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Note: The gaps between passages in Symonds's notes have been removed from the transcriptions to reduce bulk. The lines that appear intermittently throughout the transcriptions are as they appear in the notebooks.
Appendix I

British Library, Egerton MS 1635.

[fol. 1 verso, unnumbered:]

IOANGIUS CANINUS facieta: 1631

upon ye cope of ye Preisa

kneeling to ye Trinity. [sketch of the collar of the cope with the writing above]

Chiesa San Martino de Montibile

Raffaele Bolognese

Allievo di Guido Reni


Madonna.

[fol. 2 recto, numbered 2:]

Sergius II. qui sedere cepit A°. 844

et indulgentiam tribuit adentibile

et ca[usa]m S. Martini in Montibus

cuius memoria exstat in incita

in lapide marmore lettere

vetustissimus. Bellarm: 1234

p.145 Tract d'Indulgentys

[Several sketches of profiles that appear to be studies of various noses; one
subject wears a priest's cap and possibly depicts Filippini, see notes 1 and 2 above.]

[fol. 2 verso, unnumbered:]

Ep. Gotesons.? Passendorf.

M't Scot. pencils etc.

M't Thompson Herbal

M't Syddals novel._

Show Crompton. Sp. [symbol = abbreviation]

Withers. Hall w^a go? y^e

Plats man hors

my Box Samples?

[fol. 3 recto, numbered 3:]

Roma Moderna.^9

□□□ [illegible] velish?.

Scintilla Altaris^10

Sparks Primitive Devotion

in y^e feasts and fasts of y^e Church

of England. by Ed: Spark DD? [partly cut off]

------------------------

[fol. 3 verso, unnumbered:]

REPERTORIO.

Pallazzo di Burghese _ 1.

(Farnese _

Casa del Sign^f Vitelesco. 25.
Pal. del Principe Matthei _ 43.

Tra lo Col: Romano e piazza Giudia.

Giardino di Medicis _ 59
Studio Del Padre Kirkerus _ 75
Lo Studio di Sigfg Francesco Angeloni _ 87
Accademia di Humoristi 81
Palazzo di Card: Spada 96
Pal: Card: Mazzerino _ 99

Vede Rom: Mod. 1. ? _

Of yⁿ Silkeworme. 57. _ 57.
Della complissione, e dispositione) 121.
delli quattro humori degli huomini)
Studio di Signfg Paolo - 119
Casa di - Zuccaro Pittore - 115.
Casae Studio di Sigⁿr Speciate nella Strada del Orso) 117
Accedemia degli Pittori) a San Luca. ________ 107

[fol. 4 recto, numbered 4:]

Chiesa & Cupalo di San Carlo di Catenari ______ 102 103

Circonsisione Tra l'Hibrei - 55
Cavalcade of yⁿ Sp. Emb. _ 133

The manner of Visiting a
Nun & professing her 127
Del Semmario Romano 129
Ceremony of Comencing Doctor of Philosophy Collegio Romano 130
Palazzo di Card Sachetti 131
Chiesa Sancti Martini 145
in Montibus 136
Sg'Matheo Wrights Collection 137
Casa del Sign'M Pichini 140
Chiesa S. Salvator di Lauro 74
Chiesa S Maria in Via Lata 113
Chiesa S. Francesco di Ripa 53
Casa del Signori Boncampagni 149
Studio di Sig'M Leonardo Agostini 154
Studio di Cavalier Gualdo 49
Corte del Auditore della
Camera 171
Embleme 157
Fare una Stufa Secca 161

[The next two folios are blank and are not numbered by Symonds or given a folio number on the recto by the British Library. After this point even blank folios are given numbers on the recto by both Symonds and the British]
Library.

[fol. 5 recto, numbered 5, blank:]

[fol. 5 verso, unnumbered:]

[Incomplete sketch of a girl]

[fol. 6 recto, numbered 6:]

[A sketch entitled 'Il Poysado' of a man vaulting a horse while holding a wine glass aloft]

[fol. 7 verso, unnumbered:]

Pallazzo di Principe

BURGHERSUS. in Roma

The Ovall Staire case 5 [foot crossed out] ^ each step rises [staircase written above]

The crosse diameter of ye ovall is about 10 paces. The broad end of the steps is 3 of my feet longe 2 pillars stand togeather.

[special note under sketch:] 12 First wee entred into ye corner next monte di Tranita. 13

Pope Paul: 5 in W Marb: by Cav: Bernino 14

Hercules wrestling w'h Antaes

painted Galba a Coppy of Titian. a larg
peice. far bigger than the life.$^{15}$

A large Quadro of Diana & all ye hunting ladyes & prospect, all lesse than ye life. Original by Dominichino$^{16}$

[fol. 8 recto, numbered 2:]

Great Roome next ye Street$^{17}$

Four [Five corrected] round paintings by Albano. frames guilt. prospect, & Venus & Cupids.$^{18}$

A Quadro of Lot by Paolo Verno, He & his 2 daughters.$^{19}$

Moses by. [blank] as big as the life.$^{20}$

S't John Bap$^t$ by Bastiano di Piombo. excellen.$^{21}$

A woman sitting by Titian$^{22}$

The Gyants warring ag' Heaven by Hannibal Caracci, a small quadro many peices & bodyes.$^{23}$

The Wreadthd pillars w'h are done on ye top of ye walls & women & divers p[er]sons, & w'hin prospects upon the
top the roome ( done by a
of Palaces. ( Capucin _
accounted most excellent. & full of
many bodyes. others do not esteem
_____ of his worke as y^e Painters do not.25

[fol. 8 verso, unnumbered:]

Next Roome wherein is a large Bilyard
Table. w'h many hazards int _
A large quadro full of p[er]sons in antique fashion.

Popolo Hebreo nel deserto
by Luca d'Hollanda
_____ old27
Madonna by Perin del Vago
much beutifull & rare as big as y^e life.28

[Cavio’ etc. *above the caret]*
Cena of or ^ di Titiano lesse
than y^e nat[all] [naturale] 7 or 8 foot long
5 high _
[Pag Baglione
pag.161 above the caret]*
Padre Cosimo Piavia ^ painted
in Fresco ye Story of Solomon
excellent _ round about in Fresco above
_____ all y^e many p[er]sons as big as the life _
o’ Savio’ writing on the ground by
by Georgioni _ where the woman was
accus'd of Adultery almost as big as y^e life _32

A Madonna by Titian^33 both [that above the caret] origi
Another above ^ by Raphael.^34 nals

Raphael's Picture being a young man.35 Many more pieces of

great esteeme some small
quadros some Ritrattos.

Some prospects __

[fol. 9 recto, numbered 4:]

From y^e corner of y^e Pallace w'h is that
to Roome. a most pleasant &

very.36

(In y^e Roomes of this prospect
(yt w'h is esteemd rare is y^e rare
(Fresco of this Capucin, & here & there
(is a small quadro of choice M[aste]37.

A long perspective

In y^e lodging Roome38 y^e best Madonna

yt Raphael did most Rare

one of y^e last things he did only she &

y^e babe39
2 Madonnas of Titian
Roome hung w'h red damaske
   bed of ye same.

Fresco above by ye said Capucine.

Another Roome
Madonna by Julio Roman

Chappel
Fresco above by ye Cap[ucine]: of Angels abundant
   a Rare x[excellent] Ecce Homo by
   Georgioni to ye demy body.

Next Roome Rape of The Sabines
in Fresco [in Fresco crossed out] all as big as the life
to o' appearance, some are forc't away
some talke quietly. One fellow has got one
woman under each arme.

Another, a woman kisses ye Roman.

[fol. 9 verso, unnumbered:]
Another couple are reasoning.
some are forc't upon ye horses to sitt
behind him on horseback.

The Pope Paul 5 when he came to see ye painting
askd why he would paint women so. He
answerd he had done ye story as neare ye life as
he could, & since some had garments painted
over them.

Another very large Roome in Fresco
mighty large & darke a multitude of
[Many crossed out] (people & lofty pillares being ye story of
Camillo Scipione & Marc Antonio _ all done by ye same
Capucin.46

Solomone by Valentino a large
quadro. upon ye pedestall of ye pillar wheron
stands ye images (III
   (Regum
thus ____ (Cap.XI47

2 Sedes di
Reposo.48

Next Roome.49
Madonna a quadro by Jul: Romano50
Another by Andrea del Sarto both
rare.51
Fresco above by ye Capucin
Solomon. a story of him [.]52
O' Savio'r whipping y° people
out of y° Temple. large & as big as y° life. ⁵³

Hangings of Rich Tapistry
More Fresco in 2 Roomes, ⁵⁴
The fire & rising from the grave
Story of Limbus Patrum. many naked
p[er]sons. flying towards o° Savior. ⁵⁵
A Madonna by Marcello Venusta ⁵⁶
A woman playing on a Violin
by Guidoreni. Bolognese ⁵⁷
Next Roome The Fresco above
y° Frames so painted that most take
them for wood, & carvd worke.
many p[ro]spects in blew & other story. ⁵⁸
Farther end Garden & Fountayne
w° has a faire prospect toward S Peters.

paivd w'h divers colourd little stones set firme
in plaister. Hedges of mirtle, flowers
w°hin, in the garden beneath ⁵⁹

Thence wee went on that side of the
Pallace next Porta del Popolo. ⁶⁰

[fol. 10 verso, unnumbered: ]
This room was very full of most choice origi-
nals & nothing but oyle peices in it 61
La Galleria verso Ripetta 62
Arlotto's Rittratto & 2 other over y^e
Rich Cabinet. 63
Raphaels owne head painted by
himselfe 64
Cabinet wherein in beaten Gold is in
Relievo y^e story of Ovids metemorphosis
each peice about 6 ynches and ovale _
many statues [righ crossed out] richly guilt in little
Dead body of o^f Savio^f & divers
p[er]sons lesse y^n the life by Raphael
much esteemed. 65
Madonna by Titian 66
Titians owne face by himselfe
being y^e same is printed of him. 67
A Cardinal & Machiavel both
painted by Raphael. )in one peice. )
Card: Hipolito di Medici )Machiavel
a fatt p[er]son
talking to the
Cardinal y^e
Card: sitting.

Antonellus messaneus me pinxit upon [] Luthors. face rarely painted.

Joan Bellino by himselfe his owne face.

[fol. 11 recto, numbered 8:]

Another ritratto of Raphael by Raphael when he was young at The story of o’ Savio’ [going to crossed out] Emaus by Caravaggio. 5 or 6 p[er]sons as big as y’e life sitting eating at a Table.

2 Holy storyes in small of o’ Savio’ by Bassano one y’e Circumcision

1 foot & halfe square many psons

S’ John as big as the life in the Wilderness by Raphael alone,

sitting naked only a skin by him.

A rare Madonna as big as the life by Andrea del Sarto
A small Madonna by Leonardo da Vinci rare.\textsuperscript{76}

A small Ritratto of Francisco Petrarca by Raphael so written under ye picture\textsuperscript{77}

Dossi di Ferrara a Paisago of Troy & many p[er]sons. 2 long quadros.\textsuperscript{78}

A Madonna

A Magdalene Original of those at Aldobrinus Palace by Titian her haire about her ears loose

To y\textsuperscript{e} middle, as big as the life\textsuperscript{79}

[fol. 11 verso, unnumbered:]

Donna favorita di Titiano

[Magdalene by her crossed out] to the middle done by himselfe\textsuperscript{80}

Very many other small Ritrattos & other little paintings, all most singular & here not a Copyy in all this Roome, being very large & lofty all full all over y\textsuperscript{e} walls on all sides.\textsuperscript{81}
A Looking Glasse large & adorned about
w'hin in precious stones.

[fol. 12 recto, numbered 10:]

La Staura di 4 Elementi
by y' Capucine in Fresco
37 yeare since made

Women riding upon Sea Horse.

Another Cupid pissing out the view
& Venus & ladyes & many p[er]sons.

A Ritratto of a Dominican by
Titian. over y' doore of y' same
Roome.

This was y' last of
y' painting of the
Capucine

Next Roome Fresco

by Pomerange & Certi Giovani

La Chiesa in Fresco a young beauty
sitting in state.

9 Muses & Orpheus & all coming
to hear his musique.

A Madonna a quadro of Titian

Roome hangd with Tapestry of
Trees. & prospect.

Most of ye Roomes are guilt above
upon the Carvd woode in the
seeling ______

[fol. 12 verso, unnumbered:]

Roofe guilt. flore bricke
a Ritratto by Giorgione to ye middle of a Soldier. very good.

Another Roome hangd w' th god Tapistry.

Thence wee went downe ye Scala
[di crossed out] Lumaca.
A Low Gallery for Fresco
one side of ye Garden below.
Statues & heads round it &
in quadros paisages
A fountayne in the middle of
brasse
quadros done by Paoluccio.

Another roome copy of Titians
Baccanalia ____ being a corner Roome.

Another square low roome
large & faire.
Alberto Magno w'h a booke

Ritratto by Raphael

A Preist of Venice sitting on a

Chayre. by Titian hangs

under it.

[fol. 13 recto, numbered 12:]

Una Bataglia tra Ra.[phael] & Titian

one stands above y^e other

These 2 Ritrattos are hangd togeather &
calld una bataglia.

Dosso di Ferrara ) [a sketch of a priest in a chair] The preist
a quadro of his__ ) leans more
back.

A Madonna in Mosaique upon it

opus Marcelli Promericaly di

Cento 1609.

Pope Paul 5 in Mosaique.

as big as y^e life ) by y^e same Pomera-
cius di Cento. as is
below y^e sholders ) so inlayd upon it

Il quadro di 3 Amori di Titiano

a woman & man & cupid, & a fountayne.

Quadro of Pope Julio 2^o by Raph:

most rare
a Ritratto by Titian

Giorgione Ritratto of 2

St John wilderness by Raphael
as big as ye life young man.

Next low Roome.

2 Ritrattos of Cardinals
by Raphael. in severall quadros.

most excellent.

Cigno & Leda standing small
by Leonardo da Vinci

Dossi di Ferrara 4 as big as
the life casting water &
of 2 brothers one a Phisisian other a Surgeon.

2 Ritrattos old of Women naturale

not known but very rare

St. John preaching in ye desart
a quazzo by Paolo Veroness
big as ye life. Tombes & people about
him.
A much esteemed peice done by Titian in his old age.

Titian & a Woman he old

Sideface a deathshead by him
done by himselfe

speaking w'h a young woman some say his da:[me]

[fol. 14 recto, numbered 14:]

Very Course worke but rare

Divers other Small Quadros

Next Roome a large quadro

Joseph [in Prison crossed out] by Valon
tino. 3 psons as big as the
life. The baker naked in

prison. Joseph coming to him

in costly robes. ____

A small quadro popolo Hebreo.
in deserto done by ____

Choetta

a multitude of people upon a board

painted. rare paisage & very good.

Sante Scopatore

shows y^6 Palace

any p[ar]t of it that
Prince is not in
of it any may view

PALLAZZO di Farnese.
32 paces ye building below is in breadth
that is ye porch & cloister is so long
Burgesius Pallace wants 10 paces of ye thickness
So much in ye diameter of the Square
Court

Upon ye famous statue of Hercules

ΓΑΥΚΩΝ
AΘHNAIOY See
EFIOEI Lomazzo
p.287

his foot is 2 spans & halfe of mine long

Flora.
Another. Hercules.

A Gladiator
A large Pedestall

PACIAETERNAE
DOMUS.

Imp. Vespasiani Caesari

Aug. Liberatorum etc.

Each side full of names Romano

Fasti 6 Rowes of Names
downwardes. on 2 sides.

4 foot & halfe high\textsuperscript{125}

\textit{[fol. 15 recto, numbered 16:]}

A large Tombe.\textsuperscript{126}

A Greeke Pedestall

A Woman large statue &

Another Gladiator

An old Busto\textsuperscript{127}

Up y\textdegree Stayres.\textsuperscript{128}

The Dolphin winding about Arion

in White marble his legs upright\textsuperscript{129}


2 large statues of Rivers

Crocodile & Tiger under

their armes.\textsuperscript{130}

Above. 2 Statues of 2 Kings Slaves

or prisners. vide Vitruvio in folio

p.11 such as these \textsuperscript{131}

\textit{[fol. 15 verso, unnumbered:]}

In the first large Roome w\textdegree h is

one of the tallest in Rome. pavd

with pavements & seeld w\textdegree h carvd

woods\textsuperscript{132}

Round about are old statues of
some gladiators.

A large Entire peice of W marble
where are 4 bodyes cutt all bigger
than yᵉ naturall. Alexander -
Farnese in Armoᵗ. An Angel
behind him, He treading upon
Heresy an old man naked __
& a Woman representing the Citty
of Anvers behind him kneeling.
done by a Florentyne.

2 large Quadro's a Olio of
Venus: being Copyes of 2 of Raphaels
gruppos of woman at Giuste his palace
done by Hannibal Caraccio.

2 Statues of W Marble marble each
side yᵉ chimney lying along - _____

A large quadro a olio being pensieri of
Giorgio Vasari & by himselfe colord.

Another quadro by, of Bordonine.

2 large quadro's copyes of madonna &
other things in yᵉ Dome at Parma.
done in Parma by Corregio & copyed
by Caracci __
Nexte Roome is Square, not so high
as y^e former. painted all round
y^e walls in Fresco by Zuccaro.\(^1\)

Over y^e dore in another Roome is the prospect
a quadro done by Annibal Caracci la
Sposatitia di S. Catherina. y^e babe in y^e
B. V. lap. S^t Catherine kneeles downe & the
babe putt on a Ring onto her finger. She
lookes so modestly upon y^e grounde.\(^2\)

Another lodging roome adjoining on y^e left hand
The whole roofe is painted in Fresco by Annibal
Caracci. & finto of Bass Relievo, divers
oval & other places painted, in y^e roofe
cose rapportate, fintos of quadro.\(^3\)

In one Hercules supports y^e world, a Geo-
grapher on one side & Astrologer y^e other.

Ulisses in a barke, who stops his eares & would
not heare y^e Syrenes.\(^4\) See Baglione
106.\(^5\)

Hercules betweene Virtue & Vice
Circe dando la bevanda ad Ulisse

a little quadro in Oyle o'Savio' crowned w'h thorns by Caraccio. as big as y° life.

eea. body boughing.

[fol. 17 recto, numbered 20:]

There now severall Roomes, now unfurnisht, thence into a prospect of dorewayes through severall Roomes being all that side next St Peters.¹⁴⁹

In one are 12 old Heads of the Cesars¹⁵⁰ in W Marble. See Baglione p. 74.¹⁵¹

2 boys killing of [a written above] Snake in brasse & on the pedestall y° labors of Hercules a Stone table wrought by M. Angelo.¹⁵²

Above hang 12 Cesars copyes of Titian.¹⁵³

y° like [same crossed out] copyes or originals y° D.[uke] of Mantua had, w'h ye K. of Engl: bought.¹⁵⁴

Over a dore in one Roome on that side next y° Tiber is a quadro about 7 or 8 foot square wherein is painted a Olio that famous Venus done by M. Angelo. Cupid kissing her, & shee steales an Arrow out of his quiver
a Vizor of an old man by & Cupids bow__ y\(^e\) Darke shadow is black much different from Carraccios shadow.\(^{155}\)

There is a statue in brasse 2 foot high of a boy picking y\(^e\) Thorne out of his foot. original in Campidoglio\(^{156}\)

[fol. 17 verso, unnumbered:]

Round that Roome are old Heads of all y\(^e\) Philosophers. on some of ym upon their breast was carvd as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ΖΗΝΩΝ</th>
<th>ΚΑΡΝΕΑΔΣ</th>
<th>ΠΟΣΙ∆ΩΝΙΟΣ</th>
<th>ΕΥΡΙΠΙ∆ΗΣ</th>
<th>ΛΥΣΙΑΣ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>they are set upon</td>
<td>wooden tressels</td>
<td>so high as an ordi</td>
<td>nary man is _</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In a little Gallery arch Valt is y\(^e\) famous paintings of Hannibal Caraccio master of Dominic[h written above]ino\(^{158}\)

On y\(^e\) Top Venus drawne by Tigers & lyons & bridled by Cupids.\(^{159}\)

The Virgin chaynd to y\(^e\) Rock in Fresco. Andromeda, this Augustin Caracci painted. vide Baglione\(^{160}\)

Certaynly y\(^e\) best Fresco in y\(^e\) World, besides most masterly designe.

Termini & carvd worke is feigned in
all yᵉ roofe yᵉ light leaks below from yᵉ windowes & yᵉ shadow above so excellent that those Termini of halfe bodyes seeme embossing and marble.

The paintings are vergd about w'h gold in imitacon of frames supported by those Termini in severall postures: so is that on yᵉ roofe, all seeme quadri rapportati plact there.

View of yᵉ Heavens betweene & puttini in severall postures in yᵉ ayre.

Divers litte storyes also in yᵉ sides w'h rare paeses.

Finto's of Greene statues sitting in yᵉ Nyches & hanging downe one leg.

See yᵉ whole story in his life in Baglione All yᵉ Colours of yᵉ naked bodyes has no black in yᵐ, they come off so round, they seeme reall flesh. mighty gay & glorious.

Terra Verde & lacca seeme yᵉ colours of yᵉ deepe shadowes. ______ 161

[fol. 18 verso, unnumbered, blank:]
In a little building towards the River
under yᵉ fountayne of yᵉ gallery.

Are 3 or 4 roomes which have quadros in them
of Annibal Caracci's, & the flat Roofe
wᶜ'h is of board, & about 11 or 12 foot high
is all in quarters painted wᵗʰ Rare paeses
of that incomparable master¹⁶²

A Quadro about [9 or written above] 10 foot long: Venus naked
asleep: lying [in written above] yᵉ fields. a boy & a girle
below her naked making a mariage, the girle
has Venus sleppers [sic] on.

Some boys a bathing,

one beating a Drum of that fashion [sketch of drum]

some shooting at a heart in a scudo hung

up in a tree. ¹⁶³

Over ag¹ it is a lesse quadro of Rinaldo e Armida

as big as the life. the story is in Tasso.¹⁶⁴

A Little Galatea.¹⁶⁵

Another of Diana bathing.¹⁶⁶

Boyes in yᵉ Squares seeming in the ayre.

In one roome in yᵉ Roofe is Aurora flat

as if flying in the ayre. throwing flowers.¹⁶⁷
In ye next roome in the middle is the Night described.

A woman of a duskish complexion, young, w'h wings flying in each arme a fat child a sleep. both, The prospect of the country is iust at twilight, most rare.168

In a little closet are Ritrattos heads & shol. as big as y's life some by Scipion Gae tuno. & others.169

A Rare little quadro of Women in a barke & bathing.170

Divers little Ritrattos in Oyle a span long & lesse by a Fleming Curious.171

Each in little frames w'h long strings from above, that they should not be taken downe

[Casa di Sign' Vitelesco172 in Corso appresso. S. Marco.173]

18 or 19 Testi di Philosophi

Gira. only to be seen here & at Farneses.\(^{175}\)

2 Whole Statues by yᵉ Chimney\(^{176}\)

Next Room Vasi di Porphido

Red & Greene\(^{177}\)

Divers Statues heads & breasts

one of Brutus his cheeks

cut.\(^{178}\)

Next Room by yᵉ Altar

A famous Statue of a Gladiator

by wʰ M Angelo cast yᵉ body of oʳ Savoʳ in yᵉ Minerva.\(^{179}\)

[fol. 20 recto, numbered 26:]

Roome other side yᵉ Hall

Divers heads in Marble

Pyrrhus. Un Rè Greco di

Marmo AEgiptio.\(^{180}\)

Giove Capitolino di Marmo AEgiptio, Greenish black.\(^{181}\)

A Good Statue of Jupiter\(^{182}\)

Un Apollo chi ha la Testa
come una donna di Marmo
Greco full of shyning
Idolo AEgiptio. Divers Heads

Next Roome
Statue of Sileno w'h a hogskyn.

Dio di l'horto ears l[i]ke a Fauno.

2 Vasi of Green Porphyry w'h has much of Serpentyne in it
Ophylis. Porphyreris

Dio del Solirte? in Porphyde
4 spans long hands by his thighes
An old Head painted by Cavay
Bernino, good

[fol. 20 verso, unnumbered:]

Next
A Head & pett of Nero
Marc Aureleo & where? in
p[ar]t things all entire, all not
A Hercules & halfe statue of AEgiptian marble

A Head of Lucilla Guilt w'h
guilding we touch not off p[er]
là Virginità della Antichità.\textsuperscript{193}

A Statue of Drapery of Orientall
Marble, [of Apollo crossed out] Roma.\textsuperscript{194}

A Statue of Apollo old fashund
harpe.\textsuperscript{195}

In an Urne of Alabaster,
whin it was found a Glasse for
Teares & y\textsuperscript{e} bout d'una putta.
lagrimatorie. This vasa is transparent.\textsuperscript{196}

Una Madonna di Zuccaro
4 foot long.\textsuperscript{197}

Ecce. Padovano Vecchio\textsuperscript{198}

A Ritratto of Padre Vitelisco
Generale del ordine dei Jesuiti.\textsuperscript{199}

[fol. 21 recto, numbered 28:]

Another Roome.

A Head and breast of a Consul
his name underscribed, his name
Gracchus.  

5 Philosophers' heads.

In his own [written above] Chamber

A Head of Julius Cæsar, bald

& Galba both old & much prized

just as big as yours natural in W. Mar  

Seneca's Head from yours at Burghese  

Cicero head  

Faustina's head & breast di

marmo Pavia  

La Figlia di Faustina  

Julia Paula  

A little Dea Natura  

A lyon leg for yours Sedie del

Improvadente? of Alabaster  

Bottome of a Head Pietra Paro
gona black  

[fol. 21 verso, unnumbered:]

A Battaile in Prospect by

Michel Angelo della Bataglia

now living  

2 large Paeses a Olio di

Paolo Brillo 200 Crowns
offerd for one

A Madonna of Pietro Perugino

40 scudini cost.

[fol. 22 recto, numbered 30:]

Palazzo del Principe Justino,
apresso la Rotonda

In the farther Roome

each side of which, Upon ye 4 or 5 Rowes

of old Heads__

An [Angel crossed out or Cupid written above] of Caravagio musicall instru

m's under him most esteem'd


Mons, Cerecd

The Statue of Minerva w'h was

adord for a Goddesse of W marble

2 Women naked as sitting

One w'h a swan by her. rare.

A Rare Goate w' th long hornes.

Divers Emperors heads & breasts

Abundance of heads of Women in

W. Marble & Romans & Philoso

phers.

Silenus w'h a Hogskyn.
In this pallace are ye largest & fairest oyle peices for so many togeather, of any other place in Rome. Generally storyes of o' Saviour.\textsuperscript{225}

[fol. 22 verso, unnumbered:]

There are 3 quadro's of Mons' N. Poussino's One of a Soldier killing a Child, treading upont. ye mother by. & another Woman well designd, but Gay & light.\textsuperscript{226}

2 other have also prospects of old ruiynd buildings & broken pillars __\textsuperscript{227}

2 large Qudro's of Guido Rene. One of S' Paul & S' Antony talking togeather bigger than ye naturall. A Raven brings bread\textsuperscript{228}

In the Square open yard by ye Vault Roome All ye Walls painted w'h paeses.\textsuperscript{229}

A Goodly tall Vase __ of W marble Divers heads\textsuperscript{230}

[fol. 23 recto, numbered 32:]

In a litle Roome much esteemd 5 quadro's of Bassanos.\textsuperscript{231}

1 of Caravaggio a young fellow playing
on a Lute.\textsuperscript{232}

Divers rare Ritratto's of men & Women.\textsuperscript{233}

\textit{[fol. 23 verso, unnumbered:]}

To go out.

Last Supp di Albani

large quadro

\textit{rare \textsuperscript{234}}

S't John in ye wilderness

grove boy by Annibal

Caraccio _ best thing

I ever saw

darke shades

round

2 Paesi di Annibale (full face\textsuperscript{235}

many figures smaler.\textsuperscript{236}

\textit{_______}

an ascension of Pussino\textsuperscript{237}

\textit{[fol. 24 recto, numbered 34:]}

In ye roome where are so many

Madonna's are.

A Peice 4 foot long where ye Woman

accusd of Adultery is brought afore o' Sav'.

Divers Jewes. rarissimo & old.

\textit{_______}
all as big as ye life halfe bodyes.  

[fol. 24 verso, unnumbered:]  

1 Roome  
Valesio large story.  

2[nd] Rom[om]  
Gerardi chi face a bene di  
notte. story of o’ Savio’ night  
peice _____  

Augustine Tassi paese  
& broderie  

[fol. 25 recto, numbered 36:]  

Dominichino  
S¹ John  

2 of Guido  
S¹ [Mateo crossed out:] Luca  
S¹ Paolo S¹ Antonio  
Pussino  

[fol. 25 verso, unnumbered:]  

Roome of ye Heads  
Dea Minerva alabastro quasi  
transparent. 2 goates  
heads on her head peice
Stat[ue] Virgin Vestal

Sphinge con la testa d'huomo

a face of a woman w'h

wings ___

A Head of Plato withe haire

cut & curld by art

Head of Pindaro

ΠΙΝΔΟΧΕΟ [a final letter which is C or L; otherwise sic] upon

another written

IANVS INPEATOR

2 Statues of Cleopatra

[fol. 26 recto, numbered 38:]

2 quadro's of [Raphael crossed out Baglione written above]

2 Angels & Venus

a Divil in one,

both almost alike

The Walls w' th large Paeses

of Paolo Brill

A S' Francis on Mntara [probably an abbreviation of Mt. Alverna]

under a Rock

[Very faint sketch of figure & rock]

[fol. 26 verso, unnumbered:]
Cupido di Caravaggio

Card di Savoya profere

2 milia duboli p[er] 256

il Cupido di Carav[a written above] g-gio ____

Costò 3 cento Scudi

Checco del Caravaggio tis
calld among the painters.

twas his boy ______

haire darke, 2 wings

rare, compasses, lute

violin & armes & laurel

Mons' Creshy vuolle dare

2 milia duboli

Twas y' body & face of his owne boy or

someone that laid w'h him 257

__________

Joannes Gambassius Civis

Volat Caecus ferit. 258

un cecco chi non ha visto, ma

con toccare il Papa Inno X

in creta fece il suo Ritratto.

One that when he had his sight did learne

to disegne in creta 259
Further roome of

Ritrattos,

Un Ritratto di Titiano

con carta in Mano

& done by Sebastian Serlio

long beard __ rather Sebastian

Serlio done by Titian__

4 heads together either

di Parmigiano or Correggio

for Parmigiano imitated

Correggio._

A woman y't sounds a lute

by Caravaggio_

Square Roome where

all Religious quadros,

they cannot remaine? [remove ?]_

__________

a little quadro of Titians

le prime cose

Raphael madonna &

2 boyes S't John & y's babe

both young
Over y° dore baptising o' Savi°, by Annibal Caraccio ___
an angel on foot ___
& paese S' John older
than o' Savio',

___
Xto mort & Angels del Palma

Divers heads Dossi

[fol. 28 recto, numbered 42:] Head of Savio' crownd

w° Thorns An: Caraccio.'

___
3 quadros of Madonnas

by Raphael __ all

have 2 boyes one

for S' John

___
Galleria Giustiana
del Marchese Vincensi Giustiniani

2 Volumi Demd 25 scudi

Sono Testi, Bassi Rilievi Pedestalli

Statue etc. No discriptioni.
Pallazzo. Matthei.\textsuperscript{272} by.

\textit{Ye Jewes}\textsuperscript{273}

In \textit{ye Court are many statues. & divers old Roman heads.}\textsuperscript{274}

2. Basso Relievos, one of a Sacrifice & \textit{ye Ivy & flowers hang over \textit{ye Dores of \textit{ye Temple.}}

Another of \textit{ye Temple of Jove Capitolino}\textsuperscript{275}

Up stayres\textsuperscript{276} and divers large Basso Rilievo's faire & well done\textsuperscript{277}

Divers old chayres \textit{w th Cushions on \textit{ym all of W. marble.}\textsuperscript{278}

—

In \textit{ye Hall up Stayres.}\textsuperscript{279}

2 large pieces in Oyle,

one of a Tilting in Piazza Navona\textsuperscript{280}

5 foot long & rare

Another of \textit{ye Tilting or Justing}

in \textit{ye Vatican.}\textsuperscript{281}

6 oyle pieces of Castles on the top of hills & paeses about very good.\textsuperscript{282}

[\textit{fol. 29 recto, numbered 44:}]
A Battagile in a larger frame than

either

on y[e] Rooffe is a long Square in Fresco

2 Popes in their chayres


In y[e] next Roome.

The Archd roofe is in [incomparable crossed out:] Fresco

A Roman Emperor in Triumph. 16 or 18 foot long. more, very excellent, much
gui[l]ding upon y[e] charyot

4 large Storyes on y[e] [Storyes crossed out:]. Sides.

Some Quadros in Oyle hang over y[e] guilt leather hangings. A Madonna old & Good

A Demy St Francis


The Circumcision of o[r] Savio[r] divers halfe bodyes. 7 or 8 foot long
O’ Savio® disputing wth y® Doctors. 7 or
8 foot long. excellent ______ 297

A cardinal in a chayre 298

[fol. 29 verso, unnumbered:]
The Next roome by is hangd wth Tapestry.
& 2 or 3 more, 299 The old Princesse gave us 300
y® favour as passe by her into a neat archt
Gallery full of oyld Peices in playne guilt
frame, 301 all frames being fastened togeather. 302

In this Gallery are divers large oyle
peices of o® Saviours story, The Nativity
etc 303

One halfe of y® Gallery in long frames a span
or two deepe was y® Cavalcade of the
Pope his Court & Army taking possession
of Ferrara. the Host borne upon a horse. 304

Over agt. it all y® other halfe in y® same lignes
is y® manner of the funerall of the great
Turke. Carried by divers in turbants,
upon their sholders. Upon his Coffin
is a large Turbant. 305

[sketch of turban on coffin:]

A Good peice of Abraham goint to cutt his
son Isaacks throat.\textsuperscript{306}

The Roof is in Fresco Imitatcon of pillars &
supporting statues of marble &. story w\textsuperscript{th} in
But not excellent\textsuperscript{307}

[fol. 30 recto, numbered 46:]

In y\textsuperscript{e} Roome shee sate in\textsuperscript{308} she shewd us
A Peice of St Hierome, done by Guido Reni\textsuperscript{309}
& told us she had divers peices of Caravaggios\textsuperscript{310}
wch she kept in her bedchamb[er] of unestimable valew.

In a Roome by stood 3 or 4 of y\textsuperscript{e} young Sons of y\textsuperscript{e}
family in Beretti wth a Tutor.\textsuperscript{311} __

The Princesse keepes on one side of this large __
Pallace, & y\textsuperscript{e} Prince of y\textsuperscript{e} other side it __
being y\textsuperscript{e} usuall manner of living in Italy among
y\textsuperscript{m}. __ \textsuperscript{312}

Both

[fol. 30 verso, unnumbered, blank]

[fol. 31 recto, numbered 48, blank]

[fol. 31 verso, unnumbered:]

Il Studio di Cavalier
Gualdo\textsuperscript{313}: nel Monastario
di Trinita di Monte\textsuperscript{314}

Apl 1651\textsuperscript{315}
A scrue to sit upon to
clyme or go downe a Wall
2 of them he has.\textsuperscript{316}

A. Cords

b - a scrue that
touches upon the p[ar]\textsuperscript{t}
c.

d. to sit upon about
a foot & handfull
in length. 2 ynches
broad & flat to sitt upon,
c. The trunke. a foot long whereon
are pullyes whereon y\textsuperscript{e} cords play
e ?. A pulley whereon y\textsuperscript{e} Cords play

f. Joynts to turne y\textsuperscript{h} up & putt it
in ones pocket __

[fol. 32 recto, numbered 50:]

[sketch of a tripod:] A Tripode\textsuperscript{317}
of brasse. 3 foot
high, that opens &
shutts to receive a
vessel upon of
different bignes

A M.S. of the Cesars in parchmt or velom

wth ye medalls done in gold by

Don Julio Clavio

Divers intaglios, that are trans-

parent

A long sword that wth a spring
shoots out halfe a yard longer

than ordinary

Abundance of Bass Relievi antichi

Divers peices of armo'r old, & od swords

& bowes

A head on board in Oyle of o'r Savio'

lesse y^n y^e life, by Raphael

Chiesa del Monasterio de s Francescos

a [di crossed out:] Ripa. Grande

An altar peice, on y^e left hand of Annib.
Caraccios calld La Pieta d'Ann.  

Car. 4 psons in it as big as the life  
& 2 Angels. All seeme to speake  
& so passionately lament over y' dead  
body of o' Saviour & done w'h so _  
marveylous proportion art & colouring  
that it may well be esteemd the  
best peice of painting extant __  
In y' same chappel is an antient Tombe  
of Relievo of y' Sea Gods y' best  
worke I ever saw in that nature

The Gossips  
drinke from y' same Cup  
wherein he has putt his bloudy fingers  
& dranke w'h his bloudy mouth.  
Then w'h y' Vase C. full of  
cloves & strong smells this he  
that dos y' act smells himself  
& gives to y' 2 to smell & to y'  
child,  
The child bound up. & out at  
y' window having sung aloud  
the neighbo' houses all looking
out, The child by 2 young
women all dresst is given
to ye Mother & all is done
That Cap of paper remaines
to keepe ye p[arf] from hurt.

[fol. 34 verso, unnumbered:]

Il modo della Circoncisione
    Hebraica.

In ye forenoone a little afore Noon
in the chamb[er] where ye woman lay the
Ceremony was thus p[er]formd.

The woman lying abed ye Roome well
& richly hangd. though 5 or 6 familyes
dwelt in that small howse. Every roome
a family while these women were dressing
this child aged 8 dayes comes in the
Dottore or Chirurgo, his man brings
a bason & these tooles.

[sketch of tools lettered A B C D E]

These instrumts were putt into a guilt
bason.

Then began the cheife
putt on their usuall white cloth over their
sholders \textsuperscript{342} & began to sing, all the p[er]sons Jewes joyning in singing: \textsuperscript{343} in \textit{mentre} \textsuperscript{344} these instrumts were p'[e]pard The 2 gossips were placd on the table sitting, a stoole at their feet. \textsuperscript{345} After had q[uarte]r of an hour\textsuperscript{e} singing in their Tone. overall \textsuperscript{346} [fol. 3.5 recto, numbered 56:] \& that \textsuperscript{e} 2 pillowes or cushions were placd betweene \textsuperscript{e} 2 Men gossips. The child was brought \& set in a lying or declyning posture Each gossip held a leg of \textsuperscript{e} child. \textsuperscript{347} He \textsuperscript{348} drew all \textsuperscript{e} out skyn over \textsuperscript{e} point of the yard putting the notkt instrum\textsuperscript{t} A to keepe it so close then w'h the cutting instrum\textsuperscript{t} B. holding \& drawing the p'puce streight cutt it all off \& putt it into a bason of earth. \textsuperscript{349} I askt \textsuperscript{e} reason but sayes Puluis? ad pube?reremit? \textsuperscript{350} is being cutt off all \textsuperscript{e} mitt appeard bare ymediately w'h his nayles he pulls out pissing passa\textsuperscript{re} \& teares it wide w'h seeming great force
then sucks the wound very hard
to draw the mitt large
spitting our that w'h he sucks for
it bleeds very much.\textsuperscript{351}

Ymediately a drying powder after
\textsuperscript{351} for

\textsuperscript{351} wine is layd
on, then the paper full of \textsuperscript{352} powder
of Sanguis. Draconis.\textsuperscript{352} and hood D\textsuperscript{353}
is putt upon the yard & round
clothes w'h holes cutt in them
& so tis wrapt up.

Then at \textsuperscript{354} cutting of[f] \textsuperscript{354} father names
\textsuperscript{354} child, this was Moses
bound up. the wyne is putt into the
vase E.\textsuperscript{355} & he showes it to \textsuperscript{355} people
singing & then drinkes \textsuperscript{356} gossip
drinkes. & the childs mouth is washt\textsuperscript{356}

p. [44 crossed out:] 54

[\textit{fol. 35 verso, unnumbered:}]

Of \textsuperscript{356} Silk Worme

May
They are generated of Seeds w'h \textit{in June} when \textsuperscript{356} leaves are
growne, are either putt into \textsuperscript{356} Sun or in a womens
breast & that heat generates the worme. not unlike
a Glowworme yellowish white, & an inch long. 357
I have seen on ye Minerva 358 divers bunches of boughes 359
full of these shells to adorne, ye rayles afore ye
altar of ye B Sacram. in June
when their shells are spun w'h are ovall &
longer than a Doves Egg. some yellow
p[er][e]ct, some white & some light Greene
The white is most esteemd.
The worme being kill'd w'hin, all ye shell is
silke w'h they putt into very hott water
many togeather & a large Reele or whele
by w'h wyndes ye Silke of[f] & ye worme
remaynes bare.
In ye beginning of June is ye Season
for they eat of the leaves of the Tree

non possono sentire li Tuoni
they cannot tuct? when it thunders. 360

Giardino del Principe di Medici
In the long walke betweene ye 2 Walls w'h
go towards Principe Ludovisios garn 361
in ye middle is goodly statue of Roma 362
like Pallas in a garmn' of porphyre
in her left arme a round sheild.
ye sun, a faire head __ [sketch of shield:]
Under it is a an old Tombe
upon it a Bassarilievo of whales
& out of the mouth of one comes out a Man
possibly for Jonas, very old.

In the High Garden where ye Round
hill is full of Cipresses is ye best
Prospect on one side all Roome & the
Valey toward ye Sea. on the other
The Country round about
On this stayres is a Woman naked w'h a
loose vayle sitting on a sea-horse
bridled, all w. marble one
peice large as ye naturall.

[fol. 37 recto, numbered 60:]
In ye Garden toward Porta del
Popolo ar[e] Large Red stone[s]
w'h this in large Roman Caracters
SERASPHDANES. Phraatis
Arsacis Regum Regis. F.

PARTthus.
RHOdaspes _ Phraatis

Arsacis. Regum Regis F.

Parthus

The length of ye letters are my
hands breadth

At ye fountain \textsuperscript{368} .3 brasse statues \textsuperscript{369} 

\( w'h \) was copyed from ye Original
in Borghese

[Pluto crossed out Saturno \textit{interlined} \( w'h \) a child in his Armes \textsuperscript{370}

\( \text{just 10 times ye length of his foot} \)
10 faces
from ye bone is 21 hands long

_______ Rare_______

[Pallas crossed out] Marte. \textsuperscript{371}_______

A small Mercury \textsuperscript{372} standing

one foot on ye blast of wind

_______

Facciata of ye pallace next ye
garden is full of large & excellent
Bassi Rilievi \textsuperscript{373}

Ag\textsuperscript{1} ye wall of ye Gallery stand divers
statues & pedestalls antient \textsuperscript{374}

In ye Gallery full of statues, \textsuperscript{375}
an Aguglia of Aegiptian caracters
in ye Garden \textsuperscript{376}

[fol. 37 verso, unnumbered:]
The statue Repayrd of Cleopatra\textsuperscript{377} lying along.

Statues of Niobe & all her children\textsuperscript{378} looking up w'h feare of the arrowes of Death.

Divers Bassi Rilievi ag' y e wall of the high Terras walke.\textsuperscript{379} wherein the most are statues of some Emperors.

Divers Termini at the heads of all y e walkes\textsuperscript{380}

\[\text{[fol. 38 recto, numbered 62:]}\]

They graft near y e ground. bending y e top of y e stock w'h a small cord & laying Glew upon the slitt & upon the cutting on the top of y e Scion.

They lay slips of Bayes etc in the ground, some take root.

they make Trenches to Water all near\textsuperscript{381}

\[\text{[fol. 38 verso, unnumbered:]}\]

Palazzo di Medicis Sop' il Monte
della Trinita³⁸²

First Hall.³⁸³

Abundance of Ritrattos' of famous persons³⁸⁴ not 2 foot long. Originals vide p.69 all

A Quadro 6 foot long & 4 high of

Bassano. Vulcan.

& pot &

people³⁸⁵ very rare. 4000 crownes estemd

6 Whole statues in strange postures.³⁸⁶

4 Stagioni done by Fratello del Bassano³⁸⁷ not so good as y[e] former

Leon Decimo his Ritratto³⁸⁸

The Guarderobe said some are of opinion done at least toccato

p[er] Raffaele.³⁸⁹

________________

Battaglia Navati di Pio 5.³⁹⁰

____

2 large quadros of Indian painting³⁹¹ peacocks & birds ______

________________ Lo preso di siena da notte,³⁹² solders a fighting a quadro 2 1/2 foot high.

2 broad.

A looking glasse hangs in Piano over
it. & ye picture makes ye reflexion
of that Grand Duke that tooke

Siena\textsuperscript{393} When he Rubd ye picture
his hand seemed to be above ye face

Vignola \textsuperscript{394}\textsuperscript{395} in ye glasse\textsuperscript{394}

[\textit{vertically written in the left margin is:}] Tis done by Creases

\textit{[fol. 39 recto, numbered 64:]} Next Roome towards Porta
del Popolo\textsuperscript{396}

A statue of Hercules like that at
Farnese.\textsuperscript{397} 2 Emperors heads\textsuperscript{398}

A little statue of a More bound behind
above his wrists\textsuperscript{399}

Next Roome in ye Corner\textsuperscript{400}

A statue of ye fellow that sharpened
a cutting knife & looks
up.\textsuperscript{401} Rare [\textit{sketch of statue:}]

2 heads in marble\textsuperscript{402}

Next roome\textsuperscript{403} is the [famous interlined] statue of ye famous
Venus.\textsuperscript{404} upon the pedestall is
A Trunke of Tree behind her & Cupid
upon a Dolphin.  
8 Spans & halfe high.
Her leg from ye up[er] bone of ye knee to ye bone
Top of ye foot is 4 fingers longer than
is her thigh to her Crotch
From ye bone top of ye foot to ye Toe [end crossed out] [end interlined]
is just ye length of ye Face.
Her sholders are just as broad as she is at
ye Huckle bones
[The Lower pt crossed out:] From her elbow to ye bone on her wrist is an ynch longer
than all her foot.
Her neck is above halfe ye face
in length
Her hand from ye wrist bone to ye end of
ye middle finger is just ye length of the
foot from ye ankle bone above the
bending
Her face is equally divided into 3 pts
by ye Forehead Nose or Chin
Ears just so low as yᵉ nose.

The bending or beginning of the fingers
to the [middle interlined] fingers end [is crossed out] almost so long
as yᵉ hand is to yᵉ wrist bone. 407

2 Heads of Empresses in that Roome 408

[fol. 40 recto, numbered 66:]

1 Roome next to Trinita di Monte 409

A Statue of Ganimede and an Eagle 410

Upon [an interlined] old pedestal with Festeni &

Gotes heads. 411

2 large Globes, coloured in Oyle 412

Next Roome 413: 4 Statues

A Faune 414

Apollo. or rather -

Cupid 415 looking up & laughing

rare & excellent.

This stands upon a Triple old

pedestall 416 [sketch of pedestal]

Cain killing

Abel 417 or 2

fighting all

on their flat

pedestall of old
Rare Marble

famous statue

Above in ye flat of ye roffe

in fresco is this painting

2 Women take out the dead body of

Hero out of ye Water

Tis done as if a quadro were fixt there

there is no foreshortening but at

full length. as Raphaels Giusti

All ye persons seeme

as big as ye life

[sketch of the 'Death of Leander']

In ye corner Roome

An old Statue of Venus bathing

or crowching downe.

A large Cabinet wh choice

small oyle paintings upont

Many Venus's.

[fol. 41 recto, numbered 68:]

[continuation of sketch from fol. 40 verso:]

[fol. 41 verso, unnumbered:]
Ritrattos in y⁶ Hall.  

Io Aucurus Anglus  

[sketch of man with cap]  

Red Cap  

I believe tis for Hawkwood  

El Conte Pietro Navarro  

Inventor delle Mine  

Ferd. Cortes Indo[rum] Domitor  

Joan: Preces Mirondala. a young handsome man  

Titianus. M. Angelus Banuarotus  

Lionardus Vincius  

altogeather  

Divers Turkes Indians & Strange Kings in old habits  

3 Popes Togeather  

Alexander 4 one, & they have a white Cap w’h one Crowne at bottome.  

Bonifacius 8.  

San Celestinus 5. Urbanus 4.
Nicolaus\textsuperscript{436} has 2 Crownes.

Andreas Auria.\textsuperscript{437} rarely done old man.

A Map of Europe\textsuperscript{438} painted & Colourd upon cloth

[Carte de Europe painted & Colourd upon cloth]

\[\textit{[fol. 42 recto, numbered 70, blank]}\]

\[\textit{[fol. 42 verso, unnumbered:]}\]

Corte del Auditore della Camera.\textsuperscript{439} W'h is by ye church of S\textsuperscript{i} Andrea della Valle\textsuperscript{440} in a private Pallace & removes as the Monsig\textsuperscript{r} who is ye Auditor has his residence or pallace.\textsuperscript{441} In an inner low Roome hung w'h guilt leather. Left end of a little walnutt Table in a chayre sate l'Auditore who was not y\textsuperscript{e} Monsig\textsuperscript{r} or Vescovo himselfe but one in black vestito di longo.\textsuperscript{442} At y\textsuperscript{e} other end of the Table stood y\textsuperscript{e} Notary - bareheaded. The Litigants sate 3 steps distant from y\textsuperscript{e} Auditor. just ag\textsuperscript{t} him, hatts on, speaking their cause & defending it as if discussing. A woman a party stood behind the
chair & putt in some words often.

After ye buisnes fully heard w'h was concerning
the Rent of a howse. The Auditor
rose up pulld off his hatt made obedience
to ye partyes, went out ye dore they
followd & w'hout the first dore stood
bowing till they passt by. & went away
They calld him in their pleading Sig'Auditore.

He returned to his seat & another party
was calld. who came made his
Reverance & sate downe

Auditor gives sentence in Writing
after ye partyes are gone.

There is appeale from him to 2 other
Courts.

[fol. 43 recto, numbered 72:]

Pari [i.e. the same] one near? [inserted above the caret]
2 other Places there are w'h are
memb[er]s of this Auditor.
whome I saw. ye Auditors being Monsignore
& calld often Monsig' illustrissimo
sitting likewise in the same manner
In black howse [i.e. hose?] gownes & Square Caps
black.
A little bell of silver calls when the partyes are gone out. & the officer or Notary at y⁶ dore calls in new p[ar]ties.

In another place by S't Eustache⁴⁴³ in a large hall. sitting also y⁵ Mons'. & advocates pleading afore him bare headed. standing.

Banchi, or formes were sett all along ag' y⁶ Monsig' who sate at the further end of the Table
The People standing to heare behind these formes⁴⁴⁴

A Generall observation all over Rome in all Pallaces where the Band[ita, i.e. enclosed grounds] y⁵ matt coverd w'h Callico is drawne up. & the dore open, one may freely enter. But where shutt tis _uncivill vnles buisines & p[ersons] acquainted by sernames⁴⁴⁵

[fol. 43 verso blank, unnumbered:]
Chiesa S Salvator
di Lauro

Is so calld be[cause] there is an old basso Rilievo on high in the Piazza where o' Savio' is carved & a lau-
rell behind him.

A quadro in yᵉ Ch[urch]: done by Albano rep'resenting Theology.

Another quadro of the Nativity done by Pietro da Cortona yᵉ best thing he ever did where the paese resembles early in the mor-
ing

Altar piece is of a follower of Caravaggios manner of Savi or upon the Mount & be[cause] those naturalists w'h can do nothing but from yᵉ life He has made a facquinos face for o' Savi or

Non possono comporre un aria a mente __ S'. Gio A.

T[he?] Spagnioletto was a Caravagist.
Studio del Padre Kirk\textsuperscript{454} in Collegio Romano\textsuperscript{455}

Winding this with the handle will raise a weight of great poise.

[Sketch of weighing machine with relevant lettering:\textsuperscript{456}]

A. the handle.

B. a scrué.

C. The Whele

D. Is a box wherein [tis crossed out] it moves

E. are the small lynes

as big as

whipcord

one above on them several pullyes.

F. are wooden peices where

are ye pullyes _____

G. Is the weight.

[fol. 45 recto, numbered 76:]

[Sketch of porphyry:] This is a Peice of Porphyry

Red, the one side is cutt
with small AEgyptian Characters.

The Inside has small round pegs, which as the father says were to divide the hours.

This being a piece of a Vessel to hold water, & let out the water at a small hole, & this was a Dyall of Water among the AEgipitians.457

[sketch of a ball:] A Ball of Leads, I suppose mingled with Leads, for tis heavier on one side than the other for laying it downe, twill turne to his Center

Tis an inch & halfe in Diameter

Lay it on a sleek piece of steepe

Sett sidelong & it will not fall. one part surely is hollow rather a piece of lead is wanting one side whithin

[Vertically written on the inside of this folio:]458

____________________________________

Instrument that has a Circular motion of water. A Bird sucks up y^e water, & another pipe puts it in to the same vessel above. 459

____________________________________

A Dyall in bird hanging in the middle
of a Circular glasse, having the
houres painted upont, This Bird
has his beake constantly at the true
houres of the day
He hangs upon a shirr? [thread?].

[fol. 45 verso, unnumbered:
Discourse [crossed out]
A serving man was butler, barber, Gardner, falkner etc, M' Rosler came to him & told him
Harke? y'or Master has bought a beare & you
must keep y', what sayd y' fellow & keep the
beare too, No, & packt up his things, went
away & lost halfe a yeares wages SRV'

cony borrowes __ cut finger ordinary.

7 Roomes & then still in the Kitchen

A Frenchman came alone to y' E[arl] of Hollands
table, unbidden, & fell to a Custard next
him w'h was extreame hott, he spatt it out
upon his honour. Saying a foole would have
burnht his tongue_____

at the lessing I let y' feele me sayd the
wench but then like an unmannerly fellow
thrust? the pulle into me, that thru didst
soth? and display ? many did yª then

Sª Tho Dar: storise? & at the season of Spar
agrasse yª wenches? his? smell yª water
suspected he had il mal Francese it came
in their ladyes eares she refused to ly
wªh him pyad? Great stirs. Her mother
told him. at last it came out all
well __________ Medesmo? at

S. ?[illegible word]

Sª Alexander Hope was sent to yª Scots
to offer from yª English Parl. 1650
to give yª King a great sume not to
pretend to England. Then yº? king
seeing him come into [the? blot] Roome cryd
Take away the foole

I am so glad I am alone [or possibly 'done'] an officer
in Holland loses friends.

[fol. 46 recto, numbered 78:]

Mustard. Col. Waugh calld it mouse dung
saying it was yª more mannerly word
mam's life is but a span so said ye lady there?
me for ynches a span & 2 ynches

Turkey Egs, butterd & 2 anchoveys melted in
as make an excellent sweet

A French marquesse at Tennis wth Charles I
in England lost & because to renowne
G. The King, reprovd him telling him
heed leave off ye game, twas a great
sume he still lost. sent out his boy
giving him halfe a pistoll allez
vous en je? dira Cent fois?
Mon Dieu sayes the boy aye pisse?
de moy. Ce ne pas pour moy
cest pour mon maistre
Tooke away 2 horses from lord Gerard
11 from Percy shott his groome in ye	head

2 from a Capleyin as Deepe

L'Histoire tragique de nostre Temps_
translated into English has ye story of
a? Huguenot taken prisoner who had a
Handsome wife, the husband was by ye
Kings order to be beheaded. The Keep[er] of ye Castle promisd his wife to give her husb:[and] if she would ly wth him, The husband left it to her. She consented & next day ye dead body of her husband was given her She complaynd. The Kings generall sent for him, force1 to marry her afore him, to give her satisfaction & suddenly in y place causd him to be beheaded.

[fol. 46 verso, unnumbered:]

Gloster la York? ? poplair?

A fellow was drunke on the stage & spied? by ? an actor ashamd yo acting wod make any body spue____

well said 2 of y Actors on y Stage. God ? are? sed? a spectator for you are the 2 worst in y world.

Prophesie di Nostra Damus. foretold the death of King Charles

A lord of England dying sent for a Phisitian there come to him one that a while afore in another
towne let his horse bloud and drencht ym.

The fellow desird him for Gods sake not to tell
he s[ai]d he had good luck wth his horse Phisick
among those bodyes Lord Stanhope

Df Croyden was at the Consultations in Padua
of a Nun that for 16 years had not
evacuated backward, but all by Vomitt.

Sigfr Angelie told us of a woman that did
evacuate all her excremet afore _

The Devel will stand a Tiptoes to see a _
Dedham man in Hell _ said y D. preacher.

The usage of ye Caravans wch are Convoys
in Turky, they emcampe every night.
neare a River, & not far from y high
way. The camels ly round, close to
one another. a River or fence being

p[ar]t of the enclosure, Ther y ludgadge
& Trunkes. wth in y Camells in another
Round. & in y middle y p[er]sons wch
are 500 or more accordingly

Hence they may shoot p[er]? defence if
neede be

p. 109

[fol. 47 recto, numbered 80:]

S' John Harrisons son by Harford where his father
disinherited e' presented love to S' John Botlers Daughter there
by & began his first visitt on a Sunday when his _
father was at that time building his howse__
Askt for S' John p[re]tending buisnes & as was
S' My father would know if you could sell him any
Bricks. He not having bricks to sell was
answerd

Col. Apsley that had a great Nose began first to find
fault w^th his owne nose.

In y^e Canaval at Florence 1649
The Dukes brother had a Coach drawne by
24 horses & the Coachman was dresst like
a lobster so y^e postilions & all y^e Coaches
men? were boyes & fellowes, habited like
fishes _ To bring in lent. SRV

At Lyons at the Carnival 1500 most of the young
gallants made an army of Cuckolds their
Trayne of Artillry of pap[er] ordnance painted
their wagons full of buck showes &
their pistols handles w\textsuperscript{th} their

? ? 2 & 2 riding

where this came at a famous cuckold
window they threw up abundance of
sweetmeates

A fellow w\textsuperscript{th} a little bow whith arrow
was fastened w\textsuperscript{th} a spring y\textsuperscript{e} end was like
an ? shott Confits pretty hard

A Bandito persued & stayd at Padoa
at my living there made his escape.

From y\textsuperscript{e} fellows that would ? him
He was into a church & unlox
Vault & removd a dead body
& lay under y\textsuperscript{e} dead body

A Spy saw him run into the Church
& take up y\textsuperscript{e} Sepulchor grave

They searcht over & left ?

never found him vide 100 p.?

[fol. 47 verso, unnumbered:]

Accademia dei. Humoristi\textsuperscript{462}

Tis kept in the hall of Sign\textquotesingle. M[ancini].\textsuperscript{463} in the Corso\textsuperscript{464}
each Sunday. 4 or 5 afternoone.

First a speech in latin or Italian is made by one appointed,\textsuperscript{465}

Then divers Recite verses of Subjects of their owne choosing.

The Card: Capone\textsuperscript{466} etc. f[rom] y\textsuperscript{e} Emb.:\textsuperscript{467} being there.

He that makes y\textsuperscript{e} oration, \& those that repeate w'h their hats on, yet regard not y\textsuperscript{e} Card:

The Roome:\textsuperscript{468}

in an octangle on y\textsuperscript{e} Roofe is in chiaro oscuro very sweetly painted Fame, by Cavallier. Giuseppe.\textsuperscript{469}

A large Quadro of an allievo of Guido Reni\textsuperscript{470} of Fame Sitting upon Volumes, a Trumpet in her right hand, a laurel held up in her left, Apes lay dead by y\textsuperscript{e} bookes. A Wolfe \& 2 boyes sucking right side of her.

[fol. 48 recto, numbered 82:]

Il Ritratto di Cavaglier Battista Guarino in questa Accademia. Mano del Horatio Borgianni. Baglione p.142\textsuperscript{471}

[fol. 48 verso, unnumbered:]
Round ye hall are in frames painted in Oyle
very many Emblemes
all alluding to ye Humor. \textsuperscript{472}

A cloud rayning upon ye Sea. wh this motto
REDIT AGMINE dulci. \textsuperscript{473}

over it is this
Title______Humoristi \textsuperscript{474}

A weather glasse
monstrat eventus. \textsuperscript{475}

Title il Presa. . \textsuperscript{476}

l'humoroso- \textsuperscript{477}

A l'embrice?. [illegible] wh
Perficit humor. \textsuperscript{478}

l'malzato: \textsuperscript{479} a fountayne wh
this word. Vires ab orti \textsuperscript{480}

Upon an old fashioned tombe painted
Musa vetat mori. \textsuperscript{481}

a grindstone & yron ground
Perdendo acquisto. \textsuperscript{482}
l'Acceso, a lamp [burning above] w'h this humor alit.

Il Legiero. A spunge in the waters. Pondus ab undis.

Lo Strepitoso. a Roaring fountayne like y' at S Peters. Sonitus imitatur olympi.

[fol. 49 recto, numbered 84:]

The water falling from Rocks into y' sea. Cum fanox?[or]sc?e reddit.


L'avvelluppato. A reele [wound above] upon w'h threds solvendo primordia parat.

Il Rapito. The Rayes of y' Sun & on y' Earth is an Egg.

Rore juuante.

L'asperso: A burning rock or mountayne.
Piu incende.\textsuperscript{498}

Il melanconico.\textsuperscript{499} a Barren place
w'h 2 barren Trees. a Spiders Web
broken, hangs betweene y\textsuperscript{e} Trees or
Shrubs. Clouds about.

Nubilo tantum.\textsuperscript{500}

Il Sicuro.\textsuperscript{501} A Bird in her neast or
hatching upon a Rock in the middle of

y\textsuperscript{e} Sea. Salus in salo.\textsuperscript{502}

Lo Stemperato.\textsuperscript{503} A well built over
wherein is a wheele & ropes.

Ne temperet humor.\textsuperscript{504}

L'ascoso\textsuperscript{505} [blot] flowers putt into a glasse of [water above]
one of them blowes

Pandet honorem\textsuperscript{506} [\textit{sketch of vase of flowers}]

Lo Studio del Sig' Fran:\textsuperscript{507} going toward Porta

Pinciana.\textsuperscript{508}
Entering into ye Door in the little entry at ye end is an imitation of a Ruine,
in chiaro scuro painted. & a paisage behind him, he lying under a Tree.

Going up stayres is a little statue della Dea della Natura. about 2 foot & ha high. Full of Dugges

[sketch of a term with many breasts representing Diana of Ephesus]

In the first Roome,

Upon the Triplefoot Table in the middle under Glass as at _

Goldsmyths shops, all manner of shells of the sea. very pleasant.

A Triple Looking glass hanges over the Table. & a Crocodyle whole, about 5 foot long.

Quadri.

A most gallant painting to ye middle of a Sibill done by Dominichino.

6 or 7 quadros of Bassano.

3 or 4 foot broad some lesse _ one where ye Queen of Sheba comes to Solo

Another ye beasts entering ye Arke.
Another of divers people like a Market.\(^{517}\)

2 or 3 of Paolo Veronese, y^e biggest foot high. __ a little one.\(^{518}\)

A St. Girolamo of Palma. excellent painter all na[tu]r[a]le __ \(^{519}\)

A soldiers __ [illegible word] the body done by Titian standing upright.\(^{520}\)

A small Ritratto 5 or 6 ynches long done by Annibal Carraccio of himselfe most rare.\(^{521}\)

An excellent quadro of Divers p[er]sons in the middle, done by Georgioni.\(^{522}\)

A quadro [original;written above] of not 2 foot square of y^e Agony of our Saviour upon ye Mount 2 Angels by him, his disciples below Sleeping. by. Caracci.

Copyed by a Frenchman 8 or 9 years since in grande __\(^{523}\)

A circular steeleglasse about a span in diameter
in ye concave, hold a glasse agt it &
ye reflex made a glasse seeme to come
out of the glasse\textsuperscript{524}

Divers Indian Bowes of Brasill & Ar-
rowes & od swords one very old that
has ye lock of a pistole in the hilt & the
barrel joynd to ye blade, a foot &ha
long\textsuperscript{525}

chayres that shutt together brought out
of India, the seat woven, in each
ye back painted.\textsuperscript{526}

\textit{[fol. 51 verso, unnumbered:]}\textit{
}
A larg: Cabinet 4 foot long of Severall
drawers about an ynch thick, full of
Rare Grecian & Roman Antiquities
of Coynes.
Alexander in Silver Large, & a head
peice on: Divers of his Captaynes,
one of his in Gold, as big as a 5\textsuperscript{3} piece.\textsuperscript{527}

Next Roome. lesse Round about above
are 6 or 7 quadros about 5 or 6 or 7
feet long of divers Triumphs, painted
at Venice, some by Titian, some by
Tintaret.\textsuperscript{528}
1. Il Triunpho di N° Signore, O' Savi[ou]r

sitting upon the chariot, afoote y' is Card[inals].

& Bishopes & divers people &c. as big

as y' life.

Triumph of Death

[fol. 52 recto, numbered 90:]

A Table full of Brass medalls in holes
cutt of purpose: Gioie or medalles
cutt in stones divers\(^{529}\)

A large quadro of Mars & Venus bigger

than y' life upon a bed. 2 Cupids

of Titian.\(^{530}\)

[fol. 52 verso, unnumbered:]

Next Roome\(^{531}\)

In a Niche in the wall is a Rock of natrall

things as Corall, pumice, cockles

shells & \(^{532}\) very proper & pleasant.

On the right hand an abundance of

things Petrifyd as leaves charcole,
pompyon\(^{533}\), toadstools, wood. Fruits.

that sort of .... that the fyre consumes

not, of w' th a shirt of an Empore' was of\(^{534}\)

Divers Ritrattos as big as y' life, some
of Titian, one of Palma excellent

one of a churchman wth a letter open

his hand most rarely done full face

by Dominichino the original, but this

is by S' Gia. Ang: Can.

A paese, a foot & ha[lf] square [of excellent; crossed out]
done by ..... of Diogonenes [of] Alex[andria]
a Temple by & a statue of a god. [et crossed out]

The Copy of St John B't of An: Carracio

wch original is esteemd at 4 thousand

Crownes. copyd by S'. G[iovanni]. A[ngelo].

who also has another copy of y' same

[fol. 53 recto, numbered 92:]

Abundance of old Roman Lamps dedicated
to ye Heathen Gods. of brasse

some have the statue or Image of that God in small

old

An old statue not a span long of a soldyer in

brasse in old armour, his headpiece has a crest

of an ostrich head or a horse head

Mandrakes, one extrearne like a Womans

body

una vitella marina a smooth skyn.
4 foot long Dun Colour.

[sketch of the 'vitella marina']

Among ye divers little statues in brasse & lampes dedicated to heathen Godes as to Pan one stands upon a Reede. To Dijs Laribus et. are also old rings of brasse wch are large many of wch were used to be putt upon the fingers of statues.

In ye other little studdy by.

Divers bookes.

2 quadros of Signf Gio Angelo's painting divers other little quadros

3 boyes by Parmigianino: of wch I have the-
stampe

Hercules Giovane holding a serpent in his left hand. by Annibal Caracci. copyd by Sf G.[iovanni A[ngelo]. & is there also Divers paese in oyle

2 Atti in Accademia a lapis Rosso of Ann: Caracci.

[fol. 53 verso, unnumbered:]

See Baglione in consideration of this museo

p. 108 & that divers disegnos of A. Caracci
are here. item.

2 bookes in a grand folio where upon ye whit[e] pape[r] is glued on pieces of Caracci.

Those of ye Gallery of Farnese, sevrall of postures & persons are on blew pap[er] of Cole [charcoal] & chalke

Some are in ynke.

Some in Red Lapis, some in colourd pap[er], & ynke, & white

A large folio of thick dutch paper full of originall disegnes.

Divers atti a penna by Baccio Band[inelli]. done by Invention.

Divers in Lapis Rosso & Lapis Nero

ye White pap[er] being ye chiaro, & in some ye lights are green of Pirrho Ligorio who under neath has written his name in Greek. a Napolitan

Divers of Perino, M. Angelo.

in Penna: heads of some in ye judgem[en]t,

Some of Polidore: Citty by Baldassar & of Parmigianino. Peligrinio
da Bologna\textsuperscript{557} one of Dan: Volterra\textsuperscript{558} [penna; \textit{inserted above}]
Correggio 2 or 3 ordinary ones\textsuperscript{559}

Rafael's own Ritratto young done

by himself in chiaro scuro on wh[i]t[e]

pap[er].\textsuperscript{560} S't Luke painting O't Lady by Si'r Gio. Angelo\textsuperscript{561}

Divers things of Pietro Perugino\textsuperscript{562}

\[fol. 54 \text{recto, numbered 94:}\]

\begin{itemize}
    \item A St. Mark in y'e clouds by pen most admirable of Raphael\textsuperscript{563}
    \item A horse on blew pap[er] shadow\textsuperscript{d} w\textsuperscript{th} Indico
    \end{itemize}

by Rafael. excellent.\textsuperscript{564}

\begin{itemize}
    \item O't Savio[ur] in Limbo, original for Arazzo
    \item Rafael on pap[er] colourd w\textsuperscript{th} soot & light[ened] w\textsuperscript{th} a pencill of white in Guiac\textsuperscript{565}
    \item 2 pieces of y'e quadros at S Pietro Montorio\textsuperscript{566}
    \item Divers pieces of Architecture
    \item The Circumcision a Most excellent & best disegno
    \item I ever saw. in that colouring also.\textsuperscript{567}
    \item Other pieces of y'e painting of y'e Sacra[men]t
    \item in y'e Stanze\textsuperscript{568}
\end{itemize}

Another large folio of strong paper
whereon are pasted in each leaf
small Paeses done either in Pen
or Red or black lapis, but in
generall pen\textsuperscript{569} first
of Gobbo. 5 or 6 generally in
Lapis Rosso.\textsuperscript{570}
Il Viola allievo di Ann Caracci
finisht & curious\textsuperscript{571}
Domichino . 6 or 7
2 Rosso [Penna; above caret]\textsuperscript{572}
An: Caracci . Parrechio Penna\textsuperscript{573}
Aug: Caracci. one where of not
finisht but finisht by Sig'\textsuperscript{r}
G. A.\textsuperscript{574}
2 di Guercino Penna\textsuperscript{575}
2 di Mutiano Penna\textsuperscript{576}
Titian. 4 . Penna\textsuperscript{577}
Campagnola descepolo di Titian
parechio __ con penna.\textsuperscript{578}
1 Polydoro, chiaro scuro\textsuperscript{579} __ &

[fol. 54 verso, unnumbered:]

One of Raphaels. Penna.
one of Andrea Camassi
discepolo di Dominichino

has his style

1. di Sig F Gio. Angelo Canninio Penna.

5 or 6 more of his in lapis nero

w ch they call Han: Caraccios

Not a dog nor a catt or animal about his

howse w ch Annib & ye Caraccios

did not disegne w th pen - many of

w ch as molls catts dogs cowes, are

in this Booke. some finisht curia

fissimamente.

[fol. 55 recto, numbered 96:]

Palazzo di Card: Spada

In y e Sala are many faire new

paintings in Fresco of Perspective &

storyes of Constantyne in gold &
greene. chiaro oscuro

In y e AntiCamera y e like & statues

of Stucco.

In y e little roome afore y e Gallery are 2 or 3 pretty p[er]spectives

one of a pond or lake betweene

pillars. y e coming of y e queen of

Sheba afore Solomon done
by Mons' Francois Perier
who is dead now.$^{590}$

In ye Gallery,$^{591}$ first entrance
over ye dore are 8 Ritrattos
old & good. & one peice over
ye dore of 4 demy p[er]sons at
a table good, all Ritrattos$^{592}$

Divers quadros there are
especially 2 lookt upon.

One very large done by Guercin
du Cento of Didos killing
her selfe,$^{593}$ & a p[ro]spect of shipps.
she upon a pyle of wood
all seemes La Maniera
Tedesca,$^{594}$

[fol. 55 verso, unnumbered:]

for she is in Royal apparel Thick
shoes, like ye p[re]sent fashion in Rome$^{595}$
standers by, some clad in Volios$^{596}$
some like Swisse$^{597}$, some Worne
like ye new Roman fashion$^{598}$
Shipps like ye Dutch$^{599}$
bought for 400 Crownes
Refusd now 4 thousand C. 600

Another large quadro done by one
of Guido Renys scollars &
finisht by himselfe Del Rapio
d' Helena, 601 Good & Commendable

Some statues & heads 602
at ye farther corner left hand one
Narrow long frame one Man
at length. & paese very good &
old. 603

Another large quadro of a Paese
River & divers od buildings gud 604

In ye hall 605 is a large statue
of Pompey. 606 naked, holding up
his right hand as comanding __

[fol. 56 recto, numbered 98, blank:]

[fol. 56 verso, unnumbered:]
Pallazzo del Card: Mazzerino. 607

From ye meadowes betweene Vigna Madame 608 [is above] ye
prospect of Rome, this ouertops Monte Cavallo. 609

In ye little garden in ye roofe of ye sumer house 610
is your Aurora, painted in fresco by Guido Reni. The houries hand in hand dauncing about the chariot led with 4 horses a breast. The blushing morning a young lady strewes garlands of flowers afore.

The Paeses are of Brillo's.

____

In ye roome adioyning w'h lookes towards Monte Cavallo, upon ye flat Roofe is ye story of Armida sopra il carro: all seeme to stand upright A fellow wounded below, his leg seemes to fall downe.


____

In your Palace below, next ye little low gallery where Guido Reni's boys are picking flowers.

A low Roome, ye walls whereof have pillars painted as tall & great as Vast pillars & a prospective of another row of pillars as under a walke, w'h ballasters also
painted, & betweene these pillars is a vast Sea & noble prospect of Hills & Ylands & Country, & Ships, seeming as big as ye naturall. I Suppose tis ye true prospect of Sicily. Baglione mentons this done by Pho Napolitano, p. 335 The flat of ye Roofe has ye rape all ye Gods. very excellently done. Ye 3 graces naked in ye ayre embracing each other. Juno sitting in her chairyott leaning her face on her left hand to see Jupiter among ye wenches. The 9 Muses in ye arch round ye Roofe. The Dore wayes painted in imitac[i]on of Marble. Tis an excellent fyne Roome. A Circular vast Vaso of Greene serpentine. In ye other low roomes adjoyning are divers Paeses & prospects.
A quadro of ye Qu: of France w'h her 2 sons

Another of ye K. Lewis 13. all in Armo'

standing. The Qu: of England

Next Roome: Card: M.[azzarin's] owne picture

sitting in a Chayre, a Table by him

wheron are some letters.

He has a letter in his hand w'h is Superscribd
to himselfe Al Illustrissimo.

A Pillar of ye Qu building painted behind

him, & on ye pedestall a finto of his

Coate Armo'r as if carvd. [sketch of coat of arms]

[fol. 57 verso, unnumbered:]

A New Quadro 3 or 4 foot long & 2 ha[lf]:

high. a large story of ye worshipping idols.

very excellent, I suppose done by Mons' Pussin.

In ye garden below, is a little Logietta

ye Roofe & sides under ye roofe are

in fresco good & old,

Cupid ryding upon lyons & Tigers &

foxes & leopard. &

In ye logietta of ye upper garden

9 Muses playing upon severall instruments very

excellent, done by Horatio Gentileschi
Bag: 359.640

[fol. 58 recto, numbered 102, blank]

[fol. 58 verso, unnumbered: sketch of pendentive]

La Prudenza [bottom left]642

[fol. 59 recto, numbered 104:] Boy w'h this [top left]643

[sketch of pendentive]

Justitia [bottom left]644

[fol. 59 verso, unnumbered:][blank except for a faint pencil sketch]

[fol. 60 recto, numbered 106:][blank except for a faint word at top of page]645

[fol. 60 verso, unnumbered:]

Accademia delle Pittori

S. Luca.646

old Round frames wc'h have these following

Ritrattos in oyle, & on y'e circumferences

is this written in faire letters __647

1 Pamphilus Macedo exmiy p[re]ceptor

Apelles648

2 Apelles hon[o]s? pra[e]clarus pictorà princeps649

[sketch of figure holding a tablet with the motto 'Nulla Dies']

He leans his

right hand on a

tablet w'h has
that motto

3 Zeuxis Heracliotis & ha[e]c pictoris
imago

4 Socus ille ego clarus opere Vermiculato a quadro of Paese his left hand

5 M. Pacuvius Poeta ac pictor Roman Nobilis

6 Methrodorus Atheniensis Phil.

sofus Pictor

7 Nero's picture [w ith it crossed out] & frame designing a figure

8 Egregius Adrianus Hispanus Romanus Imperatur. Pictor.

stands designing See il Theatro di Garzoni Adrianus Comene? dalient p.[59 crossed out] 59

9 Illustris Protogenes Cautious Rhodi in hic Pictor

See Lomazzo della Pitt: Episcola

also in Idea. p.25 Ridolfi. p[art].2.323

[fol. 61 recto, numbered 108:]
70 or 80 Ritratti 5 spans long.\textsuperscript{661}

Quadro of Raphael\textsuperscript{6} 6 foot high

Raphael has upon the board painted

St Luke a painting La Madonna

\& behind S. Luke stands Raphael

ever young. esteemd one of his

best peices\textsuperscript{662}

\textit{[sketch of the painting described above]}

They have Raphaels Skull also

in this Accademy.\textsuperscript{663}

Every feast betimes in the morning

Divers youngsters come to designe

A modell is allowed at the publi\textsuperscript{65} charge.\textsuperscript{664}

An anatomy in Gesso taken from a mans

body Head \textsuperscript{665}
Andrea Camaseo w'h S' Gio A. comended

Below are y'e Grotti of S' Paul & S' Luke

& one place is all about painted in

Fresco, old, old,

At y'e farther wall is y'e V.M p'resenting

y'e babe to y'e High Preist.

[sketch of fresco described]

Another Place S' John baptizing

of o' Savio' standing in the waters

Divers Saints & their names

written over them

Here tis said S' Paul said masse

there is now an altarpiece & y'e

place is showne where S' Luke

had painted in y'e B. V.M. w'h

now is removd

A well is there w'h sprang up

when they wanted water to xtium

S. Sabina.

All over was painted by S. Luke

as they report.
of ye Salamander p. 117.
That Apothecary there mention'd never heard of any
taken any where, but in a Cold uncouth Cave
betweene Trent & the confynes of Germany

Casa di ....Zuccaro Pittore
Which is on Trinita di monte.
The roofes of the low roomes are all in Fresco.
One is of Perspective w'h pillars, in the middle
a boy naked in y'e ayre.
Next archt Roome, which lookes into his
garden.

The niches on y'e wall below y'e archt Roofe
are in Fresco, Ritrattos of Divers
of the name of Zuccaro, one old
man as leaning over to looke into
the Roome
some of y'e daughters also in such niches
painted at worke, well done
Sides of the roofe is in od Bizarre
Diligenza. Patienza etc.
Other Roome next the street
painted by his Allievi. designd by himself. In ye square hollow of ye roofe for 
ye rest is p[er]spective of pillars. on ye flat is sitting a Judge & as on ye edge of ye frame sits 
Painting Sculpture and Architecture. 

[fol. 65 verso, unnumbered:]

Studio di Signer. Strada del Orso. 
Many Coralls Some black 
Some Indian Fruits among ye rest 
beanes large & speckled of divers Colo. A Real Salamander, in all about a 
span long blackish, & on ye back divers yellow spots. [sketch of salamander] 
He had it alone, & putt it into 
ye fire & [it above] livd there 2 howres by reason sayes he it has abundance of 
a watery humo wth in it w'h is extreame Cold. But not as a place naturall to 
ye beast. The Fire was putt out in that 
place where it lay. 
The Cold breath of this serpent is poysinous
& tis hazard of life if any of the watery
humu' w'h he cast out of his mouth lights
but upon ones clothes.

[See fol. 64 recto, numbered 114, for inserted note regarding
the salamander; on this folio (65 verso) is written vertically in margin:
See pag. 114

2 or 3 Tarantulas also w'h are like
Spiders. He sayes they are Soterrano
aranee. 693__
Tis Gayish in y body, it
bytes w't y 2 little fangs A [sketch of a tarantula]
A longish serpent, w'h being killd be[cause]
so dangerous. y Corruption bred a
round maggot, thence come a round
maggot then a fly.
A serpent w'h a long Tayle & wings
formerly he calld it a Basilisk [sketch of Basilisk]

[fol. 66 recto, numbered 118:]
Another sort of Tarantula
not much unlike a Lizard yellow
& duskish color passing over a mans
hand or y like it pisses a water w'h blisters y
skyn p'sently 694 ________
A Camelion. 4 legs it has & 2 clawes.
dunnish colour ___ long Tayle

[sketch of camelion about to eat a fly]

About y° same bignes of the salamander

4 2 [illegible word] it darts its tong

my hands breadth out of its mouth
to katch flyes

It went backwards & forwards & when

both his sights are fixt on y° Fly, y° fly cannot

stirr.

A True leg of an AEgyptian Woman in

Mumma. y° flesh was

aqueous. Duskish outside, yellow w'hin

& full of hard strings [sketch of mummified leg]

A searecloth goes over all about

one ynch & halfe thick

A Hand also p[er]fect y°
nayles of foot & hands

stand p[er]fect

A Sword Fish his beake like & broad

3 foot long flat like a sword, enters

a bote or barke w'h it.

His daughter does in Migniatura
ye best in Rome

Taught to designe by Andrea Zacchi & others.\(^{696}\)

Paeses con la Penna fatta p[er] Sign' Francesco Castelli pittore\(^{697}\)

*Casa di Sign' Paolo Ruggieri.*\(^{698}\)

Amico familiare del Sign' Gio Angelo.\(^{699}\)

*Nella Sala di suopra.*\(^{700}\)

2 Statues in Calce,\(^ {701}\) one a Copy of ye Venus in Medicis Pallace, standing on a playne square pedestal all of wood colourd stone colour & designd by Sign' Gio: Angelo.

Another of a Fawne\(^ {703}\) [sketch of pedestal] A quadro over ye chimney done by S. Gio An.\(^ {705}\) of..... in love w'h ye Sun __ always looking up. Cupid by her, whipt by Envy:__ a story in Ovid.\(^ {706}\)

2 Paeses of Sig' Gio Angelos\(^ {707}\)

2 Large heads in chiaro oscuro of S. Gio Ang w'h were painted one in S Martin di monte\(^ {708}\)

Another in a quadro sent to Venice\(^ {709}\)

2 Paeses of an Allievo of Mons' Pussino\(^ {710}\)
A Device painted in Oyle by S Geo Ang.

alluding to ye Armes of S'Paolo. 711

[sketch of this painting as described below]

The scroll whereon are ye words,
ye lower end painted as if hanging
downe over ye guilt frame

The Crescent making reflection

in ye water. 712

Scabelli 713 of S. Gio. Ang designing

painted & guilt. A [sketch of scabelli]

in a Scroll A. is painted
de Ruggerys. 714

[fol. 67 recto, numbered 120:]

In his chamber. 715

A designe of S' George & ye Dragon & lady upon

Carta peccora done w'h a pen, by Cimabue

very rare 716

A small quadro in Oyle of Sig' Gio Angelo. A beare

insulting over a man. a woman by,

most fine & sweet. 717

A large quadro in Oyle of Shelves of bookes.

Prohibiti. by S. Gio Angelo. 718
A frame to draw pictures bigger than the original designe by.

Scrues in every corner whereby it moves.

An yron is riveted into one & ye scrus goes through ye other, an yron fastens ye scru so that it may be pulld a perrts [i.e. apart?].

[sketch of frame by which is written: holes and underneath is written the following description:]

A quadro just square
holes at equal distance

A Balsam that was given by a Sicilan ye Recipo it has in it all ye ingredients w'h make Treacle & Vipers etc.

It curb one bitt w'h a Tarantula who began be gangrened & loose the use of his limbs in a moment.

Also a boy that had a Cart run over him
That surgeon sayes if a p[ar]ty wounded lives 24 hours Tis ye surgeons fault if he dyes.
By such balsom that Surgeon restord a woman
who had ye privy parts eat up w'h a Canker
3 drops into his mouth
his body ointed? [i.e., anointed?]

[a line connects this last passage to the account of a man bitten by a tarantula above]720

[fol. 67 verso, unnumbered:]
Della Complessione e disposizione delli
Quattro humori degli huomini.

p[ar]. Sign' Finelli. Astrologo Napolitano721

Del Colerico

Il colerico e di complessione calda, e secca _
attribuita all Triplicata ignea, che pero
sara di Capo picciolo, e rotonda con Capelli
arriciati, ch'haverranno assai del arficcio
e di color croceo.
La fronte rotonda. Le ciglie rare.
Gli ochij concavi di colore indifferente con
poca lucidizza.
La Faccia havera del magro lunga piu
che tonda, sbianchita di colore e rosso
ch'havera sara tra' il giallo e rosso._
Il Nero havera del grande, con li busei
assai aperti.
L'orecchie sottili di cartellagine
La Bocca grande.
Le Labra sbianchite, e sottile
Li Denti piccioli, e tortuosi
La lingua sottile, e bianca.
La Voce grande, il riso immoderato
Il mento corto.
La barba indifferente e di mala Composizione
Il collo pieno di nervi
Le braccia corte
Le Mani correspondente alla braccia
Il petto grande
Le Coste moderato
Il ventre grande con peli di suopra

[fol. 68 recto, numbered 122:]  
Le spalle burne
La Schiena grande
Le Reni dritti
Li lumbi larghi
Le coscie nervose
Le Ginocchia piccole
Le gambe sottili e moderato
Le piedi mediocri
Li calcagni piccoli
Li passi veloci.
La Statura disposta, e di bella apparenza.

Del Sanguigno

La composizione del sanguigno, e calda _
ed humida e s'attribuisce alla Triplicita aerea

Il suo capo sara proportionato, ne picciolo ne grande
Li capelli piani & haveranno piu del sottili, che del grosso.

Il colore andra al Biondo
La fronte bella, e spatiosa, & assai del quadrato.
Le ciglia bene adorne di peli con poco distanza sul principio del naso.

Gli occhi allegri, lucidi, e di color ceruleo.
La Faccia bella di color venusto
Il naso sottile nel principio della
fronte, e rotondo nel principio di basso.

[fol. 68 verso, unnumbered:]

Le orecchie mediocre, e colorite
La Bocca ne picciola ne grande,
ma, moderata.

Le labra colorite ed aliquando grosso.
Li Denti grande, e particolarmente
quelli Davanti.

La Lingua humida, e colorita.

La Voce Sonora, e chiara.

Il riso pareo con modestia, e per lo
piu sara nella bocca.

Il mento elevato, & un poco, gran
detto.

La barba honestamente folta, e di
bella compositione.

Il collo formato, e compesontamente
grosso.

Le braccia ne lunghe, ne corte,
ma guiste.

Le mani mediocre, e candide.

L'unghie colorite _

Il petto grande

Le coste grande
Il ventre mediocre, ne picciolo ne grande.
Le spalle larghi, e di bellissima apparenza.
La Schiena mediocre ma forte.
Le Reni larghi e con peli.
Li lumbi piani.
Le cosine moderate, con osso grosso.
Le ginocchia ne grande ne picciole

Le gambe proporcionamente piene
Le piedi disposi in conformita delle gambe.

Del Maliconico.
Le compositione del maliconico, e fredda e secca s'attibuisce alla Triplicita Terrea.
Tiene? il capo lungo.
Le capelli neri, e di fattezza assai aspri.
La fronte alta, di Tripenedenza obliqua
Le ciglia lunghe, e gionte
Gli occhi colore Bianco macchioso & haveranno del Caprino, e del grande.
La faccia sottile, e palida, e maci-tente.
Il naso corto, & li busei piccioli
L'orecchie grande e grosse.
La bocca picciola, e sconcia
Li labra grande, e che facilamente calino giu.
Li Denti piccioli, corte, e tortuosì
La lingua grossa, e nera
La voce suffogata, e dissonante
Il riso sbandito dalle sua bocca.

[fol. 69 verso, unnumbered:]
Il mento grande con una valle nel mezzo.
La barba rara, e nera.
Il collo sottile.
Le braccia lunghe, e gracile.
Le mani sottili.
L'unghe corte, e tinte di pallide rea.?
Il petto stretto con pochi peli.
Le coste enfiate.
Il ventre scacciato in dentro.
Le spalle sottili, & strette.
La schiena picciola
Le Reni deboli
Li lumbi elevati ed alti
Le Coscie lunghe, e deboli.
Le ginocchia larghi
Le gambe sottili, e sproporzionate.
Le piedi lunghi e grandi
Li passi tardi.
La Statura piu lunga che corta
ma di brutta forma.
Del Flemmatico.
Fredda et humida, e la compositione del flemmatico, s'attribuisce
alla Triplicita Aquea, e le sue membri sono formate in questa forma.
Il capo grande
Li capelli assai folte, ma di fattezza
grossi e molli.

[fol. 70 recto, numbered 126:]
La fronte assai alta, e forza quadratura.
Le Ciglia che marchino, nel pricipio
del naso.
Gli occhi grandi, e la lucidezza ma-
chiosa.
La faccia carnosa, e di color piom-
bino.
Il naso lungo col busci aperti.
L'orecchie grosse e grande.
La Bocca grosse e remersati in fora.
Li Denti lunghi e rari.
La lingua moderatamente grossa
La Voce flebile & aspra.
Il riso non al spesso
Il mento largo.
La barba folto?, e di non p[er]fetto
colore cio è ne nero, ne bianco
ne castagno.
Il collo alto, e grosso, e gonfio
Le braccia lunghi, e sproporzionate. [Le crossed out]
Le Mani lunghi, molle, e senza peli
L'Vnghie grandi et aliquanto pallido.
Il petto picciolo con pochi peli
Le Coste sottili.
Il ventre elevato, con poca Rotundita.
Le spalle moderato, ne grande ne piccioleta.
Le Schiena larga, ma debole
Le Reni deboli, e pregati
Le lumbi carnosi. ___
[fol. 70 verso, unnumbered:]
Li coscia assai piene di carne
Le ginocchia gonfie, e grosse.
Le gambe piene, e carnose.
Li Piedi moderatamente grande.
Le canighie sottili.
Li calcagni grossi, e tondi.
Li passi scomposti, hor qua, hor la, etc.
La Statura, piu tosto grande
che picciola. ____
Vide Aristoteles.\textsuperscript{722}

\[\text{[fol. 70 verso, unnumbered (continued):]}\]

Of ye Manner how a Nun is Vested
Sunday 4 July\textsuperscript{723} aft[er] Evensong a Nun was professt
The church at Campo Marzo\textsuperscript{724} was hangd w'h
Red & yellow Taffeta & y\textsuperscript{e} Roofe coverd also w'h
y\textsuperscript{e} same, & Great Vessels of Silver above.
A Palco for y\textsuperscript{e} Musitians.\textsuperscript{725}
The Church full of ladys of great quality\textsuperscript{726}
2 Swisse to y\textsuperscript{e} keep y\textsuperscript{e} Dore,\textsuperscript{727}
And while y\textsuperscript{e} Cardinal\textsuperscript{728} who sate by y\textsuperscript{e} Altar
in his surplis & pall, & Red cap. exciding?
Devesting y\textsuperscript{e} young Nun, kneeling afore
him in her richest attire her guard In fronte?
was in Diameter. y\textsuperscript{e} length of my taffeta
cloake & Cape - Her habit of benediction
being putt on & a Crowne upon her head
& y\textsuperscript{e} ladys being all regald in the Church
in that mentre? w'h excellent wyne.
The Nun came out y\textsuperscript{e} Cardinal followd
her w'h a wooden crosse in her hand
she went towards y\textsuperscript{e} Cloister

[fol. 71 recto, numbered 124:]
The dore was opend \& in 2 Rowes were
all y\textsuperscript{e} Nuns w\textsuperscript{h} each a white wax light.
At further end was an Altar.
She stopd halfe aq\textsuperscript{i}[quarter?] of an houre at the dore
while ye Nuns w\textsuperscript{h}in sang, \& then she
was receivd in by y\textsuperscript{e} Abbess etc. \& [2 crossed out]
clad like Angels.
The chiefe Ladyes all followd her In.
but not a man went in.

This is calld La Vestitione being
their first entrance into ye Mon:[][astery]
After a yeare she has liberty to
p[er]sue, \& stay or leave off,
if she stayes she has another publique
Ceremony \& that is calld.
La Professione

[fol. 71 verso, unnumbered:]
Dello Seminario Romano\textsuperscript{729}
Sunday afternoone y\textsuperscript{e} Great Hall was p[re]pard
w\textsuperscript{h} seates. In came 4 Cardinals.\textsuperscript{730}
then began y\textsuperscript{e} choicest musique of Rome
The first ayre ended went up a youth
vestito di lungo w'h a Jesuite Cap &
[made crossed out] repeated a latine oration touching
the Saluto etc. A Jesuite stood by & prompted
him, so 2 more, & betw[een]: each was
musique\textsuperscript{731}

But at the beginning of all these 3 lads\textsuperscript{732}
caryed in sotto Coppas [i.e. saucers] nosegayes &
p[re]sented them to y\textsuperscript{e} Cardinals & monsign\textsuperscript{rs}.

etc. After y\textsuperscript{e} Orations were ended these
3 came all & courted y\textsuperscript{e} Cardinals.

A large Roome by is full of Beds
w'h yron posts each one a bed

very neat\textsuperscript{733}

At ye entreing in was a picture of Pius 4\textsuperscript{734}
sitting w'h y\textsuperscript{e} Cardinals & here he first
made y\textsuperscript{e} Jesuites Rectors of y\textsuperscript{e} Seminaryes

Another picture of y\textsuperscript{e} Council of Trent\textsuperscript{735}
that those Seminaryes were created\textsuperscript{736} So?

being written over y\textsuperscript{e} picture

\[fol. \, 72 \text{ recto}, \text{numbered 130:} \]
Comencing D[octo]r Col[eggio]: Romano

The printing of his [3 above the caret] bookes y\textsuperscript{e} musick & ye rest in all at least one of 
y\textsuperscript{e} Jes[uits]: told me 400 or 450 [505 crossed out] Cr[ownes] it would Cost y\textsuperscript{e} young Comoner. But he was y\textsuperscript{e} most extold that ever of all people I saw 

[fol. 72 verso, unnumbered:] The Ceremony of Comencing Doctor in Collegio Romano D[octo]\textsuperscript{l} of Philosophy

In the Great large Roome over w\textsuperscript{h} is written y\textsuperscript{e} Classis & Casuistry

At the upp[er] end is painted Pope Greg[ory]: 13 & his Cardinals in Pontfics th[ere]by?. The Seminary or Students of the Roman College kneele afore him to kiss his foot. He was y\textsuperscript{e} founder of this College.

The Company & the Cardinals being come. 10 Cardinals & 30 or 40 B[i sho]ps Prelates & Monsign\textsuperscript{rs} besides Fathers & D[octo]rs many.
The young Schollar aged about 22 or 23
repeated certayne positions after ye
4 Palcos of musick had sounded
the beginning.
Vpon him Disputed 4 Jesuites
grave D[octo]'s & famous schollars. 741
when ye little bell sounded after his
answers the dispute was ended.
The Dispute being ended & Fresh musick
& at ye beginning of all 2 Schollars
having p[re]sented nosegays to the
Cardinals etc. Also to each p[er]tayne
bookes.
Then the p[re]fect of the Jesuites
[fol. 73 recto, numbered 132:] made a most grave latine Speech
in comendacon of the young man.
calld him out.
But afore that were c[er]tayne pap[er]s given
to each D[octo]' of the Jesuites. Si.O N O
each 2 pap[er]s. & one of them each
putt back into a bason, the pap[er]s
were rold up.
The Prefect of the College 742 lookt over
y^e pap[er]s. And told a young schollar
by what to say he w'h a loud
voice cryd. [:]
Concessa est? ne? penitus
penitus penitus penitus q[vem] contra
dicento
Then y^e old Prefect made a latine
exellent speech al laitine? in Comendat[ion]
of y^e lad & hal[e?]d him to him
He came kneeld downe & tooke y^e Oath
Then y^e Musick ended
He putt a Cap on his head w'h ?
speech? [i.e. writing?] upon the Cap
Then a ring of Gold telling him the first
Ring that Prometheus made was
of Iron. Then sett him in the Chaire
after he had saluted all y^e D[octo]^f Jesuites
by.
Then after a speech to Card[inal]: Raggi the
patrone of the College\textsuperscript{743}
The D[octo]^f was mounted in the Chayre &
expounded a sentence out of Aristotle & exploynd
upon it Then Another young Schollar made
a speech. The muscon [musician?] sang Viva.
The manner of ye Cavalcade
w'h ye Embassado'r of Spayne makes On ye Eve of S. Peters
day. June.

The out Gate of ye Palace being adornd
w'h greene garlands e as at feasts
over Church dores.

In ye piazza afore his Palace was a fountayne of Lacrimae
Wyne w'h ran allmost all the
afternoon, spouting out aloft &
falling into basons w'h were dis-
tributed by people w'hin the scaffold
on purpose w'h were bene [e]mbricantes

Also a fyre worke ready p[re]pard for
ye evening composd of a Rock
whereon was Running Deare
Dogs & hunters, every of w'h
were full of fire.

All ye Princes & Gents of qua-
ity Italians & Spanyards.
came into ye Embassadors p[re]sance\textsuperscript{751}
being met at ye Dore by His M[aste]\textsuperscript{7} of Ceremonyes who is M[aste]\textsuperscript{7} of His house & p[re]sented to him.\textsuperscript{752}
First Rode ye Popes guard
of Caval Legiers about 100.\textsuperscript{753}
Then Some Spanyards.
Preists or gent vestiti di longo, all in Stockings.
Then ye\textsuperscript{7} Master of his Cancel-rizza\textsuperscript{754}

\textit{[fol. 74 recto, numbered 134:]} Then Spanyards & Italians in no Regular order
Then a knot of Italians all Gents of quality.
After very many were passt one a Gent of the Embassadors having a Red Sattan bag wherein was the Centi Scudi.\textsuperscript{755} To be p[re]sented the Pope\textsuperscript{756}
Then the Hackney, a little choyce white nag well & richly sadled & trapt\textsuperscript{757}
having a bunch of feathers at
his rump ___ made of Silver
w'h yᵉ Popes Armes engravd
on them
Then a Multitude of his Pages
bareheaded afore & behind
yᵉ Embassy 759
Then himselfe on horseback
w'h stockings, a Great White
feather.
Then a foot Guard
His Gold coach, all yᵉ wheeles
& all guilt, w'hin of Cloth of
gold.
Then His Silver Coach 760 _____

[fol. 74 verso, unnumbered:]

Then Divers p[erson]s in their Violet &
greene halbards. Prelates in
black & Monsig's in Violet
2 & 2 on horseback.
This passt up yᵉ Corso to S Marco
then to S't Peters where in the Sala
[Regia deleted: Church above] 762 yᵉ Pope sitting in Pontificalls
wh his Triplo Cr[own]\textsuperscript{763} on receives his Rent of C[ento] Scudi 
& this Hacquenes as of the King of Spayne Rent for the Kingdom of Naples \textsuperscript{764}

\textit{[fol. 75 recto, numbered 136: ]}

Palazzo di Card: Sachetti\textsuperscript{765}
nella Strada Giulia.\textsuperscript{766}

In a large Gallery are Arches not carved in [w'h crossed out] upon the wall, but painted w'hin like Niches & Chiaro Oscuro of [a] Statue, which showes well.\textsuperscript{767}

\_

Divers marble heads & bodyes.\textsuperscript{768}

\_

In the Anti Camera

A large Quadro in oyle of the Rape of y\textdegree e Sabynes Done by Pietro Cortona\textsuperscript{769}
y\textdegree e women in Aprons & the Soldyers habit not antique.

16 foot long\textsuperscript{770}

\_

An Allievo of his\textsuperscript{771} has made a large Quadro of a story of Jacob & Esau\textsuperscript{772}

& Copyd L Incendio del Borgo in
Also Cortona's copy of La Galatea di Raphaele

A large Quadro in an Inner Roome of a young lady to be Sacrificed

Ye Story in Guarino

The Hall has much in Fresco della mano di Salviati

Here among ye Rest are Quadros of Guercin da Cento.


A large Cutt in wood of Titians of Moses having led ye Children of Israel through ye red sea.

A long & large Roman Triumph cutt in wood designd by Mantegno not above 30 (50) pieces printed & ye original lost.

Divers designes a Mano in Ynke w'ha a Pen of Perin Del Vago's as seates chayres etc.
3 hands done from his owne left hand as
big as ye life in ynke on white pap[er] by
M. Angelo w[ho] he prizes at 10 pistolls
in one pap[er].

Divers Paeses done w'h a Pen by Titian )
) the same manner as is his prints free.

Divers of Correggio boyes & Vessels of
ye Church, shadowd on browne pap[er]
w'h great Relievo.

Divers of Raphaels w'h his owne hand
One is Lapis Rosso as the story is the D[octo] of the Church painted ag' ye Schoole of
Athens & written what colo' ye garments
he intended should be on.

Divers of Giulio Romano's

A Crucifixos big as ye life on blew pap[er] by
Annibal Caraccio.

Tis p[ro]bable they were done by one C.....
who was Titians Schollar & did Paeses
well in imitation of Titian.  

[The above is written opposite the "Divers Paeses...by Titian"
passage on fol. 75 verso, unnumbered]

[fol. 76 verso blank]

[fol. 77 recto, numbered 139:]

[137 and 140 crossed out]

Casa del Sign'. Pic[g above]ini.

piazza Farnese.  

A busto of an antient Statue where y[e]

Garm[e] for sweetnes & softnes is much

admyred.  

Above in the first hall are some Statues

But in the Anti Camera is a most

famous statue of Adonis as comonly

calld, but a bore head being by him

Tis rather of Meleager.  

Mich. Angelo was employed to restore the

left wrist & hand, he began it & was

toward the p[er]fecting & finishing But

Saw y[e] original so p[er]fect that he threw

his hand away __ see Lamazzo

upon this. p.288.  

Measurd the p[ar]ts.  

The thigh is [not above] of the same length as is
the leg to yᵉ foot bone yᵉ leg is 2 fin
	
gers
	more

Neck, halfe the length of the face. ________

Arme from yᵉ bone to the Elbow

is ______

yᵉ breadth of halfe yᵉ shoulder from yᵉ ridge

of back to yᵉ arme bone is yᵉ breadth

of both his buttocks, but not from

hipp bone to hip bone, onely the

fleshy p[ar]t.

A man is [5 faces crossed out] [10 faces above] in breadth also

2 yᵉ breast. & 4 each arme whereof

yᵉ hands makes one. S. Gio Ang

itm

from yᵉ lower bone of the

wrist ___

[fol. 77 verso, unnumbered:]

This Statue of Meleager or Adonis

is [yᵉ crossed out in above] length or in piombo. Ten

faces, & his foot is just yᵉ length

of [one crossed out] yᵉ face _ 5 faces to yᵉ

crotch & 5 above _

[fol. 78 recto, numbered 141:]

The Statue of Venus there
from ye top of the nose to ye Ears
is as much as from the ey brow
to ye bottome of ye Chin
The breadth of the hand by the finger
is ye breadth of ye foot by the
Toes.
The length of the hand from ye
bone w'hin side is ye length of ye
face ____
The face divided into 3 square
p[ar]ts.

To make Sirrop of Ale
w'h is excellent fo ye stomack & good
to cleere it.
Take a Gallon of the best & prime
wort of Ale. boyle in a gentle
fire till it consumes to a little
quantity & it becomes cleer as amb[er]
& Ropes like Sirrop.

M' Hodglon
whome it curd of a desease that
brought him very low.798
Chiesa S. Martini in Montibus.  

A long Square White marble stone almost 4 of my Cubits long & about 2 broad.

[On the rest of this folio, and on folios 80r, numbered 145, and 80v, unnumbered, Symonds copied the Latin inscription on the stone described above]

2 last words are at y\(^e\) bottom of the stone lesse th[a]n the former & are colourd not cutt in -  

Going up the Hill from Madonna de Monte to S Pietro in Vincola Over a Garden dore is a bass Relievo of 2 heads.

indifferent antient.

Upon a house by the Stufa secca going from Strada della Croce to Strada di Condotto is a Bass Relievo a foot long of one bearing a Sheep on his sholders
In ye Corso on ye left hand just afore

you come to Piazza Colonna from

Porta Portugaloiia is o’ Savio’s head

full face lesse: 2 lights, old

[Casa del Sig’ Bon Compagna appresso S Andrea della

Valle _

Ritratto di Guido fatto di se

w’h a hatt on _

Paradiso di Domenichino

2 foot high. Adam & Eve

covered about the middle

w’h fig leaves: G ye father

& divers angels in the ayre.

[sketch of the subject described above annotated at the appropriate places with:] G. & Angels, Serpent colour of black

yellow, lamb, Lyon.

[old woman side face by

Baglione

2 Paese di Gaspare

a Ritratto of Andrea Casati]
A Standard of SS' Francis
by Guido rare

A large quadro in oyle of Susanna
& ye 2 elders. by Dominichino

A crucifix & ye 2 Virgins by Guido

divers SS' heads done by Guido

This place has more of Guido than any other in Rome

Guido Reni in faces for ayr of angels & Virgins & puttini exelld all others _ S. G A

Those Angels at Trinita di Pellegrini w'h what modesty and sweetness they write on ye Trinity.

[fol. 82 verso, unnumbered:]

A large quadro of Judith & all ye young women at worke about her, in a upp[er] roome. by Guido

a quadro of Guercino da Cento SS Peter weeping afore ye Virgin al naturale mezzi figurii
2 large quadros of Mutiano. one of
2 Angels, another of St Gerome &
another. something of that in S Peters.

At the end of ye Roome or gallery where the pictures are, is a Tarras walke coverd w'h vynes at the end upon the wall in Fresco is a statue of a wom an, either flora or Ceres _ & a paese behind her as in a garden

The Roofe of the gallery where these pictures are, is ovall or archwise [is crossed out] and a story of the gods painted in it, Rayles finti supported by 4 statues that sitt downe __ not rare

[fol. 83 recto, numbered 152:]

Coming in at ye dore, upon the wall of the Court was in Fresco painted buildings & over a fountayne in ye middle was a paese of a River that seemed to run into that fountayne
2 paires of staires on each side that had prospects also painted & longitanus

[sketch of the fresco described above] \(^{822}\)

[fol. 84 recto, numbered 154:]

Studio di Sig[.] Leonardo Agostini \(^{823}\)

strada della Madonna di Con-

stinopoli \(^{824}\)

cheifely excellent in medaglie e gioie \(^{825}\)

Massimissa Re d'Egitto in amatista, upon his headpeice divers figures of horses a woman & a dog, sayes he the sun of his life \(^{826}\)

S G A \(^{827}\) believes it to be Sardanapalus \(^{828}\)

Lucretia Romana. / \(^{829}\) Dido \(^{830}\), Semiramis \(^{831}\)

An antient Sacrifice of women & a man, naked, & by the altar is a Pillar on w'h is [sketch of phallic symbol] a Priapus \(^{832}\)

Antenooe's head in Corniola.

a rare intaglia, in Greeke letters is his name favorite to Ardian Emp:

____ cutt very deepe ______ \(^{833}\)

Three Graces at length in a very little stone \(^{834}\)

Galba in Agata Varia \(^{835}\) )all very
Tiberio in Cameo.\textsuperscript{836} \textsuperscript{836}large intaglie

Ceasar Aug: in Calcedonio grande\textsuperscript{837} \textsuperscript{837}pieces each

Britanniico in Cameo.\textsuperscript{838} \textsuperscript{838}

\textsuperscript{60 o 70} \textsuperscript{839}Cr.

Divers broken pieces large w\textsuperscript{th} y\textsuperscript{e} Ea: of Arun

would have bought.\textsuperscript{840}

\textbf{[fol. 84 verso, unnumbered: ]}

Medaglie.

9 pieces of brasse not so broad as a groat

w\textsuperscript{th} are Aretinos postures, having

behind each y\textsuperscript{e} numb. 1. 11. 111\textsuperscript{841}\textsuperscript{841} y

\textsuperscript{6 or 7 in Gold _}

one in brasse an antient sacrifice\textsuperscript{842}

\textsuperscript{ ____}

Sculture.

A boyes head of Parian marble\textsuperscript{843} esteemd

rare and admirable for haire

& softness y\textsuperscript{e} nose & chin? is broken

\textbf{[fol. 85 recto, numbered 156: ]}

Diversi Camei quelli che escono fuori

il bianco sotto lo scuro: Rilievo.\textsuperscript{844}

He has many very large & fair.

\textit{[sketch of cameo]} Iside in Cameo con sistro in mano\textsuperscript{845}
Nicoli, onyx. he has very many
a blew stone in a black ground
but confesst he never saw a rare cutt
in any of them\(^{846}\)

[fol. 85 verso, unnumbered:]

In Casa del Sig' Gibbo a Padova.\(^{847}\)

a fresco

UT IN PACE VIVAS.\(^{848}\)

a padlock in
in her mouth

[sketch of a woman clenching a padlock in her teeth]

PERCVSSVS ELEVOR.\(^{849}\)

Balloon.

[sketch of two baskets? with a balloon floating away]

Non Sic Semper.\(^{850}\)

Calme Sea

[sketch of a ship at sea and a sun portrayed with a face]

Una Salus\(^{851}\)

[sketch of a boar and a sword]

omnibus gratus\(^{852}\)

rising Sun

[sketch of a seascape with a castle in the foreground and a
rising sun on the horizon]

[fol. 86 recto, numbered 158:]

Libertas sub metii

A Bridle about

his neck

out of the mouth

[sketch of galloping horse]

A Bono malum

a sieve

[sketch of sieve with sifting earth or gravel]

[fols. 86 verso and 87 recto numbered 156, are blank]

[fol. 87 verso, unnumbered:]

Fare una Stufa Secca

According to the patterne of

M'R A. at Padova

Almost 5 foot high of Deale boards

3 Cubits broad & in that end y' dore

a little above 4 Cubitts long__

The Top & bottome & sides close boarded [& paperd above]

[y' wall seald for boards, on y' back &

one end crossed out] pasted over all y' chinkes

In the dore was a Glasse window that opend

to receive necessaries _
Another window of one pane of glasse in
the middle of the fostride _

A forme in this of almost 4 Cubits
in length.

In yᵉ corner next yᵉ wall was yᵉ
furnace of this fashion.

[sketch of a furnace with the following description:]

A. The tunnel of the furnace
is 3 span high & 9 ynches in
B. diameter.

C. from yᵉ top to yᵉ depth yˡ
containes of yᵉ water is
about ynches.7.

& is filled wʰ water _

[fol. 88 recto, numbered 162:]

D. Is 2 Spans & halfe in quadro
& is 2 spans in height.

if it be made lower tis hotter, this
containes yᵉ fire, & is coverd wʰ mortar
& bricks wʰin __

E. The furnace wʰ is of lead wʰin
sides, & yᵉ pan is copper is
from yᵉ square /D./ to the Top.
is 3 spans & 3 ynches high.

The fire is putt into ye furnace w'hout side of the wall, & 2 spans & halfe above that fire hole comes out a funnell of brick earth round to convey the smoke away

Twould be compleate to lyne all ye wall w'h boards

In kindling ye fire if it be not dry wood that is cutt small & will light w'h a candle you stifle the person w'hin, halfe an houre afore he goes in, ye fire must be there. Putt in Rosemary & other herbes into the water.

The patient rubs himselfe w'hin being naked w'h spunges.

An houre he stayes w'hin

[Fol. 88 verso, unnumbered:]

F. Tis a wall of brick w'h is 4 ynches thick to be betweene the boards & ye furnace to keep the
boards from burning [no boards there at all above]

[or more secondo interlined]

After having sweett an houre

a cloak is throwne over him

& he runs into his bed __

sweating some twice a day some once

a day, some halfe an houre at

a time.

The boards at bottome are 4 ynches above y€ flore ___

[fol. 89 recto numbered 164:]

The forme of it without side

[sketch of a shed closely resembling a modern sauna with the following description:]

wall

ag[ains]t w'h is

the furnace

w'hin

[fol. 89 verso, unnumbered:]

[sketch of backview of a man or boy wearing a pointed hat with insects crawling on it. On the brim is written:]

Maestro di sere garie

Last Friday of March 1651. upon an asse
whipt all ye grand streetes of rome

a round glasse at his breast which

showes he usd to shew pictures

in that glasse

---

[fol. 90 recto, numbered 166, blank]

[fol. 90 verso, unnumbered:]

Guidicio di M. Angelo by ye Minerva

Giorgius Mantovanus fecit

Vincenzo Cenci le stampa. [sketch of a shield]

[illegible word] 12 Jul:[ios]

[illegible word] gave 6 or 7 in ye frame

plat

---

4 round pieces of Arco Costan

---

Alexandro Rossi Pedimontani

Colours & divers pretty things. 1 Jul[io]: at Venice

---

Antiquae Vrbis splendor Jacobi Lauri

Romani 1612 The cutts of old Rome

a Pistoll bound up in volume

---

Angelos Judgm Pater

Ant: Salamanca Exc: 1548
7 or 8) N. D. La Casa F. 865

) Julios) Gio: Batt: Rossi in Piazza Navona 866

Il Padoano 867 neat cutt heads of Card:

& others an art he would not show his son 868

Letters di Visdomini. In Venetia 1640 869

Priapus. 870
1. This note refers to the (now lost) painted inscription on the cope of St. Nicholas kneeling before the Trinity in G. A. Canini's *The Holy Trinity with Sts. Bartholomew and Nicholas of Bari*, still in San Martino ai Monti, and no doubt a painting of importance for Symonds. For a description of the church and its decorations, see Sutherland, 1964, I, pp. 58-69, II, pp. 115-17. Sutherland writes that 'Presumably it (the Holy Trinity) was finished before July 1644, as no payments for it appear in the earliest of the surviving account books' (Sutherland, 1964, I, p. 62); the painted inscription on the cope recorded by Symonds indicates that it was finished in 1631. Symonds referred to San Martino in four different passages; in B.L. Harley MS 942 his notes describe the 'Under Grounde' and include a sketch and description of a mosaioke no longer there of 'Pope Sylvester praying to ye V. M.', see B.L. Harley MS 942, fols. 10v - 11v; in B.L. MS Add. 17919, fol. 77v he referred to 'us' (almost certainly his companion was Canini) being shown the mitre and crown of Pope Silvester and other 'curiosities' by the 'Prior of the Carmelites.' This would have been Giovanni Antonio Filippini who was responsible for the restoration and redecoration of San Martino (see note 2 below) and who would have been known to Canini through the commission for the *Holy Trinity* (if completed in 1631, it was earlier than other paintings in the church), and a second altarpiece, *The Martydom of St. Stephen*, still in San Martino (Sutherland, 1964, I, pp. 58, 62). Symonds's second reference to the church on fols. 79r - 79v, is mainly concerned with his copy of the inscription on a stone in the crypt, see below. Canini's *Holy Trinity* is the only painting that Symonds recorded in all his references to San Martino, he failed to note seven other altarpieces (including the second one by Canini and one by Pietro Testa) and the numerous frescoes, including landscapes by Gaspard Dughet and Giovanni Francesco Grimaldi. Although these paintings were probably not all completed at the time of Symonds's visit, the greater part were painted in the late 1640s (Sutherland, 1964, I, pp. 63-9). It is strange that Symonds did not comment on these landscapes, a genre of painting that he appreciated; in particular, that he did not record Gaspard's paintings which are in a 'style closely based on Nicolas Poussin's work of the 1630s' (Sutherland, 1964, I, p. 66); furthermore, he was later to buy landscape etchings by Grimaldi, see Ogden and Ogden, pp. 54, 68, notes 173-70. Fols. 1v - 3r have been used for rough jottings and many words are illegible; in places the paper is worn away.

2. The Carmelite church of SS. Silvestro e Martino ai Monti. The church, founded by Pope Sylvester near the Baths of Domitian in 314-34 A.D., was restored and dedicated to SS. Sylvester and Martin by Pope Symmachus from 498-514. Pope Sergius II, finding it in ruinous condition, reconstructed the church in entirety from 844-847 A.D., see Titi, p. 153; Krautheimer, III, pp. 86-124. Symonds would have seen the church in the process of restoration by
Prior Giovanni Antonio Filippini which took place from 1642-1655. The apse was completely restored in the eighteenth century, see Sutherland, 1964, 1, p. 58 and note 11.

3. This note may have been inserted with reference to a painting in another location than San Martino, it is partially illegible and is written in a different colour ink to that used on the rest of the folio. 'Rafaele Bolognese' may refer to Raffaello Vanni (born 1595) who was at one time a pupil of Guido Reni. For Vanni, see Negro in Rome, 1997, pp. 235-44.

4. If this passage concerns Vanni (see note 3 above), he painted numerous altarpieces for Roman churches (although not for any church dedicated to San Paolo ['Sta Pa:']), but it is probable that at least one of his altarpieces depicted a 'Madonna.'

5. This passage concerns Sergius II, the one hundred and fifth pope; for his life, see Dizionario di Erudizione: Storico-Ecclesiastica, G. Moroni ed., Venice, 1853, LXIV, pp. 178-79.

6. Sergius II ordained that whoever confessed in this church was granted an indulgence (this information was given to the writer by a priest who was conducting a party of visitors around the church and later took part in a service for them). On the portal of the church is inscribed in stone 'Indulgentia plenaria Quotidiana perpetua pro vivis et Defuntis.'

7. Although several editions of Robert Bellarmine's Tract of Indulgencies (a huge book with hundreds of pages) have been consulted, no reference to Sergius or San Martino on 'p.145' has been found. Robert Bellarmine (1542-1621) was a saint, a cardinal, Archbishop of Capua, and one of the most conspicuous theologians of the Counter-Reformation. He was spiritual director of the Collegio Romano and wrote more than thirty works, see Spreti, VI, pp. 548-49. This passage in Latin (that Symonds probably copied) has not been traced.

8. This folio appears to have been used for rough notes regarding various people and possessions; most of the books referred to have not been identified.

9. Probably Totti, 1638, which Symonds referred to on several occasions, for example, when visiting Palazzo Mazzerino, see Appendix I, fol. 56v.

10. Edward Sparke's Scintilla Altaris or a pious reflection on primitive devotion, as to the feasts and fasts of the Christian Church..., London, 1652 (Symonds wrote 'ye Church of England' as opposed to 'the Christian Church'). As the date of publication was the year after Symonds left Italy, he evidently made notes in Egerton MS 1635 after his return to England. The almost
illegible Greek lettering immediately above may be 'Scintilla Altaris' in Greek.

11. See Chapter 4 above.

12. For the reconstructed 1611-14 plan of the piano terreno, see Plan 1. Symonds's tour of the palace probably started by looking at the elliptical staircase (S5); the unusual shape obviously intrigued him and these notes and the sketch were evidently done 'on the spot'. The '2 pillars that stand togeather' are placed at close intervals to each other and form a central shaft for the stairs to wind around making only an approximate measurement of the 'crosse diameter' possible, see Hibbard, 1962, p. 50; and notes 11 above and 13, 17, below.

13. This note was inserted after the description of the elliptical staircase.

14. *Paul V*, c. 1618, now in the Galleria Borghese. This bust is surprisingly small compared to Bernini's later works, see Hibbard, 1965, pp. 30-31. At the time of Symonds's visit, very little sculpture remained in Palazzo Borghese, see Hibbard, 1962, p. 74.

15. *Galba*. A painting recorded in the '4.ta Stanza' is described as 'di 5 palmi di altezza con un Imperatore dentro con un Idolo che gli porge la corona...'; see Della Pergola, 1964, II, p. 452, no. 186, now 'Non pervenuto.' This was probably a copy made from Titian's *Roman Emperors* commissioned by Federico Gonzaga for his Cabinetto dei Cesari and completed in 1540 which were all destroyed in a fire in 1734. None of the copies listed in Wethey have a Borghese provenance, see Wethey, 1969-1975, III, pp. 235-40. Titian's paintings 'were copied in his own lifetime probably more often than any of his works,' see Hope in London, 1982, p. 190. The 'Idolo' described in the inventory does not appear in the copies of *Galba* (see London, 1982, p. 190, fig. 168) but some of these may have been altered from the originals (or if the painting was not labeled, perhaps Symonds had the wrong emperor). He later recorded 'twelve Cesars copyes of Titian' in Palazzo Farnese, see Appendix I, fol. 17v. As he wrote 'painted Galba' this may indicate that the 'Hercules and Antaes' recorded immediately above (although not identified) was a sculpture.

16. *Diana with Nymphs at Play*, now in the Galleria Borghese, Inv. no.53, see Spear, 1982, Text, pp. 192-94, no. 52; Della Pergola, 1955-59, I, pp. 28-29, no.31. The painting is recorded in the '2.a Stanza' in 1693 and described as 'del Domenichino con la caccia di Diana' (Della Pergola, 1964, I, p. 223, no. 68). In 1797 it was noted that in '...la principal (dans la seconde chambre) est le célèbre tableau chasse de Diane par le Domiquin,' see Romain, p. 305. As many paintings had been moved to the galleries on the piano terreno in the 1670s, the piano nobile apparently became more noted for its '...suite de chambres magnifiquement décorées de meubles précieux ...'[and] bustes, qui
sont dans le grand salon,' (Romain, p. 312). Symonds may have been informed about Domenichino's painting by Canini or he may have looked at his copy of Baglione's *Vite* in which it is praised: '...in quello del Principe Borghese sta il quadro a olio della Caccia di Diana opera degna dell virtuosa mano di così aggiusto, e valente Pittore' (Baglione, p. 267). See also Gould, 1970b, p. 13, note 10.

17. Although the largest room on the piano nobile, the Salone (C5), is next to the elliptical staircase, it appears that his note refers to the other large room on this floor, C19, on the south-east side of the palace. The ceiling of this room was repainted ca. 1618 with twenty paintings set into newly gilded compartments. For the reconstructed 1611-1614 plan of the piano nobile, see Plan 2 (also Waddy, p.101; and notes 24 and 46 below).

18. *Four mythological scenes*, now in the Galleria Borghese, Inv. nos. 35, 40, 44, 49. See Della Pergola, 1955-59, I, p. 15, nos. 1-4. These 'round' paintings were recorded in the 1693 inventory in the '4.ta Stanza' with very similar descriptions to Symonds's, for example no. 174, '...la Caccia di Diana con una Venere e molti amorini...dell'Albani...' (Della Pergola, 1964, II, pp. 451-53, nos. 174, 191, 202, 221). Recorded in 1797 in the 'chambre qui suit, [i.e., the one after the 'quatrieme chambre'] ressemblant a une galerie' and described as 'quatre ronds de l'Albano,' see Romain, p. 305; and Puglisi, p. 19.

19. Two pictures of this subject are listed in the Galleria Borghese catalogues but neither have a Veronese attribution. It is unlikely to be the one described as being in the manner of Elsheimer (Galleria Borghese, Inv. no.487; Della Pergola, 1955-59, II, p. 163, no. 234), but possibly it is the painting of the subject attributed to Giovan Francesco Guerrieri (Galleria Borghese, Inv. no. 45; Della Pergola, 1955-59, II, p. 94, no. 134). 'Termed as by 'Franciabigio' (Francesco di Cristoforo) in the 1693 inventory but attributed to Guerrieri by Della Pergola (Della Pergola, 1964, I, p. 225, no. 109). Guerrieri took a major part in the 1614-1618 decorations of the palace, see note 24 below.


21. Not identified in the 1693 inventory or Galleria Borghese catalogues. The fact that Symonds wrote 'excellent' indicates that it was a notable painting. Possibly he was commenting on the large painting of *St. John the Baptist* attributed to Bronzino (Agnolo di Cosimo), now in the Galleria Borghese, Inv. no.444, see Della Pergola, 1964, II, p. 462, no. 470.

22. There were several portraits of women attributed to Titian listed in the 1693 inventory which makes identification of this painting difficult; none
remain in the collection. Possibly it was the portrait now in the Galleria Borghese, Inv. no.143, recorded in 1693 in the 5.a Stanza dell'Udienza and described as 'una Donna che tiene un fazzoletto in mano...di Titiano,' see Della Pergola, 1964, II, no. 237 (who attributes it to 'Seguace di Giorgione').

23. Probably the small painting attributed to Annibale in the 1693 inventory, recorded in the 'Terza stanza,' and described as 'un paese dentro con figurine' now 'Non pervenuto,' see Della Pergola, 1964, I, p. 226, no. 147. This was likely to have been the painting later recorded in the 'quatrieme chambre' and described as 'un paysage avec des petites figures, d'Annibal Carreché' (Romain, p. 308).

24. This may refer to the decorations in the room known as the 'sala vecchia' at the front of the palace (C19), one of the rooms on the piano nobile decorated with friezes at the time of the marriage of Marcantonio to Camilla Orsini by Father Cosimo del Castelfranco (Paolo Piazza) and Giovan Francesco Guerrieri and helpers, see Plan 2. Only the friezes in C4, C5, C13, partially C14, and C18, remain from this period, see Fumagalli, pp. 47-68. In 1797 the only decorations referred to on this floor were in the 'premiere anti chambre.' The room was described as being '...ornée de vues faites par Paul Anesi' (Perhaps 'Paul Anesi' = Paolo Piazza?), see Romain, p. 312.

25. Baglione lamented that Piazza had painted: 'a olio sopra le mura in collate, ond'è, che ora tutte si scrostano, di già tanta fatica si perde, e fra poco tempo non ci resterà figura, che se fusse a buon fresco stata condotta, sarebbei mantenta, quanto durerà la fabrica. Et é gran fallo e danno, che tanta opera fatta con grand'amore, e con buona praticca sia permancare in breve' (Baglione, p. 161). Baglione's *Vite* may well have been Symonds's source of information regarding Piazza's inadequacies, see note 30 below.

26. The 'Bilyard Table' was likely to have been in room C18 as well as all the paintings that Symonds noted until he went into the one on the 'corner', C16, see Plan 2; and notes 28-36 below. There is still a billiard room on this floor which now has hunting trophies and prints on the walls (probably C3, the former chapel).

27. Recorded in the 1693 inventory in the '2.a Stanza' and described as: 'un quadro grande con Moisè con quantità di figure...di Luca d'Olanda' now 'Non pervenuto' (Della Pergola, 1964, I, p. 224, no. 86). The painting was still listed in 'la seconde chambre' in 1797 and described as 'un grand tableau de Luc d'Hollande' (Romain, p. 307).

28. Probably the *Holy Family with St. John and St. Anne*, now in the Galleria Borghese, Inv. no. 412, and attributed to Perino - as it was in the 1950s, see Della Pergola, 1955-59, II, pp. 108-09, no. 158. Recorded in the 1693
inventory in the 'Terza Stanza' and described as 'la Vergine, il Bambino e San Giovannino...di Pierin del Vago;' termed as 'Non accertato' by Della Pergola in 1964, see I, p. 227, no. 158.

29. Probably the *Last Supper* attributed to Jacopo Bassano, now in the Galleria Borghese, Inv. no. 144. The painting has been given various attributions including Titian, Schiavone and Jacopo Bassano, see Della Pergola, 1955-59, I, pp. 99-100, no. 174.

30. See Baglione, p. 161; and note 25 above.

31. *Solomon and the Queen of Sheba*, see Plan 2 (C18). Painted by Piazza as part of the decorative 1614-18 programme, see Fumagalli, pp. 52-53, figs. 32-35. Piazza's frieze (now darkened) resembles a stage-set; classical buildings in the background form a backdrop for the 'many persons' and their activities. Opposite Solomon (who stands under a baldacchino) is a concert party; in the Queen's train there are men wearing plumed hats, Turks in turbans and fez, women laden with coffers and precious vessels, dwarves, monkeys, children and dogs.

32. Probably the painting now in the Galleria Borghese, Inv. no. 149, attributed to a follower of Bonifacio De'Pitati. Della Pergola writes 'il Venturi aveva già notato come la figura del S. Giorgio derivasse dalla pala di Castelfranco di Giorgione' (see Della Pergola, 1955-59, I, p. 107, no. 191). Recorded in the 'Terza Stanza' in the 1693 inventory and described as 'Un quadro grande con dentro N.ro Sig.re che scrive in terra alla Donna Adultera... di Titiano' (Della Pergola, 1964, I, p. 225, no. 113).

33. Several *Madonnas* attributed to Titian recorded in the 1693 inventory are now listed as 'Non pervenuto,' for example, two in the '5.a Stanza dell'Udienza' (Della Pergola, 1964, I, nos. 244-45). None remain in the collection. Possibly a *Mater Dolorosa* (unknown location) once in the Borghese collection (not in Borghese inventories) but with a citing by Buchanan (*Memoirs of Painting*, 1824, II, p. 123), see Wethey, 1969-1975, I, p. 117, no. 7.

34. Several *Madonnas* attributed to Raphael were recorded in the 1693 inventory, for example, two in the '5.a Stanza Udienza'. One of these (like the Titian *Madonna* noted by Symonds immediately above, see note 33 above), is now considered 'Non accertato,' the other given as 'Maniera di Giulio Romano' (Della Pergola, 1964, II, pp. 455, 457, nos. 271, 296). No *Madonnas* considered as 'originals' by Titian or Raphael remain in the collection. In 1797 several paintings 'representant la Vierge' were still recorded that were attributed to these artists (Romain, p. 311).

35. Three versions of this painting, all attributed to Raphael, were recorded in
the 1693 inventory and Symonds noted all three, see notes 64 and 71 below. A copy of Raphael's self-portrait attributed to Ridolfo del Ghirlandaio (Della Pergola, 1955-59, II, pp. 49-50, no. 70, Galleria Borghese, Inv. no.399) was recorded in 1693 in the '4.ta Stanza' and described as 'Un Giovane... di Rafaele d'Urbino' (same attribution as above). A painting, listed immediately below and apparently similar, was described in 1693 as '...un Giovane dicono che sia Rafaele... di Rafaele d'Urbino,' now considered a 'Copia di Rafaello' (Della Pergola, 1964, II, p. 453, nos. 227, 228). A third version, recorded in 1693 in the 'Stanza VIII (dell'Udienza dell S.ra Principessa verso il Giardino),' was described as 'una Testa di un Giovane... di Rafael d'Urbino' (not necessarily a self-portrait), see Della Pergola, 1964, III, p. 202, no. 416. One of these may have been the painting listed in the 'quatrième chambre' in 1797 and described as 'Raphael; un portrait de sa première manière' (Romain, p. 308).

36. The room on the corner (C16) from which it is possible to see through the following five rooms, C1-C5, see Plan 2. This room received a frieze painted on canvas by Guerrieri c.1618; the ceilings of this room and adjacent C17 were gilded and fitted with twenty-four wood rosettes (Waddy, p. 101, and Hibbard, 1962, p. 59).

37. The decorations of the rooms C1-C4, and C16 and C18 by Piazza and Guerrieri were almost complete by 1617; C19 by 1618. The decorations in rooms C16 and C1, friezes on canvas by Guerrieri and helpers, were covered over by later decorations in the eighteenth century but traces were partially revealed during restorations in 1991; see Plan 2, and Fumagalli, p. 60.

38. Probably C16 or C1. Marcantonio's main apartment was on the southwest side of the piano nobile, see Plan 2; The quality of the paintings and the furnishings described by Symonds indicate that he was in Marcantonio's bedroom, see Waddy, p. 102; and note 42 below.

39. Possibly the painting listed in 1693 in the '4.ta Stanza' described as 'la Madonna e Bambino di Raffaele d'Urbino,' now considered 'Non accertato' (Della Pergola, 1964, II, p. 455, no. 271); and note 34 above.

40. Not identified, see note 33 above.

41. Probably room C1 or C2, see Plan 2; and note 42 below.

42. Possibly a painting listed in the Galleria Borghese catalogue (Inv. no.373) with various attributions including School of Raphael, Giulio Romano, and School of Giulio Romano, see Della Pergola, 1955-59, II, p. 92, no. 129. There are several Madonnas recorded in the 1693 inventory as by Giulio Romano, for example, one in the 'Prima Stanza', now 'Non pervenuto' (Della Pergola, 1964, I, p. 222, no. 42). Several were recorded in 1797, for example,
in the 'quatrième chambre... 'il y a une tete de Vierge, de Jules Roman' (Romain, p. 307). No Madonnas by Giulio Romano appear to remain in the collection.

43. Fumagalli writes: 'Nel febbraio 1617 il Cappuccino era all'opera in quella (C3) sopra il portone d'ingresso.' These decorations could have had 'Angels abundant,' see Fumagalli, p. 50. Waddy writes that C14 was formerly (i.e., prior to this period) a chapel, that in the new suite towards the Ripetta there was a trapezoidal chapel, C30, and that the public chapel was C3, or a soon-to-be-remodeled C7. As Symonds noted that the Rape of the Sabines was in the 'Next Roome', i.e., C4, it seem likely he was referring to 'Chappel' C3, part of Marcantonio's apartments for which new furnishings were made in 1620, see Waddy, pp. 92, 102; see also Plan 2, and note 45 below.

44. Ecce Homo or Christ Flagellated, now in the Galleria Borghese, Inv. no. 194, attributed to Titian; considered doubtful in 1950s, see Della Pergola, 1955-59, I, p. 132, no. 236. Recorded in the '4.ta Stanza' in the 1693 inventory and described as '...un Cristo ligato don le Mani dietro...di Titiano.' By 1964 it was attributed to Titian, see Della Pergola, 1964, II, p. 451, no. 171.

45. The Rape of the Sabines. Painted by Piazza ca. 1614-16 in C4, see Plan 2; see also Fumagalli, p. 52, figs. 29-31. The frieze, like that of the Queen of Sheba, is now darkened and painted in similar fashion, see note 31 above. A landscape and a battle scene act as a foil for the numerous figures in the foreground in which grey horses rear and cavort; soldiers in armour clasp struggling Sabine women while other couples 'talke quietly.' As mentioned in Chapter Three above, Symonds noted the womens' clothing and the soldiers' armour ('not antique') when he saw Pietro da Cortona's painting of the subject at Palazzo Sachetti; they appear to be similarly dressed in Piazza's fresco but Symonds may not at this time have been informed about Roman armour (see below, fol. 75r). His comment about Paul V (see below, fol. 9v) related to the Sabine womens' revealing dress.

46. The Salone; the largest room on the piano nobile (C5), painted by Piazza as early as 1614 with stories of Mark Anthony and Cleopatra; subjects that celebrated the marriage of the Borghese heir Marcantonio to Camilla (Symonds wrote Camillo rather than Camilla) Orsini in 1619 (the marriage contract had been signed in 1612), see Plan 2; and Waddy, p. 100. The paintings were retouched even before Piazza left Rome in 1618 and entirely repainted in 1767. The beautiful carved ceiling remains and is described by Fumagalli as: 'Di particolare imponenza...dove nei riquadi centrali le armi pontificie e l'aquila e il drago sono alternati a tre stemmi della casata, quello nel mezzo sormontato dall tiara papale e dalle chiave ...di Paolo V...quelli al lati cal cappello cardinalizio e dalla corona principesca, allusivi a Scipione e Marcantonio Borghese' (Fumagalli, p. 52). When writing 'Scipione and Marc
Antonio Symonds may have been noting the carved stemme of Cardinal Scipione and Prince Marcantonio on the ceiling. (The present paintings displayed in this room include some large mythological subjects, small landscapes and turn-of-the-century hunting scenes).

47. *The Judgement of Solomon*, Galleria Borghese Inv. no.33, see Della Pergola, 1955-59, II, pp. 85-86, no. 119. Currently attributed to an anonymous Franco-Flemish artist, known as the 'Master of the Judgement of Solomon' and sometimes identified with Gérard Douffet. Recorded in the '2.a Stanza' in the 1693 inventory where described as a '...Sentenza di Salomone di quelle due Donne del Lanfranchi' (Della Pergola, 1964, I, p. 222, no.50 'Ignoto Caravaggesco'). See Paris, 1974, pp. 52-56, no. 12; and Nicolson, p. 73 (as 'Master of the Judgement of Solomon.') For the relief on the throne, see Spear, 1975, p. 135, no. 47, who identifies it as depicting the death of Pentheus: 'Iconographically it is an eminently suitable parallel, for Pentheus was torn to pieces by a group of women led by his mother.' This is an interesting identification as it is not usual to include mythological stories in Old Testament ones (Spear does not refer to the biblical inscription that is no longer visible).

48. This note presumably refers to the furnishings of the room rather than to *The Judgement of Solomon* (see note 47 above). Possibly Symonds noted the chairs because they were placed so that viewers could sit and study this painting.

49. Probably C8, see Plan 2.

50. See note 42 above.

51. Several paintings of Madonnas are attributed to del Sarto (Andrea d'Agnolo) in the 1693 inventory, for example, immediately before the 'Jul: Romano' noted above (see note 42 above), and in the same room (the Prima Stanza), '...la Madonna, il Bambino e S Anna...di Andrea del Sarto,' now 'Non Pervenuto' (Della Pergola, 1964, I, p. 222, no. 41). Among the paintings attributed to Andrea del Sarto in 1797 were two recorded in the 'chambre d'après (la galerie des miroirs),' 'Une Vierge' and 'Une Sainte famille' (Romain, p. 311). Three paintings attributed to del Sarto (one is considered a copy) representing the *Madonna and Child and St. John* remain in the collection, see Della Pergola, 1955-59, pp. 11-14, nos. 4 (Inv. no. 336), 5 (Inv. no. 334), 7 (copy, Inv. no. 333). The painting that Symonds was recording here may be the smaller of the two that are considered autograph, i.e., Galleria Borghese, Inventory no. 336. See note 75 below.

52. Symonds was unlikely to have returned to room C18, see Plan 2; more likely (when writing up this passage) he was confusing the painting of *The
Judgement of Solomon (note 47 above) with Piazza's Solomon and the Queen of Sheba frescoes, see note 31 above.

53. Not identified in the 1693 inventory or the Galleria Borghese catalogues; possibly it relates to the decorations.

54. This note could apply to two of several rooms (C8-C11) that Piazza decorated with a painting on canvas in the middle of the ceiling and friezes at the top of the walls, see Plan 2; and Fumagalli, p.47.

55. A reference to a painting of the Last Judgement and Christ in Limbo but it is not clear whether this was on canvas or in one of Piazza's friezes.

56. Probably the Madonna, il Bambino e S. Giovannino now in Galleria Borghese, Inv. no. 443, with an uncertain attribution to Marcello Venusti, see Della Pergola, 1955-59, II, pp. 40-41, no. 55. Attributed to Raphael in 1693 (Della Pergola, 1964, II, p. 461, no. 376). Possibly the same painting listed 'aux mezzanines' in 1797 and described as '...une Vierge avec Jésus par Marcel Venusti' (Romain, p. 314). Marcello Venusti (1515-79) was a pupil of Perino del Vaga and as Vasari noted, specialised in copies after Michelangelo.

57. St. Cecilia, now in the Norton Simon Foundation, Pasadena, California, see Pepper, 1984, p. 221, no. 24. Recorded in the 1693 inventory in the '5. a Stanza dell'Udienza' and described as 'S. Cecilia che sona il violino...di Guido Reni' (Della Pergola, 1964, II, p. 454, no. 238); see also note 20 above.

58. Presumably the decorations by Piazza and helpers, see note 37 above.

59. Symonds was remarking on the view from the loggia completed in 1614. This overlooks the hanging garden towards the Tiber and St. Peters, see Plan 2, C31-34. Two masons' documents record the completion of this area right down to the pebbles for the garden noted by Symonds, see Hibbard, 1962, p. 62.

60. The north-east side, see Plan 2, C12-15, C28, C35, C36.

61. The Galleria (C35, called 'Lo Studio' because it had been Cardinal Scipione's study), was decorated with stuccoes in the vaults and at the top of the walls in 1614. At the same time the two rooms C27-28, the Loggia (C31, 33, 34), and the 'new' chapel, (C30), were similarly decorated, see Plan 2. This note appears to have been inserted after Symonds's first reference to the Galleria immediately below, see note 62 below.

62. 'Lo Studio' (C35), one of the rooms still intact with the seventeenth-century decorations including an elaborate cornice with eagles and dragons
(and at the centre of the ceiling, a painting of the *Triumph of the Arts* by Sebastiano Conca painted during the eighteenth century), see Fumagalli, p. 47; Plan 2; and note 46 above.

63. 'Arlotto's Ritratto' probably referred to a portrait of the Florentine priest Arlotto Mainardi, known as 'il Pievano' (= the rector), famous for his epigrams. The 'Rich Cabinet' must have been a very special piece of furniture but it has not been traced.

64. Symonds was not confusing this painting with the portrait of *Raphael as a young man* that he noted earlier in a different wing of the palace. It was another of the two, or possibly three versions, in the collection; he noted another below, see notes 35 above and 71 below.

65. *The Entombment* (also called the *The Deposition*), now in the Galleria Borghese, Inv. no. 369. See Della Pergola, 1955-59, II, pp. 116-20, no. 170. Presented to Scipione Borghese by Paul V. There are three *Depositions* attributed to Raphael in the 1693 inventory, see Della Pergola, 1964, III, pp. 203, 204, 206, nos. 442, 468, 510. Della Pergola considers that no. 442 (recorded in the Stanza VIII...dell'Udienza della S.ra Principessa verso il Giardino), is most likely to be by Raphael, that no.468 (recorded in the same room) is 'Non accertato,' and that no. 510 (recorded in Stanza IX...che segue dov'è il Zampanaro), now 'Non pervenuto,' and described as 'un quadretto,' is probably 'un disegno di Raffaello per la Deposizione.' A version of the painting (presumably the renowned one) was recorded in the 'quatrième chambre' in 1797 and described as 'une Descente de Croix; ouvrage fameux de Raphael; de sa première maniére' (Romain, p. 308). See also Dussler, pp. 23-24.

66. See note 33 above.

67. *Self-Portrait*, Galleria Borghese, Inv. no. 102. According to Della Pergola the first reference to this painting (cited as a copy since 1853) was in the 1700 inventory (Della Pergola, 1955-59, I, p. 134, no. 239). Symonds evidently not only knew that this painting was Titian's portrait, but also that it was available as a print. He later included two versions of a Titian self-portrait amongst the collection of prints he bought to take home with him. He described them as 'His owne Ritratto cutt by Aug. Car; they were an engraved portrait of Titian by Agostino Carracci (Ogden and Ogden, p. 66, no. 113), and an etching of 'His owne Ritrat: and his M'res by Van Dyke' (Ogden and Ogden, p.66, no.114); the latter was an etching of the painting that he was to admire below. See Wood, 1990, pp. 685-89; and note 115 below.

68. *Cardinal Ippolito de'Medici and Mario Bracci*, Inventory no. 20, National Gallery, London. Now attributed to Girolamo da Carpi (ca. 1501-
56), see Gould, 1975, pp. 111-13. Probably the portrait recorded in 1693 in the 'Terza Stanza' and described as 'il Card.le Borgia ed il Macchiavelli...di Raffaele d'Urbino' see (Della Pergola, 1964, p. 226, no. 145). Recorded in the same room (Troisième Chambre) in 1797 when it was considered as one of 'dix tableaux de Titien, dont celui qui tient le premier rang, représente les portraits de Cardinal Borgia et de Machiavell' (Romain, p. 307). Richardson had come to the same attribution earlier in the century and wrote, 'Cardinal Borgia, and Machiavel, said to be of Raffaele, but I think 'tis rather of Titian. Half figures, Big as the Life, standing. Machievel looks the Cardinal stedfastly in the Face' (Richardson, p. 183). See also Chaney, 1985, p. 198. It is a pity that Symonds did not go even further in his accurate identification by noticing that the other sitter was not Machiavaelli, but Monsignor Mario Bracci, identified in the painting by his name below his left hand on the same document.

69. Recently given the identification Martin Luther, now in Galleria Borghese, Inv. no. 396. Luther was not among the several suggestions in the earlier Galleria Borghese catalogues as the subject of Antonello's portrait. The painting is recorded in the 1682 inventory of Olimpia Aldobrandini where it is described as 'un giovane con copigliara [letter-book] che dice sotto Antonello Massaneus.' It came to Palazzo Borghese at the time of Olympia's marriage to Paolo Borghese in 1638. Della Pergola writes that it first appeared in the Borghese inventories in 1790 when it was described as a work of Giovanni Bellini (Della Pergola, 1955-59, I, pp. 97-98, no. 169). Symonds's note indicates that it is the portrait recorded in the '5. a Stanza dell'Udienza' in 1693, and considered 'Non pervenuto' by Della Pergola, 1964, II, p. 456, no. 290.

70. Possibly the portrait recorded in the 1693 inventory in the '4.ta Stanza' and described as 'una testa di un Homo...di Gio. Bellini' but 'Non accertato' by Della Pergola, 1964, I, p. 453, no. 226.

71. By writing 'Another' Symonds indicated that he had seen (what he considered were) two other versions of this portrait, therefore it was not one of his repetitions, see notes 35 and 64 above.

72. The Supper at Emmaus, now in the National Gallery, London; see Rome, 1995, p. 118. The painting was recorded in 1693 in the '5.a Stanza dell'Udienza' and described as '...la Cena de Emaus...del Caravaggi' (Della Pergola, 1964, II, p. 455, no. 261).

73. There are several paintings attributed to the Bassani in the Galleria Borghese catalogues and the 1693 inventory, but none depict 'yё Circumcision.'

74. Probably St. John in the Wilderness, now in the Galleria Borghese, Inv.
no. 420; described as a 'Copia da Raffaello,' see Della Pergola, 1955-59, II, pp. 122-23, no. 173. This painting fits Symonds's description and measures 172 x 153 cm., thereby being 'as big as the life.' Symonds referred to the painting a second time, see below, note 109.

75. The famous *Madonna and Child with St. John*, now in the Galleria Borghese, Inv. no. 334, see Della Pergola, 1955-59, II, no. 5. The painting measures 154 x 101 cm. and therefore is very likely to be the del Sarto Madonna that Symonds described 'as big as the life;' see Shearman, II, pp. 235-36, no. 45; and note 51 above.

76. Three *Madonnas* attributed to Leonardo were recorded in the 1693 inventory, one in 'Stanza VIII' (Stanza dell'Udienza della S.ta Principessa verso il Giardino) described as '...con Madonna il Bambino e S. Giovanni...di Leonardo da Vinci,' a second in the '4.ta Stanza' described as 'la Madonna, il Bambino e San Gioseppe e due altre teste...di Leonardo da Vinci,' and a third in the '5.ta Stanza dell' Udienza' described as 'la Madonna e Bambino che tiene la Croce in mano con Paesini...di Leonardo da Vinci.' The first two are now termed 'Non pervenuto,' the third 'Non accertato' (Della Pergola, 1964, I, p. 203, no. 444, III, pp. 452, 457, nos. 193, 298). The 'small' painting noted by Symonds was probably either no. 444 or no. 193; these both measured 3 *palmi* in height or width as opposed to 4.

77. *Petrarch*, now in the Galleria Borghese, Inv. no. 426, see Della Pergola, 1955-59, I, p. 108, no. 192, fig. 190. Recorded in the 1693 inventory in the 'Sesta Stanza dov'è il Zampanaro' and described as '...un Homo vestito con il Cappuccio in testa con lettere sotto che dicono Franciscus Petrarcha...Incerto,' now attributed to Francesco Bonsignore (Della Pergola, 1964, II, p. 459, no. 336.)

78. Two paintings belonging to a series of long horizontal canvases of *Aeneid* subjects by Dosso Dossi (Giovanni Luteri) from the Camerino d'Alabastro of Alfonso d'Este which entered the Borghese collection in 1608, see Della Pergola, 1964, pp. 451-67, nos. 175, 203, 222, 339, 357, 368, 380, 390. Two survive, *The Sicilian Games*, Barber Institute, Birmingham (the subject of this painting has recently been questioned, see K. Christiansen, 'Dosso Dossi's Aeneas frieze for Alfonso d'Este's Camerino, Apollo, January, 2000, CII, No.455, pp. 36-45); *Aeneas in the Elysian Fields*, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa; also possibly *Scene from a Legend*, National Gallery, Washington, see Gibbons, pp. 167 (no. 6), 193 (no. 50), and 214-15 (no. 79).

79. Probably the now lost painting recorded in the 1693 inventory in the '4.ta Stanza' and described as '...una Madalena di Titiano...' (Della Pergola, 1964, II, p. 454, no. 230). Two different versions of *Mary Magdalene in Penitence* were said to have come from the Borghese collection; Wethey writes: '...Della
Pergola confirms that a *Magdalene* attributed to Titian was acquired from Palazzo Borghese by Buchanan (Pergola, 1962, p. 332). Lord Radstock's Magdalene also claimed a Borghese source...,' see Wethey, 1969-75, I, pp. 150-51.

80. Presumably the information regarding Titian's model came from one or both of Symonds's companions; it is not corroborated by Wethey, see note 79 above.

81. Symonds appears to have been still in 'Lo Studio' (C35); his comment is interesting considering that several of the paintings that he recorded in this room are not thought by Della Pergola to be originals.

82. See note 25 above.

83. Symonds was probably referring to rooms C15 or C14 having left 'Lo Studio'. In C14 the seventeenth-century decorations partially survive (but were not seen by the writer), and may include some fragments of the 'Women riding upon Sea Horse or the Cupid pissing' etc., see note 24 above. These rooms were finished in 1617 by two of the 'helpers,' Francesco Fransi and Ambrogio Lucenti while Piazza was absent for some months (Fumagalli, pp. 48-49); see also Plan 2.

84. *St. Dominic* (or St. Vincent Ferrer) now in the Galleria Borghese, Inv. no.188, attributed to Titian (Della Pergola, 1955-59, I, p. 131, no. 234). Recorded in the 1693 inventory in the '5.a Stanza dell'Udienza' and described as '...un Santo Domenicano...di Titiano' (Della Pergola, 1964, II, p. 455, no. 268); see also Wethey, 1969-75, I, p. 131, no. 99.

85. This note was inserted afterwards; if Symonds was correct (that it was the last room decorated by Piazza), he was in C15, see Plan 2.

86. Rooms C12, C13, and C14 were the first three rooms of a major apartment towards the garden, see Plan 2. The monochromatic frieze in the first room (C12) contained trophies and arms framed by putti; the third room (C14), the former chapel, featured landscapes flanked by emblematic figures. Symonds notes at this point refer to the second room (C13), which has an ambitious allegorical cycle with four scenes of Triumphs on the walls and a central ceiling painting of *Perseverance* which still survive (although not seen by the writer as this is now the part of the palace used by the Spanish Embassy). The scenes are the *Triumph of Religion and the Virtues over the Vices*, the *Triumph of Poetry and the Liberal Arts*, the *Triumph of the Sciences*, see Fumagalli, p. 53; also Waddy, p. 101; and notes 24 above and 87 and 88 below. 'Pomerange' presumably refers to Pomarancio (Cristoforo
Roncalli); paintings attributed to this artist are in the collection (for example, the *Holy Family*), so Symonds may have been referring to a painting by Roncalli as he did later in his notes, see notes 93, 94 below. Pomarancio is not recorded as taking part in the decorations of the palace, although from his dates (1552-1626), this is possible. 'Certi Giovani' probably relates to Guerrieri's Christian name.

87. *The Triumph of Religion and the Virtues over the Vices*. Religion is crowned by *Glory* and *Felicity*; the *Virtues* and *Vices* are either side, see Furnagalli, fig. 38; and note 86 above.

88. *The Triumph of Poetry and the Liberal Arts*, see Furnagalli, fig. 42; and note 86 above.

89. See note 33 above.

90. Probably Symonds was still in C13, see Plan 2.

91. Decorating the ceilings with carved and gilded wooden 'cassettoni' in a period when the new decorative style was for 'quadro riportati' (e.g., the Palazzo Farnese Galleria ceiling) was probably the choice of Paul V, see Furnagalli, p. 52.

92. Probably the portrait recorded in the '4.ta Stanza' in the 1693 inventory described as '...un Homo vestito de ferro...con un altra figura di un Homo...del Giorgioni,' now considered 'Replica da Dosso Dossi' (Della Pergola, 1964, p. 456, no. 294, Galleria Borghese, Inv. no. 181). Described in the Galleria Borghese catalogues as 'David con la testa di Goliae un Paggio' (same attribution) see Della Pergola, 1955-59, I, p. 34, no. 43. Attribution to Dosso rejected by Gibbons, pp. 259-60, no. 173. Ridolfi (*Le Meraviglie dell'arte*, Venice, 1648, p. 105) identified a composition that fits this one as by Giorgione (then owned by Leoni family in Venice) but his attributions were sometimes doubtful, see Anderson, pp. 70-71.

93. Probably C12.

94. There were five spiral (*lumaca*) staircases in the palace. Symonds probably went downstairs by S6, the spiral staircase immediately outside of C12. This led down to the little vestibule (A7) on the piano terreno adjacent to the Galleria (A8), see Plans 1 and 2.

95. The Galleria (A8). Hibbard writes 'By 1625 the ground floor gallery in the long wing of the main palace began to assume its character as essentially a painting collection by the transfer of ... statuary to the Villa Pinciana. The
latter had already been adorned with statues by Bernini, and the nature of the
two collections was now set for many years' (Hibbard, 1962, p. 74); see also
Plan 1. 'Low' in Symonds's terminology indicates a ground floor room, rather
than an indication of ceiling height.

96. Symonds notes indicate that there were several paintings attributed to
'Paoluccio' who has not been identified. The 1693 inventory records two
paintings by Pomerancio in the 'prima stanza' on the piano terreno (Della
Pergola, 1964, I, p. 221, nos.31, 33); could Symonds be referring to Paolo
Rosetti da Cento (d. 1621) who worked for Pomerancio?

97. Copies of the Bacchanals have not been traced in the 1693 inventory or
the Galleria Borghese Catalogues, or in Wethey, 1969-75, III, pp. 150-53. The
'corner Roome' may be A6, part of the former Sculpture Galleries at the
junction with A10 on the north-west extension, or A9 that faces the garden and
is entered from the Galleria (A8), however, neither of these rooms are on a
true corner but at the angle at the end of a series of rooms, see notes 96 above
and 98 below, and Plan 1.

98. Possibly A5, the middle of the three rooms that formed the Sculpture
Galleries on this side; see notes 96 and 97 above, and Plan 1.

99. St. Albertus Magnus (1200-80) known as the 'Doctor Universitas.'
Dominican friar, philosopher, theologian, teacher of Thomas Aquinas and
author of Summa Theologiae and Summa de Creaturis (see Weisheipl,
passim). Not identified in the Galleria Borghese catalogues or the 1693
inventory.

100. Probably the painting recorded in the '5.a Stanza dell'Udienza' in the
1693 inventory and described as '...un Prete vecchio...di Titiano', now 'Non
pervenuto' (Della Pergola, 1964, II, p. 457, no.303).

101. Symonds meant a 'battle' to compare the skill of these two great painters.

102. Portrait of a Priest by G.B. Moroni, now in the National Gallery,
Washington, see Gregori, pp. 312-14, no. 210. It was sketched by Van Dyck
in 1622-23, see London, 1983, p. 189, no. 64. Richardson wrote: 'Titian's
School-Master (so-call'd) and one of the Famousest Pictures in Rome, a Half
Length, sitting in a chair, leaning back, holding one Wrist over t'other.
Exquisite! Such a Force. Such a Spirit! Such Beauty! every part is Fine: and
t'is well preserv'd' (Richardson, p.184). Recorded in the 1693 inventory in the
'5.a Stanza dell'Udienza' and described as '...un prete a sedere con un libro in
mano di Titiano' (Della Pergola, 1964, p. 454, no. 236). In 1797 it was
recorded in 'la seconde chambre' and described as '...un autre portrait appelé le
Maitre d'école, ouvrage pourrait prendre pour un des plus beaux tableaux de
103. Symonds meant Marcello Provenzale (Cento 1575 - Rome 1639); there are three mosaics attributed to Marcello in the 1693 inventory, Symonds noted two; the first being the *Madonna and Child*, Galleria Borghese, Inv. no. 498 (Della Pergola, 1964, III, p. 211, no. 633); see also Della Pergola, 1955-59, I, p. 62 no. 105, and note 104 below.

104. *Paul V*, see Della Pergola, 1955-59, I, p. 62, no. 107, Galleria Borghese, Inv. no. 495; Della Pergola, 1964, III, p. 209, no. 582. Recorded in the room after the 'galerie ornée' in 1797 and described as '...un portrait de Paul, au mosaique de pierres dures, par Provencal qui y a mis son nom' (Romain, p.309). Symonds did not note the third mosaic by Marcello Provenzale that allegorically portrays Scipione as Orpheus accompanied by the Borghese eagle and dragon and various other animals (Galleria Borghese, Inv. no. 493). This work was described in the 1693 inventory as 'Orfeo di musico con la lira che sona con diversi Animali' (Della Pergola, 1964, III, p. 208, no. 549); it too has Marcello's name conveniently 'inlayd upon it.'


107. Not identified, see note 22 above.

108. Probably the two rather strange portraits called the *Singer with Flute* and the *Passionate Singer*, attributed to Giorgione, now in the Galleria Borghese, Inv. nos. 130, 132 (Della Pergola, 1955-59, I, pp. 111-12, nos. 201,201). Both paintings are listed in the 'Terza Stanza' in the 1693 inventories and both are described as '...un Buffone...del Giorgione' (Della Pergola, 1964, I, p. 226, nos. 138, 146). Symonds evidently could not remember, or could not decide, what the subjects were.

109. See note 74 above.

110. One of the 'Ritrattos of Cardinals' may be a painting recorded in 1693 in the '5.a Stanza dell'Udienza' and described as '...un Cardinale a sedere, che tiene un libro in mano...di Raffaelle', now 'Non pervenuto' (Della Pergola, 1964, II, p. 455, no. 253). The 'Next low Roome' could be A4, the last of the three rooms on the south-west side that were formerly Sculpture Galleries; see
notes 95, 96, 98 above, and also Plan 1.

111. *Leda and the Swan*, now in the Galleria Borghese, Inv. no.434. Termed as a 'replica variata de Leonardo da Vinci' (see Della Pergola, 1955-59, I, pp. 77-78, no.138). Recorded in the 'Sesta Stanza' in the 1693 inventory and described as '...una Donna nuda che abbraccia un Cigno con due putti con un mazzo di fiori in mano...di Leonardo da Vinci' (considered as 'copia di Leonardo' as above by Della Pergola, 1964, II, p. 457, no. 313).

112. *Saints Cosimo and Damian* now in the Galleria Borghese, Inv. no.22, attributed to Dossi (Della Pergola, I, p.32, no.38). Recorded in the 'Terza Stanza che segue' in the 1693 inventory and described as '...SS. Cosmo e Damiano...del Dosi di ferrara' (Della Pergola, 1964, I, p. 227, no. 160); see also Gibbons, pp. 196-97, no. 56. Morelli in 1892 wrote: 'It was very likely painted as a sign-board for an apothecary and Dosso has introduced his name in a quaint fashion on a medicine pot which is inscribed: Outo D..., i.e., Uoto D'Osso (bone-fat),' see G. Morelli (Ivan Lermolieff), *Italian Painters: Critical Studies of their Works: the Borghese and Doria-Pamfili Galleries in Rome*, London, p. 215. This inscription was not seen by the writer (although the painting is hung high on the wall and poorly lit), and may no longer be visible.

113. Not identified, but Symonds's 'na[tura]ll[e]' indicates they were nudes.


115. *Titian and his Mistress*. Recorded in the 'Stanza VIII' in the 1693 inventory and described as 'un vecchio et una Giovane ...che dicono che sia Titiano con l'Amorosa,' termed by Della Pergola as 'Non pervenuto' (see 1964, III, p.204, no.458); see Wood, 1990, p. 685, fig. 10, p. 689; and 'Conclusion' above. Recently identified in a private collection.

116. *Joseph's Dream*, now in the Galleria Borghese, Inv. no.148 (Della Pergola, 1955-59, II, pp. 86-87, no. 120, as Caravaggescio ignoto). Listed in the 1693 inventory in the 'Prima Stanza' and described as '...Sogno di Giuseppe Ebreo...dell'Antiveduto (Gramatica),' see Della Pergola, 1964, I, p. 222, no. 53. The painting is currently attributed to Claude Mellan; see Paris, 1974, pp. 70-73, no. 18; and Nicolson, p. 74. The picture was constantly reattributed in the Borghese collection as Caravaggio (1700), Guercino (1790), Valentin (1833), Artemisia Gentileschi (1916) and circle of Rénier (1928). Symonds's attribution to Valentin (1650), which may have come from the Borghese labelling or his companions, was evidently the attribution accepted (again) in 1833.

117. Possibly a small painting of the *Preaching of John the Baptist and the
Baptism of Christ listed in the Galleria Borghese catalogues (Inv. no. 255) as in the manner of Met de Bles, called Civetta (Della Pergola, 1955-59, II, p. 177, no. 261). Recorded in the 1693 inventory in the 'Terza Stanza che segue' and described as '...una Campagna con un gruppetto di figure...del Civetta' ('Non accertato' according to Della Pergola, 1964, I, p. 226, no. 131).

118. As mentioned above, this note signifies the importance of the treatment of visitors by the family servant who was appointed to guide them, and how generous the owners were, not only in allowing strangers to see paintings on display in public rooms, but also allowing them (as in the case of the Borghese) to go into their private apartments.

119. For the construction of the palace, see Chapter Five above, note 1; for a discussion of Symonds's visit to Palazzo Farnese, see Brookes, 1998b, passim.

120. See Lomazzo, 1584, p. 287 where he writes in his chapter on 'Regole della proportione circa al corpo humano': 'Di che fi vede miracolofo effempio in Roma, in campo di fiore nel palazzo di Farnefi, in quello Hercole fatto par mano dell'eccellente scoltore greco, chiamato Glaucone.'

121. The Farnese Hercules, Naples, Museo Nazionale, no. 6001. Recorded at the Palazzo Farnese in 1556 where it remained in the courtyard until 1787 when it was sent to Naples. The Farnese collections came to Naples through King Carlo di Borbone the last heir of that family through his mother Elisabetta second wife of Philip V of Spain. This statue by Glykon is mentioned in the writings of many visitors to the Palazzo Farnese from the time of its arrival there (see below) as well as being frequently recorded in drawings and prints. See Chaney, p. 198; Haskell and Penny, 1981, pp. 229-32, no. 46, fig. 118; Vincent in Palais Farnèse, I,2, p. 337, II, plates 131 a-c, 132, 133 a-e, 134 a, b; De Franciscis, p. 14, fig. 14.

122. The Farnese Flora, and her companion, known simply as Flora, Naples, Museo Nazionale, nos. 6409 and 5978. Recorded in the courtyard of the Palazzo Farnese in 1556. Symonds's full stop after 'Another' indicates that he is referring to the second (and less esteemed) Flora rather than the second Hercules (see below). See Haskell and Penny, pp. 217-18, no. 41, fig. 113; Vincent in Palais Farnèse, I,2, p. 337, II, plates 136 a-c, 137 a and c; and Jestaz in Palais Farnèse, III,3, p. 182, no. 4468.

123. The Hercules Latinus, Naples, Museo Nazionale, no. 6001. The two statues of Hercules flanked the archway from the courtyard to the garden of the Palazzo Farnese. The Latinus was considered inferior to the Farnese Hercules. For example, Evelyn wrote: 'two incomparable statues of the Hercules and Flora...There likewise stands an other moder[n] statue of Hercules, and two gladiators, see Schott, p. 51; De Beer, II, p. 216; Vincent in
124. Two Gladiators, Naples, Museo Nazionale, nos.5999 and 6000. This 'gladiator' and the one recorded on fol. 15r, stood under the south-west portico of the courtyard; the two Floras were under the north-west arcade, both pairs standing two by two; see De Beer, II, p. 216; Schott, pp. 51-5; Vincent in Palais Farnèse, I.2, p. 337, II, plates 137 a, 138, 139 a-e; and Jestaz, in Palais Farnèse, III.3, p. 182, nos. 4465 and 4467.

125. Two bases with the inscriptions: 'Victoriae Imp. Caes. Vesp. Aug. Sacrum', and 'Paci Aeternae Domus Imp. Vesp. Caes. Aug. Liberarum Eius Sacrum', Naples, Museo Nazionale, nos.2609 and 2610. These two antique bases noted by Symonds, as well as those 'Each side full of names Romano...', were under the arcades, see Vincent in Palais Farnèse, I.2, pp. 337-338; and Jestaz in Palais Farnèse, III.3, p. 183, no. 4469.

127. Probably the sarcophagus of 'Caecilia Metella,' still in place today; see Vincent in Palais Farnèse, I.2, p. 337, II, plate 135.

127. Perhaps the bust of a slave which appears in drawings by Annibale Carracci and G.A. Panini at the foot of a pillar opposite the Farnese Hercules and which disappeared from the inventories after 1653; see Vincent in Palais Farnèse, I.2, p. 338, fig. 4, II, plate 131a.

128. The principal staircase leading to the piano nobile; see Schott, p. 52; and Vincent in Palais Farnèse, I.2, p. 339, II, plates 164, 165, 166 a and b, 167.


131. The Farnese Captives, Naples, Museo Nazionale, nos. 6116 and 6122. Recorded at the Palazzo Farnese in 1556. These two statues flanked the doorway to the Sala Grande on the piano nobile at the summit of the grand staircase, see Vitruvius, ed. D. Barbaro, pp. 11-12. Symonds did not mention the two important statues that were in large niches at the top of the staircase, namely the Antinous and the Pallas Athene; see Schott, p. 52; Vincent in Palais Farnèse, I.2, pp. 339-40, figs. 6 and 7, II, plates 172c, 173c; Jestaz, in Palais Farnèse, III.3, p. 184; Haskell and Penny, pp. 169-72, no.17, figs. 87-
88; Bober and Rubinstein, pp. 197-98, figs. 165 a-b; and Jestaz in Milan, 1995, p. 51.

132. The Sala Grande; see De Beer, II, pp. 215 and 308; in his second visit to the palace Evelyn describes this room as the 'Hall'; see also Martin pp. 7-9; Robertson, 1992, p. 142; Palais Farnèse, II, plates 180-188; and Plan 3.

133. Probably included the Tyrannicides, Naples, Museo Nazionale, nos. 6009 and 6010; recorded in the Palazzo Medici-Madama in 1510 and moved to the Palazzo Farnese in 1538. Vincent, in Palais Farnèse, I.2, p. 341, suggests that the Horatii and Curiatii were six of the eleven statues that lined the walls of the Sala Grande despite not being listed specifically in any inventory; however, they are recorded in the 1664 inventory, see Jestaz in Le Palais Farnèse, p. 184, no. 4487; see also Jestaz, 1995, p. 53; and De Beer, II, p. 308. The Tyrannicides are amongst a group of statues in the Naples collection that represent gladiators. See also Bober and Rubinstein, pp. 162-3, fig. 127, where the head of the left-hand statue can be seen to be completely different from that of a statue with the same body as shown in a photograph entitled the Tyrant Killers in the museum handbook (English version) possibly indicating recent restoration; for this see De Francisis, fig. 2. In addition see Riebesell, p. 412.

134. Duke Alessandro conquering Heresy and the River Scheldt, Caserta, Palazzo Reale, the monumental group by Moschino in the Sala Grande; see Vincent in Palais Farnèse, I.2, p. 341, II, plates 186 a-c; Jestaz in Palais Farnèse, III.3, p. 184, no.4486; Martin, p. 6; and Robertson, 1992, p. 143.

135. Two paintings listed in the 1653 inventory and described as: 'Due quadri grandi in tela compagni cornice dorate dentro figure ignude che rapresentano virtú copiata da Anibal Caracci dal opere di Raffael di Urbino nelle Loggie de Ghisi,' see Bertini, p.113, no. 86, p. 185, no.287, p. 220, nos. 540-41. These are adaptions of Raphael's nude figures as theological virtues which would seem to fit with Odoardo's taste (I am grateful to Clare Robertson for pointing this out).

136. Two statues by Gugliemo della Porta, namely Abundance and Peace, originally intended for the tomb of Paul III but recorded at the palace in 1620, see Vincent in Palais Farnèse, I.2, p. 340; and Jestaz in Palais Farnèse, p. 184, no. 4491.

138. *Disputà on the Immaculate Conception*, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, no. Q86; the first of the two paintings described in the 1653 inventory as: 'Due quadri grandi in tavola cornicioni dorati dentro ad uno sono dipinti li quattro dottori della Chiesa con una Madonna in contemplatione Gloria, et una Prospettiva mano del Perdonone...,' see Bertini, p. 220, no. 548; and Jestaz in *Palais Farnèse*, III.3, p. 130, no. 3128.

139. Two paintings are listed in the Sala Grande in 1653 as Carracci copies of Correggio, see Bertini p. 220, nos. 538 and 544. See also Gould, 1976, pp. 106-14 and 259-61.


141. *Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine*, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples; see Spinosa, 1994, p. 97 (no inv. no.). Recorded in both 1644 and 1653 in the Prima Camera and attributed to Annibale, see Jestaz in *Palais Farnèse*, III.3, p. 130, no. 3173; see also Bertini, p. 221, no. 554 where it is one of only two paintings listed in the Prima Camera and attributed to Annibale. From Symonds's notes, this appears to be one of the small rooms on the north-east side of the palace. Posner states that *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine* is an up-dated version of Correggio's painting of the subject in the Louvre and that Annibale brought it to Rome for Cardinal Odoardo (Posner, II, pp. 16-17, no. 32); see also Robertson, 1988, p. 364 and note 25; and Milan, 1995, pp. 294-5.


143. *Hercules Bearing the Globe*; see Bellori, 1968, pp. 21-22; Dempsey in *Palais Farnèse*, I.1, p. 277; and Martin, pp. 27-28, figs. 10 and 113-19.

144. *Ulysses and the Sirens*; see Bellori, 1968, pp. 25-26; Dempsey in *Palais Farnèse*, I.1, p. 278; and Martin, pp. 33-34, figs. 17 and 128-132.

145. With regard to the Camerino Baglione wrote: '...e tra le altre cose segli dipingere in un camerino di quello li fatti d'Ercole in diversi vani, e vi sono alcuni scompartomenti da lui finti di stucco, che sono tanto belli...' (Baglione, p. 106).

146. *The Choice of Hercules*; see Bellori, 1968, pp. 19-21; Dempsey in *Palais Farnèse*, I.1, pp. 276-77; Martin, pp. 24-27, figs. 9 and 109-12; and Panofsky, 1930, passim.
147. *Ulysses and Circe*; see Bellori, 1968, pp. 23-25; Dempsey in *Palais Farnèse*, I.1, p. 278; and Martin, pp. 32-33, figs. 17 and 123-27. The reason for Symonds writing this passage in Italian is not apparent; it was not copied from Baglione who only specifically referred to 'Un Ercole con la Virtù,' see note 145 above.

148. Christ Mocked, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna; no. 558. In 1644 the Camerino was described as the 'Secondo camerino...del Caracci' and the painting was recorded as from the 'mano di Annibale Caracci,' see Jestaz in *Palais Farnèse*, III.3, p. 131, no. 3202. See also Milan, 1995, pp. 299-300. In the 1653 inventory the painting was listed in the P.[rim]o Camerino dipinto del Caracci and described as: 'Un quadro mezzano cornice dorata, et intagliata in tela con un Ecce Huomo, e dui Manigoldi mano del sud.o'; it appears this was considered by the writer to be a studio work, see Bertini, p. 221, no. 558. Other paintings listed in the room included a *St. Eustace* recorded as being 'mano del Caracci,' a Perugino, and an unattributed portrait of *Paul III*. See also Posner, II, pp. 38-39, no. 89; and Bellori, 1968, p. 64. In Richard Haydocke's 1598 English Translation of Lomazzo's *Trattato* he translated a passage from the 'The Fifth Book of Perspective' as: 'By bowings I meane the vertue which procedeth fro[m] the particular parts of bodies proportionably expressed...,' see p. 213. Symonds may have looked at his copy of Lomazzo and translated it similarly, or perhaps he just meant that the figures of Christ and his tormentor were bending towards each other.

149. The north side, see Plan 3.

150. The Sala degli Imperatori, see Vincent in *Palais Farnèse*, I.2, pp. 341-42, II, plates 189a-i, 190a-i; and De Beer, II, p. 308. Scholars differ as to the number of busts of *Roman Emperors* that there were in the Sala degli Imperatori at the time of Cardinal Odoardo, depending on whether they refer solely to a series of busts, or whether they include all those that could be termed 'Emperor;' Robertson cites fifteen (Robertson 1992, p. 143); Vincent sixteen (Vincent in *Palais Farnèse*, I.2, p. 341); and Martin the same number as Symonds, i.e. twelve (Martin, p. 7). We know from the 1644 inventory that twelve heads were recorded under one number, i.e., a series, and that three 'odd' 'testa d'Imperatori,' including the head of Caracalla, were recorded separately (Jestaz in *Palais Farnèse*, III.3, p. 186, nos. 4506, 4507, 4508). The 1568 inventory also lists fifteen bust of *Emperors* on pedestals amongst the antique sculptures in this room (*Documenti inediti*, pp. 72-3). The numerous antique busts of uncertain identity in the collection at Naples that could be termed *Emperors*, make reliable identification impossible. In the 1980s Jestaz wrote that the Sala degli Imperatori *Emperors* were a 'suite de bustes de douze Césars qui n'étaient que des pastiches modernes' (Jestaz in *Palais Farnèse*, I.2, p. 392); Jestaz's view was echoed by Reibesell who wrote that there were 'zwölf Imperatoren büsten' and cited Tommaso della Porta as
the sculptor (Riebsell, p. 389); both these scholars appear to have confused them with the della Porta busts in the Sala Grande. However, in 1994 Jestaz suggested that the busts in the Sala Grande were by Tivoli, an assistant of Guglielmo della Porta, and that the 'Dodici teste d'Imperatori...' recorded in the Sala degli Imperatori in 1644 are a 'Suite problématique' (Jestaz in *Palais Farnèse*, III.3, p. 185, no. 4500). See also Milan, 1995, pp. 398-9; and Jestaz in Milan, 1995, pp. 51, 53.

151. Symonds's reference to p. 74 in his copy of Baglione seemingly concerns 'li dodici Cesari' that Giovanni Battista della Porta made for Cardinal Alessandro for Caprarola; Symonds was apparently unaware that the Palazzo Farnese Emperors for the Sala Grande were sculpted by Giovanni's uncle Tommaso in 1562 (whose 'life' is also provided by Baglione), see Baglione, pp. 74, 151-3. Although Symonds cited Baglione's reference, his description of 'old Heads' makes it unlikely that he considered that those he saw in the Sala degli Imperatori were modern, see note 150 above.

152. In 1644 the two Hercules statues are recorded in the 'stanza che segue a detta sala' rather than in the Sala degli Imperatori, see Jestaz in *Palais Farnèse*, III.3, p. 184, no. 4511. Jestaz considers that these were casts by Guglielmo della Porta from the same antique statue. The table is recorded in the Sala degli Imperatori at that date, but without an attribution to Michelangelo although the pedestal receives one at a later date; see Jestaz in *Palais Farnèse*, III.3, p. 133, no. 3237, and no. 3237. See also Jestaz, 1995, p. 53. There may be some confusion between this table and one now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, which Martin states was in the Sala dei Filosofi at the time of Cardinal Odoardo, see Martin, p. 7. There is no table recorded in that room (although there are many listed throughout the collection) in the 1644 inventory, see Jestaz in *Palais Farnèse*, III.3, p. 134; and Jestaz in Milan, 1995, pp. 54-5. In addition, see Raggio, pp. 213-32.

153. Annibale Carracci's copies of Titian's Emperor series, see Posner, 1971, I, p. 159, note 12; Bertini, p. 221, nos.5 72-83; and Jestaz in *Palais Farnèse*, III.3, p. 132, no. 3234.


155. Although originally painted for Bartolomeo Bettini by Pontormo, c.1532-34, from a cartoon drawn by Michelangelo, Pontormo was forced to sell *Venus and Cupid* to Duke Alessandro de' Medici by certain persons wishing to curry his favour (see Clapp, 1916, pp. 142-45; and Berti, 1973, p. 105, no. 116); they both cite that this is now the painting of the subject in the Uffizi, Florence. See also Spinosa, 1994, p. 59, where one of the several
copies of the painting is illustrated and listed as a copy of Michelangelo's cartoon by Hendrik van der Broecke (Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Collezione Farnese, no. Q 748); Robertson suggests that this copy, which was attributed in the Seicento inventories to Marcello Venusti, may be the *Venus and Cupid* in the Sala dei Filosofi, noted by Symonds, see Robertson, 1988, p. 369. Clapp stated (in 1916) that there are two copies in the Museo di Capodimonte - one in which the dish and flowers are no longer visible (Symonds did not refer to these in his description of the Farnese painting) and which was once believed to be Michelangelo's original design for this work - and also a close early copy. The version on display in the Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte (Q 7148) has both dish and flowers so could either be the second version Clapp refers to, or the first in which the missing objects have been revealed by cleaning. By the date that Symonds saw the Farnese painting, myth (or the servant who escorted him around the palace) may have established it as by Michelangelo. See also Bertini, p. 221, no. 585; Jestaz in *Palais Farnèse*, III.3, p. 134, no. 3254; and Robertson 1988, p. 369.

156. *Spinario*; one of many copies of the original that is now in the Musei Capitolini, Rome, see Jestaz in *Palais Farnèse*, III.3, p. 186, no. 4512; Jestaz suggests that this is a copy of the *Spinario* by Guglielmo della Porta now in the Hermitage, St. Petersburg. The original statue, except for a short period in Paris, has been in the Palazzo dei Conservatori since it was donated by Sixtus IV in 1471; for further discussion see Bober and Rubinstein, pp. 235-6, no. 203; and Haskell and Penny, pp. 308-10, no. 78, fig. 163.

157. The Sala dei Filosofi; see De Beer, II, p. 310; Martin p. 7; Vincent in *Palais Farnèse*, I.2, p. 342, note 86; Robertson, 1992, p. 143; and Jestaz in *Palais Farnèse*, III.3, p. 186, no. 4516. Apart from the philosophers, Symonds did not refer to other statues in this room which included the famous *Callipygian Venus*, now in Naples, see De Francisis, p. 12, fig. 12. As in the case of the *Emperors*, the large number of possible candidates makes identification difficult.

158. The Galleria; see Bellori, 1968, pp. 31-53; De Beer, II, pp. 215 and 310; Dempsey in *Palais Farnèse*, I.1, pp. 284-310; and Martin, pp. 69-237, figs. 29-99 and 144-267. For references to other galleries which may have influenced Annibale, see C. Robertson, 'Ars Vincit omnia: the Farnese Gallery and Cinquecento ideas about art,' in *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome*, 102, 1990, 1, pp. 39-40. It is interesting that Symonds noted here that Annibale was the master of Domenichino, perhaps a piece of information that Canini had given him which he recalled at this point.

159. *Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne*; in fact the principal subjects in this painting are Ariadne drawn by goats and Bacchus by tigers. Symonds did not
note that Baglione described the fresco as a 'trionfo di Bacco con Arianna' (Baglione, p. 107; Symonds may have inserted the references to Baglione after his visit when he had more time to study the passage on Palazzo Farnese). Perhaps it is not surprising that Symonds confused Ariadne with Venus; other than Titian's Bacchus and Ariadne for the d'Este at Ferrara, there were few precedents for Bacchanalian themes at this time, see Bull, p. 5. In Bellori's description the Common and Earthly Venus is represented in the painting by the half-nude woman reclining in the foreground (Bellori, 1968, pp. 34-38). Martin suggests Annibale's idea for the fresco was principally a drawing by Perino del Vaga and that the idea of Ariadne riding in her own car comes from an ancient source (Martin, pp. 115-26, figs. 69-72 and 158-78).

160. Perseus and Andromeda; Baglione mentioned both 'Bacco con Arianna' and 'Andromede', but with no particular attribution. He attributed Galatea and Aurora and Cephalus to Agostino but not Andromeda, so again Symonds's reference to Baglione is odd (one possibility is that he was 'correcting' Baglione, see p. 107); and Bellori, 1968, pp. 47-48. Martin describes Perseus and Andromeda as 'one of Annibale's least successful frescoes' (Martin, pp. 128-129, figs. 77 and 256-57).

161. Symonds's admiration of Annibale's skill and invention in the Galleria was clearly personal, although likely to have been influenced by his Roman acquaintances and by reading Baglione. He recorded Poussin's admiration for Annibale's Galleria: 'There is a gallery done w'h so much studdy, judgement & Art, as is fitt to be a 'Norma alli studianti in questa arte,' see Beal, 1984, p. 297. Symonds's description captures '...the wit and variety of the "ornamenti," the seductive grace of the fables and, not least, the entrancing brightness of the colours, the feigned marble termini, who in defiance of their stony and truncated shape seem to project an extraordinary psychic energy,' see Martin, pp. 79 and 157.

162. The Palazzetto; constructed in 1602-1603; situated on the far side of the Via Giulia and used probaly like other similar little buildings in Rome as '...pleasure retreates built in nature...,' see Spear, Text, 1982, p. 81; Robertson, 1988, p. 368. See also Whitfield in Palais Farnèse, I.1, pp. 313-28 who suggests the decoration of the Palazzetto included many of Annibale's delightful landscapes (e.g., ibid., p. 323, fig. 4), a hypothesis which is confirmed by Symonds in this passage. The ceiling 'all in quarters' was dismantled in 1662, see Schleier in Washington, 1986, p. 486; see also note 167 below.

163. Sleeping Venus, Musée Condé, Chantilly; recorded in the 1653 inventory in the Primo Camerino canto alla Morte and sent to the Palazzo del Giardino in Parma in 1662, see Bertini, p. 221, no. 591. Symonds's description of the cupids 'shooting at a heart in a scudo' suggests that this can be identified with
the impresa of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (1520-1589) possibly at the instigation of the Bolognese prelate, Monsignor Giovanni Battista Agucchi (1570-1632); see the design for this impresa in Ruscelli, p. 49; or Martin, fig. 85. Agucchi's involvement in the role of imprese in paintings is revealed by his instructions in 1602 to Ludovico Carracci elucidating points about the programme for Erminia and the Shepherds; this has been brought to light by Clovis Whitfield from a manuscript in the British Library, (B.L. Harley MS, 3643). As well as instructions, Agucchi sent his 'Impresa per dipingere l'istoria d'Erminia' as a basis for the illustration of this poem by Tasso; although the connection between the device (a Halcyon) and the pastoral theme appears remote. However, it was in the autumn of 1602 that Agucchi saw the Sleeping Venus in the Palazzo Farnese nearly completed by Annibale. Knowing his close association with the painter, and his interest in imprese, he may have suggested that Cardinal Alessandro's impresa should be linked to the Sleeping Venus. Agucchi's lengthy analysis of the painting (printed by Malvasia) was the basis for Bellori's later detailed description, see Malvasia, 1678, I, p. 503; Bellori, 1968, pp. 75-78.

The painting illustrates the 'Erotes' described by Philostratus (Philostratus the Elder, Imagines, I, 6.) and depends heavily on Titian's Feast of Venus which Annibale would have seen when it was brought to Rome by the Aldobrandini in 1598 (Wethey, 1969-75, III, pp. 34-35). One of three known drawings for the painting, that of the left side at Windsor Castle, shows that two cupids aiming at a target were part of the original plan, but that the scudo appears to be more pronounced in the painting, see Wittkower, 1952, no. 358, fig. 51. In the Sleeping Venus, the heart depicted in the centre of the scudo is painted in the same vermilion as the pillow behind Venus's head, the only two areas where this strong colour is used; this lends to its emphasis and also links it to the goddess. Several of Annibale's cupids are very similar in their placing and occupations to those in Titian's painting, including some with bows and arrows. Quivers hang from Titian's trees, but nowhere is there a target and nor is one mentioned in Philostratus's detailed description; in Annibale's painting it is a central feature. For a further discussion of the impresa, see Brookes, 1998a, passim.

164. Rinaldo and Armida; Naples, Pinacoteca Nazionale Capodimonte. Recorded in the 1653 inventory and sent to the Palazzo Giardino in Parma in 1662; see Bertini, p. 221, no. 592. At the beginning of Agucchi's description of the Sleeping Venus, (see above, note 163) he referred to Annibale's painting of Rinaldo and Armida, painted shortly before the Venus ca. 1602 (see Posner, II, pp. 58-59, no.132); and Whitfield in Palais Farnésé, I,1, pp. 318-19.

165. 'Galatea' is likely to be the painting described in the 1644 and 1653 inventories as 'la favola d'Europa a cavallo,'see Bertini, p. 221, no. 595; and Jestaz in Le Palais Farnésé, III.3, p. 136, no. 3298.

167. *Dawn;* Chantilly, Musée Condé. This allegory, her companions *Night Bearing Sleep and Death* (see below, note 168), and *Day*, were listed in the 1653 inventory on the ceilings of three rooms in the Palazzetto, the Camerino canto alla Morte, and the second and third Camerini. The ceilings were dismantled in 1662; *Night* and *Dawn* were sent to the Palazzo del Giardino in Parma (they are recorded there in the 1680 inventory) whereas *Day* apparently was not sent with them and is now lost. The 'Boyes in y° Squares seeming in the ayre' (noted immediately above) refers to putti that were also part of the Camerini ceiling decorations - and are also now at Chantilly, see Bertini, pp. 90-94, nos. 220-23, and p. 222, nos. 629 and 637. See also Jestaz in *Palais Farnèse*, III.3, p. 137, nos. 3313 and 3321; Posner, II, pp. 61-62, nos. 137 and 138; Spear, 1982, Text, pp. 314-15; Whitfield in *Palais Farnèse*, I.1, pp. 319-20; and Malvasia, 1678, I, pp. 499-500 who wrote: 'Nel Palagio Farnese nel palco di alcuni camerini l'Aurora, il sole, e la Notte, con altri abbigliamenti, che molti dicono fatti da altri co'fuoï difegni, e da lui folo ritocchi.'

168. *Night Bearing Sleep and Death*, Chantilly, Musée Condé. The Palazzetto allegories (see note 167 above) were described by Bellori who wrote that they were painted by Annibale with the help of assistants (Bellori, 1968, p. 75). Posner considers that Annibale was responsible for the preliminary drawings, supervising the preparation of the cartoons, and the final designs, but that they were executed by Domenichino (Posner, II, p. 62). Spear thinks they are wrongly attributed to Domenichino but due to their condition and position finds them difficult to study (Spear, 1982, Text, pp. 314-15). Symonds's description of the landscape in the background as 'most rare' suggests that they have deteriorated from their original state. Both *Night* and *Dawn* are hung very high on the wall at Chantilly and it is impossible to tell their condition from photographic reproductions.

169. This room is identified in both 1644 and 1653 as the 'Ultimo Camerino', see Jestaz in *Palais Farnèse*, III.3, pp. 137-8, no. 3324; in 1653 there were 'Otto quadri da testa...di Scipione Gaetano, et una di Domenichino...Un quadretto...d'un amorino mano d'Anibal Caracci...Sette quadri di diverse grandezze...' (Bertini, p. 222, nos. 657-81). There is one more painting listed in 1644 (no. 3325) than in 1653; this is described as '...un Bucentro con trionfo di ninfe di buona mano.' Scipione Pulzone, called 'il Gaetano' (ca. 1550-1598), was employed by Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (see Robertson, 1992, p. 144).
170. *Landscape with a Bark*, National Gallery, London, no. 56, workshop of Annibale Carracci. See Whitfield in *Palais Farnèse*, I.1. p. 326, fig. 7. Perhaps one of several paintings described in the 1644 and 1653 inventories as of 'diverse grandezze' in the Ultimo Camerino without detail or attribution, see Bertini, p. 222, nos. 666-72; and Jestaz in *Le Palais Farnèse*, III.3, p. 137, no. 3327.

171. These were probably miniature portraits of members of the Portugese royal family and the Farnese family reputed to be by several Flemish artists (Robertson, 1992, pp. 145-46, and figs. 135-40). For a further discussion of the paintings in the Camerini, see Schleier in Washington, 1986, pp. 484-86.

172. The palace of Ippolito Vitelleschi, see Chapter Eight above.

173. The house was at the southern end of the Corso, see Totti, 1638, p. 287.

174. The 'garments' (i.e., the material swathed around the necks of the Emperors) and the 'Jewels' (i.e., clasps), were carved from coloured stone to be differentiated from the white marble of the figures.

175. If Symonds wrote the references to Vitelleschi and Palazzo Farnese chronologically, he had recently been to the latter, see fol.17 v.

176. Not identified. 'Whole' indicates that many of Vitelleschi's statues were not complete.

177. Vases made of porphyry, a stone which Symonds spelt in various ways, see below.

178. Symonds was referring to a gash portrayed in Brutus's cheek. This bust was also noted by Evelyn who wrote that Brutus was 'scarr'd in the face by order of the Senat for his killing of Julius, this (the bust) is esteem'd much' (De Beer, II, p. 283).

179. The *Gladiator* has not been identified. The 'body of o' Sav or in ye Minerva' referred to Michelangelo's *Christ Bearing the Cross* (or *Risen Christ*), still in Santa Maria sopra Minerva. A contrasting view was that of Vincenzo Giustiniani who characterised Michelangelo's *Christ* as 'a "mere statue," lacking "breath, vivacity and spirit" when compared with an antique example, the Vatican Adonis...,' see Squarzina, II, p.113. Certainly the somewhat languid form of Michelangelo's statue is not reminiscent of antique statues of gladiators.

180. *Pyrrhus*, a King of Epirus, son of Achilles and Deidamia and a famous general.
181. *Giove*, i.e. Jupiter; probably a head placed on a small capital.

182. This could be a repeat reference to the statue of 'Giove' mentioned immediately above, see note 181 above.

183. Symonds considered that *Apollo* had an effeminate head; possibly the statue was gilded, i.e., 'shyning.'

184. An Egyptian idol was exhibited with the classical sculptures.

185. *Silenus with a hogskin*.

186. The 'Dio' probably had pointed ears.

187. It is not clear which god Symonds was alluding to here; possibly a figure or statuette representing *Sol*. He evidently considered the proportions were worth measuring.

188. The 'old Head' attributed to Bernini may have been a portrait of an old man or possibly an oil sketch of an antique bust.

189. A bust of *Nero*, i.e., head and chest (*pètt[o]*)

190. *Marcus Aurelius*

191. This may have referred to two statues or mean that there was only half a statue of 'Hercules.'

192. *Lucilla*, a daughter of Marcus Aurelius, famous for her beauty and debauchery.

193. The statue presumably retained its original gilding which Symonds was cautioned not to touch.

194. Symonds was not the first person to be confused with statues depicting *Apollo* and *Roma*; especially as in this instance evidently only 'Drapery' remained. *An Apollo, Draped and Seated*, now in the Museo Nazionale, Naples, was thought until the late eighteenth century to be a female figure and was called variously *Roma, Vesta, Cleopatra* and a *Muse* over the preceding centuries, see Bober and Rubinstein, p. 77, no. 36.

195. Symonds was referring to Apollo's lyre, one of his normal attributes, but possibly this one was unusual.
196. A lachrymose; a phial of glass found in ancient Roman tombs and conjectured to be tear-bottles.

197. A *Madonna* by either Taddeo or Federico Zuccaro.


200. Either *Gracchus Tiberius* or his brother, *Gracchus Caius*. The memory of the Gracchi was held in high esteem by the Roman people and many statues were erected to them, see Lempriere, pp. 287-88.

201. Evidently Vitelleschi 'prizd' the life-size busts of *Julius Caesar* and *Galba* (Galba Servius Sulpicius) so much that he kept them in his bedroom.

202. Although Symonds probably visited Palazzo Borghese shortly before his visit to Vitelleschi (see folgs. 7v - 14r) he did not record a bust of *Seneca* there; he may have seen it at the Villa Borghese but his notes on this collection have not survived.

203. A head of the celebrated orator *Cicero*.

204. A bust of *Faustina* the wife of the emperor Antoninus, see Lempriere, p. 270; and note 205 below.

205. *Faustina*, daughter of the wife of the emperor Antoninus, also called Faustina, see note 204 above.

206. Possibly Symonds means Julia, the daughter of Cornelia and Julius Caesar, who made her divorce her first husband in order to marry Pompey, see Lempriere, p. 337.

207. Probably a statuette of *Diana of Ephesus*.

208. A leg for a chair 'improvadente' (= improvised?) from alabaster.

209. *Pietra del Paragone* is touchstone.

210. Michelangelo Cerquozzi (1602-1660), called 'delle Battaglia' or 'delle Bambocciate,' see Haskell, 1980, p. 138. Symonds could have met Cerquozzi as the painter lived in Rome all his life.
211. Two landscapes by Paul Bril, a painter who Symonds frequently mentioned.

212. A crown or escudo was worth the equivalent of 5s. 6d., therefore the Perugino was apparently worth less than a quarter of the Bril.

213. Palazzo Giustiniani, see Chapter Six above, note 1; also Plan 4.

214. Symonds was in the Stanza Grande de Quadri Antichi (Plan 4, no. 3).

215. Around the walls of the rooms were placed antique sculptures. See Galleria Giustiniani, II, pls. 7-60 for the engravings of numerous 'old Heads', which, like many other engravings in this book, bear the Giustiniani emblem and have been engraved from drawings by Sandrart, Guidus and Perrier; these artists were amongst the students documented as resident in the Palazzo Giustiniani in the 1630s (Salerno, 1960, Introduction, p. 25). Sandrart came to Italy in 1628 and played the chief role in the publication of Galleria Giustiniani.

216. Amor Vincit Omnia (Victorious Cupid), Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie. Painted for the Marchese Giustiniani c.1601-02 and recorded in 1638 in the Stanza Grande de Quadri Antichi (Salerno, 1960, II, p. 135, no.9); see also Friedlander, 1955, pp. 182-83; and Hibbard, 1983, pp. 155-59, figs. 98-101, and pp. 307-10. Hibbard proposes that Caravaggio's work is related to works by Michelangelo such as the Sistine nudes. The painter Cristoforo Roncalli (known as Pomerancio), who accompanied the Marchese Vincenzo on a journey throughout Europe in 1610, may also have influenced Caravaggio. See also Gilbert, pp. 199-202; Gash, pp. 41-42; Langdon, pp. 213-21; and notes 217-18, 253 and 256 below.

217. If Symonds was correct in writing that the Duke of Savoy, offered to buy this painting, the offer may have been activated by the Abbate Scaglia, a patron of the arts in his own right and acquainted with artists and men of letters in the city. Scaglia acquired works of art for the Duke of Savoy, see Cifani and Monetti, 1992, p. 509. He also came to London on diplomatic duties at the Caroline court and it is possible that Symonds had heard of him in this capacity before the Civil War. For references to the prices noted by Symonds, see Chapter Six above.

218. 'Mons, Cerecdy' (or Cerezdy) could refer to either Francesco Crescenzi (c.1585-?), or his brother, Giovanni Battista Crescenzi (c.1577-1660); Roman noblemen both of whom were amateur painters. Of the two it is more likely to be Giovanni Battista who was also an amateur architect who produced designs for Philip III and Philip IV and is known to have been an admirer of the works of Caravaggio, see London, 1995, pp. 70-76, 78. The Via di Crescenzi (on the
south side of Palazzo Giustiniani) is named after the family.

219. 'v.[ide]:p.[age]39' possibly refers to Lomazzo, 1584, I, p. 39 which is concerned with 'Dei Membri esteriori del corpo humano' and discusses the natural proportions of the body including arms hands, legs, knees and genitalia (p. 39 in Baglione is not relevant).

220. Minerva Giustiniani; now in the Musei Vaticani (Braccio Nuovo), Rome. See Galleria Giustiniani, I, pl. 3; and Sandrart, 1680, pl. 19. Sandrart's book was largely cribbed from various sources and contained notable errors and 'fanciful illustrations' (Haskell and Penny, 1981, p. 26, and pp. 269-71, no. 63). See also Salerno, 1960, Introduction, p. 25; and Hibbard, 1983, p. 308. The statue of Minerva was one of the most highly regarded works in the collection (which on the whole was not of great quality) and is recorded by many visitors with varying degrees of enthusiasm.

221. For one of the '2 Women naked as sitting' see Galleria Giustiniani, I, pl. 142, inscribed as drawn by Perrier and engraved by Bloemart. For the statue described as 'One with a swan,' see Galleria Giustiniani, I, pl. 150; this engraving has the Giustiniani emblem but no inscription as to who designed or engraved it.

222. There is no engraving of this subject in the Galleria Giustiniani.

223. There are engravings of numerous sculptures that fit these descriptions, see Galleria Giustiniani, II. Part of the great collection of busts of emperors now in the Capitoline Museum, Rome, came from the Giustiniani collection via the Albani, see Haskell and Penny, 1981, p. 50.

224. See Galleria Giustiniani, I, pl. 138; this engraving has 'Joch. Sandrart del., J. Coinin F.' inscribed on the plinth. See also the same statue engraved in Sandrart, pl. 14; this is inscribed 'Sandrart delin., R. Collin sculp....'

225. Symonds declaration that the Giustiniani collection had the 'largest & fairest oyle pieces...in Rome' was no doubt influenced by the abundance and quality of the paintings in the Stanza Grande de Quadri Antichi; although he only recorded Caravaggio's Victorious Cupid at this point in his visit, he appears to have returned to this room more than once (see fols. 26v - 27r); see also Salerno, 1960, Introduction, p. 25.

226. Massacre of the Innocents, Chantilly, Musée Condé. Recorded in the 1638 inventory in the '5a Stanza Grande alle suddette, che entra alla Lumaca' (the spiral staircase that leads down to the ground floor on the north side of the courtyard, Plan 4, no. 8); see Salerno, 1960, I, p. 101, no. 153. See also Blunt, 1966-67, Text, p. 80 and pl. 46; and Haskell, 1980, p. 95. For the other
Poussin painting noted by Symonds, the *Assumption of the Virgin*, see note 237 below. If Symonds's notes were written in chronological order, it shows that early in his visit he was aware that there were three works by Poussin in the collection (either from hearsay or his guidebook); he failed to note the *Mercury and Argus* recorded in the 'Stanza seguita alla Sudd.a.' (Salerno, 1960, I, p. 101, no. 133).

227. This passage appears to refer to other paintings in the '5a Stanza Grande seguita alle suddette che entra alla lumaca' (i.e., in the same room as the paintings noted by him immediately above and below). In the *Massacre of the Innocents* (see note 226 above), there is a background 'prospect' that could conceivably fulfill Symonds's description. Of the ten paintings recorded in the room the 'other[s]' may have been the *Death of Cicero*, (attributed in the 1638 inventory to Perrier but not identified and its present whereabouts unknown), and the *Death of Socrates* (attributed in the 1638 inventory to Sustermann, called 'Giusto fiammengo,' and destroyed in 1945), see Salerno, 1960, I, p. 101, nos. 158 and 159.

228. *St. Paul and St. Anthony in the Desert*; destroyed in 1945. Recorded in the '5a Stanza Grande seguita alle suddette, che entra alla Lumaca' in the 1638 inventory and praised in various guides; 'one of the finest Guido Reni's,' see Salerno, 1960, I, p. 101, no. 149. Although Symonds wrote of '2 large Qu[a]dro's of Guido Rene,' no other painting by Reni was recorded in this room in 1638, although there were five other Renis recorded in the collection. Perhaps Symonds was confused (particularly if these notes were written-up after his visit as seems likely) either with Reni's *St. Luke* in another room (see note 243 below) or with two paintings of the exact same size ('alta palmi 13 lar. 9 in circa') as the *St. Paul and Saint Anthony* which were also in the '5a Stanza.' These are described in the inventory as: 'Dui quadri grandi simili Uno con l'istoria di S. Pietro e l'ancilla di note, che si scalda al fuoco, l'altra con Christo ligato alla Colonna...' and attributed to Enrico d'Anversa; neither the artist nor the provenances of these paintings are identified by Salerno, see Salerno, 1960, I, p. 101, nos. 150 and 151.

229. Tempesta's monochromes were in the inner courtyard at the centre of the palace. The room from which Symonds viewed the courtyard may have been that described in the inventory as the '3a Stanza seguita alla sudd.a;' this is one of the four vaulted rooms in the palace and one of the only two of these to have a window overlooking the courtyard, see Plan 4. This room is decorated with grotesques and a figure that probably represents *Urania* in the ceiling vault and is next to the room which leads to the spiral staircase. Salerno wrote that in 1960 the monochromes had almost disappeared (Salerno, 1960, I, p. 104); the writer found that by 1996 not only had they completely gone, but with the pilasters and fenestration on the courtyard walls, it was difficult to ascertain where they had formerly been. See also Squarzina, I, pp. 109-10.
230. These pieces of sculpture were evidently placed in the courtyard; with regard to the 'Divers heads,' see note 223 above.

231. Five Bassano Vecchiros were listed in the '2a Stanza de Quadri Antichi' in the 1638 inventory. Although described by Symonds as 'a little room,' it held eighty paintings, these included some of the most notable pictures in the collection such as ones attributed to Annibale Carracci, Andrea del Sarto, Veronese and Titian which no doubt made the room 'much esteemd.' Four of the Bassano paintings were subjects from the life of Christ, the fifth was described as 'con diversi animali,' (Salerno, 1960, II, p. 142, nos. 122-26). Symonds, perhaps influenced by Poussin, could be critical of Bassano's 'crude' brushwork; he wrote that his paintings were 'without Invention or Perspective...Bassano's usd not to paint but dogs & horses & clownds,' see Beal, 1984, p. 298.

232. A Luteplayer, Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. Recorded in the 1638 inventory in the Stanza Grande de Quadri Antichi (and therefore not 'In a little Roome' with the Bassanos, see note 231 above), see Salerno, 1960, II, p. 135, no. 8; see also Friedlander, 1955, p. 155, no. 11; Hibbard, 1983, pp. 35-39; Langdon, pp. 111-13; and note 262 below.

233. Symonds appears to still have been in the Stanza Grande de Quadri Antichi as there is no gap in his notes at this point; the most esteemed paintings in the collection were hung in this room, many of which were described as a 'ritratto,' see Salerno, 1960, II, pp. 135-40.

234. The Last Supper, formerly in the Prussian Royal Collection but now disappeared. One of twenty paintings attributed to Albani in the 1638 inventory. Recorded in the '4a Stanza seguita al detto appartamento per la quale s'entra allo scoperto' (Salerno, 1960, I, p. 95, no. 44). Symonds described Albani's painting as 'large,' however, there were many paintings of this size in the collection ('alta palmi 9 - lar. 13 e') and several larger; it was among 20 works attributed to Albani in the 1638 inventory. Symonds was unlikely to have met Francesco Albani by the time of his visit to Palazzo Giustiniani as the artist had returned to Bologna in 1617, but as one of the last living pupils of Annibale and the 'heir to and promulgator of Annibale Carracci's ideal' he would certainly have heard of him by this time, see Puglisi in Washington, 1986, pp. 366-72. Symonds met Albani at a later date in Bologna and admired his work, see Bodleian Rawlinson MS D121, fol. 107. In 1609-10 Albani had painted a fresco cycle for Vincenzo Giustiniani at his villa at Bassano di Sutri as well as an altarpiece for S. Salvatore di Lauro (see Appendix I, fol. 44r). The '4a Stanza' was very small, hence (according to the 1638 inventory) only ten paintings were hung in it, see Plan 4, no. 7.
235. There was not a painting of *St. John in the Wilderness* attributed to Annibale listed in the 1638 inventory although there were several paintings of this subject recorded and given to other artists; one attributed to Guido Reni was only a room away from Albani's *Last Supper* (the painting recorded by Symonds immediately prior to the *St. John*, see note 234 above); it is possible Symonds mistook this for an Annibale, see Salerno, 1960, 1, p. 96, no. 59. Other works in the collection were given various attributions which included Annibale, Albani, and Domenichino, depending on the guidebook; evidently it was not only Symonds who had trouble with identifying the Carracci School of painters. An alternative possibility is that Symonds's note refers to Annibale's *Landscape with St. John the Baptist*, now in the collection of Denis Mahon, see London, 1997, pp. 36-7. Mahon's painting fits well with Symonds's description of 'wilderness grove boy...darke shades round full face;' it was in the Camuccini Collection in Rome where it was attributed to Domenichino (Platner, 1830-42, III, p. 270), but its early history is unknown, see Posner, 1971, II, p. 38, no. 88. Albani painted a 'Romanized' version of this composition ca. 1602-03 now in the Ringling Museum, Sarasota; its early provenance is not recorded, nor is it listed in the 1638 inventory, however, that is known not to be complete; possibly Albani painted it for Giustinianii, his foremost Roman patron, see Posner, 1971, II, p. 38, no. 88. A less likely possibility for the painting is a now lost Annibale of *St. John the Baptist Pointing to the Messiah* known from the engraving by Pietro del Po in which the subject is sculptural and there is almost no 'grove,' see Posner, 1972, II, p. 59, no. 133. Symonds's admiration for the picture is evident from his comment that it was the 'best thing I ever saw;' a remark perhaps prompted by him being informed that it was painted by Annibale.

236. *Landscape with a Hunting Party* and *Landscape with Figures*, London, National Gallery. Recorded in the '2a Stanza de Quadri Antichi' in the 1638 inventory where they were attributed to Annibale (as they were by Salerno), see Salerno, 1960, II, p. 141, nos. 102-03 (for the *Madonna and Child* attributed to Annibale, and a *Madonna and Child* attributed to Agostino, see Salerno, II, p. 141, nos. 102 and 103). The attribution for the two landscapes has been questioned, see Levey, 1971, pp. 74-75. There appear to be other paintings of this type attributed to the Carracci in Roman collections of the period, e.g., those by Annibale and the Carracci school that Symonds admired in the Farnese Palazzetto, see Appendix I, fol. 19r.

was recording the *Massacre of the Innocents* (see above) he noted, but did not identify, '2 other [Poussins which] have also prospects of old ruinyd buildings & broken pillars.' Neither *The Assumption*, nor the *Mercury and Argus*, now in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, and listed in the 1638 inventory (Salerno, 1960, II, p. 101, no. 133), contain these features (the *Mercury and Argus* was not recorded by Symonds). See also Haskell, 1980, p. 95.

238. *The Woman taken in Adultery*; now in the Accademia, Venice. Symonds's reference to the 'Woman accusd of Adultery...' as being in the 'room where are so many Madonna's' suggests that this is the painting recorded in the 1638 inventory in the Stanza Grande de Quadri Antichi and described as 'Un quadro soprapporto di meze figure di grandezza del naturale con l'istoria dell'Adultera avanti à Christo con li Farisei' with an attribution to Giorgione. It has subsequently been attributed to Sebastiano del Piombo, and more lately, to Rocco Marconi, see Salerno, 1960, II, p. 136, no. 26. Berenson noted that the painting is signed by Marconi (Berenson, 1957, II, pl. 909).

239. '1 Roome' is likely to be the 'Anticamera dell'Appartamento Grande del Card.le cioè nella Prima Stanza all'Entrar della Sala à Mano Manca' (the room listed immediately after this Anticamera contained the Honthorst, the next painting to be noted by Symonds, see note 240 below. The large painting by 'Valesio' was recorded in the 1638 inventory as 'Un quadro in forma di soprapporto grande, con le tre Marie comprano l'unguento dipinto in tela, alta palme 10 in circa, lar.14 si crede di mano di Gio. d'Alessio ...' (Salerno, 1960, I, p. 98, no. 120). Giovanni Luigi Valesio (or Valesi; c.1583-1650) was the son of a Spanish soldier and was born in Correggio; he became a pupil of Ludovico Carracci and later worked for the Ludovisi pope, Gregory XV, in the capacity of secretary. Symonds appears to have heard of Valesio, perhaps informed by Canini. Salerno writes that 'd'Alessio' might be a corruption of 'Liegi' as the only Giovanni mentioned in connection with the Giustiniani is 'Giovanni Carles da Levio o Liegi;' that this conjecture is unlikely is suggested by Symonds's version of the name which is similar to that in the inventory. See Thieme-Becker, XXXIV, p. 72.

240. *Christ Before Caiphas*, National Gallery, London. Recorded in the 1638 inventory as being in the '2a Stanza seguitta alla sudd.a.' (i.e., the '2[nd] Ro[om] after the Anticamera dell'Appartamento Grande del. Card...,' see note 239 above), see Salerno, 1960, I, p. 98, no. 125. This was a much esteemed painting, six copies of it were made during Honthorst's lifetime. Symonds rightly commended Honthorst's skill at painting a 'night peice,' he was called 'Gerardo della Notte' by contemporary Italians, see Hoogewerff, 1924, pp. 11 and 13; Judson, 1959, pp. 164-5; and Spear, 1975, no. 35.

241. The only painting attributed to Agostino Tassi in the 1638 inventory was
in the '3a Stanza seguita alla sudda' and was described as 'Un quadro soprappunto con un Paese, e prospettiva, e figurine piccole col Mauseleo d'Artemisia...si crede di mano d'Agostino Tassi' (Salerno, 1960, I, p. 101, no. 134); cited (with nothing new) by Pugliatti, p. 86. The description indicates that it was likely to be the painting recorded by Symonds. Tassi was a pupil of the Carracci and Paul Bril - painters admired by Symonds - and the master of Claude Lorraine (although Symonds did not mention Claude in his notes he bought an etching after him, see Ogden and Ogden, p. 59).

242. St. John the Evangelist, The Christie Estate Trust, Glyndebourne. Recorded in the 1638 inventory in the '7a Stanza seguita alla suddetta all'entrare mano manca che ha le finestre che rispondono al cortile,' see Salerno, 1960, I, p. 102, no. 170; and Spear, 1982, ii, pp. 170-71, no. 100. See also Squarzina, I, pp. 776-77 who considers that Domenichino's painting dates to before 1621 in contrast to Spear who has dated it to 1627-29.

243. When writing up his notes Symonds may have confused these 'saints' with a painting he listed earlier (see note 228 above); on this folio he left particularly large gaps between each item as if he could not remember exactly what he had seen: surprisingly he did not realize that the paintings of the three other Evangelists were hanging as pendants to Domenichino's St. John (see note 242 above) to form a set of Four Evangelists. The 1638 inventory records the four as 'Un quadro grande con una figura integra di S. Luca Evangelista che scrive...alto palmi 10 lar. 9 in circa di mano di Guido Reni' and 'Tre altri quadri della medema grandezza uno con S. Gio. Evangelista di mano di Domenichino, l'altro di S. Matteo di mano di Nicolò Ranieri, il 3° di S. Marco di mano dell'Albano...' (Salerno, 1960, I, p. 102, nos. 169-72). Salerno does not record the present provenance of nos. 169, 171 and 172; with the exception of St. Luke the paintings were of 'medema grandezza.' Nicolas Regnier (called Niccolò Renieri (1591-1667) was originally from Antwerp and then trained under Manfredi in Rome; there were nine works attributed to Regnier in the 1638 inventory and nineteen attributed to Albani. For Regnier, see Nicolson, pp. 80-81.

244. This reference to Poussin is difficult to identify with a painting; there is no indication that Symonds had left the '7a Stanza...' and there were no Poussins recorded in this room in the 1638 inventory; probably he was partially repeating the passage on fol. 22v, see notes 226-27 and 242 above.

245. This 'Roome' is the Galleria (plan 4, no. 9); many antique sculptures stood against the walls (see notes 246-52 below) which were covered in frescoes done for Vento between 1586-87 (see notes 215 above and 254 below); for the sixteen paintings hung in the Galleria, see Salerno, 1960, I, p. 103, nos. 181-96.
Not identified in *Galleria Giustiniani*.

247. Not identified in *Galleria Giustiniani*.

248. See *Galleria Giustiniani*, II, pl. 50.

249. Not identified in *Galleria Giustiniani*.

250. Not identified in *Galleria Giustiniani*.

251. Not identified in *Galleria Giustiniani*.

252. See Sandrart, pl. 28.

253. *Victorious Earthly Love*. Symonds's description concerns the two versions by Baglione of this subject in which full-grown men represent *Love*; one is now in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, the other was destroyed in the war. These were recorded in the Galleria in the 1638 inventory, see Salerno, 1960, I, p. 103, nos. 185 and 186; see also Spear, 1975, pp. 48-49, no. 4. Baglione stated that he painted 'for Cardinal Giustinian two paintings of *Divine Love*, who has under his feet Profane Love, the World, the Devil and the Flesh, and these one sees face-to-face in the sala of his palace...' (Baglione, 1642 as translated in Friedlander, 1955, p. 235); see also Hibbard, 1983, pp. 307-08. Baglione made a third version which is now in a private collection in Rome, see also Chapter Six above; and note 216 above.

254. There appears to be a difference of opinion amongst scholars regarding the artists who painted these frescoes for Vento between 1586-87; suggestions have included G.B. Ricci da Novarra, Ludovico Lanzone, the young Baglione, P.P. Bonzi (called Gobbi dei Carracci and a pupil of their school), A. Tempesta, and G.B. Ruggeri; even the name Zuccaro (with no indication as to whether it was Taddeo or Federico) has been suggested and the room is today called the 'Sala degli Zuccari,' see Magnanimi, p. 164. Magnanimi thinks probably Ricci and Lanzone did the grotesques and *stemme*, Ventura Salimbeni the large figures on the walls, and Tempesta the 'Paesaggio' (Magnanimi, p. 164). Toesca considers Baldassarre da Siena did the figures and that Paolo Bril did (what she terms) the 'paesi' (Toesca, p. 298). Symonds may have been accurately informed as to the artist, however, as Tempesta had worked with Paolo and Matteo Bril at the Vatican he may have painted in the Galleria in a similar style to theirs. Squarzina has found that a team of painters led by Antonio Tempesta was active in the Galleria from 1602 onwards and she cites engravings by Tempesta with small landscapes inserted in the grotesque as the models for the Giustiniani ceiling; furthermore the frescoes have the stylistic characteristics of Tempesta's workshop in whom were Paul Bril and Paolo Bonzi. The large mural painting on the long wall (which
emerged during redecoration in 1970) may have been whitewashed over by Vincenzo after he decided to use the room to display his sculpture collection, see Squarzina, II, pp. 108-10.

255. Probably the painting described as 'Un quadro con S. Francesco che riceve le stimate nel M.ro del Verna...' and recorded in the Galleria with no attribution, see Salerno, 1960, I, p. 103, n. 190. For Girolamo Muziano (b. Brescia 1532, d. Rome 1592) see Gere and Pouncey, 1983, I, pp. 129-30. Symonds's sketch, even under ultra-violet light, is very faint; only a figure and a rock can be discerned.

256. Symonds may have gone back to look at this painting in the Stanza Grande de Quadri Antichi. He appears to have forgotten that he had already recorded it and referred to the Duke of Savoy's attempts to acquire it; the reference to the 'Card di Savoya' adds to the possibility that this refers to Scaglia, see fol. 22r and notes 216-18, and 253 above. Gilbert (pp. 292-93, note 41) suggests that it refers to the Duke of Savoy's brother but this seems unlikely as the Duke did not have a brother who was a cardinal.

257. Symonds's notes regarding Cécco (Francesco) del Caravaggio have been discussed by Gianni Papi using a faulty transcription by Wermers (Papi, 1992, pp. 12-15). Wermers transcription reads: 'Checco di Caravaggio he calld many he painted was his boy...' as opposed to the correct transcription (see fol. 26v). Papi takes Symonds's note as an indication that Caravaggio was homosexual, but perhaps more convincingly, proposes that Caravaggio used the same adolescent as a model for other paintings as well as for Amor Vincit, e.g., the first version of the Calling of St. Matthew for the Contarelli Chapel in San Luigi. He suggests that Cécco's nationality was more likely to be Italian rather than Flemish or German, whereas Spear considers he originated from the Low Countries or Germany due to his style of painting (Spear, 1975, p. 82). Caravaggio's sexuality and the identification of Cécco has been further discussed by Gilbert (see pp. 199-202), with no further confirmation on either point. The same passage from Symonds's notes has been slightly mis-transcribed by Gash who writes 'servant' as opposed to 'someone;' more significantly he writes that taken with other references to Caravaggio's homosexuality 'it would virtually settle the issue of the artist's pederastic proclivities' (Gash, pp. 41-42). Recently Langdon has dismissed the likelihood of Symonds's comment (which probably originated from a Giustiniani servant) as proof of Caravaggio's homosexuality; she also questions that the 'Checco' referred to was Cécco del Caravaggio, see Langdon, p. 220. There was a (now lost) work of Cécco del Caravaggio cited in a 1635 inventory of the collection (Baudi di Vesme, 1897, p.45, no. 253, cited in Spear, 1975, p. 84). A Christ driving the Money-changers from the Temple, without an attribution in the 1638 inventory, is attributed to Cécco in 1673 by Silos, see Salerno, 1960, II, p. 143, possibly no. 143 (at this point the inventory skips a few numbers). In
his first reference to *Amor Vincit Symonds recorded that 'Mons' Cered[?]ly' offered '3000 pistols,' in the second reference Crescenzi is spelt 'Creshy' and the price has dropped to '2 milia,' see note 218 above.

258. These two lines in Latin appear to be Symonds's pun on the word 'Caecus' (blind); perhaps they are linked to his note referring to Céccò del Caravaggio (ciècco-cècco = blind; Cécco = abb. Francesco), see note 257 above. 'Johannes Gambassius' was Giovanni Gonnelli (1602-1675?), a sculptor who became blind in 1632 but continued to model; see Bénézit, 1976, III, p. 601, and IV, p. 104.

259. Symonds was apparently told that Gonnelli managed to draw Pope Innocent X by touch having learnt to draw in chalk (*creta*) when he had his sight.

260. The *Architect*, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie. Recorded in the Stanza Grande de Quadri Antichi (although Symonds wrote 'Further roome of Ritrattos') in the 1638 inventory and described as 'Un quadro con mezza figura ritratto di Sebastiano Serlio Architetto... di mano di Titiano...' (Salerno, 1960, II, p. 136, no. 18). Symonds, getting into a bit of a muddle, wrote that it was 'Un Ritratto di Titiano con carta in Mano done by Sebastiano Serlio...' then corrected his error by adding, 'rather Sebastian Serlio done by Titian.' Berenson described this painting as a portrait of '... a bluff, rather loud-spoken practical housebuilder. With compasses in his right hand he touches with the index finger a rolled-up document inscribed "L. Lotto me pinxit..."' (Berenson, 1956, p. 107, pl. 292). This inscription was probably added at a later date than Symonds's visit as it seems unlikely he would not have commented on it; he gave the painting the same title and attribution as the 1638 inventory (perhaps this was how the painting was labelled or attributed in a guidebook). See also note 266 below.

261. There are no Parmigianinos recorded in the 1638 inventory that fit Symonds's description but in the Stanza Grande de Quadri Antichi (where the Lotto's *Architect* was recorded in 1638, see note 260 above) there was a fresco described as 'Un quadro con 3 teste della Madonna, S. Gioseppe e Christo bambino sopra un pezzo di muro depinto a fresco...di mano d Antonio da Correggio...' (Salerno, II, p. 136, no. 31). Perhaps Symonds on writing up his notes inadvertently wrote '4' instead of '3;' he was informed about Parmigianino copying Correggio and his confusion in the attribution of this work is understandable.

262. Caravaggio's *Luteplayer*. Already recorded by Symonds (see fol. 23r and note 232 above); the androgynous youth had now become a 'woman.' The two paintings recorded twice by Symonds were both Caravaggios; this could mean that he considered them so significant that he went to have a second look at
them rather than just mistaken repetitions.

263. Due to the large proportion of religious paintings in the collection, it is hard to be certain which room Symonds's note applies to; possibly it was the square room from which Andrea Giustiniani planned to extend the palace (the largest truly square room on the piano nobile which was about half the size of the Galleria [which led into it] and where there is now a staircase), see Plan 4, no. 10. Alternatively, Symonds was still in the Stanza Grande de Quadri Antichi as the paintings he described at the end of his visit all appear to have been in that room, but, if that was the case, why did he write 'Square Roome ?'

264. There were five Titians recorded in the Stanza Grande de Quadri Antichi; perhaps the 'little quadro...' was the Nativity described as: 'Un quadro in forma di sopraporto piccolo di una Madonna con Christo bambino in grembo S. Giuseppe, et un Ang.o chi l'adora con un poco di prospettiva e paese della prima maniera di Titiano....' see Salerno, 1960, II, p. 136, no. 22. Symonds's 'le prime cose' could indicate that he was back in the Stanza Grande where he first recorded paintings.

265. There are three paintings of this subject listed in the 1638 inventory in the Stanze de Quadri Antichi with indefinite Raphael attributions, one in the '2a Stanza' ('maniera di Rafael d'Urbino') and two in the '3a Stanza' ('copia di Raffael d'Urbino' and 'dei tempi Raffaële'), see Salerno, 1960, II, p. 142, no. 109, and p. 145, nos. 216 and 219. Alternatively, Symonds was referring to the painting of 'una Madonna che tiene le braccia aperte, e Christo Bambino che regge il mondo e S. Giovannino dall'altra parte con un poco di paesino,' attributed to Santi da Tito (the father of Raphael), and recorded in the Stanza Grande de Quadri Antichi (Salerno, II, p. 138, no. 72).

266. The Baptism of Christ. Recorded in the Stanza Grande de Quadri Antichi in the 1638 inventory as 'Un quadro sopraporto grande con un Paise bellissimo col Batticeimo di N. S. nel fiume Giordano e diverse figurine...di mano di Annibale Carracci' (Salerno, 1960, II, p. 137, no. 51). Salerno gives no information regarding this painting other than citing 'Silos [1673], p.103.' A painting by Annibale of this subject, ca. 1585, is in San Gregorio, Bologna. Posner gives no information regarding any other versions (Posner, 1971, II, pp. 11-12). Both Symonds and the inventory are quite unambiguous regarding the attribution to Annibale; since their attributions coincide with regard to other paintings (and not always with Salerno, e.g., those identified at notes 239 and 260 above), it seems probable that the paintings were labelled in accordance with the 1638 inventory at the time of Symonds's visit.

267. Two paintings of this subject are recorded in the 1638 inventory in the 'Stanze Grande de Quadri Antichi.' One was hung in the 'Stanza Grande...'
close by the Annibale painting noted by Symonds immediately beforehand) and is recorded as 'Un quadro con Christo morto sostenuto da doi Angeli...di mano di Paolo Veronese,' now in Dahlem (Salerno, 1960, II, p. 136, no. 33). The other was in the '3a Stanza Grande...' and described as Un quadro con un Christo mort in un lenzuolo bianco...con due Angeli che piangono...si crede mano di Agostino Caracci,' see Salerno, II, p. 144, no. 190 (Salerno gives no information as to the present location of this painting). It seems unlikely that Symonds would give a painting attributed to Agostino to 'Palma' (i.e., Jacopo Negretti, called 'Il Giovane'), although possibly he was referring to the Veronese.

268. There were three 'heads' attributed to Dossi Dosso (Giovanni Luteri) and recorded in the Stanza Grande de Quadri Antichi in the 1638 inventory (Salerno, 1960, II, p. 138, nos. 75 and 76, and p. 141, no. 88); there was also one listed in the '2a Stanza' (de Quadri Antichi), see Salerno, 1960, II, p. 143, no. 153.

269. *Christ Crowned with Thorns*, recorded in the 1638 inventory in the Stanza Grande de Quadri Antichi as 'Un quadro piccolo con una testa di Xpo. N. S. coronato di spine che tiene una canna in mano...di mano di Annibale Carracci.' A copy of this painting was recorded in the inventory in the '2a Stanza Seguita alla Sudda' (next to the Marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani's private apartments), therefore it appears to have been much esteemed (Salerno, 1960, I, p. 104, no. 248, and II, p. 137, no. 50). The painting seems to have been similar to the *Christ Mocked*, now in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna, seen by Symonds in Palazzo Farnese, and which he also described as 'Savi' th crowned w th thorns,' see fol. 16v. Posner writes that several copies of the painting are known, but gives no reference to one with a Giustiniani provenance (Posner, 1971, II, p. 38, no. 89).

270. Possibly a repeat reference to the paintings cited above, see note 265 above.

271. Symonds was noting the high price of the *Galleria Giustiniani*, see Chapter Six above.

272. For details of the family and references for the building of the palace and how the collection was formed, see Chapter 7 above.

273. For the Jewish Ghetto, see Chapter 7 above.

274. For the antiquities in the courtyard, see Chapter 7 above.

275. Neither of the '2 Basso Relievos' with 'Temple[s]' were found on the walls by the writer and nor can they be traced in the catalogue of the
antiquities at Palazzo Mattei di Giove, see Guerrini, passim.

276. The stairway is entered through a perspective arch which masks the juncture of 'two incompatible elements;' its unusual plan is probably the result of Maderno wishing to place the entrance opposite the portal, see Hibbard, 1971, pp. 46-47, pl. 24a.

277. The stairway is decorated with large stuccoes (executed by Donato Mazzi but probably designed by Maderno) on the walls and on the saucer domes above each landing ceiling, see Hibbard, 1971, p. 47, pls. 24a, 25a.

278. Small seats made from antique altars with stucco cushions attached (Plates 26 and 27).

279. The Salone d'Ingresso. A large room with a mantelpiece that displays the Mattei coat of arms; on the ceiling a fresco in an elaborate stucco frame, see Hibbard, pls. 25a, 25b; and Plan 5, no. I.

280. Giovanni Senese: *Tilting in Piazza Navona*, now in the Museo di Roma, recorded in the 1631 inventory, see Cappelletti, 1992, p. 295, no. 312; see also Cappelletti and Testa, 1994, pp. 69-70, 81, 431, no. 92.

281. There is no record of this painting in the inventories of Asdrubale's collection. It was probably a painting of the *Tilting in the Belvedere* (no attribution or present whereabouts) left to Costanza Mattei by her husband Asdrubale's nephew, Giovanna Battista, see Cappelletti and Testa, 1994, pp. 75, 81; and note 280 above.

282. Paul Bril: *Feudi di Giove* (family fiefdoms). Asdrubale commissioned five paintings of Mattei properties from Bril in 1601 for the Salone d'Ingresso, see Cappelletti, 1995, pp. 128-33; however, in all three inventories of Asdrubale's paintings seven *Feudi* attributed to Bril are recorded, nos. 61-67 in 1604, nos. 77-83 in 1613, and nos. 143-49 in 1631; four of these are now at the Galleria Nazionale dell'Arte Antica di Palazzo Barberini, Rome, and a fifth is in a private collection (the *Feudi* were copied by Pietro Paul Bonzi about twenty years later than the originals for the lunettes in the Galleria). In 1604 there were 109 paintings recorded in the inventory; in 1613, 196; and by 1631, when Asdrubale had inherited his brother Ciriaco's collection, 324; for the inventories, see Cappelletti, 1992, pp. 282-95. Asdrubale presumably ordered two more views from Bril after the initial commission for five; all were hung 'sopra la porta,' see Cappelletti and Testa, 1994, pp. 74-75, 81, 435-41, figs. 96-99a; see also Cappelletti, 1995, p. 128.

283. Cappelletti writes that in the Salone d'Ingresso was a 'Battaglia fra Cesare e Pompeo di Gaspare Celio' (Cappelletti and Testa 1994, pp. 81, 109,
The painting was described in the 1631 inventory (without attribution) as 'Un quadro grande assai, dimostra la rotta di Cesare et Pompeo' (Cappelletti, 1992, p. 294, no. 227). This was probably the 'Battagle in a larger frame than either;' 'than either' presumably referred to the two tilting scenes that Symonds recorded above, see notes 280, 281 above, and 286, 287 below.

284. Gaspare Celio: The Crossing of the Red Sea. The first phase of building at the palazzo concluded with Celio's ceiling fresco in the Salone d'Ingresso, see Cappelletti, 1992, p. 260; and notes 279 above, and 286, 287 below.

285. There were several portraits of popes listed in all three of Asdrubale's inventories, including a set of 27. It is difficult to ascertain which were the two that Symonds described as being 'in their chayres.' Two portraits listed together in the 1631 inventory (which were not in the earlier inventories) appear to be possible candidates; these were 'Due ritratti uno di Sisto V e l'altro di Paolo V.' Alternatively they could have been portraits of Innocent II and Alessandro VI which were amongst the paintings added to the collection in 1646, see Cappelletti, 1992, p. 294, nos. 234-35.

286. Gaspare Celio (1571-1640), pupil of Annibale Carracci and author of Memoria delli nomi dell'artefici delle pitture, che son in alcune chiese, facciate, e palazzi di Roma; although published in 1638 (when it was partly brought up to date), it was written before 1620 and much of Celio's information regarding works in private collections date from the original manuscript, see note 294 below. Celio is documented as working on several occasions for the Mattei from at least 1607 (Hibbard, 1983, p. 290, note 38); see also Benedetti, p. 731. Although Celio's guidebook was not listed by Symonds as one that he owned, he may well have read it.

287. The passage in Baglione noted by Symonds reads: 'Nel palagio de'Signori Matthei...nella Sala Grande in mezzo della volta la storia, quando Moisè passò il mare rosso col popolo Ebreo e nell'appartamento da basso nella volta ha finto Giove, il fulmine I Giganti, il tutto a fresco. E nel secondo appartamento l'altare dell cappelletta, & alcuni soprapporci sono dal Celio ad oglio ben condotti' (Baglione, p. 379). Celio and Bonzi (see notes 282 and 283 above) were the only two artists recorded by Baglione as working for Asdrubale. Benedetti suggest that he did not have access to the collection due to a dispute with a connection of the family and that his information was not based on personal experience, see Benedetti, p. 731, note 3.

288. The room leading out of the Sala d'Ingresso on the corner of the Via dei Funari and the Via Caetani (Plan 5, no. 2).

Orsi was a friend of Caravaggio and may have introduced him to Ciriaco Mattei, see Hibbard, 1983, p. 290, note 38. Baglione did not record Orsi working for Asdrubale Mattei, however, he wrote how he became 'poco amorevole, e fu uno di Turcimann di Michelangnolo da Caravaggio... ' (Baglione, p.137); see also Cappelletti, 1992, pp. 259-60; Cappelletti and Testa, 1994, p. 56.

290. There are four frescoes depicting scenes from the life of Joseph in the hexagons and ovals to the 'Sides' of the central 'Triumph.'

291. Symonds appears to have still been in the 'Triumph' room. Although the walls are no longer covered in gilded leather, the painted decorations remain, i.e., the ceiling frescoes and the grotesques and allegories of the Seasons and the Universe in the deep coving, and at the meeting of the corners, the heraldic emblem of the Mattei eagle.

292. All three inventories of Asdrubale's paintings have a section entitled 'Quadri di Devotione' in which were listed numerous Madonnas; with the limited information provided by Symonds, identification of this 'Madonna' is impossible. The inventories were listed under a general heading of 'Guardarobba' without indication as to rooms - and seldom to artists; the exception is the 1631 inventory in which there is a section under 'Galleria' (not built at the time of the two earlier inventories) and where the paintings were frequently given attributions, see Cappelletti, 1992, pp. 289-95.

293. Although there were several paintings of St. Francis listed in all the inventories (and by 1631 there were five recorded), the 'Demy St Francis' referred to by Symonds was likely to be that recorded in the 1631 inventory as 'Un quadro mezano [sic] di S. Francesco,' the only instance in which 'mezano' [sic] was used in the descriptions of this subject; furthermore, this painting appears to have been near to the Taking of Christ in the Garden, see Cappelletti, 1992, p. 292, no. 116; and note 294 below.

294. Caravaggio, Taking of Christ in the Garden, National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin. Commissioned by Ciriaco Mattei in 1603; the painting was recorded by numerous visitors to the collection including Bellori (Bellori, 1976a, p. 34) and by Celio in 1620 (1967 ed., pp. 41 and 101, note 391) when it was owned by Ciriaco's son Giovann Battista. The painting passed by bequest in 1624 into the possession of Giovann Battista's cousin, the Abbate Paolo (son of Asdrubale), and according to Hibbard it was hung in the Palazzo Mattei di Giove, see Hibbard, 1983, pp. 290-91, note 38; see also Benedetti, p. 732; and note 286 above. Asdrubale's copy made by Giovanni di Attilo was cited in the 1631 inventory as 'Un quadro della presa di Nro S.re.' without attribution, nor did it have one in the 1676 inventory, see Cappelletti and Testa, 1990, pp. 234-44; see also Cappelletti, 1992, p. 292, no. 126; Cappelletti and Testa, 1994, p.
75; Cappelletti, 1995, pp. 124-27; and Langdon, pp. 233-37.

295. A painting depicting the Madonna and St. John and St. Joseph was not recorded in any of the inventories; however, there were several paintings listed depicting the Madonna with one or the other, for example, in the 1631 inventory, see Cappelletti and Testa, 1990, p. 292, nos. 95 and 109; perhaps Symonds was referring to more than one painting here.

296. Probably the painting described as 'La Circoncisione di N.S.re...' (with no attribution) recorded in the 1613 and 1631 inventories, see Cappelletti, 1992, p. 288, no. 132 and p. 291, no. 75.

297. Giovanni Serodine, Christ and the Elders, now in the Louvre, Paris. Recorded in the 1631 inventory as 'La Disputa di Nro Sig.re...' with no attribution, see Cappelletti, 1992, p. 291, no. 76 (i.e., the painting listed immediately after 'La Circoncisione,' see note 296 above). For the copy by Anteveduto Gramatica, now at St. Bride Presbytery, Cowdenheath, see Cappelletti and Testa, 1994, p. 75; Cappelletti, 1995, pp. 48, 146-47; and note 303 below.

298. Possibly Cardinal Mattei (Girolamo Mattei, the second of the three brothers, see note 272 above); all three of Asdrubale's inventories record portraits of him, two in 1604, and three in 1613 and 1631 (one of which portrayed him as the 'Auditore della Camera' (for Symonds's visit to an Auditor's Court, see fols. 42v - 43r). Girolamo Mattei was nominated a Cardinal of S. Pancrazio by Sixtus V. He was one of the most influential members of the Curia and Protector of the Observant Franciscans. The Cardinal may have been the first member of the family to make contact with Caravaggio through an introduction by Orsi, see Benedetti, pp. 731-32; and note 289 above. In addition, the 1613 and 1631 inventories record two portraits of Cardinal Barberini; however, in none of the 'Cardinal' portraits has the sitter been described in a chair; as this is a pose frequently used in portraits, it makes paintings with only this description difficult to identify, see note 285 above.

299. Presumably the ante-camera prior to the Galleria on the Via Caetani side of the palace (Plan5, no. 6).

300. See note 297 above. 'us' indicates that Symonds was accompanied, probably by Canini who was often his companion in central Rome, and in particular when going to private collections.

301. The Galleria, added by Maderno in the second phase of building (Plan 5, no. 7), see Chapter 7 above.
302. The paintings depicting events in the life of Christ were hung in the Galleria in sequence, see Cappelletti, 1995, p. 44.

303. The eight paintings that depicted events in the life of Christ, see Cappelletti, 1995, pp. 48, 146-63; see also notes 297 and 302 above.

304. Giovanni Senese: *The Entry of Clement VIII into Ferrara*, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica di Palazzo Barberini, Rome; part of the frieze on the lower part of the walls of the Galleria, see Cappelletti and Testa, 1994, pp. 69-70, 110-11, 424-25, figs. 82-84; see also 'Catalogo delle opere in mostra' in Rome, 1995, pp. 170-71; and note 305 below.

305. Giovanni Senese: *The Cavalcade of the Grand Turk*, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica di Palazzo Barberini, Rome, see Cappelletti and Testa, 1994, pp. 69-70, 110-11, 426-27, figs. 86-89 (parts of this painting are being restored [1996]). The turban on the coffin that Symonds sketched can be seen in Cappelletti, 1992, p. 271, fig. 17; see also note 304 above. Symonds failed to record the *Entry of Charles V into Bologna*, the third 'Cavalcade' in the series.


307. The frescoes by Pietro da Cortona on the Galleria ceiling depict scenes from the life of Solomon. The central fresco, *Solomon and the Queen of Sheba*, in which the queen offers riches to Solomon, probably refers to the marriage of Asdrubale to Costanza Gonzaga. Either side of this fresco are the coats of arms of the two families, see Capelletti and Testa, 1994, p. 58; see also Onori in Rome, 1995, pp. 57-59. In the squinches putti rather awkwardly clamber one on top of each other; however, apart from this unskilful design, it is hard to see why Symonds found the decorations 'not excellent.' Perhaps he was comparing it with Annibale's frescoes on the Farnese ceiling (see fols. 17v - 18r); by this time he also had seen the frescoes depicting Solomon subjects at Palazzo Giustiniani (now attributed to Antonio Tempesta and collaborators including Bril) which he did not comment upon (see fols. 22r - 28r).

308. Presumably referring again to the 'old Princesse,' see note 300 above.

309. There were several paintings of *St. Jerome* recorded in all three inventories, three in 1604 and 1613, and five in 1631; none of these were given a Reni attribution. Pepper gives no reference to a *St. Jerome* with a Mattei provenance. He refers to three Reni paintings of *St. Jerome*; one now in the Pinacoteca Capitolina, Rome (cited in the seventeenth-century inventory of Marchese Urbano Sacchetti); a *St. Jerome and the Angel*, now in the
Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (originally belonging to Cesare Gratti); and a half-length painting of this subject on copper, now in the Gemäldegalerie, Dresden (formerly in the collection of the Duke of Modena), see Pepper, p. 271, nos. 149 and 153, and p. 274, no. 160. However, Capelletti suggests that the St. Jerome was amongst the paintings added to the collection in the 1640s and that it already had been recorded by Bellori (Bellori, 1976a, p. 77 and following) and in seventeenth-century guidebooks such as Titii's (F. Titii, Descrizione delle piture, scultore e architetture..., Rome, 1763, pp. 66-90) and in successive Mattei inventories, see Capelletti and Testa, 1994, pp. 81, and 86, note 5.

310. These paintings were probably by followers of Caravaggio: rather than originals; apart from the Taking of Christ in the Garden, which Asdrubale had copied in 1626 by Giovanni di Attilio (see note 294 above) he also had copied the Incredulity of Thomas, (now in Potsdam) taken from the original of Vincenzo Giustiniani, and two others, St. John the Baptist (now in the Pinacoteca Capitolina, Rome) and David with a Sling (no whereabouts given) 'nello stile del Caravaggio cattivo,' see Cappelletti and Testa, 1994, pp. 75-76. Cappelletti quotes from A. Moir, Caravaggio and his copyists, New York, 1976 (translated from English): 'Le copie, specialmente da Caravaggio, erano estramente, e sia la Cattura che l'Incredulità erano fra i dipinti pi' ammirati, come testimonese il grande numero di derivazioni ancora esistenti,' see Cappelletti and Testa, 1994, p. 76, note 37. Another Caravaggio that had been in Ciriaco's collection, the Supper at Emmaus, now in the National Gallery, London, was recorded by Celio as in the Mattei collection in his guidebook published in 1638. However, it is likely that Celio's information was based on what he saw there in 1607-08 as this painting was left to Cardinal Scipione Borghese by Ciriaco's son, Giovan Battista in 1624. The St. John the Baptist had been left to Cardinal del Monte by Giovan Battista in the same year; neither of these paintings appear in any of Asdrubale's inventories, see Hibbard, 1983, pp. 290-91, no. 38, 293-94, no.42, and 305-07, no. 96. The whereabouts of the St. Sebastian that is recorded in Asdrubale's 1604 inventory as 'Un quadro di un S. Bastiano di mano di Michelangelo da Caravaggio...' is not known (it was not listed in 1613 or 1631), see Cappelletti, 1992, p. 283, no. 28. The Mattei St. Sebastian may be a painting now in a private collection, Rome (a copy of this painting by Martin Faber [1578-c.1648] is also in a private collection, Rome), see Marini, 1979, figs. 11 and 12. Cappelletti suggests that Caravaggio painted the Incredulity of St. Thomas for Vincenzo Giustiniani while he was staying in the household of Girolamo Mattei, see Cappelletti, 1995, p. 46; and Langdon, pp. 230-32.

311. Perhaps these were Girolamo's sons, or the offspring of Maria Vittoria and Scipione Gonzaga, see note 272 above. Was it the 'Beretti' that were unusual or the fact that hats were worn in the house?
312. Symonds was quite correct that in the grand 'purpose-built' palaces of Rome separate suites were provided for the men and women of the family; other examples are Palazzo Borghese and Palazzo Barberini.

313. Francesco Gualdi (c.1576-1657). Gualdi was a member of a circle in Rome that was interested in the natural sciences and antiquities and which included Cassiano dal Pozzo, Father Athanias Kircher and other owners of a 'Wunderkammer,' see Franzoni and Tempesta, pp. 1-42; see also Haskell, 1980, p. 99. When Symonds visited the Pantheon with Canini (who was a member of the Congregazione dei Virtuosi al Pantheon), he noted that over the portico of the Pantheon was 'an inscription & armes of Card. Mazarin & Cavallier Gualdo who putt up an antient Bass Relievo of ye Primitive Xtians...' (see B.L. Add. MS 17919, fol. 40v). Gualdo was also a member of this confraternity that consisted preponderantly of artists; it exists today and still retains its headquarters over the portico of the Pantheon, see Bonnefoit, p. 31. Totti referred to Gualdi and his museum of antiquities (then near the church of S. Maria in Campo Carleo, the zone adjacent to Trajan's column): '...il sig. cavaliere Francesco Gualdo, che nel suo nobil museo ha bellissime cose rare degne da vedersi, con gran spesa raccolte' (Totti, 1638, p. 473). The collection also included a 'Coccodrillo e cameleonte' and an 'Osso di un Gigante,' see Franzoni and Tempesta, pp. 11-12. Symonds was probably introduced to Gualdi by Canini who made engravings of some of Gualdi's gemme in his book Iconografica cioè disegni d'imagini de' famossissimi monarchi, regi, filosofi, poeti ed oratori dell'antichità, Rome, 1669 (therefore not published until after Gualdi's death and Symonds's visit). From Symonds's notes and sketches, it is evident that he was equally intrigued with Gualdi's inventions and gadgets as with his antiquities.

314. Gualdo moved from his house near Piazza Colonna, probably ca. 1650, and then 'negli ultimi anni della vita...passa al convento dei Minimi, della chiesa della Santissima Trinità dei Monti,' see Franzoni and Tempesta, p. 2; and note 313 above. He evidently quite freely opened his museum from its inception and many distinguished people came to visit him and to see his collection including Queen Christina in 1656. In 1652 he donated pieces of sculpture for public display that are still in place today. In particular these can be seen in the area around Santa Trinità (at the foot of the steps and attached to the walls) and on the walls of Palazzo Senatorio, see Franzoni and Tempesta, pp. 19-30, figs. 23-33.

315. This was one of the few occasions that Symonds dated his notes. On 11 April 1651 Symonds set off on his two week excursion to Naples and on 22 May he left Rome and started his homeward journey, therefore although it features near the front of Egerton MS 1635, his visit to Gualdi must have been one of the last things that he did in Rome (he was lucky to visit the collection while it was still complete). The fact that the visit is dated April 1651
confirms that his notes were not entered chronologically; two blank folios before this entry, and two after, indicate that it was inserted where there was an empty gap. Despite the date of the visit, Symonds had probably already met Gualdi through Canini (see note 313 above); on a second rare occasion that Symonds dated his notes he wrote with regard to 'a very old Relievo' that it was 'Set up by Cav. Gualdo, shewd me by S.G.A. 3 Oct. 1650,' see B.L. Add. MS 17919, fol. 66v.

316. Symonds did not record whether this device for climbing up or down walls was Gualdi's own invention; as he had '2 of them' this seems likely to have been the case (Plate 2).

317. A tripod and basin of bronze, now in the Antiquarium Comunale, Rome. The basin rests on a tripod composed of a complicated system of rods, as accurately sketched by Symonds. The uprights are terminated in lions feet and are crowned with female heads. The present chains that link the rods are probably modern restoration but Symonds may have seen the originals, see Franzoni and Tempesta, pp. 4-6, figs. 3-6. Symonds may have heard tripods discussed in Canini's antiquarian circle as they were the object of much antiquarian interest at this time, for example, Cassiano dal Pozzo had a drawing made of the tripod from the Aldobrandini Wedding, now at Windsor Castle, Royal Library, and they were the subject of a discourse by Pieresc, see Joyce, pp. 227-28, figs. 11, 12.

318. This volume has not been identified. Gualdi is likely to have enjoyed rare and beautiful books, for example, he owned a Vetus Sacrum Numisma of 1630, now in the Museo Civico, Modena, and illustrated by Lortenzo Pignoria, see Franzoni and Tempesta, pp. 12-14, fig. 15. A book illustrated by Giulio Clovio would have been greatly esteemed.

319. Gualdi had incised gemme in his collection as can be seen in engravings by Canini and others, see Franzoni and Tempesta, pp. 9-10, figs. 9-12; and note 313 above. Some of these 'intaglios' were evidently transluscent.

320. Not identified but once again an unusual piece of gadgetry that Symonds would consider noteworthy.

321. Gualdi owned sarcophagi with relief carving and various fragments of antique sculpture, for example, the frieze with 'girali d'acanto e fiere' now on the medieval tower in Via IV Novembre, see Franzoni and Tempesta, pp. 14-17, 28; figs. 16-17, 33. Symonds's notes were written before Gualdi donated many of his antiquities for public display when there would still have been an 'Abundance of Bass Relievi' in the collection.

322. See note 320 above.
323. Not identified.

324. San Francesco a Ripa Grande is in the Piazza Francesco d'Assisi, Trastevere. Built in 1231 in replacement of the old hospice of San Biagio where St. Francis stayed in 1219, see B. Pesci in *Le Chiese da Roma Illustrata*, Rome, 1924, no. 49, pp. 5-79.

325. Pietà by Annibale Carracci, dated 1602/3-07, now in the Louvre, Paris. Baglione recorded it in the Mattei chapel (Baglione, p. 107). Symonds may have seen the reference in his copy of Baglione, but he would also have been recommended Annibale's altarpiece by Canini and probably went to San Francesco especially to see it. The painting was taken by the French in 1797 to enter the Musée Napoleon, see Posner, II, pp. 60-61.

326. Posner considers that from stylistic grounds this painting was begun before 1605 and that it remained in the workshop for several years until in 1606/7 Cardinal Farnese prevailed upon Annibale to finish the picture for the Mattei chapel (Posner, II, p. 61). Symonds's admiration was clearly heartfelt.

327. This was the sarcophagus of *Nereids and Sea Creatures* now in the Louvre. Removed to the Capitoline Museum in in the eighteenth century and ceded to the French in 1797, see Bober and Rubenstein, p. 134, no. 103. It was illustrated by François Perrier in *Icones et segmenta illustrium e marmore tabularum quae Romae adhuc exstant*, 1645 (see pls. 12-13) with a commentary by G. P. Bellori. Symonds later bought some of Perrier's engravings to take with him back to England, see Ogden and Ogden, p. 54.

328. The notes on this folio have not been entered in chronological order; they relate to Symonds's description of a circumcision (started on fol. 34v) that he attended in the Jewish Ghetto; as they describe the end of the ceremony they should follow fol. 35r. The Ghetto was bounded approximately by the modern Via del Progresso, the Via del Portico d'Ottavia, the Theatre of Marcellus, and the Tiber. There are still many Jewish restaurants and shops in this area, and on the wall near the Theatre is a plaque to the Jews shot on that spot by the Nazis in the 1940s). In the mid-sixteenth century bulls of Paul IV and Pius V had reduced the Jews to humiliation and Gregory XIII was no less fanatical. At that time the Jewish population in Rome amounted to c. 2,000 people. Conditions improved for them under Sixtus V and Gregory XIV but Clement VIII exiled Jews from all his territories except Rome, Ancona and Avignon. In 1640, during the reign of Urban VIII (1623-44), Nicholas Stone the younger saw a Jew burnt for heresy in the Campo dei Fiori (*Walpole Society*, VII, 195). In the reign of Innocent X (1644-55) they had to wear yellow hats and were much less well treated than in territories not under the Pope. This no doubt encouraged them to become Christians (but perhaps only as a 'front'); baptisms
of Jews were fairly frequent. From 1577 to 1847 there was a weekly sermon, which a fixed number of Jews, or proportion of the Jewish population in Rome, were obliged to attend. Attendance at a circumcision in the Jewish Ghetto appears to be a quite regular part of a visitor's stay in Rome. Symonds's description of the ceremony is very similar to Montaigne's (Montaigne, pp. 134-35); and to Evelyn's (although Evelyn is not completely accurate, various details he gives indicate he witnessed a circumcision rather than wrote from a plagiarized source, see De Beer, II, pp. 293-94). Symonds's accuracy is confirmed in a seventeenth-century account of Jews 'throughout the World' by a Venetian Rabbi (Leo Modena), see Modena, pp. 201-08; see also the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, IV, pp. 93-104; for the treatment of the Jews in Italy, see the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, VII, pp. 1-11.

329. 'When a Male Child is born to any one, his friends come to him and make merry with him, wishing him much joy in it... They [the parents] are to be provided beforehand of a God-father, who is to hold the Infant in his armes, while it is circumcised; and also a God-mother... which for the most part use to be some Man and his Wife, of the Parents Kindred' (Modena, pp. 202, 203). Symonds was using the term 'Gossips' to denote familiar friends or acquaintances who may also have been the god-parents. It was a term more often used for women than men but Symonds applied it to both sexes, see note 345 below.

330. This passage describes the part of the ceremony when the priest having taken a gulp of wine from a cup that he had blessed, dipped his bloody fingers into it and then sent it to the mother and other women in the house to finish; witnessed also by Montaigne, (Montaigne, p. 136) and Evelyn (De Beer, II, p. 294).

331. Montaigne described this 'Vase' ('C' in Symonds' sketch, see Plate 15) and its uses as '... a silver instrument, as round as a tennis-ball, which is attached to a long tail - which instrument is pierced with little holes, like our cassolettes -and applies it to the nose, first of the minister, and then of the boy, and then of the godfather: they suppose that they are odours to strengthen and purify the mind for devotion' (Montaigne, p. 136). Evelyn wrote: 'Then they burnt some Insense in a Censor, which perfum'd the rome all the while the ceremony was doing' (De Beer, II, p. 293).

332. Described by Montaigne: The child is swaddled after fashion' (Montaigne, p. 135); by Modena: '...the Child is swathed again' (Modena, p. 206); and by Evelyn: '[the circumcisor]... swath'd up the Child as before' (De Beer, II, p. 294).

333. '...the God-father delivers the child again to the God-mother, to carry it ...to the Mother: and then all the people depart' (Modena, pp. 206-07).
334. Described by Evelyn as '...a little cap made of white paper like a Capuchins-hood, not bigger than my finger...' (De Beer, II, p. 293).

335. Translates as: 'The method of the Jewish Circumcision;' this is the chronological beginning of Symonds's notes on the subject.

336. Modena wrote that the circumcision could take place '...in the School, or if they please, at Home...' (Modena, p. 203). Both Montaigne and Evelyn wrote that the circumcision they witnessed took place in a private house (Montaigne, p. 134; De Beer, II, p. 293).

337. The fact that the room was 'well & richly hanged,' despite several families cohabiting in one house, suggests that it was segregation in the relatively small area of the Ghetto that made accommodation restricted, rather than poverty. Perhaps the Jews were not always 'very poore' as described by Evelyn (De Beer, II, p. 294).

338. Confirmed by Modena who wrote: 'Upon the eighth day they are bound to circumcise the Child according to the Command given to Abraham...' (Modena, p. 201); also noted by Montaigne who wrote: 'They circumcise them on the eighth day after their birth' (Montaigne, p. 134).

339. Probably neither a 'Dottore or a Chirugo.' Described by Modena as '...a Circumciser, which they call Mohel;' which may be whosoever they please...' (Modena, p. 203); by Montaigne as 'the assistants and the man who is to perform the operation (Montaigne p. 135); and by Evelyn as 'an old man who prepar'd & layd in order divers Instruments brought by a little child of about 7 yeares in a box, These the man laye in a silver bason [the operation was performed by] ... the Rabbin who Circumsis'd it [the child]' (De Beer, II, p. 293). Evelyn was probably inaccurate (pointed out by De Beer) as the mohel who excises the foreskin is not necessarily a Rabbi, see De Beer, II, p. 294, note 1. For confirmation of this point, see also The Jewish Encyclopedia, IV, p. 99.

340. The tools in Symonds's sketch are almost identical with the eighteenth-century and modern tools depicted in the Jewish Encyclopedia, IV, p. 99; see Plate 15.

341. '...and then comes the Circumciser, with a charger in his hand, wherein are the Instruments, and other Necessaries for the present Businesse; as namely, a Razor, Restringent Powders, with little clouts dipt in Oyl of Roses' (Modena, p. 204). See also note 340 above.

342. This may have been the linen garment described by Montaigne as 'They
wear on their shoulders or their head a sort of linen garment with fringes hanging from it' (Montaigne, p. 134).

343. '... Then do they begin a certain Hyme' (Modena, p. 204); '...then the assistants and the man who is to perform the operation begin to sing all together, and accompany with songs the whole of this action' (Montaigne, p. 135).

344. Translates into English as: 'in the meantime.'

345. 'These Seats are covered with Cushions of silk, and are provided, the one for the God-father to sit upon, while he holdeth the Child to be Circumcised; the other, as some say, for the Prophet Elijah, who they believe to be alwaies Invisible' (Modena, p. 204). On this occasion Elijah's seat appears to have been occupied by one of '2 gossips.' See also notes 329 above and 347 below.

346. This may refer to some cover or 'overall' worn as protective clothing by those who held the child. It appears to be part of the passage which continues on fol. 35r.

347. The child was held in position by the godfather; he appears to have had an assistant in the circumcision described by Symonds, i.e., there were '2 Men gossips.' See note 345 above.

348. 'He' refers to the mohel.

349. 'A' and 'B' refer to the instruments in Symonds's sketch (Plate 15). His description of the ceremony is confirmed by those found in Montaigne (Montaigne, p. 135); Modena (Modena, pp. 205-06) and the Jewish Encyclopedia (IV, p. 99). Evelyn described the acts of the circumcision in the wrong order (De Beer, II, p. 294). 'a bason of earth' is explained by Modena as 'a dish full of sand, to put the foreskin into, when it is cut off' (Modena, p. 204).

350. These words are almost illegible and therefore may well not have been accurately transcribed but they clearly are a reference to the penis.

351. Symonds's description of this part of the ceremony is very similar to Modena's, Montaigne's and that in the Jewish Encyclopedia; Evelyn's is inaccurate, see note 349 above.

352. 'Then doth he clap upon the wound some Sanguis Draconis, Powder of Corall, and other Restringent things, wrapping it about with plaisters of Oyl of Roses; and so binding it up close...' (Modena, p. 206). Montaigne also described the powder as 'some red powder, which they say is dragon's blood'
(Montaigne, p. 136). Symonds was evidently similarly informed. Evelyn wrote that this was 'red astringent powder, I suppose of bole.' This was the name given to several kinds of fine clay, generally of reddish colour and here perhaps short for bole armeniac, an astringent powder, see De Beer, II, p. 293, note 2.

353. 'D' in the sketch appears to be very similar to the 'Capuchins-hood' described by Evelyn, see Plate 15; and note 334 above.

354. '...he [the mohel] saith another Benediction also upon the child, and so giveth him his Name, that the Father will have him called by' (Modena, p. 206).

355. 'E' in Symonds's sketch, see Plate 15.

356. '... he [the mohel] taketh of the wine, into which he had spit the Blood of the Infant, and besprinkleth the face of the Child...' (Modena, p. 206).

357. Symonds's description of how the silkworm was generated is not to be found in contemporary encyclopaedias but it is probably accurate as his notes tally in every other way with information regarding the process. The female lays her eggs towards the end of the summer but they do not hatch until the following spring, when the leaves of the mulberry (the food of the larvae) begin to appear. The silk industry is of great age and was confined to warm Asiatic countries until the sixteenth century when it was introduced into the southern countries of Europe. The industry thrived in Rome which was famous for its silk handicrafts.

358. Santa Maria sopra Minerva is an ancient church on the site of a temple to Minerva in which alterations took place in the thirteenth, seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. The altar noted by Symonds (possibly in one of the many chapels) may not still be there; the present high altar is modern. The adjacent monastery was once the headquarters of the Dominicans. The ceremony described by Symonds was not known of by the Dominican father who the writer consulted in the Vatican Library (Father Leonard Boyle); nor is it recorded in Berthier (the book that Father Boyle suggested for information regarding Santa Maria, see Berthier, passim). As silk was a prominent industry in the city, this may have been a ceremony of thanksgiving promoted by silk merchants and now forgotten.

359. The 'boughes' were presumably of mulberry.

360. Sentire means to perceive by any of the senses, except seeing, but especially by hearing; possibly Symonds meant that silkworms are disinclined to make silk (Non sentirsi di fare = disinclined to do it) when it thunders (the
English verb he used is illegible).

361. The 'long walke' refers to the main viale which runs from the northern end of the Medici garden near the Porta del Popolo, to the southern end at the Via di Porta Pinciana. The '2 Walls' along the viale line the bòsco to the east and the gardens of the convent at SS. Trinità to the west; at the time of Symonds's visit, possibly 1650, but more likely 1651 as these walls had been repaired recently by Cardinal Carlo de Medici which Symonds does not refer to, see Andres, I, p. 467 and note 374 below. Cardinal Ferdinand de Medici (later Duke Ferdinand and father of Cardinal Carlo) was largely responsible for laying out the gardens when he bought the estate after the death of the previous owner Cardinal Ricci in 1574. See Rome, 1999, pp. 67-73. The Medici garden can be entered from the Via di Porta Pinciana through a large rusticated gateway that leads into the main viale (Plates 54-55). Opposite this gateway, between the Via Lombardia and the Via Ludovisi, was the seventeenth-century Villa Ludovisi which Symonds may have already visited, he evidently knew of it and we know that he went there (discussed above; today only the Casino d'Aurora remains). Symonds perhaps entered the garden by this entrance, or by a gate from the Pincio near the main entrance to the Villa. For a view of the layout of the garden, see G.B. Falda's (Pianta grande) Vue cavalière prise de l'ouest, Toulier, in Villa Médicis, I, pp. 44-45, fig. 22.

362. This reference is somewhat misleading; Rome was placed at the centre ('middle') of the east side of the garden parterre facing the Villa Medici and near to the Gallery (see note 374 below) rather than in the 'long walke' (Plate 56). The statue was recorded there ('Facciata della Grotta al Pie del Boscho') in the 1598 inventory (Cf. Florence. Archivo di Stato, Fondo Mediceo, Miscellanea 587) and remained there until the 'haha' road that separates the Medici Garden from the Borghese Gardens (the Viale del Muro Torto) was built ca. 1822. Rome is described as 'l'Statua di marmo a colosso di una Roma anticha manca le braccia,' see Boyer, 1929 (in which the sculpture from the 1598 inventory is listed) p. 266, no. 284; see also Toulier in Villa Médicis, I, p. 96, fig. 80. It appears that by the time of Symonds's visit, Rome had had her arms and shield restored. Symonds's sketch of the shield shows that it represented a sun with 'a faire head.' Rome is now at the northern end of the garden; evidently her right arm was at some time broken again, it now shows signs of repair and is braced by an iron bar; the shield that she once held has been replaced by an orb (Plates 57-58).

363. The 'Bassarilievo...possibly for Jonas' under Rome appears to be one of the '2 Pili ordinari di marmo storiati di 1'2 rilievo che uno è...la storia d'Iona' which are recorded in the 1598 inventory 'Nella Piazza,' see Boyer, 1929, p. 266, nos. 249. The Piazza was the area directly in front of the Loggia: the 'Jonah' sarcophagus was evidently moved to form a base for the statue of Rome (which was placed in the parterre just to the east) sometime after 1598. The
story of Jonah is found on sarcophagi and in the Roman catacombs because of
its symbolism as a prefiguration of the death and resurrection of Christ. The
sarcophagus is no longer under Rome and may have been sent to Florence like
other pieces of sculpture formerly in the collection.

364. Evelyn described the artificial wooded mound at the southern end of the
bòsco as a 'Mount planted with Cypresses, representing a fortresse, with a
goodly fountaine in the middle' (De Beer, 1959, II, p. 231). The site of this
'Parnassus' was once an Acilian nymphananeum buried by Ferdinand I when
the mound was constructed; it could be climbed spirally by a ramp, or by sixty
straight steps, and had a pavilion platform on the top. Inside was a fountain
with water playing into a marble carved sarcophagus; from this the water
channeled down at the side of the stairs. Symonds's description of the view is
excellent but he fails to mention the fountain or the grotto beneath 'Parnassus'
which had been repaired by Cardinal Carlo (see note 374 below); the 1598
inventory records that in the 'Schala che va nel bosco' was 'I Tazza di granita
sopra un pie di marmo per fonte sul monte,' this could indicate that the
fountain had not been completed by that date or alternatively that the tazza
cought water flowing from above, see Boyer, 1929, p. 267, no. 305; and
Andres, I, pp. 287-88.

365. Nereid mounted on a Hippocamp, Florence, Uffizi. See Bober and
Rubinstein, p. 133, no. 101; these 'stayres' lead up to the top of the Galleria
(see note 379; and Plate 61) and were part of the restorations undertaken by
Cardinal Carlo in the late 1640s (see notes 364 above and 374 below). The
Nereid was recorded in 1598 on the 'Schala che va nel bosco' and was
described as 'I Galatea di marmo sopra un cavallo marino' (Boyer, 1929, p.
267, no. 301). A 1778 engraving by Deodato Ray shows the Nereid in the
'Stanzone detto ll Restauro' (part of the Galleria) before it was sent to Florence
in 1780, see Touliers in Villa Médicis, I, p. 201, fig. 208B; and notes 370 and
371 below; this was probably a part of the Galleria described in the 1598
inventory as the 'Loggia in capo alle nicche dove si restaura' (Boyer, 1929, p.
267).

366. The Porta del Popolo is north-west of the Villa Medici; a terrace runs
along the west side of the garden with a magnificent view of Rome below; to
the east of this terrace a large area was divided into sixteen plots planted with
small trees and hedges and intersected by paths.

367. The 1598 inventory records that 'Nella Piazza' (the area in front of the
Loggia) there were '15 Piedestalli di marmo piu parte con [ette]re;' perhaps
these may have been the 'Large red stone[es]' that were later moved to the
northern side of the garden, see Boyer, 1929, p. 266, nos. 250-64; and note 366
above.
368. The fountain at the front of the Villa Medici Loggia, see Venturini's engraving in Haskell and Penny, p. 25, fig. 14; and notes 369-72 below.

369. There were only three bronze statues recorded in the garden in the 1598 inventory; two of these, 'Silenus' and 'Marte' were recorded in the Galleria but had been placed in front of the Loggia by the time of Symonds's visit. The third, 'Mercurio,' was already at the fountain in 1598, see Boyer, 1929, pp. 263-64, nos. 90, 116, and 117; and notes 368 above and 370-71 below.

370. Silenus, Bargello, Florence. Recorded in 1598 in the Galleria as 'Sileno di bronzo piú del nat[e],' see Boyer, 1929, p. 264, no. 116; see also Touliers in Villa Médicis, I, p. 201, fig. 208B, which shows Silenus in the 'Stanza detto II Restauro' prior to being taken to Florence in 1787 (see note 365 above). It is a copy (by Ammannati) of a statue then in the Villa Borghese, Silenus with the infant Bacchus, now in the Louvre, see Haskell and Penny, p. 307, fig. 77; see also Andres, I, p. 315; and Rome, 1999, pp. 200-01, no. 33. Symonds probably chose to measure this statue because of its size although he also considered it 'Rare' (his writing makes it difficult to ascertain whether he is measuring the statue by 'hands' (palmi) or 'heads' (more likely the former as he used his hands to measure the letters on the 'Red stone[s],' see note 367 above). See Haskell and Penny, p. 25, fig. 14.

371. Mars, Uffizi, Florence. Recorded in the Galleria in the 1598 inventory and described as 'Marte di bronzo nat[e],' see Boyer, 1929, p. 264, no. 117; see also Touliers in Villa de Médicis, I, p. 201, fig. 208B, which shows Mars and his companion Silenus in the 'Stanza detto II Restauro' prior to being taken to Florence in 1787; see also notes 365, 367, and 368-70 above and 372 below. This statue was also known as Corilanus with the Attributes of Mars and, like Silenus, is a copy by Ammannati, see Andres, I, p. 315; and Arrizoli-Clementel in Villa Médicis, II, p. 511, fig. 1.

372. Giovanni Bologna, Mercury, Bargello, Florence. Recorded in the Loggia in the 1598 inventory as 'Merchurio di bronzo sopra a una testa d'un vento che sta sopra a una pila di breccia di pi` colori che fa fonte con 2 maniche di bronzo' (Boyer, 1929, p. 262, no. 90); see also Avery, p. 256, no. 34; and Rome, 1999, pp. 202-03, no. 34. The statue of Mercury, was placed under the arch of the Loggia from (or soon after) its arrival at the Villa Medici in 1580, see notes 368-71 above.

373. The 1598 inventory separates the 'Facciata del Palazzo' under three headings; these are respectively: 'Quadro di mezzo' (Loggia side), 'Quadro verso il Popolo' (Porta del Popolo), 'Quadro verso la Ternita' (Trinità de' Monti); 72 pieces of sculpture are recorded on this side of the Villa, see Boyer, 1929, pp. 264-65, nos. 150-222. Ammannati was responsible for designing the enlargement and alteration to the Villa Medici for Ferdinand I who had
acquired it upon the death of Cardinal Ricci in 1574. However, Ammannati's plan for the facades had to be altered (probably by Nanni di Baccio) to accommodate sculpture from the Capranica-Della Valle collection acquired in the late 1570s after he had left Rome.

374. The 'divers statues and pedestalls' are those recorded in the 1598 inventory against the 'Facciata di fuora all Galleria' (the south side of the parterre), see Boyer, 1929, pp. 265-66, nos.223-44. For Velazquez's paintings and Cardinal Carlo's 1648-49 repair program, see Harris, 1981, pp. 537-39, figs. 50 and 52; and Andres, I, p. 467. See also Touliers in Villa Médicis, I, p. 201, fig. 207A, for Deodato Ray's 1778 (not exact) engraving of the facade of the Galleria showing Ara Pacis bas-reliefs and statues in niches prior to their removal to Florence in 1782. See also Plate 62.

375. See Boyer, 1929, pp. 263-64, nos. 91-142; see also notes 370-71, 374 above and 379 below.

376. The obelisk that Symonds referred to, now in the Boboli Gardens, Florence (sent to Florence in 1788), was placed originally in the parterre in front of the Galleria. It is recorded there in the 1598 inventory ('Facciata della Grotta al Pie del Boscho'), and described as: 'I Guglia di granito su 4 tartaruche di metallo tutta con Ire hieroglifiche su il piedistallo di marmo saligno e palla di rame dorato in cima' (Boyer, 1929, p. 267, no. 299; the 'palla di rame' [copper balls] may have alluded to the Medici coat of arms). See also Touliers in Villa Médicis, I, p. 474, fig. 724. Evelyn described it as 'a faire Obelisque full of Hieroglypics' (De Beer, II, p. 232) since 1970 a modern copy of the obelisk has replaced the original (Plate 63).

377. Cleopatra, Museo Archaeologico, Florence. A version of the statue in the Vatican Museum, Rome, see Haskell and Penny, pp. 184-87, fig. 96. The statue is recorded in Velazquez's painting of 1649-50, now in the Prado, see Harris, 1981, pp. 537-39, figs. 49 and 51. See also Rome, 1999, p. 168, no. 17; and note 374 above. The Medici Cleopatra was well-known and much admired, see Richardson, 1722, p. 126; it was moved to Florence in 1787. Perhaps amongst the garden structures damaged in 1645 (see note 374 above) was the 'Loggia lungho le mura' (on the east side of the garden and presumably made expressly for Cleopatra) where the statue is recorded in the 1598 inventory and described as 'I Cleopatra di marmo a giacere morta piu che il nat' (Boyer, 1929, p. 268, no. 326).

378. The Niobe Group, Uffizi, Florence, see Haskell and Penny, pp. 274-79, figs. 143-47; and Rome, 1999, p. 162, nos. 14-15, Niobe and her daughters (no. 16, son of Niobe, is in the Museo Archaeologico, Florence). Purchased in 1583 by Cardinal Ferdinand de Medici from the Varese family and recorded in the 1598 inventory as '14 Statue di marmo dell historie della Niobe che la
Niobe con la figlia atatchata messa per una, Anfione marito di Nibe, 6 figli maschi e 6 femmine senza quella atatchata all m[ura]re' (Boyer, 1929, pp. 268-69, nos. 346-359). The much restored Niobe Group and a horse (no. 360) were arranged in groups of figures in a special compartment at the north end of the garden at the 'Testa del viale Longo;' as early as the 1570s Cardinal Ricci had had a pavilion here but this had been replaced by a hemicycle protruding northwards beyond the old limits of the Villa; an imaginary reconstruction etched by Perrier gives an idea of how the statues were placed within this area, see in Haskell and Penny, p. 20, fig. 10. Symonds used much the same description for the portrayal of fear with regard to the drawing by Veronese of Diana and her Nymphs that he bought in the north of Italy, see Ogden and Ogden, p. 55; and Spear, 1997, p. 175. Modern replicas of the group have been placed in the same location as the originals, see Plate 64.

379. Symonds had walked back towards the Villa from the north end of the garden; the 'Divers Bassi Relievi' are high on the wall of the Galleria. At the west end of the Galleria is the staircase (Plate 61) that leads up to the 'high Terras walke' above the Galleria with a view of the garden and Rome beyond, see note 366 above.

380. The north end of the garden is still divided by paths, although it is now somewhat a 'wilderness;' in the seventeenth-century this area had neat rectangular and square beds, see Toulier in Villa Médicis, I, p. 45, fig. 22; and note 366 above. In 1598 there were '72 Termini di marmo per tutto il giardino at the 'Testa del viale Longo' (near the Niobe group), see Boyer, 1929, p. 268, nos. 364-435; these were probably the 'Diversi termini' subsequently placed to create focal points in this part of the garden, see Toulier in Villa Médicis, I, p. 274, figs. 326-27; and Plate 65; see also Rome, 1999, p.p. 156-61.

381. Cardinal Carlo de Medici rebuilt the water channels for espaliers and renewed the entire water system when he undertook other major restoration in 1648-49 (see note 374 above). The Medici gardeners were likely to be some of the most knowledgeable in Rome. The writer saw this novel way of propagating cuttings in a garden a few miles outside of Rome in April 1996; Symonds saw it in the spring of 1650.

382. Villa Medici on the Monte Pincio, see Chapter Eight above.

383. The Sala Grande is on the piano nobile over the main entrance to the Villa Medici, see Plan 9, room 2. The room is two stories high and was undecorated (except for ceiling mouldings and cornices) in order to accommodate the many paintings hung on the walls as well as the sixteen marble columns on which stood busts and small statues; other available floor space was filled with furniture and larger statues, see Andres, I, p. 316. Symonds started his notes on the Villa Medici in this room probably because he entered
from the garden by the Loggia on the same level, see Plan 9, no. 2. His notes refer only to rooms on the piano nobile, indicating that this was the standard tour for visitors.

384. These were paintings in the Sala Grande from the Medici Iconografica, now in the Uffizi. The collection of portraits of famous people was originally created for Cosimo I and subsequently added to by his successors, see Gli Uffizi, pp. 603-64. The 'Guarderobe' may have told Symonds this collection of portraits were 'originals all'; however, all but one of the Iconografica portraits recorded by Symonds appear to be copies by Cristofano di Papi dell'Altissimo (ca. 1552-1605). Cristofano started work for Cosimo in 1552 and in all copied 280 portraits of eminent people, working on this task until the late 1560s. For a discussion of the paintings in Ferdinand's collection, see Cecchi in Villa Médicis, II, pp. 486-505. In the 1598 inventory of furnishings and paintings the latter are listed without numbering or dimensions, and seldom with attributions or identifications, see Andres, II, pp. 253-91. The Iconografica is recorded as 'Cento ottanta sei quadri in tavola e in tela di teste ritratte al naturale senza ornamento' (Andres, II, p. 256). The reference to 'p.69' does not appear to relate to a relevant page in Lomazzo, Baglione or Totti and has not been identified.

385. Allegory of the Four Elements - Fire, Uffizi, Florence; attributed to Leandro Da Ponte Bassano, this painting represents a blacksmith beating out a piece of metal surrounded by pots with people in the background and a cupid in the foreground, see Gli Uffizi, p. 153, no. P161. Although the 1598 inventory records '4 elementi' in the Sala Grande, see Andres, II, p.255, Fire is one of only 3 'Elements' listed in Gli Uffizi (for Air, see p. 152, no. P160; for Earth, see p. 153, no. P162). There is a painting identified as Vulcan listed separately in the 1598 inventory in the Sala Grande which is described as 'U'quadro grande in tela dipinto Vulcano con or.to nero tocco d'oro' (Andres, II, p. 255); probably this is painting no. P161 in Gli Uffizi that Symonds described as 'Vulcan. & pots & people.' To add to the confusion Cecchi writes that the whereabouts of only 3 'Elements' (copies of Bassano that were in the collection) is known; these are Earth in the Walkers Art Gallery, Baltimore, and Water and Fire in the Ringling Museum, Sarasota; he does not refer to the versions of these subjects attributed to the Bassano brothers and listed in Gli Uffizi, see above; see also Cecchi in Villa Médicis, II, pp. 495 and 498. It was probably the Medici servant (the 'Guarderobe') who told Symonds that the painting of Vulcan was 'very rare. 4000 crownes estemd,' see notes 387, 389 and 394 below.

386. Symonds may have been referring to 6 Sabines, now in the Loggia dei Lanzi, Florence. In 1584 they were bought by Ferdinand de Medici with other statues from the Capranica-della Valle collection. After restoration they were placed in niches in the Loggia behind the Mercury fountain (see fol. 37 r)
where they are recorded in 1598 (Boyer, 1929, p. 263, nos. 75-80); and Bober and Rubinstein, p. 199. The Sala Grande adjoins the Loggia (Plan 9, nos. 2 and 1); an elaborately framed doorway between the two is in line with the Mercury fountain and with the balcony on the streetside wall of the Sala Grande from which there is a splendid view of Rome; therefore, even without leaving this room, Symonds could have viewed some of the Sabines. Although the inventory describes these statues as in 'vestite dette Sabine' (see Boyer, 1929, p. 263, nos. 75-80), this costume was not recognised as such by Symonds. It would be strange if he did not refer to these famous statues at all, and if he entered by the Loggia he should already have passed them; however, on other occasions he omitted famous statues from his notes such as the Farnese Bull. He may have been referring to six of the statues in the Sala Grande since there is no indication that he has left this room. Possible candidates for Sala Grande statues that were 'in strange postures' are '4 Statue di marmo di Bacychi' and 2 statues 'simile a quelle di Niobe' (Boyer, 1929, p. 260, nos. 12-15, 18, 19).

387. Paintings that depict the Four Seasons have not been traced in the Uffizi collection but they were recorded in the Sala Grande (with no attribution) in the 1598 inventory, see Andres, II, p. 255 and note 385 above. Cecchi suggests that these were allegories of the Seasons depicting heads composed of flowers, fruit etc., possibly by Arcimboldo or equally attributable to Francesco Zucchi or his brother Jacopo, a specialist in this genre; for examples of similar works by Francesco Zucchi, see Cecchi in Villa Médici, II, p. 564, figs. 8-9; perhaps these were the '4 Stagioni' paintings referred to by Symonds, but more likely, since he compared them to the 'Vulcan' and attributed them to a Fratello del Bassano, 'he was confused with the 'Element' paintings. There were four paintings by the Bassani depicting the story of Noah recorded in the 1598 inventory; these were distributed in various rooms on the piano nobile (Touliers in Villa Médicis, I, p. 386, fig. 545; and Andres, II, pp. 258, 260, 262). Cecchi confirms that four 'Noah' paintings by Jacopo and Francesco Bassano were in the collection and gives the titles and present location of three of them, God speaking to Noah, The Flood and The Feast of the Wicked Rich Man, all now in the Galleria Palatina, Florence, see Cecchi in Villa Médicis, II, pp. 492-93, fig. 6.

388. Recorded in the Sala Grande in the 1598 inventory as 'U'quadro grande in tavola...del ritratto di papa leone x.mo con 2 Cardinali' (Andres, II, p.255); presumably a copy of Raphael's Leo X with Cardinals which remained in Florence, see Gli Uffizi p. 442, no. P1303.

389. This piece of probably unsubstantiated information by the 'Guarderobe' was likely to impress visitors such as Symonds.

390. Symonds was referring to a painting of the The Battle of Lepanto (not
identified in the present Uffizi collection) recorded in the Sala Grande in the 1598 inventory as 'U'quadro grande in tela dipinto la rottA dI Turchi,' see Andres, II, p. 255; recorded by Totti in Roma antica e moderna as 'la Battaglia di Lepanto espressa dal Tempesta' (Totti, 1750, II, p. 159.) Possibly this was the painting of the subject that was amongst the possessions of Cardinal Ricci at the time of his death in 1574, see Andres, I, p. 70. Ricci was occupied in fundraising for papal galleys for the Battle of Lepanto for Pius V. Symonds evidently knew of Pius V's involvement in the famous battle against the Turks, see Pastor, VIII, passim.

391. There were six paintings 'indiani' recorded in the Sala Grande in the 1598 inventory (not identified in the present Uffizi collection), see Andres, II, p. 255. Symonds's description of '2 large quadros of Indian painting...' differs from the inventory which records 'Quattro quadri mezani indiani in tela con boscaglio ed Ucelli e figurini. Dui quadri indiani picolni con boscaglie e ucelli.'

392. This was a panel painting in the Sala Grande of Cosimo I's taking of Siena and described in 1598 as 'U'quadro messo in tavola a scalini dipinto la prese del forte di Siena...,' see Andres, II, p. 255; and notes 393 and 394 below (not identified in the present Uffizi collection).

393. The 1598 inventory records that the painting of the capture of Siena (see note 392 above) is 'con un specchio che mostra la testa ritratta del Gran Duca Cosimo,' see Andres, II, pp. 255-56; and note 394 below; the portrait (which appears to have been integrated into the 'solders a fighting' painting) may have been taken from Bronzino's portrait of Duke Cosimo in armour, see Gli Uffizi, pp. 189, 302.

394. It was typical of Symonds to find this reflective trick, shown to him by the 'Guarderobe' ('he'), as noteworthy, see note 393 above.

395. A reference to Vignola's Le Due Regole della Prospettiva (Vignola was not involved with the architecture at the Villa Medici); it appears to have been written in as an afterthought at the bottom corner of fol. 38v, see Chapter Four above.

396. The entire west side of the piano nobile is visually linked; by proceeding north of the Sala Grande the visitor entered an ante-chamber described in 1598 as the 'Camera prima verso il Popolo,' see Andres, I, p. 317; and Plan 9, no. 3.

397. The 1598 inventory records in the 'Camera prima verso il Popolo' a statue described as '1 Hercole di marmo alto palme 6 co[n] piedistallo del med.[esi]mo dentro una testa di cigniale di mezzo rilievo,' see Boyer, 1929, p. 260, no. 23. Although a version of the Farnese Hercules (dug up on the Palatine and sold to Cosimo I) is now in the courtyard of the Pitti Palace, the
statue that Symonds referred to is smaller and is now in the Uffizi, see Haskell and Penny, pp. 231-32, note 28.

398. Not identified. Emperors heads were recorded in the 1598 inventory in the 'Secondo Stanzino calare abasso nella lumacha nova' and described as '12 Teste di marmo di 12 Imperatori,' see Boyer, 1929, p. 262, nos. 50-61. This room was Ferdinand's library on the floor above the piano nobile which was not shown to Symonds. Perhaps two of these heads had been moved by the time of his visit, alternatively two could have been moved from a collection of '8 Teste di marmo...' in the 'Stanza dove si ristaura le statue,' see Boyer, 1929, p. 270, nos. 463-70.

399. The 1598 inventory records a statue that fits Symonds's description of 'A little statue of a More;' in the 'Prima stanza del Apartamento verso la Ternita' there was '1 Statua d'un Moro con la veste d'Alabastro cotognino alto p. 3 1/2 colla base' (Boyer, 1929, p. 261, no. 35). However, this room was an antechamber in Ferdinand's apartment that runs south of the Sala Grande, i.e., in the opposite direction from the room in which Symonds saw the Hercules, see Plan 9, no. 7; Symonds either recorded the statues incorrectly, or one or the other of them had been moved since the inventory was taken.

400. The 'Camera seconda di detto appartamento' (i.e., the room next to the 'Camera prima verso il Popolo'), see Boyer, 1929, p. 260; Andres, I, p. 317; and Plan 9, no. 4.

401. Arrotino, Uffizi, Florence. Acquired in 1578 by Cardinal Ferdinando de Medici and sent to Florence in 1677 (with Venus and the Wrestlers), see Boyer, 1932, pp. 211-16; see also Haskell and Penny, pp. 154-56, fig. 80; and Bober and Rubinstein, pp. 75-76. Arrotino is recorded in the 1598 inventory in the 'Camera seconda di detto appartamento' and described as '1 Statua di marmo di un villano al naturale che arota un cortello,' see Boyer, 1929, p. 260, no. 26. Symonds's rough sketch of the statue is easily recognisable as Arrotino.

402. There are no 'heads' recorded in the same room as Arrotino ('Camera seconda...') in the 1598 inventory; possibly these were two of several pieces of sculpture listed in the Sala Grande in 1598 and described as 'Testa...,' see Boyer, 1929, p. 260, nos. 2-11.

403. Symonds was either not shown or forgot to record a bedroom on the north-west corner, the 'Camera terza' (Plan 9, no. 5); the 'Next roome' was the 'Stanzino di detto appartamento,' an ante-room that adjoined the 'Camera terza' on the side facing the garden and which communicated with the Loggia and the spiral stairs, see Andres, I, p. 318; Plan 9, rooms 1 and 6, and staircase S2; and notes 404 and 408 below.
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404. *Venus de Medici*, Florence, Uffizi. This indeed 'famous' statue was copied, drawn, and commented upon by numerous artists and connoisseurs, see Haskell and Penny, pp. 325-28, fig. 173. First recorded in the Villa Medici in 1638 by Perrier (see Gasparri in *Villa Médicis*, II, p. 465, fig. 22) *Venus* was sent to Florence in 1677 with *Arrotino* and the *Wrestlers*, see Boyer, 1932, pp. 211-16; and notes 401 above and 417 below. The statue was on its own in a separate 'Stanzino (see Plan 9, room 6); it is described in the 1598 inventory as 'I Statua di Venere in nuda al naturale,' see Boyer, 1929, p. 261; Andres, I, p. 318; and note 403 above.

405. This is the signature of Cleomenes, son of Apollodorus; the originality of the signature has often been in dispute by scholars, see Haskell and Penny, p. 326. Symonds split the writing incorrectly, but this was because he was short of space at the edge of the folio.

406. Symonds's description, unlike that in the inventory (see note 404 above), records that *Venus* has a dolphin support; he did not comment upon the inferior quality of this part of the work as did Richardson and Montesquieu, see Haskell and Penny, p. 326.

407. Symonds's detailed study of the statue and its proportions appears to have been measured on the spot (rather than dimensions taken from a published source); however, he did not mention that it was much restored and repaired (although not as much then as when it got to Florence), or that some of the parts that he so diligently measured may in fact not have been original. Presumably, like many others, he considered (or had been told) that *Venus*'s measurements were 'ideal.'

408. *Venus* was displayed alone (see notes 403 and 404 above); if by writing 'that Roome' Symonds was referring to her 'Stanzino', it appears that he either made a mistake, or (unlikely) that '2 Heads of Empresses' were added at a later date from elsewhere in the collection, or that he had moved to another room.

409. Described as the 'Prima stanza del Apartamto verso la Ternita' in the 1598 inventory, this was an ante-chamber south of the Sala Grande and the first room in Ferdinand's apartment, see Boyer, 1929, p. 261; and Plan 9, no. 7.

410. A statue described as 'I Ganymede di marmo con aquila e fuogore alta p.[almi] 3 3\textsuperscript{1}/2' is recorded in the 1598 inventory in the 'Prima stanza del Apartam\textsuperscript{10} verso la Ternita' (Boyer, 1929, p. 261, no. 39). Gasparri suggests that it could be by Cellini but he does not give its present location, see Gasparri in *Villa Médicis*, II, p. 465 (another statue of the same subject was recorded in the Sala Grande according to Boyer, 1929, p. 260, no. 16).
411. The pedestal with festoons and goats heads was not recorded in the 1598 inventory, nor has it been referred to by either Boyer or Andres.

412. Two globes are recorded in the 1598 inventory; 'U'Globo terrestre' in the 'Camera seconda di detto apartamento' (i.e. towards the Porta del Popolo, north of the Sala Grande) and 'U'Globo celeste...' in the 'Secondo camera di detto apartamento' (i.e. towards the Trinita south of the Sala Grande), see Andres, II, pp. 260 and 267; and Plan 9, nos. 4 and 8. These had evidently been moved and placed in the same room (probably the 'Seconda camera' on the south side, room 8). The 1598 inventory records many notable paintings in the three rooms in Ferdinand's apartment including two Titians, two del Sartos, and a Pontormo; none of these were mentioned by Symonds, see Andres, II, pp. 265, 267, 270-71.

413. It is difficult to ascertain which was the 'Next Roome' as in 1598 some of the statues that Symonds described below (see notes 414-17) were recorded in a room that he had already been in, i.e., the 'Camera prima verso il Popolo' on the north side of the Sala Grande, see Andres, II, p. 259; and Plan 9, no. 3; however, the ceiling painting that he recorded below (see note 418) was in the 'Seconda camera' on the south side, see Plan 9, no. 8. Symonds's memory could have been at fault - or these statues had been moved.

414. Unlikely to have been the Dancing Faun, now in the Uffizi, and not recorded as having been moved to Florence from the Villa Medici; the Dancing Faun 'emerged in the seventeenth century from complete obscurity,' see Haskell and Penny, pp. 205-08 and fig. 106. Unfortunately Symonds gave no identifying details regarding the Faun that he recorded; nor does the 1598 inventory regarding the Faun recorded in the 'Camera prima verso il Popolo' (other than dimensions) and described as 'l Fauno di marmo di palmi 3 1\3' (the Dancing Faun measures 1.43 metres and therefore is somewhat larger), see Boyer, 1929, p. 260, no. 24.

415. Symonds seems somewhat unsure of the subject. Probably the statue was 'l Statua d'un Cupido che tira l'arco alto p.s.,' recorded in the 1598 inventory in the 'Seconda camera di detto apartamento' (the second room in Ferdinand's apartment which was probably the room that Symonds was in). This statue is now in the Boboli Gardens, see Boyer, 1929, p. 261, no. 47; Andres, II, p. 268; and Plan 9, room 8.

416. The 1598 inventory records in the 'Seconda camera...' '(the second room in Ferdinand's apartment) 'U' pie di stallo di marmo a triangolo con figurette di mezzo rilievo e arpie' (Andres, II, p. 268). This piece is listed directly after 'un cupidò' (see note 415 above); the description ties in with Symonds's sketch of the 'old pedestall' which can be compared to a drawing, now in the Louvre (Dép. arts graphiques, inv. 26434), by Etienne du Pérac, see Gasparri in Villa
417. The *Wrestlers*, Florence, Uffizi. This group was purchased by Ferdinand in 1583 shortly after it was discovered and sent to Florence in 1677 with the *Venus de Medici* and *Arrotino*, see Haskell and Penny, pp. 337-39, and fig. 179. The *Wrestlers* were first thought to be part of the *Niobe Group* (see fol. 37v) as they were discovered together; the 1598 inventory shows that although at that date they were still labelled in connection with the *Niobe*, they were exhibited separately, not in the garden, but in the 'Camera prima verso il Popolo' and described as '2 Statue di marmo di Lottatori del historie di Niobe' (Boyer, 1929, p. 260, no. 22); and Plan 9, no. 3. Evelyn wrote 'above all, and happily preferrable to any in the World are the two Wrestlers, for the inextricable mixture with each others armes & leggs plainly stupendious' (De Beer, II, p. 286). Evelyn may have obtained his information regarding the title of the work at a later date from another source.

418. *Death of Leander* by Giacinto Gimignani, now in the Museo Civico, Florence (Plate 66). This is the only ceiling which was decorated on the piano nobile (the stucco framing at the centre of the Sala Grande vault was apparently intended to contain three painted scenes these do not appear ever to have been executed, although on the level above, several rooms had panelled wood ceilings with allegorical scenes by Jacopo Zucchi, see Morel in *Villa Médicis*, III, pp. 89-226); see Andres, II, pp. 289-90; and Plan 9, no. 8 (a bedroom in Ferdinand's apartment). Toulier writes 'Pièce 8 de l'appartement sud tableau de la voute en arc-de-cloître tronqué...La décoration a été réalisée pour le Cardinal Carlo de' Medici. Ell a accueilli, à partir de 1638, une toile de Gemignani représentant Héro et Leander' (Toulier, in *Villa Médicis*, I, p. 394; for the elaborate stucco frame on this ceiling, see I, p. 395, fig. 565). Toulier refutes a claim by R. Villedieu, *Villa Medici*, Rome, 1953, p. 189, that the room had a ceiling frescoed with Olympus for Ferdinand; Andres also considers this unlikely since the ceiling frames in this apartment were only added in the 1630s (he refers to ASF, Miscellanea Medicea 363: an accounting of the interior finishing to be executed by Paolo Maruscelli). Andres quotes a late seventeenth-century description of the Villa by Carlo Fontana who said (regarding this room) '...sotto la volta vi è un quadro buona grandezza con Pittura di stima, che si crede de Caracci con cornice ornata di stucchi dorati attorno al medesimo quadro; this is the only ceiling on the piano nobile for which he mentions painted decoration (Fontana's attribution to Carracci is interesting, perhaps some similarity to Carracci's work was one reason why the painting appealed to Symonds), see Andres, II, pp. 268-69. More recently Fumagalli has (like Andres) attributed the painting, the *Death of Leander*, now in the Museo Civico, Pistoia, to Giacinto Gimignani, see Fumagalli, in *Villa Médicis*, II, p. 579, fig. 5.

419. We know that Symonds had been to 'Giuste his palace' (the Farnesina,
see fol. 15v) and 'Giusti' was probably another version of 'Chigi.'

420. This was probably not a reference to the famous *Crouching Venus*, now in the Uffizi, Florence (see Haskell and Penny, pp. 321-23 and fig. 86) recorded in the 1598 inventory in the garden 'Stanza sopra le mura' and described as 'l Venere di marmo a sedere al nat'le che si lava' (Boyer, 1929, p. 268, no. 338). Although Symonds did not mention a cupid, it is more likely that he was referring to the statue recorded in the inventory in the 'Prima stanza del Apartamto verso la Ternita' and described as 'l Venere di marmo che si sta lavando a un fiume con un amorino alta p.3 2/3,' see Boyer, 1929, p. 261, no. 45 (in the inventory as quoted by Andres this statue is described as 'U'Venerina di marmo col cupido sopra un nicchio di mare alta p.2,' see Andres, II, p. 265). It would be logical that Symonds was going back towards the Sala Grande through this room; probably the statue had been moved as no sculpture was recorded in 1598 in the 'Terza camera' which was Ferdinand's bedroom and more likely to be described as a 'comer Roome.' Another statue of *Venus* was recorded in the 'Stanzino' adjoining Ferdinand's bedroom, but this was a standing figure with '... pomo et manto nelle mane' (see Boyer, 1929, p. 262, no. 48); see also Plan 9, nos. 7, 9, and 10.

421. The 'small oyle paintings... Many Venus's' could be some of the small paintings on copper with erotic mythological subjects by Zucchi that were in the collection; although not always of Venus, they do depict lots of female nudes, e.g., see Rome, 1999, p. 300, nos. 85-86.

422. Symonds was back in the Sala Grande where he started his tour; he refers again to portrait paintings from the *Iconografica*; the Sala Grande was described by Totti as 'La Sala è adornata con molti Ritratti dipinti, che rappresentano diversi Personaggi della Casa Medici,' see Totti, 1750, II, p. 158; and notes 383 and 384 above. From the 1598 inventory we know there were many paintings of more quality by several renowned artists, and that (according to Andres) the contents of the Villa were left intact until the late 1670s; other than pictures attributed to the Bassani (a family of painters that Symonds did not greatly admire) the *Iconografica* portraits appear to have been the paintings in the collection that interested him. It seems likely that the better paintings had been moved to another location.

423. Uffizi, Florence, see in *Gli Uffizi*, p. 604, no. Ic7; inscribed on this painting (attributed to Cristofano di Papi dell'Altissimo and dated 'ante 1568') is 'JOANNES AVCVTVS'. Sir John Hawkwood (1320-94), the English mercenary, was called Giovanni Acuto in Italy. This portrait of him in profile is taken from the 1492 fresco by Uccello in Santa Maria del Fiore, Florence. Symonds's little sketch of the portrait (there were two but one was crossed out) is intriguing; he knew who the sitter was and it strongly suggests that he had seen the original before coming to Rome.
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424. Uffizi, Florence, see in *Gli Uffizi*, p. 646, no. Ic340; inscribed on this painting (attributed to Cristofano di Papi dell'Altissimo and dated 'ante 1568') is 'PETRVS NAVARRVS: INVIC.CVNICVLORVM.' Pietro da Navarra (1420-66) was an intrepid sailor and followed Alfonso V of Portugal in the expedition to Africa. Symonds presumably noted from the caption on the portrait that Pietro invented mines (*cuniculorum*).

425. Uffizi, Florence, see in *Gli Uffizi*, p. 621, no. Ic144; inscribed on this painting (attributed to Cristofano di Papi dell'Altissimo and dated 'ante 1568') is 'FERDINANDVS CORTESIVS.' Ferdinand Cortez (1485-1547) was the conqueror of Mexico; by writing 'Indo[rum] Domitor' (between 'Indo' and 'Domitor' is the Latin contraction for rum) Symonds indicated that he knew of Cortez's role as a conqueror.

426. Uffizi, Florence, see in *Gli Uffizi*, p. 650, no. Ic371; inscribed on this painting (attributed to Cristofano di Papi dell'Altissimo and dated 'ante 1568') is 'IOAN.PICVS MIRANDVLA.' Giovanni Pico Della Mirandola (1463-94) had claims to fame other than being a 'handsome man;' the younger son of the Count of Mirandola he was a scholar and Neo-Platonist philosopher in the service of Lorenzo the Magnificent.

427. Uffizi, Florence. Although there are three portraits of Titian listed in *Gli Uffizi*, all three seem to be poor copies of his self-portrait. Two are in the artists series (nos. A863, and A941); a third, very similar, is listed in the Iconografica series, see p. 721, no. Ic772; this painting is inscribed 'TIZIANO' and is attributed to the 'Scuola Fiorentina sec.XVII.' This appears to be the only portrait from the Iconografica recorded by Symonds not attributed to Cristofano; perhaps he painted a copy of Titian that has gone astray or been re-attributed.

428. Uffizi, Florence, see in *Gli Uffizi*, p. 614, no. Ic83; inscribed on this painting (attributed to Cristofano di Papi dell'Altissimo, dated 1566-68) is 'MICHAEL ANGELVS BVONAROTTU.' Although there is another very similar version of Michelangelo's self-portrait in the catalogue (no. Ic84, dated after 1646 and attributed to 'Igneto Fiorentino, sec. XVII'), it seems probable that the version Symonds saw was by Cristofano.

429. Uffizi, Florence, see in *Gli Uffizi*, p. 638, no. Ic278, (attributed to Cristofano di Papi dell'Altissimo and dated 1566-68) with the inscription 'LEONARDO DA VINCI.' Another very similar copy of Leonardo's self-portrait can be seen *Gli Uffizi*, p. 720, no. Ic764; however, the painting that Symonds recorded, like the other portraits of artists 'altogether,' was probably the version by Cristofano.
430. There are several portraits in Gli Uffizi by Cristofano that fit this description, for example, Ottoman Sultans with turbans inscribed respectively as 'AMVRATHES I' and 'AMVRATHES II' (p. 646, nos. Ic337-38); also various portraits of kings including one inscribed as 'HENRICVS VIII ANG : et HIB:REX' (p. 626, no. Ic177); and another inscribed as 'MVLEASSES REX TVNC' (p. 645, no. Ic336).

431. Symonds wrote '3 Popes Togeather' and then proceeded to write about four who were depicted wearing similar conical papal tiaras, see notes 432-35 below; it appears that different subjects, e.g., heroes, artists, popes, etc., were hung in groups.

432. Uffizi, Florence, see in Gli Uffizi, p. 606, no. Ic23; inscribed on this painting attributed to Cristofano is 'ALEXANDER IV P.M.'

433. Uffizi, Florence, see in Gli Uffizi, p. 612, no. Ic71; inscribed on this painting attributed to Cristofano is 'BONIFACIO VIII P.M.'

434. Uffizi, Florence, see in Gli Uffizi, p. 618, no. Ic118; inscribed on this painting attributed to Cristofano is 'CELISTINVS P.M.' Although Symonds wrote 'San', Celistinus (1235-1303) founded the order of 'Celestini' but was not (according to Gli Uffizi) sanctified.

435. Uffizi, Florence, see in Gli Uffizi, p.659, no.Ic448; inscribed on this painting attributed to Cristofano is 'VRBANVS IV P.M.'

436. Uffizi, Florence, see in Gli Uffizi, p. 646, no. Ic342; inscribed on this painting attributed to Cristofano is 'NICOLAVS V. P.M.' Unlike the other popes recorded by Symonds, Nicholas V is depicted in a two tiered tiara.

437. Uffizi, Florence, see in Gli Uffizi, p. 624, no. Ic167; inscribed on this painting, attributed to Cristofano, is 'IOA:ANDREAS AVRIA.' Andrea Doria (1466-1560) was a famous Genoese admiral who fought for Charles V against the Turks. Another similar portrait of Doria is no. Ic.168 in Gli Uffizi, also attributed to Cristofano; according to the catalogue this portrait is after the picture by Bronzino, now in the Brera, Milan; perhaps this is why Symonds found it 'rarely done' (although from a small photographic reproduction this does not seem to be the case). It appears that far from being 'Originals all' (see note 384 above) it would be reasonable to say that all Cristofano's portraits (and possibly the whole Iconografica) are originals 'none.'

438. The painting of a map of Europe in the Sala Grande, see Andres, II, p. 255.

439. In the eighteenth century the adjudicators of this court were described as:
'Auditore... si dice a quel Ministro, che vende ragione, o consiglia il Principe in materia di grazia, o di giustizia,' see Vocabulario della Crusca, Florence, 1739, I, p. 256. See also Dizionario della Lingua Italiana, I, p. 750, where they are described as: 'L'audienza però del principe, è a questo fine; e tutti i senati, parlamenti, consigli, giunte, congregazioni assemblee, egli Auditori stesse, che perciò si chiamano 'di camera' non sono altro che tanti orecchi del medisimo Principe.'

440. Sant'Andrea della Valle, Corso Vittorio Emanuele, built in 1591 from a design by F. F. Grimaldi and Giacomo della Porta.

441. The auditor of this court has not been identified as there were many palaces in the vicinity of Sant'Andrea della Valle. The nearest palace to Sant'Andrea is Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne (1532) which is opposite the church at the angle of the Piazza Sant'Andrea della Valle and Corso Vittorio Emanuele (although the latter dates only from 1876). The number of prelates who formed the tribunal of the Sacra Rota Romana varied over the centuries but was finally stabilised at ten by 1908, see Enciclopedia Italiana, XXXIV, p. 605. An auditor would have been a prelate and a member of a prominent Roman family. An example of this type of 'Monsig' is Cardinal Girolamo Mattei who was an auditor of the Camera ca. 1600 as well as being Cardinal of San Pacrazio, a member of the Curia, and Protector of the Observant Franciscans.

442. Evidently the auditor was a bishop who was absent on the day that Symonds attended the court and was represented by another official.

443. Sant'Eustachio, near the Pantheon in Piazza Sant'Eustachio; it appears Symonds attended more than one sitting of the court.

444. Symonds's detailed notes concerning the Auditors Court exemplify his interest in social customs, and as a former official in the Court of Chancery, this legal procedure in particular.

445. This passage shows how (when convenient) important personages were willing to allow complete strangers to visit their palaces and collections; a custom of great significance for Symonds.

446. San Salvatore in Lauro stands between Via dei Coronari and the Lungotevere (not far from the Ponte San Angelo) and was founded in 1177. The present church was built ca. 1449 by Cardinal Latino Orsini but partly burnt down in 1591. In 1594, under the patronage of the Duke of Braccia, rebuilding was started by the architect Ottaviano Nonni (called Mascherino), but due to shortage of funds it was not completed until 1727 by the architect Ludovico Rusconi Sassi. For details of the evolution of the church see Paluzzi
in *Chiese di Roma Illustrate*, (not dated), Rome, No. 52, pp. 8-32. The church was bought for the Marchigian colony in Rome by Cardinal Azzolino in 1669 and subsequently the church and cloisters were used for concerts and exhibitions of paintings, see Haskell and Penny, p. 128. Symonds would have seen Mascherino's work to the crossing and on the side towards Via dei Coronari.

447. The area is reputed to once have been a laurel wood that surrounded a temple of *Europa*; hence the church being called S. Salvatore in Lauro. Symonds noted the symbolic laurel branch behind the half-figure of Christ (Plate 67).

448. Francesco Albani's now lost *Vision of Lorenzo Giustiniani* was offered as a gift to Queen Christina of Sweden in 1637, see Paluzzi, p. 13. The painting was probably offered to the Queen by Vincenzo Giustiniani (died December, 1637) who had employed Albani at his country seat at Bassano di Sutri near Rome in 1609-10. During his years in Rome, Albani received only this one commission for an altarpiece, see Puglisi in Washington, 1986, p. 367.

449. Pietro da Cortona. The *Nativity* remains in the Capella della Natività where it was admired by Titi as 'colorito egregiamente da Pietro da Cortona...che fu la prima opera, che lo facesse conoscersi per gran maestro,' see Titi, p. 248. Symonds was correct in remarking upon Cortona's skill in depicting a sky at daybreak; he evidently admired Cortona's early style of painting.

450. A now lost *Transfiguration of our Saviour* by Giovanni Serodine d'Ascona (called l'Orzarulo), see Salerno, 1951, p. 245; and Paluzzi, p. 13; see also Milan, 1987, passim. Symonds was correct to the extent that the painting was by a follower of Caravaggio but he either may not have known - or forgotten - Serodine's name, or possibly confused him with Ribera, see note 453 below. Baglione seemingly had similar reactions to the painting as Symonds (who seemingly on this occasion did not refer to his copy of the *Vite*). Baglione wrote (regarding this painting) in his 'Vita' of Serodine '...La dipinto il quadro dell'altare maggiore, con la transfigurazione di Cristo sopra il monte Tabor, assai bizzarra, e fantastica, con poco disegno, e con manco decoro...,' see p. 199 (1733 edition). Titi was less critical and wrote simply that 'Nell'Altar Maggiore vi era un Quadro rappresentate la Transfigurazione di N.S. operato da Gio. Serodine' (Titi, p. 248).

451. By this phrase Symonds meant that atmosphere (in a painting) cannot be created by memory.

452. Symonds was evidently quoting Canini's opinion (which clearly influenced his own) regarding the followers of Caravaggio and of this painting
in particular.

453. Jusepe de Ribera was called 'Spagnoletto,' and, like Serodine, was a follower of Caravaggio. Symonds may have considered that this painting was by Ribera, but he would have been mistaken; both contemporary and modern scholars consider the artist was Serodine (see note 450 above); more likely Symonds was remarking that Ribera was also a follower of Caravaggio, a piece of information supplied by Canini.

454. Athanasius Kircher (1601-1680) born in Germany; a mathematician with a knowledge of medicine, physics, geology, astronomy and oriental languages. All antiquities interested him, the more remote the better, see Garcia, pp. 183-87. In a letter to Galileo of 1634 Rafaello Magiotti wrote that 'Di nuovo vi è in Roma un Gesuita, stato gran tempo in Oriente, in quale possedere 12 lingue, buona geometria ecc...' (Rivosecchi, p. 49). Kircher was appointed mathematical professor at the Collegio Romano about 1635 and his 'cabinet' in the college became a major attraction in Rome; other English visitors to his museum included John Evelyn and Richard Lassels, see De Beer, II, p. 230; and Chaney, 1985, p. 193. For a full account of Kircher's experiments, writings and illustrations of some of his inventions, see both Rivosecchi and Ruspolo, passim. From Symonds's notes ('the father says') it is evident that Kircher explained the way that objects worked, perhaps to all visitors, but possibly he took more trouble with someone like Symonds who would have been fascinated with Kircher's gadgets and curiosities.

455. The Collegio Romano is sited in the Piazza del Collegio Romano (the building is now used as a school). It was built by Bartolomeo Ammanati in 1585 for the Jesuits by order of Gregory XIII, see Cavallero, p. 58. Symonds recorded a second visit to the Collegio to witness the ceremony of a philosophy student receiving his doctorate, see fols. 71 v - 73 r.

456. One of Kircher's scientific inventions. Lassels describes the gallery of his museum as '... full of admirable curiosities and experiences both mathematicall, magnetical, and hydraulick,' see Chaney, 1985, p. 193. Although many objects that were in Kircher's collection are illustrated in his books (many of which are now in the Accademia di San Luca), the weighing machine sketched and described by Symonds was not identified ('poise' was probably a misspelling of 'peso' = weight). A weighing machine that must have worked in a similar fashion is illustrated in an eighteenth-century book of engravings of the contents of his museum. This apparatus also consisted of a weight, strings and pulleys, but is not the same design as that sketched by Symonds, see Ruspolo, p. 313, fig. 37.

457. This piece of 'Porphyry' has not been identified in Kircher's books. For illustrations of similar objects, see 'De Fragmentis' in his Obelisci
Aegyptiaci..., Rome, 1666, pp. 134-36.

458. Probably the instrument illustrated in Ruspolo, p. 315, fig. 75. Kircher used balls (probably of lead) in his inventions, particularly in those concerned with acceleration or perpetual motion, for example, in a machine which applied the principle of the 'coclea di Archmede,' see Rivosecchi, fig. 169. 'steepe' possibly means that the 'sleek piece' was at a sharp angle.

459. For an engraving illustrating this 'Instrument,' see Ruspolo, p. 315, fig. 75.

460. Symonds has probably described 'Refracto-reflexi horolaby paradoxi alia constructio,' illustrated in Kircher's Ars Magna lucis et umbrae, Rome, 1646, see 'Problema XIV,' pp. 701-02. The illustration depicts a glass with a bird at the top; the bird appears to be dipping his beak into a cup attached to a tube inside the vessel.

461. This passage was written in Symonds's worst writing probably when he was making use of some empty pages in the notebook; he crammed as much as possible into the available space and many words are illegible. With few exceptions it consists of anecdotes, some of which Symonds presumably found amusing (mainly those to do with the discomfiture of the aristocracy) and others that were sad, such as the prophecy foretelling the death of Charles I. One unhappy story came from a French book which Symonds called 'L'Histoire tragique de nostre Temps.' The coarse humour was probably normal for the time but it is incongruous in this notebook, as, except for another similar passage (fols. 61 v - 63 r, not transcribed; probably entered at the same time and equally hard to decipher), Symonds recorded matters that were on a higher plane. The conclusion that both of these 'Discourse' entries were made after Symonds's trip to the Continent is borne out by an incident he recorded that concerned the 'King' in 1650 (i.e., Charles II, see fol. 45v) which Symonds would have been unlikely to have heard of in Italy - this also applies to several other anecdotes that refer to particular Englishmen. Symonds also wrote about a macabre incident concerning a bandit 'who stayd at Padoa at my living there' (i.e., on his return journey in 1651, see fol. 47v). Symonds wrote down 2 page references (but with no reference to the relevant book) which suggests that, at least in part, he may have been copying out anecdotes that interested or amused him (although when copying from more serious works he employed his best handwriting, for example, Finella's Fisinomia Naturale, see fols. 67v - 70v).

462. The academy of the 'Umoristi' was established ca. 1603; it had fallen into decay before 1667, when it was revived; there were no further meetings from 1670 until 1717, when an abortive attempt was made to revive it. In its day it had many illustrious members including Cassiano dal Pozzo. Evelyn
describes the Accademia as 'where the Witts of the Towne meete on certain daies, to recite poems, & prevaricate on severall Subjects &c' (De Beer, II, p. 364).

463. Sign' M[ancini]. At the time of Symonds's visit the house was probably inhabited by Michele Lorenzo, the father of the Duchesse Mazarin and the son of Giulio Mancini (1558-1630), physician to Pope Urban VIII (1538-1630). Mancini was also a successful picture dealer who kept his eye open for paintings when visiting his patients and was one of the first non-artists to write about art, see Considerazioni sulla Pittura, 1620, an introduction to painting for the gentleman amateur or dilettante (first published by Adriana Marucchi for the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei of Rome, 1956 with a second volume of notes by Luigi Salerno, 1957); see also De Beer, II, p. 364; Mahon, 1947, pp. 32-38, Appendix 2, pp. 279-331.

464. 'La nobile habitatione de' Signori Mancini' was in the Via del Corso, see Totti, 1638, p. 287. The site of the Accademia degli Umoristi is opposite Palazzo Doria Pamphili and is now occupied by Palazzo Salviati.

465. Evelyn described the meeting: 'The first that Speakes is cal'd the Lord, & stands in an eminent place, & then the rest of the virtuosi recite in order: by these ingenious Exercises the learn'd discourses, is the purity of the Italian Tongue daily improv'd' (De Beer, II, p. 364).

466. There are three references to cardinals named Capponi (the nearest name to 'Capone') in Eubel; from their dates the one most likely to have been in the Academy in 1650 was Aloysius Capponi, Cardinal of Ravenna, 1621, see Eubel, pp. 292, 399.

467. If this was Cardinal Capponi of Ravenna, possibly 'Emb:' means an entourage, see note 466 above.

468. We know from Evelyn that this was a 'spacious Hall' (De Beer, II, p. 364).

469. Cavalier d'Arpino (Guiseppe Cesari, 1560 or 1568-1640), one of the leading painters of the Roman court and with a gift for intrigue and self-advancement. He may have been responsible for introducing Guido Reni to the Borghese, see Pepper, pp. 23-24; see also Baglione, pp. 367-75; and note 470 below.

470. This was Giovanni Giacomo Sementi (or Semenza, 1580-1610) a pupil of Denys Calvaert and Guido Reni. Symonds was probably informed by Baglione who wrote in his 'Vita' of Sementi, 'V'e ancora di sua mano nell'Accademia de' Signori Umoristi, in casa de' Signor Mancini Romani al
Corso, in quadro al olio colorito, e per entro stavvi una virt' con una tromba in mano, e sotto v'è la Lupa con Romolo, e con Remo figliioni gemelli d'Ilia, e di Marte, infanti, assai buon quadro, e forse de'migliori, ch'egli formasse, per lo colorito con freschezza, e per la buona maniera' (Baglione, p. 344). A painting of Fame by Sementi is now in the Sabauda Gallery, Turin. As this painting (no description) only measures 0.35 x 0.31 m. (Pepper, p. 304.), it is unlikely to be the 'large Quadro' seen by Symonds.

471. The poet (Giovanni) Battista Guarini (1537-1612), author of Pastor Fido, first published in 1590. The portrait was by Orazio Borgianni (died aged 30 before 1630) and was referred to by Baglione, 'Il ritratto del Cavalier Batista Guerino, gran poeta. nell'Accademia degli Umoristi è di sua mano' (Baglione, p. 142). Evelyn also noted the portrait, 'It is in this Accademia of Umorists where they have the Picture of Guarini the famous author of Pastor fido, once of this society' (De Beer, II, pp. 364-65). Symonds mentioned Guarini as the author of the story of the Sacrifice of Polyexena when he saw Cortona's painting of this subject in Palazzo Sacchetti (see fol. 75r). A copy of Pastor Fido was amongst the books that Symonds forwarded home from Rome, see B.L. Harley MS 943, fol. 111v.

472. Evelyn also commented that 'This roome is hung round, with enumerable divises or Emblemes all relating to something of humidum with Motos under them' (De Beer, II, p. 364). The mottoes below may seem less than humourous due to the writer's incorrect translations.

473. This is the device of the society, i.e., a cloud with gentle showers issuing from it. The motto means 'the army is returned gently (or pleasantly).'

474. The 'Title' or motto of the emblem was above it.

475. The motto may mean 'The outcome reveals.'

476. IL Presa' means 'The Capture' which appears to be the 'Title' or motto of the emblem.

477. The humourous?

478. Humour completes. The illegible word is possibly 'l'embrace'= a shower of rain.

479. Could this mean 'malice' as in 'malizia'? 'Malzato' is not in the dictionary (although neither word would require an l'). Evidently it was on a fountain represented in the emblem.

480. Strength from origin - or beginning.
481. This motto, meaning 'The Muse forbids to die,' was painted on a tomb depicted in the emblem.

482. I gain by losing.

483. The Light.

484. Humour nourishes.

485. The Light (in the sense of not heavy, see note 486 below).

486. A weight from the waves. 'Il Legiero' probably refers to levity rather than to illumination, see note 485 above.

487. The Uproar.

488. Symonds may have been referring to the fountain (the right-hand one of two; the left-hand one dates from 1677) by Carlo Maratta now in the Piazza San Pietro, dating from the time of Paul V, which (like its counterpart) is 46 feet high.

489. The roar of Olympus is imitated.

490. With ? it returns?

491. A printing press (as written by Symonds); the motto was evidently 'printed' on the emblem, see note 492 below.

492. I print out and am powerful.

493. *Avillupato* = 'wrapped up' in modern Italian, i.e., 'The one who is wrapped up' (presumably signified by the reel). Symonds slightly misspelt the word.

494. Loosening the beginnings carefully?

495. The Captured

496. With helping dew. The motto does not seem to apply to the emblem.

497. That which is sprinkled (passive) or, the one who is sprinkled.

498. It burns more. Neither the motto or the emblem seem to connect with 'L'asperso,' see note 497 above.
499. The melancholic.

500. The cloud only - or only so much. Symonds's description of the emblem does sound melancholic (see note 499 above), but the motto is obscure.

501. The Safe (Haven?)

502. Safety on the sea.

503. The unbalanced person, i.e., someone who has lost control.

504. Lest humour should temper.

505. Possibly someone (i.e., a character) who is restrained.

506. It reveals or displays honour. Once again the motto does not appear to connect with the emblem, but it must have intrigued Symonds sufficiently for him to record it visually with a sketch.

507. Francesco Angeloni, (ca. 1590-1652). Antiquarian and secretary to Cardinal Ippolito Aldobrandini and author of Historia Augusta..., Rome, 1641, and Historia di Terni, Rome, 1646, see Dizionario Biografica, III, pp. 241-42. For a discussion of Angeloni's collection, see Wood, 1996, p. 9; Spezzaferro, pp. 245-50; Sparti, passim. Bellori was Angeloni's protégé and possibly his nephew; for his connections with the Aldobrandini family, Agucchi, Domenichino and Bellori, see Mahon, 1947, pp. 144-45. For Angeloni's specific connection with Domenichino, see Spear, 1982, Text, pp. 19-20, 24-25, 26-30. Angeloni's house became famous as a museum of antiquities and medals which he combined with a collection of paintings, drawings and curiosities. He was visited twice by Evelyn (De Beer, II, pp. 237-38, 356-57). See also Totti, 1638, p. 303. There are large gaps in Symonds's notes indicating that they were written up after his visit. As in other studioli of the time (e.g., Ippolito Vitelleschi's), the rooms contained a mixture of curiosities, antiquities, medals, coins and paintings; religious subjects and portraits appear to have been hung in the same room. The attributions to painters noted by Symonds were presumably provided by Angeloni (and/or Canini); whether these were always accurate is a point debated by Sparti, see pp. 47-48. Canini was likely to have been present on this visit as he was a good friend of Angeloni for whom he painted and copied many pictures; his portrait etching of Angeloni is the frontispiece for Angeloni's Historia di Terni, Rome, 1646.

508. The Porta Pinciana is at the end of Via Lombardia, not far from Villa Borghese and (the now demolished) Villa Ludovisi.
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509. Presumably a fresco representing a classical landscape and a 'he' lying under a tree in the foreground.

510. *Diana of Ephesus*, a naked ('natura') statue of a woman with many breasts ('Dugges'), see Bober and Rubinstein, p. 87, no. 48. Symonds chose to sketch this bizarre cult figure which he may never have encountered before.

511. Angeloni's 'curiosities' were displayed in glass cases.

512. Evelyn wrote of '...an infinity of naturall rarities, dryd animals, Indian habits & Weapons, Shells &c' (De Beer, II, p.356). These were also listed in a partial copy of the 1652 inventory made after Angeloni's death when the collection was offered for sale to Leopoldo de Medici, see Sparti, pp. 46, 77.

513. *Cumaean Sibyl*. One of several versions or copies of Domenichino's painting. One version, now in the Galleria Borghese, was in Palazzo Borghese at the time of Symonds's visit there, but he may not have seen it as he failed to record it. For the Borghese painting, see Spear, 1982, I, pp. 191-92, no.51; see also Spear in Rome, 1996, p. 422, no. 25. A second version, now in the Pinacoteca Capitolina, Rome, was in the Pio collection, Rome, by the end of the seventeenth century. Spear does not give this painting an earlier provenance so it is possible it is the version that was owned by Angeloni (Spear, 1982, I, pp. 232-33, no. 80). The painting is one of 50 listed in the copy of the 1652 inventory, see Sparti, p. 77; and note 512 above.

514. Evelyn wrote '...divers Things of both the Bassanos...' (De Beer, II, p. 356). 'Cinque ó sei' paintings attributed to the Bassani were listed in the 1652 inventory, see Sparti, p. 76 and note 512 above. The subjects noted by Symonds sound typical works of the Bassani, painters whose work was evidently admired by Angeloni. Symonds elsewhere criticised them for their paintings of '...dogs and horses and clownds' (Beal, 1984, p. 298).

515. Untraced in literature on the Bassani; see note 514 above.

516. Possibly Jacopo Bassano, *The Entrance of the Animal's in Noah's Ark*, now in the Archbishop's Palace, Kromeriz, see Fort Worth, 1993, p. 170, no. 64. Another version of the subject, but with more figures, is cited in a Private Collection, Bologna in 1931, see Arslan, p. 187, pl. LXI. Symonds's note could refer to the painting listed in the 1652 inventory as 'La Fabbrica dell'Arca di Noè, ò vero di un Vascello in picciolo di Agostino Tasso' (Sparti, p. 77).

517. Possibly Francesco Bassano, *The Market*, now in the Galleria Sabauda, Turin, see Aikema, p. 145, fig. 122 (there are other versions of this subject by the Bassani).
518. These were probably the paintings described in the copy of the 1652
inventory as 'Tre mezze figure piccole, Fede, Speranza et Carità bellisime di
Paolo Veronese' (Sparti, p. 77); and note 512 above.

519. St. Jerome, more likely Palma Il Giovane (1544-1628) rather than Palma
Il Vecchio (1480-1528) as the later artist would be more to the taste of both
Angeloni and Symonds. There are two examples in Venice (and others
elsewhere) of a St. Jerome attributed to Palma Giovane (both of which
represent the saint clad only in a loincloth (i.e., 'all naturale' in Symonds's
terminology), one in the Brass Collection, see Rinaldi, p.135, no. 502, fig. 187;
the second in a private collection (Rinaldi, p. 135, no. 503, fig. 703). Possibly
Symonds's note relates to an undesignated portrait given to 'Palma' in the copy
of the 1652 inventory although the subject would probably be identified as St.
Jerome, see Sparti, pp. 49, 77.

520. Possibly one of the many versions, some now lost, of Charles V in
Armour, although probably Symonds would have remembered the name of this
subject, see Wethey, 1969-75, II, pp. 191-92. Titian painted other portraits of
men in armour, e.g., the Portrait of Francesco della Rovere, now in the Uffizi,
Florence, see ibid., II, pp. 135-36. There appear to be several paintings that
could fit Symonds's description, yet Sparti writes 'un dipinto simile non risulta
nel corpus del Vecellio, ma Symonds conferma attribuzione dell'opera' (Sparti,
p. 48, and p. 76 where in the copy of the 1652 inventory Tintoretto is also
suggested as the artist).

521. Possibly a self-portrait measuring 13 x 9.6 cm. now in the Ufizzi,
Florence, see E. Borea, Pittori bolognesi del Seicento nelle gallerie di
Firenze, Florence, 1995, pp. 20-22, no. 14, fig. 7. Symonds's 'most rare'
indicates that he considered the painting of unusual excellence.

522. Not traced. Attributions to Giorgione were already confused by the mid-
Seicento. The painting may have been similar to two attributed to Giorgione,
both now in the Uffizi, Florence, which have groups of 'divers persons;' these
are The Finding of Moses (Inv. 945), and The Judgement of Solomon (Inv.
947), see Pignatti, p. 98, nos. 7 & 8. Anderson comments on many copies of
Giorgione's works being made relatively early and questions why there was so
much confusion as to what he painted (Anderson, pp. 56-57). Anderson writes
that Ridolfi in his Maraviglie described a large number of paintings by
Giorgione in Venetian houses and palaces and 'from his descriptions of
paintings (a considerable number cannot be identified) some of the attributions
appear implausible,' see Anderson, pp. 70-71. A Venetian source of
information should have more weight, but apparently Ridolfi was amongst
others who gave Giorgione's name to all sorts of pictures at this time.
Symonds consulted Ridolfi's treatise at the Accademia di San Luca, and there
is a possible incomplete reference to a copy in his list of books forwarded home (see B.L. Harley MS, fol. 111v).

523. *Agony in the Garden.* See Posner, II, pp. 41-42. Wood points out that if Symonds was correct in recording '2 Angels,' this cannot be Annibale's only known treatment of the subject, now at Hampton Court, nor may it be 'original.' Wood's suggestion that it might be Ludovico's version of the subject, now in the Prado, Madrid (see Wood, 1996, p. 68, note 328) is supported by the copy of the 1652 inventory which describes the painting as 'alla maniera del Correggio di mano di Lodovico Carracci,' see Sparti, pp. 51, 77. The 'Frenchman' who copied the painting has not been identified; it is unlikely to have been Poussin, not only because Symonds would have known his name, but also because of the timescale of '8 or 9 years since.'

524. A steel mirror which must have had special optical effects.

525. Perhaps the part of Angeloni's collection described by Evelyn as 'many outlandish & Indian Curiosities and things of nature' (De Beer, II, p. 236); see note 512 above; and Sparti, p. 77.

526. Novel inventions, such as these chairs, were always noteworthy to Symonds and this was not the only reference he made to an unusual artefact from India. He remarked on a folding bed in Palazzo Barberini that had belonged to Urban VIII and had reputedly been painted in India, see B.L. Add. MS 17919, fol. 91v; and note 525 above.

527. Evelyn wrote that Angeloni '... very courteously shew'd us such a Collection of rare medalls, as hardly is to be Parallel'd' (De Beer, II, p. 236). This part of the collection was also referred to in the copy of the 1652 inventory (Sparti, p. 77); see note 512 above. '5th' stands for 5 scudos.

528. Although these paintings have been attributed to Titian, they have recently been identified by Sparti as a series of *Triumphs,* now in the Kuntsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, by Bonifacio de'Pitati, a pupil of Titian, see Sparti, pp. 49-51, and fig. 69, a, b. Why would Angeloni (who was called upon to attribute paintings by no less a person that Cardinal Ippolito Aldobrandini) inform Symonds that some of the 'Triumphs' were by Titian and some by Tintoretto; was he mistaken or did he claim this attribution in order to enhance his collection (see Sparti, p. 48)? Evelyn was evidently given the same attribution, he recorded '...a very greate number of Pieces by Titian; particularly the Triumphs' (De Beer, II, p. 356).

529. The medals were displayed in purpose-built insets; alongside these, Angeloni displayed his gems which included cameos and intaglios, see note 527 above.
530. Mars and Venus. A version of Titian's lost painting, now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, measures 0.97 x 1.23m. (therefore 'A large quadro'). There is only one cherub in this painting who flies in on the right of the picture, see Wethey, 1969-75, III, p. 234, No. L-9. In a drawing after Titian's painting in Van Dyck's 'Italian Sketchbook' (fol. 106r, labelled 'Titian Signore Grimaldi' but not traced in the Grimaldi Collection), two cherubs have been sketched. One is roughly drawn and appears to be in the same position as the one in the Vienna painting; the second is much more studied and defined, and is larger in proportion than the embracing couple. This cherub is placed above them, his right arm is extended and he inclines forward (Wethey, 1969-75, III, pl. 225). Van Dyck's drawing is therefore from a version of Mars and Venus similar to (or possibly the one) that was noted by Symonds. In the copy of the 1652 inventory the painting is given a possible attribution to either Titian or Tintoretto, see Sparti, p. 77; and note 512 above.

531. There is a very large gap between 'Titian' (see note 530 above) and 'Next Roome' indicating that Symonds planned to write fuller notes.

532. Symonds may have used 'proper' in heraldic terms (i.e., as an animated being or object represented in their natural aspects and colouring, see Boutell, p. 42) when he recorded these 'natrall thinges.'

533. The earlier spelling of pumpkin (Oxford English Dictionary).

534. See note 525 above. Presumably Angeloni related to Symonds the story of the un-named 'Empore' and the non-combustible shirt.

535. See note 519 above.

536. Portrait of Giovanni Battista Agucchi (copy of Domenichino's portrait of Agucchi, now in the City Art Gallery, York), see Wood, 1996, p. 69, note 332; Spear, 1982, I, pp. 228-29; and Spear in Rome, 1996, p. 420, no. 24 (Spear does not refer to a surviving copy by Canini in either of his references to this painting). For a fuller discussion, see Sperti, pp. 52-62. Symonds's note substantiates that the original painting is by Domenichino, rather than by Annibale Carracci as suggested by Ginzburg, passim, who dismisses Symonds's reference as 'too vague' to be a reliable piece of evidence. Canini's copy, hung alongside portraits attributed to Titian and Palma, signifies not only Angeloni's admiration for Domenichino and Agucchi, but also his faith in Canini's capabilities. It seems very unlikely that Symonds was not told the name of the subject; he may have forgotten it by the time of writing and perhaps was not fully aware of Agucchi's significance in the Angeloni/Canini circle.
537. Not traced.

538. For the (now-lost) original, see Posner, II, p. 59, no. 133 [A]; see also Wood, 1996, p. 69, note 333. Evidently both Angeloni and Canini so admired Annibale's painting (described by Bellori) that Canini made two copies, see also note 547 below.

539. Evelyn wrote '...divers statues of brasse very Antique; some lamps of so fine an Earth as they resembl'd cornelian for transparancy & colour' (De Beer, II, p. 356).

540. Probably means 'extreame[ly] like a Womans body.' The mandrake is a poisonous plant with emetic and narcotic properies, with root thought to resemble human form and to shriek when plucked (Oxford English Dictionary).

541. The 'vitella marina' (a sealskin) was considered by Symonds a rarity worthy to be sketched; probably the same object that Evelyn surprisingly recorded as '... amongst other [rarities] a Sea-mans Skin, as he affirm'd' (De Beer, II, p. 356).

542. Evelyn wrote, 'He also shew'd us two antique lamps, one of them dedicated to Palas, the other Laribus Sacrum, as appear'd by their Inscriptions' (De Beer, II, p. 356). A 'Dijs Laribus' is a household deity.

543. Recorded in the copy of the 1652 inventory as 'Un scherzo di tre Amorini tenuiti del Parmigianino' (Sparti, p. 77). Symonds used the term 'boyes' when noting Guido Reni's putti in Palazzo Mazzarino (see fol. 56v), therefore the subject may refer to studies of putti for S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma, such as two drawings in red chalk, now in the Louvre, see Popham, 1953, p. 54, nos. VIII A, VIII B, although prints after these, or any others after/b by Parmigianino which fit Symonds's description, have not been identified. As Angeloni's Carracci drawings are now in the Louvre (see references in note 544 below) his Parmagianino drawings may have followed the same route. In Symonds's inventory of prints in B.L. Harley MS 943 there are four noted under 'Parmigiano' but these were bought after he left Rome for his voyage home (in any case Symonds described them as '1 Ritratto of Ch. 5 & brave Companiment - 2 Beheading of S Peter & S Paul in Chiarasco - 3 Potifars Wife 4 Fortuna,' i.e., not subjects that relate to '3 boyes', see Ogden and Ogden, p. 59 and notes 263-64). Sparti suggests that Symonds's prints could be those described as 'Anonym...Amor von drei Amoretten getragen, in M. Lasnes Manier' in G.K. Nagler, Neues allgemeines Künstler-Lexicon, Munich, VIII, 1839, pp. 515-16 (Sparti, p. 67, note 47). Symonds wrote 'Stampe di 3 forme' beside the passage on Parmigianino in his copy of Vasari's Vite, see Vasari B.L., III.1, p. 309. The marginal notes apply to artists or works that he
particularly admired; many of these were represented in his print collection which included prints after drawings that he had seen in Angeloni's collection, see Ogden and Ogden passim; and notes 552-55, 558, 566, below.

544. See Posner, II, p. 53, no. 121 [A]; and Wood, 1996, p. 70, note 336. Jennifer Fletcher suggests that it may be a preparatory drawing for Silenus Gathering Grapes, now in the National Gallery (Fletcher, p. 665). It appears that as in the case of Annibale's St. John the Baptist, the Infant Hercules Strangling Serpents was admired by Angeloni enough for him to want a copy by Canini, but in this instance he apparently also owned the original, see note 538 above.

545. Paintings were evidently hung on the walls of the 'little study,' possibly alongside of some selected drawings, see note 546 below.

546. The '2 Atti' (nude studies) were academy works (the Accademia di Carracci), the one in 'lapis rosso' (red chalk) being attributed to Annibale. The drawings in the collection were predominantly by the Carracci and their followers. The majority were pasted into albums, although some, as in the case of these nude studies, perhaps were especially favoured and framed and hung. Symonds's collection of prints was based on a very similar selection of artists (see Ogden and Ogden, passim), some of his prints were after drawings he saw in Angeloni's collection.

547. 'De' suoi disegni ne sono resi illustri mosti studii, ma numerosi, e bellissimi sone quelli, che si conservano nel prezioso e celebre Museo del Signor Francesco Angeloni su'l monte Pincio' (Baglione, pp. 108-09). Symonds probably recorded the relevant page reference when he wrote up his notes after his visit. Although Angeloni apparently only had three paintings that he attributed to Annibale (see notes 521, 523, 544 above), he was fortunate to have collected a large number of his drawings as well as others by members of the Carracci School, see note 548 below.

548. As pointed out by Wood, Angeloni's Carracci drawings were divided by subject into separate albums. Angeloni claimed in Historia Augusta that he owned six hundred drawings by Annibale, the majority pertaining to the Galleria Farnese (Wood, 1996, p. 9). For a discussion of Angeloni's collection of drawings for the Galleria Farnese, see Martin, pp. 170-73. The '2 bookes in grand folio' were apparently devoted to Carracci studies for the Galleria. Symonds carefully noted the colours of paper, and whether the studies were drawn in charcoal, chalk or ink.

549. This large 'folio' (in this instance meaning an album) contained drawings attributed to several artists working in the sixteenth century ranging from the less renowned, such as Pirro Ligorio, to the most famous, such as
Michelangelo and Raphael. Symonds considered it important to note the type of backing paper used ('dutch') for affixing the drawings and that they were 'originall disegnes.'

550. Bandinelli regarded drawing as the basis of his artistic achievement and made numerous nude studies; for examples, see in Cambridge, 1988, pp. 97 (no.13), 107 (no. 23r), 123 (no.38). Symonds noted Bandinelli's drawings were 'done by Invention,' i.e., they were autograph rather than copies.

551. Pirro Ligorio (ca. 1500-83) was born in Naples but he worked in Rome from 1542 for a few years. He evidently used green chalk for 'y^e lights' whereas other drawings noted here were in red and black chalk and the artist left blank areas of white paper for 'y^e chiaro.'

552. Perino del Vaga (1500-46). Symonds bought three engravings of saints by Bonasone after Perino who was a pupil of Raphael, see Ogden and Ogden, p. 59, and note 281. Symonds wrote 'Perin del Vaga' in the margin by a reference to Perino in his copy of Vasari's Vite, see note 543 above.

553. Perhaps similar to *Sketches and two studies of a head for the Last Judgement*, now in the British Museum, London (w.60 verso), see Hartt, 1971, p. 266, no. 375. Symonds bought an engraving of the *Last Judgement* by Giorgio Ghisi (Giorgio Mantovano) amongst other engravings after Michelangelo, see fol. 90v; see also Ogden and Ogden, p. 50 and notes 83, 84; see also Boorsch in New York, 1985, pp. 53-57, no. 9. In Symonds's copy of Vasari's *Vite* he underlined a passage regarding Ghisi and wrote 'Stampe di M Angelo' and 'Gio Batt _Mantovano' in the margin on the first page that refers to the engraver, and 'Giorgio Mantovano' on the following one (Vasari B.L., III.1, pp. 311-12).

554. Polidoro di Caravaggio (1490-1543). Symonds bought a large number of engravings after Polidoro some by the eminent engravers Goltzius and Ghisi, see Ogden and Ogden, p. 53 and notes 150-57.

555. Baldassare Peruzzi (1481-1536). Baldassare worked as an architect in Rome, Bologna and Siena (his native town). Symonds's reference could be to a drawing for a stage setting with buildings and perspective of a town such as one now in the Biblioteca Reale, Turin (15728, IT.45), see Wurm, p. 3. Symonds bought several engravings after Baldassare including '...6 large folios - cutt by Aug. Carr: in D...' (Ogden and Ogden, p. 53 and notes 140-42).

556. See note 543 above.

557. Pellegrino Tibaldi (1527-1596).
558. Daniele Ricciarelli, called Daniele Volterra (1509-66). Symonds bought one drawing attributed to Volterra and three engravings after him including one by Marcantonio after the *Descent from the Cross* in Santa Trinità dei Monte, a painting noted in Vasari's *Vite*. In his copy Symonds wrote in the margin 'Capella alla Trinità' and 'Capella della Trinità de'Monte' (Vasari, B.L., III.1, pp. 99, 100, 312); see also Ogden and Ogden, p. 55, and notes 136-37.

559. By 'ordinary' Symonds may be referring to the size of Correggio's drawings. Symonds bought several engravings of religious subjects after Correggio drawings including one 'cut by Aug (Agostino): Car.[racci], fresh,' see Ogden and Ogden, p. 53, notes 119-21.

560. Self-portrait. Several drawings and paintings survive of Raphael as a youth when he used himself as a model, for example a black chalk drawing now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, see Joannides, frontispiece (no cat. no. or p. reference). Symonds noted the 'chiaro scuro' (referring to Raphael's use of light and dark rather than to a woodcut) on white paper. Symonds bought more prints after Raphael (135) than after any other artist (but not one after the youthful self-portrait), see Ogden and Ogden, pp. 49-50, 58. He underlined and made several marginal notes referring to Raphael in his copy of Vasari's *Vite*.

561. *St. Luke Painting the Virgin*. Symonds recorded and enthused over a painting depicting *St. Luke Painting the Virgin* attributed to Raphael, now (as then) in the Accademia di San Luca, see fol. 61r above and Plates 12 and 13.

562. Perugino (1445/50-1523) may have been admired by Angeloni in his capacity as the master of Raphael.

563. *St. Mark in the Clouds*. A drawing of this subject by Raphael has not been identified; possibly it was a drawing connected with the *Four Evangelists*.

564. Not identified. Probably similar to a drawing of a *Horse seen from the front*, now in the Woodner Collection, New York; silver point and white heightening on a grey ground, see Joannides, p. 218, no. 340. 'Indico' = Indigo.

565. A design for one of the tapestries in the Scuola Nuova; originally commissioned by François I to be donated to Leo X on the occasion of the canonization of Francesco di Paola in May 1519, but not woven until 1524-31, see Wood, 1996, pp. 70-71, note 341. 'Arazzo' = tapestry; 'Giuac' = gouache. On several occasions Symonds wrote 'Panni d'Arazzo' in the margins of his copy of Vasari's *Vite*; the term was used by Vasari, for example, with regard to Giulio Romano, 'Il quale fece al Duca di Ferrara molti disegni per panni
d'arazzo' (Vasari B.L., III.1, p. 339).

566. Raphael's *Transfiguration*, in S. Pietro in Montorio in 1523, see Wood, 1996, p. 71, note 342. In his list of prints after Raphael Symonds wrote 'Ascension at Pietro Montorio, f. 9.' (Ogden and Ogden, p. 49, note 26). The fact that Symonds wrote 'Ascension' instead of 'Transfiguration' is probably a momentary lapse of attention or memory as he underlined 'a Montorio all'Altar' in the relevant passage in his copy of the *Vite* and wrote 'Tavola a S. Pietro Montorio' in the margin (Vasari B.L., III.1, p. 93).

567. Not identified but probably a drawing by Raphael as Symonds wrote about it so enthusiastically and 'in that colouring also' appears to refer to the 'Guiac' written above, see note 565 above.


569. This refers to an album of landscape drawings by the Carracci or their followers. Symonds was careful to note which were pen studies and which were chalk, in the latter case he usually recorded the colour.

570. Pietro Paolo Bonzi (1576-1636) called Gobbo dei Carracci, see note 569 above.

571. Giovanni Battista Viola (1576-1622), another member of the Carracci workshop, see note 569 above. 'finisht' probably indicates that the drawing was completed (possibly by Annibale himself?). It is not evident why Symonds considered it 'curious.'

572. Domenichino, see note 569 above.

573. 'Parrecchio Penna,' i.e., several pen drawings by Annibale.

574. It is interesting that Canini was called upon, to finish a drawing by Agostino. Does this indicate that a 'finisht' drawing by Canini would be more valued that an unfinished one by Agostino - or perhaps the best of both worlds, i.e., Agostino's invention, beautifully finished. See note 571 above.

575. Guercino, see note 569 above. Symonds bought two prints after Guercino (Ogden and Ogden, p. 59, notes 279-80).

576. Girolamo Muziano (1528-92). Muziano came to Rome with Federico Zuccaro and was one of the founder members of the Accademia di San Luca. Symonds bought two engravings after his drawings, see Ogden and Ogden, p.55, ns.171-72. Symonds also underlined a reference to Muziano in his copy
of the *Vite* (Vasari B.L., III.1, p.312) and sketched a painting attributed to him in Palazzo Giustiniani (see note 255 above).

577. Titian and Campagnola (see note 578 below), appear to be the only Venetian artists represented in the collection. With the exception of Titian, Symonds chose to buy very few prints after the Venetians.

578. Domenico Campagnola (c.1500-after 1552), a follower of Titian and sometimes a forger of his works, see note 577 above.

579. Symonds used the term 'chiaro scuro' in the same way in his description of the Raphael self-portrait recorded above (see note 560 above), i.e., referring to use of tone rather than to a woodcut. He used the same term with regard to a print in his collection after painted decorations by Polidoro, see Ogden and Ogden, p. 53. Vasari described Polidoro's grisaille decorations at Monte Cavallo as 'lavori di chiara scuro' (although Symonds did not annotate this passage in his copy of the *Vite*; Vasari B.L., III, I, p. 203).

580. Andrea Camassei (1602-48). Symonds was correct that Camassei was a pupil of Domenichino although scholars do not suggest that he closely followed him in style. Symonds was probably given this information by Canini.

581. Spear writes that Canini's drawings were closely reliant on, and at times confused with, those of his master, Domenichino; there is no mention of his drawings being wrongly attributed to Annibale. For a discussion of Canini and his friendship with Bellori who was equally devoted to Domenichino, see Spear, I, pp. 104-06. For a discussion of Canini as a draughtsman, see Turner, passim.

582. This was an album devoted to animal studies in which Annibale was particularly gifted. For examples of such subjects, see in Oxford, 1997, nos. 64, 66, 92.

583. The meaning of this note is not entirely clear, possibly 'finisht curia [cura] fissimamente [fissimente]' = finished carefully fixed.

584. Palazzo Spada, see Chapter Seven above; and Plan 6.

585. The Sala Grande, see Plan 6, no. 1; built for Cardinal Spada in the early 1630s.

586. The Sala Grande was frescoed by two Bolognese painters, A.M. Colonna and A. Mitelli in 1633-35; the 'Perspective' that Symonds referred to are the very decorative frescoes which represent life-size figures incorporated into a
setting of realistically painted walls, staircase and balustrade. Salerno writes
that this decoration is '...una dei maggiori esempi del quadratururismo Emiliano
a Roma...,' see Salerno in Via Giulia, p. 504. Like the 'Prospettiva' and the
Meridian Gallery, this room is evidence of Cardinal Spada's long-standing
interest in perspective, see Neppi, Part II, figs. 1-3, and notes 584 above and
588 below (Plates 29 and 30).

587. Incorporated into the larger scheme of the frescoes (as part of the painted
wall decoration), and beneath personifications of the Virtues, are four
monochrome (which Symonds describes as 'chiaro oscuro,' [discussed above])
scenes illustrating notable deeds; he refers to the one that represents
Constantine giving Silvester I sovereign power of Rome and the provinces of
the Western Empire (Plate 31).

588. Probably the Stanza delle Quattro Stagione which is decorated with
paintings and stucco figures by Giulio Mazzoni, see Pugliatti, pls. 245-50; and
Plan 6, room 2. Symonds evidently was not taken to the much more elaborate
corridor called the Galleria degli Stucchi which also has stucco figures by
Mazzoni like statues 'tutto tondo'; these 'support' framed mythological scenes
in oil from the Metamorphosis and show the influence of Fontainebleau, see
Salerno in Via Giulia, p. 431; Pugliatti, pls. 228-38. See also Neppi, Part I,
plate VII; and on p. 85, room VIII on the plan of the Iconographic Themes
painted for the Capodiferro. Nor does Symonds mention the extraordinary
Meridian Gallery, another corridor which links the Galleria degli Stucchi and
the Sala Grande completed for Cardinal Spada in 1644 from designs by his
mathematician friends, Padre Bilonto the designer of the 'Prospettiva', and
Padre Emmanuel Maignon of the Minimi order at the Trinità di Monti (Neppi,
pp. 189-201).

589. There are two rooms which lead into Cardinal Spada's Galleria, see Plan
6, rooms 3 and 5 (these are two of the four rooms that form the present picture
gallery, i.e., nos. 3-6). Symonds was in room 3, the adjacent room in line with
the Galleria; this was Cardinal Spada's study and had been constructed by
Maruscelli at the same time as the building of the Galleria (see note 591
below) in an area where there was once an alley.

590. Cardinal Spada's study has a frieze painted in 1641 by François Perrier
(1590-1650), see Plan 6, no. 3. This was a copy of a frieze by Perino del Vaga
painted for the Sistine Chapel which Cardinal Bernardino had moved from
Imola to his study, see Neppi, p. 140. Perino del Vaga's frieze and the 'fedele'
copy of it by Perrier are on the long walls, and the two by Generoli are on the
short walls (one of these has now had a window inserted which has destroyed
Spada's stemma), see Cannatà and Vicini, p. 41. These friezes are decorative
rather than narrative and are painted with grotesques, swags, and harpies.
Cardinal Spada must have been satisfied with Perrier's work as he
commissioned three further paintings from him. In a 'pagamento' for Perrier's work at Palazzo Spada these paintings are described as follows: 'Un quadro Historia de Scipione Africano...Un altro quadro di Vulcano che fabrica tre spade...Un altro quadro dell'istesso soggetto di chiaro scuro...'. (Neppi, p. 140, note 61). Symonds did not record the friezes; he apparently found the '2 or 3 pretty p[er]spectives' by Perrier of more interest. However, he appears to have confused the subject of 'y e coming of y e queen of Sheba afore Solomon' with the painting that depicted the Continence of Scipio. Symonds was correct that by the time he saw these works Perrier was dead. Perrier was in contact with Lanfranco in the first of his two periods in Rome (1625-29), and, like Symonds and Spada, was an admirer of the Bolognese painters.

591. The Galleria was constructed for Cardinal Spada by Maruscelli in 1636-37 by closing the street on the left side of the palace (Plan 6, no. 4).

592. There is no painting fitting this description in the present gallery, nor can it be traced in Zeri. Symonds did not refer to two portraits of Cardinal Spada, i.e., a particularly beautiful one by Guido Reni (no.32), and one by Guercino (no.35) which were probably in Spada's private apartments; it appears Symonds's tour of the piano nobile was very restricted, see notes 588 above and 605 below.

593. The Death of Dido (no.132). Spada acquired this painting in 1631 although it was not made for him; so little did he expect to own the painting that during the time it was on its way from Cento via Bologna he ordered a copy of it (presumably not carried out as there is no record of one); it was during this period that Guercino painted the half-length portrait of Spada, see note 592 above. The patron who originally commissioned the Dido may well have been Philip IV of Spain. It was intended to form a pair with the Rape of Helen, however, although both paintings are 'very large' (Dido measures 287 x 335 cm., Helen measures 250 x 250 cm.), they are different shapes. Probably due to the antagonism between Spada, Cardinal Barberini, and the Spanish representative, Cardinal Borgia, in 1631, the painting never went to Spain (see note 601 below). Costello writes that Sandrart recorded (in the 'autobiography' preceding the main body of Teutsche Academie, Nuremberg, 1675) that both paintings were exhibited on the festival of Our Lady of Constantinople in the course of the procession to Santa Maria di Costantinople (a church in the Trevi region no longer standing) which was the Roman church of the Catalan Sicilians, see Costello, pp. 240-41. Symonds's vivid description of the painting shows that its size is not the only reason that this was one of two pictures in the collection that he 'especially...lookt upon;' as well as the painting appealing to his imagination he may also have heard about the controversy surrounding the commission of this picture and its companion the Rape of Helen, see Costello, pp. 237-69; Zeri, pp. 30-36; Salerno, 1988, pp. 228-29. Jonathan Richardson wrote regarding Dido that
'The Expression is something savage, and outré but withal very touching' (Richardson, p. 191); see also note 601 below.

594. 'La Maniera Tedesca' may refer to the background painting; Richardson, p. 191, wrote regarding the picture, 'Tis in a Strong, Black manner...;' or it might refer to Guercino's treatment of the draperies since Symonds went on to describe Dido as 'in Royal apparel Thick' ('Thick' probably refers to Dido's dress rather than her shoes despite the lack of comma after this word and the presence of one after 'shoes,' see note 595 below). Pepper, p. 40, writes about Durer's influence on Reni's graphic work and how he strove to free himself from the stiff treatment and 'gothic elaborations of Durer's Drapery.' See also Malvasia, 1678, p. 55.

595. Dido is bare-breasted; she wears white slippers made of silk or leather with blue and pink decoration and therefore not 'Thick' despite Symond's placement of commas, see note 594 above.

596. The women spectators are depicted wearing silk sashes or 'Volios'; mostly these are worn loosely over their skirts and are knotted at, or just below, their waists; some have tassles.

597. Symonds was not alone in thinking that a male figure on the right who looks out at the spectator is dressed like a Swiss Guard; Richardson, p. 191, wrote: 'In this picture is a Man dress'd like one of the Swisses of the Popes Guard.' This figure has blue puffed sleeves and pantaloons, a brown jerkin and a jaunty red cap with plumes.

598. This probably refers to the dress of the women described at note 596 above. Symonds obviously noted 'Roman fashion'.

599. The ships have three masts and tall flat sterns; the latter probably makes them 'like y' Dutch'.

600. Spada paid 400 scudi for the painting in 1631 (See Guercino's account book, published by J.A. Calvi, Notizie della vita...del..Guercino da Cento, 1808, p. 64, and reprinted in the 1841 edition of Malvasia, II, p. 309). The fact that Spada paid a large sum for the painting, the quality of the work, and the absence of any other (presumably original) 'Dido' elsewhere in the account book, substantiates that Spada's painting is the original and only version, see Costello, p. 249 and note 4.

601. The Abduction of Helen (no. 106). A copy by Giacanto Campana (1600-50?) of Guido Reni's painting now in the Louvre. Campana was a Bolognese painter and student of Reni; although the Galleria Spada 'handout,' and Symonds, give it a partial Reni attribution, modern scholars consider it a copy
only. The original was commissioned for Philip IV by the Spanish Ambassador Conte di Oñate (not Velazquez as recorded by Francisco Preciado in *Arcadia pictoria*, 1787; a mistake also made by certain subsequent writers, see Costello, pp. 237-38) but the painting was not completed before Oñate's turn of office (1626-28) was over, as well as that of his successor Monterey who was replaced by Cardinal Gaspar Borgia. According to Malvasia (*Felsina Pittrice*, 1678, II, pp. 37-41 and p. 368), Cardinal Spada, as Papal Legate in Bologna, was involved with the commission from its inception until it was sent to France in 1631 (after ensuing difficulties between Borgia and Cardinal Barberini due to Reni sending the painting to Barberini to look after during the negotiations with the new Spanish ambassador). Verses were published in honour of the picture in 1632, and it was associated with Guercino's *Dido* of 1631, see note 593 above; and Costello, p. 248 and note 1. It was probably just before its departure that Cardinal Spada commissioned Campana to make a copy for his gallery. Pepper, pp. 264-65, incorrectly writes that Symonds saw it there in 1631. For the history of the commission, see also Costello, pp. 238 and note 1, 246-47; Zeri, pp. 111-14; and Haskell, 1980, pp. 184-5. For a more recent discussion on both the original version and Campana's copy, see Spear, 1997, pp. 214-16. See also A. Colantuono, *Guido Reni's 'Abduction of Helen'* , Cambridge, New York and Melbourne, 1998.

602. There are several antique busts and small statues still on display throughout the gallery.

603. This probably refers to *St. Christopher* (no. 91), painted by an early Bolognese artist, Amico Aspertini (1475-1552) in tempera on wood and in a 'Narrow long frame' with a landscape in the background; on the back is a *St. Luke* in grisaille; Zeri, p. 25, writes it is one of three panels once forming a case for a church organ. It is surprising that Symonds did not name the subject which clearly represents *St. Christopher*.

604. *Landscape with Hunt of the Wild Boar and Greasy Pole* (no. 100). A very large landscape by Nicolo dell'Abate (1509-71) with a river and some very 'od' buildings as well as a greasy pole, see Zeri, p. 25.

605. Symonds was back in the Sala Grande (Plan 6, no. 1); having entered the palace by the garden and gone up to the piano nobile by the spiral staircase, it seems he was only given access to the Sala Grande, a small antecamera, Cardinal Spada's study and the Galleria.

606. *Pompey*; Roman, late 1st century, inspired by a lost Greek statue. This gigantic statue was found at the time of Julius III in Via dei Lutari near the Cancelleria overlying the dividing line between two properties. The story goes that the Pope intervened in a 'Judgement of Solomon' episode between the two claimants to the statue; having bought it for 500 scudi he then gave it to
Cardinal Capodiferro, see Salerno in *Via Giulia*, p. 430. It was sometimes known as *Agrippa* or *Trajan* and purported to be the statue at the foot of which Caesar was stabbed; by the seventeenth century it had been given the name of *Pompey*.

607. Palazzo Mazzerino, now called the Palazzo Pallavicini Rospigliosi, see Chapter Seven above; and Plan 7.

608. Symonds was not referring to the Villa Madama (begun for Cardinal Giuliano de Medici [Clement VII] by Giulio Romano from plans by Raphael and later in the possession of 'Madama' Margaret of Palma, natural daughter of Charles V, who married Alessandro de Medici); this is on Monte Mario on the opposite side of the Tiber to the Quirinale. More likely the 'Vigna Madame' (possibly also belonging to Margaret) was '...a *villa suburbana*, a larger [than a *giardino*] tract of land, usually arranged in axial vistas, with a casino or a small palace as the focal point. By the seventeenth century the *vigna* had become a recognizable genre with a distinctive building type' (Hibbard, 1964, p. 165). By the eighteenth century Jonathan Richardson, p. 316, described the Palazzo Mazzarino as the '...Vigne, formerly of Mazarine, now Rospigliosi.' See also note 609 below.

609. An alternative name for the Piazza del Quirinale. At one time the statues of the *Dioscuri* were supposed to represent horse-tamers; from this ascription the square received the name of Monte Cavallo. The Quirinal was on the outskirts of Rome in the seventeenth century; numerous gardens and *vigne* existed on the slopes, see note 608 above.

610. At the end of the 'hanging' garden is the largest of the garden casinos, the Casino dell'Aurora. This consists of three rooms; the central and largest 'Aurora' room, and two small rooms which lead off it, see notes 611-18 below. It was built in 1612 probably from a design by Maderno under the direction of Van Zanten, see Hibbard, 1964, pp. 182-83; and Plan 7, no. 9.

611. *Aurora*; painted for Scipione Borghese in 1614, see Pepper, p. 228, no.40; Haskell, 1980, p. 183. Although the vault was prepared for painting by the end of 1612, Reni had temporarily departed from the Borghese household in a dispute over the way artists were treated, see Pepper, p. 26. 'Questa pittura fu sempre esaltata...L'Aurora del Reni fu sempre molto celebrata dai viaggiatori stranieri...' (Golzio, pp. 165-66). Jonathan Richardson, p. 319, went into three pages of lyrical admiration of this fresco at the end of which he wrote, '...I find I am gotten into a fore of Digression.' Symonds would have known before his visit about this famous fresco by a painter he admired; his vivid description suggests that he was not disappointed. He listed in his inventory of prints the *Aurora* at Monte Cavallo, but the Ogdens suggest that he probably got confused with Pasqualino's engraving of Guercino's *Aurora* at
Villa Ludovisi (Ogden and Ogden, p. 69, note 199).

612. Surrounding Apollo's chariot are a group of dancing women, the *Horae*, copied from a classical relief known as the 'Borghese dancers,' see Pepper, p. 228, no.40; and Eisler, p. 323.

613. *Aurora* flies through the air accompanied by an 'amoretto' bearing a lighted torch who represents *Phosphorous*, the morning star, see Pepper, p. 228, no. 40.

614. Paul Bril was manager of the painting works when the casinos were being decorated. Bril painted the *Seasons* on the long walls of the 'Aurora' room in two central lunettes with rectangular scenes either side; the squinches that curve around the side of the lunettes are decorated with Borghese heraldry painted by Cherubino Alberti; on the short walls are scenes representing the *Triumph of Love* and the *Triumph of Fame* by Antonio Tempesta, see Hibbard, 1964, p. 176, fig. 17; and Pepper, p. 26. Symonds would have known that Bril painted the 'Paises' from his copy of Baglione's *Vite* that he evidently had with him (Baglione, pp. 296-97); and note 618 below.

615. A reference to *Ritratto di Roma moderna*; Symonds gave the same reference in his 'Repertorio,' ('Pal: Card: Mazzerino Vede Rom: Mod. 1.', see fol. 4v), however, Totti did not mention Bril's work at Palazzo Mazzerino, although under an engraving of the building is written 'il giardino de'Sig Bentivoglo... ha bellissimo palazzo... [e] rarissime pittore di Guido Reni, e d'altri buon maestri' (Totti, 1638, p. 504).

616. Although this was a popular subject from Tasso, it seems odd that Scipione Borghese chose *Rinaldo and Armida* to be painted in the vaults of both of the two small rooms that adjoin the *Aurora* room. One of these frescoes is by Baglione, the other by Passignano. Baglione's two descriptions of these works in his *Vite* are very similar; he wrote in the passage concerning Passignano '...è per il Cardinale Scipione Borghese, vicino alla Loggia del Giardino, a Monte Cavallo, che hora è di Monsignore Mazzerini, nella volta ha rappresenta in fresco la favola d'Armida sopra il carro' (Baglione, p. 333). It is this fresco that Symonds chose to describe and sketch, and understandably so as it is the better of the two paintings. Baglione appears to have made no attempt that his version of the subject should be viewed successfully *di sotto in sù*.

617. In contrast to Baglione, Passignano attempted illusionistic perspective in his fresco, in particular with the 'fellow wounded below, his leg seemes to fall downe.' Symonds's sketch fails to convey Passignano's artistic technique that clearly attracted his attention.
618. In his own 'Vita' Baglione used almost exactly the same wording as he uses in the passage concerning Passignano's participation in the 'Armida' decorations. Although Symonds crossed 'idem' out, it probably applied to Baglione's two references to these frescoes (Baglione, p. 403); see notes 616 and 617 above. Symonds also referred to 'copying;' in fact, although the subject is the same, the way the two scenes are represented is very different, and of the two frescoes, it was Passignano's that he admired.

619. The palace is on a lower level than the Casino dell'Aurora and therefore 'below,' see note 622 below; and Plan 7, no. 10. It is no longer the charming building that would have been seen by Symonds, later extensions, many in the eighteenth century, and some very recently, have in-filled the façades, see Hibbard, 1964, p. 166, and note 607 above.

620. 'Next' either could mean 'next' in order of his notetaking or 'next to' the loggia decorated by Reni and Bril, see Plan 7, no. 5; and notes 621-24 below.

621. A recently restored (1996) arched loggia (once open but now closed-in) which adjoined a little house previously belonging to Patriarch Fabio Biondo, see Plan 7, no. 5; and Plates 33-38. Biondo's property was mentioned in guidebooks that did not usually note secular structures, e.g., 'il Patriarca Biondo Mastro di Casa di N. S. hà fatto un luogo molto bello...,' (Pietro Felini, Tratto nuovo delle cose maravigliose...[Rome, 1615]). It was described as a 'loggia vecchia'in a contemporary document, see Hibbard, 1964, p. 171, notes 20-21. The painted framework on the vault was probably designed by Agostino Tassi who collaborated with Reni and Bril in the decorations in 1611. Reni is not mentioned in the relevant documents indicating that Bril had the commission and made his own arrangements with Reni for the putti, (Hibbard, 1964 p. 171, note 21). Nor is Reni mentioned by Baglione in connection with the painted bower but he wrote in the Vite apropo Bril's work in this loggia, '...nell' altra logetta [to the 'Aurora'], verso la via, che guarda all'horto di S. Agata, vi ha rappresentat col suo pennell una pergolata d'une diverse, con vari animali dal naturale assai belli, & eccellenti' (Baglione, pp. 296-97). However, testimony of Reni's participation in the vault is a set of engravings after these frescoes by Carlo Cesio in which every print bears a number and 'Guid. Ren. in Viridì Mazarino' (Eisler, p. 317). Eisler also writes of another set of engravings by Pier Antonio Cozza that attribute the bower to Reni; these are mentioned in anonymous notes appended to the 1783 edition of Titi's Ammaestramento di Pitture...., (Eisler, p. 317). In the vault Reni's putti perch on either side of vases; one pair squabbles over a bird, another pair 'are picking flowers;' in the foliage are many species of birds and insects; Symonds evidently was informed (but not in this instance by Baglione) that these were by Guido Reni. Four landscapes in lunettes by Bril represent the Seasons and below these are friezes by Antonio Tempesta. The scheme of the vault is not original, the Romans used to decorate their rooms with naturalisitic foliage,
bowers, and birds. A very similar example to Reni's frescoes can be seen in the semicircular portico of the 1550s at the Villa Giulia (this has a possible attribution to Paolo Venale), see Visentini in *Villa Giulia Museum Guide*, Rome, 1992.

622. The area of the palace that adjoins the Reni-Bril Casino is now in use as offices and conference rooms and there have no doubt been many alterations to the building over the years, see Plan 7 (unnumbered building below no. 5). In several ground floor rooms (i.e., 'low') there are large sea and landscapes painted on the walls or as friezes, including the three rooms with scenes of 'Rapes' on the vaults. In a fourth room (not seen by the writer) '...la volta è ornata dall rappresentazione d'una battaglia ed ha alle pareti tre paesaggi a tinte verdi chiare tra colonne dipinte con finte tende rialzate...'; these are presumably Symonds's painted pillars, see Lotto, p. 40; and notes 623-24 below. In 1997 the frescoes were in need of restoration and had fierce striplighting above them; wires dangled down over them and the rooms were crowded with office furniture and people working at computers (it was proposed that they would be restored by the Jubilee Year).

623. Modern scholars attribute the scenes of 'paesi, marine, e chiarascuro' to Agostino Tassi who is described as a 'pittore de marine' (Plates 39-40); see Golzio, p. 167; and Lotto, p. 40. Baglione wrote in his *Vite* regarding Filippo, 'Dipinte nel Palazio già del Signori Bentivogli, e hora di Monsignor Mazzerini a Monte Cavallo nelle stanze alcuni paese grandi, a còccorenza delgh astri virtuos, che ivi dipigervano, in fresco fatti: e quelli di Filipo surono molti piaccati, e stimati degni di lode...in questo genere non hebbe eguale... ' (Baglione, pp. 335-36, the reference given by Symonds). Mancini in his *Considerazioni sulla pittura* of 1618-21 wrote that Filippo '...earned a reputation and esteem for himself particularly in small things of fires, ships and animals...' (Mancini, I, p. 255). We know from Baglione that 'Filipo Napolitano' painted at Palazzo Mazzarino, and we also know that because Bril was in charge of the decorations, individual painters on lesser works were not always noted in contemporary documents, see notes 622 above and 624 below. Symonds also noted a reference in Baglione's *Vite* to Pietro Paolo Gobbo working at the palace on 'alcuni paesi assai belle a concorrenza di altri pittori' (Baglione, p. 343).

624. 'y rape all y Gods' are painted on the vaults of three different rooms (Plates 41-43). The scenes represent the *The Rape of Proserpine*, *The Rape of Amphitrite*, and *The Rape of Europa*, and are attributed by some modern scholars to Gentileschi, see Eisler, p. 319; Golzio, pp. 167-68; and Lotto, p. 40. Hibbard (1964) mentions Tassi and Gentileschi working in the Casino delle Muse but does not refer to Gentileschi's participation in the decorations of these rooms. Ward Bissell, p. 212, cites them in a list of Gentileschi incorrect attributions and suggests they are by Giovanni da San Giovanni.
(Giovanni Manozzi (1590-1636). Banti considers they are by Giovanni da San Giovanni citing as evidence a letter from that artist to Cardinal Bentivoglio. This is not convincing as Giovanni quotes in a letter to the Marchese Bentivoglio a tentative commission to him by Cardinal Bentivoglio 'per li appartamenti bassi disse Giovanni, qui sopra queste volte imperfette voglio che tu dipinga maritime e mostri e sirene in battaglie d'acqua.' There is no mention of 'ratti' in this letter but it does raise once again the question of who painted the seascapes, see Campori, p. 103; and notes 622-23 above. (Banti, pp. 60-1, also attributes frescoes depicting 'La Notte' and 'Fuga di Enea...' on the piano nobile, and a 'Perseo con la testa della Medusa' on the ground floor, to Giovanni [not seen by the writer]). Symonds wrote that the frescoes were 'very excellently done' without attributing them. He would have had no help from his copy of Baglione's *Vite* because there is no reference to them either in the passage concerning Gentileschi or that concerning Giovanni da San Giovanni, (Baglione pp. 313-14, 359); see note 640 below. The walls in these rooms have friezes as described in note 622 above.

625. It is unlikely, but possible, that Symonds was referring to the painting of the *Rape of Europa* in which the bull (Jupiter) gallops away with Europa on his back and four young women, two of them half-naked, can be seen weeping and waving on the shore behind, however, more likely, as there are four figures (rather than '3 graces') and they are not 'in y e ayre,' he was referring to a now lost fresco, see note 626 below.

626. Juno is often portrayed arriving in her chariot in order to see Jupiter among y e wenches,' but this subject was not seen by the writer and nor is it referred to in either contemporary or modern literature. Despite the lack of references to the subject, Symonds's description is clear and detailed which suggests that he was probably recording a now lost fresco, see notes 625 above and 627-29 below.

627. See notes 625-26 above and 628-29 below. Possibly here Symond was referring to the 'Muses' in the Casino delle Muse, see note 640 below.

628. This is likely to be the largest of the rooms in this area of the building, which, unlike those previously described, has no fresco decoration but was once painted with the frescoes described by Symonds (see notes 625-27 above; Plates 44-45). The surrounds of the doors are painted in imitation marble, a decorative feature described by Symonds as being in the 'excellent fyne Roome.'

629. A fountain with an antique basin of green marble once stood in front of the Bril-Reni loggia, see Plan 7 (the fountain can be seen as a small circle in front of no. 5). In it was a bronze figure of *Venus* with dolphins by Niccolò Cordieri, see Hibbard, 1964, pp. 170-71; and note 21. Baglione in his 'Vita' of
Cordieri described it as '...una Galathea grande, quasi al naturale...' (Baglione, p. 325). The vast basin, now devoid of a bronze figure, is today located in the largest of the rooms in this area of the palace, i.e., the room in which it was recorded by Symonds, see note 628 above.

630. Presumably similar rooms and decorations to those discussed in notes 621-28 above.

631. For the 1653 inventory of Mazarin's paintings, see d'Aumale. A description of the paintings acquired by Mazarin (but without present day provenances) and a partial and undated inventory is in an article called 'Le Collectioneur' published by the Bibliotheque Nationale in 1961, see pp. 143-6. For a list of pictures bought for Mazarin from Somerset House in 1650 and an inventory of 1661, see Cosnac. Unfortunately all three of these writings appear to be solely concerned with Mazarin's collection at the Palais Mazarin in Paris with no references to his collection in Rome. The portrait Symonds referred to was probably that of Anne of Austria who was Queen Regent at the time of his visit and who, together with Mazarin, ruled France. A portrait of her by Vouet is listed in the 1653 inventory but without 'her two sons' (d'Aumale, p. 343 [unnumbered]).

632. King Louis XIII of France, husband of Anne of Austria. Possibly the pendant to the portrait noted by Symonds immediately above (see note 631). Not identified in either the Bibliotheque Nationale inventory, or amongst the paintings recorded by d'Aumale and Cosnac.

633. As Symonds's note appears to refer to the contemporary Queen of England, it was probably a portrait of Henrietta Maria who was the sister of Louis XIII, see notes 631-32 above. The paintings that Mazarin bought from Charles I's collection did not arrive in Paris until 1651 so it was very unlikely to have been a portrait from the Royal Collection, see d'Aumale, p. 16.

634. Described in the 1653 inventory as 'Le portrait de Son Eminence, grave sur cuivre rouge, faict par Nanteuil,' see Aumale, p. 349 (unnumbered); and in the Bibliotheque Nationale inventory as, 'Le Cardinal Mazarin dans la Galerie haute de son palais (gravure d'après François Chauveau et Robert Nanteuil),' see p. 161, no. 447; and Haskell, 1980, pl. 26, a. There were engravings after Philippe de Champaigne's portraits of Mazarin (e.g., by Jean Moron and Gilles Rousselet) but these were ovals of the head and shoulders, see Dorival, p. 305. The portrait in Palazzo Mazzerino was the portrait print by Robert Nanteuil (1625?-78) who was a member of the maîtres ornamentistes, a group who were (with some exceptions in France) the last of the original engravers interpreting their own compositions. Nanteuil was the most famous of these and engraved mostly after his own chalk and pastel portraits (as Symonds wrote of the 'building painted behind him [Mazarin],' it is possible that the
portrait he saw was Nanteuil's pastel, but, more likely, this was a slip of the pen). Nanteuil became portrait engraver to Louis XIV in 1659, and raised the status of engravers by persuading the King to pass the Edict of St. Jean-de-Luz, by which engraving was raised from the Industrial Arts to the Liberal Arts,' see Wilder, pp. 74-75. Evelyn admired Nanteuil as an engraver and referred to his portrait print of Cardinal Mazarin in his *Sculptura or the History and Art of Chalcography*, London, 1662, p. 89.

635. Symonds's little sketch shows he had not lost his lifelong interest in armorial bearings.

636. Blunt lists three paintings with a Mazarin provenance. These are: *The Inspiration of the Epic Poet*, now in the Louvre, and admired in the Palais Mazarin by Bernini in 1665 (Blunt 1966, pp. 84-86, no. 124; also listed in the Bibliotheque Nationale 1653 inventory, see d'Aumale, p. 161, no. 447); *Diana and Endymion*, now in the Detroit Institute of Arts (Blunt, 1966, pp. 107-08, no.149; also listed in the 1653 inventory, see d'Aumale, p. 234, no. 269); *Four Putti and Two Dogs*, now in the Hermitage (Blunt, 1966, p. 135, no. 195; also recorded in the 1653 inventory, see d'Aumale, p.303, unnumbered). These paintings do not fit Symonds's description 'of ye worshiping idolcs.' It seems probable that Mazarin would have kept a painting by Poussin in Paris, rather than in Rome where it would only be seen by occasional (even if important) visitors. Possibly the painting that Symonds saw was Angelo Caroselli's *Plague at Ashdod*, now in the National Gallery, London, a copy of the original by Poussin, now in the Louvre (although Symonds's noted that the painting measured '3 or 4 feet long & 2 & ha[lf] high' [ca. 91 to 122 cm. x 76 cm.] and Caroselli's painting measures 128.9 cm. x 204.5 cm.). It is interesting that Symonds considered that the painting was 'New.'

637. This is the smaller of two garden casinos built by Ponzio in 1611, see Plan 7, no. 1. It stood in the lower garden toward the street now called the Via Mazzarino and was destroyed during the construction of the Via Nazionale in the 1870s. The loggia had a façade arcade on columns; the walls of the façade were decorated with frescoes illustrating the *Story of Psiche* by Ludovico Cardi, called Il Cigoli (1559-1613), now in the Museo di Roma, see Hibbard, 1964, pp. 167-68.

638. *The Story of Cupid and Psiche*. The frescoes were described in a 'Vita del Cigoli' written by his nephew, G. B. Cigoli, in 1628. There were four stories of Psiche depicted in the loggia. These were 'Psiche addormenta sopra una nuvola,' 'Psiche che tenta di trattenere Amore (as noted by Symonds),' 'Psiche che torna dall'Inferno col vaso unguenti,' and a central panel depicting 'Psiche dinnanzi a Giove.' In the last-named fresco were 'il lione e la tigre che scherzano con i putti alati....' These frescoes were 'found' in the Pinacoteca Capotololina, Rome, by Battelli in 1915 when they were attributed to Annibale
Carracci, see Battelli, pp. 307-10, figs. 1-3.

639. The Casino delle Muse, the larger of the two loggias completed in 1611, probably also to a design by Ponzio, see Plan 7, no. 3. Little remains that can be attributed to Ponzio as the building has been extended on both sides, balustrades and other ornaments removed, and the original open façade closed, see Hibbard, 1964, p. 176. Since Hibbard visited the palace the bank has converted this room into a conference room; attached to it are various bank offices that are part of a completely modern building.

640. The narrow room has portals on the short ends, and three archways (today glazed) on the garden side from the centre of which the perspective of the ceiling painting was designed to be seen. Three blind arches, two of them with landscapes by Tassi, divide the opposite long wall. A loggia supported by columns and enclosed by a balcony is painted on the ceiling above a simulated stone cornice. This illusionistic architecture is also by Tassi and provides the setting for the nineteen figures by Gentileschi who sing, play musical instruments or listen to music (Plates 46-52). The figures of Muses are greatly inferior to those of the women in the music party scene both in design and execution, indicating the work of an assistant, see Ward Bissell, pp. 156-57. Symonds noted only that the Muses were 'excellent' and did not mention the concert party group. This may be because he was informed in his copy of Baglione's Vite that the 'nove Muse grandi' were by Gentileschi without reference to the music party (Baglione, p. 359). Although Baglione and Gentileschi were once 'paired' in the Accademia di San Luca's annual celebrations in honour of St. Luke, they were later to become bitter enemies, see Langdon, pp. 75-6. Symonds did not refer to it, but he may have heard of the work that Gentileschi did for Charles I and the Duke of Buckingham, and more importantly, of the ceiling for the Great Hall in the Queen's House, Greenwich for Henrietta Maria (in which the Muses are also represented). It was about this time that Tassi was on trial for raping Artemisia, a piece of gossip that Symonds would surely have recorded if he had known of it. Ward Bissell writes that Artemisia was a model for a member of Gentileschi's musical party. According to Hibbard (1964, p. 169), all the surface decoration is modern restoration, apart from paired columns imbedded in the new construction.

641. Symonds sketched the pendentives by Domenichino in San Carlo ai Catinari that represent the Four Cardinal Virtues. These are poorly drawn, and two 'Virtues' (Fortitude and Temperance) are not visible, one through fading and the fourth may never have been completed. On this occasion Symonds evidently chose to record what he saw (almost solely) by drawings; the fact that he did not manage to complete his sketches of all four 'Virtues' may indicate that he was pressed for time (or perhaps the church was too dark). In the two depictions that are visible, the subjects are easily
recognisable. Although the church is not mentioned by Symonds in his notes, it is listed in his 'Repertorio' with the number of the relevant first page of the drawings. The building of this Barnabite church, co-dedicated to Saint Biagio and Saint Charles Borromeo, commenced in 1612; the façade by G.B. Soria was finished in June 1630, see Delfini in Chiese di Roma Illustrate, Rome, 1985, no. 16, passim. On the death of Cardinal Leni (the major benefactor of the church) in 1627, his executor Cardinal Scipione Borghese commissioned Domenichino to paint the pendentives of the lantern with funds left for the purpose by Leni, see Spear, Text, 1982, p. 276, no. 102. Symonds was probably recommended these frescoes by Canini (a pupil of Domenichino). The pendentives are mentioned by several contemporary authors including Totti, Celio, Malvasia, and Sandrart, however, Symonds probably saw a reference to them in his copy of Baglione's Vite, p. 384.

642. Prudence. Symonds's sketch shows Prudence with her symbols of a mirror, held by a putto on the left, and a serpent, held by one of two putti, to the right (a dove [symbolising harmlessness] that flies above the snake in the fresco, is not visible in Symonds' sketch). The second putto of this pair drops balls into a cup, interpreted by Bellori as Prudence dominating chance or fortune, and by a later scholar, Cacciari, as voting, see Spear, 1982, Text, p. 276, no. 102.ii. Below this group is a figure of Time who holds his usual symbol of an hour-glass in his lower hand; in the other hand, raised above his head, he holds what appears to be a pair of dividers. This figure and his attributes have been accurately depicted by Symonds.

643. Symonds drew an axe ('this') in the hand of the 'Boy' to the left of the figure of Justice. This putto represents an attendant, or lictor, who carries the fasces (a bundle of wooden rods enclosing an axe and bound with a red strap, the emblem of higher Roman magistrates, signifying their authority to scourge and to behead and a symbol of Justice personified), see note 644 below. It seems unlikely that Symonds grasped the significance of this symbol. Domenichino was evidently unaware that within the city of Rome the fasces had no axe, since there was there a right of appeal against a capital sentence, see Hall, p. 119.

644. Justice. Symonds's sketch clearly shows the figure of Justice with her scales and with two putti above her, one to the left holds a lictor (see note 643 above), the other to the right is placing a crown on her head. Below Justice is the figure of her companion Charity who also gives generously of herself to all living things (as has been eloquently depicted by Symonds), see Spear, 1982, Text, p. 276, no. 102.ii.

645. An ultra-violet light reveals a faint drawing of one of the remaining 'Virtues' on fol. 59v, but no figure is visible on fol. 60r.
646. The Accademia was founded by Girolamo Muziano in 1577 in the neighbourhood of the Forum and incorporated the fifteenth-century Università dei Pittori whose members used to foregather in the little church of San Luca. In 1593, Muziano's successor, Federico Zuccaro, gave the Accademia its first statues; it is now situated in Palazzo Carpegna in the Piazza dell'Accademia. For references to the Accademia and discussions concerning the theories subscribed to by its members during the Seicento, see Mahon, 1947, pp. 155-91; Montagu, 1985, p. 63; Sutherland Harris, 1977, pp. 34-37; and Langdon, pp.74-76. Canini was a member so probably accompanied Symonds.

647. Only two of the portraits depicting antique painters recorded by Symonds remain in the collection. These are in 'old Round frames' with inscriptions on the 'circumferences' and with no attributions. Although in need of restoration, the two survivors do not appear to ever have been of high quality, see notes 648 and 652 below.

648. Panfilo (Inv. 84). Still in the collection and described as 'Macedone pittore del IV secolo avanti Cristo,' see Rome, 1979, p. 100, no. 473, p. 262, fig. 474. Around the circular frame is written 'Pamphilus Macedo eximii preceptor Apellis' which translated means 'Pamphilus of Macedon the excellent teacher of Apelles.' Pamphilus was a celebrated painter of Macedonia (in the age of Philip) and the founder of a school of painting at Sicyon (there is no mention of him teaching Apelles), see Lempriere, p. 476. Symonds consulted Ridolfi's Le Maraviglie dell'Arte, 1648, when in the Accademia (although he does not refer to it in his other notebooks); references to all the subjects of the portraits he recorded (with the exception of Sosus) can be found in Ridolfi's book. The 'Parte Prima' of Ridolfi's treatise concerns 'De'Pittori: Antichi, Greci, e Romani' and discusses the origins of painting and ancient notable personages who were reputed to paint, see Ridolfi, I, pp. 1-12. For Panfilo, see Ridolfi, I, pp.6-7; see also notes 649 and 660 below.

649. Apelles. No longer in the collection and not traced unless this is the portrait now considered to depict Panfilio, see notes 648 above and 650 below. The inscription copied by Symonds means 'Apelles official? famous prince of painters.' Apelles was a celebrated painter in the age of Alexander the Great who forbade any other painter to draw his picture. He is reputed to have never spent a day without employing his pencil, hence the the proverb 'Nulla dies sine linea,' see Lempriere, p. 65. Apelles (whose portrait was sketched by Symonds) fits into Ridolfi's concept of an artist who gave to paintings 'il compimento della gratia, e della venustà...,' see Ridolfi, I, p. 7; see also Spear, 1997, p. 119.

650. If the present inscription on the frame is correct, 'He' is Panfilo (not Apelles) who is portrayed holding a tablet in his right hand on which is written 'Nulla dies.' Symonds's sketch faithfully records the portrait still in the
collection which may well depict *Apelles* rather than *Panfilo* as presently thought, see notes 648-49 above.

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651. *Zeuxis of Heracles*, no longer in the collection and not traced. The inscription copied by Symonds means 'Zeuxis Heracliotis and this image of the painter.' Zeuxis was a celebrated painter who flourished about 468 B.C., see Lempriere, p. 730; and Ridolfi, I, p. 10.

652. *Soso* (Inv. 85). Still in the Accademia and described as 'Musaicista greco del periodo ellenistico,' see Rome, 1979, p. 100, no.4 74, p. 262, fig. 365. Around the circular frame is written 'Sosus ille ego clarus opere vermiculato,' which translated means 'That's Sosus I am famous for vermiculate work' (Symonds misspelt his name as 'Socus'). In his right hand Sosus holds some paint brushes and what appears to be a book (rather than 'a quadro of Paese'), but the painting is in a poor state, placed high on a wall and badly lit (fig. 365 in Rome, 1979, is equally unrevealing).

653. *Pacuvius*. No longer in the collection and not traced. The inscription copied by Symonds means 'Pacuvius the noble poet and the Roman painter.' Pacuvius (died ca. 131 B.C.) was a distinguished painter and poet, see Lempriere, p. 472. See also Ridolfi, I, p. 12.

654. *Metrodurus*. No longer in the collection and not traced. The inscription copied by Symonds means 'Metrodurus Athenian philosopher? painter.' Metrodurus (died ca. 171 B.C.) was summoned from Athens to teach the children of Paulus Aemylius after the conquest of Perseus as in him alone were united the philosopher and painter, see Lempriere, p. 411.

655. *Nero*. No longer in the collection and not traced. Perhaps this portrait bore no inscription on the frame as Symonds did not copy one. Presumably Nero was portrayed drawing a figure. See Lempriere, pp. 437-38; and Ridolfi, I, p. 12.

656. *Hadrianus*. No longer in the collection and not traced. The inscription copied by Symonds means 'Adrianus the excellent Spanish Roman Emperor. Painter.' Hadrianus (died 138 A.D.) encouraged the arts but is not recorded as a painter although here is portrayed 'designing,' see Lempriere, pp. 13-14; and Ridolfi, I, p. 12.

657. This inserted note may possibly mean 'See the theatre of Adrianus how the apprentices so drew this.' Possibly it refers to the circular Natorium at Hadrian's Villa, near Tivoli, known as the Naval Theatre and built within a moat. 'p.59' is not relevant to Ridolfi, perhaps a reference for the Naval Theatre.
658. *Protogenes.* No longer in the collection and not traced. The inscription copied by Symonds means 'The famous Protogenes Cautious of Rhodes this painter.' Protogenes (died ca. 320 B.C.) was a painter of Rhodes who was originally so poor that he painted ships until Apelles came to Rhodes and admired and promoted him, see Lempriere, pp. 565-66; and Ridolfi, I, p. 8.

659. A reference to a page in Lomazzo's *Idea* relating to the chapter concerning 'Degli effetti, e dell'utilità della Pittura;' on this page Lomazzo discusses how the *affetti* can be seen expressed 'in una raccolta di diversi esempi...,' see Lomazzo, 1590, p. 25.

660. This note probably refers to the last paragraph in Ridolfi, 'Parte II' (which deals with the 'Vite de Pittori Moderni Veneti, e dello Stato'), p. 323; Ridolfi wrote: '...non solo da' faggi [facci?] intelletti, e celebrato dalle piu dotte penne, ma trattato ancora per somma delicia da Imperadori, e da Reggi, e ne' tempi nostri tuttavia praticato da maggiori Principe, e Signore,' i.e., not only men of letters can write but also emperors and kings etc. See notes 648 and 649 above.

661. Symonds was probably referring to the many other portraits in the collection; it is curious that he selected a few portraits of antique painters to record rather than those depicting contemporary or near contemporary members of the Accademia, many of whom he would have heard of.

662. Attributed to Raphael, *St. Luke Painting the Virgin,* still in the Accademia. This is an odd painting in which the Virgin and Child (portrayed half the size of St. Luke) appear on a puff of grey smoke to the left of the easel on which rests their unfinished portraits. St. Luke, brush raised in his right hand, is depicted seated, working on the canvas. Behind him is the large head of an ox (his attribute) while in the right hand background stands a youth purported to portray the young Raphael. It has been suggested that the face of St. Luke portrays Raphael at a more advanced age, see Rochetta in Rome, 1979, p. 17. It appears that then (as now) the Accademia admired and valued their curious painting (Plates 12 and 13).

663. Not referred to in contemporary or modern literature on the Accademia and highly unlikely; could Symonds's informant possibly have been Canini?

664. Apparently young students had free tuition at the Accademia with a model provided; a continuation of the system carried out by Federico Zuccaro at his house in the Via Sestina.

665. Evidently a plaster anatomical model.

666. S. Maria in Via Lata has undergone many changes since its origination as
a first-century Roman building with a *porticus* beside the Via Lata. In the early Christian period it was used as part of the Diaconia of S. Maria in Via Lata, see Krautheimer, III, pp. 72-86; and Bertelli and Paluzzi in *Chiese di Roma Illustrate*, Rome, 1971, no. 114, passim (henceforth Bertelli and Paluzzi). For the archeological remains of the building see Jöqvist in *Opuscula Archaeologica*, pp. 48-95; for the remains of the frescoes see Hoogewerff in *Opuscula Archaeologica*, pp. 95-98. Symonds would have seen the eleventh-century church of which little remains; the present church, built in 1658-62, is by Pietro da Cortona. It stands on the corner of the Via Lata and the Corso; entry is from the Corso but the building is covered in scaffolding and was closed for restoration during the late 1990s.

667. The drinking fountain in the Via Lata survives today, somewhat worn, but in regular use (Plate 3). It depicts the head and shoulders of a man in a cap who presumably reminded Symonds of a 'faquino' (porter). Symonds's note indicates that he was familiar with the fountain; by the time of his visit to S. Maria he may have already noted and sketched it in B.L., Add. MS 17919, fol. 35v.

668. Andrea Camassei (1601-49) painted the Tribunal with 'Il padre eterno in un gloria di Angeli,' see Angeli in *Chiese di Roma*, II, p. 411. However, there is no reference to Camassei working in Santa Maria in Sutherland Harris's detailed notes of his life and work (Sutherland Harris, 1970, pp. 49-51). Baglione, p. 356, wrote that all the paintings in the chapel of St. Philip Benizzi in this church were by Tommaso Luini (ca. 1605-c.1640). Titi is the only authority to state that the *Miracle of St. Philip Benizzi* on the right wall was painted by Luini using a design by Sacchi (Titi's statement has been accepted by later authorities and is confirmed by a Sacchi drawing at Holkham for one of the monks in the picture), see Titi, 1674, p. 383; see also Sutherland Harris, 1977, pp. 66-7. Camassei was a pupil of Domenichino, and later in the workshop of Andrea Sacchi, and therefore a painter likely to have been commended by 'S' Gio. A.' Camassei worked under the supervision of Cortona in the Sacchetti villa at Castelfusano in 1628 and subsequently with him at Palazzo Barberini in the 1630s when he surrendered to Cortona the commission for the ceiling of the Salone Grande. Camassei was dead by the time Cortona rebuilt Santa Maria. Possibly he painted the Tribunal while still in the workshop of Sacchi who appears to be connected with the decorations (perhaps the design for the Tribunal was also by Sacchi?).

669. The underground church dates from the first to the eleventh centuries; the walls that remain indicate that it was divided into six rooms which in these notes will be numbered I-VI. For the ground-plan with the same numberings, see Bertelli and Paluzzi, p. 11, fig. 2. These rooms are the 'Grotti' where traditionally St. Paul wrote 'The Epistle to the Hebrews' and St. Luke 'The Acts,' see Angeli, in *Chiese di Roma*, II, p. 411. In several of these rooms
remain traces of frescoes; due to the damp and poor state of the building they are now much fainter and fewer than when seen by Symonds, see Hoogewerff in *Opuscula Archaeologica*, pp. 95-98; see also Bertelli and Paluzzi, pp. 33-37.

670. This was the chapel (Room VI) which evidently once had frescoes on all the walls; these are now lost with the exception of the one over the altar, see Bertelli and Paluzzi, p. 11, fig. 2, p. 28; and note 671 below.

671. The fresco noted and sketched by Symonds could be the *Virgin and Christ child* formerly on the altar wall of the chapel (Room VI). In 1946 this was evidently already very faint as it is described simply as a 'large enthroned figure', see Hoogewerff in *Opuscula Archaeologica*, p. 95. In 1971 the fresco was under restoration in the Istituto del Restauro and may still be there [1997]). It represents the Virgin and Child seated on a wide throne, at the sides are St. Paul and St. Peter and on the left of the Madonna is a man kneeling 'in abiti sacerdotali, col capo velato, e il nimbo quadrato...,' see Hoogewerff in *ibid.*, p. 11, fig. 2, p. 28; and note 670 above. From the iconographical aspect this fresco would seem to be medieval, however, the wall where it was found is not antique and it is now considered to be a late seventeenth-century copy of the lost original recorded by a drawing from the collection of Cassiano dal Pozzo (Windsor, Inv. Nr. 8975) and by another recorded in the codex Vat. lat. 971, p.257, see Hoogewerff in *ibid.*, p. 28. From a reproduction of del Pozzo's drawing it can be seen that the centrally placed pose of the Virgin with figures either side (Hoogewerff in *ibid.*, p. 77, fig. 22.) is different to that sketched by Symonds in which she turns sideways towards two figures on the right and is (according to Symonds) presenting the Christ child 'to y® High Preist.' Although Symonds's drawings are rough, they were made as records, and in other instances the actual placing of figures has proved accurate; possibly his sketch represents a different fresco that is now lost.

672. In Room II (see Bertelli and Paluzzi, p. 11, fig. 2) there remain traces of a *Baptism of Christ* on a narrow ancient wall; these are the figure of St. John the Baptist (cut into by the door), and fragments of an inscription. Hoogewerff in *Opuscula Archaeologica*, pp. 95-96, considers the fresco to be eighth century; in 1946 the figure of Christ was already missing. Bertelli and Paluzzi, p. 32, also consider that the extreme simplicity of the fresco indicates an early date, possibly eleventh or twelfth century.

673. There were frescoes of saints in several of the rooms but Symonds was probably in Room IV (see Bertelli and Paluzzi, p. 11, fig. 2) where there remain fragments of the *Judgement of Solomon*, the *Martyrdom of St. Erasmus*, and a series of saints, the *Seven Sleepers*. On a shield on the arch was written the names of the apostles and prophets in Greek, see Hoogewerff in *Opuscula Archaeologica*, p. 98; and Bertelli and Paluzzi, pp. 21, 33-34, and
figs. 6-9. At the junction of the door leading from Room IV to Room V are traces of frescoes of St. Paul and St. John ( Bertelli and Paluzzi, p. 23, and figs. 10-11).

674. Another small chapel or oratory (Room I). A document of 1594 records: '...l'oratorio sotterraneo era accessibile da una sola scala, cui si accedeva da una porta...a destra all'ingresso che porta all'oratorio sotteraneo nella quale si afferma che l'immagine della Vergine dipinta da San Luca,' see Bertelli and Paluzzi, p. 11, fig. 2, and p. 15.

675. In Room I was a well where St. Paul is said to have carried out baptisms, ( Bertelli and Paluzzi, p. 11, fig. 2, p. 40), perhaps the same well that sprang up for St. Sabina's christening. According to legend Sabina (a martyr honoured in Rome from the earliest times) was converted to Christianity by her Syrian servant Serapia. During the reign of Emperor Hadrian, Serapia suffered martyrdom for her faith and Sabina suffered the same fate shortly afterwards, see Delaney, p. 505.

676. The walls in Room I are now mostly bare except for some areas with seventeenth-century plaster ( Bertelli and Paluzzi, p. 11, fig. 2).

677. Built by Federico Zuccaro (1540/41-1609) in the 1560s. His brother Taddeo (1529-66) joined him in Rome in 1550. For a description of the family, the house, and the ideals and aims of the Academy founded by Federico Zuccaro who became principal of the Accademia di San Luca in 1593, see Lotz, passim; Mahon, 1947, pp. 155-72; Strinati, passim; and Hermann-Fiore, passim. In his will Federico Zuccaro indicated that he wished his descendants to continue to live in the house and that the students of the Academy should continue to have access; however, it was sold in 1614 and his sons followed other pursuits, see Valazzi, pp. 79-84. The building today is part of the Biblioteca Hertziana; it is linked to Palazzo Stroganoff and has many modern additions. Although Symonds did not refer to the owner of the house at the time of his visit, it was still apparently known as the Casa Zuccaro, although he evidently was unsure of Federico's Christian name. The tour seems to have been brief and from various mistakes appears to have either been written up afterwards or in a hurry. Symonds noted the decorations in the Sala dipinto by (Salviati and) Taddeo Zuccaro in Palazzo Farnese but did not comment on them, see fol. 16v.

678. The Casa Zuccaro is between Via Sistina and Via Gregoriana.

679. The rooms on the ground floor ( Symonds's 'low' must refer to this floor, rather than the ceilings which are high) of Casa Zuccaro are all decorated with frescoes painted by Federico Zuccaro and assistants in the 1560s.
680. The Sala Ganimede, see Hermann-Fiore, pp. 99-110. The 'Perspective w'h pillars' represents a ceiling supported by columns which rest on walls; in turn the walls have painted iron balustrades through which can be seen blue sky (all these decorations were painted to be seen di sotto in sù). In the vault is Ganimede (in an enveloping stole) and the eagle. The figure of Ganimede was copied by Federico Zuccaro from Correggio's fresco in the dome of the Cathedral, Parma, as can be seen in a drawing now in the Musée Royale, Brussels (Hermann-Fiore p. 106, fig. 50). Correggio's dome was in turn copied by Annibale Carracci in paintings displayed in Palazzo Farnese that were seen and noted by Symonds, see fol. 15v; see also Martin, p. 112. Symonds may not have been familiar with the story of Ganimede, or more likely, forgot what the subject of the fresco was by the time he wrote up these notes, see note 688 below.

681. The Sala Terrena which leads into the garden (now a 'well' surrounded by the modern building, Plates 7-10).

682. Federico wished to carry out the ideals of his Academy in his family, his life and his work. These ideals are exemplified in the fresco decorations, see Valazzi, p. 81; and Langdon, p. 62.

683. The portraits of the family are in lunettes incorporated into the 'arbour' of roses that spreads over the ceiling vault. For the Zuccaro family portraits in the Sala Terrena, see Hermann-Fiore, pp. 65-72, figs. 21-28.

684. The 'old man as leaning over' represents Federico's father Ottaviano. The lunette is inscribed 'Tadaeus Zuccarus Octaviani Pater.'

685. The three Zuccaro daughters. The one on the left of the lunette sews, behind her a younger sister looks on, the third sister on the right winds wool on a tripod frame. The fresco is inscribed 'Isabella Cynthia Laura Zuccarae Federici Filiae.'

686. In the Sala Terrena, as in the other rooms that have been frescoed, mythological and symbolical figures are incorporated into the overall design. On the sides of the vault are two figures that represent Sapientia and Perseverantia who are portrayed within large diamond-shaped wooden frames which support the 'arbour' of roses. Four other figures representing Diligentia, Labor, Spiritus and Animi Candor are in similar but smaller circular frames. Two triangles representing Grazie (the Three Graces) and Amore per la virtù (Eros and Anteros) complete these decorations in which the 'pairs' are painted on opposite sides. In the centre of the vault there is the Apotheosis of Zuccaro with Apollo and Minerva; underneath is written 'Tempus, Invidia, Fama' and below this, 'Virtute Duce.' By portraying his family in conjunction with these personifications, Federico was demonstrating that his public and private way
of life was indivisible, see Valazzi, p. 84. For a further discussion of the Apotheosis and Virtues, see Hermann-Fiore, pp. 57-72. Symonds found these decorations 'od Bizarre;' he was right to the extent that the figures are confusing, for example, Diligentia is portrayed with gardening tools and an abundant cornucopia (which has led a modern scholar to describe her as Abbondanza, see Strinati, p. 88). Symonds wrote 'Patienza;' it is unlikely that he was confused with the figure of Perseverentia who is represented as a bearded man seated writing at a desk on which there are 'Vanitas' symbols, and with two semi-nude youths standing either side of him; in this lunette, as in several others, there is a white bird in the background (a crane?), possibly the emblem of the family. Other birds and animals are incorporated into the painted trellis. Even with electric lighting the Sala Terrena is very dark and the figures and inscriptions are hard to see; this may be the reason that Symonds made a mistake in an identification ('Patienza') and also why he did not refer to the even darker corridor that leads into this room which is decorated with the stories of Hercules.

687. The Sala Disegno (which faces on to the Via Sistina), designed by Federico Zuccaro and painted by students of his academy.

688. 'y e rest' appears to be a reference to the decorations in the Sala di Ganimede which Symonds had noted earlier, see note 680 above.

689. This note returns to the description of the Sala Disegno. The 'Judge' in the vault is depicted as a bearded man, half-draped, and seated on a cloud. As he looks similar to the figure in the Apotheosis of Zuccaro, and is portrayed as an artist (he holds a drawing board and other pieces of artistic paraphernalia), this fresco appears to be another version of the subject (Plate 11). Beneath the clouds are two cherubs depicted holding a 'stone' tablet on which is written 'Una Lux in Tribus Refugens - Lux intellectus et vita operationum,' a motto that would have followed Zuccaro's ideals. Perhaps Symonds gave this figure the role of a 'Judge' when he wrote up his notes, or, he may not have been able to see the attributes of an artist due to the poor lighting.

690. Above and on either side of the central subject are figures representing 'Painting Sculpture, & Architecture,' and on the sides of the vault are large ovals with other figures that represent Science, Music, Medicine, and the Militia; all of these have relevant inscriptions and are surrounded by grotesque decorations. For a further description of the Sala del Disegno, see Hermann-Fiore, pp. 72-90.

691. Symonds may have forgotten the name of this gentleman when writing up his notes, but in the 'Repertorio' he is named as 'Sig. fr Speciate,' see fol. 4v. Speciate is not mentioned by other contemporary English visitors perhaps because he only had a small collection of curiosities. He was probably a friend
of Canini.

692. The Via dell'Orso runs from the Tiber (at the point of the present-day Piazza Ponte Umberto I) towards Sant'Agostino and was so-called after the famous fifteenth-century inn of that name at the far end (where Montaigne stayed in 1581). Many visitors to Rome found lodgings in this street, it was also the centre for the postillions and livery stables, see Masson, p. 180.

693. Tarantula were common in southern Europe; 'Sotterane' probably indicates that the species in Speciate's collection lived underground. The ink seems to have run out at the end of the first attempt to spell this word so that Symonds put part of it on the next line but this time spelling it 'arannee,' see Murray's English Dictionary, IX, p. 90.

694. It is possible that this creature was not a spider, but a lizard, a peculiar species which the Italians name 'tarantula' in zoology as it resembles a spider, see Murray's English Dictionary, IX, p. 90, note 1,753.

695. A 'searecloth' (or cerecloth) was a cloth impregnated with wax or some glutinous matter used for wrapping a dead body; in this instance it was used to bandage the leg, see Murray's English Dictionary, II, p. 230.

696. A female miniaturist called Speciate has not been traced in connection with Andrea Sacchi or elsewhere.

697. Although several sixteenth- and seventeenth-century artists called Castelli or Castello have been identified, one with the Christian name of Francesco has not been traced. A Francesco Castelli, born in Melide, worked as an architect and sculptor in Italy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries but it seems unlikely that he would be the artist of Speciate's pen and ink landscape drawings.

698. The 'Casa di Signor Paolo Ruggieri' is now number 24 Corso Vittorio Emanuele in the block that runs from the Piazza del Gesù to Largo Argentina (and now divided into flats, Plate 67). The building was ascribed to Giacomo della Porta by Baglione, 'il palazzo de'Signori Ruggieri nella strada diritta del Gesù furono da si grand'architetto felicissamente condotti...' (Baglione, p. 82). The palace was built by Pompeo Ruggieri in the 1580s, see Brugnoli, pp. 224-25.

699. No information has been found with regard to Paolo Ruggieri, the close friend of Canini. The Ruggieri (or Ruggeri) were an ancient family, see the
Enciclopeida Nobilare Italiana, V, pp. 869-71; see also Libro d'oro della Nobilità Italiana, II, p. 501; and Amayden, pp. 176-77.

700. Probably the Sala Grande on the piano nobile.

701. 'Calce' is plaster.

702. A plaster copy of the Venus de Medici, now in the Uffizi, Florence, which Symonds had measured and recorded when visiting the Villa Medici, see fol. 39r: see also note 704 below.

703. Not identified but possibly a copy of the Dancing Faun, now in the Uffizi, Florence, also formerly at Villa Medici.

704. Having seen the original Venus de Medici (see note 702 above), Symonds found the plaster copy less interesting than Canini's pedestal which was made for it to stand on (this was not the first occasion when he sketched a pedestal rather than the statue that stood on it, he did the same with regard to an antique statue and pedestal in the Villa Medici, see fol. 40r).

705. i.e., Canini.

706. From the description it appears that Symonds had forgotten the name of Clytie who gazes up in hopeless love at the sun-god Apollo; the story is in Ovid (see Metamorphoses, 4, fab. 3 etc.).

707. Two landscapes by Canini.

708. One of these drawings (both probably in grisaille, i.e., what Symonds termed as 'chiara oscuro') was either for Canini's The Holy Trinity with Sts. Bartholomew and Nicholas of Bari, or for his Martydom of St. Stephen, still both in San Martino ai Monti; Symonds recorded seeing the former, see fol. 1v.

709. Not identified.

710. Perhaps these were landscapes by Gaspard Dughet who was Poussin's brother-in-law and pupil. Symonds for some reason appears not to have been familiar with Dughet, for example, when he visited San Martino ai Monti he did not record Dughet's landscape frescoes.

711. The coat of arms for two branches of the Ruggeri or Ruggieri family have an ox and a comet in their heraldry but these are not depicted in the same manner as in Symonds's sketch of Canini's 'Device', see Spreti, V, pp. 869-70. The sketch reflects Symonds's continued interest in heraldry.
712. See note 711 above.

713. 'Scabelli,' a stool [or stools]; another design of Canini's which incorporated Ruggieri's coat of arms in its decoration.

714. This probably refers to the scroll in Canini's painting of Ruggieri's coat of arms.

715. i.e., his bedroom.

716. If this was a pen drawing on parchment ('Carta peccora') by Cimabue (c.1240/50-1302), it would indeed have been 'very rare.'

717. Only an ardent admirer of Canini could possibly have found this subject 'fine & sweet.'

718. This a appears to have been a trompe l'oeuil by Canini depicting a shelf of prohibited books. The house appears to have been filled with paintings, drawings, furniture and artefacts designed by Canini and (consequently) admired by Symonds (including perhaps the device described below, see note 719).

719. Evidently a useful device for enlargening the scale of a painting and just the sort of invention that intrigued Symonds.

720. These notes regarding 'A Balsam' are more likely to be connected to Symonds's visit to Speciate (see fols. 64r, and 65v - 66r) than to his visit to Ruggieri. Symonds probably found a convenient gap to record this revolting sounding panacea.

721. Fols. 67v - 70r are copied from a volume of Fisonomia Naturale di Filippo Finella (published by D. Maccarano), Naples, 1629. Filippo Finella (b. 1584?) was a Neapolitan, as stated by Symonds (but not sufficiently notable to be in the Enciclopedia Italiana). A card in the index file in the Vatican Library (Vincenzo Bianchi, R.G., Vite IV, 5380 [int.15]) records: 'contributo a una migliore conoscenza della vita e delle opere dell'alchemista, astrologo e commediografo napoletano Filippo Finella [s.n.t.].' Apart from the book that interested Symonds, Finella wrote books on science, astronomy, the occult, a comedy and a tragedy, some of which were published in Antwerp as well as Naples. These are listed in the Vatican index as: 'Cesonia, tragedia di Filippo Fenella Napoli, Sc. Bonino, 1617;' 'Philippi Finella, Da metroposcopia; sei Metroposcopia naturali..., Antwerpiae, ex Officina Plantiniana apud Balthassarem Morenum, 1648;' 'Delle tavole astronomiche della luna perpetue per anni 19 libro secondo, Napoli, O. Beltrano, 1634;'
'Delle vertú occulte delle vipere per le 28 mansioni delli segni del Zodiac,..., Napoli, E. Longo, 1634;' 'La Giudea distrutta da Vespasiano et Tito; tragedia di Filippo Finella, Napoli, D. Maccarono, 1627;' 'Penelope, tragicomedia pastorale, in Napoli: per Gio: Dom Roncaglio, 1624;' and 'Speculum astronomicum tripartium, Napoli, Gaffari, 1649.'

The *Fisonomia naturale*, is described on the frontispiece as 'Divisa in due parti. Nella qual si contiene la Geometria delle membre humane con un brevissimo delli segni delle vigne delle mani.' There are thirty-five chapters in 'Parte Prima' and thirty-nine in 'Parte Seconda,' each devoted to a different subject. In each of the three chapters on 'vigne' (nails) in 'Parte Seconda' (a subject not covered in 'Parte Prima' although all the others are discussed in separate chapters in both parts and enlarged upon in 'Parte Seconda') there is a full page engraving of a hand which relates to the subject; throughout the book small hands are engraved in the margins which point to significant passages.

Symonds studied Finella's book and extracted his comments concerning the significant human characteristics that pertain to the humours. Symonds divided the four humours into relevant sections, i.e., 'Del Colerico,' 'Del Sanguigno,' 'Del Malconico,' and 'Del Flemmatico.' At the time these were thought to be the four chief fluids of the body and were considered to determine a person's physical and mental qualities. Symonds may have been interested in the latter aspect of the topic, but perhaps even more, in the supposed physical characteristics of the humours in connection with his life drawing studies.

722. Symonds appears to have been familiar with the works of Aristotle which he may have read while at Cambridge University. Amongst the philosopher's many writings were studies on the psychology of living things and the various aspects of animals (including human beings), e.g., *De partibus animalum*, which concerns their parts and structure, see Boardman, pp. 239-46.

723. This refers to 4 July, 1650. The *Diario Romano* of that year does not indicate that this was a day of general significance in Rome, see Gigli, p. 511.

724. Santa Maria in Campo Marzio. A convent and oratory for the daughters of noble families were first established on the site c. 800. In the mid-sixteenth century the public church outside the convent was established by Chiarina Colonna, sister to Alessandro and Stefano Colonna, Princes of Palestrina; this was the church that would have been seen by Symonds as the present church was reconstructed in the 1680s, see Bosi in *Chiese di Roma Illustrate*, Rome, (no date), no. 61, pp. 5-27 passim. For details of the architecture and reconstruction of the church, see Borsi, passim.
The church appears to have been abundantly decorated to mark this important and festive occasion in its calendar; the palco was a platform for the musicians.

Distinguished visitors to the convent included Queen Christina of Sweden. From 1661-63 the Abbess was Anna Maria Mazarin, sister of Cardinal Mazarin, see Borsi, pp. 33-34. Symonds may have chosen to see an investing ceremony at this convent hoping to see some 'notables.'

Presumably two of the Swiss Guards which indicates the importance of the occasion and the people who attended it.

Not identified.

The Jesuit College was erected by Bartolomeo Ammanati in the Piazza del Collegio Romano in 1585 by order of Gregory XIII, see Baglione, p. 5. The founder of the Jesuit College was St. Francis Borgia, Duke of Gandia, third in succession after Ignatius Loyola as General of the Jesuits. Apart from educating young men aspiring to enter the order, the building also housed a school for the laity, the Jesuit Library, the Astronomical Observatory and Chemistry School and Father Kircher's Museum, see 'Palazzo del Collegio di Roma' in Cavallero, p.68. Although the Jesuit College was not in the building from 1873, in 1954 there still remained the Astronomical Observatory and the building complex also housed the Liceo Visconti, the Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele, and the Museo Etnologico e Preistorico (in 1997 the building was still being used as a school but there was no visible evidence of its several other former uses). For a full account of the College, see Villoslada, passim. For the architecture of the building, see Quatorocchi, passim. For the foundation of the Society of Jesus, see Dickens, pp. 184-88.

Not identified with the exception of Cardinal Raggi, see note 743 below.

Symonds appears to have written up his notes on the Jesuit College in two tranches, partially repeating the description of the ceremony with added pieces of information, see fols.72 v and r. However, the description of inducting a Doctor of Theology provided by Villoslada tallies pretty accurately with that of Symonds's description of a ceremony for inducting a Doctor of Philosophy (Symonds perhaps may have meant Theology, see note 736 below). Villoslada writes that one of the students, assisted by the President of the doctors of Theology, defended various theological propositions in the presence of 'the great and the good' who were seated prominently. After discussing theological subjects including the salvation of the soul, the Glory of God, and examining the candidate on the requisites required for a Doctor of Theology, he was exhorted to be humble. After a brief discourse the candidate called out praising the supreme honour of the
'laurea.' The candidate, and the doctors who had been interrogating, him walked between the Rector and the patron of the College while before them the beadle proceeded with his mace. The Chancellor of the College conferred the grade of Doctor of Theology on the candidate who was given (on a silver plate) his doctoral cap which had a rosette of white silk, a Bible and a ring. The new doctor was then embraced by the Rector, the President and the Masters of the College. The 'act' was terminated with a discourse by the President. The beadle distributed offerings and the new doctor rendered thanks to God and those present. At the end of the ceremony the whole assembly went into the church (presumably S. Ignazio), see Villoslada, pp. 94-96.

732. Presumably students at the College.

733. Symonds appears to have been viewing one of the dormitories.

734. Pius IV (r.1559-65) visited and took a great interest in the College, see Villoslada, p. 62.

735. The Council of Trent held twenty-five official sessions over nearly two decades (1545-63), not only to combat Protestant teaching, but also to define the doctrines of the Catholic Church, see Dickens, pp. 187-90.

736. Seminaries were created for the foundation of the Society of Jesus by Ignatius Loyola to provide an educational basis for its aims, see Dickens, p. 186.

737. At this point Symonds returned to a description of the ceremony that he started to record on fol. 71v, see note 731 above.

738. See note 731 above.

739. Perhaps this room was used especially for debates on the classics and theology?

740. Gregory XIII (Ugo Boncompagni), who was pope from 1572-85, in fact ordered the building to be erected, whereas the founder of the College was a General of the Jesuits, see note 729 above. For a portrait of Gregory XIII (without 'his Cardinals'), see Villoslada, opposite p. 64.

741. 'Disputa Teologica' was part of the students' curriculum.

742. Perhaps Terenzio Alciati (1570-1651) who was Professor of Theology and Prefect of the students; or Teofilio Raynaud (1587-1663) who was Professor of Sacred Scriptures and celebrated for his erudition, see Villoslada,
There were also professors of Moral Theology, Liturgy, Ecclesiastical History Hebrew, Metaphysics, Physics, Mathematics, Greek etc. (Villoslada, p. 356). There is no mention of Philosophy \textit{per se} in the list of subjects taught at the College (see note 725 above), however, the list of 'Dispute Scholastiche e Dottorati' (Villoslada, p. 269), records that in 1649 'Il Conte Giovanni Battista Wenzel, del Collegio Germanico, fece in Collegio una solenne disputa di Filosofi, a deidicando le conclusioni con bello scudo e con nobile musica al Sig. Card. Francesco Barberini,' indicating that both philosophical debates and music were part of the College ceremonies.

743. Probably Octavianus Raggius (Raggi), made Cardinal of Aleria in Corsica, 1643. The Raggi are an old Roman family.

744. The name of the Spanish ambassador to the Vatican in 1650 has not been identified (the only year that Symonds was in Rome; it was also a Jubilee year, and the year when Velazquez was in the city on behalf of Philip IV). Costello, pp. 247-48, writes that Oñate was ambassador 1626-28, succeeded by Monterey in the latter part of 1628 who in turn was replaced by Cardinal Cesare Borgia in 1631. Although Oñate appears to have still been in Rome in 1647 he is described as 'L'ancien ambassadeur espagnol,' see Boiteux, p. 128. Sig. D. Gio. Alfonso Enriquez de Cabrera, was ambassador in 1646 (Boiteux, p. 123), and D. Rodrigo de Mendoza was the ambassador in 1651 (Boiteux, p. 129). We also know from the \textit{Diario Romano}, 1608-70, that the ceremony described below was performed in June, 1650 'in nome del Re di spagna dal Principe Lodvisio in loco dell'Ambasciatore,' which may indicate that this was a period between ambassadorial appointments, see Gigli, p. 366. It appears that cavalcades were frequent events in Rome, and that Spain played an important role in these. They took place not only on occasions of celebration, but also on occasions of mourning, and not least, as a medium of propaganda, see Gigli, passim; and Boiteux, passim.

745. In the \textit{Diario Romano} for 1650, the ceremony of the 'Chinea' (the token payment of rent to the Pope for the Kingdom of Naples on behalf of the King of Spain, in this case Philip IV) is dated 28 June, correctly described by Symonds as the 'Eve of S. Peters day;' 29 June is listed as the 'festa du Santi Pietro e Paolo,' see Gigli, p. 366. The dating is corroborated by Boiteux who writes 'Une autre cérémonie marque l'année romaine espagnole: la remise au pape (le 28 juin) de la "Chinea,"' see Boiteux, p. 120.

746. The Spanish ambassador to the Vatican first resided in the Piazza di Spagna in 1622, probably in Palazzo Monaldeschi. In 1647 a new palace was built for him by the architect Antonio del Grande (a neo-classical facade and the 'Colonna dell'Immacolata' in front of the present building were added in 1857), see Salerno, 1967, pp. 89-93, 109-15.
The Piazza di Spagna. In the seventeenth century there was a continuous dispute between the Spanish and French as to the division of the Piazza di Spagna and the area around the church of S. Trinità dei Monti (which belonged to the French; the steps were not built until the 1720s). In the eighteenth century the situation was regulated with the square divided so that the north side was French, the south Spanish. For an account of the development of the area and its buildings, see Salerno, 1967, passim.

'Lacrimae' (tears) may refer to be a special sort of wine.

Food and drink were part of the celebrations and were distributed to the crowd. In the Piazza di Spagna wine flowed, or, according to Symonds, foamed ('bene [e]mbricantes'), from fountains which were constructed and 'dipinte a chiarascuro' on these occasions, see Boiteux, p. 124.

Complicated and elaborate fireworks were also a normal part of the celebrations in the piazza, for example, on the occasion of the 'Chinea' in 1663 there was the Colossus of Rhodes, and in 1668, a Temple of Janus, see Boiteux, pp. 120-21.

Some of the more important visitors were invited to a banquet in the palace and probably watched the formation of the cavalcade from the balcony, see Boiteux, p. 124.

The major domo?

Boiteux, p. 120, writes of a procession with fifty Neapolitan horsemen that took place on the occasion of the 'Chinea' in 1653. What Symonds described appears to have been far more lavish perhaps because 1650 was a Jubilee Year.

Presumably the man in charge of ambassadorial administration.

The bag containing the 'token' rent of one hundred scudi for the Kingdom of Naples.

Innocent X, see note 758 below.

This was the 'Chinea', a white horse which the Spanish kings presented annually to the Pope, see note 745 above.

The arms of Giambattista Pamphili, Innocent X, who was 'affetiontato all Spagnoli,' see Gigli, p. 367.

The Spanish ambassador on this occasion was represented by Prince
Nicolò Ludovisi, Prince of Piombino and Porto, who was the 'fendatario' (swordbearer? - presumably the traditional title of a courtier) of the King of Spain and married to Costanza the niece of the Pope. The magnificent cavalcade included 'carozze di grandissimo valore una di oro, o argento indorato con finimente di ricamo d'oro, l'altra di argento con finimenti di ricamo d'argento in drapè turchino,' see Gigli, p. 366; see also notes 746 and 758 above.

760. The *Diario Romano* describes two carriages in the 'Chinea' procession of 1650 'di grandissimo valore una di oro, o argento indorato con finimenti di ricamo d'oro l'altra di argento con finimenti di ricamo d'argento,' see Gigli, p. 596.

761. Boiteux writes that each year on the occasion of the 'Chinea,' 'L'ambassadeur et sa suite rendent en grand équipage chez le souverain pontife et paradent sur le Corso...,' see Boiteux, pp. 120-21, 123. The Via del Corso is a suitably wide avenue for processions; on this occasion the cavalcade presumably turned right at S. Marco; it somehow must have turned back and crossed the Tiber via the Ponte S. Angelo to St. Peter's (this area is now much altered; the national church of Spain at the time was San Giacomo degli Spagnoli in Piazza Navona, rebuilt in 1450, restored in 1859 and now called Madonna del Sacra Cuore).

762. Symonds was evidently not quite sure where the Pope would receive the ambassador; his first choice of the Sala Regia was probably correct. The main door of the Sistine Chapel gives access to this room with its stuccoed ceiling and frescoes by Perino del Vaga, Daniele da Volterra, Vasari, Salviati and the Zuccari. Begun by Antonio Sangallo the Younger in 1540, but not completed until 1573, it was originally intended for the reception of ambassadors. It can also be reached by Bernini's Scala Regia.

763. 'Triplo Cr[own],' i.e., his papal tiara.

764. See notes 744-45 and 757-59 above.

765. Palazzo Sacchetti, see Chapter Seven above; and Plan 8 for the ground floor (a plan of the piano nobile has not been traced).

766. The Via Giulia, a long, straight, narrow, now dilapidated (but once most beautiful), sixteenth-century street built by Julius II (1503-13); it runs parallel with the Tiber one block away from the river. Although the main entrance to Palazzo Sacchetti (No. 66) is at one end of the Via Giulia, the rear entrances and gardens of Palazzo Farnese and Palazzo Spada can be entered from this street at its other end, see Salerno, Spezzaferro, Tafuri, in *Via Giulia*, passim.
767. The Galleria towards the Tiber was added by Tiberio Celio in the late 1570s. The frescoes are by a minor painter, Giacomo Rocca. Baglione wrote that they were from designs by Daniele da Volterra, but the fact that Rocca had a collection of autograph drawings by Michelangelo confirms that they are simply copies of the Sistine prophets and sybils (Baglione, p. 66); see also Salerno in *Via Giulia*, p. 304. In fact the frescoed 'stone' (i.e., by 'Chiara Oscuro' Symonds meant in grisaille) niches which contain the Michelangelesque prophets and sybils are rectangular rather than arched (in Symonds's notes 'Arches' were not necessarily curved); he did not connect the figures with the Sistine Chapel which he may not have seen at this point (as mentioned above, no [known] notes survive describing his visit to the Vatican).

768. The Michelangelesque figures alternate with busts in oval niches, below these, between the doors and the windows, are arched niches with statues. Symonds would have seen the original statues which in the eighteenth century were substituted with stucco replicas, see Salerno in *Via Giulia*, p. 304.


770. Cortona painted the women with their dresses in disarray and with trailing bits of material which he described as 'Aprons;' he considered that the depiction of the soldiers' armour was not correctly 'antique.' Cortona's painting is vast, 273 x 419 cm. (although not quite as wide as the '16 foot' estimated by Symonds), i.e., the same measurements as its pendant the *Sacrifice of Polyxena* (the two paintings were evidently not hung as a pair), see note 775 below, and Plate 53.

771. G.M. Bottalla (1613-44) sometimes called Raffaelino because of his admiration for Raphael. Bottalla was patronised by Marcello Sacchetti because the artist painted in the style he preferred, i.e., one similar to his master Cortona, who 'could re-create all the trappings of antiquity and avoid the coldness of a "classical" artist such as Domenichino,' see Haskell, 1980, p. 39.

772. G.M. Bottalla. *Meeting of Esau and Jacob*, Pinacoteca Capitolina, Rome. Symonds appears to have been informed about this painter who was a member of the artists 'in the Sacchetti orbit,' see Haskell, 1980, p. 39; and note 771 above.

773. This painting has not as yet been identified in the Sacchetti inventories or in the Pinacoteca Capitolina. Symonds may just have meant that he knew Bottala made such a copy.
774. Cortona's copy of the *Galatea*, now in the Galleria dell'Accademia di San Luca. The first of Cortona's works to be seen by Marcello Sacchetti, it subsequently lead to many further commissions from this patron, see Haskell, 1980, p. 38; see also Briganti, p. 155.


776. (Giovanni) Battista Guarini (1537-1612) whose portrait Symonds had noted in the Accademia dei Humoristi (see fol. 48r), and whose *Il Pastor Fido*, he bought (and may have seen at a musical performance), see B.L., Harley MS, 943, fol. 111v.

777. The Sala Grande was mainly meant for receiving visitors and it still serves this function for the bank.

778. The Sala Grande was frescoed for Cardinal Ricci (c.1554) with scenes from the *The Life of David* by Francesco Salviati (1510-63). The scenes are surrounded by *trompe l'oeil* architectural features and 'live' figures (rather than figures simulating statues). For Salviati's work at Palazzo Sacchetti, see Mortari, pp. 71-76, 124-28, no. 41; see also de Jong, p. 143. Symonds did not comment on Salviati's frescoes, perhaps because he found only the most renowned works (although these were well-known) prior to the Seicento worth recording; for example, he did not mention Salviati's participation in frescoes at Palazzo Farnese, see fol. 16v.

779. Paintings by Bolognese artists were collected by Cardinal Giulio while he was Papal Legate to Bologna, see Ceccarelli, p. 22. There are two paintings of *St. John the Baptist, a Holy Family, a Mary Magdalen*e (copy), and a vast *Cleopatra before Octavius*, attributed to Guercino, now in the Museo Capitolino which came from the Sacchetti collection. Although Symonds only noted the Guercinos, there were many other paintings of the Carracci School in the collection which it appears he was not shown. Those now in the Pinacoteca Capitolina include nine paintings attributed to Guido Reni (and one copy) as well as several paintings with attributions to Annibale and other Bolognese painters.

780. Although Michael Wright (1617-94) was apprenticed to the Scottish painter George Jamestone in Edinburgh in his youth, he was the son of a London tailor and therefore not a 'Scot' (but to Symonds's ears perhaps sounded like one). Wright went to Rome in the early 1640s, probably through expediency as he was a Catholic convert. On his arrival he sought to improve his artistic skills by enrolling in a drawing academy. He evidently succeeded as he became known as a portrait painter and by 1648 was a member of the
Accademia di San Luca. Wright and Symonds had other things in common than their nationality; he also made himself known to the antiquaries of Rome and in Wright's case became something of an authority and collector of valuable drawings and prints. Wright, like Angeloni (who probably arranged this visit), was a member of the Congregazione dei Virtuosi, see Stevenson and Thompson, pp. 11-14; and Hearne, I, p. 344. It appears that it was both in Wright's capacity as a collector, and as a painter, that he was noted by Symonds. If Symonds only paid one visit to Wright, this took place shortly before he left Rome for his homeward journey; he recorded in B.L., Egerton MS 1636 (fol. 135) that 'Sig f Math. Wright told me 8 May 1651. He always uses Varnish mixt' wth his colours,' see Beal, 1984, p. 279.


782. For engravings of the The Triumphs of Caesar, Hampton Court, see Martindale in London, 1992, pls. 117-118, 120-21, 123, 126-27. Symonds wrote 'cutt in wood...printed and ye original lost;' perhaps this was a reference to the original block from which his print was taken. Mantegna's painting had been acquired by Charles I in 1625, and was in Hampton Court by 1631 (see ibid., pp. 350-56). We do not know if Symonds was aware of this, but even if he was not, it is unlikely that he would have declared that the original painting was lost. Woodcuts after Mantegna's Triumph of Caesar were made by Benedetto Bordon (now lost) and Jacob Strassbourg (1504), see Rosand and Murano, pp. 11-15. Symonds wrote 'designd by Mantegno' indicating that he realised the print was by a different hand, but of course it was the inventor that mattered.

783. Not identified in the drawings of Pietro Buonaccorsi (1500-47), called Perino del Vaga.

784. Not identified; perhaps something like Michelangelo's drawing of a foot that overflows the page in Knapp, no. 307a (no measurements).

785. Landscape drawings by Titian are 'free' which Symonds had evidently observed in prints after his works; if the attributions given for Wright's collection were accurate, he had acquired some very valuable drawings.

786. Not identified. Probably similar to drawings for the putti that hold the helmet and sword of St. George from the Madonna of St. George, Dresden Gallery (although Popham considers that these are not by Correggio but by Carracci followers), see Popham, 1957, pp. 83-85, and nos. A23, A24. Symonds not only noted the colour of the paper, but Corregio's use of shading.
787. Not identified although several studies survive for Raphael's *School of Athens*, for example, one in silver point (Albertina), and a cartoon in grey chalk heightened with white (Ambrosiana), see Cocke, pls. 96-97; a red chalk sketch of 'Fighting Men' for the base of the Apollo statue (Ashmolean), see Rosenberg, p. 42, fig. 82. A sketch with Raphael's written intentions for the colouring of the fresco would have been a very prized acquisition.

788. Not sufficient description for identification. Examples of Giulio Romano's drawings can be seen in, Hartt, 1958, II, passim.

789. Not identified. Possibly a drawing for the *Crucifixion* now in Funchal, 81.3 x 58.4 cm. or for a smaller painting of the subject now in the Staatliche Museen (Dahlem), Berlin, 32 x 22 cm., see Posner, II, p. 10, no. 18(A), p. 34, no. 81 (although neither of these paintings are as 'big as y^5 life'). A lifesize drawing must have been unusual, seemingly Wright owned two, see note 784 above.

790. Probably Domenico Campagnola (1484-1550). Campagnola was celebrated for his drawn landscapes. Symonds was correct that he was skilful in forging Titian drawings intended to resemble preparatory drawings for woodcuts, see Landau in London, 1983, p. 324.

791. The palace of the Pighini family (Christian name not identified), see Chapter Eight above.

792. Not identified. Evelyn wrote of Pighini's 'good Collection of Antiquities,' see De Beer, II, p. 217. Symonds was probably recommended to visit the collection by Canini, see note 796 below.

793. *Meleager*, now in the Vatican Museum (Sala Degli Animali). The statue (and palace) was inherited by descent from Francesco Fusconi (doctor to Popes Adrian VI, Paul III, and Julius III) when Marzia Fusconi married into the Pighini family in 1579. The statue (discovered either on the Esquiline or Janiculum) remained in the palace until 1770 when it was bought by Pope Clement XIV, see Haskell and Penny, p. 263, no. 60, fig. 137. Evelyn referred to the '... Adonis (both Meleager and Adonis were linked to the hunt) of Parrian Marble which once my L: of Arundel would have purchased if a greate price would have been taken for it' (De Beer, II, p. 217). Symonds did not mention that the Earl of Arundel negotiated unsatisfactorily to buy this statue, although he refers to the Earl buying 'broken pieces' in his notes on Agostini, see fol. 84r. For the correspondence from the Earl to his agent William Petty and from George Conn to Cardinal Francesco Barberini concerning the purchase of the statue and the difficulties of obtaining permission for it to leave Rome in 1637, see Hervey, pp. 383, 390, 398-99.
794. Symonds was referring to a passage in Lomazzo's chapter on 'Regole della proporzionc circa al corpo humano' in which he discussed the treatment of limbs in sculpture in order to portray the physical characteristics of different subjects. On the page noted by Symonds, Lomazzo related the story concerning Michelangelo not wanting to repair Meleager because he carved 'gli huomini forti robusti, & feroci e non gli Adoni, morbidi, dolci & foavi' (Lomazzo, 1584, VI, p. 288).

795. Symonds measured the parts of other famous statues, for example the Medici Venus and the Farnese Hercules, and in the case of the latter, he had also noted the relevant page in his copy of Lomazzo, see fols. 14v and 39r; and notes 794 above and 796 below.

796. Symonds apparently had been told these were the correct proportions by Canini, i.e., 'S. Gio Ang it[e]m' (the same).

797. Not identified. The statue apparently interested Symonds enough for him to measure it.

798. This is not the only recipe that Symonds copied down for the benefit of his health, for example, a recipe of Cardinal Richlieu's for curing wounds, see B.L. Harley MS 943, fol. 120r.

799. San Martino ai Monti. Symonds referred to this church in four different passages in his notebooks (see notes to fol. 1v); possibly the notes and copying of the inscription on fols. 79r - 81r may have been written on the same occasion as the notes on fol. 1v.

800. This stone is still affixed to the wall of the crypt; it was supposedly a thirteenth-century catalogue of relics transferred to the church by Sergius II but in fact was a seventeenth-century reproduction of the former thirteenth-century inscription, see Silvagni, pp. 108-10. Symonds studiously and accurately copied the carved inscription on the stone which is no longer 'White' but stained and brown; the fact that it was not discoloured when Symonds saw it may indicate that this was the reproduction (but he probably considered that it was original).

801. The two last words copied by Symonds, 'VOTE VERIETIBUS,' are no longer visible. As he wrote that these were painted rather than carved, they have evidently worn away.

802. It would make a logical sight-seeing walk to go first to the church of Madonna de Monti, then up the hill to San Pietro in Vincola by the Via degli Annibaldi with a glimpse of the Colosseum (now crossed by the Via Cavour). The Via delle Sette Sale leads out of the Piazza San Pietro in Vincola; at the
juncture with the Viale del Monte Oppio is San Martino.

803. Not identified despite the writer walking along Symonds's route.

804. The wall carvings that Symonds noted on this walk have not been identified. He possibly was a patron of the 'Stufa secca' as he wrote a long description (with sketches) of how to make one according to instructions that he was given in Padua, see fols. 87v - 89r.

805. The 'Casa Signor Bon Compagna' is Palazzo Sora (1503-09) which is 'appresso San Andrea....' Much altered in the nineteenth century (and in 1997 closed and under scaffolding), the entrance is now in the Corso Vittorio Emmanuele (no.217), between the Palazzo della Cancelleria and the Chiesa Nuova. When Symonds visited the palace in 1650, or (more likely) early 1651, the palace belonged to Ugo Boncompagni (1614-76), second son of Gregorio, Duke of Sora and of Eleonora Zapata. Originally destined for the priesthood, on the death of his brother Giacomo, 1636, Ugo succeeded to the family titles and properties. He appears to have spent a great deal of his time fighting for Philip IV, see Dizinario Biografica, II, pp. 694-95. In October 1651 (i.e., after Symonds had left Rome) Ugo sold the palace to his brother Cardinal Girolamo Boncompagni (1622-84; later Archbishop of Bologna) who added to the former palace and is mentioned as a patron of Domenichino by Malvasia, see Malvasia, 1678, II, pp. 234-36. For details of the building sequences of Palazzo Sora, see Burreca and Minati, pp. 67-68. Possibly the collection that Symonds wrote about below was acquired by Francesco Boncompagni (1596-1644) whose father Giacomo, was the natural son of Gregory XIII; his mother was Costanza di Sforza Sforza (sic). Francesco was appointed to the Curia under Paul V. Gregory XV (Alessandro Ludovisi) created him a cardinal in 1622 and Urban VIII (Matteo Barberini), made him Archbishop of Naples in 1626, see Dizinario Biografica, II, pp. 688-89. The paintings recorded by Symonds are not listed in the inventories of Cardinal Girolamo Boncompagni (1684), Prince Gregorio Boncompagni Ludovisi (1707), or Alessandro Ottoboni Boncompagni, Duca di Fiano (1780). Further information on the collection, or other Boncompagni inventories, has not been identified after research in the Vatican Library and the Archivi di Stato. It has not been possible to verify Symonds's comment that there were more Guido Reni's in the palace than in any other collection in Rome, see note 815 below.

806. A painting which is reputedly a self-portrait of Guido with a Boncompagni provenance has not been traced. A possible version that depicts the head of a man 'w'h a hatt on' is titled Unidentified seventeenth-century artist (now in the Uffizi), see Pepper, p. 292, and fig. 63. There is a similar portrait attributed to Guido Reni and studio (?) titled Self-portrait with a Hat, now in a Private Collection, see Spear, 1997, p. 23, pl. 3. Spear recounts two stories regarding Guido keeping his hat on in the presence of Paul V which
perhaps should not be dismissed as unlikely anecdotes; they could explain why Guido chose to portray himself in this manner - by doing so he was making a point regarding his status as an artist, i.e., 'the difference between a virtuoso and a mechanic,' see Spear, 1997, p. 23. Symonds evidently found this unusual feature of the portrait cause for comment although he did not refer to the anecdote (which would probably have been known to Canini).

807. There are three known original versions of Domenichino's *The Re rebuke of Adam and Eve*. One is the painting in oil on copper which measures 95 x 75 cm., now in the Musée de Peinture et de Sculpture, Grenoble. This version includes a horse, two angels and three heads of cherubim not included in Symonds's sketch (Plate 4); it is also much larger than '2 foot high,' see Spear, 1982, Text, pp. 239-41, no. 86; see also Spear in Rome, 1996, p. 458, no. 43. A second version on canvas that measures 122 x 172 cm., now in a Private Collection, Rio de Janeiro, is too large to be the painting seen by Symonds although it appears to be similar to his sketch, i.e., no horse, or additional angels or heads of cherubim, as in the Grenoble version, see Spear, 1982, Text, pp. 264-65, no. 95. The third version, painted on copper and measuring 68.5 x 54.5 cm. (two foot = 61 cm.), now in the Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth, was a gift from Domenichino to his doctor who had cured him of a grave illness. It was bought from the doctor's heirs by Pierre Crozat who sold it to the second Duke of Devonshire in 1722 (Spear, 1982, Text, pp. 278-80, no. 104). Francesco Boncompagni, Archbishop of Naples, would probably have known Domenichino through the Ludovisi connection before they were both in Naples. Domenichino named Francesco Boncompagni as his executor and protector-guardian of his daughter Maria-Camilla. He was also a great supporter of Domenichino during his troubles with the decorations in the Cathedral Chapel of San Gennaro (Spear, 1982, Text, pp. 14, 289 and 293); see also Malvasia, 1678, II, pp. 334-35. Boncompagni died in Naples in 1644; he left his library to the Vatican and his collection of medals and gems to his parents, no information has been found regarding his paintings, see *Dizionario Biografica*, II, p. 689. He could have received a version of *Adam and Eve* from a grateful Domenichino, who was known to repeat his designs (see Spear, 1997, p. 243); alternatively, it could have come into the Boncompagni collection via the Ludovisi. From Symonds's sketch the Boncompagni painting seems very similar in composition (and size) to the (unfinished) version that has been in the Devonshire collection since 1722, but the Boncompagni *Adam and Eve* was recorded in the 'Casa Boncompagni' later in the eighteenth century by Oretti in his *Notizie de Professori del Disegno cioè Pittori, Scultori, ed Architetti Bolognese...da Marcello Oretti Bolognese*, Biblioteca Archiginnasio, Bologna, 1760-80, MS.B 128, n.d., parte sesta, pp. 19-20. Oretti wrote 'Adamo ed Eva che si scusano col Padre eterno dopo il peccato, è piccolo in rame,' quoted in Spear, 1982, Text, p. 240.

808. In his own 'Vita,' Baglione did not mention any work for the
Boncompagni.

809. Probably two landscapes by Gaspard Dughet. Earlier in this notebook Symonds appeared either not familiar with Dughet, or he did not choose to record his paintings, e.g., he did not record Dughet's frescoes in San Martino ai Monti (see fol. 1v, and 79r - 79v), and when visiting Paolo Ruggieri, it was probably Dughet who Symonds described as 'an allievo of Mons' Poussino' (see fol. 66v).

810. Not identified.

811. 'Standard' probably refers to the saint's pose, i.e., that he was depicted with the stigmata as in Guido's St. Francis receiving the Stigmata, now in the Museo da Roma, Palazzo Braschi, see Pepper, p.227, no. 37; see also Spear, 1997, p. 318. Guido also painted a St. Francis with a skull, now in the Louvre, which has been in the French collection since 1683 (recorded as from the Savelli collection in Rome, then to the Pamphili who gave it to Louis XIV; a studio variant of this painting is now in the Casa dei depositi e prestiti, Rome), see Pepper, pp. 265-66, no. 134. A St. Francis by Guido with a Ludovisi or Boncompagni provenance has not been identified.

812. There are two known original versions of Susannah and the Elders by Domenichino. One is now in the Galleria Doria Pamphili, Rome, and has been in the Doria collection since the early seventeenth century, see Spear, 1982, Text, pp. 130-31, no. 8; see also Spear in Rome, 1996, p. 380, no. 6. The second version, now in the Staatsgemaldesammlungen, Munich (on deposit at Schloss Schleissheim), was in the collection of Cardinal Ludovisi, Palazzo Grande, Villa Ludovisi, Rome (by 1624) and then in the Villa Ludovisi, Zagarola (no date). The family of Ludovisi and Boncompagni were later joined through marriage, it is possible, but unlikely, that the Ludovisi version of Susannah and the Elders was in Palazzo Sora at the time of Symonds's visit; far more likely it was a copy of one of the originals or yet another version.

813. Perhaps a version of Guido's The Crucifixion painted for the Capuchin Church outside Bologna, now in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna, which includes Mary Magdalene with St. John and the Virgin, see Pepper, pp. 234-35, no.55. Guido's contract called for only three figures (i.e., Christ, St. John and the Virgin) but as a contribution to the Cappucini fathers, he added free the Magdalene at the foot of the cross, see Spear, 1997, p.183. Guido painted The Crucifixion, now in the collection of the Duke of Northumberland, Alnwick Castle, for Cardinal Gessi who left it to Santa Maria della Vittoria, Rome (in the Northumberland collections since 1856), see Pepper, p. 249, no. 96. This version does not include the Magdalene. When commenting on the painting in Palazzo Sora, Symonds could possibly have taken the figure of St.
John (as in the Alnwick version) for Mary Magdalene, or just not have referred to St. John if he was looking at a version including the Magdalene (as in the painting now in Bologna).

814. Probably similar to Guido's two paintings of heads that depict St. Peter and St. Paul, now in the Museo del Prado, Madrid, see Pepper, p. 270, nos. 147-8; or the Head of St. John the Evangelist, now in the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Palazzo Barberini; or St. Peter Weeping, now in the Kunsthistoriches Museum, Vienna, see Spear, 1997, pp. 237-38, pls. 117 and 120.

815. There appears to be little to confirm this statement in the writings of contemporary or modern scholars. The paintings that Symonds attributed to Guido could have been originals that have slipped through the art historical net, but more likely they were studio copies some of which may have been 'finished' by Guido. For what constituted an 'original' painting in the seventeenth century (with particular reference to Guido's studio), see Spear, 1997, pp. 253-74. For a further discussion of the subject, see 'Conclusion' above.

816. A comment on Guido by Canini considered worth recording by Symonds; it probably indicates that Canini was present on this visit and therefore was at least partly responsible for the attributions to the paintings in the collection.

817. Symonds is referring to frescoes in the lantern of SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini painted by Guido in 1612-14, see Pepper, p. 227, no. 37a; and Spear, 1997, pp. 197-99, pl. 96.

818. Probably a version of The Sewing School, now in the Hermitage, see Malvasia, 1678, II, pp. 55-56. According to Pepper, the original is now lost and Studio Variants are: 1. Hermitage, canvas 1.46 x 2.05 metres; from the Mazarin, Crozat, Baron Thiers collections. 2. Loreto, Sanctuary. 3. Budapest, Fine Arts Museum. 3. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, see Pepper, p. 294, Appendix I, B2. Spear considers that the Hermitage version (with an early provenance in the Mazarin collection) completed in the studio perhaps by Sirani, is probably the original, see Spear, 1997, pp. 247 and 376, note 103. The painting that Symonds referred to could be the lost original, one of the versions mentioned above, or a studio copy.

819. Guercino's The Tears of St. Peter, now in the Louvre. This is the only painting that Symonds referred to in the collection with a firm Boncompagni provenance, see Malvasia, 1678, II, p. 375; and Salerno, 1980, p. 310. 'Virgin al naturale' indicates that Symonds considered the figure was painted from a life model.
820. Not identified. Symonds's reference to 'S Peters' confirms that he went there although no notes on this visit survive.

821. This fresco has not been identified and may have been lost in the many alterations to the palace, as in the case of the fresco that Symonds recorded immediately below (see note 822). 'Rayles finti' means that the rails were feigned painting; 'not rare' indicates that Symonds considered this fresco was not skilfully painted.

822. This fresco (now destroyed?) depicted a distant view ('longitanus') of a landscape with a river and a fountain; two flights of stairs acted as a coulisse; in his sketch Symonds recorded how the artist achieved the perspective.

823. Leonardo Agostini (1593 - ca. 1669) was a connoisseur of antiquities who in 1638 became antiquarian in the service of Cardinal Francesco Barberini by the recommendation of Cassiano del Pozzo. He continued to work for the Barberini in the period 1646-50 when they fled Rome. On their return he took up his old position in their museum of antiquities which became the most important in Rome. In 1655 he became antiquarian to Pope Alexander VII and was in charge of the antiquities and excavations in Rome and Lazio, see Dizionario Biografica degli Italiani, I, pp. 464-65. Symonds was evidently visiting Agostini's private 'Studio,' perhaps in the period just prior to the return of the Barberini. The notes indicate that he was shown around by Agostini himself. Agostini wrote two books on antique gems, Le gemme antiche figurate, 2 vols, Rome, 1657-59. There are 214 engravings depicting the gems in the first volume and 53 in the second (each depicting a different gem). The second volume also contains the annotations on both books and a dedication to Cosimo de Medici. Almost all the gems noted by Symonds are illustrated in these engravings. The many big gaps in his notes indicate that they were written up after his visit when he was probably struggling to remember what he had seen in this vast collection. Agostini probably informed Symonds as to to the types of gemstones and the subjects portrayed, many of which were obscure. The introduction would have been through Canini who probably accompanied Symonds, see note 827 below.

824. The street of Santa Maria di Constantinopoli, a church in the Trevi region which no longer stands (as a result the street no longer bears this name and has not been identified). The church was the Roman church of the Sicilians founded in 1594 and the site of an exhibition of paintings by contemporary painters in the 1630s. For an account of this occasion, see Costello. See also Titi, pp. 360-62; and Armellini, in Le Chiese di Roma Illustrate, Rome, 1942, I, pp. 371-72.

825. Agostini apparently was not concerned with 'curiosities' or pictures such
as Symonds saw in some of the other collections that he visited, for example, that of Francesco Angeloni, see fol. 50v - 54v.

826. An engraving of this amethyst gem depicts the head of a bearded man with a helmet decorated with a seahorse on the brow, and on the top, a chariot and two horses driven by a woman; on the ear flap is a dog. Separate from this is a woman holding a long veil and two characters one of which appears to be the Egyptian symbol of 'long life.' Above the head is written 'MASSINISSA RE' and below it, 'In Ametista,' see Agostini, I, fig. 39.

827. SGA (Signor Giovanni Angelo); Canini was probably present both as a friend of Agostini, and as a fellow antiquarian. It appears the two were discussing the gems; 'sayes' probably refers to Agostini, i.e., '[he] sayes.'

828. Sardanapalus (668-626 B.C.), probably a Greek corruption of the Assyrian name Assur-bani-pal, the last great Assyrian monarch who lost Egypt but subjected Babylon. He was responsible for building magnificently, particularly in Nineveh, where he collected a superb library.

829. Lucretia, the wife of Collatinus, raped by Sextus Tarquinius c.510 B.C. (the story in Livy, I.57-59). Lucretia is represented holding a dagger to her breast; on her head is an ornament somewhat like the beak of a bird. Above her is written 'LUCRETIA,' and below 'In Plasma' (plasma is a variety of chalcedony), see Agostini, I, fig. 83.

830. Dido, queen of Carthage (story in Virgil Aeneid, IV)) was the only gem recorded by Symonds not illustrated in either of Agostini's books or listed in the tables of engravings. Agostini may have parted with it before the books were published seven to nine years after Symonds's visit.

831. Semiramis was the daughter of the Syrian goddess Derceto; exposed at birth, she was tended by doves until found by shepherds. After the death of her second husband Ninus (king of Assyria), she ruled Assyria and on her own death turned into a dove which was accordingly held sacred. She is represented holding a scroll tied with a knot. Above her head is written 'SEMIRAMIS,' and below it 'In Cameo,' see Agostini, I, fig. 77.

832. This appears to refer to a gem entitled 'SACRIFITIO DI CALICULA' illustrated in an engraving that depicts a column with flames burning from the top and from a basin. The basin is at the waist level of five figures, these are: an old man behind the column; an old woman fully clothed with her arm on a semi-nude youth who points to the flaming basin; and a youth (naked except for a cloak that flows behind him) who crowns a half-naked woman with a wreath; she in turn points to the basin. On the column is depicted a phallic symbol. Below this group is written 'In Clipotria,' see Agostini, I, fig. 142.
833. Antinous, a Greek youth who was loved by the Emperor Hadrian (117-38 A.D.) who deified him, see Bober and Rubenstein, p.158. An engraving of Antinous depicts the head of a curly-haired boy; above him is written 'ANTINOO' and below him 'In Corgnola.' Unlike other gems in the collection, his name in Greek (ANTIOOOC) has been carved on the side as noted by Symonds, see Agostini, I, fig. 40.

834. An engraving of this small gemstone depicts Aglaia, Euphrosyne, and Thalia, the handmaidens of Venus sharing two of her attributes, myrtle and an apple. The three figures stand contraposto typically grouped so that the outer figures face the spectator and the centre one faces away. Above them is written 'TRE GRATIE' and below, 'Niccolo di Vari Colori,' see Agostini, I, fig. 114.

835. Two engravings depict the head of the Emperor Servius Sulpicius Galba (leader of the rebellion against Nero in 68 A.D.). Both have 'GALBA' written above while below one is described as 'In Zaffiro' (sapphire), and the other (probably the one noted by Symonds) 'In Cameo,' see Agostini, I, figs. 59-60.

836. An engraving of the head of the Emperor Tiberius (14-37 A.D.) depicts him side-view wearing a laurel wreath; above is written 'TIBERIO' and below 'In Cameo,' see Agostini, I, fig. 51.

837. The head of Caesar Augustus (63 B.C. - 14 A.D.) is depicted side-view wearing a laurel wreath. Above is written 'AUGUSTO' and below 'In Corniola,' see Agostini, II, fig. 47. Symonds was correct in describing it as 'in Calcedonio' as this is a kind of quartz with many varieties including agate, cornelian and chrysoprase.

838. Tiberius Claudius Caesar (born 41 A.D.), the son of Claudius and Messallina and step-brother of Nero; Britannicus was added after Claudius' invasion of Britain. An engraving of Britannicus depicts a side-view of a youth. Above is written 'BRITTANICO' and below 'In Cameo,' see Agostini, I, fig. 57.

839. Agostini evidently could not resist telling Symonds the value of these gems (a crown or scudo of 10 julii = 5s. 6d.) Symonds used the terminology 'large intaglie pieces' although in two instances he described them individually as a 'Cameo.'

840. Agostini presumably provided the information that the Earl of Arundel was prepared to buy some of Agostini's 'broken pieces large' for his collection of antiquities; one of several instances when Symonds recorded a comment from an owner that enhanced their collection.
841. Symonds was noting medals depicting the notorious *I Modi* engravings by Marcantonio Raimondi (c.1480-1534) after drawings by Giulio Romano. These were illustrations to Pietro Aretino's *Sonnets*. Marcantonio was imprisoned for which, see Wilder, p. 69; see also Lawner, passim. Medals after Marcantonio's engravings have not been traced in other collections and were presumably rare; evidently Agostini had no inhibitions in owning and exhibiting them, and Symonds was familiar with the source.

842. '6 or 7' medals in gold and one in 'brasse' (probably meaning bronze).

843. Fine white marble from the island of Paros.

844. These appear to be large cameo reliefs; the white layer of the stone was under the darker part which was probably unusual.

845. Isis (in Egyptian religion, the wife of Osiris and the mother of Horus) is depicted side-view holding a 'sistro' (the metallic rattle used in her worship); above her is written 'ISIDE' and below 'In Cameo,' see *ibid.*, I, fig. 68. Symonds's sketch closely follows the engraving.

846. Nicoli is perhaps similar to onyx, i.e., a kind of quartz allied to agate with different colours in layers. Agostini appears to have said that these stones were difficult to carve intricately.

847. These notes were written on Symonds's homeward journey after he left Rome; he sketched each fresco and recorded the relevant motto. It is not clear where they were placed in Gibbo's house, or who he was (Gibbo's frescoes were not taken from Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* [Plate 14]).

848. That you may live in peace.

849. Something (or somebody) struck.

850. Not always thus.

851. A salvation.

852. Grateful to everyone.
853. Freedom under control?

854. Evil from Good.

855. Symonds remarked upon a 'Stufa secca' he saw in Rome, (fol. 81r), later in Padua he must have been able to study one at close quarters, and perhaps used it. Symonds was interested in recipes or adjuncts connected with health; perhaps he made these detailed notes and sketches with the idea of building the first sauna in Essex.

856. Shortly before he left on his trip to Naples Symonds must have seen this wretched man, who was probably abasing himself for his misdeeds. It was a custom that absolution could be achieved by the humiliation of wearing a paper hat inscribed with your chief sins and riding backwards on an ass. The pictures that he 'usd to shew' may have been lewd. The meaning of 'Maestra di sere garie' is not clear.

857. The Last Judgement after Michelangelo. This was Giorgio Ghisi's (called Giorgio Mantovano, 1520 or 24-82) major work of the 1540s. Many other engraved versions were made before the end of the sixteenth century, but Ghisi's outpasses them all. The set is rarely found complete in equal impressions, see Boorsch in New York, 1985, p. 55; see also Massari in Rome, 1980, pp. 126-27, no. 83. A drawing for the Last Judgement by Michelangelo was admired by Symonds in the collection of Francesco Angeloni (fol. 53v). He acquired prints after several of the drawings he noted and admired in Angeloni's collection (see folgs. 50v - 54r). The inventory of Symonds's prints is found in Ogden and Ogden, passim (B.L. Harley MS 943, fol. 100v - 110v and 114r - 116r). Under 'M. Angelo Buonarota - Sacre' Symonds recorded 'His Judgement in 10 pieces besides his por[trait];' this is Ghisi's eleven-plate engraving of Michelangelo's Last Judgement; the eleventh plate contains a portrait of Michelangelo, see Ogden and Ogden, p.50 (B.L. Harley MS 943, fol.101 v). In his copy of Vasari's Vite Symonds wrote 'Giorgio Mantovano' in the margin beside the passage regarding Ghisi which he partially underlined; over the page in another passage regarding Ghisi he wrote 'Stampe di M Angelo' in the margin (Vasari B.L., III.1, pp. 311-12). Fol. 90v is the last in Egerton MS 1635 and evidently was written only as a reminder as to where and when he bought prints and how much they cost. Some words are illegible.

858. Symonds noted State IV of Ghisi's engraving which has a Coat of Arms (which he sketched) and is inscribed 'Vincenzo Cenci le Stampa in roma all'insegna delli tre gigli d'oro alla dogana 1650.'

859. Although two words are illegible Symonds appears to have been noting the difference in price of the print depending on how (or if?) it was framed.
860. i.e., Arch of Constantine. Recorded in Symonds's inventory of prints that he purchased, listed under 'Antiquitates Romanae' and described as 'Arco di Constantino large story cutt by Gio Mantovano f.,' see Ogden and Ogden, p. 54 (B.L. Harley MS 943, fol. 104r).

861. This reference is to a book that Symonds bought in Venice, Alessio Piedmontes's *De' Secreti del Revuerendo...*, Venice, 1557, see B.L. Harley MS 943, fol. 113r.

862. Giacomo Lauri's *Antiquae Urbis Splendor*, Rome, 1612; a suite of 162 engravings of Rome. Symonds may not have bought this book which was perhaps too expensive (a pistol = ca. 15 shillings) as it was not listed in his inventory.

863. A large single-plate of Michelangelo's *Last Judgement* engraved by Niccolo della Casa, see Robert-Dumesnil, IX. 181.1. This is the second version of this subject bought by Symonds; in his inventory he lists it under 'M. Angelo Buonarota - Sacre' and describes it as 'A Judgement alone old in one large folio,' see Ogden and Ogden, p. 50 (B.L. Harley MS 943, fol. 101v); and notes 857 above and 864 below.

864. Antonio Salamanca had a shop in the Campo di Fiori (i.e., near both the Minerva and the Piazza Navona) by 1506 and was the principal Roman print publisher of his day, see Landau and Parshall, pp. 302-04; and Griffiths, p. 48. 'Pater' may not relate to the content of the print, but to the fact that it was published by the elder and more renowned Salamanca, rather than by his son Francesco who continued the business.

865. i.e., 'Niccolo. Della. Casa Fecit,' see note 863 above.

866. A reference to Giovanni Battista de Rossi whose renowned printshop was in Piazza Navona and where Symonds probably bought the Della Casa *Last Judgement*.

867. Probably a reference to Francesco Padovanino who worked in Rome and whose son Ottavio (1582 [in Padua]-1634) was a celebrated history painter and portraitist who also worked in Rome.

868. Perhaps Symonds received this information from a printseller; 'heads of Cardinals' were not listed in the inventory of his prints.

869. Symonds was referring to *Lettere del Signor Francesco Visdomini*, Venice, 1640. In the sixteenth century Visdomini (dates?) wrote books on religious and moral subjects; the first part contains a series of congratulatory letters to the 'great and the good;' the second part is made up of a series of
moral discourses, see Visdomini, passim. The Lettere... was not listed amongst the books that Symonds sent home; it may have been a book that he saw in a bookshop and thought of buying, or possibly he bought a copy as a gift.

870. This may be a reference to the 'Sacrifice to Priapus' listed under 'Single Stories Pieces... Profane' in his inventory of prints, see Ogden and Ogden, p. 56 (B.L. Harley MS 943, fol. 107r).
Appendix II

[British Library, Additional MS 17919]

[fol. 90 verso, unnumbered:]

Pallazzo del Card:

Barberino _______ 1

Quadro of Carracio [Correggio above the caret] being a story
of Cleopatra. 2 for w'h was paid.

mille 200 Scudi. _______ 4 foot long

Tis now sent to y'e Qu: of France 3

_________ & 3 high.

Paesi di Mons' Armanno 4

_____ round a lodging Roome in frames 5

Andrea Zacco. 6 y'e vault of y'e

chamb[er] 7. flat roofe much esteend

Andrea Camasso 8. Dio Padre

La Creature delli Angeli 9

Taffeta bed & Roomes hung w'h blewish

Taffeta painted w'h Cornucopias & Pots

of Flowrs.

Other Roomes having y'e same Taffeta &

fountaynes painted on y'm 10

[fol. 91 recto, numbered 203:]

600 Chamb[er]s in this Palace
There is a booke printed being a description of
this palace. calld Aedus Barbarini
they demand 5 crownes. 11

in a farther roome where a paire of organs 12 and
are 3 paintings of [michel Angelo di above the caret] Caravaggio. 13
1. a young fellow playing on a lute. 14
2. st Katherine below ye middle, a large
wheele by her. 15
3. two forbi, a cheating a young fellow
to ye wasts. 16 all 3 of great price 17
in ye next roome is a domenican w'h a burnd
full face well done. 18 Titians [wife crossed out mistress
written above] done by
him.

Titians M' done by himselfe, very
Rare _______ fulfacd 19 _______ _______

In another roome is Raphael M's done by himself
she is naked to ye middle. upon her left
arme is a blew bracelet. w'hin a handfall
of her sholder, & upon it in goldern letters

RAPHAEL VRBINAS
See p.204, no black in ye face, it appeares very flesh. 20

[fol. 91 verso, unnumbered:]

In the first square, 21 ye Picture of the 2 Card:
Barberinos at length sitting in chayres. 22
were done by an allievo of Dominicino. Pope Urban & the K of France who is on horseback. St Bruno is rarely done by Titian in the next roome.

M. Angelo has painted himselfe young leaning back against a pillar & a booke lyes afore him on a deske. & sets one foot on 2 bookes upon the ground.

A Bed wch was P.V. is painted in India & shutts, the painting is upon Carta pecora. Raphaels mistress & the quadro over against it wherin o' Savio' is disputing w'h y'e Doctors done by Albert [Dürer]: y'e Cardinal paid 20 Thousand Crownes for ym both. 8 for Raph[ael] & 12 for Albert. Upon yt of Albert is: [Sketch of a square with the date, 1506 and Durer's monogram A D:] In y'e same roome is a Madonna & other p[er]sons by Guilio Romano. Another of o' Savio' & other p[er]sons by Luca D'Hollanda.
2 Heads onely in one quadro by Tintoret\textsuperscript{36}

A Dominican full facd who had his face
burnd, very rarely done, was a famous
preacher in y\textsuperscript{e} Minerva.\textsuperscript{37}

\textit{[fol. 92 recto, numbered 205:]}

One of y\textsuperscript{e} Cardinals Sitts in a Chayre & by
him a Table whereon is a letter w\textsuperscript{h} this
sup[er]scription ______

Al Eminen\textsuperscript{ssmo} & Ill\textsuperscript{mo} Sign\textsuperscript{r}

Il Sign\textsuperscript{r} Card: Antonio.

Barberino.\textsuperscript{38}

These Ritratti were done Per
by one Antonio Bolognese Antonio Alberti
Allievo di Dominichino.\textsuperscript{39} writt at bottom

\textit{[fol. 92 recto, numbered 205:]}

A Demy statue of Seneca\textsuperscript{40} rarely done

A Venus\textsuperscript{41}

Narcissus.\textsuperscript{42}

Idol of Nero\textsuperscript{43} in Black Aegiptian show

These are in the first square Roome
below where the Ritrattos of the
family are.\textsuperscript{44}
Many Ritrattos of Titian in the little Roomes by\textsuperscript{45}
1. See Chapter Nine above; and Plans 10 and 11.

2. No painting representing Cleopatra is recorded in the seventeenth-century inventories with an attribution to a Carracci or to Correggio. However, there are six paintings of Cleopatra in different guises attributed to other artists including three of the Carracci school, i.e., Guercino, Guido Reni and Lanfranco, see Lavin, 1975, pp. 570-71.

3. Presumably he was referring to Anne of Austria.


5. In the 1644 inventory two of Swanevelt's paintings of 'paese' were listed in the 'stanze che segue la prima stanza che va verso la stanza ovata' on the piano nobile, i.e., the rooms following from the anteroom (C19) that leads into the oval room (C17), see Plan 11. As Symonds noted a 'lodging Roome,' he could be referring to Cardinal Antonio's bedroom (C26), also in this suite, see Lavin, p. 160.

6. Andrea Sacchi (1599-1661), the son and pupil of Benedetto Sacchi. Andrea worked with Francesco Albani and studied Raphael and Polidoro da Caravaggio and the antique. He was employed by Cardinal Francesco Barberini in St. Peter's and then at Palazzo Barberini. He lived nearby in via Rosella but was assigned rooms in the palace (B8 and B9) for his collection of paintings, sculptures and marble reliefs and therefore must have been greatly esteemed by the Barberini, see Waddy, p. 246; and Plan 10.

7. The theme chosen for the vault of C29 was Divine Wisdom. Sacchi adapted the subject to identify with the Barberini and managed to 'subordinate the rather awkward groups into a composition of almost archaic simplicity,' see Haskell, 1980, p. 51. See also Sutherland Harris, 1977, pp.12-13. Symonds did not record Pietro da Cortona's vast and extraordinary ceiling, Divine Providence in the main reception room of the palace (C1), nor the oval room (C17) which leads from it, therefore these two rooms were unlikely to have been included in his tour (see Chapter Nine above; and Plan 11).

8. Andrea Camassei, a follower of Domenichino and therefore a painter that Symonds would be likely to know of from Canini. Camassei was originally the painter proposed to paint the main reception room (C1), a commission he
lost to Cortona, see Haskell, 1980, pp. 50-51; and note 7 above.

9. In 1631-32 Camassei was given the subject of *God the Father Dividing the Angel Hierarchies* to paint in a small anteroom (C28) leading to the audience room (C27) on one side, and to the room with Sacchi's *Divine Wisdom* (C29) on the other, see Plan 11. The subject in a subtle way promoted the Barberini and foreshadowed some of the larger and more complicated schemes that were to follow. 'For among the hierarchy of angels brought into being by God two classes especially were singled out - those with crowns who protected provinces and kingdoms, and those with sceptres who assisted their rulers, thus symbolising the divine sanction given to sovereigns of this world,' see Haskell, 1980, p. 50. Engravings of both Camassei's frescoes appear in Teti's *Aedes Barbarinae* and in Ubaldini's edition of Francesco da Barberino's *Documente d'Amore*, of 1640; Camassei provided the frontispiece and the *God the Father Dividing the Angel Hierarchies*. Both of these works were engraved by Cornelius Bloemart, see Sutherland Harriss, 1970, pp. 54-57; and note 11 below.

At the same time Camassei was commissioned to paint a (now lost) fresco of *Parnassus with Apollo and the Muses, the Fates, and Heroes approaching the Temple of Immortality* in another small room (B27), on the ground floor, see Plan 10. This painting contained more obvious references to the Barberini as protectors of civilisation and the arts, see Haskell, 1980, p. 50. Symonds did not record the *Parnassus* but his notes to this floor appear to be hurried, see note 45 below.

10. When Cardinal Antonio moved into the palace in 1635 he ordered a set of furnishings for seven rooms of his apartment on the north side of the piano nobile (probably C23-C29, see Plan 11), 'sky-blue, all painted with various flowere, fruits, birds, fountains, and so forth,' i.e., exactly as described by Symonds, see Waddy, p. 245.

11. *Aedes Barberinae ad Quirinalemi*, Rome, 1642, an illustrated folio volume, compiled by Girolamo Teti, with an ample, though somewhat generalised, account of the contents of the palace, see Haskell, 1980, p. 56. Among the books listed by Symonds when he packed for his return journey was 'Documents D'Amore di Barberino 4° 10 G'. Symonds bought the four volumes of *I Documenti d'Amore*, (probably Ubaldini's edition, Rome, 1640) by the poet Francesco da Barberino (1264-1348). Although the 1640 edition of da Barberino's book also has an engraving of Camassei's *God the Father separating the Angel Hierarchies*, it is a much less lavishly illustrated work than the *Aedes Barberinae* (which therefore probably made it less expensive). *I Documenti d'Amore* is an exemplar of wisdom and morals; on each page a portion of the Italian rhymed text is followed by the Latin prose version and an extensive commentary also in Latin, see da Barberini, passim; Teti, passim; see also
British Library, B.L. Harley MS 943, fol. 111 r; and note 9 above.

12. Cardinal Antonio had many musical instruments including three organs, see Lavin, 1975, pp. 155-56.

13. The three paintings Symonds attributed to Caravaggio were also attributed to him in the 1644 inventory; these are recorded in the 'stanza di contro (la stanza accanto all'anticamera)', i.e., probably C19 or C20, see Lavin, p. 167, nos. 260-262; and Plan 11. Not all these paintings are considered originals by modern scholars, see notes 14-16 below. It is interesting that Teti did not refer to Caravaggio in the Aedes Barberinae.

14. *The Luteplayer*, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. In 1642 Carlo Mangone was paid by the Barberini for copying Caravaggio's painting of this subject (and *The Cardsharps*), see Hibbard, 1983, pp. 279-81, fig. 18; see also Lavin, p. 167, no. 262 and p. 474. In the 1644 inventory *The Luteplayer* was attributed to Caravaggio, see notes 13 above and 16 below.

15. *St. Catharine of Alexandria*, now in the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Castagnola. Acquired by the Barberini at the Del Monte sale in 1628; see Hibbard, 1983, pp. 288-89, fig. 34; see also Lavin, 1975, p. 167, no. 261, p. 474. There appears to be no dispute as to this painting being autograph, see notes 13 and 14 above and 16 below.

16. *The Cardsharps*, now in the Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth; possibly the original or a copy by Mangone; see Hibbard, pp. 272-75, fig. 10; see also Lavin, p. 167, no. 262, and p. 473 (who gives it a provenance of 'ex-Sciarra Coll.'); Langdon, pp. 84-93; and note 14 above.

17. For the prices paid for the three Caravaggios and the copies by Mangone, see Hibbard, 1983, p. 280.

18. Symonds may have been in room C33, see Plan 11. Most of Antonio's collection was in rooms C33-44 on the piano nobile (and on the northside of the piano terreno), see Waddy, p. 245; Plans 10 and 11. There are several paintings representing *St. Dominic* listed in various inventories (one with both a Ludovico and Antonio Carracci attribution, no provenance, see Lavin, p. 578). Symonds referred to this painting again, see note 37 below.
19. Not identified although there are several Titian portraits of women listed in the inventories, see Lavin, p. 528. Not identified in Wethey or in the Titian portraits referred to by Teti, see Teti, pp. 17, 134, and 159. In his copy of Vasari's *Vite* in the British Library, Symonds noted Titian's 'Ritratto d'una Donna' praised by Vasari (Vasari B.L., I, p. 229).

20. *La Fornarina*, now in Palazzo Barberini. See Lavin, p. 170, no. 311. Symonds's description, 'No black in y face,' referred to colour technique that he learnt from Canini. 'See p.204' does not refer to a relevant page in Baglione or in *Aedis Barberinae...*, see Teti, p. 153. In his copy of Vasari he wrote in the margin (apropos of this painting), 'Ritratto di Sua Donna' and partly underlined the relevant passage, 'la quale Raffaele amò fino al morte, e di quella fece un ritratto bellissimo, che pareva viva viva...,' see Vasari B.L., III, p. 85 (i.e., not p. 204).

21. This note may apply to a square on the wall formed by a moulding or perhaps to the 'first square [room]' on the piano nobile which would be C29, i.e., the room with Sacchi's *Divine Wisdom* which Symonds has already noted, see note 7 above.

22. Possibly Cardinal Francesco (1597-1679) and Cardinal Antonio (1607-71). Although there are many portraits of cardinals listed in the inventories, a double portrait (i.e., 'y e Picture') has not been identified, see Lavin, 1975, pp. 654-60; and notes 38 and 39 below. Symonds probably meant 'Picture[s].'

23. Possibly the portraits of Cardinal Antonio and Cardinal Francesco painted by Giuseppe? Antonino (1581-1657) (who may have been a pupil of Domenichino?). Identification is difficult because Antonino painted both Antonio, Cardinal S. Onofrio (Marcello Antonio, 1569-1646, brother of Pope), and Cardinal Antonio, Jr. (1607-71, nephew of Pope). Symonds referred to a portrait of 'Il Signr Card: Antonio Barberino' below which is probably a second reference to this painting, see notes 22 above and 38 and 39 below. (Passeri cites as Domenichino's pupils, Ruggieri, Barbalonga, Cozza, Cammassei, Fortuna, Testa, Canini, Raspantino, Romanelli, Poussin and himself, see Passeri, p. 70. Spear adds Algardi and Bellori, see Spear, Text, p.100).

24. There are many portraits of Urban VIII listed in the inventories which makes identification of this portrait impossible, see Lavin, pp. 659-62.

25. Probably Louis XIII. There are several portraits of both Louis XIII and Henry IV listed in the inventories but this note probably refers to a portrait listed
in the 1644 inventory in the Guardaroba and described as 'Ludovico XIII-Re di Francia a cavallo armato...,' see Lavin, p. 176, no. 524.

26. The two paintings that depict St. Bruno listed in the inventories are both unattributed, see Lavin, p. 175, no. 501 and p. 314, no. 466 (respectively in the 1644 and 1671 inventories of Antonio).

27. Not identified.

28. There is not a self-portrait of Michelangelo listed in the inventories, however, there is an unattributed portrait described as 'ritratto di Michele Angelo' recorded in the Guardaroba in the 1644 inventory, see Lavin, p. 177, no. 544.

29. Pope Urban VIII's bed. 'Carta pecora' is parchment.

30. A second reference to La Fornarina, see note 20 above.

31. Christ Disputing with the Doctors, now in the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Madrid. Recorded in the 1644 inventory 'Nell'ultima stanza accanto alla libraria' without attribution, see Lavin, 1975, p. 176, no. 505.

32. Presumably Cardinal Antonio.

33. For a discussion of the inscription on the cartellino, see Lübecke, p. 230; and Chapter Nine.

34. Only two portraits attributed to Giulio Romano are listed in the inventories. A Madonna and Child, St. Anne, St. Joseph, St. John, two angels, recorded in 1655 (without attribution), and in 1672 and 1686 (with attributions to Giulio Romano), see Lavin, pp. 274 (no. 216), 374-75 (no. 284), and 419 (no. 595). A Portrait: Woman, appears in a list of paintings owned by Prince Urbano Barberini, appraised by Carlo Maratta, 1686?, and attributed to Giulio Romano (Lavin, p. 422, no. 26). There is a small Madonna, now in Palazzo Barberini, attributed to Giulio Romano (recorded below the painting as Inv. 1661, GFND 856, C. 6063, E34729 (if this refers to an inventory dated 1661, it is not found in Lavin). This painting has no 'other p[er]sons' in it, but Symonds may have been referring to more than one painting by Giulio Romano. A Madonna attributed to
Giulio Romano is recorded in \textit{Aedes Barberinae}, see Teti, pp.153-54.

35. Possibly the \textit{Madonna, Child, St. Joseph, angels}, recorded in the 1686 inventory and attributed to 'Luca d'Olanda', see Lavin, pp. 406, no. 289, and 526.

36. \textit{Two Venetian Noblemen}. Recorded in the 1644 inventory in the same room as the Caravaggios ('Segue la stanza accanto all'anticamera'), and attributed to Tintoretto, see Lavin, pp. 167, no.256, p.526; and note 13 above.

37. See note 18 above. The church is Santa Maria sopra Minerva; Symonds's 'famous preacher in y Minerva' (a Dominican church) has not been identified.

38. Probably a portrait of \textit{Cardinal Antonio}, Jr. (nephew of Pope, 1607-71) in which the cardinal is seated writing ('scritt.re'), hand on table with beret by Giuseppe? Antonino (1581-1657), Rome, Giacinta Barberini(?), see Lavin, p. 655; and notes 22 and 23 above and note 39 below.

39. Probably a repeat reference to one of the paintings that Symonds recorded earlier (see notes 22 an 23 above); his earlier description could be read as a double portrait (unlikely), but here he noted 'Ritratti.' A pupil of Domenichino's called Antonio Alberti has not been identified. Lavin puts a question mark as to Giuseppe being Antonino's Christian name so possibly he was 'Antonio Alberti,' see Lavin, pp. 429 and 655. Another possibility is that it was a reference to Antonio Carracci, nephew of Annibale, see Baglione, pp. 142-43; and Malvasia, 1678, pp. 516-21.

40. Not sufficient description to identify which this is of the four pieces of sculpture depicting \textit{Seneca} listed in the inventories, see Lavin, p. 698.

41. There are 27 statues of \textit{Venus} listed in the inventories making identification impossible, see Lavin, pp. 710-11.

42. This could be the statue of \textit{Narcissus} described as 'sculpture, standing, little trunk, carved base,' see Lavin, p. 641.

43. Although there were several pieces of sculpture depicting \textit{Nero} recorded in the inventories, none of these fit Symonds's description, see Lavin, p. 643; possibly it was the 'Idol' recorded as 'Egyptian, black porphyry, holds box with
little idol inside' (Lavin, p. 598). Most of the sculptures displayed on the ground floor were small busts, see Waddy, p.245.

44. Normally Symonds's visits to palaces were restricted to the piano nobile but at Palazzo Barberini he was evidently permitted to view rooms on the ground floor. Most of Antonio's collection was in the north wing on this floor (and in the rooms on the piano nobile that Symonds had already seen): there were many small paintings hung thematically. In 1644, 36 portraits were in the anteroom B28 but this room is not 'square' although the room next to it, B29, is, see Plan 10.

45. There are 24 portraits attributed to Titian (including one listed as a copy, another 'in the manner of') recorded in the inventories; several of those listed in the 1644 inventory were recorded in the ground floor rooms on the north side of the palace, i.e., the rooms Symonds appears to have visited at the end of his tour, see Lavin, pp. 166-69 and 527-28. It is curious that Symonds made no record of these portraits which may indicate lack of time rather than lack of memory.
Appendix III

[British Library, Harley MS 943]

[Richard Symonds's list of books forwarded home from Rome. The transcript has not been fully annotated and the editions referred to are not necessarily those that were bought by Symonds.]

[fol. 110 verso, unnumbered:]

Vignola's Prospettiva & Architetturra.¹

Receipts: in Ital: St Andreas pap[er]s _

other pap[er]s _

3 Vocabularyes of Italian Spanish & French.

2 Cronolgyes of Raynaudi lingua table to Baronius 12 sheets²

& other pap[er]s Gowerman, & those of Rene

_____

In a sheet folded.

Semiraris notes.³

Stampe notes.

collections out of Lomazzo.⁴

libreria Angolira

2 sheets of Antiq: of Julio Fanceys

Versi delli Put:

Italian Propontates

Solary's writing booke.⁵
LIBRI

T Lomazzo 2 Vol: 6 5 Cr.

T Casalio _2 Vol: 7 12 G.

T Mascherada delle Dei. 4° gave me by SGA

T Ucelli: 8 unbound 5 Giul:

Roma Sotterananea; 9 4° 17 G.

Poesie del Prete. 10 2 Carl:

Bando g[e]n[er]ale di Roma _2 G.[half sign]

Leon Batta Alberti opuscula 11 4° 3G.

Vasari Vita de Pittori 3 Vol. 12 loose all

T Cartari imagnd dei Dei. 13 loose 5C.

T Phisognomia della Porta 14 loose 5G.

[fol. 111 recto, numbered 261:] TK. bundle of lute strings.

d - bundle in pap[er].

d - 2 tin boxes of strings.

T Famiano Strada. 15 f. loose.

Donato Roma Viens & Reviens 16 4°

d Square box sent her sister by M"Stamp

d - a Pap[er] long wherein a gen[era]le note of all

her things are -

d musique bookes

LIBRI

Documents D'Amore di

Barberino 17 4° 10 G
Figino fine della Pittura
Trionfi della arriva condotta
in Paradiso
Montifalchi de cognominibus Deorum
Iconologia della Ripa
Lettere del Tasso
Genealogia delli Dei del Boccaccio
Nobiltà delle Donne.
Torrigio Sacre grotte Vaticano
Antica Roma
Moderna
Medit. della Passione
gave me by F N Z
Iliade d’Homero di Tebaldi
Relate della Cina 2 Vol.
Fisonomia di Ingegneri
L’Historia Spagnola -18. Romanese
given by M’. T. K. [Thomas Knightley?]
[fol. 111 verso, unnumbered:]
Baglione Vita de Pittori.
Favole di Esopo\textsuperscript{31} ___ 18. 5 G

Secchia Rapita\textsuperscript{32} 3 G. mezzo gr

Drexelio Eternità\textsuperscript{33} given me by F. N. Z.

Index libro[rum] prohibito[rum]\textsuperscript{34} 1 G

Mesoposcopia. 18. given me by M' E Alth[?]

Tasso's. Aminta & Pastor Fido\textsuperscript{35} 3 G.

Flori Historia.\textsuperscript{36} 1 G.

Musique booke - empty -

Tho Kempis de med: Xti\textsuperscript{37}

Meraviglie di Roma. 1 G.

Italian & French Gra[m]ma[tica] 1 G

Italian Comedy ___

Modo di Visitare le 4 Chiese\textsuperscript{38}

Cino minore\textsuperscript{39} ___

Bookes bought from Paris

Balzacs letters

Oudner Gram[m]a[tica]

Rudimente lingua Francese

The French Schooler

Comede des Proverbes

T' Map booke of France -
[Richard Symonds's list of prints and books bought in northern Italian cities]

[fol. 112 verso, unnumbered:]

Bookes stamp & other things bought

at Bologna - Venice & Padoa - June 1651

Venice

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Livres</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Architetturra del Serlio(^{40})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architetturra di Vitruvio old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comento di Daniel Barbaro(^{41})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vite di Pittori Venetian(^{42})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhet[oric]: della Pitt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misurare con la Vista(^{43})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stampe d’Abramo di Tiziano(^{44})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guicciardino(^{45})</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Bologna

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Livres</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Armenini della Pittura(^{46})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Padua

Icones Greco[r]um Sa

pientum. bound up | 5. |

2 Paeses in oyle on board of

of Plantus Schollar to Georgione | L |

& Tizian - great Paesis

2 Roundes heads in oyle.

Stampe - 12 pieces - | @ a leave |

Original designes 10 - is 20 fols.

15 leaves & halfe make a quart
Libro de Cornelli di Garcone - 2 leaves
bought at Venice beginning of Sept. 1651
2 Bookes of Songs one of Horatio Tarditi
yé other of Monte Verdi 3L - 5 fols
1 Architettura di Vitruviiioni folio
col comento di Daniel Barbaro 3L - 5 fols.47

2 & of the Antichits of Roome [sic] 11.00
Bought of Marco Verizone
4
L Scappi da Cucinare48
Genealogia dei Dei de by
Boccacio49
Quadrante Geometrico
de Cornelo de Indens[?]

[fol. 113 recto, numbered 265:]
Secrete d'Alessio Piemontese50
Giardeno [sic] di fiori d'un spagniola51
tradotti in It.[alian]
Dite Candrotto & Dante52
Phrigio Giolita Volg
Cento favole di Verdizoti53
18[?] Compendio dell Historia del
mondo di Pomponio lieto
Paolo Diacono54
Stratagemo di Polieno tran[slate]d.
dalla lingua Greca\textsuperscript{55} Giol:5

Agricultura del Bonardo\textsuperscript{56}

Cortiggiano del Castiglione\textsuperscript{57}

Compagnia della Lesina\textsuperscript{58}

Horatio tradotta da Dolci\textsuperscript{59}

stamped : Giolita

Facetie di Poncino Coerno\textsuperscript{60}

14 nese ______ paid 57 Ls – 10.

Platina vita dei Pont\textsuperscript{61}

Giunti\textsuperscript{62}

Pietra di Paragona\textsuperscript{63}

Solino\textsuperscript{64}

\begin{center}
  \text{L}
\end{center}

Aesopi favole con le stampe 17. 0.0

di Verdizoti\textsuperscript{65}

of Sadeler Prospettiva

\begin{center}
  \text{L}
\end{center}

del Serigati & others 32 [crossed out] - 0 - 0

Stampes

Seriaagati both 20 leaves - 65 pieces

51 Stampe at S Marc - 16 - 10 - 0

Stampes at Rialto - 14 - 0 - 0

\textit{[fol. 113 verso, unnumbered:]}

Strada di Spadi

Petrarca\textsuperscript{66}

Panonto\textsuperscript{67}

\begin{center}
  \text{L}
\end{center}
Asino D'oro d'Apuleio 7

2 vol. Ragnale[?] in Parnaso[?]

At Sadlers Pharone di Titiano

L

12 pieces - 3 - 10 - 0

La familgia D' Austria 4 fogli: 5 -

9 pieces of Stampes 7L - 0

Libro dei Habiti de tutti i Religiosi

& 3 paeses of Sadlers --- 6 livres

12 Imp: & 12 Empresses of Titian 8 livres

Stampe of Paolo Veronese he gave me

Viaggio a Jer[rusa][e]m 15 fols.

Cavallo 5 fols.

Bought at Padoa. since. 23 pieces of original designes & stampes 11 livres

at Venice un libretto

Regola & similia di faccios 1 lira

p[er] Odoardo Fialetti 1647

prediche del Monsig' Cornelio Musso

stampe di Giolito 1 lira

Devozione tradotto da Spag: in Ita: 5 fols

La Lira del marino 3 lire
della S'a Casa di Loreto 1 Giul:

Secreti del Posto 2 leaves


3. Possibly a book referring to Semiraris, Queen of Assyria.

4. See note 6 below.

5. Possibly *Caeremoniale...ad usum pariter omnium Romanae Ecclesiae...Per P.F. Thedorum Solarium*, Florence, 1655.


8. Probably a book on birds such as C. Mancini’s *Ammaestramenti per allevare, pascare, et curare gli ucelli...*, Milan, 1575.


11. L.B. Alberti, *Opuscula morali...ne’ quali si contengono molti ammaestramenti, necessarii al viver de l’huomo...*, Venice, 1568.


15. Possibly Famiano Nardini’s *L’Antica Veio...discurso investigativo del sito del quella Città etc.*, Rome, 1647; or another of Famiano’s books concerning ancient Rome.

17. F. da Barberino, *Documenti d'Amore*, Rome, 1640.


19. Possibly one of many editions of Petrarch’s *Canzoniere Trionfi*....


22. T. Tasso, *Delle Lettere Familiari*..., Bergamo, 1588.


27. F. Androzzi’s *Della meditazione della vita e morte del nostro Salvatore Gesù Cristo. Meditations vppon the Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ...newlie translated* [by Thomas Everard], Douai, 1606. Androzzi was a Jesuit priest; If he was the ‘F.N.Z.’ who gave this book to Symonds, did he hope to convert him?


29. Probably G.B. della Porta’s *Della Fisonomia dell’Huomo...libri sei...Et hora in questa terza...edizione migliorati...& aggiuntavi: la Fisonomia Naturale di Giovanni Ingegneri*, Padua, 1623. See note 14 above.


31. A reference to a copy of *Aesop’s Fables*; perhaps repeated at notes 53 and 65 below (or Symonds bought two more editions of this book).
32. A. Tassoni, *La secchia rapita...con le dichiarazioni del sig. Gasparo Salniani, e'l primo canto dell'Oceano...*, Venice, 1642.

33. H. Drexelius, *De Aeternitae considerationes...*, Cologne, 1631.

34. Index of prohibited books. Numerous editions, e.g., *Index Librorum Prohibitorum cum Regulis confectis per Patres a Tridentino Synodo*, Rome, 1564. Reissued Venice, 1564; Rome, 1596.


37. Thomas à Kempis (Thomas Aquinas); possibly one of many editions of his *Summa Theologica*.


42. C. Ridolfi, C., *Le Meraviglie dell'arte overo le vite degli illustri Pittori Veneti...*, Venice, 1648.

43. S. Belli, *Quattro libri geometrici...il primo del misurare con la vista...Gli altri tre sono della proportione & proportionalità communi passioni del quanto etc*, Venice, 1595.


46. G.B. Armenini, *De' veri precetti della pittura*, Ravenna, 1586.

47. Vitruvius Pollio, M., *I dieci libri dell'architettura di M. Vitruvio tradutti et commentati da Monsignor Barbaro*, Venice 1556. Symonds may have
purchased a second - and better - copy of this book as the one above he described as 'old,' see note 41 above.


50. A. Piedmontese (pseud.), *De’ Secreti del reverendo donno Alessio Piedmontese...*, Venice, 1557. See note 76 below.

51. A. di Torquemada, Giardino de Fiori curiosi, in forma di dialogo...tradotto di Spagnuolo...per C. Malespina, Venice, 1590.

52. Possibly an edition of Dante’s *Divina Commedia*.


56. G.M. Bonardo, *La Richezze dell’agricoltura* (no place of publication), 1650.


59. L. Dolce, *I dilettevoli Sermoni... e le morali Epistole di Horatio...insieme con la Poetica. Ridotte da Lodovico Dolce in versi sciolti volgari, Con la Vita di Horatio...* (no place of publication), 1559.

60. P. dalla Torre, *Ridicolose Facetie de M. Poncino dalla Torre...*, Cremona, 1581.


62. The Giunti were Venetian publishers.

64. C. J. Solinus, *C. Julii Solini Poyhistor…Huic Pomponii Melae de situ orbis libros*, Basle, 1538.

65. Possibly a third reference to this book of fables, see notes 31 and 53 above.

66. A reference to any one of many works by Petrarch; possibly his *Opinioni sull’arte* (date and place of publication not identified).

67. D. Romoli (called il Panonto), *La singolar Dottrina di…D. Romoli detto il Panonto, nel qual si tratta dell’officio far banchetti d’ogni tempo a principi…*, Venice, 1610.


69. *The Submersion of Pharoah’s Army in the Red Sea*. Titian’s twelve block woodcut, see Rosand and Muraro, pp. 70-87.

70. Probably prints of the *Family Tree of the Habsburgs* by Aegidius Sadeler (the Younger).

71. Possibly O. Fialetti’s, *De gli habit delle religione, con le ’armi, e descrittioni loro…*, Venice, 1626.

72. *Twelve Caesars*, engravings by Aegidius Sadeler after the famous series by Titian from the Palazzo Ducale, Mantua.

73. O. Fialetti, *Il vero modo et ordine per disegnar tutte le parti, et membra del corpo humano*, Venice, 1647. This is the only occasion when Symonds noted the year of the edition that he had purchased.

74. Cornelius, *Virgator euconium sacri Calvitii, Frater Cornelio…*, published by G. Giolito de’Ferrari, 1623. A poem in which every word begins with C; Cornelius was a Calvinist preacher (’Musso’ = sermon).


76. Possibly another edition of Alessio’s book (see note 50 above), or a second reference to it.
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Spreti


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Stevenson and Thompson


Stoye


Strinati


Sutherland


Sutherland Harris


Symonds, *Camden Society*


Teti


Thieme-Becker


Titi


Toesca


Totti 1626

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Plate I. Wall Tablet, San Martino ai Monti, Rome.
Plate 3. The 'faquino' fountain in Via Lata, Rome.
Plate 7. Federico Zuccaro and assistants. *Taddeo Zuccaro the elder with other members of the family; and mythological and symbolical figures*, frescoes, the Sala Terrena, 'Casa Zuccaro' (Biblioteca Hertziana), Rome.
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Plate 9. Federico Zuccaro and assistants. *Federico Zuccaro and his sons; and Diligentia*, frescoes, the Sala Terrena, 'Casa Zuccaro' (Biblioteca Hertziana), Rome.
Plate 10. Federico Zuccaro and assistants. *Perseventia*; other mythological and symbolical figures; and members of the Zuccaro family, frescoes, the Sala Terrena, 'Casa Zuccaro' (Biblioteca Hertziana), Rome.
Plate 11. Federico Zuccaro and assistants. *Apotheosis of Zuccaro and Muses*, fresco, the Sala Disegno, 'Casa Zuccaro' (Biblioteca Hertziana), Rome.
Il modo della Circumcisione

Hic assurmo al little after Nover.
i l'hoste espulito uguale o woman lay in
Comes was satisfied.
The woman lying a little time will
rightly happen. Every 5 or 6 families
will in that small town. Every open a
family while three women will bring
his child aged 8 days. Come in the
as Doctors or Chirurgus, the man brings
a COPION OF TOOLS.

These tools from the positioning will
be used.

Then began the child
put by their small while lay upon
that ast. One began to sing. All the thing
from joining in singing i a great
mixture of the sound was spread,
The gaps were placed a little
sitting, a pool at their feet.
After his a good in some singing
fair Tone.

Plate 15. Egerton MS 1635, fol. 34v. Sketch of the tools used for circumcision. By permission of the British Library.
Plate 16. Flaminio Ponzio. Paired columns, the elliptical staircase, Palazzo Borghese, Rome.
Plate 17. Flaminio Ponzio. Curved steps, the elliptical staircase, Palazzo Borghese, Rome.
In a little building toward the Ruins under a few topes of gallery.
At 3 or 4 rooms as if some quadrato in from of Annibale Carracci his flat roof
Each of his boxes about 11 or 12 foot high
At all a quartered painted by Rave partly of feet incomparable model.

A quadro about 10 foot long, Venus naked
a sleep, lying - fields a boy e a girl
But two go naked making a manage, 22 girls
And Venus slippars on.
Some boys a baying one looking a ball of girl fashion
Some sheching at a Erast at a fondo going
up in a trait.

Plate 22. Egerton MS 1635, fol. 19r. Section of the folio describing Annibale Carracci’s Sleeping Venus. By permission of the British Library.
Plate 23. Antique busts and reliefs, courtyard, Palazzo Mattei, Rome.
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Plate 25. Relief on staircase, Palazzo Mattei, Rome.
Plate 27. Seat on staircase landing, Palazzo Mattei, Rome.
Plate 28. Antique statue and seat, staircase landing, Palazzo Mattei, Rome.
Plate 29. Michelangelo Colonna and Agostino Mitelli, fresco, the Sala Grande, Palazzo Spada, Rome.
Plate 30. Michelangelo Colonna and Agostino Mitelli, frescoes, the Sala Grande, Palazzo Spada, Rome.
Plate 31. Michelangelo Colonna and Agostino Mitelli. *Constantine giving Silvester I sovereign power of Rome and the provinces of the Western Empire*, fresco, the Sala Grande, Palazzo Spada, Rome.
Plate 33. Guido Reni and Agostino Tassi, frescoes, Casino Patriarcha Biondo, Palazzo Mazzerino (Confederazione Coltivari Diretti), Rome.
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Plate 39. Filippo Napoletano, fresco, Palazzo Mazzerino (Confederazione Coltivari Diretti), Rome.
Plate 40. Filippo Napoletano, fresco, Palazzo Mazzerino (Confederazione Coltivari Diretti), Rome.
Plate 44. Green Serpentine Bowl, Palazzo Mazzerino (Confederazione Coltivari Diretti), Rome.
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Plate 54. Gateway to Villa Medici, Via di Porta Pinciana, Rome.
Plate 55. The viale towards Villa Medici from the Porta Pinciana gateway.
Plate 57. *Rome*, Villa Medici, Rome. Detail showing the replacement hand which now holds an orb (rather than the shield sketched by Symonds).
Plate 58. View of the north end of the garden with Rome in the distance, Villa Medici, Rome.
Plate 59. The view towards St. Peter's from 'Parnassus,' Villa Medici, Rome.
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Plate 61. Steps up to the top of the Galleria terrace, Villa Medici, Rome.
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Plate 67. Relief of Christ, Piazza S. Salvatore in Lauro, Rome.
Plate 68. Palazzo Ruggieri, Corso Vittorio Emanuele, Rome.