

A Companion to Early Modern Rome, 1492–1692

Edited by

Pamela M. Jones
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Sites and Sightseers: Rome through Foreign Eyes

Jeffrey Collins

Looking back in 1935, Walter Benjamin famously described the Paris of his exile as the “Capital of the Nineteenth Century.” Had he written two centuries earlier, he might have dubbed Rome the capital of the 16th and 17th centuries, based on its analogous role in generating new arts and new forms of consumption that “remained a point of attraction for foreigners.”¹ Previous chapters have addressed early modern Rome’s art scene primarily from local perspectives. This final chapter examines the experience of non-Roman visitors, a varied yet influential group whose activities consolidated the city’s reputation as a center of artistic training and the universal seat of taste. Indeed, it was Rome’s rising status as a cultural capital that drew increasing numbers of secular pilgrims during the 18th and 19th centuries, when the advent of mass tourism put an Italian journey within reach of ever broader sectors of western society.

Defining who was foreign in a cosmopolitan city like Rome is no easy task. According to a 1526–27 census, only one-sixth of the population was of Roman origin, while one quarter was not even Italian. As one contemporary observer put it, “Romans are only a minority in the city, which is a haven for all nationalities and a communal abode for the entire world.”² Sixteenth-century Rome was largely a city of newcomers, and even if proportions varied in ensuing generations (with particular spikes during Jubilee years), it would be hard to overestimate non-natives’ impact on its cultural, aesthetic, and economic development.³ Some came in a professional capacity as ambassadors or diplomats, cutting important figures in an increasingly international capital.⁴ Others—clerks, clerics, and favor-seekers from across Italy and Europe—trailed each new pontifical family, hoping for patronage and importing their local tastes and cultures. Religious sites continued to attract pilgrims, while the city’s expanding collections of art and antiquities drew increasing numbers of collectors and connoisseurs. Particularly after 1600, elite travelers made Rome

1 W. Benjamin, “Paris, Capital of the Nineteenth Century,” *Perspecta* 12 (1969), 163–172, esp. 165.

2 A. Chastel, *The Sack of Rome, 1527*, trans. B. Archer (Princeton, 1983), 29, citing the contemporary *Ricordi* of Marcello Alberini.

3 See the chapters by Irene Fosi and Renata Ago.

4 See Toby Osborne’s chapter.

the goal of a “Grand Tour,” a phrase not codified until the eve of the 18th century but reflecting a long tradition of aristocratic travel-as-education. The far humbler “tours” of visiting and foreign-born artists, who often stayed longer and entered more fully into the city’s social milieu, sparked a range of associations and academies that channeled artistic training and encouraged new forms of creativity. This chapter examines each of these groups, who together reshaped and redirected the city’s life. For it was foreigners, it might be argued, who not only produced and consumed an expanding range of Roman art, but who taught Rome to see itself in a new and influential light.

1 *Roma Antica: The Lure of the Past*

Few visitors remained unmoved by Rome’s distinctive physical fabric, their reactions changing along with the city itself. In 1492, Rome’s cityscape was not drastically different from that encountered by Petrarch, who had arrived in 1337 filled with ideas of Roman greatness, only to find that “almost nothing was left of that old Rome but an outline or an image.”⁵ Similar surprise awaited later travelers, who could not help but compare the evidence of Rome’s grandiose ancient past with the new city rising in its midst. The Dutch artist Maarten van Heemskerck documented the contrast in drawings made during his sojourn from 1532 to 1536, in which jagged ruins rise from fields and vineyards, while the open vaults of New St. Peter’s tower over the crumbling Constantinian basilica.⁶ Nearly all visitors noted Rome’s shrunken size with respect to its ancient expanse; as one put it around 1550, “The better half of the citie within the walles is desert and not inhabited, especially the seven hilles.”⁷ Others estimated the built-up modern zone at no more than a quarter of Rome’s ancient extent. Yet even this low-lying *abitato* boasted evocative ancient remains, whether embedded in modern constructions, like the Theater of Marcellus and the “Circus Agonius ... now called la piazza Navona”, or repurposed for Christian use, like the Pantheon.⁸

Beyond, in the extensive *disabitato*, ruined witnesses of Rome’s bygone glory—the Colosseum or the great imperial baths—stood isolated amid

5 Rowland 2005, 1.

6 T. Bartsch, T. Seiler, and P. Seiler (eds.), *Rom zeichnen. Maarten van Heemskerck, 1532–1536/37* (Berlin, 2012), e.g. fig. 60; *Fiamminghi a Roma: 1508–1608: artisti dei Paesi Bassi e del Principato di Liegi a Roma durante il Rinascimento*, exh. cat., Palais des Beaux-Arts, Brussels (Milan, 1995).

7 Hoby 1902, 24.

8 Moryson 1907–08, 288.

private estates and vineyards. It was partly from sites like these that local landowners extracted an expanding volume of ancient statuary, valued initially as dynastic symbols but increasingly cherished as historical and aesthetic rarities. By 1492, visiting sculpture enthusiasts could consult not just the public, open-air museum of the *thesaurus romanitatis* (treasury of Romanness), a group of symbol-laden bronzes including the *She-Wolf* and colossal head of Constantine transferred to the Capitol by Pope Sixtus IV in 1471, but also burgeoning private collections of influential connoisseurs including Cardinals Raffaele Riario and Giuliano della Rovere.⁹ The latter, elected as Julius II in 1503, sealed statuary's place on visitors' itineraries by commissioning in 1506 Donato Bramante to construct an enclosed sculpture garden in the shadow of Innocent VIII's hilltop Villa Belvedere at the north end of the Vatican Palace, accessed via an innovative spiral ramp. Sheltering masterpieces including the *Apollo*, found near Anzio in 1485, and the *Laocoön*, unearthed in 1506, the Belvedere Statue Courtyard became a magnet for art lovers; as one 17th-century guidebook explained, this was the spot "which *Michael Angelo* called his study ... a square Court set with Orange-trees, in whose walls are great Niches, with leaves to them of wood, where the choice statues of the world are conserved under lock and key."¹⁰ (Fig. 30.1) Throughout the 16th and 17th centuries, princely and papal families—the Farnese, Della Valle, Cesi, Fusconi, Mattei, Giustiniani, Borghese, Ludovisi—formed their own magnificent collections for display in palaces and suburban villas (often "conceived as semi-public 'museums'") that proved almost as alluring for aesthetically minded travelers.¹¹

Antiquity's attraction for foreigners emerges in the manuscript autobiography of Sir Thomas Hoby (1530–66), translator of Baldassare Castiglione's *Courtier*, whose desire to learn languages and prepare for a diplomatic career occasioned extensive continental travels long before they became a norm.¹² Prompted by the death of Paul III in November 1549, Hoby rushed from Siena to Rome "to beholde the manner of the obsequies and the fashion how they elect an other", duly describing the requiem masses he "saw dailie in St. Peter's church", the curious arrangements for the conclave, and the rituals of the Holy Year—performances that Hoby, a Protestant, dismissed as "fond foolishness" designed "to call menn owt of all places of christendome to lighten their purses

9 Haskell and Penny 1981, esp. ch. 2; Bober and Rubinstein 1986; and Christian 2010, 103–19. See also the chapter by Eleonora Canepari and Laurie Nussdorfer.

10 Lassels 1670, 2:68; Hoby 1902, 25; Moryson 1907–08, 1:280–81; and Christian 2010, 265–75.

11 Haskell and Penny 1981, 28. See the chapters by Stephanie C. Leone (and Fig. 19.12), Denis Ribouillault, and Lisa Beaven (and Fig. 21.1).

12 Chaney 1998, 62–66.



FIGURE 30.1 Federico Zuccaro, *Taddeo Zuccaro in the Belvedere Courtyard in the Vatican Drawing the Laocoön*, pen and brown ink, brush with brown wash, over black chalk and touches of red chalk, c.1595

here, at pardons, indulgences, and jubileis.”¹³ His interests soon turned to the “sundrie faire antiquities” with which the city abounded, not just “Santa Maria rotonda, called in the old time Pantheon, which is the fayrest and perfectest antiquitie about Roome”, but also the Colosseum, the obelisk at St. Peter’s, and the “Arkes of Constantin, Vespasian and Septimius.” Once having “throwghlie searched owt suche antiquities as were here to bee seene”, and with the cardinals still deadlocked, Hoby’s party continued to Naples.¹⁴

Enthusiasts like Hoby fueled a growing market for images of Rome’s former grandeur and modern resurrection. Demand was initially met by drawings such as those comprising the *Codex Escorialensis*, compiled in the workshop of the Florentine painter Domenico Ghirlandaio, who traveled often to Rome in the 1470s and 1480s. Acquired by Don Rodrigo de Vivar y Mendoza, 1st Marquis del Cenete, during his own stay in Rome (1506–08), the album depicts a broad array of ancient statues and buildings, city views, and architectural and ornamental details that were copied in the construction of Don Rodrigo’s Spanish castle.¹⁵ Similar artists’ albums and sketchbooks, including that of Florentine architect, engineer, and sculptor Giuliano da Sangallo (active in Rome in the 1460s and from 1505 until his death in 1516) proved vital in diffusing Roman models across Italy and beyond.

13 Hoby 1902, 21, 23–26, and 60–61. See the chapters by Margaret A. Kuntz, John M. Hunt, and Minou Schraven.

14 Hoby 1902, 25.

15 H. Egger, *Codex Escorialensis. Ein Skizzenbuch aus der Werkstatt Domenico Ghirlandaios*, 2 vols. (Vienna, 1905–06); H.-W. Kruff, “Concerning the Date of the Codex Escorialensis,” *The Burlington Magazine* 112 (1970), 44–47.

By the early 16th century, printmakers including Andrea Mantegna (from near Padua), Agostino Veneziano (from Venice), Marco Dente (from Ravenna), and Marcantonio Raimondi (from near Bologna) began to create engravings after notable antiquities. That enterprise was significantly expanded by the 1553 partnership of print publishers Antonio Salamanca from Spain and Antonio Lafreri from the Franche-Comté. Their innovation was to issue standardized, large-format plates illustrating ancient buildings and statues (both ruined and reconstructed) as well as modern wonders, such as New St. Peter's, Michelangelo's Tomb of Julius II, and Palazzo Farnese (see Leone, Fig. 19.2). Produced by a cadre of foreign-born engravers including Nicolas Beatrizet from Lorraine, Étienne Dupérac (Stefano Du Pérac) from France, and Jacob Bos from the Netherlands, and appealing to educated clients from across Europe, these unnumbered sheets could be purchased individually or, after 1573, gathered into customized sets under the title page *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae* [Mirror of Roman Magnificence].¹⁶ (See Lincoln, Fig. 29.3) Those same well-heeled travelers also patronized three-dimensional reproductions of Rome's ancient and modern treasures, from small bronzes suitable for the *studiolo* (study) to life-size plaster casts popular among artists and artistic academies (discussed below). The truly privileged might obtain full-scale replicas in bronze or marble, prestigious testaments to official favor as well as to wealth and good taste.

2 *Roma Moderna: The Illustrious Foreigner*

Rome's burgeoning souvenir industry depended not just on itinerant professionals but on a new class of Europeans who shared the view of Francis Bacon, who wrote in 1625, "Travel, in the younger sort, is a part of education, in the elder, a part of experience."¹⁷ As the notion solidified during the 17th and especially the 18th century, it became expected that men of a certain rank and ambition undertake a period of international travel to complete their social, intellectual, and personal formation. While the phenomenon was hardly limited to the English—cultural "tourists" included French, Germans, Poles, Scandinavians, and Dutch—it was an English traveler, the itinerant Catholic priest and tutor

16 Hülsen 1921; Parshall 2006; L. Cellaro, "Monumenta Romae': An Alternative Title Page for the Duke of Sessa's Personal Copy of the *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 51/52 (2006/2007), 277–95; and Zorach 2008. The plates were dispersed upon Lafreri's death in 1577. See also Evelyn Lincoln's chapter.

17 F. Bacon, "Of Travel," in id., *The Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall*, ed. W. Worrall, (London, 1900), 73–76, esp. 73.

Richard Lassels, who coined the term “grand tour” in his pocket-sized *Voyage of Italy*, posthumously published in 1670, based on multiple journeys to Rome between 1638 and 1668.¹⁸ Even if Lassels was naming just part of the itinerary (“the *Grand Tour of France*, and the *Giro of Italy*”), his phrase caught on, and in 1692 William Bromley offered his *Remarks in the Grande Tour of France and Italy*—a book whose overt pro-Catholic tone cost its author his speakership of the House of Commons.¹⁹

For most early modern tourists, Rome (with Naples) was the goal of a lengthy journey that snaked across the Continent, combining an interest in art and antiquities with the desire to assess competing governmental systems and inspect each polity’s signature accomplishments. For traveling Catholics and Catholic sympathizers (including Lassels), the latter included the papacy’s investments in new and renovated churches, palaces, hospitals, and public charities, not to mention treasuries of learning and art such as the Vatican Library and the Sistine and Pauline Chapels.²⁰ Early Protestant travelers were often more circumspect, if not outright cautious, about Rome’s value as a model. Fynes Moryson, a graduate of Peterhouse, was typical in setting off in 1591 for four years on the Continent, fired by “my innated desire to gaine experience by travelling into forraigne parts.” He understood that England’s ongoing war with Spain put him in potential danger, and upon arriving in the papal capital he immediately sought out Cardinal William Allen, former persecutor of British dissenters. Allen granted his protection on the condition that Moryson submit to instruction in the Catholic religion—a nuisance he avoided by secretly changing his lodging and beginning “boldly, (yet with as much hast as I possibly could make) to view the Antiquities of Rome.” Yet Moryson was also impressed—despite himself—with modern Rome, singling out for special praise “the most sweete Vineyard of Pope Julius the third, and his pleasant Fountaine, casting up water two elles high”, the “rich and stately” palace and garden of Cardinal de’ Medici, and the popes’ own magnificent palace on the Quirinal, within which “I think a fairer Gallerie can hardly be seene.”²¹ Not all travelers were able to leave their prejudices at home. One anonymous French description of the modern city, composed around 1680, was typical in

18 E. Chaney, *The Grand Tour and the Great Rebellion* (Geneva, 1985), dates the consolidation of the English Grand Tour to the 1630s. More studies of non-English travelers are needed; e.g., see A. Frank-van Westrienen, *De Groote Tour* (Amsterdam, 1983).

19 Lassels 1670, signature A4, “Preface to the Reader, Concerning Traveling”; Chaney 1996, esp. cat. 51.

20 Lassels 1670, 2:6–20, 50–1. For the Vatican Library, see Kenneth Gouwens’s chapter; for the Sistine and Pauline Chapels, see Margaret A. Kuntz’s chapter.

21 Moryson 1907–08, 1:2, 259–60, 279–80, 290–91, and 293. See Denis Ribouillault’s chapter.

comparing Rome unfavorably to Paris, from its stuffy and uncomfortable palaces to its arid, untended gardens.²²

We can chart the Grand Tour's expansion by the explosion of modern guidebooks to replace the often fanciful chronicles on which medieval pilgrims relied.²³ Rome-bound travelers of the 16th century frequently used Leandro Alberti's *Descrittione di tutta Italia*, first published in Bologna in 1550 and not superseded until François Schott's bestselling *Itinerarium Italiae* of 1600 (revised and expanded by the Dominican friar Girolamo Giovannini da Capugnano). *Itinerarium Italiae* saw at least 30 printings in Latin and Italian and was translated into English in 1660 as *Italy, in its Original Glory, Ruine and Revival*. William Thomas's *Historie of Italie* (1549, followed the next year by an Italian grammar and dictionary) was equally practical, combining chapters on each city with insights into local character and customs.²⁴ For Rome itself, dedicated humanists consulted Francesco Albertini's *Opusculum de mirabilibus novae & veteris Urbis Romae* (1510); Fulvio Orsini's *Antiquitates Urbis Romae* (1527, reissued in Italian in 1543); and Giovanni Bartolomeo Marliani's *Antiquae Romae topographiae* (1534), perhaps the century's most influential city guidebook. Those seeking suggested itineraries could purchase *Le cose maravigliose dell'alma città di Roma*, a 1557 reissue of Andrea Palladio's earlier *L'Antiquità di Roma* with the same author's *Descrittione de le Chiese*; just 12 years later Bernardo Gamucci's *Le antichità della città di Roma*, printed in Venice, included woodcut illustrations to orientate the foreigner. By the later 17th century, visitors could consult comprehensive *vademecums* including Fioravante Martinelli's *Roma ricercata nel suo sito* (1644), distilling the entire city into ten ambitious days; *Roma antica e moderna, nella quale si contengono chiese, monasterij, hospedalj* (1668); and, for those particularly interested in art, Filippo Titi's *Studio di pittura scoltura et architettura nelle chiese di Roma*, first published in 1674 and frequently reprinted.

Rome's growing reputation as an artistic and architectural storehouse helped lure gentleman travelers from Britain and the Continent. Thomas Howard, 21st Earl of Arundel, was one of the first Britons to collect classical sculpture. Inspired by his host Marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani, Arundel set out to fill his London house with ancient statues, busts, sarcophagi, altars, inscriptions, and

22 Connors and Rice 1991, xiii–xiv, 34.

23 Parshall 2006, 4, 13–14. On Roman guidebooks and their impact, see L. Schudt, *Le Guide di Roma: Materialien zu einer Geschichte der römischen Topographie* (Vienna, 1930); Rossetti 2000; and Paziienti 2013. See also Evelyn Lincoln's chapter and Fig. 29.1.

24 Chaney 1998, 70–76, esp. 72. Thomas was particularly scathing about Rome's "40,000" harlots and the unseemly pride and pomp of its cardinals.

other fragments, setting an enduring model of English collecting.²⁵ While in Italy, Arundel also discovered painting, amassing over 700 pictures by his death in 1646. Rome's art scene proved equally appealing to diplomats, including the Sevillian Fernando Enríquez Alán de Ribera, 3rd Duke of Alcalá (1583–1637), in Rome in 1625–26 as Philip IV's ambassador to the Holy See. Unable to reverse Urban VIII's anti-Spanish politics, Alcalá used his post to order copies of famous antiquities, including the recently discovered *Aldobrandini Wedding*, and modern works like Caravaggio's *Madonna of Loreto*, which helped introduce that artist's work in Seville. Keen to survey contemporary production, the duke patronized Artemisia Gentileschi (who followed him to Naples) and the Cavaliere d'Arpino, and commissioned an innovative series of Christ and the Apostles (now lost), each "by a different painter of the most renowned that were to be found in Italy that year."²⁶ Alcalá also received gifts from pro-Spanish cardinals, including a marble statue of Christ, a *Denial of Peter* (perhaps by Nicolas Tournier), and a *Virgin Adoring the Christ Child* by Guido Reni.²⁷ His successor, the 6th Count of Monterrey (ambassador from 1628), proved an even greater collector, purchasing Raphaels and Titians of such quality that two of the latter—the *Bacchanal of the Andrians* and *Worship of Venus*—ended up in the royal collection. In 1630, Monterrey hosted Diego Velázquez, a trip that proved decisive for his art. The painter's return to Rome in 1649–50 to acquire art and, if possible, artists for Madrid suggests the city's enduring symbolic importance to the Spanish crown.²⁸

Rome exerted an obvious attraction on English royalists who rode out the Civil War on the Continent. These included Arundel, who left Britain for good in 1641; the gentleman architect Sir Roger Pratt, who helped Palladianize the British country house based on lessons learned in Italy; Richard Symonds, a connoisseur of Roman collections; and John Evelyn, whose lively diary records his enthusiasm for contemporary Roman art.²⁹ Indeed, the first place Evelyn was taken by his "*Sights-man* (for so they name certain persons here who get their living by leading strangers about to see the City)" was not an antiquity but Palazzo Farnese, "a magnificent square structure, built by Michael Angelo of the 3 orders of columns after the ancient manner, and when Architecture

25 J. Scott, *The Pleasures of Antiquity: British Collectors of Greece and Rome* (New Haven, 2003), 11–22.

26 J. Brown, "The Duke of Alcalá: His Collection and its Evolution," *Art Bulletin* 69 (1987), 231–55, esp. 241.

27 Alcalá continued to collect as Spanish viceroy in Naples, acquiring 24 crates of paintings and other objects; see Brown 1987 (as in n.26), 235–6, 293–41.

28 Haskell 1980, 171, 190.

29 Chaney 1985 (as in n.18), ch. 4; Chaney 2003, 61.

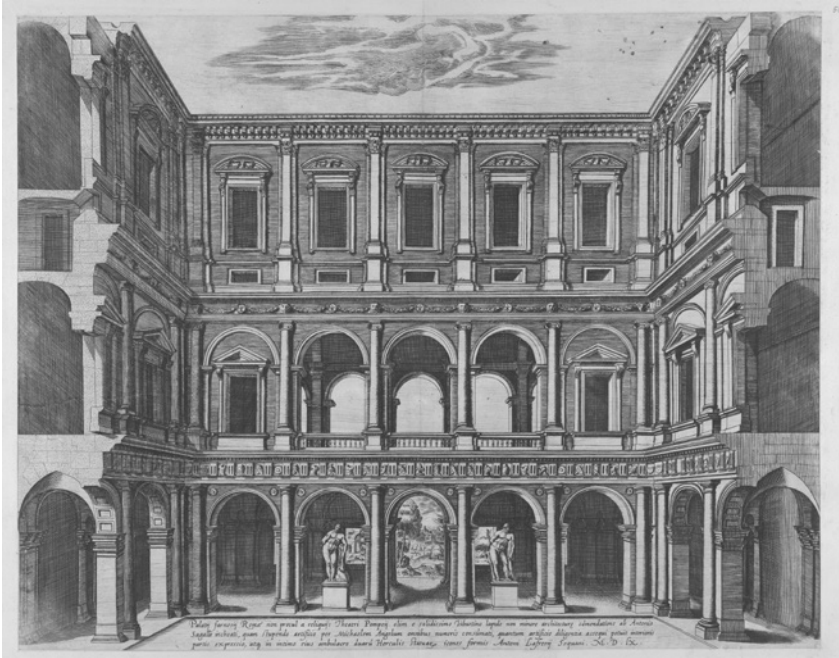


FIGURE 30.2 Anonymous, *Interior of the Palazzo Farnese*, from *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*, Rome, 1560, etching and engraving

was but newly recovered from the Gothic [sic] barbarity.”³⁰ (Fig. 30.2) Only then did the tour continue to the Roman Forum and the Capitol before returning to modern churches including the Gesù, “the front wherof is esteem’d a noble piece of architecture” (see Scott, Fig. 23.4), and Villa Borghese, which Evelyn termed “an elysium of delight.”³¹ (See Beaven, Fig. 21.6)

Evelyn was particularly impressed with the riches displayed in Rome’s princely residences, recently a topic of increasing scholarly interest.³² At Palazzo Barberini, which Evelyn judged “as princely an object as any moderne building in Europe”, he admired “a Gallery compleatly furnish’d with whatever art can call rare and singular, and a Library full of worthy collections, medals, marbles, and manuscripts.” Enraptured by Annibale Carracci’s nearby “Sposaliccio of St. Sebastian”, he even managed to procure “a copy little inferior to the

30 Evelyn 1889, 87.

31 *Ibid.*, 91, 98.

32 See Walker and Hammond 1999; Hollingsworth and Richardson 2010; and Feigenbaum 2014.

prototype.”³³ Visiting the Conservators’ Palace, Evelyn was likewise struck by the Marcus Aurelius reliefs, which, “for the antiquity and rareness of the worke, I caused my painter Carlo Neapolitano to copy.”³⁴ At Villa Ludovisi (see Ribouillault, Fig. 20.8), Evelyn’s fascination extended to “a very rich bedstead ... inlaid with precious stones and antique heads ... esteem’d to be worth 80 or 90,000 crownes” as well as “divers cabinets and tables of the Florence work” and “a chayre to sleepe in with the leggs stretched out, with books, and pieces of wood to draw out longer or shorter.”³⁵ Evelyn, like other impressionable foreigners, did his best to imitate this splendor.³⁶ He purchased 19 inlaid hardstone (*pietra dura*) plaques from Domenico Benotti, a master of the craft in Florence, to incorporate in an ebony cabinet, or *scarabattolo*, in which he stored some of the thousands of prints and medals acquired in Italy.³⁷ The traveling tutor John Bargrave, self-styled “neighbour and friendly acquaintance of Bernini”, likewise acquired a *scagliola* (faux-marble table top) depicting Orpheus, which survives at Canterbury, perhaps the first example of this Italian specialty imported by an Englishman.³⁸ As travel expanded, a rising tide of paintings, sculptures, books, prints, drawings, coins, intaglios, furniture, and scientific instruments accompanied returning travelers and helped spread Roman ideas abroad.

Rome responded not just with souvenirs but by reshaping itself for foreign eyes. Richard Krautheimer argues that Alexander VII Chigi (r.1655–67), frustrated by his experience as a diplomat during the disastrous Thirty Years’ War, championed urban improvements specifically to impress “the illustrious foreigner”—“royalty, noblemen, great men in the arts and sciences”, whether Catholic or not—with a reinvigorated image of Rome’s grandeur.³⁹ A master of architectural propaganda, Alexander clustered his interventions along the path leading from Piazza del Popolo, Rome’s entry point for northern travelers, to the Vatican. As detailed in a 1668 guidebook, the Chigi pontiff first “enlarged the piazza, having removed all obstacles, and perfected the adjoining city gate”; next, “to heap the entry into Rome with beauty in the eyes of foreign nations”, he commissioned two new porticos for the two opposing churches,

33 Evelyn 1889, 91.

34 Ibid., 89.

35 Ibid., 93.

36 For a less flattering view of Roman furnishings, see the anonymous French guidebook of c.1680 in Connors and Rice 1991, xiv and *passim*.

37 London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. W.24:1 to 24–1997; Chaney 2003, 61.

38 Chaney 1996, 99; Chaney 1998, 212, 354n.32; and Chaney 2003, 62. Bargrave’s pupil, John Raymond, authored *Il Mercurio Italico, or An Itinerary Contayning a Voyage Made through Italy in the Years 1646 and 1647* (London, 1648).

39 Krautheimer 1985, 142, 145.

“having already straightened the entire via Flaminia, called the Corso, as far as the piazza di San Marco, into a most beautiful and noble perspective.”⁴⁰ (See Keyvanian, Fig. 17.5) This was, in fact, the route taken by Queen Christina of Sweden, Catholicism’s most distinguished convert, upon entering the Eternal City in 1655. In addressing his improvements largely, if not exclusively, to foreign tourists and pilgrims, Alexander continued a tradition of civic beautification inaugurated by Julius II, whose straight, palace-lined Via Giulia (1508) was the first such effort since antiquity, and pursued in the 1580s by Sixtus V, whose even longer network of thoroughfares punctuated by re-erected Egyptian obelisks drew attention (and pilgrims) to important ancient churches in the *disabitato*.⁴¹ All these efforts were celebrated in engraved views (discussed below) designed to fix travelers’ memory and publicize the city’s image back home.

3 Rome as a School: Artists and Art Students

Attractive as Rome was to connoisseurs, the city proved equally alluring to practitioners. As Pietro Bembo recorded in 1525, “all day long Rome sees artists flock to her from near and far, studiously attempting to capture in the small spaces of their sheets of paper and wax tablets the beautiful antique statues of marble and of bronze ... and the arches and the baths and the theaters and the diverse other buildings standing in every part of it.”⁴² Some received official support, including Francisco de Hollanda, whom João III of Portugal sent to Italy in part to study and design fortifications. While in Rome (1538–40) Francisco filled his notebooks with drawings of ancient buildings, frescoes, and statues (including those in the Belvedere Courtyard) and began a treatise, *De Pintura Antiga*, on ancient and contemporary art. Others came independently, faring as their purses allowed, in the hope of finding work. In all, dozens of notable artists and architects—among them, Albrecht Dürer, Cornelis van Cleve, Peter Paul Rubens, Anthony van Dyck, Louis Le Vau, and Charles Le Brun—sojourned in the city during the 16th and 17th centuries, sometimes landing significant commissions but always profiting from exposure to acknowledged masterpieces.

40 *Roma antica e moderna* 1668, 37–38 (my translation; cited with a variant translation in Krautheimer 1985, 131). Tellingly, this guidebook illustrates both Alexander’s restored church facade and the Egyptian obelisk Sixtus V had aligned with the city gate.

41 See Carla Keyvanian’s chapter.

42 P. Bembo, *Prose della volgar lingua*, in id., *Prose e Rime*, ed. C. Dionisotti (Turin, 1960), 73–309, esp. 183, to Cardinal Giulio de’ Medici (my translation); see also Bober and Rubinstein 1986.

As art education became theorized, study in Italy became a rite of passage. Dutch writer Karel van Mander advised aspiring artists in his *Schilder-Boeck* [The Book of Painters] (Haarlem, 1604), “In Rome one learns to draw, and in Venice to paint.”⁴³ The city’s magnetism for young talent gained visual form in drawings by Federico Zuccaro who followed his older brother Taddeo to Rome from the Marches around 1550 and observed his sibling’s struggles to improve his skills and master his challenging new environment.⁴⁴ Federico’s cycle, an uplifting hagiography intended to inspire newcomers lodged at Palazzo Zuccari, chronicles Taddeo’s diligent study of ancient and modern masters (see Fig. 30.1), his embrace of daunting commissions, and his increasing recognition by Roman cognoscenti. Zuccaro’s vision of Rome as the crucible of professional success also fueled his role in founding the city’s official artistic academy. Like other Italian centers, Rome long had artisans’ guilds under the patronage of St. Luke, the reputed portraitist of the Virgin Mary. Beginning in 1577, a group of painters, sculptors, and architects led by Girolamo Muziano from Brescia and inspired by Medici precedent in Florence sought papal support for a new institution that would distinguish artists from the “manual” artisans and craftsmen, such as embroiderers and gold beaters, with whom they had been linked, while improving training for the talented foreign youths now arriving in record numbers.⁴⁵ That goal was reached in 1593 with the establishment of Rome’s Accademia di S. Luca under Federico’s directorship. Buttressed (at least in theory) by a monopoly on hiring nude models and the right to regulate and tax the city’s artists and art dealers, the Academy offered biweekly lectures for young artists and gentlemen amateurs, plus a studio that convened on Sundays, feast days, and weekday afternoons. The formalization in the 1670s of annual student competitions (*concorsi*) open to non-Romans facilitated the exchange of ideas and resources, as did official aggregation with the fledgling Académie de France à Rome and reciprocal relations with sister institutions in Bologna, Parma, Venice, Austria, Spain, and Russia.⁴⁶

France’s decision to establish its own academy in Rome cemented the city’s reputation as a locus of artistic training. Although individual French artists (including Simon Vouet, who served as a *principe* of the Roman Academy of St. Luke from 1624 and was instrumental in bringing Italian style to France)

43 K. van Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck* (Haarlem, 1604), ch. 1, fol. 8v, marginal note to stanza 75, “Den Grondt der Edel Vry Schilder-const” (my translation).

44 J. Brooks, *Taddeo and Federico Zuccaro: Artist-Brothers in Renaissance Rome* (Los Angeles, 2007).

45 Lukehart 2009; Grossi and Trani 2009, esp. 28. See also Patrizia Cavazzini’s chapter.

46 G. Smith, *Architectural Diplomacy: Rome and Paris in the Late Baroque* (Cambridge, MA, 1993), esp. 3–4, 17–25; Roccasecca 2009.

had received royal pensions to spend extended periods in Rome, it was not until the mid-17th century that a royally-chartered Academy of Painting and Sculpture was founded in Paris and a graduate satellite envisioned in the Eternal City. The first dozen *pensionnaires*—students holding royal stipends won in prize competitions—arrived in 1666 under the direction of Charles Errard, a former member of the Accademia di S. Luca who became that body's *principe* in 1672 and again in 1678, facilitating institutional collaboration. First housed in a private home on the Janiculum, the Académie de France soon found more commodious lodgings near S. Andrea della Valle in the city center, where *pensionnaires* divided their time between studying mathematics, geometry, anatomy, and perspective, and producing carefully finished copy drawings (*envois*) of the city's ancient and modern masterpieces. Over the next decades, the regular flow of drawings and students gave the French crown what it needed to compete with the papal capital for cultural primacy.⁴⁷

These Academies' dominance was not absolute, however, and if many practitioners of history painting and portraiture—the most exalted genres according to academic theory—neither joined nor frequented either body, this was even more true of the growing number of specialists in paintings of everyday life (so-called genre painting), landscape, and still life.⁴⁸ One such non-academic group of foreign artists, the Schildersbent (Band of Painters) gathered the resident and traveling Dutch artists. It was established as early as 1619 to look after the interests of its members, styled Bentvueghels (Birds of a Feather), and anchor the community's infamously Bohemian life. Mocking academic norms, the “Bent” organized wine-soaked baptisms to welcome new members, who received nicknames—Beer Fly, Satyr, Ferret, Hermaphrodite, Hermit—from a mock priest during lengthy banquets that ended with a procession to the wine-colored, vine-carved “tomb” of their patron Bacchus (in fact, the antique porphyry sarcophagus of Constantine's daughter) in the church of S. Costanza just outside the city gates.⁴⁹ (Fig. 30.3) The ceremonies were depicted in numerous engravings and at least one painting, while further drawings by the Haarlem-born member Pieter van Laer, who spent over a decade in Rome from 1625, depict the group drinking, smoking, gambling,

47 For a contemporary French assessment of the Academy's utility, see Connors and Rice 1991, 70.

48 On landscape and still-life painting, see the chapters by Denis Ribouillault, Lisa Beaven, and Patrizia Cavazzini.

49 I. Cartwright, “‘Hoe Schilder Hoe Wilder’: Dissolute Self-Portraits in Seventeenth-Century Dutch and Flemish Art,” Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 2007, 140–44. This practice was abolished by papal authorities in 1720. For a recent overview of the Bentvueghels in Rome through 1632, see Lemoine and Christiansen 2016.



FIGURE 30.3 Anonymous (Low Countries), *Initiation of a New Member into the Bentvueghels in Rome*, oil on canvas, c.1660

sketching on tavern walls, or picnicking and dancing amid the city's ruins.⁵⁰ Over 200 artists became affiliated. Some, like Dirck van Baburen from Utrecht, were particularly drawn to Caravaggio's early genre paintings, while others, such as the Frenchman Valentin de Boulogne, created an original naturalistic style.⁵¹ And the painter Samuel van Hoogstraten, a pupil of Rembrandt (who never went to Rome), was also an art theorist.

The Bentvueghels shared an abiding interest in genre painting, many producing small-format cabinet pictures for the market rather than on commission.⁵² Van Laer in particular transplanted such Netherlandish themes as marketplaces, taverns, street vendors, and itinerant musicians to Rome's distinctive cityscape, treating his humble subjects without exaggeration or satire. (Fig. 30.4) Termed "*bambocciate*" (trifles) as a pun on his sobriquet *il Bamboccio* (little puppet or simpleton) as well as on the modest scale of his

50 G.J. Hoogewerff, *De Bentvueghels* ('S-Gravenhage, 1952), pls. 23–25; T. Kren, "Chi non vuol Bacco: Roeland van Laer's Burlesque Painting about Dutch Artists in Rome," *Simiolus* 11 (1980), 63–80, esp. 68–72, figs. 6–10; Cartwright 2007 (as in n.49), 140–43; and Weick-Joch 2015, 90–92, figs. 20–22.

51 On Valentin's originality, see Lemoine and Christiansen 2016.

52 On the open market in Rome, see Patrizia Cavazzini's chapter.



FIGURE 30.4 Pieter van Laer, *Card Players in the Roman Forum*, oil on canvas, c.1630

painted figures, van Laer's works became an important force by the 1630s, inspiring both Italians and northerners. Described by one early biographer as “an open window” onto Roman life, such pictures challenged academic norms but attracted major patrons in Rome and abroad, including Marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani, Cardinals Scipione Borghese and Antonio Barberini, and the Duke of Alcalá, who acquired two works upon returning to Italy as viceroy in Sicily (1634–36) and to whom van Laer dedicated eight pastoral prints in 1636.⁵³ Van Laer and his circle—the so-called Bamboccianti—also inspired a new sub-genre, painted on a large scale, that combined popular figures with classicizing architectural backdrops. Typically produced collaboratively, these novel compositions were favored by Roman collectors, who increasingly preferred

53 Passeri 1772, 55; Levine 1984; Brown 1987, 245; B. Ackx, “*Bentvueghels and Bamboccianti: The Patronage and Reception of Northern Artists Working in Rome 1620–1690*,” Ph.D. diss., University of Oxford, 2013; and Weick-Joch 2015.

to decorate their walls with easel paintings rather than frescoes or hangings of luxury textiles or embossed leather.⁵⁴

Rome's embrace of landscape as an independent genre was also indebted to northern artists including Mathijs and Paul Bril from Antwerp (in Rome, c.1575 and 1582, respectively), Adam Elsheimer from Frankfurt (active in Rome, 1600–10), and Dutch artists including Cornelis van Poelenburgh from Utrecht (in Rome, 1617–25), Bartolomeus Breenbergh from Deventer (in Rome, 1619–29), and later generations of Netherlandish painters (the “Dutch Italianates”) profoundly inspired by Italian scenery. Some of their associates, like the famed Claude Gellée (resident in Rome from 1613 and known as Lorrain after his birthplace), created arcadian harbor and mountain scenes, often filled with classical ruins and bathed in golden light, for sophisticated northern (and Italian) audiences. So formative were the latter's paintings for the European appreciation of landscape that the Claude glass, a slightly convex sepia-tinted mirror, became *de rigueur* for 18th-century tourists determined to experience the countryside as the painter had led them to expect.

4 Tourists and Tourist Images: Toward the 18th Century

If at the beginning of the early modern period Rome was largely inhabited by foreigners, by the late 17th century much of its artistic production had become increasingly oriented to foreigners, whose visions helped shape the city's image just as their purses kept it afloat. A key sign was the development of the *veduta*, or city view, a genre that flourished with the expansion of cultural travel. Although late 15th-century sketchbooks (including the *Codex Escorialensis*) had featured urban panoramas, in the wake of the successful *Speculum* most 16th-century engravers focused on specific monuments with minimal setting and figural staffage. These included Aloisio Giovannoli's *Vedute degli antichi vestigj di Roma* of 1616 (106 small-format plates) and Giovanni Battista Mercati's more evocative *Alcune vedute di luoghi disabitati di Roma* (50 plates) of 1629, both devoted to ancient remains with few intrusions of modernity. Similar publications depicting recent constructions, such as Pietro Ferrerio's *Palazzi di Roma* (begun by 1638, but published in 1655), tended to present abstracted sections and elevations, divorcing buildings from their urban context. (See Leone, Fig. 19.1) Only the French engraver Israël Silvestre, in Rome in the 1640s, attempted several small vignettes illustrating the city as a living entity, its streets and squares busy with livestock, vehicles, and pedestrians.

54 Ackx 2013 (as in n.53), 21–30.

During the 1660s, however, foreigners were central to a new type of urban *veduta* that expanded in tandem with Alexander VII's urbanistic interventions. The 24 lively views prepared by the Flemish engraver Lieven Cruyl, who came to Rome in 1664, depict a city in action, with famous monuments rising as backdrops to bustling life. (See the cover image; Keyvanian, Fig. 17.5) A more extensive documentary series was undertaken by Giovanni Battista Falda, who came to Rome from Piedmont at age 14 and witnessed the Baroque city's transformation. (See Rinne, Figs. 18.2, 18.3) Falda launched his *Nuovo Teatro delle fabbriche ed edifici in prospettiva di Roma moderna sotto il felice pontificato di Alessandro VII* in 1665 with 33 views of squares, streets, gates, and other urban spaces newly beautified by the Chigi pontiff. A second volume issued in 1667 extended the scope to Castel Gandolfo, Ariccia, and Civitavecchia, while a third (1669) focused on churches, including initiatives promoted during previous reigns. A fourth, issued by the Roman-born Alessandro Specchi in 1699, presented palaces, including recent initiatives like the Curia Innocenziana, seat of the city's newly centralized tribunals, and the Ospizio San Michele, a vast center of poor relief and rehabilitation. Deploying all the resources of their art, Cruyl, Falda, and Specchi enhanced these urban "theaters" into magnificent stage sets, subtly widening streets, expanding *piazze*, improving perspectives, and magnifying buildings' scale.⁵⁵ Affordable and easy to transport, such souvenir books allowed returning travelers to relive their holiday, while sparking the imaginations of those yet to see the city for themselves.

In a sense, the *Teatro's* celebration of Rome as a city of monuments suffused with daily life reflected the reality of a metropolis that had by century's end intoxicated all of Europe, transforming itself into a showplace for outsiders even as the vibrant social, religious, and political dynamics explored in the preceding chapters continued in full force for those who lived and died there. Indeed, some aspects of Roman life remained little changed until the French invasion of 1798 and the establishment of the (short-lived) Roman Republic. Yet historians concur that Rome of the 18th century was in key ways a different world, its papal rulers forced to confront rising internal and external challenges even as they embraced, and resisted, aspects of the European Enlightenment.⁵⁶ Yet Rome's allure, if anything, increased, and by the mid-18th century the even

55 Krautheimer 1985, 3–7, 143–44. On Cruyl, see Connors and Rice 1991; B. Jatta, *Lieven Cruyl e la sua opera grafica: un artista fiammingo nell'Italia del Seicento* (Brussels, 1992). For Falda's *Nuova pianta* of Rome (1676), a colossally scaled etching on 12 sheets, see Jessica Maier's chapter and Fig. 16.6.

56 On the historical distinctiveness of 18th-century Rome, see H. Gross, *Rome in the Age of Enlightenment: The Post-Tridentine Syndrome and the Ancien Régime* (Cambridge, 1990); C.M.S. Johns, "The Entrepôt of Europe," in E.P. Bowron and J.J. Rishel, eds., *Art in Rome*

grandeur *vedute* by printmaker Giovanni Battista Piranesi—himself an immigrant from Venice—would lead more than one traveler to regret that the city's monuments and urban spaces were not quite as majestic as anticipated. Most visitors, however, continued to find Rome everything they imagined and more, reveling in the city's distinctive interweaving of religion, art, and politics in the constant shadow of magnificence. And if Innocent XII's formal prohibition of nepotism in 1692 brought an end to one era of the city's history, and with it one engine of cultural florescence, the rise of alternative institutions and forms of artistic patronage—including the Accademia degli Arcadi founded in 1690 and the public museums of art and antiquities inaugurated by Clement XII at the Capitoline in 1732, expanded by Benedict XIV in 1750, and extended to the Vatican itself in the 1770s—opened a new chapter in the life of what remained, and remains, the Eternal City.⁵⁷

in the Eighteenth Century, exh. cat., Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia (London, 2000), 17–45; and Johns 2015.

- 57 On Arcadia, see L. Barroero and S. Susinno, "Arcadian Rome: Universal Capital of the Arts," in Bowron and Rishel 2000 (as in n.56), 47–75; S. Dixon, *Between the Real and the Ideal: The Accademia degli Arcadi and its Garden in Eighteenth-Century Rome* (Newark, NJ, 2006). See also Kenneth Gouwens's chapter. On Rome's first papally-sponsored public museums, see Paul 2012; Collins 2012; and Johns 2015, chs. 3, 4.