

EDWARD J. OLSZEWSKI

THE PAINTERS IN CARDINAL PIETRO OTTOBONI'S
COURT OF THE CANCELLERIA, 1689–1740

This research was supported by a National Endowment for the Humanities Fellowship for Independent Study, a Fulbright-Hays Fellowship from the Commission for Cultural Exchange, and a Gladys Kriebel Delmas Foundation Fellowship. I am grateful to Case Western Reserve Uni-

versity for sabbatical leaves granted in 1979–1980 and 1986 for visits to Roman and Venetian archives. The author acknowledges the Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, Case Western Reserve University, for a partial subvention of costs for publication rights.



1. After Francesco Trevisani, Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni as Protector of the French Crown, 1709, engraving. Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale



2. Anon., Pope Alexander VIII Ottoboni, engraving, 1689. Venice, Museo Correr

The death of Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni (1667–1740, fig. 1) in Rome in 1740 ended a half-century of rich and varied patronage, and marked the decline of papal nepotism in the Baroque era. The age of Ottoboni can be dated from 1654 when Pietro Ottoboni's great-uncle, Pietro Vito Ottoboni, became

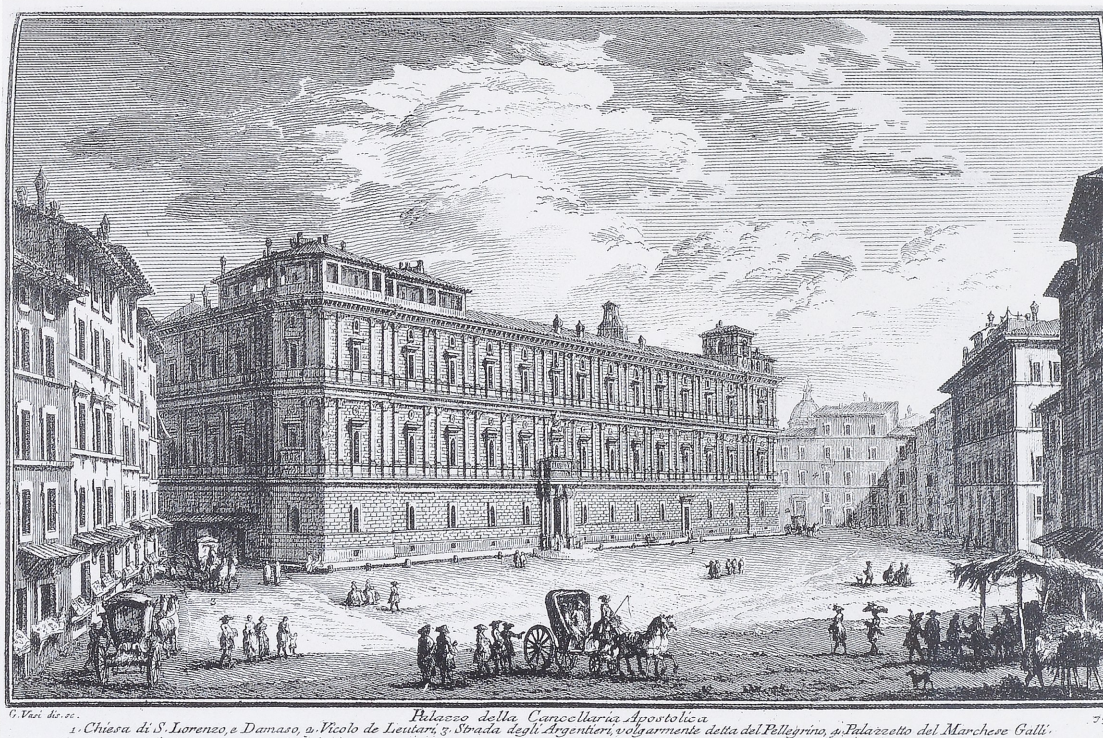
bishop of Brescia, and began to assemble the collection of 387 paintings that would become his nephew's inheritance.¹ Just weeks after his election to the papacy in 1689 as Alexander VIII (fig. 2),² Pietro Vito appointed his nephew cardinal and Vice-Chancellor of the Church. Cardinal Ottoboni's tak-

¹ Pope Innocent X made him a cardinal in 1652, and appointed him to the See of Brescia two years later where he served for ten years until Alexander VII called him back to Rome. The inventory of his collection of 387 paintings is recorded in ASVic, Arch. Ottob., vol. 26, pp. 1–47, 1690 (see also vol. 342). For the inventory of his nephew, Cardinal Ottoboni, of 5 March 1740, see ASR, A.C. 1838 (or R.C.A. 604). A study of the inventories of Ottoboni paintings is in progress. For an introduction to the Ottoboni archives, see ODIER 1966; BAV, Luigi Fiorani, *Computisteria Ottoboni*, Vatican Library 1976.

² For Alexander VIII, see Ludwig von Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vol. 32, pp. 525–560; A. Petrucci, "Alessandro VIII," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 2, Rome 1960, pp. 215–219; ASVe, D 578/4905, Angelo Maria Querini, *Tiara et purpura Veneta ab anno 1379 ad annum 1759*, Brescia 1761, pp. 307–312. For the history of the Ottoboni family, see Antonio Menniti Ippolito, "Ecclesiastici veneti, tra Venezia e Roma," in AA. VV., *Venezia e la Roma dei papi*, Milan, 1987, pp. 209–234; idem., *Politiaie e carriere ecclesiastiche nel secolo XVII. I vescovi veneti fra Roma e Venezia*, Bologna 1993. For an early survey of the papal nephew's patronage, see Francis Haskell *Patrons and Painters*, New Haven 1963, pp. 164–166; Armando Schiavo, *Il Palazzo*

della Cancelleria, Rome 1964, pp. 100–104, 196–197. For more recent literature based on emerging archival studies, see OLSZEWSKI 1977, 1982, 1986, 1989; Maria Volpicelli, "Il Teatro del cardinale Ottoboni al Palazzo della Cancelleria," in *Il Teatro a Roma nel Settecento*, 3 vols., Rome 1989, II, pp. 681–782; Anna Lo Bianco, "La decorazione della chiesa di S. Francesco a Bolsena: una committenza di Andrea Adami, arcade della cerchia di Ottoboni," *Atti e memorie* (1991–1994), pp. 367–386; Elena Bianca di Gioia, "Un busto del cardinal Pietro Ottoboni Seniore al museo di Roma. Ancora una proposta per Domenico Guidi," *Bollettino dei musei comunali di Roma*, 6 (1992) pp. 108–136; Anna Lo Bianco, "Committenti ed artisti del XVIII secolo nel viterbese: il cardinal Ottoboni, Giaquinto, Conca, Rocca ed altre indagini," *Bollettino d'arte*, 80–81 (1993), pp. 107–120; Angela Negro, "Benedetto XIII e il cardinal Ottoboni: quadri e devozione filippina fra riti sacri e mondani," in *La Regola e la fama. San Filippo Neri e l'arte*, Milan 1995, pp. 278–295; Flavia Matitti, "La Santa Genuinda' e il cardinale Pietro Ottoboni," in *Il Baciccio illustratore*, Rome 1994, pp. 39–60; idem., "Il cardinale Pietro Ottoboni mecenate delle arti," *Storia dell'Arte*, 84 (1995) pp. 156–243; idem., "Il Cardinale Ottoboni e la Gemma di Asposios," *Strenna dei Romanisti*, 57 (1996), pp.

3. Giuseppe Vasi, Palace of the Cancelleria, Rome, engraving. Chicago, Illinois, The Newberry Library



ing residency in his official palace of the Cancelleria signaled the emergence of a new patron of the arts and the beginning of an extraordinary career.

The Vice-Chancellor's palace had been abandoned for some years after the death of Cardinal Francesco Barberini in 1679. Innocent XI had refused to fill the vacant post in the hope of ending papal nepotism, so that Alexander VIII's favoring of his nephew ten years later caused a controversy that would haunt Ottoboni in succeeding papacies. As the Barberini family had removed all furnishings from the Vice-Chancellor's residence on Cardinal Francesco's death,³ Cardinal Ottoboni's immediate concern was to renovate the abandoned Cancelleria (fig. 3), for which he engaged the able Domenico Paradisi (ca. 1660–1727). Paradisi's work was simplified when Alexander VIII had his collection moved to the Cancelleria from the palace of San Marco, the present Palazzo Venezia where he had resided as cardinal and pro-

rector of the Venetian state.⁴ The papal goods included much of the library purchased from Queen Christina of Sweden and the pope's collection of sixteenth and seventeenth century paintings, as well as his tapestries and coins and medals.

This collection served as a base for the cardinal-nephew to build on, while it facilitated Paradisi's campaign to decorate the Cancelleria, the success of which was recorded as early as 1693 by Pietro Rossini in his Roman guidebook, *Il Mercurio Errante delle Grandezze di Roma*.⁵ In the span of three years, Paradisi and his assistants had installed the pope's library and gallery of paintings, and had decorated the cardinal's public rooms and apartment suites with murals, wall hangings, velvet and brocade trim, and crystal. The *Giustificazione* of the Vatican's Fondo Ottoboni records more than 300 payments in excess of 70,000 *scudi* for this period.⁶

A renewed palace was necessary for the cardinal to function with efficiency as one of the most important officers in the Church bureaucracy, and in the splendor expected of his office. Rossini documented the results of these renovations for the visitor to Rome, and so introduced Ottoboni's Cancelleria as one of the most culturally vital courts in Rome. The archival records confirm his account.⁷

445–456; Lidya Insolera, "La committenza del cardinale Pietro Ottoboni e gli artisti siciliani a Roma," in *Artisti e mecenati: dipinti, disegni, sculture e carteggi nella Roma curiale*, ed. Elisa Debenedetti, Rome 1996, pp. 37–55; Peter Fusco, "A portrait medallion of Pope Alexander VIII by Lorenzo Ottoni in the J. Paul Getty Museum," *Burlington Magazine*, 139 (1997), pp. 872–876.

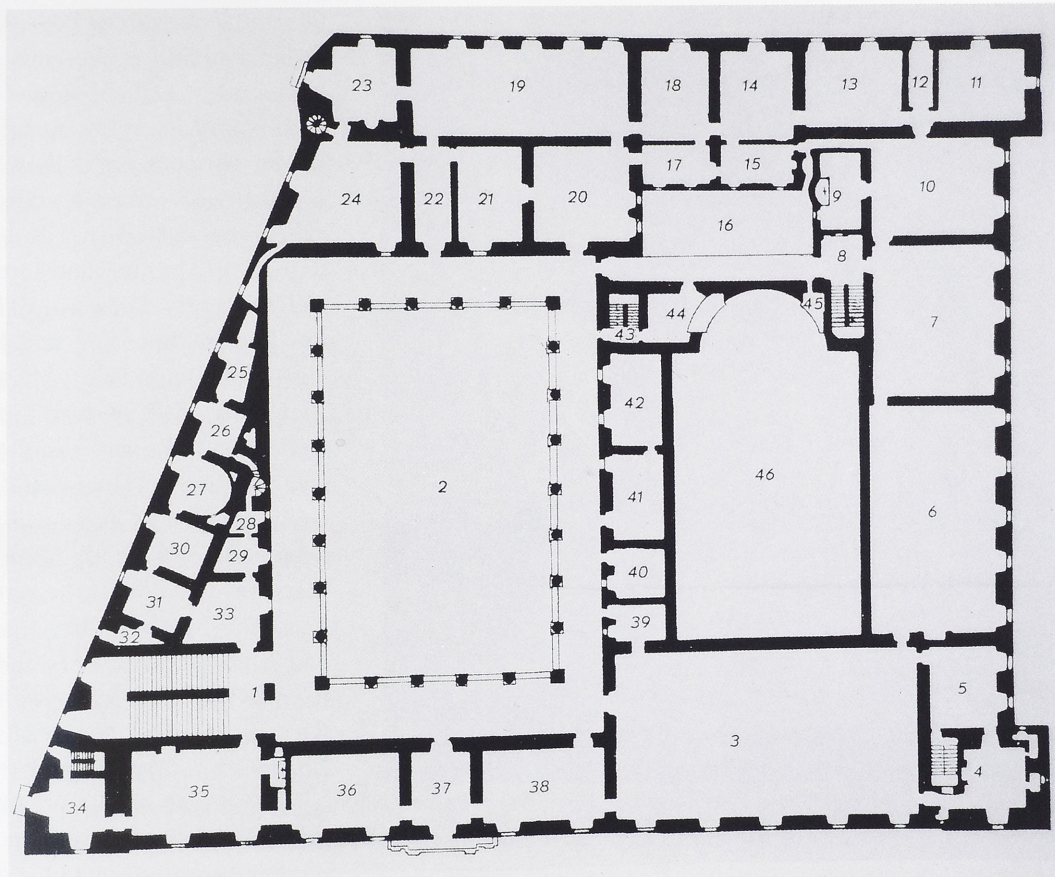
³ This caused Ottoboni to make claims against them to recover 12,000 *scudi* in damages; BAV, Arch. Barb. II, 2282bis.

⁴ This took place between 26 November and 9 December 1689. He appointed his nephew cardinal on 7 November and Vice-Chancellor on 13 November 1689; see ASVic, Arch. Ottob., vols. 41, 126 and ODIER 1966, p. 13.

⁵ See pp. 68–71 for Rossini's entry on the Cancelleria.

⁶ For Paradisi's activities in the Cancelleria, see BAV, Comp. Ottob., vols. 15–25 for the years 1690 to 1693, and discussion below.

⁷ In 1693, Ottoboni was in Venice for some months where he bought 16,000 *scudi* of furnishings and crystal for the palace; BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 30, no. 172; CAMPELLO 1887, p. 57.

4. Plan of Cancelleria (*piano nobile*), after Schiavo

Grand in its scale, this late fifteenth century structure occupied an irregular site, fronting on a piazza touching corners with the Campo dei Fiori on one side and leading to the Piazza Navona on the other. The portal of the facade led into the palace courtyard, and a second entry gave access to the basilica of San Lorenzo in Damaso incorporated within the palace walls.⁸ Raffaello Riario started construction of the Cancelleria in 1483 when he became titular bishop of San Lorenzo in Damaso. He replaced both the old palace

and the old church of San Lorenzo built by Pope St. Damaso ca. 382. Construction was completed by 1511. The Medici pope, Leo X, confiscated the palace after a political plot. He made it an ecclesiastical center in 1517.

The core of the palace is the large rectangular courtyard and, parallel to it and of comparable size, the basilica of San Lorenzo in Damaso (fig. 4, nos. 2, 46). Suites of apartments extend along the palace periphery through its four floors. A grand facade in the piazza has a three storey elevation with the two portals to the courtyard and basilica, and a *piano nobile* articulated by alternating bays of paired pilasters and round-headed windows. A series of little stores was set within the exterior west wall along the via del Pellegrino which cuts north into the palace at a diagonal. Reminiscent of old Roman *insulae*, these housed the shops of many of Rome's most prominent silversmiths during Ottoboni's lifetime.

Rossini alerted palace visitors to a pair of colossal figures of Roman matrons in the portico of the courtyard.⁹ Above this, he located Ottoboni's private apartments of eleven

⁸ For a history of the Cancelleria, see Armando Schiavo, *Il Palazzo della Cancelleria*, Rome 1964; Cecilia Ridolfini, *Guide Rionali di Roma*, VI. *Parione*. vol. 2, Rome 1980, pp. 68–124, 178–179; Armando Schiavo, "I 'vicini' di Palazzo Braschi," *Capitolium*, 41 (1966), pp. 37–44; *idem.*, "Abitanti del palazzo della Cancelleria," *Strenna dei Romanisti*, 40 (1979), pp. 552–560. Wolfgang Lotz and Ludwig Heydenreich, *Architecture in Italy 1400–1600*, Baltimore, Maryland 1974, pp. 67–70; David Cast, "Palazzo della Cancelleria," in *International Dictionary of Architects and Architecture*, ed. R. van Vynckt, vol. 2, London 1993, pp. 618–619. For San Lorenzo in Damaso, see Simonetta Valtieri, *La basilica di S. Lorenzo in Damaso*, Rome 1984; Emilio Lavignano, *Il Palazzo della Cancelleria e la chiesa di San Lorenzo in Damaso*, Rome 1924; Cesare Pecorari, *S. Lorenzo in Damaso*, Rome 1900; Antonio Fonseca, *De Basilica S. Laurentii in Damaso*, Fani 1745; Gaetano Moroni, "Cancelleria della S. Romana Chiesa," in *Dizionario di Erudizione Storica-Ecclesiastica*, vol. 7, Venice 1841, pp. 154–163, and "S. Lorenzo in Damaso," *ibid.*, vol. 12, 1842, pp. 67–72; Armando Schiavo, "La Chiesa di San Lorenzo in Damaso," *Alma Roma*, 9 (1968), pp. 40–43.

⁹ At least one of these statues, a 'Juno,' was sold for 140 *scudi* after the Vice-Chancellor's death; ASVic, Arch. Ottob., vol. 57, "Denari Ricavati dalla Vendita di Mobili dell'Appartamento Nobile Superiore." p. 1, "= Adi 27 Giugno 1740 = Per prezzo di una statua rappresentante una Giunone Regina che stava nella scala nuova venduta per scudi centoquaranta mta ▽ 140:="

rooms, one of which was the tribute of a previous Vice-Chancellor, Alessandro Farnese, to his grandfather, Pope Paul III.¹⁰ This impressive hall is Giorgio Vasari's Sala dei Cento Giorni, so named for the hundred days that he bragged it had taken him to paint its frescoes in 1546 (fig. 4, no. 6). These permanent decorations from a previous era were worthy, in Rossini's opinion, of a visit for tourists to Rome. Vasari's Sala was the only attraction on the *piano nobile* pre-dating Ottoboni's arrival that Rossini mentioned.¹¹ The anti-chamber next to it was Ottoboni's performance hall for oratorios with its balconies for musicians and singers, the Sala Riaria (fig. 4, no. 3). Larger than the Sala dei Cento Giorni, it would be refurbished in 1718 by Pope Clement XI who had served as arch-priest at San Lorenzo for a number of years.¹²

Rossini praised other rooms which were appointed in wall coverings of gold braid, and contained tapestries with history scenes, matching canopies, chairs of rich brocade, and twelve door curtains with gold embroidery valued at 700 *scudi* each. The cardinal's gallery had a dozen gilded figures of Moors, and ten tables of oriental alabaster with intricately worked legs. There were also two golden lions with cherubs, as a reference to Ottoboni's native Venice, a model of the Castel Sant'Angelo in silver and various silver

figures. A portrait of Pope Alexander VIII was displayed in a richly carved frame with gilded figures. This room also held a cabinet of ebony, a second of silver with silver roses within, and several other cabinets.¹³ Rossini did not elaborate on the contents of these.

Rossini identified a collection of rare paintings in this gallery that included a 'Head of Christ' and a 'Christ with the Crown of Thorns,' both ascribed to Raphael, Lanfranco's 'Miracle of the Loaves and the Fishes,'¹⁴ a 'Saint Sebastian' by Giacinto Brandi,¹⁵ and Pietro da Cortona's 'Madonna and Child with Saint Martina.' The last, listed in Pope Alexander VIII's inventory of 1690, is now in the Kimbell Collection.¹⁶ Rossini also mentioned two paintings by Baciccio and one by Titian but did not give their titles.¹⁷ There were three works in the gallery by Guido Reni, a 'Christ,' a 'Madonna and Child' and a 'Bacchus and Ariadne.' Reni's 'Bacchus' is probably the version in the Los Angeles County Museum (fig. 5). It does not appear in the papal inventory and would seem to be one of the cardinal's earliest acquisitions as he began to build on his great-uncle's collection.¹⁸ Rossini also mentions an 'Adonis' by G. M. Crespi,¹⁹ and Veronese's 'Christ Washing the Feet of the Apostles.'

The seventh room in the cardinal's apartment was decorated with gold brocade and had matching chairs and an opulent bed of crimson damask with gold braid. The eighth room also contained a bed in damask with a litter supported by gilded figures of cherubs. It was bedecked in crimson and gold brocade, and had velvet seats also richly ornamented in gold. This chamber housed a portrait bust in marble of Queen Christina of Sweden, whose patronage Ottoboni tried to emulate.²⁰

¹⁰ For Farnese patronage, see Christina Riebesell, *Die Sammlung des Kardinal Alessandro Farnese*, Weinheim 1989; Clare Robertson, 'Il Gran Cardinale'. *Alessandro Farnese Patron of the Arts*, New Haven and London 1992.

¹¹ There was much in the palace from a previous era to attract visitors to its halls. These were projects commissioned by an earlier Vice-Chancellor, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese. His sixteenth century treasures included, in addition to Vasari's impressive Sala dei Cento Giorni, the chapel with frescoes by Francesco Salviati, wall and ceiling decorations by Perino del Vaga, and Federico Zuccari's grand altar painting of the 'Coronation of the Virgin with the Martyrdom of St. Lawrence' in the nave of Ottoboni's basilica.

¹² Stella Rudolph, "The 'Gran Sala' in the Cancelleria Apostolica: A Homage to the Artistic Patronage of Clement XI," *Burlington Magazine*, 120 (1978), pp. 593–600.

¹³ Rossini is not clear in his identification of the various rooms in Ottoboni's apartment on the *piano nobile*. He mentions a suite of eleven rooms, citing the seventh and eighth chambers as bedrooms, then describes the impressive library which he notes occupied five rooms. This might suggest a total of thirteen, except that Rossini is ambiguous in his description of the rooms after Vasari's Sala and the Sala Riaria. These first two halls that Rossini mentions are followed by what might be read as a gallery, a *studio d'ebano*, a *studio di argento* and a picture gallery (or rooms three to six) followed by the two bedrooms, *La settima Cammera* and *L'ottava stanza*, and the library of five rooms, for a total of thirteen. I prefer to interpret the gallery, or third room, as containing a *studio d'ebano*, probably an ebony case with some of Ottoboni's artifacts, and a *studio di argento con dentro vasi di argento* as a cabinet with Ottoboni's rich collection of silver. A comprehensive survey of Ottoboni's silver collection is in preparation. See also, Edward Olszewski, "Decorating the Palace: Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni (1667–1740) in the Cancelleria," in *Life and Art in the Baroque Palaces of Rome: 'Ambiente Barocco'*, Yale University Press 1999, pp. 92–111.

¹⁴ This title does not appear in the Ottoboni inventory of 1740. It may be the painting presently in the National Gallery of Ireland in Dublin. See Giovanni Bernini, *Giovanni Lanfranco (1582–1647)*, Rome 1982, pp. 67–68, 249, no. 87.

¹⁵ The 'Saint Sebastian' appears in Ottoboni's inventory as one of seven paintings by Brandi; ASR, R.C.A. 604, p. 221v, no. 429; "Altro di palmi nove per alto, largo palmi sette, e mezzo rappresentante S. Sebastiano Legato al Tronco del detto [Brandi]."

¹⁶ See OLSZEWSKI 1989, pp. 39–40, 42, fig. 11.

¹⁷ These may be two of the five paintings by Baciccio listed in Cardinal Ottoboni's inventory with Titian's 'Penitent Magdalene.'

¹⁸ See OLSZEWSKI 1989, pp. 47–49, and D. Stephen Pepper, "Bacchus and Ariadne in the Los Angeles County Museum: the 'Scherzo' as artistic mode," *Burlington Magazine*, 125 (February 1983), pp. 68–75, here p. 71, ns. 20–22; *Guido Reni: A Complete Catalogue of His Works*, ed. D. Stephen Pepper, New York 1984, pp. 238–239, no. 66.

¹⁹ This may be Crespi's 'Birth of Adonis' in Leipzig which dates from the 1690s; Mira Merriman, *Giuseppe Maria Crespi*, Milan 1980, p. 277, no. 151, 50 × 63 cm.

²⁰ A marble bust of the queen appeared in the cardinal's inventory at his death; ASR, R.C.A. 604, p. 256v, no. 831; "Un busto di marmo bianco in altezza di palmi quattro compresavi la base di giallo antico rapp.te La Regina di Svezia." See *Queen Christina of Sweden, Documents and Studies*, ed. Magnus von Platen, Stockholm 1966, p. 306, no. 701 for an anonymous marble portrait of the Queen now in Braunschweig.

Rossini mentioned an aviary with a perspective view, various ornaments and a mischievous waterworks. He called special attention to the last five rooms on the *piano nobile* with the famous library of Alexander VIII. Its 17,000 volumes, according to Rossini, included 7,000 volumes from the library of Queen Christina.²¹ The pope had donated 9,000 volumes and 1,500 manuscripts from the queen's purchase to the Vatican library. Ottoboni's library alone was a major attraction for scholars and tourists to Rome, even without Rossini's generous embellishment of the numbers.

The 'Mercurio Errante' also alerted visitors to the apartment above with its suites decorated with fine paintings by Domenico Paradisi depicting stories from Tasso. This included a room with many miniature portraits and a collection of ancient medals. Rossini praised the palace garden which contained grand trees including citrus. He also lauded the devotional *macchine* sponsored by Ottoboni for the annual Fat Thursday, pre-Lenten carnival in his basilica.

In three short years, Ottoboni had already established a reputation for his devotional constructions, and Rossini noted the great expense that the Vice-Chancellor incurred for these expositions of the Sacred Host.²² He indicated why they were popular, recommending them for their rich ornamentation, their well designed compositions, their countless lamps and candles representing the starry heavens and accompanied by a glory of angels, and the most superb music that was part of their liturgy.²³ These early *macchine* were designed by Ottoboni's first resident architect, Simone Felice del Lino, and by Paradisi.

Cardinal Ottoboni relied heavily on Paradisi as a designer and painter and as the supervisor of projects for the decora-



5. Guido Reni, *Bacchus and Ariadne*, oil on canvas, 1619–1620, 96.5 × 86.4 cm. Los Angeles County Museum, gift of the Ahmanson Foundation, M.79.63

tion of his palace suites.²⁴ He was the first artist whom Ottoboni engaged in such a comprehensive way. Paradisi's activities may have begun with the Sala degli Oratori (Sala Riaria) in the cardinal's apartment, although within a few months of Ottoboni's occupancy of the Cancelleria, he was working on stage sets for a new theatre in the palace.²⁵ He supervised the decoration of the several *stanze* that Rossini located on the third floor above the five rooms of Ottoboni's library. Here he painted *arazzi finti*, or fictive tapestries on canvas, some depicting events from Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata*, assisted by Michelangelo Ricciolini and Francesco Borgognone. Paradisi's *arazzi* were not permanent installations. Ottoboni moved the popular Tasso subjects to decorate different loca-

²¹ See ODIER 1966, p. 12; Jeanne Bignami Odier, *La Bibliothèque Vaticane de Sixte IV à Pie XI*, Città del Vaticano 1973, pp. 144–145; *idem.*, "Les manuscrits de la Reine Christine au Vatican" in *Queen Christina of Sweden* (see note 20), pp. 33–43; Christian Callmer, "Queen Christina's Library of Printed Books in Rome," *ibid.*, pp. 59–73. Callmer has noted (p. 62) that the inventory at Christina's death listed 3,205 volumes in her "libreria" and 2,304 volumes from her "librariola." Alexander VIII paid 8,000 *scudi* for the collection of books and manuscripts which had been appraised at 10,842 *scudi* in March 1690. The manuscripts were transported to the Vatican library in May, with the printed books transferred to the Cancelleria.

²² For the Forty Hours devotions, see Mark Weil, "The Devotion of the Forty Hours and Roman Baroque Illusions," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 37 (1974), pp. 218–248, here p. 222. A study of Ottoboni's architects and commissioned *macchine* will be reported elsewhere.

²³ For Ottoboni's musical patronage, see William Holmes, "La Statira" by Pietro Ottoboni and Alessandro Scarlatti. *The Textual Sources, with a Documentary Postscript*, New York 1983; Hans Marx, "Die Musik am Hofe Pietro Ottobonis unter Arcangelo Corelli," *Studien zur italienisch-deutschen Musikgeschichte*, 5 (1968), pp. 104–177; Sven Hansell, "Orchestral Practice at the Court of Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 19 (Fall 1966), pp. 398–403; Lowell Lindgren, "Ottoboni, Pietro", in *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, vol. 3, London 1992, pp. 796–797.

²⁴ For Paradisi, see Paola Ferraris, "Paradisi Domenico," *CONTARDI / CURCIO* 1991, p. 416; OLSZEWSKI 1982, pp. 106–108; John Pinto "Nicola Michetti and Ephemera Design in Eighteenth-Century Rome", in *Studies in Italian Art and Architecture 15th through 18th Centuries*, ed. H. Millon, Rome 1980, pp. 306–307; Helmut Hager, *Filippo Juvarra e il concorso di modelli del 1715 bandito da Clemente XI per la nuova sacrestia di S. Pietro*, Rome 1970, p. 36; THIEME-BECKER, vol. 26, p. 225; *Correspondance 1887–1912*, vol. 6, p. 105, no. 2394, 25 November 1721.

²⁵ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 15, fasc. 610, 31 December 1690. He received sixty *scudi*. See also, vol. 19, 3 February 1691, for a payment of fifty *scudi* to Paradisi, "a conto della pittura nella sala degli Oratorij." For his efforts in the theater, see BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 15, no. 615, 24 May 1690.

tions for festivals and holidays, such as to his courtyard, the piazza della Cancelleria and neighboring streets, and even into the nave of San Lorenzo in Damaso for religious celebrations.²⁶ Ottoboni favored the score or more of these large, portable canvases for the flexibility that they gave to his decorating schemes.²⁷ Their frequent movement was also the cause of much wear, and in the 1730s Ottoboni had them replaced with woven wall hangings of the same subjects (fig. 6).²⁸ Their translation to a more durable medium after forty years attests to their continuing popularity.

Paradisi had submitted fifteen pages of bills in the amount of 2,582.50 *scudi* for his efforts between July and December 1691 alone.²⁹ He had large sheets of canvas decorated with floral motifs, birds, masks and putti, and the Ottoboni family's heraldic eagles. By 1692 Paradisi had completed major renovations in the Vice-Chancellor's palace. A year later, he received 750 *scudi* for having assembled the suite of *arazzi finti* for several rooms in Ottoboni's apartment, the sum paid directly to Paradisi, and explicitly identified as for all of the *arazzi finti* in all of the rooms.³⁰ Borgognone is credited with the landscapes in these simulated tapestries,³¹ with animals and figures added by Monsù Leandro, better known as Christian Reder (1656–1729).³²

²⁶ In 1706, Ottoboni exhibited these *arazzi finti* by decorating the courtyard of the church of the Misericordia on the feast of Saint John the Baptist; VALESIO 1977–1979, vol. 3, 29 August 1706, p. 659. The subject from Tasso's epic poem was timely as Alexander VIII and popes before and after him had struggled against the Turks, but more importantly, in its Eucharistic symbolism with emphasis on the Church as the body of Christ, it suited Ottoboni's personal devotion to the Corpus Domini. See Walter Stephens, "Metaphor, Sacrament, and the Problem of Allegory in *Gerusalemme Liberata*", *I Tatti Studies. Essays in the Renaissance*, 4 (1991), pp. 217–247.

²⁷ The exact number is not known for certain, but woven tapestries based on them were still being delivered to Ottoboni at his death. Fifteen have been reported previously; MICHEL / MICHEL 1977, p. 295; OLSZEWSKI 1982, p. 108, with two new discoveries by Guy Delmarcel in the Edward James Foundation, West Dean, West Sussex. Tapestries were used for an oratorio performance in a temporary garden theater, but the twenty-two pieces are only identified as *arazzi*, and may not be Paradisi's painted canvases which were used in similar contexts.

²⁸ Valesio mentions Ottoboni's enthusiasm for the woven tapestries; VALESIO 1977–1979, vol. 5, p. 815, 4 October 1735, p. 876, 6 June 1736; vol. 6, p. 232, 3 June 1739. For more on Ottoboni's tapestries, see OLSZEWSKI 1982, pp. 103–111; Edith Standen, "Tapestries for a Cardinal-Nephew: A Roman Set Illustrating Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Journal*, 6 (1982), pp. 147–164; *idem.*, *European Post-Medieval Tapestries and Related Hangings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, vol. 2, New York 1985, pp. 776–785.

²⁹ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 22, no. 384, July–31 December 1691; "Conto di Lavori diversi di Pitture fatte nella Cancelleria et altro fatti con Ord.ne dell'Em.o Sig. Card.le Ottoboni Da Dom.co Paradisi." Ten volumes of the Fondo Ottoboni in the Vatican's Barberini archives cover this period, containing numerous citations of Paradisi with payments ranging from a few *scudi* to 2,582.50 *scudi*: BAV, Comp. Ottob., vols. 15–25. See Edward Olszewski "Paradisi and Ottoboni," *Apollo*, 117 (1983), p. 76.

Paradisi was a paripatetic artist involved in a variety of projects throughout Rome and environs both for Ottoboni and in the service of other households. In the 1680s he had been associated with the architect, Carlo Fontana. The following decade he worked extensively for Ottoboni on church festivals and decorations in San Lorenzo in Damaso. Although at one point Paradisi was paid 100 *scudi* per week "a conto,"³³ and had his son baptised in San Lorenzo in Damaso in 1691,³⁴ he never entered the rolls as a member of the official family, In 1692 Paradisi received almost 400 *scudi* for Forty Hours celebrations in San Lorenzo, his decorations depicting Constantine's apparition of the Holy Cross.³⁵ Two years later he painted a canvas for another Exposition in Ottoboni's basilica.³⁶ During these years of activity for Ottoboni, Paradisi was also engaged by Ottoboni's father at the Palazzo Fiano on the Via del Corso. He worked in the papal palaces at Montecavallo and the Vatican,³⁷ and at Albano for Cardinal Benedetto Pamphili in the 1690s and again in 1709.³⁸

³⁰ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 27, no. 125, 1693: "Conto delle pitture dell'arazzi di figure dell'Apartmentino fatti per servizio dell'Em.mo Sig.re Cardinale Ottoboni nell'Palazo delle Cancelleria l'anno 1693 ... Per aver dipinto tutti li arazzi di tutte le Stanze in tela con historie dell Tasso con fregi ornati di fiori e Statue iscrizioni sopraporti per prezzo dacordo di scudi sette cento cinquanta 750-." There is also a *conto* of five pages for 21:36 *scudi* for colors used in the "stanza di arazzi;" vol. 24, no. 171, November 1692.

³¹ For Borgognone (ca. 1660–1731), see MICHEL / MICHEL 1977, pp. 265–340; MICHEL 1984, pp. 401–415, esp. p. 410, n. 56. A number of large painted canvases by Borgognone appear in the cardinal's inventory of goods. These are mostly landscapes and some seascapes with figures attributed to Monsù Leandro (Reder) and Michelangelo Candelottaro; ASR, R.C.A. 604, nos. 689, 691–695, 697–698. A few are identified more precisely as hunting and fishing scenes, and others specifically as a Diana the Huntress, a Hercules, a Cerberus. The canvases are also identified by location, from the first to the sixth *stanze* and the eighth *stanza*. Presumably these were the chambers on the *secondo piano* above Ottoboni's private suites and library. The numbering system is not precise enough to allow identification of the specific rooms.

³² Paintings by Reder are listed in Ottoboni's inventory; ASR, R.C.A. 604, nos. 307–309, 313–314. See also nos. 274–277 which are identified as by his son, "Figlio di Monsù Leandro."

³³ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 104, no. 167, 23 November 1692.

³⁴ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 20, fasc. 149, 30 September 1691.

³⁵ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 27, no. 125, 1692. A transcription of this document appears in MICHEL / MICHEL 1977, 324, doc.no. 7.

³⁶ Paradisi received 120 *scudi* for a painting for an Exposition in San Lorenzo in 1694. His work included the decoration of an altar with columns painted in simulated lapis lazuli and bases and capitals in feigned *giallo antico*; BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 30, no. 61, 11 January 1694.

³⁷ See Antonino Bertolotti, *Artisti Veneti in Roma nei secoli XV, XVI e XVII*, Venice 1884, p. 62: "Conti di lavori di pitture fatte da Domenico Paradisi pittore nel palazzo di S. Pietro e di Montecavallo Pagato 10 8bre 1691 159:50 Ridotto a scudi 92."

³⁸ Lina Montalto, *Un mecenate in Roma barocca. Il Cardinale Benedetto Pamphili (1653–1730)*, Florence 1955, p. 530, n. 22; MICHEL / MICHEL 1977, pp. 295–296, 329, doc.no. 11, 330, doc.no. 12.

6. Pietro Ferloni, *Godfrey Announces the Death of Dudone*, 1732, tapestry, 356 × 480 cm. San Francisco Opera House



In 1715 Paradisi was engaged at the Palazzo Ruspoli³⁹ and took part in the competition for the sacristy of St. Peter's basilica. No longer in Ottoboni's service, he even competed for the sacristy commission against one of Ottoboni's architects, Nicola Michetti, by which time Michetti had also left Ottoboni's employ. Paradisi received the commission for a fireworks *macchina* from the Spanish Ambassador on 1 January 1722.⁴⁰

Paradisi's work for Ottoboni had gradually diminished into the 1690s as renovation of the palace progressed, and as the cardinal began to depend on the activities of another painter, Francesco Trevisani, although Paradisi would submit an occasional *conto* as late as 1701.⁴¹ That there is no mention of a single picture by Paradisi in the inventory of Ottoboni's goods assembled in 1740 indicates that the cardinal did not rely on him as an easel painter, and reveals what service he demanded from Paradisi and would expect from Trevisani.

³⁹ MICHEL / MICHEL 1977, p. 315.

⁴⁰ Domenico Paradisi, *Descrizione della macchina de' fuochi ... in questa Corte di Roma*, Rome 1721. The *macchina* is reproduced in Pinto (see note 24), p. 320, fig. 13; Paola Ferraris, "Paradisi, Domenico," CONTARDI / CURCIO 1991, p. 416. This celebrated the dynastic marriage in recognition of the new alliance of Spain and France following the Treaty of the Hague in 1720. Over 100 feet tall with its twisting columns, the *macchina* was erected in front of Santa Trinità dei Monti.

⁴¹ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 108, p. 283, no. 398, 12 December 1701 for 23 *scudi*.

Paradisi's most active period in Ottoboni's court extended through the years 1690–1693. In May of 1690 he was paid for pigments⁴² on a project that involved Ottoboni's first resident architect, Felice del Lino, a pupil of Carlo Fontana, who also built the cardinal's first theatre.⁴³ This was a commercial venture which Rossini did not mention because Innocent XII had already ordered it closed in 1692.⁴⁴ Paradisi also executed other work with Felice del Lino. In 1692, the artists had spent two days on a project for Ottoboni in Albano.⁴⁵

⁴² BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 15, no. 615, 24 May 1690. G. B. Mancini in an *avviso* from Rome indicates that Ottoboni had demolished part of his stables to install a new theatre; AS (Florence), Mediceo 3956, Roma e Stato della Chiesa, Lettere Abbate Mancini.

⁴³ Leone Pascoli, *Vite de' pittori, scultori, ed architetti moderni*, vol. 2, Rome 1730–1736, pp. 548–549; "Ebbe molti scolari, tra' quali Simon-felice del Lino, che servi la casa Ottoboni, e'l cardinale fin dal tempo d'Alessandro VIII., e durò anche a servirla dopo morte avendo per S. E. fatte in diverse occasioni diverse macchine." For del Lino, see Allan Braham and Hellmut Hager, *Carlo Fontana: The Drawings at Windsor Castle*, London 1977, pp. 9, 10, 18, 68; BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 13, 2 March 1690, "Cartone falegname per il modello fatto del Teatro ordinato dall'Architetto d'ordine del S. E. Ottoboni ... Felice Delino." A study of Ottoboni's theatres will be reported elsewhere. BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 13, 2 March 1690, "Cartone falegname per il modello fatto del Teatro ordinato dall'Architetto d'ordine del S. E. Ottoboni ... Felice Delino."

⁴⁴ Marescotti reported the closing of the Vice-Chancellor's theatre, which was followed by the dismantling of Carlo Fontana's Tor di Nona; MARESCOTTI, vol. 788, p. 142, 1690.

⁴⁵ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 23, no. 68, 1692.

With Paradisi's completion of the *arazzi finti* for Ottoboni in 1693, the renovation of the Cancelleria was well advanced, as Rossini's *ekphrasis* of the galleries attests. In 1694, Paradisi submitted a bill for 251:26 *scudi* which included six *scudi* for painting three windows in the apartment of Arcangelo Corelli.⁴⁶ He painted a curtain for a "teatrino" in 1694 which was a new performance area that he had designed as a puppet theatre, and for which he is identified as "Domenico Paradisi Architetto."⁴⁷ Puppet performances were tolerated during this period when the live stage was under attack. Paradisi's audience space would soon serve the dual function of a studio on the arrival of Ottoboni's next painter, Francesco Trevisani. It was large enough to accommodate sets and scene changes, and soon witnessed live performances.

Paradisi decorated additional rooms in 1696, and charged 100 *scudi* for having painted the top of a box with fanciful designs of animals and floral patterns.⁴⁸ This "cassa" or gilded box may have been a harpsichord cover. He continued to receive numerous payments of ten to twenty *scudi* through the following year.⁴⁹

In his supervisory capacity Paradisi collaborated with numerous artists, often delegating tasks. The painters Ricciolini and Borgognone have already been mentioned, and others will be discussed shortly. Paradisi also collaborated with Sebastiano Simonetti in decorating Ottoboni's mirrored halls.⁵⁰ He had been assisted on a devotional *macchina* by the painter Michelangelo Merulli.⁵¹ On other occasions Paradisi worked with Antonio Lesma and Domenico Belletti.⁵²

Paradisi labored on various ephemera from scene changes for del Lino's new theatre⁵³ to the devotional *macchine* that his patron commissioned annually for the pre-Lenten Forty Hours devotions.⁵⁴ He submitted bills for assembly of the Forty Hours *macchine* from 1691 to 1694.⁵⁵ Although these constructions were usually dismantled after the three days of ceremonies, they were large, expensive, and objects of wonder and expectation for the cardinal's parishoners and for pilgrims to the Holy City. To be entrusted with their commission was an indication of Paradisi's prestige in the cardinal's court. In 1692, he received 400 *scudi* for his contributions to the Forty Hours decorations in the cardinal's basilica.⁵⁶

For Ottoboni's pre-Lenten devotions of 1694, Paradisi provided an altar enframing for San Lorenzo in Damaso of four columns painted in part in lapis lazuli, gilded, with bases and capitals of *giallo antico* and supporting a frieze painted in lapis lazuli.⁵⁷ Above this he placed a cross with a pair of cornucopia and a pair of gilded Ottoboni arms surmounted by a representation of the Holy Spirit. No clear record survives of who was responsible for the devotional *macchine* of 1691, 1692 and 1693, although Felice del Lino designed that in 1690, a 'Dream of Jacob,'⁵⁸ and was probably responsible for the next year's as well. In any case, payments were made to Paradisi for work on *macchine* in each of these years, and he may have been directly responsible for one or more of them.⁵⁹ He is referred to on at least one occasion as, "Domenico Paradisi Architetto," in connection with

⁴⁶ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 30, no. 61, 19 March 1694. Corelli is referred to as, "Sig. Arcangelo del violino."

⁴⁷ Paradisi was paid nine *scudi* for "colori compro per la tenda al teatrino di S. E.:" BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 29, July 1694. The *teatrino* was referred to as "il teatro Novo de Burattini;" *ibid.*, vol. 30, 11 April 1694, but could accommodate scene changes; *ibid.*, vol. 28, 14 October 1694, "a cinque falegnami che assisterono alla mutazione dei cieli o scene al teatrino." That the theater was the work of Paradisi is confirmed by archival records that show him receiving payments over a period of ten months for plans, drawings and models for the theater; "per haver fatto piante e disegni e modelli per il teatrino;" *ibid.*, fasc. 71, 1695, for 300 *scudi*. See also the *conto* "per il teatrino" submitted by "Domenico Paradisi Architetto;" *ibid.*, vol. 46, 2 May 1695.

⁴⁸ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 34, no. 100; "Conto di lavori fatti di Pittura alla Stufiglia Nova ... nell Anno 1696. Per haver dipinto tutta la Cassa sopra all oro con diversi grotteschi a uso di Raffaele con figurini ne fogliami Animali et altro fatti tutti con colori fini et Azurri fini Spese e fattura 100 Dom.co Paradisi." He was paid eighty *scudi*. See also vol. 35, 30 July 1696 for a payment of twelve *scudi* for "lavori di pittura."

⁴⁹ See BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 37, 1697, *passim*.

⁵⁰ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 21, no. 582 identifies "Sebastiano Simonetti Pittore" and "Domenico Paradisi Compagnio." *Ibid.*, no. 583, 12 May 1691, is a payment to Simonetti of 307.50 *scudi* for work in the "Stanza delli specchi." Michel has identified Simonetti as the French painter, Simonot, who resided in the parish of San Lorenzo in Lucina; MICHEL, 1977, pp. 279, 283, n. 72.

⁵¹ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 104, 2 January 1690, no. 27, p. 15. A fee of 200 *scudi* was paid to "Michel Angelo Morulli Pittore."

⁵² BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 104, p. 223, no. 55, 3 July 1692; "Adi 3 Lug.o Ad Antonio Lesma Pittore scudi quindici;" several payments to "Belletti Pittore" for seventeen *scudi*; 12 December 1701.

⁵³ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 104, p. 69, October 1690; "A Dom.co Paradisi Pittore ... una mutazione di Scene e Nuvole per serv. del Nro Teatro - 150."

⁵⁴ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 104, p. 92, 17 February 1690, 100-.

⁵⁵ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 104, 17 February 1691, p. 92, 100-; vol. 27, no. 11, 10 January 1693, 60-; vol. 108, 26 February 1694, 100-. CAMPELLO reported that of 1692 as "widely praised," and the *macchina* of 1693 as "impressive," although he does not describe them or identify their subjects; pp. 16-17, 14 February 1692, p. 32, 29 January 1693.

⁵⁶ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 27, no. 125, 1692. See also, MICHEL / MICHEL 1977, p. 324, doc. no. 7 for the *conto* of 396.75 *scudi* for Paradisi's display of 1692 depicting the apparition of the cross to Constantine.

⁵⁷ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 30, no. 61, 1694. Paradisi received 120 *scudi* for the project.

⁵⁸ MARESCOTTI, vol. 788, 11 February 1690, p. 142; Weil (see note 22), p. 242, no. 24.

⁵⁹ Frequent payments of 100 *scudi* during the pre-Lenten period in 1692 would suggest Paradisi as designer and architect rather than just a supervisor or decorator: BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 104, no. 182, 22 Dmbre.1691, 100-; no. 187, 18 Genn. 1692, 100-; no. 190, 1 Feb 1692, 100-. A quick succession of similar payments occurs during the pre-Lenten period of 1693; no. 254, 22 Nov. 1692, 50-; no. 255, 29 Nov. 1692, 50-; no. 255bis, 6 Dmbre.1692, 50-; no. 257, 13 Dmbre.1692, 50-.

a new theatre installation in Ottoboni's palace.⁶⁰ He was a member of the Virtuosi al Pantheon.⁶¹

Paradisi was aided on many of these projects by Domenico Belletti (d. 1715) who was a painter of ornaments and architectural perspectives.⁶² Belletti assisted Carlo Maratti in the decoration of the loggia of the Villa Farnesina, and painted the fictive architecture in the St. Bruno Chapel of Santa Maria degli Angeli. Belletti was identified as a landscape artist when enrolled as a member of the Virtuosi al Pantheon.⁶³ In October 1694, Belletti worked with Michelangelo Cerruti under Paradisi's supervision to paint simulated tapestries between the windows in Ottoboni's gallery.⁶⁴ Cerruti (1663–1748) was a native Roman who was active as an artist in the first three decades of the eighteenth century.⁶⁵ His frescoes of an 'Annunciation' and 'Presentation in the Temple' adorn San Pietro in Montorio. He also painted in Santa Maria in sopra Minerva and contributed an 'Annunciation' to San Girolamo degli Schiavoni. Like Belletti, he was a member of the Virtuosi al Pantheon.

Belletti was involved with the Vatican tomb project for Ottoboni's great-uncle during its most hectic stages from 1697 to 1705.⁶⁶ He painted a simulated bas relief for the reduced model of the tomb in anticipation of Jubilee Year festivities in 1700, as the marble relief carved by Angelo de'

Rossi was only put in place in 1704. Belletti also received fifty *scudi* for painting the niches of the papal tomb in the Vatican basilica in 1705. In 1697, Ottoboni sent Belletti to Albano where he painted the soffit for the church of San Paolo of which Ottoboni was protector.⁶⁷ That he was paid 25:20 *scudi* for 21 days of work indicates his status as an artist in Ottoboni's circle at this time. Payments of 17 *scudi* to "Dom.co Belletti Pittore" between 1701 and 1703 are frequent although the work is not specified.⁶⁸ Ottoboni commissioned a modest painting from Antonio Lesma for the Seminario Romano in 1693.⁶⁹ This is probably the hexagonal portrait bust which still hangs in a hallway of the seminary.⁷⁰ Lesma had been engaged by Ottoboni as early as February of 1691 when he was paid sixteen *scudi* "for four little portraits."⁷¹ Shortly thereafter, he painted additional "ritrattini" of Donna Maria Ottoboni, of Cornelia Barberini, Cardinal Carlo Barberini, and of members of the Altieri family.⁷² Lesma seems to have been best appreciated as a portrait painter,⁷³ generally in miniature and occasionally on copper, as in the pair of works of Cardinal Francesco Barberini and Madonna Barberini.⁷⁴

Lesma was of Neapolitan origin, a nephew of the Flemish painter, Livio Mehus.⁷⁵ He was active in Rome in the 1690s. By 1700, Monsignor Giammaria Lancisi was able to assemble a collection of landscape paintings and allegories by Lesma. The artist moved to Florence in 1706. If any of his paintings appear in Cardinal Ottoboni's inventory, they would have to be in the lot of anonymous *ritrattini*.⁷⁶

⁶⁰ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 40, fasc. 47, 2 May 1695 is a signed receipt for 71:14 *scudi*. Paradisi also worked on models for the Vatican tomb of Pope Alexander VIII, a project which Cardinal Ottoboni had just initiated at this time; BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 33, 31 August 1695; vol. 35, no. 88, January 1696. For more on the Ottoboni tomb project, see Edward Olszewski "Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni's Vatican Tomb of Pope Alexander VIII. History and Iconography from the Archival Records," *Storia dell'arte*, 91 (1997), pp. 367–431.

⁶¹ *Statuto della Insigne Artistica Congregazione de' Virtuosi al Pantheon*, Rome 1839, p. 51.

⁶² For more on Belletti, see THIEME-BECKER, vol. 3, p. 246; BÉNÉZIT 1976, I, p. 599; BOLAFFI, I, p. 450.

⁶³ *Statuto della Insigne Artistica Congregazione De' Virtuosi al Pantheon* (see note 61), p. 51, as "Dom.co Belletti (Pittore Paesista)."

⁶⁴ BAV, Comp. Ottob., October 1694: "Ad Michelangelo Cerruti, Dom.co Belletti et altri Pittori per lavori fatti d'arazzi finti in tela tra le finestre della galleria e zoccolo di sotto per tutta la galleria come dal foglio e riceuto 21:60."

⁶⁵ For Cerruti, see PIO 1977, pp. 76–77, 199; THIEME-BECKER, vol. 6, pp. 299–300; BOLAFFI, vol. 3 p. 263; BÉNÉZIT 1976, vol. 2, p. 625. The archival research of Geneviève and Olivier Michel has been basic in clarifying the career of Cerruti and of many other of Paradisi's contemporaries; MICHEL / MICHEL 1977, p. 268, n. 16, p. 293 and passim.

⁶⁶ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 37, 31 August 1698. Belletti collaborated with the painter Giovanni Battista Valenti, who was paid 3:20 *scudi* for eight days work. See also, BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 37, 21 March 1697, where Belletti was paid 22 *scudi* for work on the papal tomb. ASVic, Arch. Ottob., vol. 3, 5 January 1705: "S.e Lorenzo Pini Mro di Casa dell Em.mo S.e Card.le Otthoboni a Domenico Belletti Pittore Scudi Cinquanta m.ta sono e stato e final paga.to di suo lavoro nell dipinto tutto il nicchione del Deposito di Papa Aless.o Ott.o in S. Pietro finto di pietra nichia ∇ 50 / Carlo Enrico San Martino."

⁶⁷ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 37, 30 April 1697: "Lista di Spese e Pagamento fatti da me D. Angelo Carrara Mro di Casa dell Em.mo Otthoboni nel mese d'Aprile 1697. A 30 Aprile s 25 b 20m.ta pag.a Dom.co Belletti Pittore per giornate 21 di lavori fatti per pittura alla soffita nella chiesa di S. Paolo d'Albano – 25:20."

Michelangelo Cerruti was paid 15:20 *scudi* for 19 days of labor.

⁶⁸ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 108, 12 December 1701–19 December 1703.

⁶⁹ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 28, 5 November 1693, for six *scudi*.

⁷⁰ The inscription at the base of the portrait reads, "Sem. Rom. Conv. / Anno D. 1681." The error in the date suggests repainting or a copy of Lesma's lost original.

⁷¹ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 19, fasc.13, 22 February 1691, sixteen *scudi* "per quattro ritrattini."

⁷² BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 20, no. 269, 13 November 1691, for twenty *scudi*.

⁷³ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 104, p. 223, no. 55, 3 July 1692: "A di 3 Lug.o / Ad Antonio Lesma Pittore scudi quindici m.ta sono per il prezzo d'un Ritratto in tela che rappresenta L'effigie dell'Ecc.mo S.e P.npe D. Antonio N.ro Padre e per saldo d'ogni altro lavoro fatti per serv.o della n.ra Casa a tutto il pn'te giorno come dalla giustificazione in Comp.ia che scudi 15-"

⁷⁴ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 22, no. 295, 7 December 1691.

⁷⁵ For biographical references on Lesma, see BOLAFFI, VI, p. 409; THIEME-BECKER, vol. 23, p. 125; Georg Kaspar Nagler, *Neues allgemeines Künstler-Lexicon oder Nachrichten von dem Leben und den Werken der Maler, Bildhauer, Baumeister ...*, München 1835–1914, vol. 7, p. 406; BÉNÉZIT 1976, vol. 6, p. 613.

⁷⁶ ASR, R.C.A. 604, no. 502; "Ottanta due quadri di carta tirata su la tela rapp.ti diversi santi, figure et altro."



7. Niccolò Ricciolini, *Michelangelo Ricciolini*, red chalk, 42 × 28 cm. Stockholm, Statens Konstmuseer

Michelangelo Ricciolini (1654–1715, fig. 7), already mentioned in the context of Paradisi's canvas tapestries, was a native Roman who trained as a painter and architect with Carlo Maratti and Paul Schor.⁷⁷ He was a popular set painter. Ricciolini became a member of the Congregazione degli Virtuosi al Pantheon on 12 October 1704. A 'Self-Portrait' is preserved in the Uffizi.⁷⁸ His 'Samson and Delilah' is in the Galleria Spada, Rome,⁷⁹ where he painted ceiling canvases in tempera in the Grand Gallery depicting the 'Four Seasons,' 'Four Elements' and 'Four Continents'.⁸⁰ A project for a series of canvases on the 'Life of David' painted as fic-

⁷⁷ For information on Ricciolini, see Bruno Contardi, "Ricciolini Michelangelo", in: CONTARDI / CURCIO 1991, pp. 432–433; MICHEL 1984, pp. 409–410; PTO 1977, pp. 110–111, 272, 326–327; BÉNÉZIT 1976, vol. 8, p. 734; THIEME-BECKER, vol. 28, p. 264.

⁷⁸ Reproduced in BOLAFFI, vol. 9, p. 397, fig. 512.

⁷⁹ Reproduced in BOLAFFI, vol. 9, p. 396, fig. 511. See also Federico Zeri, *La Galleria Spada in Roma*, Florence 1954, p. 115.

⁸⁰ Identified for the first time by Robert Engass; PTO 1977, p. 272. See also Roberto Cannatà and M. Vicini, *La Galleria di Palazzo Spada. Genesi e storia di una collezione*, Rome s. a. [1992], p. 210. I am grateful to Flavia Matitti for this reference.

tive tapestries in the monastery of the Tor de' Specchi has recently been recognized as his.⁸¹ He painted a 'Madonna and Child with Saints' for Santa Maria degli Angeli, and his 'Annunciation,' 'Nativity,' 'Adoration of the Magi' and 'Death of St. Joseph' decorate San Lorenzo in Piscibus.

Ricciolini participated on Ottoboni's Vatican tomb project, painting full scale figures on canvas in grisaille in 1705 to test Carlo Enrico di San Martino's compositions for the tomb niche. His monochromatic painting of San Martino's design was on site until stucco figures could be readied for the tomb niche. It survives in the form of an engraving (fig. 8) which both preserves San Martino's original intentions for the design, and offers a rare example of such chiaroscuro paintings which were generally discarded once the sculptural figures replaced them.⁸² They served an important function in the Late Baroque sculptor's studio.

Ricciolini also worked on some of Ottoboni's *macchine* for religious devotions such as Forty Hours, Corpus Domini, the feast of San Lorenzo, etc.⁸³, although in a minor capacity. Two of his paintings on copper, a 'Presentation in the Temple' and a 'Deposition,' appear in the inventory of Ottoboni's collection.⁸⁴ His death in Frascati in 1715 was widely mourned in Rome.

Ricciolini's participation in Ottoboni's projects during the 1690s was slight. Although forty years old when Paradisi's renovations were nearing completion, it would be another decade before Ricciolini would receive significant recognition. In 1692, he is still listed as a day laborer on a project where his contribution is 1/30th of that of the eleven journeymen named.⁸⁵ Rossini's mention of his participation on the canvas *arazzi* depicting scenes from Tasso was derived from a payment to a Monsù Giacomo for tending to the surfaces or clothing, ("alli panni") of *arazzi finti* which were attributed to one "Sig. Ricolnini."⁸⁶ These have been related to the fictive tapestries of the "storie del Tasso" subjects out of confusion with a reference in the payment to a "quadro

⁸¹ See Robert Engass in PTO 1977, p. 272.

⁸² The engraving of Ricciolini's chiaroscuro painting of 1705 was made to illustrate Filippo Bonanni's *Numismata Summorum Pontificum templi Vaticani fabricam indicantia...*, Rome 1715, p. 93. It honored Ricciolini and Ottoboni's sculptor, Angelo de' Rossi, both of whom died that year, and the tomb designer, Carlo Enrico di San Martino.

⁸³ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 39, 26 January 1698: "Michel Angelo Ricciolini pittore ... per diverse figure dipinte per servizio della Machina delle 40 hore ... 12-."

⁸⁴ ASR, R.C.A 604, no. 253: "Altro in Rame da mezza testa rap.te La Presentazione di Nro Sig.re al tempio Originale del Ricciolini;" no. 254, "Altro simile rapp.te La deposizione di Nro Sig.re dalla Croce del detto." These could be works by his son Nicolò as the inventory entries are not specific.

⁸⁵ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 25, no. 203, 5 June 1692. The full listing of workers appears in MICHEL / MICHEL 1977, p. 325, doc. no. 8.

⁸⁶ Monsù Giacomo is Giacomo Wernela or Jakob Wörndle, 1652–1722. For more on Wörndle, see MICHEL 1984, pp. 401–405.

d'Erminia," which was a separate painting not an *arazzo*, and which was by Monsù Giacomo not Ricciolini.⁸⁷ They were more likely the *arazzi finti* of seascapes, landscapes and mythologies decorating several *stanze* in Ottoboni's apartments which are listed in his inventory with frequent reference to Borgognone for painting the landscapes.⁸⁸

Cardinal Ottoboni was drawn to the art of Francesco Trevisani (1656–1745) early in his career as a patron. Their association dates from at least mid-1696, when payment was made for the delivery of a frame to Trevisani.⁸⁹ The death the following year of Trevisani's first patron, Cardinal Flavio I Chigi, freed the artist to enter Ottoboni's service, and his enrollment in the Academy of St. Luke was a form of recognition that would reassure a prospective patron.⁹⁰ The success of his Crucifixion Chapel paintings for the nuns of San Silvestro in Capite further enhanced his attractiveness to the cardinal-patron.⁹¹ Archival records document the first links between patron and artist in the form of little payments for carrying frames and a large portrait of the cardinal,⁹² for hanging pictures, and for supplying canvas.⁹³ These records establish Trevisani in Ottoboni's palace by 1697 with at least

⁸⁷ Noted by MICHEL 1984, p. 410. The *conto* of 19.50 *scudi* on 26 March 1693 is clearly stated as for the completion of the painting of Erminia by Monsù Giacomo which is distinguished from the *arazzi finti*: BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 27, doc. 108; "Conto di pittura fatto per servizio dell'Emm.mo Sig.re Card.le Ottoboni per sue ordine alli panni d'Arazzi finti cioè di ritocchi et un quadro.

In primio ricominciato li 26 marzo 1693 e fatto il quadro d'Erminia e lavorato intorno giorni tredici, importa a ragioni di giornate –19.50 Piu ridocato per tutto li quadri dell Sig.e Ricolnini, in tutti trè le stanze e lavorato in tutto giorni ventinove, importa 43.58

Piu per il giovine che mi servi per venticinque giorni – 2.50 Giacomo Wernela."

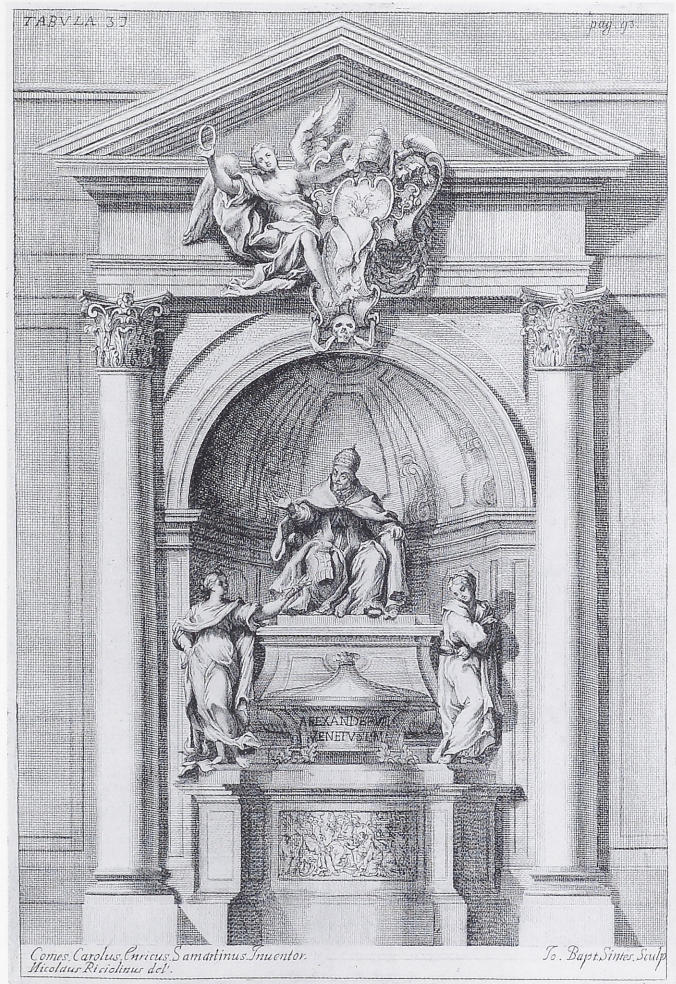
⁸⁸ These inventory citations appear in MICHEL / MICHEL 1977, pp. 335–337, doc. no. 15. For differing views on the delegation of duties for Ricciolini and Borgognone in Ottoboni's court, see Olivier Michel "Ottoboni Tapestries," *Art Journal*, 117 (1983), p. 76, and Edward Olszewski "Paradisi and Ottoboni," (see note 29), p. 16.

⁸⁹ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 35, 8 August 1696. A payment of thirty *baiocchi* was made to a servant for carrying a frame for "Trevisani Pitore." Griseri has stated that Trevisani entered Ottoboni's protection in 1698; Andreina Griseri, "Un orologio Dipinto dal Trevisani," *Bolletino dei Musei Comunali di Roma*, 7 (1960), p. 19.

⁹⁰ *L'Accademia Nazionale di San Luca*, Rome 1974, p. 124. Trevisani was admitted to the Academy on 4 October 1697. He attended the 24 November 1697 meeting when he was seated, which may be the only meeting of the academy that he ever attended.

⁹¹ See MARESCOTTI, vol. 790, p. 149v, 5 January 1697; "Hanno le monache di San Silvestro aperti le sei cappelle, riuscendo maravigliosa quella rappresentante la Passione di n.ro Sig.re fatta da Fran.co Trevisano Venetiano." For more on the San Silvestro project, see Frank DiFederico "Francesco Trevisani and the Decoration of the Crucifixion Chapel in San Silvestro in Capite," *Art Bulletin*, 53 (1971), pp. 52–66; DiFEDERICO 1977, pp. 10–14.

⁹² BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 37, no. 84, 20 May to 30 November 1697. A servant is paid twenty *baiocchi*, "E piu per esser andati à Ripigliare et calare il quadro grande di Sua Em.za dall Sig.re fran.co Trevisani."



8. Michelangelo Ricciolini, Design of Carlo Enrico di San Martino for Tomb of Pope Alexander VIII, 1705, 1715, engraving. Vatican

workshop space. Workmen are compensated in March 1697 for delivering statues "alle stanze del Trevisani pittore"⁹⁴ which might simply suggest rooms where the painter was working, but a *conto*, or bill, of February 1698 refers explicitly to the "studio del Sig. Francesco Trevisani nella Cancelleria."⁹⁵ A five-page *conto* for carpentry work in this space is illuminating, as the expenses are for making a stage and sets "nello studio del Sig.re Francesco Trevisani nella Cancelleria,"⁹⁶ which indicates that the studio associated with Trevisani included a theatre or performance hall. This replaced the public structure in the Cancelleria built by

⁹³ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 36, no. 84, 20 May 1697. This is a *conto* for eight *scudi* to Sebastiano Cartone for preparing pieces of canvas "per che di dipinge il Sig.re Francescho Trevisani."

⁹⁴ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 39, 24 March 1697.

⁹⁵ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 38, February 1698.

⁹⁶ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 38; "A di Febraio 1698, Conto e Misura di lavori di legname fatti parte a tutta robba del Mro, e parte a sala manifattura e chiodi in fare il Palco e scene nello studio del Sig.re Francesco Trevisani nella cancelleria come seg.e. scudi 59:85." A payment of 46:63 *scudi* was made.



9. Francesco Trevisani, *Portrait of Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni*.
Barnard Castle, Durham, Bowes Museum

Simone del Lino which Innocent XII had ordered closed in 1692, and represented Paradisi's last major project for Ottoboni.⁹⁷ A carnival celebration in February 1698 took place in the quarters associated with Trevisani.⁹⁸

The traffic recorded in the various *conti* indicates that by 1698 Trevisani retained accommodations in the Cancelleria although there is still no record of his entry into the official family. In addition to the frequent delivery of canvas and frames, other studio paraphernalia were carried to him such as wooden models and statues in stucco,⁹⁹ indications that the space was clearly a studio, with at least two rooms and performance capabilities.

⁹⁷ BAV, Cod. Ottob. 3279, 8 March 1692, p. 221r. Paradisi was responsible for making models of Ottoboni's theater in 1695, and also worked on models for the papal tomb; BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 33, 31 August 1695, vol. 35, no. 88, January 1696.

⁹⁸ One *conto* was for thirty flasks to carry the wine to Trevisani; BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 39, February 1698. See also BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 38, no. 66, 15 February 1698 for water placed "in più luochi nelle stanze del Sig. Trevisani Pittore."

⁹⁹ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 39, 24 March 1698; "A di 24= [Marzo] a n.o 6 Facchini che portarono dalla loggia d. SE alle Stanze del Trevisani Pittore alcune Statue di Stucco," and BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 51; "due modelli di legno dal Sig.re Trevisani."

In August 1697, Trevisani was paid four *scudi* for decorating a soffit in an old ward room.¹⁰⁰ The following year he is reported as occupying a suite in the Cancelleria as indicated by references to work being conducted for decorations "nelle Stanze del Sig. Trevisani Pittore,"¹⁰¹ that included the installation of window panes "alle fenestre delle Stanze dove Stà il Trevisani Pittore."¹⁰² Perhaps the *stanze* referred to were rooms that Trevisani used to have the cardinal sit for him for his portraits, thus the attention paid to lighting in the work of the glazer. A payment of 2:40 *scudi* was approved for a carpenter who had made a frame for Trevisani for a portrait of the cardinal that he had painted in 1698.¹⁰³ In October a Filippo Rossi was paid five *scudi* for gilding a frame "per il ritratto in grande di S[ua] E[minenza] Pron[ipot]e fatto dal S.e Trevisani."¹⁰⁴ This could have been for the large portrait now in the Bowes Museum (fig. 9). Two months later, Trevisani received 8:10 *scudi* to pay for having a frame gilded "del Ritratto di S. E.," which was probably the same project.¹⁰⁵

Official portraiture was an early priority for Ottoboni as he became established in the Vice-Chancellor's office, as the numerous archival references make clear. Many of Trevisani's portraits for him have been lost, but survive in the form of engravings which identify Trevisani as the painter (fig. 1). Variations of these were published with changing captions as Ottoboni received new honors.

As Paradisi moved on to other undertakings, Trevisani's activities increased apace, yet he was not entered in the official palace rolls until April 1705.¹⁰⁶ It would be Ottoboni's practice with other artists in future years to have them work on projects for him before making them residents of his court. Trevisani's previous association with Ottoboni, if not official, was close as Francesco Valesio had referred to him as "pittore del Cardinale Ottoboni" already in 1702.¹⁰⁷

At the time of this activity of delivering canvas and gilding frames, Trevisani's paintings for Ottoboni were primar-

¹⁰⁰ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 36, no. 84, 29 August 1697; "dove dipingie il Sig.e francescho Trevisani in d.ta soffitta."

¹⁰¹ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 38, fasc. 66, 15 February 1698.

¹⁰² BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 37, September 1698.

¹⁰³ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 37, 23 September 1698.

¹⁰⁴ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 37, 30 August and 16 October 1698.

¹⁰⁵ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 37, 23 December 1698.

¹⁰⁶ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 49, fasc. 17, "Rollo di Famiglia," April 1705.

The claim that Ottoboni paid Trevisani a generous stipend and an annual salary has not been documented; Ursula Schlegel, "Angelo De Rossi", in: *Die Bildwerke der Skulpturengalerie Berlin*. vol. I, *Die italienischen Bildwerke des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts in Stein, Holz...*, Berlin 1978, p. 93. No stipend was entered under Trevisani's name in the monthly registers. This follows Ottoboni's practice for his other court painter, Sebastiano Conca, but differs from the entries for his architect, Filippo Juvarra, his composer Arcangelo Corelli, and his sculptors, Angelo de' Rossi and Lorenzo Merlini, all of whom received monthly allowances.

¹⁰⁷ VALESIO 1977–1979, vol. 2, 29 December 1702, p. 359.



10. Francesco Trevisani, *The Three Marys*, 1698, oil on canvas, 123.2 cm × 136 cm. Atherton, California, William R. Fielder Collection

ily religious subjects which matched the style of his paintings in the Crucifixion Chapel of San Silvestro in Capite.¹⁰⁸ These included several works now in American collections, such as 'The Three Marys' in California (fig. 10).¹⁰⁹ Here Trevisani relied on abrupt contrasts of light and shadow to establish the somber tone of this painting which was completed at a time when Ottoboni was occupied with the tomb commission for his great-uncle in St. Peter. In its tenebrism, the painting reflects his Venetian master, Antonio Zanchi, the technique reinforced by Trevisani's experience in Rome of Caravaggio's dramatic chiaroscuro. Foreground illumination from directed light and the resulting dark shadows also indicate Trevisani's mimicry of the brilliantly illuminated devotional *macchine* so popular at the time. The three women as swooning, assisting and praying, solicit an emotional response from the viewer and make an appeal to piety.

Trevisani's painting of a 'Dead Christ' in the Stanford University Museum of Art¹¹⁰ is contemporary with 'The Three Marys' and matches it in terms of dimensions, style and emotional content. Christ's face is masked in darkness, a foil to that of Mary which is bathed in light. The hands of both figures are limp, Mary's in sympathy with Christ's in her function of co-redemptrix. Trevisani emphasizes the corpus of Christ surrounded by instruments of the Passion. This somber tenor continues in Trevisani's 'Deposition' in the



11. Francesco Trevisani, *Deposition*, 1698, oil on canvas. Collection of the Wellesley College Museum, gift of Professor and Mrs. John McAndrew, 1956.45

Wellesley College Museum's Jewett Art Center (fig. 11).¹¹¹ This may have been a study for a larger 'Deposition' which Leone Pascoli reports had been executed for Ottoboni with life-size figures.¹¹² The treatment of Christ is similar to that of his counterpart in the Stanford painting in the emphasis on the torso, the limp arms and the face lost in shadow. In the lower right, Mary has crumpled into a seated pose similar to that of her figure in 'The Three Marys'. The painting is clearly a compositional sketch on the basis of its loose brush work. It, too, originates from the late 1690s.

Also from this period, and matching the lost 'Deposition' in scale and contrasts of light and dark is Trevisani's 'Mas-

¹⁰⁸ DiFEDERICO 1971, pp. 52–66; 1977, pp. 44–45, no. 25.

¹⁰⁹ See OLSZEWSKI 1989, p. 42.

¹¹⁰ Reproduced in OLSZEWSKI 1989, p. 45, fig. 15.

¹¹¹ This painting appears in Ottoboni's inventory as ASR, R.C.A. 604, p. 206r. no. 202; "Altro da mezza testa grande rapp.te La deposizione della Croce Originale del Trevisani." It was given a high appraisal of 150 *scudi*. Appraisals for the inventory items appear in ASR, N.A.C. 1838 where they are added in a second hand, with the number of the object taken from the inventory list in ASR, R.C.A. 604. See also DiFEDERICO 1977, p. 45, no. 26.

¹¹² Pascoli, as transcribed in DiFEDERICO 1977, p. 96.



12. Francesco Trevisani, *Massacre of the Innocents*, ca. 1710, 265 × 464 cm. Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister

sacre of the Innocents' (fig. 12).¹¹³ Pascoli identified this work with its life size figures as painted for Ottoboni.¹¹⁴ Its size and animation mark a departure in the cardinal's tastes up to this time. It is a companion piece to another large work, also housed in Dresden but lost during the Second World War, Trevisani's 'Jesus Disputing with the Doctors.'¹¹⁵ Both paintings were in Ottoboni's possession when he died, with Trevisani's 'Massacre' receiving the highest appraisal of 1,000 *scudi*.¹¹⁶ The pair dominated Ottoboni's collection and may have been delivered ca. 1710 when it was reported that Ottoboni had recently installed a special gallery.¹¹⁷

From this time as well, but in a different idiom, is Trevisani's 'Danae' (fig. 13) which recently appeared on the art

market.¹¹⁸ This profane subject is painted with greater clarity than the religious works just considered. It matches in tenor other mythologies that Ottoboni acquired during his first decade of patronage, such as G. B. Gaulli's 'Diana the Huntress' in Minneapolis (fig. 14), and Reni's 'Bacchus and Ariadne'. Gaulli's 'Diana' was one of Ottoboni's gifts to his musician friend, Andrea Adami, which explains why it does not appear in the inventory of Ottoboni's holdings at his death.¹¹⁹ It matches Trevisani's 'Danae' in its clarity and color scheme. As the eighteenth century began, commerce continued between Trevisani and canvas makers, frame makers and gilders.¹²⁰

Ottoboni displayed some of his best and most valuable paintings in a public exhibition in the courtyard of the

¹¹³ Karl Woermann, *Katalog der Königlichen Gemäldegalerie zu Dresden*, Dresden 1902, p. 163, no. 445. The painting was entered in the royal inventory in 1754.

¹¹⁴ "Per il Cardinal Ottoboni, un Quadro Grande rappresentante la Strage degli Innocenti ... con figure al naturale." Transcribed in DiFEDERICO 1977, pp. 96–97.

¹¹⁵ DiFEDERICO 1977, p. 78.

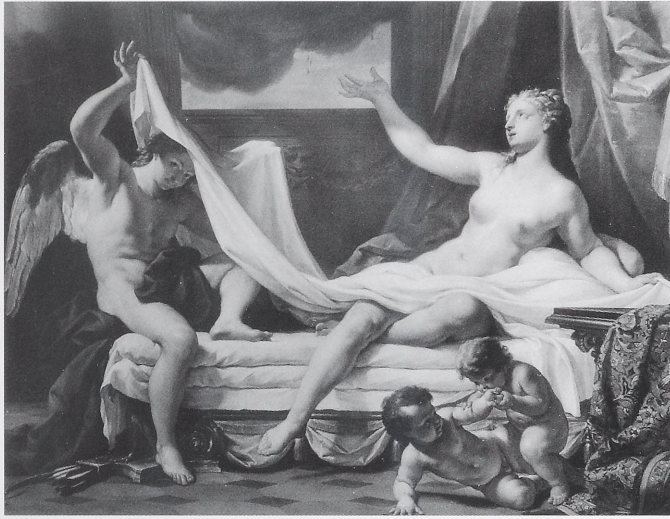
¹¹⁶ ASR, R.C.A. 604, no. 395; "Altro alto palmi Dieci, Largo palmi Dieci-nove rapp.te La Strage dell'Innocenti del Trevisani;" no. 400, "Altro alto palmi dieci, largo palmi undici, e mezzo rapp.te La Disputa di N.ro Sig.re con Li Dottori del Trevisani," this latter with an appraisal of 500 *scudi*.

¹¹⁷ *Correspondance* 1887–1912, vol. 3, p. 418, no. 1458, 11 October 1710, where M. Leblond in a letter to the Marquis de Torcy writes that Ottoboni had decorated a special gallery in his apartment with paintings by his living artists.

¹¹⁸ OLSZEWSKI 1989, pp. 45–47; DiFEDERICO 1977, p. 78, listed as "unlocated." This is likely the rediscovered *Danae* which appeared in the Newhouse Gallery, New York, in 1987.

¹¹⁹ Pascoli (see note 43), vol. 1, p. 203; OLSZEWSKI 1989, pp. 40–41; Carlo Ratti and Raffaello Soprani, *Delle vite de' pittori scultori ed architetti genovesi*, Genoa 1769, vol. 2, p. 82.

¹²⁰ Antonio Filiberti was paid 99 *scudi* for frames "per li quadri del Sig.re Trevisani;" BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 41, after no. 52, 16 August 1700. Payment of 33 *scudi* was made for gilding a large frame, "per un Quadro dell Sig.re Trevisani;" *ibid.*, no. 54, 26 September 1701. Trevisani paid Nicola Coloraro twelve *scudi* for two large canvases (*Imperiale* size of 135 × 85 cm, or 53 × 33½ in.); *ibid.*, vol. 45, no. 147, 20 dicembre 1702. Trevisani's autograph signature can be found among this packet of receipts. Eight *scudi* are paid for canvas for large paintings; *ibid.*, vol. 47, no. 58, 1704.



13. Francesco Trevisani, *Danae*, oil on canvas, 162.6 × 208.9 cm. Private Collection, U.S.A.



14. Giovanni Battista Gaulli, *Diana the Huntress*, 1690, oil on canvas, 161.7 × 211.5 cm. Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Francis E. Andrews Fund, 69.37

church of Saint Bartholomew in 1703.¹²¹ This was the national church of the Brescian nation where Ottoboni's great-uncle had served as bishop for ten years. Ottoboni was Protector of the church. The paintings would have included many of the works cited by Rossini ten years before as well as the cardinal's more recent acquisitions from Gaulli, Reni and Trevisani as discussed above.

Trevisani was asked to depict a 'Mass of Bolsena' as an altar painting for the Chapel of the Miracle in Santa Cristina in Bolsena. He probably received this commission through Ottoboni's minister, Adami, who was a native of Bolsena and would write a history of the city in 1734 dedicated to Ottoboni. According to Pascoli, Ottoboni owned a *bozzetto* for this subject which he would have acquired on completion of the project in 1704,¹²² and which is probably that preserved in the Academy of St. Luke (fig. 15).¹²³ The subject depicts the miracle of 1263 when the faith of a German priest who doubted the physical presence of Christ in the Eucharist was restored during Mass when the sacred host began to bleed at the Elevation. The subject would have suited Ottoboni who sponsored several confraternities of the Corpus Domini.

Trevisani had entered the Academy of St. Luke in 1697 on the death of his first patron.¹²⁴ Without the protection of a patron, and unsure of future prospects, this was probably a pragmatic move on the part of the artist. He largely ignored the Academy during his tenure in Ottoboni's court, even attacking it on two occasions, and was suspended from

its membership until after 1715 when the Academy yielded on its attempts to control art patronage.¹²⁵ The stringent statutes that forbade non-academy members from maintaining and taking in pupils were modified in 1714.¹²⁶ Trevisani was one of the most vocal in attacking the academy's rules, now emboldened by his secure position in Ottoboni's court, but he was reinstated after the rules' change was effected.¹²⁷ The Academy had long tried to protect its members by controlling their interests. Decades before, it had argued against the practice of artists selling paintings as degrading to the profession.¹²⁸

Ottoboni had received benefices in Avignon and had even visited the old papal residence there serving as legate from 1689 to 1692.¹²⁹ His great-uncle had been Innocent XI's ambassador to the French court for discussions concerning the Jansenist controversy. Although they held opposing positions, the French respected Pietro Vito for his fairness and legal skills, and in 1689 supported his candidacy for the papacy. Cardinal Ottoboni exploited these early family contacts with the French court, which resulted in a proclamation

¹²¹ The diarist, Giuseppe MARESCOTTI, reports that Ottoboni displayed his *superbissimi quadri*; MARESCOTTI, vol. 790, 1 September 1703, p. 257.

¹²² As transcribed in DiFEDERICO 1977, p. 98.

¹²³ DiFEDERICO 1977, pp. 46–47, no. 31.

¹²⁴ *L'Accademia Nazionale di San Luca* (see note 90), Rome 1974, p. 124.

¹²⁵ Jean Arnaud, *L'Académie de Saint-Luc a Rome. Considérations historiques depuis son origine jusqu'à nos jours*, Rome 1886, p. 55, n. 1; Melchior Missirini, *Memorie per servire alla storia della romana accademia di S. Luca fino alla morte di Antonio Canova*, Rome 1823, pp. 198–199.

¹²⁶ Ellis Waterhouse, "Painting in Rome in the Eighteenth Century," *Museum Studies, The Art Institute of Chicago*, 6 (1971), p. 12; Nikolaus Pevsner, *Academies of Art Past and Present*, New York 1973, p. 113; Hanns Gross, *Rome in the Age of Enlightenment*, New York 1990, p. 333; Nicholas Turner, "An attack on the Accademia di S Luca: Ludovico David's *L'Amore dell'Arte*," *British Museum Yearbook*, 1 (1976), pp. 157–186.

¹²⁷ Missirini (see note 125), pp. 198–199.

¹²⁸ Francis Haskell, *Patrons and Painters*, New Haven 1980, p. 121.

¹²⁹ MARESCOTTI, vol. 788, p. 133v, 31 December 1689.



15. Francesco Trevisani, *Mass of Bolsena*, 1704, bozzetto. Rome, Academy of Saint Luke

16. Francesco Trevisani, *Saint Peter*, 1713, oil on canvas, dia. 50 cm. Rome, Pinacoteca Vaticana



in Versailles on 20 July 1709 of his appointment as Cardinal-Protector of French affairs.¹³⁰ He was not successful, however, in his attempts to obtain a knighthood for Trevisani.¹³¹

An inventory by Nicolas Bailly in 1706 of Louis XIV's paintings listed a surprisingly large number of works by Trevisani, twenty-five, at Versailles.¹³² They were all religious subjects. It is likely that many if not all were gifts from Ottoboni in his attempts to ingratiate himself with the French court, which included his campaign for a knighthood for Trevisani. Louis XIV had sent Ottoboni a portrait framed with jewels reported to be worth 15,000 *scudi* in 1703,¹³³ in response to gifts from the cardinal, and eliciting a further exchange, as the Marquis de Torcy conveyed two Ottoboni presents to the king the following year, a 'Madonna and Child' and a 'Wedding at Cana'.¹³⁴ None of the listed paintings has been located in modern times. Gifts of paintings from Ottoboni to the French king continued, including two madonnas by Trevisani presently in the Louvre, which were delivered in August of 1709 in gratitude for his new appointment.

Trevisani's talents helped Ottoboni's attempts to cement ties with the French. The painter delivered a 'Christ on the Cross,' which was based on a composition by Guido Reni, to the Cathedral at Besancon in 1699. He also painted a 'St. Lawrence and St. Siffrein Viewing the Coronation of the Virgin by the Trinity' for the church of Saint-Siffrein in Carpentras. A 'Holy Family' in St. Agricola in Avignon is similar to Trevisani compositions of the same subject in Rome and Cleveland.

Between 1708 and 1717, Ottoboni allowed Trevisani to become involved in a large commission of paintings for a private summer retreat at Pommersfelden near Mainz. This was for the Prince-Bishop Lothar Franz von Schönborn, Elector and Archbishop of Mainz and Arch-Chancellor of

¹³⁰ Note inscription in engraved portrait in fig. 1, and see VALESIO 1977–1979, vol. 4, p. 309, 1 August 1709; *Correspondance* 1887–1912, vol. 3, p. 314, no. 1369, 24 August 1709.

¹³¹ DIFEDERICO 1977, p. 33, n. 4; *Correspondance* 1887–1912, vol. 3, pp. 311–312, no. 1367, 17 August 1709; 314, no. 1369, 24 August 1709.

¹³² Bailly's inventory was published by Engerand in 1899. See Arnauld Brejon de Lavergnée and Pierre Rosenberg, "Francesco Trevisani et la France," *Antologia di Belle Arti*, 7–8 (1979), pp. 265–275, here p. 265.

¹³³ BAV, Ottob. Lat., 2731, p. 217r, 8 December 1703; "E ritornato il Cav.re Sciape francese da Parigi, che serve il Sig.re Card.le Ottoboni spedito colà da Sua Em.za con pretiosi cristalli di Monti in regalo alla M.ta Sua, che in gradimento di ciò ha la grandezza di questo Monarca contracambiata la generosità di Sua Em.za in un Ritratto tutto gioielato di valore di m/15 scudi, acciaio provi nella Sodezza di queste Pietre la costanza con che ama il Suo merito, perche = Veteris meritum renovandum est novo = aggiungendo al d.o Cav.re un annua pensione di 500 scudi."

¹³⁴ *Correspondance* 1887–1912, vol. 3, p. 135, no. 1195, 18 November 1704; p. 143, no. 1204, 15 December 1704.



17. Benoit Farjat, after Giuseppe Chiari, *Adoration of the Magi*, 1714, engraving. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 51.501.4504

the Holy Roman Empire.¹³⁵ The project included a 'Repentant Magdalene' and an 'Ecce Homo'. There were the Old Testament subjects of 'Susanna and the Elders' and 'Joseph and Potiphar's Wife,' and mythological works including an 'Apollo and Daphne,' the 'Rape of Proserpina,' 'Luna and Endymion,' and two versions of 'Galatea'. Trevisani had delivered most of these canvases by 1710, but the 'Terrestrial Galatea' was delayed for several years.

¹³⁵ DiFEDERICO 1977, pp. 49–53.

¹³⁶ Ottoboni had a special devotion to the Santa Casa; see OLSZEWSKI 1982, p. 105.

It was at this time that Filippo Juvarra designed an enlarged theatre in Ottoboni's palace, but there is no evidence that Trevisani ever painted stage sets for the cardinal's productions. In 1713 Ottoboni became involved in the annual exhibition of paintings held in the cloister of San Salvatore in Lauro for the feast of the translation of the Holy House of Nazareth.¹³⁶ Giuseppe Ghezzi as secretary for the Sodality registered the list of newly commissioned works displayed by Ottoboni.¹³⁷

¹³⁷ "Quadri delle case de Principi in Roma," Palazzo Braschi, 1713, "Del- l'Em.mo Sig. Card. Ottoboni," pp. 193–194. Transcribed by Olivier Michel in CONCA 1981, p. 388, doc.no. 3.



18. Guido Reni, *Adoration of the Magi*, oil on canvas, 1642. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Leonard C. Hanna, Jr. Fund, 69.132

He identified sixteen elaborately framed tondo paintings of heads of Christ, the Virgin, and apostles and saints by fifteen artists. Only Trevisani's name appears twice with the important subjects of Christ and Saint Peter. Other painters included Giuseppe Ghezzi, Giuseppe Chiari, Benedetto Luti and Sebastiano Conca, among the most prominent in Rome, and all of whom would soon flatter Ottoboni with their works. Many of the same names were associated with the series of prophets painted in the ovals of the nave of Saint John Lateran above Borromini's niches containing monumental statues of the apostles, a project completed under Clement XI's direction in 1718.¹³⁸

The full list of Ghezzi's titles is repeated in Ottoboni's inventory of paintings in 1740,¹³⁹ and three have been located in the Vatican Pinacoteca, among them Trevisani's 'Saint Peter' (fig. 16).¹⁴⁰ The little paintings were set within ornate square frames, with each figure given an appropriate attribute. Trevisani's Saint Peter holds keys painted in a tondo format on a square piece of canvas. His apostle is also the

liveliest of the surviving trio as he makes eye contact with the viewer, the head turning out of right profile against the shoulders.

Ottoboni celebrated his twenty-fifth anniversary as Vice-Chancellor in 1714, which was recognized by the King of France who conferred an abbey on him.¹⁴¹ The occasion precipitated a flurry of renewed activity in his court toward completion of the papal tomb that needed the marble carvings of allegories to replace the stucco figures *in situ*. Ottoboni's intentions would be frustrated by the poor health of his resident sculptor, Angelo de' Rossi, who had also been diverted by the need to finish carving a second colossal figure for Clement XI for the series of apostles in the Lateran nave.¹⁴² By the end of the year Filippo Juvarra had left Ottoboni's household for the more extravagant patronage of the royal court at Turin. Rossi died shortly after. In a letter to a cousin, Margherita Zeno Pio di Savoia, Ottoboni made no mention of these losses, but he boasted of his Trevisani as the best painter in all of Italy.¹⁴³

Trevisani was involved with a project for the Cathedral at Narni at this time while struggling to complete a 'Rest on the Flight to Egypt' for Ottoboni. Also as part of Ottoboni's twenty-fifth anniversary celebration as cardinal and Vice-Chancellor, Giuseppe Chiari delivered his large 'Adoration of the Magi' now in Dresden (fig. 17).¹⁴⁴ This was based in part on Guido Reni's unfinished 'Adoration of the Magi' (in The Cleveland Museum of Art, fig. 18), which the Barberini family had acquired at Reni's death.¹⁴⁵ DiFederico has suggested that Chiari's canvas was a pendant to Trevisani's 'Rest on the Flight to Egypt,' which is also in Dresden (fig. 19). DiFederico dated Trevisani's painting to the mid-teens, a period when the cardinal's taste was most classicizing, arguing for this dating from the compositional similarities with Trevisani's 'Madonna of the Rosary' for the Cathedral at Narni.¹⁴⁶ Another painting even closer to the

¹⁴⁰ ASR, R.C.A. 604, no. 186. "Altro tondo da testa scarso rapp.te S. Pietro Apostolo del Cav.re Trevisani." These have been reported by Carlo Pietrangeli, "Alla ricerca di una serie di dipinti Ottoboniani," *Strenna dei Romanisti*, (1980), pp. 400–403. The others are Giovanni Crecolini's 'Saint Jude' (ASR, R.C.A. 604, no. 194), which still has its original frame, and Luigi Garzi's 'Saint Simon' (ASR, R.C.A. 604, no. 196). All are ca. 50 cm (or 20") in diameter.

¹⁴¹ ASVic, Arch. Ottob., vol. 184, no. 15, 1714; "Carte relative all'Abbadia le Marchienne conferita da S.M. il Re di Francia al Sig. Card. Pietro Ottoboni 1714."

¹⁴² OLSZEWSKI 1986, pp. 662, 665.

¹⁴³ BARONI 1969, pp. 108, 117, n. 35; letter of 20 April 1715, "Il mio pittore Trevisani, che oggi ha il primo luogo tra quelli che vivono ..."

¹⁴⁴ DIFEDERICO 1977, pp. 57–58, no. 69; CONCA 1981, pp. 90, 92

¹⁴⁵ Marilyn Lavin, *Seventeenth-Century Barberini Documents and Inventories of Art*, New York 1975, p. 34, doc.no. 270, 21 April 1645.

¹⁴⁶ For Trevisani at Narni, see Frank DiFederico, "Trevisani's Pictures at Narni and the State of Roman Painting in 1715," *Storia dell'Arte*, 15/16 (1972), pp. 307–313.

¹³⁸ See OLSZEWSKI 1986, p. 665, nos. 45, 46.

¹³⁹ ASR, R.C.A. 604, nos. 186–201. A study of the Ottoboni inventory will be published elsewhere.

19. Francesco Trevisani,
Rest on the Flight to Egypt,
1714, 248 × 275 cm.
Dresden, Gemäldegalerie
Alte Meister



Narni 'Madonna of the Rosary' in composition and definition of figures is the 'Holy Family' in The Cleveland Museum of Art about which more will be said shortly. There is no evidence to indicate which painting came first.

Trevisani's delivery of his four paintings to Cardinal Giuseppe Sacripanti for the Narni project was delayed to 1715, and pushed back completion of his 'Terrestrial Galatea' for Bishop Schönborn. The subjects at Narni included paintings depicting events from the life of Blessed Lucy of Narni, the mentioned 'Madonna of the Rosary,' and a 'Death of Saint Joseph' in honor of Cardinal Sacripanti's onomastic patron. Trevisani had completed another 'Death of Saint Joseph' for the Sacripanti Chapel in San Ignazio in Rome in 1712 where he worked alongside Chiari who was painting a 'Blessed Lucy of Narni Receiving the Stigmata'. This contact may have led to Chiari's commission for Ottoboni which followed.

At this time, 1712, Trevisani was enrolled into Ottoboni's Arcadians, joining members of the cardinal's court such as, Antonio Ottoboni, Arcangelo Corelli, Filippo Juvarra and Angelo de' Rossi.¹⁴⁷ He took as his shepherd's name, Sanzio Echeiano. Pascoli had commented on Trevisani's intelligence, identifying him as a poet, and on his wit and humour as the

author of drawn caricatures.¹⁴⁸ A payment for costumes for a masked ball, mentioned Trevisani as the author of comedies.¹⁴⁹ Valesio also wrote of comedies that he improvised.¹⁵⁰ Trevisani had a particular talent for improvisation which was a popular Roman pastime in the eighteenth century as well as a component of meetings of the Arcadians.

In June 1718, Trevisani was among the artists who received gold and silver medals (fig. 20) for their medallions of prophets painted in the Lateran nave, once more demonstrating Ottoboni's willingness to allow his court painters to take outside commissions.¹⁵¹ Curiously, Trevisani was not involved in the decorative work of the Cancelleria's *Sala Riaria* which was completed about the same time as the Lateran commission. This was not an Ottoboni project initially although attempts were made to coerce Ottoboni into paying for the expenses.¹⁵² The pope delegated responsibility for the redecoration of this most public hall for the conduct

¹⁴⁸ Pascoli (see note 43), "Di Angelo de' Rossi", vol. 1, pp. 274–276.

¹⁴⁹ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 39, 8 March 1698; 7.65 *scudi* "per Le comedie fatte dal Trevisani."

¹⁵⁰ VALESIO 1977–1979, vol. 2, p. 359, 29 December 1702.

¹⁵¹ See OLSZEWSKI 1986, p. 665, n. 45.

¹⁵² Rudolph (see note 12); CHRACAS, vol. 6, no. 184, 10 August 1718, pp. 8–10.

¹⁴⁷ He was enrolled in September 1712; DiFEDERICO 1977, pp. 15, 33, n. 6.



20. Ermengildo Hamerani, Medal of Clement XI. Rev.: Religion in front of San Giovanni in Laterano, silvered bronze, 1718. Philadelphia Museum of Art, Bequest of Anthony Morris Clark

of ecclesiastical business to Lodovico Sergardi (1660–1726), a Siene painter and author of Latin satires.¹⁵³ He was Ottoboni's *uditore*, and an opponent of Gravina in the Arcadian academy. Sergardi commissioned frescoes painted by Giuseppe Nicola Nasini, depicting churches and monuments that Clement XI had restored during his papacy,¹⁵⁴ with additional paintings by Marcantonio Franceschini.

Ottoboni allowed Trevisani to take advantage of Adami's presence in the court on another occasion to secure a project in Bolsena, namely the large (317 × 203 cm) 'Birth of the Virgin' to be placed in Santa Cristina with his 'Mass of Bolsena'.¹⁵⁵ Adami's brother, Carlo Andrea, was pastor of San Francesco in Bolsena, and had been put in charge of the redecoration for Santa Cristina from 1722 to 1726. Pascoli noted that Ottoboni also owned the *bozzetto* of this subject, which is probably the canvas preserved in the Academy of St. Luke.¹⁵⁶ Less is known about the large 'Baptism of Christ' that Ottoboni requested from Trevisani in 1723. DiFederico has suggested that this may have been for a provincial chapel.¹⁵⁷ It is signed and dated and decorated with the Ottoboni arms.

The mid-1720s marked several major events in Ottoboni's life. After thirty-five years as cardinal and Vice-Chancellor, Ottoboni finally entered the priesthood, no doubt succumbing to the urging of the pious Benedict XIII. He took Holy Orders in July of 1724, celebrating his first mass at Santa Maria Maggiore where he had been a deacon arch-priest since 1702.¹⁵⁸ Soon Pope Benedict XIII appointed him Bishop of Sabina, a post once held by his great-uncle. As if in anticipation of these events, Ottoboni took into his court a second resident painter, Sebastiano Conca, who entered the cardinal's service in mid-1724.¹⁵⁹

Ottoboni dedicated a papal altar to Benedict XIII for the coming Jubilee Year. A Christmas mass at the altar heralded the start of Holy Year celebrations. Ottoboni had embellished the High Altar with a pair of *paliotti*, or altar frontals, as his Holy Year gift to the basilica.¹⁶⁰ Because the altar was free standing, the liturgy required panels for both sides. Ottoboni's were extraordinary in several ways, for they were not painted or of fabric, but made of pure silver. They have disappeared, but their subjects and artists have been identified.

¹⁵³ For more on Sergardi, see *Il Settecento a Roma*, Rome 1959, p. 345, no. 1531.

¹⁵⁴ For Nasini, see Pio 1977, pp. 155–156, 257–258, 317–319.

¹⁵⁵ DiFederico 1977, p. 61, no. 79.

¹⁵⁶ Pascoli as transcribed in DiFederico 1977, p. 96.

¹⁵⁷ DiFederico 1977, pp. 60–61, no. 78. I am grateful to Flavia Matitti for providing this photograph.

¹⁵⁸ CHRACAS, vol. 31, no. 1085, pp. 7–8, 15 July 1724; no. 1088, p. 4, 22 July 1724; VALESIO 1977–1979, vol. 2, p. 234, 30 July 1702; MARESCOTTI, vol. 790, 15 July 1702, p. 145v.

¹⁵⁹ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 82, "Rollo di Famiglia... Ministri," June 1724.

¹⁶⁰ *Correspondance* 1887–1912, vol. 7, no. 2839, p. 111, 26 December 1724.



21. Carlo Enrico di San Martino, Tomb of Pope Alexander VIII Ottoboni, 1695–1725. Rome, Saint Peter

Ottoboni's silver plaques depicted scenes of the Annunciation and of the Nativity based on designs by Trevisani and the newly arrived Conca.¹⁶¹ They were crafted by the important Roman silversmith, Simone Miglie (1679–1752), at a cost of more than 2,300 *scudi*.¹⁶² These panels represented the first major collaboration of Trevisani and Conca, with Trevisani responsible for the 'Annunciation'.¹⁶³

In early February of 1725, Ottoboni finally dedicated his great-uncle's tomb in the basilica of Saint Peter (fig. 21). Angelo de' Rossi's pair of marble allegories were still in his studio in the Cancelleria which had not been vacated since his death ten years before. Finishing touches were added to them by Giuseppe Raffaelli before they replaced the stucco figures which had been *in situ* since 1706.¹⁶⁴ Giuseppe Bertosi cast the bronze effigy of Alexander VIII, thus completing the project that Ottoboni had failed to install for the Holy Year of 1700. Bertosi's bronze displaced Rossi's stucco figure which was moved to the Palazzo Fiano.¹⁶⁵



22. Francesco Trevisani, Holy Family, 1731, oil on canvas. Rome, Piazza Poli, Oratorio del SS. Sacramento

The Roman diarist, Francesco Chracas, reported in March 1727 on Ottoboni's intentions as protector of the Confraternity of the Most Holy Sacrament in Santa Maria in Via for the new High Altar of the Oratory constructed by the architect Domenico Gregorini.¹⁶⁶ This may have been Ottoboni's first engagement of Gregorini who would become his resident architect in 1736 to construct the 'Confessione' for Ottoboni's basilica of San Lorenzo in Damaso.¹⁶⁷ Ottoboni had promised the Servite order a painting of the 'Holy Family' by Trevisani for their new oratory on the Piazza Poli

¹⁶⁶ BAV, CHRACAS, vol. 41, no. 1501, 22 March 1727, p. 16; BLUNT 1982, pp. 119–120.

¹⁶⁷ Gregorini would later become Ottoboni's resident architect, recorded as a member of the official family from 1736 to the cardinal's death in 1740. Nina Ayala, *Roman Rococo Architecture from Clement XI to Benedict XIV (1700–1758)*, Ph. D. Dissertation, Columbia University 1965, pp. 154–155; BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 96, "Rollo di Famiglia," no. 8, June 1736; BLUNT 1982, pp. 119–120.

¹⁶¹ CHRACAS, vol. 33, no. 1157, pp. 38–39, 5 January 1725.

¹⁶² BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 83, fasc. 22, 14 July – 7 December 1724.

¹⁶³ CHRACAS, vol. 33, no. 1157, pp. 38–39, 5 January 1725.

¹⁶⁴ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 83, fasc. 35, 10 July 1724, for 80 *scudi*.

¹⁶⁵ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 83, fasc. 34, 8 February 1725; after fasc. 402, 23 January – 1 September 1725.



23. Giuseppe Maria Crespi, *The Death of Saint Joseph*, oil on canvas, 234 × 187 cm. Saint Petersburg, Hermitage

(fig. 22). Pascoli records the gift¹⁶⁸ and quotes the marble plaque in the church that memorializes Ottoboni's largesse.¹⁶⁹ It identifies Trevisani as the celebrated painter and dates the installation of the painting to 1729. Pascoli also observes that Trevisani had made a *bozzetto* immediately on receipt of the commission, which may suggest a previously determined composition. This *bozzetto* has not been located. When Chracas first mentioned the project in March of 1727,

¹⁶⁸ Transcribed from Pascoli's *Vita of Trevisani* in DiFEDERICO 1977, pp. 91–92, and p. 65, no. 89; oil on canvas, 350 × 250 cm

¹⁶⁹ Marble plaques in Santa Maria in Via record Ottoboni's gift. The earlier plaque reads: "D.O.M / HANC SACRAM AEDEM / IN HONOREM / BEATAE MARIAE VIRGINIS / ET SANCTI PATRIARCHAE JOSEPHI / IN HANC ORNATIOREM / ET AMPLIOREM FORMAM EXTRUXIT / SODALITAS / SSMI CORPORIS CHRISTI / AD CVLTVS DIVINI / ATQUE IN VIRGINEM PIETATIS / SANCTIVS INCREMENTVM / QUOD PIVM OPVS / SANCTISSIMVS PONTIFEX / BENEDICTVS XIII / VERBO ET EXEMPLO / LIBERALITER PROMOVENS / PRIMUM LAPIDEM / AD FVNDAMENTAS IECIT / XIV KAL. APRILIS MDCCXXVII / PETRO CARDINALI OCTOBONO / EPO SABIN. ET STAE ROM. ECCLAE / V-CANCELLARIO PROTECTORE / ET NICOLAO PERELLIO APLCAE / CAM PRAESIDE PRIMICERIO / ANNO DOMINI MDCCXXVIII." A second marble inscription states: "PETRO EPISCOPO SABINENSI / CARDINAL OCTOBONO S.R.E. VICECANCELLARIO / PROTECTORI VIGILANTISSIMO / QUOD TABULAM A CELEBERRIMO FRANCESCO TREVISANO / FAMILIARI SUO PICTAM DONO DEDERIT / MONUMENTUM / ANNO MDCCXXIX."

he reported that Ottoboni had placed a picture of the death of Saint Joseph by G. M. Crespi on the altar until the appropriate painting by Trevisani could be completed. The occasion was the feast day of Saint Joseph (19 March). The painting by Crespi, identified in Ottoboni's inventory as by "Lo Spagnoletto" (fig. 23),¹⁷⁰ is that presently in the Hermitage and was commissioned by Ottoboni ca. 1712.

A second diary entry by Chracas which has been ignored until now indicates that the placement of Trevisani's picture on Gregorini's new altar did not occur until two years after the date given in the commemorative plaque.¹⁷¹ He reported in 1730 that Ottoboni held a benediction at the Oratory on the feast of Saint Joseph, extending praises to Gregorini and to Trevisani's painting of 9 × 17 *palmi* now installed on the main altar. Apparently Trevisani's canvas still lacked finishing touches, or perhaps the previous placement was only for Saint Joseph's day, as eighteen months later Chracas again mentioned its installation on a Saturday on an altar containing relics of the martyrs, Saint Theodore, the protopatron of Ottoboni's native Venice, and Saints Magno and Vittoriano.¹⁷² Trevisani was often late in completing projects, not because he was slow or negligent, but because he was so busy.¹⁷³ His delivery of Ottoboni's gift to the Oratory appears to have experienced a two-year delay. Trevisani's composition was a favorite of Ottoboni, as it exists in other versions, such as that in The Cleveland Museum of Art (fig. 24). Several observations can be made about this painting concerning its composition, dating and subject. DiFederico has suggested that the smaller version in Cleveland is an autograph replica of the glowing Oratorio canvas.¹⁷⁴ The Cleveland painting is simpler in composition with fewer cherubs emanating from a smaller opening in the heavens above. Trevisani's enlargement of the composition for Santa Maria in Via required him to open the heavens to add height and width, filling in with angelic figures. The

The third inscription reads, "PETRO OCTOBONIO / CARDINALI EPISCOPO SABINORUM / A. DIPLOMATIBUS PONTIFICIS MAXIMI / PATRONO OPTIME MERITO / QUOD IMAGINEM D. N. MARIAE IN LINTEO. PICTAM / A FRANCISCO TREVISANIO / HUIC AEDI NOSTRAE DONO DEDERIT / SODALES MEMORIS ANIMI TESTEM TITULUM / POSERUNT / ANNO MDCCXXIX." I am grateful to Father Giuliano M. Grassi, S.M. for confirming my transcriptions of these records.

¹⁷⁰ ASR, R.C.A., 604, no. 390; "Altro alto palmi dieci, a largo palmi otto rapp.te il Transito di S. Giuseppe, dello Spagnoletto di Bologna." See Mira Merriman, *Giuseppe Maria Crespi*, Milan 1980, p. 249, no. 48. The painting in the Hermitage is 234.5 × 187 cm

¹⁷¹ CHRACAS, vol. 55, no. 1975, 1 April 1730, p. 2. CHRACAS gives the dimensions of the painting as 9 × 17 *palmi* or 6'7" × 12'5".

¹⁷² CHRACAS, vol. 59, no. 2203, 15 September 1731, pp. 5–6.

¹⁷³ Delayed works by Trevisani include the 'Terrestrial Galatea' for Schönborn by three years, the 'St. Francis' by two years, among others; DiFEDERICO 1977, pp. 52, no. 51, 64, no. 86.

¹⁷⁴ DiFEDERICO 1977, p. 65, nos. 89 and 90. The dimensions are 350 × 250 cm versus 157.9 × 106.7 cm, DiFederico (see note 146).

poses of the Madonna and Child are close to those of their counterparts in Trevisani's 'Madonna of the Rosary' for the cathedral at Narni. Their grouping with Saints Elizabeth and Zachary matches that in Saints Catherine and Francis of Paola in the Narni canvas.¹⁷⁵

The painting in Narni can be documented to 1715, the most classicizing phase of Trevisani's career.¹⁷⁶ The Cleveland canvas shares a similar clarity and order with Trevisani's Narni project suggesting a date for it close to 1715–1720. Ottoboni's sponsorship of the Arcadian Academy with its particular devotion to the Christ Child who was chosen as its patron, would suggest that the Cleveland painting held a special place in Ottoboni's collection, and that he selected this favorite composition for the Santa Maria in Via altarpiece. The Cleveland painting is in superb condition and is too finished to be confused with the quickly presented *bozzetto* mentioned by Pascoli.

DiFederico has identified the subject of the painting as the Madonna and Child with Saints Joseph, Anna and Joachim without explanation. One might expect the Holy Family to be in the presence of Elizabeth and Zachary, the parents of the Baptist who is also present, instead of with the parents of Mary. Identifying Elizabeth and Zachary among the protagonists would seem more appropriate given the apocryphal visit of the Holy Family with the family of the Baptist,¹⁷⁷ whereas no such visit with Joachim and Anna is recorded. I had also argued independently of DiFederico that the Cleveland version of this subject depicted Saints Joachim and Anna, basing my interpretation on inventory entries that identified the Holy Family with these figures.¹⁷⁸ The most prominent example was a tapestry in the Ottoboni collection which was based on Marcantonio Raimondi's print of Raphael's composition of the Madonna and Child with Saints Elizabeth and John the Baptist. The tapestry composition was identified in the inventory as a Madonna and Child with St. Anne.¹⁷⁹



24. Francesco Trevisani, *Holy Family with Saint Anne, Joachim and the Young Saint John*, ca. 1715, oil on canvas, 157.9 × 106.7 cm. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Purchase, Mr. and Mrs. William H. Marlatt Fund, 74.108

Cardinal Paleotti had argued in 1582 that it was appropriate for an artist to take liberties with a subject if his additions to the text were reasonable and made sense in terms of the narrative.¹⁸⁰ Although no record exists of a meeting of the Holy Family with the parents of Saint John the Baptist

profane, Bologna 1582, in Paola Barocchi, *Trattati d'arte del Cinquecento, fra Manierismo e Controriforma*, vol. 2, Bari 1960–1962, pp. 398–407. Sebastiano Conca's 'Holy Family' of 1723 has been identified as including the young Saint John the Baptist and Saint Anne; CONCA 1981, p. 146, no. 28. The two elder males in the background would then be Saints Joseph and Joachim. There is no apocryphal account of the meeting of the families of Christ and Mary, and unless such identifications are the mistakes of careless notaries, a new devotion emerged in the eighteenth century. See Leo Steinberg's discussion of iconography lacking written tradition; "The Sexuality of Christ in Renaissance Art and Modern Oblivion," *October*, 25 (1983), pp. 1–222, here p. 108. G. M. Crespi's 'Holy Family' in the Pushkin Museum includes Elizabeth, Zachary, Anna and Joachim; see Mira Merriman, *Giuseppe Maria Crespi*, Milan 1980, pp. 255–256, no. 69.

¹⁷⁵ OLSZEWSKI 1977, p. 32.

¹⁷⁶ DiFederico (see note 146), pp. 307–313; idem., "Francesco Trevisani and the Decorations of the Crucifixion Chapel in San Silvestro in Capite," *Art Bulletin*, 53 (1971), pp. 52–67; OLSZEWSKI 1977, pp. 32–33.

¹⁷⁷ This aspect of the Holy Family's flight to Egypt and the narrative of John the Baptist has been reported by Marilyn Lavin, "Giovanni Battista: A Study in Renaissance Religious Symbolism," *Art Bulletin*, 37 (1955), pp. 85–101, here p. 87.

¹⁷⁸ OLSZEWSKI 1977, pp. 35–36c. The inventory entry for Baciccio's 'Rest on the Flight to Egypt' identifies the figures as including St. John the Baptist and St. Anne.

¹⁷⁹ Identified in the Ottoboni inventory as a 'Madonna and Child with Saints Anne and John the Baptist'; see OLSZEWSKI 1982, p. 105, figs. 5 and 6, 111, Appendix I; ASVic, Arch. Ottob., vol. 342, p. 34.

¹⁸⁰ Gabriele Paleotti had argued that events not mentioned in scriptural accounts could be depicted in art if they could reasonably have happened. See Book II, Ch. 32 of his *Discorso intorno alle immagini sacre e*



25. Francesco Trevisani, *Madonna and Sleeping Christ Child with Three Music-Playing Angels*, oil on canvas, 151 × 126 cm. Paris, Louvre, inv. 697

and those of the Virgin, Trevisani's filling in of the scriptures seemed to be accepted as a reasonable embellishment by his contemporaries with the creation of a new iconography, although the evidence does not suggest Trevisani as the inventor of this new imagery.

To depend on Ottoboni's inventory of paintings for an overview of Trevisani's work for the cardinal would be to settle for a partial picture of his patronage. The inventory suggests that he painted but thirty pictures for his patron in four decades. The small number of paintings listed among the goods assembled at Ottoboni's death that are by his chief resident painters, Trevisani and Conca, who together had spent more than fifty years in the cardinal's court, is misleading as an indicator of their work for him, and can be explained as the result of several factors. A number of pictures were sold from the collection just weeks after the cardinal died and thus evaded mention in his inventory.¹⁸¹ Paintings which did not come under the strictures of Pope Alexander VIII's will, and could therefore be sold, were those acquired by Ottoboni after the pope's death. This meant that the most readily expendable pictures in his collection came from the large number painted by Trevisani and Conca.

¹⁸¹ These early sales are recorded in ASVic, Arch. Ottob., vol. 57, "Denari Ricavati dalla Vendita de Mobili dell'Appartamento Nobile Superiore."

Too, Ottoboni often gave paintings as gifts to close friends and family, to dignitaries and heads of foreign courts, and as rewards for exceptional performances by singers and musicians. For example, Ottoboni sent many gifts to the King of France, such as the pair in August 1709 which are today in the Louvre.¹⁸² One is Trevisani's 'Madonna and Sleeping Christ Child with Three Music-Playing Angels' (fig. 25).¹⁸³ The second, his 'Jesus Showing the Passion Flower to the Madonna' was originally on copper and is in poor condition having been transferred to canvas in 1958.¹⁸⁴

To the widowed grand princess of Tuscany Ottoboni sent Trevisani's painting of Christ on the cross with the Virgin, Mary Magdalene and St. John.¹⁸⁵ This was for the Jubilee Year of 1725. Chracas's description of the painting sounds like the composition of the same subject that Trevisani painted for his well-received project of San Silvestro in Capite, Rome, in 1695–1696. Di Federico has suggested that this might have been the *bozzetto* for the San Silvestro fresco.¹⁸⁶ Ottoboni gave several paintings to his close friend and minister, Andrea Adami, and promised his cousin, Margherita Pio Zeno di Savoia, a portrait by Trevisani.¹⁸⁷

Ottoboni also used his painters for other activities such as designing and decorating *macchine* for religious festivals and special secular celebrations. They also designed book covers for his *libretti*, decorated the boxes in his theatre, and collaborated on special projects such as the silver altar frontals in 1725 for the main altar of Santa Maria Maggiore. The special performance of the opera, 'Carlo Magno,' in Ottoboni's theatre in honor of the birth of the dauphin to the King and Queen of France in 1729 was accompanied by special copies of the libretto with gold covers and illustrations of the scenes by Trevisani and Conca.¹⁸⁸ In 1698, Trevisani had been paid for costumes and masks that he devised for the comedy performed during the pre-Lenten carnival.¹⁸⁹

Both artists were also given their freedom to pursue other projects. By 1732, Trevisani and Conca had completed ceiling decorations in the Palazzo de Carolis.¹⁹⁰ In September of that year, the president of the French Academy in Rome wrote to Paris that "the famous painter Trevisani" had

¹⁸² DiFEDERICO 1977, p. 48, no. 36; *Correspondance* 1887–1912, vol. 3, p. 312, no. 1367, 17 August 1709, p. 314, no. 1369, 24 August 1709, p. 316, no. 1370, 31 August 1709.

¹⁸³ Oil on canvas, 151 × 126 cm, inv. 697.

¹⁸⁴ DiFEDERICO 1977, pp. 48–49, no. 37; oil on canvas, 71 × 56 cm, inv. 698.

¹⁸⁵ CHRACAS, vol. 39, no. 1209, p. 36, 5 May 1725.

¹⁸⁶ See Di Federico, 1977, p. 42, no. 15 and Pl. 14.

¹⁸⁷ BARONI 1969, pp. 108–109.

¹⁸⁸ VALESIO 1977–1979, vol. 5, p. 141, 24 November 1729. I was alerted to the existence of this book cover through the kindness of Maurizio Fagiolo and Flavia Matitti.

¹⁸⁹ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 39, 8 March 1698, paid 7.65 *scudi*.

¹⁹⁰ BLUNT 1982, p. 177; CONCA 1981, pp. 58–59.

begun to work in the dome of the Vatican baptistry.¹⁹¹ In 1729, Conca was reported in the *Diario di Roma* as receiving 300 *scudi* for a picture in San Eustachio to be placed in the largest chapel of Michael the Archangel, in anticipation of the dedication of the new church.¹⁹² Conca's painting is still in the chapel.¹⁹³

No contracts have survived for commissions from Ottoboni to Trevisani. An early *conto* of 1702 is a general payment to Trevisani for 150 *scudi* in recognition of paintings made for him.¹⁹⁴ The wording indicates that Trevisani had presented paintings to Ottoboni, but the number is not specified, and the *conto* is unclear whether this was at the patron's request or simply a result of the artist's initiative. Another *conto* from 1735 for but five *scudi* is for a little portrait of a young Moor for which Trevisani painted the head.¹⁹⁵ Of greater interest is the *conto* for a payment in July of 1727 for 575 *scudi* for five paintings by Trevisani.¹⁹⁶ Curiously, the pictures did not come from Trevisani directly, as Ottoboni bought them from a third party, Vincenzo Binelli. These included an 'Assumption,' probably that sold shortly after Ottoboni's death and now lost.¹⁹⁷ This was a little painting in an oval frame. Sold a few months after Ottoboni died, it did not enter his inventory. It was one of the first works taken at the initial sale of Ottoboni goods in late June of 1740. No further record of the

painting is known, although Trevisani had painted the same subject as early as 1692 for the Cathedral at Ronciglione.¹⁹⁸

The other four paintings were a 'Deposition,' a 'Death of Saint Joseph,' a 'Birth of the Virgin' and a 'Madonna and Child'. The 'Deposition' is probably that listed five years later in Ottoboni's inventory which was appraised at 150 *scudi*.¹⁹⁹ Trevisani's 'Birth of the Virgin' may be item no. 262 in the inventory, a subject described by Pascoli as a *bozzetto* that belonged to Ottoboni.²⁰⁰ A 'Death of Saint Joseph' appears in the inventory with an appraisal of 140 *scudi*.²⁰¹ There are two entries for a 'Madonna and Child,' one of which might be the painting purchased from Binelli.²⁰²

Another painting by Trevisani of the 'Madonna with a Scroll and Sleeping Christ Child' was listed in the 1753 inventory of Cardinal Tomasso Ruffo, Ottoboni's successor as Vice-Chancellor.²⁰³ It is worth noting here because it was cited as having been paid for by Cardinal Ottoboni indicating that it had been delivered only after Ottoboni's death and was considered the property of the Vice-Chancellor rather than the cardinal's personal collection.²⁰⁴

At eighty years, Trevisani may have been too old to undertake painting of the vault for Ludovico Rusconi Sassi's Chapel of the Holy Sacrament in San Lorenzo in 1736, but he was no doubt influential in securing the commission for his pupil, Andrea Casali, who had worked with both Trevisani and Ottoboni's other court painter at this time, Sebastiano Conca.²⁰⁵

¹⁹¹ *Correspondance* 1887–1912, vol. 8, 1729–1733, p. 367; Frank DiFederico, *The Mosaics of Saint Peter's*, University Park 1983, p. 71.

¹⁹² VALESIO 1977–1979, vol. 5, p. 43, 31 March 1729.

¹⁹³ This is Alessandro Speroni's chapel of 1716–1719; BLUNT 1982, p. 37.

¹⁹⁴ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 47, 14 October 1702; "∇ 150 mta pagati a Sig.re Fran.co Trevisani d'ordine di S. E. per ricogni.ne de quadri fatti per Servizio di S. E. Medema. 150-."

¹⁹⁵ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 95, no. 22, 2 December 1735; "... di avere compito un quadro che rapp. un ritratto di un moretto che la testa era fatta dal Cavaliere Francesco Trevisani questo di 2 Dicembre 1735. Io Girolamo Pesci."

¹⁹⁶ ASVic, Arch. Ottob., vol. 84, no. 70, 23 July 1727; "Sig. Agostino Ulci Nro Depositario delle Rendite della Cancell.a à Noi Spettanti Le piacevã pagare al R. P. D. Vincenzo Binelli Prov. Genle de Certosini Scudi Cinquecento Settantacinque mta sono per saldo del prezzo di Num.o Cinque quadri rappresentanti cioè uno La B.ma Vergine Assunta, altro la Depositione di Nro Sig.re Gesù Cristo dalla Croce, altro il transito di S. Giuseppe, altro la Natività della B.ma Vergine et altri l'istessa B.ma Vergine con il Bambino Gesù nelle braccia tutti originali del S.e Fran.co Trevisani Vendutici per nro Serv.o così d'accordo che con Sua ...

Dal Palazzo dela Cancellaria li 23 Luglio 1727 scudi 575= m.a Io infratt'o ho ricevuto dall'Em.mo Sig.re Card.e Ottoboni Li scudi 575 che sono per prezzo dell'indicati originali del Sig. fran.co Trevisani e da quali denari me richiamo per fatto questo di 26 Agosto 1727

D. Vincenzo Binelli Pro.e Generale dell'or.e Reg.o al 247 Gregorio Portrj Com."

See also, BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 109, p. 247, 23 July 1727.

¹⁹⁷ ASVic, Arch. Ottob., vol. 57, p. 21, 21 July 1740; "Adi 21 Luglio 1740... Per un quadro rappere.te L'Assunta ovata in tela di p.mi 2–1/2 alto e largo p.mi uno 3/4 originale del Trevisani vend.o per scudi cento ... 100:="

¹⁹⁸ See DiFEDERICO 1977, p. 42, no. 10.

¹⁹⁹ ASR, R.C.A. 604, no. 202; "Altro da mezza testa grande rapp.te La deposizione della Croce Originale del Trevisani."

²⁰⁰ As transcribed in DiFEDERICO 1977, pp. 96, 98.

²⁰¹ ASR, R.C.A. 604, no. 217, appraised at 140 *scudi*; "Altro alto palmi tre, da Capo centinato rapp.te il transito di S. Giuseppe Originale del Cav.re Trevisani." A *bozzetto* of this subject is in Weimar; illustrated in Decio Gioseffi, "L'opera di Francesco Trevisani," *Pagine Istriane*, 4 (1950), pp. 107–116, here p. 114.

²⁰² These are ASR, R.C.A. 604, nos. 223 and 230, each of which was appraised at 150 *scudi*.

²⁰³ ASR, N.A.C. 3818, pp. 392v–393r, 1 February 1753; "Altro di palmi tre alto, e largo due, e mezzo rapp.te la B. Vergine con la Scrittura in mano, e Bambino che dorme del Trevisani pagato dal fu Emo Ottoboni scudi 300."

²⁰⁴ Another painting identified in Ruffo's inventory as paid for by Cardinal Ottoboni was a 'Presentation in the Temple,' a large work at ten by twelve *palmi*. It had nine figures and was appraised at 600 *scudi*, but the artist was not identified; ASR, N.A.C. 3818, p. 392v.

²⁰⁵ A final payment to Casali of 220 *scudi* was made on 6 October 1735. BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 94, no. 59, 6 October 1735; "Sig. Gio: Batta Massinaghi Nro Depositario delle rendite della Cancellaria splica, a Noi spetti le procerà pagarne al S. Car.le Andrea Casali Pittore Scudi Duecentoventi = m.ta quali sono per saldo, e final pagam.to delle Pitture fatte tanto à fresco che ad olio nella Cappella del SSmo Sagramento fatta erigere et Ornore da Noi nella Ven Basilica di SS. Lorenzo in Damaso così d'Accordo che con Ric.ta per dal Palazzo della Cancellaria Li 6 Ott.re 1735 = 220 = m.ta Card.le Ottoboni Io sotto.to ho riciuto li sudetti scudi duecentoventi questo di 7 8bre 1735 Cav.re And,a Casali".



26. Sebastiano Conca, *The Magi Before Herod*, oil on canvas, 249 × 464 cm. Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister

Sebastiano Conca (1680–1764) did not become an official member of Ottoboni's court until 1724, although he supplied paintings to Ottoboni not too long after his arrival in Rome ca. 1707.²⁰⁶ He had also collaborated with Trevisani before entering Ottoboni's court. Both contributed to the set of tondo paintings for Ottoboni exhibited in 1713 at San Silvestro in Lauro, and both completed oval paintings of prophets for Clement XI in the nave of St. John Lateran five years later. Conca's earliest major paintings for the cardinal date from the second decade of the century, namely his 'Adoration of the Shepherds' of ca. 1714, and 'The Magi Before Herod'. The latter was described by Padre Pio in his biography of Conca as a large painting of twenty *palmi*.²⁰⁷ These pictures joined Chiari's 'Adoration of the Magi' and Trevisani's 'Rest on the Flight to Egypt' to complete the set of Ottoboni's anniversary commissions.

When Conca first appeared in Rome, he took residency near the Campo dei Fiori and registered in Ottoboni's parish.²⁰⁸ He had left his native Gaeta by the age of thirteen to enter the Neapolitan studio of Solimena.²⁰⁹ In Rome

Conca was reported early on as conducting study classes from nude models where he was joined by a number of pupils and his brother Francesco. Conca's name disappears from the parish lists in 1717. The following year he is recorded living on the Piazza Navona with Francesco, and a second brother, Giovanni, having moved his studio to the Palazzo de Cupis Ornani, the palace that Ottoboni had rented from one of the ministers in his court. Conca's name still does not appear in Ottoboni's *Rollo di Famiglia*.

Conca had received his first public commission in Rome in 1714 from Cardinal Tommaso Maria Ferrari for an altar painting and companion laterals in San Clemente. It is probably as a result of this project that Pope Clement XI became aware of Conca's talents to have him paint an episode from the life of Saint Clement above the nave arcade, and one of the series of prophets for the nave of Saint John Lateran in 1718. Since Cardinal Ottoboni had already engaged Conca in 1713 as one of the artists for the exhibition at San Salvatore in Lauro mentioned above, Orlandi is probably correct in crediting him with introducing Conca to Clement XI.

A few months after the San Salvatore exhibition, while completing Cardinal Ferrari's paintings for San Clemente, Conca worked on his large composition of 'The Magi Before Herod'.²¹⁰ It may have been that Conca moved his studio to Ottoboni's palace on the Piazza Navona to com-

²⁰⁶ He is entered in the court rolls in 1724 where he remains until the cardinal's death; BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 82, "Rollo di Famiglia ... Ministri," June 1724; vol. 73, "Rollo di Famiglia," no. 4, February 1740.

²⁰⁷ Pio 1977, p. 145.

²⁰⁸ CONCA 1981, pp. 386–387, docs. 1, 2.

²⁰⁹ Bernardo De Dominicis, *Vite de' pittori, scultori ed architetti Napoletani*, vol. 3, Naples 1742, pp. 664–665; Pellegrino Orlandi, *Abecedario*, 1719, transcribed in CONCA 1981, p. 395; Pio 1977, p. 145.

²¹⁰ The 'Magi' painting measured 424.46 × 223.4 cm (or 13'11" × 7'4", the *palmi romano* = 22.34 cm).

27. Sebastiano Conca, *Adoration of the Shepherds*, ca. 1710, oil on canvas, 243.7×264 cm. Los Angeles, California, The J. Paul Getty Museum



plete this work and a 'Nativity' which the cardinal had also requested. 'The Magi Before Herod' remained in Ottoboni's collection until his death. Padre Pio's mention of the painting in his biography of Conca indicated that it had to have been delivered before 1719, the year that Pio had finished his collection of artists' lives. He remarked on its large size and how it held its own among the modern masters in Ottoboni's grand gallery.²¹¹ This title receives two listings in the cardinal's inventory,²¹² and a *pagamento* mentions payment for the picture and its *bozzetto*.²¹³ The painting is that now

in Dresden (fig. 26), and the other inventory entry is for the *bozzetto* which has not been located. The large canvas was given the highest appraisal of 1,000 *scudi* among the works catalogued in Ottoboni's inventory, matched only by Trevisani's 'Massacre of the Innocents,' formerly in Dresden but destroyed during the Second World War.

Conca's 'Magi' may have been delivered immediately, but without a frame, as payment for a frame, 23×13 *palmi*, for Ottoboni's new picture was only made on 10 April 1723, and on 29 June payment was made for a frame, 14×13 *palmi*, for Conca's 'Nativity'.²¹⁴ This 'Nativity' is the 'Presepe' listed in Ottoboni's inventory with an impressive appraisal of 500 *scudi*,²¹⁵ now recognized as the 'Adoration of the Shepherds' preserved in the Getty Museum, Los Angeles (fig. 27).

²¹¹ Pio 1977, p. 145.

²¹² ASR, R.C.A. 604, no. 362, "Altro in tela da Imperatore alto palmi tre, e mezzo rapp.te il Re Erode con Li tre Maggi Originale del Conca," appraised at 100 *scudi*, and no. 401, "Altro alto palmi dieci, largo palmi Diecinove rapp.te il Re Erode con Li Tre Re Maggi del Conca," appraised at 1,000 *scudi*.

²¹³ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 91, no. 11, 1 January – December 1733; "fu li 20 agosto 1714 pagati a Sebastiano Conca ... intiero pagamento di un quadro di misura palmi 19 e 10 scarsi con il suo bozzetto che rappresenta li 3 Re Magi e il Re Erode." A similar title appears in Cardinal Ruffo's inventory of 1753.

²¹⁴ CONCA 1981, p. 26. This 'Nativity' is the 'Adoration of the Shepherds' in the Getty collection, Los Angeles. Its 243.7×264 cm compares with the description of 14×13 *palmi* (or 312×290.4 cm) which measurement includes the frame. See OLSZEWSKI 1989, pp. 48–49.

²¹⁵ ASR, R.C.A., 604, no. 396; "Altro alto palmi dieci, e mezzo, largo palmi undici rapp.te il Presepe del Conca."



28. Sebastiano Conca, *Sibyl*, oil on canvas, 96.7 × 85.6 cm. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Gift of William Everett

J. J. Frey identified the painting as commissioned by Ottoboni with the inscription in his engraving of it, “Seb. Conca pinx. in Aedibus Em. ac Rev.mo Card. Ottoboni s.r.e. Vicecancellaria.” P. Orlandi in 1719 also associated it with Ottoboni patronage.²¹⁶

Conca became Ottoboni’s court painter in June, 1724, when he is first entered in the rolls of the cardinal’s official family. His name appears in the monthly entries among Ottoboni’s ministers and, like that of Trevisani, without a stipend.²¹⁷ The recent ascent to the papacy of the Neapolitan, Benedict XIII Orsini (1724–1730), made it advantageous for Ottoboni to have a fellow countryman, Conca, as a member of his court. His first official project for the cardinal was also his first major collaborative project with Trevisani, and one that has been lost sight of until now. This was Ottoboni’s commission of the previously mentioned pair of silver altar frontals for Santa Maria Maggiore. In preparation for the beginning of Holy Year events, he commissioned the altar frontals from the silversmith, Simone

Miglie.²¹⁸ Placed on opposite sides of the new, free-standing, papal altar, they depicted an ‘Annunciation’ and a ‘Nativity’. The subjects were identified in a letter from the President of the French Academy in Rome and in the *Diario ordinario di Roma*.²¹⁹ Only the latter source identifies the designs for the relief plaques as by Trevisani and Conca. The *paliotti* seem never to have been permanently installed and disappeared within the year.

Ottoboni’s inventory of paintings of 1740 might offer a clue to the compositions of the frontals. Two early works of comparable dimensions are an ‘Annunciation’ by Trevisani and a ‘Nativity’ (or ‘Presepe’) by Conca. The Trevisani canvas has disappeared, but Conca’s ‘Nativity’ is the Getty ‘Adoration of the Shepherds’. The titles were popular ones in Ottoboni’s collection of paintings, and appealed to the devotions of Ottoboni’s Arcadians who emphasized pastoral events in the life of the Christ Child. They were the newest commissions of these subjects to appear in Ottoboni’s inventory.

Conca’s placement of the ‘Glorification of Saint Cecilia’ in the soffit of the nave of Santa Cecilia coincided with the opening of the Jubilee Year and Conca’s official entry into Ottoboni’s service.²²⁰ The completion of Ottoboni’s tomb for Alexander VIII in the basilica of Saint Peter that year fulfilled a promise that the cardinal had been unable to keep in the Jubilee Year of 1700.²²¹ This preceded Pope Benedict XIII’s appointment of Ottoboni as Bishop of Sabina, a position once held by his great-uncle.

Another of Conca’s early duties for his new patron was to manage the purchase of two more paintings to add to the cardinal’s large collection of landscapes by Gaspard Dughet.²²² He also painted a ‘Sibyl’ soon after his registration in Ottoboni’s palace. A pair of works by this general title is appraised at 300 *scudi* in the cardinal’s inventory.²²³ The ‘Sibyl’ in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston of 1726 may be one of these matching works (fig. 28).²²⁴

²¹⁸ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 83, no. 12, 14 July 1724 is a receipt for 1,000 *scudi* as partial payment to the silversmith Simone Miglie, for “due Paliotti di Argento . . .”

²¹⁹ *Correspondance* 1887–1912, vol. 7, p. 111, no. 2839, 26 December 1724; CHRACAS, vol. 33, no. 1157, pp. 38–39, 41, 5 January 1725.

²²⁰ CONCA 1981, p. 148.

²²¹ For more on the Vatican tomb commission see, Edward Olszewski, “Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni’s Vatican Tomb of Pope Alexander VIII Ottoboni, History and Iconography from the Archival Records,” *Storia dell’arte*, 91 (1997), pp. 367–400.

²²² BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 82, no. 10, 4 May 1725; “Io Infra ho ricevuto dall’Em.mo e Rev.mo Sig.re Cardinal Ottoboni scudi trecento venti mta per le mani del Sig.re Sebastiano Conca, quali sono per prezzo di due quadri del Posini con sua cornice dorata da me Venduti li cosi d’accordo Casa qto di 4 Maggio 1725 = Costanza Curietti.” Ottoboni’s galleries housed almost 100 pictures by Dughet.

²²³ ASR, R.C.A., 604, no. 364, “Altro in tela da Imperatore scarso rapp.te una Sibilla del Conca,” appraised at 300 *scudi*, and no. 365, “Altro simile al detto.”

²¹⁶ *Idem.*, *Abecedario* . . . as transcribed in CONCA 1981, p. 395.

²¹⁷ BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 82, “Rollo di Famiglia,” June 1724. For more on Conca, see CONCA 1981. Anthony Clark has mentioned that Conca received thirty *scudi* per month, but this has never been documented. He also has stated that Ottoboni owned the palace on the Piazza Navona; Anthony Clark, “Sebastiano Conca and the Roman Rococo,” *Apollo*, 135 (1967), pp. 328–335, here p. 329.



29. Sebastiano Conca, *Miracle of St. Toribio of Lima*, oil on canvas. Rome, Pinacoteca Vaticana

Also dated 1726 is the large canvas now in the Vatican Pinacoteca of the 'Miracle of St. Toribio of Lima' (fig. 29).²²⁵ Pascoli identified the subject as an Ottoboni commission.²²⁶ The cardinal requested it to commemorate the canonization of the saint which took place on 20 December 1726. In this painting Conca records one of the miracles of the newly sanctified who, according to Pascoli, on departing from mass, replenished the water in a dry gorge. The painting was in Ottoboni's palace at his death, listed in his inventory with the impressive appraisal of 400 *scudi*.²²⁷

About this time, Conca joined Trevisani in painting allegories for the grand halls of the Palazzo de Carolis on the Via del Corso (now the Banco di Roma). Ottoboni may have allowed his court painters such liberties for their own professional development and profit, but also because it freed

him from the need to keep them continually employed. He seems not to have had the desire to commission anything of the order of Conca's 'Glorification of Saint Cecilia' or the Palazzo de Carolis allegories, perhaps because the Cancelleria was not a family palace and, therefore, not appropriate for a permanent installation.

The high point of Conca's career came during his last decade of service for the cardinal, which began with Ottoboni's confirmation of knighthood on the painter on 30 January 1729,²²⁸ and ended with his patron's death on 28 February 1740. An account of the important occasion of knighthood was given by Pascoli who noted that Ottoboni presented Conca with the Cross of the Order of Christ on the feast of Saint Martin in the church of Saints Luca and Martina which had become a center for the artists in the Academy of Saint Luke. The occasion was a festive one with the cardinal accompanied by a large retinue of clerics, nobility and artists dressed in their best finery, with the interior of the church richly decorated,²²⁹ its vaults echoing the harmonies of instruments and voices. The Academy, whose members

²²⁴ The second 'Sibyl' should not be confused with the 'St. Cecilia' in New York of similar dimensions as the Boston 'Sibyl'; CONCA 1981, p. 160, no. 35.

²²⁵ CONCA 1981, p. 156. Giancarlo Sestieri errs in claiming that Anthony Clark had ascribed the Ottoboni commission to a slightly smaller canvas in Piacenza. Clark (see note 217), p. 332.

²²⁶ As transcribed in CONCA 1981, p. 403.

²²⁷ ASR, R.C.A. 604, no. 430, "Altro alto palmi dieci avantiato, largo palmi undici, e mezzo rapp.te S. Turribio con diverse figure del Conca."

²²⁸ VALESIO 1977-1979, vol. 5, p. 13, 30 January 1729.

²²⁹ CONCA 1981, p. 402.

had turned out in such large numbers, would elect Conca its president three years later and again from 1739 to 1741.

In 1731, while a resident of Ottoboni's court, Conca completed the decoration of the Assumption chapel in Saints Luca and Martina, only adding the altar painting of the Assumption of the Virgin with St. Sebastian in 1740.²³⁰ Under the urging of Francesco Maria Gaburri, the Florentine Accademia del Disegno presented Conca with honorary membership which resulted in a visit by the artist to Siena, Florence and Livorno from July 1731, with a second visit to Siena before returning to Rome the following June. While in Siena, Conca painted frescoes in the venerable Santa Maria della Scala. At the time, Conca's friend and Ottoboni's former architect, Filippo Juvarra, tried unsuccessfully to lure the painter to Spain. Through the 1730s Conca painted a number of works for churches in Turin.²³¹

Only eleven paintings bear Conca's name in the inventory of more than 450 works compiled after Ottoboni's death.²³² Of these, but four were more than ten *palmi* along a side, the others much smaller. About half have been identified in modern collections. This is a modest output for an official career of fifteen years, but it is also clear that Conca was occupied during this period with a large number of major independent commissions. His residency with Ottoboni seems to have been as much for the prestige of association with an important court. It is to Ottoboni's credit that he gave Conca the freedom to accept outside commissions. Conversely, Conca's popularity brought honor to the Vice-Chancellor's reputation as an arbiter of taste. Shortly after Ottoboni's death, Conca's 'Holy Family' on copper was sold for eighty *scudi*. The painting departed his collection before it could be entered in the cardinal's inventory.²³³ Other Conca paintings among the early sales include a 'Madonna of Loreto' sold for 32 *scudi*, and two "*quadretti*" also for 32 *scudi* on 12 July 1742.²³⁴ These were an 'Annunciation' and an 'Archangel'. The fate of other paintings by Conca can be traced from inventories such as that for the Boncompagni-Ludovisi branch of the family, and of the next Vice-Chancellor, Cardinal Ruffo.

As the Ottoboni family lacked a male heir, Cardinal Ottoboni arranged a marriage between Pier Gregorio Boncompagni-Ludovisi and Maria Francesca, the daughter of his uncle, the Duke of Fiano, Marco Ottoboni (d. 1725). The

mother of Maria Francesca, Marco's second wife, was a Boncompagni. Pier Gregorio agreed to take the Ottoboni name in exchange for the primogeniture, *fedecommisso* inheritance of Alexander VIII's goods which included almost 400 paintings. When Ottoboni died, Marco's widow, Maria Giulia, inherited his debts and immediately tried to sell all she could of his possessions. Pier Gregorio, who had legal claim to the primogeniture inheritance, stopped the sales as quickly as he could although too late to protect some of the items. The court battles that followed led to the assembly of inventories to separate Ottoboni's later acquisitions from his great-uncle's inheritance. Claims and counter-claims to ownership of paintings were made after Pier Gregorio's death in 1747. Several paintings by Conca appeared in his inventory,²³⁵ including a sketch on copper for a 'Madonna and Child with Saints Philip and Nicholas of Bari'.²³⁶ Appraised at 150 *scudi*, this was for the canvas for Salvi's chapel in San Lorenzo in Damaso commissioned by Ruffo.²³⁷ A 'Saint Cecilia Playing the Cembalo' may be the canvas in New York.²³⁸ The 'Saint Francis' and a 'Wife of Darius and Alexander the Great' have not been identified with extant works, although Conca painted other subjects of Saint Francis and of Alexander the Great.

Ruffo also owned a little painting valued at 250 *scudi* of 'The Magi Received by Herod',²³⁹ which could be the study cited in Ottoboni's inventory, and an 'Adulteress'²⁴⁰ which fits the dimensions of the canvas in New York dated 1741.²⁴¹ It also fits the description in the Ruffo inventory in its grand perspective view, but was probably not an Ottoboni commission.

Ottoboni's death ended a half-century of Roman patronage unmatched in its variety and quality. Trevisani left the Cancelleria, Conca departed from the Palazzo de Cupis, and their disciple, Andrea Casali (1705–1784), left for England. The cardinal's successor as Vice-Chancellor, Tomasso Ruffo, retained his fellow countryman Conca to complete the chapel in San Lorenzo in Damaso opposite Rusconi Sassi's Chapel of the Most Holy Sacrament which had been designed for Ottoboni with Casali's vault frescoes.²⁴² Ottoboni had initiated the commission for the chapel opposite which Ruffo

²³⁰ Olivier Michel "Vita, allievi e famiglia di Sebastiano Conca", in CONCA 1981, p. 246, no. 79.

²³¹ CONCA 1981, p. 164, no. 38; p. 210, no. 63; p. 220, no. 68.

²³² R.C.A. 604, nos. 168, 198, 296, 339, 362, 364, 365, 393, 396, 401 and 430.

²³³ ASVic. Arch. Ottob., vol. 57, p. 22, 22 July 1740; "Adi 22 Luglio 1740 Per un quadro alto p.mi 2 1/2 largo p.mi 2: dipinto in rame rap.te La Sacra Famiglia Originale del Concha in Gallariola vend.o per Ottanta scudi 80:="

²³⁴ ASVic, Arch. Ottob., vol 78, p. 60

²³⁵ ASR, N.A.C. 3799, no. 373, p. 417.

²³⁶ ASR, N.A.C. 3818, p. 392v, 1 February 1753; "Un Sbozzo finite di palmi tre Alto e Largo uno + 1/2 rap. La B.ma Vergine e S. Filippo e S. Nicola di Bari in Rame del Concha, del quale fu fatto il Quadro grande all'Altare nella Cappella di Su Em.za ...," appraised at 150 *scudi*.

²³⁷ The same subject is also known in a little oil on canvas in Rome; CONCA 1981, p. 282, no. 100b.

²³⁸ CONCA 1981, p. 160, no. 35.

²³⁹ ASR, N.A.C. 3818, p. 378r, the 'Magi before Herod' by Conca at 3 × 6 *palmi*, appraised at 250 *scudi*.

²⁴⁰ N.A.C. 3818, p. 384v, 7 × 5 *palmi*, appraised at 300 *scudi*.

²⁴¹ CONCA 1981, p. 276, no. 96.

²⁴² Ridolfini (see note 8), p. 116.

now completed, and for which Conca painted his 'Madonna and Child with Saints Philip and Nicholas of Bari'.²⁴³

The dispersal of Ottoboni's collection began immediately after his death. Valesio reported that Ottoboni's funeral was attended only by family members and creditors.²⁴⁴ With the

cardinals locked in the conclave to choose a successor to Clement XII, Maria Francesca, who had inherited the cardinal's debts, began to sell all that she could of his holdings with little fear of interference. Pier Gregorio managed to interrupt her pirating of the papal inheritance, but there were no constraints against her in the dispersal of the work of Paradisi, Trevisani and Conca. Ottoboni's profligacy resulted in the creation of his impressive galleries of paintings, and it was the ultimate cause of their dispersal, thus establishing the need for the collection's reconstruction.

²⁴³ Armando Schiavo, "L'Altare di S. Nicola nella Chiesa di S. Lorenzo in Damaso", in *La Fontana di Trevi e le altre opere di Nicola Salvi*, Rome 1956, pp. 191–196; Ridolfini (see note 8), p. 118.

²⁴⁴ VALESIO 1977–1979, vol. 6, p. 317, 1 March 1740.

ABBREVIATIONS AND FREQUENTLY CITED LITERATURE

- | | | | |
|--------------------------|---|----------------------|--|
| A.C. | Antonio de Cesaris | MICHEL / MICHEL 1977 | Genevieve and Olivier Michel, "La Décoration du Palais Ruspoli en 1715 et la Redécouverte de 'Monsù Francesco Borgognone'," <i>Melanges de l'Ecole française de Rome</i> , 89 (1977), pp. 265–340. |
| Arch. Ottob. | Archivio Ottoboni (ASVic) | | |
| ASR | Archivio di Stato (Rome) | | |
| ASVic | Archivio Storico del Vicariato (St. John Lateran, Rome) | | |
| ASVe | Archivio di Stato, Venice | MICHEL 1984 | Olivier Michel, "'Monsù Giacomo' et 'Monsù Cristoforo,'" <i>Römische historische Mitteilungen</i> , 26 (1984), pp. 401–415. |
| BARONI 1969 | Pier Baroni, <i>Un conformista del secolo diciottesimo, Il Cardinale Pietro Ottoboni</i> , Bologna 1969. | | |
| BAV | Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana | N.A.C. | Notai Antonio de Cesaris. |
| BC | Biblioteca Correr (Venice) | ODIER 1966 | Jeanne Bignami Odier, <i>Premières Recherches sur le Fonds Ottoboni</i> , Città del Vaticano 1966. |
| BÉNÉZIT 1976 | E. Bénézit, <i>Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs, et graveurs</i> , 10 vols., Paris 1976. | OLSZEWSKI 1977 | Edward Olszewski, "A Rediscovered Holy Family by Francesco Trevisani," <i>Bulletin of The Cleveland Museum of Art</i> , 64 (1977), pp. 25–36 c. |
| BLUNT 1983 | Anthony Blunt, <i>Guide to Baroque Rome</i> , New York 1982. | OLSZEWSKI 1982 | Edward Olszewski, "The Tapestry Collection of Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni," <i>Apollo</i> , 116 (August 1982), pp. 103–111. |
| BM | Biblioteca Marciana (Venice) | OLSZEWSKI 1986 | Edward Olszewski, "Giovanni Martino Frugone, marble merchant, and a contract for the apostle statues in the Nave of St. John Lateran," <i>Burlington Magazine</i> , 128 (1986), pp. 659–666. |
| BNC | Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale (Rome) | OLSZEWSKI 1989 | Edward Olszewski, "Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni (1667–1740) in America," <i>Journal of the History of Collections</i> , 1 (1989), pp. 33–57. |
| BOLAFFI 1972–1976 | <i>Dizionario Enciclopedico Bolaffi dei pittori e degli incisori italiani</i> , ed. G. Bolaffi, 11 vols., Turin 1972–1976. | PIO 1977 | Nicolo Pio, <i>Le vite di pittori scultori et architetti</i> , eds. C. Enggass and R. Enggass, Città del Vaticano 1977. |
| CAMPELLO 1887 | Giovanni Battista Campello, <i>Pontificato di Innocenzo XII, Diario</i> , Rome 1887. | R.C.A. | Reverenda Camera Apostolica |
| CHRACAS | BAV, Francesco Chracas, <i>Diario ordinario di Roma</i> , vols. 1–89, 1717–1740. | THIEME-BECKER | <i>Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler. Von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart</i> , 37 vols., Leipzig 1907–1950. |
| Comp. Ottob. | Computisteria Ottoboni (BAV) | | |
| CONCA 1981 | <i>Sebastiano Conca (1680–1764)</i> , Gaeta 1981 (exhibition catalogue). | VALESIO 1977–1979 | Francesco Valesio, <i>Diario di Roma</i> , ed. G. Scano, 6 vols., Milan 1977–1979. |
| Correspondance 1887–1912 | <i>Correspondance des Directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome avec les surintendants des batiments</i> , ed. A. de Montaignon, 18 vols., Paris 1887–1912. | | |
| DiFEDERICO 1977 | Frank DiFederico, <i>Francesco Trevisani</i> , Washington, D. C. 1977. | | |
| CONTARDI / CURCIO 1991 | B. Contardi and G. Curcio (Eds.), <i>In Urbe Architectus</i> , Rome 1991. | | |
| MARESCOTTI | BNC, Mss. Vitt. Eman., G. Marescotti, "Avvisi di Roma," vols. 788–790, 1688–1707. | | |

Photographic Credits: Atherton, California, Fielder Collection 10; Barnard Castle, Durham, Bowes Museum 9; Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 28; Chicago, Newberry Library 3; Cleveland Museum of Art 18, 24; Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister 12, 19, 26; Middleton, Co, Ron Wiedenhoeft 21; Los Angeles County Museum 5; Los Angeles, The Getty Museum 27; Minneapolis Institute of Art 14; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 17; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 1;

Paris, Louvre 25; Philadelphia Museum of Art 20; Private collections 13; Rome, Armando Schiavo 4; Rome, Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione 15; Rome, Musei Vaticani, 16, 39; San Francisco Opera 6; Stanford University Museum of Art 10; St. Petersburg, Hermitage 23; Stockholm, Konstmuseer 7; Venice, Biblioteca Correr 2; Wellesley College Museum 11.