

JOURNAL
OF THE WARBURG
AND COURTAULD
INSTITUTES

LXXIII

ISSN 0075-4390

ISBN 978-0-85481-151-9

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Printed by Sarum Colourview, Old Sarum, Salisbury, SP4 6BU

Subscriptions may be placed through any bookseller or with the Warburg Institute

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BARN-OWL PAINTERS IN ST PETER'S IN THE VATICAN,
1604: THREE MOCKING POEMS FOR RONCALLI,
VANNI AND PASSIGNANO

(AND A NOTE ON THE BREECHES-MAKER)*

Maddalena Spagnolo

Among the most prestigious public painting commissions awarded in Rome during the pontificate of Ippolito Aldobrandini, Pope Clement VIII (1592–1605), were those for the decoration of the six chapels adjacent to the four piers in St Peter's in the Vatican, located in the small aisles. A vast amount of surviving material concerning this commission has been published.¹ Particular attention has been devoted to the series of six enormous altarpieces for the chapels, which were assigned between 1599 and 1604 to Cristoforo Roncalli, Francesco Vanni, Domenico Cresti ('il Passignano'), Ludovico Cigoli (the substitute for Tommaso Laureti who was originally engaged),² Bernardo Castello and Giovanni Baglione. According to their first biographers, the works of Roncalli, Vanni and Passignano were well received: their paintings were praised by Giulio Mancini and Giovanni Baglione, who note that the artists were awarded the title of Knight of Christ.³ Hitherto unpublished contemporary sources, however, show that the unveiling of the three paintings was also accompanied by slating criticism. This paper will focus on three anonymous sonnets which

* The research for this article was made possible thanks to a Fellowship from the Warburg Institute and a Fellowship from the Italian Academy, Columbia University. I wish to express my gratitude to Jenny Boyle, Charles Hope, Elizabeth McGrath and Alessandro Scafi for their stimulating comments. I am grateful also to Crofton Black, Valeria Cafà, Marco Collareta, Flora Dennis, Marina Innocenti, Giorgio Masi and François Quiviger for their help.

The following abbreviations are used throughout:

ASC = Archivio di Stato Capitolino, Rome

ASR = Archivio di Stato, Rome

BAV = Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City

BL = British Library, London.

Frequently quoted sources:

Abromson = C. M. Abromson, 'Painting in Rome during the Papacy of Clement VIII (1592–1605): A Documented Study', Ph.D thesis, Columbia University 1976, New York and London 1981;

Baglione = Giovanni Baglione, *Le Vite de' pittori, scultori, architetti ...*, Rome 1642 [ed. J. Hess and H. Röttgen, 3 vols, Vatican City 1995, vol. 1];

Chappell and Kirwin = M. L. Chappell and C. W. Kirwin, 'A Petrine Triumph: The Decoration of the *Navi Piccole* in San Pietro under Clement VIII', *Storia dell'arte*, XXI, 1974, pp. 119–70.

Mancini = Giulio Mancini, *Considerazioni sulla pittura*, ed. A. Marucchi and L. Salerno, 2 vols, Rome 1956–57;

Shearman = J. Shearman, *Raphael in Early Modern Sources (1483–1602)*, 2 vols, New Haven, CT and London 2003;

Sickel = L. Sickel, 'Künstlerrivalität im Schatten der Peterskuppel. Giuseppe Cesari d'Arpino und das Attentat auf Cristoforo Roncalli', *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, xxviii, 2001, pp. 159–89;

Tommaseo = N. Tommaseo, *Nuovo dizionario della lingua italiana*, 4 vols, Turin 1865–79.

1. The main studies on this commission are H. Siebenhüner, 'Umriss zur Geschichte der Ausstattung von St Peter in Rom von Paul III bis Paul V (1547–1606)', *Festschrift für Hans Sedlmayr*, Munich 1962, pp. 229–320 (289–302); Chappell and Kirwin; Abromson.

2. The Sicilian Tommaso Laureti was originally assigned the altarpiece but died in Sep. 1602: see Chappell and Kirwin, p. 130; Abromson, pp. 68, 341–42, points out the mistake of Baglione (p. 73), who claimed the altarpiece was assigned to Roncalli after Laureti's death.

3. Mancini, I, pp. 210, 237, 240, states that all three artists were awarded the title because of their

mock the altarpieces (published here as Appendix I.1–3). They are preserved together in British Library MS King's 323, which contains a miscellany of late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century verses dedicated to artists.⁴ As both literary and documentary sources, the sonnets are valuable in providing a rare first-hand account of the public reception of the three altarpieces, together with new information about their dates, iconography and style.⁵

I. Context of the mocking sonnets

The six altarpieces for the small aisles were conceived by Clement VIII as elements of a homogeneous pictorial cycle, arranged in a semi-circle around Peter's tomb and the papal high altar.⁶ Contemplated together, the paintings were to convey a symbolic meaning—in this way, the concept was similar to that of the ciborium commissioned by Sixtus IV, which stood over the high altar.⁷ None of the six altarpieces is still *in situ*; although some were painted on supports of slate (which was considered more durable than canvas or panel), they all deteriorated soon thereafter, with those by Passignano, Cigoli, Castello and Baglione being ruined entirely.⁸ The which that survive—by Roncalli and Vanni—have been removed because of their condition.⁹ The importance of the commission, however, was such that each artist produced several preparatory drawings; and in the early seventeenth century, Jacques Callot made prints after each painting.¹⁰

The subjects of the altarpieces are five miraculous events which occurred in the life of St Peter, together with his martyrdom: *The Death of Sapphira* by Roncalli,

altarpieces for St Peter's. Baglione, pp. 110–11, 332 [234], 290 [192], connects only Vanni's and Passignano's knighthoods to their altarpieces for St Peter's, although he reports that Roncalli's work was 'ben fatto, e diede assai soddisfazione'. In fact, Roncalli's title was not awarded in connection with this commission: see Abromson, p. 76 n. 101; W. C. Kirwin, 'The Life and Drawing Style of Cristofaro Roncalli', *Paragone*, xxix, 1978, no. 335, pp. 18–62 (p. 25 and n. 53). The same can be said for Vanni's knighthood: see below, n. 40.

4. London, BL MS King's 323, fols 204–05 (published below as Appx I). The three sonnets, together with a fourth (Appx II), are in the same 17th-century handwriting. The codex belonged to Joseph Smith (1682–1770), consul at Venice, who also owned MSS King's 281 (containing Teofilo Gallacini's *Degli errori degli architetti* ..., of 1625) and King's 155 (containing a dialogue between Pasquino and Marforio); see *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections*, ed. Sir G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson, 4 vols, London 1921, III, pp. 58–60.

5. On the public interest in the decoration of St Peter's see L. Rice, *The Altars and Altarpieces of New St Peter's. Outfitting the Basilica, 1621–1666*, Cambridge 1997, pp. 164–67.

6. Rice (as in n. 5), p. 28; Chappell and Kirwin, pp. 131, 138.

7. For the ciborium and its Petrine cycle see F. Caglioti, in *The Basilica of St Peter in the Vatican*, ed. A. Pinelli, Modena 2000, 4 vols, II (Notes), pp. 806–17; also Chappell and Kirwin, p. 135. The structure was dismantled in 1594 or slightly earlier.

8. On the supports for the six paintings see M. Gallo, 'Tavole e quadri a olio su stucco dipinti: Giovanni Baglione a San Pietro e a S. Maria Maggiore. Un contenzioso estimatorio con l'Accademia di San Luca nel 1614', in *Giovanni Baglione (1566–1644): pittore e biografo di artisti*, ed. S. Macioce, Rome 2002, pp. 27–42.

9. Roncalli's altarpiece was removed in the 18th century. At that time a mosaic copy of it was (and still is) held in St Peter's in the position once occupied by Passignano's altarpiece. (The original place of Roncalli's painting is now occupied by a mosaic copy of Raphael's *Transfiguration*; see Abromson, p. 71.) Vanni's painting was removed in the 20th century.

10. For the engravings made by Callot during his stay in Rome (1608–11) see *Jacques Callot 1592–1635*, exhib. cat. (Nancy 1992), ed. P. Choné, Paris 1992, p. 135, nos 13–16; S. Loire, 'Les Tableaux de Rome gravés par Jacques Callot: leurs sources et leur contexte', in *Jacques Callot (1592–1635)* (Actes du colloque organisé par le Service culturel du musée du Louvre, Nancy and Paris 1992), Paris 1993, pp. 99, 109–10.

St Peter Healing the Cripple at the Porta Spetiosa by Cigoli, *The Fall of Simon Magus* by Vanni, *Christ Walking on the Water to St Peter* by Castello, *The Raising of Tabitha* by Baglione, and *The Martyrdom of St Peter* by Passignano. Most of these episodes were already depicted in the portico of the old St Peter's.¹¹ The theme promoted the saint's *primatum* and in turn legitimated the role of the pope as his successor, an aim which was particularly important now against the Protestant controversy.

According to Baglione, the distribution of the subjects among the chosen artists was delegated by Clement VIII to Cardinal Cesare Baronio, his confessor and theological adviser. On this basis, Baronio has been identified unquestionably as the iconographer of the cycle, although his exact role has not been defined precisely.¹² Baglione further relates that the *prelati* of the *Reverenda fabbrica* of St Peter's chose the six painters carefully, so as to engage the 'most excellent artists of that time'; and 'if they were not to be found in Rome, they should be called from anywhere to do this work, no matter how great the expense'.¹³ Indeed, only Baglione himself was Roman. No doubt due to the Florentine bias of the family of the pope, three artists (Passignano, Vanni and Cigoli) were brought from Tuscany, while Castello came from Genoa. Roncalli, called 'il Pomarancio', had been in Rome for some years but was born and trained in Tuscany, although his family came from Bergamo. The fact that almost all the artists involved were *forestieri* (outsiders) in Rome is crucial to understanding the vein of wounded municipal pride expressed in the three poems I examine here. Moreover, since each of the six painters received the commission through the sponsorship of a cardinal or some other influential figure, the assignment of the altarpieces involved a competition not only among artists but also among aspiring patrons.¹⁴ Hence, the mocking sonnets may have been intended to undermine not only the work of the three painters but also the patrons who had promoted them.¹⁵

11. For the old portico as model for the decoration of the new St Peter's see L. Teza, 'La decorazione figurativa a stucco del portico di San Pietro al tempo di Paolo V', in *San Pietro. Arte e storia nella Basilica Vaticana*, ed. G. Rocchi Coopmans de Yoldi, Bergamo 1996, pp. 259–60.

12. Baglione, p. 110: 'perchè il Pontefice Clemente VIII, havea dato a lui [Baronio] la carica di scompartire l'histoire, e le opere, che si doveano lavorare'. On the role played by Baronio see Chappell and Kirwin, pp. 132, 138, 147; W. C. Kirwin, 'Cardinal Baronius and the 'Misteri' in St Peter's', *Baronio e l'arte*, ed. R. De Maio (atti del convegno), Sora 1985, pp. 4–20; Rice (as in n. 5), pp. 31–32.

13. Baglione, p. 110: 'e diedesi ordine che si facesse scelta lecita delli più eccellenti Pittori di quei tempi, e se non fossero stati in Roma, si facessero venire da quella Città, dove si ritrovassono, per compiere questa opera; né si guardasse a spesa, per grande ch'ella si fusse'.

14. Baglione, p. 110: 'E con quella occasione [the commission of the six altarpieces] furon proposti diversi soggetti da varii Principi, e da' Signori Cardinali per effigiare questi quadri'. He lists the sponsors

of the six artists (pp. 290–91): 'il Cavalier Roncalli favorito da Monsignor Giusti Fiorentino, Auditore della Rota Romana, e Prelato della fabbrica... . Il Cavalier Domenico Passignani favorito dal Cardinal' Arigone, e da Monsignor Paolucci, all' hora Datario, e Canonico di s. Pietro... . Il Cavalier Francesco Vanni, portato dal Cardinal Baronio... . Lodovico Civoli, favorito dal Gran Duca di Firenze, e da D. Virginio Orsini, Duca di Bracciano... . Bernardo Castelli Genovese, portato dal Cardinal Pinelli, e Giustiniani... . Gio. Baglioni Romano... co'l favore del Cardinal s. Cecilia, Nepote di Gregorio XIII'. It has been shown that Giovan Battista Marino interceded with Cardinals Giusti and Pietro Aldobrandini for Castello: see M. V. Brugnoli, 'Il soggiorno romano di Bernardo Castello e le sue pitture nel palazzo di Bassano di Sutri', *Bollettino d'arte*, XLII, 1957, pp. 256–60; R. Erbentraut, *Der Genueser Maler Bernardo Castello 1557?–1629: Leben und Ölgemälde*, Freren 1989, pp. 36–38, 295–97.

15. On conflicts between cardinals, often expressed through artistic patronage, see A. Cirinei, 'Conflitti artistici, rivalità cardinalizie e patronage a Roma fra Cinque e Seicento. Il caso del processo criminale

Although the poems concern the works by Roncalli, Vanni and Passignano, it seems that Castello's and Cigoli's altarpieces generated unfavourable comments as well. In a letter to Castello in April 1605, Giovan Battista Marino states that the artist's painting had proved to be admirable in spite of the *maligni* (malicious people).¹⁶ Unfortunately, we have no evidence of the precise nature of their criticism. Perhaps an echo of it may be found, some years later, in Giulio Mancini's comment that Castello's painting was deficient in 'composition and decorum'.¹⁷ On the other hand, according to Gabriello Chiabrera, the altarpiece was greatly admired. On 20 December 1605, Chiabrera wrote appreciatively to his friend Castello, adding that according to some *intendenti* at St Peter's, it was 'the best painting ever done there'.¹⁸ A few years later he praised the altarpiece in verse.¹⁹ His poetic *hommage*, however, may have been intended as a response to the criticism of the painting as attested by Marino.

It appears that Cigoli did not have an easy time in Rome either, as more than one of his Roman works was ill-received.²⁰ Yet it seems that his altarpiece for St Peter's was a success, as Cigoli himself modestly testified in a letter to Michelangelo Buonarroti the younger.²¹ The work was praised by Chiabrera, Mancini and Baglione, and was said to have been appreciated by Passignano and later by Andrea Sacchi.²²

contro il Cavalier d'Arpino', in *La nobiltà romana in età moderna. Profili istituzionali e pratiche sociali*, ed. M. A. Visceglia, Rome 2001, pp. 255–305.

16. G. B. Marino, letter to B. Castello (April 1605): 'La tavola di V.S. è riuscita a dispetto de' maligni mirabile, e credo che 'l signor Cavalier d'Arpino gliene abbia scritto, il quale vive al solito suo affezionatissimo.' See G. B. Marino, *Lettere*, ed. M. Guglielminetti, Turin 1966, p. 54, no. 34; see also the precedent letters (*ibid.*, nos 29–31) concerning Castello's altarpiece which testify that Marino, on his intercession for Castello, was supported by d'Arpino. It might have been adverse criticism which led to the premature departure of Castello from Rome, by April 1605. Certainly the compensation paid to Castello was the smallest disbursed to the six artists: see Brugnoli (as in n. 14), Chappell and Kirwin, p. 145 and Erbentraut (as in n. 14).

17. Mancini, I, p. 110: '... il Castelli genovese d'intelligenza e disegno ma non di gran composition nè decoro, come si vede nell'altare di S. Pietro'.

18. G. B. Chiabrera to B. Castello, Savona, 20 Dec. 1605: 'Questo agosto passato io andai a Roma ... Dico a V.S. che in Roma i pochi giorni che io praticai vidi l'ancona in S. Pietro e rimasi consolato, e maggiormente che uomini intendenti mi affermarono sinceramente, che quella era la miglior pittura fin'ora fattavi. Eravi il Passignano il quale mi commise a salutarla a suo nome, e così faccio ...'; in Gabriello Chiabrera, *Lettere (1585–1638)*, ed. S. Morando, Florence 2003, p. 136, no. 156. In an earlier letter from Chiabrera to Castello (5 Apr. 1603), we learn that Passignano was then working at St Peter's, and that Castello had in mind to go there to work: *ibid.*, p. 126, no. 144.

19. These verses form part of a poem dedicated to Castello's frescoes in the Church of the Madonna in Savona (executed 1608–10). See *Opere di Gabriello Chiabrera e di Fulvio Testi* (Biblioteca Enciclopedica Italiana, xxxiv), Milan 1834, p. 89, no. XX.

20. M. Chappell, 'Cigoli, Galileo and Invidia', *Art Bulletin*, LVII, 1975, pp. 91–98. Chiabrera seems to allude to the problems faced by Cigoli in Rome in a letter of 1 Oct. 1613, in which he warns Castello about moving to the city: see *Gabriello Chiabrera* (as in n. 18), p. 200, no. 237.

21. L. Cigoli to M. Buonarroti the younger, from Florence, 21 Jan. 1607: 'Circa il sentire V.S. le lodi della mia tavola di S. o Pietro, tutto prociede dalla affezione degli amici ...'; in A. Matteoli, 'Cinque lettere di Lodovico Cardi, Cigoli a Michelangelo Buonarroti il Giovane', *Bollettino della Accademia degli Euteleti della Città di San Miniato*, xxxviii, 1964–65, p. 33.

22. See *Opere di Gabriello Chiabrera* (as in n. 19), p. 164; Mancini, I, p. 229; Baglione, p. 154. G. B. Cardi, *Vita di Lodovico Cardi Cigoli (1628)*, ed. G. Battelli and K. Busse, San Miniato 1913, p. 40, reports the praise of Cigoli's altarpiece by Passignano, who said that it was 'una gioia di quel tempio [S. Pietro]'. G. B. Passeri, *Vite de' pittori scultori ed architetti che hanno lavorato in Roma ... [MS ante 1673]*, Rome 1772, ed. J. Hess, Leipzig and Vienna 1934, p. 303, reports the praise by Sacchi. Ioanne Michaelae Silos, *Pinacotheca sive Romana Pictura et Sculptura* (Rome 1673), ed. M. Basile Bonsante, Rome 1979, 2 vols, I, p. 9, dedicates an epigram to Cigoli's altarpiece (as well as to those of Roncalli and Vanni).

Nevertheless, the fact that Cigoli abandoned the first version of his altarpiece has been read as a reaction to the envious response it had aroused. According to both Giovan Battista Cardi and Filippo Baldinucci, the first, uncompleted version generated the envy of various Roman artists who went to St Peter's and opened the enclosure of the painting before it was finished. They then commissioned a Flemish artist to make an engraving from it so that they could accuse Cigoli of plagiarising his composition from a print, demonstrating how little a 'foreign' (*forestiero, straniero*) painter could enrich the splendour of St Peter's.²³ Without further documentary support, Cardi and Baldinucci's accounts are both too late and partisan to be considered reliable. As we shall see, however, something close to what they describe in the case of Cigoli's painting occurred in St Peter's in the spring and autumn of 1604, although the events in question concerned the altarpieces of Vanni, Roncalli and Passignano.

Baldinucci also tells us that Passignano's work was bitterly criticised by Caravaggio; the reliability of this account will be discussed below. Anecdotes like these are fairly frequent in seventeenth-century art literature and have usually been considered with reasonable scepticism, but documentary research has demonstrated that in some cases such stories had, at least, a basis in truth.²⁴ Seventeenth-century Rome was a harshly competitive milieu for artists and patrons, and a commission for a church such as St Peter's was inevitably surrounded by a cloud of envy and jealousy. Rivalries between artists could lead to verbal and even physical violence. For example, a controversy between Roncalli and Giuseppe Cesari, known as Cavaliere d'Arpino, over the decoration of the dome of St Peter's, was deemed by the authorities to be a possible reason for a violent attack on Roncalli in 1607.²⁵ The Cavaliere was held to be responsible and put on trial; the official record of the trial proceedings proves to be an invaluable source in understanding the three poems analysed here.²⁶

23. Cardi (as in n. 22), pp. 38–40, claims that Cigoli's altarpiece 'vista dagli emuli abbozzata ... andavan ruminando in che modo potessero (per così dire) far divenire tenebrosa la luce, e di poi vistala finita ... presero espediente ... di subito disegnarla per farla intagliare ... per mano di un fiammingo, e speditamente impressala in una carta sudicia, andavano dicendo che egli [il Cigoli] l'aveva cavata da una stampa forastiera, e quella mostravano ...'. F. Baldinucci, *Notizie dei professori del disegno da Cimabue in qua*, ed. F. Ranalli, 7 vols, Florence 1846, repr. 1974, III, pp. 262–63: 'Un Pittore [Cigoli] che copiava le cose sue dalle stampe, esser quello l'onore che alla Basilica erano per contribuire gli stranieri pittori, invece d'arricchirla d'opere magnifiche, l'imbrattarla ...'. Baldinucci's account is based on Cardi's, although it is slightly different. The reliability of the two accounts is discussed and discarded by Chappell and Kirwin, pp. 140–43.

24. See, e.g., the recently discovered evidence about the rivalries between Gaspare Celio and Orazio

Borgianni, which partly confirms Baglione's account: M. Pupillo, 'Il "Virtuoso tradito". Una società tra Orazio Borgianni, Gaspare Celio e Francesco Nappi e i rapporti con Giovan Battista Crescenzi', *Storia dell'arte*, XCIII–IV, 1998 (1999), pp. 303–11.

25. The animosity between d'Arpino and Roncalli dated from 1603, when d'Arpino substituted Roncalli in the enterprise of the decoration of St Peter's dome; see Sickel, esp. pp. 167–79; and H. Röttgen, *Il Cavalier Giuseppe Cesari d'Arpino. Un pittore nello splendore della fama e nell'incostanza della fortuna*, Rome 2002, pp. 129–36.

26. The record of d'Arpino's trial, which started in March 1607, is preserved at ASC, Camera Capitolina, Cred. XIV, vol. 107, *Processo Criminale contro Giuseppe d'Arpino Pittore* [referred to hereafter as ASC, *Processo*]. This document is referred to by Cirinei (as in n. 15) and Sickel, who both publish excerpts from it; see also Röttgen (as in n. 25).

II. *The sonnets sent to Cavaliere d'Arpino*

On 26 March 1604, at dawn, a friend of Cavaliere d'Arpino saw in St Peter's 'two sonnets, one attached to Vanni's painting, the other to that of Pomarancio [Roncalli]'.²⁷ He judged the poems 'very good and in perfect style'; and he copied them with great care, 'just as they were in the original', claiming to imitate even the shape of the letters. This anonymous friend also found two sonnets which praised Pomarancio but did not bother copying them 'because they were extremely clumsy'. He wanted to give copies of the first two sonnets to d'Arpino because he knew how much he would delight in seeing the criticism of those who bore an extreme hatred of him. Since many copies of the sonnets could be seen in Rome, he felt d'Arpino should be made aware of them.²⁸ He was concerned about the legality of circulating such slanderous material, especially since he always met d'Arpino together with 'unreliable people'; so he had decided to send his friend the copies of the sonnets, together with a letter. Three years later, in March 1607, the authorities found that letter and the copies of the two sonnets in a 'little drawer' in d'Arpino's house. All this material was subsequently transcribed in the record of d'Arpino's trial, together with the sonnets themselves—in a slightly different version to those published below in Appendix I.1–2, which are taken from the manuscript in the British Library.²⁹

In a later letter, dated 15 November 1604 and also found in the little drawer in d'Arpino's house, the same anonymous acquaintance wrote that he had been able to obtain another sonnet, one dedicated to Passignano's painting, and was prompted to inform d'Arpino that he had seen it in the hands of some of his friends, who were 'foolishly claiming to be the authors' of the poem.³⁰ This last sonnet was not found together with the letter in d'Arpino's house and is therefore not transcribed in the record of the trial. It is described, however, as 'fatto all'Istoria del Passignano'; accordingly, I believe it to be the sonnet which is preserved together with the other two in the British Library manuscript (see below, Appendix I.3).

27. ASC, *Processo*, fol. 364^v: 'L'ultimo venerdì di marzo io venni in San Pietro la mattina al(l') Alba doi sonetti attachati uno al Opera del Vanni – et l'altro a quella del Pomarancio, et per che mi parvero boni et di stile perfecto gli volsi copiare ne mi curai tenere memoria di altri doi fatti in lode del Pomarancio perchè erano goffi oltramodo. Hora mi è parso farne partecipe Vosignoria gli mando le copie giuste a posto come erano gli originali quali ho imitato anco la forma della lettera ...'. The complete text of this letter (which I will refer to as 'A') is published, with slight variations, by Sickel, p. 188. A is not dated but its date can be deduced from another letter ('B'), with which it was found in d'Arpino's house and which is dated 15 November 1604. In B the author writes that 'questa quaresima passata mandai a Vosignoria doi sonetti copiati da me in San Pietro sopra l'opere del Pomarancio et Vanni'. This reference to the sending of the two sonnets which he had copied in St Peter's implies that A must be precedent to B and of the same year ('this last Lent'). A was written some time after the appearance of the sonnets in St Peter's, which took place on 'the last Friday of March' (see

above). Therefore, A was written after Friday 26 March 1604 and before the end of Lent on Saturday 17 April (Easter falling on 18 April). I must therefore disagree with Sickel, pp. 176 and 178, who dates A in a different way (probably to March 1606; not earlier than March 1605). Both letters (A and B) are cited as anonymous in the record of the trial.

28. ASC, *Processo*, fol. 365^r (A): 'per Roma se ne vedono molte copie [di questi due sonetti] et perchè Vosignoria habbia anco lei la memoria di cosi belli capricci fatti contro a persone quali gli portano odio estremo gli la mando per un mio servo ...'. Cf. Sickel, pp. 188–89.

29. The sonnets as documented in the trial record have been published by Sickel, pp. 187–88.

30. ASC, *Processo*, fol. 364^r (B): 'Hora essendomi capitato alle mani un [sonetto] fatto all'Istoria del Passignano, non ho volsuto mancare di farne parte a Vosignoria perchè so che li furono gravi et io li venni in mano de certi amici soi che sciocamente se ne facevano autori per l'istesso rispetto de hora non li gli do in mano propria ...'.

Asked by the authorities about these letters and the sonnets, d'Arpino first claimed to know nothing about them.³¹ He said that someone, 'out of capriciousness and malevolence', must have put these papers in his house unbeknown to him—'since my house is continuously visited by all kinds of people'.³² He admitted remembering that 'some sonnets and other compositions were attached to the walls' in St Peter's; but he denied attaching them himself and finally claimed they had been sent to him by his friends.³³ His account is confused, riddled with contradictions and reliant on weak excuses, such as his too-short memory.³⁴ At one point, he seems to confuse Baglione's *Raising of Tabitha* with Roncalli's *Death of Sapphira*, but his apparent mistakes could be part of his pretence.³⁵ Although there has never been solid evidence of d'Arpino's involvement in the commission or authorship of the mocking poems, it is difficult, as we will see, to believe in his complete innocence.³⁶

III. The sonnet addressed to Francesco Vanni

The first of the altarpieces to be completed was Vanni's *Fall of Simon Magus* (Fig. 1), signed and dated 'MDCIII'.³⁷ Vanni started his work between December 1602 and January 1603, and the first document which records it as 'painted' is a 'sale or final

31. ASC, *Processo*, fols 345^v–46^f (d'Arpino): 'non me ricordo che a me sia stata mai mandata lettera con dentro queste compositioni e materie simili ... pole essere che me sono state scritte e mandate qualche una di queste compositioni dentro nelle lettere ma io in effetto non me ricordo ... perchè in casa mia vi è stato anco alcuni giovani et [un] giovane abruzzese che si chiamava Antonio che si dilettava depingere et scrivere assai bene et perchè serviva li a me poteria essere che lui havesse havuta qualche mia lettera e l'havesse aperta che io in effetto non me ravididi di havere havuto simil lettere et compositioni ...'.

32. ASC, *Processo*, fol. 349^v (d'Arpino): 'se queste lettere con le compositioni dentro sono state trovate fra le mie scritte in casa mia al Popolo ..., io non lo so, so bene che in casa mia vi pratica ogni sorte de gente et qualche d'uno per capriccio o per malavolentia le potea havere portate con sè ...'.

33. ASC, *Processo*, fol. 344^r (d'Arpino): 'Signor mio ho inteso che in occasione delle pitture la in Santo Pietro sono stati fatti diversi sonetti e compositioni anche sono anco stati attaccati la in sulle mura et ne ho ricevuti alcuni non l'ho ... attaccati mi sono stati mandati da amici'.

34. ASC, *Processo*, fol. 339^f (d'Arpino): 'Signore la professione della pittura fa alle volte scordare se stesso perchè sta giorni interi così in astratto in quella applicazione che non si ricorda la mattina quello che si (h)a fatto la sera ...'.

35. ASC, *Processo*, fol. 347^{r-v} (d'Arpino): '... me ricordo in particolare che il Vanni haveria fatto quel quadro [sic] in quale San Pietro del Mago et l'haveria fatto presto et il Pomarancio havea fatto quel San Pietro che resucitava quel morto grande et andava

dicendo che quella era più grande e quella altra più piccola e diceva il simile d'altra che di questo me ricordo'. In fact Roncalli's painting shows the dead body of Sapphira in the foreground.

36. D'Arpino claimed to be on good terms with Roncalli and referred during his trial to his financial evaluation of Roncalli's paintings. ASC, *Processo*, fol. 335^f: 'con il Signor Pomarancio in materia della professione quando me è venuta occasione l'ho sempre stimato et honorato, si come in occasione delle stime de opere sue, come anco de chiamarlo nelle opere mie e li detti anco a fare un quadro [sic] in San Giovanni in Laterano a fresco ...' (see Sickel, p. 185 n. 72). D'Arpino's associates, however, reported during the trial that Roncalli and d'Arpino fell out over the decoration of the dome of St Peter's: see the trial records quoted by Cirinei (as in n. 15), pp. 259–60; Sickel, p. 169; and Röttgen (as in n. 25), p. 135. D'Arpino (and Antiveduto della Grammatica) valued Passignano's and Baglione's altarpieces for St Peter's at 1300 *scudi*, Roncalli's and Vanni's at 1000 *scudi* and Castello's at 700 *scudi*; see W. Gramberg, *Die Düsseldorfer Skizzenbücher des Guglielmo della Porta*, 3 vols, Berlin 1964, I, p. 136, no. 235 (April 1606).

37. 'FRA[NCISCUS] VAN[NIS] EQ[UITES] SIE[NESIS] MDCIII'. On Vanni's altarpiece see G. Incisa della Rocchetta, 'Le vicende di tre pale d'altare', *Roma*, x, 1932, pp. 255–70; Chappell and Kirwin, pp. 130, 137–38, 163–64; P. A. Riedl, 'Zu Francesco Vannis Tätigkeit für Römische Auftraggeber', *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, III, 1979, pp. 313, 325–46; C. Savettieri, in *The Basilica* (as in n. 7), pp. 601–02; C. Garofalo, 'Francesco Vanni (Siena, 1563–1610)', in *Nel segno di Barocci. Allievi e seguaci tra Marche, Umbria, Siena*, ed.

payment' of 19 December 1603.³⁸ There are good reasons to consider this latter date the *terminus ante quem* for the completion of the altarpiece, rather than—as has become usual—connecting its completion to the date when Vanni was awarded the title of Knight of Christ, some six months earlier.³⁹ Vanni signed his painting as 'EQ(UITES)', therefore after having been awarded the knighthood. Moreover, the *avviso* of 25 June 1603, which announces the honour, does not say that the knighthood was a reward for the completion of the altarpiece in St Peter's; on the contrary, it suggests that the painting was still unfinished.⁴⁰

Like all the other artists involved in the commission of the altarpieces for the small aisles, Vanni received further payments in the months (and in some cases years) following the 'final payment'.⁴¹ In the poem addressed to Vanni and found in St Peter's on 26 March 1604, it is reported that the work had not yet been completely finished, probably because works as huge as these needed frequent retouching, especially those which had been painted on slate.⁴²

The poem opens in the vocative, which is frequently used in this literary genre to mime the colloquial tone of a lively discussion between a hypothetical popular audience and the artist. The criticism of the painting relies on *topoi*, for instance bemoaning its lack of proportion and decorum, and the lack of clarity in the composition; this too is typical of poems mocking works of art, as well as of Counter-Reformation

A. M. Ambrosini Massari and M. Cellini, Milan 2005, p. 357.

38. On 6 Dec. 1602 Vanni received a payment 'a bon conto della Icona che ha da fare in san Pietro' and the earliest document which testifies that he is actually working ('per la pittura che fa') is of 31 Jan. 1603 (Chappell and Kirwin, p. 163, nos 1 and 2). On 19 Dec. 1603 Vanni received a 'saldo o final pagamento ... per la tavola che ha dipinta': Abromson, p. 346, no. 84; other documents *ibid.*, pp. 345–47. By 15 Jan. 1604, he was back in Siena: see Gramberg (as in n. 36), I, p. 136, no. 233.

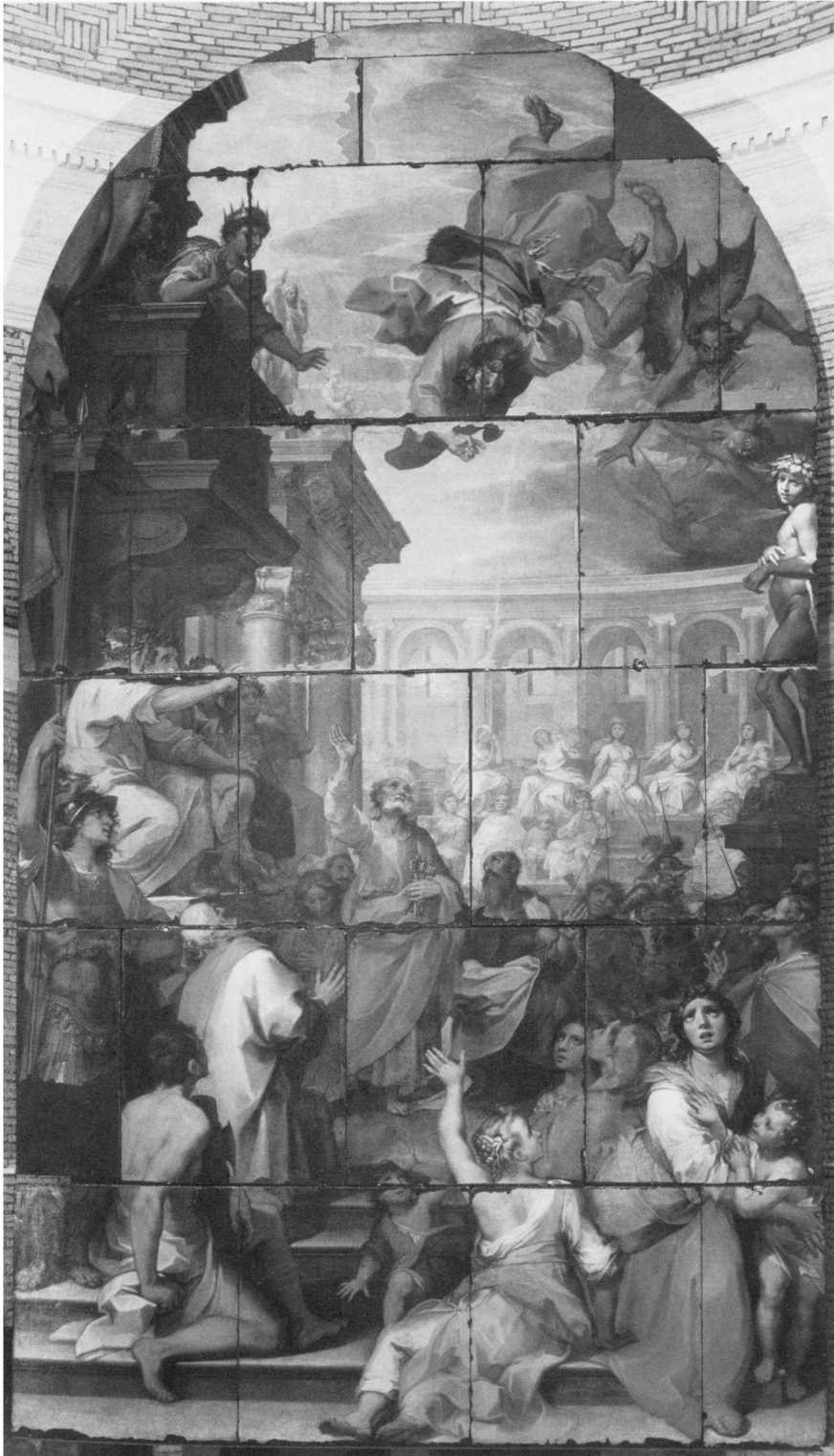
39. Mancini, I, p. 210, and Baglione, pp. 110–11, 290 [192], and Baldinucci (as in n. 23), III, p. 454, all state that Vanni was awarded the knighthood because of his altarpiece in St Peter's; modern scholars consider the date when the knighthood was awarded (i.e., 22 June 1603; see next note) as the *terminus ante quem* for the completion of the work: see Chappell and Kirwin, p. 130; Abromson, p. 75; and recently Garofalo (as in n. 37), p. 357. This would mean that Vanni was able to complete his enormous altarpiece (c. 770 × 430 cms) within six months at the most, an unrealistically short period of time. For Mancini's and Baglione's unreliable accounts of the knighthoods see also above, n. 3. Cf. Isidoro Ugurgieri Azzolini, *Le Pompe sanesi*, Siena 1649, II, p. 370, who quotes a *privilegio* then in the hands of Vanni's son. Cf. G. Della Valle, *Lettere sanesi sopra le belle arti*, 3 vols, Rome 1786, I, p. 340.

40. The *avviso* reads: 'Roma li 25 Giugno 1603. Il Cardinale Sfondrato domenica mattina in s.ta Cecilia creò un tal Francesco Vanni pittore sanese Cavaliere

dell'ordine de Cavalieri di Cristo di Portogallo, havendogli fatto venir tal habito dal Re Cattolico et fattolo anco accettar da S. B.ne per pittore, volendo, che rieschi molto bene.' (BAV MS Urb. lat. 1071, cited by E. Rossi, 'Roma ignorata', *Roma*, XIV, 1936, p. 61; 25 June was a Wednesday, thus the knighthood was created on Sunday 22 June.) Vanni was, therefore, awarded the honour by Cardinal Paolo Sfondrato in his titular church of S. Cecilia in Trastevere, and not by Baronio as claimed by Baglione and Baldinucci; see S. Pepper, 'Baglione, Vanni and Cardinal Sfondrato', *Paragone*, XVIII, no. 211, 1967, p. 73 n. 20. Sfondrato had good reason to award the knighthood to Vanni, who had painted some successful works for him, not least the famous *Death of St Cecilia* in his titular church, which has been recently dated to 1601–02 (F. Profili, 'Francesco Vanni e il Cardinal Sfondrato', *Decorazione e collezionismo a Roma nel Seicento. Vicende di artisti, committenti e mercanti*, ed. F. Cappelletti, Rome 2003, p. 68 and pp. 67, 69). The last sentence in the *avviso* is, however, a probable reference to the altarpiece for the pope, to whom Sfondrato had introduced Vanni: he expresses the wish that Vanni will work well.

41. Vanni received other payments in March 1604 and in Jan., Sept. and Dec. 1606 but in the documents which attest this, the painting is always referred to as already 'fatta' or 'dipinta': see Abromson, p. 346, Chappell and Kirwin, p. 163.

42. Appx I.1, vv. 22–23. Since the work of Roncalli is quoted in the poem (Appx I.1, vv. 41 and 48), it was probably written around March 1604.



1. Francesco Vanni, *The Fall of Simon Magus*. Vatican, St Peter's, octagon of Simon Magus

literature on art.⁴³ It also includes polemic about the honour given to the painter (i.e., his knighthood).⁴⁴ The author describes the composition as ill-considered ('Vanni, che pensi far?'), suggesting that Simon Magus appears about to fall down on the spectators and kill five or six of them in the process. He adds that the lower part of the painting is crowded with people who look like pygmies, by comparison with the figures in the upper part of the painting who look like giants.⁴⁵ The composition is clumsy and confused because there are too many onlookers such as maidens and girls in the lower part, and people with 'fronds on their heads' in the upper part (referring to the laureated senators at Nero's court).⁴⁶

The criticism is brought to a sharper level when a nude figure below Nero—presumably the man on the right-hand pier who looks out at the viewer—is described as someone who 'doesn't know what to do with himself'.⁴⁷ The insertion of a male nude in such a prominent position was a common device to show off artistic skill in drawing anatomy. Aware of this, the poet mocks the artist, claiming that the groundless presence of the nude has the opposite effect, showing how much Vanni himself knows about art. In doing so, he touches on a sensitive issue for Vanni: he was acknowledged unanimously for his *colorito* rather than his *disegno*. And the poet undermines even this skill, by saying that the painter has underestimated the expectations of his viewers, assuming that *colorito* would suffice to satisfy them.⁴⁸ He laments the lack of good painters in his time and, with increasing indignation, rants over the decision to import Vanni from Siena and Roncalli from Bergamo, when the work could have been done by any painter in Rome.⁴⁹

Then his criticism goes back to the motif introduced in the opening *quartine*, that of the lack of proportion. Everyone in the painting is tiny, and this becomes an even more serious mistake as it concerns the figure of St Peter himself, who deserved to be depicted on a much larger scale.⁵⁰ Moreover, the issue of proportion intertwines with that of decorum. In comparison with the little figures painted by Vanni, the figure of St Peter painted by Roncalli (Fig. 2) is 'gigantic',⁵¹ but the following verses clarify that this is not intended as a compliment to Roncalli. By noting the

43. For these *topoi* in sonnets mocking works of art see M. Spagnolo, 'Poesie contro le opere d'arte: arguzia, biasimo e ironia nella critica d'arte del Cinquecento', in *Ex marmore. Pasquini, pasquinisti, pasquinate nell'Europa moderna*, Lecce 2005, ed. P. Procaccioli et al., Rome 2006, pp. 321–54 (350–51). Similar criticism of proportions and decorum was levelled by Bolognese painters at Federico Zuccari's *Procession of St Gregory the Great* (1580) for S. Maria del Baraccano in Bologna, as can be deduced from the words of Passignano: see A. Bertolotti, 'Federico Zuccari', *Giornale di erudizione artistica*, v, 1876, pp. 140–41; R. Zapperi, 'Federico Zuccari censurato a Bologna dalla corporazione dei pittori', *Städel-Jahrbuch*, XIII, 1992, pp. 177–90. For similar criticism in Counter-Reformation writings on art see, especially, Gabriele Paleotti, *Discorso intorno alle immagini sacre e profane...* (Bologna 1582), ed. P. Barocchi, *Trattati d'arte del Cinquecento: fra manierismo e Controriforma*, 3 vols, Bari 1960–62, II, pp. 375–76 and 378.

44. Appx I.1, v. 12. The polemic about rewards occurs also in the mocking sonnets against Baglione which were transcribed in the record of the famous trial of Caravaggio and other artists: see M. Cinotti, 'Fonti documentarie e letterarie', appendix to G. A. Dell'Acqua, *Caravaggio e le sue grandi opere da San Luigi dei Francesi*, Milan 1971, pp. 153–57 (153); cf. M. Smith O'Neil, *Giovanni Baglione: Artistic Reputation in Baroque Rome*, Cambridge 2002, p. 27.

45. Appx I.1, vv. 1–3.

46. Appx I.1, vv. 4–6.

47. Appx I.1, v. 28.

48. Appx I.1, vv. 8–9.

49. Appx I.1, vv. 30–38.

50. Appx I.1, vv. 39–40. More recently, Vanni's altarpiece was criticised in similar terms by H. Voss, *Die Malerei der Spätrenaissance in Rom und Florenz*, Berlin 1920, 2 vols, II, p. 514.

51. Appx I.1, v. 41; cf. n. 35 above.

disharmony between the scale of the two works,⁵² the anonymous poet implies that he considers the altarpieces as an homogeneous cycle, which was the intention of Clement VIII. Interestingly enough, a preparatory drawing for the *Fall of Simon Magus* shows that Vanni initially gave greater prominence to the figure of St Peter, whereas in the finished painting he reduced the scale of the saint and increased the number of spectators, perhaps to complement the painting by Passignano (cf. Figs 4–6), since the two could have been seen together from the east side of the transept.⁵³

The accusation of confused or entangled composition became particularly common in late sixteenth-century writings on art, in line with the new concern with clarity and simplicity of composition, typical of the Counter-Reformation.⁵⁴ Although in early seventeenth-century Rome both Caravaggio and Annibale Carracci developed styles which, in different ways, led them to organise their compositions around a few large-scale figures, their model was not immediately followed. Still around 1620 Mancini stressed the importance of not overfilling the composition with too many figures: painters should concentrate on the main figure of the *historia*, who should be located where he or she can be immediately seen and recognised, thus gaining adequate prominence. Furthermore, Mancini advises painters not to follow the example of Jacopo Bassano and some Flemish and German artists, who failed to place the main figure in the foreground.⁵⁵

The end of the poem is addressed to Vanni and Roncalli together. Seen as two *forestieri* amateurs who had been undeservedly assigned such important commissions, the two artists are frankly advised to leave Rome as soon as they have put ‘the money into their pockets’, and to go back respectively to Siena and Bergamo.⁵⁶ The sonnet ends with this strong and personal attack in the style of the *sonetti caudati*, where the saltiest arguments are reserved for the so called ‘tail’, the last part of the composition which ends in *rima baciata*.⁵⁷

Nothing is said in the sonnet about the subject of the painting; the episode comes from apocrypha of the New Testament and had probably been chosen on account of its anti-heretical value.⁵⁸ The poet’s omission implies that he was not a

52. Appx I.1, vv. 39–41. This point has also been noted by modern scholars; see Chappell and Kirwin, p. 136.

53. For the drawing and the changes in the final version see Chappell and Kirwin, pp. 136, 138.

54. See, e.g., Paleotti (as in n. 43), pp. 376–78.

55. Mancini, I, pp. 117–18 and 319–20.

56. Appx I.1, vv. 46–50.

57. An eloquent description of the metrical devices of ‘sonetti caudati’ is found in Annibale Caro’s *Apologia* in a fictive dialogue between Caro, Burchiello and Petrarca: ‘E quanto allo stile, interrogandoli qual di loro due dovessi imitare:– Me – rispose il Burchiello. ... Consigliandomi poi sopra questo particolare, se io gli dovea far con la coda come il Burchiello, o senza, come il Petrarca: – Con la coda! con la coda! – s’accordarono a dir l’uno e l’altro in un tratto. Ed io, rivolto pur al Petrarca, gli domandai la ragione perchè più con essa che senza, e perchè i suoi non l’avevano.

– La ragione è – diss’egli – perchè la coda ha questa proprietà, di far ridere e di dar piacere alla gente: e però si suol mettere a’ matti, a’ buffoni ed a certe persone piacevoli.’ *Apologia degli academici di Banchi di Roma contra M. Lodovico Castelvetro da Modena. In forma d’uno spaccio di Maestro Pasquino...*, Parma 1558, p. 223.

58. The story of the Fall of Simon Magus, which is not in the Acts of Apostles (Acts 8.13), is based on the *Acta Petri cum Simone* (§30–32) and the *Passio sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli* (§49–56): see *Acta apostolorum apocrypha*, ed. R. A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet, Leipzig 1891, pp. 45–104 and 119–77. The main differences between these two texts are highlighted by A. Ferreiro, *Simon Magus in Patristic, Medieval, and Early Modern Traditions*, Leiden 2005, p. 145. Jacopo da Voragine’s *Legenda aurea* is mostly based on the *Passio*. An anti-heretical value of the subject is pointed out by Paleotti (as in n. 43), p. 348;

Protestant but someone inside the Roman Church, who was concerned not with the choice of subject but only with how it had been depicted. The legend of the fall of Simon Magus had been included in the official history of the Roman Church by Baronio. In his *Annales*, he explicitly connected Simon Magus (defining him ‘the prince of all the heretics’) to the current Reformist tendencies, as the first of those who advocated Justification by faith alone.⁵⁹ It is unclear whether Baronio, who probably approved or even proposed the subject, gave precise iconographical instructions to Vanni. Most of the details of the painting, except for the theatre, are definitely not based on his *Annales*.⁶⁰ For instance, Baronio does not report the presence of St Paul, the laureated senators or the vestal virgins.⁶¹ Yet it is exactly those details which, in the opinion of the poet, contribute to the confusion of the composition. In this way, the pedantic criticism of the sonnet reflects at a colloquial level the persisting complexity of the debate on religious iconography inside the Roman Church, even at this time. The Church’s increasing unease with legendary aspects of its own history, and evidence uncovered by contemporary archaeological studies of early Christian monuments, conflicted with the need to create persuasive narrative images adhering to traditional iconography, easily recognisable and delectable by the public. As we will see, this issue is brought up also by the sonnet dedicated to Passignano’s altarpiece.

Despite its crowded composition, it seems that Vanni’s *Fall of Simon Magus* was well received in its day by artists and critics: the painting inspired a stucco bas-relief in the Cerasi Chapel in Santa Maria del Popolo⁶² and was highly acclaimed by the first authors who described it. One of these was Mancini who, with clear pride for his fellow-citizen Vanni, praised the figure of the flying Magus as a model of a lively and virtuous depiction of movement. He observed that one of the greatest artistic challenges of this subject was to depict the very moment when the Magus fell.

cf. Giovanni Andrea Gilio, *Dialogo nel quale si ragiona degli errori e degli abusi de’ pittori circa l’istorie...* (1564), in Barocchi, ed., *Trattati* (as in n. 43), II, p. 43.

59. C. Baronio, *Annales ecclesiastici*, 12 vols, Antwerp 1597, I, p. 258: ‘Hic [Simon Magus] enim hereticorum omnium princeps et auctor habetur, ex quo sunt ceterae haereses propagatae: Nam et eiusmodi patriarcha gloriari etiam possunt Novatores, quem ipsorum suorum dogmatum cognoscant auctorem. Simonis quippe prima vox fuit: Per gratiam tantum salvari homines, et non secundum opera iusta...’.

60. Baronio (as in n. 59), I, p. 648: ‘Porrò editum fuisse in theatro eiusmodi sub Nerone spectaculum, ut in eo Icarus exhiberetur volatus, auctor est Svetonius...’. There was disagreement about the place where Simon Magus fell. According to the *Passio*, §51, it was the Campo Marzio. On this debate see, e.g., the various views reported by F. M. Torrigio, *Compendio delle grandezze della Sacrosanta Basilica Vaticana...* (c. 1623–27), BAV MS Vat. lat. 9907, fol. 17^{r-v}; and the *Antiquarie prospetiche romane*, ed. G. Agosti and D. Isella, pp. 100–01 nn. 229–31. Not surprisingly the issue became important in visual art:

see Mancini, I, pp. 118–19, who points out the importance of depicting a recognisable *sito scenico*: ‘... si deve considerare il sito scenico, cioè il luogo dove fu quella tal attione et historia, come, per essemplio, la caduta di Simon Mago che fu appresso il teatro di Marcello, hoggi detto Monta Savello... Questo sito si deve in pittura talmente rappresentare che subito sia riconosciuto per qualche particolarità contrassegnata, e se non vi fosse, è lecito di ampliar il sito et ancor mutar il tempo’. Mancini suggests that, in the absence of any particular landmark, it is appropriate to ‘ampliare il sito e mutare il tempo’ and to depict famous monuments such as the Trajan column, to make it clear that the event of the fall of Simon Magus took place in Rome, even if not in the time and the place of the Trajan column. See also *ibid.*, I, p. 320.

61. Baronio (as in n. 59), I, pp. 648–49. St Paul’s presence is recorded in the *Passio* (and in the *Legenda Aurea*) but not in the *Acta Petri*.

62. See A. Mignosi Tantillo, ‘La Cappella Cerasi, vicende di una decorazione’, in *Caravaggio, Carracci e Maderno: la Cappella Cerasi in Santa Maria del Popolo*, ed. M. G. Bernardini, Milano 2001, pp. 66–67.

Hence, he pointed out that although the action was frozen, as it must be in a painting, nevertheless it had the power to inspire in spectators the imagination of movement.⁶³

Except for a brief critical remark of Giovan Pietro Bellori, most commentators praised Vanni's altarpiece;⁶⁴ and still in the eighteenth century, the Congregation of St Peter's defined the painting as 'applaudita', and Guglielmo Della Valle dedicated a long and enthusiastic encomium to it.⁶⁵ In 1745–46, however, the idea was mooted of substituting Vanni's *Fall of Simon Magus* with a painting of the same subject by Pompeo Batoni. As we learn from Batoni's biographer, Vanni's work had been criticised as overcrowded and as failing to give St Peter the proper prominence—complaints similar to those expressed in the sonnet. Apparently Batoni tried to avoid these pitfalls, but in the end his painting too was judged crowded and confused.⁶⁶

IV. *The sonnet addressed to Cristoforo Roncalli*

Cristoforo Roncalli was the first artist assigned to the decoration of the small aisles, and he was chosen as the superintendent for the works in the Cappella Clementina. Unlike Vanni, Passignano and Castello, Roncalli already had a good reputation in Rome and was a highly esteemed member of the Academy of St Luke.⁶⁷ His prominent role, particularly among the group of Tuscan artists working in St Peter's,⁶⁸ may explain why he suffered the harshest criticism of all the painters involved with the cycle. Indeed, his work was mocked not only in the poem addressed to him, but also in the sonnets addressed to Vanni and Passignano.

Roncalli's *Death of Sapphira*, today in S. Maria degli Angeli (Fig. 2), is first mentioned as 'done' ('fatta') in a document of 4 June 1604.⁶⁹ Three sonnets, however,

63. Mancini, I, p. 159: 'Dice [Plinio] che con la pittura viene dimostrato il moto delle cose corporee che va immitando ... et il pittore immita le cose in quello istante indivisibile nel quale non vi è tempo nè moto, ma sol quiete. ... come il S. Pietro nella Caduta di Simon Mago condotta dal Cavalier Vanni, ancorchè si veda star ferma, nondimeno, per la position del capo all'in giù, con occhi spaventati, bocca aperta da gridare, con i diavoli appresso, allontanati da Simone, ci andiamo immaginando che si muova et caschi all'in giù; talché veramente non si dipinge il moto, ma si figuran talmente le parti per le quali ci andiam immaginando che si muovano et caminino'.

64. G. P. Bellori, *Le Vite de' pittori scultori et architetti moderni*, Rome 1672, ed. E. Borea, Rome 1976, p. 196: 'in Roma nella Basilica Vaticana, dipinse [Vanni] la tavola grande della caduta di Simon Mago, in modo però inferiore all'altre sue fatiche'. For other praising remarks (apart from those of Mancini and Baglione, mentioned above) see Silos (as in n. 22), I, p. 15.

65. Della Valle (as in n. 40), p. 353. Vanni's altarpiece was described as 'applaudita' in a resolution of the Fabbrica of St Peter's, of 29 Mar. 1756: see I. Belli Barsali, 'Documenti vaticani per il Batoni', *Studi Romani*, XXI, 1973, p. 370, no. XI; for a judicious comment on the document see p. 367.

66. O. Boni, *Elogio di Pompeo Girolamo Batoni*, Rome 1787, pp. 44–45: 'Ascrivasi pertanto alla infelice circostanza di una tela sproporzionata al soggetto un poco di confusione e di affollamento di figure che regna nel quadro della caduta di Simon Mago, dipinto dal Batoni per la Basilica Vaticana... . Francesco Vanni che pure al Vaticano aveva prima del Batoni dipinto lo stesso soggetto, per ingrandire il sito che era un teatro pieno di spettatori insieme coll'Imperatore aveva fatto le figure alquanto più piccole: lo che produce, che la figura principale di San Pietro che per farla di faccia conviene collocare alquanto indietro onde possa comandare al mago che cada è troppo piccola nè si presenta subito all'occhio come dovrebbe cercandosi a stento nella moltitudine di gente che la circonda. Il Batoni pertanto, ad evitare questo difetto, scelse di tenersi nelle figure più grandiose a scapito del sito, che veramente apparisce angusto.' On Batoni's altarpiece see A. M. Clark, *Pompeo Batoni*, Oxford 1985, pp. 260–62.

67. For Roncalli see Kirwin (as in n. 3).

68. Baglione, p. 291 [193]: 'Il Roncalli, che diede occasione a questi sì nobili Dipintori in san Pietro ...'

69. Chappell and Kirwin, p. 161, no. 7. Cf. I. Chiappini di Sorio, 'Cristoforo Roncalli detto il Pomarancio', in *I Pittori Bergamaschi: Il Seicento (I)*,

two praising and one mocking, were attached to his painting on 26 March 1604, so this date provides a *terminus ante quem* for the completion of the work. Unfortunately no evidence survives of the encomium poems, and even the mocking one is problematic in terms of transcription and comprehension (in both the version of the text at the British Library and that transcribed in the record of d'Arpino's trial). The poet's main criticism concerns Roncalli's lack of invention and his academic ambitions. In particular, Roncalli is accused of stealing figures and ideas from other painters, thus failing in creativity.

The sonnet begins in the usual vocative form, inviting 'Cristoforo'—who is the only one of the three painters to be addressed by his first name—to return what he has stolen from others: 'a Turk' should be returned to 'Federico',⁷⁰ while another element in the painting is owed to a Venetian painter. Quite what that element is remains obscure, since neither version of the text is clear (BL—'Give back ... that Giusippo to Jacoppo Venetiano'; ASC, *Processo*—'Give back ... that group to Giuseppe Venetiano'). It is likely that one or both of the copyists failed to understand the allusion and, perhaps in consequence, made mistakes in transcribing this part of the sonnet.⁷¹

A clue to understanding the criticism of the poem in a wider framework is offered by Roncalli's lecture to the Academy of St Luke on 26 June 1594, the text of which was published in 1604.⁷² The topic of the lecture was the 'historia', and in it Roncalli questioned the practice of drawing on the ideas of other artists. He warned artists of the Academy against using the inventions of others, and the many prints which were then being produced, 'confusing our minds and repressing our creativity'.⁷³ Roncalli started his lecture with a *captatio benevolentiae*, excusing himself for being just an artist—expert in painting walls, tables and canvas, though not in theoretical issues—but in fact he was an artist with a certain education, used to consorting with cardinals and nobles.⁷⁴ According to Mancini, his works were usually appreciated more by the *intendenti* than by the common people; more by 'those who have a taste for the profession [of painting] than by the vulgar who judge

Bergamo 1983, pp. 117–18, with precedent bibliography, to which can be added Silos (as in n. 22), I, p. 9. Documents about the painting are published by Abromson, pp. 342–44.

70. Appx I.2, v. 1. This might be Federico Zuccari, although it is difficult to understand what Roncalli had stolen from him.

71. Appx I.2, vv. 1–2; ASC, *Processo*, fol. 359b (cited below, n. 178). 'Jacoppo Venetiano' might be Jacopo Bassano or Jacopo Tintoretto, but I cannot think any artist from Venice called Giuseppe who was famous enough to be quoted just by name in a poem like this. Tintoretto's famous *Miracle of the Slave*, for the Scuola Grande of S. Marco, shows the naked figure of the slave in a similar foreshortened position of Roncalli's Sapphira. (I owe this observation to David Ekserdjian.) Tintoretto's figure was copied by Federico Zuccari, despite his well-known dislike of Tintoretto's work; see M. Hochmann, *Venise et Rome, 1500–1600: deux écoles de peinture et leurs échanges*,

Geneva 2004, p. 406, for a discussion of Zuccari's copy within the framework of the taste for Venetian art in late 16th-century Rome.

72. Romano Alberti, *Origine, et progresso dell'Accademia del Disegno, de' pittori, scultori et architetti di Roma*, Pavia 1604, facs. repr. Bologna 1978, pp. 67–68.

73. *Ibid.*, p. 69: '... il servirsi dell'inventioni altri, e delle quantità delle carte inventate à nostri tempi, che facendo confusione nell'animo nostro, ne rintuzano l'ingegno, e levano la forza allo spirito...'. The use by artists of other artists' prints and inventions was criticised; see G. B. Armenini, *De' veri precetti della pittura* (Ravenna 1587), ed. M. Gorreri, Turin 1988, p. 225. Cf. n. 23 above.

74. Mancini, I, p. 110: '[Roncalli] piace e piacerà più agl'intendenti che agli huomini communi'. *Ibid.*, p. 303: '[Roncalli] diletta... più quelli c'hanno gusto della professione che il volgo che giudica di certe apparenze'.



2. Cristoforo Roncalli, 'il Pomarancio', *The Death of Sapphira*. Rome, choir of S. Maria degli Angeli

through appearances'.⁷⁵ In the poem, Roncalli is accused of pretending to be a 'compositor' but ending up 'in una dietta'—that is, in a special isolated room where cultivated gentlemen would meet to converse.⁷⁶ The poet also refers specifically to another sonnet, the style of which, he says, betrays Roncalli's authorship: 'unable to fish in the shallows or the deeps', Roncalli is neither a painter nor a poet.⁷⁷ It is plausible to read this as a reference to one of the two 'clumsy' sonnets which praised Roncalli's painting, mentioned by d'Arpino's anonymous friend.⁷⁸ The mocking sonnet would then be a polemical answer not only to Roncalli's painting but also to the praising sonnet supposedly written by him.

As already noted, in the three poems published here, Roncalli is the artist criticised the most. In the version of the sonnet transcribed in d'Arpino's trial, there is also a pun on his *toponimico*: 'Pomarancio' is written as 'Pomo rancio' ('rotten apple').⁷⁹ Nevertheless, by comparison with that addressed to Vanni and Passignano, the criticism of Roncalli seems to be aimed more at the person than the work. Indeed, in terms of style and iconography, Roncalli's altarpiece is not attacked as much as the other two. This suggests a personal acrimony towards Roncalli, which leads to the possibility that d'Arpino himself may have played a role in the commission of the three sonnets.

V. *The sonnet addressed to Domenico Passignano*

About seven months after the sonnets against Vanni and Roncalli were found in St Peter's, a new mocking poem dedicated to another of the altarpieces in the small aisles was circulating in Rome. In this case, d'Arpino's friend does not tell us if the poem was attached next to Passignano's painting: only that there were many copies of it around. It is likely, however, that this poem too was posted *in situ*, since it is full of references and allusions to the iconography of the painting and would be fully comprehensible only if read in front of the work itself.

Passignano received the first payment for his altarpiece in October 1602, and until now its date of completion has been uncertain. He was still working on it on 9 July 1604, but no other documents refer to it until 2 December 1605, when the altarpiece is referred to as 'done' ('fatta').⁸⁰ The date when d'Arpino's friend saw

75. Mancini, I, p. 236: '[Roncalli] stette sempre con splendore di gentilhuomo praticando con persone nobili et in particolare con i signori Crescentji': see L. Spezzaferro, 'Un imprenditore del primo Seicento: Giovan Battista Crescenzi', *Ricerche di storia dell'arte*, xxvi, 1985, pp. 50–73.

76. Appx I.2, vv. 21–22. The word *dieta* was used in this way by Raphael in his letter describing Villa Madama (before March 1519): 'Sopra il turrione che è da man dritta della intrata nel'angulo una bellissima Dyeta vi è conlochata, ché così la chiamano li antiqui. ... Sarà veramente questo loco piacevolissimo a starvi d'inverno a ragionare con gentilhomini, ch'è luso che sol dare la Dietha'. See Shearman, I, pp. 406, 412, with the quotation of the 'academicæ dietæ' from Andrea Fulvio, *De Antiquaria Urbis* (1513). Clare Guest kindly drew my attention to Raphael's letter.

77. Appx I.2, vv. 15–17 and 23. The criticism of Roncalli as both painter and poet recalls, and may refer to the 'dictum Horatii' which was often quoted in discussions about artistic invention; see A. Chastel, 'Le "dictum Horatii quidlibet audendi potestas" et les artistes (XIIIè–XVIè siècle)', *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1977, no. 1, pp. 30–45.

78. See above n. 27.

79. See Sickel, p. 177, rightly pointing out the pun.

80. For the documents about the painting see Abromson, pp. 70, 344–45; and Chappell and Kirwin, p. 163, citing the document of 2 Dec. 1605 which refers to 'la manifattura dell'oro messo ... alla tavola fatta dal Sig.r. Dom.co Passignano'; yet Chappell and Kirwin state that Passignano was still working on the altarpiece in 1605 (*ibid.*, p. 130).



3. Domenico Passignano, preliminary sketch for *The Martyrdom of St Peter*. Florence, Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, 3469 S^v

the sonnet, 15 November 1604, provides now a reliable *terminus ante quem* for the completion of the work,⁸¹ as the *incipit* of the poem is a sarcastic thanksgiving to God that the altarpiece is at last finished and unveiled.⁸²

Although the painting is now lost, we can gain an idea of what it looked like from Passignano's preliminary sketch and, after the work itself, Callot's engraving, an anonymous drawing, and an eighteenth-century copy by Giuseppe Nicola Nasini (Figs 3–6).⁸³ We also know that Passignano's altarpiece was one of the two most

81. This is supported by a letter from Passignano himself to the cardinals of the Fabbrica of St Peter, dated 16 Mar. 1624, which reports that the work was done 20 years before: 'Domenico Passignani fece venti anni or sono in S. Pietro la tavola dentro la crocifissione di S. Pietro.' O. Pollak, *Die Kunsttätigkeit unter Urban VIII*, ed. D. Frey et al., 2 vols, Vienna 1928–31, II, p. 293, no. 936.

82. Appx I.3, vv. 1–3. The criticism for the long time taken by Passignano to complete his altarpiece

is not entirely justified. Certainly Vanni was quicker than Passignano at finishing his work (as noted by d'Arpino: see above, n. 35) but Passignano was quicker than Roncalli. The poet seems to ignore the fact that the three painters were assigned their commissions at different dates.

83. On the lost painting and the three copies, which seem to be independent of one another, see J. L. Nissman, 'Domenico Cresti (Il Passignano), 1558–1638, a Tuscan Painter in Florence and Rome',



4. Anonymous, *The Martyrdom of St Peter*, after Passignano's lost altarpiece. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins



5. Jacques Callot, *The Martyrdom of St Peter*, after Passignano's lost altarpiece. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France

highly valued by d'Arpino of the Petrine cycle.⁸⁴ In the sonnet, too, Passignano's work is judged better than those of Vanni and Roncalli,⁸⁵ but the author still found much to mock. Both iconographical and stylistic aspects are criticised. Some rather conventional comments lambast the painting as weak and overworked. More pointedly, the poet adds out that 'all those resting figures who take little notice of the sad event' diminish the effect of the dramatic subject.⁸⁶ It is worth noting that Roncalli, in his above-mentioned lecture to the Academy of St Luke, warned artists to not include otiose and superfluous figures in their compositions, and to be careful that the attitude of each figure pertained to the action depicted.⁸⁷ Such advice was a

Ph.D. diss., Columbia University 1979, pp. 298–301. On Callot's engraving see also n. 10 above. It was published in the series of 'Dieci basiliche' by Giovanni Maggi (1566–1618); see A Rinaldi, 'Le dieci basiliche del Maggi', in *Roma sancta. La città delle Basiliche*, ed. M. Fagiolo and M. L. Madonna, Rome 1985, at p. 280. On the drawing from the painting see Musée du Louvre, *Dessins Toscans: XVIIe–XVIIIe siècles*, 2 vols, Paris 1988, I, ed. F. Viatte, p. 172 no. 318. For the copy by Nasini see M. B. Guerrieri Borsoi, 'Dalla Fabbrica di San Pietro alla chiesa di San Domenico a Urbino: copie di originali vaticani riutilizzate per

volontà del Cardinal Annibale Albani', *Antichità viva*, xxviii, 1989, p. 34. I am grateful to Gabriele Barucca and Sara Bartolucci for their help in providing a photograph of Nasini's painting.

84. See above, n. 36.

85. Appx I.3, v. 46.

86. Appx I.3, vv. 15–17.

87. Alberti (as in n. 72), p. 69: '... che i corpi tutti facciano qualche cosa appartenente all'azione rappresentata ... e niuna [figura] ve ne stia otiosa, o superflua'.



© ARCIDIOCESI DI URBINO-URBANIA-SANT'ANGELO IN VADO

6. Giuseppe Nicola Nasini, *The Martyrdom of St Peter*, after Passignano's lost altarpiece for St Peter's in the Vatican. Urbino, S. Domenico

commonplace of art theory but in the poems addressed to Vanni and Passignano, the classical concept of *decorum* is newly coloured with a Counter Reformation tone, comparable to that found in Gabriele Paleotti's *Discorso* (1582).⁸⁸

The main argument of the sonnet on Passignano's painting, however, concerns the historical setting of the scene depicted. The poet pretends incompetence on the vexed question of whether the martyrdom took place in the Vatican or in the Janiculum;⁸⁹ but he cockily states that the stairs, the temple, the palace and the prison depicted by Passignano have little to do with the death of St Peter.⁹⁰ In fact, the author shows himself to be aware of the learned and longstanding debate on this controversial topic. His scathing criticism raises—and helps to answer—further questions: why did Passignano not follow the traditional iconography and set his *Crucifixion of St Peter* in either the Janiculum or the Vatican? And which place did he choose to depict instead?

According to the poet, Passignano is one of those painters who follow their own whims ('vanno adietro ai chiribizi loro'),⁹¹ but this is unconvincing. From what is known about the pontificate of Clement VIII, it is unlikely that any of the artists working in the small aisles would have been allowed complete freedom in arranging their own altarpieces. The 'Edict on Altars and Paintings' (12 October 1593) of Gerolamo Rusticucci, vicar of Clement VIII, was very explicit, stating that a fine, or imprisonment, exile, or more severe punishment would be meted out to those painters who failed to submit for approval the cartoons or sketches of any painting destined for a church.⁹² This would certainly have applied in the case of the altarpieces for St Peter's; indeed, at least three of the artists—Laureti, Castello and Baglione—had to submit their *bozzetti* or preparatory drawings for ecclesiastical approval;⁹³ and Passignano's sketch, inscribed to 'Monsignor Datario' (Fig. 3), implies that *datario* Bernardino Paolini had seen (and probably approved) it.⁹⁴

88. See Paleotti (as in n. 43), p. 378.

89. Appx I.3, vv. 9–10. The debate divided scholars such as Orazio Panciroli and Alfonso Ciacconio on one side and Onofrio Panvinio and Pompeo Ugonio on the other. For a synthesis of the different positions see Torrigio (as in n. 60), fol. 18^r. Baronio (as in n. 59), I, pp. 669–71, conciliated the two positions, pointing out that the Vatican included the Janiculum. See also J. M. Huskinson, 'The Crucifixion of St Peter: A Fifteenth-Century Topographical Problem', this *Journal*, xxxii, 1969, pp. 135–61.

90. Appx I.3, vv. 31 and 43.

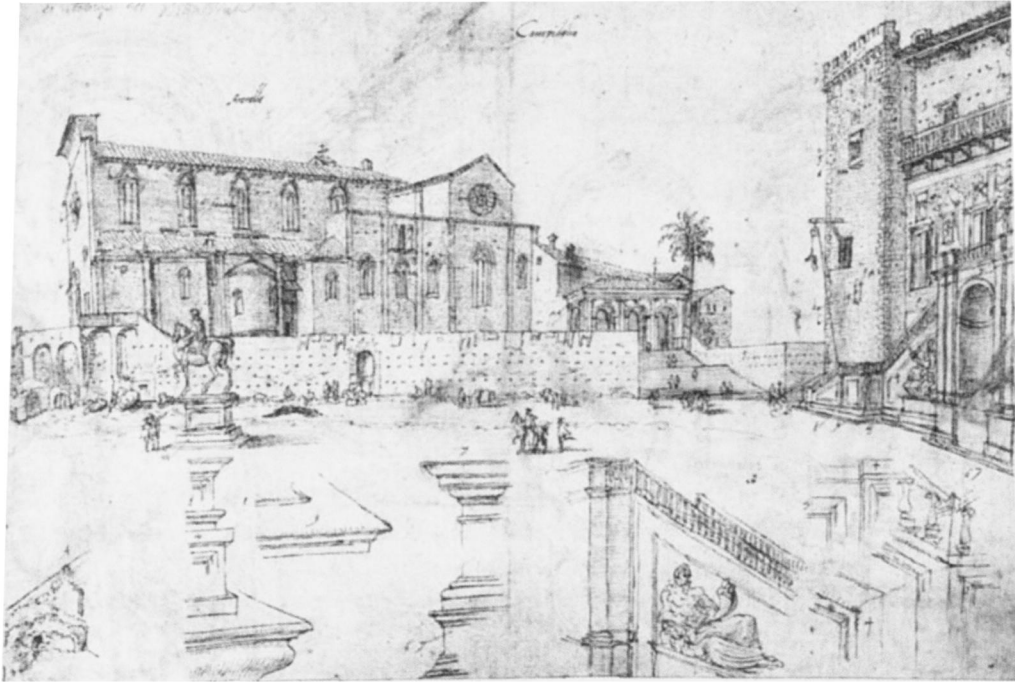
91. Appx I.3, vv. 22–23.

92. 'Comandando alli pittori conforme al Sacro concilio di Trento sotto le stesse pene [venticinque scudi, carcere, esilio ed altre pene maggiori] che prima di cominciare pitture et quadri per uso di Chiese et Cappelle esibiscono il cartone o sbozzo in disegno dell'istoria, o fatto con le figure'. The complete text of Rusticucci's decree can be read in D. Beggio, *La visita pastorale di Clemente VIII (1592–1600). Aspetti di riforma post-tridentina a Roma*, Rome 1978, p. 106.

93. Laureti produced a *bozzetto* for his altarpiece which bears the inscription 'dato in via al Cardinale'

—probably Pietro Aldobrandini, since it is listed in his inventory (1603); see Abromson, p. 68. Castello signed a contract (28 Aug. 1604) which specifies that he was obliged to make his work 'conforme al disegno visto, dalli S.ri Car.li Baronio e Fornaro e m. A.C. Lassando in arbitrio suo di mutar in meglio q(uel)lo che li parrà' (ASR, *Archivi dei 30 Notari Capitolini*, Ufficio 38, V.5, fol. 231^r; see Abromson, p. 349). Similarly, Baglione's contract (10 Sept. 1604) says that the painter had to make a panel 'conforme al disegno visto da tutti l'Ill.mi SS.ri deputati, et dall'Ill.mi SS.ri Car.li Baronio, S.ta Cecilia, et Sannesio lassando in arbi(tri)o suo di mutare in meglio q(uel)lo che facerà' (ibid., fol. 214^r; see Abromson, p. 350).

94. For Passignano's drawing (Florence, Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, 3469 S') see *Disegni dei toscani a Roma*, exhib. cat., ed. C. Kirwin and M. Chappell, Florence 1979, pp. 91–92, no. 56 and fig. 67; the inscription reads 'Conto dell' Ill.mo e Rev.mo Mons.r Datario'. Baglione, pp. 290 [192] and 332 [234], reports that Passignano was sponsored by 'Monsignor Paolucci, all' hora Datario, e Canonico di s. Pietro', but he miswrote the name and the mistake is repeated by Siebenhüner (as in n. 1), p. 95 and



7. *View of the Capitoline Hill*, c. 1552–61. Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Brunswick

Notably, however, the sketch is no more specific in terms of setting than are the three copies after the painting: the landmarks or monuments usually associated with the *Crucifixion of St Peter*, such as the obelisk or the ‘*duas metas*’, are all absent.⁹⁵

Instead, Passignano depicted an urban *locale* with a gallows on the left hand side (see Figs 4–6). This is suggestive, since the presence of gallows is still documented in the Campidoglio in the sixteenth century (Fig. 7).⁹⁶ They marked the area as a *locus iustitiae*. Corpses of inmates of the Carcere Mamertino were exhibited to the mob on the *scalae gemoniae*, the steep stairs where capital punishment took

in almost all the subsequent literature. The *datario* and *canonico* of St Peter was in fact the Florentine Bernardino Paolini; see K. Jaitner, *Die Hauptinstruktionen Clemens VIII: für die Nuntien und Legaten an den Europäischen Fürstenthöfen, 1592–1605*, 2 vols, Tübingen 1984, I, pp. LXXXI–II n. 66; C. Weber, *Die Päpstlichen Referendare 1566–1809: Chronologie und Prosopographie, Päpste und Papsttum*, Stuttgart 2003, 31, I, p. 185, no. 63; p. 187, no. 87; p. 191, no. 87.

95. For the most common landmarks associated with the *Crucifixion of St Peter* see Huskinson (as in n. 89); P. Fehl, ‘Michelangelo’s *Crucifixion of St Peter*: Notes on the Identification of the *locale* of the Action’, *Art Bulletin*, LIII, 1971, pp. 327–43; E. Parlato, ‘Fonti e paesaggio urbano nella *Crocifissione di S. Pietro* dal medioevo al primo Rinascimento’, *La figura di San Pietro nelle fonti del Medioevo*, ed. L. Lazzari, Louvain-La-Neuve 2001, pp. 524–48. The opinion of

Torrigo (as in n. 60), fol. 19^f, is of interest for the question of the landmarks: ‘Ben è ver che nel tempo di San Pietro non vi erano simili Mete ma ciò fu fatto nelle pitture e posto nelle scritture per dimostrare alli semplici (come il Biondo scrive) il luogo di simile martirio più in particolare che fusse possibile’. For an interpretation of the setting depicted by Passignano as ‘*iuxta obeliscum*’ see C. A. Thomas, ‘Domenico Cresti, ‘Il Passignano’ (1559–1638), and the Roman ‘Rinascita’: Studies in his Religious Paintings for Rome between 1589–1616’, Ph.D. diss., Case Western Reserve University 1995, pp. 97–98 and 104.

96. On this drawing see L. Vertova, ‘A Late Renaissance View of Rome’, *Burlington Magazine*, cxxxvii, 1995, pp. 445–51. See also C. Huelsen, ‘Il Campidoglio e il foro romano nell’immaginazione degli artisti dal secolo XV al XIX’, *Conferenze e prolusioni*, v, 1908 pp. I–VIII.

place.⁹⁷ These stairs are perhaps the ones depicted in the copies from the painting and in the preliminary sketch. The reference in the poem to a prison ('prigion'), then, probably denotes the Mamertino, which was on the Capitoline hill on the left-hand side of Palazzo Senatorio.⁹⁸ Details such as the globe (perhaps the Palla Sansonis) and the balustrades in the background might suggest that the urban setting depicted by Passignano is the area next to the Mamertino in the Campidoglio.⁹⁹ If so, however, it is far from clear why the decision was made to set the *Crucifixion of St Peter* in this area. Perhaps it was related to the process of christening the Campidoglio which both Clement VIII and his nephew, Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, had intensely promoted.¹⁰⁰ But it could also have been connected to a medieval legend, reported by Baronio, maintaining that St Peter had been imprisoned in the area next to the Mamertino: the same spot, as Baronio relates in his *Martyriologium romanum*, was still a famous place of devotion in the late sixteenth century, and the faithful used to assemble there on the day of the death of St Peter.¹⁰¹

Whatever the case, in the view of the poet, the setting depicted is unequivocally a mistake, and shows Passignano's insufficient reading of the story of St Peter's death.¹⁰² Two other works of art on the same subject come to the poet's mind and are offered to Passignano as *exempla*. The first, a positive model, is Michelangelo's *Crucifixion of St Peter* in the nearby Pauline Chapel (Fig. 8). Passignano is advised to go to the Pauline chapel to check the work of 'il Bonarrota', who 'has never yet made mistakes'.¹⁰³

97. On the *Scalae gemoniae* see C. D'Onofrio, *Renovatio Romae. Storia e urbanistica dal Campidoglio all'Eur*, Rome 1973, pp. 30–1. See also C. D'Onofrio, *Scalinate di Roma*, Rome 1974, pp. 92–100.

98. Francesco Cancellieri, *Notizie del Carcere Tulliano detto poi Mamertino alle radici del Campidoglio*, Rome 1855; G. Lugli, 'Il Carcere Mamertino. L'antica prigione di Roma', *Capitolium*, VII, 1952, pp. 232–44; *Carcer Tullianum. Il Carcere Mamertino al Foro Romano*, ed. P. Fortini, Milan 1998.

99. I am grateful to Anna Bedon who kindly gave me her opinion on the setting depicted by Passignano as a probable reference to the Campidoglio.

100. Pietro Adobrandini had laid the first stone of the new palace of the Conservators (see Filippo de Rossi, *Ritratto di Roma moderna*, Rome 1645, p. 407) and, in his office of Camerlengo, played an important role in the artistic commissions for the Campidoglio; see *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. J. Turner, I, New York 2006, s.v. Aldobrandini, Pietro, pp. 595–96. The process of christening the Campidoglio is also attested by Baronio (as in n. 59), III, p. 84–85: 'Vaticanus collis mutatur in Capitolium, vel potius Capitolio auctus est mons Vaticano'; see P. J. Jacks, 'Baronius and the Antiquities of Rome', in *Baronio e l'arte* (as in n. 12), p. 88. On the renewed interest of popes in the Campidoglio with the aim of christening the ancient Roman landmarks see S. Ensoli Vittozzi and C. Parisi Presicce, 'Il reimpiego dell'antico sul colle capitolino

sotto il pontificato di Sisto V', *Il Campidoglio e Sisto V*, exhib. cat., ed. L. Spezzaferro and M. E. Tittoni, Rome 1991, p. 110.

101. Cesare Baronio, *Martyriologium romanum ad novam kalendarii rationem, et Ecclesiasticae Historiae veritatem restitutum...*, Antwerp 1589, p. 287, IVNII 29: 'Extimamus etenim non solum ipsas basilicas Apostolorum hac die populum frequentasse, sed vel locum ubi Petrus cruci affixus est, vel Paulus capite truncatus, aut ipsum carcerem sacrosanctum redditum, ubi uterque diu detentus est (ut hodie videmus) adisse praedictae enim omnes antiquae memoriae non solum in ipso natali die Apostolorum sed et per octavas a coetu fidelium in hanc diem ardenti pietatis studio visitantur'. On the legend of St Peter's imprisonment in the Mamertino see E. Josi, 'Pietro Apostolo - IX. Leggende', *Enciclopedia Cattolica*, 1423–24. Baronio promoted the legend in his *Martyriologium*, dedicating a long dissertation to a description of the old *Capitolium* (pp. 118–25), including a topographical study on the *Carcer Tullianum*, which he identified with the Mamertino (p. 121). He discussed the legend too in his *Annales* (as in n. 59, I, pp. 651, 666), yet in his detailed dissertation of the topic Baronio never claimed that St Peter was martyred in this area (*ibid.*, pp. 631, 669–71). See also above, n. 89.

102. Appx I,3, vv. 6–7.

103. Appx I,3, vv. 27–29.



8. Michelangelo, *The Crucifixion of St Peter*. Pauline Chapel in the Vatican

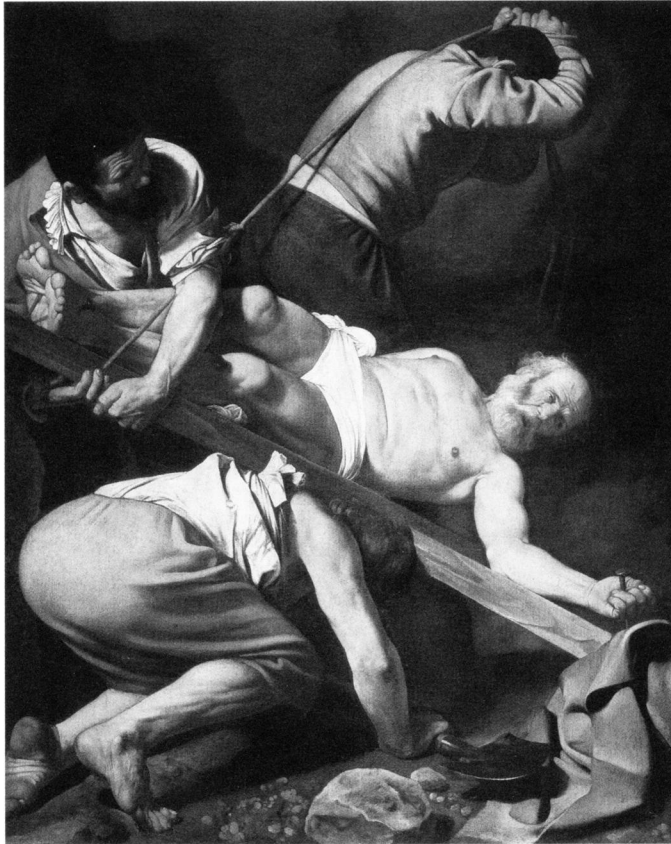
If that statement is relevant in the context of the controversial *fortuna* of Michelangelo's religious works,¹⁰⁴ the poet's second, negative example, is remarkable as one of the earliest criticisms of Caravaggio's famous altarpiece for the Cerasi chapel in S. Maria del Popolo (Fig. 9), or of its first version, the lost *Crucifixion of St Peter* later bought by Cardinal Giacomo Sannesio.¹⁰⁵ Caravaggio is accused of having set the crucifixion of St Peter underground ('sotto terra'), a comment which probably refers to his dark manner.¹⁰⁶ It is worth remembering that, according to Baldinucci,

104. On the *fortuna* of Michelangelo's Pauline Chapel see P. Barocchi, *La Vita di Michelangelo nelle redazioni del 1550 e del 1568*, 5 vols, Milan and Naples 1962, III, p. 1415–24.

105. On Caravaggio's altarpiece and its first version see M. Cinotti, 'Caravaggio, le opere', in *I pittori bergamaschi: Il Seicento (I)* (as in n. 69), pp. 535–37 and 560–61; A. Vannugli, 'Caravaggio: l'ultima traccia della "Crocifissione di S. Pietro" Sannesio', *Bollettino d'arte*, cvii, 1999, pp. 103–09; L. Spezzaferro, 'La

Cappella Cerasi e il Caravaggio, in *Caravaggio, Carracci e Maderno* (as in n. 62), pp. 9–34.

106. Appx I.3, v. 32. It is worth remembering here the description of Caravaggio's *studio* as 'una stanza con le pareti colorite di negro' (Mancini, p. 108); or 'dunkler Gewölber oder anderer finsterer Zimmer die von oben her ein einiges kleines Licht hatten' (J. von Sandrart, *L'Academia Todesca della Architettura Scultura e Pittura, Oder Teutsche Academie...*, Nuremberg 1675, II, p. 189; Sybille Ebert-Schifferer kindly



9. Caravaggio, *The Crucifixion of St Peter*. Church of S. Maria del Popolo, Rome

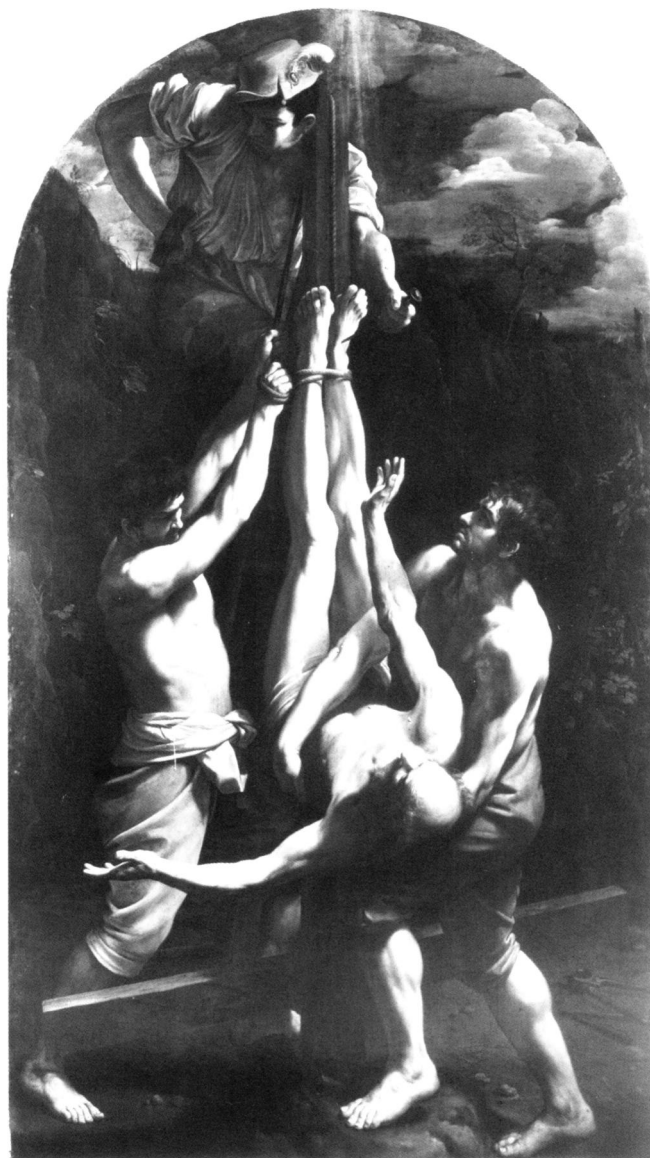
Caravaggio had openly disapproved of Passignano's altarpiece. He went to St Peter's when the unfinished work was still covered and slashed the curtain with his sword, revealing the painting; then he went around Rome criticising it fiercely.¹⁰⁷ The story is probably apocryphal but may have some basis in truth. It is not unlikely that before the unveiling of the altarpiece in St Peter's (i.e., before 15 November 1604), Caravaggio, who had been commissioned to produce a painting of the same subject, was interested in seeing Passignano's composition for the most important church in Rome.¹⁰⁸ The practice of spying on important works of art before their completion was a well-established habit, hence the special measures taken by the Congregation of St Peter's to prevent it happening for the altarpieces of the Petrine cycle (which, because of their huge dimensions, had to be painted *in situ*).¹⁰⁹ Seventeenth-century

drew my attention to Sandrart's description). Cf. also Bellori (as in n. 64), p. 217, who states that Caravaggio 'non faceva mai uscire all'aperto del sole alcuna delle sue figure' and that some older painters 'non cessavano di sgridare il Caravaggio e la sua maniera, divulgando ch'egli non sapeva uscir fuori dalle cantine'.

107. Balducci (as in n. 23), III, p. 447.

108. For the hypothesis that Caravaggio's altarpiece was not installed in S. Maria del Popolo until May 1605 see Mignosi Tantillo (as in n. 62), p. 60.

109. ASR, *Archivio dei 30 Notari Capitolini*, Ufficio 38, V.5, fol. 824^r (contract of Tommaso Laureti, 18 Sept. 1604): 'Che detti Ill.mi SS.ri deputati siano tenuti a fargli fare le ponti securi et boni ... conforme simile alli altri pittori acciò che non si possa vedere



10. Guido Reni, *The Crucifixion of St. Peter*. Pinacoteca Vaticana

biographers report that Caravaggio's altarpiece in its turn generated the rivalries of other artists, among them d'Arpino, the 'declared enemy' of Caravaggio. The Cavaliere now promoted Guido Reni for the commission to paint a *Crucifixion of St. Peter* at S. Paolo alle Tre Fontane (see Fig. 10): he reassured the patron that Reni would be 'transformed into Caravaggio' and would paint the work in that 'strongly contrasted and dark style'.¹¹⁰ In light of this circumstance, it seems very likely that

l'opra imperfetta come si costuma et come si farà agli altri'. See Chappell and Kirwin, p. 159, no. 2.

110. Passeri (as in n. 22), pp. 66–67; C. C. Malvasia, *Felsina pittrice. Vite de' pittori bolognesi* (Bologna 1678),

ed. G. Zanotti, 3 vols, Bologna 1841, II, p. 13: '... massime dal detto Arpini, che per far anche contraposto al Caravaggio suo dichiarato nemico, si era posto a portarlo; procacciandogli anco que' lavori

in criticising Caravaggio's own *Crucifixion of St Peter*, the sonnet addressed to Passignano would have delighted d'Arpino and his circle. D'Arpino would also have enjoyed the criticism of Vanni and Roncalli.¹¹¹ At the 'tail' of the sonnet, Passignano is invited to pack his things and go back to Florence, Vanni is ironically defined as 'beatus', while Roncalli is insulted as a 'barn-owl' and as an artist who 'no one ever liked'.¹¹²

VI. *Mockery and censorship*

The many cross references in the three mocking poems suggest that the texts were conceived in the same *milieu*. Furthermore, the defensive note of municipal loyalty, frequently sounded in the sonnets, implies that they come from a Roman environment. Finally, the attacks on Roncalli and Vanni may lead us to suspect that d'Arpino had a role in the commission of the texts. There can be little doubt that the network of artistic rivalries, so powerful in early seventeenth-century Rome,¹¹³ is the principal context in which lies the poets' motivation. Yet their criticism is not confined to sniping over stylistic and personal matters, for the sonnets also deal with iconographical mistakes and with the decision to bring in painters from outside Rome. This might suggest the poets' intention to lampoon not only the artists but also the patrons of the Petrine cycle, that is, Clement VIII and those cardinals who played a role in the commission. The emphasis on issues of decorum could have been intended, then, as a sarcastic comment on the intense actions promoted by Clement in the wake of the Tridentine decrees.¹¹⁴

Like poems which praised works of art, mocking poems could be instruments for expressing personal, political or social aims, since works of art displayed in an important public context often had to accomplish tasks beyond the merely aesthetic. The most famous example in this respect is the shower of verses which ridiculed Bandinelli's *Hercules and Cacus* (completed in 1534), with the ultimate intention of attacking the newly restored Medici government.¹¹⁵ The continuing popularity of

stessi che al Caravaggio intendeva esser destinati; come por avvenne del S. Pietro Crocefisso alle tre Fontane fuor di Roma, promettendo egli al Card. Borghese che sarebbesi Guido trasformato nel Caravaggio e l'avrebbe fatto di quella maniera cacciata e scura...'. For the adjective 'cacciata' see F. Baldinucci, *Vocabolario Toscano dell'arte del disegno*, Florence 1681, p. 134: 'I Pittori dicono ricacciare, in significato di caricare di scuri le fatte pitture, per dare ad esse maggior rilievo, le quali perciò si dicono ricacciate'. See also W. Friedlaender, 'The "Crucifixion of St. Peter": Caravaggio and Reni', this *Journal*, VIII, 1947, pp. 152–60; S. Pepper, 'Caravaggio and Guido Reni: Contrast in Attitudes', *Art Quarterly*, xxxiv, 1971, pp. 327–28. Reni's painting was started in Nov. 1604 and completed in Aug. 1605; see S. Pepper, *Guido Reni*, Oxford 1984, p. 215. D'Arpino himself had probably tried to compete with Caravaggio's night scenes; see M. Spagnolo, *Correggio. Geografia e storia della fortuna (1528–1657)*, Cinisello Balsamo 2005, pp. 174–79.

111. For the bitter relationship between d'Arpino and these artists see above, nn. 25 and 28; and Baldinucci (as in n. 23), III, pp. 452–53 (followed by Della Valle, as in n. 40, p. 340), who reports that d'Arpino was also very jealous of Vanni.

112. Appx I.3, vv. 37–40, 47. On the *barbagiani* ('barn-owl') epithet see n. 204.

113. See B. L. Brown, 'The Black Wings of Envy: Competition, Rivalry and *paragone*', in *The Genius of Rome 1592–1623*, ed. eadem, exhib. cat., London 2001, pp. 250–73.

114. Following Clement's pastoral visit and Rusticucci's 'Edict on Altars and Paintings', it is not surprising that the patronage of the pope was scrutinised under a magnifying glass. See Beggiao (as in n. 92), pp. 70–74 and notes for the actions promoted by Clement VIII in the churches of Rome, including St Peter's. On Rusticucci's decree see n. 92 above.

such anonymous postings is witnessed not only by the poems attacking the Petrine altarpieces but, some twenty-four years later, by a further example. In this case a piece of scurrilous writing was reportedly found by a workman of the Fabbrica of St Peter's, pinned up next to Gaspare Celio's altarpiece for the baptismal chapel a few days after its unveiling in October 1628. The text not only criticised the painting but also blamed the Congregation and its ministers. The Cardinals of the Congregation declared their utmost willingness to discover and punish the author, and ordered the man who had found it not to show it to anyone.¹¹⁶

Poems mocking works of art were probably considered as illegal as any other text which undermined someone's honour. Pasquinades were condemned both in the Indices of the Inquisition and in the *bandi* of the Roman governors from the mid-sixteenth century onwards;¹¹⁷ during the pontificate of Clement VIII, the stricture against libellers was confirmed by the edict of Ferdinando Taverna, governor of Rome at that time.¹¹⁸ The persistence of the problem of libel among artists is witnessed by the rules of the Roman Academy of St Luke (1607), which specifically forbade the enrolment of any artist who had 'written or asked someone to write against the professors of the Academy'.¹¹⁹

As one result of this illegal status, ephemeral texts mocking works of art were quickly destroyed by the authorities, so we can claim to know only little of what was actually produced.¹²⁰ It is fortunate that a few transcriptions have survived, although they are often corrupted versions of originals which have sadly been lost. The words of d'Arpino's associate, who copied the sonnets in St Peter's at dawn—probably standing in front of the altarpieces, fearing to be discovered by the authorities—betray the difficulty he faced by transcribing (and possibly understanding) the texts.¹²¹ As we have seen, he claimed that he did his best to copy every detail of the poems and their script. He added that many copies could be seen in Rome; thus we may surmise that the texts passed from hand to hand, and were written and rewritten, probably often after having been learned by heart.¹²² In this respect, the

115. See L. Waldman, 'Miracol novo et raro: Two Unpublished Contemporary Satires on Bandinelli's *Hercules and Caccus*', *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz*, xxxviii, 1994, pp. 420–27; and G. Masi, 'Le statue parlanti del Cavaliere e altri prodigi pasquineschi fiorentini', in *Ex marmore* (as in n. 43), pp. 221–74.

116. The scrap of paper is now lost; the incident is known from a report addressed to Cardinal Scipione Borghese, now in St Peter's Archive; the complete text of the letter (18 Oct 1628) is published by Rice (as in n. 5), p. 188.

117. See G. Fragnito, 'Censura ecclesiastica e pasquinade', in *Ex marmore* (as in n. 43), pp. 181–86.

118. *Scrittura e popolo nella Roma barocca 1585–1721*, ed. A. Petrucci, Rome 1982, p. 24, no. 73: '1599 [1600] dicembre 28. Contro detrattori della fama, et honor d'altri in lettere d'avisi, versi, prose, ò altrimenti'.

119. The document is cited by Z. Wazbinsky, *L'Accademia medicea del disegno*, 2 vols, Florence 1987, II, p. 514: 'Nissun academico possa porre o far porre

Quadri, Statue, Disegni, Sonetti ... nell'Academia, senza licenza del Prencipe Che non si possa ammettere, ne ricever per Academico alcuno, che havesse scritto o fatto scrivere contra li professori dell'Academia, o insolentato con parole alcun Officiale in essa Academia o haverà data o darà fuori, o in stampa, o a mano scrittura contra la reputatione di questi professori Academici...'

120. Mocking poems are usually not transcribed in contemporary writings, probably because of their illegality or because of their lack of literary decorum. By contrast, poems praising works of art are willingly quoted: e.g., the verses praising Guercino's *Burial of St Petronilla* in St Peter's, which were attached on the walls next to the work and then transcribed by Torrigio (as in n. 60, fol. 189^v; cited by Rice, as in n. 5, p. 57 n. 47).

121. See above, n. 27, letter A.

122. See above, nn. 27–28. Of course the rhymes and the metric of *sonetto caudato* were intended to facilitate learning by heart.

record of the trial generated by the mocking sonnets against Baglione is illuminating.¹²³ One of the painters accused of having written the poems declared that when he copied one of the texts, which was written on both sides of a quarter page, in minute handwriting, he wrote it in larger characters and condensed several verses into one, so he produced only a half-page poem.¹²⁴ As far as we know, most artists of the seventeenth century would not have been skilled enough to write sonnets like the ones published here. Poems such as these, which show skilled versification, a rich vocabulary and familiarity with educated culture, were perhaps commissioned by artists but not personally written by them.¹²⁵ Our modern concept of authorship should, therefore, be discarded when considering ephemeral texts of this kind, which were probably the co-production of two or more people. This also explains why the authorities often had problems identifying who was liable for the texts; already in 1564 the rules against the authors of pasquinades were extended to cover 'anyone who writes, or copies or keeps the said *libelli*. And anyone who attaches them in whatever place, or recites them, or who finds them and does not detach them immediately'.¹²⁶

It was permissible for poems which praised works of art to be posted *in situ* (as in the famous case of the *Coryciana*), but this was nothing more than a cultivated *divertissement* since they could also be published legally, or given by hand to the artist or to the patron concerned.¹²⁷ For poems which mocked art, the practice of attachment *in situ* was their only means of broadcast. In an era when printing was still the privilege of the few, fly-posting offered a rare chance to make one's poems public, without incurring the time and costs of publication. This method preserved the author's anonymity and allowed him to be relatively free not only from censorship but also from the rules of literary decorum, which were usually respected in printed works. Nevertheless, just as for pasquinades, which were not expressions of popular protest against the Curia but instead the product of divergent factions within a cultivated *milieu*,¹²⁸ so too poems mocking works of art were not the response of

123. In the record of the trial it was said that in that case, the sonnets were learned by heart: see Filippo Trisegni's account, published by Cinotti, 'Fonti documentarie e letterarie' (as in n. 44), p. 154, F. 49.

124. *Ibid.*, Trisegni: 'ma io non me ne intendendo alle volte de più versi ne facevo uno'; 'un'altra poesia ... che era in un quarto d'un foglio scritto per il longo da una parte et l'altra di lettera minuta ... gliene feci una copia in quel modo che me ne ricordai ma non era giusto che feci lettera più grossa et me pare che fusse in mezzo foglio'.

125. As we learn from Trisegni, students in Rome could sometimes be commissioned to write poems of this kind: 'me rispose che l'haveva fatto [the sonnet against Baglione] un giovane che andava alla logica o alla fisica che era un valent'huomo et ... che m'haveria fatto fare anco qualche sonetto per qualche donna se io lo volevo ...' (*ibid.*). Close contact with contemporary poets is, however, attested in the case of d'Arpino, who belonged to the Accademia degli Umoristi, founded c. 1603; see Röttgen (as in n. 25), pp. 136–38, with bibliography.

126. '...sotto pena della confiscatione di tutti i suoi beni, nella quale pena incorrerà anchora ciascuno che scrivesse, o copiasse, o tenesse detti Libelli. Et ciascuno che li attacca in qual si voglia luoco, dove saranno attaccati, o li recitarà, o chi li troverà & non li distaccherà subito ... & non li porterà immediatamente così staccati a esso Monsignor Governatore ... se bene li sopradetti, o alcuni d'essi, non havessero fatti i detti Libelli, o non sapessero chi l'havesse fatti ...' Cited by Fragnito (as in n. 117), p. 183 n. 8.

127. See Spagnolo (as in n. 43), p. 331. There is a wide bibliography on the *Coryciana*; see, at least, J. Coricius, *Coryciana*, ed. J. Ijsewijn, Rome 1997; G. Perini, 'Carmi inediti su Raffaello e sull'arte della prima metà del Cinquecento a Roma e Ferrara e il mondo dei Coryciana', *Römische Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana*, xxxii, 1997–98 (2002), pp. 367–407.

128. See G. Aquilecchia, 'Introduzione' to *Pasquinate romane del Cinquecento*, ed. V. Marucci, A. Marzo and A. Romano, 2 vols, Rome 1983, I, p. xiii.

the mob to public works of art. Like the pasquinades their nature was conservative, articulating commentary according to classical criteria such as decorum, harmony of proportion, clarity of iconography and the artist's skill in evoking emotions in the viewer.¹²⁹ As we have seen, the criticism expressed in the poems here published was, in many respects, fairly conventional, recalling the pedantic lists of painters' 'mistakes' compiled by Counter Reformation writers on art such as Giovanni Andrea Gilio and Gabriele Paleotti.¹³⁰ Yet since the sonnets deal with concrete aspects of the works of art concerned, therefore they can bring together wide range of heterogeneous information which offers a peculiar insight into the debates arising from the unveiling of public works of art.

VII. *A sonnet addressed to Domenico da Modena*
(and a note on the Breeches-Maker)

Another poem, published here as Appendix II, is preserved in the same British Library codex and is written in the same seventeenth-century hand as the sonnets on the Petrine altarpieces.¹³¹ It has, however, nothing to do with those sonnets. The original text was written when Domenico da Modena (Domenico Carnevali, 1524–79) was completing a restoration of Raphael's fresco of *Isaiah* (Fig. 11) in the church of S. Agostino in Rome.¹³² The first two *quartine* of the sonnet express sarcastic acclamation of Domenico, who had been granted the right to 'retouch' Raphael's work and had done so in a judicious way; but from the ninth verse onwards, it is clear that this ostensible praise hides a critical attack. Domenico is accused of being a modest painter who was 'too presumptuous', having dared to touch such an important work of art as the *Isaiah*.¹³³ The 'tail' of the sonnet clarifies that, far from having attained a high reputation for his work, he will be recorded merely as the ordinary painter who 'mended' Raphael's masterpiece. Intriguingly, however, the poet refers to a wider polemic on the restoration, warning Domenico against people who are so angry with him that they are going to thrash him.¹³⁴

129. See Spagnolo (as in n. 43), pp. 327, 348.

130. See Gilio (as in n. 58); and Paleotti (as in n. 43). Cf. Michele Lonigo's sharp use of irony in his letter to Pope Urban VIII about two altarpieces in St Peter's: I. Herklotz, 'Michele Lonigo als Kunstkritiker: zu einer historistischen Rezeption der Altarbilder von Sacchi und Passignano in St. Peter', *Ars naturam adiuvans: Festschrift für Matthias Winner zum 11. März 1996*, ed. V. von Flemming and S. Schütze, Mainz am Rhein, 1996, pp. 413–29.

131. This poem has already been published by Shearman, II, pp. 1410–11, but with a few mistakes in the transcription, and without any comment on the artist Domenico Carnevali da Modena.

132. The sonnet was written while Domenico was actually restoring the work, as clarified its third verse (Appx II, v. 3: 'andate ritoccano le pitture', a verb with a present continuous meaning). On Domenico see A. Lugli, 'Carnevale Domenico', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, xx, Rome 1977, p. 46; D.

Benati, 'Due artisti sassolesi: Domenico Carnevali e Giacomo Cavedoni', in *QB - Quaderni della Biblioteca, Sassuolo*, 1993, 1, pp. 41–52; G. Mancini, 'Per Domenico Carnevali (1524–1579)', *ibid.*, 1996, 2, pp. 103–08.

133. The importance attached to the *Isaiah* in the 16th and 17th centuries is attested by the copies and engravings from it. For an engraving of 1592 by Hendrik Goltzius see *Raphael invenit*, exhib. cat., ed. G. Bernini Pezzini, S. Massari and S. Prosperi Valenti Rodinò, Rome 1985, pp. 146–47. In his 'Life of Taddeo', Federico Zuccari chose to portray Raphael in the persona of his *Isaiah*; see J. Brooks, 'The Early Life of Taddeo Series', in *Taddeo and Federico Zuccaro: Artist-Brothers in Renaissance Rome*, ed, *idem*, exhib. cat., Los Angeles 2007, p. 36. See also L. Salerno, 'Il profeta Isaia di Raffaello e il putto dell'accademia di S. Luca', *Bollettino d'arte*, 1960, p. 83.

134. Appx II, vv. 15 and 21 refer to others who criticised Domenico's work.

As we learn from the writer Francesco Forciroli (1560/1–1624),¹³⁵ a fellow-citizen of Domenico, the artist restored Raphael's *Isaiah* 'wonderfully', yet some 'very defamatory verses' were written, criticising Domenico on the grounds that other painters, who might have been esteemed more excellent than he, had not the audacity to carry out the task. According to Forciroli, Domenico was deeply wounded by the verses. Their author was eventually found and killed, 'no one knows by whom'.¹³⁶ Domenico's reported reaction to the verses, together with Forciroli's description of them as 'very defamatory' and the violent end of their author, all suggest that they should not be identified with the elegant sonnet published here. They were probably more insulting than the sonnet, which might explain why they have not survived, probably having been destroyed. Forciroli states that they were published ('pubblicati'), but this need not mean that they were printed. More likely, they were made public in the manner described above; for example, they were passed from hand to hand or posted *in situ*. We should remember that it was next to Raphael's fresco in S. Agostino where more than one hundred poems (the *Coryciana*) had been posted in the early sixteenth century.

It is not known when the *Isaiah* was restored, or, therefore, when the sonnet was written.¹³⁷ Domenico is documented in Rome in 1553 and intermittently between 1565 and 1573, but his whereabouts between 1553 and 1564 are unknown.¹³⁸ A reference in the sonnet to Lodovico Castelvetro, however, must date after 1558 and is probably earlier than 1570.¹³⁹ At least from 1566, Domenico was in Rome restoring important frescoes by Michelangelo. As Forciroli relates, he worked on the *Sacrifice of Noah* on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel; and also on the *Last Judgement*, following the death of Daniele da Volterra (April 1566).¹⁴⁰

135. On Forciroli, who was in Rome from 1586 onwards and who seems well-informed on Carnevali, see S. Cavicchioli, 'Le "Vite": Fortuna di un genere letterario nella cultura del Cinquecento'; and G. Mancini, 'Note biografiche su Francesco Forciroli', in F. Forciroli, *Vite dei modenesi illustri*, ed. S. Cavicchioli, Modena 2007, pp. 7–20 and 21–24. The *Vite* were written after 1586 and before 1622: see Cavicchioli, *ibid.*, p. 9.

136. Forciroli, *ibid.*, p. 164: 'Il medesimo Domenico accomodò il *Profeta* di Raffaello d'Urbino in S. Agostino, guasto in molti luoghi; et con tutto ciò che da lui fosse racconco mirabilmente, fu però da molti biasimato il suo ardire, poichè ad altri, stimati forse più eccellenti di lui, non era bastato l'animo, di maniera che furono ancora fatti contro di lui, et pubblicati, versi molto infamatori, l'autore de' quali, essendosi saputo, non molto tempo dopo fu ammazzato, da chi non si seppe. Domenico, vedendo che il felice et buon effetto della sua arte era così malamente premiato, ne prese tal dolore, che maggiore non ne ebbe mai'.

137. Shearman, II, pp. 1410–11, does not explain his suggested dating for the sonnet of 'c. 1595'.

138. See Mancini, 'Per Domenico Carnevali' (as in n. 132), pp. 103, 105 and 106. Carnevali is documented in Modena in 1564.

139. See Appx II, ll. 9–11 and n. 211. The *terminus post quem* of 1558 is given by the year of the publication

of Caro's *Apologia ... contra M. Lodovico Castelvetro da Modena* (cited above, n. 57). The following year, Castelvetro published his *Ragione d'alcune cose segnate nella canzone d'Annibal Caro, Venite all'ombra de gran gigli d'oro* (Modena 1559), which was followed by a shower of polemic sonnets: see E. Garavelli, 'Riflessi polemici, difesa del fiorentino e culto di Dante in una lettera inedita di Luca Martini a Vincenzio Borghini', *Neu-philologische Mitteilungen*, CVIII, 2007, pp. 709–28 (711 n. 10); and E. Garavelli, 'Prime scintille tra Caro e Castelvetro (1554–1555)', in *Parlar l'idioma soave. Studi di filologia, letteratura e storia della lingua offerti a Gianni A. Papini*, ed. M. Pedroni, Novara 2003, at p. 145. As Enrico Garavelli has kindly suggested to me, Castelvetro's reputation for pedantry was mainly connected to his polemic against Caro (rather than his 'Giunta fatta al ragionamento degli articoli et de' verbi di Messer Pietro Bembo', published in Modena in 1563, or his 'Correttione d'alcune cose del "Dialogo delle lingue" di Benedetto Varchi', published posthumously in 1572). This reputation diminished in the late 1560s and with the publication of his *Poetica d'Aristotile* (Vienna 1570).

140. Carnevali joined Girolamo Gambatelli da Fano in the work of restoring the *Last Judgement*, continuing after Gambatelli's death. The account of Forciroli (as in n. 135), pp. 164–65, is the most detailed we have:



11. Church of S. Agostino, Rome, with Raphael's *Isaiah*.

'essendo morto il Volterra e Pio IV quasi nell'istesso tempo, Pio V, per i favori del cardinale Rusticuccio, in luogo del Volterra diede l'assunto ad un Girolamo da Fano, giovine assai valente, il quale per attendere a piaceri più comodamente, si serviva di Domenico Carnevale...'. Cardinal Rusticuccio came from Cartoceto, a village near Fano; this probably explains his intercession for Gambatelli. For Carnevali's intervention in the *Last Judgement* see also F. Mancinelli, 'La storia, la tecnica esecutiva e gli antichi interventi di restauro e censura', in *Michelangelo. La cappella Sistina*.

Documentazioni e Interpretazioni, Novara 1999, 2 vols, I, p. 30; and G. Colalucci, 'Lo stato dell'affresco prima dell'intervento', *ibid.*, at p. 121. It is worth quoting the neglected source reported by V. Forcella, *Iscrizioni delle Chiese e d'altri edifici di Roma dal secolo XI fino ai nostri giorni*, 14 vols, Rome 1869–84, I, p. 348, no. 1342, on an inscription once legible on a votive painting in S. Maria del Popolo: 'MENTRE M. DOMINICO DA MODENA CONCIAVA LE PITVRE RVINATE IN CAPELLA DEL PAPA VALDASARO SVO NIPOTE DE ANNI XI CADDE DEL PONTE E LIBERATO / MDLXVI'.

Domenico's work on the *Last Judgement* is attested by his signature on the oar of the figure of Caronte, which reads: 'D C 1566'. It is not possible to say whether he worked on the *Isaiah* or the *Last Judgement* first, but Gaspare Celio, in his *Memorie* written before 1620, relates the two restorations. Celio claims that the *Isaiah* was retouched after being damaged at the time of Pope Paul IV (1555–59). He does not name the artist responsible, merely referring to him as 'N., known as the Breeches Maker (*Braghettone*) because he covered the obscenity on the figures of Buonarroti's *Last Judgement*'.¹⁴¹ From the mid-eighteenth century onwards, this artist 'N.' has been identified with Daniele da Volterra, whose work on the *Last Judgement* is attested by Vasari and is well documented.¹⁴² Celio certainly knew about Daniele's intervention on the fresco, as he reported it elsewhere in his *Memorie*. In that passage, however, he referred to the artist by name.¹⁴³ Therefore, it needs to be explained why Celio should have chosen to refer to Daniele as the 'braghettone' when writing about the restoration of Raphael's *Isaiah*, but did not mention the nickname in the passage specifically concerning Daniele's restoration of Michelangelo's *Last Judgement*. Furthermore, there is no independent evidence of Daniele's restoration of the *Isaiah* (that is, apart from the interpretation of Celio's reference to the retoucher's nickname); whereas there are two reliable sources—the sonnet and the text of Forci-rolì—which not only attest to its restoration by Domenico Carnevali but also report a polemical response to it.¹⁴⁴ Therefore, although it is possible that the *Isaiah* was,

141. Gaspare Celio, *Memorie de nomi degli artefici* ..., Naples 1638, p. 16: 'Il Profeta nel Pelastro, dipinto à secco, di Raffaello Santio: fu guasto a tempo di Paolo IV. volendolo lavare il Sacristano, e dopo ritoccato da N. detto Braghettone perchè ricoperse l'osceno alle figure del giuditio del bonaruoiti per ordine del detto Pontefice, e consenso di esso Buonarroti'. In fact it was not Paul IV who ordered the covering of the *Last Judgement* but Pius IV (1559–65), and after Michelangelo's death, so without his agreement; see R. De Maio, *Michelangelo e la Controriforma*, Bari 1978, p. 39. The decision to cover the obscenity of the *Last Judgement* was taken on 21 Jan. 1564; the scaffolding for the first stage of the work was in place from 23 Aug. 1564 to 8 Dec. 1565. On the general inaccuracy of Celio's *Memorie* see E. Zocca, *Introduzione* to the facsimile edition published in Milan 1967, p. IX. On Celio's views on restoration generally see F. Abbate, 'Idee cinquecentesche e seicentesche sul restauro: Molano, Marino, Celio, Baldinucci', *Paragone*, xvi, no. 181, pp. 38–39.

142. See G. Vasari, ed. G. Bottari, *Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architetti* ..., 3 vols, Rome 1759–60, III, p. 140 n. 1; and also a letter from Bottari of July 1758, in *Raccolta di Lettere sulla pittura, scultura ed architettura* ..., ed. idem and S. Ticozzi, 7 vols, edn Milan 1822–25, III, p. 568. The identification with Daniele is not found either in Baldinucci (as in n. 23), III, pp. 436–37, nor in the note by Pierre-Jean Mariette in Ascanio Condivi, *Vita di Michelangelo Buonarroti*, edn Florence 1746, p. 75. Daniele's work on the *Last Judgement* in 1565 is documented by two payments to

his heirs and reported by Vasari: '...avendo papa Paolo IV volontà di gettare in terra il Giudizio di Michelagnolo... trovaron modo che Daniello facesse lor certi panni sottili che le copriessi, che tal cosa fini poi sotto Pio IV con rifar la Santa Caterina et il San Biagio ...': see Barocchi, *La Vita di Michelangelo* (as in n. 104), I, p. 273 and III, pp. 1377–79.

143. Celio (as in n. 141), p. 102: '... solo nel giuditio vi è la testa di S. Biagio con la veste verde di Santa Caterina della Ruota, di mano di Daniele da Volterra, che fu rifatta all' hora, che si fecero le cuperte alle parti oscene'.

144. Daniele's supposed restoration of the *Isaiah* has not been properly analysed in the bibliography dedicated to the artist and is not even mentioned by P. Barolsky, *Daniele da Volterra: a catalogue raisonné*, New York 1979; or by R. P. Ciardi and B. Moreschini, *Daniele Ricciarelli da Volterra: da Volterra a Roma*, Milan 2004; or V. Romani, 'Daniele da Volterra amico di Michelangelo', in *Daniele da Volterra amico di Michelangelo*, ed. V. Romani, exhib. cat., Florence 2003, pp. 15–54. Cf. S. Dellantonio, 'Regesto', in *Daniele da Volterra amico di Michelangelo*, pp. 178–79 (also for Daniele's lost fresco in the Chapel of S. Elena in S. Agostino). The topic appears to be more discussed in the bibliography dedicated to Raphael; for a summary see Shearman, II, p. 1411. For example, A. Comoli, *Vita inedita di Raffaello da Urbino*, 2nd edn, Rome 1791, p. 35 n. 44, suggests that the Michelangelesque character of the *Isaiah* might be due to Daniele's restoration. (Cf. G. Vasari, *Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, architettori* ... [1550], ed. P. Barocchi and R.

within a brief period—between the late 1550s and 1570—restored by both Daniele and Domenico, it is also possible that the ‘breeches maker’ to whom Celio refers explicitly was not Daniele da Volterra, author of ‘certi panni sottili’ in Vasari’s words, but Domenico Carnevali, who in recent studies has been credited with a less discreet intervention on the *Last Judgement*.¹⁴⁵ Being the most famous of the artists who restored Michelangelo’s fresco, and the only one whose work was recorded by Vasari, Daniele was easily tarred with the bad reputation, but it is likely that the same nickname ‘braghettone’ was also applied to Domenico, and to Girolamo Gambatelli da Fano, if not to all the following painters employed to cover the obscene parts of the *Last Judgement*.¹⁴⁶

In a very few, fortunate cases, more or less correct transcriptions of contemporary mocking tracts and poems reach us, providing an insight into the lively debate which surrounded the unveiling of important works of art; in other cases only an evocative epithet, such as ‘breeches-maker’, is passed on. The memory of these critical responses to works of art was preserved mainly because of their witty tone which facilitated learning by heart, and thus their oral circulation. As for the nickname ‘il Braghettone’ it was so well-chosen, in its midway between sarcasm and playfulness, having the power to synthesise an otherwise dramatic chapter of the history of images, that it needed nothing more than Celio’s brief mention to gain a secure place in almost any modern study on Michelangelo’s *Last Judgement*.

Appendices I–II follow overleaf.

Bettarini, 6 vols in 9, Florence 1966–87, IV, pp. 176–77: ‘avendo Bramante la chiave della cappella [Sistina], a Raffaello, come amico, la fece vedere, acciò che i modi di Michele Agnolo comprendere potesse. Onde tal vista fu cagione che in Santo Agostino... Raffaello subito rifece di nuovo lo Esaia profeta che ci si vede, che di già lo aveva finito; la quale opera, per le cose vedute di Michele Agnolo, migliorò et ingrandì fuor di modo la maniera e diedeli più maestà.’) More recently, and after the 1959 restoration of the *Isaiah*, Salerno (as in n. 133), p. 88, pointed out the Emilian character of the work, but was unaware of Domenico’s restoration.

145. For the differences between the various 16th-century interventions see Colalucci (as in n. 140), p. 137; and A. M. De Strobel, ‘Documenti sugli interventi di restauro dal Cinquecento al Settecento’, in *Michelangelo, la Cappella Sistina: documentazione e interpretazioni*, 3 vols, Novara 1994, III (atti del con-

vegno, ed. K. Weil-Garris Brandt), p. 23, who claims that Daniele’s interventions were limited to ‘le più fini e molto poche’, the remainder being attributable to later painters who worked on the fresco. Barocchi, *La Vita di Michelangelo* (as in n. 104), III, pp. 1378–79, reports that Daniele’s work on the *Last Judgement* was judged discreet already by 18th-century commentators. See also F. Sricchia Santoro, ‘Daniele da Volterra’, *Paragone*, XVIII, no. 213, 1967, p. 30.

146. On Daniele’s bad reputation see Salvator Rosa’s *Satire on Painting*, written c. 1650: ‘E pur era un error sì brutto e grande/ che Daniel dipoi fece da sarto/ in quel Giudizio a lavorar mutande’ (*Satire e vita di Salvator Rosa*, ed. A. M. Salvini, Florence 1833, p. 180). For a synthesis of all the artists who restored the fresco see B. Biagetti in D. Redig De Campos et al., *Il Giudizio Universale di Michelangelo*, 2 vols, Rome 1944, I, p. 143; and Barocchi, *La Vita di Michelangelo* (as in n. 104), III, pp. 1378–79.

APPENDICES: TEXTS OF THE MOCKING SONNETS

CRITERIA OF TRANSCRIPTION: I have not adjusted the text to modern criteria (therefore, I have retained the etymological *h* as well as double letters). Capitalisation of letters has been modernised, however, as has the punctuation has been modernised, with additions as necessary. Integrations are indicated within square brackets and abbreviations are expanded within angle brackets.

Appendix I

(1) Anonymous, *A Francesco Vanni sopra il suo quadro in San Pietro*
(British Library MS King's 323, fol. 204^r)

METER: *sonetto caudato* (*sonetessa*). Scheme: ABBA ABBA CDC DCD dEE eFF fGG ... qRR

DATE: 1604 [*ante* 26 March]

VARIANT READINGS: This version of the sonnet differs from that preserved in ASC, *Processo* (the record of d'Arpino's trial: see above, n. 26). Important variant readings, and differences between my reading of ASC, *Processo* and that of Sickel (p. 188) are cited in the footnotes.

*A Francesco Vanni sopra il suo quadro in San Pietro*¹⁴⁷

Vanni, che pensi far? Il mago casca
qua giù fra questi ammazza cinq o sei,
giganti in aria e in terra pigmei!¹⁴⁸
e che son quei che in capo han tanta frasca?
Ogn'un quivi s'intrica così ci infrasca?¹⁴⁹ 5
qui son fanciulle sperse,¹⁵⁰ balie e Dei
non è già il tempo dei Bartolamei¹⁵¹
che vò che il colorito sol ci pasca!¹⁵²
Perduto hai l'invention, et il disegno
da te è fuggitto, e tutti n'hai beffato 10
sì come il Pomarancio senz'ingegno.¹⁵³
E pur la croce in premio n'hai portato!
La qual ti dà fastidio e porei pegno¹⁵⁴
che con essa al mantel tu sei intrigato.¹⁵⁵
A dirlo io son sforzato,¹⁵⁶ 15
per(chè) l'opra stroppia qui nel duom di Pietro
[tu]¹⁵⁷ per fischiar¹⁵⁸ ogn'un mille anni dietro.¹⁵⁹

147. [*A Francesco ... San Pietro*] ASC, *Processo*: *Al Vanni*

148. [Vanni ... pigmei!] ASC, *Processo*: Vanni che pensi fare se il mago casca/ qui giù tra questi uccide cinq o sei/ Giganti in aria et nel basso pigmei | Sickel: qui giù tra questi vecide (vicende) cinque o sei

149. [e che son ... infrasca] *infrascare*: to entangle with superfluous ornament (see Tommaseo, II, p. 1505: Pucc.Cel. 34.66; Fortig.Ricciard.2.23: 'caricare chichesia di vani ornamenti, avviluppare')

150. [sperse] *sperse*: lost. | ASC, *Processo*, and Sickel: sperbe (?)

151. [è ... il tempo dei Bartolamei] To be simple-minded and silly (see: *dal tempo di Bartolomeo*, Tommaseo, I.2, p. 879: Salv.Grand.2.3)

152. [non è già il tempo ... ci pasca!] ASC, *Processo*: non è già il tempo de Bartholomei/ che recava che (i)

colorito sol(o) ci pasci | Sickel: Ho(r)a è già il tempo de Bartholomei/ che recava chel colorito solci [?]

15. [Perduto ... ingegno] ASC, *Processo*: Perduta hai l'invenzione et il disegno/ da te è fugito et tutti n'hai beffato/ sì come il poma rancio senza ingegno | Sickel: Da te è fugito et tutti n hai belfatto

154. *porei pegno*: I would bet

155. [E pur la croce ... intrigato] A reference to the title of Knight of Christ (see n. 40 above) | ASC, *Processo*: E pur la croce in premio n'hai portato/ la qual ti dà fastidio e porta pegno/ che con essa al mantel tu intricato

156. [A ... sforzato] ASC, *Processo*: Dirlolo io son forzato

157. [tu] MS: Tre (or: Tie)

158. *fischiar*: to openly disapprove

E' così fosco e tetro¹⁶⁰
 il tuo pensier, puoiché nissun l'intende
 ma in dir che sia ben goffo ognun l'apprende!¹⁶¹ 20
 Nè alcun da te dipende¹⁶²
 se ben ti scusi che non sia fornitta¹⁶³
 l'opra che sarebbe più polita.
 L'hai fatta troppo tritta
 son tutti Nani e' puoi fatt'hai Nerone, 25
 che fuor del palco¹⁶⁴ al popol fa un sermone.
 A basso po'¹⁶⁵ un buffone
 ne mostri ignudo che non sa che farsi,
 onde di quanto sai, può¹⁶⁶ ognun specchiarsi!
 Oh Dio se finor¹⁶⁷ scarsi¹⁶⁸ 30
 de pittori e partiti o se uno a pena
 se ne trovasse, si girrebbe¹⁶⁹ a Siena.
 Mi pensai che gran venna¹⁷⁰
 tu havessi di pittura, e puoi m'accorsi
 che inver tu sei un bel pittor da torsi!¹⁷¹ 35
 Non sapeva forsi,¹⁷²
 un pittor qua di Roma senza fare
 san Pietro e Paolo di tua man stropiare?¹⁷³
 V'è puoi che non può stare
 che Pietro fosse così picciol fante 40
 il Pomarancio almen lo fa gigante!
 Hora, fra tutte quante
 le vostre figurine e figurone
 non se ne può raccapastare due¹⁷⁴ de bone.
 Dicono le persone 45
 e dicono bene et io ve ne consiglio,
 come se ognun di voi mi fosse figlio,¹⁷⁵
 Hor che datto di piglio¹⁷⁶
 havete alle monete e messe in tasca
 l'un vada a Siena e l'altro a Bergamasca. 50

159. [tu ... dietro] ASC, *Processo*: Et per fischiarli ogni un mill'anni dietro

160. [E' ... tetro] ASC, *Processo*: nel tutt fosco e tetro

161. [l'apprende] ASC, *Processo*: l'apprende | Sickel: sapparende

162. [nè ... dipende] ASC, *Processo*: Ne alcun da te le prende

163. [fornitta] ASC, *Processo*: finita

164. [palco] ASC, *Processo*: balzo

165. [po'] ASC, *Processo*: poi

166. [può] ASC, *Processo*: piu

167. [finor] ASC, *Processo*: fosser.

168. After this line ASC, *Processo* has: Al Poma Rancio/ Rendi il Turco à Federico o Christofaro [all of these words are crossed out except for 'Rancio']. This is in fact the incipit of the next sonnet, addressed to Roncalli: see Appx I.2, v. 1. The following line in ASC, *Processo* is the same as the MS: de pittori ... pena

169. [Girrebbe] *gire, ire* (Latin): to go. | ASC, *Processo*: gioirebbe ['would be delighted']

170. [Mi pensai ... venna] *vena*: vein. | ASC, *Processo*: Mi pensai chi gratia vena

171. [torsi] *torre*: take away; but also a pun with *torso*, to mean 'uomo che non vale niente' (Tom-maseo, IV.2, p. 1517: Pucc. Centil.78.18)

172. [Non ... forsi] *forsi*: i.e., *forse* | ASC, *Processo* misses here the entire verse

173. [un pittor ... stropiare] ASC, *Processo*: Un pittor qui di Roma senza fare/ di tua man' Pietro e Paulo stropiare

174. [raccapastar due] To put two together | ASC, *Processo*: recapezzar doi

175. [come ... figlio] ASC, *Processo*: Come se ogn un' di voi me fusse figlio | Sickel: Come l'ogni un' di voi ne fusse figlio

176. [datto di piglio] *pigliare*: to take

(2) Anonymous, *A Cristoforo Pomarancio, sopra il suo quadro*
(British Library MS King's 323, fol. 204^v)

METER: *sonetto caudato*. Scheme: ABBA ABBA CDC DCD dEE eFF fGG

DATE: 1604 [ante 26 March]

VARIANT READINGS: This version of the sonnet differs from that preserved in ASC, *Processo* (as in n. 26). Important variant readings, and differences between my reading of the sonnet in ASC, *Processo* and that of Sickel (pp. 187–88) are cited in the footnotes.

*A Cristoforo Pomarancio, sopra il suo quadro*¹⁷⁷

Rendi il turco Cristofor a' Federico
e quel Giusippo a Jacoppo Venetiano¹⁷⁸
che invero è cosa troppo da villano
mostrarsi verso lor tanto inimico.¹⁷⁹
Tu sei entrato, a dirlo, in vanno intricco¹⁸⁰ 5
che non è cosa già da buon cristiano
robbar l'altrui così scoperta mano¹⁸¹
ancorchè d'invention tu sia mendico.¹⁸²
Il San Pietro è ben tuo e tienne cura¹⁸³
ma non ti sarà tolto io tel prometto 10
ne men quell'altro, ch'hai¹⁸⁴ tanta paura.
Ti sei mostratto¹⁸⁵ di pocco intelletto:
non hai ben disegnato¹⁸⁶ una figura
e pur pretendi¹⁸⁷ esser pittor perfetto!
V'hai fatto po'¹⁸⁸ un sonetto 15
che si conosce inver che è tua maniera¹⁸⁹
che¹⁹⁰ non pesc(h)i nè a fondo nè a riviera.
Oh che sciocha¹⁹¹ chimera!
Vedi che l'opra tua non fa rumore
e par ci vogli¹⁹² per haver honore. 20
Fint'hai¹⁹³ il compositore
ma sei determinato in una dietta¹⁹⁴
che sei così pittor, come poetta.¹⁹⁵

177. [*A Cristoforo ... quadro*] ASC, *Processo*: *Al Pomarancio*

178. [Rendi ... Venetiano] For these rather obscure verses see above, p. 270) and n. 71. | ASC, *Processo*: Rendi il turco o' Christofaro a Federico/ E quel gruppo a Gioseppo Venetiano

179. [inimico] ASC, *Processo*: nemico

180. [Tu ... intrico] ASC, *Processo*: Tu sei entrato a dirla in un intrico

181. [robbar ... mano] ASC, *Processo*, and Sickel: Quel tuo Rubbar confisco per fa mano

182. [ancorchè ... sia mendico.] ASC, *Processo*: Ancorchè di inventioni tu sij mendico | Sickel: Ancorche di Inventioni tasij mendico

183. [Il San Pietro ... cura] ASC, *Processo*: San pietro sì che è tuo è tieni cura

184. [hai] ASC, *Processo*: ha

185. [Ti sei mostratto] *mostratto*: i.e., *mostrato*. | ASC, *Processo*: Ti sei poi mostro

186. [disegnato] ASC, *Processo*: disegnata

187. [e pur pretendi] ASC, *Processo*: e pur ti riesci

188. [V'hai fatto po'] ASC, *Processo*: Vi hai poi fatto

189. [che ... maniera] ASC, *Processo*: Ma si conosce al fin che è tua maniera | Sickel: Ma si conosce al fin che è bu[on]a maniera

190. [che] ASC, *Processo*: perchè

191. [sciocha] i.e., *sciocca* | ASC, *Processo*: pazza

192. [e par ci vogli] ASC, *Processo*: E pur cicali

193. [Fint'hai] ASC, *Processo*: Fat(t') hai

194. [in una dietta] *dietta*: i.e., *dieta*. On this word see above, n. 76. | ASC, *Processo*: nella dieta

195. [così pittor, come poetta] See above, n. 77.

3. Anonymous, *Al Passignano sopra il suo quadro*
(British Library MS King's 323, fol. 204^v)

METER: *sonetto caudato (sonettessa)*. Scheme: ABBA ABBA CDC DCD dEE eFF fGG ... pQQ
DATE: 1604 [ante 15 November]

Al Passignano sopra il suo quadro

Laudato sia il Sig(no)r, l'hai pur finita!
Hai pur scoperto un giorno quell'istoria!
Oh Passignano, pensi haverne gloria
per haverla sì vaga colorita?
Riusci, a dirti il ver, debole e trita 5
e vi son molti errori di memoria:
ma se tu havevi letto ben l'istoria¹⁹⁶
saria stata assai meglio da te orditta.
Dal Ianicolo Pietro sali ai cielli
o pur dal Vatican, ch'io mi rimetto, 10
e tu 'l fai su le scale [...eli]!¹⁹⁷
Ma v'è anco più notabile difetto:
che il capo de l'istoria ha dietro i Cieli
ch'esser dovrebbe nel primiero aspetto.¹⁹⁸
Mostrano puoco effeto 15
quelle figure che stano in riposo
pocco curando il fatto lacrimoso:
ma il caldo era noioso.
Per dir il ver, egli ha quella brigatta:
dovevi far hun hoste e una frascata!¹⁹⁹ 20
O pazza intemerata
che i pittor non osservano il decoro
ma vanno adietro ai chiribizi loro!
Quando fan un lavoro
non guardan(o) né hal Michiel né a Rafaello, 25
ma pretendon haver maggior cervello.
Va', Passignan mio bello,
va' nella Paolina,²⁰ che vedrai
che il Bonarotta non errò già mai:²⁰¹
l'ha fatto, tu lo sai, 30
non sulle scale in tempio, né in palaggio,
né sotto terra come il Carravaggio.²⁰²

196. [se tu havevi letto ben l'istoria ...] Cf. Gilio (as in n. 58), p. 29, 'L'accorto e prudente pittore la prima cosa deve cercare d'impatronirsi bene del soggetto de l'istoria', and p. 43, 'leggendo i buoni libri [l'artista] potrà informandosi de la verità del soggetto, sapere quai sieno gli abusi e quai no; and Armenini (as in n. 73), p. 70.

197. This line lacks its second hemistich. The last missing word certainly ends in 'eli' to respect the rhyme with 'cieli'.

198. If *dovrebbe* has to be corrected as *dovrebber*, the subject would be 'i Cieli'. The meaning is however obscure. It might allude to the fact that the angels

(*Cieli*) had to be not at the top of the painting but at the bottom (*primiero aspetto* as 'foreground'), to be closer to St Peter who was crucified head-downwards: see L. Réau, *Iconographie de l'Art Chrétien*, 3 vols, Paris 1959, III, p. 1097.

199. *hun hoste e una frascata*: one host and one tavern

200. *Paolina*: i.e., the Cappella Paolina in the Vatican, location of Michelangelo's *Crucifixion of St Peter*. The fresco is illustrated above as Fig. 8.

201. Cf. Gilio (as in n. 58), p. 96: 'salvandosi con l'autorità di Michelagnolo, che, per il primato che tiene, si crede che non possa errare'.

Oh che fatto malvaggio
 è stato questo, oh pocca discretione:
 due san Petrini²⁰³ han fatto un san Petrone! 35
 Io son d'opinione
 che 'l Pomarancio resti un barbagianni²⁰⁴
 e similmente quel beato Vanni.
 Tu ripiglia i tuoi panni
 e ritorna a Firenze²⁰⁵ e sappia dire 40
 che l'opra tua nessun[o] fa stupire.
 Più cose potrei dire:
 che alla prigion²⁰⁶ non fu dove fu morto
 l'Apostolo beato, e fai l'accorto.
 Ma darti conforto: 45
 è meglio l'opra tua del Vanni assai
 e 'l Pomaranzio a niun(o) piacque mai.

202. [nè... Caravaggio] A reference to Caravaggio's *Crucifixion of St Peter* for the Cerasi Chapel in S. Maria del Popolo (either the first version or the painting now *in situ*, illustrated above as Fig. 9).

203. *due san Petrini*: literally, 'two little St Peters', but also a pun with 'cobblestones' (*sanpietrini*).

204. [barbagianni] MS: *barbagiano* | 'barn-owl', with the meaning 'bird-brained', silly (see Tommaseo, I.2, p. 867: *Fir.Trin.2.4.*; *Ambr. Furt. 4.6*). For a specific use of the term in writing about art cf. Pirro Ligorio, 'Dependono poi da costui altri barbagianni, i quali l'hanno pieno di lavori falsi e di storpîi da

ingoffire il mondo...'; cited by A. Schreurs, *Antikenbild und Kunstanschauungen des neapolitanischen Malers, Architekten und Antiquars Pirro Ligorio (1513–1583)*, Cologne 2000, p. 410.

205. Although Florence was not Domenico Cresti's birthplace, it was the place where he worked most, and from where he came to paint the altarpiece for St Peter's.

206. The reference to a prison is probably to the Carcer Mamertino in the Campidoglio (see above, pp. 277–78 and n. 98).

Appendix II

Anonymous, *A Domenico da Modena per haver ritrovato
il Profetta di Rafaello di Urbino in Sa(nt') Agostino*
(British Library MS King's 323, fol. 205^r)

METER: *sonetto caudato*. Scheme: ABBA ABBA CDC DCD dEE eFF fGG

DATE: *ante* 1579, probably between 1559 and 1570²⁰⁷

VARIANT READINGS: Important variations published by Shearman, II, pp. 1410–11, are cited in the footnotes.

*A Domenico da Modena per haver ritrovato
il Profetta di Rafaello di Urbino in Sa(nt') Agostino*

Voi ser Pittor che di Sa(nt') Agostino,
sull'uscio grande, quo giure,²⁰⁸
andate ritoccano le pitture
fatte per man di Rafael Urbino.
 Quel ginocchio, quel lembo, quel putino 5
parvi haver tocche con giuste misure,
che di stivali paion le costure²⁰⁹
agiontove da un bravo ciavattino.²¹⁰
 Ditemi se parente mai sareste
di Castelvetro che, ancor pur egli, 10
alli scritti d'altrui facea di questo?²¹¹
 Andatevi a piccar²¹² con quei ciervelli
che a pinger sete boni e a formar teste,
con modesto parlar, de ravanelli.²¹³
 Ma ci son ben di quelli 15
c'hano sì fatta colera per questo
che minaccian del legno,²¹⁴ io vi protesto.²¹⁵
 Per non vi esser molesto,
altro non so che dirvi²¹⁶ con ragione

207. Carnevali died in 1579. For a more detailed discussion of the date of the sonnet see above, n. 139; see also n. 131.

208. [quo giure] This is a Latinism and legalism: *quo iure*, by right (cf. *aliquo iure*, by some right) | Shearman: quo [recte que?] figure

209. *costure*: i.e., *costura*, an invisible seam used by cobblers, making this the the most difficult seam to sew successfully. See also next note.

210. [bravo ciavattino] Shearman: buono ciavattino | As suggested by Shearman (who cites Julian Kliemann), this might be an allusion to the famous anecdote of Apelle and the cobbler (Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, xxxv.85). The comparison between artists and cobblers, however, is attested in contexts concerning the restoration of works of art: see e.g. Vasari (ed. Barocchi and Bettarini, as in n. 144), I, p. 91, 'il quale rattoppamento è da ciabattini e non da uomini eccellenti o maestri rari'; and B. Cellini, *Vita*, ed. E. Camesasca, edn Milan 2004, p. 553: 'E se bene non si conviene a me il rattoppare le statue, perchè ell'è arte da certi ciabattini ...'

211. [facea di questo] the MS has the letters 'pe' between 'facea' and 'di', but they are crossed out. Ludovico Castelvetro's corrections to Annibale Caro's poetry, mainly polemic in character, are here compared to Domenico da Modena's restoration work on Raphael's fresco. It should be noticed that Castelvetro was from Modena, as was Domenico Carnevali. Castelvetro had been compared to a modest, simple painter ('dipintoruzzo') in Caro's *Apologia ... contra M. Lodovico Castelvetro* (as in n. 57), pp. 102–03. See also above, n. 139.

212. [piccar] Shearman: pievar [?]

213. [teste ... de ravanelli] Literally, 'radish-heads' (*ravanelli*: radishes); similar to the expression *testa di rapa*, turnip-head.

214. [che minaccian del legno] This threat, involving a wooden stick or club, is clarified at line 22 (*dar le bastonate*: to give [someone] a thrashing).

215. *vi protesto*: i.e., *protestare* in a transitive form, with the meaning 'to declare', 'to assure [someone]'.
216. [dirvi] Shearman: diovi

che la vostra fu tropa presontione. 20
 E puoi quelle persone,
 che vi vogliono dar le bastonate,
 voglion²¹⁷ che all'opra vi sottoscriviate
 e che così diciate:
 'Rafael da Urbino coloravit 25
 Domenico da Modena repezzavit'.²¹⁸

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217. [vogliion] Shearman: vogliaia

218. [repezzavit] An ironic, Latinised rendering of the Italian verb *rappezzare*, to patch. Cf. B. Varchi, *Lezione sulla maggioranza delle arti*, in Barocchi, ed., *Trattati* (as in n. 43), I, pp. 49–50: 'le statue antiche si racconciano e rappezzano tutto il giorno'; and, again about the restoration of ancient statues, A. Mascardi,

Discorsi morali sulla tavola di Cebetes, Venice 1627, edn Venice 1682, p. 434: 'que' miserabili rappezzatori di pietra vecchia ... poveri di disegno e d'invenzione mendichi'; and again the quotations from Vasari and Cellini (cited in n. 210), using the verb 'rattoppare' (to mend). | Shearman: *repellavit*