RICHARD SYMONDS IN ROME, 1649-1651

by Anne Brookes

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Abstract

This thesis is a study of the notebook (British Library Egerton MS 1635) compiled by Richard Symonds (1617-1670), royalist exile and virtuoso, during his visit to Rome between 1649 to 1651. The first volume of the thesis provides an analysis of the chronology of notebooks that Symonds wrote at the time and his methods of study, as well as a detailed reconstruction of his visits to a number of collections. The second volume consists of an annotated transcription of Egerton MS 1635, and an extract from British Library Additional MS 17919 which relates to Symonds's visit to Palazzo Barberini.

Symonds's visits to the Borghese, Farnese, and Giustiniani collections in Rome allowed him to study at first hand major sixteenth-century works by Titian, Raphael, Caravaggio and the followers of the Carracci. He also visited four less important collections (which all had some renowned paintings) at Palazzo Mattei, Palazzo Spada, Palazzo Mazzerino and Palazzo Sachetti. In addition, Symonds made notes on Palazzo Barberini although he was only taken on a brief tour of this collection. Symonds's study of antique sculpture is revealed in his notes on the important collection he saw at Villa Medici, and two smaller ones belonging to Ippolitto Vitelleschi and the Pighini family.

Symonds also encountered the circle of antiquaries and connoisseurs in Rome, which included Francesco Angeloni, and among the artists he met were the

painters Giovanni Angelo Canini (who served as his mentor) and Nicolas Poussin. Symonds was not only interested in art, architecture, and antiquities, but also the social and religious customs that he encountered, as well as early ventures into science and medicine. The taste and knowledge that he acquired in Rome is reflected in the paintings that he selected to record and admire, of which the vast majority were works by Titian, Raphael and the Carracci. A thorough investigation of Egerton MS 1635 establishes that Symonds's knowledge of Italian art was exceptional for an Englishman of the time.

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Richard Symonds in Rome, 1649-1651

Introduction

Richard Symonds (1617-1670) was a virtuoso and royalist exile who arrived in Rome in November, 1649. There is little evidence to suggest that he had much interest in art before he left England. Indeed, as a young man his chief passion had been for antiquarian matters, in particular, the genealogy and heraldry of his native Essex.[1] Symonds served in the Royalist armies during the Civil War, and following their defeat,[2] he compounded as a delinquent before settling his affairs and preparing for a tour of the Continent. Symonds left London on 1 January 1649 (NS) and did not return for almost two years. After seven months in Paris,[3] he departed on the journey to Rome, which he finally reached in November 1649, and where, except for a short trip to Naples, he remained until setting out on his return home via Parma and Milan in April 1651.[4]

During the eighteen months that Symonds was in Rome he went to see numerous palaces and early Christian churches, studying the pictures and antiquities in them attentively. His mentor in Rome was the artist Giovanni Angelo Canini, a student of Domenichino and a devotee of the Carracci School. Symonds also studied painting methods and practiced drawing and etching in Canini's studio. Through Canini Symonds met leading antiquarians

and artists, including such major figures as Francesco Angeloni and Nicolas Poussin. Several friends and acquaintances of Canini were connoisseurs and Symonds visited their collections where he saw intriguing artefacts and natural 'curiosities' which were displayed alongside works of art.

Symonds's surviving Italian notebooks leave detailed records of what he saw and reveal his developing interest in art.[5] Although these are known to scholars, only one of them has been published. In 1984 Mary Beal produced a complete transcript of B.L. Egerton MS 1636, but she was mainly concerned with the information it contains about seventeenth-century painting techniques rather than Symonds's connoisseurship and knowledge of Italian art.[6] Beal's work had been preceded by two shorter essays that included transcriptions from Symonds's manuscripts, a list of prints and drawings in Symonds's collection was published by the Ogdens in 1948,[7] and some of Symonds's notes on his visit to Paris were published by Oliver Millar in 1967.[8]

The thesis is concerned with a thorough analysis and transcription of Symonds's notebook, B.L. Egerton MS 1635 which is unpublished, and has been only briefly consulted by scholars. Because of the difficulties of reading Symonds's hand, the quotations from it have not always been reliable and have often been incomplete. This notebook provides the main surviving record of his visits to the major collections in Rome, supplemented by B.L. Additional MS 17919, which contains an account of his visit to Palazzo Barberini.[9] Symonds's notes on this collection are included here because of their

importance in the context of this study. His thirst for knowledge extended not only to works of art and antiquities, but also to social and religious customs and early ventures into science and medicine and his observations on many of these subjects are found in B.L. Egerton MS 1635. Symonds's other Italian notebooks will be referred to when relevant to the thesis.

Symonds's notes in B.L. Egerton MS 1635 not only show how an (exceptional) Englishman sought out works of art in Rome, but also shed new light on the collections that he visited. Unlike his fellow countrymen, such as John Evelyn, Richard Lassels and Sir Thomas Isham, who all spent time in Rome between 1644 and 1678, Symonds described collections that were often overlooked. His notes are sometimes very detailed, provide pertinent comments and contain relevant sketches. By contrast, Evelyn greatly depended on second-hand sources;[10] Lassels, although an enthusiast, provides the minimum of information;[11] and Isham left no written record of the grand palaces where he seemingly was made a welcome visitor.[12]

In addition, Symonds collected books on art by Renaissance and contemporary writers. He frequently referred to treatises on art when he visited collections,[13] and his taste and opinions were probably partially shaped by the books that he is known to have read in Italy,[14] but much more by the personal contact with the artists and connoisseurs that he encountered there, and in particular Canini, whose influence is evident throughout Symonds's notes.

It has been possible to reconstruct much of what Symonds saw and to analyse his opinions and attributions as a student of Italian painting. His account of art in Rome relies far more on first-hand observation than those left by any previous English visitor to the city. Because of his exposure to the cultural milieu of Rome and his own enthusiasm as a student, Symonds returned home in 1651 with a remarkable knowledge of art: his comments on the works that he saw are of particular importance for the light they cast on contemporary painting. His documentation considerably widens the knowledge of mid-seventeenth century life and culture in Rome and provides an insight into the thinking of this seventeenth-century 'amateur' of the arts and sciences.

1. For Symonds's family tree and an account of his early life, see London, College of Arms; see also *Dictionary of National Biography* LV (1896), pp. 276-7; and Beal, pp. 14-18.

2. Symonds's Civil War notebooks are: B.L. Harley MSS 911, 939, 944, 964, 965, 986 and Additional MS 17062; Additional MS 17062. Harley MS 911, 939, and 944 have been published: see Symonds, *Camden Society*.

3. See Millar, 1967.

4. For Symonds's travels in France and Italy, see B.L. Harley MSS 942, 943, 1278, Additional MS 17919, and Egerton MSS 1635 and 1636; Bodleian Library, Oxford, Rawlinson MS D 121.

5. Symonds's notebooks that will be referred to in this paper are Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MS D.121, B.L. Harley MS 942, B.L. Harley MS 943, B.L. Egerton MS 1635, B.L. Egerton MS 1636 and B.L. Additional MS 17919.

6. As well as the transcription of B.L. Egerton MS 1636, Beal's study gives a concise biography of Richard Symonds, see Beal, 1984, passim.

7. It appears to be the earliest surviving inventory of a print collection made by an Englishman, see Ogden and Ogden, passim.

8. See Millar, 1967, passim.

9. Symonds would surely have gone to see the Vatican collection but unfortunately these notes have not survived.

10. See De Beer, II, passim.

11. See Chaney, 1985, passim.

12. See Burdon, passim.

13. The books he most often consulted were Baglione 1642; Lomazzo 1584; and Lomazzo 1590. See also Vasari B.L. (Richard Symonds's annotated copy of Vasari's *Vite*, 1647, in the British Library that was bound on his return to England).

14. See B.L. Harley MS 943, fols.110 v - 111 v, 112 v - 113 v.

Chapter One

Construction and dating of the Notebook

This chapter will consider the probable sequence in which Symonds wrote the notebooks compiled during his travels, and the place of B.L. Egerton MS 1635 among them. Each notebook was so small it could be carried in a pocket as Symonds walked (which then, as now, was no doubt the easiest and most satisfactory way of viewing Rome). They were probably purchased from various booksellers during his travels, because although similar, they are not exactly of the same size or shape. As a physical object, B.L. Egerton MS 1635 measures 15cm. x 10cm. and has 91 pages of paper that is slightly ridged but adequate for sketches as well as notes.[1] Symonds used pen and ink for both; three sketches in lead appear to have been drawn solely for amusement whereas those in ink were made to supplement his notes. There is considerable internal evidence within this manuscript that helps reconstruct Symonds's movements in Rome, and that can be used to understand how this complicated document was assembled.[2]

THE ITALIAN NOTEBOOKS

Symonds was an assiduous notetaker, but gaps in the coverage of his Italian travels suggest that some of his Italian notebooks have not survived. Amongst those missing is a notebook on Florence that is known to have existed and which is likely to have included his observations on other cities in Tuscany.[3] It is probable that there was at least one more notebook relating to Rome. In B.L. Additional MS 17919 Symonds commented that the 'Palaces [in Rome] where ye best painting is [*sic*] 1. di Card: Montalto by St Mary Major. 2. Palace di Principe Lodovice calld Villa Lodovice. 3. Villa Burghese. out of Rome halfe a myle;' so it is very likely that he wrote notes on these collections which unfortunately are missing.[4] He undoubtedly visited the Farnesina (which he referred to as 'Giuste [Chigi] his palace') since he was familiar with the Raphaels there,[5] and it is clear that he went to St. Peter's since he described a painting attributed to Muziano as 'something of that in S Peters,' but no further records of his visits to the Farnesina or the Vatican have been located so far.[6]

CHRONOLOGY OF THE ITALIAN NOTEBOOKS

The notebooks that do survive are only occasionally dated making it difficult to ascertain exactly when they were written or in what order. Although this section is an attempt to construct their chronology, this has proved difficult to achieve with precision since Symonds used several notebooks simultaneously.[7] B.L. Harley MS 942 is the smallest and most incomplete and Symonds did not

bother to number the folios, nor did he date any entries. On the first twenty pages he wrote notes on churches in Rome and in Padua, but since he did not visit Padua until his homeward journey, he could have used this notebook as early as November 1649 and as late as September 1651.[8]

B.L. Harley MS 943 was started in England in November 1648 and the last dated entry was on 2 December 1651. The first part is concerned with family, financial and property matters, lists of books sent to Italy and to his sister for safekeeping, and medicinal recipes. The core of this notebook is an account of the time he spent in France. He arrived in Calais in January 1649, spent six months in Paris,[9] and then journeyed towards Rome travelling via the Mont Cenis pass, Turin, Genoa and Leghorn. The last part is an indication of the influence on Symonds of the time he spent in Italy; it provides us with a list of the books he sent home from Rome, and the inventories of prints and drawings he bought there, at Venice, and in Padua and Bologna. It also has notes on how he borrowed money for his expenses in Italy and for his homeward journey in 1651.[10] The account of a trip Symonds made from Rome to Naples and back in April 1651, and his journey home via the northern Italian cities when he finally left Rome in May 1651, is described in Bodleian Library Rawlinson MS D 121. B.L. Another notebook, Egerton MS 1636, must have been mainly written in Rome between 1650-051 because it is predominantly concerned with information about painting techniques that Symonds learnt from Canini (Symonds noted in the table of contents that he started this manuscript in August 1650), followed by some observations on works of art

that he added after his return to London in 1651.[11]

A further notebook that must have been compiled in Rome is B.L. Add. MS 17919 which has the largest number of dated entries; these are not in chronological order although they do help to track some of Symonds's movements in the city. In the main they serve to establish when Symonds visited over twenty of the early Christian churches and recorded classical antiquities on public view. The first dated entry in sequence records that Symonds was at the Lateran on 12 April,[12] this is followed by a reference to a ceremony which took place in the same church on 1 December, the Feast of St. Thomas.[13] Symonds is next recorded at the church of Sant'Antonio Abate on 16 January, the Saint's feast day.[14] Symonds then records that he visited the Arch of Domitian on Monday, 29 November.[15] About halfway through the notebook he wrote that he and Canini visited the Pantheon 'Aug. 4 Ort 1650,'[16] and on the following folio he noted a date when he went there again, on the Feast of St. Joseph, 19 March.[17] Four pages further on he recorded that on Wednesday, 1 December, he visited 'the palace del Marchese Paluzzo' to see the antique statues exhibited in the courtyard.[18] The next date in sequence records the ceremony that Symonds saw in the church of Santa Maria Egiziaca when on 26 April the Pope visited to celebrate her feast day.[19] On the afternoon of Monday, 29 November, Symonds was at the church of the Santi Apostoli. On the same folio, and apropos the same church, he noted that Canini had shown him an ancient relief on 3 Oct 1650.[20] The earliest date that concerns Rome in B.L. Add. MS 17919 is the last dated entry in sequence;

this is 2 November, 1649, when on a 'Tuesday morning [went] up towardes the fountayne of Moses and the Popes Granaryes.' This entry appears over three-quarters of the way through the manuscript.[21] A few folios before this is a description of a garden dated to November that could well have been written on the same day.[22] From these entries we know that the earliest certain date for B.L. Add. MS 17919 is November 1649 and the latest possible date is April 1651.

B.L. Add. MS 17919 may not have been composed so unsystematically as it first appears. There are many blank spaces but - for a Symonds notebook - it has been written in a comparatively orderly fashion. In contrast to the notes on collections in Egerton MS 1635, the descriptions of the early churches and the references to classical antiquities appear to have been made entirely *in situ*. Without the confusing sequence of dates, the reader might have assumed that the notes were written chronologically, but in fact they have been roughly divided into four topographical areas of the city and were intended to be read accordingly. Certain dates informed the reader of the celebrations of a feast day in order that it could be attended, but others probably were to remind Symonds of a happy expedition with his companion 'Julio,' or Canini.[23] This idea is supported when more than one reference to a church is noted on different dates, and sometimes on the same, or consecutive, folios; a method that enabled the reader to find all the information regarding the subject in one place.

The table of 'Contents' at the beginning of B.L. Add. MS 17919 appears to have been written after the notes and is divided into a four day tour of Rome. Each 'Giornata' covers a daunting amount of things to see in one day; for example, on the '3ª Giornata 2da Pars doppo Pranso,' (after what appears to have been a busy morning) Symonds listed eight churches and monasteries, and sixteen monuments and other antiquities.[24] Although the notes on his visit to Palazzo Barberini is the only collection recorded in this manuscript, the palace is in the area that Symonds had specified for the '4ª Giornata,' and it therefore may have been considered a suitable entry.[25] The manner in which B.L. Add. MS 17919 was composed suggests that he intended it to be a little guidebook and belies previous assumptions that all his notebooks were written solely for his own benefit.[26] Perhaps Symonds had been inspired by reading his copy of Totti's *Ritratto di Roma moderna*, 1638, also a guide to modern Rome.[27] Symonds's notes indicate that while visiting ancient churches he consulted it as his descriptions and references are sometimes so similar to Totti's. *Roma moderna* is divided into six days, and on each day Totti takes the reader on a tour round one or more of the *rioni* (divisions) of Rome. Symonds may have hoped to create a similar guidebook for English readers, but he was optimistic in thinking that even the most avid of tourists would be able to complete his programme in the four days he allotted.

DATING OF EGERTON MS 1635

With the exception of his visit to Palazzo Barberini, Symonds's surviving notes on private collections in Rome can be found in Egerton MS 1635. This

appears to be the purpose for which it was originally intended, but which became gradually obscured with additional material. On the face of it, Egerton MS 1635 appears to be the last of the Roman notebooks since the only two dated entries refer to the spring of 1651. The first in sequence records a visit Symonds paid to the collection of Francesco Gualdi in April of that year (i.e., a month before he finally left Rome and with a journey to Naples in between).[28] Near the back of the notebook there are notes written in Padua where he spent several weeks in the summer of 1651, before leaving in September for his return journey to England.[29] Although the second dated entry is a sketch on the penultimate folio, it does not relate to Padua but to Rome where he had seen a man on an ass being publicly humiliated for some offence on the 'Last Friday of March 1651'.[30] These dated entries confirm that Egerton MS 1635 was being used for notes in 1651, but two other entries indicate that it was started considerably earlier. Although undated by the year, they refer to events which took place annually in Rome in June. The first in sequence refers to a custom concerning silkworms and Santa Maria sopra Minerva;[31] the second is an on the spot account of the parade of the Spanish Ambassador to the Vatican, which Symonds correctly stated took place on 'ye eve of St. Peters day,' which is 28 June.[32] The only year that Symonds was in the city in June was 1650. Therefore, although notes were written in Egerton MS 1635 as late as September 1651,[33] it was certainly started as early as June 1650, and probably several months before that. Examination of the table of contents (which will be discussed below) suggests that by the early spring of 1650 Symonds had seen six major Roman collections, and that by the end of June

that year he had visited several others of lesser importance.

HOW SYMONDS COMPILED THE ENTRIES IN EGERTON MS 1635

When copying from books Symonds's writing is neat and legible and it fills the pages from top to bottom rather than in uncoordinated blocks, for example, his careful transcription of a large section of Finella's *Fisonomia Naturale*.[34] At other times his writing varies from a hurried scrawl to the minute and indecipherable. The large empty spaces on many folios, some of which contain only one line of writing, and others left completely blank, are further indications that his notes were written up after a visit. When viewing a large collection it could not have been easy to write down all that he saw; the works that he selected as important to record may also have been the ones that he could remember. Brief references were probably made on the spot, with blank pages left to be filled in later when he returned to his lodgings. No doubt when being taken round a palace it was impossible to write much without annoying the guide - as well as holding up any less avid visitors than himself. If he was shown a collection by the owner, polite comments were probably called for, making it difficult to write detailed notes.

Within the pages of the manuscript it is clear that Symonds was inserting new material as he went along rather than writing consecutive prose. When he added brief afterthoughts they are easily recognisable by a change of ink or a change in his handwriting (the writing usually becomes smaller; it appears more - or less - hurriedly written). In places a word or a line is crossed out

with another squeezed into an existing passage, either as a correction, or as an addition. These are often references to the relevant page in his copies of Baglione's *Vite de' pittori*, Lomazzo's *Trattato dell'arte*, or Totti's *Ritratto di Roma moderna*. He may not always have wished to be weighed down with these works on his walks, so perhaps they were consulted before he set out in order not to miss anything of significance as well as being studied and noted on his return. The way of writing some letters or words is inconsistent throughout the manuscript. The letters 'h' and 's' can be in Elizabethan or Secretary hand; 'y^{e}' is used more often than 'the,' and at times certain words are abbreviated, but at others not.

Symonds appears to have started Egerton MS 1635 with the best of intentions of making it orderly. As noted above, it seems likely that he began this notebook as a guidebook to Roman collections (rather than to areas of the city as in B.L. Add. MS 17919), but as the notebook progressed, any attempt at order was abandoned. That Symonds was concerned with the coherence of his notebooks is evident from his tables of contents. In Additional MS 17919 'Contents' appears to have been written in one session after the notes were complete and ends with a triumphant 'ffinis.'[35] The table of contents in Egerton MS 1635 is now given the Italian title *Repertorio*; entries were made in all the different versions of Symonds's writing; sometimes the subjects are given more than one page reference.[36] In places several page references are in similar ink and writing as if they were made *en bloc* when the *Repertorio* was being 'brought up to date;' but unlike the rest of the manuscript, there are no

later insertions. The major difference between the 'Contents' in Additional MS 17919 and the *Repertorio* in Egerton MS 1635 is that the former was written when the notebook was completed and the latter was written as he entered new notes. As a result, examination of the *Repertorio* has proved to be the key to the chronology of Egerton MS 1635 (further discussed below) rather than the labyrinth of the notes themselves.

As was his usual custom, Symonds numbered Egerton MS 1635 on alternate pages (i.e., only the rectos of each folio) starting on fol. 8r which he numbered as '2.'[37] Sometimes he crossed out several numbers, clearly not quite sure which of them it should be.[38] Although the early entries concerning important collections were written on consecutive folios, later entries were not so obligingly organised. Sometimes he commented on the same place or item more than once, adding further references on a convenient and separate blank folio, or even in a separate notebook; this scattered information not only adds to the difficulty in identifying the subject but also to approximating the date of writing. For example, although he probably visited San Martino ai Monti on several occasions, these may not have amounted to seven, which is the number of times he referred to the church in separate places (twice in Egerton MS 1635, three times in B.L. Add. MS 17919, and twice in B.L. Harley MS 942).[39]

MATERIAL AT BEGINNING AND END OF EGERTON MS 1635

The entries at the beginning and end Egerton MS 1635 consist of rough

jottings, but these were probably added after the notebook was otherwise completed. Part of the jottings on the first two folios are extensions to notes on San Martino ai Monti (see above). At the bottom of fol. 1v is an almost indecipherable reference to a 'Rafaele Bolognese,' and at the bottom of fol. 2r are pencil sketches of a man with a large and beaky nose; neither the reference nor the sketches appear to have any connection with paintings in San Martino. On the next two folios are roughly scrawled lists of books and abbreviated references.[40] These hasty notes are similar to those on the last written folio.[41]

Symonds included two other lead sketches at the beginning of the notebook (in addition to the sketches of a man mentioned above); one is an incomplete drawing of a girl,[42] the other is entitled 'll Poysado' and portrays a man posed horizontally vaulting a wooden horse and holding aloft a glass of wine.[43] The sketches found amongst the first six pages of the notebook are the only ones in lead in the manuscript; they were probably made on the spur of the moment in an available space when someone or something caught Symonds's eye. In contrast, the many pen and ink sketches which intersperse his notes further on had a more serious purpose; they were to record works of art and artefacts visually (and will be discussed below).

CHRONOLOGY OF INDIVIDUAL ENTRIES IN EGERTON MS 1635

The first five entries concerning collections in Egerton MS 1635 were written both sequentially and chronologically without later insertions and start with Symonds's visit to Palazzo Borghese.[44] This is followed by another important

collection of paintings and sculpture, Palazzo Farnese,[45] and then the collection of Ippolitto Vitelleschi which was largely composed of antiquities.[46] Symonds paid two visits to Palazzo Giustiniani; on what was likely to have been the second of these (recorded in B.L. Add. MS 17919) he went to see the sculpture in the courtyard which probably had public access;[47] his fourth entry in Egerton MS 1635 records his first visit to the palace to see the renowned collection of paintings.[48] He next went to Palazzo Mattei where we know that he was accompanied and that while there he met a member of the family.[49] Perhaps this added to his difficulty in taking notes and consequently caused him to leave several blank pages to be filled in afterwards.

It is at this point in the notebook that Symonds's rather laissez-faire - but comprehensible - system of correlating his notes was abandoned. Up to his visit to Palazzo Mattei, the entries can be read in chronological order, and although there are spaces on some folios, none are completely empty. After the Mattei entry this is not the case; Symonds had probably found that he was not recalling enough information to fill in the spaces he left and that he was wasting many pages of the notebook. He may have decided at the same time not to restrict Egerton MS 1635 to major collections because his records of them were so often incomplete. The first indication of the change in his methods is found between four folios left blank after the notes on Palazzo Mattei,[50] Symonds used this space to record his visit to Francesco Gualdi's museum of antiquities which he did not see until just before leaving Rome for his homeward journey (as mentioned above).[51] In order to grasp the

chronology of Egerton MS 1635 it is necessary to examine the *Repertorio*. Although at first sight it appears as erratic as the notes that follow, in fact Symonds composed it chronologically and sequentially as the notebook progressed; it enabled him to locate specific subjects amongst the jumble of his entries - it now serves a dual purpose by indicating the chronology of the manuscript.[52]

The page reference in the *Repertorio* immediately following that for Palazzo Mattei is for Villa Medici.[53] At the end of his detailed notes on the sculpture in the Medici gardens, Symonds described a method of propagating plants which is normally undertaken in early spring in Rome. This suggests that the approximate date of the visit was April 1650.[54] It appears that by this time Symonds had also seen the collections of the Borghese, Farnese, Vitelleschi, Giustiniani and Mattei.[55] We know that Symonds recorded the custom concerning silkworms in Santa Maria sopra Minerva sometime in June 1650;[56] from the *Repertorio* we can assess that by then he had visited Father Kircher's famous museum of antiquities and scientific objects,[57] attended a meeting in the Accademia degli Umoristi,[58] admired and made detailed notes on the drawings in the collection of Francesco Angeloni,[59] and the paintings in Palazzo Spada,[60] and recorded many of the frescoes at Palazzo Mazzerino.[61] By the time that he watched the parade of the Spanish Ambassador at the end of that month,[62] Symonds had packed in several more visits and events. During this time he copied a large section from Filippo Finella's *Fisinomia Naturale*,[63] and visited Canini's 'Amico familiare,' Paolo Ruggieri.[64] Symonds

also went to see the frescoes in the Casa Zuccaro,[65] the curiosities in the collection of Signor Speciate,[66] and visited the Accademia di San Luca where he recorded several of the portraits in the collection.[67] It may have been because of inadequate lighting that he only managed to make very rough sketches of two of Domenichino's pendentives in San Carlo ai Catenari.[68] In contrast, amongst his notes on the circumcision in the Jewish Ghetto is a well-executed drawing with a lettered key to the instruments used in the ceremony (Plate 15).[69] The chronological entries in the *Repertorio* indicate that all these notes and drawings were made by 28 June 1650.

After this date, the chronology of Egerton MS 1635 becomes more conjectural. The page references in the *Repertorio* indicate that Symonds attended two elaborate ceremonies in succession; the first was the professing of a nun in Santa Maria in Campo Marzio;[70] the second the induction of a Doctor of Philosophy at the Seminario Romano.[71] He then visited Palazzo Sacchetti; Symonds wrote notes on this large and interesting collection of paintings on only one folio, but perhaps he was hurried by his guide.[72] Possibly both the induction ceremonies and the visit to Palazzo Sacchetti took place not long after 28 June 1650 since in the *Repertorio* their page references are in the same block of writing that begins with the reference to Casa Zuccaro which he visited prior to that date.[73]

The *Repertorio* indicates that having visited the major collections in Rome, Symonds seemingly turned his attention to some of the smaller ones and also

had a spate of visiting churches; these churches were all not far from the centre of Rome (unlike the majority of those that he recorded in B.L. Add. MS 17919). The first was San Martino ai Monte; this visit was recorded in one of Symonds's seven notes on San Martino and in this entry he accurately copied a lengthy Latin inscription from a wall plaque in the church (Plate 1). Symonds attempted in his own hand to imitate how the writing on the plaque is carved.[74] Before visiting another church he went to see two collections; the first was a seemingly brief visit to see the collection of Michael Wright; Symonds made no comment in his notes on any discussion with Wright, but it would be surprising if he had not been present.[75] Symonds then went to see the sculpture collection of 'Signor Pichini (Pighini);[76] this was followed by going to see three churches in succession, S. Salvatore in Lauro (before entering the church Symonds spotted a relief of *Christ* on a house in the piazza [Plate 67]),[77] Santa Maria in Via Lata,[78] and lastly to San Francesco a Ripa Grande (Symonds noted, and probably went to see specific works in these collections and churches which will be discussed below).[79]

The sequences in the *Repertorio* indicate that he next went to two private collections;[80] first that of the Boncompagni at Palazzo Sora,[81] and then to Leonardo Agostini's collection of antique gems.[82] The page references for Pighini, the three churches that follow, and for Boncompagni and Agostini, are all in the same block of writing in the *Repertorio*; after the reference for Agostini, Symonds drew a long line.[83] Perhaps it was quite some time after this before he wrote again in Egerton MS 1635 as the next page reference

relates to the visit to Francesco Gualdi which took place in April 1651, followed by one for the Court of Auditors which may have been the last event that Symonds attended before leaving Rome.[84] The only remaining page references relate to Padua where he visited the house of 'Sig^{r} Gibbo.'[85] Symonds had briefly noted a 'stufa secca' in Rome,[86] but he wrote a lengthy description of one that he saw in Padua with details on how to construct it.[87] The last page reference in the *Repertorio* is for a recipe for making 'Sirrop of Ale' that he may have acquired in Padua; the fact that the recipe has a reference indicates that Symonds considered it of importance.[88]

It is apparent that Symonds was avid to see as much as he could in Rome during 1650, that is, soon after his arrival. Perhaps by the end of that year, having recorded the major collections (albeit sometimes inadequately) his ardour for notetaking and sightseeing lessened. In addition, he may have wished to spend more time in Canini's studio both as a student of drawing, and of the painting techniques that he recorded in B.L. Egerton MS 1636; furthermore, he was still using other notebooks concurrently, notably B.L. Add. MS 17919. Between 28 June 1650 and March 1651 the chronology of Egerton 1635 is largely guesswork, but examination of the *Repertorio* suggests it is quite possible that when Symonds drew the sketch dated late March 1651[89] (and entered the notes on Francesco Gualdi, dated the following month),[90] he had not used this notebook since 1650. If this was the case, the great majority of the notes relate to that year and display that Symonds was very quick in gaining a knowledge of prominent painters and antique sculpture

in Rome, as well as a grasp of the work of the Carracci. He would not have been well-informed on these subjects when he first arrived in the city and it suggests that in the course of a few months, he had absorbed the ideas on art promoted by his mentor Giovanni Angelo Canini, and the antiquarians and virtuosi in Canini's circle.

1. There are no watermarks visible on the paper and it is not of high quality. For the transcription of B.L. Egerton MS 1635 (henceforth Egerton MS 1635), see Appendix 1.

2. This notebook, and B.L. Egerton MS 1636, were bought at the sale of the library of the late John Hugh Smyth Pigott of Brockley Hall, Somerset. The sale catalogue states that the library would be 'sold by auction by Messrs. S. Leigh Sotheby & John Wilkinson... at their house, 3, Wellington St., Strand, on Monday December 19th, 1853 and Five following days.' Symonds's two notebooks were sold as one lot on the sixth day of the sale, i.e. 24 December. Two guineas (£2. 2s. 0d.) was paid for the two, about the average price paid for manuscripts auctioned on that day, see the Sotheby sales catalogue for December 1853, p. 113, lot no. 2094. The purchaser, 'Boone,' who bought several other manuscripts at the sale, presumably was buying on behalf of the B.L. as there is no mention of him in the details regarding the purchase on the second fly-leaf of Egerton MS 1635.

3. Symonds's journey south (leaving Leghorn on 22 September, 1649, and arriving in Rome in early November) is likely to have included stopovers at many of the cities on the way. In the third volume of his *Genealogy of Essex* he referred to 'my MS of Florence Rome etc.,' see Beal, 1984, p. 27. In addition, Symonds sketched a copy (in the Villa Medici) by Cristofano di Papi dell'Altissimo of Uccello's portrait of Sir John Hawkwood from the Duomo; he noted beside it 'Red Cap I believe tis for Hawkwood' which suggests he had seen the original, see fol. 41v (The British Library has re-numbered Symonds's notebooks by folios. These will be used in this study rather than Symonds's numbering which refers to pages).

4. See B.L. Additional MS 17919, fol. 88r (henceforth B.L. Add. MS).

5. See Appendix I, fol. 15v.

6. See Appendix I, fol. 82v. Symonds would have been to St. Peter's as one of the seven major early Christian basilicas. He would surely have gone to the Vatican, since he bought several prints after frescoes in Raphael's Stanze and Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel, see Ogden and Ogden, pp. 49, 50.

7. B.L. Harley MS 942, B.L. Harley MS 943, and B.L. Egerton MS 1636, are partially concerned with Symonds's time in Rome, whereas B.L. Add. MS 17919 and B.L. Egerton MS 1635 (with the exception of two entries concerning Padua) are the notebooks that wholly relate to Rome. Bodleian Library Rawlinson MS D 121 relates to Symonds's trip from Rome to Naples and his homeward journey in 1651. Intermittently he added notes to most of these manuscripts over a period of years, the earliest in use was B.L. Harley

MS 943 in 1648 and the latest B.L. Egerton MS 1636 in 1658.

8. The earliest dated entry for Rome is 2 November, 1649, for which see B.L. Add. MS 17919, fol. 167r; Symonds left Padua on 10 September, 1651, for which see Bodleian Rawlinson MS D 121, fol. 132. After the first twenty pages (with the exception of a sketch of a bearded man in red chalk) B.L. Harley MS 942 is blank until the penultimate folio where Symonds made a brief reference to the conversion of a Turk (mentioned below). The British Library has only numbered this manuscript on folios that have writing.

9. See Millar, 1967, passim.

10. In B.L. Harley MS 943, fol. 119r, he acknowledged money that he borrowed from Thomas Knightley in Rome in April, 1651 for his journey to Naples (for this journey see, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MS D 121, fols. 1 - 82). Also on fol. 119r is a similar promissory note for money borrowed from his 'cousin' Joseph Kent, the consul in Venice, for his journey home.

11. See Beal, 1984, passim. Symonds inserted a comment on 'Cleansing Pencills' as late as 1658, see Beal, 1984, p. 233.

12. See B.L. Add. MS 17919, fol. 20r. Symonds was in Rome in April 1650 and part of April 1651.

13. See B.L. Add. MS 17919, fol. 24r. Symonds was in Rome in December 1649 and 1650.

14. See B.L. Add. MS 17919, fol. 28v. Symonds was in Rome in January 1650 and 1651.

15. This appears to have always been on this folio and not to be a later insertion. Symonds was in Rome in November 1649 and 1650 therefore this note could refer to either year. '2d day' refers to his program for the '2da Giornata,' see B.L. Add. MS 17919, fols. 3r and 35v.

16. See B.L. Add. MS 17919, fol. 40v. 'ort' is an archaic word (usually written plurally as 'orts') meaning scraps or leavings; alternatively it is a variant of another archaic word, 'ord', meaning beginning and end, see Halliwell, II, pp. 590 and 591. It is hard to tell in which context Symonds was using the word here, perhaps he was indicating it was the end of the day. 1650 was the only year that Symonds was in Rome in August.

17. See B.L. Add. MS 17919, fol. 41v. Symonds was in Rome in March in 1650 and 1651. His visit to the Pantheon is further discussed in Chapter Two and Chapter Three.

18. See B.L. Add. MS 17919, fol. 45r. Symonds was in Rome in December 1649 and 1650. He noted that Paluzzo's palace (not identified, possibly Symonds's version of the name Paoluccio), was near the Pantheon; this would have been a very long walk from S. Giovanni in Laterano if he had gone there on the same day (see note 12 above) therefore the two references to the 1st December must relate to different years; the two visits noted on that date are not listed on the same 'Giornata' (see below).

19. See B.L. Add. MS 17919, fol. 51r. Symonds was in Rome in April 1650 and part of April 1651.

20. See B.L. Add. MS 17919, fol. 66v.

21. See B.L. Add. MS 17919, fol. 78r. Symonds was in Rome in November 1649 and 1650.

22. See B.L. Add. MS 17919, fol. 74r.

23. See B.L. Add. MS 17919, fols. 2v - 5r.

24. See B.L. Add. MS 17917, fols. 3v - 5r.

25. See Appendix II. It may also be the first collection that he recorded (discussed in Chapter Nine).

26. At the bottom of fol. 94v (the last folio in B.L. Add. MS 17919) is written (upside down), 'sent to be ? [illegible word crossed or blotted out] June 30 1664 a bill of 1-10-7.' This may allude to the notebook being bound four years after Symonds died (June 1660), and if so, it would suggest that it was considered worth preserving as a guidebook - as he may have always intended it to be.

27. See Totti, 1638; see also Rhodes, passim. It was amongst the books that Symonds forwarded home from Rome, see B.L. Harley MS 943, fol. 111r.

28. See Appendix I, fols. 31v - 32r.

29. See Appendix I, fols. 85v - 89r.

30. See Appendix I, fol. 89v.

31. See Appendix I, fols. 35v - 36r. Symonds wrote: 'I have seen on ye Minerva divers branches of boughes full of these shells...in June.'

32. See Appendix I, fol. 73v. The *Diario Romano* records the parade taking place on 28 June 1650, the feast of St. Peter being on 29 June, see Gigli, p. 366.

33. Jottings were added later; a book that Symonds referred to in some rough notes on fol. 3r, Edward Sparks's *Scintilla Altaris*, was not published in London until 1652 indicating that Symonds continued to jot down information in the notebook after his return to England, see Appendix I, note 10.

34. *Fisonomia Naturale di Filippo Finella*, Naples, 1629. Symonds's writing is equally neat in his B.L. annotated copy of Vasari's *Vite*. He recorded that the Vasari volumes were 'loose' in his list of books to be sent home when he left Rome (B.L. Harley MS 943, fol. 110v). This is probably the reason he did not refer to Vasari in Egerton MS 1635 (except on one occasion when he may have been quoting Canini's reference to Vasari), although he did refer to him in B.L. Egerton MS 1636, e.g., see Beal, 1984, p. 284. Possibly in Rome he borrowed Canini's Vasari and then bought a loose copy for himself which he had bound on his return to England.

35. See B.L. Add. MS 17919, fols. 2v - 5v.

36. See Appendix I, fols. 3v - 4v. The new title may indicate that Symonds was becoming, or attempting to become, increasingly fluent in Italian. Usually he wrote one page reference for a subject even if the notes cover several folios, but on occasion he wrote two or three, e.g., San Carlo Catinari is listed as '102' and '103,' see also note 38 below.

37. He only numbered the even pages in the text, but sometimes put odd numbers as page references in the *Repertorio*.

38. See Appendix I, fol. 77r which he numbered as '140,' '139,' and '137,' and then crossed out all three.

39. See Appendix I, fols. 1v - 2r and fols. 79r - 79v; see also B.L. Add. MS 17919, fols. 74v, 77v, 94v; and B.L. Harley MS 942, fols. 10v - 12r and fol. 15r.

40. See Appendix I, fols. 2v - 3r.

41. See Appendix I, fol. 90v; and note 87 below.

42. See Appendix I, fol. 5v; fol. 5r is blank.

43. See Appendix I, fol. 6r.

44. See Appendix I, fols. 7v - 14r; and Chapter Four. He numbered this

reference in the *Repertorio* as '1,' but being the verso of a folio, it is not numbered in the text.

45. See Appendix I, fols. 14v - 19r; and Chapter Five. The ink and writing of the page references to Palazzo Borghese and Palazzo Farnese in the *Repertorio* indicate that they were entered at the same time, see Appendix I, fol. 3v.

46. See Appendix I, fols. 19v - 21v; and Chapter Eight.

47. See B.L. Add. MS 17919, fols. 41v - 43v.

48. See Appendix I, fols. 22r - 28r; and Chapter Six.

49. See Appendix, I, fols. 28v - 30r; and Chapter Seven. The page reference for this celebrated collection of sculpture and paintings appears to have been entered in the *Repertorio* at the same time as the reference for Palazzo Giustiniani.

50. See Appendix I, fols. 30v - 31r and 32v - 33r.

51. See Appendix I, fols. 31v - 32r.

52. See Appendix I, fols. 3v - 4v.

53. See Appendix I, fol. 3v.

54. See Appendix I, fols. 36v - 41v; and Chapter Seven. This method has been seen by the writer in a garden outside Rome in early April. Symonds was in Rome in the spring of 1650 and 1651, but the placing of the reference in the *Repertorio* indicates that this visit was in 1650.

55. See Appendix I, fols. 7v - 30r.

56. See Appendix I, fols. 35v - 36r.

57. See Appendix I, fols. 44v - 45r.

58. See Appendix I, fols. 47v - 49r.

59. See Appendix I, fols. 50v - 54v.

60. See Appendix I, fols. 55r - 55v.

61. See Appendix I, fols. 56v - 57v.

62. See Appendix I, fols. 73v - 74 v.

63. See Appendix I, fols. 67v - 70v; and *op. cit.*, note 34 above. The seven carefully copied folios concerned the humours of man. It is more than likely that Egerton MS 1635 was the only notebook Symonds had on hand when he came across this book, and the fact that it was concerned with physiognomy and had nothing to do with the sights of Rome was evidently irrelevant.

64. Appendix I, fol. 65r.

65. See Appendix I, fol. 64r.

66. See Appendix I, fols. 66v - 67r. Symonds evidently had not left enough room to complete the description of Speciate's collection in the space he had allotted for the purpose (i.e., before an entry he had made earlier relating to the collection of Paolo Ruggieri), and yet he left a folio immediately before the Speciate entry blank; perhaps the collection proved to have more of interest than he originally estimated. Symonds remembered Speciate's name when listing him in the *Repertorio*, but could not recall it when writing up his notes and left a blank where the name should have been. The page reference in the *Repertorio* for Paolo Ruggieri is simply 'Studio di Sign^{r} Paolo,' but in this instance it is a sign of Symonds's familiarity with Ruggieri, rather than his forgetfulness, see note 65 above.

67. See Appendix I, fols. 60v - 61r.

68. See Appendix I, fols. 4r and 58v - 59v. These sketches are found in the middle of five blank folios; he failed to record the location of the subjects but fortunately wrote the name of the church in the page reference in the *Repertorio*.

69. On the first (in sequence) out of three relevant folios recording a circumcision in the Jewish Ghetto, Symonds described the end of the ceremony, see Appendix I, fol. 34r; he had already written some thoughts on 'ye Silkeworme' on the two folios that followed the beginning of his description of the circumcision, so that when he ran out of space, he was forced to insert his last notes on the ceremony before the first; for the first two folios (in chronology) regarding the circumcision, see Appendix I, fols. 34v - 35r.

70. See Appendix I, fols. 70v - 71r; this entry was started on the same folio as the last notes copied from Finella's *Fisinomia Naturale*, see notes 34, 63 above.

71. See Appendix I, fols. 71v - 73r. The Seminario notes are in three tranches; the first of the relevant folios relates to the end of the ceremony and the Seminary itself; the following folio begins with 'Comencing D[octo]r

Col[leggio]: Romano,' but this seems to have been inserted on a blank folio as a link to the two folios that were written earlier and commence with a similar sentence; these two folios describe the beginning and the middle of the ceremony.

72. See Appendix I, fol. 75r; and Chapter Seven.

73. See Appendix I, fols. 3v - 4r.

74. See Appendix I, fols. 79v - 81r (fol. 79r is blank); and note 38 above. Below his copy of the inscription he sketched a 'basso Relievo' which he briefly described on the same folio as two others that he had observed near San Martino, see fol. 81r.

75. See Appendix I, fols. 75v - 76r.

76. See Appendix I, fols. 77r - 78r (fol. 76v is blank); and Chapter Eight.

77. See Appendix I, fol. 44r and note 447. The relief is high on the wall of a house in Piazza S. Salvatore in Lauro (no. 13) at a right angle to the church; it looks in surprisingly good order and perhaps replaces the earlier relief.

78. See Appendix I, fol. 63v.

79. See Appendix I, fol. 33v; Symonds left the two preceding folios (32v - 33r) blank.

80. See Appendix I, fol. 4r.

81. See Appendix I, fols. 81v - 83r; fol. 83v is blank.

82. See Appendix I, fols. 84r - 85r.

83. See Appendix I, fol. 4r.

84. See Appendix I, fols. 42v - 43r; in the *Repertorio* he gave this a page reference of '171' although he must have meant 71 by his method of numbering; it appears in sequence as the last page reference for Rome (see fol. 4r). Fols. 42r - 43v are blank.

85. See Appendix I, fols. 85v - 86r.

86. The reference to the 'Stufa Secca' in Rome is merely to 'place' a Basso Relievo that he saw nearby on a walk, See Appendix I, fol. 81r.

87. See Appendix I, fols. 87v - 89r; fols. 86v - 87r are blank. The two notes

on Padua were inserted before the sketch relating to the man on the ass that he saw in Rome in March 1651 (mentioned above) which Symonds evidently did not consider important enough to rate a page reference in the *Repertorio*, see Appendix I, fol. 89v. Nor did Symonds give page references for what he termed as 'Discourses' (but subsequently crossed out) which are four folios of weak jokes and anecdotes squashed together in his worst handwriting. Despite not being listed in the *Repertorio*, they are cross-referenced to four folios of similar content that come later in the notebook and which are equally incongruous with the rest of the material. There is no telling when these were written, but perhaps it was when Symonds was on some tedious journey and had nothing better to do, see Appendix I, fols. 45v - 47r; and Egerton MS 1635, fols. 61v - 63r (not transcribed).

88. See Appendix I, fols. 78v and 4v.

89. See Appendix I, fols. 85v - 89r.

90. See Appendix I, fols. 31v - 32r. Symonds's diagram of Gualdi's climbing pulley (Plate 2) suggests that by 1651 his study of drawing had reaped some benefits.

Chapter Two

Symonds's Methods of Study

SYMONDS'S METHODS OF DESCRIPTION AND POWERS OF OBSERVATION

Above all Symonds was 'visually aware.' His notebooks combine the visual with the verbal, and sometimes microscopic notes are interspersed with pen sketches hastily drawn to record an object, painting, or view that particularly interested him. Although they are of modest ability, they serve as a useful and informative adjunct to his notes and reveal something of his habits of thought. He frequently sketched an artefact that intrigued him and noted how it was constructed, for example, Francesco Gualdi's pulley for ascending/descending walls (Plate 2).[1] Other objects he chose to sketch simply because he found them amusing, such as the drinking fountain in the Via Lata, where the water still spurts out of the barrel held by a 'faquino,' Symonds's descriptive name for the figure of a rough looking man wearing a cap (Plate 3).[2] Sometimes, as in the case of the untitled sketches of Domenichino's pendentives at San Carlo ai Catinari,[3] Symonds's drawings provide the only indication of what he was recording. He made a sketch with annotations of the *Adam and Eve*, also by Domenichino, that he saw at Palazzo Sora (Plate 4);[4] although this is a well-known composition, Symonds's drawing is of an otherwise unrecorded

version. The sketches he made of pagan antiquities, and those in the early Christian churches, include mosaics, frescoes, and buildings that have been lost, destroyed, or moved to another location.[5] When recording sculpture he sometimes chose to draw a pedestal that particularly caught his attention rather than the figure that it supported.[6] The reason that so few figures are depicted in Symonds's sketches (either of statues or from life) may be that that despite his life drawing classes with Canini he found these subjects too taxing.

When paintings especially interested him he not only identified the subject and artist, but sometimes added other aspects of the painting such as its composition, the colour of the pigments used, or a feature that intrigued him, for example, 'the cupids who are shooting at a heart in a *scudo* (a target or shield)' in the background of Annibale's *Sleeping Venus*, now in the Museé Condé, Chantilly (Plates 22 and 21).[7] His training under Canini taught him how colours were used to achieve particular results and he noted this in paintings by his favourite artists, for example, Raphael's *La Fornarina* in Palazzo Barberini.[8] As a poor but conscientious draughtsman he understood and appreciated Annibale's skill displayed in the ceiling of the Palazzo Farnese Galleria and extolled on the 'feigned' paintings.[9] Symonds assiduously recorded the size, paper, colours, media and quality of many of the drawings that he admired in Francesco Angeloni's collection, and wrote similar details (where applicable) in the inventory of the prints that he acquired for himself.[10]

Symonds was not always reliable in ascertaining what a picture represented, but it is possible to speculate over his 'near misses' and come up with the correct answer. At Palazzo Spada he saw some 'pretty p[er]spectives' that he rightly attributed to François Perrier but wrongly recorded one of these as 'ye coming of ye queen of Sheba afore Solomon.'[11] A painting of this subject is not listed amongst the commissions to Perrier from Cardinal Spada, but by studying a *pagamento* for Perrier's work it can be conjectured that the painting Symonds referred to was the *Continence of Scipio*. In the same collection he correctly entitled 'One [painting] very large done by Guercin du Cento' as 'Didos killing her selfe.'[12] Even without this identification it would have been possible to guess the subject from his vivid and lengthy description that followed.

When recording a portrait, he would name the sitter if he could, and sometimes add a brief description of the pose. His notes are not always helpful in identifying a painting, for example the '2 Ritrattos of Cardinals by Raphael' that he recorded in Palazzo Borghese; but this particular piece of vagueness was not Symonds's fault, the likenesses were not identified in the Borghese inventory, and nor evidently under the paintings themselves, so they had probably been forgotten even in the Borghese household.[13] At other times his powers of observation were acute, as is evident in his notes on the portrait of *Cardinal Ippolito de'Medici and Monsignor Mario Bracci*, now in the National Gallery, London. He saw this painting in Palazzo Borghese, but unlike many other visitors, or the writer of the Borghese inventory, he

correctly identified Cardinal Ippolito de'Medici as one of the subjects.[14] In the same collection he confirmed that Antonello da Messina's portrait of *Martin Luther*, now in the Galleria Borghese, once had the painter's name inscribed upon it.[15]

Symonds frequently noted measurements, he would comment if a painting was 'large' or 'big as ye life,' and on occasion, recorded more helpful and precise measurements. We know that the Domenichino *Adam and Eve* mentioned above was '2 foot high' which eliminates two versions of the subject, if not identifying that particular one (Plate 4).[16] Symonds measured famous statues as part of his study of ideal proportions;[17] for a less rarefied purpose he noted distances to points of interest in Rome perhaps to assist the readers of his intended guidebook, B.L. Add. MS 17919. These measurements were sometimes recorded in miles, for example, San Paolo fuori le Mura was '3 q[uarters] of a myle from ye walls of Rome,'[18] but to indicate a short distance between one place and the next to be visited he used the term a 'quoytes cast.'[19] He liked to record the size and material of unusual antiquities that caught his attention; he wrote that 'La Bocca De La Verità' (a curious carved face that is still under the portico of Santa Maria di Cosmedin) was '4 Cubits in Diameter. w. marble.'[20] Symonds often recorded the shape and proportions of classical buildings,[21] he drew the pediment of the 'temple de Junone,'[22] and a ground plan of the 'Tempio del Sole,' noting which was the ancient part and 'The Court now was put on lately.'[23] Some columns were 'wreathd' (twisted), Symonds sketched one with this description that was made 'of Alabaster Orientall

Strapanum transparent;'[24] in the sketch he depicted it more like a stick of barley-sugar than Solomonic. He observed the various orders of capitals, sketching one that was 'L'ordine Ionico,' and described some others as 'a la Corinthiagne.'[25]

Examples of his keen observation of materials, can be found in his notes on S. Paulo fuori le Mura, S. Giovanni in Laterano,[26] and many of the other ancient churches that he visited, some of which have since been rebuilt or altered. Churches and monuments were 'ancient' or 'old' with no attempt to narrow this down to anything more specific. In the early churches he would record the mosaics, the pavements (in Santa Croce in Gerusalemme they were 'colourd marble in circles and worles'), the number of steps and doors, and the amount and size of the pillars. Whether pagan or Christian, the materials and construction of buildings were the focus of his observations rather than their history.

SYMONDS'S COMPANIONS IN ROME, HOW HE GAINED ACCESS TO COLLECTIONS AND THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF HIS VISITS

Symonds's notes indicate that he was sometimes accompanied. He only named two companions, Canini and 'Julio,' and these may have been the only two that he had. Canini certainly accompanied him to several private collections and he sometimes went with him to churches or other places of interest in the centre of Rome.[27] When Symonds went farther afield to Christian basilicas and classical ruins on the outskirts of Rome his companion

was 'Julio.' 'Julio' could have been a member of the antiquarian circle that Symonds met through Canini, but the first-name references to him (with one exception) suggest that Symonds was not in awe of him, a feature which is apparent when he referred to Canini. Possibly 'Julio' was a professional guide - or perhaps Symonds met him as a fellow student in Canini's studio because amongst Symonds's list of books, prints and drawings that he sent home were '2 sheets of Antiq: of Julio Fanceys.'[28] In any case, Symonds considered him an authority on Roman antiquities, but did not find him socially intimidating. As somewhat of a loner, and in his quest to learn Italian, Symonds may have preferred sightseeing on his own, with the knowledgeable 'Julio,' or with his friend and trusted adviser, Canini.

Although Canini, like Symonds, was only in his thirties,[29] he may have preferred to let 'Julio' accompany Symonds on the long walks out to the Via Appia, the Via Ostiense and the Aventine. Canini accompanied Symonds to the ancient churches of San Martino ai Monti, SS. Apostoli and the Pantheon, but these were nearer to, or in the case of the Pantheon, in the centre of, Rome. Symonds recorded two visits to the Pantheon with Canini, on the second occasion, Canini, a member of the Congregazione dei Virtuosi al Pantheon, had probably particularly wished to go on the 'feast of S. Joseph...' the day of the 'Painters feast there.'[30] It was on this occasion that Symonds saw the portico hung with paintings including Van Dyck's portrait heads of Charles I (H.M. the Queen) which he sketched.[31] In SS. Apostoli Symonds noted 'a very old Relievo...shewd me by S.G.A.'[32] The repeated visits to San Martino ai

Monti may not only have been because Symonds found the ancient parts of the church of particular interest, or because of the Canini altarpiece *The Holy Trinity with Sts. Bartholomew and Nicholas of Bari* (Plates 5 and 6), but because Giovanni Antonio Filippini, who was responsible for the restoration and redecoration of San Martino in the 1640s, was a friend (or at least a patron) of Canini's.[33] Symonds correctly noted on one such visit that the 'Prior of Carmelites generall of ye Order & at his owne charge repayrd ye church,' and on another, recorded in a little sketch the painted inscription on St. Nicholas's cope which has now gone.[34]

Symonds does not tell us how he met Canini, perhaps it was through Francesco Angeloni, or possibly it was the other way round, but because of this association, he gained an entrée to small private collections that he might never have known about, or, as an unknown Englishman, where he might not have been made welcome. Angeloni was a close friend of Giovanni Battista Agucchi and may have been the uncle of Giovanni Pietro Bellori, who perhaps Symonds met, although he does not mention him in his notes - but we know that he met Poussin. Agucchi's theories on art from his *Trattato della pittura* would have been discussed in this circle, that is, that the greatest artists sought to attain 'Ideal Beauty' in their paintings, not through merely imitating nature, but by combining it with the best aspects of Antique sculpture and Renaissance art (as depicted in the paintings of the Carracci and their followers).[35] Artists, antiquarians and connoisseurs formed the milieu that Symonds was introduced to, and their thoughts on art, and their admiration for

the Carracci, was to have a great influence on him.

On the occasions of Symonds's visits to the collection of one of Canini's friends or acquaintances such as Angeloni, Leonardo Agostino, or his 'Amico familiare,' Paolo Ruggieri, Canini would probably have accompanied him (Plate 68). Collectors like Angeloni who exhibited preserved animals alongside works of art were not considered eccentric but were admired and respected. They appear to have welcomed Symonds (a no doubt enthusiastic visitor) and taken pleasure in showing him their collections.[36] Symonds made three references to the antiquarian Francesco Gualdi who donated many pieces of sculpture for public display (many of these are still *in situ*, especially in the area around Santa Trinità). This suggests that although Symonds only visited Gualdi's museum very shortly before he left Rome, he had met him beforehand. Gualdi (who was also a member of the Congregazione dei Virtuosi) and Canini were certainly acquaintances, and probably friends, as Canini made engravings for Gualdi's *Iconografica*.[37] Gualdi's collection was one of the first to include Early Christian antiquities amongst classical antiquities. Like other collectors that Symonds met, he was a member of a circle in Rome that was interested in the natural sciences and antiquities. Symonds met other Englishmen in Rome,[38] for example, Michael Wright and Thomas Killigrew, both of whom would have shared his interest in paintings, but he does not mention them as companions.[39] Although Peter Fitton, a Catholic priest who wrote a treatise on medals and coins, had left Rome in 1638, Symonds obviously knew of him. He thought it worth recording that

'Mr Fitton Angl. bought as many Roman Antiqutyes medalls etc. at cost 4 Mille Escus...4 yeares in Rome.'[40] Symonds noted 'A little house & garden neare that cirque [Maximus] belonging to the English College' but he does not say if he went there.[41]

Canini had probably visited the more important collections many times himself and would know that Symonds could gain entry without him. Symonds wrote: 'A Generall observation all over Rome in all Pallaces where the Band[ita] [i.e., the grounds where trespassing was not allowed] ye matt coverd w^{t}h Callico is drawne up. & the dore open, one may freely enter. But where shutt tis uncivill unless buisines & p[ersons] acquainted by sernames.'[42] What he was priviledged to see is naturally reflected in the significance and quantity of his notes. The extent of a tour could depend on the servant on duty, for example, at Palazzo Farnese he saw only the piano nobile and the Palazzetto (where, fortunately for him, the paintings of the Carracci School were displayed),[43] but he was not taken to the second floor where the majority of the paintings in the collection were hung.[44] At Villa Medici he entered by the garden entrance at the back on the level of the piano nobile, evidently the entrance assigned to tourists, rather than via the main portal at ground level.[45] Once again he was restricted to the piano nobile, the normal floor in Roman palaces for entertaining visitors, and where the major works of art were usually on view. Symonds made observations on the ways of the Roman grandees whose palaces he visited, for example, his comment on the arrangement of separate apartments at Palazzo Mattei.[46] At the end of his visit to Palazzo

Borghese, where he was shown the private apartments, Symonds commented 'Sante Scopatore shows ye Palace any p[ar]t of it that ye pr[ince] is not in [one?] may view'.[47] A *scopatore* (sweeper) did not actually sweep (they got others to do this), but was a kind of doorman who admitted visitors to view the rooms on public view. At Palazzo Barberini, Roschino the *scopatore*, was in charge of admitting visitors into the Salone to see Cortona's ceiling.[48]

Symonds sometimes included snippets of information or gossip not related to the collection he was recording. In the midst of his list of the curiosities to be found at the house of 'Sig^{nr} Speciate' he wrote that Speciate's daughter did 'in Mignatura ye best in Rome Taught to designe by Andrea Zacchi & others;' this may only have been the opinion of a proud father as she has not been identified in literature on Sacchi.[49] Symonds was often told the (supposed) value of works of art. On his visit to S. Paolo alle Tre Fontane he wrote that 'Julio sayes 200 pistols this is worth' with regard to Guido Reni's *The Crucifixion of St. Peter*, now in the Vatican Pinacoteca, and executed for Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini.[50] Symonds presumably quoted Leonardo Agostini when he wrote down the value put on certain of his intaglios and that the Earl of Arundel would have liked to buy some of Agostini's large 'broken pieces.'[51] In his comments on the collection of Ippolitto Vitelleschi, Symonds noted 'A famous Statue of a Gladiator by w^{c}h M Angelo bast ye body of O^{r} Savio^{r} in ye Minerva.'[52] He evidently found this interesting item of art history regarding Michelangelo's *Risen Christ* worth recording. It is not found in Vasari or Condivi, so it could be knowledge imparted by Vitelleschi and

unrecorded elsewhere, or Vitelleschi may have been tempted to embroider on the unique status of his collection. Although it is possible that Vitelleschi was accurate, the Medici 'Guarderobe,' who told Symonds that Cristofano di Papi dell'Altissimo's signboard copies of portraits for the *Iconografica* were 'Original all' (Symonds's underlining), was certainly unreliable.[53]

Symonds was also told of some exaggerated prices that reputedly had been offered for Caravaggio's *Victorious Cupid* in the Giustiniani collection,[54] but not all of the 'backstairs' gossip that Symonds heard was rubbish; it was probably 'Sante Scopatore' at Palazzo Borghese who informed Symonds that Paul V had 'garments painted over' the nude women in Piazza's fresco of *The Rape of the Sabines*.[55] The Borghese *scopatore* appears to have been more obliging, possibly more informed, and certainly more garrulous, than the *guardarobbiere* at Villa Medici (see above) who would have had a more official position.[56]

Symonds, not surprisingly, was easily impressed by grand owners - and grand servants - and perhaps was too ready to accept information from these sources whom he considered more qualified than himself. At times his notes reveal his ingenuousness in accepting the spiel of obviously boasting servants, but he is to be forgiven for not questioning information provided by collectors whom he probably regarded as infallible, and especially if they were friends or acquaintances of Canini.[57]

WHAT PLACES SYMONDS CHOSE TO VISIT

From his notes we know that Symonds chose to visit academies, churches, classical ruins, palaces and private houses. Many of these places were on the itinerary of other seventeenth-century English visitors, but he may have come across those less well-known on his walks around Rome. He visited the Accademia di San Luca that promoted art as a subject in itself, and the Accademia degli Umoristi, famed for the wit and rhetorical skills of its members; these would have been very different from any seat of learning he had previously known.[58]

He wrote detailed notes on six of the seven major early Christian basilicas (only those on St. Peter's have not survived) and on many others. Intermittent dating throughout B.L. Add. MS 17919 indicates these churches were a continuous study during his whole time in Rome. Other churches he may have visited especially to see a particular painting recommended by Canini or in his guidebooks. He went to the fashionable convent of Santa Maria in Campo Marzo,[59] to see a specific ceremony and for the same reason he visited the Jewish Ghetto,[60] and the Jesuit College.[61] Before coming to the Continent he would have only attended Church of England services.

As a former official of the Court of Chancery he was naturally curious to see a sitting of the Court of Auditors.[62] His attendance at special events or ceremonies must have been planned ahead in order for him to be at the right place at the right time. This is borne out by his accounts of feast day services

and celebrations, and the excellent vantage point he found in order to write a detailed observation of the cavalcade of the Spanish Ambassador.[63] As 1650 was a Jubilee Year, the events were probably particularly splendid.

In England a man of his social background would not have had access to art collections belonging to Charles I or members of the court in the days when these were still *in situ*, and he probably had only a limited awareness of their content or existence. In any case his pre-continental notebooks reveal no seeking out of works of art other than tomb sculptures, and these were looked at for heraldic interest. In Rome Symonds had the opportunity to visit places that he would never have aspired to enter in his earlier life. He recorded in detail various collections, whether these contained antiquities, curiosities or scientific instruments, but his notes regarding paintings and drawings are obviously the most art historically rewarding.

Throughout Symonds's life his enquiring mind had led him to take advantage of his whereabouts to go to places and see things that people with less initiative would not have bothered to visit. He made the most of his time in Rome to see a wide range of collections and places and to witness social customs. As a result he developed from an enthusiastic but unsophisticated sightseer to a virtuoso. Perhaps it was this enthusiasm that was the undoing of any systematic notetaking or methodical study in Egerton MS 1635. He could not always recall all that he had seen, but he equally could not resist recording the thing of the moment, whether it fitted with other material in the

manuscript, or fitted physically into a chronological order. There are pros and cons in Symonds's lack of method; it adds to the difficulty in making sense of what he recorded, but this disadvantage is augmented by the diversity of his writing. Through other eyes his notes could have been a dull itinerary of his travels and a series of inventories.

1. See Appendix I, fol. 31v and note 316.

2. 'facquino' = porter. Symonds referred to the fountain in connection with his notes on Santa Maria in Via Lata, see Appendix I, fol. 63v; and sketched it in B.L. Add. MS 17919, fol. 35v .

3. See Appendix I, fols. 58v - 59r.

4. See Appendix I, fol. 81v and note 807.

5. For example, the mosaics in San Martino ai Monte and San Paolo fuori le Mura, see B.L. Harley MS 942, fols. 4v - 5r and 11r; the fresco in Santa Maria Via Lata, see Appendix I, fol. 63v. Also the 'ruines of a vast brick building below in the Via Appia;' this was the 'Capo di biove' where bulls were sacrificed. Symonds's sketch, accompanied with details of building materials and construction, shows the 'biove' which were on the frieze; these also can be seen in a print of the building in *Ritratto di Roma moderna*, see B.L. Add. MS 17919, fol. 16v; and Totti, 1638, p. 123.

6. For example, a 'Triple old pedestall' in Villa Medici, see Appendix I, fol. 40r and note 416.

7. See Appendix I, fol. 19r and note 163; and Chapter Five.

8. See Appendix II, fol. 91r and note 20; and Chapter Nine.

9. See Appendix I, fol. 18r.

10. These details are evident in Symonds's notes on the collection of Francesco Angeloni and in the inventory of his own prints, see Appendix I, fols. 50v - 54r; and Ogden and Ogden, pp. 49-60.

11. See Appendix I, fol. 55r and note 590; discussed further in Chapter Seven.

12. Guercino's *The Death of Dido*, still in Palazzo Spada, see Appendix I, fol. 55r; and Chapter Seven.

13. See Appendix I, fol. 13r; see also Della Pergola, 1964, II, p. 455, no. 253.

14. See Appendix I, fol. 10v and note 68; and Chapter Four. He also observed the inscription on one of the many portraits of *Cardinal Antonio Barberini* in Palazzo Barberini that identified the name of the painter (Antonio Alberti), see Appendix II, fol. 92r and notes 39 and 40; and Chapter Nine.

15. See Appendix I, fol. 10v and note 69; and Chapter Four.

16. See Appendix I, fol. 81v and note 801.

17. Symonds's study of ideal proportions is discussed in Chapter Eight. He was apt to relate the measurements of statues to the size of his own feet and hands. He measured one of the feet of the *Farnese Hercules* as '2 spans & halfe of mine long,' and statues at Villa Medici by the span of his hand (a *palmo romano* = 9 inches, which presumably was based on the span of a man's hand), see Appendix I, fols. 14v and 37r.

18. See B.L. Add. MS 17919, fol. 9r.

19. For example, see B.L. Add. MS 17919, fol. 51v.

20. See B.L. Add. MS 17919, fol. 7v. Symonds sketched the face and recorded a legend (probably told to him by 'Julio,' see below) concerning the punishment dealt to unfaithful Roman wives by the 'Bocca' in the 'Scola Greca:' 'if guilty the mouth closd upon her hand.' The Bocca della Verità (that once closed an ancient drain), has been since 1632 at Santa Maria in Cosmedin. This church was assigned to Greek refugees driven from Constantinople and became known as the 'Schola Graeca.'

21. His interest in architecture is apparent from the books that he collected on the subject to take home. These included copies of the Barbaro edition of Vitruvius's *De Architectura*, Alberti's *De re aedificatoria* and Vignola's *Le Due Regole della Prospettiva*, see B.L. Harley MS 943, fols. 110v - 111r.

22. See B.L. Add. MS 17919, fol. 45v.

23. See B.L. Add. MS 17919, fol. 53r.

24. See B.L. Add. MS 17919, fol.48r. Symonds underlined 'Strapanum,' and probably thereby was noting that the column was in a poor state; *strapanato* means torn or tattered.

25. See B.L. Add. MS 17919, fols. 50v and 51v.

26. See B.L. Add. MS 17919, fols. 9r - 10r; and 19v - 24r.

27. At Palazzo Borghese Symonds wrote 'wee entred;' at Palazzo Mattei, 'shewd us,' see Appendix I, fols. 7v and 30r. At San Martino ai Monti the Carmelite prior 'showd us' a Roman coin, see B.L. Add. MS 17919, fol. 77v; these were all occasions when his companion was probably Canini.

28. Symonds made six references to 'Julio' and on some occasions recorded his

comments, for example, 'a monastery of Women' near the Capitol 'which was antiently ye Circle of Flaminius. Sr Julio saw ye Ruines;' and 'ye Ruines of ye Thermae de Decio Imp: Julio saw ye Vestigia;' In Santa Saba they saw a monument 'wherein divers bookes say... is after Titi Vespasiano. but Julio sayes no;' and on the site purported to be that of the Temple of Janus, 'Some bookes call it a Temple falsly sayes Julio,' see B.L. Add. MS 17919, fols. 12v, 17v, 44v, 60r, 60v and 65v. Unfortunately neither Pascoli nor Passeri in their brief biographies of Canini mention his students, see Pascoli, II, pp. 114-26; and Passeri, pp. 364-68.

29. There appears to be some confusion regarding Canini's date of birth but according to Spear he was born ca. 1617, see Spear, 1982, Text, p. 104.

30. See B.L. Add. MS, fols. 40v and 41v; and Chapter I. The fraternity consisted largely of artists, see Haskell, 1980, p. 126; and Beal, 1984, p. 39.

31. See Millar, 1982, pp. 65-66, no. 22. The Van Dyck portrait heads had been in Rome since 1636.

33. See B.L. Add. MS 17919, fol. 66v.

33. This commission was referred to in a letter from G.B. Passeri to Canini in 1644, see Sutherland, 1964, I, p. 58.

34. See B.L. Add. MS 17919, fol. 77v; and Appendix I, fol. 1v and note 1. The collar was inscribed with 'IOANGIUS CANINUS facieta: 1631;' the present priest in charge of San Martino was unaware that it had ever been on the painting.

35. For an analysis of Agucchi's *Trattato della pittura*, see Mahon, 1947, pp. 111 ff; see also Spear, 1982, I, pp. 27-34.

36. For Symonds's visits to known friends of Canini, see Appendix I, fols. 31v - 32r, 50v - 54v, 66v, and 84r - 84v.

37. See Appendix I, fol. 31v - 32r and note 313. Symonds commented on 'an Inscription & armes of Card: Mazarin & Cavallier Gualdo' in the portico of the Pantheon; Gualdi held the post of 'cameriere segreto' to four consecutive popes. The 'old Relievo' in SS. Apostoli was 'Set up by Cav. Gualdo' and may have had an inscription like the Early Christian sarcophagus given to Santa Maria Maggiore by Gualdi (according to the presentation inscription which survives in the church), see Osborne in *Claridge and Osborne*, p. 50; see also B.L. Add. MS 17919, fols. 40v and 66v.

38. See Beal, 1984, p. 24.

39. See Appendix I, fols. 75v - 76r; and Chaney, 1985, pp. 280-81. Symonds surely met John Bargrave and John Raymond in Rome yet he only mentions them once in connection with colour technique; Bargrave visited Canini's studio at the same time that Symonds was there; his portrait, now in the Cathedral Library, Canterbury, is inscribed on the back 'A Roma a mano del Servitore di Sig^{r} Giovanni Battista [*sic*] Canini 1650 Ano Giubileo Giovanni Bargrave Gent. Inglese,' see Beal, 1984, pp. 5, 285.

40. See B.L. Add. MS 17919, fol. 93v.

41. See B.L. Add. MS 17919, fol. 61v. In the same manuscript Symonds described 'a row of lofty pillars' in San Paolo fuori le Mura which are 'In Compasse ye Round as much as Mr Parfrey;' this may refer to a plump Englishman he knew at home, see B.L. Add. MS 17919, fol. 9v.

42. See Appendix I, fol. 43r.

43. See Appendix I, fols. 14v - 19r; and Chapter Five.

44. Symonds's limited tour of Palazzo Farnese compared to Evelyn's is discussed in Chapter Five.

45. See Appendix I, fols. 38v - 41r; and Chapter Eight.

46. See Appendix I, fol. 30r and note 312; and Chapter Seven.

47. See Appendix I, fol. 14r and note 118.

48. Roschino wrote a pamphlet (with assistance) on the iconography of the ceiling for visitors (Symonds did not mention him), see Scott, pp. 216-219, 136-145.

49. See Appendix I, fol. 66r.

50. See B.L. Add. MS 17919, fol. 12v. It appears that 'Julio' was informed about contemporary art as well as antiquities, or at least that Symonds considered him to be so.

51. See Appendix I, fol. 84r.

52. See Appendix I, fol. 19v and note 179.

53. See Appendix I, fol. 38v.

54. See Appendix I, fols. 22v and 26v and note 218; and Chapter Six.

55. See Appendix I, fol. 9v; and Chapter Four.

56. For example, the *guardarobbiere* in charge of the Guardaròba of Cardinal Benedetto Giustiniani was also responsible for recording entries in the inventory, see Squarzina, I, p. 770.

57. This point is further discussed in 'Conclusion.'

58. See Appendix I, fols. 47v - 49r, and fol. 60v.

59. See Appendix I, fols. 70v - 71r.

60. See Appendix I, fols. 34r - 35r.

61. See Appendix I, fols. 71v - 73r.

62. See Appendix I, fols. 42v - 43r.

63. See Appendix I, fols. 73v - 74v.

Chapter Three

Range of Symonds's Interests

Symonds's notebooks reveal the remarkable speed with which his interests changed once he reached Italy, and the equally remarkable depth of his knowledge about matters that had not concerned him at all while in England. Of the interests found in the notebooks compiled before his travels, heraldry and emblems remained a constant concern, but these were soon marginalised as he became absorbed by the study of paintings, drawings, and antiquities. In addition, he was curious about foreign social and religious customs, scientific learning, inventions, medicinal potions, and the natural 'curiosities' that were exhibited sometimes on their own or with antiquities and works of art. When Symonds left for the Continent in 1648 the books that he put in storage were mainly concerned with religion;[1] those he sent back before returning home in 1651 show the widening scope of his reading. By then he had bought books on the city of Rome and on art, architecture, antiquities, mythology, physiognomy, history, classics, languages, comedy, poetry, and music as well as a tract by Thomas à Kempis.[2]

SYMONDS'S INTEREST IN THE SUBJECT MATTER OF PICTURES

Wherever he went in Rome Symonds recorded the paintings that he saw. The grandest Roman palaces were decorated with frescoes on a prodigious scale. Their subject matter was taken from history, religion and mythology, and often alluded to and glorified the family concerned. Symonds appears to have been well-versed in most of the stories represented. He admired the 'many faire new paintings in Fresco of Perspective & storyes of Constantyne' he saw in Palazzo Spada painted by two lesser-known seventeenth-century Bolognese painters, Michelangelo Colonna and Agostino Mitelli (Plates 29-31).[3] If frescoes were by painters who did not interest him, that is, those who had worked (predominantly) in the mid-sixteenth century, they were given the briefest of references. He merely noted the frescoes in Palazzo Sacchetti by Francesco Salviati[4] and made a similarly uninterested reference to those 'by Zuccaro' in Palazzo Farnese,[5] in neither case giving these well-known works either a subject or any form of description. By comparison, he made detailed notes on the frescoes he saw in Palazzo Mazzerino which he knew were by Giovanni Baglione, Guido Reni, Orazio Gentileschi and Ludovico Cigoli.[6] Symonds made relatively few notes on the many portraits that he must have seen in collections, unless they were by an artist he favoured, or were of sitters who he recognised or who were identified for him. He regularly recorded portraits attributed to Raphael and Titian as can be seen from his notes on the collections in Palazzo Borghese and Palazzo Barberini. Predictably he admired Canini's portrait of *Giovanni Battista Agucchi*, a copy of

Domenichino's portrait now in the City Art Gallery, York, that was exhibited in Francesco Angeloni's collection and noted that the original was by Domenichino (although surprisingly he described it simply as 'one of a churchman').[7] At Palazzo Sora Symonds saw Guido Reni's self-portrait and commented that it was 'fatto di se w^{t}h a hatt on.'[8] The portraits in Villa Medici from the *Iconografica*, now in the Uffizi, were inscribed with their identities which he found helpful, and in addition, he had heard of many of the sitters represented.[9] Although his notes reveal that he hardly noticed the frescoes by the Zuccari elsewhere (see above), he visited the Casa Zuccaro, possibly because this was conveniently placed near SS. Trinità dei Monti, an area where he frequently walked. He admired the frescoes which portrayed the members of the Zuccaro family but considered that the allegories were 'od Bizarre' (Plates 7-11).[10]

Egerton MS 1635 is filled with references to landscapes whether these were frescoes, oil paintings or drawings. When Symonds returned to London his collection of prints and drawings contained a high proportion of landscapes.[11] His notes on Palazzo Farnese twice comment on Annibale's 'Rare paeses,'[12] and at Palazzo Sora he described and sketched an unattributed fresco of a landscape which can no longer be traced. It depicted a 'paese of a River that seemd to run into that fountain 2 paire of staires on each side that had prospects also....'[13] He could not recollect the painter of a landscape that he saw at Francesco Angeloni's that represented 'Diogenes...a Temple by,'[14] but while there he noted an album of drawings of 'small paeses' and recorded the

artists; not surprisingly these were either painters of the Carracci School, or Titian, Raphael and Canini.[15]

SYMONDS'S INTEREST IN ACADEMIC PRACTICE

Federico Zuccaro gave the Accademia di San Luca its first statutes, and intended it should provide instruction for young artists and promote an increasing esteem for the arts (although there is some doubt whether these aims were faithfully carried on after his regime).[16] Much has been written about the conflict of theories between the 'pro-Classic' and 'pro-Baroque members' of the Accademia in the 1630s,[17] though a more pragmatic view is that the 'division was neither large, constant nor predictable.'[18] On the day that Symonds visited the Accademia evidently no debate was taking place, but Zuccaro would have been pleased that there were still life drawing classes when 'Divers youngsters come to designe [.] A modell is allowed at the publique charge.'[19] Symonds was interested in the Accademia's collection of portraits of antique painters, which like the portraits in the Medici *Iconografica*, were inscribed with the names of their famous subjects.[20] He was further assisted in identifying these by consulting a copy of Ridolfi's *Le Meraviglie dell'Arte*, which refers to all but one of the subjects that Symonds recorded; with the exception of two, their portraits are no longer in the collection, and have not been traced elsewhere.[21] Perhaps one purpose of his visit was to see the picture of *St. Luke Painting the Virgin*, still in the Accademia, reputed to be by Raphael whose youthful self-portrait is in the background of the painting (Plate 12).[22] Symonds sketched this indifferent

painting and noted the rather doubtful information that it was one of Raphael's 'best' works (Plate 13); the same source may have told Symonds that the Academy was fortunate enough to 'have Raphaels skull also.'

Symonds went to the Accademia degli Umoristi to attend a meeting 'in the hall of Sign^{r} Mancini,' which was used by the members for intellectual debating and the reciting of verse.[23] A Cardinal and his entourage were present and Symonds described how 'He that makes ye oration, & those that repeate wthh their hats on, regard not ye Card:'[24] The walls were not hung with portraits as in the Accademia di San Luca, but with 'very many Emblemes all alluding to ye Humor;' these intrigued Symonds more than the intellectual debate which may have been in Italian spoken too quickly for him to grasp. The Latin mottoes with punning meanings which accompanied the emblems appealed to his sense of humour.[25] He noted nineteen of these and sketched an emblem that represented a vase of flowers. In Padua, in the house of 'Sig^{r} Gibbo,' he recorded and sketched seven similar emblems (Plate 14);[26] these were in fresco rather than being oil paintings in frames as at the Umoristi.

SYMONDS'S INTEREST IN GRAPHIC ART

Symonds's interest in drawing is clear from his comments on those that he saw in Angeloni's collection, especially if they were by the Carracci or by Raphael. The attention that he gave to graphic work attributed to these artists was not only the mark of his appreciation, but also a point of reference for his own efforts as a student of drawing. Symonds was always striving to strengthen his

skills as a draughtsman as well as adding to his knowledge. Drawing was considered a gentlemanly occupation,[27] but more importantly he wanted to record things of consequence that he saw to aid his memory, and perhaps also because they were difficult to describe verbally. In addition, he learned how to make etchings, not only receiving instruction from Canini, but also consulting others who were experienced in this art.[28] If any of his drawings or etchings survive, they have not been identified.

No doubt he would have liked to buy paintings and drawings by esteemed artists for himself, but with a few exceptions, they appear to have been beyond his means. In Rome he bought a drawing by Guercino, one by Pietro Testa, and probably was given one as a present by someone he called 'Sign[r] Generoso.'[29] He bought several unspecified 'original designes' in Padua, and a 'Diana bathing by Paolo Ver[onese]' in Padua, Venice or Bologna.[30] The remaining drawings in his collection were by Canini (which were probably gifts), or his own workshop studies. To compensate for this meagre collection of works 'fatto di mano' he bought prints, some of which were of the finest quality, and many of which were by the same artists whose works he had admired at Angeloni's.

Symonds went to see the drawings in the collection of Michael Wright; he described him as '[a] Scot,' this comment may have been based on Wright's accent, and if this was the case, it indicates that he was present; Symonds mentions him again with reference to a discussion on colour technique.[31] He

recorded in detail the drawings in Wright's collection that were attributed to Perino del Vaga, Michelangelo, Correggio, Raphael, Giulio Romano, Annibale and the 'Divers Paeses...by Titian.' Again these were the same artists whose prints he chose to buy for his own collection. He observed that the Correggio was '...shadowd on browne pap[er] w^{t}h great Relievo' but he forgot the name of 'one C.... who was Titians Schollar & did Paeses well in imitation of Titian' (probably Domenico Campagnola). Symonds noted Titian's famous woodcut of *The Submersion of Pharoah's Army in the Red Sea* and another after Mantegna's *The Triumph of Caesar*;[32] This was the only occasion that he recorded woodcuts except for those attributed to Titian in the inventory of his prints, since one of these was the 'Pharaone cutt in wood 12 sheets,'[33] it seems that Symonds's visit to Wright encouraged him to find an impression of this large and important print for his own collection.

SYMOND'S INTEREST IN MODERN ITALIAN ART

Symonds learned to paint and draw in Rome, and became acquainted with several contemporary artists so it is hardly surprising that he turned his attention to modern art. His visit to Palazzo Sacchetti reveals that as well as works by the Carracci (that he had seen in other collections), he studied paintings by more recent artists such as Cortona.[34] When looking at the latter's `Ra*pe of the Sabines* (ca. 1629), now in the Pinacoteca Capitolina, Rome, he was interested in the artist's knowledge of antiquity (or lack of it) noting that 'the Soldyers habit [was] not antique.' At the same time he remarked on 'y^{e} [Sabine] women in aprons' referring to the long bits of cloth

that hang from around their waists (Plate 53). These comments suggest that he had been looking at antique dress on classical monuments, perhaps under the tutorship of 'Julio' who was informed on this subject.[35] Symonds's interest in dress is evident in his notes on another recent history painting, Guercino's *Death of Dido* in Palazzo Spada, where he described in detail not only Dido's costume but also made pertinent observations on the clothes worn by other figures in the painting and the treatment of the drapery.[36]

Symonds commented that Cortona's early painting *The Nativity*, still in San Salvatore in Lauro, was 'ye best thing he ever did.'[37] It was one of many altarpieces that Symonds chose to record; he probably went to certain churches for the express purpose of seeing a work by a particular painter. He was usually more interested in the artist than in the subject portrayed, or than the church where it was to be found, but sometimes the visit would lead to other discoveries. It is likely that primarily he went to San Martino ai Monti to see Canini's *Trinity*,[38] or to visit the Carmelite prior (mentioned above), but Symonds also made copious notes on the ancient underground parts of the building 'where Pope Sylvester kept his Council' and sketched a now lost mosaic of 'Pope Sylvester praying to ye V[irgin. M[ary],' but he could not 'p[er]ceive any Babe. though lookt very carefully.'[39] Sometimes Symonds came across antiquities that interested him more or less by accident. He probably went to the thirteenth-century San Francesco a Ripa Grande in order to see Annibale's *Pietà*, now in the Louvre; while there he spotted the sarcophagus of *Nereids and Sea Creatures*, also now in the Louvre, and wrote

that this was 'ye best worke I ever saw in that nature.'[40]

That Symonds sought out modern works recommended to him by Canini is evident in his notes on Santa Maria in Via Lata. The tribunal 'painted in Fresco by Andrea Camaseo w^{c}h Sr Gio[vanni]. A[ngelo] comended,' may have been what first promoted a visit to this church,[41] but once there he found much to interest him in 'ye Grotti,' a series of rooms dating from the first century. Symonds noted that it was here that St. Paul was reputed to have said mass and 'ye place...where St Luke had painted in ye B[lessed]. V[irgin]. M[ary] w^{c}h now is removd.'[42] He recorded the early Christian frescoes, and sketched one of 'ye V[irgin]. M[ary]. p^{re}senting ye babe to ye High Preist;' this was a fresco recorded for Cassiano dal Pozzo by one of the artists that he employed to draw from the antique.[43]

Canini may have told Symonds about two other ancient churches where there were works by Bolognese painters. In the 'Church of St Agatha w^{t}h St Grisogano [Crisogono] A quadro...of Albano's;' and in 'St Bartholomew al Isola...A little chappel ...in Fresco w^{t}h life of St Carlo done by Antonio Carraccio, many neat Paeses.'[44] At the 'little old church L'Annunciato' on the Via Appia he saw '3 altar pictures by Andrea Cammasseo very good dyd 2 months since.'[45] Symonds may have spotted the Camassei paintings on his own initiative, or they may have been recommended by Canini. Paintings by artists of the Carracci School, and early Christian churches, were both keenly pursued by Symonds, best of all must have been when they combined. This

was again the case in the fifth-century church of San Paolo alle Tre Fontane where Symonds recorded seeing Guido Reni's *Crucifixion of St. Peter*, now in the Vatican Pinacoteca (as well as 'a white marble pillar...on w^{c}h St Paul head was putt upon & cutt off' (which is still in the church),[46] and in the (originally) fourth-century Santa Maria Maggiore he noted that 'Guido Bolognese painted this lofty chapel' (the Capella Paolina).[47]

SYMOND'S INTEREST IN ANCIENT CHURCHES

Symonds's absorption with the ancient history of Rome and its early Christian world is evident in his notes on the individual works and relics that he found in every church he visited. For example, he wrote lengthy notes describing the ancient basilica of San Paolo fuori le mura in two different notebooks. These are of particular interest because he recorded the fourth-century mosaics, which were almost entirely destroyed in a fire in 1823 (although they were replaced with modern copies) and they can be envisaged through his description, his sketches, and his copies of their inscriptions.[48]

Symonds's notes indicate that he visited S. Giovanni in Laterano just before much of it was rebuilt by Borromini (ca. 1650), and they reveal his interest in relics and the early history of the church. Before entering the Lateran he observed 'A circular place...where Constantine was baptizd' (this still exists but is in fact octagonal; the baptism of Constantine is legend). Inside he saw 'The Statue of K[ing]. H[enry IV]. of France...be his is protector of St John Lateran' (still there), and the 'Tombe of Helena' (no longer mentioned in

guidebooks). It also was in this church on St. Thomas's day that he was shown 'a piece of ye table on w^{c}h O^{r} Savio^{r} eat ye last Supper.' [49] At the Basilica of Sant'Sebastiano he saw 'The chair of Steph:...whose head was cutt off by ye Gentiles...a colour of oringe on one side w^{c}h they say was his bloud' as well as 'the arrow w^{c}h shott saint Sebastian' and 'a peice of the Pillar that S Sebastian was tyd to.' In this church he was taken down to 'a place like a Sellar' to see 'where ye bodyes of St Peter & Paul were found' and into 'Roma Sotteranea' where 'you descend a paire of stayres one of ye monkes guiding, Every p[er]son a wax candle in his hand.' When he wrote these notes Symonds may have been referring to his copy of Antonio Bosio's *Roma Sotteranea*, as well as using this term as a reference to the catacombs.[50] The English traveller John Raymond only alluded to Bosio's book in his 1648 guidebook to Italy,[51] and Evelyn copied from both Totti and Raymond for his account of a visit to the catacombs, but Symonds actually read Bosio's remarkable and scholarly study which was based on his experiences of decades of excavation.

At the Pantheon Symonds recorded and counted many features of the building including the inscription on the portico.[52] More prosaic points of interest were also worth noting, he recorded that 'A dead citizen lay in this place upon the herse 8 lampes or Candles about him' and that 'Below ye pavement is a Lake where lately black fish were found.' The inscription on the Pantheon was just one of many that Symonds studied on both Christian and pagan monuments; often when copying them his own writing imitated that of the inscription. In the 'Scola Greca' he observed that there were 'Gotish [Gothic] characters in old

Inscriptions in this Cloister.'[53]

Symonds's many detailed descriptions of the oldest churches in Rome suggest that these intrigued him far more than the many newly-built Baroque churches that abounded in the city.[54] The mosaics and frescoes that he selected to sketch are sometimes the same as those in the drawings commissioned by Cassiano dal Pozzo for Cardinal Francesco Barberini.[55] Since the mid-sixteenth century, Christian antiquities began to be considered as no less important than classical ones, and equally worthy of study. This is another subject that Symonds would have heard discussed by Canini and his circle, but it is also one that evidently Symonds studied for his own pleasure.

SYMONDS'S INTEREST IN THE ANTIQUE

As an educated man, Symonds no doubt had some knowledge of the classical antiquities of Rome before he arrived in the city, and once there he made sure he saw them at first-hand. Indeed, his study of them went far beyond that of the average tourist. Although he did not make drawings of classical statues or reliefs, he made several rough sketches of architectural features that he saw in the ancient ruins. He often noted the proportions of a classical building or copied an inscription that he found of particular interest.[56] Symonds carefully recorded the antique gems in the collection of Leonardo Agostino, the librarian to the Barberini and a member of Canini's circle.[57] Probably because he was shown the collection by Agostino, Symonds was able to list not only the subjects represented, but also the type of gemstone, and to observe if an

intaglio was 'cutt very deepe.'[58] When Symonds went to see Ippolitto Vitelleschi's celebrated collection of antiquities he noted many more of Vitelleschi's statues than either of his compatriots, John Evelyn and Richard Lassels, who also recorded a visit there.[59]

At Villa Medici Symonds admired the antique statuary; it stimulated some of his most eloquent writing;[60] in the garden he observed the anguished faces on the *Niobe* group (Plate 64).[61] Symonds may have known that *Niobe* was used as a model by Guido Reni for tearful Mary Magdalenes and for a distraught mother in Reni's *Massacre of the Innocents*; it was the most celebrated work conveying these emotions and 'represented the classical ideas of female atonement for offense to the gods.'[62] From his contact with the Canini-Angeloni circle Symonds would have been aware of the importance attached to the rendering of the *affetti* as expounded by Agucchi (and later Bellori), and by the followers of the Carracci,[63] and their admiration for the depiction of emotion in ancient art. Gestures and facial expressions were topics likely to have been discussed by Canini, who as a pupil of Domenichino, would have been instructed in the art of representing the *affetti*. Perhaps this influenced Symonds to study physiognomy; not only did he copy lengthy passages from Finella's *Fisonomia Naturale* (mentioned above), he bought a book on the subject to take home to England.[64] As well as the significance of parts of the face, Finella described various formations of the parts of the body and how each one indicates a different human characteristic. According to Poussin '...the forms of the human body are used to express the passion of the soul and

to make visible what is in the mind.'[65]

SYMONDS'S INTEREST IN HERALDRY

As well as all his other new-found concerns, Symonds still retained his interest in heraldry. He continued to record and sketch coats of arms on his journeys across France and Italy, usually coming upon them in churches.[66] In Rome in San Lorenzo fuori le Mura he sketched a knight on horseback bearing a shield with a coat of arms. This was part of a mosaic pavement, and for future reference, he made a lettered key to the colours. In Sant'Antonio Abbate he drew the banner of the Company of Muleteers who were affiliated to the church,[67] and in S. Giovanni in Laterano, he sketched the coat of arms from the tomb of a knight and noted the inscription.[68] Although there were fewer heraldic emblems to be seen in private residences, nevertheless he came across one or two that he considered worth recording. At Palazzo Mazzarino he wrote a lengthy description of Nanteuil's engraving of *Cardinal Mazarin* where 'on ye pedestal a finto of his Coate Armo^{r} is carvd.'[69] The portrait mainly caught his attention because it depicted the cardinal's armorial bearings which he recorded in a sketch. At the house of Canini's friend Paolo Ruggieri (Plate 68) he carefully described in detail and drew 'A Device painted in Oyle by S Geo Ang [Canini] alluding to ye Armes of Sr Paolo.'[70]

SYMONDS'S INTEREST IN SCIENCE AND MEDICINE

Symonds was interested in technical inventions: the type of contrivance that intrigued him was another device belonging to Paolo Ruggieri. This was a

'frame to draw pictures bigger than the original designe by'[71] which Symonds sketched and accompanied with a description of how it was constructed. He does not say whether Ruggieri himself invented this useful gadget. He may have been a gentleman inventor like Francesco Gualdi who had devised the pulley mentioned above (Plate 2).[72]

Ruggieri and Gualdi were not in the same league as the famous Father Athanasius Kircher whose museum in the Collegio Romano was on the itinerary of both Evelyn and Lassels and other visitors to Rome.[73] Amongst the many scientific inventions and antiquities in Kircher's 'cabinet' Symonds selected five to describe, giving details of how they worked. He sketched three of them,[74] the weighing machine (which was also given a lettered key), a fragment of an Egyptian water dial with pegs 'which as the father sayes were to divide the houres,' and another timepiece with a 'bird hanging in the middle of a Circular glasse' which with his beak pointed to the 'true houres of the day.' Because of Symonds's description and sketch this object can be identified in one of Kircher's books.[75]

Symonds's interest in physiognomy was related to artistic representation, but his interest in other aspects of the human body were more basic and personal; ill-health must have been one of the perils for travellers of the time. He copied down medicinal cures that he came across on his travels and was particularly keen on noting laxative potions, probably much needed at a time when the diet consisted predominantly of bread and meat with relatively few fruits and

vegetables.[76] Symonds wrote down a recipe for 'Sirrop of Ale' which came from his friend 'Mr Hodgson whome it curd of a desease [*sic*] that brought him very low.'[77] The 'Stufa Secca' was apparently found to be very beneficial to people who were 'sweating some twice a day some once a day.' Symonds not only drew one that he observed in Padua, but gave exact details on how it should be constructed and heated, and the ritual for the patient.[78] The sauna appealed to Symonds on two counts, as a novel contrivance, and as an aid to good health; both the method of construction and the system of use appear to be remarkably similar to saunas of the present day.

Perhaps Symonds's contact with the collectors of curiosities encouraged him to become interested in natural history. He described the workings of the silkworms that he saw on the boughs of mulberry on the altar in Santa Maria Sopra Minerva. This passage is not only informative about how these worms were generated ('putt into ye Sun or in a womens breast'), and how they spun silk, but it records a custom that once took place in the Minerva every June; a piece of information not found in literature on the church or on the silk industry in Rome.[79] He wrote lengthy notes and sketched 'A Real Salamander' that he saw at the studio of a 'Sig^{nr} Speciate' who chose to display dangerous reptiles and insects in a collection that was not just confined to such unattractive creatures; amongst Speciate's exhibits was the mummified leg of an Egyptian woman which was also worth a sketch.[80] More sophisticated collections than Speciate's displayed curiosities alongside works of art. At Franceso Angeloni's a whole mummified crocodile was placed between a

glass-topped table containing sea-shells (which Symonds found 'very pleasant') and a *Cumaean Sibyl* by Domenichino.[81]

SYMONDS'S INTEREST IN RELIGION

Symonds's notes on ecclesiastical art in Rome have no taint of Popish sympathies and his writings show no inclination to change from the religion of his upbringing. He was a neutral observer whose interest in the customs of other persuasions than his own is obvious in his notes; they include a description of a church collection for a Turk who became a Christian, apparently not an unusual occurrence in Rome where life was made difficult for heretics.[82] His account of the Jewish circumcision is similar to Montaigne's and Evelyn's, but more accurate than the latter's and accompanied with his illustration of the instruments used in the ceremony (Plate 15).[83] When Evelyn visited Athanius Kircher at the Jesuit Collegio Romano the father showed him his museum and took him on a tour of the college, but Evelyn did not attend a ceremony or see the accommodation.[84] Symonds was fortunate to witness the induction of a Doctor of Philosophy in the company of '10 Cardinals & 30 or 40 B[isho]ps Prelates & Monsign^{rs}....'[85] He not only wrote vividly about the ceremony, the assembled company, the music, and the oratory, but also described a dormitory in the college. Special permission for the extent and privileges of Symonds's visit was probably obtained through Father Kircher, whom we know that Symonds met.

The ceremony at the Collegio Romano could be considered a social custom as

well as a religious one. It was certainly the case when Symonds witnessed 'ye Manner how a Nun is Vested' at Santa Maria in Campo Marzio, a fashionable convent for the daughters of noble families.[86] Symonds commented on the decorations of 'Red & yellow Taffeta & ye Roofe coverd also w^{t}h ye same,' the two Vatican Swiss Guards who stood at the door, the silver, the musicians and the well-dressed ladies who were entertained with wine. Symonds must have been recommended to attend this stylish event which appears to have been enjoyed by all, with the possible exception of the young prospective nuns who were 'clad like Angels' and confined in the convent for a year before they had a chance to 'stay or leave off.'

Symonds visited churches on the feast days of the patron saint in order to see the celebrations. At the church of Sant'Antonio Abbate, he recorded the parade of the 'Compagnia de Mulettiere' when 'all ye horses & mules & Asses are dekt up & brought hither...a priest of the order ...throws Holy Water upon ye horses & men...Also Upon ye Coach horses.'[87] On the feast day of Santa Maria Egiziaca, the Pope (Innocent X) came to celebrate mass in the church dedicated to this saint. Symonds attended the elaborate ceremony and drew a sketch of 'a round plate of brasse having bels [*sic*] round about y^{m}' that was held 'upon staves' and formed part of the musical arrangements.[88]

SYMOND'S INTEREST IN CIVIC LIFE IN ROME

At the Court of Auditors Symonds probably compared the legal system in Rome with that of an English court which dealt with similar infringements of

the law.[89] Unlike the Court of Chancery where he had worked, the cases were tried 'in a private Pallace & removes as the Monsig^{r} who is ye Auditor has his residence....'[90] The auditor, a 'Monsig^{r} or Bishop' was not present that day, but his representative appears to have been feared and respected. What Symonds particularly noted was the amount of pleading which took place from the accused; probably in true Italian fashion, this was much louder and more passionate than what he was used to. As mentioned above, he saw the sad spectacle of public abasement when a man was whipped around the streets of Rome while riding an ass.[91]

Parades and processions of a celebratory nature, were fortunately more frequent events in Rome, especially in 1650, a Jubilee year. Symonds recorded what must have been one of the grandest when he saw the cavalcade of the Spanish Ambassador on the presentation of the *Chinea*. The *Chinea* was 'a little choyce white nag' which the Spanish kings presented annually to the Pope as a token of rent for the Kingdom of Naples on the eve of St. Peter's day. Symonds stood before the ambassador's palace in Piazza di Spagna and marvelled at the decorations and fireworks and the costumes and coaches of the participants in the parade. He knew the purpose of the occasion and that the Pope would be in the Sala Regia in the Vatican awaiting the arrival of the ambassadorial party.[92]

This event must have been an extraordinary spectacle for a man coming from a Protestant country recently ravaged by Civil War where there were seldom, if

any, ostentatious events. It was one of the many opportunities seized by Symonds during his time in Rome that furthered his imagination and broadened his knowledge of events and customs of the city. His previous existence, with the exception of the perils of wartime, appears to have been safe, dull and predictable. Through his notes it is possible to picture this middle-aged bachelor as he followed his new-found activities and interests. The key to his pursuits was Canini, who both stimulated and influenced Symonds's taste and preferences, and organised introductions that enhanced his time in Rome. Symonds cannot have been a particularly enticing proposition as a student, his notes do not suggest that he was amusing, and he was unlikely to be stylish, but his exceptional enthusiasm and thirst for learning must have encouraged Canini to be generous with his friendship, time and knowledge.

1. He evidently bought *Scintilla Altaris* on his return to England (as mentioned above), but before his departure he left in safekeeping with his sister copies of 'Pagett of all ye sects in Religion,' '1 Volume of Fox Martyrologia,' 'Playne mans pathway to heaven' and 'Meditation of King Charles' (*Eikon Basilike*) see B.L. Harley MS 943, fol. 13v.

2. See B.L. Harley MS 943, fols. 111r - 111v. Symonds listed 'Tho Kempis de med: Xti' as one of the few books that he 'bought [*sic*] from Paris;' it may be a reference to a copy of *Summa Theologica* . By far the greater part of the list refers to books on the arts that Symonds bought in Rome.

3. See Appendix I, fol.55r and note 586.

4. See Appendix I, fol. 75r and note 761.

5. See Appendix I, fol. 16v. The frescoes by Salviati in the Salotto dipinto were completed by Taddeo Zuccaro in the 1560s.

6. See Appendix I, fols. 56v - 57v; and Chapter Seven.

7. See Appendix I, fol. 52v and note 536.

8. See Appendix I, fol. 81v and note 806 which discusses Reni's hat-wearing as a sign of a person of rank; see also note 24 below.

9. See Appendix I, fol. 41r.

10. See Appendix I, fol. 64v and notes 683-86.

11. See Ogden and Ogden, passim.

12. See Appendix I, fols. 18r and 19r.

13. See Appendix I, fol. 83r and notes 821 and 822. There is no modern record of this fresco.

14. See Appendix I, fol. 52v.

15. See Appendix I, fol. 54r.

16. See Appendix I, fols. 60v - 61r. As the seventeenth century progressed 'constructive idealism firmly rooted in empirical experience' had replaced

Zuccaro's 'speculative philosophy' as being more appropriate for an art academy, see Mahon, 1947, pp. 157-91. Sutherland Harris, 1977, pp. 34-37, considers that the Academy did not really function as Zuccaro intended under Cortona's regime (1630-60); there were few debates or prizegivings, and artists were lax in paying their dues; only later in the century under Maratta did it function again as originally intended.

17. In the 1630s a discussion arose in the academy 'during the presidency of Pietro da Cortona when the Classic point of view, promoted by Andrea Sacchi (and probably Poussin) seems to have been on the defensive against that of the Full Baroque,' see Mahon, 1947, p. 184, note 65; see also Montagu, I, 1985, p. 63. Symonds, as mentioned above, had heard from Poussin his opinion of Cortona's ceiling at Palazzo Barberini, and he would have known of these conflicting opinions from the (pro-Classic) Canini-Angeloni circle.

18. Sutherland Harris, 1977, p. 36, considers that the popular image of a sharp division between 'Baroque,' i.e., Bernini and Cortona, and 'Classical' which links Sacchi with Poussin, Duquesnoy, Algardi, Maratta and Bellori 'oversimplifies the artistic situation in Rome in the *seicento.*'

19. See Appendix I, fol. 61r.

20. Of the portraits recorded by Symonds, only two appear to remain in the collection; these are *Sosus* and *Apelles*, the latter sketched by Symonds, see Appendix I, fol. 60v and notes 647, 648 and 652.

21. See Appendix I, note 648; and note 15 above.

22. See Appendix I, fol. 61r and note 662.

23. See Appendix I, fols. 48r - 49r, and note 463. Giulio Mancini who wrote *Considerazioni sulla Pittura*, 1620, died in 1630, but Symonds may have read this book, or at least have been aware of Mancini's contribution to the subject of painting. The emphasis at the academy was on the display of wit and erudition. For Mancini, see Haskell, 1980, pp. 123-24.

24. This is the second observation that Symonds made about hats being kept on (see note 8 above); in this instance he may have found it odd because it was indoors, but more likely because he considered it disrespectful in the presence of an important personage.

25. Included in his list of books sent home from Rome was a copy of Ripa's *Iconologia*, see B.L. Harley MS 943, fol. 111r.

26. See Appendix I, fol. 85v - 86r.

27. It was recommended by Henry Peacham; Symonds left a copy of Peacham's *Compleat Gentleman* in safekeeping with his sister, see B.L. Harley MS 943, fol. 16v.

28. For example, see Beal, 1984, p. 203.

29. See Ogden and Ogden, p. 55. 'Sign[r] Generoso' has not been identified.

30. See Ogden and Ogden, p. 59.

31. See Appendix I, fols. 75v - 76r; Stevenson and Thomson, pp. 11-13; and Beal, 1984, p. 279.

32. See Appendix I, fol. 75v and notes 781 and 782.

33. See Appendix I, fol. 75v; see also Ogden and Ogden, p. 58.

34. See Appendix I, fol. 75r and notes 769-70 aand 774-75.

35. See B.L. Harley MS 943, fol. 110v. In his notes on a monument in Santa Saba Symonds wrote, 'divers bookes say that a Mon[umen][t] therein is after Tito Vespasiano. but Julio sayes no. The figure upont are habitted a la Consul,' see B.L. Add. MS 17919, fol. 60v.

36. See Appendix I, fols.55r - 55v and notes 593-98; and Chapter Seven.

37. See Appendix I, fol.44r. Symonds evidently approved of Cortona's *Nativity*, painted no later than 1627 when his style was 'classical' in comparison to that of his later paintings, in particular in comparison to the 1630s Palazzo Barberini ceiling with its swirling mass of figures, see Rome, 1997, pp. 73-86, and p. 314, no.22. When Symonds visited Palazzo Barberini he did not record Cortona's ceiling, possibly he was influenced by the conversation with Poussin (mentioned above), but more likely it was not on view to the public that day; see Beal, 1984, pp. 141-44; see also B.L. Egerton MS 1636, fols. 175-76; and Appendix II.

38. See Appendix I, fols. 1v - 2v and note 1, and fols. 79v - 81r. Apart from Canini's *Holy Trinity with Sts. Bartholomew and Nicholas of Bari*, still in San Martino, Symonds appears to have been uninterested in the other seventeenth-century paintings (also still in the church; references to them could be in a lost notebook); these include a second altarpiece by Canini and others by Girolamo Muziano, Pietro Testa, Fabrizio Chiari, Filipo Gherardi, Matteo Piccione and Gio. Battista Greppi as well as several frescoes, including fifteen by Gaspard Dughet, none of which Symonds recorded despite writing apropos of San Martino, 'Good paintings in this Church,' see B.L. Add. MS 17919, fol. 74v; and Sutherland, 1964, passim.

39. See B.L. Harley MS 942, fols. 10v - 11r.

40. See Appendix I, fol. 33v.

41. See Appendix I, fol. 63v. Possibly Canini commended the tribunal when accompanying Symonds to Santa Maria.

42. See Appendix I, fol. 63v. There appears to have been a rival for this portrait attributed to St. Luke; referring to a painting (still in) Santa Maria Maggiore Symonds noted 'S Luca Evangelista con la mano sua propria fece il ritratto della Santissima Madre...il quale si vede hoggi di in Roma in Santa maria Maggiore,' and recorded the relevant page reference in Lomazzo, 1584, see B.L. Add. MS 17919, fol. 30r.

43. See Appendix I, fol. 63v and note 671. The fresco sketched by Symonds was on the altar wall of the chapel (in 1997 in the Instituto del Restauro).

44. See B.L. Harley MS 942, fols. 2v - 3r.

45. See B.L. Add. MS 17919, fol. 13r. This 'Very small church. 400 yeares since built,' may now have gone. It was probably called 'Santa Maria Annunziata,' but there is no reference to it in Titi's 1763 *Studio di pittura*, or in more modern guidebooks. There were two small churches of that name, now gone; one in the area now occupied by S. Ignazio; and the other on the Quattro Fontane (see *Chiese di Roma*, I, pp. 238, 586), but Symonds describes the one he visited as 'A myle & halfe further' (i.e., from 'a myle & halfe from Rome'). It is possible that Symonds may be referring to the subject of one of Camassei's altarpieces ('L'Annunciato') although this has not been traced in Sutherland Harris's chronicle of his life and works (1970, pp. 49-53).

46. In this instance we know that 'Julio' informed him about the Guido painting. It may have been 'Julio' who pointed out an 'an inscription ...inside ye dore' which told the reader that 'Afore Card: Aldobrandinus built this chappel the fountaynes were open,' see B.L. Add. MS 17919, fol. 12v.

47. See B.L. Add. MS 17919, fol. 30r. Symonds would have seen the thirteenth-century building.

48. See B.L. Harley MS 942, fols. 5v - 9r. Symonds's record of San Paolo fuori le mura may be one of the most complete to survive, although the mosaics of the triumphal arch that he sketched were also drawn for Cassiano dal Pozzo, see Osborne in Claridge and Osborne, p. 55. Symonds recorded another visit to this church in B.L. Add. MS 17919, see fols. 9v - 12v. This occasion may have been the first time that he went there.

49. See B.L. Add. MS 17919, fol. 20v.

50. See B.L. Add. MS 17919, fols. 13r - 15r. Many of these relics are still on display. Symonds owned a copy of Totti's *Ritratto di Roma antica* and a copy of Bosio's *Roma Sotteranea* (probably the recently published 1650 edition), see B.L. Harley MS 943, fols. 110v - 111r. Antonio Bosio explored the catacombs from 1567-1629; his book was first published posthumously (1632), see R.W. Gaston, 'British Travellers and Scholars in the Roman Catacombs 1450-1900,' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XLVI, 1983, pp. 144-65.

51. For further reference to John Raymond and his *An Intinerary containing a Voyage made through Italy in the years 1646 and 1647*, 1648, see 'Conclusion.'

52. See B.L. Add. MS 17919, fols. 38r - 40v; and A. Claridge, *Oxford Archeological Guide to Rome, Oxford, 1998, p. 201.*

53. See B.L. Add. MS 17919, fol. 7v.

54. His visits to the early churches are mostly recorded in B.L. Harley MS 942; and B.L. Add. MS 17919.

55. See Herklotz in Claridge and Osborne, passim; and Osborne in Claridge and Osborne, passim.

56. See B.L. Add. MS 17919, passim. Symonds wrote about the 'most noble & lofty pillar of Trajan' and noted its proportions and inscription. He made no attempt to copy any of the figures carved in relief around it, see B.L. Add. MS 17919, fol. 67v. He might well have wished to able to emulate the etchings of Pietro Santi Bartoli which are accompanied with notes by Bellori, for example, *Colonna Traiana...con l'espositione latin d'Alfonso ciaccone...accresciuta di meaglie, inscrittioni e trofei, da Gio. Pietro Bellori*, Rome, 1665.

57. See Appendix I, fols. 84r - 85r. When Symonds visited the collection of Leonardo Agostini, he commented on nine small medals depicting the notorious *I Modi* by Marcantonio Raimondi which may have been uniquely created for this respectable antiquarian, see Lawner, passim.

58. See Appendix I, fol. 84r.

59. See Appendix I, fols. 19v - 21v; see also De Beer, II, p. 283; Chaney, 1985, p. 199; and Chapter Eight.

60. See Appendix I, fol. 36v.

61. See Appendix I, fol. 37v and note 378.

62. See Spear, 1997, p. 175.

63. See Mahon, 1947, pp. 148-50; see also, Spear, 1997, p. 36.

64. He listed this book as 'Fisonomia di Ingengneri,' see B.L. Harley MS 943, fol. 111r. The reference is probably to G.B. della Porta's *Della Fisonomia dell'Huomo...edizione migliorati...& aggiontavi: la Fisonomia Naturale di Giovanni Ingegneri*, Padua, 1623 (Symonds also made a reference to Della Porta's book on fol. 110v - perhaps a different edition).

65. This passage is translated in Spear, 1997, p. 36. Spear cites Giovanni Bonifacio's *L'arte de' cenni* (1616), a treatise that discussed all the parts of the body, and which painters of the Carracci School may have appreciated for Bonifacio's interpretation of the vocabulary of the *affetti*.

66. For example (amongst many others), on arriving in France in January, 1649, as he 'set out...from Callais towards Paris' he recorded and sketched the coat of arms on a nobleman's tomb, see B.L. Harley MS 943, fol. 30v; and on his trip to Naples in April, 1651, he noted '4 or 5 [tombs] of white marble' in 'ye cloister' and sketched an escutcheon, see Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MS D 121, fol. 20v.

67. See B.L. Add. MS 17919, fols. 27v and 28v.

68. See B.L. Add. MS 17919, fol. 23v.

69. See Appendix I, fol.57r and notes 634 and 635.

70. See Appendix I, fol. 66v.

71. See Appendix I, fol. 67r.

72. See Appendix I, fol. 31v; and Chapter Two.

73. Father Kircher was professor of mathematics at the Jesuit college; for a full account of Kircher's experiments and writings, see Rivosecchi, passim. See also De Beer, II, p. 230; and Chaney, 1985, p. 193.

74. See Appendix I, fols. 44v - 45r.

75. See the 'Refracto-reflexi horolaby paradoxi alia constructio' in Kircher's *Ars Magna lucis et umbrae*, Problema XIV, pp.701-02. The instrument with balls and an incline ('a sleek peice of steepe') appears to be similar to an instrument devised by Galileo to study acceleration, see Appendix I, fol. 45r

and note 458; and D. Sobel, *Galileo's Daughter*, London, 1999, pp. 347-49 (and illustration on p. 349). Listed under Canini amongst the prints in Symonds's inventory is 'Two Frontispeces of Kirkeros book.' These were two engravings by Bloemart after Canini's frontispiece for Kircher's *Obeliscus Pamphilicus*, see Ogden and Ogden, pp. 56, 70, note 226. Symonds does not appear to have bought a copy of any of Kircher's books which were probably very expensive.

76. See B.L. Harley MS 942, fols. 10v - 11r on which there are several pharmaceutical remedies recorded (all of them preceded with a pharmaceutical symbol which is either an abbreviation of 'recipe' or an invocation to Jove [according to a knowledgeable chemist consulted]). In the same manuscript is a remedy that was taken by 'Card Richlieu in stead ye waters,' see fol. 120r.

77. See Appendix I, fol. 78v.

78. See Appendix I, fols. 87v - 89r.

79. See Appendix I, fol. 35v and note 358.

80. See Appendix I, fols. 64r - 66r.

81. See Appendix I, fol. 50v.

82. Symonds wrote that on 'Sunday 27 Nov [1649 or 1650] in ye Aug: [S. Agostino?] church was a collection for a Turke & his family w^{c}h was an affaer of quality in ye Turkes Seraglio,' see B.L. Harley MS 942, fol. 88v. Evelyn described the baptism of a converted Jew and a Turk which took place in Santa Maria sopra Minerva, see De Beer, II, pp. 376-77. De Beer writes that it was the custom to baptise a Jew and a Mohammedan in S. Giovanni in Laterano annually on Holy Saturday and such baptisms are recorded for 1648, 1650, 1653-1656. The custom as far as the Jews were concerned, continued as long as the papal government was in power, see De Beer, II, p. 386, note 4. Some popes were more tolerant of the Jews in Rome than others, but they were restricted to living in the Ghetto, see *Jewish Encyclopedia*, VII, p. 7.

83. See Appendix I, fols. 34r - 35r; see also Montaigne, pp. 133-36; and De Beer, II, pp. 293-94.

84. See De Beer, II, p. 230.

85. See Appendix I, fols. 71 v - 73 r.

86. See Appendix I, fols. 70v - 71r and notes 724-26.

87. See B.L. Add. MS 17919, fol. 28v and note 67 above.

88. See B.L. Add. MS 17919, fol. 51r.

89. See Appendix I, fols. 42v - 43r.

90. See Appendix 1, fol. 42v.

91. See Appendix I, fol. 89v and note 856. Symonds's sketch shows the miscreant wearing a pointed hat with (what appears to be) insects depicted on it and 'Maestro di sere [greg]arie' (master of the gregarious evenings?) written on the brim (the meaning of which is obscure but probably a sarcastic reference to the wearer's misdeed which may have been drunken or lewd behaviour).

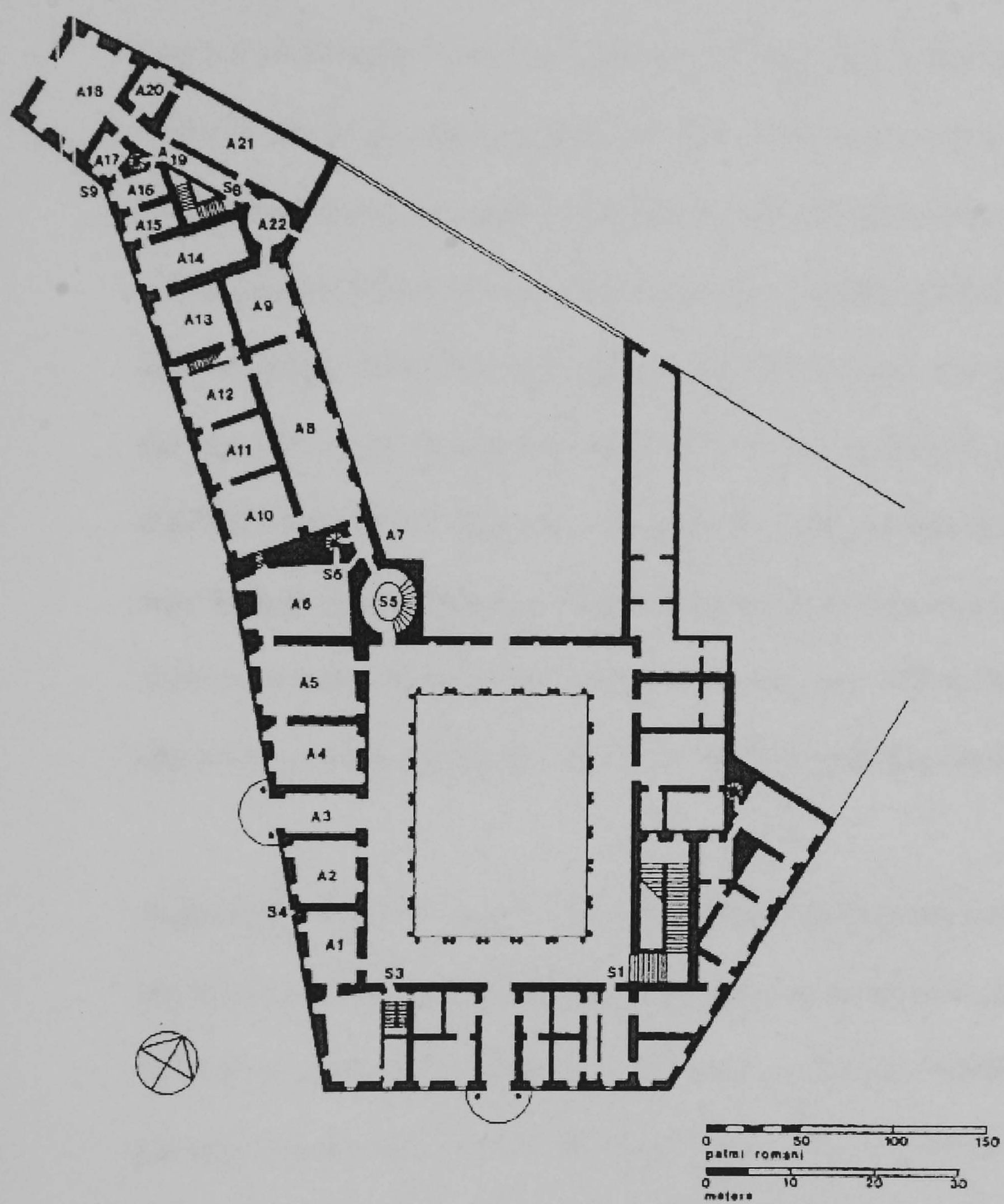
92. See Appendix I, fols. 73v - 74v and notes 744-62. Like many others, this was a celebration that took place each year in connection with a specific feast day. Not only was 1650 a Jubilee Year, but the reigning pope, Innocent X, was a hispanophil, which may had been an added cause for the parade to be especially magnificient.

Chapter Four

Palazzo Borghese

Symonds wrote significant notes on four major Roman collections; these were Borghese, Farnese, Giustiniani, and Barberini. As mentioned above, the notes in Egerton MS 1635 on the first four of these collections appear to have been written chronologically and will be discussed in this order. Although Symonds's visit to Palazzo Barberini, recorded at the end of B.L. Add. MS 17919, may pre-date the visits recorded in Egerton MS 1635, it will be the last visit in sequence to be reconstructed. Whenever possible, the works of art described by Symonds have been identified in the notes to the transcript of Egerton MS 1635 provided below (and in the transcribed section from B.L. Add. MS 17919 relating to Palazzo Barberini, i.e., Appendices I and II). When reconstructing his visits to collections, only works or objects of particular importance or interest will be discussed. Examples will be chosen to represent the conventional taste at the time, as well as to reflect Symonds's more unusual interests.

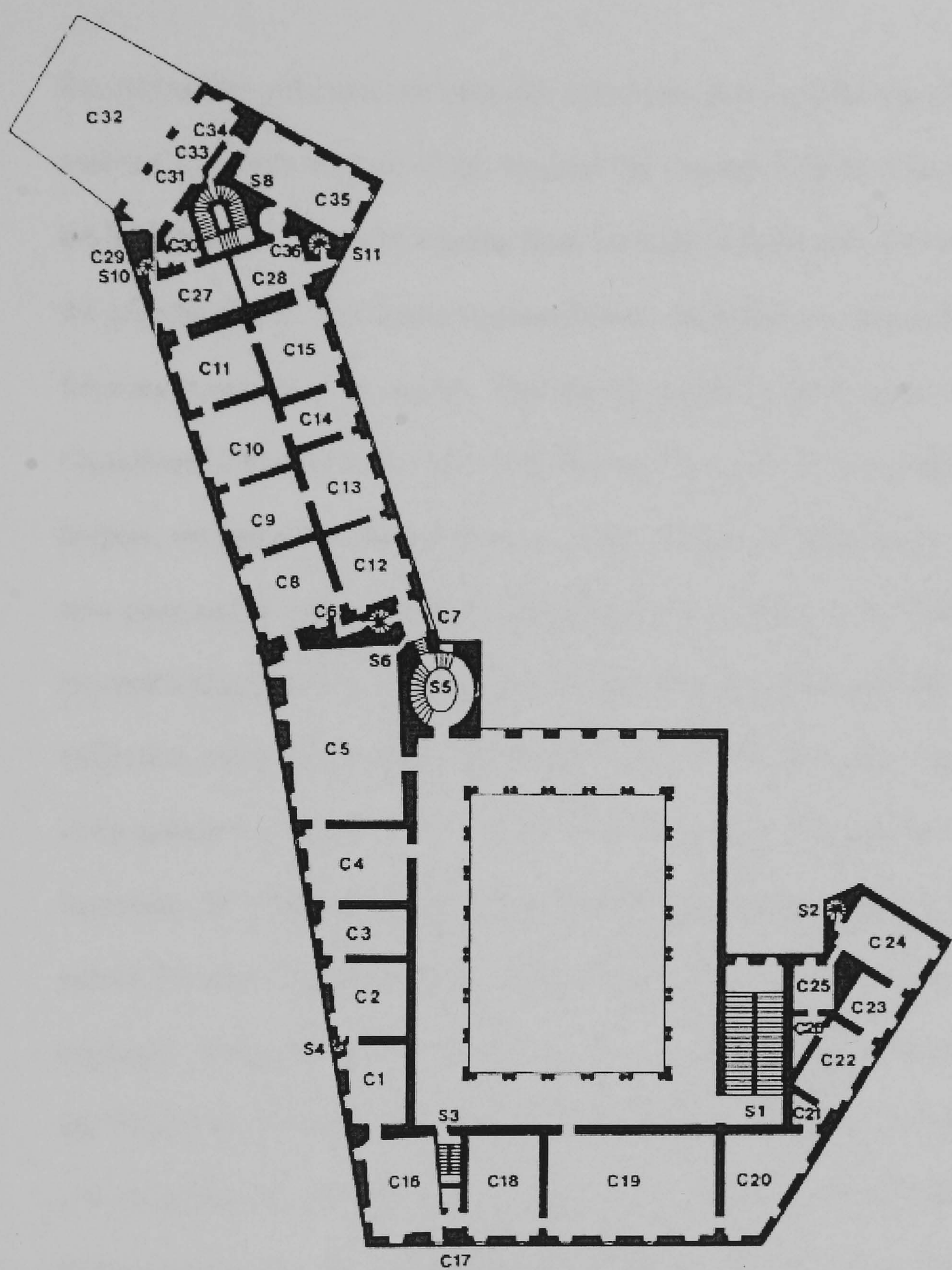
Symonds's notes on Palazzo Borghese start with a description and sketch of the elliptical staircase located on the north-west side of the courtyard (Plan 1, S5 and Plates 16 and 17).[1] He was so eager to sketch its unusual shape and to



Plan 1. Palazzo Borghese, 1611-1614, ground floor, reconstruction from P. Waddy, *Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces: Use and the Art of the Plan*, p. 93, fig. 28.

pace out its dimensions,[2] that he inserted the note 'First wee entred into ye corner next monte di Tranita' as an afterthought. The entrance he referred to (although not on a corner) appears to have been the main portal on the south-east side of the palace (now Via Fontanella Borghese 19), that is, on the opposite side to the elliptical staircase. This is the nearest entrance to Trinità dei Monti; if Symonds and his companion (not named, but almost certainly Canini) started from that point, they would have reached the palace by walking in a direct line via the Piazza di Spagna and Via Condotti. On passing through the portal they may have crossed the courtyard and ascended to the piano nobile by the elliptical staircase. Alternatively (and probably more likely) they only looked at the elliptical staircase long enough for Symonds to make his sketch and then re-crossed the courtyard and entered on the south-east side; this is the relevant side for the first room that Symonds recorded (Plan 2, C19).

At the time of his visit (probably early 1650) the architecture and the layout of the palace had not changed since the rearrangements that took place between 1618-24 to celebrate the marriage of Marcantonio Borghese (1601-58) to Camilla Orsini (1603-1685) in 1619 and the arrival at the palace of Cardinal Scipione (1576-1633) in 1621.[3] Although Marcantonio and Camilla still lived in the palace, they may not have been in residence on the day that Symonds went there. His extensive tour under the aegis of the chatty servant 'Santa Scopatore' took in Marcantonio's apartments including 'y^{e} lodging Roome;' it was Santa Scopatore who was willing to show even the private rooms if the prince was not there.[4]



Plan 2. Palazzo Borghese, 1611-1614, piano nobile, reconstruction from P. Waddy, *Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces: Use and the Art of the Plan*, p. 95, fig. 30.

Reconstructing which rooms Symonds saw on the piano nobile is greatly assisted by his descriptions of the frescoes. He was informed by Canini, or by the Borghese servant, or by reading from his copy of Baglione's *Vite* (he noted the relevant page),[5] that 'Padre Cosimo Piavia,' the 'Capucine,' had painted frescoes in several of the rooms. This was the monk, Father Cosimo del Castelfranco (Paolo Piazza) who with Giovan Francesco Guerrieri and various helpers, worked at the palace between 1614-18. Most of these frescoes have now gone and the ones that remain have become very dark.[6] Less helpful in reconstructing Symonds's tour are his notes on the individual paintings in the collection; many were moved during the major remodelling which took place in the palace in 1671, that is, between his visit and the making of the 1693 inventory. In 1693 there were 700 pictures displayed in ten rooms of the palace, but only around thirty-five of these can be identified with some certainty. These and apparently as many again were evidently transferred from the Villa to the Palace between 1650-93; if Symonds's visit was in early 1650, it is likely that the paintings he saw were in the palace in Scipione's lifetime. Symonds recorded some paintings that were either not in the 1693 inventory, or have not been recognised by the inventory descriptions and were considered as later additions.[7] By 1874 the great majority of the paintings had been transferred to the Villa Borghese and since then many have been dispersed. There still remains an impressive picture collection now in the Galleria Borghese (Villa Borghese). The sculpture collection (much more intact) is also now in the Galleria Borghese. Palazzo Borghese is still owned by the

family (who retain some lesser paintings) but some of the grandest apartments are used by the Spanish Embassy and the 'Circolo della Caccia' (the local hunt club).

The number of paintings in the Palazzo Borghese collection when Symonds was there is uncertain, he selected fifty-six of them for comment (although the large gaps in his notes indicate that he hoped to remember many more). Religious paintings and portraits formed far the greater part of the collection, and were the paintings that Symonds noted most frequently. In particular he selected works attributed to Titian (seventeen) and Raphael (fourteen), but he also recorded paintings attributed to the Carracci School, Leonardo, Veronese, Andrea del Sarto, Caravaggio, Valentin, Giorgione, Sebastiano del Piombo, Dosso Dossi, Bassano, and more surprisingly, to Marcello Venusti, Lucas van Leyden and Civetta (Met de Bles). Santa Scopatore and Canini probably influenced those paintings which Symonds recorded, but even if the visit took place shortly after he arrived in Rome, as seems likely (see above), he appears to have already begun to form his own preferences; the majority of the prints that he collected before his journey home in the autumn of 1651, were after works by artists whose paintings he most frequently noted when visiting Roman collections.[8]

With few exceptions, the paintings that Symonds recorded in Palazzo Borghese appear to have been hung unsystematically; portraits, mythological and religious subjects by different schools of painting were displayed together;

the majority may have reflected the preference of the occupant of the room, with others fitted in because they were of a suitable size. Many of the most famous works were (not surprisingly) in the apartments of Marcantonio and the rooms that formerly were used by Cardinal Scipione. Symonds's visit took in the greater part of the piano nobile and the garden side of the ground floor, the areas of the palace where the most celebrated paintings in the collection were exhibited. Symonds's notes indicate that he used the Borghese labelling (which will be discussed later), with additional information supplied by his companions. Many of the attributions in the 1693 inventory are refuted by modern scholars.[9]

At the beginning of the tour Symonds noted Bernini's small bust of 'Pope Paul V: in W Marble,'[10] and an unattributed 'Hercules wrestling w^{t}h Antaeus' which may have been a small bronze.[11] In 1625 Cardinal Scipio had 200 loads of statuary transferred to the Villa Borghese; perhaps due to their size, *Paul V* and *Hercules and Antaeus* were left in the palace and displayed on a table or plinths.

The first paintings that Symonds recorded were 'Galba' which he knew was 'a Coppy of Titian,'[12] and Domenichino's 'Diana & all ye hunting ladyes & prospect,' now in the Galleria Borghese, which appears to have been hung nearby. The latter is a painting that Canini would have commended, but Symonds would be unlikely not to admire it for himself.[13] These pictures, and the two small sculptures, may have been exhibited on the ground floor near the

foot of the double-flighted staircase (S1) which was the shortest route to Marcantonio's sala in the south-east wing of the piano nobile (Plan 2, C19). This was known as the 'sala vecchia;' it had been repainted around 1618 by Paolo Piazza, and it was described by Symonds as the 'Great roome next ye Street.'[14] Piazza's twenty paintings on canvas were set into a gilded framework in the ceiling; these do not survive, and nor does the frieze decorating the walls below.[15] Symonds's notes give us some information regarding Piazza's wall decorations: 'the Wreadthd [twisted] pillars w^{c}h are done on ye top of ye walls & women & w^{t}hin prospects upon the top the roome of Palaces.' This description suggests the Borghese had paintings of their *feudi* (family fiefdoms) in a wide frieze, probably similar to those painted for the Mattei in Palazzo Mattei di Giove by Paul Bril.[16] Symonds considered the painting 'most excellent... [although] others do not esteem...his worke as ye Painters do not;' a comment that may reflect Baglione's criticism of Piazza's unsatisfactory painting method.

Amongst the paintings displayed in the 'Greate roome' were four 'round' mythological paintings, now in the Galleria Borghese, that Symonds knew were by Albani,[17] and a now lost painting that he described as 'The Gyants warring ag^{t} Heaven by Hanibal Carracci, a small quadro many pieces and bodyes;' the only painting attributed to Annibale that he listed in the collection.[18] Symonds also noted a 'Quadro of Lot by Paolo Veronese,' one of two paintings attributed to Veronese,[19] and a large painting of *Moses*, but in this instance he left a space for the painter's name blank. He was probably

recording Guido Reni's *Moses*, now in the Galleria Borghese.[20]

In the following room (Plan 2, C18) the frescoes representing *Solomon and the Queen of Sheba* still survive; once again Symonds considered Piazza's work 'excellent.' He noted an unidentified 'large quadro full of p[er]sons in antique fashion; Popolo Hebreo nel deserto by Luca d'Hollanda old;'[21] this was one of the rare occasions that Symonds recorded a painting thought to be by Lucas van Leyden, probably because there were few examples of his work in Roman collections. He admired a *Madonna* attributed to Perino del Vaga 'much beutifull & rare as big as ye life.'[22] The five other paintings that he recorded in this room were attributed to Titian (two), Raphael (two) and Giorgione. The *Last Supper*, that was given to Titian was not thought to have been in the collection at such an early date; both this painting,[23] and the Giorgione, of 'where the woman was accusd of Adultery,' are now attributed to other artists.[24] Symonds observed that two *Madonnas*, one by Titian, the other by Raphael, 'both originals,' were hung one above the other, an arrangement which he commented on elsewhere in the collection.[25] Also in this room was one non-religious painting, 'Raphaels Picture being a young man' (one of three versions of this subject that Symonds recorded in the palace);[26] in addition the room contained 'Many more pieces of great esteeme some small quadros some Ritrattos Some Prospects' and 'a large Bilyard Table. w^{t}h many hazards int.'[27] The mixture of the schools of painting and the subjects and sizes of the works that were hung in one room exemplifies the random arrangement of the collection.

Marcantonio's suite continued along the west side over the Piazza Borghese (Plan 2, C16-C5); Symonds observed that 'From ye corner of Pallace [C16]...so many doores w^{c}h open from Roome to Roome...here & there is a small quadro of choice M[aste]^{rs}.'[28] Marcantonio's 'lodging Roome' (probably C2) was 'hung with red damaske bed of ye same' and contained '2 Madonnas of Titian' and 'ye best Madonna y^{t} Raphael did most Rare one of ye last things he did only she & ye babe.' This is an example of the sort of questionable information from servants that Symonds was inclined to record. In the chapel (C3) he noted a fresco (no longer there), 'by ye Cap[ucine]: of Angels abundan^{t}' painted above the doorway , and 'a Rare x [excellent] Ecce Homo by Georgioni to ye demy body,' now in the Galleria Borghese, and given to Titian.[29] The two rooms that follow the chapel also had been decorated by Piazza with friezes that survive; the first room in sequence (C4), has the *Rape of the Sabines*. Symonds described the subject in great detail and noted that 'One fellow has got one woman under each arme; Another, a woman kisses ye Roman.'[30] He recorded an anecdote (the source was probably again Santa Scopatore) relating how Paul V asked Piazza why he had painted the women 'so' (i.e., bare-breasted), and that subsequently 'some had garments painted over them.'[31]

The fresco in the adjoining Salone (C5), the largest room on the piano nobile, is painted with stories of *Mark Anthony and Cleopatra*. Symonds noted that the frescoes that celebrated the marriage of 'Camillo Scipione & Marc Antonio' were dark, corroborating Baglione's view that Piazza's paint had

quickly deteriorated. The only picture Symonds recorded in the Salone was *The Judgement of Solomon*, now in the Galleria Borghese, which he attributed to Valentin. He commented on the 'images' (carved relief) shown 'upon ye pedestall of ye pillar,' as well as the biblical text concerning the subject that was once painted there; this inscription is no longer visible and does not appear to have been recorded elsewhere ('III Regum Cap.XI').[32]

In the 'Next Roome' (C8?) he observed two *Madonnas*, one attributed to Giulio Romano and the other to Andrea del Sarto, and described them as 'both rare,'[33] and in the same passage he referred to Piazza's fresco of 'Solomon' for the second time (he had already seen it in C18); as on other occasions this may have been a confusion that arose when he was writing up his notes.[34] The tour appears to have continued through the rooms that curve towards the Ripetta (Plan 2, C8-C11, C27); these were part of Cardinal Scipione's suite. They contained 'Hangings of rich Tapestry' and in one room there was a fresco with 'Frames so painted that most take them for wood, carvd work.'[35] Symonds noted a painting of a *Madonna* attributed to Marcello Venusti, now in the Galleria Borghese; Venusti would not have been an artist that he was familiar with so this is an interesting attribution that extends the range of artists known to him.[36] The next painting that he recorded was Guido's *St. Cecilia*, now in the Norton Simon Foundation, Pasadena, that had been acquired by Cardinal Scipione from Cardinal Sfondrato in 1608; Symonds failed to note the name of the saint and described her as 'A woman playing on a violin,' but on this occasion he recorded that the painting was by 'Guido reni. Bolognese.'[37]

Symonds admired the view from the loggias (Plan 2, C31-C34) that looked out over the hanging garden and the river and had '...a faire prospect toward S Peters. paivd w^{t}h divers colourd little stones...Hedges of myrtle, flowers within.' The visitors were then taken 'that side of the Pallace next Porta del Popolo,' that is, the east side. They entered what Symonds called 'La Galleria verso Ripetta' (C35, it has an angled view towards the Ripetta) but it was known as 'Lo Studio' because formerly it was Cardinal Scipione's study. It contained an outstanding piece of furniture, a 'Cabinet wherein in beaten Gold is in Relievo ye story of Ovids metemorphosis...many statues richly guilt in little' (not traced); as an inserted afterthought, Symonds noted that the room was 'very full of most choice originals & nothing but oyle pieces in it.'[38]

Symonds rightly considered that Scipione had chosen to be surrounded by some of the finest works in the collection; from amongst the paintings that Symonds selected (or remembered) to note were six attributed to Raphael, four to Titian, and one each to Antonello, Leonardo, Caravaggio, Andrea del Sarto and Giovanni Bellini. He commented that Raphael's *Entombment*, now in the Galleria Borghese, was 'much esteemed' but (hardly surprisingly) the story of how this painting came into the collection was not an anecdote recounted by 'Santa Scopatore.'[39] Nearby was a Titian self-portrait that Symonds knew had been engraved. This painting is not listed in the 1693 inventory and Della Pergola writes that the first reference to it (cited as a copy since 1853) was in the 1700 inventory, but Symonds's note shows that it was there earlier.[40]

Symonds followed the Borghese identification of 'A Cardinal & Machiavel both painted by Raphael' for the portrait of *Cardinal Ippolito de'Medici and Mario Bracci*, now in the National Gallery, London, where it is attributed to Girolamo da Carpi. In 1693 it was considered to depict 'Card.le Borgia ed il Macchiavelli...,' but Symonds acutely observed the inscription on a document held by the cardinal that reads 'Hyppol...Vice cancell,' and which appears to have been ignored by others.[41] He next commented on a portrait with 'Antonellus messaneus me pinxit upon[.] Luthors face rarely painted.' Luther is not among the several suggestions in the Galleria Borghese catalogues for the subject of Antonello's portrait. Della Pergola writes that it first appeared in the Borghese inventories in 1790 when it was described as a work by Giovanni Bellini, but Symonds's note suggests that it is the portrait recorded in 1693 as 'di Martin Lutero con un libro in mano...di Titiano,' thought by Della Pergola to be lost.[42]

Scipione's study must have been hung with paintings wall to wall, some were very large such as the copy of Raphael's 'S^{t}. John as big as the life in the Wilderness,' evidently identified as original.[43] Symonds gave a brief description of Caravaggio's *Supper at Emmaus*, now in the National Gallery, London, but did not otherwise comment on it; the painting had formerly been in the collection of Ciriaco Mattei, and had been left to Scipione by Ciriaco's son Giovan Battista in 1624.[44] Symonds recorded a second *Madonna* attributed to Andrea del Sarto; this time not only noting that the painting was

'rare,' but adding as 'big as the life;' this makes it likely to have been the famous *Borghese Madonna*, now in the Galleria Borghese, despite the fact that it was previously untraced in the collection before 1790.[45] A 'small' *Madonna*, that he attributed to Leonardo, was probably one of three paintings so described in 1693 and considered doubtful by Della Pergola.[46]

Symonds's note, 'Francisco Petrarcha by Raphael so written under ye picture,' regarding the portrait of *Petrarch*, now in the Galleria Borghese, demonstrates how he relied on the Borghese labelling.[47] '2 long quadros' by Dosso Dossi of *Aeneid* subjects were evidently hung as a pair, but not as a series (nor were they in 1693); Symonds described only one of the two, 'a Paisago of Troy & many p[ersons.' This was in great contrast to their original location in the 'camerino' of Alfonso d'Este where they were displayed as a frieze above Titian's mythologies, the *Worship of Venus* and the *Bacchanal of the Andrians* (both now in the Museo del Prado, Madrid) and *Bacchus and Ariadne* (now in the National Gallery, London) - and it exemplifies that the arrangement of the Borghese collection appears to have been haphazard.[48] The final painting that Symonds noted in Scipione's study was a *Mary Magdalene in Penitence* attributed to Titian;[49] it was probably Canini who told Symonds that the painting was the 'Original of those at Aldobrinus Palace,' but possibly Santa Scopatore who added that the model was the 'Donna favorita di Titiano.' To wind up his notes on the paintings in this room (no doubt overwhelming in their quantity and quality) Symonds resorted to writing: 'Very many other small Ritrattos & other little paintings, all most singular & here not a Coppy in

all this roome, being very large & lofty all full all over ye walls on all sides.' In fact Della Pergola's comments on the 1693 inventory would suggest that amongst a relatively small number of original paintings there was a large proportion of copies.[50]

On leaving Scipione's study the party continued southwards via the series of rooms that faced onto the interior garden (C15-C12). Thanks to Symonds we know that the first of these (C15) was decorated with a frieze of 'La Stauri di 4 Elementi by ye Capucine 37 yeare since made' and other frescoes that included 'Women riding upon Sea Horse...Cupid pissing out the view & Venus & ladies & many p[er]sons.'[51] Symonds noted that these were 'ye last of ye painting of the Capucine' and that over the door was hung Titian's *St. Dominic*, now in the Galleria Borghese.[52]

Giovan Francesco Guerrieri and his assistants painted friezes at the top of the walls of rooms C12, C13, and C14 between 1615-18.[53] The first room in sequence was C14, the former chapel, but Symonds did not record the frescoed landscapes flanked by emblematic figures which partially survive. In the following room (C13), he described the allegorical cycle with four scenes of *Triumphs* on the walls and a central ceiling painting of *Perseverance* (not seen by the writer).[54] He noted that two of the Triumphs were, 'La Chiesa...a young beauty sitting in state' and '9 Muses & all coming to hear his [presumably Apollo's] musique' and that the 'Roome [was] hangd with Tapestry of Trees & prospect.' Symonds did not often comment on tapestries

but he did so three times in Palazzo Borghese, perhaps because of their exceptional quality.[55] In the same passage he observed that 'Most of ye Roomes are Guilt above upon the Carvd woode in the seeling.'[56] In C12 Symonds recorded a portrait 'to ye middle of a soldier,' now in the Galleria Borghese, that he (and the 1693 inventory) attributed to Giorgione; Della Pergola considers it to be a copy of a Dosso Dossi.[57]

The visitors were taken down 'ye Scala [di] Lumaca' (spiral staircase) to the ground floor (Plan 1); from this point the route of their tour becomes more problematical. Despite Symonds alluding to one (see below) there are no frescoes recorded on this floor to help in identifying rooms. The nearest spiral staircase to C12 is S6 which has entries into the rooms that formed the sculpture gallery on the west side (Plan 1, A4-A6), and into the lobby leading into the former sculpture gallery (A8).[58] Scipione had transformed this room (which looks onto the interior garden) into a painting gallery when the statuary was sent to the Villa Borghese in 1625.[59] Logically, this is the room described by Symonds as 'A Low Gallery for Fresco one side of ye Garden below,' but he only recorded in this room a 'fountayne in the middle of brasse [bronze],' and landscapes and other paintings 'done by Paoluccio.'[60] He noted only one painting in 'Another room...being a corner Roome;' this was 'a coppy of Titian's Baccanalia' (Canini would have been familiar with the originals). Although no reference has been identified to a Borghese provenance for any copies of Titian's *Bacchanals*, Symonds's note indicates that there was one there.[61]

They next entered 'Another square low roome large and faire;' if Symonds's description is accurate, it rules out the narrow and very long picture gallery (A8), although it evidently contained a number of important and interesting paintings.[62] Amongst these was a portrait of 'Alberto Magno wth a book' (*St. Albertus Magnus*), attributed to Raphael, that has not been identified in the Borghese literature.[63] Symonds noted that the portrait of 'A Preist of Venice sitting on a Chayre. by Titian hangs under it'[64] and commented how this arrangement made: 'Una bataglia tra Ra.[phael] & Titian one stands above the other.' Below this note he added an insert to emphasise the point: 'These 2 Ritrattos are hangd togeather & calld una bataglia.' Symonds had observed earlier in his visit (when in C18) that two 'Madonnas' by Titian and Raphael were similarly displayed so the visitor could study and compare works by these masters (this 'batalglia' appears to be one of the few attempts at some system in the hanging of the collection).

Symonds made a sketch of Moroni's *Portrait of a Priest*, now in the National Gallery, Washington. Although Symonds must have been informed that this painting was by 'Dossi di Ferrara,' in 1693 it was attributed to Titian, as it was in the enthusiastic description by Jonathan Richardson, who, like Symonds, observed that the priest was 'leaning back.'[65] Displayed in the same room were two portraits in mosaic, one of a *Madonna* and one of *Paul V*, both now in the Galleria Borghese, listed in the 1693 inventory and recorded in the collection in 1797. Portraits in this medium must have been comparatively rare;

Symonds wrote that these were both 'by ye same Pomerancius di Cento.as is so inlayd upon it.'[66] Symonds recorded 'Il quadro di 3 Amori di Titiano a woman & a man & a cupid, & a fountayne;' this description strongly suggests that the painting was the copy of Titian's *Three Ages of Man*, now in the Galleria Borghese and attributed to Il Sassoferrato, which was previously thought not to be in the collection until the 1680s.[67] Also exhibited in this room was Raphael's portrait of *Pope Julius II*, now in the National Gallery, London. Until recently the painting has been catalogued as an early copy of Raphael's painting, but Symonds rightly considered it 'most rare.'[68] The references to portraits attributed to Titian and Giorgione which follow are so vague that they suggest this passage was written up when Symonds could no longer remember the subjects; this hypothesis is supported by his next note which repeats a reference to 'St John wilderness by Raphael,' a painting that he had recorded earlier in Scipione's study.[69]

A more coherent passage begins with his note on a painting of *Leda and the Swan*, now in the Galleria Borghese, that he attributed to Leonardo and described as 'standing small.'[70] By then he had moved into another 'low Roome' where there was also a curious painting of the physician twins *Saints Cosmo and Damian*, now in the Galleria Borghese, which still has a Dosso attribution as given by Symonds,[71] and Veronese's *St. John Preaching in the Desert*, now in the Galleria Borghese, which is not listed in the incomplete 1693 inventory.[72]

The most interesting work that Symonds recorded in this penultimate room was the recently rediscovered *Titian and his Mistress*, now in an English private collection. He noted that Titian portrayed himself in old age and that the 'young woman some say his da:[me].' This curious painting, in which the woman is a considerably larger figure than 'Titian,' was admired and recorded by other visitors to the collection, including Richardson, and in the nineteenth century was still given an attribution to Titian.[73] In the last room of his visit Symonds selected only two paintings to record, *Joseph's Dream*, now in the Galleria Borghese, that he attributed to 'Valontino' (which now has an attribution to Giovan Francesco Guerrieri *and* to Claude Mellan),[74] and finally, a painting that he termed as a 'rare paisage,' using this description for the first of many times. This was probably *The Preaching of John the Baptist and the Baptism of Christ*, now in the Galleria Borghese, attributed to Civetta (Symonds wrote 'Choetta'), which the 1693 inventory describes as 'una campagna con un grupo di figure' and Symonds as a 'rare paisage & very good.'[75]

Although the rooms on the ground floor did not contain such an abundance of important paintings as those on the piano nobile, some major works were exhibited there; the display of the collection on this floor appears to have been equally unsystematic, a practice, which despite the later re-arrangement of the collection, seems to have survived into the following century.[76]

Symonds's notes reveal an enthusiasm for paintings now neglected, for

example, Dosso's *Saints Cosimo and Damian*,[77] and the frescoes by Father Cosimo and Giovan Francesco Guerrieri. They also indicate that several paintings were in the collection earlier than previous documentation has suggested. He recorded some questionable attributions, but on occasion he is the one who is right; perhaps the best example of this is his note regarding Raphael's portrait of *Julius II*.[78] If he was accurate in this instance, perhaps he was in others; there may have been more original paintings in Palazzo Borghese than was previously supposed. The fact that almost all of the paintings that Symonds noted were those which had the internal serial numbers recorded in 1693 (that is, paintings that had been in Cardinal Scipione's collection) may support this theory. Alternatively, it could suggest that Scipione sometimes accepted incorrect attributions - or - was content to collect good copies.[79]

Symonds's visit to Palazzo Borghese may have given him a 'crash course' on Roman collections; it produced some of his most complete and organized notes. This result may have been assisted by the tour being conducted at a leisurely pace with the companionship of Canini, and under the guidance of the obliging Borghese servant.

1. Palazzo Borghese, see Appendix I, fols. 7v - 14r. For the staircases and rooms in the palace referred to with lettered numbering, see Plan 1 for the piano terreno, and Plan 2 for the piano nobile (taken from the reconstructed 1611-1614 plans of the piano terreno and piano nobile in Waddy, p. 93, fig. 28 and p. 95, fig. 30). The palace is bounded towards the Tiber by the Via di Ripetta and at the opposite (short) end, by the present Largo Fontanella and Via di Borghese; to the west side is the Piazza Borghese and to the east, Via dell'Arancio and Via di Monte d'Oro. The original block of the Borghese palace of 1560-66 was by Vignola working for Tommaso del Giglio who had bought the site and the old Farnese-Poggio palace in 1560. In 1589 the palace was sold to Cardinal Deza (1520-1600) who employed Martino Longhi (Il Vecchio) to add to Vignola's block on the east side. Flaminio Ponzio in turn succeeded Longhi who died in 1591. On the death of Deza (1600), the palace was rented by various people until bought by Cardinal Camillo Borghese (Paul V) in 1605. On becoming pope, Paul V gave the palace to his brothers Giovanni Battista and Francesco, but continued to take a strong interest in the building works. Ponzio was in charge of the enlargement of the palace on the west side and the cortile and at the same time taking into account parts remaining from the old Farnese-Poggio palace towards the Ripetta. The garden behind the new wing was walled in in 1608 when the courtyard was completed by a two story arcade with a bridge-like loggia (initially closed at the bottom except for one archway) that linked the east and west extremities. In the corner formed by this loggia was built an elliptical staircase allowing passage to the various levels of the court and to the new western wing; it also furnished the only means of passage from the various levels of the court to the piano nobile of this wing. On the death of Ponzio in 1613 plans for the extensions were taken over by Maderno. After the marriage of Marcantonio Borghese (1601-58) to Camilla Orsini (1603-85) in 1619, and arrival of Scipione Borghese (1576-1633) in 1621, additional space was required for the household staff and the Palazzo della Familigia Borghese was built on the opposite side of the Piazza Borghese, see Hibbard, 1962, pp. 37-71; Waddy, pp. 73-112. At the time of Symonds's visit (likely to have been in early 1650) the palace was inhabited by Marcantonio and Camilla Borghese, and probably the young children of their son, Paolo Borghese (1624-46) and Olimpia Aldobrandini (m. 1638 to Paolo, when widowed; m. 1647 Camillo Pamphili). These were Giovanni Battista (1639-1717), and Virginia (1642-1718).

2. Symonds commented on how the well shaft is formed of (a series of) double pillars, see Appendix I, fol. 7v, and note 12; and Plate 18.

3. For the building projects during that period, see Waddy, pp. 100-11.

4. See fol. 14r. Marcantonio also had a suite of eight rooms on the third floor

directly above his suite on the piano nobile; Camilla's apartments were on the third floor facing towards the interior garden, see Waddy, pp. 103-04. As mentioned above, 'Santa Scopatore' was Symonds's name for the Borghese servant, see Chapter Two.

5. See Baglione, p. 161.

6. Today the friezes remain in four rooms; C4, C13, partially in C14, C18; carved wooden ceilings remain in C4, C5, C12-14; stuccoes remain in C3, C35, see Fumagalli, p. 52; see also note 14 below.

7. Symonds noted some of most renowned paintings in the private apartments, in particular religious subjects by Titian and Raphael. Many of the ca. 700 (sometimes more than one painting is listed at one number) paintings recorded and attributed in the 1693 inventory are now listed as 'Non pervenuto' or 'Non accertato' by Della Pergola. For the 1693 inventory, see Della Pergola, I, II, III, 1964. Although there were numerous visitors to the collection, one of the most lengthy lists of the paintings (although with almost no descriptions) is by the writer of the *Itineraire... de Rome*, of 1797, Marien Vasi Romain (whose visit seems to have been more extensive than Symonds's in that apart from the third floor and the piano nobile, he also went to the mezzanines and some apartments on the second floor). We learn from him that 'Les appartements sont vastes et remplis de precieux tableaux, dont je ne rapporterai que les principaux,' see p. 306. Due probably to the major remodelling of the palace in 1671 by Giovanni Battista, the painting collection appears to have been rearranged between Symonds's visit and 1693. Paintings recorded by Symonds on the piano nobile are by 1693 recorded on the piano terreno which by then appears to be the major floor for exhibiting the collection; several paintings are listed in the same rooms in 1797 as in 1693. Della Pergola's attributions in the 1950s Galleria Borghese catalogues are where possible used here to identify the paintings recorded by Symonds, see Della Pergola, 1955-59, I, II. Della Pergola's attributions of the 1950s do not always tally with those in her 1964 article that publishes the 1693 inventory, see Della Pergola, 1964, I, II, III. Gould writes 'some,...of the few [paintings] identifiable...as having belonged to the Cardinal are not included [in the 1693 inventory] and were probably in Palazzo Borghese ...in Scipione's lifetime.' He also writes '...whereas Manilli (1650) had listed ca. 250 paintings in Villa Borghese - Montelatici (1700) only has ca. 185, and some of these are stated to be copies replacing originals which had gone down to the palace,' see Gould, 1970b, pp. 4, 13, note 15; and note 9 below.

8. See Ogden and Ogden, passim. At Palazzo Borghese there were relatively few paintings attributed to the Carracci School; Symonds's admiration for these painters, and in particular Annibale, increased after his visit to Palazzo Farnese, see Chapter Five.

9. Della Pergola has listed a small proportion of the attributions in the 1693 iventory as 'Incerto,' but she has refuted a great many of those given to renowned painters; she does not state if inventory numbers were painted on the frames (or even on the paintings themselves), nor does she inform us about the contemporary Borghese labelling, see Della Pergola, 1964, passim. The 1693 inventory lists the paintings room by room, probably in the order that they were hung on the walls. The document itself has no running serial numbers (those in Della Pergola, 1964, are modern additions included for reference purposes) but most of the entries contain an internal reference to a serial number (these show no logical order in the inventory), but 'the numbers in question had actually been painted on the faces of the pictures, as is known from many identifiable examples which survive,' see Gould, 1970b, p. 4, and note 17. Gould therefore proposes that these serial numbers must date from an earlier inventory than 1693, and although this has not been found, possibly one taken on the death of Cardinal Scipione in 1633; if this is the case, 'the pictures in the 1693 inventory which have an internal serial number had belonged to Scipione, and that they therefore constitute, in effect, an inventory of part, at least, of his collection,' see Gould, 1970b, p. 4. The paintings that Symonds chose to record, with very few exceptions, had the internal serial numbers. From certain of his notes, we know that some paintings were labelled, for example, see fol. 10r; for a further discussion of this subject, see also note 68 below. Symonds not surprisingly accepted the attributions given, as presumably did Canini, who may indeed have been responsible for some of them.

10. *Pope Paul V*, now in the Galleria Borghese, see Appendix I, fol. 7v and note 14.

11. The *Hercules and Antaeus* may have been similar to the small bronze by Antico, once in the collection of Charles I, and now in the Kuntsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, see Howarth, in MacGregor, p. 97, fig. 48. There is not a sculpture representing *Hercules and Antaeus* listed in the Galleria Borghese catalogues.

12. See Della Pergola, 1964, II, p. 452, no. 186. 'Galba' was probably a copy from Titian's *Roman Emperor* series although none of the copies listed in Wethey have a Borghese provenance, see Wethey, 1969-75, III, pp. 235-40. Symonds's notes on the Farnese collection indicate that he was aware that Charles I owned the original, see Appendix I, fol. 17v and note 15.

13. *Diana with Nymphs at Play*, see Appendix I, fol. 7v and note 16. See Spear, 1982, Text, pp. 192-94, no.52; also Della Pergola, 1955-59, I, pp. 28-29, no. 31; Della Pergola, 1964, I, p. 223, no. 68. The painting was cited in Baglione, p. 267 (although this reference was not noted by Symonds); and by

Romain, p. 305; see also note 16 below. For the story of how Scipione had the painting forcibly removed from Domenichino, see Gould, 1970b, p. 13, note 10. It is interesting to read the grudging admiration of a nineteenth-century writer: 'Domenichino's celebrated "Caccia di Diana" - a charming picture which is worthy of a purer period of art,' see G. Morelli (Ivan Lermolieff), *Italian Painters: Critical Studies of their Works: the Borghese and Doria-Pamfili Galleries in Rome*, London, 1982, p. 228. This is almost the only mention of a painter of the Carracci School in Morelli's comments on the Borghese collection; not surprisingly for the period of writing, far the greater part of his book relates to painters of the Early Renaissance.

14. See Appendix I, fol. 8r.

15. See Appendix I, fol. 8r and note 25. The subjects represented are not given by Waddy or Fumagalli so presumably they are not known, see Waddy, p. 101; and Fumagalli, p. 51. Baglione (writing only thirty years after they were completed) lamented the bad quality of Piazza's technique, see Baglione, p. 161.

16. See Appendix I, fol. 28v.

17. See Appendix I, fol. 8r and note 18. With regard to these paintings Puglisi writes that 'Albani painted his first landscapes for the Roman Villa of Cardinal Scipione' (Villa Borghese); she also implies that Domenichino's *Diana with Nymphs at Play* (see note 12 above) was destined for the same location, see Puglisi, p. 19. Perhaps Domenichino's and Albani's paintings were in fact always in Scipione's collection in the palace, see notes 7 and 9 above.

18. Probably a painting attributed to Annibale in 1693 (one of four paintings attributed to him in this inventory) which was apparently still in the collection in 1797, see Appendix I, fol. 8r and note 23.

19. See Appendix I, fol. 8r and note 19. It is interesting that Symonds commented on what was probably a Venetian painting (although not necessarily by Veronese), a school that was not frequently displayed in Roman collections, and one that he was unlikely to be familiar with at this time. For the second painting that Symonds attributed to Veronese, see note 72 below.

20. The large (1.74 x 1.34) painting of *Moses*, see Appendix I, fol. 8r and note 20. It is surprising that Symonds could not recall the name of a painter of the Carracci School; later in this visit he noted Reni's *St. Cecilia* and in that instance recorded the painter but did not know the subject that was depicted, see note 37 below.

21. See Appendix I, fol. 8v and note 27. This now lost painting is not

identified in current literature on Lucas.

22. See Appendix I, fol. 8v and note 28.

23. *The Last Supper*, now in the Galleria Borghese, has subsequently had various attributions including Schiavone. It has been recently cleaned and is now attributed to Jacopo Bassano. It was not listed in the 1693 inventory and according to Della Pergola did not reach the collection until 1700. However, it measures 1.68 x 2.70 metres, i.e., very similar to the measurements given by Symonds ('7or 8 foot long 5 high'), which suggests that it was the painting he recorded. See Appendix I, fol. 8v and note 29.

24. See Appendix I, fol. 8v and note 32; see also note 23 above.

25. See Appendix I, fol. 13r and note 33.

26. See Appendix I, fols. 8v, 10v and 11r and note 35.

27. See Appendix I, fol. 8v and note 26.

28. See Appendix I, fol. 9r. Evidently the paintings in these rooms were not hung wall to wall which suggests that Marcantonio selected only his favourite paintings for his suite.

29. See Appendix I, fol. 9r and note 44. In 1693 the painting was attributed to Titian, in the 1950s Della Pergola considered the attribution to Titian doubtful, see 1955-59, I, p. 132, no. 236, but by 1964 she gave it a firm attribution to Titian, see 1964, II, p. 451, no. 171. This is another example not only of how doubtful paintings were attributed to Giorgione in the seventeenth century (see Anderson, pp. 56-7), but also how modern art historians can alter their opinions in a short space of time.

30. See Appendix I, fol. 9v and note 45.

31. The story is likely to be accurate as Guido had to replace a nude figure of *Eve* in the Annunciation Chapel, Quirinal Palace, with a more chaste figure of a prophet as the nudity troubled Paul V, see Spear, 1997, p. 160.

32. See Appendix I, fol. 9v and note 47.

33. See Appendix I, fol. 9v and note 51. The painting that Symonds is noting here is probably the less 'rare' of del Sarto's two *Madonnas* now in the Galleria Borghese, he recorded the more famous and larger one on fol. 11r, see note 45 below.

34. See Appendix I, note 52.

35. See Appendix I, fol. 10r.

36. See Appendix I, fol. 10r and note 56. Marcello Venusti (1515-79) was a pupil of Perino del Vaga and is said by Vasari to have specialised in copies after Michelangelo (Symonds did not comment on Venusti in his copy of Vasari's *Vite*).

37. See Appendix I, fol. 10r and note 57; see also note 20 above.

38. See Appendix I, fol. 10v.

39. See Appendix I, fol. 10v and note 65. Painted in 1507 for Atalanta Baglioni; for the story of the secret removal of the picture from its original location (the church of San Francesco, Perugia), and its illegal purchase by Paul V who gave it to Cardinal Scipione Borghese, see Dussler, p. 24 who cites J. Saver in *Miscellanea Francesco Ehrle*, Rome, 1924, II p. 436 ff.; and R. Belforti, *Perusia*, 1935, p. 3 ff.. The painting is titled *The Deposition* in the current Galleria Borghese catalogue, but the subject depicts an *Entombment*, see Gould, 1970b, p. 3.

40. See Appendix I, fol. 10v and notes 67 and 115,; see also note 73 below.

41. See Appendix I, fol. 10v and note 68.

42. See Appendix I, fol. 10v and note 69. The writing is no longer on the painting; Della Pergola considers it was on a *cartellino* but Symonds's note shows that it was in fact upon the portrait when he saw it shortly after it arrived in the collection (1638). Lassels only noted two paintings in the collection, 'Martin Luther's picture, 'Machiavelli's and Caesar Borgia's,' (see note 41 above), which suggests that these two portraits were still displayed near, or next to, each other in 1654.

43. See Appendix I, fol. 11r and note 74; see also note 69 below. This is one of the few paintings recorded by Symonds that did not have an internal serial number in the 1693 inventory which suggests that it was not in Cardinal Scipione's collection.

44. See Appendix I, fol. 11r and note 72.

45. See Appendix I, fol. 11r and note 75; also note 33 above.

46. See Appendix I, fol. 11r and note 76.

47. See Appendix I, fol. 11r and note 77.

48. See Appendix I, fol. 11r and note 78. These two paintings were from a series of eight *Aeneid* subjects; the 1693 inventory indicates that no attempt was made to hang them as a series; furthermore, their internal serial numbers were repeated and used for more than one of the paintings (i.e., the numbers were 424, 2, 151, 716, 2, 151, 151, 2) which perhaps suggests that whoever wrote the inventory got confused as to the quantity of paintings in the series, and did not always realise that he was looking at a different painting. When Scipione acquired the paintings from the heirs of Alfonso d'Este, he also planned to create a 'camerino stupendo;' perhaps they were not arranged so randomly if (or when) they were formerly in his collection in the Villa Borghese. For a further discussion of Dosso's *Aeneid* series, see K. Christiansen, 'Dosso Dossi's Aeneas frieze for Alfonso d'Este's *Camerino*,' *Apollo*, January, 2000, CII, No. 455, pp. 36-45. Symonds was correct in his attribution to Dosso here, but he was not always so successful, see note 65 below.

49. See Appendix I, fols. 11r - 11v and note 79.

50. See Della Pergola, 1964, passim. After writing a 'Looking Glasse...adorned about...in precious stones,' Symonds left a large gap indicating that he hoped to remember many more of the paintings in Scipione's study when he was writing up his notes.

51. See Appendix I, fol. 12r and note 83. The last room Piazza painted was C15 in which no seventeenth-century decorations survive; the subjects are not recorded in Waddy or Fumagalli.

52. See Appendix I, fol. 12r and note 84.

53. See Appendix I, note 86.

54. See Appendix I, fol. 12r and note 86.

55. See Appendix I, fols. 10r, 11r, 12v. In his copy of Vasari's *Vite* Symonds made several notes regarding 'panni d'Arazzo,' a term that he took from Vasari.

56. See Appendix I, fol. 12r and note 91. The carved ceilings in rooms C12-C14 are three out of the four that remain.

57. See Appendix I, fol. 12v and note 92.

58. See Appendix I, fol. 12 v and notes 94, 95.

59. See Appendix I, note 95; see also Hibbard, 1962, p. 74.

60. See Appendix I, fol. 12v and note 96. 'Paoluccio' has not been identified; unspecified landscapes in this room and in C18, Dosso's 'Paisago of Troy' in C35, and Civetta's 'rare paisage' (see below), are the only references that Symonds made to landscapes in Palazzo Borghese; perhaps there were relatively few in the collection or perhaps his admiration for this genre was only just burgeoning.

61. See Appendix I, fol. 12v and note 97.

62. See Appendix I, fol. 12v. In Symonds's terminology a 'low room' appears to indicate that it was on the ground floor rather than referring to the height of the ceiling.

63. See Appendix I, fol. 12v, and note 99. Symonds (or his companions) appear to have known of the subject; or perhaps it was labelled; possibly this portrait is a copy of one of the theologians in the *Disputà*.

64. See Appendix I, fol. 12v and note 100. Here Symonds's attribution did rely on the Borghese label.

65. See Appendix I, fol.13r and note 102.

66. See Appendix I, fol.13r and notes 103-04.

67. See Appendix I, fol. 13r. Until now it has been stated that this version was made from an assumed original recorded in the 1682 inventory of Olimpia Aldobrandini (Della Pergola), or made that year when the Aldobrandini pictures were divided between two heirs (Wethey, 1969-75, III, p. 183, under no. 36). Differences between this version and the autograph painting in Edinburgh suggest that it was a second version, now lost. The attribution of the Borghese copy to Sassoferrato only dates from 1833 and was rejected by Wethey. However, Symonds's account now dates the copy much earlier that was previously thought and demolishes previous attempts by Della Pergola and Wethey to link it to the dispersal of the Aldobrandini pictures. It is understandable that Symonds attributed the work to Titian since Christina of Sweden's version (now in Edinburgh, see above) did not arrive in Rome until the mid-1650s, see Della Pergola, 1955-59, I, p. 133, no. 237.

68. See Appendix I, fol. 13r. According to Della Pergola this portrait was first cited in the collection by Ramdhor in 1787 and not identified in the inventories until the 'Fidecommisso' of 1833 (see Della Pergola, 1955-59, II, pp. 125-26, no. 176), but this must refer to the copy now in the Galleria Borghese, Inv. no. 413. The portrait of *Julius II*, now in the National Gallery,

London, was bought by Scipione from Cardinal Sfondrati in 1608 and has the Borghese 1693 internal serial number 118; this was the portrait seen by Symonds. See Gould, 1970a, passim; Gould 1970b, passim; Gould, 1975, pp. 208-10; and note 9 above.

69. See Appendix I, fol. 13r; and note 43 above. After the passage that starts with 'a Ritratto by Titian' on fol. 13r to after 'Ritrattos of Cardinal by Raphael...most excellent' on fol. 13v there is a big gap which suggests that Symonds was writing from memory.

70. The painting was given a Leonardo attribution in the 1693 inventory, but has consistently been considered a copy by Della Pergola, see Appendix I, fol. 13v and note 111.

71. See Appendix I, fol. 13v and note 112. In the painting, Damian holds a glass of water to cure a sick man, a woman looks on. The picture cannot at present be greatly esteemed as when the greater part of the collection was removed while the Villa Borghese was undergoing extensive restoration, this was one of the few paintings that remained there.

72. See Appendix I, fol. 13v. Della Pergola has pointed out that Veronese's painting was in the collection in 1612 as there is a relevant bill for a framemaker and the painting is cited by Francucci in *Poemetto* written in 1613, see Della Pergola, 1955-59, I, p. 136, no. 243.

73. See Appendix I, fol. 13v and note 115; see also note 40 above; and 'Conclusion.' The painting has the Borghese inventory number 305 on the front, lower left; it was bought by Buchanan and relined in 1827 and subsequently sold to James Morrison of 57, Upper Harley Street where it was recorded by Waagen in *Galleries and Cabinets of Art in Great Britain*, 1857, p. 110. On the back, top right, is written in pen (perhaps at the time of the sale to Morrison?), 'Titian's lecture to his Daughter, on Mortality. - the picture being an Allegory of Human Life,' and on the top left, 'This is the Borghese picture, by Titian - vide Vasari.'

74. See Appendix I, fol. 14r and note 116. Symonds's attributions to Valentin here and to the painting of the *Judgement of Solomon* that he saw earlier in the collection (see note 32 above) may not be accurate, but they show his interest in works by Caravaggesque painters.

75. See Appendix I, fol. 14r and note 117.

76. See Romain, pp. 305-14.

77. See note 71 above.

78. See note 68 above.

79. See note 7 above.

Chapter Five

Palazzo Farnese

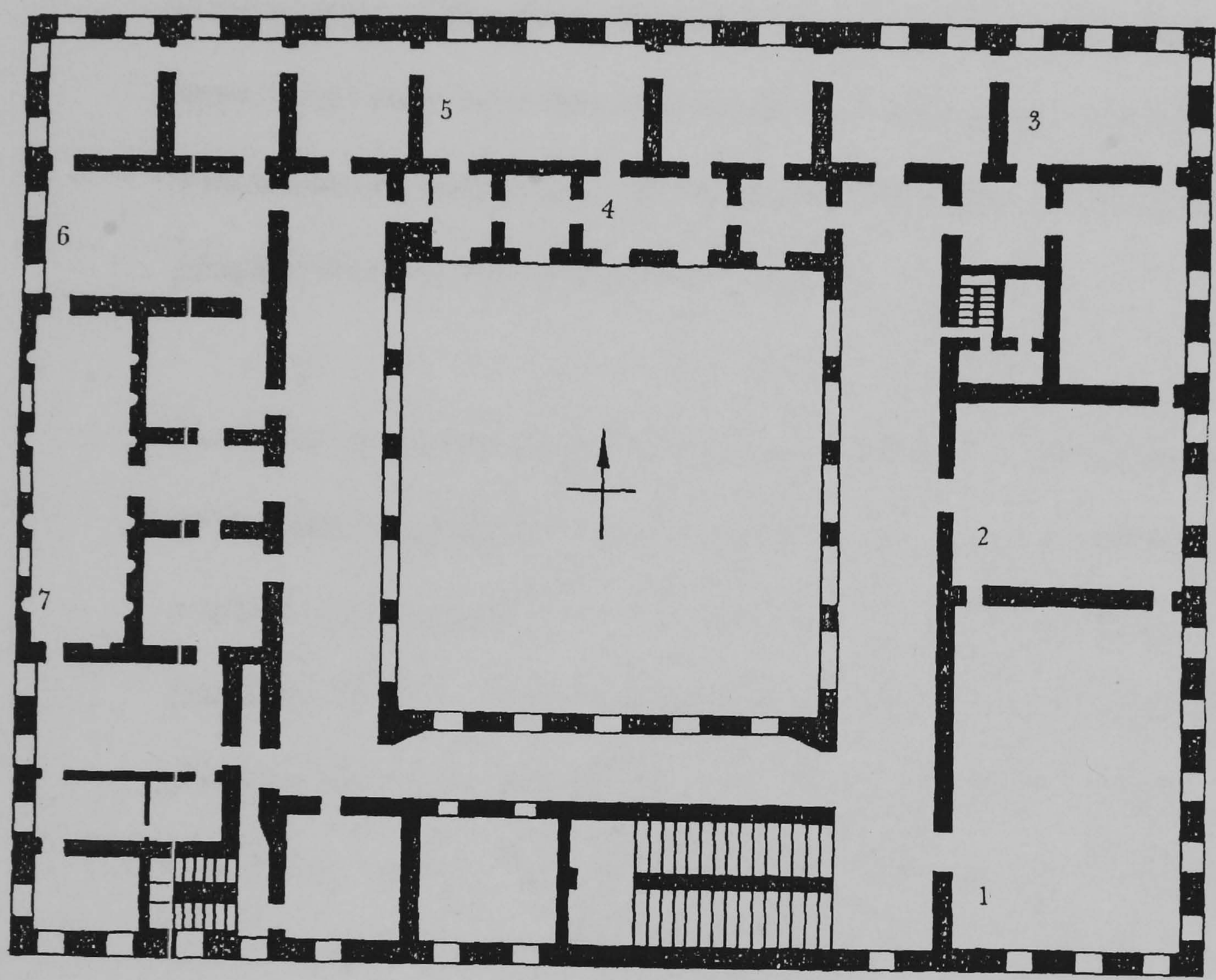
On arriving at Palazzo Farnese, Symonds paced out the measurements of the building and make a comparison with Palazzo Borghese 'that wants 10 paces of ye thickness.'[1] In common with other early visitors, Symonds was impressed with the magnificence and size of the palace as well as the first courtyard with its ancient sculptures (Plate 18). The antiquities in the courtyard had been obtained by Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (1468-1549), later Pope Paul III, from excavations on Farnese property in the Baths of Caracalla and elsewhere. These were sent to the Palazzo Farnese before his death, but many remained 'al torro', that is, in the shed built to house the *Farnese Bull*, now at the Museo Nazionale, Naples.[2] The *Farnese Hercules* and *Flora*, both now at the Museo Nazionale, Naples, had been recorded in the courtyard as early as 1546, but, like the *Bull* were evidently not intended for the interior of the Palazzo, the latter probably because of its colossal size.[3] Other statues were in store in the palace or displayed in the Sala Grande and in a room called the Galleria.

John Evelyn, newly arrived in Rome in 1644, was taken by his 'Sight-man' to

Palazzo Farnese before any of the other palaces. This suggests the importance of the building and the collection within it for seventeenth-century visitors. On 6 November Evelyn wrote that 'descending into the Court,' he saw 'those incomparable statues of the Hercules and Flora' which he though of 'as two of the most rare pieces of Sculpture in the world....'[4] Although Symonds admired the antique as much as Evelyn, he left an account of the collection that had a very different emphasis.

The external appearance of the Palazzo Farnese has changed little since its completion, but it is not easy to visualise the interior as it appeared in the seventeenth century because of the dispersal of the collection to Naples and Parma. While surviving inventories provide a partial reconstruction, they can be supplemented with the evidence found in Symonds's notebook, which provides one of the most vivid accounts of the appearance of the collection to have survived. His notes establish beyond any doubt that the collection then remained much as it had been when Cardinal Odoardo Farnese (1573-1626) re-arranged the collection in the late 1590s or early 1600s, when he inherited the palace from his great-uncle Cardinal Alessandro (1520-1589) known as 'Il Gran Cardinale.'[5]

Symonds copied the Greek inscription on the famous *Farnese Hercules* and compared the size of the foot to his own,[6] noting a passage in Lomazzo's *Trattato*, that praised the statue's proportions. Symonds would have been taken on his tour by a Farnese servant, but as there is no reference to a



1. Palazzo Farnese: Plan of first floor

1. Sala grande
2. Salotto dipinto
3. Bedroom of Cardinal Ranuccio
4. Camerino Farnese
5. Sala degli imperatori
6. Sala de' filosofi
7. Galleria Farnese

Plan 3. Palazzo Farnese, piano nobile from J.R. Martin, *The Farnese Gallery*, p. 7, fig. 1.

companion, this may have been an occasion when he relied on Lomazzo and his copy of Baglione's *Vite* which he referred to later in his visit.[7] As well as *Hercules*, Symonds commented on the statue of *Flora* and their less celebrated counterparts, which stood two-by-two with them under the arcades. He made notes on many of the other sculptures in this courtyard (some of which he knew to be Greek rather than Roman), and took a particular interest in those with names and inscriptions.[8] He then entered the palace and climbed the principal staircase to the piano nobile (Plan 3).

To relieve the monotony of three flights of stairs Paul III's architect, Antonio da Sangallo, had designed a little interior court:[9] an antique statue of a boy on a dolphin was placed between two *River Gods*, all now at the Museo Nazionale, Naples.[10] Symonds described the boy as having 'his legs upright' and noted that the 'Rivers' had a 'Crocodile and Tiger' under their arms respectively. Both the author of the 1644 inventory and more recent scholars have identified the boy as *Eros*, whereas Symonds refers to him as *Arion*.[11] At the top of the stairs were two celebrated statues known as the *Farnese Captives* that had been acquired by Paul III, and are now at Naples;[12] these stood as symbols of triumph flanking the doorway to the Sala Grande and are described by Symonds as '2 Kings Slaves or prisners' with a reference to the relevant passage in Vitruvius which he knew in the Barbaro edition.[13]

Symonds aptly described the enormous Sala Grande as 'one of the tallest [rooms] in Rome. pavd with pavements and seeled w^{t}h [i.e., with a ceiling of]

carvd woods (Plan 3, no. 1).'[14] Twelve modern busts of Roman Emperors sculpted by Tommaso della Porta remained there from the time of Cardinal Alessandro.[15] Other statues placed there by Cardinal Alessandro were removed by his heir Cardinal Odoardo who installed Moschino's vast allegorical group of *Duke Alessandro conquering Heresy and the River Scheldt*, now in the Palazzo Reale, Caserta, which celebrated the victory of Odoardo's father at Antwerp in 1585. This statue impressed Symonds and he described it in some detail.[16] After Odoardo's death, two large recumbent statues, personifications of *Peace* and *Abundance*, originally designed by Giacomo della Porta for Paul III's tomb but not used, were placed on either side of the chimney-piece.[17] They are recorded by both Evelyn and Symonds; the latter without any identification, whereas Evelyn called them *Age* and *Youth*.[18] These and the *Emperors* are amongst the few pieces of sculpture that remain *in situ*. Symonds also noted some statues of 'old gladiators' which were probably the statues recorded in the 1644 inventory as 'Sei gladiatori, cioè tre Horatii e tre Curatii,' and almost certainly included the famous *Tyrannicides*.[19] Symonds noted that the pictures in this Sala, the most important reception room in the palace, included copies by Annibale Carracci after Raphael and Correggio. From Symonds's notes it is evident that not only was he aware that these were copies, but he also knew the whereabouts of the originals.[20] The 1644 and 1653 Farnese inventories record that paintings in the Sala Grande included copies by Annibale of two of Raphael's frescoes in the Farnesina and of Correggio's *Assumption of the Virgin*, but it is Symonds who informs us that the last-named is from the 'Dome at Parma.'[21] Both inventories identify a

painting in this room by 'Perdonone' (written by Symonds as 'Bordonine')[22] but fail to record the author of the painting described by Symonds as 'pensieri of Giorgio Vasari....' In this instance he was more perceptive and better informed than the authors of the inventories who recorded Vasari's painting of the *Allegory of Justice, Virtue and Vice*, now at Naples, as from the 'mano del maestro di Rafaelle' in 1644 (by which they may have meant Perugino) and as from the 'mano del [ad]m.[i]ro del Raffaelle' in 1653.[23]

The Sala Grande leads into the Salotto dipinto above the main portico of the palace (Plan 3, no. 2). Although Symonds made a note of the frescoes by Taddeo Zuccaro that completed Salviati's salotto, he did not comment further on their decorations; this suggests that (perhaps due to the influence of Canini) works prior to the Seicento were not to his taste. He was much more interested in what must have been a relatively inconspicuous painting of the *Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine*, now in Naples, in one of the small rooms on the north-east side of the palace.[24] He knew this painting was by Annibale Carracci and wrote that Saint Catherine 'lookes so modestly upon ye ground.' Unlike Evelyn, or their fellow countryman Richard Lassels, whose *Description of Italy* was published in 1654, Symonds sought out modern works in the collection that were often overlooked.[25]

He next went into what he described as 'Another lodging room...', but it has always been known as the Camerino (Plan 3, no. 4). Cardinal Odoardo had decided that the Carracci, following their summons from Bologna, should start

work for him not in the Sala Grande but in this small room which he may have planned as a *studiolo*.[26] Annibale had begun work here in the autumn of 1595. Both earlier and modern scholars agree that the theme of the ceiling is Virtue set in various scenes from mythology.[27] The scenes which occupy the middle area of the vault are devoted to Hercules. The subject chosen for the central painting was identified by Symonds, not with its modern title, the *Choice of Hercules*, but in terms of its meaning: the young hero is shown seated between an alluring Vice who urges him to take the easy road of indolence and pleasure, and a more homely Virtue, who points to the uphill road of duty and honour.[28] That Symonds was particularly concerned to identify the subjects on the ceiling is shown here by the way he jotted down a reference to the page describing the Camerino in Baglione's *Vite*.[29] Symonds not only described Annibale's ceiling frescoes carefully and enthusiastically, but also noted the presence in the Camerino of his *Christ Mocked*, now in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna; it is recorded in both the mid-Seicento inventories.[30]

From Symonds's notes we know how on leaving the Camerino the visitor could: 'look through a prospect of doreways through several Roomes being all that side next [to] St. Peters.'[31] The largest of these rooms, formerly called the Galleria, had been re-named the Sala degli Imperatori by Cardinal Odoardo (Plan 3, no. 5). Amongst the statues displayed by Odoardo there remained from the time of Cardinal Alessandro the series of antique busts of Roman Emperors which is now in Naples.[32] These were recorded by Symonds as 'twelve old Heads of the Cesars' but with no attempt to identify them

individually despite the fact that one of them was a famous bust of Caracalla. Evidently Odoardo liked to hang pictures that had an affinity of subject with the statues displayed in the same rooms, and in the Sala degli Imperatori he had placed, alongside the ancient busts, a series of copies of Titian's famous *Roman Emperors* that are identified as the work of Annibale in both the 1644 and 1653 inventories.[33] Symonds noted: 'ye like copyes or originals ye D.[uke] of Mantua had, wch ye K. of England bought.'[34] His comment suggests that a member of the minor gentry, someone unlikely to have had easy access to St. James's Palace (where the Titians were to be seen), had been able to obtain some knowledge of Charles I's collection and its history while in London before the outbreak of the Civil War.[35] Although there were numerous pieces of sculpture in this room, Symonds noted (apart from the 'Cesars') only the statues of two boys, or Hercules, killing snakes; he did however, choose to record a table reputed to be by Michelangelo, no doubt much admired and probably pointed out to him by his guide.[36]

The next room of significance on the north-west side of the palace was called the Sala dei Filosofi because, amongst the numerous sculptures displayed there, were eighteen busts of ancient philosophers ([now in Naples]; Plan 3, no. 6). Some of these, according to Symonds, had carving on their 'breast[s]'; he recorded the Greek inscriptions and the fact that they were 'set upon wooden tressels so high as an ordinary man is.'[37] Odoardo had also placed there some rather less sedate sculptures, the *Callipygian Venus* and two versions of the *Crouching Venus* which are also now in Naples.[38] To tie in

with these statues, if not with the philosophers, were two paintings of *Venus*. One of these was based on a cartoon of Michelangelo's *Venus and Cupid*; it was attributed in both the 1644 and 1653 inventories to Marcello Venusti, after a Michelangelo drawing, but is now identified as a copy at Naples by Hendrik van der Broecke;[39] the other was a copy of the well-known *Venus with a satyr and two amorini* by Annibale now in the Uffizi; this version, currently on deposit from the Naples collection at the Palazzo Montecitorio, Rome, is also described as in the Sala dei Filosofi by the mid-Seicento inventories.[40] Symonds mentions only 'M. Angelo['s]' *Venus and Cupid* apparently believing it to be original, and therefore a painting to be recorded. Although he did not specifically refer to the Carracci *Venus*, he noted the two artists' different use of black in painting shadows.[41] The other object that drew his attention in this room was a copy of the *Spinario*; he observed that the original of this celebrated statue was (as it still is) in the Campidoglio.[42]

The most acclaimed room in the palace, the Galleria, provided a finale to Symonds's (anti-clockwise) tour of the piano nobile (Plan 3, no. 7; and Plate 19). If it was Cardinal Odoardo's aim to surpass other notable galleries, such as Giulio Mazzoni's gallery in the Palazzo Spada-Capodiferro, Annibale's masterpiece achieved his purpose. Antique statues occupied the niches in the side walls and complemented the amorous scenes from classical mythology on the walls and ceiling. The ends of the long walls are still decorated with Farnese coats of arms and on the soffit of the lintel are those of the patron, Cardinal Odoardo; amid the profusion of decorative features on the walls are

the various family *imprese*.[43] This is the last room that Symonds recorded in the palace and it clearly did not prove to be an anti-climax; he wrote: 'Certainly ye best Fresco in ye World, besides most masterly designe.'[44]

Symonds's subsequent notes refer to the Palazzetto, a little pleasure retreat built by Cardinal Odoardo around 1602, and where the majority of the oil paintings by the Carracci school in the collection were to be seen.[45] It was situated on the far side of the Via Giulia in the direction of the Tiber. To get there Symonds must either have crossed the second court and the Via Giulia itself, or, more likely, he proceeded by way of a bridge that went from the palace at the roof level of the Palazzetto and descended by a staircase to the first floor (Plate 20). He then went into the camerini, a series of small rooms of various sizes, decorated by Annibale Carracci and his workshop. Symonds described how they had a 'flat Roofe wch is of board, & about 11 or 12 foot high [which] is all in quarters painted wth Rare paeses of that incomparable master.'[46] He was almost certainly the earliest British writer to register praise for Annibale as a landscape painter. The first of these rooms was the largest and most important since it contained both Annibale's *Sleeping Venus* at Chantilly (Plate 21) - which Symonds went into more detail about than any other painting in the collection (Plate 22),[47] and the *Rinaldo and Armida* now in Naples; subjects that were suitable for one of the Cardinal's private rooms overlooking the secret garden.[48] Symonds's assessment that the *Rinaldo and Armida* was a 'lesse quadro' (than the *Venus*) could refer to size, but more likely it is evidence of his capability to discern between the quality of a

painting by Annibale himself in comparison to one retouched by him after execution by a pupil. On the ceilings of the first three camerini were allegories of *Day*, which is now lost, *Dawn* and *Night*, both now in Chantilly.[49] *Night* was particularly admired by Symonds for the 'prospect of the country...at twilight, most rare.' Symonds considered they were all by Annibale, although recently there have been attempts to attribute *Night* to his pupil Domenichino, working from a cartoon by Annibale.[50] As might be expected, in the seventeenth century it was the inventor not the executant who mattered. Symonds may never have descended the staircase leading to the ground floor from the fourth camerino; he failed to record the three frescoes painted by Domenichino on the wall of the open loggia leading into the garden and in an adjoining room. All three frescoes depicted classical scenes in landscape settings and in them Domenichino made use of flowers that complemented the emblem of the Farnese lily.[51] Nor did Symonds refer to the first floor 'camerino de eremiti' decorated with paintings and frescoes by Lanfranco and with windows looking into Santa Maria dell'Orazione e Morte; this had been used by Odoardo as a little chapel and perhaps it was still considered too private to show visitors.[52] Instead Symonds ended his notes on the Farnese collection with a reference to 'a little closet,' where, amongst many small paintings, was to be seen the *Landscape with a Bark*, now in the National Gallery, London, seven bust-length portraits by Scipione Pulzone and one by Domenichino. In addition there were some little portraits 'by a Fleming' which intrigued Symonds; he thought them 'Curious' and evidently found it unusual that they were hung 'by long strings from above that they should not be taken

downe;' this suggests that portable paintings were sometimes lifted off the wall by light-fingered servants - or even visitors - and that he had not seen this hanging arrangement elsewhere.[53]

It is revealing to compare Symonds's tour of the palace with Evelyn's two visits and to see what each visitor chose to record. Evelyn made it clear that his diary was written from memory; this was sometimes years later and many of his comments were taken from other travellers. On the first of his tours he wrote briefly in admiration of both rooms of Carracci frescoes and the Moschino statue of Duke Alessandro. The latter he described as being in the 'greate Sala wrought by Salviati and Zuccharo' although this statue was in fact in the Sala Grande which has no painted decoration.[54] One major difference between Evelyn's visit and Symonds's is that Evelyn was shown the *studiolo* and collection of Fulvio Orsini, a scholar who had been a member of Cardinal Alessandro's circle of *letterati*, but his tour of the palace was brief because, as he wrote: '...the Major Domo being absent we could not at this time see all that we had a desire to.'[55] Before leaving he marvelled at the antiquities in the court, as discussed above. Two months later Evelyn returned and made a more detailed description of the antique sculpture, giving particular attention to the statue of the *Callipygian Venus* in the Sala dei Filosofi,[56] who he wrote was 'pulling up her smock and looking backwards on her buttocks.' His attention was drawn to the pictures of Venus in this room; like Symonds he attributed them to Michelangelo and Annibale; perhaps this information was always supplied by the *major domo*. These are the only two paintings Evelyn referred

to in the entire collection and his description of the 'M. Angelo' is incorrect. Once again his memory (or his plagiarised source) played him false since he wrote that he saw the busts of Philosophers in the next room while they were, not surprisingly, in the Sala dei Filosofi. Lastly, Evelyn was taken upstairs to the Guardaròba where he saw the collection of gems and *objets d'art* that he wrote about with such enthusiasm.[57]

Although Symonds's notes are all his own, they have certain curious omissions; his visit to Palazzo Farnese may have been (as on other occasions) written up when he returned to his lodgings. Apart from the rooms or paintings he left out in his passage describing the Palazzetto (discussed above), he failed to record the *Callipygian Venus*, but this rather frisky statue may not have appealed to his restrained taste. It is even more extraordinary that he did not record the *Farnese Bull*, the most famous piece of sculpture in the collection and noted by every other visitor who described the Palazzo Farnese. Since it was housed in the second courtyard one can only assume that by going via Cardinal Odoardo's upper access to the Palazzetto he did not see it and forgot it was there (Plate 20).[58] The extent of a tour of the palace probably depended a great deal on who accompanied the visitor. Evelyn's 'Sights-man,' who got his living 'onely by leading strangers to see the City,'[59] possibly had more of an entrée into the palace than Symonds; the Farnese servant who accompanied him may have considered that he was unlikely to give a large tip.

Of the 694 paintings in the collection listed in the 1653 inventory more than

500 were displayed on the second floor in the Guardaròba, the Stanze de Quadri and the Libraries, while others were placed in corridors and on the mezzanine;[60] yet Symonds made no reference to them. The paintings that he would have seen in the Guardaròba were mainly portraits and were not considered to be of great consequence; these were hung unsystematically alongside the collection of precious objects mentioned by Evelyn but not recorded by Symonds. The most notable fifteenth- and sixteenth-century paintings were in the Stanze dei Quadri including the great portraits and mythologies by Titian, such as *Paul III with his Nephews* and the *Danae*, both now in Naples, which had been moved from the piano nobile by Cardinal Odoardo.[61] It seems inconceivable that Symonds would not have recorded the Titians if he had gone to the second floor, since he assiduously sought out his work in other collections.

Symonds's many references to the antique sculpture and the work of the Carracci in the Farnese collection reveal that his interest and taste lay in these areas; preferences seemingly close to Odoardo's. From the mid-Seicento inventories and Symonds's notes it appears that the Cardinal chose to hang paintings by the Carracci and their workshop on the piano nobile in order to complement the antique sculptures also displayed there; and that in the Sala Grande, he hung Carracci copies of famous Correggios and Raphaels which he appeared to favour more than the originals he had by these masters in his own collection in the Stanze dei Quadri. It has been suggested that by creating an area on the second floor where the best of the older pictures where kept, he

was fulfilling his great-uncle's intention of creating a *scuola pubblica*,[62] but we know, in Symonds's case at least, that this was not always open to visitors. It is interesting that although it is sometimes said that Roman cardinals considered it decorous to keep erotic subjects in their private rooms, works such as the *Danae* were in fact displayed in those with some public access. Despite the fact that Odoardo continued his uncle's patronage, for example in the building of Il Gesù,[63] his preference in painting was very different from that of Cardinal Alessandro as might be expected of a man more than fifty years younger. By commissioning work from the Carracci, who were more or less his contemporaries and comparatively unknown painters when he summoned them to Rome, Odoardo showed that his taste was not only innovative, but completely in sympathy with that of the artistic circle which was becoming established and was later to be highly influential in that city. It was in this circle that Symonds mingled more than half a century later, and from which he absorbed his ideas on art.

As mentioned above, Symonds's most significant introduction in Rome was to Poussin, the meeting was probably arranged by Canini who had similar views on art.[64] Particularly relevant to Symonds's visit to Palazzo Farnese was Poussin's praise for Annibale's work in the Galleria. Symonds recorded a 'discourse' he and Angeloni had with Poussin in which the Galleria was described as 'fitt to be a Norma alli studianti in questa arte.' Annibale's skill in painting figures to look as if they were lit from the windows below them was favourably compared by Poussin with what he considered Cortona's failure in

painting lighting effects in his famous ceiling at the Palazzo Barberini.[65] Although Evelyn wrote brief comments admiring the Galleria ceiling,[66] Symonds was the first English traveller or virtuoso to write detailed and perceptive notes upon it and he is exceptional in having been informed by no less an authority than Poussin. Symonds's account reveals a genuine admiration for Annibale's talents and in particular for his skill in painting the 'fintos' of sculpture which surround or appear to support the paintings. He ended the relevant passage in his notebook by describing Annibale's feigned painting: 'All ye colours of ye naked bodyes has no black in them, they come off so round, they seeme real flesh, mighty gay and glorious.'[67]

TEXT BOUND INTO

THE SPINE

1. For Palazzo Farnese, see Appendix I, fols. 14v - 19r. See also *Palais Farnèse*, 1980-94 passim; for the construction of the palace, see I.1, and II, plates 60-87, 106-31, 140-45; for the measurements of the building, see III.1; see also Robertson, 1992, pp. 137-48, and Martin, 1965, pp. 3-9. Seventeenth-century English visitors to the palace included Richard Lassels who wrote: 'The Pallace of Farnese a rare and sumptuous squaire building built of the stones of the Coliseo,' see Chaney, 1985, p. 198; and John Evelyn who wrote: '...the Palace of the Farnezi, which is a most magnificient square structure, built by Michel Angelo...,' see De Beer, II, p. 214. From the placing of the notes in Egerton MS 1635, Symond's visit probably took place in 1650, but in any case, after his visit to Palazzo Borghese.

2. *The Farnese Bull*, Museo Nazionale, no. 6001. See the 1568 inventory of the antiquities at Palazzo Farnese in *Documenti inediti*, I, pp. 72-77; the *Bull* is recorded 'Al Torro' along with eleven other pieces of sculpture, see I, p. 75. For the 1644 inventory, see Jestaz, 'L'inventaire du palais et des propriétés Farnèse à Rome en 1644,' in *Palais Farnèse*, III.3, p. 191, nos. 4617-33, which records that by 1644 additional pieces of broken statuary were stored in the 'stanza del Toro' with the earlier collection. This inventory is apt to group several paintings or sculptures under one reference number; practically all the paintings and sculptures recorded by Symonds can be identified in it. For a general discussion on the collection, see Jestaz, 'Le Collezioni Farnese di Roma' in Milan, 1995, pp. 49-67; for Paul III's collection of sculpture from the Baths of Caracalla including the *Farnese Bull*, see Jestaz in Milan, 1995, pp. 49-51. Evelyn described how he and his guide were taken to 'a house, or temporary shelter of boards onely [where] we were shewd that most stupendous, and never sufficiently to be admired, Toro, Amphion, and Dirces...,' see De Beer, II, p. 216. See also Richardson, p. 146, who described the *Bull* as being 'under a shed;' it appears that the 'temporary shelter' described by Evelyn had become permanent.

3. The *Farnese Hercules* Museo Nazionale, Naples, no. 6001 and The *Farnese Flora*, no. 6409, see Appendix I, fol. 14v, notes 121 and 122.

4. See De Beer, II, p. 216.

5. See Robertson, 1988, pp. 359-72; see also Robertson, 1992, p. 141. Study of the 1644 inventory of the contents of Palazzo Farnese and that of the paintings taken in 1653, suggests there was little alteration in the arrangement of the collection between these dates. The Palazzo Farnese had not been inhabited by an owner since Odoardo's death. For further references regarding Odoardo's arrangements of the collection and its dispersal after his death, see Jestaz in Milan, 1995, pp. 60-61.

6. See Appendix I, fol. 14v, and note 121.

7. See Appendix I, fol. 14v and note 120, fol. 16v and note 145, and fol. 17r and note 151.

8. See Appendix I, fol. 14v and notes 122-27.

9. See Appendix I, fol. 15r and note 128.

10. See Appendix I, fol.15r and note 130.

11. See Appendix I, fol.15r and note 129. On this occasion Symonds is incorrect since the boy is winged and does not carry a lyre. Symonds may have noted a (grown up) *Arion and the Dolphin* painted in the Galleria by Lanfranco from a sketch by Annibale Carracci; for which, see Martin, pp. 65, 138-39, 235 and figs. 96, 263. Certain subjects in the Galleria (including this one) were chosen because of their association with Farnese antiquities or possessions; for examples of Annibale's use of Farnese antiquities in the decoration of the Palazzo, see Robertson, 'Osservazioni sul mecenatismo del Cardinale Odoardo Farnese,' in Milan, 1995, p. 8.

12. See Richardson, p. 130, who also located these at the top of the stairs. In addition see Van Gelder and Jost, I, p. 159, in which these statues are described as 'Captive Barbarians, sometimes identified as either a Captive Dacian, or a Captive Armenian King, or a Parthian Chief.' For further references, see Appendix I, note 131.

13. See Appendix I, fol. 15r and note 131; see also Vitruvius, ed. D. Barbaro, I, p. 11, concerning the 'trofeo della vittoria à posteri fabriarano il portico Persiano ...in quel portico profero i simulachri de i prigoni con l'ornamento Barbaro del vestire, che sostenevano il tetto....' The *Farnese Captives* standing either side of an archway are illustrated in the text, see p. 12.

14. See Appendix I, fol. 15v and note 132.

15. See Robertson, 1992, pp. 142-43. The 1644 inventory records eighteen busts in ovals in the Sala Grande but with no attributions; there appears to have been a series of seven bronze busts, a bust of marble and bronze, and another series of ten marble busts, see Jestaz, *Palais Farnèse*, III.3, p. 185, no. 4500; Jestaz in Milan, 1995, p. 53; Lanciani, II, p. 164; and Appendix I, note 150.

16. See Appendix I, fol. 15v and note 134. This statue was sought out and acclaimed by other seventeenth-century English visitors, see De Beer, II, p. 308; and Chaney, 1985, p. 198. See also Schott, p. 52.

17. See Appendix I, fol. 15v and note 136.

18. See Appendix I, fol. 15v; and De Beer, II, p. 308.

19. See Appendix I, fol. 15v and note 133.

20. See Appendix I, fol. 15v and note 135. In identifying copies from the Villa Farnesina, then still known by the name of the original patron, Agostino Chigi, Symonds wrote 'Giushe his palace'; in the 1644 and 1653 inventories it is given as Ghisi and Evelyn wrote the name as 'Ghisi' on his first visit to the Farnesina, and 'Gichi' on his second (De Beer, II, pp. 287 and

357); Balthazar Gerbier wrote the name as 'Guisi' (B. Gerbier, *Subsidium Peregrinantibus*, Oxford, 1665, p. 98); and Edward Norgate as 'Gigi' (E. Norgate, *Miniatura or the Art of Limning*, ed. M. Hardie, Oxford, 1919, p. 74).

21. See Appendix I, fol. 15v and note 139. The inventory of the *Quadri di Palazzo Farnese di Roma del 1653* (Parma, Archivo di Stato, Raccolta Manoscritti, n. 86), is partly published in Bertini; for the paintings referred to by Symonds in the Sala Grande, see p. 220, nos. 540, 541 (identified as copies of the Raphaels in the 'Loggie de Ghisi'), 544 (identified as by Correggio with no location), and 547 (see note 22 below); see also Jestaz, *Palais Farnèse*, III.3, p. 128, nos. 3122, 3125, 3128. In addition see Feigenbaum, pp. 298-300; and Baglione, p. 106, where he wrote that Annibale was 'imitando quella del Correggio' which perhaps Symonds had noted.

22. Giovanni Antonio de Sacchis, better known as Pordenone; the painting to which Symonds referred is his *Disputà on the Immaculate Conception* now at Naples, see Appendix I, fol. 15v and note 138.

23. See Appendix I, fol. 15v and note 137. The discrepancy could be due to an incorrect transcription of one or other of the inventories.

24. See Appendix I, fol. 16v and note 141.

25. For Lassels's brief description of his visit to Palazzo Farnese see Chaney, 1985, p. 198.

26. See Appendix I, fol. 16v and note 142.

27. See Bellori, 1968, pp. 47-57; see also Martin, p. 36; Dempsey in *Palais Farnèse*, I.1, p. 275; and Robertson in Milan, 1995, p. 76.

28. See Appendix I, fol. 16v and note 146.

29. See Appendix I, notes 145 and 147; and Baglione, p. 106. The greater part of Baglione's life of Annibale concerns the decorations of Palazzo Farnese.

30. See Appendix I, fol. 16v and note 148.

31. See Appendix I, fol. 17r.

32. See Appendix I, fol. 17r and note 150.

33. See Appendix I, fol. 17r and note 153. Cardinal Odoardo's inclination for complementing sculpture with paintings or painted decoration has been examined by Clare Robertson, see Robertson, 1988, p. 369; and Robertson, 1992, p. 143.

34. See Appendix I, fol. 17r and note 154.

35. Symonds had left England before the inventories of the King's possessions were drawn up or any sales had taken place; the *Emperors* were sold to Captain Stone, son of Nicholas Stone, in October 1651.

36. See Appendix I, fol. 17r and note 152.

37. See Appendix I, fol. 17v and note 157.

38. The 1568 inventory records the *Crouching Venus with Cupid* in the Sala degli Imperatori (known then as the Galleria), see *Documenti inediti*, I, p. 73. The 1644 inventory records three *Venus* statues in the Sala de Filosofi, the *Callypgian Venus* and two versions of *Crouching Venus*, one of these with *Cupid*, see Jestaz, *Palais Farnèse*, III.3, p. 186, no. 4513, p. 187, nos. 4518, 4519; and Jestaz in Milan, 1995, p. 58. See also Riebesell, p. 396; and Vincent, *Palais Farnèse*, I.2, p. 342. Symonds did not record either of these statues.

39. See Appendix I, fol. 17r and note 155.

40. See Bertini, p. 221, no. 586 (where it is identified as from the 'mano d'Anibale Caracci'): and Jestaz, *Palais Farnèse*, III.3, p. 134, no. 3255 (where it is less specifically identified as from the 'mano del Caracci'). See also Posner, II, pp. 21-22, under no. 47.

41. It is possible that Symonds did not record the *Venus with a satyr and two amorini* because he knew it to be a copy. He closely studied Canini's methods for painting shadows and subsequently observed the methods of other painters, see Beal, 1984, pp. 136-37.

42. See Appendix, I, fol. 17r and note 156.

43. See Appendix I, fols. 17v - 18r and note 158.

44. See Appendix I, fol. 18r.

45. See Appendix I, fol. 19r and note 162.

46. For the Camerini, see Appendix I, fol. 19r; and Whitfield, *Palais Farnèse*, I.1, pp. 317-20.

47. See Appendix I, fol. 19r and note 163.

48. The room is identified in both the mid-Seicento inventories as the 'Primo Camerino a canto alla [Santa Maria dell'Orazione e] Morte,' see Bertini, p. 221, nos. 591 and 592; and Jestaz, *Palais Farnèse*, III.3, p. 135, nos. 3294 and 3295; in both 1644 and 1653 the *Sleeping Venus* was attributed to Annibale; *Rinaldo and Armida*, listed immediately afterwards, is recorded as from 'mano del detto.' See also Posner, II, pp. 58-60, nos. 132 and 134.

49. See Appendix I, fol. 19r and notes 167 and 168. Whitfield, who transcribes part of Symonds's notes concerning the Palazzetto, comments that Symonds's interpretation of the

Sleeping Venus is 'si geniale qu'on est transporté par l'enthousiasme,' see in *Palais Farnèse*, I.1, p. 317. See also note 48 above.

50. See Posner, II, p. 62, under no. 137 [S]. In addition see Spear, 1982, Text, pp. 314-15, who rejects the attribution to Domenichino.

51. See Spear, 'Domenichino and the Farnese "Loggia del Giardino",' *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 69, 1967, pp. 169-75; see also Whitfield in *Palais Farnèse*, I.1, pp. 321-22; and Rome, 1996, pp. 384-85, figs. a-c.

52. See Whitfield, *Palais Farnèse*, I.1, pp. 320-21; for the inventories see Bertini, p. 222, nos. 673-81; and Jestaz, *Palais Farnèse*, III.3, p. 138, no. 3332. S. Maria dell'Orazione e Morte (1566) was one of several small and architecturally simple churches built for a confraternity after the Sack of Rome; despite its proximity to Palazzo Farnese and connection with Cardinal Odoardo, the Farnese family were not instrumental in its building or decoration.

53. See Appendix I, fol. 19r and notes 169-71.

54. See De Beer, II, p. 215.

55. See De Beer, II, pp. 215-16. For Orsini's collection at Palazzo Farnese, see Jestaz in Milan, 1995, pp. 55-59.

56. See note 38 above.

57. See De Beer, II, p. 215 and note 4, p. 309 and note 9, and p. 310 and note 1.

58. The bridge from the Palazzo Farnese to the Palazzetto can be seen on the left of the enlarged section of Giovanni Battista Falda's *Pianta di Roma* published in 1676 (Plate 20); two sheds can be seen in the second courtyard; it may not have occurred to Symonds that such a prestigious statue was housed in such a mean shelter.

59. See De Beer, II, p. 214.

60. The 1644 inventory includes paintings, sculpture, furniture, and *objets d'art*; with the exception of the Stanze dei Quadri, these are listed together mainly under the headings of rooms. The paintings on the upper floors appear to be arranged as unsystematically in 1653 as in 1644 and the collection is displayed in the same rooms; however, one important painting, Correggio's *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine* (Naples), recorded in the Guadaròba in 1644, (Jestaz, *Palais Farnèse*, III.3, p. 127, no. 3099), is no longer recorded in the 1653 inventory (although there were two copies of this much-esteemed painting in the collection; one, presumably to replace the original known to be in Parma by 1657, is recorded in a room off the Guardaròba in 1653, see Bertini, p. 210, no. 227; and another that was in the Libraria in 1644 was still there in 1653, see p. 220, no. 478). These details concerning the Naples Correggio supplement the incomplete provenance found in Gould, 1976, pp. 230-1.

61. *Paul III with his Nephews* and *Danae* are recorded in the same places in 1644 and 1653 (i.e. respectively in the second and third stanza of the Stanze dei Quadri); see Bertini, p. 215, nos. 346 and 366; and Jestaz, *Palais Farnèse*, III.3, p. 173, no. 4348, and p. 177, no. 4395; see also Robertson 1988, pp. 366-68. For these two works (*Paul III* and *Danae*) see Wethey, 1969-75, II, pp. 125-26 (no. 76 *Paul III*), III, pp. 55-60 and pp. 132-33 (no. 5 Naples *Danae*), although Wethey had very incomplete knowledge of the Farnese inventories.

62. See Robertson 1988, pp. 370-1. See also Jestaz, 1995, p. 53, who writes 'I Farnese consideravano il loro palazzo un museo.'

63. See Robertson 1988, pp. 362-63.

64. See Beal, 1984, pp. 141-44.

65. See Beal, 1984, pp. 296-97.

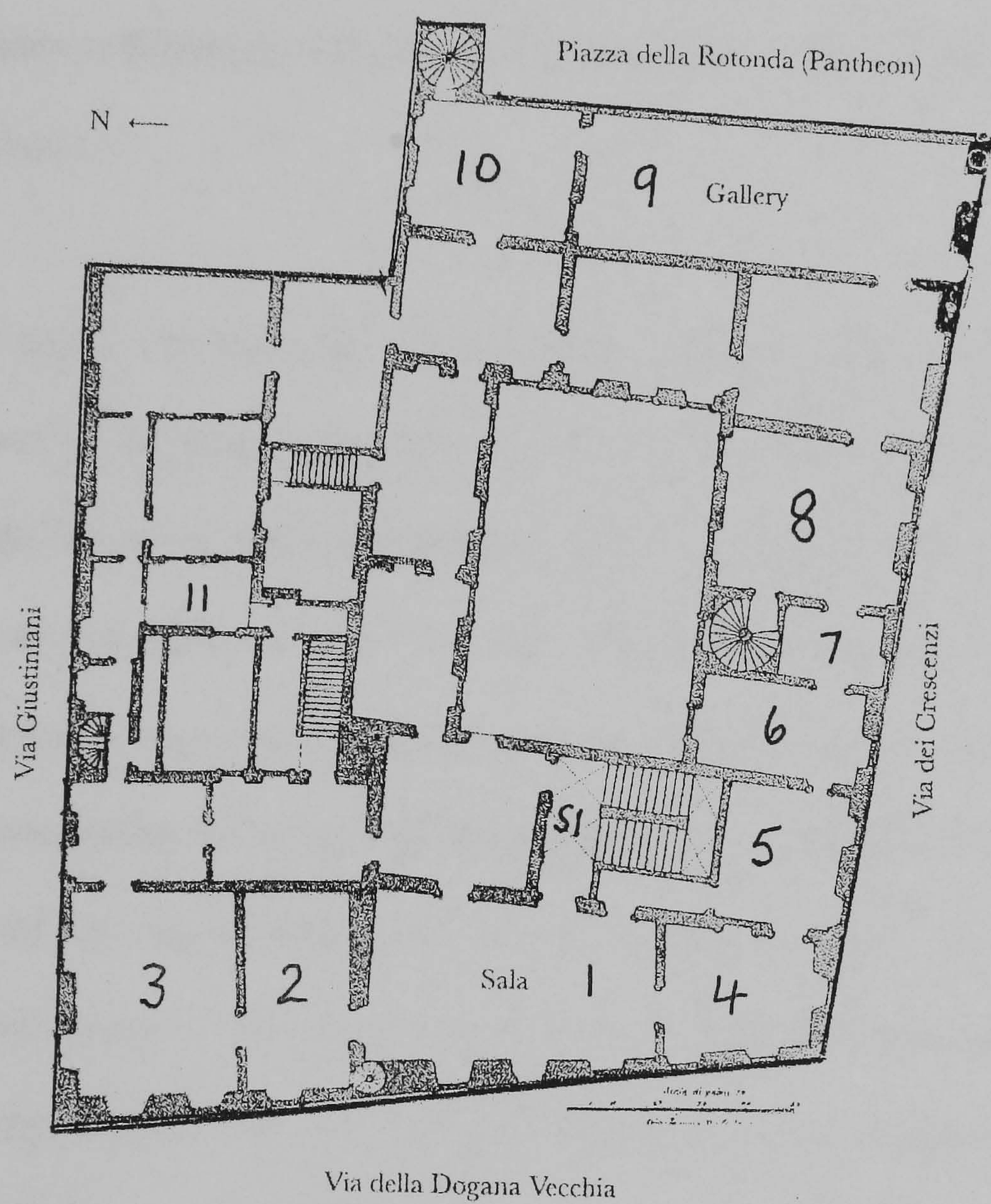
66. See De Beer, II, pp. 215 and 310.

67. See Appendix I, fol. 18r.

Chapter Six

Palazzo Giustiniani

Marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani (1564-1638) and his brother Cardinal Benedetto Giustiniani (1556-1621) had been distinguished collectors and patrons in the early years of the seventeenth century who combined a taste for the work of both Caravaggio and the Carracci.[1] Indeed, Vincenzo surprisingly described both artists in a well-known letter on art as combining the ideal with the study of nature. But, if their taste was rather more inclined to naturalism in modern painting than some contemporary collectors, Vincenzo in particular was no less concerned with antique sculpture.[2] Symonds was no doubt encouraged to visit this collection because of the brothers' celebrated patronage of living artists, some of whom resided in their palace, and because the collection had a different emphasis from some of the others in Rome (particularly Palazzo Barberini) since Vincenzo showed little interest in the artists who rose to papal favour in the 1620s, Pietro da Cortona, Andrea Sacchi, Romanelli, and Bernini. Symonds made at least two visits to Palazzo Giustiniani. On a visit which probably took place in March, 1651, he only recorded antique sculpture that was displayed in the courtyard.[3] On his other, and probably earlier, visit he had a tour of the piano nobile (Plan 4). On this



Plan 4. Palazzo Giustiniani, piano nobile from G.B. Falda, *Nuovi disegni del'architetture e pian te de'palazzi di Roma...Libro Secondo*, 1655.

occasion he commented that 'In this pallace are ye largest & fairest oyle peices for so many togeather, of any other palace in Rome,' these were 'Generally storyes of O^{r} Saviour.' Whether the Giustiniani collection was greater than the Borghese is debatable, but Symonds was correct that the majority of the paintings were of religious subjects; in comparison with the Borghese and Farnese collections (both of which he had recently seen), there were few portraits.[4]

The palace was acquired by the Giustiniani family in 1590; after the death of Vincenzo, the palace passed to his nephew, Principe Andrea Giustiniani, who unlike his uncle, was not a collector. The building is situated 'apresso la rotunda' (as Symonds described), and diagonally opposite S. Luigi dei Francese. The palace remained unaltered until September 1650 when Andrea acquired property towards the Pantheon; work to a design of Borromini was carried out over the next five years on the north-east side.[5] As Symonds made no reference to any construction work (with one possible exception, see below), it is likely that he visited the palace in early 1650 before the alterations and additions were started.

Vincenzo and Benedetto had inherited the palace jointly; each had their separate apartments, the norm in grand Roman families. Benedetto occupied seven rooms on the piano nobile (south side); the rooms of their late father, Giuseppe, were on the same floor (north side) and there were also eight Camere and Anticamere, an irregular shaped Sala Grande (west side), and a

long Galleria (east side; Plan 4, nos. 1 and 9). In 1638 Vicenzo's apartment was partly on the piano nobile and partly on the second floor; in the inventory of that year (see below) the rooms formerly used by his father and brother were still listed under their names, but Vincenzo had taken over some of these as reception rooms, and to display his collection of paintings and sculpture.

Benedetto was apt to arrange his collection by subject or religious theme. After his death Vincenzo left the arrangement in some minor rooms almost unaltered, but he changed the focus in the Galleria (where Benedetto in 1621 had thirty-nine paintings) to his sculpture collection, and moved the most important paintings to the Stanze de Quadri Antichi, rooms that run along the west side (Plan 4, nos. 1, 2 and 3).[6] Vincenzo wrote about painting, architecture, sculpture, music, hunting and etiquette. He became increasingly interested in his collection of antiquities - the largest in Rome - and had two illustrated catalogues of his collection published in 1628 and 1631 entitled *Galleria Giustiniani.*[7] After Vincenzo died in 1638, an inventory of the paintings was compiled which records his attributions, although these have not always found favour with modern scholars. There were more than 300 pictures recorded in the inventory; although it is not complete, it will be used here as the major source of reference.[8] By the early nineteenth century both the sculpture and the picture collection had been dispersed and many paintings are now lost; the building is presently used as government offices.

When Symonds visited the palace the paintings were probably arranged as they

were in 1638 as it is unlikely that Andrea re-arranged the collection before his building projects were completed. Unfortunately Symonds disjointed comments do not provide evidence that this was the case; there are many large gaps that indicate he wrote them up after his visit (as in his records of other collections), and that he could not remember all the works that he wanted to record. He mentioned less than forty pictures, some of them twice (two Caravaggios), and others collectively, or so vaguely as not to be identifiable. Symonds recorded and described some of the pieces of sculpture that were displayed throughout the collection, several of these can be identified in the *Galleria Giustiniani*, for example, the famous *Minerva Giustiniani*, now in the Musei Vaticani, Rome.[9]

Before the alterations in the 1650s, the entrance to the palace was on the south façade on the Via dei Crescenzi (it is now on the Via della Dogana Vecchia). Symonds started writing his notes on the piano nobile (he probably arrived on this floor via what was then the main staircase to the left of the entrance [see Plan 4, S1]).[10] He was 'In the farther roome,' that is, the Stanza Grande de' Quadri Antichi on the north-west corner of the palace, the first of Vincenzo's three rooms of paintings on the west side (Plan 4, no. 3). Vincenzo had adopted the 'new' fashion for covering walls with pictures (one hundred paintings were recorded in the Stanza Grande in 1638) which replaced the earlier fashion for wall hangings. Vincenzo usually grouped paintings by artists (with some exceptions, see below); in the Stanza Grande he chose to bring together paintings by the Carracci and Caravaggio as well as by Raphael,

Titian, and Giorgione; an arrangement which reflected his particular admiration for these painters.

Thirteen paintings by Caravaggio, irrespective of whether they were of sacred or profane subjects, were hung together;[11] one of these was the first painting that Symonds recorded, the *Victorious Cupid*, now in the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin.[12] Symonds noted that the 'Duke of Savoy [had] offerd 2000 Pist.[ols]' for this 'most esteemd' painting and 'Mon^{sr} Cerecdy 3000.' As on some of his other visits to collections, Symonds was likely to have come by this gossip from a servant.[13] When he recorded the painting a second time Symonds wrote down a description of its composition and slightly altered the anecdote. He referred to the 'Card[inal] di Savoya' and 'Monsr Credsy.' The latter (and 'Mon^{sr} Cerecdy') probably alluded to Giovanni Battista Crescenzi, a Roman nobleman who is known to have been an admirer of the works of Caravaggio.[14] The 'Card[inal di Savoya' could refer to Abbate Alessandro Scaglia, one of the most well-known diplomats of his age, and who may have been active in negotiating to buy the painting in his role as ambassador in Rome to the Duke of Savoy (Carlo Emanuele I) from 1614-21.[15] Symonds then recorded that Caravaggio's model for the painting was 'Checco del Caravaggio...[who] twas his boy.' This story, with its suggested implication of Caravaggio's homosexuality, has been the subject of discussion amongst several modern art historians; the source was probably once again Symonds's guide and perhaps it goes to show that despite gossip being contemporary, future historians should not necessarily consider it accurate.[16] Symonds's

following note reads 'Joannes Gambassius Civis Volat Caecus ferit;' this was Giovanni Gonnelli (1602-1675?) a sculptor who was struck blind ('Caecus ferit') in 1632 but continued to model, and, apparently made a portrait in chalk of *Innocent X* by touch. This seemingly irrelevant passage may have been put into Symonds's mind by the name 'Cécco.'[17] He twice recorded Caravaggio's *Luteplayer*, now in the Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg,[18] which he presumably saw hanging with the other Caravaggios in the Stanza Grande, although he did not remark that they were displayed together.[19] In his second reference to the *Luteplayer*, the effeminate subject, which on the first occasion was a 'young fellow,' had become 'A woman y^{t} sounds a lute.'[20]

Although both of the Giustiniani brothers had acquired works by the Carracci and their pupils,[21] it was Vincenzo who hung their paintings in a place of honour in the Stanza Grande with the most renowned and favoured paintings in his collection. Predictably several of these were among the paintings that Symonds selected to record. The first of these was Guido Reni's *St. Paul and St. Anthony in the Desert*, destroyed in 1945,[22] which hung in the '5a Stanza Grande alle suddette, che entra alla Lumaca,' that is, the fifth room along the Via dei Crescenzi with an entry to the spiral staircase (Plan 4, no. 8). Symonds noted that the two saints were 'talking togeather...A Raven brings bread' and that this was one of two 'large' paintings by Guido, although no other was recorded in this room ; perhaps Symonds was referring to Guido's *St. Luke*, another 'large' painting which he recorded later. Vincenzo had hung the *St. Luke* next to three smaller paintings of the other *Evangelists*; these were

Domenichino's *St. John the Evangelist*, now in the Christie Estate, Glyndebourne (which Symonds recorded immediately above), Nicolò Renieri's *St. Matthew* (Symonds originally wrote the name 'Mateo' but crossed it out and replaced it with 'Luca') and Albani's *St. Mark*, which Symonds failed to note at all.[23] Vincenzo may have had in mind that comparisons could be made between the skill of the four artists, much as the Borghese hung paintings by Titian and Raphael together, an arrangement that Symonds had remarked upon on when he visited that collection (see above). Unfortunately his notes on the Giustiniani collection are markedly less coherent and complete.[24]

Symonds recorded a 'St. John in ye wilderness grove by Annibal Carracio' which he considered the 'best thing I ever saw darke shades round full face.'[25] There were ten paintings attributed to Annibale in the 1638 inventory, but none of these represented *St. John in the Wilderness*. Symonds is so clear in his description that it is unlikely that he made a mistake about the subject, although he could possibly have confused Annibale with another artist of the Carracci School. We know that the inventory is incomplete, and Symonds's description, including the shading on the face, does indeed fit a famous work by Annibale very precisely, the *Landscape with St. John the Baptist*, now in the collection of Denis Mahon, of which there is no known early history. Furthermore, the next two paintings that Symonds noted were by followers of Annibale, *Landscape with Figures* and *Landscape with a Hunting Party*, now in the National Gallery, London; these were listed in the '2a Stanza de Quadri Antichi' in 1638 and were grouped with a painting by Annibale, and one by

Agostino (Plan 4, no. 2).[26] It is evident that Symonds's admiration for the Carracci, and in particular Annibale, was increasing with familiarity, and his attribution should be taken seriously, even if he was not always well informed by his guide at Palazzo Giustiniani.

Vincenzo was interested in French artists working in Rome; the inventory lists paintings attributed to Claude Lorraine, Jean Lemaire and Simon Vouet (one painting per artist) and three by Poussin.[27] These acquisitions would have fitted with Vicenzo's increasing interest in classicism rather than works by contemporary Baroque painters, such as Cortona. Of the four French artists that Vincenzo patronised, Symonds only mentioned Poussin (who we know discussed with him Cortona's shortcomings); Symonds noted that in the collection there were '3 quadro's of Mon^{s} Pussino's' but he only identified two of them. One was Poussin's *Massacre of the Innocents*, now in the Musée Condé, Chantilly, which was hanging in the same room as Guido's *St. Paul and St. Anthony in the Desert* (Plan 4, no. 8). Poussin's painting is identifiable by Symonds's description of the subject as '...a Soldier killing a child, treading upont. ye mother by.'[28] Curiously he found the painting to be 'Gay & light' (although he noted it immediately after the *Victorious Cupid*, it was in fact seven rooms away from where the Caravaggios were displayed). Symonds later made a brief reference to 'an asension of Pussin;' this was the *Assumption of the Virgin*, now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, which in 1638 hung in a little room next to the Capella Grande on the north side of the palace (Plan 4, no. 11?); Vincenzo commissioned both these paintings from Poussin

between 1628-30 but evidently did not choose to hang them together.[29]

Symonds commented that the walls of the inner courtyard were painted with 'paeses;' these were monochromes by Antonio Tempesta. They were likely to have been painted for the Giustiniani brothers by a team of painters led by Tempesta at the time they were decorating the Galleria with landscapes circa 1602 (see below). From a vaulted room with windows that overlook the yard Symonds observed Tempesta's frescoes and pieces of sculpture (see Plan 4, no. 6).[30] At this point in the notes there is a large gap and they start again 'In a litle [*sic*] roome much esteemd 5 quadro's of Bassanos.' These were the five 'Bassano Vecchios' listed in the '2a Stanza de Quadri Antichi (i.e., the room next to the Stanza Grande, see Plan 4, no. 2) and were probably the same paintings attributed to 'Francesco Bassano il Vecchio' that were recorded in Benedetto's inventory; of the two brothers it may have been he who had a predilection for landscape subjects and rustic scenes.[31] The 2a Stanza de Quadri Antichi was half the size of the Stanza Grande (de Quadri Antichi), but it held eighty paintings, indicating how tightly they were hung; they included paintings attributed to the Carracci, Titian and Raphael as in the Stanza Grande, but in the smaller room, there were also paintings by lesser artists and unattributed works. Symonds did not record any of the pictures by the most prominent - or his most favoured - painters in this room which makes it doubly strange that he selected the Bassanos which were by an artist whom he did not admire.

Symonds noted Albani's *Last Supper*, formerly in the Prussian Royal Collection, now lost, that he saw in a room 'To go out.' This was the '4a Stanza seguitta al detto appartamento per la quale s'entra allo scoperto,' a small room over the entrance to the palace on the Via dei Crescenzi which evidently gave access ('to go out') to the central balcony (Plan 4, no. 7).[32] He admired a painting of *The Woman taken in Adultery*, then attributed to Giorgione and now to Marconi, now in the Accademia, Venice, which he considered 'rarissimo & old,'[33] and selected another narrative painting by 'Valesio' which he only described as a 'large story.' This was probably the *Three Marys* by Giovanni Luigi Valesio (or Valesi) who although he became secretary to the Ludovisi pope, Gregory XV, had trained as an artist under Ludovico Carracci. Symonds may have known him by repute, or have been familiar with his work.[34] In 1638 Valesio's painting was in one of the former rooms of Cardinal Benedetto, the Prima Stanza, which entered into the Sala Grande on the south-west corner of the palace (Plan 4, no. 4). In the next-door room, the '2a Stanza seguitta' (no. 5), Symonds noted Honthorst's, *Christ Before Caiphas*, now in the National Gallery, London; he knew the painting was by 'Gerardi chi face a bene di notte.'[35] He also knew that a painting in the following '3a Stanza seguitta' (the vaulted room looking on to the courtyard mentioned above, no. 6) was a landscape by Agostino Tassi; this was a now lost *Landscape with the Mausoleum of Artemisia*.[36] In 1638 there were only six paintings displayed in this room, including Poussin's *Mercury and Argus*; this was hung next to Tassi's landscape, and was not recorded by Symonds.

Between two large gaps in his notes Symonds listed the Domenichino *St. John the Evangelist* (and two of the paintings of the *Evangelists* discussed above),[37] before starting to describe several sculptures in what he called the 'Roome of ye Heads;' this was the Galleria which had been conceived by Vincenzo as a 'museum' of antiquities (Plan 4, no. 9). Many antique sculptures stood against the frescoed walls; perhaps the painted decorations were an added incentive for Vincenzo to transport the more important pictures to his Stanze de' Quadri Antichi and to leave only sixteen paintings in the Galleria, the largest room on the piano nobile.[38] The pictures that remained there were not the most noted works in the collection, they included Baglione's two versions of *Victorious Earthly Love*, one now in Berlin, the other destroyed in the war; both were owned by Cardinal Benedetto. Symonds found the paintings 'both almost alike' and noted '2 Angels & Venus a Divel in one.'[39] In fact Baglione painted three versions of the subject; one of the two displayed in the Galleria (no.185) was made in competition with Caravaggio's *Victorious Cupid*, and dedicated to Benedetto as stated in the famous trial of 1603, an event that Symonds probably did not know about as it was just the sort of thing that he liked to record. A third version, representing a nude child, was done in response to Orazio Gentileschi's criticism that Baglione had painted an armed full-grown man. The reason that Symonds failed to connect Caravaggio's painting (which he described originally as an 'Angel' and then changed to 'Cupid') with Baglione's versions of the subject may have been because they depicted men rather than boys.[40]

Symonds attributed the frescoes in the Galleria to Paul Bril. The walls are decorated with grotesques and oval landscapes; Symonds did not comment on these which is surprising as he admired frescoed landscapes in other palaces. Nor did he mention the central scene in the vault depicting the *Meeting of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba* and the four other Solomonic scenes. There appears to be a difference of opinion regarding who commissioned these frescoes. Salerno found that they had been painted for the previous owners, the Vento family,[41] however, Squarzina points out that the arms painted in the Galleria are not that of the Vento, but that the lion rampant belongs to the arms of Benedetto Giustiniani and the red and white chequerboard, surmounted by the crown of the marquisate and the thorn of Christ belongs to the Spinola, Vincenzo's wife's family. There are also differing opinions regarding the painters of the frescoes; the recent article by Squarzina puts the emphasis on their design to Antonio Tempesta, naming Bril and Pietro Paolo Bonzi (called il Gobbo) as his collaborators. Tempesta and his team were active not only in Palazzo Giustiniani in Rome, but also in the Giustiniani palace at Bassano and there are payments recorded for both buildings from 1602 onwards. Symonds's information that Bril worked in the Galleria may have been given by his guide and confirms attributions given by two modern scholars.[42]

While in the Galleria Symonds not only noted a picture of *St. Francis* that he attributed to Girolamo Muziano, but he also made a faint sketch of the saint 'under a Rock.' This was the only instance that he sketched a painting in the collection which indicates that for some reason it particularly impressed him;

it appears to be a now lost painting described as 'Un quadro con S. Francesco che riceve le stimate nel M.ro del Verna [Mount Alverna]' that is recorded in the Galleria without attribution; Symonds's notes identify the artist.[43]

Although Symonds continued his writing with 'Further roome of Ritrattos', the following paintings that he recorded were all in the Stanze de' Quadri Antichi. Nor were they all portraits, although the first that he noted was *The Architect* by Lorenzo Lotto, now in Berlin, which at the time was attributed to Titian.[44] A painting he recorded as '4 heads together either di Parmigiano or Correggio' was probably also a work listed in the Stanza Grande; in the inventory this was described as '3 teste della Madonna, S. Gioseppe e Christo bambino' and attributed to Correggio[45] Symonds did not note that it was a 'pezzo di muro dipinto a fresco;' he almost certainly wrote his comment about this fresco after his visit; by then he was not sure if the painter was Parmigianino or Correggio but he knew that 'Parmigiano imitated Correggio.'

The only indication that alterations in the palace were about to take place was Symonds's badly written comment that there were 'Religous quadros' in the 'Square Roome where? [illegible word] they cannot remaine?'; this may have referred to a square room leading northwards from the Galleria where the building was to be extended (Plan 4, no. 10).[46] If this was the case it must have been an afterthought inserted between notes on paintings in the Stanza Grande de' Quadri Antichi where the four paintings that Symonds recorded preceding this passage were hung, as were the pictures he noted immediately

following it. These were the last paintings that Symonds recorded in the collection and they included works that he attributed to Titian, Raphael and Dosso Dossi,[47] and two he attributed to Annibale Carracci. The first of these was a *Baptism of Christ*;[48] the second was a version or a copy of Annibale's *Christ Mocked*.[49]

Symonds wrote at the bottom of the last folio relating to Palazzo Giustiniani (after a big gap and in different writing) that the two volumes of *Galleria Giustiniani* cost '25 scudi.' These volumes were not listed amongst the books that he sent home so it can be assumed that he considered them too expensive to buy;[50] in addition he (like the present writer) evidently found it annoying that there were 'No discriptioni' of the works represented.

Did Symonds go to the Stanze de' Quadri Antichi twice - or were the last notes, which appear to be the most consistent, written up on return to his lodgings? If the collection was arranged as indicated in the 1638 inventory, his notes were even more chaotic than usual. It is difficult to resolve why this was the case; he frequently appears to have been too hurried to record (or unable to remember) paintings attributed to Titian and Raphael - painters he favoured and meticulously recorded in other collections - and yet found the time to write down anecdotes and sketch a painting of lesser importance by Muziano. His selection from 300 paintings (other than twice mentioning the same paintings by Caravaggio, and his frequent references to works of the Carracci School) is odd more for what he left out than what he put in. Perhaps

(unlike 'Santa Scopatore' at Palazzo Borghese) the Giustiniani servant did not take Symonds on a systematic tour; although long on gossip, he may have been short on skills or willingness as a guide. As it has not been possible to follow Symonds's route around the palace precisely, many of the paintings discussed above are not referred to in the order that he recorded them, but have been grouped by artists. Fortunately Symonds's notes, although erratic, have brought out what made the Giustiniani collection so distinctive, namely the employment of Caravaggio reconciled with a taste for the Carracci, and Vincenzo's quick interest in unknown French painters in the 1620s.

1. See Appendix I, fols. 22r - 28r. The palace acquired by the Giustiniani family in 1590 (having formerly belonged to Piero Vento) is opposite S. Luigi dei Francesi, and is, as stated by Symonds, 'appresso la Rotonda,' see *Galleria Giustiniani*, II, pl. 154. After the death of the Marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani (1564-1638) there was very little alteration in the palace until 1650 when Principe Andrea Giustiniani, nephew and successor of Vincenzo, acquired property towards the Rotonda and work to a design of Borromini was carried out over the next five years on the side towards San Luigi. G.B. Falda's plan of the piano nobile will be used here; although published in *Nuovi disegni del'architetture e pian te de'palazzi di Roma...Libro Secondo*, 1655, it was drawn before Borromini's alterations and therefore shows the palace as it would have been at the time of Symonds's visit (Plan 4). Symonds recorded two visits to the palace; the reference in Appendix I, fols. 22r - 28r is likely to be the first of these. On the second visit (he walked there from the Pantheon on 'the feast of S. Joseph' March' [probably 1651]) he only recorded a few pieces of sculpture in the 'low Court', see B.L. Add. MSS 17919, fol. 41v - 43v. Vincenzo Giustiniani, who owned the largest collection of ancient statues in Rome, had two volumes of illustrated catalogues of them published in 1628 and 1631 entitled *Galleria Giustiniani*. In 1638, after his death, an inventory was compiled of the sculpture and paintings to be found in the palace which reflects attributions by the marchese himself. This inventory, (Rome, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Giustiniani, *Busta* 16) although not complete, will be the major source of reference used here for the Giustiniani collection, see Salerno, 1960, Introduction, pp. 21-27, Part I of the Inventory, pp. 93-104, and Part II of the Inventory, pp. 135-48. For the picture collection of Cardinal Benedetto, see Squarzina, 1997, I, pp. 766-91; and 1998, II, pp. 102-20. For the history of the palazzo, see Quinterio in *Palazzo Giustiniani*, pp. 97-157; for the frescoes, see Magnanimi, in *Palazzo Giustiniani*, pp. 157-74. It is not easy to ascertain from the inventory and Symonds's notes how his tour was conducted; this problem is made even more difficult by the present use of the palace as government offices, many of the rooms on the piano nobile were not accessible to the writer and in any case the layout has been much altered since 1650 (see note 10 below). In his notes Symonds made no reference to a companion so the source of his information was probably a Giustiniani servant, perhaps aided by a guidebook, or the Giustiniani labelling.

2. See Salerno, 1960, Introduction, p. 22; see also Squarzina, II, pp. 111-12; and Langdon, pp. 99-102.

3. It was more likely to be 1651 than 1650 as on a sequentially, and probably chronologically, earlier folio he recorded another visit to the Pantheon which took place on 'Aug. 4 Ort 1650,' see B.L. Add. MS 17919, fol. 40v; and note 1 above.

4. See Appendix I, fol. 22r and note 225. Vincenzo was in favour of religious art over genre subjects or portraits, see Salerno, 1960, Introduction, p. 25.

5. For the history of the building projects at the palace, see Toesca, passim. Scholars are not in agreement regarding how many of Borromini's proposals for the building were carried out, e.g., Blunt considers it was only the main door (A. Blunt, *Borromini*, London, 1979, p. 174). Toesca cites bills from 1650-56 for work carried out to Borromini's designs for the main door and façade towards San Luigi, some regularisation for the side towards Palazzo Patrizi (south-side?), and some adaptation of certain apartments; for this reference and the successive plans by Borromini, see Toesca, pp. 302-05, figs. 9-12; see also Quinterio in *Palazzo Giustiniani*, pp. 97-157. For the frescoes, see Magnanimi, in *Palazzo Giustiniani*, pp. 157-74.

6. See Squarzina, II, pp. 108-09.

7. In the *Galleria Giustiniani* the sculpture was illustrated in engravings from drawings by Sandrart, Guidus, and Perrier, see Appendix I, note 215.

8. See Salerno, 1960, passim. Salerno has not been able to identify many of the paintings which are presumably now lost. He notes that the 1631 will of Vincenzo Giustiniani 'enjoins the heirs never to disperse and divide the collection thereby instituting one of the first Roman galleries held as a trust.' In fact the heirs over the years dispersed the collection; an enormous number of works of sculpture were sold to the Earl of Pembroke in 1720 and various paintings were sold in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries with the rest of the collection acquired *en bloc* by the King of Prussia in 1812, see Salerno, 1960, Introduction, pp. 25-26.

9. See Appendix I, fol. 22r and note 220.

10. See Appendix I, fol. 22r. Not only has the position of the main staircase been altered to the north side, several of the rooms on the piano nobile have been changed as well, some divided (including the former Sala Grande) and others have had walls removed to make them larger (including two of the former Stanze de' Quadri Antichi).

11. The group included *St. Augustine*, *St. Jerome*, the *Magdalene*, the *Lute-player*, the *Incredulity of St. Thomas* and the *Victorious Cupid*, see Salerno, 1960, II, pp. 135-36, nos. 1-13; see also Squarzina, II, p. 109.

12. See Appendix I, fol. 22r and note 216.

13. The exaggerated value of Caravaggio's painting recorded by Symonds has been discussed by Gilbert, see p. 199; and by Langdon, see pp. 220-21.

14. See Appendix I, note 218.

15. See Appendix I, fol. 26v and notes 217 and 256. In fact although he made several attempts to be created a cardinal, 'Scaglia never attained a Cardinal's hat,' see Cifani and Monetti, p. 506; but Symonds (or the Giustiniani servant) may have 'given' him one.

16. See Appendix I, fol. 26v and note 257; see also Gilbert, pp. 199-202; Gash, p. 41; and Langdon, pp. 220-21 who writes: 'Nor is it likely that Vincenzo, a pious and married man and brother of an eminent Cardinal, would have flaunted a painting of so celebrated a painter's lover at the centre of papal Rome.'

17. See Appendix I, fol. 26v and notes 257-59.

18. See Appendix I, fols. 23r and 27r and notes 232 and 262.

19. See Salerno, 1960, II, pp. 141-44. Paintings attributed to specific artists were hung together; pictures given to various schools of paintings were also hung in groups.

20. See Appendix I, fol. 27r.

21. See the post mortem inventory of Benedetto in Squarzina, I, pp. 782-91.

22. See Appendix I, fol. 22v and note 228.

23. See Appendix I, fol.25r and notes 242-43.

24. After recording Guido's *St. Luke*, Symonds wrote 'St Paolo St Paolo Pussino;' this was probably a repeat reference to Guido's *St. Paul and St. Anthony* and to Poussin's *Massacre of the Innocents* which were displayed near each other (nos. 149 and 153 respectively) in the '5a Stanza.'

25. See Appendix I, fol .23v and note 235.

26. See Appendix I, fol. 23v and note 236.

27. See Salerno, 1960, II, p. 148; see also Haskell, 1980, p. 94, note 3, who refers to Vincenzo's famous letter to Dirk Ameyden laying out his views on art.

28. See Appendix I, fol. 22v and note 226.

29. See Appendix I, fol. 23v and note 237.

30. See Appendix I, fol. 22v and note 229.

31. See Appendix I, fol. 23r and note 231; and Squarzina, I, p. 781, nos. 63-65, p. 782, nos. 1-4.

32. See Appendix I, fol. 23v and note 234.

33. See Appendix I, fol. 24r and note 238.

34. See Appendix I, fol. 24v and note 239.

35. See Appendix I, fol. 24v and note 240.

36. See Appendix I, fol. 24v and note 241.

37. See Appendix I, fol. 25r and note 242.

38. See note 1 above; and Appendix I, notes 245-55.

39. See Appendix I, fol. 26r and note 253. Vincenzo hung a portrait of his father Giuseppe by Bernardo Castello in the Galleria, but the portrait by Caravaggio of his brother Benedetto (an unknown work) he moved to the Stanza Grande de' Quadri Antichi with other important paintings.

40. See Appendix I, fol. 22r and note 216. The third version is probably now in a private collection in Rome, see Spear, 1975, pp. 48-9, no.4, who also gives a brief account of the trial in which Baglione accused Caravaggio, Orazio Gentileschi and other painters of slander.

41. See Salerno, 1960, Introduction, p. 21.

42. See Appendix I, fol. 26r and note 254.

43. See Appendix I, fol. 26r and note 255.

44. See Appendix I, fol. 27r and note 260.

45. See Appendix I, fol. 27r and note 261.

46. See Appendix I, fol. 27v and note 263.

47. See Appendix I, fols. 27v - 28r; for the 'little quadro' by Titian, see note 264. Symonds made two references to a Raphael *Madonna with the Christchild and St. John*, see note 265. For the 'Xto morto & Angels del Palma,' see note 267; for the 'Divers heads Dossi,' see note 268.

48. See Appendix I, fol. 27v and note 266.

49. See Appendix I, fol. 28r and note 269.

50. See B.L. Harley MS 943, fols. 110v - 111v.

Chapter Seven

Palazzi Mattei, Spada, Mazzerino and Sacchetti

Symonds made some interesting observations on four other collections than those discussed above. These had been formed by the Mattei family, Cardinal Spada, Cardinal Mazarin, and Marcello and Giulio Sacchetti and were located in their palaces.[1] Although important, these collections were neither as large or as prestigious as the those acquired by the Borghese, Farnese or Giustiniani, but they all had aspects that interested Symonds and the visits had probably been recommended to him by Canini. They will be looked at in the order of sequence in which they appear in Egerton MS 1635 (which is probably the same order that they were visited by Symonds).

Of the four collections, solely that of the Mattei (an ancient and venerated Roman family) had been formed over more than one generation, but this was only during a period of about fifty years. As in the case of the formation of the greater collections, the Mattei, Spada, Mazarin and the Sachetti brothers had used the fruits of their success to buy and commission works of art and to build or purchase palaces in which to display their acquisitions. Cardinal

Bernardino Spada was a protégé of Urban VIII and had been Papal Nunzio in Paris where he knew Cardinal Mazarin (and had been supported by Mazarin in the conclave following the death of Innocent X). Spada started to collect paintings during the late 1620s when he was Papal Legate in Bologna. On his return to Rome in 1631, alterations to Palazzo Spada were commenced and continued for more than twenty years; the Galleria, where he displayed the major part of his collection, was constructed in 1636-37.[2] Mazarin was born Italian (Giulio Mazzarini), and was a protégé of Richelieu; through him Mazarin was made a cardinal, and after Richelieu's death, he acted exclusively for the French court and achieved enormous political influence. Although he bought Palazzo Mazzerino ca. 1644, he never returned to Rome to live there and intended it for distinguished French visitors to the city - the paintings that Symonds saw there reflect the owner's absence. Mazarin's great collection of paintings, acquired over twenty years, was in Paris; it is not known if the pictures that were in Palazzo Mazzerino were bought before or after he acquired the palace.[3] Marcello Sacchetti and his brother Cardinal Giulio were members of a wealthy Florentine banking family, but like Spada, their own achievements were linked to a personal friendship with Urban VIII. Their collection of paintings was formed over a period from the mid-1620s but it was only transferred to Palazzo Sacchetti in 1649 after Marcello was dead.[4]

PALAZZO MATTEI

Palazzo Mattei Giove was built by Carlo Maderno for Asdrubale Mattei (1556-1638), the youngest of three brothers; the elder two were Ciriaco (1556-

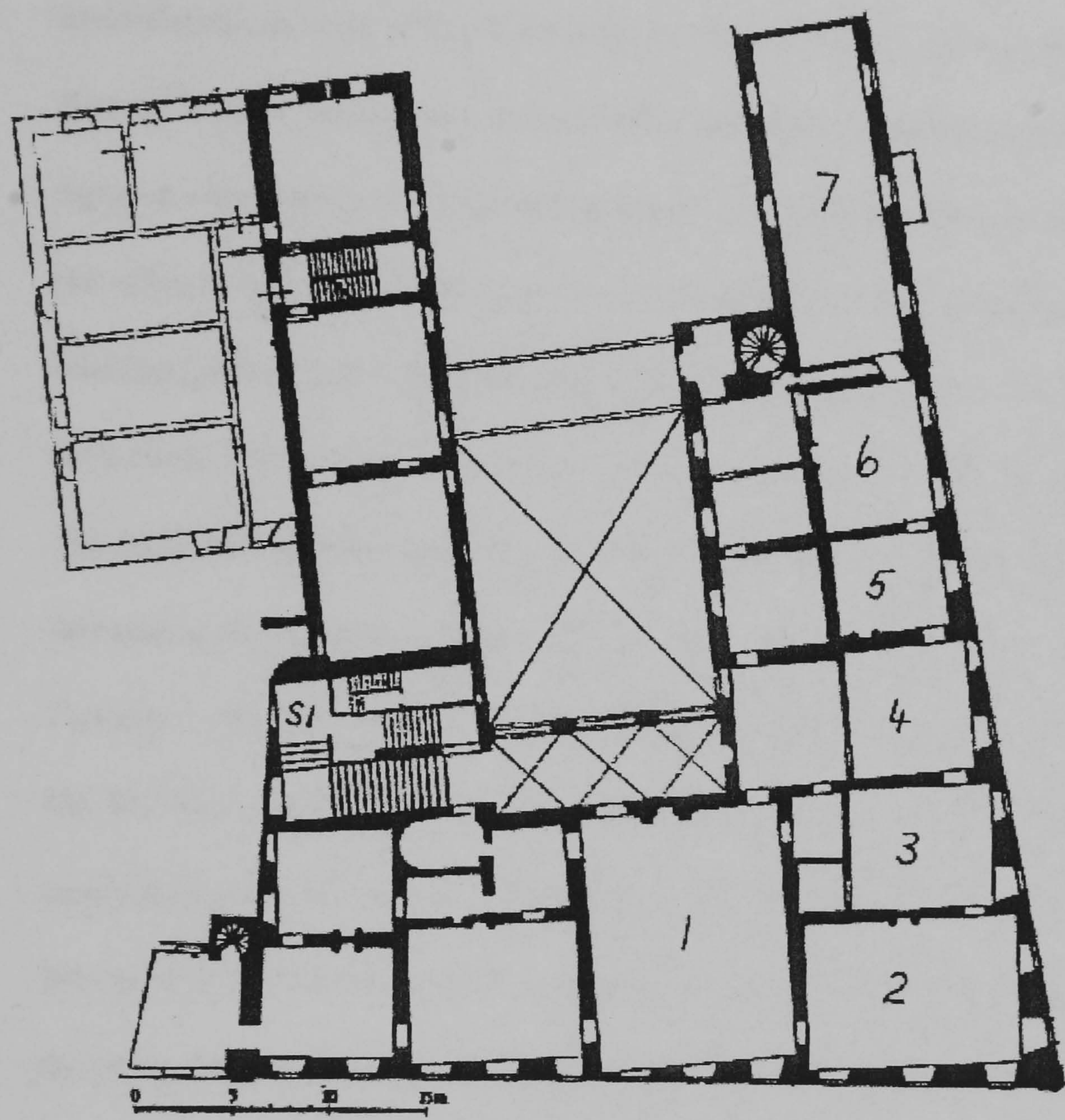
1614), and Girolamo (1545-1603). Asdrubale's palace was built next to the earlier family palace, the Mattei-Caetini.[5] Ciriaco formed a large collection of antiquities in the late sixteenth century which he displayed in the courtyard; some of these had been moved from the family's villas at Celimontana and Navicella to the new palace. In 1595 the number was increased when he bought the collections of antiquities that belonged to the Duke of Savelli and Alessandro Massimi. Ciriaco's interest was not limited to the antique; in the inventory taken two years after his death he left more than eighty paintings, including works by Caravaggio.[6] Ciriaco's collection was subsequently inherited by his brother Asdrubale, who had collected paintings of religious, landscape, and narrative subjects by a variety of painters who were working in Rome in the second or third decade of the Seicento.[7] The third brother, Cardinal Girolamo, was less of a collector, but it was he who was instrumental in Ciriaco's patronage of Caravaggio.

At the time of Symonds's visit Asdrubale's palace was inhabited by Ciriaco's son, Girolamo (b.1592), who had married his cousin, Dorotea Mattei. The collection was arranged much as it had been in the time of his father except for portraits of illustrious persons which were added when the daughter of Asdrubale, Maria Vittoria, married Scipione Gonzaga di Bozzolo in 1640; in 1646 there was a further influx of portraits. The collection remained intact until most of it was sold by Giuseppe Mattei at the end of the eighteenth century. Many of the paintings in the collection are now in the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica di Palazzo Barberini.

Symonds observed that the palace was 'by ye Jewes;' this is the Jewish ghetto quarter of Rome located between the Via Arenula and the Theatre of Marcellus.[8] The main portal of the palace, where Symonds probably entered, is on the Via dei Funari. As on other occasions, the tour was restricted to certain reception rooms on the piano nobile (which have not been structurally altered). We know that Symonds was accompanied - perhaps by Canini - as in his notes he refers to 'us' (it is possible, although unlikely, that 'us' applied to a Mattei servant, see below).

Symonds began his visit with comments on Ciriaco's numerous bas-reliefs and busts of Roman emperors inset into the walls of the palace courtyard, and the statues that are placed on plinths (Plates 23 and 24).[9] He then went up to the piano nobile by the main staircase on the south-west corner (Plan 5, S1).[10] After noting the large stucco bas-reliefs which decorate the walls and the landing ceilings (Plate 25),[11] Symonds described some 'old chayres Wth Cushions on y^{m} all of W.[hite] marble.' These are small seats composed from antique altars (which probably came from Ciriaco's collection) with stucco tasselled cushions attached to the top (Plates 26 and 27); they are still placed at intervals on the landings of the staircase (Plate 28). At the top of the last flight is a wide open loggia with an entrance into the Salone d'Ingresso the largest room on the piano nobile (Plan 5, no. 1).[12]

Symonds recorded twenty-one paintings and three frescoes on his tour of



Plan 5. Palazzo Mattei, piano nobile from H. Hibbard, *Carlo Maderno and Roman Architecture, 1580-1630*, p. 45, fig. 3.

Palazzo Mattei, but with the exception of a Guido Reni (see below), he gave no attributions and few subjects (although curiously he took the trouble to note the measurements of one fresco and two large paintings, see fol. 29r). In the Salone d'Ingresso Symonds recorded two narrative paintings which can be identified as Giovanni Senese's *Tilting in Piazza Navona*, now in the Museo di Roma,[13] and an anonymous *Tilting in the Belvedere* which was presumably hung as a pendant to the other tilting scene.[14] Symonds may have known what the subjects were by recognising the scenes depicted; if the paintings were labelled (although this does not appear to have applied to the rest of the collection), the subjects were evidently of more interest to him than the artists. He described another painting in the Salone d'Ingresso as a large 'Battagle'; this can be identified as Gaspare Celio's now lost *Battle between Caesar and Pompey*.[15] In the ceiling vault of this room is Celio's fresco *The Crossing of the Red Sea* which Symonds recorded, but he did not identify the artist or the easily recognisable subject.[16] We know that Symonds had his notebook with him as later in his visit he made a sketch in it, but once again the large gaps in the notes indicate they were written up later when he may have forgotten names or become uncertain about subjects. Despite not giving either the battle scene or the ceiling fresco to Celio, Symonds was aware that Celio painted 'divers Frescos in this palace' and wrote down the relevant page number for Baglione's *Vite* (Symonds may have had his copy with him, or entered this reference on his return home); perhaps it was because Celio was a pupil of Annibale Carracci that Symonds particularly noted him rather than the many other painters represented in the collection that he ignored.[17]

The Mattei hung seven paintings of their *Feudi di Giove* (family fiefdoms) in the Salone d'Ingresso (Symonds noted there were '6;' probably his mistake).[18] Displaying the family properties in a room seen by all visitors was no doubt a form of one-upmanship. The *Feudi* had been commissioned by Asdrubale from Paul Bril; although Symonds mentioned Bril in his notes on Palazzo Giustiniani, here he did not record his name; he simply described these 'very good' paintings as 'Castles on the top of hills & paeses about' apparently unaware of their significance to the Mattei family.

Symonds passed from the Salone d'Ingresso into the first, and largest, of five ante-rooms that run along the south (Via Caetani) side of the palace (Plan 5, no. 2). This room is decorated with Antonio Circagni's and Prospero Orsi's ceiling and wall frescoes that depict scenes from the *Life of Joseph*, but although Symonds admired the ceiling fresco, he mistakenly (but perhaps understandably) described it as 'A Roman Emperor in Triumph...very excellent, much gui[l]ding upon ye charyot.'[19] Symonds commented that the walls of this room were covered with 'guilt leather hangings' (no longer there); against this rich background were hung paintings of religious subjects. Amongst them Symonds noted a 'Demy St. Francis;'[20] this was probably a half-size unattributed painting of *St. Francis* listed in the inventories near to the painting that Symonds next recorded, Caravaggio's *Taking of Christ in the Garden*, now in the National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin. Caravaggio's painting, commissioned by Ciriaco, is recorded by numerous visitors to the

collection including Celio in 1620, when it was owned by Ciriaco's son Giovan Battista, and by Bellori in 1664.[21] Adsrubale had a copy made in 1626 by Giovanni di Attilo, thinking that the original was going out of the collection (this copy is cited without location in the 1631 inventories). Symonds did not identify the picture with Caravaggio, and 'sandwiched' it in his notes between two unremarkable paintings (the *St. Francis* and an unidentified *Madonna*), yet he had made detailed notes on two of the Caravaggios in the Giustiniani collection and referred to the painter later in his visit to Palazzo Mattei;[22] a faint possibility is that Symonds was looking at Attilo's copy of the *Taking of Christ*, and was discerning enough to know this, but, more likely, he was simply uninformed. Displayed in the same room was Giovanni Serodine's *Christ and the Elders,* now in the Louvre, which Symonds considered was 'excellent.' Serodine's painting was hung there because Asdrubale had inherited another version of the subject from Ciriaco by Anteveduto Gramatica (now at St. Bride Presbytery, Cowdenbeath) which was already in the Galleria.[23]

Asdrubale had added the Galleria as an afterthought, probably on the occasion of his marriage to his second wife, Costanza Gonzaga in 1594; it was completed by Maderno in 1618 (Plan 5, no. 7).[24] To arrive there Symonds went through a 'roome hangd wth Tapestry and & 2 or 3 more;' in the last of the ante-rooms he met 'The old Princesse' (nos. 3-6). It is possible that this was Asdrubale's widow, the dowager Princess Costanza (her dates have not been identified, but she could have been in her early seventies) or Girolamo's wife

Dorotea (who was probably in her fifties). This lady graciously acknowledged Symonds and his companion (it is at this point that Symonds used the term 'us;' the princess's gesture indicates a companion of social standing rather than a servant). Symonds commented that the Galleria was 'full of oyld Peices in playne guilt frame, all frames being fastened together.' He was referring to eight paintings depicting events in the life of Christ that were hung in sequence, and Giovanni Senese's two *Entratas* and one *Cavalcata*, which ran as a frieze.[25] Symonds described Senese's *The Cavalcade of the Grand Turk*, and *The Entry of Clement VIII into Ferrara*, both now in Palazzo Barberini. Symonds noted and made a sketch of the Grand Turk's turban placed on his coffin; it was typical of Symonds to be interested in a minor feature which caught his eye but was probably not even noticed by other visitors; it was the only drawing he made in Palazzo Mattei. The eight paintings 'of O^{r} Saviour's story' were by various artists, none of them were identified by Symonds; they included Orazio Rimanaldi, Giovanni Serodine, Antiveduto Gramatica, and Alessandro Turchi (who may have been unfamiliar to him), as well as Pietro da Cortona (who he had not as yet referred to in Egerton MS 1635), but one other, Valentin de Boulogne, had been noted by Symonds on his visit to Palazzo Borghese.

Of the eight paintings in this series, Symonds only briefly recorded Cortona's *Nativity*, and described Rimanaldi's *Sacrifice of Isaac* (both now in Palazzo Barberini).[26] Symonds considered that Cortona's Galleria ceiling frescoes that depict scenes from the life of Solomon (including his meeting with the Queen

of Sheba) were 'not excellent.' Symonds did not identify the painter or the subject, therefore it is not evident if he knew who or what these were. Perhaps his disparaging remark was his own judgement, or, if he was aware of who painted these frescoes, it was another example of Poussin's lasting influence on Symonds by his criticism of Cortona (discussed above).[27]

The only painting at Palazzo Mattei to which Symonds gave an attribution was a *St. Jerome* that he recorded as by Guido Reni; this picture was pointed out (and possibly also attributed) by the princess. There are paintings depicting *St. Jerome* listed in the inventories, but none of these are given to Reni, nor is there one with a Mattei provenance in the current literature on the artist. However, it is likely to be the *St. Jerome* painted by Reni (present provenance unknown) that was added to the collection in the 1640s where it was subsequently noted by both Bellori and Titi.[28] This is another instance of Symonds showing his interest and growing familiarity with painters of the Carracci School.

Although Symonds omitted to mention Caravaggio earlier in his visit, he recorded that the 'old Princesse' informed them that 'she had divers pieces of Caravaggios...in her bedchamb[er] of unestimable valew.' The early inventories of the collection suggest that these paintings were copies by followers of Caravaggio rather than originals. Adsrubale not only had copies made of the *Taking of Christ*, but also of the *Incredulity of Thomas* (the original now in Potsdam) after the painting belonging to Vincenzo Giustiniani,

and two others, *St. John the Baptist*, after the version now in the Pinacoteca Capitolina, Rome, and the now lost *David with a Sling*.[29] Symonds probably thought that a member of the family was a reliable informant; perhaps the princess was trying to impress the visitors, on the other hand, she may have genuinely considered that good copies were very valuable.[30]

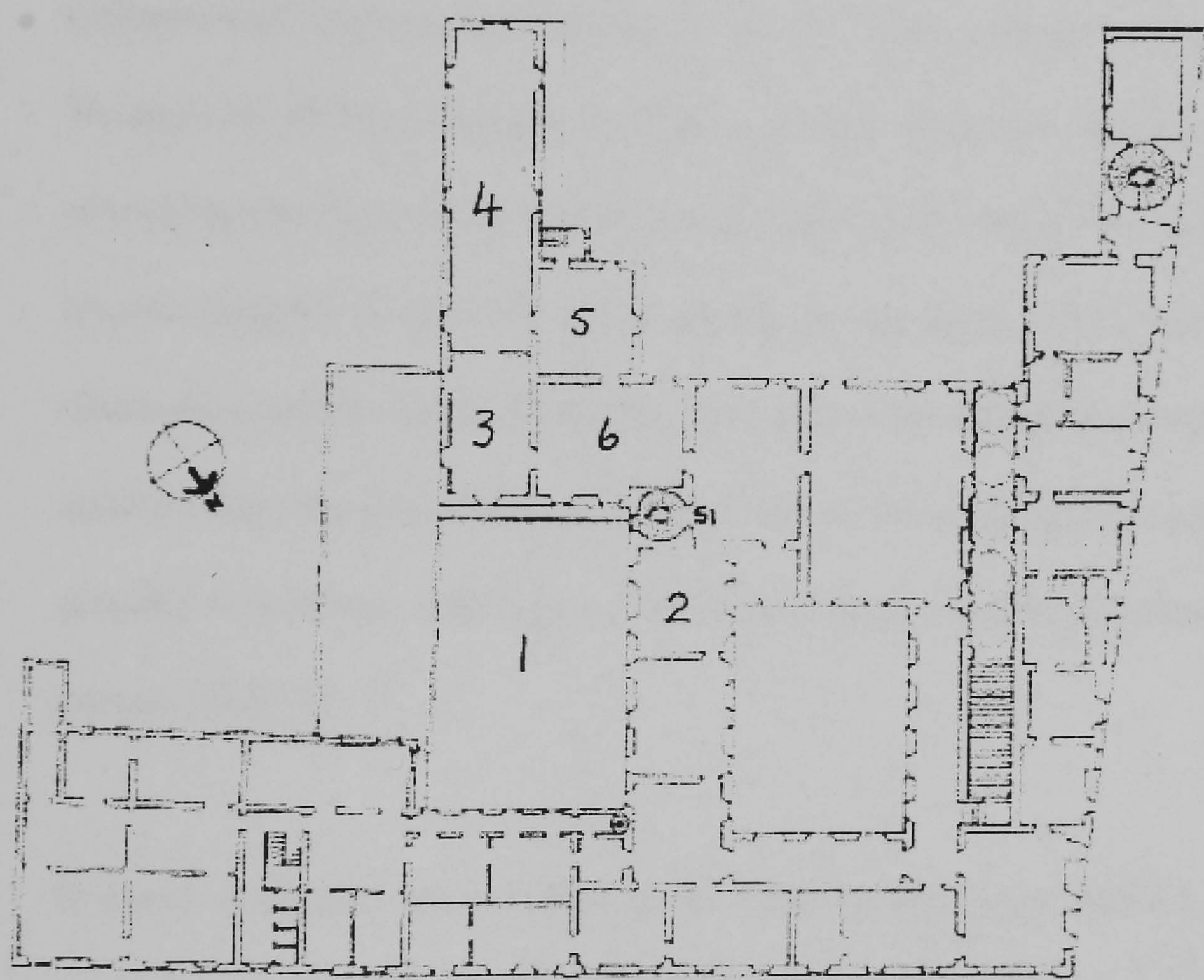
Symonds's notes on Palazzo Giustiniani and Palazzo Mattei are entered consecutively in the *Repertorio* (and in the same style of writing) indicating that the visits were made in succession. The two families were close friends and employed several of the same artists, for example, Roncalli, Bril, Bonzi and Caravaggio (and in the case of the *Queen of Sheba*, commissioned the same subject), but Symonds does not appear to have observed this fact. His notes on both these collections are not as full or as informative as they might be and both have large gaps between passages; a possibile explanation is that in both instances Symonds was recording something of the experience of visiting these palaces which has taken precedence over the catalogue of works seen. Even so, if his companion at Palazzo Mattei was Canini, it is odd that (with the possible exception of Reni's *St. Jerome*) he did not provide Symonds with more information about the collection, or that if he did, Symonds recorded so little of it.

Although he does not appear to have gleaned much as a connoisseur from his tour of the Mattei collection, Symonds did have the opportunity to meet the convivial princess, see the 'Young sons of ye family in Beretti wth a Tutor,' and

comment that separate apartments were kept by the Prince and Princess Mattei.[31] This visit is the only surviving record of Symonds meeting a member of one of the great Roman families and observing their habits at firsthand.

PALAZZO SPADA

Although Symonds made several entries between his notes on Palazzo Mattei and Palazzo Spada, including his visit to Francesco Angeloni, Palazzo Spada was the next entry in sequence that concerned a grand palace and substantial collection of paintings. Palazzo Spada is located in Piazza Capodiferro, and was acquired by Cardinal Bernadino di Spada (1594-1661) in 1632.[32] Spada, who could have been in residence at the time of Symonds's visit, continued to alter and expand the building until his death. Spada's architect for the first seventeen years of his ownership was Paolo Maruscelli, followed by Francesco Borromini. The layout of the piano nobile survives in the mid-seventeenth century form and appears to have been unaltered (Plan 6). The main part of the collection was formed out of the paintings that Spada had acquired in Bologna between 1627-31 where he patronised artists of the Carracci School. The collection (which has been augmented by successive generations of his family) is the only one where paintings described by Symonds are still *in situ* (with the exception of Perrier's landscapes, discussed below). The picture gallery is open to the public; the building has been the seat of the Council of State since 1889.



Plan 6. Palazzo Spada, piano nobile from L. Neppi, *Palazzo Spada*, p. 339.

As Symonds did not comment on Giulio Mazzoni's outstanding stucco ornamentation and the statues on the piazza façade, it is likely that he entered from the Via Giulia by the garden at the rear of the palace, and went up to the piano nobile by a spiral staircase, just as visitors to the Galleria Spada do today, (Plan 6, S1). He started his notes in the Sala Grande, built for Cardinal Spada in the 1630s and frescoed by two Bolognese painters, Michelangelo Colonna and Agostino Mitelli (Plan 6, no. 1).[33] Symonds referred to the 'Perspective' of their decorations which represent life-size figures in a setting of realistically painted walls, staircase and balustrade (Plate 29). Incorporated into the larger scheme of the wall frescoes are four monochrome scenes illustrating notable deeds (Plate 30); Symonds observed that they were subjects from the life of Constantine painted in 'chiarascuro,' his usual term for grisaille decorations, although in this instance they are painted in 'gold and greene' (Plate 31).[34]

Symonds evidently was not taken to the elaborate corridor called the Galleria degli Stucchi, or to the mathematical Meridian Gallery which would have intrigued him; from the Sala Grande he seemingly went briefly into the Stanza delle Quattro Stagione (Plan 6, no. 2).[35] This is a small ante-room with ceiling paintings and stucco figures by Giulio Mazzoni. Symonds's following notes start in what was Cardinal Spada's studiolo (Plan 6, no. 3), constructed in 1636-37 at the same time as the Galleria (no. 4).[36] Symonds did not describe Perrier's studiolo freize (a copy of one that Perino del Vaga painted in the Sistine Chapel), instead he admired three 'pretty p[er]spectives...done by

Mons[r] François Perier [*sic*] who is dead now' (no longer displayed in the collection and present whereabouts not identified). These three paintings were listed in the same account as a payment to Perrier for the frieze; one of them was described as 'Un quadro Historia di Scipione Africano;' as already mentioned, it appears that Symonds thought a painting of the *Continence of Scipio* depicted the Queen of Sheba and Solomon, perhaps an understandable mistake (although he had seen versions of the same subject in frescoes in Palazzi Giustiniani and Mattei which he also did not identify [see above]), yet in Palazzo Borghese, where he had the benefit of the servant Santa Scopatore, he identified Piazza's fresco of the *Queen of Sheba and Solomon* (see Chapter Four). Although Symonds was not informed as to the subjects of Perrier's paintings, he evidently had some knowledge of Perrier himself; as he returned to France in late 1649 Symonds was unlikely to have met him, but he may well have heard of him from Canini.

In the Galleria Symonds found that amongst 'Divers quadros there are especially 2 lookt upon' (Plan 6, no. 4).[37] The first of these was Guercino's *Death of Dido*, still in the collection, a painting that Spada had astutely acquired in 1631 due to controversy surrounding its departure to Spain (where it was probably intended to enter the collection of Philip IV).[38] Symonds could have known of the 'Guercino du Cento of Didos killing her selfe' beforehand, or he may have been told the subject by a guide, but more than likely he was able to recognise this dramatic narrative. In describing the picture he referred to 'La Maniera Tedesca;' he may have been alluding to the

background painting, that is, it was 'northern' rather than Italian, alternatively he might have been referring to Guercino's somewhat stiff treatment of the draperies compared to other Italian painters; Symonds may have heard the topic discussed by Canini.[39] As mentioned in Chapter Three, Symonds was interested in the dress and costumes of all the figures and commented that some of them were in 'ye new Roman fashion' and 'some like Swisse;'[40] one of the spectators is wearing similar clothes and beret as those worn by the Swiss Guard; almost exactly a hundred years later, Jonathan Richardson was to make a similar observation.[41] Symonds wrote that the painting was bought for '400 Crownes Refusd now 4 thousand C.[rownes];' this information may have been provided by the Spada servant. In this instance the purchase price was based on fact (but probably this did not apply to the sum allegedly more recently offered and refused), Guercino's account book records that Spada paid 400 scudi (scudi were also known as crowns) for the painting in 1631.[42]

The second painting that Symonds 'especially lookt upon' was a copy by Giacinto Campana of Guido Reni's the *Abduction of Helen*, still in the collection.[43] Symonds did not record Campana's name but he knew that he was 'one of Guido Renys schollars' and that this studio work was evidently 'finisht,' that is retouched, by Guido himself. Symonds appears to be very well informed about Guido's studio practice and is more likely to have come by this knowledge through Canini rather than the Spada servant. He described two more paintings in the collection without identifying the subject or the artist; from his comments these appear to be a *St. Christopher* by the early

Bolognese artist, Amico Aspertini,[44] and *Landscape with Hunt of the Wild boar and Greasy Pole*, by Nicolò Dell'Abate,[45] both still in the collection. Symonds's notes on Palazzo Spada end with a reference to the huge first-century Roman statue of *Pompey* which still dominates the Sala Grande (Plan 6, no. 1; and Plate 32);[46] this entry was either written as an afterthought, or Symonds briefly returned to the room before leaving the palace. The visit to Palazzo Spada is another occasion when Symonds chose to record paintings by an artist of the Carracci School or one of their followers. As he did not comment on the portraits of Cardinal Spada by Guido Reni and Guercino, which were in the collection at the time, seemingly they were not on public display.

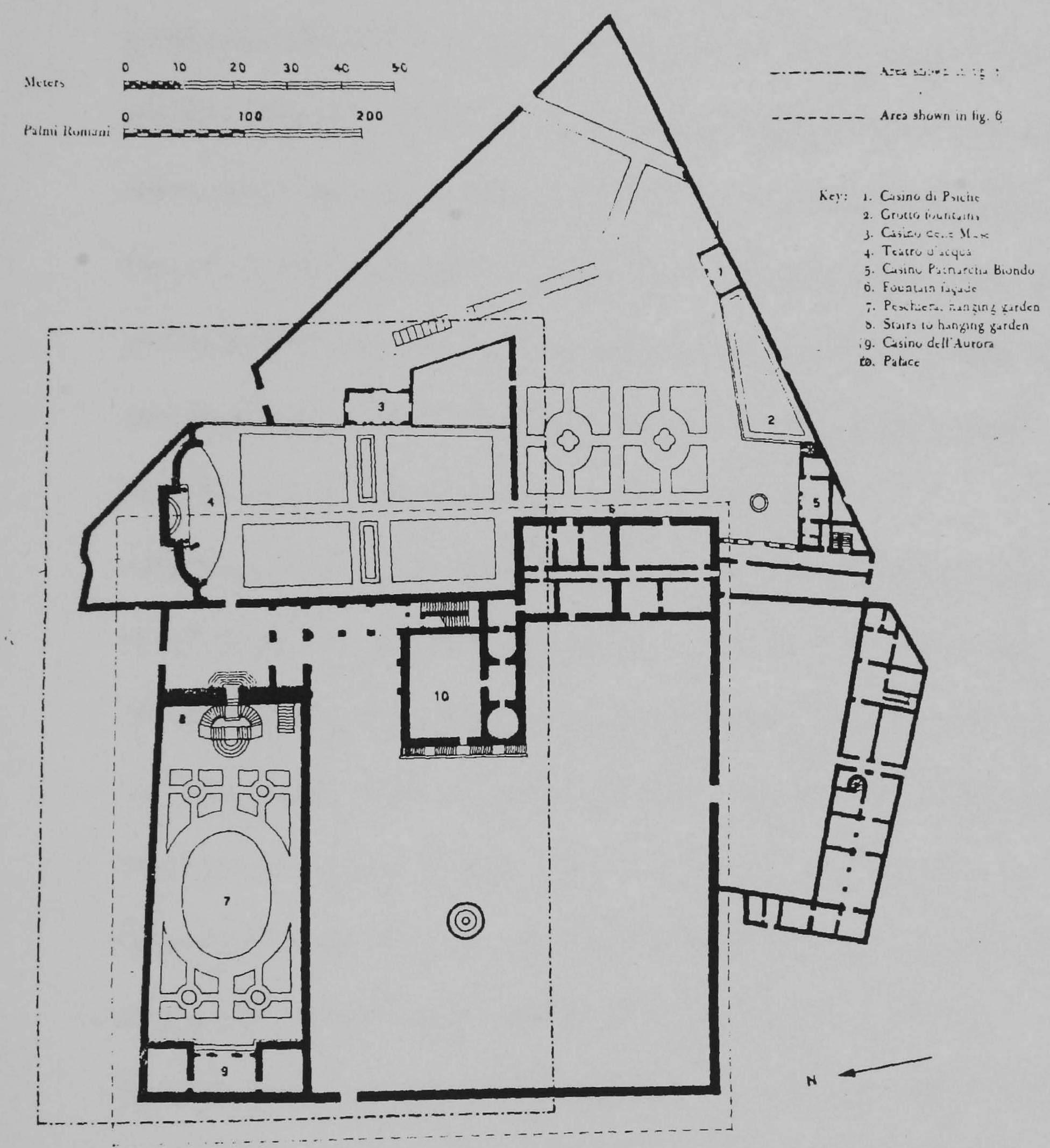
PALAZZO MAZZERINO

The next collection in sequence (and probably close in date as it is entered in the *Repertorio* in the same writing as Palazzo Spada) is Palazzo Mazzerino (now called Palazzo Pallavicini Rospigliosi). Cardinal Scipione Borghese had constructed the palace on land given to him by his uncle Paul V in 1611; the site was the Baths of Constantine on the Quirinal Hill. Three architects were involved in the building plans for the Garden Palace; these were: Flaminio Ponzio, Carlo Maderno, and Giovanni Van Santen.[47] Work started immediately on garden houses and loggias, fountains and fish ponds, but by 1616 Scipione had sold the whole property to Duke Giovanni Angelo Altemps who in turn sold it to Cardinal Guido Bentivoglio in 1619. Cardinal Mazarin bought the palace from the Lante family sometime between 1644-47. He had

been based in Paris since 1640, and from that time had done his best to promote Italian painters and encourage them to come to France.[48]

From 1649 for a four year period Mazarin suffered a temporary setback in his political power, but even so he managed during this time to acquire paintings that had been in the collection of Charles I. When an inventory of his pictures in the Palais Mazarin, Paris, was taken in 1653 he owned some 500 paintings, mostly by painters he had become familiar with before he left Italy including Guido Reni, Guercino, Andrea Sacchi, Pietro da Cortona and Poussin.[49] In 1650, the year that Symonds probably went to Palazzo Mazzerino, it would have been uninhabited except by servants and the occasional visitor. The limited collection of paintings that he recorded there probably reflects that Mazarin did not intend to live in his Roman palace; it certainly did not reflect the quality of his art collection.

Symonds arrived at Palazzo Mazzerino via some meadows that ran between the 'Vigna Madame' and Monte Cavallo; from a high vantage point he had a good 'prospect' of Rome below.[50] On entering the palace gate (which is on the present Via Ventiquattro Maggio) he appears to have gone directly to the Casino dell'Aurora, the summerhouse at the top end of the walled garden, in order to see Guido Reni's famous *Aurora* (Plan 7, no. 9).[51] Symonds enthusiastically described Guido's fresco painted on the ceiling vault for Scipione Borghese in 1614, and admired by many other visitors. Symonds knew that the landscapes of the *Seasons* on the long walls of this room were by



Plan 7. Palazzo Mazzerino, ground floor and Casinos, from H. Hibbard, 'Scipione Borghese's Garden Palace on the Quirinal,' *Society of Architectural Historians*, XXIII, 1964, p. 170, fig. 9.

Paul Bril.[52] Although Symonds wrote an excellent verbal description of Guido's fresco, he did not attempt to draw it; instead he sketched Domenico Passignano's *Rinaldo and Armida* on the ceiling vault of one of the two small rooms that adjoin the *Aurora* room on each side.[53] *Rinaldo and Armida* was a popular subject of the time, but it is curious that Scipione chose to have both rooms decorated with the same story from Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata.* Symonds evidently found Passignano's illusionistic perspective of the 'fellow wounded below, his leg seemes to fall downe' more worthy of a visual record than Baglione's version in the room opposite; Symonds noted the page numbers for references to both the frescoes in Baglione's *Vite*.[54]

After the Casino d'Aurora Symonds went to an arched loggia (then open, now closed in and only recently restored) which adjoined a little house (now destroyed) that had previously belonged to Patriarch Fabio Biondo (Plan 7, no. 5).[55] The painted framework on the vault was probably designed by Agostino Tassi who in 1611 collaborated with Reni and Bril in the decorations. Symonds knew that the *putti*, who play, and squabble and 'are picking flowers' amongst the painted foliage were 'Guido Reni's Boys' (Plates 33-36). Symonds did not mention the four landscapes in lunettes painted by Bril that represent the *Four Seasons* (Plates 37 and 38), or the friezes below these painted by Antonio Tempesta. The frescoes in this loggia, and in the Casino dell'Aurora, are all that remain of the decorations painted for Scipione Borghese.

The area of the palace that adjoins the Reni-Bril loggia is now used as offices

and there have been many alterations to the building (see Plan 7; it is the unnumbered building below no. 5).[56] In four of the ground floor ('low') rooms there remain the wall paintings depicting pillars and the 'Sea & noble prospect of Hills & Ylands & Country, & Ships' that Symonds admired (Plates 39-40; the frescoes badly need restoration and are competing with electrical equipment and fierce strip lighting). Modern scholars attribute these scenes to Agostino Tassi, but Symonds supposed they were 'ye true prospect of Sicily' and gave them to Filippo Napoletano (Pirro Ligorio); he had seen a drawing by Napoletano in the collection of Francesco Angeloni (fol. 53v), which he had visited sometime earlier. Symonds consulted his copy of Baglione's *Vite* and gave the reference to the page where 'Baglione mentons this done by Pho Napolitano' so there is good reason to consider his attribution to Napoletano is correct.[57] Three of the rooms with scenic friezes have frescoes on the vaults of the *Rape of Proserpine*, the *Rape of Amphitrite* and the *Rape of Europa* (Plates 41-43), perhaps painted by Orazio Gentileschi who decorated the Casino delle Muse (discussed below). Not all modern scholars give these paintings to Gentileschi, and Symonds did not identify him as the artist, but he considered them 'very excellently done.'[58] He admired another fresco that appears to have been destroyed; this portrayed Juno in her chariot 'leaning her face on her left hand to see Jupiter among ye wenches..9 Muses in ye arch round ye Roof.' Symonds's closely observed description indicates that it was not a mistaken identification.[59] In the largest room in this area of the palace is the vast bowl of green serpentine that Symonds observed in the same room as the Juno, Jupiter and Muse decorations (Plate 44).[60] Today the walls of this

room are undecorated and it appears likely to be the 'excellent fyne Roome' which once had the unidentified frescoes described by Symonds; the doorways are still painted 'in imatac[i]on of Marble' (poorly restored, Plate 45).

Paintings from Cardinal Mazarin's collection were displayed in adjoining rooms. Symonds noted there were landscapes but did not enlarge on their subject matter or attribute them. He commented more fully on some royal portraits, presumably these would have been considered suitable paintings to display for visiting dignitaries. Symonds identified portraits of the 'Qu:[een] of France' (probably Anne of Austria, who was Queen Regent at the time of his visit),[61] her consort 'K. Lewis 13,'[62] and his sister, 'The Qu:een of England' (Henrietta Maria); these paintings were probably labelled, but Symonds could well have recognised the sitters.[63] What interested him more was a portrait of *Cardinal Mazarin*. Although it was unusual to put on display works of art on paper, very likely this picture was Robert Nanteuil's engraving after his own chalk drawing of Mazarin (a print that was commended by John Evelyn in his *Sculptura*, 1662);[64] Symonds described the engraving in detail, but it was the cardinal's armorial shield that he chose to sketch; this is depicted in an escutcheon and is just visible in the background of the print at the end of Mazarin's gallery. Symonds admired a large painting of 'ye worshipping idols' which he 'suppose done by Mons^{or} Poussin.' Blunt lists three paintings by Poussin with a Mazarin provenance, none of which fit Symonds's description, nor is there such a painting listed in the 1653 inventory of Mazarin's pictures in the Palais Mazarin, Paris.[65] Symonds may have been mistaken in his

attribution to Poussin for the painting that (he considered) depicted the *Worshipping of False Idols*, but he was right in thinking that it was a likely subject for Poussin. As yet no inventory of the paintings that Mazarin kept in Palazzo Mazzerino has been identified, but in view of the fact that he did not inhabit the palace, it is unlikely that he would have displayed there the best paintings in his collection. One possibility is that Symonds was observing a painting of the *Plague at Ashdod* by Angelo Caroselli, now in the National Gallery, London, and a copy of Poussin's original now in the Louvre; this picture had been painted for the Sicilian Fabrizio Valguarnera in 1630. After Valguarnera's death Caroselli's painting was acquired by Mazarin who left it in Palazzo Mazzerino and where it still was at the time of his death in 1661. Although the painting depicts plague stricken victims it is unlikely to have been a subject that Symonds was familiar with and it is possible that he may have considered the broken statue in the left middleground a broken idol of sorts.[66]

Symonds then went to the smaller of two garden casinos built by Ponzio in 1611 (which no longer survives) (Plan 7, no. 1); this is now referred to as the Casino di Psiche, but in contemporary documents it was known as the 'loggietta fatta dal Cigoli.'[67] Ludovico Cardi, called Il Cigoli (1559-1613), decorated the walls of the loggia's arcade with four frescoes illustrating the *Story of Psiche*, these were 'found' in the Galleria Capitolina in 1915 (where they remain today) when they were attributed to Annibale Carracci. Although Symonds thought they were 'good;' he did not identify the painter but noted the

subject as 'Cupid ryding upon lyons & Tigers & foxes & leopard etc.,' perhaps not realising it was the fable of the god of love with Psiche.[68]

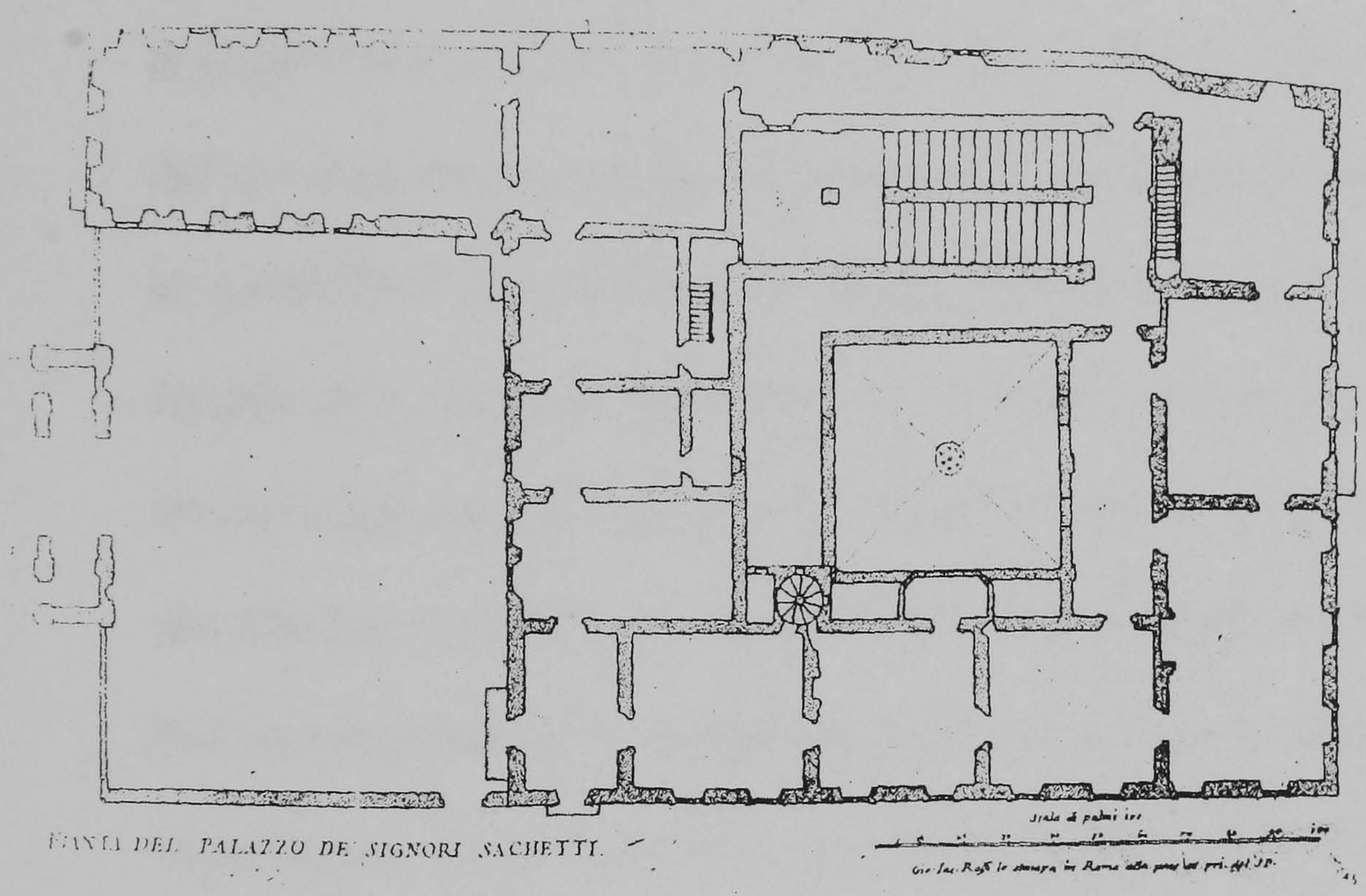
To end his visit Symonds went to the loggia in the upper garden, the Casino delle Muse, this is now glazed and serves as a conference room, almost all the painted decoration has been heavily restored, the latest (and not too successful) restoration has recently been completed (Plan 7, no. 3).[69] The illusionistic architecture by Agostino Tassi provides the setting for Orazio Gentileschi's figures who sing, play musical instruments or listen to music (Plates 46-47). It has been suggested that as the figures of *Apollo* and the *Muses* (Plates 48-50) are inferior to those of the women in the music party scene (painted on one of the short ends, Plates 51-52), both in design and execution, that they may be the work of an assistant, but Symonds thought them 'very excellent;' he noted the relevant page number for Baglione's *Vite* where he would have been informed that they were Gentileschi's 'nove Muse grandi.' Gentileschi was a painter who should have been of special interest to an English connoisseur.[70]

Symonds's notes on Palazzo Mazzerino are more complete and more perceptive than those on several other collections; his visit was no doubt enhanced by seeing Guido's *Aurora* and loggia *putti*; in addition Symonds admired the decorations of Filippo Napoletano and Orazio Gentileschi. He appears to have gone to the palace on his own and there is no indication of a guide once he got there; instead he referred to Baglione's *Vite*, which on this occasion he probably had with him. Although he does not make it explicit in

his notes, Symonds was as much looking at the works commissioned by Scipione Borghese as at the Mazarin collection, and he appears to not only have admired paintings by Guido, which would have been predictable, but to have found much of interest in less famous works.

PALAZZO SACCHETTI

The last of the four smaller collections recorded by Symonds is Palazzo Sacchetti (Plan 8).[71] The palace is situated on the Via Giulia and was built in 1543 by Antonio da Sangallo, the younger, for Cardinal Giovanni Ricci who died before it was finished. The palace was then bought by Tiberio Celio and was subsequently sold to Giulio Sacchetti in 1648. Giulio had been made a Cardinal in 1626 by Urban VIII and Marcello was made papal treasurer. The brothers already had an important collection before Cardinal Sacchetti transferred it to Palazzo Sacchetti in 1649; for a century the collection was celebrated as one of the most prestigious in Rome. In 1747 the Marchese Giovanni Battista Sacchetti decided to sell the larger part of the collection which founded the present collection of paintings now in the Pinacoteca Capitalina. At the time of Symonds's visit the palace was known as the Palazzo Sacchetti, and was presumably inhabited by Cardinal Sacchetti; it still belongs to the family but many of the main reception rooms, including those recorded by Symonds, are now used by a bank. The two largest reception rooms, which are structurally unaltered, are at opposite sides of the building; on the Tiber side the Galleria (not seen by the writer), and on Via Giulia, the Sala Grande. Symonds does not indicate the pattern of his tour and only



Plan 8. Palazzo Sacchetti, ground floor plan by A. da Sangallo from L. Salerno in *Via Giulia*, p. 289 (a plan for the piano nobile has not been traced).

mentions these two rooms, and two of lesser importance (not located).

Symonds notes start on the piano nobile in the Galleria which had been added to the palace by Tiberio Celio in the late 1570s.[72] Symonds admired the effective *trompe l'oiel* frescoes by a minor painter, Giacomo Rocca. Symonds described these as 'not carved in upon the wall, but painted w^t^hin like Niches & Chiaro Oscuro [i.e. in grisaille] of a Statue.'[73] On this occasion Symonds did not write down a reference to Baglione's *Vite*; if he had consulted his copy, he would have been informed that Rocca's frescoes were from designs by Daniele da Volterra; in fact Rocca had a collection of autograph drawings by Michelangelo and the figures in the niches (rectangular rather than 'Arches' as described by Symonds) are copies of the Sistine prophets and sybils. It may be that Symonds had not yet visited the Vatican and seen the originals. Below the frescoes, and between the doors and windows, there are niches (which *are* arched); at the time of Symonds's tour these contained statues of 'marble heads & bodyes,' but in the eighteenth century they were substituted with stucco replicas.

On leaving the Galleria Symonds went into what he described as 'the Anti Camera;' this must have been larger than the usual ante-room as it contained some very sizeable paintings. The first picture that Symonds noted was Cortona's *Rape of the Sabines*, now in the Pinacoteca Capitolina, Rome (Plate 53); Marcello Sacchetti was one of the earliest patrons of Pietro da Cortona, a fellow Tuscan.[74] Symonds recorded both the painter and the subject and

made critical comments on Cortona's depiction of the Sabine womens' clothing and the soldiers' armour (discussed in Chapter Three).[75] Symonds was informed enough to know that the next painting he recorded, the *Meeting of Esau and Jacob*, was by a pupil of Cortona's (although he did not write the name of the artist); this was G.M. Bottalla, sometimes called Raffaelino because of his admiration for Raphael (Marcello Sacchetti employed Bottalla as he painted in the style of his master, Cortona).[76] Symonds also knew that Bottalla had copied Raphael's *Fire in the Borgo* (although it is not clear if this painting was displayed in the collection) and that it was Cortona who had copied *Galatea* (now in the Galleria dell'Accademia di San Luca) that was hung in the same room. *Galatea* was the first of Cortona's works to have been seen by Marcello Sacchetti which subsequently led to many more commissions from this patron.[77] Symonds's notes show an increased awareness and knowledge regarding the paintings of Pietro da Cortona, although not an admiration for them. In an inner room Symonds commented on a painting 'of a young lady to be Sacrificd;' this was Cortona's *Sacrifice of Polyxena* which was then in the collection, and is now in the Pinacoteca Capitolina, Rome.[78] Although Symonds did not name the painter or the subject, he knew that the story was 'in Guarino.' G. B. Guarini (1537-1612) was the author of *Il Pastor Fido* and Symonds may have already read this book as it was amongst those that he forwarded home before leaving Rome.[79]

The last room that Symonds's recorded was the Sala Grande, a large room for receiving visitors where he merely noted that it had 'much in fresco della mano

di Salviati'. Francesco Salviati painted the Sala Grande for Cardinal Ricci with scenes from the *Life of David* (c.1554).[80] Symond may not have bothered to describe these frescoes because he found only the most renowned (although these were well-known) works prior to the Seicento worth recording; he did not mention Salviati's participation in the frescoes in Palazzo Farnese. What is more surprising is that Symonds so briefly alluded to paintings by Guercino which were apparently displayed in the Sala Grande (and now are in the Pinacoteca Capitolina, Rome). These were collected by Cardinal Sacchetti while he was Papal Legate to Bologna. Earlier in his visit, Symonds had written some good descriptions of paintings that he was less likely to favour; perhaps he was being hustled to leave by the Sacchetti servant who had been his guide (and possibly the source of some reliable information about Cortona). If Cardinal Sacchetti was in residence he may not have wanted visitors lingering in the Sala Grande.

As in some of Symonds's notes commented on in earlier chapters, those on the four palaces discussed above vary greatly in their quality. The reason for these variations is directly related to the differing circumstances of his visits. It would be logical to think that Symonds's notes improved with his exposure to the art and culture of Rome, and although this was a factor, it was not the prime reason for the diversity in their consistency and coherence. Other considerations included his companions and the servant guides (who could prove to be a help or a hindrance) and the time he was allowed for his tour; accurate and comprehensive note-taking requires unhurried concentration. His

first two visits to collections, Palazzo Borghese and Palazzo Farnese (see Chapters Four and Five above), when he was unlikely to have been long in the city, show a surprising knowledge and some acute observations. Large gaps in many of the notes indicate that by the time that they were written up, Symonds had forgotten much of what he had seen. This proved to be a partial handicap in Palazzo Borghese (Chapter Four), and something of a disaster in Palazzo Giustiniani (Chapter Six), and it was certainly a contribution to his thin report on the Mattei collection (see above). Although he was accompanied in Palazzo Mattei, he was uninformed by his companion, and by the evident absence of labelling on the paintings (the latter was a factor in his identifications and attributions, or lack of, in other collections). The presence of the Princess Mattei was probably an added distraction; it is difficult to make written observations and at the same time be courteous to an elderly lady. By the time that Symonds visited Palazzo Spada, he had been with Canini to see the collection of Francesco Angeloni, which probably did much to increase his knowledge, in particular in connection with the Carracci. Symonds's comments in Palazzo Spada suggest that he was accompanied by a servant, but that on this occasion his guide was not a handicap; these notes also indicate his increasing confidence in his own abilities as a connoisseur. By the time he visited Palazzo Mazzerino this is even more evident, and it is thanks to his assiduous note-taking there that the subject of a now lost, and seemingly hitherto unrecorded, fresco is known, and the painter of the scenic frescoes perhaps identified. Symonds's notes on this palace indicate that he referred to his guidebooks; Totti's *Roma moderna* may have been consulted when he got

home, but he probably had Baglione's *Vite* with him and it proved to be a reliable adjunct to his visit. Symonds appears to have been able to visit Palazzo Mazzerino at leisure, perhaps unhampered by the presence of a servant due to the absentee landlord.

All these collections were apparently open by arrangement, but owners, particularly those in residence, would not have wished the visitors to wander without surveillance; the servants allotted as guides were often uninformed about the collections, although usually adept at questionable gossip. Another restriction was the number of rooms open for public viewing. No doubt important paintings were sometimes hung 'off-limits;' the Princess Mattei virtually said as much and Cardinal Spada evidently had his portraits by Guido Reni and Guercino in his private apartments.

These various limitations may have been significant factors in the diverse quality of Symonds's observations on the four palaces discussed in this chapter (and in earlier ones), but it should also be considered that perhaps he approached these visits in different ways; on some occasions he may have been simply absorbing the ambiance and richness of a palace and had found the collection itself either overwhelming, or of secondary importance. His consistency is inconsistency, with one exception; in all four of the collections he makes at least one reference to a painting or painter affiliated to the Carracci School. These may be brief, as at Palazzo Mattei and Palazzo Sacchetti, or detailed and vivid as at Palazzo Spada and Palazzo Mazzerino,

but Symonds's seeking out of paintings by the Carracci and their followers is the unifying factor throughout his notes.

1. See Appendix I, fols. 28v - 30r; 55r - 55v; 56v - 57v; 75r.

2. For the palace see Neppi, passim; for Spada's collection, see Zeri, passim.

3. See Haskell, pp. 175-76, 180-87.

4. See Salerno in *Via Giulia*, p. 312.

5. See Appendix I, fols. 28v - 30r. Palazzo Mattei di Giove was built by Carlo Maderno (1580-1630) next to the earlier family palace, the Mattei-Caetini for Asdrubale Mattei (1556-1638), the youngest of three brothers; the elder two were Ciriaco (1542-1614), and Girolamo, (1545-1603). Asdrubale married first, Eleonora Rossi di S. Secondo and had Paolo (b.1591) and Girolamo (b.1592); he married secondly Costanza Gonzaga di Novellera in 1594 and had Alfonso Emanuele (b.1595), Francesca Leonora (b.1596) and Maria Vittoria (b.1597). The first phase of construction dates from 1598-c.1611; second phase (after a gap of two years), 1613-17; see Hibbard, 1971, pp. 44-45, 127-29, plates 20-25; see also Panofsky-Soergel, pp. 109-88. For how the collection in the palace was formed, the artists patronised, and the connections with other noble Roman families of the time, see Cappelletti and Testa, 1994, passim; and Langdon, pp. 226-29; for its dispersal at the end of the eighteenth century, see Cappelletti in Rome, 1995, pp. 47-51.

6. See Cappelletti and Testa, 1990, p. 236.

7. For Asdrubale's inventories, see Cappelletti, 1992, pp. 282-95.

8. The Ghetto occupied the district to the west of the Theatre of Marcellus where from 1556 onwards the Jews were segregated and subject to restriction of their personal freedom. The walls and houses of the Ghetto were torn down in the nineteenth century but many Jewish people still live in the area.

9. See Appendix I, fol. 28v. Maderno was probably responsible for the framing elements and the arrangement of the statuary, see Hibbard, 1971, p. 46, and plates 22b, 23b; see also Panofsky-Soergel, pp. 126, 151 ff.

10. See Appendix I, fol. 28v and note 276.

11. See Appendix I, fol. 28v and note 277.

12. See Appendix I, note 279.

13. See Appendix I, fol. 28v and note 280.

14. See Appendix I, fol. 29r and note 281.

15. See Appendix I, fol. 29r and note 283.

16. See Appendix I, note 284.

17. See Appendix I, fol. 29r and notes 286 and 287.

18. See Appendix I, fol. 28v and note 282.

19. See Appendix I, fol. 29r and notes 289 and 290.

20. See Appendix I, note 293.

21. See Appendix I, fol. 29r and note 294.

22. See Appendix I, fols. 22r - 28r, and 30r.

23. See Appendix I, fol. 29r and note 297.

24. The Galleria, see Appendix I, fol. 29v. When the decision was made to add three bays (instead of continuing the facade on the Via Caetani), Maderno added what appears from the outside to be a separate palace, thereby preserving the symmetry of the older facade with its central portal, see Hibbard, 1971, p. 47; see also Cappelletti, 1992, pp. 261-65; Cappelletti and Testa, 1994, pp. 53-80; and Onori in Rome, 1995, pp. 55-62.

25. See Appendix I, fol. 29v and notes 304 and 305.

26. See Appendix I, fol. 29v and note 306.

27. See Appendix I, note 307.

28. See Appendix I, fol. 30r and note 309.

29. See Appendix I, fol. 30r and note 310.

30. For a further discussion of how good copies were valued, see 'Conclusion.'

31. See Appendix I, note 312. This was also the case in royal and very grand households in England, but as Symonds did not move in those circles he may not have been aware of it.

32. See Appendix I, fols. 55r - 55v. Palazzo Spada was built by Giulio Merisi

da Caravaggio for Cardinal Girolamo Capodiferro in 1548-50 and acquired by Cardinal Bernadino di Spada (1594-1661) in 1632 who continued to alter and expand the building until his death; Spada's architect was originally Paolo Maruscelli (1594-1649), followed by Francesco Borromini (1599-1667). The statues and the stucco ornamentation on the facade and the courtyard were probably the work of Giulio Mazzoni (1525-89) a pupil of Daniele Ricciarelli (called Daniele da Volterra), who was also responsible for the interior decoration, see Pugliatti, 1984, passim. For an account of the building and decoration of Palazzo Spada for the Capodiferro, see Neppi, Part I, pp. 9-120. For Cardinal Spada, see Neppi, Part II, pp. 121-238. Symonds does not refer to the outstanding ornamentation of the facade and the inner courtyard which includes *imprese*, swags, harpies and statues; he may therefore have entered from the Via Giulia via the garden at the rear. Borromini came on the scene in 1650 when he submitted plans for the piazza and the renovation of the rear wings of the palace which were carried out by his assistant Righi in 1652-60. The 'Prospettiva', which can be viewed from the courtyard, was built in 1652 on the design of an Augustinian priest, Giovanni Maria da Bilonto, who along with Borromini and Righi, supervised its execution; this perspective device was the sort of curiosity that would have intrigued Symonds had he seen it; he may have seen an earlier version painted on the garden wall from a design by Maruscelli of 1640-42. Cardinal Spada was the Papal Legate at Bologna 1627-31; he returned to Rome in 1631 and died in 1661.

33. See Appendix I, fol. 55r and note 586.

34. See Appendix I, fol. 55r and note 587.

35. See Appendix I, fol. 55r and note 588.

36. See Appendix I, fol. 55r and note 590.

37. See Appendix I, fol. 55r and note 591.

38. See Appendix I, note 593.

39. See Appendix I, fol. 55r and note 594.

40. See Appendix I, fol. 55v and notes 595 and 596.

41. See Appendix I, fol. 55v and note 597.

42. See Appendix I, fol. 55v and note 600.

43. See Appendix I, fol. 55v and note 601.

44. See Appendix I, fol. 55v and note 603.

45. See Appendix I, fol. 55v and note 604.

46. See Appendix I, fol. 55v and note 606.

47. See Appendix I, fols. 56v - 57v. Palazzo Mazzerino was built on property acquired by Paul V on the site of the Baths of Constantine on the Quirinal Hill and given to the papal nephew Cardinal Scipione Borghese (1576-1633) in 1611. By the end of that year construction was well under way in the garden; Scipione built a number of garden houses and banqueting loggias as well as fountains and fishponds incorporating the foundations of the Baths into the structure, but by 1616, he sold the whole property to Duke Giovanni Angelo Altemps who in turn sold it to Cardinal Guido Bentivoglio in 1619. Flaminio Ponzio (1560-1613) was originally involved in the construction as was Carlo Maderno (1556-1629), and after Ponzio's death in 1613, Giovanni Van Zanten (d.1629). The extent to which of (and where) these three architects were involved in the Garden Palace appears to be a matter of debate, see Hibbard, 1964, pp. 163-92; Hibbard, 1971, pp. 191-94, and Haskell, 1980, pp. 180-87. At the time of the writer's visit (April 1997) the palace appeared to be divided into three separate custodial areas; the Casino del Patriarca Biondo (i.e., the loggia decorated by Guido Reni and Paul Bril), and the rooms decorated by Gentileschi with 'Rape' subjects, are under the aegis of the Confederazione Coltivari Diretti; the Casino delle Muse is now part of the Banco di Spoleto, and to see the Casino d'Aurora, the visitor applies to the *portiere* who may be employed by either or both of these organisations or the Pallavicini family.

48. See Haskell, 1980, pp. 182-83.

49. See d'Aumale, passim.

50. See Appendix I, fol. 56v and note 608. Symonds defined the difference between a 'Jardino,' a 'horta,' a 'vignia' and a 'villa:' 'Gardens here [above caret] are call Jardino where is fountaynes Statues walking Groves. Una horta is that where is no fountaynes nor ye like but fruit trees flowers etc. Una vignia where is nothing but grapes - fruit trees -. Una villa is a great place where is all & a faire house besides all but to one man,' see B.L. Add. MS 17919, fol. 88v.

51. See Appendix I, fol. 56v and notes 610-613.

52. See Appendix I, fol. 56v and note 614.

53. See Appendix I, fol. 56v and note 616.

54. See Appendix I, fol. 56v and notes 617 and 618.

55. See Appendix I, fol. 56v and note 621.

56. See Appendix I, fol. 56v and note 619.

57. See Appendix I, fols. 56v - 57r and notes 622 and 623.

58. See Appendix I, fol. 57r and note 624.

59. See Appendix I, fol. 57r and notes 625 and 626.

60. See Appendix I, fol. 57r and notes 628 and 629.

61. See Appendix I, fol. 57r and note 631.

62. See Appendix I, fol. 57r and note 632.

63. See Appendix I, fol. 57r and note 633.

64. See Appendix I, fol. 57r and note 634.

65. See Appendix I, fol. 57r and note 636.

66. Against this possibility are Symonds's measurements of '3 or 4 feet long & 2 a ha[lf] high;' Caroselli's painting measures 128.9 cm. x 204.5 cm. (ca. 4'2" x 6'7").

67. See Appendix I, fol. 57v and note 637.

68. See Appendix I, fol. 57v and note 638.

69. See Appendix I, fol. 57v and note 639.

70. Symonds made no references to Gentileschi working in England; if he had known about Gentileschi's decorative ceiling at the Queen's House, Greenwich, for Henrietta Maria, it is likely that he would have mentioned it here as it also depicts *The Muses and the Liberal Arts*.

71. See Appendix I, fol. 75r. Palazzo Sacchetti was built in 1543 by Antonio da Sangallo, the younger (1485-1546), for Cardinal Giovanni Ricci (1497-1574); it was sold by the Ricci family in 1576 to Tiberio Celio and to the Sachetti in 1648, see Ceccarelli, pp. 20-23; see also Haskell, 1980, pp. 38-39; De Jong, pp. 135-36; and Salerno in *Via Giulia*, p. 312.

72. See Appendix I, fol.75r and note 767.

73. See Appendix I, fol. 75r and note 768.

74. See Appendix I, fol. 75r and notes 769 and 770.

75. The only occasion that Symonds praised Cortona in his notes was on seeing his altarpiece of the *Nativity* in S. Salvatore in Lauro; the page reference to S. Salvatore in the *Repertorio* indicates he had not been there by the time of the visit to Palazzo Sacchetti, see Appendix I, fol. 4r.

76. See Appendix I, fol. 75r and notes 771 and 772.

77. See Appendix I, fol. 75r and note 774.

78. See Appendix I, fol. 75r and note 775.

79. See Appendix I, fol. 75r; and B.L. Harley MS 943, fol. 111v. Symonds (and Evelyn) noted Guarini's portrait in the Accademia degli Umoristi (Guarini had been a member); the page references in the *Repertorio* indicate that Symonds had been to the academy before his visit to Palazzo Sacchetti, see Appendix I, fols. 3v - 4r.

80. See Appendix I, fol. 57r and note 778.

Chapter Eight

Symonds and Antique Sculpture

On Symonds's walks around Rome (recorded in B.L. Add. MS 17919) he noted information provided by his companion 'Julio.' Symonds listed statues and other antiquities that were on public view throughout the city. In addition he recorded sculpture collections which were displayed in the courts of palaces and which appear to have had 'walk-in' access, for example, at Cardinal Verospi's residence on the Corso,[1] at Palazzo Giustiniani,[2] and the palace belonging to the Marchese Paluzzo (*sic*) towards the Campidoglio.[3]

Having had a classical education, Symonds was probably familiar with many of the subjects portrayed, but he was not an antiquarian. Although his descriptions of ancient monuments often include 'very old,' he made no attempt to assess the period of the antiquity unless it was dedicated to a particular Roman; then he would usually copy down the relevant inscription from which he obtained his information. Symonds was simply recording all that he saw on his tours of the city. Although he may have intended B.L. Add. MS 17919 as a mini-guidebook (as discussed above), he perhaps considered that the minimum of information was sufficient for many of the antiquities on

public view because on the whole they were not the most famous statues in Rome; these were usually in private collections with more limited access, or where an introduction to the owner may have been required.

Unfortunately Symonds's record of a visit to the Vatican has not survived as he would surely have commented on the antiquities in the court of the Belvedere. Nor do we have his notes on at least two private collections, Villa Ludovisi and Villa Borghese, which we know that he went to,[4] and which contained two of the most admired sculpture collections in Rome. However, we do have his notes on three other collections which will be discussed in this chapter - not in their chronological order in Egerton MS 1635 - but in the order of their importance; first of all the celebrated sculpture in Villa Medici and its garden, then the more humble, but still significant, collection of Ippolito Vitelleschi, and lastly, the collection of the Pighini family which was chiefly famous for the statue of *Meleager*. Symonds also noted (but did not measure) works of lesser significance if they had a distinctive feature which intrigued him, such as shape, size, material, expression, or if he considered that it was 'rare' (where Symonds has included interesting observations on pictures or objects that were displayed with the sculpture, they will also be referred to).

At Villa Medici, and in the palace of the Pighini, Symonds meticulously recorded the measurements of some of the most admired antique sculptures in Europe. Symonds was interested in the concept of ideal form; he was evidently taught the perfect proportions of the human figure (associated with

these celebrated statues) by Canini. The study was no doubt practiced during his drawing lessons where the life models appear to have been limited to members of the workshop (as we know from the list of his drawings that he forwarded home); perhaps nude models were not freely available (especially female ones).

On visits to certain other private collections Symonds made notes on the sculpture which will not be discussed in this chapter either because they have been mentioned before, or because on these occasions the notes are primarily concerned with different aspects of the collection. For example, Symonds commented that the collection of Leonardo Agostini, a connoisseur of antiquities was 'cheifly excellent in medaglie e gioe [carved gemstones]';[5] this was despite Agostino informing him that the Earl of Arundel was interested in some of his large 'broken Pieces;' perhaps because of these imperfections Symonds considered that they did not warrant measuring or describing. On his first visit to Palazzo Giustiniani to see the interior of the palace (Chapter Six), he only made a brief reference to the sculpture although this included the famous *Minerva Giustiniani*; he appears to have intended the occasion to be mainly concerned with paintings. The antiquities that he admired in Palazzo Farnese have been discussed above (Chapter Five), but while there he only made a passing reference to the proportions of the foot of the *Farnese Hercules* (and failed to record either the *Farnese Bull* or the *Callypigian Venus*, as mentioned above), but this appears to have been another visit when he was concentrating on paintings.

John Evelyn commented on many of the same statues as Symonds, but his notes are not always accurate (but always brief), and he often used the identical enthusiastic phrase for more than one work. Unlike Symonds, Evelyn was not concerned with ideal form, but he was sometimes more able to give the correct title of a sculpture, usually because he obtained this information from guidebooks, in particlular Totti's *Roma antica* and *Roma moderna* which he frequently plagiarised when he wrote up his notes long after his visits.

VILLA MEDICI

Symonds's tour of Villa Medici on the Monte Pincio was probably in the spring of 1650,[6] it most likely took place shortly before his visit to the collection of Father Kircher where he would see Egyptian antiquities (the visits are listed in this order in the *Repertorio*).[7] The Villa had been bought by Cardinal Ricci from the Crescenzi in 1564, enlarged from that date under the direction of Nanni de Bacio and his son Annibale Lippi, and sold to Cardinal Ferdinand de Medici in 1574 on the death of Cardinal Ricci.[8] In 1584 Ferdinand bought the statue collection of the Della Valle-Capranica which amounted to 170 pieces and acquired other sculpture from a variety of sources. When he became a Grand Duke in 1587 (as there was no other Medici heir), Ferdinand left Rome for Florence, but his sculpture collection remained intact at the Villa until the 1670s. The 1598 inventory lists 450 pieces of sculpture; of these, far the greater part were antiquities, whereas the Renaissance was

represented by only a few bronzes.[9] Ferdinand's son, Cardinal Carlo de Medici, inhabited the Villa at the time of Symonds's visit. Although the Cardinal did not add to his father's collection, he undertook restoration to the Villa on his arrival in 1619 and again in the 1640s, and undertook a major repair program to the garden in 1648-49 after storm damage. A busy road (Viale del Muro Torto) now runs below the east side of the garden; the Villa outwardly remains the same as it was in the seventeenth century. Some of the portable sculpture was taken to Florence in the 1670s and the remainder followed in the eighteenth century when the Villa became the seat of the French Academy.

The Medici sculpture collection in Rome was famous long before it joined the rest of the family collection in Florence; it was noted with enthusiasm by many travellers to the city including Evelyn and the more restrained Richard Lassels.[10] Several of the statues were illustrated in François Perrier's *Segmenta nobilium signorum* (1638) and Giovanni Battista de Cavalieri's *Antiquae Statue Urbis Romae* (1584 edition). Symonds would have been well aware of the importance of the collection before his visit.

Before entering the Villa, Symonds made a thorough tour of the garden;[11] he was probably unaccompanied as he made no reference to a companion; nor does he mention Ammanati's main portal to the Villa leading from the street on the west side, or the main staircase with the ancient copy of Praxiteles *Apollo* on the stair landing. He entered the garden either through the small

gate further up the Pincio, or by a gateway on the Via di Porta Pinciana (Plate 54); access to both the garden and the Villa was limited because the continuous presence of visitors was considered damaging.

Symonds's description starts on the long walk which runs from the Villa to the Via di Porta Pinciana entrance (Plate 55); he knew that this walk led in the direction of Villa Ludovisi.[12] The first statue that he recorded was the large seated figure of *Rome* (Plate 56); Symonds's note that it was 'in ye middle' does not mean the middle of the walk, but refers to the centre of the east side of the garden parterre facing the Villa.[13] He sketched the sun face on the shield that was once 'held' in Rome's hand, he evidently found this motif more unusual and interesting than the figure itself (Plate 57; by the nineteenth century the shield was replaced with the present orb); the statue remains in the garden but has been moved to the north end (Plate 58). Under *Rome* he saw a sarcophagus with a bas-relief representing the story of *Jonah and the whale* (no longer there);[14] he recognised that this was 'very old,' his usual description for something that he reckoned was really ancient, and in this instance he was probably accurate as the subject was often used in early funerary art and is found on sarcophagi, and in the Roman catacombs. Symonds next admired the view which looked over 'all Roome' (as it still does, in the direction of St. Peter's, Plate 59) and which (then) also looked over 'the Valey toward ye Sea,' and on the other side, 'The Country round about.'[15] His viewing point was the pavilion platform at the top of the artificial wooded mound that had been constructed by Ferdinand as a 'Parnassus' which could be reached spirally by a

ramp (no longer there) or a steep flight of steps (Plate 60). Symonds did not record which of these was his mode of ascent; the 'stayres' that he referred to are the interior stone steps that lead up to the top of the Galleria (Plate 61). On a landing of this stairway he noted a 'Woman naked ...sitting on a sea-horse bridled;' this was the *Nereid mounted on a Hippocamp*, now in the Uffizi.[16] Symonds observed that it was life-size and carved out of a single piece of white marble.

On returning to the garden he went back in the direction of the Porta del Popolo (i.e., towards the Villa) where he noticed some 'Large Red stone[s]' with Roman lettering which he copied and measured with his hands;[17] this was his usual method for recording proportions of figures, but in this instance, he was for some reason interested in the proportions of the inscriptions. The 'stone[s]' were probably the remains of some marble pedestals which are recorded in the 1598 inventory as being almost covered in lettering; they were placed at a point between the artificial mound and the Loggia of the Villa.

In front of the Loggia Symonds saw the three 'brasse' (i.e., bronze) statues of *Silenus*, *Mars* and *Mercury*.[18] Having originally written 'Pluto' for the statue of *Silenus*, now in the Bargello, Symonds crossed it out and changed the identification to 'Saturno' (as the figure has a child in his arms this was an understandable mistake; Saturn ate his children and Symonds was not alone in this interpretation); although Symonds was unsure of the subject, he was correct that it was a copy (cast by Ammannati in the 1570s) of a statue he had

seen at Villa Borghese. Symonds measured the proportions of *Silenus*, an indication that he was aware that the original was one of the most admired statues in Rome (perhaps the presence of a servant had prevented him from carrying out this procedure at Villa Borghese). This was the second occasion that he noted a copy of a statue that he had seen in the Borghese collection (mentioned above). Symonds originally gave the statue of *Mars*, now in the Uffizi, Florence, the title of 'Pallas,' possibly because it sports a helmet, but when he observed that the figure was obviously male, he altered the identification to 'Marte.' *Silenus* and *Mars* were placed either side (and in front) of a fountain under the Loggia which was surmounted by Giovanni Bologna's statue of *Mercury*, now in the Bargello; Symonds did not comment that *Silenus* also was a copy of a (marble) statue in the Borghese collection (Ferdinand had initially planned to adapt *Silenus* as a fountain).[19] It appears that owners permitted their antique sculpture to be copied to enhance other Roman collections, and that this arrangement was not just the prerogative of monarchs such as Philip IV and Charles I. The 1598 Medici inventory records that *Mercury* was 'sopra a una testa d'un vento;' Symonds gave it a similar description in English; he wrote that *Mercury* was 'standing one foot on ye blast of wind.'

Symonds rightly observed that the garden façade of the Villa was covered with bas-reliefs; the 1598 inventory lists seventy-two pieces of sculpture on the walls of the garden side and these appear to remain *in situ*.[20] Running at right angles to the garden façade, on the south side of the parterre, is the Galleria.

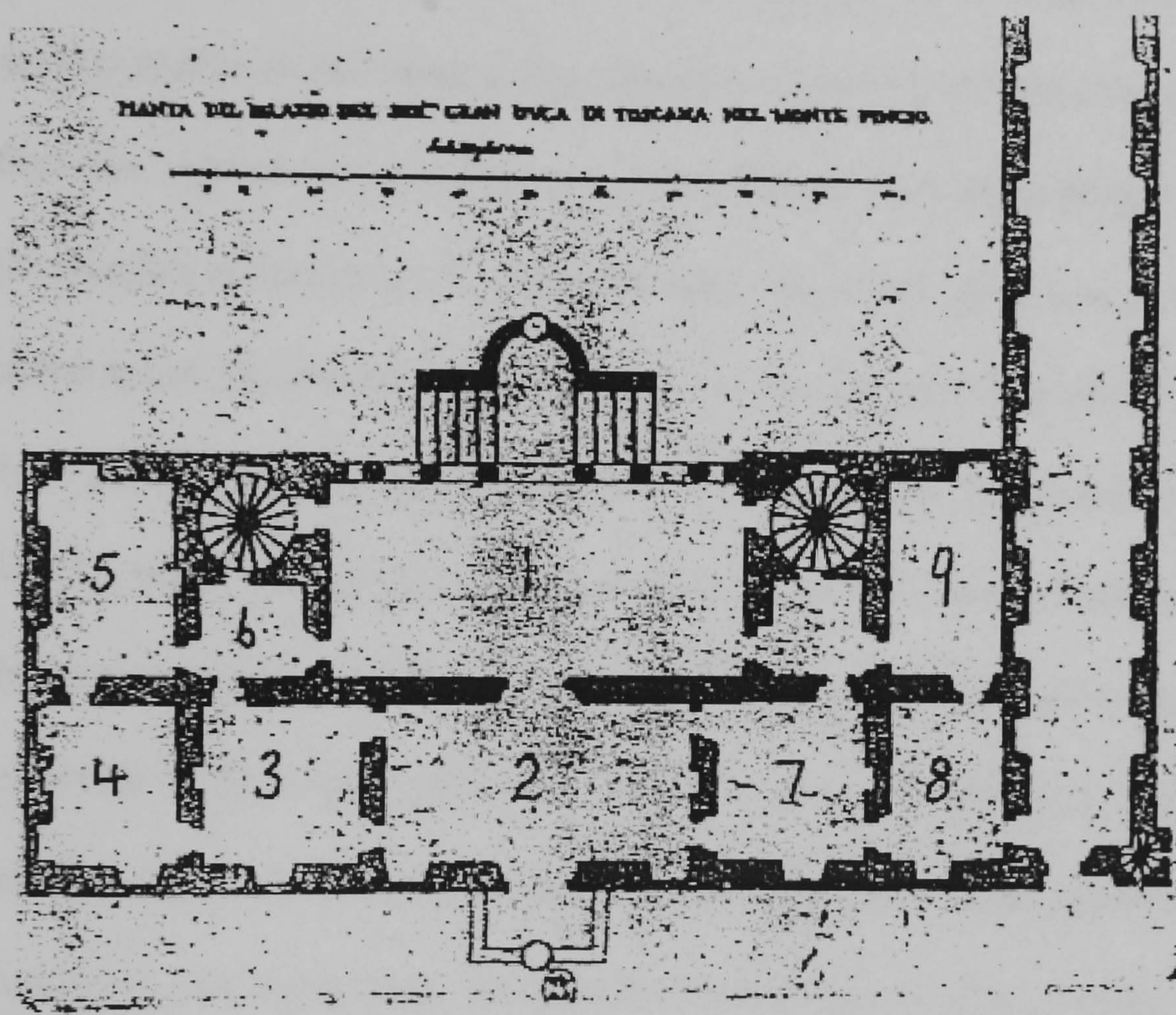
Cardinal Carlo's repair programme in the gardens was recorded in the 1649-50 painting by Velazquez, now in the Prado, where the Galleria can be seen boarded up, but it was evidently completed by the time of Symonds's visit; he did not refer to reparations and only commented on the ancient statues that stood against the Galleria wall and the many others visible within (Plate 62).[21] The 1598 inventory records fifty-two pieces of sculpture in the Galleria including *Silenus* and *Mars*, but we know from Evelyn in 1644, and Symonds in 1650, that these had been moved to in front of the Loggia.[22] The Egyptian obelisk, that they both recorded, was in the centre of the parterre; since 1788 it has been in the Boboli gardens (Plate 63; the present obelisk is a modern [1970] copy).[23]

On the east side of the garden, 'Lying along' the wall under an arch, was the statue of *Cleopatra*,[24] now in the Museo Archaeologico, Florence. Symonds observed that the statue was 'Repayrd;' the repair work may have been recent, and as such very apparent, because it was not a factor that he always noticed (see below); *Cleopatra*'s pavilion was likely to have been amongst the garden structures damaged by lightning in 1645. To the north of *Cleopatra*, in a specially created garden compartment, was the group of *Niobe and her children*, now in the Uffizi, Florence (Plate 64).[25] This had been purchased in 1583 by Ferdinand from the Varese family. Symonds did not comment that the group had been much restored (possibly because this had been done for some considerable time and was not easily visible); he appears to have been struck with the anguished expressions of the figures who were 'looking up w^{t}h

the feare of the arrowes of Death.'[26]

As his next note concerns bas-reliefs that could be seen on the wall of the terrace above the Galleria, he must have retraced his steps along one of the many paths that divide the north end of the garden into an area of grassy beds surrounded by hedges; the 'Divers Termini at the heads of all ye walkes' are still there (Plate 65; these had also been recently repaired).[27] Symonds ended his visit to the garden with an observation on a horticultural process which was probably part of the restoration and the renewed water system. It is typical of him to have found an unusual method of propagating and irrigating plants interesting enough to be entered alongside of comments on some of the most famous statues in Rome.

Symonds's notes on the interior of the Villa have a separate heading but follow immediately; he apparently entered the Villa on the garden-side via the Loggia on the level of the piano nobile (Plan 9, no. 1). His visit was restricted to rooms on the piano nobile which was probably the standard tour for visitors; he was evidently accompanied by a Medici servant, the 'Guarderobe,' who was perhaps the source of some dubious information. Although on the opposite side of the building to the Loggia, the first room that Symonds noted was the Sala Grande (he called it the 'First Hall') which is over the main entrance (Plan 9, no. 2); this is the large central room of five on the west side which are visually linked.[28] Symonds noted '6 Whole statues in strange postures;' probably he was looking at six *Sabines*, now in the Loggia dei Lanzi, Florence,



Plan 9. Villa Medici, piano nobile by Pietro Ferrio (1655), from *La Villa Mèdicis*, École Française de Rome, I, p. 163.

which he could see in the adjoining Loggia (no. 1) through a doorway;[29] unlike Evelyn, who got his information from Totti, he did not record them by their title. The *Sabines* were bought by Ferdinand in 1584 with other statues from the Capranica-Valle collection and were placed in niches behind the *Mercury* fountain. Symonds did not remark on any of the numerous pieces of sculpture that the 1598 inventory records in the Sala Grande but he made brief notes on several paintings including a large Bassano and observed that the portraits from the Medici *Iconografica*, now in the Uffizi, were 'originals all' (Symonds's underlining).[30] Amongst them was a portrait of *Leo X* which 'some are of the opinion [was] done at least toccato p[er] Rafaele.'[31] In fact these paintings are almost all copies of earlier portraits by Cristofano di Papi dell'Altissimo which had been commissioned by Ferdinand. What intrigued Symonds most of all in this room was a looking glass which gave a trick reflection of the portrait of *Grand Duke Cosimo* when obligingly 'Rubd' by the servant. Symonds wrote in the margin with regard to this phenomenon the somewhat mystifying note 'Tis done by Creases,' but he also inserted a reference to the page in Vignola's *Le Due Regole della Prospettiva* which describes the mirror that belonged to Grand Duke Cosimo. Vignola's *Prospettiva* was amongst the books that Symonds sent home before leaving Rome,[32] and it must have been rewarding for him to find Vignola's reference to the mirror perhaps long after he had seen it in Villa Medici.

In the following ante-camera, going north towards the Porta del Popolo (Plan 9, no. 3), Symonds noted a *Hercules*, that he knew was a copy of the *Farnese*

Hercules, two heads of Emperors, and 'A little statue of a More bound behind above his wrists.'[33] In the corner room that followed (no. 4) was *Arrotino*, now in the Uffizi, acquired by Ferdinand in 1578.[34] Symonds did not record the statue by this title, which may have come later (in the 1598 inventory it is described as 'un villano al naturale'), but he was aware that it was 'Rare' and made a sketch of 'ye fellow that sharpened a cutting knife & looks up' perhaps to capture the startled expression portrayed on *Arrotino*'s face. Symonds may not have chosen to measure *Arrotino* because it is not easy to study the proportions of a non-standing figure, and perhaps the fact that the statue represented a plebeian subject was also significant.

Symonds next recorded a little ante-room (this leads from the corner room, garden-side, which he did not mention (Plan 9, nos. 5 and 6); it was lined with red taffeta and provided a splendid setting for the *Venus de Medici*, now in the Uffizi.[35] Not surprisingly Symonds knew of the 'famous Venus' and used more than one folio of his notebook to describe the statue and record its measurements in great detail. He took the proportions of the body, face and members, again using his hands; this was apparently tolerated by the Medici servant who also allowed him enough time to copy the Greek lettering on the pedestal. Despite Symonds's concentrated study of the statue and its proportions, he did not mention that it was much restored and repaired, nor that some of the parts that he so diligently measured may not have been original and that the dolphin support was of inferior quality (which was observed by both Richardson and Montesquieu).[36]

Symonds continued his notes in a room that he described as 'next to Trinita di monte' (SS. Trinità dei Monti); he was now on the south side of the Sala in the first room of Ferdinand's former apartment (Plan 9, no. 7). Although the 1598 inventory records paintings by Titian, Del Sarto and Pontormo hanging in this room, Symonds only noted a statue of *Ganymede with an eagle*, now in the Bargello, Florence (which in 1598 was in the Sala), and '2 large globes.' Symonds recorded that *Ganymede* was upon an 'old pedestall w^{t}h Festeni & Gotes heads' (he is no longer).[37] In the next room (no. 8) Symonds made brief references to three statues that have not been identified; one of these was 'Cupid looking up & laughing' but (as mentioned above) Symonds chose to sketch the triple pedestal that *Cupid* stood upon rather than the figure itself.[38] In 1598 there were paintings by Del Sarto, Lavinia Fontana and Scipio Pulzone recorded in this room; Symonds made no reference to these but described a statue as 'Cain killing Abel or 2 fighting;' this was *The Wrestlers*, now in the Uffizi, which had been bought by Ferdinand in 1583 shortly after it was discovered. Symonds was less informed with regard to the title of the subject than Evelyn who wrote that he preferred the statue of 'the two Wrestlers' to 'any in the World' (he used a similarly enthusiastic phrase with regard to the *Farnese Bull*). They were both fortunate to see the *Wrestlers* in the Villa, since by 1677, along with *Arrotino* and the *Venus de Medici*, they were sent to Florence.[39]

On the ceiling above the *Wrestlers* was a painting of *The Death of Leander*, now in the Museo Civico, Pistoia, that had been commissioned by Cardinal

Carlo in 1637 from Giacinto Gimignani (Plate 66).[40] In his notes regarding this painting Symonds was mistaken on two counts, it was not a 'fresco' but an oil painting on canvas, and the major figure was not 'Hero' but Leander (probably a slip of the pen as he depicted a male figure being lifted from the water). He was correct that the painting was 'done as if a quadro were fixt there,' that is, it was a *quadro ripportato*, a painting of normal perspective that had been inserted into the ceiling decoration. Symonds used two pages for his sketch of the picture, making it the largest illustration in his notebooks. He probably wanted to visually record his observation that there 'is no foreshortening but at full length;' it seemingly reminded him of one of Raphael's paintings in the Farnesina ('Giusti'), probably the *Galatea* - also a watery scene where the figures are 'as big as ye life.'

The last statue that Symonds recorded in the Villa he described as 'Venus bathing'; this was unlikely to be the famous *Crouching Venus* which in the 1598 inventory was recorded in the garden, but rather the statue of *Venus washing with an amorino*, which in 1598 was listed in the room immediately on the south side of the Sala Grande where he had earlier noted the statue of *Ganymede* (Plan 9, no. 7);[41] he may again have thought that a crouching figure was difficult to measure (as perhaps was the case with *Arrotino*), and in any case, probably considered that the proportions of the *Venus de Medici* could not be bettered. By 1650 *Venus washing with an amorino* had evidently been moved to 'ye corner roome;' Symonds was probably referring to Ferdinand's former bedroom overlooking the garden and adjoining the Galleria (which

Symonds did not mention and therefore was unlikely to have seen, (Plan 9, no. 9). His last notes on the Villa concern further portraits from the *Iconografica* that were all displayed in the Sala Grande where he apparently ended his tour (no. 2).[42]

At Villa Medici Symonds appears to have had the time and the opportunity to make detailed measurements of famous statues, to copy inscriptions - and to draw five sketches - more than on any of his other visits; the Medici servant was perhaps inured to visitors, although few can have been as diligent in recording the collection as Symonds. In the 1650s the collection still supposedly remained as Ferdinand had left it (in accordance with an *avviso* that he had issued), but Symonds's notes suggest otherwise; several statues appear by then to be in different positions or rooms than in 1598. It would also be unlikely that Symonds would ignore paintings by masters such as Titian and Del Sarto and yet record the *Iconografica* portraits and a few other lesser paintings. Andres writes that after the residency of Cardinal Carlo the Villa entered a slow decline as works of art were moved to Florence,[43] but this may have happened earlier, or alternatively Cardinal Carlo may have chosen some of the better paintings to be relocated in his private apartments.

Evelyn's visits to Villa Medici were made on two separate occasions; on the first he appears to have remained in the garden where he briefly commented on many of the same statues as Symonds. Much of this entry is confused and the bulk is taken from Totti with the exception of Evelyn's description of the

Medici Lions on the balustrade of the Loggia (not remarked upon by Symonds).[44] On his second visit Evelyn was 'lead above into those rooms which we could not see before;' these notes were on the whole original and he not only gave the two *Wrestlers* their title, but also described how their arms and legs were in an 'inextricable mixture.'[45] He gave *Arrotino* the role of a 'Gladiator' and considered that the *Venus de Medici* was 'without parallel' (although he left a blank space for the [alleged] name of the sculptor despite this being written in Greek on the base below). He mentioned only two paintings, and these by the subject ('the Magdalen, st.[*sic*] Peter weeping') rather than the artist. The greater part of Evelyn's notes on the Medici collection consist of effusive comments on statues that were well-known and celebrated; unlike Symonds's record of this magnificent collection, they contain little that is original and reflect only a cursory observation of what he saw.

THE COLLECTION OF IPPOLITO VITELLESCHI

Assuming that the first part of Egerton MS 1635 was written chronologically (see Chapter One), Symonds visited the renowned sculpture collection of Ippolito Vitelleschi shortly after his arrival in Rome (the notes concerning this visit are found between the entries for Palazzo Farnese and Palazzo Giustiniani).[46] Vitelleschi was librarian to the Vatican Library and an ardent collector of antiquities. His house (which has not been identified) was on the southern end of the Corso.[47] The sculpture collection has long been dispersed but in the mid-seventeenth century it appears to have been on the itinerary for

other English visitors to Rome. Richard Lassels considered Vitelleschi's house 'not very great' but he admired both his sculpture and picture collection and thought that Vitelleschi was 'a great Virtuoso.' John Evelyn described it as 'the best collection of statues in Rome,' yet he only mentioned two pieces; on the other hand he wrote a vivid description of Vitelleschi who 'frequently talkes [to his antiquities] & discourses, as if they were living...sometimes kissing & embracing them.'[48] Symonds was not accomplished at describing people or their characteristics, but because of his genuine interest, he was usually more reliable than Evelyn at recording works of art.

Symonds was probably accompanied by the enthusiastic owner as he was given an extensive tour of the palace including Vitelleschi's bedroom. His notes start in the Sala where he admired some busts of *Emperors*; he commented on the multi-coloured alabaster that was used to differentiate between the flesh and the togas fastened by 'Jewels.'[49] Throughout the collection he noted types of marble, alabaster, porphyry and other stones of the statuary (probably informed on these points by Vitelleschi) as well as their colours, and whether pieces were whole, damaged or gilded. Symonds had recently been to Palazzo Farnese, but it may have been Vitelleschi (who was not prone to modesty with regard to his collection) who informed him that the like of the busts of philosophers in the Sala were 'only to be seene here & at Farneses.'[50] In the room after the Sala Symonds observed that a head of *Brutus* had a scar carved upon his cheek, a feature which Evelyn had also remarked upon.[51] The 'famous' (but unidentified) statue of a *Gladiator* that Symonds

was told had been used by Michelangelo as a model for his *Risen Christ* in Santa Maria sopra Minerva (mentioned in Chapter Two) was perhaps the only full-length statue of life-size in Vitelleschi's collection.[52] It certainly was unusual in having an alleged association with Michelanglelo, yet Symonds did not choose to measure it, possibly because other than this claim to fame, it was not a celebrated piece. Symonds noted that a statue of *Jove* was placed on a little capital of 'Marmo AEgyptica, Greenish black' and the head of an *Apollo*, carved from 'Marmo Greco full of shyning' was 'come una donna;' near these classical heads Vitelleschi displayed an Egyptian idol.[53] Symonds thought that a 'Dio di l'horto' (probably a satyr) had 'ears like a faun;' he may have used the word 'horto' in the sense that it had oriental (*ortò*) features, but more likely he considered that the figure appeared wild, as from the outdoors, or garden (*orto*).[54] He measured the thighs of a little 'Dio del Solirte;' the description is not clear, but it could mean that the statue was unbroken (*solèrte*) or possibly that it was a figure that was connected with *Sol*.[55]

Symonds wrote that 'An old Head' had been 'painted by Cavay Bernino;'[56] he probably meant an antique head that Bernini had found interesting enough to record in a painting. It was one of the very few occasions that Symonds referred to Bernini (although he must have seen many of his works throughout Rome), an omission which signifies Symonds preference for classical sculpture and early Christian churches rather than Bernini and the Baroque.

In another of Vitelleschi's reception rooms he saw a statue of *Marcus Aurelius*

which was probably not intact ('entire').[57] Symonds was evidently cautioned that a gilt head of *Lucilla* was of 'guilding we touch not off p[er] la Virginita della Antichità.'[58] He observed that a statue of *Apollo* had an 'old fashund harpe,' by which he meant a lyre, and that a lachrymal vase was 'a glasse for tears;' this ancient object was still in the urn of transparent alabaster where it had been found. In the same room Symonds recorded a *Madonna* by one of the Zuccari and an *Ecce Homo*, by 'Padovano Vecchio' (he probably was referring to Alessandro Varotari, called 'Il Padovanino'); the portrait of Vitelleschi's brother, Muzio, 'Generale del ordine dei Jesuiti' was displayed with these paintings;[59] perhaps it was one of his proudest possessions.

In yet another room (Symonds mentioned eight rooms, all of which contained sculpture) Vitelleschi had more heads of philosophers, and a bust of *Gracchus*, whose name was 'underscribed.'[60] Symonds was last taken into Vitelleschi's 'Owne bed Chamb[er]' where he may have kept his favourite pieces; they included life-sized heads of 'Julius Cesar, bald & Galba both old & much prizd' and 'Seneca's Head from y^{t} at Burghese.' This last item of information could have come from Vitelleschi, but possibly Symonds was aware of it himself, because when he was in the Villa Medici garden, he noted that a statue was a copy of one in Villa Borghese (discussed above). In Vitelleschi's bedroom were other heads representing famous Romans and a little 'Dea Natura;' the latter was probably a many-breasted *Diana of Ephesus*. Symonds's attention was caught by a 'lyon leg for ye sedie' which may have once belonged to an antique chair; he perhaps found it novel because the lion's

leg motif was not yet widely used in contemporary furniture. Vitelleschi had chosen to hang in his bedroom a *Battle Scene* by Michelangelo Cerquozzi (who Symonds knew was called 'Michel Angelo della Bataglia'), '2 large Paeses...di Paolo Brill' and 'A Madonna of Pietro Perugino.'[61]

The accompaniment of the eccentric Vitelleschi, who Evelyn described as 'so in love with the Antiquities,' must have made this one of the most amusing and enjoyable of Symonds's visits, but it was not an occasion when he pursued his recording of ideal form; this was reserved for a few chosen pieces.

THE COLLECTION OF SIGNOR PIGHINI

The Pighini palace (not located) was built opposite what was to become Palazzo Farnese; it was acquired in 1523-24 by Francesco Fusconi doctor to Popes Adrian VI, Paul III, and Julius III.[62] On Fusconi's death the palace and his collection of antique statues were inherited by his nephew Adriano, Bishop of Aquino who died without a male heir in 1579; the palace and statues then came into the possession of Marzia Fusconi who was married to a member of the Pighini family. The collection remained in the palace until the 1770s when it was dispersed. The Christian name and dates of the Signor Pighini that Symonds visited have not been identified; his notes do not read as if he was accompanied by the owner. Symonds's visit is recorded near the end of Egerton MS 1635 and chronologically may also have been near the end of his time in Rome, that is, in late 1650 or early 1651. The collection was seen by Evelyn who wrote the family name as 'Pichini;' Symonds also appears to have

had doubts with regard to the spelling but hedged his bets by writing 'Pichini' with a 'g' interlined above.

On entering Symonds first noted 'A busto' which evidently had some form of clothing portrayed (at least around the neck) as he observed that 'ye Garm[en]^{t} for sweetnes & softnes is much admyred,' indicating either his appreciation of the sculptor's skill, or, perhaps more likely, a quote from a servant.[63] After briefly commenting that there were some statues in the hall, he headed for the antechamber to see the famous statue of *Meleager*, now in the Vatican Museum, which was the main purpose of his visit.[64]

As early as the mid-sixteenth century *Meleager* was described as one of the most beautiful statues in Rome and one of the chief sights of the city.[65] Symonds knew that the statue was sometimes referred to as *Adonis*, who was also linked to the hunt, but he wrote, 'a bore head being by him Tis rather of Meleager.' Symonds may have come to this logical conclusion as *Meleager* had killed the boar, rather than had been killed by him, which was the fate of *Adonis*. Other writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (including Totti - and therefore Evelyn) described the statue as *Adonis* and it was not until the eighteenth century that it came to be generally agreed it was *Meleager*; Symonds was ahead of his time in his firm identification of the subject.

He noted *Meleager*'s proportions and gave a page reference to a passage in Lomazzo's *Trattato* concerning Michelangelo's unwillingness to restore the

statue because his own figures were far more robust and muscular.[66] This passage is in a chapter on the rules of proportions of the human body a subject that Symonds studied in his own attempts at life drawing (see below). He noted the relevant page reference; as it does not appear to be a later insertion he may have especially taken his copy of the *Trattato* with him. It must have been satisfactory that *Meleager*'s proportions appear to have corresponded with what he had been taught by Canini; after making detailed measurements Symonds's wrote that 'S. Gio[vanni] Ang[elo] it[e]m.'[67]

As in the case of a statue in the collection of Ippolitto Vitelleschi (discussed above), Michelangelo's name appears to have come up in connection with a famous work, but on this occasion with regard to his repair of an antique figure, as opposed to copying one, and perhaps a more plausible story. Although Symonds mentioned Arundel in his notes on the gem collection of Leonardo Agostini, he surprisingly did not refer to the Earl of Arundel's unsatisfactory negotiations to buy *Meleager*, which were recounted by Evelyn and were seemingly well known.[68] Nor did he note that the statue was carved out of Parian marble (as did Evelyn and as is recorded in a print of 1555),[69] but perhaps neither of these bits of information were provided by his guide (or Lomazzo).

Symonds went on to record only one other statue in the collection; this was an unidentified *Venus* which he evidently admired enough to measure; the only occasion when he applied this procedure to a statue that was apparently not

widely known.[70]

Symonds's notes on the three collections discussed above indicate his enjoyment at seeing at first hand the most renowned statues in Rome. When he was accompanied by owners such as Agostini or Vitelleschi who provided him with information about different types of stone, Symonds diligently wrote it down, but without this informed help he was limited in his assessments and had to resort to simply recording the colours. He noted if statues were copies, especially if he had seen the original, and he often commented if they were broken, but he seldom mentioned that they were restored which he may not have considered an important factor (unless the repair was reputed to be by Michelangelo). It appears that he relied on his own knowledge and a servant for the Medici collection, Lomazzo for the Pighini collection, and did not require assistance when accompanied by Vitelleschi.

What might be considered minor factors appear to have been important to Symonds, but most important of all was the opportunity to study the concept of ideal form as represented in the *Venus de Medici*, *Meleager* and a few other selected statues. Although there does not appear to have been much written about the proportions of the ideal human body at this date, it was evidently taught by Canini, probably discussed in his circle of antiquarians and artists, and known to be studied by Poussin.[71] A drawing on the verso of Poussin's *The Victory of Joshua and the Amonites*, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, has the measurements of a statue (almost certainly that of the *Apollo Belvedere*) in

the measurements of a statue (almost certainly that of the *Apollo Belvedere*) in Poussin's hand. Later in the seventeenth century Bellori reproduced Poussin's measured drawing of *Antinous* in his *Vite* (1672). Gérard Audran's *Proportions* (1683) had illustrations with measurements of important antique statues made for the use of artists.[72] Symonds may not have been capable of making accomplished measured drawings to illustrate ideal form, but perhaps he made one of the earliest recorded written studies of the subject.

1. See B.L. Add. MS 17919, fol. 36r.

2. See B.L. Add. MS 17919, fols. 41v - 43v.

3. See B.L. Add. MS 17919, fol. 45r.

4. See B.L. Add. MS 17919, fol. 88r.

5. See Appendix I, fols. 84r - 85r.

6. See Appendix I, fols. 36v - 41v.

7. See Appendix I, fols. 44v - 45r.

8. For a description of work carried out in the garden and the Villa from its inception to the present day, see *Villa Mèdicis*, I, II, III; for work carried out there in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-centuries, see Andres, I, II.

9. For the 1598 inventory, see Boyer, passim.

10. See De Beer, II, pp. 231-32; and Chaney, 1985, p. 200.

11. See Appendix I, fols. 36v - 38r.

12. See Appendix I, fol. 36v and note 361.

13. See Appendix I, fol. 36v and note 362.

14. See Appendix I, fol. 36v and note 363.

15. See Appendix I, fol. 36v.

16. See Appendix I, fol. 36v and note 365.

17. See Appendix I, fol. 37r and note 367.

18. See Appendix I, fol. 37r and notes 370-72.

19. See Haskell and Penny, p. 307; and De Beer, II, pp. 230 and 286.

20. See Appendix I, fol. 36r and note 373.

21. See Appendix I, fol. 36r and note 374.

22. See Appendix I, fol. 37r and note 375.

23. See Appendix I, fol. 37r and note 376.

24. See Appendix I, fol. 37v and note 377. Symonds did not comment that the original statue of *Cleopatra* was to be seen at the Vatican which may indicate that he had not yet gone there (the statue had been converted into a fountain in a grotto and was in a room [the 'Stanza della Cleopatra'] adjoining the Belvedere courtyard).

25. See Appendix I, fol. 37v and note 378.

26. For a discussion of *Niobe* and the *affetti*, see Chapter Three; and Spear, 1997, p. 36.

27. See Appendix I, fol. 37v and notes 380 and 381.

28. See Appendix I, fol. 38v and note 383.

29. See Appendix I, fol. 38v and note 386.

30. See Appendix I, fol. 38v and note 387.

31. See Appendix I, fol. 38v and note 388.

32. See B.L. Harley MS 943, fol. 110v.

33. See Appendix I, fol. 39r and notes 397-99.

34. See Appendix I, fol.39r and note 401.

35. See Appendix I, fol. 39r and notes 403 and 404.

36. See Appendix I, fols. 39r - 39v and notes 405-07; see also Haskell and Penny, p. 326.

37. See Appendix I, fol. 40r and note 412.

38. See Appendix I, fol. 40r and note 415.

39. See Appendix I, fol. 40r and note 417.

40. See Appendix I, fols. 40r - 40v and notes 418 and 419.

41. See Appendix I, fol. 40v and note 420.

42. See Appendix I, fol. 41v and notes 422-38.

43. See Andres, 1976, I, p. 469.

44. See De Beer, II, pp. 230-32.

45. See De Beer, II, p. 286, note 1.

46. See Appendix I, fols. 19v - 21v. For some limited information regarding Ippolito Vitelleschi (died in 1654), see De Beer, II, p. 283, note 4.

47. See Appendix I, fol. 19v and note 173.

48. Evelyn twice mentioned Vitelleschi; he described his visit as 'to a Virtuoso's house one Hippolito Vitelesco, afterward Bibliothecary of the Vatican Library: who shew'd us certainely one of the best collections of statues in Rome' (Evelyn did mention any of Vitelleschi's paintings that were displayed with the sculpture collection), see De Beer, II, p. 283. He later referred to Vitelleschi as 'the greate Statue Colector, and he has a vast store of them & of the most esteem'd in rome to an incredible value...,' see De Beer, II, p. 365. Lassels also visited Vitteleschi's collection; he wrote: 'Lastly the pallace of a private gentleman in the Curso [*sic*], called Signor Viteleschi, not very great, but rarely furnished with statues and pictures, which speak the master of it to be a great Virtuoso,' see Chaney, 1985, p. 199.

49. See Appendix I, fol. 19v.

50. See Appendix I, fol. 19v.

51. See Appendix I, fol. 19v and note 178.

52. See Appendix I, fol. 19v and note 179.

53. See Appendix I, fol. 20r and notes 181, 183 and 184.

54. See Appendix I, fol. 20r.

55. See Appendix I, fol. 20r.

56. See Appendix I, fol. 20r.

57. See Appendix I, fol. 20v.

58. See Appendix I, fol. 20v.

59. See Appendix I, fol. 20v.

60. See Appendix I, fol. 21r.

61. See Appendix I, fol. 21v. Evidently Vitelleschi could not resist telling Symonds that '200 Crowns' had been offered for one of his Bril landscapes and that the Perugino had cost him '40 scudini;' these prices (a crown and a scudo both equalled approximately 5s. 6d.) may be an indication as to which of these two painters was more fashionable at the time. Perugino was one of the very few Early Renaissance painters noted by Symonds, perhaps because he was the master of Raphael. Symonds recorded that Francesco Angeloni had 'Divers things of Pietro Perugino' which he apparently displayed between two drawings by Raphael. In Santa Croce in Gerusalemme Symonds sketched a painting then attributed to Perugino (now given to Antoniozzo Romano) 'Constantine finding ye Crosse,' see B.L. Add. MS 17919, fols. 6v and 24v.

62. See Appendix I, fols. 77r - 78r. The palace was at the east end of the north side of the Piazza Farnese. Symonds was not the only Englishman who had a problem in how to spell the family name, Evelyn on leaving Palazzo Farnese and going into the Piazza wrote 'At the side of this Court we visited the Palace of Signor Pichini,' see De Beer, II, p. 217. See also Totti, 1638, p. 206.

63. See Appendix I, fol. 77r and note 792.

64. See Appendix I, fols. 77r - 77v, and note 793.

65. See Haskell and Penny, p. 263.

66. See Appendix I, fol.77r and note 794.

67. See Appendix I, fol. 77r.

68. See Appendix I, note 793.

69. See Haskell and Penny, pp. 263-64 and note 15.

70. See Appendix I, fol. 78r.

71. In B.L. Egerton MS 1636 Symonds wrote several pages on 'Della Proportione' as taught by 'S.G.A.' (Canini), made two sketches of figures

divided into sections and noted page references to treatises by Lomazzo, Alberti, Vitruvius and della Porta in connection with the proportions of the human body; these works were amongst the books that he sent home to England, see Beal, 1984, pp. 264-71; and B.L. Harley MS 943, fols. 110v - 111r.

72. See Haskell and Penny, p. 142.

Chapter Nine

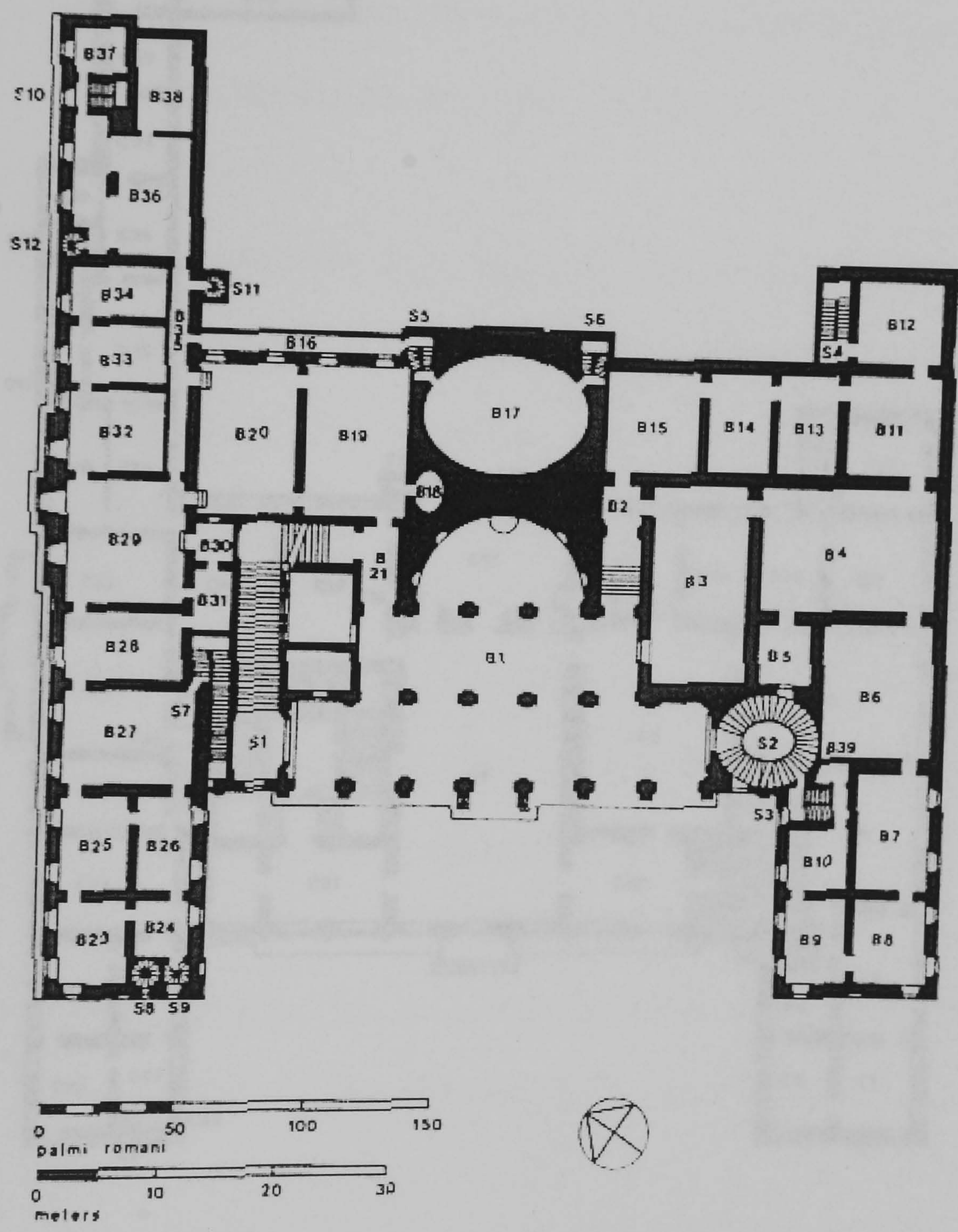
Palazzo Barberini

At the time of Symonds's visit the palace contained one of the greatest art collections in Rome, but the Barberini were not in residence as it was occupied by the French ambassador from 1647 to 1663. Nonetheless, both the building and its contents were stamped with the character of this great family who had virtually ruled the city since the mid 1620s.[1]

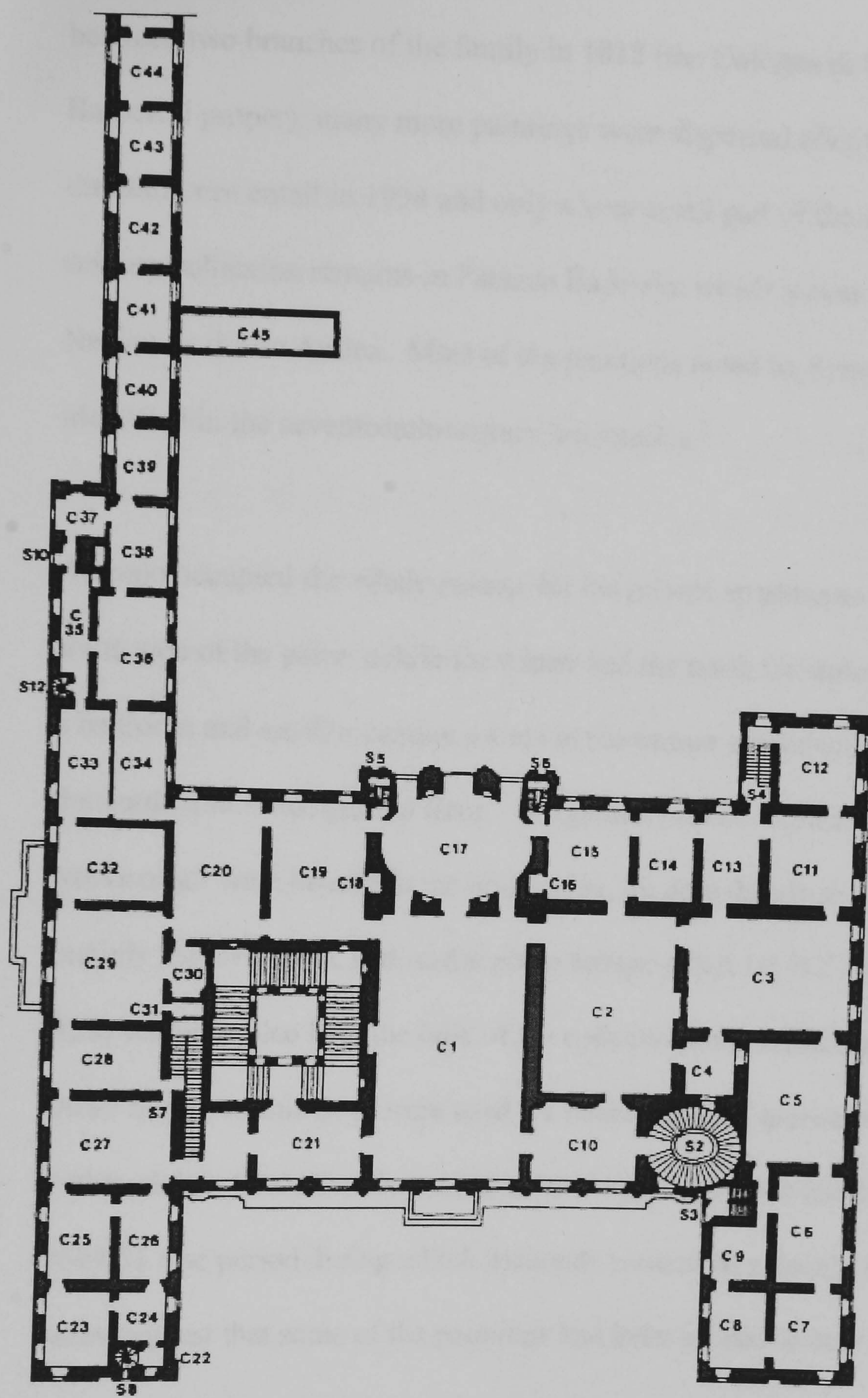
In 1625 Cardinal Francesco Barberini (1597-1697), nephew of Urban VIII, purchased the Sforza palace on the Quirinale: soon after, on leaving for Spain, he handed it over to one of his younger brothers, Taddeo (1603-47), who continued to buy surrounding land. Taddeo commissioned Carlo Maderno to design a new palace attached to the south façade of the former Sforza palace thereby forming an H-shaped building with the main façade, and a deep forecourt, on the west side. After Maderno's death in 1629 he was replaced by Bernini; work continued under Maderno's assistant, Francesco Borromini, who kept the main lines of the plan and by 1633 the palace was completed.[2] The old Sforza north wing was re-vamped for Taddeo whose apartments were on

the ground floor and connected with those of his wife (Anna Colonna) on the piano nobile above. As was the case in certain other large Roman palaces (for example, Palazzo Farnese and Palazzo Borghese), Palazzo Barberini was designed to accomodate more than one branch of the family. Taddeo shared the two central reception rooms with Francesco, the oval room behind the garden façade and the Salone, until he moved to the Cancelleria in 1632. In 1634 Taddeo returned to the 'Casa Grande' ai Giubbonari and Cardinal Antonio (1607-71), another brother, occupied the palace. When Antonio fled to France in 1645, shortly after the death of Urban VIII (1644), the palace was declared the property of France until Antonio's return to Rome in 1653.

The Barberini nephews were all patrons of art; Taddeo was perhaps the least interested of the three, but he employed Andrea Camassei to paint two ceiling frescoes in the palace. Francesco commissioned Andrea Sacchi to fresco the vault of another reception room, but he used Pietro da Cortona instead of Sacchi to decorate the Salone, the principal reception room of the palace. When still a young man Antonio acquired important contemporary paintings aided by his advisor Marcello Sacchetti. Girolamo Teti's 1642 *Aedes Barberinae* describes paintings by Raphael, Correggio, Titian, Perugino, Guido Reni, Lanfranco, Guercino and Cortona (amongst others). The palace also contained a large collection of antiquities and Francesco's splendid library. The 1644 inventory of Antonio (which is the one most frequently referred to in this chapter) lists 575 paintings and 275 pieces of sculpture which, with few exceptions, were antiquities. This vast collection was halved



Plan 10. Palazzo Barberini, ground floor, 1628-1638, reconstruction from P. Waddy, *Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces: Use and the Art of the Plan*, p. 182, fig. 101.



Plan 11. Palazzo Barberini, piano nobile, 1628-1638, reconstruction from P. Waddy, *Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces: Use and the Art of the Plan*, p. 183, fig. 102.

between two branches of the family in 1812 (the Colonna di Sciarra and the Barberini proper); many more paintings were dispersed after the dissolution of the Barberini entail in 1934 and only a very small part of the seventeenth-century collection remains in Palazzo Barberini which is now the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica. Most of the paintings noted by Symonds can be identified in the seventeenth-century inventories.[3]

Antonio occupied the whole palace; for his private apartments he used the south side of the piano nobile for winter and the north for summer; he also had a bedroom and small reception rooms in the former apartments of Taddeo on the north side of the ground floor. The greater part of Antonio's collection of works of art were housed in the north wing, on both the piano nobile (Plan 11, [mainly in] C33-C44), and on the piano terreno (Plan 10, B23, B25, B27 and B28) where he also kept the bulk of his collection of musical instruments. Other rooms on this floor were used for board and card games and billiards. Although it is likely that the arrangement would have been much the same in 1649-51 (the period during which Symonds visited the palace), Symonds's notes suggest that some of the paintings had been moved to new locations.

The entry for Palazzo Barberini is located at the back of B.L. Add. MS 17919, perhaps placed there because the palace is situated in the area of Rome that Symonds had designated for the '4ª Giornata,' the last in sequence in his topographically organised four-day programme. Alternatively (as in other instances) Symonds may have found this space conveniently empty. It is hard

to know when to place the visit during the time that Symonds spent in Rome; some notes suggest that he was already well informed, while others indicate that he had not gone as yet to Palazzo Farnese or Palazzo Borghese, visits that are recorded near the beginning of Egerton MS 1635. Furthermore, Symonds does not appear to have had the conversation with Poussin in which the painter unfavourably compared Pietro da Cortona's ceiling painting in Palazzo Barberini with Annibale Carracci's decorations in the Galleria Farnese.[4]

If Symonds entered the palace by the main portico, it was not reached through the present wrought-iron gateway, but by what appears in contemporary prints to be a very rustic entrance, lacking in any planning or symmetry, and in strange contrast to the grandeur of the palace.[5] Once inside, Symonds probably passed through the vestibule (Plan 10, B1) and climbed to the piano nobile via the main staircase (S1). For reasons which will be discussed below, Symonds's notes suggest that he only visited the north wing. He started his description of the collection on the piano nobile (in an unidentified room) with comments on a painting that depicted 'a story of Cleopatra' which he first attributed to 'Carraccio,' and then to 'Correggio'. Symonds was either unfamiliar with these artists or knew that the Carracci emulated Correggio, a topic that interested him during his visit to Palazzo Farnese.[6] He noted that the painting cost 'mille 200 Scudi' and 'Tis now sent to ye Qu:[een] of France;' these remarks seem to indicate that he was accompanied by a guide who was full of the kind of chit-chat provided by servants - and that the painting of *Cleopatra* was no longer in the collection, however; as Symonds carefully

recorded the picture's measurements, its departure may only have been imminent.[7] Although six pictures of *Cleopatra* are listed in the inventories, none are attributed to a member of the Carracci family (although there are three pictures depicting *Cleopatra* attributed to members of the Carracci school: Guercino, Guido Reni and Lanfranco), or to Correggio, and the painting cannot be identified.

Symonds next recorded some landscapes which he attributed to 'Monsieur Amanno,' (one of) the Italianised versions of the Christian name of Herman van Swanevelt, which perhaps was provided by his companion. Symonds's note that these pictures were 'round a lodging Roome in frames' suggests that there were at least three of Swanevelt's landscapes on the walls; there are many paintings attributed to the artist recorded in the 1644 inventory several of which could be termed as landscape subjects; two were listed in an anteroom (Plan 11, C19) which may be the room that Symonds described as a 'lodging Roome;'[8] this would have been a logical route to the reception room with Andrea Sacchi's ceiling fresco *Divine Wisdom*, which Symonds recorded next (via C20 to C29).[9] He knew who had painted this 'much esteemd' fresco for Francesco, but he failed to give it a title, perhaps because it was an unusual subject derived from the Apochryphal Wisdom of Solomon and previously not represented in art. The author of the programme is not known but it was intended to identify with the Barberini. In a small anteroom (C28), between the room with Sacchi's *Divine Wisdom* (C29), and the Audience room (C27), Symonds saw Camassei's ceiling fresco *God Creating the Angels*, another

subject which (with even more subtlety required) was chosen to promote the Barberini.[10] Symonds wrote the title in Italian but did not remark on the painting; if he was aware that the two ceiling paintings were linked to the Barberini he did not comment upon it.

At this point Symonds's notes confirm that he was in one of the suite of rooms that formed Antonio's summer apartment. When Antonio moved into the palace in 1635 he ordered a set of furnishings for seven rooms on the north side of the piano nobile (Plan 11, C23 - C29). Symonds described Antonio's blue taffeta hangings painted with designs of cornucopiae, flowers and fountains (it was unusual for him to go into such detail about furnishings so it can be assumed that these were exceptional).[11] He next wrote down two pieces of information that again may have come from his guide; firstly that there were six hundred rooms in the palace, and secondly that Girolamo Teti's *Aedes Barberinae* cost five crowns (he may not have been able to afford it since it was not amongst the books that he sent home from Italy).[12]

Symonds next observed a 'Paire of Organs' which appear to have been in the same room where he saw three paintings that he attributed to Caravaggio. These were *The Luteplayer*, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; *St. Catherine of Alexandria*, now in the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Madrid; and *The Cardsharps*, now in the Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth.[13] All three paintings are attributed to Caravaggio in the 1644 inventory where they are recorded in the 'Stanza di parnasso' on the ground

floor, that is, the room with Camassei's ceiling painting of *Parnassus with Apollo and the Muses, the Fates, and Heroes approaching the Temple of Immortality* (B27) which was suitably used as a music room (and therefore where the organs were likely to be found);[14] like other decorative painting in the palace, Camassei's fresco contained obvious references to the Barberini, in this instance as protectors of the arts and civilisation. Symonds did not mention descending to the lower floor, or comment on Camassei's *Parnassus*. In 1672 Bellori wrote that the Caravaggios were 'nelle medesime camere' of Cardinal Antonio and did not assign them to the *Parnassus* room.[15] A year earlier (in Antonio's 1671 inventory), the room in which they were recorded was simply described as a 'Stanza,' so it is possible that they had already been moved between 1644 and the time of Symonds's visit.[16]

The attribution of the *Luteplayer* has been the subject of recent discussion. It could not have been Caravaggio's *Luteplayer*, now in the Hermitage, St. Petersburg, which was then in the Giustininani collection where it remained until 1808 (and which Symonds was to see and record within a year of his visit to Palazzo Barberini). Hibbard points out that the Barberini *Luteplayer* was different from the Giustiniani-Hermitage painting in having no fruit or flowers, but including several musical instruments on the table; he suggests that it could be a copy by Carlo Mangone (present whereabouts untraced) painted for the Barberini in 1642.[17] Hibbard's uncertain conclusion was supported by Wolfe,[18] but more recently Mahon has convincingly argued that the *Luteplayer*, now in New York, is the painting that was attributed to

Caravaggio both in the Barberini inventories - and by Bellori - and was not Mangone's copy but a version of the Giustiniani *Luteplayer* painted for Cardinal del Monte, and bought by Antonio in the Del Monte sale in 1628 at the same time as *St. Catherine* and *The Cardsharps*.[19] Mangone's copies of the *Luteplayer* and *The Cardsharps* were perhaps intended as potential gifts; there is no trace of them in any Barberini inventories.[20] Symonds may have been informed about the Caravaggios by his guide who at the same time told him that 'all 3 [paintings were] of great price;' in fact the 1677 Barberini inventory records the valuation of *St. Catherine* and *The Cardsharps* at 400 scudi each, and *The Luteplayer* at 250 scudi (whereas Mangone was paid only twenty-two scudi for both of his copies).[21] There has also been some uncertainty as to the sex of the musician; Symonds described the youth in the Barberini painting as 'A young fellow;' he was less sure when he saw the Giustiniani *Luteplayer* which on first sight he described in similar fashion but on seeing it for a second time changed the lutanist to 'A woman.'[22] Symonds was not alone in this indecision, in both Del Monte's inventory and in Baglione, the Del Monte lutanist is described as a boy, but Bellori and the later inventories describe the subject as a female; if the painting was a specific portrait, it is more than possible that he was a castrato singer, who like Caravaggio, was in the employ of Cardinal del Monte.[23]

Symonds must have found two portraits in the 'next Roome' of particular interest; presumably he was still in Cardinal Antonio's apartment, and therefore in a room with many good paintings. One of the portraits he selected

depicted a Dominican monk which Symonds commented on twice; on both occasions he described the subject as being full faced and 'burnd' by which he may have meant brown or sunburned.[24] In the second reference he added that the subject was a famous preacher in the 'Minerva' (Santa Maria sopra Minerva) a church of the Dominican order. This could be the painting described as 'un Vecchio in Abito da Frate Con un Libro in mano Con la testa riguarda in alto...' attributed to a seemingly obscure painter called 'Cavaliere Cecc'Antonio' in Antonio's 1671 inventory.[25] The second portrait that drew Symonds's attention he described as 'Titians M[ist]^{r}[ess] done by himselfe' which suggests that it was one of four portraits (each depicting an unidentified young woman) which were attributed to Titian in the inventories. It was unlikely to be a version of the painting known as *Titian and his Mistress* (then in Palazzo Borghese) that has recently reappeared in an English private collection;[26] this painting was noted by Symonds in the Borghese collection but he recorded that it portrayed (both) 'Titian & a Woman.'[27] There were relatively few Venetian paintings in the any of the Roman collections he visited (other than Titian) but in Palazzo Barberini Symonds described one as '2 Heads onely in one quadro by Tintoret;' this was probably *Two Venetian Noblemen* (no present provenance) attributed to Tintoretto in the 1644 inventory.[28]

Symonds's tour appears to have moved at a brisk pace. In 'another Roome' he saw Raphael's portrait *La Fornarina*, now in Palazzo Barberini (as part of the collection of the Galleria Nazionale dell'Arte Antica).[29] This portrait was

recorded in 1644 (without the title of *La Fornarina*) in a room that was three away from the 'Stanza di Parnaso' and was hung next to an unattributed *Madonna and Child.* Not surprisingly Symonds was much taken with this painting which he admired both for the beauty of the subject (which he described in detail) and for Raphael's skill in depicting skin so that 'it appeares very flesh;' he used a similar comment when admiring Annibale's figures in the Galleria Farnese;[30] on both occasions he noted that the artists did not use black for flesh tones; the colours to be used when depicting skin was a topic he discussed with Canini.[31] On Symonds's return to England he underlined the relevant passage that praised Raphael's *La Fornarina* in his copy of Vasari.[32] Possibly it was in the same room that he recorded the portraits of '2 Card: Barberinos...;' that he was to note again later, remarking in both instances that the paintings were by a pupil of Domenichino and who he identified on the second occasion as 'Antonio Bolognese.'[33] Apparently hanging nearby was one of the numerous portraits of *Urban VIII*, and another of a 'K[ing] of France who is on horseback;'[34] Symonds did not give either of these paintings an attribution and the only equestrian portrait of a French king in the inventories is a painting of *Louis XIII* that was recorded in the Guardarobà in 1644 (Symonds was not taken there, it was on the topmost floor); perhaps due to the residence of the French Ambassador the portrait had been moved to a more prominent position, or, he may have put up some of his own pictures. Probably in the same room was a portrait of *St. Bruno* that Symonds wrote was 'rarely done by Titian;' this painting has not been identified;[35] there are two paintings depicting the saint listed in the inventories but both are unattributed.

Nor has it been possible to identify a painting that Symonds described as 'M. Angelo has painted himselfe' (his usual reference for Michelangelo Buonarotti rather than for Caravaggio). His detailed description of both the sitter and the pose suggests that he particulary observed the painting; it could be the picture recorded in the Guardarobà in 1644 and described as a 'ritratto di Michele Angelo.'[36] Symonds's guide may have believed that it was indeed a self-portrait by the master, and if he was a Barberini servant, may have found that mentioning Michelangelo was always a success with visitors; it was not the only occasion that Symonds recorded a similarly doubtful reference to an alleged work by Michelangelo.[37]

Symonds did not mention moving into another room in order to see a bed 'w^{c}h was P[ope] U[rban's];'[38] this unusual piece of furniture intrigued Symonds not only because it had belonged to the late Pope, but because it appears to have been a sort of camp bed which 'shutts' and was 'painted in India...upon Carta pecora (parchment)' by which he may have meant (his notion of) an Indian style of decoration. Symonds wrote that hung 'against' (beside) *La Fornarina* was Dürer's *Christ Disputing with the Doctors*, now in the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Madrid.[39] Symonds sketched Dürer's monogram and put in the date '1506,' but he only indicated the writing on the *cartellino* with a dotted line, and did not record if it was inscribed 'F. ROMA,' as has been suggested (but is no longer visible); this would have supported the problematic evidence that Dürer went to Rome.[40] Although it seems curious to hang Dürer's painting of a religious subject and a *Madonna and Child* next (or very

near) to the portrait of Raphael's mistress, lack of hierarchy appears to have been the norm throughout the collection as can be seen from the seventeenth-century inventories. The two paintings were not recorded as hanging in the same room in either 1644 or 1671 and yet Symonds observation on the proximity of the two works, and his comments on the price paid for them (presumably information supplied by his companion), indicates that this is how they were displayed at the time of his visit. That there had been some rearrangement of the collection is further suggested by the next painting that Symonds described, this was a 'Madonna & and other p[er]sons by Giulio Romano;' there was not a picture fitting this description recorded near either the Raphael or the Dürer in 1644 or 1671, but possibly this may be the *Madonna and Child, St. Anne, St. Joseph, St. John, two angels* (no present provenance) which does not have an attribution to Giulio Romano until the 1672 inventory.[41] Perhaps also in the same room was a painting that Symonds described as 'Another of O^{r} Savio^{r} and other p[er]sons by Luca D'Hollanda' which has not been identified in the inventories. It is unlikely that Symonds would be very familiar with Lucas; there were few of his paintings in Rome although Symonds attributed a painting to him in Palazzo Borghese.[42]

Back in the room where he had earlier observed family portraits (and the Dominican monk) Symonds commented again on the two portraits of the Barberini cardinals but only one of them caught his interest enough to receive a detailed description. This was the portrait of *Cardinal Antonio*, Symonds not only described the pose, but recorded the inscription on the letter held in

the cardinal's hand in which the painter, 'Antonio Alberti [which was] writt at bottom,' dedicated the portrait to the cardinal. Symonds commented again that 'Antonio Bolognese' was a pupil of Domenichino. A portrait of *Cardinal Antonio* (Rome, Giacinta Barberini?) which follows Symonds's description is given to 'Antonino' (who may indeed have been a lesser known pupil of Domenichino) in both the 1671 and 1686 inventories.[43] Symonds's last itemized notes relate to four small sculptures in a room 'below where the Ritrattos of the family are' (this presumably means below the room where he saw the portraits of Antonio and Francesco), which suggests that at the end of his tour he was taken down to the ground floor (Plan 10). Antonio had many of the smaller works in his collection - both paintings and sculpture - in his apartment on this floor. Other than a brief note that there were 'Many Ritrattos of Titian in the little rooms by,' this is the end of Symonds's record of the collection.[44]

Symonds's notes on Palazzo Barberini raise many questions. First of all, who was his companion (or companions)? Sometimes his notes indicate that he copied down comments from a servant who was also the source of information regarding the (reputed) prices paid for certain paintings, but in the main they suggest that he was being informed by someone knowledgeable about painters, and in particular, the studio of Domenichino; this of course points to Canini. Secondly, where did he get so many firm attributions (several of which were not in the Barberini inventories until a later date)? Again this points to a knowledgeable companion, or possibly to Barberini labelling (for some reason

not used in the inventories). It is also puzzling that several of the paintings Symonds placed together in the same room are located differently in both the 1644 or 1671 inventories. This could be because the arrangement had been changed in the 'interregnum' when the Barberini had fled to France. Other than a painting that Symonds gave to Lucas, and another that he gave to Tintoretto, his firm attributions were to Caravaggio, Titian, Raphael, Michelangelo, Dürer, Giulio Romano and the unidentified Antonio Alberti. With the exception of the last-named, these would all probably have been painters that Symonds was familiar with, even after only a few months in Rome, but it still would be unlikely that he could without hesitation attribute paintings to these artists. The route of his visit is not clear, he appears to have had a very limited tour of the north wing, going to certain rooms on both the piano nobile and the ground floor. Out of the vast Barberini collection, he only had time to record a few paintings (yet, with regard to a few especially admired pictures, for example, *La Fornarina*, he went into detail). Although his notes do not convey enthusiasm for Sacchi's and Camassei's frescoes on the piano nobile, it is surprising that he did not even record Camassei's *Parnassus* in the music room if this was the room where he saw the three Caravaggios. It is unlikely that he was taken to the two main reception rooms in the centre of the piano nobile, he surely would have noted the unusual shape of the oval room and could not have helped but comment on Pietro da Cortona's *Divine Providence* ceiling in the Salone. The Barberini *scopatore*, Roschino, who was charged with admitting visitors into the Salone, and had even written a pamphlet on Cortona's ceiling, perhaps was not in residence in the palace at

this time; he may have gone to France with his master.[45] If Symonds's visit was shortly after he arrived in Rome, he may not have been aware of the discussion that took place in the Accademia di San Luca regarding the relative merits of the Classical and Baroque styles of painting as epitomised respectively by Sacchi and Pietro da Cortona, nor as yet have had his discussion with Poussin.[46]

The uncertain conclusion about Symonds's visit to Palazzo Barberini is that he was accompanied, perhaps by Canini - and a Barberini servant as well, and that his tour was brief and limited; visits may have been restricted by the resident French ambassador. If this entry was written as part of Symonds's four day guidebook, he would surely have mentioned many more famous paintings and given a more clearly indicated route; despite its end position in B.L. Add. MS 17919, the visit may well have taken place in early 1650, or even just after Symonds arrived in 1649. Perhaps it is his first record of a private collection, and as a result of this visit, he may have started Egerton MS 1635 with an aim to keep it for just this purpose (although as we know, this was unfulfilled).

1. See Appendix II, fols. 90v - 92r. For the rooms on the ground floor and piano nobile which will be referred to in Chapter Nine - and in Appendix II, see Plans 10 and 11.

2. The courtyard on the south side was abandoned and replaced by a deep forecourt so that the main façade is approached by projecting wings at each end. The façade is split up into seven bays of arcades three stories high of which the bottom one forms an open loggia; i.e., more like a country house, see Plan 10. After Maderno died, Bernini, with the help of his predecessor's assistant Francesco Borromini, made a few modifications (e.g., the coat of arms in the centre of the façade). A novel feature of the palace is the oval room behind the garden façade, unknown in Maderno's other buildings (Plan 11, C17), see Waddy, pp. 182-83, and 227-42; Hibbard, 1971, pp. 80-84; and Haskell, 1980, pp. 47-48.

3. For which, see Lavin, passim (unfortunately Lavin provides very little information regarding the present location of the paintings).

4. See note 46 below.

5. Visitors arriving from the direction of the Quirinal or the Quattro Fontane, would be met by a low wall stretching between small houses; near the north end of this wall was a simple arched portal and beyond this was a shallow triangular courtyard separated from the space immediately before the palace by a second low wall; like the outer wall, this had an asymmetrically placed plain arched portal (illustrated by Totti), see Waddy, pp. 206-07, and fig. 126.

6. See Appendix I, fol. 15v; and Appendix II, fol. 90v and note 2.

7. See Appendix II, fol. 90v and note 3.

8. See Appendix II, fol. 90v and notes 4 and 5.

9. See Appendix II, fol. 90v and notes 6 and 7.

10. See Appendix II, fol. 90v and notes 8 and 9.

11. See Appendix II, fol. 90v and note 10.

12. See Appendix II, fol. 91r and note 11.

13. See Appendix II, fol. 91r and notes 13-17.

14. See Appendix II, fol. 91r and note 12.

15. See Bellori, 1976, pp. 203-04.

16. See Lavin, p. 296.

17. See Hibbard 1983, p. 280.

18. See Wolfe, pp. 450-52.

19. See Mahon, 1990, pp. 5-20.

20. See Mahon, 1990, p. 11.

21. See Hibbard, 1983, p. 280.

22. See Appendix I, fols. 23r and 27r.

23. See Hibbard, 1983, pp. 35 and 281; Mahon, 1990, p. 20; and Langdon, pp. 111-12.

24. See Appendix II, fols. 91r and 91v and notes 18 and 37.

25. See Lavin, p. 312, no. 411.

26. See 'Conclusion.'

27. See Appendix I, fol. 11v and note 115.

28. See Appendix II, fol. 91v and note 36.

29. See Appendix II, fol. 91r and note 20.

30. See Appendix I, fol. 18r.

31. See Beal, 1984, pp. 254-55.

32. See Appendix II, note 20.

33. See Appendix II, fol. 91v and notes 22 and 23.

34. See Appendix II, fol. 91v and notes 24 and 25.

35. See Appendix II, fol. 91v and note 26.

36. See Appendix II, fol. 91v and note 28.

37. For example, the stone table in Palazzo Farnese, see Appendix I, fol. 17r.

38. See Appendix II, fol. 91v. The bed appears to have been in the same room where Symonds saw *La Fornarina*, and several other paintings that he referred to immediately afterwards; these paintings were not recorded together in the same room in 1644.

39. See Appendix II, fol. 91v and note 31. In the 1644 inventory *La Fornarina* was not recorded next to *Christ disputing with the Doctors*, in between was the unattributed *Madonna and Child*, see Lavin p. 170, nos. 309-11.

40. See Appendix II, note 33. Dürer's painting is unattributed in the inventories until 1671, see Lavin, p. 300, no. 179.

41. See Appendix II, fol. 91v and note 34.

42. See Appendix II, fol. 91v and note 35; and Appendix I, fol. 8v and note 27. As mentioned above, we do not know if Symonds had already been to Palazzo Borghese.

43. See Appendix II, fol. 92r and notes 38 and 39. As discussed in Chapter Four, Symonds observed the inscription on a document held by the Cardinal in the portrait of *Card. Ippolito de'Medici and Mario Bracci*, now in the National Gallery, London, and then in Palazzo Borghese, see Appendix I, fol. 10v and note 68.

44. See Appendix II, fol. 92r.

45. See Scott, pp. 136-37; and note 46 below.

46. Symonds wrote down Poussin's comments in a passage entitled 'Discourses concerning some famous Paintings and Painters.' With regard to 'Scorcii above' Symonds wrote: 'unless they be Quadri rapportati tis likely theyle be too licentious & improp. perche non siamo avezzati vedere persone in Aria as Monsr Poussin sd. to Sig^{r} G. A. & I upon the like discourse. The roof of Card. Barberini's hall has a great deal of Licentii, or call them as they please...But the Gallery of Farnese is una Galleria finte, adornd. wth stucchi and quadri Rapportati,' see Beal, 1984, pp. 296-97. Symonds may never have got to see Cortona's ceiling while he was in Rome and was simply quoting Poussin's opinion. A discussion arose in the Accademia San Luca in the 1630s concerning the desirable number of figures in a composition (Cortona favoured richness and variety while Sacchi considered fewer figures created a more dramatic effect; Canini would have been a Sacchi supporter). Sacchi and

Cortona are described as '...i due poli antiteci (classicimo e barrocco) di una disputa sulla pittura che si protrarrà lungo tutto il Seicento,' see Magnanimi, p. 102; see also Wittkower, 1958, pp. 171-73; Haskell, 1980, pp. 52-53; and Montagu, 1985, I, pp. 63 and 189. For a more temperate view of Sacchi's attitude to the Baroque style of painting, see Sutherland Harris, 1977, p. 27.

VOLUME TWO

Conclusion

A detailed examination of Richard Symonds's notes on Roman collections - which has formed the substance of this study - makes it possible to ask a broader question: what was his place in the English understanding of Italian art as it developed during the middle years of the seventeenth century? In the 'Introduction' above it was suggested that in comparison with three of his fellow countrymen who visited Rome, John Evelyn, Richard Lassels and Sir Thomas Isham, Symonds left a record of the works of art that he saw in Italy that was both less dependent on second-hand sources and more informative than theirs. Evelyn's account is the best of these but his original observations do not survive, his notes were compiled at a later date, and they are largely derived from the borrowings of other writers.[1] Most English visitors stayed in Rome only a matter of weeks (rather than Symonds's eighteen months which was exceptional), and the records of their visits are comparatively confused and derivative, perhaps adequate for their purposes, if not ours.[2]

This discussion can be extended to include other English travellers of this date. Englishmen went to Italy in the early to mid-seventeenth century for a variety of reasons and those people who were largely concerned with studying works

of art were very much in the minority. Ambassadors and merchants who acted as art agents were in something of a class apart and had particular reasons for their residence abroad. A certain amount is known about why art experts such as Inigo Jones, Nicholas Lanier, Balthazar Gerbier and William Petty visited Italy, but the motivation for their visits was very different from Symonds's who could, arguably, be seen as a new kind of cultural tourist in Rome, neither a professional artist nor an art agent.

Inigo Jones visited Italy with Lord Arundel in 1613-1614 as a cicerone and artist, and his study of Palladian buildings had implications for his profession as an architect.[3] Nicholas Lanier was Charles I's court musician, but he went to Italy as an art agent for the King, in particular in connection with the purchase of the Mantuan collection in 1625 (and to speculate on his own behalf).[4] Other agents acting for English collectors included Balthazar Gerbier, who was in the service of the Duke of Buckingham,[5] and the Reverend William Petty who was the agent for Lord Arundel.[6] These men all had a professional interest in art, which Symonds did not, and in contrast to him, their travels were funded by the aristocrats for whom they worked or by the King.

Religion was an issue that inhibited many Protestant Englishmen from visiting Italy, and Rome in particular, but it needs to be asked whether Catholic sympathies were a factor for those interested in art who did manage to travel.[7] The Civil War led to friendly relations between Rome and the Protestant

English gentry who had sided with the Stuarts. Symonds, of course, fell into this category, that is, a Royalist who found it expedient to have a period in exile and this may well have been the original reason for his trip. Symonds's notes written during the six months that he was in Paris suggest a growing interest in art and architecture.[8] Although he had always planned to go to Italy, perhaps the period in Paris inspired him to further his knowledge and to spend the greater part of his time abroad in Rome.[9]

English Catholics had always been welcome in Rome, which was probably the incentive for John Michael Wright, a Catholic convert, to leave Scotland for Rome in the early 1640s.[10] It has been suggested that Inigo Jones was a Catholic;[11] but the Papal agent to Queen Henrietta Maria, Gregorio Panzani, described him a 'Puritanissimo Fiero;' it seems more likely that Jones was not overly concerned with religion but was 'a free thinker, virtuoso and cosmopolitan artist.'[12] William Petty was an Anglican clergyman, whereas Nicholas Lanier came from a Huguenot family. (Edward Chaney has suggested that 'like perhaps the majority of his fellow artists and musicians at this time, Lanier was a Catholic,'[13] although there seems little evidence for this). Balthazar Gerbier, who trained as a miniaturist, also came from a Huguenot background so it was ironic that his anti-papist neighbours in Bethnal Green destroyed his pew in the local parish church in 1642.[14] On the other hand, two English Catholics in Italy, George Gage and Peter Fitton, had an interest in art although their activities as agents and collectors are thinly documented. On balance it seems that religious affiliation to either persuasion

was not a significant factor in why the majority of these men were interested in either art or travelling in Italy. Shortly after 1630, even such avowed Protestants as John Milton were dining at the English Jesuit College in Rome;[15] John Evelyn, another Protestant, dined there in 1644, as did the Duke of Buckingham a year later.[16] They were perhaps typical of many English visitors to Rome, including Symonds, who wanted to enter into the life of the city but were not inhibited in their activities by their Protestant religion.

Symonds's frequent visits to English churches before leaving for the Continent were probably more concerned with recording heraldic monuments rather than the result of religious fervour.[17] In Italy he was always respectful when writing about a painting of Christ or the Virgin. While in Rome he went to many churches and attended Catholic ceremonies on special occasions and feast days, but there is no indication that he developed the slightest sympathy for Catholicism. At the same time there is no hint of scepticism in his comments on the relics that he saw in the ancient Christian basilicas; he went as an observer and was equally keen to witness non-Christian customs as can be seen by his detailed record of the Jewish circumcision.[18]

Symonds was far from being the only Englishman of the time who kept a record of his journey; some considered it as part of the educational purposes of a tour, and others, a more utilitarian duty to keep a track of expenses.[19] Nor was Symonds the only one who attempted to learn Italian; John Raymond and John Bargrave were amongst the Englishmen who took lessons in the

language.[20] The knowledge that these travellers obtained in Italy could he turned to good use on their return, notably by publishing guidebooks to Italy. In 1648 Raymond published *An Itinerary containing a Voyage made through Italy in the years 1646 and 1647*; it was intended to provide a useful guide for English travellers to Italy, or those who simply wanted to be informed about the country. Another English traveller with a similar intention as Raymond was Edmund Warcup whose book on the same subject, *Italy, in its original Glory, ruine and Revival*, was published in London in 1660. There are some indications that Symonds may have intended B.L. Additional MS 17919 as the basis for a guidebook (discussed above), but predominantly his notebooks were 'aides-memoires' for himself, yet the information in them, particularly in connection with art, goes far beyond that found in the books published by his English contemporaries. Symonds bought a copy of François Schott's *Itinerario d'Italia* before he left England, which he may have read in preparation for his journey, but he did not take it with him,[21] and he is not known to have bought Raymond's book. Once in Italy he bought guidebooks on ancient and modern Rome and many treatises on art and architecture, but all of these were written by Italians; in other words, he wished to absorb the culture of the country from those who lived there, and to read it in the language he was endeavouring to master.[22]

Not many travellers bought original paintings, and in Symonds's case this was because he could not afford to do so. Some visitors to Italy, for example, Evelyn, commissioned copies,[23] but others, like Sir Thomas Isham, were in a

position to buy both copies and originals.[24] Print collections provide a more revealing index of these English travellers' knowledge of Italian art. Prints were both more affordable and transportable, and it is not surprising that Symonds should have become an avid collector of them and record his purchases in some detail. In 1638 Nicholas Stone wrote a rough list of the prints and books that he purchased in Italy, these were requested by his father, Nicholas Stone the elder, for the instruction of friends and patrons.[25] Both John Evelyn and Sir Thomas Isham bought a large number of prints, and in both cases these were listed in inventories, but Evelyn's inventory is so general that it provides only very basic information about what he owned,[26] and Isham's inventory was compiled by his cousin solely for accounting purposes.[27] Symonds bought prints to remind him of the works of art and the antiquities that he had seen in Italy. Although his selection was predominantly based on prints after paintings by Raphael, Titian and the Carracci, it also included some surprising purchases such as an etching by Claude Lorraine (this was early for a work by Claude to go to England).[28] Symonds's inventory reflects the knowledge and taste that he had acquired in less than two years in Rome.

Certain modern writers have justifiably written that Symonds's notes are sometimes unreliable and may at times have been based on the gossip of servants.[29] However, on occasion he has proved to be the one who was better informed about a painting than modern art historians.[30] Although Symonds's attributions were often based on his own assessments (and occasionally on the

labelling on paintings or by reference to a guidebook) he also relied on the information provided by his companions, and these were not only household servants (who could, of course, be well informed). Frequently he was accompanied by Canini - who was an established artist and antiquarian - as well as by the owner of a collection - who was usually a friend of Canini and similarly considered a virtuoso - but owners were not above exaggerating the value or fame of a work they had acquired. More importantly, owners appear to sometimes have been optimistic in their attributions. For example, good pictures like Moroni's *Portrait of a Priest*, now in the National Gallery, Washington (formerly in Palazzo Borghese) were extolled by many admirers, including Symonds, but in this case as a Titian.[31] The curious painting depicting *St. Luke Painting the Virgin*, still in the Accademia di San Luca, and attributed to Raphael, was, according to Symonds, 'esteemd one of his best pieces;' information that he was almost certainly given by Canini or another member of the Academy.[32] The recent identification of the once-famous *Titian and his Mistress*, now in an English private collection (formerly in Palazzo Borghese), has shown that a celebrated work in a distinguished collection can prove very disappointing, and it is another reminder of the fallibility of otherwise well-informed sources. The painting was attributed to Titian in the 1693 Borghese inventory under inventory number 305, which is still on the face of the painting.[33] The numbers listed in the 1693 inventory descriptions probably relate to paintings that were once in the collection of Scipione Borghese, who, presumably admired the painting and accepted the attribution to Titian.[34] Numerous other authorities followed him in this

appreciation, for example, Richardson, Mariette and Reynolds. Not least, Van Dyck copied the picture into his Italian Sketchbook as a Titian, made a painted copy of it, and issued an etching of the composition with an enthusiastic endorsement of the attribution. Van Dyck's knowledge of Titian's work was hardly negligible, and the reasons for this widespread enthusiasm for an odd pastiche are worth considering.[35] Were all these people simply misled because the old man in the picture looks like Titian? The painting appears to have been retouched, but there must have always been a disturbing discrepancy in size between the woman and Titian. Although Symonds bought a copy of Van Dyck's print for his collection, he may have been more discerning than any of the experts referred to above when he wrote: 'Very Course worke but rare.'

In his notes on collections Symonds may have sometimes recorded paintings and drawings as originals when they were more likely to be copies; he would not have questioned the knowledge or reliability of companions whose opinions he trusted.[36] This also begs the question of the value and esteem given to good copies; for example, Angeloni had a drawing by Annibale copied by Canini, and a drawing invented by Agostino that had been 'finisht' (and presumably considered enhanced) by Canini.[37] The old Princess Mattei thought that her copies of Caravaggios were of 'unestimable valew;'[38] and Symonds during his visit to Palazzo Boncompagni (accompanied by Canini) wrote that the collection had 'more of Guido than any other in Rome' when referring to paintings that were probably studio copies.[39] In the seventeenth

century it was the designer of a work that mattered. Symonds may not have felt the modern disdain for copies, which were often the only chance he had of knowing about an inaccessible original.

Stoye writes that 'Symonds's notebook has the merit of showing in detail what a traveller collected if he examined pictures out of more than a sense of duty.'[40] More than that, the works from antiquity and the more modern paintings that Symonds chose to record and commend in his notebooks were soon to become the canon of what was admired in the arts in seventeenth-century Italy; that is, a standard of taste dominated by the antique and the work of the Carracci. Although Symonds was a member of the minor gentry with limited funds, he was far in advance of his English contemporaries in his grasp of the ideas of the classic-idealist art theory promoted by Canini and the Agucchi-Bellori circle;[41] ideas that would prove to have enormous implications for classicizing taste of the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in England.

1. See Stoye, p. 344, note 30.

2. See Stoye, p. 127.

3. See Harris in J. Harris and S. Higgott, *Inigo Jones: Complete Architectural Drawings*, exh. cat., The Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1989-90, pp. 13-16. See also Gould, 1948, p. 51.

4. See Michael I. Wilson, *Nicholas Lanier: Master of the King's Musick*, Aldershot and Brookfield, Vermont, 1994, p. 84.

5. See I.G Philip, 'Balthasar Gerbier and the Duke of Buckingham's Pictures,' *The Burlington Magazine*, XCIV, 1957, pp. 155-56.

6. See Stoye, pp. 147-48; and Howarth, pp. 127-48.

7. After Charles I's 1630 peace treaties with the courts of France and Spain during the Thirty Years War, travel to Lombardy, Rome and the Papal States became safe for the Protestant Englishman, see Stoye, p. 117.

8. See Millar, 1967, passim. A sketch that Symonds made of a fountain at the Palais de Luxemboug is reproduced in Stoye, see p. 287, fig. 22.

9. See note 21 below. We do not know why he always intended to go to Italy, he could have taken a far less hazardous journey to the Netherlands, or stayed in France. It is possible that before he left England he had an introduction to Canini or Angeloni, although there is no known evidence of this.

10. See Stevenson and Thompson, pp. 11-13.

11. See Chaney, 1985, pp. 342-43, note 40.

12. See Gould, 1948, p. 51.

13. See Chaney, 1985, pp. 323-24 and note 24.

14. See H. Ross Williamson, *Four Stuart Portraits*, London, 1949, p. 46.

15. See Stoye, p. 121.

16. See Stoye, p. 122.

17. Symonds was devout enough to be interested in books on religion; his list

of the that books he left in England included John Fox's *Book of Martyrs*, and Charles I's *Eikon Basilike*, London, 1648 (and therefore a recent acquisition), see B.L. Harley MS 943, fol. 13v; and Chapter Three, note 1.

18. Discussed in Chapter Three; see also Appendix I, fols. 34r - 35r.

19. For the account book of Sir Thomas Isham's tour, kept by his tutor, the Revd. Zacchaeus Isham, see Northamptonshire Record Ofrice, Brooke MS B74, passim. For further discussion of Englishmen who travelled abroad, see Howarth, passim; Lytton Sells, passim; Stoye, passim; and Chaney, 1985, passim.

20. See Stoye, pp. 135-37.

21. Schott's guidebook was first published in Antwerp in 1600, and is primarily based on Boissard's *Roman Topography* of 1597; the last edition was published in 1761. Symonds mentioned the Italian version twice, see B.L. Harley MS.943, fol. 13v, where he listed it among: 'Bookes of mine left at B.[lack] N.[otley] in my sister's charge,' and again on fol. 16v, where he noted that it was stored 'In ye great Tr[unk]....' It was probably a copy published by Bolzetta; his 1610 edition was the first to have the addition of the Farnese Gallery and was worked by translation from the 1601 edition. All the later editions are descended from this one with no attempt to bring them up to date; Bolzetta's last edition was published in Padua in 1649; see De Beer, 1943, p. 68. By owning a copy of Schott's guidebook, it suggests that Symonds learnt some Italian before his departure, which makes his swift progress in the language easier to understand. He did not mention using Schott in the description of his travels, nor was it listed amongst the books he sent back to England before leaving Italy, see B.L. Harley MS 943, fol. 110v and fol. 111v. It is curious that he decided against taking this portable and well-known guidebook as he evidently always planned to go to Italy, see B.L. Harley MS 943, fol. 21r where he wrote: 'In ye box w^{c}h Mr. Hodgson sends to Livorno [are] Florio's Dictionary [and] Thomas Dictionary.'

22. For Symonds's list of books that he forwarded home from Italy, see B.L. Harley MS 943, fols. 110v - 111v.

23. See Lytton Sells, p. 198.

24. See Burdon, passim.

25. See Stoye, p. 141. The list is not lengthy and somewhat of a 'hotpotch' with lutestrings entered in the same group as plaster casts, pieces of marble, and the 'Archytecture of Vitruvius,' see the 'Diary of Nicholas Stone, Junior,' 1638-1640, ed. W. L. Spiers, *Walpole Society*, VII, 1919, Appendix.

26. Evelyn's own catalogue of his collection is to be found on folios 193-200xxx of his library catalogue, B.L. Catalogus Evelynianus, 1687.

27. For Isham's inventory, see Northamptonshire Record Office, Brooke MS B74, fols. 11v - 16r.

28. See Ogden and Ogden, passim.

29. For examples, see Gilbert, p. 200; and Langdon, pp. 220-21.

30. For example, with regard to the Raphael portrait of *Julius II*, now in the National Gallery, see Appendix I, fol. 13r and note 106; and Chapter Four.

31. See Appendix I, fol. 13r and note 102.

32. See Appendix I, fol. 61r and note 662. Furthermore, it appears that this odd painting is still given to Raphael by the Academy, see Rochetta in Rome, 1979, p. 17.

33. My thanks to Nicholas Penny for showing me this painting and giving me a copy of his notes on it.

34. See Gould, 1970b, p. 4.

35. See Wood, 1990, pp. 686-87.

36. This is apparent in Symonds's notes on the collection of Francesco Angeloni, see Appendix I, fols. 51v - 54v and note 528.

37. See Appendix I, fols. 53r and 54r. There appears to have been no stigma attached to works being finished or retouched by other artists, see Spear, 1997, pp. 250-52.

38. See Appendix I, fol. 30r and note 310.

39. See Appendix I, fol. 82r. Copying of originals, or 'finishing' paintings started by his best pupils, appears to have been common practice in Guido's studio, see Spear, 1997, pp. 225 -52. Spear also defines the different degrees to which a painting could be considered 'original,' see Spear, 1997, pp. 253-74.

40. See Stoye, p. 146.

41. See Chapter Two.

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