

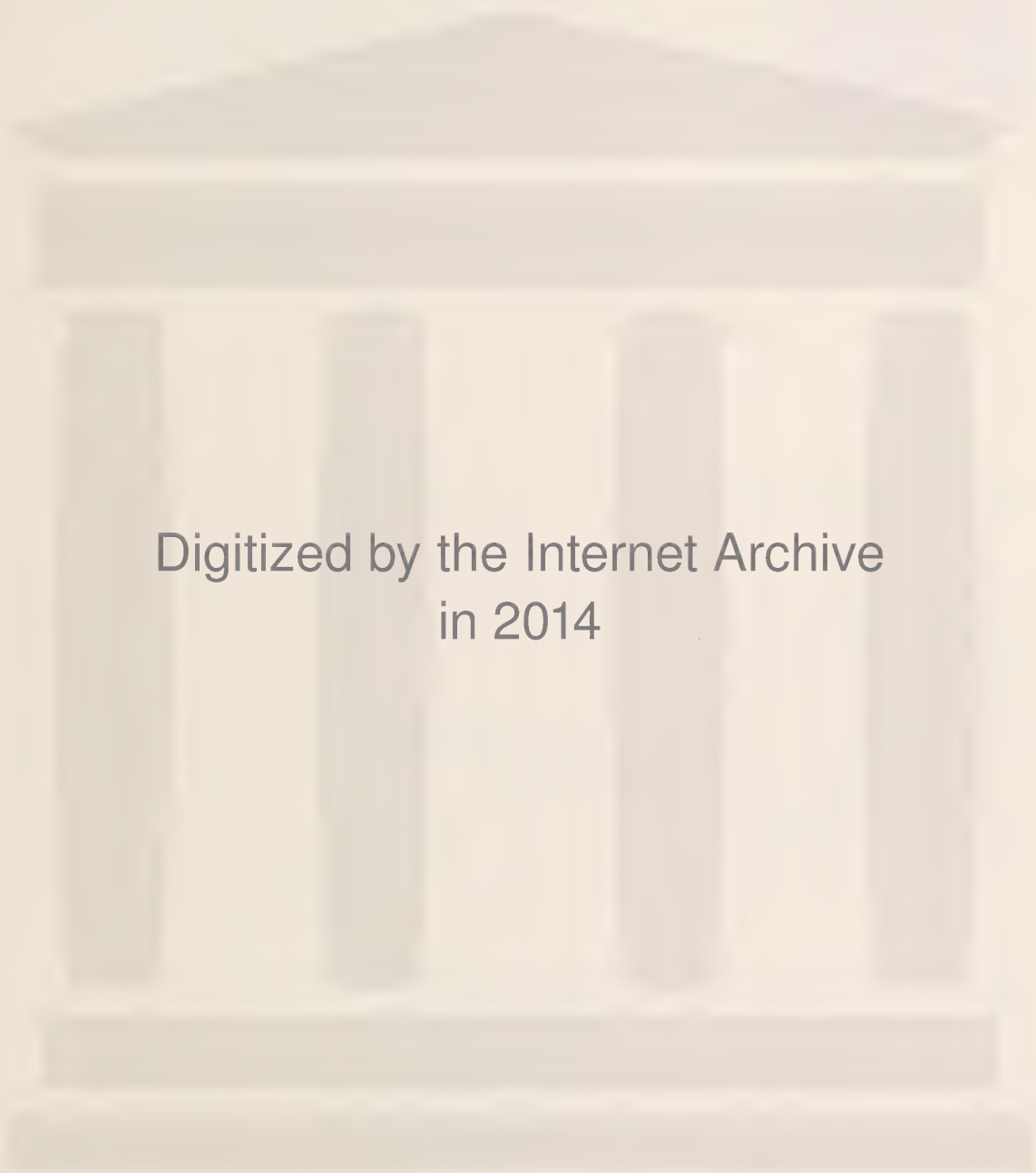
Pietro Testa

1612-1650
*Prints
and Drawings*





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Pietro Testa 1612-1650

*This exhibition and catalogue have been supported by grants
from the National Endowment for the Arts
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together with contributions from the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs,
Montedison USA, Inc., and the Stiftung Ratjen, Vaduz.
An indemnity has been granted
by the Federal Council on the Arts and the Humanities.*

*The catalogue is published with the generous assistance of the Getty Grant Program.
It was also supported by an endowment fund for scholarly publications
established by grants from CIGNA Foundation
and the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation at the Philadelphia Museum of Art,
and by contributions from Christie, Manson & Woods International Inc.
and the Henfield Foundation.*



Pietro Testa

1612–1650 · *Prints and Drawings*

ELIZABETH CROPPER

With essays by

CHARLES DEMPSEY

FRANCESCO SOLINAS & ANNA NICOLÒ

FRANCESCA CONSAGRA

Philadelphia Museum of Art

Published on the occasion of an exhibition
organized by the Philadelphia Museum of Art
in association with the Harvard University Art Museums

Shown at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, November 5–December 31, 1988,
and the Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, Cambridge, January 21–March 19, 1989

Cover: *Study for a Pendentive*, cat. no. 93
Half-title: *Self-Portrait* (detail), cat. no. 106
Frontispiece: *Echo and Narcissus*, cat. no. 19

Designed by Greer Allen
Edited by Sherry Babbitt
Composition by Meriden-Stinehour Press, Lunenburg, Vermont
Printed and bound in Italy by Stamperia Valdonega, Verona

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Cropper, Elizabeth

*Pietro Testa, 1612–1650 : prints and drawings / Elizabeth Cropper
with essays by Charles Dempsey . . . [et al.].*

p. cm.

"Shown at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, November 5–December 31,
1988, and the Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University Art
Museums, January 21–March 19, 1989"—T.p. verso.

Bibliography: p.

ISBN 0-87633-077-4 (pbk.) : ISBN 0-8122-7960-3
(University of Pa. Press : hard) :

I. Testa, Pietro, 1612–1650—Exhibitions. I. Dempsey, Charles.
II. Philadelphia Museum of Art. III. Arthur M. Sackler Museum.
IV. Title.

N6923.T47A4 1988
760'.092'4—dc19

88-28861

CIP

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TESTA-P
C948
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Lenders to the Exhibition

Collection A. B., Rome

Akademie der bildenden Künste, Vienna

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Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

Trustees of the British Museum, London

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Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, Graphische Sammlung

Teylers Museum, Haarlem

and four private collections

Foreword

The art of Pietro Testa needed little introduction to contemporary artists, connoisseurs, and collectors in seventeenth-century Rome, to whom his striking and ultimately tragic figure was well known. In the eighteenth century, his complex imagery and the virtuosity and variety of his graphic technique were admired by artists as diverse themselves as Henry Fuseli and Antoine Watteau. How surprising, therefore, and how satisfying to have the opportunity to present the first exhibition of his work in the United States, preceded in this century only by a small exhibition in 1977 at the Calcografia Nazionale in Rome. The hectic density of Testa's large prints, crowded with elegant figures and laden with allegory, accords well with a late-twentieth-century taste for elaborate, often fateful narrative and arcane, idiosyncratic references, both in literature and the visual arts. It is to be hoped that the restless shade of this extraordinary artist will find repose in the interest and admiration of a new and wider public, to whom the present exhibition and catalogue are addressed.

First proposed over ten years ago by Ann Percy, Curator of Drawings at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, who has coordinated the exhibition at the Museum with unflagging enthusiasm, and warmly supported by Innis Howe Shoemaker since her appointment as Senior Curator of Prints, Drawings, and Photographs in 1986, this project has been guided by the discerning eye and graceful scholarship of Elizabeth Cropper, Professor of History of Art and Director of the Villa Spelman at The Johns Hopkins University. Turning from her book on Testa's aesthetic theory, *The Ideal of Painting: Pietro Testa's Düsseldorf Notebook*, published by Princeton University Press in 1984, to a close scrutiny of his *oeuvre* in European and American collections, Professor Cropper has selected the works for the exhibition with a view to illuminating Testa's full achievement as an artist. It assembles the finest available impressions of all of his known prints, a generous survey of drawings for the prints as well as for paintings, sculpture, and even a fountain, and a small group of paintings to give a sense of his manner in that medium, which is less assured but nonetheless powerful. It has been deeply gratifying to receive such wholehearted support from the museums and collectors asked to lend to the exhibition that virtually every object on the list of desiderata could be included. To our colleagues in the National Galleries of Scotland, the British Museum, the Teylers Museum in Haarlem, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the Uffizi are due special thanks for the impressive number of their loans, essential to an understanding of Testa's work.

This complex international project, many years in its development, has been funded in part by generous grants from the National Endowment for the Arts and The Pew

Charitable Trusts. Without The Pew Trusts' farsighted support of research and planning, the exhibition, like others at this Museum, would not have been possible. This is the first book produced by the Philadelphia Museum of Art to benefit from a new endowment fund for scholarly publications established by grants from CIGNA Foundation and the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, which supported the preparation of the catalogue manuscript and the painstaking editorial work. The realization of this catalogue, the first substantial volume in English devoted to Testa's graphic *oeuvre*, was greatly assisted by the Getty Grant Program, with additional, most welcome contributions from Christie, Manson & Woods International Inc. and the Henfield Foundation. An indemnity for international loans from the Federal Council on the Arts and the Humanities was crucial to reducing costs, and we are most grateful for support from the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, received through the good offices of the Italian Consul General in Philadelphia, Luca del Balzo. It is also a source of particular pleasure to have had a contribution from Montedison USA, Inc., an Italian company known for its sympathetic interest in the visual arts.

Many people on this Museum's staff, colleagues in other museums, and scholars and aficionados of Testa's work have given enthusiastic and essential assistance to Elizabeth Cropper and Ann Percy in the creation of this exhibition, and their acknowledgments expressed elsewhere in this volume are here most appreciatively seconded. As the exhibition explores the astonishing range of the artist's style, so the essays of Charles Dempsey, Francesco Solinas and Anna Nicolò, and Francesca Consagra in this catalogue illuminate crucial aspects of the intellectual and economic milieu of seventeenth-century Rome within which he worked. The skills of Sherry Babbitt, Associate Editor at the Museum, and Greer Allen, who gave this book its handsome design, are everywhere evident, and the intricate logistics of bringing the works of art together from thirty lenders were elegantly handled by Martha S. Small, Assistant Registrar. We are delighted to have had the Harvard University Art Museums as a partner in this project, and owe a debt of gratitude to Edgar Peters Bowron, the Elizabeth and John Moors Cabot Director of the Museums, and to David Becker, Acting Curator of Prints at the Fogg Art Museum, who share our pleasure in the adventure of presenting "the exquisite draughtsman from Lucca" to an American audience.

ANNE D'HARNONCOURT

The George D. Widener Director

Acknowledgments

As in any international loan exhibition with its attendant complexities, many colleagues have provided us with a variety of help and advice. In particular we would like to thank Jacob Bean, Duncan Bull, Anthony Colantuono, Richard Day, Diane DeGrazia, Charles Dempsey, Adrian Eeles, Pia Gallo, Elizabeth Llewellyn, Deborah Marrow, Konrad Oberhuber, Pierre Rosenberg, Francis Russell, and Julien Stock. Without the support and collaboration of the curators and directors of the lending institutions and of private collectors, such a project as this would not have been possible. We are indebted to so many of our colleagues for their ready support for the exhibition from the very beginning that we cannot list them all here. We are, however, most grateful to Roseline Bacou, David Becker, Veronika Birke, Per Bjurström, Suzanne Boorsch, Evelina Borea, Roberto Cannatà, Keith Christiansen, Timothy Clifford, Michele Cordaro, Peter Day, Cara Denison, Gianvittorio Dillon, Peter Dreyer, Everett Fahy, Luigi Ficacci, Rita Fioretti, Ulrike Gauss, Heinrich Geissler, Catherine Goeres, George Goldner, Anna Grelle, Richard Harprath, Ann Harris, Christopher Heyes, Heribert Hutter, Colta Ives, Françoise Jestaz, Hugh Macandrew, Börje Magnusson, Henrietta McBurney, Mary Myers, Hans Mielke, Erwin Mitsch, Lucia Moran, Theresa-Mary Morton, Nicholas Penny, Annamaria Petrioli Tofani, Andrée Poudroux, the Honorable Mrs. Jane Roberts, William Robinson, John Rowlands, Margret Stuffmann, Renate Trnek, the late Lawrence Turčić, Carel van Tuyll, Nicholas Turner, and Henry Zerner for their generous assistance. For the supply of all kinds of invaluable help we would like to thank Katherine M. Butler, Gail Feigenbaum, Irene Hoeck, Jennifer Johnson, Manuela B. Mena Marqués, Barbara Newman Morris and Stephen Morris, Alessandra Ottieri, Joseph Rishel, Erich Schleier, Giovanna Nepi Sciré, and Mary Suzor.

The support and understanding of Herbert L. Kessler, Chairman of the Department of the History of Art at The Johns Hopkins University, made our collaboration much easier. Four graduate students in the department, Alan Braddock, Alessandra Galizzi, Eric Garberson, and Crispin Robinson, worked as assistants for the project and did a great deal to keep it on track. Dorothy King undertook many extra chores to smooth the way between Baltimore and Philadelphia. Various Philadelphia Museum of Art staff members have contributed largely toward realizing this exhibition, in particular Suzanne F. Wells, Coordinator of Special Exhibitions; Connie Lehman and Melanie Yulman, Grants Coordinators; and Irene Taurins, Registrar, Grace Eleazer, formerly Associate Registrar, and Martha S. Small, Assistant Registrar. Without the support of the Museum's Director, Anne d'Harnoncourt, and the Senior Curator of Prints, Drawings, and Photographs, Innis Howe Shoemaker, the project would have been neither undertaken nor followed through. Francesca Consagra, Dorothy Limouze, and Colin Bailey have aided us in particular ways, and

we are especially grateful to Carl Strehlke, who has given generously of his time in Italy to assist with numerous problems and questions. George H. Marcus, Head of Publications, has overseen the production of this catalogue, and Sherry Babbitt, Associate Editor, deserves our particular thanks for her devotion to bringing it into being.

ELIZABETH CROPPER *and* ANN PERCY

Pietro Testa, 1612–1650: The Exquisite Draughtsman from Lucca

All the same, if you are a printmaker you never think of killing yourself. You do not do what the neurotic, poverty-stricken, and great Pietro Testa did. He was the best etcher of his time. But few understood that, since he neither etched as a tradesman nor for the market (the market in images of princes, emperors, other kinds of powerful people, and all those images over which the vile techniques of photomechanical reproduction nowadays preside), he etched, more than for others, for himself. And it is natural, it is fatal, that whoever works to his own taste, without offering any reward to the myopic world at large, finds no point of contact, nor of material gain, between himself and the world. Already in Testa's time the great crisis that kills the purest kind of spiritual existence was opening wide. Verses, poems no longer produce bread, but perhaps it was always so. Yet it is certain that today the spiritual crisis appears terrifying. All of us, poor spirituals, are constrained by ten daily occupations; different, and some quite far from poetic charm: succeeding—and modestly—in getting by. On a beautiful evening (but a terrible evening in the year 1650) Pietro Testa, the ethereal etcher, the absolutely unfettered etcher of *The Garden of Venus*, the *Saint Jerome*, the *Saint Erasmus*, and of a series that he called "Ideas," Pietro Testa, the precursor of Canaletto and of Pitteri, and who had already opened the door to modern etching (no longer etchings only for making a living or anonymous pamphlets, but etchings of vibrant lines—vibrant like the needle of love's seismograph), miserably killed himself.

—Luigi Bartolini, *Gli esemplari unici o rari* (Rome, 1952)¹

Pietro Testa, the son of Giovanni di Bartolomeo Testa, a dealer in secondhand goods, and his wife Barbara, was baptized in the town of Lucca on June 18, 1612.² About his early life Testa's first biographers Joachim von Sandrart, Giovanni Battista Passeri, and Filippo Baldinucci are less informative and less in agreement than they are concerning his death nearly thirty-eight years later. They all contribute explanations of the event, first recorded in the stark words of the registrar of the parish of San Nicola in Arcione in Rome on March 3, 1650:

Pietro Testa of Lucca, an excellent painter about thirty-six years of age, was found dead in the Tiber near the parish of San Biagio alla Pagnotta; his body was taken to that church and buried according to my pleasure and authority, communicated and imparted to the curate of that church in a letter, so that the heirs, if there are any, should not suffer greater inconvenience nor be concerned to transfer it to this, our parish, to which it belonged in the fullness of law, and does belong by reason of residence, and moreover together with the goods in his house next to the via dell'Olmo. It is believed that he died the day before yesterday. The news reached us yesterday.³

For Testa to be buried in hallowed ground his probable suicide had to be denied. His biographers are suitably circumspect, while telling much about Testa's character in life and

in death from their different points of view. Sandrart, who considered himself Testa's closest friend, describes him as a shy man who lived a solitary life of melancholy. When a stormy wind blew the artist's hat into the Tiber, he tried to recover it and fell in with no one there to help him. If only, writes Sandrart, he had added to his learning and diligence by working to attract the affections of others, his virtue might have received great rewards and he would not have suffered such misery and distress.⁴ Some one hundred years later, Lanzi was more severe, turning Sandrart's comment about his shy friend into a cautionary tale for highly talented young artists to remember. He held Testa up to them as an example of the dangers of becoming so critical of others that they become embittered and alienated.⁵

Passeri also knew Testa well, for they were fellow students in Domenichino's studio in the late 1620s. In his sympathetic biography of the artist, he defends at length Testa's character from just such attacks that he was vain and proud. Passeri describes him as a child of Mercury, given to the study of science and the liberal arts, but born under planets and stars so strangely aspected and with the part of Fortune in such a hostile direction that he was destined never to reap the benefits of his talents.⁶ Testa could be accused of no other vice than a simple, rough lack of affectation: "He did not know how to be one of those who wear a smile while carrying a razor and a hatchet beneath their cloak in order to slash and hack down the reputations and good beginnings of others." The artist's solitary nature was his worst enemy because it would not allow him to play the courtier.⁷ He could seem boorish, Passeri admits, but again he was not like those duplicitous people with hypocritical and friendly faces who intend to deceive. His severe appearance might have made Testa seem proud, but, says Passeri, when one talked with him he was gentle and humane. However, he was never able to throw off a reputation for being pretentious, and all his contemporaries in the profession held him to be so.⁸

Passeri's defenses of Testa's difficult and antisocial personality serve as prologue to his retelling of the circumstances of the artist's shocking death. After etching the story of the suicide of Cato (cat. no. 116), which Passeri sees as almost prophetic of Testa's last cruel misfortune, the artist fell into a deep melancholy. Friendless, he abandoned all hope and withdrew from the marketplace, going about alone in the most secluded spots. On the first day of Lent in the Jubilee Year of 1650, reports Passeri, he was found drowned, fully clothed and wearing his cloak, near the bank of the Tiber on the Lungara side, close to the church of Santi Leonardo e Romualdo de' Camaldoli. Passeri concedes that there were many suspicions that Testa had drowned himself, and that there was malevolent gossip that he had prepared for death by burning his drawings and bidding farewell to his friends in ambiguous ways. Some people laughed at his misfortune when they should have lamented the passing of such an estimable man of incomparable talent. The real cause of his miserable death was not known, argues the biographer, although he adds that Testa died in fear of the loss of his soul. Passeri concludes that the artist was one of the most unfortunate felicitous talents of the time, both in life and in death.⁹

The night before Luigi Bartolini, himself an etcher and a writer, took the walk by the Tiber that prompted the thoughts cited above, he had been reading Baldinucci's bio-

raphy of Testa.¹⁰ Baldinucci, the successful Florentine courtier, had not known Testa, but he also was placed in a dilemma by the impossibility of ignoring the manner of his famous death. In his short and straightforward account of Testa's career as a painter, draughtsman, and etcher, Baldinucci makes only one observation about his personality: According to him, Testa's disagreement with his second master, the Tuscan Pietro da Cortona (whom Baldinucci of course admired), was caused by the fact that Testa's exceptionally large physique and noble aspect were joined to a certain self-satisfaction that led him to pay insufficient respect to his teacher. As a result, Testa was expelled from the studio.¹¹ Not well informed about his subject, Baldinucci nonetheless devotes almost as much space to explaining away Testa's famous death as he does to his life. The end of this virtuoso was so horrible that Baldinucci prefers to think of it in the following way: Testa's melancholy nature led him to the study of antiquity, nocturnal images, and the changing skies, which he observed from nature. One day he was standing on the banks of the Tiber, making drawings and studying the effects of the reflections of the rainbow, when he fell in, either because he moved or because the ground was soft and slippery. But though he prefers to believe this, Baldinucci is compelled to say that there are other explanations for Testa's death. Given that from his youth he had studied meteorology and the philosophy of Plato, and given all his knowledge of letters and his excellence as a draughtsman, Testa came to feel that he had not been rewarded as he should. His studies and his etching, furthermore, kept him poor, and he fell into melancholy. One day when he was in need he went to the house of an honorable and amenable person who had never refused to help him. Unfortunately a servant told him that his master was not home. Testa believed this to be an excuse to turn him away, reports Baldinucci, and he fell into an even deeper melancholy, saying to his acquaintances that it had finally come to the point where he could not count on anyone. He went home and left a message that he would not be back for lunch, something he did often because he used this time to do business. But that night, or the next day, he was found drowned in the Tiber. Baldinucci attempts to reconcile the two stories by saying that in his melancholy state Testa may have decided to miss his lunch in order to cheer himself up by drawing on the banks of the Tiber, where the terrible accident of the fall happened, but that he did not die by his own hand as a result of his melancholy or despair. Among his artist friends, Baldinucci concludes, there was universal grief at his death.¹²

Testa was not alone among artists in seventeenth-century Rome in his love for the solitude of nature—one thinks especially of Herman van Swanevelt, whom he knew in the 1630s. His melancholy and his misfortune were matched by those of Annibale Carracci and to a lesser degree of Andrea Sacchi. Nor was he the only suicide, and here the case of Francesco Borromini comes immediately to mind. But Testa does stand alone in the manner in which the circumstances of his death and the complications of his personality have so affected the reception of his work. This is not entirely wrong, the product of an opportunistic romanticism, for Bartolini's perception that the best etcher of his time worked for himself in a sort of spiritual crisis and that he opened the door to the independent, creative, modern etching of artists like Giorgio Morandi and Bartolini himself, was not far from the mark.



Fig. 1-a. Possibly Renier Persin (Dutch, c. 1614–1688), *Frieze of the Muses*, engraving from the *Galleria Giustiniani*, vol. 2 (Rome, c. 1632), pl. 90

There were ways in which Testa could have turned his skills as a draughtsman and etcher to make a living, as Bartolini recognized, but he chose not to. Instead, quite remarkably, he preferred to work independently, often looking for patrons to whom he could dedicate his work only after he had produced an ambitious and time-consuming invention on the plate. Many times he was unsuccessful, but this did not deter him from continuing to express his copious inventions in print. As Consagra describes, it was after Testa's death that enterprising publishers were able to exploit a new market for such printed novelties and bought up as many of the plates as they could find.¹³

Nothing is known of any early training in drawing Testa may have had in Lucca, only that he determined early on to go to Rome. Sandrart claims to have been the first to help the poor foreigner who was living like a “shy Stoic,” still poorly dressed and helpless “many years” after he had made the pilgrimage to Rome. After seeing Testa drawing almost like a wild man in the ancient ruins of the Colosseum, the Palatine, and the Capitoline, Sandrart gave him food, clothes, and money and set him to work making drawings for the *Galleria Giustiniani*, the sumptuous project to engrave the ancient statues in the collection of Vincenzo Giustiniani that he was supervising (see figs. 1-a and 1-b), and he recommended him to others.¹⁴ Testa's work for these two volumes of prints remains anonymous, whereas the names of more famous artists, such as Giovanni Lanfranco and François Duquesnoy, are recorded in inscriptions in the plates.¹⁵ Only Claude Mellan's portrait of Vincenzo Giustiniani himself bears a date (1631).¹⁶ One work that has been attributed to Testa in his early years in Rome, although not directly related to the Giustiniani project, is an engraving of an elephant, made to commemorate the arrival of this curiosity in the city in March 1630 (see fig. 1v-a). The first state was dedicated in that year by Testa to the Cavaliere Gualdi of Pisa, the owner of a famous collection of antiquities and curiosities housed near the Forum of Trajan and an admirer of Cardinal Antonio Barberini. It is also likely, however,



Fig. 1-b. Possibly Renier Persin (Dutch, c. 1614–1688), *Frieze of the Muses*, engraving from the *Galleria Giustiniani*, vol. 2 (Rome, c. 1632), pl. 114

that the print was produced by one of the engravers employed by Giustiniani or Cassiano dal Pozzo after a drawing or painting by Testa.¹⁷

Sandrart makes no mention of Testa's informal apprenticeship with Domenichino nor of his time in Pietro da Cortona's studio. Passeri, on the other hand, reports nothing of Testa's work for Sandrart, saying only that it was under Domenichino's guidance that Testa set about drawing after the antiquities of Rome and the works of Raphael and Polidoro da Caravaggio. It was through this assiduous mastery of drawing that Testa acquired his spirited, gallant style, which joined with his natural good taste to produce a delightful manner, "so that he gained among the young artists who were studying at that time an aura of great reputation and he was called 'the little Lucchese the exquisite draughtsman.'" ¹⁸

It was this elegant style of drawing and passion for the antiquities of ancient Rome that commended Testa to Cassiano dal Pozzo, the Pisan *letterato* who was an intimate of the Barberini household.¹⁹ Cassiano had undertaken the remarkable project to form a museum not of antiquities but of drawings after all the remains of ancient civilization (and of natural history too), which he called his *Museo cartaceo*, or "Paper Museum."²⁰ Passeri mentions only that Testa was commissioned by Cassiano to make drawings after the best ancient reliefs and the most singular statues in Rome and that his work gave the artist much pleasure, providing him with a means of support to continue his studies.²¹ Baldinucci, who had been shown the collection by Cassiano's brother Carl'Antonio dal Pozzo, describes Testa as no less a creature of the Dal Pozzo family than was his friend and confidant Nicolas Poussin. Both belonged to the group of artists rich in promise and talent but with few resources that Cassiano sought out in Rome.²² Cassiano, who later described Testa as "a good painter and an excellent draughtsman of antiquities," discovered the artist and took him under his protection, setting him to draw all the architectural and sculptural remains

in the city.²³ Baldinucci claims that Testa was responsible for five volumes of drawings, devoted to such different subjects as ancient gods and sacrifices, rites of marriage, consular costumes, baths and triclinia, reliefs on triumphal arches, ancient vases and utensils, the illustrations of the ancient manuscripts of Virgil and Terence in the Vatican, and the mosaics at Palestrina.²⁴

The majority of these drawings are now in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle, although they are no longer in the same five volumes that Baldinucci describes.²⁵ From Baldinucci's own account it is evident that Testa was not the only young artist involved in the project. François Duquesnoy, the Flemish sculptor, was similarly employed, as were Giovanni Battista Ruggieri (both of whom also worked for Sandrart on the *Galleria Giustiniani*) and the Sienese engraver Bernardino Campitelli. Until more is known about all the artists who worked for Cassiano, the attribution of drawings to individual hands must remain speculative. It does seem possible, however, to organize the drawings into groups, and to propose that Testa's name may be attached to one of these (even while recognizing that Testa's own style of drawing after the antique surely changes over the years in which he worked for Cassiano, and that his particular manner of making these drawings established a modern norm that others followed). In the four drawings illustrated here (figs. I-c—I-f), it seems that the same aspects of ancient relief are being attended to—through the delineation of the eyes, the quality of the profile view, and the curling edges of drapery, for example. In each case the wash is used slightly differently, but the relationship between the lines in pen and the wash is consistent.

Passeri relates that it was Cassiano dal Pozzo who introduced Testa to Pietro da Cortona after Domenichino's departure for Naples left Testa without a teacher.²⁶ Not only is this a more persuasive account than Baldinucci's claim that Testa made the move because he was entranced by Pietro da Cortona's colorism,²⁷ but it also provides the first securely datable event in Testa's early career. Domenichino settled in Naples definitively in June 1631.²⁸ For Testa to have profited from Domenichino's instruction in drawing after being helped by Sandrart, who had arrived in Rome to work on the Giustiniani project around 1628, and who claims that Testa had already been in Rome several years before he discovered him, he must have been in Rome by that year.

Testa's career as an artist was extraordinary from the very beginning. He came from a provincial center with no local school. He had no official training, and he was forced to live hand-to-mouth, driven by his love of antiquity and his passion to make his own fortune as an artist in the great tradition. But unlike others who may have found themselves in this situation and whose names are lost, Testa was saved by his talent for drawing, which gave him the opportunity to work with some of the best reproductive printmakers in Europe on the Giustiniani project and to get to know several of the other most promising foreign artists making their way in Rome. Many of them also frequented Domenichino's studio or were friendly with Sandrart. Among the most important of these were Duquesnoy and Poussin.²⁹ At this time Testa would also have met Claude Lorrain, whose interest in landscape, like that of Poussin's brother-in-law Gaspard Dughet, Testa was to share.



Fig. 1-c. Attributed to Pietro Testa, *Hercules with the Tripod of Apollo*, from the *Museo cartaceo*. Pen and brown ink with grayish wash, 210 x 285 mm (8¼ x 11¼"). Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II (Royal Library, Windsor Castle), 8310



Fig. 1-d. Attributed to Pietro Testa, *Dancer*, from the *Museo cartaceo*. Pen and brown ink with wash, 365 x 185 mm (14⅜ x 7¼"). Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II (Royal Library, Windsor Castle), 8413



Fig. 1-e. Attributed to Pietro Testa, *Sarcophagus*, from the *Museo cartaceo*. Pen and brown ink with wash, 180 x 175 mm (7⅛ x 6⅞"). Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II (Royal Library, Windsor Castle), 8525

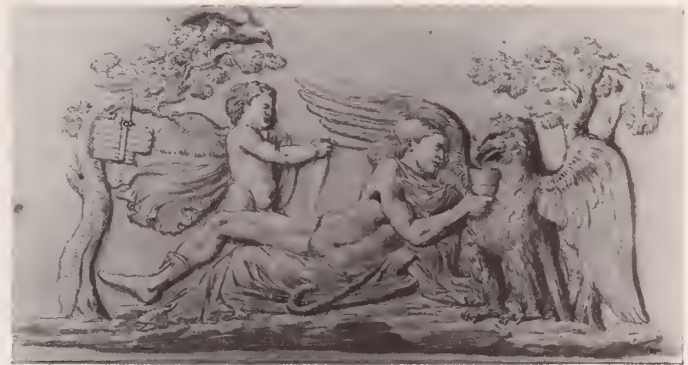


Fig. 1-f. Attributed to Pietro Testa, *Ganymede*, from the *Museo cartaceo*. Pen and brown ink with wash, 170 x 310 mm (6⅛ x 12⅜"). Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II (Royal Library, Windsor Castle), 8735

Domenichino's own dedication to the study of Raphael and the antique, his emphasis on the habit inculcated in him by the Carracci of making extensive preparatory drawings, especially from life (which attracted so many young artists to his academy), together with his deep interest in the ancient theories of art recorded in Vitruvius's *Ten Books of Architecture* and its commentaries, made him an ideal guide for Testa's self-education.³⁰ This was not true of Pietro da Cortona, even though he shared the contemporary fascination with antiquity. As we have seen, Pietro da Cortona could not tolerate what seemed like arrogance in the young Lucchese and threw him out of his studio.

This event must have contributed to Testa's decision to go back to Lucca in the hopes of making enough money to return to Rome in greater comfort and with a higher reputation. A letter of August 26, 1632, from Testa in Lucca to Cassiano dal Pozzo in Rome, in which he asks to have the quarantine regulations (imposed on travelers from Florence to the Papal States because of the plague that had struck northern Italy in 1631) reduced on his behalf, documents his presence in his native republic that year.³¹ He had probably been there only a few months, working on the fresco above the gate of the Cortile degli Svizzeri in the Palazzo degli Anziani (for a study of which see cat. no. 31). Testa had no experience as a fresco painter and his work was not well received; his hopes for a success at home were dashed as a result. He did, however, secure the support of the most prominent collector of painting in Lucca, Girolamo Buonvisi, cleric of the Apostolic Camera and an intimate of Cardinal Francesco Barberini. Many of Testa's most ambitious prints are dedicated to him (for example, cat. nos. 41 and 73), including one from the early 1630s, *The Garden of Charity* (cat. no. 11). Lucchese support was also forthcoming from Stefano Garbesi, to whom Testa dedicated *The Martyrdom of Saint Erasmus* of about 1630 (cat. nos. 5 and 6). Passeri reports that Testa left Lucca defiantly, promising to return when he had mastered color as thoroughly as he had design and when his fellow countrymen were prepared to recognize him properly.³² Although he probably received several Lucchese commissions under the patronage of Buonvisi in Rome, he did not return to Lucca until 1637. In the intervening years he worked at his painting and etching, selling pictures to Vincenzo Giustiniani, enjoying some success on the fringes of the Barberini court, and presumably also enjoying a steady if small income from Cassiano dal Pozzo. In 1634 Testa was living in the parish of Santi Vincenzo ed Anastasio, where he rented a house and even had a servant. Two years later he attended the meeting of the Accademia di San Luca, together with Sacchi and Duquesnoy, at which the famous debate between Sacchi and Pietro da Cortona over epic style and invention took place.³³ In the same year, 1636, Testa was also mentioned in testimony in a lawsuit brought by Swanevelt against his former pupil Francesco Catalano, charging that he had stolen several paintings and a quantity of precious azure; this enables us to add Swanevelt to Testa's acquaintances among the community of foreign artists in Rome.³⁴

In 1637 Pierfrancesco Mola drew a portrait of Testa (see fig. 36a), inscribing it with a note that he had made this in Lucca, where Testa had presumably gone in another attempt at gaining recognition through winning the support of Cardinal Marcantonio Franciotti,

the local cleric who took possession of the bishopric of Lucca that year. It was in connection with Testa's plans to make this journey that Cassiano dal Pozzo had him thrown into prison in the Tor di Nona, on the suspicion that he intended to abandon responsibilities to his patron. Cassiano had known and supported him almost since his arrival in Rome, and Testa's statement to him in a letter from prison that his friend Poussin would vouch for his good intentions is therefore doubly affecting.³⁵

Testa could not have made a worse choice of patron than Franciotti, although he did succeed in dedicating two prints to him (cat. nos. 36 and 37). Almost immediately the Lucchese, famous for their disrespect for ecclesiastical authority, rose up against their cardinal bishop, whose brothers had flouted the law concerning the carrying of arms within the city. Representatives from Lucca were received sympathetically by Cardinal Francesco Barberini, and by March 1639 it seems that Franciotti had left the city for good.³⁶ The Lucchese could not go unpunished for their treatment of the pope's representative, however, and in 1640 Urban VIII placed the entire city under an interdict that was to last for the next three years.

It was in Rome during the period after 1637 that Testa, more isolated than before, appears to have devoted himself to writing a treatise on painting in which the principles he had learned in Domenichino's studio would be defended. Only the rough preparatory notes, which also record his reading of Italian translations of Plato, Aristotle, Vitruvius, and texts by more recent writers, survive. Some time shortly after his death they were mounted together with a group of his drawings in a notebook that is now preserved in the Kunstmuseum in Düsseldorf.³⁷ Although the "Trattato della pittura ideale" was never completed, many of the ideas Testa sought to express in it found their way into the etchings of the late 1630s and early 1640s (see cat. nos. 41, 73, 75, 76, 79, 81, and 82).

Through the publication of these prints Testa would seem to have sought some form of conversation with the world, in the absence of any other. His friend Poussin was in Paris between the autumn of 1640 and December 1642. Domenichino died in Naples on April 15, 1641, and Duquesnoy died on his way home in Livorno on July 11, 1643, both of them possibly poisoned. The death of Urban VIII in 1644 meant that his two most reliable supporters, Cassiano dal Pozzo and Girolamo Buonvisi, were out of favor and had left the court. Buonvisi returned to Lucca. Testa was not entirely deprived of the commissions on which more conventional artists relied, however, for there is evidence that he continued to work for patrons in Lucca, and he produced an altarpiece for Santi Paolino e Donati, *The Miracle of Saint Theodore* (see cat. no. 89), in the later 1640s. Before Urban VIII's death he had also secured a commission for an important altarpiece in Santa Croce, the Lucchese church in Rome (see cat. nos. 68–70). Baldinucci indicates that in addition to the altarpiece Testa also executed a series in chiaroscuro depicting the story of the Volto Santo, or Holy Face,³⁸ for the same church, after which many young artists, especially Northerners, made drawings. Of these works (which may have been in fresco), however, nothing is known. Nor is anything known of the frescoes Baldinucci also mentions in the garden of Monsignore Muti in Rome.³⁹

About the same time, in the early 1640s, Testa frescoed the Saint Lambert chapel in Santa Maria dell'Anima, the church of the German nation in Rome (see cat. nos. 91–93).⁴⁰ A third commission for an altarpiece, the only one to have been documented, came from Giovanni Antonio Filippini, prior of the discalced Carmelites at San Martino ai Monti in Rome. Testa received payments for *The Vision of Sant'Angelo Carmelitano* between October 1645 and January 1646 (see cat. no. 90). The prior had further plans to employ Testa to decorate the apse in preparation for the Jubilee Year in 1650, and many studies survive to indicate how far he had progressed with the project before Filippini became so frustrated by his slowness that he withdrew the commission (see cat. nos. 107–9). Four of the five paintings included in this selection may be dated to this decade, which suggests that Testa enjoyed some success among private collectors in Rome in the 1640s. But the loss of the San Martino commission, which would have given Testa a chance to gain true public recognition, and the likelihood that he knew that his frescoes in Santa Maria dell'Anima would be replaced by those of Jan Miel, an inexperienced fresco painter with none of Testa's virtuosity in drawing, must have made his future as a painter look very bleak indeed. The prophecy that Passeri saw in retrospect in Testa's decision to etch the suicide of Cato, which is given greater force by his general preoccupation with tragic themes in the late 1640s (see cat. nos. 121, 125, and 127), was soon to be fulfilled.

Testa wanted to be a painter, and it was surely his failure to succeed in this, combined with his loneliness, that drove him to despair. His drawings and etchings, on the other hand, in which he expressed his philosophy in poetic, allegorical, and historical inventions, kept him alive and are the source of his fame. Yet even that fame has been denied him in recent times, despite Bartolini's recognition that he was the greatest Italian printmaker of his century. The etchings of Salvator Rosa and Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione are better known, and still more highly valued despite the fact that Passeri, Baldinucci, and Sandrart all single out Testa as an artist whose etchings were of particular importance to artists and *cognoscenti*.⁴¹ Baldinucci in fact makes very little of Rosa's independent contribution to etching, citing only those plates he executed after his paintings,⁴² and he makes no mention whatsoever of Castiglione's etchings, despite the fact that the Genoese artist produced more prints than Testa. Much of Castiglione's reputation as an etcher rests on his innovative techniques, which find no parallel in Testa's use of the medium, and on the affinity between his own painterly drawing style and Rembrandt's exploitation of dense chiaroscuro produced by finely textured, feathery lines. Like Rosa, whose capricious *figurine*, with their deliberately free lines, belie their careful preparation, Castiglione presented his etchings as records of his *primi pensieri*. By capturing the effect of the sketches he produced in pen or even in oil, he sought to suggest the spontaneous nature of his genius through the very technique of his etching.

The connection between a taste for the apparent directness and spontaneity of etching as practiced most effectively by Rembrandt and the corresponding lack of recognition for Testa's manner of using the medium was already recognized by Jonathan Richardson, Sr., in the late eighteenth century. In "An Essay on the Knowledge of Prints, and Cautions to Collectors" he discussed the uncertain value of prints, observing that

hence it is [that] such noble productions as the works of Peter Testa are in such little esteem; the whole collection of this master, which consists of thirty capital prints, may be bought for less than is often given for a single print of Rembrandt (and not even of his capital prints).⁴³

Testa, on the other hand, was one of the Italian etchers in whom Rembrandt himself took an interest in the 1650s. According to Houbraken, the Dutch metalsmith Jan Lutma the Elder had once bought a group of etchings from Testa very cheaply.⁴⁴ Münz, the great connoisseur of Rembrandt's etchings, also comments on this, proposing that it occurred in Italy in 1650, the year of Testa's death, and that Lutma brought the prints back to Holland, where Rembrandt, who etched Lutma's portrait in 1656, would have seen them. Münz's own evaluation of Testa's etchings, apparently so very different from those of his chosen subject Rembrandt, is as positive as that of Luigi Bartolini, and the two writers' exactly contemporary views have a good deal in common:

Testa was an artist who understood how to bring to life the sentiment which in Poussin's classical coldness is only to be admired at a distance. He was the only really original and truly Italian etcher of this period; his work, to-day largely forgotten, had a great influence on the development of contemporary graphic style. While the better-known Italian etchers of the time, Stefano della Bella, Salvator Rosa, and Castiglione, had already adopted the manner of Rembrandt's early etchings for their own sentimental romantic prints, Testa, seemingly more conventional, followed another path. The tradition of the brightly-lit etchings of Carracci and the Reni school was transformed by him so that he could express more delicate shades of joy and sorrow. His life was overcast by melancholy, and he died young; he found his own dramatic style in his last works. The way in which he builds up a background of tragic tension in *The Suicide of Cato* by means of long oblique parallel lines, or enhances the mournful expression of a face by means of groups of short, parallel lines, shows a closer parallel than any in other Italian prints to Rembrandt's style of 1654.⁴⁵

Perhaps Münz's most important perception in this remarkably independent assessment is that Testa was not only the most original but also the only truly Italian etcher of his time. This is not a comment on his national origins only, intended to distinguish Testa from those foreign contemporaries (among whom Claude and to a lesser extent Dughet are outstanding) who recognized the potential of etching as a medium for recording and disseminating original inventions. This special quality of his etching was one that also distinguished him from his countrymen, such as Rosa and Castiglione. Münz saw this truly Italian character of Testa's work as inseparable from his graphic style, from that quality of draughtsmanship his young contemporaries, according to Passeri, called exquisite. However, he also perceived that Testa's approach to etching developed out of the Bolognese tradition and drew its power from the artist's achievement of dramatic, even tragic effects by apparently conventional means.

The Bolognese conventions in which Testa was trained may be quickly described. Testa was one of a group of artists, which included Poussin and Sacchi, who were initiated into the traditions established in the Carracci Academy, founded in Bologna in 1582, by Carracci pupils working in Rome. Sacchi studied with Francesco Albani after a period in

the school of the Cavaliere d'Arpino in Rome, during which, according to Bellori, he had already applied himself to studying the remains of antiquity, the works of Raphael, and the palace facades frescoed in chiaroscuro by Polidoro da Caravaggio. Albani encouraged him to improve his mastery of color so that it would equal his draughtsmanship, which is to say that he urged him to the study of natural effects.⁴⁶ After Testa had also drawn after Polidoro, Raphael, and antiquity on his own, he learned from Domenichino the importance of combining life drawing with such study. Again according to Bellori, Poussin began his studies of the work of Raphael and his pupil Giulio Romano in France through prints after their frescoes and drawings. On his arrival in Rome he perfected his manner through the study of nature, whether by copying Titian, measuring antique statues, or drawing from the model in Domenichino's studio.⁴⁷

For Domenichino, inspired by the Roman works of Annibale (especially the frescoes in the Galleria Farnese, where he had helped to complete the decoration of the walls), the example of Raphael was especially important. His admiration for Raphael was not confined to the latter's ideal style in which nature and antiquity were united, but also extended to Raphael's manner of working. The Carracci had revitalized the procedures of the High Renaissance, best exemplified by Raphael, in which a long series of preparatory drawings — from inventive sketches to careful studies of the model and draperies to full cartoons — preceded execution. Domenichino's studio would not have been the only place to learn to work in this way, for Lanfranco and Pietro da Cortona also practiced it, but after Albani's departure from Rome in 1625 Domenichino was alone in being able to communicate the reflective combination of theory and practice that characterized the Carracci's academic endeavor, itself based on a study of the principles of the High Renaissance. In his emphasis upon the need for long meditation on the invention and disposition of the *materia*, or subject, of the work of art before execution and upon the expression of emotion, Domenichino had gone well beyond the theories of his teachers, and this too he imparted to his students. For Poussin Domenichino's approach to invention held particular attraction, because in Paris the poet Giambattista Marino, a familiar of the Carracci Academy in Bologna, had already inspired him to add the embellishments of poetic color to those of his brush.⁴⁸ Testa's friendship with Poussin reinforced this interest in poetic invention, and many of his early works reflect his deep sympathy with Poussin's inventive process.

These artists of the younger generation (for Poussin's late development in Rome allows us to consider him Testa's contemporary) were united by their dedication to the academic conventions established by the Carracci in Bologna and as modified and developed by Domenichino in Rome by adding to the study of nature a greater emphasis on the imitation of antiquity and of Raphael. They are also linked, however, by their early study of the work of Raphael's pupils Polidoro da Caravaggio and Giulio Romano, who were famous for their prolific inventions derived from ancient poetry and history and expressed in graceful drawings, often at the expense of color.⁴⁹ Although these artists had been trained by Raphael, their distinct, facile manner of drawing in pen and wash was quite different from his and from that adopted by the Carracci and Domenichino. Testa especially (and



Fig. 1-g. Polidoro da Caravaggio (Italian, c. 1495–1543), *Study for “The Procession of Cybele,”* 1525–26. Pen and wash, 135 x 499 mm (5⁵/₁₆ x 19⁵/₈”). Trustees of the British Museum, London, 1947-11-8-4



Fig. 1-h. Cherubino Alberti (Italian, 1553–1615), after Polidoro da Caravaggio (Italian, c. 1495–1543). *Rape of the Sabine Women* (detail). Engraving (Bartsch, vol. 17, p. 109, no. 159). Trustees of the British Museum, London

Poussin to a lesser extent) arrived at their individual manners through the combination of graphic techniques learned from these masters of the *bella maniera* together with a meditative contemplation upon the ideal perfections of nature that derived from Annibale Carracci.

Polidoro da Caravaggio provided Testa and his patron Cassiano dal Pozzo with an especially attractive example.⁵⁰ He too had arrived in Rome without training or money, but had managed to make a name for himself through his drawings. According to Vasari there was no ancient vase, statue, column, or relief, intact or broken, that he did not draw. As a result he adopted so completely the *maniera antica* that his own became one with it (fig. 1-g).⁵¹ His invention was beyond compare, for he could produce infinite marvels — costumes, boats, vases, helmets, sacrifices.⁵² He also excelled in the painting of landscapes. Polidoro’s *bella maniera*, facility, and marvelous invention, according to Vasari, were studied so closely by all the painters who came to Rome that his work was more useful to the art of painting than that of all others from Cimabue on.⁵³ Half a century later the works of Polidoro, whether on the facades of palaces or as recorded in prints, were still providing such free instruction (fig. 1-h). By the later 1630s Testa’s own interest in Polidoro and Giulio’s elegance of design and in their copious inventions expanded to include the study of prints

from the School of Fontainebleau after Primaticcio as well (see esp. cat. nos. 74–83). The slender proportions and graceful contours of figures drawn in this *bella maniera*, which closely approximate qualities Testa, Poussin, and Duquesnoy also perceived in the *maniera greca*,⁵⁴ distinguish their conception of antique style from the Roman manner of Domenichino or Annibale Carracci.

Testa's reputation for exquisite draughtsmanship was initially founded on his pen and ink or pen and wash drawings, in which the beautiful execution of the artists of the Roman *maniera* was modernized through a renewed study of nature and antiquity in the production of copious poetic inventions. As a result of studying the great masters and the antique, according to Passeri, Testa freed his wild fancy and found his own elegant manner (*di buon garbo*), without being dependent on a single master. "And to tell the truth," he writes, "such vastness of thoughts, such noble and pleasing ideas, such rare and sublime inventions, have never been seen in any other painter."⁵⁵

Testa's delicate pen and wash drawings in the Cassiano dal Pozzo volumes at Windsor (see figs. 1-c–1-f), like the highly finished but nonetheless delicate *modelli* from the 1640s, bespeak his special appreciation for the draughtsmanship of Giulio Romano (figs. 1-i and 1-j). The study in the Louvre for *Achilles Dragging the Body of Hector Around the Walls of Troy* (cat. no. 122) and the *modello* for *The Symposium* (cat. no. 115), for example, both combine facility and luminosity with a high degree of inventive and compositional finish in the manner of such drawings by Giulio. Testa's manipulation of a *bella maniera* is, however, always to be distinguished from the practice of his sixteenth-century models by the self-conscious way in which he makes the question of beauty in his art, of the relationship between appearances and meaning, problematic. In *Achilles Dragging the Body of Hector* (cat. no. 121), for example, the heroic beauty of Achilles and of the vanquished Hector is juxtaposed to the deforming passion of Hector's family on the ramparts of Troy. *The Symposium* (cat. no. 114) draws attention to the problem of beauty more directly. In this late work Testa argues that the beauty of the silent image is only true when inspired by the desire for virtue and for the good that the Socratic dialogue between the object of desire—Alcibiades, or the beautiful work of art—and the lover—Socrates, or the discursive spectator—produces. Our participation in reading his images in this way and in taking up a dialogue with them through an understanding of the beautiful manner in which ideas are expressed through drawing is always demanded.

In his search for a communicable truth of expression the problem of the ugliness of deforming passions concerned Testa as often as that of beauty. This led to the discovery of a different manner of drawing depending on the subject in hand—a discovery that sometimes makes a simple chronological arrangement of his development as a draughtsman difficult. In translating the preparatory drawing for *The Martyrdom of Saint Erasmus* into an etching, for example, Testa tried to convey the violence of the scene through the preservation of a sense of scratchy spontaneity and through the metaphorical use of freely sketched lines. This quality, which is also found in the drawings for *An Allegory of the Massacre of the Innocents* (cat. nos. 50 and 51), did not appeal to later critics, especially those who accepted



Fig. 1-i. Giulio Romano (Italian, 1499–1546), Study for “*The Contest of Apollo and Marsyas.*” Pen and bistre wash, pricked; 425 x 697 mm (16¾ x 27⅞”). Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna, Inv. 312, ScR. 379



Fig. 1-j. Giulio Romano (Italian, 1499–1546), Study for “*The Allegory of the Sign of Virgo.*” Pen and wash, 275 x 409 mm (10⅓⅙ x 16⅛”). Teylers Museum, Haarlem, Ax48

Lessing’s distinction between the expressive character of poetry and painting and for whom such direct appeals to the violence of tragic ending produced disgust rather than admiration. Fuseli, for example, noted that

the actual martyrdom of Saint Erasmus is one of those subjects which ought not to be told to the eye—because it is equally loathsome and horrible; we can neither pity nor shudder; we are seized by qualms and detest. Poussin and Pietro Testa are here more or less objects of aversion in proportion to the greater or lesser energy they exerted.⁵⁶

This question of the difference, already recognized in Aristotle’s theory of tragedy, between terror and disgust is also raised by Testa’s painting of *An Allegory of the Massacre of the Innocents* (cat. no. 52), in which the image of the baby’s head lying so close to his mother’s



Fig. 1-k. Cherubino Alberti (Italian, 1553–1615), after Polidoro da Caravaggio (Italian, c. 1495–1543). *Design for a Vase*. Engraving (Bartsch, vol. 17, p. 110, no. 1620), 234 x 164 mm (9³/₁₆ x 6⁷/₁₆”). Trustees of the British Museum, London

milky breast creates a deeply tragic pathos. To his interest in the expressive effects of pathetic tragedy, of beauty, and of violence, Testa also brought a concern for the expression of the heroic sublime. In *Aeneas on the Bank of the River Styx* (cat. no. 127) and the drawing for it (cat. no. 128), for example, Testa produced images of startling terror. In all of these works, it should be emphasized, as in his analysis of the differences between beauty, character, and caricature (for which see cat. no. 116), Testa was investigating problems of the categorization of style that would not be fully articulated by critics until the eighteenth century.

Testa's marvelous invention never failed, and his fascination with the sorts of decorative embellishments for which Polidoro was famous continued to the end of his life. Especially important here are the richly ornamented vases in *The Symposium* of 1648 and the contemporary *Birth and Infancy of Achilles* (cat. no. 118), which reflect his study of prints after Polidoro's inventions (fig. 1-k).⁵⁷ He did move away, however, from the graceful linear and atmospheric effects that characterize his early style. There is a marked difference in graphic expression between his etchings and drawings of the 1630s and those of the 1640s, and this change in manner helps to explain a divergence of opinion on the merits of Testa as an etcher.

The ease of working with the etching needle on a soft ground, as opposed to the more laborious process of engraving, led to the development of a taste for etchings with open contours, flickering atmospheric effects, and gently modulated planes, and in which

unmarked areas of the paper were brought into play against the inked line. This is the sort of etching Testa produced in the 1630s. It is in *The Garden of Venus* (cat. no. 13), *Saint Jerome* (cat. no. 8), and *The Martyrdom of Saint Erasmus* that Bartolini sees the vibrant expressive lines that he associates with Canaletto; others have associated works of this period with the etchings of Giovanni Battista Tiepolo. Indeed, there is ample evidence of the appeal that Testa's early, more graceful, and deceptively spontaneous manner held for artists and critics in the eighteenth century. Jean Antoine Watteau certainly studied his *Venus and Adonis* (see cat. no. 16), and Pierre Jean Mariette praises Testa for his poetic genius, drawing attention to the infinitely pleasing lightness of pen drawings by this artist for whom execution mattered little;⁵⁸ by this he surely means the facility and careless rapidity of the drawings of the 1630s that also extended to the prints.

Later in the eighteenth century this easy quality of draughtsmanship in etching still appealed to Michel Huber, who in his *Notices générales des graveurs, divisés par nations, et des peintres ranges par écoles*, published in Dresden and Leipzig in 1787, included Testa among the printmakers he considered under the heading of painters. He ranks Testa's etchings among those

produced by the spiritual needle of the great masters who honor Italy, and they are Barocci, Palma Giovane, Tempesta, the Carracci, Guido, Lanfranco, Lo Spagnoletto, Testa, Cantarini, Salvator Rosa, [and] Carlo Maratta. . . . All these artists practiced in their printmaking this picturesque force, a term that expresses a certain negligence of lines, an affected hardness, an ingenious disorder of marks that one generally encounters in prints produced by painters. This maneuver, which reveals the strength, the spirit, and the taste of the artist, is always the fruit of a consummate knowledge of the art of drawing.⁵⁹

Huber's comments are especially interesting because, while Mariette had praised those drawings in which Testa showed he could draw children as well as Poussin and Duquesnoy—that is to say drawings from the 1630s—his list of Testa's prints is heavily weighted in favor of the works from the 1640s that Münz was to regard so highly.⁶⁰ In the first half of the 1640s, when he was at work on the allegorical inventions of *The Triumph of Painting on Parnassus* (cat. no. 73), "The Seasons" (cat. nos. 75, 76, 79, 81, and 82), *An Allegory in Honor of Innocent X* (cat. nos. 85 and 86), and *Altro diletto ch' imparar non trovo* (cat. no. 101), Testa's approach to drawing, to the conception of figures, and to the distribution of light and shadow underwent a significant change. The slender proportions and delicate effects of the *bella maniera* were substituted by more muscular figures sculptured in powerful chiaroscuro. As he developed his ideas for "The Seasons" in particular, although turning very frequently to sixteenth-century prints for ideas for individual figures, Testa found a new stylistic model in Annibale Carracci's frescoes in the Galleria Farnese.⁶¹ He continued to draw in pen and ink, but in his working compositional drawings the lines are often schematic and hard, with planes of shadow indicated by areas of chalk. Following the practice of Annibale and Domenichino, he also made chalk figure studies from the nude, of which the drawing for Apollo in *Summer* (cat. no. 77) is a particularly fine example.

The effect of Testa's study of Annibale's frescoes was not limited to changes in his techniques of drawing or vision of ideal beauty. His compositions also became more densely packed with figures, suggesting that *horror vacui* to which Wittkower draws attention.⁶² Testa abandoned the atmospheric lyricism of his earlier works and achieved instead an effect closer to that of the ancient sarcophagus reliefs he had studied from his first years in Rome, even in compositions that included elements of landscape. To achieve this in etching he adopted a more conspicuously controlled approach to work on the plate.

The etchings of the 1630s are deceptively spontaneous. In *Saint Jerome* (cat. no. 8), for example, Testa already demonstrated how much he had learned, as Münz recognizes, from looking at the etchings of Annibale Carracci (figs. 1-l and 1-m) and Simone Cantarini, who had in turn understood the contribution of Federico Barocci (see cat. nos. 1 and 2) to the development of the medium. Like Annibale he translated the effects of pen drawings into etching, but not only of simple sketches. Again inspired by Annibale and Barocci, he systematically considered the ways in which the values of color and texture and spatial effects could be rendered in the chiaroscuro of drawing and etching. Varied intensity of hatching, changes in the direction of line, and broken contours establish the facets of drapery, the texture of a tree, or a shimmering landscape. Testa added to this range of effects achieved by Annibale through staging the biting of the plate rather than through using drypoint. It is easy to confuse his apparent lack of concern for such technical niceties as the proper polishing and grounding of the plate—the marks resembling thumbprints in the clouds in *Three Lucchese Saints Interceding with the Virgin for the Victims of the Plague* (cat. no. 7) and the frequent spots of foul or uneven biting testify to this—with spontaneity of expression. The series of drawings for *The Dream of Joseph* (cat. nos. 26–28) and the full-scale study for *The Garden of Charity* (cat. no. 12) document that, however freely Testa actually drew on the plate, his preparation was extensive. Even more than Annibale, however, he chose to appeal to a taste for effortless *bella maniera* by signifying through the delicacy and freedom of line itself and the distribution of flickering light and shadow across forms the spontaneity with which etching came to be associated.

In the allegorical etchings of the 1640s, on the other hand, Testa determined to emphasize the closed, muscular forms of figures through bold systems of hatching in which the direction of lines turns with every plane. Increasingly he adopted the drypoint, not to produce a rich, burred line but to perfect this modeling. The very fine lines drawn on the plate for *The Suicide of Cato* and *Achilles Dragging the Body of Hector Around the Walls of Troy*, for example, establish an extra foreground plane on the limbs of Cato and Hector that is even closer than the most delicately etched lines to the fully illuminated areas of flesh to which these lines are juxtaposed. Testa enhanced the closed solidity of figures through the systematic expression of the shadows they cast according to clearly defined sources of light of specific intensity. He reinforced this rationally forceful modeling by constructing parallel receding planes through a highly legible system of diminishing detail that is matched by an equally legible system of manipulating the depth of bite, from the paler background to the more intensely bitten foreground. This new approach to etching was a matter not only



Fig. 1-l. Annibale Carracci (Italian, 1560–1609), *The Holy Family with Saint John the Baptist*, c. 1590. Etching with drypoint, 219 x 413 mm (8 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 16 $\frac{1}{4}$ ""). The New York Public Library; Print Collection; Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs; Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations



Fig. 1-m. Annibale Carracci (Italian, 1560–1609), *Saint Jerome*, c. 1591. Etching with drypoint, 259 x 194 mm (10 $\frac{3}{16}$ x 7 $\frac{5}{8}$ ""). National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fund, 1972.66.21

of technique but also of a change in the expressive purpose that accompanied the deepening melancholy of his themes and his own commitment to a philosophy of art that was moral and rational. It begins to be recognizable in “The Seasons,” but reaches fulfillment in the dated etchings of 1648—*The Suicide of Cato* and *The Symposium*—and in the undated but contemporary scenes from the life of Achilles (cat. nos. 118, 120, and 121). In these works Testa’s perfect mastery of the Roman grand manner of Annibale Carracci, combined with his thorough knowledge of ancient sculpture and his ability to express powerful emotions, is translated into tableaux of tragic intensity.

Passeri writes that *Il Liceo della Pittura* (cat. no. 41), one of Testa’s most ambitious inventions although not as complex an etching as these later works, would have acquired a very great reputation for the artist had it been painted.⁶³ Paintings by Poussin from the 1640s, with which Testa’s highly rational expressions of deep passion have much in common, did earn the artist such a reputation. But in modern criticism Münz’s high praise for the tragic tension produced by Testa’s methodical late etchings in general and by *The Suicide of Cato* in particular is rare indeed. To some extent this can be explained simply by virtue of the higher value accorded to paintings, and it is understandable that Testa’s failure to

establish a great reputation as a painter should have affected the evaluation of his prints, which nonetheless were always given special consideration because they *were* those of a painter. But this is not the only reason, for it was the very popularity of Testa's prints in the late seventeenth century that led to criticism from which they were not easily to escape.

Although Félibien writes that Testa's prints were not selling well in Italy during the time he visited Rome in the 1640s, the etchings did enjoy a certain fame in France, doubtless after the De Rossi firm began to market them more aggressively.⁶⁴ In his famous "scorecard" of the various merits of a selected group of well-known artists, the "Balance des peintres," published in his *Cours de peinture par principes* in 1708, Roger de Piles awards Testa high marks (15 out of 20) for drawing, putting him in the same class as Barocci and Parmigianino. But he gives him none at all for his color, considering it as weak as Bellini's power of expression. De Piles almost certainly had no firsthand knowledge of Testa's paintings. His decision even to include him in the list could only have been determined by the wide circulation of the prints, which also accounts for the appearance of Testa's name in the debate over the relative importance of color and drawing in the French Academy in the late seventeenth century. Indeed, De Piles feels compelled to lament that young artists in France were so lazy in their response to beauty that they admired the work of Pietro Testa (which he described as "a chaos of extravagances") while remaining ignorant of even the name of Otto van Veen, Rubens's teacher.⁶⁵ De Piles himself acknowledges that Testa's drawings and prints were of a higher quality than his paintings, although he maintains (wrongly) that only a small group of the etchings were executed by the artist. He praises Testa for his imagination, his gracefulness, and his execution—the same qualities that led to the popularity of the prints after Testa's drawings published by the Frenchman François Collignon (see cat. no. 40), which were often confused with actual prints by Testa. However, De Piles condemns the artist for his lack of understanding of chiaroscuro and for deficiencies of reason and propriety. He observes that Testa knew antiquity by heart, but claims that his art gained nothing rational from such study because of his fiery impetuosity and the freedom of his genius.⁶⁶ He does not mention Testa when he writes that "some fiery geniuses have mistaken the sallies of their imagination for real enthusiasm, although at bottom, the abundance and vivacity of their productions are but the dreams of sick persons," but he surely has him in mind.⁶⁷ The dangers of such extravagance and disconnected dreams produced by burning fever, De Piles warns, were to be avoided at all costs.⁶⁸

Félibien also acknowledges Testa's imagination, his bizarre and capricious humor, and his ease in representing what he had conceived in his mind. But he too believed that Testa executed his ideas immediately upon their conception, with the result that his images seemed more like dreams and visions than the truth, in the production of which neither reason nor judgment had any part to play. Some were like good dreams and could please the eye and the spirit if not looked at too severely or for too long, and Félibien comes close to defending Testa when he says that artists who make diverting, agreeable works will always find a ready reception, whereas it is harder to get people to be concerned about things that are truly useful. The biographer and admirer of Poussin could not see, however,

the rational consistency of Testa's inventions, and indeed he uses Testa as a foil for Poussin. Félibien reports the opinion of a "judicious person" that Testa was like the sophist Anaximenes, of whom Theocritus wrote that he produced a river of words without a drop of judgment or sense.⁶⁹

That two such different critics as De Piles and Félibien, the one the protagonist of beautiful effects and the appeal to the eye, the other of a French classicism that derived its authority from the rational art of Poussin, should agree upon Testa's qualities and defects is striking but not inexplicable. In many ways Testa's reputation parallels that of Michelangelo, whose standing in France was very low in the seventeenth century because he too was seen to represent artistic licentiousness and fantastic ideas. It is more notable that both De Piles and Félibien misunderstood Testa's art in the same ways. Testa's meditative process of invention and careful preparation for work on the plate, his mastery of chiaroscuro, and his creative exploitation of a lifetime study of antiquity, all of which the present selection seeks to recover, were forgotten or denied. The artist who had dedicated himself to an art that was rational, moral, and in the great Italian tradition was transformed into a visionary dreamer, a model for the idea of irrational genius, a *libertin*. His inventions, which would not have been at all incomprehensible to those who knew the artist and who delighted in such learned originality, were no longer understood, and all the material for the creation of a myth of a wild, uncontrolled romantic spirit was readily available in the story of his melancholy life and death.

In the later eighteenth century many English and German critics, inspired by the publications of their French colleagues, adopted the same view of Testa's genius, although sometimes arriving at different conclusions. Richard Graham, in his appendix to John Dryden's translation of Du Fresnoy's *Art of Painting* (published in 1750), praises Testa's quick head, ready hand, lively spirit, and knowledge of antiquity, but laments that these qualities "soon ran to Weeds, and produced little else but Monsters, Chimeras, and such like wild and extravagant Fancies."⁷⁰ More sympathetic to these fantasies is Johan Caspar Füsslin, who in the catalogue raisonné of famous printmakers he published in 1771 points to the extraordinary value of Testa's etchings: In all his compositions he displays a wild enthusiasm that testifies to his burning imagination. Even though Füsslin complains that there are so many unrelated ideas in Testa's compositions that it is difficult to understand their purpose and mechanically repeats statements that Testa's execution of chiaroscuro is not good and that his figures are often too slender, he nevertheless pronounces his works pleasing in their extravagance, full of noble and lofty thoughts that reveal the rich genius of an artist who had a stronger feeling for the grand than for the beautiful. The etchings were always executed in a masterly way, Füsslin insists, concluding that there are few printmakers whose works painters could study with such profit as Testa.⁷¹

Neoclassical painters did study Testa's etchings, especially the late works in which grandeur of expression and archaeological detail were combined in epic themes from Homer and Virgil or in the representation of philosophical subjects. To cite only the most famous example, it was in Testa's print of *Achilles Dragging the Body of Hector* that Gavin Hamilton

found inspiration for his own invention of the same subject, which in turn was to provide a model for John Flaxman in 1793.⁷² Testa's moment of new importance, of usefulness to painters, came to an end, however, with the arrival of a taste for more realistic images, according to which Rembrandt's reputation again prospered. In 1848 Nagler, following Bartsch, provided a complete list of the etchings, adding to this an inventory of paintings attributed to Testa and of prints after his drawings and paintings. He drew attention to an opposition between the gloomy seriousness of the men and the tenderness of the women and children (in which he found Testa surpassed only by Duquesnoy) in his compositions and repeated the conventional view that Testa was at his best in great and lofty subjects such as *The Martyrdom of Saint Erasmus* and *The Suicide of Cato*, but that his fantasy was sometimes beyond control: His allegories, which were composed as if in a dream, would make the commentator on those of Hogarth founder. "In the past," he concludes, "the prints of this master used to be recommended to artists for study, but no one seeks them out for this purpose any more."⁷³

In our century Testa's reputation as an etcher, if not as a draughtsman, has suffered from the same criticism brought against seventeenth-century etching in the tradition of the Carracci generally. Hind's view that the very character of the medium—its lack of convention that puts at the disposition of the artist a power of spontaneous expression—gives it "so much closer an affinity with the spirit of modern art that begins with Rembrandt, than with the classical tendencies and more rigid systems of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries," prevailed for many years.⁷⁴ Only recently has the importance of prints by the Carracci, with whose work Testa has most in common, been reassessed.⁷⁵ But those of Testa remain difficult of access. Once categorized as the oneiric work of a romantic genius, they now appear paradoxically classical in technique and subject. To the admirer of Poussin the later works seem too full of fantasy and intricate allegory and are separable only with difficulty from the artist's few known paintings, which are often found wanting in color, although not in invention. The etchings are rarely found in good condition, and even in the most distinguished collections are unmounted, tattered, and creased. Testa's drawings have fared better in public and private collections, but have never before been exhibited together with all the prints whose draughtsmanship and meaning they illuminate.

Rembrandt's etchings, widely published, appealed through their subjects to an idea of intimacy that coincides with one aesthetic of etching. Testa did not market his prints to a wide audience but sought instead to express himself directly to a small group of knowledgeable connoisseurs, such as Cassiano dal Pozzo and Girolamo Buonvisi. The truth of his expression, both in subject and in the manner in which it was conveyed, was as personal as that of his Northern contemporaries, but it took the forms of the culture in which he lived—not couched in the rhetoric of Protestant spirituality but aspiring to universality in the language of lyric poetry, allegory, and ancient history in the artistic conventions of Italy. His art was no less intimate or sincere for that, as Luigi Bartolini, author of the great postwar realist novel *Bicycle Thieves*, saw so clearly.

Testa lived in a classical culture at the very moment when it was coming to an end,

and his art is revelatory of the growing tensions between established convention and the emerging values of imagination and sensation. In the drawings, paintings, and etchings from throughout his short career he communicated explicitly his own interpretation of the inseparability of the natural, the human, and the divine, whether on the basis of familiar religious images or texts of his own choosing, whether through the process of thinking on paper or through the figures of thought and expression that he represented. The very exploitation of these highly personal images after Testa's death for an international market stimulated by the desire for novelties led to a loss of understanding of the work of an artist who had etched not for that market but for himself. To understand the significance and value of the extraordinary works produced by this exquisite draughtsman in his tragically short life, as Bartolini recognized, is an intimate and demanding endeavor. It was through drawing, whether in studies or in prints, that Testa came to meditate on the beautiful, the tender, the pathetic, and the sublime, as the great connoisseurs and artists of the eighteenth century, from Mariette to Richardson, from Watteau to Fuseli, best understood.

NOTES

- 1 For *The Garden of Venus*, see cat. no. 13; for *Saint Jerome*, see cat. no. 8; and for *Saint Erasmus*, see cat. nos. 5 and 6. The "Ideas" to which Bartolini refers were in fact facsimiles of Testa's drawings produced after his death, for which see cat. no. 40.
- 2 The record of this, which established definitively that Testa was born in 1612, was published by Boschetto, 1968, pp. 65–66.
- 3 First published by Harris, 1967, p. 60.
- 4 Sandrart, 1675, p. 289.
- 5 L. Lanzi, *Storia pittorica della Italia*, ed. M. Capucci (1789; Florence, 1968), vol. 1, pp. 185–86.
- 6 Passeri, 1679, p. 182.
- 7 *Ibid.*, p. 184.
- 8 *Ibid.*, p. 187.
- 9 *Ibid.*, p. 188.
- 10 Bartolini, *Esemplari*, p. 13.
- 11 Baldinucci, 1681–1728, pp. 310–11.
- 12 *Ibid.*, pp. 314–16. A note on the verso of a drawing, now in Florence (Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, 5722S verso; see fig. 107c), presents interesting evidence in support of Baldinucci's description of how Testa would often miss lunch. It reads, "If I'm not back at two, eat." It is intriguing to consider that Baldinucci's story was based on this evidence, but there is no way of establishing that he knew this drawing.
- 13 See Francesca Consagra, "The Marketing of Pietro Testa's 'Poetic Inventions,'" below.
- 14 Sandrart, 1675, pp. 288–89.
- 15 In a letter from Rome dated April 12, 1653 (Biblioteca Marucelliana, Florence, Cod. A.257.8, fol. 39 [cited incompletely in Passeri, 1679, p. 183 n. 1]), Cassiano dal Pozzo writes about the *Galleria*, Testa's service to him, and the market for prints in his day. He is trying to find images of the Muses for another scholar, and on this account intends to see the publisher Giovanni Domenico de Rossi, "who keeps a business in prints [*fa continuo traffico di stampe*] both new and old in piazza Navona." At the time of writing, Giovanni Domenico is, however, on business in Naples "concerning a print shop that he has in that city" (*per interessi di una bottega, che pur di stampe tiene in quella città*). Of Vincenzo Giustiniani Cassiano writes that he is so rich that he had famous artists such as Lanfranco make drawings for the prints and that the large sheets of paper in imperial folio size were made on the spot, that is, in the Palazzo Giustiniani. According to him copies of the *Galleria* cost between 15 and 20 scudi, and are even then almost unobtainable because the plates had been sent to Genoa and are no longer printed on account of the expense involved. Cassiano hopes, however, that De Rossi may have a few loose sheets in his stock so that he can send copies of the engravings after the Muses his correspondent seeks (surely plates 90 and 114 in the second volume of the *Galleria*; see figs. 1-a and

- i-b). He also reports that Testa had made many drawings after the reliefs of the Muses, *per servitio di casa*, in which their attributes were even more exactly observed. David Jaffé, of the Australian National Gallery, Canberra, has pointed out to me that already in 1624 Girolamo Aleandro had written to Nicolas Fabri de Peiresc about the vast expense of reproducing antiquities in engraving, pointing to the greater economy of etching and stating that Cassiano's drawings would be reproduced this way. (For his letter of September 14, see MS 9541, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, folio 204 recto and verso.)
- 16 *Galleria Giustiniani*, vol. 1, pl. 2. The same portrait was included in the second volume, published some three years later, as plate 2. For further on the *Galleria*, see Peltzer's comments in Sandrart, 1675, pp. 382 n. 36, 383 n. 40.
 - 17 No existing impressions of this image are known to the author or to Bellini. See Bellini, 1976b, p. 69, no. 41, and Cropper, 1984, p. 14, for further discussion.
 - 18 Passeri, 1679, pp. 182–83.
 - 19 Giovanni Lombroso, *Notizie sulla vita di Cassiano dal Pozzo* (Turin, 1875), p. 15, describes Cassiano's successive roles as *gentilhuomo*, *gentilhuomo ordinario*, *famigliare intimo*, *coppiere*, and *primo maestro di camera* in the household of the family of the pope.
 - 20 For further discussion of this project, see Francesco Solinas and Anna Nicolò, "Cassiano dal Pozzo and Pietro Testa: New Documents Concerning the *Museo cartaceo*," below.
 - 21 Passeri, 1679, p. 183.
 - 22 Baldinucci, 1681–1728, pp. 311–12.
 - 23 For Cassiano's comment, see the letter of 1653 cited in n. 15 above.
 - 24 Baldinucci, 1681–1728, pp. 311–12, 313–14. See, however, Solinas and Nicolò, "Cassiano," on this claim.
 - 25 For a discussion of Testa's work for Cassiano and of the Windsor volumes, see also Blunt in Schilling and Blunt, 1971, pp. 121–23. Blunt's attribution of large numbers of these drawings to Testa, apparently on the ground that they are all in pen and wash, is, however, too generous. This is most apparent where there are two drawings of the same subject, as in the case, for example, of those of the Orestes sarcophagus from the Palazzo Giustiniani (RL 8286 and 8287). Blunt gives both to Testa, but they are by very different hands.
 - 26 Passeri, 1679, p. 183.
 - 27 Baldinucci, 1681–1728, p. 310.
 - 28 Denis Mahon, *Poussiniana: Afterthoughts Arising from the Exhibition* (Paris, 1962), p. 64.
 - 29 See Charles Dempsey, "The Greek Style and the Prehistory of Neoclassicism," below, and Colantuono, 1986. In addition to the engravers Cornelis Bloemaert, Michael Natalis, Renier Persin, and Theodor Matham, while working for Giustiniani Testa would also have encountered the draughtsmen Josse de Pape, Claude Mellan, and Charles Audran. Among the Italians involved were Giovanni Guidi, Giovanni Andrea Podestà, Giovanni Battista Ruggieri, and Anna Maria Vaiani (fig. 11-a).
 - 30 See Cropper, 1984, pp. 16–19.
 - 31 Bottari and Ticozzi, 1822–25, vol. 1, pp. 357–58.
 - 32 Passeri, 1679, p. 183.
 - 33 See Cropper, 1984, p. 24.
 - 34 *Ibid.*, p. 25.
 - 35 For the letter dated September 9, 1637, see Bottari and Ticozzi, 1822–25, vol. 1, pp. 358–60. A second letter (*ibid.*, pp. 360–61) from Testa to Cassiano, dated September 16, indicates that he is extricating himself from his legal problems but still imprisoned.
 - 36 See G. Beraldi, *Relazione d'alcun successi occorsi alla Repubblica di Lucca nell'anno MDCXXXVIII. XXXIX. XL dopo la venuta a quel vescovato del Sig. Cardinal Franciotti, and Difesa per la Repubblica di Lucca* (Colonia, 1640).
 - 37 Budde 132. For a complete transcription and discussion of the Düsseldorf Notebook, see Cropper, 1984, esp. pp. 179–271.
 - 38 This is the usual name of the relic of the ancient crucifix in San Martino, Lucca.
 - 39 Baldinucci, 1681–1728, p. 312.
 - 40 See Cropper, 1984, p. 41, for a discussion of this project.
 - 41 Without giving any supporting evidence, Nagler, 1848, p. 264, reports that Testa's etchings used to be expensive, selling for several ducats. But already in 1897 restrikes from Testa's plates at the Calcografia Nazionale in Rome (see figs. v-a—v-d) were sold for less than those of Rosa, for example. Whereas Rosa's *Policrates* (Bartsch, vol. 20, pt. 2, p. 272, no. 10) and *Attilius Regulus* (*ibid.*, pp. 271–72, no. 9) were offered for 15 lire and his *Genius* (*ibid.*, pp. 277–78, no. 24) for 10, Testa's *Il Liceo della Pittura* (cat. no. 41), a far more ambitious effort in scale and invention, could be bought for only 10 lire. "The Seasons" (cat. nos. 75, 76, 79, 81, and 82) sold for 10 lire each, or 24 lire for the whole set of four, while *The Prophecy of Basilides* (cat. no. 111), executed by his nephew Giovanni Cesare, was more

- highly valued at 12 lire. See *Catalogo generale delle stampe tratte dai rami incisi posseduti dalla Regia Calcografia di Roma* (1897; reprint, Rome, 1934).
- 42 Baldinucci, 1681–1728, pp. 437–502.
- 43 Quoted in *The Works of Jonathan Richardson Senior and Junior* (London, 1792), p. 277.
- 44 Arnold Houbraken, *Grosse Schouburgh der Niederländischen Maler und Malerinnen*, trans. Alfred von Wurzbach, pt. 2, pp. 218–19, in R. Eitelberger von Edelberg, ed., *Quellenschriften für Kunstgeschichte . . .*, vol. 14 (Vienna, 1888 [orig. publ. 1719]). Houbraken (1660–1719) tells this story in connection with his account of Hercules Seghers's death in poverty and drunkenness. He claims that Testa had to suffer watching vegetables taken out of greengrocers' wrappings made from his etchings, even as he had to run around Rome with his prints under his cloak trying to sell them. Like Seghers's prints, those by Testa became more valuable after his miserable death. According to Houbraken, Lutma bought many prints for a single ducat, whereas he himself had had to pay 2 ducats for each of the large etchings. The reason for this, he explains, is that the prints had become rare and that the artist had drowned himself. Houbraken also reports (*ibid.*, p. 343) that Gerard de Lairesse had studied prints by Testa in the Netherlands before going to Italy and used them in his own drawings.
- 45 Ludwig Münz, ed., *Rembrandt's Etchings: Reproductions of the Whole Original Etched Work* (London, 1952), vol. 1, p. 54. For the Lutma portrait see *ibid.*, pl. 87.
- 46 Bellori, 1672, pp. 536–38; see also the discussion in Harris, 1977, pp. 1–2.
- 47 Bellori, 1672, pp. 423–27. Poussin (born 1594) was much older than Testa, for he was already thirty when he arrived in Rome; the two worked side by side in Domenichino's academy. This probably accounts for Poussin's lesser concentration on academic studies from the life.
- 48 For the relationship between Poussin and Marino, see most recently Colantuono, 1986.
- 49 See Vasari-Milanesi, 1906, p. 528, for the view that Giulio was more successful in expressing his ideas in quickly produced drawings than in paintings; for criticism of Polidoro's color, see *ibid.*, p. 147.
- 50 André Félibien, *Entretiens sur les vies et sur les ouvrages des plus excellens peintres anciens et modernes . . .* (1725; reprint, Farnborough, England, 1967), vol. 2, "Entretien III," pp. 79–99, specifically reports that Cassiano showed him drawings in his collection by Polidoro da Caravaggio and Maturino da Feltre and explained, on the basis of drawings by Polidoro, the order of ancient triumphs.
- 51 Vasari-Milanesi, 1906, p. 143.
- 52 *Ibid.*, pp. 143–44, 148–49.
- 53 *Ibid.*, p. 144.
- 54 See Dempsey, "The Greek Style," below.
- 55 Passeri, 1679, p. 186.
- 56 See Henry Fuseli, *The Life and Writings of Henry Fuseli*, ed. John Knowles (London, 1831), vol. 1, p. 270. See also cat. no. 61.
- 57 Cassiano dal Pozzo himself, together with his friends Peiresc and Poussin, was especially interested in ancient vases. In MS H.267, École de Médecines, Montpellier, folio 129 ff., Cassiano provides names for all the various types of vases and their parts.
- 58 Pierre Jean Mariette, "Abecedario de Mariette et autres notes inédites de cet amateur sur les arts et les artistes," ed. Ph. de Chennevières and A. de Montaiglon, *Archives de l'art français*, x, vol. 5 (Paris, 1858–59), p. 289.
- 59 Huber, 1787, p. 13. It was this same consummate mastery of drawing that led Bartolozzi in 1765 to include a drawing by Testa among others by Giulio Romano, Michelangelo, Pietro da Cortona, Titian, Guercino, Rembrandt, Pannini, Elsheimer, and Benedetto Luti in the portfolio of prints he made after drawings from the collection of the late Cavaliere Luti of Rome.
- 60 See Huber, 1787, p. 334, for the list of Testa's prints under the category of "Notices des peintres florentins." For a longer list of Testa's etchings from all periods, see Huber, 1799, pp. 14–16.
- 61 For Testa's rediscovery of Annibale, see Cropper, 1984, pp. 56–59.
- 62 Rudolf Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy, 1600 to 1750*, 3rd rev. ed. (Harmondsworth, 1973), p. 546 n. 14.
- 63 Passeri, 1679, p. 185.
- 64 Félibien, *Entretiens*, vol. 3, "Entretien VII," p. 521. It should be noted, however, that Baldinucci's (1681–1728, p. 314) statement that Testa's plates were bought up by the French after his death is not true. Mariette already rejected this proposal in his "Abecedario" (p. 289). Gori Gandellini (1771, p. 297) was probably only repeating what he had read in Baldinucci concerning the export of the plates, but his statement that the prints were no sooner published than they were distributed throughout Italy and France, where they were sought out at great cost, is probably correct, referring to the later printing of the plates after

- Testa's death. See also Consagra, "Marketing," below, for a discussion of the history of the plates and their publication.
- 65 Roger de Piles, *Dialogue sur le coloris* (Paris, 1673), pp. 71-72.
- 66 Roger de Piles, *Abrégé de la vie des peintres* (1699; reprint, Hildesheim, 1969), pp. 245-46.
- 67 Roger de Piles, *Cours de peinture par principes* (Paris, 1708), translated by Jonathan Richardson, Sr., as *The Principles of Painting* (London, 1743), p. 72.
- 68 *Ibid.*, p. 73.
- 69 Félibien, *Entretiens*, vol. 3, "Entretien vii," pp. 519-21.
- 70 Quoted in Charles Alphonse du Fresnoy, *Art of Painting*, trans. John Dryden (London, 1750), p. 379.
- 71 Johan Caspar Füsslin, *Raisonirendes Verzeichniss der vornehmsten Kupferstecher und ihrer Werke* (Zurich, 1771), pp. 236-37. These comments were repeated often. Joseph Strutt, in his *Biographical Dictionary Containing an Historical Account of All the Engravers* (London, 1786), vol. 2, pp. 356-57, largely relies on Füsslin's account. He comments on Testa's "wild disposition" and dislike of company, but adds that he drew with great taste and that "the works of Pietro Testa should be carefully examined by all young artists; for they will be sure to find sufficient reward for their labour. They have all the fire of the master in them, and prove the force of his imagination and the fertility of his genius."
- 72 Dora Wiebenson, "Subjects from Homer's *Iliad* in Neoclassical Art," *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 46 (March 1964), pp. 23-37, esp. pp. 28-29. Hamilton's work is reproduced as fig. 25, Flaxman's as fig. 23. Anselm Feuerbach, whose short and disappointed life may be compared to Testa's own, also acknowledges Testa's *Symposium* in his painting of the same highly unusual theme. For an illustration of Feuerbach's work, see Richard Muther, *The History of Modern Painting*, trans. Ernest Dowson, George Arthur Greene, and Arthur Cecil Hillier (London, 1896), vol. 1, p. 467.
- 73 Nagler, 1848, pp. 262-69.
- 74 Arthur Mayger Hind, *A History of Engraving & Etching* (London, 1923), p. 103.
- 75 For which see DeGrazia, 1984.

The Greek Style and the Prehistory of Neoclassicism

I

When Pietro Testa, still in his mid-teens and in search of a master who might teach him his art, first arrived in Rome around 1628, he gained entry into the studio of the Bolognese artist Domenichino. Domenichino left the city permanently for Naples in 1631, but before doing so he set Testa to copying the great works of art in Rome, notably the paintings of Raphael and Polidoro da Caravaggio, but also the ancient statues and relief sculptures that could be found everywhere. According to Testa's principal biographer Giovanni Battista Passeri, who also had studied with Domenichino, Testa especially delighted in the "taste expressed in the ancient statues"—what we would call their style—and gave himself over to close and accurate study of them.¹

While Testa was thus drawing in the Colosseum, on the Palatine, and after the statues in the Campidoglio, he was befriended by the German artist Joachim von Sandrart (who later wrote a short biography of Testa).² Sandrart had also come to Rome around 1628, and had been commissioned by the Marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani, a profoundly knowledgeable collector and patron of the arts, to engrave the ancient statues in his extraordinary collection. He in turn employed Testa to work on the drawings for the plates, which were published from 1631 in two sumptuous volumes entitled the *Galleria Giustiniani* (fig. 11-a). It was then that the young artist fell in with a remarkable group of foreign draughtsmen and printmakers who were working on the project under Sandrart's direction. These included Cornelis Bloemaert, Renier Persin, Theodor Matham, Michael Natalis, Claude Mellan, François Perrier (who in 1638 published the earliest illustrated volume expressly restricted to the finest ancient sculpture preserved in Rome), and the great Flemish sculptor François Duquesnoy, who had come to Rome in 1618 and was acquiring a high reputation as a connoisseur and restorer of ancient statuary. It was then too, if not earlier when studying with Domenichino, that Testa no doubt consolidated his friendship with Nicolas Poussin, who had arrived in Rome in 1624, attended Domenichino's studio to draw from the nude, drawn after the statues in the Campidoglio and the gardens of Rome, and studied and measured the ancient statues with Duquesnoy, with whom he shared rooms in 1625–26.³ Before the end of the decade all three artists were employed by the great antiquarian scholar Cassiano dal Pozzo, secretary to Cardinal Francesco Barberini, nephew of Urban VIII, in making drawings for his *Museo cartaceo*, or "Paper Museum," of all the surviving antiquities of Rome (fig. 11-b).⁴

Together with the painter Andrea Sacchi, who had trained with Francesco Albani (who earlier in his career had worked with Domenichino decorating Giustiniani's villa at

Bassano di Sutri and whose initial style, like Domenichino's, had been formed on the model of Annibale Carracci's later, more "classical" manner), Poussin, Duquesnoy, and Testa have been seen—and correctly—as the principal practitioners of a classical style that scholars have defined in an opposing relationship to the baroque style that dominates the century.⁵ The practical usefulness to art historians of the paired concepts of "classic" and "baroque," grounded especially in the stylistic antinomies set forth in Heinrich Wölfflin's great *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe* of 1915, has been enormous.⁶ Even so, it is important to keep in mind that neither term has any part to play in artistic discourse of the seventeenth century. Scholars have long known that the word "baroque" was not applied to the visual arts before the end of the eighteenth century, when it appeared as a form of abuse (meaning the superlative form of "bizarre"), and that it was not used as a stylistic term until 1855, when it was so applied by Jacob Burckhardt and Wilhelm Lübke.⁷ Similarly, the concept of the "classic" in a stylistic rather than canonical sense was invented by Friedrich Schlegel in 1797, while its derivative "classicism" belongs entirely to the nineteenth century, occurring first in Italy in 1818, in Germany in 1820, in France in 1822, in Russia in 1830, and in England in 1831.⁸ The concepts of "classic" and "baroque" are themselves products of the Romantic movement and are indeed fundamental to that movement's attempt to define itself with respect to the tension it so acutely felt between the demands of reason and feeling. (It is significant that the earliest definitions of "classicism" often contrast it to "romanticism.") Scholars have depended upon the generic opposition of classic to baroque as a convenient point of stylistic reference, but precisely because the two terms are not historically founded in seventeenth-century criticism and practice scholars have also met with difficulty in applying the terms to particular historical situations.⁹ Just what was the "taste expressed in the ancient statues" to which Testa responded so deeply? How does the "classicism" defined by Poussin and Duquesnoy in the 1620s, in the formation of which the Italians Sacchi and Testa were participants and beneficiaries, differ from the "classicism" developed two decades earlier in Annibale Carracci's late style and continued directly in the art of his students Albani and Domenichino, with whom Sacchi and Testa had their respective beginnings? And how, for that matter, does the "classicism" of either moment differ from that of Raphael and Polidoro, whose paintings the young Testa and generations of earlier artists in Rome, Albani and Domenichino among them, had copied as students?

The notion of "classic" style, both in its present-day usage and in its historical development, has always carried with it a reference to Greek art of the fifth century B.C., a benchmark or canon against which all later styles based in whatsoever idea of antiquity are explicitly or implicitly measured.¹⁰ As is well known, the establishment of this canon was the achievement of Johann Joachim Winckelmann, who in 1763 published his *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums* (in which the words "classic" and "classical" do not appear, however), the first comprehensive historical account of the stylistic development of ancient art, including Egyptian and Etruscan as well as Greek and Roman.¹¹ By applying historical method to the study of ancient art, Winckelmann was able to perceive an organic development from youth to decay in its products, distinguishable into five periods: an archaic pre-Phidian

style, the High or Sublime Style of Phidias himself, the Beautiful Style prevailing from Praxiteles to Lysippus, the Imitative or Eclectic Style of the Romans, and finally a period of decay. On this basis he was able to claim and indeed insist (with the help of geographical, ethical, political, and religious arguments) that Greek sculpture of the finest period referred to a permanent standard of the very highest excellence.

In the Renaissance no such clear distinction had been made between Greek and Roman art, much less a qualitative estimation of their respective merits (which were generally thought to be much the same), and the products of both cultures—meaning in fact what had survived in Italy—were generically referred to as the “antique.” Winckelmann redefined the aesthetic and moral legacy of that antiquity, and from his redefinition emerged the style of later eighteenth-century art that today is called Neoclassicism (again an *ex post facto* coinage of the mid-nineteenth century). A fundamental aspect of the Neoclassic style is its reference to a Greek canon, together with its historical awareness, indeed historical self-consciousness. This is not to say that all art of the period is explicitly Greek in derivation but rather that its point of reference, its touchstone of value, had changed. Just as Winckelmann had argued that the stylistic development he had discovered in antiquity was repeated in the Renaissance—an archaic style before Raphael, a High Style in Leonardo and Raphael, a Beautiful Style in Correggio, an Eclectic Style in the Carracci and their followers, and a period of decay initiated in the time of Carlo Maratta—so too did artists rethink and reinterpret on that basis the values inherent in other models, among them those of Rome and the Renaissance. Already in 1755, in his *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst*, Winckelmann had discovered a “Greek taste” evident in the works of Raphael and Correggio; and it was from this reconception of the standard of canonical excellence—an Ideal defined with reference to Greek art of the fifth century in particular and not to antiquity in general—that the seed of a true idea of classicism was sown. And indeed we find, not long after Winckelmann’s claim that Raphael, Andrea del Sarto, and Leonardo were the modern counterparts of Phidias, Polyclitus, and Polygnotus, respectively, the painter Anton Raphael Mengs (whose *Parnassus* of 1761, conceived with Winckelmann’s conceptual collaboration, is the initial manifesto of a Neoclassical style) referring in his critical writings to the styles of Raphael and Correggio as “Greek,” a designation that is both historically inapt and yet perfectly comprehensible if we but translate it as “classical.”¹² In the same sense, when we also find Mengs’s friend Ireneo Affò in 1794 calling Correggio’s paintings in the Camera di San Paolo in Parma the earliest manifestation of his “Greek” manner, we have no difficulty in understanding him to be referring to Correggio’s initial adoption of what is agreed to be a recognizably High Renaissance “classical” style.¹³

II

Thus far we have found nothing remarkable about Testa’s beginnings in Rome, his early acquaintance with Poussin and Duquesnoy, and his initial employment by Vincenzo Giustiniani and Cassiano dal Pozzo. After all, the story of the Renaissance itself begins with

Brunelleschi's and Donatello's close study of the architecture and statues of ancient Rome, and at least since the pontificate of Leo X (1513–21) young artists had felt themselves obliged to study in what has been called the "great free academy" of Rome,¹⁴ copying Polidoro's paintings on the palace facades of the city and Raphael's great frescoes in the Farnesina and in the Vatican. Passeri, however, does report something very remarkable in his life of Duquesnoy:

His understanding contained within itself the most exquisite subtleties, and always fastened upon the best and choicest perfections, and he had a talent that was so refined that by his very selections of the best he made known the profundity of his knowledge. . . . He wished to show himself a rigorous imitator of the Greek style, which he called the true mistress of perfect procedure in art because it held within itself at one and the same time grandeur, nobility, majesty, and loveliness [*grandezza, nobiltà, maestà, e leggiadria*], all qualities difficult to unite together in a single compound, and this feeling was increased in him by the observations of Poussin, who desired altogether to vilify the Latin style for reasons I shall report in my account of his life.¹⁵

This passage has always proved baffling, since Passeri unfortunately did not keep his promise to say more in his life of Poussin and especially since, as Blunt observes in his monograph on the painter, "The distinction between Greek and Roman art was hardly noticed until the time of Winckelmann." Even so, Blunt acknowledges that Passeri's "passage is in itself enough to prove that he [Poussin] considered the distinction between Greek and Roman art a matter of fundamental importance." After all, Passeri himself was born a century before Winckelmann, was an exact contemporary of Testa, and had known Poussin since all three artists had frequented the studio of Domenichino in the latter 1620s. Indeed, for Blunt "Poussin's classical works of the 1640's and later have a solemnity and grandeur which are strangely akin in feeling to Greek sculpture of the fifth century B.C."¹⁶ A similar quality has also been observed in Duquesnoy's sculpture, especially in his masterpiece, *Saint Susanna* in the church of Santa Maria di Loreto in Rome, which could justly be considered his canon (fig. 11-c). Of this statue Nava Cellini writes that to contemporary viewers like Passeri and Bellori the "influences of the 'Greek manner' were immediately discernible," but instead of pursuing the point she argues that Duquesnoy's sculpture, for all its classicism, is highly original and unmistakably of the seventeenth century.¹⁷ No one would disagree, but at the same time the measure of Duquesnoy's originality and of his character as a seventeenth-century sculptor is to be found in his conception of the values inherent in Greek art. Nor does Blunt have more to say about Poussin's Hellenism.

What has always fascinated scholars, on the other hand, is the quality and depth of Poussin's antiquarian knowledge. His friend and biographer Bellori, for example, notices in his *Moses Striking the Rock* (now in the Duke of Sutherland's collection, on loan to the National Gallery of Scotland in Edinburgh) a woman "with the hairstyle and trappings of Egypt, whence the Israelites had fled."¹⁸ Poussin himself wrote a letter explaining that he had painted into his *Holy Family in Egypt* (fig. 11-d) many things illustrating "the natural and moral history of Egypt and Ethiopia"—appropriately costumed priests with shaven



Fig. 11-a. Anna Maria Vaiani (Italian, active Rome), *Minerva Giustiniani* (after a Roman copy of the Greek original in the Musei Vaticani), engraving from the *Galleria Giustiniani*, vol. 1 (Rome, 1631), pl. 3 . .



Fig. 11-b. *Diogenes Wearing the "Duplex Pannum,"* from the *Museo cartaceo*, c. 1640. Pen and brown ink with brown wash, 400 x 240 mm (15³/₄ x 9⁷/₁₆"). Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II (Royal Library, Windsor Castle), 8813



Fig. 11-c. François Duquesnoy (Flemish, 1597-1643), *Saint Susanna*, 1629-33. Marble. Santa Maria di Loreto, Rome



Fig. 11-d. Nicolas Poussin (French, 1594-1665), *The Holy Family in Egypt*, 1655-57. Oil on canvas, 105 x 145 cm (41⁵/₁₆ x 57¹/₁₆"). State Hermitage Museum, Leningrad

heads and tambourines, sparrow-hawks on staffs, a birdhouse for the sacred Ibis, and the coffin of Serapis—all taken from the Nilotic landscape represented on the mosaic floor of the Temple of Fortune at Palestrina (fig. 11-e).¹⁹ Similarly, Blunt comments that one of the women in Poussin's *Rebecca and Eliezer at the Well* (fig. 11-f) wears a Greek dress called a peplos, as does a woman in his drawing of *Moses and the Daughters of Jethro* (now in the Louvre).²⁰ The principal figure in *Diogenes Throwing Down His Cup* (fig. 11-g) appears with the *baculum* and *duplex pannum*, or staff and single cloak (folded double in winter), that the ancient sources attribute to the Cynic philosopher (fig. 11-h).²¹ The man receiving the sacrament in Poussin's *Sacrament of Confirmation* (fig. 11-j), on the other hand, wears the *latus clavus* of a Roman senator (fig. 11-k), while one of his daughters wears a stola.²²

In like fashion Testa, in his etching entitled *Il Liceo della Pittura* (cat. no. 41), represented gathered around the central figure of Minerva (copied from the famous *Minerva Giustiniani* [see also fig. 11-a])²³ figures intended to allegorize the origins and historical development of religion in human society: an obelisk with hieroglyphs to show that religion first arose in Egypt; a Greek priestess wearing the peplos; a Roman pontifex with robe drawn over his head in order to preside over the sacrifice taking place behind him; a Jewish high priest wearing the twin-peaked miter and twelve-jeweled breastplate of his office; and a Christian bishop. Especially interesting is the soldier who stands just to the right of the central group and listens to Aristotle lecture beneath a statue personifying Public Felicity: His long hair, tightly bound by a fillet and falling in neat, curly strands over his shoulders, clearly indicates that Testa's model was the archaic Greek statue type called a kouros, as indeed does his stiff-legged pose, one foot set straight before the other (see fig. 11-l). It is a moot point whether Testa chose the kouros simply as a model of Greek costume and bearing (which is itself highly significant) or also as an archaic exemplar in allusion to Aristotle's notion that the political foundations to public happiness first arose in the primitive social organizations of the family, the soldiery, and the chieftainry.²⁴

Similar examples could be almost infinitely produced, but the essential point is that a consciousness of historical and chronological periods in antiquity without doubt existed in the minds of both Poussin and Testa. Such consciousness, as it would be for Winckelmann, was a necessary precondition for their discovery of different stylistic moments in ancient art. If one is able to establish on sound historical and iconographical grounds that different statues represent Egyptian, Greek, and Roman personages, it is then possible to see each statue in rough chronological relation to the others and to begin to distinguish them according to technical and expressive criteria. So far the examples adduced give evidence of the considerable expertise of Poussin and Testa, and reveal much about the iconographic content of their works. The origins of their expertise are easily discovered in the compilation of Cassiano dal Pozzo's *Museo cartaceo*, on which both artists worked, the purpose of which was to record all that survived of the ancient world in Rome, whether relief sculptures, religious implements, oil lamps, or Etruscan vases. Cassiano's conception was itself the product of the kind of investigation into the physical remains of Early Christian Rome that had been carried out in the previous generation by the great church



11-e

Fig. 11-e. Roman mosaic from the Temple of Fortune, Palestrina (detail). Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Palestrina

Fig. 11-f. Nicolas Poussin (French, 1594-1665), *Rebecca and Eliezer at the Well*, 1648. Oil on canvas, 118 x 197 cm (46⁷/₁₆ x 77⁹/₁₆"). Musée du Louvre, Paris



11-f

Fig. 11-g. Nicolas Poussin (French, 1594-1665), *Diogenes Throwing Down His Cup*, c. 1658. Oil on canvas, 150 x 221 cm (59¹/₁₆ x 87"). Musée du Louvre, Paris



11-g

Fig. 11-h. Engraving after *Diogenes Wearing the "Duplex Pannum"* (see fig. 11-b), from Ferrarius, *De re vestitaria veterum* (Rome, 1657)



11-h



Fig. 11-i. Nicolas Poussin (French, 1594–1665), *Diogenes Departing Sparta for Athens*, c. 1648. Oil on canvas, 120 x 187 cm (47 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 73 $\frac{5}{8}$ ”). Museo del Prado, Madrid



Fig. 11-j. Nicolas Poussin (French, 1594–1665), *The Sacrament of Confirmation*, 1644–45. Oil on canvas, 117 x 178 cm (46 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 70 $\frac{1}{16}$ ”). Collection of the Duke of Sutherland, on loan to the National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh



Fig. 11-k (left). *Roman Senator Wearing the “Latus Clavus,”* from the *Museo cartaceo*. Pen and brown ink with brown wash, 225 x 145 mm (8 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 5 $\frac{11}{16}$ ”). Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II (Royal Library, Windsor Castle), 10221. The *latus clavus* is erroneously identified in accordance with seventeenth-century speculation.

Fig. 11-l (right). *Kouros* (Greek, Attic), probably end of the seventh century B.C. Marble, height 184.3 cm (72 $\frac{7}{16}$ ”). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Fletcher Fund, 1932 (32.11.1)

historian Cardinal Cesare Baronio and other scholars connected with the Oratory of Saint Philip Neri. Their goal was to compile all the material data necessary for a historical and indeed anthropological—but not necessarily artistic—understanding of the past and its different moments. Poussin’s and Testa’s own historical orientation began in their work for Cassiano’s project. However, as draughtsmen who had also drawn from the ancient statues as part of their own artistic education, it seems to have been but a short step for them to move from the ability to identify on the basis of historical evidence a particular ancient costume or artifact—an Egyptian sistrum, a Greek helmet, a Roman harness, or an Early Christian lamp—to a consequent ability to distinguish on critical grounds the objects themselves and the monuments upon which they appeared as possessing different stylistic qualities and different values with respect to an abstract ideal of perfection.

That this is in fact what happened is indicated by Passeri’s report that Poussin and Duquesnoy sought rigorously to imitate the Greek style, finding it much superior to the Roman. It is not easy to pinpoint the particular circumstances of their discovery, which certainly took place when the two young artists were living and working together around 1626, and which was well advanced by the time Duquesnoy received the commission for the *Saint Susanna* in 1629. It would be difficult to believe, however, that it was not connected with the thought of their second major early patron, Vincenzo Giustiniani. Giustiniani, descended from a great Genoese family, had in fact been born on the Greek island of Chios, where his father was military governor under Turkish suzerainty. His project for having his own collection of ancient statues engraved, and indeed for forming the collection in the first place, was quite differently motivated than was Cassiano’s *Museo cartaceo*. Whereas Cassiano’s goal was to catalogue all extant examples of antiquity, Giustiniani’s intent was to publish in as beautiful a way as possible statues that he had assembled for their exemplary beauty and excellence. Giustiniani’s response to sculpture, and especially ancient sculpture, is well illustrated by the following passage from one of his letters to Teodoro Amideni:

It is necessary that the sculptor not only have knowledge equal to the painter in drawing perfectly, on the basis of experience acquired from the good ancient and modern statues and bas-reliefs, but also that he be superior to him in knowing how to give a beautiful posture to his figures. This means that they be well placed on the base and of such grace and liveliness that they overcome the limits imposed by the stone, as can be seen in certain ancient statues. It is especially true of the Pighini *Adonis* [that is, the Vatican *Meleager*],²⁵ which is a full-length standing statue, but so well proportioned in every part, of such exquisite workmanship, and with so many signs of indescribable vivacity, that in comparison to other works it seems to breathe. Yet it is of marble like the others, and in particular Michelangelo’s *Risen Christ* in the church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva [in Rome], which is extremely beautiful and made with industry and diligence, but seems a mere statue. It does not have the liveliness and spirit of the *Adonis*, from which one may conclude that this particular consists of a grace given by nature, without which it is unattainable by art.²⁶

It is not difficult to establish what particular statues Poussin and Duquesnoy especially admired, and these in turn form the basis for understanding their notion of Greek

style. Duquesnoy's *Saint Susanna*, as all his biographers agree, was predicated on long and intense study of the Capitoline *Urania*.²⁷ According to Bellori, he made copies of the Belvedere *Torso* (fig. II-m) and the *Laocoon* (fig. II-n), and he and Poussin together measured the Belvedere *Antinous* (figs. II-o and II-p).²⁸ Indeed, the painter Charles Le Brun, who had known Poussin in Paris and accompanied him on his return to Rome in 1642, describes the figures depicted in Poussin's *Israelites Gathering Manna* (completed for Paul Fréart de Chantelou in 1639 [fig. II-q]) as referring in their proportions and contours, *although not in their specific poses*, to a virtual compendium of famous ancient statues.²⁹ He observes that the elderly man standing to the left and the sick man next to him follow the proportions and contour (*taille*) of the father in the *Laocoon* group, which are certainly not those of an ailing man but at the same time of one past the full vigor of mature manhood; the breast-feeding woman and her suckling mother both combine a masculine yet delicate beauty that is appropriate to well-born women of middle age and is modeled on the Medici *Niobe* (now in the Uffizi);³⁰ the old man lying on the ground just beyond refers in the perfection of his lean and desiccated proportions to the Borghese (*Pseudo-*)*Seneca* (fig. II-r), while the solid proportions and vigor of the young man who sustains him depend upon the Belvedere *Antinous*; the two youths battling over scraps of fallen manna mirror, respectively, the tender age of the younger son in the *Laocoon* group and the more fully formed strength of one of the Medici *Wrestlers* (now in the Uffizi);³¹ the kneeling woman with turned back resembles in her elegantly gracious members and svelte contours the *Diane Chasseresse* (now in the Louvre);³² the young man with a basket next to her, whose beauty is more delicate than that rendered in the *Antinous*, resembles instead the Belvedere *Apollo* (now in the Musei Vaticani); and finally, the woman holding up her robe to catch the manna as it falls exemplifies the proportion and contours of the Medici *Venus* (now in the Uffizi),³³ while the kneeling man in front of her derives from the *Hercules-Commodus* (now in the Musei Vaticani).³⁴

Many more examples of ancient statues admired by Poussin and Duquesnoy could easily be adduced. The list certainly would include those statues engraved and published by their friend François Perrier, who had worked with Duquesnoy and Testa on the Giustiniani project.³⁵ In fact we are here dealing with the initial formation of a selected canon of *admiranda* in Roman collections that was to serve as the basis, as Haskell and Penny have recently documented, of taste for two centuries to come. To be sure, some of these statues, such as the *Laocoon* or the Belvedere *Torso* and *Apollo*, had long been singled out as exemplary, but it is with Poussin's and Duquesnoy's fresh study of the ancient statues in Rome—spurred on not only by Giustiniani's collection but also by the stupendous finds made during the building of the Villa Ludovisi from 1621 to 1623—that the canon was extended and deepened and a different set of critical criteria were applied, criteria that identify the effects of different proportions and contours with such expressive and psychologically determined qualities as strength, delicacy, tenderness, and vigor. And indeed there appears, not long after Poussin's death in 1665, an expression of these criteria cropping up in the lectures of the French Academy in Paris, where they are identified as



Fig. 11-m. Belvedere *Torso* (Roman copy of the Greek original), first century B.C. Marble, height 159 cm (62 $\frac{5}{8}$ "'). Musei Vaticani, 1192



Fig. 11-n. *Laocöon* (Roman copy of the Greek original), first century A.D. Marble, height 242 cm (95 $\frac{1}{4}$ "'). Musei Vaticani, 1059



Fig. 11-o. Belvedere *Antinous* (Roman copy of the Greek original), second century A.D. Marble, height 195 cm (76 $\frac{3}{4}$ "'). Musei Vaticani, 907

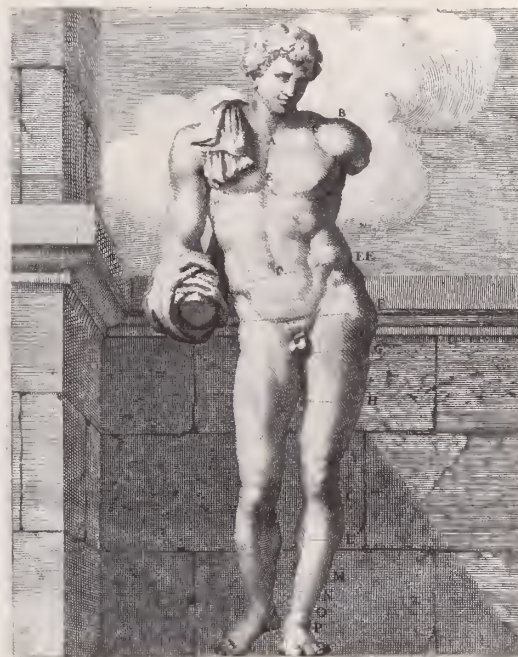


Fig. 11-p. After Nicolas Poussin (French, 1594-1665), Belvedere *Antinous*, engraving from Bellori, 1672, repro. p. 457



Fig. II-q. Nicolas Poussin (French, 1594-1665), *The Israelites Gathering Manna*, 1638-39. Oil on canvas, 149 x 200 cm (58¹/₁₆ x 78³/₄"). Musée du Louvre, Paris



Fig. II-r. (Pseudo-)Seneca (Roman copy of the Greek original), first century A.D. Marble, height 118 cm (46⁷/₁₆"). Musée du Louvre, Paris



Fig. II-s. Titian (Italian, 1477-1576), *The Worship of Venus*, 1518-19. Oil on canvas, 172 x 175 cm (67¹/₁₆ x 68⁷/₈"). Museo del Prado, Madrid

originating in Greek art. In 1669, for example, the sculptor Michel Anguier spoke on the Farnese *Hercules* (now in the Museo Nazionale in Naples),³⁶ which he identified as being by the Athenian sculptor Glycon, and in the following year he lectured on the *Laocoon*, which he attributed to the Rhodian sculptors Hagesandrus, Polidorus, and Athenodorus.³⁷ Anguier, like Le Brun and Félibien, had known Poussin in Rome in the early 1640s, and like them was a powerful agent, both in his criticism and his own sculpture, for transmitting the master's ideas to the artists of the French Academy. Although his texts have been lost, his ideas were referred to in a lecture on proportions given by the French etcher and art historian Henri Testelin on October 2, 1678:

One could, if it please your lordship, give an account in regard to this point [of the necessity for stronger contours in statues intended to be seen in full daylight] of what has been said about sculpture on previous occasions. It has been said, in speaking of the great Belvedere *Torso*, that one can distinguish four different manners among excellent sculptors. The first is called the strong and powerfully expressed, such as was followed by Michelangelo, the Carracci, and the whole of the Bolognese school, and this manner was attributed to the city of Athens. The second, rather weaker and more effeminate, which was followed by Étienne Delaulne, [Pierre de] Franqueville, [Germain] Pilon, and also Giovanni da Bologna, was considered to come from Corinth. The third, more filled with tenderness and the various graces, especially regarding delicate details, was said to be followed by Apelles, Phidias, and Praxiteles in their design. This manner was highly esteemed, and was said to come from Rhodes. But the fourth is both sweet and correct, and indicates great contours, smoothly flowing, natural and fluent. This manner derives from the Peloponnesian city of Sicyon, the birthplace of Herodotus, the sculptor of the Belvedere *Torso* [*sic*]. It achieved perfection through selecting and joining together those things that were most perfect in each of the other styles. It is also thought that this rare sculptor is the author of the small female torso that all scholars recognize as surpassing all the other antiques in its beauty.³⁸

It is of course significant that Anguier, Testelin, and the French savants not only possessed an idea of Greek style but also distinguished this style into different manners and forms of expression associated with different Greek cities; moreover, they generalized these manners into principles applicable to the best modern artists. In both respects they anticipate Winckelmann's more historically based conceptions, and they furthermore indicate their critical heritage by applying to Greek art the concept of regional (but not chronological) style that had first been developed in the Carracci Academy, where the modern Italian schools were classified as Roman, Florentine, Venetian, Lombard, and ultimately Bolognese, in which the best of the others was unified. So too, in 1668, does Le Brun anticipate the moral and geographical arguments of Winckelmann, who famously maintained that the climate of Greece produced superior physical specimens than existed in the modern world. In a remarkable response to Philippe de Champaigne's reproaching of Poussin for following the proportions and draperies of the ancient statues too closely, Le Brun asserted that on the contrary Poussin had been led through such imitation to a more perfect idea of nature itself,

For in truth the Greeks had great advantages over us because their country ordinarily produced better formed people than ours, furnishing them with better models . . . and, for greater ease in

observing their beauties, they incessantly had before their eyes young slaves who were nearly completely nude, as well as robust and well-made athletes whose appearance in their frequent spectacles gave ample material for study and examples of perfection to these excellent sculptors.³⁹

III

Duquesnoy's friend and pupil, the sculptor Orfeo Boselli, writing in Rome some time around 1657, observes that just as there are many who hate to admit that anything antique is marvelous, so there are others who study the remains of antiquity uncritically, failing to distinguish the good from the bad.⁴⁰ Those there are who can tell good from bad, he continues, but only Duquesnoy could discriminate the good from the best. As we shall see, Boselli also stresses the importance of proportion and contour as criteria central to Duquesnoy's criticism. Passeri too, in the passage already quoted above, remarks upon the refinement of Duquesnoy's judgment (which undoubtedly was sharpened by his experience as a restorer of ancient statues), reporting that Duquesnoy found in the Greek style three related abstract qualities, grandeur, nobility, and majesty, as well as a fourth, *leggiadria*, or a lively grace, which is not easily combined with the gravity and weightiness implied by the others. Giustiniani was deeply impressed with the grace and sense of breath in the *Meleager*, in contrast to which the undoubtedly majestic *Risen Christ* of Michelangelo seemed merely a statue; the comparison recalls Testelin's observation that the powerful "Athenian" style of Michelangelo and the Carracci is less perfect than the "Sicyonian" style of the Belvedere *Torso*, in which grandeur of contour is yet smoothly flowing and natural, producing a sweeter effect. Le Brun, as well as Poussin's French friend and biographer André Félibien, also refers particularly to the proportions and contours Poussin derived from "the most beautiful ancient statues," and they moreover make it plain that the artist consulted not one canon but several, which he distinguished according to affective qualities appropriate to different ages and sexes.⁴¹ Boselli too, in his unpublished treatise on sculpture, recommends particular canons according to age and sex:⁴² for old men (*vecchi*), the *Laocoon*, the Belvedere *Torso*, and the *Nile*⁴³ and *Tiber*⁴⁴ (now respectively in the Musei Vaticani and the Louvre); for powerful old men (*vecchi robusti*), the Farnese *Hercules*; for men in their full maturity (*virili*), the men in the group of the Farnese *Bull* (now in the Museo Nazionale in Naples);⁴⁵ for young men (*giovani*), the *Meleager*; for strong young men (*giovani robusti*), the bronze *Hercules* on the Capitoline;⁴⁶ for delicate youths (*giovani delicati*), the sons in the *Laocoon* group and the Belvedere *Antinous*; for clothed women (*donne vestite*), the Cesi *Juno*, the Capitoline *Urania*, and the Farnese *Flora* (now in the Museo Nazionale in Naples);⁴⁷ for women (*donne*), the Medici *Venus* and the women from the Medici *Niobid* group; and for children (*putti*), either the ancient canon represented by the Capitoline *Ercole di selce* (flint Hercules) or the modern and more tender canon discovered by Duquesnoy and Poussin on the basis of their study of Titian's *Worship of Venus* (fig. II-s) in the Ludovisi Collection (now in the Prado).⁴⁸ "The marvelous in art," Boselli writes, "derives from a perfect understanding of all the beauties pertaining to our condition, from

the least to the best, and since the ancients availed themselves of this sort of imitation their works are therefore most marvelous.” He continues,

Who will ever find a more beautiful youth than the Belvedere *Antinous*? a more beautiful woman than the Medici *Venus*? a stronger old man than the Farnese *Hercules*? a more beautiful horse than that [of Marcus Aurelius] on the Capitoline? a more robust youth than the Borghese *Gladiator*? more grave propriety than in the *River Gods* [the *Nile* and *Tiber*]? more tenderness than in the *Fauns* and *Orestes and Pylades* of the Ludovisi? more masterfulness than in the Orsini *Pasquino*? an excellence greater than in the Colonna *Deification of Homer*? more expression than in the *Laocoon* group? greater softness than in the Caetani *Graces*? more decorum than in the histories on the Capitoline, the Arch of Constantine, and the Trajanic and Antonine columns? greater artifice than in the *Ara [di Baccho]* owned by Martino Longhi? a more beautiful head and drapery than in the Cesi *Juno*?⁴⁹

Although it is clear that not all the examples cited in the above list are Greek — notably the Antonine reliefs on the Capitoline and the sculptures on the Arch of Constantine and the Columns of Trajan and Antoninus — the other statues mentioned could be so considered, many of them being signed in Greek, and all of them indeed being called Greek by Winckelmann and attributed accordingly until quite recent times.⁵⁰ But in what does their Greekness consist? Boselli confirms Le Brun’s account of the qualities that Poussin perceived in the ancient statues and imitated in *The Israelites Gathering Manna*. They are qualities dependent upon proportion and contour. “The less the contour is pronounced,” he writes, “the more Greek will the style be,” for “since the human body is spherical it does not love straight lines: for it is beautifully graded, and where the contour recedes it meets with one that swells, and this law must not be broken [by the modern sculptor].”⁵¹ This manner was taught him by Duquesnoy,

who before having [students] copy a head taught [them] what its form was, whether round, square, or oval, and how with almost invisible lines to divide the form in half and then mark with a cross the intersections of the ends of the forehead, nose, and chin, teaching more how to seek out the whole than the parts. He showed with facility in what consisted Beauty, *Disegno*, Contour in the Greek style, Proportion, and Attitude. He convinced us of the need for diligence, and even more of the importance of contour, and to put the whole and the parts together.⁵²

The purpose of such study was to acquire a grand manner, defined not according to its grandeur, nobility, and majesty alone but by its *leggiadria*, the sweetness and tenderness produced by the softness of its all but imperceptible gradations in contour:

The grand manner, accordingly, and the exquisite taste appear in making the work with sweetness and tenderness, which consists in knowing how to hide the bones, nerves, veins, and muscles; in keeping one’s eye to the whole and not the parts — something so difficult that only to the ancients was conceded the great marvel of seeing a figure consummately beautiful, with everything and with nothing being there; of seeing a mind that had regard for the bones and a hand that worked in flesh. This tenderness of manner not only was practiced in the Apollos, Antinouses, Bacchuses, Fauns, and other youths of natural stature, but also in the great River Gods and even in stupendous colossi. The more they remove the grander the style becomes, for by so much the

more does a sense of flesh increase as the hollows become less deep; and they substitute for the muscles something that seems a vein. It is an artifice beyond the supreme, and of surpassing difficulty.⁵³

It will be apparent from this extraordinary statement that Boselli is characterizing a new and refined conception of the grand manner, one evolved on the basis of Duquesnoy's and Poussin's early study of the ancient statues in Rome. It is a conception based not so much in power and epic scale as it is in an ennobled idea of the "exquisite taste." The point of emphasis is not on grandeur alone (and both Poussin and Duquesnoy, although each undertook a few large commissions, preferred smaller formats in which to express concepts of unquestioned nobility). It also stresses surface tenderness and finesse, whether in sculpturing young boys or colossi. Grandeur of style and conception—or, as Winckelmann would later name the foremost general characteristic of Greek art, "a noble simplicity and a quiet grandeur, in posture as well as in expression"⁵⁴—consists in the mastery of all perfections. For this reason Testelin placed the strong and powerfully expressed style of Michelangelo in the second rank, beneath a style that *also* contained fluency, tenderness, and grace. For the same reason Giustiniani found *The Risen Christ* only a statue in comparison to the ineffable liveliness and grace of the Pighini *Meleager*.⁵⁵ Duquesnoy had characterized the qualities of exquisite surface as inherent in Greek handling of proportion and contour, and it is precisely this tenderness and "Greekness" of manner, a certain *leggiadria*, that Michelangelo was felt to lack. Moreover, the unified perfections of the new grand manner and the exquisite taste (or what came to be called in French criticism the *grand goût*) are affective in nature. As such, they differ fundamentally from the concept of unified perfections that had been emphasized by the Carracci in their reform of painting more than thirty years earlier.⁵⁶ These had been defined as natural, and referred to the rendering of such qualities as light and shadow, color, *disegno*, and proportion as they could be deduced from nature and had been individually perfected in the work of the great Renaissance artists: The chiaroscuro of Titian and the coloring of Correggio, for example, could be joined with Michelangelo's *disegno* and Raphael's perfect symmetry and proportions. Such natural perfections could then be used for affective purposes to move the soul of the viewer, but affective qualities were not inherent in them by definition. For Poussin and Duquesnoy, on the other hand, the essence of a Greek proportion or contour, whether derived from Laocoon or one of his young sons, provoked in itself a sympathetic response embodied in the very figures of declining age or supple youth. It was itself affective, the embodiment of expression, the psychological foundation of style itself.

The concept of surface thus paradoxically includes stylistic and critical essence. As Félibien wrote, the ancients "gave their figures proportions in conformity with their character and rendered their gods with contours more fluent, more elegant, and of greater taste than those of ordinary men."⁵⁷ The point is easily made if we compare the works of Poussin, Duquesnoy, or Testa with those of Annibale Carracci or Domenichino, the "classical" painters of the earlier generation. Both Annibale and Domenichino made use of the resonant

effects of chiaroscuro, while Poussin painted in a brighter key, producing effects that recall Duquesnoy's admonition to his students that they should not hide behind the effects of shadow—"because in the end shadows are shadows, and whoever achieves shadow flees from the light."⁵⁸ Such statements by Duquesnoy, together with his well-known insistence that draperies be arranged in simple folds that reveal the form beneath, have been interpreted as expressing his opposition to the extravagantly "baroque" effects of Bernini, whose draperies are conceived independently of the forms they conceal and are deeply undercut, producing richly decorative chiaroscuro patterns and—in the view of his "Greek" critics—a glossy emotionalism fatally linked to the splendor of his materials more than to the effects of life. This understanding of Duquesnoy's criticism is true, but stresses its negative side. Duquesnoy intended to express a positive artistic conviction, one also upheld by the painter Sacchi in his debate with Pietro da Cortona in the Accademia di San Luca: that the true perfection of art, the consummate beauty of surface that carries the tenderness of life and flesh, which is the essence of the Greek sculptors' art, can only be seen in the full light of day. Thus it is that Bellori writes of Sacchi, "His contours are graded by a certain tenderness of shadows and lights, without strong contrasts, . . . and he unites with the beauty of the airs of his heads both grace and a noble manner of arranging fabrics and clothing, which he composed with an unaffected purity of folds over the nude body."⁵⁹ In this conviction painters like Sacchi and Poussin avoided the chiaroscuro and coloristic effects of not only painters like Pietro da Cortona but also Annibale Carracci and Domenichino, whose works they deeply admired.

It is obvious that Duquesnoy's *Saint Susanna* and the magnificent woman contemplating the tomb in Poussin's *Arcadian Shepherds* (fig. II-t) are portrayed with ideal features and simply massed drapery as well as particular costumes and hairstyles that are recognizably Greek; both in fact take the Cesi *Juno* as a point of departure. It is equally obvious that the heroine of Domenichino's profoundly antiquarian frescoes devoted to the life of Saint Cecilia in San Luigi dei Francesi in Rome instead responds to an ideal that cannot be called Greek at all, but is more generically antique, compounded out of both the remains of antiquity itself and the paintings of Raphael (fig. II-u). The proportions of Domenichino's figures are discernibly squatter, calling to mind such models as the figures sculptured on the Column of Trajan as well as those painted by Raphael in the Loggia of Psyche in the Farnesina.⁶⁰ They are deduced from a study of the natural perfections rendered in canonical models, rather than from an analysis of those models according to type or expressive ideal. Because of this Domenichino's rendering of the dramatic structure of his story—notably his handling of the *affetti*, or affections expressed by the figures, for which he was preeminently famous—follows from his disposition of the actors as participants in a great and solemn event, all carrying stamped upon their faces and in their gestures a sign of inner character. Poussin, as is seen from Le Brun's perceptive description of *The Israelites Gathering Manna*, not only represented the affections imprinted on the faces of the individual Israelites but also embodied expression in the very nature of their characters as defined in the perfected and abstract forms of virile manhood, matronly nobility, advancing age, and



Fig. 11-t. Nicolas Poussin (French, 1594–1665), *The Arcadian Shepherds*, c. 1638–39. Oil on canvas, 85 x 121 cm (33⁷/₁₆ x 47⁵/₈”). Musée du Louvre, Paris

tender youth. The proportions and contours appropriate to the character of each figure as representative of one or another universal human condition directly evoke a sympathetic response from the viewer that fits the particular part each plays in the story. Such a response, as conceived by Poussin, is in essence psychological and precedes rational analysis of dramatic plot as orchestrated by the portrayal of the *affetti*. The *affetti* emblemize emotion but do not embody expression, according to which the viewer's primary response derives from an instinctive, virtually empathic identification with the character and forms of the figures themselves. Thus, in Poussin's *Massacre of the Innocents* in Chantilly (see fig. 50–51b), as well as in Testa's painting of the same subject in the Galleria Spada (cat. no. 52), we see the perfected forms of an infant Eros, a womanly Niobid, and a powerful gladiator. We need no exegete to tell us what we can already sense and on that basis identify with the morally right conclusion, recoiling as we must at the sight of tenderness and nobility overwhelmed by brute strength.

From this moment a rationalist Italian theory of the *affetti* begins to be replaced by the critical concept called *expression* by the French. The distinction is a subtle one, but it is also fundamental. The concept of expression is at heart psychological in that it is based upon an emerging awareness of pure and unmediated sensory response to forms in and of themselves. At the same time it is intensely moral, simultaneously identifying the perfected forms of antiquity not only with expression at its most intense but also with a beauty that in its ineffable and irresistible perfection embodies the very idea of truth itself. With this fundamental change in emphasis a truly classical criticism in its actual modern meaning, a criticism based not in reason alone (whatever its apologists might claim) but also in the paired concepts of an ideal beauty derived from Greek models and an instinctive moral response to the forms in which such beauty is embodied, begins its slow road to ascendancy

Fig. II-u. Domenichino (Italian, 1581–1641), *Saint Cecilia Refusing to Worship the Idols*, 1612–15. Fresco, 135 x 242 cm (53 1/8 x 95 1/4"). Polet chapel, San Luigi dei Francesi, Rome



over an earlier criticism of natural perfection based in a concept of the rational workings of universal laws of nature deduced from the art of antiquity in general as well as from the masters of the High Renaissance.

IV
The marked difference between the art of Domenichino and that of Testa in figural proportion as well as conception has caused some confusion about Passeri's claim that as a youth Testa had gained entry into Domenichino's studio. Although Testa had been set by Domenichino to draw after the ancient statues, his own conception of ancient style was grounded in his early acquaintance with Duquesnoy and Poussin and his early work for Vincenzo Giustiniani and Cassiano dal Pozzo. It is telling that his figures, his use of classical models, and his modes of invention and expression are much closer to Poussin's and Duquesnoy's than they are to those of the older master. Indeed a number of his drawings, including the wonderful study at the Rugby School for *The Prophecy of Basilides* (cat. no. 110) show him following the method for establishing proportion that Boselli reports Duquesnoy used to teach his students, with almost invisible lines dividing the form in half and tiny crosses marking the principal intersections of the various parts. As Passeri reports, it was from such study and from his "natural good taste" that Testa acquired his own *leggiadra maniera*, "such that he gained among the youths who were studying at the time an aura of great reputation, and was called *Il Lucchesino, esquesito disegnatore* [the little Lucchese, exquisite draughtsman]."⁶¹

It cannot be said that Testa was one of the originators of the grand and exquisite style, but it was his great good fortune to be present in the days of its inception, and it was his genius to understand and to be one of the first to explore its values in inventions of his

own devising. The irresistible infant loves who swarm in giddy profusion in *Venus and Adonis* (cat. no. 16) and *The Garden of Venus* (cat. no. 13), and who reappear as angelic cherubs in *The Dream of Joseph* (cat. no. 25) and *An Allegory in Honor of the Arrival of Cardinal Franciotti as Bishop of Lucca* (cat. no. 36), are perfect models of the *putto moderno* that Bellori and Passeri report Poussin and Duquesnoy created on the basis of their close study of Titian's *Worship of Venus*. Colantuono has shown, with reference to Boselli's treatise, how the proportions of these infants differ from the *putto antico* and how they are younger in age, being really impossibly young to be performing the things they do.⁶² He has further shown how the *amabile proportione* (lovable proportion) of the antique putto denoted and indeed embodied an idea of *dolcezza*, or sweetness of expression, while that of the modern signified, even as it simultaneously gave kinetic form and expression to, the quality of *tenerezza*, or ineffable tenderness. Testa's infants are not merely iconographic representations of the tender loves but are in fact the very figures of tenderness itself, a tenderness that is appropriate to the feelings as well as the themes of love they celebrate and that is bodied forth in the softly swelling contours of their cheeks, bellies, and thighs.

Testa indeed made the identification of passion with fleshly existence iconographically explicit in a number of his etchings, most movingly perhaps in the allegories of *Summer* (cat. no. 76) and *Winter* (cat. nos. 81 and 82). In both he adopted the famous Platonic metaphor of the winged soul (for Testa the soul of the artist) struggling to escape from the mortal bondage of time and its entrapment in the elemental coil of bodily existence. For Plato the descent of the soul into matter meant its imprisonment in the passions of the sublunar world, from which escape was possible only through death or the exercise of virtue. In *Summer* the youthful soul of the artist hovers near death, assaulted by the elements and the passions directed against him, while in *Winter* his aging soul struggles upward toward its desired immortality, aided by Virtue, in an attempt to rise above the passions that still threaten, in the forms of Envy and Drunkenness, to pull him down.⁶³ Fleshly existence, in other words, signifies for Testa the embodiment of the passions, and the pathos of our common humanity is expressed in the tender vulnerability of the artist's youthful soul and in the declining strength of his aging soul, respectively embodied with the proportions and contours of the *Antinous* and the *Laocoon*.

Similar allegories of the passions together with the fleshly expression of their different natures occur throughout Testa's work, as in *Altro diletto ch'impapar non trovo* (cat. no. 101). In his etching of *The Triumph of Painting on Parnassus* (cat. no. 73) Testa's invention called for the literal personification of the affections to indicate the particular and supreme merit of Painting herself, which is to express the passions. As the cartouches placed along the lower edge of the etching state, she expresses the affections (*AFFECTUS EXPRIMIT*) and therefore merits a triumphal arch (*ARCUM MERETUR*) and exaltation on Parnassus (*PARNASO TRIUMPHAT*). The affections are personified in the forms of a pair of lovers in the left background (tender infant loves at their feet) who signify Pleasure; in the figure wrestling with a serpent, derived from the *Laocoon*—long considered to be the *exemplum doloris* (exemplar of pain) *par excellence*—who hence is to be identified as Pain, the opposite of

Pleasure; in the heroically proportioned man thrusting his arm into a lion's maw and in the emaciated old man behind him, who signify respectively Magnanimity and Pusillanimity; and in the lean, snake-encircled woman being crushed under the wheels of Painting's chariot, who represents Envy.⁶⁴ But it is not the ability of Painting to allegorize the passions that earns her a triumph on Parnassus but rather her ability to express them and to embody them in living flesh, which Testa has done in conceiving and rendering the proportions and contours of his figures, endowing the young lovers with the youthful proportions and soft contours of the *Antinous*, Pain with the forms of the aging *Laocoon*, Magnanimity with those of the virile Belvedere *Torso*, and Pusillanimity with the desiccated formal attributes of the old Borghese (*Pseudo-*)*Seneca*. In the same way the Muses opposite are distinguished expressively, with the leading Muse endowed with the nobility and grandeur of the Cesi *Juno*, for example, and the Muse seen in profile behind her figured with the more youthful proportions of the Medici *Venus*. As the one embodies a regal and matronly dignity appropriate to Melpomene, the Muse of Tragedy, and the other a more delicately voluptuous ideal appropriate to Erato, the Muse of Love Poetry, so too does the young hero of *The Triumph of the Virtuous Artist on Parnassus* (cat. no. 102) embody the very essence of hopeful youth by incarnating the proportions and contours of the *Antinous*, while the figure of Time at his feet, formed on the model of the *Laocoon*, expresses pain and defeat not merely because he is allegorically bound but also fundamentally because his body is that of a man beyond the fullness of adult strength, a body beginning to decline with advancing age. In this mode of artistic thinking we can discern the workings of a revised concept of artistic value, one based in an emerging criticism of pure expression founded in an idea of psychological response to form. This concept is not yet the pure aesthetic conceived by Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten and Immanuel Kant a century later, for the methods followed by Testa and his early mentors are profoundly rational, but one rooted in an emerging idea of taste (meaning the exercise of a judgment of sense, or aesthetic judgment, as Aristotle had defined it) that has long been seen as paving the way for their discoveries.⁶⁵

In the same sense the acutely rational analysis of ideal qualities undertaken by Poussin, Duquesnoy, and Testa in those exhilarating days of drawing and study in the gardens of Rome during the 1620s paved the way for Winckelmann's concept of Greek style, even though it cannot be said to be identical to it. Yet they set the criteria that were to be developed in the French Academy and transmitted to Winckelmann more than a century later in their very concept of the Greek in art, in their definition of a Greek grand manner possessing both nobility and a *leggiadria* bestowed through the workings of a refined and exquisite taste, in their derivation of the principles of Greek proportion through exact measurement, in their responses to the indescribably subtle and life-simulating modulations of a Greek contour, and in their identification of a Greek ideal with expressive and poetic qualities that are simultaneously psychological and highly moral. How this was done is still not well understood. As Thuillier observed some thirty years ago, the painters, sculptors, and critics of the French Academy, such as Poussin's friends Le Brun, Anguier, and Félibien, were not mere epigones of the Italians but developers of highly original

channels of thought.—The measure of their originality and its basis in ideas first articulated and given form in those early years of intense study and creative activity in the sculpture collections in Rome in the 1620s is still uncharted.⁶⁶

The reasons for this are not hard to discover. They are based in a modern contempt for the kind of theoretical reasoning and study that so deeply engrossed Poussin, Duquesnoy, and Testa, together with a modern mistrust and even fear of emotional content in art. Haskell and Penny, for example, in an excellent and indispensable recent book on the collecting and appreciation of ancient art entitled *Taste and the Antique*, find themselves constantly embarrassed when the actual expression of taste, as distinguished from its material consequences, arises in the writings of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century critics and travelers. The plates of Gérard Audran's *Les proportions du corps humain mesurées sur les plus belles figures de l'antiquité*, published in Paris in 1683, are found to be "somewhat pedantic," although in spirit and content they follow upon the measurements of the ancient statues made by Duquesnoy and Poussin in their attempts to understand the subtleties of Greek proportion and contour half a century earlier.⁶⁷ Stern disapproval greets the "irresistible urge to rhapsodise" over the familiar canon of ancient statues from which, as Montesquieu is quoted, "the Moderns have built up their system of proportions, and . . . which have virtually given us the arts."⁶⁸ And yet the system of proportions deduced by Poussin and Duquesnoy in their studies of those statues was conceived with a purpose that was scarcely pedantic but instead inherently affective, rhapsodic in its true meaning of exalted expression. Nevertheless, the Abbé Raguenet is found to have extolled the expression inherent in the ancient statues "in melodramatic prose" and not without "a touch of the absurd" in the following passage from *Les monumens de Rome* of 1700:

Life, Death, Agony, the suspension of Life, the image of Death—all that is nothing; but states which are neither Life, nor Death, nor Agony, such as the Niobe who is neither alive nor dead nor dying but turned to stone. Two kinds of Sleep—natural sleep, as in the Faun in the Palazzo Barberini and drunken sleep as in the Ludovisi Silenus. Reverie—as in the figure which one sees on the Palatine [the Farnese *Agrippina*]. Lassitude—as in the Farnese Hercules. Agony—as in the Seneca in the Villa Borghese. Finally, the very moment from Life to Death, the instant of the last breath, as in the Myrmillo [*Dying Gladiator*].⁶⁹

Neither melodrama nor absurdity seems apparent in these words, unless one were to find the pathos of the works of art themselves melodramatic and absurd. What appears instead is the critical application of an important theory of expression that had taken deep roots in the thought of the artists of the French Academy and that is itself a response to expressive qualities in art that does not differ in kind (or perceptiveness) from Boselli's discernment in the *Laocoon* of piety mixed with agony, or Winckelmann's perception that the agony expressed in the statue follows not only from facial expression but also from the very forms of the body.

Winckelmann's famous poetic passages on the Belvedere *Torso*, *Apollo*, and *Laocoon*

are also received by Haskell and Penny with a certain uneasiness, but his methods are described in a fine, although sardonic, paragraph:

His generalisations about the treatment of gods and heroes in sculpture are always based on the scrutiny of separate parts of individual works, and this technique . . . further sharpened in his readers that alertness to minute particulars which art historians today are taught to believe was first proposed by [Giovanni] Morelli a century later. Winckelmann's observations on the size of nipples and knees; his fastidious anxiety about the depth of the *Venus de' Medici's* navel; the enormous importance he attached to the scarcely detectable flaring of the *Apollo's* nostrils — are all highly characteristic: "he catches the thread of a whole sequence of laws in some hollowing of the hand, or dividing of the hair" [Pater]. We sense his influence immediately when we read in Goethe of a group of German art students discussing the *Apollo's* ears, or when we hear a French connoisseur pointing out that the merit of the *Capitoline Antinous* was demonstrated by the fact that the undercutting of the testicles was so fine that a piece of paper slipped between them and the thigh would be held in place, or, later, when — as described by an indignant traveller — "so many people who know nothing at all of muscles and veins" [Galiffe] are to be found holding forth for hours about the surface of the [Belvedere] *Torso*.⁷⁰

We in turn can sense the influence upon Winckelmann of a method and a critical vocabulary that had earlier been developed for describing the qualities of the Greek style — the analysis of the statues and their proportions part by part, the attention to the rippling contours of muscles and veins, the aesthetic of surface treatment, and above all the expressive language employed. In all these things appears the marshaling of critical criteria and aims that descend from the analyses of the ancient statues undertaken by Duquesnoy and Poussin many years earlier, applied by them in their own art and transmitted to their followers in Rome, Paris, and ultimately Prussia.

It is often said that the classical style in seventeenth-century Rome, from its inception in the later works of Annibale Carracci to its fundamental reorientation in the art and critical thought of Duquesnoy, Poussin, Sacchi, and Testa, however sublime their individual creations may be, was nevertheless a rear-guard action that in the end suffered defeat at the hands of the dominant baroque taste expressed in the sculpture of Bernini and the paintings of Pietro da Cortona. In the short term, this may be correct, although even as a short-term proposition it is open to debate. Poussin shunned public commissions, and Sacchi and Duquesnoy (a man, like Testa, deeply melancholic by nature) were both notoriously slow workers, undoubtedly because of the extreme difficulty of the aims they set for themselves. They also had great reputations.⁷¹ By the end of the century Roman painting was dominated by Carlo Maratta, who had been Sacchi's pupil and whose style was formed on Sacchi's paintings in the Lateran Baptistry and his astonishing portrait of *Marc'antonio Pasqualini Crowned by Apollo* now in the Metropolitan Museum (fig. II-w), in which the figure of the god is conceived on an extreme interpretive idea of softly feminine expression — indeed prettiness of taste — deduced from the Belvedere *Apollo* that can only be called Neoclassic *avant la lettre*. In Maratta's lifetime Italian dominance in the arts was ceding to France, where



Fig. II-v. François Duquesnoy (Flemish, 1597–1643), *Mercury*, c. 1629–30. Bronze, height 63 cm (24¹/₁₆”). Princely Collections of the Prince of Liechtenstein, Vaduz Castle, inv. no. 611



Fig. II-w. Andrea Sacchi (Italian, 1599–1661), *Marc'antonio Pasqualini Crowned by Apollo*, c. 1636–40. Oil on canvas, 281 x 191 cm (110⁵/₈ x 75³/₁₆”). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, Enid A. Haupt Gift, Gwynne Andrews Fund, and Purchase, 1871, by exchange, 1981, 1981.317



Fig. II-x. After Nicolas Poussin (French, 1594–1665), *The Marriage of Hercules with Megara* (study for the Grand Gallery of the Louvre), c. 1640. Pen and gray wash, heightened with white; 20 x 33 cm (7⁷/₈ x 13”). Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Paris

the classical ideas and example of Poussin were to be developed and tested against the coloristic and dramatic powers of another non-Italian painter, Peter Paul Rubens.

In the long term, it is certainly not true that the idea of classical art prefigured in the discovery of the Greek style was in any sense a rear-guard action; it was in fact a new and powerful idea that still has not completely run its course. The emergence of classic taste in France, together with its identification with an idea of aesthetic purity and expressive truth (as contrasted to an idea of speciousness and theatricality identifiable in baroque taste), is fundamentally linked to the thought of Poussin. Similarly his paintings, and especially the designs he made for the decoration of the Grand Gallery in the Louvre (which were to be painted as grisailles imitating ancient relief sculpture and which possess a purity of style that might raise the envy of a John Flaxman or Bertel Thorwaldsen), provided the examples from which French Neoclassic style took its point of departure (fig. 11-x). Duquesnoy's *Saint Susanna* is little known except to specialists today, but for Bellori it was the canon for the modern draped figure. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was copied more than any other statue, including the most famous works by Bernini, and Wittkower is right to observe that a direct line leads from its lyrical and delicate tenderness of expression (called by Bellori "un aria dolce di grazia purissima," or a sweet air of purest grace)⁷² to the often sentimental prettiness of what he calls the "classicist rococo."⁷³ In the same way that Cassiano dal Pozzo had assembled and catalogued the remains of the Roman past as well as the materials of natural history in the drawings he commissioned for his *Museo cartaceo*, so Poussin and Duquesnoy subjected the material of style and expression themselves to a kind of taxonomic analysis, redefining the criteria of excellence. In the process they not only expanded the canon of ancient exemplars but also changed the ways in which they were experienced and understood, and in their own art put their discoveries to the test, enriching the ancient canon with modern "Greek" exemplars. Thus, as Bellori again writes of one of the mourning infants Duquesnoy sculptured for the tomb of Ferdinand van den Eynde in the church of Santa Maria dell'Anima in Rome, "This is certainly the most beautiful infant that ever was animated by Duquesnoy's chisel, and which is put forward by sculptors and painters as the exemplar and idea [of tender infancy], together with his companion opposite."⁷⁴

Testa's work is even less well known today, but there was great demand for his prints, which were constantly reprinted from the day of his death until well into the eighteenth century by publishers in Rome, Paris, and Amsterdam.⁷⁵ His work too was much copied in the academies of Italy, France, and England, and the classical conception of his later prints was especially emulated in French Neoclassic painting. The powerful expression of the passions in etchings like *The Suicide of Cato* (cat. no. 116) and paintings like *Aeneas on the Bank of the River Styx* (cat. no. 127) found its direct inheritance in Le Brun's *Treatise on the Passions*⁷⁶ and struck deep chords in romantic classicists like Henry Fuseli and James Barry.⁷⁷ Similarly, Testa's series of etchings devoted to the *Iliad*, and notably *Achilles Dragging the Body of Hector Around the Walls of Troy* (cat. no. 121), profoundly affected the works of Gavin Hamilton.⁷⁸ In perhaps the finest tribute of all, many of his drawings were

acquired and engraved by the French publisher François Collignon, who issued them not as finished examples of Testa's inventions (as Marcantonio had done for Raphael) but instead as samples, complete with pentimenti, of his draughtsmanship. Testa is one of the first artists whose drawings were published in this way, and this is in itself sufficient vindication of Passeri's claims for the high regard in which connoisseurs and other artists held his drawings, earning him the name of *esquesito disegnatore*. Such exquisiteness was the fruit of that swelling of delight Passeri recalls was roused in the young artist when he first experienced the "taste expressed in the ancient statues" while drawing as a youth in the sculpture gardens of Rome.

NOTES

- 1 Passeri, 1679, p. 182. See further Cropper, 1984, p. 13.
- 2 Sandrart, 1675, pp. 288–89.
- 3 Blunt, 1967, pp. 54–58.
- 4 Cropper, 1984, p. 13. See also Francesco Solinas and Anna Nicolò, "Cassiano dal Pozzo and Pietro Testa: New Documents Concerning the *Museo cartaceo*," below.
- 5 See the standard account in Rudolf Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy, 1600 to 1750*, 3rd rev. ed. (Harmondsworth, 1973), esp. pp. 261–78.
- 6 Heinrich Wölfflin, *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe: Das Problem der Stilentwicklung in der neueren Kunst* (Munich, 1915); the subtitle is significant.
- 7 Otto Kurz, "Barocco, storia di una parola," *Lettere Italiane*, vol. 12 (1960), pp. 414–44; see also John Rupert Martin, *Baroque* (New York, 1977), pp. 11, 297, 306–7.
- 8 René Wellek, "The Term and Concept of 'Classicism' in Literary History," in E. R. Wasserman, ed., *Aspects of the Eighteenth Century* (Baltimore, 1965), pp. 105–28.
- 9 Harris, 1977, pp. 26–28, is only one among several scholars who have chafed against the generic opposition of classic-baroque as being too general and imprecise to apply in the close study of a particular artist, even one so closely identified with seventeenth-century "classicism" as Sacchi.
- 10 See Otto Brendel, "The Classical Style in Modern Art," in Whitney Oates, ed., *From Sophocles to Picasso: The Present-Day Vitality of the Classical Tradition* (Bloomington, 1962), pp. 71–118; see also *Encyclopedia of World Art*, s.v. "classicism."
- 11 Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums* (Dresden, 1764 [recte late 1763]). For useful brief summaries of Winckelmann's achievement, see Hugh Honour, *Neo-Classicism* (Harmondsworth, 1968), pp. 57–60; and Haskell and Penny, 1981, pp. 99–107. See further Carl Justi, *Winckelmann und seine Zeitgenossen* (Leipzig, 1898); Henry C. Hatfield, *Winckelmann and His German Critics, 1755–1781: A Prelude to the Classical Age* (New York, 1943); Wolfgang Leppmann, *Winckelmann* (New York, 1970); and Alexander Potts, "Winckelmann's Interpretation of the History of Ancient Art in Its Eighteenth-Century Context" (Ph.D. diss., The Warburg Institute, University of London, 1978).
- 12 It is significant, of course, as has often been pointed out (see Honour, *Neo-Classicism*, p. 32), that Mengs's *Parnassus*, painted for the main room in the Villa Albani in Rome, with its famous collection of ancient sculptures, seeks to recreate an idea of classical perfection with reference not only to antiquity but also to the paintings of Raphael and Domenichino.
- 13 Ireneo Affò, *Ragionamento . . . sopra una stanza dipinta dal celeberrimo Antonio da Correggio nel Monastero di S. Paolo in Parma* (Parma, 1794), p. 41.
- 14 Cropper, 1984, p. 13.

- 15 Passeri, 1679, p. 112.
- 16 Blunt, 1967, pp. 232–33.
- 17 Antonia Nava Cellini, *La scultura del Seicento*, Storia dell'arte in Italia (Turin, 1982), p. 77.
- 18 Bellori, 1672, p. 435. For the painting see Blunt, 1967, pl. 116.
- 19 Dempsey, 1963, pp. 109–19.
- 20 Blunt, 1967, pp. 233–35. For the drawing see *ibid.*, p. 181, fig. 149.
- 21 The principal figure in the painting in the Prado, known only as a *Landscape with Buildings* (fig. 11-1), also wears the *duplex pannum* and carries the *baculum* and is clearly meant to represent Diogenes (whom he physiognomically resembles). The painting may be more satisfactorily entitled *Diogenes Departing Sparta for Athens*, since it illustrates the story told by Diogenes Laertius in his *Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers* that when Diogenes visited that warlike city (Poussin shows young men training with their horses in the background) he left it in disgust, saying he preferred even the effeminacy of Athens to the so-called manhood of Sparta.
- 22 Blunt, 1967, p. 193.
- 23 Haskell and Penny, 1981, p. 270, fig. 140.
- 24 See Cropper, 1984, pp. 65–95, for a thorough discussion of the imagery of *Il Liceo della Pittura*. The bust of Minerva in *Altro diletto ch' imparar non trovo* (cat. no. 101), incidentally, is also copied from the *Minerva Giustiniani* (note in particular the rams' heads on her helmet).
- 25 Haskell and Penny, 1981, p. 265, fig. 137.
- 26 Quoted in Bottari and Ticozzi, 1822–25, vol. 6, pp. 135–36.
- 27 Norbert Huse, "Zur 'S. Susanna' des Duquesnoy," in *Argo: Festschrift für Kurt Bauch* (Cologne, 1970), pp. 324–35, observes correctly that the *Saint Susanna* also clearly evinces Duquesnoy's close study of the *Cesi Juno*.
- 28 Bellori, 1672, pp. 289 and 426. See also G. Kauffmann, "La 'Sainte famille à l'escalier' et le problème des proportions dans l'oeuvre de Poussin," *Actes du Colloque International Nicolas Poussin* (Paris, 1960), vol. 1, pp. 141–49, for drawings by Poussin after the *Antinous*, *Laocoon*, and *Belvedere Apollo*.
- 29 Quoted in Henri Jouin, ed., *Conférences de l'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture* (Paris, 1883), pp. 48–65 (Conference of November 5, 1667); see also André Félibien, *Entretiens sur les vies et sur les ouvrages des plus excellents peintres anciens et modernes . . .* (1725; reprint, Farnborough, Eng., 1967), vol. 4, "Entretien VIII," pp. 120–22.
- 30 Haskell and Penny, 1981, p. 275, fig. 143.
- 31 *Ibid.*, p. 338, fig. 179.
- 32 *Ibid.*, p. 197, fig. 102.
- 33 For the *Apollo* see *ibid.*, p. 149, fig. 77; for the *Venus* see *ibid.*, p. 327, fig. 173.
- 34 *Ibid.*, p. 188, fig. 97.
- 35 See Perrier's *Segmenta nobilium signorum et statuarii quae temporis dentem invidium evasere* (Rome and Paris, 1638); and his *Icones et segmenta illustrium e marmore tabularum quae Romae adhuc extant* (Rome and Paris, 1645).
- 36 Haskell and Penny, 1981, p. 231, fig. 118.
- 37 Quoted in Jouin, ed., *Conférences*, p. 113.
- 38 Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 174.
- 39 Quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 91–92. See also the recent fine article by Michael Fried, "Antiquity Now: Reading Winckelmann on Imitation," *October*, no. 37 (1986), pp. 87–97.
- 40 Orfeo Boselli, *Osservazioni della scultura antica dai manoscritti Corsini e Doria e altri scritti*, ed. Phoebe Dent Weil (Florence, 1978), folio 11 verso.
- 41 Besides Le Brun's lecture on *The Israelites Gathering Manna*, see also Sébastien Bourdon's lecture on Poussin's *Christ Healing the Blind at Jericho* (now in the Louvre [Blunt, 1967, pl. 200]), where he observes that the artist based one of the men on the Farnese *Wounded Gladiator*, another on the *Apollo Antique*, and one of the women on the *Medici Venus* (in Jouin, ed., *Conférences*, p. 72).
- 42 Boselli, *Osservazioni*, folios 11 verso and 12.
- 43 Haskell and Penny, 1981, p. 273, fig. 142.
- 44 *Ibid.*, p. 310, fig. 164.
- 45 *Ibid.*, p. 166, fig. 85.
- 46 *Ibid.*, p. 228, fig. 117.
- 47 *Ibid.*, p. 217, fig. 113.
- 48 The ancient and modern canons for representing infants are penetratingly analyzed in Colantuono, 1986.
- 49 Boselli, *Osservazioni*, folio 3 recto and verso. For the equestrian *Marcus Aurelius*, see Haskell and Penny, 1981, p. 253, fig. 129; for the *Borghese Gladiator* (Louvre), see *ibid.*, p. 223, fig. 115; for the *Fauns* (Museo delle Terme, Museo Nazionale Romano), see *ibid.*, p. 287, fig. 151; for the *Orestes and Pylades* (Prado), see *ibid.*, p. 175, fig. 90; for the *Pasquino* (Piazza del Pasquino, Rome), see *ibid.*, p. 292, fig. 153; and for *The Deification of Homer* (British Museum, London), see Margarete Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* (New York, 1955), fig. 497.
- 50 The *Medici Venus*, *Borghese Gladiator*, *Farnese Hercules*, and *Belvedere Torso*, for example, are all signed in Greek, while the *Laocoon* and *Farnese*

- Bull* correspond to statues attributed to Greek sculptors by Pliny. Statues like the *Antinous* and the equestrian *Marcus Aurelius* were thought to be by Greek sculptors, and Bellori reports in a letter to Carlo Dati that the latter was by an Athenian who signified his origin by figuring the foretop of the horse's mane in the shape of an owl.
- 51 Boselli, *Osservazioni*, folio 10 verso.
- 52 Ibid., folios 9 verso and 10.
- 53 Ibid., folio 11.
- 54 See Honour, *Neo-Classicism*, p. 31.
- 55 It is undoubtedly here, even as Poussin and Duquesnoy were forming an idea of Greek form and expression, that we find the origins of the reaction against Michelangelo's style (as opposed to sixteenth-century Counter-Reformatory attacks on his handling of the subject of *The Last Judgment* in the Sistine Chapel). The revision downward of Michelangelo's relative standing within the artistic canon is notoriously a phenomenon of French academic criticism, and indeed provides an important touchstone for distinguishing the values of this criticism, which is profoundly based in the thought and achievement of Poussin, from those of the Italians. See in particular Roland Fréart de Chambray's *Idée de la perfection de la peinture*, first published in Paris in 1662 (not only for its attack on Michelangelo but also for its praise of the proportions and *taille* of the figures in Raphael's design of *The Massacre of the Innocents* [see fig. 50-51a]); see also Jacques Thuillier, "Polémiques autour de Michel-Ange au XVII^e siècle," *Bulletin de la Société d'Étude du XVII^e siècle*, vols. 36-37 (1957), pp. 351-91.
- 56 Charles Dempsey, *Annibale Carracci and the Beginnings of Baroque Style*, Villa I Tatti, The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies, no. 3 (Glückstadt, 1977).
- 57 André Félibien, *L'Idée du peintre parfait* (London, 1707), pp. 20-21.
- 58 Quoted in Boselli, *Osservazioni*, folio 10.
- 59 Bellori, 1672, p. 556.
- 60 For the Loggia of Psyche, see A. P. Oppé, *Raphael*, ed. Charles Mitchell, rev. ed. (New York, 1970), pls. 198-204.
- 61 Passeri, 1679, p. 183.
- 62 Colantuono, 1986, pp. 37-40.
- 63 For a detailed study of the imagery of the four "Seasons" by Testa (see cat. nos. 74-83), see Cropper, 1974b.
- 64 For a detailed discussion of the print, see Cropper, 1984, pp. 45-54. And for the *Laocoon* as an *exemplum doloris*, see L. D. Ettlinger, "Exemplum doloris: Reflections on the Laocoon Group," in Milliard Meiss, ed., *De artibus opuscula XL: Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky* (New York, 1963), pp. 121-26. Although the *Laocoon* had been taken as the *exemplum doloris* ever since its discovery early in the sixteenth century, there is a significant difference in interpretive position regarding the way in which it exemplifies pain: on the one hand through representation of the *affetti* in Laocoon's anguished face and muscles straining against the serpent's coils; and on the other through an empathic response conditioned by the proportions and contours of the body. The latter of course corresponds to the position developed by Poussin and Duquesnoy.
- 65 See Dempsey, *Carracci*, pp. 65-71. Poussin's analysis of the various types of female beauty in his *Eliezer and Rebecca*, as well as Testa's notes on female beauty in the Düsseldorf Notebook, have been discussed in Cropper, 1976.
- 66 Thuillier, "Polémiques," pp. 353-54.
- 67 Haskell and Penny, 1981, p. 42.
- 68 Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 73.
- 69 Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 30; the Barberini *Faun* (Glyptothek, Munich) and *The Dying Gladiator* (Musei Capitolini, Rome) are reproduced, respectively, on p. 203, fig. 105, and p. 225, fig. 116.
- 70 *Ibid.*, p. 102. The quotations are from Walter Pater, *Studies in the History of the Renaissance* (London, 1873), p. 164; and from James A. Galiffe, *Italy and Its Inhabitants: An Account of a Tour in That Country in 1816 and 1817* (London, 1820), vol. 1, p. 247.
- 71 Extremely interesting light is shed on Duquesnoy's reputation by the story of how his work entered the Liechtenstein collections. Several bronzes were bought by Karl Eusebius von Liechtenstein (1611-1684) while the sculptor was still in Rome, and the surviving documentation makes clear that the prince was interested in precisely the exquisite qualities of surface handling that have been discussed here; see "The Collection of Sculpture," by Olga Raggio in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Liechtenstein: The Princely Collections* (October 26, 1985-May 1, 1986), pp. 63-65 and cat. nos. 49 and 50. The latter are for two exquisite bronzes, of *Mercury* (fig. 11-v) and *Apollo*, respectively, both based on the proportions and contour of the *Antinous*, and the former of which may be the bronze commissioned by Vincenzo Giustiniani as a pendant to an ancient bronze of *Hercules* in

- his collection (now in the Villa Albani in Rome). Both the ancient statue and Duquesnoy's bronze were reproduced in the *Galleria Giustiniani*.
- 72 Bellori, 1672, p. 291.
- 73 Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy*, p. 275. As Wittkower remarks, Bellori's regarding of *Saint Susanna* as establishing a modern canon "was perfectly justified, since there is hardly any other work in the history of sculpture, not excluding Bernini's most important statues, that had an effect as lasting as Duquesnoy's *Susanna*."
- 74 Bellori, 1672, p. 294.
- 75 See Francesca Consagra, "The Marketing of Pietro Testa's 'Poetic Inventions,'" below.
- 76 Charles Le Brun, *Méthode pour apprendre à dessiner les Passions* (Paris, 1698).
- 77 Wellek, "Classicism," and for Testa's later influence see Elizabeth Cropper, "Pietro Testa, 1612-1650: The Exquisite Draughtsman from Lucca," above.
- 78 Dora Wiebenson, "Subjects from Homer's *Iliad* in Neoclassical Art," *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 46 (March 1964), pp. 23-37.

Cassiano dal Pozzo and Pietro Testa:
New Documents Concerning the *Museo cartaceo*

We have only the belated testimony of Filippo Baldinucci concerning the number of drawings actually executed by Pietro Testa for Cassiano dal Pozzo's *Museo cartaceo*, his project to create a "Paper Museum" of drawings after surviving antiquities as well as natural history. He attributes to the artist "five large books" divided according to subject, copies of the illustrations to the ancient manuscripts of Virgil and Terence in the Vatican, and the Nilotic mosaics at Palestrina, as well as "other things in color" that he had seen in Cassiano's house.¹ Baldinucci traces Testa's prolific invention and skill as a draughtsman to the practice he had gained from making these studies for Cassiano (fig. III-a).² In his enthusiasm for the artist, whose life he includes in both the *Notizie* and the *Cominciamento*, the Florentine biographer constructs an ideal image of the relationship between Cassiano and Testa that rivaled that already described by Giovanni Pietro Bellori as existing between Cassiano and Nicolas Poussin, the *pittore romano*.³ When he recalls Cassiano's *officina*, or workshop, where Testa's talent was formed, Baldinucci takes up a theme from another text, namely a statement by Poussin from Bellori's life of the artist:

After getting to know Testa [Cassiano] took him under his protection, wishing to have him come often to his house, which he had embellished and ennobled with that marvelous museum and gallery. Speaking of the latter, the famous painter Nicolas Poussin used to say that he had been trained up in his art in the house and museum of the Cavaliere dal Pozzo. And indeed he was right to say so, given that so many marvels of that sort were to be seen there that they could well serve to lead every *studioso* to the height of virtue.⁴

Through this appropriation of Bellori's remarks in a thinly veiled polemic, Baldinucci seeks to vindicate a Tuscan maternity for the currents of artistic and scientific research that developed between the workshop and the library of Cassiano, whose connections with the Florentine court went back to his early youth.

Born in Vercelli in 1588, Cassiano dal Pozzo belonged to an illustrious Piedmontese family.⁵ He first studied in Bologna and then under the guidance of his uncle Archbishop Carlo Antonio dal Pozzo in Pisa, where he took his degree in law in 1607.⁶ In 1608 the Grand Duke Ferdinand I, for whom the archbishop had acted as minister, appointed Cassiano to a judgeship in Siena, a post he held until 1611 (see figs. III-b and III-c).⁷ While in Siena Cassiano made the decision to move to Rome, arriving there in 1612. He associated himself with the highest circles of the *nazione fiorentina* and completely immersed himself



Fig. III-a. Pietro Anichini (Italian, 1610–1645). *Cassiano dal Pozzo*, copper engraving commissioned as the frontispiece for Carlo Dati, *Delle lodi del Commendatore Cassiano dal Pozzo* (Florence, 1664)



Fig. III-b. Bartolomeo Turriano's *Conclusiones theologicæ de sacrosancto adorandissimæ trinitatis mysterio* (Rome, 1610), which is dedicated to Cassiano dal Pozzo



Fig. III-c. Rutilio Manetti (Italian, 1571–1639), *Coat of Arms of the Dal Pozzo Family*, engraving from Turriano's *Conclusiones theologicæ* (see fig. III-b)

in the study of ancient literature and civilization.⁸ Cassiano's curiosity about the ancient world led him to abandon his legal career and to attempt a difficult entry into Roman society. From his very first contacts with the Roman antiquarian tradition, he organized his investigations on the basis of criteria and methods derived from the studies of the natural sciences and medicine that he had pursued at the University of Pisa and in the Giardino dei Semplici, the university's botanical garden.⁹

In Rome Cassiano frequented the Accademia degli Umoristi from 1612.¹⁰ Here he met men of letters, erudite virtuosi, antiquarians, and noble dilettantes. Among them were Girolamo Aleandro, Francesco Gualdi (Testa's early patron), and both Cardinal Maffeo Barberini (later Pope Urban VIII) and his young nephew Monsignore Francesco Barberini. In those same years the young protégé of Grand Duke Ferdinand also frequented the refined court of Francesco Maria del Monte, cardinal of Florence. In the eclectic patron of Caravaggio and Andrea Sacchi, the protector of the Accademia di San Luca, Cassiano discovered one of the greatest connoisseurs of contemporary painting.¹¹ The cardinal played an important part in Cassiano's cultural formation and in his subsequent choices as a collector. He had been Ferdinand's agent for artistic affairs in Rome, and although the varied activities of the gallery and workshops of the Medici in Florence had been interrupted by the death of the grand duke, they were continued in Rome through Del Monte's experiments. He welcomed Cassiano into his gallery, and his interests helped to determine the character of Cassiano's own researches. In return Cassiano presented him with several ancient finds, including an astragal in bronze.¹²

On August 15, 1622, Cassiano wrote to Federico Cesi in his capacity as *principe* of the Accademia dei Lincei, the first academy devoted to the scientific investigation of the natural world, to thank Cesi for admitting him into the society. In connection with Cesi's "most profound studies," Cassiano offered him, "as a sign of devotion, a book of birds printed by a young man of my household more as trial proofs of the plates that I am putting together in order to see if one might, with a little money and diligence, provide some support for writings on this subject."¹³ This book was the *Uccelliera* compiled by the Piedmontese Jesuit Giovanni Pietro Olina. It is illustrated with plates "taken from the life" by Antonio Tempesta, Francesco Villamena, and Giovanni Maggi, experienced members of the team of draughtsmen working to put together Cassiano's collection of drawings.¹⁴

The *Uccelliera* is the first printed work edited by Cassiano. It reflects only in part the scientific interests he shared with members of the Accademia dei Lincei. Cassiano's invitation to join the academy, of which Galileo had been a member since 1611, came at the moment of its greatest expansion.¹⁵ The young Cesi's passion for antiquity, which had led to his discovery and study of the Nilotic mosaic in the Temple of Fortune at Palestrina in 1614 (see fig. II-e), constituted a common interest between him and Cassiano.¹⁶ The scientific studies that Cassiano had begun in Pisa and the interest he had developed in naturalistic illustration through his association with Jacopo Ligozzi, the most eminent draughtsman at the Medici court, had been enriched and brought up to date in the museum and *stilleria* (chemical laboratory) of Cardinal del Monte (among the first in Rome to possess

Galileo's telescope).¹⁷ In the Accademia Cassiano found intellectual affinities and familiarity with experimentation that encouraged new developments in his iconographical corpus.

In the succeeding years Cassiano's work for the Accademia was directed in the main toward scientific illustration.¹⁸ During Cardinal Francesco Barberini's travels as papal legate to France (1625) and Spain (1626), for example, Cassiano, then the cardinal's cup-bearer, was busy collecting drawings of animals and plants for the Lincei.¹⁹ In August Cassiano wrote to his fellow academician Johannes Fabér in Rome:

In Paris I have had a drawing made of an extraordinary snake and of a parakeet, and I am about to have drawn those little falcons that come from Brazil and that are more rapacious than any others, attacking not only birds but also hares and rabbits. . . . I will do a bit about everything to please our friends, and I will make sure that the portraits will be done in such a way that they can be enjoyed.²⁰

Cassiano continued the collection of images for the Lincei he had begun on the journey to France during the legation to Spain. At the request of Federico Cesi he copied the text and illustrations of Francisco Hernandez's *Rerum medicarum novae Hispaniae thesaurus*.²¹ On April 29, 1626, during his visit to the Escorial, Cassiano noted in his journal:

I arranged it so that the first books they showed me were that famous collection of plants and other things from India that *il Signor Principe* Cesi had commended to me for the book that he is printing on the same subjects. And so I saw sixteen volumes of the plates and commentary. . . . The exactitude and beauty of the colors with which all the figures are executed are unbelievable. There are the most bizarre illustrations of birds—you see the toucan, which has a tail that is four or five fingers long and a little less than three wide, black, and, underneath near where it joins the body, a bit of rust color; otherwise it is like the one we saw in the king's rooms.²²

Cassiano's gift of the *Uccelliera* to the Lincei reflects his strong interest in ornithology, which he shared with his younger brother Carlo Antonio.²³ Other loose sheets and a volume of images of birds taken from nature now at Windsor were, in our opinion, executed for Cassiano and may be connected with Olina's work. They also probably passed to the collections of the Lincei and were then, like the others, among the possessions of Cesi bought by Cassiano from his estate.²⁴ Indeed, many drawings executed for Cesi may be identified today among those at Windsor once belonging to Cassiano, just as several botanical images executed in the atelier of Cassiano are to be found among the codices of the Lincei now in Paris.²⁵

It was as a natural extension of his work in natural science that Cassiano also became one of the principle protagonists of that metamorphosis that marks the change between the empirical antiquarianism of the sixteenth century and the new archaeological method of the seventeenth. In a letter of 1654 to the Jesuit Reinhold Dehnig (1625–1670) in Vienna, he defined the structure, characteristics, and history of the collection of drawings after the antique that he had been building up for most of his life:

. . . I have spared no expense in gathering information, having had copies made over many years by young artists skilled in drawing and continuing up to the present to have drawn everything

good (the most noteworthy antiquities) that I have observed in marble and metal that could provide some important information about antiquity. This "Paper Museum," as I will call it [*Questo Museo, dirò, Cartaceo*], is divided into many volumes, in which I intended to imitate the labor of Pirro Ligorio, the famous antiquarian, painter, and architect who gathered as much information as he could about antiquity organized by subject, as one sees from the index that appears in that part of his work in Turin. . . .²⁶

The principles of the collection were, therefore, formulated through Cassiano's study of collections of drawings after the antique like those of Ligorio, Fulvio Orsini, Étienne Duperac, and others.²⁷ From these visual encyclopedias the *cavaliere* had copies made that he then kept together with old originals he had bought (figs. III-d—III-f). But from its very beginnings the *Museo cartaceo* departed from the older, traditional, free interpretations of classical models and conformed to the new scientific principles of observation from life that permitted the comparative methods already used in the scientific disciplines to be applied to archaeological material.

Constant practice provided Cassiano's draughtsmen, Testa included, with a rigorous training in the various techniques of drawing. Through comparative analysis of the subjects reproduced Cassiano gained a new historical and sociological view of the ancient world. Reproductive drawings were often finished in the presence of the patron, and his participation was not limited to the commissioning of an illustration of a monument. It extended to the historical, philological, and even philosophical education of the young artists gathered in his house. However, Cassiano's first biographer, Carlo Dati, separates those categories of his subject's patronage that are linked to his own antiquarian interests from others that the *cavaliere* instead understood to be united in a single, interdisciplinary ideal. This led to the creation of a false division in these activities that was passed on to later historians. The synopsis that Dati places as an appendix to his biography reflects only in part the archaeological and artistic choices of the *cavaliere*. As a catalogue it rather reflects the concerns of Florentine antiquarians at the end of the century.²⁸ His schematic categorization tends to cancel out the subtle and vast fabric of interests contained in the museum and thus to limit our understanding of it. This misunderstanding has serious implications for the interpretation of works by those philosopher-painters, Testa and Poussin in particular, whom he patronized.²⁹

The investiture of Francesco Barberini as cardinal and *padrone* (cardinal secretary of state, or unofficial first minister to the pope) on October 2, 1623, marks the beginning of Cassiano's public career. In the cardinal's household, first as gentleman in waiting and then, on the eve of the first legational visit of the cardinal to France in 1625, as intimate familiar and cupbearer, Cassiano was the most lively supporter of and collaborator in the cultural interests of the young prelate.³⁰ Collecting and sifting information, Cassiano also executed for his *eminentissimo padrone* delicate diplomatic negotiations and gave him advice in the choice and acquisition of items from his collection. Cassiano's correspondence was an important vehicle for the communication of knowledge in what Dati termed the "academy" of Francesco Barberini.³¹ From 1623 on this was no longer the private correspondence of

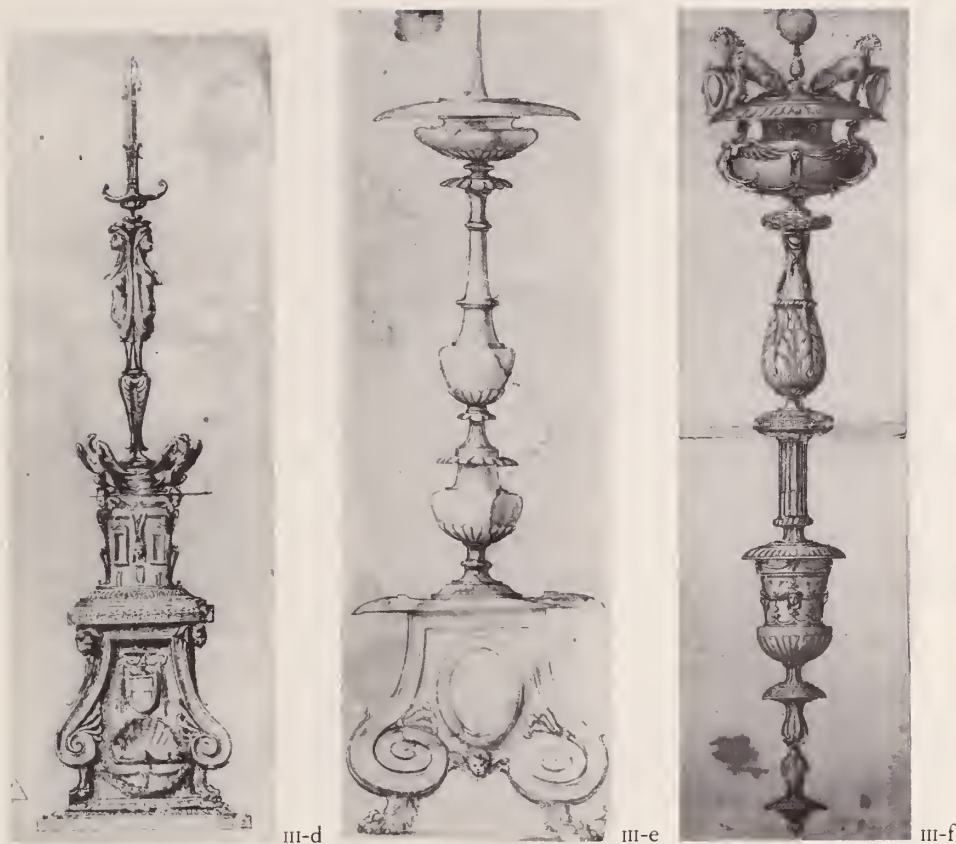


Fig. III-d. Possibly the studio of Perino del Vaga (Italian, 1500–1546/47), *Project for a Candelabrum*, from the *Museo cartaceo*. Pen and black ink with wash on white paper, 411 x 132 mm (16³/₁₆ x 5³/₁₆”). Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II (Royal Library, Windsor Castle), 11246

Fig. III-e. Possibly the studio of Perino del Vaga (Italian, 1500–1546/47), *Project for a Candelabrum*, from the *Museo cartaceo*. Pen and black ink with traces of lapis and wash on white paper, 423 x 135 mm (16⁵/₈ x 5¹/₁₆”). Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II (Royal Library, Windsor Castle), 11247

Fig. III-f. Possibly Francesco Salviati (Italian, 1510–1563), *Project for Decoration*, from the *Museo cartaceo*. Pen and black ink with gray wash and traces of lapis on white paper, 848 x 239 mm (33³/₈ x 9³/₈”). Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II (Royal Library, Windsor Castle), 11267

a virtuoso but rather a vast collection of information from collectors and intellectuals, in which literary “opinions,” antiquarian “notes,” and medical “recipes” were all woven together.³² When information gleaned from these letters and from the miscellaneous documents preserved in Naples and Montpellier is put together with what we know of the history of art of the period, a picture begins to emerge of the methodological criteria adopted by Cassiano dal Pozzo in assembling his collections of drawings.³³ Most striking is the fact that, from 1613 to about 1645, more than thirty artists, including both draughtsmen and painters, are mentioned as working for Cassiano in the production of the *Museo cartaceo* and the collection of drawings of natural history.³⁴

Among the most interesting evidence for the reconstruction of Cassiano's project is the collection of documents entitled "Notitie di varie antichita, con un tratto di Marmi," now in Naples.³⁵ The manuscript contains a complete copy of the "Notitie d'antichità diverse di Flaminio Vacca scultore in Roma date a Simonetto Anastasij perugino." On the first page of this report on the discoveries of antiquities in Rome in the second half of the sixteenth century appears an autograph note by Cassiano that expands the title: "Indice di marmi diversi pretiosi antichi trovati in tempo di Flaminio Vacca, scultore in Roma." In 1642, following Vacca's example, the *cavaliere* began to record, in his own hand, the discoveries made in Rome during the papacy of Urban VIII. Partly on the basis of the chronology of these discoveries, Cassiano also compiled the topographical inventory of ancient finds, which we have called the "Agenda" for the museum.³⁶ The addenda to Vacca and the "Agenda" are just two examples of the preparatory studies organized by Cassiano, the archaeologist, for the purposes of his *Museo*.³⁷

The "Agenda" marks a new phase in the identification and study of archaeological discoveries.³⁸ It presents a true list of desiderata for the *Museo cartaceo*. The first entry reads as follows:

Two small broken ancient columns, one leafy and the other like the ones immured in the Casa de'Capizucchi or of Baldassare Peruzzi, opposite the oratory of the Lucchese fathers as you go toward the Tor di Specchi. Another in the lower courtyard of Montecavallo below the little side door where Monsignore Ciampoli lived. Another in [Piazza degli] Zingari in the notary's house.³⁹

These are objects of little importance and the cancellation of the note indicates that they had already been drawn for the museum. The entries that follow refer to ancient remains not yet copied:

In the house of Cavaliere Muti. The piece that Soncino used to have, similar to the one in the courtyard, showing people eating and cooking. A frieze in which a man is blowing under a cauldron, and another lying down with a horn cup in his hand. In the vineyard of the Collegio dell'Apollinari a broken base on which there is a scene of the vintage and a cart carrying bunches of grapes with a rather fine inscription.⁴⁰

The next two entries, however, describe subjects that have already been drawn. They also provide information about the collection of the young Giulio Mazarini and about Cassiano's interest in the collection of Claude Menestrier, the French antiquarian employed by Cardinal Francesco Barberini:⁴¹

Monsignore Mazarini. Four large antique vases like those of Cardinal Gaetano, of clay with black glaze showing a crouching Venus. A striped vase of a squat shape. In the house of Monsù Menestrier: various enamels; draw from their number that historiated piece that shows a Bacchus. . . . Drawings to be made when visiting Hadrian's villa.⁴²

Other items in this agenda for the museum reveal the *cavaliere's* painstaking research on every archaeological find. Even the most modest assumed a documentary value, as one further quotation from the Naples codex will serve to illustrate:

In the house of Cardinal Barberini: Look again in the room of marbles [*stanza de' marmi*] to see if anything was not copied and have it copied, and especially the two pieces of the little capital the cardinal took from the bath of Hadrian's villa, on which there were sprigs of ivy with berries and some little birds nibbling flies; there are two pieces. Alessandro Algardi the sculptor has a little frieze with vine tendrils and grape clusters interspersed with very beautiful masks; this is now in the *vigna* of Signor Gregorio Ammiani.⁴³

The document reveals how Cassiano explored the great collections of the cardinals, from which he had copied not only statues, reliefs, and other objects but also inscriptions, and how his studies extended to include the Christian antiquities preserved in the churches and basilicas of Rome as well.⁴⁴ The Naples "Agenda" also includes several references to the collections of knights, nobles, and scholars, including Francesco Angeloni, secretary to Cardinal Ippolito Aldobrandini, and Francesco Gualdi,⁴⁵ as well as to the collections of artists such as the engraver Camillo Cungi⁴⁶ and the sculptors Pacifici,⁴⁷ Giovanni Gonelli,⁴⁸ and Alessandro Algardi.

In other lists datable to the late 1620s information about famous subjects is intertwined with many reports on the activity of the artists and draughtsmen working for the *Museo*, among whom was the young Pietro Testa from Lucca:

Ancient paintings/ Painting in the possession of the Aldobrandini. The Lucchese [Testa] has drawings that go with the Medici base/ The landscape found in the garden of Cardinal Barberini with grotesques and little figures. Lamps and statuettes of Angeloni's and Milesi's./ A metal lamp showing Neptune belonging to Signor Cardinal Barberini/ The vase that belonged to Cardinal del Monte, now to the Aldobrandini, the body of which is the head of a youth, and it is of metal/ The signor cardinal's vase of cameo glass [*smalto*] that used to belong to Cardinal del Monte, believed to be the urn containing the ashes of Alexander Severus/⁴⁹ The signor cardinal's terracotta vases and other little painted scenes.⁵⁰

Among other lists of objects are references to a bas-relief of the Muses with the Sirens in the house of Alessandro del Nero near the palace of the Capizucchi, and a half-base of the Muses from the *vigna* of Cardinal Pamphili at Porta Portese, on which appears a Muse together with a Hercules with his buskins.⁵¹ Were these drawings perhaps among those sheets that Cassiano described in his letter to the Florentine canon Antonio Maria Salvini on April 12, 1653? In this letter Cassiano wrote of the bases of the Muses, adding that "many drawings of these were drawn for the use of my household by Pietro Testa of Lucca, who was a fine painter and an excellent draughtsman of antiquities, and in them one can observe the attributes of the Muses most exactly."⁵² If so, they may yet be identified among the drawings at Windsor.

The iconographical criteria according to which the *Museo cartaceo* was organized led Cassiano to order "the bas-reliefs of Trajan's column, put in a book according to each genre,"⁵³ and to ask his draughtsmen for copies of

the basins that were used in the ancient thermae, which are two belonging to the Farnese (in the Piazza Farnese), the two granite ones of the Medici (in the Villa Medici), one of porphyry that

served as the tomb of Otto, which is still in the Vatican grotto beneath Saint Peter's, and another of similar design in Saint Peter's Square; one in San Marco (in the garden of the Venetian ambassador), another in the garden of the Peretti (in the Villa Montalto), and one in the garden of the Altoviti, near the Salviati [palace] on the Lungara. One other in the church of Santi Quattro, one of Oriental alabaster in the church of Santa Viviana, and the one in the church of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, under the main altar made of black stone with lion-headed mask reliefs.⁵⁴

The "Agenda" also provides information about what was then considered the most important example of Roman painting—*The Aldobrandini Wedding*. This fresco from the first century A.D., now in the Musei Vaticani, was then in the collection of Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini. Discovered in 1605 on the Esquiline in Rome, it was studied by the illustrators and painters employed by Cassiano.⁵⁵ Among the "Notitie" in Naples, furthermore, we find Giovanni Battista Doni's description of the ten figures represented, with notes on the colors and the pictorial technique and a few observations about the history and iconography of the work.⁵⁶

The information included in the Naples codex and in the so-called "Raccolta" now in Montpellier⁵⁷ concerning copies of miniatures made for Cassiano from manuscripts in the Vatican library is especially important for the evaluation of Baldinucci's testimony concerning Testa's contribution to the *Museo cartaceo*.⁵⁸ Cassiano's copies of the miniatures in the Vatican Virgil and Terence, identifiable with those in the Royal Library at Windsor, were attributed to Testa by Baldinucci.⁵⁹ But two documents among the Naples "Notitie" indicate that they were made by members of Pietro da Cortona's workshop. They also reflect Cassiano's high standing with Cardinal Francesco Barberini, who allowed him to borrow these precious manuscripts for two years. Cassiano requested permission to borrow them from the cardinal in a letter:

Most Eminent and Reverend Patron. Cassiano dal Pozzo, Your Eminence's most humble servant, having through his own offices gathered together various drawings taken from the antique to aid the understanding and enlightenment of many good authors, is now desirous of the Virgil and Terence from the Vatican in which there are illustrations and that may serve his purpose of having some drawings made from those histories. He humbly begs Your Eminence to grant him that, on receipt of orders, Father Orazio Giustiniani, their custodian, might concede them so that he may have them in his own house one at a time, or as it seems fit, in order to make the aforesaid copies; in order to arrive at a truer picture of the habits and the personages represented he intends to make use of the work of Messer Pietro da Cortona, Your Eminence's servant, and of his pupils; for this he will remain indebted to the good grace of Your Eminence.⁶⁰

Cassiano's patron responded on the same page, writing that "Father Orazio Giustiniani can deliver them one at a time and get a receipt." And Cassiano specified in the lower margin, "Received the Virgil; quite small, covered in shagreen, this 7th day of January, 1632, from the reverend assistant of the keeper." Two years later the Terence was returned.⁶¹ Although it is possible that Testa may still have been included among Pietro da Cortona's pupils between 1632 and 1634, Cassiano's letter makes it plain that the copies were produced by several hands. Furthermore, whatever Baldinucci sought to claim in advancing the Tuscan lineage of antiquarian studies, it must also be recognized that Cas-



Fig. III-g. Artist unknown, *Bacchante*, from the *Museo cartaceo*. Pen and black ink with wash on white paper, 160 x 115 mm (6⁵/₁₆ x 4¹/₂"'). Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II (Royal Library, Windsor Castle), 10194



Fig. III-h. Artist unknown, *Silenus*, from the *Museo cartaceo*. Pen and black ink with wash on white paper, 160 x 118 mm (6⁵/₁₆ x 4⁵/₈"'). Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II (Royal Library, Windsor Castle), 10193

siano commissioned accurate drawings of the Nilotic mosaic before it was dismantled on the orders of Cardinal Magalotti between 1624 and 1626 rather than from Testa some fifteen years later.⁶²

The second of the documents to be considered here is the Montpellier "Raccolta." Unlike the Naples codex, this contains documents that can be dated from the end of the 1630s to the 1650s and that relate not only to antiquities but also to Cassiano's collection of paintings, his studies of optics and color and natural science, and his collection of prints.⁶³ As it relates to the history of the *Museo cartaceo*, the Montpellier manuscript also includes an inventory of some archaeological drawings dictated by Cassiano to a scribe, perhaps his *servitor del cuore*, Giacomo Gallo. It also includes the exhaustive descriptions of the brief inventory of 1655, which was sent to the Jesuit priest Simon Wangnereck in Vienna⁶⁴ and corresponds to the drawings in the "Antichità diverse" volume at Windsor.⁶⁵ These descriptions stand in contrast to the fragmentary notes of the *agenda del museo* in Naples. On the basis of the drawings Cassiano provided detailed information concerning the history of the finds:

A head of the same size also of metal of a Bacchante with a wreath, and with a little band across her brow [fig. III-g]. This, like that of the Silenus [fig. III-h], was in a very beautiful style. They



Fig. III-i. Artist unknown, *Roman Priest*, from the *Museo cartaceo*. Pen and black ink with wash on white paper, 219 x 144 mm (8⁵/₈ x 5¹¹/₁₆""). Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II (Royal Library, Windsor Castle), 10197 recto



Fig. III-j. Artist unknown, *Roman Priestess (?)*, from the *Museo cartaceo*. Pen and black ink with gray wash on white paper, 211 x 134 mm (8⁵/₁₆ x 5¹/₄""). Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II (Royal Library, Windsor Castle), 10197 verso

were ours, and we obtained them through Francesco Villamena. We then exchanged them with M. Quarteron, a French goldsmith, who put together in Rome a large collection of ancient works in metal for the brother of the king of France, and they went there.⁶⁶

The ninth entry in the inventory lists the following:

A marble statue that was very extravagant on account of the larger-than-life drapery that used to belong to Orazio Sciandelieri, a French forwarding agent, now in the garden of Cardinal Barberini at the Quattro Fontane, and it is thought to be a statue of Numa Pompilius [fig. III-i].⁶⁷

Among the sheets copied from sixteenth-century collections of drawings are images from other private collections. Among those mentioned is "a statue of a draped woman [fig. III-j] copied from certain books of drawings collected by Pierre Chacon, that were in the hands of Monsignore Sagrati, bishop of Comacchio."⁶⁸

The list of 1655 also includes entries that recall early important moments in the formation of Cassiano's own collections of antique marbles and metals (see figs. III-k and III-l).⁶⁹ Others reveal how much work the *cavaliere* and his collaborators put into documenting the drawings. One reference, for example, to a drawing of a marble tripod in the garden

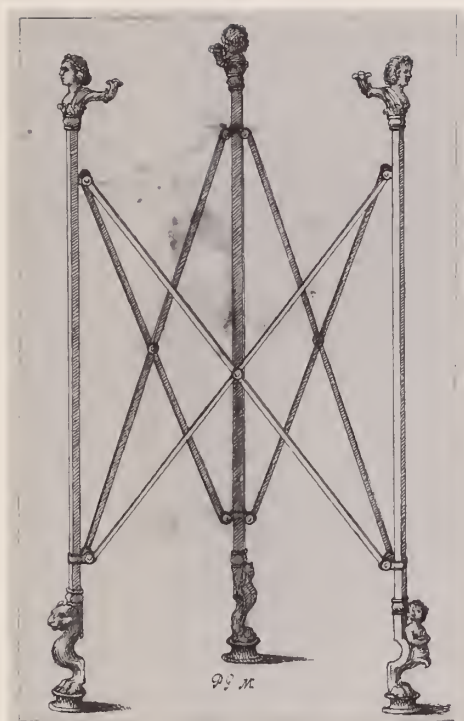


Fig. III-k. Artist unknown, *The Gualdi Tripod*, from the *Museo cartaceo*. Pen and black ink on white paper, 213 x 132 mm (8 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 5 $\frac{3}{16}$ "). Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II (Royal Library, Windsor Castle), 10214 verso



Fig. III-l. Artist unknown, *Copy of a Tripod* from a Sixteenth-Century Drawing Owned by Francesco Villamena, from the *Museo cartaceo*. Pen and black ink with traces of wash on white paper, 206 x 125 mm (8 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 4 $\frac{15}{16}$ "). Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II (Royal Library, Windsor Castle), 10214 recto

of the Cesi in the Borgo in Rome (fig. III-m), indicates that this has been “fully described on folio 148 of the first volume,” adding that “on the verso is drawn the tripod that appears in the ancient fresco of a marriage that is in the garden of the Aldobrandini on Monte Magnanapoli [*The Aldobrandini Wedding*], of an elegance quite different from the others” (fig. III-n).⁷⁰ The reference to “folio 148 of the first volume” does not correspond to any of the known sources for the *Museo*, that is, to Cassiano’s letter, to the “Notitie” in Naples, or to the Montpellier “Raccolta” itself. However, many other entries in the “Raccolta” find parallels among the Windsor drawings.⁷¹ Also inserted into the “Raccolta” is a document by Cassiano describing “the names of vases of all sorts of wood, be they precious or common, that I have been able to observe,” and this suggests other activities carried out by Cassiano in connection with the Lincci.⁷² Indeed, the rich, illustrative documentation of fossilized wood prepared by Federico Cesi passed into Cassiano’s library in 1633, and as a result he became involved in the publication of the *Trattato del legno fossile*, edited by Francesco Stelluti.⁷³

Cassiano’s research into the cultivation, species, and properties of citrus fruits, on the other hand, came after his collaboration with the Lincci. In letters from the early 1630s,

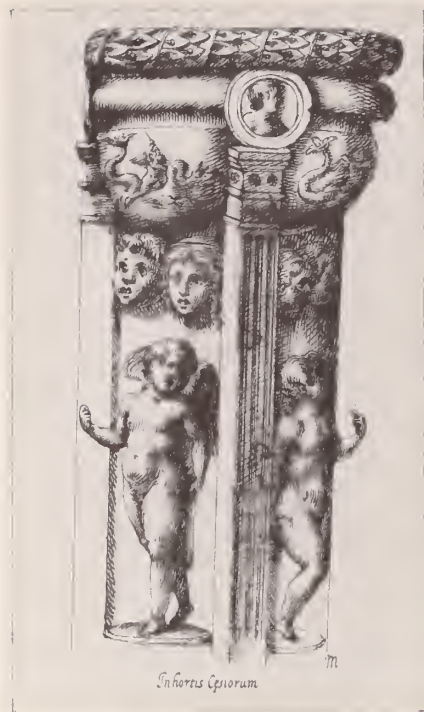


Fig. III-m. Artist unknown, *The Cesi Tripod*, from the *Museo cartaceo*. Pen and black ink with traces of wash on white paper, 191 x 113 mm (7½ x 4⅞"). Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II (Royal Library, Windsor Castle), 10215 verso



Fig. III-n. Artist unknown, *Copy of the Tripod in "The Aldobrandini Wedding,"* from the *Museo cartaceo*. Pen and black ink with traces of wash on white paper, 184 x 106 mm (7¼ x 4⅜"). Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II (Royal Library, Windsor Castle), 10215 recto

Cassiano is already weaving a network of information about all the known varieties of these fruits. The letters were often accompanied by drawings, some of which have recently been identified among the drawings at Windsor and the manuscripts in the Institut de France in Paris. The Jesuit Giovanni Battista Ferrari, whom Cassiano had probably met in Siena, published *De florum cultura* in 1633 under the aegis of Cardinal Barberini to please the latter's passion for botany.⁷⁴ The close collaboration between Cassiano and Ferrari was renewed in 1646 with the publication of the *Hesperides sive malorum*, a work of greater scientific exactitude.⁷⁵ Their association produced a catalogue in which all the descriptions of different varieties of fruit were matched by plates drawn from nature by Domenico Bonavena, who also etched drawings of fruits sent to Cassiano by his correspondents.⁷⁶ As in the *Flora*, in the *Hesperides* the more technical, scientific illustrations are accompanied by others of an allegorical and antiquarian nature. Some of the most important artists among Testa's contemporaries were called upon to execute these, among them Francesco Albani, Sacchi, Giovanni Francesco Romanelli, Domenichino, Guido Reni, Giovanni Lanfranco, Pietro da Cortona, and Poussin himself. The "Notitie diverse del Signor Abbate

Cavaliere dal Pozzo; originale spettante a Agrumi et Historia d'essi; stampata in Roma dal Padre Giovanni Battista Ferrari della Compagnia di Giesu sotto titolo de'Hesperides, con il disegno della veduta della Riviera di Salo" informs us that Cassiano had not only commissioned four of the eight allegorical drawings but also had simultaneously assembled the information received from his correspondents, overseen the draughtsmen who produced the scientific illustrations, supervised the engravers, and seen the edition through the press.⁷⁷

Cassiano dal Pozzo's *Museo cartaceo* and collection of prints served as an archive of illustrations for a whole century of European culture. There are clear indications that Cassiano intended to reproduce the drawings to make the collection known to as many artists, virtuosi, and scholars as possible. But notwithstanding the widespread interest among members of the "republic of letters" for the publication of his collection of drawings, by the early 1630s Cassiano had already given up the project of having all of his *Museo* engraved. It would, as we learn from a letter from Peiresc, have formed a scientific and documentary pendant to the aesthetically oriented *Galleria* of the Marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani (see figs. 1-a, 1-b, and 11-a), upon which the young Pietro Testa had also worked, probably before being taken up by Cassiano: "The labors of Signor Marchese Giustiniani for his *Galleria* will produce results as beautiful as those of Padre Severano for Bosio's *Roma sacra subterranea*. And this ought to be a spur to Your Most Illustrious Lordship to determine that you too should publish all the most noble ancient monuments that you have collected."⁷⁸ But the *Museo* was to remain the extraordinary archive, accessible but private, of the *cavaliere* and his brother Carlo Antonio, until the latter's death in 1689, when its diaspora began.⁷⁹

When Pietro Testa arrived in Rome from Lucca around 1628, the project for the *Museo* in the atelier of Cassiano had been well under way for at least ten years. The household, first in the via della Croce, then, after 1626, in the palace on the via dei Chiavari, had already welcomed many draughtsmen of greater and lesser reputations, including Jean Lemaire, Pietro da Cortona, Domenichino, Antonio Tempesta, Francesco Villamena, Giovambattista del Gessi, Poussin, Claude Mellan, Giovanni Saliano, Bernardino Capitelli, and Giovanni Francione, to name but a few. From the evidence we have presented it should be clear that Baldinucci claimed too much for Testa. For example, the drawings of the mosaic from the Temple of Fortune, which he attributed to Testa, were in fact made at the moment it was dismantled for transport to Rome, which had occurred before Testa arrived in the city. The miniatures from the Vatican Virgil and Terence were copied by Pietro da Cortona and his pupils when Testa was probably no longer in Cortona's workshop, and certainly not by him alone. On the other hand, Cassiano's project for the *Museo cartaceo* itself, whether published or unpublished, was far more complex than Florentine antiquarians like Dati later in the century could recognize.

There are undoubtedly many drawings by Testa for the *Museo* among those in the Royal Library at Windsor, the British Museum, and other European and American collections. Like similar drawings by other talented young artists employed by Cassiano, whether

Italian or from the North, whether figurative draughtsmen or specialists in natural history illustration, these sheets await identification. Only by following the smallest hints and clues from the letters, documents, and other surviving testimony will we be able to reconstruct the fascinating rebus that has lain hidden for more than three hundred years among the thousands of drawings left behind by one of the most important figures in the culture of his century.⁸⁰

NOTES

1 Baldinucci, 1681–1728, pp. 313–14.

2 Baldinucci (*ibid.*, p. 312) writes that once this “most virtuous and humane knight” had recognized Testa’s bold and confident draughtsmanship and the extraordinary bent of his talent toward the antique,

he began to send him out to make drawings of all the most beautiful antiquities in Rome; and it is the widely held view of those who knew him and frequented his company, that there remained no ancient building, relief, statue, or fragment that he did not draw. From this study he gained such profit that he was then able to invent such beautiful sheets and in such great number. These he then published in etchings by his own hand . . .

3 See *ibid.*, pp. 310–21; and Filippo Baldinucci, *Cominciamento e progresso dell’arte dell’intagliare in rame colle vite di molti de’ più eccellenti maestri . . .* (1686; reprint, Milan, 1808), pp. 81–88; and Bellori, 1672, p. 428. Borrowing a passage from Carlo Dati’s *Delle lodi del Commendatore Cassiano dal Pozzo* ([Florence, 1664], n.p.), Baldinucci (1681–1728, p. 311) explained:

Then living in Rome, much in favor at court, was the Commendatore Cassiano dal Pozzo, whose memory will always be glorious, not only because of the many virtues that adorned his soul and love and great understanding that he had of this and other noble arts but also because he made a special profession of receiving and favoring those talented artists who, the more capable they were of great things, the less they found help and fortune in Rome, he was praised as a true patron of virtuosi.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 311, drawing upon Bellori, 1976, p. 431:

Ma dipingendo le sue bellissime invenzioni aveva già incontrato come si è detto la benevolenza del Commendatore Cassiano dal Pozzo, il quale si rivolse verso di lui con tanta inclinazione che possiamo dire quello che Pussino stesso diceva, di essere allievo del suo museo e della sua casa.

5 See Giovanni Lumbroso, *Notizie sulla vita di Cassiano dal Pozzo*, *Miscellanea di storia Italiana*, no.

15 (1874), pp. 131–388; for a modern biography, see Enrico Stumpo in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (hereinafter *DBI*), s.v. “dal Pozzo, Cassiano”; on Cassiano’s personality, see the splendid portrait by Francis Haskell in *Patrons and Painters: A Study in the Relations Between Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque* (London, 1963), pp. 98–119.

6 That year his uncle died, leaving to Cassiano the usufruct of the considerable income from the commendam that he had founded in the Order of the Knights of Saint Stephen. The exact date of Cassiano’s graduation, April 11, 1607, was discovered by Giovanna Volpi, *Acta gradum academiae Pisanae*, vol. 2, 1600–99 (Pisa, 1979). For Archbishop dal Pozzo, see Enrico Stumpo in *DBI*, s.v. “dal Pozzo, Carlo Antonio”; Marzia Ratti and Maria Cataldi, “La pittura in Duomo dal cinque al seicento,” in *Livorno e Pisa: Due città e un territorio* (Pisa, 1980), pp. 407–10; for a portrait of the archbishop, see *ibid.*, p. 461.

7 We owe the discovery of the etching shown in fig. III-c to Professor Timothy Standring.

8 Dati (*Lodi*, n.p.), writes that

having moved to Rome, a most worthy theater for his valor, after his theological and ecclesiastical studies, in order to enjoy the past, he immersed himself in reading Greek and Latin authors, sacred and profane, and the investigation of the most rare monuments that remained there, both in bronze and marble, imbibing and making himself thoroughly familiar with the wisdom, customs and works of the ancients . . .

9 For a thorough analysis of the international character of studies of natural history developing in those years in the Giardino dei Semplici, see Lucia Tongiorgi Tomasi, “Il Giardino dei Semplici dello Studio Pisano,” in *Livorno e Pisa*, pp. 514–26. Roderigo Fonseca de Castro, the famous grand-ducal doctor, encouraged the young Cassiano’s curiosity for “secrets”—medical and chemical recipes and speculations—dedicating to him his *Tractatus de complexionibus morborum*

- (Florence, 1624). For Cassiano's unpublished correspondence with De Castro between 1626 and 1629, see "Carteggio puteano," Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, Rome (hereinafter BAL), vol. xii, folios 166-214.
- 10 See Francesco Solinas and Anna Nicolò, "Cassiano dal Pozzo: Appunti per una cronologia di documenti e disegni," *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, vol. 2 (1987), pp. 59-110.
 - 11 See Luigi Spezzaferro, "La cultura del cardinal Del Monte e il primo tempo del Caravaggio," *Storia dell'arte*, vols. 9-10 (1971), pp. 57-92; and Christoph Luitpold Frommel, "Caravaggios Frühwerk und der Kardinal Francesco Maria Del Monte," *Storia dell'arte*, vols. 9-10 (1971), pp. 5-52. For relations between the cardinal and Grand Duke Ferdinand I, see Paola Barocchi's introduction to the *La bichierografia* of Giovanni Maggi (Florence, 1977), pp. i-xiv.
 - 12 See letters from Nicolas Claude Fabri de Peiresc to Cassiano dal Pozzo from Aix, dated December 28, 1633, February 9, 1634, and May 4, 1634, in MS H.271, École de Médecine, Montpellier (hereinafter EMM), folios 104-5, 108, 111-12. They will be published in Francesco Solinas and Anna Nicolò, eds., *Carteggio tra Nicolas Claude Fabri de Peiresc e Cassiano dal Pozzo (1626-1637)* (forthcoming).
 - 13 Giuseppe Gabrieli, *Il carteggio Linceo della vecchia Accademia di Federico Cesi (1603-1630)*, vol. 2 (Rome, 1941), pp. 769-70, letter no. 633.
 - 14 Giovanni Pietro Olina, *Uccelliera ovvero discorso della natura, e proprietà di diversi Uccelli, e in particolare di que' che cantano. Con il modo di prendergli, conoscerli, allevargli e mantenerli* (Rome, 1622). The volume includes 66 unsigned plates representing 53 species of birds. The genre scenes with settings and people in contemporary dress can be attributed to Maggi and Tempesta, whereas the technical and more truly scientific illustrations may be assigned to Villamena. Tempesta (1555-1630) was a lively engraver and painter of scenes of hunting and battles; he participated in the decoration of Palazzo Giustiniani in Rome. Villamena (1566-1624), a famous engraver, formed his style through drawing after the antique. His vast output also includes religious subjects and portraits. The copy of the first edition now in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (hereinafter BAV) (Stamp. Barb. M.III.18) has many plates of the same subjects that do not appear in other copies. The volume may have belonged to Cassiano. Many of the illustrations of the *Uccelliera* and the versions in the Vatican copy relate to drawings in the Dal Pozzo volume "Natural History of Birds" in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle.
 - 15 See Giuseppe Gabrieli, "La prima Accademia dei Lincei (1603-30)," *Accademie e biblioteche d'Italia*, vol. 12 (1938), pp. 7-25. For a full bibliography on the Accademia dei Lincei up to 1978, see Enrica Schettini Piazza, *Bibliografia storica dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, Biblioteconomia e Bibliografia, no. 12 (Florence, 1980); and for the history and the interests of the first members see Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, *Convegno celebrativo del IV centenario della nascita di Federico Cesi*, Atti dei Convegni Lincei, no. 78 (Rome, 1986).
 - 16 For a brief history of the mosaic, see Joseph Marie Suares, *Praenestes antiquae libri duo* (Rome, 1655), pp. 48-51; see also Sante Pieralisi, *Osservazioni sul Musaico di Palestrina* (Rome, 1858).
 - 17 For an analysis of the application of the microscope in illustrations of natural history, see Lucia Tongiorgi Tomasi and Paolo Tongiorgi, "Il microscopio: L'immagine dell'infinitamente piccolo," in Biblioteca Estense, Modena, *Immagine e natura nei codici e libri a stampa delle Biblioteche Estense e Universitaria* (1983), pp. 181-87.
 - 18 For the many references to Cassiano's contribution to illustrations of natural history for the Lincei and annotations elaborated in Cassiano's atelier, see the indexes of MSS 968, 969, 970, 974, 975, 976, 977, and 978 in the library of the Institut de France, Paris (cited by Andrea Ubrizsky, "Il codice micologico di Federico Cesi," *Rendiconti della Classe di Scienze Fisiche*, ser. 8, vol. 48 [1980], pp. 130-34). These were rebound by the Albani in the eighteenth century, having been reorganized, indexed, and annotated in Cassiano dal Pozzo's atelier, as were those in the Royal Library containing images of fossils and stones ("Natural History of Fossils," vols. v, xiv-xvii). For the complicated history of the volumes of illustrations of natural history belonging in turn to the Lincei, to Cassiano, to the Albani, and then rebound by George III, see Henrietta McBurney, "The History and Contents of the Cassiano Collections in the Royal Library," in Francesco Solinas, ed., *Atti del Seminario Internazionale di Studi su Cassiano dal Pozzo, Napoli, 18-19 dicembre 1987* (forthcoming).
 - 19 On the missions, see Ludwig von Pastor, *Storia dei Papi* (Rome, 1943), vol. 13, pp. 287-93; Augusto Bazzoni, "Il Cardinal F. B. legato in Francia

- ed in Ispagna nel 1625-1626," *Archivio storico Italiano*, ser. 5, vol. 12 (1893), pp. 335-60; and Eugène Müntz, *Le Château de Fontainebleau au dix-septième siècle d'après des documents inédits* (Paris, 1886); see also the less-known G. Pre-sutti, "Diario di Monsignor Lorenzo Azzolini, viaggio da Madrid a Roma nel 1626," *Il muratori*, vol. 1, nos. 6-8 (Rome, 1893), pp. 5-63; Enri-queta Harris, "Cassiano dal Pozzo on Diego Vélazquez," *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 112, no. 807 (June 1970), pp. 364-73; Enri-queta Har-ris and Gregorio de Andres, "Cassiano dal Pozzo: Descripción del Escorial . . .," *Anejo de Archivo Español de Arte*, vol. 45, no. 179 (1972), pp. 7-33. For the most complete version of Cas-siano's diaries of his journeys to France and Spain, see the "Relazione diarie," MSS Barb. Lat. 5688 and 5689, BAV.
- 20 For the full description, which also refers to snakes from the Indies, white pheasants, guinea fowl, flamingos, and cormorants, see *Il giornale dei letterati di Roma* (Rome, 1751), pp. 286-87; and Francesco Solinas, "Percorsi puteani: Note naturalistiche ed inediti appunti antiquari," in Solinas, ed., *Atti . . . Dal Pozzo*. On the occasion of the cardinal's first visit to Louis XIII in Paris, Cassiano wrote in his diary for May 24, 1625: "There was in the same room [as the king] a cage with many compartments full of canaries, in another next to this were to be seen nightingales, blackbirds, and a starling or some other similar white bird" (MS Barb. Lat. 5688, BAV, folio 126c).
- 21 See Giuseppe Gabrieli, "Il cosiddetto Tesoro Mes-sicano edito dai primi Lincei," *Rendiconti della Classe di Scienze Morali*, ser. 7, vol. 1 (1940), pp. 110-21; and on the complicated history of the publication of the *Rerum medicarum novae His-paniae thesaurus seu plantarum animalium mineralium Mexicanorum historia ex Francisci Her-nandez* (Rome, 1651), see the contributions of Francesco Guerra, Carmen Sánchez Tellez, and Giovanni Battista Marini-Bettolo in the Ac-cademia dei Lincei, *Convegno . . . Cesi*, pp. 307-42.
- 22 MS Barb. Lat. 5689, BAV, folios 99-100. After the death of Federico Cesi in 1630, Cassiano began negotiations with his widow, Isabella Sal-viati, through the secretary of the Accademia, Francesco Stelluti, for the purchase of the library and the academy's drawing collection. These were concluded in 1633. Several *libri dipinti*, or illustrated books, and drawings of natural history from the Accademia dei Lincei are now at the Royal Library, Windsor Castle, and the Institut de France in Paris. For the geological drawings, see Cyril Edward Nowill Bromehead, "A Geological Museum of the Early Seventeenth Century," *Quarterly Journal of the Geological Soci-ety*, vol. 103, pt. 2 (1947), pp. 65-87; and Bromehead, "Aetites or the Eagle Stone," *Antiq-uity*, vol. 21 (March 1947), pp. 16-22. For Cas-siano's acquisition of Cesi's drawings, see Anna Nicolò and Francesco Solinas, "Per una analisi del collezionismo linceo: L'Archivio Linceo 32 e il museo di Federico Cesi," in Accademia dei Lin-cei, *Convegno . . . Cesi*, pp. 192-212. See also Caterina Napoleone, "Il gusto dei marmi antichi: Descrizioni inedite," *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, vol. 2 (1987), pp. 43-56.
- 23 The "Carteggio puteano" contains many refer-ences to the passion of Cassiano and his brother Carlo Antonio (1606-1689) for ornithology. See, for example, Bishop Richard de Sade's letter in reply to Cassiano's request to send him rare birds from Norcia ("Carteggio puteano," BAL, vol. xiv, folios 314-75). Cassiano's autograph discourse, "Sull'aquila barbata," is in two parts in the École de Médecine, Montpellier (MS H.319, folios 108-9, and MS H.267, folios 207-12). The scientific study of birds based on direct observation also led Cassiano to collect old texts and manuscripts on this subject, such as "Trat-tato della natura degl'uccelli rapaci," written in the first half of the sixteenth century, which has a Dal Pozzo binding and collocation (MS H.456, EMM, folios 1-78).
- 24 See n. 22 above.
- 25 See, for example, the ink drawings of fossilized wood with autograph inscriptions by Cesi in "Natural History of Fossils" at Windsor, vols. xiv-xvi. In the Cesi-Dal Pozzo manuscript at the Institut de France (MS 976), several drawings of citrus fruits in tempera with traces of ink (85b, 85c, and 95e) are closely related to Cassiano's research after Cesi's death.
- 26 "Carteggio puteano," BAL, vol. xii, folio 75.
- 27 There are many copies of drawings by Orsini and Ligorio among the Cassiano dal Pozzo draw-ings at the British Museum and the Royal Li-brary.
- 28 For the biography, see n. 3 above. On Dati, see Antonio Minto, *Le vite dei pittori antichi di Carlo Roberto Dati e gli studi erudito-antiquari nel seicento*, Studi dell'Accademia Toscana di Scienze e Let-tere, no. 1 (Florence, 1953); and Daniela Gallo, *Filippo Buonarroti e la cultura antiquaria sotto gli ul-*

timi Medici (Florence, 1986 [exhibition, Casa Buonarroti, Florence, 1986]).

- 29 Federico Cesi wrote in his so-called "Zibaldone," included in a manuscript that once belonged to Cassiano (MS XII.E.4, Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples [hereinafter BNN], folio 42 verso), "*Pittura filosofica*. Indirizzo della Pittura, e suo studio, e non solo a dilettation semplice, il che è vanissimo abuso, ma a giovamento di viva, et efficace discipline e piacer di molta utilità." This attitude, which Testa was to share and which he expressed most completely in his etching *Altro diletto ch'impapar non trovo* (cat. no. 101), is developed in the discourse, "Del natural desiderio di sapere" in the same volume in Naples. See Gilberto Govi, "Intorno alla data di un discorso inedito pronunciato da Federico Cesi . . . e da esso intitolato: 'Del natural desiderio di sapere' . . .," in *Memorie della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*, Classe di Scienze Morali, ser. 3, vol. 5 (1879-80), pp. 244-61; see also Maria Luisa Altieri Biagi, *Scienziati del Seicento* (Milan, 1969), pp. 49-92.
- 30 Among the lists of the "families" ("high" and "low") of Cardinal Francesco Barberini the most complete is included in MS Barb. Lat. 5635, BAV, made after the journeys to France and Spain. Cassiano appears in the first rank. Other lists are included in the "Relazione diarie," written by Cassiano on the occasion of the legations; see, for example, "Ruolo della famiglia dell'Illustrissimo Signore Cardinal Barberini per la legazione in Spagna," MS Barb. Lat. 5689, BAV, folio 264, recto and verso. In a miscellaneous manuscript from the hand of Peiresc (MS 1797, Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine, folios 295-96), is an annotated list of the cardinal's "family" during his visit to France.
- 31 Dati (*Lodi*, n.p.) writes:

These outstanding gifts were recognized by the Most Eminent Cardinal Barberini, a prince in virtue, knowledge, and sovereignty, whose power was second to none among the cardinals of the Vatican. He desired to form a court and even to enlist an academy of the most outstanding virtuosi in Europe, and this was the reason that our Commendatore was admitted to the highest offices through the perfect judgment of that Noble Lord, who never erred in his prudent decisions.

For the letters, see Anna Nicolò's forthcoming *Inventario topografico e indici analitici del Carteggio puteano*.

- 32 We turn to Dati (*Lodi*, n.p.) once more for a description of Cassiano's social position at the beginning of the Barberini papacy:

Quite apart from the speculative philosophers among the select few of the Lincei, and leaving out the beautiful assembly of the learned *umoristi*, not to mention the numerous men of great affairs and deep knowledge with whom he was familiar in the city and court of Rome, one can see from the lists of his letters that he had dealings with all the finest intellects in Europe, that writers, famous in print, with whom he had daily correspondence on different matters, were without number. So much so that to repeat them all would be almost impossible.

- 33 Traditionally only one codex (MS V.E.10) has been attributed to Cassiano among those in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples. In the ex-Albani archive, however, are many codices that either belonged to or were composed by the Dal Pozzo brothers. For the Dal Pozzo manuscripts at Montpellier, see, in addition to the problematic (and at times confused) work by Ada Alessandrini, *Cimeli Lincei a Montpellier* (Rome, 1978), Anna Nicolò's "Il Carteggio puteano: Ricerche e aggiornamenti," in Solinas, ed., *Atti . . . Dal Pozzo*.
- 34 In addition to those cited by Lumbroso, *Notizie*, pp. 155-57, were, for example, Jean Valentin, Claude Mellan, and Anna Maria Vaiani (see fig. II-a).
- 35 MS V.E.10, BNN, folios 47-78.
- 36 See Solinas and Nicolò, "Cassiano," p. 74.
- 37 For Cassiano's unpublished updating of Vacca's "Notizie," which is transcribed by Lumbroso (*Notizie*, pp. 175-80), see MS V.E.10, BNN, folios 27-30 verso; other notes are scattered on other folios, for which see Solinas, "Percosi puteani," in Solinas, ed., *Atti . . . Dal Pozzo*. The topographical inventory of finds, here termed the "Agenda," appears in a fair copy with the title "Antichità" in MS V.E.10, BNN, folios 31-46.
- 38 The notes included in the "Agenda" appear in MS V.E.10, BNN, folios 117-26 verso, 128 recto and verso, 130-34 verso, 138, 142-48.
- 39 *Ibid.*, folio 119 recto.
- 40 *Ibid.*
- 41 Menestrier was Cardinal Barberini's antiquarian from 1626 until his death in 1639. His position at court and his antiquarian and naturalistic studies are amply illustrated in the correspondence between Peiresc and Cassiano in "Carteggio Peiresc e Cassiano," MS H.271, EMM. For a partial analysis of Menestrier's work for the Barberini, see Agnès Bresson, "Peiresc et le commerce des antiquités à Rome," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 117th year, 6th ser., vol. 85, no. 1273 (February 1975), pp. 61-72.

- 42 MS V.E.10, BNN, folio 119 recto.
- 43 Ibid., folio 119 verso.
- 44 See C. R. Morey, *Lost Mosaics and Frescoes of Rome of the Mediaeval Period: A Publication of Drawings Contained in the Collection of Cassiano dal Pozzo, Now in the Royal Library, Windsor Castle* (Princeton, 1915); see also many sheets in the volume at Windsor (in a George III binding) entitled "Tombs of Illustrious Italians" (inv. nos. 11715–11956), a collection that also contains later drawings that probably came from the Albani collection.
- 45 See MS V.E.10, BNN, folios 121 recto, 130 recto, 131 verso, 145–46 recto. Like Cassiano, Gualdi was a Knight of Saint Stephen. A member of an old Venetian-Romagnolo family, he put together a rich collection in Rome that is recorded in his correspondence with Peiresc in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (MSS "Fond français 9543," "Fond Dupuy 688," "Nouvelles acquisitions françaises 5173"), and in the Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras (MS 1776), while Peiresc's letters to Gualdi are in the Biblioteca Marciana, Venice (MS 6401). Patricia Falguières has kindly informed us that Gualdi's own manuscripts and the inventory of his collection passed to the Convento del Sacro Cuore di Trinità dei Monti in Rome and have recently been dispersed.
- Also in the "Agenda" (MS V.E.10, BNN, folios 120 verso, 121 recto, 131 verso, 146 verso) are many notes on the collection of Marzio Milesi Sarazani, learned Roman author of the manuscript "Inscriptiones et elogia" (Vat. Lat. 7927, BAV). On his death in February 1637, he left to the Theatines his rich collection of books, manuscripts, ancient inscriptions, bas-reliefs, terracotta, lamps, and the like. Marco Casale, the Roman antiquarian, is cited on folio 125 recto of the "Agenda," where his famous garden at the Marmorata is also mentioned. The name of Alessandro del Nero, a member of a rich Florentine family of merchants, appears in various places in the Naples manuscript (see, for example, folio 130).
- 46 An engraver, Cungi was employed by Cassiano in the illustration of Girolamo Teti's *Aedes Barberinae* (Rome, 1642).
- 47 This sculptor and restorer, who worked for the Barberini, was also close to Cassiano; for his private collection, see MS V.E.10, BNN, folios 130–45.
- 48 Giovanni Gonelli (1602–1664 or 1675), a blind sculptor from Volterra who specialized in terracotta, made a portrait of Gualdi. The "Carteggio Peiresc e Cassiano" (MS H.271, EMM, folios 15, 16, 19, 205) contains references to this and other works; an unpublished "Discorso sopra un cieco scultore eccellente" is included in MS H.170, EMM, folio 38. Notes on his collection appear in the Naples "Agenda" (MS V.E.10, BNN, folios 119 verso, 125).
- 49 The reference is to the Portland Vase, now in the British Museum. See Donald B. Harden et al., *Glass of the Caesars* (Milan, 1987 [exhibition, The Corning Museum of Glass; The British Museum, London; Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne]), pp. 53–65 and no. 29.
- 50 MS V.E.10, BNN, folio 125 verso. As the following entry reveals (ibid., folio 33 verso), the "Agenda" contains hints and important testimony concerning Testa's activity for Cassiano's *Museo* that relate not only to the iconography of the Muses but also to other antique marble reliefs, in this case linked to one of Testa's favorite images—groups or games of putti:
- The two pieces that [the sculptor] Pacifici has in the last room [of his house] as friezes [are] each one and a half arms long and a palm high; on one of these appear a number of children and women, all dressed in the same way. It is thought to be a College of Children [*un collegio di fanciulli*] built in honor of Faustina, the wife of Antonio, of which Capitolino speaks in his *Lives of the Caesars*. We have in our house a copy by the Lucchese [Testa].
- 51 Ibid., folio 130 recto and verso.
- 52 MS A 257.258, Biblioteca Marucelliana, Florence, folios 39 verso–42 recto.
- 53 MS V.E.10, BNN, folio 130 verso. On folio 144 verso is an autograph note concerning columns and obelisks that Cassiano had drawn.
- 54 Ibid., folio 40 recto.
- 55 For the painting see *Vatican Museums, Rome, Great Museums of the World* (New York, 1969), reprints, pp. 40–43. See also Giulio Mancini, *Considerazioni sulla pittura*, vol. 1 (Rome, 1956), pp. 46–48 n. 93; Schilling and Blunt, 1971, p. 106. In addition to the drawing attributed to Pietro da Cortona by Blunt (following Vitzthum), there are three others after the fresco among the drawings from Cassiano's collection now at Windsor and in the British Museum. These are probably by Bernardo Capitelli, who made a print after *The Aldobrandini Wedding* in 1627. In 1629 Lorenzo Pignoria wrote a treatise on the fresco, which he published with a dedication to Cassiano. A copy of Capitelli's print serves as the

- frontispiece to Pignoria's manuscript in the Vatican (MS Chigiano G. IV.108). See also Solinas and Nicolò, "Cassiano," pp. 87-94.
- 56 MS V.E.10, BNN, folios 116 recto, 140 recto. See also "Carteggio puteano," BAL, vol. xx, folio 134. B. Nogara, *Le nozze Aldobrandini* (Milan, 1907), p. 30, attributes the color notes to Marzio Milesi Sarazani.
- 57 MS H.267, EMM.
- 58 It was common practice in the *officina* of Dal Pozzo to realize "facsimile" transcriptions. The entire corpus of Pirro Ligorio's manuscripts in Turin was copied, and Cassiano ordered from Count Galeazzo Arconati in Milan a copy of Leonardo da Vinci's "Trattato della pittura." He also secured copies of the original notes of Fulvio Orsini in the Vatican (see MS V.E.10, BNN, folio 136). In the "Agenda" for the *Museo* (ibid., folio 130), there is a cancelled entry that documents the execution of a copy of the Greek calendar donated by the cardinal of Santa Cecilia, which is illustrated with the saints for six months of the year and contains eight hundred figures in a good style and in which the accounts of the martyrs and the instruments of their martyrdom, monastic habits, ceremonies and sacred rites, the forms of churches and many other things are to be seen, and the book is between seven and eight hundred years old.
- 59 Baldinucci, 1681-1728, pp. 313-14. The original manuscripts are Vat. Lat. 3225, BAV (Virgil), and Vat. Lat. 3868, BAV (Terence).
- 60 MS V.E.10, BNN, folio 116. For the text see also Solinas and Nicolò, "Cassiano," p. 109.
- 61 MS V.E.10, BNN, folio 140 recto. See also Solinas and Nicolò, "Cassiano," p. 109. In 1643 Cassiano put the copies of the Virgil miniatures to use by sending copies of them to his Paduan friend and correspondent Ottavio Ferrari, who used them to illustrate the second edition of his *De re vestiaria libri septem*, published in Padua by Frambotti in 1654. The "figure colorate cavate da quello Virgilio antichissima della Vaticana" are the subject of a note in the "Notitie di pittura, antichità, epittaffi" (MS H.267, EMM, folio 50 recto), which describes four illustrations from the album now at Windsor. José Ruyschaert publishes the originals from the Vatican in "Le dossier dal Pozzo des illustrations virgiliennes antiques de la Bibliothèque Vaticane," in Solinas, ed., *Atti . . . Dal Pozzo*.
- 62 Lumbroso, *Notizie*, pp. 212-17. For the consequent remounting and restoration by Callandra, see Alvar Gonzales Palacios, "G. B. Callandra un mosaicista alla corte dei Barberini," *Ricerche di storia dell'arte*, vols. 1-2 (1966), pp. 211-40.
- 63 See, for example, "Nomi de' vasi di tutte le sorti de' legni si pretiosi come ordinarij ch ho potuti trovare" (MS H.267, EMM, folios 129-30 verso); "Nota de' i pesci che restano da colorirsi nel Salviano" (ibid., folio 67); "La nota delle robe che si domandano," which is a list of prints and illustrated books (ibid., folio 42 recto); "Nota di quello che si manda per mostra" (ibid., folios 42 verso-43 recto); and a list of prints and illustrated books entitled "Carte del Tempesta" but which includes drawings and prints by various artists (ibid., folio 45 verso).
- 64 Ibid., folios 230-37. Wangnereck (1605-1657), a philologist who studied hieroglyphs and Greek inscriptions on antique gems, was a friend and collaborator of Reinhold Dehnig.
- 65 The drawings shown in figs. III-g through III-n in fact come from this volume, which still has the original Dal Pozzo binding. The drawings are ordered as in the Montpellier inventory. Figs. III-g and III-h reproduce antiquities that Cassiano had acquired before 1624 through Francesco Villamena and later sold. The inscription on the drawings, *NM*, could refer to *Nostro Museo* (our museum).
- 66 MS H.267, EMM, folio 170 verso.
- 67 Ibid., folio 171 recto.
- 68 Ibid.
- 69 For example, there is a reference (ibid., folio 172 verso) to a metal tripod made of pliant twigs, about as high as our *lavabo*, in the study of Signor Cavaliere Gualdi, a truly well-preserved and fine antique. On the verso there is another of a different form that was copied from certain drawings of antiquities owned by Francesco Villamena [see fig. III-k].
- The inscription by a Dal Pozzo scribe on fig. III-k, *P.G.M.*, may refer to *Paolo Gualdi Museo*. A possible interpretation of the inscription *F.V.D.* on fig. III-l, also by a Dal Pozzo scribe, is *Francesco Villamena Disegno*. Both correspond with entry 28 of the Montpellier list (folio 172 verso). For further on Villamena, see Solinas and Nicolò, "Cassiano," pp. 66-70; for the entire list, see pp. 98-102 (Appendix IIa).
- 70 MS H.267, EMM, folio 172 verso. See also Solinas and Nicolò, "Cassiano," p. 102. The drawing of the Cesi tripod (fig. III-m) reproduces a cele-

- brated marble relief that was purchased later in the seventeenth century by Cardinal Alessandro Albani, who in 1714 also acquired, from the Dal Pozzo heirs, the majority of Cassiano's library and "Paper Museum," including the "Antichità diverse" volume now at Windsor in which this drawing appears (see n. 65 above). The Dal Pozzo inscription on the drawing, *In hortis Cesiorum*, refers to the Cesi villa on the Janiculum in Rome, where the marble was kept; the *M* inscribed in ink at the lower right might refer to the draughtsman. The Dal Pozzo inscription on the drawing of the tripod in *The Aldobrandini Wedding* (fig. III-n), *In ant. Aldobran. Pict. ad Balnea Pauli*, is unclear in its mention of these ancient baths.
- 71 For example, the list of drawings for the illustrations to the second edition of Lorenzo Pignoria's *De servis* (Padua, 1656), in MS H.267, EMM, folios 33–38, or the "figura di Roma" on folio 99 that corresponds to drawings at Windsor (11391) and the British Museum (ex-Franks, Inv. 421). There are also references to Cassiano's drawings of natural history. On folio 67 appears a list of illustrations taken from Salviani's *Aquatilium animalium historiae* (Rome, 1554). Among the drawings in the boxes at Windsor are many colored drawings of both birds and fish.
- 72 MS H.267, EMM, folios 129–30 verso.
- 73 Francesco Stelluti, ed., *Trattato del legno fossile minerale nuovamente scoperto, nel quale brevemente si accenna la varia & mutabil natura di detto legno . . .* (Rome, 1637).
- 74 See David Freedberg, "Cassiano dal Pozzo and Giovan Battista Ferrari," in Solinas, ed., *Atti . . . Dal Pozzo*; for material drawn only from the previously known sources, see also Lucia Tongiorgi Tomasi, "Francesco Mingucci giardiniere," in Accademia dei Lincei, *Convegno . . . Federico Cesi*, pp. 277–306.
- 75 Giovanni Battista Ferrari, *Hesperides sive malorum aureorum cultura et usus* (Rome, 1646). Ferrari's letters to Cassiano are in "Carteggio puteano," BAL, vol. vi, folios 388–438. They probably met when Cassiano was in Siena (1608–11). Poussin was Cassiano's agent in his unsuccessful attempt to get Louis XIII to support the publication. The book was eventually published in 1646 by Hermann Scheus in Rome.
- 76 Now in the two boxes at Windsor, for which see Freedberg, "Cassiano." The drawings at Windsor are: 19321–19335, 19337–19342, 19345, 19347–19356, 19358, 19359, 19361–19368, 19370, 19372, 19380–19383, 19386, 19397, 21146.
- 77 The "Notitie diverse" was acquired by the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei in 1973–74 with the volumes of the "Carteggio puteano." It now carries the collocation "Aosta n. 39, formerly Albani 523." Documents concerning the publication of the *Hesperides* appear on folios 131–32. Cassiano's involvement in the edition is revealed in the contract. Among those cited in the "Notitie diverse" were Tranquillo Romauli, Abate Alessandro Gaetani, and Filippo Magalotti. In one of Cassiano's botanical manuscripts now in Montpellier (MS H.508, EMM, folio 49) appears a note entitled "Breve instruttione per vasi e spalliere di cedrati e lumie, del Signor Filippo Magalotti." Gaetani and Romauli were friends of Cassiano and Magalotti and both were dilettantes in botany. Their names also appear often in Peiresc's correspondence. In addition to advice and information they sent Cassiano drawings, several of which can be identified at Windsor.
- 78 Written February 9, 1634, Aix (MS H.271, EMM, folios 108–9 verso).
- 79 The dispersal had in fact already begun in 1661, when a codex of Cassiano's letters passed through marriage to the Carpegna family (MS Carpegna 160, Archivio Segreto Vaticano).
- 80 Remarkably, as this catalogue was in press, 110 natural history drawings from Cassiano dal Pozzo's *Museo* that had been deaccessioned from the Royal Collection earlier this century were scheduled to be auctioned from the estate of James R. Herbert Boone of Baltimore for the benefit of the humanities at The Johns Hopkins University (Sotheby's, New York, September 16, 1988). It is the fervent hope of all involved in this exhibition that their new owners will make them accessible to those who are participating in the project under the direction of the Royal Library and supported by Olivetti to catalogue and study Cassiano's *Museo*.

The Marketing of Pietro Testa's "Poetic Inventions"

As a printmaker in seventeenth-century Rome, Pietro Testa had chosen to work in a medium with high production costs and slow financial returns. In 1635 his contemporary Giacomo Lauro reported that it had cost him forty scudi to produce an engraving of the senate of Poland in 1613.¹ A copper engraving plate, which could be purchased at a local brazier's shop, cost about five scudi in the 1660s,² which was quite expensive considering that the annual rent for a one-room shop in the center of Rome rarely exceeded fifty scudi.³ The proper printing ink was the imported (and costly) *noire d'Allemagne*, a carbon lampblack mixed with linseed oil.⁴ Wax and paper were taxed as well, further increasing production costs.⁵ Paper could be bought at a stationer's shop, and a bale of sheets of the size known as *mezzana grande* cost 26.30 scudi in 1633.⁶

The actual printing process added further to the artist's costs. Some printmakers owned and operated their own rolling presses.⁷ For example, Claude Lorrain had a rolling press in the foyer of his house in Rome,⁸ the French Academy in Rome had one in its attic,⁹ and the French printmaker François Spierre had one in his bedroom on the via Felice.¹⁰ Others contracted professional printers. In 1656 Giovanni Giacomo de Rossi was paid nine scudi and fifty-five *baiocchi* for issuing 1,350 prints for *La vita humana*, an illustrated book of the opera.¹¹

Testa's biographers tell us that when the artist arrived in Rome, he was desperately in need of money.¹² Being both an excellent draughtsman and a proficient etcher, he had four means of earning a living as a printmaker in Rome: He could sell prints directly to the public, work on commissions for wealthy families, dedicate prints to illustrious persons, or sell copperplates to print publishers in the city. Of these options he preferred the latter two, especially dedications, for they allowed him to choose and embroider upon his own subjects and to keep the copperplates as investments that he could later rededicate or sell to publishers.

In search of a livelihood and support for his art, Testa might have turned to commissioned work, as such important printmakers as Dominique Barrière, Claude Mellan, and Cornelis Bloemaert had done at one time or another in Rome, where commissions generally were plentiful and lucrative. Testa's biographer Baldinucci writes that wealthy men employed printmakers to etch and engrave their villas and private art collections in order to display their *virtù*.¹³ These patrons paid very well, thus raising the price for the best printmakers' services. In 1633 Cardinal Francesco Barberini paid Mellan fifty scudi for engraving Pietro da Cortona's drawing *The Fable of the Moon*, which was used as an illustration in the book *De florum cultura* by the Siense horticulturist Giovanni Battista

Ferrari.¹⁴ Further, the architect Francesco Borromini gave Barrière four hundred scudi, an enormous fee, for etching six of his designs.¹⁵

Testa was certainly aware of the financial rewards of commissions. He had started his career in Rome by working for one of the most important print projects of the century, the *Galleria Giustiniani* (see figs. I-a, I-b, and II-a). The collector Vincenzo Giustiniani had employed a group of Northern artists to engrave the masterpieces of ancient sculpture in his palace, and the overseer of the project, the German painter and art historian Joachim von Sandrart, had in turn hired Testa as a draughtsman.¹⁶ Passeri reports that Testa took pleasure in making drawings for the Northerners to reproduce as prints, and he may have been considered unsuitable as a printmaker for the project, since Northerners were generally sought after for such work, being regarded as the best engravers in Europe.¹⁷

Testa may have also realized the drawbacks of commissioned work, for it restricted his choice of subject and deprived him of an investment, since the patron told the printmaker what to depict and owned the copperplates when the project was completed. The artist was left with only the wage of the commission and no residual rights to his work. As a result of this system the popular printmaker Barrière, who had worked almost exclusively on commission in Rome in the 1650s and 1660s, did not have sufficient resources to provide for his daughter's dowry in 1671.¹⁸ Testa thus probably did not work on print commissions not only because there was a limited demand for Italian etchers but also because he wanted to create new inventions and to keep the copperplates as investments.

In addition to his lack of commissions, Testa appears to have worked without a publishing permit, which would have limited the circulation of his prints. Numerous edicts regulated the public sale of prints in seventeenth-century Rome,¹⁹ as contemporary sources note.²⁰ A print offered for public sale had to be registered with the master of the Holy Apostolic Palace, an officer who regulated the publication of books, prints, pamphlets, and medals in the city. He controlled the type of image issued and gave the owner of the plate the sole right to publish the registered print, usually for a period of ten years.²¹ None of the prints published by Testa carry this imprimatur, signifying that he was not licensed to sell them.

Prints underwent the same scrutiny as books, although there seems to have been no official index of prints as there was for the latter. The Apostolic master, always a Dominican, had doctrine to uphold, and prints that failed to gain his approval could not be sold in Rome. The maker of an unapproved print was thus forced either to abandon his project or to send it abroad for approval from a foreign privilege office. Baldinucci reports, for example, that the master refused Bloemaert the privilege to print an image showing a Crucifixion with the Madonna fainting because the subject contradicted church doctrine.²² The artist then sent the copperplate to France for publication.

If a print received official endorsement, the owner of the copperplate—whether he be the artist, patron, or publisher—added the inscription *cum privilegio* or *con licenza de' Superiori* to the plate, showing that it had passed censorship and was protected from being copied. Although abuse of this privilege could lead to the confiscation of the printer's stock

and a fine of two hundred scudi, many famous prints from this period do not carry this imprimatur. Claude Lorrain inscribed *con licenza de' Superiori* on only five of his fifty-one publications, whereas the publisher Giovanni Domenico de Rossi inscribed it on all the prints in his possession by the Genoese artist Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione, except *Temporalis Aeternitas*.²³ The absence of the imprimatur on particular prints may have been the result of many different intentions of the owners, who may have printed them for private use or sought alternative means of protection, thereby making prosecution less likely.

In general there was widespread lack of protection from copyists, which may have also kept printmakers and publishers away from the privilege office. As early as 1577 the publisher Lorenzo de la Vacherie remarked that print dealers in Rome ignored the imprimatur and pirated images from each other.²⁴ Such practices continued into the following century, becoming a progressively greater problem both for artists printing their own new inventions and for their publishers. In 1664 the publisher Giovanni Giacomo de Rossi told Pope Alexander VII that he had stopped printing new artistic creations because as soon as he issued them they were copied by his competitors, which ruined him financially.²⁵

Under such conditions, it was not unusual for artists and print publishers to seek other ways to protect themselves from copyists. Giovanni Giacomo de Rossi received protection from Archbishop Francesco Maria Febei²⁶ and Cardinal Giacomo Franzoni,²⁷ as well as Pope Alexander VII. The latter granted him a coveted privilege to print that protected all his publications from 1664 to 1674.²⁸ Papal privileges that shielded the entire stock of a publisher were extremely rare, for they normally covered only specific publications. The printmaker Giovanni Ronzone, for example, received a privilege to engrave the doors of Saint Peter's, a lateral view of the church, and the piazza, and Giovanni Battista de Rossi received a privilege to print "all the principal views . . . of Rome" and a map of the city by Liévin Cruyl.²⁹ Although the Apostolic master already granted privileges on behalf of the pope, an additional privilege directly sanctioned by the pontiff was coveted because violators were liable to a fine of five hundred scudi, a sum far greater than that imposed by the Apostolic Palace.

Testa never received a sanction to print from either the pope or the Apostolic master. Instead he dedicated a number of prints to important persons in Rome, including three clerics from Lucca—Cardinal Marcantonio Franciotti (cat. nos. 36 and 37), Stefano Garbesi (cat. nos. 5, 6, and 86), and Girolamo Buonvisi (cat. nos. 11, 41, 63, 73, and 94), who worked in the Apostolic Camera of Urban VIII—as well as Cassiano dal Pozzo (cat. no. 25), the secretary of Cardinal Francesco Barberini, and the Cavaliere Gualdi of Pisa, a noted collector of antiquities and curiosities. These men might have protected the prints from copy under the assumption that no one would pirate an image dedicated to an important official who could avenge his honor. Therefore, if not through legal sale, Testa most surely made money from these dedications.

The process of dedicating a print involved several steps: The artist chose an image to etch on a copperplate, found a benefactor, wrote a complimentary phrase about that person, incised the approved phrase on the copperplate, and presented the patron with

many copies of the print for a fee. For commissioned work the artist had to surrender the copperplate, whereas the artist retained the rights over a plate he had dedicated.³⁰ Testa therefore lost little in these ventures, for he could choose and interpret his own subjects, keep the copperplates, receive money for the dedications, and rededicate the plates, obtaining yet more income while avoiding official registration.

Although dedicatory prints were ostensibly presented as gifts, in the seventeenth century the process was often more a business transaction than an expression of friendship. The owner of the copperplate did not have to know the prospective benefactor personally and could offer to dedicate a print in a letter or through a mediator.³¹ If the proposed benefactor approved the project, he would pay a fee for the honor, which varied in amount. In 1613 the Polish bishop of Luck had paid Giacomo Lauro thirty gold scudi for the engraving of the Polish senate that had cost about forty scudi to produce.³² Other artists were more fortunate. For example, Cardinal Nerli gave Giovanni Battista Falda two gold medals, a watch, and a hundred ducats for the dedication of one etching depicting the cleric's villa.³³

Anyone who owned a copperplate could dedicate it; the major obstacle was obtaining approval from the prospective patron. The odds favored the person who worked a copperplate in a way that reflected the interests of an illustrious man or woman. Testa's ability to secure patronage is represented by the print of an elephant (fig. IV-a), often attributed to him, that was designed to commemorate the arrival of such an animal in Rome in March 1630, an event that generated great enthusiasm and delight among the city's natural scientists and collectors. He presented the print, which depicts the captive beast near a palm tree, to the Cavaliere Gualdi. Gualdi was doubtlessly attracted to the idea of the dedication because it associated his name with the grand event.³⁴ Testa's apt choice of subject had thus assured him of a patron, but a printmaker in search of such support was not always so successful.

Because of the fees involved, refusals from prospective benefactors were common. In 1642 Giovanni Battista Ferrari hoped to dedicate his illustrated book *Hesperides* to Louis XIII.³⁵ The French monarch refused the honor, however, and the author was forced to find another patron. To avoid expensive and embarrassing mistakes, the owner of a copperplate often presented the prospective patron with a sample, or proof, of the print, which might incorporate annotations in ink to give the would-be benefactor a better idea of the finished work.³⁶ The earliest known state of Testa's *Martyrdom of Saint Erasmus* (cat. no. 5) was probably such a proof given to Stefano Garbesi for his approval. It carries the draft of a dedication to the Lucchese cleric in brown ink, while the succeeding state (cat. no. 6) bears an engraved dedication, which indicates that Garbesi had accepted the honor. It is unlikely, however, that Testa always found approval for his dedications.

Several of Testa's prints have empty wide lower margins, which suggests that they were conceived with a dedication in mind. These include *An Allegory in Honor of the Arrival of Cardinal Franciotti as Bishop of Lucca* (cat. no. 36), *Sinorix Carried from the Temple of Artemis* (cat. no. 53), *Venus Giving Arms to Aeneas* (cat. no. 59), *Altro diletto ch'imparar non trovo* (cat.

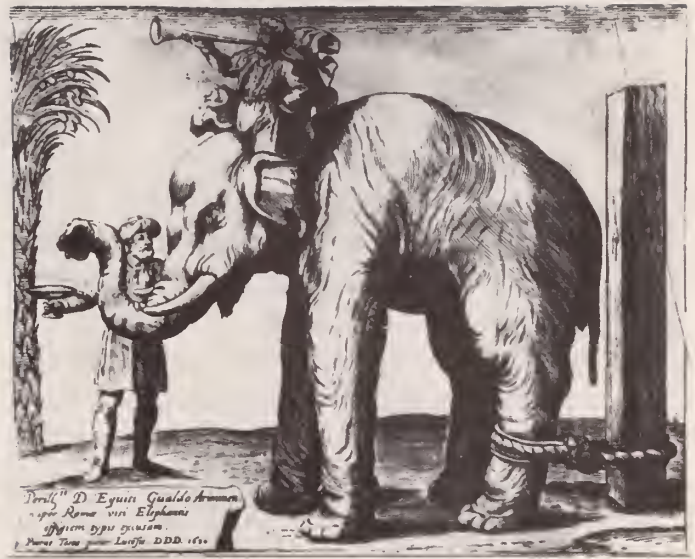


Fig. IV-a. Attributed to Pietro Testa,
The Elephant, 1630.
 Engraving, approx. 160 x 200 mm (6⁵/₁₆ x 7⁷/₈").

no. 101), and *The Birth and Infancy of Achilles* (cat. no. 118). An early state of *An Allegory in Honor of the Arrival of Cardinal Franciotti* has traces of a dedication burnished out, indicating that Testa had hoped to obtain a benefactor (almost certainly the cardinal himself) but was refused at the last minute.³⁷ Testa never did find a benefactor for the image, and he likely made little money from this particular copperplate. It is possible that he sold it to Frans van Wyngaerde, a publisher from Antwerp who was interested in acquiring new inventions by contemporary Italian artists.³⁸ Van Wyngaerde published this print at some point after he was admitted to the Antwerp guild in 1636.

Other foreign publishers may have also acquired copperplates from Testa. The four plates of "The Prodigal Son" series (cat. nos. 95–98) were sent to a publisher in France whose initials were "J. R." and who had received a privilege to print from the French king.³⁹ Pierre Mariette also published the horizontal version of *The Garden of Charity* (cat. no. 9).⁴⁰ It is not known whether he, "J. R.," or Van Wyngaerde acquired these copperplates from an estate sale or from Testa himself. Salvator Rosa and Cornelis Bloemaert shipped their copperplates abroad in search of alternative markets, and Testa may have done the same, or the plates may have been dispersed after his death in 1650.⁴¹

Testa himself sold at least six copperplates to publishers in Rome. Callisto Ferranti, who was Testa's first Roman publisher, ran a print-publishing business on the piazza Navona from 1626 until 1647.⁴² He purchased three of the artist's copperplates: *Three Lucchese Saints Interceding with the Virgin for the Victims of the Plague* (cat. no. 7), *Saint Jerome* (cat. no. 8), and *The Garden of Venus* (cat. no. 13), all datable to the 1630s. The sons and heirs of Giuseppe de Rossi the Elder—Giovanni Domenico and Giovanni Giacomo—followed Ferranti's lead by publishing several of Testa's copperplates sometime between 1647 and 1650. During this period, the De Rossi brothers jointly ran the family business on the

via della Pace. Healthy competition arose between the brothers as they worked on the same press under different names, each taking full credit for his own publications. They never signed prints together nor under the name of “the heirs of Giuseppe de Rossi,” which would have followed the norm.

During the first half of the 1640s, Giovanni Domenico’s publications were primarily revisions of works published by his father.⁴³ When his younger brother Giovanni Giacomo came of age in 1647 and responded to new demands in the market, the family’s purchasing strategies changed. They moved away from the standard stock of reproductive prints and began to purchase creative inventions by living artists. In his second year of publishing, Giovanni Giacomo issued his first Testa print, *The Triumph of Painting on Parnassus* (cat. no. 73), as well as several new prints by Castiglione: *The Genius of Castiglione*, *Theseus Finding His Father’s Arms*, *Marsyas Teaching Olympos the Various Musical Modes*, and *Bacchanal Before a Herm of Pan*.⁴⁴ Giovanni Giacomo added his address and the date 1648 to these copperplates.

Sometime before Easter 1650 Giovanni Domenico also purchased two copperplates by Testa, *The Triumph of the Virtuous Artist on Parnassus* (cat. no. 102) and *Winter* (cat. nos. 81 and 82). The date can be deduced from the parish records, which note that Giovanni Domenico married a young woman named Margarita and opened his own shop at the Palazzo de Cupis in the piazza Navona sometime between the Easter census of 1649 and that of 1650.⁴⁵ The address on his prints subsequently changed from “alla Pace” to “in piazza Navona.”⁴⁶ The second states of Testa’s *Triumph of the Virtuous Artist on Parnassus* and *Winter* (cat. no. 81) carry the “alla Pace” address, indicating that Giovanni Domenico purchased these copperplates between 1647, when the family changed its purchasing strategies, and Easter 1650, when his business was at its new address. He also replaced Testa’s dedication to Jean Minard on *The Triumph of the Virtuous Artist on Parnassus* with one of his own, having received the appropriate fees from the new benefactor, the cleric Giovanni Tommaso Rondanino.

During his lifetime, only a third of Testa’s graphic oeuvre circulated publicly, with publishers in Rome issuing six of his prints and the artist dedicating another six, insuring at least a limited market. However, even these twelve prints did not attract enough attention from Roman society for Testa to obtain the patronage of such papal families as the Pamphili and the Barberini, let alone foreign monarchs and princes, that would have added to his popularity.⁴⁷ Passeri writes: “He had a noble and elevated genius that was inclined toward philosophy; that genius made him love retreat and solitude, and this was his greatest problem, because he never wanted to accommodate himself to the retinue of the ante-rooms.”⁴⁸ Instead Testa relied on the loyalty of the three Lucchese clerics and a small group of admirers, whom Passeri describes as “men of genius and sincerity,”⁴⁹ that included the Cavaliere Cassiano dal Pozzo and Fabrizio Cellesio (see cat. no. 114), both knights of the Order of Saint Stephen. This order had been created by the Florentine grandduke Cosimo I and was headquartered in Pisa. Since that city is near Lucca, Testa may have sought benefactors from members of the order as well as from Lucchese citizens. His success in

gaining such patronage suggests that Cassiano and Cellesio in turn felt some obligation to support him as an artist from the general territory.

Nevertheless, Testa's reputation as a printmaker was firmly established while he was alive. Passeri, his exact contemporary, considered printmaking as Testa's major contribution.⁵⁰ He enthusiastically reviewed many of Testa's prints, singling out the "various expressions" in the "famous" *Il Liceo della Pittura* (cat. no. 41) and proclaiming his *Venus and Adonis* (cat. no. 16) "so light-hearted and tasteful that it gave pleasure to many." The scope of Testa's popularity, however, was limited to a group of *cognoscenti*, those "men of genius and sincerity" Passeri had described.⁵¹

Testa's prints circulated more widely once the Roman print publishers responded to a new force entering the market, the man on the grand tour. This class of tourist, who collected prints passionately, became very important in the latter part of the 1640s and caused the market to change. Krautheimer writes that these tourists were "educated and learned gentlemen, Protestant and Catholic, [who] would exchange ideas with the local scholarly community and browse in the great libraries of the city."⁵² Their appetite for prints evolved from a new consciousness of the aesthetic and didactic value of multiple and correct images produced by the presses that had begun to flourish in the early years of the seventeenth century.⁵³ Although these travelers expected the Roman print market to be as vigorous as those of Paris and Amsterdam, the majority of the prints sold in the city between about 1620 and 1645 were conventional and of poor quality, except for the sumptuous illustrations commissioned by the Barberini and Pamphili families. The caliber of prints depicting the ancient statuary of Rome was especially lamentable. As late as 1662 John Evelyn wrote that the French printmaker François Perrier's mediocre depictions of the city's statues and bas-reliefs were "preferable to any that are yet extant."⁵⁴

If Rome lacked a good pictorial survey of its antiquities, it compensated in the late 1640s with a flourish of innovative contemporary prints, many of which were introduced by François Collignon, who in 1646 had opened a print shop near the De Rossis' that catered to the men on the grand tour. Until his death in 1687, Collignon sold views of Rome by such famous contemporary printmakers working in the French style as Israël Silvestre, Stefano della Bella, and Jacques Callot, and he proved a worthy competitor to the older and more established printing firms in the city.⁵⁵

Giovanni Giacomo de Rossi also met the demands of the new foreign tourists and challenged competitors such as Collignon by publishing original inventions by contemporary Italian artists. In the latter half of the seventeenth century he actively purchased copperplates by such important printmakers as Castiglione, Pietro Santi Bartoli, Falda, and Pietro Aquila. Testa's prints were especially appropriate because he derived his subjects and compositions from the study of antiquity that intrigued the "educated traveler of years' planning" who visited Rome to explore its current intellectual and artistic milieu as well as its ancient past.⁵⁶

With such prints, Giovanni Giacomo hoped to bring the local industry to the level of the larger and better European print markets. In one of his proposals to Alexander VII,

he wrote that a papal privilege protecting his entire stock would not show “prejudice to the other printers, but rather force each one to make new images that differed from those of the petitioner; the prints of Rome would thus become more curious, like those made in Flanders and in France.”⁵⁷ In the seventeenth century *curiosità* was defined as “a disordered need to know, see, and experience unnecessary things.”⁵⁸ A “curious” print therefore evoked the luxury of ardent interest and was dependent on the viewer’s erudition, a category to which Testa’s prints certainly belonged and for which a new market now existed.

By the time Giovanni Giacomo issued the catalogue of his stock in 1677, he had acquired nineteen of the thirty-five copperplates known to have been etched by Testa.⁵⁹ He probably bought them at various estate sales—those of the artist, his heirs, and his subsequent publishers. Heirs often divided up their newly inherited goods and sold them, and if an estate was left heirless, the Apostolic Camera had the right to sell it and give the proceeds to the church.⁶⁰ Testa’s will has not been found, and he may indeed have died intestate.

It is known that Giovanni Giacomo acquired six of Testa’s copperplates from the estates of Roman publishers. *Three Lucchese Saints Interceding with the Virgin for the Victims of the Plague*, *Saint Jerome*, and *The Garden of Venus* came from the stock of Callisto Ferranti, who closed his shop at the age of fifty-seven and was no longer recorded in the censuses after 1647. *The Triumph of the Virtuous Artist on Parnassus* and *Winter* came from Giovanni Domenico de Rossi, who died in August 1653, and *Venus and Adonis* came from the estate of either the artist or Niccolò Menghini, who died in 1655.⁶¹ Menghini, a sculptor and the supervisor of the Barberini collection of antiquities, was given the honor of dedicating the etching to his patron Sebastiano Antinori. In his inscription Menghini wrote that Testa had “lent” him the copperplate “as testimony of his kindness.” He may have never returned it, and Giovanni Giacomo may have purchased it from him or his estate.

Testa’s copperplates that did not enter the De Rossi shop suffered less secure fates. The plates for *The Elephant*, *The Holy Family with the Child Seizing the Cross from the Infant Saint John* (cat. no. 3), *The Penitent Magdalen* (cat. no. 4), and the vertical version of *The Garden of Charity* (cat. no. 11) disappeared after Testa’s death. *The Martyrdom of Saint Erasmus* only appeared on the market sometime between 1689 and January 1691, when Giovanni Giacomo purchased it.⁶² Likewise, the Flemish printer and publisher Arnold van Westerhout did not issue *Altro diletto ch’imparar non trovo*, *The Birth and Infancy of Achilles*, *Achilles Dragging the Body of Hector Around the Walls of Troy* (cat. no. 121), *The Symposium* (cat. no. 114), or *The Suicide of Cato* (cat. no. 116) until sometime around 1683, when he opened a shop in Rome, which suggests that these copperplates were out of circulation until then,⁶³ although their whereabouts before Van Westerhout purchased them is unknown. Often an heir of a printmaker’s estate would preserve plates and distribute a few prints from them. In 1662 Evelyn recounted his quest for Francesco Villamena’s *Column of Trajan*, “which at my being at Rome (then quite out of print) I procured of his widow who was then living, but would not part with the Plates out of her sight.”⁶⁴ Someone might have held on to Testa’s copperplates in the same way, only to sell them thirty years later.

The posthumous publishing of Testa's work brought considerable praise. In 1675 Sandrart wrote that Testa's series "The Seasons" (cat. nos. 75, 76, 79, 81, and 82) was far superior to other depictions of the subject because it comprised many unusual inventions.⁶⁵ In Giovanni Giacomo de Rossi's 1677 stock catalogue he referred to Testa's prints as "copious poetic inventions" and provided descriptions and literary sources for them.⁶⁶ Collignon paid homage to the artist by publishing a collection of prints after Testa's sketches in 1681 (see cat. no. 40).⁶⁷ Baldinucci reported in 1686 that Testa's prints were so popular in Italy and France that they fetched high prices. He then gratified "the lovers of prints, the erudite, and the professors of antiquity" by adding a list of Testa's prints at the end of his biography of the artist.⁶⁸ This list included the history prints that Van Westerhout published in the 1680s, suggesting that their late entrance into the market generated an enthusiastic response.

The Roman publishing houses that circulated Testa's prints and facsimiles of his drawings had a remarkable influence considering the size of their operations. The Blaeu firm of Amsterdam ran nine rolling presses and twenty letterpresses, while Collignon had one rolling press and Giovanni Giacomo de Rossi had two;⁶⁹ neither owned a letterpress. Instead they collaborated with typographers on editions that required movable type.⁷⁰ Moreover, Giovanni Giacomo efficiently controlled his inventory to create a larger profit margin. Of the twenty-six copperplates representing works by or after Pietro Testa in his stock in 1691, only 126 prints were on the shop's shelves, or an average of 5 copies for each plate. Testa was not an exception, for the inventory rarely lists more than five copies of any one print or bound series of prints.

Giovanni Giacomo skillfully promoted Testa's prints to a wider public than the artist had reached during his lifetime. From 1659 to 1689 the papal court supported the print publisher more than any other in Rome. He thus had the capital to purchase many copperplates and the influence to protect his publications. His inventory and his bills to clients show that he owned many foreign prints, suggesting that he was part of a large European network of distribution.⁷¹ He also used stock catalogues to advertise his publications. Through such means Testa's inventions circulated throughout the cultivated world, receiving great acclaim from scholars, artists, and connoisseurs.

Testa was a remarkable young draughtsman and etcher who could have earned substantial fees from commissioned work and from prints designed for specific patrons and markets. The earliest print attributed to him, *The Elephant*, exemplifies his ability to solicit a dedication, and this was followed by other examples (see cat. nos. 5, 6, 11, and 25). He preferred, however, to "place conceptual and poetic ideals of his fancy onto large copperplates."⁷² "In another painter," writes Passeri, "one would not find such great thoughts, ideas so noble," adding that Testa's prints "went daily into the hands of the connoisseurs and received great praise."⁷³ Yet during his lifetime Testa's prints supplied neither the larger print markets catering to the papal courts nor the pilgrims visiting the Holy City.

Roman print publishers, including the De Rossi family, had begun to respond to a new class of travelers in the late 1640s. By the 1670s Giovanni Giacomo de Rossi had

become the largest distributor of Pietro Testa's prints and facsimiles, for he understood their cultural and artistic importance and sought to satisfy the demands of the men on the grand tour as well as the local connoisseurs. Without Testa's beautifully rendered prints, many European scholars and lovers of art might not have formulated the ideas they did concerning style and invention in the visual arts. It took a "noble and elevated genius" to create these works, and a more practical one to market them to a wide and influential audience.

A Chester Dale Fellowship from the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts of the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., supported my research in Rome. The first draft of this article was prepared during an Andrew W. Mellon Fellowship at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and the final manuscript was

prepared during a National Endowment for the Arts Internship at the Philadelphia Museum of Art. I am grateful to all those who provided assistance, comments, and criticisms along the way, particularly Mirka Beneš, Elizabeth Cropper, Charles Dempsey, Ann Percy, John Ray, and Antonio Sciacca.

NOTES

- 1 Lauro states: "spesi per detto intaglio in rame da 40 scudi" (the expenses for that incised plate in copper equaled 40 scudi); transcribed in Francesco Ehrle, *Roma prima di Sisto V: La pianta di Roma du Perac-Laféry del 1577* (Rome, 1908), p. 8 n. 19. Since the costs of printmaking materials and services at the time of Lauro's print are unavailable, prices from the 1620s to 1660s are reported herein to give an idea of Testa's expenses.
- 2 Mirka Beneš kindly informed me that in 1669 the Pamphili family gave the printmaker Giovanni Battista Falda 6 scudi to buy a large copperplate for a book on their villa, *Statue e vedute della villa Pamphilia*. Likewise, the Chigi family gave Giovanni Giacomo de Rossi 4 scudi to cover the costs of a copperplate in 1660; see Vincenzo Golzio, *Documenti artistici sul seicento nell'archivio Chigi* (Rome, 1939), p. 354. On the De Rossi family, see Appendix A below.
- 3 From 1633 until 1659 the De Rossi family rented a corner shop from the church of Santa Maria dell'Anima in Rome for 50 scudi a year. Because this was a corner location, the rent was higher than for adjacent shops. For the De Rossis' rental payments, see Ehrle, *Roma prima di Sisto V*, 68; for the rents of corner shops see Joseph Connors, "Borromini and Roman Urbanism," *AA Files*, vol. 1 (1982), p. 12; and Joseph Connors, *Borromini and the Roman Oratory* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980), p. 265.
- 4 See Abraham Bosse, *Traicté des manières de graver en taille-douce* (Paris, 1646), pp. 64ff.
- 5 Those who made wax had to pay the Papal States a tax of 2 *baiocchi* for every *libra*. (There were 100 *baiocchi* in a scudo.) Anyone who wanted to buy wax first had to fill out a permission form with the Minister of the State Monopolies or Contractors (Ministero dell'Appaltatori). Tax on paper varied according to size and type but averaged about 50 *baiocchi* to a scudo for each ream, or 500 sheets; for taxes on paper and wax, see the edicts issued as broadsides throughout the century and now in the "Editti, Brevi, e Bolle," Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome.
- 6 Franca Petrucci Nardelli, "Il Card. Francesco Barberini senior e la stampa a Roma," *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, vol. 108 (1985), p. 141. A bale contained 5 reams of 500 sheets each; see W. A. Pettas, *The Guinti of Florence* (San Francisco, 1980), p. 125. Prices varied according to the amount, size, and quality of paper. In May 1657 the stationer of the Apostolic Palace paid 1.80 scudi for a "risma di carta sopra fina" (ream of high quality paper), and 1 scudo for a "risma di carta francese sopra fina" (ream of high quality French paper); see "Giustificazione di tesoreria," camerale 1, busta 129, Archivio di Stato in Roma (ASR), folio 4. For more prices, see Petrucci Nardelli, "Barberini," p. 176 n. 262.
- 7 The rolling press, or intaglio press, is used for copperplate printing, in which the plate passes in a bed through two revolving cylinders. This should be distinguished from the letterpress, or relief-printing press, which is used for woodcuts

and movable type. The relief block is covered with a protective mantle before being subjected to pressure from the flat plate (the platen) of the press; no rollers are involved in letterpress printing (see Bamber Gascoigne, *How to Identify Prints* [New York, 1986], pt. 1, sec. 1). For earlier descriptions of the rolling press, see Vittorio Zonca, *Novo teatro di machine* (Padua, 1607), p. 79; and Denis Diderot, *Encyclopédie*, vol. 8 (Paris, 1765), pp. 620–23.

The rolling press was relatively expensive. In 1628 the printer Giuseppe de Rossi the Elder released his nephews Giuseppe and Giovanni Battista de Rossi from their apprenticeship with furnishings necessary to open their own print-publishing business: He gave them a bedpost, a mattress, 7 sheets, a blanket, tables, benches, a rolling press, and prints, which were together valued at 250 scudi. The press appears to have been the most expensive item on the list; for the document see my forthcoming dissertation and Appendix A below.

- 8 See Marcel Röthlisberger, *Claude Lorrain*, vol. 1, *Critical Catalogue* (New Haven, 1961), p. 76.
- 9 Anatole de Montaiglon, *Correspondance des directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome . . .*, vol. 2, 1694–1699 (Paris, 1888), p. 137.
- 10 “30 Notari Capitolini,” Office No. 30, Vincentius Octavianus, October 1681, ASR, folio 200 verso.
- 11 See Petrucci Nardelli, “Barberini,” pp. 167–68.
- 12 See Cropper, 1984, p. 13.
- 13 Filippo Baldinucci, *Cominciamento e progresso dell'arte dell'intagliare in rame colle vite di molti de' più eccellenti maestri . . .* (1686; reprint, Milan, 1808), p. 156.
- 14 Giovanni Battista Ferrari, *De florum cultura* (Rome, 1633); see also Petrucci Nardelli, “Barberini,” p. 141.
- 15 Connors, *Borromini*, p. 265.
- 16 Cropper, 1984, p. 13; see also Francis Haskell, *Patrons and Painters: A Study in the Relations Between Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque*, 2nd ed. (New Haven, 1980), p. 95.
- 17 Passeri, 1679, pp. 182–83.
- 18 The congregation of San Luigi-dei Francesi gave Barrière 30 scudi for the dowry; see Jacques Bousquet, *Recherches sur le séjour des peintres français à Rome au XVII^{ème} siècle* (Montpellier, 1980), p. 116.
- 19 Edicts against printmakers were published throughout the seventeenth century and can be found in “Miscellanea,” Arm. iv–v, no. 70, Archivio Segreto Vaticano (ASV); and the “Editti,

Brevi, e Bolle,” Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome. See also J.A.F. Orbaan, “Documenti sul Barocco in Roma,” *Miscellanea della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria* (Rome, 1920), p. 323. The wording of the edicts rarely changes throughout the century:

. . . si ordina all'intagliatori, stampatori, e venditori di figure in rame, o in legno, che debbano fra detto termine dare la lista di tutte le figure, che hanno in bottega con il nome dell'Autore, stampatore, e luogo, e tempo delle stampe, e farsi notare nel detto libro la, e ogni altra cosa come sopra sotto la medesima pena . . .
(. . . it is ordained that all engravers, printers, and publishers of intaglio prints or woodcuts must according to the law give a list of all the prints in their shop with the name of the author, printer, and place and time of the printing, and must register them in that [official] book; the penalty for transgressors is the same [as that for book sellers, which is the confiscation of stock and a fine of 200 scudi]) (from “Editto del maestro di sacro palazzo,” November 18, 1654, in “Editti, Brevi, e Bolle,” Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome).

The official books mentioned in the edicts have not been traced.

- 20 See Michele de Saint-Martin, *Le gouvernement de Rome* (Paris, 1659), p. 403; and Baldinucci, *Cominciamento*, p. 159.
- 21 Hermann Egger, “Die Darstellung einer päpstlichen Segensspendung aus dem Verlag Bartolomeo Faleti (1567),” *Maso Finiguerra*, vol. 1 (1936), p. 62.
- 22 Baldinucci, *Cominciamento*, p. 159. See also Mâle, 1932, p. 276, for the sanctioned rendering of the Virgin in Crucifixion scenes: “The Virgin stands upright and impenetrable, and controls her sorrow, as the theologians since the time of the Council of Trent have instructed” (author’s translation).
- 23 See H. Diane Russell, *Claude Lorrain: 1600–1682* (Washington, D.C., 1982), p. 299. For prints that carry the imprimatur, see also André Blum, *Les eaux-fortes de Claude Gellée, dit le Lorrain* (Paris, 1923), nos. 10, 17, 20, 37, and 39. For Castiglione’s graphic oeuvre, see Percy, 1971, pp. 136–48; and Paolo Bellini, *L'Opera incisa di Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione* (Milan, 1982), pp. 45–204.
- 24 Gian Ludovico Masetti Zannini, “Rivalità e lavoro di incisori nelle botteghe Lafréry-Duchet e de la Vacherie,” in Mario Salmi, ed., *Les fondations nationales dans la Rome pontificale* (Rome, 1981), p. 555.
- 25 Giovanni Giacomo Rossi stampatore in rame alla

- Pace, . . . con molta sua spesa, et incommodo, fatto intagliare, et stampare in rame diverse opere, et havendo intentione, et anche in pronto di fare stampare altre novità non più fatte. . . . ha perche dubita', che dandosi da lui in luce, gli siano da altri copiati, il che sarebbe la total rovina del povero [oratore] . . . (Giovanni Giacomo Rossi, printer of copperplates on the via della Pace, . . . having published at his own expense and discomfort many diverse works and being ready to publish others, no longer did so because he has to suspect that as soon as they were issued, they would be pirated and that would be the total ruin of this poor speaker) ("Segreteria Brevarium," vol. 1312, ASV, folio 807).
- 26 Febei was the master of ceremonies of Alexander VII's court; see Giovanni Battista Castelmaggi, *Scherma geneologicum stirpis Phoebae Urbevetae* (1667), p. 31. De Rossi stated in his will that he hoped that the archbishop would continue to show his "protection and affections" toward his adopted son Domenico and his house; for the document see my forthcoming dissertation on the family.
- 27 Franzoni was the bishop of Camerino and the treasurer general of the Papal States; see G. Corazzini, *Memorie storiche della famiglia Fransone* (Florence, 1873). Franzoni was a friend of Giovanni Giacomo and godfather to his grandson Lorenzo Filippo de Rossi; see "Libro Battesimo," San Lorenzo Damaso, March 16, 1683, Archivio del Vicariato di Roma (AVR). Harris (1967, pp. 47–49) suggests that Franzoni called for the destruction of Testa's frescoes in Santa Maria dell'Anima in the latter half of 1650 (see cat. nos. 91–93).
- 28 On this and all other papal privileges discussed herein, see Appendix B.
- 29 See the entries for September 1662 and November 1664, respectively, in Appendix B.
- 30 Giuseppe de Rossi the Elder had established this right in a civil trial in 1635. See Ehrle, *Roma prima di Sisto V*, pp. 8–9 n. 19.
- 31 For example, Poussin mediated for Giovanni Battista Ferrari to obtain a dedication for the latter's illustrated book *Hesperides sive malorum aureorum cultura et usus* (Rome, 1646); for an account of his efforts see Philippe de Chennevières-Pointel, *Essais sur l'histoire de la peinture français* (Paris, 1894), pp. 282–83 n. 7; see also S. Somers-Rinehart, "Poussin et la famille dal Pozzo," in André Chastel, ed., *Nicolas Poussin* (Paris, 1958), p. 27 n. 15; and Nicolas Poussin, *Correspondance de Nicolas Poussin*, ed. C. Jouanny, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1968), pp. 113, 114, 117, 126, 132, 139, 152, 157.
- 32 The majordomo of the Polish bishop of Luck (Lucioria) had mediated for Lauro. See Ehrle, *Roma prima di Sisto V*, p. 8 n. 19. This particular transaction was not very profitable. The scudo was a golden coin, but payments could be made in silver *giulii*. Ten *giulii* nominally equaled a scudo but were in fact less valuable. Thirty gold scudi would about equal 40 silver scudi, depending on the current rate of exchange between gold and silver. For the differences in the gold and silver scudo see Elizabeth Cropper, "New Documents Concerning Domenichino's 'Last Communion of St. Jerome,'" *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 26, no. 972 (1984), p. 150 n. 16.
- 33 See Rosalba D'Amico, "La veduta nell'incisione tra '600 e '700: G. B. Falda e G. Vasi," *Ricerche di storia dell'arte*, vols. 1–2 (1972), p. 94 n. 11.
- 34 Lamberto Donati, "Note su alcuni prodotti grafici italiani [secoli XVII e XVIII]," *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Hertzianae*, Römische Forschungen der Bibliotheca Hertziana, no. 16 (Munich, 1961), p. 437, regards the second state of *The Elephant* as the frontispiece of Giulio Cesare Bottifango's *Epistula de elephanto Romae viso* (Rome, 1630). The composition of the first state, however, is that of a dedicatory print and not a traditional frontispiece. Since the *Epistula* was also dedicated to the Cavaliere Gualdi, admirers may have added the print to the publication in his honor. This would explain why certain copies of the book do not have the print; see Cropper, 1984, p. 14 n. 24. Cropper also notes that *The Elephant* was likely incised by another printmaker after Testa (see Cropper, "Pietro Testa, 1612–1650: The Exquisite Draughtsman from Lucca," above). The print nonetheless illustrates Testa's ability to solicit, for the dedication reads:
- Perill.ss D. Equiti Gualdo Ariminen./ nuper Romae visi Elephantis/ effigiem typis excusam./ Petrus Testa pictor Lucensis. D[onum] D[at] D[icatur]. 1630 (To the most honorable Lord Cavaliere Gualdo from Rimini, I humbly offer this image of an elephant seen in Rome not long ago. Pietro Testa Lucchese, painter, [gives and dedicates this gift in] 1630).
- 35 See n. 31 above.
- 36 Giovanni Giacomo de Rossi sent Alexander VII such a proof in 1657; see "Segreteria Brevarium," vol. 1167, ASV, folio 115.
- 37 For an example see Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1985–52–32927.
- 38 For further information on Frans van Wyn-gaerde (1614–1679), who also acquired 7 of Jusepe de Ribera's copperplates, see Jonathan

- Brown, *Jusepe de Ribera: Prints and Drawings* (Princeton, 1973), p. 68.
- 39 "The Prodigal Son" series was later published by the Parisian printer Henri Mauperche (1602-1686). "J. R." might therefore be Jean Rabasse, who was active in Paris in the 1650s and from whom Mauperche acquired other copperplates; see A.P.F. Robert-Dumesnil, *Le peintre-graveur français* (Paris, 1844), vol. 7, pp. 165-68.
- 40 Elizabeth Cropper dates *The Garden of Charity* to c. 1631-37, making it difficult to distinguish which Pierre Mariette actually published the print. It might have been Pierre Mariette I (c. 1603-1658), who issued prints pertaining to Rome, which suggests that he had contacts in the city; it might also have been Pierre Mariette II (1634-1716), who published many Italian prints as well as Poussin's; see Roger-Armand Weigert, "Le commerce de la gravure au XVII^e siècle en France: Les deux premiers Mariette et François Langlois, dit Ciartres," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 95th year, 6th ser., vol. 41 (1953), pp. 167-77.
- 41 Salvator Rosa recorded that he had sent 2 copperplates to Flanders and Paris; see Salvator Rosa, *Poesie e lettere inedite di Salvator Rosa*, ed. and trans. Umberto Limentani (Florence, 1950), p. 125, no. 32. For Bloemaert see n. 22 above.
- 42 "Liber Status Animarum," San Biagio della Fossa, AVR, 1626, folio 3 verso, and 1647, n.p.
- 43 Typical of his work during this period are reprints of Giovanni Maggi's *Fontane diverse che si vedano nel alma città di Roma* (1645) and *Insigniores statuarum urbis romae icones* (1645).
- 44 See, respectively, Percy, 1971, E16, E12, E11, and E8.
- 45 "Liber Status Animarum," San Biagio della Fossa, AVR, 1650-52, n.p.
- 46 Giovanni Domenico de Rossi died on August 14, 1653, having been an independent shopowner for only 3 years; see "Liber Defunctorum," San Biagio della Fossa, AVR, 1653, folio 84. Publications printed at the piazza Navona shop include those by Matteo Piccioni (for examples, see *The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, 62.557.143; and *Le Blanc*, 1890, vol. 3, p. 199, nos. 5-25), and a map of Florence by Giovanni Maggi (catalogued by Giuseppe Boffito and Attilio Mori in *Piante e vedute di Firenze* [Florence, 1926], pp. 46-47, 51).
- 47 See Harris, 1967, p. 47.
- 48 Passeri, 1679, p. 184.
- 49 *Ibid.*, p. 187.
- 50 Passeri's manuscript for the *Vite* was completed after 1673 but was not published until 1772, almost a century after his death in 1679. The definitive edition is Hess's, published in 1934 (see Passeri, 1679).
- 51 Passeri, 1679, pp. 184-85.
- 52 Richard Krautheimer, *The Rome of Alexander VII: 1655-1667* (Princeton, 1985), p. 145.
- 53 See William W. Robinson, "This Passion for Prints," in Ackley, 1981, pp. xxvii-xlvi. For the man on the grand tour see Krautheimer, *The Rome of Alexander VII*, pp. 143-47.
- 54 John Evelyn, *Sculptura* (London, 1662), p. 89.
- 55 Jacques Kuhnmünch, "Un marchand français d'estampes à Rome au XVII^e siècle: François Collignon," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français* (1978), pp. 81, 91-100.
- 56 Krautheimer, *The Rome of Alexander VII*, p. 143.
- 57 "Non sarà di pegiudicio [prejudicio] a gli altri Stampatori, anzi darà occasione, che ogn'uno faccia cose nuove, et opere diverse dell' Oratore, et le stampe di Roma saranno più curiose, come si fa in fiandra, et in francia . . ." ("Segreteria Breviarium," ASV, vol. 1312, folio 806).
- 58 See *Vocabulario degli accademici della Crusca* (Venice, 1686), p. 260.
- 59 I exclude *The Elephant* from this number since Elizabeth Cropper believes that it was probably executed by another hand. In his stock catalogue of 1677 (*Indice delle stampe intagliate in rame, al bulino, & all'acquaforte esistenti nella stamperia di Gio. Giacomo de Rossi in Roma alla Pace* [Rome, 1677], pp. 39-40), Giovanni Giacomo de Rossi listed the following prints by Testa: *Three Lucchese Saints Interceding with the Virgin for the Victims of the Plague* (cat. no. 7), *Saint Jerome* (cat. no. 8), *The Garden of Venus* (cat. no. 13), *Venus and Adonis* (cat. no. 16), *An Allegory of Painting* (cat. no. 37), *Il Liceo della Pittura* (cat. no. 41), *Sinorix Carried from the Temple of Artemis* (cat. no. 53), *Venus Giving Arms to Aeneas* (cat. no. 59), *The Sacrifice of Iphigenia* (cat. no. 61), *The Adoration of the Magi* (cat. no. 63), *The Sacrifice of Isaac* (cat. no. 71), *The Triumph of Painting on Parnassus* (cat. no. 73), *Spring* (cat. no. 75), *Summer* (cat. no. 76), *Autumn* (cat. no. 79), *Winter* (cat. nos. 81 and 82), *An Allegory in Honor of Innocent X* (cat. nos. 85 and 86), *The Holy Family Fed by Angels* (cat. no. 94), and *The Triumph of the Virtuous Artist on Parnassus* (cat. no. 102). Giovanni Giacomo also listed etchings after drawings by Testa: Pietro Santi Bartoli's reproduction of *Io Transformed into a Cow* and Giovanni Cesare Testa's reproductions of *The Dead Christ* (cat. no. 112), *An Allegory of the*

Rest on the Flight into Egypt (cat. no. 113), *The Education of Achilles* (cat.-no. 120), *The Rape of Proserpina* (cat. no. 123), and *The Suicide of Dido* (cat. no. 125). For the attributions to Giovanni Cesare, see Carlo Alberto Petrucci, *Catalogo generale delle stampe tratte dai rami incisi posseduti dalla Calcografia Nazionale* (Rome, 1953), p. 118; for Bartoli see *ibid.*, p. 204.

Even though the second state of *The Dream of Joseph* (cat. no. 25; see Bellini, 1976b, p. 44, no. 10) carries Giovanni Giacomo's name and address, it is not listed in his stock catalogues dated 1677 and 1689 (*Indice delle stampe . . . esistenti nella stamperia di Gio. Giacomo de Rossi in Roma alla Pace* [Rome, 1689], pp. 63–64), nor in the inventory taken after his death in 1691. This may suggest that the plate was out of circulation by 1677. Moreover, *The Martyrdom of Saint Erasmus* (cat. nos. 5 and 6) appears to have been out of circulation before 1690; the print is listed in the 1691 inventory but not in the 1677 or 1689 stock catalogues.

60 Masetti Zannini, "Rivalità e lavoro," p. 563.

61 Bellini (1976b, pp. 58–59, no. 28) places Giovanni Domenico's state of *Winter* (cat. no. 81) after Giovanni Giacomo's (cat. no. 82). Giovanni Domenico, however, owned the copperplate before his younger brother, and his state should be regarded as second, after the artist's. See Cropper, 1984, p. 37 n. 152, for bibliography on Menghini.

62 See n. 59 above.

63 Kuhn Münch ("Marchand," p. 84) believes that Collignon owned these copperplates before Van Westerhout. However, neither Bellini (1976b, p. 63, no. 34; pp. 65–68, nos. 36–39) nor Cropper lists Collignon as their publisher, and there is no direct mention of them in Collignon's inventory; see Kuhn Münch, "Marchand," pp. 91–100.

Van Westerhout arrived in Rome in 1681. In 1682–83, he lived with Cornelis Bloemaert on the via San Giuseppe a Capo le Case, where he began publishing. In 1683 he received a papal privilege to print the portraits of the kings of Spain, the grand dukes of Tuscany, and the grand masters of the sacred religion of Malta. For the papal privileges, see Appendix B. For biographical information, see Godefridus Joannes Hoogewerff, *Nederlandsche Kunstenaars te Rome (1600–1725): Uittreksels uit de Parochiale archieven* (The Hague, 1942), p. 263; and Didier Bodart, "L'oeuvre du graveur: Arnold van Westerhout, 1651–1725," *Academie Royale de Belgique: Mémoires de la classe des beaux-arts*, vol. 14 (1976), no.

2, pp. 14ff. Sometime after 1725, Vincenzo Billy purchased the copperplates from Van Westerhout's estate.

64 Evelyn, *Scultura*, p. 56.

65 Sandrart, 1675, p. 293.

66 *Indice delle stampe*, 1677, pp. 39–40.

67 Collignon published Testa's sketches as a print book, or portfolio, entitled *Raccolta di diversi disegni e pensieri di Pietro Testa ritrovati doppo la sua morte*; its first known frontispiece bears the date 1681 (see Speciale, 1977, p. 10). Collignon's inventory for March 1687 lists "dodici libri mezzo foglio di P. Testa schizzi di 22 pezzo l'uno" (12 books of prints after P. Testa's sketches in *mezzo foglio*, each comprising 22 sheets) (quoted in Kuhn Münch, "Marchand," p. 97). The inventory enumerates 24 copperplates after Testa's drawings, 16 of which were *mezzo foglio* in size and the remaining 8 in *grandi* (see *ibid.*, p. 99).

Although in 1686 Baldinucci lists only 6 *schizzi* in Testa's graphic *oeuvre*, Collignon's inventory suggests that many more existed and that they were presented as *libri*, or portfolios. Until a frontispiece dated earlier is found, we can only assume that Collignon's 1681 publication was the first (see cat. no. 40).

68 Baldinucci, 1681–1728, p. 314. In his list (*ibid.*, pp. 317–21) he omitted several of Testa's prints, including *The Holy Family with the Child Seizing the Cross from the Infant Saint John* (cat. no. 3), *The Penitent Magdalen* (cat. no. 4), *The Garden of Charity* (cat. no. 11 or 13), *The Dream of Joseph* (cat. no. 25), *The Departure of the Prodigal Son* (cat. no. 95), *The Prodigal Son Wasting His Substance* (cat. no. 96), *The Prodigal Son Among the Swine* (cat. no. 97), *The Return of the Prodigal Son* (cat. no. 98), and *Self-Portrait* (cat. no. 106), and *The Elephant*, which is attributed to him. This list does not confirm a lost copperplate or the rarity of a print. It is known, for instance, that "The Prodigal Son" series was published long before Mauperche's death in 1686 (see n. 39 above).

69 For the number of presses in Joan Blaeu's shop, see Alfonso Mirto, *Stampatori, editori, librai nella seconda metà del seicento* (Florence, 1984), p. 23; for the number in Collignon's, see Kuhn Münch, "Marchand," p. 94. For De Rossi's inventory see my forthcoming dissertation. In sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Rome, rolling-press printers ran small operations. For example, Antonio Lafréry, one of the most influential publishers of the sixteenth century, had only two presses; see Ehrle, *Roma prima di Sisto V*, p. 50, line 245.

- 70 For Giovanni Giacomo's collaboration with the typographer Vitale Mascardi, see Petrucci Nardelli, "Barberini," p. 167.
- 71 In the fall of 1665 Alexander VII commissioned Giovanni Giacomo to provide maps to hang in a gallery in the papal apartments of Castel Gandolfo. In concept, this emulated the Gallery of Maps at the Vatican Palace but with a great deal of variation. The gallery at the Vatican was decorated with painted maps representing ancient and modern Italy with its various regions and neighboring islands. The gallery at Castel Gandolfo, on the other hand, was to be decorated with printed maps depicting Europe, the Americas, and views of Rome, all to be cropped and glued on canvas.

Giovanni Giacomo arrived at Castel Gandolfo

with 176 mounted prints and was received by the architect Carlo Fontana and the pope's majordomo, Niccolò Simonelli (see cat. nos. 99 and 100), who was also an amateur art dealer. They carefully listed and appraised the prints, creating a document that not only reveals Alexander's selection and the price of the prints, but also Giovanni Giacomo's contacts with foreign print dealers, for all but 2 of the maps came from abroad, including Blaeu's shop in Amsterdam and Mariette's in Paris. Moreover, the inventory of Giovanni Giacomo's shop taken in 1691 records that 1,500 prints and 300 print books from abroad were stored there.

72 Passeri, 1679, p. 185.

73 *Ibid.*, p. 186.

A P P E N D I X A

Throughout this essay and the catalogue references will be made to the De Rossi family of print publishers.¹ A brief history of the family as well as a family tree will help distinguish the various members.

Giuseppe de Rossi the Elder began publishing in Rome sometime around 1615. From 1618 until 1628 he took on his nephews Giuseppe and Giovanni Battista de Rossi as apprentices. Giuseppe the Younger eventually opened his own shop on the "isola d'inglesi" in the parish of San Biagio della Fossa in 1628 (see "Liber Status Animarum," San Biagio della Fossa, Archivio del Vicariato di Roma [AVR], 1628, folio 43 recto). He used "Ioseph de Rubeis iunioris" on his publications, which include Giorgio Ghisi's *Apollo and the Muses* (Suzanne Boorsch, Michal Lewis, and R. E. Lewis, *The Engravings of Giorgio Ghisi* [New York, 1985], p. 100, cat. no. 23, state iii, and pp. 232-33) and Antonio Tempesta's *Boar Hunt* (Bartsch, vol. 17, p. 170, no. 1165). His brother Giovanni Battista opened a shop at the Palazzo de Cupis in the piazza Navona in 1635 (see "Liber Status Animarum," San Biagio della Fossa, AVR, 1635, folio 38 recto). Giovanni Battista's best-known publications are those by Liévin Cruyl, which include a map of Rome and nine views of the city.

In 1628 Giuseppe the Elder is listed as in the Campus Martius in the parish of San Salvatore. In 1630 he relocated to the via della Pace in the parish of San Biagio della Fossa (see "Liber Status Animarum," San Biagio della Fossa, AVR, 1630, folio 68 recto). After his death in 1639 his eldest son, Giovanni Domenico, took over the operations of the shop until 1647.

During that year, Giuseppe's third son, Giovanni Giacomo, came of age and began his own publishing concern within the family business. Giovanni Domenico and Giovanni Giacomo worked at the same address but published under their respective names. Girolamo and Filippo (Giuseppe the Elder's remaining sons) apparently did not enter the trade. Filippo is often confused with another Filippo de Rossi, who was a bookseller at the sign of the salamander in Parione (see Paolo Bellini, "Printmakers and Dealers in Italy," *Print Collector*, vol. 13 [May-June 1975], p. 31).

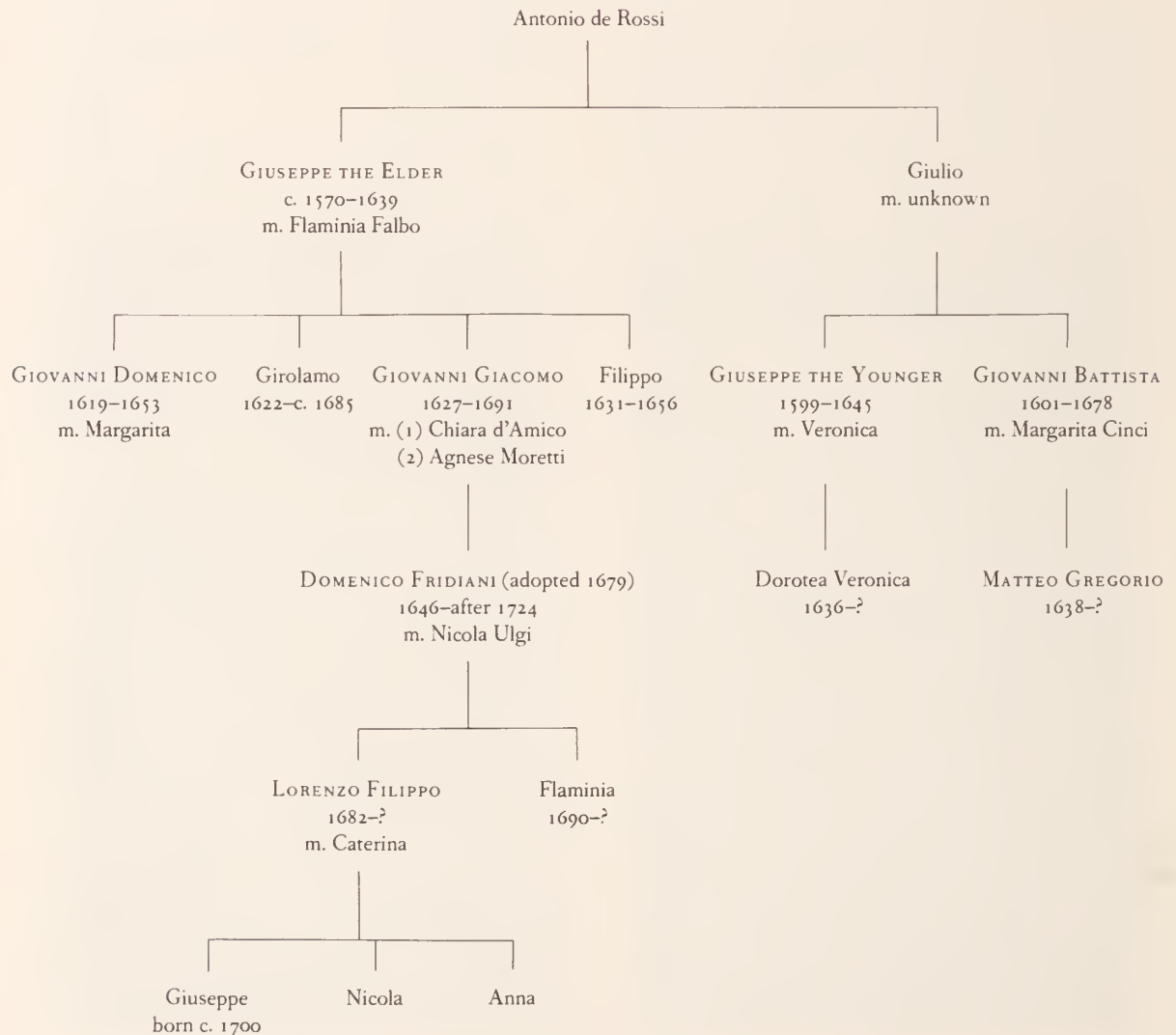
In 1659 Giovanni Giacomo bought out his brothers' shares and became the sole owner of the family shop, thereafter playing an increasingly important role in the print industry of seventeenth-century Rome. He was responsible for some of the finest and most beautiful publications of the century, having commissioned such volumes as

Pietro Santi Bartoli's *Colonna Trajana* (1665), Giovanni Battista Falda's *Il nuovo teatro delle fabbriche, et edificiù, in prospettiva di Roma moderna . . .* (1665), and an anthology of Roman church design entitled *Disegni di vari altari e cappelle nelle chiese di Roma* (1685). In 1679 he adopted a journeyman printer from Lucca named Domenico Fridiani, who then changed his name to De Rossi and inherited the shop upon Giovanni Giacomo's death in 1691. He reissued many of his adoptive father's successful publications, and the shop prospered. After Domenico's death, however, his son Lorenzo Filippo decided to sell it. He found an eager buyer in Clement XII, who purchased it in 1738 and named it the Calcografia Camerale, which is today the foundation for the holdings of the Istituto

Nazionale per la Grafica—Calcografia. For a discussion of the importance of the De Rossi family in the history of the art book, see Francis Haskell, *The Painful Birth of the Art Book* (New York, 1988), pp. 8–16.

1 Family members signed documents as de Rossi, De Rossi, Rossi, or de Rubeis, with the first being the most common. For editorial consistency, *de Rossi* is used in text herein when the surname is accompanied by a first name; *De Rossi* is used when the family name appears alone.

To show clearly their placement within the family, the names of the DE ROSSI print publishers appear in EMPHATIC TYPE in the family tree below.



A P P E N D I X B

Only six print publishers active in Rome were granted papal privileges during the reigns of the four pontiffs spanning the years 1655 to 1689. As the survey below illustrates, Alexander VII granted twice as many privileges as his three immediate successors combined, favoring Giovanni Giacomo de Rossi. In his recent discussion of Alexander's desire to attract illustrious foreigners to Rome, Krautheimer has established that the pope was acutely aware of Rome's waning political power in Europe and thus began a campaign "of remapping, improving and beautifying Rome" to advertise the cultural strengths of the city.¹ Both Alexander and Giovanni Giacomo wanted to fulfill the demands of the men on the grand tour: The pope hoped to cultivate their interest in Rome, and the printer sought to satisfy them to increase his revenue and prestige.

The following list of papal privileges granted between 1655 and 1689 is divided in sections by pontiff. Each entry cites the date of the privilege, the name of the receiver, the title of the publication (if named in the privilege), and the volume number of the "Segreteria Brevarium" in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano (ASV) in which the document is recorded. The majority of the privileges were granted for ten years, with a penalty of 500 scudi for violators who copied protected works. Certain quotations from the publishers' proposals, which are given attached to the official privileges, are also given.²

ALEXANDER VII (1655–67)

March 1657. To Giovanni Giacomo de Rossi for *Effigies, insignia, nomina, cognomina, patriae et dies ac obitus summorum pontificum et S.R.E. cardinalium* . . . (Rome, 1658):

Giovanni Giacomo de Rossi stampatore in rame alla Pace, havendo havuto fortuna di servir la Santità Vostra in tempo ch'era Cardinale, et anche al presente, . . . supplica à degnarsi aggratiarlo con Breve di poter stampare in rame l'effigie de' Sig^{ti} Cardinali . . . opera non più fatta, e molto da forestieri ricercata, dove apparira la simile, e vera impronta di tutti, che in quella di legno, non si discerne, come anche che nessuno altro possa stamparli, per la gran spesa, . . . l'Oratore far tutto a sue spese (Giovanni Giacomo de Rossi, printer of copperplates at the via della Pace, having had the fortune to serve Your Holiness at the time that you were cardinal and also at present, . . . supplicates you with a letter to print in copperplates the portraits of the cardinals, a work that is no longer issued, but very much sought

after by foreigners; the portraits will be verisimilar, unlike those issued from woodcuts, and, as no one else could print them because of their great cost, . . . the petitioner will do everything at his own expense) ("Segreteria Brevarium," ASV, vol. 1167, folio 116).

November 1657. To François Collignon for Carlo Cesio's *Galleria di Farnese* ("Segreteria Brevarium," ASV, vol. 1175, folio 296)

January 1659. To Giovanni Giacomo de Rossi for a ten-year extension on the privilege for *Effigies* (see March 1657 above), thus protecting the publication for a total of twenty years ("Segreteria Brevarium," ASV, vol. 1195, folios 100 and 101)

September 1662. To Giovanni Ronzone for a print of the "nuovi Portieri . . . avanti la Chiesa di S. Pietro un Prospettiva della medesima Chiesa da laterali e della Piazza" (engraving of the new doors in front of the church of Saint Peter and a lateral view of the same church and the piazza). Ronzone then states that the privilege would bar anyone from selling a print depicting the church "in simile punto di Prospettiva et Ornamento ne in grande o piccolo reintrogiato" (from the similar point of perspective and ornament or in a larger or smaller format) ("Segreteria Brevarium," ASV, vol. 1262, folio 239). The implications of this in the history of reproductions of Saint Peter's might be significant.

November 1664. To Giovanni Battista de Rossi for an elevated map of Rome and nine views of the city by Liévin Cruyl:

tutte le vedute principali della Citta di Roma . . . in nove fogli reale come anco un'altra Roma in doi fogli grande in pianta et alsata fatiche tutte che l'Oratore fa disegnare da tre anni in qua con grand spesa (all the principal views of the city of Rome . . . in nine sheets, and also an elevated map of Rome in two sheets, all labors which the petitioner ordered to be designed and took a little more than three years to complete, at great expense) ("Segreteria Brevarium," ASV, vol. 1310, folio 681).

December 1664. To Giovanni Giacomo de Rossi for a ten-year privilege protecting all his publications. For segments of the proposal, see nn. 25 and 57 above.

CLEMENT IX (1667–69)

February 1668. To Gérard Audran for an engraving of Clement IX and a book of engravings reproducing Raphael's frescoes at the Farnesina in Rome ("Segreteria Brevarium," ASV, vol. 1396, folio 37)

July 1668. To Gérard Audran for reproductions of Pietro da Cortona's frescoes *The History of David*

in the Palazzo Sacchetti ("Segreteria Brevarium," ASV, vol. 1406, folio 34)

CLEMENT X (1670-76)

September 1675. To Giovanni Giacomo de Rossi for another ten-year renewal of the privilege for *Effigies*, to take effect in 1677 upon the expiration of the privileges granted in March 1657 and January 1659. In this proposal, De Rossi stated that Zenobio Massotti (the *stampatore camerale* from 1656 to 1673) had been opposed to a renewal of the privilege for *Effigies* because he had wanted to issue woodcuts of the portraits. Cardinal Franzoni, the treasurer general of the Papal States, however, had supported Giovanni Giacomo's claims to publish, and thus Clement X decided to renew the latter's privilege ("Segreteria Brevarium," ASV, vol. 1562, folio 326).

INNOCENT XI (1676-89)

November 1683. To Arnold van Westerhout for the portraits of the kings of Spain, the grand masters of the sacred religion of Malta, and all the grand dukes of Tuscany ("Segreteria Brevarium," ASV, vol. 1687, folio 313)

November 1684. To Giovanni Giacomo de Rossi for another ten-year renewal of the privilege for *Effigies*, to take effect in 1687 upon the expiration of the privilege granted in September 1675 ("Segreteria Brevarium," ASV, vol. 1699, folio 269)

- 1 Richard Krautheimer, *The Rome of Alexander VII: 1655-1667* (Princeton, 1985), pp. 143-47.
- 2 For further discussion of these previously unpublished documents, see my forthcoming dissertation.

Catalogue

NOTES TO THE USE OF THE CATALOGUE

Height precedes width in all dimensions.

Measurements of prints are of the plate unless designated as trimmed.

Inscriptions are in the medium of the drawing unless stated.

Translations are by the author unless noted.

*The Holy Family with the Infant
Saint John Holding an Apple*

c. 1630

Bartsch 9; Bellini 2

Etching, first state

180 x 128 mm (7 x 5") (trimmed)

Inscribed in the image with Testa's monogram in the lower right corner

The National Galleries of Scotland,
Edinburgh, P 2781/9

2

*The Holy Family with the Infant
Saint John Holding an Apple*

c. 1630

Bartsch 9; Bellini 2

Etching, second state

175 x 124 mm (6⁷/₈ x 4⁷/₈")

Inscribed in the image with Testa's monogram in the lower right corner

Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna,
HB VIII, p. 7, no. 10

Testa's composition study in the reverse sense, now in the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, Madrid, supports the traditional acceptance of this as one of his earliest essays in etching, made around 1630. The drawing is very close to the etched composition, except that a column rather than a wall appears behind Joseph's head.

The unique first state of the print in Edinburgh is published here for the first time. The various states of Testa's prints are generally distinguished only by the later addition of a publisher's address, but in this case he reworked the plate. In the second state the cross-hatching on the wall and on Joseph's bald head and the parallel lines across the head of Saint John enhance through contrast the prominence of the Virgin. Testa also attempted to deepen the space by adding patches of short parallel hatch-

ing at the Virgin's right shoulder, across her drapery, and in the clouds about her head, and by bur-nishing out areas of the sky. The uncontrolled biting on the Child's forehead and the Virgin's breast and the various scratches on the plate in the second state are further indications of Testa's lack of mastery of his new medium.

The combination of broad stippling, short dashes, and parallel lines he employs here is typical of the first etchings, made soon after 1628, when he was taken in by Joachim von Sandrart. This manner of working the plate is similar to that used by Federico Barocci in his *Madonna of the Clouds*, completed before 1582,¹ or by Annibale Carracci in his *Madonna and Child* from the early 1590s.² The morphology of the figures is, however, peculiar to Testa's work in the early years. The acute profile of the Virgin, quite different from the Baroccesque Madonna in *The Dream of Joseph* of c. 1635-37 (cat. no. 25) or the more classical features of figures in prints from the 1640s, resembles those of the Virgin and the dying mother in the etching of *Three Lucchese Saints Interceding with the Virgin for the Victims of the Plague* from the early 1630s (cat. no. 7). The loosely drawn, large heads of the infants, their extravagantly wide-eyed faces reminiscent of those in contemporary works by Domenichino, also more closely resemble those in *Saint Jerome* (cat. no. 8) than their more refined counterparts in prints from the later 1630s on.

1. Edmund S. Pillsbury and Louise S. Richards, *The Graphic Art of Federico Barocci: Selected Drawings and Prints* (New Haven, 1978), pp. 104-5, no. 74.

2. DeGrazia, 1984, pp. 236-37, no. 16; see also p. 236, no. 15.

PREPARATORY DRAWING Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, Madrid, 211. Pen and brown ink on light buff paper. 155 x 136 mm (6¹/₈ x 5³/₈"). Inscribed with Testa's monogram in the lower left. See Pérez Sánchez, 1967, pp. 141-42.

LITERATURE Bartsch, 1820, p. 217, no. 9; Nagler, 1848, p. 265, no. 9; Le Blanc, 1890, p. 20, no. 9; Hartmann, 1970, p. 129; Bellini, 1976b, p. 39, no. 2





2



3

3

*The Holy Family with the Child
Seizing the Cross from the Infant
Saint John*

c. 1630

Bartsch 10; Bellini 1

Etching, first state

121 x 175 mm (4¾ x 6⅞")

Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna,
HB VIII, p. 9, no. 16

This unique first state is presented among Testa's earliest etchings, although its attribution remains doubtful. Bartsch's ascription to Testa has, however, been accepted by Bellini and other scholars, with the exception of Hartmann, despite the absence of a signature or preparatory studies. The landscape, foliage, and roughly indicated sculptural relief are not inconsistent with the conventions of compositions used by Testa from the early 1630s, and the profile of the Virgin resembles that of the same figure in *The Holy Family with the Infant Saint John Holding an Apple* (cat. nos. 1 and 2), the attribution of which is more secure. Here the drawing is even weaker, however, and the combination of stippling and hatching, which the artist sought to strengthen in a second state, even more ineffective.

LITERATURE Bartsch, 1820, p. 217, no. 10; Nagler, 1848, p. 265, no. 10; Le Blanc, 1890, p. 20, no. 10; Hartmann, 1970, p. 255; Bellini, 1976b, p. 39, no. 1

4

The Penitent Magdalen

c. 1630

Bartsch 16; Bellini 3

Etching, only state. Some stains in the
landscape.

203 x 136 mm (8 x 5⅜")

Inscribed on the verso in pencil: *Rudge II 50/
27 Carpioni*; in ink: *Magdalen/ Pietro Testa*The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
New York, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1926
(26.70.4 (119))

When Testa turned to etching he may have at first hoped to earn money by producing small, simple devotional works for the market. The earliest group of etchings (cat. nos. 1–4), among which Bartsch included this *Magdalen*, all conform to this type. Bartsch's attribution, accepted by all later critics, was probably prompted by the manner of stippling and hatching on the plate and the continuous, looping lines that delineate the hills and trees in the background. The cross-hatching on the rocks and the modeling of the trees and clouds are, however, much denser and flatter here than in other early prints. Like *The Holy Family with the Child Seizing the Cross from the Infant Saint John* (cat. no. 3), this image bears at most a generic similarity to Testa's known work. The little angels are quite unlike the children in other early prints, and it is difficult to attribute this difference in drawing to the artist's obvious lack of skill in working the plate or to the fact that he may have been producing a work hastily for the market.¹ Only in the drapery do we detect a kind of draughtsmanship reminiscent of other early prints, such as *The Martyrdom of Saint Erasmus* (cat. nos. 5 and 6). This little-known print may be included among Testa's very earliest, but only until a more convincing attribution is made. The inscription on the back of this impression, identifying the artist as Giulio Carpioni, deserves attention.

1. DeGrazia, 1984, pp. 96–97, nos. 40–49, explains the lack of technical sophistication in Agostino Carracci's *Santini* (1581) this way, but also recognizes that they are drawn in a manner consistent with the artist's other work.

LITERATURE Bartsch, 1820, p. 219, no. 16; Nagler, 1848, p. 266, no. 16; Le Blanc, 1890, p. 20, no. 16; Hartmann, 1970, p. 255; Bellini, 1976b, p. 40, no. 3



The Martyrdom of Saint Erasmus

c. 1630

Bartsch 14; Bellini 7

Etching, first state, with corrections by the artist in pen and brown ink. Abrasions to the right of the saint's left calf. A vertical brown stain from the lower edge.

277 x 200 mm (10⁷/₈ x 7⁷/₈") (trimmed)

Inscribed in the image with Testa's monogram in the lower right corner; on the recto by the artist in pen and brown ink in the lower margin: *Al Mio Benefattore Il. S. Stefano Garbesi*; in a different hand in pen and gray ink: *p. Testa*; on the verso in pen and black ink: *P. Mariette 1677*

Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna, HB VIII, p. 11, no. 19

6

The Martyrdom of Saint Erasmus

c. 1630

Bartsch 14; Bellini 7

Etching, second state. Small tear in the lower left corner.

270 x 186 mm (10⁵/₈ x 7⁵/₁₆") (trimmed)

Inscribed in the image with Testa's monogram in the lower right corner; in the plate in the lower margin: *S. ERASME ORA PRO NOBIS./ Allo spirito nobile del mio Benefattore il Sig. r Stefano Garbesi / suo servo Pietro Testa Dona et Dedicata*

Trustees of the British Museum, London, 1945-5-12-11

The legend that Saint Erasmus was martyred by having his intestines wound upon a windlass was invented in the late Middle Ages in northern Europe. As Saint Elmo (as he was also known) he had become the patron saint of sailors and was depicted holding a windlass entwined by a rope. This attribute came to be misinterpreted as the instrument of his martyrdom.¹ Testa's treatment of the story is a variation on Nicolas Poussin's altarpiece completed for Saint Peter's in 1629 (fig. 5-6a).² Although the subject was undoubtedly more popular in the North, it was not unknown in Italy, for there are several examples from the early fifteenth cen-

tury, and Carlo Saraceni had recently completed a painting of *The Martyrdom of Saint Erasmus* for the cathedral at Gaeta.³ In a letter to Cardinal Paleotti in 1581, the naturalist Ulisse Aldrovandi mentioned this as the sort of theme that required an artist to have a knowledge of anatomy.⁴ Both Poussin's and Testa's images reflect the interests of Counter-Reformatory critics in the potential of the gruesome story to evoke a powerful emotional response.

From Poussin Testa derived many details for his image: the rough-hewn slab upon which the saint lies; the placement of the priest to the right, who gestures to the pagan idol that Erasmus refuses to worship; the costume of the executioner, who has a cloth wrapped around his head and one shoulder bare; the tousled hair blown over the brow of the man to the left; the two little angels who bring the laurel crown and palm of martyrdom; and the still life of the bishop's robes, stole, and mitre in the foreground. For the figure of Hercules he substituted a seated figure of Minerva in a niche.

Where Poussin placed the figures and architecture at various angles to the picture plane, Testa arranged the saint, windlass, and architecture parallel to it. As a result Poussin's unusually dynamic composition, which Bernini deeply admired, is corrected to accord with the more planar organization favored by Testa's teacher Domenichino, especially as in his fresco of *The Martyrdom of Saint Andrew*, completed for the Oratorio di Sant'Andrea at San Gregorio Magno in Rome in 1608.⁵ Testa also introduced a crowd of small figures in the background with the same sudden change in scale employed by Domenichino in that fresco.

A drawing in the Uffizi, formerly attributed to Pietro da Cortona, contains elements from both Poussin's altarpiece and Testa's print, seeming to support the view that the commission to paint *Saint Erasmus* first went to him and that Testa and Poussin adapted his original invention in different ways. Now that the drawing has been recognized as a later studio work, however, it must be seen as dependent on the painting and the print.⁶ Testa's putative knowledge of Pietro da Cortona's unfinished project no longer serves to date his print to 1631, when he worked in the artist's studio, and it may well have been completed a year earlier, before Domenichino's departure for Naples prompted Testa's change of master. Testa's exaggerated inflection of



*Al mio benefattore G. S. Stefano Garbesi
1788*



S. ERASME ORA PRO NOBIS.

*Allo spirito nobile del mio Benefattore il Sig.^{ro} Stefano Garbesi
suo seruo Pietro Testa Dona et Dedicat*



Fig. 5–6a. Nicolas Poussin (French, 1594–1665), *The Martyrdom of Saint Erasmus*, 1629. Oil on canvas, 320 x 186 cm (126 x 73 1/4"). Musei Vaticani

eyebrows to endow the torturers with greater fury than their counterparts in Poussin's altarpiece finds an interesting parallel in Andrea Sacchi's *Saint Anthony of Padua Reviving a Dead Man*.⁷ The latter can, however, be dated only approximately to 1633, and it is likely that Sacchi was responding to Testa in this case rather than the other way around.

The Martyrdom of Saint Erasmus is one of the earliest prints for which we have evidence of Testa's preparations for work on the plate. To the highly developed study now in the British Museum he made various adjustments in a different ink and by patching on details taken from another sheet. Other changes were made in a drawing at Chatsworth, which is even more similar to the final print. In

working on the plate Testa conveyed the scratchy quality of the drawings to create an effect of spontaneity that belies his painstaking approach.

To the first state from the Albertina (cat. no. 5) Testa proposed further changes in pen and ink. He added a figure to the left and indicated alterations in the clouds, drapery, and other details. He also added a dedication in the margin to Monsignore Stefano Garbesi, and he probably submitted this altered state to the Lucchese cleric for his approval.⁸ The second state (cat. no. 6) bears a different dedication to Garbesi, but the image remains unchanged.

Brigstocke has suggested that a painting of this subject formerly in Garlenda in Liguria, previously considered by Blunt a free variant of Poussin's altarpiece by an anonymous French contemporary of Charles Le Brun, is by Testa. Whatever the status of the painting (now reported stolen) may be, the two drawings in Lille published by Brigstocke as preparatory for it appear to be autograph.⁹ In one Testa follows Poussin by including a figure on horseback, but neither drawing relates directly to the print. The drawings confirm the importance for Testa of Poussin's altarpiece at this moment and also point to the difficulties of establishing the relationship between the artist's prints and paintings of the same subject.

1. *Acta Sanctorum Bollandiana*, vol. 19 (June 2), p. 213, D, where it is pointed out that none of the accounts of the saint's life record the event, even though many images of it appear in Belgium and Germany, where Erasmus was consequently invoked by pregnant women and those in labor. The scene was included in the most complete cycle in Italy at Gaeta.

2. Blunt, 1966, pp. 66–68, no. 97; Thuillier, 1974, p. 91, no. 54.

3. Kaftal and Bisogni, 1978, vol. 3, pp. 295–98, no. 94; and Pigler, 1974, vol. 1, pp. 431f. Blunt, 1967, p. 88, mistakenly cites Saraceni's painting as the only earlier representation of the legend of Italy.

4. Quoted by Prodi, 1984, pp. 61–62.

5. Spear, 1982, pl. 59.

6. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, 3032S. See Cropper, 1984, p. 19 n. 60. Ursula Fischer Pace has also suggested to me that Testa's invention may be connected with the competition for an altarpiece for Santa Maria della Pietà in Campo Santo in 1639. Giacinto Gimignani won the commission to paint *The Martyrdom*,

which was sponsored by Testa's later patron Egidius de Vivariis. I see no reason to date Testa's print to 1639, however. It is as likely to be connected with Poussin's altarpiece as to the later competition.

7. Harris, 1977, pp. 70–71, pl. 61.

8.*For Garbesi, see Hartmann, 1970, p. 27. His name appears on various drawings later in Testa's career, e.g. a preparatory drawing for *The Sacrifice of Iphigenia* (fig. 61a), on the verso of which is a letter to Garbesi.

9. The drawings, in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille, were first mentioned by Vitzthum, 1971, p. 16; see now Brigstocke, 1978, pp. 118–19, figs. 10–12. Following Blunt's proposal that the painting was given to the church in Garlenda by Pier Francesco Costa, bishop of Albenga, Brigstocke (p. 119) suggests that the commission may have come through Pier Francesco's brother Ottavio, banker to the papacy. It should be noted, however, that Carl'Antonio dal Pozzo, Cassiano's younger brother, married Pier Francesco Costa's sister, Teodora, in 1627. A small painting of this subject attributed to Testa in the 1755 inventory of the Crozat collection appears under the name of Bourdon in the original inventory of 1740, for which see Stuffmann, 1968, p. 108, no. 420. See also Wildenstein, 1982, p. 50, for the sale of this work in 1755. The Lille drawings may then relate to a lost work.

PREPARATORY DRAWINGS 1. British Museum, London, Sloane 5224–18. Pen and brown ink, reworked in gray ink, on cream paper, with two pieces of paper overlaid. 249 x 192 mm (9¹³/₁₆ x 7⁷/₁₆""). See Brigstocke, 1978, p. 118 and pl. 9. There appears to be a considerable difference in quality between the weaker drawing of the whole and the surer hand that made the corrections. I have accepted the attribution of the whole sheet to Testa, but the existence of a very deceptive copy of the print also raises the logical possibility that the drawing may not be entirely autograph. 2. Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth, 603. Pen and light brown ink with some black chalk on cream paper. 263 x 203 mm (10³/₈ x 8"). See Harris, 1967, fig. 48.

LITERATURE Baldinucci, 1681–1728, p. 320; Gori Gandellini, 1771, p. 297; Huber, 1799, p. 14; Gori Gandellini and De Angelis, 1813, p. 122; Bartsch, 1820, p. 218, no. 14; Nagler, 1848, p. 266, no. 14; Le Blanc, 1890, p. 20, no. 12; Lopresti, 1921, p. 82; Petrucci, 1936, p. 417; Marabottini, 1954a, p. 126; Harris, 1967, pp. 35–36, 49 nn. 6 and 7; Hartmann, 1970, p. 127; Thiem, 1970, pp. 80, 83 n. 5; Cropper, 1974a, p. 378; Bellini, 1976b, p. 41, no. 7; Cropper, 1977, p. 93; Brigstocke, 1978, p. 118, pl. 9; Koschatzky and Sottriffer, 1982, p. 59; Cropper, 1984, pp. 19–20, 24 n. 98, 34, 43 and fig. 2.

7

Three Lucchese Saints Interceding with the Virgin for the Victims of the Plague

c. 1630–31

Bartsch 13; Bellini 8

Etching, first state

279 x 193 mm (11 x 7⁵/₈"")

Inscribed in the image with Testa's monogram in the lower center; on the verso in pen and ink: *P. Mariette 1690*

The National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, P 1351

In 1630 plague struck Lucca, reaching the height of its fury in the summer of 1631. The vignette of the towers of the Case dei Guinigi in Lucca, set against the hillside to the left of this print, indicates that Testa had in mind the sufferings of his native city, not just the general horror of the plague that ravaged northern Italy and to which Poussin referred in his *Plague of Ashdod* of 1631.¹ The figures to the left are then local saints, rather than Saints Nicholas and Roch, as Gori Gandellini and Bartsch proposed. Saint Martin appears in the armor of a Roman soldier and carries a sword, as he does on the sculpture on the facade of the cathedral in Lucca, of which he is titular saint. The figure in the cope who holds a crozier is Saint Paulinus, first bishop and patron saint of the city. The central figure may be Saint Theodore, Lucca's other bishop saint, whose miraculous powers Testa celebrated in an altarpiece later in his career (see cat. no. 89).

Like Poussin Testa emphasized the stench of the plague by adapting a figure from Marcantonio's print of *The Plague of Phrygia* (Bartsch, vol. 14, p. 314, no. 417). Here a small child holds his nose as he leans over the bridge to gaze at the dead man on the pavement below. Between the bloated bodies of two babies and the dead man another child clings to his mother in horror at the sight of the corpse. A similar figure also appears in Poussin's painting, but in his much simpler composition Testa concentrates especially on the tender pathos of the children as a way of moving the spectator's emotions.

The two women, seen in profile, resemble the Virgin in *The Holy Family with the Infant Saint John Holding an Apple* (cat. nos. 1 and 2). The sketchiness



of the drawing and lightness of touch in the etching, the clouds simply outlined in strong contrast to the broad chiaroscuro of the thick folds of the draperies, and the asymmetrical composition all indicate a date close to those of *The Martyrdom of Saint Erasmus* (cat. nos. 5 and 6) and *Saint Jerome* (cat. no. 8). As in the horizontal version of *The Garden of Charity* (cat. no. 9) Testa had considerable difficulty controlling the biting of the plate, and the marks in the clouds to the right and the open biting in the sky and on the pavement appear in all impressions of the print.

Testa returned to Lucca in 1632, but he had probably made this print in Rome when the plague was at its height. A date of 1630–31, close to the time of Testa's brief apprenticeship in Pietro da Cortona's studio, is thus proposed for this work, one of his most delicate compositions, the luminosity and perspectival originality of which have inspired more than one critic to compare it to the etchings of Tiepolo.

1. Blunt, 1966, pp. 24–25, no. 32; Thuillier, 1974, p. 93, no. 65.

PREPARATORY DRAWING A study for the mother and child and two dead babies in the reverse sense, attributed to Testa, was included in the sale at Finarte, Milan, *Disegni dal XVI al XIX secolo* (catalogue no. 542) (April 21, 1986), lot 36, reprø. Pen and black ink. 95 x 138 mm (3¾ x 5⅞"). This may relate to the print or to one of the several copies.

LITERATURE Baldinucci, 1681–1728, p. 320; Gori Gandellini, 1771, p. 297; Huber, 1799, p. 15; Gori Gandellini and De Angelis, 1813, p. 122; Bartsch, 1820, p. 218, no. 13; Nagler, 1848, p. 266, no. 13; Le Blanc, 1890, p. 20, no. 14; Lopresti, 1921, p. 83; Petrucci, 1936, p. 417; Marabottini, 1954a, p. 132; Harris, 1967, p. 36; Bellini, 1976b, pp. 42–43, no. 8; Cropper, 1977, pp. 90–93, 103 n. 22, 107; Brigstocke, 1978, p. 118; Cropper, 1984, p. 20 and fig. 3

8

Saint Jerome

c. 1631–37

Bartsch 15; Bellini 9

Etching, first state

306 x 227 mm (12¼ x 8⅝")

Inscribed in the image with Testa's monogram in the lower left corner

Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (West), 351-21

This composition is closely related to the vertical version of *The Garden of Charity* (cat. no. 11), despite the difference in subject. Testa has in fact treated the theme of Saint Jerome's penitence in a lyrical manner, and there is no suggestion of the desert that Baldinucci and others describe in referring to this image. Although the saint gazes upon the cross and clasps a rock with which to beat his breast, his inkwell and book set aside, he is not imagined in the wilderness described in his letters, but sits in a sunny and verdant landscape more reminiscent of the classical Arcadia. Feathery overhanging branches of a powerfully twisted tree entwined with ivy that also appears in *The Garden of Charity* and in several other works of this decade (for example, cat. nos. 13 and 25) provide an idyllic shade for his meditation. Little angels playfully crown the docile and sleeping lion with a cardinal's hat, Saint Jerome's traditional attribute.

The etched lines are not as close together as in *The Garden of Charity*, however, nor are the contours so strongly delineated. It would thus seem that *Saint Jerome* dates somewhat closer to *Three Lucchese Saints Interceding with the Virgin for the Victims of the Plague* (cat. no. 7), or around 1630–31. In both works Testa attempted to exploit the same loose interplay between the white paper and the parallel hatching, to which he here often adds curling twists to achieve a flickering quality of sunlight across the surface of the paper. In the preparatory drawing in the Louvre the lines are much sharper, revealing a close affinity with studies for *The Martyrdom of Saint Erasmus* (cat. nos. 5 and 6).



The strong contrast between the single lines of the foliage to the right, with their rich, dark burr, and the very delicate delineation of the little angels and the lion's mane suggests that the image may have been etched in stages. All impressions reveal considerable foul biting and roughness of finish on the plate.

PREPARATORY DRAWINGS 1. Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Paris, 1887. Composition study. Pen and brown ink, with heightening and a pentimento on the left foot in white lead, on buff paper. 282 x 220 mm (11 1/8 x 8 1/16"). See Harris, 1967, fig. 39b. 2. Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna, 975. Study of a tree. Pen and brown ink on white paper. 205 x 187 mm (8 1/16 x 7 3/8") (probably cut down). This detail might relate to several prints, but is especially close to the tree in *Saint Jerome*. See Stix and Fröhlich-Bum, 1932, p. 60, no. 527.

LITERATURE Baldinucci, 1681–1728, p. 320; Gori Gandellini, 1771, p. 297; Huber, 1799, p. 15; Gori Gandellini and De Angelis, 1813, p. 122; Bartsch, 1820, p. 219, no. 15; Nagler, 1848, p. 266, no. 15; Le Blanc, 1890, p. 20, no. 13; Petrucci, 1936, p. 417; Donati, 1961, p. 439; Harris, 1967, p. 36, fig. 39a; Martone, 1969, pp. 52–53, fig. 7; Hartmann, 1970, pp. 30–31, 128–29; Bellini, 1976b, p. 43, no. 9; Cropper, 1984, pp. 33–34 and fig. 16

9

The Garden of Charity

HORIZONTAL VERSION

c. 1631–37

Bartsch 27; Bellini 4

Etching, first state

162 x 244 mm (6 3/8 x 9 5/8")

Inscribed in the image with Testa's monogram in the lower right corner

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1959 (59.597.6)

Baldinucci is the first critic to single out the particular gracefulness and inventiveness of Testa's drawings of putti.¹ In this he was followed by Pierre Jean Mariette, whose appreciation of Testa's manner of drawing children may be associated with an entire group of prints (cat. nos. 11, 13, 16, 25, and 36). Mariette must have known this particular work especially well, however, for his grandfather had obtained the plate and republished it.² Baldinucci

reports that later in Testa's career he drew the artist Filippo Gherardini as an infant, working from the model to rid himself of the mannerism of overly slender proportions that had also developed in his drawing of mature figures. At this point in the early 1630s, however, as Mariette recognized, Testa was fully master of the examples set by Poussin and François Duquesnoy, who in 1625–26 had undertaken an intense study of Titian's *Bacchanals* in the Casino Ludovisi, Rome, especially *The Worship of Venus* (see fig. 11-s).³ Testa's exploration of their discoveries in a series of prints from the 1630s reached its peak in his most ambitious effort in this genre, *The Garden of Venus* (cat. no. 13). However, Testa's desire to express tender sweetness is already seen here, as one putto offers a drinking cup to his companion, another gestures toward us not to awaken the sleeping child at his feet, and yet another holds up Charity's drapery. The angry petulance of the baby trying to reach her breast provides both a reminder of the extraordinary nature of such civility and a comment on human affections untempered by Charity, here identified by the flaming heart held up by the child she embraces.

According to Ripa, whose *Iconologia* Testa frequently consulted, the flaming heart and the child indicate that charity is a pure and burning affect of the soul toward God and his creatures.⁴ The concern the little putti show for one another recalls the invocation to love for one's neighbor in traditional images of Christian Charity with her children, but in Testa's playful conceit Charity herself, or Christian Love, resembles Venus surrounded by loves in her garden.

The small scale and the obvious technical imperfections of *The Garden of Charity* indicate that it stands at the very beginning of the group of related prints. The acid bit through the ground to the plate, creating a pitted surface, and the lines were too shallow to make a sharp image when inked. The imbalance between the deeper and wider lines in the modeling of the foreground figures and the gray tonality of the rest of the print appears in all impressions and seems to reveal Testa's own attempt to correct the chiaroscuro rather than a later reworking of the plate.

1. Baldinucci, 1681–1728, p. 316.

2. Mariette, 1741, p. 27: "Ceux où il se trouve des enfants,



9

sont ceux qui sont plus d'honneur à leur Auteur; car il dessinoit les enfants très bien dans la manière de François Flamand & du Poussin" (The ones in which there are children honor their creator the most, for he drew children very well in the manner of François Flamand [i.e., Duquesnoy] and of Poussin). For the undescribed later state see the Appendix, below. Mariette's possession of the plate accounts for the fact that it is not in the collection of the Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica—Calcografia, Rome.

3. Wethey, 1975, pp. 143–53, cat. nos. 12–15.

4. Ripa, 1625, p. 95.

PREPARATORY DRAWING The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1977.314. See cat. no. 10.

LITERATURE Bartsch, 1820, pp. 222–23, no. 27; Nagler, 1848, p. 267, no. 27; Le Blanc, 1890, p. 21, no. 26; Harris, 1967, pp. 36, 51 n. 24; Stampfle and Bean, 1967, p. 61, under no. 83; Hartmann, 1970, pp. 68, 155; Bellini, 1976b, p. 40, no. 4; Bean, 1979, p. 279, under no. 367; Cropper, 1984, pp. 18 n. 47, 33–34 and fig. 19

10

Composition Study for "The Garden of Charity" HORIZONTAL VERSION

c. 1631–37

Pen and brown ink with some black ink and gray wash on brownish paper. Repaired losses. Lined.

185 x 257 mm (4¹¹/₁₆ x 10¹/₈")

Inscribed by the artist in the lower margin (now trimmed and almost illegible): . . . cciolo ritratto la carita dovevo per piu proprio figurar VS ma la . . . VS ma . . .

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1959 (1977.314)

Although very close in size and in many details to the etching (cat. no. 9), this study for *The Garden of Charity* is not identical with the final composition.



10

Testa has not yet, for example, introduced the flaming heart to identify the figure of Charity. The inscription may be the draft of a dedication or part of a letter recommending his invention. Enough of it is legible to establish that Testa was playing upon the conceit that he should have portrayed his patron (the *VS*, or *Vostra Signoria*) rather than the figure of Charity. The second version of this subject (cat. no. 11) bears a simple dedication to Girolamo Buonvisi, and so it is likely that the first was intended for him too, but was set aside because of Testa's difficulties in working the plate.

PROVENANCE Sir Robert L. Mond (1867–1938; Lugt Suppl. 2813a); purchased in London by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1959; transferred from the Department of Prints to the Department of Drawings, 1977

LITERATURE Borenus and Wittkower, 1937, p. 61, no.

248, pl. XLIII; Stampfle and Bean, 1967, p. 61, under no. 83; Hartmann, 1970, pp. 172–73; Bean, 1979, pp. 278–79, no. 367

11

The Garden of Charity

VERTICAL VERSION

c. 1631–37

Bartsch 28; Bellini 11

Etching, only state

395 x 275 mm (15⁹/₁₆ x 10¹³/₁₆"

Inscribed in the plate in the lower margin:
Ill.mo & R.mo D. Hyeronimo Bonvisi. D.C./
P. Testa D.D

The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York,
Purchased as the gift of Mrs. Paul Gourary,
(P) 1985.25



Lit^{mo} & R^{mo} D. Hieronimo Bonafis, D.C.

P. Testa D. 11



Testa adapted the foreground groups of his first, horizontal version of *The Garden of Charity* (cat. no. 9) and incorporated them in this more complex invention that reflects his increasing interest in Titian's *Worship of Venus* (see fig. 11-s) and Poussin's and Duquesnoy's interpretations of it. The omission of the flaming heart seen in the earlier composition brings Testa's figure of Charity even closer to a representation of Venus, following Titian's example, but she is still draped modestly and is given none of the goddess's attributes. Infants now fly through the air, helping each other up. One child is about to crash headfirst to the ground, inspiring an even tenderer response in the spectator, who recognizes that he falls because he has no loving companion to support him.¹ The mature, twisted trees, like that in *Saint Jerome* (cat. no. 8), provide a dark, leafy shade set against the brilliance of the landscape behind.

Many of the technical difficulties evident in the first version have been overcome here, although there is still some uncontrolled biting in the lines of the foliage at the bottom right. The lines of the drawing are sharp and clear, producing a much darker, more richly inked impression. In the foliage of the tree to the right the lines collapsed when etched, but this only enhances the effect of the etching as a printed drawing with a wide range of chiaroscuro. Testa appears also to have worked with the rough finish of the plate to produce a tone on the white areas of the paper. This exploitation of what might be considered an imperfection appears in other works of the 1630s, such as *An Allegory in Honor of the Arrival of Cardinal Franciotti as Bishop of Lucca* (cat. no. 36).

This version of *The Garden of Charity* bears a dedication to Girolamo Buonvisi (1607–1677), the Lucchese cleric who was Testa's most consistent patron and for whom the first version was probably intended. Above it is Buonvisi's emblem, the benign star of abundance to which Testa often appealed.

1. For this aspect of Testa's, Poussin's, and Duquesnoy's study of Titian, see Colantuono, 1986.

PREPARATORY DRAWING The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, IV, 180. See cat. no. 12.

LITERATURE Bartsch, 1820, p. 223, no. 28; Nagler, 1848, p. 267, no. 28; Le Blanc, 1890, p. 21, no. 27; Harris, 1967, pp. 36, 51 n. 24, fig. 38; Stampfle and Bean, 1967, p. 61,

under no. 83; Hartmann, 1970, pp. 68, 154–55; Thiem, 1973, p. 21; Bellini, 1976b, p. 45, no. 11; Brigstocke, 1978, pp. 118, 144 n. 15; Bean, 1979, p. 279, under no. 367; Cropper, 1984, pp. 18 n. 47, 33–34 and fig. 19

12

Composition Study for "The Garden of Charity" VERTICAL VERSION

c. 1631–37

Pen and brown ink over black chalk on white paper. Stained at the upper left. Several other small stains. Fold line across the center and a small hole in the tree to the left. Lined.

320 x 260 mm (12⁵/₈ x 10¹/₄")

The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, IV, 180

In this reverse study for the vertical version of *The Garden of Charity* (cat. no. 11), Testa has worked from the horizontal print (cat. no. 9) rather than from the preparatory drawing in the Metropolitan Museum (cat. no. 10) that does not include such details as the child holding his finger to his lips. Although this composition was probably originally the same size as the image on the plate, without a space for the inscription, it does not correspond exactly with the print. This indicates that Testa may have worked directly on the plate on the basis of this drawing, making changes as he went.

PROVENANCE Charles Fairfax Murray; purchased in London by J. Pierpont Morgan, 1910

LITERATURE Fairfax Murray, 1912, no. 180; Stampfle and Bean, 1967, p. 61, no. 83; Hartmann, 1970, p. 172; Thiem, 1973, pp. 21, 25 n. 8; Thiem, 1977, p. 216, under no. 399; Brigstocke, 1978, p. 118; Blunt, 1980, p. 25, no. 16

13

The Garden of Venus

c. 1631–37

Bartsch 26; Bellini 12

Etching, first state

350 x 416 mm (13³/₄ x 16³/₈") (trimmed)

Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II (Royal Library, Windsor Castle)

Reclining before the term of a leering Pan, Venus

welcomes us with an open hand into the garden of love. On the slope behind her a pair of lovers embrace and adult satyrs dance, but in the foreground Venus's powers are expressed in the diminutive by dozens of infant loves (*erotes*). Several details find their specific origin in paintings of 1629 to 1631 by Nicolas Poussin—the cupid to the right sharpening an arrow, for example, resembles a similar cupid in *Mars and Venus* in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (fig. 13b). Others, such as the cupid shooting his arrow and another giving chase to the hare in the distance to the right, refer directly to Titian's *Worship of Venus* (see fig. 11-s), a painting especially important for Poussin, and to its own source in Philostratus's *Imagines*, a description of an ancient painting entitled *Cupids (Erotes)*.¹

In his own free invention upon the theme Testa shows himself fully preoccupied with the critical implications of Poussin's and Duquesnoy's study of Titian's *Bacchanals*, which had been in Rome since 1598 and which had already stimulated a famous and more Roman, monumental response in Annibale Carracci's *Sleeping Venus*, then in the Palazzo Farnese.² Poussin's and Duquesnoy's critical concerns were with the expressive and affective qualities specifically inherent in Titian's treatment of the infant loves, going well beyond a question of mere "influence" or a generic "neo-Venetianism" that has often been proposed.³ They undertook their study of *The Bacchanals* sometime around 1625, shortly after Poussin's arrival in Rome and close to the time when the two artists shared living quarters. Duquesnoy became famous for his sculptured renderings of the tenderness of infant flesh, and Poussin's *Infant Bacchanals*⁴ of about that date, as Colaninno has demonstrated, represent his earliest attempt at the genre of Hellenistic scherzo represented by Philostratus, to which the two friends recognized Titian's paintings belonged.⁵ As Bellori reports, Poussin and Duquesnoy (and Testa soon after) were especially attracted by the capacity of Titian's cupids to evoke responses of tenderness in the spectator because of their softness and innocence.⁶ The mature actions and affections of love are rendered sweetly appealing when enacted by infants, and their playful, seriocomic behavior is perfectly expressive of the rhetorically witty genre of the scherzo.

A drawing by Testa now in the Rijksmuseum,

Amsterdam (fig. 13c),⁷ indicates his especially close study of Poussin's *Children's Bacchanal with Two Terms*.⁸ Before a line of satyric terms linked by swags an infant rides upon a goat, while his companions hide behind a tree. Others are knocked down, embrace, drink, or—elaborating Poussin's invention—react to the snarling panther in the left foreground.⁹ In *The Garden of Venus* Testa gives full play to his inventiveness. The sleeping baby in the bottom left corner is a delightful pun on the beautiful and famous sleeping nymph in the lower right corner of Titian's *Andrians* in the Prado¹⁰—a figure that Poussin also incorporated in his *Midas Before Bacchus* of around 1629, now in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich.¹¹ Testa makes of her an infant so tenderly lovely that another cupid, arms outspread like Poussin's own Narcissus in *The Garden of Flora* of 1631,¹² falls in love with her. In the center another infant suitor kneels to offer flowers to his beloved, who sleepily rubs his eyes (or weeps?) as he stirs from his pillow on Venus's thigh. Others fight over Love's flowers, substituted for the love apples described by Philostratus as emblems of love (*eros*) and love reciprocated (*anteros*), while two more, in a similarly erotic translation, wrestle over a bird squeezed in the hand of one infant as they scramble up the tree trunk. Other couples further emblemize the stages and affections of love and reciprocated love.

In the left foreground one cupid has covered his head with a cloth, invoking love's little panics in his companions, who recoil and tumble down in terror. This episode is even more closely related to Testa's understanding of Poussin's and Duquesnoy's infant bacchanals. In Poussin's *Children's Bacchanal with Two Terms* one of the infants tries to terrify the goat by covering his face with a mask; and, similarly, in his famous relief of an *Infant Bacchanal*,¹³ Duquesnoy shows a putto holding a mask before his face to frighten the goat.¹⁴ In his description of the relief Bellori, responding to Duquesnoy's ludic scherzo, names this figure as Jocus, the god of jest, "who puts a mask on his face."¹⁵ Testa well understood the figure, for his witty infant plays at love's deceptions, hiding his true nature in order to frighten his beloved into submission. Even as he does so, an infant love in the center is encouraged by a gentle embrace to remove her blindfold so that she may see the face of her true love.



13

In the latter half of the 1620s and 1630s Poussin and Duquesnoy were not alone in their admiration for Titian's *Bacchanals*. For Rubens, Van Dyck, Domenichino, and many others they exerted a special fascination. Pierre Brebiette's etchings of infant bacchanals, closely contemporary with Poussin's two paintings,¹⁶ and Giovanni Andrea Podestà's etched copies of Titian's paintings themselves (one of which is dedicated to Testa's patron Cassiano dal Pozzo and dated 1636)¹⁷ gave even wider currency to Titian's inventions. However, Poussin's and Duquesnoy's critical discovery in *The Bacchanals* of a perfect unity of delightful form and ludic Alexandrian content was put to an entirely new expressive use in their own new *scherzi*. In this enterprise Testa

shared, and Baldinucci rightly describes the print as a garden of Venus "with putti in very beautiful *scherzi* and lovely poses."¹⁸ In Testa's *Garden of Venus* the powers of love to wound, to deceive and tease, to disarm and infatuate, to elicit envy, rejection, and love in return, all are presented as a series of childish games presided over by a lasciviously grinning term of Pan. In these tender amusements Venus herself invites our participation.

In the preparatory drawing now in Hamburg (fig. 13d) Testa first conceived of an older Cupid flying down to greet his mother. An adult male figure lies bound in the left corner. These elements gloss the image in a different way, suggesting that the amorous passions portrayed, like those in *An Allegory of*



Fig. 13a. Pietro Testa, *Composition Study for "The Garden of Venus,"* c. 1633. Pen and brown ink with light and dark brown wash on cream paper, divided in sections in brown ink, 351 x 436 mm (13¹/₁₆ x 17³/₁₆"). Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, 1716 Esp., recto

Liberty (cat. no. 32), are not governed by lust. By rejecting this conceit he gave full expression to the implications of Pan's guardianship of the garden, a guardianship that was probably inspired by Poussin's *Garden of Flora* of 1631. *The Garden of Venus*, like the closely related *Venus and Adonis* (cat. no. 16), probably dates soon after this, to 1633–34. Testa provided a margin for an inscription, but did not burnish out the lines and the little pebbles that spill over from the image. He never found a patron to whom he could dedicate this, one of his most ambitious early works.

1. For a summary of the history of Titian's paintings *The Bacchanal*: and their textual sources, see Wethey, 1975, pp. 143–53, cat. nos. 12–15.

2. Musée Condé, Chantilly (Donald Posner, *Annibale Carracci* [London, 1971], vol. 2, cat. no. 134, repro. 134a).

3. See Cropper, 1984, p. 36.

4. Incisa della Rocchetta Collection, Rome (Blunt, 1966, p. 134, nos. 192, 193; Blunt, 1967, pls. 8, 9).

5. For this and for what follows I am deeply indebted to the unpublished analysis of the genre of the lyric scherzo in the work of Poussin and Duquesnoy in Colantuono, 1986.

6. Bellori, 1672, p. 426. See further Colantuono, 1986, pp. 121–22.

7. Inscribed in an old hand in the lower left corner: *Pietro Testa 1640*. Hamburger Kunsthalle, 21441; and The National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, D 5006, are both copies after this drawing.



Fig. 13b. Nicolas Poussin (French, 1594–1665), *Mars and Venus*, c. 1627. Oil on canvas, 155 x 213.5 cm (61 x 84"). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Augustus Hemenway Fund and Arthur Wheelwright Fund, 40.89



Fig. 13c. Pietro Testa, *Study for an Infant Bacchanal*, c. 1633. Pen and brown ink on cream paper, 192 x 247 mm (7⁷/₁₆ x 9³/₄"). Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam, A 2183



Fig. 13d. Pietro Testa, *Composition Study for "The Garden of Venus,"* c. 1633. Pen and brown ink on cream paper, 262 x 281 mm (10⁵/₁₆ x 11¹/₁₆"). Hamburger Kunsthalle, 21442

8. Blunt, 1966, p. 134, no. 193.

9. An elaboration that was taken up by Giovanni Andrea Podestà in his *Bacchanal with Two Fauns and Children Carrying the Drunken Silenus* of 1640 (Bartsch, vol. 20, p. 170, no. 2).

10. Wethey, 1975, cat. no. 15, pl. 57.

11. Blunt, 1966, p. 176, R 89; Thuillier, 1974, p. 92, no. 62. Ottieri, 1986, p. 209, cites a copy of Poussin's work by Testa in the inventory of Gabriele dal Pozzo, Cassiano's nephew.

12. Staatliche Gemäldegalerie, Dresden (Blunt, 1967, pl. 65).

13. Victoria and Albert Museum, London (Mariette François, *François du Quesnoy* [Brussels, 1942], pl. v).

14. On the mask and its power to terrify in this context, see Colantuono, 1986, pp. 58–120. Dempsey, 1982, has related this figure of the little satyr with his head inside the helmet in Botticelli's *Mars and Venus* to the empty sexual terrors emblemized by the figures of putti hiding behind masks. Putti with masks also tease the goat in the Munich *Midas Before Bacchus*.

15. Bellori, 1672, p. 289. See also Colantuono, 1986, pp. 129–32.

16. On Brebiette, see Jacques Thuillier, "Poussin et ses premiers compagnons français à Rome," in André Chastel, ed., *Nicolas Poussin*, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique Colloques Internationaux, Sciences Humaines, Paris, September 19–21, 1958 (Paris, 1960), esp. pp. 73–74 and figs. 34, 36, 38.

17. Bartsch, vol. 20, pp. 172–73, nos. 6–8; no. 8 bears the dedication to Cassiano.

18. "... con bellissimi scherzi e vaghe attitudini di putti."

PREPARATORY DRAWINGS 1. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, 1716 Esp., recto. See fig. 13a. Inscribed on the recto in the lower left: *nisto* [?]; other illegible script in black chalk. Verso: Related studies of sleeping putti. Pen and brown ink. 2. Hamburger Kunsthalle, 21442. See fig. 13d.

PROVENANCE Probably Albani family; King George III (according to Royal Library Inventory A, p. 127, Pietro Testa, Solimani, etc.: "No. 20; Various Compositions drawn with Pen by Pietro Testa, many of them etched by himself...")

LITERATURE Baldinucci, 1681–1728, p. 318; Gori Gandellini, 1771, p. 295; Bartsch, 1820, p. 222, no. 26; Nagler, 1848, p. 267, no. 26; Le Blanc, 1890, p. 21, no. 25; Petrucci, 1936, pp. 416–17; Marabottini, 1954a, p. 132; Harris, 1967, p. 36; Martone, 1969, p. 51, fig. 5; Hartmann, 1970, pp. 68, 152–53; Bellini, 1976b, pp. 45–46, no. 12; Cropper, 1977, p. 107; Brigstocke, 1978, p. 118; Cropper, 1984, pp. 34, 59 and fig. 20

14

Artist's Proof of the Upper Left Corner of "The Garden of Venus"

c. 1631–37

Etching. Trimmed at right and left, with the four corners cut away. Several small stains. An ornamental drawing in pen and brown ink on the verso is by another hand.

282 x 229 mm (11 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 9")

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Raymond E. Lewis, 1967 (67.745)

Like many other etchers, including Rembrandt, Testa did not always begin work on the plate with the most significant figures. This unique example of a trial proof of one part of *The Garden of Venus* (cat. no. 13) demonstrates how Testa's preparation of detailed composition drawings made it possible for him to begin at the top right corner of the plate so that he did not have to cover completed areas with his hand as he worked. This section does not coincide with those he marked out in the preliminary composition drawing in the Uffizi (fig. 13a), which suggests that the artist's division of several drawings into sections in this way was motivated by considerations of composition and chiaroscuro and does not indicate the exact sequence of his work on the plate.

LITERATURE Cropper, 1984, p. 34 and fig. 25

15

Venus and Adonis

c. 1631–37

Oil on canvas. Paint loss, especially on Adonis's drapery and in the landscape.

98 x 133 cm (38 $\frac{9}{16}$ x 52 $\frac{3}{8}$ ")

Akademie der bildenden Künste, Vienna, 215

According to Testa's biographer Passeri, this *Venus and Adonis* was one of the small history paintings whose copious and rich invention brought the artist great praise early in his career but little worldly success. When he began to devote himself to etching Testa translated the composition into a print



14



15



Fig. 15a. Nicolas Poussin (French, 1594-1665), *Venus and Adonis*, c. 1626. Oil on canvas, 75 x 100 cm (29 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 39 $\frac{1}{2}$ "). Rhode Island School of Design, Museum of Art, Providence, Walter H. Kimball, Georgina Aldrich, Mary B. Jackson, Edgar F. Lownes, and Jesse Metcalf Funds, 54.186

(cat. no. 16)¹ that was so delightful and pleasing that he was inspired to etch various other fables and ideas of his own imagining.

Although the close relationship between this painting and Poussin's variation on the same theme from the late 1620s (fig. 15a) is obvious, by the early 1630s Testa appears to have attempted a more brilliant contrast of dark shadows and silvery, pastel color than is found in Poussin's work in these years. Much of this effect is now lost where the ground has grown through, especially in Adonis's drapery and in the landscape, where we now see only the ghostly remains of a horse and several loves. Poch-Kalous reads these remains as pentimenti that the artist intended to cover over, and therefore proposes that the print preceded the painting. The evidence suggests otherwise, although the lack of finish in the trees to the right may indicate that the painting, from which the print derives, was never fully completed.

1. See cat. no. 16 for a discussion of the composition and invention.

PREPARATORY DRAWINGS Several of the preparatory drawings for the print have been associated with the painting, especially as they are in the same sense. All of the composition drawings, however, include details not found in the painting and are therefore discussed in connection with the etching.

COPY Akademie der bildenden Künste, Vienna, 415, 1750–1800. Oil on canvas. 61 x 68 cm (24 x 26¾").

PROVENANCE Acquired by Graf Anton Lamberg-Sprinzenstein (1740–1822) from Adam Johann Braun in the early nineteenth century; bequeathed to the Akademie der bildenden Künste, 1921

LITERATURE Passeri, 1679, p. 184; Calabi, 1938, p. 559; Marabottini, 1954a, pp. 129–30, pl. XLI, fig. 4; Marabottini, 1954b, p. 243; Akademie der bildenden Künste, *Katalog der Gemälde Galerie* (Vienna, 1961), pp. 62–63, no. 90; Harris, 1967, pp. 40, 54 n. 48; Margarethe Poch-Kalous, *Die Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der bildenden Künste in Wien* (Vienna, 1968), pp. 16, 191 and fig. 145; Hartmann, 1970, pp. 66–67, 148–49; Schleier, 1970, p. 668; Cropper, 1974b, pp. 250–51; Brigstocke, 1976, p. 18; Brigstocke, 1978, pp. 117, 119; Heribert Hutter, *Original—Kopie—Replik—Paraphrase* (Vienna, 1980 [exhibition, Akademie der bildenden Künste, Vienna]), pp. 37–38, 53; Cropper, 1984, pp. 35–37, 44–45, 60 and fig. 27; Jan Willem Salomonson, "Der Tod am Himmel, oder die Nachtgleiche des Herbstes: Bemerkungen zu der Darstellung eines Gemäldes von Dominicus van Wijnen in dem Nationalmuseum in

Warschau," *Bulletin du Musée National de Varsovie*, vol. 26, nos. 3–4 (1985), p. 72, fig. 6

16

Venus and Adonis

c. 1631–37

Bartsch 25; Bellini 13

Etching, first state

360 x 454 mm (14³/₁₆ x 17⁷/₈")

Inscribed in the plate in the lower margin:
Al' Molto Ill.re Sig. mio P.ron Col.mo. Il Sig. Sebastiano Antinori./ La Virtù, madre di maraviglie, felicemente rappresentò all'idea del' sig. Pietro Testa questa singulariss.ma inventione del cacciatore Adone innamorato della bella Venere, et egli havendola in si legiadre guise mirabilmente espressa, in testimonio della sua cortesia si compiacque di pre-/sentarla à me, acciò ch'io per mio honor dedicassi il suo dono à V.S., che per sollevamento de gli affari suol' ripor nele vagezze della Caccia i suoi diletti. Gli Amori in questa Favola mi saranno d'augurio, che non li debba esser discara la viva prontezza del suo valore e del mio affeto. Alla nobbiltà di V.S. non/ e disdicevole il generoso Adone di regio sangue disceso, et alla mia devotione conviene una selva, poi che mi rendo compreso nella moltitudine delle sui lodi. In questa offerta ammiri l'eccellenza del'opera come di se, così di V.S. degna, e se Venere splende vicino al Sole, prego sempre a V.S. sereni i giorni di vita e quanto/ chiari d'opere altrettanto riguardevoli d'honori. e le fo riverenza. Di V.S. M. [ra] Ill.re Dev.mo Aff.mo Ser.re Nicolo Menghini

Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna, III, 22, p. 24

The story of the love of Venus for Adonis, the beautiful, misbegotten child of Myrrha by her father, King Cinyras, is told by Ovid in his *Metamorphoses*.¹ Accidentally wounded by Cupid, the goddess of love herself falls passionately in love with the mortal Adonis and becomes his hunting companion. She warns him, however, never to hunt lions, boars, and those other wild beasts who do not yield to youth and beauty. For this reason Poussin, in his *Venus and Adonis* (see fig. 15a), shows little loves playfully hunting a hare, one of the timorous beasts over whom Venus holds sway (and, indeed, the very emblem of venereal lust), as Adonis lies sleeping on Venus's breast. But Adonis disobeys Venus and hunts the wild boar, who kills him. In Ovid's

account, as she grieves over the dying Adonis Venus sprinkles nectar into his blood, from which spring up blood-red anemones. Poussin painted this conclusion to the lovers' story in another picture of the late 1620s (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Caen).²

In both his painting (cat. no. 15) and etching of this subject Testa moves away from a simple illustration of Ovid's story by introducing a paradox. As Venus gazes into the living Adonis's beautiful face, on the verge of consummating their love, he gestures toward his dead prey, which includes not only gentle hinds but also the wild boar that killed him. By showing the living Adonis and the dead boar in this way Testa bases his poetic invention in the ancient seasonal interpretation of the story, revived by seventeenth-century poets and mythographers, in which Adonis is the sun, Venus presides over the upper hemisphere of the zodiac, which gives life to the world of human beings, and Proserpina presides over the lower six signs, which govern the underworld and the seasons of declining life in nature. According to Macrobius, writing in the fifth century A.D. about the customs of the ancient Assyrians:

... Adonis is believed to have been restored to her [Venus] when the sun, after passing completely through the six signs of the lower series, begins again to traverse the circle of our hemisphere, with brighter light and longer days.

In the story which they tell of Adonis killed by a boar the animal is intended to represent winter, for the boar is an unkempt and rude creature delighting in damp, muddy, and frost-covered places and feeding on the acorn, which is especially a winter fruit. And so winter, as it were, inflicts a wound on the sun, for in winter we find the sun's light and heat ebbing, and it is an ebbing of light and heat that befalls all living creatures at death.³

In winter Venus mourns her lost Adonis, but with the death of winter and the return of the sun (that is, Adonis) in springtime, she becomes happy and beautiful again. The fields and trees become green, and "for this reason our ancestors dedicated the month of April to Venus." Macrobius's prose was rendered into glorious poetry when Spenser described Venus's garden in the *Faerie Queen*:

There wont fayre *Venus* often to enjoy
Her dear *Adonis* ioyous company,
And reape sweet pleasure of the wanton boy.
There yet, some say, in secret he does ly,

Lapped in flowres and pretious spycery,
By her hid from the world, and from the skill
Of *Stygian* Gods, which doe her love envy;
But she herselfe, when ever that she will,
Possesseth him, and of his sweetnesse takes her fill.⁴

Macrobius's account is only one of the most straightforward explanations of the myth of Adonis, for which there are many other sources, such as the Greek bucolic poetry of Theocritus and Bion. This kind of interpretation of poetic fable as expressive of natural principles, as Dempsey has shown, was characteristic of the seventeenth century, and interested scholars and poets patronized by the nephews of the Barberini pope Urban VIII especially.⁵ It is noteworthy, therefore, that Niccolò Menghini (died 1655), superintendent of antiquities in the Barberini collection, recognized that Testa had represented Adonis as the sun. Testa gave Menghini the privilege of dedicating the etching to Menghini's patron Sebastiano Antinori, and in his inscription Menghini compares Antinori, who loved to hunt, to Adonis, expressing the hope that even as Venus shines close to the sun, so will Antinori enjoy serenity of days, as replete with shining works as they are with honors.

Like Passeri, Menghini emphasizes in his dedication the singularity of Testa's invention, and indeed, although his *Venus and Adonis* in both the painted and etched versions may be seen as a development of ideas found in *The Garden of Venus* (cat. no. 13) and *The Garden of Charity* (cat. nos. 9 and 11), this work represents a significant maturing of Testa's ability to give visible form to the themes and sentiments of lyric poetry. As in Poussin's *Mars and Venus* (see fig. 13b)—itself a poetic image of seasonal change in which Mars, the god of March, yields to Venus, the goddess of April—the loves disarm the hero as Venus embraces him. In the more complex, etched version of *Venus and Adonis* one takes the hunter's arrows, another his bow, others his horn and spear, as yet another tries to encourage one of his dogs to flee the scene and join the hunt in the background. Meanwhile, others prepare Adonis for the nuptial bed, crowning him with roses and bathing his feet with unguents. Another brings water from the river in a vase on his head. One love gazes out at us as he shoots his arrow toward his mother, and another brings the torch of Hymen, the god of marriage. But the joyous celebration is



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Fig. 16b. Pietro Testa, *Fragment of a Composition Study for "Venus and Adonis,"* c. 1634. Pen and brown ink over traces of black chalk on pale buff paper, mounted on two other pieces of paper with the drawing extended by another hand; 160 (right edge) x 262 mm (6⁵/₁₆ x 10⁵/₁₆""). Trustees of the British Museum, London, Fawkener 5212-50



Fig. 16a. Pietro Testa, *Composition Study for "Venus and Adonis,"* c. 1634. Pen and brown ink over black chalk with golden brown wash on cream paper, 332 x 459 mm (13 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 18 $\frac{1}{16}$ "). Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, 1717 Esp.

forever tempered by the melancholy of transience, for the beautiful Adonis (his perfectly proportioned profile resembling that of the Hellenistic *Apollo Belvedere*)⁶ points to the boar as a reminder of winter and the realm of Proserpina. This moment will pass, even as the petals will be blown from the anemones, or windflowers, that encircle the bank on which the lovers embrace.

Both Testa and Poussin were inspired to undertake their embellishments of Ovid's story by Giambattista Marino's great epic of love, *L'Adone*, first published in 1623. In canto 18, the laments of thousands of little loves—who break their weapons, tear up their golden nets, and throw down their torches—follow the death of Adonis after the lovers' last kiss. To readers of *L'Adone*, the actions of Testa's joyous infants at the moment of the first kiss of Venus and Adonis in the springtime would, like the presence of the boar, have produced the effect of a sweet sadness. Marino did not recount the story of the perennial return of Adonis, but in his own sources in Hellenistic poetry, notably Bion's first *Idyll*, Venus is urged to cease her mourning and await another year. Testa's image provides an equally vivid inversion of a passage from Bion's *Idyll*, which was popularized in the sixteenth century by Luigi Alamanni's paraphrasing of it in his tenth eclogue, entitled *L'Adone*. In the text the loves not only destroy their weapons in mourning, but one also removes Adonis's sandal and another brings water in a golden urn to bathe his wounds, while Hymen extinguishes his torch and flings the marriage wreath away—all of which actions Testa repeats in the opposite sense, showing the loves taking Adonis's weapons from him, removing his sandal for the wedding bed, bringing water in an urn to cleanse him, and returning the torch of Hymen.

That Testa's *Venus and Adonis*, like the smaller prints to which it is related, also reflects his continuing investigation of Titian's *Worship of Venus* (see cat. no. 9 and fig. 11-s), to which he had been led by Poussin and Duquesnoy, is appropriate. As Colantuono has argued, it was probably the poet Marino himself who encouraged Poussin to study Titian's *Bacchanals* (Museo del Prado, Madrid) as the most perfect expression of the spirit of Alexandrian lyricism that he sought to capture in his poetry.⁷ Menghini recognized in his dedication that Testa's *sin-*

gularissima inventione produced in the viewer a sense of the marvelous, that quality for which Marino was most famous.

1. Bk. 10, lines 519–739.
2. Testa also projected a version of this story. His invention is recorded in two almost identical compositional studies, one in a private collection in the United States (pen and brown ink over black chalk; 302 x 435 mm [11 7/8 x 17 1/8"]), the other in a private collection in Rome (pen and brown ink; 275 x 420 mm [10 13/16 x 16 1/2"]). One is probably a copy of the other, but the drawings are known to the author only from photographs. A drawing by Testa in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rennes (715; pen and brown ink; 120 x 170 mm [4 3/4 x 6 1/16"]), has been identified as a *Death of Adonis*, although in fact it represents *Tancred and Erminia*.
3. Macrobius, *The Saturnalia*, ed. and trans. Percival Vaughan Davies (New York, 1969), bk. 1, ch. 21, p. 141.
4. Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, bk. 3, canto 6, stanza 46, in *The Poetical Works of Edmund Spenser*, ed. J. C. Smith (Oxford, 1909), vol. 2, p. 431.
5. For which see Dempsey, 1966.
6. Musei Vaticani (Haskell and Penny, 1981, p. 149, fig. 77).
7. See Colantuono, 1986, esp. pp. 101–5.

PREPARATORY DRAWINGS 1. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, 1717 Esp. See fig. 16a. Inscribed in pen and brown ink in a seventeenth-century hand in the lower left: *Pietro Testa*. Unfortunately this, one of Testa's most luminous and elegant composition drawings, is too fragile to be exhibited. 2. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, 5701S. Composition study in the reverse sense. Pen and brown ink with traces of black chalk on cream paper. 163 x 254 mm (6 5/16 x 10"). See Musée des Beaux-Arts de Montréal, 1986, pp. 250–51, no. 62. 3. Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (West), KdZ 4521. Composition study in the reverse sense. Pen and brown ink on cream paper. 195 x 268 mm (7 1/16 x 10 1/16"). Inscribed by the artist in pen and brown ink in the lower right: *per intagliare in Aquaforte*; in another hand in pen and brown ink in the lower left: *Pietro Testa*. See Winner, 1964, pp. 26–27, no. 19. 4. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, 776F, Florence. See cat. no. 17. 5. British Museum, London, Fawkener 5212–50. See fig. 16b. Inscribed in an old hand: *Rubens*. 6. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, 12008F. Study in the same sense for the sleeping dog. Black chalk on medium tan paper. 193 x 226 mm (7 9/16 x 8 7/8"). 7. Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Paris, 1888 bis. Studies of putti. Pen and brownish gray ink over black chalk on cream



17

paper. 134 x 182 mm (5¼ x 7¾"). Incribed by the artist in brown ink: *L'Ordinario pasato del' . . .*; in an old hand: 4.

LITERATURE Passeri, 1679, p. 184; Balducci, 1681–1728, p. 318; Gori Gandellini, 1771, pp. 295, 296; Bartsch, 1820, p. 222, no. 25; Nagler, 1848, p. 267, no. 26; Le Blanc, 1890, p. 21, no. 24; Dobroklonsky, 1930, pp. 51–52; Petrucci, 1936, p. 416; Marabottini, 1954a, pp. 129 n. 16, 130, 131; Marabottini, 1954b, p. 243, pl. LXVII, fig. 11; Harris, 1967, pp. 38, 52 n. 28; Hartmann, 1970, pp. 68, 155–56; Cropper, 1974b, pp. 250–51, pl. 59a; Bellini, 1976b, pp. 46–47, no. 13; Brigstocke, 1978, p. 117; Cropper, 1984, pp. 34, 37, 42, 44–45, 52 and fig. 22; Jan Willem Salomonson, "Der Tod am Himmel, oder die Nachtgleiche des Herbstes: Bemerkungen zu der Darstellung eines Gemäldes von Dominicus van Wijnen in dem Nationalmuseum in Warschau," *Bulletin du Musée National de Varsovie*, vol. 26, nos. 3–4 (1985), p. 75, fig. 7

17

Fragment of a Study for "Venus and Adonis"

c. 1631–37

Pen and brown ink on cream paper. Cut from another drawing and mounted on a separate sheet, which has been given a light brown wash.

197 x 223 mm (7¾ x 8¾")

Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, 776F

The scale of this fragment of a study for *Venus and Adonis* (cat. no. 16) matches that of another, now in the British Museum, for the opposite corner of the

print (fig. 16b). Originally both sections must have belonged to the same composition study, which the artist then marked out into sections with the pen, avoiding the division of figures. Parker describes Testa's practice of dividing his drawings in this way as giving them "something of the appearance of a map marked out in counties," and he attributed this habit to "some aesthetic theory of composition on the part of the artist."¹ Testa made further divisions within each section, but cut out the larger pieces so that he could refer to them as he worked. There are no incision lines, and so it would seem that he drew directly on the plate from these fragments, which accounts for the various changes between drawings and print. The doves on Venus's chariot here, for example, disappear in the etching. As in other drawings by Testa, the crosses served to remind the artist that he wished to highlight particular small spots on the plate.

1. Parker, 1933, p. 37.

PROVENANCE Fondo Mediceo Lorenese

LITERATURE Hartmann, 1970, p. 169; Chiarini, 1973, p. 47; Cropper, 1977, p. 107; Brigstocke, 1978, p. 117; Cropper, 1984, p. 34 and fig. 24

18

The Goddess Diana

c. 1631–37

Pen and brown ink on cream paper

310 x 217 mm (12³/₁₆ x 8⁵/₁₆"

The Duke of Devonshire and the Chatsworth Settlement Trustees, 623

Diana, the goddess of the moon and of hunting, is here accompanied by her dogs as she gazes down at her prey. A woman to her left shades her eyes as she looks upward, the means by which Testa has established that the sun is high in the sky, well above the peak of the obelisk that symbolizes its rays. In the bright afternoon sun the goddess rests after the hunt as one dog sleeps, another yawns, and a third sniffs at the dead hind on the ground. Diana's lassitude, like that of Adonis in *Venus and Adonis* (cat. no. 16), conveys a sweet melancholy. As in that invention, Testa presents a notion of the inevitable passage of time, only here it is the remains of the ancient past that establish the sense of

permanence in change. Despite Testa's deep interest in landscape throughout the 1630s, he shows the goddess seated on a step before an invented ancient Roman cityscape that includes not only the obelisk but also a free variant of the Quirinal *Horse Tamers*, as well as the Colosseum and the Torre delle Milizie. These emblems of ancient Rome provide a setting for a lyrical mythological scene rather than one of epic grandeur.

The relationship of this drawing to *Venus and Adonis* is not only one of mood, for Testa derived the huntress's dogs and the dead hind directly from his drawings for the print. He frequently readapted motifs in this way throughout his career, even as Jean Antoine Watteau was to appropriate the dogs and the putto holding a spear from Testa's *Venus and Adonis* for his *Rendez-vous de chasse* (Wallace Collection, London) and the group of putti holding up the end of the hunting net for *The Embarkation for Cythera* (Schloss Charlottenburg, Berlin [West]).¹

1. Parker, 1933; Winner, 1964, pp. 25–26.

PROVENANCE Nicolaes Anthoni Flinck (1646–1723; Lugt 959); purchased by William Cavendish, 2nd Duke of Devonshire, immediately after Flinck's death

LITERATURE Mahon and Sutton, 1955, pp. 94–95, no. 80; Chatsworth, 1962–63, p. 33, no. 70; Harris, 1967, p. 52 n. 28; Roli, 1969, p. 116, pl. 153; Royal Academy of Arts, 1969, p. 33, no. 70; Hartmann, 1970, p. 170; Brigstocke, 1978, pp. 118, 144 n. 20; Blunt, 1980, pp. 25–26, no. 17

19

Echo and Narcissus

c. 1631–37

Pen and light and dark brown ink with wash on cream paper

271 x 211 mm (10¹/₁₆ x 8⁵/₁₆"

Private collection

Previously identified only as a landscape with two figures and two dogs that was once attributed to Paolo Veronese, this is one of Testa's most intensely atmospheric mythological compositions from the 1630s. Dobroklonsky makes the attribution to Testa on the basis of the relationship between this drawing and another, equally beautiful, in the Hermitage in Leningrad.¹ The schematically drawn, craggy mountains in the distance and the promi-





19



Fig. 19a. Nicolas Poussin (French, 1594–1665), *Echo and Narcissus*, c. 1628. Oil on canvas, 74 x 100 cm (29 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 39 $\frac{3}{8}$ ”). Musée du Louvre, Paris

nent, broadly hatched trees are closely related to similar features in the vertical version of *The Garden of Charity* (cat. no. 11). In this drawing, however, Testa succeeded in effecting the strong contrast between the leafy shade of the foreground and the brilliant sunlit hillsides in the background that had caused him so much difficulty in the earlier etching.

The story of Narcissus (see also cat. no. 20) is told by Ovid in his *Metamorphoses*.² Tiresias the seer had predicted that Narcissus would live a long life as long as he never knew himself. When he reached adolescence Narcissus devoted himself to the hunt, sharing his affections with no one. The nymph Echo, condemned by Juno to repeat only the last words she heard, fell passionately in love with him. The beautiful youth spurned her love, and in her grief she retreated to the woods and lonely caves until she wasted away, becoming a rock. Her echoing voice lived on. Nemesis, the goddess of retribution, then took revenge upon Narcissus for his self-love. One day, as he was out hunting, Narcissus lay down to refresh himself by a silvery, unruffled pool in a place shaded by trees where the rays of the sun never penetrated. As he drank from the pool, he was enchanted by his own reflection. Trying in vain to grasp the image he recognized himself, thus fulfilling the warning of Tiresias. As he grieved over this self-knowledge Narcissus tore his robe from his breast, which became flushed with the fire of love, and this consumed him as he saw his reflection.

Echo took pity upon him as he died, however, repeating his last words. When the dryads, who prepared his funeral bier, went looking for his body, they found only a flower, the narcissus that bears his name, its yellow center surrounded by white petals.

Testa conveys the elegiac melancholy of this story with far greater economy of means than is found in contemporary compositions like *Venus and Adonis* (cat. no. 16), to which it is, however, closely related through its Ovidian subject and its lyrical atmosphere. In accordance with Ovid's description, we view the scene from the dark side of a rocky arch shaded by trees. One of Narcissus's hunting dogs laps up water from the pool, as Narcissus, exhausted by his self-passion, his breast bared, gazes into it. Only the loving Echo watches. She is part nymph, part rock, into which she is transformed by grief—the overlaying of rock and figure here signifies more than a pentimento—as she calls out his dying words. In the sun-filled landscape behind no one observes the tragic scene.

Like *Venus and Adonis*, Testa's invention itself echoes a composition by Poussin, this time his *Echo and Narcissus* of 1630–31 in the Louvre (fig. 19a), in which in a similarly dark manner Echo, part rock, part nymph, watches over the death of Narcissus in the dank corner of a wood as love's fire burns.

1. For the drawing in the Hermitage (16569), see Grigorieva, Kuznetsov, and Novoselskaja, 1982, p. 36, no. 33, fig. 30.

2. Bk. 3, lines 340–510.

PROVENANCE William Russell (1800–1884; Lugt 2648); Charles Fairfax Murray; Lord Clark of Saltwood; sale, Sotheby's, London, *Paintings and Works of Art from the Collections of the Late Lord Clark of Saltwood, O. M., C. H., K.C.B.*, pt. 1 (June 27, 1984), no. 163; Baskett and Day Ltd., London; purchased by a private collector

LITERATURE Russell, 1929, pl. 52 (as Veronese); Dobroklonsky, 1930; Hartmann, 1970, p. 176



20

Fig. 20a. Pietro Testa, *Composition Study for "Narcissus at the Pool,"* c. 1634. Pen and wash with some black chalk on cream paper, 170 x 230 mm (66¹/₁₆ x 90⁹/₁₆). Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Paris, 1890



Narcissus at the Pool

c. 1631–37

Pen and brown ink and wash, with faint traces of black chalk, on white paper. Several small patches.

180 x 254 mm (7¹/₁₆ x 10")

Illegible inscription on the verso

The National Galleries of Scotland,
Edinburgh, D 4991

This drawing portrays a different moment in the story of Narcissus from that represented in *Echo and Narcissus* (cat. no. 19). As the youth, accompanied by his hunting dogs, reclines on the rocks beside the shaded pool a cupid shoots the arrow that will lead to Narcissus's self-love for his own reflected image. Other loves fly about him, and on either side narcissus spring up prophetically, as Testa incorporates several episodes from Ovid's story in a single moment. The much-revised figure to the right is Echo, who has been metamorphosed into the very rock upon which Narcissus sits. In another drawing for the same composition in the Louvre (fig. 20a), she is more fully realized, again resting upon the rock of her own metamorphosis.

The arrangement of the figure of Narcissus and the broad, vigorous, pen style of this drawing are particularly close to those in the studies for *Venus and Adonis* (cat. no. 16), for which this sheet was previously considered a study. Alessandra Ottieri's discovery, however, of a large canvas by Testa (now in a private collection in Italy) of Narcissus that appears to be a more mature work than *Venus and Adonis*, now makes it possible to place this drawing a few years later, that is, to around 1636. The painting is very similar to this study, although not identical with it. In the newly discovered canvas the figure of Adonis, his hunting dogs, the landscape, and the rocky pool all appear very much as they do here, but the putti differ in their actions and number.

PROVENANCE Hugh Howard (1675–1737; Lugt 2957); sale, Sotheby's, London, December 14, 1932, lot 30; Paul Oppé; Armide Oppé; purchased by the National Galleries of Scotland with support from the National Art-Collections Fund, 1973

LITERATURE Royal Academy of Arts, 1938, p. 164, no. 477; Mahon and Sutton, 1955, p. 95, no. 81; Royal Academy of Arts, 1958, p. 59, no. 389; National Gallery of Canada, 1961, no. 141; Harris, 1967, p. 52 n. 28; Hartmann, 1970, pp. 170–71; Brigstocke, 1974, n.p.; Brigstocke, 1978, pp. 118, 144 n. 19 and p. 128, pl. 6

21

Dido and Aeneas Hunting

c. 1631–37

Pen and light and dark brown ink over black chalk on cream paper

185 x 298 mm (7³/₄ x 11³/₄")

Collection of Yvonne Koerfer, London

The male rider at the center of this composition wears a Phrygian cap, which identifies him as the Trojan hero Aeneas. Virgil describes how Juno, scheming constantly to prevent Aeneas from reaching Italy, where he will found a race that will threaten her beloved Carthage, arranges for a storm to interrupt his hunt with Dido, the queen of Carthage, so that they will take refuge in a cave and consummate their love. Testa has represented the moment when Dido and Aeneas meet at dawn, his Phrygian companions joining her horsemen, who bring their nets, hunting spears, and keen-scented hounds.¹

Testa drew upon his reading of Virgil's *Aeneid* throughout his career, but in the 1630s he was especially attracted to episodes that allowed him to express delightful rather than terrifying or warlike passions (see cat. nos. 57 and 58). The emphasis here is on the sunlit landscape, framed to the left by the twisted tree, and on the delightful aspects of a courtly train of hunters weaving along the valley, with no hint of the tragedy that lies ahead. Indeed, the subject has remained unidentified until now.

As in the drawing of *Narcissus at the Pool* (cat. no. 20), Testa has enhanced the chiaroscuro through the combination of two shades of ink, with the darker effects achieved with a broad reed pen.

1. *Aeneid*, bk. 4, lines 129–59.

PROVENANCE Sir Thomas Lawrence (1769–1830; Lugt 2445); the architect Anton Schmidt; purchased by Yvonne Koerfer, 1976



22

Nymph and Satyrs in a Wooded Landscape

c. 1632–37

Pen and light and dark brown ink with gray wash on cream paper. Lined. Several small losses where the ink has bitten through the paper.

214 x 315 mm (8⁷/₁₆ x 12³/₈")

Inscribed, probably by Pierre Crozat, in pen and dark brown ink in the lower right corner: 38

Trustees of the British Museum, London, Fenwick 1946-7-13-1325

This British Museum sheet is a particularly fine example from a group of drawings of mythological landscapes now scattered amongst the Devonshire Collection, the National Galleries of Scotland, the Uffizi, and various other collections.¹ The motif of shady, twisting trees entwined with ivy, set against a brilliantly lit mountainous landscape, also occurs

in prints of the 1630s, such as *Saint Jerome* (cat. no. 8), *The Garden of Charity* (cat. nos. 9 and 11), and *Venus and Adonis* (cat. no. 16). The landscape drawings are not, in any strict sense preparatory for the prints. Unlike the Bolognese inventors of the classic ideal landscape at the beginning of the seventeenth century, or artists such as Poussin, Claude Lorrain, and Gaspard Dughet, who were also deeply involved in the study of landscape in the 1630s, Testa seems not to have made studies of particular landscapes, or at least none have come down to us. Testa's friend Pierfrancesco Mola reported that Testa never worked without the direct study of nature, but drawings such as this always include an independent subject.² Most frequently woodland spirits populate the landscape, providing an element of gentle eroticism that emphasizes the fecundity of nature.

Testa was certainly familiar with Bolognese landscape traditions through Domenichino, and his work in the 1630s indicates a particular closeness to Poussin. But in this group of drawings his sensi-



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Fig. 22a. Pietro Testa, *Landscape with Nymph and River God*, c. 1634. Pen and brown ink, 203 x 268 mm (8 x 10⁹/₁₆"'). Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth, 614

bility, as well as his approach to the framing of the image and to the effects of light and shade, suggests an even closer sympathy with the work of Claude and Dughet. Testa's graphic technique, in which a variety of inks and pens are combined to create chiaroscuro from line with relatively little reliance on wash, is, however, highly personal.³ Compositions like these were to have a profound effect on Mola as well as Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione and Salvator Rosa, the two artists whose landscape drawings frequently have been confused with those of Testa.

1. For example, Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth, 614. See fig. 22a. Reproduced by François Collignon as a part of the *Raccolta di diversi disegni e pensieri di Pietro Testa* in circa 1650, for which see Speciale, 1977, p. 17, no. 1. The drawing sold at Sotheby's, London, *Fine Old Master Drawings* (July 5, 1976), lot 5, repro. p. 47, appears to be a feeble copy after the print. The British Museum drawing shown here was also reproduced as an etching (see Bellini, 1976b, p. 70, no. 43). Also part of this group are: The National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, D 5002 (Brigstocke, 1978, pl. 15); British Museum, London, 1946-7-13-1324 (*ibid.*, pl. 16); and Institut Néerlandais, Frits Lugt Collection, Paris, 163 (Byam Shaw, 1983, vol. 1, p. 166, no. 163; vol. 3, fig. 185); Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, 1159P (Chiarini, 1973, fig. 38; formerly attributed to Agostino Carracci and to Salvator Rosa). A second drawing in the Lugt Collection (Byam Shaw, 1983, vol. 1, p. 165, no. 162; vol. 3, fig. 184), attributed to Testa by Brigstocke (1978, p. 120), seems questionable. Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich, 34923 verso (*ibid.*, pl. 20), presents particular problems. The allegorical study on the recto appears to be a later copy, possibly after a lost invention by Testa. Mahoney (1977, vol. 1, pp. 311–12) is hesitant about an attribution to Rosa of both recto and verso. The two drawings are not by the same hand, and there seems no reason to reject the traditional attribution of the verso to Testa.

2. Quoted in Baldinucci, 1681–1728, p. 317.

3. In the drawing of a landscape with fishermen and a pelican in the Louvre (Cabinet des Dessins, 1915; for which see Brigstocke, 1978, fig. 19), Testa comes much closer to Dughet in his use of a dark wash. Harris (1967, p. 53 n. 35) considers the sheet to belong to the group of drawings attributed to Dughet by John Shearman (*The Drawings of Nicolas Poussin* [London, 1963], vol. 4, p. 59f), but I agree with Brigstocke that it is by Testa, dating from the moment when the two artists were working in close proximity to Poussin.

PROVENANCE Pierre Crozat? (1665–1740 [probably his number, lower right]; Lugt 2951); Marquis de Lagoy

(1764–1829; Lugt 1710); T. Dimsdale; Sir Thomas Lawrence (1769–1830; Lugt 2445); S. Woodburn; Sir Thomas Phillips, Bart. (purchased, Woodburn sale, lot 945 [5]); T. Fitzroy Phillips Fenwick

LITERATURE A. E. Popham, *Catalogue of Drawings in the Collection Formed by Sir Thomas Phillips, Bart., F.R.S., Now in the Possession of His Grandson T. Fitzroy Phillips Fenwick of Thirlestaine House, Cheltenham* (London, 1935), p. 167, no. 2, pl. lxxvi; Royal Academy of Arts, 1938, p. 164, no. 476; Harris, 1967, pp. 38, 52 n. 29; Hartmann, 1970, p. 177; Brigstocke, 1978, pp. 120, 145 n. 45 and p. 132, pl. 17

23

Fishermen on the Tiber

REJECTED ATTRIBUTION

c. 1625–50

Bellini 6

Etching, only state

121 x 77 mm (4¾ x 3")

Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II (Royal Library, Windsor Castle)

24

Trees in the Wind

REJECTED ATTRIBUTION

c. 1625–50

Bellini 5

Etching, only state

128 x 80 mm (5 x 3⅛")

Inscribed in the image in the lower left corner: *PTesta fecit*

Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II (Royal Library, Windsor Castle)

Petrucci attributes these two little prints to Testa, describing them as “worth all the complicated personifications that came from his brain.” Bellini accepts the attribution and dates them to 1630–31. *Fishermen on the Tiber*, however, more closely resembles drawings by Domenichino, in which similar architectural motifs, river scenes, and the formation of flying birds frequently appear. The print is in fact probably after a drawing by Domenichino, or one of his Bolognese colleagues, and there seems no reason to attribute even the execution to Testa.



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Trees in the Wind, already attributed to Testa by Nagler, is more problematic. The inscription may be discounted, for Testa does not sign his prints in this way. Although Bellini argues that this is a very early work (which might, therefore, explain the anomaly of the signature), neither the drawing of the trees nor the loose, broad style of the hatching resembles the drawing and technique of such autograph works as the small, horizontal *Garden of Charity* (cat. no. 9). The closest parallel in Testa's work would be *The Prodigal Son Among the Swine* (cat. no. 97), which does bear a similar, but not identical inscription. On the left of that print a group of trees is arranged in a pedestrian series not unlike the cluster of trunks at the center here. However, it is difficult to imagine why Testa would have produced such a small print after he had matured as a printmaker, when he was interested in producing the ambitious allegories and histories for which, whatever Petrucci's objections, he justly became famous. Possibly *Trees in the Wind* is based on a



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drawing by Testa (although, as indicated above, no such studies without figures survive), or is a detail extracted from a larger composition and etched by his nephew Giovanni Cesare. This would account for both its small scale and its similarity to the more generalized manner of the drawing in the backgrounds of Testa's later etchings (see cat. nos. 118 and 121).

Both of these little prints are rare, and the present selection provides an opportunity to compare them to Testa's autograph works. One may be after Domenichino and the other after Testa, which would help to explain their very different qualities, although once the attribution to Testa is rejected there seems to be no reason to attribute their invention to the same artist, and very little to attribute even the second to Testa.

PROVENANCE (cat. nos. 23 and 24) Probably Albani family; King George III (according to Royal Library Inventory A, p. 127, Pietro Testa, Solimene, etc.: "No. 20,

Various Compositions drawn with Pen by Pietro Testa, many of them etched by himself . . . ”)

LITERATURE (cat. no. 23) Petrucci, 1936, p. 416; Bellini, 1976b, p. 41, no. 6

LITERATURE (cat. no. 24) Nagler, 1848, p. 269, Appendix, no. 5; Petrucci, 1936, p. 416; Bellini, 1976b, p. 40, no. 5

25

The Dream of Joseph

c. 1635–37

Bartsch 4; Bellini 10

Etching, first state

360 x 295 mm (14³/₁₆ x 11⁵/₈")

Inscribed in the image above the lower margin: *All Ill.mo S.re et P[ad]rone mio Oss.mo il Sig. Cav.re Cassiano dal Pozzo.*; in the lower margin: *Fuggendo il benedetto Giesù ancor fanciullo, in Egitto, per allontanarsi dall'ira d'Erode, cominciò à calcare il faticoso sentiero de' primi affanni;/ onde nell'istesso punto, in cui l'Angelo portò l'aviso della fuga à Giosepe, si rappresenta ch'egli in effetto abbracciase la croce decretatagli ab eterno/ dal Padre, et accettata da esso nel primo instante della sua Concezzione. l'espressione di questo divoto pensiero vien' da me presef[n]tata al merito incomparabile/ di V.S. Ill.ma quale supplico à gradir nell'angustia del presef[n]te foglio la grandezza della mia osservanza, et humilmente la riverisco. P. Testa*

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Vol. Ba. 20.b., in fol. 6

In the 1630s Testa's exploration of landscape and of the lessons derived by Poussin and Duquesnoy from their study of the Titian *Bacchanals* (now in the Museo del Prado, Madrid; see cat. no. 13) was not limited to the invention of lyrical mythological subjects. This etching, in which Testa presents a series of conceits elaborating on the meaning of Joseph's two dreams, belongs to a group of mature inventions that includes not only *Venus and Adonis* (cat. no. 16) but also the political allegory dedicated to the arrival of Cardinal Franciotti in Lucca (cat. no. 36), securely dateable to 1637. *The Dream of Joseph* is the only work Testa dedicated to Cassiano dal Pozzo, and the protestations of reverence for his patron in the inscription may be connected with the latter's suspicions of Testa's bad faith that led to the

artist's imprisonment in the Tor di Nona in Rome in 1637, before he followed Franciotti to Lucca.¹

Testa's own inscription provides an abbreviated explanation of the subject. When the Holy Family fled into Egypt Christ began to walk in the difficult path of his Passion, and so, writes Testa, at the moment the angel told Joseph to flee to escape Herod's wrath (Matthew 2: 13), Christ embraced the cross that God the Father had decreed for him from eternity and that he had accepted at the moment of his Conception. It is the pointing angel warning the sleeping Joseph to take the Virgin and Child into Egypt who is seen in the shadows at the right. In the foreground the humble Virgin, the dove of the Holy Ghost, and the angel proffering the nails all point to the moment of acceptance of the Passion at the Annunciation and Conception. The infant Christ embraces the cross, which is supported by the Magdalen, as crowds of Innocents, the first to die for Christ, swirl about in the sky above. The latter is Testa's reference to the first dream of Joseph, when the angel appeared to him and announced that Mary would bring forth a son who would save his people from their sins (Matthew 1: 20–21). In this way the artist has not only combined the messages of the two dreams but also emphasized the unity of the Trinity through the vertical alignment of God the Father, the dove of the Holy Ghost, and the Son.

What is most extraordinary about Testa's image is the manner in which he has manipulated traditional visual conventions for narrating the Annunciation, Crucifixion, and the Flight to provide an exegetical gloss on the theme of Joseph's dream. The association of the Flight with the beginning of the *via crucis* is not in itself so unusual. Various textual bases in the writings of Saint Fulgentius and the Pseudo-Bede have been suggested for this, but Testa more likely had a more familiar vernacular source at hand.² In the sixteenth-century Italian translation of the popular *Vita di Giesu Christo* by Ludolphus of Saxony (c. 1295–1377), for example, he could have found all the elements of the story.³ Ludolphus, citing Saints Augustine and Anselm, lays especial emphasis on the facts that Christ began his Passion as a tender little child and that the Innocents were little martyrs, symbols of humility who stood witness to Christ not through their reason or will but through their deaths. It has been shown



All. Ill. S. e. P. n. O. S. il. S. (Cavano dal Vozzo)

et fugens in il benedetto Mesu, ancor fanciullo, in Egitto, per allontanarsi dall'ira d'Erode, cominciò a calcare il faticoso sentiero de primi affanni: onde nell'istesso punto, in cui l'Angelo portò l'auso della fuga a Gioseppe, si rappresenta ch'egli in effetto abbracciò la croce decretatagli ab eterno, dal Padre, et accettata da esso nel primo instante della sua Concezione l'espressione di questo divoto pensiero usen da me presantata al merito incomparabile di V. S. Ill. quale supplico a gradir nell'angusta del presere foglio la grandezza della mia osservanza, et humilmente la riverisco. P. Tesra



Fig. 25a. Nicolas Poussin (French, 1594–1665), *The Flight into Egypt*, c. 1630. Oil on canvas, 112 x 94 cm (4 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 3 $\frac{1}{16}$ "'). The Governors of Dulwich Picture Gallery, London



Fig. 25b. Pietro Testa, *A Hermit Saint and a Monk Beneath a Tree*, c. 1637. Pen and brown ink on cream paper, 470 x 385 mm (18 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 15 $\frac{1}{8}$ "'). Private collection

how Testa's adaptation of figures of infants from Titian's *Bacchanals* followed his understanding of their sweet tenderness. The same critical understanding accounts for the swirling clouds of putti in *The Dream of Joseph*. Christ and the Innocents were all less than two years old when Herod condemned them, the most perfect examples of tenderness acting in ways beyond their years. In his guide to meditation on the life of Christ, Ludolphus exhorts his reader to compassion as he considers the way in which Christ, "ancora tenero fanciullino" (still a tender little child), began his sufferings and died through his "picciolini" (tiny little ones).⁴ The appearance in this print of so many sweet infants is designed to move the viewer to similar compassion.

In a closely related invention, *An Allegory of the Massacre of the Innocents* in the Galleria Spada, Rome (cat. no. 52), Testa included in the landscape the scene of a boatman carrying the Holy Family and the cross into Egypt. A similar combination of themes is found in Poussin's two versions of *The Flight into Egypt* (Dulwich Picture Gallery, London [fig. 25a], and the Cleveland Museum of Art),

Painted around 1629 and 1634, respectively.⁵ In both the Child looks up at the cross in the sky as he is helped into the boat. Neither Mary nor Joseph nor the boatman shares his vision. In her discussion of a drawing by Castiglione in which flying angels carrying the cross accompany the Holy Family into Egypt, Percy related the combination of themes to examples by Testa and Poussin.⁶ Testa's etching was produced during the years of his closest association with Poussin and for their mutual patron; the Dulwich painting may, therefore, have provided his inspiration. But Testa's invention is more complex and deeply meditated. Baldinucci singles it out as particularly beautiful and exemplary of "the thoughts and conceits of that great man." The circulation of the print gave it far greater currency among those like Castiglione and Giovanni Domenico Cerrini, who would later investigate such a combination of themes.⁷

An unusual number of drawings survive for this print (cat. nos. 26–29), which, judging from the number of copies after it, appears to have enjoyed considerable popularity. Each of the drawings illus-

trates Testa's detailed preparation of the invention and execution.⁸ The powerful torsion of the tree to the right recalls his stupendous drawing *A Hermit Saint and a Monk Beneath a Tree* (fig. 25b),⁹ whose movement and brilliance of chiaroscuro and vigor of-line are successfully sustained in the less spontaneously produced print.

1. In the inscription Testa appeals to Cassiano to appreciate "in the slender sheet before you, the breadth of my respect." See Cropper, 1984, pp. 34-35. Wildenstein, 1982, p. 50, cites a painting by Testa of the Virgin and Child kneeling before the cross with God the Father above in an anonymous sale, May 15, 1787, lot 3, which corresponds to this invention, but no painting of this subject by or after Testa is known.

2. See the reference to Charles Minott's proposals in Percy, 1971, p. 124, no. 113.

3. Ludolphus of Saxony, *Vita di Giesu Christo Nostro Redentore* . . . , trans. Francesco Sansovino (Venice, 1570), chap. 13, pp. 36-39. For a recent study of the themes discussed here, see Ferrari, 1987. Once again, my interpretation relies on the original insights presented by Colantuono, 1986; see especially his discussion of Poussin's "imperiled infants," pp. 222-90.

4. Ludolphus, *Vita di Giesu Christo*, p. 38.

5. Blunt, 1966, pp. 48-50, no. 68; Thuillier, 1974, p. 95, no. 76. I have retained the original title of these paintings. Blunt's argument that they represent the Return from Egypt is unfounded. Thuillier's decision to retain the Cleveland painting in Poussin's oeuvre until further evidence is produced seems wise. Hilaire Pader's poem, *La peinture parlante*, published in 1653 and cited by Blunt, refers to this composition. Pader's repeated emphasis on the sweetness of Christ and the tenderness of the angels is especially relevant to discussion of Testa's related print.

6. Percy, 1971, p. 124, no. 113. Again, the true subject is the Flight, not the Return.

7. For Giambattista Benaschi's etching after Cerrini's *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, see Evelina Borea, "Gian Domenico Cerrini: Opere e documenti," *Prospettiva*, vol. 12 (January 1978), pp. 4-25, esp. pp. 8, 13, and fig. 9.

8. Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna, 973, is not, as is frequently stated, a preparatory drawing for this print. It is close in date but represents the Exaltation of the Cross.

9. This important drawing, first published in Chiarini, 1972, p. 47, fig. 85, was sold at Sotheby's, London, *Fine Old Master Drawings* . . . (December 11, 1980), lot 34, repro. Unfortunately it could not be included in the exhibition.

PREPARATORY DRAWINGS 1. Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth, 602A. See cat. no. 26. 2. Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth, 602C. See cat. no. 27. 3. Kate de Rothschild, London. See cat. no. 28. 4. Private collection. See cat. no. 29.

LITERATURE Baldinucci, 1681-1728, pp. 318, 319; Gori Gandellini, 1771, pp. 296-97; Huber, 1787, p. 334; Huber, 1799, p. 14; Gori Gandellini and De Angelis, 1813, p. 122; Bartsch, 1820, p. 216, no. 4; Nagler, 1848, p. 265, no. 4; Le Blanc, 1890, p. 20, no. 4; Petrucci, 1936, p. 416; Haskell, 1963, p. 110, pl. 18a; Harris, 1967, pp. 37, 52 n. 30; Hartmann, 1970, pp. 41-43, 131-32; Bellini, 1976b, pp. 44-45, no. 10; Brigstocke, 1978, pp. 121, 123, 124; Cropper, 1984, pp. 34-35, 36, 38, 262 and fig. 26; Ferrari, 1987, fig. 3

26

Composition Study for "The Dream of Joseph"

c. 1635-37

Pen and brown ink over traces of black chalk on cream paper. Laid down. The lower left corner trimmed.

343 x 277 mm (13½ x 10 7/8") (top and left)

Inscribed by the artist in pen and brown ink below the foot of the cross: *contorni assai assai assai schietti e fondi/ pochi ombre pietro testa.*

The Duke of Devonshire and the Chatsworth Settlement Trustees, 602A

In this study, the first in the important sequence of three drawings that were until recently united in the Chatsworth collection (see also cat. nos. 27 and 28), the composition for *The Dream of Joseph* (cat. no. 25) is essentially established. Testa was still experimenting here with various poses for the Child, however, and he has not yet realized the pose of the Virgin that would make the reference to the Annunciation complete. The pyramid in the left background, which appears in several other related drawings,¹ was removed at the next stage.

In the note to himself that Testa inscribed on this drawing, he records that he wants the contours to be very deep and clear and that there should be few shadows. In the drawings that followed he carried out this instruction, concentrating on the foreground figures that, in the etching, are drawn in a much franker and crisper manner than those in earlier prints.





1. For example, the drawing in Haarlem cited in cat. no. 30 n. 1.

PROVENANCE Prosper Henry Lankrink (1628–1692; Lugt 2090); unidentified collector's mark (Lanière?; Lugt 2908)

LITERATURE Harris, 1967, pp. 38, 52 n. 30, pl. 51; Byam Shaw, 1969–70, p. 34, no. 66; Hartmann, 1970, p. 144; Bellini, 1976b, p. 44, under no. 10; Brigstocke, 1978, pp. 121, 145 n. 63

27

Composition Study for "The Dream of Joseph"

c. 1635–37

Pen and brown ink over black chalk on cream paper. Laid down. Mended tear in the upper right corner.

367 x 272 mm (14⁷/₁₆ x 10¹¹/₁₆")

Inscribed in an old hand in pen and brown ink below the foot of the cross: *Incidatur./* [illegible] *aspere*

The Duke of Devonshire and the Chatsworth Settlement Trustees, 602C

Despite the inscription indicating that the invention has been approved for the press, this drawing is in many ways less detailed than the earlier preparatory study for *The Dream of Joseph* in the Chatsworth collection (cat. no. 26). Testa has, however, made important changes in the figures of the Child and the angel. The Child is drawn in much finer outlines and, as in the etching, the angel now offers the nails of the Crucifixion.

LITERATURE Harris, 1967, p. 52 n. 30; Byam Shaw, 1969–70, p. 34, under no. 66; Hartmann, 1970, pp. 41–42, 144; Bellini, 1976b, p. 44, under no. 10; Brigstocke, 1978, pp. 121, 146 n. 64, and p. 134, pl. 22

28

Composition Study for "The Dream of Joseph"

c. 1635–37

Pen and brown ink over black chalk on cream paper. The circle of the glory in the sky incised. The figures of the Virgin and Child

cut from other sheets of whiter and lighter cream paper, respectively, and pasted down.

367 x 243 mm (14⁷/₁₆ x 9⁹/₁₆")

Kate de Rothschild, London

In preparation for his work on the plate (see cat. no. 25), Testa clarified contours and rationalized hatching even further here than in the two earlier studies for *The Dream of Joseph* at Chatsworth (cat. nos. 26 and 27). He cut out and attached the figures of the Virgin and Child to this, his working drawing, from other preliminary designs. These, on sheets of two slightly different colors, must have been made after the second Chatsworth composition study (cat. no. 27), for the Child is almost identical and may even have been traced from it. The Virgin's features—her oval face, small mouth, and delicate brows—are, however, now quite different; they resemble those of Madonnas painted and etched by Federico Barocci. In altering her appearance in this way Testa renders her more sweetly graceful and less motherly, befitting the fact that she now responds to the angel holding the nails as if to the Annunciation.

PROVENANCE Nicolaes Anthoni Flinck (1646–1723; Lugt 959); purchased by William Cavendish, 2nd Duke of Devonshire, 1723; The Duke of Devonshire and the Chatsworth Settlement Trustees, 602B; purchased by Kate de Rothschild at Christie's, London, *Old Master Drawings from Chatsworth* (July 3, 1984), lot 43, repro.

LITERATURE Harris, 1967, p. 52 n. 30; Hartmann, 1970, pp. 41–42, 144; Bellini, 1976b, p. 44; Brigstocke, 1978, pp. 121, 146 n. 64, and p. 134, pl. 23; Kate de Rothschild, London, *Exhibition of Old Master Drawings* (June 24–July 5, 1985), no. 4

29

Figure Study for "The Dream of Joseph"

c. 1635–37

Red chalk

220 x 158 mm (8⁵/₈ x 6¹/₄")

Private collection

Even though it is somewhat rubbed, this study illustrates Testa's procedure of making chalk drawings after life in order to analyze the modeling of forms





29

in chiaroscuro, not just to fix a pose. The head and shoulder of the figure are created through soft interior modeling, and Testa enhanced the foreshortening of the hands by the same means. The effect of such a study is recognizable in the print (cat. no. 25), where there are equivalent areas of shadow on the head, neck, shoulder, and hands of the angel. Although he became increasingly interested in line in the three composition studies included here (cat. nos. 26–28) and in the final etching, Testa always viewed form as a product of chiaroscuro as much as of contour.

PROVENANCE Purchased by the present owner from Sotheby's, London, *Old Master Drawings* . . . (October 30, 1980), lot 10, pl. VII (as "Anonymous, 17th-century Rome")

30

Study for "The Holy Family with the Infant Saint John and the Vision of the Cross"

Verso: Reduced version of the same composition

c. 1635–37

Recto and verso: Pen and brown ink on cream paper. The drawing on the verso is very faded.

258 x 206 mm (10 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 8 $\frac{1}{8}$ ")

Inscribed on the recto in an old hand in pen and brown ink in the lower right corner: *testa*

The National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, D 5000

This sheet, like a similar drawing in the Teylers Museum, Haarlem, is closely related to the etching of *The Dream of Joseph* (cat. no. 25) without being directly preparatory for the print.¹ The similarities and differences are of particular interest because they reveal the fertility of Testa's power of conception. Even as he worked continually to refine particular ideas in preparation for work on the plate,

he was also pouring out others for related compositions. Sometimes small details from these free inventions would be incorporated in those he decided to work up. In this study the infant Saint John, carrying a small cross, is presented to Christ by a crowd of winged infants. The Virgin looks on as Christ tenderly reaches out to touch Saint John's chin. Only Joseph sees the vision of the cross held up by angels in the sky, the sign that Christ's Passion has already begun. The still life of the basket, presumably containing the Virgin's sewing, was incorporated in the studies for *The Dream of Joseph* now at Chatsworth (cat. nos. 26 and 27), although only a vestige of it appears in the print.²

1. Teylers Museum, NF 37. Composition study of the Holy Family before a pyramid with winged infants holding up a cross. Pen and brown ink over black chalk with brown wash on cream paper. 191 x 295 mm (7 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 11 $\frac{5}{8}$ "). See Van Regteren Altena and Ward-Jackson, 1970, p. 67, no. 100. Brigstocke (1978, p. 121), considers this Edinburgh drawing to be a preparatory study for the print. He also relates it to the Haarlem study, and follows Hartmann's suggestion that the latter was made in connection with a lost painting for Cassiano dal Pozzo. Given Testa's prolific output of drawings on related themes it seems best to keep an open mind on this issue until we know more about his lost works. The two other drawings that Brigstocke included in a group he believes to have been produced around *The Dream of Joseph* in the later 1630s (*The Holy Family with the Infant Saint John* in the Národní Galeri, Prague [Brigstocke, 1978, p. 135, pl. 25], and the related drawing reproduced by François Collignon [see Speciale, 1977, p. 22, no. 11]) are very different in handling and style.

2. For the association of all these themes, see Ferrari, 1987.

PROVENANCE Jean Denis Lempereur (1701–1779; Lugt 1740); Count Moritz von Fries (1777–1826; Lugt 2903); Marquis de Lagoy (1764–1829; Lugt 1710); Paul Oppé; Armide Oppé; purchased by the National Galleries of Scotland with support from the National Art-Collections Fund, 1973

LITERATURE Hartmann, 1970, p. 144; Brigstocke, 1974, n.p.; Brigstocke, 1978, pp. 121, 145 n. 62 (the verso is p. 134, pl. 24)



30 recto



30 verso

*Study for the Fresco of Liberty
in the Courtyard of the Palazzo
degli Anziani, Lucca*

c. 1632

Pen and brown ink over traces of red chalk on cream paper. Small mended tear near the upper left corner. Laid down.

200 x 141 mm (7⁷/₈ x 5⁵/₁₆"

Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, Cabinet des Dessins, Paris, 1907

Both Passeri¹ and Baldinucci² record Testa's commission from the magistrates of Lucca to paint a fresco in the courtyard (*cortile*) of the Palazzo degli Anziani. The fresco, now removed for restoration, is not documented, but all the evidence points to a date of 1632.³ Testa visited Lucca in that year, and Passeri implies that the fresco was an early work. Apparently the artist had decided to return home after his early successes in Rome in the hope of making money and establishing himself more securely. He then planned to go back to Rome and live more comfortably on the strength of an even greater reputation. This was not to be, however, for the fresco did not please the city fathers, who found the coloring weak. Testa had to write to Cassiano dal Pozzo asking to have quarantine restrictions, imposed on travelers during the great plague of 1630–31, waived so that he could leave for Rome immediately. Passeri reports that he left in a huff, promising his Lucchese patrons that he would study color as thoroughly as he had drawing so that he might give them satisfaction at a time when they were prepared to reward him properly.

The subject of the fresco is the administration of justice in Lucca, presented as an image of Liberty conquering Time. The Louvre drawing presents an early idea for the project and shows a seated woman holding the scales of justice in one hand and the olive branch of peace, which Justice brings, in the other. Before her a putto supports the shield of the republic. One panther, emblematic of Lucca, lies at her feet, and another rears up in the lower right corner, accompanied by little loves and held in rein by the figure of Justice. The curving line at the top of the sheet marks the arch of the lunette over the

gate in the Cortile degli Svizzeri in the *palazzo*, for which the fresco was designed.

A drawing now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, records Testa's final design for the fresco.⁴ He altered the invention from the Louvre sheet to create an image that conveyed the particular dedication of Lucca, the last of the Tuscan republics, to Liberty and not simply to Justice. In the Oxford composition Justice, holding the fasces and flanked by panthers, is seated above a reclining figure of bound Time, thereby expressing the immortality of Lucca's liberty under the rule of law.

The Louvre drawing, with its strongly gestural lines and vivid hatching, records Testa's first discovery of his ideas on paper; in comparison the Ashmolean study is far more labored. The latter, which is in bad condition and may have been reworked, recalls the study for *Saint Jerome* (cat. no. 8) in the Louvre,⁵ whereas the former stands closer to the drawings for *The Garden of Venus* (see cat. no. 13). Both record Testa's first attempt at a political allegory representative of the virtues of his native republic, a subject he reworked several times (see cat. nos. 32–36).

1. Passeri, 1679, pp. 183–84.

2. Baldinucci, 1681–1728, p. 313.

3. For a complete discussion of the project, see Cropper, 1984, pp. 20–24.

4. Parker, 1956, p. 482, no. 957; Cropper, 1984, fig. 4.

5. Harris, 1967, fig. 39b.

PROVENANCE Entered the Louvre before 1827

LITERATURE Bean, 1959, p. 34, no. 49; Harris, 1967, pp. 55–56 n. 62; Bacou and Viatte, 1968, no. 94; Hartmann, 1970, pp. 31–34, 136; Cropper, 1977, pp. 89–90, 102 n. 7; Brigstocke, 1978, pp. 117, 119, and p. 126, pl. 1; Cropper, 1984, pp. 21–22 and fig. 5; Labbé and Bicart-Sée, 1987, p. 64

An Allegory of Liberty

c. 1636–37

Pen and brown ink on cream paper.
Trimmed.

275 x 194 mm (10¹³/₁₆ x 7⁵/₈"

Inscribed by the artist in pen and brown ink:
[illegible] come [illegible] / che dibutano [?] filoso/
Liberta onesta [cancelled] di piaceri honesti e



virtuosi/ Satiro legato per la lussuria figu; in an old hand in pen and brown ink in the lower left corner: *P. Testa*.

The Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 958

Here, in the center of a grove of trees, Venus rides in triumph, accompanied by a winged cupid, a globe, and little loves. She sprinkles rose petals on the ground from a basket at her side. Her chariot is pulled by two bound loves who are guided by another winged cupid, and in this way Testa has indicated that Venus's all-conquering power has to do with restrained, not licentious, pleasure. The grove of trees in which she appears is populated with pairs of lovers, poets, and philosophers. The inscription to the left, "Liberty of honest and virtuous pleasures," clearly expresses Testa's conceit that those over whom this Venus holds sway are not enslaved by passion but are inflamed with the virtuous liberating love of beauty, truth, and wisdom by the arrows the cupids shoot down from the sky. The inscription in the lower right refers to the bound satyr, who stands for the opposing vice of luxury. The placid panther lying on the ground indicates that this ideal realm of honest pleasure is also Lucca, the free republic that enjoys the perpetual springtime of a golden age.¹

The drawing belongs to a group of studies (see also cat. nos. 33–35) that evolved into *An Allegory in Honor of the Arrival of Cardinal Franciotti as Bishop of Lucca* (cat. no. 36), which can be dated to 1637. They were all invented from Testa's reading of Petrarch's *Triumph of Love*, a text that fascinated him throughout his career and that he would later quote in *Altro diletto ch' imparar non trovo* of about 1644 (cat. no. 101). Unlike that later somber allegory of the life of the virtuous artist, this invention is as delicate and lyrical as his mythological scenes inspired by Titian and Poussin (see, for example, cat. nos. 9, 11, and 16), and the lines of the drawing are swift and free. We already see here, however, in the figures of the philosophers the effects of Testa's close study of Raphael's *School of Athens* (Stanza della Segnatura, Musei Vaticani), effects that are most fully apparent in *An Allegory of Painting* (cat. no. 37) and *Il Liceo della Pittura* (cat. no. 41), for which this drawing also provided motifs.

1. Testa originally inscribed *LIBERTA* on the trunk of the tree immediately behind Venus but then cancelled it. The

inscription would have made the reference to Lucchese liberty even more overt.

PROVENANCE Richard Houlditch (died 1736; Lugt 2214); Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723–1792; Lugt 2364); Hugh Blaker; purchased by the Ashmolean Museum, 1938

LITERATURE Parker, 1956, p. 482, no. 958; Harris, 1967, p. 55 n. 62; Hartmann, 1970, pp. 159–60; Cropper, 1977, pp. 93–94, 102 n. 5, 104 n. 34, 106; Brigstocke, 1978, pp. 123, 146 n. 82; Cropper, 1984, pp. 21–22 and fig. 8

33

Venus Submitting to the River Serchio (An Allegory of the Virtues of Lucca)

c. 1636–37

Pen and brown ink on light buff paper. Stained in the upper left corner, and with drops of wash in the center. A small repair at the center of the lower edge.

201 x 291 mm (7¹⁵/₁₆ x 11⁷/₁₆"

Inscribed in ink in the lower right corner: 1448, and with a paraph (probably that of Pierre Crozat)

Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, Cabinet des Dessins, Paris, 1910

As in *An Allegory of Liberty* (see cat. no. 32), Testa uses this drawing to express the conceit of divine, not earthly love, conquering everything. In this invention, however, divine love pays homage to the virtues of the republic of Lucca, rather than ruling over the virtuous practitioners of freedom who inhabit it, the same idea he explored in yet another drawing, now in the British Museum (cat. no. 34). Venus is shown as she has stepped out of her chariot and kneels to kiss the foot of a river god to whom she is presented by a little love. Behind the river is a rampant panther and the shield of Lucca, crowned by two putti. The river is, then, the Serchio, whose mythic origins and history are so much a part of traditional Lucchese political imagery. In Testa's drawing he is accompanied by the figures of Minerva and a woman holding a snake, who represent the virtues of fortitude and prudence that defend Lucca. Following in the train of Venus are the three Graces and a second chariot in which an infant cupid sits astride a celestial globe.



Libertà ~~...~~
di pensare honesti e virtuosi / Satiro legatissimo la dissonanza nera

P. Testa.

A.H.



33

The triumphal procession winds its way through a fertile landscape. In the distance rise the sunlit hills outside Lucca, on the lower slopes of which sits a villa. The Serchio reclines under the shade of a stand of trees. Testa has thus cast the scene as a mythological landscape, which resembles other poetic inventions of the mid-1630s, such as *Venus and Adonis* (cat. nos. 15 and 16), rather than as a purely abstract political allegory without time or place.

PROVENANCE Pierre Crozat (1665–1740; Lugt 2951); Dezallier d'Argenville Collection; Saint-Morys Collection; entered the Louvre by seizure during the French Revolution

LITERATURE Marabottini, 1954a, p. 127, pl. XLIV, fig. 10; Hartmann, 1970, pp. 57–58, 159; Cropper, 1977, pp. 94–95, 104 n. 40, 106; Brigstocke, 1978, pp. 123, 146 n. 84; Cropper, 1984, p. 28 and fig. 9; Labbé and Bicart-Sée, 1987, p. 64

34

Venus Submitting to the River Serchio (*An Allegory of the Virtues of Lucca*)

Verso: Male nude, kneeling with his head resting on a rock (Isaac?)

c. 1637

Recto: Pen and light brown ink on dirty cream paper. Verso: Black chalk. Stain near the center of the lower edge.

183 x 278 mm (7³/₁₆ x 10¹⁵/₁₆"

An inscription in pen and black ink at the lower right edge (*Pietro Testa 1640*, according to Robinson) has been trimmed away

Trustees of the British Museum, London, 1943-7-10-15 (Malcolm Add. 226)

The scene is very closely related to that in the Louvre drawing (cat. no. 33), only the procession moves from right to left. A winged cupid offers his bow and arrows to the Serchio as Venus bends low at his feet. Cupid's triumphal train has drawn nearer, and it now includes a dancing satyr at the right: he too will submit to the virtues of the Serchio and of the republic of Lucca. Both the river god and panther are crowned by loves. In some ways the composition is closer to Testa's final design (cat. no. 35), but the drawing is still very free and inventive.

PROVENANCE John Malcolm (1805–1893; Lugt 1489); George Clausen (1852–1944; Lugt 539); purchased by the British Museum at the sale of his property by Sotheby's, London, June 2, 1943

LITERATURE J. C. Robinson, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Drawings by the Old Masters, Forming the Collection of John Malcolm of Poltalloch* (London, 1876), p. 87 n. 226; Harris, 1967, p. 52 n. 30; Hartmann, 1970, p. 160; Thiem, 1973, p. 21, no. 4; Bellini, 1976b, p. 47, under no. 14; Cropper, 1977, pp. 95–96, 104 n. 42, 106; Cropper, 1984, pp. 28–29 and fig. 10

35

An Allegory of Love Submitting to the River Serchio and the Virtues of Lucca

c. 1637

Pen and brown ink over black chalk with traces of red chalk on cream paper. Laid down. Several small holes and some foxing. A large brown stain in the upper right corner.

373 x 305 mm (14¹/₁₆ x 12")

Inscribed by the artist in pen and brown ink in the cartouche: *LIBER[T]A*, and with a text indicated in the tablet below; in an old hand in pen and ink in the upper border: *original di pietro Testa*; in the lower right corner (in accordance with the Inventory of 1790, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, p. 61): 453

Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, NM H 535/
1863

Several of the ideas Testa expressed in the drawings in the Ashmolean Museum (cat. no. 32) and the Louvre (cat. no. 33) and in the related study in the British Museum (cat. no. 34) are developed and rearranged here. As in *An Allegory of Liberty* in the Ashmolean Museum (cat. no. 32), the scene is set in a grove of trees garlanded with swags. From the drawings of *Venus Submitting to the River Serchio* (cat. nos. 33 and 34) Testa has adapted the landscape and the procession of the triumph of celestial love, adding to it the figure of a bound satyr from *An Allegory of Liberty* to emphasize the notion of divine love conquering luxury. The procession moves from right to left, as in the British Museum drawing, from which the standing Virtues, the welcoming figure of the Serchio crowned by loves (itself, like the figure of Adonis in *Venus and Adonis* [cat. no. 16], an adaptation of the figure of Mars from Poussin's *Mars and Venus* in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston [fig. 13b]), and the two nymphs on the left are also



34 recto



34 verso



35

derived. This last pair also appears in the lower left corner of the Louvre drawing, but as a pair of lovers. Whereas in the Louvre study the shield of Lucca crowned by loves is placed next to the panther behind the river god and in the British Museum drawing it is the panther who is crowned, here the shield and panther are separated. Little loves now tame the panther, playfully looking into his mouth and riding on his back. Venus herself no longer bows down to the Serchio, but she presents instead a little cupid who offers his weapons to the river. As in the earlier studies the gravity of political allegory is tempered by a lyrical sweetness through the actions of the putti, for which Testa was so famous.

Behind the Virtues a monument bearing a fictive inscription is surmounted by a crowned shield that bears the Lucchese motto, *LIBER[T]A*. The introduction of the monument and the changed format of the composition have led to the identification of this as a preparatory study for *An Allegory in Honor of the Arrival of Cardinal Franciotti as Bishop of Lucca* (cat. no. 36), which it does indeed resemble in many respects. It is precisely the aspects of the print that refer to Franciotti that are missing here, however, and it seems more likely that Testa was working out a whole series of ideas for a quite separate project. Then, when the opportunity came to dedicate a print to a new patron, he drew upon this store of images. As a group the drawings (cat. nos. 32–35) illustrate both Testa's copious imagination and the economy, precision, and subtlety with which he was able to express a range of associated conceits.

PROVENANCE Pierre Crozat (1665–1740); Count Carl Gustav Tessin (1695–1770); Swedish Royal Collection

LITERATURE Mariette, 1741, p. 27, no. 272; Carl Gustav Tessin, Inventory of 1749, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, p. 130, no. 22; Inventory of 1790, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, p. 61, no. 453; Nationalmuseum, 1965, p. 30, no. 134; Harris, 1967, p. 52 n. 30; Hartmann, 1970, pp. 58–59, 160; Bellini, 1976b, p. 47, under no. 14; Cropper, 1977, pp. 95–96, 104 n. 43, 106; Cropper, 1984, pp. 28–29 and fig. 11

36

An Allegory in Honor of the Arrival of Cardinal Franciotti as Bishop of Lucca

1637

Bartsch 30; Bellini 14

Etching, first state

379 x 303 mm (14¹⁵/₁₆ x 11¹⁵/₁₆" (trimmed)

Inscribed on the monument to the left:

*All'apparir dell'indico Pastore/ Ecco che ride il
suol' l'onda festeggia/ D'innocente desio l'Aria
vezzeggia/ Tutto di gioia intorno avanza Amore/
Quà del purpureo Griffio il volo augusto/ Scorto e
da fe da Carita da Speme/ Serchio gl'applaude e
qua gl'accorre insieme/ Il forte il Saggio il
temperato il Giusto.* Faint traces of an
inscription burnished out below the lower
margin.

Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II
(Royal Library, Windsor Castle)

In this etching Testa commemorates the appointment of Cardinal Marcantonio Franciotti as bishop of Lucca in 1637.¹ The celebratory inscription on the tablet, surmounted by the arms of the republic, expresses in words the figurative conceit of the image:

At the appearance of the befitting pastor
Behold the earth smiles, the sea welcomes,
The air caresses with innocent desire,
Love advances all surrounded with joy.
Here the august flight of the purple griffin
And of Faith, of Charity, and of Hope is descried.
The Serchio applauds them and here hasten together
The strong, the wise, the temperate, and the just.

Franciotti came from a noble Lucchese family, and many of his ancestors had held the office of bishop. In 1623 he was appointed to the Apostolic Camera, of which Testa's most loyal Lucchese patron, Girolamo Buonvisi, was also a member. Urban VIII appointed him to the cardinalate *in petto* in 1633, making the decision public only in March 1637, when Franciotti was also named bishop of Lucca. On August 17 of that year the cardinal took possession of his titular church of San Clemente in Rome, and he probably left for Lucca to claim his bishopric soon thereafter. Testa probably hoped to be there to commend himself to him, for it was in September 1637 that Cassiano dal Pozzo had him thrown in jail on the suspicion that he intended to break his agreements with him and leave Rome with Franciotti without paying his debts. We have, then, a rare *terminus post quem* of March 30, 1637, for the publication of this print, and it seems likely that Testa completed it quite quickly given that he incor-

porated so many ideas from other drawings dedicated to the theme of the virtues of Lucca (see cat. nos. 32–35).

Franciotti's stemma was a blue griffin with a golden crown emblazoned on a silver field. The figure of the beast, seen here arriving on a cloud in the company of the Theological Virtues, thus stands for the bishop. He is welcomed by the Serchio, who is surrounded by nymphs. Two little loves holding the pastoral crook in anticipation of the arrival of the bishop stand on the bank to the right. Behind the Serchio stand the Civic Virtues of Lucca—or rather their active habits. The figure of Minerva with her helmet, breastplate, and spear symbolizes the strong; beside her a figure holding a sword and dressed in the robes of a lawyer represents the just. The woman with a snake to the left is identified in the inscription with not simply the prudent but also, in accordance with Testa's understanding of the virtues of Plato's ideal republic, the more general concept of the wise. The woman with a bridle in her hand, representing the temperate, leans upon the shoulder of this figure of Prudent Wisdom, indicating their close relationship. Winged loves fly all about, bedecking the trees and the monument that marks the fount of the Serchio. In the distance we see the buildings of the city, including the towers of the Case dei Guinigi, set against the hills and enclosed by Lucca's famous defensive walls pierced by an open gate.

In the left foreground little loves seek to tame the Lucchese panther. Unlike the gentle beast conquered by Love who appears in the drawings of the virtues of Lucca in the British Museum (cat. no. 34) and the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (cat. no. 35), this proud emblem of the city snarls at the appearance of the griffin. Testa knew that the Lucchese had constantly attacked Franciotti's predecessor, denying the claims of the church to powers beyond those granted by civil authority. Now, with the arrival of the new bishop, he expressed the hope, but not the certainty, that the theological virtues of Faith, Hope, and Charity might be united with the civic virtues of the republic. In a new springtime the elements would rejoice, and the ferocious independence of Lucca might be tamed by love. This was not to be, however, for Franciotti had to be removed from Lucca by Urban VIII in 1639, and the city was



Fig. 36a. Pierfrancesco Mola (Italian, 1612–1666). Study of Pietro Testa, 1637. Musée Fabre, Montpellier, 864-2-228

punished for its attack on ecclesiastical authority by the imposition of an interdict in 1640.

From Pierfrancesco Mola's portrait of Testa, signed and dated in Lucca in 1637, in which he characteristically appears reading a book (fig. 36a), we know that Testa succeeded in returning home that year. His hope of cultivating an influential patron was not realized, however, in part it would seem because of Franciotti's difficulties and perhaps in part because of the cardinal's notorious austerity. Early impressions of this print bear traces of a dedication in the margin, but none has come to light with the inscription intact. Testa would normally have had the dedication approved before inserting it in the plate (as he did with the dedication of *The Martyrdom of Saint Erasmus* [cat. nos. 5 and 6] to Stefano Garbesi). In this case, unless Testa was reusing an old plate that had not been completely burnished, it may be that he pressed ahead without first asking permission. He may then have been compelled to burnish out the margin when the dedication was not accepted.



This allegory not only serves as an important example of Testa's ability to articulate subtle and complex conceits in the 1630s but also provides vital information about his manner of experimenting and improvising as he executed the whole process of etching and production. The irregularities in the inscription indicate that Testa added it to the plate himself and that he struggled with his own inexperience in writing in reverse. The irregularities in the surface of the image are quite a different matter, for here he seems to have turned the apparent and literal lack of polish to his advantage. In all examples there is a plate tone, more or less gray depending on the lateness of the impression. In several places this has been modified to create an added quality of *chiaroscuro*, independent but supportive of the modeling in line. This effect is especially apparent in the drapery that falls over the left leg of Justice, on the stomachs and arms of several of the putti, in the waters of the river, and in the cloud upon which the griffin sits. Generally, these areas of highlight are not traversed by etched lines, and the simplest explanation for the effect of the tone is that Testa left the plate only roughly polished, exploiting the surface to create a middle value, and then later burnished out the highlights.² But in a few places the tone surrounds small spots of white that do not seem to have been burnished out, giving the impression more of an uneven sulphur tone or some form of aquatint. The effect is very similar to that achieved in certain prints by Hercules Seghers and Rembrandt. Ackley has drawn attention to the granular, bitten tone in a group of prints by Rembrandt from the 1640s, such as the portrait of Jan Cornelisz. Sylvius of 1646, suggesting that this was either the result of "the use of a porous ground or the direct application of some corrosive substance to the copper plate."³ At this point it is difficult to determine exactly what technique Testa used, but undoubtedly the effect was permanently worked into the plate and did not result from wiping. The ghostly hand of the putto behind the head of the panther reveals the artist's continuing difficulty in controlling the bite, but we should remember that most etchers working with a soft ground in the seventeenth century, including Rembrandt, shared this problem. In several places, especially in the waters of the river, Testa enhanced the image with very fine lines. These he probably drew with the

needle and then covered with ground before the plate was etched, rather than adding them later with the drypoint.

1. For a discussion of Franciotti's career and the history of his relations with Lucca in relation to the imagery of the print, see Cropper, 1977, pp. 93–97; and Cropper, 1984, pp. 26–30.
2. I am grateful to Raymond E. Lewis for this suggestion.
3. Ackley, 1981, pp. xxiii, 150–51.

PREPARATORY DRAWING Staatliche Kunstsammlungen im Schlossmuseum, Weimar, KK 3069. A reassembled collage of pieces from a compositional study in reverse. Pen and brown ink. 284 x 212 mm (11³/₁₆ x 8³/₈""). See Thiem, 1973, pl. 8. See also the drawings discussed in cat. nos. 32 and 33.

PROVENANCE Probably Albani family; King George III (according to Royal Library Inventory A, p. 127, Pietro Testa, Solimani, etc.: "No. 20; Various Compositions drawn with Pen by Pietro Testa, many of them etched by himself . . .")

LITERATURE Baldinucci, 1681–1728, p. 319; Gori Gandellini, 1771, p. 295; Bartsch, 1820, p. 224, no. 30; Nagler, 1848, p. 267, no. 30; Le Blanc, 1890, p. 21, no. 29; Lopresti, 1921, pp. 81–82 (fig. 17 reproduces the reverse copy as the original); Petrucci, 1936, p. 415; Harris, 1967, pp. 37–38, 51 nn. 20 and 22 (pl. 46 reproduces the reverse copy as the original); Hartmann, 1970, pp. 56–59, 153–54 (the copy mistaken for the original); Thiem, 1973, fig. 21; Bellini, 1976b, pp. 47–48, no. 14; Cropper, 1977, pp. 89, 93, 96–97, 104 nn. 32 and 45, 106–7; Thiem, 1977, p. 216, under no. 399; Brigstocke, 1978, p. 123; Cropper, 1984, pp. 26–30, 32, 35–36, 215 and fig. 6

37 *An Allegory of Painting*

1637–38

Bartsch 29; Bellini 15

Etching, second state

285 x 330 mm (11¹/₄ x 13")

Inscribed in the plate in the lower margin:
*All Eminent.mo et Rev.mo Sig.re et Pron mio
 Col.mo Il Sig.r Card. Franciotti./ Divotiss.mo è
 l'ossequio mio verso V. Em. ma tanto abbandonato
 dalle forze, che non trova modo da comparire.
 Compenserò il difetto della fortuna, con l'ingegno
 dell'arte, e chia:./mando la Pittura cofn] suoi
 seguaci, otterrò forse, che riceva trà l'ombre sue un
 debil lume almeno del mio sinceriss. affetto, e*

co[n] suoi colori riduca, come si può sotto gli occhi/
di V. Em. una forma di sua natura invisibile, cioè
l'animo mio colmo di riverenza, e di fede. Di V.
Em. divotiss.mo servitore Pietro Testa./ Gio. Iac.
Rossi le stampa alla Pace

The National Galleries of Scotland,
Edinburgh, P 2781/27

In his dedication of this print to Cardinal Franciotti, Testa refers to his own bad fortune, opposing to this the strength of the genius of art. In 1637 Testa returned to Lucca, hoping to win the patronage of the cardinal bishop through the dedication of an etching to the celebration of his arrival there (cat. no. 36). Testa does not seem to have succeeded in dedicating that print to Franciotti, but *An Allegory of Painting* is addressed to the cardinal directly and must therefore have won his approval. The etching is closely related in style both to the allegory in honor of his arrival as bishop and to *Il Liceo della Pittura* (cat. no. 41). Like the latter and like the Oxford drawing of *An Allegory of Liberty* (cat. no. 32), it also reflects the intense study of Raphael's fresco of *The School of Athens* (Stanza della Segnatura, Musei Vaticani) that Testa undertook in the later 1630s.¹ The print probably dates, therefore, to about 1638, when Testa, on his return to Rome, began to sense that the Lucchese patronage he so desperately needed to support his career as a painter would not be forthcoming. At this moment Testa became increasingly reflective about the principles of his art, principles that were inspired by his experience in Domenichino's studio and by his friendship with Poussin. *The School of Athens* became important to him not only as a source of gestures and movement but also as a canonical example of painted philosophy and discourse.

Whereas *Il Liceo della Pittura*, in accordance with its Aristotelian principles, is set in a classical portico, this school of painting is conducted in the open countryside. As she draws on the tablet held out by an infant, Painting embraces a statue of Fertile Nature in the form of a figure of Diana of Ephesus,² thus emblemizing Testa's view of the proper relationship between art and nature, especially in the early stages of an artist's training. In his Notebook Testa castigates those poor teachers who tear their pupils away from the nourishing breast of Nature, feeding them instead such weak gruel that they fly into the arms of Ignorance.³ Before the figure of

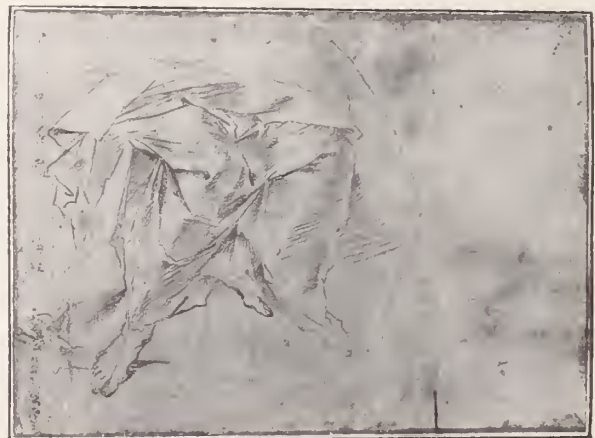
Painting an infant draws on a tablet, beginning his education by the study of nature in the proper way. To the left an older student looks over the shoulder of a mature artist who has joined color (the palette) to drawing. He thereby seeks out, as Testa also recommends in the Notebook, the work of an artist whose vision of nature conforms to his own.⁴ Yet another artist has drawn a section of an architectural arch on his tablet, for Testa argues that the perfect painter must also master the principles of architecture.⁵ His square and compasses at his feet, he gazes upon Nature, the true origin of proportion. Others observe the gestures of philosophers as they discourse on nature, thus signifying the study of the *affetti* (the expression of the emotions) and the *moti* (the movements of the body that also express those emotions) and the grounding of painting in natural philosophy. At the feet of Painting lie the laurel crown and mask of her sister, Poetry. To the right Fame, accompanied by poets who lend their praise to immortal painting, accepts the work of an artist, as Time lies bound and conquered at her feet. In the shadows beneath the palm tree of immortal fame at the center of the composition stand the three Graces. Testa describes in his Notebook how their beauty will become increasingly visible the more an artist looks at nature. After asking "who presumes to know more than the great mistress Nature," he states that "without so many opinions, she displays herself to the eyes of all. Who observes her the most, to him she most fully communicates her graces, teaching him little by little her greatest secrets. But you must fall in love with her, and those who are born to paint do fall in love with her." He extends the metaphor to suggest that the artist becomes impregnated by beauty through his eyes and as a result gives birth to concepts (those things conceived in the mind) by means of line, color, and the power of chiaroscuro.⁶ This explains why Painting draws on her tablet not with a stylus or a pen but with a branch of laurel—that Golden Bough that Poussin defined as grace. The conceit of the inscription here is very similar. Calling upon Painting and her followers, Testa hopes that his patron will receive from her shadows at least a small glimmer of his sincerest affection, and that with her colors Painting will present to his patron an embodiment of her invisible nature—that is to say, of the artist's own soul, full of reverence and faith.



37

*Alli Uniment' et Reu' sig' et Non mio Col' il sig' Cara' rancioiti
 Duonus, e' l'ossouo mio uerso l' Em ma tanto abbandonato dalle forze che non troua modo da comparre (compensero il difetto della fortuna, con l'ingegno dell' arte, e chia
 marlo la Pittura co' suoi seguaci, oterro forse, che riceua tra l'ombre sue un debil lume almeno del mio sincerus, affetto, e co' suoi colori riduca, come si puo sotto gli occhi
 di l' Em una forma di sua natura uisibile, cioè l'animo mio colmo di ruerenza e di fede. Di l' Em duonus' seruitore
 Pietro Testa
 Gio. In. Reg. lo Stampo alla Pace*

Fig. 37a. Pietro Testa, *Drapery Study for the Figure of Painting in "An Allegory of Painting,"* c. 1638. Red chalk on cream paper, 282 x 207 mm (11 1/8 x 8 1/8"). Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, 5720s verso





38



Fig. 37b. Pietro Testa, *Study for the Figure of Painting in "An Allegory of Painting,"* c. 1638. Red chalk on cream paper, 282 x 207 mm (11 1/8 x 8 1/8"). Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, 5720s recto

1. *Vatican Museums, Rome, Museums of the World* (Rome, 1968), reprod. pp. 114–17.
2. For an example see Alfonso de Franciscis, *Il Museo Nazionale di Napoli* (Naples, 1963), colorplate XCVIII.
3. Cropper, 1984, p. 248, no. 60.A.7.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 242, no. 59.E.4.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 212, no. 22. In another passage (p. 233, no. 54.F), he writes, "If symmetry in architecture is drawn from the human body, the good painter, who must also be very knowledgeable about both, will therefore be an architect. I speak of beautiful compositions and grace."
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 248–49, no. 60.A.7, and p. 244, no. 60.A.1.

PREPARATORY DRAWINGS 1. British Museum, London, Pp.5.95. See cat. no. 38. 2. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, 5720S, recto and verso. See figs. 37a and 37b.

LITERATURE Baldinucci, 1681–1728, p. 319; Huber, 1799, p. 15; Gori Gandellini and De Angelis, 1813, p. 122; Bartsch, 1820, p. 223, no. 29; Nagler, 1848, p. 267, no. 29; Le Blanc, 1890, p. 21, no. 28; Petrucci, 1936, p. 415 n. 24; Harris, 1967, pp. 37–38, 51 nn. 20 and 22 (pl. 47 reproduces the copy); Martone, 1969, p. 51, fig. 4; Hartmann, 1970, pp. 54–56, 152; Thiem, 1973, p. 21; Cropper, 1974a, pp. 377–78; Bellini, 1976b, pp. 48–49, no. 15; Cropper, 1977, p. 107; Speciale, 1977, p. 30, no. 28; Brigstocke, 1978, pp. 123, 124; Cropper, 1984, pp. 26–27, 32–33, 38, 43–45, 103, 110 and fig. 13

38 *Composition Study for "An Allegory of Painting"*

1637–38

Pen and brown ink over black chalk with some red chalk on cream paper. Divided into sections in red chalk. Laid down. Lines in pen and a darker ink added, probably by a later hand, to the head of the figure of Nature where the original ink has sunk into the paper.

265 x 344 mm (10⁷/₁₆ x 13⁹/₁₆")

Inscribed in pen and black ink in the lower right corner: *11*; on the verso: *Bt. at the sale of the Marq. de la Mura A Paris/ for 90 Liv. April 22, 1791*

Trustees of the British Museum, London, Pp.5.95

Even though this composition study for *An Allegory of Painting* (cat. no. 37) is highly finished, Testa

continued to make adjustments to his design. The branch of the tree at the upper left, for example, and the alteration in the foot of the putto at the center, both added in red chalk, were incorporated in the etching. Other small details in the print, such as the square and compass beside the artist seated on the ground and the wings on Time's hourglass, are missing. Like the composition drawing in the Uffizi for *The Garden of Venus* (fig. 13a), this study has been divided into small areas for work on the plate. Here the divisions are in red chalk, the medium Testa also used in his studies from life for the figure of Painting (figs. 37a and 37b).

In comparison with the style of drawings for *Venus and Adonis* (figs. 16a and 16b; cat. no. 17), Testa's manner here is much less bold and atmospheric. The miniature, tighter delineation of figures resembles more closely the studies (cat. nos. 42–44) for *Il Liceo della Pittura* (cat. no. 41). Good, early impressions of this print reveal, however, that in working on the plate Testa recovered a sense of lively chiaroscuro and ease of drawing. These effects were apparently not his concern in the composition drawing that served as his detailed point of departure.

PROVENANCE Marquis de la Mure; R. Payne Knight Bequest to the British Museum, 1824

LITERATURE Harris, 1967, pp. 38, 52 n. 30; Hartmann, 1970, p. 158; Cropper, 1974a, p. 377, fig. 20; Bellini, 1976b, p. 48, no. 15; Turner, 1980, p. 50, no. 16; Cropper, 1984, p. 33 and fig. 15

39 *An Allegory of Sculpture*

c. 1637–39

Pen and brown ink on cream paper. Squared in black chalk.

182 x 270 mm (7³/₁₆ x 10⁵/₈")

Ratjen Foundation, Vaduz, Liechtenstein

In his Notebook Testa attacks the traditional *paragone*, or rivalry, of painting and sculpture, in which the defendants of sculpture claim that their art is more difficult because of the hardness of marble. They mistakenly place value in materials, he

writes, not recognizing that true art lies in the intellect.¹ This lighthearted allegory, set in a landscape of hills and trees, shows the personification of Sculpture swinging her hammer as she works on a standing male statue. Behind her two poets wearing laurel wreaths look on with surprised, even alarmed expressions, while to the right a putto raises his hands to his face to protect himself from chips of flying marble. Broken fragments of an adult torso and an infant's head lie scattered on the ground. A winged love appears to be sharpening one of Sculpture's tools, presumably to help her avoid such accidents in the future.

The drawing was never developed further. Testa may have thought of the invention as a corollary to the graver image of *An Allegory of Painting* (cat. no. 37), with which it is closely contemporary.

1. Cropper, 1984, p. 230, no. 54.C.

PROVENANCE Anonymous collector (Lugt 518a); Sträter Collection, Aachen; purchased by Dr. Wolfgang Ratjen from Horster, Bonn, December 1971; currently on deposit with the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich

LITERATURE Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, 1977, p. 178, no. 82

40

Facsimile of "An Allegory of Sculpture"

c. 1637–39

Etching, only state

200 x 275 mm (7⁷/₈ x 10¹³/₁₆")

Inscribed in the plate in the lower left corner:

PTesta delineavit

Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich,
7531

Baldinucci reports that after Testa's death prints were made after all his sketches. The French, he claims, had obtained as many of the artist's plates as they could to satisfy the demand for his prints, with the new etchings after Testa's drawings being made for the same market.¹

In fact not many of the plates left Italy and not all the drawings were reproduced, but Baldinucci's comments provide an important justification for the production of facsimile etchings after Testa's draw-

ings, of which this is one (see cat. no. 39). Unlike earlier reproductive prints, such as those by Marcantonio after drawings by Raphael, in which the emphasis is upon invention rather than execution, these are genuine facsimiles attempting to convey the quality of the artist's marks on paper.

The prints and the plates for them in the Calcografia Nazionale in Rome have been discussed extensively by Speciale. One frontispiece to the group in the Calcografia bears the name of Luigi Fabri (1778–1835), from whom the Calcografia Camerale probably bought the plates between 1816 and 1823, when the *Raccolta di Opere Varie/ Inventate e incise all'acquaforte/ dal celebre Pietro Testa*, numbering thirty-two prints, was first advertised in the catalogue.² Speciale has shown how this late collection included not only prints after drawings but also several prints from Testa's own plates, prints by his nephew Giovanni Cesare Testa, and several reproductions of more highly finished compositions.

Another frontispiece records that the strictly facsimile prints after Testa's sketches were first published by François Collignon, who was active in Rome between 1646 and about 1685.³ It is difficult to determine exactly when and by whom these prints were made. One state of the frontispiece bears the date 1681, but this is not conclusive.⁴ Speciale attempts to date the group after 1677 on the basis of prints on the reverse of several of the plates, also published by Collignon.⁵ The list of Testa's prints that Baldinucci provides in order "not to deprive the lovers of these arts of such beautiful information, and the *eruditi* and *professori* of antiquity of a study so useful to their genius," is, he claims, based on diligent research.⁶ It includes only six *schizzi*, or prints after sketches, of which this print, identified by Baldinucci as "La scultura," is one. Even if we include several of the prints Baldinucci placed under the heading of "carte piccole," or "small sheets," which are also after Testa's drawings, it seems that he did not know many of these prints after Testa's *schizzi*. Despite the evidence that Collignon kept a stock of the "disegni e pensieri" in the form of portfolios containing twenty-two prints,⁷ it would appear that they were not always sold or conserved in complete sets.

Whether the facsimile prints were made immediately after Testa's death by a clever entrepreneur or were published some thirty years after,



they illustrate the increasing potential of the market for prints. Like Giovanni Battista Pasqualini's engravings after Guercino's drawings, they also document Testa's continuing fame as a draughtsman and inventor. After Collignon's initial publication several of the facsimiles were republished by Vincenzo Billy.

1. Baldinucci, 1681-1728, p. 314.
2. Speciale, 1977, p. 8.
3. *Raccolta di diversi disegni e pensieri/ di Pietro Testa/ Ritrovati dopo la sua morte/ dati in luce da Francesco Collignon.* See *ibid.*, p. 10.
4. The same inscription with the following address added: *Roma nel Parione 1681. Con licenza de superiori.*
5. Speciale, 1977, p. 10.
6. Baldinucci, 1681-1728, p. 314.
7. See Francesca Consagra, "The Marketing of Pietro Testa's 'Poetic Inventions,'" above.

LITERATURE Baldinucci, 1681-1728, p. 321; Hartmann, 1970, p. 170; Speciale, 1977, p. 25, no. 16; Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, 1977, p. 178, under no. 82; Caputi, 1987

41

Il Liceo della Pittura

c. 1638

Bartsch 34; Bellini 20

Etching, first state

571 x 725 mm (22½ x 28⅞") (approximate measurements of plate because of center fold)

Inscribed with the artist's monogram on the stone in the lower right corner; in the central cartouche: *INTELLIGENZA ET USO*; in the center of the attic: *IL LICEO DELLA PITTURA*; on the fictive scroll on the step to the left: *La Teorica è per se stessa di legami avvinta, e la Pratica nella sua libertà è per se*



40

*stessa cieca; ma chi in età/ di freschi anni ne' gli
studij della Pittura il buono d[i] gran Maestri
apprende; e poi avanzandosi ad imitare/ da se gli
oggetti della Natura, entra nel dotto Liceo di
Pallade, e vi ritrova, et intende le arti della
Mathe-/matica, unisce egli la Teorica alla
Prattica; e spogliandole de' loro difetti con felice
accoppiamento dall' / intelligenza, e dall' uso, a se
acquista gloria di nome, et al mondo accresce pregi
di virtù.; on the scroll to the right: All' Ill.mo e
R.mo Sig.re Monsig.re Girolamo Bonvisi Clerico
della Camera Apostolica/ Se la Pittura da' colori
varietà attende, io dalla sua colorita Stella nella
notte della mia tempestosa/ fortuna stabilimento
ho ricevuto: onde hora in porto di vera quiete mi
sono ridotto; e merita-/mente al Tempio delle sue
immortali Virtù in questo disegno appendo il voto
della mia/ gratitudine; et humilm.te inchinandomi,
a V.S. Ill.ma l'Opera, e me stesso/ dedico. Roma.
Di V.S. Ill. ma e R.ma Humiliss.o Ser.re/ Pietro
Testa*

The National Galleries of Scotland,
Edinburgh, P 2781/32

With this large, ambitious etching published in the late 1630s begins a new phase of Testa's career as a printmaker. It is ambitious not only technically, in its size and the number and variety of figures drawn on the plate, but also conceptually. The invention of *Il Liceo della Pittura*, or *The Lyceum of Painting*, is the most mature statement of Testa's ideals for the study and practice of art. His thesis was the result of his careful reading in a wide variety of ancient and modern texts, much of which can be documented, for the notes he took as he read are preserved in the Düsseldorf Notebook.¹ For each argument he found an image, skillfully articulating a visual syntax out of elements drawn largely from Raphael's *School of Athens* (Stanza della Segnatura, Musei Vaticani)² and the *Iconologia* of Cesare Ripa.³

Testa's opening thesis, which depends on the long tradition of academic theory expounded by such Renaissance theorists as Leonbattista Alberti, Leonardo da Vinci, and Daniele Barbaro, given

practical demonstration by the Carracci, and inculcated in Testa by Domenichino, is that neither theory nor practice can operate without the other. As he states in the inscription on the scroll to the left, "Theory by herself is chained with bonds, and Practice alone is blind in her liberty." To the far left and right stand the respective personifications of these terms, both adapted from images in Fulvio Mariotelli's entries on theory and practice in later editions of Ripa's *Iconologia*. Testa's Theory has compasses on her head, indicating that she draws her conclusions from universal principles, but her hands are bound and her books lie out of reach on the ground. Practice is blind and stumbles among rocks and brambles, accompanied by a monkey with a begging bowl who stands for those imitative artists who are versed only in practice and must beg for everything they need from others. The winged hand of Practice derives from another image in Ripa's *Iconologia* that ultimately derives from Vitruvius and the tradition of commentary on his *Ten Books of Architecture*, the figure of Poverty in One of Genius (fig. 41a). Testa's criticism is here leveled at not only the apes of nature, whom he so despised, but also even artists with higher aspirations to perfection who are handicapped by poverty. Out of this image he also developed another, more personal one. To the left of Practice the head of a curling

snake is crushed by a rock that bears the artist's monogram. In a drawing now bound into his Notebook Testa adapted the image from Ripa to show Impoverished Genius as a figure with one winged hand flying free and his head bound to a rock with a chain (fig. 41b).⁴ The image in the print represents his own genius (the snake) crushed by material poverty in the form of a rebus in which his head, *testa*, is crushed by a stone, *pietra*.

At the center of the image Testa represents the steps by which theory and practice may be joined by artists as they mature. The notes on the preparatory study in the British Museum (cat. no. 42) explain the three levels, or degrees, of the artists' education: First they study from other art (the great masters Testa mentions in the inscription), then from nature, and finally from their own reason. At the highest level they are attacked by an envious, scrawny dog, but the most determined are greeted by a male figure with wings on his head who represents Judgment. Like philosophers, at this point the artists have learned to submit the knowledge gained from experience to dialectical reasoning and have liberated their judgment to think for themselves.

Judgment points toward the figure of Painting at the left. She is escorted by Perspective to observe the demonstrations of a geometer, clearly modeled on the figure of Euclid from *The School of Athens*.

Fig. 41a. *Poverty in One of Genius*, woodcut from Ripa, 1625, p. 521



Fig. 41b. Pietro Testa, *Study of "Poverty" and "Otio,"* with Notes, c. 1639. Pen and brown ink on cream paper, 214 x 294 mm (8 7/16 x 11 9/16"). Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, Graphische Sammlung, Notebook (Budde 132), folio 9 recto



However, once within the *liceo*, which is dedicated to Minerva, the goddess of wisdom, the artist-philosopher joins practitioners of all forms of philosophy, who walk about within a portico appropriate to the character of an Aristotelian lyceum. The motto of the school, *Intelligenza et Uso*, is proclaimed on the shield held up by putti holding compasses and brushes. Through the union of intelligence (or the discourse of discovery and exposition) with usage (or the habit of thinking about and pursuing one's purpose continually) the artist-philosopher overcomes the defects of theory and separated practice that stand in the way of virtue and glory.

Testa defines the philosophy practiced in the *liceo* as being devoted to the knowledge of things natural, human, and divine.⁵ The three points of a triangle within the portico are marked by statues representing these three divisions of knowledge. Around each he placed figures exemplifying the perfect practice of the union of speculation and demonstration. To the left of the steps a group of mathematicians, astronomers, musicians, military strategists, geographers, and others engage in discourse beneath a statue of Mathematics. In the niche behind the naked figure of Truth, standing on a globe and holding up the sun, represents the certainty of mathematical proof.

To the right of the steps is a statue of Public Felicity holding a cornucopia and caduceus, symbols of plenty and peace. On her plinth is a harmonic diagram of the geometrical mean. This is borrowed from Bernardo Segni's 1550 edition of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, where the ratio 4:6:6:9 is used to illustrate the notion of the virtuous mean determined by a prudent man that guarantees public happiness through the granting to each according to his needs rather than according to strict arithmetical equality.⁶ Beside the diagram stands Aristotle himself, the greatest practitioner of human, or moral, philosophy. A king, a family, a naked philosopher who espouses poverty, and a beautiful Hellenistic warrior whom we may identify as Alexander, Aristotle's most famous pupil, all listen to him. In the niche to the right Testa has placed a figure of Ethics, who restrains a lion with one hand and holds a plumb line in the other to represent the fact that moral philosophy is concerned with contingency.

At the center of the portico stands Minerva, the personification of the truth of divine philosophy. In

the scene below to the left a bull and a ram are about to be sacrificed according to ancient custom. To the right stands a vestal virgin, and beside her a bishop, a pope, and a high priest. The obelisk in the very center stands for the Egyptian mysteries, the origin of all religion. Each rite pursues divine truth, and it is significant that Testa privileges none. It is the mysteries of the goddess of wisdom into which the philosophers are initiated, and Testa appropriately modeled the architecture of the *Liceo di Pallade* on the colonnade in the Forum of Nerva in Rome, in which stood a temple devoted to Minerva. The colonnade was surmounted, like Testa's, by a broad attic decorated with reliefs, of which only one bearing the image of Minerva survives. The frieze in the forum is decorated by reliefs showing Minerva among the Muses, the punishment of Arachne, and the domestic arts that Minerva protected. Testa instead placed the figures of the Cardinal Virtues in the attic above the figure of Public Felicity and those of the liberal arts above Mathematics. In the tablet to the right a scene of the Continnence of Scipio epitomizes the ethical life, and this is matched to the left by the story of the death of Archimedes, who lived only for mathematical truth. In the attic above Minerva are scenes from the Old Testament, including the Worship of the Golden Calf, Moses Receiving the Tablets, the Sacrifice of Abraham, and the Ark of the Covenant.

The initiation that Testa proposes is based on the thoroughly Aristotelian notion that art is a form of knowledge that derives from the training of the intellect and the practice of discourse. Training in the practical matters of the selection of materials or techniques of drawing and coloring he took for granted, saying in his notes that they could be learned from any old woman, even as theories could be quickly understood.⁷ The union of Theory and Practice, after all, only brings the student to the top step leading to the portico. Judgment stands there not to bar the way but to greet only those who are truly born to be artists.

The variety and complexity of the image led Testa to concentrate on the delineation of figures and architecture rather than on the combination of drawing with chiaroscuro effects. Only in the foreground are figures fully modeled, and the drawing becomes increasingly schematic toward the rear. For example, several of the reliefs in the attic are

barely sketched in. To the right, guidelines for the perspective of the colonnade and the shadows cast by the right wing of the porch are still visible. But, despite the occasional patch of foul biting, the print is remarkably fine in detail, the result of a long process of preparation.

Testa dedicated the print to his patron Girolamo Buonvisi, and the star from his coat of arms shines above the *liceo*. In the inscription Testa thanks his benefactor for providing him with a haven in what he calls "the night of my tempestuous fortune." The project represents an immense intellectual and practical effort, expended at the same moment in the late 1630s that Testa was beginning to put together his notes in preparation for a treatise on painting that was also to be dedicated to Buonvisi. Passeri describes the etching as "famous" and stated that if Testa had produced a similar composition painted in colors, "he would certainly have achieved the very greatest reputation." It seems likely that Buonvisi had indeed offered Testa some protection by the late 1630s for him to have produced such a difficult work, which Passeri could only compare to *The School of Athens*. It was both Testa's and Buonvisi's misfortune that Urban VIII Barberini would die in 1644, causing each to lose his patron.

1. For a detailed discussion of the print and its sources, see Cropper, 1984, pp. 65–95.
2. *Vatican Museums, Rome*, Museums of the World (New York, 1968), reprints pp. 114–17.
3. Ripa, 1625.
4. Cropper, 1984, pp. 218–19, nos. 29, 30, fig. XIV.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 197, no. 11, fig. VI.
6. Aristotle, 1550, bk. 2, chap. 6, p. 101.
7. Cropper, 1984, pp. 247–50, nos. 60.A.6–60.A.9.

PREPARATORY DRAWINGS 1. Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, Notebook (Budde 132), folio 4 recto. Notes and diagram for the definition of philosophy, and outline of the whole. Pen and brown ink on cream paper. 255 x 200 mm (10 x 7⁷/₈"). See Cropper, 1984, pp. 196–97, no. 11, fig. VI. 2. Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, Notebook (Budde 132), folios 2a verso/ 3 recto. Studies and notes for the three foreground groups. Pen and brown ink over traces of black chalk on cream paper. 272 x 416 mm (10¹/₁₆ x 16³/₈"). See Cropper, 1984, pp. 193–97, no. 8, fig. V. 3. British Museum, London, 1874-8-8-143. See cat. no. 42. 4. The National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, D 4990. See cat. no. 43. 5. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, 774F. See cat. no. 44. 6. Gabinetto Di-

segni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, 775F. Study in reverse for the group surrounding Aristotle. Pen and brown ink over black chalk on cream paper. Lined. The edges tattered. 128 x 234 mm (5 x 9³/₁₆"). Inscribed by the artist in pen and brown ink on the book in Aristotle's hand: *L'ETICA*; inscribed and cancelled on the plinth beside him: *il medio*. See Cropper, 1984, fig. 92. 7 and 8. Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Paris, 1908, 1908 bis. 1908: Study in the reverse sense for the figures of Painting and Perspective, accompanied by a putto. Pen and brown ink over traces of black chalk on cream paper. 118 x 97 mm (4⁵/₈ x 3¹³/₁₆") (cut irregularly around the figures). Inscribed in pen and brown ink in the lower right corner: *P. Testa*. 1908 bis: Study in the reverse sense for the figures of the philosophers and Alexander listening to Aristotle. Pen and brown ink over black chalk. 110 x 88 mm (4³/₁₆ x 3⁷/₁₆") (cut irregularly around the figures). Inscribed in pen and brown ink in the lower right corner: *P. Testa*. Both drawings mounted on the same sheet. See Cropper, 1984, fig. 91. 9. Hartmann, 1970, p. 194, mentions a study, probably for two of the figures listening to Aristotle, in the Musée Fabre, Montpellier.

LITERATURE Sandrart, 1675, p. 293; Passeri, 1679, pp. 184–85; Baldinucci, 1681–1728, p. 317; Gori Gandellini, 1771, p. 296; Huber, 1799, p. 15; Gori Gandellini and De Angelis, 1813, p. 122; Bartsch, 1820, p. 226, no. 34; Nagler, 1848, p. 268, no. 34; Le Blanc, 1890, p. 21, no. 33; Petrucci, 1936, pp. 409, 415; Marabottini, 1954b, p. 217 n. 1, pl. LXIV, fig. 3; Matthias Winner, "Gemalte Kunsttheorie: Zu Gustave Courbets 'Allégorie réelle' und der Tradition," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museum*, vol. 4 (1962), pp. 174–76, fig. 17; Harris, 1967, pp. 37–38, 50–51 n. 19, 51 n. 24, 52 nn. 27 and 30; Martone, 1969, pp. 50–51; Hartmann, 1970, pp. 77–82, 184; Cropper, 1971, pp. 268–96, pl. 43; Cropper, 1974a, p. 377; Bellini, 1976b, pp. 13–14, 53–54, no. 20; Brigstocke, 1976, pp. 20, 26–27 n. 33; Cropper, 1977, pp. 93, 104 n. 29, 106; Brigstocke, 1978, pp. 123, 124; Cropper, 1984, pp. 6, 25, 33, 41–45, 51 n. 232, 52, 68–97, 100, 109, 112, 129, 135, 152, 155, 173, 182 n. 17, 189, 217–18, 228, 256 and fig. 89

42

Study for the Central Group of "Il Liceo della Pittura"

c. 1638

Pen and brown ink over black chalk on light buff paper. Laid down.

190 x 259 mm (7¹/₂ x 10³/₁₆")

Inscribed by the artist in black chalk in the upper right: *Al Giudizio non si tiene Portiera/ è la [sua?] stracare chi passeggia/ di continuo per*

Famiglia di San Pietro

Caravone 12th

da natura secondo

*adipositas
depression*

da arte, primo

Diego Testa



l'anticamera; in pen and brown ink to the right of the figures: *da Arte primo/ da natura secondo/ da ragione terzo*; other illegible scribbles; in an old hand in pen and brown ink in the lower left corner: *Pietro Testa*; in the upper corner: 114

Trustees of the British Museum, London, 1874-8-8-143

With its crisp outlines and delicately scaled figures, this detailed study is closely related to the composition study for *An Allegory of Painting* (also in the British Museum), here dated 1637–38 (cat. no. 38). *Il Liceo della Pittura* (cat. no. 41) has been dated variously between 1638 and 1642, but the relationship of both the print and the preparatory drawings to others made around 1637 suggests a date closer to 1638. The thematic continuity of ideas first expressed in *An Allegory of Painting* (cat. no. 37) also supports the argument that the two prints were made in sequence.

Testa's inscription on this drawing indicates the three levels of the artist's training as he enters the *liceo*. He must learn "from art first," "from nature second," and "from reason third." Testa considered altering the figure of the youth on the second step to show him embracing a statuette of Diana of Ephesus. Like the similar image in *An Allegory of Painting*, the figure would have stood for Nature, but Testa discarded the idea in the end. Next to the statuette is a quickly sketched formula for drawing a head—an oval divided vertically and horizontally to mark the lines of the nose and eyes.

Testa's inscription in black chalk is not entirely legible, but it appears to state that while no one stands guard over the door to Judgment, those who continually pass through the antechamber simply wear themselves out. Having begun their study by the practical imitation of the works of the best masters and having then progressed to the considered observation of the principles of nature (turning from the side of Practice to that of Theory as they do so), the students on the top step, now masters of dialectical reasoning, are ready to cross the threshold of Judgment. To make this step, Testa wrote in his Notebook, born painters, their minds illuminated, must spread their wings and take flight.¹ Others, led astray by bad teachers, will be rendered stupid. Burdened by bad habits and obsessed by technique, they will fall into the hands of Envy.

No one prevents them from exercising their own intellects; they are simply incapable of taking the last step, and they exhaust themselves in their attempt to bring theory and practice together.

1. Cropper, 1984, pp. 248–50, nos. 60.A.7–60.A.10.

LITERATURE Harris, 1967, p. 52 nn. 27 (incorrectly as British Museum, 1874, 18.8.143) and 30; Hartmann, 1970, pp. 192–93; Cropper, 1971, p. 264 n. 11; Bellini, 1976b, p. 53, under no. 20 (incorrectly as 1874, 18.8.143); Brigstocke, 1978, pp. 124, 147 n. 93 (incorrectly as 18-8-8-143); Turner, 1980, pp. 52–53, no. 17; Cropper, 1984, pp. 89–90 and fig. 100

43

Figure Studies for "Il Liceo della Pittura"

Verso: Related study for the figure of Practice
c. 1638

Recto and verso: Pen and brown ink on white paper

161 x 203 mm (6 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 8")

Inscribed on the recto by the artist in pen and brown ink in the upper center: *giudizio/ carte 185*; in the lower left corner: *Pratica*; in the lower right corner: *Teorica*; in an old hand in pen and ink, reinforced, in the lower center: *Di Pietro Testa*; in pencil in the lower right corner: *16/71*; on the verso by the artist in pen and brown ink: *Pratica*; in an old hand in black chalk: *Pietro Testa*

The National Galleries of Scotland,
Edinburgh, D 4990

To the left and right of this study for *Il Liceo della Pittura* (cat. no. 41) Testa has sketched out and labeled the figures of Practice and Theory, the latter with much grander proportions than in the print or other drawings. At the center is the group on the steps leading to the *liceo*, now conceived as a unified spiral, with special emphasis on the line of heads. The swiftly drawn, discursive lines of the drawing on the recto stand in strong contrast to the tidy precision of the contours in the study in the British Museum for some of the same figures (cat. no. 42). This drawing stands closer to the composition study in the Düsseldorf Notebook,¹ but the lines here are even looser, almost clumsy in places. Testa appar-

ently already knew to some extent what he had in mind and was reworking his idea for a particular inventive purpose.

Repetition, even the tracing of his own drawings, was not unusual in Testa's working procedure in preparation for his prints. Drawings such as this are often thought to be copies, which indeed they often are, but by the artist himself. In this case we can be sure of the attribution, for the handwriting is Testa's. The reference to "judgment/page 185" is to the 1603 edition of Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, where Testa found described as the attributes of Judgment the square and compasses that accompany his note.² In the etching these were eventually placed in the hand of the student who reaches the top step leading to the *liceo*, where he is greeted by Judgment. In such drawings as this Testa was developing his invention in the full sense of the word, not just inventing forms to express ideas already conceived. They are precious records of his discovery of an articulate, visible language.

The contours of the figure of Practice on the verso are also derivative and clumsy, although Testa worked the drawing up more completely by adding scratchy, parallel hatching. The wide divergence of graphic technique in the group of drawings for the *liceo* and the alterations in the scale and modeling of figures between the drawings and the final print discourage making a precise dating on the basis of internal evidence. The same is true of several other projects, such as *Sinorix Carried from the Temple of Artemis* (cat. nos. 53–58) from around 1640.

1. See Cropper, 1984, pp. 196–97, no. 11, fig. VI.

2. Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia, ovvero descrizione di diverse imagini cavate dall'antichità . . .* (Rome, 1603).

PROVENANCE Purchased by Paul Oppé from Orr, Edinburgh, 1904; Armide Oppé; purchased by the National Galleries of Scotland with support from the National Art-Collections Fund, 1973

LITERATURE Royal Academy of Arts, 1958, p. 59, no. 387; Hartmann, 1970, p. 192; Brigstocke, 1974, n.p.; Brigstocke, 1978, pp. 124, 146 n. 93, and p. 138, pl. 34; Cropper, 1984, p. 90 and fig. 101

44

Study for the Figures Devoted to Mathematics in "Il Liceo della Pittura"

c. 1638

Pen and brown ink over black chalk on white paper. Laid down. Trimmed around the figures on the left.

115 x 151 mm (4½ x 5 15/16")

Inscribed in pencil in the upper right corner: 774; in the lower right corner: 93

Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, 774F

Like several other drawings for *Il Liceo della Pittura* (cat. no. 41) in the Uffizi and in the Louvre, this little fragment, cut from a larger sheet, seems to have served Testa as a detailed *aide-mémoire* for work on the plate.¹ The cross above the head of the philosopher holding up the celestial globe marks him as Plato, the companion of Aristotle in Raphael's *School of Athens* (Stanza della Segnatura, Musei Vaticani),² from which Testa derived the whole group surrounding the statue of Mathematics. Aristotle appears at the center of the group to the right of Testa's print, but Plato was not to be given any special prominence among the group of thinkers devoted to the study of mathematics in the Aristotelian *liceo*. The faintly drawn sword to the right, a repetition of that worn by the soldier in the final version, reveals Testa's continuing refinement of details of the composition up to the very moment of execution.

1. See cat. no. 41, preparatory drawings nos. 6–8.

2. *Vatican Museums, Rome*, Museums of the World (New York, 1968), repros. pp. 114–17.

PROVENANCE Fondo Mediceo Lorenese

LITERATURE Harris, 1967, p. 52 n. 30; Hartmann, 1970, p. 193; Cropper, 1971, p. 283 n. 77 (incorrectly as in the Louvre); Brigstocke, 1978, pp. 124, 146–47 n. 93

45

Figure Studies

c. 1637–38

Pen and brown ink on pale buff paper. Laid down unevenly. Center fold with some small repairs at the edges. Green and brown stains.



43 recto



43 verso



44

247 x 357 mm (9 3/4 x 14")

Inscribed by the artist in pen and brown ink
 in the upper center: *Guarda dove le/ savi*; in
 the lower left: *verità/ Ironia opposta al'vanto*; in
 the lower right: *Metafisica tratta di Dio*

Teylers Museum, Haarlem, 15

The array of figures on this sheet, some drawn after the antique, others gesturing in debate, yet others closely derived from Raphael's *School of Athens* (Stanza della Segnatura, Musei Vaticani),¹ served to provide Testa with a store of ideas for both *An Allegory of Painting* (cat. no. 37) and *Il Liceo della Pittura* (cat. no. 41). The appearance of these figures in a single drawing helps to show the close relationship between the invention of the two prints. Neither a compositional sketch nor a series of detailed studies of figures from life, the drawing pro-

vides a unique record of one aspect of Testa's working procedure in which motifs were recorded or adapted from memory. Like the pages of similar drawings by Van Dyck² and Poussin³ after ancient and modern works of art, it served as a storehouse whose rich inventory Testa could tap for different purposes.

The inscription that defines metaphysics as being concerned with God establishes an immediate connection with the definition of the three parts of philosophy that underlies the organization of the figures within *Il Liceo*. The priest in the upper right corner is an early idea in reverse for the sacrificing priest in the background of that print; the female figure with her arm outstretched above the group of orators at the center of the drawing is the model for the statue to the left of the scene of the Ark of the Covenant in the attic of the portico. Another



figure of a woman with her arm outstretched, immediately below the same orators, wears a Greek peplos. Testa adapted her pose and costume for the figure in the attic to the right of the scene of the Ark, for the figure of Ethics in the niche to the right, and for the vestal virgin in the background. The drapery of the figure of Mathematics in the etching is derived from the miniature study of the woman behind the seated female figure with wings. Equally tiny studies of the Medici *Venus* (Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence)⁴ and of another *Venus* alternatively covering and baring her breast were Testa's starting points for the statue of Truth in the niche to the left.

The seated winged woman, on the other hand, and the group to her left are closely related to the figure of Painting (despite the change in her attributes) and the philosophers who discuss her in *An Allegory of Painting*. This same group engaged in

philosophical discourse, a preliminary adaptation of figures from Raphael, provided a basis for the group centered upon Aristotle in *Il Liceo*.

The Haarlem drawing also has its own thematic unity. In one of its inscriptions, Testa writes, "Truth/irony opposed to boasting." Although this can only be fully comprehended through reference to ideas expressed in *Il Liceo della Pittura*, it has a particular meaning in the context of these figure studies. The diagram of the geometric mean, the *mezzo della virtù*, on the plinth beside Aristotle in the *liceo* was copied from Bernardo Segni's 1550 edition of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*.⁵ In the following chapter Aristotle discusses the kinds of virtuous mean that lie between the extremes of actions and passions. Three of these are concerned with discourse, of which the one that deals with truth is singled out. *Verità*, or truth, falls between the ex-

tremes of *vantamento*, or vanity, the behavior of the arrogant, and *ironia*, or irony, the habit of understatement and self-abasement.

In his commentary to *Ethics*,⁶ Segni discusses the mean of such truth in discourse in relation to painting and poetry—those arts of simulation in which the inventor can feign truth or falsehood by means of words, definitions, or gestures. With the latter in mind, Testa experimented here with different kinds of expressive figures and actions, feigning truth through the accurate imitation of significant gesture, movement, and drapery. In this way the *Venus pudica* is to be seen as a figure of Modesty; when adapted to represent Truth she also signifies that Truth is beautiful. The weeping Niobid to the left below is recorded as a figure of Grief.

The winged female figure at the center, seated upon a cube, represents Virtue herself. She is the true subject of all philosophical discourse and rhetoric, which Testa emphasizes by the cryptic inscription, “See where the wise.” It is thus the double intention of this drawing both to signify and to exemplify the mastery of the means of symbolic representation; its thesis is that the subject of the discourse of painting is virtue. To express virtuous truth the artist needs to be able to find figures for all the extremes of the passions, whether from the canonical models of antiquity, the new rhetoric of Raphael, or the observation of figures and drapery in motion. Such a conquest of the emotions and the means of expressing them is also an important theme in the etching of *The Triumph of Painting on Parnassus*, completed several years later (cat. no. 73).

1. *Vatican Museums, Rome*, Museums of the World (New York, 1968), repros. pp. 114–17.

2. See, for example, Michael Jaffé, *Van Dyck's Antwerp Sketchbook* (London, 1966), vol. 2, folios 31 and 32.

3. See, for example, Anthony Blunt, *The Drawings of Poussin* (New Haven, 1979), figs. 151–54.

4. Haskell and Penny, 1981, p. 327, fig. 173.

5. Aristotle, 1550, bk. 2, chap. 6, p. 101.

6. *Ibid.*, bk. 7, chap. 7.

PROVENANCE Don Livio Odescalchi (1652–1713); by descent to the dukes of Bracciano; acquired for the Teylers Foundation in Rome, 1790

LITERATURE Cropper, 1974a, pp. 377–78, fig. 17; Cropper, 1984, pp. 33, 198 and fig. 14

Project for the Decoration of an Arch

Verso (not illustrated): An unrelated geometrical composition

c. 1638

Recto: Pen and brown ink on cream paper.

Verso: Black chalk.

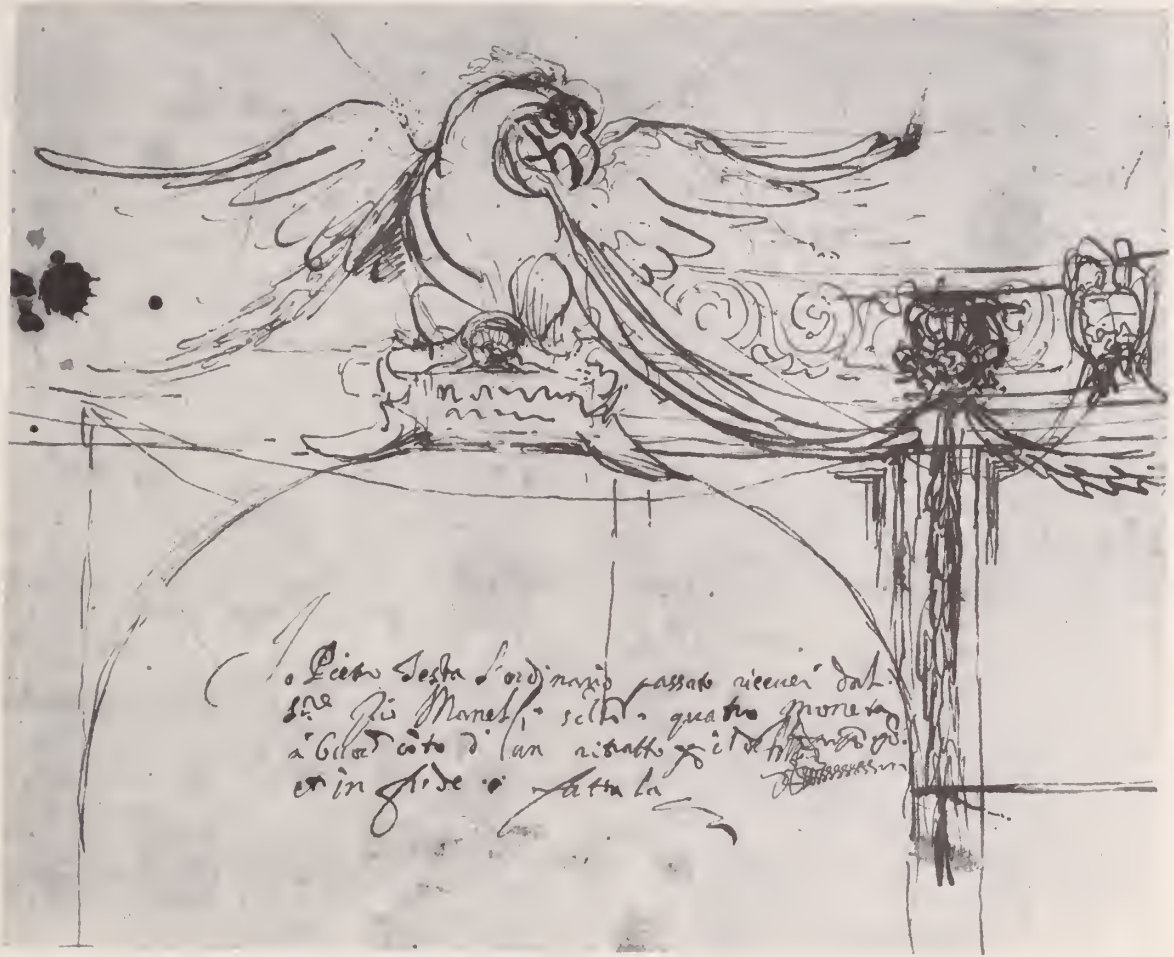
172 x 218 mm (6¾ x 8⅞")

Inscribed on the recto by the artist in pen and brown ink: *Io Pietro Testa l'ordinario passato ricevei dal?/ S.re Gio Manelli [?] schudo quatro moneta/ a buon conto d'un ritratto per il de[fto S?] per [Il SSSSSS . . . ?] et in fede o fatto la*

Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, Graphische Sammlung, 1379

Baldinucci records that Testa delighted in painting portraits and that he produced many in oil, pastels, and pen and ink.¹ Despite this testimony no portrait drawings in pen and ink are known. A few chalk drawings bear old attributions to Testa that are difficult to substantiate.² Given Testa's dedication to drawing from life and his apprenticeship in Domenichino's studio, however, Baldinucci's comment deserves respect. The unusual inscription on this drawing provides documentary evidence in his favor, for it is a draft of a receipt written by Testa for four scudi received as a deposit for a portrait and an affidavit that he has completed the commission. The money seems to have been received from a Signore Giovanni Manelli (although the inscription is difficult to read), of whom nothing further is known. It appears that the portrait was of Manelli, although at a critical point in the text Testa's hand drifted off to scribble a series of interlocking S's, probably standing for *Signore*. Four scudi was not much money, and the portrait may well have been a drawing or a pastel.

The drawing on which Testa wrote his receipt is equally problematic and fascinating. A boldly drawn eagle, wings outstretched and draped with swags, sits on a frieze decorated with ancient foliate motifs above an arch. A mask is sketched in below the eagle's feet, and there is a space in the tablet below for an inscription. Behind the eagle a semicircular space is marked out. It is impossible to say whether the drawing was intended as a design for a print, a fresco, or a sculpture. Baldinucci records



1. Pietro Sesta l'ordinario passato ricoveri dal
suo fu Manelli, sotto quattro giorni
a Ginevra dove è un ricatto per il
et in fede è fatta la

that Testa painted frescoes in the garden of Monsignore Muti, of which nothing is known.³ Other drawings (cat. nos. 47 and 48) document his interest in providing designs for sculpture, and the etchings *An Allegory in Honor of the Arrival of Cardinal Franciotti as Bishop of Lucca* (cat. no. 36) and *Il Liceo della Pittura* (cat. no. 41) reveal his aptitude for designing and decorating architectural structures. This sheet, in combining both of these aspects, serves as a reminder of the breadth of Testa's interests in the later 1630s, even as he concentrated increasingly on etching.⁴ It is executed with that bravura and *fierezza* that Passeri and Baldinucci so admired.

1. Baldinucci, 1681–1728, p. 312.
2. See, for example, the three portrait studies in red and black chalk in the Teylers Museum, Haarlem (F23, F24, and I2), all of which bear old attributions to Testa. The name of Pomarancio has since been associated with the first two.
3. Baldinucci, 1681–1728, p. 312.
4. A drawing in the Musée Fabre, Montpellier (L871), for an unidentifiable object (perhaps a small bowl for a fountain or a sconce?) provides further evidence for Testa's interest in decorative designs. The object would have been decorated with a shield surrounded by eagles and lions, and with a figure of Mercury in the center.

LITERATURE Thiem, 1977, p. 218, no. 401

47

An Allegory of Penance and Death: Design for a Tomb

c. 1640

Pen and brown ink over black chalk on white paper

136 x 357 mm (5³/₈ x 14")

Inscribed by the artist in pen and brown ink at the upper center: *qui un tantino di carnevale*

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1973 (1973.117)

Testa sets this allegory against the backdrop of a vignette of *carnevale*—that little bit of carnival to which the inscription refers—in which a group of revelers, fat and drunken, masked and making music, enjoy the pleasures of the world. In the foreground, before an altar to the right, a priest lays ashes on the heads of those who participate in the Ash Wednesday mass. In front of a pyramidal tomb

at the left stands Death himself, scythe in hand. He consigns a pair of scrawny figures to his realm, where they will join the heap of corpses on the ground. These figures walking toward their death on the left are directly opposed to those who turn toward the priest on the right to do penance for their sins in the hope of immortal salvation. The three skeletons emerging from tombs marked with crosses behind the dead and dying stand for the hope of resurrection that the sacrament of penance brings.¹

1. For a discussion of the purpose and date of this drawing, see cat. no. 48.

PROVENANCE Richard Cosway (c. 1742–1821; Lugt 629); C. R. Rudolf, London; Baskett and Day, London, 1972; purchased by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1973

LITERATURE Bean, 1979, p. 279, no. 366; Lavin, 1980, vol. 1, pp. 189–90; Cropper, 1984, pp. 39–40 and fig. 32

48

An Allegory of Carnival and Death: Design for a Tomb

c. 1640

Pen and brown ink over black chalk on cream paper

160 x 445 mm (6⁵/₁₆ x 17¹/₂")

Inscribed on the recto by the artist in pen and brown ink on the scroll above Death: *Memet Homo quia pulvis est, et in pulverem reverteris*; in an old hand in black chalk in the lower left corner: *Testa*; on the verso in an old hand in pen and ink: *L'attribution à Testa est juste/ Très bon dessin/ Sir Robert Witt/ Acheté à M. Ad. Cerisole No 1121*

Collection of Henry, Prince of Hesse, Rome

This invention is a variation of Testa's *Allegory of Penance and Death* in the Metropolitan Museum (cat. no. 47). Here, instead of the rite for Ash Wednesday, the artist shows Death triumphant over the world at the right of center. To the far right figures hold their noses against the stench of death; one of these figures is developed outside the main composition in the bottom right corner. On the other side the priest holding the salver for the ashes in one hand exhorts a group of the faithful to bow down before Death. Above the figure of Death, who is again seated before a pyramidal tomb, two butterflies,

representing immortal souls, hold up a scroll bearing the words, "Let man remember that he is made of dust and to dust he will return," which are those spoken by the priest as he lays on the ashes in the mass for Ash Wednesday. To reinforce this image two figures in the foreground bow down to kiss the earth of which they are made and to which, like the skeletons flanking the globe, they will return.

To the left the scene of carnival is more extensive than in Testa's related allegory, making the fate of those who prolong their revelry in the pleasure of the flesh more obvious. A terminus figure, part skeleton, part beautiful woman, stands between the two worlds of those who do penance before Death and those who go unshriven. As a mother turns toward penitence her child is seized by a satyr. One reveler blocks his ears against the words of the priest, another covers her face with a mask, and behind her a woman plays the pipes. The fat figure dancing with bells around his ankles and accompanied by a pig is the very epitome of Mardi Gras. Unlike the figures at the opposite edge of the drawing, he is unaware of the silent presence of death. As a skeleton holds his finger to his lips another sinner recoils in horror, too late.

The format of the drawing shows that it was intended for the design of a sarcophagus and enables us to see that the Metropolitan drawing, which may have been cut on the left, was for the same purpose. Both are closely related to the sarcophagus relief showing carnival, Ash Wednesday, and Death in the right-hand tomb of the Raimondi chapel in San Pietro in Montorio, Rome (fig. 48a).

Lavin has established that the decoration of the chapel must have been completed between 1640 and 1647.¹ The execution of its two sarcophagus reliefs is traditionally ascribed to Bernini's pupil Nicolas Sale, who, according to Wittkower, was not available for work on the project until 1642.² It is likely that Testa became involved early in the project and provided inventions to the inexperienced Sale. He may have been introduced to Francesco Raimondi, who originally commissioned the chapel, by one of his Lucchese patrons, Girolamo Buonvisi or Marcantonio Franciotti, for all three were clerics of the Apostolic Camera of Urban VIII. Or he may have become involved with Bernini and his workshop through Lelio Guidiccioni, the Lucchese poet and collector living in Rome.

The completed relief differs in many respects from Testa's drawings, but its conception owes a great deal to both his ability to apply the style of an ancient sarcophagus relief to a modern tomb and his invention. Quite apart from documenting an unfamiliar aspect of Testa's relationships with other artists in Rome, the drawings point to the increasing reputation of his original conceptions among his contemporaries.

1. Lavin, 1980, vol. 1, pp. 188–92.

2. Rudolph Wittkower, *Gian Lorenzo Bernini: The Sculptor of the Roman Baroque* (London, 1966), p. 214.

LITERATURE Cropper, 1984, pp. 38–40 and fig. 30

49

Study for "The Adoration of the Shepherds"

c. 1639–42

Pen and brown ink over black chalk with brown wash on white paper. Laid down. Several small tears at the lower edge.

194 x 260 mm (7⁵/₈ x 10¹/₄"

Inscribed in an old hand in pen and brown ink in the lower left corner: *Pietro Testa*

The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, IV, 180c

Testa's painting *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, in the National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh (fig. 49a), for which this study is preparatory, has been dated to about 1640 by Brigstocke.¹ Like Poussin in his *Adoration of the Shepherds*, now in the National Gallery, London, Testa has combined the scene of the Adoration with that of the Annunciation to the Shepherds, and he has adapted from Poussin many other details of the composition. Poussin's work is variously dated between 1631 and 1637 and so provides no secure *terminus post quem*.² The similarities between this drawing and those made for the sarcophagus in the Raimondi chapel (cat. nos. 47 and 48) provide more secure support for the proposed date. Baldinucci reports that at a certain point in his career Testa began to draw figures that were overly slender.³ The elongated necks and feet and almost grotesque delineation of facial expressions that appear here are also to be found in the drawings for



47



48



Fig. 48a. Possibly Nicolas Sale (French, active Rome, 1635–60), *An Allegory of Carnival and Lent*, c. 1642. Sculptural relief. Raimondi chapel, San Pietro in Montorio, Rome



49



Fig. 49a. Pietro Testa, *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, c. 1640. Oil on canvas, 88.3 x 125.5 cm (34³/₄ x 49³/₈""). The National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh

the Raimondi tomb and in other compositions from about 1639–42. This mannered quality stands in strong contrast to the figure studies Testa also made in chalk and from the life to clarify particulars of drapery and movement before work on the canvas.⁴

The drawing is in the reverse sense, but this does not imply that Testa was working on a print related to the painting. It is one of a group of compositional studies in which he worked related compositions backward and forward in the resolution of the invention.⁵ In this drawing, unlike the others, he was also concerned with the contrast of light and shade in the nighttime scene. Despite the damaged condition of the painting it is still possible to see that, while he was to alter the composition presented here, Testa successfully translated the effect of the wash into color through the strong contrasts of dark shadows and silvery glory cast by the little angels.

1. Brigstocke, 1976, p. 18.

2. Thuillier, 1974, p. 94, no. 72, argues for a much earlier date than that proposed by Blunt and Mahon and accepted by Brigstocke.

3. Balducci, 1681–1728, p. 316.

4. For the chalk studies for the figures of the shepherds, now bound into the Düsseldorf Notebook, see Cropper, 1984, p. 190, fig. II; p. 219, figs. XV and XVI; and p. 266, figs. XXVII and XXVIII. A drawing in red chalk for the three little angels (175 x 195 mm [$6\frac{7}{8}$ x $7\frac{1}{16}$ "]) was sold at Christie's, London, *Important Old Master Drawings* . . . (December 11–13, 1985), lot 169.

5. Brigstocke, 1976, pl. 29, publishes a lost drawing in the same sense as the painting, formerly in the Aschaffenberg Collection. This was reproduced in reverse in the *Raccolta di diversi disegni*, for which see Speciale, 1977, no. 18. A drawing in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (Brigstocke, 1976, pl. 28), is made up of two joined sheets combining a version of the right side of this Pierpont Morgan Library drawing with a version of the left side of that formerly in the Aschaffenberg Collection. Another lost drawing reproduced in the *Raccolta* (Speciale, 1977, no. 12) is a variant of the Pierpont Morgan composition. The latter was also reproduced in reverse in the *Raccolta* (*ibid.*, no. 22). Because these facsimile prints sometimes reproduce drawings in the same sense and sometimes in the opposite sense, we are presented with a confusion of mirror images that is compounded by Testa's own working practice of reversing his own drawings even in the preparation for paintings.

PROVENANCE Charles Fairfax Murray: purchased in London by J. Pierpont Morgan, 1910

LITERATURE Hartmann, 1970, pp. 62, 161–62; Brig-

stocke, 1976, pp. 18, 25 n. 12, pl. 30; Brigstocke, 1978, pp. 121, 145 n. 29

50

Study for "An Allegory of the Massacre of the Innocents"

Verso: Another design for the same composition

c. 1639–42

Recto: Pen and brown ink over black and red chalk on cream paper. Verso: Pen and brown ink over red chalk. Some details, such as the figure of the mother biting the arm of the soldier, are traced through from recto to verso. Repaired horizontal tear from the lower center to the face of the child crushed by the soldier at the right.

254 x 368 mm (10 x 14½")

The National Galleries of Scotland,
Edinburgh, D 4993

51

Study for "An Allegory of the Massacre of the Innocents"

Verso: Another design for the same composition

c. 1639–42

Recto and verso: Pen and brown ink over red chalk on cream paper. Verso: The image has been bordered in black ink.

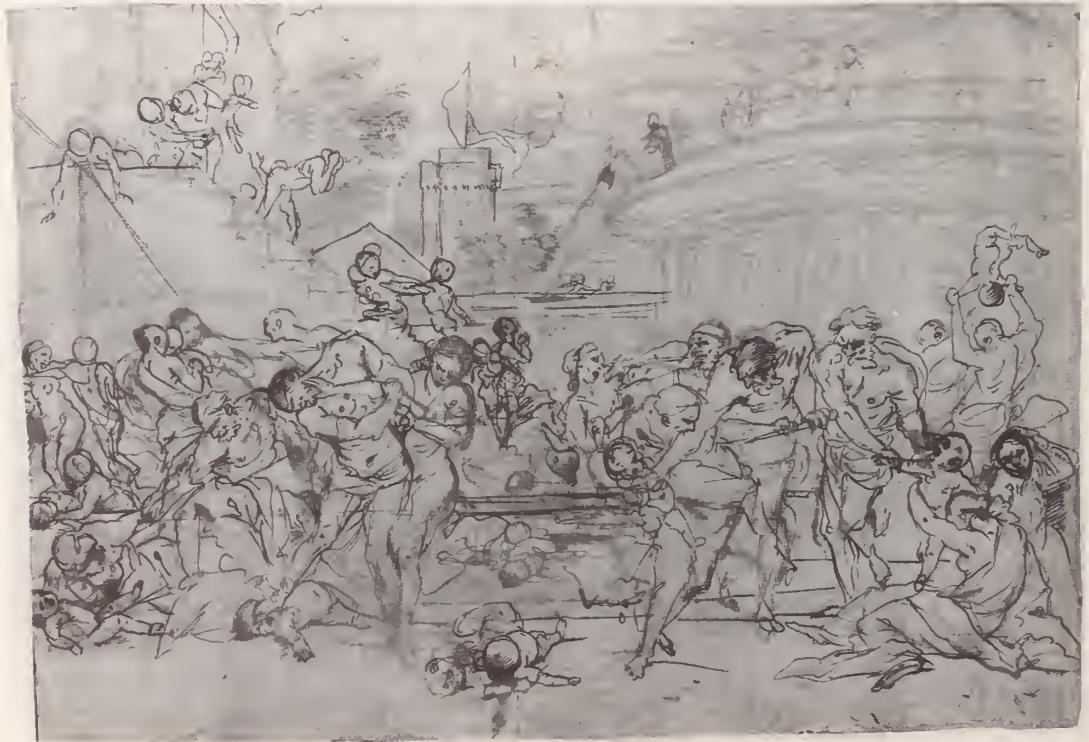
189 x 301 mm (7 $\frac{7}{16}$ x 11 $\frac{7}{8}$ ")

The National Galleries of Scotland,
Edinburgh, D 4994

All four drawings on the Edinburgh sheets are related to Testa's painting of the same subject now in the Galleria Spada (cat. no. 52). The British painter, critic, and collector Jonathan Richardson, Sr., describing Raphael's angelic mind as a stranger to savage and cruel sentiments, compared Testa's invention of the Massacre of the Innocents most favorably to Raphael's canonical interpretation of this theme as recorded in a print by Marcantonio Raimondi (fig. 50–51a). "Where," he wrote in "The Theory of Painting," "though he [Raphael] has had recourse to the expedient of making the soldiers naked to give the more terror, he has not succeeded so well even as Pietro Testa, who, in a drawing I



50 recto



50 verso



5 I recto



5 I verso



Fig. 50–51a. Marcantonio Raimondi (Italian, c. 1475–c. 1534), after an invention by Raphael (Italian, 1483–1520), *The Massacre of the Innocents*. Engraving (Bartsch, vol. 14, p. 21, no. 19), 97 x 156 mm (3¹³/₁₆ x 6¹/₈”). Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna

have of him of that story, has shown he was fitter for it than Raffaele.”¹

Testa’s composition in the first Edinburgh drawing (cat. no. 50), with its multitude of figures grouped around the body of a dead infant on the ground and set against an architectural background, immediately recalls Marcantonio’s print. Some particulars, such as the mother embracing her dead child to the right (recto) or left (verso), are directly inspired by it, even as the framed study of a single infant suspended from his foot on the recto is derived from Raphael’s design for *The Judgment of Solomon* on the ceiling of the Stanza della Segnatura in the Vatican.² Even in this early stage, however, Testa included the novel and particularly gruesome image of the decapitated head of a baby at the center. In comparison with Testa’s elaboration of violent and centripetal action, Raphael’s invention and its most classical imitation, Guido Reni’s *Massacre of the Innocents* (c. 1611; now in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna), seem coolly ideal.³

Poussin’s version of the subject from the late 1620s, now in the Musée Condé, Chantilly (fig. 50–51b), stands between those of Raphael and Testa. From Poussin Testa derived his Roman setting in the drawings, elaborating upon his obelisk and temples to include sometimes a pyramid, sometimes the Torre delle Milizie. In the painting these are suppressed in favor of a luminous landscape.



Fig. 50–51b. Nicolas Poussin (French, 1594–1665), *The Massacre of the Innocents*, c. 1626. Oil on canvas, 141 x 171 cm (55¹/₂ x 67⁵/₁₆”). Musée Condé, Chantilly

Poussin’s, too, is the pressure of foot on flesh, although, having followed his model faithfully in the first Edinburgh drawing by showing Herod’s soldier trampling a child, Testa in the painting places the dark foot of the furious soldier upon the shoulder of the mother. Poussin’s executioner prepares to hack at the head of the child. From the recto of the second Edinburgh drawing (cat. no. 51) Testa developed the motif of present murder. In the same drawing the executioner in the left corner grabs the baby’s arm, crushes his face underfoot, and slits his stomach. In the painting he tramples the mother, forces the child down with his hand, and pierces him with his sword.

In its violence and in many particulars Testa’s conception of the scene in these drawings is most closely related to the painting by Rubens in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich (fig. 50–51c). Rubens’s work dates to about 1635, Testa’s to around 1640, and neither artist could have been aware of the invention of the other. Both projects, however, are indebted to Giambattista Marino’s poem *La strage degli innocenti*, completed in 1624 and published in Naples in 1632. In Marino’s horrifying description one soldier smashes a baby against a wall before trampling him underfoot; another plunges his sword through the bodies of both the baby he has threatened to eviscerate and the mother who shields it. In Testa’s drawings, as in Rubens’s painting, babies are tram-



Fig. 50-51c. Peter Paul Rubens (Flemish, 1577-1640), *The Massacre of the Innocents*, c. 1635. Oil on wood, 199 x 302 cm (78³/₈ x 118⁷/₈"). Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek, Munich, inv. no. 572



Fig. 50-51d. Pietro Testa, *Composition Study for "An Allegory of the Massacre of the Innocents,"* c. 1640. Pen and ink with wash, 180 x 265 mm (7¹/₁₆ x 10⁷/₁₆"). Nasjonalgalleriet, Oslo, B 15332

pled and smashed to the ground.⁴ Most vividly expressed by Testa is Marino's description of how one mother, "a new Medea," attacks the murderer of her child with her nails, bites him, and, seizing the weapon from him, kills her own child before killing herself.⁵ Rubens distributed actions of biting, scratching, and grabbing the blade among three different women. In the studies on the recto and verso of the first Edinburgh sheet (cat. no. 50) several women scratch, but only one bites a soldier as she seizes the blade with her bare hand.

Hartmann is alone in suggesting a date in the early 1630s for the painting and related drawings, a date that she also proposes for the etching of *Sinorix Carried from the Temple of Artemis* and related drawings (cat. nos. 53-58). There is indeed a degree of similarity between these drawings and those for *The Martyrdom of Saint Erasmus* (see cat. nos. 5 and 6), especially in the spidery lines and the reductive delineation of expression. But the drawings for *The Massacre*, in which pen and red chalk are combined to brilliant effect, are far more complex. Their similarity to drawings made some eight or nine years earlier has more to do with the shared character of their violent subjects, which required drawings in a certain genre. Others who have written about the painting have proposed dates in the later or middle years of Testa's career, and the latter seems the more likely. Here are found the same difference

between the twisted and incorporeal figures in the drawings and their more fully rounded and substantial counterparts in the canvas that is apparent in *The Adoration of the Shepherds* (see cat. no. 49 and fig. 49a). This elongated and somewhat grotesque treatment of figures is especially evident in the detailed composition study in the Nasjonalgalleriet, Oslo (fig. 50-51d), which also resembles drawings for the sarcophagus in the Raimondi chapel (cat. nos. 47 and 48).

1. Quoted in *The Works of Jonathan Richardson Senior and Junior* (London, 1792), p. 50. Neither of the two drawings in Edinburgh bears Richardson's mark, and so he may have owned yet another version.

2. *Vatican Museums, Rome, Museums of the World* (New York, 1968), repro. p. 129.

3. Cesare Garboli and Edi Baccheschi, *L'Opera completa di Guido Reni* (Milan, 1971), pl. XXVII.

4. This action, not generally found in Renaissance representations of the subject, recalls certain Early Christian images. It is notable that Testa locates the Massacre in Rome, but no obvious Early Christian visual source for this motif would have been available to him, whereas the connection with Marino is more immediate and complete.

5. Marino, *La strage degli innocenti*, bk. 3, lines xlv-xlvii.

PROVENANCE (cat. no. 50) Baron Milford (1744-1823; Lugt 2687); H. M. Calmann; acquired by Paul Oppé, 1943; Armide Oppé; purchased by the National Galleries of Scotland with support from the National Art-Collections Fund, 1973

PROVENANCE (cat. no. 51) H. M. Calmann; acquired by Paul Oppé, 1954; Armide Oppé; purchased by the National Galleries of Scotland with support from the National Art-Collections Fund, 1973

LITERATURE (cat. no. 50) Royal Academy of Arts, 1958, p. 59, no. 386; National Gallery of Canada, 1961, no. 140; Hartmann, 1970, pp. 45–47, 140; Brigstocke, 1974, n.p.; Brigstocke, 1976, pp. 19–20, 26 n. 29, pls. 35 (recto), 36 (verso)

LITERATURE (cat. no. 51) Hartmann, 1970, pp. 45–47, 140; Brigstocke, 1974, n.p.; Brigstocke, 1976, pp. 19–20, 26 n. 29, pls. 37 (recto), 38 (verso)

52

An Allegory of the Massacre of the Innocents

c. 1639–42

Oil on canvas. Loss of detail in the shadows to the left where the paint has oxidized. Some paint loss toward the lower edge, and recently repaired damage to the canvas in the lower right.

123.5 x 173.5 cm (48⁵/₈ x 68⁵/₁₆")

Galleria Spada, Rome, 227

In this painting Testa comes even closer than in the preparatory drawings to the spirit of Giambattista Marino's descriptions of the Massacre of the Innocents (see cat. nos. 50 and 51), in which the sweet tenderness of the babies is constantly placed in juxtaposition to the cruelty of Herod's soldiers to produce sensuous conceits of pathos and horror.¹

The drama of the Massacre is here focused on a single executioner who tramples a woman as he slashes her child, having already decapitated another. In two of the preparatory drawings (cat. no. 50, recto and verso) the frieze of wildly battling groups parts to reveal the tragic aftermath of slaughter—a decapitated infant's head and a dead baby in a pool of blood in the foreground and a beseeching woman in the background. At the center of the composition study in Oslo (fig. 50–51d) one soldier triumphantly holds up a baby's head as he looks toward Herod, who watches the scene of carnage from the balcony to the right. In the end Testa reduces the complex episodes of struggle, relegating them to the shadows to the left of the painting in order to concentrate on the idea of single combat that he had begun to develop on the verso of the second Edinburgh drawing (cat. no. 51).

At the center of Testa's composition the severed head of a baby lies against his mother's arm. This head comes close, but never close enough, to the breast of his mother from which milk spurts under the pressure of a soldier's foot. Such a pathetic juxtaposition of milk and blood recalls many of Marino's images, but especially the last words of the "new Medea" to her child: "Who gives you milk will draw your blood."² Against the architecture to the left another mother holds her child, who is wrapped in swaddling soaked in red blood, to her breast.

By rendering so vividly this Marinesque conceit Testa sought to move the spectator to pity, thereby giving the contrasting sweetness of the scene of the Holy Family escaping in the brilliant landscape to the right a more powerful effect. The greater the tragedy and the pathos of the decapitated child and his soon-to-be disemboweled brother, the greater the promise of the Flight for salvation through the Passion.

The combination of the Massacre with the Flight reflects the same kind of commentary upon a theme found in *The Dream of Joseph* (cat. no. 25). *The Massacre* presents in a way the reverse of that invention, showing the event from which Joseph was urged to flee in his dream. Attention is now concentrated on the infants, whose purity is emphasized by the figure of Innocence surrounded by little angels in the sky above. Testa's figure is derived from the description in Ripa's *Iconologia* of Innocence as a young virgin wearing a garland of flowers and holding a lamb in her arms.³ The lamb stands for the innocent suffering that must be accepted by all those who seek to imitate Christ.

Testa's combination of themes to provide a gloss on the main subject here, as in *The Dream of Joseph*, is closely related to Poussin's style of invention in the Dulwich (fig. 25a) and Cleveland⁴ versions of *The Flight into Egypt*. The two paintings are even more similar in their intense focus on the tragedy, although the central image is framed quite differently. Whereas Poussin somewhat distances the scene by changing the tonality of the pavement at the lower edge of the painting, Testa sets it further back by establishing a ledge or step over which the mother's drapery falls. This effect prepares the way for the commentary on the theme presented in the group around Innocence and in the brilliant landscape in the background. Testa has also orches-



trated color in the service of this idea. The bold triad of the red robe of the executioner, the white cloth under the baby, and the blue drapery on the step is contrasted to the orange-pink of Joseph's robe, the pink of that of the boatman, and the delicate pink flowers on the shore.

The contrast of brilliant hues in the heavens and in the landscape against the dark earth colors of the foreground reveals the immediate impact of Poussin's mythological paintings of the 1630s. More extraordinary is the way in which Testa has exploited *contrapposto* devices of light and shade, and of figures (setting the boatman, for example, in direct opposition to the executioner) in the exegetical development of his original invention. *The Massacre of the Innocents* is Testa's best-known painting; Zeri considers it his masterpiece.

1. Giambattista Marino, *La strage degli innocenti* (Naples, 1632). For the concept of tenderness, see again Colantuono, 1986.
2. *Ibid.*, bk. 3, lines xlvi–xlvii.
3. Ripa, 1625, p. 324.
4. Thuillier, 1974, p. 95, no. 76. For this group of inventions, see further Ferrari, 1987. Testa's particular study of Poussin's *Massacre of the Innocents* in Chantilly (fig. 50–51b) is discussed above in relation to the preparatory drawings.

PREPARATORY DRAWINGS 1. The National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, D 4993, recto and verso. See cat. no. 50. 2. The National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, D 4994, recto and verso. See cat. no. 51. 3. Nasjonalgalleriet, Oslo, B 15332. See fig. 50–51d. 4. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, 12007F. Study for a Flight into Egypt with the Holy Family embarking in the company of angels. Pen and brown ink with brownish gray wash on buff paper. 264 x 346 mm (10³/₈ x 13³/₈"). See Cropper, 1984, p. 259, no. 64, and fig. 112. This is for an independent project, but Testa includes the figure of the boatman and the river landscape, ultimately deriving from examples by the Carracci. The drawing was reproduced in an engraving by A. Scacciati. 5. Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, Notebook (Budde 132), folio 22 recto. Abbreviated version of the latter composition. Pen and brown ink on cream paper. 265 x 210 mm (10⁷/₁₆ x 8¹/₄"). See Cropper, 1984, p. 259, no. 64, fig. XXIII.

PROVENANCE Cardinal Fabrizio Spada-Veralli (1643–1717)

LITERATURE Nagler, 1848, p. 263; Lopresti, 1921, p. 78, fig. 13, and p. 80; Palazzo Pitti, Florence, *Mostra della pittura italiana del sei e settecento* (1922), p. 177, no. 969; Voss, 1924, p. 553, repro. p. 217; Waterhouse, 1937, p.

95; Mitchell, 1937–38, p. 340; Calabi, 1938, p. 559; Marabottini, 1954a, pp. 125–26, pl. XL, fig. 2; Zeri, 1954, pp. 131–32, no. 227 (for more extensive earlier bibliography), pl. 181; Harris, 1967, pp. 40, 54 n. 49; Hartmann, 1970, pp. 46–47, 124–25; Schleier, 1970, p. 668; Brigstocke, 1976, pp. 19–21, 24, 26 nn. 25 and 29, pp. 27–28 n. 47; Brigstocke, 1978, pp. 122, 146 n. 81; Cropper, 1984, pp. 35–36, 41, 43 and fig. 28

53

Sinorix Carried from the Temple of Artemis

c. 1640

Bartsch 19; Bellini 19

Etching, first state. Several surface scratches and a printer's crease down the center.

286 x 409 mm (11¹/₄ x 16¹/₈"

Inscribed in the image with the artist's monogram in the lower right corner

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1926 (26.70.3 (40))

The story of the death of Sinorix is told by Plutarch in his *Mulierum virtutes*.¹ Sinorix, a powerful tetrarch in Galatia, fell in love with the beautiful and virtuous Camma, who was the wife of the tetrarch Sinatus and a priestess of the cult of Artemis, the goddess of the hunt and of chastity. Sinorix murdered Sinatus and then courted Camma, who finally agreed to his suit, providing that her official pledge take place before the goddess. In the temple of Artemis she offered Sinorix a cup of poisoned milk and honey after drinking from it herself. Camma then called out to Artemis that she had avenged her husband and would now go to join him in death. To the relatives of Sinorix she cried that they should prepare a tomb instead of a bridal chamber. Sinorix, feeling tremors from the working of the poison, mounted a chariot to see if its shaking would cure him, but he died that night. After hearing the news, Camma died rejoicing.

Scenes from the lives of such women as Timocleia, Valeria, and Cloelia from Plutarch's accounts of the bravery of women are not uncommon in Renaissance art, but the heroism of Camma was represented very rarely. Testa illustrated it with ac-

curacy and with particular attention to the most dramatic moment—when Sinorix is carried to his chariot. He set the scene in Rome, including the Arch of Titus, the Torre delle Milizie and the Pantheon in the background and the Pyramid of Caius Cestius to the right. The circular Temple of the Vestal Virgins, with its Corinthian columns, stands appropriately for the temple of Artemis. Within this temple, at the foot of the cult statue, the garlanded figure of Camma stands surrounded by horrified spectators. To the right charioteers barely control the rearing horses (modeled on the famous Quirinal *Horse Tamers*) as Sinorix is rushed from the temple amidst his supporters. Testa has exaggerated the lines of their faces to portray reactions that range from shock to cowering fear. He emphasized the violent movement away from the center of the composition towards the foreground edges and the panic of the horses to convey not only the discovery of Camma's deed but also Plutarch's account of how Sinorix hoped that the jolting of his chariot might save him.

In his catalogue of the 1741 sale of the drawings in the collection of Pierre Crozat, Mariette lists one lot of sixteen studies by Testa, including those for a *Death of Camma*, of which the Swedish Count Carl Gustav Tessin bought ten. Of the drawings for the composition in this selection (cat. nos. 54–58), three (including one from the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm [cat. no. 58]) are numbered consecutively from 31 to 33 (cat. nos. 55, 54, and 58, respectively) and probably came from Crozat's collection.² The eight known sheets of studies for this print document Testa's several changes of mind about the format and emphasis of the invention as well as the wide range of techniques and style he employed at a single moment.³ Because of these changes and stylistic differences, Harris suggests that the drawings relate to two separate projects—the horizontal compositions, preparatory to the print, which she compares to *The Martyrdom of Saint Erasmus* of about 1630 (cat. nos. 5 and 6), and the vertical ones to an unrealized later work from around 1640. Hartmann connects all the drawings to the etching, dating it to 1632–33 because of the way in which Testa combined aspects of the work of his two teachers, Domenichino and Pietro da Cortona. Vitzthum argues persuasively for the ordering of the series as the single group presented here, moving from the

vertical to the horizontal, although without suggesting a date.

The small scale of the figures and the way in which their expressions are drawn with delicate flicks of the needle should be compared to similar figures in *An Allegory of Painting* (cat. no. 37) and *Il Liceo della Pittura* (cat. no. 41), both from the late 1630s. The brilliant pen and wash technique of some of the drawings and the very loose application of chalk in others are also found in other studies from the early 1640s (see, for example, cat. nos. 66, 69, and 70). The whole group exemplifies more than any other the way in which Testa experimented with many types of drawing in his middle years, often using standard figures derived from his earlier work. This accounts for the similarities between the prints of *Sinorix Carried from the Temple of Artemis* and *The Martyrdom of Saint Erasmus* that many have observed. The composition of the *Sinorix* is far more complex, however, and the variation and modulation of the etched line more ambitious. The quality of impressions varies more widely, perhaps, than with any other print. Many lack the even inking and the silvery quality that make it appear as if the hills in the landscape have been drawn in graphite in the example included here.

1. *Moralia*, bk. 4, sec. 257E–258C. The story is repeated in *Moralia*, sec. 768B, and retold by Polyaeus in his *Stratagemata* (bk. 8, chap. 39). Plutarch's story was dramatized by Alfred, Lord Tennyson, as *The Cup* (1881).

2. Mariette, 1741, p. 27, no. 272.

3. A painted version of the right side of the composition of the print, excluding the chariot, the pyramid, and the spectators in the background, in the opposite sense (100 x 120 cm [39 3/8 x 42 1/4"]) is at the time of writing with a dealer in New York. It appears to be unfinished and differs in several details from the etching (the dog on the steps is lacking, the statue of Artemis includes a dog, and the architecture and landscape in the distance are quite different). In addition, the modeling of the entablature over the columns of the temple is weak and confused. The condition of the painting may account for some of these infelicities, however, and the figures of Sinorix and Camma are more complete and suggestive of Testa's manner. It is likely that Testa worked on a painted version of this invention in which he had invested so much, but the attribution of the canvas in New York remains highly questionable. Alessandra Ottieri has drawn to my attention two other painted versions, one of which is in the reverse sense, shows the full composition, and appears to be of much higher quality than that in New York.



53

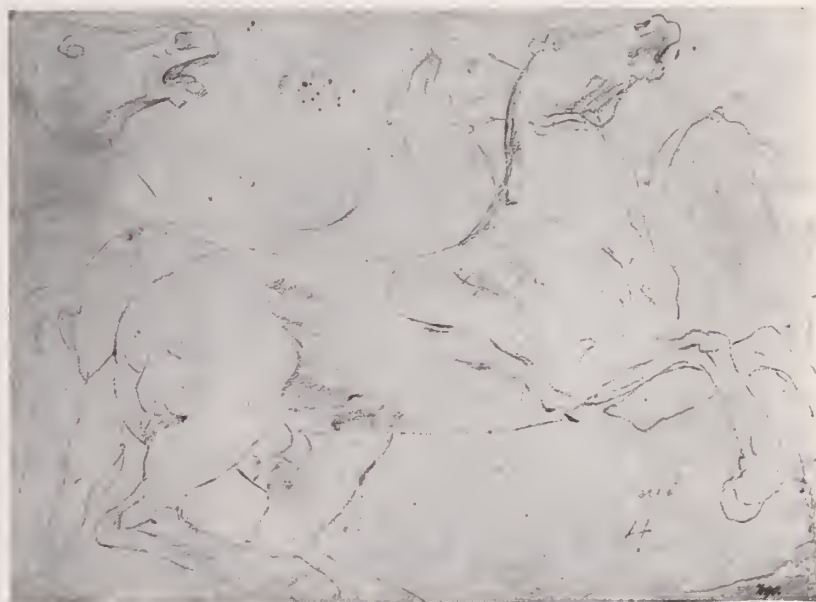


Fig. 53a. Pietro Testa, *Composition Study for "Sinorix Carried from the Temple of Artemis."* c. 1640. Pen and brown ink on cream paper, 207 x 270 mm (8 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 10 $\frac{5}{8}$ "). Teylers Museum, Haarlem, F 35



Fig. 53b. Pietro Testa, *Figure Studies for "Sinorix Carried from the Temple of Artemis,"* c. 1640. Red chalk on cream paper, 330 x 231 mm (13 x 9¹/₁₆"). Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, 57455

Fig. 53c. Pietro Testa, *Study of Horses for "Sinorix Carried from the Temple of Artemis,"* c. 1640. Black chalk on pale buff paper, 190 x 260 mm (7¹/₂ x 10¹/₄"). Trustees of the British Museum, London, Fenwick 1946-7-13-808 recto



Hartmann, 1970, p. 129, cites Percy's notice of Thomas Martyn's record in *The English Connoisseur* (London, 1766), vol. 2, p. 163) of a painting of *Pyrrhus Brought Dead out of the Temple* in Wilton House and suggests that this was a copy of the print.

PREPARATORY DRAWINGS 1. Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (West), KdZ 15208. Vertical composition study in the reverse sense. Pen and brown ink over black chalk on cream paper. 321 x 244 mm (12⁵/₈ x 9⁵/₈"). Cropper, 1984, fig. 48. See also Dreyer, 1979, no. 59. 2. British Museum, London, Malcolm 1895-9-16-667. See cat. no. 54. 3. The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, IV, 180h. See cat. no. 55. 4. Teylers Museum, Haarlem, F 35. See fig. 53a. 5. The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, IV, 180a. See cat. no. 56. 6. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 65.131.8. See cat. no. 57. 7. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, NM H 534/1863. See cat. no. 58. 8. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, 57455. See fig. 53b. The main study on the sheet is of a

gesturing male figure in ancient robes. While this has no exact counterpart in the print, it resembles several minor figures. It is also closely related to the figure of Aristotle in *Il Liceo della Pittura* and to the orator beside Painting in *An Allegory of Painting*. 9. British Museum, London, Fenwick 1946-7-13-808. Recto: See fig. 53c. Inscribed in black chalk: *Sacchi* [?] 4. Verso: Study of trees and roughly outlined figures. Black chalk. Inscribed, probably by the artist, in black chalk: *P. Testa*, with other illegible script.

LITERATURE Baldinucci, 1681-1728, p. 318; Gori Gandellini, 1771, p. 296; Huber, 1799, p. 15; Gori Gandellini and De Angelis, 1813, p. 122; Bartsch, 1820, p. 220, no. 19; Nagler, 1848, p. 266, no. 19; Le Blanc, 1890, p. 20, no. 18; Petrucci, 1936, p. 416; Vitzthum, 1964; Winner, 1964, pp. 24-25, no. 18; Harris, 1967, pp. 36, 38, 52 n. 27, pl. 37; Stampfle and Bean, 1967, pp. 61-62, under no. 84; Hartmann, 1970, pp. 34-38, 129-30; Bellini, 1976b, pp. 51-53, no. 19; Brigstocke, 1976, pp. 20, 26 n. 29; Brigstocke, 1978, p. 118; Bean, 1979, p. 277, under no. 365; Cropper, 1984, pp. 43-44, 197-98 and fig. 46



54

Composition Study for "Sinorix Carried from the Temple of Artemis"

c. 1640

Pen and brown ink with two shades of brown wash on pale buff paper

285 x 193 mm (11 1/4 x 7 9/16")

Inscribed in an old hand in pen and brown ink in the lower left corner: *Pietro Testa ft. 1640*; in the lower right corner: *Pietro Testa*; in pen and black ink in the lower right: 32

Trustees of the British Museum, London, Malcolm 1895-9-16-667

In his original conception for the illustration of Plutarch's story of the death of Sinorix (see cat. no. 53), Testa divided the vertical composition equally between the episodes of Sinorix being helped to his chariot and of Camma drinking the poison. The statue of Artemis in the center points to the character of Camma's virtue. In the final print, however, Testa concentrated instead upon the suffering of Sinorix.

This study is a highly finished version of the pen and chalk drawing in West Berlin (see cat. no. 53, preparatory drawing no. 1). The group of Sinorix and his followers provides a point of departure for the same group in the horizontal composition in the Pierpont Morgan Library (cat. no. 55). Such strong curling lines and brilliant chiaroscuro are not found in drawings from Testa's early years. A comparison of the inscription with the artist's own signature on a drawing in Stuttgart (cat. no. 46) indicates that it is not autograph, but, as Harris suggests, the date would seem correct.

LITERATURE Vitzthum, 1964, fig. 1; Harris, 1967, p. 52 n. 27 (incorrectly as British Museum, 1895, 9.15.667); Hartmann, 1970, p. 137; Bellini, 1976b, p. 52, under no. 19; Cropper, 1984, pp. 43-44 and fig. 47

55

Studies for "Sinorix Carried from the Temple of Artemis"

Verso: Similar studies, with the figures moving from right to left, transposed from the recto

c. 1640

Recto: Pen and brown ink with brown wash over black chalk on white paper. Verso: Pen and brown ink with some black ink and brown wash over black chalk. The upper right corner reconstituted, probably by the artist. Some oil stains.

224 x 229 mm (8 13/16 x 11 3/4")

Inscribed on the recto in pen and brown ink in the lower right corner: 32; on the verso in pencil in the lower left center: 5

The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, IV, 180h

In this sheet Testa altered the vertical format developed in the drawings now in West Berlin (see cat. no. 53, preparatory drawing no. 1) and London (cat. no. 54) to establish the horizontal, rectangular frame of the print (cat. no. 53), although without introducing the architectural setting. Here he concentrates on the figure of the dying Sinorix and on the powerful movement of the man leading out the horses. Fluttering draperies and scribbled lines combined with loosely applied wash serve to convey a sense of rushing movement on a much grander scale than he would eventually adopt. The strong contrast between the figures blocked out in soft black chalk on the left and the more highly worked details on the right of the drawing on the recto reveals how far Testa sometimes traveled from his first ideas to a more finished composition in working on a single drawing. The faint chalk drawing to the left is very similar in technique as well as to drawings now in the Fogg Art Museum for *The Sacrifice of Iphigenia* (see cat. no. 61, preparatory drawing no. 4) from around 1640. The use of wash to create brilliant chiaroscuro effects on the right of the study on the recto, on the other hand, recalls such drawings as the study for *The Dream of Joseph* in the Pierpont Morgan Library (cat. no. 66).

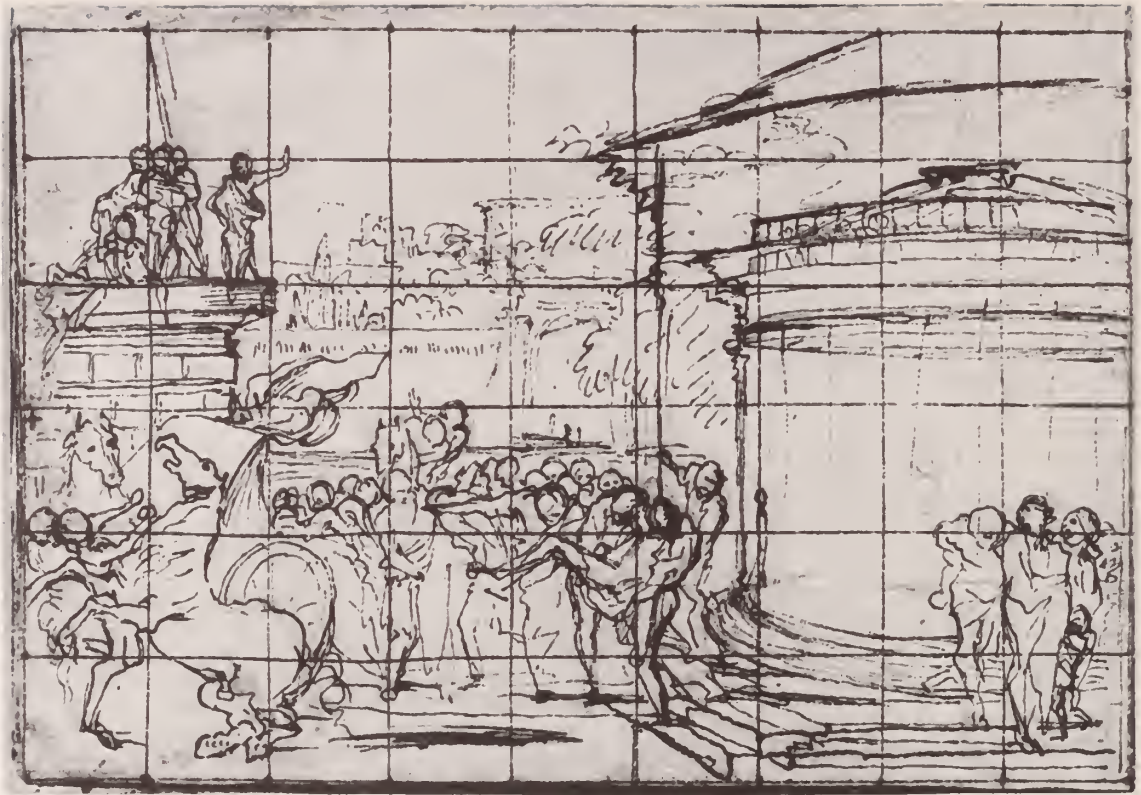
Stampfle and Bean note that the ornament on the chariot on the recto, more finely worked than the rest of the drawing, is the sort of detail for which Testa's work for Cassiano dal Pozzo would have prepared him. Indeed it is very similar to the decoration of a bed in one drawing securely attributed to Testa among the Cassiano volumes at Windsor.¹ The motif of a mask flanked by reclining figures and supported by a putto is also repeated in a drawing in the Düsseldorf Notebook.²



55 recto



55 verso



56

1. See the discussion by Anthony Blunt in Schilling and Blunt, 1971, pp. 121–22 and fig. 36.

2. Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, Notebook (Budde 132), folio 4 verso. Pen and brown ink on cream paper. 255 x 200 mm (10 x 7⁷/₈"). See Cropper, 1984, pp. 197–98 and fig. VII.

PROVENANCE Sir Thomas Lawrence (1769–1830; Lugt 2445); Sotheby's, London, "Sale of a Well-Known Amateur" (Stampfle and Bean, 1967, p. 62, identify as Hope or Brooke) (June 20, 1891), part of lot 230; Charles Fairfax Murray; purchased in London by J. Pierpont Morgan, 1910

LITERATURE Vitzthum, 1964, p. 297, pls. 45 (recto) and 46 (verso); Harris, 1967, p. 55 n. 56; Stampfle and Bean, 1967, pp. 61–62, no. 84; Hartmann, 1970, pp. 137–38; Bellini, 1976b, p. 52, under no. 19; Cropper, 1984, pp. 43–44, 197–98 and fig. 49

56

Composition Study for "Sinorix Carried from the Temple of Artemis"

c. 1640

Pen and brown ink over black chalk on white paper. Squared in pen and brown ink. Lined.

101 x 146 mm (4 x 5³/₄")

The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, IV, 180a

When he made this small drawing Testa had committed himself to the alteration of scale and to the architectural setting that distinguish the printed composition (cat. no. 53) from the other studies now also in the Pierpont Morgan Library (cat. no. 55). Even though the sheet is squared for enlargement Testa continued to make alterations, especially in the scale of the round temple. The decision to shift dramatic emphasis from the confusion of action portrayed in the earlier drawings was first made in the horizontal study in the Teylers Museum, Haarlem (fig. 53a). The new emphasis, as Vitzthum describes it, is on "the stony observation of emotion expressed on scowling faces and through abrupt gestures, rather than the concentration on dramatic action."

PROVENANCE Sir Thomas Lawrence (1769–1830; Lugt 2445); Sotheby's, London, "Sale of a Well-Known Amateur" (Stampfle and Bean, 1967, p. 62, identify as Hope or Brooke) (June 20, 1891), part of lot 231; Charles

Fairfax Murray; purchased in London by J. Pierpont Morgan, 1910

LITERATURE Vitzthum, 1964, p. 297, pl. 47b; Stampfle and Bean, 1967, p. 62, no. 85; Hartmann, 1970, p. 138; Bellini, 1976b, p. 52, under no. 19; Cropper, 1984, p. 44 n. 194

57

Figure Studies for "Sinorix Carried from the Temple of Artemis"

RECTO AND VERSO

c. 1640

Recto and verso: Black chalk on gray paper

345 x 230 mm (13³/₁₆ x 9¹/₁₆")

Inscribed on the recto in pen and brown ink in the lower right: *Pietro Testa*; on the verso in pen and brown ink in the lower left: *Testa*

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1965 (65.131.8)

These studies for two of the men who recoil from the sight of the dying Sinorix in the final print (cat. no. 53) show how, despite his practice of reversing and revising figures for use in different compositions, Testa also considered even quite unimportant figures in detail and from the life to establish expressive movement and the lines of drapery.

PROVENANCE Sale, Christie's, London, *The Well-Known Collection of Old Master Drawings Principally of the Italian School Formed in the 18th Century by John Skippe . . .* (November 20–21, 1958), lot 211A; purchased by Colnaghi, London; purchased by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1965

LITERATURE Harris, 1967, p. 52 n. 27; Hartmann, 1970, p. 139; Bean, 1979, p. 277, no. 365; Cropper, 1984, p. 44 n. 194

58

Composition Study for "Sinorix Carried from the Temple of Artemis"

c. 1640

Pen and brown ink with black chalk and small traces of red chalk on cream paper. Corrections to figures at the left of the temple in metalpoint over a white wash. Other traces of incision in the swags. Squared in black chalk. Bordered in brown ink. Several stains and blots in brown ink. A small vertical



57 recto



57 verso



rear parallel to the column above the head of Camma. Small holes in the trees.

276 x 417 mm (10⁷/₈ x 16⁷/₁₆"

Inscribed in pen and brown ink in the lower right corner: 33 [*cancelled*] 452

Nationalmuseum, Stockholm,
NM H 534/1863

The reworking of the arm of the figure gesturing from the temple reveals that even at this very late stage in his preparations, in a drawing that is very close in size and details to the image on the plate (cat. no. 53), Testa continued to work obsessively to improve the design. The caricatures over the columns to the right indicate, however, that once the print was completed he did not care especially to preserve the drawing as a record of such long labor. These heads are drawn in the same ink as the composition drawing, and they are also consistent with Testa's other studies of exaggerated expression and character, such as those in Montpellier (see fig. 116a). This is especially true of the drawing in the center, which is more of a study in expression, similar to the heads of the violently expressive figures in the scene of Sinorix's death. By surrounding this head with a ring of caricatures Testa is playing with the same principle demonstrated in several drawings from the Carracci Academy in which ideal or naturally rendered heads are progressively deformed.¹ The Carracci were famous for their invention of caricature drawings that conveyed exaggerations of character by the use of charged lines and that served to refine their students' ability to portray expression in an accurate and economical way. Their student Domenichino was also famous for this kind of drawing, and these little sketches reveal that he passed on this witty practice to his own pupil. In 1749 Count Tessin described this as a scene of *The Death of Agrippa*, and considered the sheet to be a "Dessin Capital."

1. See especially the drawing attributed to Agostino in the Oppé Collection, reproduced by Donald Posner in *Annibale Carracci: A Study in the Reform of Italian Painting Around 1550* (London, 1971), vol. 1, fig. 56.

PROVENANCE Pierre Crozat (1665–1740; Lugt 2951); Count Carl Gustav Tessin (1695–1770; Lugt 2985); Swedish Royal Collection

LITERATURE Carl Gustav Tessin, Inventory of 1749, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, p. 130, no. 23; Vitzthum,

1964, p. 297, fig. 1; Nationalmuseum, 1965, p. 30, no. 133; Hartmann, 1970, p. 138; Cropper, 1974a, p. 382; Cropper, 1984, pp. 43–44 and fig. 52

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Venus Giving Arms to Aeneas

c. 1638–40

Bartsch 24; Bellini 17

Etching, first state

362 x 404 mm (14¹/₄ x 15⁷/₈" (trimmed)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1926 (26.70.3(45))

Testa's representation of the story of Venus giving arms to Aeneas is based on his close reading of Virgil's account in the *Aeneid*.¹ To aid Aeneas in his battle against Turnus and in the eventual founding of Rome, Venus appeals to Vulcan to make weapons for her son. As Aeneas marshalls his forces, Venus waits until she sees him alone in a secluded vale beside the cool stream of Caere. She appears to him in person and sets up the shining arms on an oak tree—"the helmet, terrifying with its plumes and spouting flames, the death-dealing sword, the stiff corselet made of iron, blood-red and huge, . . . the spear, and the fabric of the shield whose story can be told."

In an *ekphrasis* deliberately evoking Homer's description of the shield of Achilles,² Virgil proceeds to narrate the epic story. Even in the very small details of the decoration of the armor Testa provides images to epitomize the account of Aeneas's destiny, just as he would later in the decorative details in scenes from the life of Achilles (cat. nos. 118–22). At the bottom of the shield presented to Aeneas the she-wolf suckles Romulus and Remus, descendants of Aeneas and the mythical founders of Rome, beside the Tiber. At the top sits Augustus Caesar, the first Roman emperor, with the orb of empire in his right hand. To the left is a cuirass, a military trophy, and beneath his feet are conquered peoples. Behind him to the right are the silver goose and temple that Vulcan placed on the shield to prophesy the arousal of Manlius by the cackling of the Capitoline geese to defend Rome against the Gauls. A little love

points to the winged figure of Fame (History?), derived from the same figure on the Column of Trajan in Rome, who writes the *enarrabile textum*, or the recountable story that is the *Aeneid* itself, on a shield.

Testa extends his translation into images of Virgil's *ekphrasis* of the shield as a work of art within the narrative of the epic to include the decoration of the helmets. The Greek helmet Aeneas has put on is decorated at the side with two crouching figures to represent the peoples he will subject. The helmet he has put aside is ornamented with a pair of embracing sea creatures. His former association with battles of love, now to be replaced by feats of war, is emphasized by the little cupid who playfully covers his head with the discarded helmet, seeking to frighten his companions, just as the putto with his head covered in *The Garden of Venus* (cat. no. 13) tries to do. The figure of Aeneas himself, surrounded by little loves who play with his armor, recalls the figure of Alexander in Sodoma's famous fresco of the marriage of Alexander and Roxane in the Villa Farnesina in Rome³ as much as it does Poussin's hero in his *Venus Giving Arms to Aeneas* from the mid-1630s (now in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen).⁴

Although Testa uses the decoration of the helmets to express the moment at which Venus, the goddess of love, prepares her son to undertake the great deeds of war that will fulfill the destiny portrayed on the shield, the style of his invention is dictated by the character of Venus. Even more than Poussin's image, in which the earthy tones of the landscape moderate the sweetness of the moment, Testa's scene is lyrical rather than epic. It is primarily a commemoration of the origins of the Latin race in the union of Venus and Anchises that produced Aeneas. That he conceived of this lyricism in a playful Alexandrian spirit, as in the earlier prints devoted to Venus (see cat. nos. 13 and 16), is underlined by the graceful figure of Aeneas, for this is modeled not only on the Alexander of Sodoma but also on the figure of Alexander placing the poetry of Homer in safety in the fresco by Raphael's workshop in the window embrasure of the Stanza della Segnatura in the Vatican.⁵ In addition, the river god conforms to the Attic spirit of the whole. Whereas Poussin included a sober and noble figure resembling the Vatican *Tiber*,⁶ Testa drew upon the elegant and uneasy

forms of Francesco Primaticcio's river gods, as recorded by Léon Daven (fig. 74–83b).

Such a careful and intricate reading of Virgil's text reflects Testa's increasing interest in themes of ancient history from the late 1630s on. Notes in the Düsseldorf Notebook reveal that he certainly read Lelio Guidiccioni's translation of the *Aeneid*, *L'Enéide toscana*, published with a dedication to Cardinal Antonio Barberini in Rome in 1642. It is possible that Testa was planning a whole series of prints to illustrate Virgil's poem.⁷ Guidiccioni's translation does not provide a *terminus post quem* for this print, however, for others were available. Nor do the delicate handling of the needle and the slender proportions of the figures conform to Testa's grander style that begins to emerge after 1642. At the same time it is not as clear as I, like others, once thought that it should be placed close to *Venus and Adonis* (cat. no. 16) and so before 1637. The similarity of the figure of Venus here to that of Diana in *The Sacrifice of Iphigenia* (cat. no. 61) has been noted frequently, and the preparatory drawings share some of the new clarity found in studies for that print. The decoration of Venus's chariot resembles that of Sinorix's in the drawing in the British Museum (cat. no. 55). The tree to the left with its powerful torsion resembles that in *The Dream of Joseph* (cat. no. 25). While Testa's repetition of motifs makes such observations less valuable than they might otherwise be, it does seem that this print more easily fits into the group that includes not only *The Sacrifice of Iphigenia* but also *Il Liceo della Pittura* (cat. no. 41). The resemblance to *Venus and Adonis* is the result of a generic similarity. Like Poussin, Testa could work in different manners at the same moment in the exposition of various kinds of history, exemplified here by the stories of Venus giving arms to Aeneas and the death of Sinorix. His discovery of prints after Primaticcio, which were to have a continuing importance in his poetic inventions in the 1640s, seems to have been made about this time, for there is no evidence of his study of them in the earlier work.

The effect of light and shadow in the landscape, where a series of planes is established through the manipulation of the density of line and areas described by contours are set off against those defined by interior modeling, is far more controlled than in the early prints. In places, especially toward the lower





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edge, the plate is pitted, the surface is uncontrolled, and several of the lines of the hatching have collapsed. But still, however, Testa has created an effect of extraordinary freshness, a far more expressive metaphor for autograph drawing than the actual final drawing for the plate.

1. Bk. 8, lines 597-731.
2. *Iliad*, bk. 18, lines 483-607.
3. Andrée Hayum, *Giovanni Antonio Bazzi—“Il Sodoma”* (New York, 1976), p. 311, fig. 42.
4. Blunt, 1966, p. 133, no. 190; Thuillier, 1974, p. 98, no. 98.
5. Leopold D. Ettlinger and Helen S. Ettlinger, *Raphael* (Oxford, 1987), p. 96, pl. 92.
6. Now Musée du Louvre, Paris (Haskell and Penny, 1981, p. 310, fig. 164).
7. Cropper, 1984, pp. 268-70, no. 76.

PREPARATORY DRAWINGS 1. The National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, D 2251. Composition study in reverse. Pen and brown ink over black chalk on cream paper. Squared in black chalk. 314 x 416 mm (12 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 16 $\frac{3}{8}$ "). See Andrews, 1968, vol. 1, p. 119; vol. 2, fig. 806.

2. The National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, D 4948. Study of Venus, Aeneas, putti, and a river god in the same sense. Pen and brown ink over black chalk on cream paper. 185 x 269 mm (7 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 10 $\frac{5}{16}$ "). See Brigstocke, 1978, fig. 26. The drawing of the same figures mounted in the Düsseldorf-Notebook (Cropper, 1984, p. 268, no. 75 and fig. XXXI) is in my view a copy taken from this sheet.

LITERATURE Baldinucci, 1681-1728, p. 318; Gori Gandellini, 1771, p. 296; Bartsch, 1820, p. 221, no. 24; Nagler, 1848, p. 267, no. 24; Le Blanc, 1890, p. 21, no. 23; Harris, 1967, pp. 37, 51 n. 20; Hartmann, 1970, pp. 71-72, 157; Brigstocke, 1978, pp. 121-22; Cropper, 1984, pp. 44, 198, 228, 268-69 and fig. 53

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Venus Appealing to Jupiter to Help Aeneas

c. 1634-37

Pen and brown ink over red chalk on light buff paper

109 x 181 mm (4 $\frac{5}{16}$ x 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ ")

Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, Graphische Sammlung, 1382

Testa has portrayed here an earlier scene from the *Aeneid* in which many of the events prophesied on

the shield Aeneas is given by Venus in *Venus Giving Arms to Aeneas* (cat. no. 59) are foretold. After Juno has used her powers to persuade Aeolus, the god of the winds, to blow up a tempest to cause the destruction of the Trojan fleet, its shipwrecked leader Aeneas finds safety on the coast of Libya. Venus in the meantime appeals to Jupiter to fulfill his promise to her that her son Aeneas will found an empire in Rome. Jupiter confirms his promise, telling her of the empire of his son Ascanius, of Romulus and Remus, of Julius Caesar, and of the Pax Romana. He then sends his messenger Mercury, son of Maia, to Carthage to make sure that its queen Dido, who is ignorant of her fate (see cat. nos. 21, 125, and 126), will welcome Aeneas.¹

In Testa's composition Venus has alighted from her dove-drawn chariot, and Jupiter, seated on his eagle, listens to her complaint. To the right Mercury is ready to speed away. This sheet, with its delicate scale and loose pen lines, resembles the drawings for *An Allegory in Honor of the Arrival of Cardinal Franciotti as Bishop of Lucca* (see cat. no. 36), and the eagle is similar to that found in one of his drawings for an architectural decoration (cat. no. 46).

A drawing after Testa in the Düsseldorf Notebook illustrates the same scene in the opposite sense and with several variations, indicating that he made at least one other invention on this theme.² Two other copies after Testa in the Notebook represent the episode from the *Aeneid* that follows immediately: the appearance of Venus to Aeneas in the guise of a huntress to urge him to enter Carthage.³ The Stuttgart drawing was surely made before *Venus Giving Arms to Aeneas* and is probably very close in date to *Dido and Aeneas Hunting* (cat. no. 21). Poussin, Pietro da Cortona, and other contemporaries of Testa painted individual scenes from the *Aeneid* in the 1630s. But this group of drawings, whether originals or copies, and the preceding print imply that Testa intended a more thorough series of illustrations.

1. *Aeneid*, bk. 1, lines 229-304.
2. Cropper, 1984, p. 267, fig. XXIX.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 267, fig. XXX; p. 269, fig. XXXII.

LITERATURE Hartmann, 1970, pp. 167-68; Thiem, 1977, p. 216, no. 399; Cropper, 1984, p. 267, no. 73 and fig. 118

The Sacrifice of Iphigenia

c. 1640–42

Bartsch 23; Bellini 18

Etching with drypoint, first state?

400 x 468 mm (15³/₄ x 18⁷/₁₆"

Inscribed in the image on the first step to the right: *PTL Pinx. et Sculp.*; on the altar: *IERON THΣ APTE MIΔOS*; in the lower margin: *All Ill.mo e R.mo Sig.re M.r D. Mario Albericio dell'una, è l'altra Segnatura Referendario, e prelado della congregazione della fabrica./ Il Disegno che per l'oscurità di lungo tempo havea profundam.te dormito si sveglia ne giorni chiariss.mi di Raffaello e visto le confusioni con rigori della sua potensa stabili molte leggi e per frenar particolarment.te l'insolensa de colori l'assegnò breviss.mi spatij con buona/ guardia d un suo fidatiss.mo Correggiano detto il Chiaroscuro si spense questo lume divino e Venere si cadoprò come quella che senza colori non si fida d'ingannare et divorando ogni sottigliezza dell arte cercarono sfacciatam.te la ribellione fortificandosi nella parte/ del senso a guisa di Torrente torbidiss.mo. per l'opinioni scorrendo il paese havriano il tutto inondato se di tempo in tempo non vi fussero stati gagliardi ripari a quali applicatomi anch'io stimo habilitarmi per il mantenimento d'essi per esser tra quelli che cercano intendere/ come si possa reprimere un si orgoglioso impeto. Percio vorrei che queste prime operette si notificassero corrispondenti in qualche parte a questa mia volonta pronta a servire V.S. Ill.mo atta a conoscere le sottigliezze dell arte e il puro affetto del cuore. Pietro Testa*

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Vol. Ba. 20.b,
in fol. 55

The story of the sacrifice of Iphigenia is told by Euripides in *Iphigenia at Aulis*,¹ more briefly by Aeschylus in his *Agamemnon*,² and by Ovid in his *Metamorphoses*.³ When the Greek troops were mustered at Aulis to set sail against Troy, no favoring wind appeared. The seer Calchas ordered their leader Agamemnon to sacrifice his daughter Iphigenia to Artemis, who was angry with the king for having killed one of her deer. Once her anger was assuaged, she would permit the winds to blow. Agamemnon agreed to trick his wife Clytemnestra into bringing their daughter from their home in Mycenae to Aulis on the pretense that there she would marry the

great warrior Achilles. His plot is discovered by Achilles, who decides to defend Iphigenia, but she, learning the truth, willingly offers herself up in sacrifice. Achilles determines to accompany her to the altar to save her should she change her mind. In the grove dedicated to Artemis, Iphigenia takes leave of her father, the lustral bowl is taken around the altar, and the priest draws his knife. At this moment Iphigenia disappears and a hind is placed in her stead.

Testa shows in a single moment all the elements of the story, making visible the miraculous intervention of Artemis, who takes pity on Iphigenia and carries her off, leaving the hind as her replacement, to which Euripides and Aeschylus only allude. In a shady grove the soldiers and priests gather around an altar dedicated to Artemis (in Greek in Testa's inscription), beside which stands a richly ornamented vase decorated with a scene of Artemis and her nymphs hunting a hind, the same beast that the goddess substitutes for Iphigenia. In the background are the ships of the becalmed Greek fleet and the bodies of soldiers killed by plague. As the priest holds the sacrificial bowl over the flames and the executioner draws his knife, Artemis herself appears to point out the hind. In the sky above her lightning flashes amidst dark, billowing clouds, indicating that the winds are blowing up to take the Greeks away from Aulis.

Testa did not set out only to explicate the narrative, however, for here, as in *Sinorix Carried from the Temple of Artemis* (cat. no. 53), his focus is upon the expression of the emotions of those surrounding the heroic self-sacrifice of a woman. The subtext of the image is Pliny's account⁴ of the famous painting of this scene by Timanthes, who portrayed the grief of all the spectators but covered the face of Agamemnon, whose suffering was too great to be depicted. Testa shows the angry Achilles to the right, his hand on his sword, ready to defend Iphigenia. The priests and soldiers register not sorrow, but shock at the intervention of Artemis. Only the three figures to the left—Clytemnestra, Iphigenia's maid, and Agamemnon—express grief. Following Timanthes' example Testa shows the latter covering his face to indicate pain beyond expression. Pliny's account had become a commonplace for the inexpressibility of extreme passion and the ultimate need for concealment in painting by the



Al. M. R. Sig. M. D. Mons. Alberto. de. a. s. e. ultra
Il Duca che per l'opere di lungo tempo hanno profittato di merito e onore, ne giura chiaro di Raffaello e di se stesso
quello di un suo figlio. Con questa si dice il benemerito e come questo come d'una e l'opere di se stesso in quello di un
del suo a qua di l'opere di se stesso e l'opere di se stesso il tutto in un solo e in un solo e in un solo e in un solo
di se e per se stesso in un solo e in un solo e in un solo e in un solo e in un solo e in un solo e in un solo e in un solo



Signorino Deferando, e primo della congregazione della fabbrica
con regni della sua patria simili a tutte le leggi e il primo parzialmente l'italiano da colui l'aggiò d'una parte con l'una
colui con la fida d'ognuno e d'ognuno con l'una dell'arte e d'ognuno l'italiano con l'una dell'arte e d'ognuno l'italiano con l'una
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con l'una dell'arte e d'ognuno l'italiano con l'una dell'arte e d'ognuno l'italiano con l'una dell'arte e d'ognuno l'italiano con l'una

time Testa approached the subject. Cited by Cicero⁵ and Quintilian,⁶ the painting by Timanthes had more recently been mentioned by Alberti⁷ as an example of the artist's skill in leaving the completion of the image up to the spectator, a view that was of course seconded by Lessing in his theoretical treatise *Laocoon*, in which the story of Iphigenia is also retold.⁸ Testa's approach to the depiction of pain is, then, quite different here from that exemplified in his *Martyrdom of Saint Erasmus* (cat. nos. 5 and 6), which Fuseli described as "one of those subjects which ought not to be told to the eye—because it is equally loathsome and horrible," adding that "Poussin and Pietro Testa are here more or less objects of aversion, in proportion to the greater or less energy they exerted."⁹

It is the very resignation of Iphigenia that moves Artemis to save her, whereas it is Agamemnon's betrayal of his daughter that leads to his grief. In *The Triumph of Painting on Parnassus* (cat. no. 73) Testa presents the argument that the painter should conquer not only the expression of emotion but also those emotions in himself. In *The Suicide of Cato* (cat. no. 116) he contrasts the suffering of the spectators to the fortitude of Cato. In this work, for all of his passionate investigation of expression, Testa began to explore that same contrast of virtue and passion.

Examples of the first state of this etching, as Bellini also notes, are extremely rare. Petrucci's recent short biography of Mario Alberizzo (or Alberizzi), who is identified in Testa's dedication as the referendary of the two papal *signature* and prelate of the congregation of the *fabbrica* of Saint Peter's, seems at first to complicate the logical ordering of the states, for the author implies that Alberizzi received these appointments from Alexander VII only after Testa's death.¹⁰ This account of Alberizzi's life is not, however, based on primary documents, and verification of even his date of birth awaits further study. In 1671, when he was appointed bishop of Neocesarea, Alberizzi was said to be about sixty years old. It would not have been impossible, therefore, for Testa to have dedicated *The Sacrifice of Iphigenia* to him in this way in the early 1640s, or indeed to have added the dedication at any point to a plate that he had prepared but not published. The text of the dedication is very much in keeping with the sentiments about the relationship among drawing, color, and chiaroscuro that Testa expressed

elsewhere, especially in *The Triumph of Painting* and the Düsseldorf Notebook.¹¹ He points to the reawakening of drawing in the days of Raphael, as if from a deep sleep, and the manner in which *disegno* sought to impose order on confusion, especially by controlling the "insolence" of color through the power of chiaroscuro, here identified as drawing's "most faithful courtier." Upon the death of Raphael, Venus collapsed as if she had lost confidence in her power to deceive without colors—which is to say that beauty itself could no longer appear natural but was tricked out with false ornament—and impudent artists, devouring all subtlety, rose up in rebellion. They fortified themselves by appeals to the senses, and, as Testa writes, would by means of opinion (here understood to be in opposition to true judgment) have flooded the whole country like a raging torrent had not defenses been raised against them from time to time. Testa identifies himself as one of those seeking to maintain these defenses and to understand how to rebuff the thrust of such presumptuousness. He adds that he hopes that these, his first little works, will advertise everywhere his readiness to serve his patron Alberizzi, who was prepared to recognize the subtleties of his art and the sincerity of his affections. Alberizzi's name never appears again in connection with Testa's work, however, and in the second state this highly personal dedication was burnished out.¹²

1. The scene represented by Testa is that described by the messenger in lines 1540–1612.

2. Lines 183–257.

3. Bk. 12, lines 1–38.

4. Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, bk. 35, 73.

5. Cicero, *Orator*, bk. 22, 74.

6. Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, bk. 2, 13.

7. Leon Battista Alberti, *On Painting and on Sculpture*, ed. and trans. Cecil Grayson (London, 1972), p. 83.

8. Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Laocoon: An Essay upon the Limits of Painting and Poetry*, trans. Ellen Frothingham (New York, 1957), pp. 12–13.

9. See Henry Fuseli, *The Life and Writings of Henry Fuseli*, ed. John Knowles (London, 1831), vol. 1, p. 270.

10. Armando Petrucci in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 1 (Rome, 1960), s.v. "Alberizzi, Mario."

11. See, for example, Testa's description of an imaginary conversation between Raphael and Giulio Romano on

Fig. 61a. Pietro Testa, *Composition Study for "The Sacrifice of Iphigenia,"* c. 1641. Pen and ink over black chalk on cream paper, several sheets joined together; 365 x 409 mm (14³/₈ x 16¹/₈"). Board of Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, E 3231-1934



this subject in Cropper, 1984, pp. 251-54, folio 20 recto, no. 6.

12. Mario Alberizzi was, however, a supporter of Francesco Borromini. In a letter of November 7, 1657, he wrote to Cardinal Bernardino Spada recommending him for work in the Lateran in Rome and stating that the architect would do the job because of the affection and sympathy that Alberizzi had shown him.

PREPARATORY DRAWINGS 1. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, E 3231-1934. See fig. 61a. 2. Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (West), 17451. Composition study in the reverse sense. Pen and brown ink over black chalk. 337 x 399 mm (13¹/₄ x 15¹/₁₆"). Inscribed by the artist. See Timm, 1966, fig. 1. Peter Dreyer informs me that the drawing is, however, in East Berlin. 3. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, 777F. Study in the reverse sense for the figures surrounding Agamemnon to the left. Pen and brown ink with black chalk on cream paper. 163 x 139 mm (6⁷/₁₆ x 5¹/₂"). See Cropper, 1984, p. 43 and fig. 44. 4. Harvard University Art Museums, Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, 1948.26, recto and verso. Preliminary studies in the same and reverse senses, respectively, for the priests at the right. Red chalk on cream paper. 185 x 239 mm (7¹/₄ x 9³/₈"). See Cropper, 1984, p. 43-44 and fig. 43 (verso). 5. A drawing purchased by Lorna Lowe at Christie's, London, December 13, 1984, lot 57, may represent this subject, but is closer in style to the drawings for *The Massacre of the Innocents* (cat. nos. 50 and 51). Pen and brown

ink with wash. 155 x 172 mm (6¹/₈ x 6³/₄"). Inscribed on the recto in the lower right corner: *p. testa*; on the verso: *N 59*. See Hobhouse Ltd., London, *Old Master Drawings Presented by Lorna Lowe* (June 24-July 5, 1985), p. 4, no. 30, and p. 23, pl. 19.

LITERATURE Passeri, 1679, p. 185; Baldinucci, 1681-1728, p. 318; Gori Gandellini, 1771, p. 296; Huber, 1799, p. 15; Gori Gandellini and De Angelis, 1813, p. 122; Bartsch, 1820, p. 221, no. 23; Nagler, 1848, pp. 266-67, no. 23; Le Blanc, 1890, p. 21, no. 22; Lopresti, 1921, pp. 79, 80, fig. 15; Marabottini, 1954a, p. 132 n. 19; Harris, 1967, pp. 37, 40, 51 n. 20, 54 n. 50; Hartmann, 1970, pp. 37-39, 130; Brigstocke, 1976, pp. 23-24; Cropper, 1984, pp. 43-44 and fig. 42

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The Sacrifice of Iphigenia

c. 1640-42

Oil on canvas. Some obviously restored areas.

149 x 194 cm (58¹/₁₆ x 76³/₈")

Galleria Spada, Rome, 312

Testa's painted version of this scene is in the same sense as the etching, which it resembles closely (see cat. no. 61). There are, however, many small differences, such as the placement of Iphigenia's foot, the



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treatment of the lightning, the decoration of the vase to the right, and the inclusion of the small vase on the patera. The overall effect of the painting is heavier and less delicate, especially in the modeling of figures and drapery. This is not only a result of the difference in medium, for Testa is employing in the canvas the weightier forms that are typical of his works from the 1640s. The bold chiaroscuro, modified by the brilliant patches of color, in combination with the decorative elements on helmets, ships, and vases, is more suggestive of a gilded relief than of an outdoor scene.

Testa's studies are all in the reverse sense, which implies that they are preparatory for the print; that the print and painting are in the same sense implies that the former preceded the latter, despite the inscription *PTL Pinx. et Sculp.* on all known states of the etching.¹ It may be that print and canvas were produced almost in parallel, although it is also possible that Testa, like Salvator Rosa, inscribed his prints this way in the hope that he would be asked to produce the painting.²

1. A composition drawing in the same sense in the Teylers Museum, Haarlem, has recently been reattributed to Giovanni Francesco Romanelli. See Meijer, 1985, no. 65.

2. For Rosa's letter to Ricciardi of October 21, 1663, in which he explains that he has inscribed prints, of which no painted versions exist, *Inv. pinx. Scul.* ("per mia cortesia e per far credere ch'io intanto l'ho intagliate, in quanto l'haverle dipinte"), see Richard W. Wallace, *The Etchings of Salvator Rosa* (Princeton, 1979), p. 93 n. 1.

PROVENANCE Cardinal Fabrizio Spada-Veralli (1643–1717)

LITERATURE Nagler, 1848, p. 263; Lopresti, 1921, p. 78, fig. 14, and p. 80; Palazzo Pitti, Florence, *Mostra della pittura italiana del sei e settecento* (1922), p. 177, no. 968; Voss, 1924, p. 553; Waterhouse, 1937, p. 95; Calabi, 1938, p. 559; Marabottini, 1954a, pp. 132–33; Zeri, 1954, pp. 132–33, no. 312 (for more extensive earlier bibliography), pl. 182; Harris, 1967, pp. 40, 54 n. 50; Hartmann, 1970, pp. 47–48, 125; Schleier, 1970, pp. 667, 668; Brigstocke, 1976, pp. 23–24, 27 nn. 46 and 47; Cropper, 1984, pp. 41, 60, and fig. 76

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The Adoration of the Magi

c. 1640

Bartsch 3; Bellini 16

Etching with some drypoint, first state. Two faint horizontal folds.

425 x 356 mm (16¾ x 14")

Inscribed in the image above the lower margin: *PTL. Pinx. et sculp.*; in the lower margin: *Ill.mo ac R. D. Hieronymo Bonvisio Camerae Apostolicae Clerico D.D./ Ut Morti rerum Dominos det caeca Tyrannos./ Lumine saepe malo Stella sinistra rubet/ Hic vitae ut Dominum possint agnoscere Reges./ VISU laeta BONO Stella benigna nitet.*; in the lower right corner: *Petrus Testa*

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1946 (46.140.33)

The Adoration of the Magi has been related to *The Sacrifice of Iphigenia* (cat. no. 61) by many scholars, and the similarities in techniques of drawing and etching support the view that the two prints must be close in date. Passeri reports that Testa produced them after *Il Liceo della Pittura* (cat. no. 41) and that they show a new mastery of composition, accompanied by "all desirable richness and allure." In working on both plates Testa used the same crisp, light lines to establish the multiple ridges of the draperies, the locks of hair, the knitted brows of the onlookers, the puffs of clouds and smoke, and the delicate foliage. There are also particular similarities in the physiognomy and poses of several of the figures. Their contours are not yet as closed as they appear in Testa's prints of the mid-1640s (see cat. nos. 101 and 102), and yet the drawing, modeling, and composition are all far more confident and elaborate than in works like *The Martyrdom of Saint Erasmus* (cat. nos. 5 and 6) or *Three Lucchese Saints Interceding with the Virgin for the Victims of the Plague* (cat. no. 7) from the early years. Here the little angels surrounding the star have the fleshy softness and vigor of the putti in those prints of the 1630s, but Testa is already moving toward a greater monumentality. All the evidence tends to support Harris's suggestion of a date around 1640, in opposition to Hartmann's proposal of a date in the early 1630s and Bellini's of 1636–38.

A painting of this subject in the Musée Fabre, Montpellier, has been attributed to Testa by Calabi¹ and Marabottini,² among others. It is in the same sense as the print and in poor condition. Despite the indication in the inscription that Testa did make a painted version, the attribution of this canvas has



Off. ac R. P. Hieronymo Bonisio Camera Apostolica Clerico DD.
Ne Noxi rerum Damnos per caeca Tyrannos
Lumine saepe malo Stella sinistra rubet
Sic utiqz ut Dominum possint agnoscere Reges.
VISY laici BONO Stella benigna nitet.

Pinx. Testa



64 recto

been rejected by Hartmann³ and Harris.⁴ Even Marabottini, who thought the painting might be *The Nativity* mentioned in an eighteenth-century inventory of the Palazzo Buonvisi in Lucca, finds it weak. The Montpellier painting is thus either after the print or a copy of a lost work.

The theme of the Adoration of the Magi is framed here as a celebration of Testa's most important Luccanese patron, Girolamo Buonvisi, whose stemma appears at the lower edge of the image. In accordance with the dedicatory inscription the six-pointed star of Buonvisi's arms is transformed into the benign star that allows the Magi to recognize Christ, the lord of life. This, writes Testa, is not the evil star whose darkness produces tyrants and the lords of death. Brilliant and crystalline, it is surrounded by a glory of angels, and its rays flash against the dark background of architecture and trees. Through an abrupt change in scale and the reduction of detail,

Testa has succeeded in creating a different kind of brightness in the landscape behind — that of brilliant sunlight.

The Magi pay homage to Christ in the portico of an ancient temple. The position of the Virgin before the architecture to the left suggests that Testa was interested in such Venetian altarpieces as Paolo Veronese's *Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine* (Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice).⁵ But he also experiments here with the same open trough at the entrance to the lower edge of the pictorial space that is found in *An Allegory of the Massacre of the Innocents* (cat. no. 52). The fragment of a sculptured cornice that balances on the edge of this space and the drum of a fluted column on which the Virgin sits emblemize the conquest of pagan antiquity at the birth of Christ. As the three Magi offer their gifts, by tradition from the three known continents of the world, foremost in their retinue is a man wearing a feath-



65 recto



65 verso

ered Indian headdress who stands for America. The New World, too, thus recognizes Christ under the good Buonvisi star.

1. Calabi, 1938, p. 559.
2. Marabottini, 1954a, p. 134 n. 20.
3. Hartmann, 1970, p. 131.
4. Harris, 1967, p. 54 n. 48.
5. Terisio Pignatti, *Veronese* (Venice, 1976), vol. 2, no. 475.

PREPARATORY DRAWING The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1980.309. See cat. no. 64.

LITERATURE Passeri, 1679, p. 185; Balducci, 1681–1728, p. 319; Gori Gandellini, 1771, p. 296; Huber, 1799, p. 14; Gori Gandellini and De Angelis, 1813, p. 122; Bartsch, 1820, pp. 215–16, no. 3; Nagler, 1848, p. 265, no. 4; Le Blanc, 1890, p. 20, no. 3; Petrucci, 1936, pp. 416, 419 n. 42; Marabottini, 1954a, p. 134 n. 20; Harris, 1967, pp. 37, 51 nn. 20 and 24, 59 n. 110; Martone, 1969, pp. 52–53, 55, fig. 6; Hartmann, 1970, pp. 37–40, 131; Bellini, 1976b, pp. 49–50, no. 16; Cropper, 1984, pp. 24 n. 98, 43, 109 n. 65, 189 and fig. 41

64

Study for "The Adoration of the Magi"

Verso (not illustrated): Fragmentary copy of figures in Andrea Mantegna's engraving *The Senators* (Bartsch, vol. 13, pp. 234–35, no. 11)

c. 1640

Recto and verso: Pen and brown ink on white paper. Framed in pen and brown ink. Lined.

137 x 154 mm (5³/₈ x 6¹/₁₆")

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, Mr. and Mrs. David T. Schiff Gift, 1980 (1980.309)

In this reverse study for the etching (cat. no. 63) Testa establishes the pose of the Virgin and Child; the figure of Joseph is sketched in very slightly. As in other drawings of the Holy Family from this period (see, for example, cat. nos. 65 and 66), Testa has included accompanying angels, but he removed them as he worked up the final composition, for which this is the only known drawing.

PROVENANCE Isembourg- Birstein; Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt (Lugt 2356 [on verso, partly inked out]); Städel sale, Montmorillon'sche Kunsthandlung, Munich, September 24, 1860, part of lot 460; purchased

by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, Mr. and Mrs. David T. Schiff Gift, 1980

LITERATURE Bean and Turčić, 1982, p. 320, app. 18, repro. p. 319

65

The Holy Family in Egypt Accompanied by Angels

Verso: Two studies of a male figure with his hand to his mouth

c. 1640

Recto: Pen and brown ink on white paper.

Verso: Black chalk.

229 x 192 mm (9 x 7⁹/₁₆")

Inscribed on the recto, probably by Pierre Crozat, in pen and brown ink in the lower right corner: 36; in another hand in pen and brown ink in the lower left corner: 390; on the verso in pencil near the lower center:

1148

The National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, D 5001

Here the Virgin, seated before a temple, teaches the young Jesus to read in the company of two angels. Joseph sits meditatively in the background before a pyramid. The drawing, which was never developed into a print or painting, belongs to a group completed around 1640. It is an excellent example of the humble, narrative images Testa produced in response to the demand for a new iconography of the Holy Family after the Council of Trent (1545–63).¹ It is particularly similar in style to the preparatory drawing for *The Adoration of the Magi* (cat. no. 64) and the study for *The Dream of Joseph* now in the Pierpont Morgan Library (cat. no. 66). Indeed, it is almost an inversion of the latter composition, in which Joseph and the Child appear in the foreground and Mary sits sewing in the background. In both drawings the Virgin's sewing basket is placed at her side on the ground. Like the figure of Joseph in the Pierpont Morgan drawing and that of the Virgin in the study for *The Adoration of the Magi*, she has the larger proportions that begin to appear in Testa's work about this time.

1. For a discussion of this imagery see Mâle, 1932.

PROVENANCE Possibly Pierre Crozat (1665–1740; Lugt 2951); possibly Count Carl Gustav Tessin (1695–1770;

Lugt 2985); purchased in a French sale by Paul Oppé, 1935; Armide Oppé; purchased by the National Galleries of Scotland with support from the National Art-Collections Fund, 1973

LITERATURE Hartmann, 1970, p. 164; Brigstocke, 1974, n.p.; Brigstocke, 1978, pp. 122, 146 n. 75 and p. 136, pl. 30 (recto)

66

Study for "The Dream of Joseph"

c. 1640

Pen and brown ink with brown wash over touches of red chalk on white paper

271 x 215 mm (10⁵/₈ x 8¹/₂")

Inscribed in pen and brown ink in the lower left corner: 9; in the lower right corner: 145

The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York,
The Janos Scholz Collection, 1979.60

In this drawing Testa depicts the moment at which the angel appears to Joseph in a dream to advise him to take the Child and his mother back to Israel after the death of Herod (Matthew 2: 19–20). Joseph's carpenter's tools lie on the ground beside him, and Mary sits sewing beside an open loggia in the distance. Through these details Testa refers to the humble means by which the Holy Family survived their exile in Egypt, suffering the sorrows of poverty as described, for example, by Ludolphus of Saxony in his popular *Vita di Giesu Christo*.¹ Here the Child plucks a thorny rose from the basket held out to him by angels. This sweet and tender gesture, like the Infant's embrace of the cross in the earlier print of the same subject (cat. no. 25), indicates Christ's acceptance of the sorrows of the Passion and the triumph that will follow. The presence of the angels reminds us of this constant theme and of the divine guardianship of the Holy Family.

In Testa's earlier print of *The Dream of Joseph*, the figure of Joseph was placed in the background, with the subject of his dream in the foreground. Here the emphasis is instead on Joseph himself, reflecting his new importance in the meditative literature of the Counter Reformation that had culminated in the increased significance of his feast day as declared by Gregory XV in 1621.²

The drawing is the most brilliant in the series of studies Testa developed in the later 1630s and very

early 1640s around the theme of the Holy Family. The lines of the pen are very similar to those in the Edinburgh drawing of *The Holy Family in Egypt Accompanied by Angels* (cat. no. 65), but here Testa has added a dramatically descriptive wash to suggest the strong contrasts of shadow cast by the curtain behind Joseph and the softer shade under the portico, all set against the bright, hot Egyptian sun in the landscape beyond.

1. Ludolphus of Saxony, *Vita di Giesu Christo Nostro Redentore . . .*, trans. Francesco Sansovino (Venice, 1570), pp. 38v–39r.

2. See Mâle, 1932, pp. 313–25.

PROVENANCE Janos Scholz; given by Scholz to the Pierpont Morgan Library

LITERATURE Columbia (South Carolina) Museum of Art, *Italian Baroque Drawings from the Janos Scholz Collection* (1961), no. 76; Hamburger Kunsthalle, *Italienische Meisterzeichnungen vom 14. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert aus amerikanischen Besitz—Die Sammlung Janos Scholz, New York* (June–August 1963), p. 32, no. 152; Arts Council of Great Britain, London, *Italian Drawings from the Collection of Janos Scholz* (London, 1968), no. 93; Hartmann, 1970, pp. 164–65; Janos Scholz, *Italian Master Drawings 1350–1800 from the Janos Scholz Collection* (New York, 1976), p. xix, no. 92; Charles Ryskamp, ed., *Nineteenth Report to the Fellows of the Pierpont Morgan Library, 1978–1980* (New York, 1981), p. 218

67

Letter to a Patron with a Study for "The Consecration of a Church"

Verso: Study of prisoners and spoils submitted to the church

1642

Recto: Pen and brown ink over traces of black chalk on cream paper. Folded in the center. Verso: Pen and brown ink on a separate piece of paper glued to the back of the right half of the recto. Some tears at the edges, and a small hole in the watermark on the right.

410 x 275 mm (16¹/₈ x 10¹³/₁₆")

The letter reads as follows: *Molto Ill.re Sig.re et Pad. mio Oss.mo/ Eccoli la prima fantasia del pens:ro della Consecratione che VS. accena./ non posso in queste cose limar molto per esser fresco tanto/ piu nel'hopera; à Lei basti una certa*



66

disposizione, e' come io m'appiglio, e' mi fermo ne' suoi cenì; e' aspet/tando cio che stabilirà, e' la misura. Li faccio hum.ma rev./ Roma il 29. Ag.to 1642/ Di V. Si. M.to Ill.re/ Ser.re. Aff.mo/ Sono molti (come VS. sa) l'atti della Consecratione, quà s'accena/ quando il Pastore va per via di certi gradi, mettendo i lumi a' quel n.ro di 12. croce che Lei sà. Lontano accenato le arche de corpi S. e vasi, e che sò io./ Pietro Testa.

Private collection

Testa's letter to an unknown patron in which this drawing appears is dated August 29, 1642. This date is of extraordinary importance because we have no other works that can be so securely dated between the print celebrating Cardinal Franciotti's election as bishop of Lucca, attributable to the year 1637 (cat. no. 36), and the etching of *Winter* (cat. nos. 81 and 82), which bears the date 1644. The text of the letter refers to a representation of the rite of the consecration of a church, and the drawing presents, as the artist describes, his first fantasy (*la prima fantasia*), or inventive idea, for the composition. Testa's comment that he cannot provide too many details at this point if he is to remain fresh for the work itself seems a rhetorical evasion, for we know how thoroughly he prepared his inventions by means of such drawings. He asks the patron to supply measurements, which indicates that the drawing is preparatory for a painting.

At the end of the letter Testa explains that he has chosen to depict the moment in the rite of consecration when the priest moves around the church on wheeled steps to light the twelve candles and that he has sketched in the background the relics for the altars and the ritual vases. In the drawing the priest, accompanied by several servers, lights one of the candles as the female figure of the Church personified looks on.

It is impossible to tell whether Testa's image relates to a specific consecration. The connection between the drawing on the letter and the one attached to the verso, which features a similar figure of the Church, now wearing a papal crown, is also problematic. What is certain is that the scene is an unusual one in the history of painting of this period. Testa's interest in the accurate documentation of ecclesiastical ritual here, as in his presentation of the Ash Wednesday ceremony in the drawing for the relief in the Raimondi chapel (cat. no. 47), is

closely contemporary with Poussin's similar concerns. The first six of the latter's series of *The Seven Sacraments* painted for Cassiano dal Pozzo were produced in the years immediately preceding Poussin's departure for Paris in 1640.¹ *The Sacraments* mark a turning point in his style toward a more austere clarity in the presentation of sacred history. This drawing of the consecration of a church shows that during Poussin's absence in Paris Testa too began to be concerned with both the clarity and accuracy of his documentary narrative and the careful construction of an appropriate architectural stage for it.

The strong parallel hatching seen here either across the sides of faces or combined with free-flowing contours to model drapery, as well as the pitchy shadowing of the eyes and the physical type of the priest, with his craggy features and full beard, are found in several other drawings and prints that should also be placed close to 1642. Among these are a group of drawings for the altarpiece in Santa Croce e San Bonaventura dei Lucchesi, Rome (see cat. no. 69) and another for an apparently unfinished Lucchese altarpiece (see cat. no. 68 and fig. 68a).

1. See Blunt, 1966, pp. 73–76, nos. 105–11.

PROVENANCE Bertini Collection, Calenzano

LITERATURE Cropper, 1984, pp. 40, 43, 46 and fig. 35

68

Study for "The Virgin and Child with the Saints of Lucca"

Verso: Study of a female head

c. 1640–42

Recto: Pen and brown ink over black chalk on cream paper. Brown stains near the top.
Verso: Very faint red chalk.

337 x 230 mm (13¼ x 9¼")

Inscribed on the recto by the artist in pen and brown ink in the upper right: *nicchia, pilastro*; on the shield: *LIBER*; in the lower right corner: *carità*; on the verso in black chalk: *P. Testa*

Teylers Museum, Haarlem, D 28

The panther lying on the ground and the inscription *LIBER[TÀ]*, partially visible on the shield to the right, indicate that this composition must have been for a Lucchese commission, probably for an altar-

Alto alla vigilia di S. Simo e Iuda

C'è volti la prima funzione dei anni. della omertà e le puerie,
in questo in queste cose sono molto delle puerie tanto
più nel dopo; a gli tutti una certa dignità e
come in un gruppo, e mi fanno mi tutti così
tutto ciò. Se l'abbiamo e la misera. : faciam tutto.

Domena d'ag. 1872

D. H. M. M. M.

1872 C. P. P.

dono molti come si fa; i detti della puerie, per s'acchi
quando il Sostano in ogni di conti grandi; molto: tutti
a quel che dicono e de gli fa. contano ancora laonde
de conti S. o tutti o che lo' è.

Di es. 1872.



67 recto



67 verso

piece. Indeed, the woman who kneels upon the panther and holds up the folded edge of the priest's full chasuble must be a personification of the republic of Lucca or the Lucchese church. In a related drawing in Darmstadt (fig. 68a) the priest is identified as a bishop by the crozier held by the acolyte behind him. He should, therefore, be recognized as Saint Paulinus, the first bishop and patron saint of Lucca. The figure to the right wears a military cuirass, and beneath the shield he supports Testa has written "charity." He can then be identified as Saint Martin, the Roman soldier whose act of charity in sharing his cloak with a poor man is recorded in a sculpture on the facade of the cathedral in Lucca, of which he is the titular saint. Saint Paulinus offers prayers to the Virgin and Child, gesturing toward them with his left hand and reaching for the censer

on the salver held by the woman with his right. The Virgin and Child are seated upon a pedestal before a drapery held up by little angels. Testa's notes identify the schematically drawn niche (*nicchia*) flanked by pilasters (*pilastro*) in the background.

It is possible that, like Guido Reni's *Pala del Voto*, painted in 1631 (now in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna),¹ Testa's altarpiece for which this may be a study was intended as an offering to give thanks for the passing of the plague, the major affliction befalling the city of Lucca in the 1630s. The style of this and the related drawings, however, indicates that the commission falls in the very early years of the next decade. The figure of the bishop especially resembles his counterpart in the drawing of *The Consecration of a Church* (cat. no. 67), and the vigorous parallel hatching, broad drapery folds, and



68 recto



68 verso



Fig. 68a. Pietro Testa, *Composition Study for "The Virgin and Child with the Saints of Lucca,"* c. 1642. Pen and ink over black chalk on cream paper, 342 x 212 mm (13½ x 8⅝"). Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt, AE 1746

larger proportions of the figures are also very similar. No painting of this subject is known. The study for *The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple* (cat. no. 69) was produced about this time, and so it is also possible that Testa first considered this composition for the altarpiece in Santa Croce dei Lucchesi, only to have it rejected.

1. Cesare Garboli and Edi Baccheschi, *L'Opera completa di Guido Reni* (Milan, 1971), pl. XLV.

RELATED DRAWINGS 1. Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt, AE1746. See fig. 68a. The drawing is very fragile and cannot be exhibited. 2. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 64.201. Study for Saint Martin supporting a shield. Pen and brown ink over black chalk on beige paper. 233 x 145 mm (9⅜ x 5⅜"). See Bean, 1979, pp. 126–27, no. 364.

PROVENANCE Don Livio Odescalchi (1652–1713); by descent to the dukes of Bracciano; acquired for the Teylers Foundation in Rome, 1790

LITERATURE Johan Quirijn van Regteren Altena in *Stedelijk Museum*, 1934, p. 162, no. 652; Van Regteren Altena, 1966, p. 121; Hartmann, 1970, pp. 134–35; Cropper, 1977, pp. 90–93; Brigstocke, 1978, pp. 123, 146 n. 86; Cropper, 1984, p. 41; Meijer, 1985, no. 66

69

Study for "The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple"

Verso: Another study for the same composition

c. 1640–42

Recto: Pen and brown ink with brown wash on beige paper. Verso: Pen and brown ink. Repaired losses at the lower left.

367 x 262 mm (14⅞ x 10⅝")

Inscribed on the recto by the artist in pen and brown ink on the steps: 1/ 2/ 3/ 4/ 5/; in the lower left corner: *P:Testa*; on the verso by the artist in pen and brown ink above the heads of the men to the left: *più sù*; in an old hand in pen and brown ink at the top: *Orig. e di Pietro Testa. Il dipinto è in Roma nella Chiesa dei Lucchesi.*

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1971 (1971.241)

Urban VIII ceded the church of San Bonaventura sotto Monte Cavallo to the Lucchese nation in Rome on May 10, 1631. Cardinal Antonio Barberini contributed to the fabric of the newly designated Santa Croce e San Bonaventura dei Lucchesi and to the decoration of its chapels throughout 1632, after they had been assigned to prominent members of Lucchese families in Rome, including two of Testa's future patrons, Marcantonio Franciotti and Girolamo Buonvisi.¹ Testa's altarpiece of *The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple*, now in the Hermitage, Leningrad (fig. 69a), was painted for the Buonvisi chapel, the second on the right.² Presumably it was commissioned by Girolamo Buonvisi, to whom so many of Testa's early prints are dedicated (see cat. nos. 11, 41, and 63), but the style of all the preparatory drawings and the strong con-

trasts of chiaroscuro in the painting indicate that the commission did not come to Testa until the very early 1640s.

This sheet illustrates Testa's preferred way of working even when he was preparing a painting rather than a print—reversing the composition through tracing it from one side to the other. The same technique is followed in another preparatory drawing in the Teylers Museum, Haarlem.³ Yet another drawing in Haarlem shows the composition in the same sense as the painting on both sides of the paper.⁴ All four studies probably represent an earlier stage of the composition than those on this Metropolitan Museum sheet, but even the latter differ from the altarpiece in many details. For example, in the painting Testa places the censer on the salver, as in the Haarlem drawing for *The Virgin and Child with the Saints of Lucca* (cat. no. 68), to which these drawings are closely related. He likewise abandoned the twisted columns and the sacrificial beasts in the foreground, substituting for them a basket of doves. Testa also followed his own advice, reflected in the note *più sù* (higher) on the verso and in the pentimento in the placement of the head of the figure to the right of the high priest on the recto; he moved the two figures at the priest's side to a higher level as well. Although there are strong shadows in the painting, Testa did not follow the indications in wash in the drawing on the recto for the projected shadow of Saint Anne, the mother of Mary, on the steps.

Passeri writes that the painting had much to commend it, especially in Testa's composition and style of invention. Had it been by anyone else, in his opinion, it would have brought the artist great fame. But, he adds, "that very bad fate that always accompanied him in his misadventures never wanted him to raise himself up by a single step."⁵

1. Oskar Pollak, *Quellenschriften zur Geschichte der Barockkunst in Rom*, vol. 1, *Die Kunsttätigkeit unter Urban VIII* (Vienna, 1928), pp. 124–25.

2. The painting was engraved by Georg Friedrich Schmidt after a drawing by Blaise Nicolas Le Sueur (405 x 615 mm [15¹⁵/₁₆ x 24³/₁₆"]). The inscription in the border of the state in the Teylers Museum, Haarlem, reads: *Peint par Pietro Testa et Dessiné par B. N. Le Sueur. Gravé par G. F. Schmidt, Graveur du Roy à Berlin 1771/ La Présentation de la Ste Vierge au Temple/ Tableau de la Galerie Impériale*



Fig. 69a. Pietro Testa, *The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple*, c. 1642. Oil on canvas, 323 x 226 cm (127 x 89"). State Hermitage Museum, Leningrad

de St. Petersburg. Haut 10 piès 4 pouces. Large 7 piès 4 pouces/ Dédié à sa Majesté Catherine II, Impératrice de toutes les Russies/ Par son très humble très obeissant at très soumis/ serviteur J. Tribble. In an earlier state in the Metropolitan Museum (51.501.4410), the inscription stops after the date, presumably the year in which Tribble added the dedication to Catherine the Great upon selling her the picture.

3. D 31. Recto: With the priest to the left. Verso: With the composition in the reverse sense. Both drawings in pen and brown ink over black chalk on cream paper. 320 x 214 mm (12⁵/₁₆ x 8⁷/₁₆"). For the recto see Harris, 1967, fig. 57b.

4. D 32. Recto and verso: With the priest on the right. Pen and brown ink over black chalk on cream paper. 357 x 223 mm (14¹/₁₆ x 8³/₄"). For the recto see Brigstocke, 1976, pl. 40.

5. Passeri, 1679, p. 187.

PROVENANCE Thomas Hudson (1701–1779; Lugt 2432); Uvedale Price (1747–1829; Lugt 2048); Price sale, Sotheby's, London, May 3–4, 1854, no. 240; Major S. V.



69 recto

Scena di Pietro sopra il sepolcro e in Roma nella Chiesa del Caracalla



69 verso

Christie-Miller, Clarendon Park, Salisbury; purchased by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in London, Rogers Fund, 1971

LITERATURE The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, *Drawings Recently Acquired, 1969-1971* (January, 18-April 16, 1972), no. 52; Brigstocke, 1976, pp. 21-22, pl. 41; Bean, 1979, pp. 273-75, no. 362, recto and verso; Cropper, 1984, p. 40 and fig. 37

70

Study for "The Holy Family with Saint Anne and Angels"

Verso: Figure studies

c. 1640-42

Recto: Pen and brown ink with brown wash over black chalk on white paper. Verso: Faint black and red chalk.

372 x 252 mm (14¹/₁₆ x 9¹⁵/₁₆"

Inscribed on the recto in graphite in the lower right corner: *di Piet Testa*

The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, 84.GA.51

Testa made a series of drawings relating to this composition, which was, like those for *The Virgin and Child with the Saints of Lucca* (cat. no. 68), almost certainly for an altarpiece. Three other studies, one in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (fig. 70a),¹ another in the Prado, Madrid,² and the third in a Dutch private collection,³ also record the whole composition, although with added details and with the figure of Joseph to the right of Saint Anne. In the drawing in the Dutch collection, the group of figures is set against an architectural background of an open loggia seen across a garden to the right, with the rose window of a church appearing behind the angels to the left. The drawing in the Pierpont Morgan Library is much less delicate and finely worked than the others, and would seem to have been derived from them. At the lower edge of that drawing appears the upper part of the Buonvisi star that Testa placed in a similar position in *The Adoration of the Magi* (cat. no. 63).

The drawings, therefore, almost certainly relate to a Buonvisi commission, and again it is possible that they, like *The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple* (cat. no. 69), represent a rejected proposal for the altarpiece for Santa Croce e San Bonaventura



Fig. 70a. Pietro Testa, *Study for "The Holy Family with Saint Anne and Angels,"* c. 1642. Pen and brown ink with light brown wash over black chalk on white paper, 347 x 245 mm (13¹/₁₆ x 9⁵/₈"). The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, IV, 180d

in Rome. Various studies for the angels in the sky were thought to be for *The Presentation of the Virgin* until Brigstocke separated the two groups,⁴ and the two compositions are indeed closely linked.

The fragment of a letter on the reverse of the Pierpont Morgan drawing is legible only from the recto, but two words—*carità* and *Garbesi*—link the sheet very closely to two other drawings for the composition. On a study now in the Louvre for the angels scattering flowers seen to the right in the composition drawing from the Getty Museum Testa wrote a note about the prevalence of avarice in his day, stating that it was necessary to profess absolute poverty in the manner of Christ and all good philosophers. It is impossible to be sure, but it would seem that this recommendation is directed toward the papacy.⁵ The whole of the verso of the Louvre image is also inscribed, but this text likewise cannot be read because the drawing is laid down.

The sheet is, however, almost exactly the same size as another related drawing in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, and the two pieces of paper were probably part of the same letter.⁶ The drawing in London is a study for two flying angels. These do not correspond exactly to those in *The Holy Family with Saint Anne and Angels* but are probably ideas for the angels supporting the drapery to the left. The writing on the verso of the London drawing is almost illegible, but there is a clear reference to Signor Garbesi, the Lucchese cleric mentioned by Testa on the verso of the Pierpont Morgan sheet and to whom he had dedicated the etching of *The Martyrdom of Saint Erasmus* (cat. nos. 5 and 6).

It would be of the greatest interest to be able to see the versos of all these drawings, but at least this fragmentary evidence tells us that Garbesi was somehow associated with Testa's work for Buonvisi and that Testa had already begun to take up with his patrons the themes of avarice and philosophical poverty that he would develop in the 1640s.

The group as a whole⁷ shares the same range of techniques and finish found in Testa's drawings for *Sinorix Carried from the Temple of Artemis* (see cat. nos. 54–58). This drawing in the J. Paul Getty Museum, with its bold pen lines, frequent pentimenti, and loosely applied wash, is the most brilliant and apparently spontaneous of all the composition drawings. The unique placement of Joseph also suggests that it was the first in the series.

1. Verso: A letter in pen and brown ink. Musée du Louvre, Paris, 1881, is probably a copy of this drawing, but might be a transferred version by Testa himself.

2. Pen and brown ink with brown wash and white heightening on green (?) paper. 321 x 243 mm (12⁵/₈ x 9⁵/₁₆"). See Mena Marqués, 1983, p. 159 and fig. 297.

3. Pen and brown ink. 400 x 290 mm (15³/₄ x 11³/₈"). See Brigstocke, 1976, pp. 22, 27 n. 39, pl. 45.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

5. Musée du Louvre, 1895 bis. Black chalk with brown ink on cream paper. 174 x 227 mm (6⁷/₈ x 8¹⁵/₁₆"). Inscribed by the artist in pen and brown ink above the figures: *l'avaritia e' l'averè è cosa ormai tanta comune che chi vol far da [papa?] deve/ non aver a non curarsi e' in somma far professione d'essere miserabile che tanto fu christo e' ogni buon filosofo.*

6. D 1739-1885. Black chalk with brown ink on cream paper. 174 x 232 mm (6⁷/₈ x 9¹/₈"). See Ward-Jackson, 1980, p. 87, no. 812.

7. Two other drawings are in a more delicate style. Musée du Louvre, 1888, is a study for the two older angels scattering flowers. Pen and ink over black chalk on cream paper. 149 x 179 mm (5⁷/₈ x 7"). See Brigstocke, 1976, pp. 22, 27 n. 37, pl. 43a. The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, IV, 180b, is a study for the whole group of angels around the basket of flowers. Pen and brown ink over black chalk on cream paper. Abraded and repaired. 159 x 194 mm (6¹/₄ x 7⁵/₈"). See *ibid.*, pp. 22, 27 n. 40, pl. 46. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, 536/1863, is a detailed study for the figures of Saint Anne and Christ. Pen and faded brownish gray ink over black chalk on pale buff paper. 213 x 113 mm (8³/₈ x 4⁷/₁₆"). See *ibid.*, pp. 22–23, 27 n. 41.

PROVENANCE E. Knight Collection, London (A reproductive etching with aquatint by C. M. Metz, published in 1798, bears the inscription *Pietro Testa/ In the Collection of E. Knight Esq.* An example is in the Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna, Ital. III. 22, p. 64); London art market; purchased by the J. Paul Getty Museum, 1984

LITERATURE Goldner, Hendrix, and Williams, 1988, p. 116, pl. 47

71

The Sacrifice of Isaac

c. 1640–42

Bartsch 2; Bellini 26

Etching, only state

291 x 237 mm (11⁷/₁₆ x 9⁵/₁₆")

The National Galleries of Scotland,
Edinburgh, P 2781/2

Harris and Brigstocke place this etching in the 1630s, whereas Bellini considers it to belong to Testa's last years, or between 1645 and 1650, relating it to the series of the story of the Prodigal Son (see cat. nos. 95–98). The delineation of the landscape is far more delicate here, however, and the etched line of the fluttering draperies and the contours more finely modulated. In these respects, the print is closer to *The Adoration of the Magi* (cat. no. 63), even though the angels are no longer the infants that Testa had favored up to this point. They correspond instead in their age and appearance to the adolescent Isaac seen here on the altar and resemble, for example, those in drawings for *The Holy Family*



70 recto



70 verso



71

with *Saint Anne and Angels* (see cat. no. 70 and fig. 70a) and in the painting of *The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple* (fig. 69a).

As in *The Adoration of the Magi* and the painting *An Allegory of the Massacre of the Innocents* (cat. no. 52), Testa represents a second episode in the landscape, although here the relationship is not sequential. According to the account in Genesis 22: 1–14, Abraham left behind with the ass the men who had accompanied him as he went to the mountain to sacrifice Isaac. Testa emphasizes the mystery of God's intervention by showing these men with the ass seated unaware in the sunshine lower down the hillside as one angel stays Abraham's arm and another brings the sacrificial ram. Meijer and Van Tuyl have observed that Testa's invention may be connected to the terra-cotta relief of the same subject by Alessandro Algardi, probably from the late 1630s (now in the Seattle Art Museum).¹ There are many differences between the two, and the motif of the angel grasping the sword is not unique to Algardi's invention, but the proportions and appearance of Testa's figure of Abraham may well indicate his knowledge of the relief. Testa may also have known Domenichino's painting of this subject (now in the Museo del Prado, Madrid, and possibly sent to Spain in 1636), in which the angel also removes the dagger from Abraham's hand and a brilliant landscape is similarly juxtaposed to the shady trees behind Abraham, whose features likewise resemble those portrayed by Testa.²

The uncontrolled open biting close to the edges of the plate, especially near the lower border, the vertical white spaces where the horizontal etched lines are broken near the angel with the ram, and the accidentally inked scratches appear in all impressions of this print. Despite his careful preparation of the invention through detailed studies, Testa was clearly not especially concerned about the thorough polishing and cleaning of the plate. The flaring in the dark shadows around Isaac's groin and in the head of the angel bearing the ram suggests that the ground was not hard enough to withstand the bite where many lines were worked close together.

1. Jennifer Montagu, *Alessandro Algardi* (New Haven, 1985), vol. 2, p. 306, no. 1, and pl. 211.

2. Spear, 1982, vol. 1, pp. 221–22, no. 69; vol. 2, pl. 235.



Fig. 71a. Pietro Testa, *Composition Study for "The Sacrifice of Isaac,"* c. 1642. Pen and brown ink on cream paper, 315 x 234 mm (12 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 9 $\frac{3}{16}$ "). Kunsthalle Bremen, Kupferstichkabinett, 1959/32

PREPARATORY DRAWINGS 1. Teylers Museum, Haarlem, D 29. See cat. no. 72. 2. Kunsthalle Bremen, Kupferstichkabinett, 1959/32. See fig. 71a. Inscribed by the artist in pen and brown ink: *Abram, schuro.*

LITERATURE Baldinucci, 1681–1728, p. 320; Gori Gandellini, 1771, p. 296; Huber, 1799, p. 14; Gori Gandellini and De Angelis, 1813, p. 122; Bartsch, 1820, p. 215, no. 2; Nagler, 1848, p. 265, no. 2; Le Blanc, 1890, p. 20, no. 2; Lopresti, 1921, pp. 76–77; Petrucci, 1936, p. 416; Marabottini, 1954a, p. 132; Harris, 1967, pp. 37, 51 n. 20; Hartmann, 1970, pp. 84, 185; Bellini, 1976b, p. 57, no. 26; Brigstocke, 1978, pp. 122, 124; Meijer and Van Tuyl, 1983, p. 198, no. 88

72

Study for "The Sacrifice of Isaac"

c. 1640–42

Pen and brown ink over black chalk on cream paper. Lined. Cut in two pieces horizontally above Abraham's head and rejoined slightly



out of register. A small tear in the angel above Abraham. Stains near the right edge.

302 x 242 mm (11⁷/₈ x 9¹/₂")

Inscribed on the recto by the artist in pen and brown ink below Abraham's foot:

+guarda; on the verso in another hand in black chalk: *P. Testa—Bello*

Teylers Museum, Haarlem, D 29

Only slightly larger than the image on the plate in the print of this subject (cat. no. 71) and very close to it in details, this delicate study would seem to be a final working drawing, coming after the freer study in Bremen (fig. 71a). But even at this late stage Testa was not entirely satisfied with the composition. The small cross next to the note *guarda* (look) corresponds to one on the horizon to the right next to the drapery of the angel. To achieve greater depth and liveliness in the landscape Testa has decided to raise the mountains, thereby extending the sun-filled valley and creating a more varied pattern of chiaroscuro in the craggy peaks. By reworking the clouds, the bush behind Isaac, the flames, and the stones of the altar, he also enhanced the variety of textures and the range of values in the foreground.

PROVENANCE Don Livio Odescalchi (1652–1713); by descent to the dukes of Bracciano; acquired for the Teylers Foundation in Rome, 1790

LITERATURE Hartmann, 1970, pp. 200–201; Vitzthum, 1971, p. 84; Brigstocke, 1978, pp. 122, 137, pl. 29; Meijer and Van Tuyll, 1983, p. 198, no. 88

73

The Triumph of Painting on Parnassus

c. 1642

Bartsch 35; Bellini 29

Etching, first state

472 x 718 mm (18⁹/₁₆ x 28¹/₄") (trimmed)

Inscribed in the image on the three small cartels at the lower edge: *AFFECTUS EXPRIMIT, ARCUM MERETUR, PARNASO TRIUMPHAT*; on the larger scroll in the lower right corner: *Ill.mo et R.mo D.*

Hieronymo Bonvisio Cam. ae Apost. ae Clerico. / Vota Illustrissime Domine, persolui. Pictura tuis

auspiciis triumphat. olim/ in triumphali pompa simulacra, pictaeque tabulae ducebantur; et hic speciem de/ vincti animi mei expressam habe. Utinam huic pompe tubicenes accedant, qui/ laetum, ac suave canant. At felicia tuum sidus pollicetur. Fama dum tuos/ referet plausus, meas dabit acclamationes. Vale/ Petrus Testa Lucen.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, AA4, no. 6

Testa's salutation to Girolamo Buonvisi, to whom *The Triumph of Painting on Parnassus* is dedicated as cleric of the Apostolic Camera, establishes that this print was probably completed before the death of Urban VIII in 1644, for Buonvisi left Rome after election of the new pope. The figures do not have the amplitude of those in *Winter* (cat. nos. 81 and 82), completed in that year, nor do they have the slender delicacy of those in *Il Liceo della Pittura* of about 1638 (cat. no. 41). A date around 1642, close to the execution of *Spring* (cat. no. 75) and *Autumn* (cat. no. 79), to which this print is closely related, seems most likely. Like *Autumn*, *The Triumph of Painting* reflects Testa's knowledge of Poussin's series of *Triumphs* painted for Cardinal Richelieu in the mid-1630s,¹ although here Testa's invention, unlike those of Poussin, is strictly allegorical.

The Latin dedication to Buonvisi is framed as the fulfillment of Testa's vows to his patron in accordance with the conventions of antiquity, when sculptures and paintings despoiled from the conquered were carried in triumphal processions. Now, according to Testa, it is Painting herself who has earned a triumph under Buonvisi's auspices, and this image is, he writes, an expression of the conquest of his own soul by his patron.

At the center of the composition Painting, riding in her chariot, is crowned by the Graces. The titulus below indicates that she, like a Roman conqueror, has earned a triumphal arch (*ARCUM MERETUR*). The arch through which she passes is no ordinary architectural monument but a rainbow upon which Iris sits, shielding her eyes from the brilliant light of the sun that comes from Parnassus. Later, in a design for a fountain in honor of Innocent X (cat. no. 88), Testa would exploit the real phenomenon of the creation of color by the refraction of light in water. Here, as in *An Allegory in Honor of Innocent X* (cat. nos. 85 and 86), the colors of the spectrum of the rainbow are bestowed upon Painting, expressing Testa's understanding that color in painting is



an effect of light. The colors are mixed by little loves as Painting contemplates the brilliant changing colors of the star that she has depicted on the shield she holds. This star, like that in *Autumn*, represents Buonvisi and his fruitful patronage. The youth who wears a wreath and holds a quill as he sits in admiration beside Painting to the right draws attention to the fact that it is now she, rather than Poetry or History, who will assure the immortal fame of Buonvisi by emblazoning his shield in the manner of an ancient victory.

Painting does not triumph through the colors of the rainbow alone, however, but also through the power of drawing, or *chiaroscuro*. In his Notebook Testa records an imaginary conversation on Parnassus in which Giulio Romano defended his devotion to drawing, claiming that because Painting was feminine and Drawing masculine, their frequent union exhausted them both. He attacks those who had sought to delight the senses through color and had thereby made drawing the slave of “that despic-

able little woman they call Painting.” Raphael, in Testa’s debate, silenced Giulio by showing that Painting and Drawing could always be united: Without the other each was dead, and to this statement, writes Testa, Painting gave her assent.² In the preparatory drawing now in Frankfurt (fig. 73a) the piebald horses who draw Painting’s chariot are identified as *chiaro* and *oscuro*. They are bridled only by delicate ribbons held by another little love. Testa thus here represents Painting’s triumph in accordance with Raphael’s instructions for the harmonious union of *chiaroscuro* and color.

In her progress toward Parnassus Painting leaves behind a garden of earthly delights inhabited by figures who represent the assorted passions that Painting must both conquer and express, according to the inscription *AFFECTUS EXPRESSIT* (she expresses passion). These pleasures and pains—the *affetti*—are identified in the Frankfurt drawing, but their number is reduced and their identities are altered in the final composition. A pair of lovers at the



Fig. 73a. Study for "The Triumph of Painting on Parnassus," c. 1642. Pen and brown ink over black chalk on cream paper, 360 x 720 mm (14³/₁₆ x 28³/₈"). Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, 4405

left to whom a maiden offers up her basket of flowers is accompanied by two little loves. Before them two men, one with his hands bound, the other, encircled by snakes, like Laocoon, represent the opposite of their pleasure, Pain. Another pair of opposites follows beside the chariot of Painting, where the form of a man thrusting his hand down the throat of a lion, the figure of ardent, generous Magnanimity—the virtue of patronage that is worthy of only the greatest honors—is contrasted to a slender, bent figure. In the Frankfurt drawing the latter is accompanied by a rabbit and identified as Fear, or Pusillanimity, which, according to Aristotle, is one of the extremes that the magnanimous man avoids. As Painting passes through the arch of the rainbow the wheels of her chariot roll over the figure of Envy, who tries to brake its progress. In this way Testa has shown that the virtue of Painting triumphs over vice.

Painting's triumph leads her to Parnassus (*PARNASO TRIUMPHAT*), the mountain sacred to Apollo

and the Muses. On Mount Helicon the winged horse Pegasus strikes a rock with his hoof, causing the stream of Hippocrene, the fountain of inspiration for the highest form of poetry, to gush forth. Apollonian swans swim in the pool below, while those poets who have drunk of the waters of the Hippocrene stand before the temple of immortal fame on the highest peak of Mount Helicon awaiting the new arrival.

The lower peak of Parnassus was dedicated to Bacchus, and it is for this reason that Testa showed the Bacchic frenzy of nymphs and satyrs dancing around a herm behind the figures of Human Affections. To the right sits the river god Achelous, father of the Castalian stream, the source of inspiration for lyric poetry. In her progress through the triumphal arch toward the temple on Parnassus, Painting is greeted by the nine Muses, among whom Melpomene (with her crown and dagger) and Thalia (with her mask)—the respective Muses of Tragedy and Comedy, who gaze at each other—and Urania,



Fig. 73b. Pietro Testa, *Study of a Horse for "The Triumph of Painting on Parnassus,"* c. 1642. Red chalk on cream paper, 193 x 144 mm (7⁹/₁₆ x 5¹¹/₁₆"). Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, NM H 542/1863

Muse of Astronomy (with her starry halo), are easily identified. It is Calliope, however, the Muse of Poetry, with her book under her arm, who is invited by one of her sisters to greet Painting.³ In a note on the Frankfurt drawing Testa explains the significance of their encounter: "When Painting is united with Poetry she is worthy of Parnassus, that is, of immortality." Painting will, then, join Poetry on the highest peak of Parnassus, where ancient poets await her arrival before the temple of immortal Fame. Her triumph, like those of Virgil and Homer, will also be the triumph of Testa's patron, for she will render him immortal as well.

One detail in the Frankfurt drawing, suppressed in the print to make way for the inscription, adds especial emphasis to Testa's argument that only True Painting—the mistress of color, chiaroscuro, and the expression of the *affetti*, who is victorious over fear and envy through the magnanimity of generous patronage—can triumphantly join her sister Poetry. Monkey artists, mere apes of nature, sit scribbling beneath the lowest cliff, utterly excluded and ignored; one is crowned with a laurel by one of

his companions in a pastiche of the triumph of true painting. This theme was to be incorporated in *The Triumph of the Virtuous Artist on Parnassus* (cat. no. 102), to which *The Triumph of Painting* is intimately related.

It is significant that the second state of this etching bears the address of Giovanni Giacomo de Rossi and the date 1648. This indicates that Testa sold the plate on which he had concentrated so much inventive power at a point when his career was faltering and when Buonvisi was no longer in a position to help him in Rome.

1. See Blunt, 1966, pp. 95–99, nos. 136–38; Blunt, 1967, pls. 88–90; Thuillier, 1974, p. 97, nos. 90–93.
2. Cropper, 1984, pp. 252–53, no. 61, para. 2.
3. For the personification of the Muses, see Ripa, 1625, pp. 46–54.

PREPARATORY DRAWINGS 1. Städelches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, 4405. See fig. 73a. Laid down unevenly on thick paper. Two sheets joined at the center; trimmed unevenly across the upper and lower edges, and probably at the right. Large brown stains to the right; other stains and foxing across the sheet. Inscribed by the artist in pen and brown ink on the horses: *Biancho e nero per il chiaro/oscuro*; in the lower left margin accompanying a rebus of back-to-back *Ps* formed by a line and a circle: *Pittura e Poesia*; on the stone above: *PTL*; cancelled in the lower left margin: *quando la Pittura s'unisce con la Poesia è degna del/ Parnaso cioè del immortalità*; in the lower right corner: *Affetti humani*; on the figures at the right: *Invidia, crudeltà, affanno, Timore, Ardire, furore, Asinaggine, paura, meraviglia, allegrezza, Gratie*. Unfortunately, this drawing could not be exhibited. 2. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, NM H 542/1863. See fig. 73b. Inscribed by the artist in red chalk: *lustro*; in an old hand in black ink at the lower edge: *Pietro Testa*; in the lower right corner, corresponding to the Inventory of 1749, Nationalmuseum: 460. 3. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1980.12. Study in the reverse sense for the poets on Parnassus, the Muses, and the river god Achelous. Pen and brown ink over black chalk on cream paper. 337 x 240 mm (13¹/₄ x 9⁷/₁₆"). See Bean and Turčić, 1982, p. 320, app. 19, repro. p. 321.

LITERATURE Passeri, 1679, p. 186; Baldinucci, 1681–1728, p. 317; Gori Gandellini, 1771, p. 296; Huber, 1787, p. 334; Huber, 1799, pp. 15–16; Gori Gandellini and De Angelis, 1813, p. 122; Bartsch, 1820, pp. 226–27, no. 35; Nagler, 1848, p. 268, no. 35; Le Blanc, 1890, p. 21, no. 34; Lopresti, 1921, p. 79, fig. 9; Petrucci, 1936, pp. 415, 418 n. 4; Marabottini, 1954a, p. 134; Harris, 1967, pp. 37, 50 n. 14, 51 nn. 20 and 24; Martone, 1969, pp. 49–57, fig. 1; Harris and Lord, 1970, fig. 18; Hartmann, 1970, pp. 82–84, 184; Cropper, 1974a, pp. 378, 385 n. 51; Bellini,

1976b, pp. 59–60, no. 29; Thiem, 1977, p. 82; Brigstocke, 1978, p. 123; Cropper, 1984, pp. 41 n. 175, 43 n. 192, 45–46, 54, 56, 97, 128, 145 and fig. 54

74–83

“The Seasons”

The four “Seasons” (cat. nos. 75, 76, 79, 81, and 82) are Testa’s most concentrated and ambitious productions in etching. Sandrart, who claims to have been Testa’s most beloved friend, considers them to be the artist’s greatest works, describing them as *poesie*, or poetic fictions, that represented the four times of year richly ornamented with many strange inventions, including all earthly creatures subject to time and the order of the heavens. Sandrart also interprets the prints as representations of the four elements, pointing to the great arches (which actually appear in only three of the etchings) and describing the nude figures as masterly and rich in meaning.¹

A highly finished composition drawing in West Berlin (cat. no. 74) represents the whole circle of the heavens with the stars and planets. It is approximately the same size as the completed prints and would seem to have been intended as a design for a frontispiece to the set of four, in each of which Testa then elaborated his argument about a particular season.² This composition was never etched, however, and in the end the group was neither presented nor marketed as a series. *Autumn* (cat. no. 79) was dedicated to Testa’s patron Girolamo Buonvisi. In the center of the Berlin drawing a figure holds up Buonvisi’s heraldic star, indicating that Testa originally intended the whole series to be dedicated to him. But *Summer* (cat. no. 76) carries a dedication to a quite different patron, Giovanni della Bornia. Baldinucci does not describe the etchings as a distinct group and omits all mention of *Spring* (cat. no. 75), the rarest of the four.³ Once again, Buonvisi’s departure from Rome upon the election of Innocent X may have caused Testa’s plans to founder.

Whatever the fate of Testa’s grand project the four prints form a tightly knit group, united, as Sandrart realizes, by richly ornamented imagery around a central theme that is consistently sustained. This theme is not merely the familiar one of

the effects of the different seasons on the earth, expressed through the labors of the agricultural calendar. Nor is Testa’s elaboration of traditional seasonal imagery limited to the introduction of those references to the elements that Sandrart recognized. Elemental and seasonal imagery is instead subordinate to the grander philosophical theme, which Testa derived from his reading of Platonic philosophy and especially the *Phaedrus*, that on earth the individual human soul is so governed by time and change that it is imprisoned by the senses and the passions. In two of the prints, *Summer* and *Winter* (cat. nos. 81 and 82), Testa adopts the famous Platonic metaphor of the winged soul struggling to escape from the bondage of time and the elements. In all of them he shows figures enmeshed in the passions of the sublunar world beneath the changing heavens carefully depicted in a manner that lends authority to Baldinucci’s report that Testa claimed to have studied astrology as a young man.⁴

The winged soul is not any soul, but that of the artist who is dedicated to the virtuous life of the philosopher in both his conduct and his art. In depicting his own genius finally escaping from the elements in *Winter* Testa is affirming his determination to achieve constancy in the manner of an ancient Stoic, and indeed Sandrart characterizes him as such.⁵ But he was also identifying his own desire to escape from the prison of worldly passion with the ideal nature of his art, which was dedicated to the expression of philosophical truths through the perfection of nature.

Testa’s argument in these prints—that mythology is a way of expressing the physical truths of the universe—is closely related to his interpretation of the story of Venus and Adonis in his painting (cat. no. 15) and etching (cat. no. 16) from the 1630s. In these inventions he adopted a syncretistic approach to myth, according to which various deities are interpreted as expressions of the power of the sun in the universe. This approach, as has been seen, was very similar to the sort of interpretation undertaken by Poussin and various scholars at the Barberini court. “The Seasons” also reflect Testa’s continuing relationship with Poussin. *Autumn* in particular, like *The Triumph of Painting on Parnassus* (cat. no. 73), reveals Testa’s knowledge of Poussin’s *Triumphs* painted for Cardinal Richelieu, two of which were completed by 1636.⁶ In *The Triumph of Bacchus* (Nel-

son-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City) especially, as Dempsey shows, Poussin approached the mythological story in a syncretistic way by showing Apollo in his chariot in the sky, with the two figures of Bacchus and Hercules below representing the power of the sun, or Apollo, in the autumn and winter.⁷ This work is vital to understanding Testa's melancholy image of autumn, for in it Poussin also indicates, by including in Bacchus's train the grim figure of Hercules, the god of winter, that after the fruitfulness of autumn will come the winter's cold.

It would not be correct, however, to portray Testa's prints as dependent on Poussin's more widely known works. While they derive from the same philosophical principles, they are highly original in their expression of an autobiographical point of view. Furthermore, Testa's exploration of the meteorological phenomena of the cycle of water in the natural world antedates Poussin's own examination of this theme in *Landscape with Orion* (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) by some fourteen years.⁸

Equally important for an appreciation of these densely packed images is an awareness of how they reveal Testa's mastery of a whole new vocabulary of forms, much of which derived from his study of sixteenth-century prints. The wind gods in *Spring*, the river god in *Summer*, and the rain god in *Autumn* all reveal the effects of Testa's study of prints by the etchers of Fontainebleau, especially Antonio Fantuzzi's etching after Rosso Fiorentino's invention of *Henry II Entering the Temple of Immortality* (fig. 74-83a) and Léon Daven's *Jupiter Pluvius* (fig. 74-83b). From the latter Testa also derived the figure of Juno squeezing rain from the clouds in *Summer*. Ceres' dragon in the same print is an adaptation of the dragon to the right of Daven's print of *Jupiter's Eagle Bringing the Water of the Styx to Psyche*, after Giulio Romano (fig. 74-83c). For *Winter* Fantuzzi's oval etching after Primaticcio's invention *A Winged Woman Raising Her Right Hand to Shield Saturn from the Last Rays of the Sun* (fig. 74-83d) provided Testa with his idea for Apollo's chariot disappearing over the horizon, even as Marcantonio Raimondi's *Judgment of Paris*⁹ was Testa's source for the figures of the river god and the ocean. The figure of Selene rising within the circle of the moon above is directly translated from Giulio's *Psyche Carried by Zephyr* in the Palazzo del Tè, Mantua, probably through the

medium of Pietro del Pò's print (fig. 74-83e). The kneeling man who pours grapes into a basket in the lower left corner of *Autumn* is adapted from a similar figure in Marcantonio's engraving after Raphael of *Bacchus* (fig. 74-83f).

Not all of Testa's figures were developed from his study of prints. Venus and Cupid in the upper register of *Spring*, for example, are modeled on the same figures in Raphael's frescoes in the Villa Farnesina, Rome. In the lower left corner of *Autumn* Testa incorporated the motif of two putti with a dismembered calf's head, ultimately derived from the poetry of Catullus but more directly from Titian's *Bacchus and Ariadne* (now in the National Gallery, London), which he had studied in the Ludovisi collection in Rome.¹⁰ The satyr jumping on the greasy goatskin to the right, which action Silenus imitates, further embellishes this Bacchic image. Testa, like Poussin, who made a drawing of the same subject (fig. 74-83g), knew the literary source for this image in Virgil's *Georgics*, as well as the publication by Du Choul of a gem in the Stefanoni collection depicting it. But he probably developed his idea from Agostino Veneziano's print of *The Triumph of Bacchus* (fig. 74-83h), from which he also borrowed the background scene of the two satyrs treading the wine.

This list of Testa's sources is by no means complete. To enumerate them is not to argue that his powers of invention were limited, nor that he stood in a dependent relationship to the art of the past. The related drawings reveal how he sometimes studied even quite minor figures in detail from the life. Each motif is generically appropriate to the invention he was working out, and each embellishes his theme. Into these prints Testa compressed an almost inexhaustible store of information that repays constant rereading as an expression of a series of tightly related concepts. Every detail is expressed in his personal style, which in the course of the production of the four prints altered distinctly. In the delicate manner of *Spring* his study of Raphael, Poussin, and the printmakers of Fontainebleau is most clearly manifested. The increasingly muscular chiaroscuro of the succeeding prints, on the other hand, points to his embrace of the Roman style of Annibale Carracci, with whose miserable fate in being so poorly rewarded for his frescoes in the Galleria Farnese, which led to the nervous collapse



Fig. 74-83a. Antonio Fantuzzi (Italian, active c. 1540-45), after Rosso Fiorentino (Italian, 1494-1540), *Henry II Entering the Temple of Immortality*, c. 1535-45. Engraving (Bartsch, vol. 16, p. 393, no. 43), 310 x 428 mm (12³/₁₆ x 16⁷/₈"") (trimmed). Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna, HB IV, p. 38, no. 106



Fig. 74-83b. Léon Daven, also known as Master L. D. (French, active c. 1540-56), *Jupiter Pluvius*. Engraving (Bartsch, vol. 16, pp. 326-27, no. 54), 340 x 431 mm (13³/₈ x 17"). Trustees of the British Museum, London, 1850-5-27-26



Fig. 74-83c. Léon Daven, also known as Master L. D. (French, active c. 1540-56), after Giulio Romano (Italian, 1499-1546), *Jupiter's Eagle Bringing the Water of the Styx to Psyche*. Engraving (Bartsch, vol. 16, p. 324, no. 46). Trustees of the British Museum, London, 1850-5-27-18



Fig. 74-83d. Antonio Fantuzzi (Italian, active c. 1540-45), after Francesco Primaticcio (Italian, 1504-1570), *A Winged Woman Raising Her Right Hand to Shield Saturn from the Last Rays of the Sun*, 1544. Etching (Bartsch, vol. 16, pp. 339-40, no. 7), 243 x 360 mm (9⁵/₁₆ x 14³/₁₆" (trimmed). Trustees of the British Museum, London, 1850-5-27-38



Fig. 74-83f. Marcantonio Raimondi (Italian, c. 1475 - c. 1534), after Raphael (Italian, 1483-1520), *Bacchus*. Engraving (Bartsch, vol. 14, p. 231, no. 306), 190 x 144 mm (7¹/₂ x 5⁵/₁₆"). Trustees of the British Museum, London



Fig. 74-83e. Pietro del Pò (Italian, 1610-1692), after Giulio Romano (Italian, 1499-1546), *Psyche Carried by Zephyr*. Engraving (Bartsch, vol. 20, p. 255, no. 31), diameter 277 mm (10⁷/₈"). Trustees of the British Museum, London, v 8-38



Fig. 74-83g. Nicolas Poussin (French, 1594-1665), *Satyrs Jumping on Goatskins*. Pen and brown ink over black chalk on cream paper, 247 x 318 mm (9 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ "'). Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II (Royal Library, Windsor Castle), 11992



Fig. 74-83h. Agostino Veneziano (Italian, c. 1490 - c. 1540), *The Triumph of Bacchus*. Engraving (Bartsch, vol. 14, p. 192, no. 240), 181 x 151 mm (7 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 5 $\frac{15}{16}$ "'). Trustees of the British Museum, London, 40-8-8-3

of his last years, Testa likely began to associate himself in the 1640s.

1. Sandrart, 1675, p. 289.
2. Three drawings attributed to Testa (known to the author only from photographs) for an illusionistic ceiling fresco representing *Diana and Endymion* (or *Apollo Driving out Night and Sleep*) are closely related in their invention to the celestial vision of the Berlin drawing and would also belong to the same phase of his career. See Hamburger Kunsthalle, 21440 (pen and brown ink with white heightening; 266 x 426 mm [10½ x 16¾"]); and Kgl. Kobberstichsammlung, Copenhagen, Tu 17/1 (pen and brown ink; 545 x 424 mm [21⅞ x 16⅞"]), and Tu 17/2 (black chalk on blue paper, heightened with white; 419 x 539 mm [16½ x 21¼"]).
3. Baldinucci, 1681-1728, pp. 317-18.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 315.
5. Sandrart, 1675, pp. 288-89.
6. Blunt, 1966, pp. 95-99, nos. 136-38; Blunt, 1967, pls. 88-90; Thuillier, 1974, p. 97, nos. 90-93.
7. Dempsey, 1966, pp. 241-44.
8. Blunt, 1967, pl. 237.
9. Bartsch, vol. 14, p. 197, no. 245.
10. Wethey, 1975, pl. 48.

74

The Earth in the Circle of the Heavens

c. 1642-44

Pen and brown ink and brown wash over black chalk on beige paper. Mounted on two pieces of paper. Folded and partially torn across the bottom. Tears at the edges. Small holes in the lower right. Spots and stains.

600 x 546 mm (23⅝ x 21½") (irregular)

Inscribed by the artist in pen and brown ink around the edges of the circle of the heavens (reading clockwise): *più innanzi/ lumi/ qui lupo/ il segno di aquario/ cignio per immagine/ e si po il delfino/ e il pegaso alato/ qui ercole per l'immagine/ tutto il campo così/ tutte l'immagini piu dolce e quel' chiara/ piccola di punti/ drago/ [via li]*

Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (West), KdZ 18614

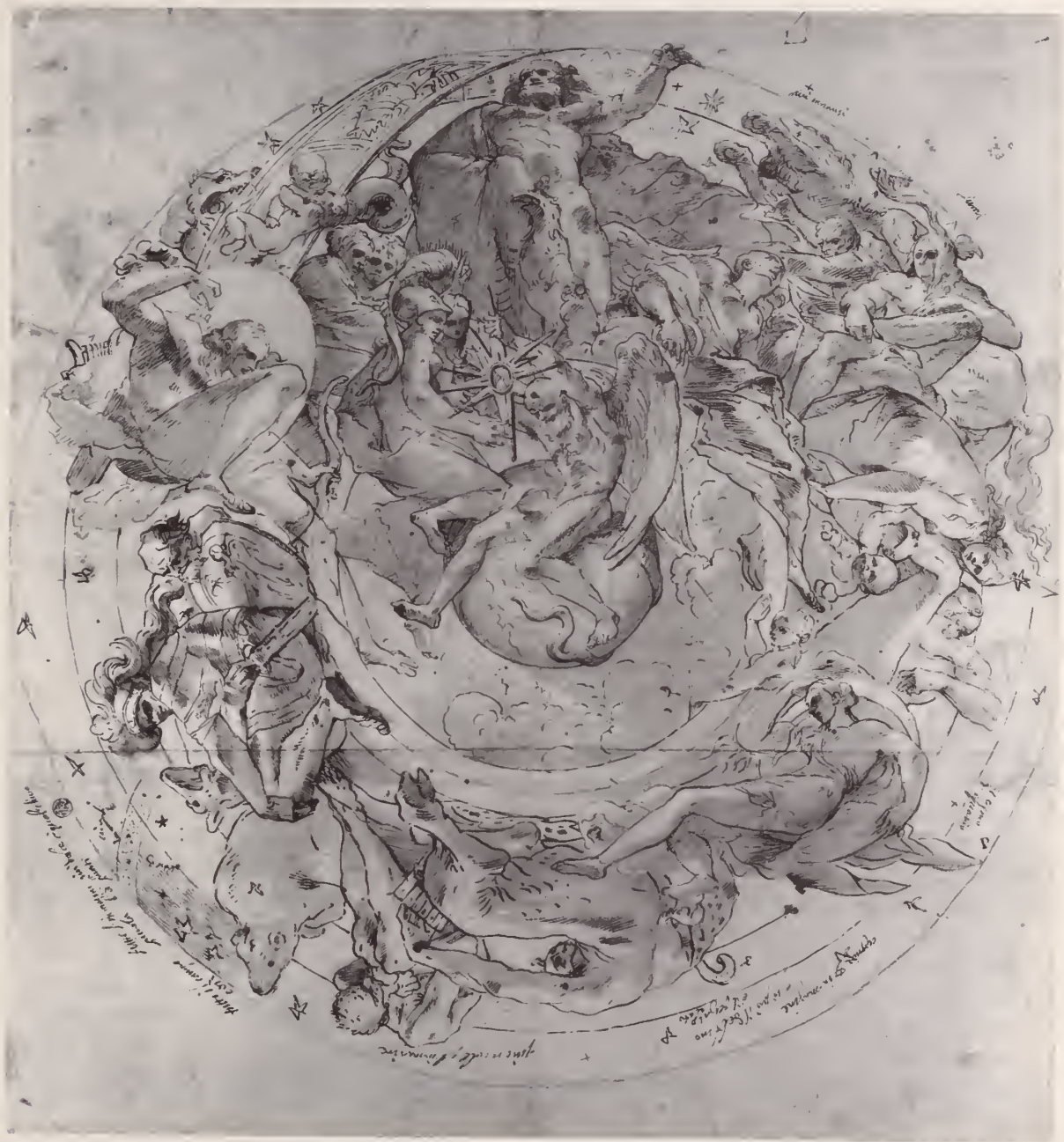
So many details of this remarkable, unpublished drawing can be associated with the etchings of individual "Seasons" that it is likely that this invention



Fig. 74a. Study for the Figure of Hercules in "The Earth in the Circle of the Heavens," c. 1642-44. Pen and brown ink on cream paper, 206 x 152 mm (8⅞ x 6"). Kate Ganz Ltd., London



Fig. 74b. Study for the Figures of the Two Virtues Behind Minerva in "The Earth in the Circle of the Heavens," c. 1642-44. Pen and brown ink with a little black chalk, 193 x 190 mm (7⅝ x 7½") (the corners cut). The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, IV, 18of recto



would have provided a sort of frontispiece to the whole group. In the four etchings (cat. nos. 75, 76, 79, 81, and 82) the heavens are divided up into four sections to correspond with the individual seasons. Here, the earth is shown in the midst of the whole universe, encircled by the snake of time and conquered by the winged figure of Time himself, who holds up the shining Buonvisi star. As he does so, Minerva reaches out to support this emblem of Testa's patron with one hand, pointing upward with her other to the figure of Jupiter, the ruler of the eternal universe. She is accompanied by three female figures, which suggests that the group represents the Cardinal Virtues, Minerva standing here for Fortitude. Testa's argument is, then, that Time and Virtue will make Girolamo Buonvisi's name immortal. The related themes of the mortal coil of life on earth and of Virtue's victory over this are central to the entire series of "The Seasons," although in the scenes of *Summer* (cat. no. 76) and *Winter* (cat. nos. 81 and 82) the reference to Buonvisi disappears.

Testa's conceit is very similar to the famous invention of Pietro da Cortona, his former teacher, for the frescoed ceiling dedicated to the theme of Divine Providence in the Palazzo Barberini in Rome.¹ There, the heraldic arms of Urban VIII are carried aloft to immortal glory as Buonvisi's are here, but whereas Cortona includes the Theological Virtues, Testa refers not at all to the Christian world. Jupiter stands triumphant, as Apollo in the circle of the sun moves through the zodiac at the upper left. Directly opposite, at the lower right, Diana, resting in the crescent of the moon, shields her eyes from Apollo's brightness. In the ladder of the zodiac to the left, as in *Spring* (cat. no. 75), appear the signs of Gemini and Cancer, whereas the subsequent signs of Leo and Sagittarius are figured as animated beasts to the right, even as they appear in the prints of *Summer* and *Autumn* (cat. no. 79). In the circle of the heavens Testa intended to place the planetary gods and various constellations, and the references in the inscriptions to *per immagine* and *per l'immagine* suggest that he wanted to refer to Vincenzo Cartari's *Le immagini de i dei degli antichi* for iconographical information.² He includes in this study, together with Apollo and Diana, the figures of Mars, Hercules, Pan, and probably Juno (with her vase) and Venus (with a bright star at her head

near to the Moon), together with the constellations of the Dragon and the Great Bear. In the inscription he notes that he wishes to include the constellations of the Swan, the Dolphin, and winged Pegasus. The outer circle of the heavens, as he also explains, would have been given a dark ground against which the stars would have gleamed, except for those in the Milky Way, which he shows as a band of light above the Great Bear at the lower left.

The discovery of this drawing makes possible the specific association of a significant group of other drawings with the project for the "frontispiece." One is a figure study in reverse for the seated figure of Hercules, with his arms clasped around his body, who appears next to the Great Bear in the circle of the universe opposite Jupiter and who represents the winter (fig. 74a).³ A second drawing, also in reverse, is for the figure of Jupiter.⁴ Particularly interesting is the sheet now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, on the recto of which is a study for the two Virtues behind Minerva (fig. 74b), and on the verso of which is a study for the figure of Mars in his plumed helmet, who takes his place in the composition drawing immediately below Apollo.⁵ The same female figures also appear in a very schematic red chalk drawing recently on the Rome market. Now that these figures may be associated with the Berlin drawing, the rather mysterious study on the verso of the Rome drawing becomes comprehensible. This is a diagram of the universe, showing the sun in the band of the zodiac within an orb and the planets of the earth and moon illuminated by it. It is characteristic of Testa to have visualized the universe in these two ways—both figuratively, or metaphorically, and in abstract diagrammatic terms.⁶

1. See Giuliano Briganti, *Pietro da Cortona o della pittura barocca* (Florence, 1962), figs. 125–33.

2. For Testa's reading of this text in the Venetian editions of 1556 and 1580, see Cropper, 1984, pp. 220–22, 264–66.

3. Verso: Study of a nude man stretching. Pen and brown ink over red chalk.

4. Red chalk and brown ink. 255 x 190 mm (9¹³/₁₆ x 7¹/₂"). Sold, Sotheby's, New York, January 21, 1983, lot 13; now London art market. Inscribed in an old hand in pen and brown ink in the lower left corner: *Pietro Testa*. A lost version of this drawing, with the eagle more completely described, was reproduced for the *Raccolta* of prints after Testa's drawings published by Vincenzo Billy (see cat.

no. 40). Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (West), KdZ 21800, is probably a copy of this drawing. Pen and brown ink over black chalk. 162 x 197 mm (6³/₈ x 7³/₄"). Inscribed in an old hand in pen and brown ink in the lower left: *Poussin*.

5. Verso: Probably pen and brown ink, but concealed by lining.

6. Aldega and Gordon, 1986, p. 16, no. 5. Recto and verso: Red chalk on white paper. 258 x 200 mm (10³/₁₆ x 7⁷/₈").

PROVENANCE Pacetti (1800–1850; Lugt 2057)

75

Spring

c. 1642–44

Bartsch 36; Bellini 30

Etching with drypoint, first state

498 x 711 mm (19⁵/₈ x 28") (trimmed)

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, AA4, no. 16

The springtime is heralded here by the arrival of the sun, personified by Apollo, in the sign of Gemini. In the upper left Apollo, accompanied by winged Hours, drives his chariot through the ladder of the zodiac in which Testa shows the Twins. To the right of his chariot Venus, the goddess of April and tutelary spirit of the season, rests on a wheeled urn full of the leaves and flowers that cover the garden of the earth in the springtime. Beside her sits her son Cupid, and they are accompanied in their passage through the sky by a group of winged putti who throw flowers to fight back the wind and rain gods of the storms of March. At the far right a thunder god claps bolts of lightning out of the clouds.

On the earth below the season is also shown to be governed by the power of Venus. At the center of the composition a winged Cupid accompanied by swans sits on a ball of fire, the flames of earthly passion. Little loves light their small brands from the torch that he carries and carry them off to ignite the passions of mortal souls. Just as the invention is divided horizontally into the heavenly and terrestrial realms to illustrate the effect upon the earth of the arrival of Apollo and Venus in the sky above, so it is also divided left and right into an exposition of

the double aspect of the power of Venus. To the left, drawing upon the imagery of Poussin's *Triumph of Flora*, now in the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden,¹ which has its source in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*,² Testa shows Ajax, the warrior who was transformed into a hyacinth, offering a basket of flowers. He is surrounded by other personified flowers who similarly represent the rebirth of nature in the springtime. To the right, beneath the stormy skies of late spring, a tortured figure yawns and stretches in pained awakening, and behind him appear lovers in various stages of courtship and passionate embrace. A nymph in the lower right corner fends off the man who tries to seize the flowers from her lap by thrusting her fingers into his eyes. Even as she does so a satyr steals her flowers from her unguarded side. A little cupid, his finger to his lips, warns us not to alert her.

In *Spring* Testa establishes his argument that human passions are governed by mankind's bondage to time and the elements, just as the changing seasons are inexorably ruled by the movement of the heavens. In the equally richly ornamented inventions that follow he shows how the pain of human existence, here most powerfully expressed through the physical awakening of the yawning man, changes with the seasons of the year and of human life. The promise of the renewal of earthly beauty that springtime brings is presented as a paradox, for it is also a promise of the renewal of suffering. Only in *Winter* (cat. nos. 81 and 82), which represents the darkest season on earth and in life, is the true hope expressed for an escape from the mortal coil of elements. As in *Il Liceo della Pittura* (cat. no. 41), Testa has added his signature in the form of the rebus of the snake with its head (*testa*) being crushed by a stone (*pietra*). This little symbol for the artist's genius being crushed by matter is the first sign of the particular association of the series with Testa's own struggle for immortality.

Of the four prints of "The Seasons" this is the rarest. It was not known to Baldinucci, who does not list it with the other large etchings that he describes as being in "papal folio" size.³ The first state, exhibited here, is especially rare. The lines of the etching are very soft and in places Testa had to reinforce them with drypoint, indicating his own dissatisfaction with the etched chiaroscuro. In the other three plates in the series he did not experience



this difficulty to the same extent, and it is likely that *Spring* was the first to be produced, possibly even predating *The Triumph of Painting on Parnassus* (cat. no. 73). For the later state, published by Giovanni Giacomo de Rossi, the whole plate was reworked. This is especially clear in the figure of the yawning man in the right foreground, whose chest was re-hatched with parallel vertical strokes and whose mouth was clumsily redrawn. The new, darker lines in the later state sometimes overlap and sometimes shadow Testa's softly etched ones.

1. Blunt, 1966, p. 112, no. 154; Blunt, 1967, pl. 65; Thuillier, 1974, p. 93, no. 67, pls. XXIII-XXV.
2. Bk. 13, lines 384-98.
3. Baldinucci, 1681-1728, pp. 317-18.

PREPARATORY DRAWING Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, 1383. Study in the reverse sense for the nymph leaning on a vase in the left corner. Pen and brown ink on white paper. 180 x 230 mm (7¹/₁₆ x 9¹/₁₆"). See Thiem, 1977, p. 217, no. 400.

LITERATURE Sandrart, 1675, pp. 289, 293; Gori Gandellini, 1771, p. 294; Huber, 1787, p. 334; Huber, 1799, p. 16; Gori Gandellini and De Angelis, 1813, p. 123; Bartsch, 1820, p. 227, no. 36; Nagler, 1848, p. 268, no. 36; Le Blanc, 1890, p. 21, no. 35; Petrucci, 1936, p. 414; Hartmann, 1970, p. 185; Cropper, 1974b, esp. pp. 254-56 and pl. 60a; Bellini, 1976b, p. 60, no. 30; Cropper, 1984, pp. 46-47 and fig. 57

Summer

c. 1642-44

Bartsch 37; Bellini 31

Etching, probably second state (no first state known). Reinforced along center fold.

497 x 709 mm (19⁹/₁₆ x 27¹⁵/₁₆"

Inscribed in the image in the rectangle: *AL SIGR GIOVANNI DELLA BORNIA/ Pietro Testa/ Sfiorta la Primavera, hò fatto passaggio alla state; mà perche non tanto m'assi/ curo di bionda messe nell'applauso del Mondo, quanto temo i latrati della/ canicola nella detraction de'maligni, mi pongo sotto l'ombra dell'Amicitia/ che hò con V.S. accioche la grata aura di lei prenda là difesa dei pochi fiori che/ mi si permette di far vedere trà l'arsure della stagione. s'opporò ella a' pes-/ tiferi fiati degl'Invidi, ond'io potrò giungere ad un temperato Autuno,/ e produr frutti non meno dilettevoli per la vagezza, che grati per la maturità.; in pen and black ink in the upper right corner: 26*

Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, KM 26

As in *Spring* (cat. no. 75), here Testa shows the passage of the sun through the heavens and the effect of time and the elements on human affections. Apollo is now shown in the sign of Leo within the full circle of the sun, about to draw an arrow from his quiver to shoot down pestilence on the earth below. Instead of the ladder of the zodiac depicted in *Spring*, Testa shows Leo as a lion in the sky with a woman riding on his back. Apollo has passed over the lion's head and paws and appears above his tail, indicating that the moment of the god's greatest power is just past. Past also is the moment of the rising of the Dog Star, whose frenzy at the rising of Leo also brings fierce plagues. He appears beside Leo, gnawing at the head of his master, the hunter Orion. To emphasize even more strongly that Apollo's full strength in the sign of Leo is declining even though he still holds dominion over mortal sufferings, Testa shows the small crescent moon rising amidst the starry cloth of the heavens above the gathering clouds at the far left.

As the fiery Sun loses his power Juno, the goddess of the air, accompanied by her peacocks, is able to squeeze a few drops of water out of the clouds to bring relief to the suffering below. The Winds at her

feet are still chained by the heat of the sun, however, and the jugs of the river god who lies collapsed on the ground, like that of the beseeching nymphs to the right, are empty. But Juno's rainbow holds the promise of an end to the plague-bearing drought, and to the right streams flow down from a mountain spring to relieve the thirst of a desperate man and a woman with her child on her back.

Completing his image of the elemental cycle within a single season, Testa shows the goddess Cybele, or *Terra altrix*, the Nourishing Earth, in the group of figures on the ground below Juno. She is identified by her lion and by the castle she wears on her head. She gazes upward in desperation at Apollo, shielding an infant with her hand, but her breasts are dry, and she is unable to help the fallen winged youth before her.

This winged figure, who reappears as an old man in *Winter* (cat. nos. 81 and 82), marks a new direction in Testa's exposition of the effects of the changing seasons on human affections and of the cycle of the elements. In *Spring* and *Autumn* (cat. no. 79) the order of the universe is presented according to physical laws through mythological personifications. Here, in accordance with the ancient Stoic belief that moral philosophy was derived from an understanding of natural philosophy, Testa introduces the theme of a moral struggle of a virtuous hero to transcend the mortal coil of the elements and thus escape from the realm of human passion.

Testa's dedication of this etching to an otherwise unknown patron, Giovanni della Bornia, makes it plain that the virtuous hero, seen here at the depths of his suffering, is the artist himself. He writes that the springtime of his life has bloomed and that he has entered summer. But rather than receiving a golden harvest of worldly acclaim, he fears that he will suffer evil dog days and therefore seeks the protective shade of friendship. Testa hopes that the gentle breeze of della Bornia's patronage will protect the few flowers he has been allowed to present in this scorching season against the pestiferous breath of his envious enemies. In this way he may reach a more temperate autumn and produce the fruits of maturity. On the ground before the suffering hero lie those flowers of his youth, and a nymph of the springtime, wreathed in flowers, clutches desperately at his breast.

As the hero suffers others prosper. To the left of



Fig. 76a. Pietro Testa, *Study of a River God for "Summer,"* c. 1644. Pen and brown ink over black chalk on cream paper, 108 x 194 mm (4 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ "). Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Paris, 1895



Fig. 76b. Pietro Testa, *Study of Plague Devouring the Children of Cybele,* 1644. Pen and brown ink over black chalk on pale buff paper, 194 x 300 mm (7 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 11 $\frac{3}{16}$ "). Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Paris, 1911

the invention Testa expresses his understanding of how it is that his malign enemies prosper in the dog days of summer. Ceres, the goddess of the golden harvest, accompanied by her dragon, holds out stalks of wheat toward the fallen hero. But an ass-eared figure of Midas, or Bad Judgment, one fist filled with wheat, whispers in her ear and restrains her. The naked figure of true Painting stands helplessly behind him, and the wise Minerva raises her hand in alarm. Meanwhile those who benefit from the rich horde of patronage showered upon them by foolish men of bad judgment suffer none of the deprivations of the season, for in the background men and women give themselves over entirely to the pleasures of the body and the passions. They frolic in pools and streams, drinking, bathing, making music and love around a cave set at the foot of Parnassus. Within this cave sits a priapic and obese figure of Pan, to whom the drunken revelers—like the ass-eared Midas, the bad judge—are dedicated. Unconcerned with those fruits of maturity that Testa hoped to achieve, they live only for the momentary pleasure of their undeserved success, as the painter dedicated to wisdom and truth languishes under the force of Apollo's rays. With the waning of Apollo's power, however, and the rising of the moon will come vindication, and this is the subject of the pendant print *Winter*.

To establish the strong contrast between foreground and background Testa appears to have worked the plate in quite distinct sections, exposing areas to the acid for more widely varying periods of time than in his earlier work. The effect, quite different from that seen in the other three prints in "The Seasons," is exaggerated by his more general modeling of the figures and trees in the background. Some are created entirely out of shadow, others out of broad parallel hatching. This experiment was not entirely successful, and in all impressions of *Summer* the figure of Pan is almost illegible. Despite his wish to create the effect of a hot, shimmering atmosphere Testa had to rework several of the figures, including the lion in the sky, by adding contours. There is no reason to believe, however, as Petrucci argues, that because the etching was staged Testa did not complete the work on the plate himself.

PREPARATORY DRAWINGS 1. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, NM H 541/1863. See cat. no. 77. 2. The Pierpont

Morgan Library, New York, IV, 180e. See cat. no. 78. 3. Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Paris, 1895. See fig. 76a. 4. Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Paris, 1911. See fig. 76b.

LITERATURE Sandrart, 1675, pp. 289, 293; Baldinucci, 1681–1728, p. 318; Gori Gandellini, 1771, p. 294; Bartsch, 1820, pp. 227–28, no. 37; Nagler, 1848, p. 268, no. 37; Le Blanc, 1890, p. 21, no. 36; Petrucci, 1936, pp. 415, 418 n. 15; Hartmann, 1970, pp. 85–86, 186; Cropper, 1974b, esp. pp. 257–60 and pl. 60b; Bellini, 1976b, p. 61, no. 31; Cropper, 1984, pp. 46–55 and fig. 56

77

Study for the Figure of Apollo in "Summer"

c. 1642–44

Red chalk on dirty cream paper. Laid down. Brown stains in spots across the whole sheet.

417 x 259 mm (16⁷/₁₆ x 10³/₁₆")

Inscribed in a later hand in pen and black ink in the lower right corner (in accordance with the Inventory of 1790, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, p. 61): *Pietro Testa./459*; in pen and brown ink in the lower left corner: *Pietro Testa*

Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, NM H 541/1863

This is one of the most outstanding examples of an academic nude study by Testa to have survived. Count Tessin, who bought the drawing from Crozat, described it as a "Très belle académie d'un homme assis faisant des efforts pour tirer une corde." Both Hartmann and Harris relate it to the etching of *Summer* (cat. no. 76), following Vitzthum's original recognition of its importance. Conventional academies are sometimes difficult to attribute, but here the forms of the feet and the hands as well as the vigorous expression, unusual in such a pose from the life, are characteristic of Testa's manner.

The figure of Apollo is bracing himself against a pole, not a rope (*une corde*). He pushes it away with one foot as he pulls it toward him with his arms, maintaining his balance by flexing his left leg. Testa's investigation of this kind of dynamic contrapposto was stimulated by his understanding of the theories of movement expressed by Leon Battista Alberti and Leonardo da Vinci. Both the style of the figure study and the pose, however, have



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more immediate antecedents in the work of the Carracci, especially in Annibale's drawings for the Galleria Farnese in Rome.¹

The drapery behind the figure is not merely a studio prop but also indicates that Testa was already visualizing the completed composition in which the starry heavens appear as a cloth draped about the sun. The muscular body and broad chiaroscuro are preserved in the figure of Apollo inside the orb of the sun in *Summer*, although there Testa altered the pose to show the god reaching back for an arrow with one hand as he grasps his bow with the other. Through the action of this furious figure bending against the stake Testa epitomized in this drawing the tension of Apollo's bow as he shoots down plague. In the end he chose to divide cause—Apollo reaching for his arrows—from effect—the dead and dying below. Here it is the power of the action of the bow itself that he sought to capture.

1. For examples see John Rupert Martin, *The Farnese Gallery* (Princeton, 1965), figs. 210–12, 216–19.

PROVENANCE Pierre Crozat (1665–1740); purchased by Count Carl Gustav Tessin (1695–1770) at the Crozat sale, 1741, no. 272; Swedish Royal Collection

LITERATURE Mariette, 1741, no. 272; Carl Gustav Tessin, Inventory of 1749, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, p. 113, no. 42; Inventory of 1790, Nationalmuseum, p. 61, no. 459; Vitzthum, 1961; Nationalmuseum, 1965, p. 31, no. 135; Harris, 1967, p. 52 n. 30; Hartmann, 1970, p. 203; Vitzthum, 1971, p. 90, fig. 23; Brigstocke, 1978, pp. 124, 147 n. 96

78

Study for the Elements in "Summer"

c. 1642–44

Black chalk on buff paper. Lined. The upper left corner trimmed.

253 x 346 mm (9¹⁵/₁₆ x 13⁵/₈")

Inscribed by the artist in pen and brown ink below the figures: *per gl'elementi*

The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, IV, 180e

As Testa himself indicates in his note on this drawing for *Summer* (cat. no. 76), he has shown here the

four Elements descending from the heavens to the earth. The figure rushing in through the black clouds at the top, his foot barely touching the ground, is probably a wind god who carries the figure of Juno, the goddess of the air, before him. It is possible that, like the similar figure in a related drawing in the Teylers Museum (cat. no. 84), he represents Vulcan, the god of fire. As Juno descends Cybele, the nourishing Earth, with her lion, reaches out to embrace her. In turn a river god clasps the Earth to draw from her the moisture that she takes from the Air. His vase is empty, but the dark, gusting clouds are beginning to precipitate the rain that falls on the globe of the earth as the sun appears to produce Juno's rainbow. Testa thus shows the process of the cycle of water in the atmosphere not only through these personifications but also, as in *Summer*, through the depiction of natural effects.

The use of the combination of mythological figures and natural appearances to explain the cycle of moisture in the universe that Testa develops in this drawing and in the etching is closely related to Poussin's later investigation of the same theme in *Landscape with Orion* of 1658 (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).¹

1. Blunt, 1966, p. 122, no. 169; Blunt, 1967, pl. 237; Thuillier, 1974, p. 110, no. 205.

PROVENANCE Charles Fairfax Murray; purchased by J. Pierpont Morgan in London, 1910

LITERATURE Hartmann, 1970, p. 201; Cropper, 1974b, p. 269 and pl. 64a; Cropper, 1984, pp. 53–54 and fig. 66

79

Autumn

c. 1642–44

Bartsch 38; Bellini 32

Etching, only state (?). Small printer's fold at the upper center.

497 x 716 mm (19⁹/₁₆ x 28³/₁₆") (trimmed)

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, AA4, no. 10

Here, in the third print of "The Seasons," Apollo, as he encircles the earth through the signs of the zodiac, has arrived at the sign of Scorpio, whose claws and tail are silhouetted against the orb of the sun to the left. Behind him rises Sagittarius, shown



78



79



Fig. 79a. Pietro Testa, *Study for Silenus and Fauns in "Autumn,"* c. 1643. Pen and brown ink on cream paper, 227 x 165 mm (8¹⁵/₁₆ x 6¹/₂"). Museo de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, Madrid, 2336

like the sign of Leo in *Summer* (cat. no. 76) as a living beast. Half-man, half-horse, he gestures as if to draw back his bow. As Sagittarius gallops in on the left, Leo declines to the right. Above the lion rises the Great Bear, studded with stars, and below this constellation, reclining on the ladder of the zodiac, is the sign of Virgo, holding a torch. The child between her knees is probably Arcturus, the bright star that Vitruvius, whose text Testa knew extremely well in Daniele Barbaro's translation, describes as lying between the knees of the constellation Boötes, the Guardian of the Great Bear.¹ Behind Virgo a woman holds up the particolored star of Girolamo Buonvisi, here an emblem of not only Testa's patron but also his fruitful patronage. Vitruvius describes a brilliant star behind the right shoulder of Virgo, known to the Romans as Proindemia and to the Greeks as Protrygetes. Commenting on this passage Barbaro explains that the star is called Antivindemia, because its rising promises the maturity of the vintage.² In this way Testa has cleverly inserted a reference to both his patron and his own hope that Buonvisi would allow his harvest to reach maturity, something that he despairs of in his inscription on *Summer*.

The Moon here dominates the center of the heavens, although her orb is smaller than that of the Sun, from which she and her companions must shield their eyes. Her position in the zodiac between Virgo and Scorpio reveals the source of her power, for at the end of the first eighth of Libra, which falls between these two signs, occurs the autumnal equinox. From now on the Moon's power will grow, and although the Sun will continue his journey the horses of Apollo are locked in an unequal struggle with time at the borders of lengthening night, whose starry darkness has already spread across more than half the sky. This battle between darkness and light is perfectly reflected in the sharp chiaroscuro in the etching of the figures of the Moon and the Hours as they face the Sun, especially in the intense contrast in the projecting shoulder of the Moon. Testa reverses the direction of this contrast in modeling the revelers returning from India below, indicating that they are walking westward into the setting sun, casting long shadows behind them.

The changeable quality of the season is illustrated by the two figures seated on the dark rain

clouds beneath the Moon, one leaning out over the earth to pour down waters from his vase, the other wrapped in an uneasy sleep. Like the storm gods Testa shows in the skies of late spring (see cat. no. 75), these are personifications of the weather in autumn, in which warm summer days alternate with rainy ones presaging the coming of winter. The fruitfulness of autumn brings its own melancholy for this reason, and in the exuberant Triumph of Bacchus on the earth below Testa explores the emptiness of frenzied passion soon to end in winter and death.

In the right background satyrs pour the grapes into a vat and tread them as another lies drunken on the ground. Priapic men, satyrs, and fauns assault women; others offer a sacrifice in a garden loggia dedicated to the fertility god Priapus himself. In the left foreground the tender embrace of Bacchus and Ariadne is contrasted to an equally violent display of drunken and sexual passion. Led by dancers, the grotesquely fat figure of Silenus lurches onto a greasy goatskin upon which he, like the figure to the right, is about to skid. Behind him a centaur tears a woman by the neck from the lustful clutches of the faun below. This group, together with the languid lovers in the chariot, the drunken Silenus, and the aged and spent river god tenderly courting his nymph in the lower right, like similar figures in *Spring* and *Summer*, are all transient and mortal spirits whose lives are doomed to be governed by the rhythms of the changing aspects of the heavens above.

1. Vitruvius, *I dieci libri d'architettura . . .*, trans. Daniele Barbaro (1567; reprint, Venice, 1629), pp. 391–92.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 392.

PREPARATORY DRAWINGS 1. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, 1233F. See cat. no. 80. 2. Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II (Royal Library, Windsor Castle), 5937. Study in the reverse sense for the two dancing figures in the center and the head of the maenad behind them. Pen and brown ink over red chalk on discolored white paper. 234 x 197 mm (9 1/4 x 7 3/4"). See Blunt and Cooke, 1960, p. 115, no. 982, fig. 103. Through a confusion of the inventory number with the number in Blunt and Cooke's catalogue, Bellini (1976b, p. 62) considers this as two drawings. 3. Museo de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, Madrid, 2336. See fig. 79a. Inscribed by the artist on the upper left leg of Silenus: *piu corta/poco*; matching a cross



on the left leg of the faun behind him: *+ piu lunga*; down the right side: *poco/ [illegible]/ non tutti scur/ per fornire [illegible]/ deveci qua/ non lascio.*

LITERATURE Baldinucci, 1681–1728, p. 317; Gori Gandellini, 1771, p. 294; Huber, 1787, p. 334; Huber, 1799, p. 16; Gori Gandellini and De Angelis, 1813, p. 122; Bartsch, 1820, p. 228, no. 38; Nagler, 1848, pp. 268–69, no. 38; Le Blanc, 1890, p. 21, no. 37; Petrucci, 1936, pp. 415, 418 n. 15; Harris, 1967, p. 36; Hartmann, 1970, p. 187; Cropper, 1974b, esp. pp. 252–60, pl. 61a; Bellini, 1976b, pp. 61–62, no. 32; Brigstocke, 1978, p. 124; Cropper, 1984, pp. 46–47, fig. 57

80

Preparatory Study for “Autumn”

c. 1642–44

Pen and brown ink over black chalk with traces of red chalk on dirty cream paper. Lined. Vertical folds. The lower edge trimmed.

198 x 717 mm (7¹³/₁₆ x 28¹/₄”)

Inscribed on the recto by the artist in black chalk on the constellation of the Great Bear: *polo*; beneath the figure of Sagittarius in the lower right corner: *I polo*; in pencil in the lower left: *410*; in pencil in the upper right: *1233*; in pencil in the lower right: *93*; on the verso in another hand in pen and brown ink: *Pietro Testa certo 46*

Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, 1233F

In this preparatory drawing in the reverse sense for the stars and planets that appear in *Autumn* (cat. no. 79) above the scene of the Triumph of Bacchus, Testa presents a rather more detailed image of the heavens than in the final etching. Here he shows not only the Great Bear but also the Little Bear and points to their circumpolar nature by writing, *I polo* [*sic*], or “the pole,” on the Bear beside them. The figure of Virgo is shown reclining on the ladder of the zodiac within which Testa has drawn in chalk the scales of Libra, the subsequent sign in which the equinox takes place. One of the women beside the Moon is shown with wings, indicating that she is one of the Hours of the Night, and between the two river gods Testa has drawn the figure of a bat to emphasize the darkness of the Moon, which now equals the light of the Sun. Sagittarius the Archer holds his bow in hand, but in the etching Testa chose not to include it.

This large, rough drawing is as wide as the print itself and must have been intended as a model for work on the plate, even though Testa did not follow it exactly. Its schematic character is typical of such studies from the middle of Testa’s career. Hands become paws, for example, and there is very little interior modeling. What the artist is interested in at this point is the original invention and arrangement of a group of figures derived from his knowledge of astrology that would express his understanding of the position of the sun and the moon in



81

the zodiac at the time of the autumnal equinox. He was not primarily concerned to make a beautiful drawing for its own sake.

PROVENANCE Fondo Mediceo Lorenese

LITERATURE Harris, 1967, p. 52 n. 31 (incorrectly as a study for Bartsch 39); Hartmann, 1970, p. 201; Cropper, 1974b, esp. p. 257 n. 34 and pl. 63a

81

Winter

1644

Bartsch 39; Bellini 28

Etching, second state

500 x 720 mm (19¹¹/₁₆ x 28⁵/₁₆")

Inscribed in the image in the lower right corner: *Si stampano in Roma alla Pace per Giovan: Domenico Rossi Petrus Testa Pinxit et Sculpsit/ 1644*

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, AA4, no. 13

82

Winter

1644

Bartsch 39; Bellini 28

Etching, third state. The center fold reinforced. Some creases and a slight brown stain at the top.

501 x 719 mm (19³/₄ x 28⁵/₁₆")

Inscribed in the plate in the lower right corner: *Si stampano in Roma alla Pace per Giovan Jacomo Rossi/ all insegna di Parigi/ Petrus Testa Pinxit et Sculpsit/ 1644*; in pen and black ink in the upper right corner: 27

Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, KM 27

In *Spring* (cat. no. 75) Apollo returns to the earth, and in *Summer* (cat. no. 76) the sun reaches its height; only the crescent of the new moon appears in the sky to the left presaging the waning of the



82

Fig. 81–82a. Pietro Testa, *Study for Selene in Her Chariot in "Winter,"* c. 1644. Pen and brown ink with brown wash over traces of black chalk on cream paper, 276 x 417 mm (10⁷/₈ x 16⁷/₁₆""). Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon, cat. 1883, no. 816



long days of summer. In *Autumn* (cat. no. 79), at the time of the equinox, the sun and the moon struggle for power. Now in *Winter* the moon has conquered and governs the short dark days of the season. It seems that Testa originally considered showing the arch of the heavens here as in the other three prints in the series, for a drawing in Dijon (fig. 81–82a) shows Selene, the figure of the Moon, driving her chariot across the sky. But in the etching she rises full circle in the sky as Apollo drives his chariot within the setting sun below the horizon in the lower left. Beneath Selene, as beneath Apollo in *Summer*, Testa shows the cycle of the elements in accordance with the season. On earth men huddle around a fire. The Ocean, leaning on a huge fish, embraces the Rivers. They in turn hold up their waters in an overflowing bowl from which two swooping figures of clouds drink. As they do so the Wind and rain gods next to the Moon cast the moisture that has been drunk up by the Clouds back down upon the earth in the form of icy rain.

The contrast between the extremes of the cycles of the elements in summer and winter is matched in Testa's inventions by a change in the fortunes of the winged hero. The vertical line that divides the two sides of the composition appears in all impressions. Possibly Testa considered cutting the image into two proportioned sections. In *Winter* Testa presents a vindication of the sufferings of the mature, virtuous artist, shown at the right, caught in the cycle of mortal affect in the world of the elements. The artist dedicated to truth now struggles upward in a movement that parallels the rising of the Moon. As he does so he escapes from the grasp of Envy with her shriveled breasts and entwining snakes. He is supported by the figure of Virtue, who holds out before him the laurel of immortal fame. Above and below the struggling figure of the mature genius of the artist are two children clad only in shirts. The one below lies asleep and drunken, all exposed, enthralled by the world of the senses. The other flies upward with the artist, reaching out to a scroll that Testa has left un-inscribed. Together they serve as ornaments to emphasize the movement of the artist's soul between the worlds of sense and of truth.

Despite the absence of an inscription, the character of the winged figure as the virtuous artist is even more clearly defined than in *Summer* because of the contrasting background scene of a group of mon-

keys climbing in a pyramid, one scrambling on the shoulders of another, to reach a flask of wine at the top of a tree that has been transformed into an ancient trophy pole. A palette lies beside them on the ground, and another monkey crouches in the landscape to make a drawing. In his Notebook Testa attacks those *pituraccie*, or "daubers," who are not only lazy (like the sleeping boy) but also practice bad habits.¹ The true character of those who prospered in *Summer* is thus now revealed. They are the "dirty monkeys," the apes of nature, the material objects of whose ambitions are also the subject of their works and to whom Testa had already referred in the figure of Practice in *Il Liceo della Pittura* (cat. no. 41). Testa is here attacking in particular the art of the Bamboccianti, those Northern European artists working in Italy whose little paintings of daily reality enjoyed considerable success in Rome in the middle of the seventeenth century. Imitative of the accidental appearances of nature and without respect for the traditions of painting, their works could never, in Testa's view, lead to the truth.

Testa's image of the soul struggling to escape from the mortal coil of the elements and the world of the senses was based on his reading of Plato. His determination to reach beyond the imitation of nature in order to achieve truth in painting was also guided, as his notes reveal, by his response to the philosopher's criticism in *The Republic* of the arts of representation because of their deceptive illusionism.² In *An Allegory of Painting* (cat. no. 37) Testa shows how Painting must embrace Nature to discover the secrets of her harmony and grace. In *Il Liceo della Pittura* he argues that painting is an intellectual habit that should be practiced within the Temple of Minerva in the search for truth. *The Triumph of Painting on Parnassus* (cat. no. 73) shows True Painting being greeted by her sister Poetry on the mountain after conquering the passions and winning magnanimous patronage. Now the artist portrays himself, without reference to the support of patronage or poetry, as the embodiment of the philosophical truth of painting that reaches beyond the elemental world to the superlunar realm.

Rising with the Moon the artist seeks to escape from the sublunar world of change and the passions. According to the Platonic texts Testa was reading as he worked on the print, this struggle to pursue the fruits of Virtue could be attempted only by the

few. It might be achieved through either the physical death of the body or the pursuit of philosophy, which, leading to a sort of death in life, turns man from the senses and fortifies his soul so that he will grow wings that may lift him from the earth.

Winter was probably produced shortly after Testa had completed his frescoes (now destroyed) for the Saint Lambert chapel in Santa Maria dell'Anima in Rome, which, as Passeri reports, were criticized for being too cold and for lacking the bravura found in the artist's sketches.³ Harris points out that Testa's knowledge that the Flemish artist Jan Miel, one of those "apes of nature" he so despised, was to repaint those frescoes probably contributed to the despair that led him to take his own life.⁴ It is tempting to see in *Winter* a premonition of Testa's ultimate rejection of the world, although it is probably more accurate to read in it his rejection of worldly rewards, still inspired by the belief that his art would give him immortality. Despite its inscription there is no evidence that Testa produced a painting of this theme. This is the first of the few etchings that Testa dated in the plate (see also cat. nos. 114 and 116), which also suggests that its execution marks a turning point in his life.

1. Cropper, 1984, pp. 236-37, no. 57.A, and p. 245, no. 60.A.3.

2. Ibid.

3. See cat. nos. 91-93 and Passeri, 1679, p. 185.

4. Harris, 1967, pp. 46-49.

PREPARATORY DRAWINGS 1. Teylers Museum, Haarlem, D 30. See cat. no. 83. 2. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon, cat. 1883, no. 816. See fig. 81-82a. Reproduced by Louise Bouteiller, *Monuments des arts du dessin chez les peuples tant anciens que modernes . . .* (Paris, 1829), vol. 2, pl. 85.

LITERATURE (cat. nos. 81 and 82) Sandrart, 1675, pp. 289, 293; Baldinucci, 1681-1728, p. 317; Gori Gandellini, 1771, p. 294; Bartsch, 1820, pp. 228-29, no. 39; Nagler, 1848, p. 26a, no. 39; Le Blanc, 1890, p. 21, no. 38; Petrucci, 1936, pp. 409, 415, 418 n. 15; Marabottini, 1954b, p. 240 n. 43; Donati, 1961, p. 439; Harris, 1967, pp. 36, 44, 50 n. 13, 57 n. 91; Hartmann, 1970, p. 187; Bellini, 1976b, pp. 58-59, no. 28; Cropper, 1974b, esp. pp. 264-72 and pl. 61b; Brigstocke, 1978, p. 124; Cropper, 1984, pp. 41, 46-48, 50-51, 54, 58, 105-6, 152, 175 and fig. 58

Study for the Figures to the Right in "Winter"

Verso: Another version of the same study

c. 1644

Recto: Pen and brown ink with light brown wash over black chalk on faded blue paper. Heightened with white chalk. Squared in black chalk. The upper left corner trimmed. Verso: Black chalk. Heightened with white chalk.

360 x 217 mm (14³/₁₆ x 8⁷/₁₆") (right edge)

Inscribed on the verso in black chalk in the lower left: *Testa*

Teylers Museum, Haarlem, D 30

In this drawing Testa uses black and white chalk with pen and wash to produce brilliant surface effects of chiaroscuro that are now slightly diminished through the fading of the paper. The group of figures is not identical with that to the right of *Winter* but is so closely related to it that the drawing should be considered a preparatory study. Here the heroic ascending figure is shown as the artist's genius, with little wings on his head, following the image of Genius that Vincenzo Danti had devised for his sculpture on the catafalque for the funeral of Michelangelo in 1564. Testa shows the figure supported by a woman as in the print, but here he struggles to escape from winged Time, who lies on the ground attempting to devour one of his children.

Although the painterly effects of light and color in this drawing are very different from the more clearly delineated forms of the figures in the etching, the structure of the torso of the male hero is the same in both. In the etching Testa succeeded in translating the modeling of the figure by wash in the drawing into a sculptural form through hatching in lines.

PROVENANCE Don Livio Odescalchi (1652-1713); by descent to the dukes of Bracciano; acquired for the Teylers Foundation in Rome, 1790

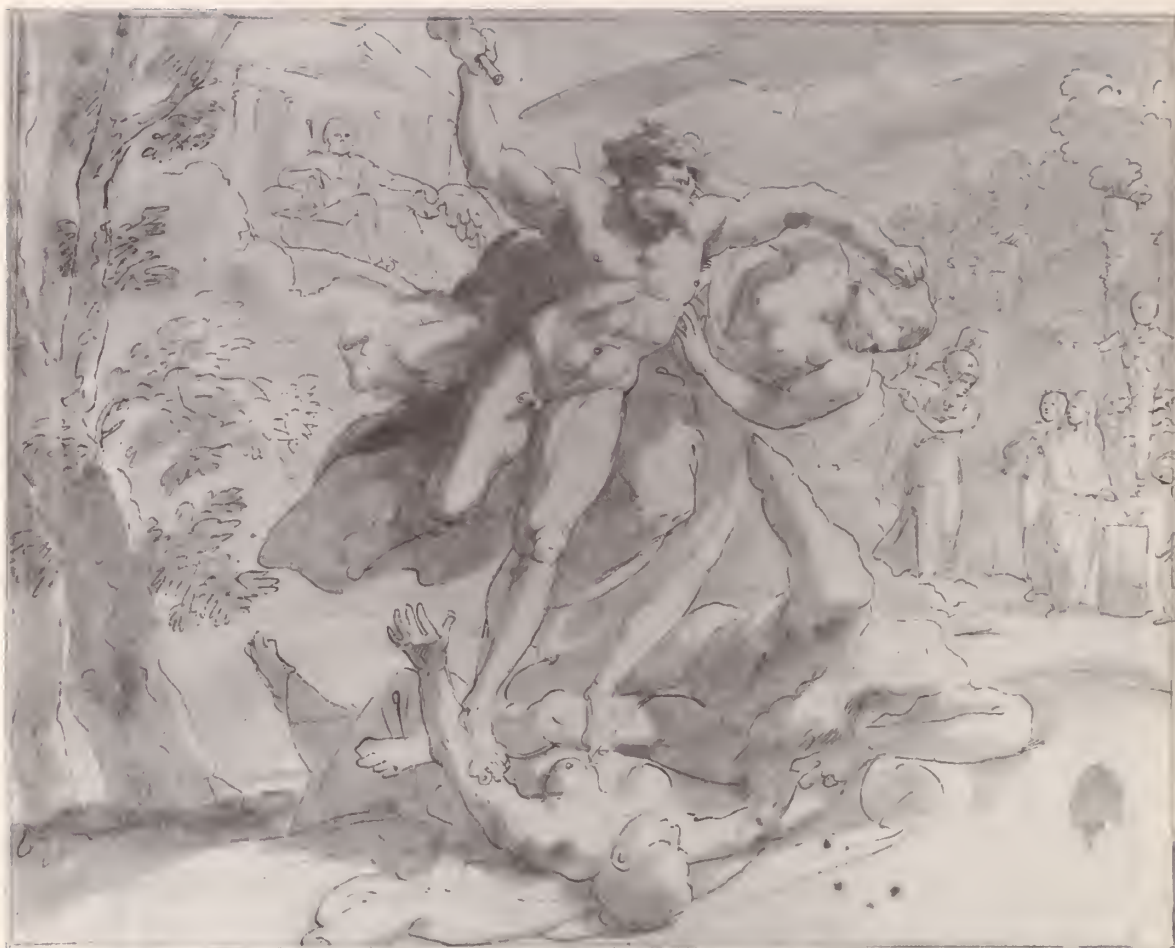
LITERATURE Hartmann, 1970, p. 206; Vitzthum, 1971, p. 84; Cropper, 1974b, esp. p. 255 and pl. 62b; Cropper, 1984, p. 51 and fig. 61



83 recto



83 verso



84 recto

84

An Allegory of the Elements of Nature

Verso: Study of the torso and head of an old man, possibly God the Father

c. 1644

Recto: Pen and brown ink with light grayish brown wash and brown wash over red chalk on cream paper. Small hole to the right of the female figure on the ground. Several superficial creases. Verso: Red chalk.

262 x 327 mm (10⁵/₁₆ x 12⁷/₈")

Inscribed on the verso in black chalk in the lower left: *P. Testa*

Teylers Museum, Haarlem, 145

Like the drawing of the Elements in the Pierpont Morgan Library (cat. no. 78), this composition is closely related to the series of "The Seasons" (see cat. nos. 74–83), completed in 1644. Here, as in *Summer* (cat. no. 76) and *Winter* (cat. nos. 81 and 82), the natural world is characterized as a cyclical elemental struggle between fire, air, water, and earth. With a fiery violence Vulcan, the god of fire and metalworking, his hammer raised, forces the flying female figure of Air down toward the earth. Beneath this conquered figure lies the contorted male figure of Water; as he bows down to the prostrate female figure of Earth with her nourishing breasts, rainwater pours forth from his breasts, hair, and penis and from the vase—the source of a



84 verso

river—upon which he lies. The cycle of water vapor thus personified is also represented as a natural phenomenon. Behind the central figures of the Elements the sun shines through the clouds, showing how the heat of the sun forces the moisture-laden air back to earth; between the figures of Air and Water misty clouds gather. This allegorical relationship is given another natural expression in the leafy trees to the left and behind the garden loggia to the right, for they are the product of earth, water, fire, and air.

Testa's presentation of the cycle of the elements, like that in *Summer*, was guided by his syncretistic interpretation of myth as expressive of the natural order. This study is even more closely related to the

invention of "The Seasons" because Testa also combined this interpretation with an allegory of the human condition and the arts. To the right Minerva, the goddess of wisdom, chastises those who worship at the shrine of Nature, who, as in *An Allegory of Painting* (cat. no. 37), is personified as a sculpture of Diana of Ephesus. Above the clouds to the left a living figure of the goddess is coerced into submission by Jupiter, god of the heavens, who sits before his temple set against the vast orb of the sun.

The moral of Testa's allegory is that the natural world is locked in elemental strife. Wisdom, to whom man must dedicate himself, demands that the artist not worship at the shrine of illusory natural matter. In the end Nature herself must be subjected

to the ideal, which lies beyond the contingencies of time and change.

PROVENANCE Don Livio Odescalchi (1652–1713); by descent to the dukes of Bracciano; acquired for the Teylers Foundation in Rome, 1790

LITERATURE Hartmann, 1970, p. 206

85

An Allegory in Honor of Innocent X

1644

Bartsch 31; Bellini 25

Etching, unrecorded artist's proof of the first state. Superficial creases and the center fold reinforced at the upper and lower edges.

398 x 493 mm (15³/₈ x 19³/₈"

Inscribed by the artist in black chalk beneath the figure of the river god: *Tevere per Roma*; below the plate mark at the trimmed lower edge (partially legible): *Defensore dei cattivi, la giustizia Punitiva*; probably in another hand in black chalk outside the right side of the plate: *A/ B/ C/ D/ E/ F/ G/ H/ I/ R/ S/ T/ U*; in the lower right corner of the sheet: 45

Collection A. B., Rome

86

An Allegory in Honor of Innocent X

1644

Bartsch 31; Bellini 25

Etching, third state. Slightly stained at the lower left edge.

400 x 503 mm (15³/₄ x 19¹³/₁₆"

Inscribed in the image below the figure of the Tiber: *Dno Stephano Garbesi Nobili Viro optime de se merito/ Petrus Testa beneficiorum non immemor DD*; in the lower left: *Si Stampano alla Pace per Gio: Giacomo de Rossi/ in Roma all insegna di Parigi*

Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (West), 877-119

Innocent X Pamphili was elected pope on September 15, 1644. For those who had prospered under the patronage of the Barberini, his election brought hard times. Testa's own patron Girolamo Buonvisi left Rome for Lucca, and his opportunities

to win favor for the young artist, now thirty-four years old, were curtailed. No prints bearing his emblem can be dated after 1644. Cassiano dal Pozzo also lost his favored position at the papal court. With the production of this print Testa hoped to find fresh patronage with the new pope, just as he had done on the occasion of Cardinal Franciotti's appointment as bishop of Lucca (cat. no. 36).

The Pamphili coat of arms includes the fleur-de-llys and a dove bearing an olive branch (seen here in the oval niche at the right). Like many other artists and writers Testa seized upon the implication of the dove and the olive branch to develop the conceit that, after suffering the economic catastrophe of Urban VIII's War of Castro,¹ Rome would enjoy a golden age of peace under the new pope. Building on the inventions of "The Seasons" (see cat. nos. 74–83), Testa shows at the left the orb of a new sun above the cloth of the starry skies in whose folds the ladder of the Zodiac appears. The most prominent sign, below the lion of Leo, is Virgo, whose return to the earth heralds the return of Justice and the beginning of the golden age. But it is now God the Father himself, flanked by angels, who leans upon the globe of the earth and points commandingly down to the scene below. Beside the orb in which he sits, and again appropriate for an invention dedicated to the celebration of a pope, stands a woman with her hands folded in prayer, representing Religion. Next to her stands another woman who represents Piety, her hands covered in reverence as she holds a model of the Pantheon, the temple of all the gods.

As in *The Triumph of Painting on Parnassus* (cat. no. 73), Testa shows the triumphal arch of the rainbow lending colors to painting, only here the rainbow is the sign of God's promise of peace first granted to Noah, and the artist is symbolized as Peace herself. The figure of Iris, the messenger of the gods and the personification of the rainbow, holds out her pot of colors to Peace as a dove bearing an olive branch swoops down from above. The image painted by Peace is realized in the form of a monument to Innocent X, a bust of whom appears in an oval niche above the Pamphili lilies and dove. Resting on the top of the monument are the papal tiara, keys, and stole and two pots of smoking incense. The oval image is flanked by two allegorical figures, the one with the fasces in her hand standing

for Justice, the other in the form of Minerva circled by a snake representing the prudent wisdom that accompanies justice. Each holds an olive branch of peace. To the familiar conjoining of Justice and Peace in Psalm 85, to which Testa had referred in his drawing for the fresco in Lucca (cat. no. 31), is thus here added the equally familiar Virgilian theme that Justice (the figure of Virgo in the zodiac) returns in the golden age.

Beneath the benign aspect of the heavens at the election of Innocent X Testa shows the city of Rome enjoying the perpetual springtime of the golden age. Nymphs collect flowers in baskets and weave them into garlands with which winged putti bedeck the monument to Innocent X. In the right foreground reclines the figure of the Tiber, so identified by Testa in his note on the proof beside a cornucopia of the fruits and flowers of the new age. One putto soberly crowns the river with a garland. In the background sit artists and poets, their work inspired by the light from the celestial radiance.

In the left foreground, in sharp contrast to this scene of celebration, sits a crouching, muscular figure who cowers over a hare on the other bank of the Tiber. Like the figure with the hare in the Frankfurt drawing for *The Triumph of Painting* (fig. 73a), he represents Fear or Pusillanimity. As in that work and in accordance with Testa's reading of Bernardo Segni's translation of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, the pusillanimous man is the opposite of the magnanimous and therefore the enemy of magnanimous patronage.² Avarice, in the figure of the hungry wolf, is also shown leaving the city.³ In the barely legible note at the lower edge of the proof Testa identifies the figure with the protector of evildoers, and there can be no doubt that he intends a criticism of the previous papal regime. In the background, against the cityscape of ancient Rome, Hercules drives personifications of the vices across a bridge and out of the city. This is the punitive justice to which Testa's note refers.

Testa had not benefited directly from Barberini patronage, but his main supporters had enjoyed office at the Barberini court, and he had little justification for taking up the popular attacks on the dead pope and his family. That he did so suggests increasing desperation on his part. In a drawing in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle (fig. 85–86a), he again took up the theme of the return of justice.

Mars stands in his chariot at the center of the composition, and beneath him are all the evils of war. A man with a sword tramples a mother with her children as Envy with her snakes and dog looks on; the trophies of war are arrayed to the right. As Painting lies fainting on the rainbow, supported by the supplicating figure of winged Fame and by Wisdom, hope comes in the form of Virgo holding up her scales and seated on yet another rainbow. As she stays the hand of Mars the dove flies in with an olive branch in his beak, putti scatter flowers, and Flora reins in the horses of the chariot of war.⁴ But the arrival of Innocent brought no such salvation to the arts. As Montagu states, the Romans greeted the new pope with "even more than their usual degree of optimism that a change of pope would usher in a happier and more propitious era, but even the most sanguine could not look forward to a new golden age for the arts."⁵ Testa does make such a prediction in this print, which he probably hoped to dedicate to the pope himself, and in the Windsor drawing, but the patronage he hoped for, and far less the new golden age, were not forthcoming.

The artist's proof of the first state of this print (cat. no. 85) is unique not only because it bears the artist's inscriptions. Whereas in later states (including cat. no. 86) the portrait of the pope faces to the right, here it faces to the left. The portrait is even more unflattering than in the later versions, for Testa suggests Innocent's fierce antagonism to the previous regime through the exaggeration of the angle of his brows and the lines on his forehead. Testa also made a mistake in his depiction of the dove, for he failed to reverse it on the plate and it thus faces right instead of left. This, too, he altered in the next state. No other example of a first state without a publisher's address is known.

In the second state Testa redesigns the portrait of Innocent X and the heraldic crest beneath him. The print also now bears a dedication to Stefano Garbesi, the Lucchese cleric to whom Testa had also dedicated his early etching of *The Martyrdom of Saint Erasmus* (cat. nos. 5 and 6). Hartmann draws attention to Giacinto Gigli's contemporary account that a Lucchese embassy came to Rome to honor the new pope in April 1645,⁶ and suggests that this may have been the occasion for the dedication, although there is no evidence that Garbesi was among the group.

85

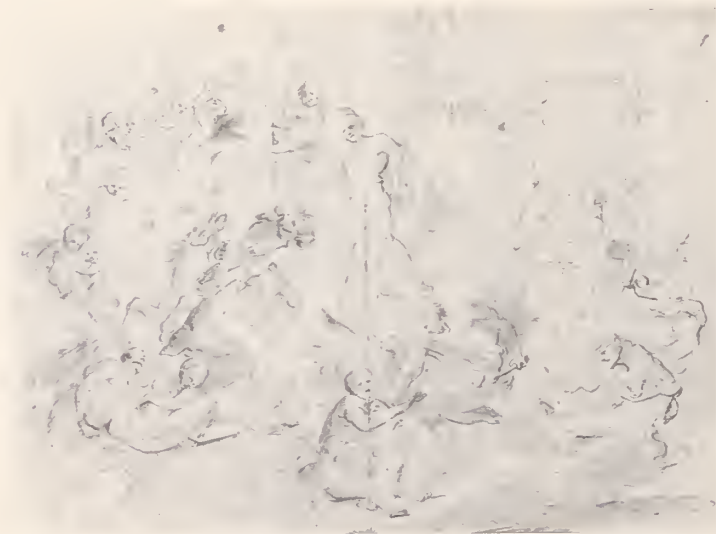


Fig. 85-86a. Pietro Testa, *An Allegory of the Return of Justice*, c. 1644. Pen and brown ink over black chalk on cream paper, 333 x 453 mm (13 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 17 $\frac{3}{16}$ "'). Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II (Royal Library, Windsor Castle), 5951



86



Fig. 85–86b. Pietro Testa, Study for the River Tiber in "An Allegory in Honor of Innocent XI," 1644. Pen and brown ink over black chalk with some red chalk on cream paper, 188 x 261 mm (7³/₈ x 10¹/₄"). Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, 5724S

Good impressions of even the later states of this print are rare, and there are no copies after it. The subject was probably so topical, and Innocent's policies rendered it so quickly obsolete, that there was little demand for reprinting.

1. See Jennifer Montagu, *Alessandro Algardi* (New Haven, 1985), vol. 1, p. 81.
2. Aristotle, 1550, bk. 4, chap. 3, pp. 187–95.
3. It is possible that Testa intends the hungry wolf to stand instead for the starving conditions in which Urban VIII had left Rome, but the allegorical figure of Avarice is more in keeping with the whole, and the wolf does appear to be leaving the city.
4. See Blunt in Schilling and Blunt, 1971, p. 123, for his acceptance of Vitzthum's attribution of the drawing.
5. Montagu, *Algardi*, vol. 1, p. 81.
6. Giacinto Gigli, *Diario romano (1608–1670)*, ed. G. Ricciotti (Rome, 1958).

PREPARATORY DRAWINGS (cat. nos. 85 and 86) 1. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, 5727S. See cat. no. 87. 2. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, 5724S. See fig. 85–86b. Lined. The upper left corner torn. Several surface abrasions. Inscribed by the artist in red chalk: *il libro*; in pen and brown ink: *il libro +, il maggire*; in another hand in pen and ink above the center of the lower edge: *Pietro Testa*.

PROVENANCE (cat. no. 85) Comte C. W. de Renesse Breidbach (1776–1833; Lugt 1209)

LITERATURE (cat. nos. 85 and 86) Baldinucci, 1681–1728, p. 318; Gori Gandellini, 1771, p. 296; Huber, 1799, p. 15; Gori Gandellini and De Angelis, 1813, p. 122; Bartsch, 1820, pp. 224–25, no. 31; Nagler, 1848, p. 267, no. 31; Le Blanc, 1890, p. 21, no. 30; Petrucci, 1936, p. 414; Harris, 1967, p. 36, pl. 41; Hartmann, 1970, pp. 87–88, 188; Cropper, 1974a, p. 385; Bellini, 1976b, p. 57, no. 25; Cropper, 1984, pp. 39 n. 166, 56, 145 and fig. 67

87

Study of Iris and Peace for “An Allegory in Honor of Innocent X”

1644

Pen and brown ink over red chalk on dirty cream paper. The wings and several other details incised. Mounted on card. Vertical fold to the right. The surface skinned to reveal the lining at the lower right edge.

186 x 144 mm (7⁵/₁₆ x 5¹¹/₁₆")

Inscribed by the artist in pen and brown ink on the profile in the upper right corner: *equali, per l'amore/ vedi la carta di, con na*; in another hand in pen and dark brown ink in the lower right corner: *Pietro Testa*

Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, 5727S

The two women in this very crisp, disciplined drawing for *An Allegory in Honor of Innocent X* (cat. nos. 85 and 86) exemplify the new approach to ideal form that Testa developed in the early 1640s. Contours are clearly delineated and regular hatching is employed to produce the effect of strongly illuminated sculpture. The women share the grander proportions of figures in “The Seasons” (cat. nos. 74–83) and *The Triumph of Painting on Parnassus* (cat. no. 73), derived from Testa's study of ancient sculpture and of the frescoes by Annibale Carracci in the Galleria Farnese in Rome.¹ This vision of ideal beauty was also affected by Testa's reading of Agnolo Firenzuola's *Dialogo delle bellezze delle donne*, first published in 1548, from which he took notes that are preserved in the Düsseldorf Notebook. The features of Peace, shown here at the left, are assembled from the perfect qualities of ideally beautiful women described by Firenzuola, as interpreted by Testa in the little drawings he made beside his notes (fig. 87a).² Among them are the long blonde hair tied in a simple knot, the broad brow composed of two squares, the dark, arched eyebrows, the large, oval eyes, the medium-sized ears, the small mouth, neither narrow nor flat, and finally the delicate rings around the neck with which Testa endowed the figure of Peace. In the figure of Iris, on the other hand, are found the uplifted breasts from Testa's little sketch on the second folio of notes from Firenzuola's dialogue (fig. 87b), in which the most perfect breasts are described as not only uplifted but also appearing to struggle to escape from their covering drapery.³ The contours of Iris's profile, set off in red chalk, match those of the ideal beauty of Peace.

Above Iris Testa drew another profile, this one divided into three equal parts, each the length of the nose. He was again drawing upon Firenzuola's definitions of perfect proportions, in which the ancient Vitruvian perfections are summarized. Firenzuola's ideal qualities could be visualized in many ways; indeed they describe perfectly the ideal women portrayed by his contemporary Parmigianino.⁴ It is sig-



Pietro Testa

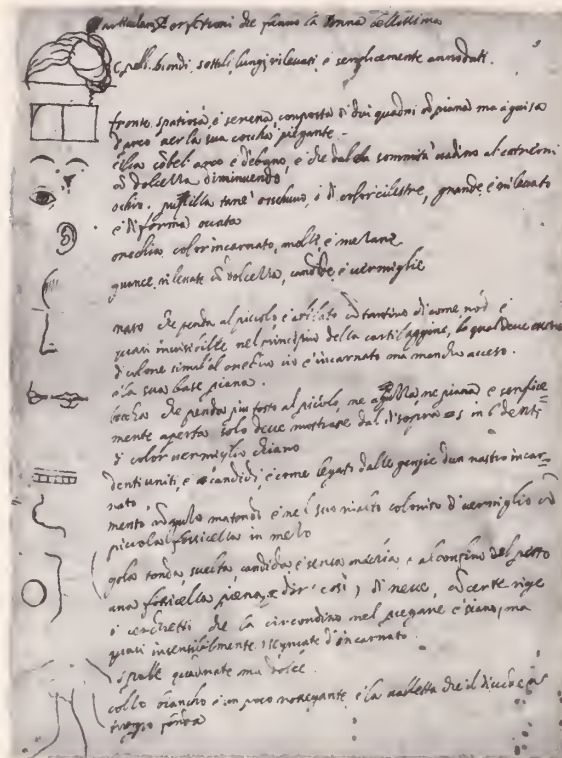


Fig. 87a. Pietro Testa, *The Particular Perfections That Make a Woman Most Beautiful*, c. 1644. Pen and brown ink on cream paper, 270 x 195 mm (10⁵/₈ x 7¹¹/₁₆"). Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, Graphische Sammlung, Notebook (Budde 132), folio 6 recto

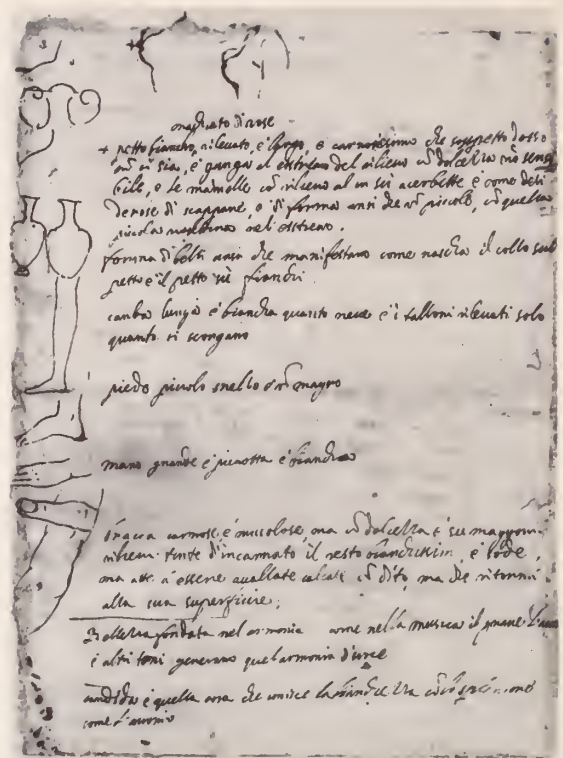


Fig. 87b. Pietro Testa, *The Particular Perfections That Make a Woman Most Beautiful*, c. 1644. Pen and brown ink on cream paper, 270 x 195 mm (10⁵/₈ x 7¹¹/₁₆"). Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, Graphische Sammlung, Notebook (Budde 132), folio 6

nificant, therefore, that in translating them in this drawing Testa visualized the perfect profiles in accordance with the ideal features of the Medici *Venus* in the Uffizi.⁵ Indeed his note *per l'amore*, or “for love,” indicates that he recognized that this ancient statue provided the perfect example for the figure of Love and therefore of Beauty. He employed this perfectly beautiful profile not only for the figure of Iris in *An Allegory in Honor of Innocent X*, but also for such other beautiful women as the Muse Calliope and the figure of Painting in *The Triumph of Painting* and various nymphs in *Spring* (cat. no. 75).

1. See, for example, John Rupert Martin, *The Farnese Gallery* (Princeton, 1965), figs. 63, 69, 73–76.

2. See Cropper, 1984, pp. 202–3, no. 14.

3. *Ibid.*

4. For a discussion of the relationship between Firenzuola and Parmigianino, see Cropper, 1976.

5. Haskell and Penny, 1981, p. 327, fig. 173.

PROVENANCE Gift of Emilio Santarelli to the Uffizi, 1866

LITERATURE E. Santarelli, E. Burci, and F. Rondoni, *Catalogo della raccolta di disegni autografi antichi e moderni donati dal prof. Emilio Santarelli alla Reale Galleria di Firenze* (Florence, 1870), p. 383, no. 30; Hartmann, 1970, p. 206; Cropper, 1974a, p. 385, fig. 24; Cropper, 1984, p. 56 and fig. 68; Seymour Howard, “Carracci-School Drawings in Sacramento,” *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 47, no. 4 (1984), p. 370 and p. 366, fig. 19

Design for a Fountain

c. 1645

Pen and brown ink with brownish gray and blue wash on cream paper

215 x 417 mm (8⁷/₁₆ x 16⁷/₁₆"

Inscribed by the artist in pen and brown ink in the upper center, identifying the figures similarly numbered on the elevation: *1 Vergine di candido marmo/ 2 Gili di oro/ Cigni marmo/ 3 il resto tutto di rozza Pietra/ come peperino ò altro; to the right, the letters corresponding to those on the plan: Pianta, A Statua per Iride e per Vergine/ B Gili che tutti mettono aqua nel Tazzone aludendo al Aq[ua]/ vergine/ C quattro statue che esprimono le quattro rare qualità [di]/ quest'Aqua cio è 1 freddezza. 2 Purità. 3 Leggier[ezza]/ 4 chiarezza./ D il vascone poi sarà ricetta di cigni esprimendo/ poeti honorati e simili che godono per la pace di quest'aq[ua]/ La quiete e la Pace, dico, espresa per L'iride su; in the lower right corner: *Le statue (in occasione) averanno le loro sinboli per esprimere et/ si puo fare poci versi nell[i]/ basi d'ogniuna d'esse**

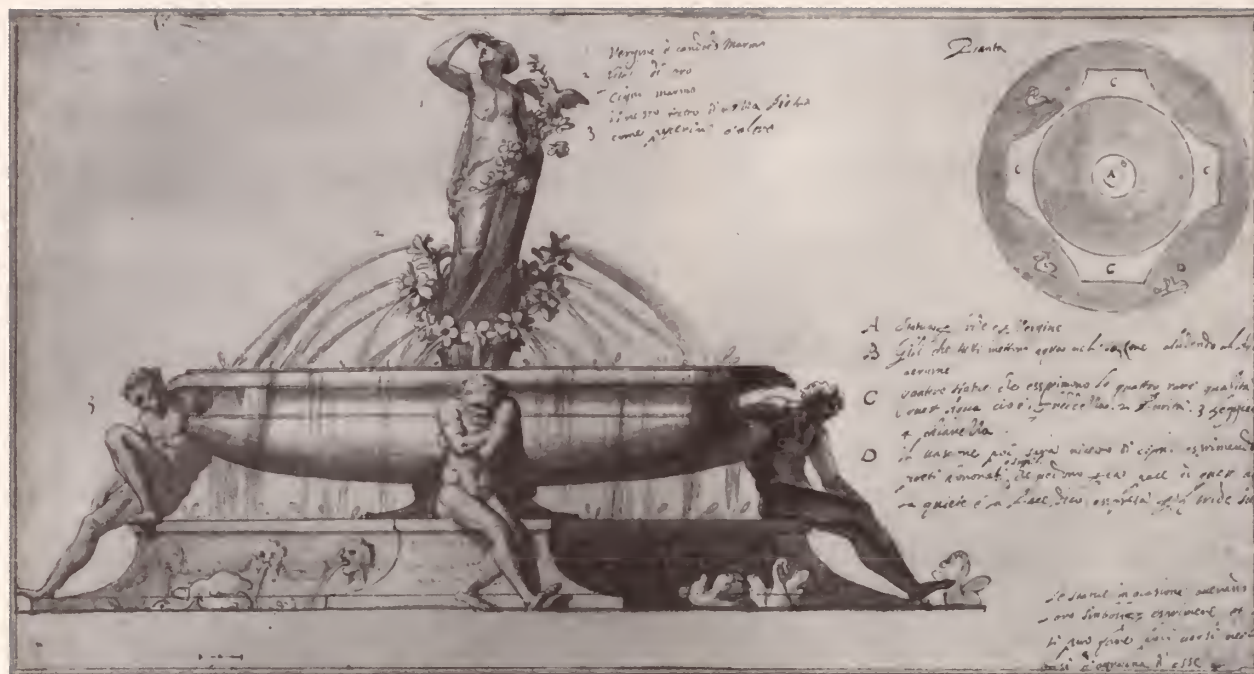
Teylers Museum, Haarlem, K II 13

In its cool elegance this design is an outstanding example of Testa's neoclassical graphic style in the mid-1640s. His own notes on the drawing explaining the iconography indicate that this fountain was destined for the Acqua Vergine, one of the most important water supplies of ancient and modern Rome. The crowning statue represents both Iris, the figure of the rainbow, and the legendary virgin who pointed out to thirsty Roman soldiers the source of the waters that would subsequently take her name.¹ The lilies, out of whose trumpets the waters spout, symbolize her purity. Four statues seated at each side of the base stand for the four rare qualities of the water—coldness, purity, lightness, and clarity. The central male figure, his arms folded, personifies the shuddering cold of the waters of the Acqua Vergine, but because its other qualities might have been harder to convey, Testa indicates that in addition to allegorical attributes he would include short verses on the bases of these statues. He simulated such an inscription on the one base visible. In the water surrounding the basin and its support Testa intended to place white marble swans

to stand for the Apollonian poets who delight in the peace of the waters. That peace and quiet, Testa adds, is expressed in the figure of Iris above. Here, as in *An Allegory in Honor of Innocent X* (cat. nos. 85 and 86), he brings to life the coat of arms of the Pamphili family, for the dove bearing the olive branch that lands on the lilies suggests a new golden age of peace and tranquillity. In the print Iris, the messenger of peace, sits upon the rainbow of God's new covenant with Noah; in the projected fountain Iris, again the personification of the rainbow and all that it promises, shields her eyes from the rays of the sun, which are indicated schematically at the top left of the sheet. In the finished project, as the sun's rays fell upon the arching curves of water natural rainbows would have surrounded the sculptured figure.

The different materials Testa proposed to use would have enhanced the dramatic effects of the fountain. The marble for the virgin was to be *candido*, which is a gleaming rather than snowy white, thereby realizing a familiar Petrarchan metaphor. The gilding of the lilies would have sparkled in the sun, and the marble swans swimming in the water, one of them snuffing at the surface with its beak, would have seemed alive. The rest was to have been made of a rough stone, such as *peperino*, that would have provided a warm textured armature for the gleaming white and gold ornaments.

Testa's project is not documented. Several fountains dedicated to the Acqua Vergine were being planned in the late 1640s and early 1650s, but his design was surely for the fountain in the Piazza Navona that Innocent X awarded to Bernini in 1648. The decision to divert the waters to the piazza was made in August 1645, and Innocent originally favored Borromini for the project, but others may have hoped for the commission. Montagu has published Alessandro Algardi's proposals, arguing that they must have been made before April 27, 1647, when Innocent X decided to incorporate an obelisk in the fountain.² Testa's large fountain (the scale is indicated at the bottom left) would have been splendid enough for this prestigious site. Like the projects by Algardi it includes a polygonal base, which would have complemented through the reversal of angles those of the two existing fountains by Giacomo della Porta on either side.³ In certain ways Testa also predicted Bernini's executed design for



the Fountain of the Four Rivers, in which various materials are combined, sculptured forms appear in the pool of water surrounding the main figures, and the papal stemma is prominently displayed.

If we imagine Testa's fountain in the piazza, then we also understand that Iris shades her eyes from the bright light not only of the sun but also of the Pamphili, whose palace adjoins the church of Sant' Agnese on the square and whose radiance creates the promise of the rainbow. In Bernini's fountain the figure of the River Plate holds up his hand against the brilliant presence of the new sun in a similar gesture. Even as Bernini demonstrated that pagan antiquity, in the form of the obelisk, had been conquered by the dove of the Holy Ghost, Testa insisted upon the double meaning of the virgin waters by including the lily, the attribute of the Virgin of the new dispensation.

Bernini created a masterpiece, but Testa's project would also have been a unique contribution to fountain design, combining gleaming gold, brilliant white marble, and rough *peperino* with the colors of

the rainbow in a *conchetto* of peace and tranquillity dedicated to the promise of the Pamphili papacy and the related virtues of the Acqua Vergine.

1. For the transmission of Frontinus's account of the story, see Charles Davis, "The Villa Giulia and the Fontana della Vergine," *Psicon*, vol. 3, nos. 8-9 (1977), pp. 133-41, esp. p. 138 n. 22. The ancient history of the Acqua Vergine is told by Thomas Ashby in I. A. Richmond, ed., *The Aqueeducts of Ancient Rome* (Oxford, 1935), pp. 167-82.
2. Jennifer Montagu, *Alessandro Algardi* (New Haven, 1985), vol. 1, pp. 90-92; vol. 2, pp. 451-52, no. L.192, pls. 74 and 75.
3. See Luigi de Gregori, *Piazza Navona prima d'Innocenzo X* (Rome, 1926), for illustrations of the piazza before Bernini worked there.

PROVENANCE Don Livio Odescalchi (1652-1713); by descent to the dukes of Bracciano; acquired for the Teylers Foundation in Rome, 1790

LITERATURE Hartmann, 1970, pp. 196-98; Vitzthum, 1971, p. 16; Meijer and Van Tuyl, 1983, pp. 200-201, no. 89

Study for "The Miracle of
Saint Theodore" for Santi Paolino e
Donato, Lucca

c. 1644–45

Pen and brown ink over black chalk over traces of red chalk with blue-gray wash on toned blue-gray paper. Incised. Vertical and horizontal folds.

330 x 230 mm (13 x 9¹/₁₆"

The Duke of Devonshire and the Chatsworth Settlement Trustees, 604

Baldinucci reports that the altarpiece in the fourth chapel of the right aisle of the church of Santi Paolino e Donato in Lucca was considered one of Testa's best works. He describes its subject as the martyrdom of a bishop saint, *finto di notte*, or "feigned to look like night."¹ The painting is now in such bad condition that the invention is much more easily legible in this composition drawing, which is in the same sense.² The figure of the saint closely resembles that in the painting, except that here he is set more deeply in a clearly defined architectural space and turns more fully toward the spectator. He is surrounded by three male figures, two of whom gesture dramatically to the background, where several figures carry jars of water to put out a fire. Above Saint Theodore a woman holding the Host, who represents Faith, is accompanied by angels on clouds who carry vases under their arms.

Baldinucci, a Florentine, did not understand the invention that Testa developed to represent this unusual and peculiarly Lucchese subject. The scene is not of a martyrdom but rather a miracle. Saint Theodore was the third bishop of Lucca, appointed around 324, and his first recorded miracle was a testimony not only to his faith but also to his charity. The devil had inspired a man named Rabiolus to set fire to the bishop's harvest as it lay on the threshing floor, seeking to destroy his faith. The woman holding the Host above the saint in Testa's drawing testifies to the constancy of his faith, which the artist has contrasted with the actions of the farmers, who run to Theodore in despair. Miraculously, in response to Theodore's prayers, the grain was left

untouched, and, after he had given humble thanks to God, Theodore instructed his servants to take it to their homes.

In the altarpiece Testa omitted the woman with the Host, but in both drawing and painting he approached the mystery of the miracle—the strength of faith to rob even fire of its power—in a way that rendered it visible. Here the angels who follow Faith sweep in on clouds, with jars of water under their arms—water that has the power to hinder the flames of the devil in ways that the terrestrial water of the farmers cannot; in the painting the angels squeeze water out of the clouds. Both inventions are related to ideas Testa had developed in "The Seasons" (see cat. nos. 74–83) but now placed in a quite different context.

No documents are known relating to this commission, which was probably one of those that Baldinucci reports that Testa secured in his native city through the support of Girolamo Buonvisi.³ Marabottini's suggestion that it was painted in 1637 on Testa's visit to Lucca has been rejected by all others who have written about the work. Harris proposes to place it close to 1647, but her arguments rely on the evidence of a drawing after the main figure attributed to Pierfrancesco Mola and are not decisive. A date of about 1644–45, after the frescoes in the Saint Lambert chapel in Santa Maria dell'Anima in Rome (see cat. nos. 91–93) but before *The Vision of Sant'Angelo Carmelitano* for San Martino ai Monti of 1645–46 (see cat. no. 90), seems more likely. The figure of Faith shares the ideal features of Peace in *An Allegory in Honor of Innocent X* (cat. nos. 85 and 86). The relationship of the angels with their vases to the weather gods in "The Seasons" has already been noted, and the broad, muscular farmers with their wild expressions resemble several figures in those prints as well. Such figures do appear in etchings dated 1648, such as *The Suicide of Cato* (cat. no. 116), but the preparatory drawings for those prints are more restrained and delicate. The combination of firm contour and brilliant wash seen here appears also in Testa's drawings for the Saint Lambert chapel and the San Martino ai Monti altarpiece and seems to have appealed to him in the years around 1642 to 1646, when he received a number of important public commissions. In this case Buonvisi's return to Lucca on the election of Innocent X may have provided the spur.



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1. Baldinucci, 1681–1728, p. 312.
2. For the altarpiece, see Cropper, 1984, fig. 73. See also Baldinucci, 1681–1728, p. 312; Lopresti, 1921, pp. 79, 81; Marabottini, 1954a, pp. 125–26; Hartmann, 1970, pp. 100–102, 182; Schleier, 1970, pp. 667, 668.
3. Baldinucci, 1681–1728, p. 313.

PROVENANCE Nicolaes Anthoni Flinck (1646–1723; Lugt 959); purchased by William Cavendish, 2nd Duke of Devonshire (1665–1729; Lugt 718), 1723

LITERATURE Harris, 1967, pp. 41, 55 n. 58, pl. 58; Hartmann, 1970, p. 223; Brigstocke, 1976, pp. 19, 26 n. 22; Cropper, 1977, pp. 98–100, 106 n. 66; Cropper, 1984, pp. 59–61, 129 and fig. 74

90

Study for "The Vision of Sant'Angelo Carmelitano" for San Martino ai Monti, Rome

Verso: Study for the putti to the left of the saint and a diagram

1645–46

Recto: Pen and brown ink over red chalk with various shades of brown wash on cream paper. Incised. A small hole to the right of the figures toward the top. Verso: Red chalk. The upper corners trimmed. The head of one of the putti incised.

315 x 255 mm (12³/₈ x 10")

Teylers Museum, Haarlem, B 86

Testa's altarpiece for the Carmelite church of San Martino ai Monti in Rome is the only securely documented painting from the second decade of his career. Harris has shown that it was installed above the first altar on the left wall of the church on October 16, 1646, and that Testa received payments between October 1645 and January 1646 for this, his most monumental work.¹ The group of preparatory drawings, of which this is one, therefore provides important evidence for the range of techniques and styles that Testa employed at this point.

In the altarpiece Testa shows Christ appearing in a vision to Sant'Angelo (born about 1192), who according to legend lived for five years in the desert where Christ himself had fasted. At the end of the five years Christ appeared to Angelo with a great

multitude of angels and saints to direct him to seek his martyrdom by going to Sicily to confront the heretic Berengarius.² The muscular figure of Christ swoops down in a cloth held up by angels (the whole group closely related to a favorite invention employed by Domenichino in his various versions of *The Rebuke of Adam and Eve*³ and in his *Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian*⁴ painted for Saint Peter's in the late 1620s and now in Santa Maria degli Angeli). In the brilliant heavens above angels prepare divine food in the form of flowers for the sustenance of the saint. Between Christ and the heavenly table Testa painted a constellation of gleaming stars.

The contrasting chiaroscuro of this Haarlem drawing, which is moderated toward the sky above, is far stronger than in any of Testa's earlier known drawings and is not delimited by the contours of the figures. It resembles closely the effect of the painting, in which, as Mâle states, "shadow struggles with light."⁵ The effect is very similar to that in the Louvre drawing for *The Ascension of Saint Lambert* for Testa's destroyed fresco in Santa Maria dell'Anima, conventionally datable to 1642–43 (cat. no. 92), and in the pendentive studies in the Teylers Museum, Haarlem (cat. no. 93).

Mariette describes eighteen drawings for the project, together with prints after two of them, in his catalogue of the sale of the Pierre Crozat collection in 1741.⁶ Only four other drawings for the altarpiece are now known. One, in the Palazzo Rosso, Genoa, is very similar in style to this Haarlem drawing.⁷ The others provide evidence that Testa not only produced this kind of brilliant wash drawing in the mid-1640s, but also adopted different techniques for specific purposes. The composition drawing, squared for enlargement, in the Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt (fig. 90a), is too fragile to exhibit.⁸ It is, however, of the greatest importance for the establishment of the chronology of several drawings in this selection, especially the figure study (cat. no. 83), here related to *Winter* (cat. nos. 81 and 82) of 1644, and the Chatsworth drawing for *The Miracle of Saint Theodore* (cat. no. 89) of about 1645. The wash has faded, but it must originally have been softer than that in the Haarlem drawing, and the contours in pen and chalk are more firmly marked. The figures in the Haarlem drawing are repeated almost exactly, but the groups have been separated to fill the great height of the



90 recto



90 verso



Fig. 90a. Pietro Testa, *Composition Study for "The Vision of Sant'Angelo Carmelitano,"* 1645. Pen and brown ink over black chalk with light brownish gray wash on buff paper, squared in black chalk with corrections in red chalk; 435 x 275 mm (17 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 10 $\frac{3}{16}$ "). Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt, AE 1447

altarpiece. That Testa was concerned to meet this challenge is indicated by the note on the Darmstadt drawing, *guarda sempre il diseg[no]/ totale da lontano*, reminding himself to look always at the whole drawing from a distance. The little diagram on the verso of the Haarlem drawing may be a notation for seeing the rectangle of the canvas in perspective.

A figure study in red chalk for the angel in the lower right corner is now in West Berlin.⁹ This too is squared for enlargement at exactly the same

points as the same figure in the Darmstadt composition drawing. It demonstrates that in preparing for his work on the canvas, after making free pen and wash drawings like this one from Haarlem, Testa made not only a full-scale *modello* but also detailed drawings from the life for individual figures.

1. For the documents, see Sutherland, 1964, p. 62. For the altarpiece, which measures 460 x 290 cm (181 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 114 $\frac{3}{16}$ "), see especially Passeri, 1679, p. 186; Balducci, 1681-1728, p. 312; Lopresti, 1921, p. 81; Ellis Waterhouse, *Roman Baroque Painting* (Oxford, 1976), p. 116; Marabottini, 1954a, p. 133; Van Regteren Altena, 1966, p. 122; Hartmann, 1970, p. 213; Schleier, 1970, pp. 667, 668; Cropper, 1984, fig. 71; C. Strinati in Fagiolo and Madonna, 1985, pp. 425-26, no. X.25.

2. See Mâle, 1932, p. 452; and *Acta Sanctorum Bollandiana*, Appendix (May 5), pp. 801-42.

3. Spear, 1982, vol. 2, pls. 265, 313, 344.

4. *Ibid.*, pl. 320.

5. Mâle, p. 452.

6. Mariette, 1741, p. 27, no. 271. On p. 136, in his list of the prints published by Crozat after the most beautiful drawings in France, Mariette cites as no. 136 the "*Martyre de Saint-Ange, Carme; clair obscur par M. le C. de C. & Nicolas le Sueur.*" This print records a drawing for a different invention, *The Martyrdom of Sant'Angelo*, although the group of angels around the table is repeated. The original drawing, which belonged to Crozat himself and then to Benjamin West, is now at Ince Blundell Hall near Liverpool. Pen and brown ink and brown wash over black and red chalk on cream paper. 384 x 253 mm (15 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 9 $\frac{1}{16}$ "). Inscribed by the artist. See Edinburgh Festival Society, 1972, p. 42, no. 111; p. 97, fig. 111. Ursula Fischer Pace has recently informed me about another drawing by Testa, now in Urbino (from the collection of the parish church of Santa Maria in Via, Camerino), for the altarpiece. On the recto is a study for the scene of the Martyrdom, whereas that on the verso is for six figures in the upper part of the altarpiece in San Martino. Recto: Pen and brown ink with brown wash over traces of red chalk on discolored cream paper. Verso: Pen and brown ink. 423 x 276 mm (16 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 10 $\frac{7}{8}$ "). Inscribed on the recto, probably by the artist, in pen and brown ink with notes on the draperies of figures indicating colors, and at the lower edge with more notes on the distribution of colors, only partially legible; in an old hand in the lower right: *Petrus Testi fecit. Originale*. Hartmann, 1970, pp. 214-15, identifies the subject of a drawing by Testa reproduced in a print published by Collignon (*Speciale*, 1977, no. 24) as *Angels Revealing the Virgin and Child to Saint Albert*. She suggests that Testa may have originally considered this

Carmelite subject for the altarpiece, pointing to Passeri's misidentification of the subject of the completed work as Saint Albert.

7. Study for the upper part of the altarpiece, cut at the level of Christ's breast, with the borders framed by trees. Pen and brown ink with several shades of wash on cream paper. Partially squared in black chalk. 236 x 315 mm (9⁵/₁₆ x 12³/₈"). My thanks to Erich Schleier for this information.

8. Inscribed by the artist in pen and brown ink in the upper right corner: *guarda sempre il diseg[no]/ totale da lontano*; in the upper left corner: *[illegible]etto/ [d]olce di **; in another hand in pen and brown ink in the upper right corner: 46. The attribution was made by Vitzthum and published by Harris, 1967, pp. 40–41.

9. Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, Zweiter Garnitur, KdZ 21798. Red chalk with traces of white chalk on very discolored cream paper. Squared in red chalk. 351 x 202 mm (13¹³/₁₆ x 7¹⁵/₁₆"). For the attribution, see Harris, 1967, p. 54 n. 52.

PROVENANCE Don Livio Odescalchi (1652–1713); by descent to the dukes of Bracciano; acquired for the Teylers Foundation in Rome, 1790

LITERATURE Harris, 1967, p. 41, pl. 55; Hartmann, 1970, p. 213; Cropper, 1984, p. 59 and fig. 72

91

Study for God the Father with Angels in a Roundel

Verso: Studies of the head of God the Father and of a saint looking up

c. 1642

Recto: Pen and brown ink over black chalk with two shades of brown wash on cream paper. Quartered in black chalk. Verso: Black chalk. A center pinhole for the compass.

263 x 261 mm (10³/₈ x 10¹/₄")

Teylers Museum, Haarlem, B 84

This is the most complete and dramatic of two studies of the same subject and of almost identical size in Haarlem.¹ Another related drawing appears on the verso of a study for a pendentive also at Haarlem that belongs to a group of four such designs by Testa, one of which is included here (cat. no. 93).² Bean associates the pendentive studies

with the drawing in the Louvre for Testa's fresco *The Ascension of Saint Lambert* (cat. no. 92), painted in the early 1640s in the Saint Lambert chapel in Santa Maria dell'Anima in Rome and subsequently covered over by Jan Miel.³ Brigstocke relates all four drawings for the roundel to the Louvre drawing. It would seem logical, therefore, to propose that Testa planned to fresco the chapel with four pendentives, a lunette (painted above the altarpiece by Carlo Saraceni), and a small dome. The appearance of the head of the saint looking up toward God on the verso of this drawing provides further confirmation that at least the Louvre drawing for the lunette and the Haarlem studies for the roundel are related. The obstacle to this clear explanation, as Brigstocke points out, is that the chapels in Santa Maria dell'Anima have only semidomes and therefore no pendentives. It does not seem impossible, however, to imagine another way in which all the elements could have been combined. Following the example of Domenichino's frescoes in Sant'Andrea della Valle in Rome, Testa may have decided to break up the semidome, employing fictive pendentives where Domenichino had placed decorative stucco work. Two pendentives would have divided up the semidome, and another two would have framed it at the two sides of the arch. The upper edge of the four could then have joined to form a circle at the peak of the semidome at the entrance to the chapel. Where Domenichino placed the figure of Saint Andrew ascending toward the heavens, Testa could have placed the roundel of God the Father receiving the saint, whose ascension would have appeared in a lunette below either created by the arches of the two central fictive pendentives or painted lower down on the wall between the altarpiece and the entablature. If this were the case the figure of God the Father in the small circle would have appeared to raise his hand to greet the ascending saint, thus setting up movement across the space of the chapel. It should be noted, however, that Lanzi reports that Testa decorated a small chapel in the Casa Lippi in Lucca.⁴ It is possible, therefore, that these drawings are for that project, of which nothing further is known.

A drawing recently sold at auction provides further evidence that, whatever the plan to which this drawing in Haarlem relates, Testa also modified it in an alternative scheme.⁵ This study is for a



91 recto



91 verso



Fig. 91a. Pietro Testa, *Study for "The Ascension of Saint Lambert."* Pen and brown wash, 186 x 222 mm (7⁵/₁₆ x 8³/₄"). Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II (Royal Library, Windsor Castle), 5933

semidome and shows the Trinity, surrounded by angels on clouds against a starry sky, flying down to greet the figure of the saint, who is carried up to heaven by angels, one carrying the martyr's palm.

Whatever adjustments Testa made in working out his first complete decorative scheme, and whether it was for the difficult space in Santa Maria dell'Anima, the thematic and stylistic unity of the whole group of drawings is undeniable.

1. The second is B 85. Pen and brown ink over black chalk with two shades of brown wash on cream paper. A center pinhole for the compass. 262 x 260 mm (10⁵/₁₆ x 10¹/₄"). Inscribed on the verso in black chalk: *P. Testa*. The figures are less massive and some areas are drawn entirely in wash.
2. For the verso of Teylers Museum, B 88, see cat. no. 93, n. 1. A drawing at the Royal Library, Windsor Castle (fig. 91a), presents another version of the ascension of a saint recorded in the semicircular composition in the Louvre (cat. no. 92). The format of this drawing is rectangular, and there is an indication of the frame of an altarpiece or door at the lower edge.
3. Bean, 1959, p. 33.
4. Luigi Antonio Lanzi, *Storia pittorica della Italia dal Risorgimento delle belle arti fin presso al fine del XVIII secolo*, ed.

Martino Capucci (Florence, 1968), vol. 1, p. 185. Nagler, 1848, p. 263, repeats Lanzi's report, which is also recorded in an eighteenth-century manuscript biography of Testa in the Biblioteca Governativa in Lucca.

5. Published by Brigstocke, 1978, fig. 38, pp. 124, 147 n. 99. The drawing, formerly in the Skippe Collection and sold at Christie's, London, on November 21, 1958, lot 210B, was sold again at Christie's, London, on July 2, 1985, lot 63. Other studies are visible through the backing. The drawing is now in a private collection in Paris.

PROVENANCE Don Livio Odescalchi (1652–1713); by descent to the dukes of Bracciano; acquired for the Teylers Foundation in Rome, 1790

LITERATURE Hartmann, 1970, p. 218; Brigstocke, 1978, p. 147 n. 99; Meijer, 1985, p. 57, fig. 49 (see also under no. 67)

92

Study for "The Ascension of Saint Lambert"

c. 1642

Pen and brown ink over black chalk with two shades of brown wash on cream paper. Bordered in brown ink. Laid down. Vertical fold in the center. Small holes in the arm of the woman to the far right.

225 x 394 mm (8⁷/₈ x 15¹/₂"")

Inscribed in pen and brown ink in the lower right corner: 40

Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, Cabinet des Dessins, Paris, 1885

The relationship of this hemispherical composition to Testa's destroyed frescoes in Santa Maria dell'Anima is discussed above (cat. no. 91). In the lunette, Testa planned to portray the saint carried by angels through the bow of the heavens, his arms spread wide to embrace the glory above. The three women to the right, one with a child on her lap and one with a cross, represent the three Theological Virtues. In a closely related drawing in the Royal Library at Windsor (fig. 91a), these same Virtues appear carrying the saint upward. In the Windsor drawing one of the Virtues holds out a hot coal, which permits the identification of the saint as Lambert, whose legend records that he carried hot coals in his vestments.¹ The little angels in this Louvre



92

drawing also hold these signs of one of Lambert's miracles.

In his discussion of this drawing, Bean contrasts its calligraphic freedom and strong accents of light and shade with the "almost neo-classical" drawings of Testa's last years.

1. See Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, vol. 3, *Iconographie des saints*, no. 2, G-O (Paris, 1958), pp. 49-50.

PROVENANCE Saint-Morys Collection; entered the Louvre by seizure from the émigrés during the French Revolution

LITERATURE Marabottini, 1954b, p. 243, pl. LXVI, fig. 10; Bean, 1959, p. 33, no. 47; Blunt and Cooke, 1960, p. 114, no. 980; Harris, 1967, pp. 46, 58 nn. 101 and 102; Hartmann, 1970, pp. 98, 220; Brigstocke, 1978, p. 147 n. 99; Cropper, 1984, p. 44 and fig. 39; Labbé and Bicart-Sée, 1987, p. 63; Musée du Louvre, 1988, p. 109, no. 138

93

Study for a Pendentive

Verso: Study for another pendentive

c. 1642

Recto: Pen and brown ink with brown wash, heightened with white, over black chalk on blue paper. Verso: Pen and brown ink over red chalk.

302 x 215 mm (11⁷/₈ x 8¹/₂")

Inscribed on the recto in black chalk in the lower right: *P. Testa*

Teylers Museum, Haarlem, B 89

The drawings on the two sides of this sheet belong to a group of four studies for pendentives that has been associated with Testa's frescoes in the Saint



93 recto



93 verso



Fig. 93a. Pietro Testa, *Study for a Pendentive*, c. 1645. Pen and brown ink over black chalk with brown wash, heightened with white lead, on blue paper; 305 x 225 mm (12 x 8⁷/₈"). Teylers Museum, Haarlem, B 88 recto

Lambert chapel in Santa Maria dell'Anima in Rome (for which see cat. no. 91). A third study, also in the Teylers Museum (fig. 93a) and on the same blue paper, shows two female figures in a similar niche, accompanied by putti, shielding their eyes from a great light falling from above. On the verso of this drawing¹ is a study for the roundel of God the Father surrounded by angels (see cat. no. 91), which suggests that he is the source of the strong light that illuminates the figures in all the pendentive drawings. In the study on a third sheet, now in the Albertina, figures of Justice and Charity accompanied by two putti look downward, one of them



Fig. 93b. Pietro Testa, *Study of Justice and Charity*, c. 1645. Pen and brown ink over black chalk with brown wash on lightly washed paper, 363 x 210 mm (14⁵/₁₆ x 8¹/₄"). Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna, 974, Zweiter Garnitur, 1085

pointing toward the spectator (fig. 93b).² This drawing is distinct from the others in that the women bear attributes. One holds the sword and compass of Distributive Justice and the other a flaming topknot, which, together with the two putti, enables us to identify her as Charity. The fourth design is known only through a reproductive etching included in the *Raccolta di diversi disegni e pensieri di Pietro Testa*, published by François Collignon, who probably etched the collection himself after Testa's death.³ This invention is unique in showing a single figure of a woman, who looks upward to the light of heaven to which a little angel directs

her gaze. It appears to the right of a sheet on the left of which is published a rather crude facsimile of the study on the verso of this Haarlem sheet or of a very closely related drawing.

There can be no doubt that the bold, illusionistic foreshortening, the massive figures, and the billowing clouds that appear in all of these studies reflect Testa's thorough study of his teacher Domenichino's pendentives for Sant'Andrea della Valle in Rome, completed between 1622 and 1627.⁴ What is remarkable is that in the Haarlem drawings in particular Testa has succeeded in capturing the powerful chiaroscuro and illusionism of Domenichino's completed frescoes in a manner that is quite different from that of Domenichino's own preparatory drawings. The relationship of these pendentive designs to the work of Testa's mentor is even more complex. In the one study—that in the Albertina—in which the figures are endowed with attributes (fig. 93b), Testa combines different virtuous qualities (in this case Charity with Justice) exactly as Domenichino has done in his pendentives in San Carlo ai Catinari in Rome.⁵ These were the last works Domenichino produced before leaving for Naples in 1631, and at that moment Testa was in his studio. Testa's own pendentives, or fictive pendentives, were probably designed in the early 1640s. Domenichino had died miserably in Naples in 1641, and we see here Testa's homage to the greatest Roman works of his master.

1. B 88 verso. Black chalk with some spots of white, within an incised circle, on blue paper. 305 x 225 mm (12 x 8⁷/₈"). Inscribed on the recto and verso in black chalk: *P. Testa*.

2. Inscribed in pen and brown ink in the lower left corner: *Pietro Testa*; in the lower right corner: *P.T.* This drawing was etched in the reverse sense by Giovanni Cesare Testa, for which see Speciale, 1977, p. 31, no. 29, who misidentifies the figures as Fortitude and Temperance. Speciale also publishes another etching by Giovanni Cesare (p. 31, no. 31) that is clearly based on another lost drawing by Testa for the same subject. Here Justice bears the fasces and Charity has no flame, but she makes the same pointing gesture and is accompanied by two children. The child to the left of the etching has wings but is otherwise posed in the same way. Speciale also mistakenly identifies these figures as Justice and Prudence. For further discussion of these prints, see Bellini, 1976a, pp. 28–29, nos. 9 and 10. A drawing in Budapest, known to the author only from a photograph in the Kunsthis-

torisches Institut, Florence, represents a figure of Justice. This may be related to the other drawings discussed here, but it has a different format and shows no sign of being preparatory for a pendentive. Another drawing in the Musée Lyonnais des Arts Décoratifs, known to the author only in a photograph, is very likely for this project. It shows two women seated in a pendentive, together with a putto flying upward holding a vase. MLAD 335/a. 180 x 271 mm (7¹/₁₆ x 10¹¹/₁₆"). Pen and brown ink and brown wash over black chalk on beige paper. Inscribed in pen and black ink in the upper left corner: 18883; probably by Crozat in pen and black ink in the lower right: 1509; probably by Tessin in pen and black ink in the lower right corner: *Pietro Testa 11 [cancelled] 38*. Salle d'Exposition Temporaire du Musée Historique des Tissus, Lyons, *Dessins du XVI^e au XIX^e siècle de la collection du Musée des Arts Décoratifs de Lyon* (December 1984–March 1985), p. 42, no. 23.

3. Speciale, 1977, p. 20, no. 7.

4. See Spear, 1982, vol. 1, pp. 242–58, cat. no. 88; vol. 2, pls. 266–71, 273–79, 281, 283–306.

5. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 274–78, cat. no. 102; vol. 2, pls. 332–40.

PROVENANCE Don Livio Odescalchi (1652–1713); by descent to the dukes of Bracciano; acquired for the Teylers Foundation in Rome, 1790

LITERATURE Bean, 1959, p. 88, under no. 47; Vitzthum, 1960, p. 76; Van Regteren Altena, 1966, p. 122; Harris, 1967, p. 58 n. 101; Hartmann, 1970, p. 216; Brigstocke, 1978, p. 147 n. 99; Ward-Jackson, 1980, no. 101; Meijer, 1985, no. 67

94

The Holy Family Fed by Angels

c. 1642–44

Bartsch 12; Bellini 27

Etching (with drypoint?), first state. Small tear at the center of the lower edge. Slight center fold.

232 x 300 mm (9¹/₈ x 11¹³/₁₆")

Inscribed in the image beside the Buonvisi star in the lower left: *P. Testa*; in pen and ink at the lower right: 116

Trustees of the British Museum, London, V 10-127

No drawings survive for this etching, but the muscular figures of the angels and the grander proportions of the other figures indicate a date in the early 1640s, close to those of "The Seasons" (cat. nos.



74–83), the allegorical prints that follow—especially *The Triumph of the Virtuous Artist on Parnassus* (cat. no. 102), and the altarpiece for San Martino ai Monti, completed in 1646 (see cat. no. 90). Indeed, the figure kneeling in the foreground, his face in strict profile, is closely related to the angel in the right corner of the altarpiece. This figure of the angel, with his long ringlets and curling locks that fall before his ears, also resembles the young deacon in the foreground of Domenichino's most famous Roman altarpiece, *The Last Communion of Saint Jerome* of 1614, now in the Pinacoteca Vaticana (see cat. no. 124). Testa's renewed study of his teacher's work in the early 1640s, in the wake of Domenichino's death in 1641, has already been mentioned in connection with the pendentive drawings (cat. no. 93), and this interest is sustained here. The heraldic star of Girolamo Buonvisi that appears on the ledge to the left does not provide absolute confirmation that the print was made before Buonvisi's return to Lucca upon the death of Urban VIII in 1644, but it supports the stylistic evidence that the print was made close to that date.

In the best impressions of this print, which Gori Gandellini singles out for special praise, the lines on Joseph's hand and in the dark shadow beside the right foot of the kneeling angel appear to have been reworked with drypoint. As in "The Prodigal Son" series (cat. nos. 95–98), the background is drawn in a somewhat schematic way. Such a contrast of foreground and background also appears in several larger prints of the period, especially *Summer* (cat. no. 76). In this smaller image the concentration on the modeling of the foreground figures renders the separation of planes especially distinct.

The story of the meal miraculously produced by a date palm for the Holy Family on the Flight into Egypt is told by the Pseudo-Matthew.¹ In several interpretations of this story Poussin showed the Holy Family being fed by infant angels.² In the version in the Hermitage, painted between 1655 and 1657, Poussin explicated the legend by showing Egyptians bringing food to the travelers.³ Testa here combines adult angels who scatter flowers and pluck apples with the kneeling figure in the foreground, whose long ringlets, like those of Domenichino's deacon, may indicate his Eastern origins. The apple tree refers to the Tree of Knowledge and so to the Tree of Life: Testa is here taking up once

more the theme developed in *The Dream of Joseph* (see cat. nos. 25–28)—that Christ undertook the Way of the Cross when he fled into Egypt.

1. See *The Apocryphal New Testament*, ed. and trans. Montague Rhodes James (Oxford, 1966), p. 75.
2. For the paintings in the Oskar Reinhart Institute, Winterthur, Switzerland (c. 1636–37), and in the Heineman Collection, New York (c. 1627), and a lost version formerly in the Chennevières-Pointel Collection (c. 1638–39), see Blunt, 1966, nos. 62–64.
3. *Ibid.*, no. 65. The appearance of the Egyptians and Poussin's approach to the interpretation of the story are discussed fully by Dempsey, 1963, pp. 109–19.

PROVENANCE Martin Folkes (1690–1754; Lugt 1033)

LITERATURE Baldinucci, 1681–1728, p. 319; Gori Gandellini, 1771, p. 294; Huber, 1787, p. 334; Huber, 1799, p. 14; Gori Gandellini and De Angelis, 1813, p. 122; Bartsch, 1820, p. 218, no. 12; Nagler, 1848, p. 266, no. 12; Le Blanc, 1890, p. 20, no. 11; Harris, 1967, pp. 37, 51 n. 24; Hartmann, 1970, p. 235; Bellini, 1976b, p. 58, no. 27; Cropper, 1977, pp. 100–101, 106 n. 76

95–98

"The Prodigal Son"

Lopresti¹ is alone in her view that "The Prodigal Son" series (cat. nos. 95–98) belongs to the beginning of Testa's career. All later writers, including Hartmann,² Harris,³ and Bellini,⁴ place them in the last years of his production. Because the range of chiaroscuro between foreground and background in three of the etchings—the exception being *The Prodigal Son Among the Swine* (cat. no. 97)—was achieved through a more extreme process of staging, with the dark foreground lines much more deeply etched than the background, Petrucci⁵ argues that the transfer of the drawing to the plate in the production of these three prints was not done by Testa himself. Petrucci's conclusion is, however, based on a theory of Testa's "romantic" temperament, which he believes rendered the artist incapable of or unsympathetic toward such painstaking work. All the evidence for Testa's thorough preparation for work on the plate throughout his career contradicts such a view, however. Furthermore, the etched lines, which combine strong contours, varied parallel hatchings, and short dashes, may be compared to those in prints of the late 1640s such as

The Suicide of Cato (cat. no. 116) and *The Symposium* (cat. no. 114). The modeling in this series is less finely worked, however, than in those late prints.

What the stopping out on "The Prodigal Son" etchings does indicate is Testa's increasing interest in the differentiation of detail between foreground and background that is already apparent in "The Seasons" (see cat. nos. 74–83) and more fully developed in such prints as *The Symposium*, dated 1648. In *The Prodigal Son Wasting His Substance* (cat. no. 96), for example, the figures seen through the arch resemble the revelers in the latter, for they are also drawn with simplified contours and very little interior modeling; but they are also much lighter because the lines were exposed to the acid first and for a much shorter time. The arm of the man pointing backward at the center of the composition clearly overlaps the lines beneath, indicating that the foreground figures were added later.

The four scenes in this series are based on the parable of the prodigal son in Luke 15: 11–32. The whole group, like the "Scenes from the Life of Achilles" (cat. nos. 118–22), reflects Testa's interest in narrative series in the later 1640s. However, the oppositions of violent passion that characterize Testa's scenes from ancient history form no part of this story. Even the lament of the prodigal son as he watches over the swine is private and restrained; the reunion of father and son (cat. no. 98) is so simple and intimate that Testa appears closer to Rembrandt (whose etching *The Return of the Prodigal Son* of 1636 Testa's invention resembles in several details) than to any of his Italian contemporaries.⁶

Testa's treatment of architecture in this series is also less rigorously archaeological than that in the Cato and Achilles prints dated to about 1648 (cat. nos. 116, 118, 120, and 121). The son leaves home against a background of ancient and medieval buildings (cat. no. 95). The ax and the fatted calf in *The Return* suggest an ancient ritual, but the reunion takes place in a courtyard bounded by a wall topped with crenellations, and the prodigal wears contemporary dress. In this context, therefore, the antique setting in which the son wastes his substance is particularly significant. The prodigal bathes his hands as he reclines on his bed with his lover, contemplating not only another woman but also a statue of *Pan Teaching Olympos to Play the Flute*, based on the group then displayed in the Villa Ludo-

visi in Rome.⁷ Through the arch servants prepare flowers, food, and drink on a lion-footed table. The fountain in the garden is flanked by statues of Bacchus, the god of wine, and Ceres, the goddess of fertility, without whom the young man's love would grow cold.⁸ Now, toward the end of his life, Testa perceived that even in the ancient world, no less than in his intolerable present, the possibilities for debauchery and ignoble pleasure were as great as those for heroic virtue.

Testa presents these scenes with a new kind of naturalism—not the debased naturalism of the Bamboccianti, for the story is still a moral one—that affects both the structure of the narrative and the actions of the figures. There is no real parallel for this in Poussin's work, and the strongest influence upon Testa at this point must have been Andrea Sacchi, the Roman painter who completed his brilliant narrative series of the life of Saint John the Baptist for the Lantern of San Giovanni in Fonte, Rome, between 1641 and 1649.⁹ In those paintings simple groups of large figures enact the story in a group of tableaux similar to those devised here by Testa. He has returned to the smaller format of the prints of his early years, but he now creates architectural spaces with the variety and control found in the dated prints of 1648.

1. Lopresti, 1921, p. 75. Lopresti, however, also considers *Achilles Dragging the Body of Hector Around the Walls of Troy* (cat. no. 121) to be an early work.

2. Hartmann, 1970, pp. 113–16.

3. Harris, 1967, p. 37.

4. Bellini, 1976b, pp. 54–56.

5. Petrucci, 1936, p. 419 n. 20.

6. Ludwig Münz, ed., *Rembrandt's Etchings: Reproductions of the Whole Original Etched Work* (London, 1952), vol. 1, no. 233; vol. 2, p. 97, cat. no. 207.

7. See Haskell and Penny, 1981, pp. 286–88, fig. 151.

8. This theme has its origins in Terence, *Eunuchus*, bk. 4, line 732.

9. See Harris, 1977, pp. 84–89, nos. 53–61.

95

The Departure of the Prodigal Son

c. 1645

Bartsch 5; Bellini 21

Etching, first state

208 x 295 mm (8³/₁₆ x 11⁵/₈" (trimmed)

Inscribed in the image on the step in the left:
*L'HISTORIA/ Del Figliolo prodigo/ P. Testa in.
et fecit Romae*

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New
York, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1926
(26.70.3 (34))

Bellini cites only two states of this print, but suggests that another may have preceded that bearing the inscription *J. R. cum privilegio Regis*, which he lists as the first. This rich impression from the Metropolitan Museum is an example of that previously unidentified first state. In all versions it is evident that the right foot of the servant behind the prodigal son was etched before the darker steps that partially conceal it. The foul biting in several areas of the otherwise white paper also appears in all impressions.

The figures of the prodigal, his servant, and his horse are drawn with the same rich, dark clarity found in figures in other prints of the 1640s. The features of the father and his companions, however, and especially the man to the left, are drawn in a far more general way, which resembles Testa's chalk drawings, often reinforced with pen, from later in the decade, such as the study for *The Triumph of the Virtuous Artist on Parnassus* (cat. no. 103).

Testa endows the central figure of this group with the features of a Republican portrait and portrays all three as ancient philosophers in their heavy robes, their appearance in stern contrast to the dandified modern figure of the prodigal who wears a plume in his hat. In the background, behind the modern palace, appear an obelisk and pyramid. This combination of ancient and modern life, here placed in a moral contrast, reappears in the conclusion of the story (see cat. no. 98) and reveals Testa's new interest in the possibility for social comment through style and the sophisticated use of anachronism.

LITERATURE Huber, 1787, p. 334; Huber, 1799, p. 14; Gori Gandellini and De Angelis, 1813, p. 122; Bartsch, 1820, p. 216, no. 5; Nagler, 1848, p. 265, no. 5; Le Blanc, 1890, p. 20, no. 5; Lopresti, 1921, p. 75; Petrucci, 1936, p. 419 n. 20; Harris, 1967, pp. 37, 50 n. 15; Hartmann, 1970, pp. 113-14, 231; Bellini, 1976b, pp. 54-55, no. 21; Brigstocke, 1978, p. 125; Cropper, 1984, pp. 62-63, 174 and fig. 84

96

The Prodigal Son Wasting His Substance

c. 1645

Bartsch 6; Bellini 22

Etching, first state

207 x 295 mm (8¹/₈ x 11⁵/₈" (trimmed)

Inscribed in the image in the lower left
corner: *PTesta in. et fec. Romae*

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New
York, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1926
(26.70.3 (35))

Testa has concentrated here on the rational effects of cast shadows in a way that closely resembles his treatment of shadows in *The Symposium* (cat. no. 114) and *The Suicide of Cato* (cat. no. 116). In etching the plate he also paid especial attention to differences in texture between, for example, the live hairy monkey and the sculptured coat of Pan's goat-legs. As in the scene of the prodigal's departure (cat. no. 95) there is also a very strong contrast between foreground and background. Where the darkly shadowed arm of the fat man at the center overlaps the background scene it is clear that the latter was etched first and the pointing arm superimposed upon it. Through these contrasts Testa has created the sense of shimmering heat in the garden seen through the arch (as he did in the pools in which the profligate frolic in *Summer* [cat. no. 76]) and of the cool shade in which the prodigal holds court.

The sculpture at the left is based on the famous group of *Pan Teaching Olympos to Play the Flute*, formerly in the Cesi collection but displayed in the Ludovisi sculpture garden on the Pincio in Rome in the 1640s.¹ Here it stands for the music that accompanies love and feasting, but it also suggests that the prodigal indulges in all kinds of sexual debauchery. The pyramidal sweet cake, or ancient Greek *maxa*, on the tray held by a servant in the background may also have a sexual connotation. In the drawing of *The Feast of Midas* that Testa included in a letter to Simonelli (cat. no. 99), however, a similar lion-footed table stands more straightforwardly for greediness, as it may here.

This scene of Asiatic debauchery stands in direct opposition to the stern morality of *The Symposium*



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and *The Suicide of Cato*, both dated 1648 and both of which Testa's composition otherwise resembles in many details.

1. For the history and publication of the statue, see Haskell and Penny, 1981, pp. 286–88, no. 70, and fig. 151. For its adaptation by Poussin and Castiglione, see Percy, 1971, p. 138, no. E11.

LITERATURE Huber, 1787, p. 334; Huber, 1799, p. 14; Bartsch, 1820, p. 216, no. 6; Nagler, 1848, p. 265, no. 6; Le Blanc, 1890, p. 20, no. 6; Lopresti, 1921, p. 75; Petrucci, 1936, p. 419 n. 20; Harris, 1967, pp. 37, 50 n. 15; Hartmann, 1970, pp. 113–15, 231–32; Bellini, 1976b, p. 55, no. 22; Brigstocke, 1978, p. 125; Cropper, 1984, pp. 62–63, 174 and fig. 85

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The Prodigal Son Among the Swine

c. 1645

Bartsch 7; Bellini 23

Etching, first state

206 x 303 mm (8 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 11 $\frac{15}{16}$ " (trimmed)

Inscribed in the image in the lower left corner: *P. Testa in. fec. Romae*

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1926 (26.70.3 (36))

More fine impressions of this scene, in which the prodigal son has to tend swine because he has wasted his substance, appear to survive than of the other three etchings in the series (cat. nos. 95, 97, and 98), perhaps because Testa worked the landscape more successfully than the architectural settings. The uneven biting of the small area of hatching in the most distant mountain and the lightness of the lines of the branches of the tree just above it, left incomplete without foliage, reveal that even at this late stage in his career, however, Testa did not exert complete control over his medium.



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Testa has delineated the landscape with the same simplicity of contour, strong contrasts of shadow, and planar organization found in the architectural settings of the other "Prodigal Son" prints. Although the trees have rich foliage and, to the right, an ivy-encircled trunk, they are quite different from those in the lyrical compositions of the 1630s. To the far right the trunks are arranged in a strictly organized, receding line. To the left they enframe the brilliant landscape, set firmly back in space. Testa's new approach to the construction of the planes of landscape, so closely related to his architecturally defined spaces, parallels the similar change found in Poussin's paintings of the 1640s.

LITERATURE Huber, 1787, p. 334; Huber, 1799, p. 14; Bartsch, 1820, p. 217, no. 7; Nagler, 1848, p. 265, no. 7; Le Blanc, 1890, p. 20, no. 7; Lopresti, 1921, p. 75; Petrucci, 1936, p. 419 n. 20; Harris, 1967, pp. 37, 50 n. 15;

Hartmann, 1970, pp. 113-16, 232; Bellini, 1976b, p. 56, no. 23; Brigstocke, 1978, p. 125; Cropper, 1984, pp. 62-63, 174, and fig. 86

98

The Return of the Prodigal Son

c. 1645

Bartsch 8; Bellini 24

Etching, first state

208 x 298 mm (8³/₁₆ x 11³/₄") (trimmed)

Inscribed in the image in the lower left corner: *PTesta. in. fec. Romae.*

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1926 (26.70.3 (37))

The contrast between the rich, dark lines of the foreground and the lighter etching of the back-



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ground is even more distinct in this print than in the others in "The Prodigal Son" series (cat. nos. 95-97). The dark shadow of the pyramid and the running figures partially in its shadow and partially in brilliant light were also drawn in a more general manner to indicate their distance. The dark lines in the creeper on the crenellated wall and in the inscription over the gate probably indicate a similar attempt by Testa to suggest strong shadow, but the effect here is less optically harmonious.

This is the only print in the series for which a preparatory drawing has survived. The drawing, now in the Galleria dell'Accademia in Venice (fig. 98a), is in the reverse sense and has nearly the same dimensions as the print. The main figures are drawn with very clear contours, without the interior modeling that appears in the etching. Their broad, craggy features and generalized musculature con-

form to those of figures in Testa's other drawings from the late 1640s, such as the preparatory study for *The Triumph of the Virtuous Artist on Parnassus* (cat. no. 103), although in most of these related studies the drawing of the contours is softened by the use of chalk or wash.

The relationship between the etchings of this subject by Testa and Rembrandt,¹ in which a similar emphasis is placed on the intimate embrace of father and son as other members of the household come down the steps or look out of a window, has been noted. Where Rembrandt demonstrated his close reading of the biblical text by showing a servant carrying the robe and the shoes called for by the prodigal's father, however, Testa singled out instead the detail of the ring brought to the son at his father's request, here held by the man to the left. It is possible that the crenellated city wall was in-



Fig. 98a. Pietro Testa, *Composition Study for "The Return of the Prodigal Son,"* c. 1645. Pen and brown ink over black chalk on cream paper, 214 x 310 mm (8⁷/₁₆ x 12³/₁₆"). Galleria dell'Accademia, Venice, 500



La vigilanza in senno

que l' Miox de' finto ne' firancese

99 (1)



tended by Testa to recall the walls of his native city and that there is, therefore, an autobiographical reference to the story of the prodigal's return.

1. Ludwig Münz, ed., *Rembrandt's Etchings: Reproductions of the Whole Original Etched Work* (London, 1952), vol. 1, no. 233; vol. 2, p. 97, cat. no. 207.

PREPARATORY DRAWING Galleria dell'Accademia, Venice, 500. See fig. 98a.

LITERATURE Huber, 1787, p. 334; Huber, 1799, p. 14; Bartsch, 1820, p. 217, no. 8; Nagler, 1848, p. 265, no. 8; Le Blanc, 1890, p. 20, no. 8; Lopresti, 1921, p. 75; Petrucci, 1936, p. 419 n. 20; Harris, 1967, pp. 37, 50 n. 15; Hartmann, 1970, pp. 113–16, 232, 244; Bellini, 1976b, p. 56, no. 24; Brigstocke, 1978, p. 125; Cropper, 1984, pp. 62–63, 174 and fig. 87

99

Study for "The Feast of Midas" with a Letter to Simonelli

c. 1644–45

Pen and brown ink

Drawing: 271 x 209 mm (10¹¹/₁₆ x 8¹/₄");
letter: 268 x 205 mm (10⁹/₁₆ x 8¹/₁₆")
(irregular)

Inscribed by the artist beside the table to the left: *quel' Mida che/ tanto tran/n/jegga*; at the upper left edge, written with the page turned the other way: *che coglionerie vi scrivo*. (carried over from the attached letter). Inscriptions on the verso of the drawing not legible, as the drawing was mounted at the time of writing. The letter reads: *Sig. mio sempre [illegibile] È troppo alta l'inguria in paragone della [?] destrezza che pure è infinita, che V.S. à usato per cavermelo, e io che non sono mal' Mattematico, havevo da' fatti Vostri previsto ogni male; in somma è troppo difficile fabricarsi una salda Amicitia, e mostrar la vivezza de' gli affetti; dico difficile per che questo maladetto oro per tutto vuol' dar di naso, e che frutti dunque partorirà pianta tanto nobile, e' rare della Amicitia? se però io troppo non presumo, non mi vanto: De' caro Sre Simonelli lasciamo questa maladetta forza del oro alla tirannia de' grandi; dico questo ora per tutto cio che trà noi potrà succedere, ò pure Lei in cotesto modo sigilla, e non vuol più comandarmi? io in somma non posso credere che V.S. di me pensa tal' basezza ma la furia di questo turbidissimo torrente di tanti Midi alla moda l'ha fatto scorrere, errore per mia fe', che pero mai, mai, mai dal Sre Simonelli aspettava; io pensavo, da queste mie poche bagatelle. havere alsato, da i fondamenti*

d'una perfetta benevolenza, un poco d'una (per cosi dire) tal parete, da potermi in tempi più affanosì salvarmi e godere la dolcezza d'una pretiosissima e da me sempre desiderata Amicitia, e V.S. così non so perche, mi pare con questi tiri mi voglia mandare à terra il poco, forse parendovi io troppo temerario, e che m'impediate il di nuovo cominciare col accenarmi che (non che altro) io posso non scrivervi per non caricarvi (dite Voi) di tanti hobligi, se questo v'haveate in testa e con verità lo scrivete, che pure tanto male per hora non voglio persuadermi Voi, in buona gratia nostra, pizichate un tantino del Tiranno; qui troncho potendo pero pero seguitare in infinite doglianze, pregandovi à diperiare cotesto gigantissimo erroraccio col'adoperarmi sempre in quel' pochissimo niente ch'io vaglio sempre semprissime e' con quella Libbertà che dovete, che troppo mi sotifsa il gusto che servendo chi tanto merita, io sento e' chi tanto io hamo e pensandomi fermissimamente che il [medio?] che il farete, e che del fatto cordialissimamente vi pentiate, senza fine, io, io, ma io vi adoro senza l'oro. A Sr. Abati centomillanta raccomandationi. Roma dì 22 Ag.to 16 [?] Io sò che questo chiasso bravatoria Voi l'aspettavi, perche haveate cervello, e' sapete che li Amici non vanno trattati così, imparate à buttarle debole. con questa collera mi si era scordato ringratiarvi de i guanti i quali stano benissimo; d'iferischo pero che non da qui non ho scampo. e' delle tragedie Romane che vi pare? gran Roma è questa teatro sempre di cosone, coselle, cosacce.

Sre. et Amico fondatissimo. in tanto anderò osservando le meraviglie della natura che adopri tanto artificio, e diligenza intorno à cosa che pure mai vede lume potendoli bastare un semplice schizo, o pure à previsto questo vostra curiosità? et che voi per essa, vogliate significarmi. S'io rinvengo tanto scapperò per le piazze furiosamente vantandome, e di costà ne sentirete i gridi. Pietro Testa. Ridurrei questa favola antica al uso moderno così; che non che alle Virtù, quello anche che va per nutrimento lo convertono in oro per empire i sacchi. che vi pare di questi miei fantasmi e schiribizzi sono argomenti di satirette assai bizarre che se il Tempo me l' concedesse chi sa che un d'anch'io col mattitatioio non vado in Parnaso, vedete che carta che coglionerie vi scrivo. [the last four words written on the drawing]

Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II (Royal Library, Windsor Castle)

100

Study for "The Feast of Midas" with a Fragment of a Letter to Simonelli

c. 1644–45

Pen and brown ink over black chalk on white paper. Trimmed at the right and lower edges.

184 x 225 mm (7¼ x 8⅞")

Inscribed by the artist in pen and brown ink in the upper left corner: *ridurrei la favola antica alla moderna [cancelled] uso moderno così/ che non che alle virtù quello che va per nutri/mento lo convertono in oro per empire i sacchi/ che vi pare di questi mei fantasmi[?] schiribizzi[?] come argomenti di/ saterette assai bizzarre che se il/ tempo me l concedera chi/ sa che un di anch io non vado/ col mattioio in parnasso!;* in the lower left corner: *quel mida che tanto/ ne tiraneggia.*

Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, Graphische Sammlung, 1380

On these two sheets Testa drafted a letter to the collector and amateur dealer Niccolò Simonelli in Rome to accompany a drawing of *The Feast of Midas*. The text of that in Stuttgart (cat. no. 100) repeats in part the last paragraph of the letter in Windsor (cat. no. 99), and the schematic drawing in the first was probably traced from that on the second. The problem of the date of the letter has never been discussed satisfactorily. Blunt transcribes it as August 22, 165 —. Thiem appears to accept this, even though she recognizes that the letter must have been written shortly before Testa's death in March 1650. It is possible that the year reads 163 —, but this is by no means certain, and so the letters and drawings must unfortunately remain undated. The strong muscular form of King Midas and the vigorous cross-hatching of the forms would suggest a date anywhere between 1639 and the end of Testa's life, although there is a particularly close relationship to drawings for "The Seasons" (cat. nos. 77, 78, 80, and 83) and for *An Allegory in Honor of Innocent X* (cat. no. 87) of 1644.

The roughly drafted text is also difficult to decipher. Testa develops a conceit around his anger with Simonelli for failing to live up to his expectations of their friendship by trying to pay him off with money — that "cursed money that gets its nose into everything," as he puts it. Testa had thought that with his first few bagatelles — a reference to little works he must have produced for Simonelli — he would have built up a wall of friendship that would protect him. But Simonelli has tried to cast him down and stopped him from starting over, ac-

curring the artist of placing him under unwelcome obligations. For this Testa calls his friend a tyrant, swept along by the tempestuous torrent of so many Midases, and protests that he loves his friend without the question of money entering in. Later in the letter Testa's tone changes. He thanks Simonelli for the gloves he has sent him, and then asks him what he thinks of the "Roman tragedies," concluding that "what a great Rome is this, always a theater of big things, little things, and bad things." In a confusing sentence he writes that if he finds out what Simonelli is trying to say to him he will run about the piazzas boasting and that Simonelli will hear the cries. In the coda, repeated in a slightly different form in the Stuttgart version, he explains the drawing. He is converting an ancient fable to a modern usage to depict the Midas who tyrannizes him. Even that which serves as nourishment is converted into gold rather than to virtue in order to fill up sacks. He then asks Simonelli what he thinks of his phantasms and capricious inventions, describing them as bizarre satirical arguments. In a final question he adds that if Time will allow it, "Who knows if I too will not one day go to Parnassus with my pencil?" "See what *coglionerie* I write you," he scribbles at the end.

Testa takes the familiar story of the king with the golden touch from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*¹ and gives it a satirical twist to needle his ungenerous friend. Simonelli is like Midas because he has tried to pay him off rather than acting as a virtuous patron and friend. The satirical character of the invention of the drawing is matched by the tone of the letter. On the one hand Testa's fury at Simonelli is surely genuine, but on the other the letter is written with wit and conscious, bitter humor as a way of rejecting his mercenary relationship. This is particularly interesting because it provides evidence that Testa shared the satirical taste of his younger contemporary Salvator Rosa, who was also a friend of Simonelli. The Signor Abati to whom Testa sends a "hundred thousand good wishes" may very well be Antonio Abate, another close friend of Rosa and also a satirist.²

Testa's letter, therefore, provides an important piece of evidence about the network of personalities with whom he was involved in the last decade of his life. He had known Simonelli at least from 1636, for in that year Testa gave testimony in a trial concerning the theft from the Dutch painter Herman

Io seguito ininfante dogliere, guardandomi a dipresso questo giga
ultimo oratore col. adoperando sempre in quel paduano nient
che uoglio sempre sempre, e di quello libertà de donete
de fuppo un itoga il gusto de seruida di tanto merita, io sento
e di tanto co lomo e pensandomi formidabilmente de is credendo
de si farete e de del. fatto cordialmente, si pentiate
senza fine, io, io, ma, io, in adoro, senza fine.
L. H. Abati e intomstanta, inuonuatore. Anno di 20. Ag. 1872

Io si de questo chiaro benuotore Voi l'oggetti de haute arate
de e a pete de L. Anici ad una tradito con fatto, imparte
a buttar le debite. Con questa colera mi si era scordato
ningratiam de ingratiam, qual stano benissimo, difendero de
de qui ad ho tempo. E de le tragedie Romane de in pane
qua Roma e questa teatro sempre di oroni, corolla, coralle.

De et Amicor fons.
In tanto andes merando le meraviglie della natura de ad ogni cosa
noti fite e de li gemi intorno a capo de pure mai uede l'ome
potendo de bastare un semplice scilo e pure e inuente questo
artua diuota, uada et de, to, zeta, no fite, in fite.
So uincente tanto, sappes de uita furiosamente uantando
e de costare sentire, quid.
Adipari quella fante anba col mo moderno con de de alle uita
quello anche de na g. inuente, o conuente, in ora e origine i sacre
de un pane di quello uice, uantato e idem bitti? sono argomenti di
salute, una, uantato, de se al tempo me l' uantate, fite, in de
un e anche col inuente, in un ad in uantato, uantato de cost



Fig. 99–100a. Pierfrancesco Mola (Italian, 1612–1666), with Niccolò Simonelli, *Study of the Artist and Niccolò Simonelli in the Garden of the Villa Pamphili, Rome, 1649*. Red chalk and some white chalk with red wash and pen and brown ink, 220 x 156 mm (8¹¹/₁₆ x 6¹/₈""). Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam

van Swanevelt of two paintings by Pieter van Laer that had been stolen by Swanevelt's former pupil Francesco Catalano. Testa had seen the pictures in Catalano's house, but according to other testimony they had also been seen in Simonelli's rooms. Simonelli had then exchanged them with another dealer, Casimiro Roggieri, even though the whole neighborhood knew they were stolen.³ Simonelli had a collection of drawings, ancient gems, and paintings, and was especially fond of works by the Carracci. He was obviously much involved in the market and in the promotion of the work of Rosa, Poussin, Claude, and Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione, whose print of *Diogenes* was dedicated to him by the publisher Giovanni Domenico de Rossi.⁴ After holding various administrative positions Simonelli became majordomo of the Chigi household under the papacy of Alexander VII, but to this prosperous career he appears to have brought a

satirical turn of mind that led to friendship with witty and capricious artists.⁵ The most remarkable portrait of him is to be found in a drawing dated February 27, 1649 (fig. 99–100a). The two men urinating against a wall are Simonelli and Testa's friend Pierfrancesco Mola, each having drawn the figure of the other. The inscription explains they did this in the Villa Pamphili as they walked in Rome.

1. Bk. 11, lines 134–45.
2. Wendy W. Roworth, "*Pictor Succensor*": *A Study of Salvatore Rosa as Satirist, Cynic, and Painter* (New York, 1978), pp. 45–68.
3. See Cropper, 1984, p. 25.
4. Percy, 1971, p. 142, no. E15.
5. Haskell, 1963, pp. 124, 126, 135, 142.

PROVENANCE (cat. no. 99) Probably Albani family; King George III (according to Royal Library Inventory A, p. 127, Pietro Testa, Solimeni, etc.: "No. 20; Various Compositions drawn with Pen by Pietro Testa, many of them etched by himself . . .")

LITERATURE (cat. no. 99) Blunt and Cooke, 1960, pp. 115–16, no. 983; Harris, 1967, p. 59 n. 117; Hartmann, 1970, pp. 244–45; Thiem, 1977, pp. 220–21, no. 404; Cropper, 1984, p. 25 n. 106

LITERATURE (cat. no. 100) Hartmann, 1970, p. 245, considers the drawing a copy by another hand, not recognizing Testa's script; Speciale, 1977, pp. 18–19, no. 5, reproduces the reproductive print after the Stuttgart drawing; Thiem, 1977, pp. 220–21, no. 404; Cropper, 1984, p. 25 n. 106

IOI

Altro diletto ch' imparar non trovo

c. 1644

Bartsch 32; Bellini 34

Etching with drypoint, first state. Slight foxing below the shield at the left. Small stains in the lower right corner.

387 x 515 mm (15¹/₄ x 20¹/₄"")

Inscribed in the image on the shield: *ALTRO DILETTO CH' IMPARAR NO' TROVO*; in the lower left corner: *PTL Pinx. et Sculp.*

The National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, P 2781/30

The motto of this etching—"I find delight only in learning"—perfectly expresses Testa's own philos-

ophy of pleasure. The heroic nude who supports the shield on which it is written personifies the ideal Vitruvian philosopher-painter he sought to be. The saying is not of his own invention but is a quotation from Petrarch's *Triumph of Love*, which Testa found in the pages of Daniele Barbaro's edition of Vitruvius, which was perhaps the book he most closely studied. In book one, chapter two, of his *Ten Books of Architecture* Vitruvius enumerates the principles of architecture, considering in their turn order, arrangement, eurhythmy, symmetry, propriety, and economy. The second principle, arrangement, concerns ground plan, elevation, and perspective, all of which are born, according to Vitruvius, of reflection and invention. Reflection (*pensamento*), in turn, involves study, industry, and vigilance, all combined with delight (*dilettatione*).¹ In Testa's image the bust of Minerva, accompanied by books, compasses, and a celestial globe, broadly indicates that the artist-hero is being drawn toward wisdom; but the drawings on the tablet below, including the profile of a cornice, a line marked off into sections, a geometrical diagram, and the elevation of a cone, make it clear that Testa's invocation to artistic virtue is founded on Vitruvius's discussion of architectural principles. In commenting on this passage in his second edition and translation of *I dieci libri*, published in 1567, Barbaro expands upon Vitruvius's notion of the delight and pleasure that accompany beautiful things born of hard work and diligence. He writes that pleasure follows the fulfillment of desire and that because the intellect desires the truth the greatest delight is to be found in learning it, "whence one says, 'I find delight only in learning.'" Barbaro's quotation in this way of a verse from Petrarch's *Triumph of Love* led to its becoming a kind of artist's motto. It was employed not only by Testa but also by the English architect Inigo Jones on the first page of his Roman sketchbook in 1614.² The Florentine painter Alessandro Allori also added it to his signature on *The Sacrifice of Isaac*, dated 1601, now in the Uffizi.³

Barbaro's commentary to this passage in Vitruvius is based on Aristotle's claim at the beginning of the *Metaphysics* that all men naturally desire knowledge. His invocation of Petrarch's delight in learning in this context is in turn based on contemporary Aristotelian interpreters of the poet, specifically on the commentary to Petrarch's *Triumphs* by Giovanni

Andrea Gesualdo, published in Venice in 1541. In his commentary to this verse Gesualdo links it to Aristotle "because there is no other delight except in learning, given that all men naturally desire to learn and to know. And even though one learns through all the senses, nonetheless it is the sense of sight that provides information about the most beautiful and varied things, as Aristotle teaches in the introduction to the *Metaphysics*."⁴

Gesualdo's commentary is part of a new moralizing of Petrarch that appeared after the Sack of Rome in 1527 within the context of contemporary debates over the need for spiritual reform. Barbaro's own commentary to Vitruvius also falls within this tradition of criticism that sought to defend poets and artists from the charges made against Michelangelo when his *Last Judgment* was unveiled in the Sistine Chapel. Michelangelo was accused of having valued his own art higher than the truth, and the critical defense rested on the argument that on the contrary art was an indispensable means for discovering philosophical and religious truth. Indeed, Barbaro's remarks are especially illuminating as an index of the tenor and concerns of Counter-Reformation criticism. What he translates in Vitruvius as *dilettatione* is in the original not *delectatio* but *voluptas* (pleasure). Pleasure, as distinct from delight, is a term that normally carried a negative connotation, referring to simple gratification of the senses and material rewards, and as such it was opposed to virtue in Prodicus's famous exemplary tale of Hercules at the crossroads. Annibale Carracci, whose Roman style Testa was studying intensely in the 1640s, had painted an important version of this theme in the Camerino Farnese in the Palazzo Farnese in Rome (now in the Museo di Capodimonte, Naples),⁵ and Testa now also makes explicit iconographic reference to Prodicus's theme of virtuous education. The young hero, like Hercules, turns his back on the ways of sensual pleasure, all manner of which are represented in the bacchanalian and priapic revels behind, in order to savor the intellectual delight of learning and knowing the truth, presided over by Minerva.

The alignment effected by Gesualdo and Barbaro of *diletto*, or "delight," rather than *voluptà*, or "pleasure," with the kind of delight that comes from learning the truth, had implications that went far beyond the revision of Petrarch's reputation or the

image of the artist. Such an alignment provided the philosophical means for reinterpreting Horace's famous definition of the ends of poetry, and hence painting, as the union of instruction with delight. This reinterpretation provided an effective response to Plato's criticism of the kind of pleasure provoked by the imitative arts, which the philosopher banished from his republic precisely because they did not lead to the truth. It could now be established that these arts were themselves philosophic disciplines in the pursuit of truth. Testa, whose notes show him to have been greatly concerned to refute Plato's criticisms, understood the potential of this reinterpretation, and so rather than emphasizing the didactic half of Horace's union of instruction with delight, as many others had done, he redefined the second half to mean the delight that results from learning.⁶ The definition of delight first presented in the drawing of *An Allegory of Liberty* (cat. no. 32) is now applied to artistic discourse.

In *Summer* (cat. no. 76) and *Winter* (cat. nos. 81 and 82) the misfortunes and ultimate vindication of the virtuous artist are contrasted with the rewards of those who seek only sensual pleasure. *Altro diletto ch' imparar non trovo* presents the very choice of the difficult path of virtuous knowledge, that is, the choice between delight in learning and voluptuous passion, that turns the artist from the world of the senses to the realm of truth. The earthly delights of drunkenness and lust and the false entertainment of the satyrs' play do not even appear desirable to the artist who chooses to follow the Vitruvian principles for the education of the artist as sage that Testa had most fully explicated in *Il Liceo della Pittura* several years before (cat. no. 41).

This etching is very similar in technique and in invention to "The Seasons" (cat. nos. 75, 76, 79, 81, and 82) and probably dates to about 1644. No preparatory drawings are known, and despite the inscription there is no evidence that Testa produced a painting of this subject.⁷ *Altro diletto* continues the investigation, begun in *The Triumph of Painting on Parnassus* (cat. no. 73), of the artist's own struggle for virtue, framed without the reference to the natural order that characterizes "The Seasons." What further distinguishes these two prints and *The Triumph of the Virtuous Artist on Parnassus* (cat. no. 102) from "The Seasons" is the prominence given to models taken from ancient sculpture and not only

to Testa's study of figures from Annibale Carracci. The figure of the young man is derived from the famous statue of *Mercury* by François Duquesnoy ([fig. 11-v] itself closely modeled on the Belvedere *Antinous* [fig. 11-o]) that Testa would have known well. The sculpture was reproduced in the two-volume *Galleria Giustiniani* (Rome, 1631–c. 1634), the lavish publication of Vincenzo Giustiniani's collection, for which Testa had made drawings shortly after his arrival in Rome. Duquesnoy's bronze *Mercury* was commissioned as a companion to the bronze *Hercules* then in Giustiniani's collection, and it is significant that Testa has endowed the Herculean character of his virtuous hero with the more elegant proportions of Duquesnoy's *Mercury*. The choice, as Dempsey shows,⁸ was dictated by Testa's interest in the Greek manner that Duquesnoy's work exemplified. Testa amplified the slender proportions of Mercury somewhat to adapt them more perfectly for his older and more heroic figure of Hercules, and it may also be that he sought to combine the strength of Hercules with the persuasiveness of Mercury's discourse in a single figure of the virtuous and intellectual artist. The bust of Minerva with rams' heads on her helmet is also derived from a statue in the Giustiniani collection. The *Minerva Giustiniani* was reproduced not only in the *Galleria Giustiniani* (see fig. 11-a), but also by François Perrier in his *Segmenta nobilium signorum et statuarum que temporis dentem invidium evase* (Rome, 1638) and by Joachim von Sandrart in his *Teutsche Academie* (1675–79). Testa's adoption of the head of the figure and the interest that his contemporaries took in it indicate that Giustiniani was not alone in considering this the prize of his collection.⁹

1. Vitruvius, *I dieci libri d'architettura . . .*, ed. and trans. Daniele Barbaro (Venice, 1567), p. 32. For what follows see also Cropper, 1984, excerpts, pp. 65–68, reprinted by permission of Princeton University Press.

2. John Alfred Gotch, *Inigo Jones* (London, 1928), pl. 4.

3. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, 1553.

4. Petrarch, *Il Petrarca*, ed. and trans. Giovanni Andrea Gesualdo (Venice, 1541), chap. 1, "Del Triompho d'Amore."

5. Donald Posner, *Annibale Carracci: A Study in the Reform of Italian Painting Around 1590* (London, 1971), vol. 2, pl. 93a.

6. See Cropper, 1984, pp. 236–37, nos. 57.A and 57.B.



7. Bellini, 1976b, p. 63, no. 34, confuses the subject of the painting of *The Triumph of the Virtuous Artist on Parnassus* (Staatsgalerie Schleissheim) with that of this print.

8. See Charles Dempsey, "The Greek Style and the Prehistory of Neoclassicism," above.

9. Haskell and Penny, 1981, pp. 269–71.

LITERATURE Baldinucci, 1681–1728, p. 318; Gori Gandellini, 1771, p. 295; Bartsch, 1820, p. 225, no. 32; Nagler, 1848, pp. 267–68, no. 32; Le Blanc, 1890, p. 21, no. 31; Petrucci, 1936, p. 414; Harris, 1967, p. 37; Hartmann, 1970, pp. 88–90, 189; Cropper, 1971, pp. 266–67, 288; Bellini, 1976b, p. 63, no. 34; Cropper, 1977, p. 104 n. 36; Cropper, 1984, pp. 28, 58–59, 65–68, 96, 154, 174 and fig. 88

102

The Triumph of the Virtuous Artist on Parnassus

c. 1644–46

Bartsch 33; Bellini 33

Etching with drypoint, first state. Small tear in the upper right corner.

403 x 580 mm (15⁷/₈ x 22¹³/₁₆" (trimmed)

Inscribed in the plate in the lower margin:
*Illustriss.mo atq. Ornatissimo D. Joanni Minard
A Secretis, et Rationibus Regiae Domus Ducis
Aurelianensis. P.T. D.D.D./ O Divum Sapientiae
Lumen: Tu à monstris turpibus retrahis Mortales:
Tu duchis ad immortales Musas.*

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Vol. Ba. 20.b,
in fol. 48

This celebration of the arrival of the artist-sage on Parnassus is Testa's final meditation on the theme of his own triumph over ignorance and vice. As in *The Triumph of Painting on Parnassus* (cat. no. 73), Pegasus causes the stream of Hippocrene to spring forth from a rock on the highest peak of Parnassus. The hero is guided in his difficult ascent by the figure of Divine Wisdom, who, according to the inscription on the first state, draws him back from the evil monsters below. He is greeted by the Muses gathered around the nymph of the Castalian stream. The stern figure holding a trumpet is Clio, the Muse of History. Calliope approaches with her books of epic poetry, the works of Virgil and blind Homer who stand in her shadow. The sunlit figure before them wearing a laurel crown and gazing into the eyes of his lover is a lyric poet, inspired by the

presiding figure of Venus, garlanded with roses, who reaches toward a basket of flowers held up by one of the loves who fly about her carrying swags.¹ She looks very like Flora, but the love brandishing her flaming torch firmly identifies her as Venus, the goddess of procreation and the spring, eternally flowering on Parnassus. Her preeminence in this context, where the triumph of the lover of divine wisdom is celebrated, serves to emphasize that the love she inspires is also divine and true. Love is here moralized exactly as it is in the closely contemporary *Altro diletto ch' imparar non trovo* (cat. no. 101), where a line from Petrarch's *Triumph of Love* is interpreted according to late Renaissance Aristotelian commentaries. Venus inspires delight in wisdom, not voluptuous desire.

In many ways this invention may be considered the final episode in Testa's allegorical pilgrimage along the difficult path of virtue that is also expressed in *Altro diletto*, to which it stands as a companion, although it is not a pendant. The personifications of the vices of human affections are also closely related to those in *The Triumph of Painting*, completed several years before. Hercules, the emblem of virtue, kicks the figure of Avarice, with his money and golden chains in a tub on his back, down the mountainside at the right. Ass-eared and corpulent, slothful Ignorance riding on an ass cannot even see the Muses, whereas snake-entwined Envy gazes intently upon them, shielding her eyes from the brilliance of the scene. The satyr in the foreground turns his back to the Muses, unlike the lyric poet who points upward toward the source of his inspiration. Grasping his panpipes he gropes forward in besotted lust to caress the nose of the donkey. Desperately clawing at the rocky step upon which the hero stands and already about to fall is a monkey, Testa's favorite figure for all forms of ignorant stupidity and base ambition, and especially for those contemporary artists who chose the easy road of pleasure over the hard path of virtue.

In the inscription on the preparatory drawing in Haarlem (cat. no. 103) Testa indicates that it is the study of the Muses that makes men immortal through fame. At the lower left the chained figure of Time—who is, like the figure of Pain in *The Triumph of Painting*, closely modeled on the *Laocoon* in the Vatican Belvedere (fig. 11-n)—stands for that immortality. Venus tramples him under foot, how-



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Fig. 102a. Pietro Testa (Italian, 1612–50), *Study for a Nymph in "The Triumph of the Virtuous Artist on Parnassus,"* c. 1644–46. Red chalk on blue paper, 265 x 178 mm (10⁷/₁₆ x 7"). Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, 5726s

ever, and the little love adds an extra kick; by this means Testa has expressed the conceit that it is love of virtue and the true art inspired by the Muses that stops the movement of time. Winged Fame with her trumpet crowns the figure of the virtuous philosopher who greets the Muses like an ancient Roman emperor with the gesture of *acclamatio*. As in *Altro diletto* Testa has endowed the figure of his hero with ideal, Greek proportions, this time derived from the Belvedere *Antinous* itself (fig. 11-0), which Poussin and Duquesnoy had carefully measured as a model for the perfection of beauty in the Greek manner; Divine Wisdom shares these proportions. The Muses, especially Erato, have the perfectly proportioned profile of the Medici *Venus* in the Uffizi,² whose principles Testa had investigated in the study for *An Allegory in Honor of Innocent X* (cat. no. 87).

A painting of the same subject, now at Schleissheim, has been attributed to Testa since 1719. It is badly worn, but there is no reason to doubt the attribution. The torch of Wisdom stands out boldly against the deep blue sky, but in other areas the darkness is rather the result of paint loss. The yellow drapery of the youth, the red of Wisdom, and the blue of Erato now stand out uncomfortably against the cloudy brown of the ground in which many details are lost. Hartmann argues that because the painting is in the reverse sense to the print it must have preceded it.³ No inscription on the print indicates that Testa had also executed a painting of this theme, but this does not provide a conclusive argument against either the canvas or its precedence, given the difficulties of correlating prints bearing such inscriptions and actual paintings.

The dedication of the second state by Giovanni Domenico de Rossi, Testa's publisher, to Giovanni Tommaso Rondanino, Knight of Jerusalem, provides a sort of *terminus post quem*, for Rondanino was knighted in 1643.⁴ In translating his invention onto the plate Testa has used a technique very similar to that found in *Altro diletto*. Most characteristic of his prints from the mid-1640s on, after the series of "The Seasons" (cat. nos. 75, 76, 79, 81, and 82), is the heavy shadowing of the eyes through parallel hatching that renders them dark sockets. The dense hatching within rather than across forms contributes to the impression of looking at a tableau of ancient sculptures, brilliantly lit, with their eyes

blind. Only the figures of the earthly passions at the lower right belong to the world of the flesh. This difference in techniques of representation leads Bellini to propose mistakenly that the latter figures were etched by a different hand, possibly that of Giovanni Cesare Testa.

1. Harris and Lord, 1970, p. 20, identify this figure as Erato, the Muse of Lyric Poetry. The full contingent of nine Muses appears behind her, however, as they do in the preparatory drawing in Haarlem (cat. no. 103).
2. Haskell and Penny, 1981, pp. 325-27, fig. 173.
3. Hartmann, 1970, pp. 90-91, 179. See Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Staatsgalerie Schleissheim, Munich, *Verzeichniss der Gemälde* (Munich, 1980), p. 68, no. 1277, and fig. 60.
4. Luigi Salerno, *Palazzo Rondanini* (Rome, 1965), p. 33 and fig. 86. According to Salerno, Giovanni Tommaso was born in 1625.

PREPARATORY DRAWINGS 1. Teylers Museum, Haarlem, I 46. See cat. no. 103. 2. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, 5743S. See cat. no. 104. 3. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, 5744S. See cat. no. 105. 4. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, 5726S. See fig. 102a.

LITERATURE Baldinucci, 1681-1728, p. 318; Gori Gandelini, 1771, p. 295; Huber, 1787, p. 334; Bartsch, 1820, p. 225, no. 33; Nagler, 1848, p. 268, no. 33; Le Blanc, 1890, p. 21, no. 32; Petrucci, 1936, p. 414; Marabottini, 1954a, pp. 122-23 n. 9; Harris, 1967, p. 37; Harris and Lord, 1970, pp. 15-20; Hartmann, 1970, pp. 89-91, 188-89; Thiem, 1970, p. 84 n. 7, repeats Harris's (1967, p. 53 n. 34) mistaken comment that a state of this etching in the Bibliothèque Nationale is dated 1656; Bellini, 1976b, pp. 62-63, no. 33; Brigstocke, 1976, p. 19; Cropper, 1984, pp. 56, 58, 99, 113, 255 and fig. 69

103

Study for "The Triumph of the Virtuous Artist on Parnassus"

c. 1644-46

Black chalk on pale buff paper. Reinforced in pen and brown ink. Squared in red chalk. Small tears mended near the lower left edge. Center fold with a slight tear at the lower edge, supported with paper on the verso. Small brown stain in the tree in upper left.

383 x 520 mm (15 1/16 x 20 1/2")

Inscribed on the recto by the artist in pen and brown ink in the lower right corner: *il*



*nostro studio/ e quello che fa per fama gl'huo/mini
immortali/ si dice poeticamente; on ñe verso in
an old hand in black chalk: P Testa*
Teylers Museum, Haarlem, I 46

This highly finished study would seem to be a *modello* for transfer to the plate, yet it is smaller than the print (cat. no. 102). There are also several significant differences between the two, especially in the landscape to the left and in the figure of the hero, who is here draped more decorously and carries a stylus together with the tablet under his arm. The latter is one of the differences that the print shares with the painting in Munich.¹ The drawing, squared for enlargement, might represent a final stage in the preparation for the canvas rather than for the print, yet the drawing is in other ways more closely related to the etching. Although the monkeys in the foreground and the figures in the distant landscape, for example, may once have appeared in the painting, they are not visible now. In either case, in adapting this design for the etching Testa adjusted the appearance of all the figures to conform to more classical (and sculptural) ideals.

The schematic quality of the drawing might at first suggest that it is a copy. The inscription is, however, in Testa's own hand, leaving only the possibility that the contours and squaring could have been added later. But this style of drawing, in which the whole composition is established in black chalk before being reinforced with ink, is characteristic of several other studies from the later 1640s (see, for example, cat. no. 119).

Three red chalk drawings on blue paper, now in the Uffizi (see cat. nos. 104 and 105 and fig. 102a), indicate that before reaching this stage in the refinement of his ideas Testa had probably made many studies from the life. Such a schematic drawing at a late stage in the preparation of a highly complicated invention before work on the plate (or indeed in fresco) enabled the artist to work out first the play of chiaroscuro in black chalk across the whole surface of the composition. He then reestablished the contours within which he would execute that local chiaroscuro modeling and detailed definition of features that transformed his life drawings into representations of ideal beauty.

1. See Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Staatsgalerie Schleissheim, Munich, *Verzeichniss der Gemälde* (Munich, 1980), p. 68, no. 1277, and fig. 60.

PROVENANCE Don Livio Odescalchi (1652–1713); by descent to the dukes of Bracciano; acquired for the Teylers Foundation in Rome, 1790

LITERATURE Hartmann, 1970, p. 208

104

*Study for the Figure of Time in
“The Triumph of the Virtuous Artist
on Parnassus”*

c. 1644–46

Red chalk with touches of white chalk on
blue paper

196 x 351 mm (7³/₄ x 13¹³/₁₆"

Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi,
Florence, 5743S

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*Study for the Lyric Poet and
His Lover in “The Triumph of
the Virtuous Artist on
Parnassus”*

c. 1644–46

Red chalk with touches of white chalk on
blue paper

230 x 221 mm (9¹/₁₆ x 8¹¹/₁₆"

Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi,
Florence, 5744S

In these studies from life for *The Triumph of the Virtuous Artist on Parnassus* (cat. no. 102) Testa established the poses and expressions of characters whose meaning relies on the affective quality of the movements of their bodies and passions rather than on symbolic attributes. The figure of Time ultimately relies on Testa's study of the *Laocoon* (fig. 11-n), but the detail of the leg and the three alternative studies of the head show how he realigned the sculpture according to nature. Testa used red chalk in several studies from the early 1640s, including the academy drawing for Apollo in *Summer* (cat. no. 77). In the pendentive drawings (see cat. no. 93 and fig. 93a), he had also adopted the use of blue paper. The combination of colored chalk and paper in the studies for *The Triumph of the Virtuous Artist* produces a much softer effect of light on flesh and drapery.



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105



In the final etching this is transformed through line into a far sharper contrast of chiaroscuro that suggests the effects of strong light falling on sculpture rather than the gently modulated illumination of flesh.

PROVENANCE (cat. nos. 104 and 105) Gift of Emilio Santarelli to the Uffizi, 1866

LITERATURE (cat. no. 104) E. Santarelli, E. Burci, and F. Rondoni, *Catalogo della raccolta di disegni autografi antichi e moderni donati dal prof. Emilio Santarelli alla Reale Galleria di Firenze* (Florence, 1870), p. 383, no. 30; Hartmann, 1970, p. 209

LITERATURE (cat. no. 105) E. Santarelli, E. Burci, and F. Rondoni, *Catalogo della raccolta di disegni autografi antichi e moderni donati dal prof. Emilio Santarelli alla Reale Galleria di Firenze* (Florence, 1870), p. 384, no. 47; Hartmann, 1970, p. 210

106

Self-Portrait

c. 1645

Bartsch 1; Bellini 35

Etching (with drypoint?), second state

224 x 166 mm (8¹³/₁₆ x 6¹/₂"

Inscribed in the lower plate mark outside the oval: *Ritratto di Pietro Testa Pictore eccel.te/ delineavit et sculpsit Romae. superiorum permisu/ fran.co Collignon formis*

Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna, HB VIII, p. 1, no. 1

Testa appears considerably older here than in the drawing made by his friend Pierfrancesco Mola in 1637 (fig. 36a). The dense shadows of the etching and the style of the red chalk preparatory study, now in the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando in Madrid (fig. 106a), support the date of around 1645 suggested by the apparent age of the artist. Many of Testa's allegorical inventions may be seen as a kind of self-portraiture, but in this intimate image Testa depicts himself in the very act of self-portrayal in the most direct way, without idealism and without symbol.

No examples of a first state of the print are known. Bellini's assumption that a first state precedes this version with François Collignon's address is, however, logical. The Collignon state is almost certainly posthumous, and there is no reason to doubt the statement in the inscription that Testa

himself etched the plate. The preparatory drawing, which is in the reverse sense, is the same size as the print and clearly a working drawing from the life.

PREPARATORY DRAWING Museo de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, Madrid, 2306. See fig. 106a.

LITERATURE Gori Gandellini, 1771, p. 294; Huber, 1787, p. 334; Bartsch, 1820, p. 215, no. 1; Nagler, 1848, p. 265, no. 1; Le Blanc, 1890, p. 20, no. 1; Marabottini, 1954a, pp. 131, 132 n. 18; Hartmann, 1970, pp. 92, 190; Bellini, 1976b, pp. 64–65, no. 35

107

Study for the Apse of San Martino ai Monti, Rome

c. 1647–48

Pen and light brown ink over light brownish gray wash with touches of red chalk on cream paper. Laid down. Small areas of surface damage.

120 x 266 mm (4³/₄ x 10¹/₂"

Inscribed by the artist in pen and brown ink on the steps at the center: *SANTUS/ SANTUS/ SANTUS*; along the lower right edge: *azzurro stellato + che va perdendo l'oscurità al centro del'*

Trustees of the British Museum, London, Payne Knight, P.p.5–94

In the later 1640s Giovanni Antonio Filippini, the prior of San Martino ai Monti in Rome, embarked on an ambitious program to redecorate the Carmelite church in readiness for the Jubilee Year of 1650.¹ Testa's altarpiece of *The Vision of Sant'Angelo Carmelitano* (see cat. no. 90) was part of this project. Passeri states that it so pleased the prior that he thought to use him further to redecorate the apse.² Testa received final payment for the altarpiece in January 1646, and Harris has suggested that another, small payment of 6:60 scudi given to Testa in July 1647 may have been made in connection with this. The sum is very small indeed and might rather, as Harris suggests as well, be connected with the painting of *The Prophecy of Basilides* that Testa also produced for Filippini (see cat. no. 110).

There is no doubt, however, that Testa made quite detailed preparations for what would have been his most ambitious attempt at fresco painting.³ The frescoes in Santa Maria dell'Anima (see cat. no. 91) had probably already aroused criticism, and

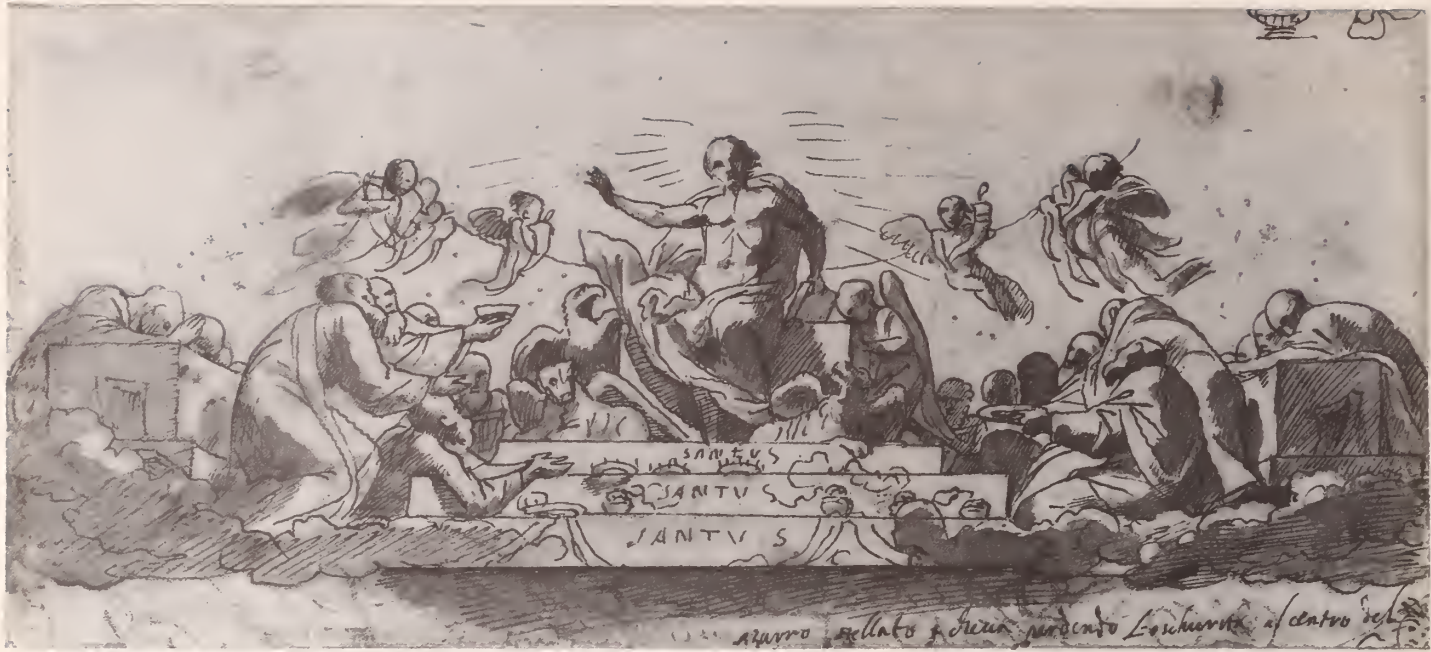


Fig. 106a. Pietro Testa, *Study for "Self-Portrait,"* c. 1645. Red chalk on buff paper, 218 x 154 mm (8⁹/₁₆ x 6¹¹/₁₆"). Museo de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, Madrid, 2306



Ritratto di Pietro
delineavit et sculpsit

Testa Pictore excell.
Romæ superiorum permisū
fran. Collignon formis



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Fig. 107a. Pietro Testa, *Composition Study for the Apse of San Martino ai Monti, Rome*, c. 1647–48. Black chalk reinforced with pen and brown ink on cream paper, 270 x 410 mm (10⁵/₈ x 16¹/₈""). Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, Graphische Sammlung, Notebook (Budde 132), folios 22a verso and 23 recto

Fig. 107b. Pietro Testa, *Study for the Figure of Charity in the Apse of San Martino ai Monti, Rome, c. 1647-48*. Red chalk reinforced with dark brown ink on cream paper, 245 x 323 mm (9⁵/₈ x 12³/₄"). Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, 5722s recto



Fig. 107c. Pietro Testa, *Study of a Woman's Arm, c. 1647-48*. Red chalk on cream paper, 245 x 323 mm (9⁵/₈ x 12³/₄"). Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, 5722s verso

Testa faced a formidable task. He was never to execute the project. This British Museum drawing is a detailed study of the upper part of the semidome, the complete design of which he worked out in a drawing now mounted in the Düsseldorf Notebook (fig. 107a). On the verso of this latter sheet Testa made a note saying, "This work was supposed to be painted in the tribune of San Martino ai Monti." Harris has, therefore, quite rightly suggested that Testa knew that he would not receive the commission by about 1647 or 1648 and that his disappointment, so prosaically indicated by the use of the past tense in the note, contributed to the despair that led to his suicide.

In the Düsseldorf drawing Testa imagines the apse as covered by the mantle of the heavens, which has been drawn back to reveal, in the upper part, the apocalyptic vision of Saint John described in Revelation 4: 1–2 and 7: 9–17. God the Father sits upon a throne supported by a rainbow, accompanied by the Lamb, the seven lamps, and the four beasts, and surrounded by the twenty-four elders. The figures are arranged in distinct registers on banks of clouds in a manner that recalls Raphael's *Disputa* (Stanza della Segnatura, Vatican),⁴ where the curving banks of clouds are similarly arranged and the sacrament is also the central focus. Passeri reports that in this commission Testa "thought to represent a glory of paradise but without clouds, stepping outside the usual practice that had been started by Correggio. He said it was a very stupid mistake to show the luminous throne of the Holy Trinity and the home of the blessed, which is a place full of tranquillity and perpetual serenity, surrounded by clouds, which only indicated turbulence and darkness."⁵ Even though clouds do appear in the design it would seem that Testa intended the heavens to be legible and clear in the manner not only of a Raphael but also of an Early Christian mosaic, in keeping with the architecture of the church and the desire of the prior to emphasize the ancient traditions of its founding. Harris's argument that Testa's design would have provided a critical alternative to the frescoes Giovanni Lanfranco painted in 1646–47 in San Carlo ai Catinari in Rome also serves to point to Testa's other purpose in these years, which was to defend the tradition of Domenichino in the face of the Correggesque illusionism that Lanfranco represented. Domeni-

chino himself, it should be remembered, had considered decorating the cupola of the Cappella del Tesoro di San Gennaro in Naples with feigned tapestries in order to avoid the current practice of illusionistic foreshortening.⁶

In the drawing exhibited here Testa presents the throne of God surrounded by the four beasts. His note indicates that the heavens on either side were to be deep blue and studded with stars but becoming brighter toward the center; in this golden drawing he shows a glory around the figure of God and the seven angels with their lamps. The twenty-four elders, who have cast their crowns upon the steps of the throne, reach out to be fed by the Lamb of God, and the steps are inscribed with their words.

1. See Sutherland, 1964, pp. 58–69, 115–20; and Susan J. Bades, "Gaspard Dughet and San Martino ai Monti," *Storia dell'arte*, vol. 26 (1976), pp. 45–60.

2. Passeri, 1679, p. 187.

3. See Cropper, 1984, pp. 262–64. Other drawings related to the apse frescoes are: a. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, 5706S recto and verso. See cat. no. 108. b. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, 5723S. See cat. no. 109. c. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, 5722S recto and verso. Recto: See fig. 107b. Inscribed in an old hand in the lower left corner: *Pietro Testa*. Verso: See fig. 107c. Inscribed by the artist in red chalk in the lower left: *S'io non vengo a 2 ore cenate*. d. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, 18208F. Study of a woman reclining on a bank of clouds gazing upward with her hands folded in prayer. Red chalk on cream paper. 198 x 258 mm (7¹³/₁₆ x 10¹/₈"). See Lopresti, 1921, fig. 19. e. Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum, Landesgalerie, Hanover, neg. no. x1968. Study for the figures of Justice and Fortitude. Pen and brown ink with wash. The figures are in the reverse sense to their counterparts in the Düsseldorf composition study, but such reversal is common in Testa's working procedure. Dr. Meinolf Trudzinsky brought this drawing to my attention, but I have not been able to examine it. f. Formerly with Stanza del Borgo, Milan. Study of a woman seated on a ledge gazing upward. Black chalk. See Cropper, 1984, p. 262, and fig. 116. g. Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, Notebook (Budde 132), folio 22a recto. Studies of an angel in vestments and of a draped male figure looking upward. Pen and brown ink over traces of red chalk. 265 x 210 mm (10⁷/₁₆ x 8¹/₄"). See Cropper, 1984, p. 260, no. 65, fig. XXIV.

4. *Vatican Museums, Rome*, Great Museums of the World (New York, 1968), repro. p. 110.

5. Passeri, 1679, p. 187.

6. See Spear, 1982, vol. 1, p. 299.

LITERATURE Marabottini, 1954b, pp. 241, 242 n. 46; Harris, 1967, pp. 44, 57 n. 86; Hartmann, 1970, p. 238; Cropper, 1984, pp. 261–62 and fig. 113

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Figure Studies for the Apse of San Martino ai Monti, Rome

Verso: Another study for the same project

c. 1647–48

Recto and verso: Black chalk on blue paper

239 x 191 mm (9³/₈ x 7¹/₂"

Inscribed in pencil in the lower left corner: 9

Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi,
Florence, 5706S

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Figure Study for the Apse of San Martino ai Monti, Rome

c. 1647–48

Red chalk on cream paper. Laid down.

295 x 210 mm (11⁵/₈ x 8¹/₄"

Inscribed in an old hand in pen and brown ink in the lower right corner: *Pietro Testa*

Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi,
Florence, 5723S

These two figure studies from the Uffizi belong to a group that has only recently been recognized as preparatory for Testa's project for the apse in San Martino ai Monti.¹ As in the case of the British Museum drawing for the upper part of the semidome (cat. no. 107), it is the study for the whole apse in the Düsseldorf Notebook (fig. 107a) that establishes their purpose. In the lower part of the composition Testa would have depicted the image of the Victory of the Cross. Set against a ledge that would have marked the curve of the semidome above the level of the entablature, he intended to place four personifications of virtues—Charity, Faith, Hope, and Fear of God—in pairs on either side of the cross and figures of Justice, Fortitude, Temperance and Prudence in pairs at the outer edges. In the lower part of one of the drawings now in the Uffizi (cat. no. 108) Testa depicts a woman with two children seated on the ledge. She wears

her hair in a topknot and embraces a vase, attributes that identify her as Temperance. The male figure above her and that on the verso are also shown seated on the ledge, but they have no attributes that would allow identification. All the figures are seen *dal di sotto in su*, in accordance with their position high up on the edge of the semidome. The very loose style of these chalk drawings is closely related to that of the composition study (fig. 107a), where, however, Testa reinforced several lines in ink.

The second Uffizi drawing (cat. no. 109) is different in technique; although the chiaroscuro is organized with greater clarity than in the other drawings it is nonetheless much looser than such earlier red chalk studies as that for *Summer* (cat. no. 77). This beautiful, melancholic figure seated on clouds is also seen from below. She is illuminated from the right, and it is possible that the drawing may be a study for one of the figures to the far left of the composition in the dark clouds near the rainbow. Testa did not propose to abolish completely the billowing clouds of the Correggesque tradition, only to assert that the central heavenly realm must be bright and clear.

1. See cat. no. 107 n. 3.

PROVENANCE (cat. nos. 108 and 109) Gift of Emilio Santarelli to the Uffizi, 1866

LITERATURE (cat. no. 108) E. Santarelli, E. Burci, and F. Rondoni, *Catalogo della raccolta di disegni autografi antichi e moderni donati dal prof. Emilio Santarelli alla Reale Galleria di Firenze* (Florence, 1870), p. 381, no. 9; Hartmann, 1970, p. 204; Cropper, 1984, p. 262 and fig. 115

LITERATURE (cat. no. 109) E. Santarelli, E. Burci, and F. Rondoni, *Catalogo della raccolta di disegni autografi antichi e moderni donati dal prof. Emilio Santarelli alla Reale Galleria di Firenze* (Florence, 1870), p. 383, no. 26; Hartmann, 1970, p. 160

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Study for "The Prophecy of Basilides"

c. 1648–49

Pen and brown ink over black chalk with brown wash and traces of red chalk on grayish green prepared paper. Squared in black chalk. Two sheets joined vertically at the center. Laid down. Trimmed and bordered in brown ink. Surface damage.

366 x 595 mm (14³/₈ x 23⁷/₁₆"



108 recto

108 verso







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Inscribed by the artist in black chalk to the right of Christ's foot: *palmi*; in pen and brown ink at the center next to a short line (245 mm [9 $\frac{5}{8}$ "]) that indicates the scale of 1:10: *palmi, a basso nel' opera crescerò mezzo, sopra tre. slargherò per lunghezza/ tre due [cancelled] palmi le figure come + e così dalla testa/ slargerò quattro palmi si che le figure verranno 9 palmi*; in faint red chalk on the figure of Justice: *slarga*; the squares numbered at the top: 3-27; with a very faint cross in black chalk on the sole of Christ's foot and another on the drapery just above

Rugby School Art Museum, Rugby, England, 52

Testa's study of this unusual subject¹ relates to both the etching by his nephew Giovanni Cesare (cat. no. 111) and the painting by Testa now at the Museo di Capodimonte, Naples,² as well as the fresco executed in San Martino ai Monti in Rome by Gaspard Dughet and completed by May 1651.³ Harris considers this drawing only in connection with the print and, largely because the latter is in the same sense, suggests that the Rugby study might be an early falsification of a Testa drawing, made by someone familiar with the print and with such preparatory studies from the later 1640s as those in the Louvre for *The Symposium* (cat. no. 115) and *Achilles Drag-*

ging the Body of Hector Around the Walls of Troy (cat. no. 122). The drawing is unquestionably by Testa, however, and the notes concerning the enlargement of the image are in his hand.

Passeri reports that, despite Giovanni Antonio Filippini's dissatisfaction with Testa's slowness and indecisiveness in his preparation for the frescoes in San Martino (see cat. nos. 90 and 107-9), the prior of the Carmelites had the artist make some "little canvases of things that he was supposed to execute for him that were very beautiful inventions and in a good style."⁴ The canvas at Capodimonte, for which this is a composition study, is almost certainly one of these "little canvases." Passeri's comment would seem to imply that the prior was commissioning small paintings from Testa that were records of, or *modelli* for, frescoes that the artist was supposed to execute. It may be, therefore, that Testa hoped, or had hoped, to paint this scene in fresco on the wall of the church. When Dughet came to fresco the right wall near the apse after Testa's death, he was probably provided with the *quadretto* by Testa to use as his model.

The very soft, generalized manner of this drawing, in which the forms have been blocked out in chalk and then reinforced with wash, is a late de-



velopment in Testa's work, although there are affinities with the preparatory drawing for *The Miracle of Saint Theodore* from the earlier 1640s (cat. no. 89). The study in the Louvre for *The Education of Achilles* (cat. no. 119), also etched by Giovanni Cesare Testa (cat. no. 120), employs exactly the same combination of chalk and wash in the landscape and figures, many of which, as here, are deliberately turned in profile. Both works were probably executed after Testa's death, and the relationship between the painting for which the Rugby drawing is the study and Testa's designs of around 1647-48 for San Martino ai Monti further implies a date for both of these drawings of 1648-49. The emphasis on clearly projected cast shadows recalls, further, such dated prints as *The Suicide of Cato* of 1648 (cat. no. 116), and the very regular stand of tree trunks at the right suggests the similar arrangement to the right of *The Prodigal Son Among the Swine* (cat. no. 97). A red chalk study from the life for the figure of Christ, now in the British Museum (fig. 112a), was also reproduced by Testa's nephew after his death (cat. no. 112).

Testa's notes to himself on this drawing provide instructions about how he wished to adjust the scale of the composition. The short line near the lower

edge is marked off to give an exact scale for a *palm*, and in accordance the torso of Christ is delicately measured off down a center line into nine *palmi*.

1. For a discussion of the subject see cat. no. 111.
2. See Bruno Molajoli, *Notizie su Capodimonte, Catalogo delle Gallerie e del Museo* (Naples, 1964), p. 56, no. 1696; and Hartmann, 1970, p. 225, who cites Tessin's 1674 description of it in the Palazzo Altieri, Rome. A canvas with almost the same dimensions on the market in Italy is probably an early copy.
3. For the dates of Dughet's frescoes, see Sutherland, 1964, pp. 58-69, 115-20; cf. pp. 116-17. See Susan J. Bandes, "Gaspard Dughet and San Martino ai Monti," *Storia dell'arte*, vol. 26 (1976), pp. 45-60, for discussion of the whole cycle, with special reference to the iconography.
4. Passeri, 1679, p. 187.

PROVENANCE Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723-1792; Lugt 2364); Sir Thomas Lawrence (1769-1830); gift of Matthew H. Bloxam to the Rugby School Art Museum

LITERATURE Thomas Sherrer Ross Boase, "A Seventeenth Century Carmelite Legend Based on Tacitus," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 3 (1939-40), pp. 107-18, esp. p. 111; Marabottini, 1954a, pp. 116, 117 n. 2; Harris, 1967, pp. 50, 51 n. 19; Hartmann, 1970, pp. 105-8, 240; Bellini, 1976a, p. 26, no. 8

GIOVANNI CESARE TESTA
after Pietro Testa

The Prophecy of Basilides

c. 1650

Etching, only state

379 x 741 mm (14¹⁵/₁₆ x 29³/₁₆" (trimmed)

Inscribed in the plate in the lower margin:
*Tito Imperatore andando all'impresa di
Gerusalemme consultò Basilide figlio de Profeti, e
Priore del Monte Carmelo per sapere l'evento della
Guerra, quale le predisse la vittoria contro li hebrei,
esprimendosi, che Iddio sdegnato contro di quelli,
per la morte che havevano dato/ a Christo si
doveva sodisfar la giustizia divina con fulminar
dardi contro Gerusalemme Disegno di Pietro Testa,
la cui pittura originale si conserva in S. Martino di
Monti in Roma. Franc. Petrarca de Vespasiano
ex Suetio, et Tacito./ Pietro Testa delineavit R.mo
Pre G'nle de Carmelitani Gio. Ant.o Filippini
Romano. D.D.D. Franc.cus Collignon Gio. Cesare
Testa Sculpit*

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New
York, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The
Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1951 (51.501.4253)

The life and work of Giovanni Cesare Testa are not well understood. Baldinucci, whose information is not especially accurate, states that he "is said to be Testa's nephew" and that he etched several prints after drawings by Testa.¹ Passeri is more particular when he states that Giovanni Cesare was Testa's nephew on his father's side and that he was born in 1640. He adds that he etched some of his uncle's drawings, faithfully copying his style. Giovanni Cesare died in 1655, after only five years of such work, writes Passeri (thereby implying that the nephew began this work only after his uncle's death), adding that his death was not so worthy of compassion.² Bellini correctly observes that it is impossible for the younger Testa to have executed not only the facsimile prints after Pietro's drawings included in the series published by François Collignon but also several more ambitious works such as this within a fifteen-year lifetime. He was surely born before 1640, but documentation of his career is lacking.³

The Prophecy of Basilides is the first example in the present selection of an etching by Giovanni Cesare after his uncle's work. Although the inscription re-

fers to the "original painting" at San Martino ai Monti in Rome, the print is based on the drawing at Rugby (cat. no. 110) or on another closely related to it. The proportions and delineation of the figures, especially of the Emperor Titus, retain the refinement of the drawing that is lost in the painted version. In translating the drawing to etching Giovanni Cesare has preserved the blocks of simplified shadow, especially evident in the contrast of the horse to the left against the landscape and in the treatment of the clouds, in a way that his uncle would probably have not. When Testa executed *The Symposium* (cat. no. 114), for example, he altered considerably the blocks of shadow that he had laid out in the composition drawing (cat. no. 115). Giovanni Cesare's print should then be seen more as a record of his uncle's drawing than of the painting. This work also provides an important point of departure for the examination of the theory that Giovanni Cesare may have worked on several of Testa's later prints, including "The Prodigal Son" series (cat. nos. 95-98). Pietro's execution of the lines on the plate is never as general and simplified as in this etching, although Baldinucci's view that Giovanni Cesare copied his uncle's style is not without foundation.

In Testa's invention, recorded here with an explanatory inscription, the figure of Justice appears at the altar of Basilides on Mount Carmel. The priest is divining the fate of the Roman warrior to the left, identified in the inscription as the Emperor Titus. Justice points to a vision of the dead Christ supported on a cloud by angels. In a brilliant orb of light behind Christ appears God the Father, who reaches out to the brands that he will inflame against Jerusalem to bring divine Justice against the Jews in retribution for the death of Christ. The theme is then the *Vindicta Salvatoris*, or the Vindication of the Saviour, as both Boase⁴ and Bades⁵ have established. The inscription added by either Giovanni Cesare or his publisher Collignon, who dedicated the print to Giovanni Antonio Filippini (the Carmelite prior of San Martino ai Monti, elected in May 1648, who had commissioned the painting of this subject from Pietro Testa [see cat. no. 110]), explains the story: "The Emperor Titus, as he was going to take Jerusalem, consulted Basilides, the son of Prophets and the prior of Mount Carmel, to learn the outcome of the war; Basilides predicted

that he would be victorious over the Hebrews, explaining that God was angry with them for having killed Christ, and that divine justice had to be satisfied by the fulmination of arrows against Jerusalem."

The inscription refers to the source of the story in Petrarch's *On Vespasian* and in Petrarch's own sources in accounts by Suetonius and Tacitus. Petrarch himself, in his *Rerum memorandum*, does not refer to these sources and describes the event very briefly.⁶ He mentions only that Vespasian, the father of Titus, consulted the oracle on Mount Carmel as he went to war against Jerusalem. This resulted in the prophecy that he would be successful in everything he undertook. Suetonius⁷ tells the same story, and Tacitus, the third source mentioned in the inscription, adds only the name of Basilides.⁸ In his study of the legend, Boase establishes that in 1627 Petrus Saracenus, in his *Menologium Carmelitarum*, substituted Titus for Vespasian and described Basilides as the third general of the Carmelite Order. Because Titus took Jerusalem in A.D. 70, whereas his father had received the augury, Boase describes this rearrangement of the story as "a piece of rationalization."⁹

In a more detailed discussion of the scene painted by Gaspard Dughet in fresco on the wall of San Martino ai Monti and derived from Testa's invention, Bandes has shown why the presence of Titus was so significant and indeed why the story itself was so important to Filippini, the prior-general of the Carmelites, who must have given Testa instructions about the theme he was to represent.¹⁰ The church of San Martino was built on the site of the Baths of Titus. Filippini was general of the Carmelite Order at the height of the controversy over the claim that the Carmelites had been established on Mount Carmel at the time of Elijah in the ninth century B.C. and had existed without interruption through the life of Christ up to the present. Filippini's friend Juan Battista Lezana, assistant prior-general when Testa produced his invention, claims in his history of the order that Basilides was a Carmelite priest and that his oracular statement to Vespasian was evidence that a Christian settlement had existed on Mount Carmel from the time of the Roman Empire, a fact to which, of course, neither Suetonius nor Tacitus refers and that Pope Innocent XII was forced to deny forever in 1698. In this

context Testa's depiction of the scene prophesying the *Vindicta Salvatoris* was intended as a deliberate assertion of the validity of the tradition that the order had indeed been founded by Elijah on Mount Carmel. In one description of the fresco by Dughet after Testa's drawing (or after this print) Lezana writes that it shows the revelation to Titus that he would destroy Jerusalem; in another he reattributes the augury to Vespasian but describes the scene as the story of Titus, conqueror of the Hebrews and of Jerusalem. It is possible, then, that the inscription on Giovanni Cesare's print is not quite accurate. The older figure in the helmet who gazes at the vision of Justice may be Vespasian and the younger man beside the horse, who stretches out his arm in a commanding gesture toward the army, is probably Titus. In either case Testa produced a remarkable invention, vividly expressive of his patron's wishes. Filippini's patience may have been tried over the affair of the frescoes, but it is easy to see why he chose to continue to employ Testa in the production of small paintings of subjects that were appropriate for the decoration of his church.

1. Baldinucci, 1681-1728, p. 320.

2. Passeri, 1679, p. 188.

3. Bellini, 1976a, p. 16.

4. Thomas Sherrer Ross Boase, "A Seventeenth Century Carmelite Legend Based on Tacitus," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 3 (1939-40), pp. 107-18.

5. Susan J. Bandes, "Gaspard Dughet and San Martino ai Monti," *Storia dell'arte*, vol. 26 (1976), pp. 45-60, esp. p. 52.

6. Petrarch, *Rerum memorandum libri*, ed. G. Billanovich (Florence, 1943), bk. 4, chap. 17, pp. 203-4, no. 19. Boase, "Carmelite Legend," p. 113, cites the publication of Petrarch's *De rebus memorandis* in the compilation *Vitae virorum illustrium* (Basel, 1625).

7. Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars*, bk. 8, chap. 5.

8. Tacitus, *The Histories*, bk. 2, chap. 68.

9. Boase, "Carmelite Legend," p. 117.

10. Bandes, "Dughet," pp. 45-48, 51-53.

LITERATURE Sandrart, 1675, p. 293; Baldinucci, 1681-1728, p. 317; Gori Gandellini, 1771, p. 295; Huber, 1799, p. 16; Nagler, 1848, p. 270, no. 7; Le Blanc, 1890, p. 20, no. 9; Mâle, 1932, p. 447; Marabottini, 1954a, pp. 116, 117 n. 2; Sutherland, 1964, pp. 66-69; Harris, 1967, pp. 50, 51 n. 9; Bellini, 1976a, p. 26, no. 8

GIOVANNI CESARE TESTA
after Pietro Testa

The Dead Christ

c. 1650–55

Etching, second state

191 x 251 mm (7½ x 9⅞")

Inscribed in the image in the lower right corner: *PTL Io: Ces: Testa Inc.*; below, in a different script: *Gio Jacomo de Rossi formis Romae alla pace*; above: *Pietro Testa Inv*

Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, Graphische Sammlung, A29487

This composition of the dead Christ mourned by angels at the foot of the cross with the Virgin and a youth standing in the background is intimately related to that of *The Prophecy of Basilides* (see cat. nos. 110 and 111), for the figure of Christ is almost identical. Even closer to the figure in Giovanni Cesare's print is Pietro's life study in red chalk, now in the British Museum (fig. 112a), in which the hands of Christ are more precisely drawn. That the younger Testa was here working closely from a drawing by his uncle, as the inscription indicates, is clear from the way in which he has included the short horizontal lines across Christ's torso that Pietro used in both the *Rugby* (cat. no. 110) and British Museum drawings to mark off the proportions of the figure. The rather clumsy lines delineating the pectoral muscles and the collarbone suggest that he was working from a drawing similar in technique to that in *Rugby*, in which Pietro reinforced the lines of the chalk with pen and ink. A late drawing by Pietro in the Metropolitan Museum of a more conventional Lamentation, with the Virgin supporting the dead Christ at the foot of the cross, suggests that he was planning an etching of this subject near the end of his life.¹ The composition of this etching, in which the Virgin is turned away from the spectator, is so unusual that Giovanni Cesare must have had a complete study by Pietro in hand. The drawing of the foliage in the foreground as well as of the folds of the drapery reveals how closely he could imitate the manner of his uncle. But the modeling of the figures and the schematic clouds, trees, and figures in the back-

ground are also typical of the simplification that characterizes Giovanni Cesare's imitative process and of his own lesser skill as a draughtsman.

1. Bean, 1979, p. 276, no. 363.

LITERATURE Baldinucci, 1681–1728, p. 320; Gori Gandellini, 1771, p. 298; Nagler, 1848, p. 270, no. 5; Le Blanc, 1890, p. 20, no. 4; Harris, 1967, pp. 50, 51 n. 19, pl. 45a; Hartmann, 1970, p. 236; Bellini, 1976a, pp. 21–22, no. 4. Nagler and Bellini cite a first state without the publisher's address.

GIOVANNI CESARE TESTA
after Pietro Testa

An Allegory of the Rest on the Flight into Egypt

c. 1650–55

Etching, second state

210 x 250 mm (8¼ x 9⅓/16") (trimmed)

Inscribed in the image near the lower border: *PTL pinxit. Io: Caesar. Testa Inc.*; in another hand at the left: *Gio: Jacomo de Rossi formis Romae alla Pace*; below, at the lower right: *Pietro Testa inventor*

The National Galleries of Scotland,
Edinburgh, P 2781/48

According to the inscription Giovanni Cesare's etching is after a painting by Testa, but no painting is known. In returning to the theme of the Rest on the Flight, Testa reveals the same interest in allegorizing the story and in consciously using style for exegetical purposes that characterizes the invention he executed for Cassiano dal Pozzo in the later 1630s (cat. no. 25). Christ holds a reed cross, to which the infant John the Baptist points as a reminder that the Way of the Cross began with the Flight. He tramples on the head of the dragon of heresy and evil. The famous debate on the translation of Genesis 3:15, over whether the agent of the conquest of evil was to be female or male, interpreted as either the Virgin or Christ, had been settled by Paul V in an equally well-known statement that the Virgin had trampled on the head of the serpent with the help of her Son.¹ In his *Madonna of the Serpent*, the best known expression of this com-



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Fig. 112a. Pietro Testa, *Study for "The Dead Christ,"* c. 1647. Red chalk on buff paper, bordered in red chalk; 261 x 347 mm (10¼ x 13⅝"). Trustees of the British Museum, London, Fawkener 5210-13



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Fig. 113a. Pietro Testa, *Study for "An Allegory of the Rest on the Flight into Egypt,"* c. 1648. Black chalk with pen and brown ink on white paper, 213 x 258 mm (8 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 10 $\frac{1}{8}$ ""). Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna, 1079, Zweiter Garnitur



Fig. 113b. Pietro Testa, *Study for "An Allegory of the Rest on the Flight into Egypt,"* c. 1648. Red and black chalk reinforced with pen and brown ink on dark beige paper, 202 x 232 mm (7 $\frac{15}{16}$ x 9 $\frac{1}{8}$ ""). Teylers Museum, Haarlem, Ax3

promise (now in the Galleria Borghese in Rome), Caravaggio had shown the Virgin with her foot on the head of the snake and the Child, supported by his mother, adding the delicate weight of his foot to hers.² Testa instead portrays the Child standing alone on the head of the serpent. The Virgin supports him, but there can be no doubt that Testa elected a particular reading of the text not in accordance with the papal bull. Mâle has seen evidence for Protestant sentiments in such selective representations.³ In Testa's case, however, this would provide the only such evidence, and the reason for his deliberate choice of this interpretation of the image remains unclear. It may be that he was seeking to combine this image with another, a key to which is provided by the relief on the tomb to the right in the print, showing Hercules killing the hydra.⁴ The Pseudo-Matthew tells the story of how Christ tamed the dragons who came out of the cave beside which he sat in his mother's lap as they rested on the Flight.⁵

The fallen sculpture to the left—a reference to another story in the Gospel of the Pseudo-Matthew, which describes how all the idols in the temple in Sotinen fell down when Christ and his mother entered—is shown as the fragment of an ancient torso.⁶ In his earlier allegory of the flight (cat. no. 25) Testa adopted the lyrical style of the work of Poussin and Duquesnoy to emphasize the sweet melancholy of the embrace of the cross by the infant Christ. Like Poussin, Testa developed a more severe style in the 1640s, and here the main figures are themselves arranged in a planar relief. By adopting this manner and incorporating pieces of ancient sculpture, he also provides a commentary on the subject: With the beginning of Christ's Passion on the Flight the gods of the ancient world were vanquished.

This etching provides further evidence of Giovanni Cesare's lack of skill in drawing on the plate, especially in the treatment of the figures and drapery. The composition drawing by Testa (fig. 113a), now in the Albertina, also appears clumsy in these particular areas, but this is because he has used the technique so often found in his late drawings of reinforcing the soft chalk drawing with contours in ink. A comparison of the head of the dragon, the figure of Joseph, and the angel with the donkey in the background in the drawing with the same details

in the print shows how superficially Giovanni Cesare translated Pietro's working drawing into etching. Another related drawing by Pietro in the Teylers Museum (fig. 113b) stands at a greater distance from the final work. The figures have also been blocked out in chalk and then reinforced with ink, as in the drawings for San Martino ai Monti (cat. nos. 107–9) and *The Prophecy of Basilides* (cat. no. 110). *An Allegory of the Flight into Egypt* provides another record, therefore, of one of Testa's very late, unfinished inventions on a religious theme.

1. Mâle, 1932, pp. 38–41.
2. See Walter Friedlaender, *Caravaggio Studies* (Princeton, 1955), pp. 191–95. For a reproduction of the painting see *ibid.*, cat. no. 27, pl. 37.
3. Mâle, 1932, p. 40.
4. Hartmann, 1970, p. 121, notes that the relief is directly derived from an antique marble discovered in Rome around 1620.
5. *The Apocryphal New Testament . . .*, ed. and trans. Montague Rhodes James (Oxford, 1960), pp. 74–75, XVIII.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 75, XXIII.

PREPARATORY DRAWINGS 1. Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna, 1079, Zweiter Garnitur. See fig. 113a. Inscribed by the artist in black chalk on the step below the figures: *ecce AGNUS DEI*; by another hand in pen and brown ink: *PTL*; in red chalk: *Joannes Caes Testa incidit*.
2. Teylers Museum, Haarlem, Ax3. See fig. 113b.

LITERATURE Baldinucci, 1681–1728, p. 320; Gori Gandellini, 1771, p. 298; Nagler, 1848, p. 270, no. 3; Le Blanc, 1890, p. 20, no. 3; Hartmann, 1970, p. 236; Bellini, 1976a, pp. 20–21, no. 3, cites a first state without a publisher's address

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The Symposium

1648

Bartsch 18; Bellini 38

Etching with drypoint, second state

260 x 386 mm (10¹/₄ x 15³/₁₆")

Inscribed in the image on the tablet in the upper left: *Vina, dapes onerant/ animos Sapientia/ nutrit.*; in the cartello in the lower left: *Illustrissimo, atque Ornatiss. D.D. FABRITIO CELLESIO Equiti S. Stephani/ In symposio de Amore disserentes, te Virtutis amantem, vocant Convivam./ Ars mea muta est; tuas*

recitabit laudes, sive Socrates, sive Alcibiades.
Vale./ T.D. additissimus Petrus Testa. 1648; in
pen and ink in the lower left corner: *B18;* in
pencil in the lower left corner: *1374*

Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz,
Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (West), 353-21

In 1648, quite exceptionally, Testa signed and dated two prints—*The Symposium* and *The Suicide of Cato* (cat. no. 116). They both illustrate highly philosophical subjects derived from his reading of ancient authors and introduce the last phase in the artist's short career, in which he turned to new narrative techniques and employed a new scale and size to produce images that are rigorously classical.

The only earlier representation known to the author of the scene from Plato's *Symposium*, his dialogue on ideal love, in which the beautiful Alcibiades interrupts the discourse of the seven orators,¹ is a drawing by Rubens from the very beginning of the seventeenth century that Testa could not have seen.² Testa's choice of the subject was based on his own reading of the dialogues, which he cites frequently in the Düsseldorf Notebook.³ All the knowledge he had gained from his reading and from his study of antiquity is here brought together to produce an extraordinarily original invention.

The friends of Socrates have gathered in Agathon's house for a banquet. A group on the right reclines on a triclinium beside a goat-footed table in a scene whose construction is closely related to Poussin's *Penance* and *The Eucharist* (both now owned by the Duke of Sutherland and on loan to the National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh) from his second series of *The Seven Sacraments*, painted for Fréart de Chantelou in 1646–47.⁴ Testa has glossed his reading of Plato with details from Xenophon's *Symposium* by showing the lute player, the dancing boy, and the girl with a hoop, who are all there described, banished to the courtyard through the arch in the background.⁵ Among the men gathered in the foreground Pausanias's proposal to limit drinking has been accepted and the wine has been removed so that the diners may devote themselves to their encomia on love: As the inscription on the wall states, "the grape weighs down banquets, Wisdom nourishes the soul." Each in turn delivers his encomium on Love, with Socrates speaking last. Agathon, who speaks just before Soc-



Fig. 114a. Pietro Testa, *Study for Alcibiades in "The Symposium," with Related Detail Studies and a Female Head*, 1648. Black chalk on dirty buff paper, laid down; 342 x 184 mm (13½ x 7¼"). Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, 57415

rates, describes Love as the most beautiful of the gods, supple and elegant, temperate and valorous. He is the inspirer of all creation, whether by the Muses, Hephaestus, Pallas (whose image appears in the courtyard behind), or Zeus. Socrates then takes up the challenge to outdo him and proceeds to describe Love as the passionate desire for the beautiful, the Idea, pursued through equally passionate intellectual and social discourse. Then follows Socrates' famous account of the priestess Diotima's description of Eros, the child of Poros and Penia, or Resource and Need. At this moment the beautiful, drunken Alcibiades enters, carrying a garland of violets and ivy to give to Agathon, but with which he eventually crowns Socrates. He proceeds



to give his own satirical encomium of Socrates as the wise fool, the true philosopher.

Testa shows the moment of Alcibiades' arrival, portraying him as a naked, ideally beautiful figure with the graceful proportions of the Belvedere *Antinous* (see fig. 11-o) and the sensual, sinuous curves of a sculpture by Duquesnoy that embody Agathon's description of the god of love. Agathon, the host of the symposium and Alcibiades' lover, here portrayed with the features of Homer to convey the idea of the genius of poetry inspired by beauty, turns toward this apparition of perfection. Several of the other symposiasts react with amazement. Socrates, however, continues his speech. Testa depicts Socrates as a Silenus, in accordance

with traditional portrayals of the philosopher, but more importantly in accordance with the description that Alcibiades is about to give of him in the closing speech of *The Symposium*. This contrast between the beautiful Alcibiades and the ugly Socrates, with Agathon presented as the middle term, all articulated entirely through their physical appearances, is the medium through which Testa expresses his interpretation of the Socratic dialogue. Socrates speaks of love as the desire for the beautiful and the good that leads to the truth. Alcibiades, the object of his desire, embodies in his gracefully beautiful form the origin of that discourse. Alcibiades himself, on the other hand, describes as a paradox Socrates' resistance to his attempts to seduce him

by his physical beauty, which in the end the philosopher cares nothing about, and the way in which Socrates' exterior ugliness masks the beauty of the object of another kind of desire that he, Alcibiades, in turn finds seductive—the desire for philosophical truth. This paradoxical opposition between the physical beauty of appearances that may inspire virtue and the concealed beauty of philosophy, which in the end, as Alcibiades states, provides the true image of virtue between the beloved and the lover, is mediated in the dialogue, as in Testa's invention, by the figure of Agathon. Agathon is beloved by Alcibiades; Alcibiades is in turn beloved by Socrates and, despite his words, he seems also still to love Socrates in return. In his encomium Socrates describes love as a mean, neither beautiful nor ugly, neither good nor bad, neither immortal nor mortal. Citing the words of Diotima he claims that it is the office of every poet and every artist to beget Wisdom and her sister virtues, and he places the fatherhood of the creation of objects of immortal beauty above merely mortal procreation. Agathon has already described love as the inspiration of poetry. What is presented in Plato's dialogue, and underlined by the argument over the seating arrangement for the final eulogies, is the eternal triangle between philosophy, beauty, and poetry, which Socrates, Alcibiades, and Agathon represent in Testa's image through their identification with Silenus, the *Antinous*, and Homer, respectively. Poetry gazes adoringly at Beauty, whose virtues are sung by Philosophy, and Beauty in turn praises Philosophy, although without the adoration it bestows on Poetry that makes it immortal.

Testa's carefully worded Latin inscription, in this case surely of a piece with the invention, adds a further twist. He describes his patron Fabrizio Cellesio as a companion of the symposiasts. His own art, Painting, or the visual arts in the general sense, is mute. Thus either Alcibiades, the beautiful lover of philosophy, or Socrates, the philosopher who loves beauty, must sing the praises of Cellesio's virtues, for unlike the poet Homer, presented in the figure of Agathon, Testa cannot. On the vase in the foreground this witty comment is further emblemized. A winged putto, his torch pointing downward, gazes up to heaven as he conquers a little satyr: The love of divine truth thus conquers the earthly passions that Alcibiades speaks of. And

yet we remember that it is that very present physical beauty of an Alcibiades, or the beauty of appearances presented by art, that initiates the Socratic path. Does philosophy then truly overcome physical beauty? Will Socrates the philosopher or Alcibiades the supple, perfect beauty sing the praises of Cellesio? Testa's art is silent and will not reply, and so in a final paradox he shows a winged cupid making the gesture that characterizes Harpocrates, god of silence, as he places his finger to his lips.

Testa's image is a highly sophisticated invention about the enigma of using a silent image to illustrate the eloquence of discourse, the paradoxical relationship between the image of the ugly philosopher who speaks of beauty, and the beautiful image of perfect gracefulness that may appear to speak for itself but in fact must defer to philosophy. As he so firmly argues in his own notes on painting in Düsseldorf, only the Idea was true for Testa. Beautiful appearances, like that of Alcibiades, are virtuous only if they lead to the truth, the truth of the discourse spoken by Socrates. The beauty of poetry, portrayed in silent painting by the figure of Homer-Agathon, and of silent painting itself, is only true when inspired by the desire for virtue and for the good that the Socratic dialogue between the object of desire—Alcibiades, or the beautiful work of art—and the lover—Socrates, or the discursive spectator—produces. In this complex image Testa thus meditates on the capacity of beauty or philosophy to sing the praises of virtue and on the relationship between silent painting and the eloquence of poetry in their mutual pursuit of beauty and truth.⁶

1. Plato, *Symposium*, lines 195–213.

2. Elizabeth McGrath, "The Drunken Alcibiades: Rubens's Picture of Plato's *Symposium*," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 46 (1983), pp. 228–35. McGrath suggests a date of 1601–2 for Rubens's drawing, which is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (see *ibid.*, pl. 42), and also discusses Testa's print.

3. For Testa's reading of the translation of Plato's works by Dardi Bembo, published in Venice in 1601, see Cropper, 1984, pp. 234–38, nos. 55–57.C.

4. Blunt, 1966, cat. nos. 114 and 115; Blunt, 1967, pls. 157 and 159; Thuillier, 1974, p. 103, nos. 143 and 145.

5. Xenophon, *Symposium*, bk. 2, sec. 1–2, 7–16, 22–24. See also McGrath, "Alcibiades," p. 233.

6. In this sense the print is closely related to the lost painting of *Homer at the Tomb of Achilles* (Cropper, 1980b,

p. 264, pl. 39), which represents the moment at which the poet is blinded by his vision of the whole universe in a single moment, without the intervention of discursive reasoning, and by which means his poetry is possessed of the truth. A painting, recently discovered by Alessandra Ottieri, representing *Augustus at the Tomb of Alexander* and possibly a pendant to the painting of Homer, provides a different kind of commentary on the virtue of Greek art. After being shown Alexander's tomb, the emperor was asked if he would like to see the tombs of the pharaohs. His response, recorded by Suetonius, that he did not wish to see dead men, would have been interpreted by Testa as a comment on the difference between the ideal beauty of Greek art and the unchanging art of the Egyptians that did not require judgment on the part of the artist, to which he refers through a note to Plato's *Laws* in the Düsseldorf Notebook (Cropper, 1984, pp. 235-36, no. 56).

PREPARATORY DRAWINGS 1. Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Paris, 1902. See cat. no. 115. 2. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, 5741S. See fig. 114a. Inscribed in pen and brown ink: *P. Testa*. 3. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, 7296F. Study in the reverse sense for the figure of Alcibiades. Pen and brown ink over black chalk on cream paper. Squared in black chalk. 264 x 181 mm (10³/₈ x 7¹/₈"). Inscribed in pen and brown ink in the lower left corner: *Pietro Testa*.

LITERATURE Baldinucci, 1681-1728, p. 319; Gori Gandellini, 1771, p. 295; Huber, 1799, p. 15; Gori Gandellini and De Angelis, 1813, p. 122; Bartsch, 1820, p. 220, no. 18; Nagler, 1848, p. 266, no. 18; Petrucci, 1936, p. 416; Marabottini, 1954a, p. 133; Harris, 1967, pp. 36-37, 45, 50 n. 18, and pl. 40a; Hartmann, 1970, p. 230; Schleier, 1970, p. 666; Bellini, 1976b, pp. 66-67, no. 38; Brigstocke, 1976, p. 23; Cropper, 1984, p. 61 and fig. 80

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Composition Study for "The Symposium"

1648

Pen and brown ink over black and red chalk with gray-brown wash on prepared pinkish paper. Some lines possibly incised. Laid down with a center fold. A small hole near the lower right edge. A small mend near the center of the lower edge.

269 x 414 mm (10⁹/₁₆ x 16¹/₄")

Inscribed at the center of the lower edge with the paraph of Robert de Cotte (1656-1735; Lugt 1964)

Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, Cabinet de Dessins, Paris, 1902

For several of Testa's later prints (including *Achilles Dragging the Body of Hector Around the Walls of Troy* [see cat. no. 122]), highly finished *modelli* such as this survive. The drawing is almost identical with the print (cat. no. 114), down to the pools of shadow and the decoration of the vase; only the inscription is left incomplete, and the extended line of Alcibiades' drapery reveals that Testa was still concerned with cutting the composition at exactly the right point.

The drawing is not squared, and the possible traces of incision (which may be lines drawn with the hard point of a chalk) are few. It seems likely, therefore, that the sheet was intended to give a potential patron a perfect idea of the composition that would be etched and was not used as a working drawing. At the same time, the relationship between Testa's drawings and prints is so close that one is tempted to see the etching itself as a record of this perfect image, in which delicacy of line and bold chiaroscuro combine in the presentation of an invention so richly ornamented and yet so tightly organized that it is more closely associated with the paintings of Poussin than with the tradition of etching. Might Testa have hoped to be commissioned to paint rather than to etch the image?

PROVENANCE L. T. de Montarcy (1650-1700; Lugt 1821); acquired for the Cabinet du Roi at the 1712 sale of his collection

LITERATURE Bean, 1959, pp. 34-35, no. 52; Harris, 1967, pp. 37, 50 n. 18, 51 n. 19, 52 n. 31, and pl. 406; Hartmann, 1970, p. 239; Bellini, 1976b, p. 67, under no. 38; Musée du Louvre, 1988, pp. 112-13, no. 142

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The Suicide of Cato

1648

Bartsch 20; Bellini 39

Etching with drypoint, first state

276 x 411 mm (10⁷/₈ x 16³/₁₆") (trimmed)

Inscribed in the image in the rectangle in the lower right corner: *Sic fortitudinis, Cato; aeternum praebes monumentum; qui/ turpe vitae praecium servitutum existimans, plus ad liber =/*



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tatem, quam ad mortem viscera aperuisti. Quid gladi = /um aufertis libertatis adsertorem? ecce manus/ vindex gloriosam manumittit animam. Sileant [Sileant?] in = /anes fletus: generosus Cato non interijt, nichil/ egit fortuna, Virtus semper in tuto est./ P. Testa 1648

Trustees of the British Museum, London, 1925-12-15-116

The Suicide of Cato is the second of the two prints with carefully worded inscriptions that Testa signed and dated in 1648. Both this image and *The Symposium* (cat. no. 114) are dedicated to the invocation of virtue, and in both Testa examines the problematic character of his own medium—the visual expression of hidden truth. Whereas *The Symposium* derives from his reading of Plato, *The Suicide of Cato* relies upon his understanding of Aristotle and not only on the source of the story in Plutarch's *Life of Cato the Younger*.

Passeri states that in order to unburden himself of the afflictions of Fortune, Testa set out to produce a series of twelve prints devoted to the life of Cato, completing only four. Passeri doubtless confuses Cato with Achilles, however, for we have three designs of scenes from the life of the latter (cat. nos. 118, 120, and 121) and only this one from the story of the Roman Stoic philosopher Cato the Younger. After describing the scene depicted here, which shows Cato eviscerating himself rather than lose his liberty, Passeri adds that Testa found in the events of Cato's life parallels with his own misfortunes. In this he is surely correct, for at this moment in 1648 Testa documents his own meditations on virtuous suicide.

By his death Cato upheld the virtue of the middle path in political life. Testa had already celebrated this virtuous mean in *Il Liceo della Pittura* (cat. no. 41) through the figures of Aristotle, Public Felicity,

and Ethics. The kind of constitutional government for which Cato died had been defined by Aristotle in *Politics* as a government in which power resided chiefly in men of the middle rank.¹ Under such a republic rich and poor would never forget their natural antipathies and unite against the mean. Cato himself would neither submit to his political antagonist Caesar's magnanimity at the cost of having his principles put to the advantage of a tyrant nor accept punishment from Caesar as an enemy. He refused, that is to say, either extreme of pleasure or pain offered by tyranny. Instead he embraced the absolute mean of fortitude (*Sic fortitudinis, Cato*), which is given first place in the list of the cardinal virtues in Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* because it moderates those *affetti*, or "emotions," that concern actions.

Aristotle condemned suicide as an escape from evil, but Testa's presentation of the death of Cato as an *exemplum fortitudinis*, or "example of fortitude," is not inconsistent with his reading of the *Nicomachean Ethics*. Testa read Bernardo Segni's commentary to his Italian edition of Aristotle's text, published in 1550, as closely as he did the translation. Segni first strengthens Aristotle's argument by recalling that Saint Augustine condemned not only those who sought death as an escape from love or poverty but also those who, like Cato or Lucretia, appeared to have taken their lives for the most honorable of principles; however, he then cites Dante's affirmation of Cato's suicide in the *Purgatorio* and the traditional approval accorded Lucretia by poets and historians.²

To Segni's ambivalence Testa adds a Stoic understanding of the virtue of seeking liberty in death. Sandrart characterizes Testa as a "shy Stoic,"³ and the inscription on the etching points to the Stoic texts from which he drew inspiration for his image of Cato and for his own final act. In his letter *On Despising Death* (Epistle 24), Seneca, himself a Stoic and a suicide, records Cato's last words before falling on his sword: "*Nihil, inquit egisti, fortuna, omnibus conatibus meis obstando. Non pro mea adhuc sed pro patriae libertate pugnavi, nec agebam tanta pertinacia, ut liber, sed ut inter liberos viverem. Nunc quoniam deploratae sunt res generis humani, Cato deducatur in tutum.*"⁴ The italicized phrases are all reformulated in Testa's inscription, which must have been composed for him by a careful and sym-

pathetic collaborator. Furthermore, the question in the inscription, "Quid gladium aufertis libertatis adsertorem?," is an allusion to the exclamation in another of Seneca's letters, *On Groundless Fears* (Epistle 13): "Catoni gladium adsertorem libertatis extorque: magnam partem dextraxeris gloriae."⁵

The mathematical tablet that lies beside Cato's couch identifies Testa's reading of a further Stoic text, Plutarch's *Life of Cato the Younger*. According to Plutarch it was the clatter of this tablet, overturned by the hero in his agony, that alerted his family, friends, and servants outside the chamber to his action. It appears here not just as an ornament to display the artist's erudition, but also because it lies at the heart of the drama: The reaction of the figures who have rushed to Cato's bedside is as much the theme of the print as the suicide itself.

The arithmetical mean diagrammed in the ratio of 6:12 on the tablet expresses Cato's embrace of the absolute mean in his virtuous action. Juxtaposed to his fortitude, on the other hand, is the extravagant display of fear and anguish that so deforms the features of the onlookers. In a note about the expression of the *affetti* preserved in the Düsseldorf Notebook, Testa writes that Cato killed himself to escape from the tyranny of Caesar and that it was wrong to show him suffering as he did so, adding that this was also true for "Dido and the others" — that is to say, of any scene of virtuous suicide.⁶ In *The Suicide of Cato* Testa demonstrates his mastery of the expression of the extremes of the *affetti* as a means of condemning them: "Let useless weeping be silenced."

Throughout his career, from the early print of *The Martyrdom of Saint Erasmus* (cat. nos. 5 and 6), through such examinations of the rhetoric of gesture as those recorded in the sheet of figure studies in Haarlem (cat. no. 45), to the representation of the passions as the consequence of mortal existence in "The Seasons" (cat. nos. 74–83), Testa investigated techniques for the expression of the *affetti*. But in this story of Cato's death persuasive representation itself is rendered problematic through the contrast between the virtue of fortitude and irrational passion. The artist's ability to convey the passions is what endows his figures with a sense of verity and accuracy, eliciting in the spectator empathy without deception. According to Aristotle's theory of tragedy, however, which Testa is examining here,



such power to evoke a response must also be used to direct the spectator to a state of virtuous balance through catharsis and not simply to an extravagant and debasing expense of spirit. One way in which Testa succeeds in this is by representing Cato through the figure of the ancient sculpture of *Laocoon* (see fig. 11-n) that had come to stand for heroic suffering in modern times.⁷

By contrasting in this way the heroism of Cato with the grief of his supporters, presenting him in a manner that Lessing would have approved of,⁸ as a noble *Laocoon* whose cry does not pierce the heavens, Testa makes the problem of the expression of the *affetti* part of his conceit. This quality distinguishes his late works from those paintings by Poussin from the later 1640s, especially the second series of *The Seven Sacraments* for Fréart de Chantelou,⁹ which they closely resemble in other re-

spects. In his historical narratives Poussin shows every participant reacting to the main event in ways that clarify the spectator's reading of the subject. Testa, on the other hand, even as he revealed the paradox of the artist's representation of beauty as an expression of invisible philosophical truth in illustrating Plato's *Symposium*, here advertises the paradoxical nature of the rhetoric of Aristotelian tragedy by which the spectator is moved to a state of virtue through the catharsis that powerful visual expression produces.

A sheet of studies of violently expressive heads in Montpellier (fig. 116a), very closely related to those of Cato's followers in this etching, helps to clarify our understanding of Testa's complex view of the moral foundation of his art as well as of his approach to the expressive power of drawing at this moment in his life.¹⁰ The studies fall somewhere



Fig. 116a. Pietro Testa, *Studies of Expression*, c. 1648. Pen and brown ink over black chalk on cream paper, 160 x 254 mm (6 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 10"). Musée Fabre, Montpellier, 864-2-254 (L. 870)



Fig. 116b. Pietro Testa, *Composition Study for "The Resurrection of Christ,"* c. 1648. Pen and brown ink over black chalk on cream paper, 486 x 337 mm (19 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 13 $\frac{1}{4}$ ") (arched at the top). National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fund, B-33,655

between the categories of caricature and natural expression, and it is in this that their originality lies.¹¹ The artist's inscriptions provide important clues to his purpose in making them. The first line reads, "Virtue concerns pleasure and pain," and the last, "the two extremes, one of pleasure, the other of pain." Beneath the latter appears one of Testa's cryptic hieroglyphs, very like that he devised for Poetry and Painting in the study for *The Triumph of Painting on Parnassus* in Frankfurt (fig. 73a). Here the left side of a Janus head stands for the ugliness of pain, the right side for the beauty of pleasure. As in the inscription on the sheet of studies of expression in Haarlem (cat. no. 45), Testa has derived this definition of Virtue from his reading of Segni's translation of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*. In book 2, chapter 3, Aristotle states that because it is acquired rather than innate, the habit of moral virtue must be inculcated in the young from an early age. They must be trained to be pleased and disappointed by the correct things, for, in Segni's Italian version that Testa paraphrases, "Virtue has to do with pleasures and with pains." According to Aristotle pleasure and pain are the poles of the emotions, or *affetti* (Testa's *dui termini [sic]*), between which man is moved and from which follow the whole catalogue of human emotions—desire, anger, hatred, fear, envy, passion—those same emotions over which Testa shows Painting victorious in *The Triumph of Painting* (cat. no. 73). Virtue and the *affetti* are, however, closely bound together, Aristotle continues, for virtue itself is a qualitative mean between these extremes of passion and not an absolute absence of emotion. In choosing to show the virtue of Cato's suicide Testa demonstrated his understanding of the moral habit that avoids these extremes of pleasure and pain.¹²

Aristotle's view that to be caught up in extreme emotion is a kind of deformation of the soul carries with it the implication that the outward expression of emotion by the body is also deforming. If submission to such passion is habitual, the body as well as the soul will become permanently distorted. This theory that the passions inscribe their physical marks was developed in studies of physiognomy in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. It provided the foundation for the new art of caricature invented by the Carracci, at which Testa's teacher Domenichino was a master and which Testa himself also

explored in the informal studies he added to one of his drawings for *Sinorix Carried from the Temple of Artemis* (cat. no. 58). Out of this tradition also came the theory underlying the system for the direct communicability of passions through the lines of drawing developed by Charles Le Brun in his *Méthode pour apprendre à dessiner les passions* (Paris, 1698). That Testa was seeking to explore the very principles of expression in a similar way, perhaps in the course of preparing for the treatise on the passions he planned to write, serves to explain the reductive, apparently clumsy lines of the Montpellier heads.

Testa's intention in such drawings was to achieve a cryptic vocabulary for the expression of the *affetti*. The entire freight of this expression is carried by line alone. In learning to use a charged line to convey the marks left upon the face by the deformities of the soul caught up by passion in such an exaggerated way, Testa was moving toward a form of caricature. This is especially true of the two heads in the upper left corner of the Montpellier sheet. Those below, on the other hand, more closely resemble the sort of character studies of emotion developed by Le Brun. The drawings of ideally beautiful female heads on the verso provide a third term in Testa's analysis of character. They illustrate the reverse of the deformities caused by expression in a way that recalls Annibale Carracci's famous remark that just as there was an idea of perfect beauty, so too was there an idea of perfect ugliness.¹³ True, virtuous character, Testa might have added, lies in between.

The second inscription on the Montpellier drawing is particularly closely linked to the theme of republican virtue as defined by Aristotle that Testa explored in *The Suicide of Cato*. In a cynical and bitter mood he characterizes the weakness of two extremes of government—that of the democratically elected prince and that of the tyrant, the latter very often the result of the degeneration of the former. The affections of the people are first captured through demagoguery and then their bodies are enslaved through tyranny, or, as Testa so rudely expressed it, the democratic prince rapes the people frontally, while the tyrant takes them from the rear.

Both *The Symposium* and *The Suicide of Cato* are presented by Testa as carefully constructed historical tableaux in which costume, architecture, and furnishings all contribute to a convincing image of

antiquity, and it is in this that Testa comes closest to Poussin's thoroughly researched depictions of *The Sacraments*. Testa also shares with Poussin an interest in the science of optics and especially in the geometrical projection of shadows. This is vividly apparent in both of the prints produced in 1648. His desire to exploit the chiaroscuro effects achievable through etching to describe the natural phenomena of light as part of the invention is not new, for in "The Seasons" he had varied the effect of lines and shadows to endow the image with a sense of time. *The Symposium* is set in the bright light of day; the shadow on the wall at the right indicates that the sun has passed its height, but the figures to the left and the vase in the foreground all project strong shadows. In *The Suicide of Cato* Testa follows Poussin's example, most perfectly expressed in *The Eucharist* (now at Belvoir Castle) from the first series of *The Sacraments*, by undertaking to express the projection of shadows created by artificial light.¹⁴ He has drawn and hatched every shadow in a rational way, from the shadow of Cato's right forearm and clenched fist onto the drapery around his bed, to that of the tassel and cord attached to the leg of the bed, to the darker shadow of the figure in the center foreground, which is distorted as it falls across the mathematical tablet lying on the floor. In this portrayal of Stoic fortitude every detail is made to conform to the principles of reason founded on the observation of nature.¹⁵

1. For references to the texts cited here, see Cropper, 1974a, pp. 378–82.
2. Aristotle, 1550, bk. 3, chap. 7, pp. 148–49.
3. Sandrart, 1675, p. 288.
4. "Fortune, you have accomplished nothing by resisting all my endeavours. I have fought, till now, for my country's freedom, and not for my own, I did not strive so doggedly to be free, but only to live among the free. Now, since the affairs of mankind are beyond hope, let Cato be withdrawn to safety" (Seneca, *Ad Lucilium epistulae morales*, trans. Richard M. Gummere [Cambridge, Mass., 1961], vol. 1, pp. 169, 171).
5. "Wrench from Cato's hand his sword, the vindicator of liberty, and you deprive him of the greatest share of his glory" (*ibid.*, p. 83).
6. Cropper, 1984, p. 264, no. 68.
7. See Charles Dempsey, "The Greek Style and the Prehistory of Neoclassicism," above.
8. Gotthold Ephraim Lessing analyzed the relationship

between poetry and the visual arts in his *Laokoon*, published in 1766.

9. Now owned by the Duke of Sutherland and on loan to the National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh. See Blunt, 1966, cat. nos. 112–18; Blunt, 1967, pls. 154–60; Thuillier, 1974, p. 103, nos. 140–46.

10. Inscribed by the artist in pen and brown ink: *virtù intorno al piacere e' al dolore/ i dui termini l'uno del piacere l'altro del dolore*; in pen and a darker brown ink: *il prencipe eletto fotte in fica li stati/ il tira[n]no li buggora*. On the verso are studies in red chalk of ideal female heads and male profiles. For this and another related drawing, also at Montpellier (Musée Fabre, 864–2–256 [L.872]), see Cropper, 1974a, pp. 378–82, figs. 21 and 22. See also Vitzthum, 1971, p. 89 and fig. 19.

11. Similarly extravagant expressions of grief also distort the faces of the Apostles in Testa's composition for *The Resurrection of Christ*, for which he made several preliminary drawings. The most complete is that now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (fig. 116b). This was produced in facsimile in the *Raccolta di diversi disegni*, for which see Speciale, 1977, p. 23, no. 13. A second drawing, in the reverse sense, now in a private collection in Stuttgart, is published by D. Frey, "Eine Zeichnung von Pietro Testa," in *Variae Formae Veritas Una: Kunsthistorische Studien: Festschrift für Friedrich Gerke* (Baden-Baden, 1962), pp. 185–88, fig. 1. Pen and brown ink on cream paper. 450 x 325 mm (17³/₄ x 12¹³/₁₆"); arched at the top. A third, also in the reverse sense to that in Washington, is in the Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (West), 15304. Pen and ink over black chalk with three shades of brown wash on cream paper. Approximately 425 x 287 mm (16³/₄ x 11⁵/₁₆"); also arched at the top.

12. In the *Resurrection* drawings described above the violent weeping of the Apostles is countered by the figure of the risen Christ. When they hear the news from the three Marys they will be forced to cease their grieving, for it too will be without virtue.

13. Denis Mahon, *Studies in Seicento Art and Theory* (London, 1947), pp. 260–63.

14. Blunt, 1966, cat. no. 106; Blunt, 1967, pl. 131; Thuillier, 1974, p. 99, no. 112.

15. It was precisely this quality of illumination that was sacrificed when Testa's design was clumsily adapted, probably by Bernardino Gentili, for an image in faience. For this, and for the popularity of Testa's prints among eighteenth-century ceramic artists, see Bertrand Jestaz, "Les modèles de la majolique historiée, 11: xvii^e et xviii^e siècles," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 115th year, 6th ser., vol. 81, no. 1249 (February 1973), p. 120. Wildenstein, 1982, p. 50, cites the sale of a *Death of Cato* attributed to Testa in the Parizeau sale, March 26, 1789, lots 3, 4, but no painting is known.



LITERATURE Passeri, 1679, p. 188; Balducci, 1681–1728, p. 319; Gori Gandellini, 1771, p. 295; Huber, 1787, p. 334; Huber, 1799, p. 15; Bartsch, 1820, p. 220, no. 20; Nagler, 1848, p. 266, no. 20; Le Blanc, 1890, p. 20, no. 19; Petrucci, 1936, p. 419 n. 29; Harris, 1967, pp. 37, 45, 48 and pl. 43; Hartmann, 1970, pp. 22, 111–13, 229; Thiem, 1970, p. 82; Cropper, 1974a, pp. 378–82, fig. 22; Bellini, 1976b, pp. 67–68, no. 39; Brigstocke, 1978, p. 124; Cropper, 1984, pp. 61–64, 119, 128, 134, 174, 264, and fig. 79

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*Alexander the Great Saved
from the River Cydnus*

c. 1648–50

Oil on canvas

96.5 x 137 cm (38 x 53¹⁵/₁₆"

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New
York, Gift of Eula M. Ganz in memory of
Paul H. Ganz, 1987 (1987.75)

The story of Alexander the Great's nearly fatal swim in the frigid waters of the River Cydnus in Cilicia is told by Quintus Curtius Rufus in his *History of Alexander*.¹ In the middle of a hot summer day, covered in dust and sweat, the warrior took off his clothes within sight of his army and plunged into the river. Immediately his limbs went rigid, and all the warmth of life was drained from his body. His servants lifted him from the river as if he were dying and took him to his tent. There was great mourning in the camp over the fact that the greatest king of all times had been taken from them, not by the enemy but while he was bathing; Darius, the king of Persia, would thus be victorious without a battle. When he recovered some of his strength, Alexander too raged that he would have to suffer an ignoble and obscure death in his tent rather than win a mighty victory, and he pleaded for a swift cure to be found, saying that he would rather die immediately than recover slowly. Alexander was cured by his physician Philip and went on to victory.

The subject of Testa's painting, like those of so many of his late works, is without precedent. Against a brilliantly lit landscape are silhouetted the dark rocks on which the River Cydnus sits. The bold chiaroscuro, which led Spike to describe this as a drawing in oil, is very like the effect that Testa achieves in his late etchings (for example, cat. nos. 116 and 121). The gleaming body of Alexander, his fist clenched rigidly, is pulled from the icy waters by his servants. In front of the tent on the bank to the right, one soldier holds Alexander's faithful piebald horse and another clasps his helmet. Two others rush into the water, their arms stretched out and their faces blazing with horror. The contrast between the helpless paralysis of Alexander and the reaction of his men to the tragedy that has come so suddenly in the shade of a hot summer day is the true theme of Testa's image. The parallel with *The Suicide of Cato* (cat. no. 116) is obvious, only here the moral is reversed. Violently emotional reaction was appropriate to Alexander's unsought suffering.

Alexander the Great Saved from the River Cydnus and *Aeneas on the Bank of the River Styx* (cat. no. 127), the second great work from Testa's final years, both introduce the theme of death and a river. Whether these extraordinary works were commissioned by a patron, it is impossible to separate their subjects from Testa's own end in the waters of the Tiber.

1. Quintus Curtius Rufus, *History of Alexander*, bk. 3, chaps. 5–6.

PROVENANCE Castelbarco-Albani Collection, Italy

LITERATURE Schleier, 1970, p. 668 n. 52; Brigstocke, 1976, pp. 16, 19, and fig. 34; John T. Spike, *Italian Baroque Paintings from New York Collections* (Princeton, 1980 [exhibition, The Art Museum, Princeton University, April 27–September 7, 1980]), p. 118, no. 47

118–22

“Scenes from the Life of Achilles”

Testa's project to devote a series of images to the story of Achilles, child of the Nereid Thetis and her mortal husband Peleus, of which three were invented shortly before his death, is an unusual one. Around 1650 Poussin painted his first version of the single scene of *Achilles Among the Daughters of Lycomedes* (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston),¹ but the only comparably ambitious project for a series is

that undertaken by Rubens for tapestries, probably between 1630 and 1635.² Testa did not know Rubens's sketches, and his own inventions are entirely new. The story of the life of this demigod, the king of the Myrmidons, had been illustrated in antiquity, and Testa surely knew the fourth-century A.D. relief then preserved in Santa Maria in Aracoeli in Rome (now in the Museo Capitolino in that city), in which several of the scenes he illustrated appear.³ Testa's densely packed inventions, however, in which the ultimate fate of the hero is anticipated from the very beginning, owe more to his study of the compositional principles of ancient reliefs in general and to his interpretation of their figural style than to any specific models for these particular stories. Nor is there a single ancient text from which Testa could have derived all the details of his inventions; unless the subjects were provided to him (which is unlikely) he probably supplemented his reading of ancient texts by referring to some Renaissance compilation or commentary such as the *Mythologiae* of Natale Conti (as Rubens apparently also did).⁴

1. Blunt, 1966, p. 88, no. 126.

2. For Rubens's tapestry designs see Egbert Haverkamp Begemann, *The Achilles Series*, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, pt. 10 (London, 1975), pp. 15–19.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 32–33.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 20–37. Many of the details of the stories represented by Testa may be found in a series of ancient texts, but for brevity's sake references here are to J. Boudouin's edition of the French translation of Conti, *Mythologie ou explication des fables . . .*, trans. I. de Montlyard (Paris, 1627); for the story of Thetis, see pp. 845–47, and for that of Achilles, see pp. 1009–14.

118

The Birth and Infancy of Achilles

1648–50

Bartsch 21; Bellini 36

Etching with drypoint, first state

285 x 416 mm (11¼ x 16⅜") (trimmed irregularly)

Inscribed in the image in the lower right corner: *P. Testa fecit.*

Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (West), 352–21

Achilles' fate was already sealed at his parents' marriage, when Discord brought as a gift the golden apple that would lead to the Trojan War and Paris's eventual slaying of the almost invincible warrior. To ensure that her children by Peleus were not tainted by mortality, Thetis subjected them to a trial by fire. Testa refers here to this story, which follows in sequence from the moment of Thetis's labor in the background, by including the two men to the right who carry a flaming brazier, the sign of the test that all Thetis's children must undergo. Only Achilles survives, however, for Thetis had fed her son on ambrosia during the day and strengthened him by covering him with the hot coals, from which one of the humble porters must here shield his face, at night.

Thetis so loved Achilles that she sought to discover his fate from the Delphic oracle, who predicted that he would surpass all his ancestors in glory but that he would die in the flower of his youth at the hand of one lesser than he who would stir up a long and bitter war over a beautiful woman. To prevent this Thetis plunged her son into the waters of the River Styx, thereby rendering him invulnerable except in that place on his foot by which she had held him. In the foreground of his composition Testa shows Thetis holding the infant Achilles by the legs as she lowers him into a vase of Stygian water. Flying above the personification of the river goddess herself depicted on the vase is the winged figure of Victory, the daughter of the Styx, a wreath of immortal glory in her hand. With her other hand Victory writes the deeds of Achilles the Fates have ordained. The three women who attend Thetis as she attempts to thwart the prophecy of the oracle are probably those same Fates. In this compact way the whole of Achilles' story—his epic deeds, his victory, and his death—is foretold in the very first episode of Testa's series.

When Peleus discovers Thetis's plan to make Achilles immortal she flies to her sisters the Nereids. In the group of figures to the left Testa appears to combine an illustration of Thetis's return to her sisters with a reference to her consultation of the oracle and her subsequent collection of waters from the Styx. Beside a smoking censer, the offering to the oracle, the naked Thetis, the most beautiful woman in the world, stands beside a woman who is wreathed in rushes, presumably a river goddess

or Naiad, and who squeezes water from her breast. As she stands beside the flaming altar the Nereid Thetis also squeezes water from the air that falls on another river goddess below. Water and fire may protect Achilles but they also determine his fate.

In the distance to the left Thetis entrusts her son to Chiron. In some versions of the story it is Achilles' father who takes his son to be educated by the wise and just centaur, but Testa insists upon the presence of Thetis beside her son, perhaps to refer to the tradition that Chiron was her father.¹

Like the other prints in the series, *The Birth and Infancy of Achilles* must date to the very last years of Testa's life. All three inventions reflect the same interest in the archaeologically correct tableau that Testa had developed in *The Symposium* (cat. no. 114) and *The Suicide of Cato* (cat. no. 116). The individual scenes in this series indicate, however, Testa's revived interest in how the temporal unfolding of an epic narrative might be fitted into a single moment that could foretell the ending of the story. This problem was not new, for he had already confronted it in a very different way in such inventions as *The Dream of Joseph* (cat. no. 25). In *Venus Giving Arms to Aeneas* (cat. no. 59) he had also experimented with including within the main scene a historiated image that predicted future events. In this series, however, his experimentation with the illustration of the working of Fate through prolepsis is sustained in a remarkable way.

1. Giovanni Boccaccio's account of the story (*De genealogia deorum gentilium*, bk. 12, chap. 52, "Demum Cheiron Centauro alendum tradidit"), which is an important source for Natale Conti's *Mythologiae*, makes it quite clear that Thetis entrusts her son to Chiron. In Apollonius Rhodius's *Argonautica* (bk. 4, lines 812–13), Hera describes Achilles as being nourished by the Naiads in the home of Chiron, and it is possible that Testa refers to this by showing the Naiad squeezing water from her breast. In other accounts, recorded by Conti, however, Achilles is fed by Chiron on the wild beasts that he has hunted.

PREPARATORY DRAWING Bellini, 1976b, p. 65, no. 36, cites a preparatory drawing in a private collection in Milan, not known to the author

LITERATURE Baldinucci, 1681–1728, p. 319; Gori Gandellini, 1771, p. 295; Huber, 1787, p. 334; Huber, 1799, p. 15; Gori Gandellini and De Angelis, 1813, p. 122; Bartsch, 1820, p. 220, no. 21; Nagler, 1848, p. 266, no. 21; Le Blanc, 1890, p. 21, no. 20; Lopresti, 1921, p. 74; Petrucci, 1936, pp. 416, 419 n. 29; Harris, 1967, pp. 37,



45, 50 n. 15; Hartmann, 1970, pp. 232–33; Schleier, 1970, p. 666; Bellini, 1976b, p. 65, no. 36; Cropper, 1984, pp. 45, 62–64, and fig. 81

119

Composition Study for “The Education of Achilles”

c. 1648–50

Pen and brown ink over black chalk with gray and light brown wash. The standing figures of Chiron and Achilles and the mountains incised. Several brown stains.

271 x 481 mm (10¹¹/₁₆ x 18¹⁵/₁₆)

Inscribed by the artist in pen and brown ink at the foot of the tree in the left background: *qui ci sia/ la consegna/ d'Acille a ch/irone*; in another hand below the figure of Achilles holding the lyre: *Incid* . . .

Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, Cabinet des Dessins, Paris, 1897

This study, which was etched by Giovanni Cesare Testa (see cat. no. 120), is in Testa's late manner and very similar in technique to that for *The Prophecy of Basilides* (cat. no. 110). The surface planes of figures and landscape are blocked out in soft black chalk and only occasionally reinforced with pen and ink. More unusual are the color and deployment of the gray wash to enhance the chiaroscuro. As in *The Birth and Infancy of Achilles* (cat. no. 118), Testa has captured the effect of richly modulated relief sculpture, which is very different from the illusion of an arrangement of freestanding statues that he achieved in slightly earlier works such as *The Triumph of the Virtuous Artist on Parnassus* (cat. no. 102). In accordance with his new approach he portrays the major figures in this drawing with their faces in strict neoclassical profile, and Achilles' and Chiron's eyes are indicated by triangular pools of dark shadow that cover the entire surrounding hollow as if the figures were made of marble. The black chalk provides the sense of supple flesh so that the marble comes alive.

PROVENANCE Pierre Jean Mariette Collection (Lugt 1852); Saint-Morys Collection; entered the Louvre by seizure from the émigrés during the French Revolution

LITERATURE Harris, 1967, p. 37; Hartmann, 1970, p. 241; Bacou, 1981, p. 260; Cropper, 1984, p. 62 and fig. 82; Labbé and Bicart-Sée, 1987, p. 64; Musée du Louvre, 1988, pp. 110–11, no. 141

120

GIOVANNI CESARE TESTA
after Pietro Testa

The Education of Achilles

1650–55

Etching, first state

275 x 407 mm (10¹³/₁₆ x 16")

Inscribed in the plate in the lower left margin: *Gio: Iacomo de Rossi formis Romae alla Pace*; in the lower right margin: *Petrus Testa inventor/ Gio Caesar Testa Incid*

The National Galleries of Scotland,
Edinburgh, P 2781/42

The inscription on this print indicates that the invention is by Pietro and the execution by Giovanni Cesare, and there is no reason to question this. That Pietro prepared a composition of this episode of the story of Achilles is confirmed by the existence of a drawing now in the Louvre (cat. no. 119). Testa's note in the landscape on the left in the preparatory drawing (“here will be the consignment of Achilles to Chiron”) suggests that he intended to change the composition. Giovanni Cesare's print does not follow the invention of the Louvre drawing in every detail, especially in the landscape, and so it is likely that he worked from a later, more detailed drawing by his uncle. In this etching he comes closest to matching Testa's late style, and *The Education of Achilles*, like *The Prophecy of Basilides* (cat. no. 111), provides a point of departure for any discussion of Giovanni Cesare's involvement in Pietro's late production or for the attribution of prints after his drawings. Close comparison with the other prints in the series (cat. nos. 118 and 121) indicates that Giovanni Cesare had most difficulty in drawing on the plate those parts of the invention that Pietro left most general in the drawings. The figures in the background of the other two prints echo the very generalized technique of Pietro's drawings, but in their simplified contours and expressions the certainty of hand of a highly skilled draughtsman is evident. By contrast, the drawing of the river god and his nymph and even of the young Achilles being lifted up by Chiron in the background of *The Education of Achilles* is very weak.

Testa divides *The Education of Achilles* into several episodes to suggest an unfolding narrative, packed with information, just as he had the earlier scene of the hero's birth and infancy. In the background at the center he takes up the story at the same point, showing Chiron reaching down to take the boy on his back. At the foot of Mount Pelion, the home of the centaurs, a nymph, embraced by a river god, points to this event as she gazes toward the viewer. To the right the gentle centaur, who taught the ill-fated wild boy the arts of music and hunting, tenderly embraces Achilles, who plucks the strings of a lyre. The scene to the left provides a violent contrast to this peaceful moment. Chiron gallops in pursuit of a lion and lioness, guiding the spear in the hand of the young hunter on his back, whose success in hunting the wildest of beasts is documented by the dead bear in the landscape to the right.¹

1. In Statius's *Achilleid*, bk. 1, lines 167–70, and bk. 2, lines 121–25, Achilles brags of his killing of a lioness who had just delivered her cubs and tells how Chiron would never allow him to hunt “unwarlike does” but only lions, tigers, bears, and boars.

LITERATURE Gori Gandellini, 1771, p. 296; Huber, 1799, p. 16; Nagler, 1848, p. 270, no. 10; Harris, 1967, p. 37; Hartmann, 1970, p. 241; Bellini, 1976a, pp. 24–25, no. 7; Cropper, 1984, pp. 62–64

I 21

Achilles Dragging the Body of Hector Around the Walls of Troy

c. 1648–50

Bartsch 22; Bellini 37

Etching with drypoint, first state

265 x 415 mm (10⁷/₁₆ x 16⁵/₁₆")

Inscribed in the image above the center of the lower margin: *P. Testa fecit*

Trustees of the British Museum, London,
V 10-139

After killing the Trojan hero Hector to avenge the death of his beloved friend Patroclus, Achilles lashes him to his chariot with thongs around the feet before dragging him around the walls of Troy. This is the only one of the three episodes in Testa's

series of the life of Achilles (see also cat. nos. 118–20) to be recounted by Homer, and several details are drawn directly from the text of the *Iliad*.¹ On the walls of Troy in the background (here translated from Greek into Latin in the form of the Colosseum, the Torre delle Milizie, and the Pantheon), Hector's wife Andromache falls backward, her hair unloosed, into the arms of her servants. Above, his mother Hecuba rushes to the arms of her husband Priam.

Testa also links this last episode in his series to the first (cat. no. 118) to show the unfolding of Achilles' fate. The Victory who appeared on the vase of the Styx now crowns Achilles with her laurel crown. Achilles knows his own fate, but, in contrast to the helpless grief of the family of Hector on the walls behind, he gazes sternly at the body of Hector. He knows he will be the next to die, but he has no alternative than to act courageously. In victory lies death, and by portraying Achilles' knowledge of this fact Testa embraces the same ideal of noble fortitude that he had so persuasively conveyed in *The Suicide of Cato* (cat. no. 116), where death itself brought victory.

1. Bk. 22, lines 395–474.

PREPARATORY DRAWINGS 1. Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Paris, 1896. See cat. no. 122. 2. A drawing in the same sense in a private collection in Paris, not seen by the author, does not resemble other drawings by the artist from this period. See Galerie Claude Aubry, 1971, no. 101. 3. Study for the figure of Hector. Red chalk heightened with white. 270 x 420 mm (10⁵/₈ x 16¹/₂"). Sold at Christie's, London, November 1, 1958, lot 210A.

LITERATURE Sandrart, 1675, p. 289; Baldinucci, 1681–1728, p. 319; Gori Gandellini, 1771, p. 296; Huber, 1787, p. 334; Huber, 1799, p. 15; Gori Gandellini and De Angelis, 1813, p. 122; Bartsch, 1820, p. 221, no. 22; Nagler, 1848, p. 266, no. 22; Le Blanc, 1890, p. 21, no. 21; Lopresti, 1921, p. 74; Marabottini, 1954a, p. 133; Harris, 1967, pp. 37, 45, 50 n. 15; Hartmann, 1970, p. 234; Schleier, 1970, p. 666; Bellini, 1976b, p. 66, no. 37; Brigstocke, 1978, p. 124; Cropper, 1984, pp. 45, 62–64, 174 and fig. 83

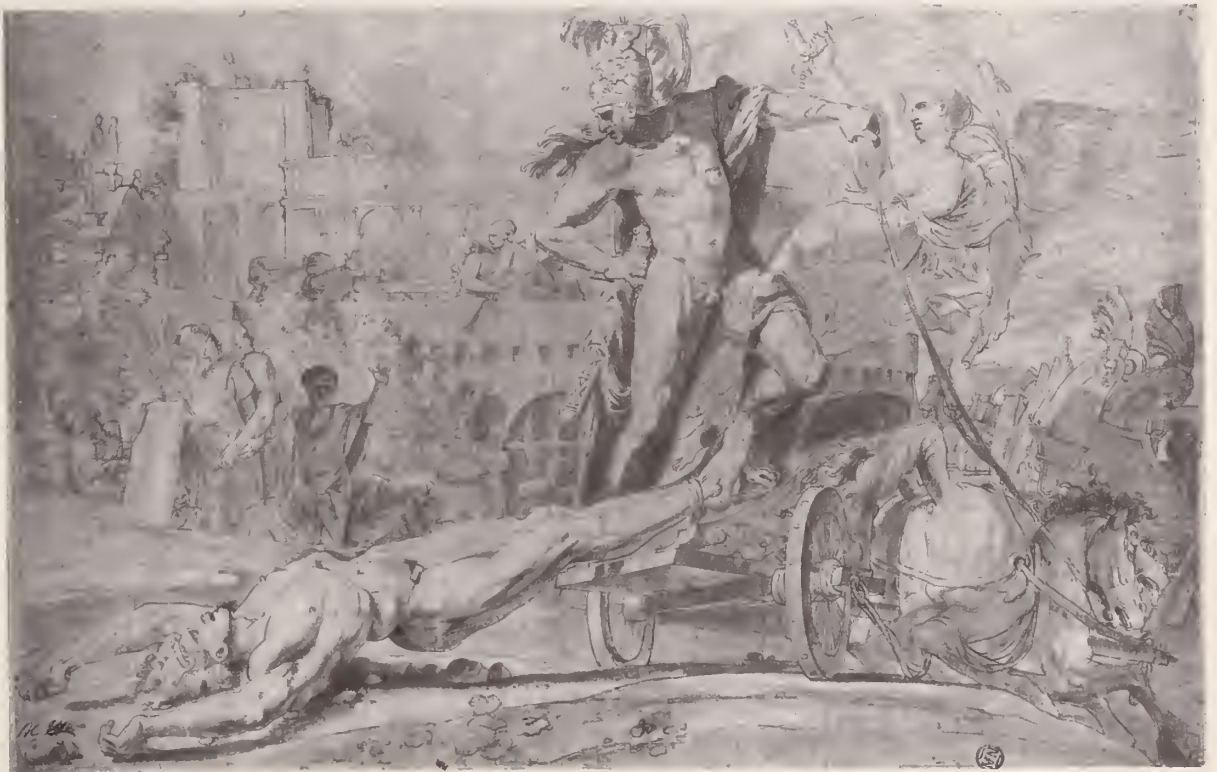
I 22

Study for "Achilles Dragging the Body of Hector Around the Walls of Troy"

c. 1648–50



121



122

Pen and brown ink over black chalk, and some red chalk with light brown and gray wash on cream paper. Squared in red chalk. Incised. Framed in black chalk. Laid down. Several small holes.

272 x 433 mm (10¹¹/₁₆ x 17¹/₁₆")

Illegibly inscribed by the artist in pen and brown ink in the lower left corner. Inscribed in the lower left with the paraph of Robert de Cotte (1656–1735; Lugt 1964).

Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, Cabinet des Dessins, Paris, 1896

The technique of this drawing is quite different from that Testa employed in the study for *The Education of Achilles* (cat. no. 119). However, the existence of a similar study in the Louvre for *The Symposium* (cat. no. 115), published in 1648, supports the argument that the "Scenes from the Life of Achilles" (cat. nos. 118–22) were among Testa's last works. In these late drawings Testa is at his most confident and swift, producing a perfect neoclassical image in which a fine contour is combined with delicate washes of different shades, very much in keeping with the style of his drawings for Cassiano dal Pozzo's *Museo cartaceo* (see figs. 1-c–1-f).

PROVENANCE L. T. de Montarcy (1650–1700; Lugt 1821); acquired for the Cabinet du Roi at the 1712 sale of his collection

LITERATURE Marabottini, 1954a, p. 133; Marabottini, 1954b, pp. 243–44; Bean, 1959, p. 35, no. 53; Harris, 1967, p. 52 n. 31 (incorrectly as Louvre, 1895); Hartmann, 1970, p. 241; Bellini, 1976b, p. 66, under no. 37; Musée du Louvre, 1988, pp. 112–13, no. 143

123

GIOVANNI CESARE TESTA
after Pietro Testa

The Rape of Proserpina

c. 1650–55

Bellini 54

Etching, first state

245 x 355 mm (9⁵/₈ x 14")

Inscribed in the plate (now barely legible) in the lower right margin: *P. Testa pinxit. J. Cesare T[esta] Fe*

The National Galleries of Scotland,
Edinburgh, P 2781/40

The extent of Testa's responsibility for this etching is difficult to establish because no preliminary drawings are known.¹ Passeri, who is generally well informed about Testa's work, places *The Rape of Proserpina*, which he describes as "very beautiful in style and rich in invention," immediately before the scenes from the life of Cato. Baldinucci also lists this among Testa's prints, adding that "through various poetic conceits he wished to show that love was the cause of that rape." Baldinucci also includes such works as *The Prophecy of Basilides* (cat. no. 111) among the production of Testa, however, and he rarely mentions Giovanni Cesare's execution of Pietro's designs. This is also true of Sandrart's account of the prints. Nagler attributes this etching to Giovanni Cesare, as does Bellini. Petrucci suggests that it was published before Pietro's death, but because the etching was produced in more than a single bite, he chooses to ignore the inscription and argues that the print is the work of Pietro and another collaborator skilled in this technique.² Among modern scholars only Donati and Hartmann have maintained that it is by Pietro.

Bellini describes the first state as having no inscription, and, following Petrucci, claims that the inscription on the second, *Pietro Testa In et Fe*, is apocryphal. The inscription in the margin of the first state shown here is almost illegible, but it indicates very clearly that Giovanni Cesare made the print after a painting by Pietro. No painting is known, however, and so the inscription cannot be verified, but there is every reason to believe that Giovanni Cesare had an invention by Testa before him. The drawing, especially of the putti, the nymphs in the background, and the landscape, reflects the uncertainty of Giovanni Cesare's hand. The figures of Pluto and Proserpina, on the other hand, closely resemble similarly muscular and expressive figures in such inventions as *The Suicide of Dido* (cat. no. 125) and *Aeneas on the Bank of the River Styx* (cat. no. 127).

There is no reason to believe that Giovanni Cesare was an inventor of images. As Baldinucci recognizes, the invention of *The Rape of Proserpina* includes the sort of poetic conceit that only Pietro could have devised. In Ovid's story,³ Pluto, the god of the underworld, seizes Proserpina as she is picking flowers with her friends in the shade of a grove of trees beside a pool named Pergus. Proserpina





124

Opera in Roma del gran Domenichino, che per la forza di tutti i numeri del Arte, per l'ammirabile
 espressione di gli affetti, con dono speciosissimo della Natura, si rende immortale,
 et forza, non che altri, l'invidia a maravigliarsi, e a tacere. ?

So Cesar Tota delmesuit et madit

calls out to her mother Ceres, the goddess of the earth, and as she does so the flowers she has gathered fall out of her torn dress, and, writes Ovid, "Such was the innocence of her childish years that this loss too stirred her virginal suffering." Testa portrays this moment as the flowers fall from Proserpina's lap and Pluto's horses charge into the flames of the underworld, where she will reign as his queen. The rape of Proserpina was planned by Venus, who feared that Proserpina aspired to remain a virgin in the company of Minerva and Diana and that the power of love to govern the earth was fading. At her bidding, Cupid shot the arrow of desire into Pluto's heart, inflaming him with passion for the daughter of Ceres. In Testa's invention little loves push the chariot onward, as others disarm the god and yet others react in fear to the flames into which they plunge.

1. A drawing of this subject by Testa (in the reverse sense) is now in a private collection in the United States. It was sold at Sotheby's, London, *Fine Old Master Drawings* . . . (March 22, 1973), lot 44, repro. p. 51. Pen and brown ink and brown wash over black chalk on cream paper. 208 x 280 mm (8³/₁₆ x 11"). This bold, vigorous study is probably from Testa's last years, but it does not correspond to the composition discussed here.

2. Petrucci, 1936, p. 414.

3. *Metamorphoses*, bk. 5, lines 346-424.

LITERATURE Sandrart, 1675, pp. 289, 293; Passeri, 1679, p. 188; Balducci, 1681-1728, p. 319; Gori Gandelini, 1771, p. 296; Nagler, 1848, p. 269, no. 4, and p. 270, no. 9; Le Blanc, 1890, p. 20, no. 7; Petrucci, 1936, pp. 409, 418 n. 5; Donati, 1961, p. 437; Hartmann, 1970, p. 228; Bellini, 1976a, p. 24, no. 6; Bellini, 1976b, p. 74, no. 54

124

GIOVANNI CESARE TESTA
after Domenico Zampieri, called Domenichino

The Last Communion of Saint Jerome

c. 1650-55

Etching, first state

554 x 362 mm (21¹³/₁₆ x 14¹/₄" (trimmed)

Inscribed in the plate in the lower left margin: *fran.co Collignon formis.*; in the lower right margin: *Io: Cesar Testa delineavit et incidit*; in the center of the lower margin: *Opera in Roma del gran Domenichino, che per la forza di*

tutti i numeri del Arte, per l'ammirabile/ espressione de gli affetti, con dono specialissimo della Natura, si rende immortale, / et sforza, non che altri, l'invidia a maravigliarsi, e a tacere.

The National Galleries of Scotland,
Edinburgh, P 2781/47

In his biography of Domenichino, Malvasia describes this print by Giovanni Cesare Testa as having been commissioned by the publisher François Collignon. He contrasts the diligence, or accuracy, of Testa's reproduction of Domenichino's painting¹ with the etching Giovanni Lanfranco had had made by François Perrier² after the painting of the same subject by Agostino Carracci in the Certosa outside Bologna.³ The two prints provided ammunition for one of the most notorious critical debates in seventeenth-century Rome: whether Domenichino, in his most important Roman altarpiece, completed in 1614, had plagiarized the work of his teacher Agostino.⁴ Perrier's print was published in the 1620s, when Lanfranco and Domenichino were in direct competition for important fresco commissions in San Andrea della Valle in Rome. Pietro Testa's notes reveal that he was engaged in the debate and seeking ways to defend his own teacher against the charges made by those for whom *novità* (novelty) was more important than the tradition of judicious imitation in which Testa had been trained.⁵ It was probably only after Pietro's death, however, that Collignon commissioned this etching from Giovanni Cesare. The inscription praises Domenichino's natural gifts, the greatness of his art, and especially his ability to express the passions: *The Last Communion of Saint Jerome* renders him immortal and forces his envious rivals to marvel and be silent. Malvasia reports that the opposite was in fact the case, for the publication of the print stirred up the old debate. Collignon's commission to Giovanni Cesare was a clever exploitation of the market and of the critical demand for *novità*.⁶

The Last Communion of Saint Jerome is the best example of Giovanni Cesare's independent work; indeed it is probably the only print he made without benefit of his uncle's drawings, and even here he was provided with a model to follow. His interpretation of Domenichino's figures and landscape displays the same awkwardness in the drawing of details seen in others executed by him (see cat. nos. 111-13, 120, and 123).

1. Now in the Pinacoteca Vaticana. See Cropper, 1984, fig. 102.
2. *Ibid.*, fig. 104.
3. Now in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna. See *ibid.*, fig. 103.
4. For a more detailed discussion, see *ibid.*, pp. 122–28.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 248, no. 60.A.7.
6. The print enjoyed continuing success, for it was published in several editions. To the state listed by Bellini with the address of Vincenzo Billy should be added another bearing the inscription *Si Vendono da Arnaldo van Westerhout*.

LITERATURE Gori Gandellini, 1771, p. 296; Huber, 1799, p. 16; Carlo Cesare Malvasia, *Felsina pittrice: Vite de pittori Bolognesi*, ed. G. Zanotti (Bologna, 1841), vol. 1, p. 224; Nagler, 1848, p. 270, no. 2; Le Blanc, 1890, p. 20, no. 5; Petrucci, 1936, p. 419 n. 16; Bellini, 1976a, p. 22, no. 5; Cropper, 1984, p. 123 and fig. 105

125

GIOVANNI CESARE TESTA

after Pietro Testa

The Suicide of Dido

c. 1650–55

Etching, first state

330 x 460 mm (13 x 18 $\frac{1}{8}$ ")

Inscribed in the image in the lower left corner: *Petrus Testa Inventor et Pinxit*; in the lower right corner: *Gio: Giacomo Rossi formis Romae alla Pace*; in the lower margin: *Extinctam famulae, crudeli funere Dido/ Te flebant, tenuem vellens Proserpina crinem;/ Te confodit Amor telo, te percudit ense;/ Infoelix sentis duplex in pectore vulnus;/ Te quoque flamma vorat duplex, qui corda Cupido/ Usserat, ipse pyrae suprema incendia miscet*; in a different hand in the lower left: *Gio: Caesar Testa Incid.*

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1926 (26.70.3 (53))

The difference between the powerfully expressive invention of this etching and the flat hatching and often clumsy drawing on the plate reflects the division of labor between Giovanni Cesare and his uncle. The composition must have been well advanced when Pietro died, for several preparatory studies are known. The painting mentioned in the inscription is probably the canvas now in the de-

posits of the Uffizi. It has suffered irreparable damage, but it is still possible to see that this group of preparatory studies was made for the print rather than the painting.¹ In the latter Dido holds her head upright as she gazes up in supplication, whereas in the print she falls backward in a swoon. This is the pose Testa adopted for the figure of Dido in the red chalk study now in the Uffizi² and in the composition drawing in the Louvre (cat. no. 126).

In the late 1640s Testa was preoccupied by suicide. In the Düsseldorf Notebook he writes about the correct way to depict the deaths of Cato and Dido,³ and in 1648 he produced the print of *The Suicide of Cato* (cat. no. 116). Testa had made drawings for a representation of the death of Dido several years before, perhaps in connection with his earlier project to illustrate scenes from the *Aeneid* (see cat. nos. 21, 59, and 60).⁴ In the late 1640s, however, he took up the theme again in an entirely different way. Here, as in *The Suicide of Cato*, he emphasized the violent expressions of pain in the faces and gestures of the spectators, but whereas Cato is presented as an *exemplum* of heroic fortitude, Dido—the queen of Carthage and lover of the Trojan hero Aeneas—is the tragic object of our horror and pity. As the inscription states, she suffers the double wounds of love and the sword and will soon suffer the double fires of love and death. Lest horror at Dido's action threaten to overwhelm pity, Testa reminds us of her helplessness to withstand the pains of love by showing her faithful little dog attempting to climb up beside his mistress.

When she realizes that it is her fate to lose Aeneas, Dido prays for death. Deceiving her sister Anna into believing that she wishes to free herself from the memory of Aeneas and to cast a spell on him, Dido bids her to raise up a pyre in the courtyard of her palace, where Testa sets the scene. Dido places on the pyre the armor and the image of her lover and, at the altar beside it, offers up prayers to the gods. After Aeneas steals away, Dido throws herself upon the pyre and pierces her breast with his sword. In the far distance Aeneas's ships are visible on the horizon. Beside the figure of Dido, who clasps the sword with her right hand, lie his armor and image. To the right is the altar at which she has received the sign of her death. The true theme of the print, however, is the discovery of her suicide—the women's lamentations and shrieks



Provi Teju Invenit et gyst
 Te confitit hinc tibi te percussit cruce
 Te quoque flamma verat dablex qui corda et gnosto
 Diserat que pure suprema facienda tunc et

125



126

pietre lesla. gravé 255

that ring through the palace “even as though all Carthage or ancient Tyre were falling before the intruding foe, and fierce flames were rolling on over the roofs of men, over the roofs of gods.” Dido’s sister Anna, “tearing her face with her nails,”⁵ climbs upon the pyre to embrace her sister, who struggles to lift herself upon her elbow. To bring a swift end to Dido’s undeserved suffering, Juno sends Iris, who arrives on her rainbow, to clip the lock of hair that must be taken as an offering to the gods of the underworld before she is allowed to die.

1. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, 8924. See Brigstocke, 1978, pp. 125, 147, 148 n. 112, and p. 142, fig. 44. The painting was noted by Hartmann, 1970, p. 121 n. 1, and by Thiem, 1970, p. 84 n. 8.
2. See preparatory drawing no. 2 below.
3. Cropper, 1984, pp. 264, 268.
4. See Thiem, 1970, pp. 77–80, and figs. 1 and 3. For the account of the story that Testa follows so faithfully here, see *Aeneid*, bk. 4, lines 393–705.
5. *Virgil in Two Volumes*, Vol. 1, *Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid I–VI*, trans. H. Rushton Fairclough, rev. ed. (Cambridge, Mass., 1960), bk. 4, lines 669–71, 673, p. 441.

PREPARATORY DRAWINGS 1. Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Paris, 1900. See cat. no. 126. 2. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, 57385. Studies in the reverse sense for the head and upper torso of Dido. Red chalk on buff paper. 247 x 385 mm (9³/₄ x 15¹/₈”). 3. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, 57425. Studies in the reverse sense for the head, arm, and hand of Dido. Red chalk with traces of white chalk on blue paper. 258 x 400 mm (10¹/₈ x 15³/₄”). 4. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, 57075 recto and verso. Recto: Figure studies in the reverse sense for the woman on the extreme left and the bearded man on the left. Verso: Related drapery studies. Recto and verso: Red chalk on blue paper. 262 x 409 mm (10³/₁₆ x 16¹/₈”). 5. Recto and verso: Figure studies for male and female mourners, including Dido’s sister. Red chalk. 245 x 184 mm (9⁵/₈ x 7¹/₄”). Sold at Sotheby’s, London, *Old Master and Continental Watercolours and Drawings*... (March 13, 1975), lot 172.

LITERATURE Sandrart, 1675, pp. 289, 293; Baldinucci, 1681–1728, p. 318; Gori Gandellini, 1771, p. 298; Huber, 1787, p. 334; Huber, 1799, p. 16; Nagler, 1848, p. 270, no. 11; Le Blanc, 1890, p. 20, no. 10; Harris, 1967, p. 57 n. 90; Hartmann, 1970, pp. 234–35; Bellini, 1976a, p. 26, no. 9; Brigstocke, 1978, p. 125

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Study for “*The Suicide of Dido*”

c. 1648–50

Pen and light brown ink and light brown wash over red chalk with grayish light brown wash on pale buff paper. Framed in black ink.

269 x 415 mm (10⁵/₁₆ x 16³/₈”)

Inscribed by the artist in pen and brown ink beside the pyre: *piu stretta/ lo sdegnio*; in black chalk on the ground at the right: *far di 5 quatro [?]*; in an old hand in pen and dark brown ink in the lower right corner: *pietre testa. gravé*; in another hand in pen and light brown ink in the lower right corner: 255

Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, Cabinet des Dessins, Paris, 1900

This very delicate drawing for *The Suicide of Dido* (cat. no. 125) may be compared to the composition study for the print of *Achilles Dragging the Body of Hector Around the Walls of Troy* (cat. no. 121). The pen and wash are used quite differently here, however. Testa first sketched in the composition in red chalk and then drew in schematic contours with fine lines in pen. The lightness of the effect of the pen is enhanced by the almost complete absence of interior hatching. In places the wash describes shadows accurately, but in others it creates flickering pools of light in an almost abstract way. This is especially true of the illumination of the group of women to the right.

There can be no doubt about the attribution of the drawing, despite these unusual characteristics. Testa was still working out elements of the composition, but his touch was very sure, and certain details, such as the armor of Aeneas and his clipeate image, are more perfectly realized than in the print. The transparent luminosity of the drawing was translated into Testa’s more familiar bold *chiaroscuro* manner by Giovanni Cesare in the etching.

PROVENANCE Saint-Morys Collection; entered the Louvre by seizure from the émigrés during the French Revolution

LITERATURE Harris, 1967, p. 50 n. 19; Hartmann, 1970, p. 242; Thiem, 1977, pp. 80–82; Labbé and Bicart-Sée, 1987, p. 64



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Aeneas on the Bank of the River Styx

1648–50

Oil on canvas

158.4 x 206.4 cm (62 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 81 $\frac{1}{4}$ "")

Private collection

For his last completed representation of a Virgilian subject, Testa chose the darkest moment in the *Aeneid*, when Aeneas seeks to cross the Styx to embrace his father Anchises in the underworld.¹ The darkness of the painting, enlivened only by the “evil light of the inconstant moon,”² is a literal image of Stygian gloom. Aeneas grasps his sword as he gazes backward in horror³ at the monstrous forms at the gates of the underworld. Charon the Boatman appears at the left and, pointing, demands to know why the living warrior in arms seeks to be ferried

across to the land of the dead. Testa’s depiction of him carries the full terror of Virgil’s description, his thick, hoary beard lying on his chin and his eyes aflame. Charon is shown naked rather than in a dirty robe, probably because Testa wished to capture the image of the fresh and youthful vigor of an aged god.⁴ The Sybil quiets him by holding out the Golden Bough, sacred to Proserpina, the queen of the underworld, which Aeneas has found and picked at her bidding in order to cross into the Stygian groves. Charon will in fact ferry Aeneas across to the other side, where, in the background to the left, Testa shows the watchdog Cerberus baying in the mouth of a cavern at the approach of a dead soul. Other bodies are dimly visible behind Charon, one with his head buried in his hands. At the entrance of Hades, a place of neither punishment nor joy, Virgil situates those who have died in infancy and those who have taken their own lives. “How much

would they wish to suffer poverty and hard labors in the air above," he writes in a passage that explains the man's despair.⁵ To the right is Aeneas's comrade Palinurus, who cannot cross the Styx because he was never buried after his death by drowning. Aeneas cannot change his friend's fate, but in response to his entreaties he vows that a tomb will be built in a place that will forever bear his name.

Gone from Testa's interpretation of Virgil is the lyric joy that characterized the prints and drawings after scenes from the *Aeneid* that he had produced a decade before (see cat. nos. 59 and 60). In this tragic image he instead seeks to arouse terror through the frightful figure of Charon, pity for the helpless, drowned Palinurus, and wonder at the heroic bravery of Aeneas. The opposition between the desperate Palinurus, who did not die by his own hand, and the small despairing figure of the suicide on the far bank, who wishes to return to the land of the living, is a shocking revelation of Testa's own meditations on death. The man suffers neither the pains of Tartarus, where the wicked are punished, nor the joys of Elysium, where the blessed live in happiness. He is not in the Mourning Fields, peopled by those who have died for love, where Aeneas meets Dido, nor is he in the realm reserved for heroes who die in war, as Alexander wished to do, which Aeneas reaches before the parting of the ways to Tartarus and Elysium when he leaves the Sibyl behind. He is consigned to eternal regret, but unlike Palinurus he has reached the other side.

1. Bk. 6, lines 98–901.
2. *Ibid.*, line 270.
3. *Strictam aciem venientibus offert* (*ibid.*, line 291).
4. *Ibid.*, lines 209–304.
5. *Ibid.*, lines 436–37.

PREPARATORY DRAWING Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1985-72-1. See cat. no. 128.

128

*Study for the Head of Charon in
"Aeneas on the Bank of the River Styx"*

1648–50

Black chalk on grayish brown paper

254 x 194 mm (10 x 7⁵/₈")

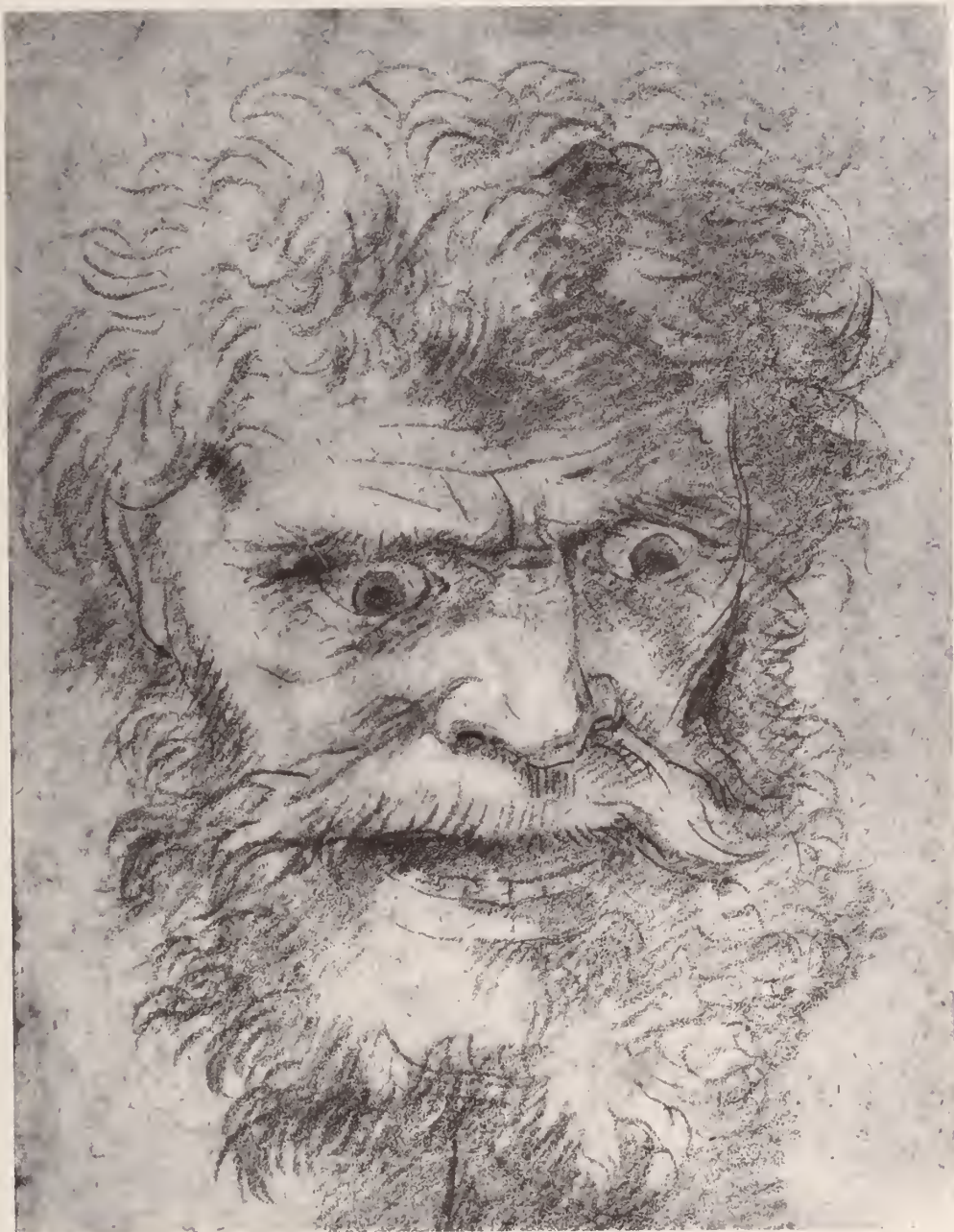
Philadelphia Museum of Art, Purchased:
Alice Newton Osborn Fund, 1985-72-1

In this preliminary study for the head of Charon (see cat. no. 127), Testa captures the terrifying quality of those eyes that stand like flames described by Virgil. The physiognomy of the features and the technique of the draughtsmanship are very similar to those in a related drawing of a head in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (fig. 128a). The latter head is turned to the left, but it is not only the change in pose that renders the Philadelphia drawing so much more powerful. The curling lines of the flying hair, the twisted nose and knotted brow, and the open mouth with bared lower teeth all also contribute to a startling portrait of the boatman of the Styx. Vitzthum associates the Stockholm drawing with similarly expressive figures in *The Symposium* (cat. no. 114) and *The Suicide of Cato* (cat. no. 116),¹ and this head too is closely related to those prints dated 1648. Here, however, more than in any other drawing, Testa succeeded in conveying a changing emotion, as Charon's anger turns to wonder at the Sybil's gift of the bough of destiny, so long unseen.

1. Vitzthum, 1971, pl. XX.

PROVENANCE Haseltine; sold, Sotheby's, London, *Old Master Drawings* (October 22, 1984), lot 463; purchased by the Philadelphia Museum of Art from Kate Ganz Limited, London, 1985





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Fig. 128a. Pietro Testa, *Study of a Male Head*, c. 1648. Black chalk on blue-gray paper, 292 x 208 mm (11½ x 8⅜"). Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, NM H 539/1863

Concordance of Catalogue Numbers with Bartsch and Bellini Numbers

	CAT. NO.	BARTSCH	BELLINI
<i>The Holy Family with the Infant Saint John Holding an Apple</i>	1, 2	9	2
<i>The Holy Family with the Child Seizing the Cross from the Infant Saint John</i>	3	10	1
<i>The Penitent Magdalen</i>	4	16	3
<i>The Martyrdom of Saint Erasmus</i>	5, 6	14	7
<i>Three Luchese Saints Interceding with the Virgin for the Victims of the Plague</i>	7	13	8
<i>Saint Jerome</i>	8	15	9
<i>The Garden of Charity (horizontal version)</i>	9	27	4
<i>The Garden of Charity (vertical version)</i>	11	28	11
<i>The Garden of Venus</i>	13	26	12
<i>Venus and Adonis</i>	16	25	13
<i>Fishermen on the Tiber (rejected attribution)</i>	23		6
<i>Trees in the Wind (rejected attribution)</i>	24		5
<i>The Dream of Joseph</i>	25	4	10
<i>An Allegory in Honor of the Arrival of Cardinal Franciotti as Bishop of Lucca</i>	36	30	14
<i>An Allegory of Painting</i>	37	29	15
<i>Il Liceo della Pittura</i>	41	34	20
<i>Sinorix Carried from the Temple of Artemis</i>	53	19	19
<i>Venus Giving Arms to Aeneas</i>	59	24	17
<i>The Sacrifice of Iphigenia</i>	61	23	18
<i>The Adoration of the Magi</i>	63	3	16
<i>The Sacrifice of Isaac</i>	71	2	26
<i>The Triumph of Painting on Parnassus</i>	73	35	29
<i>Spring</i>	75	36	30
<i>Summer</i>	76	37	31
<i>Autumn</i>	79	38	32
<i>Winter</i>	81, 82	39	28
<i>An Allegory in Honor of Innocent X</i>	85, 86	31	25

	CAT. NO.	BARTSCH	BELLINI
<i>The Holy Family Fed by Angels</i>	94	12	27
<i>The Departure of the Prodigal Son</i>	95	5	21
<i>The Prodigal Son Wasting His Substance</i>	96	6	22
<i>The Prodigal Son Among the Swine</i>	97	7	23
<i>The Return of the Prodigal Son</i>	98	8	24
<i>Altro diletto ch' imparar non trovo</i>	101	32	34
<i>The Triumph of the Virtuous Artist on Parnassus</i>	102	33	33
<i>Self-Portrait</i>	106	1	35
<i>The Symposium</i>	114	18	38
<i>The Suicide of Cato</i>	116	20	39
<i>The Birth and Infancy of Achilles</i>	118	21	36
<i>Achilles Dragging the Body of Hector Around the Walls of Troy</i>	121	22	37
<i>The Rape of Proserpina</i>	123		54

Appendix: An Annotated Concordance of the Prints of Pietro Testa

Examples of prints in the collections studied in the preparation of the exhibition are cited in the Appendix, which is intended to provide only a provisional catalogue of Testa's prints and copies after them in the hope that this will be useful in future cataloguing. Examples in other collections are cited by Bellini, 1976b, although he does not include all the states listed below. Plate numbers refer to plates for Testa's prints now in the Calcografia, Rome. Several are included in the exhibition, but not catalogued separately.

A B B R E V I A T I O N S

Alb	Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna
Bartsch	Bartsch, 1820
Bellini	Bellini, 1976b
Berl	Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (West)
BM	British Museum, London
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
Bol	Pinacoteca Nazionale, Gabinetto delle Stampe, Bologna
Calc	Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica — Calcografia, Rome
Edin	The National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh
Farn	Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica — Villa Farnesina, Rome
Fogg	Harvard University Art Museums, Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge
Frank	Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt
Le Blanc	Le Blanc, 1890
MMA	The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Mun	Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich
Nagler	Nagler, 1848
NGA	National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.
PMA	Philadelphia Museum of Art
PML	The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York
Stock	Nationalmuseum, Stockholm
Stutt	Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, Graphische Sammlung
Uff	Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence
V & A	Victoria and Albert Museum, London
Wind	Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II (Royal Library, Windsor Castle)

Cat. nos. 1 and 2. *The Holy Family with the Infant Saint John Holding an Apple*

- I. Before reworking. Inscribed in the image with Testa's monogram in the lower right corner (Edin)
- II. With the shadows on the Virgin's neck, drapery, and other areas reworked. Inscribed in the image with Testa's monogram in the lower right corner (Alb, Berl, BN, Edin, Fogg, Frank, MMA, PMA)
- III. Inscribed in the lower left: *H. Mauperche escudü avec privilege. du Roy* (Berl, BM, BN, PMA, Wind)

Cat. no. 3. *The Holy Family with the Child Seizing the Cross from the Infant Saint John*

- I. Before reworking. With no inscription (Alb)
- II. Reworked, especially above the Virgin's shoulder and in her drapery. With no inscription. Bellini cites examples in the Biblioteca Vaticana and the Raccolta Marozzi, Museo Civico, Pavia.

Cat. no. 4. *The Penitent Magdalen*

- I. With no inscription (Alb, BM, MMA)

Fig. v-a. Copperplate for *The Martyrdom of Saint Erasmus* (cat. nos. 5 and 6). 285 x 197 mm (11 1/4 x 7 3/4"). Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica—Calcografia, Rome, plate no. 985



Cat. nos. 5 and 6. *The Martyrdom of Saint Erasmus*. Plate no. 985 (Calc). See fig. v-a.

- I. Inscribed in the image with Testa's monogram in the lower right corner, but without the dedication to Garbesi (Alb, BM, Edin)
- II. Inscribed in the image with Testa's monogram in the lower right corner; in the plate in the lower margin: *S. ERASMA ORA PRO NOBIS. / Allo spirito nobile del mio Benefattore il Sig. r Stefano Garbesi / suo servo Pietro Testa Dona et Dedicata* (Alb, BM, BN, Bol, Farn, Fogg, Frank, Mun, Stutt, Uff)
- III. As above, but with the address added in the left margin: *Gio. Jac. Rossi le stampa in Roma alla Pace* (PMA, Wind)
- IV. As above, but with the address altered to read: *Appresso le Stampe Di Domenico de Rossi Erede di Gio. Giacomo con Privil. del S. Pont.* (BN)
- V. With all inscriptions in the margin erased (Calc)

	BARTSCH	BELLINI	LE BLANC	NAGLER
	—	—	—	—
	1	1	1	1
		2		
	1?	1	1?	1?
		2		
	1	1	1	1
		1	1?	1
	1	2		2
		3		3
	—	—	—	—
		4		

COPIES

PRINTS 1. Etching in the same sense. 272 x 186 mm (10¹/₁₆ x 7⁵/₁₆" (trimmed; MMA). With the same inscriptions as the second state. Very deceptive. A curl hangs down from Saint Erasmus's head, and several other small changes. Bellini (a). 2. Etching in the same sense, but with the inscription cancelled. Bellini (b). Not seen by the author. 3. Etching in the reverse sense, but with the inscription beginning: *S.T ERASME*. Bellini (c). Not seen by the author. 4. Nagler, 1848, p. 264, cites a print with the address of P. Aquila. 5. Etching in the same sense with the inscription as in the second state, but in a later hand. Many small differences, but deceptive.

DRAWINGS 1. Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Paris, 1884. Drawing in the same sense, including inscription. Pen and brown ink with brown wash. 280 x 190 mm (11 x 7¹/₂"). 2. Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Paris, 1926. Drawing in the reverse sense. Pen and brown ink with brown wash. 244 x 196 mm (9⁵/₈ x 7¹¹/₁₆"). 3. Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, 8038. Drawing in the same sense. Red chalk on yellowish paper. 189 x 241 mm (7¹/₁₆ x 9¹/₂").

Cat. no. 7. *Three Lucchese Saints Interceding with the Virgin for the Victims of the Plague*. Plate no. 984 (Calc)

- I. Inscribed in the image with Testa's monogram in the lower center (Alb, Edin, PMA, Uff, Wind)
- II. As above, but with the address added in the image in the lower left: *Calisto ferranti for.* (BM, BN, Farn, Fogg, MMA)
- III. As above, but with the address altered to read: *Gio Iacomo Rossi le Stampa in Roma alla Pace* (Berl, BN, Frank, MMA, Stutt, Wind)

COPIES

PRINTS 1. Etching in the same sense. 281 x 195 mm (11¹/₁₆ x 7¹¹/₁₆" (trimmed; MMA). Inscribed in the lower left outside the margin: *P. Testa*. The parallel hatching on the steps is horizontal. 2. Etching in the reverse sense. The letters of the monogram are without bars. 268 x 181 mm (10³/₁₆ x 7¹/₈" (trimmed; MMA). Bellini (a). 3. Etching in the reverse sense. 270 x 175 mm (10⁵/₈ x 6⁷/₈" (MMA). Inscribed in the lower right: *1695/Jo. Mich. Fäeichmair sculp.* Bellini (b). 4. Etching in the reverse sense. 179 x 268 mm (7¹/₁₆ x 10⁹/₁₆" (trimmed; Wind). Inscribed in the image with the artist's monogram in the lower right. The image is curtailed at the edge of the saint's drapery to the right. Horizontal hatching on the steps. The plate is polished clean.

DRAWING Hartmann, 1970, p. 128, cites a drawing in the Musée Wicar, Lille, 528.

Cat. no. 8. *Saint Jerome*. Plate no. 983 (Calc)

- I. Inscribed in the image with Testa's monogram in the lower left corner (Alb, Berl, Bol, Edin, Farn, Frank, MMA, PMA, Stutt)
- II. As above, but with the address added in the image in the lower right: *Calisto ferranti for* (Alb, BN, Farn)
- III. As above, but with the address altered to read: *Gio. Iacomo Rossi le Stampa in Roma alla Pace* (Berl, BM, BN, Fogg, MMA, PMA, Stutt, Uff, Wind)
- IV. As above, but with cross-hatching added on the pebble above the monogram, between Jerome's arm and the cross, and in other areas. The angels and the lion's mane reworked with drypoint (BN)
- V. As above, but with a fig leaf added to the angel on the right and many lines reworked (Calc)

COPIES

PRINT Nagler cites a print in the reverse sense. Bellini (a).

DRAWING Akademie der bildenden Künste, Vienna, 4307. Drawing in the reverse sense. Red chalk with red wash and some black chalk on buff paper. 302 x 223 mm (11⁷/₈ x 8³/₄"). Inscribed in black ink in the lower right: *pietro testa*.

	BARTSCH	BELLINI	LE BLANC	NAGLER
I. Inscribed in the image with Testa's monogram in the lower center (Alb, Edin, PMA, Uff, Wind)	1	1	1	1
II. As above, but with the address added in the image in the lower left: <i>Calisto ferranti for.</i> (BM, BN, Farn, Fogg, MMA)		2		
III. As above, but with the address altered to read: <i>Gio Iacomo Rossi le Stampa in Roma alla Pace</i> (Berl, BN, Frank, MMA, Stutt, Wind)		3		
IV. As above, but with cross-hatching added on the pebble above the monogram, between Jerome's arm and the cross, and in other areas. The angels and the lion's mane reworked with drypoint (BN)	-	-	-	-
V. As above, but with a fig leaf added to the angel on the right and many lines reworked (Calc)	-	-	-	-

Cat. no. 9. *The Garden of Charity* (horizontal version)

I. Inscribed in the image with Testa's monogram in the lower right corner
(Alb, Berl, BN, Edin, Fogg, MMA, PMA)

II. As above, but with the inscription added in the image in the lower left:
P. Mariette excud. (Alb)

Cat. no. 11. *The Garden of Charity* (vertical version)

I. Inscribed in the plate in the lower margin: *Ill.mo & R.mo D. Hyeronimo Bonvisi. D.C./P. Testa D.D.* (Alb, Berl, BN, Edin, MMA, PML, Wind)

Cat. no. 13. *The Garden of Venus*. Plate no. 987 (Calc)

P. An artist's proof of the upper left corner (MMA)

I. With no inscription (BM, Uff, Wind)

II. Inscribed with Testa's monogram in the lower left margin (trimmed; MMA)

III. As above, but with the inscription added in the lower left margin: *Calisto Ferranti Formis* (Alb, BN, Edin, Frank)

IV. As above, but with the address altered to read: *Gio. Iacomo Rossi forma Roma alla Pace*. Plate reworked (Alb, BN, Bol, Edin, Frank, PMA)

V. As above, but with fig leaves added and further reworking (Calc)

COPIES

PRINT In the reverse sense, without inscriptions. Bellini (a). Not seen by the author.

DRAWING A drawing recently on the market reproduces the group of putti in the lower left corner in the same sense. Other studies on the sheet relate closely to the study in Montpellier (fig. 116a). The direct relationship of these studies to works by Testa from two quite separate periods, and the direction and apparent quality of the drawing for cat. no. 13, indicate that they are derivations from his work. There is a counterproof of the print in the Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna (HB VIII, p. 33, no. 41).



Fig. v-b. Copperplate for *Venus and Adonis* (cat. no. 16).
366 x 467 mm (14³/₈ x 18³/₈").
Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica—
Calcografia, Rome, plate no. 986

Cat. no. 16. *Venus and Adonis*. Plate no. 986 (Calc). See fig. v-b.

I. With the dedication to Antinori, but without an address (Alb, Berl, BN, Bol, Edin, Fogg, MMA, Uff)

II. As above, but with the address added in the lower right margin: *Gio Iacomo de Rossi formis Romae alla Pace all insegna di Parigi* (BM, BN, MMA, PMA, Uff)

III. With the dedication and address erased (Calc, Farn)

	BARTSCH	BELLINI	LE BLANC	NAGLER
I. Inscribed in the image with Testa's monogram in the lower right corner (Alb, Berl, BN, Edin, Fogg, MMA, PMA)	1	1	1	1
II. As above, but with the inscription added in the image in the lower left: <i>P. Mariette excud.</i> (Alb)	—	—	—	—
I. Inscribed in the plate in the lower margin: <i>Ill.mo & R.mo D. Hyeronimo Bonvisi. D.C./P. Testa D.D.</i> (Alb, Berl, BN, Edin, MMA, PML, Wind)	1	1	1	1
P. An artist's proof of the upper left corner (MMA)	—	—	—	—
I. With no inscription (BM, Uff, Wind)		1		1
II. Inscribed with Testa's monogram in the lower left margin (trimmed; MMA)	1	2	1	2
III. As above, but with the inscription added in the lower left margin: <i>Calisto Ferranti Formis</i> (Alb, BN, Edin, Frank)		3		
IV. As above, but with the address altered to read: <i>Gio. Iacomo Rossi forma Roma alla Pace</i> . Plate reworked (Alb, BN, Bol, Edin, Frank, PMA)		4		
V. As above, but with fig leaves added and further reworking (Calc)	—	—	—	—
I. With the dedication to Antinori, but without an address (Alb, Berl, BN, Bol, Edin, Fogg, MMA, Uff)	1	1	1	1
II. As above, but with the address added in the lower right margin: <i>Gio Iacomo de Rossi formis Romae alla Pace all insegna di Parigi</i> (BM, BN, MMA, PMA, Uff)		2		
III. With the dedication and address erased (Calc, Farn)		3		

COPIES

PRINT Etching in the reverse sense. 137 x 175 mm (5³/₈ x 6⁷/₈" (trimmed; MMA). Bellini (a).

DRAWINGS 1. Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich, 21257. Drawing in the same sense, but with the boar and dog missing. Pen and brown ink on dirty cream paper. 331 x 445 mm (13 x 17¹/₂"). 2. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, 5748s. Drawing in the same sense. Pen and dark gray ink. 370 x 489 mm (14⁹/₁₆ x 19¹/₄"). Inscribed in the lower margin: *di Pietro Testa*.

Cat. no. 25. *The Dream of Joseph*. Plate no. 981 (Calc)

I. With the dedication to Cassiano, but without an address (Alb, BM, BN, Edin, Fogg, Munich, PMA, Stutt, Wind)

II. As above, but with the address added in the lower right margin: *Gio. Iacomo Rossi forma Roma alla pace* (Alb, Berl, BN, Bol, Edin, PMA, Uff)

BARTSCH
BELLINI
LE BLANC
NAGLER

I	I	I	1?
	2		1?

COPIES

PRINTS 1. Etching in the same sense. 330 x 290 mm (13 x 11⁷/₁₆") (trimmed; Edin). Inscribed in the image in the lower left: *P. Testa inve*. The hatching in the Child's halo stands further from the head, the lines to the left of the uppermost angel's wing are joined to it, and the hatching in the clouds to the left is lifeless. Bellini (a). 2. Print in the reverse sense, including the inscription. Bellini (b). Not seen by the author. 3. Nagler cites a print reduced in size.

DRAWINGS 1. Stern Collection, New York. Drawing in the same sense. 2. Hartmann, 1970, p. 132, cites a drawing by Giulio Carpioni after the angels to the left.

Cat. no. 36. *An Allegory in Honor of the Arrival of Cardinal Franciotti as Bishop of Lucca*

I. With the inscription burnished out, but without an address. No examples with the inscription complete are known (Alb, BN, Frank, PMA, Wind)

II. As above, but with the inscription added in the image in the lower left corner: *F. V. W'yngae ex*. (Berl, BN, Edin, Fogg, MMA, PMA; a counterproof is in the Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna, III, p. 31, no. 22)

I	I	I	I
	2		2

COPIES

PRINTS 1. Print in the reverse sense. The first line of the inscription written carefully, the rest hastily. Bellini (a). 2. Etching in the reverse sense. 355 x 297 mm (14 x 11¹¹/₁₆") (trimmed; Wind). Inscribed in the image in the lower left: *PTesta Inventor*. Bellini (b). Only trimmed versions are known to the author, and it is possible that this copy is, therefore, identical with the following one. 3. Etching in the reverse sense. 391 x 303 mm (15³/₈ x 11¹⁵/₁₆") (Alb; also in BN, MMA). Inscribed in the plate in the lower left margin: *PTesta Inventor*; in the margin: *Arnoldo Van Westerhout formis Roma Sup. lic*. Bellini (c).

Cat. no. 37. *An Allegory of Painting*. Plate no. 995 (Calc)

I. With the dedication to Franciotti, but without an address (Alb, Uff)

II. As above, but with the address added in the plate in the lower margin: *Gio. Iac. Rossi le stampa alla Pace* (BN, Edin, Frank, MMA, PMA, Stutt)

III. With all inscriptions burnished out (Calc)

I	I	I	I
	2		
	3		

COPIES

PRINTS 1. Etching in the same sense, but with the address added in the image just above Franciotti's name: *Collignon formis*. The lines of the inscription break at different points. Many other small differences in drawing. 275 x 322 mm (10³/₁₆ x 12¹/₁₆") (Alb). Bellini (a). 2. The same etching with the address removed. 274 x 325 mm (10³/₄ x 12¹/₁₆") (Berl). Bellini (b). 3. Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II (Royal Library, Windsor Castle), E6491. Etching in the same sense without the inscription, but with certain peculiarities in common with the Collignon copy (the extra vertical lines drawn to the right of the tree on the left, for example). The hatching is much more delicate, however, and the drawing is by a different hand. On the tablet held out before Painting there is a small circle in addition to the short strokes. 4. Print in the same sense. A mark resembling

an *N* on the tablet held by the man seated in the center left. Regular shading of the man's turban to the left of Painting. 285 x 330 mm (11¼ x 13"). Bellini (c). Not seen by the author. 5. Hartmann, 1970, p. 152, cites a copy by G. A. Wolfgang.

Cat. no. 41. *Il Liceo della Pittura*. Plate no. 993 (Calc)

- I. With the inscription to Buonvisi, but without an address (Alb, BM, Edin, Frank, Wind)
- II. As above, but the address added in the image in the lower right: *Gio: Giacomo Rossi formis Romae alla Pace all'insegna di Parigi* (Alb, PMA, Stock, Stutt, Uff)
- III. As above, but with marks added across the inscription to the right (Calc)

COPIES

PRINTS 1. Etching in the reverse sense, but without the inscriptions. 469 x 718 mm (18¾ x 28¼") (border; Alb). Inscribed in the lower right margin: *P. Testa d. G. A. Wolfgang aquaforti*. Bellini (a). 2. As above, but with the inscription in the lower left margin: *Stephanus Meistetter excudit aug. vind* (MMA).

DRAWINGS 1. Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Paris, 1913. Drawing in the same sense, but with no inscription. Pen and brown ink with gray wash on cream paper. 336 x 580 mm (13¼ x 22¾"). 2. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, 384/1973. Drawing after the figure of Mathematics. Pen and brown ink with gray wash on cream paper. 117 x 66 mm (4¾ x 2⅝"). 3. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, 383/1973. Drawing after the figure of Public Felicity. Pen and brown ink with gray wash on cream paper. 116 x 67 mm (4⅞ x 2⅝"). 4. Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (West), KdZ 21810. Drawing after the group surrounding Euclid. Black chalk.

Cat. no. 53. *Sinorix Carried from the Temple of Artemis*. Plate no. 990 (Calc)

- I. Inscribed in the image with Testa's monogram in the lower right corner (Alb, BM, BN, Edin, Frank, MMA, PMA?)
- II. As above, but with the address added in the lower left margin: *Si stampano da Gio: Giacomo de Rossi in Roma alla Pace* (Alb, Berl, BM, Fogg, MMA, PMA, Uff, Wind)
- III. As above, but with extensive reworking of the plate (BN, Calc, Farn, Stutt)

COPIES

PRINTS 1. Print in the reverse sense. 137 x 176 mm (5⅜ x 6⅝") (MMA). 2. Print in the reverse sense. 140 x 180 mm (5½ x 7⅞"). Inscribed in the lower left: *Wolff exc.* Bellini (a).

DRAWINGS 1. Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Paris, 1899. Drawing in the reverse sense. Red chalk. 322 x 484 mm (12½ x 19½"). 2. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, 5734s. Drawing in the reverse sense. Pen and brown ink over black chalk. 286 x 435 mm (11¼ x 17⅞"). I once attributed this to Testa (Cropper, 1984, fig. 50), but now believe it to be a copy after the print.

Cat. no. 59. *Venus Giving Arms to Aeneas*. Plate no. 988 (Calc)

- I. With no inscription (Alb, Berl, Bol, Fogg², MMA)
- II. Inscribed in the lower left margin: *Pietro Testa In. or et fecit*; in the lower right: *Gio: Giacomo de Rossi formis Romae alla Pace all'insegna di Parigi* (Alb, Berl, BM, BN, Calc, Edin, Frank, PMA, Wind). Bartsch and Nagler mention the signature but not the address. No examples are known without the address.

COPIES

PRINTS 1. Print in the reverse sense, but with no inscription. 360 x 400 mm (14¾ x 15¾"). Bellini (a). Not seen by the author. 2. Nagler cites a printed copy by G. A. Wolfgang. Bellini (b). Not seen by the author or Bellini.

	BARTSCH	BELLINI	LE BLANC	NAGLER
I	I	I	I	I
II		2		
III		3		
I	I	I	I	I
II		2		
III	-	-	-	-
I		I		
II	I	2		I

Cat. no. 61. *The Sacrifice of Iphigenia*

- I. Inscribed in the image to the right: *PTL Pinx. et Sculp.* With the dedication to Albericio, but without an address (BN, Wind)
- II. As above, but with the dedication burnished out and fragments of the shield and upper parts of letters still visible (Alb, Berl, Bol, Edin, Fogg)
- III. As above, but with the address added on the first step to the left: *Si stampano per Gio: Giacomo de Rossi in Roma alla Pace* (Berl, BM, Calc, Frank, MMA, Mun, PMA, Uff, Wind)

COPIES

PRINTS 1. Engraving, 169 x 228 mm (6⁵/₈ x 9") (Alb). Inscribed in the plate in the lower left margin: *B. Picart del. 1731*; in the center: *Le Sacrifice d'Iphigenie. Ovid livr. 12. fabl. 1*. No Greek inscription on the altar. 2. Engraving in the reverse sense, with the Greek inscription on the altar. 139 x 175 mm (5¹/₂ x 6⁷/₈") (trimmed; MMA). 3. Print in the reverse sense, with an inscription in Latin and French in the margin and with the address of P. Mariette. No inscription on the altar. Bellini (a). Not seen by the author.

DRAWINGS 1. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, 510/1973. Drawing of the central figures and right-hand groups. Pen and brown ink over black chalk on cream paper. Inscribed in the lower right: *Pietro Testa*. 2. Private collection, Italy. Drawing related to Testa's print, although not strictly a copy. Late seventeenth century. Pen and brown ink. 325 x 400 mm (12¹³/₁₆ x 15³/₄").

Cat. no. 63. *The Adoration of the Magi*

- I. With the dedication to Buonvisi; inscribed in the lower right corner: *Petrus Testa*; in the image above the lower margin: *PTL Pinx et Sculp* (Alb, BM, BN, Edin, Farn, Frank, MMA, Mun, PMA, Wind). Bartsch cites a first state without the artist's name in the margin, but no examples have come to light, and none are cited by Bellini. Given the inaccuracies of Bartsch's information about states, there is no reason to maintain that such a state exists until one is found.
- II. As above, but with the plate reworked in several areas and the address added in the lower left margin: *Gio Giacomo Rossi Formis alla pace* (Alb, Berl, BN, Bol, Edin, Fogg, PMA, Stutt, Uff, Wind)

COPIES

PRINTS 1. Etching in the same sense, but with the image cut at the sides and the shield cast in shadow. 397 x 257 mm (15⁵/₈ x 10¹/₈") (Calc). Inscribed in the image above the lower left margin: *PTL Pinx. et sculp.* Bellini (a). 2. Etching in the reverse sense, but without the goddess in the temple to the left. 174 x 125 mm (6⁷/₈ x 4¹⁵/₁₆") (trimmed; MMA). Bellini (b). According to Nagler this copy was made by N. Cochin. 3. Mezzotint in the reverse sense, but with several variations by Jacob Gole (Alb).

DRAWINGS 1. Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (West), KdZ 21796. Drawing of the upper section, including the angels holding the star. Red chalk with pink wash on cream paper. 2. A free copy by Fontebasso. Pen and wash. 502 x 356 mm (19³/₄ x 14"). Illustrated in *Apollo*, n.s., vol. 85, no. 63 (May 1967), p. li, as with Thomas Agnew & Sons Ltd., London. 3. Hartmann, 1970, p. 131, cites a drawing by G. C. Liska in the Národní Galerie, Prague, K7633.

PAINTING Musée Fabre, Montpellier, 825-1212. 134 x 95 cm (52³/₄ x 37³/₈"). Apparently a copy after the print, or after a lost painting to which the inscription on the print would refer.

Cat. no. 71. *The Sacrifice of Isaac*. Plate no. 977 (Calc)

- I. With no inscription (Alb, Berl, BM, BN, Bol, Calc, Edin, Farn, Fogg, Frank, MMA, Mun, NGA, Stutt, Uff, Wind)

	BARTSCH	BELLINI	LE BLANC	NAGLER
I	1	1	1	1
II	2	2	2	2
III		3		
I?	1?	1, 2	1	1
		3		
I	1	1	1	1



Fig. v-c. Copperplate for *The Triumph of Painting on Parnassus* (cat. no. 73). Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica—Calcografia, Rome, plate no. 994

Cat. no. 73. *The Triumph of Painting on Parnassus*. Plate no. 994 (Calc). See fig. v-c.

- I. With the dedication to Buonvisi, but without an address (BN, PMA)
 II. As above, but with the address added in the lower left margin: *Gio: Iacomo de Rossi formis Romae 1648 alla Pace* (Alb, BN, Calc, Edin, Farn, Fogg, Frank, MMA, Stock, Stutt, Wind)

BARTSCH
 BELLINI
 LE BLANC
 NAGLER

1	1	1	1
	2		

COPIES

PRINTS 1. Etching in the reverse sense, but without the inscription in the scroll and with those in the *cartelli* not in capitals. Inscribed inside the lower right margin: *P. Testa fecit*. Bellini (a). 2. As above, but with the inscription in the lower right margin: *P. Testa d. G. A. Wolfgang aquaforti*. 465 x approx. 700 mm (18⁵/₁₆ x 27⁹/₁₆") (border; Alb).

DRAWINGS 1. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, 15747. Drawing in the same sense, but without the inscription. Red chalk on buff paper. 465 x 720 mm (18⁵/₁₆ x 28³/₈"). 2. Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Paris, 1921 recto. Drawing after the figures of Painting, the three Graces, Magnanimity, and Envy. Pen and brown ink with brown wash on cream paper. 276 x 230 mm (10⁷/₈ x 9¹/₁₆"). Very close to Testa. 3. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nimes. Drawing after the figures of the lovers and of Envy. 4. Nationalmuseum, Anckarsvärd Sammling, Stockholm, 449. Drawing after the figures on the left of the print. Pen and brown ink with brown wash over black chalk on buff paper. 5 and 6. Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II (Royal Library, Windsor Castle), 5947 and 5948. Drawing in the same sense in two parts. Pen and brown ink with black wash. 5947: 447 x 360 mm (17⁵/₈ x 14³/₁₆"). 5948: 427 x 353 mm (16¹/₁₆ x 13⁷/₈"). See Blunt and Cooke, 1960, p. 116, nos. 990 and 991.

PAINTINGS 1. The National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, 2326. Copy of the whole composition in the same sense, but with the scroll to the right unscscribed and no *cartelli*. Monochrome oil on canvas. 85 x 106.8 cm (33⁷/₁₆ x 42¹/₁₆"). See Brigstocke, 1974, n.p. 2. Petrucci, 1936, p. 75, fig. 10, reproduces a painting in the reverse sense in the Iandolo Collection. On the basis of the illustration, Schleier, 1970, p. 668, remarks that "it seems to be a weak derivation from the engraving," and I would agree with this.

Cat. no. 75. *Spring*. Plate no. 996/4 (Calc)

- I. With no inscription (Alb, BN, Edin, Farn)

1	1	1	1
---	---	---	---

II. Inscribed in the image above the lower margin: *Pietro Testa inve. delin. et Sculp. Gio Iacomo de Rossi forma Roma alla Pace cum Priv. S. P.* Completely reworked and with many additional lines, such as the vertical lines of the chest of the yawning man and the hatching in the lower left corner (Alb, BN, Calc, Farn, Frank, PMA, Stock, Stutt, Uff)

COPIES

PRINTS 1. Etching in the reverse sense. 483 x 699 mm (19 x 27½") (border; Wind). Inscribed in the margin at the right: *P. Testa d. G. And. Wolfgang aqua forti.* Bellini (a). 2. As above, but with the inscription added in the left margin: *Stephanus Meistetter excudit Aug. Vind.* 505 x 690 mm (19 x 27⅓") (trimmed; MMA). 2. Bellini (b) cites a copy in the reverse sense without inscriptions.

DRAWINGS 1 and 2. Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II (Royal Library, Windsor Castle), 5950 and 5944. Drawing in the same sense in two parts. Pen and brown ink with black wash. 5950: 469 x 348 mm (18⅞ x 13⅛"). 5944: 475 x 346 mm (18⅞ x 13⅞"). See Blunt and Cooke, 1960, p. 116, nos. 992 and 993. 3. Drawing in the same sense of the section including Venus and Apollo. Sold in Brussels in 1927. Photograph at the Kunsthistorisches Institut, Florence.

Cat. no. 76. *Summer*. Plate no. 996/1 (Calc)

I. With the space for the dedication blank. Nagler describes this state, but no examples are known to the author or to Bellini. Nagler may have been confused by the copy.

II. With the dedication to Della Borgia (Alb, BN, Edin, Stock, Wind)

III. As above, but with a small crack in the plate at the right edge. The figures in the background heavily reworked (Calc, PMA, Stutt)

COPIES

PRINT Etching in the reverse sense, with the space for the dedication blank and the figures in the cave misunderstood. 482 x 692 mm (19 x 27¼") (border; Alb). Inscribed in the plate below the lower right margin: *P. Testa d. G. A. W. aqua forti.*

DRAWINGS 1 and 2. Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II (Royal Library, Windsor Castle), 5949 and 5946. Drawing in the same sense in two parts. Pen and brown ink with black wash. 5949: 472 x 351 mm (18⅞ x 13⅓"). 5946: 483 x 336 mm (19 x 13¼"). See Blunt and Cooke, 1960, p. 116, nos. 994 and 995. 3. The National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, RSA 382. Pen and brown ink over black chalk on cream paper. 472 x 718 mm (18⅞ x 28¼").

Cat. no. 79. *Autumn*. Plate no. 996/3 (Calc)

I. With no inscription. Bellini proposes two states, the only difference between them being that in the second a diagonal line appears across the chest of Bacchus. I can only assume here that he is referring to the line across the chest of Silenus. It appears to be a scratch on the plate that became more apparent as the plate was used, and there seems little reason to argue that there are in fact two true states of the print (Alb, BN, Calc, Edin, Farn, MMA, PMA, Stock, Stutt, V & A)

COPIES

PRINT Etching in the reverse sense. 483 x 698 mm (19 x 27½") (border; Wind). Inscribed in the lower right margin: *P. Test. d. G. And. Wolfgang aqua forti.*

DRAWINGS 1. Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, 4410. Drawing of the right side of the composition in the same sense. Red chalk and gray wash on buff paper. 315 x 333 mm (12⅞ x 13⅛"). Cited as original by Bellini. 2. Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II (Royal Library, Windsor Castle), 5940. Pen and brown ink with black wash; partly ruled in brown ink. 488 x 348 mm (19⅓ x 13⅛"). See Blunt and Cooke, 1960, p. 116, no. 996. 3. Formerly in an Italian private collection. Drawing of the left side of the composition in the same sense. Red chalk on cream paper. 230 x 275 mm (9⅛ x 10⅓"). Inscribed in pen and brown ink: *Pro. Testa.*

BARTSCH
BELLINI
LE BLANC
NAGLER

2

1 1 1

1 2 2

3

1 1, 2 1 1

Cat. nos. 81 and 82. *Winter*. Plate no. 996/2 (Calc)

- I. Inscribed in the plate in the lower right corner: *Petrus Testa Pinxit et Sculptit/ 1644*; without an address. Bellini cites an example in the Museo Nazionale di San Martino, Naples.
- II. As above, but with the address added in the plate in the lower right corner: *Si stampano in Roma alla Pace per Giovan: Domenico Rossi* (Alb, BN, PMA). For the order of these states, see Francesca Consagra, "The Marketing of Pietro Testa's 'Poetic Inventions,'" above.
- III. As above, but with the address altered to read: *Si stampano in Roma alla Pace per Giovan Jacomo Rossi/ all insegna di Parigi* (Alb, Calc, Edin, Farn, Fogg, MMA, PMA, Stock, Stutt)

COPIES

PRINT Etching in the reverse sense. 490 x 704 mm (19⁵/₁₆ x 27¹/₁₆"") (border; Wind). Inscribed in the lower right margin: *P. Test. d. G. And. Wolfgang aqua forti*. Bellini (c). Bellini cites two other copies in reverse, the first with all the inscriptions of the second state also in reverse. These may in fact be counterproofs, but are not known to the author.

DRAWINGS 1. The National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, RSA 381. Black chalk. 472 x 741 mm (18⁹/₁₆ x 29³/₁₆""). 2 and 3. Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II (Royal Library, Windsor Castle), 5943 and 5941. Drawing in two parts. Pen and brown ink with black wash. 5943: 483 x 342 mm (19 x 13⁷/₁₆""). 5941: 482 x 342 mm (19 x 13⁷/₁₆""). See Blunt and Cooke, 1960, p. 117, nos. 997 and 998.



Fig. v-d. Copperplate for *An Allegory in Honor of Innocent X* (cat. nos. 85 and 86). Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica—Calcografia, Rome, plate no. 991

Cat. nos. 85 and 86. *An Allegory in Honor of Innocent X*. Plate no. 991 (Calc). See fig. v-d.

- I. With no inscription and with the portrait of Innocent X facing right and the dove facing left. Bellini cites no examples of this putative first state but describes it with the dedication. Unique example in the Collection A. B., Rome (cat. no. 85).
- II. With the dedication to Garbesi and with the address added in the lower left margin: *Si stampano alla Pace per Gio: Domenico Rossi/ in Roma* (Alb, Bol, Edin)
- III. As above, but with the address altered to read: *Si stampano alla Pace per Gio Jacomo de Rossi/ in Roma all insegna di Parigi* (Alb, Berl, BM, BN, MMA, PMA, Stutt, Uff, Wind)
- IV. With the dedication to Garbesi (not erased as Bellini states), but with the address altered to read: *Roma presso la Calcografia Camerale* (Calc)

	BARTSCH	BELLINI	LE BLANC	NAGLER
I.	1	1	1	1
II.		3		
III.		2		
IV.		3		

Cat. no. 94. *The Holy Family Fed by Angels*. Plate no. 980 (Calc)

I. Inscribed in the image beside the Buonvisi star in the lower left: *P. Testa*
(Alb, BM, BN, Edin, Farn)

II. As above, but with the address added in the image in the lower left corner:
Gio Giacomo Rossi li Stampa in Roma alla Pace (BN, Bol, Calc, Farn, MMA,
PMA, Stutt, Uff, Wind)

Cat. no. 95. *The Departure of the Prodigal Son*

I. Inscribed in the image on the step to the left: *L'HISTORIA/ Del Figliolo*
prodigo/ P. Testa in. et fecit Romae (Bol, MMA)

II. As above, but with the inscription added in the image below the steps:
J.R. cum privilegio Regis (Alb, Berl, BM, BN, Edin, Fogg, Frank, PMA, Wind)

III. As above, but with the address added below the privilege: *Wauperche* [*sic*,
the first letter of *Mauperche* inverted] *excud.* (Stutt)

COPY

PRINT In the reverse sense. 210 x 295 mm (8¼ x 11⅝"). Inscribed in the lower left margin:
P. Test. d.; to the right: *Georg. And. Wolfgang Excu.* Bellini (a). A print in the Graphische
Sammlung Albertina, Vienna (199 x 290 mm [7⅓⅙ x 11⅞"]); trimmed), is probably of
this copy.

Cat. no. 96. *The Prodigal Son Wasting His Substance*

I. Inscribed in the image in the lower left corner: *P. Testa in. et fec. Romae* (Alb,
Berl, BM, BN, Bol, Edin, Frank, MMA, Mun, PMA, Stutt)

II. As above, but with the address added above the lower margin: *H. Mauperche*
excud. cum privilegio Regis (BN, Stutt)

COPIES

PRINTS 1. Print in the reverse sense, but with no inscription in the margin. 207 x 294 mm
(8⅓ x 11⅞") (border; MMA). Bellini (a). 2. Print in the reverse sense. 130 x 173 mm
(5⅓ x 6⅓⅙") (trimmed; BN). Inscribed in the image in the lower left corner: *JBG/*
P. Testa in./ A paris chez Landry rue S. Jacques.; in the margin: *Et ibi dissipavit Substantiam*
suam vivendo luxuriose. Luc. C. 5. V. 13./ Pecheur que le Plaisir enyure/ Que tu le hayrois ce
malheureux plaisir/ Si tu pouvois dans l'avenir/ Voir le maux qui doivent le Suivre.

DRAWING Städtisches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, 4409. Drawing in the same sense, with
the scene through the arch misunderstood. Pen and brown ink over red chalk with two
shades of brown wash on buff paper. 215 x 317 mm (8⅞ x 12½"). Inscribed in brown
ink on the pedestal of the sculpture: *pietro testa*. Attributed by Bodmer and accepted by
Bellini, but correctly rejected by Harris.

Cat. no. 97. *The Prodigal Son Among the Swine*

I. Inscribed in the image in the lower left corner: *P. Testa in. fec. Roma* (Alb,
Berl, BM, BN, Edin, Fogg, Frank, MMA, Stutt, Wind)

II. As above, but with the inscriptions added above the lower margin in the
lower right corner: *PT in fecit Romae*; to the left: *H. Mauperche excud. cum*
privilegio Regis (BN, PMA, Stutt)

COPIES

PRINTS 1. Print in the reverse sense, but with no inscription. 207 x 293 mm (8⅓ x 11½")
(border; Alb). Bellini (a). 2. Print in the reverse sense. 184 x 299 mm (7¼ x 11¾") (bor-
der; Alb). Inscribed in the image in the lower left corner: *P. Testa inv. Romae*; to the right:
J. [R. ?] f.

Cat. no. 98. *The Return of the Prodigal Son*

I. Inscribed in the image in the lower left corner: *P. Testa. in: fec. Romae* (Alb,
Berl, BM, BN, Bol, Edin, Frank, MMA, PMA, Stutt, Wind)

	BARTSCH	BELLINI	LE BLANC	NAGLER
I. Inscribed in the image beside the Buonvisi star in the lower left: <i>P. Testa</i> (Alb, BM, BN, Edin, Farn)	1	1	1	1
II. As above, but with the address added in the image in the lower left corner: <i>Gio Giacomo Rossi li Stampa in Roma alla Pace</i> (BN, Bol, Calc, Farn, MMA, PMA, Stutt, Uff, Wind)		2		
I. Inscribed in the image on the step to the left: <i>L'HISTORIA/ Del Figliolo</i> <i>prodigo/ P. Testa in. et fecit Romae</i> (Bol, MMA)	—	—	—	—
II. As above, but with the inscription added in the image below the steps: <i>J.R. cum privilegio Regis</i> (Alb, Berl, BM, BN, Edin, Fogg, Frank, PMA, Wind)	1	1	1	1
III. As above, but with the address added below the privilege: <i>Wauperche</i> [<i>sic</i> , the first letter of <i>Mauperche</i> inverted] <i>excud.</i> (Stutt)		2		
I. Inscribed in the image in the lower left corner: <i>P. Testa in. et fec. Romae</i> (Alb, Berl, BM, BN, Bol, Edin, Frank, MMA, Mun, PMA, Stutt)	1	1	1	1
II. As above, but with the address added above the lower margin: <i>H. Mauperche</i> <i>excud. cum privilegio Regis</i> (BN, Stutt)		2		
I. Inscribed in the image in the lower left corner: <i>P. Testa in. fec. Roma</i> (Alb, Berl, BM, BN, Edin, Fogg, Frank, MMA, Stutt, Wind)	1	1	1	1
II. As above, but with the inscriptions added above the lower margin in the lower right corner: <i>PT in fecit Romae</i> ; to the left: <i>H. Mauperche excud. cum</i> <i>privilegio Regis</i> (BN, PMA, Stutt)		2		
I. Inscribed in the image in the lower left corner: <i>P. Testa. in: fec. Romae</i> (Alb, Berl, BM, BN, Bol, Edin, Frank, MMA, PMA, Stutt, Wind)	1	1	1	1

	BARTSCH	BELLINI	LE BLANC	NAGLER
II. As above, but with the inscription added in the lower right corner: <i>PT in fec. Romae, H. Mauperche excud. cum privilegio Regis</i> (Stutt)		2		
<i>COPIES</i>				
PRINT In the reverse sense. 201 x 295 mm (7 ¹⁵ / ₁₆ x 11 ⁵ / ₈ " (trimmed; MMA). Bellini (a).				
DRAWING The National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, RSA 947. Drawing in the reverse sense. Red chalk on white paper. 210 x 303 mm (8 ¹ / ₄ x 11 ¹⁵ / ₁₆ "				
Cat. no. 101. <i>Altro diletto ch' imparar non trovo</i>				
I. Inscribed in the image on the shield: <i>ALTRO DILETTO CH' IMPARAR NO' TROVO</i> ; on the ground in the lower left corner: <i>PTL Pinx. et Sculp.</i> (Alb, Berl, BM, BN, Edin, Fogg, MMA, PMA, Stutt, Uff)	1	1	1	1
II. As above, but with the address added in the center of the lower margin: <i>Arnoldo van Westerhout formis in Roma</i> (BN)		2		
III. As above, but with Westerhout's address erased and with the inscription added: <i>Vincentius Billij formis in Roma</i> (BN)		3		
<i>COPIES</i>				
PRINT In the reverse sense, but with the inscription added outside the lower left margin: <i>P. Testa d. G.A.W. aqua forti.</i> 385 x 516 mm (15 ¹ / ₈ x 20 ⁵ / ₁₆ " (border; Wind). Bellini (a).				
DRAWINGS 1 and 2. Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II (Royal Library, Windsor Castle), 5942 and 5945. Drawing in the same sense in two parts. Pen and brown ink with black wash. 5942: 381 x 277 mm (15 x 10 ⁷ / ₈ "). 5945: 377 x 262 mm (14 ⁷ / ₈ x 10 ⁵ / ₁₆ "). See Blunt and Cooke, 1960, p. 116, nos. 988 and 989.				
Cat. no. 102. <i>The Triumph of the Virtuous Artist on Parnassus</i> . Plate no. 994 (Calc)				
I. With the dedication to Minard (Alb, BN, NGA)	1	1	1	1
II. With the dedication to Minard erased and with the inscription added: <i>All' Ill. mo Sig. r mio Sig. r et Pron Colendis. mo Il Sig. r Fra Gio: Tomaso Rondanino Cavalier Gerosolimitano. / Chi camina per la via della Virtu con la scorta del' lume della sapienza non puo far a meno, che la fama non li appresti Corone, e trionfi. V. S. Ill. ma che calca anch' essa il medemo sentiero miri in questo delineamento del' Sig. r Testa espresso un ritratto delle sue virtuose operationi, e gli eventi del suo merito quale incatenera/ il tempo e lo serbera immortale ad onta della morte, dall' espressione di questa verita riconosca V. S. Ill. ma il mio ossequio et humiliss. te me li inchino. Di V. S. Ill. ma Devotissimo et obligatissimo Servitore Gio: Domenico Rossi. D.D.D.</i> (Alb, Berl, Bol, Edin, Farn, Fogg, Frank, MMA, Uff, Wind)	2	2		2
III. With the dedication to Rondanino erased and with fig leaves added to the two central male figures (Calc)		3		
<i>COPIES</i>				
PRINTS 1. Print in the reverse sense with the dedication to Minard. Bellini (a). Not seen by the author. 2. Print in the reverse sense. Inscribed in the lower left margin: <i>P. Test. d. G. A. Wolfgang aqua forti</i> (BN). Bellini (b).				
Cat. no. 106. <i>Self-Portrait</i>				
I. With no inscription. No examples known.		1	1	1
II. Inscribed inside the lower plate mark outside the oval: <i>Ritratto di Pietro Testa Pictore eccel. te/ delineavit et Sculpsit Romae. superiorum permisu/ fran. co Collignon formis</i> (Alb, BM, BN, Edin, Farn, MMA, PMA)	1	2		2
III. As above, but with the address of Collignon erased and with the inscription added: <i>Arnoldo Van Westerhout formis</i> (BN, Frank)		3		3

COPIES

PRINTS The portraits of Testa by Giovanni Cesare Testa, Benedetto Eredi, J. Waesbergen, and Joachim von Sandrart cited by Bellini are not true copies of the print but independent variations upon it. Another printed portrait by Pier Antonio Pazzi (Alb) is also quite different in appearance, although it shares the oval format of the original.

Cat. no. 114. *The Symposium*. Plate no. 975/2 (Calc)

- I. With no inscription (Bol)
- II. With the dedication to Cellesio (Alb, Berl, BM, BN, Edin, Fogg, Frank, MMA, Mun, PMA, Stutt, Uff, Wind)
- III. As above, but with the address added: *Arnoldus Van Westerhout excudit Romae sup. perm* (Bol, BN, MMA)
- IV. Bellini cites a state with Van Westerhour's address replaced by that of Vincenzo Billy.
- V. Bellini cites a state with Billy's address removed to leave a large white space.

COPIES

PRINT Bellini (a) describes a copy in the reverse sense with the inscriptions of the third state in the Uffizi (15791), and with a false plate mark. As he suggests, however, this is a counterproof of the third state.

PAINTING Hartmann, 1970, p. 230, cites a painting by A. Feuerbach in the Badische Kunsthalle as a free copy.

Cat. no. 116. *The Suicide of Cato*. Plate no. 975/20 (Calc)

- I. With the inscription, but without an address (Alb, Berl, BM, BN, Bol, Edin, Fogg, MMA, Wind). Bellini attributes Harris's (1967, p. 50 n. 14) comments about *The Triumph of Painting on Parnassus* (cat. no. 73) to this print and mistakenly hypothesizes an even earlier state without the inscription.
- II. As above, but with the address added in the center of the lower margin: *Arnoldus Van Westerhout Excudit Romae Sup per* (Berl, BN, MMA)
- III. As above, but with the address altered to read: *In Romae da Vincenzo Billij* (BM, Edin, PMA, Stutt, Uff)
- IV. As above, but with the address erased and with a break in the plate in the lower left corner (Bol, Farn, Uff). Examples exist printed in red ink.
- V. As above, but with a break in the plate in the lower right corner (Calc)

COPIES

PRINT Bellini (a) cites a print in the reverse sense produced by Bolzoni in Ferrara in 1753. 390 x 500 mm (15³/₈ x 19¹/₁₆").

DRAWING Incomplete drawing with the inscription. Pen and ink. 290 x 430 mm (11⁷/₁₆ x 16⁵/₁₆"). Sale, Vente Drouot Rive Gauche, Paris, *Collection du Docteur C. . . . : Tableaux anciens . . .* (March 16, 1976), lot 27.

PLAQUE A faience plaque, probably painted by Bernardino Gentili and now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, reproduces the scene, although without the lamp and the shadows it creates. See Bertrand Jestaz, "Les modèles de la majolique historiée, II: XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 115th year, 6th ser., vol. 81, no. 1249 (February 1973), p. 120, fig. 28.

Cat. no. 118. *The Birth and Infancy of Achilles*. Plate no. 975/82 (Calc)

- I. With the lower margin blank and with the inscription in the lower right corner: *P. Testa fecit*. (Alb, Berl, BM, BN, Bol, Edin, Fogg, Frank, MMA, PMA, Uff). A counterproof exists in Berlin.
- II. As above, but with the inscription added in the left margin: *Arnoldus Van Westerhout Excudit Romae sup. perm*. (BN, Farn, Wind)

	BARTSCH	BELLINI	LE BLANC	NAGLER
I. With no inscription (Bol)		1		
II. With the dedication to Cellesio (Alb, Berl, BM, BN, Edin, Fogg, Frank, MMA, Mun, PMA, Stutt, Uff, Wind)	1	2	1	1
III. As above, but with the address added: <i>Arnoldus Van Westerhout excudit Romae sup. perm</i> (Bol, BN, MMA)		3		
IV. Bellini cites a state with Van Westerhour's address replaced by that of Vincenzo Billy.		4		
V. Bellini cites a state with Billy's address removed to leave a large white space.		5		
I. With the inscription, but without an address (Alb, Berl, BM, BN, Bol, Edin, Fogg, MMA, Wind). Bellini attributes Harris's (1967, p. 50 n. 14) comments about <i>The Triumph of Painting on Parnassus</i> (cat. no. 73) to this print and mistakenly hypothesizes an even earlier state without the inscription.	1	1	1	1
II. As above, but with the address added in the center of the lower margin: <i>Arnoldus Van Westerhout Excudit Romae Sup per</i> (Berl, BN, MMA)		2		
III. As above, but with the address altered to read: <i>In Romae da Vincenzo Billij</i> (BM, Edin, PMA, Stutt, Uff)		3		
IV. As above, but with the address erased and with a break in the plate in the lower left corner (Bol, Farn, Uff). Examples exist printed in red ink.	-	-	-	-
V. As above, but with a break in the plate in the lower right corner (Calc)		4		
I. With the lower margin blank and with the inscription in the lower right corner: <i>P. Testa fecit</i> . (Alb, Berl, BM, BN, Bol, Edin, Fogg, Frank, MMA, PMA, Uff). A counterproof exists in Berlin.	1	1	1	1
II. As above, but with the inscription added in the left margin: <i>Arnoldus Van Westerhout Excudit Romae sup. perm</i> . (BN, Farn, Wind)		2		

- III. As above, but with the address altered to that of Vincenzo Billy (Uff)
 IV. With the margin blank after the address has been removed (Calc).
 Examples exist printed in red ink (Farn, Uff)

COPIES

PRINTS 1. Lithograph of the right side. 465 x 323 mm (18⁵/₁₆ x 12¹¹/₁₆") (trimmed; BN). Inscribed: *P. Lacour del. Lith. de Légé. La naissance d'Achille; sa mère le plonge dans l'eau du Styx pour le rendre invulnérable . . .* 2. Print in the reverse sense. 185 x 280 mm (7¹/₄ x 11"). Inscribed in Latin in the margin to the left and in French to the right, and with the address of P. Mariette. Bellini (a). 3. Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (West), 647-129. An etching in the shape of a fan that appears to be a pastiche of Testa's manner. It includes the figure of the Styx in the reverse sense. approx. 55 x 220 mm (2³/₁₆ x 8¹¹/₁₆") (curved).

DRAWINGS Hartmann, 1970, p. 233, cites a drawing in the Musée Fabre, Montpellier, 870-1-86, and a second with L. Dubant, Paris.

PAINTINGS Hartmann, 1970, p. 233, cites a painting with P. Botte in Paris (58 x 36 cm [22¹³/₁₆ x 14³/₁₆"]), and another formerly in the Liechtenstein Collection, Vienna (99 x 136 cm [39 x 53⁹/₁₆"]).

Cat. no. 121. *Achilles Dragging the Body of Hector Around the Walls of Troy*. Plate no. 975/3 (Calc)

I. Inscribed in the image above the center of the lower margin: *P. Testa fecit.* (Alb, Berl, BM, BN, Edin, Farn, Fogg, Frank, PMA, Uff, Wind)

II. As above, but with the address added in the lower left margin: *Arnoldus Van Westerhout Excudit Romae Sup. perm.* (Berl, BN, Farn, MMA). The example in the Farnesina appears to have been reworked.

III. As above, but with the address altered to that of Vincenzo Billy (Bol, PMA, Uff)

IV. As above, but with the address erased (Bol). An example in sanguine in the Farnesina would appear to be of this state rather than of the first state, although the erasure of the address is not apparent.

COPIES

PRINT In the reverse sense. 170 x 248 mm (6¹/₁₆ x 9³/₄") (trimmed; Wind).

DRAWING In the same sense. Pen and brown ink and brown wash over red chalk. 275 x 395 mm (10¹³/₁₆ x 15⁹/₁₆"). Inscribed: *Appartiene ad Ales. Maggiori il quale lo comprò in Roma nel 1808*. Sale, Sotheby's, London, *Old Master Drawings . . .* (July 1, 1971), p. 81, lot 179.

BARTSCH
 BELLINI
 LE BLANC
 NAGLER

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I	1	1	1	1
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