

Tracing the Provenance of the *Lamentation over the Dead Christ* by Peter Paul Rubens at the Galleria Borghese

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Abstract: A series of previously overlooked, interrelated documents discovered in the Archivio Apostolico Vaticano, along with manuscripts in the Archivio Storico dell'Accademia di San Luca and the Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte in Palazzo Venezia, have now made clear the provenance of the *Lamentation over the Dead Christ*, which is housed at the Galleria Borghese and currently attributed to Peter Paul Rubens (Inv.-No. 411). While critics have long questioned the painting's origins and the circumstances of its entry into the Borghese collection, a full-text analysis of these sources traces its more likely provenance from the Palazzo Altieri al Gesù in Rome through successive sales from Giovanni Gherardo De Rossi to Pietro Camuccini, and then to Prince Camillo II Borghese on 1 April 1826. This proposal of a reconstructed provenance path demonstrates how provenance data can provide a verifiable methodological foundation of the historical and critical interpretation of artworks. In this study, the findings offer a basis for evaluating the context of the painting's patronage, which is possibly linked to the Altieri family history, and provide further material for discussion in the longstanding debate on its attribution.

Keywords: museum studies; art market; Giovanni Gherardo De Rossi; Rome; Peter Paul Rubens; Anthony van Dyck

Introduction

The *Lamentation over the Dead Christ*, attributed to Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) and presently on display at the Galleria Borghese (Figure 1), is one of a number of paintings whose history remains the subject of significant doubts. Critics have not yet determined for certain how these paintings entered the Borghese collection, and more specifically, their date of acquisition, provenance, and sometimes even the original context of their commissioning. This is especially true of paintings whose constant presence in the Borghese collection cannot be traced in successive art collection inventories between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, or that are not mentioned at all before the fundamental inventory of 1833.

The 1833 fideicommissum inventory of the Borghese gallery and museum gives a clear picture of the definitive state of the collection's con-

tents one year after the death of Prince Camillo II Borghese (1775-1832). As a patron and collector, he was responsible for the Borghese artistic heritage for more than thirty years, beginning in the early nineteenth century, and was intensely involved in redefining the family's collections of antiquities and paintings, and more specifically in re-establishing them at the Villa Borghese "fuori di Porta Pinciana".¹

The 1833 fideicommissum inventory represents the earliest Borghese collection record in which the *Lamentation over the Dead Christ* is mentioned, as it does not appear in any of the known Borghese inventories prior to that date.² In this inventory, the painting was recorded as a work by

- 1 Antonio Nibby: *Monumenti scelti di Villa Borghese*, Rome 1832, 5-7; Paolo Moreno / Clementina Sforzini: *I ministri del principe Camillo: cronaca della collezione Borghese di antichità dal 1807 al 1832*, in: *Scienze dell'Antichità* 1 (1987), 339-371, here: 344-345.
- 2 Paola Della Pergola: *Galleria Borghese. I Dipinti*, vol. II, Rome 1959, 182-183, No. 272.



Figure 1: Peter Paul Rubens, *Lamentation over the Dead Christ*, oil on canvas, 180 × 136 cm, Rome, Galleria Borghese, Inv.-No. 411.

Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641).³ This entry, together with the gap in the painting's documented history, provided the foundation for subsequent studies on its attribution, dating, and on earlier hypotheses concerning its provenance.

Brief Historiography of the Painting's Attributions and Earlier Hypotheses on Provenance

The current attribution of the *Lamentation* to Rubens was raised in the early twentieth century by several scholars, such as Franz Martin Haberditzl (1882-1944)⁴ and Rudolf Oldenbourg (1887-1921),⁵ and is now widely accepted. Gustav Glück (1871-1952) linked the painting to the

beginning of Rubens' stay in Italy,⁶ while Oldenbourg dated the painting to around 1605, during Rubens' second stay in Rome,⁷ a dating with which Roberto Longhi (1890-1970) agreed.⁸ However, the completion of the painting has more recently been believed to date to the artist's first stay in Rome (1601-1602).⁹

Nevertheless, in the earliest museum documentation relating to this painting, the *Lamentation* was first recorded as an autograph by Anthony van Dyck in the 1833 fideicommissum inventory of the Borghese gallery and museum,¹⁰ while a nineteenth century inscription on the back of the canvas reads "N. 9 di Vandich".¹¹ This attribution was embraced by scholars such as Ernst Zacharias Platner (1773-1855);¹²

6 Gustav Glück: Rubens, van Dyck und ihr Kreis, Vienna 1933, 12, 20, 374; Gustav Glück: Peter Paul Rubens, ad vocem, in: Ulrich Thieme / Felix Becker (eds.): Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart, vol. XXIX, Leipzig 1935, 141.

7 Oldenbourg 1916 (see FN 5), 265, 274, 276.

8 Roberto Longhi: Precisioni, Florence 1928, 217.

9 Justus Müller Hofstede: Rubens in Italien. Gemälde, Ölskizzen, Zeichnungen, in: Exh. cat. Cologne (Wallraf-Richartz Museum / Kunsthalle Köln, 15 October to 15 December 1977): Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640), Katalog I: Rubens in Italien. Gemälde, Ölskizzen, Zeichnungen: Triumph der Eucharistie, Wandteppiche aus dem Kölner Dom, edited by Gerhard Bott et al., Cologne 1977, 13-354, here: 172-175, No. 21; Michael Jaffé: Rubens. Catalogo completo, Milan 1989, 148, footnote 15; Sergio Guarino: Rubens a Roma: i lavori per S. Croce in Gerusalemme e S. Maria in Vallicella, in: Exh. cat. Rome (Palazzo delle Esposizioni 12 June to 26 August 1990): Rubens e Roma, edited by Sergio Guarino / Rossella Magri, Rome 1990, 11-31, here: 17, 19; Exh. cat. Padua (Palazzo della Ragione 25 March to 31 May 1990) / Rome (Palazzo delle Esposizioni 13 June to 26 August 1990) / Milano (Società per le Belle Arti ed Esposizione Permanente 11 September to 28 October 1990): Rubens: Pietro Paolo Rubens (1577-1640), edited by Didier Bodart et al., Rome 1990, 42-43, No. 4, here: 42; Arnout Balis: Peter Paul Rubens. La mise au tombeau du Christ, in: Exh. cat. Brussels (Palais des Beaux-Arts 24 February to 21 May 1995) / Rome (Palazzo delle Esposizioni 7 June to 4 September 1995): Fiamminghi a Roma 1508-1608. Artistes des Pays-Bas et de la Principauté de Liège à Rome à la Renaissance, edited by Anne Claire de Liedekerke, Bruxelles / Gent 1995, 298-299, No. 166; Cecilia Paolini: Compianto su Cristo morto, 1601, in: Exh. cat. Milano (Palazzo Reale 26 October 2016 to 26 February 2017): Rubens e la nascita del Barocco, edited by Anna Lo Bianco, Venice 2016, 144-145, No. 21; Belinda Granata: Note sui rapporti del cardinale Alessandro Peretti Montalto con Rubens e Mantova, in: Raffaella Morselli / Cecilia Paolini (eds.): Rubens e la cultura italiana, 1600-1608, Rome 2020, 37-49, here: 43-45.

10 "La Deposizione di Croce, di Vendich, largo palmi 8, oncie 1; alto palmi 8", see Rome, AGB, Fidecommissum artistico nella Famiglia Borghese, 1833, allegato A, 10, No. 9.

11 Granata 2020 (see FN 9), 44, 48, figures 2-3.

12 Ernst Zacharias Platner: Beschreibung der Stadt Rom, vol. 3,3: Die sieben Hügel, der Pincio, das Marsfeld und Trastevere; part 3: Das Marsfeld, die Tiberinsel, Trastevere und der Janivulus, oder der Beschreibung zehntes und eilftes Buch, Stuttgart / Tübingen 1842, 288.

3 "La Deposizione di Croce, di Vendich, largo palmi 8, oncie 1; alto palmi 8", see Rome, Archivio Galleria Borghese [hereinafter AGB], Fidecommissum artistico nella Famiglia Borghese, 1833, allegato A, 10, No. 9.

4 Franz Martin Haberditzl: Studien über Rubens, in: Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien XXX (1911-1912), 257-297, here: 257.

5 Rudolf Oldenbourg: Rubens in Italien, in: Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen XXXVII (1916), 262-286, here: 265, 274, 276; Rudolf Oldenbourg: Peter Paul Rubens: des Meisters Gemälde in 538 Abbildungen, Stuttgart / Berlin 1921, 20.

Jules Guiffrey (1840-1918);¹³ Jacob Burckhardt (1818-1897);¹⁴ Giovanni Piancastelli (1845-1926);¹⁵ Adolfo Venturi (1856-1941);¹⁶ Hippolyte Fierens-Gevaert (1870-1926), who considered it to have been executed during van Dyck's youth;¹⁷ and Emil Schaeffer (1874-1944), who dated the painting between 1622 and 1627.¹⁸ Initially inclined to attribute the painting to an anonymous painter from Genoa, Giulio Cantalamessa (1846-1924) also agreed with the attribution to van Dyck.¹⁹ Giovanni Morelli (1816-1891), however, considered the canvas to be not an autograph of van Dyck but rather the work of an imitator of van Dyck.²⁰

While this longstanding debate has led to a generally accepted attribution, the provenance and commissioning of the *Lamentation* have been uncertain until now, and critics have long questioned the circumstances that led to the painting's inclusion in the Borghese collection. In fact, the *Lamentation* is not mentioned in any of the known Borghese inventories before 1833, including the most comprehensive ones dating back to 1693 and 1790, and it is also missing from the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century guidebooks to the Borghese collection.²¹

Some scholars suggested that the *Lamentation* may have been a gift to Cardinal Scipione Caffarelli Borghese (1577-1633) from Cardinal Francesco Peretti di Montalto (1595-1655), who was thought to have been a possible patron of the painting during Rubens' early years in Rome.²² Gustav Glück assumed that the painting was either directly acquired from Rubens or donated to Cardinal Borghese, who was the protector of the German and Flemish nations. This appointment, in fact, allowed Cardinal Borghese to safeguard the interests of those nations within the Roman Curia and thereby to exercise significant authority in his diplomatic relations with them.²³ A recent study by Paolo Coen has proposed the *Lamentation* can be identified as Rubens' *Deposition*, which belonged to James Durno (1745-1795), a British merchant and historical painter who was active in Rome during the last decade of the eighteenth century.²⁴

13 Jules Guiffrey: *Antoine van Dyck: sa vie et son oeuvre*, Paris 1882, 249.

14 "Van Dyck hat ausser der für echt geltenden und dann jedenfalls frühen Grablegung im Pal. Borghese zu Rom fast nichts von idealem Inhalt in Italien hinterlassen als ein paar Köpfe", see Jacob Burckhardt: *Der Cicerone. Eine Anleitung zum Genuss der Kunstwerke Italiens*, Basel 1860, vol. III, Malerei, 1020; "Van Dyck kam nach Italien wohl um zu lernen, aber wie ein fertiger großer Meister lernt und wesentlich, um eine Laufbahn zu machen. Rubens war einst viel unfertiger hingegangen. / Aus dieser Zeit stammen bedeutende religiöse und Altarbilder, wie die Grablegung im Palazzo Borghese und die Bilder, die er für die Riviera und für Sizilien gemalt hat", see Jacob Burckhardt: *Anton van Dyck*: 26. Oktober 1886, in: *Vorträge 1844-1887*, Basel 1918, 324-342, here: 326; later included in Emil Dürr (ed.): *Jacob Burckhardt: Vorträge 1844-1887*, Stuttgart / Berlin / Leipzig 1933, vol. 14, 372-389, here: 374.

15 Giovanni Piancastelli: *Catalogo dei quadri della Galleria Borghese in Roma* [Ms.], in: AGB, 1891, 407.

16 Adolfo Venturi: *Il Museo e la Galleria Borghese*, Rome 1893, 196-197.

17 Hippolyte Fierens-Gevaert: *Van Dyck. Biographie critique*, in: *Les Grands Artistes. Leur vie. Leur oeuvre*, Paris 1903, 59.

18 Emil Schaeffer: *Van Dyck. Des Meisters Gemälde in 537 Abbildungen*, Stuttgart / Leipzig 1909, 65, 526, 544. The van Dyck painting, here entitled "The entombment", is expunged in a later edition of that same work by Gustav Glück: *Van Dyck. Des Meisters Gemälde in 571 Abbildungen*, Stuttgart / Berlin 1931.

19 Giulio Cantalamessa: *Note manoscritte al Catalogo di A. Venturi del 1893* [Ms.], in: AGB, 1912, No. 411.

20 [Giovanni Morelli]: *Die Galerien Roms. Ein kritischer Versuch von Ivan Lermolieff*, vol. I: *Die Galerie Borghese*. Aus dem Russischen übersetzt von Dr. Johannes Schwarze. Mit Illustrationen, in: *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 11 (1876), 132-137, 168-173, here: 172.

21 Paola Della Pergola: *Galleria Borghese. I Dipinti*, vol. II, Rome 1959, 182-183, No. 272.

22 Michael Jaffé: *Rubens in Italy*, Oxford 1977, 61-62, No. 199; Michael Jaffé 1989 (see FN 9), 148, footnote 15; Exh. cat. Padua / Rome 1990 (see FN 9), 42; Exh. cat. Rome 1990 (see FN 9), 17, 19.

23 Glück 1933 (see FN 6), 12, 20, 374; Glück 1935 (see FN 6), 141. The cardinal protectorate was a jurisdictional appointment of a cardinal, usually granted by the Secretariat of State of the Holy See or directly by the Pope, in order to safeguard within the Roman Curia the interests of an institution, such as a religious order or a monarchy. On cardinal protectorates, see Alejandro Mario Dieguez: "Gubernator, protector et corrector": Il processo di nomina del cardinal protettore, in: François Jankowiak / Laura Pettinaroli / Miguel Canino Zanoletty (eds.): *Les cardinaux entre Cour et Curie: une élite romaine (1775-2015)*, Rome 2017, 111-123, and cited bibliography. On Cardinal Borghese's role as protector, see Martin Faber: *Scipione Borghese als Kardinalprotektor. Studien zur römischen Micropolitik in der frühen Neuzeit*, Mainz 2005, 79-202; Martin Faber: *Il cardinal Scipione Borghese protettore di Germania (1611-1633)*, in: Matteo Sanfilippo / Péter Tusor (eds.): *Gli 'angeli custodi' delle monarchie: i cardinali protettori delle nazioni*, Viterbo 2018, 133-152; Valerio Castronovo: "Borghese Caffarelli, Scipione", in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 12, Rome 1971, ad vocem; Wolfgang Reinhard: *Papstfinanz und Nepotismus unter Paul V (1605-1621). Studien und Quellen zu quantitativen Aspekten des päpstlichen Herrschaftssystems*, Stuttgart 1974; Volker Reinhardt: *Kardinal Scipione Borghese (1605-1633). Vermögen, Finanzen und sozialer Aufstieg eines Papstnepoten*, Tübingen 1984.

24 Paolo Coen: *Peter Paul Rubens nel mercato artistico romano del XVIII secolo*, in: Raffaella Morselli / Cecilia Paolini (eds.): *Rubens e la cultura italiana, 1600-1608*, Rome 2020, 275-286, here: 283-285.

All of these theories, however, were unsuccessful in resolving the provenance debate.²⁵ The only proven information available so far is that, according to an 1884 document written by the archivist Raffaele Luttazzi (c. 1826-1888), the *Lamentation* entered the Borghese collection in the late nineteenth century.²⁶ This document contains a report by the Borghese gallery attendant Vincenzo Rosati, who stated that Prince Borghese had acquired several paintings, including one by van Dyck, depicting the *Deposition from the Cross*. Alba Costamagna, who studied the 1884 document, speculated that the *Lamentation* comprised one of the most significant masterpieces collected by Prince Borghese and was notably added to the painting gallery during the most intense period of art acquisition by the prince, between the second and third decades of the nineteenth century.²⁷ Therefore, it was not possible to specify the exact year of its entrance into the Borghese collection, the price paid by Prince Borghese, or the provenance of the *Lamentation* before that point.

The Payment Order as a Keystone Document for Provenance Data

The discovery at the Archivio Apostolico Vaticano of a series of payment orders for the acquisition or restoration of a group of paintings and drawings,

issued between 1816 and 1831 in payment to Pietro Camuccini (1760-1833), clarifies various details about the collecting and conservation history of some paintings now housed at the Galleria Borghese.²⁸ These documents also reveal the effort made by Prince Borghese to improve the Borghese collections, as well as Camuccini's prominent role in this plan. An artist, restorer, dealer and collector, Camuccini was appointed by the Borghese family as an art adviser to sell, restore, and provide appraisals of several pieces of art for their ongoing collecting project.²⁹ Among this series of payment orders, the one dating to 1826 and concerning the *Lamentation over the Dead Christ*³⁰ will be analyzed in this article, as it includes valuable information on the painting's provenance.

In particular, the 1826 payment order provides three key insights on the *Lamentation*, which is here described as a depiction of "Christ in the Sepulcher with several figures", by "Vandich". First, the payment order finally allows us to specify the exact date of the painting's entry into the Borghese collection: 1 April 1826. Second, it shows that Prince Borghese paid quite a substantial price for the painting: 2.000 Roman scudi. Finally, the payment order clearly indicates the previous owner of the painting, as it was acquired by Camuccini from "Cav[alie]r Gerardo de Rossi", before passing from Camuccini to Prince Borghese.

The Provenance Trail Begins. The Giovanni Gherardo De Rossi to Pietro Camuccini Sale

In the 1826 payment order, "Cav[alie]r Gerardo de Rossi" is identified as Giovanni Gherardo De Rossi (1754-1827), who was an intellectual and esteemed poet, art critic and connoisseur, as well as collector,

25 Pier Ludovico Puddu: *Compianto su Cristo morto*, Rubens Pieter Paul, inv. 411, Galleria Borghese, Rome 2022, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.13627059> [2024 version]. Another proposal without a full documentary demonstration of the provenance sequence appears in Marina Minozzi: *Nota documentaria*, in: Exh. cat. Rome (Galleria Borghese 14 November 2023 to 18 February 2024): *Peter Paul Rubens, Compianto sul Cristo morto*, authored by Marcantonio Massimo, catalogue entry V.1, in: *Il tocco di Pigmalione. Rubens e la scultura a Roma*, edited by Francesca Cappelletti / Lucia Simonato, Milan 2023, 154. Here the short note states that further investigation is needed. In fact, the previous page reads: "[...] quello che sappiamo, al momento, della provenienza del quadro, non ci aiuta a collocarlo a Roma: nella collezione Borghese arrivò solo all'inizio dell'Ottocento, insieme ad altri quadri nordici comprati dal principe Camillo", in: *ibid.*, 153.

26 Vatican City, Archivio Apostolico Vaticano [hereinafter AAV], Archivio Borghese, 348, f. 51, cited in: Alberta Campitelli (ed.): *Villa Borghese. I principi, le arti, la città dal Settecento all'Ottocento*, Geneva / Milan 2003, 107, Appendix No. 1. On Raffaele Luttazzi, see Rita Romanelli: "Questa misera pianticella salmastra" e i suoi giardinieri: archivio e archivisti di casa Borghese, in: *Archivio Segreto Vaticano* (ed.): *Dall'Archivio Segreto Vaticano. Miscellanea di testi, saggi e inventari*, vol. VII, *Collectanea Archivi Vaticani* (CAV) 96, Vatican City 2014, 261-284, here: 263, footnote 11.

27 Alba Costamagna: *La collezione di Camillo Borghese fra ricostituzione del patrimonio artistico e nuove acquisizioni*, in: Campitelli 2003 (see FN 26), 103, 105, footnotes 31, 39.

28 Appendix 1, No. 1-12.

29 AAV, Archivio Borghese, 7457, cited in: Moreno / Sforzini 1987 (see FN 1), 346, 352; Anna Bobero: *Camuccini Pietro*, ad vocem, in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 17 (1974), 627; Federica Giacomini: *Pietro Camuccini restauratore*, in: Paola d'Alconzo (ed.): *Gli uomini e le cose. I. Figure di restauratori e casi di restauro in Italia tra XVIII e XX secolo. Atti del Convegno Nazionale di Studi*, Naples 2007, 171-185.

30 Appendix 1, No. 9.

dealer and banker.³¹ The information garnered from the 1826 payment order reveals that the *Lamentation* was part of De Rossi's collection, a fact that is fundamental in retracing the painting's previous ownership and transmission, and will enhance our understanding of its provenance.

However, De Rossi's interests in art collecting and art dealing³² are less well-known than his commitment as a poet and art critic.³³ In particular, the overall composition and history of De Rossi's collection have yet to be comprehensively studied, given that no will or inventory is known to have been compiled upon his death.³⁴ Thus far, we know that his collection was of remarkable quality and included a large amount of various paintings and sculptures by notable artists of ancient and contemporary art. Especially his collection of paintings from the Flemish school was considered one

of the richest in Rome, as he himself also claimed.³⁵ In any case, focusing on De Rossi helps clarify the provenance of his *Lamentation*, particularly since he was involved in a significant early nineteenth-century event in Rome: the dispute of the Baronet Sir Simon Haughton Clarke (1764-1832).

The Painting's Role in Clarke's Dispute

What's noteworthy with regards to this event is that the description of the *Christ in the Sepulcher Surrounded by Several Figures* in the 1826 payment order exactly matches the subject matter, attribution, and estimated value in the description of the *Deposition of Dead Jesus Christ in the Sepulcher with Many Figures*, which was included in the third lot of a total of 54 paintings sold by Camuccini, along with his business partner, the art dealer Alexander Day (c. 1751-1841),³⁶ to Clarke between 1801 and 1802.³⁷

Since some of the paintings provided to Clarke did not completely meet his expectations, Clarke filed a complaint against the two dealers as the victim of a possible fraud and initiated a legal dispute in 1803. This dispute resulted in extensive documentation, now housed in the Archivio Storico dell'Accademia di San Luca, relating to the paintings in the affected lots. The pieces of art in question

31 A.M. Angelo Maria Ricci: Elogio di Giovan Gherardo De Rossi, Rome 1826; Domenico Vaccolini: Giovan Gherardo De Rossi, ad vocem, in: Emilio De Tipaldo: Biografia degli italiani illustri nelle scienze, lettere ed arti del secolo XVIII, e de' contemporanei, Venice 1836, vol. III, 339-342; Andreina Rita: De Rossi, Giovanni Gherardo, ad vocem, in: Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani, vol. 39, Rome 1991, 214-218.

32 Giovanni Gherardo De Rossi: Lettera sopra il restauro di un'antica Statua di Antinoo, e sopra il restauro degli antichi marmi nei tre secoli precedenti al nostro, in: Nuovo giornale de' letterati XIII (1826), No. 28, 23-38, here: 36; Paola Fardella: Antonio Canova a Napoli tra collezionismo e mercato, Naples 2002, 16, 40-41; Pier Paolo Racioppi: Arte e rivoluzione a Roma. Città e patrimonio artistico nella Repubblica Romana (1798-99), Rome 2014; Pier Ludovico Puddu: Pietro Camuccini e Alexander Day. Artisti e mercanti di quadri nella Roma di Fine Settecento. Strategie e dinamiche commerciali, Rome 2020, 129-131.

33 Ronald W. Lightbown: Introduction, in: Giovanni Gherardo De Rossi: Vita di Angelica Kauffmann pittrice, Pisa 1811; Liliana Barroero: Giovan Gherardo De Rossi biografo. Un esempio: la vita di Gaetano Lapis, in: Roma moderna e contemporanea IV (1996), No. 3, 677-690; Simona Rinaldi: Restauro dei dipinti a Roma tra Settecento e Ottocento, in: Simona Rinaldi (ed.): Restauri pittorici e allestimenti museali a Roma tra Settecento e Ottocento, Florence 2007, 20-21; Serenella Rolfi Ožvald: "Agli Amatori delle belle arti Gli Autori". Il laboratorio dei periodici a Roma tra Settecento e Ottocento, Rome 2012; Michela Degortes: Giovanni Gherardo De Rossi (1754-1827) na direção da Academia Portuguesa de Belas Artes em Roma: ensino e mercado da arte, PhD. thesis at the University of Lisbon, Lisbon 2021; Michela Degortes: "Quei deboli fili che mi legano a quella corte". Antonio Canova, Giovanni Gherardo de Rossi e il Portogallo, in: MDCCC 11 (2022), 185-196, and cited bibliography.

34 Rome, Archivio capitolino, sez. XXI, prot. 122, cited in: Francesca Conti: La figura dell'intellettuale nella Roma a cavallo tra Sette e Ottocento: alcune note su Giovanni Gherardo De Rossi, in: Ricerche di Storia dell'Arte 84 (2004), 35-40, here: 37, 40, footnote 16.

35 Giovanni Gherardo De Rossi: Lettera di G.G.D.R. al Ch. Sig. Filippo Hackert, celebre Pittore, sul restauro dei quadri, e sopra l'uso delle vernici su di essi, in: Memorie per le Belle Arti IV (1788), 241-248, here: 244, cited in: Conti 2004 (see FN 34), 39, 40, footnote 26; Michela Degortes: Qualche novità su Giovanni Gherardo De Rossi (1754-1827), direttore dell'Accademia di Portogallo, e sulla cerchia dei portoghesi a Roma tra Settecento e Ottocento, in: Pilar Díez del Corral Corredoira (ed.): Dalle spiagge latine alla Real Lisbona: Relações culturais e transferências entre Roma e Lisboa no século XVIII, Évora 30 (2022), 9, footnotes 30-32. On Giovanni Gherardo De Rossi's collection, see also Vaccolini 1836 (see FN 31), 339-342; A. M. Angelo Maria Ricci: Necrologio, in: Nuovo Giornale dei Letterati di Pisa XIV (1827), 78; Leone Vicchi: Vincenzo Monti e le lettere e la politica in Italia dal 1750 al 1830, Faenza 1883.

36 On Alexander Day, English art dealer, painter, and medalist, who spent a long time in Rome, see Michael Bryan: "Day, Alexander", in: Robert Edmund Graves (ed.): Bryan's Dictionary of Painters and Engravers, biographical and critical, London 1886, vol. I: A-K, 357; John Anderson Stuart Ingamells: "Day, Alexander", in: John Anderson Stuart Ingamells (ed.): A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy, 1701-1800, New Haven / London 1997, 285-286; Puddu 2020 (see FN 32), 59-61, and cited bibliography.

37 In the same document, the *Deposition of dead Jesus Christ in the Sepulcher with many figures* ("posizione del Cristo morto nel Sepolcro con molte figure") is occasionally referred to as *Piety* ("Pietà"), *Christ at the Sepulcher* ("Christo al Sepolcro") or *Burial of Jesus* ("Sepoltura di Gesù"), see Rome, Archivio Storico dell'Accademia di San Luca [hereinafter ASL], vol. 181, No. 74.

were subjected to a thorough assessment by a panel of art experts belonging to the academic class of painters, assisted by secondary advisers such as art dealers and restorers. These experts, who were selected by the Accademia di San Luca to certify the paintings' provenance, authorship, and condition, determined the lots' quality and the fairness of the prices, based on an average of their evaluations, which was submitted on 6 November 1803.³⁸

As a result of the assessment, the panel decided that the *Deposition of Dead Jesus Christ in the Sepulcher with Many Figures* was an original autograph by van Dyck ("Wandick di bella maniera"), of good style and valued at 2.000 Roman scudi (Figure 2).³⁹ The *Deposition's* value established within the context of Clarke's dispute perfectly matches the agreed price of 2.000 Roman scudi later paid by Prince Borghese to Camuccini for the *Lamentation*, which was initially registered as the same subject matter, also a *Deposition*, in the 1833 Borghese inventory.⁴⁰

Therefore, it could be possible to identify the *Lamentation* at the Galleria Borghese with the *Deposition* mentioned in Clarke's dispute, based on the evidence of the shared subject matter, attribution, estimated value, and common ownership of Camuccini and De Rossi. In fact, De Rossi emerges as a pivotal figure: he was not only the owner of the *Lamentation* that was sold to Camuccini and then, in 1826, to Prince Borghese but also the mediator who resolved Clarke's dispute, in which the *Deposition* was involved.

Giovanni Gherardo De Rossi's Acquisition

The hypothesis identifying the Borghese *Lamentation* with the *Deposition* implicated in Clarke's dispute becomes plausible due to a full-text analysis of the corresponding documentation in the Archivio Storico dell'Accademia di San Luca. These documents show that De Rossi was among the deal-

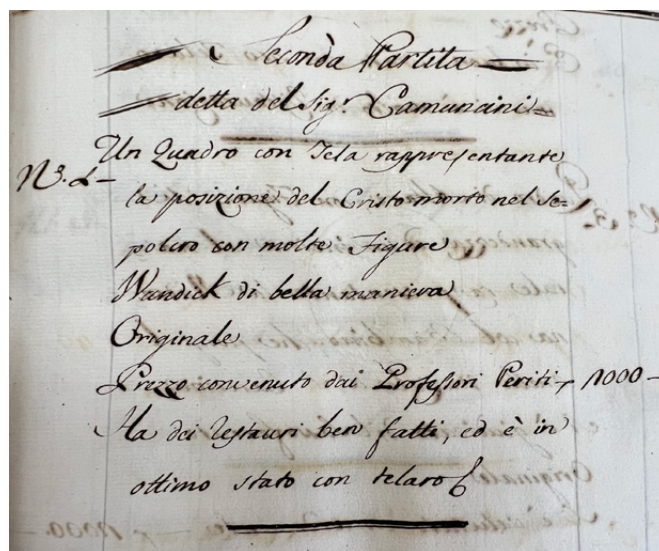


Figure 2: Assessment of van Dyck's *Deposition*, certified on 6 November 1803 by the Accademia di San Luca, Rome, Archivio Storico dell'Accademia di San Luca, Vertenza Clarke con Camuccini e Day. Perizie etc. dell'Accademia, 36 documenti, a. 1802-1803, vol. 181, No. 74; see Appendix 2, No. 1.

ers who supplied one of the painting lots sold to Clarke. More importantly, they reveal De Rossi as the principal actor in the resolution of the dispute.

One of the final documents from the settlement is a letter dating to 17 November 1805 from Giovanni Saverio Rambati to Vincenzo Pacetti (1746-1820), prince or director of the Accademia di San Luca between 1796 and 1801, which states that he was awaiting a response from Gioacchino Orengo, Clarke's defense lawyer, regarding the arrangement being negotiated with De Rossi in connection with the legal case. This letter is significant in confirming the central role of De Rossi as the main counterpart of Clarke's lawyer.⁴¹

Further details emerge from two receipts, dated one month later to 11 December 1805, signed respectively by Giuseppe Castiglione and Alexander Day and appended to the note of the 42 paintings transferred to the Accademia di San Luca for the judicial appraisal (Figures 3-4). Both receipts explicitly acknowledge De Rossi's role in the transaction concerning the paintings affected in the dispute.⁴²

38 On Clarke's dispute, see Rosella Carloni: *Per una ricostruzione della collezione di dipinti di Luciano: acquisti, vendite e qualche nota sul mercato antiquario romano del primo Ottocento*, in: Marina Natoli (ed.): *Luciano Bonaparte: le sue collezioni d'arte, le sue residenze a Roma, nel Lazio, in Italia (1804-1840)*, Rome 1995, 5-47, here: 8-10; Federica Giacomini: "per reale vantaggio delle arti e della Storia". Vincenzo Camuccini e il restauro dei dipinti a Roma nella prima metà dell'Ottocento, Rome 2007, 102-103, 111, 163-164.

39 Appendix 2, No. 1.

40 "La Deposizione di Croce", see AGB, Fidecommesso artistico nella Famiglia Borghese, 1833, allegato A, 10, No. 9.

41 "Niuna risposta ò avuta dal Sig. Orengo sull'affare Clark [...]. In uno di questi giorni mi recarò personalmente dal medesimo per sentire cos'abbia concertato col Sig. Cav.re de Rossi, ed in seguito renderò ella inteso del risultato di tale scuoperta", see Appendix 3.

42 Giuseppe Castiglione's receipt: "autorizzato con biglietto dell'Ill.mo Sig.e Cav.r Gio. Gherardo De Rossi come procuratore del Sig.r Cav.re Simone Clarke inglese"; Alexander Day's receipt: "in vigore della transazione fatta sotto il giorno di ieri dieci Decembre per gli atti del Natali coll'Illustrissimo Signor Cavaliere Clarck, e per esso con l'Illustrissimo Signor Cavaliere Giovanni Gherardo de Rossi"; see Appendix 4.

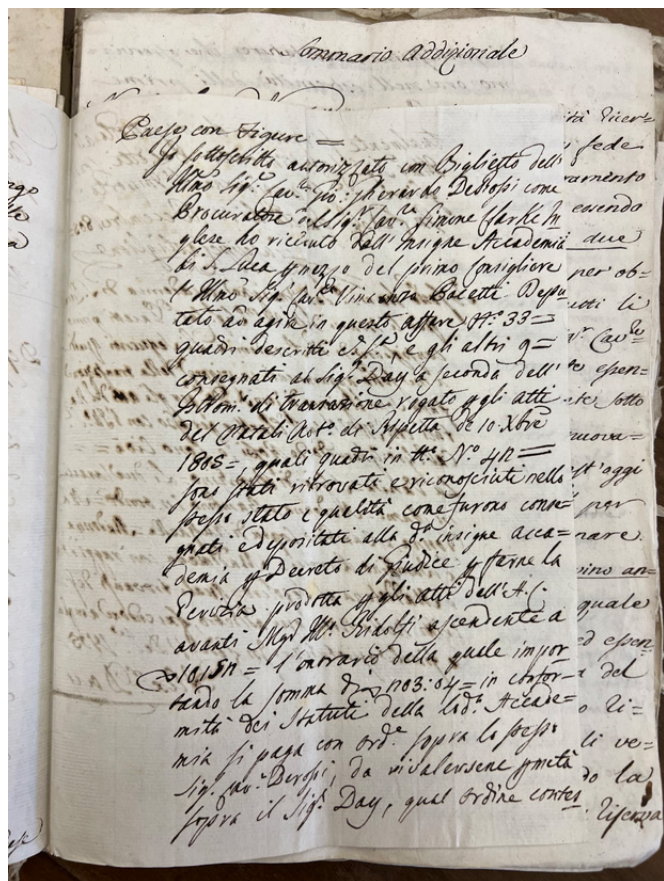


Figure 3: Receipts by Giuseppe Castiglione and Alexander Day, appended to the note of the 42 paintings, Rome, Archivio Storico dell'Accademia di San Luca, Vertenza Clarke con Camuccini e Day. Perizie etc. dell'Accademia, 36 documenti, a. 1802-1803, vol. 181, No. 74, r.; see Appendix 4.

In the first receipt, Giuseppe Castiglione states that he is authorized by De Rossi to act as his delegate, while De Rossi himself serves as procurator for Clarke. Castiglione declares that he receives 33 of the 42 paintings listed in the note above, whereas the remaining nine are delivered to Day, pursuant to the instrument of transaction executed before the notary Giuseppe Natali (before 1774-c. 1820), head of the notarial office of the Curia di Ripetta, on 10 December 1805. Moreover, the fee for the appraisal prepared for the records of the Accademia di San Luca is likewise declared as having been paid by an order drawn on De Rossi, who was to recover one half of the amount from Day. The outcome of the transaction, pursuant to the same instrument executed on 10 December 1805, is confirmed by Alexander Day, who signed his own receipt on the same date as Castiglione, acknowledging nine paintings and providing a recognizable list.

This indicates that, as opposed to Clarke's initial intentions of selling the paintings provided by Camuccini and Day on the London art market,

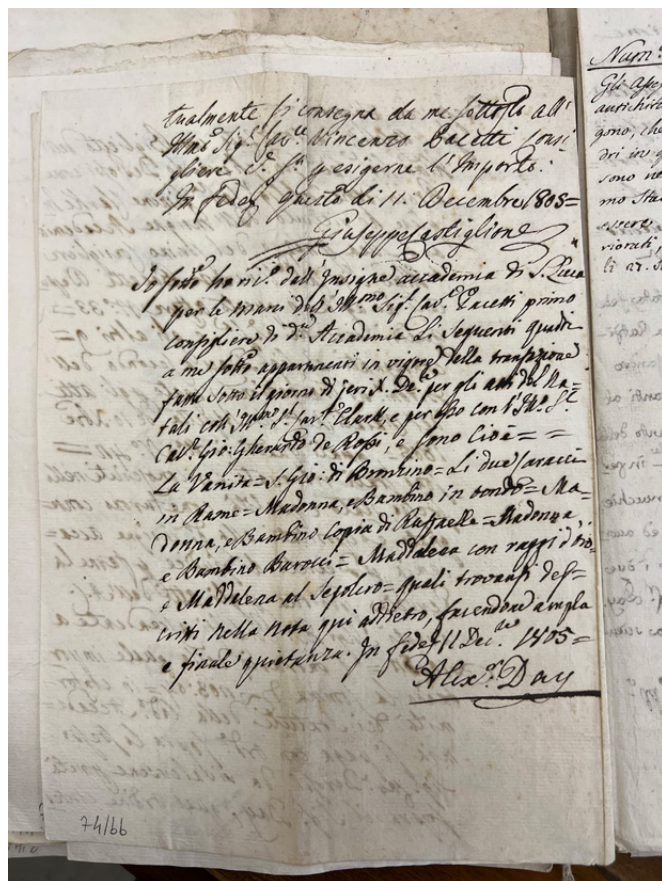


Figure 4: Receipts by Giuseppe Castiglione and Alexander Day, appended to the note of the 42 paintings, Rome, Archivio Storico dell'Accademia di San Luca, Vertenza Clarke con Camuccini e Day. Perizie etc. dell'Accademia, 36 documenti, a. 1802-1803, vol. 181, No. 74, v.; see Appendix 4.

the paintings were in fact negotiated and sold primarily in Rome. This is also evidenced by the list of paintings Clarke intended to take to England, which includes those given to Day in 1805, such as the *Vanitas* in Giorgione's style, *Madonna and Child*, copy after Raphael, *Saint John the Baptist* by Bronzino, two small paintings on copper by Annibale Carracci, and one painting in Barocci's style.⁴³

Since the nine paintings delivered to Day are explicitly listed, the remaining 33, assigned to De Rossi as Clarke's procurator via Castiglione, can be identified by exclusion from the note listing the 42 paintings submitted for the judicial appraisal. In the same note, the *Deposition* appears in the first line, described as the "Deposizione di Cristo di Wandick" and falls within the group of the 33 paintings that Castiglione received as De Rossi's delegate.⁴⁴

43 "[Lettera] C / Quadri d'essere mandati in Inghilterra [...] / La Vanità _ Giorgione / Due piccoli Quadri _ Caracci / Quadretto storico _ Baroccio / S. Giovanni _ Bronzino /", see ASL, vol. 181, No. 74.

44 See Appendix 4.

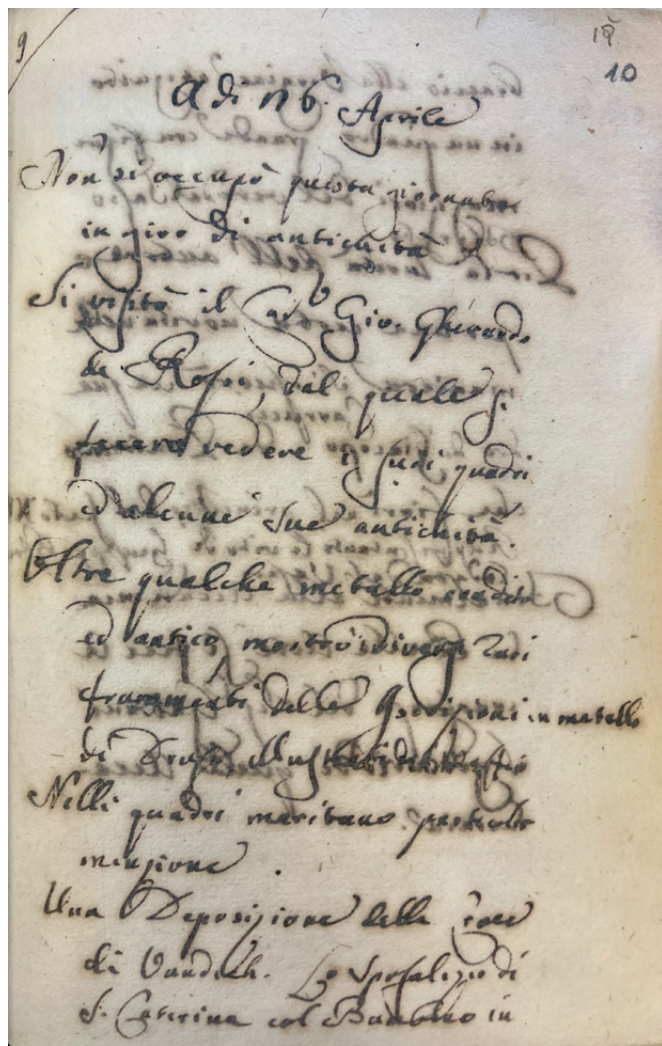


Figure 5: Visit to Giovanni Gherardo De Rossi's collection on 26 April 1815, Rome, Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte in Palazzo Venezia, Fondo Lanciani, Giornale delle antichità osservate con S.E. il conte di S. Lew [Luigi Bonaparte] – 1815 – F.V., Mss. Lanciani, 19/1, f. 10 r.; see Appendix 5. Only part of the original work has been reproduced.

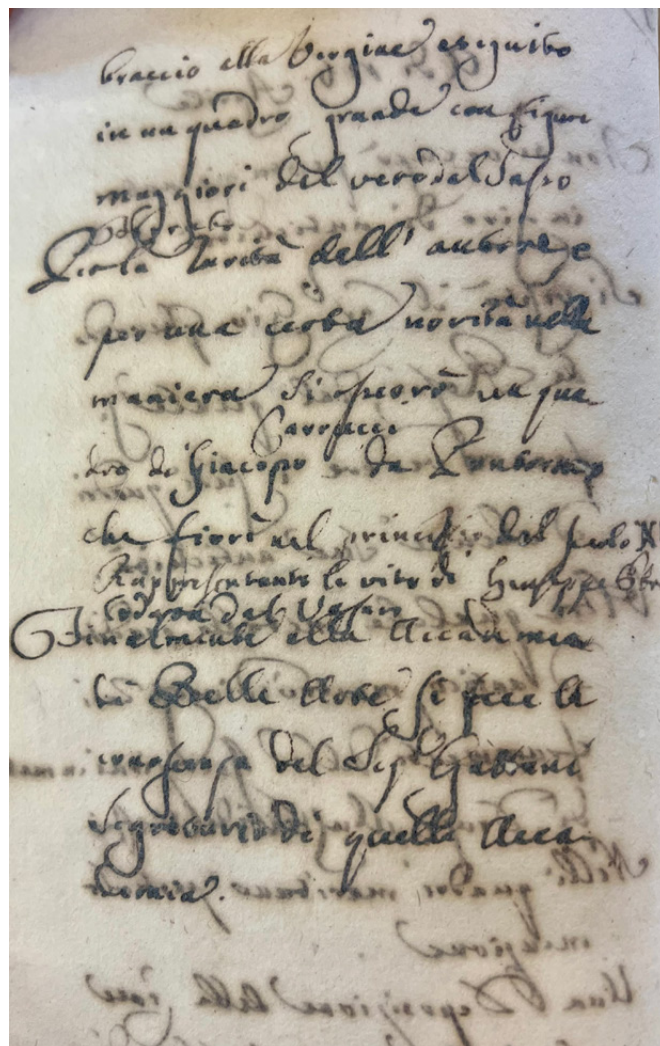


Figure 6: Visit to Giovanni Gherardo De Rossi's collection on 26 April 1815, Rome, Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte in Palazzo Venezia, Fondo Lanciani, Giornale delle antichità osservate con S.E. il Sig. Conte di S. Lew [Luigi Bonaparte] – 1815 – F.V. [Filippo Visconti?], Mss. Lanciani, 19/1, f. 10 v.; see Appendix 5. Only part of the original work has been reproduced.

Therefore, the receipts clearly attest to the transfer of the 42 paintings to the two sides, De Rossi and Clarke on the one, and Day on the other. By itself, however, it does not prove to have been an official transfer of ownership from Clarke to De Rossi as a private purchaser. That De Rossi acquired the *Deposition*, whether as a gift, by compensation, or by purchase, is a subsequent step and a hypothesis, at this stage of research.

De Rossi eventually came into possession of the *Deposition*, which is here proposed as one of the 33 paintings delivered to him via Castiglione and recorded in the note with the 42 paintings. Although the later provenance trail of the *Deposition* can plausibly be reconstructed, the chain of ownership for the other 32 paintings available to De Rossi as procurator for Clarke via Castiglione remains to be clarified. The documentation nonetheless points

to De Rossi's prevailing role in the settlement, arguably recognized for his efforts in resolving the legal dispute, which possibly required De Rossi's financial management skills gained through his prior experience as a banker.⁴⁵

45 Liliana Barroero: L'occhio critico di Giovanni Gherardo De Rossi sulle belle arti, in: Fernando Mazzocca / Gianni Venturi (eds.): Antonio Canova. La cultura figurativa e letteraria dei grandi centri italiani. Venezia e Roma. Atti del convegno (Bassano del Grappa), Bassano del Grappa 2005, 281-295, here: 285. De Rossi's role in the settlement is particularly evidenced by the documentation preserved in Rome, Archivio di Stato di Roma [hereinafter ASR]: Notai del tribunale delle ripe. Curia di Ripa Grande, Instrumentorum Anni 1805 D. Joseph Natali Ripet. Not., No. 120, ff. 764 r. - 844 v. Here, the instrument of transaction before the notary Giuseppe Natali of the Curia di Ripetta reads: "s'interpose allora per un'amichevole conciliazione il Sig. Cavaliere Gio: Gherardo De Rossi, qual Pr.ore del Sig. Baron Simone Clarke", see ASR, Ibid. ff. 764 r. - 775 v., 776 v., 836 r. - 844 v., here: 770 r. Within this extensive documentation, a letter from Clarke to De Rossi, dating to 4 October 1805, appears as part of the settlement discussed in the aforementioned letter from Rambati to Pacetti: "Vous fairez pour moi j'espere ce que vous feriez pour vous si c'étoit votre affaire, et je vous donne carte blanche", see ASR, ibid. f. 776 r.



Figure 7: Jacopo da Pontormo, *Joseph with Jacob in Egypt*, series “Scenes from the Story of Joseph”, probably 1518, oil on wood 96,5 × 19,5 cm, London, The National Gallery, Inv.-No. NG1131.

Moreover, from the group of 33 paintings available to De Rossi as procurator for Clarke at the close of the dispute, De Rossi probably acquired two other paintings: the *Story of the Hebrew Joseph* by Jacopo da Pontormo (1494-1557),⁴⁶ which is described as “Istoria di Giuseppe Ebreo del Pontormo” in the note of the 42 paintings, and *The Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine* by “il Sassoferrato”, i.e. Giovanni Battista Salvi (1609-1685), described as “Madonna, e Bambino, e Santa Caterina di Sassoferrato” in the same note.⁴⁷ In fact, these two paintings, along with the *Deposition*, were seen together on display in De Rossi’s collection by a visitor on 26

April 1815; this notice is found in a manuscript believed to be authored by Filippo Aurelio Visconti (1754-1831), housed at the Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell’Arte in the Palazzo Venezia and brought to light in 2004 by Francesca Conti (Figure 5-6).⁴⁸

In De Rossi’s collection, the *Story of the Hebrew Joseph* by Pontormo stood out for its quality, according to the assessment previously made during Clarke’s dispute by the panel of art experts, who considered this painting to depict the “Story of the Hebrew Joseph” with “many full length figures” as an “excellent original” by “Giacomo di Pontormo” and estimated its value at the considerable price of

46 London, The National Gallery, Inv.-No. NG1131.

47 London, The Wallace Collection, Inv.-No. P646.

48 Appendix 2, No. 1. See Conti 2004 (see FN 34), 38-39, 40, n. 25.

800 Roman scudi.⁴⁹ This description corresponds exactly to the painting currently housed at The National Gallery in London, where it is entitled *Joseph with Jacob in Egypt* (Figure 7); its provenance from De Rossi's collection was confirmed by Frederick Mortimer Clapp (1879-1969) in 1916.⁵⁰

From the same second lot of paintings involved in Clarke's dispute, in addition to the *Deposition* by van Dyck, De Rossi probably also acquired *The Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine* by Sassoferatto. From Clarke's dispute documents, we know that *The Mystic Marriage* was commissioned by Duke Giuliano Cesarini (1618-1665) at the end of the 1640s, taken from the Chiesa di Santa Maria della Cima in Genzano and sold to Camuccini by Giacomo Raffaelli (1753-1836) for the price of 500 Roman Scudi. According to the art experts, the painting, characterized by life-sized figures, was deemed an "original" by Sassoferatto, in "excellent condition", "well restored" and worth 2.000 Roman scudi.⁵¹

Later, the same large painting depicting the "Virgin Mary with the Child and Saint Catherine with two angels" was included among the pieces from De Rossi's collection that were put on sale in a hall on the ground floor of the Palazzo Colonna,⁵² which happened after his death in 1827, when his family possessions were dispersed among more than sixty of his creditors.⁵³ The painting is currently housed at The Wallace Collection in London, and its provenance is correctly linked to the Chiesa di Santa Maria della Cima in Genzano (Figure 8).⁵⁴



Figure 8: Giovanni Battista Salvi, called il Sassoferatto, *The Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine*, 1650s, oil on canvas 231,5 × 137 cm, London, The Wallace Collection, Inv.-No. P646.

The mention of the *Deposition* being on display in De Rossi's collection in the 1815 manuscript is also relevant because it establishes the sale of the *Deposition* by De Rossi to Camuccini, cited in the 1826 payment order, after 1815, when van Dyck's painting still belonged to De Rossi.

Palazzo Altieri al Gesù in Rome. From the Altieri Family History to a Patronage Context?

If we accept the hypothesis that the *Lamentation* at the Galleria Borghese corresponds to the *Deposition* involved in Clarke's dispute, we can trace its transmission and previous ownership. From the documentation in the Archivio Storico dell'Accademia di San Luca, we learn that before selling the painting to Clarke, Camuccini acquired the

49 Appendix 2, No. 3. This artwork belonged to the third lot of paintings provided by Pietro Camuccini and Alexander Day.

50 Frederick Mortimer Clapp: Jacopo Carucci da Pontormo. His Life and Work, New Haven / London 1916, 156-159; Conti 2004 (see FN 34), 39, 40, footnote 27. Moreover, Gould mentions Milanese's note on Giovanni Gherardo De Rossi's ownership: "Questa istoria venne nel possesso di Giovan Gherardo de' Rossi; ma oggi non ne abbiamo notizia", see Gaetano Milanese, in: Giorgio Vasari: Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori ed architettori [...] con nuove annotazioni e commenti di Gaetano Milanese, Florence 1881 (1568), vol. VI, 262, footnote 1, cited in Cecil Hilton Monk Gould: The Sixteenth-Century Italian Schools, National Galleries Catalogues, London 1987, 201.

51 Appendix 2, No. 2.

52 ASR, Camerlengato II/IV, 214/1568, cited in Giacomini 2007 (see FN 38), 39, footnote 73.

53 ASR, Camerlengato, Parte II, tit. IV, busta 206, No. 1261, see Conti 2004 (see FN 34), 38, 40, footnote 17.

54 Giacomini 2007 (see FN 38), 103, footnote 172; Puddu 2020 (see FN 32), 30, footnote 36, 103, footnote 100, 129-130.

Deposition on 22 January 1802 from the engraver, collector, and dealer Pietro Maria Vitali (c. 1755-c. 1830).⁵⁵ From another statement by Pietro Maria Vitali himself, we also reveal that the painting was previously in a bad state of conservation.⁵⁶

Moreover, we discover that the *Deposition* previously belonged to Prince Altieri, a fact that possibly links the Altieri family to the context of its commissioning. Carlo Labruzzi (1748-1817) was the academic painter of the Accademia di San Luca to whom we owe this information, as emerges in his testimony from 12 April 1803 contained in Clarke's dispute documents: "the Pietà by Vandick [...] belonging to [...] Prince Altieri".⁵⁷ The prince mentioned here could be identified either as Emilio Carlo Altieri (1723-1801), fourth Prince of Oriolo, or as his son Paluzzo Altieri (1760-1834), fifth Prince of Oriolo, who assumed the leadership of the family following the death of his father in 1801.

The inventory, from 14 July 1698, of the Palazzo Altieri, located next to the Chiesa del Santissimo Nome di Gesù all'Argentina in Rome, following the death of the Cardinal Paluzzo Paluzzi Altieri

degli Albertoni (1623-1698),⁵⁸ indeed includes the mention of a painting depicting a "Deposition of our Lord when brought to the Holy Sepulcher with the three Marys, and the stunned Blessed Virgin", although the description of the painting does not report the exact dimensions of the *Lamentation's* canvas.⁵⁹

However, several late eighteenth-century guidebooks confirm the hypotheses that a painting by van Dyck was actually on display at the Palazzo Altieri al Gesù. For instance, a painting representing "J.[Jesus] C.[Christ] at the Sepulcher" and explicitly attributed to van Dyck is reported by Dominique Magnan (1731-1796) to have been housed in the Palazzo Altieri in 1779.⁶⁰ During her travels in Italy between 1792 and 1798, the English travel writer, dramatist and poet Mariana Starke (1762-1838) also visited the Palazzo Altieri and indicated the presence of a "Descent from the cross, by Vandyck" at the prince's apartments. First published in 1800, the narrative of her travels was reprinted several times following its success, for its innovative combination of practical information and evaluations of the artistic and historical interest of palaces, churches, and their artworks.⁶¹

Thanks to several contemporary sources, we can recognize the most distinguishing features of the Borghese *Lamentation* in the painting at the Palazzo Altieri, such as the refined colorism accompanied by some uncertainties in the drawing and the influence of Titian. In fact, in 1786, Jérôme de Lalande (1732-1807) described the "Jesus Christ at the tomb" by van Dyck in the lower apartment

55 "Num. 7: Ho ricevuto io sottoscritto dal Sig.r Pietro Camuccini scudi novecento m.ta d'argento effettiva, quali sono per saldo, e final pagamento di n. 6 quadri ad esso consegnati a me spettanti, rappresentanti, come segue / Una Pietà del Vandick, ed altri cinque quadri di diversi maestri così d'accordo dico _ scudi 900 m.ta argento. In fede, Roma questo dì 22 Genn.ro 1802 / Pietro Maria Vitali", see ASL, vol. 181, No. 74. On Pietro Maria Vitali and his relationship with Giovanni Gherardo De Rossi, see Conti 2004 (see FN 34), 35; Degortes 2022 (see FN 35), 8.

56 "Num. 8: Attesto io sottoscritt.o, che il quadro di Vandick rappresentante la Pietà da me venduto al Sig.r Pietro Camuccini era stato anticamente moltissimo danneggiato, e male restaurato, come ancora altri cinque quadri, che li vendetti insieme a detto Vandick, e tutti quanti per la somma di piastre novecento. / Questa somma era superiore al merito dei quadri nello stato in cui erano per essere inferiore la stima fatta fare dai periti da chi me li vendette a detta somma. Tanto depongo di fatto proprio, e per esser questa la pura verità munifico il presente attestato di mio giuramento. Roma li 31 marzo 1803. / Pietro Maria Vitali attesto come sop.a m.o pp.a", see ASL, vol. 181, No. 74.

57 "Sapendo il Sig.r Camuccini d'aver io veduto i due quadri uno di Sassoferrato rappresentante lo Sposalizio di S. Caterina, e l'altro la Pietà di Vandick: il primo appartenente al Sig.r Giacomo Raffaelli, e l'altro al Sig.r Principe Altieri attesto d'averli veduti in compagnia del Sig.r Hamilton Nisbet, ed averli trovati tutti, e due in cattivissimo stato. Tanto depongo per la verità con mio giuramento questo dì 12 Ap.le 1803 / Carlo Labruzzi Pittore Accademico di S. Luca", see ASL, vol. 181, No. 74.

58 On cardinal Paluzzo Paluzzi's inventory, see Lisa Beaven / Karen J. Lloyd: Cardinal Paluzzo Paluzzi degli Albertoni Altieri and his picture collection in the Palazzo Altieri: the evidence of the 1698 death inventory: part I, in: *Journal of the History of Collections* 28 (2016), No. 2, 175-190; Lisa Beaven / Karen J. Lloyd: Cardinal Paluzzo Paluzzi degli Albertoni Altieri and his collection in the Palazzo Altieri: the evidence of the 1698 death inventory: part II, in: *Journal of the History of Collections* 31 (2019), No. 1, 1-16, and cited bibliography.

59 Appendix 6.

60 Dominique Magnan: *La Città di Roma ovvero breve descrizione di questa superba città, divisa in quattro tomi ed ornata di 385 stampe in rame*, vol. III, Rome 1779, 58.

61 Mariana Starke: *Letters from Italy, between the years 1792 and 1798; containing a view of the late revolutions in that country [...]*, vol. II, London 1800, 28. On Mariana Starke, see Susan Pickford: Mariana Starke, *Letters from Italy* (1800), in: Martin Middeke / Gabriele Rippl / Hubert Zapf (eds.): *Handbooks of English and American Studies*, vol. 12, Berlin / Boston 2020, 297-312, and cited bibliography; Lucio Fino: *Donne del Grand Tour a Napoli e dintorni tra il XVIII e il XIX secolo*, Naples 2014, 95-103.

of the Palazzo Altieri as characterized by “a beautiful color, but very incorrect in design”.⁶² In a note to his 1830 treatise on oil painting, Jean-François Léonor Mérimée (1757-1836) remembered having seen in the Palazzo Altieri, probably during his stay in Rome between 1788 and 1793, a picture by van Dyck, in which “he could trace the transition from the style of his master, Rubens, to follow that of Titian”.⁶³

Considering the painting’s possible dating, we can conclude that a direct commission by the Altieri family is very unlikely, since the systematic formation of their art collection occurred predominantly in the latter half of the seventeenth century.⁶⁴ However, reconstructing the preceding stage in the chain of ownership and the circumstances of the painting’s acquisition by the Altieri family could yield valuable insights into its earlier context of patronage and commission.

Concluding Remarks

The provenance of the *Lamentation over the Dead Christ* at the Galleria Borghese has thus been traced and this proposal of reconstruction substantiated: from the Altieri family, the painting was sold at the end of the eighteenth century to Pietro Maria Vitali, who then sold it to Pietro Camuccini on 22 January 1802. In the same year, Camuccini and Day sold it to Simon Haughton Clarke. Giovanni Gherardo De Rossi acquired it in 1805 and sold it back to Pietro Camuccini between 1815 and 1826. Pietro Camuccini then sold it to Camillo Borghese on 1 April 1826. This reconstruction could be regarded as a plausible path for further investigation into both the context of commissioning and that of authorship.

62 “Parmi les choses remarquables de ce palais, on distingue dans l'appartement d'enbas [...] Jesus-Christ au tombeau, de *Vandyck*, d'une belle couleur, mais très-incorrect de dessin [...]”, see Jérôme de Lalande: *Voyage en Italie* [...], tome cinquième, Paris 1786, 173.

63 “Je me rappelle avoir vu à Rome, au palais Altieri, un tableau de *Van-Dyck*, dans lequel on voyait distinctement la transition de l'élève de *Rubens*, abandonnant la manière de son maître pour suivre celle de *Titien*”, see Jean-François Léonor Mérimée: *De la Peinture à l'huile, ou, Des procédés matériels employés dans ce genre de peinture depuis Hubert et Jean Van Eyck jusqu'à nos jours*, Paris 1830, 22, footnote 1.

64 On the Altieri collections, see Beaven / Lloyd 2016 (see FN 58), 175-190, here: 177-178; Giandomenico Spinola: *Le sculture nel Palazzo Albertoni Spinola a Roma e le collezioni Paluzzi ed Altieri*, Rome 1995, 55-105, and cited bibliography.

Studying the provenance following the Altieri family trail could also lead to additional data relevant to the investigation of the patronage context, which could ultimately provide a more circumstantiated framework that supports the attribution; for instance, in the event that documentary findings in the Altieri and the Paluzzi Albertoni families’ archives were to emerge, such as an acquisition record, which could lead to the earliest ownership documentation and eventually to a contract or a payment order directly connected to the artist. While the attribution to Rubens, which is grounded in solid connoisseurship, remains widely accepted, the distinct nature of an attribution confirmed through provenance could also be determined by Rubens and van Dyck specialists. In this regard, it is noteworthy that all the provenance documents cited above consistently ascribed the painting’s authorship to Anthony van Dyck.

An engraving housed in the Fondo Corsini circulating in the second half of the nineteenth century (Figure 9), without explicit dating, depicts the Borghese *Lamentation* and bears the names of Anthony van Dyck as the painter (“Ant. Wanddyck dip.”), in the lower left, Giovanni Antonio Baruffaldi (1781/1796-1832) as draughtsman, in the center, and Bernardino Consorti (c. 1780-1859) as print-maker, in the lower right.⁶⁵ Although the engraving cannot be dated with certainty so far, an inscription in the lower left corner of the sheet reads “L’originale esiste nella Galleria Borghese”, testifying that it dates to after its entry into the Galleria Borghese in 1826, reflecting the prevailing attribution to van Dyck at that time. The drawing from which the engraving derived must have been executed before Baruffaldi’s death in 1832, and possibly before 1826, when the painting was still in De Rossi’s collection.⁶⁶ Another drawing by Baruffaldi, in fact, represents the *The Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine*, likewise belonging to De Rossi’s collection, suggesting that the two paintings may have

65 Bernardino Consorti, after a design by Giovanni Antonio Baruffaldi, and invention by Anthony van Dyck, *Et posuit eum in monumento*, second half of the nineteenth century, burin engraving, 51,1 × 34,6 cm, Rome, Calcografia Camerale, Rome, Accademia dei Lincei, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Fondo Corsini, vol. 40H24, Inv.-No. S-FC51106.

66 Giovanni Antonio Baruffaldi, *Lamentation over the Dead Christ*, ante 1832, charcoal drawing, 58,5 × 46 cm, Rome, Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, Calcografia, Inv.-No. D-CL19.

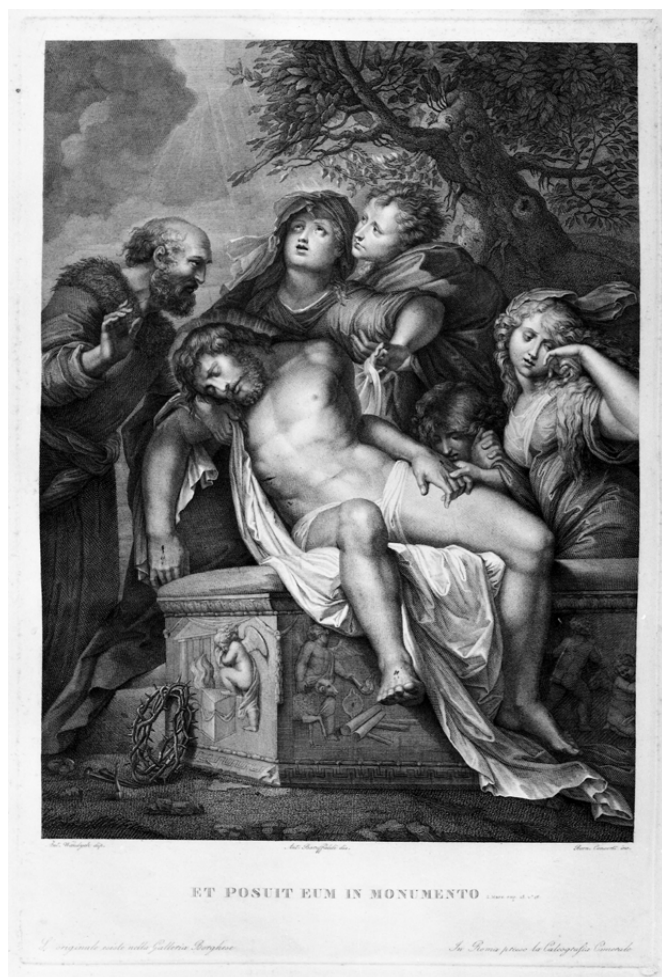


Figure 9: Bernardino Consorti, after a design by Giovanni Antonio Baruffaldi (1781/1796-1832), and invention by Anthony van Dyck, *Et posuit eum in monumento*, second half of the nineteenth century, burin engraving, (51,1 × 34,6) cm, Roma (?), Calcografia Camerale, Roma, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Fondo Corsini, proprietà Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, vol. 40H24, Inv.-No. S-FC51106.

been reproduced by the artist around the same period, i.e. prior to the *Lamentation*'s entry into the Borghese collection.⁶⁷

In conclusion, all the new information gathered through this research on the provenance of the *Lamentation over the Dead Christ* by Peter Paul Rubens provides material for further investigating the painting's patronage context, possibly back to the Altieri family history, and also offers material for further discussion with regards to the long-standing attribution issue.

⁶⁷ Giovanni Antonio Baruffaldi, *The Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine*, ante 1832, charcoal drawing, 61,7 × 45 cm, Rome, Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, Calcografia, Inv.-No. D-CL19.

Editorial Note on the Documentary Appendices 1-6

The texts are transcribed in the original Italian, preserving as much as possible the morphology of the original sources. Square brackets are used in cases of uncertainty, omissions of text portions, or proposed integrations; the abbreviation "s.n." stands for "senza numerazione", meaning missing folio numbering. Finally, for the sake of clarity, the following sections are numbered and titled according to their folio position: Appendix 1 (No. 1-12); Appendix 2 (No. 1-3).

APPENDIX 1

Payment orders issued between 1816 and 1831 in payment to Pietro Camuccini for the acquisition or restoration of Borghese artworks, Vatican City, Archivio Apostolico Vaticano, Archivio Borghese, No. 8095-8097.

1. Arch. Borghese 8095, Registro dei Mandati, 1813-1816, nr. 331, f. 224.

[Adi 24 Dicembre 1816]

Al Sig.re Pietro Camuccini Pittore scudi 307.20 m.ta cioè scudi 286 = uta. di zecchini 130 = concordati per il ristauro de quadri ritornati da Parigi, e spetti a S. E. scudi 19.80 foderatura e scudi 1.40 = trasporti come da nota annessa Che fa _ scudi 307.20

2. Arch. Borghese 8096, Registro dei Mandati, 1817-1822, nr. 242, f. 35.

Adi 17 Sett.re [1817]

Al S.r Pietro Camuccini scudi 800 = nei, quali sono per prezzo così concordato tanto per diversi ristauri fatti a diversi quadri della Galleria, che di num. ro tre quadri rappresentanti cioè il Ratto di Europa del Cav. d'Arpino,⁶⁸ la Battaglia del med.o,⁶⁹ ed un Cristo del Bassano venduti a Sua Ecc.za, e questi da conteggiarsi su le Pig.ni [pigioni?] della casa ritenuta da d.o Sig.r Camuccini c.e da ric.ta già consegnatagli per d.a somma; che fa _ scudi 800

⁶⁸ Giuseppe Cesari, called Cavalier d'Arpino, *The abduction of Europa*, oil on panel, 57 × 45 cm, Rome, Galleria Borghese, Inv.-No. 378.

⁶⁹ Giuseppe Cesari, called Cavalier d'Arpino, *Battle of Tullio Ostilio against Veienti*, oil on canvas, 67 × 89 cm, Rome, Galleria Borghese, Inv.-No. 391.

3. Arch. Borghese 8096, Registro dei Mandati, 1817-1822, nr. 12, f. 86.

Adi 18 detto [Genn.o 1819]

Al S.e Pietro Camuccini scudi 4400 = nel, per prezzo così concordato di n.° 5 quadri cioè uno di Pietro da Cortona,⁷⁰ altro di Andrea Sacchi,⁷¹ altro di Paolo Brillo, altro Benvenuto Garofalo, ed il quinto una copia della celebre Fornarina di Raffaele,⁷² come si esprime nell'annessa lettera; che fa _ scudi 4440

4. Arch. Borghese 8096, Registro dei Mandati, 1817-1822, nr. 122, f. 99.

[Adi 9 Giug.o 1819]

Al S.e Pietro Camuccini scudi 450 = nei, quali sono per prezzo così d'accordo convenuti di due quadri uno rappresentante un'Accad.a di Musica di Leonello Spada,⁷³ e l'altro una Sibilla di Guido Cagnacci⁷⁴ posti nella Galleria del lodato Ecc.ma; che fa _ scudi 450

5. Arch. Borghese 8096, Registro dei Mandati, 1817-1822, nr. 202, f. 109.

Adi 15 detto [Sett.re 1819]

Al S.e Pietro Camuccini Pittore scudi 418 = nel, uta [?] di n° 190 = zecchini quali sono per l'importo così convenuto di alcuni restauri fatti in più tempi a diversi quadri della Galleria dell'Ecc.ma Casa Borghese, come dalla Nota qui annessa; che fa _ scudi 418

6. Arch. Borghese 8096, Registro dei Mandati, 1817-1822, nr. 253, f. 149.

Adi 31 detto [Ott.re 1820]

Al S.r Pietro Camuccini scudi 30 = nel, quali sono per prezzo di N.° 4 Disegni, cioè due di statue, e due dell'Orologio spetti al Museo Gabbino provveduto in servizio dell'Ecc.ma Casa; che fa _ scudi 30

70 Pietro da Cortona, *Portrait of Marcello Sacchetti*, oil on canvas, 133 × 98 cm, Rome, Galleria Borghese, Inv.-No. 364.

71 Andrea Sacchi, *Portrait of Monsignor Clemente Merlini*, oil on canvas, 138 × 136 cm, Rome, Galleria Borghese, Inv.-No. 376.

72 Raffaello Sanzio (copy after), *La Fornarina*, oil on panel, 86 × 58,5 cm, Rome, Galleria Borghese, Inv.-No. 355.

73 Lionello Spada, *Concert*, oil on canvas, 138 × 177 cm, Rome, Galleria Borghese, Inv.-No. 041.

74 Giovanni Francesco Romanelli, *Sibyl*, oil on canvas, 56 × 90 cm, Rome, Galleria Borghese, Inv.-No. 051. This turned out to be a copy made by Pietro Camuccini of the painting formerly attributed to Guido Cagnacci, see Roma, Archivio eredi di Emilio Camuccini, fasc. 36, Libretto di conti tra Pietro Camuccini e Alexander Day dal 1794 al 1801 circa: "[90] Copia mia fatta da me della Sibilla di Guido Cagnacci", cited in Puddu 2020 (see FN 32), Appendix A, 144.

7. Arch. Borghese 8097, Registro dei Mandati, 1823-1827, nr. 349, f. 40.

Adi 30 detto [Dec.re 1823]

Al S.r Pietro Camuccini Pittore scudi 230 = nel, quali sono per l'importo de' restauri fatti a tre quadri esistenti nel Palazzo alla Villa Borghese, a tenore del Conto qui annesso; Che fa _ scudi 230

8. Arch. Borghese 8097, Registro dei Mandati, 1823-1827, nr. 250, f. 71.

Adi 2 detto [Ott.re 1824]

Al S.r Pietro Camuccini scudi 252 = nel per suo rimb.o di tanti pag.ti cioè scudi 132 = al S.r Gius.e Candida restauratore de' quadri, e scudi 120 = a Luigi Montanari per la formaz.e de' ponti, per restaurare sotto la sua direzione le Pitture nella Capp. Borghesiana in S. M.a Maggiore; che fa _ scudi 252

9. Arch. Borghese 8097, Registro dei Mandati, 1823-1827, nr. 185, f. 157.

Adi P.mo Aprile [1826]

Al Sig. Pietro Camuccini scudi 2000 mt, per prezzo di un Quadro del Vandich⁷⁵ acquistato dal Cav.r Gerardo de Rossi rappresentante Cristo nel Sepolcro con varie figure venduto all'Ecc.za sua per il d.o Convenuto prezzo. Che fa _ scudi 2000

10. Arch. Borghese 8097, Registro dei Mandati, 1823-1827, nr. 186, f. 157.

[Adi P.mo Aprile 1826]

Al Sud.o scudi 300 = ml = per prezzo di un quadro rappresentante Lucrezia Opera di Guido⁷⁶ venduta all'Ecc.za sua così d'accordo. Che fa _ scudi 300

11. Arch. Borghese 8097, Registro dei Mandati, 1823-1827, nr. 443, f. 288.

Adi 20 Ott.re [1827]

Al Sig.re Pietro Camuccini scudi 37.56 mt, per rimb.o di tanti pagati per Gabella di due quadri fatti venire in Roma da S. E. P.ria come dalla bolletta qui annessa. Che fa _ scudi 37.56

75 Peter Paul Rubens, *Lamentation over the dead Christ*, oil on canvas, 180 × 136 cm, Rome, Galleria Borghese, Inv.-No. 411. This was acquired as an original by Antoon van Dyck.

76 Elisabetta Sirani [?], *Lucretia*, oil on canvas, 101 × 78 cm, Rome, Galleria Borghese, Inv.-No. 090. This was acquired as an original by Guido Reni.

12. Arch. Borghese 8099, Registro dei Mandati, 1831-1832, nr. 8, f. 1.
Adi 5 Detto [Gennajo 1831]
Al S.r Pietro Camuccini Pittore scudi 600 = ms, in saldo del prezzo del Quadro rapp.te le tre età dell'Uomo dipinte da Sassoferrato,⁷⁷ e ricogniz.ne di diverse incombenze avute in Ser.o dell'Ecc.ma Casa a tt.o il p.to anno 1830. Che fa _ scudi 600

APPENDIX 2

Assessments certified on 6 November 1803 by the Accademia di San Luca on the three paintings probably acquired by Giovanni Gherardo De Rossi, Rome, Archivio Storico dell'Accademia di San Luca, Vertenza Clarke con Camuccini e Day. Perizie etc. dell'Accademia, 36 documenti, a. 1802-1803, vol. 181, No. 74.

1. Assessment on the *Deposition* by Anthony van Dyck
[s.n.]
[...]
Seconda Partita
Detta del Sig.r Camuccini
N. 1 = Un quadro con tela rappresentante la posizione del Cristo morto nel Sepolcro con molte figure.⁷⁸
Wandick di bella maniera.
Originale.
Prezzo convenuto dai professori periti _ scudi 2000.
Ha dei restauri ben fatti, ed è in ottimo stato con telaro.
[...]

2. Assessment on the *Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine* by Sassoferrato
[s.n.]
[...]
N. 3 = Quadro di altare, con figure di grandezza ad un incirca al naturale rappresentante la Madonna col Bambino, che porge l'anello nuziale a S. Caterina.⁷⁹
Si è giudicato del Sassoferrato.
Originale.
Si è valutato concordemente _ scudi 2000.
Si è riconosciuto in ottimo stato, e ben ristorato.
[...]

3. Assessment on *Joseph with Jacob in Egypt* by Pontormo
[s.n.]
Terza Partita
Quadri, che prima della commissione erano di Day, e Camuccini [...]
[...]
N. 16 = Quadro per traverso con molte figure intere rappresentanti alcuni fatti di Giuseppe Ebreo; in Tavola⁸⁰
Autore Giacomo di Pontormo
Originale eccellente
Prezzo _ scudi 800.
In buon stato con qualche scrostatura in un sito del contorno.
[...]

APPENDIX 3

Letter by Giovanni Saverio Rambati to Vincenzo Pacetti, dated 17 November 1805, Rome, Archivio Storico dell'Accademia di San Luca, Vertenza Clarke con Camuccini e Day. Perizie etc. dell'Accademia, 36 documenti, a. 1802-1803, vol. 181 No. 74.

77 Giovan Battista Salvi, called il Sassoferrato, *Three ages of man*, oil on canvas, 93 × 153,5 cm, Rome, Galleria Borghese, Inv.-No. 346.

78 Peter Paul Rubens, *Lamentation over the dead Christ*, oil on canvas, 180 × 136 cm, Rome, Galleria Borghese, Inv.-No. 411.

79 Giovanni Battista Salvi, called il Sassoferrato, *The Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine*, 1650s, oil on canvas, 231,5 × 137 cm, London, The Wallace Collection, Inv.-No. P646.

80 Pontormo, *Joseph with Jacob in Egypt*, series "Scenes from the Story of Joseph", probably 1518, oil on wood, 96,5 × 19,5 cm, London, The National Gallery, Inv.-No. NG1131.

[s.n.]

@ 17 [Novem]bre 1805

A[l.e] Pn.e Stim.o

Niuna risposta ò avuta dal Sig. Orenge sull'affare Clark, sebbene dopo mandato il Biglietto gli abbia fatta avanzar premura acciò me la sollecitasse. In uno di questi giorni mi recarò personalmente dal medesimo per sentire cos'abbia concertato col Sig. Cav.re de Rossi, ed in seguito renderò ella inteso del risultato di tale scuoperta. Tanto le debbo a seconda delle sue premure, e pieno di stima mi dico

suo D.mo Serv. Ob.o ed [?]

Gio. Saverio Rambati

La prego de complimenti tutti [?]

[s.n.]

All'Ill.mo Sig. Sir. Pn.e E.mo

Il Sig. Cav.r Pacetti

APPENDIX 4

Note of the 42 paintings belonging to Simon Haughton Clarke and Alexander Day, which were transferred to the Accademia di San Luca for the purpose of carrying out a judicial appraisal, dated 11 December 1805, Rome, Archivio Storico dell'Accademia di San Luca, Vertenza Clarke con Camuccini e Day. Perizie etc. dell'Accademia, 36 documenti, a. 1802-1803, vol. 181, No. 74.

[s.n.]

Nota de' quadri appartenenti all'Ill.mo Sig.r Cav.e Clark, ed al Sig.r Alessandro Day, che furono per decreto di Monsig.r Ill.mo A.[C]. Ridolfi trasportati nell'Insigne Accademia di S. Luca, ad effetto di formarne perizia giudiziale, alla quale f. [?], e sono in num.o di 42 cioè

Quadri

Deposizione di Cristo di Wandick⁸¹

Madonna, e Bambino, e Santa Caterina di Sassoferrato⁸²

Due Paesi di M.r Orizzonte grandi

Due detti dello stesso autore più piccoli
Mezze figure rapp.ti un concerto di suonatori
Erodiade pittura che viene dal Bronzino
Venere giacente del Turchi
Sogno di S. Giuseppe
Presepe del Bassano
Angelica, e Medoro
Istoria di Giuseppe Ebreo del Pontormo⁸³
Ritratto di Vecchio del Tintoretto
Il Maestro di Scuola del Moroni
S. Gio. Batta. di Guercino
S. Sebastiano con Paese

[s.n.]

Venere, e Amore del Padovanino
Ritratto di Michelangiolo Buonarroti
Ritratto di Donna di autore fiammingo
Madonna, e Bambino copia di Raffaelle
Mezza figura rappresent.e la Maddalena di Leonardo da Vinci
Maddalena, mezza figura dormiente
Madonna, e Bambino con S. Caterina
Madonna, e Bambino in tondo
Amorino dormiente
Risurrezione di Lazzaro
Presentazione al Tempio
Maddalena al Sepolcro
Mezza figura di S. Cecilia
S. Gio. Battista del Bronzino
Giulio II copia di Raffaelle
Mezza figura rapp.te la Vanità
Ritratto di Donna mezza figura
Testa di uomo
Due rami di Annibale Carracci
Madonna di Barocci
Narciso con paese
Agar col suo figlio Ismaele
Nascita di Adone

[s.n.]

Paese con figure

Io sottoscritto autorizzato con biglietto dell'Ill.mo Sig.r Cav.r Gio. Gherardo De Rossi come procuratore del Sig.r Cav.re Simone Clarke inglese ho ricevuto dall'insigne Accademia di S. Luca per mezzo del

81 Peter Paul Rubens, *Lamentation over the dead Christ*, oil on canvas (180 × 136) cm, Rome, Galleria Borghese, Inv.-No. 411.

82 Giovanni Battista Salvi, called il Sassoferrato, *The Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine*, 1650s, oil on canvas, 231,5 × 137 cm, London, The Wallace Collection, Inv.-No. P646.

83 Pontormo, *Joseph with Jacob in Egypt*, series "Scenes from the Story of Joseph", probably 1518, oil on wood, 96,5 × 19,5 cm, London, The National Gallery, Inv.-No. NG1131.

primo Consigliere l'Ill.mo Sig.r Cav.re Vincenzo Pacetti deputato ad agire in questo affare n.o 33 quadri descritti s.p.a, e gli altri 9 consegnati al Sig.r Day a seconda dell'Istrom.o di transazione rogato per gli atti del Natali not.o di Ripetta de 10 Xbre 1805, quali quadri in tt.o n.o 42 sono stati ritrovati e riconosciuti nello stesso stato e qualità come furono consegnati e depositati alla d.a insigne accademia per decreto di giudice per farne la perizia prodotta per gli atti dell'A.[C]. avanti [Mg.s] Ill.o Ridolfi ascendente a scudi 10152 = l'onorario della quale importando la somma di scudi 203.04 in conformità dei statuti della lod.a Accademia si paga con ord.e sopra lo stesso Sig.r Cav.r De Rossi, da rivalersene per metà sopra il Sig.r Day, qual ordine contes-

[s.n.]

-tualmente si consegna da me sottos.to all'Ill.mo Sig.r Cav.re Vincenzo Pacetti consigliere [...] per esigerne l'importo.

In fede a questo di 11 Dicembre 1805

Giuseppe Castiglione

Io sotto.[to] ho ric.o dall'Insigne Accademia di S. Luca per le mani dell'Ill.mo Sig.r Cav.e Pacetti primo consigliere di d.a Accademia li seguenti quadri a me sotto appartenenti in vigore della transazione fatta sotto il giorno di ieri X De.bre per gli atti del Natali coll'Ill.mo S.r Cav.re Clark, e per esso con l'Ill.o S.r Cav.r Gio. Gherardo de Rossi, e sono cioè: La Vanità = S. Gio. di Bronzino = Li due Caracci in Rame = Madonna, e Bambino in tondo = Madonna, e Bambino copia di Raffaella = Madonna e Bambino Barocci = Maddalena con raggi d'oro e Maddalena al Sepolcro = quali trovansi descritti nella nota qui addietro, facendone ampia e finale quietanza. In fede 11 Dec.re 1805

Alex.r Day

APPENDIX 5

Manuscript describing a visit to the collection of Giovanni Gherardo De Rossi on 26 April 1815, Rome, Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte in Palazzo Venezia, Fondo Lanciani, Giornale delle antichità osservate con S.E. il Sig. conte di S. Lew [Luigi Bonaparte] – 1815 – F.V. [Filippo Visconti?], Mss. Lanciani, 19/1, ff. 1 r. - 13 bis v.

[f. 10 r.]

Adi 26 Aprile [1815]

Non si occupò questa giornata in giro di antichità. Si visitò il Cav. Gio. Gherardo de Rossi, dal quale si fecero vedere i suoi quadri ed alcune sue antichità. Oltre qualche metallo erudito ed antico, mostrò i diversi suoi frammenti delle iscrizioni in metallo [...].

Nelli quadri meritano particolare menzione.

Una Deposizione dalla Croce di Vandich.⁸⁴ Lo Sposalizio di S. Caterina col Bambino in

[f. 10 v.]

braccio alla Vergine eseguito in un quadro grande con figure maggiori del vero del Sassoferrato.⁸⁵

Per la rarità dell'autore e per una certa novità nella maniera si osservò un quadro di Giacompo Carrucci da Pontormo, che fiorì nel principio del tardo XVI rappresentante la vita di Giuseppe Ebreo [...] dal Vasari.⁸⁶ Finalmente alla Accademia di Belle Arti si fece la conoscenza del Sig.r [Galbani] Segretario de' quella Accademia.

APPENDIX 6

Inventory of the Palazzo Altieri, next to Chiesa del Santissimo Nome di Gesù all'Argentina in Rome, dated 14 July 1698, following the death of the Cardinal Paluzzo Paluzzi Altieri degli Albertoni, Rome, Archivio di Stato di Roma, Notai Auditor Camerae, vol. 940, ff. 541 r. – 603 v.

[f. 547 r.]

[...]

In altra stanza detta de quadri

[...]

[f. 549 v.]

[...]

Altro in tela da testa rapp.te la Deposizione di N. S. quando è portato al S.to Sepolcro con le tre Marie, e la B. Verg.e tramort.a con cornice liscia dorata.

84 Peter Paul Rubens, *Lamentation over the dead Christ*, oil on canvas, 180 × 136 cm, Rome, Galleria Borghese, Inv.-No. 411.

85 Giovanni Battista Salvi, called il Sassoferrato, *The Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine*, 1650s, oil on canvas, 231,5 × 137 cm, London, The Wallace Collection, Inv.-No. P646.

86 Pontormo, *Joseph with Jacob in Egypt*, series "Scenes from the Story of Joseph", probably 1518, oil on wood, 96,5 × 19,5 cm, London, The National Gallery, Inv.-No. NG1131.

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Acknowledgements

This article is dedicated to the loving memory of my father Fausto. The research originated from materials identified during my doctoral studies under the supervision of Giovan Battista Fidanza (University of Rome Tor Vergata). I wish to thank the following who helped me in my research: Elisa Camboni (Archivio Storico dell'Accademia di San Luca); Carlo Piacentini (Archivio Apostolico Vaticano); Luca Somma (Istituto Centrale per la Grafica); Donatella Primavera (Biblioteca di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte); Perla Pedretti (Biblioteca di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte); Michela Degortes (Universidade Nova de Lisboa); Federica di Napoli Rampolla (Archivio Altieri).

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Reference

Flavia De Nicola: Tracing the Provenance of the *Lamentation over the Dead Christ* by Peter Paul Rubens at the Galleria Borghese, in: *transfer – Zeitschrift für Provenienzforschung und Sammlungsgeschichte / Journal for Provenance Research and the History of Collection* 4 (2025), DOI: <https://doi.org/10.48640/tf.2025.1.113820>, 69-86.