi di Catania, 2005), 99.

<sup>29</sup> Tiberio is buried in the church of S. Maria della Grazie in Sambuci, where there is a tomb slab in his memory.

cartouche, suggesting either that it is the creation of a decidedly inept sculptor or that the slab was reworked at some point in its history. Moreover, the pairing of Astalli's tomb with Riggio's, who died in 1717, suggests that the monuments were elaborated together in the years following the latter's death. Astalli's tomb presents a profusion of ornament around three central elements – the polychrome bust of the cardinal, the 'atlante' who supports it, and finally a sarcophagus-like element with the inscription. The whole is topped by the Astalli coat-of-arms with the cardinal's hat, and surrounded by various putti, vegetal garlands, and fanciful architectural flourishes. The bust of Astalli resembles the engraved portrait of the cardinal, based in turn on Velázquez' painting, on which it is possibly based [Fig. 4.3, 4.4]. All three portraits show a moon-faced Astalli, with a rounded chin and puffy cheeks; he sports a small moustache with up-turned ends and a thin strip of facial hair running from his lower lip to his chin, hair that curls around his ears, and a simple white rounded collar over the *mozzetta* (for which the tomb uses colored marble) with its line of paired buttons. The funerary bust differs only in that Astalli does not wear the cardinal's hat and that he appears to have a more beatific expression, deriving in part from the blank eyes and in part from the greater schematization of his features in the stone.

The inscription on Astalli's tomb reads [Fig. 4.5]:

CAMILLO S·R·E· CARDINALI ASTALLIO DOMICELLO ROMANO  
 QUI AB INNOCIX P·MAX · IN AP. CAM· CLERICVM  
 IN PVRPVRATORVM SENATVM IN PAMPILIAM GENTEM  
 ADSRIPTVS  
 LEGATVS AVENIONIENSIS ET PONTIFICÆ DITIONIS  
 ADMINISTRATVM  
 PRAEFECTVS PHILIPPIV HISPANIÆ REGIS BENIGNITATÆ  
 EPISCOPVS CAIAN[ENSIS?]  
 SEGNOR NEAPOLIS ET SICILIÆ PROTECTOR  
 OBIT CATANÆ PUBLICO LVCTV AETATIS XLIV  
 SAL MDCLXIII  
 TIBERIUS SAMBUCCI MARCHIO FRATRI  
 MERITISS° POSUIT

The inscription is of interest and use for a number of reasons. For one, it allows us to correctly determine the year of Astalli's birth, which is variously given as 1616 or 1619.<sup>30</sup> As he died in 1663 at the age of 44, he must have been born in 1619, making him 31 at the time of his election to the cardinalate (his age when elected has also been a matter of some debate). The inscription includes Astalli's connection with the Pamphili family, although the wording treads carefully around the issue. It does not claim that Astalli was a Pamphili, which he had been forbidden to do since 1654, but instead records that he was "adscriptus", or numbered among, the Pamphili clan. However, the inscription also does not mention his subsequent demotion, leaving the reader no reason to suppose that, in truth, the affiliation was invalid by the time of his death. Although technically true, it is unlikely that such an inscription would have been erected in Rome, where the memory of Astalli's humiliating fall was still fresh. In his diocese of Catania, far from the court of Rome, some willful imprecision in the presentation of his parentage was possible.

*Reactions, Discourse, and Dialogue on Astalli as adopted papal nephew*

Contemporary sources indicate that the reaction to Astalli's promotion to the cardinalate and adoption by Innocent was a potent mixture of bewilderment, anger, and dismay. On the 24<sup>th</sup> of September Teodoro Ameyden recorded in his diary that:

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<sup>30</sup> The *DBI*, vol. 4 (1962), 453 and Cola 1998, give 1616, while others give 1619. See: Jonathan Brown, *Velázquez. Painter and Courtier* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986), 200. Brown also states that 1611 has been given as the year of Astalli's birth.

In concistory last Monday the Pope made a declaration that has never been seen before, declaring for the Cardinal Nephew ... someone that is not a relative, namely Camillo Astalli...<sup>31</sup>

As suggested by Ameyden, this negative response was based in part on sheer surprise that someone from outside the papal family would be placed in a position of such power, and that the recipient was a man with as little demonstrable character or ability as Astalli. One contemporary noted bitinglly that “Cardinal Pamphili is adopted and added to the house of the pope, and good for him, if together with the *berretta*, he could be given a brain.”<sup>32</sup> More neutral sources also hint at tensions inherent in the situation. An anonymous *Discorso sopra le famiglie papale moderne* written in 1664, the year of Astalli’s death, records his rise and fall tersely. The author cites Camillo Pamphili’s abdication of the cardinalate as the reason that the Pope “wants to adopt an outsider as a nephew” (“*volle addossarsi per Nipote un'estero*”), and provides three reasons that Innocent’s thoughts fell on Camillo Astalli.<sup>33</sup> First, Astalli was a “youth of great spirit and talent” (which is considerably more credit than most contemporaries gave him), secondly he was distantly related to the Pope through marriage, and finally, because of “the similarity of [his] name with [that of] Prince D.

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<sup>31</sup> Barb lat 4819. Teodoro Ameyden, *Diario dell'Anno M.D.C.L.* 102v. “Nel concistoro nel lunedì passato il Papa fece dichiarazione non mai veduta dichiarando il Cardinale Nipote annoseptimo, uno che non gli è parente cioè Camillo Astaldi giovane Romano di Casa Nobile, e Chierico di Camera, gli diede l’Armi, il [103r] Casato, el Palazzo di Navona per sua habitatione in vita sua.”

<sup>32</sup> “Il card. Pamfilio è adottivo e adiettivo nella casa del Papa, e buon per lui, se assieme colla berretta se gli fosse potuto dare il cervello.” The author continues: “Nel principio non era in grazia, ed in progresso di tempo ha vacillato di tal maniera che talvolta parse stabilito sicuramente e talaltra, vicino a’ precipitii et alle ruine. Non sono in lui qualità singolari, e certo che sarebbe stato proclive a’ passatempo piuttosto che adattato al negotio, quando non l’havesse ritirato il genio del Papa. Di amore è piuttosto francese, ma non sa pigliare la congiuntura di mostrarlo all’occorrenza; è romanesco nè mai è partito da Roma.” Pastor 1961, vol. 14.1, 34, n. 2, and drawn from *Istruzione del sig. Baili de Valencè ambasciatore Christ. a Roma al suo successore* (1653).

<sup>33</sup> Barb. lat. 4910, 166r.

Camillo, not having to change anything other than the last name”.<sup>34</sup> This point is also made by Giacinto Gigli in his *Diario Romano*:

But I will say, that the Pope is moved to this end, as this prelate is noble, Roman, and as he has the name of Camillo. [It is] a name already used in the Pamphili family, as the Pope said when he published [Astalli's promotion] in the Concistory, that he had had an uncle called Camillo, as also the true nephew, that was Cardinal Padrone, and then having renounced the cardinal's hat to marry the Princess of Rossano, was named Camillo.<sup>35</sup>

Despite its facile and superficial logic, the final reason is intriguing. On one hand first names, as well last names, were enormously important as indicators of lineage. Names were passed down through families, linking one generation to the next. It is noteworthy that in adoption cases, as can be seen in the Altieri family, the children of the adopted prince are given names drawn exclusively from the adopting family – thus Gaspare Albertoni-Altieri's children are Emilio Bonaventura (after Pope Clement X), Lorenzo (after Clement X's father), and finally Giovanni Battista and Girolamo (after two of Clement X's brothers). Placing another “Camillo” into the position of cardinal nephew gave a veneer of normalcy to the event and put the individual in the line of family traditions. That Innocent himself gave this as a reason suggests either that he was being casual about the whole affair or, more likely, that he was aware of the

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<sup>34</sup> Barb. lat. 4910, 166r. “...aggiungendosi particolarmente la consimilitudine del nome col Prencipe D. Camillo, non havendo da mutare, che il solo Cognome...”

<sup>35</sup> Gigli 1956, 374. “Ma dirò, che il Papa a ciò fare si mosse, per esser questo Prelato, nobile, Romano, et per il Nome, che haveva di Camillo. Nome già utistato [sic] nella famiglia de Pamfili, sì come disse il Papa, quando lo pubblicò in Concistoro, che lui haveva havuto un Zio chiamato Camillo, siccome anco il vero Nepote, che già fu Cardinale Padrone, et poi havendo rinuntiato il Cappello era divenuto marito della Principessa di Rossano, si chiamava anch'egli Camillo.”

unorthodoxy of his decision and the potential disruption it could cause, and wished to foster a sense of continuity, even if through the most superficial of means.<sup>36</sup>

The author of the anonymous *Discorso* and a contemporary *avviso* provide a useful reference to the unusual nature of Astalli's situation when they mention that the adopted cardinal nephew was "assigned the same apartments in the Quirinal palace that other papal nephews are normally assigned".<sup>37</sup> A similarly informative notice is expressed by Ameyden, who described Astalli's ceremonial creation as cardinal:

Last Monday the Pope held concistory for the sole purpose of performing the ceremony of opening the mouth of Cardinal Pamfilio, who is treated in all functions as the nephew of the Pope, even in the Palace, opening both the [leaves?] of the doors, where for the other cardinals only one is opened, however this demonstration is known to have occurred also for secular Nephews, not only to Don Camillo, but [also] the Princes Ludovisi and Giustiniani.<sup>38</sup>

The fact that Ameyden and the *avviso* writer specified that Astalli inherited both the living spaces and the ceremonial functions of previous papal nephews suggests that contemporaries perhaps did not know exactly what to expect from the situation, and

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<sup>36</sup> More than four centuries later, the coincidence of names does present a possible difficulty for the historian dealing with Pamphili family documents between 1650 and 1654. Two of the most important Pamphili family projects, the villa at San Pancrazio and the palace on Piazza Navona, were completed in precisely the years that Camillo Astalli Pamphili was technically their owner. Pietro da Cortona's frescos in Palazzo Pamphili depicting the story of Aeneas' arrival in Lazio date to 1651-3, the years that Camillo was padrone of the family palace. It appears that Prince Camillo Pamphili continued to control the projects that he had initiated and that were carried out in the family residences, even while in exile, most likely with the assistance of his mother and the pope. However, it should be noted that unless the primary sources stipulate that the 'Camillo Pamphili' under discussion is Prince or Cardinal, there is no way of distinguishing between the two patrons.

<sup>37</sup> Barb. lat. 4910, 166r-v. "...assegnoli il medesimo appartamento nel palazzo Apostolico solito a darsi a gl'altri Nepoti de Papi..." and Helen Langdon, "Claude, Apollo and the Muses," *Storia dell'Arte* 112 (2005): 16.

<sup>38</sup> Barb lat 4819. Teodoro Ameyden, *Diario dell'Anno M.D.C.L.* 116 r. October 23, 1650. "Tenne il Papa lunedì passato il Concistoro non per altro, che per servare la cerimonia, d'aprir la bocca al Cardinal Pamfilio, che viene in tutte le fontioni tratto come Nipote di Papa, anche in Palazzo medesimo aprendoseli le Porte con ambe le value, ove à gl'altri Cardinali se ne apre una sola, però questa dimostrazione si sa anche a gli Nepoti Secolari, non solamente à Don Camillo, ma etiamd[i?]o a gli Prencipi ludovisio, e Giustiniani."



felt it worthy of note that all the formal protocols established for a traditional nephew were also being followed for Astalli. The *Discorso* glosses over Astalli's fall from grace, saying only that "for the presumption of hidden secrecy, or for something else", he was "degraded and removed from the Pamphili family."<sup>39</sup>

In the Astalli family annals, Camillo's disgrace appears to have eclipsed the rest of his career, before and after the adoption. In an anonymous manuscript titled *Ragionamento Primo sopra l'Origine, Significato, e Cognome dell'Ill.ma famiglia Astalli*, written in 1661 and now in the Archivio Doria-Pamphili, Camillo is mentioned only twice, toward the end of the text, and in both cases only in passing.<sup>40</sup> Although

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<sup>39</sup> Barb. lat. 4910, 166v. "...per la presuntione d'[o]cculata segretezza, o per altra cosa, che non volle mai far pollise [pubblico?] fu da esso degradato e cancellato dalla famiglia Panfilia col privarlo di tutti l'entrate che gli haveva concesse sotto questa speciosita con finandolo in un castello detto Sanbuco di la da Tivoli, e tentando di volergli tor il Cappello Cardinalitio, ma cio in danno..."

<sup>40</sup> *Ragionamento Primo sopra l'Origine, Significato, e cognome dell'Ill.ma famiglia Astalli*. Archivio Doria Pamphili, Archiviola b. 93 (94), 10r-v. The author provides the date in the course of the *Ragionamento*: "Volendo detta famiglia dell'Astalli, che da questi suoi arme, cognome, et impresa ciascuno conoscesse, che lei discendeva da quell'antichissimi, e Nobilissimi Maestri, e Capitani delli detti giochi e giostro, et anco dal detto Pietro, che fu tale e come alto e nobilissimo personaggio hebbe licenza d'esser sepolto nella detta Basilica Vaticano sedente Horsminda primo sommo Pontefice l'anno 523 di nostra salute, d'alquale sono scorsi *sino al presente anno 1661, anni 1137.*" [italics mine]. There is an abridged copy of this text in the BAV, Chigi N II 51, *Descrizione delle Famiglie Nobile di Roma*. The first mention of Camillo Astalli Pamphili appears as follows: "E poi essendo morto detto Eugenio furono un dopo l'altro eletti li sommi Pontefici Anastasio 4, Adriano 4.o et Alessandro III, solo dall'Em.mi Cardinali che allora vi erano fra quali era anco detto Em.o Card.lo Astallo dell'Astalli, che assai prevaleva a consiglio, e per opera del quale particolarmente detto Alessandro iii fece quelle Constitutione, come notano tutti li historie oltre il Platina, che hoggi leggiamo nel libro delli Decretali, con la quale ordino che detto Clero e Popolo Romano non elegessero più il sommo Pontefice, ma solo quello lo potesse eleggere il Sacro Collegio degli Em.mi Cardinali conferme poi sempre da quel tempo sino a questi nostri anni si è usato, e però diressimo Noi se non dubitassimo temerariamente parlare, che il Sacro Collegio degli Em. Sig.ri Card.li habbia qualche grave obligatione alli sudetti Em.mi Cardinali, et in particolare all' Emo Card.l Astallo dell'Astalli, con [oprar?] del quale più d'ogni altro Em.o Cardinale fu fatta trasportare nell'istesso Sacra Collegio dalli sudetti Em.mi Signori Cardinali la detta suprema, et inestimabile potesta di creare il sommo Pontefice, et ancora percio questo Sacro Collegio assai godera veder in esso a scritto *il moderno Em.o e R.mo Sig. Cardinale Cammillo* [sic] *Astalli* discendente dal sudetto Emo e si glorioso Astallo dell'Astalli..." 56r-v, (italics mine), while the second mention occurs on the final page of the manuscript: "come anco non già narrando alcuni antichi e nobilissimi canonici della Sacro S.ta Basilica di S.ta Maria Maggiore mentionati dal... [sic] che ha scritto l'antichita della detta Basilica al foglio si come ancora senza far alcuna mentione dell'Inscrittione posta nella Sala dell'Ill.mo S.r

the current location of the manuscript attests to the Astalli family's once-close ties to the Pamphili, the text itself gives no indication of a connection between the two clans, or any hint that Camillo once filled one of the highest positions in papal government under Innocent X. The *Raggionamento* is confined almost entirely to a description of the ancient and medieval glories of the Astalli family, providing an extensive explanation of the origin of their name, but little on their status in the 1660's, and nothing on their brief connection to papal power. Interestingly however, a repeated theme throughout the manuscript is the Astalli family's historical loyalty and service to the papacy, particularly in times of unrest. One of the few individuals mentioned by name in the manuscript is Cardinal Astallo Astalli, who was raised to the purple by Pope Celestine II in 1144.<sup>41</sup> The first Cardinal Astalli is cited frequently in the text for his loyalty to and defense of Pope Alexander III against three rival antipopes, and for his bravery in opposing the formidable Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. Further, the author of the *Raggionamento* argues that the College of Cardinals of his own day, that is the late seventeenth century, owes a significant debt to this first Cardinal Astalli as "more than any other Most Eminent Cardinal he made it so that the most supreme and inestimable power to create the Supreme Pontiff was transferred to the Sacred College [of Cardinals]."<sup>42</sup> Thus while the seventeenth-century Astalli's betrayal is never

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Senator di Roma sopra una Porta di detta Sala vicino il suo Camino nella quale ci si avvisa, che sotto il Pontificato di Sisto V, essendo vacata la sede senatoria, il q. Ill.mo Tiberio Astalli Avo dignissimo dell'Em.o Sig. Cardinale Camillo Astalli, essendo allor Conservatore di Roma esercito con li suoi Colleghi l'altissima, e suprema carica di Senator di Roma, et insieme sotto silentio passando infiniti altissimi, nobilissimi Parentadi fatti da questa famiglia con le prime, e nobilissime famiglie di Roma in tutti i secoli..." 62v-63r. (italics mine).

<sup>41</sup> *Raggionamento*, 20v.

<sup>42</sup> *Raggionamento*, 56r-v. "E poi essendo morto detto Eugenio furono un dopo l'altro eletti li sommi Pontefici Anastasio 4, Adriano 4.o et Alessandro III, solo dall'Em.mi Cardinali che allora vi erano fra quali era anco detto Em.o Card.lo Astallo dell'Astalli, che assai prevaleva a consiglio, e per opera del quale particolarmente detto Alessandro iii fece quelle Constitutione, come notano tutti li historie oltre il Platina, che hoggi leggiamo nel libro delli Decretali, con la quale ordino che detto Clero e Popolo Romano non elegessero più il sommo Pontefice, ma solo quello lo potesse eleggere il Sacro Collegio degli Em.mi Cardinali conferme poi sempre

explicitly mentioned, it can be seen to lurk behind the themes of the *Raggionamento*, shadowing the text in which the author defends the Astalli clan through historical counter-examples. In fact, the text is a defense of the Astalli family, in particular of the longevity and veracity of their noble status. At certain points the author states this outright, as for example when he says:

And we believe that this high and ancient nobility [ie. of the Astalli family] will not perhaps be believed by certain stingy and dull men, of melancholy humor, hypocrites<sup>43</sup>, who although they are little experienced in ancient things, nonetheless want to loosen their malevolent tongues against the truth, considering themselves to be held as more learned and wise than heretical. Rather ignorantly they tear into everything that is shown to them, and they themselves are not knowledgeable, they have a certain smattering of weak Latin. And with little humanist learning, and [knowing] nearly nothing of ancient history and of the nobility of the Roman families and of their trials, these individuals dare, are nearly foolish dogs in the shadows of the night of their great ignorance, recklessly barking with their ridiculous censures against the most splendid moon of truth itself, which in spite of that, like a true diamond, as much as it is beaten, and beaten again by the hammers of the foolish words of these people, so much more with their shame it gleams and shines anew.<sup>44</sup>

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da quel tempo sino a questi nostri anni si è usato, e però diressimo Noi se non dubitassimo temerariamente parlare, che il Sacro Collegio degli Em. Sig.ri Card.li habbia qualche grave obligatione alli sudetti Em.mi Cardinali, et in particolare all'Emo Card.l Astallo dell'Astalli, con [oprar?] del quale più d'ogni altro Em.o Cardinale fu fatta trasportare nell'istesso Sacra Collegio dalli sudetti Em.mi Signori Cardinali la detta suprema, et inestimabile potestà di creare il sommo Pontefice...”

<sup>43</sup> Literally the phrase is: ‘whose faces are colored bronze.’ The colorful phrase is meant to indicate that these individuals are hypocrites. My thanks to Walter Cupperi for illuminating the metaphor for me, and for his generous help with many of my translations.

<sup>44</sup> *Raggionamento*, 36v-37r. “E crediamo che questa sì alta, et antica nobiltà non sarà forse creduta da certi huomini stitichi e di testa secca, e di humor malinconico, che hanno le loro faccie di bronzino colore, quale benche poco pratici delle cose antiche, nulla dimeno vogliono snodare la lor sinistra lingua contro la luce della verità, stimando di esser tenuti tanto più dotti e saccij/savij quanto più eritcano anzi ignorantemente lacerano, quanto li viene rappresentato e loro stessi non bene conoscono, et essendo infarinati di certi loro latinucci; e di poche lettere humane, e quasi niente d’historie antiche, e della nobiltà delle famiglie Romane, e delle lor prove, ardiscono, quasi sciocchi Cani nelle tenebre della Notte della lor alta ignoranza temerariamente con le lor ridicole Censure abbaiar per così dire contro la splendentissima luna dell’istessa verità, quale cio nonostante a guisa di vero Diamante quanto più è battuta, e ribattuta dalli Martelli delle sciocche parole di queste genti tanto più con lor vergogna splende e riluce.”

In this passage the author presents a barrage of mixed and striking metaphors, conveying a passion notably absent from the majority of the rest of the manuscript.<sup>45</sup>

The fiery defense of the Astalli and blistering condemnation of those who would disparage the family raise the question of why the *Raggionamento* was written when it was, and what purpose the manuscript was meant to serve. The text can be dated to 1661, as the author mentions “our year 1661” several times.<sup>46</sup> The exact date must have been important, as it appears that the primary goal of the manuscript was to establish that the nobility of the Astalli family dated back more than one thousand years – the subtitle of the second portion of the *Raggionamento* is in fact *Dell’Antichissima Nobiltà della famiglia dell’Astalli d’anni sopra mille, e delli Personaggi da chi discende* (“Of the very ancient nobility of the Astalli family of over one thousand years, and of the individuals [from] whom [they] descend”).<sup>47</sup> A significant portion of the text is devoted to establishing dates attesting to the family’s nobility, such as their participation in the coronation of Petrarch as Poet Laureate in 1341. From these fixed historical points the author then extrapolates the duration of the family’s noble status, often assuming five hundred years of nobility preceding any given event, since in order to reach such an exalted point the family had to have been noble already for some time. Such an insistence on a specific duration of noble status would suggest that the Astalli had a need to establish their social pedigree in an almost legalistic manner.<sup>48</sup> It is possible that the composition of this manuscript is related to

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<sup>45</sup> The exception would be the description of a bull fight held at the Colosseum in which the Astalli participated. The description of Domenico Astalli, dressed all in black to signal his desperation at the recent death of his wife, and thrusting his sword in the bull’s eye has shades of wild almost nineteenth-century Romanticism. *Raggionamento*, 48r-49r.

<sup>46</sup> See *Raggionamento* 10v, 21r, 27v, 35r, 36r, 38v, 40v, 44r, and 47r.

<sup>47</sup> *Raggionamento*, 23r.

<sup>48</sup> The Roman nobility did not undergo something like the *serrata* which took place in Venice and other Italian cities until 1746, thus it is unlikely that the Astalli were shoring up their claims to nobility in order to maintain their official participation in a certain social group. On

Camillo Astalli's 1661 promotion to the post of Bishop of Catania by Philip IV.

Perhaps the promotion was criticized and the *Raggionamento* written in response, or perhaps it was penned as an attempt to capitalize on Astalli's promotion in the hopes of re-establishing the family and their good name in Rome. In any case, the manuscript is a rich source, providing an extensive summary of the requirements of noble status in seventeenth-century Rome.

By far the most outspoken critic of Astalli's promotion, at least in print, was Gregorio Leti, an Italian convert to Calvinism and a strident critic of the papacy.<sup>49</sup> Under his own name, various pseudonyms, and anonymously, Leti railed against the church in publications such as *Il nipotismo di Roma*, published in Amsterdam in 1667, and *Il puttanesimo di Roma*, also published in Amsterdam a year later. As with all of Leti's texts, these were translated and reprinted extensively, into the nineteenth century, and *Il nipotismo* appeared in an English translation in 1673. Leti discusses Astalli several times in the 1666 *Vita di donna Olimpia Maidalchini* and in *Il nipotismo*, in both cases with unwavering negativity.

In *Il Nipotismo* Astalli's election is cast in terms of revenge:

[s]o that at last, of all those that had been brought upon the Stage, there remained none but he that Cardinal Panzirolo brought on, who was a prodigious off-spring of Fortune, and the wonder of Christendome, which was astonished to see a Pope so averse from his relations as to declare a supposed Nephew for Cardinal, and Padrone...<sup>50</sup>

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the makeup and development of the Roman nobility see: Richard Joseph Ferraro, "The Nobility of Rome, 1560-1700: A study of its composition, wealth, and investment," (PhD diss., The University of Wisconsin – Madison, 1994). On the closing of Roman nobility, see Ferraro 1994, 45-48.

<sup>49</sup> On Leti see: E. Bufacchi. "Gregorio Leti", *DBI*, vol. 43, 717-723.

<sup>50</sup> Gregorio Leti, *Il nipotismo di Roma*, (Amsterdam 1667), English trans. 1673, Book Three Part 1, 118. In the *Vita di Donna Olimpia* Leti actually lists some of the other candidates who were suggested for the position, namely "Cardinal Albergati, who called himself by the title Cardinal Ludovisio" and subsequently his brother, Padre Fabio Albergati, both of whom were

On the other hand, contemporaries also speculated that Astalli's election was intended to maintain peace within the extended Pamphili family; it was conjectured that "this resolution [Astalli's promotion], was not taken without communicating it to all the relatives, each of which would have wanted one of their own for the head of the faction, and for this reason a Third was taken [in order that] no-one would be jealous of their companion."<sup>51</sup>

While the *Vita* of Donna Olimpia includes similar explanations for Astalli's promotion, Leti also offers another, more practical reason, stemming from the peculiarities of contemporary politics and foreign relations. One of the main reasons that the position of papal nephew existed was in order to ease the burden of the pope's workload; one of the principal responsibilities of the position was to hold audiences with various supplicants, most importantly the ambassadors of foreign crowns, to listen to their laments and needs and, in theory, pass them along to the pope. The papal nephew was therefore both a conduit and a filter, determining what was to be passed on to the pontiff and what could be dealt with by others, lightening the papal burden. Leti notes in the *Vita* that if all the pope, in this case Innocent, needed was someone to assume these duties, they could be divided among his ministers without empowering a single individual with the task.<sup>52</sup> However, Innocent could not do that

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rejected - the former for being too ignorant and simple in domestic affairs, and the latter because the Pope didn't want to create three cardinals from the same family. Leti, *Vita*, 183-4. Niccolo Albergati, nephew of Cardinal Alessandro Ludovisi (later Pope Gregory XV) and known as Niccolo Ludovisi, was married to Costanza Maidalchini, Donna Olimpia's daughter.

<sup>51</sup> Barb lat 4819. Teodoro Ameyden, *Diario dell'Anno M.D.C.L.* 103v-104r. "Il secondo capo che questa risoluzione, non è presa senza comunicarla con tutti i Parenti, de quali ciascheduno haverebbe voluto per Capo di fattione un suo, et che per questa ragione sia preso un Terzo à finche nessuno habbia invidia del compagno."

<sup>52</sup> Leti 1666, 191-192. "Fu ad ogni modo conosciuto che il Papa non poteva farne il contrario, perche se ben'era in suo potere, lo scaricarsi di tante facende, con la constitutione d'altri ministri, a' quali poteva dare l'auttorità che voleva, senza collocare nel posto di tanta

since the system relied on the perception of the papal nephew as a direct representative of the pope, equal in social status to the ambassadors and princes he met. In this system ambassadors would not deal with a minister whose status was inferior to their own as that would constitute an affront to their rank. Leti suggests that Astalli's adoption was broadly publicized in order to prevent possible complaints from the ambassadors regarding the cardinal's status. Leti says:

But because the ambassadors do not want to deal with anyone who does not carry the rank of nephew, following Astalli's promotion to the cardinalate, and before the ambassadors were willing to go to him for audiences, they wanted the fact that Astalli was declared by the pope to be his nephew, and given the false name of Cardinal Pamphili and the title of cardinal nephew, to be published throughout Rome and very clearly declared. This declaration resolved the ambassadors' difficulties, and disposed them to negotiate, not without nausea, with the so-called new nephew.<sup>53</sup>

Once he was officially declared and publicly acknowledged as nephew the ambassadors went about their business as usual. In the end the same ambassadors confirmed Astalli's downfall, for when they realized that he no longer had any influence with the pope, they stopped dealing with him.

Astalli's adoption resolved problems of honor and etiquette for the foreign ambassadors, who preferred the idea of dealing with a false nephew to real ministers, yet it created problems in the same sphere for the Pamphili clan. First, they perceived the assumption of Astalli as a compromise to their honor and respect, as it implied that

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grandezza; una persona aliena di simili qualità, e con l'obbligo di provederla di tutte quelle cose necessarie ad un Nipote..."

<sup>53</sup> Leti 1666, 192-3. "Ma perche gli Ambasciatori non sogliono negoziare con altri, che non chi porta il carattere di Nipote, onde seguita la promotione dell'Astalli al Cardinalato prima di portarsi da lui all'udienza, vollero gli Ambasciatori che si publicasse per Roma, e si deschiarasse molto bene questo punto, che per ciò fu dechiarato dal Papa suo Nipote dandosegli il nome posticcio di Cardinal Panfilio, & il titolo di Cardinal Padrone, qual dechiaratione havendo fatto cessare le difficoltà degli Ambasciatori, si disposero alla communicatione de' loro negotij, non senza loro nausea, con detto nuovo Nipote."

there was none among them considered worthy of the position and it meant that family affairs were in the hands of a stranger.<sup>54</sup> Furthermore, the appointment complicated important social rituals that determined status in the papal court.

Immediately after Astalli's promotion the Pamphili relatives, primarily Donna Olimpia's daughters and their husbands, met at the Pamphili palace to discuss the news. Initially the various nephews proposed leaving Rome en-masse, as a way to register their disgust. Olimpia vetoed this decision, and so they turned to more practical matters, such as issues of precedent and congratulatory visits. Under normal circumstances papal relatives would visit the newly-named nephew of a new pope to wish him well and demonstrate themselves to be humble servants of the new regime. In this case there were protests -- Prince Nicolò Ludovisi, Costanza Maidalchini's husband, swore that he would not go, even though Astalli was technically above him in rank, having been made a cardinal and a nephew.<sup>55</sup> In the end the Pamphili chose what looks, in hindsight, like a comical demonstration: on the day Astalli's promotion was announced they all took to their beds claiming to be ill and thus unable to make the required social call.<sup>56</sup> (The Pamphili women were in fact exempt from this tricky

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<sup>54</sup> Leti 1666, 198-199. "Fu in somma sì grande la colera di questi, che quantunque divisi d'affetto con Donna Olimpia, non lasciarono di portarsi tutti in sua Casa, per consigliare sopra ciò che dovevano fare, intorno a questo particolare, che pareva a loro gli toccasse l'honore, e la riputatione. Alcuni furono di parere che tutto il Parentado, si ritirasse fuori di Roma, per mostrare che non era possibile a' veri parenti, di vedersi comandare d'uno straniero aggregato nella parentela per far dispetto aloro."

<sup>55</sup> Leti 1666, 201. "Conchiuso questo punto, con la negativa d'uscire di Roma, si venne altrattato d'un'altro, che fu, se dovevano andare per rallegrarsi d'una tal promotione, con il sogetto promosso, o vero aspettare che fossi egli il primo a cominciare. Il Prencipe Ludovisio giurò per lui, che non sarebbe andato, ad ogni modo la raggione voleva che andasse, perche questo era Cardinale, e Nipote, e per conseguenza maggiore di lui, già che così l'haveva voluto il Pontefice, che poteva farlo, senza altro intoppo."

<sup>56</sup> Leti 1666, 201-2. "Per non inasprire con questo la resolutione del Papa, deliberarono di fingersi infermi, (ciò s'intende per gli huomini, perche in quanto alle Donne si sapeva benissimo che spettava al nuovo Cardinale di rendere il suo debito a loro) come in fatti fecero, mettendosi tutti insieme, ma ogni uno in sua casa, nello stesso giorno della promotione di questo nel letto." Granted this was not apparently an unusual course of action, as there are



issue of social etiquette, as it was expected in any case that the new cardinal would be the one to call on the ladies of the family.) Confirmation of the family's position appears in Gigli's *Diario Romano*, which reports that when Astalli called on Donna Olimpia he was announced as 'Cardinal Pamphili, her nephew', to which she replied that she did not want to see him and that, moreover, 'she had no nephew other than Cardinal Maidalchini, and that she didn't recognize Astalli as a man of the Pamphili family'.<sup>57</sup> In a final example of how this exceptional situation affected social protocols, we may refer to Ameyden's note that "[Cardinal Astalli's] mother was made to understand that she does not receive visits."<sup>58</sup> These examples of the social reception of Astalli's adoption by the ambassadors and the extended Pamphili family illustrate how adoption could disrupt social and political life in papal Rome, confusing issues of social rank and precedence and creating an illusion of status that was exploited by some and lamented by others.

In *Il nipotismo* Leti continues to describe the promotion, which was in fact kept secret for several days:

There never was acted upon the Theater of the Court of Rome so unexpected and strange a Scene, which therefore deserves to be reckoned amongst the prodigious effects of Fortune; for the Pope having no consanguinity with him, and he being without deserts [sic], experience, or any remarkable quality that might make him conspicuous, nay, being scarce known, or at least not familiarly

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also references in avvisi to other popes and nephews feigning ill in order to avoid a potentially problematic visit or meeting.

<sup>57</sup> Gigli 1956, 373. "A di 22. di Settembre giovedì mattina il novo Cardinale Pamfilio andò al Concistoro publico in Monte Cavallo dove ricevè dal Papa il Cappello rosso, et restò ad habitare in Palazzo nell'appartamento destinato al Nepote principale del Papa. Questa sua essaltatione suscitò invidia et dispiacere in molte persone, delle quali, la prima fu D. Olimpia, la quale conosceva, che lei perdeva il dominio, et la padronanza, si sdegnò grandemente, et entrò in una grande smania, in modo che nell'istessa sera del Giovedì andando il novo Card. Pamfilio per visitarla, et facendoseli imbasciata, che veniva il Cardinal Pamfilio suo Nepote, non lo volse ricevere, dicendo che Lei non haveva altro Nepote, che il Cardinale Maidalchino, et che non lo conosceva per homo di Casa Pamfili..."

<sup>58</sup> Barb lat 4819. Teodoro Ameyden, *Diario dell'Anno M.D.C.L.* 107r. October 1, 1650. Fu fatto intendere alla Madre d'esso Cardinale [109v] che non riceva visite.

to the Pope; he was nevertheless of a sudden exalted and promoted to the degree of Cardinal, Nephew, and Padrone, as if he had been the head of the Pamphilian [sic] Family: And to deserve all this, there was no quality but that, being born of a noble Family, which nevertheless at that time was so far indebted and decayed, that he was not to expect any assistance in his fortune from them.<sup>59</sup>

Leti stresses that Innocent had no blood tie, no “consanguinity”, with Astalli, indicating the social distance of their connection by marriage. To drive the point home, in the *Vita* Leti states that Astalli was raised to the cardinalate and position of papal nephew, “as if he were of Pamphili flesh (*come se fosse della carne Panfilia*).”<sup>60</sup> The shock of Astalli’s promotion, Leti claims, was enough to induce feelings of pity in the Roman populace, even for the much-despised kin of Donna Olimpia but especially for the “unhappiness of these nephews, chased away from the presence of their uncle, in order to give the key to his heart to a stranger.”<sup>61</sup> Later Leti rather dramatically reveals how “the real relatives of the Pope could not console themselves to see a man of foreign blood so joined in affection with the pope, and themselves so joined [ie. by blood] to become like strangers.”<sup>62</sup> Even if Leti’s account exaggerates the situation for propagandistic effect, the ways in which Astalli’s adoption and the subsequent reactions are described by other contemporaries indicate that it was seen as an inversion of the natural order, a system turned on its head.

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<sup>59</sup> Leti 1673, Book Three Part 1, 119.

<sup>60</sup> Leti 1666, 185. “...fu con tutto ciò di peso senza ch’egli vi pensasse alzato al Cardinalato, & al Nipotesmo come se fosse della carne Panfilia.”

<sup>61</sup> Leti 1666, 205-6. “Ma tutto ciò non servi ad altro, che a rasserenar/rafferenar’un poco, quell’aria torbida, che già era sopra giunta nella faccia di tutti i Parenti, all’aviso d’una simile promotione, mentre l’interno di questi si conservò sempre aspro, pieno di rancoro, non potendo digerire una mortificatione tale, tanto più che il Popolo Romano, quantunque avezzo a veder ogni giorno stravaganze in Roma, non lasciava di compiangere, con atti lagrimevoli l’infelicità di questi Nipoti, discacciati dalla presenza del loro zio, per dare la chiave del suo cuore ad uno Straniero.”

<sup>62</sup> Leti 1666, 273. “I veri parenti del Pontefice in questo mentre non potevano consolarsi di vedere un’huomo di sangue straniero, tanto congiunto d’affetto con il Papa, e loro così congiunti a divenire come stranieri.”

Leti characterizes Astalli throughout *Il nipotismo* and the *Vita di donna Olimpia* as “counterfeit” and “false”, in double reference to the cardinal’s adopted status and to his later betrayal of Innocent.<sup>63</sup> Leti himself undermines the legitimacy of Astalli’s position through an intentional slip, referring to Camillo as “il Cardinal’ Astalli (hò errato) il Cardinal Panfilio...”,<sup>64</sup> and indicates that there was considerable contemporary criticism of Astalli’s promotion, as “[t]he Railleries, the Pasquins, and the discourses about this new way of enriching the Church with a Nipotismo were infinite...”<sup>65</sup> The latter comment is telling, as it indicates that Leti, and presumably others, perceived Innocent’s decision to make Astalli a nephew as more than a momentary danger to curial order. Placing an under-qualified individual into a position of power was rather a significant risk to the institution of the papacy as a whole, as it set a troubling precedent.

Regarding the end of Astalli’s career as a Pamphili, Leti gives the same story familiar from other sources, that Astalli realized that he was being shut out of conferences with the pope and the Barberini, and, sensing that the pope’s affection for him was waning, began to look for an alternative social safety net. The actual expulsion is played for dramatic effect:

One morning then, as the Cardinal Padrone was rifling out of his bed, he received a message from the Pope, whereof the bearer told him ‘That by his Holinesses Order he was banished from Rome, and forbidden the

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<sup>63</sup> Leti 1673, Book Three Part 1, 121. For example: “As soon as this news [Astalli’s election and adoption] was spread through Rome the Politicians following the humour of the town, began to discourse of what would follow, and endeavoured to penetrate the secret causes of the Popes aversion to his Kindred, that should move him thus to set up a counterfeit Nephew...” and “This sudden fall of the false Nephew opened all the mouthes in Rome...” Leti 1673, Book Three Part 1, 125.

<sup>64</sup> Leti 1666, 272.

<sup>65</sup> Leti 1673, Book Three Part 1, 122. I unfortunately have not found any of these in my archival research.

Popes presence for ever; that he should lay aside the title of Cardinal Padrone, and renounce the name of Nephew as well as that of Pamphili.<sup>66</sup>

Leti adds that “[t]his sudden fall of the false Nephew opened all the mouthes in Rome...”<sup>67</sup>, echoing the sentiment that had accompanied Astalli’s original elevation and thus bringing his story full circle. Astalli was forced to leave Rome in shame at two o’clock in the morning, “abandoned by all the courtiers”, and afterward all his things were sold in the piazza “for what price they could get.”<sup>68</sup>

It should be noted that although Leti was openly anti-Catholic, he did defend the system of nepotism in numerous passages in *Il nipotismo*, arguing that the practice is an intrinsic and vital part of papal politics. It is for this reason that he found Astalli as papal nephew particularly problematic. In Leti’s formulation of nepotism, nephews were an essential element in papal government, but the key to their importance was their direct kinship to the pope:

Let us then conclude, that the State and Church can never be well governed, as to the point in hand, if the Popes be without Nephews to rely on, and in whose secrecy they may confide. Innocent the tenth was so convinced of this truth, that finding himself deprived of those helps which he could not receive from his lawful kindred by reason of their inabilities; and withall seeing that he was exposed to the unsatiable avarice of a woman, his sister-in-law, he was fain to take the young Astalli and declare him Cardinal Nephew, and Padrone, giving him the name of Pamphili; and in a word, made him in Rome, as Pharoah was in Egypt, the governor of all things. But what happened? This young Cardinal not being able to comply with the Popes humors, and having no tie of consanguinity upon him, was rather a traitor to him than a nephew...<sup>69</sup>

For Leti Innocent’s misfortunes spiral around the unsatisfactory performance of relatives, who were inept and greedy, and his adopted nephew was no better. Here

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<sup>66</sup> Leti 1673, Book Three Part I ,124.

<sup>67</sup> Leti 1673, Book Three Part I ,125.

<sup>68</sup> Gigli 1956, 429.

<sup>69</sup> Leti 1673, Book I Part II 39.

blood relations are the sole determinant of fidelity. Leti encapsulates the reciprocal relationship of obligation and favour at the core of the client system, and the extent of Astalli's betrayal of that system, when he asks,

Now if the Pope Innocent could not trust one whom he had raised from nothing; and if the secrets of his court were revealed and published by a Cardinal so much obliged to him, how can other popes trust cardinals that are as it were their enemies by being too much other Princes [sic] friends?<sup>70</sup>

A single record survives of a voice raised in defense of Astalli as the Pamphili cardinal nephew.<sup>71</sup> The anonymous author of a Vatican manuscript first lays out the standard explanation for nepotism, arguing that the pope, given his "grave age", cannot reign alone but instead needs assistance with the work.<sup>72</sup> The author continues on to give the only explicit defense of adoption that I have found, stating that "These adoptions do not at all denigrate the splendor nor diminish the reputation of these pontiffs, rather the adoptees were instead venerable tools of the glory of their pontificates."<sup>73</sup> The author's explicit defense of adoption suggests that he was reacting to the pointed criticism that adoption weakened the papacy. To justify Innocent's decision, the author posits that by looking outside of his immediate relatives for someone to assist him, the pope was able to choose the person of the highest abilities

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<sup>70</sup> Leti 1673, Book I Part II, 40.

<sup>71</sup> BAV, Chigi C III 61, f. 8v, 11v, 12. Quoted in Bernasconi 2004, 202.

<sup>72</sup> "Ma non è possibile che si regga senza Coadiutore perciò che l'età grave dè Pontefici e la molteplicità dè negozi che continuamente tener li sogliono occupati nelle proprie stanze non permette che essi udir possino l'istanze di tutti né che rimediar possino a tutti gl'inconvenienti. [...]" Bernasconi 2004, 202.

<sup>73</sup> "Queste adozioni non denigrarono punto lo splendore né diminuirono la riputazione di quei Pontefici, anzi gli Adottati furono più tosto strumenti venerandi della gloria dei loro Pontificati. [...]" Bernasconi 2004, 202. There are numerous questions about this manuscript that Bernasconi does not answer, among them what the date of the work is, and why the writer refers to 'adoptions' in the plural, suggesting that the reference is to more than just Astalli.

and quality for the position, rather than simply a convenient relative.<sup>74</sup> As we have seen, this is a patent idealization of the situation – sound reasoning in theory and a picture of what could have been, rather than what actually took place. The author also stresses the novelty of Innocent’s decision, saying that it was done without an earlier example (“senz’esempio”) and explicitly stating that Innocent’s action was contrary to those of his predecessors (“E se gl’altri Pontefici suoi Predecessori cercarono che gli aiutasse a sostenere il peso del Pontificato tra i Parenti più congiunti, la S.S. cercandolo senz’esempio nella Patria fuori dè propri congiunti...”).<sup>75</sup> The lack of precedent for Innocent’s adoption of Astalli indicates a distinction in the minds of contemporaries between Astalli as adopted nephew and earlier aggregated nephews such as Cinzio Passeri Aldobrandini and Scipione Caffarelli Borghese, who had had close blood ties with their respective adoptive pontiffs. Cinzio and Scipione’s positions were initially more secure, even if the case of Cinzio Aldobrandini reveals the effects of gradations of kinship. While Innocent may have expected Astalli to follow the model set by Scipione Borghese, contemporaries were likely not surprised when he failed to fit the mould.

While Astalli’s brief tenure as papal nephew is generally treated as a curiosity in papal history, providing a lively instance of *schadenfreude* several centuries after the fact, Marie-Louise Rodèn has suggested that it had a direct impact on the historical development of the papacy. Rodèn’s focus is on what she terms “the professionalization of the Curia” between 1644 and 1692, which she identifies as the period in which the institutional reforms formulated during the Council of Trent were

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<sup>74</sup> “E se gl’altri Pontefici suoi Predecessori cercarono che gli aiutasse a sostenere il peso del Pontificato tra i Parenti più congiunti, la S.S. cercandolo senz’esempio nella Patria fuori dè propri congiunti, non ha dubitato d’elegger quello che giudicava il migliore.” Bernasconi 2004, 202.

<sup>75</sup> Bernasconi 2004, 202.

implemented. Her method is to treat the papacy as a modern nation-state.<sup>76</sup> Rodèn traces the impact of the so-called *Squadron Volante*, a group of cardinals who chose not to act according to the traditional client system, particularly in the context of papal elections and, in the same period, the individuation of the position of Secretary of State, establishing connections between these developments and the power of an increasing papal bureaucracy accompanying the end of nepotism. The pontificate of Innocent X is a key episode in this development, as it was Innocent who established the position of Secretary of State independent from that of the cardinal nephew. Pastor long ago pointed out the importance of Innocent X's appointment of an individual from outside his immediate family, in this case Panciroli, to this new position at the top of the Curia.<sup>77</sup> Rodèn argues that:

“[t]he secession of the *Squadron Volante* from the larger Pamfili faction in the conclave following Innocent's death would have been impossible had it not been for the chaotic situation this Pope left behind. Traditions of obedience to the Papal Nephew as leader of a faction were well established; the inhibitions against breaking this unwritten code would have been too strong had not Innocent's “nephew” been simply adopted and, on top of that, in disgrace and exile at the time of the Pope's death.”<sup>78</sup>

Thus, contrary to all that Leti feared, the politics of Innocent's reign had no monopolizing influence on the papacy. The shift in papal government from preference for the assured loyalty of relatives to the assured abilities of professional bureaucrats was, as Rodèn points out, hastened by the presence of ineffective individuals such as Astalli. Teodoro Ameyden registered precisely these concerns in his diary following Astalli's elevation to the cardinalate. He makes it clear that some Romans believed

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<sup>76</sup> Marie-Louise Rodèn Cardinal Decio Azzolino, “Queen Christina of Sweden and the Squadron Volante: Political and Administrative developments at the Roman Curia, 1644-1692,” (PhD diss. Princeton University, 1992), 45.

<sup>77</sup> Rodèn 1992, 52 and Pastor 1961, vol. 14.1, 29.

<sup>78</sup> Rodèn 1992, 57.

that one of the reasons for Astalli's promotion was to provide a new leader for a faction that could oppose that of the Barberini, who were "still numerous, and powerful."<sup>79</sup> Interestingly, Ameyden suggests that Astalli would never have real power, for both symbolic and practical reasons. First, Ameyden notes that "it is believed, that this man [Astalli] will never have that authority, that a true Nephew would have, as he is false..."<sup>80</sup> The circumstances of his adoption were therefore anticipated to fatally compromise the nephew's role. Further, Astalli had no currency in the client system as "the creatures of this faction [the cardinals of the anti-Barberini faction] have no obligation to him, as they did not receive the cardinal's hat through any help from him." Finally, in an argument that precisely anticipates Rod n's, Ameyden states that "hence, everyone in the conclave will follow their own desire...". In other words the appointment of the papal nephew was understood immediately to anticipate the selection of the subsequent pope. Ameyden returned to this theme several weeks later, stating again that:

The court however doesn't think that the assumed Nephew [*l'arrogato Nepote*] should, or can ever have the authority of a real nephew, especially in conclave, as the authority of the Nephew depends on having had part in promotions, and as the Popes create the Cardinal Nephew first, so the others are obligated to him, but now this one [Astalli] is the last, instead of the first, so that the usual obligations by the others who were already created to him are not in place...<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> BAV, Barb. lat. 4819, Teodoro Ameyden, *Diario dell'Anno M.D.C.L.*, 103r.

<sup>80</sup> BAV, Barb lat 4819. Teodoro Ameyden, *Diario dell'Anno M.D.C.L.* 102v-103r. Sept. 24, 1650. "Questa grandissima, e meravigliosa novità ha data cagione a varij discorsi de quali il primo capo  : Che la promotione   fatta per havere un Capo di fattione nuova contro la fattion Barberina, ancora numerosa, e potente, e le fattioni non si possono guidare senza un capo particolare per  si crede, che questi non haver  mai quella autorit , c'haverebbe un Nipote vero, sendo questo apposticcio, poiche le creature di questa fattione non gli hanno obligatione alcuna, non havendo ricevuto il Cappello per mezzo suo, onde tutti nel Conclave seguiranno la volont  propria, in particolare ludovisio, e Maldacchino."

<sup>81</sup> BAV, Barb lat 4819. Teodoro Ameyden, *Diario dell'Anno M.D.C.L.* 110v-112, October 8, 1650. "La corte tuttavia non pensa, che l'arrogato Nepote debba, o possa havere mai l'autorit  d'un Nipote vero, massime in un conclave, poiche l'autorit  del Nepote dipende dall'haver egli parte nelle promotioni, e percio i Papi creano per il primo il Cardinal Nipote, accio gl'altri habbino obligatione a lui, hora questo   l'ultimo non nel primo, di modo, che



Astalli's adoption was thus seen to have a direct impact on the conclave that followed, but since he was by then removed from his position, we will never know what effect he might have had on the conclave from which Cardinal Fabio Chigi emerged triumphant as Alexander VII. It is noteworthy in this context that Chigi had served the Pamphili pope as Secretary of State.

Astalli was, by any measure, a failure as a papal nephew and his example no doubt lingered in the minds of subsequent adopted papal nephews such as the Altieri. Innocent himself seems to have expected Astalli to follow the model of a previous papal nephew, the ideal Scipione Borghese. Innocent was, justifiably as it turns out, concerned that Astalli was more preoccupied with the affairs of the Pamphili family than with his political and diplomatic duties, more interested in lining his own pockets than in smoothing wrinkles in the fabric of papal government. Innocent reportedly chided Astalli in person, saying that "Cardinal Borghese, ... though sprung from the House of Cafarelli, became a complete Borghese."<sup>82</sup> Innocent's remark exposes the contemporary expectation that an adoptee must fully assimilate themselves to their new family, leaving behind personal or preceding familial ambition. Innocent expressed this sentiment to Astalli himself in very clear terms, as Ameyden records that: "immediately after his promotion the new cardinal [Astalli] went to the Pope to thank him for the benefice he received, and the Pope said to him, we take you from the House of Astalli nude, in such a manner that you wear not even a shirt, and we

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non è luogo alla solita obligatione delli già creati, ne sarà de gli creandi, poiche sendo quasi riservati in pettore, se seranno di qualità più degni seranno anziani et in ogni maniera restando otto luoghi per li creadni di quali devono essere cinque per li prencipi, che non hanno obligatione al Nipote, l'Auditor della Camera, e Tesoriero l'haveranno a gli suoi denari, et il Giustianiani al Prencipe della sua famiglia."

<sup>82</sup> Pastor 1961, vol. 14.1, 34.

transplant you into ours [ie. the Pamphili family].”<sup>83</sup> Further, when Astalli’s brother, Tiberio, came to offer his thanks to the Pope, Ameyden records that: “To the brother, that came to the same office, [the Pope] says you should instead be grieving, as we have taken away a brother.” Again, the language used here to describe Astalli’s adoption is significant – in this case as it is redolent of rhetoric associated with marriage and with the shift of a daughter from one house to another. Indeed, Innocent’s remark to Astalli conjures up the famous story of Griselda, included in Boccaccio’s *Decameron*. Griselda was publically stripped naked and subsequently re-dressed in order to symbolize that her ties with her old family were totally severed, and that she owed everything from that point forward to her new family. Innocent conveyed a similar message, reminding Astalli that every advantage he gained as a result of his adoption came from the generosity of the pope and his family. This reality no doubt rankled the arrogant Astalli. Innocent’s comment to Tiberio, on the other hand, underscores the idea that as a result of his adoption, Camillo’s ties with his natal family were decisively cut. Apart from consolidating the Pamphili family with the “acquisition” of a new member, the pope’s words sent a clear warning to Tiberio that he should not expect papal favours as a result of the adoption. The new family rosters entailed no benefits for the Astalli family, although Tiberio did, in the end, share in Camillo’s exile.

The example of Scipione Borghese is particularly important in this study as Scipione was famed as a patron of the arts, a nephew who assiduously increased the prestige of the family that had provided him with a new name and unprecedented

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<sup>83</sup> Barb lat 4819. Teodoro Ameyden, *Diario dell’Anno M.D.C.L.* 105r. September 24, 1650. “Subito dopo la promotione il nuovo cardinale fu a ringratiare il Papa per il beneficio ricevuto, il Papa gli disse, vi pigliamo dalla Casa Astalli ignudo, in guisa tale, che neanche vi portiate la camiscia, e vi traspiantamo nella nostra. Al fratello, che venne a simil officio disse vi dovereste piuttosto condolere havendovi Noi tolto un fratello.”

social power. One of Scipione's first commissions to the young Gian Lorenzo Bernini was for the *Aeneas and Anchises*, a work that balances on the theme of filial piety and presents Scipione as the ideal nephew.<sup>84</sup> Astalli's commissions, as we will see, tended to be more narrowly self-serving and ultimately unsuccessful in their more limited aim to solidify perceptions of his status and erudition rather than his humble submission to his papal benefactor. So completely did Astalli depart from Scipione's model that he even aligned himself with a foreign prince in the hopes of conserving his personal fortunes. As a patron of art, Astalli seems instead to have followed the mode of his immediate predecessor, Camillo Pamphili *primo*. This decision was agonistic and unfruitful, as it offered as little success in the realm of art as in politics. Like the Altieri nephews later in the century, the few works that can be securely connected to Camillo Astalli were intended to consolidate his role as adopted papal nephew and stress its legitimacy.

#### *Astalli as patron*

Astalli had scant time as papal nephew to carry out an extensive program of art patronage, although several of the most elaborate Pamphili commissions, such as Pietro da Cortona's ceiling in Palazzo Pamphili depicting the story of Aeneas' arrival in Rome and the decoration of the villa at San Pancrazio were finished during his short tenure. The two works that can be securely credited to Astalli's patronage are a portrait of him by Diego Velázquez (now in the Hispanic Society of America, New York; Fig. 4.4) and Claude Lorrain's *Landscape with Apollo and the Muses* (Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland; Fig. 4.6). Both works attest to his pretensions to the highest levels of social and literary status, and both were intended to

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<sup>84</sup> See Chapter 3 of this dissertation.

solidify his legitimacy as a member of the Pamphili family, politically, and artistically.

***Velázquez's 'Portrait of Cardinal Camillo Astalli Pamphili' and relations with the Spanish Court***

The Velázquez portrait is one of a series of pictures of members of Innocent's court, all of which were executed by the Spanish painter in a short period of time at the beginning of his second visit to Italy, likely between May 1649 and November 1650.<sup>85</sup> The first of this group is the famous portrait of Pope Innocent X, still in the Pamphili family's collection [Fig. 4.7].<sup>86</sup> Velázquez took up the compositional model established by Raphael in his portrait of Pope Julius II and later used by Titian in his depiction of Paul III, of a three-quarter view of the seated pope. Velázquez' *Innocent X* has long been recognized as a masterpiece of portrait painting, an arresting image of the pontiff as physically flawed but piercingly authoritative. Velázquez was satisfied enough with the result that he made a copy of the work to take back to Spain with him.<sup>87</sup> In the same months the Spanish painter executed portraits of Donna Olimpia (now lost, and known through an engraving), Camillo Astalli Pamphili, Cardinal

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<sup>85</sup> Enriqueta Harris, *Velazquez* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1982), 146. The painting could also have been executed in the early part of 1651 when Velázquez returned to Rome. The Hispanic Society portrait has been reproduced incorrectly in numerous publications. The cardinal should face toward his right (the viewer's left), as reproduced in Harris 1982, 153, and José López-Rey, *Vélasquez*, vol. 1 (Cologne: Taschen, 1996), 178, as well as others, rather than vice versa, as reproduced in Yves Bottineau, *Vélasquez* (Paris: Citadelles & Mazenod, 1998), 231, and in both the Spanish and Italian editions of the exhibition catalogue for the 2003-2004 show 'Baroque Courts. Velázquez, Bernini, Luca Giordano.' Fernando Checa Cremades, ed., *Cortes del Barroco. De Bernini y Velázquez a Luca Giordano*, and *Velázquez Bernini Luca Giordano. Le corti del Barocco*, ex. cat. Palacio Real de Madrid, Palacio Real de Aranjuez, October 15 2003 – January 11 2004, Scuderie del Quirinale, Rome, February 12 – May 2 2004 (Madrid, 2003). My thanks to the Hispanic Society who verified the correct orientation of the picture for me.

<sup>86</sup> Harris 1982, 146. Velázquez may have produced the portrait of Juan de Pareja first as something of a demonstration piece.

<sup>87</sup> Likely the picture now in London, Apsley House, Wellington Museum, Inv. 1590-1948. See López-Rey 1996, v. 2; entry 115, 284-286.

Camillo Massimi (London, the National Trust, Kingston Lacy), the ‘excellent painter’ Flaminia Trionfi (she is otherwise unknown and the picture has not been identified), the Abbot Ippolito, Innocent’s maggiordomo Cristoforo Segni, his barber Michelangelo (perhaps a painting now in a private collection in New York), Fernando Brandano “ufficiale maggiore” of the Secretary of State, and Geronimo Vivaldo.<sup>88</sup>

The portraits form an uncomfortably disparate group, from depictions of those clearly at the top of the Pamphili family and Curia – the pope’s influential sister-in-law, the cardinal nephew – to the Pope’s barber and a now-unknown female painter, always a rarity and a marvel. We are ignorant as to why Velázquez produced portraits of such a varied collection of individuals.

The portrait of Camillo Astalli Pamphili exists in two versions, the autograph work in The Hispanic Society of America and a copy in the collection of the Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg. The former is a square panel with a bust-length depiction of the young cardinal, while the second has an oval format and truncates the sitter just below the neck. The early provenance of the Hispanic Society picture is unknown: it is “said to have belonged to the Doria-Pamphili family at some time”, and at some point appeared in the Royal Palace in Naples, before going back to Rome as part of a private collection. After two subsequent private sales, it came to The

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<sup>88</sup> On these various portraits see: López-Rey 1996, v. 2, entries 113-117, 280-292; Felipe Vicente Garín Llombart, ed., *Velázquez*, ex. cat. Rome: Fondazione Memmo, March 30 – June 30 2001 (Milan: Electa, 2001); Jonathan Brown, *Velázquez. Painter and Courtier* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986); José López-Rey, *Velázquez’ Work and World* (London: Faber and Faber, 1968); Enriqueta Harris, *Velazquez* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1982); ex. cat., *Velázquez, Bernini, Luca Giordano. Le corti del Barocco*, Fernando Checa Cremades, ed. Rome, Scuderie del Quirinale, February 12 – March 2 2004 (Milan: Skira, 2004); Enriqueta Harris and Herbert Lank, “The Cleaning of Velázquez’s Portrait of Camillo Massimi,” *The Burlington Magazine* 125 (1983): 392-415. The portrait of Camillo Massimi was considered lost until 1958 when it was found at Kingston Lacy and published in *The Burlington Magazine*.

Hispanic Society in 1908.<sup>89</sup> The Hermitage picture appears to be a copy of Velázquez' original and was purchased by Don Gaspar de Haro y Guzmán, Marqués del Carpio, in Rome and sent back to Spain. It is described in a 1682 inventory of de Haro's collection as "112. Un quadro che rappresenta un Ritratto del Cardinale Astalli, di mano di Diego Velasco, di forma ovale coi suoi regoletti intorno stimato in ---15 [scudi]".<sup>90</sup> Don Gaspar also purchased the portraits of Massimi and Donna Olimpia, which remained with him in Naples where he was Viceroy. What happened to them after his death in 1687 is unclear, as they were not included in a group of paintings sent to Madrid, but were perhaps instead sold in Italy.<sup>91</sup>

The picture of Astalli is the only one of the group of portraits Velázquez executed that was used for a practical function, as it appears that it provided the model for an engraved portrait commemorating his promotion to the cardinalate and inclusion in the Pamphili family.<sup>92</sup> If this is the case, the portrait would date to the period between the end of September 1650 (Astalli was made a cardinal on the 19<sup>th</sup> of that month) and November of the same year, when Velázquez left Rome. The simple composition is dominated by the red tones of Astalli's cardinal's *mozzetta* and hat and his slightly ruddy complexion, set against a deep warm brown background. Astalli is clearly young, with a soft profusion of brown curls. Velázquez has given him a slightly unfocused gaze that seems to slip consistently aside as if he is momentarily distracted by something over the viewer's right shoulder. As Jonathan Brown has

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<sup>89</sup> López-Rey 1996, 290. Possible evidence that the portrait was indeed in the Doria-Pamphili collection will be discussed later in this chapter. López-Rey suggests that the painting may appear in an 1808 inventory of the Royal Palace in Naples, namely as: "56. – A picture 2 ½ *palmi* in height and 2 in width. Portrait of a Cardinal with a moustache, and a biretta on his head. Velázquez, 100". López-Rey 1996, 290.

<sup>90</sup> Harris and Lank 1983, 412.

<sup>91</sup> Harris 1982, 153.

<sup>92</sup> Harris 1982, 153.

noticed, the portrait makes a nod to Astalli's frivolous character in the *biretta*, which is set "at a rakish angle" and "deliberately tilted to one side after first having been painted as level", as can be seen from the evident pentimento.<sup>93</sup> Velázquez's portrait of Astalli attests to the cardinal's brief time at the top of the Roman social and political hierarchy, while capturing a sense of the weaknesses that eventually led to his downfall.

Where this painting hung, and more importantly in the context of this dissertation, whether it was displayed as a group with Velázquez's other portraits of the Pamphili family including that of Innocent X himself, has never been established. There does seem to be a sort of family or oral tradition that the work stayed with the Pamphili, as José López-Rey notes that it is "said to have belonged to the Doria-Pamphili family at some time."<sup>94</sup> Moreover, there is evidence in the 1652 inventory of Pamphili goods, made when Innocent established the primogeniture for Camillo *primo*, that the portrait, or a copy of it, was kept in the Pamphili collections and displayed along with other portraits of family members, perhaps in the palace on the Corso. Close to the beginning of the inventory there is a painting listed as: "Un quadro in tela da testa con il ritratto del Sig[no]r Card[ina]le Pamphili copia segnato col num[er]o nove. N. 9."<sup>95</sup> There is no sure way to determine which Cardinal Pamphili this painting depicted, as there is no information that could serve to identify the painting such as an artist or dimensions. To date it has been assumed to depict Camillo Pamphili *primo*. However, there is internal evidence in the inventory to

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<sup>93</sup> Brown 1986, 201.

<sup>94</sup> López-Rey 1996, 290.

<sup>95</sup> "Nota di guardarobba" del principe Camillo Pamphili (1652)," *I capolavori della collezione Doria Pamphili da Tiziano a Velázquez*, ex. cat. Fondazione Arte e Civiltà, Milano 28 settembre- 8 dicembre 1996 (Milan: Skira, 1996), 71. The manuscript is not complete, and among the missing pages are 33 that should have listed paintings.

suggest that this picture was in fact a portrait of Astalli. The inventory includes four other portraits of Camillo Pamphili, which are listed as follows:

A painting on canvas with the portrait of Sir Cardinal Pamphili, today Prince, standing, wearing the *berettino* on his head, and with one hand over the *beretta*, by Fabrizio Chiari, with a view of a landscape, 8 palmi high, indicated by the number 14. N. 14.<sup>96</sup>

A painting on canvas with the portrait of Sir Prince D. Camillo Pamphili wearing a black habit, with armor beside him, 8 palmi high and 4 wide, by Monsù Michele Suarss, Flemish, with a painted walnut frame, outlined with gold, indicated with the number 13. N. 13.<sup>97</sup>

A painting on canvas with the portrait of Sir Cardinal Pamphili today Prince, wearing the *beretta*, and holding a letter, 5 and a third palmi high, by Giusto Fiammengo, indicated by the number 18, N. 18.<sup>98</sup>

A painting on canvas *d'imperatore* with the portrait of Sir Prince Don Camillo Pamphili, armed as General of the Holy Church, with its frame entirely gilded, an original by Cicco Napoletano, indicated N. 129.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> “Un quadro in tela con il ritratto del Sig[no]r Card[ina]l Pamphilj hoggi Principe in piedi con berettino in capo, e con mano sop[r]a la beretta mano di fabritio Chiari, con sua veduta di un paese, alto palmi otto, segnato con n[umer]o quattordici N. 14.” “Nota di guardarobba” 71. This painting is untraced; the only picture by Chiari now in the collection of the Galleria Doria-Pamphili is a *Prophet that reads a scroll with hebrew letters* (n. inv. 51). “Nota di guardarobba” 1996, 61.

<sup>97</sup> Un quadro in tela con il ritratto del Sig[no]r P[ri]n[ci]pe D. Camillo Pamphili con habito nero, con armatura da canto alto palmi cinque e largo quattro, mano di Monsù Michele Suarss fiammengo, con sua cornice tinta di noce, profilata di oro segnato col num[er]o tredici. N. 13. “Nota di guardarobba” 1996, 71. This is the portrait by Michael Sweerts, one of many northern artists in which Camillo took a special interest.

<sup>98</sup> Un quadro in tela con il ritratto del Sig[no]re Cardin[ina]l Pamphilj hoggi P[ri]n[ci]pe, con beretta in testa, e con memoriale nelle mani alto palmi cinque, e un terzo, mano di Giusto fiammengo, segnato col num[er]o dididotto, N. 18.” “Nota di guardarobba” 1996, 72. This is the portrait of Camillo by Giusto Sustermans, now in the Palazzo Pitti, Florence. Camillo is shown full length, dressed as a cardinal, seated and holding an architectural plan. See: Marco Chiarini and Claudio Pizzorusso, eds., *Sustermans: sessant'anni alla corte dei Medici* (Florence: Centro Di, 1983), 110.

<sup>99</sup> “Un quadro in tela d'imperatore con dentro il ritratto del sig[no]re P[ri]n[ci]pe Don Camillo Pamphilj, armato come Generale di S[an]ta Chiesa, con sua cornice tutta dorata Originale di Cicco Napoletano seg[na]to N. 129.” “Nota di guardarobba” 1996, 74.



In both of the cases where Camillo is shown in ecclesiastical garb, the first in a portrait by Fabrizio Chiari and the other in a work by ‘Giusto fiammengo’ (Giusto Sustermans), he is specifically named as “Signore Cardinal Pamphili, today Prince”, indicating his change in status from ecclesiastical to secular head of the family. In the second picture, where presumably because he was not dressed as a cardinal, but instead in a “black habit” with armor beside him, indicating a military and thus secular position, there was little chance that he would be confused with the current Cardinal Pamphili, thus he is identified simply as ‘Prince’. The same premise holds true for the final picture: since Astalli never held the secular post of General of the Holy Church there could be no confusion between the two nephews. The author of the inventory, who has been tentatively identified as Camillo *primo*’s guardarobiere at the time, Nicolò Simonelli, appears to have taken some care to distinguish between the two sitters in a way that would not detract from the dignity of either of them. In 1652, when the inventory was compiled, Astalli was officially Cardinal Pamphili, and Simonelli could not identify him otherwise without evoking his adoption and possibly giving offence. Thus, the author chose to leave the identification of Astalli unqualified, while distinguishing the portraits of Camillo Pamphili by reference to the sitter’s altered, but equally prestigious, social position where necessary.

The inventory does not indicate where any of these works were kept, meaning that they could have been at any one of the Pamphili residences, nor does it give any idea of how they were hung. However, it should be noted that the painting that immediately follows the N. 9 portrait of ‘Cardinal Pamphili’ is: “Un quadro in tela da testa con il ritratto della Sig[no]ra D. Olimpia Pamphilj copia...segnato col num[er]o dieci. N. 10”. Although neither of these paintings are given authors, and thus cannot be definitively connected with the pictures executed by Velázquez, their proximity in

the inventory and their similar descriptions suggest that perhaps these two paintings were copies after the Spanish painter's portraits of Olimpia and Astalli, hung together to provide a virtual gathering of the reigning papal family. As such, the portrait of the cardinal, and Velázquez's original, served to legitimize Astalli in his new role and to insert him physically among the ranks of the Pamphili, where in reality he was to stay only a short time.<sup>100</sup>

As cardinal nephew and then later, after his disgrace in Rome, as a subject of the Spanish crown, Astalli may also have been involved in the transfer of several works of art from Italy to the court of Philip V. One of the main purposes for Velázquez' second trip to Italy was to obtain copies of famous antiquities, in particular those in the Vatican collections, and it has been suggested that Astalli facilitated the shipment of the sculpture collection that Velázquez amassed while in Italy back to Spain.<sup>101</sup> Although there does not appear to be any personal contact

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<sup>100</sup> Another key source for the reconstruction of the Pamphili collection is the inventory made following Camillo Pamphili's death in 1666, published in Jörg Garms, *Quellen Aus dem Archiv Doria-Pamphilj zur Kunsttätigkeit in Rom unter Innocenz X.* (Rome, Vienna: 1972). This inventory does in fact include a work Garms signals as a portrait of Astalli, however it cannot be the same painting that appears in the 1652 inventory. The 1666 document lists a painting in the "ultimo appartamento di sopra che non è ancora messo in ordine cioè appartamento nobile" of the Palazzo on the Corso as: "Un ritratto del Cardinale Astaldi [sic] in tela d'Imperatore a sedere con cornice negra rabescata." (Garms, 434). 'Tela d'Imperatore' was a standard canvas measure of approximately 130 x 100 cm. Given the dimensions then, and the fact that the painting showed the Cardinal seated, this cannot refer to the 1652 painting which was only a 'testa'. It seems that the work was not prominently displayed – it is recorded in the apartment that is 'still not put in order' and which seems to have contained a grab bag of pictures, including landscape views of Valmontone and Lugnano, a large collection of still lifes, "Due piante di San Giovanni Laterano in raso bianco con cornice bianca, e in una l'arma di Papa Innocenzo", a number of religious paintings, including pictures of St. Francis and St. Filippo Neri, and a portrait of Innocent X. The same inventory lists nine different portraits of Don Camillo, one of which shows him "when [he] was a Cardinal." None of the portraits are assigned an artist or given extensive descriptions, thus it is difficult to link any of these references to specific paintings. Garms 1972, 325-7, 379, 384-385, 437, 447.

<sup>101</sup> "L'Abate Oddi viene a ringraziare Sua Maestà a nome del Ecc.mo Sig. Card. Astalli per le grazie ricevute [...] Recla alcuni dipinto per Sua Maestà che sono il meglio che ci sia in questi luoghi." José Luis Colomer, "1650: Velázquez alla corte pontificia. Galleria di ritratti della Roma ispanofila," *Velázquez, Bernini, Luca Giordano. Le corti del Barocco*, Fernando Checa

between Astalli and the artist after 1650, there is a reference to him in a letter sent by Camillo Massimo to Velázquez in May, 1659: “The Abate Oddi comes to thank His Majesty in the name of the Ecc.mo Signore Cardinal Astalli for graces received [...] He brings some paintings for His Majesty that are the best that there are in these places.”<sup>102</sup> As Oddi was acting on behalf of Astalli, it is possible that the paintings, which are unidentified, were also a gift from the cardinal, no doubt intended to keep him in the good graces of his sole protector.<sup>103</sup>

### ***Claude Lorrain’s ‘Landscape with Apollo and the Muses’***

The most prominent work directly connected to Astalli is Claude Lorrain’s *Landscape with Apollo and the Muses*, presumably commissioned and executed between September 1650 and 1652 (Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland; Fig. 4.6).<sup>104</sup> The composition is recorded in Claude’s *Liber Veritatis* (LV 126) where it is inscribed on the back with the painter’s name and the date, *Claudio. v.f./1652*, the name of the patron, “*al Cardinale/panfile*”, and the location where the painting was taken, “*portata a monte cavalo*”, or the papal palace on the Quirinal hill.<sup>105</sup> In his

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Cremades, ed. Roma, Scuderie del Quirinale. 12 febbraio – 2 maggio 2004, (Milan: Skira, 2004).

<sup>102</sup> Archivio Massimo, published in Colomer 2004, 41.

<sup>103</sup> There is some literature on, and recently a spate of interest in, the Renaissance and Baroque culture of gift giving and how it relates to and affected artistic production, as evidenced by the recent ‘Giornata internazionale di studio’ held 01.14-15.2008 at the Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome, titled ‘The Art of the Gift. Cultural Exchange between Italy and Spain [L’arte del dono. Scambio culturale tra Italia e Spagna.]’ See also: Alexander Nagel, “Gifts for Michelangelo and Vittoria Colonna,” *The Art Bulletin* 79 (1997): 647-668.

<sup>104</sup> For a large color illustration see Marcel Röthlisberger, *L’opera completa di Claude Lorrain* (Milan: Rizzoli Editore, 1975), tav. XXXVI-XXXVII, for a better quality illustration see Werner Schade, ed. *Claude Lorrain. Gemälde und Zeichnungen* (Paris, Munich, London: Schirmer/Mosel, 1996), plate 65, and for a large, good quality illustration, see Helen Langdon, *Claude Lorrain* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1989), plate 81, 102-3.

<sup>105</sup> Michael Kitson, *Claude Lorrain: Liber Veritatis* (London: British Museum Publications Limited, 1978), 130. The phrase “portata a monte cavalo” is “followed by an illegible word crossed out and blotted out with white body color.”

catalogue entry for the drawing, Michael Kitson stresses that the three inscriptions appear to have been added on three separate occasions, and he suggests that the painting was completed and delivered to Astalli in 1652, and then taken to the Quirinal Palace after Astalli's expulsion from the Pamphili family in 1654, when the third inscription was added to indicate the change in the picture's location. Kitson thus assumes that the painting originally hung in one of the Pamphili palaces, most likely the palace on the Corso or the villa on the Janiculum, and was only later transferred to the Quirinal. Subsequent scholars have glossed over the possibility that the Quirinal Palace was not the painting's intended destination. From the reference to 'monte cavalo' Jean-Claude Boyer concludes that "it was therefore there that the painting was delivered", an assumption that was then taken up by Helen Langdon in her 2005 article on Claude and Apollonian imagery, which suggested that the painting would have hung in Astalli's apartments in the papal palace.<sup>106</sup>

Given the pastoral subject matter of the picture, as well as other connections that will be elaborated below, it seems more likely that the painting would have been commissioned with the intention of placing it in the Pamphili villa on the Janiculum. It also seems likely that it was subsequently transferred to the Quirinal although, I would argue, not as late as 1654, and not for the reason Kitson assumes. Instead, the most likely sequence of events is that Astalli commissioned the picture shortly after his appointment as papal nephew, in late 1650 or early 1651, with the intention of placing it in the Belrespiro, then nearing completion, as a way to announce both his pretensions as a cultured patron of the arts and his new status as proprietor of the

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<sup>106</sup> J. C. Boyer, *Claude le Lorrain et le monde des dieux* ex cat. Epinal, Musée départemental d'Art ancien et contemporain, 11 May – 20 August 2001, (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2001), 68-72, and Langdon 2005, 16.

villa.<sup>107</sup> In the early 1650's Camillo *primo* was still technically *persona non grata* in Rome following his marriage to Olimpia Aldobrandini. Thus while Langdon has rightly suggested that Astalli's Claude was "perhaps a bid to take over the leadership of the distinguished circle at the Villa Belrespiro", this thought could be pushed further to argue that the painting also represented a sort of physical manifestation of Astalli's ownership of the villa.<sup>108</sup> Astalli was given the rights to the building in the papal bull that announced his adoption and promotion, but Camillo *primo* never truly relinquished control over the development of the structure and its decoration, keeping in contact with Algardi and Grimaldi via letter.<sup>109</sup> Had it been installed in the Belrespiro, Astalli's Claude would have represented the first tentative step by the new papal nephew to stake his claim in the family villa, asserting his presence and making claims for his own ability to act as a patron of the arts.

Returning to the issue of the painting's connection to the Quirinal palace, Kitson notes that over time Claude's working method became slower, and by his later period a painting could take up to three years to complete.<sup>110</sup> The Astalli painting is on the cusp of this turn to Claude's later, more classical and literary period, and is as well the largest surviving work by the painter. It seems safe to assume that the work would have taken several years to complete. This assumption is supported by the inscription on the back of the *Liber Veritatis* drawing of 1652; Kitson argues that in general the dates inscribed on the LV drawings do not record when the work was finished, but rather when they were delivered to their patrons (although in general these two events

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<sup>107</sup> See note 2.

<sup>108</sup> Langdon 2005, 12.

<sup>109</sup> Mirka Beneš, "Claude Lorrain's Pendant Landscapes of 1646-50 for Camillo Pamphili, Nephew of Pope Innocent X. Classicism, Architecture, and Gardens as Contexts for the Artist's Roman Patronage," *Storia dell'arte* 112 (2005): 43.

<sup>110</sup> Kitson 1978, 17.

took place within the same year). By 1652, when the painting was completed and ready to be delivered to its patron, Camillo Pamphili had been officially reconciled with his uncle for a year and was fully present as the cultured prince of the Belrespiro. He had commissioned his own paintings from Claude, the *Landscape with Dancing Figures (The Mill)* and *View of Delphi with a procession* which are now in the Galleria Doria-Pamphili, but which were in the villa at the time of Camillo's death [Fig. 4.8, 4.9].<sup>111</sup> Astalli's eclipse at the villa and in Pamphili artistic endeavours was no doubt clear and thus the decision was made to send the painting to his own private apartments on the Quirinal.

Astalli and his brother Tiberio had already demonstrated an interest in landscape painting in the frescoes they commissioned from Giovan Angelo Canini to decorate the family villa in the fief of Sambuci. Situated between Tivoli and Subiaco, the Astalli inherited the property in 1584 and had the villa frescoed in the mid-1640's by Canini, a student of Domenichino's who had already worked for the Pamphili in the church of S. Martino ai Monti in the late 1630's.<sup>112</sup> The frescoes in Sambuci were finished by 1645 and are found in three rooms on the piano nobile of the villa. The first room features a scene of Flora, which, as Maria Celeste Cola has noted, is clearly influenced by Annibale Carracci's Camerino Farnese, as well as works such as

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<sup>111</sup> Camillo *primo* in fact already owned three paintings by Lorrain, which he had commissioned in the late 1640's. These are the *Landscape with Apollo Guarding the Herds of Admetus and Mercury Stealing them* (Galleria Doria-Pamphili); the *Landscape with Cephalus and Procris Reunited by Diana*, (Galleria Doria Pamphili, pendant to LV 92), and the *Pastoral Landscape* (Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest; LV 107). As with the later two works, it is unclear where exactly they were hung. See Beneš 2005, 37.

<sup>112</sup> Cola 1998, 51-66. All the information presented here on these frescoes is derived from Cola. Camillo Astalli would engage Canini again, in one of the only recorded acts of patronage from his later career, to paint the ceiling of the church of San Pietro in Sambuci between 1662 and 1663. For a recent contribution on Canini see: Ann Sutherland Harris, "Annibale's legacy: proposals for Giovanni Angelo Canini and Antonio Carracci," *Master drawings*, 43 (2005): 440-456.

Giacentino Calandrucci's 'Summer' in the Villa Falconieri.<sup>113</sup> The second room is decorated with scenes taken from Torquato Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*. These subjects appear to have been chosen with the idea of presenting a balance between the more traditionally romantic aspects of the text, such as Rinaldo and Armida's meeting in the garden, with the Christian themes of the *Gerusalemme Liberata*, as can be seen for example in the decision to place a rarely represented scene, that of God sending the archangel Gabriel to Goffredo to exhort him to take up again the war against the infidels, at the centre of the vault.<sup>114</sup> Finally, the *gran salone* features extensive floor to ceiling frescoes creating the illusion that the room is ringed by a fictive loggia with statues of eight divinities on pedestals, beyond which extend landscape vistas.<sup>115</sup> Canini's works clearly demonstrate the influences of forerunners in landscape and nature painting, most notably Polidoro da Caravaggio, Annibale Carracci, Domenichino, and Grimaldi, and can be considered in the context of the growing interest in landscape as an independent genre beginning in Rome in the 1610's with Annibale's Aldobrandini lunettes and reaching its height in the 1630's with the success of Claude Lorrain, Poussin, and others.<sup>116</sup> The Sambuci frescoes signal the Astalli brothers' intentions to closely follow the standard pattern that structured the lives of the early modern Roman nobility – Camillo's future was cast in the church and in the 1640's his career was progressing satisfactorily, while his brother Tiberio tended to the secular side of family affairs. The presence of the family was solidified

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<sup>113</sup> Cola 1998, 55. On the Camerino Farnese and Annibale Carracci in Rome see, most recently: Silvia Ginzburg, "Annibale in palazzo Farnese a Roma," *Annibale Carracci*, Daniele Benati and Eugenio Riccòmini, eds., ex. cat. (Milan: Electa, 2007), 448-457 and 292-359.

<sup>114</sup> Cola 1998, 56. Cola describes the frescoes and their art historical influences but does not provide any suggestions as to why these particular scenes were chosen.

<sup>115</sup> Cola 1998, 57. The gods are: Hercules and Mercury (north wall), Apollo and Neptune (south wall), Vulcan and Ganymede (east wall), and Jove and Mars (west).

<sup>116</sup> On landscape painting in 17<sup>th</sup> century Italy see Margaretha Rossholm Lagerlöf, *Ideal landscape. Annibale Carracci, Nicolas Poussin and Claude Lorrain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990).

in Rome with a palace on the via d'Aracoeli, acquired and partially reconstructed in the late sixteenth century and expanded in the second half of the seventeenth century by Giovanni Antonio de' Rossi. They established themselves in the countryside with their villa property in Sambuci. Commissioning an extensive fresco cycle for the family villa featuring landscapes and themes drawn from mythology and literature follows an established mode of noble patronage going back to Baldassare Peruzzi's work at Agostino Chigi's Farnesina, and taken up by numerous noble and papal families, including the Aldobrandini, the Ludovisi, and of course the Pamphili.

In commissioning the *Landscape with Apollo and the Muses* from Claude, Astalli was also following a well-travelled path, as Claude was a particularly popular artist among elite Roman patrons. Further, through both the artist and the subject matter he chose Astalli positioned himself as a rival to his predecessor as papal nephew (leaving aside the short-lived assumption of the post by Francesco Maidalchini), Camillo Pamphili *primo*. Camillo Pamphili also had a painting by Claude depicting an analogous scene of a journey to a shrine of Apollo, the *View of Delphi with a procession* (1650, Galleria Doria-Pamphili), completed perhaps in the same year that Astalli commissioned his painting. Camillo Astalli Pamphili's slightly later painting is larger and depicts a grander journey, suggesting an edge of competition between the two paintings and the two patrons.<sup>117</sup>

As Langdon has demonstrated, Apollonian themes were chosen for works of art by many significant ecclesiastical patrons, among them Cardinal Ippolito II d'Este, Pius IV, Pietro Aldobrandini, and Scipione Borghese.<sup>118</sup> As Apollo was associated with music and the arts, works featuring him implicitly cast their patrons in flattering

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<sup>117</sup> Langdon 2005, 12.

<sup>118</sup> Langdon 2005, 16-17.



terms as erudite and cultured individuals, and Astalli's Claude is no exception. The god is shown playing his lyre for the nine muses, who are joined by a group of poets in a scene evidently inspired by a print by Marcantonio Raimondo after Raphael's *Parnassus* fresco in the Stanza della Segnatura in the Vatican Palace. Both works depict a gathering on Mount Parnassus, although in Claude's easel painting the rocky terrain of Parnassus is conflated with that of another mythological mountain associated with the arts, Helicon, as signaled by the inclusion of Pegasus striking his hoof to create the Hippocrene fount.<sup>119</sup>

Camillo's choice of an Apollonian theme no doubt referenced the first Camillo's Claude, but also the larger cultural circle cultivated by Camillo *primo*, who was and is known for his patronage of the arts.<sup>120</sup> Moreover, the iconography makes a direct link between Astalli and the Villa Belrespiro, as statues of Apollo and the Muses stand on the roofline above the entrance to the villa, which presents itself as a kind of Parnassus.<sup>121</sup> Apollonian imagery also features inside the villa, in the stuccoed vault of the long Hercules Gallery, where the god appears with Minerva and Justice "suggesting the virtues of [Prince] Camillo Pamphili."<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> Langdon 2005, 14.

<sup>120</sup> Claude would paint a third picture of a procession to Delphi much later in his career for Camillo Massimi. Beneš, and others, has related the choice of a Delphic theme to a growing interest in Greek history in this period, and for patrons, including the Pamphili, to attempt to trace their lineages back to Greece. Beneš 2005, 50. However, perhaps the names of the patrons and the choice of subject matter are not a coincidence? In antiquity the term *camillus* was used to describe a young boy who assisted the priest at sacrifices, theoretically the goal of the processions depicted in Claude's paintings. *Camillus* is "the ancient name for acolytes in Roman cult; the normal term was *pueri et puellae ingenui patrimi matrimique*. They might be the children of the offician, but must, as the phrase states, be below the age of puberty, be free-born, and have both parents alive." Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth, eds. *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 283.

<sup>121</sup> Beneš 2005, 45.

<sup>122</sup> Langdon 2005, 8. See also: Olga Raggio, "Alessandro Algardi e gli stucchi di Villa Pamphili," *Paragone* 251 (1971): 3-37.

One of the principal differences between Claude's works for Camillo Astalli and Camillo Pamphili is in their deployment of architecture. As noted by Ian Kennedy in his seminal article on Claude and architecture, and furthered by Mirka Beneš in her work on Camillo Pamphili's patronage and the Villa Pamphili, the structures depicted in the Doria-Pamphili *View of Delphi with a procession* make pointed references to contemporary architectural projects. Kennedy notes that the building intended to represent the Apollonian sanctuary in Camillo *primo*'s painting refers to Michelangelo's project for St. Peter's, with the massive portico and the double columns around the drum.<sup>123</sup> Beneš has further argued that the loggia-like 'viewing structure' to the right of the composition can be connected to the Belrespiro, as from the real building's rooftop terrace visitors were able to enjoy a picture-perfect view of St. Peter's, just as the small figures included in Claude's work are taking in the view of the imaginary Delphi. The painting thus represents the papacy as the source of the Pamphili family's fortunes in the seventeenth century, as well as their erudite efforts to enjoy and exploit those fortunes in the construction of an all'antica villa. Astalli's painting, on the other hand, makes no such claims on the political structures of his time, instead drawing solely on antiquity and perhaps the other giant of seventeenth-century landscape painting, Poussin. The temple in the Edinburgh *Parnassus* which represents the Apollonian sanctuary is inspired primarily by the ancient prototype of the temple of Fortuna Virilis, while Kennedy has further suggested that the small annex adjoining the structure is drawn from the main temple in Poussin's *Gathering of the Ashes of Phocion*.<sup>124</sup> The resolutely antiquarian notes of Astalli's work are perhaps intended as a way to tie the patron to the scholarly interests of contemporaries such as

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<sup>123</sup> Ian Kennedy, "Claude and Architecture," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* XXXV (1972): 265.

<sup>124</sup> Kennedy 1972, 263.

Camillo Massimi, Giovan Pietro Bellori, and Pietro Santi Bartoli, who also made up part of Camillo Pamphili's circle.

Langdon has argued that the main theme of Claude's painting for Astalli is the immortality that is the reward of those virtuous souls who persevere in the arduous climb to the apex of Parnassus. In the background at the extreme right of the picture is a temple, which must be the temple dedicated to Apollo. Before it a set of stairs descends and meets the end of a dirt path, which presumably continues down the rocky hill. Before the temple are two small figures. Framed by the central two columns, a figure of Fame reaches out to place a laurel wreath of immortality on a small figure dressed in red and kneeling at the top step. As Langdon has noted, beyond the Apollonian context, the iconography has associations with the related imagery of the ascent to the temple of Virtue made by Hercules, which can be found in numerous earlier examples of works for papal families, perhaps most famously in the Palazzo Farnese.<sup>125</sup> Further, Langdon suggests that in the kneeling figure we are meant to see Camillo himself, humbly accepting the honor due to him for having made it up the rough path to Apollo's sanctuary.<sup>126</sup> This is entirely plausible, and suggests that Camillo wanted to represent himself as a cultured patron and moreover as a worthy man whom both chose and conquered the difficult path of virtue.

As Langdon has suggested, Astalli's Claude "made a very public statement about [the Cardinal's] desire to be linked with the patronage traditions of his great precursors among the papal families," and the commission was "perhaps a bid to take over the leadership of the distinguished circle at the Villa Belrespiro."<sup>127</sup> This may

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<sup>125</sup> Langdon 2005, 14.

<sup>126</sup> Langdon 2005, 15.

<sup>127</sup> Langdon 2005, 12.

perhaps explain the prominence given to the river god figure in the front left foreground of the picture. Langdon has suggested that this is Achelous, the father of the nymph of the Castilian spring; the spring itself can be seen spilling out from the rocky side of the plateau in the middle of the scene, in front of Apollo.<sup>128</sup> Whether Achelous or simply a personification of the spring itself, the visual emphasis placed on the figure and the double reference to the spring (in the river god figure and the actual natural feature) is significant. As they were under Apollo's protection, the waters of the Castalian spring were renowned for their ability to endow Roman poets with inspiration.<sup>129</sup> By prominently placing the figure of the river god in the foreground of Astalli's picture Claude effectively emphasized the cardinal's cultural pretensions. Moreover, by choosing a theme that had explicit overtones of moral virtue through the reference to the difficult upward path toward fame, Camillo presented himself as worthy of the position of cardinal nephew, opposing those critics who saw him as too young, too inexperienced, and too incompetent for the position. Instead, in the ideal setting of Claude's landscape Camillo (or his proxy) is cast as one who has already chosen the right path, completed the strenuous climb to virtue, and assured himself immortality – the last recalling in hindsight the hubris that would eventually lead to Astalli's downfall.

One other small episode in the complicated relationship between the arts, patronage, and the antagonistic relationship between the two Camillo's should also be mentioned. As discussed above, in the early 1640's the Astalli brothers, Tiberio and

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<sup>128</sup> Langdon 2005, 16. The figure is clearly based on the Roman *statua parlante*, Marforio. For more on Achelous see: Ann Sutherland Harris and Carla Lord, "Pietro Testa and Parnassus," *The Burlington Magazine* 112 (1970): 19.

<sup>129</sup> Wendy Thompson, "Poets, Lovers, and Heroes in Italian Mythological Prints," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 61 (2004): 13.

Camillo, had their villa in Sambuci (where they would later be exiled) frescoed by Giovan Angelo Canini.<sup>130</sup> The final link, or better, rupture, between the two Camillo's revealed in the visual arts comes to the fore in the subsequent decoration of the Palazzo Pamphili in Valmontone. Between 1657 and 1658 Pier Francesco Mola and a team of assistants frescoed the vaults of two small rooms as well as portions of the Stanza dell'Aria in the Valmonte villa.<sup>131</sup> Initially, Mola proposed that Canini be included among the collaborators on the work, but in the end the artist was never involved in the project. Cola suggests that Canini's exclusion from the work may be attributed to "the bad relationship" between the Pamphili and the Astalli.<sup>132</sup> This aversion to an artist based on his previous patrons was certainly not unheard of; the best-known example is arguably Bernini's brief fall from papal favour at the beginning of the Pamphili pontificate due to his close associations with the Barberini.<sup>133</sup> Thus it seems that while Camillo Astalli Pamphili attempted to emulate and thus out-do his predecessor during his brief period of power, Camillo Pamphili *primo* chose rather to avoid any opportunity for a *paragone* between himself and the disgraced Astalli.

## Conclusion

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<sup>130</sup> On the frescoes and for a summary of the Astalli family, see Cola 1998, 51-66.

<sup>131</sup> See: Barbara Fabjan and Monica Di Gregorio, eds., *Palazzo Pamphilj a Valmontone* (Rome: Viviani Editore, 2004); L. Montalto, "Gli affreschi del Palazzo Pamphilj in Valmontone," *Commentari* VI (1955): 267-302; A. Tantillo, *Pier Francesco Mola 1612-1666*, ex. cat. Museo Cantonale d'Arte, Lugano – Rome, Musei Capitolini (Milan: Electa, 1989).

<sup>132</sup> Cola 1998, 59. Canini remained an artist favoured by and connected with Camillo Astalli. The artist returned to Sambuci in 1662-3 to paint the ceiling of the church of S. Pietro, a work commissioned by Astalli who at that time was in Catania. Cola 1998, 59.

<sup>133</sup> On the extent and implications of Bernini's connections with the Barberini see: Karen Lloyd, "Bernini and the Vacant See," *The Burlington Magazine* 150 (2008): 821-824.

It is difficult to fully assess Camillo Astalli Pamphili as a patron, as he did not manage to remain in the office of papal nephew any longer than four years. His personal commissions are few, and it seems that he had little say in the major projects undertaken in those years by the pope and the Pamphili, such as Pietro da Cortona's Aeneas cycle in the family palace on Piazza Navona or the decoration of S. Agnese, of which Astalli was officially the cardinal protector. This in itself is important however, as it suggests the marginalization that characterized Astalli's position even when he was in power – it is unlikely that Innocent would have enshrined in a monumental fresco the memory of the cardinal nephew that he had chosen under duress and perhaps out of spite. The works that Astalli did commission suggest that he wanted to present himself as a legitimate nephew and a cultivated patron of the arts, the former through a portrait executed by the same famous Spaniard who had executed the likeness of his adopted papal protector, and the latter through the erudite mythological scene executed by one of the foremost landscape painters of the time, Claude Lorrain. That both of these works have ended up far from Rome and the Pamphili collections, in New York and Edinburgh respectively, also bears witness to the rupture and erasure of Astalli from the family that briefly claimed him as one of their own.

## CHAPTER 5: ‘TANTI NIPOTI ADOTTIVI’, THE ALBERTONI NEPHEWS OF CLEMENT X ALTIERI

### INTRODUCTION

Cardinal Emilio Altieri was elected pope April 29<sup>th</sup> 1670, taking the name of Clement X in honor of his predecessor, Clement IX Rospigliosi.<sup>1</sup> As he was nearly eighty years old, Altieri's papacy was expected to be a short one. Contemporaries had high hopes that Clement's pontificate would not be burdened by excessive nepotism, as the new pope had no close family. Those hopes would quickly be dashed, however, as Clement immediately took recourse to adoption in order to expand his family circle and provide himself with a cardinal nephew, as well as two secular nephews. The new Altieri family was composed of Cardinal Paluzzo (d. 1698), who took on the role of *cardinale nipote* and right-hand man to the pope; Gaspare (d. 1720), Paluzzo's nephew; and Angelo (d. 1706), Paluzzo's brother and Gaspare's father [Fig.'s 5.1-5.4].<sup>2</sup> All three were originally members of the Albertoni family, another old but impoverished Roman clan with their family palace and roots on Piazza Santa Maria in Campitelli. Abruptly vaulted from shabby nobility to the highest echelons of Roman society, the new Altieri nephews made the most of their short time in power, accumulating substantial incomes and constructing monumental works of art.<sup>3</sup> The works that they commissioned in the Altieri family palace on Piazza Gesù proclaim their legitimacy as papal nephews, while their sacred works, overseen primarily by

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<sup>1</sup> On his papacy see: Ludwig Von Pastor, *Storia dei papi: dalla fine del medio evo*, Vol. 14.1 (Rome: Desclée, 1961), 628-684.

<sup>2</sup> For more on Paluzzo see the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 2 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960), 561-564. On the family see: Mario Bevilacqua, "Storia della famiglia dalle origini al secolo XIX," in *Palazzo Altieri*, Franco Borsi et. al. (Rome: Editalia, 1991), 263-285.

<sup>3</sup> Armando Schiavo, *Palazzo Altieri* (Rome: Associazione Bancaria Italiana, 1960) and Borsi et. al. 1991.

Angelo Altieri, commemorate the extinguished Albertoni family, and in particular their holy ancestor, Ludovica Albertoni. The secular works allow us to evaluate how the nephews attempted to publicly establish their authority, while the religious commissions attest to the deep-rooted nature of paternal ties.

In 1667 Laura Caterina Altieri, Emilio Altieri's first-cousin once removed and the sole surviving heir of the family's fortune, married Gaspare Albertoni.<sup>4</sup> The marriage contract stipulated that Gaspare, as well as their eventual first-born son, take the Altieri family name and coat-of-arms "without mixture or commixture" with the house of Paluzzi Albertoni."<sup>5</sup> The prohibition against mixing names or family symbols indicates the concern that the children born of this marriage/adoption would not be considered indisputably legitimate.<sup>6</sup> This was a critical issue as the main

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<sup>4</sup> Schiavo 1960, 170. The public instrument of the donation made by Emilio Altieri in favour of Laura Caterina dates to May 17 1667 and it transcribes the marriage pacts made in the same month, but the day isn't precisely noted – a white space was left instead. Schiavo notes however that the first condition of the contract is that the wedding be celebrated within six months of the pacts, putting the date of the wedding between the 11<sup>th</sup> and the 15<sup>th</sup> of November, 1667. The wedding is often incorrectly dated by modern sources to 1669.

<sup>5</sup> Schiavo 1960, 170. The prevalence of the practice of adoption, and how deeply it is connected to wealth through inheritance, is seen in the fact that Emilio's brother, Marzio, had also adopted another name to fulfill an inheritance clause. Marzio had inherited the estate of his cousin Mario Delfini, at which point he took on the Delfini name and arms. It was actually this Delfini inheritance which fell to Laura Caterina, and Emilio had to get a special permission from Alexander VII in order to attach the Altieri name, in place of that of the Delfini, to the inheritance. The brief was issued February 23, 1666. Daniela di Castro suggests that Cardinal Giovanni Battista the Younger, Gaspare and Laura's third surviving son, was granted the use of both coats of arms. Daniela di Castro, "Under a Lucky Star. The Apartment of Cardinal Giovanni Battista in Palazzo Altieri," in *Roma, Palazzo Altieri: le stanze al piano nobile dei cardinali Giovanni Battista e Paluzzo Altieri* (Milan: Ricci, 1999), 121.

<sup>6</sup> The Paluzzi Albertoni were also tenacious – another clause in the contract stated that if there was only one male child he would be permitted to combine the names and arms of the two families. Schiavo 1960, 181. This further suggests that if the pair had multiple sons only the first would be restricted to the use of the Altieri family name and arms, while the following sons could combine their Altieri and Albertoni heritage. These clauses are immensely important, as they inform us of the fluidity of familial identity and, paradoxically, of the deeply-felt need to preserve those identities. A similar situation arose in the 1670's with the marriage of Maria Camilla Pallavicini (1645-1710) to Giovan Battista Rospigliosi (1646-1722). It was ensured through legal documentation that the Pallavicini name would not die with Maria Camilla, but that an only son of the couple would take both families' name and arms, while a second son would inherit the Pallavicini money and found a new branch of the



purpose of such an adoption was to ensure that the family's wealth and goods would remain under the aegis of the paternal name.

When Cardinal Emilio Altieri was elected pope in 1670 he extended the adoption, absorbing Gaspare's father Angelo into the family and naming Cardinal Paluzzo Paluzzi degli Albertoni his cardinal nephew. This expansion completely depleted the Albertoni family since Angelo's only son Gaspare was by then also an Altieri.<sup>7</sup> With Angelo's adoption his branch of the Albertoni family was effectively exhausted. The works that Angelo commissioned after his adoption demonstrate a constant and deep-rooted loyalty to the Albertoni family, which likely stems in part from his abandoned role as its protector.

Explicit references to the Altieri nephews as 'adopted' appear in both relatively neutral and decidedly hostile texts.<sup>8</sup> The Altieri and the Albertoni were distantly related, but that kinship dated back four generations prior to Gaspare and Laura. It could not therefore be claimed, as it could with Cinzio Aldobrandini and Scipione Borghese, that an already close blood relative was simply being honored with the name due to them through their maternal lineage. Instead, as with Camillo Astalli, in this case the pope was fabricating a family, and it was clear to all that the attraction for the Albertoni was financial, that of Altieri political. Moreover, in each of the previous cases that we have considered, the adoption or aggregation concerned only one individual, the papal nephew. In the case of the Altieri we have a different situation, a kind of wholesale importation of an entire family unit. The subsequent

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family. My thanks to Dr. John Pinto for this information. John Pinto, "The Pallavicini Rospigliosi Chapel in S. Francesco a Ripa," in *Magnificienza Religiosa: La Cappella Gentilizia a Roma tra '500 e '800*, ed. Enrico Da Gai and Sebastian Schütze, Forthcoming.

<sup>7</sup> Angelo's other two children were daughters. Tarquinia married Egidio Colonna in 1672, and Ludovica married Domenico Orsini in 1671.

<sup>8</sup> See Appendix 5:Altieri.

influence wielded by the Altieri nephews, exacerbated by Clement X's apparent weakness in their regard, was not looked on kindly by contemporaries who depicted the papacy as essentially held hostage by an illegitimate, false, papal family.

While the most vocal criticisms of the 'false' Altieri nephews stem from later in Clement's papacy, around 1674 and after his death in 1676, there is evidence that the Altieri were concerned about issues of legitimacy from the outset of Clement's reign and took proactive steps to counteract possible dissent. An *avviso* from August 12<sup>th</sup> 1670 informs us that, "His Eminence Cardinal Altieri, not wanting to be less than any other papal nephew, today has had a general proclamation posted renewing all the proclamations published up to the present date by the other popes."<sup>9</sup> Paluzzo's concern that he might be considered as "less than any other papal nephew" indicates that, even with the pope's support, an adoptee in a position of power might not be considered a legitimate authority.

Paluzzo's fears were realized soon enough, as by 1672 there was harsh public criticism of the Altieri nephews, focused on their adoption, in both high political circles and in public piazzas. Another *avviso*, this one dated March 5, 1672 relates that:

This pope [Clement X] does not, however, have the popular acclaim that Clement IX had, who was always seen around the city, rewarding the people's love with his presence, who deafened him with so many [cries of] 'hurrah, hurrah Clement IX'. The reason for this is the great age, but also the natural goodness of the pope, who appears changed into a statue, and in Rome it is seen that the Paluzzi, adoptive relatives, reign over the monarchy of the government with such despotic dominion,

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<sup>9</sup> BAV, Barb. lat. 6405. August 12, 1670. 80v. "Non volendo S(ua) E(minenza) il Card.le Altieri esser di meno degl'altri Nepote de Pont(efi)ci ha fatto di questo giorno affigger un Bando generale rinovando in esso tutti i Bandi publicati fino al pnte dagli altri Pont(efi)ci."

that it is not much welcomed by the court, or at all by the common people, who would like to see true blood nephews reigning.<sup>10</sup>

The Altieri were unpopular for a variety of reasons, most of them predictable, such as excess spending, primarily on the family palace, and excess taxation. The fact that the nephews were adopted was seen as a weak point that could be exploited, and perhaps exacerbated other failings.

In June 1672, shortly after this indication of general opposition on all social levels to the adopted nephews, a curious calumny case appeared in the Roman *avvisi*:

A certain Colonel Leria was put into prison. He was trafficking in dealing political writings and pamphlets that claimed to have found the genealogy of Cardinal Altieri. It is said that whoever has written this will end badly. It is a good thing that he has important friends, as the Cardinal is very severe in these matters [is sensitive in these matters].<sup>11</sup>

Paluzzo's sensitivity and heavy-handed reaction to Leria's distribution of his genealogy can only stem from that fact that any such document would have clearly demonstrated that he could not claim a blood relation to the Altieri family, although we can only speculate as to how else Leria might have embellished the family tree.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> BAV, Barb. lat. 6408. March 5, 1672. 214r. "Non ha però questo Pontefice le acclamazioni Popolari, che haveva Clement Nono, il quale sempre ch'era veduto per Roma si conciliava con la sua presenza in tal guisa l'amor del Popolo, che lo stordivano con tanti viva viva Clemente Nono, la cagione di cio è la gran vecchiara, ma molto più la natural bontà del Papa, che pare cangiato in statua, e in veder Roma i Paluzzi parenti adottivi regere con sì dispotico dominio la Monarchia del governo, non è dalla Corte molto aggraditio, e massimamente dalla Plebe, che vorrebbe veder dominare i veri Nepoti del sangue."

<sup>11</sup> ASV, Barb. lat. 6409. June 25, 1672. 135v. "È stato carcerato un tal Colonello Leria, che s' traffica in spacciare scritture politiche, e foglieti dicesi, che gl'habbino trovato la Geonologia del Cardinal Altieri, che vogliono che dica chi l'ha composta la passerà male, ben che habbi grandi amici, e perd[?] il Cardinale severissimo in queste materia." There is a second copy of this notice on 137v of the same volume in which the last part of the last line reads "sendo il Cardinale sensitivo in quest materia." Further references which round out the story are found in: ASV, *Avvisi di Roma*, n. 40, 1670-1672, December 3, 1673, 421v; July 9, 1672, 435r; Undated page, 438v. Leria finished in prison in Civitavecchia.

<sup>12</sup> There are other obscure points in the Albertoni family tree that could have been pointed out in Leria's pamphlets. Chief among these is the fact that Angelo and Paluzzo's father, Antonio, does not seem to have been a legitimate member of the Albertoni family himself. Tarquinia

Another curious case, similarly exploiting the vicissitudes of the Altieri family, emerged in the spring of 1674.<sup>13</sup> This time a man appeared in Rome claiming to be Clement X's long-lost cousin, no doubt hoping to be welcomed into the family with open arms as a blood relative. Instead, he was thrown into prison while Paluzzo attempted to determine whether he had to accept this new '*nepotismo*' or not. The cardinal then ordered public silence on the subject and the individual released from jail, to be 'honorably' housed instead at the '*Pazzarelli*', the madhouse. While in prison this 'cousin' said that he had been held at the baptismal font by an Altieri who had subsequently given him the family name. Paluzzo had him moved around the city in secret, apparently still fearing that his claim could turn out to be true. This story, which seems at the outset like a simple curiosity, turned more sinister when it was discovered that the 'cousin' had been encouraged and provided with false documents attesting to his identity by a certain Abbot Benedetti.<sup>14</sup> A member of the canons regular and supported by the Marchese del Monte, Benedetti had briefly held the post of *Cappellano segreto* to Clement X. He was removed from his post after just a few days due to his incompetence and obvious lack of ability to do the job. Embittered by this professional failure he apparently formulated the 'fake cousin' plan as a means of retribution and perhaps in the hope of scheming his way back to power by secretly

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Jacovacci Albertoni, Paluzzo and Angelo's great-grandmother, wrote up her will on September 11, 1614. In it she instructs her son Baldassare to: "recognize and declare for his natural son a youth of around sixteen years old, that was, and is, in the house of Giulio Cesare Grilli, who is named Antonio Paluzzi by legacy, and in every other best way will have and manage the use of my house, and store at the Pellegrino, presently allocated to Giulio Monte Fiore." Archivio Storico Capitolino, Rome, Fidecommessi, Pr. 2. Fasc. 54, 429v.

<sup>13</sup> For the documents relating the details of this case see the Appendix 5: Altieri.

<sup>14</sup> It is possible, but unlikely, that this Abbot Benedetti is the Elpidio Benedetti who acted, with questionable success, as an agent of Cardinal Giulio Mazzarino in Rome between roughly 1645 and 1661. Elpidio Benedetti published a text on the Villa Benedetti in 1676 and a book of poems in honour of Louis XIV in 1682, there is no further information regarding him after 1682. If the Benedetti involved in the case actually served his ten year prison sentence, it seems unlikely that he could be the same Abbot Elpidio Benedetti who was publishing in those years. A. Merola, "Benedetti, Elpidio," *DBI*, vol. 8 (1966), 250-251.

controlling the new Altieri ‘cousin’. In the end the plan failed utterly. Like Leria, the ‘cousin’ was sentenced to be sent to prison in Civitavecchia, although the exact nature of his final demise remains unclear. Benedetti was given a ten-year prison sentence for falsifying documents. As with the story of Leria and the family tree, these seemingly trivial incidents reveal the sometimes-tenuous authority of Clement X’s papacy and the perceived fragility of his adopted family. Benedetti no doubt assumed that a blood relative of the pope, however distant and unknown, would immediately supersede the adopted nephews, and it appears that Paluzzo feared this assumption to be true. This episode demonstrates the vulnerability of the Altieri-Albertoni adoptive alliance and the need for the adoptees to protect their new position from a startling variety of popular and, as we shall see, political challenges.

The issue of the status of these adopted nephews came to the fore in 1674 during a major diplomatic crisis between Paluzzo and the ambassadors of the four major foreign powers, Duke François Annibal II d'Estrées of France, Juan Everardo Nitardo of Spain, Pietro Mocenigo of Venice, and Cardinal Friedrich Landgraf of Hessen-Darmstadt representing the Holy Roman Emperor.<sup>15</sup> The source of the crisis was Cardinal Altieri’s introduction of a tax on all foreign goods entering Rome, without diplomatic immunity. The already incensed ambassadors were further angered when they were denied a group audience with Paluzzo and then barred entrance to the apostolic palace on the Quirinal. The negative reaction and protests of the

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<sup>15</sup> There is a concise summary of these events in the summary notes to one of the British Library manuscripts concerning these events, which are otherwise little analyzed. British Library, Ms. Add. 8288. COLLECTION of *relazioni*, tracts, wills and other papers relating to the history of the Church in Italy and Bavaria, and to the lives of Cardinals Paluzzo Paluzzi Altieri, Reginald Pole, Alessandro Cesarini, and Flavio Chigi; circa 1542-1710. There are documents related to these events in the Vatican, the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and the British Library in London, among others. In London see: Add. 8336 (ff. 106-267v), 8378, and 8394. See also Von Pastor, *Storia dei papi*, 679-683.

ambassadors and their respective crowns were so vociferous that in the end Clement X was forced to rescind the tax and have Paluzzo apologize to everyone involved. In the flood of writing that accompanied these events Paluzzo's and the nephews' adoption is invoked repeatedly, and it is given as a reason why Paluzzo could be easily dismissed from his role in the curia and the family. From descriptions of the conflict we learn that:

...they [the ambassadors] want Cardinal Altieri out of the palace, adding that they call him Cardinal Paluzzi, arguing not to expect in any way any consanguinity with the Pope, whom they most respectfully revere, but he [Paluzzo] is deemed a slanderer who wants to defame a worthy man.<sup>16</sup>

The ambassadors draw a distinction between the pope and his nephew, noting that the two are not bound by blood, and they revert to calling Paluzzo by his birth name in order to dispel the idea that they are actively defying or disrespecting the pope. Notes written by Pietro Mocenigo argue that Paluzzo could be removed from the papal family quite easily:

Out of compassion for the people it would be a work of charity to give the present writings with the note to the Pope, so that he will remove Cardinal Paluzzo from the Apostolic Palace, which cannot be a difficulty for the Pope for two reasons, principally, among many others, that having two other nephews not taken into the family [Ludovica and Tarquinia's husbands Domenico Orsini and Egidio Colonna, respectively] he can simply adopt...and the other, that the Paluzzi family by now will be enriched enough, like the Cardinal with the same last name, leaving him in his difficulties now with the stuff that he already has for our, and his, sins...<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> “...benche molti vogliono che gli pregassero à riportare al Papa, che desideravano fuori di Palazzo il Cardinale Altieri, con aggiungervi, che da essi viene chiamato il Cardinale Paluzzi asserendo non aspettarci in parte alcuna alla consanguinità di nostro Sig.re quale rispettosissimamente ossequiano, ma questa viene stimata una chiara di quelli che desiderano di vedere un cotale sfregio ad un soggetto così degno.” British Library, Ms. Add. 8378, 2v. 'Relazione delle cose passate tra i Signori Ambasciatori et il Signor Cardinal Altieri'.

<sup>17</sup> “Per compassione de Popoli sarebbe opera di carità il dare la presente scrittura con la note à Nostro Signore, acciò si levi il Cardinale Paluzzi dal Palazzo Apostolico, al che non può haver difficoltà Nostro Signore per due motivi, principalmente tra molti altri l'uno, che havendo due altre Nepoti non accasate puol facilmente adottare, se non vuol suoi Parenti ò un Card.le ò un Prelato di gran merito, il di cui nepote, ò fratello entri nella Casa Pontificia, e si unisca al suo sangue, e l'altra, che la Casa Paluzzi sarà hormai bastantemente arricchita, si come il Cardinale di detto Cognome, lasciandogli in sua mal hora la robba giach'egli [l'?]ha per i

As happened with Camillo Astalli Pamphili, the ambassadors suggested that Paluzzo could simply be cut out of the family and new nephews added, maliciously implying that the cardinal had enriched himself and his family enough that the pope need not feel guilty for such a decision. Finally, it seems that the issue was brought up by the Duke d'Estrées to the pope himself. In a document identified as a 'Defense of Cardinal Altieri', but which takes a decidedly ironic tone, the author says that:

Maybe [the Duke d'Estrées] went beyond the limits of his government in the exaggerations made to His Holiness over the original and tight state of the Paluzzi family, in debt up to their eyeballs, enhanced in the mutation made to Altieri at a sign, that in riches goes beyond every more dutiful papal nephew on account of the accumulation made in a few years of more than two million dollars cash, infinite numbers of jewels, a great quantity of tapestries, and other superb decorations and house furnishings, besides the fiefs, and the sumptuous building of a royal palace whose magnificence exceeds the Vatican...<sup>18</sup>

D'Estrées' complaint about the Altieri nephews' excessive enrichment commences with, and draws strength from, the fact that these greedy nephews are not in fact blood relatives at all. D'Estrées refers to the Paluzzi having 'mutated' into the Altieri; his word choice was not coincidental, instead drawing on various contemporary nicknames for the cardinal. Due to his decidedly prominent nose [Fig. 5.5], Paluzzo was referred to by a number of different nicknames all orbiting around the famous Roman author, Ovid Nasone (literally 'Ovid Big-nose'). In a satirical poem dated three days after Clement's death the anonymous author refers to Paluzzo as 'quel gran Nason', 'that great Big-nose', who is the pope's relative, but a "relative without

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nostri, e suoi peccati..." British Library, Ms. Add. 8311, 17r. This comes from a series of notes given to Pietro Mocenigo relating to this diplomatic crisis and is dated to around 1674-5.

<sup>18</sup> "Forsi haverà trapassato li limiti del suo ministero nell'esagerationi fate a Sua S.ta sopra il primiero, et angusto stato di Casa Paluzzi indebitata sino all'occhi, accresciuto nella mutatione fatto in Altieri ad'un segno, che trapassa in ricchezze d'ogni più dovizioso Nipote di Papa stante le accumulationi fatte in pochi anni di più di due milioni di contanti, d'infinite di gioie, di quantità di tapezzarie, et altre superbissime suppelletili e mobili di casa, oltre la compra dei Castelli, e la sontuosa fabbrica d'un Palazzo Regio la cui magnificenza ne supera il Vaticano..." Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Italiens, 690, 21r-v.

relation.”<sup>19</sup> Gregorio Leti, in a curious satirical piece, assigned books from the pope’s collection to prominent members of the Curia – he gave “*Le Metamorphosi d’Ovidio Nasone, e le Elogie divise da Fasti* to Cardinal Altieri.”<sup>20</sup> Leti meant, no doubt, a double-edged jab here, as the reference to Ovid allows him to mock both Paluzzo’s appearance, and his metamorphosis from Paluzzi to Altieri.

Perhaps the most vociferous attack on Paluzzo came in a letter written to the Sacred College in December 1674:

...[Emilio Altieri/Clement X] makes of his blood that which is not, and adopts, with a nephew who is more than a destructor of his honor, and denigrator of his glory. .... The whole world knows, and recognizes, that he who is not connected by blood does not have part in the desire for glory, and looks after his own interests, nor do his thoughts go higher...<sup>21</sup>

Paluzzo, and by extension his fellow Altieri adoptees are explicitly described as shams, whose greed and self-interest (‘self’ defined here as their natal family and themselves) are their defining characteristics. Given the general nature of the comment this could be extended to all adoptees – as they are not born into the family, they cannot be trusted to have the best interests of the family at heart. In theory this self-interest should be mitigated by, or transmuted into, gratitude and loyalty to the new family and their generosity, but the perception of the adoptee’s dedication (or lack thereof) to their new family could be manipulated.

One final, pathetic note regarding Clement X’s relationship with his relatives, or perhaps more accurately, how that relationship was perceived by contemporaries,

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<sup>19</sup> “V’è per chi di colpa non va senza / il detto quel gran Nason, quel suo Parente / ma Parente però senz’attinenza.” British Library, Ms Add. 8288, ‘*A di 25 Luglio 1676 Roma*’, 139v.

<sup>20</sup> BAV, Vat lat 14137, 92v. The same text is published elsewhere with an attribution to Leti.

<sup>21</sup> “...si fa del suo sangue che non è, et si li fa Addottare con una Nepote più d’un Distruttore del suo Honore, e Denigratore del sua Gloria... Tutto il Mondo lo sà, e conosce, che chi non ha [Attinenza] di Sangue non ha parte nel Desiderio della Gloria bada al vero proprio Interesse ne il Pensiero va piu in alto...” British Library, Add. 8288. 142r-v. *Al Sacro Collegio Em.mi e Rev.mi Sig.re Dicembre 1674*.



comes from an *avviso* dated to July 25<sup>th</sup> 1676, three days after the pope's death on July 22<sup>nd</sup>. The avviso writer relates what must have been Emilio Altieri's final hours:

The poor Pope, in desperation for his health regrets the events in the administration of his papacy, fearful of not finding mercy with God, with exclamations of 'Poor me', and abandoned by the false nephews he has the desire to see those of blood, and Cardinal Gabrielli in particular, who is staying in Ravenna dealing with his problems.<sup>22</sup>

The most frequent descriptor of the Altieri nephews in these negative descriptions is, as seen here, *posticcio*, or false. This mass of biting material tells us that from the day of his election until the day of his death, Clement X's nephews were, at best, on the defensive about the repercussions of their adopted status, and at worst, under direct attack. As the most diplomatically active figure among them, Cardinal Paluzzo received the most amount of criticism, but the others were certainly not spared.<sup>23</sup>

These machinations provide the hitherto unacknowledged context for the patronage of the Altieri nephews. The works that were executed for them, in particular the expansion of Palazzo Altieri and its decorations, should be seen as a kind of compensatory propaganda, imagery intended to proclaim the nephews' legitimacy and the bounty of their reign for Rome.

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<sup>22</sup> "Il Povero Pontefice nella disperatione della sua salute si doleva de rebus gestis nell'administratione del suo Papato, timoroso di non ritrovar misericordia appresso Dio, con esclamationi di Povero Me, et abbandonato dai nepoti posticci hebbe desiderio vi vedere quelli del sangue, et particolarmente il Cardinale Gabrielli, ch'anche esso con il suo male se ne sta a Ravenna a pellar la gatta." My thanks to Sabina de Cavi for her help with this passage. Cardinal Gabrielli was an actual relative of the pope's and the man that was initially expected to take up the role of Clement X's papal nephew. Instead, Gabrielli quarrelled with Paluzzo, who appears to have attempted to systematically deprive the former of influence and income, and eventually left Rome, retiring to his see of Ravenna. BAV, Barb. lat. 6415. July 25, 1676. 551v-552r. On Cardinal Giulio Gabrielli see: D. Busolini, "Gabrielli, Giulio", *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 51 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1998), 104-5.

<sup>23</sup> BAV, Barb. Lat. 5307, *Disinganno per gl'Ingannari da raggiri Palatini*, 104v. In this text Angelo is accused of shady business deals and selling faulty goods like wine cut with water, produced at the Altieri villa in Oriolo, to the hospital of Santo Sisto.

CARLO MARATTI'S *TRIUMPH OF CLEMENCY* – REPRESENTING THE  
PAPAL FAMILY IN PALAZZO ALTIERI

When the Altieri family commissioned architect Giovanni Antonio de' Rossi to expand the family palace following Cardinal Emilio Altieri's ascension to the throne of St. Peter in 1670 their goal was to create an edifice worthy of their new collective social status, an enduring physical testament to their fleeting time at the apex of the Roman political and social hierarchy [Fig. 5.6]. When it was finished the palace was of a splendor noted even in grandeur-glutted Rome; contemporaries commented on the sheer size of the building and the impressiveness of the main staircase [Fig. 5.7]. The latter was described in an *avviso* of 1673 as "so magnificent, majestic and beautiful, that Rome does not have another that matches it."<sup>24</sup> Like others before it, the new palace was conceived as much more than a structure to house the papal family and their *famiglia* – it was a theatre for the social rituals that were central to their position at the centre of Roman political life. The frescoes that decorate the *piano nobile* apartments are propagandistic images intended to express the legitimacy, durability, and virtue of the new papal family. The principal fresco of this cycle is Carlo Maratti's *Triumph of Clemency* (1674-77), an allegorical homage to Clement X, his nephews, and the abundance fostered by their rule [Fig. 5.8]. By visualizing the critical position of Paluzzo as cardinal-nephew and the role of Prince Gaspare in allegorical guise as the protector of the family's earthly interests, the fresco aims to broadcast the key roles of these men in the Altieri papal regime and to underscore the legitimacy of their authority. Their adoptive status made the presentation of their roles imperative in an otherwise traditional iconography.

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<sup>24</sup> F. Rosati, "Palazzo Altieri, Ieri ed Oggi," *Capitolium* 2-3 (1974): 18.

The exigencies of the site notwithstanding, Palazzo Altieri has a fairly standard seventeenth-century Roman palace plan [Fig. 5.9]. The entrance to the palace from Piazza del Gesù is an imposing *androne*, a vaulted entranceway of the type popularized by Antonio da Sangallo's Palazzo Farnese, leading to the first of two courtyards [Fig. 5.10]. From the southeast corner of the portico surrounding this courtyard the visitor accesses the monumental staircase, which rises gradually in three wide and graceful flights to the Sala dei Palafrenieri of the *piano nobile*. From this space, essentially an expanded landing, there are entrances to the two main reception halls of the palace – to the east the Sala della Clemenza, and to the south the Sala di Romolo. These two rooms formed the core of the public and political sphere of the palace and are decorated accordingly. Both feature major ceiling frescoes with iconographical programs praising the pope and his family and extolling Rome and its history. The Altieri palace frescoes are heirs to an impressive line of such laudatory frescoes in papal palaces, the successors of such key Baroque works as Pietro da Cortona's *Triumph of Divine Providence* in Palazzo Barberini (1632-9) and Andrea Sacchi's *Divine Wisdom* (1629-33) in the same palace.

Carlo Maratti's *Triumph of Clemency* is found in the eponymous Sala della Clemenza. The room is the larger of the two audience halls, extending east from the Sala dei Palafrenieri and flanked on its north side by the second and larger of the palace's two courtyards, providing it with ample light. The Sala della Clemenza was the main ceremonial reception space in the palace, intended to impress the visitor by its size, proportions, and painted embellishment. Maratti's fresco occupies the centre of the large ceiling, in an oval enclosed by a gilded stucco frame, a large fictive cornice, and fanciful shields featuring cherubic faces above each of the ten window

openings.<sup>25</sup> The frame is ‘supported’ at the four corners of the vault by twisting nudes, painted illusionistically to appear as if they are moulded out of cool grey stucco [Fig. 5.11]. The fresco is composed to be read properly from the entrance to the room. It is thus oriented, like most such images, to the position of the arriving visitor, who would gaze back to the throne wall and to the hypothetical Altieri prince seated there.

The *Triumph* takes place in an indeterminate sky, with only a sliver of watery horizon and the crest of a rising sun at the bottom of the composition to give a suggestion of location.<sup>26</sup> Crowning a pyramidal mass of clouds and figures is the personification of Clemency, an allusion to the chosen name of the Altieri pope, Clement X. Seated on a rainbow, she holds a golden scepter aloft with her left hand and with her right holds an olive branch pointed toward a globe of the world supported by a chubby putto. This putto has three companions who carry a variety of objects – a plaque with the Claudian motto ‘Custos Clementia Mundi’ (‘Clemency, protector of the world’), a large rudder, and a cardinal’s hat. Arranged in a gentle arc in the register below Clemency are four personifications – three female and one male. From left to right the three women are Prudence, Justice, and Public Happiness. Their male companion, at the far right of the composition, is Fortitude. In the lowest register are three putti and a youthful angel who hold symbols of the four seasons – spring flowers, summer grains, autumnal grapes and winter snow. These figures are

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<sup>25</sup> On the south side the windows are fictive.

<sup>26</sup> Both Armando Schiavo and Angela Cipriani say that this is a setting sun, which seems unlikely. There are a greater number of examples of rising suns used in papal iconography to allude to a new papal dynasty on the ascent. One example is found in Guido Reni’s *Aurora* fresco in the casino of what was Scipione Borghese’s villa, now the Palazzo Pallavicini-Rospigliosi. Moreover, the sun is actually placed at the east end of the fresco and the room. Schiavo, *Palazzo Altieri*, 91 and Angela Cipriani, “Un programma belloriano,” in Borsi et. al. 1991, 180.

compositionally balanced in the uppermost portion of the fresco by another cadre of angels, who descend toward the figure of Clemency with the papal tiara and keys.

The scheme for the ceiling was devised by Giovanni Pietro Bellori, an antiquarian and author best known for his *Vite dei pittori, scultori ed architetti moderni*.<sup>27</sup> Bellori included an extensive description of the fresco in his life of Carlo Maratti, a fortuitous instance of the author personally furnishing an account of an iconographical program.<sup>28</sup> The pictorial traditions of papal audience halls have been laid out by John Beldon Scott in his discussion of Pietro da Cortona's work in Palazzo Barberini, and the program of the Sala della Clemenza falls neatly within the parameters of such imagery.<sup>29</sup> The *Triumph* represents "the ethical character and political actions of the ideal pope and his family" and is split down secular and ecclesiastical lines, representing the two sides of any successful papal dynasty. While the programmatic character of the fresco is conservative and idealizing, the imagery is also inflected and informed by the fabricated nature of the Altieri family, and can be read as a response to the political and social pressures exerted on the new papal nephews as a result of their adoptive status.

The allegorical *Triumph of Clemency* is the principal element of what was once intended to be a more extensive iconographic program, which included frescoed

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<sup>27</sup> Bellori's *Vite* were first published in 1672, with his well-known discussion of classical art theory, 'L'idea del pittore, dello scultore, e dell'architetto', as an introduction. A new English translation of all of the Lives, with excellent appendices and accompanying scholarship has recently been published. Giovan Pietro Bellori, *The lives of the modern painters, sculptors, and architects: a new translation and critical edition*, trans. Alice Sedgwick Wohl (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

<sup>28</sup> Bellori's life of Maratti was written in 1689 together with the lives of Guido Reni and Andrea Sacchi. The three went unpublished until 1731.

<sup>29</sup> John Beldon Scott, *Images of Nepotism. The Painted Ceilings of Palazzo Barberini* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991). See in particular Chapter XII. 'The Iconographic Tradition of Papal Nepotism: Mirror of Popes and Quest for Immortality', 160-179.

personifications in each of the vault's ten spandrels. Starting with the northeast spandrel the figures were to be Religion and Faith (over the throne wall); Europe, Africa, Asia and America (the four continents grouped together on the south wall, with the final two combined in one space); Divine Wisdom and Evangelical Truth (over the entrance wall); and finally Peace, and Rome, the Tiber and Virtue crowned by Honor (on the north wall, again with the final two groups combined in a single pendentive).<sup>30</sup> Although Maratti's ideas for the allegorical spandrel figures are known through drawings in various museum collections, the project was never carried out and the pendentives remain blank.<sup>31</sup>

It is unclear exactly why the full plan was not finished. Bellori does not furnish a reason, while Pascoli referred only to 'various differences' presumably among the patrons.<sup>32</sup> Martinelli proposed that the situation could be blamed on economic reasons, and this seems to be accurate.<sup>33</sup> The Altieri nephews spent prodigiously on the new palace, and the ever increasing cost began to chafe with Clement X, who complained frequently about having to hand over so much money to his nephews. This state of affairs is indicated in an *avviso* from 1673, which reads:

His Holiness remains very embittered because of the 200 thousand scudi that was levied by Cardinal Altieri from the *Castello* [ie. the bank], this one [ie. Cardinal Altieri] goes to try to sweeten the Pope's soul, claiming that he was forced to

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<sup>30</sup> For problems related to Bellori's development of this iconography see Allison Lee Palmer, "Carlo Maratti's *Triumph of Clemency* in the Altieri Palace in Rome: Papal Iconography in a domestic audience hall," *Source* 4 (1998): 18-23.

<sup>31</sup> On these sketches see Palmer 1998, 18-23, and Jennifer Montagu, "Bellori, Maratti and the Palazzo Altieri," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 41 (1978): 334-340. A check list of all the drawings and the complete bibliography relating to them can be found in Montagu's article.

<sup>32</sup> Lione Pascoli, *Vite del pittori, scultori, ed architetti moderni*, I (Rome: Antonio de' Rossi, 1730; repub. Rome: Soc. Multigrafica Ed. SOMU, 1965), 140. "Gli fu data a dipinger la sala del suo palazzo al Gesù dal principe Altieri, che per alcune difference non terminò, avendovi lasciate imperfette le lunette, e gli angoli."

<sup>33</sup> Lione Pascoli, *Vite de' pittori, scultori, ed architetti moderni* (Perugia: Electa Editori Umbri, 1992), 205, 214, n.24.

satisfy the costs, that he had agreed to make in building the Palace, for which he cannot make up for the monthly [payment] already made by the pope of 40 thousand scudi, while they number more than 300 continuous workers, beyond also of other expenses.<sup>34</sup>

Another avviso from early in 1674 takes a similar tone:

It is being said that the Pope is accumulating money with the intention of wanting to levy a tax at the beginning of the Holy Year, and [as] the *Dominanti* [ie. the ruling family, the Altieri] find themselves in debt from the construction of their palace they are still looking to make money to get out of that debt, without touching or ruining their other plans.<sup>35</sup>

Their increasing need for cash to build the palace may be what pushed Paluzzo into attempting to tax the foreign ambassadors, a policy that, as we have seen, was a serious political blunder.

#### ‘A BURDEN THAT WILL NOT BE BURDENSOME’ - THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE CARDINAL NEPHEW AS SUPPORT

An interpretation of Maratti's *Clemency* must begin with Bellori's discussion of the fresco. Bellori says that the “subject was Clemency, an allusion to the pope's name and his other pontifical virtues, resting upon the wise governance of Cardinal Altieri.”<sup>36</sup> Further on in his description, Bellori identifies the figure of Strength as a representation of the secular nephew, Gaspare.<sup>37</sup> There were multiple powerful personalities behind this commission, all of whom expected to be flattered and

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<sup>34</sup> “Restando molto amareggiato nostro Signorea causa delli scritti 200 mille scudi levati dal Cardinal Altieri da castello, va questo raddolcendo al possibile l'animo Ponteficio, con asserire d'esser ne stato forzato per sodisfare alle spese, che li convien fare ne fabbrica del Palazzo, alle quali non puo supplire l'assegnamento mensuale gia fa dalla S.S. di 40 mille scudi, mentre vi si contano da 300 operarij continui, oltre altri di spedij.” BAV, Barb. lat. 6410, Avvisi di Roma, November 18, 1673. f. 346v.

<sup>35</sup> “Si sente che il Papa vadi accumulando denaro con intentione di volere levare all'entrar dell'anno Santo una Gabella; e li Dominanti trovandosi nell'impegno [undertaking, commitment] della fabbrica del loro Palazzo procurano ancor loro di far danari per uscire di detto impegno, senza toccar, o guastare gl'altri loro disegni.” BAV, Barb. lat. 6411, Avvisi di Roma, January 20, 1674. 24r.

<sup>36</sup> Bellori 2005, 407.

<sup>37</sup> Bellori 2005, 407.

satisfied by its contents. The fresco is not simply a celebration of Pope Clement X through his allegorical stand-in, but instead a broader celebration of his character and his reign as they were presented by his cardinal and secular nephews, Paluzzo and Gaspare Altieri.

The overall composition of the fresco, based on a broad zig-zag, further emphasizes the three-part division of the fresco. The clear unbroken arc of the rainbow on which Clemency sits traces a line to the figure of Gaspare/Strength at the right side of the composition. A second diagonal line is formed by the tilt of the cloud on which the figures of Justice and Prudence are seated. This line terminates at the figure of Prudence, the stand-in for Cardinal Paluzzo. A final diagonal can be traced from Prudence down and to the right. This line passes through the four figures who represent, respectively, the four seasons, and highlights in particular the young man representing summer at the center of the group, who I will return to below. The clear zig-zag pattern of the composition thus picks out the most important figures to the fresco's meaning: Clement X, Gaspare, and Cardinal Paluzzo.

The left side of the composition is dedicated to the ecclesiastical side of the family and specifically Cardinal Paluzzo Altieri, who is allegorically represented as the figure of Prudence, in the guise of Minerva.<sup>38</sup> The putti gambolling in the upper left connect the image of Prudence to Cardinal Altieri, as Bellori explains that "one holds the cardinal's hat and forms the arms of Cardinal Altieri, [and] the other holds the helm of government betokening his great prudence in attending to public affairs."<sup>39</sup> Maratti's fresco lauds Paluzzo as the rudder keeping the papacy on course, the indispensable helmsman of the Altieri ship of papal government. These two putti

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<sup>38</sup> Bellori 2005, 407.

<sup>39</sup> Bellori 2005, 407.



are joined by a third, who supports the globe of the world. This third cherub is positioned under the olive branch extended by Clemency. This detail references the now familiar iconography of the nephew as support – Hercules shouldering the world, Aeneas taking on the weight of his father – in a slightly different way, expressing Paluzzo’s role as the foundation for Clement’s good government. As Bellori himself suggests, Clement’s virtues rest upon Paluzzo’s wisdom.<sup>40</sup> This message would have been particularly pressing during Clement X’s tenure, as Paluzzo was often accused of putting his own interests above those of the pope, and of caring more for family affairs than for ecclesiastical ones.<sup>41</sup> Contemporaries, such as his rival Cardinal Gabrielli, chided him for his selfishness, raising the issue of his unusual adoption to give force to make the accusation. An example of these dynamics is reported in an *avviso* from 1670:

Tuesday after lunch Cardinal Gabrielli was to the rooms of His Eminence Cardinal Altieri to talk together in secret, but [it] was not possible, as from time to time both were raising their voices again to interrupt each other’s speech, Gabrielli was heard to say these words “Signore Cardinale, His Holiness honored you with his own title of the name Altieri, so as not to load the great burden of S. Peter totally on himself, and because he still follows that chapter of S. Paul that says: *Alter Alterius onera portate*, and we [Gabrielli] still desire to submit ourselves to this weight.”<sup>42</sup>

Gabrielli’s quotation of St. Paul’s letter to the Galatians, 6:2, which reads “Bear ye one another’s burdens, and so fulfill the law of Christ” [*alter alterius onera portate et sic adimplebitis legem Christi.*] is a pointed reference to his concerns about the

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<sup>40</sup> On the development of this iconography see Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

<sup>41</sup> See Appendix 5.3 Paluzzo Altieri, Doc. 2.

<sup>42</sup> “Il Card. Gabrielli è stato martedì doppio pranzo alle stanze del Em.o Altieri per discorrere assieme in secreto, ma non fu possibile, perche alzando di quando in quando ambedue la voce col’interrompersi ancor il discorso fu Gabrielli udito dire queste parole = Sig. Cardinale, S. Santità l’ha honorato del titolo proprio del cognome d’Altieri, accio non addursi la gran machina di S. Pietro tutta sopra di se, ma perche si vaglia di quel capitolo di S. Paolo “*Alter Alterius onera portate*”, desiderando ancor noi sottoporci a questo peso.” BAV, Barb lat 6405, *Avvisi di Roma*, November 15, 1670, 428v.

cardinal-nephew's behavior. We will never know if the writer of the *avviso* missed Gabrielli's full wrath, for the subsequent line in Paul's letter reads: "For if a man thinks himself to be something when he is nothing, he deceives himself" [*nam si quis existimat se aliquid esse cum sit nihil ipse se seducit*].

While Cardinal Gabrielli pointed to Paluzzo's self-absorption in the neglect of curial matters, other critics remarked on Paluzzo's secular dealings particularly in the issue of arranging marriages for his relatives. Cardinal Paluzzo's management of family affairs was scrutinized and commented on by contemporaries, whose judgments were less than favourable. In an anonymous and ironic seventeenth-century 'Defense of Cardinal Altieri', the author points out that Cardinal Paluzzo was quick to marry his two blood nieces, Angelo's daughters Tarquinia and Ludovica, into the prestigious Colonna and Orsini families, "with assignments of dowries greater than their status" ["con assegnamenti di dote maggiore al loro grado"].<sup>43</sup> In striking contrast, the author notes that Cardinal Paluzzo had not given any thought to Clement's two true nieces by blood, instead keeping them enclosed in a convent.<sup>44</sup> The author laments that when Clement X dies ('God forbid' ["il che Dio non voglia"]), these two true nieces will remain simple women without any way to better themselves, and with no greater inheritance than 40,000 between them. The Altieri nephews were certainly not the first to spend papal funds on personal projects at such a lavish scale, as the works undertaken by the Barberini and the Pamphili testify. However, the Altieri nephews were particularly vulnerable to criticism due to the circumstances of their adopted status. It is revealing indeed how their contemporaries never fully accepted them as true members of the papal family. In the *Clemency* fresco

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<sup>43</sup> See Appendix 5.3, Doc. 2.

<sup>44</sup> See Appendix 5.3, Doc 2.

Maratti utilizes traditional iconography associated with papal nephews, the combination of rudder and globe, as a propagandistic defense of Cardinal Paluzzo and his role in the Altieri family, a visual vindication intended to reinforce his legitimacy in a manner singularly conspicuous within the decorative traditions of papal family palaces.

### ***Gaspare Altieri and Legitimation***

Following classical dictates of balance and symmetry, the right side of Maratti's *Triumph of Clemency* is dedicated to the secular branch of the family, represented by Gaspare Altieri. Bellori describes this portion of the fresco where:

a heroic youth rises up, standing for Fortitude, with the lion skin on his head and his breast bound, and he holds the gonfalon, representing the person of Don Gasparo Altieri, the nephew of the same pope and gonfalonier of the Holy Church; and as the Public Weal [or Public Happiness, *felicità pubblica*] derives from these virtues, she too is depicted in the act of looking toward earth for the benefit of mortals, with the caduceus and the horn of Amalthea, from which she pours out her gifts.<sup>45</sup>

The scene is rounded out by the four putti representing the seasons below, who are collectively a “symbol of the happiness of the age.”<sup>46</sup> Gaspare as Fortitude represents the vital new secular branch of the Altieri family, fecund enough to preside over Public Happiness and oversee as she pours down natural bounty on the earth below [Fig. 5.12]. The depiction of Gaspare is a jarring note in the composition – a male personification in the midst of a group of celestial women, and apparently a portrait in allegorical guise. He commands attention as he is the sole figure to look directly down to the viewer below while his imperious stance dominates the right of the composition. Schiavo has suggested that Gaspare's representation in classical garb in

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<sup>45</sup> Bellori 2005, 407.

<sup>46</sup> Bellori 2005, 407.

his role as General of the Church is based on the statue of Carlo Barberini now in the Capitoline Museums, where the latter is represented in a similar guise [Fig. 5.13].<sup>47</sup> It is likely that Gaspare chose such a model for his self-representation, as it links him to a member of one of the most powerful papal clans of the seventeenth century and to an unquestionably legitimate nephew.

### ***The Development of the Fresco – Bozzetti***

Three oil sketches of roughly similar dimensions have been identified as autograph bozzetti for Carlo Maratti's *Triumph of Clemency*. One is in the collections of the Palacio Reale, Madrid (Palacio Real, cat. E 119), while the other two belong to the Associazione Bancaria Italiana, and are found in Palazzo Altieri. [Fig.s 5.14-5.16].<sup>48</sup> The Madrid bozzetto remained in Maratti's possession until the artist's death, at which point it was sold to Philip V by Maratti's widow.<sup>49</sup> The two bozzetti in the collection of the ABI belonged to the Altieri family before being acquired by the ABI. Stella Rudolph has identified both of the Roman works as bozzetti for the ceiling, but her suggestion does not take into account the Madrid bozzetto or striking differences between the three works. I would suggest a different reconstruction of the relationship between these three oil sketches. It appears, instead, that the Madrid work is a true bozzetto, probably the first that Maratti produced. One of the Roman works [Fig. 5.15, hereafter identified as ABI 1] is essentially a copy of the Madrid version with minor

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<sup>47</sup> Schiavo 1960, 92.

<sup>48</sup> For the Madrid bozzetto see: Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez, *Pittura italiana del siglo XVII*, ex. cat., (Madrid: Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, Dirección General de Bellas Artes, Comisaria General de Exposiciones, 1970), 366. The Madrid bozzetto was published for the first time by Ellis Waterhouse in 1937. See: Ellis Waterhouse, *Italian Baroque Painting* (London: Phaidon Press, 1937), 80. On the bozzetti in Palazzo Altieri see: Diane De Grazia and Pier Giovanni Castagnoli eds., *Dipinti Barocchi delle banche italiane* (Venice: Marsilio Editori, 1990), 92-95 and Stella Rudolph, "Carlo Maratti," in *L'idea del bello: viaggio per Roma nel Seicento con Giovan Pietro Bellori*, edited by Evelina Borea and Carlo Gasparri (Rome: Edizioni de Luca, 2000), cat. no.'s 10-11, p. 466-468.

<sup>49</sup> Pérez Sánchez 1970, 366.

changes, which was presented to the Altieri patrons and subsequently remained in their possession. The second Roman bozzetto [Fig. 5.16, hereafter identified as ABI 2] is, instead, a version made after the fresco was completed, and also given to the Altieri, either to commemorate the commission or for their future use as a gift.

Perhaps the earliest surviving record of Maratti's initial thoughts for the Clemency fresco can be seen in a drawing in Düsseldorf that studies the lower half of the composition [Fig. 5.17]. On the octagonal sheet Maratti has studied the allegorical figures who cluster under Clemency, whose knees are just visible at the top of the page. The Madrid bozzetto, which is instead cruciform in shape with a long vertical core and a wide shallow cross arm, represents a further phase in the evolution of the design. The sun that rises in the center of the composition at the bottom of the Düsseldorf drawing has been moved to the far left in the bozzetto and the putti representing the seasons above have also been rearranged, with the putto pouring down snow to represent winter shifted to the left of the group. The most notable difference is in the figure of Gaspare/Strength, who in the drawing turns to look up toward Clemency in adoration. In the Madrid bozzetto he turns instead sharply to look over his left shoulder and away from the other figures in the composition. This was a change made, in fact, while Maratti was painting the bozzetto. There is a visible pentimento in Gaspare's face: a second shadowy visage can be seen on his right cheek and neck, indicating that initially this figure turned to look down and to the left [5.18]. Such a significant pentimento indicates that this was a true bozzetto, recording the work as it developed, including changes that were made along the way. The multiple changes to Gaspare's figure also suggest that the young nephew was closely involved in the design process. Although it is impossible to pinpoint with absolute certainty who in the Altieri family was the main patron of the fresco, Cardinal Paluzzo or

Gaspare, the changes to the figure of Strength suggest that Gaspare maintained a high level of control over his allegorical self-representation and had a voice in the design process.

When considering Maratti's bozzetti for the Clemency fresco one of the first questions that should be asked is why the artist would have executed two almost identical oil sketches, namely that in Madrid and ABI 1. Rather than a true working bozzetto, the ABI 1 sketch can, instead, be identified as an autograph copy of the Madrid work, made to present to the Altieri. There is no trace of the pentimento in Gaspare's face and no other significant changes were made to the composition. In general the handling of the paint in ABI 1 is slightly heavier and more opaque, less spontaneous. Maratti has included faint indications at the top of the sketch that the work could be fit into a cruciform frame, as it is shown here and as it was arranged in the Madrid bozzetto, or an oval one, as it would eventually be executed. As he did not yet know the shape of the frame that he would have to work in Maratti has indicated that the composition could work in more than one form. It appears that Maratti chose to keep his initial bozzetto (the Madrid work) in his own possession, perhaps as a reminder of the composition for himself and future students, and instead executed a copy to give to the Altieri as a gift.

The second Roman sketch, ABI 2, appears to be a copy made after the finished fresco [Fig. 5.16]. The elements of the composition, the allegorical figures and putti, are all represented precisely as they are seen in the finished fresco, yet they are crowded together. The sense of airiness and lightness felt and seen in the fresco is gone, the monumental figures seem instead almost to encroach on each other and fill the whole space. The whole composition is brought closer to the viewer, the gradual sense of recession seen in the fresco abandoned in order to bring all the figures

forward. The artist seems to have aimed to capture the essential iconographic elements of the composition, while doing away with the illusion of a vast receding sky; on the whole the composition is flat and more static than the fresco itself. The oil sketch however also improves on the fresco, resolving the awkward element of the unimaginative sea in the fresco and balancing out the work by cutting off the composition at the top and bottom, symmetrically truncating the oval ends. Most significantly, this oil painting is of a significantly higher finish than the other two and is painted with the warmer pinker lighting that is seen in the finished fresco. As there are only minor changes between ABI 1, the finished fresco, and ABI 2, it seems unlikely that Maratti would have executed a bozzetto of such a high finish when the alterations to be made before execution of the finished fresco were so minor. It is more plausible to posit that ABI 2 was made after, rather than before, the *Triumph of Clemency* fresco.<sup>50</sup>

It would not be surprising to find that Maratti had executed such an oil sketch after the finished fresco. Maratti was the star pupil of Andrea Sacchi, putting him in an illustrious line of artistic descent going back to Annibale Carracci. Sacchi is known to have produced at least one autograph oil painting of his most famed fresco, the *Divine Wisdom* in Palazzo Barberini, while two more were found in his studio after his death.<sup>51</sup> Four other oil versions of the composition in varying sizes also exist which, if they were not produced by Sacchi himself, possibly came from his studio. These sketches were purchased by individual patrons and used by the Barberini as gifts, for example in the case of the copy given to Emperor Ferdinand III's

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<sup>50</sup> Stella Rudolph believes, instead, that the Madrid sketch was made from ABI 2. Rudolph 2000, 467.

<sup>51</sup> See Ann Sutherland Harris, *Andrea Sacchi: complete edition of the paintings with a critical catalogue* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1977), 57-59.

ambassador, Duke Johann Anton I von Eggenberg in 1639, or that given to Cardinal Richelieu before 1642. Another version belonged to Pope Alexander VII. Given his close ties to Sacchi and training his workshop, it seems likely that Maratti would have undertaken a similar task for his patrons. If the oil sketch ABI 2 was intended for use as a diplomatic gift it does not seem to have fulfilled its function, as it remains in Palazzo Altieri where it was presumably first hung.

A comparison of the finished ceiling with the Madrid *bozzetto* [Fig. 5.14] indicates that the most significant changes made between the fresco's conception and execution pertain to the figures that represent Clemency and Gaspare. Between bozzetto and final execution of the fresco, the artist effects a reversal of roles between the two. In the bozzetto Clemency looks down toward the viewer, dominating the scene, while the figure of Strength/Gaspare turns sharply to the right and stares out of the frame that separates him from the rest of the room below the ceiling. There must have been considerable debate between Gaspare, Bellori, and Maratti concerning this figure, as there is a visible *pentimento* in the bozzetto in Gaspare's face – a second shadowy visage can be seen to the left and slightly below the one turning to the right [Fig. 5.18]. The drawing in Düsseldorf records another earlier phase of the composition, as Gaspare/Strength turns to look up toward the figure of Clemency in adoration [Fig. 17]. As it was finally painted, Clemency looks to the left toward the putti representing Paluzzo, while Gaspare looks down and slightly to the right, toward the room below. Another Düsseldorf drawing studies the Gaspare/Strength figure as it is presented in the Madrid and Rome bozzetti, with his head turned sharply to look over his left shoulder [Fig. 5.19]. This pose would be softened in the finished fresco, where Gaspare/Strength is seen almost full face.



In Maratti's finished fresco Gaspare holds his chin held out and slightly up, his head tilted back and turned to look down directly over his left shoulder. He is connected to, but clearly intended to appear aloof from, the space below and presumably its visitors. The alterations made to Gaspare's representation are subtle but important, as they suggest that his figure was altered in order to make him appear more dominant. His stance in the finished fresco has become more erect and aggressive, while the soft curve of his body in the preliminary bozzetto eliminated. His stance is more open than in the bozzetto, where his figure is pushed tight up against the frame. In the fresco his left hand is at his hip, palm confidently turned out, pushing away his cloak to reveal the sword at his side. With his right hand he pushes the gonfalone back and up, proudly, rather than pulling it protectively over himself, as he does in the bozzetto.

In contrast, in the final fresco the figure of Clemency is considerably less forceful than in the bozzetto, as she turns to gaze out of the scene and away from the reception space below. She still reigns over the scene, but as a passive queen. The change in the relationship between the two can be seen in the color palette as well. There is of course a significant difference in the media – the bozzetto is executed in oil while the final work is fresco, and thus the colors in the latter are considerably more muted in general. However, there is an alteration in the relationship of the colors to each other that is not likely due to the shift in materials. In the bozzetto the bold blue of Clemency's robes is contrasted against the burst of white light behind her, while Gaspare, dressed in deep red, is set in relative shadow below her. On the ceiling the deep blue of Clemency's dress has been softened, toned down with pinks and whites that makes her figure fade somewhat into the sunburst behind her, rather than stand out against it. Gaspare's mantle has also become lighter in tone, taking on an

orange hue, but this change serves to make him more prominent against the soft pinks and blues of the rest of the composition. Pains were taken to increase Gaspare's conspicuous presence. It may be that these changes were intended to reinforce the symbolic importance of Gaspare as secular nephew and unassailable head of the family.

In fact, it is this pictorial emphasis on the presence of the nephews and their inclusion at the dramatic core of the fresco that makes Maratti's work significantly different from previous frescoes in papal audience halls, most notably Cortona's Barberini *Triumph of Divine Providence*. There the scenes lauding the nephews and their role in papal government are carefully subordinated to an overall concept in praise of the entire Barberini family through the central presence of their stemma, the three golden bees. Taddeo, Francesco and Antonio are individually commemorated in the vignettes that create a kind of frieze around the lower portion of the ceiling, which are carefully distinguished from the central vision by an elaborate fictive marble cornice. In Cortona's work there can be no doubt that the focus of the decoration is the pope, followed by his family, and then by his fortunate nephews. While Clement X remains the central figure in Maratti's Palazzo Altieri fresco, in the guise of his allegorical stand-in, there is no clear visual subordination of his nephews. Instead, while the allegorical representations of the Altieri family members are stacked hierarchically, they are equal in size and all placed together in a single unified space. The fresco blurs some of the boundaries established in works like the Barberini ceiling, disintegrating the careful visual checks and balances in the representations of power that had developed over the course of the century.

### ***The Rejection of the Heraldic Concetto***

In Bellori's description of the fresco he says that the main figure of Clemency "is seated above a rainbow and on the clouds, in a great light in which seven bright stars shine, the emblem of the pope."<sup>52</sup> Bellori's description is accurate in regard to the Madrid bozzetto, where the stars are clearly visible as a bright, delicate halo above Clemency's head. However, these stars were not included in the finished fresco.<sup>53</sup> The fact that the Altieri stemma does not play a central role in Maratti's fresco represents a significant departure from previous frescoed ceilings made for papal palaces, and a striking shift in the iconographical conception of such a ceiling away from the use of a heraldic *conpetto*.

Two of the most important antecedents to Maratti's Clemency fresco are the Sala Clementina in the Vatican Palace, decorated by Giovanni and Alberti Cherubini with Paul Brill (1596-1600), and Pietro da Cortona's *Triumph of the Barberini* in Palazzo Barberini (1633) [Fig.'s 5.20, 5.21]. As Morton Abromson has pointed out, most of the ceiling decoration dating to the decades between these two works were for the most part much smaller in scale, such as Guercino's frescoed ceiling in the Casino Ludovisi and Giovanni Lanfranco's work at the Villa Borghese.<sup>54</sup> The Alberti brother's Quirinal fresco is based on the same allegorical figure as the Altieri ceiling and would no doubt have been a point of reference for the latter, while Cortona's work for the Barberini was the prime example of a private palace ceiling celebrating the reigning papal family. In both works a heraldic conceit plays a key role – in the former as a decorative and iconographical motif, and in the latter as the focal point of

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<sup>52</sup> Bellori 2005, 407. The Altieri stemma is composed of six silver stars arranged in an inverted triangle on a blue background and with a border of interlocking dark and light triangles.

<sup>53</sup> The Altieri stemma is included in the fresco however, on the shield held by Prudence.

<sup>54</sup> Morton C. Abromson, "Clement VIII's Patronage of the Brothers Alberti," *The Art Bulletin* 60 (1978): 539.

the entire program. Heraldic *concetti* were useful in this kind of decoration as they offered a sophisticated and oblique, but not obscure, way in which to put the identity of the patron at centre stage, without resorting to a literal depiction, which lacked suggestiveness while seeming overly transparent.<sup>55</sup> As can be seen in both of these rooms, the use of a heraldic *concetto* also offered a valuable opportunity for the artist to use the normally static family stemma to create a witty display – the Cherubini brothers creating convincing illusionistic armillary spheres with the elements of the Aldobrandini stemma and Cortona with the three bees that hover at the centre of the Barberini ceiling.

The frescoes of the Sala Clementina of the Vatican palace combine two indirect methods of papal praise: the heraldic *concetto* and the saintly stand-in. The end walls of the room feature scenes of the *Martyrdom of Saint Clement* and the *Baptism of Clement*, respectively, while the ceiling depicts the apotheosis of Clement. [Fig. 5.22].<sup>56</sup> Personifications painted above the cornice (Clemency, Justice, Charity, Religion, Abundance, and Benignity) reflect the virtues of Clement VIII Aldobrandini.<sup>57</sup> The inclusion of extensive heraldic imagery in the fresco further

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<sup>55</sup> There is precedent for such self-aggrandisement in Vasari's frescoes for the Sala dei Cento Giorni in the Cancelleria, commissioned by Pope Paul III's grandson Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, and depicting deeds of Pope Paul III. In seventeenth-century Rome such a literal and monumental depiction of the pope, his family and his earthly deeds was rarely repeated in fresco, although it did appear in other media, such as the tapestry cycle commissioned by the Barberini and depicting the deeds of Urban VIII.

<sup>56</sup> On this room see Abromson 1978, 531-647, and Colp Abromson, "Painting in Rome during the papacy of Clement VIII: A Documented Study" (Ph.D. diss, New York, Columbia University, 1976). Abromson argues that the scene depicting the *Baptism of Clement* is actually the *Baptism of Constantine*, since there is no iconographical precedent for the former. Beldon Scott maintains that it is a *Baptism of Clement*, as would be appropriate to the overall cycle, but notes that the identification of the scene "remains open to dispute." Beldon Scott 1991, 162, n.11. Beldon Scott is more convincing in his argument that a scene from the life of Clement makes more sense in this context.

<sup>57</sup> The idea of representing a contemporary pope through a papal or holy predecessor, and associating that predecessor with specific virtues, previously found its grandest exemplar in the Sala di Costantino in the Vatican Palace.

emphasizes the association of these virtues with Clement VIII. The elements of the Aldobrandini stemma, a star and the *rastrelli*, rakes or battlements, are embedded throughout the fictive architecture. They also provide the main imagery on the east wall, where two armillary spheres made up of the Aldobrandini devices support the papal tiara [Fig. 5.23].<sup>58</sup> John Beldon Scott has suggested that the ring of angels surrounding St. Clement and the Trinity, “[create] a living three-dimensional version of the Aldobrandini *rastrello*”, and he underlines the analogous relationship between this conceit and Cortona’s use of the Barberini bees at the centre of the *Triumph of Divine Providence*.<sup>59</sup> The frescoes of the Alberti in the Vatican Palace were highly innovative for their masterful use of illusionistic perspective and a quadratura framework to unify the large space of the room, as well as for their hyperbolic glorification of their papal patron. In both of these aspects they provided the model for Pietro da Cortona’s *Triumph of Divine Providence*.

As Morton Abromson has pointed out, until Pietro da Cortona’s *salone* for the Barberini in the 1630s, there was no similar ceiling in Rome comparable to the Sala Clementina.<sup>60</sup> The ceiling of Palazzo Barberini’s main *salone* is one of the most famous works of the Roman Baroque, and deservedly so. It is complex but legible, a riot of figures and narratives all controlled and presented with careful foreshortening in a paradoxically simple architectural framework [Fig. 5.21]. A rectangular area at the centre of the vault is demarcated from the sloped sides of the ceiling by an elaborate fictive cornice. On the periphery of the ceiling in the four separate frieze-like coves of the fictive architecture are allegorical vignettes representing the various

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<sup>58</sup> Above the spheres is a putto carrying the inscription UNDIQUE SPLE[N]DIT, which as Abromson argues refers “to the construction below [the spheres], to the Papacy in general, and to Clement VIII’s papacy in particular.” Abromson 1978, 537.

<sup>59</sup> Beldon Scott 1991, 162.

<sup>60</sup> Abromson 1978, 539.

virtues of the patron, Pope Urban VIII, and his family, the Barberini.<sup>61</sup> In a pyramidal arrangement at the east end of the central portion of the vault are Divine Providence, with Time and the Fates below her. The action at the west end of the ceiling is organized around a mammoth ‘living’ representation of the heraldic Barberini bees. The three bees, arranged in a triangle, are surrounded by the theological virtues – Faith, Hope and Charity. Completing the circle begun by the three virtues are Religion, holding the papal keys, and Rome, holding the tiara, while from below the group Immortality rushes up “to crown the arms of Urban VIII Supreme Pontiff.”<sup>62</sup> Even more so than in the Sala Clementina, where the heraldic motifs are incorporated into the fictive architecture and find their most direct and grandiose presentation on a side wall, in Palazzo Barberini Urban VIII’s heraldic symbol is at the literal and metaphorical centre of the composition, providing the impetus for all the action. The presence and creative use of the heraldic bees is one of the hallmarks of Urban VIII’s patronage, and it has been estimated that the creatures number in the hundreds on the streets and monuments of Rome. Although the Pamphili dove and the Chigi *monti* and stars are also frequently encountered in the city, Urban’s pontificate may easily be seen as the apex of the heraldic *conchetto*, as Cortona’s fresco in the Palazzo Barberini serves to bear witness.

In choosing not to use a heraldic *conchetto* in his *Clemency* fresco, Maratti emphatically rejected a key element of his predecessor’s works. This is all the more noteworthy given the suitability and adaptability of the Altieri stemma of the stars to such a conceit. A crown of stars features prominently in the Barberini fresco as the tiara with which Immortality is moving to crown the family bees, and as we have

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<sup>61</sup> For the most thorough discussion of this fresco see: Beldon Scott 1991.

<sup>62</sup> Beldon Scott 1991, 139.

seen, heraldic stars are a celestial leitmotif in the Sala Clementina. The stars appear in other Altieri frescoes, notably as a symbol of Immortality in the frescoes in Palazzo Altieri in Oriolo Romano, and in Domenico Canuti's *Apotheosis of Romulus* in the adjoining room of the family palace in Rome [Fig.'s 5.24, 5.25]. Rather than a complex illusionistic scene governed by an emblematic *concetto* representing the glorification of the reigning papal family, Maratti presents allegorical representations of individual members of the papal family, hierarchically arranged yet equal in their size and monumentality. The restraint of Maratti's composition anticipates the more general move by many artists away from High Baroque traditions at the end of the century.

#### GASPARE ALTIERI AS SECULAR PRINCE: STRENGTH, FECUNDITY, AND POLITICAL MIGHT

The *Triumph of Clemency* encapsulates the governing mechanics of the Altieri family during Clement X's rule. Clement X, in the allegorical guise of Clemency, is at the top of the hierarchy, but he is depicted as dependent on the prudent governance of Cardinal Paluzzo and the strength and fecundity of Don Gaspare. The emphasis placed on Gaspare, as seen in the many changes to the figure of Strength and his representation in a portrait should be related to his position in the papal family. The iconography and Bellori's description reveal that Gaspare and his attendant personification Public Happiness are meant to be linked to earthly matters – he looks down to make contact with visitors, and both he and his symbolic image are described as looking 'toward the earth'. This characterization reflects the structure of the family and the importance placed on Gaspare's role as its sole progenitor. It is no coincidence that his companion, Public Happiness, is a visual expression of fecundity through the cornucopia full of fruit and grains that she holds near her plentiful breasts, which are

much more emphatic in the finished fresco than they are in the bozzetto. Furthermore, as has been noted previously, the zig-zag composition of the fresco picks out the youthful figure directly below Public Happiness's cornucopia, who represents Summer. This figure is already something of an oddity in his small grouping, as the other three seasons are represented by putti, Summer is the only one of the three who is a youth. I would suggest that this also has to do with the composition of the Altieri family, and that this figure represents future generations. Three of Gaspare's four sons were born in the summer months: Emilio, born July 14, 1670, Lorenzo, born June 9, 1671 and Giambattista, born August 3, 1673.<sup>63</sup> Given the position of the figure of Summer below Gaspare/Strength and the figure of Public Happiness, it seems likely that this youthful figure is meant to represent the next generation of the Altieri family, predominantly born in the warm summer months.

The prominence of Gaspare's portrait suggests the need to assert and stabilize his place in the Altieri family. Unusually for the head of a papal family, he was not born an Altieri, but instead came to his money and power through his wife, Laura Caterina. Contemporary writings are replete with references to Laura Caterina as the 'true relative by blood' of the Pope, and ambassadors and other visiting dignitaries apparently took this into account when visiting the papal family, considering her the true papal relative.<sup>64</sup> These circumstances forced Gaspare to justify his role in the papal family in a way that other nephews did not. The need to legitimize Gaspare in his new position led painter and patron to take a step that no previous papal nephew had been brazen enough to attempt.

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<sup>63</sup> For Emilio's birthdate see: BAV, Barb. lat. 6405, 53v. July 19, 1670. Eduard A. Safarik, "L'Apoteosi di Romolo," in *Roma, Palazzo Altieri: le stanze al piano nobile dei cardinali Giovanni Battista e Paluzzo Altieri* (Milan: Franco Maria Ricci, 1999), 25.

<sup>64</sup> See Appendix 5.3 Doc. 3 and Doc. 4.



While Palazzo Altieri was still under construction, Clement X and the nephews began to commission sculptural decoration from Bernini, including statues of Adam and Eve, the Four Seasons, and busts of ancient emperors.<sup>65</sup> For the most part these works were intended to adorn the walls of the palace's courtyards and garden spaces. It would appear that one of the earliest, if not the first, of these commissions was for an equestrian statue of Clement X's adopted nephew, Gaspare. The project is noted in an avviso of October 11<sup>th</sup> 1670, less than six months after Clement X's election to the papal throne, and two years prior to any mention of other sculptures for the palace. The anonymous writer records that:

Thursday after lunch His Holiness went ... to see the construction of the new palace at the Gesù, where he expected to see in the courtyard the statue of Don Gaspare, his nephew, on horseback, as had been ordered of Cavaliere Bernini ..., but he did not have this satisfaction, and turning to the Cavaliere ... he said, smiling, 'We believe that with these horses of yours, the King of France will not come to Rome, nor will my nephew take himself to Paris.'<sup>66</sup>

It can be inferred from the *avviso* that the commission must have been given very soon after Clement X's election in April of 1670, if in October the pope expected that the work would be advanced enough to be set up in the palace courtyard. In addition, given the date, it can be assumed that the idea of an equestrian statue of Gaspare was conceived contemporaneously with designs for a new expanded Altieri palace. By

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<sup>65</sup> See Valentino Martinelli, "Novità berniniane: 3: le sculture per gli Altieri," *Commentari* 10 (1959): 204-22.

<sup>66</sup> "Si porto Sua Santità giovedì doppo pranzo in lettica a vedere la propria fabrica del nuovo Palazzo al Giesu, dove pensando veder nel Cortile di esso la statua di D. Gasparo suo Nepote a Cavallo, conforma di già era stata ordinata al Cavaliere Bernini con lo sborso un pezzo prima del danaro, no hebbe questa sodisfattione, e voltatosi al Cavaliere, che costì si trovava, si dolse con esso di questa tardanza, quale volendo humilmente scusarsi, proseguì sorridendo il Papa = Crediamo che con questi vostri Cavalli, ne il Re di Francia verrà a Roma, ne mio Nepote si porterà a Parigi." Barb. lat. 6405. October 11, 1670. 289v. It has been suggested that this reference was merely a joke, a means to make a comment about the political relationships between Rome and France, and that this was never a real project. As we have no other evidence for the project this is a possibility. However, given what we know of Gaspare's character and the family's pretensions to grandeur at the time I think we can take this notice at face value.

May of 1670 Carlo Fontana had received the commission; he drew up a plan [Fig. 5.26], but it was never executed. The work was instead entrusted to Giovanni Antonio de' Rossi. In the 1650's de' Rossi had designed and built a new palace for Cardinal's Giambattista and Emilio Altieri on the site of several pre-existing Altieri houses, facing onto what is now the Piazza del Gesù. It was this palace that was then expanded in the 1670's with an extension east down what is now via del Plebiscito and north along via degli Astalli.<sup>67</sup> The change in architects and the new plan must have come about by the summer of 1670, as by November the family had begun to purchase neighboring houses, slating them for demolition for the creation of the new Altieri *isola*. The idea of an equestrian monument to Gaspare must have been conceived in tandem with the expansion of the Altieri palace, which may also help to clarify the statue's intended location. If Clement expected to see the work in the courtyard in 1670, the plan must have been to erect it in the centre of the principal courtyard of the original family palace built in the 1650's. The second courtyard, set perpendicularly to the east, had not yet been constructed and may not have been fully conceived by October of 1670. As can be seen on the Nolli map of Rome [Fig. 5.27], the ground floor of the core of the palace from the 1650's originally had entrances facing all four cardinal directions, although those to the west and north are now closed off. An equestrian monument placed slightly north of centre in the main courtyard would have been visible from every approach to the palace, an ideal situation for such an ambitious monument.

With the statue placed at the centre of the primary courtyard, the principal view of the work would have been from the Piazza del Gesù, through the substantial

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<sup>67</sup> Stanislao Frascchetti, *Il Bernini: la sua vita, la sua opera, il suo tempo* (Milan: Hoepli, 1900), 382. On Fontana's involvement see: Schiavo 1960, 60-61, and Borsi et. al. 1991, 113-114.

*androne* that forms the palace's main entrance [Fig. 5.28]. An idea of how this arrangement may have been imagined may be gleaned from a print depicting a triumphal arch built on the Campidoglio for Clement X's *possesso* [Fig. 5.29].<sup>68</sup> The temporary structure features three equestrian monuments – the *Dioscuri* flank the arch, which in turn frames the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius. This kind of controlled view of an equestrian monument may have resembled the Altieri scheme for their own statue. The location of the Palazzo Altieri next to the Gesù is a prominent one. The palace faces a main artery, the via d'Aracoeli, which frequently became an important urban thoroughfare as it leads to the Campidoglio and was included in procession routes, including that of the papal *possesso*. The Gesù in turn was a frequent stop on religious pilgrimages through the city, bringing participants in popular and institutional observances to the Altieri's doorstep. The palazzo would have been notable to anyone participating in a religious or secular procession in Seicento Rome, and an equestrian statue at its heart would have been visible to visiting dignitaries and curious passers-by alike.

No visual record of the equestrian portrait of Gaspare exists, nor has any evidence come to light to indicate that it was ever carried out. As Martinelli and others have suggested, it is likely that the work would have had much in common with, if not been based on, the equestrian statue of Louis XIV that Bernini was working on simultaneously. While reasonable, this suggestion should give us pause, for a formal similarity would carry substantial social, ideological, and political implications.

The only earlier example of an equestrian statue dedicated to an immediate papal family member is a small bronze made by Francesco Mochi in honor of Carlo

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<sup>68</sup> Jennifer Montagu, *Roman Baroque Sculpture* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989), 184.

Barberini [Fig. 5.30].<sup>69</sup> The differences between this piece and the statue mooted for Palazzo Altieri are significant. First, Mochi's horse is a small table bronze, not the monumental equestrian projected for Gaspare. Second, Mochi's was a private, commemorative work presented to Pope Urban VIII after Carlo's death in 1630. It has none of the ideological resonances that an outdoor, publicly visible, life-size monument to Gaspare would have possessed. The idea to dedicate an equestrian statue to the relatively insignificant Gaspare was audacious and unprecedented.

As Clement X's chiding comment to Bernini indicates, equestrian statues were associated with the highest levels of early modern European society – they fell under the purview of kings and absolute monarchs just as, in antiquity, the form was reserved for the emperor.<sup>70</sup> The two works that would have been the most obvious sources for the statue of Gaspare at the moment of its conception were exactly such types – an ancient emperor, the statue of Marcus Aurelius on the Capitoline, and a contemporary monarch, Bernini's contemporary equestrian statue to Louis XIV [Fig. 5.31, 5.32]. A connection between the Altieri horse and the Marcus Aurelius would have been particularly strong, given the palace's close proximity to the Campidoglio. The tradition of equestrian monuments to military men, *condottiere*, should also be taken into account. Such works may be traced back to Donatello's Gattamelata in Padua and Verrocchio's Colleoni monument in Venice.<sup>71</sup> Yet it should be noted that

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<sup>69</sup> See: *Francesco Mochi : 1580 - 1654* (Florence: Centro Di, 1981), 70, cat. 17; Valentino Martinelli, "Contributi alla scultura del Seicento; II. Francesco Mochi a Piacenza; III. Pompeo Ferrucci," *Commentari* (1952): 39.

<sup>70</sup> H. W. Janson, "Revival of Antiquity in Early Renaissance Sculpture," in *Looking at Renaissance Sculpture*, ed. Sarah Blake McHam (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 52-57.

<sup>71</sup> See: H. W. Janson, "The Equestrian Monument from Cangrande della Scala to Peter the Great," in *Aspects of the Renaissance. A Symposium* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1967), 73-85; Sarah Blake McHam, "Public Sculpture in Renaissance Florence," in *Looking at Renaissance Sculpture*, 149-188; Virginia Bush, *The colossal sculpture of the Cinquecento* (Ph.d diss., NY Columbia University, 1967), 165-181; 192-197.

both of these works were, like Mochi's later Barberini equestrian statuette, commemorative monuments, their subjects safely installed in the ranks of virtuous men. Still, there were contemporaries who chaffed at the presumption of their form.

Similarly, mention should be made of the two Florentine equestrian monuments to Cosimo I and Ferdinando II de' Medici, dating from the end of the Cinquecento and beginning of the Seicento respectively. Sarah McHam has noted that the former was audacious in its time, as it put Cosimo I, only a grand duke, into the ranks of sovereigns and emperors.<sup>72</sup> Continuing a trend down the social ladder, the two most prominent equestrians of the first half of the Seicento were erected to dukes – Francesco Mochi's statues of Alessandro and Ranuccio Farnese erected in the Farnese duchy of Piacenza.<sup>73</sup> Here again one of the subjects, Alessandro, was deceased, while the other, Ranuccio, used the monument as a means to symbolically re-establish his control over the city after a local rebellion.

Bernini himself acknowledged that equestrian portraits could be appropriate for lesser political figures. In explanation of his idea for the Louis XIV the artist reportedly said, "I have not represented King Louis in the act of commanding his armies. This, after all, would be appropriate for any prince."<sup>74</sup> While expanding the possible subjects for equestrian monuments, Bernini's comment also underscores the persistent military associations of such works. Thus, by the Seicento equestrian monuments could be used to commemorate a range of military men and political

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<sup>72</sup> McHam 1967, 177.

<sup>73</sup> *I bronzi di Piacenza: rilievi e figure di Francesco Mochi dai monumenti equestri farnesiani* (Casalecchio di Reno: Grafis Ed., 1986).

<sup>74</sup> Rudolf Wittkower, "The vicissitudes of a dynastic monument: Bernini's equestrian statue of Louis XIV," in *De artibus opuscula XL: essays in honor of Erwin Panofsky*, ed. Millard Meiss (New York: University Press, 1961), 503.

figures, although such monuments were rare and their subjects inevitably significant political players.

The Altieri equestrian commission deserves our attention for the fact that the intended subject was not the sort of secular ruler or military hero to whom such a monument would normally be dedicated. In truth, he was a fortunate but rather ineffectual social upstart. Prior to marrying Laura Altieri in 1667, Gaspare Albertoni was the eldest son in a noble family with few remarkable achievements and limited resources. As a condition of his marriage he took on the Altieri family name and became the head of a family of equal rank and slightly greater wealth. His role changed dramatically in 1670, when Laura's first cousin once-removed Cardinal Emilio was unexpectedly elected to the papal throne and Gaspare became papal nephew. He was then made commander of the papal armies and later named Prince of Oriolo Romano and Viano and Duke of Monterano, titles derived from three small fiefdoms north of Rome in the area of Lake Bracciano.

In the years immediately following Clement X's election Gaspare did attempt to cultivate something of a military persona, perhaps to compensate for his lack of actual experience and to justify his new position. An unpublished *avviso* from August 12<sup>th</sup> 1670, thus shortly before the first mention of the equestrian statue, reports that Gaspare was frequenting a school for horsemanship opened by a superb '*cavallerizza*' under the Temple of Peace in the Forum.<sup>75</sup> It appears that Gaspare was 'in training' of sorts for his equestrian skills, although the pursuit seems to have been adjusted to '*giostre*' and '*feste*' rather than warfare. Gaspare's affection for all things military was

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<sup>75</sup> "Sotto il Tempio della Pace in Campo vaccina apertasi la schuola d'una superbissima Cavallerizza ivi compare continuamente con molti Cav.ri Romani D. Gasparo Altieri, che disciplinandosi S. E. nel cavalcare, e giocare, da presaggio, che nel secolo della Pace vuol'che ne segua in conseguenza le giostre, che feste." Barb. lat. 6405. August 12, 1670, 26r.

known to contemporaries. In November 1675 Monsignor Bevilaqua, out of gratitude for his new position as nunzio to Germany, gave Gaspare a gift of a quantity of arms valuing 1,200 scudi – a gift for which Gaspare was delighted.<sup>76</sup> Further, a portrait of Gaspare [Fig. 5.3], undated but likely from the 1670's due to his obvious youth, shows him in an elaborate suit of armor, a sword at his left hip, a short *bastone* in his right hand, and a plumed helmet on the table beside him. Combined with the voluminous wig and the wide swath of drapery that crosses his body and bunches at his side, the impression is one of military chic.

Gaspare has also been recognized in a drawing now in Windsor castle that is believed to be a design for a standard for the Castel Sant'Angelo [Fig. 5.33].<sup>77</sup> At the centre of the drawing is an archangel holding a sword and a shield, the latter emblazoned with the Altieri coat of arms. In the air above the figures float the papal tiara and keys, while below is a bristling collection of arms and trophies that likely refer to Gaspare's positions as Castellan of Castel Sant'Angelo and Governor of the Papal Forces. This drawing expands on the character sketch already offered by Gaspare's portrait in Maratti's fresco and the oval portrait where, again, he is depicted as a kind of valiant military hero, protector of the Altieri and the papacy.

The drawing suggests that Gaspare attempted to present his role in the papal government as divinely ordained. Being portrayed as an archangel is, like the equestrian monument, not a modest undertaking. Yet Gaspare had no military

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<sup>76</sup> “Non si sa se in ringraziamento del nuovo titolo ottenuto di nuovo Nunzio straordinario in Germania, o pure per la remozione dal Governo di Roma, che hormai passava a rendersegli odioso ha Mons.re Bevilaqua regalata di quantità d'Armi valutate per 1200 scudi il Sig. Prencipe Don Gasparo gloriandosi non solo del bell'acquisto in quella carica, che di così degno impiego, come ad un Generale di Santa Chiesa.” BAV, Barb. lat. 6413, November 2, 1675, 387r.

<sup>77</sup> Giulia Fusconi, “Philipp Schor, gli Altieri e il Marchese del Carpio,” in *Johann Paul Schor und die internationale Sprache des Barock* (Munich: Himer Verlag, 2008), 176.

experience, nor had he wielded the kind of broad secular authority that could put him on par with individuals such as the Farnese dukes. Instead, it is perhaps more fitting to compare the idea of this project to that of Leonardo's equestrian statue of Francesco Sforza.<sup>78</sup> Sforza was the founder of a new dynasty and derived his legitimacy through his wife, Bianca Maria Visconti. As Virginia Bush has suggested, Francesco's line required "reinforcements of the despotic myth of its nobility, antiquity, and legitimacy", reinforcements that were reflected and invested in the project for a monumental public equestrian statue.<sup>79</sup> Gaspare's situation was analogous. He rose to power was through his wife, Laura Altieri, and neither he nor his father and uncle, who were also adopted by Clement X, were universally accepted as papal nephews or legitimate authorities during the Altieri pope's reign. The decision to erect an equestrian statue of Gaspare reflects an obvious need to assert his station; it also betrays an anxiety about his legitimacy and his authority. That anxiety led a papal nephew to commission for himself a form of self-representation firmly associated with powerful princes, kings, and emperors.

The oval portrait, as well as Gaspare's 'portrait' in Maratti's *Triumph of Clemency*, can be compared to the statues erected in honor of five commanders of the papal armies in the Sala dei Capitani in the Palazzo dei Conservatori on the Capitoline. These statues, representing heroes such as Marcantonio Colonna and successful soldiers such as Gianfrancesco Aldobrandini, show the generals dressed in armor and brandishing the *bastone*, indications of their military role. The closest in style and spirit to Gaspare's self-presentations is the 1669 statue erected in honor of

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<sup>78</sup> Philip Grierson, "Ercole d'Este and Leonardo Da Vinci's equestrian statue of Francesco Sforza," *Italian Studies* (1959): 40-48.

<sup>79</sup> Virginia Bush, "The Political Contexts of the Sforza Horse," in *Leonardo da Vinci's Sforza Monument Horse. The art and engineering*, ed. Diane Cole Ahl (London: Associated University Press, 1995), 79.



Tomaso Rospigliosi, which also has an air more stylish than fierce [Fig. 5.34]. Roger Aikin has noted that “the nature of [Tomaso’s] death and deeds do not quite seem to qualify him for inclusion in this exclusive and august company” but a statue was erected to him all the same.<sup>80</sup> He is depicted in the substantial wig that was fashionable in late seventeenth-century Rome and which can also be seen in Gaspare’s portrait, and is swathed in a similar piece of flowing drapery, and is depicted as more combat chic than Christian soldier, especially when considered in comparison with the earlier statues. It is likely that these militaristic portraits would have influenced Gaspare’s equestrian statue, even if the latter would have represented a projection of military prowess more than a commemoration.

However, there are a number of substantial differences. For one, all of the statues in the Hall of the Captains – of Marcantonio Colonna, Alessandro Farnese, Gian Francesco Aldobrandini and Carlo Barberini – were commemorative, put in place following the death of the distinguished figure they represent, as were the majority of equestrian portraits. Gaspare was very much alive when his equestrian portrait was commissioned. By contrast equestrian monuments were generally only erected to living figures whose monarchic or dynastic power was broadly recognized, such as Bernini’s monument to Louis XIV or Pietro Tacca’s monument to Philip IV of Spain, Giambologna and Pietro Tacca’s monument of Ferdinando I de’ Medici or Francesco Mochi’s second Piacenza horse, showing Ranuccio Farnese. Moreover, in both of these latter cases the monuments were the second of a pair, where the first

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<sup>80</sup> Roger Aikin, “Christian Soldiers in the Sala dei Capitani,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 16 (1985): 222. Tomaso held one of the same positions held by Gaspare, namely Castellan of Sant’Angelo, but was equally undistinguished in the position – he died of a fever during Clement IX’s short papacy.

statues, to Cosimo I and Alessandro Farnese respectively, were traditional commemorative monuments that paved the way for the works that followed.

There is one precedent in Sixteenth Century Rome of an equestrian statue placed in a private palace courtyard, and here we turn to the broader political significance of such works. In 1559 Catherine de' Medici commissioned an equestrian portrait of her recently deceased husband Henry II, King of France, from Michelangelo; the aging artist pled exhaustion and passed the commission off to Daniele da Volterra [Fig. 5.35].<sup>81</sup> The project went ahead slowly and when Daniele died in 1566 the second attempt at a cast of the horse was still in the ground. The work was finished by several of Daniele's students but did not arrive in Paris until sixty years later, when in 1622 it was finally taken to France and in 1639 set up on the Place Royale with a figure of Louis XIII instead of the projected Henry. Like the majority of such statues, it was destroyed during the French Revolution.

From the time of its disinterment and completion until its removal to Paris, Daniele's horse remained in Rome, where it was set up in the courtyard of Orazio Rucellai's palace. An idea of the monument is given in a print by Antonio Tempesta, but there is no record of the statue's setting in the Palazzo Rucellai. The pretensions and ideologies underlying the Altieri equestrian commission have only this precedent in Rome for an equestrian portrait in a private palace courtyard, a projected monument to a French king. The Altieri must surely have been aware of this fact, even if by the

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<sup>81</sup> Antonia Boström, "Daniele da Volterra and the Equestrian Monument to Henry II of France," *The Burlington Magazine* 137 (1995): 809-820; Randolph Starn, "Daniele da Volterra, Michelangelo, and the Equestrian Monument for Henry II of France: New Documents," in *Mosaics of Friendship. Studies in Art and History for Eve Borsook*, ed. Ornella Francisci Osti (Florence: Centro Di, 1999): 199-209; Antonia Boström, "Daniele da Volterra, Ruberto Strozzi and the equestrian monument to Henry II of France," in *The Sculpted Object 1400-1700*, ed. Stuart Currie and Peta Motture (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1997.) 201-214.

1670's the work had finally departed the eternal city. Thus two of the most relevant comparanda for the Altieri horse are both monuments to the French monarchy. Given the fact that Bernini was at that time deeply involved in the completion of the equestrian for Louis XIV, it is hard to escape the conclusion that the Altieri family were attempting to lay claim to similar pretensions of political status and power through their own equestrian. There is evidence that the Altieri were thinking specifically in such regal terms, and that they desired to erect a monument and a palace that would rival those of foreign royal powers. A *Dichiarazione* regarding De' Rossi's plan for the palace, conserved in the Altieri archive, specifies "that respective to the arch there would need to be a corresponding very large courtyard, and that it appears to His Eminence that it should conform to other royal courtyards."<sup>82</sup> There can be no mistaking that the Altieri were planning their palace, and presumably its decorations, with allusions to royalty in mind.

Following the conclusion of the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648 the papacy experienced a tangible decline in power on the European stage. Clement X, like his predecessors, strove to maintain the appearance of papal authority. In June of 1670, in response to an attempt by Louis XIV to take over rights traditionally held by the Roman Church, Clement X published a document reaffirming the papacy's central and sole ability to adjudicate ecclesiastical disputes in France.<sup>83</sup> Clement was also fixated on the dream of another crusade. In 1670 he was trying to encourage an alliance between the Holy Roman Emperor and Poland in order to stop the Turks, and

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<sup>82</sup> "...et che rispettivamente all'arco bisognerebbe che corrispondesse un cortile assia grande, et che S. Em.za li pari che si devono fare conforme sono in altri cortili reali." Gianfrano Spagnesi, *Giovanni Antonio de' Rossi: Architetto Romano* (Rome: Officina Edizioni, 1964), 233. This is one of three documents from the Altieri archive given to Spagnesi by Armando Schiavo, the last scholar to work extensively in the archive.

<sup>83</sup> Von Pastor 1961, vol. 14.1, 652.

making military preparations himself. Louis XIV, on the contrary, sent an envoy to Constantinople at the beginning of the same year with the mission of re-establishing good relations between the French and the east, a strong indication that he was not interested in the pope's plans.<sup>84</sup> The Altieri equestrian should be seen in the context of Clement X's attempts to assert his hegemony over all of Christendom. Created at the same time as the Louis XIV monument and just after the unveiling of Bernini's Constantine, Christian emperor and military leader *par excellence*, Gaspare's horse would have stood as an artistic and conceptual pendant to them, and as a testament to the temporal power of the papal government.<sup>85</sup>

The project for an equestrian statue of Clement X's nephew represents a fusion of local and international, personal and political, motivations, in which Bernini played a central role. On a local level, Gaspare's equestrian statue would have proclaimed his authority as head of the Altieri clan, expressing his personal control over the limited dominion of the family. Beyond the confines of the family and of Rome, Gaspare needed to establish his legitimacy in order to properly fulfill the role of papal nephew. Clement X's comment to Bernini equating Louis XIV and Gaspare's monuments indicates the ambitions to which the work was intended to give a voice, and suggests that the pope saw the project in the context of his larger struggles with the French monarchy. Finally, Bernini's role as the intended author of this work is key. Although his time in France was far from a resounding success, in the early 1670's he had considerable social and political cachet through his ties to the French king.<sup>86</sup> By

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<sup>84</sup> Von Pastor 1961, vol. 14.1, 671.

<sup>85</sup> On Bernini's Constantine see: Tod Marder, *Bernini's Scala Regia at the Vatican Palace* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) 165-212.

<sup>86</sup> On Bernini and France see: Daniela Del Pesco, *Bernini in Francia: Paul de Chantelou e il "Journal de voyage du Cavalier Bernin en France"* (Naples: Electa Napoli, 2007); Paul Fréart de Chantelou, *Viaggio del cavalier Bernini in Francia*, trans. Stefano Bottari (Palermo:

commissioning the equestrian portrait of Gaspare from Bernini, the artist of popes, princes, and kings, and particularly while the artist was simultaneously working on an equivalent project for Louis XIV, Clement X could project the illusion of a balance of power between the papacy and the French monarchy.

#### ANGELO ALTIERI'S SACRED PATRONAGE

In 1667 Angelo Albertoni's son Gaspare married Laura Caterina Altieri, sole heir to the Altieri name and fortune. The two families stemmed from the same ranks of middling Roman nobility and had already intermarried many generations previously. The façade of Palazzo Altieri before its reconstruction in the 1650s featured the stemma of the Albertoni family among its painted decoration, testifying to these links.<sup>87</sup> In 1670, after Emilio Altieri's election to the papal throne, Angelo too took on the Altieri name and transferred to the family palace on Piazza del Gesù. Angelo never seems to have fully integrated into the new family, and retained close ties to the Albertoni. Among other indicators of this continued loyalty are the renovations that he paid for and oversaw to the Albertoni family palace in the 1670s, and the two chapels that he had decorated in the churches of S. Francesco a Ripa and S. Maria in Campitelli.<sup>88</sup>

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Sellerio, 1988); Cecil Gould, *Bernini in France: an episode in seventeenth-century history* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1981).

<sup>87</sup> Schiavo 1960, 18.

<sup>88</sup> Angelo paid for some routine upkeep, such as the replacement of windows and doors, See: ASR, Tribunale del governator miscellanea artisti, Busta 3. fasc. 242. Angelo also said in his will that he had enlarged the palace: "*per accrescimenti fatti di pianta oltre li miglioramenti, et ingrandimenti ho speso in detto Palazzo intorno a ventimila scudi e più. Nel Palazzetto contiguo a detto Palazzo a Campitelli ho parimente fatte diverse bonificationi*". ASR, 30 Notai Capitolini, L. Rossellius, uff. 14, b. 510, 10 dicembre 1706, cc. 204-256. Alessandra Anselmi, "Sebastiano Cipriani. La cappella Altieri e 'I pregi dell'architettura oda di Giambattista Vaccondio,'" in *Alessandro Albani patrono delle arti. Architettura, pittura e*

Judged through the lens of adoptive precedents, Angelo's position in the Altieri family was ambiguous. He was neither the secular head of the new family nor a member of the clerical hierarchy. His role was unclear, and this fact may have allowed him to maintain his strong Albertoni ties, as his public persona was not as crucial to the papal family as was that of his brother and son. The most extensive description of Angelo that we have comes from Venetian ambassador Pietro Mocenigo, who reported back to the Serenissima that:

Angelo Altieri is the brother [of Cardinal Paluzzi], with whom he has a healthy relationship and together they certainly intend to make use of valid methods to make the riches of the house grow, for the rest, in public matters and in the distribution of the government he has no place, rather, he is outside of the sphere of private incomes, nor does he aspire, nor desire any intrusion. He has the position of General of the Galleys, which has no other purpose than to give him the title and income.<sup>89</sup>

While on the whole this appears to be an accurate representation of Angelo's position at the papal court, Mocenigo's dismissive view of Angelo in the role of General of the Galleys may be overstated. There is documentary evidence that Angelo had five towers constructed on the coast outside of Rome in order to increase defenses against a possible naval attack, thus he does not seem to have been entirely disinterested in his duties.<sup>90</sup> Angelo was also extensively involved with the Altieri's properties outside Rome, renting out land and service buildings and brokering transactions with locals. He does seem to have been oriented toward making business deals. One example

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*collezionismo nella Roma del '700*, ed. Elisa Debenedetti (Rome: Bonsignori Editori, 1993), 203.

<sup>89</sup> "Angelo Altieri è fratello [of Cardinal Paluzzo] con cui passa buona corrispondenza e ben s'intendono insieme per procurare li mezzi vevoli per fare accrescere le ricchezze della casa nel resto nelle materie pubbliche, e nelle distributioni del governo non ne ha questo alcuna parte anzi fuori della sfera de provecci privati, ne ambisce, ne desidera alcuna ingerenza. Ha egli la carica di Generale delle Galere quale ad altro non serve, che à dargli il Titolo e gl'emolumenti." BAV, Barb. lat. 5271, *Relatione Della Corte di Roma dell'Ecc.mo Signore Pietro Mocenigo Ambre Veneto*, 67v.

<sup>90</sup> See: Appendix 5.5 Angelo Altieri, Doc.'s 1-4.

relates to the Altieri fief of Monterano.<sup>91</sup> In 1674 Angelo rented the bakery in Monterano to a certain Giovanni Pietro de Rossi, obligating Giovanni Pietro to make good bread (*“Che detto Giovanni Pietro sia tenuto di fare il pane buono”*) and giving him a monopoly on bread production in Monterano and Montevirginio. In turn, Rossi had to buy all of his grain from the Altieri, and at a fixed price. Angelo made a similar deal with the local butcher, a Signore Carlo. As mentioned earlier, Angelo was also criticized for shady business practices, among them selling wine cut with water to the hospital of San Sisto.<sup>92</sup> These scraps of documentary evidence allow us to begin to formulate a picture of the least prominent of the Altieri nephews, a man who largely worked outside of public view to enrich his family as much as possible, but who also took some initiatives in his role in papal government as General of the Galleys. To date, the documentary evidence that we have regarding Angelo largely relates to his business deals, while we have nothing that attests to his activities in the religious sphere, besides the works themselves. These testify to Angelo’s enduring devotion to his beatified ancestor Ludovica Albertoni, and to his ties to his natal family, gestures that might also be interpreted as self-serving.

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<sup>91</sup> See: ASR Fondo Notai Auditor Camerae, Laurentius Bellus 879, 515r-516v; 549r-550r. Sept 5 1674.

<sup>92</sup> BAV, Barb. lat. 5307, 104v-105r. “...si fanno dal signor Don Angelo, che non satio de gli essorbitanti acquisti fatti per tante strade indirette ha voluto mercantare sin’ sopra li vini, grani, et altre sorti di vettovaglie, havendo, come è notissimo, venduto con assia sporca ingordigia all’Hospitale de Poveri di San Sisto col pretesto della Protezione teneva in quel luogo, il suo vino dell’Oriolo [105r] incorporato con acqua, com se fosse stato il migliore de Ripali, et in ultimo data, e fatta dare la Tratta a più milliara di Rubbia di grano con guadagno di quindici giudlij per Rubbio, che ne ha cagionato il rincarimento del Pane à danno dell’angustia Poverà.”

***Giovan Battista Gaulli and the 1671 celebration of Ludovica Albertoni's Feast Day***<sup>93</sup>

In 1970 the Getty Museum acquired a painting by the Genovese master Giovanni Battista Gaulli (1639-1709), known as Baciccio, which had recently appeared on the market in London [Fig. 5.36]. The work, which has always been identified as *Saint Francesca Romana Giving Alms*, was previously unknown, the provenance going back only to a private collection in Geneva.<sup>94</sup> Burton B. Fredricksen dated the painting to around 1675/76, based on similarities to Gaulli's altarpieces for S. Francesco a Ripa (*The Madonna and Child with St. Anne*, 1674) and Sant'Andrea al Quirinale (*Death of St. Francis Xavier*, 1676).<sup>95</sup> A closer look at the iconography reveals that the painting's main figure is not Francesca Romana (b. Francesca Bussi de' Ponziani, 1384-1440), but rather another Roman noblewoman, the Beata Ludovica Albertoni (1473-1533). With the correct subject we can identify the patron for Gaulli's picture, re-date the work precisely, and reconstruct the context in which it was produced. Establishing this information also allows us to make some comments on the artistic relationship between Gaulli and Gian Lorenzo Bernini, reexamining the currents of creative influence between the two artists and positing a more active and

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<sup>93</sup> This portion of the dissertation will appear, in slightly altered form, in the January 2010 volume of the *Getty Research Journal*. I would like to thank Scott Allan for his gracious assistance and Peter Björn Kerber for so enthusiastically discussing this painting, welcoming my discovery and putting things in motion for the article.

<sup>94</sup> Burton B. Fredricksen, *Catalogue of the Paintings in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Malibu, Cal.: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1972), 51. As it only came to light in 1970, the painting does not appear in Enggass's foundational monograph on Baciccio. Robert Enggass, *The Painting of Baciccio, Giovanni Battista Gaulli 1639-1709* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1964). The altarpiece is illustrated in the exhibition catalogue for the 1999 show of Baciccio's works held in Ariccia, but without analysis. Maurizio Fagiolo dell'Arco, Dieter Graf and Francesco Petrucci, eds. *Giovan Battista Gaulli, Il Baciccio, 1639-1709* (Milan: Skira, 1999), 155, Fig. 23, p. 67. The painting also appears in Fagiolo dell'Arco and Rossella Pantanella's 1996 publication on Baciccio, but again with little discussion. Maurizio Fagiolo dell'Arco and Rossella Pantanella, eds., *Museo Baciccio. In margine a quattro inventari inediti* (Rome: Antonio Pettini, 1996), 51.

<sup>95</sup> Fredricksen 1972, 51.



independent role for Baciccio in the decoration of the Altieri Chapel in S. Francesco a Ripa than has thus far been assumed.

Silhouetted in front of a dark wall that underscores the distinct glow of a nimbus around her head, a young woman in a long black dress and white veil offers a small loaf of bread to a burly, bare-shouldered man seated on the ground to her right. Her left hand is tight to her waist, holding a bright red book and drawing up the energetically unruly veil. At her feet are a plain bowl filled with dark liquid, and two more loaves of the bread for distribution. Leaning against the seated man are two animated children who examine another of the loaves, while in the middle ground a mother with an infant held to her shoulder moves away, food in hand. Two figures appear in the distance at centre, conversing and gesturing toward the woman, presumably remarking on her generosity. Behind the figures on the left side the composition opens to a view of a landscape of thick trees dotted with vaguely familiar classical, but unspecific, buildings.

Although Santa Francesca Romana is traditionally shown in a black dress and white veil and holding a book, as for example in the altarpiece in her monastery in the Tor de' Specchi [Fig. 5.37], the Getty painting lacks her guardian angel, her other frequent attribute, and this omission should have raised questions about the identification of the saint.<sup>96</sup> The key iconographical element in this painting, by

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<sup>96</sup> On Santa Francesca and her monastery of the Tor de' Specchi see: Cynthia Troup, "Art History and the Resistant Presence of a Saint – The chiesa vecchia Frescoes at Rome's Tor de' Specchi," in *Rituals, Images, and Words. Varieties of Cultural Expression in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. F.W. Kent and Charles Zika (Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2005); Antonio Paolucci, "Prodigy Mother: Frescoes in the Convent of Tor de' Specchi," *F.M.R.* lxxv (1995): 78-95 and Giorgio Picasso, ed., *Una Santa Tutta Romana: Saggi e ricerche nel VI centenario della nascita di Francesca Bussa dei Ponziani (1384-1984)* (Siena: Monte Oliveto Maggiore, 1984). Francesca Romana is typically shown dressed in the black dress and white veil that was the habit of her order (which was under the protection of the Monte Olivetan Benedictines), with a halo, an open book in her hand and a young angel at

contrast, is the bread, which, as seen in the centre-foreground, is studded with coins.<sup>97</sup> The two children call obvious attention to this detail as the elder, who is the only figure to look directly out of the painting and engage the viewer, points to several silver pieces that she holds in her right hand. A younger brother clambers up to grab at them. The coin-studded loaf of bread is a standard iconographical attribute of the Blessed Ludovica Albertoni, a Franciscan tertiary who was noted for her charity and beatified in January 1671 by Pope Clement X (r. 1670-76) Altieri.

Ludovica's feast day was officially celebrated for the first time on January 31<sup>st</sup> 1671.<sup>98</sup> The date of her beatification is not coincidental: in the years immediately preceding his election to the papal throne as Clement X, Emilio Altieri had adopted three members of the Albertoni family, Ludovica's direct descendents, in order to ensure his family's survival and strengthen his hold on the curia. Abruptly vaulted from shabby nobility to the highest echelons of Roman society, the new Altieri nephews made the most of their short time in power, accumulating substantial incomes and constructing monumental works of art.<sup>99</sup> The pope moved swiftly to beatify their ancestor and add to the glory of both families, and the event took place within that first, active year of his reign.

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her side. The book often has a visible inscription reading: "*Tenuisti manum dexteram mean et in voluntate tua deduxisti me et cum gloria suscepisti me* (Ps. LXXII, 23.)" George Kaftal, *Saints in Italian Art. Iconography of the Saints in Central and Southern Italian Schools of Painting* (Florence: Sansoni, 1965), 447-467.

<sup>97</sup> Less frequently Francesca Romana was also shown with loaves of bread, but they are without coins and are in reference to a different miracle, namely when the saint miraculously multiplied loaves of bread to feed the citizens of Rome during the 1402 plague. Massimo Pirondini, Emilio Negro, Nicosetta Roio, and Elio Monducci, *Alessandro Tiarini (1577-1668)* (Manerba/Reggio Emilia: Merigo Art Books, 2000), 105. For examples see: Daniele Benati, *Alessandro Tiarini. L'opera pittorica completa e i disegni* (Milan: Federico Motta, 2001), vol. 1., 54-55, fig. 42, 43; vol. 2, 40-41, cat. 55, and Luigi Salerno, *I dipinti del Guercino* (Rome: Ugo Bozzi, 1988), 259, cat. 173, 380-381, cat. 315. Regardless, she is always shown with the angel at her side.

<sup>98</sup> *Magnum Bullarium Romanum*, Vol. 7 (Graz: Akademischen Druck – u. Verlagsanstalt, 1965), 86-87.

<sup>99</sup> Schiavo 1960; Borsi et. al. 1991.

Although much of the literature on Altieri patronage instinctively identifies Paluzzo as the decisive figure in family projects, we now know that it was Angelo who paid for and oversaw Bernini's work in the Altieri chapel of S. Francesco a Ripa in Trastevere, Rome.<sup>100</sup> Angelo's dedication to Ludovica Albertoni was evidently profound as, like the Trasteverian chapel, his funerary chapel, unveiled in 1705, also has a shared dedication to the beata and features another monumental marble honoring her memory, Lorenzo Ottoni's *The Beata Ludovica Albertoni adoring the Holy Family* (1696-1702).<sup>101</sup> It should not be a surprise then to find that Angelo was also the patron of Gaulli's *Beata Ludovica Albertoni distributing alms*.

Gaulli's earliest biographers, Lione Pascoli and Carlo Giuseppe Ratti, tell us that the Genovese artist produced 'some paintings' for 'Prencipe Altieri',<sup>102</sup> while Altieri inventories indicate that the family had several paintings of the beata in their palace, including a "large one" with a black frame in the main gallery and another with a gold frame in the lower guardaroba.<sup>103</sup> Moreover, Gaulli was intimately familiar with Ludovica's iconography. As a result of changes made to the beatification process by Pope Urban VIII (1623-44) it was fundamental to prove that Ludovica had been actively venerated for at least one hundred years.<sup>104</sup> The Altieri called upon experts in art history, connoisseurs, and artists, to testify that existing depictions of

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<sup>100</sup> Federica Di Napoli Rampolla, "Chronologia della ristrutturazioni della Cappella della beata Ludovica Albertoni a San Francesco a Ripa," in *Bernini, Regista del barocco. I restauri*, eds. Claudio Strinati and Maria Grazia Bernardini (Milan: Skira, 1999), 97.

<sup>101</sup> On the chapel see: Anselmi 1993, 203-217.

<sup>102</sup> Carlo Giuseppe Ratti, *Delle vite de' pittori, scultori, ed architetti genovesi* (Genoa: Casamara, 1769), 81; Lione Pascoli, *Vite de' pittori, scultori, ed architetti moderni* (Rome: Antonio de' Rossi, 1730), 202.

<sup>103</sup> See: Appedix 5.4 Doc. 1. Baldassare Albertoni also had paintings of Ludovica in his collection, they appear in the inventory of his goods made after his death. See: Appendix 5.4 Doc. 2. On February 15, 1674 the family received a special dispensation from Clement X to erect images of the beata in the family chapels in Palazzo Altieri. Schiavo 1960, 175.

<sup>104</sup> Shelley Karen Perlove, *Bernini and the Idealization of Death. The Blessed Ludovica Albertoni and the Altieri Chapel* (University Park and London: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990), 11-12.

Ludovica were of the necessary age; two of these witnesses were Gian Pietro Bellori and Giovanni Battista Gaulli.<sup>105</sup> Bellori and Gaulli described each element of Ludovica's iconography and swore that the earliest surviving monumental depiction of her, a 16<sup>th</sup> century fresco in the Albertoni Chapel in the church of Santa Maria in Aracoeli, was proof of the longevity of her cult.<sup>106</sup>

To these circumstantial connections between Gaulli, Ludovica Albertoni, and the Altieri, we can add precise documentary evidence in the form of the receipt for the Getty painting. Angelo Altieri's payment records for the years 1670 and 1671 include the following entry:

The bookkeeper orders 105 scudi paid to Giovanni Battista Gaulli Painter for the gift of a painting of the Beata Ludovica made for our use, February 22nd 1671. 105 scudi, Angelo Altieri.<sup>107</sup>

The date provided by the payment is earlier than that proposed for the Getty painting by Fredricksen and supported by Maurizio Fagiolo dell'Arco, although it does fall within a reasonable proximity, given what we know of the developing style of the artist. The painting was probably begun late in 1670 or early in 1671 and finished, as

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<sup>105</sup> Perlove 1990, 61-63.

<sup>106</sup> From these records we know that the bread was interpreted as an expression of the beata's "love, and prodigious charity toward the poor", while the book was interpreted as a reference to her "very lofty contemplation" (*altissima contemplatione*), her profound meditation on God's laws. Giovanni Paolo di Roma, *Vita della B. Ludouica Albertoni Piermattei Paluzzi del Terzo Ordine di S. Francesco composta da vn religioso riformato di S. Francesco a Ripa, ... Dedicata all'eminetiss. e reuerendiss. prencipe Palutio cardinal Altieri camerlengo di S. Chiesa* (Rome: Per Giuseppe Coruo, 1672), 264-265.

<sup>107</sup> "Il Comp.a [computisteria] faccia il mand.o di s. centocinque m.ta a Gio. Batta Gaudi Pittore p regalo di un quadro della B. Ludovica fatto p nro serv.o qsto di 22 feb.ro 1671 s. 105 m.ta A. Altieri." Archivio Altieri, *Giustificazioni del Sig. Principe D. Angelo Altieri pp mandati 1670 – 1671* (n. 593 b). Di Napoli Rampolla 1999, 97. In his essay on Gaulli's altarpieces for the 1999 *Il Baciccio* catalogue, Maurizio Fagiolo dell'Arco connects this payment receipt with Gaulli's altarpiece for S. Francesco a Ripa, despite the fact that there is a second receipt dating from 1675 and made out to Gaulli, also for 105 scudi, for what is clearly the current altarpiece: *Doc. 12: ric. 57* "Il Comp.a faccia il mand.o di s. Cento cinque m.ta à Gio Batta Gaudi Pittore p regalo del quadro di S. Anna fatto a S. Franc.o q.sto di 24 lug. 1675 s. 105 m.ta [firmato] A. Altieri." Di Napoli Rampolla 1999, 108. As a result Fagiolo dell'Arco dates the commission of the current chapel altarpiece to 1671, when in fact the correct payment dates to 1675, reinforcing the accepted chronology.

we shall see, by the end of January 1671.<sup>108</sup> It has suffered significant damage, yet one is able to see that the execution is rough, in particular in the middle- and background figures and in details such as a visible pentimento in Ludovica's left hand.<sup>109</sup> The slightly raw quality suggests either that it was meant to be seen from a distance, or that it was executed in some haste; the latter appears the more likely conclusion.

The date provided by the payment record corroborates the stylistic evidence. Thus, for example, the *Ludovica Albertoni* shares significant similarities with Gaulli's picture of Saint Louis Beltran, dated 1671-1674 [Fig. 5.38].<sup>110</sup> Robert Enggass observed that Gaulli depicted Beltran with distinctly elongated proportions, particularly in his lower half, where the "length between the kneeling saint's waist and his knee would almost suffice for an entire leg". Enggass noted further that "[w]e will not see these retardataire traits in Baciccio's work again."<sup>111</sup> In 1964 Enggass could not have been aware of the Getty picture of Ludovica Albertoni, which shares precisely these characteristics: the beata has a relatively short torso and an exaggerated, long, gently curving lower half. Gaulli's painting of Beltran was definitely installed by 1674, but it may have been made just after the Spanish

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<sup>108</sup> A beatification process was opened for Ludovica in November of 1670, thus Gaulli could have begun the painting by that date, in anticipation that the process would swiftly be successfully concluded. On January 7<sup>th</sup> Cardinal Ginetti sent a letter approving Ludovica's cult to Clement X – this is probably the latest date by which the painting would have been begun. Howard Hibbard, "Ludovica Albertoni: l'arte e la vita," in *Gian Lorenzo Bernini e le arti visive*, ed. Marcello Fagiolo (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana), 150.

<sup>109</sup> The painting was relined in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, leaving the weave of the new canvas backing visible in the paint itself; the work was then badly damaged by rain while enroute to Los Angeles in 1970. Due to its unfortunate condition the painting has never been exhibited.

<sup>110</sup> That is, between when the Spanish Dominican was canonized by Clement X in 1671, and 1674, when Titi noted the altarpiece in his Roman guidebook. Filippo Titi, *Stvdio di Pittvra, Scoltvra, Et Architettvra, Nelle Chiese di Roma: Nel quale si hà notitia di tutti gl'Artefici, che hanno iui operato* (Rome: Mancini, 1674), 155.

<sup>111</sup> Enggass 1964, 17, 144-5.

Dominican's 1671 canonization. The stylistic similarities between these two works would suggest that both were executed early in 1671.<sup>112</sup>

One of the pressing questions regarding Gaulli's *Ludovica Albertoni* is that of its intended purpose. The payment states that it was made "for our [Angelo's, or the Altieri's] use" (*per nostro servizio*). The proposed execution date, around January 1671, suggests that the painting was intended to play a role in the celebration of Ludovica's feast day on the 31<sup>st</sup> of that month. Vittorio Casale has categorized the types of paintings produced for such occasions into three groups: standards or banners, narrative canvases or medallions, and 'tribute paintings' (*dipinti-omaggio*).<sup>113</sup> In the first category are the iconic portable images that were used in the beatification or canonization proper, which generally took place in St. Peter's, and the subsequent solemnization, a celebration of the new beata or saint that took place in their individual 'home' church. Standards established the fundamental iconography of the new saint, but were essentially ephemeral and while we have visual evidence for them in prints and drawings, few of the objects have survived. In the second category are the paintings that made up cycles showing notable events from the lives of the saint, and which were hung from the arches along the nave of St. Peter's in order to

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<sup>112</sup> These paintings also have other ties, most likely coincidental: Beltran was canonized by Clement X, along with four other saints, and is also commemorated in Maratti's altarpiece in the Altieri chapel also in S. Maria sopra Minerva. Gaulli was likely simultaneously working in the Altieri chapel on the fresco of the *Trinity in Glory* and on his painting of Beltran, found in the Caffarelli chapel, the second to the right in the same church.

<sup>113</sup> Casale has worked extensively on the decorations involved in beatification, canonization, and solemnization ceremonies in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries See: Vittorio Casale, "Santi, Beati e Servi di Dio in immagini," in *Diventare Santo. Itinerari e riconoscimenti della santità tra libri, documenti e immagini* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana/Events, 1998), 73-76; "Addobbi per beatificazioni e canonizzazioni," in *La Festa a Roma dal Rinascimento al 1870*, ed. Marcello Fagiolo (Turin: Umberto Allemandi &c., 1997), 56-65; "Gloria ai beati e ai santi: le feste di beatificazione e di canonizzazione," in *La Festa a Roma dal Rinascimento al 1870*, vol. 2, ed. Marcello Fagiolo (Turin: Allemandi, 1997), 124-141; "Quadri di Canonizzazione," in *La pittura in Italia: il Settecento*, vol. 2, ed. Giuliano Briganti (Milan: Electa, 1990), 553-576; "I Quadri di canonizzazione: Lazzare Baldi, Giacomo Zoboli. Produzione, Riproduzione e Qualità," *Paragone* 33 (1982): 33-61.

illustrate the individual's worthiness. Similar decorations could also be installed for a solemnization. Casale's tribute paintings were also large narrative works showing remarkable scenes from the life of the saint, however they served a different purpose. These paintings, usually higher in quality, were given as gifts to the pope and any cardinals or notable individuals who had supported the beatification or canonization process. They were usually commissioned and paid for by the saint's order or family. Baciccio's *Ludovica Albertoni* does not fit neatly into any of these categories. Surviving standards are rare and, despite damage, the Getty's *Ludovica* is a work of high quality, unlikely to have been intended as a piece of ephemera. It certainly cannot have been used as a narrative scene in St. Peter's as it is much too small and would have been dwarfed in that enormous space.<sup>114</sup> It may have been used as a gift, but without further provenance this hypothesis is impossible to securely determine. Aspects of the composition itself indicate that it was most likely intended for use as an altarpiece.<sup>115</sup>

Placed over an altar the torn loaves of bread and dark liquid just visible in the bowl at the centre of the composition make a direct connection to the enactment of the sacrament that would have taken place below. Eucharistic references pertain to Ludovica as well: her seventeenth-century biographers stress that among her saintly qualities was the ability to subsist on the tiny amount of bread and wine that she

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<sup>114</sup> Even if a typical 'theatre' had been constructed, the painting would still be much too small to be effective in St. Peter's. Alessandra Anselmi, "Theaters for the canonization of saints," in *St. Peter's in the Vatican*, ed. William Tronzo (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 244-269.

<sup>115</sup> Technically, an altar cannot be dedicated to a beata or beato, hence the double-dedications in the Altieri chapels in S. Francesco a Ripa and S. Maria in Campitelli. However, for the feast day of a prominent holy figure the church is transformed in their honour – the Franciscans at S. Francesco a Ripa to this day place a large image of Ludovica Albertoni over the high altar of the church for the duration of the celebration.

consumed during the mass.<sup>116</sup> Aspects of the painting's composition indicate that it was meant to be installed just above eye level: we see down into the bowl and bread in the lower half of the painting, but not significantly under the edge of Ludovica's veil. Such an arrangement would have been appropriate had the painting been placed above the altar in the Altieri chapel in San Francesco a Ripa before Bernini's addition of the architectural recess.<sup>117</sup> In addition, we have another payment receipt that can be connected with Gaulli's *Ludovica*. On January 30<sup>th</sup> 1671, Angelo paid 25 scudi for the gilding of a "very large frame for the altarpiece of the Beata Ludovica, entirely darkened with a plaster ground".<sup>118</sup> The payment date, the day before Ludovica's feast day, also fits the timeline suggested for Gaulli's painting.<sup>119</sup> Given the size, date, and composition of Gaulli's painting, with its clear iconographical references to the Eucharist, one can safely conclude that it was employed as the main altarpiece used to

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<sup>116</sup> Cesare Solatio, *Compendio della Vita della Beata Lodovica Albertoni della Cetera Vedova Romana Religiosa del terz'ordine di San Francesco. Con l'aggiunta d'alcun Epigrammi di Cesare Solatij Romano. Dedicato all'Illustrissimo, & Eccellentissimo Sig. Principe Don Gasparo Altieri Nipote di Nostro Signore e Generale di Santa Chiesa, & c.* (Rome: Nella Stamperia del Mancini, 1671), unpaginated.

<sup>117</sup> The viewing point for the current altarpiece, Gaulli's *Holy Family with St. Anne*, is slightly lower, with a more pronounced tilt to look up at the figures – this is an adjustment made to accommodate the fact that the painting is further away from the viewer and above Bernini's sculpture. The point of view for Gaulli's *Ludovica Albertoni* is not dissimilar to that of the 16<sup>th</sup> century frescoed representation of the beata to the right of the altar in the S. Francesco a Ripa chapel.

<sup>118</sup> Di Napoli Rampolla 1999, 104. Ap. doc. n. 6 *Filza di Giustificazioni per l'Ecc.mo Sig.re Pnpe D Angelo Altieri 1673-1675* (n. 702b). "Doc. 1: ric. 103. Conto dell'Ill.mo et Ecc.mo Sig. Prencipe D. Angelo Altieri con gli eredi del S. Baldassar Castelli. A dì 30 d. [gennaro 1671] p haver indorato una cornice grande assai p il quadro da Altare della B. Ludovica tutta imbrunita col fondo gessato. s. 25." Angelo immediately had to pay another two scudi to have the frame repaired, as it was damaged by rain on the way to S. Francesco. If this was the frame for Gaulli's painting, it seems that it is prone to bad luck with the weather.

<sup>119</sup> At the same time Angelo paid for fifty coats of arms with the Altieri *stemma* intended to decorate the chapel and to have iron grating painted silver. This further supports the hypothesis that Gaulli's painting was for the family chapel, as all of these payments were made together. Di Napoli Rampolla 1999, 104. Doc. 1, Ric. 103. In March 1671 Angelo paid a debt he owed to a printer, Matteo Gregorio Rossi, for, among other things, four hundred images of the Beata Ludovica on paper. It is recorded in the payment itself that these prints were made specifically for Ludovica's feast day. Di Napoli Rampolla 1999, 101. Ric. 4.



decorate the Altieri chapel in S. Francesco a Ripa during the first celebration of the beata's feast day in 1671.

From an early age Ludovica desired to devote herself to a religious life.<sup>120</sup> Familial concerns prevailed however, and Ludovica married Giacomo della Cetera and had three daughters before della Cetera's death in 1506. In her widowhood Ludovica joined the third order of Franciscans and devoted her life to charity and prayer. She died in 1533 and was buried in her husband's family chapel in the Trasteverian church of S. Francesco a Ripa. Although during her life she was seen to undergo miraculous experiences, for example levitating at mass after receiving the host, her *vite* are more notable for their emphasis on her charity and good deeds, than for ecstatic or mystic experiences.

It is not surprising to find a case of mistaken identity between Ludovica Albertoni and Francesca Romana. Aside from obvious similarities in dress and character, a strong congruence between the two women was established as part of a deliberate canonization strategy long undertaken by the Albertoni family. Both women were widows and Ludovica is known to have been particularly devoted to Francesca, carrying a piece of her veil in constant veneration.<sup>121</sup> The two were frequently shown together in chapel decorations from the late sixteenth century on. They appear, along with Saints Agnes and Cecilia, in the pendentives of the Albertoni chapel in the church of S. Maria in Aracoeli.<sup>122</sup> Here the figures are labeled, so the

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<sup>120</sup> There are two seventeenth century biographies of Ludovica Albertoni: Giovanni Paulo 1672, and Solatio 1671. Ludwig von Pastor refers to a third in manuscript form in the Vatican Library written by a Fra Gennaro, but this has yet to come to light. Christopher M. S. Johns, "Some observations on collaboration and patronage in the Altieri chapel, San Francesco a Ripa: Bernini and Gaulli," *Storia dell'arte* 50/52 (1984): 44.

<sup>121</sup> Perlove 1990, 10.

<sup>122</sup> Both hold a book (although, as here, Francesca Romana's is usually open while Ludovica's is closed), and are accompanied by their small companion figure – Ludovica and the poor

identifications are clear. As part of a decorative campaign that took place around 1622 these frescoes were replicated, without the captions, in the Altieri chapel in S. Francesco a Ripa, where Ludovica's remains are buried. Ludovica is represented three times in this chapel – in a pendentive fresco, Bernini's statue (1674), and an anonymous 16<sup>th</sup> fresco to the right side of the altar [Fig. 5.39]. The latter was no doubt Gaulli's main source and in essence his work reads as a re-statement and embellishment of the earlier painting. In this simple image the hidden coins are not made visible, but presumably that element of the story would have been familiar to those coming to the chapel to honor the beata's memory.

Although previously unremarked, the sixteenth century fresco of Ludovica to the right of the altar in the Altieri chapel in S. Francesco a Ripa is replicated in another fresco located on the nave side of one of the piers framing the chapel of S. Francesca Romana in the church of S. Bartolommeo all'Isola [Fig. 5.40]. While difficult to date due to significant damage and over-painting, the initial fresco likely dates from the Seicento and indicates that Ludovica's iconography was standardized and narrowly diffused in the topography of Rome.<sup>123</sup> Again, it is notable that this image of Ludovica appears in a chapel dedicated to Francesca Romana, underscoring the close ties between the two women.<sup>124</sup> Francesca Romana, one of the patron saints

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youth, Francesca and the angel. On the chapel see: Johanna Elfriede Louise Heideman, *The Cinquecento Chapel Decorations in S. Maria in Aracoeli in Rome* (Amsterdam: Academische Pers, 1982); Umberto Vichi, "La cappella di S. Antonio nella basilica d'Aracoeli in Roma," *Il Santo* 9 (1969): 283.

<sup>123</sup> These two figures have thus far both gone unidentified; Pupillo describes the image of Ludovica Albertoni only as a saint offering bread to a pilgrim. That she is not a saint is quite clear from the fact that she is shown with her head encircled by rays, rather than a halo. Marco Pupillo, *S. Bartolomeo all'Isola Tiberina. Mille anni di storia e di arte* (Milan: Edizioni Angelo Guerini, 2003), 39.

<sup>124</sup> The other frescoes in the chapel are also close copies of other, earlier, Roman works, namely the Quattrocento frescoes by Antoniazio Romano and his school in Francesca's monastery at the Tor de' Specchi, Rome.

of Rome, was canonized by Paul V in 1608.<sup>125</sup> In his 1671 biography of Beata Ludovica, Cesare Solatij notes that it is “worthy of consideration...that before Santa Francesca Romana was canonized, these two glorious matrons and heavenly blessed were depicted together, one next to the other, and with equal veneration they were revered and adored by the Roman people.”<sup>126</sup> The successfully canonized Francesca Romana provided the best exemplar for the Albertoni family in its quest to gain recognition for the sanctity of an ancestor. The two were consistently linked through word and image, and their pairing was encouraged elsewhere in the city, where each such public statement acted as an affirmation of Ludovica’s rightful place in the heavenly hierarchy, and was further evidence of the persistence, popularity, and longevity of her cult.

In formulating his image of Ludovica, Gaulli may also have looked at printed material, such as the frontispiece of Solatio’s 1671 biography of the beata [Fig. 5.41], which features an image very similar to that in anonymous fresco in the San Francesco a Ripa chapel, of Ludovica giving bread to a poor man. The differences are in the details—in the frontispiece Ludovica is clearly shown as an older woman, a detail that is more historically accurate since she was in her thirties when she was able to fully devote herself to her charitable activities. Greater emphasis is given to the poverty of the man who receives the bread. His clothes are composed of rags and he holds up his right foot, suggesting that he is lame. The change in media and purpose must account for the differences from the chapel fresco; monumental paintings tend to

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<sup>125</sup> Mauro Tagliabue, “Francesca Romana nella Storiografia. Fonti, Studi, Biografie,” in *Una Santa Tutta Romana*, ed. Georgio Picasso (Siena: “L’Ulivo”, 1984), 199.

<sup>126</sup> Solatio 1671, unpaginated. “*E quello che ancora è degno di considerazione è, che avanti che si canonizasse Santa Francesca Romana, dipignevasi amendue queste gloriosissime Matrone, e Beate del Cielo insieme, l’una allato dell’altra, e con pari venerazione erano dal popolo di Roma riverite, & adorate.*”

heroize the subject, while prints and *vite* are intended to have a more popular appeal. This can be seen in Gaulli's painting, where the recipient of the young, beautiful Ludovica's charity is no longer a youth, but instead a substantial, muscled man, the embodiment of a kind of "heroic" poverty.

Entering Gaulli's depiction of the beata Ludovica Albertoni into the sequence of events and works related to Albertoni's beatification and the subsequent re-decoration of the chapel in S. Francesco a Ripa under Bernini requires that we consider a shift in how we view the notion of creative agency in the collaboration between these two artists in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. The idea that Bernini in his later years may have drawn on Gaulli's work for inspiration has been proposed by Valentino Martinelli in reference to several late drawings by Bernini.<sup>127</sup> The hypothesis was taken up again by Francesco Petrucci in regard to Bernini's late portraiture.<sup>128</sup> Gaulli's success in his own time, and his continued fame in our own, are closely tied to Gian Lorenzo Bernini.

Gaulli is believed to have arrived in Rome from Genoa shortly after the plague devastated the Ligurian city in 1657.<sup>129</sup> It is not known exactly when Bernini and Gaulli met, although it is generally believed to have been quite soon after Baciccio's arrival in Rome. Gaulli is often presented as a kind of Berninian alter-ego, the man who was able to fully translate the sculptor's ideas into paint.<sup>130</sup> Bernini is always

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<sup>127</sup> Valentino Martinelli, "I Disegni di Bernini," in *Gian Lorenzo Bernini e la sua cerchia. studi e contributi (1950-1990)* (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1994), 40-41.

Originally published in: *Commentari* 3 (1950): 172-186.

<sup>128</sup> Francesco Petrucci, "Baciccio ritrattista: proposta per un catalogo," *Fima Antiquari – Arte Viva* 10 (1997): 37-57.

<sup>129</sup> At the outset he evidently relied on regional ties to establish himself, and we find him working for a Genoese art dealer, Pellegrino Peri. Enggass 1964, 2.

<sup>130</sup> Beatrice Canestro Chiovenda, "Ancora del Bernini, del Gaulli e della Regina Cristina," *Commentari* 20 (1969): 231. The sentiment was voiced perhaps most vociferously by P. J. Mariette in 1853 when he wrote that: "le Bachiche étoit la main dont le Bernin se servoit pour

cited with regard to Gaulli's most famous project, the vault frescoes in the Gesù, as he is believed to have obtained the commission for Baciccio through his close ties with Padre Oliva, the general of the Jesuit order. Contemporaries even attributed the fresco's design to Bernini.<sup>131</sup> Modern scholars have been more circumspect, crediting him with the most innovative aspect of the main fresco, the unified use of painting, sculpture, and architecture to dissolve barriers between real and illusionistic space.<sup>132</sup> Evidence makes clear that Bernini and Gaulli openly collaborated on the Altieri chapel in S. Francesco a Ripa, for which Bernini provided the design and the main sculpture and Gaulli the altarpiece depicting the Holy Family with St. Anne [Fig. 5.42]. Christopher Johns has argued that Gaulli depicted St. Anne with the features of Ludovica Albertoni as portrayed by Bernini in the statue installed below.<sup>133</sup> With the goal of establishing iconographic links between the various elements of the chapel's decoration, Johns notes that the two women share a "rather long Roman nose", thickly-lidded eyes, and are both dressed in a linen hood that peaks upward above and to either side of the eyes.<sup>134</sup> We know from documentary evidence that Bernini's statue of the beata was commissioned in 1673 and installed by 1674; Gaulli's altarpiece was likely installed at the same time.<sup>135</sup> While this timeline would support the notion that Gaulli was following the lead of his older collaborator, the addition of Gaulli's earlier depiction of the beata to the chronology complicates the issue. Surely,

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exprimer en peinture ses pensées neuves et piquante." Luigi Grassi, *Bernini Pittore* (Rome: Danesi, 1945), 51; also cited in Gianluca Tedaldi, "Lo stato degli studi," in *Il Baciccio (1639-1709)*, (Milan: Skira, 1999), 347.

<sup>131</sup> Enggass 1964, 52.

<sup>132</sup> The work melds painting, sculpture, and architecture in the service of a unified illusion that tears open the supposed architectural frame on the vault and allows figures to tumble into the actual space of the church. This is the *bel composto*, the unified approach to the arts that Bernini had so dynamically demonstrated two decades earlier in the Cornaro Chapel in S. Maria della Vittoria. Enggass 1964, 52-53.

<sup>133</sup> Johns 1984, 43-47.

<sup>134</sup> Johns 1984, 45.

<sup>135</sup> Anna Coliva, *Bernini Scultore. La Tecnica Esecutiva* (Rome: De Luca Editori d'Arte, 2002), 266-267.

the overall project for the chapel as it is seen today is Bernini's, but the assumption of his over-riding creative authority should be modified in light of Gaulli's earlier depiction of the beata Ludovica Albertoni. In general, the traits that Johns identifies as characteristic of Bernini's depiction of the beata and Gaulli's of Anne can already be found in Gaulli's 1671 painting.<sup>136</sup> Moreover, with the discovery of Gaulli's *Ludovica* we can examine the possibility that it was a decisive influence on Bernini's sculpture.

Gaulli's *Ludovica* appears younger than Bernini's – the painting shows the beata at an earlier point in her life, presumably just after the death of her husband but well before her own body was distorted by ecstasy or death.<sup>137</sup> Yet there are significant features in common shared between the works. In both depictions of the beata her silhouette is defined by the long sinuous line of the veil that runs from the crown of her head to her waist on her left side, and by a jagged contour on the right where it bunches just under her chin to create a sharp line over her left shoulder. The frequently noted feature of Bernini's statue, the long thick fold of cloth that runs in a straight line between the beata's legs, is already present in Gaulli's work, although not as heavily emphasized. Both artists place undulating bunches of fabric around her waist, creating a dynamic node that acts in counterpoint to the long, curved length of her legs. Thus a number of salient characteristics of Bernini's *Ludovica* are already present in Gaulli's 1671 painting.

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<sup>136</sup> Gaulli's source, in turn, is quite clear – the sixteenth century fresco in the chapel itself, now found to the right of the altar; as noted earlier the Genovese artist translated quite literally the early Renaissance source into a baroque idiom. The iconographic connection that Johns draws between *Ludovica* and Anne can still stand, but the source of their physical similarity needs to be shifted to Gaulli's own oeuvre.

<sup>137</sup> On the issue of whether *Ludovica* is shown in ecstasy or dying see: Frank Sommer, "The Iconography of Action: Bernini's *Ludovica Albertoni*," *Art Quarterly* 36 (1970): 30-38; Hibbard 1987; Perlove 1990; Giovanni Careri, *Voli d'amore: architettura, pittura e scultura nel "bel composto" di Bernini* (Rome: Laterza, 1991), 73-121.

In a recent essay on Bernini, Gaulli and the Gesù, Claudio Strinati proposed the Altieri chapel in S. Francesco a Ripa as the paradigmatic example of Gaulli's excessive obsequiousness toward his mentor.<sup>138</sup> Yet Bernini's involvement with the Altieri chapel can be firmly dated only from 1673, while we now know that Gaulli was already involved with the celebration of the new beata and the decoration of her chapel two years prior.<sup>139</sup> Although there is no way to discount an undocumented influence by Bernini at this early stage, there is no evidence of it in the written or circumstantial evidence. Without further information, therefore, we can conclude that the discovery of Gaulli's *Ludovica Albertoni* fundamentally alters the sequence of events in the development of the Altieri chapel in S. Francesco a Ripa and allows us to bring the Genovese painter out a little bit from Bernini's long shadow.

### ***Angelo Altieri's Funerary Chapel in S. Maria in Campitelli***

Gian Lorenzo Bernini's statue of the blessed *Ludovica Albertoni* in the Altieri chapel in S. Francesco a Ripa commemorates the Roman noblewoman who was

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<sup>138</sup> Claudio Strinati, "La grande ombra", in *Il Baciccio (1639-1709)* (Milan: Skira, 1999), 45.

<sup>139</sup> Bernini was also out of favour at the time following a particularly unsavoury incident at St. Peter's involving his brother. In the end he executed the statue of Ludovica for free in order to regain the pope's good favour. It is striking to note that Angelo Altieri in fact paid Gaulli slightly more for his painting, 105 scudi, than he paid for Bernini's statue of the beata, since the only direct cost was 96 scudi for the marble. Coliva 2002, 266, App. Doc. 1. 105 scudi is commensurate with what Gaulli was making for other similarly sized altarpieces around the same time: as we have already seen he was paid the same amount four years later for his altarpiece for the Altieri chapel, in 1669 he was paid 100 scudi for *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (218 x 160 cm; Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Palazzo Barberini, Rome), and in 1676 he was paid 100 scudi for his altarpiece for Sant'Andrea al Quirinale, *The Death of St. Francis Xavier*. Fagiolo dell'Arco 1999, 156; Enggass 1964, 179. On painter's earnings in Seicento Rome see: Richard Spear, "Scrambling for Scudi: Notes and Painters' Earnings in Early Baroque Rome," *The Art Bulletin* 85 (2003): 310-320. Spear notes that artists generally paid between 5 and 10 scudi per painting for canvases and other basic materials like pigments and stretchers. Perhaps this explains some of the slightly odd amounts we encounter in documents, such as the 105 scudi paid to Gaulli for the *Ludovica* picture – 100 scudi for the picture proper and 5 scudi to cover necessary materials.

beatified in 1671 and stands as a testament to the lofty social ranks that her descendents had reached as the nephews of Pope Clement X [Fig. 5.43].<sup>140</sup> As we have seen, of the three adopted Altieri nephews Angelo retained the strongest ties to his natal lineage. His loyalties are suggested in the major works that he commissioned: Bernini's masterpiece, Gaulli's painting, and his funerary chapel in Santa Maria in Campitelli [Fig. 5.44]. The Campitelli chapel is a rich familial monument that reflects Angelo's concerns and choices as the head of an old Roman family; the altarpiece and tombs, and the interaction between them, celebrate a venerated ancestor and Angelo's role as paternal protector of his kin and descendents.

Angelo Altieri's first major project as a patron was to renovate the Altieri chapel in S. Francesco a Ripa [Fig. 5.45], for which Bernini constructed a recess above the altar and provided the spectacular statue of the dying beata.<sup>141</sup> Despite their devotion to the Beata Ludovica none of her Seicento descendents chose to be buried in this chapel along with her miracle-working remains, opting instead for burial in their original parish church, S. Maria in Campitelli.<sup>142</sup> This may be due to the Franciscan's restrictive policies regarding decoration, or perhaps because the chapel was not fully perceived as an Albertoni space, as it had been ceded to the family only

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<sup>140</sup> On this statue see: Hibbard 1987, 149-161; Perlove 1990.

<sup>141</sup> Di Napoli Rampolla 1999, 85-95; Michela Ulivi, "La Cappella della beata Ludovica Albertoni nella chiesa di S. Francesco a Ripa," in *Bernini, Regista del barocco. I restauri*, eds. Claudio Strinati and Maria Grazia Bernardini (Milan: Skira, 1999): 97-110.

<sup>142</sup> This is the case for Angelo, his wife Vittoria Parabiacchi, and his brother Paluzzo. Gaspare is something of a mystery, as it is unknown where he was buried. He feuded with his father throughout his adult life and spent much of it in Venice, and I have been unable to determine where his remains were eventually placed after his death in 1720. On the church of Santa Maria in Campitelli see: P. Francesco Ferraironi, *S. Maria in Campitelli* (Rome: Casa Editrice 'Roma', 1933); Maria Pedrolì Bertoni, *Le Chiese di Roma illustrate. Santa Maria in Campitelli* (Rome: Palombi, 1987); Ludovico Marracci and Giovacchino Corrado, *Memorie di S. Maria in Portico ora in Campitelli. Dal Giorno sua apparizione nell'anno 524 fino all'anno 1675. raccolte da Lodovico Marracci sac. della congregazione della Madre di Dio. rivedute annotate e continuate fino all'anno 1871 da Giovacchino M. Corrado* (Rome: Tip. dei Fratelli Monaldi, 1871); P. Simone Schiava, *Notizie della Ven. Chiesa di S.ta Maria in Campitelli di Roma detta al presente S.ta M.a in Portico in Campitelli*. BAV, Vat. lat. 13521.



in the 1620's by Ludovica's husband's family, the Della Cetera.<sup>143</sup> The chapel in S. Francesco a Ripa can be seen as a half-realized monument to Ludovica Albertoni and the Albertoni family; the ideas born there with Bernini's altar arrangement found their most complete expression in Angelo's funerary chapel in the church of S. Maria in Campitelli. In this later chapel the patron did not face financial or practical restrictions, and the result is a lavish concentration of rich marbles, expressive sculptures, and illusionistic painting, a *bel composto* in the best Baroque tradition.

Angelo's chapel, the first on the left, was completed and unveiled in 1705, the year before he died at the age of 74.<sup>144</sup> The chapel was designed by Sebastiano Cipriani and the various elements executed by a host of artists, the most prominent among them Lorenzo Ottoni, who sculpted the altarpiece, Giuseppe Mazzuoli, who executed Angelo's bust, Michele Maile, who is primarily responsible for the bust of Angelo's wife, Vittoria Parabiacchi, and Giuseppe Passeri, who frescoed the ceilings [Fig.'s 5.46-5.49].<sup>145</sup> Only one scholar, Alessandra Anselmi, has dealt with the chapel in any depth: the documents she published allow us to precisely date and attribute each element; she provides the fundamental points of reference in terms of influences, primarily Bernini's Alaleona and Raimondi chapels; and her analysis of Giambattista Vaccondio's 1706 ode to the chapel gives us insight into how the ensemble was understood and appreciated immediately after its construction. Many other significant issues regarding the chapel remain unaddressed, principally the devotional connection

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<sup>143</sup> Giovanni Paolo di Roma 1672, 255. "Lo fece egli [Baldassare Albertoni], e con quella magnificenza maggiore, che tolerò la povertà specialissima del Serafico istituto del Serafino Francesco; quindi chiamati a tal'effetto Architetti, e huomini sperimentati nell'architettura, delineò il modello; e proveduti finissimi marmi, diè principio al nuovo edificio in honore della Beata."

<sup>144</sup> Angelo's age can be approximately determined from *Stati di Anime* records; he is recorded in the Campitelli parish in 1692 as 60 years old, indicating that he was born in 1632. Archivio Vicariato, Rome, *Stati d'Anime*, Parish of Santa Maria in Campitelli, 1692, 246r.

<sup>145</sup> For a detailed discussion of all the artists involved, their works, contracts, and payments, see: Anselmi 1993, 203-217.

between St. Joseph and Angelo Altieri and the relationship between the altarpiece and tombs. Broaching these questions allows us to better understand how the chapel as a whole fulfilled its function as a funerary and familial monument.

The church of Santa Maria in Campitelli, as it stands today, was begun under Pope Alexander VII to designs by Carlo Rainaldi around 1660.<sup>146</sup> Prior to Alexander VII's complete demolition and rebuilding another small church stood on the site, this structure was built under Paul V in 1619 and then substantially altered and further decorated in 1642 [Fig. 5.50]. The earlier church was simple in plan, with a transept and nave with two chapels on either side. By the mid-sixteenth century the Albertoni held the rights to the first two altars in the church, that to the left of the entrance dedicated to S. John the Baptist and that to the right to the Annunziata. The latter was suppressed after an apostolic visit in 1564, leaving the Albertoni with one altar dedicated to S. John the Baptist.

The earliest reference we have to an altar dedicated to St. Joseph comes from the 1567 will of Quintilia Paluzzi Albertoni, Angelo's great aunt. Quintilia left funds to permanently attach a priest to the altar of S. Joseph.<sup>147</sup> There is no indication of this altar's location or if it belonged to the Albertoni family. Subsequent generations do

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<sup>146</sup> On the history of the church and its place in Rainaldi's architecture see: Rudolf Wittkower, "Carlo Rainaldi and the Roman architecture of the full baroque," *The Art Bulletin* 19 (1937): 242-313. Clement X allotted substantial funds to complete the construction of the new church, begun under Alexander VII. While he no doubt would have had the church completed in any case, the fact that his nephews were so closely tied to the building and the neighbourhood most likely increased his generosity in funding the construction. Clement X's financial donations are documented in a variety of sources including the *avvisi*: "Nostro Signore ha donate molte migliaia di Scudi alli Padri della Religione della Madre de Dio della Nation Lucchese per tirare avanti la fabrica di Santa Maria in Portico a Campitelli, e detta mattina si è dato principio ad'essa." BAV, Barb. lat. 6410. Feb 25, 1673. 57r-v.

<sup>147</sup> "4.a La Sig.ra Quintilia Paluzzi Albertoni per suo Testamento de 28 Novembre 1566 /sic/ per gli atti di Tarquinio Nunzi Not. Cap.istitui all'Altare di S. Giuseppe una Cappellaria quotidiana con assegnare al Cappellano 25 d'oro frutti annui di un Censo, lasciando la nomina in arbitrio del Fratello D. Angelo, e quindi agli Eredi Altieri." Archivio Parrocchia Santa Maria in Portico in Campitelli Roma, Mss. C1 Cappella Altieri, 3r.

not seem to have sustained a marked interest in the church - various Albertoni family members and allies, such as Baldassare Albertoni and Mario Delfini, left only nominal sums to their parish church – a one time donation of fifty scudi by Baldassare and one of one hundred scudi by Mario.<sup>148</sup>

The next chronological reference to an altar to St. Joseph contradicts the previous evidence that the altar was added by 1567. Ludovico Marracci, a Seicento priest at S. Maria in Campitelli, records that:

...our fathers added another two altars in the new church when it grew for the second time in 1642, one in honor of S. Joseph, husband of the holy Virgin, made of precious marbles and with an image of the saint [which was] the work of the famous painter Pietro Mignardo, [and paid for by] signor Giuseppe Benedetti...<sup>149</sup>

Marracci's 'Pietro Mignardo' is Pierre Mignard, the French painter. In his 1719 *Abecedario Pittorico* Antonio Orlandi confirms that Mignard made a painting for Santa Maria in Campitelli, but gives no further details. Mignard's early career in Rome is poorly understood; only a few works have been identified and the Campitelli altarpiece is not one of them. Marracci's identification of Giuseppe Benedetti as the patron suggests that in the mid-seventeenth century the altar belonged to the Benedetti, and not the Albertoni.<sup>150</sup> As we shall see, the dedication to St. Joseph

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<sup>148</sup> See: ASR, Notai Auditor Bellus 871, 406r. AC, Fidecommessi, Pr. 2. Fasc. 54, 370r. This is a copy of Baldassare's will, inserted into that of his son, Antonio.

<sup>149</sup> Marracci and Corrado 1871, 137-8. "Ne aggiunsero poi i nostri PP. Altri due nei bracci della nuova chiesa quando la seconda volta fu accresciuta nell'anno 1642, uno in onore di s. Giuseppe sposo della b. Vergine fatto di marmi preziosi, con un'immagine del med. Santo opera del famoso pittore Pietro Mignardo con il danaro del signor Giuseppe Benedetti gentiluomo lucchese, e sacerdote di singolar pietà, il quale non mai volle mentre visse che si sapesse da alcuno, che egli l'avesse fatto fare: e l'altro dedicato al ssmo. Crocifisso benchè poi fosse destinato alla venerazione di s. Anna. A questi altari fu a Innocenzo X conceduta l'indulgenza de' sette altari di s. Pietro come si vede nel breve spedito sotto il 16 Novembre 1645."

<sup>150</sup> Mignard's work is noted in passing in Pedroli Bertoni, which says that the altar belonged to the Benedetti, but provides no further evidence. Pedroli Bertoni 1987, 15. Ferraironi says that the Altieri acquired the chapel toward the end of the eighteenth century, which obviously cannot be correct, but perhaps it is a misprint for XVIIth century? Ferraironi 1933, 56. On

would prove to be particularly suited to Angelo Albertoni Altieri. It is possible that the rights to the altar were transferred to his protection only after Rainaldi's rebuilding of the church in the 1660's.

Angelo's funerary chapel has a double dedication to S. Joseph and the Beata Ludovica Albertoni. The connections between Ludovica and this site are particularly strong – this was her parish church, and the house that she grew up in was found on the site of the current church.<sup>151</sup> This fact may provide another explanation for one of the chapel's architectural features, the tall thin windows to either side of the altar [Fig. 5.51]. These clearly serve a practical purpose, as the chapel is very narrow and dark (an effect only heightened by the decision to clad the whole space in dark marbles), and the windows provide essential illumination. Cipriani was praised by Vaccondio in the latter's ode to the chapel for just this feature, as it was seen as a kind of Berninian use of a hidden light source.<sup>152</sup> However, this light is quite limited – there are now, and were always intended to be, contiguous buildings that butt directly up against the south wall of the church.<sup>153</sup> It does not appear that these windows ever would have provided the kind of light that would fully illuminate the altar, and I would suggest that they have another purpose. Through the windows we currently see the brick walls of adjoining buildings, and this was likely always the case. All the early sources on the church mention that a wall from Ludovica Albertoni's house, featuring frescoes with the family stemma, was still standing on the site of the new church, and that it

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Mignard in Rome see: *Pierre Mignard "le Romain". Actes du colloque organisé au musée du Louvre par le Service culturel le 29 septembre 1995* (Paris: La Documentation Française, 1997).

<sup>151</sup> The house was demolished during construction of the new church in 1619. Schiava, BAV, Vat. lat. 13521, 3v.

<sup>152</sup> Anselmi 1993, 206.

<sup>153</sup> Now there are private residences; Rainaldi planned annexed buildings for the priests attached to Santa Maria in Campitelli.

was somehow incorporated into this chapel.<sup>154</sup> As well as providing essential light, Cipriani's windows seem to have been intended to provide a view of that remaining wall (even if the frescoes are long gone), making the whole altar wall a kind of massive reliquary.

The main focus of the Altieri chapel is Lorenzo Ottoni's sculpted altarpiece depicting the beata Ludovica adoring the Holy Family, who appear suspended in mid-air on a bank of clouds, with Mary passing the Christ child down to Joseph [Fig. 5.46]. The vision takes place in a church, as indicated by the step which rises up to the altar, visible in the bottom right with its cloth covering, and the towering columns that frame the scene at the left. Ottoni clearly drew on Bernini's famous statue of the beata [Fig. 5.43], particularly in her pose, although this can be found in numerous other roughly contemporary works, such as Ercole Ferrata's *Stoning of St. Emerenziana* (S. Agnese, Piazza Navona). A more specific reference to Bernini's work is found in the lace work on the altar cloth, which pointedly refers to a similar detail on the pillow under the beata's head in the Franciscan chapel, with its intricate lace border.

In theory the subject is not unusual, as there are many altarpieces showing analogous scenes in Seicento Rome, for example paintings by Orazio Gentileschi and Pietro da Cortona, which show visions experienced by Santa Francesca Romana and St. Francis, respectively [Fig. 5.52, 5.53]. However, the subject of the Altieri altarpiece is not as apparent as it seems. Ludovica's life was carefully documented in a 1672 biography by Father Giovanni Paolo, who drew on the testimony provided at her beatification hearings.<sup>155</sup> He records that Ludovica would often be found rapt in front of the altar, or levitating after having received the host, often with her arms

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<sup>154</sup> Pedroli Bertoni 1987, 104-115.

<sup>155</sup> Giovanni Paolo di Roma 1672.

outstretched in the form of the cross, yet there is no mention of the beata ever having a vision of the Holy Family. It would appear that this subject was fabricated specifically to accommodate the double dedication of the chapel.

At the centre-foreground of the composition is one of the defining elements of Ludovica's iconography, two small loaves of bread studded with coins. As seen in Gaulli's altarpiece, she would distribute these loaves to the poor, theoretically shrouding her charity in anonymity and providing both physical and financial help. Placed as they are, directly above the altar, Ottoni makes a clear connection between this bread of charity and the bread of the Eucharist, the body of Christ, effectively fusing the idea of salvation through good works and Christ's sacrifice.

I would propose here another source for Ottoni's work, with the partial aim of bringing attention to a painting about which little is known [Fig. 5.54]. This is an altarpiece by the Lucchese duo of Giovanni Coli and Francesco Gherardi, now in the Galleria Corsini in Rome.<sup>156</sup> The compositions are closely related, with the Holy Family arranged in a descending diagonal, the imposing columns that rise up at the left, and the placement of the 'witnessing' figure in a slight crouch in the bottom left, which in the case of the Coli/Gherardi is S. John the Evangelist with his gospel in hand. The two works are also similar in the emphasis placed on the intimate and tender relationship between Christ and Joseph, emphasizing Joseph's particular gift, his physical proximity to Christ. In the late seventeenth-century paintings and prints

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<sup>156</sup> On Coli and Gherardi see: Nancy Dunn-Czak, "Coli and Gherardi: two little-known painters of the Roman Baroque," *Apollo* 102 (1975): 110-114. The painting is dated to around 1670, but we have no knowledge of its intended destination or who commissioned it; given the emphasis on Christ's father it was likely intended for an altar that included Joseph among the dedicatees.

abound that portray Joseph's special relationship with the Christ child [Fig. 5.55].<sup>157</sup> He was venerated as the protector of Mary and the child, and an essential element in the divine plan, as he protected Mary from social ostracism and prevented the devil from learning of the Christ child's arrival. Francesco de Sales referred to the Holy Family as an earthly trinity, a reflection of the celestial one.<sup>158</sup>

Another likely source for Ottoni's work is the late seventeenth-century altarpiece by Antonio Raggi for the Ginetti Chapel in the church of S. Andrea della Valle [FIG. 5.56]. In the contract for the work the patron requests an image of "the Virgin holding the Child, an infant St John the Baptist, St. Joseph with his Glory...".<sup>159</sup> In 1678 Federico Franzini interpreted the subject as the angel announcing the mystery of the Incarnation to Joseph, while a century later Titi described it as the angel ordering Joseph to flee with his family into Egypt.<sup>160</sup> Patrizia Cavazzini affirms the legitimacy of both of these readings, as there are clear references to both episodes, but further suggests that the angel is advising Joseph of his future bodily resurrection and assumption into heaven at the Last Judgment, hence his startled but pleased reaction.<sup>161</sup> The Ginetti chapel is related to the Altieri chapel

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<sup>157</sup> On Joseph in the Renaissance see: Carolyn C. Wilson, *St. Joseph in Italian Renaissance Society and Art. New Directions and Interpretations* (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2001).

<sup>158</sup> Emile Mâle, *L'art religieux après le Concile de Trente: étude sur l'iconographie de la fin du XVI siècle, du XVII, du XVIII siècle; Italie, France, Espagne, Flandres* (Paris: Colin, 1932), 312. "Marie, Jésus et Joseph, c'est une Trinité en terre, qui représente en quelque façon la Sainte Trinité." Joseph is also the patron saint of the 'good death', hence the popularity of the scene of his *transito*, but this role does not seem to have been emphasized in the Altieri altarpiece.

<sup>159</sup> Patrizia Cavazzini, "The Ginetti Chapel at S. Andrea della Valle," *The Burlington Magazine* 141 (1999): 405.

<sup>160</sup> Cavazzini 1999, 405.

<sup>161</sup> Cavazzini's reading is prompted by the term 'glory' in the contract, which Jeronimo Gracian, author of the most popular Counter-Reformation text on the saint, used to describe Joseph in paradise. The use of the term 'glory' in the Altieri contract may have similar echoes, but in our case it is not used with specific reference to Joseph, but rather to the miracle of Christ's presence and Joseph's comprehension. Cavazzini 1999, 406.

not only in the similarly themed altarpiece, but also in the inclusion of statues of praying figures on the side walls of the chapel [Fig. 5.57], in this case full length figures of Cardinals Marzio and Giovanni Francesco Ginetti, the former executed by Antonio Raggi in the early 1680's, the latter by Alessandro Rondone in 1703.<sup>162</sup> Given the devotional relationship between the statues and the altarpiece, Cavazzini argues that the entire ensemble is meant to be read as offering the promise of salvation to the Ginetti cardinals, as well as Joseph; this message is likely inherent in the Altieri altarpiece as well.

Finally, these two chapels are linked by similar family circumstances. In the course of the Ginetti chapel's construction their name too died out; they also resorted to adoption, but that plan failed and by the time Giovanni Francesco's statue was installed in 1703 the Ginetti name was vanishing. Although the inception of the chapel pre-dates the end of the family, the Ginetti must have had dynastic concerns in mind when they began the project, as by the late seventeenth century their hopes already rested with a lone female descendent. Raggi's altarpiece represents both the heavenly and the earthly Trinities; the choice of the subject, with its heavy emphasis on Joseph, may also represent the Ginetti family's desire to secure the future of their lineage through recourse to the most celebrated of earthly fathers and one of the most powerful of intercessors.

In the contract drawn up between Angelo Altieri and Ottoni for the Campitelli altarpiece, Angelo requested a depiction of:

the Madonna with the Child, and Saint Joseph over the clouds with the flowering rod, with [a] glory of angels and seraphim all around, and with the

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<sup>162</sup> These types of figures are of course a topos that go back to early works by Bernini and Algardi, for example in the Mellini Chapel in S. Maria del Popolo and in the Raimondi Chapel in S. Pietro in Montorio.



Beata Ludovica in the act of adoration with a putto at her feet, and figures in the distance in such a way that they express the saint's charity.<sup>163</sup>

The contract is quite specific, and the executed work follows it closely. The 'figure in the distance' must be the individual who pokes his or her head through the columns at the left, although in the end this figure functions more as a witness to the beata's spiritual experience than a reference to charity. The contract also seems to support Francesco Ferraironi's hypothesis that the putto at Ludovica's feet is recording her acts of charity to the poor; the emphasis on documentation may reflect the patron's ongoing hope that a canonization process be opened for his holy ancestor.<sup>164</sup>

St. Joseph is a saint particularly associated with the Counter-Reformation, as it was in this period that his cult grew in popularity and spread throughout Europe, particularly under the influence of Teresa of Avila, Francesco de Sales, and the Jesuits.<sup>165</sup> His feast day, March 19<sup>th</sup>, was extended to the entire church by Gregory XV in 1621, and toward the end of the seventeenth century we begin to see the introduction of new iconographies celebrating him, such as the depiction of his death. The Altieri altarpiece depicts various aspects of Joseph's spiritual gifts: he was the first to adore Christ after the child's birth, he was one of the few to enjoy an intimate personal relationship with Christ as a child, and he was the chosen protector of the

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<sup>163</sup> "la Madonna S.sma con il Bambino, e S. Gioseppe sopra le nuvole con il bastone fiorito con gloria d'Angeli e Serafini intorno colla Beata Ludovica in atto d'adoratione con putto a piedi di essa, e figure in lontananza in forma che esprimano la carità di essa santa..." Anselmi, "Sebastiano Cipriani", 213. The contract with Ottoni is conserved in the ASR, Notai A.C., b. 934, 16 July 1696, cc. 679-689 and 692.

<sup>164</sup> Ferraironi 1933, 57. Giovanni Paolo's explanation of the meaning of Ludovica's book in general is different; he describes her iconography as: "...e con un libro nella destra mano poggiato al petto; esprimendo in ciò le eroiche virtù della Beata: mentre il pane esprime l'amore, e carità prodigiosa verso de' poveri, mentre (come dissi di sopra) dentro del pane dava loro nascosamente oro, & argento, e nel libro significando l'altissima contemplatione della stessa Beata; mentre del continuo alro non faceva, che meditar la legge di Dio." Giovanni Paolo di Roma 1672, 264.

<sup>165</sup> On Joseph, his cult and its iconography see: Mâle 1932, 309-325.

Holy Family.<sup>166</sup> The upper half of the Altieri altarpiece presents a vision of Joseph adoring the newly-born Christ child, making a subtle parallel between the twin themes of the Incarnation and Christ's sacrifice and redemption in the Eucharistic bread below. Jeronimo Gracian, who wrote one of the most popular and frequently printed Counter-Reformation texts on St. Joseph, claimed that the saint is the perfect intercessor as "asking God for mercy, nothing was denied to him."<sup>167</sup> The vision depicted in Ottoni's altarpiece presents Joseph surrounded by his spiritual gifts and illustrates his role as an ideal intercessor.

Joseph's common attribute of the flowering rod, seen in Vincenzo de' Rossi's depiction of the saint in the Pantheon [Fig. 5.58] and stipulated in the Altieri contract, was drawn from apocryphal gospels, where it appears as a portent that Joseph was Mary's chosen spouse. It is an attribute that underscores his role as the protector of the Holy Family, a role that came to be interpreted as a kind of earthly substitute for God the Father. Conspicuously placed at the centre of the composition, it acts as a fulcrum between the two worlds depicted, the real and the visionary. With its associations of paternal protection, the flowering rod is the key to the significance of this scene in the context of Angelo Altieri's burial chapel.

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<sup>166</sup> Luigi Abele Redigonda, "La Summa de donis Sancti Ioseph di Isidoro Isolani," in *Saint Joseph a l'epoque de la Renaissance (1450-1600)* (Montreal: Centre de recherche et de documentation oratoire Saint-Joseph, 1977): 214. "De dono sancti Ioseph quo primus adoravit Christum natum post beatam Virginem." Angels were said to have ministered the event, which San Gaetano described around 1521 saying: "The faith too of Joseph seeing the womb voided and the Infant brought forth so quickly, so spotlessly, so expeditiously, would have experienced the fulfillment of the words, "what is born of her is the Holy Spirit". Together with the Mother who had just given birth, Joseph could adore the Lord." Timothy Sparks, "Cajetan on Saint Joseph," in *Saint Joseph a l'epoque de la Renaissance (1450-1600)* (Montreal: Centre de recherche et de documentation oratoire Saint-Joseph, 1977): 274-5.

<sup>167</sup> José Antonio del Niño Jesús, "Fray Jeronimo Gracian de la Madre de Dios y su Summario de las Excelencias del glorioso S. Joseph, esposo de la Virgen Maria o Josephina (1597)," in *Saint Joseph a l'epoque de la Renaissance (1450-1600)* (Montreal: Centre de recherche et de documentation oratoire Saint-Joseph, 1977): 319. "...se vio en ocasiones de amor donde, pidiendo mercedes a Dios, ninguna cosa se le negara...", "if he saw an occasion of love given, asking god for mercy, nothing was denied to him."

When Angelo and his only son took on the Altieri name the Albertoni line was extinguished. The decision was clearly made for sound economic reasons – in an inventory drawn up in 1666, before their adoption by Clement X, nearly every item in Paluzzo's apartments is described as old, broken, torn, or all three.<sup>168</sup> They made a kind of Mephistophelean bargain with Cardinal Emilio Altieri – the three were constrained to abandon their name and family palace, but in turn they made the significant social leap from a middling noble family to a papal clan. Angelo appears never to have fully integrated into the Altieri family, remaining closely tied to the Albertoni. He moved back to Palazzo Albertoni toward the end of his life and was recorded as a resident there in parish records from 1692 until his death in 1706.<sup>169</sup> St. Joseph is thus a particularly apt intercessor for Angelo – a paternal protector, Joseph submitted to larger forces (in his case the will of god) in the interest of the larger good. In seventeenth century painting Joseph was often shown in deep shadow, a reference to his role as the hidden protector of the holy family.<sup>170</sup> This is a character that must have resonated with Angelo Altieri as it reflected his own role, and his decision to renounce his family name in order to improve his family's economic and social fortunes, securing the well-being of his descendents.

Considering the relationship between the tombs and the altarpiece further confirms this reading of the altarpiece's significance. The tombs are lavish works,

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<sup>168</sup> See Appendix 5.3 Altieri, Doc. 5.

<sup>169</sup> Archivio Vicariato, *Stati d'Anime, Santa Maria in Campitelli*, 1692, 246r. He is then recorded in each subsequent year until his death. His burial chapel was begun in 1695, thus it is possible that part of the motivation to move back to his original parish was to be able to keep a close eye on the chapel's development.

<sup>170</sup> On this aspect of Joseph's iconography see, primarily, the discussion surrounding Nicholas Poussin's *Holy Family on the Steps*. *A painting in focus: Nicolas Poussin's "Holy family on the steps"* (Cleveland, OH: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1999); Joseph F. Chorprenning, "The enigma of St Joseph in Poussin's Holy Family on the steps," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 60 (1998): 276-281; Howard Hibbard, *Poussin: the Holy Family on the steps* (London: Lane, 1974).

executed entirely in rich, deeply colored marbles, yet their material luxuriousness is contradicted by the austerity of the inscriptions – *NIHIL*, nothing, and *UMBRA*, shadow, for Angelo and Vittoria respectively. In his will Angelo requests that the inscriptions read *Pulvis*, dust, on his tomb, and *Nihil*, nothing, on that of Vittoria's.<sup>171</sup> Angelo refers to these inscriptions as 'memoria.' Why the word choice was altered we do not know. These inscriptions are striking for their self-abnegation. As often pointed out, they make a marked contrast with the nearby Capizucchi pyramid tombs, which are entirely covered in text recording the deeds and glory of the deceased.<sup>172</sup> A revealing conceptual comparison for the Altieri tombs is Antonio Barberini's famous tomb slab in the Capuchin church of the SS. Concezione, which reads only: HIC JACET PULVIS, CINIS, ET NIHIL, "Here lies dust, ashes, and nothing." [Fig. 5.59] Had the Altieri tombs received the inscriptions originally requested by Angelo, 'Pulvis' and 'Nihil', they would have directly reflected the Barberini inscription, further underscoring their conceptual modesty by referring to the best-known example of such an approach to personal commemoration.<sup>173</sup>

Drawing perhaps directly on Antonio Barberini's example, the inscriptions on the Altieri tombs present striking examples of modesty and humility, while the busts act out a dynamic eternal prayer for salvation [Fig. 5.60]. On the right wall, Vittoria's bust turns out to the nave drawing the viewer in to the shadowy space of the chapel.

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<sup>171</sup> Anselmi 1993, 215 n. 28. ASR, 30 Notai Capitolini, L. Rosselliuse, uff. 14, Testamenti, cc. 147-180, 10 novembre 1706.

<sup>172</sup> See: Joseph Connors, "Alliance and enmity in Roman Baroque urbanism," *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana* 25 (1989): 245-57. The current complete anonymity of the Altieri tombs is misleading, as originally there were inscriptions over each tomb with their respective names, the day of their death, and their age in banderoles held by the putti flying above the tombs; these have since been lost. However, even with the banderoles, these monuments would have been decidedly thin on personal information and the visual emphasis is certainly on the lower inscriptions.

<sup>173</sup> Vittoria died in 1686, before the chapel was conceived, and so had no direct influence on the development of the work.

On the left wall Angelo turns toward the altar, one hand on his heart, commending himself to his kin, the Beata Ludovica – the scene can be imagined as a sprawling version of the traditional representation of a patron being ushered into a holy scene by their patron saint, here splintered and reformulated in three-dimensional space. Ludovica in turn turns to Joseph who, as he takes the Christ child, illustrates the root of his role as the ideal intercessor. Angelo's tomb, in the context of the chapel decorations, visually enacts a replica of his own actions in life. As an individual Angelo places himself second to the care for future generations, enacted here through the continued spiritual protection of a holy ancestor, Ludovica Albertoni, who will eternally intercede for her descendents. The Altieri chapel thus puts the lie to Panofsky's quip that later baroque tombs tend to be about being "remembered, rather than saved."<sup>174</sup> Here the patron is undeniably 'remembered', but he is commemorated primarily as a devoted servant of his ancestors and his descendents, saving himself through the preservation of the memory of his beatified kin.

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<sup>174</sup> Erwin Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1964), 70.

## CONCLUSION

Examining ‘exceptions to the rules’, as seen in the preceding four case studies of papacies where the relationship between the pope and his nephew fell outside the norm allows us to reconsider the reality and significance of fundamental aspects of early modern Roman society. Each case is fundamentally different and characterized by differing particulars: Cinzio Aldobrandini with his thorny character and rivalry with Pietro, Scipione Borghese’s marked interest in the arts and secure position in the Borghese papacy, Astalli’s dramatic rise and fall, and finally the Altieri nephews’ dominance over their uncle and general unpopularity. However, some general observations can be made.

Antonio Menniti Ippolito has noted that in Seicento thought cardinal nephews “in the end were almost assimilated into the figure of the pope himself, their benefactor, as if all things considered they constituted a single body...”<sup>1</sup> Menniti Ippolito’s observation gets to the crux of the issues surrounding adoption within the papacy. For the papal nephew to function effectively the identification between himself and his uncle had to be total. Without that identification the nephew could lose trust on both sides: from the pope, who could be led to doubt his nephew’s loyalty to the family, and from ambassadors and the curia, who could question whether the nephew was truly effective when presenting their petitions to the pope and bargaining on their behalf. In the case of aggregated nephews the identification was present, since there were blood ties between the pope and nephew, yet the

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<sup>1</sup> Antonio Menniti Ippolito, “Nepotisti e Antinepotisti: I “conservatori” di curia e i pontefici Odescalchi e Pignatelli,” in *Riforme, religione e politica durante il pontificato di Innocenzo XII (1691-1700)*, ed. Bruno Pellegrino (Galatina, Lecce: Congedo, 1994), 236. “Costoro, nella percezione dei contemporanei, finivano poi quasi con l’essere assimilati, come se costituissero in definitiva un solo corpo, alla stessa figura del pontefice loro benefattore...”

appearance of solidarity needed to be continuously reinforced. With adopted nephews like Camillo Astalli and the Altieri that unity had to be fabricated, and as we have seen the process was far from smooth. A. D. Wright has gone so far as to suggest that adoption, specifically referring to the case of Innocent X and Camillo Astalli, signifies “a system on the verge of collapse.”<sup>2</sup> While Wright’s phrasing is perhaps hyperbolic, a consideration of connections between adoption and the end of the system of nepotism is warranted.

One way to assess whether these adoptions had an effect on how papal government functioned is to consider what took place in the papacies immediately succeeding them, as it was common for a new pope to attempt to reverse or rectify the unpopular legacies of their predecessors. Innocent X was succeeded by Pope Alexander VII Chigi (1655-67). Chigi is known for the anti-nepotistic stance he took at the outset of his papacy, which Menniti Ippoliti has characterized as the “most controversial” on the part of a seventeenth-century pope, and that Rodèn has argued was in part a reaction to the abuses of the Pamphili pontificate.<sup>3</sup> Although he was not the only pope to do so, Alexander VII turned to the College of Cardinals at the opening of his pontificate to ask their opinion about whether it was appropriate for papal relatives to be present at the court in Rome.<sup>4</sup> Although in the end Alexander VII

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<sup>2</sup> A. D. Wright, *The Early Modern Papacy. From the Council of Trent to the French Revolution, 1564-1789* (London: Longman, 2000), 114. “The attempt to preserve a familial link in the right-hand assistantship to the papacy produced the ultimate resort of adoption, signifying a system on the verge of collapse. But the pope’s adopted nephew proved so obviously unsuitable that even this artificial familial connection had to be ignominiously abandoned.”

<sup>3</sup> Marie-Louise Rodèn, “Cardinal Decio Azzolino, Queen Christina of Sweden and the Squadrone Volante: Political and Administrative developments at the Roman Curia, 1644-1692” (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1992), 86. Those abuses would encompass not only the promotion and subsequent scandal of Astalli, but also all of the criticism levelled against Donna Olimpia Maidalchini Pamphili.

<sup>4</sup> Rodèn 1992, 88. ASV, Misc. Arm. XV, n. 90. *Relationi e Raguagli Diversi* f. 1. “Lettera scritta di proprio pugno da Alessandro VII, con la quale dimanda parere ad N. N. intorno à

ceded to nepotistic temptations, Rodèn argues that his papacy “opened the debate on institutionalized nepotism during its last phase.”<sup>5</sup> The fact that Cardinal Fabio Chigi was elected pope at all can also be seen as an indirect effect of Camillo Astalli’s failed tenure as an adopted nephew. Again, quoting Rodèn:

The secession of the *Squadron Volante* [a group of reform-minded cardinals acting outside of the traditional ties of clientage] from the larger Pamphili faction in the conclave following Innocent’s death would have been impossible had it not been for the chaotic situation this Pope left behind. Traditions of obedience to the Papal Nephew as leader of a faction were well established; the inhibitions against breaking this unwritten code would have been too strong had not Innocent’s “nephew” been simply adopted and, on top of that, in disgrace and exile at the time of the Pope’s death.<sup>6</sup>

Astalli’s election and failure thus affected not only the general climate of opinion surrounding nepotism, but also had an effect on one of the central rituals of the papal court, the election of a new pope. By adopting Astalli, Innocent X demonstrated that it was crucial that the pope have a ‘nephew’, but that anyone could be chosen to fill that role, so long as they remain loyal to the pontiff. This exposed the position as a façade, undermining the fundamental justifications for nepotism: that it is right to favour relatives, and that those relatives are unquestionably loyal.

Given all of the criticisms levelled at the Altieri nephews it is not surprising to find a reaction in the subsequent papacy of Innocent XI Odescalchi (1676-89).

Innocent XI’s nephew Livio Odescalchi was barred from power, he was not named papal nephew, nor given apartments in the Vatican or positions with substantial

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venire i proprii Parenti.” Urban VIII had also requested, twice, counsel from a group of theologians as to whether nepotism was acceptable or not. Their conclusions were in favour of the nephews.

<sup>5</sup> Rodèn 1992, 91.

<sup>6</sup> Rodèn 1992, 57. Roden notes further that “the main issue discussed in *relazioni* and correspondence from Alexander’s pontificate was the banishing of his relatives from Rome and his later revocation of that decision.” Rodèn 1992, 91.



incomes.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, Innocent XI requested studies into nepotism, and gathered the material gleaned from those studies to draft a bull against the practice. The bull was submitted in 1677, but never published, as the pope was advised against it by several influential cardinals, among them Decio Azzolino.<sup>8</sup> Azzolino maintained the traditional defense of nepotism. Starting with the assumption that there would always be relatives of the pope in the Curia, he argues that these nephews must be treated well so that they will not fall under the sway of a foreign power and either share secrets of the papal government or allow the interest of those foreign powers to unduly affect papal policy.<sup>9</sup> Although Innocent XI's proposal for reform was not enacted in the end, its timing is significant. The Altieri papacy exposed the risks inherent in institutionalized nepotism and in the need to have a 'nephew' at any cost; Paluzzo's adopted status rendered the position artificial and perhaps contributed to the increasing importance of the position of the Secretary of State. Moreover, when a definitive bull ending nepotism was composed under Innocent XII Pignatelli (1691-1700) the Altieri papacy was absolutely at issue. Innocent XII had a kind of bill made up, indicating how much his predecessors had spent on their relatives. The Altieri came in second for the highest amount of income, the nephews receiving 1,200,000 scudi from the Camera Apostolica. The only family to receive more than Clement X's relatives were the Pamphili.<sup>10</sup>

The patronage of these aggregated and adopted nephews played a significant part in the increasing alienation of the position of cardinal nephew from the goals and ambitions of the church. Both Cinzio Passeri Aldobrandini and Scipione Borghese

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<sup>7</sup> Rodèn 1992, 174. Although Innocent XI did sign over to Livio his own ecclesiastical incomes, giving all his "beni patrimoniali" to him. Menniti Ippolito 1994, 239.

<sup>8</sup> Rodèn 1992, 175.

<sup>9</sup> Rodèn 1992, 176.

<sup>10</sup> Menniti Ippolito 1994, 238, n. 16.

began their careers as cardinal patrons with devout commissions intended to project their respective images as princes of the church, dedicated first and foremost to pious undertakings.<sup>11</sup> As we have seen, in the first year of his cardinalate Cinzio published Tasso's *Lagrime* poems, which promoted the cardinal's image as an aesthetically astute and devout individual, an ecclesiastical prince on the rise. Borghese's earliest projects, the renovations and reconstructions of S. Gregorio Magno and S. Sebastiano fuori le mura, were perhaps assigned to him by the astute Paul V and were also pious undertakings. Both sites were particularly significant, S. Gregorio for its connections to Cesare Baronio and S. Sebastiano for its connection to Constantine and important collection of relics.<sup>12</sup> As Volker Reinhardt has noted, it is key that Scipione focused first on these ecclesiastical projects, that produced no income for the Borghese and that expressed his piety as a cardinal nephew, before turning to the sumptuous secular projects for which he is justly famed.<sup>13</sup> In this case art patronage functioned as a public expression of priorities: first the church, then the family.

In contrast, the adopted nephews considered in this dissertation broke with the pattern set by their aggregated predecessors. It does not appear that Astalli had any involvement with the main ecclesiastical Pamphili family project, the reconstruction of the church of S. Agnese in Piazza Navona, nor is there any evidence that he was engaged on other sacred projects. The few works he can be associated with were, instead, intended to ease his acceptance into the Pamphili family, and were inherently

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<sup>11</sup> Volker Reinhardt, "Le mécénat des cardinaux-neveux au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle et Scipione Caffarelli Borghese," in *Gli aspetti economici del mecenatismo in Europa secc. XIV – XVIII*, ed. Simonetta Cavaciocchi (Prato: Istituto Internazionale di Storia Economica "Francesco Datini", 1999), 18.

<sup>12</sup> Michael Hill, "The patronage of a disenfranchised nephew: Cardinal Scipione Borghese and the restoration of San Crisogono in Rome, 1618 – 1628," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 60 (2001): 434.

<sup>13</sup> Reinhardt 1994, 19.

personal and political, rather than ecclesiastical and public. Similarly, the Altieri nephews immediately set to work on personal, secular undertakings, first among them the reconstruction and decoration of the family palace on Piazza del Gesù. While Cardinal Paluzzo did commission Carlo Fontana to rebuild the dome of the fire-destroyed cathedral of Montefiascone, in Rome the image of the Altieri as patrons was dominated by the ever-expanding family palace.<sup>14</sup> The notable sacred projects that they did carry out were blatantly self-serving, chief among them the redecoration of the Altieri (previously Albertoni) chapel in the church of S. Francesco a Ripa by Bernini in 1674.

While it is no doubt an exaggeration to go as far as the anonymous commentator cited in Chapter 1 of this dissertation, who charged that “he who has no blood connection has no part in the desire for glory, and looks out for his own interests, nor do his thoughts go any higher,” it does appear that these adopted nephews concerned themselves first and foremost with stabilizing their position within their new family, rather than occupying themselves with their image as representatives of the church.<sup>15</sup> This may explain in part why the ambassadors from France, Venice, Spain, and the Holy Roman Empire felt they could be so bold as to suggest that the Altieri nephews, Paluzzo in particular, be removed from the governing papal family. The nephews did not push to present themselves first and foremost as men of the church and papal functionaries, instead focusing their energy on representing themselves as members of the papal family.

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<sup>14</sup> Hellmut Hager, “Die Kuppel des Domes in Montefiascone: zu einem borrominesken Experiment von Carlo Fontana,” *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 15 (1975): 145-168.

<sup>15</sup> Chapter 1, note 77. The same could be argued of Gaspare’s proposed equestrian portrait: while in theory presenting him as the head of the papal army, the indelicate ostentation of such a work has more to do with self-aggrandizement than with wise artistic-political manoeuvring.

Given the long and fraught historical and historiographic relationship between the church, the arts, and adoption it is curious to remember that a monument to an adoptive succession stands at the heart of the Vatican. The obelisk that now rises in Piazza San Pietro was brought to Rome, perhaps from Heliopolis, by the Emperor Gaius Caligula.<sup>16</sup> Caligula dedicated the monument to the emperors who had preceded and adopted him, Augustus and Tiberius. The dedication was recorded in an inscription added to the obelisk, identically on two sides: DIVO CAESARI DIVI IULII F. AUGUSTO / TIB. CAESARI DIVI AUGUSTI F. AUGUSTO / SACRUM.<sup>17</sup> The only obelisk in the city to remain standing from antiquity to the seventeenth century, the obelisk rose in the area now just to the south of St. Peter's, until 1586. In the summer of that year architect and engineer Domenico Fontana successfully moved the massive monument to its current location, and the process was a contemporary marvel, breathlessly recorded in contemporary prints and written descriptions.<sup>18</sup> An anonymous manuscript in the Vatican library entitled *Description of the Ancient & Noble families of Rome* describes Sixtus' decision to move the monument:

Having purged the city of these assassins [in reference to his crackdown on banditry outside Rome] [Sixtus V] gave himself over with all his soul to leaving an eternal memory of himself by erecting memorial structures. So, he ordered an obelisk of oriental granite, dedicated by the ancient Romans to Augustus and his *adoptive son* Tiberius, that was buried behind the sacristy of S. Peter's, to be moved, erecting it in the middle of the piazza with the efforts of the Cavaliere

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<sup>16</sup> On the obelisk, and for the following, see: Leros Pittoni and Gabrielle Lautenberg, *Roma felix: la città di Sisto V e Domenico Fontana* (Rome: Viviani, 2002), 82; Brian Curran, Anthony Grafton and Angelo Decembrio, "A Fifteenth-Century Site Report on the Vatican Obelisk," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 58 (1995): 235; Michele Mercati, *Gli obelischii di Roma*, ed. Gianfranco Cantelli (Bologna: Cappelli, 1981), 214-218. (originally published Rome, 1589); Bern Dibner, *Moving the obelisks: a chapter in engineering history in which the Vatican obelisk in Rome in 1586 was moved by muscle power, and a study of more recent similar moves* (Cambridge/Mass: M.I.T. Press, 1970), 21.

<sup>17</sup> Mercati 1981, 217.

<sup>18</sup> Domenico Fontana, *Della transportatione dell'obelischo Vaticano et delle fabbriche di Nostro Signore Papa Sisto V* (Rome: Domenico Basa, 1590).

Fontana, famous architect of those times, supporting it on the backs of four lions [italics mine].<sup>19</sup>

Sixtus V in turn memorialized the connection to the adoptive emperors in one of the inscriptions he had added to the monument, which reads:

SANCTISSIMAE CRUCI  
SIXTUS V. PONT. MAX.  
CONSECRAVIT  
E PRIORE SEDE AVULSUM  
ET CAES. AUG. AC TIB.  
I.L. ABLATUM M.D..XXXVI

Thus one of the most visible monuments in Vatican territory is a reminder of a social and political practice that shaped the governments of ancient and Seicento Rome but which has largely been forgotten. Like the obelisk itself, adoption was requisitioned and refashioned for papal purposes, giving a Christian face to a pagan practice. As a dynastic and political strategy adoption shaped the lives of key individuals in seventeenth-century Rome, and it is only by examining these poorly understood social interactions that we can reconstruct the motivations that underlay art patronage and production of the period.

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<sup>19</sup> BAV, Barb. lat. 4846, *Descrittione delle Famiglie Nobili & Antiche di Roma*, 152r-153r. “Onde simil sorte di gente nel sentir proferire il nome di Sisto, restava affatto spaventata tanta era la generosità, e rigore di questo giusto Pontefice = Purgata dunque la Città di questi sicarij si diede con tutto l’animo a lasciar memoria eterna di se coll’effettuazione di strutture memorande. Per la qual cosa fece trasportare un obelisco di granito orientale, dedicato da gl’antichi Romani ad Ottaviano Augusto, e Tiberio suo figliuolo adottivo, che resta sepolto da dietro la sagrestia di San Pietro in Vaticano, ergendolo nel mezo della Piazza coll’industria del Cav.re fontana famosissimo Architetto di quei tempi, facendolo sostenere dal dorso di quattro leoni dorati; E vi furono spesi in questa struttura 75975 scudi, e fu dedicato alla santissima croce.”

## APPENDIX 1: INTRODUCTION

## 1.1

Cesare Ripa. *Iconologia*. Edited by Piero Buscaroli (Turin: Fògola, 1986): 255-256.  
 \*Padua, 1618 edition of the text.

*Adozione*

Matrona ch'abbia nella sinistra una Folica, over Ossifraga, & la destra al collo d'un Giovane.

L'Adottione secondo alcuni è un'atto legale per consolatione di coloro che non hanno figlioli, che quasi imita la natura: ma perche si fa l'adottione anco da quelli che hanno figlioli, semplicemente cosi potrassi definire. L'Adottione è un legitimo atto per il quale uno si fa figliolo, che non è, & quasi imita la natura. All'adottione tribuirono i Romani maggior forza che non ha; come che l'Adottato lassasse la naturale sua consanguinità, & che gli adottati havessero consanguinità con i figli di quello che adottava. Claudio Imperatore nel giorno che si fece figlio Adottivo Nerone, se lo fece anco genero, como narra Dione, ma fece prima adottare Claudia sua figliola in un'altra famiglia della Gente Ottavia, per non parere che desse per moglie al fratello la sorella.

Matrona è l'Adottione, perche dovendo imitar la natura non può un minore adottare uno che sia maggiore d'età. Euripide in Menalippe tiene per pazzo uno che non ha figlioli a ricevere in casa sua esterna prole, e gli pare che dovrebbe sopportare con pazienza, se Dio non gli ha concesso figlioli proprij, senza andare a pigliar figli d'altri. Democrito per lo contrario è di parere, che un homo dovizioso si dovrebbe adottare un figliolo di qualche amico, perche lo può havere tale quale lo desidera.

La Folica alcuni dicono di color fosco di fuligine, altri che biancheggia, altri sia l'istessa che l'Erodio. Quella ch'hoggidì chiamasi in Roma Folica uccello acquatile è di colore negro, che tira un poco al bigio, hà il becco negro, & parimente li piedi. L'Ossifraga spetie d'aquila è ancor esa bigia di color ceneritio, Aristotele libro 8. cap. 3 dice che è di color cenere che biancheggia, berrettin chiaro, & che è più grande dell'aquila. Il Cardinale S. Pietro Damiano, che qui in Faenza riposa, vuole che la folica da Greci abbia la medema natura che da Plinio libr. x. cap. 3 & da Aristotele lib. 9. cap. 34. & lib. 6. c. 6 vien data all'Ossifraga, & che riceve con benignità il pollo scacciato dall'Aquila come suo figlio adottivo, & come suo naturale clementemente nutrisce tra suoi proprij parti. Per tal pietosa natura la Folica, overo Ossifraga è attissimo simbolo dell'adottione, la quale appresso gli Antichi Romani era molto in uso sicome anco l'alimentare figli d'altri, che ne meno erano in tutela, ne in adottione, ma erano tenuti come figli proprij, e davano à quelli il medesimo nome gentilitio della casata loro, come si vede nelle iscritioni stampate da Smetio.

I figli Adottivi con molto più ragione di questi Alunni pigliavano il nome della casata di coloro, che li adottavano, però la figura dell'Adottione tiene la destra al collo del giovane adottato, essendo l'abbracciamento segno d'accoglienza, & ricevimento. Dione lib. 46 ci avvertisce, che chi era adottato pigliava nova nominatione da chi adottava, ma riservava qualch'uno de nomi, che prima portava, formato alquanto in altra maniera: come Caio Ottavio che fù Augusto adottato da Caio Giulio Cesare, si chiamò Caio Giulio Ottaviano, e Tiberio Claudio Nerone adottato da Ottaviano si chiamò Tiberio Giulio Claudiano, il quale fù anco per testamento lassato figlio adottivo & herede da Marco Gallio Senatore: ma per quanto racconta Svetonio, s'astenne di pigliare il suo nome perche Gallio fù della parte contraria d'Augusto.

## 1.2

Biblioteca Vaticana, Vat. lat. 10857, 99r-103v.

Index [2r]

Poliza di Adottione, o Arrogatione fatta dal Duca di Bracciano, del Prencipe D. Livio, continente diversi patti di successione del second ne beni del Primo, et altri.

[99r]

*Poliza ~~sopra~~ [sic] [m?]ta gl'Ecc.ri Ssig.ri Duca di Bracciano e Prencipe D. Livio  
Odescalchi*

Per la presente ha valere come se fosse publico, e giurato Instr[ument]o Rogato per  
mano di publico notaro, sia noto, e manifesto come l'Eccmo Sig. D. Flavio  
Orsino Duca di Bracciano, tanto a nome suo proprio, come a nome del l'Eccmo  
Sig. Pnpe d. Lelio suo fratello ha stabilito, e concordato con l'Ecc.<sup>mo</sup> Sig.<sup>re</sup>  
Prencipe D. Livio Odescalchi l'inf[rascr]itte conventioni, e Capitoli da  
osservarsi inviolabilmente da ambe le parti anco con parola, e fede di  
P[ri]n[ci]pe Così.

Primo li sudetti Ss.<sup>ri</sup> Principi si protestano, e dichiarano di fare la presente e  
qualsivoglia altra disposizione, che sarà necessaria, inherendo alla licenza di  
poter acquistar bene di qualsivoglia sorte concessa al med.mo Sig.<sup>re</sup> D. Livio per  
Breve della S.ta Me: S'Innocenzo XI spedito sotto li 11 settembre 1679 et altre  
licenze di poter rispettivamente alienare concesse alli med.mi Ss.<sup>ri</sup> Orsini, tanto  
per memoriali, quanto per Chirografi Pontificij alli quali, et alli quali si habbia  
relazione, et anco quando faccia di bisogno riservato il speciale Beneplacito



Apostolico per fermezza del presente Contratto ò altra disposizione che in sequela di questo si farà, e non altrimenti qual beneplacito si dovrà impetrare da ambe le parti a loro cura, e spesa dell'Ecc.<sup>mo</sup> Sig.re D. Livio perche cosi.

Secondo. Il Sig.<sup>re</sup> Duca di Bracciano per sodisfare li suoi creditori, e dell'Ecc.<sup>ma</sup> Casa Orsini, da quali viene astretto in diversi [99v] Tribunali, e specialmente in Cong.<sup>ne</sup> de Baroni, et anco per unire il Ducato di Bracciano al Castello, e fortezza di Palo secondo la mente/monte della Sa: Me: di Pio 4.o per suo Breve dell'erezione di detta Ducato spedito l'anno 1560 ò altro più vero tempo, al quale ha deliberato di alienare e vendere e fare disposizione valevole con qualsivoglia titolo piu proprio, e proficuo conforme per la presente promette d'alienare, e vendere, e consentire alla disposizione, che si farà quando sarà ottenuto detta Beneplacito à favoure del medesimo S. Prencipe D. Livio, ed adesso per all'hora aliena e vende con le facolta dell'Ilma Cong.<sup>ne</sup> de Baroni tutti li suoi Beni Giurisdizionale e non Giurisdizionali, feudali, allodiali, luoghi de monti, stabili, censi, mobili Ragioni, et azzioni, multiplichì, eredità e fideicommissi in qualsivoglia luogo posti, et esistenti anco fuori dello stato Ecclesiastico con tutte le sue dipendenze, annessi e connessi, Juspatronati, et ogn'altra cosa da essi procendente, niuna esclusa eccettuate l'Infrascritte Riserve, e li beni, che si alienano sono li seguente, in modo che la specificazione di essi corpi più principali non pregiudichi alla generalità di sopra espressa=

La Città, Ducato, Territorio, e stato di Bracciano, sua fortezza, Palazzo, Lago,

Armeria, mobili, ville, et ogn'altra cosa da esso dipendente annesso, e connesso.

Il Palazzo di Roma à Pasquino che di presente abitare detti Ss.<sup>ri</sup> Orsini con tutte le

botteghe, stalle, fenili à S. [100r] Pantaleo, et ogn'altra cosa annesa, e connessa.

Il Castello, e Territorio di Galera con suoi annessi come di sopra.

La Terra, Territorio, Stato, e Ducato di S. Gemini durante le ragioni del l'Investitura,

et ogn'altra disposizione competenti al li Ss.<sup>ri</sup> Orsini.

La Terra, Territorio, e Castello di Torre con la Terra, e Territorio di Rocca antica in

Sabina con tutti gl'annessi durante le Ragioni dell'Investitura e di ogn'altra

disposizione competenti alli Ss.<sup>ri</sup> Orsini.

La Baronìa, e Piazza di Campo di Fiore nel modo, che si possiede dalli medesimi Ss.<sup>ri</sup>

Orsini.

La porzione di Piazza Navona.

La solfarata di Scrofano.

Oncie d'acqua num[ero] Trecento Cinquanta, ò altra piu vera quantità incondottata nel

condotto dell'Acqua Paola del Lago di Bracciano.

Le ragioni, et il Jus di recuperare le Tenute di Galera, quanto di S. Savo, Vicarello, et

altri annessi [Enfitestici?] dell'Abbazia di S. Sabba unita al Collegio Germanico,

con il quale pende la lite in Rota, quale ha deciso esser valide l'Investiture, e che

si deve purgare la mora con pagare scudi dodici mila ducento cinquanta m.ta di

Canoni, quale Somma dovrà pagare detto Sig.<sup>re</sup> Principe D. Livio Compratore, e

Cessionario, à favoure del quale s'intendono cedute, e trasferite tutte le ragioni,

che hanno, o pretendono havere dd.i Ecc.<sup>mi</sup> Ss.<sup>ri</sup> Orsini contro detta Collegio tanto per causa di domandare la rinovazione dell'Emphitensi, quanto per causa de frutti [100v] percetti, eccesso di possessi, et ogn'altro credito, e Ragioni sopra dette tenute.

Li feudi, e beni esistenti nel Dominio di Mantova spettanti adessi Ss.<sup>ri</sup> Orsini.

Le Ragioni sopra il Prencipato del l'Amatrice, che a dd.i Sig.<sup>ri</sup> Orsini in qualsivoglia modo competono, e possono competere.

Le Ragioni contro l'Eredità Borromea, che à med.<sup>mi</sup> Ss.<sup>ri</sup> Orsini competono, e possono come sopra competere.

Tutti li Juspatronati Ecclisiastici anco di Roma.

Le porzioni, e membri, del Palazzo di Monte Giordano riservate a dd.i Ss.<sup>ri</sup> Orsini nella vendita del Palazzo di m.te Giordano loro vita durante.

Tutti li mobili e Guardarobbe tanto di Bracciano, quanto del Palazzo di Pasquino di Roma.

E per ricompensa, e prezzo della sudetta alienazione, cessione, disposizione e vendita di tutti, e singoli beni sudetti il medesimo Eccmo Sig.<sup>re</sup> Principe D. Livio Odescalchi dovrà promettere, si come d'adesso per all'hora promette di far pagare mediate il S.r Giulio Sinibaldi, ò altro Idoneo Banchiero a Suo Conto con mandati della Cong.<sup>ne</sup> de Baroni e con le solite cautele di essa Cong.<sup>ne</sup> ò in altro miglior modo tutti li debiti li guidi contenuti nella relazione del Sig.<sup>re</sup> Clemente Mattei Perito eletto dalla medesima Cong.<sup>ne</sup> et ultimamente ivi eseguita con tutti li frutti di essi debiti e ... [sic] copia della quale si dovrà inseriro nell'Instrumento da celebrarsi solennemente come anco li debiti delle spese, che

occorreranno in [101r] qualsivoglia modo per causa del presente contratto e di pagare li debiti non li guidi contenuti in detta relazione in caso, che con sentenze de Giudici, ò in altro miglior modo si liquidassero, e che dalla Cong.<sup>ne</sup> del Baroni si dichiarasse competerli, e doverseli il pagamento sopra sudetti Beni, con condizione però, che non sia tenuto a pagare in tutto, e per tutto tanto per dd.i debiti liquidati, e giustificati, che saranno, quanto per ogn'altro pagamento somma, ò quantità maggiore di scudi quattro cento cinquanta mila, e non altrimenti et a quest'effetto il medesimo Sig.<sup>re</sup> duca di Bracciano à nome anco del Sig.<sup>re</sup> Principe D. Lelio suo fratello costituisce adesso per all'hora irrevocabile Prog.re come in cosa propria il Sig.<sup>re</sup> Principe D. Livio sudetto à poter opporre, come possono opporre li Ss.<sup>ri</sup> Orsini tutte l'eccettioni ad essi Competenti non solo per la nullità in esistenza, et illiquidità de med.mi Crediti, ma anco defetto di facoltà della Bolla, e Cong.<sup>ne</sup> de Baroni.

Dichiarando, che in caso, che per sua industria il Sig.<sup>re</sup> Pnpe D. Livio acquistasse, e riportasse dalli med.mi Creditori rilasso, donativo, ò cessione di Ragioni sopra sorte, ò frutti di qualsivoglia somma si conviene, che s'intenda sempre acquistato à favoure di detto Sig.re Principe Livio, quale in tal caso dovrà esser tenuto a pagare quel meno, che haverà acquistato, o li sarà stato ceduto, come sopra con defalcarsi dalli sudetti scudi quattro cento cinquanta mila promessi come sopra, e non altrimenti [101v]

Promette anco il medesimo Sig.<sup>re</sup> Pnpe D. Livio pagare il debito, che il Sig. Duca ha con la sua famiglia secondo quello, che veramente, e giustamente, si verificherà essemme debitore, purché non ecceda la somma di 7 mille m.ta in tutto e non altrimenti.

Et in oltre non amettendosi, che dd.i beni siano per hora valutati e potendo valere anco assai meno della sudetta somma di scudi quattrocento cinquanta mila consideratesi le riserve, e l'annullità à quali detto Sig.<sup>re</sup> Prencipe D. Livio si obliga, cosi anco potendo pretendersi forsi magg.re valore tutto quello che in qualsivoglia modo potesse pretendersi, che d.i benni valessero di più, il med.mo Sig.<sup>re</sup> Duca di Bracciano promette donare, si come adesso irrevocabilmente et int[i] vivos dona al med.mo Sig.<sup>re</sup> Prencipe D. Livio e promette di fare Instrumento con tutte le solennità necessarie, et opportune.

Anzi per la pienezza, e validità di questa volontà per ogn'altro miglior modo, fine, et effetto il medesimo Sig.<sup>re</sup> Duca di Flavio tanto ex persona propria, quanto à nome come sopra promette dichiarare, si come adesso per all'hora irrevocabilmente dichiara successore suo universale, e donatario non solo nella sudetti beni, ma anco in tutti altri suoi effetti, ragioni, azzioni, beni, crediti presenti, e futuri, credità, Canoni, fideicommissi, et ogn'altra cosa, che li spetti, e possa spettare, et appartenere in avvenire per qualsivoglia titolo. Il del medesimo Sig.<sup>re</sup> Principe D. Livio Odescalchi, come anche in tutte li Dignità, trattamenti, prerogative, [102r] preeminenze, titoli, precedenzae, et honori, che adesso il Sig.<sup>re</sup> Duca gode non solo nello stato, e Principato Ecclesiastico ma anco in qualsivoglia stato, corte, e luogo del mondo, perche cosi.

E si come per decoro e Dignità del Ducato di Bracciano la S. M.e di Pio 4.<sup>o</sup> ordino e stabili l'unione de Beni, cosi il medesimo Sig.<sup>re</sup> Duca di Bracciano volendo conservare l'antico splendore del medesimo Ducato, e della famiglia, Orsina vedendosi destituito di prole ha deliberato d'unire anche il Sanguine, e la famiglia

con contrahere la cognazione, e parentela legale con il medesimo Sig.<sup>re</sup> Principe D. Livio, promettendo, si come l'adesso promette di addotarlo, et arrogarlo per figlio, et incorporarlo nella Sua famiglia Orsina, e di fanno celebrare l'Instrumento, et atto dell'adottione, o arrogazione, che farà di bisogno anco con il beneplacito Apostolico in modo, che i Sig.<sup>re</sup> D. Livio habbia da stimarsi, e reputarsi per figlio adottivo, et arrogato con Ritenere il medesimo Cognome, e famiglia Orsina, perche cosi.

Le Riserve convenute a favoure del medesimo Sig.<sup>re</sup> Duca sono l'Infratte.

Primo si Riserva à favoure del Sig.<sup>re</sup> Duca, e Sig.<sup>re</sup> Principe D. Lelio Orsini sin tanto, che viveranno la totale Giurisdizione, titoli, e Dignità sopra Bracciano, e tutti li sudetti beni giurisdizionali esistenti nello Stato Ecclesiastico con facultà di deputare Gov.re, Aud.re, Barigello, Guardiani, [102v] de danni dati, et altri ministri di Giustizia con le pene, composizioni, et emolumenti, che nasceranno da detta Giurisdizione, ufficiali di milizia, Castellano della fortezza di Bracciano, Armarolo, e Guardarobba della medesima quali Barigello, Guardiano, Armarolo, e Guardarobba doveranno pagarsi dal medesimo Sig.<sup>re</sup> Principe D. Livio.

2.<sup>o</sup> si Riserva à favoure de medesimi SS.<sup>ri</sup> fratelli Orsini finche viveranno solamente la facultà di nominato alli beneficij, che vacheranno.

3.<sup>o</sup> si Riserva à favoure de medesimi Ss.<sup>ri</sup> Orsini il godimento, cioè l'abitatione per dd.i Ss.<sup>ri</sup> nel modo, che hora abitano con l'uso de mobili finche viveranno nel Palazzo di Pasquino con le stalle à S. Pantaleo, fenile, et annesso cosi anco la stalla à M.te Giordano, che di presente gode il Sig.<sup>re</sup> Principe D. Lelio, et anco il

godimento, abitazione, amministrazione di tutta la fortezza di Bracciano, e suo Palazzo dentro la medesima con li mobili finche viveranno.

- 4.<sup>o</sup> si Riserva à favoure de medesimi Ss.<sup>ri</sup> Orsini l'archivio domestico di Bracciano, con che se ne debba fare l'Inventario, come anco de mobili, et Armeria con obbligo di dd.i Sign.<sup>ri</sup> Orsini, e de loro guardarobba di renderne conto, et il medesimo Inventario si dovrà fare delli mobili, e Guardaroba del Palazzo di Pasquino con obblighi come sopra.
- 5.<sup>o</sup> Il Sig.<sup>re</sup> Principe D. Livio dovrà promettere, si come d'adesso per all'hora promette di pagare a dd.i Ecc.<sup>mi</sup> Ss.<sup>ri</sup> fratelli Orsini finche viveranno solamente per loro necessario aliment[e] [103r] un annuo assegnamento di scudi otto mila l'anno, cioè scudi cinque mila, e cinquecento al Sig.<sup>re</sup> Duca D. Flavio vivente, e scudi due mila, e cinquecento al Sig.<sup>re</sup> Principe D. Lelio vivente, con che le sopravvenisse la morte del Sig.<sup>re</sup> Duca subentrei il Sig.<sup>re</sup> D. Lelio nel titolo, e giurisdizione sopradetti, e nell'annua prestazione di scudi quattro mila, e cessi il pagamento delli altri scudi quattro mila, et all'incontro mancando il Sig.<sup>re</sup> Principe D. Lelio, cessi affatto la prestazione delli scudi due mila, e cinquecento, e succedendo la morte dell'uno, e dell'altro cesserà affatto ogni pagamento.
- 6.<sup>o</sup> Doverà parimente promettere, si come d'adesso promette di pagare altri scudi sedici il mese all'Ecc.<sup>ma</sup> Sig.<sup>re</sup> D. Ippolita sorella di dd.i Ss.<sup>ri</sup> Orsini Monaca nel monasterio di S. Lucia in Selci, finche la medesima vivera solamente.
- 7.<sup>o</sup> Le spese delle liti, risarcimenti per manutenzioni, e conservazione dei medesimi beni, pesi reali, come Canoni, e simili pesi annui fissi alli medesimi beni, come sono li feudi, che si pagano in Camera la vigilia di S. Pietro per S.ti Gemini,

Torri, e Rocca antica, che in tutti non ascendono ad annui scudi quaranta m.ta si dovranno pagare dal medesimo Sig.<sup>re</sup> D. Livio come Padrone, Padre di famiglia et universale successore come è di Ragione.

E per osservanza del presente Contratto, Cessione, Renunzia, [103v] donazione, vendita, addottione, et arrogazione promettono dd.i Ecc.<sup>mi</sup> Ss.<sup>ri</sup> Duca D. Flavio e Sig.<sup>re</sup> Principe D. Lelio di farne stipulare publico Instrumento in ogni miglio modo, e più cauta forma per gl'atti del Pelosi Notaro AC, e della Congregatione di Baroni in [soli d'un] con Antonio Olivieri parimente notaro A.C. subito, che si farà ottenuto il Beneplacito Apostolico e per osservanza di tutte, e singole cose sudette si obligano ambedue ad invece nella più ampla, e valida forma della Rev. C. Apostolica con giuramento alla presenza dell'Infratto Sig.<sup>re</sup> Giuseppe Salvoni, che ha trattato, concluso, e stabilito quanto si contiene di sopra, essendosi della presente fatte, e formate due consimili scritture la ritenersi una per parte.

In Roma questo di primo Maggio 1695.



## APPENDIX 2: ALDOBRANDINI

*Doc. 2.1*

ASR, Notai Tribunali AC, Fuscus notai, anno 1610. vol. 3331, 1r-20v. March 1, 1610.

The first page of this document is very badly damaged, and I have chosen not to transcribe it here. The inventory was drawn up for Pietro Aldobrandini as Cinzio's heir by the notary Giovanni Battista Ottaviano on March 1<sup>st</sup>, 1610. The author of the inventory was clearly Roman, and slips in and out of proper Italian and Roman orthography. I have not corrected the text – errors in spelling etc. are part of the original document.

[1r]

*R.s cominciando dalle stantie inferiori di detto Palazzo in una delli quali*

Nove quadri di retratto di diversi Pontefici tra quali ci n'è uno con la cornice gra[-] di tutti uno de quali dissero haver uno Propertio spitiale

Tre retratti di Car.li grandi in piede Nove altri dei personi della famiglia Aldobrandini

Sei altri quadri retratti de Principi con loro cornici grandi ottanta tre quadretti di diversi pa [-]

Un retratto del Padre Bernardo con suo taffetta Doi<sup>1</sup> altri quadri vecchi con cornici del [testo?] vecchio

Cinq scanzie di noce di tre pezzi l'una con loro taffetto in ogni pezzo

Dicie scabelli di noce lavorati, et intagliati con l'arma di d.o Sig.re Card.le indorati

[1v]

Quattro altri scabelli di noce con l'arme di casa

Trentacinq scabelloni dipinti

Doi [buffetti?] d'ebbano intersiate d'avolio ovate con loro coperte di [-] rosso con francie d'oro

Un pic[-] di noce indorato con una statua di mezzo busto di sopra

Un stucco con venti doi ferri d'ottone d'architettura

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<sup>1</sup> Doi = *due*, two, throughout.

Una sfera [-] ottone con una balestriglia simile a modo di pugnale  
 Doi [specchio?] aviario dento in una cassa di noce tondo con suo piede doi ind[-]  
 [-] ti et doi di noce  
 [-] senza quadro di noce Viniti travicelli di Castagna  
 [-] di statue tra quali ci sonno cinq teste et l'altre doi figu[-]  
 [-]zzo di marmo lavorato a disegno

*[-] stantia contigua l'infra[scrit]te robbe*

[-] i rame con il suo coperti intagliato con l'anima  
 ...  
 [-] ferro con rame con manico di ferro un altro focone di ferro  
 [-] doi ...moda tenere olio et aceto  
 Un focono...rame con lo scaldavivande di 2<sup>tro</sup> [sic] suo copertio di ferro fa...  
 Un altro f... di rame con lo scallavivande<sup>2</sup> di sopra  
 Un focone di rame con l'anima dentro con suo coperchio  
 Un soffietto vecchio Doi torchiere di ferro  
 Tre brocchie di rame  
 doi altre brocche di rame da scopatore Doi altre stagnate<sup>3</sup>  
 Doi bottigl[i] di rame stagniate [sic]  
 Dodici renfrescatore di rame stagnate<sup>4</sup>  
 Un Cucch[aino?] con il suo coperchio di ramo  
 Sette conche di rame tra piccole et grandi<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> A *scaldavivande* is a kind of small pot used to keep food warm. This is an example of the author's elision between Italian and Roman; the word is not in fact correct in either line: in the first version he writes *scaldavivanne*, dropping the proper 'nd' at the end and replacing it with 'nn', and in the second he writes *scallavivande*, with the 'ld' dropped for the double 'l'; both are typically Roman.

<sup>3</sup> This refers to two different types of copper: *rame da scopatore* and *rame stagnato*. The latter refers to 'tinned copper', often used in cooking utensils.

<sup>4</sup> A *renfrescatoio* is a metal or terracotta vessel where you put fresh water or wine in glasses to chill it.

Una ca[ldi?]la di ...stagnata con manico di ferro

Un lav[amano?] di ferra una graticola un prete da scaldare et le...<sup>6</sup>

[2r]

Un fornello dei pasticci di rame con la sua aia di ferro

Cinq bastardelle tra piccole et grandi di rame

Quattordici tielle di rame con otto coperchie di rame

~~Otto~~ [sic] Una conca grande

Un altra brocca di rame stagnate

Un ~~un alt~~ [sic] cucumo di rame da barbino

Una brocchetta con suo catino di rame

Un piede di ferro per lavare le mani

Doi fiaschi di stagno vecchi

Trenta doi pezzi di stagno in piatti tra grandi et piccoli

Un altro fiasco di stago

Un mortale di pietra con il gristone<sup>7</sup>

Dicie padelle di rame tra grandi et piccoli da frigere

Un altra catinella di rame

Un altra padella da frigere

Quattro altri cucchomi di rame

Cinque graticule di ferro grandi

Undici polzonetti tra grandi et piccoli uno con il coperchio

Trenta Cucchiare di ferro tra grandi e piccole et sbucciate

Undici spiti di ferro sani et uno rotto

Tre gratta?ascie

Tre altri scommarelli di ferro del quali uno è stagnato

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<sup>5</sup> *Conca* refers to any large vessel with a large-mouthed opening, it often refers to a type of terracotta vessel intended for laundry.

<sup>6</sup> A *graticola* is a grill used to roast meat, fish, etc. A *prete da scaldare* is a bedwarmer.

<sup>7</sup> This perhaps refers to a *mortaio*, a mortar with pestle, however it is unclear.

Quattro levande tra grandi et piccoli

Dodici cortelli da cucina tra grandi et piccoli<sup>8</sup>

Undici spiedi piccolini

Diece caldarelli, et caldarini stagnata grandi piccoli et mezzani con suoi coperchi

Quattordici conserve di rame stagniate a grandi et piccole con il [...] chio

[2v]

Doi altre conserve simili senza coperchio

Un passabrodo

Otto bastardelli di rame tra grandi et piccoli

Quattro conserve di rame una senza coperchio con cinq anime

Un forno di posticci di rame con il suo coperchio

Un altro forno piccolo tonda con piede et un altro simile senza piede con la sua aia

Un altra conserva di rame con il suo coperchio

Doi altre tielle da torte

Doi coperchi di rame

Doi passabrodi piccoli

Una tie[lla] da cocere ova<sup>9</sup>

Doi candellieri di ferro da cucina

Tre con[i?] di rame grande

Quattro ... setacci et un crivello

Doi ferra... di ferro

Tre pale... cucina rotte

Doi cerch...di ferro

Sei spidie di ferro

Quattro n..icelle di ferro

Diciesette ... piedi bassi per tielli

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<sup>8</sup> Romano: *cortello* = *coltello*, knife.

<sup>9</sup> Romano: *cocere* = *cuocere*, to cook or in this case 'for cooking', the 'u' is dropped.

Doi mort[ai] con doi pistoni di legno  
 Dodici pe[zzi] di ferre piccoli et un manico da secchio  
 Quattro ta[v]ole da cucina con suoi piedi  
 Quattro ch... d'ottone per fontana  
 Otto altre ...iaci simili piccoli  
 Una quantita di piombo in canne di libri  
 Scabelloni d'altuccio da tenere statue numero vinti

*In un altra stantia che seguita*

Sedici scettine  
 Una credenza cucina  
 Un lanternone al's moscarola  
 Un arme di Papae Paulo

[3r]

Tre altre tavole da cucina con piedi  
 Otto mantaci  
 Cinq store da fenestre coperte di tela d'ara  
 Quattro porte vecchie  
 Quattordici sportelli da fenestra  
 Un armarietto d'albuccio  
 Doi telari de noce  
 Quattro altri sportelli  
 Un telaro d'albuccio per un tavolino  
 Doi telari d'albuccio per impannate  
 Banche, et tavola per un letto  
 Sei ceste vecchie de vinei  
 Una cassetina da piedi

*In una stantia di sopra al primo piano ap[erto] alla sala*

Sedie di corame alla genovese paonazze miniate d'oro n.o trenta<sup>10</sup>

Dette rosse invesciate rosse numero dicidotto

Dette rosse con france di seta numero sei

Dette ~~di fila~~ [sic] coperte di filat[ricci] verde con francie numero tre

Un altra coperta di panno verde

Quattordici seidie rossi e con francie di seta

Quattordici simili paonazze con l'arme di casa

Sedie di vellato coperte di velluto verde con francie numero sei

Doi buffette di noce intersiate di osso et matreperle

Soi ~~simili~~ [sic] piccole d'avolio intersiati

Doi altre piccole d'ebbano intersiate d'avolio

Un paro di capo di fochi con palle d'otoni grandi

Quattro altre para piccoli con palle d'otoni

Un para piu piccoli con palle d'ottone

ferri da focolare tredici pezzi

Una sedia da infantata o' d'ammalato coperta di cord[...] rosso da tenere al letto con il suo panno

[3v]

Un inginocchiatoro coperto di panno rosso

Doi tavole grandi d'albuccio con doi coperte di panno rosso et suo corame

Una cassetina da scaldare li piedi di noce

Un crucifisso d'avorio con sua cassa negra schillata d'oro

Un retratto del Beato Boromeo di palmi sei m.<sup>a</sup>

Un altro piu piccolo dell'istesso

Un quadro piccolo del cardinali de nobili

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<sup>10</sup> *Corame* refers to stamped or dressed leather, in this case in the peacock blue color *paonazze* or *pavonazze* in Genovese style and decorated with gold.

Un retratto d'un santo padre con la sua cornice negra  
 Un quadro di Giuditta con cornice et taffettano roscio  
 Un Tubia con cornice di noce et taffettano azzurro  
 Un San Guglielmo con cornice di noce et taffettano verde  
 Una madonna con cornice negra  
 Una madonna con cornice et colonnette di noce schizzate d'oro con taffettano roscio  
 Un S. Bernardo con cornice di noce et taffettano turchino  
 Un S. Facondo in quadro con cornice negra<sup>11</sup>  
 Una Madonna con il bambino et S. Catherina con cornice et taffettana azzurro  
 Una nativita in taffettano bianco indorata  
 Una Juditta con cornice di noce invesciata d'oro et taffettano  
 Un quadro grande di resurrettione  
 Un quadro grande del trionfo della chiesa militante  
 Un S. Girolamo con la cornice negra  
 Una madonna con il Christo in braccio con cornice di noce et taffettano rosso  
 Una altra Juditta con cornice negra et taffettano roscio  
 Un annuntiata con cornice negra, et taffetta rosso  
 Un Christo con S. Pietro con cornice indorata con taffetta rosso  
 Un altro Christo con la croce in spalla con cornice indorata et taffetta rosso

[4r]

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<sup>11</sup> It is unclear who this is. There are several possibilities: 1) a Beato Facondinus from Taino, Umbria who lived in the 7<sup>th</sup> century and whose feast day is August 28<sup>th</sup>; 2) a Facondo who was martyred together with a man named Primitif in Galicia, Spain; and 3) one of four men martyred together (the others were Juventinus, Peregrinus, and Felicitus) in Rimini, whose feast day is September 2<sup>nd</sup>. See: Lucy Menzies, *The saints in Italy : a book of reference to the saints in Italian art and dedication* (London: The Medici Society limited, 1924), 162-163; Paul Guérin, *Les petits bollandistes; vies des saintes de l'Ancien et Nouveau Testament, des martyrs, des pères, des autres sacrés et ecclésiastiques, des vénérables et autres personnes mortes en odeur de sainteté...* 7<sup>th</sup> ed. (Bar-le-Duc: L. Guérin, 1883), 625. Given Cinzio's connections to the Marches, the last option is perhaps the most plausible.

Una Madonna all'egittiana con cornice di noce et taffetta rosso  
 Un S. Lorenzo in graticola con cornice negra et taffetta rosso  
 Un Christo alt hore [?] con cornice negra et taffetta rosso  
 Una presentatione della Madonna al tempio con cornice negra  
 Quadretto piccolo con Crucifisso con cornice d'ebano  
 Detto de Maggi con cornice simile et taffetta rosso et attaccatura d'argento  
 Un quadro con una testa d'un vescovo con cornice di pero  
 Una Madonna in braccio con cornice indorata taffetta rosso con merletti d'oro  
 Detta di legno con cornice di pero con taffetta roscio con merletto d'oro  
 Una Madonna che piange con Cornici d'ebano taffetta rosso con attaccatore  
 d'argento  
 Una Madonna invischiata con S. Gio. cornice d'ebano taffetta verde et  
 attaccatore/attavatore d'argento indorato  
 Un S. Girolamo con cornice dorata et taffetta rosso  
 Una Madonna con sue colonnette, et palle indorata et taffetta rosso  
 S. Giorgio in carta pecorina con la sua cornice negra  
 Un Giudizio fatto in pietra dentro a una scatola  
 Un paese con la Madonna quando andava in egipto con sua cornice negra et taffetta  
 rosso  
 Un paese con un Christo che predicava vecchio con cornice indorato taffettano  
 turchina  
 Un Christo nell'horto con la cornice d'ebano attaccatura d'argento et taffetta rosso  
 Una Madonna lagrimante cornice negra indorata taffette rosse  
 Una Marina con la cornice negra schizzata d'oro  
 Un Christo morto con la sua cornice et taffetta rosso  
 Un Tobia con cornice schizzate d'oro taffetta rosso  
 Un Christo in braccia alla Madre cornice d'hebbano et taffetta rosso  
 Un disegno d'un Christo alla Colonna con cristallo et cornice d'hebbano



Un altro Christo in braccio alla Madre in Cristallo cornice d'hebbano et attaccatoro d'argento

Quadretto piccolo di nativita con cornice d'hebbano

Una Madonna con Christo in braccio et S. Gioseffe di recamo con cornice negra<sup>12</sup>

Un Christo con la Corona cornice negra schizzata d'oro

Quadretto della Madonna con la cornice di noce

Sett'altri quadretti in carta con loro cornici negre

Quatt'altri quadretti tondi con loro cassette

Sette quadri grandi de diversi paesi

Doi scantie di noce con suoi taffettani da tener libri

Un parafoce di noce lavorato con suo taffetta rosso

Una seggia da portare coperta di panno paonazzo

Doi lanternoni

Un Candelliero alto di noce

Un altro piede di noce da studiolo intagliato et indorato

Un legino di coperto di velluto cremesino con francie di seta rosso et oro

Un tavolieri con sue tavole dentro

Un tavolino con sua coperta d'armesino giallo et sopra coperta di corame

Cinq tavolini con le sue coperte di panno rosso et sopra coperta di corame

Una tavola con la coperta simile con il sopra corame

Una buffetta intersiata negra

Scabelloni da candellieri numero otto

Un baldoccino di taffetta rosso con francia di seta rossa

Un quadretto in taffettano giallo con cornice negra

Tre portiere grandi di panno rosso con francie attorno

Doi casse de vacchetta da campagna

[5r]

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<sup>12</sup> *Di recamo* appears to indicate that this was embroidered.

Un schizzo da far cervitali di stagno con sua cassa  
 Un credentino d'albuccio  
 Doi gelosie di noce intagliate<sup>13</sup>  
 Una bussola a capo alla lumaca  
 Una pretella et altare d'Albuccio  
 Doi invitriate<sup>14</sup> della Cappella con doi impannate  
 Tre porte d'albuccio con serrature per la Cappella  
 Quattro scabelli da tenere a piede alle fenestre depinti  
 Tre bastoni doi di canna d'india et l'altro d'ebano  
 Scabelloni rossi numero cinq  
 Una sedia da portare per casa con sue banchette  
 Un'altra sedia di paonazzo  
 Tre store per portiera coperte di tela turchina

*Nella prima stanza della guardarobba*

Un letto a credenza d'antano  
 Un sopra corame d'argento bianco  
 Un studiolo da noce vecchio in doi pezzi  
 Un fornimente de corame di cavallo guardnito d'ottone senza staffe  
 Doi valiscioni grandi di vacchetta da letto  
 Doi borsci di vacchetta una rossa et una negra  
 Sei banchi alti da candellieri dipinto  
 Una tavolino d'antano  
 Sei armarij d'albuccio de doi pezzi salvo doi d'un pezzo  
 Il fornimento tutto per il conclave di legno  
 Una cassetta di noce per li piedi longa con l'aia  
 Undici scabelloni de paonazzo

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<sup>13</sup> A *gelosia* is a kind of wooden grating set into a window that allows the viewer to look out without being seen from outside.

<sup>14</sup> Windowpanes.

Sette quadri vecchie di paese in carta

Nove candellieri d'ottone

Doi altri candellieri simili

Una linterna [lanterna]

[5v]

Una cassetina piccola da foco per li piedi

Una canestrella con tre sponghes

Una tavola con l'oratione della signatura

Undici store grandi coperte di tela turchina et un piccole pure coperte con loro bastoni

Cinq arme tra Papae et Cardinali

Una bilancia con li suoi pesi

Una cartiera vecchia

Undici retratti diversi

Una gelosia de corda indorata

Sei rastelli d'albuccio per armatura

Una sella di velluto con la sua copertina

Un mappamondo vecchio

Una tavola grande d'albuccio con suoi telaro

Un'altra tavola vecchia con suoi trespidi<sup>15</sup>

Nove tavolini d'albuccio con suoi telari

Un studiolo coperto di corame rosso indorato con figure

Un altro simile d'hebbano con la cassa di velluto cremes...

Un altro simile di noce alla napolitana

Un simile d'hebbano intersiato d'avolio con suo piede

Uno simile di corame con un specchio dentro alla Venetiana con le catenella d'argento

Un'altro simile d'hebbano intersiato d'avorio

Un altro simile coperto di corame dalla china

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<sup>15</sup> A *trespido* is a three-legged stool.

Uno de noce fatto a foggia di framma

Una scantia negra indorata

Un inginocchiatoro coperto di paonazo con suo scr... simile

Un altro con scrittorio coperto di verde

Una stampa di carta per la verdura

Una segetta guarnita di velluta cremesino con suo rame

[6r]

Un altra coperta di raso cremesino con france d'oro con suo rame

Una simili coperta di damasco con francia con suo cantaro

Una simile coperta damasco giallo con cantaro

Un altra di ciambrellotto rosso a onde con cantaro

Un'altra simile di ciammelletto rosso con cantaro

Un altra di raso leonato

Un altra coperta di panno rosso con suo vaso

Una cassetta pavonazza, et un altra verde

Sei viole da gamba con sua cassa et archetti dentro una cassa d'albuccio

Un altra cassa d'albuccio da tener quatretti

Doi casse di vacchetta da che fanno lette con la sua lettiera di noce dentro

Quattro fiamme coperte di vacchetta

Cosse quattro da quatri coperte di corame

Dette Corami sopra a tavolini diversi

Doi altri simili

Un paliottod'altare di corame

Quattr' coperte di tavolini con sue cassette diversi

Tre corami da terra intorno a letto

Diversi pezzi di corame vecchi

Un canestrello con chiodi et altre per ferri vecchi

Un bigonzo pieno di boccie da giocare<sup>16</sup>  
 Dodici buffetti di noce  
 Dodici scabelli pure di noce con sue spalliere  
 Tre gelosie dipinte rosse  
 Un'altra cassa con boccie dentro et pietre d'a[rchi?]bugi  
 Un parafoco di noce  
 Una cassa d'albuccio con agnus Dei dentro  
 Sette portiere foderate di corame Dodici altre foderate di tela rossa

[6v]

Dodici pezzi di razza con ficura alti di cinq ale<sup>17</sup>  
 Tre simili alti di tre ale  
 Cinq pezzi di razza di buscaglia tre ale alti  
 Un pezzo simili di ale quattro alti  
 Un'altro di simile d'ale tre altezza  
 Dicie portiere rosse di panno da corriaggio  
 Sei coperte di lana bianche per letti  
 Una gelosia di noce intagliata  
 Trentacinq pezzi di corame per doi stantie  
 Doi tappeti cairini  
 Doi altri tappeti simili  
 doi tappeti grandi per tavola  
 Un altro tappetto piccolo soriano  
 Un paro di casse da letto  
 Doi selle per muli da lettera  
 Una cassetina di corame rosso indorata  
 Doi borse alla turchescha per acqua

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<sup>16</sup> A *bigonzo* is a type of tub or wooden barrel.

<sup>17</sup> *Arazzi*, tapestries.

Una bussola con diversi bicchieri di legno

Vintuna sedia di noce a bracciale con la Francia rossa et suoi corami

Un fornimento da cavallo di cornetta

Un telaro grande d'albuccio

doi telari da impannata d'albuccio

Vintidoi sportelli di noce da impannata

Una pretella con il telaro per altare

Un arma di Papa Clemente et intagliata in legno

Dicie pezzi d'arme in asta

Una seca [sega]

Una scala da Conclave

[7r]

Una pelle per imparare a notare

Una gabbia da rosignolo

Doi candellieri d'ottone grandi per altari da facoletta che s'attaccano al muro

Un pomo di padiglione indorata

Doi di vi... un altro di legno

ferri da portiera con altri ferri di quatri

Una palla d'ottone per fochi artificiali

Doi coperti una di lana rossa et l'altra bianca

Un'altra di bambace

Una lancia

Un letto di estate con sua lettiera in dorata con doi materassi con doblatta verdi

Doi valdrappe paonazze di panno et doi rosse

Doi valdrappini sopraschi di mula

Quattro cuscini di doblatta simile al letto verdi

Altri diciessetti quadri di paesi

Un mazzo di francie di filetticio verde

Un fornimento per cavallo di velluto  
 Sedici cuscini pieni di lana tra quali ci n'è uno con la foderetta  
 Doi altri voti  
 Quattro case d'orinali coperti di drappo  
 Doi altre simili  
 li fornimenti del Cocchio di panno paonazzo con fodera di damasco Cremesino  
 Diversi pezzi secati d'agata  
 Doi cartelle per scriverci sopra  
 Un cuscinetto da nettare le penne  
 Vinti sei pezzi di taffetane verde  
 Sette palmi di velluto piano in quattro pezzi

[7v]

Quattro canne di teletta vellutata in un pezzo  
 Sette palmi di raso vellutato  
 vintun palmo di raso vellutato  
 Sei palmi di damasco negro  
 Cinq palmi di raso rigato negro  
 Dicinove palmi di terzanella negra  
 Diversi altri pezzi di taffetta rossi et gialli  
 Quattro libre di bambacce  
 Quatt'uncia di seta negra sn.<sup>a</sup>  
 Palmi nove, et mezzo, di panno di maselica mischio  
 Quattordici palmi et mezzo sangalla negra  
 Tre canne et tre palmi quadretto bianco  
 Undici tavole d'albuccio  
 Una trappola da sorci  
 Un quadro con l'ultima Cena  
 Un paro di fiamme vecchie ...et doi con tenette

Tre casse da baccili  
 Doi torchi un grande et un piccolo  
 Quattro fiaschi di vetro coperti di paglia  
 Diecidotto matarazzi di lana barbarescha grandi  
 Sei altri piu piccoli dell'istessa lana  
 Sette matarazzi di famiglia  
 Sette capezzali  
 Un stocco et un accetta<sup>18</sup>  
 Una spada con pugnale et finimenti caramati  
 Doi cassaccie et un porta monnezza  
 Una cassa de vacchetta  
 Diverse cose d'argenteria diverse pezzi otto

[8r]

*Nella seconda stantia della guardarobba*

Una sedia di velluto cremesino et francia d'oro et seta con trina ...mata con l'arme di  
 casa et in una doi vasetti d'ottone  
 Un altra sedia di tela d'oro simile con francia et trina simile  
 Doi altre sedie di velluto cremasino con francia d'oro et seta  
 Doi sedie vecchie di velluto senza [belzana?]  
 Sei sedie di velluto cremesino con francia di seta  
 Otto sedie di velluto cremesino con il bracciale torto  
 Un ingiocchiatoro di raso rosso trinato con li di cuscini  
 Un altro di damasco turchino con trina d'oro che va con la stantia di damasco simile  
 con suoi coscini  
 Un altro di tela d'oro con trina d'oro con suoi coscino  
 Un altro d'armesino giallo con doi coscini  
 Nove sedie di velluti roscio da strengere  
 Quattro sedie di velluto verde senza bracciale

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<sup>18</sup> A pair of weapons.



Trenta cinq quatri di diersi ritratti  
 Tre cassetтини d'albuccio tinti rosci  
 Una cassetta dipinta verde con l'arme del Sig.re Card.le  
 Una cassa da baccile  
 Doi vasi di terra con doi fiaschi di maiolica  
 Doi panattiere di maiolica  
 Doi altri fiaschi di maiolica et un tre piedi pur di maioica  
 Tre quatretti in tela di retratte di casa  
 Vinticinq ferri da portiera  
 Otto bandelle tra grandi et piccoli  
 Cinq serrature con sue chiave  
 Diversi ferri da catenaccio et dietro la sedia pappo...

[8v]

Una girella di ferro et doi ferri d'ottone con stella da capo et da piede  
 Tre corselli da cucina  
 Quattro guglie piccole doi di paragone et doi di mischio  
 Otto palle di diversi colori di pietra con suo piede  
 Ottanta quattro cortelli tutti di ferro  
 Un adornamento d'altare di legno indorato con doi angioletti sopra  
 Una cassa coperta di vacchetta rossa  
 Un tamburo coperto di vacchetto  
 Sedici archetti da tenere pianete  
 Uno specchio grande guernito d'ebbano  
 Doi ombrelle una de corame et l'altra d'armesino una con la coperta  
 Un tavolino di noce con suo cassetтino  
 Un tamburetto di corame da tenere argento  
 Un altro tavolino di noce intagliato con suoi cassetтini  
 Doi portacappelli

Una cassa d'un violino

Una Crocetta d'ebbano con il suo piede

Una altra indorata da mazza

In un credenone l'infrascritta argentaria

Un scaldaletto tutto d'argento libre tredici et once settembre

Otto candelieri d'argento lisci da cammera libre sedici et sette once

Doi navicelle o piatti ovati d'argento lisci libre nove, et once cinq

Doi piatti grandi tondi libre tredici et once undici

Doi baccili lisci con doi boccati alla spagnola libri dicisette et oncia una

[9r]

Un baccile et un boccale istoriato indorato con figure di r[elievo?] libre tredici et once cinq

Undeci fruttiere con figure di relevo indorate libre dicidotto et un oncia

Otto piatti reali grandi libre vintisei et tre oncie

Dicidotto piatti d'argento mezzani libre trentacinq et once sei

Trenta sei tondi piccoli libre trentatre et sei once

Trenta quattro tondi un poco piu grande libre quranta una et once doi

Sedici tondi un poco piu cupi libre quindici et once undici

Sette piatti mezzani libre otti et once uno

Una panettiera con serena libre sette et once quattro et mezza

Un calamaro d'argendo indorato lavorato libre sei et once nove brutto<sup>19</sup>

Tre sotto coppe d'argento libre sette et tre once

Una Catinella grande con sua brocchetta libre nove et once doi

Un altra simile con sua brocchetta piu vecchia libre sette et once tre

Bacile novo con suo boccale alla napolitana libre diece et once tre

Doi scaldavivande libre cinq et once cinq et mezza

Doi candellieretti piccoli indorati libra una et oncie cinq et mezza

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<sup>19</sup> This is likely a *calamaio* – an inkwell.

Parafume con suo smoccolatoro libre doi et un oncia et mezza  
 Una profumarola con suo coperchio libra una tre once et sei denari  
 Bacile con boccale indorato alla spagnola libre sette  
 doi rimfrecatore in forma di [bocina?] libre cinq et once sette  
 Una tazza indorata a navicella ed testa di anetra libra una et once nove  
 Un'altra tonda indorata libra una once otto et dicidotto denari  
 Un zecchietto per tenere l'acqua sancta con suo manico et catenella libre doi et once otto  
 Quantiera indorata et smaltata libre doi et undici once  
 Un'altra simile sen'oro libre una et once quattro

[9v]

Una Canestrella d'argento libre doi cinq once et denari dicidotto  
 Una Conchiglia scannolata con il beccolongo libre doi once tre et sei dinari  
 Una sottocoppa indorata libre doi et once doi et mezza che manca la compagna  
 la mazza da Card.le con il suo legno libre dodici et once sei  
 Colamaro et Polverino in doi pezzi con suoi coperchi una libre et once nove  
 Detti piu piccoli once nove  
 Una bugia con suo smuccolatoro sette once et ventun denaro<sup>20</sup>  
 Doi cucchiere grandi una sbusciata once nove e mezza  
 Un smuccolatoro piccolo tre once et nove denari  
 Un secchietto per acqua santa tre once et vintun denaro  
 Doi impolline da messa once nove et denari vintuno  
 Otto cucchiani, e otto forcine una de quali è rotta una libre et quattro once ed dodici denari  
 Una palla d'argento per tener sapone once cinq et denaro vintuno  
 Doi saliere una tonda et l'altra conca conce diece et sei denari  
 Un scatolino con un retratto dentro cinq once et diecidotto denari  
 Doi fiaschi d'intaglio sfondato con suoi vetri dentro catenelle et coperchi libre vinti

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<sup>20</sup> This is a candlestick and snuffer.

Una Croce tenuta da tre leoncini con reliquie et vetri dentro dorata libre quattro once cinq et mezza

Un Crucifisso d'un palmo con la croce d'ebano di libra una

Un orologio a sole in modo di bicchiere once tre et mezza

Doi vascetti et una scatola per sapone et acqua..indorati et smaltati doi libre et ondici once et denaro d'indotto

[10r]

Un campanello d'argento ...con manico di seta libra una

Argenti per una valiscino cioè

Tre fiaschi quatri libri sette

Dodici tondi ovati piccoli libre nove et undici once

Sei piatti ovati libre tredici et undici oncie e mezza

Quattro tazze d'argento una [scodella?] con doi indorate et la scrodella libre doi et once nove et mezza

Doi carratelli et doi salieri in loro coperchi quatro libre et once quattro

Doi Bacili ovati dorati libre tre et once undici

Una [panattiere?] dorata con doi ovarole et una sotto coppa indorata con due saliere libre quattro et once doi

Un calamaro con il polverine et sei cocchiare con cinq forchette doi libre et once dodici

doi candellieri d'argento di libre

Doi lumache di matreperle guernite d'argento libre tre et un oncia

Un becciero di renocerante con il piede d'argento doi libre et tre once<sup>21</sup>

Una navicella di diaspero guarnita d'oro con la sua cassa

Un becciero di carniola con la sua cassa guernito d'oro fatto a lumaca

Un bicchiere d'ambra con il suo coperchio

Una saliera di cristallo di montagna con piede d'argento

Doi ampolline di vetro verde guarnite di rame indorate

Un retratto d'una Sig.re tedesca in cristallo di montagna ovato guernito d'oro

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<sup>21</sup> Apparently a glass made from rhinoceros skin.

Un S. Giorgio dentro una cassetta d'avolio

Una Croce piede di Cristallo con un Christo alla Colonna d'agata con una cassa.

[10v]

Un vaso di vetro smaltato adornato con rama indorato

Una tazza di vetro verde guarnita d'ottone indorato

Un'altra tazzetta di vetro verde adornata con d'argento...

Un'altra simile piu piccola tutte dentro la loro cassa

Una sfera d'argento con il piedi d'ebano piccola

Un patena d'ottone indorato

Un S. Giorgio di metallo gettato indorato

Un orologio fatto a vaso dei rame indorato

Un'altra simile fatto a torre con quattro colonne

Un altro pur di rame fatto a torre piu piccolo

Un altro orologio fatto a torre piu piccolo

Un altro pur di rame fatto a torre piu piccolo

Un altro piu piccola in ottangolo

Una fontana d'ottone con sei stelle sopra

Un'anatra di metallo

Un altro S. Giorgio di legno indorato con una statua

Una S. Agata d'Alabastro

Trentacinque pezzi di vetro finti à Agata

Cinque pezzi di naccara

Doi vasi di terra sigillata

Doi vasetti alla turchesca

Dodici pezzi di porcellana

Una palla d'avorio piccola

Doi vasetti di vetro

Una noce d'india fatto a sopra di vaso

Un [vaso?] di terra di Portogallo

Un piatto di porcellana verde

Una noce d'india

Un fiore con doi fraschetti recamati

[11r]

Una Cassetta d'ebano con ...fraschettini d'olio

Un studioletto d'ebano intarsiato d'avolio

Una crocetta di legno con reliquie

Un'altra crocetta di legno intagliata con la passione di Nostro Signore

Doi altre crocette dentro terre sancte

Una scatola d'ebano per mettere un [piatro?]

Un occhiale d'avolio

Doi trabelli di velluto nesso da carrozza

Un Calamaro d'ebano lavorato

Un altro coperto di Curdcano roscio con suoi feri intorno

Tre lastre di piombo antiche

Una tavola di bronzo

Uno studiolino di noce con diversi cassettini dentro il quale sono Tre medaglie d'oro et doi piccole pure d'oro et altre cento et diece medaglie d'argento piccole, et cento sessanta quattro medaglie d'ottone tra grandi et piccole

Sette para di guanti d'ambra ...spagna

Dodici para di granti di fiore di spagna

Doi scatolette con diverse medaglie et statuette di bronzo guaste

Doi scatole con con ... di napoli ...

Un studiolo guarnito d'argento dentro alla sua cassa di corame

Un paro di cuscini di broccati riccio con il fonno di velluto rosso

Doi cuscini di velluto paonazzo a opera

Doi altri di velluto paonazzo ...

Doi cuscini do Damasco roscio

[11v]

un cuscino di damasco roscio a opera minata

Tre cappelli pontificali doi di feltro et un d'ammesine

[The subsequent pages list the cardinal's clothing, and items like bedfittings, and have been omitted here. I have listed only several items that are of interest.]

[15v]

Cinquanta scatole di spetie dolce di Venetia

[16r]

Doi gambe della gran bestia

[17v]

Una Carrozza con le sedie di velluto negro

...

Una Carrozza da Campagna all'ungarescha

Una Carrozza vecchia

Otto Cavalli pellati da carrozza tutti simoli

...

Un altro paro di polletti leardi

Un paro di Cavalli bianchi da Cocchio

Una mula

Un Cavallo Cortaldo bianco

Una Camella

Un sumarallo con suo polletro

Un studiolo di noce in doi pezzi con l'arma del Card.le

...

Una studiolo piccolo d'ebbano con statuette d'argento dentro l'infrascritto robbe cioè

Quaranta una medaglia o pastre grosse de diverse stampe d'oro  
 Quattro altre pure d'oro mezzane  
 Quattro altre piu piccole  
 Doi altre piccolissime  
 Cinquanta sette medaglie over piastre d'argente grandi  
 Quattro piu piccole

[18r]

Sei altre piu piccole  
 Una piccolissima  
 Cento trenta scudi d'oro delle stampe  
 Un zechino  
 Un salvatore in una pietra piccola guernito d'argento  
 Una pietra con una testa con cerchieto d'oro  
 Un nettadenti d'argento piccolo<sup>22</sup>  
 Quattro altre medaglie di mistura  
 Doi ossetti legati in oro  
 Doi retrattini in rame del Re et Regina di Spagna  
 Un altro simile  
 Un cefalo d'argento indorato  
 Un cerchietto d'oro  
 Una medaglia d'oro di S. Elena  
 Una serratura todesca  
 Un bussulo di piombo dentro con ambra  
 Doi borsette una d'armesino rosso et l'altra di corame  
 Un altro studiolo d'ebano intersiato dentro il quale  
 Un retratto del Beato Carlo in Cristallo et oro con la sua cassa  
 Un agnus deo piccolo di cristallo guernito d'oro

---

<sup>22</sup> A toothpick.



Un scatolino rosso con coloro oltramarini

Un onga della gran bestia legate in oro con turchine<sup>23</sup>

Una peparola indorata

Tre pietre piccole ovate

Un altra bianca legata in argento

Un S. Giorgio piccolo fatto a fogia d'agnus Deo d'avorio<sup>24</sup>

Una pietra di belzuarre dentro un incastro d'oro

Un altra simile piccola con l'istesso incastro

Una pietra verde per dolor di fianco

[18v]

Un altro pezzo di bezzuarro con fettuccia rossa

Una pietra bianca legata in oro con fattuccia bianco

Un altra pietra di bezzuarre nuda

Un anello grande con zaffino

Un scatolino da tenere anelli coperto di corame rosso con vinti otto anelli Un altro anello

Cinq teste piccoline tra quali ci n'è una attaccata con filetto d'oro

Un anello d'oro con sigillo

Un altro anello con zaffino

...

Tre para di fornimenti che disse havere hauti il Sig. Card.le Aldobrandino

Un altro paro per li cavalli grossi guerniti d'ottone con sui puntali.

Un altro paro di usati quali disse haverli hauti la Sig. Olimpia

[19r]

*Robbe della Cappella*

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<sup>23</sup> *Onga* = *unghia*, nail. Thanks to Walter Cupperi.

<sup>24</sup> *Fatto a fogia* here means 'made in the manner of', so the S. George is made in the same manner as the statue of the Agnus Dei.

...

Una Madonna con un Christo et S. Gio: con Cornice dorata

Cimbalo con doi registri

...

Orologio da Mostra

Gabbia doi da ucelli una piccola l'altra grande

Un bastone di matreperle

Quatretti di retratti piccoli di retratti

Una sottocoppa d'argento simile all'altra del numero 33 reportata dal Sig. lionello<sup>25</sup>

[19v]

...

Geographia in carta con tela

...

Una mula ponteficia

Un Camello

...

[20r]

Carrozze et Cocchio

legna et Carbone

libreria

...

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<sup>25</sup> This must be the same Leonello who also appears in conjunction with Tempesta's painting on agate. See Chapter 2.

## APPENDIX 5: ALTIERI

*5.1 Adoption references**Doc. 1*

BAV, Barb. lat 5114, 157r-160v. *Nuovo governo di Roma Sotto il Pontificato di Papa Clement Decimo con L'aggiustamento seguito tra le due Cardinale Nipoti di Sua Santità Altieri, e Gabrielli.*

Essendo stata affatto inaspettata la elezione del Sommo Pontefice Clemente Decimo, non è maraviglia, che abbia tirato ancora seco conseguenze affatto inaspettato; e fra le altre quella della esaltazione del Cardinal Paluzzi alla dignità di Cardinal Padrone con l'Adozione in Casa Altieri, mentre egli nulla apparteneva à Sua Santità à esclusione del Cardinal Gabrielli suo Natural Nipote. Il vero motivo politico di questa novità è nato da ciò, che non avendo il Fratello del Pontefice lasciato ch'una figlia Herede delle sue facoltà a condizione che chi volesse sposarla per conseguire la sua heredità dovesse prendere insieme il cognome di Casa Altieri, e non essendosi trovato alcuno nella Nobiltà Romana, che abbia voluto accettare questa Heredità con sì fatto peso, la sola Casa Paluzzi, nella quale non cascavano certe convenienze, per le quali dovesse lasciare il proprio per l'appellativo, si accomodò à questa fortuna; Onde sebbene il Cardinale Paluzzi non appartenesse nulla al Pontefice in quanto alla sua propria persona gli apparteneva però molto in virtù di quella del Marchese (ora Principe) suo Nipote, che avendo sposato la Nipote di sua Beatitudine ha sposato insieme tutte le ragioni di Casa Altieri. Con qualche ragione adunque ha il Papa anteposto Paluzzi a Gabrielli, e con altrettanta ragione pretende Paluzzi, ora Altieri d'escludere Gabrielli dal Ministerio, come di fatto ne resta escluso. Perché essendo gl'interessi di Casa Paluzzi divenuti gli stessi con quelli della Casa Altieri, non vi ha dubbio, che il Cardinale venga riguardato, come più prossimo, e però stimato più

confidente d'ogni altro del Pontefice. Ma perche essendo molto vive ancora le ragioni di Gabrielli pareva, che nel concetto universale se gli facesse ingiuria con questa esclusione; ed essendo egli soggetto di qualche spirito, e appoggiato dalla fazione Barberina, e da altri Cardinali averebbe potuto (e massime essendo aspreggiato da Paluzzi con termini improprij) agitare qualche novità nella Corte con le sue pretensioni ha Sua Beatitudine sconc[i]ato il corso a questi Inconvenienti dichiarandolo suo Fratello, concedendo il soglio a suo Nipote, e facendogli altre grazie, per le quali, se non contento può rimaner sodisfatto della presente fortuna: mentre dalla ragion di stato viene escluso dalla partecipazione del Governo, che non vuol compagni; poiche per tacere Antiquas fratrum discordias, et insociabile Regnum, che indussero Herone a dar la morte a Britannico suo Fratello, e che sforza oggi di gli Ottomani a fare stragge de proprij congiunti; abbiamo l'esempio delli due Cardinali Aldobrandini, de quali Cintio convenne finalmente cedere le redini del Governo a Pietro; e del Cardinale Barberino, che non prima permise a Urbano Ottavo di promuovere al Cardinalato il fratello Antonio, che avesse da questi ferma promessa, che mai si sarebbe intruso nelle cure del supremo comando; come ingenuamente osservo per tutto il Pontificato del Zio. E tanto più d[eve?] appagarsi della sorte presente Gabrielli, quanto che l'età cadente del Papa non può fargli desiderabile un Posto, che viene appreso di poca durata; come, che col darsi delle mani attorno si potesse supplire con la rapacità i difetti del tempo. E infatti si vede, che Paluzzi (Altieri) [sic] non manca punto à se stesso; avendo a quest'ora raspato più in pochi giorni, che non ha fatto in trenta mesi i Rospigliosi, trovandosi cosi ben provveduto d'entrate, e di pensioni, che anche mancando il Papa potrà sostenere il suo posto, benché senza autorità; poiche non avendo fazione formata, e non vi essendo speranza, che possa formarla; non tanto per la caducità del Pontefice che per li pochi luoghi che

restano vuoti nel Sacro Collegio, non terrà che la sola speranza di Cardinal Nipote, e con necessità d'appoggiarsi ad altre fazzioni, che non potrà essere, che o la spagnuola, o la Chigiarda, o l'una, e l'altra insieme, perche in fatti questo Pontefice è tutto spagnuolo, e Chigi altresì vi predomina, come nel Pontificato trascorso; onde egli viene appellato il Prencipe delle grazie; perche a lui si concedono, anzi si offeriscono tutte le cose, e quelle ancora, che a tutt'altri si negano.

Cessata adunque la emulazione e quietate le pretensioni di questi due Cardinali Nipoti di Sua Beatitudine il Governo passa assolutamente per le mani d'Altieri riguardato da questi popoli con honore, nonche senza affetto alcuno d'inclinazione d'amore, tutto che loro concittadino, e compatriotto; non tanto per essere più amato universalmente Gabrielli (a cui però non mancano tacche, e censure) quanto per la ragione ordinaria, che nessun Profesa sia caro nella sua Patria; essendo vizio connaturale degli huomini d'amare, e stimare le cose lontane, e straniere, e sprezzare e disamare le domestiche, e vicine. Oltre a che gli sforzi maligni dell'Invidia si scoprono più vivamente e si lanciano contro chi pur di anzi mirò, come eguale, e inferiore, e vede non solamente superiore, ma Prencipe, e Padrone. E questa è una delle principali ragioni delle ruine dello stato Ecclesiastico; perche non solamente essendo Elettivo il Principato, ma portandosi alle supreme dignità, non Prencipi, e Signori grandi, che ritengono dalla nascita la riverenza, e la stima de popoli, ma persone di basso stato, che abbiamo noi stessi vedute insorte, non che vile e neglita sovente misera e necessitosa; penano oltre modo i sudditi a concepire per essi pensieri ed affetti di venerazione e di rispetto. E quindi invece d'acquistarsi gli animi loro con la cortesia, e con buoni trattamenti consapevoli i Dominanti della propria miseria in apparenza di felicità raspano ogni cosa perse, ne possono darne ad altri, ne vogliono. E così vedendosi odiati, e abborriti, tanto più s'inferano, e tiratosi il Cappello su gli

occhi non guardano in faccia a nessuno, e facendo d'ogni herba fascio, non pensano, che al proprio interesse senza minima apprentione del publico, se non inquanto dal Publico traggono il privato loro profitto.

***Doc. 2***

ASV, Avvisi di Roma, 40. March 19, 1672. 325r.

Havendo il Duca di Bassanello ripugnato sempre d'acconsentire al matrimonio del Duca d'Anticoli suo fratello perche questo di minore non gli divenisse maggiore, percio il Cardinale Altieri in ordine a procurare l'avantaggi dei suoi Parenti per sodisfarlo ha operato, per mezzo del Cardinale Boromeo, e questo col Cardinale Azzolino, che la Reg[nante] tratti il detto Bassanello come Nipote di Papa, come hà fatto in fargli dare il trabelletto nel esser andato à riverirla, acciò questo trattamento serva d'impulso al Papa di concedergli il soglio, e dichiarlo nipote per Breve come seguirà, facendoli il Cardinale far quello, che vuole, benche l'adottione di tanti Nipoti viene biasimata, come anche la Reg[nante]...

***Doc. 3***

BAV, Barb. lat. 6415. July 18, 1676. 533v.

Non volendo più la medicina dell'Erbe di Medea contro la vecchiaia ne dell'Ambrosia di Giove contro la morte converrà al nostro vecchio lasciar la zina da taglij dei suoi adottivi nepoti, mentre hora si trova à letto con febbre terzana oltre la gravezza degl'anni.

***5.2 Abbate Benedetti and the Pope's Fake Cousin***

***Doc. 1***

BAV, Barb. lat. 6411. March 10, 1674. 151r.

Doppo la carceratione seguita di quel tale, che si publico nipote dal Papa, ha il Cardinal Altieri fatto fare ogni studio per discutere se si debba accettare tal nepotismo nell'Ecc.ma Casa, e doppo diverse congregationi sopra ciò tenute, s'è ordinato non parlarsene più, et in vigore della non reperiiti nullo loco de Jura factis ignotis n'è stata risoluta la di lui scarceratione, e dargli honorevole habitatione ne Pazzarelli.

***Doc. 2***

BAV, Barb. lat. 6411, March 10, 1674, 154r-v.

Quello, che si vantava parente del Papa conosciutosi per un Pazzo hora, che è nelle carceri confessa di scendere da un Neofita, che tenuto al fonte da un Altieri assonto il cognome di questa Casa, e d'haver procurate alcune fedi, e scritture false da gente, che esso haveva intentionata di buon guiderdone, si va catturando or é uno or l'altro di quelli, che lo fomentavano, e dopo la formentatione del processo per sodisfar al mondo si giusto fichera [con?] un publico manifesto, in tanto egli non ha mancato di far del Grande anco in carcere, poiche prima d'esser costituito pretendeva mensa, et apparato regio d'argenteria, stante, che quando fu ordinata la di lu[i?] carceratione, il Sig. Cardinale Altieri comando, che fosse condotto in segreta con la carrozza, e si trattasse sopra tutto con ogni rispetto, dicendo, che si bene sapeva, che il Papa non haveva mai havuto fuori di citta cugini sapeva anche Iddio haveva fatto altri miracoli.

***Doc. 3***

BAV, Barb. lat. 6411, March 17, 1674, 170r.

È stato carcerato un certo Abbate Benedetti imputato d'haver condotto colui che voleva farsi credere nipote del Papa. Costui era stato prima Cappellano segreto di Sua Santità, e fu rimosso perche non fu reputato atto a quel ministerio di segreta osservatione. Dunque se è vero, che potesse indurre à sì enorme sceleratezza non

difficilmente potrebbe credersi capace di falsificazione di scritture, tanto più, che adesso al suo maltalento anderebbe congiunto l'animo di vendetta.

***Doc. 4***

BAV, Barb. lat. 6411, March 17, 1674, 177r.

È stato carcerato un certo Abbate Benedetti (che già fu licenziato dalla Relig.a de Canonici Regolari di S. Salvatore come discolo) imputato d'haver sedotto colui, che voleva farsi credere cugino del Papa; onde se sarà vero riceverà il castigo dovuto alla Sua temerità.

***Doc. 5***

BAV, Barb lat 6411, March 24, 1674, 191v-192r.

Licenziato dalla Religione de Canonici Regolari del Salvatore l'Abbate Benedetti, come persona discola, e dissoluta in ogni genere, che alzarono più volte le mani al Cielo quei padri, ottenne poi col favore del Marchese del Monte sul principe di questo Pontificato d'entrare per Cappellano segreto, in cui durò pochi giorni scoperte le sue male qualità, e perché con i soliti raggiri, e catale andava procacciandosi il Vitto intrigato negli affari scabrosi da supposto Nipote del Papa, come s'è scritto [192r] fu martedì fatto prigioniero, con tutti i suoi strepiti, che fece contro la corte, standosi hora attendendo di vedere, qual'adequato castigo sarà dato a suoi meriti.

***Doc. 6***

BAV, Barb. lat. 6412, July 7, 1674, 3r.

Da queste carceri sono stati trasmessi a Civitavecchia in Galera diversi condannati, tra quali vi è quel tale, che si arrogava d'essere nipote del Papa, et hora si sta attendendo l'essito dell'Abbate Benedetti, che fu quello che lo pose su i salti.



**Doc. 7**

BAV, Barb. lat 6412. July 7, 1674. 11r.

Colui che si voleva far credere nipote di S. Sta è tenuto per morto [sic], e tra poco tempo sarà forse messo in libertà ma non così s'è fatto dall'Abbate Benedetti che procurava d'accreditarsi copertamente con scritture false, essendo stato condannato per 10 anni agli'Ergastoli.

**5.3 Paluzzo Altieri****Doc. 1**

BAV, Barb. lat. 5271, *Relatione Della Corte di Roma dell'Ecc.mo Signore Pietro Mocenigo Ambre Veneto*, 65r.

Non è mai uscito dallo stato Ecclesiastico, né ha fatto altro viaggio, che a Perugia ove studio, et a Montefiascone dove era Vescovo, perciò degl'affari, de' Principi, e degl'interessi della Christianità non ha che una semplice superficiale trintura, anzi perche lo sforzo della di lui applicatione è diretto alle particolari convenienze della casa sua, non ha né propensione, né genio, né attitudine di portare li suoi pensieri, e fissatosi negl'affari fuori dello stato Ecclesiastico la massima sua è di sodisfare all'apparenze, con le quali resti appagato il mondo.

**Doc. 2**

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Italiens, 690, 23r.

Dovrà tenersi per tale per haver forse, come si suppone, rappresentato a Sua Santità la cura particolare tenuta dal Cardinale Altieri nell'haver collocata la Casa Paluzzi nelle tante cospicue e principali famiglie Colonna, et Orsina con assegnamenti di dote

maggiore al loro grado senza haver punto pensato alle due Nipotine del vero sangue di Sua Santità col tenerle rinchiusse in chiostrì, che quando di presente ne forse succeduta la morte del Pontefice, il che Dio non voglia, ne sariano rimaste quelle Signore semplici Dame senza entrata da potersi trattare alla grande. Per questo capo si dovrebbe il Signore Ambasciatore più tosto benedire, che scomunicare per la cura che havrebbe mostrata tenere della vera casa di Sua Santità, ne il Signorre Cardinal Altieri si potrebbe di ciò dolere, non essendosi toccato, che nelle accumulazioni si grandi fatte da Nipoti posticci per le due vere nipotine del Papa in cinque anni non si sia posto da parte, che un semplice capitale di 40mille scudi.

The two nieces that the author refers to must be Laura Caterina's two older sisters, Virginia Maria and Anna Maria Vittoria. It should be noted that in a testament of May 17, 1667 Emilio Altieri made provisions for sons of Virginia Maria or Anna Maria Vittoria to be eligible to succeed to the family inheritance, in the case that Laura Caterina dies without male heirs, or does not have any before she is fifty, or does not have any daughters who have sons. In such a situation the patrimony would have fallen largely outside of the control of Cardinal Paluzzo, Angelo, and Gaspare. Clearly it was unlikely that the hypothetical sons of Virginia Maria or Anna Maria could rise to the top of the chain of succession, however Cardinal Paluzzo may have thought it prudent to pre-empt such a challenge to the inheritance altogether by seeing that the Altieri nieces did not have the chance to reproduce.

ASR, Notai Auditor Bellus, busta 871, f. 396r. "E ciascheduno di essi debba restituire quest'Eredita al primo figlio maschio, che nascesse, o dalle figlie femine di questo matrimonio, o dalla detta Signora Laura Caterina di altro matrimonio, e non havendo

detta Signora Laura Caterina figli maschi fino all'età di Anni cinquanta debba in quel tempo, o prima se ella morisse senza figlioli maschi, mentre però dalle figlie femine di questo matrimonio in detto tempo non fossero nati figli maschi restituire l'Eredità al primo delle figli maschi, che si trovasse nato, o che nascesse da una delle dette Signora Maria Vittoria, e Maria Virgina come sopra e le dette restitutioni in ciascheduno delli sopradetti Casi si dichiara che debbano farti dalla sola eredità, senza però di restituire li frutti percetti, et accioche seguisca puntualmente questa dispositione dovrà obligarsi in forma Camera Apostolica non solo il Signore Marchese Gasparo, ma ancora il Signore Cardinale, et il Signore Marchese Angelo suo zio, e Padre rispettivamente, consentendo questo all'obligatione del figlio.”

***Doc. 3***

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Italiens, 690. ff. 27r-27v.

Si sa molto bene, che tanto gl'Amb.ri come li loro Prencipi l'hanno sempre havuta con la razza di Paluzzi, e non già con quella d'Altieri, non essendosi mai chiamati offesi dal papa, se non hoggi per la fatta promotione, et hanno sempre fatto conto della Signora Donna Laura come vera nipote di Sua S.ta con la quale si è più volte mandato a compire per li loro gentilhuomini con scusa, che non andavano di persona per rispetto de' nipoti Aposticci, che nella loro nudità si sono cosi ben ricoperti con la cappa di S. Pietro con essersi con scandalo universale di tutto il mondo usurpata l'intiera amministratione del Pontificato con le tante accumulationi fatte de Tesori, e de contanti, conforme si è pienamente di sopra accennato, rinchiusi nei pozzi, essendosi per tal causa insuperbiti con il temerario ardire di pigliarsela per sino con le prime potenze dell'Europa. Contro questi Tiranni solamente si esclama, contro questi fulmina il tiranneggiato popolo dello Stato Ecclesiastico le sue maledittioni, e contro

questi la denegata giustitia dal Vicario di Xto ingannato da' libelli di Santa Chiesa si domanda all'istesso Dio.

**Doc. 4**

British Library, Ms. Add. 8378. ff. 57r-57v.

Per il lunedì seguente fu intimato il Concistoro nel quale [Nostro] Signore pubblicò Cardinale il Baldeschi, riservato in pectore in luogo del defunto Mons. Colonna, la quale promotione seguíta, subito li sig.ri Ambasciatori mandarono i loro segretarij dalla Signora Principessa Donna Laura Altieri à congratularsene con dire che facevano questa offitio con sua Eccellenza stante l'esser del vero sangue di Sua Santità, e che sarebbero stati di persona a portarli i loro ossequij se in quello stesso Palazzo non vi fosser habitati li Signori D. Angelo, e D. Gasparo, co' quali si pare, che le presenti congiutt.re si vietano il poter trattare.

**Doc. 5**

Archivio Capitolino, Rome. *Fidecommessi*, Pr. 2. Fasc. 54. Paluzzi Albertoni, Angelo, 54. 11 October 1666. 1295r. Excerpts from the inventory attached to Paluzzo's will, drawn up prior to his adoption.

Nell'Appartamento sopra il [Cortile?] nell'Anticamera di Monsignor Ill.mo Paluzzo Paluzzi figliolo dell Sig.re Marchese Antonio.

Detta Anticamera Parata di Corami Verdi et oro vecchi stracciati, e rovinati pelli cento venti scudi cinque.

Un letto a credenza rotto, e vecchio ta cinquanta.

Un scatellone vecchio, et una sedia vecchia di corame m.ta 40.

*Nella stanza contigua.*

Detta stanza parata di corami verdi, et oro pelli cento venti stracciati, e rotti scudi cinque.

Una portiera vecchia stracciata di Corami m.ta 60.

Un letto di Damasco Giallo, e rosso vecchio, e stracciato con lettiera piccolina indorata ed dui materazzi vecchi rappellati ed [413v] una coperta di lana stracciata, et tarmata scudi trenta cinque.

...

Una coperta di taffettano giallo stracciata uno scudo m.ta 50.

Un buffetto di Noce vecchio tutto tarmato m.ta 70.

Un Tavolino ed uno studiolo senza niente dentro, vecchio, rotto e sganganato uno scudo m.ta 50.

*Nella stanza contigua.*

Nella stanza parata de corami oro argento e nero brutti, vecchi, e stracciati di pelle ottanta scudi quattro.

Una tavola coperta di coramacci vecchi stracciati uno scudo.

*Nello stantiolino dove sta la soffitta*

Parato di Coramacci alti tre pelli vecchi, e stracciati scudi tre.

#### **5.4 Ludovica Albertoni**

##### **Doc. 1**

ASR, Fondo Notai Auditor Camerae Laurentius Bellus 871, 502r and 507r.

Uno [quadro] grande della Beata Ludovica con cornice grande e negra (in the main gallery)

Un quadro grande della Beata Ludovica con cornice d'oro d'intorno (*Robba, che sta nella guardarobba da basso*).

##### **Doc. 2**

Archivio Capitolini, Fidecommessi, Pr. 2. Fasc. 54.

Excerpts from the inventory made of Baldassare Albertoni's goods after his death.

401r.

Nella sala.

Un altro quadro della Beata lodovica Albertoni con cornice negra.

[422v]

Una S. Ludovica figura sana 15.

It is interesting to note that Ludovica may have been shown in this work as a saint, rather than a beata, in anticipation of an event that never took place, and in direct contradiction to the established rules for depicting holy personages.

### **5.5 *Angelo Altieri***

#### ***Doc. 1***

BAV, Barb. lat. 6410. 77r-v. March 11, 1673.

S'è ordinato dal S. Don Angelo Altieri Generale delle galere che in questa spiaggia Romana si fabbrichino cinque torri in proportionata distanza una dall'altra, che in occasione de Corsari Turcheschi vengono inquietate queste acque possono dare con li fuochi, e fumate il segno a Civitavecchia.

#### ***Doc. 2***

BAV, Barb. lat. 6410. 89r. March 25, 1673.

Con gran premura si fa tirare avanti la fabrica di sei Torri nelle marine Ecclesiastiche, che dovranno essere guardate da 600 soldati per impedire i sbarchi, e bregantini Turchi.

#### ***Doc. 3***

BAV, Barb lat 6410. 99v-100r. April 1, 1673.

Stabilità, che fu dal Pontefice la rissoluzione della fabrica delle scritte Torri per sicurezza delle spiagge dello stato ecclesiastico, ha fatto chiamare a se il Principe Altieri Generale di Santa Chiesa, e gli ha composto di dover con Ingegneri, e con il Commissario dell'Armi portarsi per dette spiagge a far dar principio ad esse Torri

nelli siti piu cospicui d'impedire a Barbari li sbarchi con mettervi Maestri in abbondanza, accio siano terminate quanto prima, e per haver la gente in ordine da porvi sopra, ha Sua Santita fatte fare fuori Patenti per la leva di 12 compangie, cioè 8 defanti e 4 de Cavalli d'assoldarsi per il stato ecclesiastico, et ha commesso a Mons. Gastaldi Tesoriere di far subito a Capitani l'esborso del denaro.

***Doc. 4***

BAV, Barb. lat. 6410. April 8, 1673. 107r-v.

Il Pontefice, che hora gode ottima salute è intervenuto alle solite cappelle tenutesi in queste Feste della Santissima Pasqua, et il Mercordi ha dato audienza à tutti gli Ambri, e Ministri de Principi ch'era due settimane, che non le havevano vi potute, ottenere per causa della gotta, che l'haveva tormentato piu giorni, e tra gli altri, fu osservato, che quelli di Spagna, e Malta vi si trattennaro piu dell'ordinario forse a causa dell'Armamento Navale, che qui si ha certo vadi facendo il Turco, non senza dubbio, che sia per portarsi à far sbarchi su la Sicilia, o Roviere di Napoli, overo gettarsi sotto Malta, e percio Nostro Signore haveva ordinato le scritte Torri per le spiagge dello stato Ecclesiastico da opporsi ad ogni tentativo di quel Barbaro, et ha anco ravivato lo promesse a quello di Malta di dar al suo Gran Mastro tutti li soccorsi possibili, ogni qual volta fosse quell'Isola attaccata da si potente nemico commune.

***5.6 Gaspare Altieri***

***Doc. 1***

BAV, Barb lat 6413, Feb. 9, 1675, 26r.

Il Signore Don Gaspar Altieri poco immitatore dell'opera pia fatta dal Signor Don Angelo suo padre nella festa della Beata Lodovica suo Parente fece in tal sera una radunanza di molti Cavaglieri, e Dame col trattenimento d'una Soave [?] Armonia de musici, che si poteva chiamare celeste per l'intervento dell Angelica voce della Pia favourita cantatrice di sua Ecc.za.

***Doc. 2***

Barb. lat. 6413, September 21, 1675, 343r-v.

Il Pontefice riflettendo essere hormai su la fine dell'anno Santo, e volendo anch'esso mostrare qualche opera di pietà, si porto mercoledi mattina alla Trinità de Pellegrini di Ponte Sisto, e lavo i piedi a 12 di quei poveri, in quali diede poi 2 medaglie una d'oro, et una d'argento et a tutti l'altri una d'argento con lasciar 500 scudi d'oro al luogo, e si sarebbe anco fermato a servirli a tavola, se non gli fosse stato dai Parenti, e Creature sconsigliata tal opera, per il disagio longo, che seco portava, e per trattenersi tanto longo tempo dalle Camere Quirinali.

Molti critici però hanno detto, che il Pontefice fece in quel giorno di mostratione, perche alla Trinita vi era la Compagnia dell'Oriolo, composta di sudditi di D. Gasparo a fine, che il regalo delle medaglie fosse un vero segno d'affetto verso quei vassalli.



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### Abbreviations

ASV = Archivio Segreto Vaticano (Vatican Secret Archive, Vatican City)

ASR = Archivio di Stato di Roma (State Archive, Rome)

BAV = Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Vatican Apostolic Library, Vatican City)

DBI = *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*

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ASV. Segretaria di Stato, *Avvisi di Roma*, 99.

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## ILLUSTRATIONS

## CHAPTER 1: ADOPTION



Fig. 1.1. Gottfried Eichler the Younger, 'Adoptio', Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, Augsburg, 1758-60.

Ripa's *Adoptio* emblem was not illustrated in early editions of the text. This eighteenth century German edition includes an illustration that fuses two of different emblems that Ripa offers: in the foreground is the allegorical figure of adoption as a matronly woman with a young boy under her arm and the *ossifraga* tucked into her mantle, while in the background Trajan is shown adopting Hadrian, making him successor to the imperial throne.

## PROLEGOMENA TO CHAPTER 2



Fig. P.1. *Atlas*, Central niche, Teatro dell'acqua, Villa Aldobrandini, Frascati.

## CHAPTER 2: ALDOBRANDINI



Fig. 2.1a. Detail, frontispiece of the *Tempio all'illustrissimo et reverendissimo Signor Cinthio Aldobrandini, Cardinale S. Giorgio, nipote del Sommo Pontefice Clemente Ottavo*, Giulio Segni, ed. (Bologna: Rossi, 1600). Copyright: Bibliotheca Hertziana.

There are a number of engraved portraits of Cinzio in circulation, found in the various texts that were dedicated to him. Certain elements of such publications appear to have been manipulated to satisfy their audience. The *Tempio* to Cinzio Aldobrandini, published in 1600, includes both an elaborate frontispiece and a portrait of the cardinal. The engraving was executed by Francesco Brizio most likely in 1593-4 to celebrate Cinzio's elevation to the cardinalate, and then later reused as the frontispiece to the *Tempio*. On this engraving see: Diane DeGrazia, *Le Stampe dei Carracci, con i disegni, le incisioni, le copie, e i dipinti connessi, Catalogo critico*. (Bologna: Edizioni Alfa, 1984): 215-216. R36 [297]. The basic format of the engraving was not created for Cinzio; the design was first executed by Brizio with the



stemma of Cardinal Giambattista Altieri. See: Giovanna Gaeta Bertelà, *Incisori Bolognesi ed Emiliani del sec. XVII* (Bologna: Compositori, 1973), cat. 55.



Fig. 2.1b.

In the roundel frame surrounding the portrait the cardinal is identified as ‘Cynthus Aldobrandinus Cardinalis Sancti Georgii’, dropping any reference to Passeri altogether. The Aldobrandini heraldic symbols of the *rastrelli* (rakes) and stars are included as play-things for a passel of putti at the bottom of the image. In this publication at least Cinzio’s identity is unambiguously proclaimed as Aldobrandini, no doubt a conscious decision for a book published in the papal city of Bologna in the Holy Year of 1600. In the inscription accompanying the image Cinzio is praised as a “lovable example of virtue capable of generating anything” and as a hero, presumably of the arts. The inscription reads: “Omnigenae exemplar virtutis amabile cernit / Qui Cynthi herois suspicit effigiem”; “Guarda/Comprende l’esempio amabile di una [della] virtù capace di generare qualunque cosa / Colui che regge l’effigie dell’eroe Cinzio.” My thanks to Giuseppe Esposito for translating this inscription for me.



Fig. 2.2. Teatro d'Aqua, Villa Aldobrandini, Frascati.

The full inscription reads:

PETRUS CARD. ALDOBRANDINUS S.R.E.CAM./CLEM. VIII FRATRIS F.  
REDACTA IN POTESTATUM/SEDIS APOST. FERRARIA PACE CHRISTIANAE  
REIP./RESTITUTTA AD LEVANDAM OPPORTUNO SECESSU/URBANARUM  
CURARUM MOLEM VILLAM HANC/DEDUCTA AB ALGIDO ACQUA  
EXTRUXIT."

"Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini S.R.E. CAM, son of Clement VIII's brother, brought Ferrara back under the power of the Holy See, restored peace to the Christian republic, to ease himself [from] the weight of urban worries with opportune retreat, brought water from Mount Algido here, [and] built this villa."



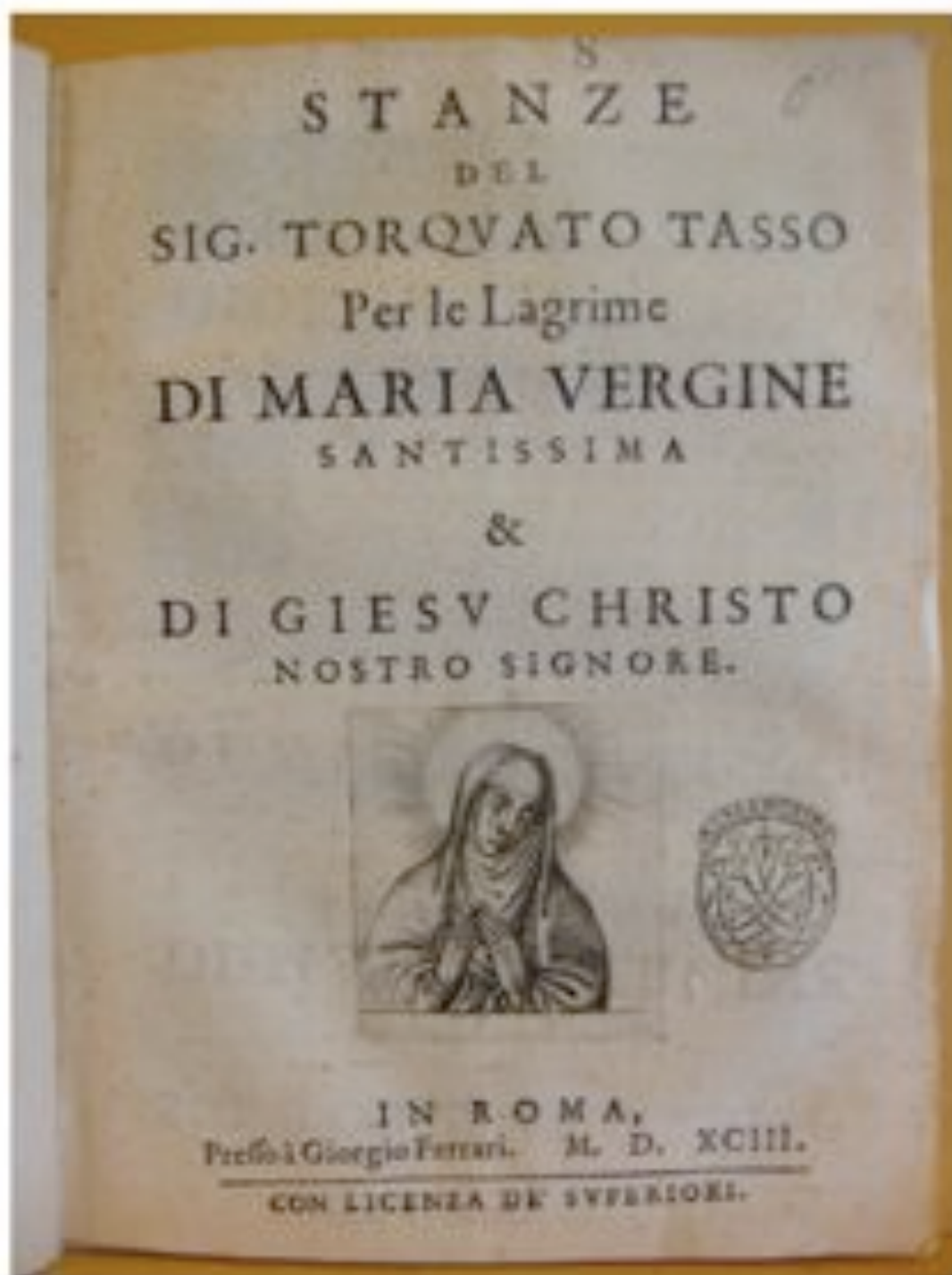


Fig. 2.3. Frontispiece: Torquato Tasso, *Le lagrime della Vergine Maria Santissima e di Giesù Christo*, Rome 1593.



Fig. 2.4. Hans Memling, *Sorrowing Madonna*, 1480s. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.



Fig. 2.5. Workshop of Dieric Bouts, Netherlandish, c. 140-1475. *Mater Dolorosa*, 1480/1500. Oil on panel 38.7 x 30.3 cm (15 1/4 x 11 7/8 in.); painted surface: 37.2 x 29 cm (14 7/8 x 11 3/8 in.) 1986.998. The Art Institute of Chicago.



Fig. 2.6. Triptych of Clement VIII (before 1527), Oil on wood, 1.54 x 0.71 m. Cagliari, cathedral of S. Maria di Castello, Treasury.



Fig. 2.7. Titian, *Mater Dolorosa*, c. 1555, Oil on wood, 68 x 61 cm, Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.



Fig. 2.8. Titian, Mater Dolorosa. 1553-54, Oil on marble, 68 x 53 cm, Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.



Fig. 2.9. Titian, Mater Dolorosa. c. 1555-1560. Panel, 67.8 x 56.7 cm. Roman Catholic Diocese of Brooklyn, New York.





Fig. 2.10. Luca Bertelli, print after Titian, Mater Dolorosa, 1564. Inscribed: 'Philippo regi Catholico hispanarum Titianus pictor clarissimus D D.'



Fig. 2.11. Madonna and child and saints, apse mosaic, S. Maria ad Scala Coeli. c. 1598.

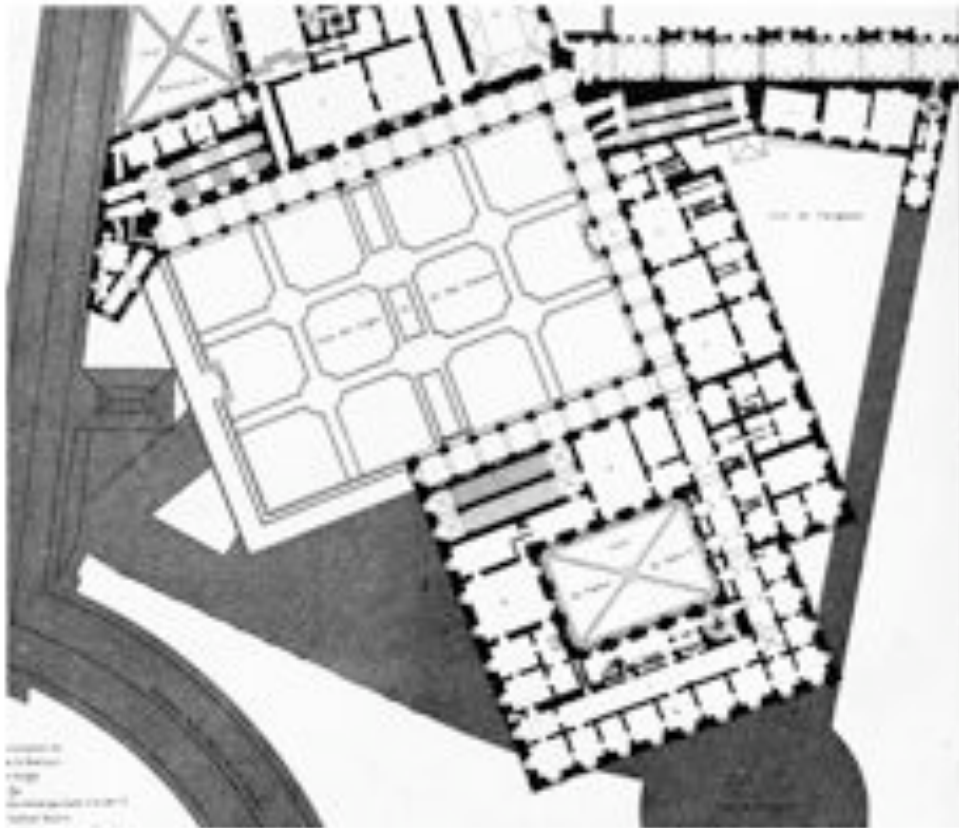


Fig. 2.12. Vatican palace, detail with the wing of Gregory XIII and the Foconi rooms, marked h. From: Paul Letarouilly, *Vatican* (London: Tiranti, 1963).



Fig. 2.13. Cherubino Alberti, ceiling, Aldobrandini chapel, S. Maria sopra Minerva. c. 1601.



Fig. 2.14. Domenico de' Vetri. called Domenico di Polo (?) (Florence c. 1480-1547) Bust of Cosimo I de' Medici. ca. 1537. Rock crystal and gilded metal. 34 x 28 mm. Florence, museo degli Argenti. Inv. Gemme del 1921, n. 332.





Fig. 2.15. Carlo Bizzaccheri, Tomb of Cinzio Aldobrandini, S. Pietro in Vincoli, Rome. 1707.



Fig. 2.16. Carlo Bizzacheri, Detail of the tomb of Cinzio Aldobrandini, S. Pietro in Vincoli, Rome. 1707.



Fig. 2.17. Agostino Carracci, study for the *Coat of Arms of Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini*, Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp. inv. no. 1333. pen and brown ink with brown wash over traces of black chalk. 147 x 200 cm.



Fig. 2.18. Commemorative Sheet with the Coat of Arms of Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini. Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna. PN 3336. Thesis print for Marcellus Tranquillus Bodiensis, 1594.



## CHAPTER 3: BORGHESE



Fig. 3.1. Carlo Maderno, Façade of St. Peter's, 1605. Rome.



Fig. 3.2a. Flaminio Ponzio, Datary wing, Vatican Palace, 1608. Rome.



Fig. 3.2b. Flaminio Ponzio, Datary wing, Vatican Palace, 1608. Rome. From: Paul Letarouilly, *Vatican* (London: Tiranti, 1963).

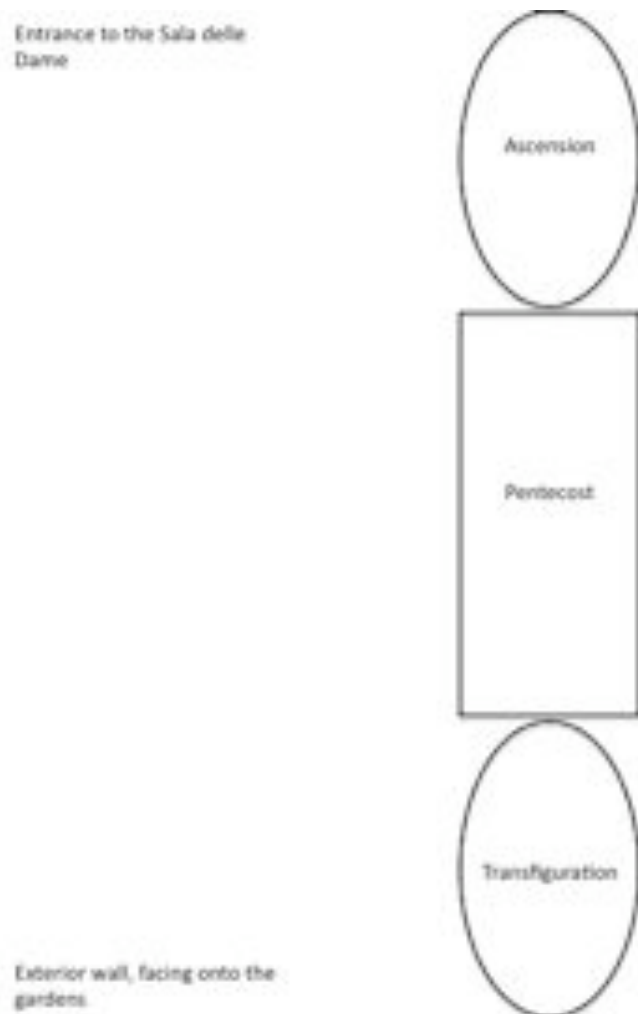


Fig. 3.3. Schematic representation of Guido Reni's frescoes, Sala delle Dame, Vatican Palace.



Fig. 3.4 Schematic representation of Guido Reni's frescoes, Sala della Nozze Aldobrandini, Vatican Palace.



Fig. 3.5. Guido Reni, *Transfiguration, Pentecost and Ascension*, 1608, Sala delle Dame, Vatican Palace, Rome.





Fig. 3.6. Guido Reni, *Transfiguration*, 1608, Sala delle Dame, Vatican Palace.



Fig. 3.7. Guido Reni, *Pentecost*, 1608, Sala delle Dame, Vatican Palace.



Fig. 3.8. Guido Reni, *Ascension*, 1608, Sala delle Dame, Vatican Palace.





Fig. 3.9. Detail, stucco garland, Sala delle Dame, Vatican Palace.



Fig. 3.10. Inscription, Sala delle Dame, Vatican Palace.



Fig. 3.11. Inscription, Sala delle Dame, Vatican Palace.





Fig. 3.12. Guido Reni, *Samson fighting the lion*, 1608, Sala delle Nozze Aldobrandini, Vatican Palace.



Fig. 3.13. Guido Reni, *Samson killing the Philistines with an ass's jawbone*, 1608, Sala delle Nozze Aldobrandini, Vatican Palace.





Fig. 3.14. Guido Reni, *Samson carrying off the gates of Gaza*, 1608, Sala delle Nozze Aldobrandini, Vatican Palace, Rome.



Fig. 3.15. col. a: *Christ defeating his enemies with a single word*; col. b: *Samson defeating the Philistines with the jawbone of an ass*, *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*. Krems Cathedral, Monastery Library, Codex Cremifanensis 243, 22v.



Fig. 3.16. col. a: The Resurrection; col. b: Samson carrying away the gates of Gaza, *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*. Krems Cathedral, Monastery Library, Codex Cremifanensis 243, 37v.



Fig. 3.17a. col. a. Christ conquering the Devil, *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*. Krems Cathedral, Monastery Library, Codex Cremifanensis 243, 34v.





Fig. 3.17b. col. a. *Samson tearing apart the lion*, *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*. Krems Cathedral, Monastery Library, Codex Cremifanensis 243, 35r.



Fig. 3.17c. col. a: *Christ impaling the devil with the cross*, *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*. Rome, Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, 55.K.2. 38v.



Fig. 3.17d. col. a. *Samson defeats the lion*, *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*. Rome, Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, 55.K.2, 39r.

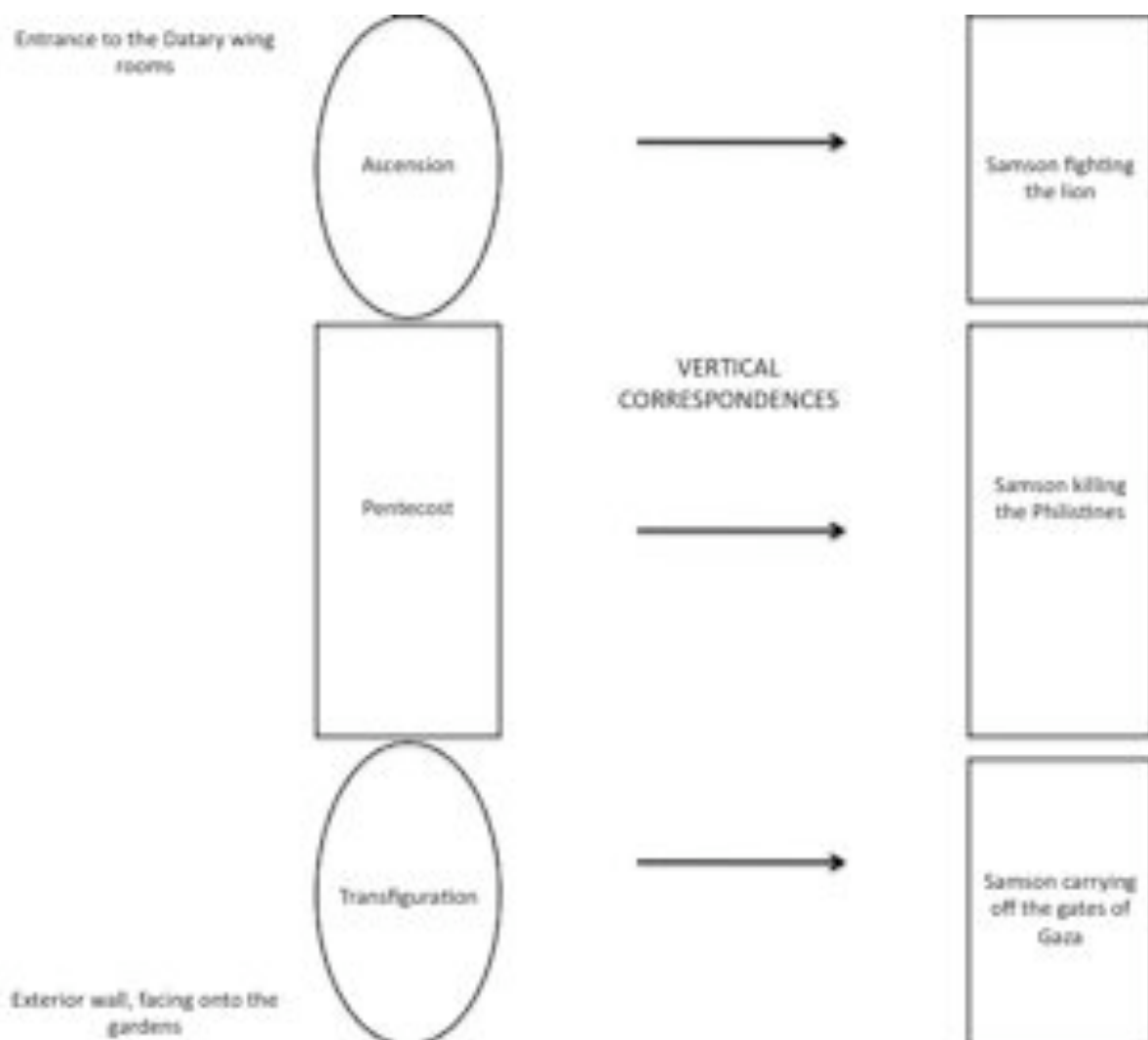


Fig. 3.18 Schematic representation of the frescoes in the Sala delle Dame and Sala delle Nozze Aldobrandini.



Fig. 3.19. Correggio, *Samson*, c. 1520-22. Abbey of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma.





Fig. 3.20. Girolamo Muziano, *Pentecost*, 1577, Sala di Concistoro, Vatican Palace, Rome.



Fig. 3.21 Carlo Saraceni, *Persian Embassy led by Sir Robert Shirley*, fresco on the south wall, 1616. Sala Regia, Quirinal Palace.





Fig. 3.22. Guido Reni, *Aurora*, 1614. Villa Rospigliosi-Pallavicini.



Fig. 3.23. Cherubino Alberti, frieze, 1612-14, Villa Rospigliosi-Pallavicini.



Fig. 3.24. Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *David*, 1623, marble, 170cm. Galleria Borghese, Rome.



Fig. 3.25. Correggio, detail of David and Samson, c. 1530. Dome, Parma Cathedral.



Fig. 3.26. Dürer, *Samson fighting the Lion*, c. 1497-98.



Fig. 3.27. *Samson fighting the Lion*, Syrian?, 7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> century, 16.4 cm tall. Vatican Museums, Vatican City.





Fig. 3.28. View of the Sala Ducale, Vatican palace. Upper right: Raffaellino da Reggio, *Hercules and Cacus*, c. 1570.



Fig. 3.29. Giovanni Baglione, *Sacred and Profane Love*, 1602-3. Palazzo Barberini, Rome.



Fig. 3.30. Giambologna, *Samson slaying a Philistine*, 1560-62, marble. Victoria and Albert Museum. London.



Fig. 3.31. Alvise Vivarini, *Christ carrying the Cross*, Basilica of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice.





Fig. 3.32. Battista Zelotti, reconstruction of the ceiling in the library of the Abbey of Santa Maria, Praglia. c. 1564.



Fig. 3.33. Battista Zelotti, *Samson*, c. 1564. Abbey of Santa Maria, Praglia.



Fig. 3.34. Giuseppe Cesari, *Samson*, 1583. Sala vecchia degli svizzeri, Vatican Palace.





Fig. 3.35. Annibale Carracci, *Hercules at the Crossroads*, c. 1596-7. Camerino Farnese, Palazzo Farnese, Rome.



Fig. 3.36. Workshop of Jan Raes, *Samson fighting the lion*, woven in Brussels, 1610?, location unknown.



Fig. 3.37. Workshop of Jan Raes, *The birth of Samson*, woven in Brussels, 1610?, location unknown.



Fig. 3.38. Workshop of Jan Raes, *The birth of Samson*, woven in Brussels, 1629. Cremona Cathedral.





Fig. 3.39. Workshop of Jan Raes, *Samson meets the woman of Timnah*, woven in Brussels, 1629. Cremona Cathedral.



Fig. 3.40. Workshop of Jan Raes, *Samson fighting the lion*, woven in Brussels, 1629. Cremona Cathedral.



Fig. 3.41. Workshop of Jan Raes, *Samson offers his parents the honeycomb*, woven in Brussels, 1629. Cremona Cathedral.



Fig. 42. Workshop of Jan Raes, *Samson presents himself at the house of his bride and is sent off by his father-in-law*, woven in Brussels, 1629. Cremona Cathedral.





Fig. 3.43. Workshop of Jan Raes, *Samson killing the Philistines*, woven in Brussels, 1629. Cremona Cathedral.



Fig. 3.44. Workshop of Jan Raes, *Samson killing Philistines with the ass's jawbone*, woven in Brussels, 1629. Cremona Cathedral.





Fig. 3.45. Workshop of Jan Raes, *Samson carrying the doors of Gaza up the mountain*, woven in Brussels, 1629. Cremona Cathedral.



Fig. 3.46. Workshop of Jan Raes, *Marriage of Samson (and Delilah ?)*, woven in Brussels, 1629. Cremona Cathedral.

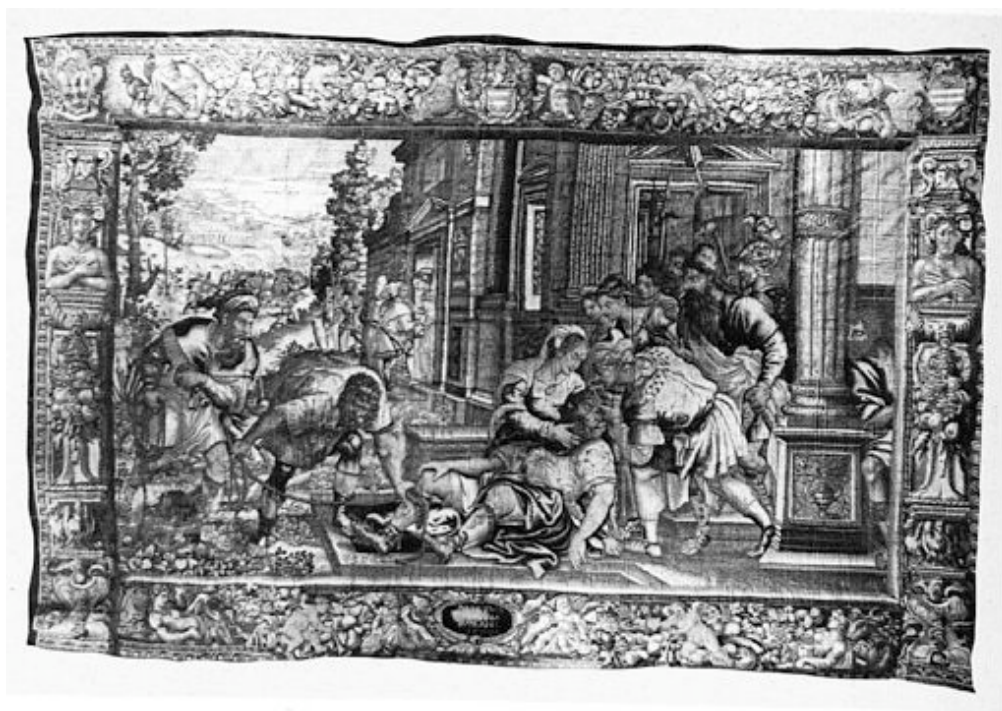


Fig. 3.47. Workshop of Jan Raes, *Samson sleeping on Delilah's lap while the Philistines cut his hair*, woven in Brussels, 1629. Cremona Cathedral.



Fig. 3.48. Workshop of Jan Raes, *Samson pulling down the temple and dying among the ruins*, woven in Brussels, 1629. Cremona Cathedral.



Fig. 3.49. Workshop of Jan Raes, *The burial of Samson*, woven in Brussels, 1629. Cremona Cathedral.



Fig. 3.50. Roman coultter.





Fig. 3.51. col. a. detail. *Shamgar killing six hundred men with a coultre*, *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*. Monastery Library, Krems Cathedral, Codex Cremifanensis 243, 23r.



Fig. 3.52. Annibale Carracci, *Samson*, c. 1564. Galleria Borghese, Rome.



Fig. 3.53. Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *Aeneas and Anchises*, 1618-19, marble, 220 cm. Galleria Borghese, Rome.



Fig. 3.54. Federico Barrocci, *The Fall of Troy*, 1586-9. Galleria Borghese, Rome.



Fig. 3.55. Raphael, *Fire in the Borgo*, detail, 1514-17. Stanza dell'Incendio, Vatican Palace, Rome.





Fig. 3.56. Michelangelo, *Risen Christ*, 1514-21, marble, 205 cm. S. Maria sopra Minerva, Rome.





Fig. 3.57. Caffarelli Chapel, S. Maria sopra Minerva, 1620. Rome.



Fig. 3.58. Tomb of Francesco Caffarelli, Cafferelli Chapel, S. Maria sopra Minerva, 1620.

## CHAPTER 4: ASTALLI



Fig. 4.1. Camillo Astalli Pamphili, engraving by Giuseppe Maria Testana, published by Giacomo de' Rossi in *Effigies insignia*.



Fig. 4.2. Tomb of Cardinal Camillo Astalli, Chapel of Saint Agatha, Duomo, Catania.





Fig. 4.3. Bust of Cardinal Camillo Astalli, from the cardinal's tomb, Duomo, Catania.



Fig. 4.4. Diego Velázquez, *Cardinal Camillo Astalli*, c. 1649-1650, oil on canvas, 61 x 48.5 cm. Hispanic Society of America, New York.



Fig. 4.5. Detail, Tomb of Camillo Astalli.



Fig. 4.6. Claude Lorrain, *Landscape with Apollo and the Muses*, 1652. Oil on canvas, 186 x 290 cm. Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland.



Fig. 4.7. Velázquez, *Innocent X Pamphili*, 1650. Galleria Doria Pamphili, Rome.





Fig. 4.8. Claude Lorrain, *Landscape with Dancing Figures (The Mill)*, 1648, oil on canvas, 150.6 x 197.8 cm. Galleria Doria-Pamphili, Rome.



Fig. 4.9. Claude Lorrain, *View of Delphi with a procession*, 1650. Galleria Doria-Pamphili, Rome.

## CHAPTER 5: ALTIERI



Fig. 5.1. Attributed to Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *Pope Clement X (Emilio Altieri)*, ca. 1671, Bronze, 91.4 x 71.5 x 36.1 cm. The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Minneapolis, inv. 59.7.



Fig. 5.2. Alberto Clouwet after Giovanni Battista Gaulli, Portrait of Cardinal Paluzzo Paluzzi degli Albertoni Altieri, engraving published in Rome by Gian Giacomo de' Rossi. Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, Rome.





Fig. 5.3. *Gaspare Altieri*, 1670s. Private collection. Armando Schiavo attributed the painting to Carlo Maratta, with marginal additions by Anton von Maron. It has since been attributed to Jacob Ferdinand Vouet by Francesco Petrucci in: Fagiolo dell'Arco, Maurizio, Dieter Graf and Francesco Petrucci, eds. *Giovan Battista Gaulli, Il Baciccio*, 1639-1709. Milan: Skira, 1999.



Fig. 5.4. Giuseppe Mazzuoli, Bust of Angelo Altieri, c. 1705, marble. Altieri Chapel, S. Maria in Campitelli, Rome.



Fig. 5.5. Lorenzo Merlini, *Model for the bust of Cardinal Paluzzo Paluzzi degli Albertoni Altieri*, c. 1698, terracotta, 78 x 78 x 43 cm. Museo di Roma, Rome.



Fig. 5.6. Giovanni Antonio de' Rossi, Palazzo Altieri, 1655, 1670. Rome.



Fig. 5.7. Giovanni Antonio de' Rossi, Palazzo Altieri Rome, staircase. 1655, 1670.





Fig. 5.8. Carlo Maratta, *Triumph of Clemency*, 1674. Palazzo Altieri, Rome.



Fig. 5.9. Giovanni Antonio de' Rossi, Palazzo Altieri, plan. 1655; 1670. Archivio Altieri.



Fig. 5.10. Giovanni Antonio de' Rossi, Palazzo Altieri, courtyard. 1655.



Fig. 5.11. Carlo Maratta, *Triumph of Clemency*, detail, 1674. Palazzo Altieri, Rome.





Fig. 5.12. Carlo Maratta, *Triumph of Clemency*, detail of Gaspare. 1674.



Fig. 5.13. Gianlorenzo Bernini and Alessandro Algardi, antique torso restored as Carlo Barberini, 1630, marble. Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome.



Fig. 5.14. Carlo Maratta, *Triumph of Clemency*, bozzetto, c. 1670, 1.75 x 0.85 m. Palacio Real di Madrid, cat E 119.



Fig. 5.15. Carlo Maratti, *Triumph of Clemency*, bozzetto, c. 1670. Oil on canvas, 190 x 80 cm. Associazione Bancaria Italiana, Palazzo Altieri, Rome.





Fig. 5.16. Carlo Maratti, *Triumph of Clemency*, bozzetto, c. 1674. Oil on canvas, 180 x 80 cm. Associazione Bancaria Italiana, Palazzo Altieri, Rome.



Fig. 5.17. Carlo Maratti, sketch for the *Triumph of Clemency*. Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf.





Fig. 5.18. Carlo Maratta, *Triumph of Clemency*, detail, bozzetto, Madrid.



Fig. 5.19. Carlo Maratta, sketch for the figure of Strength in the *Triumph of Clemency*. Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf.



Fig. 5.20. Giovanni and Cherubini Alberti with Paul Brill, Sala Clementina, 1596-1602. Vatican Palace, , Rome.



Fig. 5.21. Pietro da Cortona's *Triumph of the Barberini*, 1633. Palazzo Barberini, Rome.





Fig. 5.22. Giovanni and Cherubino Alberti, *Apotheosis of Clement I*, Sala Clementina, ceiling. 1596-1598. Vatican Palace, Rome.



Fig. 5.23. Giovanni and Cherubino Alberti, Sala Clementina, Stemma with armillary spheres. 1598-1602. Vatican Palace, Rome.





Fig. 5.24. *Immortality*, Sala d'Eterno, end of 17<sup>th</sup> century. Palazzo Altieri, Oriolo Romano.



Fig. 5.25. Domenico Canuti, *Apotheosis of Romulus*, 1674, Sala di Romolo, Palazzo Altieri, Rome.

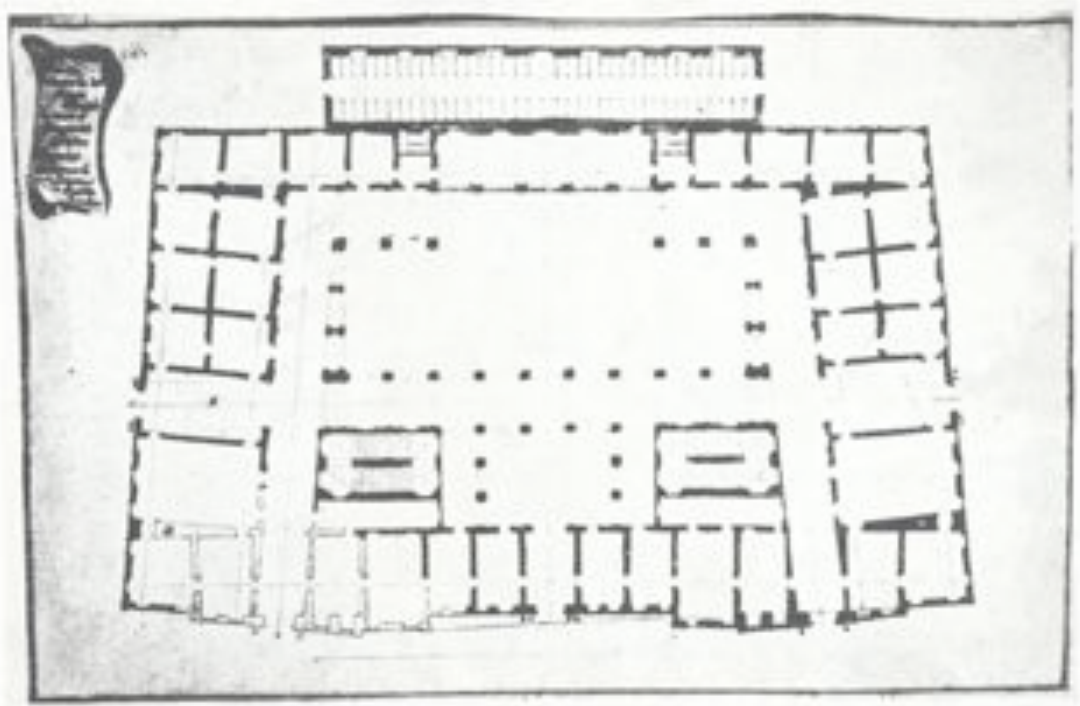


Fig. 5.26. Carlo Fontana, plan, Palazzo Altieri. c. 1670. Albertina, Vienna.



Fig. 5.27. Giambattista Nolli, Map of Rome, detail, 1748.



Fig. 5.28. Giovanni Antonio de' Rossi, Palazzo Altieri, 1655/70, Rome. View through the androne into the main courtyard of Palazzo Altieri.





Fig. 5.29. Giovan Battista Falda, after Carlo Rainaldi, *Triumphal arch of Pope Clement X erected by the People of Rome*. 1670. Museo di Roma, Rome.



Fig. 5.30. Francesco Mochi, *Carlo Barberini*, c. 1630, bronze. Barberini collection.



Fig. 5.31. Marcus Aurelius, 161-180 AD, bronze, 424 cm high. Musei Capitolini, Rome.



Fig. 5.32. Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *Bozzetto for the Equestrian statue to Louis XIV*, 1669/1670, terracotta, 76 x 92 x 36 cm. Galleria Borghese, Rome, inv. n. CCLXIX.





Fig. 5.33. Philip Schor (attrib.), Project for a standard for Castel Sant'Angelo, Gaspare Altieri as Arcangel, 1670-76, Windsor, Royal Library, RL 4441.



Fig. 5.34. Commemorative statue of Tommaso Rospigliosi, Restored antique torso, 1669. Sala dei Capitani, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome.



Fig. 5.35. Antonio Tempesta, engraving of Daniele da Volterra, *Henry II, King of France*.



Fig. 5.36. Giovanni Battista Gaulli, known as Baciccio. *Beata Ludovica Albertoni Distributing Alms*, 1671, oil on canvas, 210.2 x 137.2 cm (82  $\frac{3}{4}$  x 54 in.). Los Angeles, Getty Museum (70.PA.30).





Fig. 5.37. Antoniazio Romano (Italian, ) and studio, *Santa Francesca Romana*, detail of the altar fresco in the chapel of the Tor de' Specchi, 1468, fresco, Monastery of the Tor de' Specchi, Rome.



Fig. 5.38. Giovanni Battista Gaulli, *S. Louis Beltran*, c. 1670. Caffarelli Chapel, S. Maria sopra Minerva, 1671.



Fig. 5.39. *Ludovica Albertoni*, 16<sup>th</sup> century, fresco, Altieri Chapel, S. Francesco a Ripa, Rome.



Fig. 5.40. *Ludovica Albertoni*, 17<sup>th</sup> century?, fresco, Chapel of Santa Francesca Romana, S. Bartolommeo all'Isola, Rome.





Fig. 5.41. *The Beata Ludovica Albertoni Giving Alms*. Frontispiece of Cesare Solatio, *Compendio della vita della beata Lodouica Albertoni della Cetera vedoua romana...* (Rome: Nella Stamperia del Mancini, 1671). Photograph courtesy Biblioteca Nazionale, Rome.



Fig. 5.42. Giovanni Battista Gaulli (Italian, 1639-1709), *The Holy Family with St. Anne*, 1674, oil on canvas, Altieri Chapel, S. Francesco a Ripa, Rome.



Fig. 5.43. Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *Beata Ludovica Albertoni*, 1674, marble. Altieri Chapel, S. Francesco a Ripa, Rome.



Fig. 5.44. Sebastiano Cipriani, Altieri Chapel, 1705. S. Maria in Campitelli, Rome.



Fig. 5.45. Altieri Chapel, 1622/1674. S. Francesco a Ripa, Rome.





Fig. 5.46. Lorenzo Ottoni, *The Beata Ludovica Albertoni Adoring the Holy Family*, 1696-1702, marble. Altieri Chapel, S. Maria in Campitelli, Rome.



Fig. 5.47. Giuseppe Mazzuoli, Bust of Angelo Altieri, c. 1705. Altieri chapel, S. Maria in Campitelli, Rome.



Fig. 5.48. Michele Maile, Bust of Vittoria Parabiacchi, c. 1705. Altieri chapel, S. Maria in Campitelli, Rome.



Fig. 5.49. Giuseppe Passeri, *Assumption*, c. 1705. Altieri chapel, S. Maria in Campitelli, Rome.



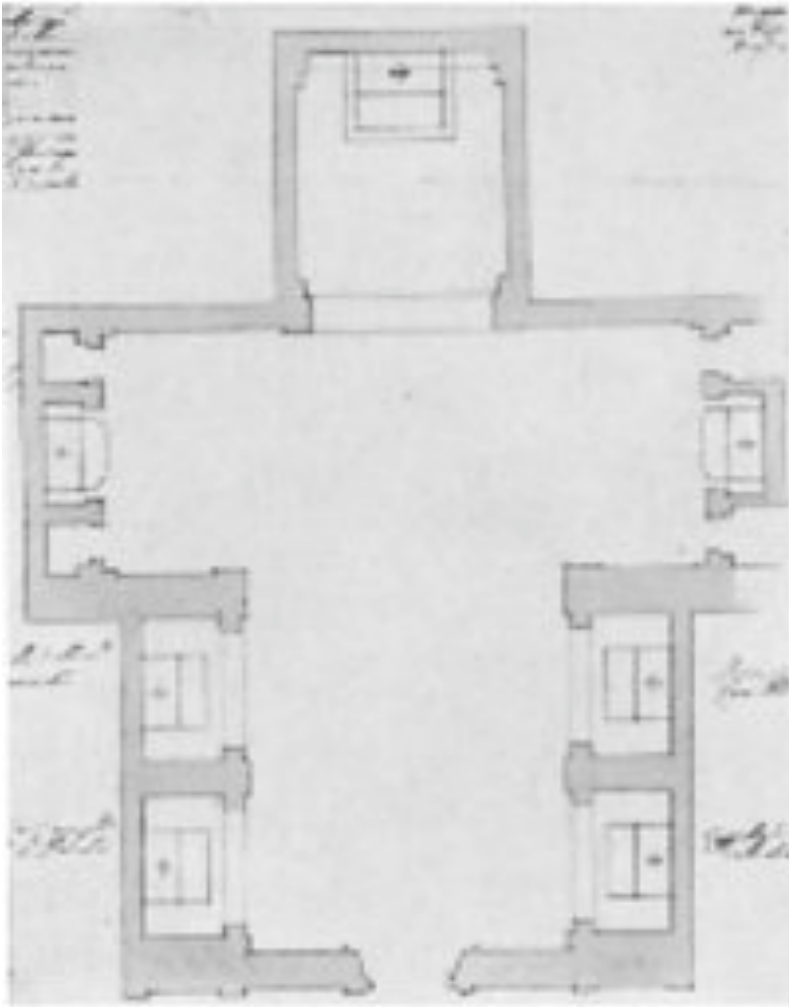


Fig. 5.50. Anonymous, Plan of S. Maria in Campitelli, choir from 1619 and nave from 1642-8. Biblioteca Vaticana, codex Chigianus P VII 10, f. 105, 555 x 382 mm.



Fig. 5.51. Sebastiano Cipriani, Altieri Chapel, 1705. S. Maria in Campitelli, Rome.



Fig. 5.52. Orazio Gentileschi, *The Vision of St. Francesca Romana*, 1615-19, oil on canvas. Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino.



Fig. 5.53. Pietro da Cortona, *Vision of St. Francis of Assisi*, ca. 1640, oil on canvas, 314 x 208 cm. Arezzo, Santissima Annunziata.



Fig. 5.54. Giovanni Coli and Francesco Gherardi, *The Holy Family with S. John the Evangelist and a Bishop saint*, c. 1670. Galleria Colonna, Rome.





Fig. 5.55. Giovanni Battista Gaulli, known as Baciccio. Saint Joseph and the Infant Christ, c. 1670-85, oil on canvas, 127 x 97.2 cm. Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena California, F.1973.36.P



Fig. 5.56. Antonio Raggi, *Virgin and Child with the Glory of St. Joseph* Ginetti Chapel, 1671-3, marble. Ginetti chapel, Santa Andrea della Valle, Rome.



Fig. 5.57. Ginetti Chapel, 1671-3. Sant Andrea della Valle, Rome.





Fig. 5.58. Vincenzo de' Rossi, *St. Joseph and the Christ Child*, 1546, marble and bronze. Pantheon, Rome.



Fig. 5.59. Tomb slab of Antonio Barberini, 1646. SS. Concezione, Rome.



Fig. 5.60. Sebastiano Cipriani et. al. Altieri chapel, 1705. S. Maria in Campitelli, Rome.

## CURRICULUM VITAE

Karen J. Lloyd

## Degrees:

- University of Toronto, 1999-2003, Honours Bachelor of Arts, Art History
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## Positions

- Kress Fellow, Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome (2006-2008)
- Teaching Assistant, 383: History of Photography, Rutgers University (Spring 2006)
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- Teaching Assistant, 105: Introduction to Art History, Rutgers University (Fall 2005)

## Publications:

- "Bernini and the Vacant See. An unknown episode following the death of Pope Urban VIII (1623-44)." *The Burlington Magazine*. 150 (2008): 821-824.
- Forthcoming: "Baciccio's *Beata Ludovica Albertoni*." *Getty Research Journal* 2 (2010).