

GIOVANNI BAGLIONE - SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ARTIST, DRAUGHTSMAN AND BIOGRAPHER OF ARTISTS

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Abstract (300 words)

This thesis explores Baglione's contributions to art and to the history of art by examining the nature of his artistic and critical originality and the significant influences thereon.

In the work for which he is best known, Le Vite... (1642), Baglione was an interesting and generous critic who was unusually receptive to pictorial effects, even when in architecture and sculpture. He assesses Caravaggio's accomplishments with well chosen observations thereby breaking his restriction to discuss only accessible works of art.

A broad view of his paintings and drawings shows Baglione's complex, original and thoughtful voyage of discovery assisted by the intelligence with which he absorbed artistic influences, particularly from Raphael and the Cavalier d'Arpino. His refined style of drawing distances him from Caravaggio. In paintings from the first decade, light and shadow give form to graceful figures enveloped in voluminous garments. After 1610 the compositions become more inventive and increasingly Baroque. Baglione's attempt to make a synthesis out of ideal generalization and naturalistic description and to explore new subject matter constituted a search for a "maniera propria" that combined stylistic originality with a penchant for unusual iconography.

The most important trends in Baglione's draughtsmanship are the tendency towards a broader, freer handling and the versatility with which he handles the technical means at his disposal. Though he often crosses over the line into the Baroque, the idealism of his Tusco-Roman formation and fondness for angular lines constrain him from fully yielding to a dynamic disposition. His very personal style can be seen in a number of drawings from the 1620s and 1630s that attain a remarkable pictorial aspect and a Baroque quality of sensual presence. His sophisticated use of the three chalk technique prefigures the form dissolving effects to be popularized by Watteau. At the same time, the defining contour line that emphasizes integrity is not abandoned.

Long Abstract

The fame of Giovanni Baglione now rests principally on his authorship of Le Vite de' Pittori, Scultori et Architetti. Dal Pontificato di Gregorio XIII del 1572 in fino a' tempi di papa Urbano Ottavo nel 1642, which was first published in Rome in 1642 and which, ever since, has been used as an invaluable quarry by writers of guidebooks to the city and by biographers of seventeenth-century artists. However, Baglione was also an extremely prominent painter himself whose merits have until now not been properly acknowledged, and even the book which has proved so useful has never been adequately evaluated. This thesis sets out to explore his contributions both to art and to the history of art both by examining the nature of his originality and his debts to early and contemporary sources.

Although Baglione has sometimes been admired for his refusal to engage in sterile theoretical discussions, the fact that he included at least two hundred artists in his Vite has given rise to the charge that he had no critical response at all; and it has also been claimed that his biographies of Caravaggio and other potential rivals are marred by personal prejudice. However, if careful attention is paid to the terms he uses to assess artists of all kinds, and if these are compared with those current in contemporary vocabulary, it can be seen that Baglione was a much more interesting and generous critic than has hitherto been realized. Partly because of the information that he himself has transmitted, it is still possible for us to examine a large proportion of the pictures which he describes, and when we do so we come to appreciate

the fact that he brought to his ambitious task the discriminating (and often original) eye of a practicing artist who was fully aware of the important stylistic transformations that were taking place during his lifetime. Far from denigrating Caravaggio, he assessed his accomplishments with well chosen observations and in doing so he frequently broke the rule he had set himself of only commenting on works of art that were accessible to the public. It is true that Baglione's praise is often conventional in tone and repeats familiar "topoi" about "trompe-l'oeil" and other illusionistic devices; but, as a painter himself, he was unusually receptive to pictorial effects, even when these were to be found in architecture and sculpture. Moreover, the anecdotes which pepper the Vite are often of great value for the light they shed on the realities of patronage and the conditions needed for success.

Baglione's career as a painter was long, productive and profitable. As early as 1600 he was a member of the principal art academy in Italy and a major figure in Rome. He was knighted, entrusted with important commissions by Popes and noble patrons, and his works were eagerly acquired by the most discriminating collectors in Italy and abroad. However, his brush with Caravaggio early in the century has made art historians reluctant to engage in a comprehensive survey of his career and has led to his talent being dismissed as slick and derivative. In this thesis I have tried to redress this very limited view of him by discussing a considerable number of his paintings and also drawings - though in neither case have I aimed to provide a "catalogue raisonné" - as well as by studying the documents (some of them unpublished) related to him. I have tried to show that he pursued a complex, original and thoughtful voyage of discovery assisted by the intelligence with which he absorbed

influences from Raphael, artists from Emilia and Siena, and the Cavalier d'Arpino, among others.

This is not to dismiss the stimulus that Baglione undoubtedly found in Caravaggio's use of emphatic chiaroscuro to give relief to his monumental figures set in a shallow pictorial space. However, the different approaches of the two artists led to entirely individual results. Baglione's allegiance to the forms of composition found in the art of central Italy and also to a very refined style of drawing, as seen in the studies for Saints Peter and Paul and Profane Love Subdued by Divine Love, limits the naturalism of the figures in his canvases. At the onset, his application of paint is measured and tightly controlled. Light and shadow are modulated to give a strong plastic sense to gracefully posed bodies and to differentiate the textures of the voluminous garments that increase their majesty. The pictures painted in the first decade of the century, such as St. Paul and St. Stephen Crowned by Angels and The Madonna and Child with Saints Hyacinth and Raymond, reveal a sweetness and an elegance carefully based on Raphael (who was to remain a constant influence on him) and a sense of compact form derived from a close study of antique sculpture and of the work of Michelangelo, as well as a strong feeling for naturalism and colour which he owed to his observation of live models. In this phase of his career Baglione may be compared to Orazio Borgianni (who was in Spain until 1606), although both artists followed the common practice of adapting their styles to the differing natures of the commissions they received.

After 1610 Baglione's compositions became more inventive and increasingly Baroque in style. In his frescoes in the Cappella Paolina of Santa Maria Maggiore he uses emphatic lighting to make dynamically poised and sculptural figures appear to break out beyond the pictorial space. In paintings, such as The Apparition of the Madonna and Child to St. Charles Borromeo, the complex system of illumination and diagonal design bring the spectator into direct spiritual contact with the scene depicted. In canvases of the same period (e.g., Alexander the Great Interrogating Two Conspiratorial Officers, The Crucifixion of St. Peter) he indicates spatial depth through firmly modeling those figures which are closest to the picture plane while treating those in the interior of the composition in a much more sketchy manner.

Baglione's sojourn in Mantua was of particular importance for his development as a painter because the Gonzaga collection was so rich in Venetian pictures. For the series of Apollo and the Muses sent by the Duke to Marie de' Medici he used a dark background to emphasize the linear definition of the figures while at the same time imparting a frothy application of white paint to flesh colours. Dense shadows in the draperies are contrasted with bright touches of pigment at the edges. And this type of handling characterises many of his paintings of the second decade of the century, Joseph and the Wife of Potiphar, Salome Presenting the Head of the Baptist to Herod and Herodias and Susanna and the Elders, to cite a few. Certain parallels may be found with the work of Lanfranco at this time - a robustness of form, for instance, a sumptuousness in the draperies, theatrical effects of light and shade and a vigorous execution (e.g., The Allegory of Charity and Justice Reconciled, St. Sebastian Cured by Angels) - but Baglione's commitment to compositional balance makes it

impossible for us to classify him with those artists who yielded to the dynamism which we associate with the full Baroque. A certain equivocation between the graceful carriage of his psychologically remote figures and the surface realism of garments and still life produces the dream-like effect that is such a distinctive and compelling feature of his paintings.

Baglione's attempt to make a selective synthesis out of ideal generalization and naturalistic description and to explore new subject matter constituted a search for a "maniera propria", which was to be greatly appreciated by Floris van Dyck, Giulio Mancini, the Cavalier Marino, Francesco Scannelli and Francesco Pacheco. This stylistic originality combined with a penchant for unusual iconography made him a difficult artist to imitate and no doubt helps to account for his somewhat limited following.

Baglione's skills as a draughtsman were recognized early in the century and have always been appreciated by collectors, but this thesis constitutes the first attempt yet made to bring together a large number of drawings from public and private collections with the aim of investigating the development of his graphic style and the relationship between his paintings and drawings.

From the beginning until the end of his career most of his pen and ink drawings are characterised by their extreme rapidity of execution and consequently by frequent "pentimenti". In many cases summary indications only are given of the facial features and hands and feet, while great attention is given to complex draperies that impart volume and grandeur to the figures as a whole (e.g., Ottawa study for The Presentation of the

Virgin, Budapest sketch for "The Holy Family with Saints"). The early drapery style is generally marked by a stiff and rather thin working of the pen with long strokes that produces a generalizing effect at the edges and at the intersection of the interior pleats, as seen in the Munich study for The Mass of St. Peter. Garments are treated with a crisp and unyielding type of handling and are built up through a very skillful modulation of value in the washes. Undulating lines intended to convey muscular strength sometimes lack vigour when subjected to the decorative impulses that characterise the Mannerist conventions to which Baglione had adhered during his formative years.

The study in Oxford for the fresco of The Emperor Constantine Invests the Lateran With Treasure shows that Baglione's graphic style had gained clarity by 1600, largely through study of Raphael and the Cavalier d'Arpino. And in related drawings, heavily stressed contours, confident foreshortenings and the use of chalk and pen and wash (either separately or in combination), strengthen the effect of diversity in order attain a volumetric sense of form.

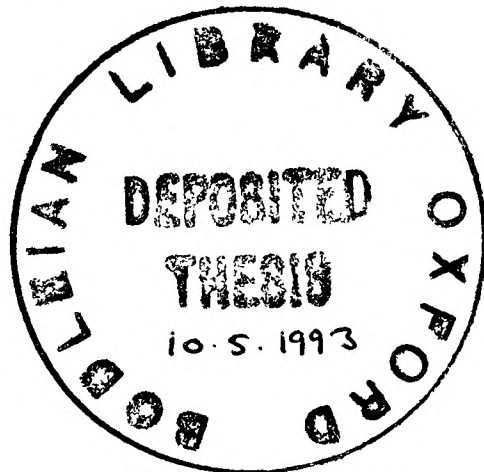
The most important trends in Baglione's draughtsmanship in his full maturity, that is, from about 1600 to 1630, are the tendency towards a broader, freer handling and the versatility with which he handles the technical means at his disposal. During the first decade stable, harmonious designs govern the placement of figures in the foreground plane against an airless space (e.g., Louvre studies for The Raising of Tabitha and The Anointing of Christ's Body for Burial). After the general outlines have been set down in pen and ink, washes and heightening simulate the range of tones produced by an intense light, filling in where

the pen has left off to define the figures. Alongside this restrained style is the more active relationship between figures evident in a number of drawings after about 1610 (e.g., Princeton study for The Emperor Leo the Armenian Assassinated in the Presence of His Mother, Bremen sheet for Music Making Angels). Though he often crosses over the line into the Baroque, the inherited idealism of his Tusco-Roman formation and fondness for angular, rather than curvaceous lines, constrain him, in his drawings, as in his paintings, from fully yielding to the kind of dynamic disposition of figures favoured by Lanfranco and the other artists who ushered in the new style. Baglione's very personal style can be seen in a number of drawings from the 1620s and 1630s, during which time the ability to describe space optically through the modulation of tonal values enabled him to create impressive illusionistic settings in the related paintings (e.g., British Museum study for The Birth of the Virgin, Fogg Art Museum study for The Presentation of the Christ Child at the Temple). Under the stimulus of Venetian influences, the drawings of this period acquire a remarkable pictorial aspect, and the figures attain a Baroque quality of presence, characterised by a soft, enveloping light on the flesh and modeling of the draperies with a heavy use of heightening and broad patches of wash to achieve the density of colour and chiaroscuro in the canvases. Baglione's sophisticated use of the three chalk technique prefigures the form dissolving effects that would be popularized by Watteau in the eighteenth-century (e.g., studies for "St. John the Baptist in the Wilderness" and for "Salome or Judith" in Düsseldorf). At the same time he does not forfeit the defining contour line that emphasises integrity.

"Da la tomba i tuoi Figli anco richiama," wrote Bellori in a poem that precedes the Vite, offering Baglione a "gemina Corona" for his contributions both as an artist and a biographer of artists: this thesis has attempted to justify the award of that crown.

**Giovanni Baglione - Seventeenth-Century
Painter, Draughtsman and Biographer of Artists**

**A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of Modern History
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the University of Oxford**



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Trinity 1992 [i.e. 1993]

LE VITE
DE' PITTORI
SCULTORI
ET ARCHITETTI.

Dal Pontificato di Gregorio XIII.
del 1572. In fino a' tempi di Papa
Vrbano Ottauo nel 1642.

SCRITTE

DA GIO. BAGLIONE ROMANO

E DEDICATE

All'Eminentissimo, e Reuerendissimo Principe

GIROLAMO
CARD. COLONNA.



LVII.

C. 33.

IN ROMA,

Nella Stamperia d' Andrea Fei. MDCXLII.

Con licenza de' Superiori.



Engraving of Baglione in Second Edition of Le Vite...

To the memory of my parents, whose gift of a study year
in Italy was its real beginning.

Attempt the end, and never stand to doubt;
Nothing's so hard, but search will find it out.
Robert Herrick (1591-1674)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

VOLUME I

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	i
PREFACE.....	iii
CHAPTER	
1. The Early Years : c. 1566-1600.....	1
2. The "Intermezzo Caravaggesco" : 1600-1604?.....	28
3. "Una Maniera Propria" : 1604-1620.....	58
4. The 1620's : "Cav.re Baglioni grandemente stimato"...	94
5. "il Cavaliere Baglione celebre Pittore" : 1630-1643..	119
6. Baglione as Draughtsman.....	127
7. <u>The Lives</u> : Baglione as "Artis apex".....	158
8. <u>The Lives</u> : Baglione's Critical Observations.....	178
9. <u>The Lives</u> : Caravaggio and the Caravaggisti.....	216
APPENDICES	
APPENDIX I : INVENTORY OF PAINTINGS.....	228
APPENDIX II : INVENTORY OF DRAWINGS CONNECTED WITH KNOWN OR DOCUMENTED COMPOSITIONS.....	258
APPENDIX III : INVENTORY OF DRAWINGS UNCONNECTED WITH KNOWN OR DOCUMENTED COMPOSITIONS.....	288
APPENDIX IV : REGISTER OF DOCUMENTS.....	319
APPENDIX V : LOST WORKS.....	333
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	336

VOLUME II

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Preface

I was initially attracted to Baglione by a number of contradictions. Highly regarded as a painter in the Seicento, in this century attention has been primarily focused on his brush with Caravaggio. Another paradox is the great use to which the Lives have been put by writers of guidebooks to Rome as well as biographers of seventeenth-century artists and the lingering criticisms that have tainted the work, such as Baglione's lack of critical acumen and unfairness towards potential rivals. And finally, though Baglione was already recognized as an excellent draughtsman in 1604 and has always been appreciated by collectors, his graphic oeuvre has never been evaluated with the intention of investigating the development of his graphic style and the relationship between his paintings and drawings. The principal aims of this thesis are to explore Baglione's contributions both to art and to the history of art as painter, draughtsman and biographer.

I have tried to establish a developmental sequence for Baglione's paintings, turning over every stone for notices that would lead to unknown works, searching for new documents, seeking out unrecognized contemporary sources and bringing into the discussion a carefully considered evaluation of his draughtsmanship. Unfortunately Renate Möller's study of Baglione's paintings came to my attention only when I was ready to submit this thesis. Where I have omitted discussion of paintings listed in her catalogue and excepting a small number which I have not had the opportunity to examine at first hand, I find myself unable to accept them as autograph works.

The Lives is assessed in terms of the structure, debts to ancient and contemporary sources, dating and the critical fortune. After perusing the work for critical comment and examining the vocabulary in light of Baldinucci's Vocabulario... and the Dizionario della Critica d'Arte, I have evaluated Baglione's comments in terms of the "topoi" of artistic biography and, when possible, in relation to the postures of his contemporaries. Using Baglione as a guide to seventeenth-century Rome, the works of art to which he appended critical comment have been examined either at first hand or, if no longer extant, in illustrated form. An effort has been made to form an impression of his image of the ideal artist by assembling the anecdotes that he includes.

I have tried to bring together a great number of widely scattered drawings. After establishing stylistic guidelines for chronological development based on preparatory studies for securely dated paintings, I have advanced tentative datings for drawings unconnected with known or documented compositions. The painting centered view of Baglione is thus for the first time considerably enriched through the effort to understand the particular qualities of his draughtsmanship and the function of drawings in his creative process.

Acknowledgments

My first debt of gratitude is to my supervisor, Professor Francis Haskell, whose inspiration and encouragement during the preparation of this thesis were equalled by his extraordinary patience and critical acumen. His advice and many helpful suggestions have vastly improved it.

The opportunity to carry out research in Italy was made possible by a Dissertation Research Grant from the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, which also provided a generous sum for photographs. A useful travel grant was awarded by the Christina Drake Fund at Oxford.

To cite all of the libraries and institutions that have been of such great service would be impossible. Certainly the Biblioteca Hertziana and the Vatican Library in Rome, the Bodleian Library and the Library of Western Art in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford and the Bibliothèque d'Art et d'Archéologie in Geneva were of enormous use.

For the rewarding conversations and willingness to share the benefits of their research on Baglione I would like to thank, in particular, Caterina Bon, Erich Schleier and Federico Zeri. Caecilia Davis-Weyer has been an abiding intellectual presence throughout the process of writing. The research on the drawings has greatly benefitted from the comments and suggestions of Hein Schulze Altacappenberg, Alfred Moir, Marcel Roethlisberger, Julien Stock, Nicholas Turner, Carel van Tuyll and Matthias Winner. The attribution of so many drawings to Baglione by the

late Philip Pouncey established a solid graphic corpus and gave me the confidence to build upon it.

With deep sadness I would like to express my gratitude to the late Monsignor Joseph-Marie Sauget and Corrado Paola for the great knowledge of Rome that they shared.

My family and friends have given me most welcome encouragement at all stages of this undertaking. I am especially grateful to Chris Brosterhous, Sybilla Dorros, Danielle Johnson, Mary Martin, Kate Schrago and Martha Swiderski.

The isolation required to write this thesis has been made less arduous by the company of my children, Kateri and Evan. To my husband, Michael, I shall never be able to adequately express my appreciation for his unfailing support, generosity of spirit and technical expertise.

Chapter 1

The Early Years : c. 1566-1600

Giovanni Baglione (figs. i-iii) was born in Rome about 1566, son of a Roman mother and a Florentine father, who claimed descendance from the noble Perugian family.¹ According to the rather sparse details furnished in the autobiography that is appended to the Lives, he began an apprenticeship at the age of eleven in the Roman workshop of a Florentine painter named Francesco Morelli about whom little is known except that he worked for the Santa Croce family.² He would have certainly acquired the necessary studio skills from Morelli and it is likely that some aspects of the Florentine artistic culture that are detectable in his drawings and paintings were absorbed during this period.

¹Baglione's autobiographical account (1642, p. 401) reads as follows: "Da Tommaso Baglione Fiorentino, che da'Baglioni di Perugia discese, e da Tommasa Grampi honorata famiglia Romana nacque in Roma, singolar Reggia di virtù, il Cavalier Gio. Baglione." The Act of Death published by Bon, 1979, pp. 88-93 gives his age as "in c.a di 77", which implies a birthdate in about 1566. If this date is correct, he was 23 or 24 years old, rather than "appena quindici" (Baglione, 1642, p. 401), when he was a member of the team of painters who decorated the Vatican Library between 1589-90. The likelihood that he may have fiddled with the dates in order to suggest that his development was precocious is supported by the impression he gives in the autobiography that he was largely self-taught. Not surprisingly these standard themes of artistic biography are also echoed in the Lives.

²Baglione, 1642 p. 401, "Fu con buona disciplina allevato, e scorgendo la Madre, ch'egli inclinava alla pittura, nell'età di 11. anni accomodollo con Francesco Morelli dipintore Fiorentino, e con esso lui per due anni dimorò...". Morelli worked for the Santa Croce family in Rome and in the destroyed family palace at Veiano Romano. See Thieme-Becker, II, p. 355 and Bon, 1981, pp. 17-48. A marginal note in one of the two copies of Baglione's Lives in the Accademia dei Lincei (Coll. 31-E 14, p. 402) names Francesco M. Morelli as master of Cesare Nebbia and Giovanni Modena.

After two years he parted from his master to learn henceforth from the "belle opere"³ of Rome, those being the "antico e moderno"⁴ masterpieces that he consistently mentions in the Lives as the essential building blocks of a young artist's education. That he aimed to recapture the solidity of ancient sculpture is evident in a number of drawings from the last decade of the sixteenth-century, particularly the drawing (fig. 199) from a private collection in which the studio model has been posed in some fashion after The Belvedere Antinous, an object of study for seventeenth-century artists who admired its canonic proportions (fig. 372).⁵ While the painting inspired by the famous Spinario (fig. 149) is a mature work, it illustrates the continuity in Baglione's meditation on the sculptural legacy of antiquity, in this case mediated through an engraving (fig. 373) made by Diana Scultori in 1581.⁶

³Baglione, 1642, p. 401, "...ma conoscendo di non poter fare quel profitto, che desiderava, partissi, e da se medesimo attendeva ad istudiare nelle belle opere di questa Città; & in breve divenne atto ad esser'impiegato ne gli essercitij della sua professione."

⁴See infra p. 172 for a discussion of the meaning of "antico e moderno" in Baglione's writings and in other Seicento works.

⁵The anonymous author of a seventeenth century treatise on painting in the Vatican Library (Ms. Ottob. lat. 2978, f. 72) demonstrates a practical method to learn proportions based on this sculpture that reflects the kind of academic exercise that is likely to have been employed by Baglione and the artists of his generation. The folio shows a much rougher handling than is seen in the drawings of the statue by Poussin that were published in Bellori's Lives... in 1672.

⁶Pouncey noted the close correspondence between the engraving and the painting in a letter to The Burlington Magazine, 1960, p. 167. He supported the attribution to Baglione that Waterhouse (1960, pp. 54-57) had found principally objectionable on the grounds that the Caravaggesque character of the painting was unlike that seen in works painted during the period that Martinelli (1959, pp. 82-96) had attempted to delimit. For further discussion see infra p. 107.

Admiration for another famed antique sculpture, The Laocoön, inspired him to deviate from the planned itinerary of the Vatican Palace in the Nove Chiese in order to reflect upon its beauty as well as its pedigree.⁷ His enthusiasm for antiquity, a theme that runs through the Lives, is expressed without restraint in a passage tacked onto the biography of Gio. Battista della Porta.

Hoggi in Roma lo studio delle memorie di pietre, de' bassi rilievi, e delle statue antiche ad esempio, & emulatione di questi Antiquari si è così fortemente disteso, e da per tutto accresciuto, che le muraglia de'Palazzi, i cortili, e le stanze ne sono pieno, e dovitiouse; ed i giardini come son vaghi d'ordini di piante, così sono ricchi d'opere di marmi; e co'l loro testimonio al mondo fanno anch'hoggi fede delle grandezze di questa Reggia dell'Universo.⁸

The nude studies preserved at Christ Church Collection in Oxford and in the Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte in Naples (figs. 275-276) are graphic evidence of Baglione's training either in the Accademia di San Luca or in one of the other informal academies to which he makes passing reference in the Lives.

Raphael was the model "par excellence" from the Roman High Renaissance, as is documented by drawings that reveal study of the Stanze frescoes and others which show the emulation of quite specific motifs, the upturned face of St. Cecilia (fig. 316), the figure on the right in The Spasimo di Sicilia (fig. 275) and The Galatea (fig. 301). Michelangelo's anatomical strength is emulated in a number of early drawings and the

⁷Baglione, 1639, p. 45.

⁸Baglione, 1642, p. 74.

counterbalancing of the torso and lower body at opposite degrees from the axis that appears in drawings and paintings throughout Baglione's career was inspired by the Sistine Chapel "ignudi".

Though no mention of a visit to Parma appears in the autobiography, the likelihood that Baglione went there is strengthened by the Correggesque character of a group of drawings from the late 1580's (figs. 272-274).⁹ His admiration for Correggio, "Maestro tra gli altri esquisitissimo",¹⁰ is also evident in a drawing (fig. 271) made after The Madonna del Latte when it was in the Aldobrandini Collection in Rome.¹¹

Probably through the intervention of Francesco Morelli, Baglione was commissioned by the Santa Croce family to paint various canvases and frescoes in Rome and in the "campagna" beginning in the second half of the 1580's.¹² A claim made in 1604 for the settlement of an outstanding account with the Santa Croce estate that had been confiscated by papal

⁹Posner (1971, I, p. 88 and II, p. 176 n. 76) has drawn attention to the number of paintings by Correggio in Rome at the beginning of the seventeenth-century. However, the British Museum drawing (fig. 272) gives the impression that Baglione was making a creative adaptation based on his memory of the frescoes that he had seen in the Cupola of San Giovanni Evangelista in Parma.

¹⁰Baglione, 1642, p. 153.

¹¹Correggio's painting was listed in the inventory published by d'Onofrio, 1964, p. 20, n. 51.

¹²Totti, 1638, p. 482 cites paintings made by Baglione in San Martino ai Monti for Paolo Santacroce. Mancini (I, p. 253; II, p. 153 n. 1113) refers to a palace of the Marchese Santa Croce "sotto Campidoglio" which was decorated with frescoes by Antonio Tempesta.

authorities following Onofrio Santa Croce's execution for matricide, signed by Annibale Carracci and Cristofano Roncalli, mentions frescoes which are no longer extant in the loggia of the country villa formerly owned by the Santa Croce family (now Palazzo Altieri) at Oriolo Romano.¹³ By this time Baglione had presumably received payment for the frescoes illustrating scenes from the lives of four Old Testament heroes - Jacob, Joshua, David and Elijah - (figs. 1-22) that were painted on the vaults of four contiguous rooms on the "piano terreno" of the villa and also in the lunettes of the "sala di Giosuè".¹⁴

Using Federico Zuccaro's decoration of the vault in the chapel of the Palazzo Farnese at Caprarola as a model, the secondary episodes flank the central compartment which contains the principle story. The narratives are imbedded in a rich decorative framework of grotesques, allegorical figures and architectural ornament that harks back to the Vatican Loggie of Raphael and his school. Certain scenes, such as Jacob's Dream (fig. 1 center), appear to be explicitly derived from the precedent in the Loggie.

In this youthful undertaking Baglione attempted to find his own personal voice by combining aspects of the quite varied artistic culture

¹³Baglione requested payment for frescoes in the Santa Croce palace in the Piazza Branca that he had painted with "Alessandro Ricci, Lucchese" and for the "residuo de l'Horiollo". He also made a supplication for reimbursement for other paintings, including an altarpiece of The Annunciation of the Angel to St. Joseph and a portrait of Paolo Santa Croce. For the full text of the document see Appendix IV, 8.

¹⁴Briganti (1961, p. 58) first credited Baglione with the decoration. For a full discussion see Bon (1981, pp. 17-48) who proposes an entirely convincing dating between 1585-87.

to which he had already been exposed with still life elements that reveal an interest in introducing observations from life. Caterina Bon correctly notes the influence of Giovanni Guerra, from whom Baglione derived the evanescent figures and nervous calligraphy and Bertolia, whose frescoes in the Palazzo Farnese at Caprarola were instructional for the fantastic landscapes and notable fairy tale quality.¹⁵ To Beccafumi's example she rightly attributes the sharp and fanciful colours as well as the taste for the grotesque that is particularly evident in the faces. An important sign of approval for Baglione's artistic skill came from his colleague, Francesco Vanni, who made a drawing of the charming scene at left in David with the Head of Goliath (fig. 15) either directly after the fresco at Oriolo or perhaps from the now unknown study for it.¹⁶ Not surprisingly, this is one of the most Beccafumesque passages, as is evident in comparing it with the painting Baglione made (fig. 23) after his canvas, now in the Guarini del Taja Collection in Siena.¹⁷

Other sources can also be traced. There is a debt to Michelangelo and to the Zuccari visible in the large musculature and an attempt to emulate Barocci that can be seen in the block-like method of faceting. The heavily bearded, Muzianesque figures to the right in The Feeding of the Syrian Prisoner (fig. 21) are entirely different in character than the

¹⁵ibid., pp. 26-28.

¹⁶Riedl (1966-67, p. 68, fig. 71) dates the drawing to about 1605-07.

¹⁷Baglione's painting was brought to light by Bon (1981, p. 25, fig. 40) who noted the explicit dependence on Beccafumi's painting.

charming, puppet-like figures to the left. In the same way, the individualized features that characterise the men who appear to the left of the pointing soldier in The Transportation of the Twelve Stone Slabs (fig. 10) are quite distinct from the pretty Liliesque types. Fragmentary naturalistic observations, such as the laden basket held by the servant in the foreground in figure twenty one and the vessels and plates in The Miracle of the Widow's Oil (fig. 19) add an appealing freshness.

Soon afterwards Baglione joined the team of painters working under Cesare Nebbia and Giovanni Guerra who were employed by Sixtus V in the vast decorative programs that he initiated at the Scala Santa, Palazzo Laterano and the Biblioteca Vaticana.¹⁸ Quickly completed between 1588 and 1589, the frescoes generally follow in the same stylistic vein as the Santa Croce frescoes in combining the sobriety of the Muzianesque school with aspects of International Mannerism. At the same time, each scene shows Baglione's efforts to advance beyond Oriolo by means of life studies as well as through emulation of those Urbinate, Lombard and Roman models whose colouristic skills, sculptural conception of form and narrative styles he admired.

While emulation of Bertonia is evident in the elongated, serpentine central figure of the Scala Santa Discovery of Moses (fig. 25), the desire

¹⁸Baglione, 1642, p. 401, "Nella Scala Santa formò alcune storiette della passione del Salvatore del Mondo; e nella scala a mano stanca è di suo la prima storia, parimente a mano stanca, della Figliuola di Faraone, quando ritrovò Moisè bambino alla riva del Nilo." Scavizzi (I, 1960, pp. 111-122) made the valiant effort to separate all the hands at the Scala Santa and briefly discussed the decoration of the Palazzo Laterano.

to approximate to Federico Barocci's very painterly "maniera bella, e dolce"¹⁹ is the primary goal. This is evident not only in the sweet, sharp features of Pharoah's daughter and her maid servants but also in the combination of transparent tonalities and "colori cangianti." These features also characterise the fresco representing The Denial of Peter (fig. 26).

Recognizing the debt to Correggio in Barocci's "bella, sfumata, dolce, e vaga"²⁰ manner of painting, Baglione distinguishes Barocci's works as "un poco più tinta".²¹ In The Capture of Christ (fig. 27) he tries to tone down the high keyed Baroccesque palette seen in the previous frescoes by more effectively bringing the effects of light and shadow into play. Christ has been placed at the center of two illuminated crossing diagonals (one of which is introduced by the fleeing nude apostle and the other by St. Peter and Malchus) so that the drama of the confrontation is given visual focus, a notable break from Mannerist convention.

He also turned to Raphael in his search for new ways of organizing his compositions. This is evident in the Lateran Palace fresco illustrating The Birth of St. Francis (fig. 24) in which he integrated three sequential narrative episodes into a lunette shaped space, taking The Fire in the Borgo as the prototype. What is immediately clear is that the naturalism of the drawing (fig. 171) has been diminished in the fresco. The most

¹⁹Baglione, 1642, p. 139.

²⁰ibid., p. 134.

²¹ibid., p. 133.

noticeable alterations - the grafting onto the fresco of the Raphaelesque water bearer, the Baroccesque faceting of garments and the Liliesque physiognomical types - are indicative of Baglione's unwillingness to sacrifice stylish refinements to the gain in the handling of reality that is so striking in the drawing. While the reduction of the naturalism in favour of artifice can partially be attributed to youthful uncertainty, the conscious effort to forge a synthesis between the two will be seen to be his principal artistic goal.

As part of the program to decorate the Sala Sistina of the Vatican Library, Baglione was designated to paint three frescoes related to the history of the great libraries of antiquity and an allegorical figure (fig. 29).²² One can deduce from the noticeable advances made between the two scenes depicting The Bibliotheca Babylonica (fig. 29) and the single fresco of The Bibliotheca Romanorum (fig. 30) (also paralleled in the preparatory drawings) that the two former scenes were painted first. At left, Nebuchadnezzar teaches the Chaldean language to a group of

²²Baglione, 1642, p. 401, "Da Cesare del Nebbia da Orvieto, e da Gio. da Modana Pintori del Pontefice Sisto V. fu posto a lavorare co'suoi colori nella libreria in Vaticano; e nelle volta co'l suo pennello spraticossi. Onde gli diedero nelle facciate da basso a dipingere due storie grandi con figure dal naturale, e sì franche, e vaghe le condusse, che Papa Sisto, vedendo quest'opera fatta da un giovinetto di 15. anni, n'ebbe assai compiacimento." The decoration was described in Della libreria vaticana ragionamenti di Mutio Pansi..., Rome, 1590, passim. Bon (1981, pp. 42-43) has published all of the relevant iconographical references for Baglione's frescoes. van Thiel (pp. 105-31) has drawn attention to Baglione's erroneous claim that the subjects were invented by Guerra, rather than the librarian, Federico Rinaldi and others. A more curious error, given Baglione's drawings for the frescoes, is his statement that Cesare Nebbia "faceva li disegni" (1642, p. 116) for the project.

noblemen while Daniel and his companions attend to their lessons. At right, King Cyrus gives Darius the authority to rebuild the temple and the city. As Hess has correctly observed, the rather arbitrarily composed pictorial space with its passages, auxiliary rooms and vistas onto the landscape, may be attributed to Baglione's study of Raffaellino da Reggio, an artist he greatly admired.²³ However, the increase in monumentality, seen in the commanding figure of King Cyrus and the volumetric strength of Darius was derived from the "antico e moderno" exemplars that Baglione had so assiduously studied.

The naturalism of some of the figures in The Bibliotheca Romanorum, showing the sale of the last three Sibylline books from the Library of Augustus to Tarquinius Superbus, is quite striking particularly when compared with those in the adjacent fresco. This has been achieved not only through emulation of the solidity of ancient sculpture but also by placing large figures in a tightly knit groups in the primary plane, an arrangement that may have been inspired by Raphael's tapestries. The young man in the plumed hat at far left has a quality of real presence that suggests a model from life, as does the youth at the rear who possesses such a remarkable likeness to the mature Baglione that one can be certain that it is an early self-portrait. Baglione's recollection in the autobiography that live models were studied in the preparation of the frescoes gains more credence in light of the originality of many of the figures. Against these advances in breadth of handling, the S-curve

²³See infra p. 78. Hess (1967, I, p. 172) made this observation in attributing the frescoes to Nogari, who was a pupil of Raffaellino da Reggio.

stance of the Sibyl and the ornamental treatment of her garments reveal his attachment to the predominant artistic language.

On the one hand, Baglione's attempt to navigate along a variety of artistic currents during these early years produced a noticeable eclecticism that is clearly evident in the drawings for the frescoes (figs. 172-173). On the other, their common trait is the effort he has made to give weight and substance to the figures. His desire to bring a more convincing naturalism to his works can be obliquely detected in the description of the pleasure brought at the sight of the paintings by Cavalier d'Arpino in San Lorenzo in Damaso (1588-89) "non solo a' professori, ma a tutto il Popolo che grandamente il lodò vedendo quella bella maniera di dipingere in fresco, che in quel genere non può ricevere maggior componimento, & è fatto tanta franca, che pare adesso colorita."²⁴ In the early 1590's Baglione had the opportunity to work side-by-side with d'Arpino in the redecoration of the Certosa di San Martino in Naples,²⁵ a close association that is reflected in the quite clear resemblance between the bearded, frontally facing cleric in The Premonition of the Death of Canon Diocrés (fig. 31a) and the figure of St.

²⁴Baglione, 1642, p. 369.

²⁵During the brief pontificates of the three Popes who succeeded Sixtus V, Baglione went to Naples, ostensibly for reasons of ill health (1642, p. 401, "...essendo stato da malattia aggravato, andò a Napoli a mutar aria, & in quella Città per due anni si trattenne, & alcune cose operavvi...") but uncertain patronage was probably another factor. In Naples he joined a group of painters, including Cavalier d'Arpino and his brother Bernardino, Andrea Lilio and others in redecorating the Certosa. For the evolution of the project see Causa, 1973, pp. 30ff. and Previtali, 1978, pp. 115-116. For Baglione's work see Bon, 1981, especially pp. 32-33. For the iconography see Tufari, 1854, pp. 29-31.

Lawrence in the "bozzetto" for the fresco of St. Lawrence Among the Sick and the Poor that d' Arpino had painted a few years earlier in San Lorenzo in Damaso.²⁶ Baglione's attraction to d'Arpino was to be particularly important for his development as a draughtsman, as will be seen later.

Though he returned to Rome after the election of Pope Clement VIII in 1592,²⁷ the evidence seems to indicate that the mid-1590's were lean years for Baglione.²⁸ Certainly the barter arrangement he made during this period with a Roman tailor, exchanging paintings for dresses ordered by his wife, suggests that his canvases were not highly valued by the Roman market.²⁹ While no direct conclusions can be drawn, it is curious that he was arrested in 1595 in the company of a Sicilian woman named Pasqua who was alleged to be a spy.³⁰ His financial situation and the limited market for his paintings leads one to speculate that their relationship may have been prompted by Baglione's interest in obtaining information which could have helped him to better promote his works with local patrons.

²⁶The "bozzetto" is illustrated by Röttgen, 1973, fig. 1.

²⁷Baglione, 1642, p. 401, "Nel tempo di Papa Clemente VIII. ritornò a Roma...."

²⁸He was probably obliged to take on a number of minor works, such as the lunette painted in a monastery founded in the 1590's by a Roman noblewoman. See Colini, 1977, pp. 132, 177.

²⁹See Appendix IV, 1b.

³⁰See Appendix IV, 1a.

The no longer extant fresco decoration painted in 1595 in the Cappella di San Pietro in Santa Pudenziana is the only work mentioned in the autobiography for the period between 1592-98.³¹ Gio. Battista della Porta's sculpture of Christ Giving the Keys to St. Peter was the main embellishment in the small chapel. Baglione frescoed scenes from the life of the saint on the vault, in a lunette and on the supporting archway. Due to the humidity, all that remains to suggest the former beauty of the chapel are remnants of the rich gold leaf and the photographs of the frescoes taken prior to their deterioration (figs. 36-42). The inscription on the wall explains the rather unusual subject of the main fresco (fig. 36), the Mass "in hoc altari" that St. Peter had celebrated for the living and deceased; the latter are shown liberated from purgatory in the small scene at right.³² The general arrangement of the saint at the altar and the balance of calm and more excited groups in a lofty architectural setting shows Baglione's study of Raphael's Mass of Bolsena. The evenly diffused application of wash in the preparatory drawing (fig. 174) enforces the impression that the lively, energetic figures inhabit a single unit of space but here again Baglione's naturalism is moderated by the harmonious decorative ideal that guided

³¹Baglione, 1642, p. 401, "...in s. Pudenziana gli fu dato a dipingere a fresco la Cappelletta di s. Pietro, ove fece diverse historie di quel Santo Principe de gli Apostoli." See Montini, n.d., pp. 26 and 82.

³²In describing della Porta's sculpture Baglione identifies the subject of his fresco (1642, p. 74), "E per la sua virtù da tutti adoperato dentro la chiesa di s. Pudenziana nella cappelletta di s. Pietro, dove è l'altare privilegiato, e già vi celebrò Messa lo stesso s. Pietro, formò due statue, cioè N. Signore, che dà le chiavi del suo Vicariato all'Apostolo s. Pietro, figure di marmo grandi, quanto nel naturale."

him. He alters the placement of the kneeling woman in the foreground to emphasise her role as a "trait d'union" in the directional movement towards St. Peter that the sprawling figure at right has begun and adds the "repoussoir" figure at left in order to enforce the pyramidal shape that gives narrative emphasis to St. Peter.

By 1596 Baglione was a member of the Accademia di San Luca, an institution to which he was to devote much energy particularly in the many offices of leadership he would hold in the next four decades.³³ Numerous references in the Lives underscore the essential role the Academy played in assuring the education, recognition and protection of the professional artist. One of the most zealous advocates for the institution was Federico Zuccaro who, in the absence of heirs, left all of his worldly goods to the Academy "tanto era l'amore, che portava al luogo, fonte del Disegno".³⁴

Given his admiration for the Zuccari,³⁵ who had collaborated in the late 1550's on four apsidal frescoes surrounding the miraculous image of the Virgin in Santa Maria dell'Orto, Baglione must have felt that his star was rising when he was selected by the Università dei Fruttaroli e Limonari, the oldest of the merchant associations, to complete the

³³Missirini (1823, p. 71) cites Baglione as among those member of the Academy who voted on the reform of the statutes in this year.

³⁴Baglione, 1642, p. 124.

³⁵ibid., p. 121, "Federico Zuccherò, figliuolo di Ottaviano fu fratello di Taddeo da s. Angelo in Vado, dello stato d'Urbino. Furono tutti due i fratelli pittori eccellenti."

decoration of the apse with frescoes from the life of the Virgin (figs. 43-51) for four hundred and fifty "scudi".³⁶ As he retrospectively summed up his achievements in the autobiography, he credited this work, completed in 1598, with making a name for him.³⁷

The Birth of the Virgin (fig. 48) and The Presentation of the Virgin (fig. 49) flank the frescoes made by the Zuccari brothers. They demonstrate a decisive break with the abstract Mannerist palette, which is replaced by a fresh naturalism in the use of colour and an animating play of light that enabled him to populate the frescoes with figures of convincing physical presence. These advances were principally stimulated by study of Raphael and d'Arpino and observations from life, as can be seen in the careful graphic preparation that was stipulated in the contract.³⁸

The Birth of the Virgin is painted in a clear, even light that takes into account atmospheric nuances. This concern is already evident in a preliminary study (fig. 178) which shows the effects of the light as it falls from the window at left across the curtains of the canopy to the bed below and onto the maid servants. The figures in the fresco seem to exist

³⁶See Appendix IV, 2.

³⁷Baglione, 1642, p. 401, "Co' suo pennello nella Chiesa della Madonna dell'Horto in Trastevere colori a fresco nella Cappella maggiore alcune storie di N. Donna, e buon credito acquistonne."

³⁸The contract (Appendix IV, 2) required Baglione to make "li disegni di tutte le storie che fara in ditta Cappella bene studiati e con ogni diligentia Considerati et da quelli far poi li Cartoni della grandezza che andranno fatte le opera et quelli prima mostrarli alli deputati accio Li Contentino."

in a single spatial environment and their naturalistic involvement in actions which are relevant to the theme leads one to overlook how carefully Baglione has organized them to create complementary diagonal movements from foreground to background that cross at the central group bathing the infant. The desire for more concentrated narrative power is reflected in the alterations made between the drawings (figs. 178-179) and the fresco. The discordant staffage figure at right has been removed and the fragmentation of the groups has been corrected by integrating the figures into a more tightly knit whole. As a result of the enlarged iconography, the position of the leaning figure seen in both drawings is reversed and her body more emphatically foreshortened in order to draw attention to the Divine Presence above and to strengthen the diagonal thrust linking foreground and background.

As early as 1589, in the drawing for The Birth of St. Francis (fig. 171), Baglione had achieved a notable naturalism in the normative proportions and weighty bulk of the figures. The statuesque vessel bearer at left can be traced back to this drawing in which she served in a similar function as a "point d'entrée" between the spectator and the numinous events that take place within the picture plane. By observing the fall of light on a broadly built washer woman (see sketch in Naples [fig. 176]) who was the model for the turbaned figure at right, Baglione was able to achieve the soft plasticity of form that gives the figure in the fresco, though she is significantly embellished in relation to the model, such an engaging quality of presence.

Despite its small size, the sketch in Ontario for The Presentation of the Virgin (fig. 181) shows his ability to suggest the main outlines and facial features with swift strokes in pen and ink and then to capture the overall effect of the movement of solid forms in a naturalizing light with a broadly handled wash. A chronological advance upon this spontaneous calligraphy is seen in a study in Berlin (fig. 182). The general arrangement of the architectural background is defined - a Renaissance building has been sketched at left; at right the outlines of the temple facade from which the High Priest and his assistants have emerged to greet the Virgin and her entourage have been indicated. Again, the figures are given substance and presence through the broad definition of areas of light and shadow on stiffly falling garments. Due to the three-quarter view in which the High Priest is seen, his head is off axis, an oversight which Baglione aimed to adjust by altering the position of the headdress. Another shortcoming was the emplacement of his large, left hand close to the picture plane so that it intrudes indecorously upon the face of the Virgin.

Recognizing the weakness of this scheme, Baglione reconsidered the arrangement, first in summary fashion in the reverse right corner of a drawing of a Roman archway in the British Museum (fig. 180). The first indication of the foreground group of mendicants is suggested by the rapidly drawn, abbreviated sketch of a nude in the lower right corner of the drawing. In an impressive drawing at Christ Church (fig. 183), the integration of the mendicants and the principal scene suggests an interest in conforming to d'Arpino's painting of the subject that was executed in

1597.³⁹ However, this idea has been abandoned in a very fine drawing in the Musée Condé (fig. 184) that approximates the final arrangement and the enlivening distribution of light in the fresco. Though its diagonal organization leads the eye to the charming group around Mary, they are overshadowed by the more forceful, Michelangelesque mendicants in the foreground whose plaintive expressions stimulate charitable donations from the dashing nobleman and his d'Arpinesque companion.

A similar tension between stable, undynamic forms and figures possessed by a proto-Baroque brio and vitality can be seen in the lunette scenes, The Meeting of Anna and Joachim (fig. 44) and The Annunciation to Joachim (fig. 47). In the first scene, Anna and Joachim are still; their garments fall to the ground in heavy, stationary planes. In contrast, the sculpturally powerful, skillfully foreshortened physique of the figure who dominates the right half of the first fresco gives evidence of Baglione's mastery of the Roman mode and indifference to Counter-Reformatory decorum. The concurrence of "dynamic and spontaneous elements on the one hand and the tendency to compositional formalism"⁴⁰ on the other reflects study of d'Arpino, as does "la vaghezza e moto"⁴¹ of the d'Arpinesque style that Baglione's exposure to Emilian and Sienese art and his studies "dal naturale" had enabled him to emulate. The debt to

³⁹ Illustrated by Röttgen, 1973, n. 21.

⁴⁰ ibid., p. 80.

⁴¹ In Mancini's categories (I, p. 303), d'Arpino was the head of the third school of painters "della quale è proprio il rapir l'occhio con la vaghezza e moto ... Si vede di questa maniera, per imitazione però, nella Madonna dell'Horto la tribune..." by Baglione.

d'Arpino, which is particularly evident in the light infused colour of the Madonna dell'Orto frescoes, should not obscure the evident exchange which took place between the two artists, that is particularly detectable in Baglione's Capture of Christ in the Scala Santa (1589) and St. John the Evangelist Led to His Tomb painted by d'Arpino during the last decade of the century.⁴²

All of these works show Baglione's efforts to strengthen the visual impact of his compositions by attentively recording the naturalistic fall of light and shadow over objects. Already in the Oriolo frescoes he had tried (albeit partially) to conceive figures of convincing physical presence and the arrival in Rome of Caravaggio certainly stimulated him to proceed in this direction. This is evident, for example, in noting the kinship between the angel in The Annunciation to Joachim (fig. 47) and the young boy in Caravaggio's Gypsy Fortune Teller, a painting that impressed Baglione for its "bel colorito".⁴³ Likewise, the fleshy faced, dark haired, music making angels in The Coronation of the Virgin (fig. 52) bear some degree of comparison with the musicians in A Concert of Youths.⁴⁴ The interest was not one sided. When Caravaggio painted The Death of the Virgin (c. 1605-06), his memory of Baglione's painting of the subject in Santa Maria dell'Orto (fig. 50), which he admitted to having studied, prompted him to place St. Paul at the foot of the bed, as Baglione had

⁴²Röttgen, 1973, pp. 92, 97.

⁴³Baglione, 1642, p. 136.

⁴⁴Illustrated by Hibbard, 1983, fig. 15.

done.⁴⁵ He also included the weeping female attendant and the motif of the curtain pull, though he dismissed the symbolism of the three tassels that Baglione had placed over the Virgin's bed.⁴⁶

Either as a result of the successful reception of the Santa Maria dell'Orto frescoes or through the relationship he had cultivated with the Cavalier d'Arpino, Baglione attracted the attention of Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini who awarded him the prestigious commission to decorate the family chapel (Cappelletta del Santissimo Sacramento) in San Nicola in Carcere in 1599 with frescoes representing prefigurations of the Eucharist.⁴⁷ Following in the same stylistic vein as the Santa Maria dell'Orto frescoes, echoes of Raphael and d'Arpino appear in one of the few remaining scenes, The Meeting of Abraham and Melchisedek (fig. 53). Except for the reversed position, the latter is almost interchangeable with the High Priest at the entrance to the temple in the Santa Maria dell'Orto Presentation of the Virgin. The intense, lateral lighting that disengages the Prophet (fig. 55) from the shallow niche is a clear

⁴⁵On 28 August, 1603, Caravaggio clearly stated (Samek-Ludovici, 1956, p. 150, "L'opere di Gio. Baglione l'ho visto quasi tutte cioè alla Madonna dell'Orto la cappella grande, a S. Giovanni Laterano un quadro et ultimamente al Giesù la Resurrezione di Cristo."

⁴⁶For a full discussion of Caravaggio's study of Baglione's fresco see Askew, 1990, pp. 40, 85, 126 who correctly notes (p. 168 n. 72) that Saraceni's Death of the Virgin was also indebted to Baglione's composition.

⁴⁷Baglione, 1642, p. 401, "Onde poi in s. Niccolò in Carcere per il Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandino figurò, medesimamente in fresco, nella Cappelletta del Santissimo Sacramento la Cena del Signore con gli Apostoli, e con altre storiette Agnoli, e Profeti." The payments, made in July 1599, have been published by Abromson, 1981, p. 354 n. 136.

reference to the aspect of Caravaggio's style that he found so effective in giving solidity and relief to figures.

The entries for the competition to paint the altarpiece for Cardinal Benedetto Giustiniani's titular church, Santa Prisca, in 1600 were all of high quality. Passignano was selected but his contenders, Cigoli, Tempesta and Baglione, produced impressive proposals.⁴⁸ Baglione attempted to turn defeat into victory by dedicating a copy of his rejected "modello" to Clement VIII.⁴⁹ The original, now in the British Museum, (fig. 191) bears an unmistakable Raphaelesque "impronto" and d'Arpinesque flavour. One may note, for example, the similarity between the cruet bearing server and the Swiss Guard kneeling at front in The Mass of Bolsena. A parallel handling of the large folds and faceted contours with those frescoes by d'Arpino in Sant'Anastasio dei Greci and in the Contarelli Chapel is observable. Lanzi was the first to note that Baglione had looked carefully at Federico Zuccaro.⁵⁰ The extent to which he had absorbed Zuccaro's lessons can be seen in comparing the "modello" with the painting of Christ Raising the Son of the Widow of Nain from 1568, now in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo in Orvieto.⁵¹

⁴⁸See Nissman, 1979, pp. 286-287.

⁴⁹Gere and Pouncey (1983, p. 36) note that the heraldic emblem of Clement VIII appears on the drawing in the Zeri Collection.

⁵⁰Lanzi, 1809, p. 144, "Da essi le scuole toscane trasser grand'utile mercè del Cigoli; del Passignano, e del Vanni, come dicemmo: e non son lunghi dal credere che ne profittassero anche il Roncalli e il Baglione per alquante opere dell'uno e dell'altro vedute in diversi luoghi."

⁵¹Illustrated by Mundy [et al], 1989, p. 189 fig. 27.

Narrative prominence is given to the central figure on the vertical axis who is raised against a grandiose architectural setting. On each side of the axis the witnesses react in studied poses to the religious event. As they are not disposed according to linear perspective, there is a crowding on the surface that becomes more apparent when compared, for example, with Barocci's Presentation of the Virgin in the Chiesa Nuova (c. 1590).⁵² An even light falls on the large cast of characters in Zuccaro's work, more fully revealing the inadequacy of the created space. Baglione improves upon Zuccaro by reducing the number of participants and then by unifying areas of the composition through a naturalistic study of the effects of the light from the rear windows, the hidden window that is presumably next to the altar at left and the lateral lighting from left that falls on the principal figures. To record these he uses liberally applied, tonally modulated wash to which numerous, thin strokes of white highlighting are added.

Baglione's inclusion among the group of painters who were selected to decorate the Lateran transept allowed him to exhibit his monumental style to a wider audience.⁵³ Under the supervision of the Cavalier d'Arpino, the long walls of the transept were transformed into a visual dramatization of the life of Constantine and of the founding of the

⁵²Illustrated by Olsen, 1962, fig. 71.

⁵³Baglione, 1642, p. 401, "Con l'occorrenza dell'Anno Santo 1600. fece di sua mano nella Basilica di s. Gio. su'l muro della Crociata presso l'altar del Santissimo Sacramento, quando Costantino Imperadore, donando molti vasi d'oro, e d'argento a quella Chiesa, al Pontefice s. Salvestro consegnarli. E parimente vi dipinse l'Apostolo s. Filippo, opere a fresco sotto la guida; & intendenza del Cavalier Gioseppe Cesari d'Arpino."

Lateran Basilica, a project that was inspired by the Holy Year of 1600.⁵⁴ The frescoes follow the chronology of the life of Constantine that was established by Cardinal Cesare Baronio in the third volume of the Annales Ecclesiastici.⁵⁵ Baglione's major contribution, The Emperor Constantine Invests the Lateran with Treasure (fig. 56), was carefully reviewed for iconographical clarity by Baronio who had followed other scholars in concluding that the document purportedly issued by Constantine, by which temporal power had been allegedly handed over to Pope Sylvester was a ninth century forgery. Although the counterfeit had already been demonstrated by Lorenzo Valla in 1440, Giulio Romano's fresco in the Vatican Palace shows the handing over of the spurious document. Baronio believed that Constantine had actually presented the Pope with gifts from his treasury that are listed with notarial exactitude in the Annales...⁵⁶ The changes that take place between the preliminary studies for Baglione's fresco and its final appearance are due to the obligation to make Baronio's specifications visually explicit and the effort to make the fresco pulse with vitality.

⁵⁴For the most complete discussion see Chappell and Kirwin, 1974, pp. 119-70, especially pp. 119-25.

⁵⁵ibid., pp. 121-22. Although the publication of the Annales... postdates the fresco, Baronio's ideas were circulated by means of the weekly lectures on the history of the church that he delivered at the Oratory at the request of St. Philip Neri.

⁵⁶Annales..., Tome 3, annus 324, LXIX. Scavizzi (1987, p. 43) draws attention to the fact that Baglione "esalta il ruolo di Costantino e sostegne delle chiese, elencando tutte le cose ch'egli provide affinché il culto fosse più intenso: croci e immagine, 'lumina', balsami, 'vasa', ogni sorta di donaria", no doubt responding to the specific directives of Cardinal Baronio who was anxious to clarify the nature of the gift.

A drawing in the Ashmolean Museum (fig. 198), which represents the first idea for the fresco, reveals study both of Giulio Romano's fresco (fig. 374) and Federico Zuccaro's Obedience of the Emperor Frederick to Pope Alexander III (fig. 375) in the Vatican Palace. He follows their example in placing the principal figure seated under a baldachin at left; Constantine sits on a raised platform at right, reflecting an arrangement seen in Zuccaro's work. The actual offering of the gifts is therefore obscured by the visual screen formed by the string of foreground figures in the drawing. This arrangement was surely unsatisfactory to Baronio who would certainly have also objected to the prominence of Constantine. Furthermore, since narrative unity was compromised by representing the subject in two overlapping episodes, the configuration lacked dramatic focus.

A drawing in Besançon (fig. 196) shows an important step forward in Baglione's effort for greater cohesion in the interest of iconographical clarity and narrative power. By replacing the Mannerist gauntlet with the soldier at center, who serves as the principle conduit for the impulse of energy from the seated Constantine to the standing Sylvester, he aimed to establish a stronger relation between the two groups. Apart from the two "repoussoir" figures and the d'Arpinesque figure behind Constantine, the other members of the loosely sketched group and the gift bearing soldiers have a meaningful narrative function as assistants at the event.

The great, Raphael inspired, barrel vault that is suggested in the Ashmolean drawing has been replaced in the fresco by an outdoor venue which permitted Baglione to simulate the effects of a "plein air" lighting and thus to attain the richness and subtlety of atmospheric effects. The

cast has been reduced in order to focus visual attention on their absorption in a single, unifying action - the physical transfer of the furnishings and precious gifts that Constantine had donated to the Lateran basilica. The foreground figures thus play an integral part in the unfolding of the narrative. In the first plane Constantine's soldiers guard the gifts and prepare to mount the stairs with them. The powerful soldier who bends to lift the heavy barrel on his back summons up a strength of form which is in every way comparable to that possessed by the henchman who hoists up the cross bearing St. Peter in the Cerasi Chapel painting by Caravaggio. The sculpturally dense figure sketched in a drawing in the British Museum (fig. 304) (c. 1600) brings home the point that studies from life were critical in enabling Baglione to achieve the convincing naturalism exhibited in the fresco. Attention was similarly focused on the magnificent sword bearing soldier at right (whose appearance in the fresco was certainly suggested by Giulio Romano's example). A single figure study in the Albertina (fig. 195) has the character of a sketch after a live model. Alterations, such as the tilt of the sword and disengagement of the hand, were prompted by a desire for greater rhetorical effect. His is the opening gesture in an animated rhythm of movement that links the figures along the diagonal and up into the light that streams from the doors of the church. Whereas the meeting between the Pope and the Emperor was of minimal interest in the Ashmolean drawing, here it is an event of grandiloquent solemnity. By omitting the baldachin, the attention diverting scene at right and the large figure who obscures the view into the middle ground, Baglione has succeeded in capturing the moment of rapprochement between the spiritual and temporal potentates.

A calm, ceremonial manner, that drew on Raphael rather than Michelangelo, was adopted during these years by the Cavalier d'Arpino and other artists in response to the Tridentine imperative for clarity in historical description.⁵⁷ Baglione goes one step further, not only making the narrative intelligible but also endowing the figures with marked individuality. The delicate, warmth giving, red chalk technique used to study the fall of light and shadow on the acolyte to the left of St. Silvester (fig. 199) reveals his disciplined approach in this medium. The powerful physical presence of the figures, the truth to natural effects of the clouded sky and the patina of age on the metal objects are all made possible by the action of naturalistic light and colour. The large amphorae, chalices, patens and other gifts in the foreground and on the chest give early evidence of Baglione's considerable ability as a still life painter. A dazzling luminescence is reserved for the finest of the treasures - a silver statue of Christ, the refinement of which is highlighted by the broadly built figure who carries it.⁵⁸ Carefully meditated contrasts between the principal colours - green, violet, coral, gold and pink - animate the composition and lend greater pictorial richness to the pageant that takes place.

The solidity and harmonious proportions of St. Philip (fig. 57) that Baglione painted on the opposite side of the transept further demonstrate his desire to recapture the strength and solidity of sculpture. The

⁵⁷Röttgen, 1973, p. 35.

⁵⁸Constantine presented Pope Sylvester with two silver statues of Christ. One was placed on the pediment outside of the church; the other was placed in the apse. See Annales..., passim.

apostle's large amplitude is emphasized by sharp chiaroscuro modeling that may reflect study of Caravaggio's St. Catherine.

Baglione's early style shows a gradual gain in confidence that was stimulated by the desire to recapture the compactness and solidity of antique and High Renaissance exemplars, to bring greater vivacity to his paintings by emulating those pictorial modes which showed a realism of natural effects and to convey a semblance of life through study "dal naturale" without sacrificing the rigorous formal selection of the draughtsman. Both drawings and paintings of this period demonstrate his interest in using naturalistically observed lighting effects for dramatic impact, narrative emphasis, sculptural plasticity and chromatic freshness. One hallmark of this early period, most clearly seen in some of the drawings of the 1580's and 1590's, is Baglione's effort and ability to learn by shifting from one stylistic model to another, trying to create form with Correggio's flowing line and delicate shadows, with a Florentine clarity and precision, or with a soft, transparent d'Arpinesque mode. With these considerable formal resources at hand and a demonstrated loyalty to the Cavalier d'Arpino, who was the most successful painter at the turn of the century, Baglione was well poised to achieve the prominence that came with recognition of his unique talent by his peers as well by connoisseurs and influential members of the Curia in the next century.

Chapter 2

"L'Intermezzo Caravaggesco" : 1600-1604?

The rigid, academic bias that is thought to have distorted Baglione's biography of Caravaggio in the Lives is analogously identified as the cause of his failures as the Lombard's first follower. The prevailing consensus retains that Baglione, the academician, was a slick imitator during the "intermezzo Caravaggesco" that allegedly took place between about 1600-1604.¹ The belief that he made a programmatic effort to take Caravaggio as his primary model during this period has been quite conveniently supported by holding up the three paintings he made for the crypt of St. Cecilia in Trastevere (now in the adjacent convent) as evidence of his effort to distance himself stylistically from his enemy after the libel trial in the autumn of 1603.

According to Spear, an artist must have made a "determined and sustained effort to emulate what he believed Caravaggio and his closest followers had accomplished"² in order to qualify among the Caravaggisti. The extent to which Baglione may be classified as a follower can best be measured by re-examining those works produced during this brief period at the beginning of the seventeenth-century in light of

¹See Guglielmi, 1954, pp. 311-26; Martinelli, 1959, pp. 82-96; Longhi, 1963, pp. 53-60. Only Nicolson (1979, p. 20) had some hesitation about including him as a Caravaggisti, judiciously referring to his "near-Caravaggesque phase".

²Spear, 1971, p. 18.

the criteria set forth by Spear. The opportunity will later arise to enhance this discussion by reviewing Baglione's observations on the paintings of Caravaggio and his followers in the Lives.

In 1600 Baglione was on the threshold of a promising career. Already a member of the Accademia di San Luca, he was admitted into the Pontificia Accademia dei Virtuosi al Pantheon during this year.³ He had gained recognition by the Aldobrandini and had become one of the preferred painters of another important Curial figure and art patron, Cardinal Paolo Sfondrato.⁴ Born into a noble Cremonese family in Milan, Sfondrato had come to Rome in the late 1570's and was drawn into the circle of St. Philip Neri at the Oratory. His interests lay elsewhere at the time of his uncle's brief reign as Pope Gregory XIV between 1590-91 which allowed him to exercise great power, aggrandize the family fortune and augment the very fine collection of paintings that Scipione Borghese was later to acquire in 1608.⁵

³Orbaan (1915, p. 34) documents his admission to the Pontificia Accademia dei Virtuosi al Pantheon in 1600, the year in which he participated in the decoration of the chapel with Federico Zuccari, Durante Alberti and Girolamo Massei, among others. See Visconti 1889, pp. 45, 46 and Kambo, 1928, p. 8.

⁴For Sfondrato see Bentivoglio, 1648, pp. 53-54; Cardella, V, 1792-94, pp. 310-13; Moroni, 1704, pp. 83-84; Dragonetti De Torres, 1929, pp. 41-43; Castano, 1957, pp. 355-58 and Ponnelle and Bordet, 1963, pp. 461-63.

⁵Orbaan (1920, p. 469) published the "avviso" of 28 June 1608 announcing the sale, "Il Card. Borghese ha comprato nuovamente dal Card. di Santa Cecilia per 4 mila scudi 71 pezzi di quadri di pitture bellissime fatti da pittori [sic] principali di questa città, de quali non ha sborsato denari, scomputandosi al Cardinal Borghese sopra il Vescovato di Cremona." At his death in 1618 Sfondrato still owned over a hundred paintings that will be cited in my forthcoming study of his patronage.

As titular cardinal of Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, Sfondrato undertook the extensive redecoration of the church during the last years of the Cinquecento. Antonio Bosio, the "Columbus of the Catacombs", recorded the discovery and subsequent reinternment of St. Cecilia's body in 1599 and generally described the appearance of the church in the Historia passionis... of 1600. At that time the decoration of the altars had been completed ("verò nobilium Artificium mani pictas erexit tabulas partim Romae, partim alibi nomine sunt dedicata, representatur").⁶ Although Baglione did not receive the final payment of eighty "scudi" for his altarpiece of Saints Peter and Paul (fig. 58) until 16 December 1601,⁷ it was certainly completed by the feast day of St. Cecilia on 22 November 1600. This date is corroborated by the monastery chronicle from this year in which it was recorded that the old altars had been replaced by new altars with "quadri stupendi."⁸

While the painting reflects the influence of Raphael, particularly in the typology of St. Paul, the tenor of expression has more in common with the preciousity of Allesandro Allori. Raphael's Ecstasy of St. Cecilia was made highly visible by the copy Sfondrato had ordered for Santa Cecilia

⁶Bosio, 1600, p. 175.

⁷Baglione, 1642, p. 402, "Per il Card. Sfondrato, che di s. Cecilia nominavasi, a man manca sopra un'altare di quella Chiesa in Trastevere effigò gli'Appostoli s. Pietro, e s. Paolo. For the payment see Martinelli, 1959, p. 96 n. 30.

⁸See Appendix IV, 5. Magistrelli's notice that Sfondrato had transferred St. Peter's chains and keys from San Pietro in Montorio to Santa Cecilia (1898, p. 106) partially explains the iconography of the painting.

from Reni;⁹ Baglione's Florentine formation makes his acquaintance with such Tuscan masters as Allori very probable. As has already been noted, he began to introduce the look and feel of material reality into his paintings (albeit fragmentarily) as early as 1585. Thus it is not surprising that the more rugged features of St. Peter first appear in the characterisation of the figure who appears under a billow of smoke in the Oriolo Romano Transportation of the Twelve Stone Slabs (fig. 10) painted between 1585-87.

In the altarpiece the figures of the life-size saints are disengaged from the shallow niche by means of a strong lateral light that Baglione had similarly used to augment the monumentality of a Prophet (fig. 55) in San Nicola in Carcere and St. Philip (fig. 57) in the Lateran Transept. The preparatory drawing for the figure of St. Paul (fig. 200) demonstrates that these chiaroscuro contrasts were deliberately calculated in the preparation of the brown wash background which permits the accentuation of luministic effects on richly articulated garments. Thick, heavy folds are built up through a tonally modulated application of brown wash for the shadows and a generous use of white heightening. Due to later repainting, one can only assume that the distribution of the chiaroscuro was carried over in a similar fashion.¹⁰ While the solid colours of the garments, the motif of the small window and the manner in which the figures are set in relief against the dark background are admittedly Caravaggesque

⁹See Guido Reni 1575 - 1642, 1988, p. 151 and n. 14.

¹⁰The painting had already undergone repainting when Titi described it (1763, p. 55).

features, the search for descriptive naturalism is equalled by a desire for a refined beauty that precludes directness in communication. Superficially Caravaggesque, the painting is fundamentally inconsistent with his intentions, as the drawing illustrates.

Again in The Coronation of St. Andrew (fig. 59),¹¹ the lateral lighting has a more generalized effect than the sharply focused tenebrism of Caravaggio's Contarelli canvases because it is calculated by means of studied modeling rather than as an external force that strikes the figures from without. As a further distinction between their aims, Baglione evades the exploration of feeling that makes Caravaggio's images so moving. Rather than searching for a personal response to a mystical experience, he relies on the more conventional pietistic sentiment epitomized in the Post-Tridentine images of saints in ecstasy that Muziano had popularized at the end of the Cinquecento.¹² The visionary, devotional content was obviously appreciated by Sfondrato and played an important part in his attraction to d'Arpino and Vanni.¹³

¹¹Baglione, 1642, p. 402, "Et a man diritta nel primo altare in un quadro s. Andrea Apostolo con l'angelo, che lo incorona."

¹²Baglione appraises Muziano's painting of St. Jerome (1639, p. 26) as "felicemente condotto" but checks himself against making further comments in order to let "l'opere da se stesse parlano."

¹³Baglione (1642, p. 373) mentions that Sfondrato owned d'Arpino's St. Francis in Ecstasy Supported by Angels until he donated the painting to the Franciscans in San Francesco a Ripa (Röttgen, 1973, n. 24 and p. 99).

The paintings made for the crypt (figs. 60-62) offer further evidence that Baglione did not make a programmatic effort to emulate Caravaggio.¹⁴ Erroneously thought to have been completed in the second half of 1603¹⁵ and considered to be stylistically distinct from the paintings in the side aisles, their appearance has been interpreted as a signal that the trial put an end to the "intermezzo Caravaggesco." Already specifically mentioned in the monastery chronicle of 1600,¹⁶ the idealizing refinements of presentation and lyrical content point to the continuing influence exerted by Raphael on Baglione, as can be particularly well seen in a preparatory drawing (fig. 202) for The Madonna and Child Bestowing a Necklace on St. Agnes (fig. 61).¹⁷

The intentional archaicism of the paintings, explicitly seen in the effort to obtain rigorous symmetry that underlies the changes made between the preliminary drawing for The Coronation of Saints Cecilia, Urban, Valerian, Lucius and Maximus (fig. 204) and the canvas for the crypt (fig. 62), may be ascribed to the intention of imitating the formal

¹⁴Baglione, 1642, p. 402, "E sotto il maggiore'altare nella Confessione in tre quadri espresse; i cinque Santi insieme: s. Caterina della Rota con N. Signore, e'l Bambino; e la sempre Vergine Maria, e Giesù, che mette una collana di gioie al collo della Vergine s. Agnesa, figure a olio." Guglielmi (1954, p. 315) notes that the "distacco dal Caravaggio si fa più netto" in these paintings.

¹⁵Martinelli (1959, p. 91) dated them to 1603 on the basis of payments made in that year, unaware of the monastery chronicle and of the fact that Baglione had made a number of other paintings for Sfondrato that are listed in the inventory.

¹⁶See Appendix IV, 5.

¹⁷Compare, for example, Raphael's drawing of A Mother and Child in the Ashmolean Museum in Whistler's catalogue, Oxford, 1990, fig. 25.

simplification of Paleo-Christian works that had been stimulated by the Early Christian Revival that took place at the turn of the century. Sfondrato's interest in updating and rehabilitating old forms in order to recreate the historical atmosphere in which St. Cecilia had been martyred is evident in those portions of the church that have retained the mark of his renovation. Although the subterranean level was completely altered in the late nineteenth century, the existing documents demonstrate that he had not tampered with the shape of the annular crypt that Pope Paschal I had built in the ninth century.¹⁸ Illuminated in the darkness by the antique lamps that were kept burning before the altars, the paintings, with the accentuated chiaroscuro effects that are studied in the broad areas of grey wash used in the above drawing, must have produced the striking, visionary effect that Sfondrato had sought.¹⁹

Raphael and d'Arpino are the principal models in the drawings (205-209) for The Return of the Holy Family from Egypt (fig. 63), formerly the altarpiece of the Cappella della Pontificia Accademia dei Virtuosi al Pantheon.²⁰ As seen in other canvases from the turn of the century, Baglione has attempted to fuse a neo-Raphaellesque grace and d'Arpinesque "vaghezza" with chromatic naturalism that is attained by means of an highly controlled use of chiaroscuro. As a result, there is a notable variance between the Virgin's delicate, light bathed beauty, courtly

¹⁸Giovenale, 1902, p. 660.

¹⁹Mascardi (1622, p. 26) mentions the "molte lampade d'argento, donate dal detto Card. che continuamente ardono".

²⁰Kambo (1930, p. 146) notes that the altarpiece, St. Giuseppe che conduce per il mano il Bambino, had been donated in 1689 by the Regent,

stance and ample, billowing drapery and Joseph's roughened skin, realistic features and simple garments.

Datable to the same time are two paintings in the Gesù sacristy showing Sfondrato and the saints who were connected with his titular church. One canvas is by Baglione (fig. 64); the other by Francesco Vanni.²¹ With his arms crossed over his "mozzetta", Sfondrato humbly kneels before his "gloriosissima, e fedelissima protettrice",²² framed by a background of ruins, airy trees and a sunlit "piazza" that has an unexpected "Bamboccianti" look. The artists ignore the canonical representation of St. Cecilia that had been established by Raphael (and followed by Reni and Baglione in the paintings made for Santa Cecilia in Trastevere), but Valerian's upturned face has a Raphaelesque resonance in Baglione's canvas. There is also a similarity in overall physiognomical appearance between the male saints and the types that appear in Caravaggio's A Concert of Youths.

The handling of lighting, with its variety of sources, is very un-Caravaggesque. An implied light from above radiates upon the heads of

Giuseppe Ghezzi.

²¹The paintings were illustrated by Pepper, 1967, pp. 69-74, figs. 57, 59. A portrait of Cardinal Sfondrato in Forli, that has been attributed to Lavinia Fontana (in written correspondence with the proprietors, the Amministrazione Albinici Mazzoni), shows the skill of both Baglione and Vanni in attaining a likeness of him.

²²She is referred to as such in Sfondrato's Last Will and Testament, Archivio di Stato di Roma, Congregazione Religiose Femminile, Benedettine, Sta. Cecilia in Trastevere, 1618, Libro 4063, Busta 32, f. 18.

the male martyrs, Valerian, Tiburtius and Maximus, producing abstract shapes on their faces and flickering "controluce" effects on their hands. A study for Sfondrato at Chatsworth (fig. 210) reveals the fundamental distinction between Baglione's disciplined modeling of draperies with transparent shadows and subtly applied heightening and "la velocità irruente"²³ of Caravaggio's pictorial method. Baglione's graphic study of the action of light and shadow on various materials enabled him to convey such tactile physical qualities as the delicacy of Sfondrato's surplice, the weight and texture of the gold and steel-grey, brocaded garment worn by St. Cecilia, the hard, shiny surface of Valerian's metal armour and the glossy, satin puff sleeve of Maximus's shirt. The most notable result of their differences in approach is the tighter brushwork and more finished surface of Baglione's canvases in comparison with Caravaggio's looser, more vigorous handling.

Although Montelatici had described The Ecstasy of St. Francis (fig. 65) in 1700 as "rapito della contemplazione de patimenti, e morte di Christo, mentre un'Angiolo per più infiammarlo, gli mostra la croce, e altri misteri della passione, opera del Baglioni",²⁴ it was still attributed to Caravaggio in Basan's eighteenth-century engraving after the painting (fig. 376). It is interesting that the copy of the picture in Antwerp (presumably considered to be by Caravaggio) stimulated seventeenth-century Flemish artists to make iconographical alterations or

²³See Gregori in Caravaggio - Come nascono..., 1991, p. 29.

²⁴Montelatici, 1700, p. 216.

to enlarge upon the conception in order to bring greater spatial clarification.²⁵

The highly charged mood of the painting, which is part of its unsettling power, is due to Baglione's adaptation of certain features of Caravaggio's art to his own ends. In Caravaggesque fashion the foreground space is dominated by the figure of St. Francis who is placed on a diagonal axis that terminates in the long, languid fingers that very tentatively hold the devotional book upon which he has been meditating. Though the dark, spaceless background makes the relationship of the figures unclear, it also enhances the interpretation Baglione brings to the subject. Struck by the Divine Light, St. Francis falls backward into the arms of the attendant angel whose strong movement forward creates a harmonious balance and sustains the saint from complete collapse into the darkness. The experience of mystical communion clearly exceeds the capacity of his body to assimilate or to express it. This is one major difference between his painting and Caravaggio's depiction of the angelic consolation of the saint following the imprintation of the Stigmata. Whereas the ecstasy of Caravaggio's saint is physically experienced in the historical context of Monte Alverna, Baglione's saint is withdrawn in an interior, recondite spiritual state.

The second difference is the equivocal handling of the light that comes from upper left, immobilizing the figures and lending them an iconic

²⁵See Savelberg, 1992, pp. 258-261. Another copy in a private collection in Rome was cited by Spear, 1971, p. 44.

character which is so different from the experience of sentience made possible by Caravaggio's distribution of light and shadow with the model before him.²⁶ On the one hand, Baglione manipulates the illumination so that it enhances the soft, smooth planes of the flesh and the abstract features. On the other, the veristic still life objects held by the saint and the moss colour of his rough hewn habit (onto which a patch has been sewn) give him a high degree of actuality on an external level. Chromatic naturalism is also equivocal as can be seen in the highly saturated cobalt blue of the garment that falls from the leg of the angel at left, a colour Caravaggio would have regarded as "il veleno delle tinte."²⁷

Baglione's preference for symbolic rather than dramatic content is evident in his disinclination to explore the "affetti". The angels reflect the favourite physiognomic types that appear over and over in the graphic oeuvre and St. Francis is a Baglionesque invention who made his debut as the kneeling mendicant in the foreground of The Presentation of the Virgin in Santa Maria dell'Orto (1598). In fusing the kind of ambiguous sensuality and psychological introversion seen in Late Mannerist paintings with refined beauty and a studied naturalism, Baglione displayed

²⁶Gregori (1991, p. 22) draws attention to the fact that the radiographies demonstrate Caravaggio's establishment of the chiaroscuro structure at a preliminary phase in the execution of a canvas.

²⁷Bellori (ed. Borea, p. 229) held that Caravaggio did not use "cinabri né azzurri nelle sue figure; e se pure tal volta li avesse adoperati, li ammorzava, dicendo ch'erano il veleno delle tinte." In the catalogue (Caravaggio - Come nascono..., 1991, p. 32). Lapucci has cited some exceptions, though in none of these does the blue have the decorative artificiality of Baglione's pigment.

the "assai buon gusto" appreciated by Mancini²⁸ and by a number of important connoisseurs.

One of the most overlooked of Baglione's early patrons is Cardinal Jacopo Sannesio, who is best known for his acuity in having purchased the rejected first versions of Caravaggio's Cerasi Chapel paintings.²⁹ According to Cardella, Cardinal Sannesio came from humble beginnings in the Marches to a position of great prominence in the Papal Court of Clement VIII. Created Cardinal in 1604 and Bishop of Orvieto in 1605, he died in Rome in 1621.³⁰ Bentivoglio's description of him as an unlettered country bumpkin hardly corresponds with his sensitive restoration of the family chapel in San Silvestro al Quirinale and his enlightened patronage.³¹ The Cardinal and his brother, the Marchese Vincenzo, assembled one of the finest collections of Seicento painting in their palace in the Borgo di Santo Spirito that was comprised of "molte pitture di valentuomini",³² among them Annibale Carracci, Cavalier d'Arpino, Antonio Tempesta, Domenichino, Lanfranco, Francesco Albani,

²⁸Mancini, I, p. 110.

²⁹Baglione, 1642, p. 137 and Hibbard, 1983, pp. 298-299 n. 74.

³⁰Cardella, 6, 1792-94, pp. 106-07.

³¹Bentivoglio, 1934, p. 255. The restoration of the chapel is discussed by Wazbinski (1987, pp. 121-142) who also published a partial version of the inventory made of the Sannesio Collection in 1651. Baglione (1642) mentions three artists who worked for Cardinal Sannesio: Domenico Ferrerio (p. 326); d'Arpino (p. 370) and Tempesta (p. 398). My full study of the patronage of the Sannesio brothers will be forthcoming.

³²This reference, which appears in a manuscript in the Vatican Library, (Ms. Barb. lat. 4315, f. 2), was published by Orbaan, 1920, p. 56, n. 1.

etc. Baglione was represented by a number of works, only two of which are identifiable at present.

The intense, almost erotic, physical display of the Sannesio St. Sebastian Healed By An Angel (fig. 66) finds a parallel in d'Arpino's Christ At The Column³³ which was greatly admired by Baglione.³⁴ In Caravaggesque fashion, the resplendent nude torso of St. Sebastian, which dominates the foreground, is isolated from the dark blue background. By contrast, the handling of light is totally different from Caravaggio's sharp tenebrism because it is derived from a controlled, light/shadow modeling of surfaces. This is very evident in the use of reddish paint to deepen the value at the contours of the angel's hands and face and in the gradual increase in the depth of shadow that gives relief to the saint.

One would expect a much more straightforward presentation had Caravaggio painted the work. For example, Baglione focuses attention on the single action that takes place - the delicate withdrawal of an arrow from the torso of the saint. He has quite purposefully avoided painting the wounds caused by the other arrows the angel has removed, not only to avoid distracting attention from the poignancy of the moment, but more importantly because these wounds would have further marred the beauty of the torso and would have diminished the impact of light upon it.

³³Röttgen, 1973, fig. 25.

³⁴Baglione, 1642, p. 372, "Si ritrovano nella Sagrestia di s. Carlo a' Catinari quattro quadro di suo... Uno si è Christo battuto alla Colonna assai buon quadro, e con la sua miglior maniera operato, & un Manigoldo molto ben colorito."

Contrasts heighten the mood of apprehension, distilling emotion before it can be spent. Diagonals crisscross at a number of places (for example, at the point of contact between the torso and hand of the saint and the arrow and hand of the angel). The nudity of the saint and the golden tones of his skin are made more emphatic by the angel's full state of dress. One of the saint's arms has been freed; the other remains pinioned to the stake. Though he will soon be released from the last arrow, he is inhibited from experiencing complete liberation by the cord that binds him. This hindrance determines the unusual disposition of the body. The conflict between the emotions of relief and restraint is expressed by the contrast between the slightly parted lips that begin to yield to emotion and the bound arm that bridles it.

Whereas Zabert identified the painting (fig. 67), originally from the Sannesio Collection, as a Portrait of a Youth with a Book and a Pilgrim's Hat, the subject is actually St. James, as Marini correctly noted.³⁵ The iconography is quite clear. The figure holds a pilgrim's staff in his right hand. On the brim of his hat the shell of Santiago de Compostela can be seen. The basic composition may derive from an engraving of St. James made by Goltzius for his series of Christ and the Apostles but such features as the wide, heavy lidded eyes, dark brows, even nose, thick,

³⁵The painting was exhibited by the Zabert Gallery (1973, n. 19) as "Ritratto di Giovane con Libro e Cappello da Pellegrino". Marini (1982, pp. 62-63) correctly identified the iconography without mentioning the Zabert catalogue.

sensual lips and the texture and arrangement of the hair are typically Baglionesque.³⁶

The St. James in Meditation is similar to St. Sebastian Healed By An Angel both in mood and in modeling. Although their physical presence has an engaging effect on the external level, both figures are lost in emotional states that obviate any psychological contact with the viewer. St. James is drawn forward from the darkened background by the softly falling light that isolates the limp hands and captures his melancholic gaze. The introspective state into which he has withdrawn is both private and enigmatic and has distinct parallels with the Sibyls in the Sistine Chapel.

Baglione's ability to combine certain aspect of Caravaggio's style - the relief giving chiaroscuro and abruptness of presentation - with the idealizing refinements of the draughtsman also attracted the attention of the Giustiniani, who were among the first to embrace the more avant-garde tendencies. According to the deposition given by Orazio Gentileschi during the suit for libel brought by Baglione against Caravaggio, Baglione had explicitly set out to rival Caravaggio in order to curry favour with the Giustiniani.

Io sono amico de tutti questi pittori, ma c'è bene una certa concorrenza fra noi, come a dire, che havend'io messo un quadro di S. Michele Arcangelo a S. Giovanni de Fiorentini, lui [Baglione] se mostrò mio concorrente e ne mise un altro all'incontro che era un Amor devino che lui haveva fatto a concorrenza d'un Amor terreno de Michelangelo da Caravaggio; quale Amor devino lui

³⁶See Hendrik Goltzius 1558-1617..., 1974, I, fig. 69.

l'haveva dedicato al cardinale Giustiniano, et se bene dicto quadro non piacque quanto quello de Michelangelo, nondimeno per quanto s'intese, esso cardinale gli donò una collana; quale haveva molte imperfettione che io gli dissi che haveva fatto un huomo grande et armato che volveva esser nudo e putto e così lui se ne fece poi un altro quale era poi tutto ignudo.³⁷

Gentileschi's criticism was pointedly directed at the iconography of the Berlin painting of Profane Love Subdued by Divine Love (c. 1601) (fig. 68) which he evidently thought to be inconsistent with Alciati's emblem (fig. 377).³⁸ In fact, Baglione described the subject as "due Amori Divini, che tengono sotto i piedi l'Amor profano, il Mondo, il Demonio, e la Carne",³⁹ an unusual allegorical interpretation which shares a common thread with Mao Salini's painting of St. Nicholas of Tolentine, at whose feet carnal and diabolical temptations also appear.⁴⁰ Salini's work is, in turn, clearly linked to Raphael's altarpiece of St. Nicholas of Tolentine, visible in Città di Castello until 1789, which also included the vanquished figure of Satan at the saint's feet.⁴¹

³⁷Bertolotti, 1881, pp. 62-63.

³⁸Illustrated by Alciati, 1591, p. 76.

³⁹Baglione, 1642, p. 403, "Et al Cardinal Giustiniani fece due dipinture di due Amore Divini, che tengono sotto i piedi l'Amore profano, il Mondo, il Demonio, e la Carne, e queste l'una incontro all'altra veggonsi nella Sala del suo Palagio, dal naturale con diligenza fatte."

⁴⁰Baglione (*ibid.*, p. 287) refers to "il Santo in piede, che tiene sotto di sè il Mondo, il Demonio, e la Carne". See Montecchi, 1985, p. 138 and Salerno, 1, 1952, pp. 28-31, Tav. IX, fig. 1.

⁴¹See Dössler, 1971, pp. 1-2.

Incongruities between Gentileschi's statement and the evidence of Baglione's paintings suggest that the details in his testimony should not be taken at face value. He was wrong in implying that Caravaggio painted the Amor Vincit for Cardinal Giustiniani. Both Baglione and Sandrart confirm that the painting was treasured by the Marchese.⁴² He also erred in citing the venue of the exhibition, which actually took place at San Giovanni Decollato. It is quite possible that Gentileschi was simply imprecise, that he intended to say that the painting Baglione had entered into competition with his St. Michael in 1602 was "come" [like] a Divine Love that he had earlier made in competition with Caravaggio, now in Berlin.

The Berlin Divine Love is a formidable protagonist who overwhelms the pictorial space. Though he is forced forward by light, it is clear that he exists only temporarily within the same space as his opponent. His presentation is totally controlled; the counterbalanced diagonal pose, stylized hair and facial features and the extraordinary spread of wings convey his spiritual ascendance. In contrast, the vulnerability of his adversary is emphasised by the look of anxious concern, the broken arrows and above all, by the intensity with which light exposes his nudity. While the cold, hard metal armour deprives the Berlin Divine Love of sensual appeal, the richer and abbreviated armour of the second version diminishes the contrast between abstract and naturalizing means.

⁴²Baglione, 1642, p. 137; von Sandrart, 1675, p. 190.

The Rome Divine Love (fig. 69) is a less threatening presence, not only because he is smaller and more approachable without the heavy armour of the Berlin painting, but also because he is a more elegant figure. Whereas the Berlin Divine Love stretches back his arm to gather force for the blow, a position which explains the "pentimento" evident in the X-ray (fig. 378), the Roman figure holds the lightning bolt very gracefully. In response to Gentileschi's charge that a putto was more appropriate than a grown man, Baglione reduced the size of the figure in order to emphasise his youthfulness. Since he no longer dominates, the canvas atmospheric effects could be introduced, such as the luminous area at right in which vegetation is visible. The result is a more ample environment for the figures and a more complex, elaborated surface. Gentileschi's reference to the figure as "tutto nudo" should be interpreted as a reaction to the marked impression of nudity made by the Rome painting in comparison with the Berlin work. Seen in this light, Baglione's decision to paint over the boot that originally covered the extended foot of the Rome Divine Love was intended to emphasise the nudity of the figure in response to Gentileschi's reproach.⁴³

The two Amori occupy the foreground of the composition where the contest will momentarily reach its denouement. Their bodies are disposed along wide arcs that intersect at the extended foot of the Divine Love. For Spear, the staged appearance confirmed Bissell's suggestion that the pose of the Divine Love may have been derived from a statue of a Gladiator

⁴³This is confirmed by Magnanimiti's observation (1982, p. 71) that the boot, which was decorated with embossed metal, was painted over to increase the "atmosfera di torbido sensualità".

in the Antiquarium of the Giustiniani Palace.⁴⁴ Had this been the case, it is highly unlikely that Baglione would have attempted to work out the positions of the two main figures in a drawing in the Uffizi (fig. 211) which again underscores the vast chasm between his aims and Caravaggio's. Abstract lines in red pencil mark out the main outlines of the composition after which grey and red wash are applied to establish the distribution of light and shadow on the canvas. Though no preliminary drawings for the figure of Profane Love have as yet come to light, his vivid semblance of life and sensual presence lead one to take Baglione at his word that he had made some studies from life in preparing for the canvas. This is also suggested by the rich costume worn by the Rome Divine Love, with its range of textures - brocade, satin and metal, its chromatic variety - grey, gold, copper, red - and the finesse of its decorative details.

The exhibition of two versions of Baglione's Profane Love Subdued by Divine Love on opposite walls of the "salone" in the Palazzo Giustiniani is evidence of their appreciation for his beautiful, graceful forms who are given relief through a thoughtfully controlled chiaroscuro. As we know, the gold chain he was awarded, a symbol of his success in winning the approval of such discriminating patrons, exacerbated relations with certain peers.

The simmering rivalry between Baglione and Caravaggio reached a boiling point over the commission to paint The Resurrection for the Gesù

⁴⁴See Spear, (in The Age of Caravaggio), 1985, p. 92 and Bissell, 1981, p. 146, fig. 221.

in 1602. Such a large painting (eight meters by four and a half meters)⁴⁵ must have required enormous time and effort, for which Baglione had to press for compensation. As of 1607, in a letter written to Father Lorenzo de Paulis, Procurator General of the Jesuits, he claimed to have received only a portion of the thousand "scudi" that were owed to him.⁴⁶

Not only was he not remunerated as he had expected but he was also reviled for the painting. In the deposition made by Baglione during the trial of 1603 he intended to substantiate his claim that Caravaggio was chiefly responsible for the attempts to vilify him that had culminated in the slanderous verses at issue. He also wanted to make it clear that criticisms of the painting were leveled by painters who had unsuccessfully competed for the commission. On 28 August 1603 he testified that:

dopo essersi scoperto detto quadro, che fu questa Pasqua di Resurrettione prossima passata li detti querelati [Onorio Longhi, Caravaggio and Orazio Gentileschi] per invidia perchè loro pretendevano ...sono andati parlando del fatto mio con dir male di me et biasimare l'opere mie, et in particolare hanno fatto alcuni versi in mio dishonore et vittuperio....⁴⁷

Though Caravaggio claimed to be ignorant of the verses, he did admit to having studied Baglione's paintings and was not reluctant to air his opinion with regard to The Resurrection.

Io non so niente che sia nessun pittore chi lodi per bon pittore Giovanni Baglione...Quella pittura

⁴⁵Baglione, 1642, p. 402, "E per il P. Acquaviva Generale de'Giesuiti formò un gran quadro alto 35. palmi, e largo 20. entrovi a olio la Resurettione di Christo, con amore, e con studio rappresentata."

⁴⁶See Appendix IV, 12.

⁴⁷Bertolotti, 1881, pp. 51-52.

della Ressurectione di Cristo li al Giesù a me non
me piace perchè è goffa et l'ho per la peggio che
habbia fatta...⁴⁸

Baglione's painting, removed from the church in the late seventeenth century when the transept altars were renovated, is now lost. Although a critical analysis of the work is necessarily limited, the preparatory drawings in the British Museum (figs. 212-213) and the "grisaille" "modello" in the Louvre (fig. 214) make it possible to follow the evolution of his ideas.⁴⁹ Except for the altered position of Christ's legs and the subsequent diminishment of the vigorous "contrapposto", the orientation of His body, the disposition of the drapery and the billowing pennant are very similar conceived in all three formulations. Likewise, the relationship among the three soldiers is a consistent motif, though it is reworked as the conception is enlarged.

Longhi read the "modello" as a challenge to Caravaggio, perceiving similarities with certain features in The Martyrdom of St. Matthew, such as the analogous function of the "repoussoir" figures at right and the corresponding play of light on the bodies of Caravaggio's henchman and Baglione's standing soldier at left.⁵⁰ In fact, Baglione's soldier merely marks out the foreground space while Caravaggio's bather reinforces a directional thrust. Furthermore, the play of light on their bodies is

⁴⁸ibid., pp. 59-60.

⁴⁹The "modello", first published by Longhi (1963, pp. 23-311, figure 33), was most recently discussed by Spear (in The Age of Caravaggio), 1985, pp. 92-93.

⁵⁰Longhi, 1963, p. 26.

decidedly different. Baglione's intention was to surpass Caravaggio by implementing what he considered to be the winning, and in no way mutually exclusive, formula: "l'esatezza del naturale ... con buon stile."⁵¹ This aim is the catalyst for the changes in the graphic ideation of the subject.

The preliminary drawings give the impression that Baglione may have been trying to achieve the kind of compressed monumentality of Annibale Carracci's Assumption of the Virgin in the Cerasi Chapel.⁵² Adapting the space dividing function of the sarcophagus, he creates a wall with wash to separate foreground from background. In the first drawing (fig. 212), three physically dense foreground figures, compressed into a dark, shallow space, react with studied gestures to the sight of the dynamic, light bathed Christ, whose intense will to displace gravity can be seen in the altered placement of His arms. At bottom, the naked soldier, who may indeed have been suggested by the semi-clothed mendicant in Caravaggio's Martyrdom, views the event in a fairly indecorous manner through the underside of the figure who straddles him. At the same time, the diagonally extended leg of the seated soldier meets its counterpart's in an awkward, visually unpleasant manner. The first attempt to remedy the disjunction between truth and elegance is seen in the subsequent drawing (fig. 213). Dramatic power has been sacrificed with the reduction in scale but the two registers are linked by a more evenly distributed system

⁵¹After returning to Rome from his trip to Spain, Bartolomeo Cavarozzi (Baglione, 1642, p. 287) "andava seguitando quella sua maniera finta con esatezza del naturale, e con buon stile condotta."

⁵²Illustrated by Posner, II, 1971, plate 126b.

of chiaroscuro. Baglione has imposed an abstract design on the composition by arranging the impulses of energy within two reversed triangles leading downwards from Christ through the two seated soldiers and the corresponding lines that extend from the middle bottom towards the center of each side. Despite the greater order, the darkened background plane forces the figures into an indecorous tangle of superimposed limbs.

It was at this point that Baglione abandoned the emphatic tenebrism and organized the oil sketch (fig. 214) in the traditional Zuccaresque fashion that is exemplified in the drawing for St. Philip Benizzi (?) Healing a Possessed Woman in the British Museum.⁵³ In so doing he returned to the more complex arrangement that he had already explored in a sketch for an unknown painting of the subject that can be dated to about 1590 (fig. 278). Baglione distinguishes himself in the Gesù "modello" through the effort he makes to visually unify the disparate groups by means of a carefully orchestrated system of lighting that conveys a sense of the weight of the figures in an atmospheric space. He cleverly implied the existence of a strong beam of light, located outside the composition at upper left, which has a number of functions: it strikes the body of Christ and is then reflected from the cloud on which He stands onto the bodies of the standing and supine soldiers below (there is even a visible ray from the cloud beneath Christ's foot); it illuminates the two members of the funeral party at right; it is reflected onto the angels at left and right by the body of Christ and the brilliant banner that He holds. Christ is not propelled into the celestial realm, as He is in Christoforo

⁵³Illustrated by Gere, 1966, fig. 105.

Roncalli's painting of The Resurrection in San Giacomo in Augustea (1600-01)⁵⁴ and in the above cited drawing from 1590. Instead He is firmly planted onto a cloud which is substantial enough to support Him and to absorb the shadow cast by His leg. A long bar of shadow crosses the chest and merges at the left shoulder with the shadow cast by the banner. The angels are united in a single state of consciousness which translates into their music making activity. The two principle angels regard the scene of bedlam below, establishing a visual connection with the two soldiers at right.

Light flickers over semi-somnolent bodies and captures the fear and wonder that paralyzed those soldiers who witnessed the seemingly impossible - a corpse revitalized and possessed of its former substance and weight. Despite their physical bulk and the weapons they brandish, the soldiers are impotent in the face of this miracle. The light firmly models the figures who are closest to the surface plane but has a much more capricious effect in depth than the sharp chiaroscuro of Caravaggio's Cerasi Chapel paintings. This is particularly well seen in the "angeli sbocciati il luce",⁵⁵ a handling that Baglione may have derived from study of Bassano, Tintoretto or Correggio. He replaces the blocked out relief of the drawings with "controluce" effects which are also essential to content.⁵⁶ The enveloping light establishes a luministic continuum

⁵⁴See Chiappini di Sora, 1975, p. 70 fig. 2.

⁵⁵Longhi, 1963, p. 26.

⁵⁶Spear suggests that the chiaroscuro contrasts may be due to the nature of the monochromatic "modelli" which were used by contemporaries, such as d'Arpino, to establish the relief structure of a painting, an aim

between the "crepuscular and nocturnal"⁵⁷ lambency of the camp scene, the shade-like figures at right and the supernatural beings in glory above. Despite the Maniera convention of organizing the figures as interlocking and overlapping parts, they are linked together by light that is both a physical and a supernatural phenomenon. By blurring the division between states of beings who are all seen under a phosphorescent net of light, Baglione aimed to make the Resurrection as much a physical as a spiritual triumph over the chaos below. Caravaggio could not imagine a more clumsy composition because his aim was to move the spectator to experience religious events by inducing empathy with unidealized individuals in the context of an empirically transcribed reality.

Baglione's interest in immersing physically accessible but psychologically introspective figures in an otherworldly locus links The Resurrection with St. Paul and St. Stephen Crowned by Angels (fig. 72) in Dijon that was painted about 1604 for Sfondrato. After his death the painting passed into the small, but very fine, collection of the

which was clearly discussed in the article on the history of the technique by Bauer, 1978, pp. 45-57. Nevertheless, the drawings indicate that "controluce" effects were deliberately sought after in the "modello". Longhi (1963, p. 26) correctly observed that the "modello" showed a greater stylistic kinship with Lanfranco than with the more classicizing works of Annibale Carracci. As he was particularly attracted to Emilian masters, there is no doubt that Baglione kept an eye on Lanfranco. Their acquaintance dates from 1596 when both voted on the statues of the Accademia di San Luca (Missirini, 1823, p. 57). Though little is known about Lanfranco's activity during this period when he was a member of the Carracci workshop, "controluce" effects are fundamental in one of his early works, The Adoration of the Shepherds in the collection of the Duke of Northumberland, that was painted for the Marchese Sannesio, whose brother was one of Baglione's early patrons.

⁵⁷Longhi, 1963, p. 26.

Commissary of the Holy Office, Cardinal Desiderio Scaglia, who was particularly attracted to northern Italian masters of the Cinquecento - Giorgione, Leonardo da Vinci, the Bassani and Campi and the more modern works of G. B. Crespi, Morazzone and Manfredi.⁵⁸

Chromatic vivacity, pictorial harmony and a notable three dimensional solidity distinguish Baglione's small painting. His palette ranges from the soft, pastel-blue and lavender of the angels' draperies to the gold and blue of St. Stephen's vestments and the olive-green and crimson with which St. Paul's sculpturesque garments are painted. Shadows in the draperies are made by deepening the saturation of colour and by applying heightening in a manner which has a graphic analogy in the Chatsworth drapery study (fig. 210). The hand of the draughtsman is particularly evident in the delicate, relief building transitions from opaque shadows to brilliant white highlights in the sleeves of the angels' raiment. In the exposed areas of the anatomy the modeling is achieved by increasing the depth of shadow in the skin tones and articulating the surfaces with decisive "touches" of white paint. The sparkle of the jewel studded crowns and the other refinements lend the painting the "bijou" quality of

⁵⁸The painting is mentioned, along with a Nativity of Christ, in an unpublished document from the posthumous sale of his collection in the Vatican Library. In the biography of Morazzone (1642, pp. 285-86) Baglione notes that the artist, "Mandò da Milano in diversi tempi varie opere per molti personaggi, & in particolare a Desiderio Scaglia Cardinale Domenicano, un Quadro di una Maddalena da gli Angeli in alto portata, ove sono puttini; opera a olio dipinta con gran maniera, e con bel maneggiato di colorito composta, il quale nella Galleria di quell'Eminentissimo fu collocata." The Cardinal's patronage will be discussed in my forthcoming study.

a medieval miniature brought up to date through a convincing handling of light.

In much the same fashion The Madonna and Child Honouring Saints Cecilia and Agnes (fig. 71) demonstrates the effort to give surface realism to solidly constructed, abstractly ordered figures. The painting was presented in 1604 as a gift from Cardinal Sfondrato to Clement VIII who had expressed admiration for Baglione's crypt painting of The Madonna and Child Bestowing a Necklace on St. Agnes, with the request that Saint Cecilia be included in the painting that Sfondrato offered him. If we take Baglione at his word, the Pope's pleasure in the work is an important indicator of the esteem in which he was held inside the Vatican.⁵⁹

With careful attention to symmetry, Baglione replicates the martyrs from the crypt paintings, centers the Madonna and Child at an equidistance from both and places the angels at the corners in an analogous fashion to that seen in the crypt painting of the five saints and the Dijon picture. Such an abstract imposition bears comparison to the archaicizing arrangement of figures in Durante Alberti's Madonna of the Vallicella Adored By Angels⁶⁰ in Santi Nereo ed Achilleo (1599) and in works by Florentine artists associated with patrons who undertook the restoration

⁵⁹Baglione, 1642, p. 402, "E con l'occasione di celebrarvi messa per la festa di s. Cecilia, vide Papa Clemente VIII. quest'ultimo quadro & assai gli piacque sì, che il Cardinale Sfondrato volle, ch'egli ne facesse un'altro, e vi aggiunse s. Cecilia. Il fece, e donollo al Pontefice, e per essergli estremamente piacciuto, ne fu da quella Santità onorevolmente regalato."

⁶⁰Illustrated by Abromson, 1981, fig. 24.

of Early Christian churches under the impetus of St. Philip Neri and Baronio.⁶¹ The lack of emotional reality that Carman perceived in the crypt painting of the five saints⁶² is also the intended content of the painting in question, and it is largely due to the re-evocation of the monumentality and clarity of Giotto's Ognissanti Madonna or of a Florentine painting in this tradition. The saints are transfixed but linked to reality by the carefully rendered tactility of the garments and the meticulously painted architectural and landscape elements.

Caravaggio's confidence in the articulation of feeling increased as he matured. By contrast, Baglione avoids exploration of the "affetti", seeking cover in rhetoric or introspection. His figures are physically bound by ordered designs that impose mental restraints on the senses. They are present in external form but are spiritually unreal, made accessible only in terms of the viewer's acceptance of their appearance as a kind of poetic fiction.

Among the group of artists who were attracted to certain aspects of Caravaggio's style, Nicolson though Baglione to be closest to Orazio Gentileschi.⁶³ Due to the "idée fixe" that Baglione was a kind of artistic parasite on the styles of other painters it is presumed that he

⁶¹See Rodinò, 1985, pp. 527-33.

⁶²See Carman (1972, p. 158) who points to the "abstract religious pathos" of Cigoli's Ecce Homo and sees the same emotional distance in the paintings by Vanni and Baglione in the Gesù Sacristy.

⁶³Nicolson, 1979, p. 20.

followed in Gentileschi's tracks,⁶⁴ once again as an adherent and an enemy. Though both artists shared a common Tuscan ancestry, documents from the libel trial of 1603 indicate that relations between them were strained.⁶⁵ Gentileschi, who had hoped to win the prize in the San Giovanni Decollato exhibition for his St. Michael the Archangel, seems to have been a poor loser. He criticized Baglione's work on the grounds of iconographical improprieties, not stylistic deficiencies, but in fairness had to concede that Baglione was one of the first class painters in Rome.⁶⁶

Baglione first introduced a female type in the Madonna dell'Orto frescoes that Gentileschi would later favour - full bodied, richly garbed, with splayed hair in a style which to us recalls Botticelli's. Like Baglione, he was inclined towards dreamy expressions and lyrical interpretations that are more in keeping with early Roman paintings by Caravaggio, such as A Concert of Youths and The Lute Player, rather than with the crisis of the culminating moment that Caravaggio takes head on in

⁶⁴Martinelli, Arte antica..., 1959, p. 92 sees the influence of Gentileschi in paintings by Baglione that post-date Caravaggio's departure from Rome in 1606.

⁶⁵See Bertolotti, 1881, p. 61. On 13 September 1603 Baglione presented the magistrate with a letter written the previous year by Gentileschi who claimed offense at having received lead rather than silver images of the Madonna as souvenirs from Baglione's trip to Loreto. The suggestion in the sonnets that Baglione should substitute the gold chain given by Cardinal Giustiniani with "una collana di ferro...ed in altro sonetto si dice pure in cambio della collana ce attaccasse una coratella" induced Baglione to claim that Gentileschi had a hand in the affair.

⁶⁶See Samek-Ludovici, 1956, p. 15, "Li pittori principali sono, come a dire, Gioseffe, Anibal Caracci, Giovanni dal Borgo, il Pomarancio, Michelangelo da Caravaggio, Durante dal Borgo, Giovanni Baglione et altri che non me ricordo che sono della prima classe."

paintings after 1600. Both artists prefer rarified types rather than credible personalities, but Gentileschi almost never paints the plebian male types that sometimes offset the abstractly conceived females in Baglione's canvases. Gentileschi's paintings, which emphasise the lighter range of colour, are permeated by an intense, all enveloping luminosity. Baglione tends toward the darker range, modeling richly articulated draperies under the effects of an almost tangible, gauzy shadow and light infused white paint at the surfaces. While emulating some of Caravaggio's formal means, most noticeably the imposing staging of figures in the foreground space, both Gentileschi and Baglione aimed for a compromise between a realism of natural effects and idealization ("l'esattezza del naturale...con buon stile").

The crucial factor distinguishing Baglione from both Caravaggio and Gentileschi is his firm commitment to "disegno". The studied effects of light and shadow in his drawings coincide with the tendency towards compositional formalism that was the fruit of his central Italian formation, in particular his study of Raphael and the Zuccari. The evidence conclusively demonstrates that the "intermezzo Caravaggesco" is an art historical misnomer. Now that Baglione stands on his own, he can be appreciated both for his technical facility and stylistic adaptability as well as for the selective synthesis of chromatic naturalism, pictorial harmony and "sodezza" of form that characterises most of the works painted during this period.

Chapter 3

"Una Maniera Propria" : 1604-1620

Cardinal Sfondrato's gift to Clement VIII in 1604 of a painting that the Pope had personally requested¹ was a "coup de ciel" for Baglione that certainly advanced his chances for inclusion in one of the most important of the Clementine projects, the decoration of the altars in the "navi piccole" of St. Peter's with altarpieces illustrating important events in the life of St. Peter.² The program was conceived and supervised by Cardinal Cesare Baronio, author of the Annales Ecclesiastici and champion of the Early-Christian Revival.³ In 1599 Roncalli began The Death of Ananias and Sapphira and Cigoli took up Laureti's assignment for The St. Peter Healing the Lame Man which was not completed until 1606. Two years later Passignano and Vanni were assigned to paint The Crucifixion of St. Peter and The Fall of Simon Magus, respectively. Competition for the prestigious commissions was keen and an ambitious artist like Baglione surely followed the proceedings of the Fabbrica di San Pietro with particular care. When the original plan to decorate the "cappella verso Santa Marta" and the "cappella verso Belvedere" was

¹The Madonna and Child with Saint Cecilia and Saint Agnes, now in the Residence of the Procuration of Antioch of the Syrians to the Holy See, Rome. See infra pp. 54-55 and Appendix I, 23.

²The project is described by Baglione (1642, pp. 290-91) who refers to himself as "il più giovane de gli altri Pittori, che operarono in queste gran tavole Vaticane". For a thorough analysis with documentation see Kirwin, 1972 and Chappell and Kirwin, 1974, pp. 119-70.

³The "Raising of Tabitha" is described in the Annales..., Tome I, annus 40, XVIII.

abandoned and the decision had been made to erect altarpieces on the north-west pier, Cardinal Sfondrato proposed Baglione's name for the altarpiece illustrating The Raising of Tabitha.⁴ He signed the contract in September 1604; the painting, which was completed just after the New Year in 1606, gave evidence to Mancini of "una maniera propria" in Baglione's artistic evolution.⁵ Though the work was dismantled due to the adverse effects of humidity and dust in the basilica, the slate fragments (figs. 74-75), preparatory drawings (figs. 215-216), Callot's engraving (fig. 379), copyist's drawing (fig. 380) and the eighteenth century replica (fig. 76) in Santa Maria degli Angeli permit a good reassessment of its appearance.⁶

From the Louvre preparatory drawing (fig. 215) to the painting, there is a shift in iconographical emphasis from the moment when St. Peter "ponens genua oravit & conversus ad corpus dixit: Tabitha surge. At illa aperuit oculus suos; & viso Petro, resedit" to the successive moment when "Dans autem illi manu, erexit eam."⁷ Consequently, the diagonal design

⁴Baglione, 1642, p. 402, "Il Cardinale s. Cecilia operò, che gli fusse data a dipingere una tavola grande in s. Pietro nuovo, e fecevi la storia, quando s. Pietro risuscita Tabita con molte figure, assai ricca, e sopra lo stucco a olio espressa...."

⁵Mancini, I, p. 246, "... in ultimo s'è messo in una maniera propria come si vede nell'altar di San Pietro."

⁶Castello came to Rome to repair his painting of The Calling of St. Peter in 1613 (See Pollak, 1915, p. 105) but it was already necessary to completely replace it in 1625 with Lanfranco's version of the subject. Baglione's reference to the deleterious effects of the humidity and dust (1642, p. 284) is substantiated by documents referring to his restoration of The Raising of Tabitha in 1628 (Appendix IV, 25).

⁷See n. 3.

has been replaced by a frontal arrangement and St. Peter has a greater visual prominence which conforms to the iconographical program as a whole.

Chappell and Kirwin have discussed the intended thematic and visual rapport between Baglione's painting and Cigoli's altarpiece, St. Peter Healing the Lame Man, for the "cappella verso Belvedere" that was "giudicata come degna di pregio, così di lode."⁸ The paintings were placed so that they would be viewed simultaneously from the papal seat in the Pontifical Chapel. Thus it is not surprising that the architectural settings are comparable, as are the arrangement of the figures in the foreground and flanking St. Peter, the light absorbing garments and the glory of angels on high. Admiration of Raphael's tapestry cartoons is reflected in the monumental architectural background and the densely packed foreground of Baglione's work; St. Peter is an undisguised homage to Aristotle in The School of Athens. Underlying the soft, Correggesque treatment of the angel at top right (fig. 74) is an expansive, space displacing pose derived from study of Michelangelo's "ignudi", such as the

⁸Baglione, 1642, p. 154. It is interesting that Lanzi (1809, II, p. 185) saw a parallel in the warmth of colour used by Baglione and Cigoli. According to Baldinucci (1845-47, II, p. 262) Cigoli's revision of the painting was stimulated by a plot to discredit him. His general sketch for the first version of the painting was secretly copied and engraved and the implication made that it had been copied from the work of a northern artist. Chappell and Kirwin (1974, p. 145) erroneously propose that Cigoli changed his plans from the preliminary drawings to the final version completed in 1606 in order "to maintain his independence from Baglione, who by that time had built up a rather notorious reputation for adopting the manner of other artists to his own needs." The evidence suggests that the alterations from Cigoli's early drawings to the finished work were stimulated by his desire to conform to the Roman "grand manner" that was the underpinning for the paintings by Roncalli, Passignano and Baglione.

figure in the engraving made by Giorgio Ghisi (fig. 381).⁹ In general outline the subsidiary cast of figures seen in the preparatory study may be compared with Barocci's Madonna del Popolo.¹⁰ The originality of the work consists in the manner in which these aspects of Cinquecento painting, a Florentine "sodezza" of form and a high degree of surface realism in the handling of the garments have been integrated into the multi-level spatial format of Tusco-Roman Mannerism through an animating play of light and shadow. This permits Baglione to populate a complex but unitary space with energetic, original types and thereby to achieve the "assai ricca" distribution of the "molte figure" that he thought pertinent to stress in describing the painting.¹¹ As further proof of his intentions, it is interesting that the copyist and Callot both tried to approximate the broad distribution of the chiaroscuro, though they fall considerably short of obtaining the emphatic relief that gives such sculptural amplitude to St. Peter in a discarded idea on a sheet (fig. 216) in Naples.

With the ascendance to the papal throne of Paul V (Borghese) in 1605 Baglione was well poised to profit from his Roman roots and from the high level ecclesiastical contacts that he had cultivated during the Aldobrandini reign. During the interim periods following the deaths of Clement VIII in March 1605 and Leo XI in April 1605 he served in the

⁹From The Illustrated Bartsch, 31, 1982, n. 44.

¹⁰Olsen, 1962, fig. 45.

¹¹Baglione, 1642, p. 402.

important civic office of Capo-Rione.¹² His paintings were visible in many Roman churches including the two most important, St. John Lateran and St. Peter's. He was represented in the finest collections, among them the Giustiniani, Sannesio and Sfondrato. As a result of the Pope's satisfaction with The Raising of Tabitha, Sfondrato was delegated to bestow upon him the coveted title of "Cavalier di Christo" in 1606.¹³ During the same year "Eques Ioannes Ballionus Romanus", resident of the fashionable Via dei Condotti, was elected for the first time to the highest office, Principe, of the Accademia di San Luca.¹⁴

The self-portrait (fig. 77) that he painted about this time, dressed in the regalia of the "Ordine Supremo di Christo", is a remarkable statement of the grandeur of presence he assumed. The somber gaze, the

¹²ibid., p. 405 and Bon, 1979, p. 89, pp. 91-92 n. 7.

¹³The general details regarding the ceremony appear in the autobiography (1642, p. 402) where Baglione states that the Pope was so pleased with the altarpiece that "ordinò al Cardinale di s. Cecilia, che gli desse l'habito. Il Cardinale nella Chiesa del suo Titolo celebrò la messa, benedisse l'habito, e con applauso del Popolo glie'l mise, e d'una bella collana d'oro il regalò". The honour is again cited in the biography of Christofano Roncalli (p. 291), "...co'l favore del Cardinal s. Cecilia, Nepote di Gregorio xiiij, fece la storia di s. Pietro, che risuscita Tabita Vedova, e per il gusto, che diede, d'ordine di Paolo v. fu con grand'appluaso, nella Chiesa di s. Cecilia, di là dal Tevere, honorato dell'habito di Christo, per le mani del Cardinale Sfondrato, titolare dell'istessa s. Cecilia." The Ordine Supremo di Christo was instituted in 1319 by Pope John XXII and was conferred directly by papal brief. The privileges enjoyed by the knights (as described in a manuscript in the Biblioteca Casanatense (Rome), Ms. 2985, f. 6r) ranged from licence to eat meat on Friday and other days of abstinence, to permission to celebrate Mass in a family oratory. More importantly, they were protected from arrest unless the order had been signed by the Gran Cancelliere and Gran Maestro. If arrest was necessary, expulsion from the Order was specified.

¹⁴Baglione is referred to as such in a document in the Archivio di Stato di Roma published by Spezzaferro, 1975, p. 53.

dark shadow cast by the loosely falling hair on the left half of the face and the white collar, cleverly put to use to reflect a warm light onto the right half, impart a proto-Romantic melancholy to the work. A comparison with the lively portrait sketch made by Ottavio Leoni nearly two decades later (fig. i) confirms Mancini's positive appreciation of Baglione's skills as a portraitist¹⁵ and provides at least one secure exemplar for the possible identification of other paintings of this genre. Reminiscent of Caravaggio's early manner are the soft chiaroscuro modeling that simulates the effects of a light from the left, the disposition of a monumental figure against a neutral brownish-gold background and the high degree of chromatic naturalism with which the black habit, the crimson cross and the famous gold chain are painted. Baglione notably distinguishes himself from Caravaggio by his central Italian methods of composition, evident in the pyramidal compositional structure.

Using "disegno" to impart a studied, relief giving modeling to the surfaces of elegantly posed figures, Baglione could achieve a selective naturalism without sacrificing compositional refinements, a combination appreciated by the Curial and noble patrons for whom he provided canvases in the first decade of the seventeenth century. The figure of St. Martha (fig. 79), painted about 1606 as the altarpiece for the no longer extant church dedicated to the saint in Rome, dominates the sizeable canvas.¹⁶

¹⁵Mancini, I, p. 110, "Il quarto è il cavalier Baglione e si son visti alcuni ritratti molto boni."

¹⁶Baglione, 1642, p. 402, "Entro la Chiesa di s. Marta, dietro s. Pietro, è opera sua il quadro grande a olio sopra l'altare rappresentante s. Marta maggiore dal vivo in piedi con diligenza figurato."

The studied play of light and shadow over the large folds of unbroken colour that cover her massive form give her a convincing reality on a material level that is simultaneously negated by the effortless grace with which she controls the dragon she has subdued and holds the "segellum", as well as the lack of emotional engagement with the spectator.

In its overall stylistic qualities a drawing in Düsseldorf for "St. Veronica" (fig. 315) could also have been informative for the small copper painting of St. Margaret of Antioch (fig. 73) dating from the same time. Baglione's particular effort to build up the volume of draperies through a light/shadow modeling is highlighted by comparing the drawing to an engraving of a female saint after Antiveduto Grammatica (fig. 382).¹⁷ The outer garment is broken up into a complex relief of planes, ridges and recesses with black chalk and white heightening that produces a notable surface realism in comparison with the engraving, bearing in mind the difference in the media employed. Clearly indebted to Raphael and to the Cavalier d'Arpino, the delicacy of graphic handling also conformed to the contemporary taste for Bolognese art.

The paradox between chromatic naturalism and the abstract conception of the figure complements the iconographical interpretation that Baglione gives to The Repentance of St. Peter (fig. 80) (1606), originally in the Ducal Palace in Turin. Since the solidly conceived body is cramped in a shallow space without any possibility of gesticulative expansion, his

¹⁷The engraving is found in the Vatican Library, Ms. Ott. lat. 2977, f. 292A.

startled awareness of Christ's precognition of his betrayal takes place on a cerebral level. The surface naturalism intimates an earthly locus while the undefined space and the oddly skewed accessories have a contradictory effect. Underlying this equivocation is Baglione's intention to represent the subject as a visionary truth which is not apprehensible by means of the empathetic response that Caravaggio's painting elicits but rather by inducing the spectator to proceed from the verisimilitude of nature to the higher reality of a metaphysical dimension to which he is given an illusion of access.

The painting of Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane (fig. 81) (c. 1606) exhibits similar characteristics with the dreamy, illusionistic environment suggestively embracing the truncated heads of the sleeping apostles at lower left and the elegant, light bathed, cloud born angel at upper left. This otherworldly spatial domain, constructed by light and shadow which give relief and accentuate tactile values, is a poetic invention and a demonstration of the unique interpretation that Baglione often brings to traditional subjects.

The Spada Gallery Saints Peter and Paul (fig. 78) is quite plausibly an abbreviated version of the canvas that Baglione made for the Sala di Consistoro in the Vatican for Pope Paul V.¹⁸ Though the Vatican canvas

¹⁸Baglione, 1642, p. 402, "Da poi egli medesimo per il Pontefice Paolo V. dipinse un quadro, entrovi s. Pietro, che a s. Paolo in un libro mostra quelle parole, 'Petre amas me', dettegli da Christo, il quale sta nel Vaticano, nella Sala del Concistore, presso la Sala Clementina." According to Zeri (1954, p. 25), the original owner of the Spada painting was Cardinal Fabrizio Veralli. Cardella (6, 1792-94, pp. 147-48) points to Veralli's shared interest in Christian archaeology with Sfondrato and

has disappeared, a drawing (fig. 217) in the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin, showing full length figures of the saints, is probably a preparatory study for it.¹⁹ Emulating a dark, shallow, Caravaggesque inspired background with a broadly applied brown wash, Baglione then simulated the effects of a tenebrist lighting on two solidly defined figures in the shallow foreground. The modeling is relief giving yet the shadows have a softening effect on the abstract forms of the anatomy that is evident, for example, in the articulation of St. Paul's hand in both drawing and painting.

Baglione's draughtsmanly "fattura" can be appreciated in the soft, delicately studied sketch (fig. 218) for St. Peter Weeping (fig. 83) (c. 1606) in a private collection and in the grainy chalk study (fig. 219) of a bearded man, who appears in reversed form as St. Peter in the canvas (fig. 82) painted in 1607 for the Archiconfraternità della Natività di Nostro Signore. Although both drawings have a freshness of observation that suggests the presence of live models, the variance in the distribution of light and shadow from drawings to paintings again serves

others of this circle. Orbaan (1920, p. 126) publishes an "avviso" of 1608 in which Cardinals Leni and Veraldo [sic] are described as "parenti stretti" of the Borghese and Cafarelli. He also mentions a document (pp. 112-13) referring to Verallo's position as intermediary in the arrangement to send a prized painting of The Adoration of the Magi by Dürer from Vigancourt, Grand Master of the Knights of Malta, to Paul V.

¹⁹At the left of the drawing is a sketch for "Lot and His Daughters" that may represent a study for a painting in the Agenti Collection in Rome mentioned in the Ghezzi Manuscript in the Museo di Roma (Appendix V, 15).

to illustrate Baglione's inclination to adjust the data of nature to an abstract formal conception, as is tellingly revealed by the squared hands.

Nicolo Radolovich, nephew of Cardinal Sfondrato,²⁰ commissioned Caravaggio's Seven Works of Mercy for the Pio Monte della Misericordia in Naples and may also have proposed one of his uncle's favourite painters for another altarpiece. The altarpieces were intended to illustrate the seven corporal works of mercy practiced by the pious institution, among which was the burying of the dead. Baglione's painting of The Anointing of Christ's Body for Burial (fig. 88) was sent from Rome in 1608.²¹ Precedents for the specific episode from the Passion of Christ²² are found in Franco-Flemish paintings which show Christ anointed over a sarcophagus rather than over the stone of unction.²³ This feature was probably derived from Caravaggio's Entombment of Christ in the Chiesa Nuova, a painting "che sia la migliore opera di lui", as reported in the Lives.²⁴ Alterations made between the preparatory drawing in the Louvre (fig. 223) and the painting served to clarify the iconography. The winding sheet is added, the Magdalen crouching at Christ's feet has a more

²⁰See Pacelli, 1984, p. 101 n. 3.

²¹The iconography, formerly assumed to illustrate the entombment of Christ, was corrected by Steel, 1984, p. 22.

²²The biblical source for the anointing of Christ's body is John 19: 38-42.

²³For the iconography see Graeve, 1958, pp. 225-38.

²⁴Baglione, 1642, p. 137, "'Nella Chiesa nuova alla man diritta v'è del suo nella seconda cappella il Christo morto, che lo vogliono sepellire con alcune figure, a olio lavorato; e questa dicono, che sia la migliore opera di lui."

explicit function as the bearer of the perfumed oils and replacing the looser arrangement is the pyramidal grouping of the three principal figures. This closed, abstract design, with its imposition of restraint on such solidly built figures makes them seem to defy gravity, to exist simultaneously in time and outside of its physical limitations. Whereas Caravaggio's figures are oppressed by the deeply felt loss that they physically sustain, Baglione's mourners are entranced in a vale of interiorized sorrow. Never attracted to the kind of narrative classicism exemplified at this time by Domenichino in the Oratory at San Gregorio Magno, Baglione uses a dense tonal modulation of light and colour, to unite the disparate groups as he had earlier done in the altarpiece for St. Peter's. This is already approximated in the drawing by preparing the sheet with light blue wash as a unifying middle ground for the tonally rich brown and grey wash modeling.

Baglione's ability to bring lifelikeness and artifice into harmony elicited appreciative response from his contemporaries. "Ma ben il finto trionfar del vero / E l'Arte trionfar de la Natura"²⁵ was Francucci's

²⁵The poem, which appears in "La Galleria dell'illustrissimo e reverendissimo Signor Scipione Cardinale Borghese cantata da Scipione Francucci" (Vatican Library, Ms. Borghesiana 184) reads, "Ma ben il finto trionfar del vero / E l'arte trionfar de la Natura / Mirasi appresso con lo stile altiero / Del gran Baglion, ch'ogn'altra gloria oscura / La dov' in atto minaccioso, e fiero / Gl'offre Giuditta, che sostiene sicura / La tronca testa di crudel'Tiranno / Nobile trofeo di glorioso inganno. Con ombra tolta alle Cimerie grotte / L'ombra notturna ivi dipinta appare, / Ma come avvien, che la più fosca notte / Ingemmato di stelle di Ciel rischiare, Così quell'ombre folgorate, e rotte / Son dalle gemme pretiose, e rare, / Onde la bella Ebreja con varij modi / Scelleggiati hà del crin'gli aurati nodi." Hermann-Fiore discusses the likelihood that the thematic organization of "La Galleria..." reflected the actual arrangement of the works of art in the villa in the introductory essay in Paesaggio con Figure, 1985, p. IX.

first impression of The Judith and Holofernes (fig. 89) that Baglione had painted in 1608 for Cardinal Borghese's collection. Among other contemporary artists who painted the subject, only Caravaggio confronted the brutality of the theme by depicting the dramatic moment when the vigorous heroine set the knife upon the tyrant. Caravaggio's grimacing Judith expresses a distaste for the act that conveys a sense of its actuality. In line with the interpretations of the subject by Cesari and Gentileschi,²⁶ Baglione depicts the deed as done and the lovely face untroubled by it.

The alterations that Baglione made between the preparatory drawing in Berlin (fig. 222) and the painting demonstrate his interest in accentuating the contrast between the youthful sensuality and beauty of the high born Judith and the awesome physical crudity of the general. Her size in relation to the canvas has been reduced from drawing to painting and her detachment from the victim has been increased. As a result, the dramatically foreshortened torso and the right hand of Holofernes can be seen in the augmented space between them. Only the imminent victory of death will constrain Holofernes from assaulting the imaginary space between the picture plane and the viewer with his extended leg and foot, an illusionistic arrangement that is decidedly Baroque.

²⁶See Röttgen, 1973, fig. 42 and Bissell, 1981, fig. 44.

Judith retreats from the body of the decapitated Holofernes, handing the grotesquely caricatured head to her maid servant. Her sway to the right is counter-balanced by the graceful turn of her head in the direction of the strong light that streams upon her torso from upper left. Her elegant movement, which mirrors the pose of Christ in a small fresco painted in 1595 (fig. 38) and is reminiscent of Baglione's study of The Galatea (fig. 301), is counterpointed by the giant's convulsed movements and the agitated folds of the curtain above him.

To Francucci Judith was like a star in the nocturnal darkness, a dazzling light in the Cimmerian gloom. As a result of Baglione's decision to substitute the light reflecting garment worn by Judith in the drawing with the dark satin, light absorbing garment of the painting, the giant is seen under a gauze of shadow that softens the contours, thereby enhancing the illusionism. This change also enabled him to direct the maximum luminosity onto the lovely heroine and to accentuate her psychic isolation. Such melancholic beauty is an echo of Michelangelo's inclinations, especially well seen in a drawing of Cleopatra in the Casa Buonarrotti.²⁷ The tenebrist lighting that is approximated by the liberally applied wash of the drawing has its pictorial equivalent in the chromatic density of the painting that is cleverly accentuated by the luminous white undergarment worn by Judith and the carmine waistband. Specks of white "impasto" highlight the toes and nails of Holofernes; under his head the splash of light is almost phosphorescent. The head of Holofernes is seen under a patina of sooty tallo which gives it an aspect

²⁷ Illustrated by Berti, 1985, fig. 2F.

of tarnished brass. The painting is an exposition of pictorial checks and balances: Judith's smooth fleshed beauty and delicate features are underscored by the leathery, terra cotta-like bust and sharp features of her maidservant. A master of "contrapposto", Baglione plays youth against age, nudity against drapery, beauty against brutality, light against darkness, agitation against calm.

Despite the thick layer of dust that covers them, the three canvases painted in 1608 in Santa Maria degli Angeli give further evidence of Baglione's considerable skills as a colourist. The heirs of the Milanese nobleman, Alexander Litta, commissioned him to decorate the family chapel in accordance with an iconographic plan that Litta had chosen prior to his death in 1606.²⁸ Although the strong Raphaelesque component in Baglione's art surfaces again in the altarpiece, The Madonna and Child with Saints Raymond and Hyacinth (fig. 84), the painting also exhibits the very personal proto-Baroque inclinations that he increasingly displays in paintings during this period. A psychological rapport between the principal figures is established by placing the figures on crossing diagonals that are further emphasised by the movement of the complex draperies. The principal pigments - white, gold, blue and carnation - are modeled by dense light and shadow to anchor the figures in a single, illusionistic space and to convey the look and feel of various textures:

²⁸Baglione, 1642, p. 403, "L'ultima Cappella della Madonna de gli Angeli nelle Therme a man diritta ha di sua mano sopra l'altare una N. Donna co'l Figliuolo, e con Angeli, s. Raimondo, e s. Giacinto; dalla banda diritta s. Cecilia, e s. Valeriano, e l'Angelo, che l'incorona; e dalla sinistra s. Francesco, che riceve le stimmate, opere a olio. E nella volta nel mezo un Padre Eterno, e dalle bande Angeli, e fresco figurati, vi stanno."

the diaphanous delicacy of the Virgin's veil, the starched coarseness of the saints' habits and the frothy fullness of the clouds.

In a similar fashion, the crisscrossing diagonals, studied poses and idealized features of the saints in The Coronation of St. Cecilia (fig. 85) co-exist with the naturalism of the chiaroscuro modeling that records the weight, textural variation and colouristic richness of the garments. The equivocation between artifice and descriptive truth makes the appearance of the onlooker at the window at left so intriguing. His more plebian features, momentary position and expression of curiosity create a Baroque tension between illusion and reality that is not surprising given the enthusiasm for "trompe-l'oeil" and other illusionistic effects so often expressed in the Lives.

Orchestrated effects of light also produce illusionistic effects in The Stigmatization of St. Francis (fig. 86) where the beautiful seraph appears against the evocative, moonlit landscape of Mount Alverna. The clouds at upper left have such illusionistic tangibility that the foremost putto struggles to keep them in place. Heavenly light shines upon the seraph and models St. Francis from behind; the underside of the seraph's wing glows with an incandescence that reflects onto the soulful face of the saint. The stigmatization of Caravaggio's St. Francis is an externalized spiritual experience that engages the viewer psychologically. Though Baglione's saint is unidealized and dressed in a simple, naturalistically described garment, decorum and a fondness for pictorial refinements take precedence over expressive engagement, a factor which will always condition his approach to the Baroque.

The selective synthesis of naturalism and idealization that characterises these canvases is carried over to the frescoes of God the Father and angels in the vault (fig. 87). Though they are of great sensual appeal, the underlying "gravitas" makes them hover between this world and the next in a tantalizing manner.

At the end of the first decade Baglione worked for a number of patrons outside of Rome, perhaps due to the near monopoly on papal patronage held by the Bolognese. He must have taken great pride in the commission to paint a number of canvases for the Duomo in the city of his ancestors, Perugia, that were regarded as among the "migliore Opere"²⁹ to be seen there by Francesco Scannelli. Siepi noted the existence of two "opere pregevoli" that have disappeared, "s. Barbara entro alla sua torre con a piè il fuoco e i pettini stromenti del suo martirio" and "s. Chiara in atto a presentarsi a saraceni con in mano l'Eucaristico Sacramento, pel cui mezzo potè liberare il suo monastero di Asisi [sic] dalla musulmana violenza".³⁰ The only extant work is The Stoning of St. Stephen (fig. 90) in the right transept of the church, painted in 1608 at the request of the protonotary, Salviucci. The complex, crowded surface brings to mind Baglione's admiration for the "gran numero di genti e...diversi attitudini" in Marcello Venusti's painting of the subject.³¹ Employing the multi-level format which he favoured for altarpieces, he again

²⁹Scannelli, 1657, p. 82.

³⁰Siepi (I, 1822, pp. 98-99) notes that they were "in tela chiuse in cornici ed altri ornamenti di stucco assai ben lavorati."

³¹Baglione, 1642, pp. 21-22.

organizes the composition using crisscrossing diagonals, unifying the separate groups by means of a complex system of illumination. His skills as a colourist are particularly evident in the brilliant white and deeply saturated vermillion garments worn by the saint. The background at left glows with hidden sources of light which produce a crepuscular atmosphere into which the loosely painted figures vanish while those closest to the surface are more evenly modeled by a light from lower left. The kinesthetic treatment of the anatomy seen in number of contemporaneous drawings is reflected in the latent aggressive power and "sodezza" which with the youths are defined. At the same time, their tension and weight are neutralized by the choreographed movements, the beauty of contour and the generalized emotional states. Frozen in their actions, they impart an iconic timelessness to the painting.

A similar quality of being both in time and beyond it also characterises the three canvases in the hospital church of Santa Maria di Loreto in Spoleto, The Visitation, The Nativity and The Adoration of the Magi (figs. 91-92), commissioned by a noble Spoletan family and sent from Rome in 1608. Although the idea of linking three related episodes may have been intended to suggest a fifteenth century triptych, the paintings are not contained within a single altarpiece but are instead individually framed on the altar wall that may have been designed by Baglione himself.³² The sophisticated colour scheme of The Visitation which is

³²See Arte in Valnerina..., 1983, p. 116, "Il carattere della decorazione architettonica di gusto romano, - alla quale sono stati avvicinati nella stessa Spoleto il palazzo Leta a la cappella del Sacramento del Duomo, - e la qualità del rapporto fra decorazione e tele inducono a pensare che il Baglione stesso avesse procurato ai Campelli il

built on the relationship between analogous harmonies - blue, blue-violet, green - and the complementary balance to those colours - cinnamon and rose - can still be appreciated. At the same time that the tonally modulated colour and "controluce" effects describe external reality convincingly, the figures exist in a state of hushed silence and stilled movement that is comparably seen in paintings by Orazio Borgianni. Though Baglione could not possibly have seen Borgianni's Visitation in the Church of the Convento de Portacoeli in Vallalodid, there are striking parallels in appearance.³³

The Magdalen in Meditation (fig. 97 a,b) that Baglione painted in 1610 for a church in Gubbio at the behest of a nobleman, Gio. Iacopo Remosetto, suggests familiarity with Correggio's painting of the subject, which he also knew through the engraving made after it by Annibale Carracci that is mentioned in the Lives.³⁴ The veil of shadow, first studied in a preparatory drawing (fig. 225), gives way to the warm, golden light that settles on the flesh. This handling gives the monumental, expansive figure a remarkable sensuousness of surface and an imposing quality of presence. Departing from the more decorous Counter-Reformatory handling of his peers,³⁵ the seemingly pious gesture of the left arm, which

disegno della cappella, o meglio, si riconosciamo all'insieme una concezione del tutto unitaria, che egli ne fosse l'autore." Lending weight to this proposition are the drawings Baglione made for architectonic works that I have seen in a number of print collections.

³³The painting is reproduced by Wethey, 1964, p. 152, fig. 9.

³⁴Baglione, 1642, p. 391.

³⁵As seen, for example, in Allori's La Maddalena tra Sacro e Profano (Florence, Stibbert Museum, 1601), reproduced in the first volume

serves the quite obvious purpose of partly exposing the breasts, further underscores the desire for sensual vitality.

Although Baglione did not have Reni's great success with the Borghese, the beauty of his "personal style" and the novel interpretations he often brought to paintings did not go unappreciated. He rarely takes on any theme in a conventional manner after 1610, a fact that is underlined by Marino's error in identifying The Mocking of Christ (fig. 93) in the Villa Borghese as The Ecce Homo.³⁶ The canvas clearly shows Christ treated as a king of fools, his hands tied with a chord, wearing the crown of thorns and holding a reed instead of a scepter.

Guglielmi has suggested that Baglione's work may reflect a lost painting by Caravaggio.³⁷ Admittedly, the manner of isolating the figure from the darkness by means of a form defining light is an identifiably Caravaggesque feature. However, the artistic creed and the spiritual conception underlying Baglione's painting are antithetical to

of the exhibition catalogue, Il Seicento Fiorentino, 1987, fig. 1.3.

³⁶La Galleria del Cavalier Marino, Ancona, 1620, p. 59:
Ecce Homo
del Cavalier Giovanni Baglioni
A QUEL Christo oltraggiato,
Di sangue, e di livor consperso, e tinto,
Ambe le mani avinto
Di rigorosa fune, e'l santo crine
Ingiuncato di spine
Del volgi gli occhi, o Sinagoga Hebrea;
Che benche cruda, e rea,
Nel tuo petto spietato
Farà il BAGLION, quel che non se Pilato.

³⁷Guglielmi, 1954, pp. 315 and 325.

Caravaggio's vision. This is clear whether it is compared with Caravaggio's Ecce Homo in Genoa or other paintings depicting scenes from the Passion, such as The Crowning with Thorns (Prato) or Christ at the Column (Macerata).³⁸ Whereas Caravaggio sees the common humanity that links the victim and the aggressor, thereby obliterating the "gerarchia fra buono e cattivo",³⁹ Baglione emphasises the great polarity that exists between the splendid figure of Christ and the roughneck who holds the mantle to expose him. Christ's torso is gently caressed by a soft, warm light and by the secondary reflection from the brilliant white draperies. Two delicate splashes of blood are the only signs of pain endured. The sinewy arms of the guard, whose face is tellingly cast in shadow, offset Christ's incarnate beauty. His physical perfection, elegant posture and devotional countenance transform the subject into an emblem of victory over suffering. Whereas Caravaggio presents an unforgettable historical recapitulation of a moment on the Via Dolorosa, Baglione's painting has an iconic rather than a narrative function. Christ is psychologically detached from reality and the painting is charged with the "abstract religious pathos" that also characterises The Ecce Homo that Cigoli painted for Cardinal Massimi's competition between 1604-06.⁴⁰

³⁸Illustrated by Cinotti and Dell'Acqua, 1983, p. 600 fig. 2, p. 637 fig. 1.

³⁹Cinotti (with G. A. dell'Acqua [et al]), 1973, p. 440.

⁴⁰Carman, 1972, p. 158.

Although the figure of Christ is arrestingly displayed on a diagonal, He has been set back from the primary plane in order to include the beautifully painted still life details at front right: a luminous white marble ledge, the antique half column preserved at Santa Prassede, the binding rope and the instrument for scourging. On top of the marble column are tools and nails that are identical (though altered in arrangement) to those that appear on the slab in the Neapolitan Anointing of Christ's Body for Burial (fig. 88). The symbolic character of the painting is further enhanced by the reduced size of the cross and the iconographical liberty with which Baglione substituted a light pink drapery for the traditional purple mantle mentioned in John's Gospel. Baglione purposefully sustains the tension between real and ideal (the guard vs. Christ, the still life details vs. the decorative beauty of the garments) to bring deceptive mimesis and "disegno" into harmony so that some "in vederla, questa crede esser vera, e le altre stima dipinte, benche tutte belle si ammirino",⁴¹ which was the effect he thought to be so laudable in Raffaellino da Reggio's fresco of Christ Before Caiaphas in the Oratorio del Gonfalone.

The "invenzione" that is regarded as a superlative quality in the works of a number of Baglione's peers in the Lives is also evident in the unusual paintings that he made for a small chapel in Santo Stefano del Cacco about 1610. On one wall Saints Jerome and Stephen (fig. 95) are absorbed in meditation; opposite them the two great Counter-Reformation figures, Saints Charles Borromeo and Philip Neri, are joined in prayer

⁴¹Baglione, 1642, p. 26. See infra p. 10.

(fig. 96). The juxtaposition of the canvases was quite clearly intended to demonstrate the continuity of the faith and traditions of the Catholic Church. Like St. Jerome, St. Charles made the word of God more intelligible to his contemporaries. He holds a copy of The Breviarum Romanum, which was published in 1568 as a result of the initiatives for liturgical reform that he had spear-headed at the Council of Trent. St. Stephen, the Proto-Martyr, undertook apostolic work in Jerusalem following Christ's death, attracting many adherents as a result of his oratorical skills. St. Philip was the "apostle of Rome" during the Counter-Reformation; the Order of Orators that he founded played a major role in the Catholic renewal by stimulating interest in the lives of the Paleo-Christian saints and martyrs.

Saints Charles and Philip solemnly begin their Matins with the prayer, "Deus in adiutorium meum intende", the first words of which are printed on the book held by St. Charles. For the physiognomical details Baglione had recourse to Bonino's engraving of the "vera effigies" of St. Charles in a book published in honour of his canonization,⁴² as well as the death mask of St. Philip that was kept in the Chiesa Nuova. The grandeur of the figures in the shallow, undefined space is largely derived from their richly articulated garments. The remarkably sensitive value modeling seen in the drapery study (fig. 227) for St. Philip kneeling at his "prie-Dieu" illustrates the intended pictorial effects of light and shadow that give the saints, who are clearly out of the world, such convincing power of presence within it.

⁴²See Compostella, 1979, frontispiece.

As early as 1605 Pope Paul V had decided to build a chapel in Santa Maria Maggiore to enshrine one of the most venerated images of the Madonna and Child, a Byzantine icon known as the "Salus populi romani" that was said to have been painted by St. Luke. On the 15th of January, 1611 Baglione was cited as one of the "più eccellenti" painters of Rome who had been selected to decorate the chapel.⁴³ The project, which was supervised by Cavalier d'Arpino, was brought to completion in 1612, less than two years after the frescoes had been initiated.⁴⁴ The regularity with which payments were made to all of the artists suggests that they worked side by side at the enforced pace that angered Guido Reni.

The major theme of the pictorial decoration is the triumph of the Virgin over those who persecuted believers and the miracles that she wrought on behalf of those who heeded her counsel and upheld her honour. The program was pointedly formulated to defend the legitimacy of Catholic piety, particularly Mariology, in the face of Protestant iconoclasm.⁴⁵

The brevity with which Baglione identifies the three frescoes that he painted belies their complex subject matter: at left (fig. 99) "Costantino Copronimo, che abbruccia, e non si vede il fuoco"; at right (fig. 100)

⁴³The "avviso" announcing the selection was published by Orbaan, 1920, pp. 183-84.

⁴⁴For the payments see Corbo, 1967, pp. 301-313.

⁴⁵Baronio's Annales... served as the fundamental source for the narrative episodes and it is likely that he worked out the project prior to his death in 1607. See Calenzio, 1907, Document n. XXX, p. 993.

"Leone Armeno alla presenza della Madre ammazzato"; (see center of fig. 101) "Giuliano Apostato saettato da'ss. Mercurio e Artemio".⁴⁶ Baronio quoted Theophanes and Cedranus who described the death of the Iconoclastic Emperor, Constantine Copronymus (d. 775), who was consumed by an internal fire. After a reign of terror inflicted upon the faithful, his suffering turned him around and he implored the Virgin on his deathbed that the tolerance he had denied would be extended to them. A preliminary idea for this fresco explains the heretofore very curious subject matter of a sheet (fig. 229) in the Metropolitan Museum in which the Virgin appears to a suffering man surrounded by a grieving entourage.

As soon as he became Emperor, Leo the Armenian (d. 820) set out to destroy sacred images. Persecutions continued during his reign. In an apparition to the Emperor's mother, the Virgin urged her to convince Leo to desist from the pursuit of those who venerated these images. As a result of his indifference to his mother's pleas he was punished by an attack of assassins inside the temple.

The principle challenge facing Baglione was to present events of iconographical rarity in such a way as to attract the visual interest of the spectator far below. His solution was to place the dying emperors in such unstable positions in the foreground that they appear to break through the pictorial space. The dramatic movement and emphatic lighting seen in the preliminary study for The Assassination of Leo the Armenian in

⁴⁶Baglione, 1642, p. 403.

Princeton (fig. 228) offer graphic illustration of the Baroque tendencies in Baglione's style at this time.

Stripped for relief from the inner fire that consumes him, Copronymus writhes like a bound slave against the force that possesses him. His suffocation is very cleverly emphasised by the heavy drapery that forces him into an airless space, thereby accentuating his sculpturesque strength. Mâle's observation regarding his resemblance to The Laocoön is very appropriate, particularly since Baglione is known to have greatly admired the sculpture.⁴⁷

In the roundel at centre, Julian the Apostate and St. Mercurius are related by echoing "contrapposto" movements on the sharp diagonal axis. These energetic figures activate space in an illusionistic "tour de force" that transforms the flat surface of the vault into a scene that is constructed according to artistic principles that are best described as Baroque. Their dynamic gestures minimize the abrupt transition into depth; the extreme foreshortening gives them compact weight and sculptural solidity. Seen from far below the robust figures wage a cosmic battle with a dynamism of action that communicated a sense of the renewed confidence of the Post-Tridentine Church.

Baglione's studies for the frescoes in the Cappellina di Santa Francesca Romana leading off from the Cappella Paolina show that he

⁴⁷Mâle, 1932, p. 25 and infra p. 3.

followed common practice in adjusting style to site.⁴⁸ He displays his attachment to the traditional Zuccaresque pictorial mode that he found well suited to multi-figured compositions, to the disposition of life sized, Raphael inspired figures against a nearly flat background from which they are disengaged by a strong light and his increased interest in the illusionistic decoration of a vault.

As for the first, the no longer extant scene showing the return of the kidnapped son of Santa Francesca Romana, known only through drawings (fig. 234), is aggrandized by the elevation of the scene to the middle ground and by the impressive architectural background. As is evident in a preliminary study in Berlin (fig. 233), a more intimate relationship between the figures is lost when the steps move the event to the high middle ground, though we cannot be entirely sure that this represents the final solution. Lighting is even; figures are posed in relation to the picture plane for narrative exposition rather than for dramatic impact. The decorous, well dressed onlookers are an adjunct to the equipoise of the principle figures. Their delicacy of sentiment and courtly grace was one of the major stylistic components that d'Arpino had communicated to the artists of his generation.

⁴⁸Baglione, 16742, p. 403, "Come anche operò a man sinistra la Cappella di s. Francesca, la cui effigie egli fece sopra l'altare con l'Angelo, & a canto la storia d'un miracolo della Santa, a olio figurate. E la volta con diversi Angeli, che suonano varij instrumenti con Puttini: e ne'triangoli Angeli in atto d'oratione, tutti a fresco dipinti, e con diligenza, e con amore rappresentati."

As for the second (fig. 105), the tenebristic lighting which draws the figure from the flat wall coincides with the transported spiritual state and the idealized Raphaellesque physiognomy. Emulation of Raphael, in particular The Foligno Madonna, is even more apparent in the two preparatory sketches (fig. 231) on a sheet in the Metropolitan Museum. Due to the differentiation of textures, the relief giving light and the rapturous gaze, the viewer perceives the painting with the illusory immediacy of a heavenly apparition that was clearly intended to move the heart to devotion.⁴⁹

Longhi saw Guido Reni's fresco of The Angels in Glory (1609) in the Oratory of Santa Silvia at San Gregorio Magno as the precedent for the "directly illusionistic and no longer ornamental"⁵⁰ treatment of the frescoes in the vault of the Cappellina. The illegible state of the frescoes now makes a precise comparison difficult but the preparatory drawings in the Victoria and Albert Museum (fig. 235) and in Bremen (fig. 236) show a continuation of illusionistic interests that were already present in the Santa Maria dell'Orto Coronation of the Virgin of 1598 (fig. 52). Furthermore Reni's angels are disposed frontally and in three-quarter view, while Baglione's figures are in more unstable, dynamic poses and are emphatically foreshortened by the "di sotto in su" application of wash. His stylistic intentions can be seen in the chalk drawings for the angels (figs. 237-243) where the compact, solid figures,

⁴⁹Baglione particularly admired Federico Barocci for having attained this end in his paintings. See *infra* p. 197.

⁵⁰Longhi, 1968, p. 141.

the musical instruments and the sharply defined, space displacing garments are studied in relation to an atmospheric environment. This effort to implant the figure in a shallow illusionistic space is carried over to the very disciplined study for St. Augustine (fig. 231) for the decoration of the entrance vault to the Cappella Paolina (fig. 102).⁵¹ As a colourist, Baglione continues to distinguish himself by the chromatic density of the frescoes in the vault that are fittingly contrasted by the brilliant, light saturated colours of the lantern.

In another painting from this period, The Assumption of the Virgin (fig. 106) in Poggio Mirteto (1613), the typology of the spiritually transported Virgin has been derived from Raphael and d'Arpino rather than from Reni⁵² (who admittedly was also influenced by these artists), while the attentive study (fig. 244) of light and tone on her garments and the clouds show Baglione's effort to imbed her in a shallow, ambiental space. Typologically, she has more in common with the Annunciate Virgin than with the dramatically impelled Madonna in Annibale Carracci's painting for the Cerasi Chapel. This interpretation can be traced back to 1598 when Baglione first painted the subject in Santa Maria dell'Orto.

⁵¹Baglione, 1642, pp. 402-403, "A honore delle sue nobili fatiche, e della buona stima, dal Pontefice Paolo V. gli fu di propria commessione data nella Basilica di s. Maria Maggiore la dipintura nella volta dinanzi alla Cappella Paola co'l suo Lanternino, ove sono Angeli, e Puttini; e quattro Dottori della Chiesa, due Latini, e due Greci; e quattro storiette azzurre in quattro tondi finti."

⁵²The "classicizing elegance" that Schleier (1971, p. 10) attributes to Reni had been absorbed from Baglione's early mentors.

Cardinal Borghese appears to have taken full advantage of the particular talent of each artist in organizing the decoration of the Casino in the gardens of his Palace on the Quirinal. Reni's Aurora, Cherubino Alberti's heraldic emblem with putti, Tempesta's scenes of triumph and Brill's landscapes demonstrate individual virtuosity in different genres of painting. The skilled history painters, Baglione and Passignano, were chosen to illustrate two episodes from Tasso's epic poem, Jerusalem Delivered, on the flat ceilings of two rooms that flanked the central loggia. Baglione's contribution, "la favola d'Armida, quando trovò Rinaldo addormentato, e sopra il suo incantato Carro il ripose"⁵³ (fig. 107) (1614), depicts a scene of romance that occurs in the fourteenth canto of Tasso's work. It illustrates Armida's "coup de foudre" at the sight of the sleeping Crusader whose death she had come to inflict. She reaches over to crown him with a wreath of flowers made by the "amorette" in the lower ground. Her pose reflects study of the figure of Profane Love in Titian's painting which had been owned by his patron, Cardinal Sfondrato, prior to the purchase made by Scipione Borghese in 1608.⁵⁴

The Bolognese painters were attracted to the lyrical possibilities in the fable of Armida and Rinaldo. Baglione's work is more comparable with the Romanized example of Annibale Carracci in the Farnese Gallery. Like Annibale, he lays emphasis on the densely packed tectonic structure, on the narrative significance of the secondary figures and accessories and on

⁵³Baglione, 1642, p. 403.

⁵⁴See Della Pergola, I, 1955, p. 129.

the sensual appeal of surfaces. The geometrical shape which contains the two main figures is formed by two equilateral lines that lead from their exterior silhouettes to the center of the column's Ionic column. They are linked with the secondary figures by crisscrossing diagonal impulses of movement that bring the weighty forms into balance on the crowded surface. The effect of this abstract design is to impose restraint on the protagonists, who are pulled into the plane without integration in the pictorial environment, a solution that was visually suitable for a "quadro riportato". The experience of newly awakened love is not conveyed by Armida's expression or by her ceremonial gesture but rather by the animated reactions of the secondary figures. The "amoretto" gather flowers, Cupid readies his arrows and the nymphs who lulled Rinaldo to sleep with their mellifluous songs register their surprise with a Baroque buoyancy of movement. Two organizing principles are at work in the fresco, one directed by a desire for a closed, rhythmic composition and the counter-balancing of limbs and garments; the other unable to suppress the dynamic, space displacing impulses that convey the excitement in the air.⁵⁵

Baglione's use of accessories is not entirely fanciful. The sarcophagus that supports the nymphs was probably inspired by the antique Endymion sarcophagus that was built into the wall of the Casino

⁵⁵Despite the somewhat mannered handling of Helios, the drawing in Düsseldorf (see Appendix III, 56) that Graf (1973, p. 30), acting upon Vitzthum's suggestion, has convincingly proposed as an alternative for the Aurora painted by Reni in the principal room of the Casino, has more in common with the rising Baroque as epitomized by Lanfranco than with the classical purity and harmony of Reni's fresco.

dell'Aurora in 1613 (fig. 383), though Baglione does not reproduce it as Rensselaer Lee implies.⁵⁶ Alterations made between the drawing in the Louvre (fig. 245) and the fresco were intended to emphasise the narrative significance of the column with its cryptic message referring to the legend that inspired Rinaldo to journey to Armida's realm. Both the order and size are reconsidered so that is more central and more elegant.

The modeling gives a fleshy softness to the statuesque Armida. The effect of the diaphanous garments and the fluttering drapery panels is to accentuate the nudity of the figures, especially the sculpturesque torso of Rinaldo. The values that inspired Baglione's image derive from that "Renaissance love of sensual beauty"⁵⁷ that Tasso, despite the overall Counter-Reformatory morality that informs most of the work, had been unwilling to suppress in recounting the story of Armida and Rinaldo. It was thus well suited to the luxuriant garden setting of the Casino.

As Schleier has observed, it is notable that Baglione was the only artist of those contributing to Cardinal Montalto's Alexander cycle for the Villa Peretti-Montalto, to take into account the point of view from which the painting would be seen.⁵⁸ In his oval canvas, Alexander the

⁵⁶Lee (1963, fig. 39) publishes the drawing made after the sarcophagus by Robert. Given the small, simply decorated surface that Baglione includes, it is difficult to understand how Lee could state (p. 16) that the antique sarcophagus was "contained within the fresco by Baglione."

⁵⁷ibid., p. 13.

⁵⁸Schleier, 1972, p. 312. For further discussion see Schleier, 1968, pp. 188-195 and 1981, pp. 10-25. The subject matter was not elucidated by Fioravante Martinelli who identified the subjects of the

Great Interrogates Two Conspiratorial Officers (?) (fig. 108) (c. 1614) he has given us a kind of "reportage" from the front, in which the organization of the figures in the complex space and the foreshortening are coherent only if imagined in its original placement. When an attempt is made to visualize the canvas in this perspective, Alexander and the gesturing soldier who steps over the ramp seem to break through space in a continuation of the Baroque arrangement of frescoes seen on the arch of the Cappella Paolina. The half-length and "repoussoir" figures of the Mannerist formal language are given sufficient verism and surface naturalism to sustain the tension between reality and artefice that is at the heart of Baglione's aims as a painter.

Bringing the visionary into the orbit of human experience is the intended content of The Apparition of the Madonna and Child to St. Charles Borromeo in the Papal Palace in Viterbo (fig. 112) that dates from about the same time. Using delicate transitions in value from gold to brown for the ground and a relief giving modeling for the clouds, Baglione creates an illusionistic space that frames the gracefully arranged figures. The play of light and shadow on the saint's vestments and a flickering "controluce" bring great warmth and liveliness to the surface. Again, Baglione has clearly crossed over the line into the Baroque by employing a unifying, complex system of lighting and a diagonal emphasis to enhance the spiritual intimacy between the figures and to give us visual access to the heavenly apparition.

episodes depicted in the other canvases.

During this period Baglione is often closest to Borgianni, not only in the sweet strain of sentiment, elegance and solidity of the figures but also in the rich, chiaroscuro effects of colour. Another example of this overlap is the large canvas representing The Glorification of St. Charles Borromeo (fig. 113) painted in 1616 for an altar in the left arm of the Chiesa del Crocefisso in Todi. The soft, shadow laden violet of the saint's soutane produces a beautiful harmony with the golden background that is enlivened by the brilliant white surplice. This colouristic sophistication is carried through to the selection of analogous harmonies - red, blue, violet - for the angels' vibrant garments.

The synthesis between lifelikeness and beauty that Marino admired in Baglione's paintings was largely made possible because the dark, ambiguous space of paintings like The Martyrdom of St. Agatha (fig. 94) allowed a studied chiaroscuro modeling that bridged the gap between natural effects and idealization. He takes pains to render the draperies with the kind of descriptive observation of light and shadow seen in the study (fig. 247) of St. Anthony for an altarpiece (fig. 115) painted in 1617, yet the figures are abstractly arranged in a fashion comparably seen in Valesio's frontispiece for the Vita della B. Caterina di Bologna (fig. 384).⁵⁹

Two of the three canvases (figs. 109-111) painted for local nobles in the Cappella di San Pietro of the Duomo in Macerata about 1615 show Baglione's unconventional methods of composition. The only work still in the chapel, Christ Consigning the Keys to St. Peter (fig. 109), is the

⁵⁹For further examples see Boffito, 1922, passim.

most traditional in its disposition of densely grouped figures in a shallow, vertical space against an architectural backdrop. The seemingly arbitrary organization of the figures on overlapping horizontal steps in The Raising of Tabitha (fig. 110) is made visually coherent by the controlled orchestration of light and shadow. As he had done in The Stoning of St. Stephen, the intense chiaroscuro imparts an impression of solidity to the figures closest to the plane while a looser application of paint, especially in the highlights, gives the more anterior figures a much less substantial appearance. A similar treatment is evident in The Crucifixion of St. Paul (fig. 111), as can be well seen in noting the variance in handling between the sculptural left half of the saint's rib cage and the adjacent figure who is painted in a sketchier fashion in keeping with his intended visual distance in the depth of pictorial space.

In 1618, when Baglione was serving in his fourth term as Principe of the Accademia di San Luca, he donated an altar and an altarpiece, s. Gio. Vangelista, che resuscita un morto con molte figure⁶⁰ (fig. 116), to the Academy's church, a rather unusual gesture that was ill-timed since the building would soon be demolished. The inscription that is held by the putto over the eagle (the saint's traditional symbol) can be deciphered as the first sentence from John's Gospel: IN PRINCIPIO ERAT VERBUM. The youthful age of the man suggests that the subject is St. John's resuscitation in Ephesus of a newly married and soon afterwards

⁶⁰Baglione, 1642, p. 405, "...si vede s. Giovanni Vangelista, che resuscita un morto con molte figure...."

deceased man whose family and friends were enroute to his burial when they met the saint and begged for his intercession in performing a miracle.⁶¹

The painting consists of a variety of figural groups that are organized in a more grandiose theatrical setting than was employed in the Santa Prisca "modello" or in Christ Giving the Keys to St. Peter in Macerata. The figures are thematically linked by their responses to the saint's commanding gesture and are visually unified, in Baglionesque fashion, by the crossing diagonal impulses of movement that meet at the figure of St. John. Though he is draped in voluminous garments, the pose and underlying solidity of form can be traced to the drawing (fig. 199) made after a studio model that dates from the early years of the century. The surface crowding and ambiguous positions of certain of the figures point to the difficulty that Baglione sometimes faced in distributing them in an entirely convincing fashion. However, this is more disconcerting in a black and white photograph than in the painting where the effects of light and the painterly application of colour unify the composition.

Baglione's interest in poetically embellishing a miraculous event with a variety of figures clearly takes precedence over clarity and logic of pictorial structure. It is hard to imagine a painting that is further removed from the aesthetic principles that informed Domenichino's Almsgiving of St. Cecilia painted just four years earlier in San Luigi dei Francesi and not surprisingly admired by Baglione, not for its

⁶¹The Golden Legend..., p. 60.

classicizing structure, but for the "diverse attitudini".⁶² There would seem to be little doubt as to where Baglione would stand in the sixteen hundred thirties when the compositional richness that he favoured was defended by Pietro da Cortona in the Accademia di San Luca.

Mancini, in summing up the achievements of the painters he knew in Rome about 1615, recognized that a number of them, Baglione included, resisted categorization, ergo the "quarta scuola: quali, essendo tutti di valore nella professione, hanno operato con un modo proprio e particolar senza andar per le pedate d'alcuno."⁶³ During this period, Baglione was neither short of commissions nor of professional acclaim⁶⁴ which should serve as an important signal of the appreciation of patrons for the kind of stylistic individuality and iconographical novelty that he demonstrated in his paintings and championed in the works of his peers.⁶⁵

⁶²Baglione, 1642, p. 384.

⁶³Mancini, I, p. 110.

⁶⁴He was elected to the office of Principe of the Accademia di San Luca in 1616, 1617 and again in 1618. See Pirota, 1979, p. 18 and Bon, 1979, p. 91 n. 6, p. 93.

⁶⁵For Baglione's critical outlook see Chapter 8.

Chapter 4

The 1620's: "Cav.re Baglioni grandemente stimato"

A telling indication of Baglione's pre-eminence as an artist is the noticeable attention paid to him in Cavalier Marino's La Galeria... (1620).¹ During the next decade he was a painter at the Gonzaga Court in Mantua and his works left Italy for foreign collections in France, Spain and England. Ironically, since the autobiography focuses almost exclusively on the works he made for patrons in Rome, his activity during this period can only be reconstructed through good luck, careful detective work or a combination of both. One is rewarded by paintings and drawings that are memorable for their technical mastery and for the selective synthesis between lifelikeness and decorative beauty that characterises his very personal approach to the Baroque. Allying these means to his "invenzione", Baglione "si vince il ver, non che somiglianza" in the estimation of his admirer, Marino.²

At the beginning of the decade Baglione produced a number of paintings for the Gavotti family, who enjoyed considerable prominence both in Rome and in Savona.³ Their Roman palace was located on the Via Gregoriana,

¹Ackerman (1961, pp. 335-36) compiled a list of artists mentioned most frequently in La Galeria: Bernardo Castello, Luca Cambiaso, Cavalier d'Arpino, Giovanni Baglione, Titian, Giovanni Contarini, Raphael, Guido Reni, Bartolomeo Schidone, Giovanni Valesio, Michelangelo, Caravaggio, Ferraù Fenzone, Domenico Passignano, G. B. Paggi and Fr. Marin Vanni.

²See Appendix IV, p. 332.

³See Schleier, 1971, pp. 10-16; Strinati, 1978, pp. 27-37.

not far from the church of Santa Trinità dei Monti, which Baglione attended as a resident of the nearby Via dei Condotti.⁴ In Savona the Marchese Giovanni Gavotti, who had undertaken the redecoration of the family chapel in the Duomo, decided to replace Francesco Allegrini's paintings with more stylish works by Lanfranco and Baglione.⁵ The two artists had enjoyed the patronage of Cardinal Sannesio early in the century⁶ and had later contributed to the series illustrating episodes from the life of Alexander the Great for Cardinal Peretti-Montalto.⁷

The subjects of their paintings on the lateral walls which show Abraham Visited by Angels and Jacob's Dream are appropriate to the dedication of the chapel to Our Lady of the Angels. Both canvases are imbued with a charged atmosphere that is largely derived from the dramatic landscape in Lanfranco's work and the intriguing moonlit vista that is such an evocative backdrop for Jacob's dream (fig. 117). For the

Another painting in the Duomo (formerly in the church of Sant'Agostino), the Coronation of the Virgin with St. Augustine, mentioned by Longhi [1930 (1968), p. 148] was also painted about the same time.

⁴In 1606 Baglione had complained of the assault made on him when he returned from Sunday Mass at Trinità dei Monti. See Spezzaferro, 1975, p. 53.

⁵Strinati (1978, p. 31) rejects the traditional assumption that Allegrini's paintings were refused because they did not fit well on the altars, suggesting instead that the Gavotti had been won over to "la nuova grande strada del naturalismo moderno", as exemplified by Baglione.

⁶See Schleier, 1962, pp. 246-57.

⁷See Schleier, 1968, pp. 188-93 and 1972, pp. 310-20. It may be assumed that Lanfranco was excluded from the Lives because he was still living when it was published. The only mention he merits (p. 284) is the notice of the replacement he made in 1625 for Bernardo Castello's Calling of St. Peter in St. Peter's.

nocturnal effects the artists must have collaborated in selecting the range of pigments - ochre, red, blue, brown - and the tonal treatment of them.

Unlike Cigoli, who focused on the physical externalization of Jacob's dream in a painting from 1593, now in Nancy,⁸ Baglione makes the dream visible by means of the beautiful angels, whose movements have the same kind of eurythmic quality that was present in the fresco of the same subject painted in Oriolo Romano between 1585-87 (fig. 1 center). In the Savonese painting there is a dialectic between their refined elegance and grace and the high degree of physical actuality produced by "controluce" effects and naturalistic colour. The overlap with Lanfranco's Borgiannesque phase, as epitomized in the Cappella Buongiovanni in Sant'Agostino, would seem to indicate that the selection of the artists was motivated by a desire for stylistic coherence.

In keeping with the more symbolic character of the altarpiece, The Madonna of the Angels (fig. 118), the abstractly arranged figures are united in an atmosphere of soulful veneration that negates narrative content.⁹ The single active force in the painting is the strong, warm light that produces soft, transparent shadows on the solidly conceived figures and finely wrought folds of the draperies. The typology of the Madonna, which Schleier has rightly connected to a drawing for the Poggio

⁸Illustrated in Seicento..., 1988, p.,, 173, fig. 46.

⁹Schleier (1971, p. 15) correctly notes that Baglione adopted Allegrini's compositional scheme, a fact which may be due to the specifications of the patron.

Mirteto altarpiece of 1613,¹⁰ can be traced with slight alterations back to The Assumption in Santa Maria dell'Orto of 1598 (fig. 51) and again serves to underscore the Raphaelesque component in Baglione's art.

His attention to the appropriate grace and beauty seems to have been an important factor in Ferdinando Gonzaga's patronage of Baglione. Though he had settled in Mantua in 1612, the Duke continued to give important commissions to artists he had met when a Cardinal in Rome - Guido Reni, Antiveduto Grammatica,¹¹ Terenzio Terenzi,¹² Baglione and Domenico Fetti. With the exception of Fetti, these artists shared a common stylistic grounding in the art of Raphael.

Vincenzo Agnelli, a Mantuan ecclesiastic who was in Rome until his appointment as Bishop of Mantua in 1620, wrote the Duke early in 1619, telling him that he would soon receive "la S. Cecilia fatta da Cav. Baglione, a cui ho dato per pagamento 50 scudi... con tutto che ne pretendesse 80, dicendomi che tante ne pagò S.A. per un S. Francesco fattoli nella stessa misura."¹³ Agnelli's letter provides the completion date for the two paintings (figs. 119-120) now located in the sacristy of the Cathedral of Mantua and, by inference, for the St.

¹⁰ibid., pp. 10-16.

¹¹For Grammatica see Marino, 1968, pp. 47-82.

¹²Baglione (1642, pp. 157-58) notes Terenzi's skill at making first rate copies of "tavole vecchie" but recounts his failure to pass off as a Raphael a painting he had made for his patron, Cardinal Montalto. Askew (1978, p. 275) cites him as a pupil of Barocci.

¹³Luzio, 1913, p. 292.

Catherine of Alexandria (fig. 121) that hangs with them.¹⁴ The monumentally conceived figures are steadied in their graceful, tentative poses by the carefully planned supports and the echoing patterns of limbs, draperies and tendrils of hair. The smooth surfaces of the flesh are linked to the graphic handling seen in a contemporaneous study (fig. 337) for an unknown "St. Catherine" (c. 1619) in which the skillfully applied wash imparts soft palpability to abstractly shaped forms that have been rapidly defined with a thick pen line.

At about the same time Baglione and Antiveduto Grammatica were commissioned to collaborate on paintings illustrating the life of Samson, a project that was abandoned for unknown reasons.¹⁵ Shortly afterward Baglione was called to Mantua, an honour that made him a descendent of the great Renaissance artists who had served at the Gonzaga Court.

Nè tralascierò di dire, che egli con grand'istanza fu dall'Altezza del Duca di Mantova chiamato. Andovvi, & alla grande quel magnanimo Principe trattollo; poiche tutti quegli honori, che imaginar si possono, da lui gli furono fatti, e per lo spazio di due anni dimorrovvi; & alcune cose per sua Altezza; per l'Imperadrice sua Sorella; per l'Imperadore Ferdinando suo Cognato; e per altri, le quali per brevità lascio, egli a perfettione colori. Poi volle dal Baglione un'altra muta della nove Muse, dal naturale con il loro Apollo, ma più

¹⁴Askew (1978, p. 289) suggests that they could have been intended "as part of a larger decorative scheme." I have not found any documentary evidence in the Archivio di Stato in Mantua to carry this idea any further.

¹⁵In January 1619 Agnelli wrote to the Duke (Luzio, 1913, p. 292), "L'Antiveduto pittore et il Cav. Baglione stanno aspettando i soggetti dell'A.V. per l'istorie di Sanson; et l'Antiveduto desiderarebbe che v'intravenissino molte donne."

grandi di quelle, che egli in Roma fatta
haveva."¹⁶

Though Baglione implies that he spent two full years in Mantua, he was actually only in residence for a little over a year, from October 1621 to November 1622.¹⁷ The first brief visit made in August 1621 may have been prompted by the desire to make practical arrangements for his sojourn and for the transport of the series of Apollo and the Nine Muses (fig. 122-130) that he had begun a year earlier. A few months later the nearly completed paintings were seen in Rome by the Duke's agent, Fabrizio Arragone, who described them in a letter as "cose degne in vero di parvenir in poter di V. A. si per la loro vaghezza, come per l'invenzione con la quale sono state fatte."¹⁸

Three years later the paintings were sent to Maria de Medici, Gonzaga's maternal aunt, with the expectation that the gift of the prized works would result in the Queen's awarding of the title, "Altezza", to his son, Prince Vincenzo.¹⁹ The Duke's initial reluctance to offer the paintings was due to his fear that the figures, "quasi affatto dipinto nude onde riescono piuttosto lascive che altri",²⁰ but the Mantuan ambassador in Paris, Giustiniano Priandi, wrote in March 1624 encouraging

¹⁶Baglione, 1642, p. 403.

¹⁷Luzio (1913, p. 294, n. 1) records the salaried payments that Baglione had received by 25 September 1622 as totalling 2555 "scudi".

¹⁸ibid., p. 301.

¹⁹ibid., p. 300.

²⁰ibid., p. 300.

him to send them "purchè le pitture sieno eccellenti e non del tutto ignude ne troppo lascive."²¹

The arrival of the paintings in Paris was orchestrated to impress the court with Maria de Medici's distinguished patronage. When they were delivered to the Luxembourg Palace at the end of September 1624 the Queen prohibited anyone from seeing them until she had had the opportunity to examine them. On 11 October "solo per vedere dieci bellissimi quadri"²² she arrived with an entourage of "Cavalieri et Dame, Principi e Principesse, che tutti commendarono assai dette pitture; da Bertelot scultore e da alcuni pittori è stata giudicata opra del Cav.re Baglioni grandemente stimato fra gli altri del suo tempo."²³ Writing to the Duke from Paris a few weeks later, Priandi emphasised how successfully the paintings had been received:

Si mostra S.M. tà soddisfattissima de'quadri (che veramente fanno quasi onta a quelli di Rubens) e gl'ha comendati grandemente al Re e a tutta la Corte, ordinando al concierge di Luxembourg di non mostrarli a veruno senz'espressa sua licenza, ha pero voluto che M.r d'Alligre Ambasciatore gli vedesse prima della sua partenza.²⁴

Stimulated, no doubt, by the Queen's coup in obtaining such first class works from Mantua, Cardinal Richelieu then cleverly suggested to Priandi that the title in question could be more expediently conferred if

²¹ibid., p. 300.

²²Marrow, 1982, p. 104, doc. 33.

²³ibid., p. 301.

²⁴ibid., p. 301.

the Duke would be willing to part with some "eccellente quadro di Correggio od altri" for the Cardinal's own collection.²⁵

For his characterization of Apollo, Baglione turned to Raphael's heroic deity on Mount Parnassus in the Vatican fresco. He carefully adhered to Ripa's description of the Muses in the Iconologia, including their appropriate attributes with great fidelity.²⁶

It is clear that Baglione aimed to unify the ensemble in the Cabinet des Muses. He uses a darkened background or drapery covered screen to focus a warm, relief giving light on the expansively posed figures and their sumptuous draperies. All of the canvases are uniformly illuminated as if by a lateral light from left; the supporting platforms provide visual cohesion and are profitably used for identificatory inscriptions. Robust and weighty though they are, the figures are arranged in positions of momentary balance. As they slowly turn into the orbit of light, a gentle impulse of energy passes through their extended limbs, creating a sinuous movement that would have visually linked them together.

Baglione's continued fascination with the beauty of complex drapery folds is well exhibited in the study for Thalia (fig. 249) in which the structuring of the sculpturally conceived garments to echo the main lines of the body's extension is intended to stabilize the tenuous pose of the figure. Whereas the violet drapery that echoes the contour of Apollo's

²⁵ibid., p. 301.

²⁶Ripa, 1611, pp. 368-74.

legs and right arm (fig. 122) is a discreet and elegant covering, the delicate blue strip that crosses over the chest emphasises his bare torso. This was obviously not offensive to Maria de Medici's prudery, probably because the expression of the figure conveys a state of poetic feeling. The rich, undulating, carmine folds of Calliope's skirt (fig. 123) are set off by the brilliant white undergarment. The "festival des couleurs"²⁷ that enrich Clio's presentation (fig. 124) can be seen in the red shawl, saffron and turquoise skirt and beautiful violet scarf with its gold fringe that is so effectively contrasted to the luminous puff of the blouse. For Erato, green and violet are the principal colours (fig. 125). This scheme is repeated for Euterpe (fig. 126) but gold is added, bringing greater luminosity to the skin and offsetting the lovely floral headpiece. Polymnia's (fig. 127) warm, ivory draperies are of such complexity and vibrancy that they provide extended visual pleasure. Terpsichore's (fig. 129) nearly untenable position permits an almost complete assimilation of the light. The radiant softness of her skin is enhanced by the brilliant scarf and the diaphanous veil that crosses her thigh. The effect of Urania's light rose skirt and full-bodied form (fig. 130) against the billowing, densely saturated blue drapery, which is supple yet constantly broken, enhances the theatricality of her presentation.

Noting the splendid sensuousness of the figures, it is not surprising that a comparison was made in Paris between Baglione's pictures and the

²⁷Seicento..., 1988, p. 126.

series Rubens had painted for Maria de Medici.²⁸ As early as 1598, Baglione had already come along way towards achieving a synthesis between robustness and soft palpability. By contrast to his restrained approach to the Baroque, Rubens allied these qualities to dynamic principles of spatial organization and highly saturated pigments.

It is impossible to overlook the stylistic affinity with Guido Reni's series devoted to the heroism of Hercules that was sent to Mantua between 1617-1621.²⁹ In like fashion, Baglione presented monumental figures in expansive yet elegant positions against a shallow space. However, Reni is more intent on achieving a more diffuse lighting and his colours are therefore lighter in tone than Baglione's more deeply shaded palette.

Askew points to Ferdinando Gonzaga's interest in cultivating the identification with Apollo³⁰ and it is certain that Maria de Medici hoped her prestige would be enhanced by reference to the nine sister goddesses of creative inspiration. Her exceptional enthusiasm for the series was significant in the selection of the theme for subsequent seventeenth-century French decorative schemes.³¹

²⁸Though Rubens had actually spent little time in Rome, a fact that should have disqualified him from inclusion in the Lives, Baglione devoted a long, laudatory biography to him (1642, pp. 362-364).

²⁹For the documents see Askew, 1978, p. 285, n. 113. Reni is mentioned in the Lives in the biography of his pupil, Gio. Giacompo Semenza (p. 344), who "haveva buona maniera di colorire; & imitando del suo Maestro, dava gusto a i Professori."

³⁰Askew, 1978, p. 295.

³¹See Henderson, 1974, p. 565 n. 49.

The Allegory of Charity and Justice Reconciled (fig. 132) of 1622 was also painted for Ferdinando Gonzaga, who had expressed his desire for a painting "della Giustizia e della Pace che s'abbraccino insieme" in a letter addressed to an unidentified painter in 1617.³² The iconography was altered to focus on the message of Psalm 85 - the reconciliation of the contrary principles of Mercy and Truth and of Justice and Peace that is achieved through adherence to the word of God.³³ The state of harmony among the Virtues that became the Christian allegory of "The Four Daughters of God" was a popular theme during the Middle Ages as a result of its inclusion in the Pseudo-Bonaventura's Meditationes Vitae Christi from the late thirteenth century. Despite its obvious appeal as a visual statement embodying the aims of good government, it was virtually ignored during the Cinquecento.

To the right of Justice is a shield bearing the inscription: DILIGITE. IVSTITIAM. QVI. IVDICATIS. TERRAM. The inscription on the tablet to the left of Charity reads: QVI. MANET. IN. CARITATE. IN. DEO. MANET. ET. DEVS. IN. EO.³⁴ From a bed of clouds Divine Wisdom looks impassively at the scene below; she holds a book and supports the gold chain that links the two Virtues in a conciliatory greeting. There is no

³²Luzio, 1913, p. 48.

³³See Chew, 1947 and Levey, 1991, p. 7.

³⁴As has been noted by Levey (1964, p. 52), the painting was cut at the top where the Dove is only partially seen and at the bottom where only a small portion of the scales of Justice is visible adjacent to the handle of her sword.

mistaking the similarities with Lanfranco, particularly well seen in comparing the "tipologia dei volti sottili e spiritosi"³⁵ with his painting of The Madonna and Child with Saint Charles Borromeo and Saint Bartholomew in Naples.³⁶ However, the Baroque boldness that Lanfranco was increasingly to display after 1620 is interpreted by Baglione in a lower key. Dynamism is kept in check by a desire for pictorial harmony and naturalism subject to the correctives of idealism. It is clear that "disegno" was the foundation for the solid figures, graceful poses, studied gestures and the animated, space creating movement of the abundant garments. Complementary diagonal lines that form a pyramidal shape enclose the figures. Their equipoise strengthens the theme of harmony. In Baglione's characteristic fashion, abstract formalism exists side by side with an atmospheric sfumato and a modeling that gives a lifelike naturalism to the textures of the garments and the flesh tones. The smooth transition from light to dark in the backgrounds of the upper and lower zones made it possible to contrast brilliant luminosity with depth of colour in order to define contours clearly.

The pose of St. John the Baptist in the National Gallery of Athens (fig. 137) which may be traced back to a painting of the subject by a follower of Raphael, now in the Louvre,³⁷ again illustrates Baglione's continual meditation on "antico e moderno" masterpieces. Framing the

³⁵Borea, 1980, p. 317.

³⁶Illustrated in Nell'Età di Correggio..., 1986, n. 171, pp. 486-490.

³⁷Illustrated in The Complete Work of Raphael, 1969, p. 251 fig. 102.

monumental figure against a dark, Caravaggesque background that permits a sculptural definition of contours, he focuses a warm light on the flesh, modulating it with delicate shadows. A strong plastic quality is thus combined with a marked surface sensuousness and a sumptuous drapery style, giving the gracefully posed figure a Seicento immediacy of presence.

The same elegant attitude and effort to counterbalance the tentative, gracefully expansive movements of figures by means of richly elaborated draperies are paralleled in other paintings of similar subject matter, datable to the same time (figs. 138-140). At least one of these, perhaps St. John the Baptist Wreathing a Lamb (fig. 140) at Hampton Court, is likely to have been a gift from Cardinal Francesco Barberini to Charles I and Henrietta Maria.³⁸ The space displacing, untenable positions of the weighty figures are stabilized by means of the supporting platforms and the rhythmic echoing of limbs and drapery folds. Although the St. John the Baptist Wreathing a Lamb has been repainted and is therefore without the luminous surfaces and soft shadows that give such warmth and softness to the flesh in paintings of this decade, it can be dated by the virtuoso treatment of the garments that mirror the linear silhouette of the body. A drawing (fig. 356) for an unknown painting of the same subject shows the emphatic contour line echoed in the silhouette of the clouds. The soft, light imbued flesh tones in St. John the Baptist in Meditation (fig. 139)

³⁸Baglione (1642, p. 404) mentions "un s. Gio. Battista grande al naturale con bella inventione in atto di consigliarsi con lo Spirito Santo" painted for Cardinal Francesco Barberini, who sent a number of paintings to Charles I and Henrietta Maria between 1635-37. See Albion, 1935, Appendix, p. 3. None of the canvases in England corresponds precisely with the painting described by Baglione.

are graphically paralleled in a study for the same subject in Düsseldorf (fig. 358) that is remarkable for the subtle tonal manipulation of the black and red chalk and the smudging of the latter with white heightening to simulate "viva carne".

Diana Scultori's engraving after a drawing of the antique Spinario (fig. 373) inspired Baglione to attempt to equal Pygmalion by infusing stone with life (fig. 149). Framing the figure against the weed grown ruins of a dark niche, he models the flesh tones with a frothy white paint and gauzy, transparent shadows that impart a notable sensual vitality to the sculpturally compact figure. In this way the heroic content of the "point de repère" is subjected to the lyrical interpretation to which he was more temperamentally suited.

The extent to which Baglione had been formed by the "belle opere di Roma" that he had studied in his youth is again evident in the oval painting (fig. 131), perhaps representing Semiramis, that may have been part of a series of portraits of famous women that he made for the Camerino delle Dame in the Ducal Palace at Mantua about 1622.³⁹ Underlying her refined beauty is the memory of a figure from Raphael's Spasimo di Sicilia, probably studied early in the century that is preserved on a sheet in Rome (fig. 275).

³⁹Cited by D'Arco, II, 1857, p. 173 and p. 175 n. 5.

The exposure to the ducal collection in Mantua, rich in Venetian works of art, was undoubtedly a great catalyst for Baglione's growth as a painter, stimulating the increased liberty in the handling of chromatic effects that is seen in Salome Presenting the Head of the Baptist to Herod and Herodias (fig. 135). Set against the neutral background that he had adopted from Caravaggio, the warm, golden light gives a radiant luminosity to the smooth flesh tones and to the softly gathered sleeves of Herodias. The deep crimson of Salome's garments is repeated on the frame of the chair and in the densely saturated draperies worn by Herod (who looks enough like Baglione to be a self portrait). The soft, loose handling in the chalk drawings finds its pictorial equivalent in the application of paint, especially the white highlights, in fluid "touches" of colour "alla Veneziana".

Zeri incisively remarks that "la straordinaria figura femminile" in the Munich painting of Joseph and the Wife of Potiphar (c. 1622) (fig. 134) "sta a mezzo via tra i Toscani specie il Cigoli e la Mantova di Pietro Paolo Rubens e di Domenico Fetti."⁴⁰ Indeed, Baglione takes pleasure in focusing visual attention on the rounded, plastic intensity of the figure by bathing her body in a warm light in a manner analogously seen in the treatment of Apollo and the Nine Muses. This aim is evident in the abandonment of a preliminary idea (fig. 255) to show Joseph in abbreviated garments, illuminated by an intense light and framed by a dark, light absorbing cloak. The more fully dressed figure in the painting can be appreciated for the chromatic harmony, particularly

⁴⁰Zeri, 1977, p. 342.

evident in the way the dark turquoise sash is so effectively used to offset the richly brocaded, cantaloupe coloured garment. In Baglionesque fashion, the naturalism of the figures is held in check by the "assai buon gusto", the decorous attitudes and pictorial refinements, that Mancini admired in his paintings.

Fully allying his colouristic skills and his "invenzione" in The Birth of the Virgin (fig. 136) (1623) in Florence, Baglione produces a work that is an illusionistic "tour de force". The atmosphere of hushed, domestic intimacy that emanates from the "composizione a scena multipla con decorazione di sguardi e mosse vivaci",⁴¹ that Borea adduces to the opportunity to study works by Giovanni da San Giovanni and Bilivert during a visit to Florence, is already foreshadowed in the Madonna dell'Orto fresco of the same subject that was painted in 1598 (fig. 48). In both works Baglione tries to obtain a great richness of effect by studying the play of light and shadow in a complex spatial environment. However, the conditions under which the event is seen change from the first to the second version so that a rather straight forward narrative episode is interpreted in a Baroque manner.

The figures are arranged along an imaginary parabola that flows from the figure at far right up through a number of spatial levels to the seated figure of St. Anne at top right. The principle unifying force linking the figures and sustaining the illusion of a unified space is the manipulation of the effects of light and shadow on the four principle hues

⁴¹Borea, 1980, p. 317.

- red, gold, blue and violet. The figures in the first plane are solidly modeled; the complex folds, puffs and textures of their garments are painted with an almost mimetic power. As in the Santa Maria dell'Orto fresco, the standing servant who rather insouciantly acknowledges the spectator is the linchpin between the principal group and the background figures. Blocked out by light which confers physical verity upon her, she leads the eye to the figure at her left and up the stairs to the loosely sketched, rather insubstantial figures of St. Anne and her attendants at the bedside. Pictorial space and the relationship of the figures in it are not defined rationally but rather through the coordinated interplay of light and shadow to give pictorial reality the semblance of optical truth. Given Palomino's reference to the attention paid by Velázquez to paintings by Baglione that were in Seville,⁴² it is not unreasonable to suggest that he may have been stimulated by Baglione's manipulation of light and shadow in a complex spatial structure.

Cardinal Gaspare Borgia, who was in Rome as the ambassador of Philip IV between 1616-18 and again between 1631-33, sent a number of Baglione's canvases to Spain.⁴³ Among these may be numbered Love Restrains Instinct (fig. 146) in Valencia. Though the theme has an antique source,⁴⁴ the painting was no doubt stimulated by study of Titian's Pardo Venus. In comparison to the rationally coordinated space in Annibale Carracci's etching of "una Venera ignuda con un Satiro, che

⁴²See Enggass and Brown, 1970, p. 183.

⁴³Baglione mentions (1642, p. 404) the "molte opere" that he made for Cardinal Borgia "per mandare in Ispagna." For a list of paintings in Spain see Appendix V.

⁴⁴Zeri, 1977, p. 339.

spirano amore" (fig. 385)⁴⁵ (1592), Baglione structures the composition by means of the undulating moss green and burgundy satins. Despite the countershift of the head of Venus away from the axis of the body and the weightiness that should be consistent with her fleshy form, she floats on the surface, integrated into the abstract decorative pattern in typically Baglionesque fashion through the repetition of the contours of the body in the movement of the draperies. A winged angel blocks the naturalistically described satyr from further advance towards the corpulent, idealized female figure while the two "amoretto" above comment on the impeded progress of sensuality.

A similar treatment is seen in Venus Whipped by Love (fig. 147) from the Zeri Collection.⁴⁶ (Note the close resemblance between the "amoretto" at left in the Spanish painting and the Cupid in the Zeri canvas). A dating of about 1625 is suggested by the warm, robust sensuality of Venus and the chromatic depth. Relief is given to the smooth, luminous planes of her body through the shadows reflected from the space structuring draperies. The green damask pillow, which so effectively harmonizes with the crimson bed cover, is employed to frame the copper curls and to focus light on the face of the "provocatrice".

The action of a light which gives verity to theatrically disposed figures is similarly seen in St. Martin Dividing His Cloak (fig. 133)

⁴⁵Baglione, 1642, p. 391.

⁴⁶Listed by Pigler, 1974, p. 251.

that was also painted at the behest of Cardinal Borgia.⁴⁷ On the one hand, the figures are related by a strong diagonal emphasis and by the very thoughtfully calculated "contrapposto" of light and dark, which sets them in sharp relief and confers upon them a sense of concreteness. On the other, their remoteness is suggested by the elegant attitudes and physical beauty. This equivocation produces the dream-like effect that is such a distinctive and compelling feature of so many of Baglione's paintings during this period.

These characteristics also appear in another post-Mantuan painting depicting Susanna and the Elders (fig. 148). The multi-level spatial structure which encompasses the robust, light bathed Susanna, the Elders and the background figures in a succession of overlapping planes is typically Baglionesque. As in The Birth of the Virgin, light and shadow minimize the abrupt shifts in scale because the secondary figures are painted with a loose, sketchy technique in order to simulate the truth of optically defined perception.

Following in the same interpretative vein as Jacob's Dream in Savona, where naturalistic light and colour were used to blur the distinction between natural and supernatural phenomena, is St. Charles Praying for the Cessation of the Plague (fig. 141) painted in 1624 and formerly located in a church in Lago d'Orta. Through the calculated play of light and shadow on colour that is made possible by a variety of implied light sources,

⁴⁷ Baglione (1642, p. 404), "Né passero con silentio, che il Cardinal Borgia gli fece figurare il s. Martino a cavallo con il povero; e sta nella Madonna di s. Giovanino alle Monache di s. Salvestro...." See

earthbound figures, angelic vision and the objects of prayer are united in an illusionistically defined pictorial space.

During this period of his full maturity Baglione achieves a notable coherence between ideal generalization and naturalistic description, between the plastically defined, sensually appealing figures in unstable but elegant poses and the loose, sketchlike appearance of others, between the rhythmically structured draperies and opticality of surfaces and textures and between dreamlike trances and pathetic content. An appreciation of his mastery is acknowledged in the patron's specification that the Santa Maria dell'Orto St. Sebastian Cured by Angels (fig. 142) (1624) should be made "con ogni diligenza che corrisponde al Valore et fama di detto Signore Cavaliere".⁴⁸ Again in this work, in another similar canvas from a private collection (fig. 145) and in a number of drawings from this period, the darkened background permits the accentuation of sculptural contours while the surfaces are handled with a painterly softness that gives the figures a persuasive sensuality. The deep, rich colours, luminous white garments and the "impasto" highlights skimming across the surfaces of magnificent draperies were appreciated by Angot who made a sketch after the Santa Maria dell'Orto painting during a visit to Rome (fig. 386).

Marini, 1982, p. 66.

⁴⁸Baglione, 1642, p. 404, "...dipinse la Cappella prima a man sinistra entro la Chiesa della Madonna dell'Horto cioè a dire s. Sebastiano, & Angeli, s. Bonaventura, e s. Antonio da Padova." For the document see Appendix IV, 21.

Ignoring Counter-Reformatory recommendations, Baglione always eschews any realistic effects which would compromise beauty. The kinesthetically conceived henchman who is about to martyr St. Agatha in a painting in Malta (fig. 150) serves to highlight the beauty of her light bathed torso, as do the splendid garments. The familiar backdrop permits the manipulation of light and shadow that bridges the gap between idealizing generalization and the naturalistic description of garments and flesh tones.

The Saint Catherine Carried to Her Tomb by Angels (fig. 151) belonged to the French painter-art dealer, Nicolas Renier, who was in Rome from about 1615 to 1625 when he settled in Venice.⁴⁹ The attraction to Manfredi and Vouet that has been detected in his own paintings⁵⁰ explains his appreciation for the chromatic richness, illusionism and lyrical content of Baglione's "maniera propria" during the 1620's. The canvas was also admired by Teniers who made a drawing after it (fig. 387), engraved by Troyen, which appeared in the illustrated catalogue of the collection of the Archduke Leopold Willem.⁵¹

The rather rare subject, originally derived from The Golden Legend, was either inspired by an unknown painting by Taddeo Zuccaro or Pompeo Aquilla or by an engraving made after it in 1575 by Cornelis Cort.⁵²

⁴⁹See Savina-Branca, 1964, pp. 52-53.

⁵⁰ibid., pp. 52-53.

⁵¹It appears as plate 236 in the Theatrum Pictorium of 1660.

⁵²Gere and Pouncey think that Aquilla invented the idea that is

The position of the central angel is repeated with exactitude. Despite this explicit dependence on the prototype, Baglione alters the iconographical interpretation by omitting the tomb and the terrestrial staging of the event. The emphasis is thereby focused on the translation of the body of the saint to Mount Sinai by angelic means and not on the literal fact of her burial.

Baglione's figures are dramatically disposed in the foreground space against a glowing background that is comparable to the earthen tonality in the background of Caravaggio's Amor Vincit Omnia. Caravaggio's use of a shadow laden atmosphere in The Death of the Virgin (which was in Mantua when Baglione was at the Gonzaga Court) allowed him to underline the intense human grief of the apostles. The warmth of light in Baglione's painting complements the mood of reverential tenderness which implies the existence of a benevolent, comforting presence that Caravaggio had taken pains to negate. The preliminary study in Düsseldorf (fig. 260) illustrates the characteristic delicacy of touch of the drawings in this medium. The studied contrast between the transparent shadows and the sharp, carefully applied highlights have their pictorial analogue in such beautiful passages as the densely saturated burgundy garment that covers St. Catherine and the luminous wing of the principal angel.

Baglione's original casting of themes and abilities as a colourist are also in evidence in The Vision of the Christ Child to St. Anthony of Padua (fig. 152) that was painted for an oratory in a small church in Macerata

represented in the drawing they publish as "After (?) Aquilla", 1983, p. 144 and plate 222.

in 1628. St. Anthony appears against a darkened background in traditional habit, his hands elegantly crossed over his chest and his face turned in wonder at the sight of the welcoming Christ Child who has just appeared to him during a meditation. Side by side with the weighty handling of paint and broad naturalism of the habit is the sensual appeal of the soft fleshed Child and the loose, sketchy treatment of the "grisaille" figures in the reliefs on the altar and sarcophagus. Marino's description of flowers in an unknown painting by Baglione - "sì ben fatti/ Che si senton gli odori ancor dipinti" -⁵³ could be equally applied to the beautiful lilies that seem to spring from the canvas. The striking "trompe-l'oeil" elements break down the barrier between real and painted space in a Baroque fashion, inducing the spectator to accept the illusion that the vision is as believable as they are.

Over twenty years after he had participated in the Clementine decoration of the "navi piccole" of St. Peter's, Baglione was selected to paint a fresco, Christ Washing the Feet of the Apostles (1628), in St. Peter's that was unveiled by Pope Urban VIII.⁵⁴ The "bozzetto" (fig. 153) for the no longer extant fresco, now in the Capitoline Museum, shows that he again adopted the multi-tiered spatial structure and crossing diagonal axes that permitted him to pack the composition with a rich cast

⁵³See Appendix IV, p. 331.

⁵⁴Baglione, 1642, p. 404, "Dipintura del Cavalier Baglione in s. Pietro dentro alla Cappella Gregoriana è la storia a fresco della lavanda de'piedi, che fece N. Signore a i suoi Apostoli sopra una porta a man diritta dell'altar maggiore di quel luogo; e fu honorato con essere stata scoperta alla presenza del Santissimo Regnante, e di tutta la Corte de gli Eminentissimi."

of figures. A similar organizing principle is seen in another canvas painted about the same time, Christ Exorcising the Seven Devils from the Magdalen (fig. 154), whose original owner was quite plausibly Cardinal Colonna, to whom the Lives was dedicated.⁵⁵

In both works the brightly illuminated background scene has an anecdotal, "Bamboccianti" character. The loose, sketchy treatment and quotidian activity are in striking contrast to the emphatic modeling and sobriety of the figures nearest the picture plane. Underlying the progressive dematerialization of the anterior figures is the intention to confer upon them such a high degree of optically defined presence that the spectator would accept the corollary that the principal scene was also probable. This explains the function of the water bearing youth in The Washing of the Feet who enters the foreground in order to blur the distinction between the two levels.

An energetic force, which is transmitted by the gesticulative action and sumptuous garments, creates a circular path with Christ firmly at center. His narrative centrality is assured by the strength of light, particularly as it falls on the brilliant garment around his waist with its rich "impasto" and transparent shadows. The attention lavished on the garments is evident in a preparatory study for the apostle at bottom center (fig. 262), whose carefully modeled draperies are partially hidden behind the figure of St. John in the painting. The further figures are from the plane, the more loosely paint is applied in "tocchi" and softened

⁵⁵See infra pp. 165-66.

by scumbling. The warmth of flesh is simulated by beige-pink tones impregnated with white pigment and the contours are painted in rose and/or brown tones; reflected shadows appear under the eyes and chins. Highlights and "controluce" effects heighten the theatricality of the presentation.

Chromatic harmonies produce such beautiful passages as St. John the Baptist's olive and red garments and the turquoise, violet, mustard, carmine and mauve draperies of St. Peter. The dignified bearing of the richly garbed figures (most of whom have books in hand) enhances the lively but lofty conception. An act of humility has been transformed into a grandiloquent statement which would certainly have been coherent with Barberini aspirations.

Chapter 5

"il Cavaliere Baglione celebre Pittore": 1630-1643

By the third decade of the seventeenth century Baglione had been an acknowledged master and a key figure in the artistic milieu in Rome for over forty years. Ten years earlier his confreres in the Academy had voted to remove the painting of St. John the Evangelist Revives a Dead Man from the altar that he had built at his own expense in the old church of Santa Luca that was scheduled for demolition.¹ This canvas, now the altarpiece of the Baglione chapel in Santi Cosma e Damiano, quite conveniently suited the joint dedication to the Virgin and his patron, St. John the Baptist. The decoration of the entire chapel was completed by 1638 when the long dedicatory inscription was affixed.²

The lateral paintings, The Adoration of the Magi (fig. 156) and The Presentation of the Christ Child at the Temple (fig. 157), painted in 1630, have a Venetian grandeur in the sumptuousness and rich colourism of the garments, the noble carriage of the figures and the beauty of the

¹For the document, published by Noehles (1970, p. 334 doc. 8), see Appendix IV, 20.

²Baglione, 1642, pp. 404-405, "Et è cosa degne grandemente di memoria, ch'il Cavaliere a se stesso ha fabricato una bella Cappella nella Chiesa de' ss. Cosimo, e Damiano in Campo Vaccino, & è la seconda a man diritta, sopra il cui altare è il quadro grande, che già haveva posto in s. Luca nel 1618. con occasione d'esser'all'hora Principe dell'Accademia, e per honorare quel luogo vi fece un bell'ornamento, e sopra l'altare il quadro collocò; hora con l'occorrenza della nuova fabrica di s. Luca, e di s. Martina, essendo il luogo, e l'altar demolito, egli ha preso il suo quadro, e postolo in ss. Cosimo, e Damiano, e si vede s. Gio. Vangelista, che resuscita un morto con molte figure...." See Appendix I, 84.

scenographic accessories.³ The Adoration takes place against the background of a stable that is incidental to the magnificent drama. The great number of figures who are assembled on the many horizontal levels culminating in St. Joseph are unified by crossing diagonals and by the diffused, golden lighting which lifts areas of flesh and draperies and casts an atmospheric glow that adds luster to the complex, richly patterned draperies and the refined still life details. The loosely applied paint gives the weighty garments and the areas of flesh a high degree of optical verity.

The densely filled canvases and rich handling of Baglione's style in the 1620's is carried over to The Presentation on the opposite wall which takes place in a magnificent temple setting that enhances the monumentality of the figures and the Baroque theatricality of the interpretation. Though there are many sources of illumination, the overall tone of the lighting produces a golden, Venetian inspired radiance that is a unifying force. The figures at far right are drawn from shadow by the soft atmospheric light and the glow from the candle that burns above their heads. Scenographic accuracy is combined with illusionistic extension into depth to lend a convincing sense of optical truth to the intricate spatial context. The eye is led from the candle bearing woman at left, past the illuminated bay with its fresco showing carefully rendered genie supporting a plaque that displays a menorah (an identifying

³ibid., p. 405, "...e dalle bande ha collocato due quadri grandi a olio, una dimostrante l'adoratione delli Rè, e l'altro la presentatione di Giesù al Tempio; e di sopra nella volta ha formato una Madonna, che va in Cielo, e Puttini, & Angeli, con amore, e diligenza in fresco lavorati."

symbol of the Temple at Jerusalem) and into a distant chamber in which an altar is perceptible. The maximum intensity of light is focused on the handing over of the nearly weightless Christ Child for the ritual purification in the middle ground. The position of the tray bearing figure beneath the high priest is not defined by a measured progression into depth but rather by the momentary effects of the reflected illumination. The tonal subtleties of light and shadow are lost when the painting is reproduced in black and white. As a result, the figures seem to appear as phantoms or as "pentimenti".

Complementing the formal means that have been coordinated to establish an equilibrium between the figures and the architectural setting - the system of illumination and the diagonal armature of the design - is the visual splendour of the assemblage. Draperies are extraordinarily copious, complex in motif and texture and therefore varied in the manner in which they are physically acted upon by light. The palette is mainly restricted to gold, grey, blue and white with accents of crimson. The centrality of the Virgin is assured by the rich, lapis lazuli coloured garment that enfolds her, as well as the still life embellishments in the foreground that have been arranged to attract visual attention to her.

In 1630 Baglione was awarded the commission to fresco an entire chapel in San Luigi dei Francesi, adjacent to the Contarelli Chapel in which Caravaggio's controversial canvases had been placed thirty years earlier. As a result of a severe ocular problem that is mentioned in a contemporary

document,⁴ he was able to complete only two scenes, The Adoration of the Magi (fig. 155) and The Presentation of the Christ Child at the Temple (at present only partially visible due to the effects of moisture).⁵

Characteristic of Baglione's large scale altarpieces are the poetical embellishments and the richly differentiated narrative that is reflected in his pointed reference to the "molte figure"⁶ in The Adoration. He suggests depth by means of the impressive, skillfully foreshortened architecture. The figures take possession of the airy space in front of it through their eloquent gestures and majestic garments. The rhythmic brio of line that follows the directional thrusts of gestures, the active movement of light and shade and the activation of an illusionistic space by imposing figures in complex, expansive draperies illustrate the Baroque aspects of Baglione's personal style.

Though two of the canvases (figs. 156-157) that Baglione painted in the Affidati Chapel in the hospital church of Santa Maria della Consolazione a few years later (c. 1632) are similar in subject matter to the Baglione Chapel works, they have a more lyrical character that is due

⁴See Thullier, 1981, p. 674. On 5 June 1630 it was decided that another painter should be contracted as "D. equitem Ballionum ob deficientia [m] huius oculor [um] esse incapacem operis p[raesentis]...." The Cavalier d'Arpino and Domenichino, presiding as judges in the selection, chose Charles Mellin over Lanfranco and Poussin.

⁵ibid., p. 404, "Dentro la Chiesa di s. Luigi de'Francesi a man sinistra nella quarta Cappella dipinse su'l lato manco l'Adoratione de'Magi con molte figure, e per di sopra la Presentatione del fanciullo Giesù al Tempio, opere a fresco."

⁶ibid., p. 404.

to his desire for a harmonious balance in keeping with the more intimate dimensions of the small chapel.⁷ In all three compositions the figures are painted with a diminishing degree of detail in accordance with their projected distance from the plane. By painting the optical equivalence of three dimensional forms, whether fully modeled by light or partially obscured by shadow, Baglione defines space illusionistically. This treatment explains the contrast between the solidly modeled king at front right in The Adoration and the shadowy figure of Joseph at the rear. A full appreciation of the marvelous treatment of draperies and the very loose application of paint is hampered by the oxidation, buckling of the canvases and the grime. Fortunately, proof of Baglione's undiminished powers can still be seen in a few passages such as the sculpturesque gold robe and soft ermine collar worn by Melchior.

A much quieter, devotional painting from this late period of Baglione's activity is St. Sebastian Cured By St. Irene (fig. 163) from 1632. The titular cardinal of Santi Quattro Coronati, Cardinal Gerolamo Vidone, who was a figure of great prestige in the Barberini court, had an altar built in the church and a silver reliquary placed upon it to honour the head of St. Sebastian that had been discovered during excavations undertaken by his predecessor, Cardinal Millini.⁸

⁷ibid., p. 404, "E nella Chiesa della Consolazione presso la Sagrestia vedesi una Cappella di suo con tre quadri, cioè a dire su l'altare l'Adoratione delli Rè con figure; da una banda la Natività di Christo con li Pastori; e dall'altra la Presentatione del Verbo humanato al Tempio a olio; e di sopra in fresco diverse storie della sempre Vergine Madre, & in uno delli pilastri s. Paolo primo Romito, e nell'altro s. Antonio Abbate."

⁸ibid., p. 404, "Et in ss. Quattro al Cardinal Vidone nel primo

The diagonal disposition of the saint against a dark background and the overall handling of light recall the depictions of male saints from the mid-1620's, especially the St. John the Baptist in Athens (fig. 137). The increased scale of the figures in comparison to the size of the canvas and the beautiful still life details give the later work a greater immediacy of impact. St. Irene's imposing form is built up by layers of richly articulated folds that set off the statuary contours of St. Sebastian's body, the physical weight of which is conveyed by dense shadows that define the integrity and the warm, soft modeling of the surfaces. The sharp directional movement of the arms away from the plane that is repeated by the movement of the complex, cascading, white drapery and the absolutely tentative manner in which the saint rests on the obscured support make him appear to emerge from the canvas. By manipulating light charged and shadow laden colour to impart an illusion of materiality to garments and still life objects, the beautiful types are given a nearness of optical presence. At the same time, the pictorial refinements and emotional restraint denote their real existence in an elevated spiritual dimension to which the spectator is drawn.

It may be surmised that increased age and perhaps continuing problems with his vision inhibited Baglione's productivity as a painter during the rest of the decade. With the exception of the allegorical paintings that

altare a mano stanca colori a olio il s. Sebastiano con figure." See Appendix I, 88.

he gave to the poet, Ottavio Tronsarelli,⁹ the record of his activity in the autobiography comes to a near stand still between 1632 and 1640 when he signed the contract for the Pecci Chapel in Santa Maria dell'Orto. Paintings from this late period that were omitted from the autobiography, The Dream of St. Joseph (fig. 164) in the collection of the Pontificia Accademia dei Virtuosi al Pantheon and The Assumption in the Palazzo Orsini in Castel Madama (c. 1638) (fig. 166), show that the fluid touch remains. However, an increase of the stiffening and lengthening of forms that had begun to appear about 1630 (see fig. 158) has brought a reduction in naturalism. Not surprisingly, the loss of power is paralleled in drawings, such as a study for the Madonna in Glory (fig. 364) datable to about 1638 and in the trembling, somewhat clumsy pen line seen in studies (figs. 265-267) for the Madonna and Child with Saints Ambrose, Bernard and Charles Borromeo (1641) (fig. 167) in Santa Maria dell'Orto.¹⁰

The "ralentissement" of his activity as a painter may also be explained by his absorption in the compilation of Le Nove Chiese... (1639) and Le Vite... (1642). He retained a forceful presence in the Academy

⁹ibid., p. 405, "Il Cavalier Baglione ha fatte molte pitture per diversi Principi, e Persone private, & ultimamente ha donato al Signor'Ottavio Tronsarelli Romano due quadri, uno, dove'è la Pittura, che si consiglia con la Sorella Poesia; e l Musica, che è l'altra Sorella, canta le lodi di amendue; E l'altro ha un Ercole, che dalla Voluttà è alletato, & egli vuol'andare al Tempio dell'Eternità, opere da tutti per l'invenzione, per la dispositione, e per il colorito molto stimate."

¹⁰ibid., p. 405, "Ultimamente nella Madonna dell'Horto, ove primieramente acquistò credito, ha scoperto la terza Cappella a mano stanca, ove nel mezo sù l'altare la B. Vergine co'l figliuolo Giesù in braccio, che guarda un libro, che dal lato diritto s. Ambrogio gli mostra, e dal manco stavvi s. Carlo Borromeo, e da basso s. Bernardino da Siena in ginocchione con diversi puttini."

during this period, serving as Primo Rettore in 1631 and again as Principe in 1639. Documents attest to his important role in initiating the project to rebuild the Academy church that was undertaken by Pietro da Cortona in 1634.¹¹ An artist-connoisseur, he no doubt continued to augment the collection of well over two hundred paintings in his "palazzo" on the Via Rasella, a stone's throw from the Palazzo Barberini, that were passed on to his son and heir, Gio. Tomaso Baglione.¹²

An "avviso" from 2 January 1644 announced the death "in età decrepita" of "il Cavaliere Baglione celebre Pittore".¹³ Baglione, had died on 30 December 1643 in his home on the Via dei Condotti, comforted by the Last Rites.¹⁴ He was buried in the family chapel in Santi Cosma e Damiano "e per le sue qualità fu compianto da'tutti gli accademici, virtuosi, e dilettanti".¹⁵

¹¹See Noehles, 1970, p. 162 and pp. 334-41.

¹²The only mention of his collection appears in the biography of Fabrizio Parmigiano (1642, pp. 91-92), "Et io mi ritrovo in casa mia tre pezzi de'suoi quadri di buona altezza, e tra quelli particolarmente ve n'è uno d'una boscaglia, che migliore non si può vedere entrovi alcuni alberi sì ben frappati, che in quelle foglie si vede l'istesso vento errare, e scuoterie." Baglione also kept a number of paintings in his vigna near San Giovanni in Fonte. See Appendix IV, 22.

¹³Rossi, 1938, p. 247.

¹⁴His death on 30 December 1643 was noted by in Il Diario Romano..., p. 240, "Fra tanto cominciarono a morire diverse persone nobile... Duca Sannesio, il Marchese Fachinetti..., il Cavalier Baglione, et molti altri." The Act of Death published by Bon (Appendix IV, 30) lists his age as "77 in c.a...."

¹⁵Pio, 1977, p. 78.

Chapter 6

Baglione as Draughtsman

The importance Baglione attached to "la virtù del disegno"¹ is evident time and time again in the Lives, whether it be encapsulated as the proper education of an artist or more freely expressed in praise of such excellent draughtsman as Pirro Ligorio, Federico Zuccherò, Santo di Tito, Annibale Carracci, Cherubino Alberti, Giuseppe and Bernardo Cesari, Paolo Guidotti, Ottavio Leoni, Gaspare Celio and Domenichino.² Intriguing reference is made to the proprietors of drawing collections with which Baglione was familiar - Ignazio Dante, Tomaso del Cavaliero, Giacomo Rocca, Francesco Angeloni and the Borghese.³ The "gran spirito e vivacità"⁴ that he admired in drawings were the fruit of long observation and attention to the rules of drawing which

perfettionano l'animo, e l'intelletto; poichè quello, che domina nelle arti è l'uso, e l'esperienza: nè vi è disciplina, che con insegnamento, e con essercitio non si apprenda: per via delle regole s'impara a sfuggire providamente ciò, che sinistramente succederebbe, e la maestria delle leggi è lume a trovare la vera strada del sapere, e giungere alla meta, come della virtù, così della gloria.⁵

¹This phrase appears in the biography of Giovanni Valesio (Baglione, 1642, p. 354).

²ibid., pp. 9, 125, 65, 108, 131, 374, 147, 303, 321, 377, 381.

³ibid., pp. 57, 147, 55, 108, 321.

⁴The drawings of Paolo Guidotti (ibid., p. 303) are appreciated for these qualities.

⁵ibid., p. 313.

Baglione's gifts as a draughtsman were recognized quite early in the seventeenth-century in the commendation of his "modo eccellente di disegnare" that appeared in Van Mander's Schilderboek in 1604.⁶ The theft by his page of "molti disegni" in 1616 is an oblique indication of the value accorded to them by contemporaries.⁷

Though he is well represented in major museums and private collections in Europe and North America, an accurate, contemporary assessment of his draughtsmanship has never been undertaken.⁸ Of the more than two hundred drawings that can at present be assigned with certainty to him, nearly a hundred can be precisely referred to pictorial works that are securely dated. The careful examination of these drawings, which fortunately span the length of his career, that is, from about 1589 to 1640, provides a solid basis from which to assess his graphic oeuvre. This authenticated group can also serve as a kind of "porte-manteau" upon which to hang drawings which are stylistically similar to them. Through a selective discussion of drawings which are representative of various aspects of Baglione's draughtsmanship, it is possible to evaluate the origin and formation of his graphic style, the development and purposes of

⁶See Vaes, 1931, p. 204.

⁷For the details, published by Bertolotti (1885, pp. 147-48), see Appendix IV, 19.

⁸The only attempt to study a group of Baglione's drawings is the section of the catalogue devoted to him by Gere and Pouncey, 1983, pp. 34-38. See also Vitzthum, 1964, p. 180; Roli, 1969, pp. 90-91; Pepper, 1970, pp. 267-69; Gere, 1971, p. 121; Schleier, 1971, pp. 10-16; Turner, 1982, p. 141; I grandi Disegni Italiani..., 1987, n. 40; Rodinò, 1989-1990, pp. 176-182. Unless pertinent to the discussion in this chapter, bibliographical citations appear in the Inventory II.

his drawings and the techniques and materials used in the preparation of them. The drawings discussed in this chapter represent almost every phase in his creative process from the most cursive "primo pensiero" to the finished "modello", with the exclusion of the designs for facades, ceilings and ornamentation that are impossible to bring together as a group at this point in time.

From an overall point of view, it is clear that drawing was fundamentally a function of Baglione's activity as a painter over fifty years and as such follows the very distinctive evolution of his personal style. The majority of drawings are creative "mise en scene", usually in the traditional pen and brown ink, with the application of wash for shadow and white heightening for relief. A second, smaller group consists of fully executed sketches for individual figures in red or black chalk or a combination of the two. Spontaneous drawings rarely appear, but when they do, as in the quickly captured portrait at the bottom of a drawing in Chantilly (fig. 192), the sketch of a man's fist that reflects a moment's distraction on a sheet in Düsseldorf (fig. 225) or the sensitive study of a young woman's hand in Naples (fig. 292), they have a lively immediacy.

The constant search for the most perfect compositional solution is visible in the always noticeable revisions between the drawings (even when they have been squared for transfer) and the paintings. As was the practice with Cigoli, to whom his pen and ink drawings have sometimes been mistakenly attributed, Baglione worked out the general conception of the design and the positions of individual figures within it with a fluent graphic style, making rapid corrections and cancellations directly on the sheet (most often to correct the placement of legs, arms and heads)

without concern for the effect on its beauty (figs. 205, 228, 307). Faces are often caricatured; hands are sometimes claw-like; fingers may be spindly. As a result of his fascination with the articulation of complex draperies, Baglione often faced difficulty throughout his career in working out the perspectival relationship of the extremities which protruded from them (fig. 246, 261). Although the weaknesses in foreshortening seen in a sheet that may represent a study of the "Young Orpheus" (fig. 269) can partly be attributed to the early dating, their recurrence makes it impossible to ignore the fact that Baglione's forte as a draughtsman was not a fully authoritative handling of the anatomy. Although he made studies after the model, his habit of visualizing the contours of the body as pure form signals an intellectualizing attitude that will significantly inform his approach. This simplified geometric approach surfaces most often, but not exclusively, in drawings prior to 1600, such as the "Coronation of a Female Saint" (fig. 287) from a private collection and the study for "The Ascension of Christ" (fig. 298) in Philadelphia. One recurrent idiosyncrasy of his graphic style is the nearly straight line that defines the front of the leg (fig. 208). The squared extremities and angular chins bring to mind drawings by Raffaelino da Reggio, for whom Baglione expressed great admiration in the Lives.⁹ A comparison may also be suggested with Luca Cambiaso, who schematically approximated the anatomy, albeit in much more exaggerated fashion. Oddly enough, other studies of this type, such as the drawing for the Santa Maria dell'Orto fresco of The Dormition of the Virgin (fig. 185) in Würzburg, have an affinity with Poussin "avant la lettre".

⁹Baglione, 1642, pp. 25-27.

Since Baglione was not heir to the strong local traditions that many of his peers brought to Rome, his early style is not homogenous, but reflects a variety of influences, some of which are not as yet fully defined.¹⁰ It is probable that Morelli taught him a graphic manner that relies on linear rhythms to establish the preliminary outlines of a composition, as seen in an early, discarded sketch (fig. 170) for a fresco at Oriolo Romano. A black chalk academic study in Christ Church College (fig. 275) reveals an attachment to the ornamental values of the Maniera, seen in the rhythmic musculation of the contour, as well as a Florentine firmness of form. In another youthful drawing in Naples (fig. 276) the typically Tuscan combination of red chalk and white heightening imparts a warm sense of optical presence. A certain inspiration from Andrea del Sarto may be detected in a drawing (fig. 285) from the end of the century that suggests study of The Madonna of the Harpies. Salviati's frescoes in the Palazzo Ricci-Sacchetti are the likely inspiration for the grandiose figures enframed by fluttering draperies seen in a few drawings (figs. 278, 279) that are datable stylistically to the first part of the 1590's.¹¹ The vaporous, Beccafumesque physiognomy of St. Paul in the

¹⁰For example, Nicholas Turner has observed (oral communication) that Baglione's drapery style bears some similarity to the graphic work of the Genoese artist, Enea Talpino (Il Salmeggio) (c. 1565/70-1626) (Thieme-Becker, XXXII, p. 419) who had made a serious study of Raphael's works in Rome. For Talpino see also Disegni Lombardi..., 1972 and Byam Shaw, 1976, pp. 299-302. A marked geometricizing effect is also present in the late chalk drawings of the Florentine, Andrea Boscoli (1550-1606) (Thieme-Becker, IV, p. 393).

¹¹Baglione (1642, p. 32) admired the "grandissimo rilievo, e forza" of Matteo da Lecce's prophet in the Oratorio del Gonfalone which he thought to be in imitation of the "terribil maniera del Salviati".

drawing of "St. Paul at Lystra" in the Louvre (fig. 282) (c. 1590) and the seated figure, an evocation of Michelangelo's "ignudi", further illustrate the eclectic nature of Baglione's early graphic production and the range of his interest in Cinquecento masters.

Baglione's reflection on Correggio, "huomo raro, & esquisito maestro",¹² whom he more than likely studied at first hand during a sojourn in Parma, is seen in the attempt to approximate a fluid line and mobile light in the Louvre "Nativity of Christ" (fig. 274) and the British Museum sheet showing "Two Groups of Saints on Clouds" (fig. 272). The patches of wash and hatching fall short of following the movement and enforcing the substance of the figures, thus assuring the early dating. A rapid sketch after The Madonna del Latte (fig. 271) (c. 1587),¹³ which was in the collection of Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini in Rome, further demonstrates his interest in trying to capture Correggio's "dolcezza" of sentiment but the pen handling remains two-dimensional.

Although he attempted to learn from artists who had endowed their figures with solidity and/or sensuousness of form, Baglione was not yet capable of abandoning the fairly taut and tentative pen line that is visible in the study for a fresco painted in the Vatican Library in 1589 (fig. 173) and in the drawing of "The Madonna and Child with Three Figures in Adoration" (fig. 284) in Lyon. The first indication of a noticeable

¹²ibid., p. 106.

¹³Correggio's painting was listed in the inventory of paintings published by d'Onofrio, 1964, p. 20, n. 51.

gain in handling is seen in the drawing for The Birth of St. Francis in the Lateran Palace (fig. 171) (1589) in which he emulates the luministic naturalism and broad, plastic forms of The Fire in the Borgo that had only been very weakly grasped in a pen and ink drawing in Prague from about 1585 (fig. 268). This debt has been diminished in the fresco (except for the water bearer) by the more stylish Baroccesque veneer that has been superimposed upon it. However, the continued study of Raphael that is reflected in a number of his drawings was a key factor in the artistic maturation that took place between 1595 and 1600 and constitutes one of the principal components of his graphic style. The Mass of Bolsena is the clear point of reference in the Munich drawing for The Mass of St. Peter (fig. 174) frescoed in a lunette of the Cappella di San Pietro in Santa Pudenziana in 1595 (fig. 36). Guided by Raphael's example in the Vatican Stanze and Loggie, Baglione aimed to coordinate parts in an effort to obtain a more cohesive and monumental narrative design. To this end, he replaced the inert, marginal figure at right in the first drawing for The Birth of the Virgin (fig. 178) with the full bodied maid servant who occupies a position in the second drawing (fig. 179) opposite to her final placement in the fresco (fig. 48). She assumes a thematic function in the narrative, replacing such formal predecessors as the figure at right in the "St. Paul at Lystra" drawing (fig. 282) (c. 1590).

After Raphael, the Cavalier d'Arpino was of the greatest consequence for Baglione's graphic development. The reference made in the Lives to the numerous engravings made after d'Arpino's drawings in the seventeenth-century is an indication of their great appeal to his

contemporaries.¹⁴ Though d'Arpino had been a Mannerist in his youth, he had made great strides in reforming his style through study of Michelangelo, Correggio, Raffaellino da Reggio and Barocci, all of whom were highly regarded by Baglione.¹⁵ The extent to which Baglione's style grew out of d'Arpino's can be quite pointedly seen in comparing the drawing for The Resurrection of Lazarus (fig. 388) (c.1588/91)¹⁶ to Baglione's study for The Bibliotheca Babylonica (c. 1589) (fig. 172). The henchman in the Uffizi "Decollation of St. John the Baptist" (fig. 278) (c. 1590) is another early sign of d'Arpino's influence and the domed foreheads (a characteristic Baglione often included) and tall, angular apostles at left in the drawing for The Washing of the Feet (1599) in the Louvre (fig. 189) also show a close kinship with his style during this period. Sketches for unknown frescoes from the life of St. Anthony Abbot (c. 1598) (fig. 299) bear clear reference to d'Arpino's St. John the Evangelist Led to the Tomb (1597/98), a work Baglione regarded as an "assai buon quadro."¹⁷ The reversed positions do not obscure the marked affinity between the group at left in d'Arpino's study for The Coronation

¹⁴Baglione, 1642, pp. 374, 392.

¹⁵In Röttgen's catalogue of d'Arpino's work there is regrettably no attempt made to investigate Baglione's notice (1642, p. 66) regarding Danielle da Volterra's gift to Rocca of "bellissimi disegni non solo de'suoi, ma anche di quelli di Michelagnolo Buonarotti, li quale egli a tutti per meraviglia mostrava. E dalla vista di questi grand'utile apprese, e molto gusto il Cavalier Giosepepe Cesari da Arpino, quando era giovane...."

¹⁶d'Arpino's drawing is illustrated by Röttgen, 1973, fig. 77.

¹⁷Baglione, 1642, p. 372. The painting is reproduced by Röttgen, 1973, fig. 22.

of the Virgin in Sant' Atanasio dei Greci¹⁸ and the figures at right in Baglione's sketch for "The Assumption" (fig. 296) in a drawing at Chatsworth that dates from the latter years of the sixteenth century. The angular elaboration of draperies, that d'Arpino may himself have deduced from Barocci or del Sarto, is well displayed in the red and black chalk drawings he made for the Contarelli Chapel frescoes.¹⁹ However, the intersection of internal drapery lines in Baglione's drawings, particularly evident in the superfluous material at the hem, produces a more marked geometricizing effect than is seen in d'Arpino's chalk or pen studies.

d'Arpino's airy, insubstantial technique of working in chalk, the medium he favoured, was the greatest legacy handed on to Baglione. A number of drawings from the final decade of the century bear witness to his exploration of the tonal potential of black chalk. From the rather timidly drawn angels that figure among his earliest drawings in this medium (figs. 288-289) (c. 1590), he advanced rather quickly to the subtle and highly polished effects evident in the drapery study (fig. 210) for the figure of Cardinal Sfondrato for the painting (c. 1600) (fig. 64) in the Gesù.

As he developed his considerable skills as a chalk draughtsman, Baglione was able to convey a sense of plastic form and of the material aspects of garments by studying the naturalistic fall of light and

¹⁸Illustrated by Faldi, 1953, p. 49, fig. 7.

¹⁹See Röttgen, 1973, figs. 83-87.

shadow. His advocacy of life drawing surfaces frequently in the Lives but never so clearly as when he states, "Il disegno apre la mente a conoscere le vere proporzioni delle cose, non solo dell'arte, ma anche della natura."²⁰ The studies made after the model during the latter years of the sixteenth-century were an essential contributing factor in the advances in pictorial power which he had made by 1600. By allying the Florentine technique of red and black chalk to a delicate d'Arpinesque handling, he was able to impart a sense of fresh naturalism in the Frits Lugt Collection drawing of two girls (fig. 290). The d'Arpinesque technique used to sketch an unidentified woman captured "sur le vif" in a drawing in the British Museum (fig. 294) and the acolyte studied in red chalk (fig. 199) for the Lateran fresco of 1600, does not obscure a certain parallel with the penchant of northern artists for unidealized observations of life. This quality, which is also seen in the study of a Roman arch (fig. 180) (1598) in the British Museum, may have been stimulated by exposure to the works of Northern engravers, particularly those mentioned in the last section of the Lives.²¹ Though they are studied with a notable objectivity, the facial features are not portrait studies and rarely are so in Baglione's graphic oeuvre. Echoing through his drawings is the face tilted to heaven that is a variation of St.

²⁰Baglione, 1642, p. 367.

²¹Baglione explains (ibid., p. 387) that he has included the engravers "poichè con le loro carte fanno perpetue l'opere de'più famosi maestri: e benchè le fatiche loro al cospetto del publico non sempre sieno stabili, e si mirino, pure non si può negare, che li lor fogli non nobilitino, & arricchiscano le Città del Mondo." For example, Goltzius "imitò la vera maniera de gli eccellenti Pittori d'Italia, e d'altri, come di Raffaello da Urbino, di Titiano, del Correggio, di Andrea del Sarto, del Baroccio, di Alberto Duro, e d'altri, le quali gli furono assai lodate."

Cecilia in Raphael's famous painting. The schematic manner in which he visualized the rounded, rather puerile face, pinched mouth, somewhat oriental eyes and loosely framing hair, thereby constituting the physiognomic type used in most of the single figure chalk drawings, irrespective of age or gender, is well seen in a drawing in Naples from 1598 (fig. 177). His naturalism, which was selective from the start, will be focused almost exclusively on the careful elaboration of draperies, the volumetric definition of figures and the effort to simulate the "morbidezza" of flesh.

In the very rare sheets which reveal an effort to convey a portrait-like individuality, such as the Louvre study (fig. 218) for St. Peter Weeping (fig. 83) (c. 1606) and the Capodimonte head (fig. 219) that in reversed form is nearly identical to the presentation of St. Paul in a painting from 1607 (fig. 82), the vitality of presence does a great deal to explain Baglione's enthusiasm for Ottavio Leoni's portrait drawings and Mancini's praise for Baglione's skill at portraiture.²²

Brown wash is the principal means to achieve relief, often supplementing the pen to suggest the edges. Already very early, in drawings such as the "Decollation of St. John the Baptist" (fig. 278) and the study for The Bibliotheca Romanorum (fig. 173), Baglione demonstrates a skillful application of wash to obtain the effect of a light/shadow modeling. In a little more than a decade he advances to the accentuated contours and relief giving wash modeling seen in the studies for the Gesù Resurrection (figs. 212-213).

²²See infra p. 63.

A notable interest in broad, plastic forms is already displayed in drawings for the Santa Maria dell'Orto frescoes (1598). Although the structure of the figures is summarily rendered in the Ottawa sketch for The Presentation of the Virgin (fig. 181)(1598), the rapid, open and vigorous line imparts a sense of the movement of figures who are given volumetric form through the freely applied, tonally modulated wash. To the Raphaelesque equilibrium and elegance of a drawing in Chantilly (fig. 184) for the same work, Baglione has brought a more dramatic manipulation in value by using grey and brown wash, a combination he frequently favoured for the varied tonal effects that could be attained. In contrast, the bright areas of white paper, untouched by the wash, are effectively used to simulate the action of a strong light on the key figures in the narrative, a handling which to us may suggest certain drawings by Tiepolo.²³ In rather striking contrast to this pictorial approach, Baglione experiments with the harsh parallel and cross hatching in ink to emphasise the effect of the chiaroscuro in a drawing in Oxford (fig. 183) for the same fresco, at one time attributed to Raphael.²⁴ The rarity of this type of drawing in his oeuvre serves to highlight the pictorial style of draughtsmanship that he cultivated.

²³As compared, for example, to the drawing of "A Bishop and Two Priests with an Acolyte", reproduced in Old Master Drawings..., 1986, n. 41.

²⁴Byam Shaw (1976, p. 164, n. 585, plate 321) notes that, "The 'librarian's' ascription to Raphael no doubt repeats Ridolfi's, which is lost; his note 'preziosis[s]imo' suggests that he thought it was by a very important hand."

The narrative structure, transparent surfaces and childlike, rather vacuous physiognomies seen in the preliminary drawing for the Santa Prisca altarpiece (1600) (fig. 190) (the commission was awarded to Passignano)²⁵ indicate Federico Zuccaro's importance as a mentor. As earlier noted, the "modello" (fig. 191) that Baglione had submitted for the competition bears comparison with Zuccari's altarpiece, Christ Raising the Son of the Widow Nain, painted for the Duomo in Orvieto in 1568.²⁶ Like Zuccari, Baglione emphasises the central figure by raising him to the middle ground, where he separates the dense, flanking crowd that is overshadowed by an imposing architectural backdrop. However, the effort he makes to unify the figures in the lofty church interior by coordinating the three implied sources of light to convey naturalistic effects is not a dominant interest in Zuccari's paintings or drawings.²⁷ In contrast, Baglione has taken great care to develop the volume of the principle figures by means of light parallel hatching, accentuating the contours in ink and adding countless thin lines of white heightening to lift the parts shadowed in wash. Garments fall in the column-like folds which he would abandoned by 1606 when the stiff, but broken movement of garments, akin to those on St. Prisca, will prevail for about a decade. These characteristics are analogously seen in a drawing in the Teylers Museum (fig. 193) which very likely represents a study for of St. Peter in the

²⁵See Nissman, 1979, pp. 284-87.

²⁶See Gere, 1969, pp. 56-57, no. 67, plates 160, 161.

²⁷The fundamental study of the Zuccari by Gere (1966) has been supplemented by Mundy [et al], 1989.

House of Aquila and Prisca for a fresco in the crypt of the Aventine church.²⁸

From the schematic rendering of the Besançon drawing (fig. 196) for The Emperor Constantine Invests the Lateran With Treasure (fig. 56)(1600), Baglione works up to the more unitary conception of the Oxford sheet (fig. 198) (1600). One fairly consistent aspect of his draughtsmanship, which appears in both of these drawings, is the practice of making faint preliminary indications in red or black chalk to register the general outlines of the composition or the depth of the recessed planes. The barrel vault that was projected at this stage is as explicit a reference to Raphael's School of Athens as is the quotation of the Apollo from that work at the right side of the Besançon sheet. It is in the ease of movement and sculptural weight suggested by the successfully foreshortened soldier in the Albertina drawing (fig. 200)(1600) that Baglione's interests overlap with Annibale Carracci's drawings for the Farnese Gallery frescoes. However, he works in a rapid and rough fashion that is quite distinct from Annibale's more incisive graphic style.

Some of the major influences to which Baglione was attracted in the first decade of the seventeenth-century are present in a number of drawings on the theme of the Holy Family's journey to and return from Egypt. A study in the Accademia Carrara (fig. 209) and another in the Chicago Art Institute (fig. 300) are thematically related to drawings on

²⁸Since the crypt remains inaccessible, it has not been possible to make a final determination as to Baglione's role in the decoration. For the arguments, see Meijer and van Tuyll, 1983, p. 180, n. 79.

the recto and verso of a sheet (figs. 206-207) in the Metropolitan Museum. The verso shows Joseph with the Virgin and Child on the donkey (also seen in the Chicago sheet) juxtaposed with a sketch of the angel advising Joseph. He is drawn in the same fashion as the figure studied on the recto and appears in similar stance and garments in a pen and ink study in the Teylers Museum (fig. 205). The oval heads and somewhat oriental features of the angels at left bear comparison to the two foremost figures in a small pen and ink study in the Ashmolean Museum (fig. 295).²⁹ The elegant carriage, cameo-like profile and stiffly drawn draperies of the Virgin in the Teylers Museum drawing show study of Raphael and in particular of The Presentation at the Temple in Perugia or the drawing for it.³⁰ In the Chicago sheet, Baglione emulates the intimate charm of Correggio, a Baroccesque picturesqueness of detail and the faceted garments of d'Arpino. Replacing the delicate line that defines the Virgin and Child in the Metropolitan sheet is the soft, evenly applied wash that completes the undefined contours in the Chicago drawing. This handling does not prepare us for the emphatic light/dark handling of St. Joseph in the Accademia Carrara sheet that establishes the general conception of the painting now in Santi Apostoli (c. 1600) illustrating The Return of the Holy Family from Egypt (fig. 63). This early evidence of the impact of Caravaggio on Baglione's graphic style is also seen in the study of "St. Peter Preaching" in the Witt Collection

²⁹The similarity in matting paper, date of script and serial number among a number of drawings by Baglione in Great Britain has induced Macandrew (1980, n. 785, pp. 92-93) to propose that they may have constituted a collection in his possession that was posthumously dispersed.

³⁰The drawing is illustrated by Whistler, 1990, fig. 4.

(fig. 312). It is very interesting to see how Baglione has visualized a Raphaelesque Virgin under an accentuated chiaroscuro wash in a discarded study for the Santi Apostoli painting (fig. 208) that was preserved in an album put together by the nineteenth-century painter and engraver, Giovanni Piancastelli. More revealing, in terms of his aims and ambitions, is his decision to abandon the heavy, disfiguring shadows in the drawing in order to depict the Virgin under more even lighting and to give greater luminosity to the angel's face and garments.

The next group of datable sheets are related to the paintings Baglione made for Cardinal Sfondrato in the early years of the seventeenth century when he is thought to have been under the maximum influence of Caravaggio. It should be borne in mind that Baglione had begun to show an interest in descriptive draughtsmanship prior to Caravaggio's arrival in Rome, as can be observed, for example, in the drawing of "St. Paul Preaching at Lystra" (fig. 282) (c. 1590) where the figure at centre has been deliberately coarsened by means of the heavy wash.

Drawings (figs. 202-204) for the intentionally archaic crypt paintings (1600) (figs. 60-62) illustrate the Raphaelesque elegance, angular drapery style and some of the mannerisms in draughtsmanship of Baglione's early style but also display the vigorous, flowing penmanship of the Lateran drawings. With a fluidly moving line he imparts volume to the figures on the recto of the first sheet (fig. 201) and attempts to expand their corporeal substance by means of the contrary, space displacing positions they essay. In the small landscape on the verso (fig. 202), the impression of a panorama is created through the contrast in graphic handling and scale between the curvacious vitality of the foliage in the first plane and the nearly geometrical severity of the distant landscape.

Despite the tedium that could have resulted from the symmetrical disposition of figures in the Düsseldorf study (fig. 204) for the painting of Saints Cecilia, Valerian, Tiburtius, Maximus, Urban and Lucius (fig. 62), the figures command visual interest due to their size in relation to the sheet and the very purposeful use of grey wash to develop the volume of the large, stiff drapery folds. The effects of the forceful illumination (with its implied sources above and to the left) have been skillfully manipulated by varying the value of the wash. Making use of the white tone of the paper to register the intensity of the light on the chasubles, Baglione achieves a notable sculptural effect.

Drapery is also a dominant interest in the study of St. Paul (fig. 200) for the painting of Saint Peter and Saint Paul (fig. 58) in Santa Cecilia in Trastevere. The selection of the coloured background, which was intended to bring out the chiaroscuro, permitted him to build the folds through an attentive and diligent modeling, altering the intensity of the wash and adding numerous, thin, parallel strokes of heightening. Whereas the drapery style gives the figure great bulk, the idealized physiognomy and the pose deprive him of physical verisimilitude.

Almost simultaneously Baglione demonstrates the sophisticated red chalk technique that is seen in the splendid drawing at Chatsworth (fig. 210) that served as a drapery study for the figure of Cardinal Sfondrato in the painting now in the Gesù (fig. 64) (c. 1600). In an attempt to describe the naturalistic play of light on the garments, Baglione again worked on coloured paper which serves as a middle ground between the shadows in the pleats and the white heightening. The effects of the

modeling in the painting give the figure great relief and the soft, meticulous hatching and smudging impart a high degree of optical truth to the textures of the garments. The disciplined hand at work here is a more advanced step in the graphic process than the more rapid, highly charged framework for the "mise en scene". In the drawing of "St. Peter Preaching" (fig. 312) (c. 1600), Baglione tries to ally chiaroscuro, evident in the quite emphatic contrast between the large areas of white against the densely applied wash, to a complex, richly differentiated narrative. On canvas the effect would have been similar to the equivocation between selective surface naturalism and compositional abstraction seen in the paintings for the crypt of Santa Cecilia.

Rather paradoxically, the importance of these drawings resides in the subjection of Caravaggio's tenebrism to the corrective process of draughtsmanship, an exercise which illustrates the enormous chasm between the aims of the two artists. Though Baglione was clearly fascinated by Caravaggio's method of staging and by the great beauty of his shadow laden, unbroken colours, the abstract design that marks out the figures in the Uffizi study (fig. 211) for Profane Love Subdued by Divine Love (figs. 68-69) and the effect of soft pictorialism obtained with red and grey wash are antithetical to the "alla prima" method that Caravaggio employed. In preliminary studies for The Resurrection (1601-02) (figs. 212-213), Baglione emulates the effect that Caravaggio had tried to achieve in the Cerasi Chapel paintings by expressively applying wash to obtain a tenebristic lighting on a few monumental figures in a shallow space. Realizing that this handling would have been incompatible with the restricted number and scale of the figures in the large painting (7.7 x 4.5 meters), he combined chiaroscuro and "controluce" effects in the oil

sketch (fig. 214) in the Louvre. This allowed him to mediate the extremes between light and dark by creating an atmospheric space in which natural and supernatural are unified.

Distinguishing him further from Caravaggio are the classicizing ideals that determine the attitude of the figures in the narrative, as the Naples drawing of St. Peter (fig. 216) for The Raising of Tabitha (fig. 76) (1604-06) well illustrates. The pose, inspired by that of Aristotle in The School of Athens, is the girding for the voluminous, light absorbing garments that are used as an expressive means to aggrandize the dignified, eloquently posed figure.

Adhering to constructive principles that he had learned from Federico Zuccari, Baglione continued to represent multi-figured religious histories as enacted within the kind of complex, densely packed design seen in the Louvre drawing (fig. 215) for the same work. Due to his habit of transferring motifs from other works (the figures at right have an earlier appearance in the drawings for the Santa Maria dell'Orto frescoes), the individual parts are not always organically integrated in space. The reuse of figures also demands a certain caution in assessing chronological development since one must keep in mind the initial appearance of a generic type, such as the twisting figure at right in the the Uffizi drawing of "St. Peter Preaching" (fig. 313) (c. 1600), who will have a long life in Baglione's drawings and paintings.

The group of drawings for compositions dating from 1608-10 give some indication of the many sides of Baglione's draughtsmanship. He continues to establish poses in a rapid pen and ink fashion, as seen in the study

for a kneeling magus on a sheet in Berlin (fig. 224) for The Adoration of the Magi in Spoleto (fig. 90) (1609). The linear elegance and equilibrium that characterise a study in Munich (fig. 322), that is stylistically close to the Madonna and Child with Saints Raymond and Hyacinth (fig. 84) (1608), may prompt comparisons with Guido Reni. However, these qualities appear in Baglione's drawings at the end of the sixteenth century (see figs. 191, 198) when he was most attentive to Raphael and d'Arpino, who were also of great consequence for Reni's development. Baglione's attachment to Raphael continues to surface in a drawing of the Holy Family in Budapest (fig. 320)(c. 1608) that appears to take The Canigiani Holy Family as its point of reference. However, the loose building up of forms with wash that supplements the rapid, discontinuous penmanship shows a Seicento boldness of handling.

After establishing the relationship among the figures and the elegant pose of Judith in a drawing (fig. 222) for the Borghese Gallery painting of 1608 (fig. 89) with a burst of linear energy that demonstrates his confidence in pen and ink, wash is vigourously applied to accentuate the luminous smoothness of the plastic forms. Tonal values are more constant in a drawing in the Louvre (fig. 223) for the Neapolitan Anointing of Christ's Body for Burial (fig. 88) of 1608. After preparing the sheet with a blue wash ground and setting down the outlines of the figures with a rough penwork that suggests the volume of the forms, Baglione studied the intended density and richness of colour in the pictorial realization through a tonally subtle application of brown and grey wash. The painterly draughtsmanship and increased growth in freedom and handling of technical means evident from here on in will enable him to create a synthesis between plastic forms and a rich, warm luminism in order to bring a nearness of optical presence to painted forms.

The Fitzwilliam Museum drapery study (fig. 227) of St. Philip for the painting of St. Charles Borromeo and St. Philip Neri (fig. 95) (c. 1610) in Santo Stefano del Cacco shows the effects of soft pictorialism that Baglione could achieve with his distinctive chalk style. The first step in his creative process was to establish a network of disparate angular marks of varied hardness that served as the underlying tectonic structure, as can be seen on the verso of a drawing for "Judith and Holofernes" in Haarlem (figs. 221) and a study for an angel in Naples (fig. 241), both datable to about the same time. He then proceeded to modulate the areas between the lines to create relief, moving from a light, hazy effect to the closely spaced, parallel strokes and smudged sfumato passages that convey the depth of shadow and a delicate application of white heightening that evokes the sensation of light. In this fashion, the intended sheen of St. Philip's chasuble and the softness of the surplice are accentuated by the light, sharp strokes of heightening. The soft, general tone of the blue-grey paper permitted the delicate modulation of shadows that dissolve contours and merge the figure into a shallow illusionistic environment. The ability to evoke the subtleties of an all pervading luminosity through a studied distribution of light and tone on monumental figures, already evident in the black chalk studies in the British Museum (figs. 180, 294) and at Chatsworth (fig. 210), datable to about 1600, is carried a step further in the masterful handling evident in this drawing.

The drawings dating from about 1610 to 1615 show a development of the Baroque tendencies that were already evident at the turn of the century. At the same time, features more commonly associated with classicizing as well as Mannerist modes of seeing persist. In the study in Princeton

(fig. 228) for the Cappella Paolina fresco (1611-12) representing The Assassination of the Emperor Leo the Armenian (fig. 99), the instability of the protagonists and agitated action are rendered by the rapidly sketched out, abbreviated contours and the drama heightened by the boldly handled wash. A contrasting inclination is present in the studies (figs. 233-234) for a lost fresco illustrating a miraculous episode from the life of Saint Frances of Rome painted almost simultaneously in the Cappellina di Santa Francesca Romana. Here Baglione reverts to the complex, densely packed planar design enhanced by an enclosing architectonic structure that he favoured for multi-figured compositions from 1600 until the end of his career. Though he omits the half-length figure seen in the earlier study in Berlin (fig. 233), this motif, which continues to surface in other drawings and paintings produced during his maturity (see figs. 108, 331), is not so strikingly discordant in the latter due to a construction of space that is founded on tonal contrasts rather than linear perspective.

In studies for the vault of the Cappellina (figs. 235-236), the repetition of fixed poses coincides with the effort to convey spontaneous movement through foreshortening and unstable stances. Strong washes which emphasise the animating "di sotto in su" distribution of light and shade in the first drawing distinguish it chronologically from the less painterly application of wash seen in the early study for the Santa Maria dell'Orto vault from 1598 (fig. 188).

The continued pleasure that Baglione derived from working in chalk lends a captivating delicacy and crisp, sparkling beauty to the single figure studies of this period, such as the angels for the Cappellina di Santa Francesca Romana (figs. 237-243), the sketch of St. Augustine (fig.

231) for the vault leading into the Cappella Paolina, as well as the Pierpont Morgan drawing (fig. 243) for The Assumption (1613) (fig. 106) in Poggio Mirteto. His characteristic handling is present in the familiar generic types and complex, light absorbing garments. One can reasonably assume from the fact that this chalk style already surfaces before 1600 that any similarity with the graphism of Reni and Lanfranco in the second decade³¹ represents a general shift in taste towards an elegance that has its fundamental source in Raphael and d'Arpino.

The drawing (fig. 245) for the fresco of Armida and Rinaldo (fig. 107) (1614) in Cardinal Borghese's Casino at the Villa Borghese exhibits the stylistic flexibility which could permit an overlap between a central Italian pyramidal design, a Mannerist spatial complexity and a Baroque abundance. Though the body of Rinaldo has been pulled into the plane in Mannerist fashion, the shift towards Baroque tendencies is more evident in a drawing (fig. 327) that may well represent Baglione's attempt to compete with Guido Reni for the commission to paint Aurora in the central room of the Casino.³² Dark brown paper is a well chosen ground to study the dramatic twilight effects at the break of day. Grey and red wash simulate the shadows of darkness dispelled; heavy white heightening conveys the brilliant entrance of Helios. Contrasting dark and light areas give luxuriant relief to the weighty forms and echo their movement

³¹Schleier (1971, p. 15) sees a reflection of Reni in the Pierpont Morgan drawing and compares it to those drawings made by Lanfranco from about 1615-18 in which he also perceives Reni's influence.

³²The suggestion made Dieter Graf (1973, p. 30) is supported by a stylistic dating of the drawing.

in depth. The dramatic distribution of light and interest in imbedding the figures in an illusionistic environment indicate a greater stylistic kinship with the frescoes Lanfranco painted in Sant'Agostino in 1616 than with Reni's study for the Aurora.³³

A number of characteristics of the pen and wash drawings from about 1615 are evident in a compositional study (fig. 328) illustrating the "Meeting of Two Condemned Men" in Düsseldorf: the repetition of animated types, such as the rearing female figure from the Louvre Armida and Rinaldo study and the kinesiologically drawn bending figure who holds the rope at right; a complex, crowded staging in three tiers and heavy garments with corrugated folds and angular contours. Form is defined by means of long, heavily stressed lines and a very broadly applied wash. The tendency to simplify the anatomy and to square the extremities, whether nude or fully garbed, is also present. The verso (fig. 329) is telling for the blending of forms in a dynamic, unified movement and the very painterly use of wash that surely inspired the attribution to Lanfranco visible at right.

The sketch by Palma Giovane that Baglione owned (fig. 325) is a coda to the appreciation of Venetian art that frequently surfaces in the Lives. During the next decade, the exposure to Venetian art in Mantua and quite possibly in Venice itself, stimulated Baglione to develop a remarkably free pictorial style in his drawings that is reflected in the loose, fluid handling and chromatic richness of the related canvases. The

³³ Illustrated in Guido Reni 1575 - 1642, 1988, p. 65, fig. 18.

sensitive lightness of touch seen in a Woman Walking to the Right (fig. 258) in Washington finds a pictorial equivalent in the fluid brushwork in The Birth of the Virgin (fig. 136) from 1623. The long, cylindrically shaped, light absorbing folds are a favourite motif in this period. In a drawing for the figure of St. Anne at the anterior of the painting (fig. 258), the broken and varied contours of the drapery give great visual pleasure and the movement of light in the hollows and protruberances is masterfully recorded by the black chalk and heightening. The great care invested in the drawing is all the more surprising given the rather incidental position of the figure in the painting. The same holds true for the carefully finished study of an Apostle in the Rijksmuseum (fig. 362) who is partially obscured by the standing figure in the foreground of the "bozzetto" for The Washing of the Feet (fig. 153) (1628).

Certain technical aspects of the drawings suggest the impact of Venetian models. An effort to learn from Titian would seem to explain the red chalk preparation of the ground for a study of "Judith and Holofernes" in Düsseldorf (fig. 342). Contours are smudged and the figure is drawn with a delicate and meticulous use of black chalk and white heightening that imparts a notable warmth and softness without sacrificing the integrity. Though he had earlier made use of black chalk on grey or blue paper, the sketchier handling in a number of drawings from this period makes it not implausible to suggest that Baglione had the opportunity to study drawings by Jacopo Bassano, an artist he is known to have admired.³⁴

³⁴Baglione, 1642, p. 64, "Jacopo Bassano, famosissimo

One of the most important inventions of the 1620's is the disposition of figures against a dark background, curtain or garment which serves as a foil to focus maximum attention on the luminous plasticity of the body while making the contours conspicuous. This device and the broad, very pictorial application of wash serve to simulate the warmth of flesh in two studies (figs. 254-255) for Joseph and the Wife of Potiphar (fig. 134). In a small sketch in the Uffizi (fig. 253) that may well reflect the earliest idea for the painting, the vigorous, abrupt movements of the pen and loosely applied wash suggest Potiphar's virtuous escape and hastily mark out the thick draperies that appear in the background of the picture.

A much heavier chalk technique is sometimes combined with wash to mark out a densely shaded background or enframing garment (figs. 255, 353, 357). The effect of the darkened background and luminous handling of chalk is to combine a painterly softness with a precise modeling. In place of articulated emotion Baglione focused on the eurythmic grace of figures in arrested movement that is well seen in drawings (figs. 251) that may illustrate some preliminary poses for Apollo and the Nine Muses (figs. 122-130) in the Musée d'Arras. Despite the linear delicacy with which they are drawn, the sense of the figures' corporeality is enhanced by the atmospheric depth from which they emerge that is masterfully suggested by the softly hued shadow.

nell'artificio de'pennelli, e de'colori, hebbe per suo figliuolo Francesco, a cui insegnò la sua bella maniera di dipingere...."

The counter-positioning of limbs in tenuous positions, a feature that appears in the early drawings (figs. 189, 306), is carried through to the mature works. Studies (fig. 226) for The Magdalen (figs. 97 a,b) in Gubbio (1610) reflect the effort to imbed the robust female type favoured by Baglione in the depth of an atmospheric space by means of foreshortening and dense hatching, paralleling the major directional impulses of her body. Differentiating early from mature works are the more expansive movements that award control of almost the entire sheet to the figures and the ever present platforms or steps upon which they rest. This design dictates the momentarily arrested poses seen in a number of drawings from the early 1620's, such as the sketch from a private collection (fig. 250 for the Muse, Thalia (fig. 128), in the Musée d'Arras and the studies for "St. John the Baptist in the Wilderness" (figs. 355-356) in which Baglione's Florentine background shines through.

Baglione continued to explore these inclinations in drawings for an allegorical subject that date from this time. A detectable change can be observed from a rather frontal, relief-like arrangement (fig. 343) to one in which the figures are unified by more dramatic, space displacing gestures and movements and an animating play of light and shadow (fig. 344). This arrangement is first worked out in a small sketch on the verso of a drawing from 1600 (fig. 202) in which he employs a dense hatching in pen to simulate the dark background and the effects of shadow on the figures, particularly at the contours. These are transposed in the more advanced sheet by the loosely applied wash and white heightening on a coloured ground that give the drawing the appearance of a monochromatic painting.

The difficulty that arises in applying standard stylistic terminology to the discussion of Baglione's output as a painter during the second and third decades of the seventeenth century also surfaces with respect to the graphic production during this period. Countering the more classical, frontal alignment and distilled action seen in the lower register of the "Nativity" drawing in Düsseldorf (fig. 352) is the dynamic energy and instability of the angels and the shepherd on the upper level. While the composition may suggest late sixteenth-century works, the complex, surface is unified by painterly effects of light and shade produced by red chalk and grey wash that give the sheet its Seicento character.

"Repoussoir" figures have a new life in Baglione's drawings. Though onlookers, they function rhetorically in the narrative, adding a touch of authenticity as witnesses to the truth of religious history. The assertive presence of the turbaned elder and the somewhat old fashioned insertion of the figures at the right corner of the Düsseldorf drawing (fig. 361) for an unknown "Ecce Homo" (c. 1625) were surely intended to dissolve the boundary between pictorial and external reality in the painted image.

The interest in realistic details that surfaces before 1600 finds its most charming expression in another drawing for an unknown "Birth of the Virgin" (fig. 349) from this period. With an extraordinary liberty in the application of white heightening, Baglione has accentuated the domestic vitality and anecdotal interest of the drawing, making the religious subject matter seem rather incidental.

The broad brushwork, Venetian richness of colour and soft, sensual warmth that mark the mature paintings have graphic resonance in the technical advances that distinguish a group of drawings datable to the late 1620's and early 1630's (figs. 361-363). During this period Baglione achieves a masterful synthesis between monumentality and elegance, often working in black chalk on grey paper. To the sharp, puffy layers and folds of the draperies (figs. 260) he adds a dusting of white heightening and a soft tonal hatching in the recessions that convey the effects of a transient light. This technique has a pictorial equivalent in the loose "impasto" seen in the Capitoline Gallery "bozzetto" for The Washing of the Feet (fig. 153) and in the Musée Granet canvas of The Holy Family with the Paraclete and Angels (fig. 159). In a drawing of "St. John the Baptist" in Düsseldorf (fig. 258), he combines red, black and white chalk, smudging them to soften linear contours and to give a great effect of warmth, thereby imparting a very pictorial, Venetian inspired "viva carne" to a figure whose volumetric shape is characteristically central Italian. This equilibrium between transient optical effects and robust forms captured in a passing moment gave his drawings their understandable appeal to connoisseurs like Cristina of Sweden who owned the study (fig. 256) for Salome Presenting the Head of the Baptist to Herod and Herodias (fig. 135). The remarkably sensitive modeling is produced by the numerous delicate lines that gently modulate the fall of light and shadow on the figure. One third of the sheet is covered by chalk which has been gently rubbed to produce a great softness of effect. The white of the paper has been skillfully used to suggest the more spacious, light filled atmosphere of the interior which the figure dominates.

The scurrying lines and broad handling of wash used to suggest the effects of a mobile light in the studies for an allegorical composition in Würzburg (figs. 340-341) (c. 1622) and the study for a "Coronation of the Virgin" in a private collection (fig. 368) (c. 1630) reveal a certain degree of consonance with Guercino's style in the period between 1619 and 1623.³⁵ Like Guercino, Baglione visualizes figures and their relationship in space almost completely through tonal contrasts. The oil sketch (fig. 263) for the Affidati Chapel Presentation of the Christ Child (fig. 162) illustrates his ability to construct form by deftly decreasing the degree of saturation from a deep brown tone through the softer middle tones to the loose heightening of the surfaces in white. This handling makes possible the illusionistic definition of space in the splendidly conceived, multi-figured altarpieces of the later period. Differentiating himself from Guercino, Baglione makes a more prominent use of pen to outline the figures in ink and intensifies the value of wash at the contours in order to accentuate their physical solidity.

The gradual decline in Baglione's graphic style mirrors the falling off in his activity as a painter after about 1632. The somewhat inert figure in a study (fig. 366) that postdates St. Sebastian Cured by St. Irene in Santi Quattro Coronati (fig. 163) (1632) is deprived of the deliberate firmness of contour line which had been used to convey a sense of the corporeal weight and thus to augment the pathos in the "Madonna Mourning the Dead Christ" (fig. 353) in Düsseldorf. The tendency towards

³⁵Baglione's drawings bear comparison with the study of "Two female allegorical figures with two Putti" reproduced by Mahon and Turner, 1989, p. 85, n. 26.

woodeness, elongation of the anatomy and a greater stiffening of draperies present in late works, such as The Madonna and Child with St. James, Bartholomew and Victoria in Santa Maria dell'Orto (1630) and Christ Exorcizing the Seven Demons from the Magdalen (c. 1630) are also pronounced in the Stockholm and Düsseldorf drawings (figs. 367-378) for unknown depictions of the "Coronation of the Virgin". Despite these idiosyncrasies, Baglione is in sure command of the technical means as the drawings well illustrate.

The most telling indication of the very late graphic style is the nervous tremble in the line that is evident in sketches for the frescoes painted in 1641 in Santa Maria dell'Orto (figs. 365-367). Due to the schematic rendering of the draperies and the clumsy profiles, the figures have lost a great deal of the amplitude and vitality that had characterised Baglione's draughtsmanship.

Chapter 7

The Lives : Baglione as "Artis apex"

Le Vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti... (henceforth referred to as the Lives) met with such great critical success when it appeared in 1642 that a second edition, which included an engraved portrait of the celebrated author and two supplementary pages of notices regarding the accomplishments of Urban VIII, was printed in Rome six months later.¹ In 1649 a third edition was issued with an allegory representing Pallas Athene with Personifications of the Fine Arts engraved by Greuter after Baglione (fig. 389). The popularity of the work in the seventeenth-century is a gauge of the enthusiasm with which Roman sightseers and foreign tourists set out to see the wonders of "modern" Rome,² marking a shift in taste from the retrospective mentality evident in the purely

¹The original manuscript (Ms. Chigi G. VIII. 222) is preserved in the Vatican Library. It contains sixty-eight folios, each of which measures 32,5 x 23,5 centimeters. In 1733, 1739 and 1743 the work was republished in Naples. An index of the original edition was issued in 1924 and a facsimile published by the R. Istituto di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte in 1935. For a review of this edition see Bottari, 1935, pp. 384-386.

²The interests of this audience were also catered to by Mancini whose Viaggio... was formulated as a guide book "per gusto dei studiosi" who were specifically interested in the important paintings to be seen in Rome. Totti stated that the Ritratto di Roma moderna (1638) had been written "per soddisfare alla curiosità de'forastieri, che corrono a' veder questa Reggia del Mondo." On behalf of the Vatican authorities, Ottavio Tronsarelli assured that the work was worthy of publication. The works of these and other authors demonstrate "the spirit of scientific research and the strong spirit of history understood no longer as an exemplification or a conception of a personal assertion, but as an objective narration of documentarily certain truth that...purified the sixteenth century heredity of Vasari." For further discussion see Raghianti, 1980, 167-71, p. 136 and pp. 133-70.

antiquarian and devotional content of Cinquecento guidebooks. It is significant that Baglione's aim (as specified in the dedication of the Nove Chiese), was "a' Professore recare utile, & à tutto diletto". This objective encapsulates a humanistic attitude that is notable when contrasted to the Counter-Reformatory focus of contemporary works by Panciroli and Severano.³

In the earliest negative reaction to the work, attributed to Bellori, that appears in a marginal note appended to a copy of a 1642 edition of the Lives,⁴ the major criticism to be voiced by later writers had its first utterance.

queste Vite furono scritte dal Baglione per vendetta contro Gaspare Celio, il quale nelle Chiese di Roma non nominò mai il Baglioni, per esser fra loro inimicizia onde il Baglione hà occasione di scrive de se stesso, et lodarsi, e di mostrare gli errori et gli biasmi del Celio suo nimico però l'opera non è buona a nulla non essendo fatto con fine di virtù, ma per privata passione et malevolenza. Ottavio Tronsarelli distese le vite con le cognitioni et sensi del Baglione...il qual Tronsarelli non s'intendeva di pittura, come ne anche il Baglioni, et però sono scritte con tanta infelicità

Gio: Pietro Bellori

³See Baglione, 1639, p. 3; Panciroli, 1600 and Severano, 1630.

⁴Accademia dei Lincei (Coll. 31-E 15). This note appears in the right margin of the first "Dialogo" and in a transcription that follows directly after the final page of the Lives. Annotations elsewhere were made by a different hand. No serious effort has been made to identify the authors. The charges have continued to exercise their hold on modern writers such as Samek-Ludovici (1956, p. 17), who observes that Baglione's "inimicizia con Gaspare Celio e le conseguente deformazione nelle Vite sono note."

Baglione indubitably paints a picture of Celio as an eccentric and malevolent character in the Lives and was certainly referring to him specifically when he criticized the "molti errori che da malintendenti fin' hora a sono scritti" in the preface to the Nove Chiese. Celio's guidebook, the Memoria...delli nomi dell'Artefici delle Pitture, che sono in alcune Chiese, Facciate, e Palazzi, completed in 1620 but unpublished until 1638, was riddled with errors.⁵ Moreover, Celio's complete omission of any of Baglione's paintings was an intentional oversight⁶ that must have rankled him but the Lives was not quickly assembled as a retaliatory effort as the annotator claims. Internal evidence indicates that Baglione had already begun to compile biographies in the 1620's.⁷ This explains an error such as the mention of the portico designed by Onorio Longhi for Sant'Anastasia which had been destroyed in 1634.⁸ Rather than revising a portion to integrate information that had earlier been overlooked at an earlier stage, he simply tacked it on somewhere

⁵There are a number of mechanical errors in Baglione's work, the most glaring of which is the jump in page numeration from 183 to 284 in the Fifth Day. Celio's complex and often difficult personality is described in the biography written by Giovanni De Rossi in the Pinacotheca... I, 1642, pp. 228-231. Malvasia (I, 1841, p. 195) records a visit to Bologna made by Celio and the impact made on him by the works of the Carracci. See also "Gaspare Celio", voce Zocca, DBI, 1979, pp. 423-25 and the facsimile edition of the Memoria..., published in 1976 that Zocca edited. According to Pepe (1967, pp. 317-21), many of the notices for works made after 1620 were furnished by the Roman physician, Sebastiano Vannini.

⁶For example, in identifying the artists who decorated the Lateran Transept in 1600, Celio purposely ignored Baglione's frescoes.

⁷See Longhi (1951, p. 36) who draws attention to Jacob Hess's belief that the biography of Caravaggio was completed by 1625.

⁸Baglione, 1642, p. 156.

else. For example, details that had been excluded in the biography of Taddeo Landini (d. 1596) in the Second Day are inserted in the biography of Stefano Speranza (d. 1640) in the Fifth Day.⁹ From these observations one may deduce that the Lives was well underway when Celio's work appeared, though it must be admitted that Baglione may have had access to the Memoria... in manuscript form.

The most significant complaint lodged by the annotator, that Baglione didn't understand art, can be traced to the statement he himself made at the beginning of the Lives: "...io scrivo le Vite de gli Artefici, e non sò il giudizio de gli artefici".¹⁰ His disinterest in exploring the philosophical issues that were to absorb Testa in the treatise he began in 1637¹¹ also set him apart from a theoretician like Bellori who regarded Baglione's inclusion of "tutti coloro, che in Roma nel suo tempo usarono il pennelli, lo scarpello e collocarono sasso di architettura sino al numero di dugenti artefici, dal pontificato di Gregorio XII sino a quello di Urbano VIII nello spazio poco maggiore di cinquanta anni"¹² as proof

⁹ibid., p. 351, "L'Haver di sopra narrate le opere di Pompeo Ferrucci, Scultore Fiorentino, mi ha fatto sovvenire d'alcune opere, che Taddeo Landini, parimente Scultore Fiorentino formò, e nella vita di lui da me non furono rammemorate."

¹⁰ibid., Al Virtuoso Lettore, unpaginated.

¹¹This date is advanced by Cropper, 1988, xviii.

¹²Bellori, ed. Borea, 1976, p. 6. From this statement Previtali (p. XL) deduces that Bellori's own work was intended to be an emendation of Baglione and notes (p. XXXI) that "sua polemica con il Baglione non è solo un'opposizione fra critico che nasce dal mestiere e letterato che si occupa di arti figurative, ma piuttosto fra chi si tuffa nella cronaca e chi se ne allontana in cerca di valori ideali, che trova solo raramente nelle vicende contemporanee."

of his indifference to questions of aesthetic value. Scannelli's criticism was in the same vein:

...perchè in effetto non è che improprio, e contro ad ogni convenienza il dar nome di vita a quella picciola mutatione, le quale per l'ordinario non dimostra a chi legge, se non particolar raccolta di quelle operationi, che gl'istessi Artefici hanno fatto nella Città di Roma, che talhora non sono, che la minor parte, e forse anco la più inferiore dell'arte.¹³

Restating the impressions of seventeenth-century critics, Tiraboschi reports that the "opera non ebbe la sorte di quella di Vasari, e non è ugualmente pregiato dagli intendenti dell'arte."¹⁴ Although following in the same vein, Lanzi does offer veiled praise to Baglione for his impartiality.

Scrive senz'ambizione e senza spirito di partito, facile verso d'ogni soggetto più a lodare il buono, che a biasimare il cattivo. Quantunque volte io lo leggo parmi udir favellare un vecchio onorato, che più insinua precetti di morale che di belle arti. Di questi veramente è assai parco; e fa supporre aver lui operato bene più certa buona disposizione e talento d'imitare, che per principj scientifici di critica e di sodo gusto.¹⁵

In recent years, Ulivi has criticized the biographies of both Baglione and Mancini as an unsatisfactory combination of "la cronica biografica e la novellistica letteraria."¹⁶ Guglielmi reverts to the viewpoint of

¹³Scannelli, 1657, p. 122.

¹⁴Tiraboschi, 1824, p. 619.

¹⁵Lanzi, 1809, p. 185.

¹⁶Ulivi, 1953, p. 88.

Bellori but adds another dimension to the argument in drawing a parallel between the Lives and the "atteggiamento psicologico che informa la sua opera pittorica: atteggiamento erudito, eclettico, non propriamente critico."¹⁷ Mariani referred to the evidence of "gusto qualitativo"¹⁸ in the work but did not pursue the point any further. Grassi attributed the "notevole apertura critica"¹⁹ to Baglione's avoidance of theoretical issues and commended the perceptiveness of many observations. Longhi recognized the "sempre stupefacente...precisione e ricchezza informative" of the Lives that he saw as the "chiaro prodotto di esame diretto e di non comuni facoltà di conoscitore",²⁰ however he imputed evaluative meanings to some of Baglione's descriptive phrases that are not supported by a careful reading of the complete text.²¹ In Strinati's opinion Baglione was merely a conscientious listmaker.²² Pérez-Sánchez and Röttgen thought that he vacillated between a predilection for Caravaggio and the academic.²³ Martinelli's observations are the most even-handed in assessing the positive aspects of the work.

¹⁷Guglielmi, 1963, p. 189.

¹⁸Le Vite..., ed. Mariani, 1935, p. VIII.

¹⁹Grassi, 1973, p. 38.

²⁰Longhi, 1968, p. 152.

²¹For example, Longhi (ibid., p. 151) read Baglione's reference to the "prestezza" and the "pratica" of the Late Mannerists as a pejorative evaluation. From my reading, I would interpret these terms as referring to the speed of execution and the practical skills that were the positive gain of those artists who were employed in the vast decorative programs of Gregory XIII and Sixtus V.

²²Strinati, 1972, p. 68, "La concezione storiografica del Baglione postula il mestiere storico come 'mera ma complete elencazione'."

²³Pérez-Sánchez, 1965, p. 575 and Röttgen, 1974, p. 49.

In little more than a page, with brief and lapidary phrases Baglione conveys information about the life and the works of an artist. The notices seem to be insufficient and summary but when the works cited are tracked down those few hints of the biographer's are often very appropriate and pertinent despite the reserved concision of the work; and in certain cases they constitute a secure point of introduction for the esthetic valuation and the historical interpretation of an artist from the early Seicento, who would otherwise be little known.²⁴

Whereas Pompilio Totti structures the Ritratto di Roma moderna as a kind of city tour in "sei giornate", the Lives are divided into five chronological sections (also called "giornate") which correspond to the pontificates of Gregory XIII, Sixtus V, Clement VIII, Paul V and Urban VIII. Each segment is comprised of biographies, varying in length from a half a page to ten pages, of painters, sculptors, architects, engravers and so forth who died during their individual reigns.²⁵ Their medallion character suggests a parallel with the project to assemble a portrait collection of the celebrated artists of the day that Ottavio Leoni had embarked upon about 1620.²⁶ Baglione also captures the international character of the Roman art world with biographies of the numerous foreign artists who worked in the city. He recognized the great importance of northern artists, particularly Rubens, and understood that important exchanges of ideas were taking place between Italy and Spain.

²⁴Martinelli, 1959, p. 233.

²⁵Montagu (1989, p. 48) draws attention to Baglione's perspicacity in including bronze-founders in the Lives, which set at standard for many guide book compilers after him.

²⁶A parallel interest in recording the achievements of contemporary

Preceding each section is a dialogue between a foreigner and a Roman gentleman. During their first (and seemingly accidental) meeting in front of St. Peter's the Roman guide offers a brief summation of the history of the rebuilding of the basilica. This whets the curiosity of the foreigner who asks his host to provide him with a "breve compendio" of "le opere, che hanno fatto qui in Roma i Professori di questa nobil'arte del Disegno, come è dire le loro pitture, sculture, & architetture."²⁷ Inspired by the sentiment that "Roma è nata ad amare, e riverire i forestieri",²⁸ the solicitous gentleman proposes an appointment on the following Sunday in the cloister of Santa Maria sopra Minerva.

Preceding the Lives are a letter to the reader, a dedication to Cardinal Girolamo Colonna, a paean to painting, "Alla Pittura", by Bellori²⁹ and a Latin elogy "Ad Equitem Ioannem Baglionum Romanum" by Ottavio Tronsarelli. Baglione neatly compares Cardinal Colonna to the column of Apolline Palatino, on which he will display the merits of those who "co' lor' artifici si sono fabricate memorie illustri." Colonna was born in 1604 in Orcagna (Chieti) and educated in Spain.³⁰ As a result of his valued service to the Spanish court Philip IV proposed him as a candidate for the cardinalate. Urban VIII raised him to the office in 1627, awarding him the "titulus" of Sant'Agnese in Agone and the title,

literary and academic figures was noted by Croce (1929, p. 209) who cited Ghilini's Teatro d'uomini letterati (1647) and Crasso's Elogi di uomini letterati (1666) as a few examples of this current.

²⁷Baglione, 1642, p. 2.

²⁸ibid., p. 2.

²⁹See *infra* pp. 206-07.

³⁰For Colonna see Cardella, 1792-94, 6, pp. 282-84; Coppi, 1855, pp. 381 ff.; Colonna, 1927 and "Girolamo Colonna", voce Petrucci, DBI, 1982, pp. 346-47.

Archpriest of the Lateran Basilica. He was later named Cardinal Deacon of Santa Maria in Cosmedin and then Archbishop of Bologna. Cardella reports that he enlarged the Archbishop's Palace and had the library decorated with "eccellenti quadri."³¹ The apartments in the Palazzo at Gennazzano were also sumptuously decorated.³² Colonna restored the Church of Saint Barnabas in Marino³³ and had the church of St. Pietro Nolasco built at Rocca di Papa³⁴ but his most ambitious undertaking, the rebuilding of the Palazzo Colonna in Rome, was cut short by his death in 1666. Paintings by Guercino and the Bolognese school dominate the list of works in the inventory of this date in which a "Un'quadro di nro Sigre che predica alla Madalena con cornice indorata del Cav.re Gio:baglione" is also cited.³⁵ It may be reasonably suggested that Cardinal Colonna advised his friend, Cardinal Mazarin, to obtain paintings by Baglione for his Roman palace.³⁶

³¹Cardella, 6, 1792-94, p. 283.

³²It is not possible to give a detailed account at present since the "Inventario del Palazzo di Gennazzano", which I had occasion to survey when it was located in the Sala B of the Colonna Archive, was misplaced when the archive was later transferred.

³³The church was rebuilt by Antonio del Grande, who also worked for Colonna in Bologna and in Rome.

³⁴See Piazza (1703, p. 297) who reports that Colonna undertook the project at the request of Alexander VI.

³⁵Archivio Colonna, Ms. III AA. 121, unpaginated. This subject corresponds to the painting of Christ Exorcising the Seven Devils from the Magdalene in a private collection in Perugia that was brought to light by Marini, 1982, p. 67 and fig. 5.

³⁶The two cardinals formed a friendship in Spain and consolidated it with the marriage of Colonna's nephew, Lorenzo Onofrio to Mazarin's niece, Maria Mancini. See Colonna, 1927, pp. 278-283. Pio (1977, p. 97) mentions Baglione's paintings in the Mazarin Palace but no works are cited in the posthumous inventory made of Mazarin's collection in France, published by de Cosnac in 1883.

Despite the annotator's insinuation, there is absolutely no evidence that the Lives was ghostwritten by Ottavio Tronsarelli. Tronsarelli's effusive poem to Baglione and Baglione's gift to him of two paintings entitled, Painting Counsels Poetry and Music Sings the Praises of Painting and Poetry, are signs of their amicable relationship.³⁷ Baglione clearly admired Tronsarelli's success as a poet, describing the coat-of-arms that Gio. Antonio Lelli had made for the frontispiece of Tronsarelli's Catena d'Adone, which had been republished seven times in one year, "cosa non anche accaduta ad altro componimento di Poesia."³⁸ This offers little in the way of proof that they collaborated on the Lives. Longhi correctly drew attention to the fact that there is no trace of Tronsarelli's fully Baroque style in the rather ordinary prose of the work, suggesting that Tronsarelli may have edited the more florid dedication to Cardinal Colonna and the letter to the reader.³⁹ Although he may well have provided verbal counsel, the script in the entire manuscript is by the same hand and conforms to Baglione's signature on documents. Furthermore the corrections to the letter to the reader (fig. 390) and to other portions of the manuscript are also in Baglione's hand and show how carefully he made the final revisions.⁴⁰ While it is clear

³⁷Baglione, 1642, p. 405.

³⁸ibid., p. 376.

³⁹Longhi, 1930 (1968), p. 151.

⁴⁰The alterations to the text consist of changes in the order of the biographies, minor adjustments to phraseology and the addition of supplementary material on small slips of paper that are glued onto the folios or loosely inserted between them. The greatest number of additions are made in the fourth and fifth giornate. Minor emendations are made between manuscript and text, such as the addition of the final paragraph in the biography of Giacomo della Porta, changes of wording, etc. Deletions also occur. For example, the biography of Ferrau Fenzone that appears in the manuscript is omitted from the text, probably because he was still living (d. 1645) when it was published.

that the Lives lacks the fluency and flourish of Vasari's pen, the more excursive passages of the Nove Chiese indicate that Baglione was capable of composing in a more eloquent prose style. The numerous references to the achievements of ancient artists and authors in the Lives reveal Baglione's interest in the classical world. However, evidence of his cultural formation is overwhelmed by the sheer density of first-hand factual information on modern artists that is provided.⁴¹

Each biography follows a similar format. After making general remarks about geographical origin, lineage and artistic training, Baglione lists works of art, makes brief comments with regard to the appearance and character of the artist, and finally, describes the cause and date of death. The facts are included when possible; otherwise biographical statistics are estimated. When the opportunity arises, he enriches his account with anecdotes and moralistic axioms that reflect an image of the artist which will later be discussed. The term "biography" is used loosely as Baglione does not provide an "account of the life of man from

⁴¹For example, Baglione cites Adeo da Mitiline "scrittore d'arte" (p. 341), Antigonus "scultore antico" (p. 174), Aristarete "pittrice antica" (p. 92), Nearcus "pittore antico", Vitruvius, etc. Mention of The Laocoön in the Vatican Palace prompted him to refer to mention of it in Pliny and in the Antiquae Romae Topographiae (1534) by Marlianus. In the introduction to the facsimile edition of Le Nove Chiese... (1639), Barroero lists some of the literary sources to which Baglione had recourse, including the Peristephanon of Prudentius, the Liber Pontificalis, etc.

birth to death"⁴² but rather a selective reckoning in which the focus is placed almost exclusively on the time an artist had spent in Rome. The task of preparing complete biographies for over two hundred artists who hailed from all over Italy and the continent and whose travels left their work scattered hither and yonder was clearly unfeasible. Therefore, Baglione organized the material according to two criteria: the works must have been produced in Rome by artists who had died between 1572 and 1642 and the scope was to be restricted to paintings and sculpture visible in churches and other public places.⁴³

Although it was clearly not his intention to write a guide book, Baglione seems to have gone from one place to another collecting

⁴²See Momigliano, 1971, p. 11.

⁴³These are set forth in the letter "Al Virtuoso Lettore", "Pur se luce alcuna ricerchi, solo la chiarezza della verità da me spera, ma la certezza del giudizio da altri attendi; che si come la Virtù è a sè gloria, così le opere sono a sè lode; & io scrivo le Vite de gli Artefici, e non sò il giudizio de gli arteficij. E se per avventura di nome di luce mi vuoi honorare, ciò non mi si deve, se non in quanto hora la memoria di sì gran Virtuosi per me sorgono alla lor luce. Dell'eccellenze de'Viventi non farò mentione alcuna; e mentr'essi spirano, io di loro taccio; che non si deve haver per terminata quella lode, ove non ha il suo compimento con la vita. In questi miei racconti dal Pontificato di Gregorio Decimoterzo infino a'presenti giorni di Urbano Ottavo, io son giunto. E perchè Roma e compendio delle maraviglie del tutto, per breuita dell'Opera ho giudicato esser bastevole, che il ridir solamente l'opere, che in questa Città essi formarono, comprenda anche l'esquisitezza di tutte le altre, che per il Mondo risplendono' che ciò, che altrove l'Arte disperse, qui la Virtù raccolse." A few artists were still living but were no longer active in Rome when the Lives was published. Gentileschi was in England; Bilivert was unable to paint due to blindness. In numerous cases Baglione breaks from his restrictions to mention paintings he had seen and admired in private collections and then checks himself against further comment. As a typical example, he mentions (Lives, p. 23) that Marco Marchetti (da Faenza) had painted a large canvas of the "rapimento di Galatea con una zuffa di mostri marini, ma di questo, come delle altre cose, che per particolari servirono, non è mia intentione di far racconto alcuno."

information in a topographical fashion which he then accommodated to the biographical format.⁴⁴ For example, after citing paintings in a chapel, the architect is named or works of sculpture are identified.⁴⁵ In some instances reference is made to works of art that he had seen that had been later either destroyed by rebuilding, the flooding of the Tiber, humidity, the improper use of materials or had been replaced due to the dissatisfaction of the patron. As a result of Baglione's method, Titi was easily able to edit his material, organizing it topographically rather than chronologically, in order to produce a proper guide book.⁴⁶

The British Museum drawing by Palma Giovane (fig. 325) for which Baglione made an ornamental frame leads one to surmise that he had at one time hoped to emulate Vasari's Libro de' Disegni.⁴⁷ The desire to

⁴⁴According to Longhi [1930 (1968), p. 150], the Nove Chiese, with its topographical tour of the modern history and artifacts in the seven principal basilicas could have been intended as the preliminary excerpt of a guide book which took the form of the Lives three years later. If this had been the case, it certainly would have been more logical to have linked the two works by emphasizing a common topographical format. Furthermore, this chronology conflicts with the fact that the Lives was well underway in the 1620's.

⁴⁵Longhi, 1930 (1968), p. 150. For example, the biography of Avanzino Nucci (Lives, pp. 300-01) reads, "In s. Agostino, nella seconda Cappella a man diritta, la volta è di suo e di sopra due Profeti in fresco dipinti: & è dirimpetto al Pilastro, che rispondendo nella Nave di mezzo, ha di Christo di marmo, che dà le chiave a s. Pietro, opera di Gio. Battista Casignola, il quale anche ristorò il Toro de Farnese, e vi fece la Statua di Dirce." In Santa Maria della Popolo, Guglielmo della Porta (p. 151) made "il bel deposito del Vescovo Thesoriero del Pontefice Paolo III. con figura a giacere sopra una cassa di marmo, sotto il nicchione sinistro della Traversa, ov' è la tavola del Christo morto, da Iacopino del Conte dipinta."

⁴⁶Longhi, 1968, p. 150.

⁴⁷Collobi (1974) reconstructs the repertoire of graphic works assembled by Vasari to complement the biographies in the Lives. The

follow in Vasari's footsteps is the principal reason that the Lives is not a guide book. As is stated in the prefatory letter "Al Virtuoso Lettore" the major stimulus behind the Lives was his intention to pick up where Vasari and Borghini had left off in order to commemorate the transformation of Rome by his contemporaries.⁴⁸ Longhi astutely recognized that Baglione's Romanism was significant not only as one of the first regional reactions to the partiality of Vasari's 'Tuscanism' but also because he takes into account medieval evidence, such as Cavallini's role in the renewal of art, rather than exclusively employing the rhetoric of classical antiquity as his frame of reference.⁴⁹ This re-evaluation of Early Christian and medieval works, loosely referred to under the

drawing by Palma Giovane corresponds to the Compianto sul Cristo morto painted about 1612 for the Duomo in Reggio Emilia (now in the Museo Civico), reproduced by Rinaldi, 1984, fig. 229. In the biography of Palma in the Lives (pp. 183-84) Baglione cites the few works he had actually painted while in Rome as well as the works sent from Venice for Roman churches.

⁴⁸This appears in the first sentence of the letter to the reader, "Cio, che manca a Giorgio Vasari, & a Raffaello Borghini nelle Vite de'lor Pittori, Scultori & Architetti, hora è supplimento di quella mia fatica." In the Dialogue preceding the Prima Giornata the foreigner expresses a complementary interest, "Il desiderio mio però sarebbe, per non dar tanta noia, di saper le opere di Disegno de'Professori, che dal Pontificato di Gregorio XIII. infin' hora hanno lavorato, perchè da quei tempi a dietro (per qual che io ho inteso) le loro Vite sono state scritte da Giorgio Vasari, e da altri, & me basterebbono le opere moderne fatte qui solamente in Roma da questi Virtuosi, passati a miglior riposo." Whereas Vasari set out to demonstrate the perfection of his age by selecting "il meglio dal buono e l'ottimo dal migliore" (Lives, Vol. II, p. 94) Baglione attempts to refrain from engaging in theoretical issues.

⁴⁹Longhi, 1930 (1968), p. 152. Baglione tries to play down Cavallini's debt to Giotto in the brief remarks he makes on the history of medieval Roman art (1642, p. 4). Clearly his purpose is to emphasize that the impetus for the renewal of Roman painting had come at the hands of a fellow Roman.

rubric "anticamoderno",⁵⁰ was surely stimulated by the Early Christian Revival that Cardinal Cesare Baronio had championed in his writings and patronage.⁵¹

While Baglione implies that he is making a fresh start from Vasari, there is, in fact, considerable overlap.⁵² Although Vasari's attention is primarily directed towards Florentine artists and their works up to and including Michelangelo, the second edition of the Lives (1568) contained summary remarks on a various artists who were working in Rome during the pontificate of Gregory XIII. A number of the biographies in the first and second "giornate" draw on Vasari. The repetition of entire passages

⁵⁰This term is also used by Celio, Mancini and Baglione to identify transitional works of art made between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. (For further discussion see Grassi, 1961-63, pp. 435-440 and the Dizionario Della Critica d'Arte, I, 1978, pp. 28-29). As Grassi points out, Baglione also designates works of painters from the second half of the fifteenth century, such as Perugino and Antoniazio Romano, as "anticamoderna" in the Nove Chiese. He is particularly impressed by the diligent execution and devotional intensity of these works. For example, in St. John Lateran, he cites "una imagine anticamoderna in fresco dipinto con ornamenti di stucco indorato, & il transitio di Nostra Donna con gli Appostoli molto devoto"; in San Paolo fuori le mura, he saw a relief of St. Paul "all'anticamoderna Gotica assai devoto" and in St. Peter's he found three small statues of Saints John the Baptist, Evangelist and St. James to be "di maniera anticamoderna assai diligente" (1639, pp. 120, 53, 117). Barroero (ed. Le Nove Chiese..., p. 16) rightly draws attention to Baglione's "capacità di apprezzare espressioni figurative distanti dal gusto del tempo...."

⁵¹For a full discussion see Baronio e L'Arte, 1985, passim.

⁵²Baglione was able to avail himself of Vasari and/or Borghini for biographical information for the following artists: Jacopo Vignola, Pirro Ligorio, Giulio Clovio, Lorenzo Sabbatini, Livio Agresti, Marcello Venusto, Marco Marchetti, Gerolamo Siciolante, Battista Naldino, Marco Pino, Nicolo Circignani, Jacopo del Zucca, Girolamo Muziano, Scipione Pulzone, Giacomo del Duca and Ignazio Danti.

clearly illustrates Baglione's debts;⁵³ a careful reading also reveals numerous borrowings that are not as obvious because Vasari's expansive prose has been condensed into succinct statements of fact.⁵⁴ In most cases Vasari is used as a springboard for Baglione's investigations, as is

⁵³The biography of Giulio Clovio is almost entirely dependent on Vasari. The Pierpont Morgan Hours is described by Vasari (p. 15) as follows: "E gran cosa che in molte di queste opere, e massimamente nel detto ufficio, abbia fatto don Giulio alcune figurine non più grande che una ben piccola formica, con tutte le membre sì espresse e sì distinte, che più non si sarebbe potuto in figure grandi quanto il vivo. Senza che in alcune figure di fregi si veggiono alcune figurette nude et in altre maniere, fatti simili a camei, che per piccolissime che sieno sembrano in quel loro essere grandissimi gigante." This passage is echoed by Baglione (1642, p. 15): "Le sue piccole figure hanno ogni membro espressori ritratti sono naturali, e le fregiature vaghissime; e tal'hora v'ha usato s'grand'arte, che per piccole, che sieno le sue figure, mostrano con mirabil maniera essere gran Giganti."

⁵⁴Thus a passage describing the formation of Vignola in Vasari, "...nella sua puerizia e gioventù fù messo all'arte della pittura in Bologna, ma non fece molto frutto, perchè non ebbe buono indirizzo da principio, et anco, per dire il vero, egli aveva da natura molto più inclinazione alle cose d'architettura, che alla pittura come in fine allora si vedeva apertamente ne'suoi disegni et in quelle poche opere che fece di pitture, imperochè sempre si vedeva in quelle cosa d'architettura e prospettiva, e fù in lui così forte e potente questa inclinazione di natura, che si può dire ch'egli imparasse quasi da se stesso i primi principi e le cose più ufficiali ottimamente in breve tempo..." (Lives, V, p. 570) becomes in Baglione (1642, pp. 6-7), "Andò poi in età cresciuto, e giovinetto a Bologna, e datavosi alla pittura, scorgendo, che in tal'arte non faceva molto profitto, s'impiegò con naturale inclinazione alla Prospettiva, le cui bellissime e felicissime regole egli da se con la vivacità dell'ingegno ritrovò; comme altresì avanzossi grandamente ne'gli studij dell'Architettura." Baglione reduces Vasari's numerous references to the speed with which he completed so many commissions and the fecundity of his imagination to the essential: Giorgio "fù presto nella pittura e copioso nell'invenzione" (1642, p. 14). The deliberate care with which he identifies the unusual subject matter of the frescoes painted by Vasari and his pupils in the Sala dei Cento Giorni of the Cancelleria and in the Vatican indicates that he thought Vasari's imaginative powers to be quite exceptional. He also commended the extraordinarily inventive quadratura framework in the Cancelleria. His efforts to identify the authors of the frescoes that were painted in the Sala Regia after Vasari's cartoons demonstrates his pleasure in connoisseurship and in the observation of more subtle impressions such as the effect of sunlight passing through the stain glass windows of the vault onto the stuccoes made by Perino del Vaga, Danielle da Volterra and assistants.

demonstrated by the originality of his observations or by the strength of his emphases.⁵⁵

When Borghini's biographies are dependent on Vasari, he reduces the prose to the minimum. Baglione takes this bare bones approach a step further so that the biographies in his compendium have the stylistic concision of obituaries. Biographies of deceased artists constitute the bulk of Borghini's Riposo but he also includes a number of living artists, as Vasari had done. Baglione's decision to limit his scope to works in public places (a limitation which is often quite casually observed) may have been inspired by Borghini's intention "di favellar solamente di quei pittori, e scultori, che hanno fatto opere in pubblico degne d'essere imitate dagli studiosi dell'arte."⁵⁶ The succinctly phrased formula defining the educational merit for the young artist of "le cose buone di Roma sì antiche come moderne" is repeated verbatim from Borghini.⁵⁷

A comparison with the biographies contained in Giulio Mancini's Considerazioni sulla Pittura (c. 1617-21 but unpublished until 1956-57)

⁵⁵For example, Vasari mentions the great number of portraits and small paintings made by Marcello Venusti, particularly his copy of Michelangelo's Last Judgement. These facts are recapitulated by Baglione who admires the "disegno, maestà, e gratia" of Venusti's works and explains their appeal to the Spanish who liked such "divoto, diligente, e vago" paintings (1642, p. 21). The boldness that Vasari identified in Naldino's style was also esteemed by Baglione who added that the dark colours he used in a painting of St. John the Evangelist in San Luigi dei Francesi gave relief and force to the figure (1642, p. 29). Vasari makes no mention of the influence of Perino del Vaga on Siciolante; Baglione considers the latter to have been his best pupil (1642, p. 23).

⁵⁶Borghini, 1584, p. 531.

⁵⁷ibid., p. 601.

shows that Baglione either had access to the manuscript or to a copy of it.⁵⁸ He sometimes repeats Mancini almost literally, as for example, in the biographies of Vanni and Tempesta,⁵⁹ and on other occasions he reiterates Mancini's observations on the importance of Federico Zuccaro and Venice for Passignano's formation, the positive influence of the Carracci on Brill's landscape style, etc.⁶⁰ However shifts in emphasis, clarifications and contradictions between the two authors indicate the extent to which Baglione formed his opinions independently through first hand study.⁶¹ Furthermore Baglione's work has a greater thoroughness

⁵⁸See Mancini, I, p. X and p. XXXI, "Che il Baglione conoscesse l'opera manciniiana è stato affermata su suggerimento del Dr. Hess, dal Dr. Mahon, in base al confronto fra le "vite" di Antonio Tempesta scritte dai due autori." For Vanni, see Mancini, I, p. 240; Baglione, p. 331. The artists featured by both writers are as follows: Nicolo Circignani, Girolamo Muziano, Durante Alberti, Scipione Pulzone, Francesco Vanni, Ventura Salimbeni, Lattanzio Mainardi, Antonio Viviani, Gio. Battista Viola, Giovanni Bilivert, Andrea Commodo, Bartolomeo Manfredi, Prospero Orsi, Benedetto Croce, Matteo Lecce, Raffaelino Motta, Adam Elsheimer, Ludovico Cigoli, Tommaso Laureti, Lavinia Fontana, Christoforo Roncalli, Domenico Passignano, Antiveduto Grammatica, Antonio Tempesta, Padre Cosimo Cappucino (Paolo Piazza), Carlo Saraceni, Filippo d'Angeli, Bartolomeo Cavarozzi, Paolo Guidotti, Terenzio Terenzi, Pier Francesco Morazzone, Peter Paul Rubens, Paul Brill, Matteo Zoccolino and Baglione.

⁵⁹For Vanni see Mancini, I, pp. 209-210; Baglione pp. 110-111. For Tempesta see Mancini, I, p. 253; Baglione pp. 314-15.

⁶⁰For Passignano see Mancini, I, p. 240; Baglione p. 331. For Brill see Mancini, I, p. 260; Baglione (p. 297) also cites the great importance of Titian's landscapes for Brill.

⁶¹For example, while both writers admired the skillful colouring of Bilivert's Martyrdom of Saint Callixtus, Baglione conveys the opinion of many of his colleagues who thought that it must have been painted by Cigoli (Mancini, I, p. 247; Baglione p. 155). According to Mancini, Cigoli fell ill because his decoration of the cupola of the Cappella Paolina in Santa Maria Maggiore was so poorly received (I, p. 297). Baglione reports that in the process of painting the "assai lodata" frescoes Cigoli was adversely affected by the great dampness (p. 154). The cause of the final illness of Lattanzio Mainardi is ascribed by Dr. Mancini to a form of pestilence (I, p. 215); Baglione mentions only that his living habits were disordered and his constitution weak (pp. 38-39).

and wealth of critical comment vis-à-vis specific "contemporary" works of art than does Mancini's.⁶²

A member of the Pontificia Accademia dei Virtuosi al Pantheon and one of the most prominent figures in the Accademia di San Luca since the beginning of the century, Baglione had at his disposal documentary material from these institutions that has since been almost completely destroyed or otherwise made inaccessible.⁶³ In some instances, the exact correspondence between his remarks and the "Avvisi" indicate that he worked in the Vatican Library.⁶⁴ Given his prestige as a "Cavalier di Christo" it is certainly not improbable that he had access to the "Stati d'Anime" for the necrological details.

Whereas Mancini commends the "furor poetico e pittoresco" of Guidotti (I, p. 256), Baglione admires the "gran spirito, e vivacità" of his drawings (p. 303). As stated by Mancini (I, p. 255) Filippo d'Angeli was born in Naples of a Spanish father and a Roman mother; Baglione thought that he was born in Rome and had been taken to Naples as a young child (p. 335). Mancini claims that Vanni was knighted by Cardinal Sfondrato (I, p. 210); Baglione (p. 110) maintains that Cardinal Baronio had awarded the title.

⁶²For example, Baglione was the first to note the impact of Correggio on Barocci (p. 133), Agostino and Annibale Carracci (pp. 105, 106) and Cigoli (p. 153).

⁶³An inexplicable lacuna exists in the Academy records from the early Seicento. The archive of the Virtuosi al Pantheon is unfortunately almost inaccessible due to its location and to the fact that there is no archivist.

⁶⁴For example, an "avviso" stating that Domenichino's "bellissimo dipinto" of The Last Communion of St. Jerome was "lodato da tutti" (Orbaan, 1920, p. 227) is comparable to Baglione's report that it was a "bellissimo quadro a olio molto piaccuto" (1642, p. 382). In another instance he echoes an "avviso" in describing the effect of the Cappella Aldobrandini in Santa Maria Maggiore as "meravigliosa" (1642, p. 187).

As a Roman painter, who had lived in the city for most of his seventy odd years, Baglione was exceptionally well situated to follow the lives and to view the works of his contemporaries at first hand and did so with a remarkable attention to detail.⁶⁵ As evidence of his respect for the facts, when he is uncertain about the authorship of a work he never fudges but simply reports the common opinion using the word "dicono". His attributions are rarely off target and he sometimes goes a step further by identifying the stylistic influence of a certain master or school.⁶⁶ Although errors and inconsistencies with regard to biographical detail have been noted, Baglione is an almost infallible connoisseur. For his enormous endeavor in recording the achievements of his contemporaries in Rome, the "compendio delle maraviglie del tutto",⁶⁷ Baglione was acclaimed by Tronsarelli as the "Artis apex, Orbis nobilitare caput." His work has been used as a quarry by numerous authors, from his day to ours, among them Bruzio, Bellori, Malvasia, Passeri, Palomino, Lanzi, Baruffaldi, Voss, Hess and Blunt⁶⁸ and still remains one of the richest resources for the study of Seicento art in Rome.

⁶⁵For example, after citing the frescoes that Giovanni Balducci had painted in San Giovanni in Laterano (1642, p. 78), he takes care to insert a small detail that he had appreciated, noting that "nella predella dell'altare vi sono tre storiette di figurine a olio con grand'amore condotte".

⁶⁶He recognized Siciolante's dependence on Perino del Vaga (1642, p. 23), Ciampelli's debt to Santo di Tito (1642, p. 320), the influence of Roncalli on Casolano (1642, p. 306) and Cavarozzi (1642, p. 287), etc.

⁶⁷Baglione, 1642, "Al virtuoso lettore", unpaginated.

⁶⁸Bruzio, c. 1655-92; Bellori, ed Borea, 1977; Malvasia, 1678-1769; Passeri, 1772; Palomino, 1795-1797; Lanzi, 1809; Baruffaldi, 1844 (1846)-1846 (1848); Voss, 1924; Hess, 1967 and Blunt, 1982.

Chapter 8

The Lives : Baglione's Critical Observations

Aside from the rather solitary efforts of Agucchi and Testa (which remained unpublished for three centuries), as well as Bellori, very little attention seems to have been paid to "art theory of a reasoned and articulated kind"¹ during the first four decades of the Seicento. Nevertheless, the writings of Baglione's contemporaries do reflect certain critical postures to which his own may be compared by noting points of correspondence or divergence. Attention to the specific vocabulary used by these writers permits a more accurate evaluation of their qualitative comments.²

In assessing Baglione's critical outlook it should be noted at the outset that all Seicento art writing was grounded in the terminology and ideas of the Cinquecento and was therefore subject to the governing literary conventions of a borrowed aesthetic.³ As Cutter well put it,

¹See Mahon (1953, p. 33 and pp. 33-45) who underlines the fact (p. 36) that, "There had been a spate of literature in the late Cinquecento, but from the early nineties onwards (if we except Zuccaro) nothing of importance is printed until Baglione (1642)."

²The two major sources for vocabulary are Filippo Baldinucci's, Il Vocabulario Toscana dell'Arte del Disegno of 1681 and Il Dizionario della Critica d'Arte, directed by Luigi Grassi & edited by Luigi Grassi and Mario Pepe, published in two volumes in 1978. For further observations regarding seventeenth-century artistic terminology see Grassi, 1963, pp. 61-79 and Barocchi, 1981, pp. 1-39.

³In Ragghianti's words (1980, p. 135), "Nel Seicento, la teoria sull'arte non ebbe quasi nessuna originalità e si limitò a sviluppare e rafforzare la concezione humanistica dell'arte come bella forma,

"to write at all was partly to identify oneself with the academic point of view."⁴

While Baglione accepted the authority of the classical tradition, his assumptions about beauty were not based on Platonic theories which had been applied by other seventeenth-century writers but rather on the down to earth notions summed up by Zeuxis. He makes no explicit challenge to Vasari's cyclical historiographical schema and credits the Carracci for returning painting to life while at the same time refusing to state categorically that it had been in complete decline.

Ben'è vero, che la pittura, la quale co'l disegno, e co'l colorito sotto Michelangelo, e Raffaello, era nata, pareva fatta languida, e dal tempo in parte essere stata abbattuta; quand'ecco dopo gran giro si è alla fine veduta, per gloria del nostro secolo, ne'Carracci felicemente rinovata.⁵

Although Baglione has no interest in sustaining a coherent viewpoint, he defends many of the same values as Vasari, employing similar evaluative criteria. Grace, sweetness, majesty and harmony - concepts that are

indirizzata al diletto." Ragghianti does not consider the tempering of this conception by Tridentine proscriptions. See also Blunt, 1940, particularly pp. 103-137.

⁴Cutter, 1941, p. 91.

⁵Baglione, 1642, p. 105. The claim that the Carracci had restored art from a decline that had ensued following Raphael's death was first advanced by Agucchi in the Trattato della Pittura, pp. 247-48 and was first published by Angeloni (1641, p. 251). It was in the light of their achievement that Bellori and the theoreticians of the latter part of the century evaluated artistic merit. A number of contemporary writers (de Dominici, Scannelli) repeat the cliché but show little interest in shoring up the theoretical apparatus to substantiate it.

promoted by Vasari - guide Baglione when he looks at painting.⁶ The most frequently used nouns - "commodo, diligenza, divoto, dolcezza, durezza, facilità, freschezza, francamente, grazia, secco, svelte, vivacità" - are echoes of Vasari's critical vocabulary. In contrast to Vasari, who deprecates the products of craftsmen, Baglione finds merit in their efforts because he evaluates them by the same standards of validity applied to fresco and oil painters. His primary criteria are the artist's ability to convey the illusion of three-dimensional relief, of vivacious movement, of deceptive mimesis or of beauty brought to a state of such ideal perfection that life seems to pulsate through it. Although literal and ideal imitation are contradictory notions inherited from antique sources, they were adopted as fixed themes of artistic biography and as gauges of artistic achievement.⁷

Other stereotypical notions about the artist that were repeated in this literature were intended to justify his prerogative to claim elevated status. Due to Baglione's almost exclusive attention to the Roman activity of artists whose formative years were beyond his competency to trace, he does not often have occasion to emphasise such an oft-repeated "topos" as the youthful discovery of an artist's talent or his autodidacticism. One prominent exception is the Cavalier d'Arpino, an artist whose long life span almost paralleled Baglione's. The nine page

⁶Bettarini and Barocchi (Florence, 1976, 1984, 1987) have included a very useful glossary of Vasari's terms in the last three volumes of the edition of the Lives that they edited.

⁷See Kris and Kurz, 1979, especially pp. 3-12 and pp. 61-90 passim.

biography, the longest and most thorough, describes the prodigious activity of d'Arpino, the caesuras in his style and the laurels that were heaped upon him.⁸ The biography opens with a premonition of things to come: "Di tempo in tempo suole haver la Pittura qualche nobile spirito, che molto la rende famosa, e d'immortalità l'illustra."⁹ Then Baglione recounts the manner in which d'Arpino "in quei tempi destò notabil maraviglia di sè al Mondo"¹⁰ rose from unpropitious beginnings to great success as the result of a chance discovery. The story of Cimabue's recognition of the extraordinary ability of the young shepherd, Giotto, that Vasari repeats, reflects one of the most popular themes of artistic biography that Kris and Kurz have dubbed "the tale of the discovery of talent".¹¹ Since other seventeenth-century writers also mention the discovery of d'Arpino's precocious gifts, it seems likely that their common source was an oral anecdote that was used to explain Cesari's rise to fame and to suggest that good fortune at the outset was an important key to artistic success.

⁸Baglione, 1642, pp. 367-375. Judging the merits of long-lived painters was problematic in Mancini's estimation since their activity extended beyond a single period. He cites d'Arpino as an example (I, p. 108), "...già vicino a 40 anni è famoso, cominciando la sua fama in fanciullezza sotto Gregorio XIII, e così pare che sia di più secoli, onde si dubbita a quali si deva ridurre. Io direi che quel tale artefice deve esser giudicato di quel secolo dove avrà operato meglio e dove sarà stato più famoso, come il Torrita dal 70 al 100 e così degl'altri artefici che son vissuti longo tempo."

⁹Baglione, 1642, p. 367.

¹⁰ibid., p. 367.

¹¹Kris and Kurz, 1979, p. 26.

The virtuosity of an artist, which gives proof of his extraordinary gifts, is seen in the optical tricks that he can play. The "stupore" produced at the sight of Sigismondo Laire's miniature figures¹² and Barocci's ability to generate "maraviglie, e stupore nella maestria della pittura"¹³ should be understood in this light. When he was in Naples in the early 1590's, Baglione saw Pietro Bernini take "un carbone, e con esso sopra un marmo facendo alcuni segni, subito vi messe dentro i ferri, e senz'altro disegno vi cavò tre figure dal naturale, per formare un capriccio da fontana, e con tanta facilità il trattava, che era stupore il vederlo."¹⁴ Marcello Provenzale's mosaic Portrait of Pope Paul V was made "con tant'arte, e finezza, e con quegli smalti commessi, che li pennelli non potriano far cosa più degno a vedersi, & è la maraviglia del nostro secolo."¹⁵ Moreover, he had surpassed antique precedents for "certo è, che gli antichi in questo genio di lavoro non hanno lasciato

¹²Baglione, 1642, p. 353.

¹³ibid., p. 133. In contrast, Borghini (1581, p. 568) measures his excellence by recourse to the traditional criteria : the design, disposition and colouring of his painting. "Maraviglia" is a Cinquecento term that conveys the general sense of astonishment, amazement or wonder at the artist's skill (Il Dizionario..., II, p. 313).

¹⁴Baglione, 1642, p. 305. See Kris and Kurz, 1979, p. 226, "The rapidity by which a painting or a piece of sculpture is shaped attests to the artist's facility in producing it. All great artists are endowed with this rare gift of facility...."

¹⁵Baglione, 1642, p. 350. His comment is a restatement of Borghini's claim (1581, p. 577) that Muziano's mosaics in the Cappella Gregoriana were painted "con tant'arte, che paiono dipinti col pennello." Baglione repeats the concept formulated by Vasari that mosaic "per sua eternità regge" in the biography of Paolo Rossetti (p. 169). Steffi Röttgen discusses Provenzale's mosaics and publishes a photograph of the portrait in her essay for the catalogue The Roman Mosaic..., 1982, p. 22, fig. 3.

opera migliore, e se altro egli non havesse fatto, si è in queste prove reso glorioso, & immortale."¹⁶

Such a high regard for "trompe-l'oeil" effects is a reflection of the exalted ideal of perfect mimesis expressed in Pliny's famous anecdote.

The story goes like this: Zeuxis painted grapes; some sparrows flew by and pecked at the grapes. Parrhasios then asked Zeuxis to accompany him to his studio, where he would demonstrate that he could do something like it. In the studio, Zeuxis asked Parrhasios to pull back the curtain covering the picture. But the curtain was painted. Zeuxis acknowledged Parrhasios's superiority: I took in the sparrows but you took me in.¹⁷

Baglione rated the achievement of the still life painter, Pietro Paolo Bonzi, as equal to that of Parrhasios because his grapes were painted so realistically that he "ingannava gli huomini".¹⁸ Caravaggio was capable of such extraordinary mimesis that he produced a "trompe-l'oreille": the Boy Bitten By a Lizard could almost be heard screaming.¹⁹

¹⁶Baglione, 1642, p. 350. There are a number of references in the Lives to "concorrenze" among artists, often held as a means of selecting a master for a particular commission. Baglione notes the extreme envy that was provoked by works of Raffaellino da Reggio, Barocci, d'Arpino, Annibale Carracci and Caravaggio. Kris and Kurz (1979, pp. 123-124) point out that the rivalry among artists was a "topos" of artistic biography. One of the most frequent examples is the comparison between "modern" artists and antique exemplars such as Zeuxis and Appelles. The Wittkowers (1963, p. 24) correctly note that competition with the standard of achievement of the ancient painters was Alberti's principle exhortation to artists.

¹⁷Paraphrased in Kris and Kurz, 1979, p. 62.

¹⁸Baglione, 1642, p. 343.

¹⁹ibid., p. 136. Howard Hibbard (1983, p. 73) points out that Ludovico Dolce had earlier described the nearly audible scream that emanated from Titian's Death of St. Peter Martyr.

The aesthetic of illusionism has many variations in artistic biography, among which is a fascination with fictive painted architecture.²⁰ For example, Baglione reports that the monks at Grottaferrata had to be assured that the stucco on the cupola of the abbey church was painted, so convincing was the illusion of relief that Domenichino had imparted.²¹ The quadratura fresco decoration of the "famosissima Sala Clementina" painted by Giovanni Alberti was deemed to be "la più esquisita opera, che'egli facesse mai di prospettiva",²² a pinnacle of such achievement that nothing more, Baglione claimed, could be desired from art.²³ He specifically notes that the quadratura "ingannano l'occhio di chi vi mira tanto sono con gran dolcezza dipinte",²⁴ as did the "bizzarrie" painted by Matteo Zoccolino at San

²⁰Kris and Kurz, 1979, pp. 63-67. The anecdotes referring to perfect mimesis which (p. 66) "were intended to emphasize the naturalistic qualities of an artistic achievement" were "often repeated in abbreviated form and thus became a formula of aesthetic judgement."

²¹Baglione, 1642, p. 382. For a definition of "inganno" see Il Dizionario..., I, pp. 256-258. Passeri (1772, p. 10) also comments upon the illusionism of the cupola of "stucchi finti di chiaro e scuro con puttini riportati nell'ordine de'fogliami così bello ch'ingannano." Zuccari (ed. Heikamp, p. 247) recounts Vasari's tale that Peruzzi had even painted the semblance of dust on his fictive stucco decoration in the Palazzo Ghisi in Rome. Everyone thought it was real dust, including Titian, who ascended a ladder to ascertain the truth. Agucchi found great merit in the fictive stuccoes in the Farnese Gallery that "ingannano l'occhio" by means of perspective and the effects of light and shadow (p. 265). In another instance, Annibale Carracci tricked a dog with a fictive stone staircase (p. 267). Blunt (1978, p. 69) rightly observed that the belief that the "actual deception in painting was a merit is reflected in many seventeenth century works."

²²Baglione, 1642, p. 70.

²³Scannelli (1657, p. 193) was also impressed by the "gustoso inganno".

²⁴Baglione, 1642, p. 70.

Silvestro al Quirinale.²⁵ Skillful foreshortening was the key to the success of the decoration of the Canon's Sacristy in San Giovanni in Laterano, painted by Alberti and Ciampelli between 1592-94.

Operò...la volta tutta di prospettive con diversi sfondati, che la fanno andare al in sù, perche era assai bassa, & in tal guisa pare, che s'inalzi, benissimo aggiustata, e sonni molte figure di suo, tutte a buonissimo fresco dipinte, e con diversi ornamenti assai ricchi, e puttini, che scortano di sotto in sù, molto vaghi, e l'opera eccellentement è condotta.²⁶

Giustiniani considered the attainment of physiognomic likeness and symmetry in the proportions of the body to be the most important tasks of the portraitist.²⁷ Mancini thought that the portraitist should strive to achieve likeness and to reveal the inner nature of the sitter by describing actions and the emotions of the soul (the "affetti").²⁸ Agucchi advocated the idealized portrait in which "i più valenti pittori, senza leuare alla somiglianza, hanno aiutata la naturale con l'arte."²⁹ Baglione measured his ability to convey the vitality of a real human

²⁵*ibid.*, p. 317. Baglione admired the "diversi adornamenti, e prospettive, che dalla vista sfuggino e conducono l'occhio in bella distanza con grand'arte formati." For the remaining quadratura frescoes in the vault of the choir see Mussa, 1969, p. 49 and Bell, 1985, pp. 227-258.

²⁶Baglione, 1642, p. 70.

²⁷See Bottari and Ticozzi, 1722, p. 122. For a discussion of the tradition of mimesis in portraiture in the seventeenth-century see see *Il Dizionario...*, II, p. 489 and the introductory essay by Spike in *Baroque Portraiture...*, 1984-85.

²⁸See Mancini (I, p. 116). Whereas fidelity to nature "in altre pitture è giuditio cattivo et deve esser ributtato, nel ritratto deve essere seguito et abbracciato, nella similitudine dico del ritratto semplice."

²⁹See Mahon, 1947, p. 140.

presence either by means of extremely meticulous rendering of surface details or through a free and spontaneous handling.³⁰

The master of the first method was Pulzone, whose portrait of Cardinal Ferdinando de Medici was "tanto accurato, che...vedeasi in fin dentro alla piccola pupilla de gli occhi il riflesso delle finestre vetriate della camera."³¹ The double Portrait of Ferdinand of Florence and His Wife, the Duchess that Pulzone painted after the Cardinal's marriage to Cristina of Lorena was "sì al vivo espresse, che non mancava loro altro, che la parola."³² Pietro Fachetti's portraits "non solamente assomigliavano, ma erano con buon gusto, e perfetto disegno condotti."³³ His ability to capture the features of his sitters was partially due to his

³⁰Baglione's standard for evaluation, the amazing lifelikeness of these portraits, is again derived from Pliny's anecdote, as are similar stories told by Vasari and Zuccari.

³¹Baglione, 1642, p. 53. For a discussion of the portrait and the copies made after it see Langedijk, II, 1983, pp. 719-729. Evidence of Pulzone's illusionistic skill is seen in the garments that he painted on Valeriano's figures in the Cappella della Madonna of the Gesù, rendered "tanto simili al vero, che non si possono desiderare fatti con più arte" (Baglione, 1642, p. 83).

³²ibid., p. 53. Baglione echoes Vasari's remark (Lives, VI, p. 156) about Titian's portrait of Barberigo, "essendo la somiglianza della carnagione propria e naturale, e sì ben distinte i capelli l'uno dall'altro che si contereбbono" when he claims that Pulzone's portraits were made "con tal diligenza che vi si farieno contati fin tutti i capelli." Baglione also admired Jacopo Zucchi's skill as a portraitist in the famous Mass of St. Gregory in Santa Trinità dei Pellegrini (1575) where Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici appeared (p. 53) "all'ora giovane avanti a gli altri, come figure principale, assai del naturale."

³³ibid., p. 127. Fachetti was a Mantuan painter, whose presence in Rome in 1600 is documented in the register of the Academy of St. Luke. See Bertolotti, 1881, II, p. 102.

bellissimi segreti da far vaghissimi colori; e tra gli altri faceva gli azzurri oltramarini di esquisita vivezza; a le lacche di grana belle, e fine; come anche la lacca gialla; & altri colori minerali vaghissimi.³⁴

The second method, which was practiced with great success by Ludovico Leoni, consisted in making portraits "di cera, massimamente alla macchia, così detti perchè si fanno solo con vedere una volta il soggetto, e per così dire, alla sfuggita."³⁵ His son, Ottavio, inherited this exceptional ability to convey an impression of the vitality of the sitter, as is evident in the drawings of famous artists, Baglione included, that were formerly in the Borghese Collection (fig. i).³⁶

E hora li disegno stanno in poter del Signore Principe Borghese, li quali per la maggior parte sono di lapis nero in carta turchina con molta gratia tocchi di gesso, e similissimi, & alcune sono tocchi di lapis rosso, che paiono coloriti, e di carne; tanto sono naturali, e vivi si, che in quel genere meglio non si può fare.³⁷

³⁴Baglione, 1642, p. 127.

³⁵ibid., p. 144. Another specialist in this technique was Rosato Rosati, who made wax portraits that were "molto aggiustati, & assai rassomiglianti...e sopra gli atri valse" (ibid., p. 174). The term "alla macchia" is used by Baldinucci (1681, p. 66) to describe portraits made "senza avere avanti l'oggetto, dicendo ritrarre alla macchia, ovvero questo ritratto e fatto alla macchia".

³⁶The album of portrait drawings for the series in the Florentine Biblioteca Marucelliana has been thoroughly discussed by Krufft, 1969, pp. 447-458. A number of the drawings, including the portrait of Baglione, were engraved and published in the Ritratti di Alcuni Celebri Pittori del Secolo XVII, Rome, 1731.

³⁷Baglione, 1642, p. 321. Baldinucci, (1681, p. 181), defines "vivacità" with particular reference to portraiture, noting that the eyes should be wide open and have a fixed gaze, the nostrils should be depicted to give the impression that the sitter is breathing and the mouth should be open to show the effects of respiration. Bissell and Darr (1980, p. 48) think that Baglione's words are "marked by a touch of hyperbole" while Spike (Baroque Portraiture..., 1984-85, p. 13) correctly reads this

Baglione repeatedly extols the skill of artists who could transmit such a convincing illusion of verisimilitude through the sensitive manipulation of colour and light that the viewer was deceived. Matteo da Lecce's Prophet in the Oratorio del Gonfalone was painted in a "gagliardissima maniera ... e mostra grandissimo rilievo, e forza sì, che pare, che voglia balzar fuori di quei muri; e credesi, che quest'huomo andasse imitando la terribil maniera del Salviati."³⁸ The fresco of Christ Before Caiaphas that Raffaellino da Reggio had painted in the same oratory was a "pittura di gran maniera; e veramente fu la più bella opera, che Raffaellino già mai facesse sì, che altri in vederla, questa crede esser vera, e le altre stima dipinte, benche tutte belle si ammirino, così egli eccellentemente i colori a fresco maneggiava."³⁹ Baglione also found great merit in Borgianni's masterly foreshortening of the giant in David and Goliath (Royal Academy of San Fernando, Madrid) which he regarded as his best work.⁴⁰

passage as a commendation of the "remarkable fidelity" of the portraits due to Leoni's "disinterest in idealization".

³⁸Baglione, 1642, pp. 31-32.

³⁹ibid., p. 26.

⁴⁰ibid., p. 143, "Non posso tacere di un quadro, che fece Horatio Borgianni Romano di un Davide, che voleva troncar la testa di Gigante Golia. Il Davide è giovane assai disposto; il Gigante armata caduta per terra ha la percossa del sasso nella fronte ottimamente espressa: stà in atto d'arrabiato, e fiero mastino, e con la mano per istezza aggrappa la terra, & ha attitudine maestrevolmente accomodata in iscorto, che se bene il quadro non è molto grande, mostra nondimeno lo smisurato corpo del Gigante; & è con grand maniera, e con buon gusto, & eccellentemente dipinto, e de'quadri particolare questo è la più bella opera ch'egli habbia fatto." This is another instance when Baglione departs from the restriction he set upon himself to avoid mention of paintings in private collections. The detail of his description may be due to the opportunity he had to study the painting closely when it was in the Ducal Collection in Mantua. Skillful foreshortening is also the key to the aggressive physical vitality of Saint Christopher (National Gallery, Edinburgh), who has a "grandissima forma, che mostra di portar gran peso" (1642, p. 141). Baglione's sensitivity to the relation between the size of the canvas, or

Although Baglione frequently resorted to such "stereotyped formulas designed to put the work of art in a favourable light",⁴¹ many of his critical comments are intuitive responses. Where we can still see the painting, sculpture or edifice, it is clear that he often uses evaluative criteria in a quite specific way, even when he resorts to clichés in doing so. His observations often reflect changes that he perceived in the quality of an artist's work. For example, he found Christoforo Roncalli's frescoes of the life of St. Paul in the Cappella di San Paolo in Santa Maria in Aracoeli (c. 1584-1586) to be a "un poco dura" in contrast to the frescoes painted a few years later (c. 1588-1590) in the Cappella della Pietà, that were "assai vago, e di miglior maniera della prima, e diè molto gusto a i professori della pittura."⁴² Giuseppe Valeriano got off to a bad start in 1572 when he clumsily tried to imitate Sebastiano del Piombo in The Transfiguration that he painted for Santo Spirito in Sassia

wall surface, and the size of the figures is also indicated by remarks that he makes with regard to other works. For example, he recognized that the sense of monumentality that Annibale conveyed in the Cerasi Chapel Assumption was due, at least in part, to the contrast between the small canvas and the life sized figures (1642, p. 107). The artist's "ability to manipulate dimensions" (Kris and Kurz, 1979, p. 97), a standard biographical motif, certainly informed his critical comments.

⁴¹Kris and Kurz, 1979, p. 66.

⁴²Baglione, 1642, p. 289. The "maniera secca" is defined by Baldinucci, 1681, p. 89, "Di quell'Artefice, che nell'opera sua proceder in tal modo, che fa vedere più di quello, che la natura nel naturale, da esso rappresentata, e solito di far vedere: ovvero di colui che dintorna seccamente, cioè senza alcuna morbidezza, l'opere sue: & anche di colui, che per poca intelligenza di chiari, e scuri, di disegno, e d'invenzione, non da loro, ne rilievo, ne abbigliamento, ne verità." Intrigued by the "very considerable difference in style" between the two chapels, Heidemann (1982, pp. 51-111) has produced an excellent analysis of the frescoes in the context of Roncalli's development.

(now in the Chiesa dei Santi Giacomo e Filippo in Palidoro).⁴³ The paintings that he made for the Jesuits more than ten years hence were more successful because by that time he had "assai la sua maniera di prima rimodernò, e più al vivo aggiustossi."⁴⁴ Of the six paintings that he made for the Cappella della Madonna della Strada (1584-1588) in the Gesù, The Annunciation was regarded as the most successful.⁴⁵ The three chapels that Antonio Carracci painted in San Bartolomeo in Isola demonstrated the evolution of his style from the feeble scenes of the Passion (third chapel left) to the mediocre Cappella della Madonna (second chapel left) and finally to the accomplished frescoes from the life of Saint Charles Borromeo (second chapel right) "nella quale tanto avanzossi, che dalla prima all'ultima non c'è uguaglianza, o comparatione veruna: nel quadro dell'altare è un s. Carlo in ginocchione, che è tutto spirito, e vivezza."⁴⁶

⁴³Baglione, 1642, p. 83, "...l'ha colorito tanto oscura; che a fatica si scorge; e credo, che quest'huomo volesse imitare la maniera di F. Bastiano dal Piombo Venetiano, quando pingeva oscuro; e voleva che le sue pitture dessero nel grande con figure assai maggiori del naturale, con far loro gran teste, mani ampie, e havea l'humore alla maniera grande, ma poco si accostava alla buona e perfetta." Zeri (1957, p. 63) credits Baglione for recognizing the influence of Sebastiano del Piombo on Valeriano's style.

⁴⁴Baglione, 1642, p. 83. The date Zeri proposes (1957, p. 66) is perfectly compatible with the chronology that Baglione suggests.

⁴⁵Baglione (1642, p. 83) notes that the skillfully handled drapery is to Pulzone's credit. The painting is illustrated in Abromson, 1981, fig. 185.

⁴⁶Baglione, 1642, p. 150. In noting that "l'esecutione è più disinvolta e più ferma, lo stile si è più maturo ead i volti meno fantocceschi e più individuali, umani ed espressive," Salerno (1956, p. 32) validates Baglione's assessment of the artist's progressive advances in handling.

Other artists suffered a reversal in fortune, hardening their styles with a subsequent diminishment of pictorial vivacity and strength. After Niccolò Trometta (da Pesaro) painted his masterpiece in the vault of the apse in Santa Maria in Aracoeli (1566-1568) he changed "gusto" and began to practice without "sapore".⁴⁷ As proof of his decline, Baglione cited the paintings in the two chapels adjacent to the main altar of Santa Maria dell'Orto (at right Scenes from the Passion of Christ, at left Scenes from the Life of St. Francis) which were "assai debole, e manca".⁴⁸ Following his arrival in Rome with a style that had been formed in Milan and Venice, Francesco Nappi painted a very good frieze in the Palazzo Crivelli. Subsequently he became overwhelmed and confused by the "antico-moderno" masterpieces that had been studied by other artists with such profit. His altarpiece, The Annunciation, and frescoes in Santa Maria in Monserrato (second chapel right) were "assai debole, e fiacco lontano dalla sua prima maniera, talchè nessuno il giudicheria, che fusse mano di quello stesso di prima."⁴⁹ The frescoes in the cloister of the Minerva that were painted about 1606, were a failure because Nappi retouched them to such an extent that they resembled miniatures painted "a

⁴⁷Baglione, 1642, p. 126. For Trometta see Thieme-Becker, XXVII, pp. 423-24 and Gere (1963, p. 12) who notes the weakness of Trometta's late graphic style, thereby confirming Baglione's judgement.

⁴⁸Baglione, 1642, p. 126. Baglione's judgement is again echoed in Barroero's modern view (1976, p. 72) that the paintings are "d'una stanchezza irremediabile."

⁴⁹Baglione, 1642, p. 311. The Annunciation for Santa Maria di Monseratto, illustrated by Strinati (1979, fig. 15, plate 18, p. 101 and pp. 74-78) is contrived and uninspired in comparison with the Annunciation in Santa Maria in Aquiro that was painted about 1600 for Cardinal Salviati.

secco" rather than "a fresco".⁵⁰ As hard as he tried Andrea Lilio couldn't match his "prima buona maniera" when he painted the lost Martyrdom of St. Catherine in San Salvatore in Lauro (1626-1629) and Baglione suggests that he was either worn out from the strain of work or from the disputes in which he had been involved.⁵¹

Baglione recounts in some detail the manner in which the Spanish patron of Borgianni, who had promised him a knighthood, was duped into awarding it to Gaspare Celio. After convincing him that Borgianni's paintings were second-rate copies, he presented his own works as gifts, thereby successfully promoting himself for the honour.⁵² Broken in

⁵⁰Nappi participated in and supervised the decoration of the cloister at Santa Maria sopra Minerva which was formerly one of the loveliest in Rome. The frescoes that he painted have been drastically altered by the windows that were cut into them when the adjacent refectory was built. A payment made in 1606 (Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Ms. Fondo Origo, 123, f. 1) mentions another painter involved in the decoration and the patron: "Mag.li SS.ri Herrera e Costa li p.aura di pagare al nro Pittore Mo. franc.co Nappi ^ vinticinq mta. qual sono p la mesata d'Aprile prossimo passato, et sono p dare a Mo Alo il quale ha fatto un Historia, nel Chostro della Minerba ne pigliaranno, che sul. faranno bono a Nri. conti conforme il ordine di Monr Ilmo. di Cordoba Vescovo di Badagios qto di 30 d'Agosto 1606. Cesare Palazolo." Other payments are made to Nappi in the same year without specific identification of subject matter.

⁵¹Baglione, 1642, p. 140. This is another example in which a factual basis for Baglione's comments can be identified. According to Rangoni (1985, pp. 229-31) Lilio was among a group of painters who objected to a proposed revision of the statutes governing the Academy in 1626. Their actions provoked a break with the official body and Baglione believed that the rupture had adversely affected Lilio's artistic skill.

⁵²Baglione, 1642, pp. 141-42. A note in a manuscript in the Vatican Library (Ms. Ottob. lat. 2925, f. 27) stating that Celio was conceded the knighthood in 1613 at the request of Philip III and made his profession of faith a year later, would seem to confirm the reliability of Baglione's account. However, the fact that one of the executors of Borgianni's testament was the secretary to the Ambassador of Philip III to the Holy See, has prompted Oasi (1973, p. 98) to question Baglione's

spirit, Borgianni's health declined. Baglione attributes the weak handling of The Assumption in the sacristy of Sacre Cuore a Castro Pretorio to the effects of his illness ("è la più debole opera, che'egli mai conducesse").⁵³ "Se quest'huomo honorato fosse vivuto ne gli anni maturi, haverebbe fatto belle opere, perch'egli cominciò a colorire, ch'era d'età perfetta...."⁵⁴ As an admirer of Borgianni, it is likely that Baglione considered it his duty to explain the falling off in quality that was the result of the grievous injury that he had suffered at the hands of Celio.

According to Baglione, the scenes from the history of Rome that d'Arpino painted on the walls of the Sala dei Conservatori on the Capitoline demonstrated his "particular genio" in painting historical subjects.⁵⁵ Although he was obliged by contract to complete the frescoes for the Holy Year of 1600, the cycle was not finished until more than thirty years later. During this time marked stylistic changes occurred, that are first noted by Baglione and after him by Scaramuccia.⁵⁶ The first scene to be completed, the fresco of Romulus

report of Celio's chicanery.

⁵³Baglione, 1642, p. 143. The painting, placed in the sacristy following the destruction of Santa Elena alli Cesari, represents a total departure from Borgianni's oeuvre. While it in some sense harks back to Annibale's Assumption in the Cerasi Chapel, it lacks its grandeur and charged equilibrium. See also Wethey, 1964, pp. 146-59.

⁵⁴Baglione, 1642, p. 143.

⁵⁵ibid., p. 371.

⁵⁶Scaramuccia (1674, p. 11) notes that the "due gran'Historie

and Remus, is based on an imaginative design in which the principal figures and the subsidiary groups play out their actions against a landscape background that brings them into sharp focus. "Se egli avesse seguito quello stile in tutta l'opera, n'haverebbe riportato gloria immortale" but his powers had already begun to wane by 1612 when he painted the fresco of The Battle of the Horatii and Curiatii, which was "un poco più debole dell'altre storie da prima colorite"⁵⁷ (Romulus and Remus, The Battle of the Romans with the Veienti and Fidenati and The Battle of the Romans and the Sabines). When d'Arpino set out to paint the last three frescoes in 1635 (The Foundation of Rome, The Vestal Virgins and The Rape of the Sabines) he was

stanco d'haver fatico, e ridottosi nel tempo, che dovea prender riposo, poichè indebolita era la natura, e gli spiriti raffreddati, non ha si appieno corrisposto al suo nome, & appagato il gusto de'Professori, e...all'animo suo più non rispondevano le forze; e per l'accrescimento de gli anni mancavagli il valor del pennello.⁵⁸

d'Arpino's lapses are instructive, not only because they indicate how carefully Baglione evaluated each work, but also because they point to moments of stylistic hesitation that suggest a complex evolution that has yet to be investigated. The inert altarpiece of The Annunciation in Santa Maria in Via (1595-96) was "non però di molto buon gusto" in comparison

dipinte in Campidoglio li par vero più magnifiche & eroiche dell'altre. Sono queste in fresco, ed'unite col disegno, colorite con tante di spirito che nella pare si possi pretendere di vantaggio".

⁵⁷Baglione, 1642, p. 372.

⁵⁸ibid., p. 373. Röttgen (1973, p. 35) notes that the battle scenes, considered to be the most classical works of d'Arpino in the nineteenth century, were admired for their order and symmetry. Baglione frequently refers to the lifelikeness of paintings in using the word "spirito". See Il Dizionario..., II, p. 559.

with the "assai gratiose....bella maniera" of The Nativity and The Adoration on the side walls.⁵⁹ Another painting executed about the same time "ma non con molto gusto" was the stiff, chromatically strident painting of The Madonna and Child with Saints Augustine and Francis (c. 1602) in Santa Trinità dei Pellegrini.⁶⁰ These instances of a wavering in quality are also significant in light of the masterful handling of the frescoes in the Olgiati Chapel and the Contarelli Chapel which were painted about the same time. Baglione is the only seventeenth-century writer to perceive that the change that had occurred in d'Arpino's style by 1612 was even more pronounced in 1615 when he painted The Coronation of the Virgin in the Glorieri Chapel of the Chiesa Nuova "di maniera dalla sua buona diversa."⁶¹ His comments indicate his displeasure at the loss of the grace and charm that he had formerly found so laudable in d'Arpino's works.⁶²

The representation of human beings in action had been one of the principal objectives of the artist since the Early Renaissance. His

⁵⁹Baglione, 1642, p. 370. A marginal note in the Lincei annotated Lives (Coll. 31-E 15) is similarly pejorative, "Non si puo vedere più goffa opera di questa Nuntiata."

⁶⁰Baglione, 1642, pp. 370-71. The chapel was built by two brothers, Agostino and Francesco Radice whose marble funerary inscriptions were placed in the chapel in 1605 and 1608. See Rocca (n. d., p. 105) and Brugnoli (1969, p. 26, n. 20) who challenges Baglione's criticism, finding merit in the "rich and dense colouring" and the hybrid mixture of Perinesque and Caravaggesque motifs.

⁶¹Baglione, 1642, p. 370.

⁶²Voss (quoted by Rottgen, 1973, p. 125) notes that about 1610 d'Arpino's paintings underwent a transformation towards a "melancholic and severe" style with a "progressive loss of spontaneity, of naturalism and of sensual freshness".

competence was tested by multifigured compositions based on historical, religious or mythological subjects. Baglione is partial to Livio Agresti who "nelle componenti delle storie fu copioso",⁶³ to Santo di Tito who was "osservante della storia"⁶⁴ and to Rubens who was "abbondante di varie inventioni."⁶⁵ Making large scale works was not easy as Baglione underlines in describing Lavinia Fontana's failure to come to grips with the complicated scale in painting The Stoning of St. Stephen for San Paolo fuori le mura, which called for a

quantità di figure, e con una gloria nell'alto, che rappresenta i Cieli aperti; ben'egli è vero, che, per esser le figure maggiori del naturale, si confuse, e si felicemente, come pensava, non riuscille; poiche è gran differenza da quadro ordinario a machine di quella grandezza, che spaventano ogni grand'ingegno.⁶⁶

Cognizant of the skills entailed in producing complex, multi-figured compositions, Baglione uses compositional richness as an evaluative criterion, even for his own works. Passignano's Building of San Giovanni dei Fiorentini was a work "con molte figure assai lodata."⁶⁷

⁶³Baglione, 1642, p. 20.

⁶⁴ibid., p. 65.

⁶⁵ibid., p. 363.

⁶⁶ibid., p. 144. Fontana arrived in Rome early in 1600 to paint The Vision of St. Hyacinth for Santa Sabina at the request of Cardinal Girolamo Bernerio (see Cardella, 5, 1792-94, pp. 25-53 and Abromson, 1981, pp. 188-194). Baglione described the painting as (1642, p. 143) "assai diligente, ben colorito, e quasi la migliore'opera, ch'ella facesse." Other paintings by Fontana are listed in the inventory of Bernerio's collection that will be published in my forthcoming article. In 1603 Bernerio helped Fontana to obtain the commission for The Stoning of St. Stephen.

⁶⁷Baglione, 1642, p. 332.

Domenichino's paintings are particularly remarked upon in this light. At San Gregorio Magno "fece in buonissimo fresco il s. Andrea flagellato con gran numero di figure, opera assai bella";⁶⁸ The Almsgiving of St. Cecilia in the Polet Chapel of San Luigi dei Francesi is notable for the "varie figure, che mostrano diverse attitudini."⁶⁹

Baglione recognized that certain artists were capable of stimulating pious sentiment or inducing meditation (Marcello Venusti, Sigismondo Laire),⁷⁰ but he takes trouble to point out that their success was linked to formal qualities as well as to the iconography of their paintings. Barocci's Visitation of St. Elizabeth was an image of great devotional power, to which St. Philip Neri was particularly susceptible. Artists also took pleasure in its "maniera sì bella, sfumata, dolce e vaga" that Baglione believed to be derived from Correggio "se bene un poco più tinta."⁷¹ The combination of alluring optical effects and spiritual sentiment that characterised Barocci's painting (and those of his followers) is well formulated by Baglione, "E di vero egli nelle sue

⁶⁸ibid., p. 383.

⁶⁹ibid., pp. 383-384.

⁷⁰ibid., p. 21. The Bavarian artist, Sigismondo Laire, supplied the Jesuits in India with miniatures painted on copper that were made "con tante vaghezza, e polite, e con diligenza sì estrema condotte, che la vista ordinaria a discernerele non bastava" (ibid., p. 353).

⁷¹ibid., p. 133. Baldinucci (1681, p. 173) defines "vaga" as "Bromoso, desideroso Lat. cupidus. Per grazioso, leggiadro. Lat. Venustas, elegans." The annotator of the Vatican Library Lives adds next to Baglione's first observation, "Questo lo stimò molto vero perchè non trovo maniera più somiglianza nelle svanita unione come nel modo di paneggiare ma il Correggio sarà sempre inimitabile nell'unione della dolcezza con la forza."

virtuose fatiche era vago, e divoto; e come nell'una parte gli occhi diletta, così con l'altra componeva gli animi; & i cuori a divotione riduceva."⁷² The limits of "arte sacra" are underlined in noting the contrast between the "chori di Angeli, che cantano, e suonano diversi instrumenti con tanta dolcezza condotti, che innamorano a vederli"⁷³ that the Milanese artist, Gio. Battista Pozzo, painted in the Cappella della Madonna della Strada in the Gesù (1584-1588) and the "durezza" of Valeriano's paintings on the walls below.⁷⁴

More attention is paid to Bolognese painters than to artists from any other region which reflects the success of the Carracci school in Rome. Biographies of "ben diocotto Bolognesi"⁷⁵ are included, later to be of great use to Malvasia in La Felsina Pittrice, though in complaining that Reni was excluded he did not take into account the restrictions Baglione had set at the outset of the Lives.⁷⁶

⁷²Baglione, 1642, p. 134. A masterly union between spiritual intensity and beauty of form was also the source of the compelling attraction of other famous paintings such as Borgianni's image of St. Charles Borromeo Adoring the Trinity in San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane which was "assai devoto, e di buona maniera" (p. 142).

⁷³ibid., p. 40.

⁷⁴ibid., p. 40.

⁷⁵See Malvasia (1841, I, Preface) who cites Baglione as a source. Baglione provided him with a basis for biographies of Antonio Scavati, Baldassare Croce, Baldassare Aloisi (Galanino), Gio. Antonio Lelli, Gio. Battista Ruggieri, Gio. Battista Viola, Gio. Giacomo Semenza, Gio. Valasio, Lattantio Bolognese, Lavinia Fontana, Paolo Rossetti, Pellegrino da Bologna, Pietro Paolo Bonzi (Gobbo dei Carracci) and Stefano Speranza.

⁷⁶ibid., II, p. 66, "Il Baglione che nelle vite de' pittori del suo tempo, poco amico a Guido, non pote così fuggirne la memoria che nella vita del nostro Menichono non gli venisse nominato: pittori de' più valenti scuola di Annibale." It is only fair to point out that Baglione did make

It is with the eye of a practicing artist that Baglione looks at sculpture, singling out those works for highest praise which reveal a soft, pictorial handling.⁷⁷ The care with which he actually examined works of sculpture can be gauged by the precision of his observations. The tactile appeal of Giovanni Montana's wooden sculptures (seen in the softness of the garments and the beauty of the pleats) pleased him, as is evident in the attentive description of an organ which is well above eye level in Santa Maria di Loreto.⁷⁸ Pompeo Ferrucci's statue of Religion on Cardinal Bonelli's tomb in Santa Maria sopra Minerva is appreciated for its great beauty.⁷⁹ As Martinelli has rightly observed, the Sansovinesque character "è arricchito d'una certa pittorica sensibilizzazione delle superficie."⁸⁰ Valsoldo's St. Peter Martyr in the Cappella Sistina was judged to be the best of the statues by the

some exceptions to the rule, as the long biography of Rubens illustrates.

⁷⁷The critical vocabulary that Baglione uses to describe painting is carried over to sculpture. The only exception is the substitution of "capriccio" for "invenzione" in reference to the imaginative content of a work. Baldinucci (1681, p. 28) defines a caprice as a "Proprio pensiero e invenzione. Quindi, fatto a capriccio o di fantasia, cioè di proprio pensiero e invenzione. E dicesi anche capriccio talvolta alla cosa stessa fatta, cioè questo, o pittura, o scultura, o altra che sia, e un mio capriccio."

⁷⁸Baglione, 1642, pp. 111-12, "...su la porta laterale v'è di suo quell'Organo da lui gratiosamente lavorato con suo intaglio, & architettura con quelle figurine benissimo scolpite; e d'incontro sopra l'altra parte v'è quel vago choretto con figure, e puttini con ogni sottigliezza, e pulitezza egregiamente fatti, opera del suo ingegno." He regarded Montana's organ piece in the Lateran Transept to be the finest modern work of its kind.

⁷⁹ibid., pp. 347-48.

⁸⁰Martinelli, 1952, p. 348.

supervisors who no doubt appreciated the soft handling and enrapt spirituality that characterises the work.⁸¹ Christoforo Stati's ability to convey the illusion of life in the sculpture of Venus and Adonis (Bracciano, Palazzo del Comune) prompts Baglione to remark that the figures were "sì bell'arte condotte, e sì al vivo spiranti, che innamorano chiunque loro riguardo."⁸² Baglione's positive response to Niccolò Mostaert's relief of the Last Judgement on the tomb of the Duke of Cleves in Santa Maria dell'Anima was no doubt due to his awareness that the artist had studied The Laocoön.⁸³

The necessity to manipulate scale and adjust attitude according to the requirements of the site and to take into account the increased dimensions of the finished work when making a model were also essential to mastery. Stati's statue of The Magdalen was well suited to the size of the niche in the Barberini Chapel of Sant'Andrea delle Valle⁸⁴ and Stefano Speranza was attentive in calculating the scale of the small figures ("bene accomodate molto bella") in the relief he made of The Emperor Henry IV Kneeling Before Pope Gregory VII at Canossa for the tomb of Countess Mathilda in St. Peter's.⁸⁵ Mariani was lauded for the majestic statues

⁸¹Baglione, 1642, p. 79.

⁸²ibid., p. 162. Martinelli (1959, pp. 234-42) rightly draws attention to the pertinence of Baglione's comment.

⁸³Baglione, 1642, p. 67, "...vogliono, che le migliori statue di marmo lavorate in quel monumento sieno stati fatti da Niccolo." See the discussion of the monument, reproduced by Knapp and Hansmann, 1979, pp. 38-42 and fig. 11.

⁸⁴Baglione, 1642, p. 162.

⁸⁵ibid., p. 352.

of saints made in 1600 for San Bernardo alle Terme, which were more than double life size and technically innovative.⁸⁶ In contrast, Prospero Bresciano's statue of Moses for the Acqua Felice was a dismal failure because he hadn't listened to the counsel of friends who urged him to make it "in situ" where he could take into account practical adjustments that were necessitated by the particular topography of the site.⁸⁷ Cobaert's pride was also his downfall. Though a skilled miniaturist and model maker, he was not experienced in working in marble. As a result of his refusal to take advice, The St. Matthew was rejected by the Contarelli because it was lifeless.⁸⁸ Experiments have demonstrated, Baglione writes, that "la forma del buon modello è la perfettione del ben'operare",⁸⁹ but experience was crucial. Though the dilettante sculptor, Paolo di San Quirico, made a competent wax model for the statue of Paul V in Santa Maria Maggiore, it was not successfully cast in metal, even after two attempts.⁹⁰

110-11.

⁸⁶Baglione, 1642, p. 113, "...ha fatto egli otto figuroni di stucco con maestà condotti, che dall'arte non si può meglio sperare, due volte maggiori del vivo." Burns (1981, p. 89) points out that the use of stucco for such large scale sculpture was a novelty at the time in Rome.

⁸⁷Baglione, 1642, pp. 43-44.

⁸⁸ibid., p. 100. Noting Cobaert's Flemish origins, Baglione uses the term "seccagine" to single out the major defect of the sculpture.

⁸⁹ibid., p. 338.

⁹⁰The sculpture, which is on the mezzanine, was commissioned by the Canons of Santa Maria Maggiore. It is more than double life size; the proportions are very crude.

As a result of Baglione's participation in a number of decorative programs, as well as his sensitivity to site as a painter of altarpieces, he recognizes the interplay between architectonic and pictorial media and is sometimes overwhelmed by the richness of effect. The Altar of the Blessed Sacrament in the Lateran Transept, the Aldobrandini Chapel, Barberini Chapel and Sala Clementina strike him in this way as does the

ricca, e sontuosa cappella in s. Maria Maggiore [the Cappella Paolina] ad honore, e gloria della B. Vergine sua Avvocata; e bella, e magnifica la rese di proportione, d'ornamenti, di statue, di pitture, di marmi, di misti, di pietre pretiose, di stucchi d'oro, e di gioe, che reca stupore a ciascheduno....⁹¹

That the ordering of the Via del Corso and adjacent streets (Ripetta and Babuino) was calculated for the "trompe-l'oeil" effect was appreciated by Baglione. The obelisk in the center of the Piazza del Popolo "fu messa in prospettiva con bella vista, e con sì mirabile artificio in capo alle tre strade principale del Corso, di Ripetta, e della Trinità, che i forestieri pensano, che ogni va una di queste strade habbia da se propria Guglia."⁹² Likewise the piazza preceding Santa Susanna gave the appearance of a "bella mostra"⁹³ with the fountains and statues of the Acqua Felice complementing the "bellissima facciata...tutta di trevertini con statua adornata."⁹⁴

⁹¹Baglione, 1642, p. 94. His enthusiasm carries over to the "ricchezza mirabile" of the Sacristy (p. 95) with its "adornamenti di pitture, di stucchi d'oro, e bellissimi credenzoni di noce intagliate, dove si ripone quantità di vasi d'oro, d'argenti, e pretiose apparati".

⁹²ibid., pp. 85-86.

⁹³ibid., p. 36.

⁹⁴ibid., p. 308.

Due to Baglione's keen interest in contemporary architecture the Lives is a fund of first hand information. The importance he places on distinguishing between restorations and renovations is typical of his interest in upholding an objective record.⁹⁵ Again he is most vivid in response to pictorial effects. He records the visual pleasure provided by ornamental richness in Maderno's facade of St. Peter's⁹⁶ and the colouristic beauty of gilded soffits and stucco work in various places. He pauses to admire the portico "da colonne doppie vagamente sostenute"⁹⁷ that Honorio Longhi had built in front of Sant'Anastasia, the "alla rustica"⁹⁸ style seen in the door and window of Vignola's Caffarelli Palace, the choir "ricco di marmo"⁹⁹ in San Lorenzo in Damaso designed by Bernini and the ornamented door that Domenico Fontana had designed for the Palazzo della Cancelleria.¹⁰⁰ In his estimation, the "bellissima scala a chiocciolle"¹⁰¹ that Mascarino made at the Quirinal Palace should have assured his immortality. It can be surmised that Baglione took into account the unique location of the church of Santa

⁹⁵Such objectivity also characterizes the Nove Chiese as Barroero (passim) discusses in her introductory essay to the facsimile edition published in 1991.

⁹⁶Baglione, 1642, p. 96.

⁹⁷ibid., p. 156. As noted earlier (*infra* p.), the portico had been destroyed in 1634.

⁹⁸Baglione, 1642, p. 7.

⁹⁹ibid., p. 181. The choir did not survive the later remodeling of the church.

¹⁰⁰ibid., p. 86.

¹⁰¹ibid., p. 99.

Francesca Romana overlooking the Roman Forum when he expressed admiration for Carlo Lambardi's facade with its imaginative combination of Palladian motifs, ornaments and statues.¹⁰² Although he is particularly attracted to surface richness and novel design in architecture, admiring Francesco da Volterra's "vaghissimo disegno" for San Giacomo degli Incurabili,¹⁰³ the "due cappelle ronde...con colonne, & abbellimenti di vaghissimi misti" built by Giacomo della Porta in the Gesù,¹⁰⁴ the "esquisita architettura"¹⁰⁵ of Pietro da Cortona's Ss. Luca e Martina, the "leggiadra e capriccioso architettura" of Borromini's San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane¹⁰⁶ and Maruscelli's richly decorated facade for the Palazzo Madama,¹⁰⁷ he could also find merit in the classicizing architecture of Flaminio Ponzio (seen in the Palazzo Schiarra and the Cappella Paolina).¹⁰⁸ Such breadth of taste parallels the remarkable critical openness with which he approached painting and sculpture.

¹⁰²ibid., p. 166. Little attention has been paid to Lambardi with the exception of the article by Battaglia (1940, 12, pp. 2-14). He views the facade (p. 5) as "un'erudita e quasi artificiosa combinazione di elementi architettonici tra se disporiti."

¹⁰³Baglione, 1642, p. 48.

¹⁰⁴ibid., p. 81.

¹⁰⁵ibid., p. 180.

¹⁰⁶ibid., p. 181.

¹⁰⁷ibid., p. 376. As Blunt points out (1982, p. 183), "the mouldings and carved decoration of the windows, which include the lily of Florence, are unusually rich for Maruscelli, whose style is normally restrained and non-Baroque."

¹⁰⁸ibid., p. 135.

The vivid picture that Baglione paints of the range and vitality of artistic production during the period is the greatest strength of the Lives (and paradoxically the major source of critical objection). His admiration for the varied perfections of art is summarized in the life of the painter, Girolamo Nanni, "Ed a nostri tempi in chi è lodato la venustà, in chi l'espressiva della Natura; altri prevale nel colorito, & altri dassi al rilievo delle figure; molti vaglione nella compositione, e molti nella varietà."¹⁰⁹

Following upon the observations of von Schlosser and others, Svetlana Alpers points out that the second edition of Vasari's Lives offered an alternative to Michelangelo's attainment of absolute perfection in "disegno" and the possible repercussions of this situation on the evaluation of Raphael and the generation that followed him:

...with Michelangelo the technical equipment of the painter has been completed, 'disegno' is perfected, and the artists must now cultivate the end of art, making inventions...The addition of the other living artists besides Michelangelo and particularly the presentation of Raphael's 'invenzione' as an alternative to Michelangelo's 'disegno' affirm that art will go on and not necessarily decline.¹¹⁰

In Baglione's estimation a number of his colleagues had accepted that alternative, demonstrating exceptional originality and imaginative

¹⁰⁹ibid., p. 385. Baglione thus followed in the footsteps of Cinquecento art writers, such as Dolce, who (Mahon, 1953, p. 312) "began to be uneasily aware of the awkward empirical fact (to put it in modern terms) that artistic quality of the highest order manifested itself in outward forms so varied as to lead to serious repercussions on the formulation of an explicit theory of art which purported to embrace them."

¹¹⁰Alpers, 1960, pp. 209 and p. 207.

capacity.¹¹¹ Significantly, the Carracci had also grounded their reform on the "determination that originality, that quality of personal style that Agostino, according to Malvasia, saw as natural and proper to Correggio and Titian, could be recovered."¹¹²

The wealth of anecdotes in the Lives are fragments of an image of the contemporary artist that Baglione wanted to record for posterity. A picture of his hero emerges from the moralistic judgements, morsels of advice and "off the cuff" remarks that pepper the biographies of friend and foe alike. Though he clearly has his preferences, most of whom correspond to the group of painters featured in Bellori's poem "Alla

¹¹¹These are: Jacopo Zucchi, Annibale Carracci, Adam Elsheimer, Pietro Paul Rubens, Antonio Tempesta, Mao Salini, Paolo Guidotti, Antiveduto Grammatica, Matteo Zoccolino, Filippo Napoletano, Gobbo dei Carracci and Gio. Giacompo Semenza. Mancini (I, p. 110) criticized Bernardo Castello's Calling of St. Peter in St. Peter's for its lack of composition and decorum. Baglione reports the great praise it elicited from the poets, Gabriello Chiabrera and Angelo Grillo. The definition of "invenzione" in Baldinucci (1681, p. 78) is as follows, "I nostri Artefici dicono invenzione non solo quella facoltà, che e nell'ottimo Maestro, di rappresentare con chiarezza e proprietà, quella inventiva, o storia, o poetica, o mista che sia, in tal modo che, e nel tutto, e nelle parti, appaisca tale, quale egli stesso, e voluto ch'ella sia, ma ancora dicono invenzione alla stessa cosa rappresentata, e dicono buona e cattiva invenzione la cosa stessa inventata, siccome buona, e cattivo inventore chiamano colui che l'invento."

¹¹²See Cropper (Emilian Painting ..., 1987, p. 58) who also points out that for the success of their critical revolution the Carracci had "to strive not only to be original but also to be inimitable - and here lies the real difference between their enterprise and that of Vasari - affirming their own historical contingency." The issue of novelty was brought to the fore by Domenichino's alleged plagiarism of Agostino Carracci's Last Communion of St. Jerome. Cropper (1984, esp. pp. 120-29) has also drawn proper attention to a "growing tension between the principles of imitation and innovation that were becoming apparent in the seventeenth century" that is already detectable in the Lives.

Pittura" preceding the Lives,¹¹³ Baglione does not lionize a single artist as Vasari had done. The underlying premises are derived from the "ideal image of the well adjusted and socially integrated artist"¹¹⁴ upheld by Alberti and further endorsed by Vasari, whose Lives were aptly characterised by Rouchette as "success stories".¹¹⁵ The second edition of the Lives was revised with the foundation of the Florentine Academy as a prominent consideration in the diffusion of "a new ideal which stressed the urbanity and courtliness to be expected from the successful artist."¹¹⁶ Observations and the repetition of anecdotes emphasise the following characteristics that Baglione deemed to be central to artistic success.

Knowledge of the precepts of art and lifelong, single-minded application. "...quella mole è degna di pregio, che ne'suoi fondamenti è bene stabilita."¹¹⁷ Industriousness was rewarded. Muziano shaved his head to force upon himself the solitude necessary for serious

¹¹³The group of painters featured in "Alla Pittura" introduces the most eminent artists of the Cinquecento and Seicento. Great masters of the Renaissance - Raphael, Michelangelo, Veronese, Polidoro da Caravaggio, Andrea del Sarto, Niccolo dell'Abaté and Leonardo da Vinci are followed by the stars of the next century - Giovanni Alberti, Muziano, Federico Zuccari, Caravaggio, Federico Barocci, Giuseppe Cesari, Orazio Borgianni and the Carracci. The poem, which was later dismissed by Bellori as a youthful blunder in a marginal note attributed to him that appears in a copy of the Lives (Accademia dei Lincei, Coll.- 31 E15), is briefly discussed by Donohue, 1943-45, p. 113.

¹¹⁴See Alberti, ed. Grayson, p. 119.

¹¹⁵Rouchette, 1959, p. 58.

¹¹⁶Hughes, 1986, p. 56.

¹¹⁷Baglione, 1642, p. 150 (Biography of Antonio Carracci).

concentration. As a result of his discipline he made a triumphant debut as a history painter with The Raising of Lazarus.¹¹⁸ The reclusive Cigoli profitably devoted much of his time to the study of architecture and perspective.¹¹⁹ Ciampelli was "studioso, e le sue opere non furono a caso lavorate, come d'alcuni espressamente si vede."¹²⁰ Morazzone's program epitomizes the prescribed route for success:

...benchè povero, diedesi ad imparare i principii del disegno, e del colorire, e non mancava di affaticarsi, e di studiare nelle belle opere di Roma, si antiche, come moderne: e facendo anche frutto nelle Accademie, che per Roma si fanno, ne divenne al fine bravo disegnatore; e spratticandosi sopra i lavori di diversi Dipintori, che operavano in varii luoghi di Roma, si fece buon pratico in colorire si a olio, come a fresco, e diede speranza di riuscire valent'huomo, si come avvenne.¹²¹

In summary, "La diligenza il tutto vince, e lo studio ogni cosa perfettiona."¹²² Conversely, as Cennino Cennini had clearly spelled out, indolence and amorous distractions brought downfall.¹²³ Baglione's verdict on Gio. Battista della Marca's failure ("non volea punto faticare,

¹¹⁸ibid., p. 49. The artist's total involvement in his work, to the exclusion of the outside world, is also one of the fixed themes of artistic biography according to Kris and Kurz, 1979, p. 123.

¹¹⁹Baglione, 1642, p. 154.

¹²⁰ibid., p. 320.

¹²¹ibid., p. 285.

¹²²ibid., p. 313.

¹²³As the Wittkowers point out (1963, pp. 14-15), Cennini was the first art writer to demand the artist's complete dedication to his profession and to warn him to avoid the pitfalls of love.

e di quella sua facilità di fare si godeva")¹²⁴ is reiterated for many artists. Amorous involvements brought ruination to Antonio Carracci, Antonio Pomarancio, Taddeo Landini, and Giuseppe Franco.¹²⁵ Ventura Salimbeni had a "gran spirito, e buona maniera" but "dandosi al buon tempo fecesi egli insingardo; e stava tutto di sù gli amori; onde non giunse a quel profitto, che le genti speravano."¹²⁶ Gio. Battista Ruggieri was "innamorossi...di una Donna, e sì fortemente n'era acceso, ch'alla fine con il cuore perdè anche la vita"¹²⁷ as did Reni's pupil, Gio. Giacopo Semenza, who is held up as an example for all to be wary of the high price an artist can pay for love.¹²⁸

Other hazards lay in the artist's path, especially the insalubrious working conditions that hastened the deaths of Giovanni Alberti (who became ill from the humidity in painting vaults), Adam Elsheimer (who developed stomach problems caused by painting such small figures ["dicono"]), Ludovico Cigoli (who became ill because of the humidity when he frescoed the cupola of the Cappella Paolina in Santa Maria Maggiore) and Filippo d'Angeli (who developed poor health as a result either of making miniatures or taking a young wife).¹²⁹ Antonio Viviani's deafness

¹²⁴Baglione, 1642, p. 47.

¹²⁵ibid., pp. 151, 302, 64, 356.

¹²⁶ibid., p. 120.

¹²⁷ibid., p. 361.

¹²⁸ibid., p. 344.

¹²⁹ibid., pp. 71, 101, 154, 103.

was attributed by Baglione to his exposure to humid conditions as a fresco painter.¹³⁰

Vasari's conception of style as the "esternamento del carattere psicologico"¹³¹ is the point of reference for a number of Baglione's observations. For example, by virtue of his "genio" in making devotional paintings, Muziano outdistanced himself from all other competitors in the eyes of seventeenth-century writers. Baglione attributed his ability to capture the numinous nature of the saints he painted to the fact that "era uomo grave, riposato, modesto, amorevole, & affabile...."¹³² Domenichino was a very retiring individual who was equally modest in his paintings.¹³³

Membership of the Academy of St. Luke. Baglione considered the Academy, the "fonte del Disegno",¹³⁴ to be essential for the education, recognition and protection of the professional artist. Cognizant of the efforts expended by Zuccaro and Muziano to legitimize the Academy by gaining Papal approval, Baglione expected his colleagues to abide by the constitution and to actively participate in its functions. The "largesse d'esprit" shown by artists like Tommaso Laureti, Girolamo Muziano and

¹³⁰ibid., p. 71.

¹³¹Ragghianti, 1980, p. 141.

¹³²Baglione, 1642, p. 51.

¹³³ibid., p. 385.

¹³⁴ibid., p. 124.

Sigismondo Laire was imitated by Baglione who also donated gifts to the Academy.¹³⁵

Respect for the Artistic Patrimony. Baglione censures certain artists for their repudiation of tradition. Caravaggio is the major culprit; others are Gio. Battista Lelli and Gaspare Celio. In a number of anecdotes the pre-eminence of Raphael is challenged. For example, when Scipione Pulzone completed the restoration of Raphael's St. Luke Painting the Virgin in the Academy he attached his name to the painting with a "trompe-l'oeil" card. "Notando la presunzione," Federico Zuccaro "guastò la carta, il nome, e gli disse molte ingiurie sì, che vennerò alle mani, e vi fu molta fatica a rappacificarli; tanto gli era zelante dell'honore de' gran Maestro, e delle opere eccellenti."¹³⁶ Grammatica was ousted from office when Salini charged him with trying to dupe the Academy by replacing Raphael's painting with a copy.¹³⁷ Terenzio Terenzi tried to pass off one of his paintings as a Raphael to Cardinal

¹³⁵Muziano conditionally left over a thousand "scudi" in his Will for the construction of a hostel and hospital for young foreigners in Rome who needed sustenance during their academic studies (Baglione, 1642, pp. 51-52). Laire gave a hundred "scudi" to each member of the Academy in his Will (1642, pp. 353-54).

¹³⁶Baglione, 1642, p. 124. Wazbinski (1985, pp. 27-37) cites (p. 33) the restorer's discovery of the fictive card with the signature cancelled, which would seem to give a factual basis for the story.

¹³⁷Baglione, 1642, p. 294. Grammatica's machinations as Principe deprived Salini of an authoritative position in the Academy. Angered, Salini accused Grammatica of attempting to replace Raphael's St. Luke Painting the Virgin with a copy with the intention of giving the original to a nobleman in order to curry favour. His story was apparently convincing as Grammatica was removed from office and replaced by Simone Vouet. The story is repeated from Baglione by the Wittkowers, 1963, p. 241.

Peretti-Montalto who discovered the deceit and summarily dismissed the artist from his household.¹³⁸ Even the works of Raphael's pupils were so highly revered that when Giulio Romano's altarpiece, The Holy Family with St. Mark and St. James, in Santa Maria dell'Anima was poorly retouched by Saraceni there was great dismay among the Academicians.¹³⁹ It is certainly not by accident that Baglione's choice of such terms as "vaga" and "grazia" to describe d'Arpino's paintings echoes Vasari's praise for Raphael.

The ideal artist is a learned man of elevated culture, good manners and presentation, a favourite of princes and a friend of poets, accommodating to patrons, respectful of colleagues, moderate, devout, wealthy and famous. The sisterhood of painting and poetry is the subject of the two paintings that Baglione gave to Ottavio Tronsarelli (Painting Counsels Poetry and Music Sings the Praises of Painting and Poetry). The explicit reference to the famous apothegm of Simonides in the biography of Baldassare Aloisi reiterates the claim for status of painting as a liberal art akin to poetry: "La Pittura è muta Poesia, della quale è anima l'inventione; onde come questa fa chiari i Poeti, così anche rende famosi i Pittori, e senz'essa le Pitture non sono mute, ma morte Poesie."¹⁴⁰ Baglione's guiding model was the image of the cultivated and learned artist that Vasari had upheld. He had great respect for the breadth of

¹³⁸Baglione, 1642, pp. 156-57.

¹³⁹ibid., p. 146.

¹⁴⁰ibid., p. 349. Lee's analysis of the apothegm (1940, pp. 197 ff.) remains unsurpassed.

culture displayed by Giovanni di San Giovanni, Paolo Guidotti, Gio. Battista Ruggieri and Domenichino.

Good deportment and presentation were prerequisites for an elevated position in the social hierarchy.¹⁴¹ Pulzone and Elsheimer had the presence of noblemen.¹⁴² Federico Zuccari, d'Arpino, Vanni, Cordier, Morazzone, Roncalli, Passignano and Rubens were rewarded by Princes with exceptional favours. Noblemen-artists like Gio. Battista Crescenzi and Rosato Rosati conferred status on painting and treated artists with great respect.¹⁴³ Bernardo Cesari was fond of conversing with "persone nobili, maggiori della sua conditione; e soleva tal volta dire, che nel conversare co'maggiore di se, nulla si perde",¹⁴⁴ whereas his brother missed out on the "più facoltosa rendita di beni"¹⁴⁵ because he discounted their good will and was not anxious to accommodate them. Other artists are criticized for their obstinacy in refusing to take advice from colleagues, in procrastinating in completing commissions or in inconstancy towards

¹⁴¹Vasari counsels the artist to avoid excess and laziness and to aim for moderation in intimate relationships. See Rouchette, 1959, pp. 55-59 and Haskell (1980, p. 7) who states that good manners was a "paramount issue for painters in the seventeenth century...."

¹⁴²Baglione, 1642, p. 54.

¹⁴³ibid., p. 366. Baglione is impressed by other noblemen who studied art: Cardinal Antonio Barberini, Prince Taddeo Barberini (who took lessons from Tempesta), the sons of the Prince Prefect da Benigno Vangiolini, Duke Paolo Orsini of Bracciano, Principe Savelli, etc.

¹⁴⁴ibid., p. 148.

¹⁴⁵ibid., p. 375.

patrons. Affable conversation was part of the decorum expected from an artist; verbal abuse was detestable.¹⁴⁶

Like Alberti and Vasari, Baglione urges moderation in living habits, reproaching many artists for their intemperances. He dislikes eccentricity, though in passing along anecdotes about Cherubino Alberti's inordinate passion for catapults,¹⁴⁷ the strange "memento mori" that Ludovico Leoni kept under his bed,¹⁴⁸ Saraceni's dandified manner of dressing "à la mode française"¹⁴⁹ and the bizarre behavior of other artists, Baglione is surely influenced by the inherited belief that such unconventional quirks are often the by-product of artistic genius.¹⁵⁰

Vasari's equation of glory with honour and profit¹⁵¹ is reiterated by Baglione. Fame and fortune favoured Caravaggio for a brief period;

¹⁴⁶Bertolotti (1885, II, pp. 65-66) partially reports the depositions regarding the insults and threats made by Caravaggio's sidekick, Onorio Longhi, who had indecorously provoked a skirmish with Salini and Baglione inside Santa Maria sopra Minerva.

¹⁴⁷ibid., pp. 132-33. As the Wittkowers see it (1963, p. 89), Baglione was particularly exasperated with Alberti because the catapult was an anachronistic weapon.

¹⁴⁸Baglione, 1642, p. 145.

¹⁴⁹ibid., p. 147. The Wittkowers (1963, p. 239) establish a category for the "artifex academicus" who was extremely attentive to upper-crust fashion.

¹⁵⁰The Wittkowers (1963, p. 7) note that eccentricity is "one of the most marked characteristics of western artists". Haskell (1980, pp. 21-22) has also touched upon the attitudes concerning the "artistic temperament" in the seventeenth-century.

¹⁵¹Rouchette, 1959, p. 59.

Baglione projected an eternal reward for other short-lived artists of great talent. Knighthood was conferred on a number of artists and distinctions and great wealth were concomitant with the notoriety they enjoyed. The extent to which such acclaim was the driving force behind Baglione's own personal goals is evident in the triumphant "finale" of his autobiography, "E hora più, che mai habbia fatto, con amore le sue opere conduce; tanto è innamorato della Virtù; & e il suo pregio il valore, e premio la Fama."¹⁵²

¹⁵²Baglione, 1642, p. 405. Baglione cites the following artists in the Lives for the wealth and fame they achieved: Santo di Tito, Federico Barocci, the Leoni, Ludovico Cigoli, Giacomo Palma, Bernardo Castello, Pier Francesco Morazzone, Antiveduto Grammatica. Paul Bril, Antonio Tempesta, Domenico Passignano, Sigismondo Laire, Domenichino, Giuseppe Cesari, Rubens and himself.

Chapter 9

The Lives : Caravaggio and the Caravaggisti

During the last two decades of the sixteenth-century Baglione had tested the waters of almost every stylistic current in Rome. It is therefore not surprising that he was precocious in recognizing Caravaggio's strengths at least five years before any of his peers. To see a few aspects of his style in the works of the only Roman painter of "first class" stature¹ piqued Caravaggio enough to contradict himself during questioning at the libel trial of 1603. After including Baglione in the list of artists he considered to be "valenthuomini" in the profession, he made a "volte-face". The statement he jealously uttered, "Io non so niente che nessun pittore che lodi per bon pittore Giovanni Baglione...,"² has been given such undue weight that it has been far more effective than the slanderous verses ever could have been in tarnishing Baglione's artistic reputation.

In addition, his achievements as a biographer have been vitiated by the assumption that frustration at Caravaggio's brief imprisonment and continuing harassment surfaced nearly forty years later when his venom spilled into ink in the biography of Caravaggio that is included in the Lives. Due to the assumption that he distorted the account of Caravaggio's artistic "percorso", creating the myth of the

¹See infra p. 56.

²See infra p. 47.

painter-criminal in order to discredit Caravaggio and to minimize the extent of his influence, his observations have been previously taken "cum grano salis".

Recent efforts to obtain a clarification of the nature of Caravaggio's art and of the reception of it within the "contemporary context"³ have produced valuable insights into his patronage, technical methods, etc.⁴ Given this intense focus, it is all the more surprising that the most thorough, contemporary biography by a fellow artist has never been carefully examined for the light it could shed on Caravaggio's paintings.⁵

Baglione's observations stress Caravaggio's working methods and technical skills. He believed that the first stage in Caravaggio's early Roman career (1592/3-96) was marked by "diligenza", a characteristic that bespeaks a painstaking effort to obtain mimesis. Baglione's application

³See Mahon, 1953/54, p. 34.

⁴A concerted response has finally been launched, more than thirty years after Mahon (ibid., p. 35) first articulated the need for "attempts to understand Caravaggio's artistic personality as an individual whole and as related to his times". Examples of inroads made in this direction are the excellent introductory essays by Salerno, Spear and Gregori in the The Age of Caravaggio, 1985 as well as the study of Caravaggio's use of incisions in the preparatory stages of his paintings by Christiansen, 1986, pp. 421-45. See also Cordaro, pp. 105-15 and Schneider, pp. 117-38 in L'Ultimo Caravaggio..., 1987. Cropper and Dempsey (1987, pp. 494-510) believe (p. 497) that "the most important single issue now facing current work in Italian seventeenth-century art" is "the question of the sources" but do not pay attention to Baglione.

⁵For example, the only reference made to Baglione's observations in Lapucci's essay (Come nascono..., 1991, p. 32) is her notice regarding the aptness of his remark that Caravaggio made exclusive use of oil as a medium.

of this term to the self portraits that Caravaggio made after his mirror image is a recognition of their accuracy of contour and surface realism. But the measured, careful approach that produced these effects could also compromise them by emphasizing graphic over pictorial qualities. The Bacchino Malato was painted "di maniera un poco secca".⁶ Caravaggio was too meticulous and colour was therefore flat and without chromatic strength.

Though Baglione erred in describing a still life in The Lute Player that had actually been painted on another canvas in the collection of Cardinal Del Monte, his comments underline his great admiration for Caravaggio's ability to paint so that

vivo, e vero il tutto pareva con una caraffa di fiori piena d'acqua, che dentro il riflesso d'una finestra eccellentemente si scorgeva con altri ricopertimenti di quella camera dentro d'acqua, e sopra quei fiori eravi una viva rugiadra con ogni esquisita diligenza finta.

⁶Baglione, 1642, p. 136. The "maniera secca" is defined by Baldinucci (1681, p. 89) as the mode: "Di quell'Artefice, che nell'opera sua procede in tal modo, che fa vedere più di quello, che la natura nel naturale, da esso rappresentata, e solito di far vedere: ovvero di colui che dintorna seccamente, cioè senza alcuna morbidezza, l'opere sue; & anche di colui, che per poca intelligenza di chiari, e scuri, di disegno e d'invenzione, non da loro, nè rilievo, nè abbligamento, ne verità". Baglione criticized the hardness in paintings by the Florentine, Stefano Piero (the fresco of St. Jerome Offering the Vulgate to Pope Damasus in the Cappella di S. Gerolamo in San Giovanni dei Fiorentini and the Annunciation in Santa Prassede) and by Girolamo Rocca (The Crucifixion in Santa Maria degli Angeli). These works are without pictorial qualities and are quite bland in content. As Rodinò correctly notes (1985, p. 518 and n. 13) Pieri's Annunciation bears comparison to late Quattrocento Florentine paintings.

⁷Baglione, 1642, p. 136. Christiansen (1990, p. 58 n. 51) interprets Baglione's comments as a veiled criticism of genre painting, a view which is not consistent with the particular care and pleasure he took in describing the painting.

the high esteem in which Baglione held Caravaggio's mimetic powers is also indicated by his description of the extraordinary "trompe-l'oeille" effect of A Boy Bitten By A Lizard ("e pareva quella testa veramente stridere").⁸

The next step in Caravaggio's development was his application of these skills to multi-figured compositions. The first mention of the method of working "dal naturale" appears in the description of A Concert of Youths ("una Musica di alcuni giovani ritratti dal naturale assai bene").⁹ The lack of physiognomical differentiation and crowding in the painting have been held up as grounds for interpreting Baglione's use of the term "dal naturale" as a "generic comment on style".¹⁰ If "dal naturale" is understood to define a relationship with the model in which the principal objective was portrait-like verisimilitude then its application is justifiably of little import in describing a painting in which a desire for beauty is so apparent. The idea that Caravaggio's rapport with his models was imitatively transcriptional was one of the principal features

⁸Baglione, 1642, p. 136.

⁹ibid., p. 136. Baldinucci (1681, pp. 105-06), "Chiamano Pittore quel l'huomo, che ignudi o vestito, sta fermo, per esser ritratto, chiamarlo anche modello, propriamente però colui, che per tale effetto è pagato dal pubblico dell'Accademia del Disegno. E lo star fermo di colui per tali effetto di esser ritratto, dicono stare al naturale. E fatto dal naturale; per esempio uomo, albero, mano, area, & c. fatta al naturale, vale rappresentato in disegno, in pittura o in scultura, con aver tenuto il modello, o naturale per ricavarlo."

¹⁰Christiansen, 1990, p. 423. Gregori (in The Age of Caravaggio, 1985, p. 235) sees the arrangement as related to the habit of Brescian painters like Moretto and Moroni, who assembled compositions by patching together or conflating "features taken from nature, or cartoons for individual elements or figures."

of his own propaganda. From Van Mander onwards the biographers respected this claim, though Mancini's observation that Caravaggio had difficulty in achieving a portrait likeness should have alerted them to the danger of taking his vaunted realism too literally.¹¹

Quite obviously, Baglione's notice that the Amor Vincit Omnia was "dal naturale ritratto"¹² was not intended to denote the simple transcription of the physical reality of a pre-adolescent boy onto the two dimensional surface of a canvas. In fact, his masque-like face and virtuoso pose distance him from reality, though his presentation is paradoxically calculated for its shock value. Baglione's comment is not a literal appraisal of Caravaggio's objective relationship to a model but rather an impression of the semblance of presence that he was able to convey by means of lifelike colours and illusionistic effects of light.

The qualified reference that Baglione makes to "alcune pitture del naturale"¹³ in The Martyrdom of St. Matthew would seem to imply that some of the other figures did not have the same degree of lifelikeness as others. It was as clear to Baglione as it is to us that naturalistic figures based on live models are combined with conventionally represented bathers.

¹¹Mancini, I, p. 136, "Ricordandomi haver visto in Padova, alla porta della Paglio, un pittore che faceva i ritratti somigliantissimi, che del resto era goffissimo, senz'arte e disegno; altri che sono stati pittori valentissimi, che non han fatto assomigliare, come il Caravaggio, senza colorito simile al naturale."

¹²ibid., p. 137.

¹³ibid., p. 137.

Caravaggio's illusionistic skills were sometimes used indiscriminately as Baglione relates in conveying the public response to The Madonna di Loreto in Sant' Agostino.

...fece una Madonna di Loreto ritratta dal naturale con due pellegrini, uno co'piedi sangosi, e l'altra con una cuffia sdrucita, e sudicia; e per queste leggierezze in riguardo delle parti, che una gran pittura haver dee, da popolani ne fu fatto estremo schiamazzo.¹⁴

Baglione's report conveys the impression that the "trompe-l'oeil" character of the details distracted the public from the spiritual significance of the theme. Though his later formulation regarding Caravaggio's lack of "giudicio di scegliere il buono, e lasciare il cattivo"¹⁵ has an academic ring, his objection here focuses on Caravaggio's indiscretion in desecrating an altarpiece with attention getting, illusionistic tricks.¹⁶

¹⁴ibid., p. 137.

¹⁵ibid., p. 139.

¹⁶Röttgen (1974, p. 154) sees Baglione as the mouthpiece for the current art theoretical opposition to Caravaggio but overlooks the similar criticism expressed in Van Mander's Schilderboek (See Vaes, 1931, p. 203). To the extent that Baglione reflects the inherited biases of Cinquecento art theory he can be considered to be an opposition force but the critical openness demonstrated in the Lives distances him from rigid dogmatic preoccupations. Baldinucci defines "Scelta" as a function of judgement (1681, p. 144), "Scelta. Lo scegliere. Per distinzione. E per la parte più squisita, e più eccellente di che sia. E per quella facultà dell'animo appartenente al giudizio, per la quale fra'l buono ravvisase il migliore, e si mette in opera la quale facultà dicesi da nostri Artefice più comunemente elezzione.

The enmity between Caravaggio and Baglione surfaced again in 1606 when Carlo Saraceni and Orazio Borgianni, apparently acting as the leaders of a loosely organized alliance centered around Caravaggio, assaulted Baglione as he descended from Santa Trinità dei Monti enroute to his home on the Via dei Condotti.¹⁷ After reviewing the documents for the light they could shed on the motivation for the attack, Spezzaferro pinpoints their anger at Baglione's power, as Principe of the Academy, in organizing a resistance to the efforts of the Caravaggisti to gain a position of leadership in the Academy during the summer of 1606.¹⁸ The fact that a division of camps really took place, pitting the academics, led by Baglione, against the Caravaggisti, awaits further documentary substantiation. Baglione's reference to Borgianni as an "adherente del Caravaggio" and his presumed hostility to Caravaggio on the basis of "fatti artistici" prompted Spezzaferro to try to put his finger on Baglione's perception of Caravaggio's style.¹⁹ This leads him to suggest that Baglione repeated the comment made by Federico Zuccaro at the sight of The Calling of St. Matthew because he shared his viewpoint that there was nothing more to it than "il pensiero di Giorgione nella tavola del Santo, quando Christo il chiamò all'Apostolato."²⁰ This remark was repeated in order to challenge Caravaggio's claim that he had surpassed all other artists by virtue of the uniqueness of his style, that Baglione

¹⁷Spezzaferro, 1975, pp. 53-60.

¹⁸ibid., pp. 53-60.

¹⁹ibid., p. 55.

²⁰ibid., p. 137.

also measured in light of the "dipintura gagliarda alla Venetiana"²¹ of Francesco Bassano's Assumption and the "maniera assai oscura con rilievo, e con forza" that characterised Battista Naldino's St. John the Evangelist²² in the same church.

Caravaggio's ability as a colourist was singled out for praise by seventeenth-century critics, including Bellori, who cites his naturalism and vigour in the poem that precedes the Lives.²³ The statement attributed to Annibale Carracci by the anonymous annotator of a copy of the first edition of the Lives, which is quite different than the more academic viewpoint that comes through Malvasia,²⁴ focuses on the realism and relief that Caravaggio achieved through the control of intense light and shadow.

Ho'sentito io da persone che hanno havuto pratica esaminare col Gobbo dei Carracci, qual riferisce da Annibale Carracci, diceva che il Caravaggio era il maestro di tutto in quanto all verità e alla sodezza del chiaro e oscuro. Questo si che veram.te il Caravaggio non havea costume nè nobilità, nè gratia, ma verità, forza e sodezza.²⁵

²¹ibid., p. 64.

²²ibid., p. 29.

²³Bellori defines painting as the "Spirante simulacro di Natura". Borea (ed. 1976, p. XXII) recognized that a radical change in Bellori's evaluation of Caravaggio had occurred between 1642 and 1672.

²⁴See Posner, I, 1971, p. 175 n. 20.

²⁵Vatican Library, Ms. Ottob. lat. 2977, p. 137. In the introduction to Bellori's Lives (1976, ed. Borea, p. XXXVIII n. 1) Previtali dubs the annotator as the "pseudo-Bellori", though von Schlosser (1964, p. 409) believed the notes were written by Bellori himself. Vannugli (1989, p. 11) proposes Sebastiano Resta as the author.

Baglione's comments regarding the strength of colour to be found in painting after life makes it clear that he did not make a simple equivocation between "dal naturale" and "scuro" painting, as Spezzaferro suggests.²⁶ As he saw it, painting from life brought vivacity and freshness to colours. He commended Pietro Paolo Bonzi, whose "consuetudine di ritrarre dal vivo gli faceva maneggiare bene i colori."²⁷ When Antiveduto Grammatica began to paint from life he earned "credito e, & honore Veramente egli maneggiava assai bene i colori a olio, e con gran franchezza, e di buona maniera."²⁸

In response to Caravaggio's style, a number of imitators, among them some of the most original artists of the period, attempted to emulate those features which they found most compelling. Mancini identifies Caravaggio's method of lighting as the most exceptional factor in his style and as the most commonly adopted feature in the works of his followers.²⁹ For Baglione two characteristic features distinguish their method of painting, the "tocco" (which he uses only in reference to the Caravaggisti)³⁰ and the vigorous chiaroscuro that is implied by the use

²⁶Spezzaferro, 1975, p. 554.

²⁷Baglione, 1642, p. 343.

²⁸ibid., p. 293.

²⁹Mancini's list of Caravaggisti is much more subtly calculated, though the fact that it is only a general point of reference is often overlooked. Moir (I, 1967, pp. 18-19) has provided the most complete, but surely not the final, word on the subject of Mancini's categories.

³⁰Longhi, 1968, p. 152.

of the adjective, "gagliarda".³¹ Of seventeenth-century coinage, "tocco" was used to describe the painterly freedom and bravura of brushwork that enabled Venetian painters to convey such a powerful sense of material presence.³² There is no doubt that Baglione had this method in mind when he credited Serodine with "alcuni quadri assai ben tocchi"³³ and Valentin with paintings made "con buona maniera, e ben colorite a olio, e tocche con fierezza; & i colori a olio ben'impastava."³⁴ The essential features of Caravaggism are identified in Baglione's description of Manfredi's style: loosely applied, naturalistic colour and relief giving chiaroscuro.

Ma poi fatto grande si diede ad imitare la maniera di Michelagnolo di Caravaggio, & arrivò a tal segno, che molte opere sue furono tenute di mano di Michelagnolo, ed infin gli stessi pittori, in giudicarle, s'ingannavano. Questo giovane fece alcuni quadri dal naturale ritratti con quel suo

³¹As defined by Baldinucci (1681, p. 88), the term "gagliarda" refers to forceful chiaroscuro: "Maniera forte, o gagliarda, e di quel Pittore, che a forze di profondi scuri, e vivi chiari, con mezze tinte appropriate, fa spiccare, e molto rilevare le sue figure sopra il paino della tavola." Scannelli also appreciated Caravaggio's ability to convey relief especially when there was little light, describing the Calling of St. Matthew (1657, p. 197) as "veramente uno dei più pastosi, rilevate, e naturali operatione, che venga a dimostrare l'artificio della Pittura per l'imitazione di mer verità, essendo in tal (luogo) quasi del tutto mancante il lume."

³²See Il Dictionario..., 1978, II, p. 607. The term does not appear in Baldinucci.

³³Baglione, 1642, p. 311. In fact, Baglione liked the "vivacity" of Serodine's manner of painting ("si vede non so che di vivacità") and had a favourable opinion of the effect of the paintings for San Lorenzo f.l.m. because the figures were made with very dark touches of the brush. On the other hand, he found the disposition of figures quite unconventional in the Transfiguration of Christ (no longer extant) that he painted in San Salvatore in Lauro. It is likely that this work was as bizarrely conceived as the Spoletan cycle that Serodine painted in 1624, described and illustrated by Chiappini, 1987, pp. 76-96.

³⁴Baglione, 1642, p. 337.

stile, e con quella maniera, assai buona, ben coloriti, e con forza, che gli recarono gran credito, e fama. Non figurò quadro veruno grande in publico, e perche non gli bastasse l'animo, per haver poco disegno, o perche non n'ebbe occasione. Ben'egli è vero, che durava gran fatica a condurre le sue opere, ma assai ben le portava; & in quel suo genio del naturale molto prevalse. Con certi suoi segreti di vernice, e colori ad olio impastati faceva le sue pitture, che riuscivano con gran freschezza, e davano gusto a tutti.³⁵

Despite the acrimony that he must have felt as a result of Caravaggio's alleged authorship of the contumelious verses and the physical attack that he seems to have engineered in 1606, Baglione knew that Caravaggio's style classed him with the "Pittori eccellenti"³⁶ of the day and admitted that "più si pagavano le sue teste, che l'altrui historie."³⁷ To evaluate Baglione's judgement of Caravaggio as an

³⁵ibid., p. 159. According to Mancini (I, p. 251), Manfredi not only had some foundation in painting before he came to Rome but also studied drawing in Roman academies. For a discussion of Manfredi's formation see the exhibition catalogue, Dopo Caravaggio..., 1988.

³⁶See Baglione (1642, p. 342) who mentions that Francesco Parone, a Milanese painter about whom very little is known, "stette un tempo in casa del Marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani, ed ivi ricavarne le pitture di Michelagnolo da Caravaggio, ed altresì di molti Pittori eccellenti, andossi egli perfettionando, & assai stabilissi ne'suoi fondamenti." Baglione considered him to be a "ragionevole, e pratico Pittore, nel colorire dal naturale". Documents published by Bertolotti (1881, II, p. 93) indicate that Parone was in Rome in the early seventeenth-century and later in the century (1631-33) was a member of the household of the Cardinal of Rome. The anonymous annotator of the Vatican Library Lives reports that he saw "Un suo non mi ricordo le s. Seb.o o Christo per il Card. Omodei." Of the paintings cited by Baglione, only two are known: St. Francis of Assisi and Santa Francesca Romana located in a chapel to the left of the main altar in Santa Maria sopra Minerva. Moir (I, 1967, p. 130) thought these paintings showed little of Caravaggio's influence, a judgement that is impossible to evaluate given their poor condition. He also cites a painting in the church of St. Mary Magdalen that I was unable to locate.

³⁷Baglione, 1642, p. 139.

"overwhelmingly negative"³⁸ one is to entirely overlook the unwritten praise that is implicit in the departure from his stated aims in the foreword of the Lives in order to mention so many paintings by Caravaggio in private collections. It is also to dismiss the importance of his recognition that the great advancement that Caravaggio could have made in art "per la buona maniera che presa havea nel colorire del naturale"³⁹ was lost to posterity as a result of his untimely death.

³⁸Röttgen, 1974, p. 150.

³⁹Baglione, 1642, p. 139.

Appendix I

Inventory of Paintings

This is not intended to be a complete catalogue raisonné but rather a selective inventory of paintings, the majority of which are discussed within the text. All of the paintings are in my opinion autograph. Supplementary remarks are made in order to clarify dating, iconography or patronage. Full references appear in the bibliography. Documents are to be found in Appendix IV.

- 1) Subject Scenes from the Lives of Jacob, Joshua, David and Elijah (figs. 1-22)
Location Palazzo Altieri (formerly Santacroce), Oriolo Romano
Suggested date c. 1585-87
References Briganti, 1961, p. 58; Spezzaferro, 1975, pp. 56-58, n. 29
Bon, 1981, pp. 17-48, figs. 19-38; Bentivoglio, 1983, pp. 59-74;
Möller, 1991, pp. 89-90.

- 2) Subject The Rape of Europa (fig. 23)
Location Unknown
Suggested date c. 1585-87
References Bon, 1981, p. 25, fig. 40 (from Casa d'Aste, A.V.I. (Aste Vendite Internazionali), Rome, 10-28 March 1971, Vendita Palazzo Principi, Via Boncampagni, 28a, n. 332); Möller, 1991, p. 151.

- 3) Subject St. George
Location Church of St. George, Oriolo Romano
Suggested date c. 1585-87
References Möller, 1991, p. 90.

- 4) Subject The Birth of St. Francis (fig. 24)
Location Lateran Palace, Rome
Suggested date c. 1589
References Baglione, 1642, p. 401; Martinelli, 1959, p. 92; Scavizzi, 1960, p. 120, fig. 19; Bon, 1981, p. 29; Möller, 1991, pp. 93-94.

- 5) Subjects The Discovery of Moses (fig. 25), The Denial of Peter (fig. 26), The Capture of Christ (fig. 27)
Location Scala Santa, Rome
Suggested date c. 1589
References Baglione, 1642, p. 401; Guglielmi, 1954, p. 311; Martinelli, 1959, p. 92; Scavizzi, 1960, pp. 111-122, figs. 16-18; Pepper, 1967, p. 69; Abromson, 1981, p. 21; Bon, 1981, pp. 28-31; Gere and Pouncey, 1983, p. 34; Möller, 1991, p. 93.

A drawing in the Louvre (inv. 2837) that Bon proposed as a study for the Discovery of Moses has been correctly reassigned to Lombardelli (G.B. della Marca) by Jacob, 1975, n. 4298.

- 6) Subjects Obedience (fig. 28) Bibliotheca Babylonica (fig. 29), Bibliotheca Romanorum (left half) (fig. 30)
Location Sala Sistina, Vatican Library, Rome
Suggested date c. 1589
References Fontana, 1590, p. 85; Pansa, 1590, p. 218; Baglione, 1642, p. 401; Guglielmi, 1954, p. 311, figs. 1-3; Martinelli, 1959, p. 92; Hess, 1967, p. 172; Pepper, 1967, p. 69; Colini, 1977, p. 132; Bon, 1981, pp. 28-31; Möller, 1991, pp. 91-93.

- 7) Subjects Scenes from the lives of Carthusian Saints (figs. 31 a,b-35)
Location Certosa di San Martino, Naples
Suggested date c. 1590
References Baglione, 1642, p. 401; R.P.D. Guaxardo Neapolitana..., 1683, Testimonianza n. 21; Tufari, 1854, pp. 29-31; Guglielmi, 1954, p. 312; Causa, 1970, p. 32 and p. 97 n. 59; Bon, 1981, pp. 31-32, figs. 46-53; Möller, 1991, p. 94.

Precise reference to Baglione's participation in the project first appears in the pamphlet published for a legal trial in 1683, which specifies that "il supportico di detta chiesa...è dipinto dal Cavalier Baglione, e Cavaliere Bellisario, e Micco Spadaro, tutti pittori insigni, & eccellenti."

- 8) Subject Scenes from the Life of St. Peter (figs. 36-42)
Location Cappella di San Pietro, Santa Pudenziana, Rome
Documented date 1595
References Baglione, 1642, p. 401; Piazza, 1703, p. 49; Titi, 1763, p. 268; Montini, n.d., pp. 26, 82; Gere and Pouncey, 1983, p. 34; Möller, 1991, pp. 94-95.

The decoration of the small chapel was undertaken by the protonotary, Desiderio Collin, in 1595 and was no doubt inspired by the renewed interest in places associated with the Early Christian Church. As Mancini noted in the Viaggio..., (p. 78) Baronio's research affirmed that St. Peter had celebrated his first Mass in Rome in the house of the senator, Pudents.

- 9) Subjects "Tavolette" of The Madonna, St. Mary Magdalene and St. John at the Foot of the Cross, The Lamentation (figs. 43 a,b)
Location Archiconfraternità di San Giovanni Decollato, Rome
Suggested date c. 1595
References b) Freedberg, 1989, fig. 3 illustrated with no attribution proposed.

The drapery style, in particular of the drawing related to the first "tavoletta" (fig.), links the paintings to the works of the mid to late 1590's.

10) Subjects Scenes from the Life of the Virgin (figs. 44-52)

Location Santa Maria dell'Orto, Rome

Documented date 1598

References Mancini (c. 1617-21) 1956-57, I, p. 246, II, n. 1054; Totti, 1638, p. 165; Baglione, 1642, p. 401; Titi, 1763, p. 52; Longhi 1930 (1968), pp. 146-47; Guglielmi, 1954, p. 312 and 325 n. 10, figs. 4-5; Spezzaferro, 1975, p. 58; Barroero, 1976, pp. 82-86; Gere and Pouncey, 1983, p. 34; Möller, 1991, pp. 95-96.

Barroero (p. 82 n. 69) publishes the inscription adjacent to the frescoes bearing the date 1598. In January of this year Baglione had agreed to paint the frescoes for 450 "scudi".

11) Subject The Last Supper (destroyed), The Meeting of Abraham and Melchisedek (fig. 53), Moses (fig. 54), Prophet (fig. 55)

Location Aldobrandini Chapel, San Nicola in Carcere, Rome

Documented date 1599-1600

References Mancini, (c. 1615) 1956-57, II, p. 176 n. 1326; Totti, 1638, p. 165; Baglione, 1642, p. 401; Titi, 1763, p. 61; Golzio, 1926, p. 552; Longhi, 1930 (1968), p. 146; Martinelli, 1959, p. 92; Proja, n.d., pp. 58, 62-67, figs. 21-24; Abromson, 1981, pp. 91-92, p. 154 (See Appendix IV, n. 3); Möller, 1991, pp. 96-97.

Abromson publishes payments indicating that the chapel was begun in March 1599; the gilding and stucco work were completed in May and the painting was underway by the summer. By the middle of 1600 the chapel decoration had been concluded. Due to the deleterious effects of moisture in the walls the frescoes are almost completely destroyed. According to Golzio, the chapel was bypassed in a restoration of the church undertaken between 1863-65.

12) Subjects The Emperor Constantine Invests the Lateran with Treasure (fig. 56), Saint Philip (fig. 57)

Location San Giovanni in Laterano, Rome

Documented date 1600

References Mancini, (c. 1617-21) 1956-57, I, p. 274, II, p. 183 n. 1367; Totti, 1638, p. 444; Baglione, 1639, pp. 106, 109; Baglione, 1642, p. 401; Titi, 1763, p. 212; Longhi, 1930 (1968), p. 146; Guglielmi, 1954, p. 312; Parker, 1956, p. 414 n. 785; Martinelli, 1959, p. 92; Pepper, 1967, pp. 267-69, fig. 56; Pepper, 1970, figs. 1-2; Chappell and Kirwin, 1974, p. 124; Spezzaferro, 1975, p. 58; Abromson, 1981, pp. 57-61; Gere and Pouncey, 1983, p. 34; Möller, 1991, pp. 97-98.

Abromson has published the payments that the Cavalier d'Arpino disbursed to Baglione and the other artists between 2 May 1599 and 17 April 1601.

13) Subject Saints Peter and Paul (fig. 58)

Location Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, Rome

Documented date 1600

Medium and size Oil on canvas

References Baglione, 1642, p. 402; Titi, 1763, p. 55; Guglielmi, 1954, p. 315, fig. 9; Martinelli, 1959, p. 38 n. 30 and p. 40 n. 33; Moir, 1967, I, pp. 29, 32, II, p. 45; Pepper, 1967, p. 69 and p. 73 n. 11; Nava Cellini, 1969, p. 38 and p. 40 n. 33; Schilling and Blunt, 1971, p. 49; Abromson, 1981, pp. 155-56; Gere and Pouncey, 1983, p. 34; Pepper, 1984, p. 212; Möller, 1991, p. 98.

The only painting by Baglione in its original location in the church, it is to the left of the main altar. According to the monastery chronicle of 1600, the decoration of the church was completed for the feast day of Saint Cecilia in November 1600. Baglione received the final payment on 16 December 1601. The painting had already been heavily repainted when Titi described it.

14) Subject The Coronation of St. Andrew (fig. 59)

Location Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, Rome

Documented date 1600

Medium and size Oil on canvas

References As above

Whereas both Guglielmi and Pepper connect this work with a payment made on 30 September 1601 by Sfondrato's bankers for an unspecified painting in Santa Cecilia, the monastery chronicle and Bosio's account indicate that the altarpieces were completed by 1600. The payments made for these altarpieces were probably recorded in the lost account books for the years 1599-1600. It is likely that the 1601 payment to Baglione (Martinelli, p. 96, n. 30) refers to his other works in the church - either the Saint Andrew, Saint Paul, Saints Paul and Stephen or an octagonal painting listed in the Sfondrato inventory.

15) Subjects The Mystical Marriage of St. Catherine (fig. 60), The Madonna and Child with St. Agnes (fig. 61), Saints Cecilia, Valerian, Tiburtius, Maximus, Urban and Lucius (fig. 62)

Location Convent, Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, Rome

Documented date 1600

Medium and size Oil on canvas

References Baglione, 1642, p. 402; Longhi, (1930) 1968, p. 147; Guglielmi, 1954, pp. 314-15, Martinelli, 1959, pp. 89, 91 n. 30, figs. 51a, 52a,b; Pepper, 1967, pp. 69-74; Abromson, 1981, pp. 152-54; Gere and Pouncey, 1983, p. 34; Möller, 1991, p. 105 (who dates the paintings to 1603)

The paintings, made for the crypt of the church, are cited in the monastery chronicle for 1600.

16) Subject The Return of the Holy Family from Egypt (fig. 63)

Location Monastery of Santi Apostoli, Rome

Suggested date c. 1599-1600

Medium and size Oil on canvas, 1,58 x 1,17

References Longhi, 1930 (1968), p. 148; Brejon de Lavergnée, 1980, p. 39; Möller, pp. 117-18 (with a date of 1609).

Provenance Pontificia Accademia dei Virtuosi al Pantheon, Rome

The subject corresponds to the description of the painting that Giuseppe Ghezzi donated to the Pontificia Accademia dei Virtuosi al Pantheon in 1689 (Kambo, 1930, p. 146). The date of its removal to the Franciscan monastery of SS. Apostoli is unknown. A document in the monastery indicates that it was restored by Luciano Maranzi in 1975.

17) Subject St. Cecilia and Her Fellow Martyrs in Supplication for Cardinal Sfondrato (fig. 64)

Location Gesù, Rome

Suggested date c. 1600

Medium and size Oil on canvas

References Pecchiai, 1952, pp. 338-39; Pepper, 1967, pp. 69-74, n. 17; Abromson, 1981, pp. 154-55; Möller, 1991, pp. 107-08.

Provenance Cardinal Sfondrato, Rome

As noted by Pepper (n. 17), the painting is mentioned in the posthumous inventory of Sfondrato's possessions as "Un quadro per lungo di Sta Cecilia e cinque altri Santi con il Sigr. Cardle in ginocchione con cornice tinta di nero." A dating of 1600 is warranted by the stylistic proximity to the crypt paintings.

18) Subject The Ecstasy of St. Francis (fig. 65)

Location Davidson Collection, Santa Barbara, California

Documented date 1601 visible on the open codex

Medium and size Oil on canvas, 1,55 x 1,17

References Montelatici, 1700,; p. 216; Longhi, (1930) 1968, p. 146; Benedetti, 1949, pp. 3-14, figs. 1, 4, 6, 10; Guglielmi, 1954, p. 313; Friedlander, 1955, p. 149; Martinelli, 1959, p. 90; Longhi, 1963, pp. 24, 30; Moir, 1967, I, pp. 29-30; Volpe, 1972, pp. 51-54; Bissel, 1974, p. 116; Spear, 1971, p. 44; Nicolson, 1979, p. 20; Spike, 1980, p. 22; Bissell, 1981, pp. 16, 141; Marini, 1982, pp. 62-63; Hibbard, 1983, p. 58; Savelberg, 1992, pp. 258-61; Möller, 1991, pp. 99-100.

Provenance Borghese, Rome; Cardinal Fesch, Paris and Rome; Breval; Earl of Drogheda, Dublin; Thomas Agnew & Sons, London; Paul Ganz, New York.

The existence of a copy of the painting in a private collection in Rome was noted by Spear (1975, p. 44). Another copy, in the Cappuchine Convent in Antwerp, was brought to light by Savelberg.

19) Subject St. Sebastian Cured by An Angel (fig. 66)

Location Harris Collection, New York, New York

Suggested date c. 1601

Medium and size Oil on canvas, 95,9 x 75,5

References Longhi, 1963, p. 30, fig. 35; Pigler, 1974, I, p. 468; Spezzaferro, 1975, p. 58, n. 26; Nicolson, 1979, p. 20; Spike, 1980, pp. 22-24; Marini, 1982, p. 63; Möller, 1991, p. 106.

Provenance Cardinal Sannesio, Rome; Anna Maria Sannesio (d. 1724), Rome; Clelia Sannesio (d. 1763), Rome; P. Camuccini, Rome until 1856; Duke of Northumberland; Thomas Agnew & Sons, London (1962), Mr. and Mrs. Paul Ganz, New York.

The painting is listed in the inventory of Anna Maria Sannesio, the last heir of Cardinal Sannesio, (ASR, not. cap. Paulinus, vol. 502, f. 258v, published by Spezzaferro, 1975, p. 58 n. 26), as "un quadro in tela di palmi quattro, e sette rapp te S. Sebastiano con l'Angelo, che leva gli le frezze con cornici dorata opera del Buglione ^ 20." The size, as it appears in the document, is "palmi quattro e tre" or 89, 4 x 67, 5 which differs considerably from the actual dimensions of the painting.

20) Subject St. James in Meditation (fig. 67)

Location Unknown

Suggested date c. 1601

Medium and size Oil on canvas, 87,5 x 66

References Dipinti e sculture..., 1973, plate 19; Spezzaferro, 1975, p. 518, n. 26; Marini, 1982, pp. 62-3; Möller, 1991, pp. 106-07.

Provenance Cardinal Sannesio, Rome; Anna Maria Sannesio (d. 1724), Rome, P. Camuccini, Rome; Baroness Emma Camuccini, Cantalupo Sabino (Rieti); Zabert Gallery, Turin.

The painting is listed in the above cited inventory as "un quadro in tela rapp te S. Giacomo di p mi quattro e tre [not "sette"] con cornice nera rabescata d'oro mano del Buglione ^ 16." This measurement is also incorrect, the painting being considerably smaller than the St. Sebastian Cured by An Angel.

21) Subject Profane Love Subdued by Divine Love, The World, The Flesh and the Devil (fig. 68)

Location Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin-Dahlem

Suggested date c. 1601

Medium and size Oil on canvas, 1,54 x 1,10

References Baglione, 1642, p. 403; Voss, 1922, pp. 60-62; 1923, pp. 96-97; 1924, p. 467; Longhi, (1930) 1968, p. 146, fig. 208; Mostra del Caravaggio e dei caravaggeschi, Milan, 1951, n. 69, pp. 46-47; Guglielmi, 1954, pp. 312-13; Friedlander, 1955, p. 92; Martinelli,

1959, pp. 82-96; Salerno, 1960, II, n. 185; Longhi, 1963, p. 24; Moir, 1967, I, pp. 30-31, II, p. 44; Pepper, 1967, p. 69; Cinotti, 1971, p. 73; Volpe, 1972, pp. 51-54; Bissell, 1974, pp. 116-17; Catalogue of Paintings..., 1978, n. 381; Spear, 1975, p. 44; Nicolson, 1979, p. 20; Spike, 1980, p. 24; Bissell, 1981, p. 13, p. 145; Marini, 1982, p. 63; Gere and Pouncey, 1983, p. 34; Möller, 1991, pp. 102-03.
Provenance Cardinal Giustiniani, Rome

As discussed in the text, the painting, listed in the Giustiniani inventory of 1638 published by Salerno (n. 185) as, "Un quadro grande d'amor virtuoso, che calpeste amor lascivo, dipinto in tela, alta palmi 9. larg. 7 in circa con cornice negra rabbescata d'oro si vede di mano di Baglione" predates the Palazzo Barberini version.

22) Subject Profane Love Subdued by Divine Love, The World, the Flesh and the Devil (fig. 69)

Location Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Palazzo Barberini, Rome

Documented date The date of the painting, discovered in 1979 when the painting was restored, is visible above the head of Profane Love: IO. BAGLIONE. R. F. 1602.

Medium and size Oil on canvas, 1,52 x 1,11

References As above and Faldi, 1970, n. 37; Un antologia..., 1982, pp. 70-71; Spear, The Age of Caravaggio..., 1985, # 15, pp. 90-92 with previous citations; Möller, 1991, pp. 103-04.

Provenance Cardinal Giustiniani, Rome (n. 186 in 1638 inventory); Monte di Pietà; Galeria Corsini (purchased for the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica); Italian Ambassador in Berlin, 1908-45; German Private Collection

23) Subject Madonna and Child with Saints Catherine, Agnes, Mary Magdalen and Justina (fig. 70)

Location Palazzo Apostolico, Loreto

Suggested date c. 1602

Medium and size Oil on canvas, 2,35 x 1,47

References Maggiori, 1824, p. 218; Longhi, 1930 (1968), p. 148; Grimaldi/Sordi, 1988, pp. 31, 327, fig. XLIV; Möller, 1991, p. 102.

"In un Oratorio notturno" in Loreto "che trovasi tornando sulla piazza" Maggiore saw "una tavola con alcune Vergine del cav. Baglione." The painting, showing a more confident relief modeling than the crypt paintings in Santa Cecilia in Trastevere in the modeling, may have been the stimulus for the trip that Baglione made to Loreto in 1602, mentioned by Gentileschi in the 1603 trial records (Samek Ludovici, 1956, p. 160).

24) Subject Madonna and Child Honouring Saints Cecilia and Agnes (fig. 71)

Location Vatican Museums, On loan to the Residence of the Procurator of the Patriarchate of Antioch of the Syrians to the Holy See, Rome

Documented date The painting is signed and dated: IOANNES BAGLIONVS. 1604

Medium and size Oil on canvas, 1,15 x 1,57

References Baglione, 1642, p. 402; Guglielmi, 1954, p. 318, fig. 10; Martinelli, 1959, p. 92; Pepper, 1967, p. 70; Abromson, 1981, p. 154 n. 29; Möller, 1991, p. 107.

Provenance Castel Gandolfo

The canvas was painted at the request of Clement VIII, who had seen a similar work when he visited the crypt of Santa Cecilia in Trastevere. It has been on loan at the above location since the 1930's.

25) Subject Saint Paul and Saint Stephen Crowned by Angels (fig. 72)

Location Musée Magnin, Dijon

Suggested date c. 1604

Medium and size Oil on copper, 32 x 24

References Brejon de Lavergnée, 1980, pp. 38-39 and fig. 9, with previous bibliography; Möller, 1991, pp. 112-13 (who rejects the 1638 date proposed by Brejon de Lavergnée in favour of 1608)

Provenance Cardinal Sfondrato, Rome; Cardinal Scaglia, Rome; Comte de Pourtalès, sold, 1865; Félix Gillet de Châteauroux, sold, 1919.

The painting can be identified as n. 747, "San Paolo e S. Stefano del Baglione in rame", listed in the unpublished inventory of paintings sold after the death of Cardinal Sfondrato. The painting was purchased by the Pre-Commissario dell'Offitio, Cardinal Desiderio Scaglia, after whose death it was offered for sale as is indicated in a document in the Vatican Library that I will soon publish. The stylistic overlap with the previous painting justifies the dating proposed.

26) Subject Saint Margaret of Antioch (fig. 73)

Location Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Palazzo Barberini, Rome

Suggested date c. 1604

Medium and size Oil on copper, 75,5 x 59,5

References Longhi, 1930 (1968), p. 148; Guglielmi, 1954, p. 316; Möller, 1991, p. 316.

Provenance Monte di Pietà

The correct identification of the saint is not Margaret of Cortona but Margaret of Antioch (See Reau, 1957, II, pp. 877-88). At her feet Satan appears in the guise of a dragon who has been subdued by the miraculous power of the cross. The palm and crown of pearls (margarita) held by the putti allude to her martyrdom. According to the documentation in the museum, the painting was mistakenly associated with the Lancellotti family church that was under the joint patronage of San Simeone Profeta and Santa Margarita da Cortona. The small size suggests that the painting served a private devotional purpose. Its meticulous finish and delicacy of sentiment link it to the Saint Paul and Saint Stephen Crowned by Angels that Baglione painted about the same time for Cardinal Sfondrato. The tight, gauze-like folds around the saint's arm and the large sculptural

folds that echo the extensions of the body reflect a similar treatment as in the Dijon painting. Parallels with the Saint Martha (c. 1606) are also evident. The sylph-like figures in the gently stirring landscape produce a fanciful quality in contrast to the rhetorical pose of the saint.

27) Subject The Raising of Tabitha

Location Fragments of painting in deposit in Basilica of St. Peter, (figs. 74-75) copy by Placido Costanzi in Santa Maria degli Angeli, (fig. 76), Callot engraving in Lieure, I, 1, #37 (fig. 379)

Documented date 1604-06

References Mancini, (c. 1617-21) 1956-57, I, p. 80, n. 246, 268, II, p. 146, n. 1055; Totti, 1638, p. 165; Baglione, 1639, p. 33; Baglione, 1642, pp. 291, 402; Titi, 1763, p. 14; Lanzi, II, 1809, pp. 184-85; Nibby, 1839, p. 622; Longhi, 1930 (1968), pp. 145, 147; Pollak, 1931, II, pp. 571-73; Guglielmi, 1954, pp. 316, 320, 322; Siebenhüner, 1962, p. 298; Galassi Paluzzi, 1963, II, p. 108; Pigler, 1974, I. p. 393; Chappell and Kirwin, pp. 119-70 with bibliography pertinent to the entire cycle; Abromson, 1981, pp. 62-81; Gere and Pouncey, 1983, p. 34; Matthiae, 1982, p. 75; Möller, 1991, pp. 108-09.

28) Subject Self Portrait (fig. 77)

Location Private Collection, Madrid

Suggested date c. 1606

Medium and size Oil on canvas,

References Longhi, 1963, p. 31, plate 37; Möller, 1991, p. 110.

Provenance Palozzi Collection, Rome

As Baglione wears the habit of a "Cavalier di Christo", the title he had received in 1606, it is quite plausible that the canvas was painted to commemorate the honour. This is stylistically supported by its resemblance to other works painted in this year, particularly the Spada Gallery painting. In his Last Will and Testament Baglione donated a self portrait SS. Cosma e Damiano.

29) Subject Saints Peter and Paul (fig. 78)

Location Galleria Spada, Rome

Suggested date c. 1606

Medium and size Oil on canvas, 82 x 100

References Baglione, 1642, p. 402; Zeri, 1954, p. 25; Moir, 1967, I, pp. 29, 32, II, p. 45; Marini, 1982, p. 65 n. 13; Möller, 1991, p. 112.

The Spada Gallery Saints Peter and Paul (fig.), owned by Cardinal Verello (Zeri, p. 25), is very likely an abbreviated version of the canvas that Baglione made for the Sala di Consistoro in the Vatican soon after Pope Paul V was elected in 1606.

30) Subject Saint Martha (fig. 79)

Location Deposit, Vatican Museums, Rome

Suggested date c. 1606

Medium and size Oil on canvas, 3,24 x 1,99

References Totti, 1638, p. 165; Baglione, 1642, p. 402; Titi, 1763, p. 23; Bossi, 1883, pp. 24-25; Guglielmi, 1954, p. 315, fig. 11; Martinelli, 1959, p. 92; Pietrangeli, 1984, p. 96; Möller, 1991, p. 111.

The soffit, as well as the tribune, where the painting was to be placed, were redecorated during the papacy of Clement VIII (1592-1605), whose heraldic device was visible on the ceiling. The painting was probably completed in 1606 since Baglione signed it with the title he had received in that year, EQV. IO. BAGLIONVS ROMANVS. P.. Beneath the "stemma" at lower right are the letters R.C.A. The association that Pietrangeli proposes with the Mignanelli can be confirmed on the basis of the correspondence of the "stemma" with the description of their device in Pietramellara, 1893, p. 45. The only reference to a Mignanelli that I was able to trace appears in Forcella's transcription of an epigraph on a funerary plaque in St. John Lateran for Jacopo Mignanelli who was one of the Canons of the basilica (1869-84, V, p. 506 # 1335).

31) Subject The Repentance of St. Peter (fig. 80)

Location Galleria Sabauda, Turin

Documented date 1606 visible on the open codex

Medium and size Oil on canvas, 1,89 x 1,54

References Campori, 1870, p. 82; Callery, 1854, p. 56, n. 22; Baudi di Vesme, 1897, 43-45, n. 211; Gabrielli, 1971, p. 61 n. i 79; Spezzaferro, 1980, pp. 49-64, esp. pp. 50-51; Marini, 1982, p. 65; Möller, 1991, p. 110.

Provenance Duke of Savoy, Turin

The painting was listed as "S. Pietro con il gallo, del Baione, larg a p mi 2 1/2, al a 3 1/2/" in the "camera grande" of the Ducal Palace in the inventory published by Campori. The catalogue of the Sabauda Gallery from 1854 cited Alessandro Tiarini as the author which Baudi di Vesme corrected.

32) Subject Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane (fig. 81)

Location Unknown, formerly Candiani Collection, Busto Arsizio

Suggested date c. 1606

Medium and size Oil on canvas,

References Longhi, 1963, pp. 30-31, fig. 36; Nicolson, 1979, p. 20; Möller, 1991, p. 118.

Comparing the handling of the garments, the knotted hands and the studied chiaroscuro modeling, this painting has much in common with the dated works from 1606 and 1607. I concur with Longhi's opinion (p. 30) that "l'effetto notturno dell'angelo bello è descinto, degli apostoli che dormono nel buio è cosa degna di positivo apprezzamento.

- 33) Subject Saints Peter and Paul (fig. 82)
Location Private Collection, Rome
Documented date The date appears on the open book: PETRA AMAS/ME/PASCES OVES/MEAS/1607.
Medium and size Oil on canvas, 73, 5 x 99
References Marini, 1982, p. 65, fig. 3; Möller, 1991, p. 112
Provenance Archiconfraternità della Natività di Nostro Signore

According to Marini (oral communication), the canvas was painted for the Archiconfraternità della Natività di Nostro Signore. It shows a livelier surface handling than the Spada Gallery version.

- 34) Subject St. Peter Weeping (fig. 83)
Location Unknown
Medium and size Oil on canvas, 90 x 65,5
Suggested date c. 1607
Provenance sale, Laurina Arte Rome, illustrated in Pittori antichi ..., 1991, p. 24

The garments are the most telling indicator of the date with a comparison to the Turin painting justified on the basis of the long, deep pockets of shadow, stiff edges and broad planes of light. The hand of the draughtsman is evident in the solid modeling of the related drawing.

- 35) Subjects Madonna and Child with Saints Hyacinth and Raymond (fig. 84), Coronation of St. Cecilia in the Presence of Saints Valerian and Tiburtius (fig. 85), Stigmatization of St. Francis (fig. 86), God the Father with Angels (fresco in vault) (fig. 87)
Location Santa Maria degli Angeli, Rome
Medium and size Oil on canvas
Documented date 1608
References Totti, 1638, p. 677; Baglione, 1642, p. 403; Titi, 1763, p. 289; Longhi, 1930 (1968), pp. 146-47; Dalveti, 1945, p. 90; Melieu, 1950, pp. 87-90; Guglielmi, 1954, pp. 317-18; Matthiae, 1982, p. 88, fig. 28; Möller, 1991, p. 124 (who proposes a date of 1611-12).

The paintings were certainly completed by 1608 when the inscription transcribed by Forcella was placed in the chapel (1869-84, 9, p. 160, n. 314). Alexander Litta, a Milanese nobleman who had served as a consistorial lawyer during the pontificates of Clement VIII and Paul V, died in Rome on 30 September 1606 and was buried in the family chapel in Santa Maria degli Angeli that was ceded to his son a year later. The act conceding the chapel mentions Litta's specifications regarding the iconography. The paintings were to depict the Virgin and St. Hyacinth as well as St. Raymond, Francis and Cecilia. As Matthiae noted, the paintings have suffered greatly from oxidation. They photograph poorly because they are covered by heavy dust.

- 36) Subject The Anointing of Christ's Body for Burial (fig. 88)
Location Quadreria, Pio Monte della Misericordia, Naples
Documented date The painting is signed and dated:
 EQVES.BAGLIONVS.ROMANVS.1608
Medium and size Oil on canvas, 2,80 x 1,75
References Galante, 1872 (1985) p. 15; Salazar, 1897, p. 132;
 Guglielmi, 1954, p. 321; Causa, 1970, p. 31-33; Schleier, 1971, p. 15;
 Steel, 1984, p. 22; Jones, 1968, pp. 19, 91; Pacelli, 1984, pp. 71-72;
 Möller, 1991, pp. 115-16.

The painting, which was commissioned for an altar in the Pio Monte della Misericordia in Naples, was sent from Rome. The date of 1608 that appears on the corner of the stone of unction is further confirmed by a payment brought to light by Corona and published by Causa. When the church was reconstructed it was moved to the sacristy and later to the Quadreria. In 1872 Galante singled out the painting from others in the sacristy as an "ammirabile" work.

- 37) Subject Judith with the Head of Holofernes (fig. 89)
Location Galleria Borghese, Rome
Documented date 1608
Medium and size Oil on canvas, 2,20 x 1, 50
References Della Pergola, 1959, II, pp. 67-68 with previous literature and Document 46, p. 215; Guglielmi, 1963, p. 188; Moir, 1967, I, p. 32, 63, 588, II, p. 45; Pepper, 1967, p. 70; Causa, 1970, p. 32; Agosti, 1974, pp. 45-73; Nicolson, 1979, p. 20; Hermann-Fiore, 1985 (introductory essay); Möller, 1991, p. 114.

As documents published by Della Pergola indicate, Baglione was paid 200 "scudi" in the spring of 1608 for a painting of "l'istoria di Juditta".

- 38) Subject The Stoning of St. Stephen (fig. 90)
Location Duomo, Perugia
Documented date 1608
Medium and size Oil on canvas
References Scannelli, 1657, p. 82; Guida al Forestiere..., 1973, p. 117; Siepi, 1822, I, p. 81; Rotelli, 1884, p. 31; Longhi, 1930 (1968), p. 147; Guglielmi, 1954, pp. 321-22, fig. 17; Moir, 1967, I, p. 29, II, p. 45; Casale, 1976, p. 27; Strinati, 1978, p. 33; Marini, 1982, p. 65; Möller, 1991, pp. 115.

According to Siepi, Baglione's painting and the two paintings by Giannantonio Scaramuccia, which flank it, were highly regarded. The date of 1608 and name of the patron, the protonotary, Salviucci, are provided by Rotelli, who refers to an inscription with the date 1609 that was placed under the altar when the remains of a local saint were transferred.

39) Subjects Visitation, Nativity, Adoration of the Magi (figs. 91-92)

Location Santa Maria di Loreto, Spoleto

Documented date The central painting representing the Nativity is signed and dated EQVES. BAGLIONVS. ROM. 1609.

Medium and size Oil on canvas, 2,47 x 1,55, 2,82 x 1,75, 2,47 x 1,55

References Longhi, 1930 (1968), p. 146-47, fig. 209; Guglielmi, 1954, pp. 316-17; Catalogo della VI Mostra..., Perugia, 1965, figs. 13 and 14; Sante, 1967, p. 59; Moir, 1967, I, p. 32; Casale [et al], 1976, pp. 27-28; Arte in Valnerina..., Rome, 1983, p. 116; Möller, 1991, p. 117.

A dedicatory inscription in the chapel bears the date 1608 and furnishes the names of the patrons, the Conti di Campello. Stolen from the church in 1962, the paintings were greatly damaged when recovered. They were relined and cleaned in 1965 and again in 1987 (p. 117 Arte in Valnerina...) but the surfaces had not been repaired when I obtained photographs of them.

40) Subject The Mocking of Christ (fig. 93)

Location Galleria Borghese, Rome, On Loan to the Castel Sant'Angelo

Suggested date c. 1610

Medium and size Oil on canvas, 1,63 x 1,16

References Marino, 1620, p. 79; Della Pergola, 1959, II, pp. 66-67 with previous literature; Pepper, 1967, p. 70; Nicolson, 1979, p. 20; Möller, 1991, pp. 120-21.

The painting was first attributed to Baglione in a verse that appeared in Marino's La Galeria... of 1620. Although it was listed as a work by Baglione in the inventory made of the Borghese collection in 1693, it was catalogued in the nineteenth century as a Valentin. Longhi restored the painting to Baglione and dated it quite reasonably to circa 1610.

41) Subject The Martyrdom of St. Agatha (fig. 94)

Location Unknown

Suggested date c. 1610

References Longhi, 1930 (1968), p. 148, fig. 210; Guglielmi, 1954, p. 319; Möller, 1991, p. 129 (who dates it to 1617).

Longhi published a photograph of the painting when it was in the Pinacoteca di Lucca. Repeated attempts to trace the current location of the work have proven unsuccessful. The dating is based on the similarities with other works that Baglione painted about the same time, particularly the Mocking of Christ.

42) Subjects Saints Charles Borromeo and Philip Neri in Prayer (fig. 95), Saints Stephen and Jerome (fig. 96)

Location Santo Stefano del Cacco, Rome

Suggested date c. 1610

Medium and size Oil on canvas, 1,45 x 1, 30

References Totti, 1638, p. 396; Titi, 1763, pp. 171-72; Unpaginated nineteenth century monastery chronicle in Archivio di Santo Stefano del Cacco; Guglielmi, 1954, p. 320; Zeri, 1954, pp. 25-26, fig. 356; Martini and Casanova, 1962, p. 18; Strinati, 1978, p. 34; Möller, 1991, p. 128 (who dates the paintings to 1616).

The church of Santo Stefano del Cacco, which had been ceded to the Silvestrine Congregation by Pope Pius IV in 1563, was completely renovated in 1607. Later in the century the Archiconfraternità di Ss. Nome di Maria was awarded the title to the chapel in which Baglione's paintings are located. The paintings are not cited in the Lives but were, in fact, mentioned by Totti (1638) who indicates their location in the first chapel on the left. Bruzio supported the attribution (Vatican Library, Ms. Vat. lat. 11890, f. 51) as did subsequent guide book writers. The anonymous compiler of the nineteenth century monastery chronicle registered the paintings with the comment that Baglione, "Fu valentissimo nel colorito e nel chiaroscuro, non egualmente nel disegno e nell'espressione. Non pertanto pregiatissimi sono i suoi quadri." The canonization of St. Charles Borromeo in 1610 and the graphic overlap between the drawing for St. Philip and the studies for the Cappellina di Santa Francesca Romana frescoes strengthen the argument for the dating which is compatible with Zeri's suggested date (c. 1606-08).

43) Subject The Magdalen in Meditation (fig. 97 a,b)

Location San Martino, Gubbio

Documented date 1610

Medium and size Oil on canvas

References Longhi, 1930 (1968), p. 148; Giovagnoli, 1932, p. 276;

Casale [et al], 1976, p. 27; Möller, 1991, p. 119

Longhi attributed the painting to Baglione. It is located above the altar in the fifth chapel to the left in the parish church of San Martino in Gubbio. A dedicatory inscription in the chapel bears the date, 1610, and the name of the patron, Gio. Iacopo Remosetto.

44) Subject The Magdalen in Meditation (fig. 98)

Location Private Collection, Trieste

Suggested date c. 1610

Medium and size Oil on canvas

References Calì, 1983/ 84, pp. 212-16 fig. 1

In this painting Baglione experiments with an arrangement that he will often adopt later, framing the figure by a dark landscape that echoes the contours of the body and the draperies. This permits him to define form solidly and to attain rich chiaroscuro effects on colour. The stiff, broken drapery and compromise between sensuality and sobriety link this work to the canvas in Gubbio.

45a) Subjects The Emperor Leo the Armenian Assassinated in the Presence of His Mother (fig. 99), The Emperor Constantine Copronymus Consumed by an Invisible Fire (fig. 100), Julian the Apostate Struck Down by Saints Mercurius and Artemisius (fig. 101)

Location Cappella Paolina, Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome

Documented date 1610-12

References Mancini, (c. 1617-21), 1956-57, I, p. 80, n. 12, 246, 276, II, p. 147, n. 1056; Totti, 1638, p. 489; Baglione, 1639, pp. 183-85; Baglione, 1642, pp. 402-03; Lanzi, 1809, I, p. 185; Noack, 1929, p. 197; Longhi, 1930 (1968), pp. 145-47; Mâle, 1932, pp. 24-26, figs. 5, 6; Guglielmi, 1954, p. 317; Gigli, 1958, p. 21, pp. 55-57; Corbo, 1967, pp. 305-07; Schleier, 1971, p. 10; Marini, 1982, p. 66; Gere and Pouncey, 1983, p. 34; Möller, 1991, pp. 121-24.

Corbo publishes the payments made to Baglione between September 1610 and August 1612. The iconography is detailed in a manuscript in the Vatican Library, Fondo Borghese, Serie IV, 232, fol. 24, new pagination, fol. 25, "Soggetti Delle Pitture Della Cappella Borghese in S.M. M.a. Magg.e".

45b) Subjects St. Athanasius, St. John Crysostom, St. Augustine, St. Gregory the Great (fig. 102)

Location Entrance vault to Cappella Paolina, Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome

Documented date 1610-12

References Baglione, 1642, pp. 402-403

The iconography is detailed in the above-cited manuscript, "Nei quattro sordini avanti s'entri in Cappella posti sotto la Cupoletta si dipingeranno quattro Dottori, doi Greci, e doi Latini, perchè nella sacristia sono dipinto gl'altri quattro. Questi sono SS. Athanasio, Gio. Crysostomo, Agostino, Greg.o magno. La Cartella di S. Athanasio dira. Nova eva mater vita appellatur. S. Giovan Crystomo. Virgo per omnia Mirabilis. S. Gregorio. Meritori, verticem supra omnes Angelorum Choros usq. ad solium Deitatis erexit. S. Augustino. Gratia caelesti desuper in fusa vitam prosuit.

45c) Subjects Scene from the Life of S. Gregorius Papa Quartus (fig. 103), S. Gregorius Magnus Papa (fig. 104), S. Gelasius Papa Primus, S. Martinus Papa Primus

Location Entrance vault to Cappella Paolina, Santa maria Maggiore, Rome

Documented date 1610-12

The identity of the saints is provided by the inscriptions beneath the small oval frescoes to the left and right of the Church Fathers above.

45d) Subjects The Ecstasy of Santa Francesca Romana (fig. 105), The Return of the Kidnapped Son of Santa Francesca Romana, Music Making Angels

Location Cappellina di Santa Francesca Romana, Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome

Medium and size of the altarpiece, Oil on slate, 2,00 x 1,20

Documented date 1611-12

References Baglione, 1642, p. 403; Titi, 1763, p. 261; Longhi, 1930 (1968), p. 147; Guglielmi, 1954, p. 317; Gigli, 1958, p. 21, pp. 55-57; Bruzzi, 1984, p. 274.

Although the payments made to Baglione do not make precise reference to specific works, the sums paid to Baldassare Croce between 1611-12 provide an exact date for his activity in the opposite chapel. One may thus surmise that Baglione first painted the frescoes in the Cappella Paolina and then undertook the decoration of the "cappellina".

46) Subject The Assumption of the Virgin (fig. 106)

Location Duomo, Poggio Mirteto

Documented date The painting is signed and dated at lower left: IO.

BALIONUS EQVES ROMANVS PINGEBAT. 1613.

Medium and size Oil on canvas

References Schleier, 1971, pp. 10-16, fig. 3; Strinati, 1978, p. 35; Borea, 1980, p. 318; Möller, 1991, pp. 124-25.

47) Subject Armida and Rinaldo (fig. 107)

Location Casino, Palazzo Pallavicini-Rospigliosi, Rome

Documented date 1614

References Mancini, (c. 1617-21), 1956-57, I, p. 81; Totti, 1638, p. 668; Baglione, 1642, p. 403; Titi, 1763, p. 283; Longhi, 1930 (1968), p. 147; Guglielmi, 1954, pp. 317-18 and 325 n. 36; Zeri, 1954, p. 162; Hibbard, 1964, p. 172; Lee, 1963, pp. 12-26, esp. pp. 16-17; Pigler, 1974, II, p. 468; Borea, 1980, p. 317; Gere and Pouncey, 1983, p. 34; Möller, 1991, p. 126.

Guglielmi has cited the payment made in 1614.

48) Subject Alexander the Great Interrogates Two Conspiratorial Officers
(?) (fig. 108)

Location Palazzo Doria, Genoa

Suggested date c. 1614

Medium and size Oil on canvas, Oval

References Schleier, 1968, p. 188-89; Schleier, 1972, p. 17; Volpe, 1977, p. 4; Schleier, 1981, pp. 311-12, fig. 17; Möller, 1991, pp. 118-19.

Schleier quotes the passage from Martinelli (p. 189 and n.10) in which reference is made to the paintings made for the Alexander cycle that was commissioned by Cardinal Alessandro Peretti-Montalto. No precise identification is given for the subject matter of the paintings by Antonio Carracci and Baglione and the iconography remains elusive. The painting follows in the same stylistic vein as the paintings in the Cappella Paolina and has much of the same dramatic impact, particularly when it is taken into consideration that the

painting was composed to be seen from far below, as Schleier has observed (1972, p. 312). For these reasons, I concur with the dating he has proposed.

- 49) Subjects Christ Consigning the Keys to St. Peter (fig. 109), The Raising of Tabitha (fig. 110), The Crucifixion of St. Peter (fig. 111)
Location Duomo, Macerata
Suggested date c. 1615
Medium and size Oil on canvas
References Longhi, 1930 (1968), p. 148; Gentili, 1967, p. 102; Möller, 1991, p. 120 (who dates them to 1610).

The dating can be sustained on the basis of the very close likeness between the preparatory drawing for the altarpiece and the datable graphic studies, the similarity in compositional structure with the painting for the Alexander cycle and the repetition of the motif of the rearing horses that first appeared in the fresco of Armida and Rinaldo.

- 50) Subject The Apparition of the Virgin and Child to St. Charles Borromeo (fig. 112)
Location Palazzo Papale, Viterbo
Suggested date c. 1616
Medium and size Oil on canvas, 2,30 x 1,53
References Guglielmi, 1954, p. 324; Faldi, 1982, #14; Möller, 1991, p. 126.

The painting was attributed to Baglione by Guglielmi who proposed a date of 1605-15 that Faldi also supported. Though no documents have surfaced to shed light on the exact date of its entrance into the collection of paintings in the Palazzo Papale it is stylistically compatible with the painting of St. Charles Borromeo in Todi.

- 51) Subject The Glorification of St. Charles Borromeo (fig. 113)
Location Chiesa del Crocefisso, Todi
Documented date The painting is signed and dated (in the fluttering folds of the garment around the "putto" at bottom right): ES. IO. BAGLIONVS. RO. PINS. 1616.
Medium and size Oil on canvas, 4,20 x 2,32
References Guglielmi, 1954, p. 188; Casale et al, 1976, p. 27; Petrucci, 1991, p. 105; Möller, 1991, p. 127.

According to Petrucci, the no longer extant altar beneath the painting, which was erected by a local family (Monaldeschi) in 1600, was passed on to the Piccolimini family, whose Roman roots may explain the patronage.

- 52) Subject The Anointing of Christ's Body for Burial (fig. 114)
Location Bob Jones University Museum, Greenville, South Carolina

Documented date The painting is signed and dated: EQVS. IO. BAGLIONVS. RO. P. 1616.

Medium and size Oil on canvas, 2,28 x 1,53

References Longhi, 1930 (1968), p. 146; Guglielmi, 1954, p. 321, fig. 16; Jones, 1963-68, p. 19, 91; Schleier, 1971, p. 15; Borea, 1980, p. 317; Jones, 1968, pp. 19; Steel, 1984, pp. 22-23; Möller, 1991, p. 127.

Provenance Private collection, Berlin, by 1915; Von Litz Collection, Munich, by 1954, Weitzner, 1968

53) Subject Saints Anthony of Padua, Clare and Agnes (fig. 115)

Location San Bernardino ai Monti, Rome

Documented date The painting is signed and dated: EQVES IOANNES BAGLIONVS ROMANVS PINGEBAT 1617.

Medium and size Oil on canvas, exact measurements unknown

References Baglione, 1642, p. 403; Titi, 1763, p. 271; Guglielmi, 1954, p. 319; Vichi, 1972, pp. 391-97; Casale et al, 1976, n. 33; Strinati, 1978, p. 34; Barroero, 1982, pp. 156-58; Gere and Pouncey, 1983, p. 34; Möller, 1991, p. 129.

54) Subject St. John the Evangelist Revives a Dead Man (fig. 116)

Location Santi Cosma e Damiano, Rome

Documented date The painting was donated to Santa Luca e Martina in 1618 when Baglione was Principe of the Academy of St. Luke (See Appendix IV, n) and was removed in 1620.

Medium and size Oil on canvas

References Baglione, 1642, pp. 404-05; Longhi, 1930 (1968), p. 147; Guglielmi, 1954, p. 322; Noehles, 1970, p. 334 doc.8; Gere and Pouncey, 1983, p. 34; Möller, 1991, pp. 147-48.

55) Subjects Jacob's Dream (fig. 117), The Madonna of the Angels (fig. 118)

Location Duomo, Savona

Suggested date c. 1620

Medium and size Oil on canvas, 2,50 x 1,35; 2,82 x 1,75

References Ratti, 1780, pp. 33-36; Longhi, 1930 (1968), p. 148; Longhi, 1963, p. 148; Schleier, 1971, p. 15, fig. 5; Strinati, 1978, pp. 27-37; Borea, 1980, p. 318; Riccebono and Varaldo, 1982, p. 147; Möller, 1991, p. 132.

Flaminio Allegrini painted the earliest decoration in the chapel, which consisted of frescoes on the vault, the altarpiece and the two lateral walls. Strinati argues that the decision to replace the oil paintings was prompted by the displeasure of the Marchese Giovanni Stefano Gavotti at Allegrini's démodé d'Arpinesque manner. In addition, as Ratti relates, the dimensions of Allegrini's paintings, which were executed in Rome, were not compatible with the size of the altars and were thus donated by the patron to the Cappuchine church of San Giuseppe in Savona, where they can be seen today.

- 56) Subjects St. Cecilia (fig. 119), St. Francis (fig. 120), St. Catherine of Alexandria (fig. 121)
Location Duomo, Mantua
Documented date 1619
Medium and size Oil on canvas
References Luzio, 1913, p. 292; Askew, 1978, pp. 274-96, esp. pp. 286-87, figs. 11-13; Berzaghi, 1983, p. 140; Möller, 1991, p. 133.

Luzio published the document from 12 January 1619 which establishes the terminus post quem for the canvases of St. Cecilia and St. Francis. Stylistically, the same date can be accorded to the St. Catherine.

- 57) Subject St. Augustine with the Coronation of the Virgin
Location Duomo, Savona
Suggested date c. 1620
Medium and size Oil on canvas, 240 x 145
References Longhi, 1930 (1968), p. 148; Ricchebono and Varaldo, 1982, p. 148; Möller, 1991, p. 132.

Ricchebono and Varaldo note that the canvas was transferred to the Duomo when the church of Sant' Agostino was suppressed during the Napoleonic occupation. Stylistically, it is closely related to the altarpiece of the Gavotti Chapel.

- 58) Subjects Apollo and the Nine Muses (Missing Melpomene) (figs. 122-130)
Location Musée des Beaux Arts, Arras, France
Suggested date c. 1620-21
Medium and size Oil on canvas, 1,95 x 1,50
References Baglione, 1642, pp. 402-04; Luzio, 1913, pp. 292-97; Baudson, 1941-44, pp. 28-33; Il Seicento Europeo, Rome, 1956, p. 64 n. 5, entry for Terpsichore; Marani and Perina, 1965, p. 472; Pigler, 1974, II, p. 36; Zeri, 1977, p. 339; Askew, 1978, pp. 274-296; Haskell, 1980, p. 175; Borea, 1980, pp. 315-18; Marrow, 1982, pp. 29, 37 and docs. 32, 33; Safarik, 1984, p. 50; Gere and Pouncey, 1983, p. 34; Seicento: le siècle de Caravage..., 1988, pp. 121-26; Möller, 1991, pp. 134-35.

The paintings, which were displayed in the Cabinet des Muses (preceding the gallery which contained the series by Rubens), were listed as works by Monier in the inventory of the palace made by Paillet at the end of the seventeenth century and were later given to Gentileschi. They were not restored to Baglione until Baudson established their paternity by referring to the above cited documents in the Archivio di Stato in Mantua that Luzio had published. Now that the authorship is uncontested, the reliability of Baglione's account regarding the identification of the paintings that were sent to Paris has been questioned.

In his autobiography Baglione refers to two series of Apollo and the Nine Muses painted for Ferdinando Gonzaga. Following a sequential order for citing commissions, he inserts the first series preceding the mention of the Cappella Paolina frescoes, which were painted between 1610-1612, "E per Cardinal Principe Ferdinando Gonzaga col suo pennello effigiò molte cose e tra le altre le nove Muse con Apollo, e con altri pezzi di coloriti mandolle a Mantova." The second series, which is chronologically inserted after the painting of Saints Anthony of Padua, Saint Clare and Saint Agatha of 1617 and prior to the Santa Maria dell'Orto Saint Sebastian of 1624, mentions a stay in Mantua "per lo spazio di due anni" as a point of reference. Immediately thereafter he reports, "Poi volle [the Duke] dal Baglione un'altra muta dalle nove Muse, dal naturale col loro Apollo, ma più grande di quelle, che egli in Roma fatta aveva, a dal Duca furono mandate a donare alla Regina di Francia su zia carnale, che per essere con ogni diligenza ed arte effigiate, molte care le furono. E indi a Roma ritornassene, da quell'Altezza nobilmente onorato e regalato."

Borea first suggested that the paintings now in Arras represented the earlier of the two series and Brejon de Lavergnée followed suit. Their principle argument is the inconsistency between the date of 1620 with the location ROMA that can be seen on the book held by Polymnia and the documents published by Luzio confirming that Baglione was in Mantua between 1621-22. Brejon de Lavergnée suggests that the second version was painted after 1624 but admits that it is rather curious that the paintings are absent from the quite thorough Gonzaga inventories.

First of all, Baglione's attempt to maintain chronological order in the autobiography should be respected. Secondly, he makes a clear distinction between Gonzaga's title as Cardinal Principe when the first series was commissioned and as Duke when the second series was painted. A payment made to Baglione in 1611 documents this early association which continued for some time after Gonzaga left Rome for Mantua in December, 1612. These observations support a dating before 1613 for the first series. The Arras paintings are clearly incompatible with this date on stylistic grounds. In pose, costume and colour they are more congruent with such highly refined works as Jacob's Dream in Savona and the Kensington Palace Allegory of Charity and Justice Reconciled of 1622.

59) Subject Semiramis (?) (fig. 131)

Location Unknown

Suggested date c. 1622

Medium and size Oil on canvas, 76, 9 x 63, 5

References sale, Christie's London, 11 December 1987, "Important Old Master Pictures," lot. 161; Möller, 1991, p. 131.

It is very likely that this is one of the remaining ovals from a series of portraits of famous women in the Camerino delle Dame at Mantua to which Baglione contributed (D'Arco, 1857, II, p. 173 and p. 175 n. 5).

- 60) Subject The Allegory of Charity and Justice Reconciled (fig. 132)
Location Royal Collection, Kensington Palace, London
Documented date The painting is signed and dated: AEQVES. IO.
BAGLIONVS. R.O.P./ 1622.
Medium and size Oil on canvas, 2,64 x 2,52
References D'Arco, 1857, II, p. 158; Luzio, 1913, p. 103; Levey, 1962, pp. 344-47 and 1964, p. 52, # 354, fig. 17; Borea, 1980, pp. 315-18; Möller, 1991, pp. 135-36.
Provenance Ferdinando Gonzaga, Mantua

The painting was listed in the Gonzaga inventory of 1627, # 226 as "Un quadro grande dipintovi tre virtu legate con catene d'oro del mano del sodetto [Baglione], L. 300". It was included in the purchase of the Mantuan collection by Charles I.

- 61) Subject St. Martin Divides His Cloak (fig. 133)
Location Private Collection, Rome
Suggested date c. 1622
Medium and size Oil on canvas, 2,85 x 2,13
References Baglione, 1641, p. 404; Strinati, 1978, p. 36, fig. 11; Marini, 1982, p. 66; Möller, 1991, pp. 146-47 (who dates it to the first half of the 1630's).

Marini identified the painting as the canvas described by Baglione in the autobiography, the "s. Martino a cavallo con il povero" that he had painted at the request of Cardinal Borgia for the church of San Giovannino alle Monache di s. Salvestro (destroyed in the 19th century). The stylistic similarities with the preceding work are quite obvious.

- 62) Subject Joseph and the Wife of Potiphar (fig. 134)
Location Alte Pinacothek, Munich
Suggested date c. 1622
Medium and size Oil on canvas, 2, 00 x 1, 56
References Zeri, 1977, p. 342 and fig. 3; Borea, 1980, p. 317; Möller, 1991, p. 130 (with a date of 1617)
Provenance Gemäldegalerie Schleissheim, in the eighteenth-century; deposit of Kurhaus in Bad Reichenhall from 1900-1955

Zeri refers to Hermann Voss's correct attribution of the painting to Baglione. It is now in deposit in the museum, where I was able to study it thanks to Dr. R. Kultzen. It is clearly a post-Mantuan work, both in the disposition of the figures and the depth of colour.

- 63) Subject Salome Presenting the Head of the Baptist to Herod and Herodias (fig. 135)
Location Private Collection
Suggested date c. 1622

Medium and size Oil on canvas, 114,5 x 156

References sale, Sotheby's London, 20 April 1988, "Old Master Paintings," n. 17; Möller, 1991, p. 128 (who dates it to 1617)

On stylistic grounds, both the painting and related drawing can be placed in the group of post-Mantuan works.

64) Subject The Birth of the Virgin (fig. 136)

Location Bing Collection, Florence

Documented date The painting is signed and dated: EQVES. IOANNES. BAGLIONVS. ROMANVS. PI. 1623.

Medium and size Oil on canvas, 1,60 x 1,42

Literature Borea, 1980, pp. 315-18, fig. 1; Marini, 1982, 1982, p. 66; Möller, 1991, p. 137.

65) Subject St. John the Baptist (fig. 137)

Location National Gallery and Alexander Soukos Museum, Athens

Suggested date c. 1624

Medium and size Oil on canvas, 1,35 x 95

References Spear, 1971, p. 47, fig. 10; Nicolson, 1979, p. 20; Möller, 1991, p. 136; Möller, 1991, p. 136.

The stylistic kinship with the painting made for Santa Maria dell'Orto in 1624 and other works of the 1620's support the dating proposed.

67) Subject St. John the Baptist (fig. 138)

Location Unknown

Suggested date c. 1624

Medium and size Oil on canvas, 134,5 x 96,5

References The painting, which was illustrated when it was with June Fell in Apollo, 1967, N. 63, pl. LXXXII with a dating between 1573-1610; Spear, 1971, p. 49 n. 13; Möller, 1991, p. 137.

The painting is very close to the Athens canvas though the features and handling of the garment around the waist are slightly different. Most noticeably, the lamb has been omitted.

68) Subject St. John the Baptist in Meditation (fig. 139)

Location Royal Collection, Hampton Court Palace

Suggested date c. 1624

Medium and size Oil on canvas, 1,19 x 1,42

References Law, 1881, 1898 # 254; Collins Baker, 1929, p. 167 as L. Spada; Levey, 1962, pp. 344-47 and 1964, p. 52 # 353, fig. 19; Möller, 1991, p. 145 (who dates it to the end of the 1620's)

The painting, signed on the scroll: IO. BAGLIONVS, is stylistically related to the St. Sebastian in Santa Maria dell'Orto painting.

69) Subject St. John the Baptist Wreathing a Lamb (fig. 140)

Location Royal Collection, Hampton Court Palace

Suggested date c. 1624

Medium and size Oil on canvas, 1,87 x 1,21

References Baglione, 1642, p. 403; Orbaan, 1920, p. 511; Collins Baker, 1929, p. 3; Levey, 1962, p. 344-47 and 1964, p. 51, #352; Lavin, 1975, p. 461; Nicolson, 1979, p. 20; Möller, 1991, p. 145.

Between 1635-37 Cardinal Barberini sent paintings to Charles I and Henrietta Maria through the papal agents in England, George Con and Gregorio Panzani. Attempts to identify the painting at Hampton Court as a gift from the cardinal are inconclusive because neither the iconography nor the size corresponds with the only Baglione painting of St. John the Baptist cited in the Barberini inventory of 1631 (Lavin, p. 461) as "un quadro con San Giovanni battista, che sta a sedere contemplando, con lo Spirito Santo, e l'Agnellino, con una corona di lauro sotto de piedi, alto palmi 8 e largo palmi 5 1/3 ... havuto dal Cavalier Baglione". The appearance of the Barberini painting may be more clearly approximated in the drawings in the Uffizi (fig.) and the Allentown Art Museum (fig.) where the saint is actually turned to an external source, which was presumably meant to allude to the presence of the Holy Spirit.

70) Subject St. Charles Borromeo Praying for the Cessation of the Plague (fig. 141)

Location Unknown, formerly in Parish Church, Lago d'Orta

Documented date Signed and dated at lower left: EQVES. IO. BAGLIONVS. 1624

References Il grande Borromeo..., Milan, fig. 136.

71) Subject Madonna of the Rosary with St. Giovenale and St. Charles Borromeo

Location San Biagio, Macerino

Date c. 1624

Medium and size Oil on canvas, 2,87 x 2,20

References Casale [et al], 1976, p. 85, figs. XIVb, 4; Möller, 1991, p. 139.

The painting can be given an approximate dating on the basis of its stylistic similarities with the preceding canvas.

72) Subjects Saint Sebastian Cured by Angels (fig. 142), St. Bonaventure (fig. 143), St. Anthony of Padua (fig. 144)

Location Santa Maria dell'Orto, Rome

Documented date The altarpiece is signed and dated: EQVS. IO. BAGLIONVS ME PINXIT A. 1624

Medium and size Oil on canvas, 2,90 x 1,85

References Baglione, 1642, p. 404; Titi, 1763, p. 52; Longhi, 1930 (1968), pp. 146-48, figs. 213, 214; Guglielmi, 1954, p. 319; Huetter, 1955, unpaginated; Martinelli, 1959, p. 92; Moir, 1967, I, p. 29, II, p. 45; Restauri della Soprintendenza..., 1972, p. 41 # 54; Barroero, 1976, pp. 95-97; Marini, 1982, p. 66; Gere and Pouncey, 1983, p. 34; Möller, 1991, p. 138.

The painting was commissioned by Luciano Brancalleo, "Auditore Camerino", whose heirs placed a plaque in the chapel, acting in accordance with the specifications of the will he made in April 1624. In the contract for the commission that Baglione accepted on 7 April 1624, he agreed to have the painting completed by the feast of Corpus Christi at the end of May. The Louvre drawing (fig.) (inv. 2835), which was identified by Longhi as a "modello" for the painting, has been correctly attributed by J.A. Gere (on the mount) to Angot.

- 73) Subject St. Sebastian Cured by Angels (fig. 145)
Location Private Collection, Rome
Suggested date c. 1624
Medium and size Oil on canvas

The date may be advanced on the basis of the close stylistic relationship to the preceding painting.

- 74) Subject Love Impedes Instinct (fig. 146)
Location Museo de Belles Artes, Valencia
Suggested date c. 1625
Medium and size Oil on canvas, 1,28 x 1,92
References Guglielmi, 1954, pp. 323-24; Zeri, 1977, p. 339, fig. 2; Borea, 1980, p. 317; Möller, 1991, p. 125.

The dating proposed by Zeri (c. 1613) is too early given the depth of colour, robustly defined female form and the warm luminosity.

- 75) Subject Venus Whipped by Love (fig. 147)
Suggested date c. 1625
Medium and size Oil on canvas, 1,22 x 1,72
Location Zeri Collection, Mentana
References Guglielmi, 1954, p. 323; Martinelli, 1959, p. 92; fig. 18; Pigler, 1974, II, p. 251; Zeri, 1977, pp. 339-42; Möller, 1991, p. 125.

This is a post-Mantuan work, datable as such by comparing the frothy modeling and densely saturated draperies with The Martyrdom of St. Agnes, the St. Catherine of Alexandria and other paintings from the second decade.

- 76) Subject Susanna and the Elders (fig. 148)
Location Private Collection

Suggested date c. 1625

Medium and size Oil on canvas, 1,69 x 1,14

References sale, Finarte, Rome, 20-21 November, 1985, "Mobili, arredi e antichi," n. 498

The space displacing, light bathed, monumental figure is comparable to the Muse, Urania, and the very loose painting of the background figures is much like the loosely painted anterior figures in the Birth of the Virgin.

77) Subject The Spinario (fig. 149)

Location Unknown

Suggested date c. 1625

Medium and size Oil on canvas, 1,61 x 1,14

Reference (to Nicolson painting) Waterhouse, 1960, pp. 54-57, fig. (with bibliography); Pouncey 1960, p. 167, fig. ; sale, Finarte, Rome, 10 November 1987, "Dipinti dal XV al XVIII secolo", n. 60

Provenance Nicolson Collection (?)

If this is the same canvas owned by Nicolson, it was listed for sale from Sir Peter Lely's Collection with an attribution to Carlo Saraceni. While admitting that "several very serious scholars have suggested Baglione", Waterhouse supported the attribution to Saraceni principally because he was unable to see how the Caravaggesque character was compatible with the period of Baglione's "intermezzo Caravaggesco" that Martinelli had proposed. Pouncey recognized Baglione's hand and identified the model for the painting, the engraving after the antique sculpture made by Diana Scultori in 1581 (fig.). The confidence he expressed "that a specialist will be able to show that the painting can be fitted into the artist's oeuvre elsewhere than in his 'Caravaggesque intermezzo'" is posthumously rewarded by the dating now advanced. By placing the figure against a dark screen Baglione obtains a sculpturesque conception of form and a softly luminous handling of the flesh. The effect is to bring a notable illusion of vitality to an antique prototype.

78) Subject The Martyrdom of St. Agatha (fig. 150)

Location National Museum, La Valletta, Malta

Suggested date c. 1625

Medium and size Oil on canvas, 2,62 x 1,71

References Möller, 1991, p. 116

The female type, dense colouration and disposition of the figures against a dark backdrop are entirely characteristic of the mid-1620's.

79) Subject St. Catherine of Alexandria Carried to Her Tomb by Angels (fig. 151)

Location Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Santa Barbara, California

Suggested date c. 1625

Medium and size Oil on canvas, 1,25 x 1, 65

References Waterhouse, 1953, pp. 1-23; Savini-Branca, 1964, pp. 52-53; Garas, 1968, pp. 181-278; sale, New York, Piero Corsini, Inc., Italian Old Master Paintings..., 1984, pp. 38-39, Rodinò, 1989-90, pp. 176-79, fig. 5, Santa Barbara Museum of Art., 1992, p. 22 and plate 14.

The painting belonged to the French painter-art dealer, Nicolas Renier (c. 1590-1667), who settled in Venice after 1625. According to Savini-Branca, Renier was in Rome for roughly ten years from about 1615 to 1625. His own paintings reveal the influence of Manfredi and Vouet, as well as a marked inclination towards Bolognese classicism. The painting was cited as "S m Caterina del Caval r Paglioni" in a list of paintings owned by Renier that was sent by the Viscount Fielding, the English ambassador in Venice between 1634-39, to his brother-in-law, the Duke of Hamilton. The work passed from Hamilton into the collection of the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm in 1649, and was engraved by Troyen for the illustrated catalogue of the collection compiled by David Teniers. When it appeared on the market in 1985, the painting was purchased from the Piero Corsini Gallery by a private collector and donated to the Santa Barbara Museum.

- 80) Subject The Vision of the Christ Child to St. Anthony of Padua (fig. 152)

Location Santa Maria della Porta, Macerata

Documented date 1628

Medium and size Oil on canvas

Literature Gentili, 1967, p. 178; Möller, 1991, p. 138.

Gentili refers to a document in the Biblioteca Comunale (Girolamo Palmucci, Libro delle devozioni, c. 37, Ms. nella Bibl. Comm., Arch. Curia, F., V., 2, 1) in which the painting is dated 1628 and attributed to Baglione.

- 81) Subject The Washing of the Feet ("bozzetto" for destroyed fresco) (fig. 153)

Location Pinacoteca Capitolina, Rome

Documented date 1628

Medium and size Oil on canvas, 130 x 80

References Baglione, 1639, p. 27; Baglione, 1642, p. 404; Longhi, 1930 (1968), p. 146; Pollak, II, 1931, p. 90, pp. 299-300; Guglielmi, 1954, p. 320; Longhi, 1968, p. 146; Galassi Paluzzi, 1968, p. 97; Bruno, 1978, p. 106, # 257; Lavin, 1975, p. 461; Gere and Pouncey, 1983, p. 34; Möller, 1991, pp. 139-40.

The final payment was disbursed in February 1631 (Pollak, p. 300). The fresco was destroyed in the late eighteenth century when the funerary monument of Benedict XIV was erected. Guglielmi refers to another "modello" in the Palazzo Barberini (cited in the inventory published by Lavin) which was signed and dated 1628. Its present location is unknown.

- 82) Subject Christ Exorcising the Seven Devils from the Magdalen (fig. 154)
Location Private Collection, Perugia
Suggested date c. 1630
Medium and size Oil on canvas
References Marini, 1982, pp. 66-67, fig. 5; Möller, 1991, p. 142.
Provenance Cardinal Colonna, Rome (?)

The painting is signed: BAGLIONVS ROMANVS. No external documentation exists to date the work but it certainly belongs in the same period as the Washing of the Feet on the basis of the similarities in presentation. The unusual iconography must surely have appealed to Baglione who frequently depicted such rare subjects. It may be reasonably suggested that this painting is identical to the work cited in the Colonna Collection as "Un quadro di nro Signore che predica alla Madalena con cornice indorata del Cav.re Gio.baglione."

- 83) Subject The Adoration of the Magi (fig. 155), The Presentation of the Christ Child at the Temple
Location San Luigi dei Francesi, Rome
Documented date 1630
References Baglione, 1642, p. 404; Titi, 1763, p. 147; Longhi, 1930 (1968), p. 148; Longhi, 1963, p. 148; Pericolini Ridolfi, 1968, p. 134; Thullier, 1981, pp. 583-684, esp. pp. 674-75; Möller, 1991, p. 142.

Baglione was awarded the commission to fresco the entire chapel, which was adjacent to the Contarelli Chapel in San Luigi. Funds for the decoration of the chapel, which was dedicated to the Virgin, were allocated according to the terms of the will made by Edmund Dagny. The arrangements with Baglione were left in the hands of the rector, Pierre Jennal. As the result of a severe ocular problem, Baglione was only able to complete two scenes, The Adoration of the Magi and a small compartment above representing The Presentation of the Christ Child at the Temple (now practically illegible). When Baglione was forced to abandon the project in the late spring of 1630, the Congregation held a competition to select his successor. The Cavalier d'Arpino and Domenichino, who presided as judges, chose Charles Mellin over Lanfranco and Poussin.

- 84) Subjects The Adoration of the Magi (fig. 156), The Presentation of the Christ Child at the Temple (fig. 157), The Madonna in Glory Surrounded by Angels (frescoes in the vault)
Location Santi Cosma e Damiano, Rome
Documented date The date 1630 appears in the open book held by the assistant wearing the turban in the Presentation.
Medium and size Oil on canvas
References Baglione, 1642, pp. 404-05; Titi, 1763, p. 203; Voss, 1924, p. 467; Longhi, 1930 (1968), p. 148; Guglielmi, 1954, p. 322; Chioccioni, 1963, pp. 44-45; Bruno, 1978, p. 100 # 245; Marini, 1982, p. 66; Gere and Pouncey, 1983, p. 34; Möller, 1991, pp. 147-48.

A plaque in the chapel indicates that it was restored in 1943 at the expense of Professor Carissimo Trafelli. Large areas of lost paint can be seen in the photograph taken prior to the restoration of the main altarpiece of St. John the Evangelist. The oil painting of the Madonna in Glory in the Capitoline Gallery is identical to the fresco in the vault of the chapel, painted before 1638 when the chapel was dedicated and the inscription placed in it.

85) Subjects The Madonna and Child with Saint James, Bartholomew and Victoria (fig. 158)

Location Santa Maria dell'Orto, Rome

Documented date 1630

References Baglione, 1642, p. 404; Titi, 1763, p. 51; Longhi, 1930 (1968), p. 148; Guglielmi, 1954, pp. 320-21; Barroero, 1976, pp. 68-69; Gere and Pouncey, 1983, p. 34; Möller, 1991, p. 149.

The frescoes for the altar and two lateral walls (now illegible) were commissioned by Bartholomeo Furgotti. The epigraph in Forcella (1869-84, V, p. 460 #1232) indicates that he specified the iconography. Baglione was paid three hundred "scudi" for the paintings.

86) Subject The Holy Family with the Paraclete (fig. 159)

Location Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence

Suggested date c. 1630

Medium and size Oil on wood, 465 x 332

Provenance Bourguignon de Fabregoules 1860

References Brejon de Lavergnée, 1980, p. 45, fig. 6.

The painting, formerly listed as "inconnue écoles d'Italie", was attributed to Baglione by Bréjon de Lavergnée who suggested a dating of about 1641 that I believe to be too late given the clear resemblance to the Madonna and Child in the above painting, as well as the similarity in handling of the garments.

87) Subjects The Nativity of Christ (fig. 160), The Adoration of the Magi (fig. 161), The Presentation of the Christ Child at the Temple (fig. 162), St. Anthony Abbot, St. Paul the Hermit

Location Santa Maria della Consolazione, Rome

Suggested date c. 1632

Medium and size Oil on canvas, 2,86 x 1,64; 2,10 x 1,30; 2,10 x 1,30

References Baglione, 1642, p. 404; Titi, 1763, p. 188; Longhi, 1930 (1968), p. 148; Guglielmi, 1954, p. 320; Brentano, 1967, pp. 140-43; Möller, 1991, p. 144.

Brentano (p. 141) publishes the only document in the church archive pertaining to the Affidati Chapel. On 29 December 1632 the Affidati pledged themselves, "di fare ornare et finire condecientemente la detta cappella con quelli ornamenti secondo che ad essa Università

piaceranno e pareranno si di stucco come di pitture... promettono subito finita la cappella d'ogni perfettione et ornamento necessario...." The urgency of effort promised makes it reasonable to assume that the decoration was well underway in 1632.

Brentano (p. 141) notes that the Affidati, though they were an association for shepherds, were quite wealthy. Their chapel is more richly decorated, in comparison with the more modest chapels of the other associations in the church; they were also able to employ one of the most distinguished painters of the day.

88) Subject St. Sebastian Cured by St. Irene (fig. 163)

Location Santi Quattro Coronati, Rome

Documented date 1632

Medium and size Oil on canvas, 2,00 x 1,18

References Baglione, 1642, p. 404; Longhi, 1930 (1968), p. 148; Guglielmi, 1954, p. 322; Apollonij Ghetti, 1964, p. 81; Möller, 1991, pp. 145-46.

The painting was completed in 1632 when the inscription was placed beneath it by Cardinal Vidone (Forcella, 1869-84, 8, p. 293 #727).

89) Subject St. James

Location Unknown

Documented date Signed and dated EQUES IOANNES BAGLIONVS ROMANVS PI 1636

Medium and size Oil on canvas, 1,36 x 98

References Möller, 1991, p. 147

Provenance Peretti, Rome

90) Subject The Dream of St. Joseph (fig. 164)

Location Pontificia Accademia dei Virtuosi al Pantheon, Rome

Suggested date c. 1638

Medium and size Unknown

References Visconti, 1869, p. 60; Kambo, 1930, p. 9; Waga, 1967, p. 7; Möller, 1991, pp. 149-50.

Baglione had requested that the painting be donated to the organization in his Last Will and Testament. Visconti claimed that Giacinto Brandi had donated it in 1648 as a work by Lanfranco. According to Kambo it was in a ruinous state when discovered in 1929 and was restored at that time.

91) Subject The Madonna in Glory (fig. 165)

Location Pinacoteca Capitolina, Rome

Suggested date c. 1638

Medium and size Oil on canvas, 1,00 x 1,35

References Guglielmi, 1954, p. 323; Bruno, 1978, fig. 245 and p. 100; Möller, 1991, p. 147.

Guglielmi quite reasonably proposed that the canvas served as a "bozzetto" for the fresco that Baglione painted in the vault of the Cappella Baglione in Santi Cosmo e Damiano.

92) Subject The Madonna in Glory (fig. 166)

Location Palazzo Orsini, Castel Madama

Suggested date c. 1638

Medium and size Oil on canvas

References Schleier, 1971, p. 16, fig. 6; Möller, 1991, p. 146.

The painting is very close to the Capitoline canvas and to the frescoes of 1638 in the Baglione Chapel.

93) Subjects The Madonna and Child with Saints Ambrose, Bernard and Charles Borromeo (fig. 167), St. Charles Borromeo Assisting the Plague Victims (fig. 168), St. Ambrose Chasing the Arians from Milan (fig. 169)

Location Santa Maria dell'Orto, Rome

Documented date 1641

Medium and size Oil on canvas, 2,60 x 1,40

References Baglione, 1642, p. 401; Titi, 1763, p. 52; Huetter, 1955, unpaginated; Longhi, (1930), 1968, p. 148; Guglielmi, 1954, p. 323; Barroero, 1976, pp. 88-89; Restauri della Soprintendenza..., 1972, p. 41; Marini, 1982, p. 66; Gere and Pouncey, 1983, p. 34; Il grande Borromeo..., 1984, # 239 as "S. Carlo e i corpi degli appestati".

The chapel, which was in the custody of the Università degli Scarpellini e Ciavittini, was dedicated to Saints Charles, Ambrose and Bernard of Siena. The paintings were completed in 1641, as is indicated by the inscription (Forcella, 1869-94, 5, p. 462 # 1239). In October 1640 Baglione had signed a contract to complete the altarpiece, frescoes and stucco work by May of the following year for the sum of 400 "scudi". In 1641 he made a claim for the final payment which had been withheld because the stucco decoration, completed by the stuccatore, Gio: Maria Ferrari, after his own design, was found by Pecci to be "più bella, e maggiore di quello havuto dal d.o S.r Cavaliere." According to Barroero (p. 89) the frescoes of God the Father surrounded by angels in the vault were poorly restored in the nineteenth century.

Appendix II

Inventory of Drawings Connected with Known or Documented Compositions

This is not intended to be a catalogue raisonné but rather an attempt to make a chronological inventory of preparatory studies for datable compositions. All of the measurements are quoted in millimeters. When known, the provenance is cited. Where reference is not made to a specific lot number (lot) or reproduction number (repro.) a drawing is illustrated for the first time.

- 1) Subject Study for The Transportation of the Twelve Stones to Record the Passage Through the Jordan River, Palazzo Altieri (formerly Santacroce), Oriolo Romano (fig. 170)
Location Department of Prints and Drawings, National Gallery, Edinburgh (inv. D4820 B as "A Horseman Surrounded by Several Figures")
Date c. 1585-87
Media Red chalk and brown wash
Dimensions 116 x 198
References Andrews, 1968, (p. 10 and fig. 95) notes that this is one of a series of drawings inscribed with Baglione's name and a serial number in a late seventeenth or early eighteenth-century hand that Macandrew proposed to be part of a collection dating from Baglione's death (Macandrew, 1980, pp. 92-93)
Provenance Richard Cooper, Miss Eyre, Lydney (Glos.), Presented 1959
Miscellaneous Inscribed at the top of an old mount, "Caval r. Giovanni Baglioni 90".

Although the shape of the sheet does not conform to the lunette at Oriolo it appears to represent a preliminary stage in the working out of the composition. The main groups of the figures are set down, though there are significant changes from drawing to fresco.

- 2) Subject Study for The Birth of St. Francis, Palazzo Laterano, Rome (fig. 171)
Location Private Collection
Date 1589
Media Black chalk, pen and brown ink, brown wash, squared in black chalk, arched
Dimensions Unavailable
References as above
Provenance sale, Christie & Co., New York, 1 November 1989, lot 44 (repro.) as "A Woman giving Alms to a Pilgrim and a Woman in Labour with Attendants", with inscription "Carrac"

At the right a woman is attended by handmaidens; at the far right a scene of washing is barely visible; at the middle a standing servant carries trays and her companion bends over, presumably to lift the cradle; at the left alms are given to a figure who wears the shell and carries the staff of a pilgrim to Santiago di Compostela.

- 3) Subject Study for The Bibliotheca Babylonica, Sala Sistina, Vatican Library, Rome (fig. 172)
Location Teylers Museum, Haarlem (inv. KIII - 11)
Date 1589
Media Black chalk, heightened with white, on blue paper
Dimensions 365 x 290
References Disegni Italiani..., 1983-84, repro. plate 678.
Miscellaneous Inscribed on the mounting, "Parmigianino"

Meijer and van Tuyll (Disegni...) first connected this sheet to the Vatican Library fresco. Many standing and seated figures, some with books and pens, fill the sheet. To the left are architectural elements and a podium; at the rear a door, an aperture and a blocked window are sketched out.

- 4) Subject Study for The Bibliotheca Romanorum, Sala Sistina, Vatican Library, Rome (fig. 173)
Location Crocker Art Museum, Sacramento, California (inv. 1871.319)
Date 1589
Media Pen and reddish-brown ink, brown wash, over red chalk underdrawing
Dimensions 147 x 155
References Classical Narratives..., 1972, pp. 15-16, repro. catalogue cover; Westin, 1981, repro. plate 1
Miscellaneous Inscribed at upper right-hand corner, "G." (?); verso, in pen and brown ink, "di Mano originale del Baglione", on an applied patch and columns of numbers

The drawing was connected to the fresco in the entry for the Sacramento exhibition in 1972. A soldier directs the Sibyl and her entourage to the King, whose body is partially visible in extremely sketchy form in a recessed space adjacent to the pilasters at left. The architectural background is drawn in a cursive manner.

- 5) Subject Study for The Mass of St. Peter, Cappella di San Pietro, Santa Pudenziana, Rome (fig. 174)
Location Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Alte Pinakothek, Munich (inv. 3264 as "Compartment [vaulted] with Mass of Bolsena")
Date 1595
Media Pen and brown ink, brown wash
Dimensions 218 x 295
References Unpublished

The drawing shows two kneeling and standing groups in an architecturally defined interior that is divided by columns. The celebrant, at an altar furnished with a crucifix and a candelabrum, cleans the paten following the Eucharist. An elaborate candelabrum is drawn in the foreground. At the right rear are loosely scribbled, amorphous forms and directional lines give only the barest indication of Baglione's plans for the space.

- 6) Subject Study for the "Tavoletta", The Crucifixion with the Madonna and St. John, Archiconfraternità di San Giovanni Decollato, Rome (fig. 175)
Location Cabinet des Dessins, Musée du Louvre, Paris (inv. 11434)
Date c. 1595
Media Pen and brown ink, traces of brown and red wash
Dimensions 222 x 204
Attribution Poncey
References Unpublished

The Virgin and St. John the Baptist flank Christ who is shown hanging at center, though the Cross is omitted. Three angels are present; one collects the blood into a chalice. Visible on the reverse (which is glued down) are two small nude figures, buildings and a door or window frame.

- 7) Subject Study for The Birth of the Virgin, Santa Maria dell'Orto, Rome (figs. 176-177)
Location Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples (inv. 1009 recto and verso as "Study of a Woman with a Jug")
Date 1598
Media Black chalk on blue paper
Dimensions 173 x 235
References Unpublished

A woman, in greater than half-length view, wearing a low cut garment and small cap, leans forward while pouring water from a jug. The headdress, cut of the bodice and plastic strength informed the presentation of the figure at the right of the fresco (behind the bending figure in the foreground).

- 8) Subject Study for The Birth of the Virgin, Santa Maria dell'Orto, Rome (fig. 178)
Location Private Collection
Date 1598
Media Pen and brown ink, brown wash, over red chalk. Some losses
Dimensions 211 x 184
References As above
Provenance sale, Sotheby & Co., London, 21 June, 1974, "Old Master Drawings," lot 219 as the "Birth of St. John the Baptist"
Miscellaneous The initials "J.H." can be seen at lower left.

Figures in the foreground twist and stand while the stooping figures lean over the infant and the bath. At right a standing male holds a jug. In the left background female figures approach a reclining figure in a canopied bed while others stand in the doorway at far right.

- 9) Subject Study for The Birth of the Virgin, Santa Maria dell'Orto, Rome (fig. 179)

Location Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin-Dahlem (inv. K.d.Z. 16434 verso)

Date 1598

Media Pen and brown ink, brown and grey wash

Dimensions 235 x 188

References Unpublished

Attribution Pouncey

These sketches appear on the verso of the Berlin study for the Presentation of the Virgin (fig. 182). Appearing from lower left to right are the figures who are also seen frontally and from behind in the above drawing - a kneeling woman, the same figures as at far left in reduced dimensions, a group of women with an infant held over a basin and a woman descending from a step. In the right corner (reverse) figures surround a reclining figure on an elevated platform.

- 10) Subject Study for The Presentation of the Virgin (reverse upper right corner), Santa Maria dell'Orto, Rome (fig. 180)

Location Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum, London (inv. 5223-9 verso as "Sketch of an archway in a Roman ruin; composition for an altarpiece representing an act of healing or charity")

Date 1598

Media Black chalk, pen and brown ink, brown wash

Dimensions 280 x 185

References Gere and Pouncey, 1983, p. 37, n. 42, repro. plate 37

Provenance Sloane Bequest

Miscellaneous Inscribed in ink on the old mount, in a seventeenth or eighteenth-century hand, "Del Caval[iere] Gio Baglioni 66"

The principal motif is the archway (with a barrel or water-butt). In the right corner (reverse) a kneeling figure is greeted by a group of figures framed by a portion of a facade and a domed edifice. At lower right the torso of a figure has been hastily set down. A sketch for a cloud and some rays of light are also demarcated.

- 11) Subject Study for The Presentation of the Virgin, Santa Maria dell'Orto, Rome (fig. 181)

Location Department of Prints and Drawings, National Gallery, Ottawa (inv. 6895 as "Group of Four Figures")

Date 1598

Media Pen and brown ink, brown wash, on grey-green paper

Dimensions 85 x 93

References Popham and Fenwick, 1965, pp. 45-48, fig. 67

Provenance J. Richardson, Junior (Lugt 2170); A. Sambon? (sale, Paris, 15 February 1954 according to Lugt Suppl. 175a); purchased from P. & D. Colnaghi & Co., Ltd., London, 1957

Three full length figures stand behind a young girl who has ascended onto the first of two steps at right.

- 12) Subject Study for The Presentation of the Virgin, Santa Maria dell'Orto, Rome (fig. 182)
Location Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin-Dahlem (inv. K.d.Z. 16434)
Date 1598
Media Pen and brown ink, brown and grey wash, over black chalk. A strip cut away below, left and center.
Dimensions 235 x 188
References Unpublished
Attribution Pouncey
Miscellaneous Inscribed on matting, "F. Zuccaro 1665"

Two groups of standing, full-length figures framed by a domed edifice surround a kneeling girl. A priest, wearing vestments and a mitre, leans forward and extends his arms toward her.

- 13) Subject Study for The Presentation of the Virgin, Santa Maria dell'Orto, Rome (fig. 183)
Location Christ Church College, Oxford (inv. 0654)
Date 1598
Media Pen and brown ink
Dimensions 187 x 157
Attribution Oberhuber
References Bell, 1914, p. 79 as "anciently attributed to Raphael"; Byam Shaw, 1976, no. 585 repro. plate 321
Provenance Ridolfi (long R); Byam Shaw, p. 164, n. 585, "One of the many drawings that were already removed from the albums for matting in the XVIIIc. The 'librarian's' ascription to Raphael no doubt repeats Ridolfi's, which is lost; his note 'preziosis[s]imo]' suggests that he thought it was by a very important hand. Guise."
Miscellaneous B.-S., "There are two fig. sketches on the verso, just visible through the backing."

Three groups of figures are contained within a pyramidal shape, the apex of which is accentuated by a slender column. At the far left a figure holding a purse and other figures are turned toward the priest and accompanying figure at center who are raised on a platform. The priest bends slightly with a gesture of blessing. The void beneath him bears the shape of the kneeling Virgin in the previous drawing. At far right a standing figure makes a donation to very sketchily rendered figures beneath him.

- 14) Subject Study for The Presentation of the Virgin, Santa Maria dell'Orto, Rome (fig. 184)
Location Musée Condé, Chantilly (inv. LA 92054 recto)
Date 1598
Media Pen and brown ink, brown and grey wash
Dimensions 178 x 263
Attribution Pouncey
References Gere and Pouncey, 1983, p. 36

Gere and Pouncey correctly identified this sheet as a study for the fresco. It is very close to the final arrangement of the background group.

- 15) Subject Study for The Dormition of the Virgin, Santa Maria dell'Orto, Rome (fig. 185)
Location Martin von Wagner Museum der Universität, Würzburg (inv. 7323 as "Dying Virgin and Apostles in Attendance")
Date 1598
Media Pen and brown ink, grey wash, on brown paper, squared in red chalk
Dimensions 158 x 231
Attribution Winner
References Unpublished
Provenance Martin von Wagner
Miscellaneous Inscribed on mount in pen and brown ink, "Luca Cambiaso"

Six nude figures are seen in a number of views. At left a female figure reclines on a geometrically defined, elevated support. A standing and a kneeling figure are placed the perpendicular angles. The squared shape at lower left obscures the lower legs of the figure. At far right a figure seated on a faintly described block platform leans right.

- 16) Subject Study for The Dormition of the Virgin, Santa Maria dell'Orto, Rome (fig. 186)
Location Private Collection
Date 1598
Media Pen and black ink, over traces of red chalk
Dimensions 175 x 245
References sale, Sotheby & Co., London, 11 June 1981, "Old Master Drawings" as "Death of the Virgin", lot 15
Provenance Unidentified collector's mark (Lugt 1143)

At the left a figure supported by a long, box-like structure is surrounded by figures in three-quarter and half-length view. Some hold books, others candles; one holds a palm branch. Two full-length male figures, one of whom (in TQV) lifts his garment, stand at middle. At right two bearded male figures are seated in front of standing figures holding a cross and a candle from which a puff of smoke appears.

- 17) Subject Study for The Assumption of the Virgin (fig. 187)
Location Department of Prints and Drawings, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (inv. 65.66.2)
Media Pen and brown ink, brown wash, squared for transfer
Dimensions 177 x 198
References Bean, 1979, n. 54 as "Group of nude male figures kneeling and standing in supplication"

The drawing is an early, discarded idea for the fresco. The space allotted for the bier explains the void at center. Stylistically the drawing shares common traits with the Würzburg

studies for the Dormition of the Virgin (fig. 185), the Washing of the Feet (fig. 189) and the sketch in the Uffizi on the recto of the study for Profane Love Subdued by Divine Love (fig. 314).

- 18) Subject Study for The Coronation of the Virgin, Santa Maria dell'Orto, Rome (fig. 188)
Location Achenbach Foundation for the Graphic Arts, The Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco (inv. 1963. 24. 157)
Date 1598
Dimensions 106 x 129
Media Pen and brown ink, brown wash, over black chalk underdrawing, on cream laid paper
References Cogswell # 214 (Hellman # 220)
Provenance Cogswell n. 157; M.L. Schiff

A group of five youths on clouds are engaged in playing musical instruments. The wash has been applied in taking in account a "di sotto in su" viewpoint.

- 19) Subject Study for (no longer extant) The Washing of the Feet, San Nicola in Carcere, Rome (fig. 189)
Location Cabinet des Dessins, Musée du Louvre, Paris (inv. 12309)
Date c. 1599-1600
Media Pen and brown ink, grey wash, over traces of red chalk
Dimensions 190 x 267
References Viatte, 1973, n. 64; "Nouvelle Attributions", 1978, n. 87

Many figures inhabit the perspectively conceived space. In front of a receptacle for water a man has his feet washed while other figures gesticulate toward him. The two standing figures at left are a restatement of the central apostles in the drawing for the Dormition of the Virgin (fig. 186).

- 20) Subject Study for the competition to paint the altarpiece, The Baptism of St. Prisca, Santa Prisca, Rome (fig. 190)
Location Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum, London (inv. 1978-5-20-4 recto)
Date 1600
Media Pen and black ink, grey wash
Dimensions 176 x 103
References Gere and Pouncey, 1983, p. 36, n. 37, repro. plate 31
Provenance sale, Sotheby & Co., London, 23 March 1978, "Fine Old Master Drawings," lot 35, bt Tan Bunzl for BM

As Gere and Pouncey noted, this study was preliminary to the "modello". The principal figures are contained within a pyramidal shape that has its apex at the head of St. Peter. Without wash the figures would have a linear transparency.

- 21) Subject Rejected "modello" for the competition to paint the altarpiece, The Baptism of St. Prisca, Santa Prisca, Rome (fig. 191)

Location Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum, London (inv. 1895-6-15-666)

Date 1600

Media Pen and brown ink, brown wash, over red chalk, heightened with white, on blue paper

Dimensions 377 x 266

References Gere, 1971, fig. XXXVIII and Gere and Pouncey, 1983, pp. 35-36, n. 36, repro. plate 30; Facsimile engraving in reverse by P.P.A. Robert and N. le Sueur (Weigl 116)

Provenance P. Crozat (inscription on facsimile engraving); marquis de Lagoy (Lugt 1710); Malcolm

Gere and Pouncey correctly identified this sheet as a rejected "modello" for the Santa Prisca competition.

- 22) Subject Copy of the rejected "modello" for the competition to paint the altarpiece, The Baptism of St. Prisca, Santa Prisca, Rome

Location Zeri Collection, Mentana

Date 1600

Media Unavailable

Dimensions Unavailable

References Gere and Pouncey (1983, p. 36) note that composition is inscribed "ioannes Baglionus F." and embodies the heraldic devices of Pope Clement VIII Aldobrandini (1592-1605). On the verso is a MS note "Memoria et schandalgio dele Pitture che Vano a Sa.ta Prisca Per servizio Dell Ill.mo et Rev.mo Sig.re il Sig.re Cardinal Giustiniani"

- 23) Subject Studies for the competition to paint the altarpiece, The Baptism of St. Prisca, Santa Prisca, Rome (fig. 192)

Location Musée Condé, Chantilly (inv. LA 92054 verso)

Date 1600

Media Red and black chalk; pen and brown ink

Dimensions 178 x 263

References Gere and Pouncey, 1983, p. 36

Gere and Pouncey recognized the relation between this sheet, showing two delicate sketches of the kneeling St. Prisca, and the British Museum studies. At bottom right is a pen and ink sketch of a bearded cleric.

- 24) Subject Study for St. Peter in the House of St. Prisca and Aquila, Santa Prisca, Rome (fig. 193)

Location Teylers Museum, Haarlem (inv. K 38)

Date 1600

Media Pen and brown ink, brown and grey wash, over traces of red chalk

Dimensions 195 x 136

References Disegni italiani..., 1983, repro. fig. 79, pp. 180-81

Attribution Pouncey

Provenance Cristina of Sweden

Meijer et van Tuyll (1983) convincingly propose that the sheet represents a study for a fresco in the crypt of the church.

- 25) Subject Study for St. John the Evangelist Revives a Dead Man (fig. 194), Baglione Chapel, Santi Cosma e Damiano, Rome
Location Private Collection
Date 1600
Media Red chalk, heightened with white, on buff paper
Dimensions 270 x 169
References sale, Sotheby & Co., Monaco, 20 June 1987, "Dessins italiens du XVe au XVII siècle," lot 71
Provenance Michel Grand

In the sale catalogue the drawing was recognized as a study after a studio model that was used for the figure of St. John the Evangelist. Stylistically close to drawings from the turn of the century (see figs. 276-277) it must have been kept at hand in Baglione's studio. The missing hand and toes suggest that the size of the sheet has been cut.

- 26) Subject Study for The Emperor Constantine Invests the Lateran with Treasure, San Giovanni in Laterano, Rome (fig. 195)
Location Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna (inv. AL 649.603C)
Date 1600
Media Pen and brown ink and brown wash, over red chalk underdrawing
Dimensions 178 x 142
References Pepper, 1970, pp. 267-69, repro. plate 23.
Attribution Pepper

As Pepper has correctly observed, these sketches represent studies for the standing soldier at far right in the fresco.

- 27) Subject Study for The Emperor Constantine Invests the Lateran with Treasure, San Giovanni in Laterano, Rome (fig. 196)
Location Cabinet des Dessins, Musée des Beaux-Arts e d'Archéologie, Besançon (inv. D 1502 recto and verso pen and ink sketches for three figures in the same fresco)
Date 1600
Media Pen and brown ink, brown and grey wash, over red chalk underdrawing
Dimensions 156 x 270
References Unpublished
Attribution Pouncey
Provenance Jean Gigoux (Lugt 1164)

Pepper correctly identified the sheet as a preparatory study for the Lateran fresco in a note in the museum's documentation, a conclusion which I had already independently made.

- 28) Subject Study for The Emperor Constantine Invests the Lateran with Treasure, San Giovanni in Laterano, Rome (fig. 197)
Location Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden (inv. C 469)

Date 1600
Media Pen and brown ink
Dimensions 189 x 132
References Unpublished

At right a male nude is partially seen. At left is a partial view of the upper torso and head of a figure whose physiognomy and headpiece link him to the soldier nearest Constantine in the Oxford drawing. The figure at right may be related to the figure second from left in the fresco. A large "putto" on a low platform at center is framed by a flowing garment and flowers. The motif of the billowing drapery is also seen in the Bergamo drawing for The Return from the Flight into Egypt (fig. 194) as well as in other drawings datable to the same time.

- 29) Subject Study for The Emperor Constantine Invests the Lateran with Treasure, San Giovanni in Laterano, Rome (fig. 198)
Location Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (inv. PII 185)
Date 1600
Media Pen and brown ink, grey wash, over red chalk underdrawing
Dimensions 151 x 201
Provenance Pauline Borghese; 3rd Lord Holland; Mayor of Liverpool; Arnett Hibbert
References Parker, 1956, n. 785; Pepper, 1979, pp. 267-69, repro. plate 22

Pepper has correctly identified the drawing as a preparatory study for the Lateran fresco.

- 30) Subject Study for The Emperor Constantine Invests the Lateran with Treasure, San Giovanni in Laterano, Rome (fig. 199)
Location Cooper-Hewitt Museum, New York (inv. 1938-88-7054)
Date 1600
Media Red chalk, squared for transfer
Dimensions 267 x 171
References as Rodriguez in "The Two Sicilies...", 1970, repro. n. 8, p. 6
Provenance Piancastelli; Brandegee
Miscellaneous Inscribed in pen and brown ink at lower left, "Gio: Bernardino Siciliano"; at lower right in a modern hand, "D. 5"

This standing figure in three-quarter view, wearing vestments that fall in long, straight planes and holding a book is clearly a preparatory sketch for the acolyte to the left of St. Sylvester.

- 31) Subject Study for Saints Peter and Paul, Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, Rome (fig. 200)
Location Private Collection
Date 1600
Media Pen and brown ink, brown wash, heightened with white, squared in red chalk, on brown paper
Dimensions 270 x 107

References sale, Kate de Rothschild, "Exhibition of Old Master Drawings," June 30th-July 11th, n.d.
Attribution Pouncey

In the brochure for the exhibition Pouncey is credited with the attribution to Baglione and with the identification of the sheet as a study for St. Paul. The small portion of drapery that can be seen at the right edge of the drawing suggests that the drawing may have originally included a study for St. Peter.

- 32) Subject Studies for the Madonna and Child Bestowing a Necklace on St. Agnes, Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, Rome (figs. 201-202)
Location Martin von Wagner Museum der Universität, Würzburg (inv. 8386 recto and verso)
Date 1600
Media Pen and brown ink, on brown paper
Dimensions 177 x 223
References Unpublished
Attribution Winner

On the recto the half-length Madonna and Christ Child appear to the left of the saint, who holds a lamb. One angel kneels at left; two angels kneel at right. In the distance are trees and other landscape elements. In the right corner of the verso (turned to its side) are a tree, bushes and a view of a rocky landscape in the distance. The three central figures on the recto are studied again, with a "pentimento" adjacent to the Virgin's head. A kneeling angel, with face scratched out, is at far right. A number of sketches are made for a nude figure holding a spear. At the left corner (turned on side) is a pen and ink sketch that is related to the two studies of "Father Time Unveiling Truth to Peace with Envy and Discord in the Background" (c. 1622) in private collections (figs. 341-342).

- 33) Subject Study for the Mystical Marriage of St. Catherine, Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, Rome (fig. 203)
Location Private Collection
Date 1600
Media Pen and brown ink, over red chalk
Dimensions 100 x 95
References sale, Galerie Bernard Houtmakker, Amsterdam, 1974 as Baglione
Provenance William Russell

At right a half-length Madonna holds the nude Christ Child who reaches forward to place an object on St. Catherine's right hand. Her left hand rests on the wheel. A male figure with two heads stands behind her. In front of the group is a horizontal ledge that supports Christ's body. The many changes in the painting indicate that this represents an early idea for it.

- 34) Subject Study for Saints Cecilia, Valerian, Tiburtius, Maximus, Urban and Lucius, Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, Rome (fig. 204)

Location Graphische Sammlung, Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf (inv. FP 85)

Date 1600

Media Pen and brown ink, with grey wash

Dimensions 194 x 274

Attribution Poncey

References Schaar, 1969-70, p. 30, repro. fig. 32

Schaar identified the drawing as a study for the Santa Cecilia painting.

- 35) Subject Study for The Return of the Holy Family from Egypt, Santi Apostoli, Rome (fig. 205)

Location Teylers Museum, Haarlem (inv. C37)

Date c. 1600

Media Pen and brown ink, black and red chalk

Dimensions 261 x 196

References Le dessin italien..., repro. fig. CVIII with the attribution to Reni corrected by Jaffé, 1963, p. 237

The Holy Family, accompanied by angels, appears in the first plane against a domed building to the side of which is a small view of a landscape. There are notable "pentimenti" in the placement of the left hand and right leg of Christ and in the positioning of the hands of the angel above the head of St. Joseph.

- 36) Subject Studies for The Return of the Holy Family from Egypt, Santi Apostoli, Rome (figs. 206-207)

Location Department of Prints and Drawings, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (inv. 62.237 recto and verso)

Date c. 1599-1600

Media Pen and brown ink, grey wash, over black chalk

Dimensions 175 x 206

References Vitzthum, 1963, p. 60, repro. fig. 43b; Bean, 1979, repro. figs. 56, 56v

On the left of the verso an angel speaks to St. Joseph; on the right Mary and the Christ Child are carried by a donkey. The sheet appears to have been cut. On the recto the Holy Family are accompanied by two angels and the Christ Child holds the orb.

- 37) Subject Study for The Return of the Holy Family from Egypt, Rome, Santi Apostoli (fig. 208)

Location Private Collection

Date c. 1600

Media Pen and brown ink, brown wash, over black chalk

Dimensions 181 x 135

References sale, Sotheby & Co., London, 6 July 1992, "Old Master Drawings," lot 25, "Said to be from an album put together by the Roman painter and engraver, G. Piancastelli (1845-1926)".

Provenance Piancastelli

Between the drawing and painting there are marked similarities in pose, draperies, placement of the hands. As for the differences, the chiaroscuro modeling is much more accentuated than in the painting, the proportions of the Virgin are longer and her head smaller in relation to her height and the angel is in fuller view. A notable correspondence exists with the angel in the Accademia Carrarra drawing.

- 38) Subject Study for The Return of the Holy Family from Egypt, Santi Apostoli, Rome (fig. 209)
Location Accademia Carrara, Bergamo (inv. 2268)
Date c. 1600
Media Pen and brown ink, brown wash, on prepared paper
Dimensions 184 x 191
Attribution Vitzthum
References Vitzthum, 1963, no. 345 repro. fig. 43a with the attribution correctly changed from Albani to Baglione but without reference to the painting
Provenance Conte Giacomo Carrara
Miscellaneous At lower right corner, "del'Albano"

At left a woman encircled by a halo rides on a donkey on a slightly elevated level. The Holy Family and an angel occupy the foreground. The Christ Child holds the orb. In the upper level three angels appear. Summary notations for the landscape can be seen behind the figures.

- 39) Subject Study for Cardinal Sfondrato and Saints, Gesù, Rome (fig. 210)
Location Collection of the Duke of Devonshire, Chatsworth (inv. 390)
Date c. 1600
Media Red chalk, heightened with white, on toned paper
Dimensions 235 x 200
References Unpublished
Attribution Jaffé
Provenance Lord Somers (n. 20) and inscribed in Padre Resta's hand, "Cav. Gio. Baglione"

In correspondence the Curator at Chatsworth communicated Jaffé's suggestion that the drawing was a drapery study for Cardinal Sfondrato, a conclusion I had already independently made.

- 40) Subject Study for Profane Love Subdued by Divine Love, the World, the Flesh and the Devil, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin-Dahlem; Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Rome (fig. 211)
Location Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence (inv. 4327 verso)
Date 1601
Media Red and grey wash, over red chalk underdrawing, on buff paper, squared
Dimensions 258 x 184

References Catalogo della Raccolta..., 1870, n. 4328 as "Venere e Amore"

Music making figures, corresponding to those seen on the verso (fig. 314), are drawn on the lower half of the sheet. On the upper half is a winged figure, in a bending position, holding a staff. Except for the altered placement of the legs and left hand, the figure corresponds very closely to the Divine Love in the Palazzo Barberini painting (1602) (note the analogous treatment of the hair). Behind him is a sketch for another figure, perhaps Satan, who also appears to his left in the painting. The application of wash approximates the distribution seen in the painting, given the adjustments in pose and the costume.

- 41) Subject Study for (no longer extant) The Resurrection formerly in the Gesù, Rome (fig. 212)
Location Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum, London (inv. Ff. 4-28 recto)
Date 1601
Media Pen and brown ink, with greyish brown wash, over red chalk underdrawing
Dimensions 262 x 172
References Basile, p. 118; Guglielmi, 1954, p. 314 and repro. fig. 6 Longhi, 1963, p. 25; Gere and Pouncey, 1983, p. 36, n. 38, repro. plate 32
Provenance W. Fawkener Bequest, 1769 (one of a number of drawings inscribed with the initials 'W F' which were mistakenly included in the inventory of the Cracherode Bequest of 1799)

As Gere and Pouncey have noted, Longhi had difficulty in accepting Guglielmi's suggestion that the drawings were studies for the Gesù Resurrection because he thought the scale of the figures to be incompatible with the great size of the painting (7.7 x 4.45 m.). Recognizing this problem, Baglione advanced to the more complex arrangement and lighting of the "modello" while retaining the correlation in scale between the foreground figures and Christ. Parallels can be detected with Roncalli's painting in San Giacomo in Augustea (1600-01), especially in the typology of Christ, the placement of legs and arms and the weight and substance of the body.

- 42) Subject Study for (no longer extant) The Resurrection, formerly in Gesù, Rome; separate studies of Christ and two soldiers (figs. 213)
Location Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum, London (inv. Ff. 4-28 verso)
Date 1601
Media Pen and brown wash. Two of the separate studies in pen only, and the third in red chalk. This last, on a larger scale than the others, has been partly traced through from the recto
Dimensions 262 x 172
References Gere and Pouncey, 1983, p. 36, n. 38, repro. plate 33

See above.

- 43) Subject "Modello" for (no longer extant) The Resurrection, formerly in Gesù, Rome (fig. 214)
Location Cabinet des Dessins, Musée du Louvre, Paris (inv. RF 1964-28)
Date 1601
Media Oil on canvas
Dimensions 86 x 56,5
References Longhi, 1963, pp. 25-27, p. 29, plate 33; Spear in The Age of Caravaggio, 1985, pp. 91-92, repro. n. 15.

The "modello" provides the best idea of the final appearance of painting, bearing in mind Baglione's habit of making significant alterations from the graphic preparation.

- 44) Subject Study for The Raising of Tabitha, formerly San Pietro in Vaticano, Rome (fig. 215)
Location Cabinet des Dessins, Musée du Louvre, Paris (inv. 4453)
Date 1604
Media Pen and grey ink, grey and brown wash, traces of white heightening, blue matting
Dimensions 260 x 152
References Viatte, 1973, n. 63
Attribution Pouncey

The attribution and subject matter are correctly cited by Viatte in the brief guide to the exhibition.

- 45) Subject Study for The Raising of Tabitha (fig. 216)
Location Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples (inv. 1043)
Date 1604
Media Pen and black ink, red chalk, on white paper, squared for transfer
Dimensions 330 x 220
References Gere and Pouncey, 1963, p. 36.
Attribution Vitzthum
Provenance Elisabetta Farnese; Museo Borbonico

A standing, full-length, bearded and balding male in heavy garments fills the sheet. Taking Vitzthum's suggestion that this figure could have been a preparatory study for St. Peter in The Baptism of St. Prisca a step further by noting the similarity with the figure in a composition study for the painting in the Zeri Collection, Gere and Pouncey overlooked the more noticeable affinity with St. Peter in The Raising of Tabitha.

- 46) Subject Study for St. Peter and St. Paul, formerly in the Sala del Concistoro, Palazzo Vaticano, Rome (fig. 217)
Location Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin-Dahlem (inv. K.d.Z. 15601)
Date c. 1606

Media Pen and brown ink (slight sketch of Lot's daughter at center in grey ink), brown and grey wash, squared in red chalk

Dimensions 262 x 191

References Guglielmi, 1954, p. 325, n. 25

Guglielmi's suggestion that the figures at right were studies for a canvas painted for Pope Paul V in 1606 is very plausible given the correspondence between them and the Spada Gallery painting (fig. 78), considered to have been an abbreviated version of it. The study of "Lot and His Daughters" at left may be related to an unknown painting of Lot and His Daughters by Baglione that belonged to Bonaventura Agenti in Rome (See Appendix V, 15).

47) Subject Study for St. Peter Weeping, Private Collection (fig. 218)

Location Cabinet des Dessins, Musée du Louvre, Paris (inv. 2883)

Date c. 1606

Media Black chalk, heightened with white, on prepared paper

Dimensions 195 x 145

References Unpublished

The features of this elderly man's face conform to the physiognomy of St. Peter, however there are slight differences in the distribution of chiaroscuro, particularly on the nose and moustache.

48) Subject Study for St. Peter and St. Paul, Private Collection, Rome (fig. 219)

Location Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples (inv. 37)

Date 1607

Media Red chalk, on ivory paper

Dimensions 122 x 111

References Unpublished

Miscellaneous Inscribed in the top left corner in pen and ink, "Baglioni"

In reverse, the figure is almost a mirror image of St. Paul as he appears in the canvas.

49) Subject Studies for Judith and Holofernes, Galleria Borghese, Rome (figs. 220-221)

Location Teylers Museum, Haarlem (inv. KII 55 recto and verso)

Date 1608

Media Black chalk, on cartridge paper

Dimensions 245 x 210

References Unpublished

Attribution Winner

The drawing shows the kneeling maid servant holding the decapitated head just handed to her by Judith who is seen in three-quarter view from behind with a sword in her right hand. A canopied bed with the powerful leg of Holofernes jutting out from it at right fills the background. This idea was supplanted by the Berlin drawing.

- 50) Subject Study for Judith with the Head of Holofernes, Galleria Borghese, Rome (fig. 222)
Location Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin-Dahlem (inv. K.d.Z. 25833)
Media Black chalk, pen and brown ink, with brown wash, on white paper
Dimensions 180 x 112
References Vom Späten..., 1973, p. 84
Provenance Poccetti

Winner (1973) recognized the drawing as a study for the Borghese Gallery painting.

- 51) Subject Study for The Anointing of Christ's Body for Burial, Pio Monte della Misericordia, Naples (fig. 223)
Location Cabinet des Dessins, Musée du Louvre, Paris (inv. 7934)
Date 1608
Media Pen and brown ink, brown and grey wash, on blue washed paper, retouched in upper right corner
Dimensions 165 x 109
References Unpublished

The body of Christ is lowered onto the angular stone by the funeral party. Behind them are rocks with the Hill of Golgotha marked out by crosses and in the middle ground the Virgin and companions are sketched. At the right corner Mary Magdalen crouches to kiss the feet of Christ. A "pentimento" marks the altered position of Christ's left arm and hand.

- 52) Subject Study for The Adoration of the Magi, Santa Maria di Loreto, Spoleto (fig. 224)
Location Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin-Dahlem (inv. K.d.Z. 15.600)
Date 1609
Media Pen and brown ink, on beige paper
Dimensions 140 x 187
References Unpublished

This preliminary idea for the king who kneels to kiss the foot of the Christ Child was rapidly sketched on the reverse of a note that Baglione received in 1607 from a friend who had unsuccessfully attempted to find him at his Via dei Condotti home on a number of occasions. (My thanks to Dr. Tamblé of the Archivio di Stato di Roma and to the late Dr. Corrado Paola for their efforts in deciphering the note).

- 53) Subject Studies for The Magdalen in Meditation, San Martino, Gubbio (figs. 225-226)
Location Graphische Sammlung, Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf (inv. FP 11410 recto and verso)
Date 1610

Media recto Pen and brown ink, over red chalk; verso Red chalk, on ivory paper

Dimensions 195 x 250

References Unpublished

Attribution Bean

On the recto ideas for the Magdalen are worked out; at center a figure much like the St. Margaret of Antioch (fig. 73) is drawn in red chalk and to the left are other female figures drawn in pen and brown ink. The words (at right reverse) suggest an allegorical subject: "religione, fede, perseveranza, costanza, magnanimita, mensuein (?), vigilanza, (?)" and beneath "liberalità, nobilità, magnificanza, (?)". At the top a clenched male fist is seen. On the verso are sketches for the Magdalen in varying positions, holding a book and covered by a heavy drapery.

- 54) Subject Study for St. Charles Borromeo and St. Philip Neri in Prayer, Santo Stefano del Cacco, Rome (fig. 227)

Location Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (inv. PD 41-1958 as "Praying Male Saint")

Date c. 1610

Media Charcoal, heightened with white (partly oxidised) and touched with pink, on blue-grey paper

Dimensions 269 x 228

References Unpublished

Attribution Turner

Like the drawing in the Cooper-Hewitt Museum (fig. 204), this sheet was once attributed to "Gio Bernardino Siciliano" (Rodriguez), whose name appears at lower left. The drawing is clearly a preparatory study for the above painting, with the bulk of the chasuble visualized as if draped over the "prie-Dieu" at which the saint kneels in the painting.

- 55) Subject Study for The Assassination of the Emperor Leo the Armenian, in the Presence of His Mother, Cappella Paolina, Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome (fig. 228)

Location The Art Museum, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey (inv. 1948-620 as "Studies for a Martyrdom")

Date 1610-12

Media Pen and brown ink, brown wash

Dimensions 237 x 125

References Gibbons, 1977, p. 8, repro. fig. 19

Attribution Bean

Provenance Sir Joshua Reynolds (Lugt 2364, lower right recto); Dan Fellows Platt (Lugt supp. 750a and 2066b, lower left verso), bought at Parsons in 1924 as Cambiaso

In the upper section (l.) a nude, sword bearing henchman on a step straddles a figure who lies head first beneath him; (r.) another sketch of the standing figure. At bottom (l.) are a seated nude and (r.) two nudes standing over a supine nude, whose head is intruded upon by the right leg of one of them.

- 56) Subject Study for The Emperor Constantine Copronymus Burned by an Invisible Fire, Cappella Paolina, Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome (fig. 229)
Location Department of Prints and Drawings, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (inv. 61.72 recto as "The Miraculous Healing of a Young Man Through the Intervention of the Virgin or a Female Saint")
Date 1610-12
Media Pen and brown ink, brown wash, over black chalk underdrawing
Dimensions 194 x 206
Provenance Walter Baker
References Prachoff, 1906, n. 94, recto repro. on p. 33 as Pietro Testa; Bean, 1979, p. 36, repro. fig. 57r.
Provenance Adrien Prachoff, St. Petersburg; Walter C. Baker, New York
Miscellaneous Inscribed in pen and brown ink at lower left, "una Donna dolente Orig: di Pietro Testa"

A group of figures stand and kneel in an arched space in the center of which a woman holds a drapery over a nude male. At the top the Virgin appears from clouds.

- 57) Subject Study for a Church Father, Entrance Vault, Cappella Paolina, Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome (fig. 230)
Location Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples (inv. 44)
Date 1611-12
Media Black chalk, heightened with white, on blue paper
Dimensions 259 x 198
References I grandi Disegni..., 1987, fig. 40, unpaginated
Provenance Elisabetta Farnese; Museo Borbonico

The date proposed by Muzzi (1987) is acceptable not only on the basis of the stylistic kinship with the Pierpoint Morgan drawing of 1613 (fig. 244) but also with other drawings for the Santa Maria Maggiore frescoes.

- 58) Subject Study for St. Augustine, Entrance Vault, Cappella Paolina, Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome (fig. 231)
Location Graphische Sammlung, Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf (inv. FP 640)
Date 1610-12
Media Red chalk, heightened with white on brown paper, squared in black chalk
Dimensions 226 x 223
References Unpublished
Attribution Schleier

The sketch at upper left shows Baglione's effort to work out the foreshortening of the hand and book, which are drawn in larger scale than in principal drawing.

- 59) Subject Study for The Ecstasy of St. Frances of Rome, Cappellina di Santa Francesca Romana, Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome (fig. 232)
Location Department of Prints and Drawings, Metropolitan Museum, New York (inv. 61.72 verso as "Studies of Sibyls and Angels")
Date 1611-12
Media Pen and brown ink, over black chalk, on ivory paper
Dimensions 194 x 206
References Bean, 1979, p. 36, repro. plate 56v
Provenance as above

In the blocked off space at upper left a seated female figure points to a book that is supported by an angel; at right the same scene is drawn in reverse with a "putto", a standing angel and clouds added. The standing angel is also seen at lower left. Although the iconography of the painting was adjusted to focus on the ecstasy of the saint a number of elements from the drawing were incorporated. On the bottom of the sheet is a youth holding a lute and another nude figure.

- 60) Subject Study for the (no longer extant) Return of the Kidnapped Son of St. Frances of Rome, Cappellina di Santa Francesca Romana, Cappella Paolina, Rome (fig. 233)
Location Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin-Dahlem (inv. K.d.Z 25836)
Date 1611-12
Media Pen and brown ink, traces of red chalk, on blue-grey paper
Dimensions 235 x 205
References Unpublished
Provenance Poccetti

St. Frances of Rome, in the habit of an Oblate, flanked by standing figures at right and left, reaches over to touch the head of a youth who kneels before her. A (TQV) figure is sketchily drawn beneath the two figure. Architectural elements and flying angels frame the scene.

- 61) Subject Study for (no longer extant) The Return of the Kidnapped Son of St. Frances of Rome, Cappellina di Santa Francesca Romana, Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome (fig. 234)
Location Department of Prints and Drawings, Art Gallery of Ontario (inv. 69/39 as "A Miracle of St. Francesca Romana")
Date 1611-12
Media Black chalk, pen and brown ink, brown wash, squared
Dimensions 330 x 210
References sale, Sotheby & Co., London, 7 Dec. 1967, "Old Master Drawings," lot 4
Provenance Comte Moriz von Fries (Lugt 2903)

This is a variation of the above drawing, with the principal changes being the steps leading up to the platform, the increased depth marked out by the background buildings and obelisks and the framing architecture, at the top of which (r.) two figures are seen. The shape, squaring and distribution of wash would seem to indicate

that this was a more advanced step in the graphic ideation in relation to the Berlin drawing.

- 62) Subject Study for (no longer extant) St. Frances of Rome Ministering to the Poor, Cappellina di Santa Francesca Romana, Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome
Location Private Collection
Date 1611-12
Media Pen and brown ink and wash, heightened with white, on buff paper
Dimensions 187 x 145
References Italian 17th Century Drawings..., 1972, no. 1; sale, P. & D. Colnaghi & Co., Ltd., November 1977, lot 56

Due to its close stylistic likeness with the drawings in Berlin and Ontario, this may be reasonably assumed to represent a study for another, no longer extant fresco, in the chapel. The handling of the garments is much softer and the tonal values more constant in comparison to the above drawing. Unfortunately I was unable to obtain a photograph from Colnaghi's from whom the drawing was purchased. The drawing is illustrated in the exhibition catalogue (1972).

- 63) Subject Study for the (no longer extant) Music Making Angels for Vault, Cappellina di Santa Francesca Romana, Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome (fig. 235)
Location Department of Prints and Drawings, Victoria and Albert Museum, London (inv. FH 1185 as "A concert, with a seated youth, clothed, playing a lute, a nude winged youth playing a tambourine and four other figures seated and reclining")
Date 1611-12
Media Pen and brown ink, brown wash, over black chalk
Dimensions 140 x 203
References Ward-Jackson, II, 1980, pp. 14-15, repro. fig. 618
Attribution Pouncey
Provenance Miss Georgina Lornlin 1880
Miscellaneous Ward-Jackson draws attention to the fact that, "About a third of the sheet has been cut away leaving an irregular outline in the top corner."

In the absence of the frescoes or any description of them, except for the comparison Longhi makes with Reni's frescoes in the Cappella of Santa Silvia at San Gregorio Magno (see infra p. 84), the association of this sheet and other thematically related drawings (figs. 236-243) may be gleaned from the sketch of the youth playing a lute at the bottom of the drawing in the Metropolitan Museum for the altarpiece (fig. 232) in the chapel and is also warranted on the basis of stylistic coherence with other graphic works from the same period.

- 64) Subject Study for the (no longer extant) Music Making Angels for Vault, Cappellina di Santa Francesca Romana, Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome (fig. 236)
Location Kunsthalle, Bremen (inv. 56/554)
Date 1611-12

Media Pen and brown ink, brown wash

Dimensions 182 x 254

References Unpublished

Attribution Vitzthum

Provenance Mr. von Wenz, Eindhoven

Miscellaneous The drawing is made on the back of an engraving showing fragments of a mythological scene, & the printed title, "Illustrissi..." (cut off) "Hieronymo..." (cut off) "S.R.E. Cardinal..." (cut off); Old attribution to Cigoli, "Lod. Cardi", at left corner

- 65) Subject Study for (no longer extant) Music Making Angels for Vault, Cappellina di Santa Francesca Romana, Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome (fig. 237)

Location Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin-Dahlem (inv. K.d.Z. 20865)

Media Black chalk, heightened with white, on beige paper, squared

Dimensions 260 x 29.8

References Unpublished

Attribution Pouncey

Provenance Poccetti

Miscellaneous Attribution on mount: "Cav di Arpino"

- 66) Subject Studies for (no longer extant) Music Making Angels for Vault, Cappellina di Santa Francesca Romana, Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome (figs. 238-239)

Location Achenbach Foundation for the Graphic Arts, The Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco (inv. 1963.24.165 recto as "Angel Playing a Lute and Profile of a Child's Face and verso as "Angel Playing a Lyre")

Date 1611-12

Media Pen and brown ink, brown wash over black chalk, heightened with white

Dimensions 242 x 403

References Regional Styles of Drawing in Italy..., 1977, p. 18, repro. fig. 3

A preliminary study for the verso appears on a sheet in Naples (n. 63). Although the drawing is erroneously dated to about 1604 and is compared to The Madonna and Child with St. Agnes and St. Cecilia from the same date (fig. 71) in the catalogue entry (1977) it is correctly noted that the figures were drawn with a semi "di sotto in su" viewpoint in mind.

- 67) Subject Drapery Study, hands holding a flute, arms and hands holding a tambourine for (no longer extant) Music Making Angels, Vault Cappellina di Santa Francesca Romana, Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome (fig. 240)

Location Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples (inv. 38)

Date 1611-12

Media Red chalk, heightened with white, on yellow paper

Dimensions 213 x 379
References Unpublished
Miscellaneous Inscribed at left, "Baglioni"

- 68) Subject Study for (no longer extant) Music Making Angels, Cappellina di Santa Francesca Romana, Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome (fig. 241)
Location Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples (inv. 43)
Date 1611-12
Media Black chalk, heightened with white, on grey paper
Dimensions 312 x 226
References Unpublished
Miscellaneous Inscribed at lower left (in the same hand as above), "Baglioni"
- 69) Subject Study for (no longer extant) Music Making Angels, Cappellina di Santa Francesca Romana, Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome (fig. 242)
Location Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence (inv. 11940 F)
Date 1611-12
Media Black chalk, heightened with white, on brown paper, squared
Dimensions 270 x 108
References Unpublished

This sheet is a more finished version of the above drawing.

- 70) Subject Study for (no longer extant) Music Making Angel, Cappellina di Santa Francesca Romana, Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome (fig. 243)
Location Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, Galleria degli Uffizi (inv. 11941 F)
Date 1611-12
Media Black chalk, heightened with white, on brown paper, squared
Dimensions 253 x 300
References Unpublished
- 71) Subject Study for the Assumption of the Virgin, Duomo, Poggio Mirteto (fig. 244)
Location Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (inv. 1965.2 recto)
Date 1613
Media Red chalk, heightened with white, on yellowish paper, squared
Dimensions 324 x 232
References Schleier, 1971, repro. fig. 2.
Attribution Schleier

Schleier has discussed the relevance of this sheet for the Poggio Mirteto altarpiece.

- 72) Subject Study for Armida and Rinaldo, Casino, Palazzo Pallavicini-Rospigliosi, Rome (fig. 245)
Location Cabinet des Dessins, Musée du Louvre, Paris (inv. 2840)

Date 1614

Media Pen and brown ink, brown and grey wash, heightened with white

Dimensions 300 x 220

References Bean, 1979, p. 34, repro. fig. 55

Attribution Bean

Provenance Harry G. Friedman, New York

Miscellaneous At the lower left corner is an unidentified collector's mark, the letter "R". A replica of this drawing, with many losses, is in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (fig.)(inv. 284). The dimensions are larger (321 x 235) and only brown wash is used. It is inscribed in pencil at lower right: "Cav.e Baglione"; numbered in pen and brown ink, "99")

Bean identified this sheet as a study for the ceiling fresco in the Casino.

- 73) Subject Study for Christ Consigning the Keys to St. Peter, Duomo, Macerata (fig. 246)
Location Graphische Sammlung, Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf (inv. FP 105 as "Kneeling Saint")
Media Black chalk, heightened with white, on prepared paper, squared
Dimensions 232 x 183
References Rodinò, p. 181, n. 11
Attribution Rodinò

The sheet shows the kneeling St. Peter. The perspectival weakness in the placement of the left hand has been corrected in the painting. In addition, the position of the head has been slightly altered and the drapery made more copious.

- 74) Subject Studies for St. Anthony, St. Clare and St. Agnes, San Bernardino ai Monti, Rome (figs. 247-248)
Location Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples (inv. 42 recto and verso)
Date 1617
Media Red chalk heightened with white, on grey-green paper
Dimensions 302 x 182
References Unpublished
Provenance Elisabetta Farnese; Museo Borbonico
Miscellaneous Inscribed at lower right, "Cav. Baglioni"; on the mount, "C. Baglioni"

The standing male in a Franciscan habit, with hands crossed over his chest, is very close to St. Anthony in pose and drapery style. On the recto the folds of the drapery in the sleeves are studied in two separate sketches.

- 75) Subject Study for the Muse, Terpsichore, Musée d'Arras (fig. 249)
Location Private Collection
Date c. 1620-21
Media no details available
Dimensions no details available

References sale, Sotheby & Co., London, 20 April 1967, "Old Master Drawings," under lot 120 (one of 16 drawings in lot)

A nude woman in loose drapery sits on a ledge in frontal view and holds a lyre. The study represents an early idea for the Muse but her pose and the size of the musical instrument are considerably altered in the painting.

- 76) Subject Study for the Muse, Thalia, Musée d'Arras (fig. 250)
Location Private Collection
Date c. 1620-21
Media Red chalk, pen and brown ink, brown wash
Dimensions 118 x 100
References sale, Christie & Co., London, 6 Dec. 1988, "Old Master Drawings," lot 24

Credit is given in the sale catalogue to Pouncey who recognized this sheet as a study for Thalia. The drawing at Windsor Castle (inv. 0143) that Gere and Pouncey (1983, p. 34) proposed as a study for the Muse, Erato, has the dryness of a copy.

- 77) Subject Studies for Apollo and the Nine Muses, Musée d'Arras (fig. 251)
Location Cabinet des Dessins, Musée du Louvre, Paris (inv. 12.356 as "Scene of Martyrdom with Four Nudes")
Date c. 1620-21
Media Red chalk
Dimensions 103 x 75
References Roman Drawings..., 1979-80, p. 20, repro. fig. 2 (in which is cited the eighteenth century attribution by Morel d'Arleux, 2427 to Romanelli; Emigrés)
Attribution Bean
Provenance P.J. Mariette (Lugt 1852); Mariette mount with empty cartouche; Mariette sale, Paris, 1775, part of no. 129; "...et quatre autres sujets de martyres, à la plume et à la sanguine"; entered the National Museum during the Revolution."

These figures, who essay various positions and are drawn with the softness and delicacy characteristic of the red chalk drawings of this period, are clearly connected to the series painted for Ferdinando Gonzaga. The figure at lower left is very plausibly an early study for Apollo.

- 78) Subject Study for Joseph and the Wife of Potiphar, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich (fig. 252)
Location Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples (inv. 1046 recto)
Date c. 1622
Media Black chalk, on ivory paper, squared
Dimensions 258 x 166
References Unpublished
Miscellaneous Inscribed in pen and brown ink at bottom, "baglioni"

The large, fleshy woman is seen from the rear but the notable "pentimenti" in the working out of the left arm and leg show Baglione uncertain as to the position of the figure, whose right leg is elevated in a nearly impossible position. This view is similar to the position of the figure in the following drawing. The angle of the head, facial features and treatment of the hair are reflected in the presentation of Potiphar's wife in the painting.

- 79) Subject Study for Joseph and the Wife of Potiphar, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich (fig. 253)
Location Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence (inv. 4328 S)
Date c. 1622
Media Pen and brown ink, brown wash, over red chalk underdrawing
Dimensions 108 x 78
References Unpublished
Attribution Pouncey

A seated female nude reaches out to a smaller nude figure who swings away from her. Above the woman's head is a side view of a leg (?). The wash and ink sketches may have been intended to demarcate the the dark draperies for the canopy in the painting.

- 80) Subject Study for Joseph and the Wife of Potiphar, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich (fig. 254)
Location Private Collection
Date c. 1622
Media Pen and brown ink, brown wash, over red chalk
Dimensions 179 x 138
References Unpublished
Attribution N. Turner
Miscellaneous Inscribed in three different (old) hands, "No 30"; "Checino Salviati"; "Novanta tré". This last inscription is of the so-called double-numbering collection and the corresponding numeral, "93", appears at the top left of the sheet.

The position of the figures is opposite to the arrangement in the painting but the soft, luminous handling of the female form is analogous and the fleeing Joseph, with a long streak of shadow beneath him, is reflected in the Munich drawing. This idea may have abandoned because the pose of Potiphar's wife was too passive.

- 81) Subject Study for Joseph and the Wife of Potiphar, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich (fig. 255)
Location Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich (inv. 2614)
Date c. 1622
Media Pen and brown ink, brown wash, over red chalk
Dimensions 253 x 174
References Möller, 1991, p. 130

Möller credits Röttgen with the attribution and identification of subject matter, information which first came to me through the kindness of Dr. R. Kultzen.

- 82) Subject Study for Salome Presenting the Head of the Baptist to Herod and Herodias, Private Collection (fig. 256)
Location Teylers Museum, Haarlem (inv. I 15)
Date c. 1622
Media Red and black chalk, on white paper
Dimensions 270 x 205
References Unpublished
Provenance Cristina of Sweden
Miscellaneous A tear in the dress has been noticeably repaired.

The figure, who dominates the sheet, is seen in three quarter view, with her head seen in profile. In her right hand is an object that looks like the handle of a sword; in the left she holds the head of a bearded man by his hair. Above the head is a light sketch for the face of another figure. The profile of the figure, the loosely falling curls and the pendant earrings are closely paralleled in the painting but the sagging chin has been corrected.

- 83) Subject Study for The Birth of the Virgin, Bing Collection, Florence
Location Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum, London (inv. 5211-55 as "A woman reclining on a bed") (fig. 257)
Date 1623
Media Black chalk, heightened with white, on grey paper
Dimensions 187 x 220
References Gere and Pouncey, 1983, pp. 37-38, n. 43, repro. plate 38
Provenance W. Fawkenor Bequest, 1769

This sheet shows a study for St. Anne at the anterior of the painting.

- 84) Subject Study for The Birth of the Virgin, Bing Collection, Florence
Location Department of Prints and Drawings, National Gallery, Washington, D.C. (inv. 1985.1.14 as "Woman Walking to the Right") (fig. 258)
Date 1623
Media Black chalk, grey wash, heightened with white, on light brown paper
Dimensions 204 x 133
References Loan Exhibition..., 1970, repro. n. 106
Attribution Pouncey
Provenance Julius S. Held; Th. Thane (Lugt 2433)

The handling of the garments, as well as the overall pose, suggest that this figure is a study for the the standing figure at the rear who approaches St. Anne. The contrast between the puffy over skirt and the straight pleats of the underskirt is even more closely seen in the garments of the woman at far right in the painting.

- 85) Study for Minerva Crowns Painting Engraved by Greuter for Frontispiece of third edition of Le Vite... (1649) (fig. 259)
Location Cabinet des Dessins, Musée du Louvre, Paris (inv. 2838)
Date c. 1625
Media Pen and brown ink, grey wash with traces of red chalk
Dimensions 186 x 132
References Vitzthum, 1971, p. 89, fig. 20
Provenance Saisie des Emigrés; marque du Louvre (Lugt 1955 7 1866)

The three figures kneel before the enthroned Minerva who places a crown of laurels on the head of Painting. While the engraving (fig. 390) did not appear until 1649, the drawing can be dated on stylistic grounds to about 1625 when the project to assemble the Lives was well under way.

- 86) Subject Study for St. Catherine of Alexandria Carried to Her Tomb by Angels, Santa Barbara Museum of Art (fig. 260)
Location Graphische Sammlung, Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf (inv. FP 116)
Date c. 1625
Media Black pencil, heightened with white, on grey paper
Dimensions 163 x 260
References Rodinò, 1989-90, pp. 176-182, repro. fig. 5.

Rodinò recognized the sheet as a drawing for the canvas but did not cite its present location.

- 87) Subject Study for the Vision of the Christ Child to St. Anthony of Padua, Santa Maria della Porta, Macerata (fig. 261)
Location Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples (inv 41)
Date 1628
Media Red chalk, heightened with white on blue paper, squared
Dimensions 427 x 272
References Unpublished
Provenance Elisabetta Farnese; Museo Borbonico
Miscellaneous Inscribed in the left corner in pen and brown ink, "Cav.re. Baglione"

This drawing represents a rejected study for St. Anthony. The position of the head and right hand and the modeling of the draperies and face are quite similar. A halo is also included in both drawing and painting. The blue paper is often used for chalk drawings during this period to increase the painterly effect. The "pentimento" behind the right hand shows the effort to work out the correct perspectival position.

- 88) Subject Study for The Washing of the Feet, Galleria Capitolina, Rome (fig. 262)
Location Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksksmuseum, Amsterdam (inv. 1956.44)
Date 1628
Media Black chalk, heightened with white, on blue paper

Dimensions 275 x 198

References Italiaanse Tekeningen..., 1973, p. 9 repro. fig. 7

Provenance Coll. Ch. Gase (Lugt 543); Art dealer, Paris

Miscellaneous Inscribed on lower right in pen and brown ink, "Cav.re Baglioni"

Frerichs (1973) recognized this sheet as a study for a kneeling apostle in the "bozzetto".

89) Subject Study for the Presentation of the Christ Child at the Temple (fig. 263)

Location Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (inv. 1981.213)

Date 1632

Media Oil paint, on antique laid paper

Dimensions 213 x 292

References sale, Mia N. Weiner Gallery, New York, 29 March - 19 April 1980, repro. plate 1; sale, Stephen Pepper Fine Arts, New York, 28 December 1981

Miscellaneous Inscribed on verso in brown ink, right, "C Giovanni/Baglioni"; verso, brown ink, lower center, "Baglioni"; recto, upper left corner, brown ink, "Cav. Giovan Baglioni"

Although the horizontal shape of the sheet does not correspond to the vertical shape of the painting there are notable similarities, particularly in the modeling of the garments. The figure behind the High Priest holds a candle, as in the painting. Behind him and adjacent to him are lines indicating the architecture. The woman at far right carries a tray that is repeated in the painting. A note in the Weiner catalogue draws attention to the "beautiful pentimento evident in this sketch giving Anne the appearance of having two faces. One looks upward toward the Priest while the other looks upward toward Joachim."

90) Subject Study for the Madonna in Glory, Santa Cosma e Damiano, Rome (fig. 264)

Location Cabinet des Dessins, Musée du Louvre, Paris (inv. 2834)

Date 1638

Media Pen and brown ink, brown wash, over traces of red chalk

Dimensions 202 x 212

References Viatte, 1973, n. 65

Miscellaneous The drawing shows two fold lines. Inscribed at the lower left corner in pen and brown ink, "BAGLIONI"

The Virgin, in fluttering garments which reveal her legs, chest and upraised arms, stands in the middle of the sheet. She is supported by "putti" holding a crescent that is arched up rather than down as in the painting. To the right and left are angels in fluttering garments and "putti" on high who reinforce the round shape that has been created by leaving that portion bereft of wash.

- 91) Subject Study for The Madonna and Child with Saints Charles Borromeo, Ambrose and Bernard of Siena, Santa Maria dell'Orto, Rome (fig. 265)
Location Department of Prints and Drawings, National Gallery, Edinburgh (inv. D 1859 as "The Madonna and Child with St. Francis")
Date 1641
Media Pen and brown ink, brown wash, over red chalk
Dimensions 189 x 146
References Andrews, 1968, I, p. 9, repro. fig. 91
Attribution Pouncey
Provenance Lady Murray. Presented 1860.

The Virgin, seated on a cloud, hands the Christ Child to St. Bernard who kneels below with arms outstretched. As this is the simplest configuration and corresponds to the painting mainly in the position of the saint, it can be assumed to represent an early idea. Except for the altered shape of the cowl the habit is similarly drawn in the other drawings with long, straight lines and the distribution of the wash is alike in overall effect in all three.

- 92) Subject Study for The Madonna and Child with Saints Charles Borromeo, Ambrose and Bernard of Siena, Santa Maria dell'Orto, Rome (fig. 266)
Location Department of Prints and Drawings, National Gallery, Edinburgh (inv. D 1860 as "Madonna and Child Adored by Three Figures")
Date 1641
Media Pen and brown ink, brown wash, over traces of black chalk
Dimensions 178 x 127
References Andrews, 1968, p. 10, repro. fig. 94
Attribution Pouncey
Provenance Lady Murray. Presented 1860

Two male saints, one of whom wears a mitre and holds a crosier and a book and the other with his right hand to his chest, flank the the Madonna and Child on clouds. At the bottom right is a Franciscan saint who leans forward. The drawing is clearly a discarded study for the painting.

- 93) Subject Study for The Madonna and Child with Saints Charles Borromeo, Ambrose and Bernard of Siena, Santa Maria dell'Orto, Rome (fig. 267)
Location Department of Prints and Drawings, National Gallery, Edinburgh (inv. D 1894 as "Madonna and Child adored by a bishop, a cardinal and a kneeling Franciscan")
Date 1641
Media Pen and brown ink, brown wash over traces of black chalk
Dimensions 178 x 127
References Andrews, 1968, I, p. 1, repro. fig. 93
Attribution Pouncey
Provenance Lady Murray. Presented 1860

Of the three drawings this is the one which bears closest similarity to the painting, though the additions and alterations raise the possibility that other drawings may also have been made after this stage.

Appendix III

Inventory of Drawings Unconnected with Known or Documented Compositions

This is not intended to be a catalogue raisonné but rather an attempt to make a chronological inventory of the drawings on the basis of stylistic affinities with securely dated paintings and drawings, the general evolution of Baglione's graphic style as discussed in Chapter 6 and intuitive observations. The assignation of a specific year to each drawing clearly does not have lapidary precision. All of the measurements are quoted in millimeters. When available, details regarding attribution history are included. Where reference is not made to a specific lot or reproduction number (repro.) a drawing is illustrated for the first time.

- 1) Subject Study after The Fire in the Borgo, Study for Male Nudes in Contorted Positions and a Large Vase recto: Study for Angels Playing Musical Instruments verso (figs. 268-269)
Location Narodni Galerie, Prague (inv. K 37655 recto and verso)
Date c. 1585
Media Pen and brown ink
Dimensions 428 x 282
References "100 Old European Drawings," exhibition organized (without published catalogue) by Jana Brabovcà, National Gallery, Prague, 1977, no. 3
Attribution Oberhuber to Baglione with question mark; confirmed by Diane de Grazia
Provenance Dr. O. Grass

The upper half shows Baglione's interest in grasping the plastic strength of Aeneas and the straining figure to the right of him in the Fire in the Borgo. Weaknesses in foreshortening and the stiff, tight penmanship support the very early dating. The figure at middle right may have been modeled after the soldier at bottom left in Raphael's Liberation of St. Peter in Prison. The models for the other figures and for the music making angels on the verso are unknown.

- 2) Subject Study for a Seated Male Nude Holding a Lyre (fig. 270)
Location Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin-Dahlem (inv. K.d.Z. 23926)
Date c. 1585
Media Grey pencil
Dimensions 123 x 197
References Unpublished
Provenance Poccetti

The shape of the sheet suggests that the drawing may have been intended for a vault fresco. The figure appears to be loosely based on Apollo in Raphael's Parnassus fresco. The very thin, transparent draughtsmanship and difficulties in foreshortening are characteristic of Baglione's earliest style.

- 3) Subject Study for the Holy Family in the Carpenter's Shop with St. Anne and St. John the Baptist; Angels and Putti; Upper right reverse: the Madonna and Child after Correggio's Madonna del Latte (fig. 271)
Location Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna (inv. 17753)
Date c. 1587
Media Pen and brown ink
Dimensions 190 x 249
References Gere and Pouncey, 1983, p. 35, n. 33
Attribution Gere and Pouncey
Provenance Prince de Ligne

Raphael's example is again present in the typology of the Virgin. St. Anne's skull-like features are often seen in early drawings (see figs. 283, 307) and the flat, scratchy pen line further confirms the dating. Baglione clearly had the occasion to study Correggio's Madonna del Latte when it was owned by Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini. (See infra p. 4).

- 4) Subject Study for Two Groups of Saints on Clouds (fig. 272)
Location Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum, London (inv. 1946-7-13-659)
Date c. 1587
Media Pen and brown ink, brown wash
Dimensions 144 x 110
References Popham, 1935, p. 122, no. 2; Gere and Pouncey, 1983, p. 35, n. 33, repro. plate 29
Attribution Popham
Provenance J. Richardson, Junior (Lugt 2170); R. Cosway (Lugt 629); Sir T. Lawrence (Lugt 2445); S. Woodburn (sale, Christie & Co., London, 7 June 1860, lot 661, but with 11 others Sir. T. Phillipps); Phillipps-Fenwick; presented anonymously

Gere and Pouncey correctly noted the Correggesque character of the drawing, which bore an earlier attribution to him. The wash is not effectively applied and youthful shortcomings are also seen in the unsatisfactory foreshortening, proportions and cursive penmanship.

- 5) Subject Study for God the Father with Angels and Saints on Clouds (fig. 273)
Location Cabinet des Dessins, Musée du Louvre, Paris (inv. 12311)
Date c. 1587
Media Pen and brown ink, brown and grey wash
Dimensions 220 x 170
References Unpublished

This drawing is much more ambitious than the previous work and the group of five half figures in the lower register of it may have been reworked at the middle right of the sheet. The "di sotto in su" application of the wash suggests that the pictorial realization was intended to be seen from below.

- 6) Subject Study for the Nativity of Christ (very lightly sketched full length figures at right seen from the rear) (fig. 274)
Location Cabinet des Dessins, Musée du Louvre, Paris (inv. 2832)
Date c. 1587
Media Pen and brown ink, grey wash, over red chalk underdrawing
Dimensions 107 x 160
References Unpublished
Miscellaneous Inscribed at the bottom in pen and ink "Baglione"

The drawing belongs to the group in which Correggio's influence can be felt and may be dated accordingly.

- 7) Subject Study of a Woman's Head, after Raphael's Spasimo di Sicilia (fig. 275)
Location Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, Rome (inv. FC 125883 Vol. 15769)
Date c. 1587
Media Red and black chalk, on white paper
Dimensions 359 x 245
References Unpublished

The drawing surely dates from the years of Baglione's formation when he studied the "antico e moderno" masterpieces of Rome, particularly the paintings of Raphael. The figure will surface again in his Baglione's painting of Semiramis (?) from about 1622.

- 8) Subject An Academy Study: a Nude Youth Seated on a Pedestal, Seen From the Back in a Contorted Pose (fig. 276)
Location Christ Church College, Oxford (inv. 584)
Date c. 1587
Media Black chalk, on yellowish-brown paper. Torn and made up along the top, bottom and left margins, at an early date
Dimensions 417 x 230
References Byam Shaw, 1976, p. 164, n. 584, repro. plate 322
Provenance Guise
Miscellaneous Byam Shaw notes that "Caval.re Gio: Baglione 97." and "No. 11" appear on the matting-paper. On the lower left margin the number "97" reappears. This is one of the drawings from the series believed to date from the time of Baglione's death (Macandrew, 1980, pp. 92-93).

The drawing, which shows weaknesses in foreshortening and a noticeable interest in rhythmic contours, belongs to Baglione's formative period.

- 9) Subject An Academy Study: a Nude Youth Seen From the Back in Three Quarter View (fig. 277)
Location Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples (inv. 40)
Date c. 1590
Media Red chalk, heightened with white, on ivory paper
Dimensions 413 x 276

References Unpublished

Provenance Elisabetta Farnese; Museo Borbonico

Miscellaneous Inscribed at right corner, "Baglioni"

The most notable errors in foreshortening are the impossible position of the right hand and the implausible tilt of the head. The squared fingers are characteristic.

- 10) Subject Study for the Decollation of St. John the Baptist (fig. 278)
Location Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence (inv. 12243 F)
Date c. 1590
Media Pen and brown ink, grey and brown wash, heightened with white, on blue paper
Dimensions 385 x, 275
References Unpublished

This is a carefully composed, finished sheet which bears a resemblance to the drawing for the Tarquinius fresco (fig.) but demonstrates greater assurance. The marked likeness between the soldier at left and St. Paul in fig. ensures the attribution as do the typically Baglionesque women who surround Salome at upper right.

- 11) Subject Study for the Resurrection (fig. 279)
Location Private Collection
Date c. 1590
Media Pen and brown ink, brown wash
Dimensions 230 x 162
References sale, Nouveau Drout, Paris, 18 March 1987, salle 7

The drawing clearly resembles the above sheet, most notably in the taut pen style, the effort to give a plastic definition to the figures and the transparent, fluttering draperies.

- 12) Subject Study for St. Paul and an Angel Pointing to a Book (fig. 280)
Location Royal Library, Windsor Castle (inv. 6764)
Date c. 1590
Media Pen and brown ink, brown wash, heightened with white, on white paper
Dimensions 300 x 196
References Blunt and Cooke, 1960, p. 19, n. 2, repro. fig. 1; Roli, 1969, pp. 90-91.

Although Roli has suggested a connection between the drawing and the paintings for Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, the somewhat awkward foreshortening of the figure and the tight handling of the pen link the sheet with the study for the "Decollation of St. John the Baptist". Furthermore, the drawing of St. Paul for the painting in Santa Cecilia (fig. 205) shows a greater naturalism in the drapery style and proportions.

- 13) Subject Study for St. Paul Before a Crucifix (fig. 281)
Location Private Collection
Date c. 1590
Media Red chalk, pen and brown ink, brown wash, heightened with white, on light brown paper
Dimensions 261 x 203
References sale, Christie & Co., London, 1 April, 1987, "Fine Old Master Drawings," lot 47
Provenance G. Vallardi (Lugt 1223); C. Prayer (Lugt 2044)

The saint has the same S-curve stance as the Sibyl in the Vatican Library fresco of 1589 and the graphic handling is very close to the above drawing.

- 14) Subject Study for St. Paul Tearing His Vestments Before the Sacrifice That He Is Offered at Lystra (fig. 282)
Location Cabinet des Dessins, Musée du Louvre, Paris (inv. 4443)
Date c. 1590
Media Pen and brown ink, brown wash, heightened with white
Dimensions 182 x 240
References Viatte, 1973, n. 66
Miscellaneous Inscribed in left corner in pen and ink, "F. Zuccaro"

There exists a certain rapport between the saint and the figure of St. Paul in the above drawing. Most notable is the use of wash to accentuate the swarthy appearance of the half figure holding the bull.

- 15) Subject Study for the Presentation of the Christ Child at the Temple (fig. 283)
Location Graphische Sammlung, Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf (inv. FP 110)
Date c. 1595
Media Pen and brown ink, brown and grey wash
Dimensions 220 x 215
References Unpublished

The elongated d'Arpinesque standing figure at left links this drawing with others from the 1590's. At far left Baglione emulates a Raphaellesque figure. The angular, transparent penmanship with which the kneeling figure at center is sketched and such a characteristic detail as the skull-like face of the High Priest support the dating proposed.

- 16) Subject Study for the Madonna and Child with Three Figures in Adoration (fig. 284)
Location Musée des Arts Décoratif, Lyon (inv. 5926/a)
Date c. 1595
Media Pen and brown ink, brown wash, red chalk underdrawing, on beige paper
Dimensions 203 x 131
References Pommier, 1984, repro. fig. 132

This rapidly rendered sketch, which illustrates Baglione's attachment to Raphael, may be compared with the study for the Mass of St. Peter in Santa Pudenziana.

- 17) Subject Studies for an Altarpiece recto; The Madonna and Child with Adorants, shopping list with the words: "olive, melle, mista, (illegible), cipolle, melanzane" verso (figs. 285-286)
Location Private Collection
Date c. 1595
Media recto Pen and brown ink, on cream laid paper; verso pen and brown ink with watercolour
Dimensions 205 x 220
References sale, Sotheby & Co., London, 5 December 1977, "Fine Old Master Drawings," lot 41

The Madonna at upper right is strikingly close to the sketch for the "tavoletta" in San Giovanni Decollato and the sharp contours with which the adorants are drawn is paralleled in the study for the Mass of St. Peter.

- 18) Subject Study for the Coronation of a Female Saint (fig. 287)
Location Private Collection
Date c. 1595
Media Pen and brown ink
Dimensions 119 x 111
References sale, Christie & Co., London, 4 July, 1978, "Important Old Master Drawings," lot 60
Provenance Jonathan Richardson, Junior (Lugt 2170); John Skippe and by descent to Edward Holland Martin; sale, Christie & Co., London, 20 November, 1978, lot 7 (E)
Miscellaneous Christie's note: "numbered '1100', & inscribed 'M. Mag... C(a)v. Giovan. Baglioni...Roma'" on the reverse (laid down)

This compositional sketch, which gives evidence both of Baglione's tendency to draw quickly using abstract shapes and caricatured features, is comparable to the Ottawa study for the Presentation of the Virgin (fig. 181).

- 19) Subject Study for a Standing Angel (fig. 288)
Location Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, Rome (inv. FC 125559 Vol. 157 G 7)
Date c. 1595
Media Black pencil, white heightening, on havana paper, squared
Dimensions 227 x 210
Attribution N. Turner
References Unpublished

The long, stiffly falling, transparent pleats and flatness of the figure identify this as an example of Baglione's early chalk style.

- 20) Subject Study for a Seated Angel Holding a Book (fig. 289)

Location Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, Rome (inv. FC 125560)
Date c. 1595
Media Black pencil, heightened with white, on brown paper, squared
Dimensions 246 x 170
References Unpublished
Attribution N. Turner

The white heightening enlivens the rather dry, repetitious parallel shading. Difficulties in foreshortening are observable in both sketches.

- 21) Subject Study for Two Girls in Contemporary Dress, in an Interior (fig. 291)
Location Frits Lugt Collection, Institut Néerlandais, Paris (inv. 5883)
Date c. 1595
Media Black and red chalk
Dimensions 206 x 163
References Byam Shaw, 1983, p. 156, no. 151, repro. III, p. 174
Attribution Pouncey
Provenance Mathiesen Gallery, London; Frits Lugt, Paris (Lugt 1028)

Byam Shaw's suggestion that the figures are members of the artist's family may be strengthened by a document from 1607 published by Möller (1991, p. 186) which attests to the presence of four female members in the Baglione household. Stylistically, the treatment of the long, stiff folds of the dress is echoed in the fresco of The Meeting of Anna and Joachim in Santa Maria dell'Orto (1598). The manner of hatching in pencil is also seen in the drawing for an angel in Rome (fig. 288). The seated figure on the low chair bears comparison to the Virgin in the Vienna drawing (fig. 271).

- 22) Subject Study for a Standing Dominican (fig. 291)
Location Department of Prints and Drawings, Museum of Fine Arts, Houston (inv. 70-28)
Date c. 1595
Media Black chalk, heightened with white, on blue paper
Dimensions 351 x 199
References sale, Sotheby & Co., London, 23 May 1968, "Old Master Drawings," lot 29
Provenance

The soft, somewhat repetitious, linear hatching and long, inert planes support a dating similar to the above.

- 23) Subject Studies for Female Hands (figs. 292-293)
Location Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples (inv. 45 recto and verso)
Date c. 1598
Media Red chalk, on white paper
Dimensions 225 x 204
References Unpublished

Provenance Elisabetta Farnese; Museo Borbonico

The hand on the recto holds a small bowl or a large piece of soap; on the verso it is flatter and more schematically drawn. The recto appears to be drawn from life, with great care being taken in the modeling to achieve a palpable quality. A similar graphic handling is seen in the drawing of the "Woman Pouring from a Jug" (fig. 176) and in other works from the turn of the century.

- 24) Subject Study of a Crowned Figure Standing by a Table, Holding an Unidentified Object (fig. 294)
Location Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum, London (inv. 5223-9 recto)
Date 1598
Media Black and red chalk, heightened with white, on paper washed pale brown
Dimensions 280 x 185
References Gere and Pouncey, 1983, p. 37, n. 42, plate 36
Provenance Sloane Bequest, 1753

The sensitive chalk technique on the verso (fig. 180), (on which is found a preliminary study for the Santa Maria dell'Orto Presentation of the Virgin [1598]), is paralleled in this very interesting drawing. The descriptive draughtsmanship suggests the stimulus of northern masters such as Dürer or van Leyden. The angular zig-zag of the hemline is a typical motif in drawings of this date.

- 25) Subject Study for a Group of Figures (fig. 295)
Location Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (inv. M785A)
Date 1598
Media Pen and brown ink
Dimensions 83 x 84
References Macandrew (1980, pp. 92-93) notes that "The paper to which the drawing is attached is inscribed in an old hand: 'Caval r. Gio: Baglioni 75.' The drawing remained unmounted until 1969. It is one of a number by Baglione which may have been preserved as a collection from the time of the artist's death. These drawings are distinguished by the fact that their matting papers are reliably inscribed with the artist's name and a serial number in a late 17th-c. or early 18th-c. hand."

In the use of pen and ink for shading, the small drawing may be compared to the Oxford drawing for the Presentation of the Virgin (fig. 183) but differs from it in the more vigorous pen work and more memorable alertness of the faces.

- 26) Subject Study for the Dormition of the Virgin; The Assumption of the Virgin (fig. 296)
Location Collection of the Duke of Devonshire, Chatsworth (inv. L 718)
Date c. 1598

Media Pen and brown ink, brown wash, on cream paper (two pieces conjoined horizontally)

Dimensions 530 x 253

References Jaffé, 1987-88, p. 34, repro. fig. 6

Attribution Pouncey

Provenance William, 2nd Duke of Devonshire (Lugt 718)

In its d'Arpinesque character this composite study for a chapel decoration is very closely related to the Madonna dell'Orto frescoes of the identical subjects.

27) Subject Study for the Madonna and Child with Saints (fig. 297)

Location Private Collection

Date c. 1598

Media Unknown

Dimensions Unknown

References According to Hugo Chapman, the photo may have been made when the drawing was presented for sale at Christie's (London) and may then have been withdrawn.

Cinquecentesque in overall appearance, the penmanship and very skillful application of wash are paralleled in a drawing for a fresco in Santa Cecilia in Trastevere (fig. 208).

28) Subject Study for the Ascension of Christ (fig. 298)

Location Philadelphia Museum of Art (inv. 1984-56-331 as "Christ with the Virgin, Saint John and Other Saints")

Date c. 1598

Media Pen and brown ink, red chalk, on beige laid paper

Dimensions 98 x 278

References Unpublished

Provenance Muriel and Philip Berman; John H. Phillips Bequest of 1876 to the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts

Stylistically this sketch follows in the same vein as the Madonna dell'Orto frescoes, in particular The Dormition of the Virgin (fig. 185) in Würzburg.

29) Subject Study for Two Scenes from the Life of St. Anthony Abbot (fig. 299)

Location Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum, London (inv.

Date c. 1599

Media Pen and brown ink with grey wash, heightened with white, over black chalk, on grey paper

Dimensions 178 x 264

References Unpublished

Attribution N. Turner

Provenance Fawkener Bequest

The notable d'Arpinesque appearance of the saint, which is also seen in the fresco of Abraham and Melchisedek (fig. 53) in San Nicola in Carcere, makes it possible to sustain the dating proposed.

- 30) Subject Study for the Flight into Egypt (fig. 300)
Location Department of Prints and Drawings, The Art Institute, Chicago (inv. 1922.47)
Date c. 1600
Media Pen and brown ink, brown wash over traces of black chalk, on ivory laid paper; one large tear, several holes
Dimensions 251 x 196
References Exh: 1922, Chicago, AIC, no. 22 as Rutilio Manetti
Attribution Bean
Provenance N. Hone, stamp (Lugt 2793) recto, lower right; J.C. Smith, script (Lugt Suppl. 2295 bis) verso, upper left on mount, in pen and brown ink; Purchased 18. 12. 1944/Puttisk & Simpson, stamps (not in Lugt) verso, lower center and verso, center on mount.

The drawing is related to the recto of fig. 192. It is a fully developed study of the figure of St. Joseph at the side of the donkey, repeating the exact position of the legs. Echoes of Correggio, Vanni and d'Arpino are present. The donkey has a remarkable lifelikeness.

- 31) Subject Studies for the Madonna and Child with Saints; (l.) a Standing Figure; (r.) a Standing Figure; center: a Scene of Baptism in a Niche with an Oculus at top (fig. 301)
Location Department of Prints and Drawings, The Art Institute, Chicago (inv. Leonora Hall Gurley Memorial Collection, 1922. 5610 as "Figure Studies of Madonna and Child with Saints")
Date c. 1600
Media Pen and brown ink with red chalk, red wash, over traces of graphite, on ivory laid paper
Dimensions 285 x 212
References Joachim and McCullough, 1979, pp. 4849, cat n. 53, repro. plate 60
Attribution Röttgen
Provenance William F.E. Gurley, Chicago, stamp (not in Lugt) recto, lower right, in black

A baptism (of Constantine? Prisca?) may be studied at center. To the right is a figure inspired by Raphael's Galatea. To the left is a soldier seen in TQV who brings to mind the Albertina drawing for the Lateran Transept fresco (fig. 200). It may be suggested that alterations such as the "pentimento" in the placement of his right arm resulted from the desire to relate the figure to the central scene. The wash is used to emphasize the plastic strength of the figures, reflecting the increased amplitude of form that Baglione demonstrates in other drawings from about 1600.

- 32) Subject Studies for God the Father, above; the Marriage of St. Catherine, St. Mark; and St. Francis, below (fig. 302)
Location Christ Church, Oxford (inv. 586)

Date c. 1600

Media Pen and bistre, over red chalk

Dimensions 223 x 166

References Bell, 1914, R. 9 (p. 49, as attributed to Guercino); Byam Shaw, 1976, p. 164, n. 586, repro. plate 320 as "Giovanni Baglione (?)".

Attribution Röttgen

Provenance Guise

Miscellaneous Written on the XVIII-C. mat, "Guercino"

This study for a composition divided into three zones (?) or separate studies (?) demonstrates Baglione's ability to swiftly set down ideas and the spirited application of wash already observable in the Ottawa Presentation sketch. The skull-like face of God the Father is a notable idiosyncrasy as are the stick-like notations for the digits.

- 33) Subject Study of the Lateran Baptistery (San Giovanni in Fonte) and Obelisk (fig. 303)

Location Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum, London (inv. 1978-5-20-4 verso)

Date c. 1600

Media Pen and reddish-brown ink

Dimensions 176 x 103

References Gere and Pouncey, 1983, p. 36, n. 37, repro. plate 31

As the drawing appears on the reverse of a sketch for The Baptism of St. Prisca, the dating is quite possibly similar and could have been drawn when Baglione participated in the decoration of the Baptistery during the reign of Clement VIII.

- 34) Subject Study of a Boy with a Water Jug (fig. 304)

Location Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum, London (inv. # 11 in the "Raccolta di Accademie di Diversi Autori" [C202])

Date c. 1600

Media Red chalk, heightened with white, on buff paper

Dimensions 390 x 270

References Unpublished

Attribution Turner

The compact solidity of the figure is visually paralleled in the appearance of the figures hoisting a barrel in the fresco of The Emperor Constantine Invests the Lateran with Treasure (fig. 57) and the disciplined graphic handling is characteristic of his chalk technique at the turn of the century.

- 35) Subject Study for Two figures Handling a Large Vase, by a Table, on Which Stand Other Vessels (fig. 305)

Location Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum, London (inv. 5223-14)

Date c. 1600

Media Pen and brownish-black ink, grey wash, on yellow-washed paper

Dimensions 143 x 227

References Gere and Pouncey, 1983, p. 35, no. 35, repro. plate 25

Provenance Sloane Bequest, 1753

The drawing can be dated on the basis of similarities in graphic handling to the drawing of "St. Peter in the House of St. Prisca and Aquila" (fig. 198). As Gere and Pouncey have rightly observed, the large oval vase is also seen in the Lateran Transept fresco of 1600. In some aspects the drawing reflects a painting such as Caravaggio's Conversion of the Magdalen, particularly in the distribution of light and shadow on the heads of the figures.

- 36) Subject Study for Two Warriors Appealing to an Archbishop Saint before a Besieged City (fig. 306)

Location Private Collection

Date c. 1600

Media Red chalk, pen and brown ink, brown wash

Dimensions 193 x 273

References sale, Christie & Co., London, 9 April 1990, "Old Master Drawings," lot 52

Miscellaneous The watermark shows an encircled bird

As was noted in the sale catalogue, aspects of both sides of the sheet, which appears to have been folded in half, are incorporated in the Fitzwilliam drawing, making it likely that this is an earlier formulation. Stylistically it belongs to the same moment as the Lateran Transept fresco.

- 37) Subject Study for An Archbishop Saint Appearing to a Roman Warrior in a Battle; Studies of a Walled Town (figs. 307-308)

Location Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (inv. PD 263-1985 recto and verso)

Date c. 1600

Media recto Red chalk, pen and brown ink, brown wash; verso Red chalk, pen and brown ink, watermark an encircled fleur-de-lys, light sketches of a human figure in red chalk, squared

Dimensions 267 x 207

References as above

Attribution Pouncey

Provenance Pouncey, by whom presented; sale, Sotheby & Co., London, 7 July 1977, "Important Old Master Drawings," lot 51

The dating for this drawing, as well as figure 36, can be sustained on the basis of the stylistic kinship with the drawings for the Emperor Constantine Invests the Lateran with Treasure (figs. 201-203). The cityscape shows Baglione's pleasure in recording the picturesque contrast between vertical and horizontal elements.

- 38) Subject Study for the Martyrdom of a Roman Soldier (Mounted at the center of fig. 251)

Location Cabinet des Dessins, Musée du Louvre, Paris (inv. 12356)

Date c. 1600

Media Pen and brown ink
Dimensions 96 x 190
References Morel d'Arleux, 2427
Attribution Bean
Provenance Mariette (Lugt 152)

The drawing has much in common with the Besançon sketch (fig. 201) for the Emperor Constantine Invests the Lateran with Treasure and with figs. 307-308).

- 39) Subject Study for Two Allegorical Figure (Religion and Justice) with the Emblem of a Cardinal (fig. 309)
Location Cabinet des Dessins, Musée du Louvre, Paris (inv. 2839)
Date c. 1600
Media Pen and black ink, grey and brown wash, over red chalk
Dimensions 270 x 288
References Unpublished
Miscellaneous Inscribed on the drawing at left in pen and ink, "Du Cavalier Baglione" and on the matting (l.), "Cavaliere Giovanni Baglione" (r.) "Ecole Romaine"

The long, straight lines seen in the drawing (fig. 206) for a crypt painting in Santa Cecilia are repeated and the similarity between the figure at right and St. Cecilia in a painting for the crypt (fig. 63) raises the possibility that the drawing was intended for a decorative device commissioned by Cardinal Sfondrato.

- 40) Subject Study for the Holy Family with St. John the Baptist (fig. 310)
Location Cabinet des Dessins, Musée du Louvre, Paris (inv. 2833)
Date c. 1600
Media Pen and brown ink, brown wash, over red chalk
Dimensions 254 x 182
References Unpublished
Miscellaneous Inscribed in pen and ink at left, "Cavaliere Giovanni Baglione."; at center in an older hand, "Cav. Baglione"; at right, "Ecole Romaine"

The appearance of the Madonna and Child serve to underscore the Raphaellesque component in Baglione's draughtsmanship. Form is defined with the long, stiff line and loosely applied wash seen in other contemporaneous drawings, such as the British Museum sheet (fig. 305) and the above study.

- 41) Subject Study for the Annunciation (fig. 311)
Location Cabinet des Dessins, Musée du Louvre, Paris (inv. 2831)
Date c. 1600
Media Pen and brown ink, grey wash
Dimensions 160 x 105
References Unpublished

The drapery style links this drawing with the studies for The Baptism of St. Prisca and St. Peter in the House of St. Prisca and Aquila (figs. 195, 198). The angel is of a type seen in previous drawings and in the painting of St. Andrew in Adoration of the Cross (fig. 60) in Santa Cecilia in Trastevere.

42) Subject Study for St. Peter Preaching (fig. 312)

Location Witt Collection, Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London (inv. 4396)

Date c. 1600

Media Pen and brown ink, brown wash

Dimensions 233 x 195

References Unpublished

Provenance Inscribed next to "Cavalier Baglione" at bottom, "ma est e donné par M.r Legros croizat"; the letter "F" appears above. This is one of the drawings from the series believed to date from the time of Baglione's death (Macandrew, 1980, pp. 92-93).

The configuration of the three kneeling figures mirrors the arrangement seen in the Gesù painting of St. Cecilia and Her Fellow Martyrs in Supplication for Cardinal Sfondrato from 1600 (fig. 64). Strengthening the likelihood of this date is the emphatic distribution of light and shadow.

43) Subject Study for St. Peter Preaching (fig. 313)

Location Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence (inv. 7379 F)

Date c. 1600

Media Pen and brown ink, brown, grey and red wash, on beige paper

Dimensions 275 x 165

References Unpublished

Attribution Pouncey

The arched shape of the drawing suggests that may have been a study for an altarpiece. As in the drawing above, with which it can be linked, an impressive architectural enclosure is used to establish depth and the positions of the large cast of figures, thus reflecting the arrangement seen in the "modello" for Santa Prisca (fig. 196).

44) Subject Study for a Concert of Youths (fig. 314)

Location Gabinetto dei Disegni, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence (inv. 4329 S recto)

Date c. 1601

Media Pen and grey ink, grey wash, squared

Dimensions 258 x 184

References Catalogo della Raccolta..., 1870, n. 4327 as "Suonatori di Violino"

As Baglione sometimes made use of an empty space on a sheet to work out a later idea, it is not impossible that there was a lapse of time between the sketches on the recto and verso of this sheet. The latter has been identified as a preparatory study for the Berlin Profane Love Subdued by Divine Love (c. 1601) (fig. 211). Given the course of Baglione's development, it would seem logical to see these

long limbed, Mannerist figures as a remnant from the period between 1585-90. It is possible that they reveal a point of close contact with Francesco Allegrini, another artist who had been influenced by d'Arpino. The standing figure with his head bent down recalls a figure in the fresco of the Coronation of the Virgin (fig. 52) in Santa Maria dell'Orto (1598) where the proportions are normative.

- 45) Subject Study for St. Francis in Prayer Before Christ, the Madonna and St. Joseph (fig. 315)
Location Graphische Sammlung, Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf (inv. FP 3440)
Date c. 1602
Media Pen and brown ink, brown and grey wash
Dimensions 270 x 190
References Rodinò, 1989-90, p. 181, n. 11
Attribution Pepper

Stylistically the drawing can be related to the painting of the Madonna and Child with Saints in Loreto (1602) (fig. 70).

- 46) Subject Study for St. Lawrence Restoring the Sight of Lucillus
Location Private Collection
Date c. 1604-06
Media Pen and black and brown ink, on brown laid paper
Dimensions 275 x 178
References Unpublished
Provenance Collector's mark - Anchor in a circle over letters VA

Baglione's note in the biography of Mao Salini (Lives, p. 287) that he had provided Salini with drawings for paintings in San Lorenzo in Lucina prompt Huetter and Lavagnino (n. d., p. 37) to suggest that Salini's Project for the Church Presented to Saint Lawrence by Lucina (1606, now located in the Cappella di San Lorenzo) was made after drawings by Baglione. This drawing, which is not far removed stylistically from the Louvre study for the Raising of Tabitha, (1604-06) (fig. 215), may represent a preliminary idea for another unknown work by Salini in the church that dated from the same time. Not to be overlooked is the similarity between the disproportionately long figure of Lucillus and the musicians in the Uffizi study (fig. 314).

- 47) Subjects Study for St. Veronica (fig. 316); a Kneeling Carthusian (fig. 317)
Location Graphische Sammlung, Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf (inv. FP 99 recto and verso)
Date c. 1606
Media Black chalk, heightened with white, on prepared paper, squared
Dimensions 255 x 187
References Rodinò, 1989-90, p. 181, n. 11
Attribution Schleier

The broad, sculptural garments seen in the paintings of St. Martha (1606) (fig. 78) and St. Margaret of Antioch (fig. 72) are the product of the draughtsmanship seen in this sketch. Baglione indulges his fascination with complex folds, opening the pleats to the nuances of light and shadow in accordance with their degree of freedom from the stricture of the knot at the shoulder. Both recto and verso illustrate the discipline and delicacy of his chalk style. The figure on the verso and his garments bear comparison to St. Stephen in the painting in Perugia (fig. 90).

- 48) Subject Study for the Liberation of St. Peter from Prison (fig. 318)
Location Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin-Dahlem (inv. K.d.Z. 25834)
Date c. 1606
Media Pen and brown ink, brown wash, over red chalk underdrawing
Dimensions 265 x 205
References Unpublished
Miscellaneous Inscribed on the mount in pen and ink, "Pocetti Bol. XXII"; and at the top right the number, "1667"

The emphatic chiaroscuro modeling, broad, plastic forms and strong contours are comparably seen in the Berlin drawing of 1606 for Saints Peter and Paul (r.) (fig. 217) and The Repentance of St. Peter in Turin (fig. 80). An early idea to place the angel at a higher level may explain the "pentimento" at upper right.

- 49) Subject Study for a View of a Beach with Troops Embarking and a Group of Reclining Figures in the Foreground (fig. 319)
Location Department of Prints and Drawings, Victoria and Albert Museum, London (inv. 8629E)
Date c. 1608
Media Pen and brown ink, brown wash. Ward-Jackson notes that, "About a third of the sheet has been cut away leaving an irregular outline on the right side, where the legs of a horse can be seen, presumably the horse of the commander of the troops."
Dimensions 158 x 216
References Ward-Jackson, II, 1980, pp. 14-15, repro. plate 617
Provenance Miss Georgina Lornlin 1880
Attribution Pouncey

The broad, palpable female type that Baglione had mastered by 1600 (figs. 48, 176) gains a greater robustness in paintings and drawings after about 1608, as has been noted in the discussion of the Borghese Gallery Judith with the Head of Holofernes. (Note also the similarity in handling with the women at left right in the study for "Lot and His Daughters" [fig. 217]). The more active sense of space seen in this composition is also paralleled in other drawings from this period.

- 50) Subject Study for the Holy Family with Saints (fig. 320); the Martyrdom of a Saint, sketches of a nude torso and a hand (fig. 321)
Location Szépművészeti Museum, Budapest (inv. 2169 recto and verso)

Date c. 1608
Media Pen and brown ink, brown wash
Dimensions 187 x 175
References Unpublished
Attribution Pouncey

The energetic mobility of line and expressively applied wash make this sheet comparable to the Berlin study for Judith with the Head of Holofernes (fig. 222) and the Louvre sheet for the Body of Christ Prepared for Burial (fig. 223). The saint on the verso is of the same typology as the figure of St. Stephen in the painting in Perugia (fig. 90).

- 51) Subject Study for the Madonna and Child with Saints and Angels (fig. 322)
Location Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich (inv. 2212)
Date c. 1608
Media Pen and brown ink, brown wash, white heightening, on red washed paper
Dimensions 196 x 134
References Unpublished

In this finished drawing, that has a quite obvious stylistic rapport with the Madonna and Child with St. Raymond and St. Hyacinth in Santa Maria degli Angeli (fig. 84), Baglione displays a very colouristic draughtsmanship that gives the drawing a highly pictorial character despite the meticulous application of the heightening. There is a "pentimento" visible beneath the right hand of the foremost saint.

- 52) Subject Study for a Standing Male (fig. 323)
Location Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin (inv. K.d.Z. 20876)
Date c. 1608
Media Grey pencil, heightened with white, traces of red chalk, on blue- grey paper
Dimensions 267 x 147
References Unpublished
Provenance Poccetti
Miscellaneous Inscribed on mount at left corner in pen and brown ink, "Cav di Arpino"

The sensitive modeling in chalk and application of heightening to the surfaces to build up the multiple folds has its pictorial equivalent in the paintings of the Madonna and Child with Saint Raymond and St. Hyacinth (fig. 84). The position of the latter is almost identical in reverse to the figure studied here. A certain awkwardness in the foreshortening of the right hand is visible.

- 53) Subject Study for "Putti" with Symbols of Martyrdom (fig. 324)
Location Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum, London (inv. 5223-27)

Date c. 1608

Media Red chalk, red wash, on brown paper

Dimensions 195 x 230

References Unpublished

Attribution Turner

Fleshy, animated "putti" on clouds, holding palm fronds are also seen in the upper zone of the Stoning of St. Stephen in Perugia (fig. 90). The claw-like hands and pudgy, pinched facial types are typically Baglionesque.

- 54) Subject Study for a Decorative Border (surrounding Palma Giovane's study for the "Compianto sul Cristo morto" painted about 1612 for the Duomo in Reggio Emilia) (fig. 325)

Location Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum, London (inv. 1922-6-22-5)

Date c. 1612

Media Pen and brown and grey wash, over black chalk

Dimensions 155 x 144

References Gere and Pouncey, 1983, p. 38, n. 44, repro. plate 39

Attribution Gere and Pouncey

Provenance A. Oliver, by whom presented

Gere and Pouncey have discussed the earlier attributions and if there is any remaining doubt as to Baglione's authorship of the border one has only to note the affinity between the figures and the standing angel in fig 307. The curved, emphatic, but open contour line and solid physical amplitude are similarly seen in the drawing of the standing angel in the Victoria and Albert Museum study (fig. 234) for the vault of the Cappellina di Santa Francesca Romana and in the treatment of the nymphs at the upper left in the Louvre study (fig. 245) for Armida and Rinaldo.

- 55) Subject Study for the Annunciation (fig. 326)

Location Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (inv. 1965.2 verso)

Date c. 1613

Media Black chalk, squared

Dimensions 324 x 232

References Schleier, 1971, pp. 10-17, repro. fig.1

Attribution Schleier

The drawing can be dated on the basis of the stylistic similarities with the drawing for the Poggio Mirteto Assumption on the recto (fig. 244).

- 56) Subject Study for Aurora, Casino, Palazzo Pallavicini-Rospigliosi, Rome (fig. 327)

Location Graphische Sammlung, Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf (inv. FP 1036)

Date 1614

Media Pen and brown ink, brown wash, heightened with white

Dimensions 172 x 433

References Vitzthum, 1964, p. 180; Schaar, 1969-70, p. 30, repro. fig. 33

Attribution Vitzthum

The intended purpose of this drawing as an alternative to Reni's idea for the fresco in the central room of the Casino, proposed by Vitzthum, is very plausible on stylistic grounds.

- 57) Subjects Study for a Meeting of Two Condemned Men recto (fig. 328);
God the Father with Angels verso (fig. 329)

Location Graphische Sammlung, Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf (inv. FP 342 recto and verso)

Date c. 1615

Media Pen and brown ink, brown wash, over traces of red chalk

Dimensions 273 x 205

References Rodinò, 1989-90, p. 181, n. 11

Attribution Schleier

Miscellaneous On the matting paper at right is inscribed in pen and brown ink, "giovan Lanfranchi"

This dating can be confidently proposed noting the similarity between the rearing figures at left and those in the Armida and Rinaldo study (fig. 245) and the common stylistic traits. The ramp-like organization of space is similarly seen in the painting for the Alexander the Great series from 1614. The position of God the Father on the verso and the impelled movement are comparable to the fresco of Julian the Apostate Struck Down by Saints Mercurius and Artemisius (1611-12) in the Cappella Paolina (fig. 101 center). The distribution of the wash in the drawing has been considered with the intention of merging the figures in an illusionistic space. The text on the verso begins, "Sr Cav re perche habiamo da trattari con un huomo stravagante sara bene addi del offitio di vasersini et ivi chiamato Felice Notaro che scrive il capitolo et adirli in mio nome...."

- 58) Subject Study for St. Peter and the Angel (fig. 330)

Location Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, Rome (inv. FC 128405)

Date c. 1615

Media Pen and brown ink, grey wash, over traces of red chalk

Dimensions 129 x 118

References Unpublished

Miscellaneous On the right corner is inscribed in pen and brown ink, "Lanfranco"

The buoyancy of the angel, expansive movements and the pictorial application of the wash link this sheet with the above study for "God the Father and Angels".

- 59) Subject Three Studies for the Flagellation of Christ (fig. 331)

Location Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum, London (inv. 1946-7-13-658a; 1946-7-13-658b; 1946-7-13-658c)

Date c. 1615

Media Pen and brown ink

Dimensions 658a - 117 x 96; 658b - 115 x 83 (including a strip 18 mm wide added to the top, on which the drawing is continued in a blacker ink); 658c - 134 x 188 (including a strip about 23 x 135 mm skillfully grafted into the upper r.-hand side of the top of the sheet, on which the drawing is continued in a blacker ink)

References Popham, Fenwick, p. 122, no. 1; Gere and Pouncey, pp. 36-36, nos. 39, 40, 41, repro. plate 35

Provenance Mariette (Lugt 2097); Sir T. Lawrence (Lugt 2445); S. Woodburn (sale, Christie & Co., London, 4 June 1860, lot 1, bt with 13 others Sir T. Phillipps); Phillipps-Fenwick; presented anonymously

The figure of Christ at upper left has the kind of latent power seen in Michelangelo's Waking Slave for the Tomb of Julius II that is reduced in the other scenes due to His altered position. The figures have the condensed energy that is also in the Princeton study for the (Cappella Paolina fresco 1611-12). From a technical point of view the use of pen and ink to simulate the intended chiaroscural effects, a method not frequently employed, may be seen in the study (fig.) for an unknown allegorical painting from about 1622 (fig.).

60) Subject Study for the Flagellation of Christ (fig. 332)

Location Unknown

Date c. 1615

Media Red chalk, pen and brown ink, grey wash, on the reverse of a broadsheet

Dimensions 242 x 191

References sale, Christie & Co., London, 7 July 1982, "Fine Old Master Drawings," lot 135

Stylistically, this sheet follows in the same vein as the Princeton study (fig. 228) for the Assassination of the Emperor Leo the Armenian with the greater attention to the contour line seen in the Würzburg studies (figs. 333-334) for the Decollation of St. John the Baptist and the Düsseldorf Meeting of Two Condemned Men (fig. 328). The activity of the figure at lower right is unclarified as a result of the dense foreground grouping of the solidly conceived figures. The male nude seen from the rear is restated in the Crucifixion of St. Peter in Macerata (fig. 111).

61) Subjects Study for the Decollation of St. John the Baptist recto (fig. 333); Studies for St. John the Baptist Being Led to Martyrdom, St. John the Baptist in Oil, the Decollation of St. John the Baptist verso (fig. 334)

Location Martin von Wagner Museum der Universität, Würzburg (inv. 7869 recto and verso)

Date c. 1615

Media Pen and brown ink, traces of red chalk, on light brown paper

Dimensions 270 x 405

References Unpublished

Provenance Martin von Wagner (when in Rome)

Miscellaneous Watermark in a simple circle; at lower right, "motta"

The martyrdom takes place in an architecturally defined interior. Each of the two studies occupies half of the recto. The figure of the saint from the right side is repeated in nearly the same pose on the left which leads one to deduce that Baglione aimed to correct the unsatisfactory overlap with the henchman. The free, energetic pen line that articulates the kinesthetically defined henchman is carried over to the elaborate garments of the women. Baglione's improvisational manner of proceeding is displayed by the "pentimenti" (the half figure in the middle of the sheet, the scratched out woman in the first idea, etc.). Though there are considerable revisions, most of the lines are set down with great confidence. The final formulation for the Decollation is worked out in the right half of the verso. The smaller studies at the left of the sheet suggest that Baglione may have been commissioned to paint a cycle illustrating the life of the saint. In these we see features which are typical of a number of drawings from about 1615 - the disposition of the figures on many levels, the rapidly drawn, heavily accented and volumetric line and the contrast between static and agitated groups.

- 62) Subject Study for Sea Nymphs Playing with Tritons and a Man; on the Left a Semi-draped Giant, Holding a Book or Stone, Seated on a Rock; Possibly Polyphemus with Acis and Galatea (?) (fig. 335)
Location Department of Prints and Drawings, Victoria and Albert Museum, London (inv. FH 1886)
Date c. 1615
Media Pen and brown ink, brown wash
Dimensions 158 x 216
References Ward Jackson, II, 1980, pp. 14-15, repro. plate 616
Attribution Pouncey
Miscellaneous Inscribed in pencil in a later hand "...Fate calling upon love to soften the human species"; and again in the same hand "Pietro Francesco Mola"

The elusive subject matter is not unusual for Baglione who was particularly attracted to complex allegorical themes. The forms have the plasticity and density characteristic of a number of drawings from the middle of the second decade and the handling has a comparable vigour.

- 63) Subject Study for St. Charles Borromeo Before a Vision of the "Santo Chiodo" (fig. 336)
Location Cabinet des Dessins, Musée du Louvre, Paris (inv. 7997)
Date c. 1616
Media Pen and brown ink, grey wash
Dimensions 263 x 184
References Unpublished
Attribution Pepper

The basis for dating this drawing is its overall similarity to the paintings of St. Charles Borromeo in Viterbo and in Todi.

- 64) Subject Study for St. Catherine of Alexandria (fig. 337)

Location Achenbach Foundation for the Graphic Arts, Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco (inv. 1963.24.136)

Date c. 1619

Media Pen and brown ink, brown wash, over black chalk, on cream paper

Dimensions 127 x 105

References Unpublished

Provenance Cogswell # 157; M.L. Schiff

The drawing is related to the St. Catherine of Alexandria in Mantua in the rounded shape of the face, straight eyebrows, almond eyes and small crown. The softly falling shadows on the face and neck also link the two and permit the dating proposed.

65) Subject Two Studies for Reclining Female Nude (fig. 338)

Location Private Collection

Date c. 1621

Media Red and black chalk

Dimensions 230 x 265

References sale, Sotheby & Co. London, 12 March 1963, "Old Master Drawings," lot 30

Provenance Sir Thomas Lawrence (Lugt 2445)

The linear delicacy with which the main figure is drawn recalls the study for Erato. A comparison can be made between the more abstractly conceived figure in the preliminary sketch at the top and the somewhat schematic handling of the nudes on the verso of the Naples sheet below. The alert, less oriental physiognomy that reappears in the San Francisco study for Judith with the Head of Holofernes (fig. 348) enlarges the graphic repertoire of Baglionesque types.

66) Subject Studies for Female Nudes (fig. 339)

Location Gabinetto dei Disegno e delle Stampe, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples (inv. 1046 recto)

Date c. 1621

Media Black chalk, on ivory paper

Dimensions 258 x 166

References Unpublished

The lightly sketched, heavy built figure on this sheet is of the same type as seen in the Love Impedes Instinct (fig. 146), Venus Whipped by Love (fig. 147) and Susanna and the Elders (fig. 148).

67) Subject Studies for an Allegorical Subject (figs. 340-341)

Location Martin von Wagner Museum der Universität, Würzburg (inv. 7157 recto and verso)

Date c. 1620-21

Media Pen and brown ink, with brown wash

Dimensions 165 x 254

References Unpublished

Miscellaneous Inscribed at bottom in pen and brown ink, "Cav. Baglione Romano"

The female figure bears close comparison to the Muse Urania (fig. 130). At the left are an eagle and a sun, symbols of Ferdinando Gonzaga. On the verso the allegorical figure carries a shield with the Gonzaga symbols and a scepter. The "di sotto in su" application of the wash makes one wonder if the drawings could be studies for an unknown ceiling painting in Mantua. "Pentimenti" showing two "putti" and the hands and lower arms of a figure (?) are visible near her legs.

- 68) Subject Study for Judith with the Head of Holofernes (?) (fig. 342)
Location Graphische Sammlung, Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf (inv. FP 75)
Date c. 1621
Media Red and black chalk, heightened with white, squared
Dimensions 175 x 150
References Rodinò, 1989-90, p. 181, n. 11
Attribution Turner

The warm chalk modeling and effect of soft plasticity were an outgrowth of Baglione's stay in Mantua. This sheet may be a study for a now lost Judith and Holofernes that he painted for Ferdinando Gonzaga (see Appendix V, 37).

- 69) Subject Study for Father Time Unveiling Truth to Peace with Envy and Discord in the Background (fig. 343)
Location Unknown
Date c. 1622
Media Red and black chalk, pen and black ink, grey wash
Dimensions 163 x 255
References sale, Christie & Co., London, 2 July 1991, repro. lot 102
Provenance N. Hone (Lugt 2793); P. Sandby (Lugt 2112)

In this post-Mantuan drawing Baglione places monumental figures in a dark, shallow foreground space and gives them a warm, robust sensuality. The female figures are much like those in the Kensington Palace Allegory of Truth and Justice Reconciled of 1622 (fig. 132).

- 70) Subject Study for Father Time Unveiling Truth to Peace with Envy and Discord in the Background (lower right corner) (fig. 207)
Location Martin von Wagner Museum der Universität, Würzburg (inv. 8386 verso)
Date c. 1622
Media Pen and brown ink
References Unpublished

The small pen and ink sketch on the verso of this drawing for a canvas painted in 1600 is very similar to the configuration drawing in the Sotheby's sale (below).

- 71) Subject Study for Father Time Unveiling Truth to Peace with Envy and Discord in the Background (fig. 344)

Location Private Collection

Date c. 1622

Media no details available

Dimensions no details available

References The photograph of the drawing was furnished by Sotheby & Co. (London) but, according to Alexandra Chaldecott, it was not presented for sale.

- 72) Subject Study for the Allegory of Temperance or Profane Love Subdued by Divine Love (?) (fig. 346)

Location Graphische Sammlung, Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf (inv. FP 78)

Date c. 1622

Media Black chalk, heightened with white, on prepared paper

Dimensions 265 x 200

References Rodinò, 1989-90, p. 181, n. 11

Attribution Schleier

The props used to give stability and the solidity of the draughtsmanship just barely contain the dynamic impulses in the contest between the vigorous protagonist and the softly fleshed figure. The older winged figure is much like the central figure in the above drawings and the chalk style is very compatible with other drawings from this date.

- 73) Subject Study for a Youthful Saint (?James the Greater) on Horseback, Brandishing a Sword and Riding Over a Group of Prostrate Men (fig. 346)

Location Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum, London (inv. 1946-7-13-660)

Date c. 1622

Media Pen and blackish-brown ink. Brown stains and smudges of red chalk.

Dimensions 159 x 110

References Popham, 1935, p. 122, no. 3; Gere and Pouncey, 1983, p. 35 no. 34, repro. plate 34

Provenance Sir T. Phillipps (Phillipps MS 23981)

Miscellaneous Inscribed on the mount in pen and ink, "Gio Baglioni 73". This is another in the collection of drawings perhaps dating from Baglione's death (Macandrew, 1980, pp. 92-93).

Although the design is more dynamic than that seen in the painting of St. Martin Divides His Cloak (fig. 133), the flowing garment, typology of the saint and general disposition of the figures suggests a similar dating.

- 74) Subject Study for "Domine Quo Vadis?" (fig. 347)

Location Graphische Sammlung, Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf (inv. FP 3439)

Date c. 1623

Media Pen and brown ink, brown and grey wash, over red chalk underdrawing

Dimensions 265 x 210

References Rodinò, 1989-90, p. 181, n. 11

Attribution Pepper

This drawing clearly belongs to the same stylistic moment as the study for Joseph and the Wife of Potiphar in Munich (fig. 252). The outlines of the body are accentuated in a similar manner and in both drawings the wash is the vehicle for rendering the movement of light and shadow over the rich draperies. The very pictorial use of wash unites earthly, visionary and heavenly in an illusionistic visual field. The background scene, presumably showing the eclectic architecture of Rome is a continuation of the type of drawing seen on the verso of the study in the Fitzwilliam Museum (fig. 308) from about 1600.

- 75) Subject Study for Judith with the Head of Holofernes (fig. 348)
Location Achenbach Foundation for the Graphic Arts, Fine Arts Museum, San Francisco (inv. 1963. 24. 153)
Date c. 1623
Media Pen and brown ink, brown wash, over black and red chalk
Dimensions 195 x 130
References Unpublished
Provenance Cogswell # 228 (Hellman # 6); M.L. Schiff

The dating for this sheet can be proposed on the basis of the likeness between the figure, particularly the face and hair style, and the servant at middle left in the Birth of the Virgin of 1623 (fig. 136). Although the drawing is executed in a less pictorial style and is without the rich chiaroscuro seen in other drawings of this period, the loose, jagged pen style is characteristic of other works, such as the Allentown Art Museum study of "St. John the Baptist in the Wilderness" (fig. 357).

- 76) Subject Study for the Birth of the Virgin (fig. 349)
Location Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin-Dahlem (inv. 18429)
Date c. 1623
Media Pen and brown ink, brown wash, heightened with white, squared
Dimensions 148 x 243
References Unpublished

The arched shape of the drawing suggests that the drawing may represent a study for a lunette in a chapel decoration devoted to the life of the Virgin. The long, cylindrically shaped, light reflecting folds, tonally defined space and very pictorial application of heightening suggest a dating in line with The Birth of the Virgin from 1623 (fig. 136). The drawing has the charm of an intimate, domestic scene filled with animals, a child playing in the water basin and the chatter of servants in which the scene at left appears somewhat incongruous.

- 77) Subject Study for the Marriage of Mary and Joseph (fig. 350)
Location Graphische Sammlung, Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf (inv. FP 79)
Date c. 1623

Media Red chalk and red wash
Dimensions 260 x 205
References Rodinò, 1989-90, p. 181, n. 11
Attribution Bean

The heavy use of the red chalk connects this with other drawings from the 1620's and the drapery style is comparable with the Birth of the Virgin (fig. 349), thus strengthening the dating proposed.

- 78) Subject Study for the Holy Trinity (fig. 351)
Location Graphische Sammlung, Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf (inv. FP 121)
Date c. 1623
Media Pen and ink, brown wash, over red chalk
Dimensions 184 x 140
References Unpublished
Attribution Bean

Baglione cleverly makes use of the shadow absorbing mantle billowing around God the Father to focus light on the inert body of Christ and thus to augment the pathos. The depth of shadow is attained through the dense red chalk hatching over brown wash.

- 79) Subject Study for the Nativity of Christ (fig. 352)
Location Graphische Sammlung, Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf (inv. FP 120)
Date c. 1623
Media Pen and brown ink, red chalk and grey wash
Dimensions 185 x 138
References Unpublished
Attribution Bean

The graphic style follows in the same vein as the previous two drawings. The skillful orchestration of the chalk and wash produce a notable warmth of effect.

- 80) Subject Study for the Madonna Mourning the Dead Christ (fig. 353)
Location Graphische Sammlung, Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf (inv. FP 74)
Date c. 1623
Media Brown and red chalk, pen and brown ink, brown and red wash
Dimensions 145 x 139
References Rodinò, 1989-90, p. 181, n. 11
Attribution Bean

The dense chalk hatching and colouristic wash enhance the poignancy of the moment by permitting the focus of light to be directed onto the body of the dead Christ which is given a sculptural definition. The sharply cut folds of the draperies and stiff, outstretched hands find are echoed in the painting of St. Charles Borromeo Praying for the Cessation of the Plague from 1624 (fig. 141).

- 81) Subject Study for Jael and Sisera (fig. 354)
Location Graphische Sammlung, Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf (inv. FP 3419)

Date c. 1623

Media Pen and brown ink, brown wash and red chalk

Dimensions 258 x 185

References Rodinò, 1989-90, p. 181, n. 11

Attribution Bean

Baglione uses the tent as a shallow background that is filled with shadow simulated by the red chalk hatching. Jael clearly resembles Potiphar's wife in the Munich painting (fig. 134) and her momentary pose is similarly sustained by a little footstool. The weighty, accordion-like folds of the skirt belong to the same period as the Birth of the Virgin; for a parallel with the large, loosely falling sleeves one may look to Salome in the contemporaneous Salome Presenting the Head of the Baptist to Herod and Herodias (fig. 135).

- 82) Subject Study for St. John the Baptist with the Lamb (fig. 355)
Location Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence (inv. 4331 S)
Date c. 1624
Media Red chalk and brown wash, on brown paper
Dimensions 100 x 90
References Unpublished
Miscellaneous Inscribed at the lower right corner in pen and brown ink, "baglioni"

This drawing may be related to the painting owned by Cardinal Francesco Barberini that is now at Hampton Court Palace (fig. 138). The step that supports the untenably posed figure is a characteristic motif of the 1620's as is the intense light on the body that is facilitated by the shallow, light absorbing background. The heavy use of red chalk also finds a parallel in drawings of the period (figs. 352-354).

- 83) Subject Study for St. John the Baptist with the Lamb (fig. 356)
Location Allentown Art Museum, Allentown, Pennsylvania (inv. A 15942)
Date c. 1624
Media Pen and brown ink, brown wash, over red chalk
Dimensions 170 x 119
References Unpublished
Miscellaneous On the matting-paper is inscribed, "Cavalier. Giovanni Baglioni 64". This may be another in the series discussed by Macandrew (1980, pp. 92-93).

This drawing bears comparison to the painting of St. John the Baptist in Meditation at Hampton Court Palace, though the position has been altered and the lamb removed. The arrangement of the figure has much in common with the previous drawing. Augmenting the rapid definition in pen is the wash and red chalk which stabilize the figure in a shallow visual field and the cloud line that echoes the contour of his body.

- 84) Subject Study for St. John the Baptist in the Wilderness (fig. 357)

Location Private Collection

Date c. 1624

Media Pen and brown ink, brown wash

Dimensions 170 x 119

References sale, Sotheby & Co., London, 4 July 1977, "Fine Italian and French Drawings," lot 78

Provenance Bears an unidentified collector's mark (Lugt 416a)

The overall position of the saint is similar to the Athens and June Fell paintings of St. John the Baptist (figs. 137-138). There are also distinct parallels with the graphic handling in the drawing of "Judith and Holofernes" discussed above (fig. 348).

- 85) Subject Study for St. John the Baptist in the Wilderness (fig. 358)
Location Graphische Sammlung, Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf (inv. FP 109)
Date c. 1624
Media Black and red chalk, heightened with white, on prepared paper
Dimensions 304 x 205
References Rodinò, 1989-90, p. 181, n. 11
Attribution Schleier

This very fine example of Baglione's soft, pictorial use of chalk in the 1620's can be dated with the angels in the Santa Maria dell'Orto canvas (fig. 142) specifically in mind.

- 86) Subject Study for Herodias or Judith (?) (fig. 359)
Location Graphische Sammlung, Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf (FP 78)
Date c. 1624
Media Black and red chalk, heightened with white on prepared paper
Dimensions 270 x 194
References Rodinò, 1989-90, p. 181, n. 11
Attribution N. Turner

The dating is warranted on the basis of the likeness to the above drawing and to the painting of Salome Presenting the Head of the Baptist to Herod and Herodias (fig. 135).

- 87) Subject Study for the Flagellation of Christ (fig. 360)
Location Graphische Sammlung, Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf (inv. FP 3444)
Date c. 1624
Media Pen and brown ink, brown wash, over red chalk
Dimensions 235 x 170
References Rodinò, 1989-90, p. 181, n. 11
Attribution Bean

The drawing belongs to the same period as the Santa Maria dell'Orto St. Sebastian (fig. 142).

- 88) Subject Study for the "Ecce Homo" (fig. 361)
Location Graphische Sammlung, Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf (inv. FP 3442)
Date c. 1625

Media Pen and brown ink, brown wash, over black chalk

Dimensions 135 x 205

References Rodinò, 1989-90, p. 181, n. 11

Attribution Bean

The sketch is clearly linked to the above and to the "Madonna Mourning the Dead Christ" (fig. 353).

- 89) Subject Study for the Crowning with Thorns (fig. 362)
Location Graphische Sammlung, Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf (inv. FP 119)
Date c. 1625
Media Black chalk, heightened with white, on grey paper
Dimensions 230 x 153
References Rodinò, 1989-90, p. 177, repro. fig. 3

The graphic style, with its delicacy of touch and heightening in sharp, crisp parallel strokes is a development from the mid to late 1620s.

- 90) Subject Study for the Holy Family with St. Anne (fig. 363)
Location Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne (inv. Z 2855)
Date c. 1625
Media Black chalk, heightened with white, on beige-red prepared paper
Dimensions 180 x 168
References Unpublished
Attribution Scharf

The drawing illustrates stylistic characteristics typical of the graphic style in the late 1620's as seen, for example, in the study for the St. Catherine of Alexandria Carried to Her Tomb by Angels (fig. 260) and the study in the Rijksmuseum for the kneeling apostle (1628) (fig. 262). The drawing may be related to the painting of the Holy Family in the Musée Granet (fig. 159).

- 91) Subject Study for the Coronation of the Virgin (fig. 364)
Location Private Collection
Date c. 1630
Media Pen and brown ink and brown wash, with an old attribution to Guercino and a number: g. 120, verso Study for the Coronation of the Virgin, pen and brown ink
Dimensions
References sale, Sotheby & Co., London, 1 December 1966, "Old Master Drawings," lot 10

The rapid line and animating use of wash that give buoyancy to the figures and fix them in an illusionistic space illustrate Baroque tendencies in Baglione's graphic style at the beginning of the third decade.

- 92) Subject Study for the Presentation of the Christ Child at the Temple (fig. 365)

Location Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin-Dahlem (inv. K.d.Z. 17438 recto)

Date c. 1630

Media Pen and brown ink, brown wash

Dimensions 140 x 212

References Unpublished

The drawing belongs to the same stylistic moments as the paintings of the same subject in the Baglione Chapel and in Santa Maria della Consolazione (figs. 157, 162).

- 93) Subject Study for Dead Christ or a Saint Supported by Angels with Kneeling Figures, One Dressed in a Friar's habit (?) (fig. 366)
Location Biblioteca Reale, Turin (inv. 15881)
Date c. 1635
Media Pen and brown ink, brown wash, over red chalk
Dimensions 181 x 121
References Bertini, 1958, repro. fig. 534; Gibbons, I, 1977, p. 8
Miscellaneous Inscribed at lower right in pen and ink, "Caval Baglioni"

The arched shape suggests that the drawing was made for an altarpiece. The elongation of the figure and lack of firmness in the pen line point to a dating after 1630.

- 94) Subject Study for the Coronation of the Virgin (fig. 367)
Location Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (inv. 468/1974)
Date c. 1635
Media Black chalk, heightened with white, on buff paper
Dimensions 202 x 299
References Turner, 1982, pp. 141-43, repro. fig. 1.

In this drawing, probably intended for a fresco in the "catino" of an apse, Baglione's angular use of heightening gives the drawing a kind of cut-glass appearance. The forms are attenuated and the limbs rather stiff.

- 95) Subject Study for the Coronation of the Virgin (fig. 368)
Location Graphische Sammlung, Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf (inv. FP 76)
Date c. 1635
Media Black chalk, heightened with white, on grey paper
Dimensions 247 x 343
References Rodinò, 1989-90, pp. 176-77, repro. fig. 1.

Rodinò proposes that this drawing is connected with the Santa Maria dell'Orto fresco of the subject in 1598. The transparent drapery style is of a completely different order and reflects developments that took place during and after the sojourn in Mantua, as evident in comparing the cloak billowing behind Christ with the garment worn by Divine Wisdom in the painting in Kensington Palace (fig. 132).

- 96) Subject Study for the Madonna and Child; the Angel Appearing to St. Joseph in a Dream in the Background (fig. 369)
Location Private Collection
Date c. 1635
Media Pen and brown ink, brown wash
Dimensions 100 x 136
References sale, Sotheby & Co., London, 8 June 1972, "Old Master Drawings," lot 12

The laboured movement of the line, the lack of firmness and variations in the pressure of pen give evidence of a considerable weakening in handling. However, Baglione still shows considerable skill in the application of wash. The drawing may be related to the Dream of St. Joseph (fig. 164) that was posthumously donated to the Pontificia Accademia dei Virtuosi al Pantheon.

- 97) Subject Studies for Angels and St. Mary Magdalen (fig. 370)
Location Private Collection
Date c. 1635
Media Pen and brown ink, brown wash
Dimensions 115 x 186 (Shape irregular)
References sale, Yvonne Tan Bunzl, London, "Exhibition of Old Master Drawings," 1968, N. 2; sale, Sotheby's London, 13 December 1973, "Important Old Master Drawings," lot 16

The angel at left, who may be compared to the angels in the drawing for the Capitoline Gallery Madonna in Glory (fig. 165) and the "putto" at right show the stiffening of form and greater simplification of the anatomy that characterise of a number of late drawings.

- 98) Subject Study for St. Francis Contemplating the Crucifix (fig. 371)
Location Department of Prints and Drawings, National Gallery, Edinburgh (inv. D 1918)
Date c. 1641
Media Pen and brown ink, brown wash, over black chalk
Dimensions 92 x 65
References Andrews, 1968, p. 9 and repro. no. 52
Provenance Lady Murray. Presented 1860

The small drawing presents characteristics typical of the very late graphic period, such as the roughly drawn hand, discontinuous line and nervous tremble (most evident in the cowl).

Appendix IV

Register of Documents

Summaries are provided of previously published documents; complete transcriptions of original sources appear. Texts are given as written.

1a) 1595 (Bertolotti, II, 1883, p. 407).

On the evening of 5 July 1595 Baglione was seized in a Roman street and charged with consorting with a Sicilian woman named Pasqua who was thought to be a spy. Baglione claimed that he didn't know her; she pleaded likewise, stating that she was married but had been abandoned by her husband.

1b) Bertolotti, op. cit., p. 407.

On 4 September 1595 a dispute between Baglione and the Roman tailor, Amadeo Landi, was brought before the Consoli dell'arte. Baglione and Landi had apparently agreed on a barter arrangement: in exchange for dresses made for his wife by Landi, Baglione would deliver some paintings. When Baglione attempted to collect the dresses, Landi contended that he had destroyed them because they were of superior quality [with respect to the paintings?]. The Consoli dell'arte determined that Landi was obligated to accommodate Baglione. Landi cited a legal precedent which stated that a tailor wasn't constrained to remake a garment if the patron didn't show up in a month's time. When he was told that he was obligated to pay seventeen "scudi" to Landi, Baglione argued that he had already supplied the tailor with a painting of a "Madonna With Four Figures". Baglione added that he had in his possession another painting that Landi had ordered, a "Crucifixion with Two Figures", that he would hand over to Landi at his request. Two artists, Cristoforo Cerri and Fabrizio Colli testified on behalf of Baglione.

2) 1598 Contract and Payments for Paintings in the Apse of Santa Maria dell'Orto, Archivio di Stato di Roma, Ufficio dei 30 notai, Ufficio 11, Vol. 37, fol. 318 recto and verso. Möller (1991, p. 95) refers to the payment of 450 "scudi". The contract for the fresco is here fully transcribed.

Capitulis and Conventionis dell'op.a dela pittura da farsi nella Capella Maggiore della S.ma Madonna delHorto dela Congregatione dela universita delli fruttaroli da farsi Conti patti et ordini che qui sara dichiarato

In prim.a sara obbligato Ms. Gio: Baglione pittore di far tutta la pittura della ditta Capella con le sua istorie et qui si nominerano di opera a fresco Con bellissimi Colori fin de ogni sorta che ciandrano che siano de bellissim.a vaghezza et beniss.mo Colorito et Inparticolare de Azurri fini assomiglianti alli Azurri ultramarini

Che Abbia da finir lopera afresco a modo Tale che non abbia aver
bisogna di esser Molto Ritoccato asecco accio non abbiano di venir
coltempo smarite e scolorate come si vede in opere di pittura che in
breve tempo vengono almeno

Che abbia da far li disegni di tutte le storie che fara in ditta
Capella bene studiati et con ogni diligentia Considerati et da quelli
far poi li Cartoni della grandezza che andranno fatte le opera et
quelli prima mostrarli alli deputati accio Li Contentino

Che fatte et finite lopera di mano in mano aduna Ritto Cando et
finendo sicondo sara di bisogno accio lopera abbia da esser bella et
di quella vaghezza et pulitezza che si possa operar di pitture

Che abbia da far incollar a sue spese le sorte de Colle che andranno
fatte per far ditta opera de ditta pittura con bona Calcina ben
stagionata et bonissima pozzolana accio che essendovi alcune sorte de
briccioli non avessi a qualche sorte di tempo aguastare ditta pittura
et Caso che intervenisse tal cosa abbia et sia obbligato a spese sue
di tornar a rifar tutto il danno et similmente a sua spese farsi et
accomodarsi tutte sorte de ponti che per tal efetto possino bisogno
de farsi

Promette di far tutta la ditta opera bella et Confinissimi Colori et
questo vole starsene al giuditio di qualsivoglia valente omo de detto
esercitio et trovandosi altrimenti vole esser tenuto ad ogni danno et
interesse che potessi intervenire delli quali danni vole stare al
giuditio di detti deputati

Promette dar fatta et finita tutta la ditta opera fra termine di un
anno prossimo da venire et mancando a ditto tempo da autorita et si
contenta che possino li deputati metterci altri pittori afinirla a sua
spese etiam che costassi maggior prezzo del convenuto et così resta
contento et dacordo et tutto questo habbia da andar a sua spese di
ogni Caso

Il prezzo di la ditta opera si conviene con detti s. deputati di scudi
quattro cento cinquanta di moneta in 3 paghe una al principio una al
mezzo e laltra terza alla finita che sera lopera

Item che le pitture che havera da fare tutte siano istoria della S.ma
Vergine a di che elettione de detti deputati quali debbiano sotto
scrivere una poliza a detto pittore che si contentine del disegno

3) 1599 Payment for Paintings in Cappella del Santissimo Sacramento in
San Nicola in Carcere July 31, 1599 - August 31, 1599 (Abromson, 1981,
#136, p. 354).

Baglione was paid 40 "scudi" for his work at the end of July and received
the final payment of 120 "scudi" at the end of the next month.

4) 1598-1600 Payment for Paintings in the Transept of San Giovanni in
Laterano from September 1598 - January 1601 (Abromson, op. cit., #45-#54).

5) 1600 Completion of Crypt Paintings in Santa Cecilia in Trastevere

Untitled chronicle in Convent of Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, f. 49,
L'Anno 1600 ... Detto Ill mo Comincio a far dicorare sotto l'Altare
mag. giorno et ferie la grotta più grande che novbre e la fece tutta
dipingere vi fece quattro Altare uno con il quadro di S ta Cecilia in
Atto moribonda l'altro di S ta Caterina il 3 o di S ta Agnese il
quarto di S to Urbino con tutti le altri S ti dentro a detti altari vi
mise molte reliquie, rifacendovi accomodare un lampadino p altare il
quale arde giorno e notte.

6) 1600 Completion of Altarpieces of Saints Peter and Paul and St. Andrew in Adoration of the Cross for Santa Cecilia in Trastevere

(Martinelli, 1959, p. 96, n. 30). The final payment of 80 "scudi" for the first painting is made in mid-December 1600. The completion of both paintings is confirmed in the untitled Monastery Chronicle (1600), f.51,
Il medesimo anno fece guastare tutti li Altari et rifare di novo, dove sta l'altar di San Pietro vi stava la seppoltura di un Card le pollaccho... [f. 52] Nelli detti altari quando li guasto vi trovo molte reliquie poi S.S. Ill mo fece edificare di novo altri altari con quadri stupendi ... Avanti facesse accomodare li quadri nelli altari et altre cose prima S.S. Ill mo le faceva portare in parlatorio accio le Madre le vedessero sapendo che ci era di gran consolatione.

7) 1603 Final Payment for unspecified paintings in Santa Cecilia in Trastevere (Martinelli, 1959, p. 96, n. 30. A final payment of 150 "scudi" for three unspecified paintings made for Santa Cecilia was disbursed in mid-December 1603.

8) 1604 Claim for payment for frescoes painted for Onofrio Santa Croce. (Bertolotti, 1885, pp. 145-47) Complete transcription necessitated by the errors and omissions in Bertolotti's text.

a) 2 giugno 1604

Per Vincenzo Battaglini indoratore fui avvisato di venir ad esser esaminato ad invito di G. Baglione. Io sono da 17 anni circa in Roma e vivo della mia professione di pittore. Sto da me solo. Conosco da 14 anni il Baglione avendo lavorator insieme in casa sua ed in quella di Onofrio Santa Croce ed altrove. In case di Onofrio Santa Croce abbiamo lavorator in due stantie lo sdegno che vinse amore ed in altra stantia il furore [Aurore] dove sono anco i corniccioni di stucco e di la alle medesime stantie vi dipinse un fresco con grottesche, fioroni, ermi.

Io fui pagato da lui ma non so se egli fu pagato. So che aveva pure lavorator in chiesa e lo vide a lavorare la loggia del Palazzo di detto sig. Onofrio.

b) 8 giugno 1604

Don Claudio di Bernardi Sacerdote: ----Io sono stato mastro di casa di Paolo Santa Croce prima che ammazasse sua madre so che il Baglione dipinse due stantie abbasso e lo vide dipingere. Ha servito per 12 anni la famiglia. Non so se fu pagato.

c) Beatissimo Padre

Giovanni Baglioni pittore humilissimo oratore di V. Beatitudine le fa intendere come deve avere dal quondam Paolo Santa Croce et Honofrio suo fratello scudi 270 in circa per resto di più et diversi quadri d'altari et altre pitture. Et ancorchè detto Honofrio habbia promesso all'oratore pagar tanto la sua parte quanto quella di Paolo suo fratello, nientedimeno mai ha potuto usirne a fine. Però ricorre a V. Santita humilmente supplicandola se voglia degnare ordinar a Monsignore Governatore di Roma che lo faci pagare. Che il tutto riceverà della molta bontà di V. Beatitudine a gratia singularissima. Quam Deus etc.

d) A di 25 di novembre 1604

Noi infrascritti periti eletti dall'infrascritte parte cioè Christofano Roncalli detto Pomarancio et Anibale caraciolo l'uno eletto per parte de Mastro Gio. Baglione, havendo visto le pitture fatte nel palazzo dal q. signor Honofrio Santa Croce fatte dal sopradetto Mastro Gio. Baglione in una camera nel quale sono diverse figure...puttini et grottesche fatte con diligenza et nelli... sfondati vi è dipinto il sdegno...grandi quanto il naturale et nell'altro sfondato vi è dipinto l'amore che lancia una bracciata d'arme similmente grande di naturale, et più et havendo ben considerato la fatiga tempo et diligentia usata in far dette pitture pre scarico della nostra coscienza giudichiamo et dichiariamo il prescio valere scudi 40 et la pittura dello sdegno che vince amore scudi 20 et l'altra pittura del furore scudi 20 che in tutto fatto la presente da noi sottocritta et sigillata con li nostri sigilli questo di et anno sopradetti.

Io Christofano Roncalli affermo quanto di sopra
Io Annibale Carracci afferme quanto di sopra.

e) f. 47: Conto del Pitture fate per il q. Honofrio S.t. aroma et residuo del Horiollo

Pitture fatte da me Giovanni Baglione nel Palzo del q. Sig re Honofrio

Un fregio intorno auna stanza dela partamento nuovo in possa schudi 40
-----40

Un sfondato soto in nuna volta nel isteso a partamento da basso vi e dipinto il sdegno che vince amore in possa schudi 20 -----20

Un Altro sfondato vicino a quello che vi e dipinto il Aurore in possa schudi 20 -----20

devo avere di resto di saldo passo del e piture fate Aloriolo sesanta
schudi sichome si pol vedere nel saldo che sta nelle scitture del Sig
re-----60

Denari Auti a bon conto 71.40

Ho Auto a Conto del saldo dell horiollo 4 rubia di grano a dieci
schudi il rubio sono schudi quaranta-----40-----40

Ho auto a bon chonto schudi di 20 -----20
fregio che sono in tutte schudi-----60
sesanta

Resto Davere schudi ottan
ta dal Sig re Honofrio-----80

Conto (Remainder almost indecipherable)

Una Tavola di Altare da Sa.....Giuseppe nuziato da Iangelo alta
quatordici palmi incirca in posa scudi cento....sono....

Un ritratto del Persona del q. Paulo St. in possa schudi dieci
sono...

Denari Auto A bon conto

Ho auto primo dal desso S. achonto deli due quadri cio e da Silvestro e
san martino in dui pitture schudi trenta sono

Ho auto A bon chonto dal detto s. Paulo schudi cinquanta a conto
della tavola di S to Giuseppe sono -----50

Resto daverre da... Paulo schudi ottanta----80

9) 1604-07 Payment for The Raising of Tabitha, St. Peter's (Abromson, op. cit., pp. 350-52, #114-122). On 10 October 1604, Baglione signed the contract to execute the painting according to the preparatory drawings that had been approved by Cardinal Baronio and Cardinal Sannesio. Payments for nearly one thousand "scudi" were made from that date until 8 February 1607 when the painting was cited as an "Icona fatta".

10) 1606 Estimate of Painting made by Ranucci Semprevivo and Pasquale Cati in the in the Vatican Palace by Baglione and Girolamo Massei (Bertolotti, 1884, p. 158).

11) 1607 Act of Concession of Litta Chapel, Santa Maria degli Angeli Archivio di Stato di Roma, Congregazioni Religiosi Maschili, Certosini in S. Maria degli Angeli, B. 1283/2, f. 205,

Die Septembris 1607. Concescio Cappelle pro Illustri domino Alexandro Litta nobili Mediolanensi nepote et herede bonae memoria Illustriss mi et Revm Dom Alexandri Litta Causarium Sacri palatii Apostolici

auditorij. Cum sit quod Illustrij et Revmij Dmij Alexander Litta Mediolanesii bo: me: dum vixit Causarum sacri Palatii Apostolici Auditor die 4 a Augusti anni 1606 suum ultimum considerit testamentum, illisque mihi notario clausum et segellatum consignaverit, et die 30 Septembrij tunc immediate Sequentij cadem Rmo Alexandro vita funeto, testamento predictum fuerit apertum et publicatum, in quo quidem testamento idem Revmij. D. Alexander: Inter cetera reliquerit, quod per ejus heredem in Ecclesia Beatae Maria Angelorum, ubi corpus ipsius testatorij sepeleretur fieri deberet una Cappella dedicata S. Jacintho et Beatae Maria, et in ea assent etiam depicti Sus Raymundus, S. Franciscus et S. Cecilia, prout latius contineri dicitur in eodem testamento ad quod. etq.

12) 1607 Letter Requesting Balance of Payment for The Resurrection (1601-02) from Jesuit Archive, Informationum, Lib. 205, f. 7. (Pecchiai, 1952, p. 101). Baglione wrote to Padre Lorenzo de Paulis to request assistance in obtaining the balance of payment for the Resurrection. The painting had been valued at 1000 "scudi", of which he had received only two hundred at this date.

13) 1608 Payment for the Judith with the Head of Holofernes, Borghese Gallery (Della Pergola, II, 1955, Document 46, p. 215). Baglione was paid 100 "scudi" for the painting on 7 April 1608.

14) 1608 Letters from Giacomo Torrigiani to Pope Paul V Relative to Baglione's Activity as "Principe" of the Academy (Bertolotti, 1885, pp. 143-48).

Iacomo Torrigiani, who had been second rector of the Academy of St. Luke, wrote two letters to Pope Paul V to complain about Baglione's action in having him removed from office. According to Torrigiani, Baglione's case against him was based on lies and calumnies. Though the testimony of two or three other painters supported the removal, Torrigiani requested the intervention of an ecclesiastical authority, but the "signatura di giustizia" supported the action. Torrigiani appealed to the Pope for a reversal of the decision.

15) 1608 Payment for The Body of Christ Prepared for Burial, Pio Monte della Misericordia, Naples (Causa, 1970, p. 31). Baglione was paid 120 "scudi" for the painting in Rome by Father Agostino Caracciola.

16) 1609 Payment for The Visitation, The Birth of Christ, The Adoration of the Magi, Santa Maria di Loreto, Spoleto. (Arte in Valnerina e nello Spoletino, 1983, p. 116). Baglione was paid three hundred "scudi" by S.r Giuseppe Campelli for the paintings which had been sent from Rome.

17) 1610-12 Payment for the frescoes in the Cappella Paolina, Santa Maria Maggiore (Corbo, 1967, pp. 301-13). The payments extended from 3 September 1610 until 31 August 1612. The total sum disbursed to Baglione was 3086 "scudi".

18) 1614 Payment for fresco of Armida and Rinaldo, Palazzo Pallavicini-Rospigliosi (formerly Borghese) (Guglielmi, 1954, p. 318 and p. 326, n. 36). Baglione received the final payment of 40 "scudi" on 15 February 1614.

19) 1618 Charge Made by Baglione Against his Page for Theft of Drawings (Bertolotti, 1885, pp. 147-48.)

In April 1618 Baglione made a charge against his page, Rosati, for theft "notando che da due anni avendolo in detta qualita più colte si era accorto delle mancanza di anello d'oro e di molti disegni 'che sono mi fatiche.'" Rosati was imprisoned but escaped. He later confessed in the presence of Mao Salini, resident of the Via Paolina, to having given the drawings to a painter, Giuseppe, who had a book store in Parione.

20) 1618/1620 Documents Relative to Restoration of Ss. Luca e Martina Initiated by Baglione and Vote on the Removal of St. John the Evangelist Revives a Dead Man from the Church (Noehles, 1970, p. 334, docs. 7, 8)

a) During a general assembly of the Congregation on 21 September 1618 Baglione proposed that funds be raised for the restoration of Ss. Luca e Martina by means of a tax which would oblige each member to pay a certain sum monthly for three years.

b) Paul Brill, Principe of the Academy in 1620, presided over a decision as to whether the painting of St. John the Evangelist Revives a Dead Man, that Baglione had donated to Santa Luca e Martina in 1618, should be removed during the rebuilding of the church. It was decided that the removal was necessary. Reference is made to the "Altare di Sign. Cav. r Baglione" in another document from 16 November 1634.

21) 1624 Contract for Saint Sebastian Cured by Angels, Santa Maria dell'Horto, 7 April, 1624, Archivio di Stato di Roma, Trenta Notai Capitolini, Ufficio 5, Constantinus Carolus, 1624, Vol. 101, f. 619v

Ill. D. Eques Ioannes filius bo:me: Thome Baglione Rom. Pictus mihi notaio a q. 7 aprile di dipingere un S. Bastiano et doi Santi cioe un S. Ant o di Paulo et Un S. Bonavent ra dalli fianche della Cappella cioe Uno a man dritta, et l'altro a man manca, dipingere dico d i Santi in tela a o glio con ogni dilig a che corrisponda al Valore et fama di d o Sig re Cav e et il tutto a per proprie spese d'esse Sig Cav re commette darla finita de qui, e p. tutta la festa del Corpus dm i pross. che ver libere p. alacriter con questo patto tra dette parti convenuto che il d o S. Bastiano sia d'Altezza de quattordici palmi incirca et di larghezza a proporzione. Et questo p. prezzo di scudi cento venti di m ta di giule diece per questo da pagarsi si come d o S r Luciano permette pagare a d o Sig Cav. predetto di mano p. mano che vera q lla facendo in bona m ta...

22) 1625 Theft of Paintings from Baglione's "vigna" near San Giovanni in Fonte on the 24th of March (Bertolotti, 1885, p. 148)

Baglione testified that his villa near San Giovanni in Fonte had been broken into on the previous day. Ten paintings were stolen, among them, two paintings of Venus, one looking into a mirror with a satyr behind her; the another with the Graces, a painting of Armida and two Amazons, a Pallas Athena, St. Catherine and a painting of Christ.

23) 1628 Restoration of The Raising of Tabitha, Saint Peter's (Pollak, II, 1931, pp. 571-573). Pollak publishes the documents for the cost of the materials to restore the painting which had been completed in 1606.

24) 1628-31 Documents Relative to the Commission and Payment for Materials for The Washing of the Feet, St. Peter's (Pollack, II, pp. 299-300). The painting was commissioned in November 1628; final payment was made in February 1631.

25) 1630 Deliberation Regarding Decoration of Chapel Baglione Had Been Commissioned to Paint in San Luigi dei Francesi 5 June 1630 (Thullier, 1981, pp. 674-75.)

The chapel decoration was to be completed according to the terms of the will made by Edmund Dagny. Baglione was selected by the Congregation to decorate the entire chapel. Due to a serious ocular problem, he was only able to complete the fresco of The Adoration of the Magi and The Presentation in a small compartment above. Lanfranco, Poussin and Charles Mellin competed for the commission to replace Baglione. Acting as judges for the Congregation, the Cavalier d'Arpino and Domenichino selected Mellin.

26) 1630 Document Relative to the Decoration of the Cappella dei Ss. Giacomo, Bartolomeo e Vittoria in Santa Maria dell'Horto (Archivio di Stato di Roma, Trenta Notai Capitolini, 1632, Constantino, Ufficio 5, f. 256v "Testamento del Sr Bartolomeo furgotto da Prato Diocese di Novara habitante in Rome nel Rione di Trevi")

Item che li 300 scudi da me spesi, e pagati al sig Cav. Baglioni per stucchi, e pitture, come per gl'atti del Constantino Noio Caplino dell'anno 1632 nella restaurat ne della soprad a Cappella di S ta Vittoria per la Sig ra Vittoria mia Consorte Cariss a alli qual it e essa obbligato, come p. li. med i atti del Constantino dell'anno 1630 ordine, voglio, e commando che alla morte sua delli suoi beni si debbano far buoni a beneficio delli miei Heredi, Instituti, e Sostituti e poi voglio sia seppelito nella Cappella di Santa Vittoria eretta in quella Chiesa da me et dalla Sig ra Vittoria mia Consorte Cariss a nella sepoltura in essa di Casa Furgotti.

27) 1635 Residence on Via Rasella in 1635 (Spear, I, 1982, p. 20 and n. 85)

Baglione is cited as residing opposite Domenichino on the Via Rasella.

28) 1640 Contract for the Decoration of the Pecci Chapel in Santa Maria dell'Orto (Archivio di S. Maria dell'Orto, Causa Pecci Baglione, unpaginated. My thanks to Caterina Bon for providing me with a microfilm of this document.)

Il S r Ambrogio Pecci havendo ottenuta dalla Venerabile Compagnia a di S. Maria dell'Horto riservato il beneplacito aptico una Cappella sotto invocazione di S. Belardo ad esso d'ornarla le pitture et altri ornamenti volendo quanto p a adempire il suo obbligo il trattatone con l'Ill. S r Cav. Giovanni Baglione Pittore Romano se deliberato dare dett'impresa d'adornare detta Cappella de pitture e stucchi per li prezzi e capitale infri.

Item s'obbliga detto Signor Ambrosio di pagare al sopraccitato Signor Cavaliere per tutta la sudetta opera con sue pitture a oglio con a fresco muri; e stucchi, et oro ^ 400. moneta da farsi in 4 paghe, cio'è la prima al punte ad arbitrario di esso S. Cavaliere; la seconda a Natale prossimo, la terza a Pasqua di Resurrettione 1641. l'altra simila che sarra l'opera et all'incontro detto S. Cavaliere s'obbliga dare finita tutta la sudetta opera per tutto Maggio prossimo futuro 1641 e per osservanza di cio' hanno sotto scritta la punte di loro proprie mano questo di 29 xbre 1640.

Io Giovanni Baglione affirma e mi obbligo questo di sopra
Io Ambrogio Pecci mi obbligo e affermo questo di sopra

Copia Instrumentorum factus pro parte, ed ad Instantiam Ill mi S. Equitis Ioannis Balleonis Contra S r Ambrosium Peccius
[excerpt]

Qualmente la verità fu et e che Ambrosio Pecci un giorno nella Chiesa della Santissima Madonna del Horto dentro la sua Cappella disse a Maestro Gio: Maria ferrari stuccatore quale stava scompartendo li ceani [sp?] di detta Cappella Conforme il disegno havuto dal Signor Cavaliere Gio: Baglione questo fare li lavori de stucco, che non mettesse in opera questo disegno, ma che metteste in opera il disegno che haveva fatto esso Stuccatore d'ordine detto Ambrosio perche era piu bella, e maggiore di quello havuto dal detto Signor Cavaliere, il quale disegno esso Ambrosio l'haveva fatto fare dal Signor Gio: Berzago suo architetto, et perche l'haveva dato detto Signor Cavaliere per fare conforme a esso disegno detta Cappella.

29) 1643 Last Will and Testament of Giovanni Baglione

Archivio di Stato, Rome, Trenta Notai Capitolini, Ufficio 10,
Ascanius Barberinus, 14 Julij 1643

Equus Joannes Baglionij

f. 346r

Nel nome della S ma Trinita Padre figliolo e Sp to Santo e della
Gloriosa Sempre Vergine Maria di S. Giovanni Evangelista mio
particolare Avvocato, e del mio angelo custode e li Angeli di
tutta la Corte del Cielo e del Patriarca S. Giuseppe

Io Giovanni Baglioni Romano in degno Caval.ro di Giesu Christo,
figliolo del q Tommaso baglioni e di Tomassa Grampio Romana

Idem laso per ragione di legati alla Corporazione del San mo
Salvatore nella Minerba un quadro d'una madonna sopra la luna con
angeli in piedi alta palmi 7. e larga 5. con sua Cornici nera in
dorata pregando quelli Sig ri Confrati a prepara p. me a preso il
San mo Salvatore

Idem laso per ragione di legato alla Compagnia di San Giuseppe di
tera santa posta nella rotonda detta de Virtuosi duoi quadri di
5. palmi in circa con suo Cornici nero in dorate in uno vi e la
nativita di nostro Sig re con molti Angeli e San Giuseppe nel
Atto vi e il transito del Glorioso patriarca S. Giuseppe con
molte figure con nos re Sig re che lo consola accio li tengono
nel loro oratorio e pregino il S. Dio per me.

Idem laso a francesco Ragusa pitore dui quadri di misura da
imperatori a mano a sua gusto e con pezzi di disegni di mia mano

Idem laso alla sudetta Sig ra Cleria dui quadri di pinti a suo
gusto di misura da imperatore in giu con le sue cornice c. tutti
li agnus dei Crucifisso in rame e di legno

f.348r

Idem laso per raggione di legato alla sudeta S ra Cleria mia
moglie oltro li sei quadri sopra nominati il crucifiso in rame
con s o francesco la madona piccola nella lavagna altri dui quadri
di 3. palmi a sua eletione [chianco] il mio ritratto il quale
loga di mentre che vivo e dopo la lasa alla sachrestia di S a
Cosimo e damiano...

In tutti, e singloli miei stabili, mobili et altra qual si voglia
cosa a me... e creio miei universale Heredi Gio Tomasso Baglione
mio figliolo.

30) 1643 Act of Death, 30 December 1643 Parish of San Lorenzo in
Lucina (Bon, 1979, p. 88)

Adì 30 di Decembre 1643

Il Sig.r Giovanni Cavalier Baglioni Rom.o Pictore di eta di 77 ion c.a Marito dell Sig. a Cleria Morica Mori nella Comm.a della S.ta Madre Chiesa nella Casa dove habbitava alla strada delli Condotti il Cui Corpo fu sep. to nella Chiesa di S. Cosma e Damiano doppo di esser Confess.to dal Padre fran.co Valletta adi 29 d.to e nel D. istesso Giovan riceve il S. Viatico e l'oglio S.to e la racomand.ne del Anima dal Padre Bened.o farina curato.

31) 1644 Inventory of Baglione's Residence on Via Rasella ,
Archivio di Stato di Roma, Trenta Notai Capitolini, Ascanius
Barberinus, Ufficio 10, Volume 182, gennaio 1644

The detailed inventory of thirty five pages lists all of the movable objects of value in Baglione's possession at the time of death. Several hundred painting, the majority of religious subject matter, are listed with the measurements of each, but without the identification of the author.

32) 1644 Donation Made to Academy of St. Luke Following Death of Baglione 26 June 1644 (Archivio dell'Accademia di San Luca, Vol. 167, f. 37)

Al 26 Giugno ^ diedi hauti dal S r. Gio. Tommaso Baglione fig lo et erede del q. Cavalier Gio. Baglione sono p. il legato fatto alla Accademia di san Luca ed peso d'uno Aniversario p una volta tanto conforme al suo ultimo testamento rogato p. gli atti del Barberino Not o Cap o aperto il di 29 xmbre 1644 al quale si abbia relatione et in fede o fatto la ricevuta al d o S r. Tomasso.

Literary Sources

Mancini, I, p. 110

a) "Vi è la quarta schuola, e più tosto diremo ordine e grado che schuola, et è di quei pittori, quali o vivono o poco prima son morti, quali, essendo tutti di valore nella professione, hanno operato con un modo proprio e particolar senza andar per le pedate d'alcuno.

Il quarto è il cavalier Baglioni, il quale d'assai buon gusto e si son visti alcuni ritratti molto boni."

b) Mancini, I , p. 246

"Del Cavalier Baglioni.

Il cavalier Baglioni, nato in Roma, originario di Fiorenza, andò seguitando per un pezzo la maniera del cavalier Giuseppe, come si vede nella tribuna della Madonna dell'Orto; poi parve che s'applicasse a quella del Caravaggio, et in ultimo s'è messo in una maniera propria come si vede nell'altar di S. Pietro, et in S. Maria Maggiore nel vestibolo della cappella et altro ivi da lui condotto.

Vive in età sopra 50 anni, va operando e con commodo. Fu honorato del Cavaleraggio di Christo da Clemente VIII con l'occasione della sodisfattion data a Sua Santità nell'altar di S. Pietro. E di costumi civili et, essendo assai commodo, sta nell'honorato e nel grado di qualificato et honorato huomo."

Nicolo Pio, Le Vite di Pittori Scultori et Architetti (1724), edited by Catherine Enggass and Robert Enggass, Rome, 1977, pp. 77-78.

"CAVALIERE GIOVANNI BAGLIONI pittore e scrittore romano, nacque l'anno 1571. Veduto dalla madre la sua inclinazione alla pittura di II anni, accomodolo per i primi principij del disegno con Francesco Morelli, pittore fiorentino, dal quale partitosi doppo due anni, da se medesimo attendeva a studiare le belle cose di questa città et in breve divenne atto ad'impiegare a suoi studij, nelli eszercitij della professione, e da Cesare Nebbia, e Giovanni Stradano, pittori del pontefice Sisto V, fu posto a lavorare con suoi colori nella libreria in Vaticano e delle sue opere ivi fatte in età di 15 anni con vaghezza e franchezza, il papa n'ebbe assai compiacimento. Dipinse poi nella Scala Santa, e nel Palazzo di San Giovanni Laterano, ma per sua indisposizione gli convenne per due anni stare in Napoli, poi ritornato a Roma, nel tempo di Clemente VIII, dipinse in Santa Pudenziana la cappelletta a fresco di S. Pietro; tre cappelle nella chiesa della Madonna dell'Orto; in San Nicola in Carcere; nella basilica di San Giovanni nell'anno santo 1600. Nella chiesa di Santa Cecilia; in Santa Marta; nella Madonna degl'Angieli alle Terme; alle Monache della Purificazione et altre chiese, in diversi palazzi, e per molti signori e particolarmente nel palazzo Mazzarino a Monte Cavallo. Andato poscia a Mantova lavorò per quell'altezza. Ritornato a Roma lavorò in San Pietro alla cappella Gregoriana l'istoria a fresco della lavanda de'piedi che Nostro Signore fece agl'Apostoli, sopra una porta a man' dritta dell'altare della Madonna come anche vi dipinse il quadro dell'altare dedicato a S. Pietro con l'istoria della Resurezione di Tabida. E per le sue belle fatiche fu fatto cavaliere dell'abito di Cristo dal pontefice Paolo V, che ordinò al cardinale Sfondrati, detto di Santa Cecilia, che gli dasse l'habito con una bella collana d'oro di regalo. In Santi Cosma e Damiano in Campo Vacino vi fabbricò a sue spese una cappella per la sua casa e vi collocò un suo quadro rappresentante S. Giovanni Evangelista che resuscita un morto, con molte figure. Fu huomo onorato, ha tenuto il decoro del suo grado e della professione che l'ha sempre difesa e le sue pitture sono stimate, tanto per l'invenzioni e disposizioni, come per la facilità dell'operare e per il colorito. E per il grand'amore e genio particolare che sempre ha havuto alla pittura, diede alla luce et alle stampe un tomo delle vite de'pittori romani con gran faticha, erudizione, e diligenza descritte. In fine doppo tante et onorate operazioni nell'anno 1644 andiede l'anima a riposare in cielo et il corpo nella sua cappella nella detta chiesa di Santi Cosma e Damiano in Campo Vaccino, vicino all'Accademia di San Luca dove era stato più volte prencipe e per le sue qualità fu compianto da'tutti gli accademici, virtuosi, e dilettranti. Il di lui ritratto è stato fatto e delineato da Filippo Minei."

The following poems appear in Marino's La Galeria, Ancona, 1620

Favole

Zefiro, e Clori (p. 15)
Del Cavalier Giovanni Baglioni

BAGLION, Zefro, e Clori
De' prati, e de' giardin fecondi Dei,
De' lidi Canopei
Vezzosi habitatori
Dipingesti sì vivi
Che con scherzi lascivi
Già giù spirano aurette, e fiocan fiori,
E i fiori son sì ben fatti
Che si senton gli odori ancor dipinti

Filomena (p. 19)
Del Cavalier Giovanni Baglioni

ECCO, viva, e spirante
Filomena la bella
Che'n preda al fiero suo Barbaro amante
Si lagna, e duoldi si sua maligna stella,
Il BAGLION la ritrasse,
Vorresti, che parlasse;
Come vuoi, che le note ella distingua,
Se gli fù dal crudel suelta la lingua?

Aurora, che fugge da Titone (p. 27)
Del Cavalier Giovanni Baglioni

DAL freddo sen del suo canuto amante
Spunto sì bella fuora
Per la purpurea porta di Levante
Del mio BAGLION l'Aurora
Che già delusi da gli albor novelli
La salutàn gli augelli
Ma canto d'altri augei non le conviene
Che de' Cigne di Pindo, e d'Hippocrene

Angelica (p. 44)
Del Cavalier Giovanni Baglioni

VIRTU' dela tua mano
Hà trà noi suscita
BAGLION, la bella ingrata
Nè certo era a formar volto sì bella
Huope d'altro pennello.
L'ammira Apollo e non sà dir qual sia
Di maggiore leggiadra,
In carne, in carte, in tela ò vera ò finta,

Viva, scritta ò dipinta.

Nel medesimo soggetto
SE'L senno ancora ne fura
Del vecchio Galafron la bella figlia
Non è gran meraviglia
Viè più che da Natura
Hebbe, BAGLION, da te la sua figura,
Onde si vince il ver, non che somiglianza,
Che ben deve poter di vita priva
Quel che potè già viva.

Ecce Homo (see infra p. 76)

Appendix V

Lost Works

Listed by title, location, source

- 1) Female Nude in an Octagonal Frame - Rome, Rufinelli Collection - Lewine, pp. 306-314.
- 2) St. Silvester Pope and St. Martin Bishop - Rome, San Martino ai' Monti - Baglione, p. 402.
- 3) Resurrection of Christ - Rome, Gesù - Baglione, p. 402.
- 4) Scenes from the life of St. Dominick - Rome, Chiesa di San Domenico - Baglione, p. 404.
- 5) St. Andrew / St. Paul - Rome, Sacristy, Santa Cecilia in Trastevere - (ASR, CRF, Sta. Cecilia in Trastevere, Libro 4190, Busta 82, # 1056, 1057).
- 6) Mary Immaculate - Rome, Santa Maria sopra Minerva - Cited in Last Will and Testament.
- 7) Self Portrait - Rome, Santi Cosmo e Damiano - Cited in Last Will and Testament.
- 8) Christ on the Cross with St. Francis - unknown - Cited in Last Will and Testament.
- 9) St. Jerome and St. Joseph in the Company of Angels - Rome, Santa Maria in Via - Titi, 1963, p. 352.
- 10) The Allegory of the Arts - Rome, Tronsarelli Collection - Baglione, p. 405.
- 11) Hercules at the Crossroads - Rome, Tronsarelli Collection - Baglione, p. 405.
- 12) Adam and Eve - Rome, Borghese Collection - Guglielmi, 1954, p. 326, n. 51.
- 13) The Annunciation - Rome, Giustiniani Collection - Isarlo, p. 76.
- 14) The Holy Family with the Holy Spirit and God the Father - Rome, Giustiniani Collection - Salerno, 1960, 2, p. 97.
- 15) Lot and His Daughters - Rome, Agenti Collection - Ghezzi manuscript, Rome, Museo di Roma, f. 290.
- 16) The Nativity of Christ - Rome, Scaglia Collection - Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Chigi R.II 56, f. 181v.

- 17) The Nativity of Christ - Rome, Sannesio Collection - Spezzaferro, 1975 p. 58, n. 26 ("in tela p. mi tre e un terzo e larghezza p. mi quattro con cornice nera filettata d'oro")
- 18) The Madonna and Child with St. Joseph and Other Figures - Rome, Sannesio Collection - Spezzaferro, as above ("in tela di p. mi cinque e quattro con cornice nera").
- 19) Galatea with the Cyclops - Rome, Peretti-Montalto Collection - D'Onofrio, p. 323.
- 20) A Negro and Two Dogs - Rome, Chigi Collection - Isarlo, p. 76.
- 21) Love Chastized - Rome, Chigi Collection - Isarlo, p. 76.
- 22) The Genies of Painting - Rome, Chigi Collection - Isarlo, p. 76.
- 23) The Wedding Feast at Cana - Rome, Chigi Collection - Isarlo, p. 76.
- 24) The Nativity of Christ - Rome, Pontificia Accademia dei Virtuosi al Pantheon, Cited in Last Will and Testament.
- 25) The Death of St. Joseph - Rome, Pontificia Accademia dei Virtuosi al Pantheon - Cited in Last Will and Testament.
- 26) St. Jerome and St. Joseph in the Company of Angels - Rome, Santa Maria in Via - Titi, 1963, p. 352.
- 27) Venus with Satyr - Rome, Baglione Collection - Bertolotti, 1885, p. 148.
- 28) Venus with the Three Graces - Rome, Baglione Collection - Bertolotti, 1985, p. 148.
- 29) Armida and Two Amazons - Rome, Baglione Collection - Bertolotti, 1885, p. 148.
- 30) Pallas Athena - Rome, Baglione Collection - Bertolotti, 1885, p. 148.
- 31) St. Catherine - Rome, Baglione Collection - Bertolotti, 1885, p. 148.
- 32) Christ - Rome, Baglione Collection - Bertolotti, 1885, p. 148.
- 33) Virtue - Rome, Chamber above Ss. Luca e Martina, Noehles, p. 336 doc. 17.
- 34) St. Clare in Adoration of the Sacrament - Perugia, Duomo - Siepi, pp. 98-99.
- 35) St. Barbara in the Tower, Perugia, Duomo - Siepi, pp. 98-99.
- 36) Christ at the Column - Perugia, Meniconi Collection - Campori, p. 170.
- 37) Judith and Holofernes - Mantua, Gonzaga Collection - Luzio p. 103, # 225.

- 38) Mary Magdalen and Martha - Mantua, Gonzaga Collection - Luzio, p. 103 # 223.
- 39) Three Heads of Bearded Old Men - Mantua, Gonzaga Collection - Luzio, p. 131, # 620.
- 40) Diana / Actaeon (ovals) - Mantua, Gonzaga Collection - Luzio, as above, p. 136, # 738.
- 41) Portraits of Famous Women - Mantua, Gonzaga Collection - D'Arco, II, p. 173 and p. 175 n. 4.
- 42) St. Peter / St. Peter and St. Paul - Foligno, Gregori Collection - Ghezzi manuscript, Rome, Museo di Roma, f. 286 ("alto palmi 3, largo p mi 2 once i").
- 43) Jacob - Palazzo Gavotti, Savona - Isarlo, p. 76
- 44) St. Sebastian - Collection of Henriette d'Angleterre, Paris - Isarlo, p. 74.
- 45) Apostle (Signed and dated 1626) - Collection Maréchal Soult, Paris - Isarlo, p. 74; Pérez-Sánchez (p. 226) refers to an "Apostle" from the same collection, "Fue del mareschal Soult y procedia, come el grueso de sus colecciones, de los saques en Espana. Figuró con el número 111 en el catálogo de su venta (1852). Estaba firmado: "eques Johannes Baglionus Romanus F. 1624" y fu venduta a Turfutt por 260 francos (Mireur, I, pag. 92)."
- 46) The Sacrifice of Noah - Pérez-Sánchez, p. 225, "'Una pintura de Noé haziendo un sacrificio, del baillon (sic), con molto dorado y labrada,' (Inv. Monterrey de 1653)".
- 47) Two Portraits of Young Women - Pérez-Sánchez, p. 225, "(0,46 x 0,34) El Escorial. Casita del Principe. Las cataloga Poeró con los números 714 y 738. Hoy no son visibles, pero como desde entonces no se ha perido ninguna pieza de los reales palacios, se conservaran e los almacenes. Hay constancia de retratos de pequeno tamaño de Baglione."
- 48) The Conversion of the Magdalen - Pérez-Sánchez, p. 226, "(0,97 x 0,74) De la coleccion de don Pedro de Madrazo (núm. 10): 'Jesús rodeaso de sus discipulos a la entrada del Templo, predica el Evangelio a la muchedumbre, entre la cual esta Magdalena en premier termino y, movido por la divina palabra, se despoja de sus galas.' Estaba firmado".

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