The Artful Hermit. Cardinal Odoardo Farnese's religious patronage and the spiritual meaning of landscape around 1600
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THE ARTFUL HERMIT
CARDINAL ODOARDO FARNESSE'S RELIGIOUS PATRONAGE
AND THE SPIRITUAL MEANING OF LANDSCAPE
AROUND 1600

ARNOLD WITTE
THE ARTFUL HERMIT

Cardinal Odoardo Farnese's religious patronage and the spiritual meaning of landscape around 1600

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Both my historical awareness and fascination for Rome date from my first years at secondary school. One of the first persons I remember from that period is my history teacher, who was just as new to the school as I was. Before being employed, he had spent time doing historical research in Rome, and he used to tell us fascinating stories about its modern society containing so many remnants of the grand history of the Eternal city. When I finished university, I encountered my history-teacher again, and I realised that it had been his enthusiastic stories that stood at the basis of my own interest in Rome and its history.

The subject of landscape I discovered towards the end of my undergraduate studies, when I became fascinated with early nineteenth-century German landscape painting. The works by Joseph Anton Koch (1768-1839) proved to be open to all kinds of different interpretations, from religious and nationalist to poetic and geological messages. Koch himself located the beginnings of landscape painting, which he consciously sought to recreate in his own day, during the early Seicento in Rome. This seemed to imply something about the meaning of early seventeenth-century landscape painting as well, but what? When Bert Treffers suggested to me to take this phenomenon and the Camerino degli Eremiti as subjects for my graduate research, the lines coincided and I embarked upon the project of which the following pages are the result.

My supervisors stimulated, helped, and lavished their critique on me. Bert Treffers never lost his faith in the project although I must have given him a hard time reading several drafts. Bram Kempers was equally supportive from the time he decided to take me on as his Ph.D. student. It was thanks to him that I was able to come to Amsterdam, get an institutional embedding of my project within the Huizinga-Institute and embark upon a new phase in my life. It is thanks to their discriminating eyes, the formulation of my ideas greatly improved along the way.

During my sojourns in Rome, many others were important to this book and to me personally. Sible de Blauw, Eric Moormann, Andrew Hopkins, Sue Russell, Stefano Pierguidi, and many other friends have put up with my ongoing quest on Odoardo Farnese and his collection of landscapes. Along the way, Elisabeth Cropper and Charles Dempsey – with whom I studied in 2000 – Erich Schleier and Roberto Zapperi stimulated me to proceed. In the last phase of the manuscript, help and suggestions came from Ellinoor Bergvelt, Sible de Blauw, Machtelt Israëls, Jan de Jong, Charlie Smid, Christina Strunck and Jean-François Uginet, Eric Moormann, Sandra Langereis and Harald Hendrix aided me in understanding and translating Italian and Latin
citations, and Andrew Hopkins scrutinised and corrected my English text.

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More close at hand, in Amsterdam, the Huizinga Institute created a most stimulating context for reflecting on the different aspects of my research; it was there that I had many opportunities to present parts of my research, and enter many fruitful discussions with my fellow-Ph.D. students on how to tackle the problems related to artistic, cultural and religious history. Apart from that, I always found a willing ear and stimulating response of the staff at Huizinga for all my ideas and plans for travelling and researching abroad. My thanks also go to Dos Elshout, who willingly shared his office with me during these years of work and study.

Finally, it has been another historian, Martijn, who shared my troubles during the last phase of finishing the manuscript - literally. I made him finish his own book in Rome, during the hottest summer ever experienced there (since 1872), and he in turn made me relax on the Italian seashore, trying to find my own balance between otium and negotium.
INTRODUCTION: THEORIES OF LANDSCAPE PAINTING

The development of the genre and the question of its meaning

In his essay 'On Landscape Painting', published in 1832 in *Über Kunst und Altertum*, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832) conjectured that in time the landscape in the background gradually took over the main part of the religious painting's surface and pushed the figures to the margin. The landscape thus took precedence over the figures set in it, and became an autonomous genre in art. With this hypothesis, Goethe placed religious history-painting and the genre of landscape at opposite ends of the same scale:

While with the progression of art they [the painters] began to look around in the open air, believing that something important and worthy should accompany the figures, for which high viewpoints were chosen, castles piled on top of each other on high cliffs, and deep valleys, forests and waterfalls were depicted. Henceforth, the surroundings gained ever more the upper hand, squeezed the figures into the small and narrow, until they shrivelled into that which we call *staffage*. However, these landscape panels should contain, like the preceding religious images, something interesting, and for that reason they were filled not only with that which could be found in one particular region, but they wanted at the same time to offer an entire world, so that the viewer had something to look at, and the amateur received enough value for his money. ... In order that a record of the original purpose of the painting remained: one would spot in a corner some holy hermit, Jerome with the lion, Magdalene with the hairy costume rarely lacked.\(^1\)

Although Goethe did not clarify exactly in which period and place he situated this phenomenon of the rise of landscape-painting, he was probably thinking of the period of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries when both in Italy and in Northern Europe painted landscape acquired a new importance for painters and their patrons. When the hermits Goethe alluded to are reckoned with, the Catholic context relates particularly well to the Italian situation, where the rise

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\(^1\)Goethe 1961, pp.563-564: 'Wie man aber bei weiterem Fortrücken der Kunst sich in freier Natur umsah, sollte doch immer auch Bedeutendes und Würdiges den Figuren zur Seite stehen, deshalb denn auch hohe Augpunkte gewählt, auf starren Felsen vielfach übereinandergeschichtete Schlösser, tiefe Täler, Wälder und Wasserfälle dargestellt wurden. Diese Umgebungen nahmen in der Folge immer mehr überhand, drängten die Figuren ins Engere und Kleinere, bis sie zuletzt in dasjenige, was wir Staffage nennen, zusammenschrumpften. Diese landschaftlichen Fakteln aber sollten, wie vorher die Heiligenbilder, auch durchaus interessant sein, und man überfüllte sie deshalb nicht allein mit dem, was eine Gegend liefern konnte, sondern man wollte zugleich eine ganze Welt bringen damit der Beschauer etwas zu sehen hätte und der Liebhaber für sein Geld doch auch Wert genug erhielt... Damit aber zuletzt noch eine Erinnerung an die erste Bestimmung der Tafel übrig bliebe, bemerkte man in einer Ecke irgendeinen heiligen Einsiedler. Hieronymus mit dem Löwen, Magdalene mit dem Haargewand fehlten selten.'
of landscape as an autonomous subject in art came about around 1600.\(^2\)

Goethe's theory was based on three important assumptions. Firstly, that art followed a gradual-linear technical development, which made it possible to trace the origins of the art of the present to that of the past. With this concentration on formal progression, any innovation in iconography or its significance was negated. Indeed, painted landscape presented the reverse movement: its rise was, according to Goethe's theory, related to the disappearance of narrative content, resulting in a concentration on the purely visual and formal aspects of art. This also implied, by analogy, that the figure of the saint or hermit gradually became meaningless as well, a mere remnant of its origin in history-painting.\(^3\)

Secondly, Goethe assumed significant changes occurring to the status of the artist, labelling him as lone genius, acting independently from any possible buyer, who would pay for the product only when it contained enough diversion to the eye. It was the artist who chose to depict the meaningless elements of nature, and filled it in with some staffage.\(^4\) The figures should, however, be small enough not to obstruct the image of nature's variety that the artist tried to capture.

Thirdly, the above citation presupposed a clear distinction between the foreground of a painting, essentially containing the subject of the painting, and the background, which formed the setting or foil for the main event. Even in the genre of landscape-painting this strict hierarchy between the two compositional elements prevailed; but because of the reversal of roles between 'subject' and 'setting', this finally resulted in a complete negation of the iconographic significance of both compositional elements. Only the genius of the painter could now lend a work of art its meaning; staffage was not a constituting element in that sense.\(^5\) According to Goethe, the hermit in an early seventeenth-century Italian landscape painting was a mere pretext for the painter to demonstrate his skill at observing and depicting the beauty of nature.

Goethe's remarks could certainly be applied to the work of artists in the early nineteenth century, when the meaning of figures in a natural setting had become subservient to the

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2. Os 1971 published a modern study of this phenomenon, which assumed that the secularization of the hermit in art took place during the seventeenth century.
3. For the meaning and use of the word 'staffage' in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century artistic theory, see Pochat 1973 and especially Strahl-Grosse 1991; see also Hunt 1976, esp. pp.1-9 on the presence of hermit-staffage in eighteenth-century gardens and painted landscapes. Karel van Mander was the first author to use an early form of the word, 'stoffacy' in his Schilder-Boek of 1604, where it was employed as a characteristic to distinguish between various types of painted landscapes.
4. In the Propuglition 1965, p 865, Goethe even stated that in contemporary painting, historical and mythological staffage could even disturb or destroy the effect of the landscape itself.
atmosphere and mood that the landscape itself was to convey to the beholder. The painted landscape functioned as a mirror in which the beholder could see his personal feelings reflected. But how relevant was this Romantic perception of the genre to the situation that existed two hundred years earlier? Were Goethe's assumptions regarding the role of the painter in the artistic process, the meaninglessness of the landscape as background, and the marginal significance of the desert-saint also true for the early seventeenth-century beholder? And did landscape-painting become a genre in its own right in the sixteenth century because of its aesthetic and hedonistic appeal?

Italy and the Netherlands – practice and theory of landscape-painting

Beginning in the early twentieth century, art-historians have examined in detail selected elements of Goethe's theory, or detailed the importance of his theory for specific geographic contexts. His view of the phenomenon was never completely refuted. This resulted in two schools of research with their own explanations regarding the rise of the genre of landscape painting: that devoted to Netherlandish or northern art, and that devoted to Italian art. Discussion of the origins of the genre of landscape in art-historical studies around the middle of the twentieth century resulted in a distinction being made between north and south in the production and style of painted landscape, which has deeply influenced subsequent interpretations of its possible iconographic meaning.

In his study of 1947 on the development of Netherlandish landscape, Walter Friedländer implied that it had been Northern artists who had laid the foundations of the genre by embarking on the practical side of production and specialization. His discussion of the stylistic development that occurred during the sixteenth century placed a strong emphasis on the technical competence of the artists, and their own motives in wishing to master the realistic depiction of nature. This he deemed possible as a result of the burgeoning phenomenon of the art-market in Northern Europe and especially in the Low Countries: it liberated painters from a patron's prescriptions and allowed them freedom in their choice of subject. As a result of this severe curtailing of the importance of patronage in this area, painted nature mirrored the personal competence as well as the individual preferences of the artist. Landscape as an independent genre in art was, in Friedländer's eyes, a result of this new individualism. Although landscape in Netherlandish visual art was the prime subject of his study, the predominance of the Northern painters over their

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Italian colleagues in this genre would render Friedländer's conclusions also applicable to the latter: he stated that the Flemish painters 'filled a niche in the Italian production', which Italian painters themselves did not master, nor aspire to control. Although he did not state why the art of landscape had such a positive reception in the southern context, he did imply that there was a corresponding, but slightly delayed, change in the Italian art-market.

Partly in response to Friedländer, in 1953 Ernst Gombrich wrote that a definition of painted landscape as paese was used for the first time in 1521 by Marcantonio Michiel in Venice, when describing a work in the collection belonging to Cardinal Grimani - this was a work by an artist of northern origin: 'Albert of Holland.' Starting from this dichotomy between terminology and reality, Gombrich argued that the theoretical basis for the depiction of nature as a worthy subject for the visual arts had been prepared by the Italians; this he traced to various fifteenth- and sixteenth-century treatises. The threshold to specialisation in practice was first crossed, however, by Flemish and Dutch painters - in this respect, Gombrich agreed with Friedländer.

Notwithstanding his research on the theoretical background of the genre, this material did not provide any direct explanation on the significance of the genre. The only assumption which related it to Goethe's theory and Friedländer's discussion, was that the painted landscape represented a new phenomenon and sign of modernity; in this case not, as Friedländer had supposed, caused by new social conditions, but by an intellectual movement. The main effect of these two studies on subsequent art-history was a consolidation of the idea that landscape-painting was a sign of modernity, and that the northern and southern schools came to be considered as technically related, but fundamentally different in cultural significance and context.11

Friedländer 1947, pp.58-59; this argument was taken up by Gombrich 1953 and by Eberle 1980, pp.74-81, linking it with Renaissance individuality, and referring to Hauser's view of the development of a market for the arts.

Friedländer 1947, pp.104. 'Um 1600 wurde die Überlegenheit, die Vorbildlichkeit Italiens in der europäischen Kulturwelt anerkannt, soweit 'hohe' Kunst ... angestrebt wurden. Im Landschaftlichen dagegen verhielten sich die Nordländer, namentlich die in Antwerpen geschulten Maler sich nicht nur nehmend, sondern auch gehend dem Süden gegenüber. ... Sie scheinen eine Lücke der italienischen Produktion zu füllen, und die Römer mögen einen Beruf, den sie nicht hoch schätzen, ohne Eifersucht den Fremden überlassen haben.'

On the basis of recent studies it is possible to maintain that the acceptance of landscape-painting in Italy was related to the development of the art-market; for this latter phenomenon see Reinhardt 1998.

Michiel 1888, p.102: 'moiie tavolette de paesi ...' See Gombrich 1953; see also Alpers 1979, pp.113-114 and especially Mitchell 1995 for a reaction and critical discussion of Gombrich's theory, although neither intended to criticise the idea of the gradual evolution of the setting to main topic, and the related iconographic voidness.

The differences between Italian and Northern culture have been often seen as mutually exclusive; an example is Salerno 1977-1978, vol.1, pp.xxv, who wrote: 'Although it is true that the European tradition of landscape painting in the seventeenth century originated in the encounter between Northern and Italian artists, the differences between the two cultures cannot be sufficiently emphasized.' From the side of scholars on Dutch art this has been confirmed by Alpers 1983, pp.xxv-xx, insisting on the fundamental differences between Italian and Dutch culture. Recently, the rise of landscape in art was attributed to the Calvinist and Luther theories of art; see Papenbrock 2001, pp.118-124. On the other hand, Brown in Renaissance Venice and the North - 1999, pp.424-431 suggested that there were
The Italian traditions

In the field of Italian landscape painting, four lines of approach can be discerned in attempts to resolve the question of the rise and meaning of the genre: the humanistic context, *villeggiatura*, the pastoral, and the libertine or atheist movement. Arguments derived from the paintings themselves and written sources were used in all four approaches to sustain the association of the landscape with modernity. All except the last option are interrelated through the background of humanism and the revival of antique culture. Common to all four approaches is the assumption that landscape in art is a sign of a new way of looking at the world, and essentially meaningless in the traditional iconographical sense; landscape can only allude to, not mean anything in particular. The beholder could project his own feelings and thoughts upon the landscape, that would reflect these ideas as a mirror.\(^{12}\) For this reason, the only possible way to explain its significance is a recourse to general cultural phenomena, that are reflected in, but not embodied by the works of art themselves.

Firstly, the rise of painted landscape in the sixteenth century has been related to a new interest in the visible world that came about with the humanistic approach of the Renaissance, and early forms of scientific thinking. According to this theory, Italian artists began to observe and draw as accurately as possible the things they saw.\(^{13}\) In a further elaboration of this theory on the learned origins of landscape-painting, the development of new fields of science was related to this phenomenon: biology, geography and astronomy all furthered a new and uninhibited gaze upon the sub-lunar world. New philosophical trends sustained this new perception of the world. The result of such a supposed development should be that visible nature was released from its medieval symbolic associations and came to stand for something new and modern.

The second phenomenon that has traditionally been connected to the rise of the landscape-genre was the culture of *villeggiatura* or retreat into the countryside.\(^{14}\) During the sixteenth century, Italy witnessed a growing popularity of the villa - both in architectural and humanist theory, and the practice of building. The contemporary antiquarian interest which triggered the architectural development of this building-type also led to renewed study of the classical arts that were used to decorate these edifices, including that of painting. The discovery in the Golden House of Nero of ancient frescoes with representations of landscape might have led to imitation by contemporary painters - although it is for lack of evidence hard to prove whether the


\(^{17}\) This concept was described (in 1940) by Praz 1975, pp.283-287.
sixteenth-century artists actually had seen ancient examples of landscape-painting. What they certainly did know were the descriptions of landscape-depictions and their makers by Pliny the Elder and Vitruvius. According to these authors, depictions of nature were particularly apt for buildings that were located in, or near to, the countryside. Pliny suggested that these paintings had a 'pleasing effect' upon the beholder, just like the real landscape, and Vitruvius regarded them as a fitting 'ornament'. But did the contemporary, sixteenth- or seventeenth-century viewer indeed perceive the genre of landscape or even the real countryside as a conscious evocation of a classical past? In the case that this might be answered affirmatively, as has been suggested recently in a study on the Villa Mondragone in Frascati, whether landscape-painting sustained any particular iconography has still not been clarified.

Such landscape *all'antica*, whether directly inspired by antique examples or not, might be furnished with meaning by the third cultural tradition that worked upon the rise of painted landscape: the pastoral. The revival of classical bucolic poetry in the early sixteenth century in Venice, and then beyond, led to a vogue in plays and texts inspired by the theme of shepherds and peasant-girls. Around 1600 the popularity of this kind of literary text reached its peak with the publication of the *Gerusalemme Liberata* by Torquato Tasso. The genre of landscape had been connected with this literary tradition from its beginning through theatrical stagings of these plays: and until well into the eighteenth-century pastoral figures often appeared as *staffage* in landscape-paintings, both in Italy and in Holland. In general it is assumed that the figures lend the landscape its particular flavour; nature essentially functioned as a suitable background for the action of the story and was painted to suit the pastoral mood.

A fourth line of approach developed Goethe's estimation of the essentially void iconographic significance of the painted landscape, and interpreted it as a radical new departure

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16 Monsen 1989b, Courtright 2000 and Courtright 2003; archaeological studies have made clear that for example Nero's Domus Aurea in Rome, which was discovered in the 1470s, contained mural-decorations with landscapes; see Peters 1982. For the visits of artists to the Domus Aurea in the sixteenth century, see Dacos 1969 and Dacos 1995.
17 On the influence of these ancient texts on the art of landscape, see Börsch-Supan 1967, p.240-267 and Ling 1977.
18 Pliny the Elder 1938-1962 vol.9, p.347 (Bk.35.116) and Vitruvius 1962, p.103.
19 Courtright 2000, p.135-136 argued that the particular staffage in the Vatican Tower of the Winds was inspired upon Vitruvius and Pliny the Younger's descriptions, and thus a clear allusion to landscapes *all'antica*. Ehrlich 2002 proposed that the rise of vorleggatura and the appreciation of the countryside were the result of a conscious evocation of the classical examples.
21 Clubb in *The Pastoral Landscape* 1992, pp.117-120.
22 Studies on the influence of the pastoral on Dutch painting include McNeil Kettering 1983 and Catritz Gowing Rosand 1988, pp.113-129.
23 This particular effect of the *staffage* on the interpretation of the painted landscape is a result of early eighteenth-century artistic theory; see Strahl-Grosse 1991, pp.118-131.
in the arts. Starting from this supposition, some scholars have maintained that the emerging genre was able to represent new messages for members of certain cultural or socially elevated groups. New Italian elites, especially in Roman society, supposedly took up this new and 'unoccupied' genre, and invested it with social criticism and political ideals: in other words, the genre stood for the 'democratising and the existential' aspirations of these social aspirants.\textsuperscript{23} In a variation on this approach, the genre of landscape has also been regarded as a vehicle for Libertine, atheist or anti-Catholic movements.\textsuperscript{24} Depicting the visible world in pure realistic terms might, according to this theory, be interpreted as a refusal to acknowledge any higher authority, whether this be God, the church, or authority at large. This could even apply to certain painters who, by adopting this potentially progressive subject, expressed their refusal to fulfil the expectations of courtly or ecclesiastical patrons.\textsuperscript{25}

The Dutch traditions

The preceding explanations for the rise of painted landscape in Italy have been largely ignored in studies of the Dutch equivalent.\textsuperscript{26} Religious and social characteristics of Dutch 'burgher' society in the seventeenth century were considered so radically different from the Italian context of Catholicism and court-culture, that the theories of the latter could not be applied to the former. With regard to Dutch landscape-painting, three modes of thought have been followed primarily: the emblematic-moralistic interpretation, the motif of civic pride, and the neo-aesthetic (or neo-empiric) approach.

The first approach proposed to regard depictions of nature as offering a 'scriptural reading' of elements in the landscape, thus constructing a moral view of human life in this world. A winding road through the countryside would stand for earthly pilgrimage, in which the human being encountered various temptations such as an inn or tavern, or conquered problems symbolised by bridges, before reaching the goal of the Heavenly city.\textsuperscript{27} In a less strict interpretation of this approach, the Calvinist religion promoted a vision of the world as a reflection of the Creator. Paintings, just as the real countryside, might then be read by the viewer

\textsuperscript{1} Lagerlöf 1990 p.2, and passim. This might also be related to the pastoral, as this literary tradition often contained elements of social criticism as well. See for this aspect Krul 1996.
\textsuperscript{2} McTighe 1996.
\textsuperscript{3} Salerno 1977-1978, vol.1, pp.iii and liv; this has been assumed especially with respect to Salvator Rosa; see Roworth 1978, pp.55-57 and Scott 1995a, esp pp.135-137, 145-148.
\textsuperscript{4} For an overview of diverse interpretations see Falkenburg 1989 and Falkenburg 1999.
\textsuperscript{5} Bruyn in Masters of Seventeenth Century... 1987, pp.84-103, Falkenburg 1988 and more recently Walford 1991. For the Italian situation, the term 'Paysage moralisé' was coined by Panofsky; this has, however, mostly been considered in the context of sixteenth-century Venice and not beyond; see Emison 1995 for a critical discussion of this concept and its limited influence.
as a reflection of the Divine, and thus as an allegorical and even devotional image.\

The second approach to Dutch landscape argued for the socio-political context of the newly-established country, liberated from its Spanish oppressor after eighty years of war. The conclusion of this struggle would have granted the citizens of this new state a pride of ownership and self-government. In this context, paintings of the Dutch countryside offered burghers a new means of self-definition. A series of prints depicting the landscape around the city of Haarlem would, according to this interpretation, represent national identity reflected in the geographical circumstances in which all Dutch people lived.

Partly in reaction to the above two attempts to discover meanings hidden behind the painted (or printed) surface, a third interpretative approach maintained the concept of art-for-arts' sake, for which the approach taken by Alpers is the most well-known. In this view, painters embarked upon the genre of landscape painting as a new way of specialisation, and the anonymous buyer appreciated the technical competencies of the artist and the illusionistic reality of the product. A predominantly empiric perception as the result of a new world-view was supposed to have steered painters, patrons and collectors towards the acceptance of a new genre that accomplished nothing more than the depiction of the visible in a highly skilled way that seemed to be a mirror of the physical world. On the basis of this, an aesthetic appreciation will have formed itself. With this interpretation, echoes of Goethe and Friedländer recur in modern art-history.

Cultural exchange and the migration of meaning?

The traditions of research on Italian and Dutch seventeenth-century landscape produced fundamentally different theories on account of the particular cultural circumstances in which production and consumption of painted landscapes took place. The ideas listed above are of a general nature and often contradictory; taken together, they suggest that the more or less contemporary rise of the genre in both countries was the result of several unrelated causes. The struggle for autonomy in Holland was not related in any sense to the traditional political and

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75 Chong Schama in Masters of Seventeenth Century... 1987, Levesque 1994 and Levesque 1997. A comparable approach with regard to Rembrandt's landscapes was taken by Schneider 1999, although the chauvinistic content was considered here only a motivation of secondary importance. Leeflang 1998 threw a slightly different light on the relation between city and surrounding country with respect to the Haarlem painters and the depiction of the Dutch countryside. A discussion of landscape-depictions in the political context of sixteenth-century Holland is Kempers 1996a, esp. pp.84-86.
economic perception of the Italian *campagna*: the argument regarding a new public might be applicable to both the north and the south, but in the Dutch context this particular group represented the mainstream in society. in the Italian context it constituted a small, new elite.\(^{32}\)

The landscape *all'antica* which inspired the Italian painters probably did not have a direct influence on Dutch and Flemish painters, as the northern-style landscape probably had been initiated before the discovery of the Domus Aurea and comparable antique objects. The style of these Dutch and Flemish landscapes can hardly be described as *all'antica*. Finally, the religious background of north and south - Calvinist and Catholic - have been considered fundamentally incompatible in an age that has been described as the cultivation of the opposition between Reformation and Counter-Reformation; although recently, the suggestion has been made that at least before the final break in 1521, the religious significance of particular landscapes was acknowledged by both the Dutch and Venetian public.\(^{33}\) What that implied for the period around 1600, in different political and religious circumstances, remains the question that needs to be examined. The scriptural interpretation of the painted landscape in Holland was argued on the basis of the dominant Protestant culture: the religious context in Italy surely was completely different, and with it the interpretation of the Scripture. In other words, neither the arguments nor the results of the two traditions of interpretation offer analogies that might explain the migration of the genre and the acceptance of the Flemish specialisation in an Italian context.

But the cultural exchange between north and south, and the rather open society of early modern Europe with respect to learning and the arts, necessarily should constitute part of any explanation for the rise of painted landscape around 1600. From the middle of the sixteenth century onwards, trade in paintings brought Flemish landscapes to Italian buyers.\(^{34}\) Many Dutch and Flemish artists travelled to Italy, where they contributed to the development of the genre of painted landscape.\(^{35}\) The city of Rome, where a lively exchange between Northern and Italian painters occurred in the late sixteenth century, is one of the most pre-eminent examples of such a cultural melting pot, where the different conceptions of the painted landscape merged into the

\(^{31}\) This realism in Dutch painting has recently been re-interpreted as a signifier of its own; see for example Weststeijn 2001.

\(^{32}\) On the political iconography of landscape in early modern Europe, see Warnke 1992; on the use of landscape to construct a political identity, see Ehrlich 2002. Another political and economic explanation for the use of landscape has been given for the rise of the genre in Venice: the conquest of the *terraferma* in the fifteenth century would be one of the causes for the important role of landscape-backgrounds in Giovanni Bellini’s oeuvre; see Goffen 1975. For a political and juridical interpretation of the painted landscape in fourteenth-century Siena, see Kempers 1989.

\(^{33}\) Brown in *Renaissance Venice and the North* 1999, p.425 suggested that the Venetian public in the early sixteenth century was able to understand the religious significance of paintings such as those by Patinir.

\(^{34}\) Bostrom 1998.

tradition of the classical landscape.56

This also touches upon the matter of artistic patronage: in most theories it is assumed that the painter chose to specialise in the genre, while the buyer remained an anonymous customer without particular demands.57 This shift towards the art-market was not gradual and did not occur evenly in all places. Especially with regard to the situation in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Italy, and more particularly in Rome, the open market was much less evolved than elsewhere. However, this did not obstruct the acceptance of painted landscape as separate genre. On the contrary, between 1570 and 1620 an ever increasing interest in depictions of the visual world abounded among the more important artistic patrons such as members of the Papal court and noble families. These patrons sought out artists to produce panels and canvases with landscapes; and they chose painters of both Northern and Italian origin. That modern theories presuppose different ways of reading these two distinct stylistic traditions, needs to be reconciled with what the contemporary Roman beholder perceived when he looked at works by such diverse artists as Pieter Brueghel, Paul Bril, Adam Elsheimer, Carlo Saraceni, Annibale Carracci or Lanfranco.

The subject of this book, the Palazzetto Farnese in Rome, contained painted landscapes by all these painters. In that sense, it was unprecedented in Rome. In the modern art-historical literature, the Palazzetto has even been called one of the decisive moments in the development of the genre.58 Its owner, Cardinal Odoardo Farnese (1573-1626, fig.1), had a very marked preference for depictions of nature in art: he was one of the major collectors of landscape-paintings in his time. He acquired works directly from painters such as Elsheimer, Bril and Saraceni, or else bought their works on the emerging art-market.59 Farnese also played a crucial role in the development of the genre, as he had summoned the painter Annibale Carracci (1560-1609) to come to Rome in 1593.60 Carracci became an important figure in the development of landscape painting both in person and through his pupils, such as Domenichino, Lanfranco and Albani.61 Within the Carracci Academy in Bologna, drawing landscape had been a standard part of an artist's training. The presence of many of these painters in early seventeenth-century Rome

57 Salerno 1977-1978 vol. 1, pp.xiv-xviii did pay attention to the question of patronage and collecting with regard to landscape-painting in Rome, however with a predominant influence attributed to questions of stylistic taste, not related to meaning and iconography. Lagerlof 1990 and McIlhane 1996 paid attention to this aspect, but only regard to very particular groups.
60 Zapperi 1986.
had a marked influence on the course of the arts, especially in the genre of landscape. Thus, Odoardo Farnese can indirectly be held responsible for an important evolution in the history of Roman painting: the acceptance of the genre of landscape among Italian artists, through his hiring of Annibale Carracci and his pupils.

The Farnese collection of landscapes was allocated in a separate part of the Palazzo Farnese, the so-called Palazzetto Farnese (fig.2), at the latest around 1603-1604. It demonstrates strange discontinuities challenging the difference ascertained between Italian and Northern landscapes as assumed in earlier art-historical studies. Both Flemish and Italian paintings, from diverse schools, hung next to each other in the same room. The criterion of style – however that might be defined - obviously did not count much for Farnese. Also the supposed incompatibility of secular versus religious interpretations of the genre is challenged by the disposition of themes in the Palazzetto. Mythological themes were used in the major part of the decoration, while the hermit-theme dominated the landscapes of one particularly intriguing room, called the Camerino degli Eremiti. Although the exact function of this room has been the subject of discussion, it seems to have been a kind of private chapel with a view into the adjacent church of Santa Maria dell'Orazione e Morte (fig.3).

The patron, Cardinal Odoardo Farnese obviously saw no objection in combining these seemingly diverse themes and styles of landscape painting in one building. Staffage and style were not entirely consistent; only the landscape furnished some kind of coherence. For this reason, none of the general theories of landscape discussed above can be exclusively applied to this object, as none offers an explanation valid for both secular and religious contexts, and which can include both the work of northern, and of Italian painters. It seems that details overlooked in the theories discussed above need to be reconciled with the particulars of the Roman context around 1600. Does the Palazzetto fit into the theories proposed with regard to the genre of landscape in that particular time and place?

**Painted landscape in Rome between 1570 and 1620**

In the decades around 1600, the genre of landscape received much attention from patrons and collectors of art in Rome. Many interiors of palaces were embellished with landscape-imagery

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12 Whitfield 1988, pp.73-95 and Bjurström 2002.
either in oil or in fresco. Gregory XIII Boncompagni (1572-1585) had the newly built projects of the Tower of the Winds and the Gallery of Maps illustrated with both geographical maps and painted landscapes. Sixtus V Peretti (1585-1590) had the Lateran Palace decorated with landscapes. The apartments of Paul V Borghese (1605-1621) in the Vatican and Quirinal palaces contained friezes with landscapes along the upper part of the walls.

Many owners of private palaces followed suit; there is hardly one programme of late sixteenth-century decoration in which depictions of nature did not occur. This phenomenon lasted throughout the seventeenth century, with examples by Domenichino (1581-1641) and Lanfranco (1580-1647) in the Casino Ludovisi, Agostino Tassi (1578-1644) in Palazzo Lancelotti, Giovanni Francesco Grimaldi (1605-1680) in Palazzo Muti-Papazzurri and the Villa Doria-Pamphilj. Herman van Swanevelt (ca.1600-1655) in the Palazzo Pamphilj and Gaspar Dughet (1615-1675) in Palazzo Colonna. In many villas in the vicinity of Rome, the application of painted nature was equally common - one need only think of the Villa Farnese at Caprarola, the Villa Lante at Bagnaia and the Villa Aldobrandini at Frascati - and in the form of panels or canvasses, painted landscape was present in almost every Roman collection. Major holdings of paesi, as these works were usually called in seventeenth-century inventories, were collected around 1600 not only by Farnese, but also by cardinals such as Scipione Borghese (1576-1633) and Federico Borromeo (1564-1631). Later in the century, Palazzo Doria-Pamphilj and Palazzo Colonna contained major holdings of landscape-paintings, both of Northern and of Italian artists. Around the middle of the century, a particular preference for the genre was displayed in the collection gathered by Camillo Massimi. Landscape-decoration in Rome was a general phenomenon in tune with the European tendencies, sustained by a large group of patrons, and produced by a heterogeneous group of painters. The distinction usually made on the productive

17 For the Tower of the Winds in the Vatican, decorated by the Bril brothers, see the recent publications by Courtrigh 2003 and Hendriks-Negro 2003.
18 For the Lateran Palace, see Mandel 1994; for the Gregorian projects see Börsch-Supan 1967, pp.266-267, and for the Pauline apartment in the Vatican see Fumagalli 1996. See also Chapter 1, pp.56-57.
20 For palazzo Lancelotti see Cavazzini 1998; for Grimaldi see Ariuli Matteucci 2002; for Swanevelt in palazzo Pamphilj see Russell 1997; for palazzo Colonna see Boisclair 1986, pp.61-63 (where it is erroneously identified with the romitorio - for which see Chapter 7), Safarik 1999, pp.98-102, and Stroek 2000.
side between the two traditions seem not very adequate to solve the problem of its rise as an autonomous genre.

But the Roman situation around 1600 manifested its own peculiarities. Around 1600, there was a vogue of applying painted landscapes to the walls of churches and chapels. San Vitale, Santo Stefano Rotondo, and the narthex and a chapel in Santa Cecilia in Trastevere contained friezes or larger scenes with hermits in natural settings; a side-chapel in the Gesù dedicated to Saint Francis of Assisi contained conspicuous landscapes by Paul Bril (1553/54-1626). All of these decorations were executed before 1600. In the sacristy of the Sistine chapel in Santa Maria Maggiore, landscapes by Bril decorated the lunettes. Between 1587 and 1589, Bril also executed a number of frescoes in the Scala Santa in which the landscape played an important part. Probably some two or three decades later, the nave of Sant'Eustachio in Rome was decorated with a series of paintings on canvas (now lost) by Agostino Tassi representing the story of Saint Eustace, within conspicuous natural settings. 

A grand conclusion to this development of church-landscapes can still be admired in San Martino ai Monti, where between 1647-1651 Grimaldi and Dughet turned the walls of the aisles into illusionistic views of the countryside.

Within private chapels the preference for landscapes was equally conspicuous: for example, between 1605 and 1613 the chapel in Palazzo Aldobrandini in Rome was embellished with oil-paintings by Annibale Carracci and his pupils. In these works episodes from the life of the Virgin were primarily presented in natural settings, of which the most famous is the Flight to Egypt by Annibale himself. In the early 1620s, the walls of the small chapel in Villa Sacchetti at Castel Fusano were covered with landscape-frescoes by Pietro da Cortona (1597-1669), containing episodes from the Bible and, characteristically, hermit-saints.

It seems logical to turn to this kind of religious object to discover whether and why the use of painted landscape within ecclesiastic settings was considered appropriate, offering a test-v
case for the supposed Christian meaning of the genre which was suggested mainly with regard to Northern landscapes and Calvinist culture. Indeed, the suggestion to take this approach was already made in 1890 by Woermann in an article on the phenomenon of landscape-painting in liturgical contexts, which he labelled *Kirchenlandschaften* – 'church-landscapes.' Woermann was the first scholar to note the presence and importance of this phenomenon in early Baroque Rome. Although he restricted himself to stylistic analysis and refrained from tackling its possible meanings (he called this 'a task for art-philosophers'), he did suspect the existence of an underlying religious significance. Until now, however, the coherent group of paintings examined by Woermann has not been subjected to further research which could point out the coherence in concept and meaning of these landscapes within their liturgical settings.

It can be assumed that a well-defined and coherent culture lies behind this particular phenomenon of landscape as church-decoration. Firstly, the circles of patrons and painters were quite limited, and they all had some tie or another to ecclesiastical institutions. Even many of the secular Roman patrons and collectors had connections to the ecclesiastical authorities and adopted trends originating within the papal court. The same can be assumed on the part of the artists, who were largely dependent upon papal or ecclesiastical commissions. Painters favoured by religious commissioners were also often sought after in secular circles, thus securing the transmission not only of literary and learned ideas, but also of artistic and visual concepts.

Secondly, the *Kirchenlandschaften* represented a vogue which had a very limited time-span: with one exception, all the church-cycles were painted between 1570 and 1620. In the later seventeenth century, no such predilection for this kind of decoration existed with respect to Roman churches and their patrons, while the significant advent of the same subject in the private realm only took place after 1600. This makes the phenomenon of *Kirchenlandschaften* all the more intriguing: the use of the genre in churches preceded its application in private or secular

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2. The only religious interpretation given to Italian landscape-paintings had been interpreted as a critique of current Catholic culture; Saleme 1977-1978 vol.1, pp.xiv-xlvi; others have followed this, such as McElhathe 1996 and especially Lagerio 1990.
4. The first reaction to Woermann was in Schrade 1931, p.3, who stated that the landscapes were secular in intention, and only justified by the presence of the religious staffage: Jedselstes ist es der als Staffage dienende Gegenstand der die Anbringung von Landschaften in den kirchlichen Räumen rechtfertigt.' Ode 1971, pp.74-76 newly pointed out the importance of this phenomenon in relation to archaic iconography; Baryn 1987, p.103; n.61 noted an analogous phenomenon of landscape paintings in seventeenth-century Flanders, which thus far has not been thoroughly explained, nor has it been considered in relation to the Roman situation.
palaces. Did this also imply that possible meanings of the former type influenced the
interpretation of the latter? But before anything can be said about a possible migration of
meaning, it should be understood what kind of message the genre conveyed when the Roman
beholder would encounter these landscape-decorations in liturgical or religious contexts.

The meaning of Kirchenlandschaften

Until now, studies on Roman ecclesiastical monuments containing landscape-decorations show
as little consensus as the more generic discussions on landscape considered above. Even
regarding this limited phenomenon several contrasting interpretations have been proposed: they
range from an evaluation of landscape as a meaningless background, appealing to the secular
interests of the patron, to an assessment of the landscape as an aid in devotional practice. In these
explanations, the elements of the more general theories of landscape were used as the basis for
arguments. Thus, the problem of the various contrasting general theories of Dutch and Italian
landscape-painting also applies to studies on the Roman field, but they are often further limited
by an excessive concentration on the peculiarities of each commission. These discussions of
objects show little regard for the larger cultural and historical context which, as one would
expect, ought to provide a framework for linking these objects to each other.

The earliest monument of importance for the development of the painted landscape in
Rome, the chapel of Fra Mariano in San Silvestro al Quirinale decorated by Polidoro da
Caravaggio around 1526, has received two contrasting interpretations. Gnann considered the
landscapes frescoed on the lateral walls as background-additions to the hagiographic stories and
an artistically driven evocation of the ancient style. In contrast, arguing from the point of view
of the commissioner of this decorative cycle, Stollhann's conclusion was that the natural setting
appealed to the patrons' love for nature and his openness to the new tendencies of Italian art.
Especially in the latter theory, the introduction of the landscape in a liturgical setting was
interpreted as an innovation in taste and style.

Studies of the decoration of the churches of San Vitale and Santo Stefano Rotondo - both
executed in the late sixteenth century - concentrated on the Jesuit context to which both objects
belonged. Scenes of torture, filling the landscapes in both churches, have been the subject of
hypotheses on the relation between episode and background. It has been suggested that the
natural setting toned down the brutality of the martyr-scenes, implying that the landscapes

11 (Gnann 1991; Warbinksy 1987 did not discuss the iconographical meaning of Polidoro's paintings.
themselves carried no meaning in support of the figures' religious intentions; they were coined as 'pastoral' in mood, softening the impact of the gruesome iconography.\textsuperscript{26}

Another explanation offered for both cycles of murals focused on the sense of place in the *Spiritual Exercises* by Saint Ignatius, the founder of the Order. In his system of meditation, in order to come closer to the narrative, and obtain a better empathy with its protagonists, the practitioner should imagine in his mind the place where a biblical event or religious story occurred. This method of mentally projecting the scene of the action was called *compositio loci*.\textsuperscript{27} An illustrated book was published almost contemporaneously with the fresco-cycles: the *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines* of 1593.\textsuperscript{28} These plates used the same notational system with letters in the image and captions underneath, as can be found under the frescoes in the two churches. Many of the outdoor events of the Passion, illustrated and commented upon in this book, were set within landscapes. Analogous to this, the landscapes painted on the walls in the churches of San Vitale and Santo Stefano Rotondo have been regarded as providing the viewer with an image of the setting of the tortures, to help their devotional practice.\textsuperscript{29}

A third interpretation regards the landscapes in Santo Stefano as referring to places and regions of the Roman Empire where these martyrdoms were carried out, or, alternatively, as evocations of ancient examples. The latter theory considers this antique evocation as an answer to the Tridentine call of truthfulness and realism in painting.\textsuperscript{30} The frescoes thus enhanced the historical feeling of these early-Christian martyr-scenes.\textsuperscript{31} Matteo da Siena, to whom the frescoes in the Santo Stefano Rotondo have been attributed, has even been regarded as the person responsible for recreating of the landscape-style *all'antica*.\textsuperscript{32} Ultimately, this can of course also be linked to the *compositio loci*, as it provided the beholder with information on the appearance

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{26} Haskell 1971, p.67: this was followed by Abromson 1981, p.243 and Zucconi 1984, p.142. The first scholar to suggest this was Male 1932, p.114: 'I e Guaspre les a fait presque disparaître au milieu des beautes de la nature ....' See also Mansour 2004 (forthcoming) with respect to the representation of the human body.
\item\textsuperscript{28} Monsen 1983, pp.52-54; for Nadal's *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines*, see Monsen 1983, pp.73-77. Spengler 1996, Fabre 1992, and Melion 1999. On the other hand, Monsen 1989b, p.263 stated that the *Spiritual Exercises* and the *compositio loci* were of primary importance to painting in Roman churches around 1600, but then with regard to its didactic function, not affecting the composition itself.
\item\textsuperscript{29} On account of a series of prints after the decoration in Santo Stefano Rotondo, the same argument that the decoration functioned by means of the *compositio loci* has been defended in Noreen 1998.
\item\textsuperscript{30} Monsen 1983, pp.40, 48 and 50.
\end{itemize}

Buser 1976, p.452: 'Finally, the landscape settings of the frescoes in S. Stefano Rotondo may well have been intended to lend them an antique feeling. At this time, a boat the only precedent for the extensive use of landscape was the frequent landscape decoration in ancient Roman wall painting. If such settings could convey an antique flavor in the sixteenth century, then there is no longer an anomaly .... to the obscure placement of martyrdoms amid frescoed forests at S. Vitale, a novitiate chapel belonging to the Jesuits.'

Monsen 1989b, especially p.256: 'Therefore the most likely explanation to our problem [landscape-painting in Rome, AW] is the growing taste for landscape painting in general at the end of the sixteenth century. Thus the choice of subject in certain cases may have been determined by taste rather than by a concern for didactic function.'

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of the landscape in which the saint's lives and deaths had occurred.

The painted landscapes in Santa Cecilia, Sant'Eustachio and the sacristy of the Sistine chapel of Santa Maria Maggiore have not yet received thorough iconographic attention. In Santa Cecilia the presence of the hermits in each scene might offer an explanation for the presence of the landscapes, but not for their significance: in Santa Maria Maggiore the lunettes in the sacristy have been connected to the predilections of the patron, Sixtus V Peretti; and the panel-paintings in Sant'Eustachio present a difficult case, as the archival material is lost as are the works themselves. Here, the logic of the natural setting might be linked to the main character of the series, Eustace, and the traditional iconography of this saint.73

A problematic range of interpretations is presented by the landscapes frescoed by Gaspar Dughet in San Martino ai Monti. Although this cycle of large-scale paintings falls outside the strict period of Kirchenlandschaften, its form and location at least trigger a comparison with the cycles executed between 1570 and 1620; it was considered by Woermann to be the culmination of the phenomenon as he described it. Several conflicting reasons have been proposed for the decision to decorate the aisles of this church between 1645 and 1651 with landscapes. On account of Dughet's biography, which attests to his wanderings in the Roman campagna, Mâle suggested that the landscapes portrayed the vicinities of Rome and Tivoli where the painter had spent so much time drawing and studying.74 In this case, artistic autonomy is taken as the determinant factor.

Another explanation for the landscapes in San Martino is rather prosaic: Dughet was supposed to have received the commission as landscapes were cheaper than historical scenes. The patron, prior Giovan Antonio Filippini of the adjacent Carmelite monastery, paid for the new decoration out of his own pocket, and thus had to be keen on the financial aspect.75 The publication of the accounts, however, has proven this assumption to be wrong. Dughet was even given an extra financial reward, as the prior was very satisfied with the final result.76 According to yet another interpretation, these decorations were supposed to have been first and foremost evocations of the quietude of a natural setting outside the city, a haven of peace and quiet. It was not nature itself, but the mood it evoked that helped the Carmelite monks to attain the right kind

2 Mâle 1932, pp.447-448: 'Parfois on croirait voir les rudes sentiers de la Sabine, hordes d'arbres majestueux et de chênes antiques brisées par la foudre; parfois, des villages lointains se suspendent aux collines, et l'on distingue à l'horizon la ligne de la mer, l'immense plaine où laboure Élisée à la nudité grandiose de la campagne romaine.'
3 Boisclair 1986, p.46: 'Du fait de leur rigoureuse règle d'ascèse, les Carmes étaient pauvres, et nous avons dit que Filippini employa sa fortune personnelle pour réaliser son projet. Il n'est que de comparer ... pour constater l'écart des salaires entre ces deux catégories de peintres.'
4 Sutherland 1964, pp.115-120.
of devotional concentration, and thus again, albeit in a different way, painted nature sustained but did not actually contain a message.° It was, however, at the same time implied that at first sight, they 'were to draw the viewer in', only revealing on a second inspection their religious content.° Their beauty was thus supposed to capture the attention of the spectator.

Another proposal with respect to the meaning of these murals was to connect them with the biblical account of the life of Elijah, the main subject of the scenes in these landscape-settings. The language in the Old Testament would have evoked in the painter the will to adorn the scenes with the kind of barren and impressive nature in which the episodes evolved.°° In this last case, a universal phenomenon is used to explain the occurrence of a particular form in a particular place and time, while the former discussions reverted to either the painter or the patron. This kind of fragmented line of argumentation has not helped clarify the situation but rather it has obstructed a deeper understanding of the phenomenon of Kirchenlandschaften.

The case of Odoardo Farnese and the decoration of the Palazzetto thus questions most of the issues of the modern discussions on the rise and meaning of the genre of landscape around 1600, both in general and with regard to the Roman context. The combination of styles and staffage in its decorative programme constitute, according to modern preception, a range of seemingly incompatible combinations. A case-study on this object thus ideally lends itself to probe the various general theories of the theme of landscape-painting: whatever solutions the different theories offer, they should be applicable to all elements of the paintings commissioned by Farnese for this particular place. In the eyes of the patron, the various parts of its embellishment amounted to a coherent whole, into which all elements should fit, including the Camerino degli Ereiiti.

Should then the addition of the Camerino to the Palazzetto be thought of as an instance of contrasting subjects - based on the change in staffage - or should the decoration rather be seen as establishing continuity by the strict application of painted landscape? To what extent do the

° Bandes 1976, p.59: 'Moreover Dughet's use of landscape in his frescoes emphasizes the eremitical beginnings and ideals of the Order. By his masterly blending of subdued tones of brown, green, blue and pink, Dughet created harmonious and idyllic settings for his figures. The mood set by these landscapes is one of rural serenity and quietude. San Martino was transformed into a tranquil refuge for the inhabitant of the city, where the noise and crimes of the inhabitant of the city remain outside its doors.°

°° Metraux 1979, p.125: 'By contrast, the landscapes on the side walls at San Martino are viewed by the modern visitor - and by the seventeenth-century worshipper too - as landscapes first, only later and after contemplation, explanation of study, as religious scenes... The means and ends of the iconographical programme are modified: the landscape settings are emphasized to draw the worshipper in, to give a satisfying decorative effect without sacrificing a powerful religious message.'

°°° Weermann 1890, p.355: 'Aber die gewählten Vorgänge aus dem Leben des Propheten Elias sind schon in der Erzählung der Bibel vom landschaftlichen Hintergrunde umwoben: sie forderten daher selbst zur landschaftlichen
elements of landscape and hermits relate to the setting and function of the Palazzetto? In other words, which aspect of these paintings counted the most for Farnese? What does the change in **staffage**, from secular to religious tell us about his personal tastes? Did he turn from being a hedonistic man, who commissioned Annibale Carracci in 1595 to paint the blatantly secular Farnese Gallery, into a serious and devout person towards the end of his life? 

Still other general issues are invoked by Farnese's patronage of landscape-painting in the Palazzetto: the relation between setting and **staffage**, and the general perception of these two compositional elements by the Roman public. After all, it should be presumed that Farnese's iconographic intentions were in some way congruent with the general meanings of hermits and their landscape-settings, whether in painting or maybe even in reality. What was the relation between anchorites and the sight of nature in the eyes of the early seventeenth-century beholder, and what general cultural and historical phenomena did these two parts in artistic compositions refer to?

**An alternative approach: ecclesiastical policy and patronage**

While general studies on the meaning of painted landscape tended to ignore particulars of the individual work of art, detailed research on the iconography of particular objects in Rome often selectively discussed four important characteristics, without paying attention to the ways in which these were related. These are the Roman ecclesiastical culture in the last half of the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth centuries, the significance of the patron in this particular context, the spatial setting and context of the landscape-genre, and the relation between setting and **staffage**. These interrelated aspects ought to be studied in conjunction, so as to avoid arriving at incompatible, separate conclusions. Research can build upon prior studies in the first three fields that have offered insights in various aspects that touch upon the painted landscape. It will be the aim of this case study on the Palazzetto and Camerino, to show how these elements can be combined to offer a new solution to the question what the theme of painted landscape conveyed to the early Seicento beholder. Only then can the impact of the fourth, the relation between **staffage** and landscape, on the development of the genre be properly understood.

First, ecclesiastical politics regarding images in Rome after 1570 were determined by
discussions started at the Council of Trent, resulting in the twenty-fifth Tridentine Decree proclaimed in 1563. This contained very general recommendations about religious art. In the twenty-fifth and last session, it was declared that meaningless images should not be painted in churches:

Let so great care and diligence be used herein by bishops, as that there be nothing seen that is disorderly, or that is unbecomingly or confusedly arranged, nothing that is profane, nothing indecorous, seeing that holiness becometh the house of God.8

In addition to this prohibition on purely decorative, and thus secular art in the liturgical context, the creation of new themes or forms of iconography for the decoration of churches was not encouraged, as the uninstructed viewer could become confused by unfamiliar symbols and their meanings. The introduction of radical changes or novelties was discouraged, unless the bishop responsible had given prior approval:

And that these things may be the more faithfully observed, the holy Synod ordains, that no one be allowed to place, or cause to be placed, any unusual image, in any place, or church, howsoever exempted, except that image have been approved of by the bishop.9

Determining in what way these decrees impeded the use of landscape as decoration in churches is a complex matter: many studies have been dedicated to the question of whether these decrees had any influence on the arts at all, and, if so, to what extent they influenced the decoration of churches.10 Yet, at the moment when the innovative decoration of religious buildings ought to have triggered a negative reaction, especially if these landscape-depictions were indeed regarded as imitations of antique painting, or mere evocations of villeggiatura, this did not take place.11 This suggests that in the eyes of the ecclesiastical authorities landscape did carry significance that was in tune with the function of churches and chapels. This is not unexpected, as most of the

the necessity of the Farnese-family to have a representative at the Papal court. The ecclesiastical role he played in early seventeenth century Rome, which is the main topic of this book, was not considered in depth thus far.

81 Canons and decrees of the Tridentine Council, cited from the translation by Waterworth 1848, p.236.
82 Waterworth 1848, p.236.
8 For a survey of the debate over the interpretation of the Tridentine Council and its influence on culture around 1600, see O'Malley 2000. Weisbach in 1921 and Pevsner in 1925 started the discussion on the relation between Counter-reformation, Mannerism, and Baroque. The two most authoritative studies to date on the relation between Trent and the visual arts are Prodi 1962 and Jediny 1963. More detailed studies deepened this debate and clarified a number of points, most importantly that of the regional interpretations of the Council's decrees, see for example Boschloo 1974, Kummer 1993 and Krick-Hupfauer 1998. Scanzoni 1992 and Hecht 1997 published theoretical studies on theological literature on the arts after the Tridentine Council.
84 A most compelling example is the debate over profane themes in liturgical spaces, concentrated on the so-called grottesche. These antique motifs had become in vogue after the discovery of antique frescoes and stucco-reliefs in the buried rooms of the Golden House of Nero in the years after 1480, and were widely applied in churches, which phenomenon had become a thorn in the eyes of reformers after the Tridentine Council. Theological treatises published after 1563 strongly condemned this practice, precisely because these grottesche were considered meaningless and antique. See Hecht 1997, pp.316-327 on this debate and its consequences.
patrons belonged to the ranks of officials of the Catholic Church, and were thus well aware of the current conventions with respect to religious art.

Second, research on patronage should for this reason be taken beyond the triangle of commissioner, artist and the artistic product. Classical studies on this paradigm, such as have been published on Alessandro Farnese and on Odoardo himself, do not offer a useful methodology to explain the emergence of the painted landscape, or the question of its possible meanings. Too many arguments, such as individual preferences and taste are anachronistic and subjective, and thus hardly helpful in this context. Pure aesthetic preferences, as have been assumed as motif behind Renaissance patronage and the taste for art, do not help understanding, as they negate both any significance for the genre of landscape and ignore functional intentions for the works of art themselves. Also a view on patronage as purely a means of self-promotion truncates the discussion unnecessarily. That Odoardo, as has been presumed, favoured mythological subjects in paintings as he preferred to live a secular life, and exchange his cardinal’s hat for the Ducal crown of Parma or even the Crown of England, is difficult to maintain, and isolates Farnese from the larger Roman context in which he lived and worked.

However, Odoardo was not only a member of a ducal family, but also member of the papal Curia. This fact introduced a dialectical situation in earlier historiography: some studies of Farnese’s patronage stressed his secular adherence, whereas others have solely considered him in the latter role of illustrious prelate. The result of these two approaches is a debate whether Odoardo became devout at the end of his life, or had been interested in religious matters from the start. To overcome this paradox and the unanswerable question on the evolution of Odoardo’s mental state, the institutional context should be included in a research on his artistic commissions. Such an approach might be termed ‘public patronage’ as Francis Haskell coined it: a form of patronage that did not serve the private interests of the individual patron, but a public goal. An example of such a disinterested patron was Louis XIV of France: one of the great patrons of artists, but one who was not interested in the visual arts on a personal level. Studies on the artistic patronage of cardinals in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century have touched upon this aspect, without however taking implications of institutional and public

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86 See Robertson 1992 for a study on Cardinal Alessandro Farnese’s patronage, and Robertson 1988 and Zapperi 1994 on Odoardo’s artistic patronage as a sign of his secular bias, and indifference in religious matters.
87 Haskell 2001.
88 Burke 1991.
context to a firm conclusion. It will be sustained here, that the patronage displayed by late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century cardinals should be regarded in strict conjunction with the aims of the Catholic Church and Christianity.

As a result, a broader sociological view on patronage, such as has recently been applied in studies on Italy and Rome during the early modern period, might offer more useful insights. This will mean a shift in emphasis in what is meant by patronage. Recent historical studies argued that the social structure of upper classes in early modern Rome was characterised by intertwined family- and political structures. Confirmation of this particular view on the Roman situation around 1600 can be found in a recent project which aims to uncover the matrix of ecclesiastical functions and obligations of cardinals during the papacy of Paul V Borghese. Preliminary results of this project have indicated that the ecclesiastical positions occupied by members of the higher classes were never merely intended as sources of income, but as proper political obligations. Thus, the definition of patronage as used in historical sociological research should be applied: patronage is a long-term relationship between patron and client, in which the patron provides brokerage, mediation, favours, and access to networks of friends. These theoretical approaches imply that Cardinal Odoardo should not be considered a mere representative of his family, nor as being completely independent from the Curia, but as actor in a complex network of relations based on clientelism.

In addition, it should be questioned who were involved in such relations of patronage, and what role the arts played in this context. Too often in arthistorical studies, the client is identified with the artist, whereas he actually was only the third party. Nor were his products a mere show of wealth; in this network of patronage, art should not merely be regarded as a sign of conspicuous consumption, as this ignores the questions of subject, meaning and social function.


Kempers 1987 and Hollingsworth 1996, esp. pp.121-142; Hollingsworth however did not draw any conclusions with regard to Odoardo Farnese's religious patronage but still upheld the dialectics between secular and religious projects, and the primary function of artistic patronage as a display of wealth and secular power; see pp.128-129.

Reinhard 1970 proposed the historic-sociologic theory of intertwined political factions and families, which was followed in Nussdorfer 1992. An analogous approach can be found for the inner circles of the pala Curia can be found in Riehberg 1983. For a historical study on the complexity of state and society of early modern Rome, see Prodi 1987; a recent collection of essays on Roman elites can be found in Die Kreisen der Nepoten 2001, esp. the conclusion and discussion on p.359f., where the social position of prelates of the lower and middle ranks is pointed out.

Faber 1999.

Weissman 1987, pp.25-26 gives a very helpful definition of patronage in five points of which my definition is a compilation.
In many cases, artistic patronage supported social claims and aspirations. Applying the sociological theory of gift-giving to this institutional context allows for a repositioning of the artwork: it played a part in cementing, documenting and maintaining relations. Artists did not operate as clients per se, but executed the gifts exchanged between patron and client, or, in other words, gave visual expression to the kind sociological realities described above. Recent studies have argued the primary influence exerted by the patron on the content of the work of art, suggesting a direct link between patronage, iconography and Church policy. Translated to the theme and subject of this study, it should then be asked what motives can be found behind Odoardo's 'public patronage' and 'gift-giving' that can explain his predilection for landscape painting.

Thirdly, the question of spatial context should be addressed in a study on the landscapes in the Palazzetto and Camerino: iconography is not a system of signs conferring meaning irrespective of setting and surroundings, but only reveals its true significance within its proper context. With regard to religious iconography, it has been stated that the precise liturgical requirements are of great importance to the message conveyed by works of art. Also the location of paintings in private palaces, and the degree to which these were visible to the public affected the way they were understood. The Palazzetto and Camerino should for this reason not be considered mere containers in which landscape painting was collected more or less at random, but as a context structuring latent iconographic meanings into particular directions. How did the impression of the landscapes as displayed in the Palazzetto influence and prepare the beholder's perception of Lanfranco's decoration in the Camerino degli Eremiti?

This is especially important as the combination of landscapes with (solitary) saints found in most of the Kirchenlandschaften was frequently encountered in private palaces. The migration of this particular theme from the liturgical to the secular realm, and from fresco to panel-painting, offers an interesting test-case for the assumed adaptation of meaning to different expectations.

44 See for example Annibaldi 1988 and Strunck 2001 and Karsten 2003 on the function of the arts as a means of social distinction, beyond the mere aspect of conspicuous consumption. See Burke 1987, pp.132-149 and Burke 1993, esp. pp.155-157 for the applicability of the concept of conspicuous consumption to the situation in early modern Italy: an important study in this field is Goldthwaite 1993. Goldthwaite 1987, p.153 stated: 'One way to get a broader perspective on the patronage of art, therefore, is to regard it as a form of consumption.' However interesting the results of this kind of research may be, it does not inform on the works of art in question or the way they were perceived by contemporary beholders.

57 Kettering 1988, p.131: 'Gift-giving was a euphemism for patronage, the material assistance and protection of a patron.' See also Kettering 2002, chapters I-IV.

45 Not only works of art, also the artists themselves could be involved as 'gifts': Odoardo Farnese 'lent' Annibale Carracci to other prominent in Rome as a kind of political favour; see Zappari 2003.

While in the former context the saintly staffage probably represented religious concepts, this is not immediately clear when this subject is found in a private dwelling. The circumstances in Rome – where both patrons and artists operated in the religious as well as the secular realms – do suggest that there were reciprocal influences between the two areas. But did the religious hermit continue to carry comparable meanings in the secular context? Crucial in this approach is the functional question: the use of a particular space predetermined the expectations of the beholder, and thus the way works of art were interpreted.

Setting and iconography touch upon the fourth and last aspect to be included in the methodology of this study: the relation between landscape and staffage. If the figures in the landscape constituted the signifying element for the meaning of the whole composition, then the migration of the subgenre of anchorite landscapes from one context to another would not affect their iconography. In that case, the Palazzetto and the Camerino constituted two diverse interpretations of the theme of landscape, and unrelated by any kind decorative programme. If, on the other hand, staffage was a mere excuse for the use of landscape, the paintings in both Palazzetto and Camerino should be regarded as parts of a coherent programme, in which the anchorites either were void details, or invested with a new significance. Then, also the phenomenon of Kirchenlandschaften might be deemed an instance of introducing secular imagery in a religious setting after all, which would corroborate Goethe's theory of landscape-painting, and, by consequence, turn religious iconography in certain Seicento Roman churches into a problematic category.

A combined study on the patronage of Odoardo Farnese, the decoration of the Palazzetto and the iconography of Lanfranco's Camerino along the lines set out above will provide new answers to old questions. Were the small figures in the corner of painted landscapes mere marginal reminders of their predecessors in history-painting, as Goethe stated, or did they play an integral role in the message that these works of art were to convey? What were the meanings attached to the respective elements of landscape and the anchorite? And what did Roman patrons aim to convey in particular to their intended public, when they asked for this particular iconography of landscapes and hermits either in churches or in rooms and halls of their own palaces?

The discussion of the Palazzetto Farnese including the Camerino degli Eremiti undertaken here will start with a detailed study on the decoration, its architectural context, patronage and

*Sinding-Larsen 1984*
intended use along the lines of art-historical theory. A discussion of predecessors of the Camerino and some contemporary comparable objects will allow placing the room and its embellishment into several traditions. They will at the same time clarify the originality of its concept. Subsequently, attention will shift from the object to the ideas it represented. The focus will progress beyond iconography and typology to the question of thematic and meaning. By understanding all these seemingly diverse facts - the immediate and physical context of architecture and painterly decoration, the systems of institutional patronage into which this fits, to the general religious, ecclesiastic and cultural circumstances - it will be possible to understand the relations between the detail and the general of painted landscape in this particular time and place, and between subject and theme.

The risk that these respective views will result in an equal number of explanations is avoided here by retaining Odoardo Farnese and his institutional patronage as the nodal point for each of these approaches. His choices in subject, theme, location, context and function, regarded in the socio-historical context of early modern Rome, are the guiding principle. Farnese will stand as representative of his class, in the double sense of 'Cardinal born a Prince', as he was called in a manual on the life on the cardinal. Within that context, significant details will indicate in what respects he deviated from the normal patterns of artistic and institutional patronage in early Baroque Rome. It will be shown, that his preferences for art, including the way he had the Palazzetto embellished with landscapes, were intimately related to all these particulars.

Researching the Camerino degli Eremiti with the eyes of both an art-historian and that of a cultural and ecclesiastical historian will help to bridge the gap between generic and specific theories of landscape, and throw a new light on the relation between an art-historical case and its plural cultural contexts. In this sense, the Camerino degli Eremiti will not be discussed as a unique example, but as one that sheds light on general trends in artistic and religious culture. By extension, the exemplarity of culture and the arts of seventeenth-century Rome for the rest of Europe, and the high status of Farnese as nobleman, cardinal and patron of the arts will qualify the application of the conclusions to be drawn from the Palazzetto and Camerino to the discussion of landscape-painting in early modern Italy in general.

Albergati 1598, p.47: 'Cardinale nato Principe'. 
1. THE CAMERINO DEGLI EREMITI AND HERMIT-ICONOGRAPHY

On 21 December 1609, through his spokesman and personal secretary Alfonso Carandino, Cardinal Odoardo Farnese (1573-1626) proposed to the Archconfraternity of the Orazione e Morte in Rome that they cede him the use of one room in their building. Farnese held a special position in the sodality's organisation as he was their protector: he was also their neighbour on the via Giulia as he owned the Casino, or as it was later called, Palazzetto, an annex to Palazzo Farnese that was adjacent to the Church and oratory of the brotherhood.¹ Odoardo Farnese (kneeling at the lower right in fig.1) was a descendant from Paul III Farnese (reigned 1534-1549), son of Duke Alessandro Farnese (1545-1592) and Princess Maria of Portugal († 1577). Odoardo was second child, younger brother of Ranuccio Duke of Parma and Piacenza (1569-1622), and for this reason destined to become a cardinal. He received his humanistic education at the Roman court of his great-uncle Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (1520-1589), and thanks to his family's powerful relations, he was created cardinal in 1591 at the age of only 18 years. After some difficulties to obtain a reasonable amount of ecclesiastical benefices to provide the income necessary for a prelate of his standing, he established an impressive court where the arts and learning flourished.² His kinship with a pope and ducal family, and blood-relations with almost all royal houses of Europe also made him a conspicuous figure in Roman society. Until 1622, when Odoardo became regent of Parma after the death of his brother Ranuccio, he resided in the grandiose Palazzo Farnese in Rome (fig.29), which he had had embellished among other things with Annibale Carracci's famous Galleria Farnese.³

In response to the request by Cardinal Odoardo, first the members of the board of the confraternity, and six days later the entire congregation of the Orazione e Morte applauded the proposal and immediately granted Farnese the requested room. The 'Libro delli decreti' also recorded that 'for reasons of his devotion', two openings could be made in the walls of the room - one of them with shutters - with a view into the church and oratory. Two members of the

¹ The denomination of this part as Palazzetto stems from the early eighteenth century; Rossini 1725, p.30 wrote 'Nel Palazzetto detto il piccolo Farnese vicino alla Chiesa della Morte vi è un Camerino, detto del Romito...'. Seventeenth-century sources used the term 'Casino', but as Palazzetto has become the more common denominator for this part of the premises, this term will be used here.
confraternity were sent to the Cardinal to thank him for the favour he granted the brotherhood by means of this request.  

Subsequently, the general assembly appointed two members to draft and sign the contract with Farnese. In the written agreement, drawn up in January 1611 – more than a year later – the use of the space was granted to Cardinal Odoardo during his lifetime; the confraternity remained the legal owner of the room. It also recorded that the cardinal would grant the brotherhood a lump-sum-payment, the amount of which was left to his own magnanimity as nothing was stipulated in the contract. Moreover, Farnese had to erect a new building between his own garden behind the Palazzetto and the property of the brotherhood, to make up for the space they lost. After this first downpayment, yearly sums were given to the brotherhood in return for the stanza or camerino that would later, in the eighteenth century, be called Camerino degli Eremiti; the contract was in fact a leasehold.

Accounts and journals of the brotherhood from this period indicate that Cardinal Farnese soon started works on remodelling the room, obviously vacated early in 1610 by the priest who was named as its former inhabitant in the contract. New access was constructed from the adjacent Palazzetto in the form of an elevated corridor, and the two windows were knocked through to the interior of the Church and Oratory of the brotherhood respectively. Subsequently, Giovanni Lanfranco (1580-1642) was commissioned to paint in fresco on all four walls of the room scenes of penitent saints and additionally provided nine oil-paintings on canvas with similar subjects for insertion in the wooden coffered ceiling.

In seventeenth-century inventories of Palazzo Farnese, this room was habitually described

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5 See the Appendix. Earlier publications assumed on the basis of a later transcript that the contract was either drawn up on 13 June 1601 (Navenne 1921, p.127 n.2), or on 13 January 1601 (Vigine 1980, p.90). The original contract can be found in ASN, Fondo Farnesiano 1,436, fasc.37. 'Concessio Card.[is Odoardo Farnesij a V[eo. Arciconfraternitate Mortis et Orationis de Urbe' fabricandi unum murum atque forandi in co una fenestra prosiciente Intra Ecclesiam dictae Archiconfraternitate'. A copy of this document can also be found in the ASVR, ASMOM 59, 'Registro di testamenti e instrumenti', fols.197v-198r. See Barry 1999, p.196 and Witte 2000, esp. p.426.

as belonging to the Palazzetto, and indicated with reference to its location - 'Oratory that corresponds to the Morte'. In 1662, the room was partially dismantled, for which reason biographical sources on Lanfranco of the later seventeenth century stated that he painted ‘a room of the casino’ - which stressed the link between the room and its access through the Palazzetto - or even some paintings in oil for certain ceilings of rooms for the same Palazzo Farnese in that part of the quarter towards strada Giulia where the arch that leads from the Palazzo to the garden is. The latter part of this citation indicates that the Palazzetto formed the access from the Palazzo to Farnese’s secret garden on the bank of the Tiber, and that at least from around mid-century, the room that Farnese rented from the brotherhood and which was located within their buildings, was considered part of the Farnese-property on the Via Giulia.

The lease-contract had however specified that with the death of Cardinal Odoardo or his immediate heirs, the agreement would automatically end. Until the eighteenth century, the leasehold with Odoardo was continued by his relatives with the consent of the brotherhood, as did the payment of the rent. In 1731 Duke Antonio Farnese, the last male descendant of the family, died and the contract was terminated. A year later, the room was completely demolished when the brotherhood of the Orazione e Morte decided to erect a new church. From that time on, the iconographic theme of its decoration resulted in a descriptive name of the vanished space as the Camerino degli Eremiti, the chamber of the hermits. This is not, however, the original denomination and cannot be taken as a sure indication of its use during the lifetime of Cardinal Odoardo, or the meaning of its decoration in this context. Before this can be determined, the precise thematic and iconography of Lanfranco’s painterly decoration should be understood.

Lanfranco’s decoration in the Camerino

Seventeenth-century biographers of Lanfranco were well informed about the pictorial embellishment of the Camerino and its connection with the Palazzetto, but they antedated its execution by a number of years. In Le vite de’pittori scultori et architetti moderni of 1672,


4 For a discussion of the architecture of the Palazzetto and the secret garden, see below, Chapter 2.

5 Receipts for rent paid between 1632 and 1634 attest to the continuation of the contract after 1626; see ASN. Fondo Farnesiano,6,1805 II: for the renewal of the contract in 1656 and again in 1669; see Navone 1923 vol.1, p.127, n.2 and Ugine 1980, p.90.

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Giovan Pietro Bellori mentioned that Lanfranco went to Rome following the death of his master Agostino Carracci in 1602, and then was asked by Annibale Carracci to do the decoration in a room in the casino, at the Arch over the Strada Giulia, where he painted on all four walls various saints in Penitence; ... and not only on the walls but also on the ceiling he painted in oil small figurines of saints in the desert...\footnote{Rossini 1725, p.30, cited above at note 1.} In his 
**Vite de Pittori Scultori Et Architetti** of approximately 1678, the painters’ biographer, Giovanni Battista Passeri, gave a slightly different account:

Having started to work with the brush and not without some taste of a well founded style to the opinion of Carracci, he was given the commission for a number of panel-paintings in oil ... He painted in them several holy hermits living in solitary places ... By that time, he might have been 24 or 25 years old.\footnote{Bellori 1672-2000, p.378: ‘Morto Agostino [which occurred on March 2, 1602], e cresciuto Giovanni sopra l’età di venti anni, si condusse a Roma nella scuola di Annibale Carracci, il quale impiegollo nel palazzo Farnese in una camera del casino, all’arco di strada Giulia, coloritivi a fresco in tutte quattro le faccie, varij Santi Romiti in penitenza ... onde non solo nelle mura, ma anche nel palco dipinse ad olio figurine piccole di Santi nell’heremo ...’}

Bellori seemed to imply that the Camerino dated from shortly after Lanfranco’s arrival in Rome, around 1602, and Passeri’s information would lead to a dating of 1604-1605.\footnote{Passeri 1678-1995, p.140: ‘Havendo dato principio ad operare col pennello e non senza qualche gusto di maniera ben fondata col parere del Carracci gli furono dati a fare alcuni quadri ad olio ... Dipinse in quelli alcuni SS. Eremiti abitanti in luoghi solitarij ... Allora Giovanni Lanfranco poteva essere d’età d’anni 24 o 25 ...’} The contract mentioned above proved both of them wrong, as Lanfranco was not able to decorate the walls - in fresco, as the two remaining scenes show - before the spring of 1611 because of his sojourn in Piacenza, and the payments made to him in 1616 and 1617 indicate that it was in all probability only several years later that the painter was hired to do the decoration.\footnote{See especially Schleier 1983, pp.21-24.}

Bellori and Passeri were also unaware of the fact that the room remained the property of the brotherhood and offered a view into its church and oratory, but instead considered it a part of the Farnese premises, just as the contemporary inventories had done. Bellori suggested ‘in Palazzo Farnese in a room of the casino’, and Passeri even referred to several rooms in the part of the palace adjacent to the garden, implying that it was not one single space for which Lanfranco was commissioned to provide decoration.\footnote{As N Archivi o Farnesian o 1805 1, ‘Spese per la corte di Odoardo Farnese’, fol.473r: ‘e adi detto [25.1 1618] s[crudi] cento moneta a Giovann i Lanfranco Pittore per resto di s[crudi] 350 ch’importa la Pittura fatta nel Camerino che risponde alla Chiesa della compagna della morte così accordato con S[ignor]ia Signoria Ill[ustrissima] ...’. These payments were published by Denunzio 2000, pp.379-380. A dating before the end of 1617 has been proposed in Witte 2001a, p.54; for Lanfranco’s 1611 sojourn in Piacenza, see Witte 2001c. For the stylistic aspects, see also Papi 2003.} Their confusion can be explained by the fact that the
The decoration of the Camerino was demolished less than fifty years after its completion, and the paintings were relocated elsewhere. First of all, Lanfranco's oil-paintings - on canvas - were taken out of the coffered ceiling. In his description, Bellori mentioned that these works had been given a new place in other rooms of the Farnese-palace:

not only on the walls but also on the ceiling he painted in oil small figures of saints in the desert, which were not long ago removed and divided in small paintings for the rooms of the said palace.\(^\text{18}\)

A later remark in the margin of Passeri's manuscript confirmed this, and their bad state of preservation was given as the reason for the removal and subsequent restoration by the painter Filippo Lauri.\(^\text{17}\) Probably Passeri never saw the Camerino intact, but only the paintings, while Bellori, on the other hand, might have had access to the room through his contacts with Christina of Sweden who lived in the palace in 1655 and 1658, for which reason he correctly mentioned the presence of frescoes on the walls that Passeri had omitted. It is also possible that he had been told so by Lanfranco himself, as he mentioned at some point in his *vita* of the artist that he had known him personally.\(^\text{20}\)

Because the 1653 inventory of the palace still mentioned the decoration as completely intact, the partial dismantling of the Camerino must have been done in the subsequent five years: since the oilpaintings were mentioned in a list of objects to be sent to Parma in 1662, they must have been detached from their original setting by then. Possibly, these interventions can be seen in conjunction with the sojourn of Christina of Sweden, who was the first occupant of the palace after the death of Cardinal Odoardo and the premature death of Cardinal Francesco Farnese (1619-1647). A puzzling fact is that shortly before the final demolition of the room in 1732, a description of the Camerino mentioned the paintings on canvas as *in situ*. In his report of the Palazzo Farnese made up that year, the representative of the Parmense Duke in Rome described

\[^\text{16}\] Bellori 1672 2000, p.378: 'Cresciuto Giovanni sopra l'eta di venti anni, si condusse a Roma nella scuola di Annibale Carracci, il quale impiegollo nel palazzo Farnese in una camera del casino, all'arco di Strada Giulia, coloritivi a fresco in tutte quattro le faccie vari Santi rotondi in penitenza, essendo solito il cardinal Farnese ritirarsi in quella camera per sua divozione. onde non solo nelle mura ma anche nel palco dipinse ad olio figurine piccole di Santi nell'eroico, le quali non e molto tempo furono tolte e divise in quadretti per le camere del medesimo palazzo.'

\[^\text{17}\] Passeri 1678 1995, p.140 n.3: 'Hs.N. (56r) Queste Historiette incominciavano (56s) a patire, e furono dal Marchese ... Residente dell'Atezza di Parma fatte restaurare dal Sig. Filippo Lauri e ridurre in Osadi per adornamento di certe stanze di sopra, dove al presente si conservano.' For Filippo Lauri see Thieme-Becker 1907-1950 vol.22, pp.457-458. Passeri's information that the paintings were intended for a number of ceilings, i.e. more than one room, might have originated in this later situation.

the room's decoration as completely intact. However, all other sources support the assumption of a partial demolition of the room in the 1660s; the sale of paintings with landscapes and hermits by Giovanni Lanfranco from the Farnese-collections in Parma and Naples during the first years of the eighteenth century furthermore contradicts their presence in Rome in 1732. Lanfranco's frescoes remained in place until the brotherhood of the Orazione e Morte ended the agreement in 1731 and decided to aggrandise their complex. The edifice of the church and its adjacent buildings were torn down to erect a new and grander edifice, designed by the architect Ferdinando Fuga.

Dismantled before 1662 and torn down in 1732, the original appearance of the Camerino degli Eremiti can only be reconstructed with the help of archival material. The list of paintings sent to Parma in 1662 contains a number of canvases that once were part of the ceiling of the Camerino. Other inventories recorded Lanfranco's paintings after their transport to Parma and Naples. During the following century most of these were lost or sold. Today only two of them are extant and held in the Museo Capodimonte in Naples where the Farnese collection was moved in the early eighteenth century. The subjects of these two paintings are *Christ in the desert being served by Angels* (fig.4) and *Mary Magdalene carried to heaven by angels* (fig.5). Lanfranco's other paintings for the ceiling have not been traced, and were probably lost.

In total, ten canvases, one more than the original nine paintings, have been tentatively identified in these lists as originally belonging to the ceiling of the Camerino, on account of their relative size or their attribution to Lanfranco. Eight of these are undisputed. The canvases which certainly came from the Camerino, apart from the two mentioned above, depicted Saint Fustace facing the stag with the Cross between his antlers (probably similar to an earlier composition by Annibale Carracci, see fig.6), Saint Benedict reading in his grotto while his companion sends

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22. Bernini 1985, pp.354-356 for a number of paintings attributed to Lanfranco sold in the years between 1710 and 1721. For inventories of the Farnese collections, see Bertini 1987.
28. Bernini 1985, p.354 excluded Saint Anthony and Saint Fustace from the series; his compilation has not been followed by others.
down a basket. Saint Onuphrius in the desert kneeling before an angel bringing the Host. Saint Mary of Egypt receiving communion from a priest, and the Stigmatisation of Saint Francis. A last painting was a subject with a saint that could not be identified by later observers, and was simply called ‘landscape with a bearded hermit.’ This leaves one panel-painting unidentified, for which two possibilities have been suggested.

The two paintings on which opinions diverge are Saint Anthony of Padua preaching and Saint Paul being carried to Third Heaven. Pictures with these two themes were mentioned in the various inventories of the Farnese-property in the eighteenth century. The former painting, untraceable since the mid-eighteenth century, has been excluded on the grounds of its iconography as Saint Anthony was not a proper hermit, although according to some hagiographies, he did live as a recluse around 1222. As will be discussed in Chapter 4, this painting should be included in the programme of the Camerino notwithstanding its seemingly different theme. The latter painting should be dissociated from the series on the ground of its measurements, which do not match the standard format of the other canvasses; and again, because its subject was not an anchorite saint. Moreover, this latter painting was not included in the 1662 list, but only occurred in later inventories, and the attribution to Lanfranco of this latter canvas, now in the Museo Capodimonte in Naples, has definitively been refuted in modern literature.

The subjects of Lanfranco’s frescoes in the Camerino were obviously deemed suitable as decoration for the new church of Santa Maria dell'Orazione e Morte, as all four scenes were taken down and re-applied to the walls of the new building. One was later destroyed, and another is hidden behind the present organ. One of the two visible frescoes depicts Saints Paul the First

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7 In the list of 1662, published by Filangeri di Candida 1902, p.267-271. Salerno 1952, p.191, n.13. Bernini 1985, pp.354-355, and Bertini 1987, pp.223-224. seven paintings were described: '6. Un quadro in tela con N.S' nel deserto et angeli che li portano il mangiare ... 18. Un quadro in tela con un paese S. Lustrachio che li apparisce il Cerchio con Crocefisso in mezzo le corone con il cavallo e tre cani ... 20. Un quadro in tela con S. Francesco che riceve le stimate e compagnio con libro in mano ... 23. Un quadro in tela con S. Benedetto nella grotta con libro in mano compagnio che manda giu un camesirino, et un demonio che tira una sassata. ... 32. Un quadro in tela con paese e S. Maria Madalena in estasi sostenuta da 3 Angeli ... 41. Un quadro in tela con paese e deserto con S. Honorio in ginocchi con un Angelo che lo comunica ... 66. Un quadro in tela con paese, et aqua con S. Maria Egitticoa et un altro santo che li porta la Communione...'

Salerno 1952, p.191 n.13 no.9 and Bernini 1985, p.355: 'Un quadro in tela con paese Frematiano, et un Romito con barba grande mano del Lanfranchi segnato n.208'.


9 This painting was described in the inventory of the Palazzo del Giardino in Parma of 1708 as 'S. Paolo rapito da tre angeli al terzo cielo' (see Bertini 1987, p.201), and is now in Capodimonte; see La scuola Emilianac 1994, p.161; here the painting has been ascribed to Lorenzo Garbieri.


11 The accounts for the detachment of the frescoes are cited by Hager 1964, p.60, doc IV.
Hermits and Saint Anthony Abbot praying together while a raven brings them a loaf of bread (fig.7); the other fresco depicts Saint Simeon Stylite visited by a snake climbing up his column (fig.8). The fresco behind the organ has been identified on account of the visible details as Saint Bruno visited by Count Ruggero (fig.9).35 The fourth fresco has, as far as the information goes, never been described and was destroyed in 1909-1910 when a doorway was opened in the supporting wall. It is generally assumed that, for reasons of symmetry, it was also of horizontal format.

How did these four frescoes and nine panels fit into the original space? As the inventories and descriptions indicated, Lanfranco's decoration consisted of frescoes on the four walls, probably one scene on each side surrounded by ornamental borders in fresco. This structure resembled the decoration of the Cappella dei Santi Fondatori in Grottaferrata, painted by Domenichino in 1610, or the Oratorio di Sant'Andrea next to San Gregorio al Celio, a commission in which Lanfranco was involved in 1609.36 The ceiling of the Camerino consisted of a wooden structure, probably gilded, in which the nine paintings were inserted, with the Christ served by Angels in the middle, and around this, the other paintings were arranged in rows of three. If one doubles the width of the painting of Mary Magdalene and adds the width of the Christ one arrives at 3 meters for a total width, while their cumulative height adds up to 3.34 meters.37 The total length and width of the paintings left enough space for an ornate gilt wooden ceiling, as was mentioned in the inventories.

All wall-surfaces of the Camerino were thus embellished with landscapes and solitary saints, exactly as the sources described. Notwithstanding the epithet 'Room of the hermits': the Camerino technically also contained other saints, such as Saint Anthony of Padua, Saint Eustace, and Saint Francis who, according to the sources, had not spent a long period in the desert. However, most of the saints were indeed anchorites, and the combination of landscapes and solitary saints automatically conjured up the term hermit to the Seicento beholder, as Bellori's and Passeri's descriptions indicated. The coherence in the decoration of the Camerino conjures up three interrelated questions. Firstly, what was the tradition of anchorite iconography in Roman painting? Secondly, where and in what kind of spaces was it applied? And thirdly, was there a

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1 Schleier 1964, p.10, published photographs of the visible details of this fresco and recognised its iconography on the grounds of a print after Lanfranco, from the series Vita di San Bruno of 1620-1621.


3 La scuola Emiliana 1994, p.176 gives the measurements of the Christ as 116 x 143 cm and those of the Mary Magdalene as 109 x 78 cm.
thematic connection perceived between the individual scenes of comparable cycles, and what does that say about the meaning of the theme in early Seicento Rome? By looking at these aspects in the antecedents of the Camerino, the background and intentions of this particular iconographical theme might be better understood.

**Anchorite iconography around 1600**

The first medium through which anchorite iconography was popularised from the last decades of the Cinquecento onwards was that of print series, especially after designs by Girolamo Muziano, Maerten de Vos and Abraham Bloemaert. The first published a number of related prints in quick succession, and the last two devised their prints as coherent sets of images. These series appeared in the years between 1567 and 1615, and offered painters a real compendium of inspiration, depicting even the most obscure saints from upper Egypt and Europe not treated in art before. The pictorial environment of these figures could vary from vast landscapes to small caves: Girolamo Muziano, whose prints appeared separately from 1567 onwards, habitually placed small figures of hermits in the margin of the composition, thereby allowing the landscape to play the main role in the composition (fig.10). He chose well-known anchorites and saints as *staffage*, such as Saint Francis, Saint Mary Magdalene, and Onufrius. In this sense, his prints were close in character to the iconography as encountered in paintings of the period. Maerten de Vos' series, the *Solitudo sive Vitae Patrum Eremitolarum* and its feminine counterpart *Solitudo sive Vitae foeminarum anachoretum*, both published in 1586, the *Sylva Sacrae* of 1593-1594, the *Tractacem Vitae Solitariae* of 1598, and the *Oraclum Anachoretum* of 1600, somewhat reduced the background in favour of the representation of the actions of the solitary saints. Abraham Bloemaert cramped the saints of his series entitled *Sacra Eremita Ascetiarum Ascetricarum* of 1612 (fig.11) in narrow spaces, mostly the interiors of grottoes, without offering the beholder so much as a glimpse of a natural setting. These three series inspired other artists to try their luck with the same theme: a case in point is the series by Francesco Valesio, *Ill. Anachoretum Elogia*, published in Venice in 1612, which responded almost immediately with his own series of prints with hermits in landscapes. Many other artists produced individual etchings or engravings of landscapes peopleed by anchorite saints, which attest to the wide dissemination

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Footnotes:

19. Schuckmann 1996, pp.197-209. These series were published by De Sadeleer in Antwerp and Venice; for the activities of the Sadeleer as engravers and publishers of these prints, see Les Sadeleer 1992.

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of the subject matter around 1600.

What kind of context were these prints intended for? The series by Bloemaert, Sadeler and De Vos, published in Antwerp, Germany and Venice, were marketed throughout Europe in great quantities, with wide reception well into Italy. Information on the publishers of these cycles suggests that these series were aimed at the monastic reader: but large print-nms suggest that their were also bought by others.\(^4^2\) The presence of these series in many ecclesiastical and princely collections attest to their wide popularity, but also to their possible neutrality in an iconographic sense. Any beholder could obviously appreciate this kind of imagery. These images were also widely used as models for paintings in fresco or oil. A well-known adaptation of such graphic examples to panel or canvas are two pendant paintings by Paul Bril, commissioned by cardinal Federico Borromeo (1564-1631), archbishop of Milan, copied after prints by Sadeler from designs by Maerten de Vos, and depicting the lesser known Saints Mutius and Anub.\(^4^3\) Another adaptation of such prints can be found in a frescoed ceiling of a room in Isola del Liri, to be discussed later.

Around the same time – between 1570 and 1600 – artists in Rome began to produce in large number cabinet-paintings on canvas or panel with the subject of desert-saints. Especially landscape-painters took up the theme, among them well-known artists such as Muziano and Paul Bril; many others took up the subject as well.\(^4^4\) Certain saints, most of whom were depicted in the Camerino, can even be deemed popular: especially Saints John the Baptist, Jerome, Anthony Abbot, Mary Magdalene and Saint Francis - in solitary prayer on the mountain of La Verna or receiving the Stigmata - became commonly depicted subjects, as can be deduced from their presence in many contemporary inventories.\(^5^5\) A number of other saints can be added to the list, such as Mary of Egypt and Onuphrius.\(^4^6\) The school of the Carracci produced quite a number of these kind of easel-paintings, of small to moderate size. An important trend-setting work was the *Penitent Magdalene* by Annibale (fig.12), where the composition of the reclining female figure

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\(^{42}\) Especially Hieronymus Verdussen, publisher of several editions of Bloemaert's *Sacra Eramus*, was specialised in devotional and liturgical books for the monastic market: see De Nave 1996, p.254f, and Nauwelaer 1975, p.275. Apart from that, the dedications of several editions of the *Sacra Eramus* to prior and superiors of monasteries suggests that regulars were the intended public of these editions.\(^4^3\)

\(^{43}\) Jones 1988b and Jones 1993, p.133.\(^4^4\)

\(^{44}\) Cavazzini in *The Genius* of Rome 2001, pp.209 and 211.\(^5^5\)


\(^{46}\) On Mary of Egypt see *BN* 1961-1970 vol.8 cols.981-994 and *LCT* vol.7, cols.507-511; for saint Onuphrius see *ibidem*, vol.9 cols.1187-1200 and *LCT* vol.8 cols.84-88.\(^9^9\)
reading a book was used a number of times by Domenichino in his own landscape-compositions.27

Most of these paintings were of small format, executed either for non-identifiable patrons or for the art-market, which makes it hard to pinpoint a particular intention behind this kind of iconography. The fact that these easel-paintings could be hung in galleries suggests that appreciation of these works might have had aesthetic overtones, in which the buyer deemed the setting as more important than the subject.28 On other occasions, however, these religious subjects were indeed listed correspondingly: the 1616 Mattei inventory for example mentioned a 'Saint Francis by Muziano [and a] Naked Saint Jerome in the act of beating himself, and doing penance ...' under the heading of 'Paintings for devotion'.29 This indicates that the religious message was understood even outside of a particular devotional or liturgical context. Whether these paintings contained a large landscape-setting is not known, but it can be assumed on account of the name of Muziano mentioned as their author.

Only in the case of larger panels intended for altarpieces in chapels and churches, were the religious intentions of such paintings unequivocally clear. Girolamo Muziano, who apart from being an artist with particular renown in the new genre of landscape, was also sought after for numerous religious commissions. Around 1584, he painted for Gregory XIII Boncompagni an altarpiece depicting Saint Jerome preaching in the Wilderness, for the chapel of Saint Gregory in new Saint Peters' (fig.13).30 It represented the saint within a large landscape surrounded by attendant figures listening to the sermon. Other examples of penitential and solitary saints in altarpieces were common, and depended, as in the former case, upon the dedication of the church. For the concept of the Camerino, however, these easel-paintings and altarpieces were probably of little avail.

A third group of precursors for the Camerino degli Iremiti were fresco-series with anchorite subjects both in public churches and private chapels. An early, and chronologically

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1 See for example Classicismo e natura 1996, cat. nos. 8, 9, 14, 17, 19 and 25.
2 The thesis that religious works were deprived of their meaning when allocated in artcollections is suggested in Stoichita 1994, esp pp.424-425. As will be discussed below this conclusion is not followed here. For the presence of works of art with hermit-iconography and or landscapes in collections of art in the seventeenth century, see the series of the Getty Provenance Index in the Burlington Magazine and the Italian Inventories, esp Saharik 1996 on the Colonna collections; see also Cappelletti Testa 1994 on the Mattei-inventories, and Wazbinski 1994, vol.2 pp.355-618 for the collection of cardinal Del Monte. The Getty Provenance index can also be consulted through internet on http: piedi.getty.edu.
3 Cappelletti Testa 1994, p.173: 'Quadri di Devozione ... N. 3 un quadro di san francesco del Mutiano, con corone di noce ... N. 8 un quadro di san Girolamo ignudo in atto di battersi, e far penitenza ...'. For comparable instances, see further on in this same inventory where other works by Muziano are listed under the same heading, such as a quadro grande di un S. Antonio Iremito di mano del Mutiano ... in the inventory of 1631.
isolated example, was the Cappella Fetti in San Silvestro al Quirinale. Around 1526, Fra Mariano Fetti, an intimate of Clement VII Medici (1523-1534), commissioned the painter Polidoro da Caravaggio to decorate his chapel in this church. The subject of the decoration on the two lateral walls were episodes from the lives of two female saints, Mary Magdalene and Catherine of Siena. Mary Magdalene was shown washing the feet of Christ, meeting the risen Christ in the episode of Noli me tangere in the foreground, and up in the sky borne up to heaven by angels; on the other side-wall of the chapel, Saint Catherine was depicted hovering on clouds while being mystically wedded to Christ, and being received with other Dominican nuns by the pope. Although the latter saint was not strictly considered an anchoress, Mary Magdalene was the most important example for her own spiritual life, as she conceded to her confessor. In her vita, the daily ascension of Mary Magdalene was compared to Catherine's frequent raptures, and thus a spiritual link was perceived between the two saints by the contemporary beholder.

Polidoro's early example of large landscapes with anchorite-scenes in San Silvestro al Quirinale was only taken up again in Rome in the late sixteenth century. In the late 1590s, the Flemish painter Paul Bril executed the decoration of the hallway leading to the Cappella del Bagno of Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, where according to legend the saint had been martyred. The new decoration consisted of a series of frescoes with anchorite scenes set in a decorative framework. The ceiling and the upper part of the walls of the passage to the chapel were adorned with landscapes with Saints Paul the first Hermit, Onuphrius, Jerome, Mary of Egypt, Hilarius and some other saints, all in the act of prayer (see figs 14 and 15). Captions underneath these images revealed to the viewer the identity of these saints. This was not the first instance of

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Gnann 1991, p.135: in the vita of Catherine of Siena (first published 1477 in Latin) as described in Da Capua 1978, pp.44-45 recounted the zeal of the young Catherine after reading the lives of the desert Fathers to imitate their solitary life; see p.43: 'rivelo unulmente in confessione che in quel tempo, senza l'aiuto di maestro e senza averlo letto nei libri, ma col solo insegnamento dello Spirito Santo, aveva saputo e conosciuto la vita e i modi di vivere dei Santi Padri dell' Egitto ...' Ibidem, p.44: 'Mi ha infatti confessato che, quando era piccina, desiderava ardentemente di ritirarsi in un eremo ... Non potendo più contenere quel desiderio, pensò unamattina d'andare in cerca di un eremo.' Ibidem, p.201 recounts the special protection of Catherine from saint Mary Magdalene, and the daily ascension of Mary Magdalene was likened to the frequent raptures of Catherine of Siena: 'Come Maria Maddalena rimase per trentatre anni nella spelonca senza prender cibo, e in continua contemplazione, così Caterina, dal tempo della visione fino al trentaseiesimo anno di età, durante il quale morì, attese con tanto fervore alla contemplazione dell'Altissimo ... E come quella era rapita dagli Angeli sette colte al giorno in aria, dove ascoltava i misteri di Dio; così questa, per maggior parte del tempo, rapita ai sensi dalla forza dello spirito, contemplava le cose celesti, e con gli Angeli lodava il Signore. Per questo spesso volle il suo corpo appariva sospeso in aria ...'


painting landscapes with hermits in this church; the vestibule of the Santa Cecilia had already received a frieze of landscapes with hermits, not all identifiable for lack of attributes. The author of these frescoes was Fabrizio Parmigiano. Both decorative cycles were commissioned by Paolo Emilio Sfondrato (1561-1618), nephew of Gregory XIV Sfondrato (1591). Sfondrato was titular cardinal of the church, and was an intimate friend of Odoardo Farnese in the College of cardinals; moreover they were related by family-ties. Sfondrato's patronage of this chapel and the choice for hermits as the dominant theme surely set an example for the Camerino degli Eremiti.

An example of a private chapel in which anchorite iconography played a significant role is found in Villa Sacchetti at Castel Fusano. In this case, the patrons were the Sacchetti family that was firmly tied to the court of Urban VIII Barberini (1624-1644) and his family; the ceiling-decoration in the Sala of their palace even proclaimed in fresco this important relation of clientelism. Between 1626 and 1629, the walls of the chapel of the suburban villa were covered by Pietro da Cortona and his pupils with landscape-frescoes, containing episodes from the Bible and, characteristically, solitary saints. Again, the choice of penitent saints was quite predictable and for that reason not informative regarding their particular meaning: Saint John the Baptist, Mary Magdalene, and Saint Francis in prayer. Besides these hagiographic scenes a number of landscapes were executed in which moments from the life of Christ for example the Flight to Egypt were situated. The ceiling-decoration contained six roundels, in which the Creation was represented. What the hermits precisely alluded to in this setting, and whether their solitary status added anything to the meaning, remains unclear.

Apart from series with numerous saints, fresco-cycles dedicated exclusively to the life of one specific solitary figure were also popular during the last decades of the sixteenth century, especially in cloisters of Roman monasteries. The ambulatories in the Trinità dei Monti and Sant'Andrea della Fratte, both belonging to the Order of the Minims, contained series of lunettes.

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57 See Scott 1998 for this interpretation of this cycle by Cortona and his pupils.
59 Zirpolo 1998, p. 97 discussed the programme as a visualisation of Augustinian writings on the Sacraments; Mary Magdalene, Francis and John the Baptist would then refer to penitence and baptism respectively. The landscapes were regarded by her as unrelated to the iconography, but as a reference to the 'villa's bucolic setting', p. 87.
with the life of their founder San Francesco di Paola.\textsuperscript{60} Saint Francesco had lived as a hermit during long periods of his life. In both cycles, executed by groups of painters, landscape played a lesser or greater role, depending on the episode depicted. However, within the whole concept the anchorite life was only part of the narrative scenes, as it was considered more important to represent San Francesco as the founder of the Order rather than his solitary life. The cloister of the Trinità dei Monti was executed approximately between 1580 and 1585: that of Sant'Andrea was decorated half a century later, but never completed.\textsuperscript{61}

In a third cloister, that of the monastery of Sant'Onofrio on the slope of the Janiculum Hill, belonging to the Jeronimite Order, the life of the Egyptian hermit Saint Onuphrius was depicted.\textsuperscript{62} Landscape-settings became especially dominant in the second half of this cycle, which illustrated the saints' life in the desert. The first half showed him as a child, and as a young monk living in a monastery. Thus, in all three cases the fresco-series were planned around the figure of one saintly character, in which the anchorite life was only part of the subject. The inclusion of a number of scenes does however point at the importance of this aspect as part of the religious life. For depictions of individual scenes in the Camerino, the narrative coherence in the embellishment of these cloisters was markedly different from the cycle in the Camerino.\textsuperscript{63}

**Palazzo Farnese at Caprarola**

The fourth category of examples on which Lanfranco could draw consisted of anchorite cycles in secular palaces. A number of such private spaces were directly comparable to the Camerino degli Eremiti. The earliest, and at the same time most important for the Camerino, were two related rooms in the Palazzo Farnese at Caprarola - owned by the Farnese family, and frequently used by cardinal Odoardo during his lifetime (fig.16). The familiarity of the patron of the Camerino degli Eremiti with these spaces merits a detailed look at those two predecessors. Even more important is the existence of contemporary written programmes describing the iconographic concepts of both rooms, as well as the reception of this decoration by the contemporary Roman public.

Around 1556, Odoardo's great-uncle Cardinal Alessandro Farnese commissioned the architect Giacomo Barocci da Vignola (1507-1573) to convert into a villa the half-finished fortress at Caprarola, sixty kilometres north of Rome and located close to family's original

\textsuperscript{60} For Saint Francesco di Paola, a fifteenth-century solitary saint from southern Italy who founded a heremitical Order in France around 1500, see BN 1961-1970 vol.5, cols.1163-1184. On the order of the Minims, see Roberti 1902, Whitmore 1967 and DIP vol.5, cols.1356-1361.


political base at the Lago di Bolsena.\textsuperscript{44} This 
rocce had been begun around 1521 during the
cardinalate of his grandfather Paul III, and had been left unfinished after the Sack of Rome in
1527.\textsuperscript{45} After the conclusion of the wars ravaging Italy in the first half of the sixteenth century,
the site became obsolete as defence, but offered itself for the new project of a villa.\textsuperscript{46} Construction began in 1559, and after more than ten years of intense building-activity, the project
was completed around 1573.

Although it was called a Palazzo because of its architectural resemblance to the
impenetrable character and size of a typical urban palace, the project reflected on another level
the Roman tradition of the villa. Vignola was experienced in this field, as he had earlier co-
operated on the project of the Villa Giulia in Rome.\textsuperscript{47} At Caprarola, the substructure and some
walls of the fortress were used, but the internal organisation and external appearance were
completely altered. Where the lower level retained its former image as fortress - the five bastions
were left in place - the new façade contained an open loggia as its main feature. At the back of
the building, extensive gardens were laid out, that could be reached over two bridges spanning
the moat.

Alessandro Farnese hastened to see this delicious villa with the grandeur of a palace ready
for use. Already in 1561, when the architecture was not completely finished and only the lower
storey was standing, he hired painters to decorate the ground-floor-apartments with frescoes.\textsuperscript{48}
The walls and ceilings of the rooms on this floor were embellished with the subject of the
seasons, constituting a general allusion to the ancient villa and its life in harmony with nature.\textsuperscript{49}
The execution of this decoration was in the hands of Taddeo Zucchi, his brother Federico and
their workshop, who were renowned for their speed of execution.\textsuperscript{50}

Not long afterwards, the decoration of the piano nobile was undertaken by the same group
of painters. In the vault of the loggia circumscribing the courtyard traditional motifs of the villa-
decoration of the late sixteenth century were applied: the vine- and pergola-themes with birds and
other animals visible in the openings towards the sky, coats of arms of the family, and along the

\textsuperscript{45} Partridge 2001, pp.263-264.
\textsuperscript{49} Villa e Pacae 1980, pp.22-23.
\textsuperscript{50} Acidini Lucchini 1999 vol. 1, p.150ff.
walls niches contained sculptures of the twelve Roman emperors. In all aspects, the Farnese palace in Caprarola recreated the classical type of the villa as close as possible.

The piano nobile of the Palazzo Farnese (see the groundplan in fig. 17) consisted of a number of chambers decorated with a range of subjects, extending from the 'Fasti Farnesiani' and a Sala delle Carte Geografiche, both meant as reception-halls, to more private apartments in which the rooms were illustrated with mythological and allegorical representations of sleep, dreams, the production of fabrics and the Hermaphroditus, a fusion between the mythological gods Hermes and Athena. The three subjects were all intimately related to the function of the room, such as the bedroom, a study or a wardrobe. The decoration of any room or hall on this main floor was always related to its use, and/or its intended users.

Two of the more private spaces in Caprarola anticipated the Camerino degli Eremiti in both its iconographical theme. These rooms have been known respectively since the eighteenth century as the Stanza della Penitenza and the Stanza della Solitudine; contemporary sources referred to them by the term studio, and seventeenth-century inventories indicated them with varying terms such as studiolo or simply as the 'room with the round table'. As in the case of the Camerino in Rome, the eighteenth-century term were derived from the subject of their decoration; in both rooms, the ceilings depicted scenes of solitary life. The amount of landscape, however, was quite restricted because of the inclusion in both cases of smaller painted scenes within a stucco ornaments.

The Stanza della Solitudine

The vault of the Stanza della Solitudine (fig.18) was painted by Taddeo and Federico Zuccari between 1563 and 1565, on the basis of a programme devised by Onofrio Panvinio.

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71 See Partridge 2001, pp.277-280 for the decoration of the vaults of the loggia. A well-known example of a loggia where this antique motif of the pergola and vine was in the Villa Giulia in Rome; many other examples can be found in and around sixteenth-century Rome, for example in the loggia of Palazzo Altemps and in a garden-pavilion in the Villa Medici; see Hochmann/Moreal 1995 for the latter. In the early seventeenth century, such a loggia was painted by Paul Bril and Guido Reni for Scipione Borghese in the present Palazzo Pallavicini-Rospigliosi; see Negro 1996.

72 See Zezec 1972, pp. 286, 288 and 291-298 for the importance of mythological themes in the decoration at Caprarola; for the concept of the Hermathena, a conceit probably invented by Cicero for the decoration of the peristyle of his villa in Tusculum, see DNP vol.5, cols 421-422.


74 The names for both these rooms derive from the 1741 description of the palace; see Sebastiani 1741, p.69; 'Stanza detta della Solitudine' and p.75; 'Camera detta della Penitenza'; earlier inventories indicated the rooms with varying terms, from 'studiolo' to 'stanza col tavolo rotondo.' See Jestaz 1998, p.55 and note 5, p.60. Caro 1961 vol.3, p.237 called the Stanza della Solitudine a studio.

75 This naming of the rooms in accordance with the theme of their decoration is clearly stated on the plan of the Palazzo Farnese in Caprarola published in 1746: 'Tutte le Stanze pigliano il nome dall'Istoria che vi stà dipinta.'
Panvinio, a courtier in Alessandro Farnese's household, was asked to propose an iconographic theme, but his inexperience in visualising texts led to a quarrel with the Zuccari brothers, which forced him to consult with the poet Annibale Caro (1507-1566), who since 1547 was secretary, librarian and adviser in artistic affairs to Cardinal Alessandro. Caro had provided the decorative schemes for other rooms in the Palazzo at Caprarola, such as the Stanza dell'Aurora, which he had described in detail in a letter to Taddeo Zuccari. The new co-operation with Panvinio suggests that a more theologically oriented programme was required. For this reason, Panvinio, an Augustinian monk with profound knowledge on ecclesiastical history, was asked to provide the themes for the Stanza della Solitudine, but his inexperience led to disagreement with the Zuccari.

To resolve the problem, Caro rewrote Panvinio's concept. In his letter to Panvinio of 15 May 1565, Annibale Caro described the decorative programme of the Stanza della Solitudine. Each figure was accompanied by an appropriate citation, explaining its identity as well as exemplary status. From this iconographical essay it can be understood that the Christian saints and hermits were valued as morally superior to their precursors, the pagan solitary. Caro probably had a design of the vault's stucco compartments in front of him when he devised this, and in his letter he explained to Panvinio scene by scene what should be depicted in each of these compartments:

In one of the middle scenes, which is the most important, I would make the principal and most praised form of loneliness: that which is of our own religion, which is different from that of the Gentiles: because our [Saints] have come out of their solitude to teach the people, and the Gentiles have retreated from the people into solitude. Large paintings. So, in one of the large scenes in the middle I would depict the solitude of the Christians; and in the middle of that I would depict Christ our Lord, and on both sides next to each other, Paul the Apostle, John the Precursor, Jerome, Francis and others, as many as it can contain, who come from various places out of the desert towards the people to preach the evangelical doctrine, representing on the one side of the painting the desert, and on the other side the people. In the other painting on the opposite side, I would as contrast put

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the solitude of the Gentiles, and I would place there various kinds of philosophers who will not come out, but will go into the desert and turn their back on the people. Visualising in particular some of the Platonists, who will also gouge out their eyes, in order that they will not be impeded by sight in [their] philosophising. I would portray Timon who hurled stones at humans, and I would depict some people that, without being seen, exposed outside these barren places tablets, or their writings, to instruct people without having contact with them. And these two would be the scenes of the two major fields in the middle, which would contain the subject of solitude in general.\textsuperscript{81}

Precisely as Caro had prescribed it, Zuccaro painted the two scenes of the Christians and the Pagans opposite each other on the ceiling of the room (figs.19 and 20). On the one side, Christ is depicted with John and Paul on either side; and on the other side the Platonists are shown, while in the background a written tablet held up by the hand of a philosopher hiding in a barren landscape can be seen; on the right side Timon is throwing stones at people. Caro's literary contrast was translated literally into images: the Gentile philosophers, who fled from society, are depicted with their backs turned to the beholder, whereas Christ is directed towards the viewer in the act of preaching.\textsuperscript{82}

Two more rectangular panels presented further contrast between the Christian and the pagan concept of solitude. On one side of the ceiling, the Roman king Numa Pompilio was represented next to a fountain in the sacred wood, reasoning with the Egerian nymph on the subject of the law;\textsuperscript{83} and opposite this in a similar scene was depicted the Greek philosopher Minos, coming out of a cavern where Jupiter would have dictated him the laws, and bringing the results of his retreat in the form of written tablets to the people of his city. For this reason, Caro

\textsuperscript{81}i.e. John the Baptist.

\textsuperscript{82}Preparatory drawings for these two scenes, ascribed to Federico Zuccari, are in the Uffizi in Florence; see Acidini Luchinat 1998, p.214.

\textsuperscript{83}Caro 1961 vol.3, pp.237-238: 'In uno di quelli del mezzo, che è il principale, farei la principale e più lodata specie di solitudine; che è quella de la nostra religione. In quale è differente da quella de'Gentili; perché i nostri sono usciti da la solitudine per ammaestrare i popoli, ed i Gentili dai popoli si sono ritirati ne la solitudine. Quadri grandi. In uno dunque de'grandi quadri del mezzo farei la solitudine de'cristiani; e nel mezzo d'esso rappresenterei CHRISTO nostro Signore, e da gh gli altri po si di mano in mano, Paolo Apostolo, Giovanni Precuratore, Ieronimo, Francesco, e gli altri, se più ve ne possono capire, che di diversi locchi uscendo dal deserto venissero incontro ai popoli a predicar la dottrina evangelica, fingendo da luna parte del quadro il deserto, da l'altra le genti. Ne l'altro quadro d'incontro a questo, farei per lo contrario la solitudine de'Gentili, e mettereii più sorti di filosofi, che non uscissero, ma che entrassero nel deserto e voltassero le spalle ai popoli. Esprimendo particolarmente alcuni de'Platonici, che si cavassero anche gli occhi, perché da la vista non fossero impolloni a filosofare. Ci farei Timone che tirasse de'sassi a le genti, ci farei alcuni che senza esser veduti, stendessero fuor de le macchie alcune tavole, o scritti loro, per ammaestrare le genti senza praticar con esse. E queste due sarebbero l'istoria degli due vani principali di mezzo, che conterebbono la materia de la solitudine in universale.'
called him the 'first legislator of Greece.'

Around these four rectangular scenes with philosophers and legislators, four scenes should illustrate the universal validity of the concept of solitude by means of - as Caro called it - 'nations': Zuccari placed these into triangular compartments. These four groups were firstly the Gymnosophists from India, who lived naked in the desert and spent their time in contemplation and disputations; secondly the northern Hyperboreans, who passed their time in the same occupations, and should be depicted surrounded by bags of wheat and rice as they were supposed to live off these; thirdly the Druids from Gaul, within sacred oak-woods, and lastly the Jewish Essenes. The last group was esteemed by Caro to be nearly saintly for they were chaste and unmarried as hermits, and considered divine truths instead of earthly matters.

Next come eight portrayals of pagan philosophers and Churchfathers holding scrolls with statements. Caro proposed to depict Aristotle, Cato, Euripides, Seneca, Ennio, Plutarch, Marc Tullius, Menander, Gregory Nazianzen and Saint Augustine: most of them presented texts considering the subject of rest versus action. For example, Marc Tullius - with whom Caro clearly indicated Cicero presented a scroll with Work (otium) with dignity, leisure (negotio) without danger', and Saint Augustine held up the words 'No good man complains about work (negotium), no [good] man takes rest in improper leisure (otium). The Latin terms of otium and negotium, denoting the opposition between intellectual leisure and urban affairs, were a literary topic from Varro onwards. According to this tradition, life in the villa solved this contradiction by offering a morally acceptable otium as a counterpart to the morally threatening

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84 Caro 1961 vol.3, p.238: "Ne l'altro de l'altro testa di rincontro, farei Minos primo legislatore de la Grecia, che uscisse d'un antro con alcune tavole in mano, e che ne l'oscur o de l'antro fosse un Giove, dal quale egli riceveva d'aver le leggi." For Minos as legislator, helped by his father Jupiter, see Moormann Uitterhoeve 1995, p.453.

85 Caro 1961 vol.3, p.238: "Nami minori. Ne gli quattro quadri minori, farono le quattro nazioni trovate da voi. E' perché il pittore intenda: in uno i Gymnosofisti, nazioni d'India, pure in un deserto, ignudi, in atto di contemplanti e di disputanti; e ne farei alcuni volti al sole che fosse a mezzo del cielo, perché lor costume era di sacrificare a mezzo giorno. Nel secondo gli'iperborde setentronali, vestiti, coi gesti medesimi di disputare e contemplare, sotto arbori pomiferi con sacchi di riso e di farina intorno, di che vivevan, e non sapendo il lor abito, me ne rimetto al pittore. Nel terzo i Druidi, magni de'Galli, fra selle di querce, le quali aveano in venerazione, e senza le lor fronde non faceano mai sacrificio, e l'viso che nasceva in loro, aveano per Dio: vestansi pur come piace al pittore, purché tutto d'una guisa. Nel quarto gli'Esseni, gente Giudaica, santa, casta senza donne, monita e contemplatori solamente de le cose divine e morali."

86 Caro 1961 vol.3, pp.228-239.

87 Caro 1961 vol.3, p.239: "Nel settimo farei Marc Tullio, pur da senatore, con un volume a l'antica rinvolt a a l'ombilico che penderesse con queste lettere: OTIAM CONDONSATE NEGOTIUM SINI PERPETUO... Nel decimo un S. Agostino con il suo abito da frate e con queste sue sentenze: OTIAM CONDONSATE NEGOTIUM, SANSUS A PILGERIS VITAE LOBIS..." The first citation seems to be a free adaptation of a well-citation from Cicero's Pro Sestio often used as proverb. For the predominantly positive significance of the word 'otium' in the works of Augustine, especially in relation to contemplation and the monastic life (otta monastica), see Augustine through the Ages 1999, pp.618-619. However, the latter citation is not considered anymore to be by Augustine himself.

88 For the meaning of these terms, see DTF 1996-present, vol.8, pp.785-786; for this topic in relation to the concept of the Quintecento villa, see Coffin 1979, pp.273-276 and Ackerman 1969, pp.37-39.
urban negotium: the former was interpreted as a period of study and reflection, for which the latter did not offer time nor rest.

The smaller scenes contained a mixture of Christian and pagan solitaries; next to Celestine V, who abdicated the papal throne in 1294 to return to his solitary life, were depicted the Emperor Diocletian and the philosopher Diogenes, seated in his barrel. As a modern example king Peter of ‘Anglia’ was proposed, as in old age he stepped down from the throne to live a life of poverty in Rome. These twelve remaining roundels were considered too small for human figures, and thus Caro proposed animals: the winged horse Pegasus, a griffon, an elephant, the pelican feeding his youngsters with his own blood and (surprisingly) Ganymede being borne to heaven by the eagle. These images also refer to solitude, but more particularly to the appropriate occupation in seclusion and the desired effects; in the words of Caro: 'All those signifying the elevation of the mind and contemplation.'

The Stanza della Penitenza

In contrast to the pagan and Christian concepts of solitude on the vault of the Stanza della Solitudine, the vault of the Stanza della Penitenza was decorated exclusively with images of Christian hermits. The decoration consisted of roundels surrounded by stucco borders and grotesques, which were executed between 1569 and 1571 by Jacopo Bertoja and his assistants. On account of a manuscript in the Vatican Library of which cardinal Guglielmo Sirleto was the author, it has been argued that he wrote the programme for this room. The comparison of this description with the painted decoration suggests a direct connection between the two: the possibility of Sirleto’s involvement is otherwise confirmed by his long-standing contacts with cardinal Alessandro Farnese; and as church-historian and prefect of the Vatican Library, he was a

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9 Caro 1961 vol.3, pp.239-240: 'Nel primo porre un Pontefice Romano: e questo sarebbe Celestino che depose il Papato. Nell secondo un imperatore, e questo farei Dioeleziano, che, lasciato l’Imperio, se n’andò in Ischiatonia a rustricare ... De’moderni re, Pietro d’Anglia, che, lasciato il regno, venne a Roma, e visse privato in povertà ... Per un filosofo notabile: Diogene con la sua botte.' With Pietro d’Anglia, Caro probably meant Peter I d’Anjou, better known as Peter I of Aragon, king of Sicily, who went on pilgrimage to Rome at the end of his life.
10 Caro 1961 vol.3, p.240: 'Ci restano dodici altri vani minimi tramezzati tra gli minori già detti. E in questi non potendo mettere figure umane, farei alcuni animali come per grottesche e per simboli di questa materia de la solitudine, e de le cose appartenenti ad essa.'
11 Caro 1961 vol.3, p.240: 'Essendo che tutti questi siano significativi d’elevazioni di mente e di contemplazione.'
12 DeGrazia 1972, pp.43-53 assumed that the Stanza della Penitenza was decorated in the period between 1569 and 1573; Partridge 1995, p.162 has suggested a more precise dating between 1569 and 1570 on the basis of correspondence between Sirleto and Farnese. This corresponds exactly with payments for scaffolding in this room, erected 20 July 1569, and taken down 26 April 1571 according to ASR Camerale III, 518, fol.87v and 104v. See DeGrazia 1991, p.82.
specialist in ecclesiastical history and Christian iconography. 

Guglielmo Sirleto was asked to provide the iconographical programme after the death of Onofrio Panvinio in 1568, only shortly before the decoration of the Stanza della Penitenza was begun. Although he had to devise something in a relatively short time, the result obviously fitted the tastes of Cardinal Alessandro. Later on, Sirleto also provided the programmes for the adjacent rooms of the winter-apartment: the figure of the Prophet Elijah mentioned in the description for the Stanza della Penitenza was utilised in the next room in the decorative project, the Stanza dei Sogni. 

The central roundel on the ceiling of the Stanza della Penitenza contained the image of the Cross, borne up to heaven by angels (fig.21): it was surrounded by four square compartments and an equal number of smaller roundels. Each of the scenes was accompanied by Greek or Latin inscriptions that provided the identification of the figures by giving their names, and instructed on their particular meaning by means of mottoes. The Cross surmounted by the Crown of Thorns in the middle of the vault was circumscribed with a citation from the Greek church-historian Sozomenus: 'O blessed wood on which our Lord was hung.' According to the explanation by Sirleto, this image was 'a Cross like the one proposed by all those who have lead the solitary life because the monastic and eremitic life was nothing other than the profession of denying oneself and carrying the cross of Christ.'

Christian Redemption as represented through Christ's Cross was the focus for the saints grouped around in the four square fields, such as Saint Paul the First Hermit, whose body was represented in the act of prayer while his soul had already gone up to heaven. The fresco showed the saint's bodily remains in kneeling position, in front of an altar located in the open air. The text accompanying him reminded the viewer of the saint's lack of possessions, without his life missing anything important. Paul thus represented the ultimate stage of the process of leaving the world, a spiritual path on which the other figures shown on the ceiling had embarked. Next to him, the scroll under the figure of Saint Anthony Abbot urged him to 'go out and look', which

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54 Moroni 1840-1879 vol.67, pp.35-37. Pastor 1925-1933 vol.8, pp.29-30 and vol.9, p.200-209, and Denzler 1964. On Sirleto's position as prefect of the Vatican Library, see Martin 1969, p.240, who remarked around 1576-1578: 'which alwaies hath so many learned Bibliothecaries, and hath at this day Shirlet the renowned Cardinal.'
55 Partridge 1995, p.162 n.1
"ΩΣΥΑΟΝ ΜΑΚΡΙΤΩΝ ΠΟΤΟΦΕΡΕΤΙ ΦΛΑΛΛΥΣΟΕΙ [sic]"
56 BAV Vat.lat.7671, fol.31r: 'una croce come quella che si han proposta tutti quelli che han fatto vita solitaria perché la vita monastica come eremitica non era altro che la professione di abnegare se stesso e portar la croce di Cristo.'
57 "HOC SENSU DO QUIELJOQAM DETEL"? (What did this old man in his nakedness ever lack?). For Saint Paul the First Hermit, see BS 1961-1970 vol.10, cols.269-280; the episode is part of the meeting of Paul and Saint Anthony.
was visualised by Bertoia by means of the hermit gazing at winged "piatti" representing souls flying to heaven, being impeded by a monstrous figure who knocked some of them down (fig.22). According to the prescriptions by Sirleto taken from Athanasius' Life of Saint Anthony, this was to represent 'this vision, which is of souls, some of whom while flying to heaven are prevented by this person...'. The third and fourth saints, Macarius and Pambo, abstained from support from the people and worked for their own daily bread; laborious activities were moreover considered the best means for mortifying the body (fig.23).

The figures in the four smaller roundels were Saint John the Baptist, accompanied by the inscriptions 'Ecce agnus Dei' and 'Vox clamantis in deserto', denoting both his confession and his role as preacher: the figure of Saint Pior taught the viewer to consider food as peripheral; Saint Arsenius illustrated the finiteness of life: Macarius led the thoughts of the spectator unto the advantages of old age and Christ as Judge. In short, the dissociation of the soul from worldly goods, affairs and even one's own body for spiritual benefit was proclaimed by means of images and texts. Sirleto's proposal for a general motto, which was however not included in the decoration, was derived from Hebrews 11:37-38 and stated: 'They wandered about in sheepskins, in goatskins, distressed, afflicted: to whom the world was not worthy.' The contemporary viewer could easily add in his own mind the next sentence from the Bible: 'They fled to the deserts and on the mountains, and lived in caverns and caves in the ground', which exemplified the way of life of all depicted hermits in this Stanza. By means of this way of life, they would leave the world and their own flesh behind on the spiritual ascent to heaven.

Abbot; the latter saw the soul of the former rising up to heaven when he neared the grotto where the hermit lived, and found the dead body still in kneeling position.

Sirleto, cited after Partridge 1995, p.163: 'questa visione, quale e d' animale che volando al cielo alcuno sono impedito da quella persona...'. For Saint Anthony Abbot, see BS 1961-1970 vol.2, cols.106-136. This particular episode, including the exhortation, comes from the hagiography of the saint by Athanasius of Alexandria; see Athanasius 1994, pp.309-311 and Bartelink 1993, p.53. It is unfamiliar in the traditional iconography of the saint, and often not included in general hagiographies.

Under the figure of Macarius, who is carrying two baskets filled with sand upon his shoulders is written 'VEXANTEM ME VENGO' (I torment my tormenter): under the figure of Pambo who receives alms from Melania 'NULLUM DIEM SINE OPERE BRETEMESIS PANEM AB ALIQUO DATUM GRATIS NON COMED' (I have never passed a day without working nor have I eaten bread given to me free by anyone). See Partridge 1995 p.167; see BS 1961-1970 vol.10, cols.70-72 for Pambo; for Macarius of Alexandria, also called the Younger or Abbot, see vol.8, cols.412-413.

The scroll under the roundel with saint Pior holding bread and a branch of olives was written 'OVN ΩΩ ΠΠ ΩΩ ΩΩ ΩΩ ΩΩ' [sic]. (Not as something central, but as something peripheral), under Arsenius 'BEATUS I S. ABBAS ARSNI. QV I SEMPER MORTIS HORAM ANTI Oculos habiit' (Thou art blessed, Abbot Arsenius, to have the hour of your death always before thine eyes). Macarius is accompanied by 'HADAPIΟΕΠΙΝ. (aged youth) together with 'HISUS IN DEXTERIT EST OSNUM'. (Jesus is judge and witness of all). See Partridge 1995, p.167; for Pior, see BS 1961-1970 vol.10, cols.921-922; for Arsenius, vol.2, cols.477-479, and for Macarius the Great, vol.8, cols.425-429.

'BAV Vat.lat.7031, fol.311v: 'Circuierunt in melotis, in pelibus caprinis, [egentes,] angustiati, afflicti: quibus dignus non erat mundus.'
Influence of the Caprarola Stanze

Like the rest of the magnificent palace in Caprarola, the two rooms with anchorite iconography were greatly admired by contemporaries. In the 1568 edition of his Vite, Vasari was the first to give a description of the Stanza della Penitenza. Even though Vasari had corresponded with Caro about the interior decoration of the Palazzo in Caprarola, he was not able to provide a description in which all the details were correct. About the philosophers in the vault, opposite the scene of Christ accompanied by John the Baptist and others, he wrote that 'many figures standing in the woods to flee the conversation, whom some others try to disturb by throwing stones, while still others take out their eyes not to see...'. Caro had definitely meant something more coherent to be represented. With respect to the roundels with secondary figures, many were not even named by Vasari, while he faithfully recorded all the inscriptions. Obviously, the complexity of this intellectual programme went beyond Vasari's insights.

Ten years later, in 1578, Gregory XIII Boncompagni visited the palace in Caprarola on his tour through northern Lazio. The trip was recorded by Fabio Arditio, papal master of ceremonies. His description of the interior of the Farnese palace stressed the decoration of both Stanze as reflecting the religious interpretation of the contemplative life - even if some identifications of saints were wrong. On the Stanza della Solitudine, Arditio stated that the ceiling showed 'Emperors, kings and men, great in arms as well as in the arts, antique as well as moderns, who have retreated from the world for contemplation, and for a more tranquil life.'

On the vault of the Stanza della Penitenza he noted that it showed 'many holy spiritual Fathers, who have retreated their life into the deserts and monasteries for divine contemplation, such as Saint John the Baptist, Saint Paul the First Hermit, Saint Anthony, Saint Jerome, Saint Francis; and other mysteries of the Passion of Our Lord.' Although the exact identification of the individual saints by both Vasari and Arditio left something to be desired, they clearly understood the general message of the decoration: the hermit referred to the contexts of contemplation, retreat and otium. In other words, it was most applicable to a villa a day’s journey removed from the busy court of Rome.

Vasari 1568 1966 vol.5, p.586: 'molte figure che si stanno nelle selve per fuggire la conversazione, le quali alicornai cercano di disturbare tirando loro sassi, mentre alcuni si cavano giochili per non vedere.'

Orbaan 1920, p.375: 'imperatori, re et gradissimi huomini, cosi in arte come in letture, tanto antichi, quanto moderni, che si sono retirati dal mondo alla contemplazione et a vita più tranquilla.'
The position of Alessandro Farnese as cardinal during a time of ecclesiastical reform seems to have been an important explanation for the choice of the hermit-iconography in the two Stanze; it indicates that there was a connection between anchorite iconography and contemporary religious culture in late sixteenth-century Rome. Indeed, there was a vogue for this kind of spaces in private palaces to be decorated with anchorite iconography: especially in suburban or country residences. In his letter of 1601 to Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, Silvio Antoniani advised him that in a Cardinal's villa, the painter and the patron 'should make beautiful landscapes, woods and mountains, of which would especially please in the villa Elijah, Lisha, Saint John the Baptist, San Paul father hermit. Saint Anthony, Saint Benedict, Saint Romuald, who inhabited solitary and sylvan places.\(^{109}\)

With his choice for these solitary saints for the two Stanze at Caprarola, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese had set an example that was widely followed by other ecclesiastical patrons in Rome. At the end of the sixteenth century, a room in Palazzo Boncompagni-Viscogliosi at Isola del Liri, a small town to the south of Rome, was furnished with frescoes with hermit-figures on the ceiling. The palace belonged at that time to Giacomo Boncompagni (1548-1612), nephew to Gregory XIII, who appointed him Duke of Sora in 1579.\(^{110}\) After rendering his services to the ecclesiastical state as Gonfaloniere and in various other functions in the papal army, he retired to his newly acquired duchy after 1585. During the following years his palace in Isola del Liri, which functioned as a retreat from the court in Sora, was rebuilt and decorated.\(^{111}\) It was located on a little island between two branches of the river Liri and was thus relatively isolated: in 1586 the village was thought to have been the location of Cicero's villa.\(^{112}\) The newly-built edifice, called a Palazzo but for reasons of setting more akin to a villa, included a room described in modern literature as the Stanza della Penitenza - which was probably not its original name, but which was derived from the subject of its decoration.

The frescoed ceiling of the room consisted of an ornamental design of grotesques in which four square fields with landscapes and hermits were inserted. These were copied from the popular series of prints made by Sadeler after design of Maerten de Vos with eremitical saints, the *Solitudo sive Vitae Patrum Eremicularum* of 1588. However, the hermits depicted in the

San Hieronimo, San Francesco, et altri mysterijs de la Passione di Nostro Signore.' On the misidentifications in this description, see Partridge 1995, p.146.


\(^{110}\) Moroni 1840-1879 vol.6, pp.6-7 and *DBI* 1960-present, vol.11, pp.689-692.

\(^{111}\) Carbone 1971, pp.343, 360-361.
Only the natural setting of these figures, their occupations in prayer and work, and the typical dress defined them as solitary religious. Also, in this attire they could transmit the ideal of the early Christian life: solitude and the dedication to prayer and contemplation.

That there was indeed a close connection between the rooms in Caprarola and the one in Isola del Liri is strongly suggested by the report of Gregory XIII’s visit to the Farnese villa in 1578. The pope was accompanied during his trip through northern Lazio by Giacomo Boncompagni and other relatives, and stayed for two nights with his entourage in the Farnese palace. Gregory himself was accommodated in the winter apartment, which contained the Stanza della Solitudine; in the corresponding summer apartment on the other side of the Palazzo, cardinal San Sisto and his brother Giacomo Boncompagni had their quarters. The latter apartment contained the Stanza della Penitenza, which must have constituted the direct inspiration for the room in Isola del Liri.

**Papal preferences**

Another patron with a predilection for the anchorite theme in painting was Sixtus V Peretti (1585-1590), whose grand projects for embellishing Rome led to many new buildings offering new space for large pictorial projects. One of the most important of these, the new Lateran Palace built during his pontificate, contained many frescoed landscapes, and in quite a number of them the hermit appeared. In this case, however, the choice of saints was more at random, and with one exception, not concentrated within one particular space.

The Stanza d’Elia, however, was entirely decorated with five episodes from the life of the Prophet and founding father of the solitary life, accompanied by personifications of the Virtues. Not only solitary episodes were chosen; also other scenes were depicted that illustrated Elijah’s prophetic gifts. Most of the other anchorite scenes in the rest of the palace

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113 'Descrittione dello Stato di Sora', in ASV Boncomp. Prot.29, parte 2, fol.20, cited by Viscogliosi 1985 p.555; nella villa che dicono esser stata di Ocezione a’ tempi della repubblica romana dove ora e la chiesa di S. Domenico...’

114 Viscogliosi 1985, the origins of the room’s name are not discussed; in an inventory cited by Viscogliosi 1985, p.558, according to the furniture it functioned as bedroom.

115 Orbaan 1920, p.366: ‘Et così parti di Roma merceledi all’8 di settembre prossimo passato del 1578, accompagnato dalli cardinali Como et San Sisto et dal signor Jacomo Boncompaggino...’

116 Roma di Sisto I 1993, and Zucchi 1992 on Sixtus’ decorative projects in various edifices and the organisation of camere.


118 The name of the room as ‘Stanza d’Elia’ was used in the sima of 1589 by Domenico Fontana: ‘La stanza d’Elia presso a quella di Salomone...’ See Mandel 1994, p.257.
were contained in lunettes and roundels in hallways, loggias and on the ceiling of the grand staircase. A particular concentration of the anchorite theme can be found in the pope's private apartment facing the courtyard. Lunettes in these four rooms each contained, according to the *stima* made by Domenico Fontana, architect of the building and in charge of the project, 'a landscape with figures of saints', who in the fourth room were even depicted in an identifiable manner. Predictable solitary figures were chosen here: Saint John the Baptist, Elijah, Onuphrius, and Mary of Egypt. As in the former examples, the application of eremitic iconography was again obviously preferred for private rooms, secluded from the outside world.

After the turn of the seventeenth century, one of the apartments in the Vatican Palace was furnished with anchorite iconography for the then newly elected Paul V Borghese (1605-1621). Within the old Borgia apartment one room had been decorated already in 1605 with a frescoed frieze in which three out of four landscapes contained scenes with hermits. Soon after, in 1606 and 1607, new apartments were constructed in the Sistine palace and a newly built annex, of which no less than ten rooms contained friezes with landscapes, and again with many scenes of solitary saints. Most of these were executed by a team of painters, in the style of Paul Bril, but probably without his direct involvement. The artists involved in the project were Italian, among whom were Pasquale Cati, Gaspare Celio and Cesare Rosetti, which shows the adoption of the landscape genre by peninsular artists around the turn of the century.

In each room, the painted decoration consisted of decorative friezes with roundels or square compartments containing landscapes. Alternating with these landscapes were *putti* (in some cases with papal regalia), personifications of the Virtues and heraldic shields with the *stemma* of the patron. Paul V (fig.24). Within the Paoline apartment the hermits were again mostly anonymous because of the lack of attributes; an exception is the depiction of Saint Francis in the library, where the appearance of the Seraph to the kneeling figure of the saint (in the lower right) allows for a positive identification (fig.25). But not even all landscapes contained religious *staffage*: some depicted a city in flames, marine scenes, a winter-landscape, or simply

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119 Mandel 1994, ill. 130-134, pp.205-206, 258: 'un paese per ciascuno con figure di santi...'
120 For an eighteenth-century description of these spaces, see Chiaiard 1766 vol.2, pp.244-246; Fumagalli 1996 described this project at length.
121 There are documents in ASR recording payments made on 20 February 1606 and 10 October 1608 to Cati, Semprevivo and Rossetti in connection to this commission in the Stanze of Paul V and the Torre Borgia, published by Corbo Pomponi 1995, p.183.
122 Paul Bril became particularly sought after during the papacy of Paul V; see his projects in palazzo Rospigliosi-Pallavicini, executed for cardinal Scipione Borghese, for which see Hibbard 1964, p.171 and Negro 1996.
123 Fumagalli 1996, pp.343-345.
124 Fumagalli 1996, ill.33, there described as 'paesaggio con eremita'.
some of the suggest a kind of seasonal iconography by means of the activities of hunting, or the presence of snow. In still other rooms of the Paoline apartments, natural settings were used for a sequence of scenes, as in the Sala degli Evangelisti, in which four episodes illustrated scenes from the life of Paul the Apostle.

The Vatican project obviously set the tone for the entire pontifical court, for apartments of other high officials were decorated by the same group of artists with comparable subjects and designs during the following years. Spaces housing the Vatican Dataria, a financial and administrative department of the Papal States, were decorated with this kind of friezes. In 1616, several series with landscapes were painted in the papal apartment in the Quirinal Palace as well, in which comparable religious themes reappeared, executed by a number of artists that had worked for Paul V in the Vatican Apartments. Agostino Tassi embellished one room with landscapes, in which landscapes were the setting for scenes of the life of Saint Paul. Other artists such as Antonio Carracci and Pasquale Cati were hired in the same period to do landscapes with religious and biblical episodes in adjoining rooms.

Only few examples outside of the Vatican premises or cardinal’s palaces are known today that seem to testify to a wider dissemination of the theme. One of those is the Palazzo dei Piceni, in which for the Duke of Bracciano, Corrado Orsini, a frieze was painted around 1580, with landscapes and anchorites, among other staffage. This project is only known from a letter to the patron, in which the conclusion of these works was noted by the painter, Pietro Veri. From his description it can be concluded that this particular frieze with anchorite iconography was situated in the bedroom, because it was, according to Veri, obviously considered apt for that context.

Another example of landscapes with hermits is the Salone Rosso in Palazzo Besso in Rome, where within a decorative frieze allegories of the Virtues in leigned niches alternated with...
eight anchorite scenes (fig.26). Tarquinio Ligustri painted these around 1606, concurrently with the project in the private apartment of Paul V, to which the whole concept was indeed very similar.\textsuperscript{133} Compositional similarities with prints by De Vos and Valesio - another series of images with hermit-saints - suggest that the decoration in Palazzo Besso was based on these examples; and as in the aforementioned cycles, also in this case these saints remained anonymous, and were thus made topical and contemporary, by the absence of attributes.\textsuperscript{134}

But even the cycle in Palazzo Besso was related to ecclesiastical circles: its patron was Ottavio Paravicini (1552-1611), a cardinal intimately related to the papal court and some important religious communities in Rome, such as the Oratorians. He was educated by cardinal Cesare Baronio (1538-1607), author of the \textit{Annales Ecclesiastici}, and one of the major supporters of papal and ecclesiastical authority. Later in his career, Paravicino became a favourite of Gregory XIV Sfondrato and Paul V Borghese, occupying important positions in the papal government.\textsuperscript{135} He belonged to the circles of high-ranking ecclesiastics and was able to enter the pope’s newly furnished apartments. Thus, the hermit-series in this private palace was closely related to the popularity of the subject in pontifical circles.\textsuperscript{136}

\textbf{Settings of anchorite iconography}

However popular the theme of the hermit was in late sixteenth and early seventeenth century Rome, the location and function of the spaces discussed above varied from example to example. A predilection for this kind of iconography for private rooms might be noted, but was by no means exclusive. As a result, a univocal relation between hermit iconography, space, function and public in the aforementioned examples is difficult to establish.

The apartments in the Lateran and Quirinal Palaces, and the \textit{Salone} in Palazzo Besso were public spaces in the real sense of the word; their rooms and halls had predominantly public functions: the Lateran palace was even meant to be only representative, and was never the residence of a pope. Also the rooms in the Vatican Palace furnished for Paul V Borghese were meant for public representation and (probably temporary) living quarters for the pope and his

\textsuperscript{133} Guerrieri Borsoi 2000, pp.57, 101-106.

\textsuperscript{134} Similarity of the landscape next to Prudence can be noted with the print of Saint Chronion by Francesco Valesio; although in the fresco the figures are reduced in scale and in other positions, the buildings and the setting in the fresco are identical to the print.

\textsuperscript{135} Moroni 1840-1879 vol.51, pp.162-163 and Guerrieri Borsoi 2000, pp.35-41.

\textsuperscript{136} Fumagalli 1996, p.341 suggested that the architect of the extension built by Paul V was the same as the architect of Palazzo Besso, Domenico Paganelli. See Guerrieri Borsoi 2000, p.51.
nephew, Scipione Borghese (1576-1633). The apartments were thus of semi-private character.\textsuperscript{17} Indications about the original interior organisation of these apartments in the Vatican are however not extant; only later plans contained names and descriptions of these rooms. Among them one finds references to functions ('Biblioteca del Papa'), but mostly the rooms were named after saints - mostly derived from the theme of the decoration.\textsuperscript{18} Finally, the quarters in the Quirinal palace and the Dataria were not meant to be lived in; they were intended as offices or rooms for the reception of visitors. As in most cases, these series not only contained hermits, but also other imagery ranging from other types of saints to generic staffage.

The only examples where the hermits referred in some way to function, and which moreover were very close in decorative concept to the Camerino degli Eremiti, are the two Stanze at Caprarola. Not only do they contain hermit saints as the dominant theme; they also formed part of the private apartments and the written programmes by Caro and Sirleto have thrown some light on their intended meaning. What can be concluded about their function, from a reading of the extant sources and the organisation of the building?\textsuperscript{19}

In the general disposition of palace at Caprarola, the Stanza della Penitenza was the counterpart to the Stanza della Solitudine; both were located near the end of a flight of rooms consisting of a sala, anticamera, and three stanzze. This accords with the general organisation of a noble appartamento in the sixteenth century, which comprised three main rooms, the audience-room, the sala and the bedroom, around which still others could be located according to needs.\textsuperscript{20} The two Stanze in Caprarola were located at the farthest end of the building, beyond the bedrooms, and looking out towards the two giardini segreti behind the Palazzo. On account of their position in the edifice, they were intended for the private occupations of the inhabitant.

Contemporary sources affirm the function for the two Stanze as studiolo. In his description of the decorative programme for the Stanza della Solitudine, Annibal Caro called this room 'the study of the Illustrious Monsignor Farnese'; Sirleto, however, did not mention the intended function of the room for which he wrote the iconographic programme.\textsuperscript{21} When in 1578 Gregory XIII Boncompagni visited the palace, Ardito's account of his voyage simply named this Stanza della Penitenza as a 'room' without further specification, but referred to the Stanza della

\textsuperscript{17} Attention is being paid to the subject in recent projects; see Functions and Decorations 2004 (forthcoming).
\textsuperscript{18} Humagalli 1996, ill.2, reproducing the plan from Pancirolli 1971.
\textsuperscript{20} Caro 1961, p.237: 'Io studio di Monsignor Illustrissimo Farnese'; Sebastiani 1741, p.69 repeated this functional description: 'Vi è appresso un altro Stanza denominata della solitudine detta e destinata per lo studio del Serenissimo Signor Cardinal Farnese'. For the eighteenth-century descriptions of the two Stanze, see above, note 74.
Solitudine in relation to his description of the Gabinetto d'Ermatena: 'In the next room after this, to which is connected a studiolo because it has been made for retreating there...\[^{141}\] The ambiguity of this phrase about the room defined as a study was intentional, as the place for 'retreating' here comprised not one, but a number of interrelated spaces, accessible from either side of the Palazzo.

As already alluded to in the above citations, the two Stanze were connected by two further spaces: the Stanza del Torrione, which was arranged as a library with bookshelves (and landscape friezes around the upper part of the walls), and the tiny Gabinetto d'Ermatena, which was defined as studiolo (see the groundplan in fig.17).\[^{142}\] The decoration of the Gabinetto referred conspicuously to arts and letters through the scientific instruments and artistic utensils in the pendentives, and the central allegorical figure of the vault, a merger between the figures of the classical gods of Hermes and Athena. Between the Gabinetto, the library and the Stanza della Penitenza ran a corridor embellished with pergola-motifs of leaves and branches on the ceiling and upper wall, and a feigned hanging drapery along the lower walls.\[^{143}\]

The coherent sequence of four rooms at the farthest end of the pentagon, on the other end of the palace opposite the entrance, seems to have been planned for private retreat and study; their location at the back of the structure provided privacy and calm.\[^{144}\] Furthermore, they were connected to the gardens, be it primarily as a vista through the windows and only secondarily by means of bridges. Even in its painterly decoration, in the corridor and the roundels in the Stanza del Torrione, the subject of landscape - seen from near or afar - predominated. In the two Stanze on either side, the anchorites and solitaries were placed in landscapes as well. The combination of landscapes and hermits was thus comparable to the Camerino in Rome.

With the 1578 description by Ardito of the Caprarola Stanze as places for retreat, Bellori's words with which he described cardinal Odoardo's occupation in the Camerino degli Eremiti are called to mind. Indeed, the iconographic and functional similarities between the situation at Caprarola and the Roman room were significant. Odoardo's choice for anchorite iconography in the Camerino was not an original one, but followed the example of his great-uncle, and responded to the resulting Roman tradition in which a particular interest for this subject could be perceived. It should be concluded, that Odoardo's position as cardinal and as heir

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\[^{141}\] Orbaan 1920 p.379: 'Ne l'altra camera dopo questa, alla quale e congiunto uno studiolo perché e fatta per ritirarvisi.'
\[^{142}\] Liebenwein 1977, pp.138-141.
\[^{143}\] Faldi 1962, p.8.
\[^{144}\] This same conclusion was reached by Coffin 1979, p.289, denoting especially the tower as separate quarters for the cardinal, and containing a private bathroom.
to Cardinal Alessandro surely prompted him to adopt the anchorite theme for the Camerino degli Eremiti in his Roman palace. In the case of the Caprarola Stanze, however, a connection was noted between the use of the room - according to the sources similar to that of a studio - and its decoration: the solitude of the hermits was here related to the relative isolation of the occupant of the room. In Caprarola, the location of the two Stanze responded to this, as they were situated at the back of the palace, and offered a view on the gardens behind it. There was thus a link established between the theme of solitude, that of learning, and the natural setting of the palace, which was echoed in the decoration of the rooms in Caprarola. In the Camerino degli Eremiti, a similar relation between function and decoration must have been aimed at. As a written programme for the decorations lacks, the understanding of the precise architectural context and setting might help in discovering its use and meaning.

Gombrich 1972, p.21, confirmed that the function of studio was supported by its decoration; but he also maintained that without the information provided by Carlo’s programme, it could also be assumed that the Stanza della Solitudine was intended as chapel or place of worship. This aspect of liturgical use will be the subject of the next chapters.
2. ARCHITECTURE, DECORATION AND TYPOLOGY OF THE PALAZZETTO FARNESE

Architecture of the Palazzetto

Sources on the decoration of the Camerino are silent on the spatial and architectural context of Lanfranco's decoration. Since the room was hardly accessible during Farnese's lifetime, was partially dismantled soon after his death, and finally destroyed in 1732, later descriptions primarily repeated the facts about the Camerino as gleaned from Bellori's publication - Passeri's biography remained unpublished until the eighteenth century. Although Bellori's account was based on first-hand experience of the room in its original state, it was not written with the aim of recording the factual situation, but intended to analyse the works of art. Later references, even while the Camerino was still in existence, become more and more unreliable; in 1725, the Camerino was even mentioned by Rossini as being a work by Domenichino, confusing it with other works in the Palazzetto. Only the original contract of 1611 between cardinal Farnese and the brotherhood, a plan of the Church of Santa Maria dell'Orazione e Morte drawn around 1598 by the architect Giovanni Maggi (fig.28), and a number of contemporary plans of the city of Rome provide more insight into the historical context of the Camerino, in particular its architectural situation within the Palazzetto and the buildings of the Confraternity.

Today, the Palazzetto Farnese still stands along the Via Giulia behind the Palazzo itself, but consecutive interventions have destroyed the garden and most of its interior disposition. The original appearance and situation of Palazzetto and garden can be partly deduced from contemporary depictions in maps and plans of Rome. It was located on via Giulia, between Palazzo Farnese and the Tiber, and consisted of a building with a three-arched loggia opening onto an adjacent garden. A bridge spanned the road, to provide a private access to the Palazzetto from the Palazzo proper. In the 1625 map made by Giovanni Maggi some details of the complex were overemphasised: the bridge was given extravagant proportions and on this map it even led right up to the river-bank, on the left-hand side of a building which does not show the arcades of

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1 Passeri's text was written around 1672-1678 but appeared in print only in 1772; Hess published the first critical edition in 1934; see Passeri 1678 1995.
2 Rossini 1725, p.30: 'Nel Palazzetto detto il piccolo Farnese vicino alla Chiesa della Morte vi è un Camerino, detto del Romito, dipinto dal famoso Domenichino.' In the earlier edition of this *Mercurio errante* of 1693, no mention was made of the Camerino.
3 Hager 1964, p.13 fig.2, first published Maggi's plan of Santa Maria dell'Orazione e Morte; see also Schleier 1983, p.23 and Witte 2000. The plan is in the Royal Library in Stockholm, MS 45, fol.76; it was purchased by Nicolaus Tessin the Younger, as is testified by the 1712 inventory of the holdings of his library; see Tessin 2000, pp.(5)+(6), no 13: 'Architettura Civile di tutti li ordini ... di Giovanni Maggio Romano 1614, Manoscritto in fol. con molte figure'. Reconstructions of the Palazzetto were published by Bourdon Laurent-Vibert 1909 and Uginet 1980. Both suggested a corridor to the Camerino, but without including Maggi's plan of the church.
a loggia but still has the appearance of stables (fig. 28). In Greuter’s map of 1618, the Palazzo and Palazzetto seem to be correctly drawn, but the giardino segreto or private garden behind is only given schematically. In a later map produced by Goffredo van Schayck the bridge was not depicted at all and the buildings of the Palazzetto consisted of two somewhat irregular pavilions connected by a single wall along the Via Giulia, with a gate in the middle. The façade along the road was highly irregularly drawn, which is inconsistent with the present situation that seems to reflect the Seicento-situation. In Van Schayck’s illustration, its garden here seemed just a piece of barren land sloping towards the river, without the buttressing wall protecting it. The 1663 map of Johan Blaeu seems closer to the original situation during the time of cardinal Odoardo. It showed the Palazzetto as consisting of two separate parts: on the left side the Palazzetto proper, on the right side stables and other functional buildings.

Drawings and etchings from the seventeenth century offer little more than the information drawn from the maps. The relatively unimpressive façade of the Palazzetto was never recorded in prints before the reconstruction of the church of Santa Maria dell’Orazione e Morte in 1732, and views of this part of Rome taken from the viewpoint of the river from that period are equally rare. Only eighteenth-century prospects such as the series of etchings with views on the Tiber, from the Magnificenze di Roma by Giuseppe Vasi, published in 1754, depict the situation of the Palazzetto. The ‘Fianco della Strada Giulia dalla parte del Tevere’, plate 88 of this series, indicated a garden with trees behind it (see fig. 33). Detailed information on its layout cannot be obtained from it; the only accurate indication of the garden-design might be obtained from Nolli’s preparatory design for his 1748 Map of Rome (fig. 32).

No contemporary designs have been found that inform on the disposition of the rooms inside the Palazzetto. Archival sources indicated that the building was the result of alterations to an existing structure of stables. Attached to these original stalls was a storage for hay (a *femile*); an inventory of 1644 still mentioned these stalls on Via Giulia, so a part of the structure remained untouched during the rebuilding of the Palazzetto. On a nineteenth-century plan of the buildings this division is still visible: the right side contained larger spaces in which ‘scuderie e rimesse’

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4 Frutaz 1962, vol.3, plate CXLIII. This plausible situation is contradicted by the Falda map of 1676, where the Palazzetto seems one consistent range of buildings without, however, characteristic details such as the loggia; see Frutaz 1962, vol.3, plate CXLVIII.5. This omission points at the limited reliability of this kind of evidence. Copying of maps without introducing changes was regular practice. For the history of map-making in Rome, see Huelsen 1915.
5 Iestaz 1994, p.159: ‘Stalla in strada Giulia’
was written. Between 1601 and 1604, a part of this structure, adjacent to Santa Maria dell’Orazione e Morte, was altered to contain five medium-sized rooms on the first floor; on the ground floor a loggia with niches for sculptures and two further vaulted rooms were constructed. The building-accounts of these years mention external and internal walls torn down or erected, as well as ceilings being vaulted.

There were two entrances to this Palazzetto: one was at ground level by means of a centrally positioned door from the via Giulia, but the access route was a bridge built over the road, still standing today (fig.30). This arched bridge surmounted by a terrace was planned in conjunction with the refurbishing of the building but it was only constructed afterwards. The permission for its construction was given in 1603, and the accounts prove that it was erected in 1604. The bridge extended from an annex to the actual palace; it joined the Palazzetto on the roof-terrace. An inventory made up after the death of cardinal Odoardo also mentioned the presence of antique statues on this terrace, and probably on the bridge as well.

The garden was laid out behind the Palazzetto in the same period; the mention of the 'giardinetto novo' in the accounts of 1601-1603 indicated that there had been no preceding horticultural organisation of these grounds. This giardino segreto extended to the bank of the river Tiber and was protected on that side by a wall. A post-mortem inventory of the Farnese gardens in Rome contained a meticulous description of this garden, drawn up with assistance from the gardener himself. The grounds were divided into two sections, each subdivided into four flowerbeds. The section next to the premises of the Orazione e Morte, and overlooked from the newly furnished rooms, was centered around a fish-pond with central fountain; the latter was embellished with sculptures of four shells, four putti with vases on their shoulders, and four...
tortoises, positioned around a central spout with five nozzles. On its *peperino*-balustrade stood three vases with the Farnese-lilies and balls on them. The second part of the garden consisted of four larger beds with precious bulbs and medicinal plants, at the crossing of which grew a large flowering horse chestnut. The garden was decorated with pots with 48 orange- and lemon-trees, and other vases with roses and other flowers.

From these documents it can be deduced that, the Palazzetto formed an architectural extension to Palazzo Farnese itself and was connected to the main building by means of a bridge, offering its owner a direct and private access to the newly laid out Tiber-garden. In 1611, the Palazzetto was extended with an additional room: by means of a direct passage, cardinal Farnese could reach the Camerino degli Eremiti. The use of the verb _ritirarsi_, used by Bellori with respect to the Camerino when he wrote 'the cardinal being in the habit of retiring to this room...' fits the general impression of this autonomous architectural complex and adjacent ground as well. How was the Camerino connected to this Palazzetto?

**Camerino and Palazzetto: a reconstruction**

The recently discovered contract between Farnese and the Orazione e Morte adds significant information for a new reconstruction of the Palazzetto and Camerino. First of all, the contract indicates that the room was part of the buildings that belonged to the brotherhood; before 1609 it served a cleric, presumably their priest, as his living quarters. It should thus be located within the premises of the church as drawn by Maggi. Since the contract of 1611 mentioned that the two windows were already constructed and gave onto the church and the oratory of the brotherhood, the room must have been situated in between these two spaces. The only possible location would then be above the room in the plan inscribed as the 'spogliatore' or cloakroom. According to the measurements on Maggi’s plan (fig.28), this room measured 20 by 39 _palmi romani_, which is a shorter description of the ‘giardinetto secreto della Morte’ that largely corresponds with the situation as described in 1626; see Jesta 1994, p.161.

Benedetti 1973, p.480: ‘in mezzo de quali è una peschiera lunga circa quattro canne; larga cifr[ca] 3,5 tutta circondata di balaustr di peperino piena d’aqua con una fontana in mezzo di 4 conchiglie, 4 tartarughe, 4 putti con vasi mediocri in cima et una meta di pilon[bo] con 5 bocchi che gettano acqua. 11 sopra il balaustr d’essa peschiera sono tre vasi di creta lavorati con mascheroni polstanti[?] palie e gigi con piede di peperino pieni [di terra senza piante con suoi manieri di capacita d’una soma [fo] dico’. The similarity of this fountain with the _fontana delle Tartarughe_ in Rome, and the fountain with two _putti_ in the Sala d’Ercole in the Palazzo Farnese at Caprarola is striking.

Bellori 1672-2000, p.367: ‘essendo solito il Cardinale Farnese ritirarsi in quella camera...’

'ASI. Fondo Farnesiano b.1346 fasc.37, fol.1r: 'statura, seu cubicula dictis[ ] Archiconfraternitis, in quo per prius inhabitabant Clericos dictae Ecclesiae...’
approximately 4.4 by 8.6 meters. Secondly, the location of the Camerino above the 'spogliatore' in Maggi's plan also facilitated the construction of a new access from the recently finished Palazzetto Farnese, as it was directly adjacent to it. A new reconstruction of the seventeenth-century situation of Palazzetto and Camerino (figs. 34 and 35) indicates that it consisted of a building with two levels: a lower floor and a first floor. On ground-level, there were two vaulted rooms with grated windows giving onto the via Giulia. These rooms were located on either side of the corridor leading from the main entrance on via Giulia directly to the three-arched loggia (no.5 on fig.34). From here the garden could be accessed by means of a number of steps between the building and the lower level of the garden.

The connection between the lower and upper floor was through a circular stairwell, accessible from the ground-floor-room on the left-hand side. This spiral staircase ran to the top of the building where the roof-terrace provided passage to the Cardinals' private apartment in the Palazzo proper by means of the arched bridge over the Via Giulia. According to the 1644 inventory of the Palazzetto, on the first floor there were four camerini and one additional space (see fig.35). Two of those looked onto via Giulia; the others were located over the loggia and overlooked the garden by means of three windows. In 1610, the corridor to the Camerino degli Eremiti (no.1 on fig.35) was constructed from this upper floor. The most probable location for this passageway was in the angle between the south-western floor and overlooking the garden, the only place where the buildings of the brotherhood (nos.2 and 3 on fig.35) immediately bordered on the complex of the Palazzetto.

The measurements in the Maggi-plan were presumably given in palmo romano; according to Doursther 1965, p.375; the palmo romano measured 223 mm; Letarouilly 1840-1858 vol.1, p.141 gave the palmo as being 0.22342 cm. Ueginet 1980, p.98, nr. 935: 'Per haver rotte et fatte tre finestre mezzanine fatte spallette et archi et messo li conci et ferrate di vano palmi.' Uginet 1980, p.98, n.942: 'Per haver messo lo scalino della loggia lungo palmi 51 3/4'. This is corresponding with the width of the loggia's three arches.

Uginet 1980, p.93, nrs.810-812, 816 referred to the construction of this 'lumaca', that according to ibidem, p.94, nr.841 was situated next to one of the ground-floor rooms: 'Muro che divide la scala dalla stanza acanto'. In this case, 'scala' probably refers to the 'lumaca'. A further entry could refer to the door constructed next to this stairwell, providing an access to the stairwell and room from the side of the Vicolo della Morte, see ibidem p.97, nr.900: 'Metittria della porta di tevertino che entra allo stanzino a piedi alla lumaca.' The second stairwell on the side of the Via Giulia, drawn in the reconstruction of Uginet 1980, was probably a later alteration after the fire occurring in the Palazzetto in the seventeenth century. I wish to thank Dr. Uginet for discussing this reconstruction with me.

This reconstruction is based upon Uginet 1980, p.91, which was in turn partly based on the earlier reconstruction as made by Bourdon/Laurent-Vibert 1909. The change in arrangement of the rooms, and possibly the stairwell, was probably the result of a fire which occurred in the Palazzetto in 1700; see Uginet 1980, p.113 note 81.

The reconstruction published in Uginet 1980, p.91, fig.2 suggested that the circular stairwell was located towards the back of the building, between the Palazzetto and the buildings of the Orazione e Morte, and made to provide access to the Camerino degli Eremiti. As has been argued above, this stairwell cannot have been constructed for this purpose in 1601-04, as the Camerino was not available at that moment. Moreover, there was no space for the
Decoration of the Palazzetto

The Palazzetto contained one of the largest coherent collections of painted landscapes in early Seicento Rome, a fact that was noted by the occasional contemporary visitor able to enter these premises. Richard Symonds, an English traveller who visited Rome around the middle of the seventeenth century, recorded this impression in his *Diary*, where he stated that 'In a little building toward the River ... 3 or 4 rooms with ... quadros of Annibal Carracci’s on the flat Roofe which is of board and about 11 or 12 foot high is in all quarters with rare paese of that incomparable master.' The coherence of the subjects in each room, and the thematic and formal analogies between the various spaces suggest that an iconographic and functional unity underlies the Palazzetto programme. The fact that it was planned and realised in the space of approximately four years underlines this conceptual coherence.

The inventory of 1644 - considered to be a reasonably accurate reflection of the situation during the lifetime of cardinal Odoardo - presented the interior arranged as private picture-gallery. The information of this document allows for a virtual walk through the original situation, which greatly enhances the understanding of the architectural disposition as well. Here the different schools of painting preferred by Farnese - the Bolognese, Venetian and Flemish schools - were hung according to theme. Within the allocation in the Palazzetto, no sign of stylistic preference can be found: Dutch, German, Roman and Bolognese paintings were shown next to one another. Several inventories of Farnese property during the seventeenth century listed among these works by Paul Bril, Carlo Saraceni, Annibale Carracci, his pupils and a number of other painters. These pictures were for the greater part acquired by cardinal Odoardo himself as most works dated from the turn of the sixteenth century, and some were expressly commissioned stairwell on this spot, as the dividing wall between the Farnese-premises and the buildings of the brotherhood was not perpendicular to the Via Giulia, but located at an angle of 80 degrees; the side of the loggia bordered immediately onto the wall towards the Vicolo della Morte. This must be concluded from the post in Uginet 1980, p.94, nr. 822: 'Muro della nicchia nella loggia fatta nel muro vecchio verso la Morte.' That this wall was not perpendicular but at an angle can be deduced from Fuga's plans for the church for Orazione e Morte and the present situation (see Salerno Spezzaferro Taturi 1973, ill.385, 386, and Buchowiecki 1967-1974 vol.3, p.63); an aerial photograph (in *Le Palais Farnèse*, vol.2, pp.24-25) of the modern situation also points out that the dividing wall is at an angle.

Whitfield 1981, p.313: 'Elles sont cependant d'un interet tout particulier pour l'histoire de la peinture du paysage, car le 'palazzetto' reunissait le plus grand ensemble qui soit de paysage 'carrachesques'.

R. Symonds, *Diary*, cited after Whitfield 1981, p.316 n.13. Symonds was probably able to enter the Palazzetto after the sequestration of Farnese property by the papal authorities during the War on Castro in 1641. The use of the Italians term paese in this citation suggests that the English language had no regular word for landscape painting in the seventeenth century.

This inventory has been published in Jesta z 1994 where it is dated to 1644. It was probably drawn up during the war on Castro. See Whitfield 1981, Robertson 1988, p.49, and Robertson in *The Genius of Rome* 2001, pp.124-125.

Jesta z 1994, pp 136-138 and Bertini 1987, p.???
for this environment. The conscious effort to bring them together in the Palazzetto indicates the existence of a coherent decorative programme for this building – whether this was the product of an artistic advisor or not. In allocating paintings according to subject, Farnese followed the tendency of the early seventeenth century of combining paintings with regard to their subject, as for example Giulio Mancini had advised his readers in the *Considerazioni sulla pittura*. But the combination of themes and subjects indeed suggests a further level of meaning, in which the spatial arrangement of the Palazzetto becomes a signifying element of its own.

On the groundfloor, the Palazzetto contained three painted landscapes with mythological subjects, executed in fresco on the ceilings of the main rooms around 1603. In the vault of the loggia opening onto the *giardino segreto* (no.5 on fig.34) and on the ceilings of the two groundfloor-rooms giving onto via Giulia, Domenichino painted three mythological tales: the *Death of Adonis*, the *Dying Narcissus* and *Apollo and Hyacinth* (figs.36-38). The source for all three was Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. The continuing popularity of these stories for the subject of floral themes in art at the beginning of the seventeenth century is attested by an amorous poem in the *Rime* by Giambattista Marino. In a complicated play between the myth of origin of these three flowers, he compared the beauty of the beloved with both that of Narcissus, Adonis and Hyacinth and the flowers they had turned into, and gave the palm to the subject of his own adoration. In other words, nature had surpassed itself.

Marino's poem probably inspired the subject of the three frescoes. Around 1600, the

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29 The hanging of paintings in other rooms of the Palazzo presented a random mixture of subjects and artists, with a predominance of historical subjects. See Robertson 1988, Robertson 1995, pp.70-79, and Jestaz 1994.

30 Whitfield 1981, p.316 doubts that all the paintings were especially commissioned, as they could have been taken from elsewhere in the palace to fit into the wooden ceilings, but he does assume some kind of iconographic coherence.

31 Mancini 1956-1957 vol.1, p.143. This treatise was composed between 1614 and 1621, almost contemporary to the construction of the Palazzetto.


34 Marino 1609, p.75: 'Ogni prato, ogni fior ride al tuo riso, Ment/Filpinia fra lor movi le piante. Nel tuo leggiadro aspetto il suo sembiante. Vago di vagheggiar scorge Narciso. In te si specchia Adon, ch'esprime il viso. Haver di Citherea gli sembra avante. L'Uiria, quasi volta al suo Levante, Nel Sol det'moi negli occhi il guardo ha fisso. Vinta in bellezza, e dal tuo pie calcata, D'amorosa vergogna il volto tinto. Inchina a te la Rosa innamorata. Fossi anch'io fiore, e per poter dipinto Mostrarti sospirand o aura dorata. Me lo foglie il mio duol, fossi Giancintio.' It is interesting to note in this poem the act of colouring red, and the fact that Marino alluded to painting in this poem. Spear 1965, p.71 held Agucchi responsible for the adaptation of the myths to this particular setting. Whitfield 1981, p.322
poet was affiliated to Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, with whom Farnese remained in close contact during most of his life. But the subject of the poem did not reflect upon the intentions of Domenichino's frescoes. In this case, the painter's works referred to the patron and his family. In the seventeenth century, all three flowers into which these mythological figures turned were taken as a reference to the lily, the flower found sixfold in the escutcheon of the Farnese family. Also recurrent in all stories was the colour purple, a particular reference to the status of cardinal for which in Italian the word 'porporato' was used both as adjective and noun. Apart from the lily as a reference to the family and its ecclesiastical ties, the personal impress of Cardinal Odoardo, devised by Fulvio Orsini, also showed the motif of the purple lily with the Greek motto 'I grow with God's help' (see fig.39).

All three flowers thus referred both to the colour purple and the species of the lily. According to Ovid, Hyacinth became 'a flower ... in form a lily, save that a lily wears a silver hue, this richest purple'; and Adonis became 'a blood-red flower', which is often taken as a reference to the anemone. In Seicento treatises on gardening, the very popular anemone was often considered to be a subspecies of the lily, and of course it repeated the colour red. Also the lily and the narcissus were considered botanically related, as the mention of a certain 'Narciso Indiano gigliato, sferico' in a description of a garden near the Colosseum. The colour of this flower was not, however, mentioned. The narcissus had been described by Ovid as white or yellow, without any reference to the lily, but the Bible and classical sources such as Pliny the Elder and Virgil mentioned purple with reference to this flower.

A more specific link between the narcissus, the lily, and the colour purple was provided in a 1625 botanical description of rare plants in the Horti Farnesiani, the Farnese-gardens on the Palatine Hill (see fig.90). Pietro Castelli, lecturer of medicine at the University of the Sapienza in Rome, in 1625 published the Exactissima descriptio variorum rarissimorum plantarum que suggested on the basis of Malvasia 1841 vol.2, p.222, calling them 'di sua invenzione', that Domenichino conceived the program by himself to show off his intellectual capacities. Bellori supposed Agucchi to have cooperated on the program of the Camerino Farnese by Annibale Carracci; see Martin 1965, pp.38-38. On Agucchi's activities as artistic advisor in relation to the Carracci-school, see Grinburg 1996 and Mambro Santos 2001. See Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca 1612-1987, p.637 and GDI vol.13, p.920.

On the popularity of the anemone in early seventeenth-century gardens, see Masson 1972, pp.72-73, 75-76, and Hobhouse 1992, pp.128-129.


On the popularit y of the anemone in early seventeenth-century gardens, see Masson 1972, pp.72-73, 75-76, and Hobhouse 1992, pp.128-129.
continentur in Rome in horto farnesiano, under the pseudonym of his friend Tobia Aldini, physician and Odoardo’s gardener. Castelli labelled one particular species in this garden as ‘Lilionarcissus rubeus Indicus’, indicating the close resemblance observed by seventeenth-century botanists between the two species and this one flower, which in modern taxonomy is known as Amaryllis Belladonna (fig.40). As Castelli noted in his description of the plant, the roots and leaves resembled the narcissus, and the flower was identical to the lily. In the Palazzetto, the three flowers depicted in the frescoes of the ground-floor - and also present in vases in the real garden - were thus all purple and referred to the lily in some way; they were thus intended as a reference to the escutcheon and ecclesiastical dignity of the owner.

The upper storey of the Palazzetto contained an apartment of four small rooms, camerini, and a provisional chapel (fig.35, no.5). These rooms were all similarly arranged, with ceilings consisting of a wooden structure into which canvases were inserted, and further paintings hung on the walls. The first room described in the inventory, ‘primo camerino a canto la Morte’, was primarily filled with works by Annibale Carracci. Odoardo Farnese favoured the artist from 1595 until the untimely death of the painter in 1609. The walls were hung with the *Sleeping Venus with playing putti* by Annibale Carracci (fig.41), a *Rinaldo and Armida con boscaglia* (fig.42) and a *Diana taking a bath* by the same painter, and a *Europa on the Bull* (probably by Agostino Carracci) - all of these pastoral or mythological subjects, set within conspicuous landscape-settings. Another particular painting found in this room was the *Arrigo Peloso*, ascribed to

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43 Aldini/Castelli 1625, p.83: ‘Lilionarcissus, seu Narcissolirion aptius hoc planta dicetur, quam Tulipa: flos enim vere lilium emulatur, radix, & folia narcissi sunt.’ Later on, this plant was also found in the garden of Cardinal Antonio Barberini and indicated with the same name; Ferrari 1646, pp.115-118 followed Aldini’s account and described the plant as follows: ‘Narcissus Indicus laito folio narcissino, fiori nubeo lilaceo, album similis lilium imitante...’ See also Hobhouse 1992, pp.128-129 and Blair McDougall 1994, p.236.

44 Le Palais Farnese vol.1, p.314 ill.1.

45 Zapperi 1986, pp.203-205.

Agostino Carracci, and depicting a hairy man, a monkey, a dwarf and a madman (fig. 43). All of these characters were present at the court of Odoardo Farnese, and have been identified respectively with the *uomo selvaggio* Arrigo Gonzalez, the *nana* Rodomonte, and the *buffone* Pietro. Because of their abnormality and rarity, they were considered beasts, types of 'natural wonders' appertaining to the cardinal's collections.

The ceiling of this first room provided allegorical and real images of the time of the day, as the inventory of 1653 recounted: 'nineteen paintings with perspective views, landscapes and animals and one in the middle of larger size, with Apollo crowned with laurel with the lyre, all with gilded cornice, which represent the Day, and forming the ceiling of the said Camerino.' Although the names of the painters were omitted, on account of later Farnese inventories the central painting, now lost, has been attributed to Annibale Carracci. On the same basis it can be assumed that these landscapes were by Paul Bril, Pieter Breughel or one of their Flemish assistants or followers. It may even have been an instance of jointly authored works, in which the landscape was done by the one, and the animals by the other. In this respect, the Palazzetto constitutes one of the first instances in Rome where Flemish painters might have cooperated not only with their native colleagues, but also with Italian painters.

Following this first *camerino* was a space called 'camerino primo a mano manca', which functioned as a chapel, given its furnishing with an altar, probably a portable one, consisting of a wooden table on a stand, with a wool covering. Two small cabinets serving as storage for religious utensils were illuminated on the outside with painted landscapes: 'two cupboards for the service of the altar decorated with landscapes.' The room also contained another object, a *segetta* or close-stool, which seems strangely out of place in this context, and was probably not an original piece of furniture from the early seventeenth century.

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58 On the identification of the persons with members of Farnese's court and their status as natural curiosities, see Zappetti 1985. The identification of the person at the far right as Ulisse Aldrovandi has been tentatively proposed by Findlen 1998, p.311.

59 Bertini 1987, p.221, citing the inventory of 1653, ASP.Racg.Ms 86: 'diciannove quadri a prospettive di paesi animali et uno di mezzo più grande con Apollo laureato con il Pletto tutt con cornetta dorata che rappresentano il giorno, et formano il soffitto di detta Camera.'

Bertini 1987, p.100 nr.42. On the iconography of Apollo and the times of the day, or accompanied by the Hours, see Ripa 1603, pp.203-214. 'Hore del giorno' and 'Hore della notte', where a direct quote is given from the story of Phaeton by Ovid; see also Pigler 1956 vol.2, pp.26-27 and pp.499-500.

60 These landscapes have not been identified thus far. An instance of direct cooperation between Bril and other figure-painters is described in Pijl 1998. For the panel-paintings by Bril, see Berger 1993.


62 Jestaz 1994, p.136: 'Due armarietti per servizio dell'altare dipinti a paesi.'
At the centre of the ceiling of the second camerino, a representation of another cosmological theme. Aurora spreading flowers, was surrounded by prospettive - meaning either architectural perspectives or landscape-paintings, and unspecified figural themes. Also in this case, the names of painters were not mentioned in the inventory; reconstructions have linked the centrepiece with a painting by Annibale now in Chantilly, that shows Aurora crowned by flowers, seated on a cloud, and dispersing flowers over the awakening earth with the help of two putti (fig.44). This depiction utilised one element from the description of this theme in Cesare Ripa's Iconologia, namely the basket with flowers, but in all other aspects diverged from the traditional iconography of Aurora on a chariot with a torch in her hand to drive away the darkness. The surrounding paintings of the four putti scattering petals of flowers were painted di sotto in su (fig.45). The room also included a set of fourteen portraits of 'various Princes and Princesses of Portugal', according to the inventory executed by a Flemish master; these images formed a gallery of cardinal Odoardo's maternal ancestry - his mother had been princess Maria of Portugal.

In the third camerino, the theme of Night painted by Annibale Carracci formed the focal point of the ceiling's decoration. It depicted a female personification of the nighttime, flying with sleeping putti in her arms above a moonlit landscape (fig.46). This iconography accorded quite accurately with the prescriptions of the Night given by Ripa, as a woman with large wings holding two sleeping children. Around this central panel, eight depictions of sleeping amorini

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54 Jestaz 1994, p.137: 'Nove quadri con cornicetta dorata attorno, parte a prospettive e parte a figure, con uno più grande in mezzo dell'Aurora, che formano il soffito di detto camerino'. For the diverse meanings of prospettiva, see GDL vol.14, pp.710-712, Symonds in his Diary (see Whitfield 1981, p. 319) wrote 'In one room in the roof is Aurora flat as if flying in the airy spreading flowers', but he did not mention the prospettive. For the painting of Aurora, see Bertini 1987, p.133, n.125, and De Boissard/Lavergne-Durey 1988, pp.70-72, cat.no.33.

55 Ripa 1603, p.34: 'Aurora. Giovinetta, alata ... nel braccio sinistro un cestello pieno de vari fiori'. An example of the more traditional iconography of Aurora is in the Stanza dell'Aurora in Palazzo Farnese at Caprarola; likewise a room in which the thematic reflected the cosmological cycle of the day; see Acidini Luchinat 1998 vol.1, pp.204-208 and Pierguidi 2002b, p.287. For the general iconography of Aurora in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Pigler 1956 vol.2, pp.40-42 and Seznec 1972, p.261.

56 Jestaz 1994, p.136: 'Quattordeci retratti in tavola con cornici nere, con diverse Principi et Principesse di Portogallo, mano d'un Flamengo.' These paintings are now in the Galleria Nazionale di Parma, inv.no 1177; see Robertson 1993, pp.145-147. On the maternal family and its portuguese connections, see Arcioni 1626, p.11 and Zapperi 1994, p.35.

57 Jestaz 1994, p.137, no.3321: 'Nove quadri, quattro d'Amorini, quattro più grandi a prospettive di paesi illuminati dalla luna, in mezzo uno grande dellaNotte che vola.' The central painting of the Night is now in Musee Condé in Chantilly, see De Boissard/Lavergne-Durey 1988, pp.69-70, cat.no.22; one of the amorini was identified with a copy after Annibale in the Museo di Capodimonte; see Bertini 1987, p.94, nrs.26-29, p.133 no.153, and La scuola Emiliana 1994, p.139. Whitfield 1981, p.319 erroneously identified these paintings of amorini with the four 'Amors' now in Chantilly.

58 Jestaz 1994, p.136: 'Novo quadro rettangolare, nel quale due putti a volo, una donna vestita d'un manto azure tutto pieno di stelle, & habbia alle spalle due grandi ali in atto di volare, sara di carnaggione lusca, & haverà in capo una ghirlanda di papaveri, & nel braccio destro terra un
and four nocturnal landscapes were inserted. This was a relatively new topic in the genre of landscape, which was pursued by a number of northern painters then working in Rome. Four works ascribed to Paul Bril in the inventory of 1662 probably referred to the landscapes from this room, as they all depicted moonlit scenes; one painting of a sleeping putto with a torch in his hand might also be identified as a former part of this decoration. Most appropriate, a lettera or daybed made of inlaid ebony was one of the pieces of furniture, pointing to the use of this room as a place to rest.

The fourth room - 'ultimo Camerino', which according to Symonds in 1650 was a 'little closet' - of this enfilade contained a ceiling for which the general theme of playing putti was chosen. According to the description of 1644, there were paintings with 'diverse plays and games of putti and other figures painted in yellow.' In a later inventory of 1662-1680, one of these paintings was described as 'a painting on canvas with various putti throwing the javelin, others that swim, painted in yellow chiaroscuro.' The inventory of the collection in 1728-1734, after its transferral to Naples, described five other similar paintings: 'A painting on canvas with various putti throwing apples and perspectives painted in yellow chiaroscuro ... A painting on canvas with diverse putti that work in a forge and a fountain ... A painting on a horizontal canvas with dancing putti, and others that play ... A painting on a horizontal canvas of small putti that play diverse games, some flirt ... A painting on canvas with putti that play gatta cieca with a pergola ...'.

The putto was a popular subject in art during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and fanciullo bianco, & nel sinistro un'altro fanciullo nero, & haverà i ppiedi storti; & ambidue detti fanciulli dormiranno.'

See Howard 1992 for representations of the night-sky in Flsheimer's work, and the relative influence of Galilei's discoveries on this subgenre of landscape.


Jestaz 1994, p.137: 'Un na lettera d'ebano intersiata d'argento con profili e fialigiane, colonne quadre senza vasi, con cileo e pendenti dentro e fuori, coperta e tornaletto simile e dette coperta ...'.


Jestaz 1994, p.137: 'diversi scherzi e balli di putti e altre figure dipinte in giallo.' See also Bertini 1987 p.222.

Bertini 1987 p.231: 'quadro in tela con diversi puttini che tirano dardi, altri che nuotano, dipinto in giallo chiaroscuro.'

Jestaz 1994, pp.137-138, citing from the inventory 1728-1734, in ASN.Fondo Farnesiano 1853 III (X). 'Un quadro in tela con diversi puttini che si tirano mele e prospettive di colonne dipinte di giallo scuro ... Un quadro in tela con diversi puttini che lavorano alla cucina ed una fontana di giallo scuro ... Un quadro in tela traverso con puttini che ballano, e fanno altri giochi ... Un quadro traverso in tela con puttini che fanno diversi giochi, alcuni fanno il gioco della civetta ... Un quadro in tela con puttini che fanno la gatta cieca con pergolata di giallo scuro ...'. See also Whittfield 1981, p.320. See Dabb's 1995 and Weddigon 1999 for later series of putti engaged in children's games.
was often depicted as engaged in diverse human activities.\footnote{Pigler 1956 vol.2, pp.20-22, Colantuono 1986, Colantuono 1989, and Dempsey 2001.} One of the connotations of this theme was that of the 'aetas aurea', the Golden Age that was linked with the theme of Arcadia - and thus the garden. The subject of the annual seasons was another implicit reference transmitted by representations of putti - they often referred to autumn and harvest of grapes.\footnote{Colantuono 1989, Leuschner 1997, and Dempsey 2001, pp.64-70 for the significance of putti in the Bacchic context and the harvest of the grapes and the season of Autumn, derived from classical sarcophagi.} 'Bacchanals of putti picking grapes and playing among each other, which signifies Autumn' was the phrase used to describe a series of tapestries woven on commission of Ferrante Gonzaga in the mid-sixteenth century.\footnote{Brown-Delmarcelli Lorenzoni 1996, p.184: 'Bacchanele di Puttini che distacca uva e che scherza tra loro, indica l'autunno.'} The plucking of apples in the last camerino could in this case refer to this same time of year, while the putti in the forge probably constituted a reference to winter, while the playing and sporting putti indicated spring,\footnote{Ripa 1603, p.473 proposed to paint the seasons of Spring and Summer as 'giovani', and identified Spring with the activity of playing animals.} and the dancing figurines stood for the summer. Thus, even though the subject of landscape was not explicitly present in the last room, like the other subjects in the preceding rooms it did refer to the times of the day and the cycle of the seasons, and thus of nature.

The last room integrally counted among the spaces in the Palazzetto, was the Camerino degli Iremiti. As already mentioned in the first chapter, it was described in mid-seventeenth-century inventories as the last of the flight of rooms, as the 'Oratory that corresponds to the Morte'.\footnote{Jesta // 1994, p.138: 'Oratorio che risponde nella Morte.'} It was only accessible from the preceding spaces, not through any other entrance. The decoration, also discussed above, deviated from the rest of the Palazzetto in the staffage of hermits, which finds no precedent in the preceding camerini. On the other hand, its decorative scheme prolonged that of the preceding four rooms by means of the landscapes, and the insertion of canvases into its coffered ceiling. Considering that it only had been added to this complex in 1610-1616, almost a decade after the project of the Palazzetto, these two facts indicates that a deliberate decision had been made to assimilate this new addition into the existing apartment.

**The giardino segreto as 'theatre of nature'**

The theme of the times of day and the seasons, as already observed in the decoration of the diverse camerini, was extended in the organization of the secret garden. The denomination of the grounds behind the Palazzetto and the Tiber as giardino segreto implied that it was only accessible to Farnese and his guests. Often, giardini segreti contained rare and expensive
The care for such a garden was intimately tied to the cycle of the seasons, as the flowering of the various species accumulated there was to be regulated so as to bring them to blossom at the exact same moment. These secret gardens regularly also contained other plants and herbs, not for beauty's sake, but for their of medicinal qualities. The garden thus combined the knowledge of the cosmological cycle with the qualities of the individual specimen, as well as pointing out the social status of its owner.

The collection of rare flowers also alluded to the function of the Palazzetto as a private museum. Farnese was an avid collector of botanical curiosities, as was attested by the extensive holdings of rare species in the Horti Farnesi on the Palatine Hill and the flower-garden at the far end of the Villa Farnese in Caprarola. Castelli's *Exactissima descriptio* of 1625, mentioned above, described exotic specimens in the gardens on the Palatine, and for this reason the preface presented the book as an encyclopaedic accumulation of knowledge, going beyond mere factual botanical knowledge. In a number of chapters, always accompanied by engravings of the flowers, leaves and fruits, Castelli discussed examples from the Far East and the Americas that had been planted there, such as the 'Acacia Indica Farnesiana' imported from Santo Domingo in the West Indies, the Passionflower, the Yucca, and the already discussed species of *Lilium narcissus ruber Indicus* (fig.40), which was probably also to be found in the garden behind the Palazzetto, in beds or in pots. Of each of these specimens Castelli gave the region of origin and the chemical, medical and mythological details.

He not only owned rare plants and flowers: Farnese also played a conspicuous role in the sociable culture of collecting them. In a letter of March 1604, Cardinal Francesco Maria del Monte (1547-1626) explained to Ferdinando de' Medici (1549-1609) that the beans sent to him came from Farnese, who had obtained them from the Portuguese Indies; they were very rare

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77 Blair McDougall 1994, pp.221-222; see also Coffin 1991, pp.244-257 for a discussion of the terminology and definition of the *giardino segreto*.

78 This is argued in Blair McDougall 1994, pp.237-238 on the basis of a manuscript treatise on gardening for the Barberini secret garden next to the Palazzo near the Quattro Fontane.

79 The link between the secret garden and the garden of medicinal simples is discussed in Blair McDougall 1994, p.21; for the meaning of *simpliciarum* or 'simples' and its use in early modern Roman gardens, see Coffin 1991, p.208.

80 The Horti Farnesiani are discussed in Felini 1610, pp.370-373, Giess 1971, esp. p.216; Nocechi Pellegrini 1990, Coffin 1991, p.208, and Hobhouse 1992, pp.128-129. On flower-gardens at Caprarola see Ferrari 1646, p.89. Illic populi splendidas specias, ut alibi e ipsa, cum formisissima I the certam proxime ac suburbium delicia, qua in Vulcis Atheneam, & Grinam Caprarole villam purpurea Cinditorum goria illustrat ...

81 Aldini Castelli 1625, p.1: ‘Addo nos non simplici cum plantarum quaerimad dac Historiam, sed Philosophicam. Medicamente simil Historiam, que paucis verbis comprehendi nequit. Verum cum simplicies, nec controversas Plantas tradimus, nos quoque breves benignus respondit licet.

82 Federico Borromeo expressed his particular interest in rare flowers in a manuscript with notes entitled *Lista de varij flor*: a description of the botanical holdings of the Medicean gardens; see Jones 1993, p.82. See further Masson 1972.
indeed and should continue to remain special.78 Farnese's connections with Jesuit missionaries on other continents were an important source for such rare botanical species, and the special relations between the cardinal and this religious order secured him a privileged treatment.79 The contacts between members of the Farnese-family and learned men such as Ulisse Aldrovandi (1522-1605), first professor of natural history at the University of Bologna, were another source for samples of rare plants and flowers and information on these species. In return for the learned man's services, in 1598 Odoardo Farnese helped Aldrovandi to obtain a privilege from the Venetian Senate for his Ornitologia, which appeared in 1599.80

Apart from botany, also astronomy, medicine and natural philosophy were of interest to Farnese and his fellow cardinals in the early seventeenth century. Del Monte was known to correspond with Galileo Galilei (1564-1642), just like his fellow-cardinals Roberto Bellarmino (1542-1621; see fig.74) and Francesco Barberini (1597-1679) did later; all of them collected natural and artificial objects.81 Private and semi-public museums of natural history emerged at the end of the sixteenth century in Rome, in which all kinds of botanical and zoological specimen, minerals, metals, monsters, and every other rarity were brought together for the pursuit of knowledge, forming a 'theatre of nature'.82 By accumulating everything that the earth provided and man produced, the understanding of this world could be furthered. Arranging the objects in an intellectual and physical structure according to the Aristotelian order, investing it with the knowledge of Pliny the Elder, Albertus Magnus and other authors on plants and animals, would turn the collection into a microcosm mirroring the macrocosm. Such a musaeum offered its

78 Wazbinski 1994, p.445 cited this letter: 'Mando qui in un scattolino alcuni Fagiuoli venuti dall'Indie di Portogallo al Cardinale [Odoardo] Farnese, et gli ho promesso non ne dare a veruno eccetto Vostra Altezza; questi fanno tanta ombra che coprono una cerchiata più abondantemente che non fanno le Zucche.'

79 See Noechi/Pellegrini 1990, p.415 for the link between Farnese and the Jesuits with regard to their services in providing seeds; for the Jesuit activities in the botanical field see Findlen 1994, pp.164-165.


81 Brodick 1961, pp.332f. Waillace 1984 and Campanella 1994; on the Accademia dei Lincei in which Del Monte was involved, see Baldriga 2002.

visitor the whole world to behold and comprehend.\(^3\)

Interior and exterior of the Palazzetto expanded these notions of macrocosm and microcosm, man-made and natural objects.\(^4\) The architectural form, the furniture and decoration of the Palazzetto indeed provided a place for study of the arts, letters, and nature. On the basis of the mythological stories from Ovid, especially the history of Phaeton in which Apollo was described as surrounded by the Hours of the Day and the Seasons, the cosmological theme was adapted to the realm of painting as found in the coffered ceilings of the camerino.\(^5\) And in the fifteenth and concluding book, Ovid recapitulated the everchanging cycle of nature as the main theme of the *Metamorphoses*, touching upon the course of the days, seasons and years.\(^6\) These works of art were at the same time a reflection of the natural order, and man-made objects. The Library of Palazzo Farnese was furnished with books on the subjects of botany and zoology; a list of works acquired in 1603 for Cardinal Farnese contained a number of publications on the natural sciences as well.\(^7\)

In short, the Palazzetto was a *studiorum* where Farnese could study both treatises on nature and the real objects, a *galleria* where he could admire artistic creations and the reality it emulated and reflected; and the virtual accumulation of this was the *musaeum* where knowledge, nature

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\(^3\) For the use of the word *musaeum* with reference to encyclopaedic collections, see Findlen 1994, pp.48-50.

\(^4\) Besides the paintings allocated to the Palazzetto according to the inventory, a number of other commissions by Farnese point to his interest in landscape. The series of six small oils on copper by Carlo Saraceni (ca.1580-1620), executed before 1608, paired natural settings with mythological themes; they contained episodes of the story of Icarus, Ariadne, Hermaphodite and Ganymede. Although we do not know the location of these works during the lifetime of the cardinal, they could well have been enjoyed in the context of the Palazzetto.

\(^5\) Ovid 1986, p.25; on the general iconography of the Hours of the Day and the Seasons in the arts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Cappelletti 1995, Pierguidi 2002a and Pierguidi 2002b. The complexity of the Ovidian reception in artistic treatises is discussed in Thimmann 2002, pp.54-79, where it is stated that the Tridentine Council restricted the applicability of mythological themes in art between 1570 and 1600. It will be upheld here, in accordance with Seznecl 1972, pp.269-278, that putting the Italian translations and explanations of the *Metamorphoses* on the Index in 1559, and the critical discussion of these themes in art by Gili and others did not prevent Ovidian themes to carry plural iconographic meanings to early *Seicento* beholders. The use of mythological subjects in art as reflecting the 'secrets of nature' was described by Conti in 1551; see Seznecl 1972, pp.249-249.

\(^6\) Ovid 1986, pp.357-358: 'You see how day extends as night is spent, and this bright radiance succeeds the dark. Nor when the tired world lies in midnight peace, is the sky's sheen the same as in the hour when on his milk-white steed the Morning Star rides forth, or when, bright harbinger of day, Aurora golds the globe to greet the sun. Again, you notice how the year in four seasons revolves, completing one by one its illustration of our human life."

\(^7\) ASF, Fondo Farnesiano 2054 contains a list dated 13 December 1603: "I'llustrissimo e Reverendissimo Cardinale Odoardo Farnese devo dare gli sottoscritti libri legati ed edifici di seta ... Visionaria del Porta co. figne di rame ... Incomologia ... Cesare Ripa in 4 co. figne ... Herbario de Diversi in fo plantino ... Accademia francese po 2 in 4 ... Medicina del Inde ... Christoloro a Costa de simplicci 4 ... Cosmografia Murteri figurali corretta ... Osservation del Celestano in 4 p.2 ... Iconologia ... Cesare Ripa levo Don Consalvo ... Talmolo Grande figure di Rame ... Io Vittorio Petrucci ho ricevuto li sopradetti libri per ordine et servizio del Signor Cardinale mio S.ignor[e] ' For inventories of manuscripts and printed books in Palazzo Farnese, see Fossier 1981 and Fossier 1982.
and art were stored, studied and discussed. As a rule, such places were private to a certain degree; they were open to a select public of studiosi and conoscenti at the invitation of the patron himself. In the sixteenth century, the current architectural form for this kind of function was often denoted with the word studiolo, that could either refer to one room, or an apartment. The Palazzetto seems to belong to that tradition in a very particular way, by the inclusion not only of representations of nature, but also the reality of the garden. As the Camerino degli Eremiti was considered to be an integral part of the Palazzetto in the seventeenth-century accounts, this also raises the question how this particular later addition fitted into that tradition of studies. Was the Camerino, as comparison with the Stanze at Caprarola suggests, a type of studiolo?

The tradition of studioli

The Renaissance studiolo was a conflation of three different traditions that had their roots in Antiquity and the Middle Ages, and that were turned into a particular architectural type during the Renaissance. The influence of each of these traditions was however dependant upon a number of factors, such as space, money and patronage. Requirements and thus forms changed over time. Already during the Renaissance, but especially during the Baroque, this resulted not in uniformity but in an architectural and functional tradition with an extraordinary breadth, until in the course of the seventeenth century, the form gradually became outmoded. The question is where the Palazzetto fits into this tradition.

The first precursor of the early modern studiolo was that of the small and secluded room mentioned in antique sources. This kind of study - often denoted with other words such as gymnasium, xystus, or library - was used for reading and writing during the night. Complete isolation from daily activities, in both a spatial and temporal sense, was considered a prerequisite for the necessary focus upon study, as Pliny the Younger mentioned on Pliny the Elder in a letter. In this case, nature in any form was seen as opposed to concentration, as it distracted from thought. The study should, according to Quintilian, who was still approvingly cited in the fourteenth century by Petrarch, thus be located next to, or even be part of the bedroom. Any

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84 Ferrari 1646, p.437 referred to herbaria with dried plants and flowers in the collection of Ferdinand Impeario as musaeo.
85 Whitfield 1981: the function as studiolo for the Camerino degli Eremiti was suggested by Bernini 1985, p.20.
86 Thornton 1997, pp.31-32.
87 Pliny the Younger 1972, Bk.3, nr.5.9, p.175: 'He always began to work at midnight when the August festival of Vulcaun came round, not for the good omen's sake, but for the sake of study; in Winter generally at one in the morning, but never later than two, and often at midnight.'
88 Quintillian 1920-1922, vol.1, book X.3,22-25: 'Everyone, however, will agree that the absence of company and deep silence are most conducive to writing, though I would not go so far as to concur in the opinion of those who
connection with a garden or opening towards an outdoors space was thus antithetic to this type of room. It was even objected to by Quintilian, as he considered woods, the open skies and the beauty of the countryside to be a distraction from the necessary intellectual concentration.\(^\text{19}\)

A second precursor of studioli was the medieval monks' cell. Monastic rules indicated the kinds of activities for which this cell was meant, as well as giving particular prescriptions on its location and furniture.\(^\text{20}\) In the Rule of Benedict, no particular place was yet allocated for reading and writing, but the combined necessity of a writing-pad, a slate-pencil and a (grafting) knife for studious activities in their own cells were mentioned.\(^\text{21}\) Often, Benedictine monasteries contained a scriptorium, in which the copying of manuscripts was done as a communal activity. In the later Middle Ages, Carthusian monasteries contained a separate cell which functioned as private study for each religious, where the Bible and the Churchfathers should be read, and where the scribal duties were accomplished as well. According to the Carthusian Rule, each monk had to have a writing-desk in his own cell, as well as a set of writing-utensils including ink, a ruler, pens, grafting knives, and other instruments to work the parchment.\(^\text{22}\) It was also prescribed that each monk should keep two books from the library to read in the private cell, indicating that the production of codices but also the study of the texts themselves was done there.\(^\text{23}\)

Parallel to the monk's cell as a space for reading and writing was the development in medieval times of the archive and treasury-chamber, which architecturally resembled the small space intended for reading and writing, but was often linked to liturgical spaces. This kind of room housed the documents and valuables of monastic communities, and ecclesiastical or secular rulers. For example, the Sainte Chapelle in Paris, built for Louis IX of France, contained a room above the sacristy where books and treasures were kept.\(^\text{24}\) Relics were also stored there, and taken out for display in the central chapel on particular occasions. This kind of storage for valuables was often found in secular dwellings as well. In the fifteenth century, the castles of Pavia and

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\(^{19}\) Liebenwein 1977, p.14.

\(^{20}\) Liebenwein 1977, p.15.

\(^{21}\) Rule of Benedict, ch.55, in Balthazar 1961, p.242: 'gebe der Abt alles, was nötig ist, nämlich... Messer, Griffel und Schreibtafel.'

\(^{22}\) Gungo 1984, p.222: 'Ad scribendum vero, scriptorium, pennas, cretam, pumices duos, cornua duos, scalpellum unum, ad radenda pergamenæ, novaculars ovo rasoria duo, punctorium unum, subulam unum, plumbum, regulum, postem ad regulandum, tabulas, grafiarm.'

\(^{23}\) Gungo 1984, pp.222-224.

\(^{24}\) Liebenwein 1977 pp 17-18.
Milan had their treasuries located in towers to secure their valuables from ransacking; the keeper's room was located immediately beneath it and constituted its only way of entrance, to protect it from intrusion by outsiders. In both cases, it consisted of a small apartment in a secluded and safe position within the building, comparable in type, but not in function, to the later requirements for a *studiolo*.

During the later Middle Ages and the early Renaissance, growing literacy among secular citizens inspired them to adopt the monastic example of the cell as place for study. This led to a new kind of furniture for the specific use of writing, reading, and storing books. Items such as the writing desk, formerly only to be found in monasteries, were now also made for the layman. It would consist of a desk with shelves and candles or another means of lighting for the illumination of nightly activity. This wooden construction could actually define the space itself: accounts from the fifteenth century for carpenters constructing a *studiolo* clearly indicate that this was a permanent fixture, attached to the wall, and encompassing a desk with storage and its own walls. As a result, the word *studiolo* also became associated with a specific type of furniture, an expanded form of writing desk.

These writing-desks, chests, treasuries and monks' cells were the predecessors of the Renaissance architectural type of the *studiolo*, in which the man of letters kept his books, ancient coins, small works of art and other treasures. Where the monk's cell was reserved for religious activity, literary and artistic interests became the primary activity in the secular form. Other than the literary activity that was deemed an appropriate function in ancient times, the occupations engaged in in the study could also be of a commercial or scientific nature. This can also be followed through the changing form of the *studiolo* as piece of furniture. The simple desk of the medieval *scriptorium* developed into a cabinet containing valuables, instruments and works of art. From a place to read and write, the *studiolo* became the place where different sorts of objects could be stored, shown, read or admired.

On the basis of these precursors, the Renaissance *studiolo* was typically located in the city dwelling, at the back of the building or looking onto a quiet courtyard, and in proximity to the private quarters of its owner. Apart from the bedroom, a location near a private stairwell or a

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77 Liebenwein 1977, p.15.
78 Thornton 1997, p.53.
79 Thornton 1997, pp.53-54.
80 Thornton 1997, pp.69f described the substitution of the writing-desk with the cabinet in the second half of the sixteenth century, and its use in the Roman setting.
bathroom would be convenient. Its size would be small to moderate. This type can be observed in many early Renaissance paintings and drawings, often in the depictions of Jerome in his study (fig. 47). It can be assumed that these depictions reflected the habitual place for study found in the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century urban dwelling. In early Cinquecento Rome, this type was recommended by Paolo Cortesi in a chapter on the ideal palace for a cardinal, in his treatise De Cardinaleatu of 1510:

The same should be said about the arrangement of the room used for study at night (cubiculum lucubratorium) and the bedroom, the which should be very near to each other: because they serve closely related activities. Both these rooms should be especially safe from intrusion and so we see why they should be placed in the inner parts of the house.

At the end of the sixteenth century, the ideal pictorial decoration of this kind of spaces was described by Giovanni Battista Armenini, in his De' veri precetti della pittura of 1586 as mainly consisting of oil-paintings with Poesie, by which he intended classical and mythological subjects. This accorded with the objects contained in this kind of studio, being portrait-busts of famous persons, medals, cameos, glass-paintings and intarsia, and last but not least, books and mathematical instruments. These again concentrated on the classical arts and sciences. In this respect, the Palazzetto resembled this tradition, except for the fact that it also contained religious themes in the Camerino degli Eremiti, and it extended beyond the space of one room to comprise a separate wing of the palace.

**Pliny's diaeta and its Cinquecento imitations**

In its interior organisation, size and the intimate link with the private garden behind it, the Palazzetto followed a third antique example for the studiolo, called diaeta. The precedent for this building-type was provided by Pliny the Younger in the description of his own villa in

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1 Frommel 1973, vol. 1, p.73.
2 Cortesi 1510, cited after the translation by D'Amico-Weil-Garris 1980, p.85.
3 Armenini 1587 1971, pp.200-201: "Ma circa l'adornare i studii, questi usarono quasi le medesime pitture, le quali dimostrarono quando si disse delle logge, se non vi s'assumesse i quadri a olio, o i ritratti di naturale di persone illustri, i quali fossero dipinti per mano di eccellentissimi maestri, & che i scompartimenti di questi studii fossero fatti con gli ordini, & con gli disegni loro: Conoista che le cose, che sono rariissime, & di gran pregio sono quelle, che da i Signori si cercano per i loro studii, per farli adorna, & massimamente di cose antiche, che sono per lo più, com'a dir medaglie d'oro, di bronzo, & d'argento, & di argento, così teste, & figurine di marmo, & di bronzo, o di altra preziose materie scolpite. Ci sono poi i Diaspi Canei, le Gemme, i Smalti, & i Cristalli in forma di cose varie, & di artificio mirabile, si com'e di tarsi, o di commessi le tavole, i banchi, le cornici, & gli armari, con l'altra cose più minute, nelle quali poco si vagliono d'Pittori, & com'e per uso, & per bellezza la moltitudine d'libri loro, insieme con gli instrumenti mathematici, & altri, secondo le scienze in che essi sono più inclinati."
Laurentium. According to the literary evocations in his letters, this villa was situated between the shore of the Mediterranean sea and the inland woods, and was visually and physically attuned to its natural surroundings. Pliny described that the architectural plan of the villa had been partially dictated by the geographic circumstances of the site, and that a view of the countryside was gained by having many windows and openings towards the exterior. Gardens with flowers were planned around the building. A separate pavilion, which he called *diaeta*, was linked to the main body of the villa by means of a *cryptoporticus* or covered archway, and consisted of three rooms and a terrace. In his literary evocations of this annex, Pliny stressed the omnipresence of nature as perceived from this location:

Here begins a covered arcade, nearly as large as a public building. It has windows on both sides, but more facing the sea, as there is one in each alternate bay on the garden side ... In front is a terrace scented with violets ... At the far end of the terrace, the arcade and the garden is a suite of rooms [*diaeta*], which are really and truly my favourites, for I had built them myself. Here is a sun-parlour facing the terrace on one side, the sea on the other, and the sun on both. There is also a bedroom that has folding doors opening onto the arcade and a window looking out on the sea. Opposite the intervening wall is a beautifully designed alcove ... it is large enough to hold a couch and two arm-chairs, and has the sea at its foot, the neighbouring villa's behind, and the woods beyond, views which can be seen separately from its many windows or blended into one.

The word *diaeta* was derived from the Greek word *diaeta*, which literally meant dwelling. In the classical world, especially by Statius and Pliny, this term was most often used to denote autonomous garden-pavilions which were so situated as to offer views over the surrounding countryside. This was a feature especially apt for the villa, not the urban dwelling: and the natural surroundings played a major role in its concept. It seems that many classical villas disposed over such additions. Again according to Pliny, the effect of this architectural addition to the main building was one of ultimate solitude, being completely isolated from the inhabited world:

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1 Liebenwein 1977, pp.13-14, and Pliny the Younger 1972 vol.1, pp.132-143 (Bk.2.XVII).
2 On the importance of the view from the villa for its concept, see Ackerman 1990, esp. pp.26-28.
3 Pliny the Younger 1972 vol.1, pp.139-141 (Bk.2.XVII,16-23).
4 For the meaning of the word *diaeta* in the classical world, see PRE vol.5, cols.307-308; where also a list of classical examples is given; see also DVP vol.3, col.506. Rostowzew 1990, pp.60-62 and MacDonald Pinto 1995 p p.71, 80, 112; see Sherwin-White 1966, pp.193-198, 325. Littlewood 1987, pp.23-24, and Förtsch 1993, pp.48-53 for the Plinian definition and use of the term.
5 Rostowzew 1990, pp.60-63.
This profound peace and seclusion are due to the dividing passage which runs between the room and the garden so that any noise is lost in the intervening space. When I retire to this suite I feel as if I have left my house altogether and much enjoy the sensation: especially during the Saturnalia when the rest of the roof resounds with festive cries in the holiday freedom, for I am not disturbing my household's merrymaking nor they my work.112

This extended study offered its inhabitant a quiet place for reading and study, and at the same time integrating with the surrounding landscape. Nature became a literary topic connecting the study of arts and letters with its ideal setting of the villa.113 Contrary to the studiolo-tradition as described above, this special architectural complex was not exclusively focused on writing and reading; aesthetic pleasure was an inseparable part of the villa-life and this third kind of study. It comprised objects of art and literature as well as the beauty of nature, as Pliny himself alluded to painted landscapes when looking at the reality of nature from the setting of his Tuscan villa. He even seems to place the artificial representation above real nature:

It is a great pleasure to look down on the countryside from the mountain, for the view seems to be a painted scene of unusual beauty rather than a real landscape, and the harmony to be found in this variety refreshes the eye wherever it turns.114

Not only the difference between real and imaginary landscape was cancelled in this description: in a passage further on in the same letter also the garden was considered equal in its aesthetic beauty to the real landscape in which the villa was located. By hiding the stone boundary that fenced off his formal garden from the surrounding countryside, Pliny the Younger manipulated both domesticated and untouched nature to create an illusion of unlimited extension and aesthetic variety.115 The same could be said about the visual effect of the landscape-setting in the context of the Villa Laurentina, where the gardens gradually merged with the sea on the one side, and the mountains on the other side of the building.

According to the description in Pliny's letter, the Laurentine villa was an extension to the townhouse - 'It is seventeen miles from Rome, so that it is possible to spend the night there after

1 Pliny the Younger 1972 vol.1, pp.141-143 (bk.2.XII.22-24).
113 Pliny the Younger 1972 vol.1, p.341 (bk.5.V.13); see also Tanzer 1924, pp.108-135 and Littlewood 1987, p.23.
114 Pliny the Younger 1972 vol.1, p.343 (bk.5.V.17): 'The whole garden is enclosed by a dry-stone wall which is hidden from sight by a box hedge planted in tiers: outside is a meadow as well worth seeing for its natural beauty as the formal garden I have described; then fields and many more meadows and woods.'
necessary business is done, without having cut short or hurried the day's work..." This proximity of the villa to Rome was paralleled by the nearness of the *diaeta* to the building itself; the function of the entire complex could be summarised as offering its owner suburban solitude.

In the Renaissance, the reception of the Plinian texts also effected an interest in the particular form and function of the *diaeta*. In literary form, this concept became widely discussed. The medieval example set by Petrarch in his own villa and the descriptions given of it in his own writings was fused with the Plinian type by Erasmus in his *Convivium Religiosum* of 1522, where he described the suburban dwelling of the main character Eusebius.\(^{117}\) It contained a flight of rooms on the first floor, of which one was denoted as the library, adjacent to which were a number of *cubicula* for resting, and a *museion*, which will have harboured an encyclopaedic collection of objects, about which the reader was not further informed. A balcony and two rooms with windows all around opened from this apartment to offer views over the garden and the surrounding landscape. Erasmus had the owner Eusebius state that this ensemble of spaces was especially made for study and seclusion.\(^{118}\)

In the sixteenth century, antiquarian reconstructions of the Plinian example were made by philologists such as Paolo Giovio, a courtier in the household of Alessandro Farnese, and antiquarians such as Pirro Ligorio.\(^{119}\) Pliny's literary descriptions continued to function as main source, but these were now confronted with scarce, but real, architectural remains.\(^{120}\) In Ligorio's *Descrittione della Superba & Magnificentissima Villa Tiburtina Hadriana*, written between 1550 and 1568, the word *diaeta* is used a number of times. Ligorio's suggestion is that these apartments in Hadrian's villa in Tivoli were used for the study of the arts - whether the literary, visual or theatrical. The emperor's villa contained quite a number of these retreats, to be found primarily in the vicinity of the large octagonal courtyard. All the Plinian elements recurred here: the connection to *loggie* or *cryptoportici*, the closeness to either the countryside or private courtyards

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\(^{117}\) Pliny the Younger 1972, vol. 1, p.133 (bk. 2.XVII.2).

\(^{118}\) For Petrarch's villa in Arqua, see Bellinati/Fontana 1988, and Blason/Gallo 1990.


\(^{120}\) For Paolo Giovio see Robertson 1992, pp.210-212; for Pirro Ligorio and his excavations at Villa Adriana in Tivoli, see Burns 1988, pp.33 and 40, and Ranaldi 2001, pp.46 and 160, and especially pp.106-109 for Ligorio's reconstructions of the complex.

\(^{121}\) See Coffin 1979, pp.241-244 for the importance of written material in confrontation with the archaeological remains.
and gardens, and the vicinity of a library. Next to this part of the palace, and obviously related to the dieta, was a large courtyard in which fountains and sculptures were arranged: and a part of these were now, as one is informed by Ligorio, in the collection of Ippolito d'Este and, in this context more importantly, the Farnese palace in Rome.

In 1615, Vincenzo Scamozzì published an architectural reconstruction of the Plinian Villa Laurentina in his Idea dell'Architettura Universale. The term he used for the dieta was italianized into diette, which suggests that the term had become accepted in architectural theory. Scamozzì supposed on the basis of the Plinian letters, that there was a tower, in which the diette were; that is a place for concentration, and other places for rest, because they have light from every angle, but are in complete silence, and with beautiful vistas over the sea, and over the villas. Scamozzì’s text suggested that a second dietta was found on the opposite side of the building, above the second entrance. The woodcut of the plan inserted into his book (fig. 48) supports this, as the façade above the central door was elevated in a kind of rooftop-pavilion. Mirroring this façade also meant projecting a second dietta. On either side of these diette terraces offered extended views over the sea.

What Scamozzì pointed out with his description and reconstruction is that the tradition of the dieta and the idea of enjoying the vista and the arts in a place of seclusion and quiet enjoyed a revival in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The double intention of study and relaxation, that Pliny had alluded to, were consciously taken up in these publications. They also show, that the form was taken in the Renaissance and Baroque to be a real possibility, not as a

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12 Ligorio 1723, col. 11: 'Dalle teste di queste due Piazze verso l'Oriente sono più cose edificate; Bagni, luoghi delle Dieta, Pioanco, e Bibliotheca, con diverse Piazze in avanti a ciascun luogo, le quali gli servono per Atri, e per Vestibuli albo scospetlo. Nella testa della Portici di mezzo, che corrispondono scambevolmente alle due gran Piazze che hanno il Povile, è una gran Cava, per le cui entrate si va in un Tempio accadamentato alla Dieta delle Stocci, dove erano negli angoli colonne & altri luoghi accostatati alli Dei Propiti di tali studi.'

13 Ligorio’s description was echoed in 1601 by Del Re without reference to the dieta’s function; see Del Re 1723, cols. 68-69.

14 Scamozzi 1615, vol. 1, p. 267: 'Ad alto, e nel mezzo era una torre, nel quale erano le diette; cioè luoghi da veggiare, & altri luoghi da riposare, e perché havevano lume da più parte, pero erano in gran silenzio, e di bellissime viste del Mare, e delle Ville.'

15 Scamozzi 1615, vol. 1, p. 268: 'e parimenti sopra all’ingresso era una Torre, e diette, e stàce da dormire, con bellissime vedute del Mare, e molto più ancora di terra.'
mere literary conceit of the author Pliny the Younger.

As a result of these discussions on the form and function of the *diaeta*, this building-type became considered a most apt environment for the conversations of courtly society, and for that reason most attractive for patrons of higher circles. Due to complex requirements, spatial dimensions and the presence of the private garden, the realisation of such plans for *diaetai* was moreover limited to these circles. In the sixteenth century a small number of apartments was created in this tradition, all in the direct vicinity of the city of Rome, or even within its walls, in accordance with the suburban location of Pliny's example.\textsuperscript{126}

One of the earliest recreations of a *diaeta* was built on the third floor of the Vatican Palace for Julius II dell Rovere (1503-1515).\textsuperscript{127} It comprised a number of rooms indicated in the sources as *bibliotheca segreta*, and a roof-terrace; it also contained an *uccelliera* or aviary, that was not mentioned by Pliny in his descriptions of the Villa Laurentina or Tusculana, but which was a feature that also had its roots in the villaculture of classical antiquity.\textsuperscript{128} Before 1509, artists like Sodoma and Baldassare Peruzzi were hired to execute the painted decoration of Julius' roof-apartment in the Vatican; ample use of *grotesques* indicated a wilful adaptation of the antique;\textsuperscript{129} the project also included a number of frescoes depicting the seasons and the months, which obviously referred to the seasonal rhythm of life in the countryside.\textsuperscript{130} It has been supposed that part of the collection of antique marbles was originally on display here, before being transferred to the Cortile del Belvedere.

A second project for a *diaeta* as part of a (sub)urban architectural complex was proposed by Raphael for the complex of the Villa Madama, begun in 1518 - which later in the sixteenth century became property of the Farnese family - but this edifice was never completely realised.\textsuperscript{131} The plans for the building had been heavily influenced by the excavations undertaken at Villa Adriana and by the letters of Pliny the Younger; the terminology used by Raphael to

\textsuperscript{127} A nearly contemporary description of this apartment is in Vasari's life of Baldassare Peruzzi; see Vasari 1876 vol.4, p.317: 'Avendo intanto papa Giulio Secondo fatto un corridore in palazzo, e vicino al tetto un'uccelliera, vi dipinse Baldassare tutti i mesi di chiaro secco, e g’essercizii che si fanno per ciascun d’essi in tutto l’anno ...' See also Kempers 1996b, pp.6-9.
\textsuperscript{128} A description of an aviary had been given by Varro in his *Rerum rusticarum*; it had become an element in Italian Renaissance villa's as well, and could be found for example in the Medici Villa in Pratolino.
\textsuperscript{129} This accords with Armerini's description of the ideal *studiiolo's* decoration; see Armerini 1587 1971, p.200.
\textsuperscript{130} For a description of the present-day situation of this section of the palace, see *Il Palazzo Apostolico Vaticano* 1992, pp.116-117; see *Hochrenaissance im Vatican* 1998, cat.no.323 and Vasari's citation given above in note 123 for a description of frescoes probably coming from this *Uccelliera*.

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describe it to his patron - Giuliano de'Medici, the later Clement VII (1523-1534) - was consciously derived from the latter source. The word *diaeta* itself was used by the artist in the letter to the patron in which he discussed the plans for the villa, and in which he expressed the use and significance of this kind of apartment for the nobility: 'the diaeta is a most delightful place to be in the winter to converse with gentlemen.'

Raphael's plans even foresaw two different *diaetai* in this complex: one for summer use and another for winter. The latter was situated on top of a tower on the east-side of the villa, directly accessible from the cardinal's apartment, and the former comprised a room with a central fountain, in an *exedra* off a huge garden loggia. Thus the winter *diaeta* was protected from the cold wind and open to the warmth of the sun. Both recreations of the concept freely translated the Plinian concept into architecture, adhering to the principle that the particular space should be fit for repose and intellectual conversation, being detached from the villa's main building, and offering a direct vista onto the surrounding countryside, or in the other case, onto a walled-in garden.

Although the influence of the Plinian concept on the practice of building in sixteenth-century Rome might have been relatively small, its literary and architectural ideal influenced the concept of the *studiolos* in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. This resulted in an extension of its function from being a place to read and write into a complex dedicated to the collection, display and study of diverse kinds of objects. This included both the arts and natural history, and led to a new ideal in which the garden, whether real or imaginary, became an important element.

**Studiolo, garden, and the genre of landscape-painting**

As a result of the various influences on the *studiolos*, the actual form these rooms were given was dependent on the circumstances, requirements and available space, and varied over time. However, the access to or sight onto a garden or landscape was often incorporated into the scheme. Especially the *diaeta* ought to be physically or visually related to the surrounding landscape - Pliny's words strongly emphasised this, and Erasmus followed this in his the adaptation of the theme in his *Convivium Religiosum*. All reconstructions took this to be one of

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1 For the classical inspiration of the Villa Madama, especially on the Plinian villas, and the language used by Raphael in his description, see Ranaldi 2001, p.65-71.

2 Foster 1967-1968, p.310, 'Ragionare col(n) Gentilhominij che fuso sol dare la dietha'. The translation is from Coffin 1979, p.248. Raphael had studied the Villa Adriana in Tivoli, from which he might have taken the concept; see Ranaldi 2001, p.49.
its main characteristics. When a direct view onto landscape could not be achieved, however, landscape-painting could be used as a replacement, as Armenini’s comparison of the decoration of loggias with landscapes with the interior decoration of the studiolo suggested. Examples show that the use of landscape-painting became a set-piece of the interior decoration of early modern studiolos, whether a view onto a garden or the landscape was possible or not. Particular reasons for this phenomenon were derived from a contemporary discussion on spiritual and physical health.

The studiolo of Isabella d’Este in the Palazzo Ducale in Mantua, begun in 1515 and finished around 1522, was part of an apartment in the Corte Vecchio, comprising also a grotta and a hallway. Adjacent to these was a secret garden with a small loggia, the private character of which was stressed by the fact that its only entrance was through the study. For this reason, Isabella’s retreat appeared to be more a diaeta than a studiolo. The function of the additional garden was stressed in a description made by Alberto Cavriani in 1525 of Isabella’s giardino, in which he drew upon several topoi:

your small garden, which is so beautiful and lush that it seems like paradise ... Everything brings happiness; this divine grotto and rooms give light and joy to the inferno, the beautiful loggia with cheerful garden ornamented with new sorts of fruit invite each soul to put aside his melancholy humour and dress in gladness...

In his praise Cavriani used references to the hortus conclusus and Paradise on earth, and in his last remark on melancholy drew upon the medical theme of the four humours as developed in Galen. Several humanists pointed at the function of the garden as counterbalancing the health-risks brought about by studious activities employed in the studio. In an exposition about Quintilian’s remarks on the beauty of the landscape as distracting from concentration, Petrarch had already suggested that intellectual work should be alternated with walks in the woods to provide the necessary relaxation.

The argument of alternating concentration in private seclusion with relaxation in the open

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17 Letter of 6 May 1525 from Cavriani to Isabella d’Este, Archivio Storico Lombardo 35, 1908, 16, quoted by Liebenwein 1977, p.220 n.460: 'il vostro giardino piccolo, quale e tanto bello e verdeggianti che pare il paradiso ... ogni cosa invita ad allegria; quella divina grotta et camarin dariano luce et gaudio a lo inferno, la loggia bella cum giardino zolioso ornato di novi fructi invitano ogni animo mesto a deponere lo humore malancomeco et vestirse de letitia...'
18 For the reception of this idea in the sixteenth century, see Schmitz 1972, pp.139-141, 159-162.
air was given a medical background by the fifteenth-century Florentine philosopher Marsilio Ficino: the view over clear waters, passages in gardens, and long walks in the woods or boat-trips on the water would help the studious person to relax and avoid the risks of the melancholic or saturnian temperament that threatened his health. Thus the study, which carried the risk of too much concentration, should also have as an antidote a view over gardens or the surrounding landscape. Also, the plants and flowers in the garden itself could relieve the melancholic. According to Ficino, the sight and smell of flowers was also salubrious: here he mentioned the rose, the garofano or carnation, the orange-tree and the violet, whose smell would activate the nostrils and thus stir the melancholic mind. In particular, the hyacinth was supposed to relieve bad fluids, when held in the mouth.

Such medical considerations were discussed in architectural treatises, in which the health of the inhabitants was thought to be the direct result of the location and organisation of the edifice. Leone Battista Alberti in his De re aedificatoria had recommended the reader to place his suburban villa within a landscape on hilltops for the availability of fresh air, as doctors recommended, and because it would offer a view on natural beauty all around: 'Meadows full of flowers, sunny lawns, cool and shady groves, limpid springs, streams, and pools, and whatever else we have described as being essential to a villa - none of these should be missing, for delight as much as for their utility.' The latter argument referred to the medical theory, as the following sentence made especially clear: 'I would not have it overlooked by anything whose melancholy shade would cause offence.'

A connection between study and garden was also alluded to in Palladio's treatise on architecture of the late sixteenth century, where he recommended that a study should be located on the first floor and offer a view eastwards over gardens or trees with an eye on the course of the

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1 The advice to cure melancholy with outside activities had been given by Marsilio Ficino, in his De Vita Triplici, I.x, in Ficino 1991, p.50: "Laudamus frequentem aspectum aquae nitidae, viridis, rubiceae coloris, hortorum nenorumque usum; deambulationem secus flumina perque annoe prata staveh; equitationem quoque, aestationem, navigationemque lenem valde probamus...." See Klibansky, Panofsky and Saxl 1964, pp.761-765 and Liebenwein 1977, p.133; this medicinal use of flowers was still recommended by seventeenth century authors, such as John Parkinson, who in 1629 advised taking distilled water of Madonna lily flowers against the pains of childbirth, and as profitable for the complexion, see Masson 1972, p.68.
3 Alberti 1966, p.793 (BK.IX, ch.2): "quod tristior quod offendat umbra." See also Alberti 1988, p.295, where 'tristior' is translated by the less specific word 'gloomy': the edition London 1955, which reprints an eighteenth-century translation of Alberti into English, used the word 'melancholy'.
sun. Eastward orientation of the room meant sun in the morning only, not during the hot and thus unhealthy afternoon. Examples of studiolì situated on upper floors illustrate the application of this medical principle of procuring wide vistas over the countryside to inspire their owners to reflection and protect them from melancholia.

An early architectural example of such a connection between studio and the landscape was in the house of Petrarch at Arqua, where the study had a window on the north with a view onto his garden and it was annexed to a loggia that ran along the entire westside of the building, looking out over the countryside. The situation at Eusebius' house as described by Erasmus in his Convivium Religiosum seems to have been inspired by such examples; it also offered an elevated view over the landscape from a first-floor loggia. One of the studiolì in Palazzo Medici-Riccardi in Florence provided, albeit only optically, an entrance to the garden by means of a terrace. This was copied in Palazzo Vecchio, in the study that had loggie on either side from which the view over Florence and its surrounding hills could be enjoyed.

In other cases, the planning of, or even the vista onto a real garden or the landscape, was impossible. In the fifteenth and sixteenth century, studiolì in urban dwellings were often located at the end of the private apartment in accordance with the tradition of locating this room next to bedrooms, on the interior of the building. In these cases, painted landscapes were a substitute for the view onto real countryside and could thus be applied to counterbalance the negative effects of studying. Already Pliny the Younger had equated the beauty of the landscape with that of paintings, underlining the importance of the pleasure of looking at them. Again, Alberti praised the positive effects of landscape paintings of the observer: 'Our minds are cheered beyond measure by the sight of paintings depicting the delightful countryside...'

The sixteenth-century philosopher and medical scholar Girolamo Cardano stated that paintings and literary descriptions of landscapes relieved the mind of the melancholic just as well as real nature. In 1584, Gian Paolo Lomazzo recommended that 'luochi di piacere' meaning loggias looking onto gardens, be decorated with antique themes, 'giochi amorosi' and 'istorie di gioia e d'allegrezza, che non tutto

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111 Palladio 1997, p.78: 'But those [rooms] we would want to use in the spring and autumn will be oriented to the east and look out over gardens and greenery. Studies and libraries should be in the same part of the house because they are used in the morning more than at any other time.'
112 Liebenwein 1977, pp.47-49.
113 Liebenwein 1977, p.71.
Marsilio Ficino's argument regarding the sight of beauty as a remedy for the melancholic state of mind was still employed around 1620 by the physician Giulio Mancini in his Considerazioni sulla pittura, when he discussed the effect of various subjects in paintings on the different humours of the beholder. The combination of these arguments affected the embellishment of studioi; the use of painted landscape should be applied here to preserve the mental and physical health of its occupant.

The Palazzo Vecchio in Florence, which contained a number of cortili but no garden, was embellished during the inhabitation by the Medici rulers with more than one studio. One of those, the Scrittoio del Terrazzo, was planned and executed from 1565 onwards. It was located between the Salone dei Cinquecento and the Cortile della Dogana, on the floor where the apartments of the Duke and his wife were, and could be reached only from either side by a terrace. The walls of these terraces were frescoed with motives of idealised landscapes and gardens, framed by architectural fantasies of a feigned loggia. These panoramas transported the viewer to the open countryside, with a pergola and a statue of Apollo or Orpheus on a fountain.

In studioi bordering on real gardens, depictions of landscapes served as a link between inside and outside. Antique precedents were described by Pliny the Elder and Vitruvius. The former celebrated the painter Ludius or Studius for introducing the genre as a suitable decoration for cryptoportici, loggie, and the walls surrounding open terraces. Vitruvius especially advised

\[\text{(1)}\]


\[\text{(2)}\]

Mancini 1956-1957 vol.1, p.142: 'Onde il Ficino nel Convitto al capitolo 9, reguardando questa distinzione delle pitture e dell’esser viste, disse: "Reliqui enim sensus eit replentur; visus autem et auditus diuitus vocibus et pictura pascuntur inani, neque solum horum sensuum firmiores sunt voluptates, verum etiam umanae complektionis cognitores, quid enim humani corporis spiritibus convenientius est quam voces hominum et figurae eorum praesertim qui non modo naturae similitudines, sed etiam pulchritudines gratia placent. Quamobrem celerici et melancholici homines tanquam unicum remedium et solamen modestiarum ipsorum complektionis cantus et formae oblectamenta servavit." Onde, secondo il Ficino, non solamente dovrà esser distinzione di luogo, ma in farlo vedere da questa o quell’altra sorte d’huomini, secondo la complessione e passion d’animo, età, sesso, costume, genere di vita, che si desidera conservare o aumentare, o veramente sminuire e correggere al contrario.' Mancini cited from Ficino's commentary on Plato's Convivium Platonis, De Amore, VI.9. The same argument of looking at nature as remedy for melancholy was alluded to by the English painter and courtier Edward Norgate, who travelled to Rome in 1622 and met Paul Bril, in his theory of painting written around the middle of the seventeenth century: see Norgate 1997, p.85, note 170 for the interpretation of this remark. With respect to landscape-painting around 1600 in the Netherlands, this argument has been put forward as valid for this context in Bakker 1998, pp.29-30.

Allerri Cecchi 1980, p.351 cited the payment for this work in 1581: "per b. 147 pittura fatta su dua terrazzini di S.A.S." in Archivio di Stato, Firenze, F.M.111, c.151a. Author of these frescoes was Tommaso del Verrocchio; see Huene Becker 1907-1950 vol.34, p.298. See also Liebenwein 1977, p.153.

Pliny the Elder 1938-1962 vol.9, p.147 (Bk.XXV.116): 'Nam mortem Spurius Ladius also, of the period of the late lamented Majesty Augustus, be cheated of his due, who first introduced the most attractive fashion of painting walls,
the application of painted landscapes in promenades in his treatise *De Architectura*. Some antique examples suggest that this was contemporary practice. For example, the *cryptoporticus* in the Domus Aurea in Rome contained painted landscapes to suggest to the visitor an outside location.

In the Renaissance, landscape-paintings that offered an illusionistic view onto the countryside could be found in the *studiolo* of Isabella d'Este, where paintings by Perugino, Lorenzo Costa and Mantegna depicted related mythological themes in landscape settings. Three of the paintings in this *studiolo* were hung so as to align their backgrounds into one continuous horizon. The *scalceria* or serving-room of her Appartemento della Grotta also contained lunettes with representations of hunting-scenes in landscapes, painted in 1522 by Leonbruno. This set an example: Isabella's son Alfonso II Gonzaga ordered mythological landscapes for his own *studiolo* in the Castello at Ferrara. The subjects of these paintings were the *Feast of the Gods, Bacchus and Ariadne*, the *Worship of Venus*, and the *Andrians*, the first one executed by Giovanni Bellini and finished by Titian, and the latter three painted by Titian himself.

These examples illustrate the phenomenon of combining works of art with iconographic or thematic coherence together in the *studiolo*, and the importance of the element of landscape in this tradition since the Renaissance. It was no coincidence that Farnese chose to have mythological subjects depicted in the frescoes and paintings in the Palazzetto, set within conspicuous natural settings. However, at the end of the sixteenth century the tradition of studies began to take a turn towards a virtual existence: the significance of the term *studiolo* shifted from the denomination of a room to an expression for the collection of objects it housed. In the early seventeenth century important changes occurred in the organization of the generic Roman palace as a result of new ceremonial and social exigencies. This effected both interior organization

with pictures of country houses and porticoes and landscape gardens, groves, woods, hills, fish-ponds, canals, rivers, coasts, and whatever anybody could desire... and p.349: 'He also introduced using pictures of seaside cities to decorate uncovered terraces, giving a most pleasing effect at a very small expense.' See Mansuelli 1990, pp.344-345.

153 Vitruvius 1962 vol.2, p.103: 'In covered promenades, they used for ornament the varieties of landscape gardening, finding subjects in the characteristics of particular places; for they paint harbours, headlands, shores, rivers, springs, straits, temples, groves, hills, cattle, shepherds.'


155 On the written sources concerning these commissions with regard to Giovanni Bellini, see Brown 1982, pp.149-167; on the iconography of Isabella's commission to Perugino, see Hope 1981, pp.293-294 and 310-311.

156 Verheven 1971, p.54 referred to a letter by Carlo Ghisi to Isabella d'Este in which this suggestion was made. For Titian's paintings for Isabella's *studiolo*, see Wetley 1975, pp.29-41.


and the functions of spaces, also leading to profound alterations in the concept of the **studiolo**. The very size of studies limited the dimension of objects, while collections and their objects began to grow in size: larger paintings and voluminous sculptures required more space. To this was added the growing interest in natural history and the knowledge of the order of the world, of which artefacts also formed part. Such encyclopaedic collections attracted more and more public attention, to the detriment of the smaller works of art and antiquarian culture.\(^{160}\) To meet these new demands, and as a new phenomenon of social distinction as well, the **galleria** developed into the space where works of art of greater dimensions, botanical and zoological specimens would be placed on public display.\(^{161}\)

As a result of growing collections and the increasingly large-scale format of paintings and sculpture, a specific architectural building-type was developed to house the visual and plastic arts.\(^{162}\) From around 1600, the **galleria** or gallery would take the place of the **studiolo** as the main location in the urban palazzo to hang paintings. and in 1620 Mancini proposed to put 'landscapes and cosmografie' on view in this kind of space as they did not offend the average visitor to these galleries as paintings with more erotic content might do.\(^{163}\) From this it can also be gauged that new social requirements meant a shift from a predominantly private to a more public display of paintings; and landscapes were best fitted to this new situation for their undisputedly acceptable subject matter.\(^{164}\)

At this turning-point, the two ideals of the **studiolo** that had developed in the Renaissance - the space for the Muses set within nature, and the secluded room for the study of the arts, letters and natural history - were conflated for a period before they would take opposite directions and dissolve into other forms. While the **studiolo** became outmoded, the **galleria** lacked the intimate contact with the works of art, which the real collector praised so highly. The result of this tension was the **dieta**, which can describe the type of private gallery prior to the introduction of more

\(^{160}\) On the decline of the sixteenth-century antiquarian culture, see Herklotz 1999, p.22f. An example of such a growing collection including the arts and natural wonders is that of the d'Este in Ferrara and later in Modena; see Olmi 1998.

\(^{161}\) Prinz 1970; for the hypothesis of the **galleria** as a phenomenon linked to the aspiring classes of *nipoti* in Roman society, see Strunk 2001, pp.208-215 for the Galleria Colonna and Ehrlich 2002, pp.186-190 for the **galleria** at Villa Mondragone.

\(^{162}\) Mannini 1956-1957 vol.1, p.144: 'Ma se questa pittura fosse piccola ed a poter esser collocata in luoghi piccoli, allora si potrebbe mettere negli studioli come si e detto di vaste tascani.'

\(^{163}\) Mannini 1956-1957 vol.1, p.143: 'Onde, stando che si deve avere gran riguardo nel lasciar vedere le pitture et in collocarle al lor luoghi... Dopo si consideraranno le pitture, che per i paesaggi e cosmografie si metteranno nelle gallerie e dove puol andare ognuno...'

\(^{164}\) This is echoed in Norgate 1997, p.83: 'this harmless and honest Recreation, of all kinds of painting the most innocent. On the location of landscape-paintings in noble collections see p.85: 'Landscape ... which I find of honest extravagance and genteel parentage, and now a privato and Cabinet Companion for Kings and Princes.'
public collections divided according to the material characteristics of the objects on display. It is at these crossroads that the function and decoration of the Palazzetto were conceived.

The typology of the Palazzetto Farnese

At the turn of the seventeenth century, when antiquarian and architectural authors had researched literary sources and antique remains for the characteristics of the Plinian \textit{diaeta}, the Palazzetto \textit{Farnese} represented a conscious attempt to recreate this classical ideal. Its form, a flight of rooms, linked by means of a loggia to a \textit{giardino segreto}, separated from the main building (in this case by a street) but connected to it by a private entrance (via a bridge, see fig.30), corresponds completely with Pliny's description of the \textit{diaeta} of the Villa Laurentium. Its function was intended along the same lines: as a place for intellectual repose. The Palazzetto continued a sixteenth-century tradition of conscious recreations of the Plinian prototype, but in contrast to the earlier examples realised it more perfectly.

The general comparison between the \textit{diaeta} of the Plinian villa and the Palazzetto can also be traced to the details of the latter project. All the elements of the architecture might have had their precedents in the sixteenth century; their combination was a conscious reference to elements in the description of the Villa Laurentina. Some circumstances, however, necessitated alterations for the new situation in early modern Rome. This applies especially to the mode of entrance to the Palazzetto. The connection to the Palazzo Farnese proper was constituted by a stairwell and the bridge over the Via Giulia. Permission for constructing this private passage was obtained from the \textit{cardinale camerlengo} Pietro Aldobrandini on 4 April 1603; work started soon afterwards.\footnote{Uginet 1980, p.113 gives the papal consent and building-accounts for the arch spanning the via Giulia. Hibbard 1964, p.104 published the full text of the permission for the bridge.} There existed other examples of such walkways providing access to a private suite of rooms or even outright \textit{diaetae}. Alfonso d'Este had a covered passageway constructed between 1507 and 1518 between the castle and the palace at Ferrara, housing five \textit{camerini} that can be understood as \textit{studii}.\footnote{Brown in \textit{Bacchanales of Titian} 1987, pp.46-47 and Bentini 1998, pp.359-365; for the decoration of Alfonso's Camerino, see Shearman 1987, p.312.} Paul III Farnese initiated a similar project in 1534 to link Palazzo Venezia in Rome with the tower on the slope of the Capitol hill, next to the convent of the Aracoeli.\footnote{Odoardo followed the example of his great-grandfather in linking the ancestral palace to a private garden by means of an elevated walkway. His original plan was, however, closer to Pliny's concept of the \textit{cryptoporticus}, as the building accounts indicate. It was to consist of an underground passageway that turned out to be too complicated, too expensive, and thus was

165 Uginet 1980, p.113 gives the papal consent and building-accounts for the arch spanning the via Giulia. Hibbard 1964, p.104 published the full text of the permission for the bridge.

abandoned. Its actual form as a bridge was only a second choice; and it was for this reason that the elevated passage was only built in 1604 when the Palazzetto itself had already been finished.

Other details of the building of the Palazzetto that at first sight seem trivial were copied from ancient prototypes and Pliny in particular. The 'gioco della palla' mentioned in the licence for the arch over the Via Giulia seems out of place, until the importance of ballgames in ancient times, especially in the context of the villa, is considered. Horace and Pliny the Younger named it as one of their favourite physical exercises to maintain their health while staying at their country seats. For this ballgame special courts had been constructed in Roman villas. Discussions of the game of _pallacorda_ in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries also referred to its antique prototype. The form of the court and its internal arrangement was discussed in these publications in connection to the rules of the game. A treatise of 1555, written by Antonio Sciano and entitled _Trattato del giuoco della Pallia_, subdivided these spaces according to the existing variants. The variety played at Palazzo Farnese will have been a kind of indoor tennis close to the modern game, as in the inventory of 1644 this was called 'gioco della palla a corda'.

This tennis-court was added during the lifetime of cardinal Odoardo, as the architectural plans of the Palazzo of the late sixteenth century still projected in the place of the 'gioco della palla' an open loggia related to the back of the palace (see fig.27). The south wing of the Palazzo had however not been built during the lifetime of Alessandro Farnese, and when Odoardo continued the construction, he was free to alter the planned garden-loggia into a location for the popular ball game. Comparable examples of special halls for the _pallacorda_ appeared in Rome and in villas in the campagna only after 1610, which shows that Odoardo kept up with the current trends. The Tempesta map of 1593 indicated the building of the _pallacorda_ on the left

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1. Coffin 1979, pp.31-32.
2. Uginet 1980, p.92 n.6 cites the _stima_ of 24 February 1602 by Domenico da Corte in the ASN, _Archivio Farnesiano_ 2049, for a 'via sotterranea ... per andare nel giardinetto nuovo'.
3. Pliny the Younger 1971 vol.1, pp.345-347 on the Villa Tusculana (bk5.VI.31): 'Over the dressing-room is built the ball court, and this is large enough for several sets of players to take different kinds of exercise.'
5. For the etymology of 'pallacorda', see _GDEI_ vol.12, p.410.
6. In modern Italian, 'pallacorda' means either lawn-tennis or tenniscourt, thus still referring to the activity as well as its location; see _Cambridge Italian Dictionary_ 1962, p.553.
side of the garden behind the Palazzo, which suggests that year as a *terminus ante quem* for its construction.¹⁷⁸

That the loggia of the Palazzetto opened towards the private garden was another explicit reference to the Plinian example of villa and *diaeta*, where the *cryptoporticus* gave onto a terrace scented by an abundance of violets. This floral theme was, as discussed above, also given a medical interpretation by Ficino. He enumerated most of the flowers to be found in the Farnese garden on the Tiber bank, and stated that they applied to the senses of smell and taste and through these would relieve the melancholic temperament. That the hyacinth was chosen as a subject for one of Domenichino’s frescoes (figs.36-38) seems no coincidence; the link provided by Ovid between the species of that flower and the lily suggested the extension of the salubrious effects to the flower of the Farnese escutcheon.

This floral theme was also extended to include other details of the Palazzetto’s embellishment, in which the sense of sight was added to that of smell. Farnese had a statue installed under his loggia, described in a later inventory as ‘A statue of Flora, the torso of light grey stone; the head, hands and feet made of white marble’.¹⁷⁹ The Dutch artist Hendrik Goltzius drew this statue in red chalk during his stay in Rome around 1600, probably prior to its relocation in the loggia of the Palazzetto (fig.49). Four niches in the walls of this space were made to contain an equal number of ancient sculptures. This embellishment of the garden and the Palazzetto with antique marbles was modelled on antique and Renaissance prototypes - the sculptures were allocated there for their aesthetic beauty. At the same time, these works of art enhanced nature in these gardens with appropriate mythological themes. They became the *staffage* for the real landscape, analogous to the figures in the painted landscapes.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁸ p.74 for the court constructed for Cardinal Aletti at the *gioco della palla* in the Villa Mondragone in Frascati, during the papacy of Gregory XIII, with a special *casa del gioco della palla* adjacent to it, and p.129 for the new space at ground-level provided for that function after 1615. Also the Palazzo Farnese in Caprarola seems to have had a ‘gioco della palla’; this is suggested by Centroni in *Vignola e i Farnese* 2003, pp.109-117, figs. 14-17.
¹⁷⁹ When the Farnese *palacorda* was rented to Pierre Legros to execute sculptures for the Gesù in March 1696, it was clearly no longer in use for sports; after the termination of the contract with Legros in 1720 its entrance from the Farnese property was closed, and a porch was opened in the wall along the Via della Morte to provide an entrance for the carriages of Alessandro Falconieri. See Michel 1981, pp.572-574.
¹⁸⁰ Jestaz 1994, p.199: ‘Una statua d’una Flora, il torso bianco biscio, la testa, mani e piedi di marmo bianco.’ This statue is now in Museo Nazionale, Palermo.
¹⁸¹ Riebesell 1988, pp.386-417 for the allocation of sculptures during Odoardo’s lifetime; and Mielsch 1987, p.112 for antique examples of sculpture-gardens. An interesting and slightly later example of the combination of antique sculpture and garden-scapes can be found in the engravings of the classical sculptures made by François Perrier and published in 1638 under the title *Segmenta nobilium signorum et statuarum*, where the statues were all represented in idealised garden-settings. See Palma 1997, p.272, who stated on the relation between those two visual elements of the statue and the landscape: ‘in contesto paesaggistico adatto a suggerire l’idea dell’azione e della narrazione mitologica. Lo sfondo, formato da alberi e da edifici...’
The loggia had been the most important aspect incorporated in all later villas and *diaetae*, which, as Pliny described it, was a place from which to enjoy the view onto the garden and the surrounding landscape, and subsequently it had also become an almost obligatory extension of the urban *studio* to which the Palazzetto belonged.\(^{181}\) Also in this case, however, a direct link can be traced from the Plinian example to the Palazzetto: both Pliny and Odoardo Farnese looked out from their garden-loggia over the water – the sea in the former case, and the river Tiber in the latter. The second source of water, the fountain in Farnese’s *giardino segreto*, can be traced to the descriptions of Pliny’s *Villa Tuseiiana*, where the surrounding garden was furnished with several artificial fountains with basins made of precious marble.\(^{182}\)

Architectural plan and surroundings of the Palazzetto should be considered the epitome of sixteenth-century humanistic attempts to reconstruct Pliny’s villa in Laurentium, and the antique precedent of the *diaeta* in particular. It should be concluded that the Palazzetto was not a chance addition to the Palazzo Farnese, but a meticulously planned new wing. The complex of the Palazzetto recreated the ancient literary ideal of the villa, integrating the study of the arts and sciences with the enjoyable view on the garden and landscape, in the densely populated heart of early *Seicento* Rome.

**Camerino and Palazzetto - decorative or functional relations?**

Although the Camerino was located within the premises of the brotherhood of the Orazione e Morte, and was rented from them, it was integrated within the existing Palazzetto through architectural adaptations and the application of the same style of decoration. The inclusion in inventories of this sequence of *camerini*, the choice for landscape-decoration, and the identical display of paintings in the coffered wooded ceiling indicate that it was deliberately inserted into the pre-existing private apartment where arts and learning were combined. Does this imply that the Camerino was a *studio* in the functional sense?

There are two reasons that tend to discount such an interpretation. Firstly, circumstantial evidence excludes the traditional function of a *studio* for the Camerino: there already were several rooms dedicated to studious activities such as reading, writing and the storage of small treasures in the Palazzo Farnese. A private *studio* furnished for Pulvio Orsini and a flight of three rooms denoted with the term *studio*, housing antique coins and gems, in decorated

cupboards, served the antiquarian interests of the palace's occupants. Alessandro Farnese had gathered the riches contained in them, and also had these spaces organised; Odoardo seems not to have altered their disposition nor their content, so the need for a replacement of these spaces seems to have been absent. There was thus no obvious need to create another space with the same function as the studio elsewhere in the Farnese palace.

Secondly, the religious function of the room and the theme of its decoration do not accord with sixteenth-century reconstructions, either in treatises or in actuality, of the Plinian diaeta. Although the presence of individual religious works was not uncommon in sixteenth-century studioi, it never constituted a dominant theme of decoration either. In that case, such a room would sooner be denominated as a private chapel, not a studio. Contemporary descriptions and inventories of the Camerino use neither one of these terms, as has been discussed above. Neither does the furniture of the room offer a means of positive identification of its function. The objects and utensils described in the inventories preclude that the Camerino was a place used either to read, write or study, nor was it arranged as a place to officiate Mass, for which an altar would have been necessary. Apart from velvet cushions to kneel upon, the Camerino was virtually empty.

Even if the Camerino cannot be termed a studio, does the thematic of Lanfranco's paintings and frescoes expand the classical and humanistic view of nature? Does the Palazzetto indeed provide the contextual explanation for the use of landscape painting in the Camerino degli Eremiti? On the one hand, the persistent use of painted landscapes suggests that the decorative programme of the Palazzetto was deliberately continued in the Camerino by means of the landscape theme. Lanfranco's paintings and frescoes visually prolonged the decorative whole that had been created around 1604 in the first four camerini. On the other hand, such an explanation for the frescoes and paintings in the Camerino can only be built on the hypothesis that the landscape provided merely a non-signifying element that functioned as the background to the anchorite iconography. The latter element of the hermit, however, does not relate to the

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183 Latz 1981, p.229 mentioned that according to the inventory of 1566 there was a flight of studiosi and a separate studio on the piano nobile; see also Liebenwein 1977, p.35.

184 Robertson 1992, p.140.

185 The inventory of 1644 listed the following objects in this room (Jestaz 1994, p.138): 'Oratorio che risponde nella Morte 3328. Due paderellet di legno a scalino 3329. Un tappeto 3330. Tre cuscin di velluto cremesino da inginocchiare lungi e stretti 3331. Una sediola bassa coperta di broccatello verde.' The inventory of 1650 seems more precise on the furniture itself, while the paintings were not listed. In ASN. Fondo Farnesiano b.1853 III-IX, fol.94v-95r: 'Una sedia di velluto verde, e rossa. Un'altra sediola bassa colli piedi tornite coperta di broccatello verde, e giallo tutto straviato. Due cuscini di velluto cremesino bislonghio col paria mano, perette colli flocchi di setta alle
programme of the Palazzetto. The answer to this question regarding the *studiolo*-pretext for the Camerino's decoration should thus be negative.

If taken as a coherent idea, the decoration and furnishings of the Camerino degli Eremiti cannot be clarified with recourse to either the *studiolo* or *diaeta*: nor can they be situated within the context of the Palazzetto as theatre of pre-scientific natural philosophy. What distinguished the room from all other examples, both the Stanze in Caprarola and the *studioli* and *diaetai* as discussed above, is the visual relation between the room and the adjacent church and oratory of the Santa Maria dell'Orazione e Morte. What could Farnese observe through these windows and what does that signify for the function and the decoration of the Camerino?
3. PATRONAGE, PROTECTORATE AND REGULAR REFORMS

Orazione e Morte

The name of the brotherhood of Santa Maria dell'Orazione e Morte, from which Farnese rented the Camerino degli Eremiti in 1611, alluded to its two aims: orazione indicated the act of prayer, and morte referred to burying the dead. The sodality had originally been erected for the latter reason in 1538; at regular intervals groups of brothers would inspect the roads and fields in and around Rome for any anonymous deceased, left without a decent burial. During the first decades of its existence, the brotherhood remained relatively small, which hindered their activities as the number of dead bodies along the roads and in the river steadily increased; in 1551, a public liturgical prayer-service was thus organised to attract more members.

This special service of the Quarant’ore was such a success that not only the number of brothers and sisters grew rapidly, but also the epithet orazione was added to the name of the brotherhood by Julius III Del Monte (1550-1555) on the occasion when the sodality had papal approval conferred upon it. The elevation of the Orazione e Morte to the status of an arch-brotherhood in 1560 by his successor Pius IV de' Medici (1559-1565) meant that they were also authorised to receive alms and bequests. Subsequently, the confraternity was able to buy their own premises on the Via Giulia in 1572, behind the Palazzo Farnese, on which they built a new


2 These events were related in the Statuti 1590, pp.1-2: 'Deliberorno ancora di fare una volta il meze l'Oracione continua per spatto di 40, hore, in memoria delle hore, che'l Signor Nostro Giesu Christo doppo la sua morte fu posto nel sepolcro fino alla sua Santissima Resurrezione, le quali opere, si per la tepidezza delle persone, come anche per la qualità de quelli tempi non havevano preso molto vigore, occorse, che nell'Anno del Signore 1551 predicado nella Chiesa di santo Lorenzo in Damaso di Roma nel tempo dell'Advento di Christo un Frate Cappuccino, cercava detto frate vò molto efficacia mostrare quanto fosse devota, & utile cosa la continua Oracione. Il che inteso da quelli della Compagnia pregorno il detto frate, che velesse aiutare questo loro proposito, il quale laudando molto il loro pio, & buono desiderio, & ringratiantone la Divina Maestà, operò tanto con esserarle il Popolo, che in pochi giorni si accrebbe detta Compagnia in numero de frateili, & sorelle. Onde il giorno della Natività di Nostro Signore Iesu Christo dell'istesso Anno nelle detta Chiesa nella Cappella della Concettione si fece l'Oracione delle Quarant'ore con molto sodisfattione del Popolo, le quali opere tanto di seppellire gli morti, quanto della detta oratione, si sono continuate, et si esercitano con tanto fervore, che per la Dio gratia detta Compagnia, essendo poi stata eretta in Archiconfraternita, & capo di tutte le Compagnie, che a agreggarono à essa, è cresciuta di numero de fratelli & sorelle, & ogni giorno va prendendo augumento, & vigore, la quale perciò si è chiamata Archiconfraternita della Morte, & Oracione.'


4 Chiabò Roberti 1985, p.110.
church, rendering them independent from their previous parochial contexts. This building was consecrated in 1575: construction of the adjacent oratory was begun in 1594. The first stone of this oratory was laid by cardinal Federico Borromeo (1564-1631), at that moment cardinal protector of the sodality. Burying the dead had remained an important activity for the Archiconfraternity especially during calamities, such as famines occurring after bad harvests, epidemics, and especially the Liber-floods that occurred regularly from the 1570s to early 1600s. It also constituted the main characteristic of the brotherhoods' public image, as can be understood from the account of Gregory Martin upon his visit to the Eternal City in 1581:

The Companie de morte, is a marvelous great Companie, so called for their Charitie toward the dead, whose profession is to bury of their owne charges and to accompany to the grave al such as either in the Citie or fildes about the Citie, are otherwise destitute of honest and competent burial, as having no special frendes that have a peculiar care for them, or that are able. Of al such they take a special care, both of Citizen and straunger, imitating herein the zeale of Holy Tobie, whose Charitie in this very point the Angel Raphael presented unto God; and for al such they have Masses, and prayers in their Societe. Others also (not onely them of their owne brotherhood) they do willingly accompanie to the grave, if they be called, making a grave and morteful shew al in blacke being the colour of that Companie very correspondent to their profession. These also for confessing, receaving, procession, and quarantine horse of prayer, do as is said before of the Companie of the B. Trinitie. They have a goodly Church new built of their owne Charges.

After the initial public celebration of the Forty-Hours prayer in 1551 to attract members, this important religious event was staged henceforth only for the members of the Orazione e Morte and for a selected number of special invitees; contrary to other Roman associations such as the Trinità dei Pellegrini (also mentioned by Martin), and later the Congregazione dei Nobili in

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1 Black 1989, pp.234-238.
2 Hager 1964, pp 15-16; the accounts for the building of the oratory are in ASVR. ASMOM 546, and a description of the ceremony of the first stone Federico Borromeo are in ASVR. ASMOM 19, fol 163r, on 16 August 1594. Borromeo was mentioned as being protector of the brotherhood in the Statuti of 1590, p.2. For Federico Borromeo, see Rivola 1656, DBI 1960-present vol.13, p.33-42 and Jones 1993.
3 Panciroli 1600, p.545: 'Si dimostrarono ferventissimi in quest'opera [della misericordia] con l'occasione dell'ultima inondazione del Tevere, andando in sin'ad Ostia a ricercar i corpi per seppellirli, per esser cola parte lasciata dal fiume, parte rubbati dall'ondo del mare; E di qui ha preso questo compagnia il nome della Morte.' See also Di Martino Belati 1980, pp.551 for the floods caused by the Tiber in the early Seicento.
the Gesù, the brotherhood did not aim at attracting the general public." It was thus especially important to secure regular attendance at this occasion. In the Statutes of 1590, this was suggested in the description of the preparation of the monthly event: "And for that reason, all the brothers and sisters should be notified of [the occasion of] that Prayer. Also the Illustrious Protector, and other Lords and cardinals and prelates, as the Governor and Guardians see fit, could be given message."\(^1\) Many high officials were thus invited, but the only ones obliged to be present were the members of the 'Numero della Notte', attending the service during the night in shifts to secure at least one person praying in front of the Eucharist at any given moment.

As prescribed above, also the Cardinal Protector of the brotherhood was notified of the occasion of the Quarant'Ore, which implies that by 1590, his presence at the prayer was deemed important. His function was described in the same statutes: 'It being most useful and necessary, that all pious institutions have their Head and Guidance, by whose authority and favours they will be helped, defended and favoured.'\(^1\) However, in the rest of the chapter on the cardinal protector nothing more specific was said about his role; it seems that in 1590, when these regulations were formulated and printed, the brotherhood avoided ceding explicit power to the cardinal performing this function and possibly tended to defend its autonomy. But it was Farnese's own initiative to request in 1611 the use of a room for the special and regular attendance of the Quarant'Ore and other religious gathering, and he indeed seems to have attended often, when in Rome. This seems to be different from anything suggested in the 1590 statutes; cardinal Odoardo aimed at performing a quite different role as protector than his immediate predecessors. What were the reasons for this change?

**The Arciconfraternita and its cardinalprotectors**

Odoardo Farnese was not the first protector to be granted privileged access to the property of the brotherhood. In 1598, the members had allowed Paolo Emilio Sfondrato, nephew of pope Gregory XIV Sfondrato (reigned 1592) and life-long intimate of Odoardo Farnese, and then protector of the sodality, to open a door leading directly from Palazzo Falconieri, this cardinal's

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\(^1\) Martin 1969, p.206.

\(^2\) On public stagings of the Quarant'Ore, see Weil 1974 and Imorde 1997; the Bull issued in 1592 by Clement VIII was one of the instances in which the practice was proclaimed salutifer for all Christianity, and promoted as a public devotion. For the Quarant'Ore at the Trinita dei Pellegrini see O'Regan 1995, pp.25-27; on the Congregazione dei Nobili see Castellani 1954, pp.51-56; for the staging of the Quarant'Ore in the Gesù see Maher 1997.

\(^3\) Statuti 1590, p.78: 'Eti perciò a questa Orazione si doveranno intimare tutti gli fratelli, & sorelle. Si potria anco farlo intendere all'Illustissimo Prototore, & altri signori Cardinati, & Prelati, parendo al Governatore, & Guardiani.'

residence, which he rented from the Odeschalchi-family, into the choir of the church. This project was never realised, for the relations between the brotherhood and Sfondrato quickly became troubled. On the site behind the church of the Santa Maria dell'Orazione e Morte, where the confraternity had planned its new sacristy, Sfondrato intended to build an extension to his Palazzo. This dispute probably triggered the wish by the sodality to have a new representative - that person was Odoardo Farnese. He was installed as their protector in 1599, and one of his first tasks was solving the quarrel between Sfondrato, with whom he was on the best of terms, and the archconfraternity.

Notwithstanding former quarrels between Farnese himself and the brotherhood - around 1595, the confraternity’s plans for an oratory had initially been opposed by the cardinal - by the time that the members of the Orazione e Morte decided to grant Farnese his request, which was similar to the one they had earlier conceded to Sfondrato, cardinal Odoardo had clearly demonstrated his good intentions towards them. This also meant that his involvement with the sodality had become much more direct than had been the case during the office of either Borromeo or Sfondrato. This was exemplified on a number of occasions, when Farnese used his contacts with the papal authorities for the benefit of the confraternity. In 1600, he made special arrangements for the Jubilee, obtaining the following privilege for the members of the Arciconfraternita:

It is hereby made public that, on our request, his Holiness Pope Clement the Eighth has,
vivae vocis, conceded, graced the brothers and sisters of the Archconfraternity of the Morte and Oratone in Rome, so that when they visit the usual four churches once in procession and twice more at will and at one's convenience, they will acquire the Jubilee, as if they would visit them thirty times, according to the above cited Bull issued by His

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2 ASVR. ASMOM 20, 'Libro delle decreti', fol.36v, dd.14 August 1598: 'Tu fatta Congregazione secreta nella chiesa della nostra Compagnia p[er] il fatto dela fabbrica che ci [se] dal illustri[ssimo] Card[inale] Sfondrato canto adetta nostra chiesa, p[er] il sito, che la chiesa nostra dove haver[e] p[er] la sacrestia, nella quale inter venuer[o] l'inf[ascritti] uffic[ial]i. ...' several days later representatives of the confraternity were sent to the Maestri della Strada to talk about the matter (fol.37v); on the 8 June 1599, these representatives went to Sfondrato and Odeschalchi to discuss the matter (fol.51v). On 1 July 1599, it was reported that Farnese, ‘[nostro] Protettore’ had arranged the matter with Sfondrato (fol.55v).

3 ASVR. ASMOM 546(3): 'Scritture in Causa oratorii Con [illustri]s[imo] de Farnesii.'

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Holiness. And truthfully we have signed this presently. In Rome, this 2nd day of March 1600.

Cardinal Farnese Protector

Alfonso Carandino secretary.\textsuperscript{15}

This document attests to Farnese's concern with the affairs of the brotherhood, as he requested this indulgence and saw to it that it was granted. He also had, as protector of the sodality, to sign the papal decision.\textsuperscript{16}

The second signature under this document belonged to Alfonso Carandino, member and sometime governor of the Orazione e Morte; he was also private secretary to Farnese.\textsuperscript{17} In 1609, he had acted as spokesman for Farnese in the request for the Camerino. Carandini attended most gatherings of the brotherhood, playing a double role of governor and that of messenger or representative of the cardinal protector. The latter of the two roles will have counted the most in every-day reality; secretaries in the early seventeenth century were considered to be bending to their patron's wishes in every occasion.\textsuperscript{18} Thus, even when Farnese was not in person interfering with the sodality's administration, he influenced the course of things more profoundly than his direct predecessors had done. This dual role of the cardinal's secretary was new, with respect to the periods in which Borromeo and Sfondrato were protector; they kept their distance from the daily affairs, and had no representative with the brotherhood.

Farnese arranged many other practical issues during his protectorate, either directly or indirectly. For example, in 1606 the brotherhood received the right of interment in the crypt beneath the oratory, and in 1611, another papal decision documented the brotherhood's privilege to release one prisoner from the papal penitential institutions per annum.\textsuperscript{19} The wish to have another altar in the church for the special celebration of Offices for the Dead was also handled by Cardinal Odoardo; this permission was obtained in 1610. The Brief explicitly mentioned the

\textbf{Notes:}


\textsuperscript{16} On the juridical power granted to protectors, see Forte 1959, pp.23-51 and the discussion below, in chapter three; on the additional signature of the protector under papal documents that occurs from the sixteenth century onwards, see Forte 1959, pp.21, 30.

\textsuperscript{17} DHI 1960-present, vol.19, pp.626-627 and Messeri 1997, pp.21-22.

\textsuperscript{18} For the function and role of secretaries in the early modern period, see Biow 2002, pp.155-190, esp. pp.174-177. An early modern treatise discussing the double function of the secretary as scribe and agent for his lord is Ingegneri 1594, esp. pp.9-13.

\textsuperscript{19} Bevignani 1910, p.23, breve dd 29 12 1611. \textit{Pias Christi tidieum.} On the tradition of releasing prisoners at special holidays in Rome, see Black 1989 pp.219-221.
cardinals' involvement in this affair in its text.  

Farnese's charitable deeds toward the brotherhood included more than mere administrative interventions on their behalf; he also supported them in other ways. In 1603, Farnese offered the brotherhood the use of the water from the conduit he had constructed for the garden of the adjacent Palazzetto, when he did not need it himself.  

During the Jubilee of 1625 he rented out a part of his palace to the confraternity, to lodge members of affiliated Italian confraternities who came to Rome for the occasion. His participation in their activities was proudly proclaimed at that occasion, by affixing his stemma above the entrance to the quarters, between those of the two vice-protectors, cardinals Aldobrandini and Barberini. A letter from the brotherhood's assembly reporting these events to Farnese by then residing in Parma thanked him profusely for this favour, as the grandeur of his palace reflected upon the image of the brotherhood as well.

Although the confraternity paid some rent for the use of a part of the Farnese palazzo in 1625, they had to lodge some of the Cardinal's own guests, and even the financial agreement itself was reciprocal. During the Jubilee, Farnese granted them 25 scudi a month, to pay the expenses of lodging and feeding all these pilgrims. The brotherhood was also more regularly financed by Farnese at the amount of 3 scudi and 60 baiocchi a month, at least from 1609 on, but probably from the time he took on the role of protector. When Cardinal Odoardo died in 1626, moreover, he bequeathed the confraternity the considerable amount of 500 scudi.

Apart from this regular support, all the major projects of decoration and refurbishment were financed in large part by Odoardo, with joint support from his brother Ranuccio, Duke of Parma (1569-1622). The connection to the cardinal thus also opened the way to his family and their wealth. When a new ceiling was made for the church in 1605, they paid the largest share of...
the costs together. For that reason, the design made by Francesco Nicolini was sent to Odoardo for his final approval (fig.50). During the work, which was only completed in 1608 — steadily increasing costs necessitated the brotherhood to ask Farnese for additional funding.¹² When, in 1610, the space of the adjacent oratory was also redecorated, the two brothers again covered a large part of the expenses.¹³ The Farnese escutcheon was applied to the ceilings of both church and oratory to underline the family's continuing affiliation to and support of the confraternity; the escutcheon included the ducal crown and cardinal's hat.

On the official level, cardinal Odoardo's pivotal role in the brotherhood's affairs can be deduced from the papal decisions, which he, as protector, was obliged to countersign. It was he who raised these issues with the authorities and obtained the permissions from the papal government. On a lower level, Farnese was also consulted regularly on questions concerning the confraternity's own government. During the preparations for the Jubilee, in November 1599 he was asked to appoint officials responsible for the decoration of the church and the organisation of processions - internal quarrels had obstructed the elections for these functions.¹⁴ A year later, Farnese intervened in the appointment of a doctor to assist the brothers in their work of burying the dead, and help the members who had fallen ill.¹⁵

**The Quarant' Oro and the Camerino**

When the attendance of the members at the primary activity of the sodality, the devotion of the Forty-Hours prayer, became a matter of concern, the confraternity again asked Farnese's assistance. In the course of years between the beginning of the sixteenth century and 1609, participation of the brothers and sisters of the Orazione e Morte to the monthly Quarant' Oro had

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¹⁷ ASVR, ASMOM 281.
²⁴ Barry 1999, pp.193-194 ascribed the design Hempel Katalog AZ Rom 555 in the Albertina, Vienna, to Francesco Nicolini, as 'legendario' responsible for the execution of the ceiling, and the architect Girolamo Rainaldi, member of the brotherhood and architect of cardinal Odoardo; Anderson 1999, p.95 convincingly attributed it to Nicolini alone. The officials being sent to Farnese for his approval are mentioned in the 'Libro dei Decreti'. ASVR, ASMOM 20, fol.173v, dd.24 July 1605: 'Nella quale fu resoluto, che circa la sottitata da farsi nella detta Chiesa Li S[ignor]i Timoteo Ximenez, et Paulo Mellini andassero dall'Illustrissimo S[ignor]i Card[inali]e Farnese ao Protettore, et mostrargli il disegno da detto sottitata da farsi.'
²⁷ Anderson 1999, Docs.II & IV, pp.99-100 noted two payments, the first of 70 scudi on 11 April 1606, and the second on 1 October of the same year. The works were then well under way.
⁵³ ASVR, ASMOM 21, fol.31v.
The 'Libro dei Decreti' of those years remarked on this fact when reporting the meeting held on 1 February 1609 in which it was recorded that:

because few members of our Company attend during the day to participate at the Prayer of the Forty Hours that is usually being organised in our church, for that reason it was proposed that that number who assist during the night, would also pray during the day; about which matter it was decided to raise a discussion during the general meeting.\(^{33}\)

Three weeks later, on 20 February, this proposal was put by the guardians to the general meeting, but in the end a special Numero del Giorno was created, instead of burdening the Numero della Notte with additional duties. This meant that a new group of brothers and sisters would schedule this attendance in the church during the Quarant’Ore during the daytime.\(^{34}\) In 1610, the statutes of this new group were approved by the brotherhood, prescribing their duties and obligations.\(^{35}\)

Exactly during the period in which the attendance of the most important religious activity became a matter of concern, Farnese proposed to rent the Camerino degli Eremiti from the brotherhood. The positive reaction of the secret and the general meetings of December 1609 to the request were triggered by the hope that the presence of Cardinal Farnese would raise the status of the Quarant’Ore in the eyes of the other participants. The contract of 1611 thus mentioned the attendance of the monthly prayers as the first motif for the use of the room.\(^{36}\)

Furthermore, they expected more than mere spiritual co-operation; and indeed in the following years Farnese tried to raise the appeal of the brotherhood’s religious gatherings with still other means. In 1611, he started paying for the musical accompaniment of the Mass, after the example of the Trinità dei Pellegrini, where the power of music in the context of pious acts had first been realised.\(^{37}\) On January 1, 1612, the Libro dei Decreti recorded: ‘And because Mons. Cardinal Farnese our Protector desires that during the coming Quadragesima there will be music made at

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\(^{33}\) ASVR, ASMOM 21, fol.20r: ‘Nella qualità fu detto, [che pochi della nostra Compagnia] intervengono di giorno all'assistenza dell'oratorio delle 40, hora che si sogliono fare nella nostra Chiesa. [che] questo fu detto di voler fare, [che] quelli del numero, [che] intervengono la notte, orassero il giorno; [che] fu reso, che se ne parlì nella Congregazione pubblica.’

\(^{34}\) ASVR, ASMOM 21, fol.20r: ‘Li Signor Guardiani proposero, [che si facessi] oltre il numero delle 48 Oratori, [che] orano la notte, mentre si fanno l'oratorio delle 40, hora nella nostra Chiesa, un altro numero di 40. [Per] assistere di giorno alle del loro oratorio, entro detto che si rimetta alla Congregazione pubblica.’

\(^{35}\) At the following gatherings the names of volunteers for this new group are listed. See also Fiorani et al. 1985, p.331. ‘Per una più profonda esperienza religiosa dei suoi ascritti, la compagnia istituita dal 1565 il cosiddetto Numero della notte (adorazione notturna del Santissimo) e dal 1610 il Numero del giorno (adorazione diurna).’

\(^{36}\) Bevignani 1910, p.22: the statutes of this group can be found in Rome, Biblioteca Angelica Z 11-48

\(^{37}\) ASN, Fondo Farnesiano b.1346 fasc.37: ‘ad affectum participandi de orationiæ quadragesima horas, quae quadlibet mense... rectantur...’

O'Regan 1995, pp.234ff
his expense on each Friday in our Church, with a sermon." Similar payments were still made by Farnese in 1614, for musical oratories during the Holy Week.

The relations between Farnese and the brotherhood of the Orazione e Morte went far beyond the expectations and requirements formulated in the Statuti della veneranda archiconfraternita della Morte et Oratione, drafted some ten years before Farnese accepted his role. Considering how often he actually interfered in their affairs, and even wanted a private 'box' to attend their various activities, the confraternity might have protested about this as an infringement on their autonomy. Instead, they welcomed and even stimulated his interventions; the happiness of the secret and public congregation in confirming the agreement on the Camerino undoubtedly referred to these past and future acts of support. Their gain was most obvious, because through Farnese's dedication to them, they were helped in daily affairs and gained in prestige. For them, the Camerino degli Eremiti thus expressed Farnese's official involvement with the brotherhood in an enduring and tangible manner.

Why did Odoardo Farnese accept such a tedious role and follow it so faithfully for almost three decades? And why did he ask them to have the Camerino at his disposal, and again, pay rent for it? He might also have requested a privileged place in the church itself for the monthly occasion of the Forty-Hours prayer, in response to the invitation of the brotherhood to attend. It has been suggested that the Camerino degli Eremiti was more convenient and appropriate to his rank. But none of his predecessors in the role of protector had tried to obtain a similar privilege, although Sfondrato did request a private entrance to the church – which was not realised in the end, and which was less than Farnese asked for. Instead, the comparison of Farnese with his predecessors indicated a changing interpretation of the protectorate by both the Archconfraternity and the cardinal during the first decade of the Seicento, of which the Camerino was a mere physical expression. This new interpretation of the function of protector reflected a more general phenomenon in early seventeenth-century Rome.

Sixteenth-century concepts of protectorate

Was there a generally applicable definition of protectorate around 1600? Virtually no sixteenth-

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century texts treated the function of protectors at length, which seems striking, given the large number of books on the life and work of a cardinal following Cortesi's *De cardinalatu* of 1510. For that reason, the issue of protecting an institution might seem anything but a debated topic in that period. This is however a misleading idea. The system of protectorates originated in the monastic context, in the twelfth century, and almost immediately it resulted in quarrels that surfaced regularly during the next centuries until erupting with new vigour in the early seventeenth century.

The position and title of cardinal protector had been assigned for the first time to cardinal Ugolino by Saint Francis himself. He wanted the cardinal to intervene on behalf of the Order with the Curia and Pope, and to constrain the brethren to follow the constitutions and obey the superiors of the Franciscan order. The twelfth chapter of the Franciscan Rule of 1223 described three different tasks:

The Ministers, too, are bound to ask the Pope for one of the cardinals of the holy Roman Church to be governor, protector, and corrector of this fraternity, so that we may be utterly subject and submissive to the Church. And so, firmly established in the Catholic faith, we may live always according to the poverty, and the humility, and the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, as we have solemnly promised.

With this provision, Saint Francis appointed the protector with task of ensuring the conservation of observance of the Rules and obedience to the institution of the Church. The text also implied that the authority of the Cardinal protector was restricted to general issues concerning the Franciscan Order: as a relative outsider, the cardinal was to govern, protect and if necessary correct their institution as a whole. Individual cases and requests were to remain the competence of priors and generals.

When, soon afterwards in 1383, more detailed questions of authority were raised, Gregory XI de Beaufort (1370-1378) issued the Bull *Cunctis Christifideles*, redefining the powers of the Cardinal Protector of the Franciscan Order - and that of all other regular Orders. The new rules transferred responsibilities from the Pope to the cardinal, relieving the pressure exerted by regular issues on the papal administration that formerly had to handle these cases. In the new situation,

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1. On Cortesi's *De Cardinalatu* and the function of protectorate, see D'Amico 1983, pp.234-235.
3. This subject is treated with respect to the Franciscan order by Bernardino da Siena 1940, *passim*, and in general *IHP* 1993-2001 vol.8, pp.814-815. A description of historical interest is given by Moroni 1840-1879 vol.40, pp.319f.
4. This is part of the last chapter of the Rule of Francis; see Balthasar 1961, p.321.
5. On this chapter of the Franciscan Rule, see *DHP* 1974-1997 vol.2, cols.276-280 and Bernardino da Siena 1940.
little was permitted on the general level; a protector was only consigned to preside over general chapters – for which an additional papal warrant had to be obtained – which was a mere representational function. In other issues, however, the jurisdiction of the protector was much enlarged. He could act as arbiter in conflicts within the Order, which meant that he became a 'court of appeal', with the right to inflict canonical punishment. In governmental affairs, a protector could appoint the prior general and acknowledge the election of other officials – for his signature was needed for the approval of decrees of provincial and general chapters. He could even issue a decree on his own accord: cancelling or rearranging provinces, assigning monastic houses to provinces, or transferring individual friars to other houses of the Order. The cardinal protector was also entitled to give friars permission to travel, or to sojourn outside the monastery's walls. Awarding privileges or pardons was unquestionably the right most often requested and exerted, with detrimental effects on the morals of regulars. Instead of speaking of restrictions, it is possible to typify these new papal rules from 1373 on as a licence to interfere with almost anything, concerning the persons and affairs within, and even outside of the Order. The protector had become an added superior instead of a defender, which led to troubled relations between Orders and protectors in the following two centuries.

Abuse seems to have occurred often, especially since the topic received little juridical attention at central ecclesiastical level after the Bull by Gregory XI. The position of the protector thus depended primarily on the constitutions of the religious institutions – a fact noted in 1559 by the ecclesiastical lawyer Quintilliano Mandosi. Only in specific instances did the papal Bull of appointment contain rules of conduct. The cardinal thus gained importance when the Orders' Rules left a void, the papal assignment lacked clarity, or when the general was inattentive.

Only at the end of the sixteenth century did the popes introduce new regulations to answer the cries for reform that had been raised by the regular Orders from the early sixteenth century onwards. Following the Council of Trent, during which the problem of the protectorate had not

15 Bernardino da Siena 1940, p. 75.
16 Forte 1959, p. 15-36.
17 Jedin 1966 vol.2, p. 368 n. 43, referring to Quintilliano Mandosio, *Signatuarum gratiae prioris*, Rome 1559. 'Quid autem possit talis protector, & circa quae se intromittat, videatur per Rui condom. 109, circa quaestionem, num.3, vol.5. Est verum, quod plurumque a constitutione, seu regula alcius religionis, vel a constitutione ipsius Papae, seu creatione protectoris maior, vel minor, seu limitata facultas protectori datur. Quantum autem ad clausulam, de qua aconstitutione protectoris maior, vel minor, seu limitata facultas protectori datur. Quantum autem ad clausulam, de qua aconstitutione protectoris maior, vel minor, seu limitata facultas protectori datur.' See also Mandosio 1571, fol. 37a.
been discussed - as most issues concerning cardinals had been avoided3 - measures were introduced to restrict the influence of cardinals on monastic Orders. Gregory XIII in his brief *Cum nihil* of 1580 limited the power of non-regulars, including cardinal protectors, over the government of monastic institutions, especially in individual cases.4 The subsequent institution of the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars in 1587 by Sixtus V. as part of his reform of the College of Cardinals, formed another hindrance to usurpation of influence by protectors, by assuming the position of judge in internal affairs of religious Orders.5 In 1594, Clement VIII forbade any acceptance of gifts for any superior, including protectors, to avoid partial government.6

During these last decades of the century, also a number of treatises began to mention complications connected to the position of protector, and to lament the frequently occurring infractions. These books reflected the changes introduced by subsequent popes and the zeal for reform in particular factions of the Curia. The Jesuit writer Gerolamo Piatti treated the subject of the protectorate at the end of his treatise on the ideal cardinal called *De cardinalatis dignitate et officio*, which was composed for the benefit his brother, Cardinal Flaminio Piatti. The book reflected the situation at the time of writing, around 1591, but was only published posthumously in 1602.7 Piatti described the function of the protector with direct reference to the original duties of the protector in the Franciscan Rules: the historical argument which became so important after the Tridentine Council was also applied in this case. According to him, the interference of the protector with particular and individual issues after Gregory's Bull of 1373 had led to grave errors, and this should be abolished, as it was one of the major threats to regular observance.8 The protector of an Order should be aware of the limitations of his power, as Piatti reminded his readers:

Accordingly, the Cardinal Protector should primarily understand what his limits and

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1 Jedin 1966 vol.2, pp.118-471; see Birkner 1932 for a discussion of the position of the cardinal at the Tridentine Council.
5 Piatti was also known under his latinised *nom de plume*, Hieronymus Platius, which was used for the publication of the *De cardinalis dignitate et officio*. Sommervogel 1960 vol.1, p.695 cited a 1592 edition of this treatise mentioned by Sotwel, but doubted its existence. Moroni 1840-1879 vol.40, p.323 mentioned a *consiglio* written by Piatti for his brother, cardinal Flaminio Piatti, which will have been the basis of the chapter on protectorate; the 1602 edition of the book was also dedicated to Cardinal Flaminio. See also Venocchio 1689 vol.3, pp.520-522 for a paraphrase of this letter.
6 Platus 1602, p.231: 'Quare non potest dici, nec credi, quam multa mala ex hac una re in religiones invehantur, si Cardinales protectores, protectionis suae metas transgressi, gubernationem etiam tractae incipient.'
According to Piatti, the primary task of the protector should once more be the general supervision over religious observance, as it had been decreed by Saint Francis himself:

What if somewhere this religion, and discipline weakens, or is lying prostrate, when what is bad cannot be sufficiently cured internally, then obviously a strong medicine is to be sought, and that pertains without any doubt to the Protector, but in such a way that nothing will be arranged according to his own opinion, but from the institutions of the proper Order, and its prescriptions.

Since Francis had created the function with a particular aim in mind, the present situation should return to this; the changes introduced by Gregory in 1373 had proven erratic in the long run, and should thus be abolished. But in conjunction with this historical argument, a new expectation was explicitly formulated: the protector himself should be exemplary in conduct and religious life.

Even if he did not belong to the regular community to which he was appointed - which applied to the majority of protectors - he had to be aware of its particulars in life and spirituality. For this reason, Piatti recommended to his readers in this same chapter on the protectorate that the Cardinals, even if we admit are earnest and frugal, because they ... are never experts in the religious life, they cannot in any way not know that art, the rudiments of which they sometimes never deal with, and even if thanks to the soundness of their judgement they understand something better, for sure there will never be anyone who understands it as well as those Religious Prelates themselves, who now by their own, then
by the daily experience of others arrive at its best use, and practical knowledge.\textsuperscript{52}

Piattii here juxtaposed the limited knowledge of cardinals with the devotional experience of the regulars, and admonished the protector in matters of religious life to trust those professed in the Order, as cardinals themselves in most cases were inexperienced or, as other sources stated, had little time to devote to the practice of prayer.\textsuperscript{53} In other words, his duty to supervise spiritual matters obliged the protector to follow the example of the regulars who dedicated their life to the practice of prayer.

On the protectorate of brotherhoods, which applied to the situation of Farnese and the confraternity of the Orazione e Morte, Piatti defined only few things. Although in certain aspects the two forms were comparable, in the case of lay-sodalities the juridical status depended even more upon the particulars of the constitutions. The phenomenon of the protectorate over lay-sodalities was comparatively new and had not generated much jurisprudence. For this reason, the tutelage by cardinal Odoardo over the brotherhood was not restricted by anything except the regulations of 1590 cited above. But the changing interpretation of the protector's role between the formulation of these rules and the actual situation of the first decades of the seventeenth century indicate that also in this context the expectations shifted in conjunction with the Tridentine reforms. Indeed, the differences between the protectorates over Orders and sodalities became a topic of discussion.

\textbf{Impending abolition and renewal of the protectorate in 1606}

In the eyes of pope Clement VIII Aldobrandini, or that of his advisors, the measures introduced in the last quarter of the sixteenth century for the reform of the protectorate over religious Orders did not have the desired effect, but rather the reverse: it led to an even greater diversity, and thus hindered the centralisation of the ecclesiastical apparatus. As a result, the protectorate itself came under attack. Immediate abolition of the function was regarded by Clement as too drastic a decision: it would probably have met with fierce resistance from both Orders and cardinals. Thus, on Clement's orders, from 1592 on, no successor would be appointed when a cardinal protector died. The seventeenth-century historiography of the Franciscan Order contains an illuminating remark on the situation:

\textsuperscript{52} Platus 1602, pp.230-231: 'quod Cardinales, ut concedamus probos, & frugi esse, tamen cum religiosam vitam ... nuncquam experti sint, non possant ullo modo nosse cum artem, quia nuncquam tractarunt interdum etiam ne rudimenta quidem, aut si fortasse propter audicij bonitatem aliquid amplius intelligant, certe nemo nunc quam ent, qui tum bene intelligat, quia religiosi ipsi Praelati, qui tum sunt, tum aliorum disciplinae experimenta magnum esus usum, ac peritiam consequi sunt.'

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Clement VIII often listened to [the advice of] a man of great and grave authority, whose advice was that for the best possible reform of the Regulars, a goal he completely supported, he should seriously think about abolishing the Protectors of those Orders. Dispensing with the system by refraining from new appointments became Clement’s goal - which he nearly met. During the thirteen years of his pontificate, many religious orders were deprived of their cardinal protector. In the Avvisi of 1602 a remark about the recently deceased cardinal Salviati points at this pending abolition:

Our Lord has, after the death [of Cardinal Salviati], consigned the seal that belonged to the highest Inquisitor of the Sacred Office to Cardinal Borghese, but concerning all the other many protectors the said Cardinal had, none is yet available: two [protectors] of kingdoms, like the Greek Moroniti and other Christians of the Levant, and of Egypt, because for the Friars of the Capuchins and the brethren of Saint Marcellus no others will be provided because similar protectors will be suppressed ['extinguished'] in the order of their vacation.

But while according to these sources the succession of protectors of religious orders was halted - the use of the word 'similar' in the above citation referred to monastic institutions - in the case of charitable and secular institutions protectors continued to be nominated. The above-cited Avviso continued by announcing the nomination of cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini as protector of the Monte della Piacia, a charitable bank, and Odoardo Farnese as protector of the Casa degli Orfanelli, a lay-institution for the orphans of Rome. The unbroken succession with regard to the brotherhood of the Orazione e Morte during the years around 1600 - first Borromeo, then Sfondrato and immediately thereafter Farnese - is another case in point, that the protectorate of
lay-sodalities was not abolished together with that over the regular institutions. Why did Clement continue in one sort of religious institution what he wanted to halt in other circumstances?

The need for clerical supervision over lay-institutions, especially brotherhoods and charitable societies, was felt to be more important than the possible disadvantages of the protectorate.\(^4\) This was the outcome of the call for more control over semi-religious institutions that had first been voiced at the Tridentine Council. Firstly, brotherhoods were seen as an effective means to involve the laity more closely in the Catholic Faith, during a time that saw the hegemony of the Catholic Church seriously threatened by the Protestants. These brotherhoods, which could be joined voluntarily, were mediating institutions between clerics and the populace and this opened possibilities that the Church hoped to fully employ for popular edification. Secondly, these lay sodalities could become potential homes to subversive doctrines and turn into centres for the diffusion of heretical ideas. For that reason, the Council of Trent had ordered clerical supervision of these societies, which in general fell to parochial authorities.\(^5\)

The later sixteenth century also witnessed a further tendency in the Catholic context: that of increasing centralisation. Sodalities of lay brothers were encouraged to congregate in larger structures, and one of the means to stimulate this was the creation of arch-brotherhoods, the *Arciconfraternite* - of which the Orazione e Morte presented a typical example.\(^6\) They were one of the most successful in attracting affiliations, as they already boasted in the 1590 statutes - at the beginning of the eighteenth century they counted as many as one thousand aggregated societies.\(^7\) Connected to the status of arch-brotherhood, and making it attractive to potential members, were privileges such as the right to receive alms, own property, and obtain indulgences and other spiritual advantages. The elevation to this grade was obtained by papal decree and was always preceded by the ecclesiastical approval of the constitutions.

For related sodalities, affiliation to such an archconfraternity added prestige, gave all the affiliates the same privileges and indulgences, and constrained them to adjust their own Rules to the example of the archbrotherhood. It also meant that they in turn accepted ecclesiastical control, allowing visitations by episcopal authorities. Religious uniformity throughout Christianity was the primary aim of this system.\(^8\)

\(^4\) For the position of protectors in lay-confraternities and other non-ecclesiastical institutions, see Black 1989, esp. pp.8 and 621, and Faber 1999 for a recent research project on this topic.


\(^8\) Black 1989, pp.72-74, 92, 273.
This development towards hierarchy among laysodalities had been set in motion in the first half of the sixteenth century by Leo X de Medici (1513-1521), and was concluded and confirmed in 1604 in the papal Bull Quaeccumque, issued by Clement VIII. This gave priests the right to check the secular as well as spiritual affairs, of all confraternities in their parish. As a result, at the beginning of the seventeenth century brotherhoods were firmly enshrined in ecclesiastical structures. Not by chance, most archconfraternities were located in Rome, thus providing easy communication between papal and confraternal institutions. It also meant that they received additional access to the Vatican authorities by means of a cardinalprotector, which almost all archbrotherhoods had. These cardinals presented a way of keeping an eye on the affairs of the sodalities, acting as contacts between those new structures and the Curia.

After Clement's death in 1605, considerations of supervision over religious institutions led to a reversal of his decisions with regard to the regular protectorate. While cardinalprotector fulfilled a useful function in the reform of layorganisations due of his position as an intermediary, he could potentially do the same for religious Orders, as originally intended by Francis. Pope Paul V Borghese decided to discontinue his predecessor's policy, and in consistory of 6 March 1606 named new protectors on all open positions. In all, nineteen cardinals were installed as protector, of which only five had been appointed by the orders themselves. The decision to preserve the position of cardinalprotectors had to serve papal interests, which explains the papal choice of cardinals in fourteen cases - prior to Clement VIII, the choice was left to the Orders, which was nearly always accepted by the Pope. Some of the orders indicated that they were not completely satisfied with the papal choice, through their representatives who reacted in a positive but somewhat reserved manner to the announcements, as the account by Mucanzio. Papal master of ceremonies suggests:

On the sixth day of the same month, a consistory was held in the usual hall in the Vatican Palace, during which the Pope elected, as was later published, diverse cardinalprotectors for many religions that lack a protector. This fact was a reason for happiness for these religious. It [is] better for a religion to be governed by any given cardinal protector then to be without. 

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1 Bullarium Romanum 1857-1885 vol.11, pp.138-143; see also Rusconi 1986 p.490.
2 Forte 1959, p.87-88. A clear indication that Paul V considered the system as an important part of the papal policy is found in the nomination of his nephew, Scipione Borghese, in as many as 51 protectorates; see Faber 1999.
Solutions still had to be found to the problems of the past that had inspired Clement VIII to abolish the system. Paul V thus asked Cardinal Paolo Emilio Sfondrato to write a memorandum on the matter shortly afterwards. This document, dated around 1607, defended the position of the protector with recourse to his position as mediator between the papal court and the specific monastic government. An important change was the prescription of the protectors' jurisdiction henceforth to be included in the briefs of nomination, through which papal control over the protectors was gained.

Sfondrato's memorandum was meant to form the basis for a papal Bull, composed around 1607, which would further define the juridical status of the cardinal protector. The title of the official document leaves no doubt as to the aim of its contents: *Decision about the office of the most Illustrious Lords Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, Protectors of whichever regular Order, Institution or Congregation.* This almost complete draft reveals that Sfondrato's advice was followed: it described the duties, obligations as well as the prohibitions of the protector of regular orders. Although both documents were left unpublished, the effect of the pope's initial decision was that the role of cardinal protector continued, and was even reinvigorated.

At first sight, neither the memorandum nor the Bull offered a rigorously new definition of the function of protector - it described its Franciscan origins and the *status quo*, with specific admonitions added to avoid future abuse. The special congregation of cardinals called for by Paul V on 8 March 1606 - probably to prepare the official proclamation for which the memorandum supplied the basis - had come to this same conclusion that the continuation of the given situation was the best option, as was noted in an *Aviso*:

After the long description of the reform of the Protectorates of Religious Orders in a separate congregation at the order of Our Lord there has not been found a better moderation than to follow the familiar road...

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7 Sfondrato's advice is in ASV, Fondo Borghese IV, 47, fols.79r-84r, without a title; it bears the inscription 'Protettori' on its verso. Other documents in this volume are dated to 1606. That it was planned early in 1606 can also be assumed on account of external evidence: a remark by Roberto Bellarmino in the letter to his brother of 29 March 1606, in ARSI Opp.NN.244-II fol.246r, where the delegation of tasks to courtiers was named an undesired practice - exactly as Sfondrato had recommended in his memorandum.

8 These briefs had in some prior cases been written, see the appendix in Forte 1959, pp.71-81 that gives the briefs of institution of protectors of the Dominican Order between 1534 and the nineteenth century.

9 The full text of the Bull can be found in ASV, Fondo Borghese IV, 47, fols.68r-74v.

10 *Constitutio super officio Illustrissimorum Dominiorum S.R.L. Card., ordinum, institutorum et congregationum quorumcumque regularium Protectorum*.

11 ASV, Avvisi 2, cited after Forte 1959, p.88: 'Dopo la lunga descrizione sopra la riforma delle Protettoni de Religiosi in una congregazione apparte d’ordine di N.S. non si è trovato il miglior temperamento che di camminar per la strada fatta..."
Between regular reform and curial changes

Although the unpublished status of the Bull meant that the new concept of the protectorate remained unofficial, Paul V on various occasions constrained the cardinals to its general outlines. As noted in the memorandum, the return to the situation anterior to 1592, ideally to the time of Saint Francis, was accompanied by a desire to prevent former abuses by means of stricter regulation. Moreover, the episode around 1606 had obviously been triggered by the will to further the process of general ecclesiastic reform. In his advice of 1607, Sfondrato stressed the protector’s position as intermediate between general superiors and papal authorities, with particular attention to the obedience of the cardinal to the Pope. In theory, the responsibility of regular reform remained in the hands of the Pope, but its practical side was entrusted to his cardinals. The stress on the decree of nomination, that had to be issued henceforward, was proposed to define the task entrusted to the cardinal in writing.

Clement’s original arguments for abolition of the system were turned around by Sfondrato: he did not primarily blame the protector for these past abuses, he attributed this to defects in monastic government. Out of his own experience, Sfondrato evoked an image of conventual authority as largely dependent on favours or obstructed by internal enmities. The protector could stand above the quarrelling parties thanks to his position as outsider, and this also explains the new policy to appoint protectors by the Pope himself, instead of appointing the person nominated by the Order. In Sfondrato’s formulation, these elements of supervision by an disinterested outsider were used as main argument in favour of the system:

When the religious orders have a good protector … with the usual authority he will watch over the general, over the visitator, and over the Abbots, over the spiritual and temporal as well as a good and saintly bishop would over his parishioners, over his chapters, and the other priests; and since he is not of that religion [i.e. Order], the passions and interests that occur between regulars that by an excess which could happen to one of us others do not affect him. Your Holiness will see betterment of government in the superiors of the orders, as my own experience alas has made me handle, and mostly on the presupposition that always zealous cardinals will be appointed, and that protectorates will not be given indistinctly, as in the past, to those who asked for them.77

77 AS Fondo Borghese IV, 47, fol.80r: ‘Che se le religioni hanno un buon Protettore, che qui sia il tutto, con l’autorità solita, questo viga sopra il Generale, sopra il Visitatore, et sopra gli Abbati, sopra il spirituale, et temporale così bene come possi fare un buono, et santo Vescovo sopra i suoi Parrocchiani, sopra i Capitolari, et altri Preti, et in lui, come non e dell’istessa Religione, non cadono le passioni, et interessi che fra Regolari, Che per un eccesso nel quale uno di noi altri potesse incorrere, ne vedra la [Santità Vostra] migliara in materia di governo
The cardinal protector should not only oversee the practical government of the Order in question, but also its spiritual ideal. The latter aspect constituted the particular character that should be preserved, even reinvigorated. Already Piatti proposed the participation of the cardinal in the spiritual life of the regulars. Sfondrato’s proposal also reflected the suggestion made during a session of the Council of Trent, that monastic reformation must return to its inner roots and not concern itself only with correct behaviour. Special emphasis was thus given in the memorandum to the duty of the protector as *corrector*, evoking the first definition of the protectorate as given in the Franciscan Rule:

> When the orders would today be in their former vitality, and observance, and [invested] with the same spirit with which they were founded, or at least less in decline from that saintly discipline, I certainly would not so easily believe that giving them a Protector would be so useful and necessary for their preservation; even when the example of the glorious Father Saint Francis seems to me [to the point] in this case, who notwithstanding the rigour of his Rule ... thought it right to ordain that his Religion should always have a Protector, and what counts even more, he wanted him also to be a *corrector*. We can believe that this Holy man so much illuminated by God, foresaw in his mind the great decline of his Order, and how helpful it would be to have a good protector and corrector.

One main task of the protector was, according to Francis, to make the regulars abide by the vows they had taken and follow the Rules of their Order; he had to preserve the orthodoxy of the community’s life. The Tridentine decrees had been very explicit on the point of observance as well. It was, in fact, the opening sentence of the first chapter of the decree regarding ecclesiastic and regular reform: 'All Regulars shall order their lives in accordance with what is prescribed by the rule which they have professed; Superiors shall assiduously provide that this is done.' It was to this Tridentine prescription that Sfondrato alluded in his memorandum by mentioning the *corrector*, whose duty was to conserve and possibly reinvigorate the intentions of the original...
Rules and Constitutions; he, in turn, had to supervise that the superiors would take this admonition to heart. The discussion about, and revival of the protectorate after 1606, was thus the results of spiritual reforms initiated at the Council of Trent, both with regard to lay organisations and regular institutions.82

The measures for renewal and recovery of the protectorate over religious Orders, and the strengthening of the system in the case of confraternities, took effect in the first half of the seventeenth century. An increasing standardisation of requirements and duties was reflected in treatises; at the same time a broadening of the definition of protectorate can be discerned, in which the protectors of confraternities gradually received the same recognition and status as a regular protector, and even other forms of involvement by higher ecclesiastics within organisations were denominated with this term. In all these cases, cardinals were deemed to exert spiritual government and supervision.

In his juridical exposition of 1653 on the cardinals’ College and the individual rights of its members, Giacomo Coelio described the phenomenon of the cardinal protector in its historical perspective and present-day state, reflecting on the broadening of the role since 1606. Now, not only religious institutions could be ‘protected’ by a cardinal, but secular organisations, cities, regions, and even entire states as well. The latter obligation was included as a result of the Catholic mission: protectors of countries and states supervised the activities of the various orders in spreading the Faith. Coelio discussed all these forms of protectorate as one kind of duty with one generally applicable rule of conduct. In this new light, the prior differences were largely levelled. Protectors of lay-organisations were assigned the same function and importance as those of regular institutions, as Coelio made explicit at the end of the chapter entitled Of the Cardinal protectors of the Regular Orders.83

In 1675, Giovanni Battista De Luca codified the life and function of the cardinal in his encyclopaedic Il cardinale della S.R. Chiesa Pratico, which described the obligations of the porporato towards the Pope and the Ecclesiastical State.84 The title of the chapter on the

82 Coelio 1653, pp 327-338: De Cardinalibus Regularium Ordinum Protectoribus. 'Et hoc, quod in protegendis Religiosis Ordinis dictum est, ad alia loca pia, ad alios hominum, & mulierum Coetus, ac Sodalitias, quibus S.R.E. Cardinales Protectores dati solent, adaptari potest: eiusmodi quia* huiusmodi Protectiones suscipiunt, ita sibi persuadere debent, se tutelam quandam orphanorum, ac papiliorum gerere, ac proinde netas esse, ut eam ad proprium commodum, vel escitanser gerant: eorum tantum sibi utilitates proponentes, quorum se Protectores appellant, ut nomen ipsum indicat. Sed tutelam quaque, & patroncinium Provinciarum, Civitatem, & Regnorum, Cardinales habent, non seces ac ab omnipotenti Deo neder hominibus, sed Civitatibus, Provinciis, ac Regnis constituti sunt, & assignati Angeli tutelares, ut in Sacra Paginae Persarum Angelus, Smirnae, & Laodiceae appellarunt...'

protectorate reveals the changes that had taken place in the preceding half-century: *Of Cardinal protectors, and of the various sorts of protection*. Here, the term of protector had finally turned into a general denomination of all kinds of governmental and political influence exerted by cardinals. In most cases, still no determined regulations existed - which at the end of the seventeenth century would lead again to a discussion on the protectorate.\(^6\) A contrast was no longer perceived, neither by the authorities, nor by the general public, between the supervision over a variety of institutions, whether they were monasteries, Orders or lay-confraternities; the context of general ecclesiastical reform and the absence of a strict juridical definition made these duties all seem equal. This implied that in the public eye of the *Seicento*, the protectorate was considered a political structure binding orders, sodalities, states and cardinals in matters of spiritual and governmental involvement.

**Odoardo Farnese's protectorates**

Around 1600, these changing relations between religious institutions and cardinals had a number of effects. Cardinals began to take their tasks much more serious, in some cases, utterly seriously, such as Federico Borromeo who resigned all his Roman protectorates upon his nomination as archbishop of Milan, and Cesare Baronio who had restored and redecorated all the churches with which he was officially involved.\(^6\) As a result of the reforms, the new definition of the role urged many cardinals in the latter half of the sixteenth century to undertake works of artistic patronage to express their commitment. Indeed, artistic patronage was invested with a new importance around 1600 because of the changes to the system of protectorate.\(^6\)

Within this atmosphere of spiritual renewal, Odoardo Farnese played a conspicuous role because of his position and contacts: as Sfondrato belonged to the same faction in the College of Cardinals as Farnese, the latter certainly knew the import of the memorandum on the new protectorate. But practical obligations as protector also brought home the implemented changes: in the course of his ecclesiastical career, Farnese accepted the position of protector for a number of institutions and countries. Immediately following his creation as a cardinal, such honours were arranged for him by his father, Duke Alessandro Farnese, using his political contacts with the royal houses of Europe. One of his first nominations was as protector of the Kingdom of Aragon

\(^6\) This situation was resolved with the Bull *Confessio fidei*, issued by Clement XII in 1694; this tried to restrict and define the role of the cardinal protector within ecclesiastical law. See *DIP* 1974-1997 vol.2, p.280 and *Siena* 1940, p.104.


\(^6\) A list of all churches and religious buildings that were restored and or redecorated in the last quarter of the sixteenth century can be found in the *Roma di Sesto I*, 1993.
in 1592, which was followed in 1600 by that of England, in 1601 by that of Sweden, and in 1607 by that of Portugal. In the following years the republic of Ragusa, the Catholic parts of Switzerland and Germany were added, as was, ultimately, the protectorate of India.  

Farnese was also protector of a number of laysodalities. In his funeral oration and in his will he named, apart from the Orazione e Morte, also the Confraternita of Santa Maria del Carmine, which chose him in 1599, and the Casa degli Orfanelli, an orphanage in the centre of Rome of which he became protector in 1606.  

Odoardo was also involved with the Compagnia del Rosario in the church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva, the Oratorio del Gonfalone, and with the hospital of San Girolamo della Carità.  

Notwithstanding his absence from Rome after 1622, institutions continued to seek favours from him. A letter of 10 June 1623 from the Confraternita dei Lombardi connected to San Carlo al Corso indicates that Farnese was asked to replace as protector Cardinal Scaglia, who had left Rome. The fact that he left this confraternity 500 scudi in his will means that he accepted their offer and took on this responsibility as well, even when he continued to reside in Parma.  

The most important and prestigious position was that of protector of one of the regular Orders. Farnese acquired two of these positions during his ecclesiastical career. In 1600 the Carthusian Order chose him as their new protector, but Clement's policy of suppressing the system prohibited papal recognition of this position; Paul V approved it only in 1606. Around
1616, the protectorate of the Capuchin Order was granted to Farnese. Other attempts – by Farnese himself, or by the Order in question – to be nominated to such positions were obstructed by diverse factors, but in each case, unofficial relations continued to exist, and demonstrate that Farnese was considered a valuable contact at the papal court and an able advisor in regular disputes. In 1611, Farnese was asked to become protector of the Order of the Camaldolese, but Paul V refused to grant him this, as he wanted to nominate his own nephew Scipione Borghese. The pope's refusal to grant this request was not immediately accepted by the Order's general, Angeli, who even went so far as to contest this decision in front of the pope. An eighteenth-century general of the Camaldolese, Losanna, described the discussion between Paul V and Angeli:

'having had notice of the death of this prince [cardinal Ottavio Paravicini] and having celebrated the funeral services for him, general Angelus went to Rome to treat the issue of the new protector, and being closely affiliated with cardinal Odoardo Farnese, his plan was to get him as protector, considering [Farnese's] qualities for the Congregation: for Odoardo, like all his ancestors, had always venerated the Congregation of the Camaldolese, and even in the consistories of cardinals had always favourably offered his support to the Camaldolese fathers, and he seemed to solicit for the protectorate with deliberate propensity. However, Pope Paul V's politeness preoccupied the diligence and concern of the general, because, before the general came to Rome, the Pontiff had assigned the office of protector to his nephew cardinal Scipione Borghese ... and commended with fatherly care the Camaldolese congregation to him. Approaching to kiss the feet of the blessed [pope], father Angelus was thus addressed by him: 'Why, Father General, did you desire Odoardo Cardinal Farnese as protector of the congregation? Why did you reject Scipione Cardinal Borghese, our nephew?' The general did not want to hide the truth from the Pontifex, but advanced as an excuse the fact that he had considered himself unworthy of so great a favour of protection by His nephew; and that the Congregation also considered [itself] not worthy of so much benevolence from the Pope; but when the Pontiff himself truly would want to employ his dignity, he had his sincerest thanks, and the congregation would repose safely in the shade of so great a protector. And the Pontiff added: 'I want you to know, general, that when we make Scipione Borghese...

1 This is suggested by correspondence of the years between 1622 and 1626 in ASP, Cart. Farnesiano e Borbonesi Esterno, 5, 419 from members of the Capuchin Order to Farnese in which he was addressed as 'protettore'.

2 On 3 Febbraio 1611, the then protector of the Camaldolese, cardinal Ottavio Paravicini died; see Muitarelli 1764, p. 211.
our nephew, protector of the Camaldolesi, we personally want to take care of the Congregation's needs, and fulfill the office of protector.\(^6\)

By intervening in the traditional process of electing the protector, Paul V clearly intended to get a grip on the protectorate, and by electing his nephew instead of Farnese, he wanted to maximise his influence on the process of reform.

Obstructed by this irrevocable papal decision, relations between Farnese and the Camaldolese were destined to remain unofficial. Correspondence between the Camaldolese monks and Farnese document ongoing contacts, dealing with matters that were officially part of the protector's duties. In March 1625, the Camaldolese hermit Hilarion d'Ancona wrote a letter to cardinal Farnese to ask him the favour of intervening in the general chapter, to be held that year in Rome, and to go and talk to cardinal Rivarola, then protector of the Order, on behalf of the congregation and convey its wishes.\(^7\) This particular request concerned matters of monastic observance, namely the co-operation of two separate Camaldolese congregations. Like the Franciscans, one of these followed the rules in a literal sense; the other had a less strict interpretation. Thus, even while Farnese was not their protector, they requested favours from him that touched upon the issue of regular reform.

Also in the case of the Jesuit Order, Farnese was invested with an unofficial position on

\(^6\) Mittarelli 1764 p.227: 'habito de obitu hujus principis nutrio, & parentalibus ei celebratis. Romam pro novo protectori impeandis Angeli generalis curavit, & quem cum cardinale Odoardo Farnesio familiaritate multa erat conjunctus, hanc in protectorem exsiquere designat ... nam Odoarum, ut omnes ejus maiores, congregationem Camaldolensem semper veneratus erat, immo suum favorem votumque suum benigni in congregationibus cardinalium patribus Camaldulensiibus semper praebuit, ac propensione voluntate videbatur protectionem hanc ambire. Verum humanitas summi pontificis Pauli V diligentiam & curam generalis praecognitavit, nam, antequam generalis Romam perveniret, protectionis munus contulit Scipioni Burgesio ... cardinali nepote suo, illique paterna caritate congregationem Camaldulensem commendavit. Accedente pro osculandis vestigii beatissimus pater Angelum sic alloquatus est: Cur pater generalis Odoardum cardinalem Farnesium in protectorem congregationis cupiebas? Cur Scipionem cardinalem Burgesium nepoten nostrum rejiciebas? Generalis noluit pontificem veritatem caelare, sed pro excusatone attulit, se de tanto favore protectionis nepotis indignum existimasse. Generalis quoque existimare non meneri tantam pontificis benignitatem, verum quandoque ipse pontificem ea dignatione uti voluisset, summas ei gratias habere, congregationemque sub umbra tantis protectoris tutam quiescere. Addidit Pontificis: Siias volo generalis, quod & si congregationes Camaldulensi protectorum Scipionem Burgesium cardinalem nepote nostrum tribuimus, tamen nos ipsi congregations necessitatis consulere, & officium protectoris exercere volumus.'

the grounds of his family's long-standing ties with the Society. In this case it had been the
decision of the institution itself to rid itself of its official protector. Only one cardinal, Rodolfo
Pio da Carpi, had ever been appointed to that position, around 1544. When he died in 1564, the
Jesuits deemed it better not to have a cardinal representing them, but rather to be under the direct
governance of the Pope. Pius IV accepted this proposal, and regulations concerning the cardinal
protector were erased from the editions of the Jesuit Constitutions after that date.

This did not preclude contacts between the Society and cardinals: Jeronimo Nadal
proclaimed in his Tractatus de consuetudine S.1 that all cardinals were protectors of the Order.Obviously, some were more influential than others. Because Paul III had officially approved the
Jesuit Order, the members of his family ranked of the first importance in this context. This
expressed itself most clearly in the building of the church of the Gesù: this was considered by
Alessandro not only as a prestigious project displaying his wealth, but also serving as an act of
appropriation. The same symbolical message was conveyed by the building of the Casa Professa,
financed and initiated by Farnese, on which this historical bond was proclaimed in the form of an
inscription stating that Odoardo followed in the footsteps of his ancestors by supporting the Order
in this way.

**Discaicled Carmelites and the mission**

Another unofficial but important contact was maintained between Farnese and the Discalced
Carmelites, for whom in 1621 Odoardo commissioned the convent of San Silvestro e Teresa in
Caprarola (figs.51 and 52). This church and convent were built for the new Italian
congregation of the Discalced Order, which had been instituted by papal approval in 1600.
This creation of a new Congregation had no formal influence on the protectorate of the Order. In
the Bull proclaiming the independence of various branches it was specifically stated that the
Discalced Order would remain under the guidance of cardinal Domenico Pinelli, appointed their
protector by Sixtus V.

The Rules of the Discalced Order favoured the authority of the general, as was stated in a
discussion in the middle of the seventeenth century, and little room was left for the protector.

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1 Scaduto 1964, p.400f and Wicki 1959, p.244f.
2 Nadal 1905, p.621: "ni non habeat Societas protectorem certum deiuncto Carpensi cardinali, sed at omnès
cardinates sint uti protectores."
3 See chapter four.
4 See Di Ruzza 1994 and chapter 4, p.144-149 for this convent and Farnese's patronage.
6 Lenzana 1946 vol.2, pp.404-409, chapter IX: De Dominis Cardinalibus Regularium Protectoribus, corumque
facultatibus, iuribus, privilegiis.
A treatise written by Carmelite theologian, Juan Bautista Lezana, discussed the position and function of the cardinal protector quite profoundly. His *Summa Quaestionum Regularium* of 1637 defined the protector as an apostolic delegate and representative of the pope towards the order, while internally 'conserving the authority of the prior'. Although the protector could thus act in favour of the order in Consistory, the Carmelites took care to keep him out of domestic and spiritual affairs.

Instead of depending upon one protector, the Discalced Carmelites turned to more local forms of patronage. When they were allocated their own monasteries in 1598 by Clement VIII, patronage was taken up by individual cardinals and local nobles. One Roman settlement at Santa Maria della Scala was financially supported, by cardinal Paolo Emilio Sfondrato among others, and the building of a second convent in Rome, San Paolo in Terzo Cielo, (later rededicated as the Santa Maria della Vittoria), was funded by cardinal Scipione Borghese. The building of the church and convent of Santi Silvestro e Teresa in Caprarola by Odoardo Farnese can thus be regarded as a public statement of individual patronage. It was also a result of the delegation of another task to the Discalced Carmelites in the first decades of the *Seicento*: that of the mission.

Odoardo Farnese harboured close contacts with the Discalced Carmelites in conjunction with his position as a member of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, the Propaganda Fide. Farnese was nominated as member of this congregation, instituted in 1622 for the co-ordination of the missionary activities of various individual Orders. A number of cardinals close to Farnese had been appointed to the predecessor of this congregation, a short-lived initiative of 1599-1600: Federico Borromeo, Roberto Bellarmino, Pietro Aldobrandini, and others; Farnese himself seems not to have been involved by then. This failed attempt was followed by a new initiative around 1607, in which the mission was to be administrated by a newly instituted congregation of the Discalced Carmelite Order. This did not come to fruition as this proposal was not unanimously accepted by the General Congregation of this Order, but it did result in the establishment of an active role of Discalced Carmelites later on in the Propaganda Fide.
An important influence on the organisation, assignment, and even the name of the new Propaganda as it was set up in 1622 came from the writings of Tomas de Jesus OCD (1564-1627), who had originally been appointed by Paul V in 1607 to organise the Discalced missionary congregation. As a response to resistance to this plan, Tomas wrote a pamphlet entitled *Stimulus missionum*, published in 1610, in which he discussed the necessity of missionary activities for the Discalced Congregation.10 Within three years, he expanded this introductory argument into a large compendium on missionary theory directed to all regulars, the *De procuranda salute omnium gentium* of 1613 (fig.53).11 This book, which discussed aims and methods of conversion of heathens, was used by the Propaganda Fide as *vade-mecum* for regulars in foreign regions until well into the eighteenth century.12 The Discalced Order, in the end, became one of the driving forces behind the missionary activities of the Catholic Church.

The new convent of Santi Teresa e Silvestro in Caprarola was commissioned by Farnese in exactly the years in which the missionary congregation was erected. Between 1620 and 1622, Odoardo was appointed one of its members, and in which he also corresponded with Domenico di Gesù Maria, a Discalced friar who was consulted regularly by the papal authorities with regard to missionary questions.13 Although it was only officially declared as such by the Discalced General Chapter in 1628, the convent in Caprarola was from the start meant to be a place for study and intellectual preparation for foreign missions. The monastic architecture, which according to the agreement with Farnese was designed to house fifteen monks, contained room for a total of thirty-five. The internal organisation of the complex clearly divided the top story of the building - for the lodging of groups of students - from the lower two floors where the regular monks lived, by means of access through a separate stairwell.14 The ward for the students was thus autonomous from the quarters of the permanent residents.

The art commissioned by Farnese for this new complex seems to underline its function as a convent for missionary preparation. In the church of San Silvestro e Teresa, one of the paintings commissioned by Farnese and painted around 1626 by Alessandro Turchi called l'Orbetto showed

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11 Tomas de Jesus 1610.
12 Hoffman 1960, p.87f.
14 A letter to Duke Odoardo Farnese from Domenico di Gesù Maria mentioned the contacts with cardinal Odoardo, see ASP., Cart. Farnesiano e Borbonico, b.419. For Domenico di Gesù Maria, in secular Domenico Razzola, see DS 1937-1994 vol.3, cols.1532-1534. For the involvement of Farnese in the affairs in the Propaganda Fide, see the correspondence of 1623 between Inigo (the Propaganda's secretary) and Farnese in ASP., Cart. Farnesiano e Borbonico, esterno, b.419.

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Saint Anthony of Padua preaching to the fish (fig. 54). In contrast to the traditional iconography of the theme, this painting does not show the saint alone with the creatures of the sea. Turchi depicted a number of bystanders, inhabitants of the city of Rimini who, according to the saint's hagiography, first refused to listen to him, but after witnessing this miracle lent him their ears. Thus, after first meeting with adversity, a natural miracle helped the saint in transmitting the Divine message to his intended audience. In the context of the San Silvestro, the figure of Saint Anthony represented the apostolate of the Faith, which connected the interests of Cardinal Farnese with those of the Discalced Carmelites, and for which goal the convent in Caprarola had been intended.

Farnese's patronage of the Discalced convent should be seen in conjunction with his work as counsellor of the Propaganda Fide, and the general duties of a cardinal in the early seventeenth century. The combination of power, knowledge and prestige obliged the cardinal, in the eyes of theorists of the early Seicento, to sustain the mission. Albergati's treatise on the cardinal's life, dedicated to Farnese upon his nomination in 1592, stated that this was a primary concern for the cardinal of high birth:

'it will be precisely for the cardinal born a prince to accompany advice in this affair [the dissemination of the Faith] with works. so that with by means of his wealth and power the officials of the Church, not only in his own state but also in those of the others will be prepared in the manner that not only in Catholics lands will good education be introduced, but also in heretical states, and heretics and atheists will not lack support or a clear path to the real Faith ...'  

The monastery in Caprarola thus profited from Farnese's support through his wealth but also his the 'advice' as mentioned by Albergati. Another treatise of 1599 written by Giovanni Botero on the obligations of a cardinal stressed his obligatory spiritual involvement in this matter, and his participation in religious preparation. It was precisely through his involvement with the mission...

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117 Albergati 1598, p.47; 'proprio del Cardinale nato Principe sarà in totale affare accompagnare il consiglio con l'opera, sì che col mezzo delle ricchezze, e possanza sui i ministri della Chiesa non solo nello stato suo, ma in quelli
that the truly devout cardinal could demonstrate his personal piety and virtues: the practice of the one involved the other.\textsuperscript{18}

In all his ecclesiastical functions, Farnese was obliged to supervise processes of spiritual edification, as the foregoing exposition on the protectorate implied. In the perception of the early seventeenth century, these two actions were interrelated: as Sfondrato formulated the main requirement for protectors in his memorandum to Paul V: 'But the true remedy is to provide for pastors [who are] good and zealous for the souls.'\textsuperscript{19} Praying for one's own soul would prepare one to assist with the spiritual salvation of others.

The Camerino's Eucharistic message

The Camerino degli Eremiti served Odoardo Farnese in his position as cardinal protector of this sodality: the existence of the two windows giving onto the church and oratory provided ample occasion for him to attend liturgical and devotional events for his own as well as the brotherhood’s benefit. General councils of the brotherhood were held in the oratory, so even the practical affairs of government might have been observed from the Camerino. The architectural constellation, as discussed in the first chapter, was not intended merely for the benefit of its user, but was devised to offer Farnese the full exertion of his practical and spiritual duties with regard to this company.

The decoration of the room reflected the theme of the protectorate on two different levels; the first of which was the specific devotional practice that had given the brotherhood of the Orazione e Morte half of its name. Panfranco's decoration in the Camerino led the occupants' thoughts to the monthly Adoration of the Host during the \textit{Quarant'Ore}, and more in particular to the central importance of the Host in this act of devotion. This took place either in the church or the oratory and started with a Eucharistic Mass in which the Host was consecrated and subsequently put on the altar for the set period of forty hours.\textsuperscript{20}

What the members of the brotherhood adored in the exposed Eucharist was the Body of Christ after the transubstantiation. On the one hand, this confirmed one of the prime dogmas of the Catholic Church that the consecrated Host indeed turned into His Body, as Bellarmino had...
stated in his explanation of the Christian Doctrine. According to Catholic theology, on the other hand, this corporeal Presence of Christ in the Sacrament was considered a means to ascend with the mind to spiritual union with its Creator, and thus the accent was laid on the spiritual nutrition it offered. In a treatise of 1598 on the significance of the Eucharist, this was given as the main reason why the Host should be considered the most perfect work of God on this earth:

But see the admirable work of the magnanimous Jesus, who in order to make you as perfect as any creature can be, which consists in the perfect union with its Creator, he gives you this precious Sacrament, and searches for your Love; because it is precisely love which transforms the lover into the loved one, which is God. And it pertains to this heavenly Sacrament, just like divine food, that transforms within he who eats it, uniting us with God himself, from which it follows that the Sacrament and our love taken together unite us in such a way with God, that they make us one soul and one heart with him.

What counted was not the actual form of the Host, but its spiritual significance. For this reason, the adoration of the Eucharist during the Forty Hours Prayer was an important occasion for receiving its salvific qualities, in the eyes of the devout in the early Seicento. As the Jesuit Louis Richeome stated in another treatise on Communion, the necessary preparation consisted of prayer and contemplation, to secure spiritual reception instead of a mere swallowing of the Host.

The subjects depicted in the decoration of the Camerino, such as Saints Mary Magdalene, Benedict, Onuphrius, Saints Paul the First Hermit and Anthony Abbot, and most obviously Christ himself in the middle of the ceiling, all alluded to the Host as adored by the brotherhood of the Orazione e Morte during the prayer of the Quarant’Ore, and especially directed the beholder towards the brotherhoods’ function of mediating divine inspiration through the act of prayer. The

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121 Bellarmino 1614, p.74: ‘M.: Che effetto fa l’Eucharistia? D.: Nutrisce la carità, che è la vita dell’anima, & l’accresce ogni giorno più. Et però si dà sotto specie di pane: se bene veramente quello non è pane, ma il vero corpo del Signore...’ For the relation of the Quarant’Ore and the dogma of the Presence of Christ in the Host, see McGinness 1988, pp.103-104.


123 Bellarmino 1614, p.74: ‘M.: Che effetto fa l’Eucharistia? D.: Nutrisce la carità, che è la vita dell’anima, & l’accresce ogni giorno più. Et però si dà sotto specie di pane: se bene veramente quello non è pane, ma il vero corpo del Signore...’ For the relation of the Quarant’Ore and the dogma of the Presence of Christ in the Host, see McGinness 1988, pp.103-104.

124 On the subject of Communion, especially the frequency with which this should be taken, a large number of works were written. See Moroni 1840-1879 vol.15, pp.108-133 and Maher in Confraternities and Catholic Reform 1999, pp.75-80.

centrally placed painting of Christ hosted by angels after fasting for forty days in the desert formed the key to the understanding of the cycle (fig. 4). Its subject was based upon the Gospel of Saint Matthew, 4.11: 'Then the devil left him, and behold, angels came and ministered to him.' In Roman painting of around 1600, this topic was especially popular in the context of refectories; one such illustration was commissioned from Cristoforo Roncalli by Cinzio and Pietro Aldobrandini for the refectory of the monastery at Camaldoli (fig. 55) and another depiction of this scene was found in the room with the same function in the noviciate of Sant'Andrea al Quirinale in Rome. These, and Lanfranco's painting as well, illustrated to the viewer the spiritual and corporeal Presence of Christ at the same time: it literally showed how bread turned into the Body of the Saviour.

But the meaning of the subject of the key painting went beyond the defence of the dogma of Eucharistic transubstantiation: this particular episode was interpreted in seventeenth-century devotional literature as a contrast between spiritual and physical nutrition, and an incitement to prayer. In a treatise of 1598 with meditations on the life of Christ, Jesuit Vincenzo Bruni linked this scene to the words that Christ spoke to the devil when tempted to turn stones into bread: 'Man cannot live on bread alone, he lives on every word that God utters.' In meditating upon the particular episode of the angels serving Christ, the soul of the reader was called to join the Saviour at this 'sacred table', an obvious reference to prayer and Eucharistic Mass, the two elements of which the devotion of the Quarant'Ore consisted.

An explicit reference to the devout turning into an image of Christ was the depiction of the Stigmatisation of Saint Francis in the Camerino. The praying saint was literally unified with his Creator, and the Stigmata were merely exterior signs of this spiritual union. A familiar epithet of this saint was 'alter Christus'. It implied that the figure of Francis was another symbol for the Eucharist. At the same time, the scene of Francis' Stigmatisation illustrated the means by which he had attained this identification with Christ. His spiritual union was reached by means of prayer and penitence: the spiritual methods that were practised in the devotion of the

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125 For the depiction of the Angels serving Christ in Camaldoli by Cristoforo Roncalli, see Chiappini di Sorio 1975, pp.107-108; for the painting in the Sant'Andrea, see Richelme 1611, p.109-112. Other examples for Lanfranco's composition were paintings by Ludovico Carracci and Francesco Albani, see Nell'eta di Correggio 1986, p.316, cat.no.112 and Puglisi 1999, p.206, cat.no.168.

126 Bruni 1598, p.219. See Pigler 1973 vol 1, pp.217-222. Schiller 1966-1991 vol 1, pp.153-155 and ICL vol 1, cols.146-150 for the iconography of this scene; during the Middle Ages the predilection was for the depiction of the three scenes of temptation. Only with the late sixteenth century, representations of Christ served by Angels became more frequent, and became popular in refectories of monasteries; see ICL vol 4, col.449.

127 Bruni 1598, p.223: 'Accede tu quaqu: anima mea hanc sacram mensam, & reliquias ex ea cadentes studiose colige.'

Quarant’Ore. It was to this theme that the painting referred in the context of the Camerino.

The two subjects of meditation and the Eucharist were also combined in the depiction of Saint Mary Magdalene rising up to heaven (fig.5). The iconography of this painting deviated from the sixteenth-century tradition in which the saint was depicted grieving over her worldly excesses. In contrast, Lanfranco here stressed the daily assumption of the saint to heaven where, as Jacobus de Voragine wrote, she enjoyed spiritual instead of material nourishment. As seventeenth-century texts explained, this particular grace was the result of the frequent and assiduous dedication of the saint to prayer and penitence.

The two little figures, hardly visible, standing in the landscape in the lower half of the painting, deviated from the few known depictions of the Ascension of the Magdalene in the sixteenth century, and even from other versions of this scene painted by Lanfranco. These figures are Bishop Maximinus together with a priest who had been called by the saint to bring her the last communion before dying; she was however admitted to heaven before they reached her. The Eucharistic connotation of the present scene was thus taken further by stressing the essentially divine and incorporeal character of the Host, and the mental preparation and reception versus the actual communion. The depiction of Saint Mary of Egypt, of which the descriptions from the inventories mentioned that she was represented in the act of receiving the Host from the hands of a priest, will have conveyed a comparable message to the Seicento viewer.

The following scene of Saint Onuphrius, depicted in a kneeling position and being administered the Host offered a further example of spiritual preparation for Communion. By depicting angels bringing the Host to the fourth-century hermit, a direct relation was constituted

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5. One illustration of the same subject conveyed the same message: the Elevation of the Magdalene by Antonio Pollaiuolo in Staggia referred directly to the Eucharist by depicting the Magdalene uplifted in a praying position in front of a Host brought to her by an angel. See Wright 1997, ill.1. See Haskins 1993, p.270, for the Last Communion of the Magdalene.
6. The preparation for Eucharistic communion by means of prayer and penitence was a well-known topic in early seventeenth-century literature, see Pinelli 1597 and Richieome 1609; a modern study is McGinnes 1988.
7. The subject of this painting was described in the list of 1662. ASN. For the iconography of Mary of Egypt, see BN 1961-1970 vol.8, cols.981-994. Haskins 1993 p.109-111 stated that the hagiography of Mary Magdalene and Mary of Egypt have influenced each other for a substantial part.
with the scene where angels hosted Christ, which once again underlined the divine origin and spiritual character of the Eucharist. The painting also stressed the replacement of physical with spiritual food: according to a hagiography of Onuphrius of 1604, this heavenly administration would only take place when penitence had been sufficient to purify the saint for the reception of Christ's Body and the real bread was no longer necessary for corporeal sustenance.\textsuperscript{13}

The episode from the life of Saint Benedict that was depicted in the Camerino stemmed from his biography by Gregory the Great. Benedict, living in a cave, had ignored the arrival of a basket containing his daily food, as the Devil had broken the bell on the rope. He had not noticed the basket for a number of days as he had been continually immersed in prayer.\textsuperscript{15} The contradiction between spiritual versus corporeal nourishment was also the subject of one of the frescoes, depicting the meeting of Saints Paul the first hermit and Anthony Abbot (fig.7). The half loaf of bread, which was brought daily to Paul by a raven, was doubled on the occasion of the visit.\textsuperscript{14} In Lanfranco's composition, the direction of the folded hands of Saint Anthony and the gaze of Saint Paul towards the raven, with the loaf in its beak, in the first place expressed the wonder of the two saints at this divine provision, and in the second place turned the fresco into a visual analogy of the Adoration of the Host during the prayer of the Forty Hours, for which the Camerino had been intended.\textsuperscript{15}

Saints, protectorates and paintings

Beyond the particulars of the spiritual practices of the Orazione e Morte, the subject of a number of paintings alluded to a second level of meaning. The saints depicted in the paintings and frescoes not only carried a significance related to the devotion of the Quarant'Ore, but at the same time called the protectorates to mind with which Farnese was invested around 1616.\textsuperscript{16}

Saint Eustace (see fig.6) recalls the Roman church of Sant'Eustachio, of which Odoardo was titular cardinal from 12 June 1595 until 3 November 1617, which obliged him to exert pastoral

\textsuperscript{13} Regio 1604, p.61.
\textsuperscript{14} BS 1616-1970 vol.2, col 1113. The source of this episode is the Dialogue of Gregory the Great, II.1.5-6: 'Ad eundem vero specta Roman i cella iter non erat, quia excelea desperi rapit eminebat; sed ex cadens rapio in longissimo luna religatum Romanus deponere panem conspiceret, in qua erat resti partim tinninabulam inserire, ut ad somum tinninabulam vi Das congruoracret quando sibi Romanus panem pratercet, quem exei accepere. Sed antiquus hostis animi curati invidens, alterius refectionis, cum quadam die sibi partem panem conspiceret, inactum lapidem et tinninabulum fregit.'
\textsuperscript{16} For the iconography of the Meeting of Saints Paul and Anthony, see Pigler 1974 vol.1, p.423-424 and Icti vol.5, col 211 and *ibidem* vol.8, col.515.
\textsuperscript{17} Wilte 2001a, p.56-57.
care over its parish.\footnote{For the titular church of Sant'Eustachio, see Christoforoi 1888, p.255; for the pastoral obligations linked to the function of titular cardinal after the reforms of Sixtus V, see Pastor 1925-1933 vol.10, p.167. The painting referred to the \textit{Quarant'Ore} as well, as Farnese held Christ on the Cross between the antlers of the deer.} Simeon Stylite (fig.8) was an implicit reference to the Basilian abbey of Grottaferrata, the Greek-rite monastery near Rome of which Farnese was commendatory abbot from 1589 onwards (fig.56).\footnote{See Spear 1982 vol.1, pp.159-171, Mignosi Tantillo in \textit{Domenichino} 1996, Rocchi 1998, pp.213-215, and Witte 2003 for the Abbey at Grottaferrata and Farnese's position there.} This saint was especially venerated in Greek liturgy on the first day of its liturgical calendar and in the \textit{Menologio} of Saint Basil in particular.\footnote{The link between Saint Symeon Stilite and Grottaferrata was indicated in Barry 1999, p.207; for the situation of the feast of Simeon at the beginning of the Byzantine liturgical calendar and in the \textit{Menologio} of Saint Basil, see BS 1961-1970 vol.11, col.1128. For the iconography of Symeon Stilite and the snake around the column, see also Sodini 1989, esp. pp.52-53.} Saint Bruno was the founder of the Carthusians, of whom Farnese had been protector since 1599.\footnote{Tromby 1779, p.437 n.8; this protectorship seems not to have resulted in artistic patronage, as far as research has been done on the subject. The only secure instance of patronage is mentioned in his will of 1619, when he left the Gran Certosa in Grenoble money with which a Crucifix and six chandeliers should be purchased on which the cardinal's arms should be engraved, for which see ASR, Trenta Not.Capit.Uff.25, Not.Giulio Raimondi vol.250, fol.82v: 'Alla Gran Certosa di Grenoble lascio mille scudi di moneta da farsene una croce et sei candellieri dargentio che restino in quella casa per memoria della mia affettione verso l'ordine cartusiano, et vi si doveranno pero porre le mie arme.'} Saint Anthony of Padua, being born in Lisbon, here represented the reign of Portugal of which Farnese was elected protector in 1607 - and it also stressed the family connection with the country through Maria of Portugal, Odoardo's mother.\footnote{On this fresco, see Schleier 1964, p.10, ills. 12, 16. It has been proposed that the fourth and lost fresco depicted another scene of Bruno with Carthusian monks; this would have underlined the association between Farnese and the Order. See Whitfield 1981, p.321 and Schleier 1983, p.81.}

Saints Mary Magdalene (fig.5) and Benedict both functioned on two levels. Apart from alluding to the Eucharist and the \textit{Quarant'Ore}, the Magdalene constituted a secondary allusion to the hermitage of Camaldoli where Farnese had founded a cell dedicated to this repentant saint in 1599.\footnote{For the title refer to Tromby 1779, p.437 n.8; this protectorship seems not to have resulted in artistic patronage, as far as research has been done on the subject. The only secure instance of patronage is mentioned in his will of 1619, when he left the Gran Certosa in Grenoble money with which a Crucifix and six chandeliers should be purchased on which the cardinal's arms should be engraved, for which see ASR, Trenta Not.Capit.Uff.25, Not.Giulio Raimondi vol.250, fol.82v: 'Alla Gran Certosa di Grenoble lascio mille scudi di moneta da farsene una croce et sei candellieri dargentio che restino in quella casa per memoria della mia affettione verso l'ordine cartusiano, et vi si doveranno pero porre le mie arme.'} As Benedict was the founder of monastic rules upon which those of many other Orders had been based, among which were the Camaldolese, he also formed a hidden allusion to this Order with which Farnese had long-standing - but never formalised - contacts.

The largest fresco of the Camerino, now largely hidden behind the organ of the Santa Maria dell'Orazione e Morte, depicted Count Roger discovering Saint Bruno, the founder of the Carthusian Order (fig.9): this scene expressed Farnese's involvement with this regular institution.\footnote{ASV, Ann. 45 I.2, fol.171: 'Regi Portug. qui protectorem Regni elegerat B. Card. Farnesius.' See Zapperi 1994, pp.79-80.} The fresco was probably copied in print, as part of a series depicting the life of the saint made by Theodor Crüger in twenty engravings after designs by Lanfranco (fig.57).\footnote{For the title refer to Tromby 1779, p.437 n.8; this protectorship seems not to have resulted in artistic patronage, as far as research has been done on the subject. The only secure instance of patronage is mentioned in his will of 1619, when he left the Gran Certosa in Grenoble money with which a Crucifix and six chandeliers should be purchased on which the cardinal's arms should be engraved, for which see ASR, Trenta Not.Capit.Uff.25, Not.Giulio Raimondi vol.250, fol.82v: 'Alla Gran Certosa di Grenoble lascio mille scudi di moneta da farsene una croce et sei candellieri dargentio che restino in quella casa per memoria della mia affettione verso l'ordine cartusiano, et vi si doveranno pero porre le mie arme.'} This publication of 1621 was dedicated to Odoardo Farnese, as protector of Carthusian Order, and was
based upon the hagiography written by Lorenzo Surio, himself a Carthusian monk, in the fifth volume of his De probatis Sanctorum historiis of 1574. His version of the Life of Bruno contained a number of narrative details that were eliminated from later accounts - even from the critical anthology of the Acta Sanctorum. It was the only source which recorded in detail the event and interpretation of the episode depicted in Lanfranco's fresco.

The image of Bruno and Roger illustrated the systematic and reciprocal relation between spirituality and protection: the result of this first encounter between the saint and the count was one of mutual dependence between this solitary saint and the secular ruler. Count Roger who, according to the hagiography, discovered Bruno during the hunt, was much impressed by his divine qualities, and continually asked him for advice. This solitary saint's intercession also helped him during a battle to miraculously defeat the enemy by means of a horrific vision: as a result, count Roger decided to donate him land and funds to found two hermitages, and to have a house constructed in the vicinity of one hermitage so that he might be close to the saint and to imitate his solitary life.

The scene of the first encounter between Bruno and Roger was a prelude to a long-lasting reciprocal relationship in which the worldly ruler physically sustained the saint, and the saint aided and directed the count by means of spiritual assistance. This kind of practical help given in return for spiritual edification surely evoked in the seventeenth-century beholder a comparison with the new protectorate after the reforms of Paul V Borghese. According to the guidelines in the memorandum by Sfontratore and the unpublished Bull, the cardinal protector was supposed to offer his aid to Orders and confraternities, and should be able to partake in their devotional practice in return. After all, his spiritual perfection was a requirement for a successful exertion of his duties, and monks were still supposed to be the best guides and assistants to help one along the path of devotion and spirituality.

The Camerino degli Eremiti was not only a room where Odoardo Farnese could participate in the religious and liturgical activities of the adjacent church of Santa Maria dell'Orazione e Morte, but at the same time it was an architectural expression of the institutional relations between the brotherhood and its protector. It confirmed the mutual relationship between the two parties and offered the cardinal the possibility to watch over the sodality's obedience to authority: the two windows looking into the church were the 'eyes' of the supervisor. At the same time, it enhanced the gatherings of the brothers with the presence of a high church official and

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15 The Italian translation, Pentimalli 1622, was not accepted as a reliable source by the BN, vol October 1.
secured them the devotion of the cardinal to their own cause. By accepting the interference of the authorities in their affairs, they hoped to gain a privileged position.

In the particular iconography of Lanfranco's frescoes, on the one hand the hermit-saints depicted one of the central spiritual obligations of the Orazione e Morte, the Adoration of the Host during the monthly occasion of the Quarant'Ore. These figures all enacted scenes in which the Host as the Body of Christ and its meaning of spiritual nourishment were the main theme. At the same time, the saints stood for Farnese's obligations to the Catholic Church in general as protector of various institutions. Thus, the staffage conveyed in this case a singular message for an intended viewer. But this leaves undiscussed that all saints, according to the general iconography of the hermits, were taken by the seventeenth-century viewer as a reference to the act of contemplation in solitude. How singular was the Camerino in this respect in early Baroque Rome, in its function as a room for retirement ('ritirare'), as Bellori stated? And what kind of occupation did this word exactly refer to?
4. The Cardinal’s Retreat: Family-tradition and Religious Policy

When Odoardo Farnese died in 1626, the Cassinese monk Andrea Arcioni gave a funeral oration. He remembered Odoardo’s many virtues, and how his cultivation of virtue not only equalled, but even surpassed that of his ancestors. Arcioni also highlighted Farnese’s predilection for devotional exercises, the special places that were created to fulfil this desire, and the lavish sums that were spent on it:

‘profuse expenditures [spent]... on the solitary accommodation constructed in those devout horrors of Camaldoli, the diverse places made expressly for him among some Religious Orders, so that he could retreat himself there ["ritirarvisi"] sometimes in order to contemplate the things of GOD …’

Many of these apartments to which Arcioni referred still existed in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, and were maintained by the Farnese Dukes as monuments of a family tradition. In 1675, the Jesuit Garimberti reported to the General of the Order in Rome that he had talked to Ranuccio II Farnese, Duke of Parma and Piacenza, to obtain the use of one of these spaces, located in the Casa Professa next to the Gesù, main church of the Jesuit Order in Rome. When this request was rejected by the Duke, Garimberti’s remembered that the apartment in the Casa Professa was one of the less important, and that ‘there are other and much more conspicuous memories…’ to which the Duke answered that he attached to ‘having similar ones in all the convents of Monks as well as Religious fabricated by the House of Farnese, like here in the Badia, and in other Convents.’

This episode from the late 1670s reveals that Odoardo Farnese’s proposal to the Orazione e Morte for the use of the Camerino degli Eremiti was not an isolated case; neither in its close relation with the adjacent church, nor in the way in which it was used for devotional retreat. How did Farnese family-ties influence this phenomenon? Where were these other apartments, how were they decorated, and what function did these retreats have?

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Arcioni 1626, pp.10-11: ‘ODUARIX) . Signori. i l qual e crede tte sempre d' havere il campo spatioso. & aperto alla virtu, se si proponeva le attioni più illustri, e più memorabili de gli antenati suoi, non solo da immitarre, ma da superare ancora, accio che rieco de proprii tesori, con lo splendore de nuovi e piu bei raggi, sempre piu chiare rendesse il vivo Sole della sua Famigha Serenissima.’ On this genre of funeral orations in the period of the Counter-reformation, see McGinness 1980, pp.125-127.

Arcioni 1626, p.13: ‘le spese profuse nella … solitaria habitazione costruita in quei devoti horrore de’Camaldoli, le diverse habitazioni fattei apposta appresso alcuni Religiosi, per ritirarvisi tal volta alla contemplazione delle cose di Dio…’

ARSI. Rom.143.II. fol. 358r: ‘vi sono altre et molti[lo conspicuous memories … non ha voluto accordarmi cosa alcuna, asserendo mas-sume haverne una uguale in tutti li conventi tanto di Monach[i], quanto di Religiosi fabricati dalla Casa Farnese, come qui nella Badia et in altri e[moner][i].’
Rome: the Casa Professa-apartment

The project of rebuilding the Casa Professa, the Jesuit headquarters in Rome (fig.58), was begun in 1599 after a number of decades of planning. The vast complex, adjacent to the church of the Gesù, incorporated the older structure of the house where Ignatius of Loyola, founder of the Society, had lived for many years. It also contained a sacristy for the church of the Gesù itself. The designs for both the Casa and the sacristy were probably by Girolamo Rainaldi (1570-1655). By the time the Camerino degli Eremiti had received its painted decoration, in 1616 or 1617, the building of the Casa Professa was finally nearing completion.

With his decision to initiate and finance the building of the Casa Professa, cardinal Odoardo Farnese followed in the footsteps of his ancestors. Pope Paul III had approved the order, and since then members of the Farnese family had protected and furthered the Society; the church of the Gesù had been commissioned and financed by Cardinal Alessandro Farnese. This ideal of a Farnese family tradition was consciously evoked by the medal struck to commemorate the event of laying the foundation stone of the Casa Professa. This medal carried on one side a profile portrait of Cardinal Odoardo, and on the other side a dedicatory text reading 'He founded the house of the Society of Jesus in imitation of the piety of his ancestors.' This medal was illustrated in account of the ceremony in the Tesori nascosti by Ottavio Pancirolii of 1600 (fig.59), and the text was moreover applied (with small variations) to a plaque on the façade of the building of the Casa Professa itself (fig.60). Both the inscription and the concept of the

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The design has long been ascribed to Girolamo Rainaldi, architect of many projects for cardinal Odoardo; this attribution was based on the account in Passeri 1678:195: 'et hebbe in Roma la direzione dell'a fabbrica della Casa Professa de Padri Gesuiti congiunta con la bellissima Chiesa del Gesù del Vignola, dell' medesimi Padri. e questa Casa fu principiata, e conclusa con la protezione, e spesa del Card.le Odoardo Farnese.' The design was also ascribed to the Jesuit mathematician Giovanni de' Rosis, and Rainaldi only taking over after this Father's death; see Pecchiari 1952, p.205 and Buchowiecki 1967-1974 vol 3, p.360.


According to Pecchiari 1952, pp.297-300, engravings were also made of this ceremony; an eye-witness report of the event can be found in ARSI, Rom.Hist.Dom.Prof.I, DXXXIV. See Now Catholic Encyclopedia 1967 vol.2, pp.335-336 for the ceremonial aspects related to the foundation stone.

6 ‘Espcri domini m. IOANNIS FRANCI. SUS & domini sancti, FREDERICI, DEO GRACIAS, DOMINI, DEO PATRIS, ET SPIRITUI SANCTO, GLORIA, DEI, PATER, ET FILIO, ET SPIRITU SANCTO. ANNO DOMINI D. MCCLXII.’ An example of this medal is in Museum of Capodimonte. See I Farnese 1995, cat.no.263.

Pancirolii 1600, pp.330-331: 'Li accotti comparir il secondo Nepote del magnanimo Alessandro, dico Odoardo Cardinale Farnese, che come generoso Principe, e nobil germoglio di quel gra[n] Re di Portogallo Giovanni III mirando a cose maggiori, ne parendogi, ch'anco ben radicata fosse in Rome questa Religione... con più larga, & abundante mano si risolse l'anno passato, di metter anch'egli la prima pietra per la fabbrica d'une ben grande habitacione per questi Padri, che unita alla Chiesa viene d'ogni intorno cinta alle strade in un'isola posta nel più bel sito di Roma, e sopra di quella prima pietra tali paroli furono intagliate. havendola prima con le solite cerimonie
medal itself implicitly referred to Alessandro, who had two similar medals made at the beginning of works on the church of the Gesù. A later painting portrayed both Alessandro and Odoardo as founders in front of the interior of the Gesù. In this image, Odoardo is shown with the plan of the Casa Professa and an architectural model to his right (fig.61).

The ceremony of laying the first stone was not only an occasion for Farnese to display himself to the public as a magnanimous patron, at the same time it presented an occasion to further the process the Jesuits had initiated to have Ignatius canonised. An Avviso of 1 July 1599 connected these three elements in the description that was given of the festivities:

[This] Tuesday, cardinal Farnese went to the Gesù with a grand retinue of prelates where he laid the first stone of the building that those Fathers are constructing for their accommodation, with a medal of gold and silver with the effigy of those Lords of the house of Farnese who donated to the work a sum of 20,000 scudi and much more [from] the Duke of Parma his brother to be paid in yearly terms to finish the work begun by their [great] uncle Alessandro. It is said that on the initiative of the Fathers themselves the process of the life of the blessed Ignatius their founder has been begun, to have him canonised...

This contemporary account clearly recognised the fact that each of the two parties involved had their own reasons for this joint venture: the Jesuits furthered their position and their founders' name through this new construction incorporating Ignatius' Roman house, and for Farnese the Casa Professa project was a sign of the continuance of a family tradition. It was for this reason that from 1599 onwards Odoardo contributed at least a thousand scudi a year to this project.

Because it took more than fifteen years to build, the prestige of the Casa Professa-project began to founder, and Odoardo Farnese urged the Jesuits to finish the building as soon as possible. The Avvisi reflected sudden haste when on 9 January 1616 it was noted that the Fathers

benedetta Lorenzo Celso Vescovo di Castri: ODOARDI FARNESIV SRF. DEACONES CARD. S. EUSTACHI HI
Alessandri Farnesiis CARDINALIS VINCENCI. PRO PATRIAE ET RELIGIONIS PROSPERITATUR. PRIMUM HOC TERRAE SOLEMNITER CONSECRATUM AD ERIGENDAM SECUS SEMPER DOMINUM SOCIATIS JESUITICUM FUNDAMENTA CONIUNCTI
PRAEDE SORORE AN MDCLXXIX. Et appresso vi gittò anch'egli alcune piastrine d'argento di tal grandezza, e con tal forma."

11 I Farnese 1995, cat.nos.258, 259.

12 On the process of canonisation of Ignatius of Loyola, see König-Nordhoff 1982.


14 See for example ARSI. Chiesa del Gesù 2005, fols.45r-"Dinari ricevuti per la fabrica della Casa", in which gifts between 1500 and 2000 scudi are reported from 1599 to 1614, amounting to a total of 13,850 scudi.
would receive 30,000 scudi in alms, to complete the work.¹⁴ Half a year later, the receipt of this donation was reported in another Avviso, with an interesting additional condition:

The same Cardinal Farnese has given this week, partly in cash, and partly in assignats [the amount of] 30 thousand scudi to the Jesuit Fathers, to complete interior and exterior of the building of the Casa Professa of the Gesù, together with the rooms of his apartment ['appartamento']¹⁵ for the occasions he retreats there ['vi si retira'] during the days of devotion of the Holy Week, and at other times.¹⁵

This Avviso of 1616 added a third motif to the two recounted earlier with regard to the project of the Casa Professa: sometime after 1599, cardinal Odoardo opted for a place of retreat, within a monastic community, to dedicate himself to devotional exercises. Sources suggest that the apartment was planned as an integral part of the Jesuit house and built in the same period of time.¹⁶ What did this appartamento look like?

The present state of the exterior and interior architecture shows where Odoardo's apartment was located and how it was organised. It occupied the first floor of the building, located behind the choir of the Gesù, along the present via degli Astalli, facing the back of Palazzo Venezia. On the outside, this part of the building is visually distinguished from the rest of the façade by its smaller height, the presence of a stuccoed wall and a lowered cornice decorated with Farnese-lilies (fig.58).¹⁷ The entrance to this area possibly was located in the middle of its façade, where the family's heraldic device can be seen on either side of the portal, but this entrance to the premises has been affected by later alterations. At present the Farnese apartment can be reached through the Casa Professa itself, via the main stairwell, on the landing

¹⁴ That the account in the Avvisi is reliable is indicated by a letter from the Jesuit general to Odoardo Farnese of 10 September 1616, which affirmed the progression of the Casa, and alluded to the magnanimity of the cardinal; see ARSI.Rom.16-H ,, fols.407v . 451r. In that same year, Farnese obtained papal permission to raise a loan on his revenues from the Abbey of Grottaferrata, of which he was commendatory abbot, for 30,000 scudi. After Farnese's death this led to complications; see ARSI.Fondo Gesuitico lib.205-545 fol.12, 13, and 17r for the approvals for this loan by Paul V and Gregory XV.


¹⁶ There are no contemporary descriptions of this apartment. For this reason, existing studies are unclear about its scale. Pecchiai 1952, p.312 mentioned 'several rooms', but Buchowiecki 1967-1974 vol.3, p.463 referred to only one space, the Cappellina. Böseiß 1985, p.174 described it as the cardinal's 'appartamento', without certainty about its size ('en Privatappartement für den Kardinal'). The apartment seems to have been taken over in the late seventeenth century by the Jesuits; the chapel was restored in the 1940s; see Buchowiecki 1967-1974 vol.3, p.463. Since the accounts for the Casa Professa have largely been lost, payments for Farnese's appartamento are also unknown. The Farnese archives do not contain them; as the Avviso mentioned, it was part of the Casa Professa-project.

¹⁷ Because of this autonomous architectural character of this tract, it has been called Palazzina Farnese in Pfeiffer 1985; historically there was, however, no such name applied to this building.
of which is an inlay of the Farnese lily in stone. On the lintel above the internal communicating door between the Jesuit complex and the private apartment, Odoardo’s name is also inscribed.

The interior of the apartment itself, located on the first floor, consisted of three sections (see the grey marked area in the plan of the Casa Professa in fig. 62). The first part, to the right of the apse of the Gesù, centred around a wide entrance hall onto which four rooms opened, two on either side: then, after a partition wall with an opening (presumably with a door in the original situation), the second and middle section was situated directly adjacent to the apse. This contained a small chapel, known in modern literature as the Cappella Farnese. This chapel was originally connected to one of the prior rooms by means of a grate offering a view of the altar, which indicates that it was possible to hear Mass from that room. The middle part of the apartment also contained another room, opposite the Cappella. A door gave access to the third and last part behind and to the left of the apse, which consisted of a long corridor or galleria along the Via Astalli leading to two caretti on either side of the choir of the Gesù, from which Mass could be heard privately. On both sides of the choir the grates of these windows can still be seen.

At least until 1675, when Garimberti asked Ranuccio II Farnese to cede the apartment, this part of the Casa Professa remained at the disposal of the Farnese family. Notwithstanding Farnese’s initial refusal, sometime later the use of the apartment was ceded to the Jesuits who were in need of space. Little is known about the decoration and furnishing of the apartment in the Casa Professa; there are no contemporary descriptions of the rooms, and only one partial

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19 The window between the Cappella and the adjacent room is at present closed; see Buchowiecki 1967-1974 vol. 3, p. 463. Such a division between hearing Mass in public or in private existed in the seventeenth century, see Waddy 1990, p. 7, 112, 189. This suggests that the grate was meant for Farnese’s personal use, to attend the liturgy without being in the (indeed tiny) chapel.

20 A RSI Rom. 143 II, fol. 358r is the minute of a letter of 30 June 1675 from Garimberti in Modena to the prior of the Gesù, reporting the former’s request to the Duke of Parma to cede to the Society the use of this part of the Casa Professa, as it was not used by members of the Farnese family, but was retained as memorial for the prelates of the family. Per ubbidire a quello m’imporre V.A. corti nel pli, delle camere dell’Appartamento Farnese, ho voluto parlarne a questo Sereno, al quale ho vivamente replicato lo stato da Casa, quando invitati dalla commodità delle stanz vuote vengono i Prelati a fermarsi in casa professa. Ni ha SA. udito, et mostrato aver la buonata di compiere ancora, ma al punto di levare la Camere, et giustar l’Appartamento senza volonari risponde a direttura mi ha fatto conchière chiaramente che ci non app[... ] levare quella memoria del Casa Farnese e se bene ho replicato che vi sono altre et iolle conspicuous memorie, non ha voluto accordarmi cosa alcuna, asserendo massimamente averne una simile in tutti li conventi tanto di Monach., quanto di Religiosi fabbricati dalla Casa Farnese, come qui nella Badia, et in altri [conventi]. This coincided with other attempts by the Jesuits to persuade Ranuccio II Farnese to fund the improvements of the apse of the Gesù; see Levy 1999 2000, esp. pp. 393-395, 416, and D’Amelio 2003.

21 A description in BNC Fondo Gesuatico 1477 55, fol. 469v, made in 1847, described this part of the Casa Professa as housing rooms for the Infernariata.
inventory of this part of the building has survived. The main portion of this inventory comprises entries regarding the reliquaries in the Cappellina, containing remains of Saints Andrew, Peter, Paul, Francis Xaverius, and Ignatius of Loyola.\textsuperscript{22}

Today, only the decoration of the Cappellina survives intact, consisting of oil-paintings set into moulded stucco frames (figs.63-68). These canvases were executed by Baccio Ciarpi, Andrea Commodi and the latter's workshop.\textsuperscript{23} The original altarpiece was executed by Domenichino, but was sold and replaced by a copy, probably when the Jesuits obtained the use of Odoardo's apartment in or after 1675; the original has recently been identified as the painting in the Matthiesen collection.\textsuperscript{24} On stylistic grounds Domenichino's original has been assigned a date in the first years of the third decade, which has led people to assume that it was executed only after the canonisation of Saint Ignatius in 1622. Such a date would also accord with the chronology of the Casa Professa, which was finished around 1623; Farnese's apartment and Cappellina were completed around the same time, as the sources cited above seemed to indicate.

On the other hand, Andrea Commodi's paintings have erroneously been dated much earlier, anticipating the beatification of Ignatius in 1609.\textsuperscript{25} This would suggest that the decoration of the Cappellina was not executed in one campaign; the altarpiece would then not coincide with the aim of the larger series. As a result, it has been assumed that these smaller paintings were only transferred to their present site when the Casa Professa was completed, and Ignatius grave was relocated to the transept of the Gesù. On the basis of Giulio Mancini's account on Commodi's life of circa 1621 in which it was stated that 'many years ago he worked here in Rome on a number of things for the Gesù, at the grave of the blessed Ignatius'\textsuperscript{26} it has been suggested that the paintings of Odoardo's little chapel were originally destined for the church itself and placed behind the altar, where the founder's remains were kept before 1622.\textsuperscript{27}

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\textsuperscript{22} ASN.Fondo Farnesiano 1853.1(2), dated 2 April 1626, bearing the heading 'Descrittione di Reliquie et altre robbe existenti appartano facto da (lado) v Cardile nella Casa professa del Gesù, XIII'. Apart from the reliquaries, it listed a considerable number of liturgical vestments. What the existence of this inventory also expressed is that the apartment was considered to be Farnese property.

\textsuperscript{23} Strinati 1979, p.10; Papi 1988, p.76 and Papi 1994, pp.31-33, 83-84. Various attributions suggest that at least four painters - Domenichino, Commodi, Ciarpi and a fourth unidentified - were hired. The paintings (except for the lunettes) and the stucco frames were restored in 1944 by Matteucci; see Buchowiecki 1967-1974 vol.3, p.463.

\textsuperscript{24} Nell'età di Correggio 1986, p.444. That Domenichino's painting only remained above the altar in the Cappellina for a short while, as Papi 1988, p.72 suggested on the ground of the small amount of damage by candles, cannot be upheld as Odoardo's apartment was not used the Cardinals' death in 1626.

\textsuperscript{25} Papi 1988, pp.73-75 and Papi 1994, p.83; Commodi's paintings were considered iconographically close to the prints with scenes of Ignatius' life produced prior to the beatification of the saint in 1609, and the style of the paintings was supposed to support this early dating.

\textsuperscript{26} Mancini 1956-1957 vol.1, p.248: 'molti anni sono operò qui in Roma alcune cose del Gesù al sepolcro del beato Ignazio in buona maniera'.

\textsuperscript{27} Pflügler 1985, p.187, Papi 1988, and Papi 1994, p.83. On the original location of Ignatius' grave, see König-Nordhoff 1982, pp.34, 40-42. This first grave was not very distinguished; General Acquaviva refused to authorise
This cannot be upheld, however, as Andrea Commodi had not been commissioned to do paintings as embellishments of Ignatius' grave, but for another space nearby. In 1610, Felini mentioned that "under the said altar is a beautiful Oratory completely painted, with an altar, where the bodies of Saints and Martyrs Abundius and Abondantius rest... At the right side of the Main Altar the glorious Spanish Father Ignatius Loyola founder of the present Company of Jesus lies buried..." The reference here is to a cycle of works illustrating the lives of martyrs other than Ignatius, and indeed Baglione and Baldinucci both mentioned only the one painting with Saints Abondio and Abondantio as executed by Commodi for this location.

Moreover, on account of the size and location of Ignatius' grave in a niche in the back wall of the choir it has been maintained that only one, fairly small portrait of the saint was hung at this spot. Space for an entire painted cycle was not available around the grave in the choir of the Gesù, nor was this kind of decoration permitted prior to official canonisation. In November 1602 the Jesuits had, together with the Oratorians, been reproved in Consistory for the use of prints of the portrait of their founder, which had been hung on the location of the grave with the scope of stimulating popular veneration. It is highly unlikely that shortly after this admonition, any decoration around this spot in 1585-1586 in accordance with papal decrees, reconfirmed by Clement VIII in 1593. On the other hand, some sources did describe the presence of votit-gifts and some decoration on the grave itself - however without any reference to an entire cycle of paintings. In 1599, only one image of the saint was hung near his grave by cardinal Baronio. See for the discussion of the identification of that painting König-Nordhoff 1982, pp.90-92.

Felini 1610 1669, p.91: "Sotto detto Altar e sta un bell'Oratorio tutto dipinto, con un'altare, dove stanno i corpi di Santi Abondio, & Abdondantio martiri... Da banda destra dell'Altare maggiore giace sepolt o il glorioso P. Ignatio Loiola Spagnuolo fondatore della presente Compagnia del Gesù..." See also the Ilti 1987 vol.1, p.101: "un altro pur in Tavola rappresentante li SS. Abundio, & Abdondantio condotti avanti il Piramo fatto a olio, e ben inteso & di mano 'Andrea Comodo. This information and Mancini's citation have been related to the lost decoration of the chapel of Sant'Abbondio and Abdhandanzo, for which Commodi indeed delivered one canvas. Salerno (in his commentary to Mancini 1956-1957 vol.2, p.139 n.1077) positively confirmed this identification of Commodi's work in the Gesù with this lost painting. For seventeenth-century references to this crypt, see Levy 1999-2000, pp.417-423.


König-Nordhoff 1982, pp.91-93 discussed form and size of the first grave and proposed that only one painting, now in the Cappelletta (the original Ignatian house, incorporated in the Casa Professa) was meant as painted embellishment. The Commodi-paintings were not taken into account in her discussion.

Hecht 1997, pp.398-403, on the relation between canonisation and the public exposure of images of saints.

BAV, Ms.Crab.II.1070, fol.694r-695r, dd. 27 11 1602: 'La medesima mattina Nostro Signore fecero intimarci et tenne una Congregatio di 16. Cardinali fra quali vi furono tutti li Protettori delle Religioni et si e sprato, che in da Congregazionc si trattato sopra le note, et Imagini, che si mettino da persone divine in publico et nelle chiese avanti le Imagini di questi nuovi Beati chi han avuto nello chiese, et in tutte vi e concorsi grandi di devoti e fra questi sono il Padre Filippo della chiesa nuova, et del Padre Ignatio fondatore della Compagnia del Gesù, et per qualche si intende vogliono sia risoluto, che si [citino] di voti avanti de Imagini, perché non si sta bene, che avanti, che siano dalla chiesa approvati per tali, far simili dimostrazioni di voti, et miracoli, et questa e una materia che e un pezzo che e andata vagando, et tu dall'anno passato, quando si prohibe, che non si potesse far ritratti di di Beati et tenerli attaccati in publico et questo fu resoluto, perché li [padri] del Gesù haveranno fatto far diverse
they would have commissioned an artist to depict his life in the form of an entire series of paintings; and indeed, no guidebook of this period mentioned such an extended series with scenes from the life of the aspirant-saint as hanging around the first grave.\textsuperscript{33}

Iconography and patronage of the Cappellina Farnese suggest that the entire decoration was commissioned by Odoardo, especially for this location, and was intended to form a uniform whole. After all, both Baccio Ciarpi and Domenichino worked for the Farnese family before. The strict thematic and compositional unity of the Cappellina's decoration suggests that this was not put together at random or by incorporating an existing cycle. The paintings were thus meant for this space, and form the only remains of the original decoration of Odoardo's apartment. How does the decoration of the Cappellina accord with the function of the appartamento as a devotional retreat, as was suggested in the sources?

**Iconography of the Cappellina Farnese**

In the chapel of Farnese's Casa Professa apartment, a total of ten canvases set within stucco frames illustrated scenes from the life of Saint Ignatius. One painting - the Domenichino - was placed above the altar, six other rectangular format canvases were set along the walls, and three more were in the form of lunettes. The latter three are in deplorable state, whereas all the other canvases have been recently restored. Notwithstanding the varying state of conservation, the entire cycle demonstrates a definite unity in form and iconography.

On the entrance wall, a large canvas by Baccio Ciarpi depicted the appearance of Saint Peter to Ignatius during the latter's period of convalescence at his family's castle, after the Battle of Pamplona.\textsuperscript{34} The future saint lay confined to his bed and opened his arms to welcome the Apostle appearing on his left-hand side; Saint Peter is recognisable by his keys and the book (fig.63). The effect of the Apostle's visit was not only that Ignatius was cured of the diseases that had brought him near to death - a broken leg aggravated by infections - but it also resulted in his conversion from the secular to the religious life.\textsuperscript{15} According to one of the first biographies of the saint, written by Piedro de Ribadeneyra and published in 1586,\textsuperscript{16} this change was brought about after Ignatius had read all the available chivalric romances and was brought devotional literature

\[\text{13 See Schu}d\text{t 1930, pp.206-211 for a list of editions in the first two decades of the seventeenth century.}\]
\[\text{14 BS 1961-1970 vol.7, col.678 and König-Nordhoff 1982, p.59; see Ribadeneyra 1586 pp.6-13 and Bartoli 1659, pp.13-14 for this episode; the latter described more in particular that Saint Peter brought him 'la medicina dal Ciclo. Portogliela il Principi degli Apostoli S. Pietro, con una visita, che gli fece quella medesima notte, e fu di si efficace virtu, che il trasse d'ogni pericolo.'}\]
\[\text{15 Ribadeneyra 1586, p.6: 'Come lo chiamò Dio dalla vanità del Secolo al suo conoscimento.'}\]
instead. Reading the *Life of Christ Our Lord* and the *Fior de'Santi* made him feel 'a transformation in [his] heart'. Ciarpi's painting explicitly alluded to Ignatius' conversion through the act of reading, as there was a book on the stand beside his bed from which Ignatius seems to have been reading prior to the appearance of Saint Peter.

The second painting, executed by Commodi, depicted a second divine communication: the Apparition of the Madonna and Child to Ignatius (fig.64). This episode occurred shortly after the Apparition of Saint Peter, and was discussed in the 1586 biography in the same chapter. As in the former painting, the context of reading and study is evoked by the lectern and book, with a lighted candle in the background. Here Ignatius, on beholding the Madonna, held his hand upon his heart to indicate his emotional response at visually perceiving the subject he had been reading about. According to the *Vita*, during this vision the saint's soul was purified and all memories of past sins, which he came to abhor, were eliminated by the illumination of his soul.

The largest painting in the chapel, located on the wall opposite the altar, depicted the Mass at Manresa (fig.65). During a mass in the Dominican convent in the Spanish town of Manresa, where Ignatius went after being cured and converted, the saint suddenly came to realise at beholding the Host the dual nature of Christ: his human and his divine existence. Commodi located this episode in a church interior similar to that of the Gesù, where on the right side a priest is shown standing before the altar holding up the Eucharist and showing it to the faithful; on the left side is Ignatius seen kneeling at the lowest step and folding his hands.

The next episode showed yet another vision, the Appearance of the Holy Trinity to Ignatius, an event that occurred in Manresa shortly before his departure on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem (fig.66). Although the format of this painting is different from the two former

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1. Ribadeneyra 1586, pp.6-7: 'Tra egli, mentre stava nel letto, molto curioso di legger libri profani di Cavalleria; e per passar il tempo, che parte dal male, e parte dalla solitudine, lungo, e noioso gli pareva, addimando che gli recassero qualche libro ... e piacque a Dio che allora alcuno non ve ne fusse in casa; ma in vece di quelli, altri se ne trovarono, che contenevano cose spirituali, quali gli portarono ... e furono, uno della Vita di CRISTO Nostro Signore, e l'altro delle Vite de'Santi, che comunemente intitola Fior de'Santi ... e non solo incominciò a gustar quello che leggeva, ma da ciò anco a sentir mutatione nel cuore.' See Rahner 1964, pp.246-247 on the influence of these books on the later work of saint Ignatius.

2. Ribadeneyra 1586, p.11: 'Che stando egli una notte vegliando, gli appare la chiarisima, e soprana Regina de'Angeli, che tra le braccia portava il suo pretesissimo Figliuolo, la quale con lo splendore della sua chiarezza lo illuminava, e con la soavità della sua presenza lo ricreava, & ingaghiardiva. Durò buono spatio di tempo questa visione, la onde egli si grandemente abborri poi la sua vita passata, e specialmente i brutti e dishonesti lietii della carne, che pareva che, come una mano, tutte le deformi rappresentazioni, & imagini si locassero, e tradessero dall'anima sua... See also Bartoli 1659, p.18.

3. BS 1961-1970 vol.7, cols.680-681. see also Ribadeneyra 1586, p.36: 'E dendo messa un giorno nella Chiesa del medesimo Monastero, stando con grandissima ricerenza, e con divotta attenzione, nel tempo che si alzava l'Hostia, e che al popolo si dimostrava, vide chiaramente con gli occhi dell'anima, come in quel divino mistero, e sotto quel
canvases, the parallels are unequivocal. Again we see the future saint on his knees with folded hands and now with his pilgrim's staff. In the upper left corner a cloud-encircled vision of Christ, God the Father and the Holy Ghost is visible; and again, next to Ignatius on the steps of the church of San Domenico lies a book (which is highlighted for the viewer both by its foreshortening and dramatic contrast of light and shade).

In this case, the book was not the preamble to the vision, but alluded to its results and effects. As had been explained in Ribadeneyra's biography, after beholding the figure of the Trinity almost as if he saw it with his bodily senses, Ignatius became deeply impressed with the import of this mystery, and 'being a man who knew nothing more than simply to read and write; he started to compose a book, of eighty pages, discussing this profound subject..."1 Although this book about the doctrine of the Trinity seems not to have survived, from that day on, Ignatius started to dedicate prayers to the Holy Trinity, receiving great spiritual consolation as a result.2

The next painting depicts Ignatius sleeping in the portico of the Procuratie Vecchie, where he was found by the Venetian senator Marc Antonio Trevisan (fig.67).3 The episode occurred at the beginning of Ignatius' pilgrimage to Jerusalem, when he was living off alms and sleeping on the street, waiting in Venice for a ship to take him to Jerusalem. In the middle of the night, the virtuous senator Trevisan had a dream in which he was summoned to look for a certain person in need, so he went to Piazza San Marco and ordered one of his servants to wake Ignatius. Trevisan offered him a decent meal and a place to sleep, thereby illustrating the divine assistance that Ignatius enjoyed throughout his life. Commodi's painting shows a portal illuminated by torchlight, in which the figure of the future saint lies on the lower left side, draped across the steps, with the senator coming to Ignatius' aid from the right hand side.

The following painting of the cycle showed the Death of Ignatius (fig.68).4 Lying in bed,
he is shown surrounded by members of his Order involved in the act of prayer. In this case, the bed is standing opposite an altar: a priest is administering the Sacrament of the Dying. Like the preceding paintings, this composition particularly stressed the visionary aspect of the episode: the upper third of the painting contains a heavenly apparition of angels welcoming the ascending soul of the holy man. The rays of light falling on his face constitute a compositional link between the heavenly and earthly realm. According to Ribadeneyra’s biographical account, Ignatius had asked God in a prayer to be taken from 'this desert' and be conducted to his place of rest. For this reason, he refused the food offered to him by the Fathers who came to his bed at the hour of death, and spoke the following words to them when they lamented his departure from this world: 'It is not the time for this [i.e. food] anymore: and raised his hands, and directed his eyes to Heaven, calling with the tongue and with the heart Jesus, and with a serene expression, he returned his soul to God on the last day of July of the year 1556."

The three lunettes below the vault of the ceiling were also embellished with paintings on canvas. The subject of these paintings extended that of the series along the walls, but not in chronological order. The theme of apparitions and conversion re-emerged in depictions of the Apparition of Christ to Ignatius in Padua, which gave him the strength to proceed with his journey, the Vision of Ignatius at Manresa that demonstrated his advancement in meditation and contemplation, and Ignatius exchanging his habit with a mendicant friar.

\[\text{Ribadeneyra 1586, p.430: 'e con vehementi sospiri cominciò a pregare il Signore, che fusse servito di cavarlo da questo deserto, e condurlo a quel luogo di riposo..'}\]

\[\text{Ribadeneyra 1586, p.432: 'Non è più tempo di questo: & alzate le mani, & affissati gli occhi al Cielo, chiamando con la lingua, e col cuore GESÙ', con un volto sereno, rese l'anima a Dio l'ultimo giorno del Mese di Luglio dell'anno MDLV..'}\]

\[\text{See also Bartoli 1659, p.342, who gave a slightly different account of the event, in which the Jesuit Fathers gathered at the death-bed of the saint were described as initially impeding him leaving this world: 'Horrifica e Dio piacque di consolarlo, il volle far si, che non glielo impedissero le preghiere de' suoi, come gia un'altra volta pochi anni prima, quando veduto infermo a morte gli stavano d'intorno al letto piangendo, e supplicando a Dio, che non gli togliesse loro per anche un padre si caro, e un sostegno si necessario al mantenimento della Compagnia..'}\]

\[\text{It has been suggested that one or more of Domenichino's pupils were responsible for the execution of these three lunettes, see Papi 1988, p.72. The present state of preservation precludes any attribution of these works.}\]

\[\text{For the Apparition of Christ to Ignatius, see Ribadeneyra 1586, pp.55-56: 'Perciò chi aveva adesso haverlo ognuno lasciato solo, venendo da Chioggia a Padova, in un aperto campana gli appare GESÙ CHRISTO Redentor Nostro, e maravigliosamente lo consolò con la sua dolce & amorosa presenza, e gli diede forza per patire altre cose ma più aspre per amor suo: & in tal momento l'avuto questo suo viaggio, che, nel'entrata, ne all'uscita della Città di Padova, le guardie gli diedero alcun disturbo...; for the vision of Ignatius, see Ribadeneyra 1586, pp.38-39: 'Stando tuttavia in Manresa, con molto fervore esercitandosi nelle occupazioni da noi sopra narrate, accade che un giorno d'un sabato a l'hora di Compieta, fu destituto & abbandonato di maniera da tutti i sentimenti, che alcuni uomini e donne divede, trovandoli di quella maniera, lo tennero per morto... Durò in questo fatto, o estasi fino al sabbato dell'altra settimana hora di Còpicta...; for the exchange of habit with the Benedictine Friar in Montserrat, see Ribadeneyra 1586, p.22: 'Lascio la cavalcatura al Monastero, la spada & il pugnale, de' quali prima s'aveva compiaciuto e preguito, e con che haveva servito al Mondo, quando egli se randava in tempo di notte con la maggior secreta che poteva, & acaso incontrandosi in urbano povro, mendico, e con le vesti tutte stracciate, gli diede i suoi vestimenti, fino alla propria cammessa, & egli vesti di quel suo tanto desiderato sacco, che comparso haveva, ponendosi poi in ginocchioni avanti l'Altare della Gloriosissima Vergine.' Ribadeneyra explains this event as Ignatius...}\]
Finally, Domenichino's altarpiece offered another variation on the theme of conversion, miraculous appearances and mystic apprehensions, but here with a direct reference to the institution of the Jesuit Order. The painting showed Saint Ignatius kneeling on the ground in a chapel at La Storta, some small distance from the city of Rome itself along the via Cassia where, at the end of 1537, Ignatius stopped to pray before entering the papal city (fig.69). In a vision God the Father and Christ, with the Cross on His shoulders, appeared before him. God pleaded with Christ to take Ignatius and his 'Compagni' as his servants; God also turned to the future saint and said to him 'I will be favourable towards you in Rome'. This event constituted a turning-point in the life of the saint and in the foundation and history of the Jesuit Society: Ignatius and his companions Fabro and Lainez then decided to found the Order.

Although Domenichino treated the relation between heaven and earth in a different way compositionally than Commodi, the appearance amid clouds and the intense reaction of the saint to the divine revelation in La Storta is the same as in all the other works of this chapel. The iconographic coherence of this series was further strengthened by the compositional similarities between the individual works. So, even if a number of different artists were involved, the unity of the decoration was thoroughly guarded by the patron Odoardo Farnese and certainly did not incorporate a cycle that was conceived with the propagation of Ignatius' saintliness in mind. What then was the intention of the iconographic programme in the Cappellina?

Ignatius' exemplarity

The subjects depicted in the Cappellina showed a very particular predilection for visions and divine apparitions to Ignatius. In this respect, the cycle deviated from the Ignatian iconography as found in the first decades of the Seicento; the major difference was the absence of miracles or divine interventions in the paintings for the Cappellina. Before Ignatius' canonisation in 1622, series of prints represented events from the life of the founder following the order established in

becoming a Knight for Christ, which Ignatius had read in the chivalric books. See also Bartoli 1659, pp.23-24 for this episode, where the same relation is suggested with the example given in books.

For the iconography of Ignatius at La Storta, see Rahner 1964, pp.67-80. König-Nordhoff 1982 pp.59-63 and BS 1961-1970 vol.7, col.684; the episode is told in Ribadeneyra 1586, pp.144-146 without the name of the place: 'Accadé in questo cammino, che gia avvicinandosi alla Città di Roma, entrò Ignazio solo in una chiesa deserta, la quale era alcune miglia lontana dalla Città, e qui vi si pose a far orazione; & essend o nel maggior ardore dell'orarione fervorosa orazione: quivi gli fu quasi come mutato il cuore, e gli occhi dell' anima sua furono con una risplendente luce resi chiari, si che apertamcte vide, come Iddio Padre, volgendosi al suo unigenito Figliuolo, che portava la Croce sopra le spalle...'

Ribadeneyra 1586, p.145: 'Ego vobis Roma propitius ero.' See Rahner 1964, p.79 on this particular sentence and the variation upon it introduced in the different iconographical accounts.

Ribadeneyra 1586, p.145: 'F quando nacque, ch'havendo poi Ignatio. & i suoi Compagni determinato d'istituir e fondar Religione; e trattando fra loro del Nome, che se le haveva a impropere, oer rappresentarla a sua Santita, e supplicherla, che la confermansse...'

On the subject of mystic visions and the messages they convey, see Pike 1978, esp. p.214-220.
the written hagiographies, and in addition to the visions also contained a certain number of miracles - divine interventions and healings through the person of Ignatius. During the process of canonisation, this kind of pre- and post-mortem miracles constituted the primary evidence to support the cause. For example, the set of thirteen prints produced around 1609 by Hieronymus Wierix (1553-1619) included an image of the resurrection of a hanged man, the healing of an ill person by laying on his hands, and the post-mortem appearance of the saint to his followers.

Francesco Villamena's engraving of 1600, with scenes from the saints' life in medallions around a central portrait, showed a greater number of miracles than visions. This print was reissued a second time in 1625 (i.e. after Ignatius' canonisation) - which suggests the Ignatian iconography remained constant during the early seventeenth century.

Prints had provided some artistic inspiration for the paintings in the Cappellina Farnese. For example, Commodi's painting of the appearance of Saint Peter beside the bed of the saint was strongly influenced by the prints by Hieronymus Wierix published in 1610 (fig.70) after a series of paintings dated around 1595 by Juan de Mesa. We see the saint in bed, opening one hand in welcome and the other pointing at his heart, while the Apostle appears from the upper right side within rays of light and amidst clouds. Other derivations from this same series can be identified in the pictures of the Domenichino's Vision at La Storta and Commodi's Death of Ignatius. However, the compositions for the Cappellina altered these examples, and most importantly, the thaumaturgic and miraculous scenes that played such a large role in Villamena's and Wierix's series were left out entirely. The painted cycle of the Cappellina Farnese was thus never meant as propaganda for the holy status of Ignatius, for it lacked the most important arguments in favour of canonisation.

In the context of a chapel that formed part of an apartment for a cardinal's devotional

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1) See König-Nordhoff 1982 for these early series of Ignatius' life; the theme of miracles in an early prints by Francesco Villamena, dated to around 1600, is discussed on pp.101-103; in this series, Ignatius' life is shown as beginning with his own healing and enlightenment, then curing others, and after his death appearing miraculously. Thaumaturgic qualities were introduced into the hagiographies to back the attempts to open the process of beatification around 1599, unknown in the series before that date; in the first biography of Ignatius, by Ribadeneyra, this aspect was completely absent (see König-Nordhoff 1982, p.115). Other cycles of Ignatius' life show at least a number of miraculous healings, either during the saint's life or after his decease, such as that by Philips Galie of 1610, and another one issued by Le Clerc in 1612.


4) König-Nordhoff 1982, p.256 and ills.283-289. The importance of apparitions of Ignatius is stressed for example in Bartoli 1659, pp.77, 346, 381, 419 and elsewhere, recounting all persons to whom the saint had appeared.

5) König-Nordhoff 1982, pp.261-265; these prints were in turn inspired upon the series of paintings made by Juan de de Mesa, that constituted one of the earliest sequential representations of Ignatius' life.

retreat, however, the chosen episodes were most appropriate. Commodi's paintings fitted perfectly into a space arranged for religious exercises - in almost every scene, Ignatius was represented in the act of praying, while in a number of the paintings a book seems to have been put down just an instant earlier. Ignatius himself is consistently portrayed as emotionally moved at the sight of a heavenly apparition, illustrating the result of his prayer and the effect of divine intervention on the course of his life. When Peter appeared, he was converted; the vision of the Madonna and Child resulted in the purification of his soul, and the vision of the Trinity led to an increase in meditational fervour. The scene set in Manresa of the exchange of vestments with the monk was explained in Ribadeneyra's Vita as an exchange of his secular armoury for the vestment of the Christian soldier, laying his life in the hands of God. From then on, heavenly intercession helped Ignatius until divine order was given to him to found the Jesuit society.

The decoration of the Cappellina Farnese primarily illustrated Ignatius' perfection in the method of meditation. Ribadeneyra stated that the saint considered the exercise of prayer as the first of the Virtue of Devotion, and that Ignatius had received this gift direct from God. In the Cappellina, the scenes of the Apparition of Peter, of the Madonna, and the Vision at La Storta illustrated the three-tier cycle of abstinence from sin, directing prayers to God or Christ, and communicating with the divine Presence. This corresponded to the classical triad of the Via Purgativa, Illuminativa and Unitiva, which was usually guided by reading devout books. It had been one of Ignatius' primary aims to offer his readers an accessible format for these exercises in his book of Spiritual Exercises. The paintings in the Cappellina represented his ability to compose this because his method was based on his own experience, as communicated to him through divine intervention.

The iconography of the Cappellina precisely reflected the kind of devotional function that Odoardo's apartment was meant to facilitate, according to the Avviso that first noted its existence. As this description explained, the rooms offered Farnese a place to retreat during the Holy Week.

59 Ribadeneyra 1586, p.449-463 also stressed this aspect, when he began the Fourth book on the saints' Virtues with a chapter on the 'Gift of prayer': 'Del dono dell'Orazione, e della familiarità, ch'hébbbe Ignatio con Dio. Cominciando adunque dalla Virtù della Devotione, posta da Ignatio nel primo luogo ... diremo quanto segnalato fu il dono dell'Orazione, da Dio ad Ignatio comunicato.'

60 In the Sommario della santa vita di Santo Ignatio of 1651, this biography was even modelled according to this concept, which was explained on p.5: 'Da tal principio sali S. Ignatio al sorno della perfettione Christiana per li tre gradi, e vie della Vita spirituale, Purgativa, Illuminativa, & Unitiva.' For an introduction to the stages of prayer and meditation according to the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century literature, see Dei 1937-1994 vol 10, cols.906-927.

61 Ribadeneyra 1586, p.43 stressed both the personal experiences of Ignatius and divine inspiration as basis of the Eserzi: 'In questo medesimo tempio con quella sufficienza di lettere ... compose il libro de gli Esercizi Spirituali, il quale cavò dall'esperienza acquistata, e dalla cura & attenta consideratione, con cui andava notando tutte le cose, che
for the exclusive dedication to devotional exercises. What could have been more apt for such a place than to present one of the most stimulating guides in the practice of devotional exercises, Ignatius himself? The saint had lived according to a religious model that was immediately recognisable for the reader around 1600, and for that reason worthy of imitation. Through the acts of prayer and meditation, one could arrive at communication between one's soul and God. This was the theme of the *Spiritual Exercises* and the main theme of the paintings in the Cappella Farnese as well.

**Jesuit devotional retreats**

In the introduction to the *Spiritual Exercises*, Ignatius had prescribed the characteristics of the most convenient location for doing devotional exercises. Because these prayers should preferably be done alone, privacy was one of the main functional requirements. The 1625 Italian edition of the *Spiritual Exercises*, contemporary with the building of the Farnese apartment in the Casa Professa, recommended the use of a secluded house or room for this purpose and implied that it should be furnished for this particular goal. It should offer a place where one could leave behind the worldly life to ascend with the mind to one's Creator:

'spiritual life will be much more fruitful, in relation to how much one is able to withdraw from all one's friends and acquaintances, and all earthly care: such as transferring oneself from the usual living-quarters into another house, or more secret room, from which one can, as often as it pleases, leave freely, and without fuss, or disturbed by one's familiars, to go and hear Matins, the Mass, or the Vespers. Principally three conveniences, among others, are the result from this place of retreat. The first is, that refusal entrance to friends, familiars and to business not directly related to the cult of God, will merit one an extraordinary grace with His Divine Majesty. The second, that this type of retreat means that the intellect will be less distracted by other things, and keeping the thoughts gathered and concentrated on one thing, which is the obedience to God his Creator, and in looking after the health of one's soul: much more freely and quickly will it use the natural forces in searching for that which it desires. The third, that the more apt one dedicates oneself to this search, and unite oneself with one's Creator and Lord; to whom the more one gets closer, the more one is disposed to receive the gifts of the Divine Goodness.**

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'La voce 1625, chapter 1a (I modulatione per gli Esercizi): *tanto maggior profitto fara nella vita spirituale, quanto piu si sottrarre da tutti gli amici, e conoscenti, e da ogni sollecitudine delle cose humane: come sarebbe il trasferirsi dalla solita habitazione in qualche casa, o camera piu segreta, dove egli possa, quando piu gli piacerà, liberamente, e senza fastidio, e senza esser disturbato da alcun familiare, uscire ad udire il Matutino, la Messa, o il Vespri.'
In this context of the Spiritual Exercises, the use of the word *ritiramento* or 'retreat' pointed not merely to the literal significance as a dissociation from daily life, but more positively, it meant retiring to a place with the aim of doing devotional exercises and submitting to God's will.\(^6\)

In the late sixteenth century, the Jesuits started to set up retreats in accordance to Ignatius' prescriptions, where the Fathers of the Order, and increasingly laymen as well, could dedicate themselves to the practice of the Spiritual Exercises. Often these retreats were located in the countryside to provide silence and seclusion, but in other cases these houses could also be located in the midst of cities, next to convents of the Society. In the latter situation, the practitioners of the Exercises could receive regular supervision - the main characteristic of the Ignatian system of meditation with respect to other methods of meditation, which often relied upon the reader's autonomous practice.\(^6\) Ignatius had devised regular consultation of the students, in the form of a priest hearing confession and offering guidance. Thus, these retreats were devised to resolve the paradox between solitary dedication to spiritual exercises and regular religious supervision.

Especially after 1600, the trend of founding this kind of detached retreat, independently from Jesuit houses, began to flourish, while at the same time the link with the regular community was retained on the level of organisation and supervision. To resolve the dissociation from the Jesuit churches, these special lodgings would often include a private chapel reserved for its occupants.\(^6\) The addition of the Cappellina to the Farnese apartment in the Casa Professa thus clearly responded to the issue that from the room in question one should be able to attend liturgical services at regular intervals, and that one should go to Mass without encountering the friends one had fled. Farnese's private apartment in the Casa Professa represented an exclusive form of a general model. The retreat created there was thus not a place to escape from his other obligations, but rather it constituted an apartment to go to with the aim of spiritual advancement along the lines described in the Spiritual Exercises.
Caprarola: the Palazzina Farnese

A second apartment was created for Cardinal Farnese within the monastic context of the Discalced Carmelite convent located at Caprarola, outside Rome. The documents on this project make clear that it was not only intended, as has been discussed in Chapter 3, as a convent for the training of future missionaries, but also served as a place for retreat of Farnese himself. In 1620, not long after finishing the Camerino and the apartment in the Casa Professa, Odoardo Farnese initiated plans for the foundation of a new convent in the vicinity of his family's country residence, on the hill opposite the palace, outside the village proper. Negotiations were opened with the comune of Caprarola on 1 November 1620, and the proposal presented by the Cardinal to the Order of Discalced Carmelites on 4 November was discussed during their general chapter held between 10 and 15 November 1620. There was already a church dedicated to Saint Sylvester on the site, where according to legend this pope had hidden from Christian persecutions. This dilapidated edifice was to be torn down; it belonged to a confraternity, which approved of the new plans with the condition that one chapel was to be dedicated to Sylvester in the new church.

Early in 1621 talks between Farnese and the prior-general of the Discalced Carmelites led to the agreement that the cardinal would erect a church and adjacent convent accommodating fifteen religious and a prior, and provide a sum of 12,000 scudi to secure the communities' future financial independence. In his will of 12 March of that year Farnese left enough money for this project to have it finished, should his death pre-empt its completion. By that time, a plan for the new church had also been designed by Girolamo Rainaldi, the family-architect of cardinal Odoardo who was in charge of executing the projects, and who had also co-operated with the Casa...
On 28 May 1621 a contract between Farnese and the Discalced Carmelites was signed. Inauguration of the complex took place only two years later, in 1623. When Cardinal Odoardo died in 1626, the monastery had almost been completed; a later account mentioned that by then only the wall surrounding the garden at the back of the monastery had not been properly finished, so that the clausura was not yet perfect.

A small building adjacent to the monastic structure was added at Cardinal Odoardo’s initiative, called 'Casino appresso li Scalzi' or 'Palazzo' in early sources, and 'Palazzina' in the recent literature (fig.71). This semi-independent edifice stood between the monastery and the ravine (on the left in fig.51), and consisted of a number of rooms and a small garden that overlooked the gorge and beyond it, the Roman campagna. It was described in 1741, long after the death of its patron, and after having been turned into a pharmacy by the monks:

Connected to the said convent and church the said liberal patron had built for his religious retreat ['divoto ritiro'] a beautiful Casino with chapel, decorated so delicately in stucco, that it seemed of white, translucent marble. And the sala with a ceiling of beautiful intagli, and the vaulted rooms with beautiful stucchi in the cornices of rare taste. It has its own small garden with a fountain in the middle, with a connection from this, as well as from the said casino, to the convent itself, and its clausura contains on the upper floor rooms for the famiglia and offices downstairs, although those were not finished because of the intervening death of the Cardinal on 26 February 1626, when he was mourned as deeply as his great-uncle.

On the basis of this description and later ground-plans, a tentative reconstruction of the interior arrangement can be made. On the ground-floor were a salone, three rooms, a chapel and an access to the garden - which contained a fountain in its middle. This garden must have been of tiny dimensions, as it was bordered on one side by a peperino balustrade on the edge of the

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2. See the description in AGOCD 85a: 'La clausura del giardino per la morte dell’Em[inentissimo]o Sig[nor] Card[ina]le restò imperfetta e per finirla mancano di muro canne settecento, che a dodici giugno la cagna, sarebbono scudi 840; e tocca a gli Heredi dell’Em[inentissimo]o Sig[nor] Card[ina]le di compirla.'
3. The building is named 'Casino appresso li Scalzi' in the inventory of 1626 (see note 71 below), and 'Casino' in Sebastiani 1741, p.111; 'Palazzo' was used in the seventeenth century by a Discalced author (see below, note 84), and the term 'Palazzina' appears for the first time in twentieth-century literature, see Di Ruzza 1994, p.87, who also employed the word 'Casina'.

Sebastiani 1741, p.111: Chapter.XXVIII: Della Chiesa di S. Silvestro e Casino unito. 'Annesso a detto Convento, e Chiesa le fabbricarve per suo divoto ritiro detto liberalissimo Fondatore, un bel Casino con Cappella, incollato tutto con gesso, così dedicatamente, e che pare bianco, e lucido marino. E’ la sala con soffita di belissimi intaglii, e le stanze a volta con vaghi stucchi ne cornici di buonissimo gusto. Ha il suo Giardinetto con una fontana in mezzo, colla comunicazione, si da questo, che da detto Casino al Convento, e sua Clausura finalmente ha de commodi di sopra per la famiglia, ed officine di sotto, benché queste non terminate per la morte sopraggiunta a detto Porporato seguita li 26. Febraro 1626, e compliata al pari di quella del di lui gran Prozio.'
crevice, and on the other side it was enclosed by the buildings of the monastery - which could be accessed from both the garden and the Palazzina itself. Servicerooms were planned in the basement, and on the first floor a number of chambers for the members of his household. This would indicate, that the cardinal was considering spending time in the vicinity of the Discalced Carmelite monks on a regular basis.

After the death of cardinal Odoardo an inventory of all the Farnese possessions in Caprarola was made up, and it included a description of the furnishings of the Palazzina. Furniture, paintings and other utensils were collected and listed. The presence of a table, some cupboards and a number of paintings suggests the possibility of semi-permanent sojourns. The extant paintings depicted religious subjects, such as Samson and Delilah, Christ on the column, Christ taken down from the Cross, and Saint Elisabeth Queen of Portugal elevated into the air by Angels. The presence of three prayer-stools indicates that devotional exercises could be done here. Books were not listed, but these were probably taken back to the Palazzo Farnese in Caprarola itself and included in a separate inventory of the study in that building.

The 1741 account cited above contains evidence that is confirmed by seventeenth-century sources. Most interesting is the detail about the connection of the Palazzina with the monastery itself. The passageways mentioned in the eighteenth century were located between these private quarters of cardinal Farnese and the building of the monastery itself. The way through the garden was probably caused by the unfinished state of the project, and probably was not intended as a

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77 In ASN. Disegni e Pianta n. 5. Pianta di un giardino apparentemente probabilmente al monastero di Caprarola' (from Fondo Farnesiano,610 inc.1.c.5) is a drawing that has been identified as the design for this garden of the Palazzina or that of the monastery; the dimensions and form seem, however, not to coincide with those of the site in Caprarola.
78 This inventory is in ASN.Fondo Farnesiano 1853.1.2, fol.100r-v; 'Usato appresso il Scalzi. Robbe trovate nel casinono appresso il Monastero & Chiesa di Passigni Scalzi la chiave del quale tiene il Castellano. Brocche di rame due per adnugare il giardino contiguo a detta[la] Casa, che pesano li[br]i 16. Buffetti di noce grossi et novi longhi pl[a]nmi 5 et larghi 2... con suoi piedi simili n° 41 in altro più piccolo con un tiratore d'altibbion pur di noce Una credenza d'albuccio con cornici di noce che si apre con 4 sportelli et 4 appartamenti senza chiave & serratura in Inginocchiato di noce con cornice che si levano n° 3 Quardi. Un quadro grande di Cristo legato alla colonna sa tela con oglio senza cornice Un altro di Cristo deposto della croce con la madonna Santissima San Nicoletta et altri Santi lungo e quadro palmi 7 sopra rela senza cornice Un altro similre del martirio di S. Placidio et altri santi pure senza cornice Un altro più grande di Sanzone con l'immoraratà che li taglia i capelli et filiari innuto Un'altro grande orato di sopra di S. Giuseppe con la madonna & Cristo. Un'altro grande della madonna col figlio in braccio e San Gironimo con la Mada. Un altro mezzano di S. Elisabetta Regina di Portogallo elevata in ari dal Angioni con cornice dorata. Un altro piccolo di San Carlo compagno del desoritato di sa nella Camerini di SS. Illustissima nel palazzo. Un quadro mezzano da tela con cornice di noce e e ritratto d'un uomo armato con beretta in testa et lattura pica al collo che sta aderendo con taglia di rame et cat’ d'ottone levata d'una parte lib.55 et dell'altro 25.1 na tavola di noce longa pl[a]nmi 16 larga 4 con 3 tre piedi pure di noce Vasi di legno nel giardino da tener fiori altri pl[a]nmi 2 n° 8 Vaso di terra grandi fatti a compagno alti col piede pl[a]nmi 4 n° 30 Vasi piccoli alti poco più un pl[a]nmi n° 64. The painting with the elevation of Saint Elisabeth of Portugal must have been of fairly recent date; the canonisation of this saint had taken place only in 1625; see Lorizzo 2003.
79 The inventory of the books in Palazzo Farnese at Caprarola is in ASN.Fondo Farnesiano 1853.1.1, fol.85r-111v; 'Inventario de libri ritrovati à Caprarola nello studio dell’Uomo et Rino Cardile Farnese'. It contained a large collection of historical, theological, juridical and some musical books, for a total of 584 items.
permanently, but the interior connection was planned from the beginning. During the phase of planning and immediately afterwards, this led to a discussion between the cardinal and the Carmelite superior general. Shortly after the first proposal for the monastery, made by Farnese on 4 November 1620, the General Council of the Order (held on the 15th of that same month) advised Ferdinando di Santa Maria who was in charge of the negotiations, to revoke the agreement if the cardinal insisted on having a key to the monastery. It would threaten the tranquillity required for their devotional duties. Moreover, only those who had professed and were accepted into the Order could hold the key to a convent.

Although it seems that at that time Farnese dropped this point, it came up again in a discussion a couple of years later, and then as a fait accompli. The cardinal did not have the key to the main entrance of the monastery, but rather an even more direct point of access. On 18 February 1625 the prior of the Carmelite monastery in Parma presented himself to the cardinal - then reigning in his nephew's name over the Duchy - to complain about a door that had been constructed between the Palazzina and the monastery in Caprarola. Obviously, this had been undertaken without prior consent from the General of the Order. The door had been constructed because Farnese had obtained the privilege of a private cell in the monastery itself, and this passage led directly from the private chambers of the cardinal to the interior of the monastery.

Farnese wrote immediately to the Carmelite general to reassure him that it was only for his own convenience that this door had been made - his physical complaints (gout, as in the case of most seventeenth-century cardinals) severely hindered him climbing the stairs when entering through the official entrance of the monastery. In the subsequent assembly of the General Council of the Discalced Order, it was decided to 'concede to the Cardinal, during his lifetime, that he might enter into the convent from the door adjacent to his room, on the condition that when being away from Caprarola that door may not be opened in the presence of someone else.' In a memorandum of 1641, this was described as an extraordinary favour granted to the cardinal, for 'in no other way the Religion [i.e. the Carmelite Order] would have given licence to build an

79 Acta Definitionii Generalis 1985, p.76. 'Declaraverant Patres quod e duobus discretis qui a conventu eliguntur, ille debebat clavum habere qui in praedicta electione discretorum plura suffragia habuerit; et inter taud aequalia habentem, qui fuerit antiquior professione...'
apartment so connected and incorporated into the convent."

In conjunction with this consideration by the Carmelites of the Palazzina as an integral part of their convent, various sources mentioned the function of the structure as a place for religious life. A mid-seventeenth-century account by Padre Marziale filled this in with more details. He wrote about the Palazzina in his 'Relazione della fondazione':

Next to the convent the Lord Cardinal had made a beautiful palazzo with its own very beautiful garden, because his Lord wanted to retire for the remaining years of his life and live there with the Fathers of the Convent, where he also had a cell made to retreat and do the Exercises."

This citation adds the fact that not only did Farnese dispose of his own apartment, he also had a cell inside the convent for the practice of devotional exercises - and for this reason, the rooms of cardinal were considered by the Carmelites as a part of their clausura, the place where particular Carmelite forms of devotion were practised. And Farnese, as the sources indicate, had the Palazzina constructed to partake in this.

In the seventeenth century, the propagation of Carmelite spiritual exercises among the laity was undertaken through confraternities. These were set up by the Discalced themselves, and the spiritual obligations of these lay organisations were modelled upon the monastic Rules. One example is the brotherhood dedicated to the Nativity of the Virgin, that was erected in 1600 in the Roman Discalced Carmelite church of Santa Maria della Scala, and governed by the monks of this convent. They channelled existing popular devotion to the image of the Madonna housed in their church, that had been found to work miracles. The new confraternity drafted its first statutes in 1600, in which it was stated that its primary aim was the care of the soul by means of a regular devotional exercises. Most interesting is the fact that these exercises for the associated brothers were very similar to the spiritual obligations of the Carmelite regulars themselves, which

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Alberto di S. Carlo in a letter of 1642 to the cardinal delegate of Viterbo, when during the war of Castro the Farnese-possessions also in Caprarola were sequestered, cited from Di Ruzza 1994, p.89: 'nè in altra maniera la Religione avrebbe dato licenza di fabbricare un appartamento tanto annesso e tanto incorporato al convento.'

Di Ruzza 1994, p.88, citing AG-OCD 304.d.18: 'Approssò il convento ha fatto il Signore Cardinale un bellissimo palazzo con il suo giardino assai bello, perché voleva sua Signoria Ill.ma retirare il restante della sua vita e far abitazione quasi, c con il Padre del Convento, dove anco'era fatta una cella per ritirarsi a fare gli Eserciti.' The plan of the private cell in the convent itself has not been recovered, and the changes to the building in the eighteenth century have probably altered the original situation. The 1626 inventory of the Palazzo Farnese and the Palazzina in Caprarola does not mention this room as this was considered property of the monastic community, and thus not included among the private possessions of the cardinal.

The absence of any secondary literature on this confraternity suggests that it was a short-lived initiative.

See Kuhn-Forte 1997, p.654 for this miraculous image of the Virgin.
consisted of alternating liturgical and mental prayers.\textsuperscript{56} Carmelite forms and frequencies of prayer were actively promoted through these brotherhoods;\textsuperscript{57} indeed, the regular's own schedule was partly copied for the laity.

Farnese's persistence in obtaining permission for the passage between the Palazzina and the cloister itself to reach his own cell indicated the devotional aims for which this ensemble had been built: to partake in the religious practice of the Discalced brothers. The architectural similarities between the Palazzina and the Palazzetto are echoed in the analogous words used to describe their functions: retiring for devotional practice. Odoardo Farnese followed the religious practices common to the Discalced Carmelites in the monastery of Santa Teresa and Silvestro, just as in the Casa Professa Farnese was expected to do Ignatius' Exercises.

**Grottaferrata: the Palazzo Abbaziale**

Even before being created a cardinal in 1591, Odoardo Farnese was nominated commendatory abbot of the monastery at Grottaferrata. This Basilian convent, basically following the Greek liturgical rite, had been one of the prebends of cardinal Alessandro.\textsuperscript{58} He ceded this before his death in 1589 to his great-nephew Odoardo. With this transaction, Odoardo could dispose of the income and the possessions of this abbey. In his commitment to the Badia, he continued the policy of his great-uncle. During Alessandro's abbacy, additions had been made to the abbatial quarters, and under the commenda of Odoardo the architectural structure of the monastic buildings and the church was improved.\textsuperscript{89} When this was complete, the interior of the chapel dedicated to the two founders of the monastery, Saints Nitus and Bartholomew, was frescoed by Domenichino between 1608 and 1610.\textsuperscript{90}

Both Farnese cardinals resided regularly at the convent. After Alessandro's death, a number of books, along with his private possessions was mentioned as being in the buildings of Grottaferrata, presumably the abbot's palace (fig.72). Considering the number of books and the fact that it contained valuable manuscripts, these possessions do not seem to have been leftovers

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\textsuperscript{57} See the regulations of the brotherhood, "Regulæ et constitutionæ confraterritiam oratorij S. M[ariae] de Scala sub titulo nativitatiæ B[eatæ] M[ariae] V[erginis]," preserved in AG-OCD: 'si leggera alcun libro devoto doppo per la matina duramno l'officio et immediatamen[t]e farano un quarto d'ora d'oratione mentale, o altro essercizi che al padre parra quel fine della quale duramno le letanie della madona, fitesoso farano il doppo pranzo, diranno il vespro et la completa della madona doppo farano un quarto d'oratione, o altro essercizi sti il quale si finira con le letanie…'


\textsuperscript{60} Robertson 1992, p.171; D'Ondolfo Pietrangeli 1971, pp.202-221.
forgotten in a faraway place, but reflect his regular presence there. The addition of a loggia during Alessandro Farnese’s tenure is a further indication that the abbatial palace was used by him; it provided an extension to the abbot’s apartment and was decorated by Cornelis Loots with frescoed landscapes depicting episodes from the history of Grottaferrata.

How often did Odoardo reside in Grottaferrata? Odoardo used the abbot’s palace to receive guests and in some cases this infringed with the monks’ life. According to reports of visitations to the monastery, in 1603 and in 1608, apparently the clausura was violated twice by ladies invited to parties there by cardinal Odoardo. That this occurred had to do with the absence of a division between the cardinal’s quarters and those of the monks: the gardens were not partitioned. A letter of 1609 suggested that Farnese went to Grottaferrata during the month of December of that year, while Domenichino was working on the chapel of the two founders. After Odoardo’s death, another inventory listed a collection of books kept at the Badia that shows that he had continued the tradition of sojourns to the convent, probably until the end of his life.

Moreover, the wings of the buildings in Grottaferrata were physically linked: the commendatory abbot could pass from his own rooms into the convent by means of a connecting door, the key of which was in his possession. The abbot was, in juridical terms, head of the community, and had the right to enter the convent. The similarity with the situation of the Palazzina in Caprarola suggests that also in this case, Odoardo was able to participate in the religious life of the Basilian monks.

**Camaldoli: a private cell?**

A fourth example of a location where Cardinal Farnese could temporarily find retreat was in a real hermitage, at Camaldoli near Arezzo. This settlement consisted of two related parts, a coenobite complex on the lower part of the mountain, and a secluded hermitage on the top.
A close relation existed between cardinal Odoardo and the hermitage from the end of the sixteenth century onwards. In 1597, Odoardo paid a visit to the hermitage and decided to express his family's long dedication to the institution and the Order by means of an architectural addition. Financed by him, a *romitorio* or anchorite cell dedicated to Mary Magdalene was built in 1600 within the confines of the hermitage; funds were also provided to pay for the perpetual upkeep of this structure. Until his death, Farnese regularly supported the hermitage with financial and material gifts such as liturgical vestments, a painting representing the female penitent saint, and probably also an additional altarpiece for the hermitage's church painted by Annibale Carracci. In tune with these new and splendid vestments he was also asked in 1625 by the monks to send a painter to decorate the choir.

Carracci's altarpiece of *Christ in Glory with saints* (fig.1) has been formerly interpreted as a means to promote Odoardo's candidature in 1597 for the English Throne, on the basis of the presence of Saint Edward presenting Odoardo to Christ. However, both the dating — which has been placed on stylistic grounds around 1600 — and the particular iconography link the altarpiece to the particular relations between the hermitage and its patron, and the larger context of the protectorate.

The presence of Mary Magdalene in the left middle ground of the painting indicates that it should be dated close to the donation of the hermitage by Odoardo; the two saints on either side in the foreground are on the left saint Ermenegildo, and on the right saint Edward, who at the same time constitutes the namesake of Odoardo and his obligation as protector of the England. The latter presents Cardinal Odoardo, in praying position, to Christ appearing in the sky between saints Peter and John the Evangelist.

The meaning of this painting should not be sought in Farnese's presumed aspirations to the English throne, but can be explained analogous to the Camerino's meaning as an index of ecclesiastical obligations. In the *Christ in Glory*, Carracci depicted both Ermenegildo and Edward to point out Odoardo's obligations toward the two countries, of which he became cardinal.
protector in 1592 and 1600 respectively. In both cases, he was obliged towards the Eternal Church as represented by Christ and Peter; the church of Saint Peter in the background refers to the Church on earth. The secondary position of Mary Magdalene in this painting can be explained by the unofficial relations between Odoardo and the Camaldolese Order, which, as has been discussed, never materialised in a full protectorate as both parties wished as a result of papal intervention in 1611.

By means of these donations and his support, Odoardo continued the long-standing relationship between the Farnese family and the hermitage, which began before the family had been elevated as rulers of the duchy of Parma and Piacenza. This relation originated when in 1521 a Camaldolese monk, predicted to Alessandro Farnese Sr., later Paul III, that some day he would be elected pope. Alessandro had stayed at the hermitage, and his successors - among others the Cardinals Ranuccio and Alessandro Farnese - are also known to have spent time in Camaldoli. Around 1620, Duke Ranuccio Farnese, Odoardo's brother, had a cell built close to the church of the hermitage that might even have functioned as an apartment for sojourns close to the Camaldolese hermits.

A stay at the hermitage of Camaldoli had been popular from the late fifteenth century on, when Florentine nobles started to spent time in its salubrious environment. A description of such a sojourn in the Disputationes Camaldulenses by Christoforo Landino, written around 1472, is famous example of this. The group of friends with whom Landino travelled did not only visit the monastery, located lower down the mountain, but also climbed up the steep slope to reach the hermitage itself. 'And so we first went to the coenobites, and from there to the hermits...'

Admittance to the isolated part of the Camaldolese complex on top of the mountain (fig. 73) was (and still is) severely restricted, and cannot have been obtained solely for reasons of pleasurable activities, or in the case of villeggiatura. Landino's own account indicated that prior to 1500, people could stay on for a longer period of time. After that date, this was perceived as

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1 See above, p.120.
2 See above, pp.122-123.
3 Petrocchi/Zangerli 1989, p.10. An alternative version of this story existed, in which a 'sibyl' called Angeruta, living in the vicinity of Noelia, had predicted Alessandro Farnese his future papacy; see Scarratta 1986, p.185.
4 See Fossa/Magheri-Cataluccio 1979, pp.456-457 for the description of this cella, in 1632 incorporated into the rooms of the library of the hermitage.
5 For a general description of the reception of visitors in Camaldoli, which began with reading a passage from the Bible as edification of the visitor, see La regola di San Benedetto 1595, pp.184-187 and Cacciamani 1968.
6 See the introduction by Peter Jente in Landino 1980, pp.x-xvii. Editions of this text were printed until well into the seventeenth century.
7 Landino 1980, p.8: 'Itaque cum primum ad coenobitas, inde etiam ad hermitas ... pervenissetus...'
infringing upon the spiritual obligations of the hermits. In 1515, a newly introduced regulation on guests visiting the hermitage proclaimed that they were in fact admitted to the church of the hermitage, but had to leave immediately after concluding their devotional obligations. Obviously, securing peace and quiet remained a matter of concern also later in the century; the Camaldolese Constitutions of 1575 specified that 'the quarters of the Hospitium are isolated in such a manner from the Cells of the Hermits, that the quiet in the Hermitage will not be disturbed by guests.' In Camaldoli, the hospitium was located at the foot of the mountain for that reason.

When permission was obtained to stay within the walls of the hermitage, visitors were required to partake in the religious activities of the hermits - which comprised seven liturgical prayers and two half-hours of mental prayers a day. Apart from that, the monks - both in the monastery and the hermitage - maintained almost perennial silence and rigorous fasting throughout the year, and spent their time mostly studying Biblical texts, especially the Psalms. In the hermitage on top of the mountain, solitude was maximised; the solitary monks only celebrated the liturgy in the church three days a week; the rest of the days they read Mass in their own cell. The visitors to the monastery and hermitage of Camaldoli were required to respect those rules as well. In his Disputationes Camaldulenses Landino described how the day in Camaldoli started with the attendance of religious duties:

After we had risen the next morning, and all of us attended the sacred rites, we decided to wander through the higher parts of the woods, extending to the summit of the mountain, for the sake of relaxation and enjoyment, and so we neared slowly to a place where on a flowery meadow a clear spring was shaded by the branches of a tremendous beech-tree.

While Landino's account still evokes the context of Renaissance villeggiatura, the sojourns of various members of the Farnese-family at Camaldoli should be taken as a sign that they joined...
the hermits in their religious exercises. At that time he probably did not yet dispose of his own quarters in the hermitage. In later years, either the romitorio dedicated to Mary Magdalene initiated in 1600, or the cell patronised by his brother Ranuccio around 1620 were available to him. Thus, while he found himself in the hermitage, he partook in the spiritual exercises of the Camaldolese hermits, just as he had joined the Jesuits, Discalced Carmelites and possibly even the Basilians when he resided in his apartments within these monasteries.

The primary motif for the Palazzina in Caprarola, the apartment in the Casa Professa, the abbatial palace in Grottaferrata, and the visits to Camaldoli was the retreat for meditation and devotion. This evokes the words used by Bellori in his description of the Camerino degli Eremiti. Retreat was not meant to be a random dedication to prayer in solitude, but comprised imitation of, and possibly even guidance and supervision by, experienced religious. The terminology 'retreating for devotion' thus signified a retreat from Roman society, but not being completely alone. On the contrary, it seems to have been intended as retreating to a monastic context.

Cardinals retreating: Sfondrato, Borromeo and Bellarmino

Family tradition was not the only factor that spurred cardinal Odoardo to construct private retreats for the practice of prayer and meditation. Farnese belonged to a group of cardinals dedicated to the cause of spiritual renewal within the Catholic Church. Accounts of the Sacred College and its members considered Farnese as intimately linked with Cardinals Bellarmino, Sfondrato and Borromeo, regarding them as a coherent political faction.

Other sources indicate that these bonds were strengthened by financial affairs, professional, familial and even friendly relations. Roberto Bellarmino (1542-1621, canonised in 1930) consecrated Odoardo Farnese as bishop of Sabina in 1621, and Farnese

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11 Petrucci Zangheri 1989, p 10 regarded the halt at the hermitage as a convenient stop at the way between Rome and Parma.
11a Petrucci Zangheri 1989 p 16 citing ASF Medico 3374 ‘Essendo io venuto a Camaldoli a queste sante devotioni, dove trovandomi tanto vicino alla [mezza] Vostra...’
11b Arcioni 1626 mentioned that he had a cell available for him in Camaldoli when he went there; see the citation at the beginning of this chapter. It remains unclear whether this alludes to the Cell of Mary Magdalene, or the one that is connected with Ranuccio Farnese in the Camaldolese sources.

corresponded with Bellarmino from the late sixteenth century on; their families were involved in business matters. Towards the end of Bellarmino's life, they were generally considered to be amici, and when Bellarmino died in the autumn of 1621, Farnese even wrote from Caprarola to Rome to obtain some memento of his deceased friend.\textsuperscript{118} Cardinal Federico Borromeo (fig.75) was also related to the Farnese through the marriage of his brother Renato to Farnese's niece Frsilia, and on Farnese's request he ordained him priest in 1621.\textsuperscript{119} Paolo Emilio Sfondrato (fig.76) was likewise linked to Odoardo by family ties, and they were both created cardinals on the same day in 1591 by Sfondrato's uncle, pope Gregory XIV.\textsuperscript{120} With the latter cardinal in particular, Farnese cherished a life-long friendship, and as has been argued in the preceding chapter, Sfondrato's advisory involvement with the reform of the protectorate was reflected in Odoardo's actions. Connections between Farnese, Borromeo and Sfondrato were furthermore strengthened by their successive protectorates of the Archconfraternity of the Orazione e Morte, as has been discussed above.

All four cardinals shared an interest in retreating regularly to do spiritual exercises, and are known to have practised devotion in solitude, whether on a long-term or incidental basis; and in all cases, this kind of spiritual retreat was an occupation for life. Paolo Emilio Sfondrato had been taught to take spiritual retreats during his sojourn with the Oratorian society and its founder, Saint Filippo Neri, after 1577; the Oratorian sodality of priests actively promoted the practice of meditation and prayer.\textsuperscript{121} The example Sfondrato had been taught by Neri was continued by him later in life. The Avvisi of March 1599 mentioned a sojourn of the cardinal to the hermitage at

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\textsuperscript{118} Fuligutt: 1624, pp.340-341 cited the complete letter. Farnese obtained the breviary of the deceased. See also Brodrick 1961, pp.405, 414-415, citing the Chaplain of the English College in Rome: "Two Cardinals, above the rest, seemed to be more solicitous of him. Aldobrandini and Farnesius... Cardinal Farnesius was at this time [i.e. of Bellarmino’s decease, A.W.J] at his house of Caprarola, thirty miles from Rome, who hearing of the sickness of Bellarmino wrote many letters to Father Minutoli... And as often as Farnesius his letters, still full of love, were read to him. Bellarmino would in very effectual words make remonstrance how far he was indebted unto him, and how little able to discharge that duty which he did owe him, of which in his health he was never unmyndful..." For correspondence between the Farnese family and Bellarmino, see ARSI. Opp.NN.143.II. fol.202v and elsewhere.

\textsuperscript{119} Rivola 1656, pp.504-505 on Borromeo and Farnese: 'Con amendue quest si forti legami d'amistà, e parentado, trovandosi legata la casa Borromea con la casa Farnese, si per rispetto dell'antica servitù, ch'hebbe sempre i Conti Borromei con quelle Altezze, e si per lo matrimonio il vincolo tra' Conte Renato fratello del Cardinal Federico, e Donna Frsilia Farnese figlia del Duca Ottavio...' For Federico Borromeo, see DHI - 1960-present, vol.13, pp.33-42 and Jones 1993.


\textsuperscript{121} On Saint Filippo Neri’s tendency to take spiritual retreats and live a solitary and penitential life with a particular attention to fervent prayer, see Gallonio 1601 1995, p.11-13. See Marciano 1693, pp.20-21, Gasbarri 1962, p.276 for the kind of devotional exercises practiced within the Oratorian society around 1600, and see Gallonio 1601 1995, p.263 for Paolo Emilio Sfondrato's dedication to Filippo Neri. Moroni 1840-1879 vol.65, p.83. wrote on cardinal Sfondrato: 'ritirandosi sovente a fare gli esercizi spirituali in qualche casa religiosa.'
Camaldoli. Although the wording used to describe the motif of his stay ('andare a spasso') might seem to evoke worldly pleasures, his immediately preceding visit to the seven prescribed Stations of the Jubilee suggests similar religious intentions for this retreat in the hermitage; the aforementioned examples of Landino and Farnese indicated that this was compulsory during a sojourn among the hermits.

In an alternative version of this same notice in the Avvisi of 1599, Stondrato was said to have gone to Monte Oliveto. This was a monastery of the Benedictine Rule in the vicinity of Siena, which in the seventeenth century still functioned as a hermitage. From the sixteenth century onwards, ecclesiastics like Saint Carlo Borromeo spent time there in spiritual retreat. What is more important is that Stondrato was also cardinal protector of the Benedictine Congregation to which the monastery belonged, and the Avviso mentioned that one of the reasons he went there was to preside over a general chapter; but he stayed on much longer. So whichever destination of the two it was, Cardinal Stondrato was away from Rome and the Papal court for at least a month, partially for religious purposes, and partially as a result of his ecclesiastical duties.

The Vita of Cardinal Federico Borromeo described at length his love of solitude, complete dedication to meditation, and other spiritual exercises. He was probably inspired by the example of his uncle, Saint Carlo Borromeo, who had been devoted to this kind of exercise during retreats. The description of this aspect of Federico’s life, published in 1656, retraced this predilection for solitary prayer back to his early childhood:

Moreover, he chose for this aim [of prayer] a wonderful room in the remotest and most secret part of the palace, which was on the order of the Countess his mother embellished with beautiful and enchanting draperies; and in the most convenient place there he made an altar, which was on advice of the same [i.e. his mother] richly furnished with all things necessary to embellish it. Here he spent all alone those hours that remained [surpassed] after literary occupations when he did not leave the domestic confines, sometimes reading a devout book, at other times reciting particular prayers, or singing hymns, and psalms;

112 Avvisi dell’anno 1599, BAV Urb.lat.1067 fol.77r, 6 February 1599 (i.e. 1600): ‘Il Cardinale Stondrato hiermatino senese passa all’ ete chiesa et poi sente andato licenziando da alcuni suoi più chari risoluto passarsene a dipinto p[er] qualche giorno è messo al luogo de Camaldoli, et appunto ha capito il tempo a proposito di andare a spasso.’
114 For the abbey of Monte Oliveto, see DIP 1974-1997 vol.6, cols.98-100, and Carli 1961.
and finally sometimes embellishing the altar for his pleasure, and ordering things in various ways.\textsuperscript{126}

When he came to Rome, he found, just as Sfondrato, another example of this kind of solitary devotion in the figure of Filippo Neri. Towards the end of Borromeo's life, this fervour only increased, as the heading of a chapter stated: 'How much he always loved Solitude'. According to the biographer, this even went so far that Borromeo considered laying down his Episcopal duties, to retreat completely from public life and enter a hermitage:

he asked the help of a number of devout persons that they would instantaneously supplicate the Divine King that ... a hermitage would be conceded to him, where living solitary, he could be alone, united with God. And this ardent desire brought him to the point that a number of times it came to his mind [literally: heart] to renounce to the hands of the Pontiff the Arch-Episcopate, so that, being freed of the pastoral cares and all the other duties that this office included, he could attend to his studies and contemplation of Divine things...\textsuperscript{127}

As he could not and would not resign his duties for a complete dedication to the solitary life, he had a cell for regular retreats constructed for this purpose in the woods, about which he recounted in a letter:

I find myself since a number of days in my solitary, forest-cell with utmost pleasure, and I thank God that after so many long obligations, he considers me worthy, even though I am unworthy, of a bit of quiet; and this solitude sweetens my heart, dry from continuous duties, and makes me think of the eternal repose, to which we both aspire.\textsuperscript{128}

\textsuperscript{126} Carlo Borromeo instituted \textit{maisons de retraite} for doing the Ignatian \textit{Spiritual Exercises} in the 1560s, see Guibert 1953, p.392; he also was known to retreat during Eastern in the monastery of San Pietro in Montorio in Rome for prayer and flagellation; see Treflers 1989, p.533.

\textsuperscript{127} Rivola 1656 p.16: 'Si elrese per tanto nella piu segreta, e piu rimota parte del palazzo una bellissima stanza, la quale per comandamento della Contessa madre fu di belli e vaghi drappi vestita: e nel piu convenevol sito di essa fece egli fabbricar un'altare, il qual parimente d'ordine della medesima fu di tutte quelle cose, che per ben ornarlo erano necessarie, ricamente fornit. Quivi tutto solo, quando d'ambienti confini non usciva, consumava quelle ore, che alle litterarie occupationi sopravanzavano, hor leggendo qualche divoto libro, hor recitando alcune sue particolari orationi: hor cantando hinni, e salmi; ed hor finalmente orando per sua recreazione l'altare, ed in varie guise le cose disponendo.'

\textsuperscript{128} Rivola 1656, p.667: 'e pero hebbe piu volte a pregar alcune divote persone che instantaneousemente supplicassero alla Maestà divina, che ... gli concedesse un'eremio, ove solitario vivendo, unito con Dio solo vivesse. E questo ardente disiderio lo riduse a segno, che gli venne piu volte in cuore di rimuover nelle mani del sommo Pontefice l'Arcivescovado accio ché libero del carico Pastorale, e di tutte quelle occupazione, che con seco porta quest'ufficio, piu sollecitamente attender potesse allo studio, ed alla contemplatione delle cose divine...'

\textsuperscript{127} Rivola 1656, pp.667-668: 'Io mi ritrovo alcuni giorni in questa mia solitaria, e boschereccia cella con mio gran piacere, e ringrazio laddio che dopo tanti, e lunghi aflami, mi fa degno, d'indegne che ne sono, d'un poco di
But Borromeo's Episcopal obligations hindered even these short retreats, as he lamented in his letters. As a last resort, painting could function as a stand-in to escape from the urban context: not being able to escape the confines of his Milanese palace, he would repose in a room which offered him the painted views of the woods, so that at least mentally he could feel this solitude.

His taste for still-life-depictions of flowers probably served an analogous goal: these works offered Borromeo the chance to admire the beauty of flowers without having to go into a garden. This substitution of real with imaginary nature was alluded to in his own writings: 'I have had my room ornamented with paintings... And the pleasure I take in looking at these painted views has always seemed to me as beautiful as open and wide views.'

Borromeo alluded in 'Pro suis studiis', a manuscript collection of autobiographical notes, to the fact that these images served the spectator to walk in nature without leaving his house, the topic of 'travelling without moving': 'Instead of them, when they are not had, paintings enclose in narrow places the space of the earth and the heavens, and we go wandering, and making long journeys standing still in our room...'. The inclusion of hermit saints in the series that Paul Bril was commissioned to paint and Breughel's landscapes with the same anchorite theme indicate that these representations of the open air were more than mere pleasant imaginary walks, but were indeed a substitute for Borromeo's desire for real solitude (fig. 77).

**Bellarmino's urban retreat**

The fourth and most important figure in this group of cardinals was Roberto Bellarmino, already during his life revered as being almost saintly. He retreated yearly to the Jesuit noviciate of Sant'Andrea al Quirinale (figs. 84 and 85), as was mentioned in an *Avviso* of 1620: 'Cardinal Bellarmino has retreated for his habitual spiritual exercises to Sant'Andrea at Monte Cavallo of the Jesuit Fathers.' That Bellarmino went to this particular Jesuit house was because he

quiete; questa solitudine mi raddolcisce il cuor'masprito dalla continua frequenza, e mi fà ricordar di quel riposo, al quale ammende aspiriamo.'

Jones 1988b and Jones 1993 p. 76f.

Jones 1988a


Jones 1993, p. 64, note 84. For the literary motif of enjoying nature without leaving the room, which was for example a topic in the captions to the prints *Placentia Picturis* of 1612 by Visscher, see Bakker 1993, pp. 100-101, and Bakker Leeflang 1993, p. 20 and 29-30, and Levens 1994, esp. pp. 17-23 on the relation between landscape-series and the theme of 'travelling without moving'.

Jones 1988b, and Jones 1993, p. 78

Fulgatti 1624 and 1644, Bartoli 1678, Döllinger Reusch 1887, Locchi 1930, Braddock 1964, and Bellarmino e la Controversia 1990.

'Avvisi di Roma' of 1620, ASV. trb. Lat. 1088 fol. 559r: 'Il Card. Bellarmino v'è retirato alli soliti esercizi spirituali di S. Andrea de Padri Gesuiti in Monte Cavallo.' This citation is confirmed in his autobiography; see Döllinger-Reusch 1887, p. 69, where this manuscript has been transcribed and translated: 'Und alljährlich, meist im Monat September, zieht er sich zurück, um sich mit Heimatdassung anderer Beschäftigungen dem Gebete und dem
remained living in their community after being elevated to the rank of cardinal. This retreat to Sant’Andrea was his habitual practice, as Bellarmino’s first biographer Fuligatti described in 1624:

> Each year he went for one entire month to the noviciate of Sant’Andrea to do spiritual exercises... during which time he notably edified everyone... In the remaining time, during the hours of exercise he stayed almost continuously secluded in his room without going into the garden. [which was] necessary for those who dedicate themselves to the mental exercises.¹³⁶

In contrast to the retreats discussed above, Bellarmino did not isolate himself completely from his environment; he did not even leave the city of Rome. He stayed in the noviciate and retreated to his room for the times of prayer, but in the remaining time he actively communicated with the other inhabitants of the complex, to the spiritual benefit of his audience. His retreat was thus not exclusively for his personal spiritual advancement, but served a larger goal. Another account later on in the book precisely recounted the fruits of these periods of retreat:

> This daily interior retreat seemed but little compared to the usual piety of Cardinal Bellarmino, because apart from shaking off the dust gathered during continuous occupations and business, and to prepare himself, and to give account to God of his actions, he was accustomed every year in September for one whole month, as has been alluded to before, to mind to himself, and to God, in the House of Sant’Andrea, place of the Novices of Rome, without admitting visitors, and outside and distracting affairs: where he spent all the time in saintly contemplative exercises, and the reading of spiritual books. The output of those saintly retreats were those spiritual treatises, that he subsequently issued with so much edification, and fruits not only for the devout souls.¹⁴⁷

An important result of these retreats – in particular the religious aspect, other than the practical

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¹³⁶ Fuligatti 1624, p.136: ‘Andava ogni anno per un mese continuo a far gli essercizi spirituali al noviziato di Sant’Andrea... nel quale tempo notablemente edificava tutti... Nel resto poi del tempo degli essercizi quasi continuamente stava ritirato in camera senza scendere al giardino, necessario sollevamente a quelli, che a gli essercizi mentali si danno.’

¹⁴⁷ Fuligatti 1624, pp.280-281: ‘Questo interno raccoglimento d’ogni giorno parve poco alla sollecita pietà del Cardinale Bellarmino, perché in oltre per iscruoter la polvere raccolta nelle continue occupazioni, e negozii, e per apparendersi, a render conto a Dio del suo traffico, fu solito, come più volte si è accennato, ogni anno di Settembre per un mese in circa d’attendere a se solo, & a Dio, nella Casa di Sant’Andrea luogo de’Novizi di Roma, senza ammetter visite, & occupazioni in cose esterne, e distrattive: dove tutto il tempo passava in santi essercizi di contemplazione, e lettione di cose spirituali. Parti di questo santo ritiramento sono quelle opere spirituali, che poi ha mandato fuora con tanta edificatione, e frutto non solo dell’anime devote...’
side - was thus not only the edification of his own soul. During these periods Bellarmino produced devotional literature useful for other readers. One of these, the *De aeterna felicitate sanctorum Libri quinque* of 1616, was specifically dedicated to Odoardo Farnese. Its foreword moreover recapitulated the close and long-standing ties between the Farnese family and the Jesuit Order and their dedication to the Jesuit cause. Bellarmino also referred to the fact that cardinal Odoardo was one of the alumni of the Jesuit school in Rome, the Collegio Romano, where from the late sixteenth century onwards the pupils were not only taught scientific and literate topics, but also how to do the *Spiritual Exercises* at regular intervals.\(^{118}\)

**Funeral monuments as models of devotion**

The ties between cardinals Farnese, Bellarmino and Sfondrato received a more lasting form than dedications of devotional treatises or life-long friendships and political co-operation: two sculptural monuments publicly expressed the same (figs. 78 and 80). Both these monuments were, moreover, an expression of the spiritual zeal that was common to all four cardinals, and the example they set with their dedication to the exercise of prayer. In 1622, the apse of the church of the Gesù was embellished with a tomb for cardinal Bellarmino, possibly at the suggestion of Pope Gregory XV Ludovisi (1621-1623), but commissioned and paid for by Odoardo Farnese. The inscription on the central marble slab explicitly mentioned the latter as patron of the tomb.\(^{159}\)

At first, Roberto Bellarmino had been interred in the common grave of the Jesuit Fathers - in accord with his own will, as his biographers stated. This presentation of the facts was a slight exaggeration of the Cardinal’s humility, as he had wished to be buried ‘at the feet of his spiritual son’ Luigi Gonzaga, or ‘wherever the Superiors of the Compagnia might wish to put his remains’.\(^{160}\) The project for the funeral monument was begun shortly after Bellarmino’s death on 17 September 1621. Almost immediately, attempts were also made to initiate the process of

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118 Bellarmino 1616, foreword: ‘*Ha magnitud est, Cardin. Amplissime, tuor in nostrum Ordinem beneficiorum, ut omnes & singulos nostrae Sodalitatis alumnos nominis tuo minifice devinctos habetas.*’

119 The inscription on the marble slab still in the Gesù reads: ‘*ROBERTO CARD. BELLARMINO POLTIANO, L.S.O.S.JESU* MARCHI. EPISCOPO, SORORIS IN IUDÆO DÆMI CARD. FARNESIS SELLERIAVIT, QUAM PATRISE, EST SEMPER COEI. AMBORI NUGAM AMPLIITER REMPLIMENTIPUS ORIORVM IN DIES ANNO DOMINI MDXXI. AEVI LXXIV.*’ The assumption that the funeral monument was conceived and paid by Farnese is also sustained by the account in Bellarmino’s biography, Bartoli 1678, p.262: ‘perché il medesimo Cardinal Farnese volle egli l’omone d’onore del suo Bellarmino cofi quel sontuoso sepolcro di marmi, e di statue, che gli si levò altro da pie del corpo; sopra i busto del Bellarmino dal naturale, e nei mezzo la susseguente memorial:’

159 Tulliatti 1624, p.353-356. ‘*In quanto al luogo della sepoltura harei molto caro, che il mio corpo tosse collocato alli piedi del Beato Luigi Gonzaga, gia mio filgueulo spirituale: nondimeno li Superiori dela Compagnia punghino il mio corpo dove vorranno.*’

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canonisation.\textsuperscript{141}

Several months later, on March 12 of 1622, the existence of a monument for the cardinal was mentioned in Giacinto Gigli’s diary.\textsuperscript{142} This referred to the place at the back of the choir originally containing the bodily remains of Saint Ignatius himself, which had become vacant with Loyola’s canonisation in these same days and his translation to a new and grander grave in the transept of the same church.\textsuperscript{143} On 14 September 1622, the body of Cardinal Bellarmino was exhumed from the common grave, placed in a leaden casket and relocated in the niche at the back of the apse.\textsuperscript{144} The unveiling of the funeral monument took place two years later, on 3 August 1624.\textsuperscript{145}

At the left side of the main altar in the apse of the Gesù an architectural setting was created following a design by Girolamo Rainaldi.\textsuperscript{146} Niches at the sides housed the allegorical figures of Religion and Wisdom; in the middle a black marble slab contained the inscription, and this was surmounted by an oval niche with the bust of the cardinal; the young Gianlorenzo Bernini (1598-1680) sculpted this portrait.\textsuperscript{147} The original layout has been preserved in a nineteenth-century design (fig.78) and in Sacchi’s painting of the church interior; the monument itself was demolished in 1843 when the apse was remodelled. The portrait-bust was then given a new place in the apse of the Gesù - coincidentally under the grated window from which Farnese could attend mass, when he stayed in his apartment in the Casa Professa.\textsuperscript{148}

Bellarmino was represented in the act of prayer, with his hands folded, and slightly turned

\textsuperscript{141} Lavin 1968, p.242 and Wittkower 1981, cat.no.15 and p.274.

\textsuperscript{142} Gigli 1994 vol.1, p.98: ‘alla man destra dell’Altar maggiore, dove appunto hoggi si è fatta la sepultura del Card. Bellarmino.’ For the location of Ignatius’ original grave, see also Felini 1610:1669, p.91, cited at note 28 above.

\textsuperscript{143} Fulgatti 1624, pp.348-349: ‘Restava in quel tempo vuota la sepultura, che già fu di S. Ignazio, al lato destro dell’altare maggiore del Gesù, per haver havuto il Santo, coll’occasione della Canonizzazione, luogo per le sue ossa, sotto il proprio altare. In questa sepultura parve ben’al Padre Generale, & ad altri Padri, che si riponesse il corpo del Cardinale Bellarmino, come si fece; accioche s’intenda forse, che si come in vita ottimo, e perfetto herede fu delle virtü del suo Santo Padre, e Patriarca Ignatio; cosa dopo morte qual vero figliuolo conveniva, che partecipasse nella gloria del suo sepolcro.’

\textsuperscript{144} As the original monument is only known from a nineteenth-century design, the exact location of Bellarmino’s remains in this setting remains uncertain.

\textsuperscript{145} Pollak 1928-1931 vol.1, p.126.

\textsuperscript{146} Rainaldi’s involvement is attested to in various sources; Titi 1987 vol.1, p.100: ‘A mano destra di questo Altare è il deposito del Card. Bellarmino, fatto con disegno di Girolamo Rainaldi...’; in the 1725 edition of Roma ampliata e renovata, p.89, it was stated ‘Osservate fra i Depositi quello cretto al Cardinal Bellarmino con architettura di Girolamo Rainaldi, e colle Statue del Cav[aler] Bernini.’

\textsuperscript{147} The sources disagree upon the authorship of the two sculpted Virtues: Baglione 1642-1695, p.305 attributed both allegories to Pietro Bernini, which was followed by Martinelli 1660-1669, p.68 and Titi 1987, p.101; Passeri 1678-1695, p.247 however ascribed them to Giuliano Finelli but executed under the direction of Bernini, which was followed by Pancioli 1730-1992, p.864; **Baldinucci 1845-1847 1974, pp.76, 177. Domenico Bernini stated around 1700 that Gianlorenzo made the figure of Religion. See for a discussion Brusin 1940, pp.315-316 and Lavin 1968, p.243.
to the right. Because of the location of the monument behind the high altar, the bust was directed towards this liturgical focus and at the same time, beyond the space of the apse, facing towards the beholder in the nave (fig.79). The pose of this bust, especially the clutching of the hands in the pose of ‘ewiger Anbetung’ or eternal adoration, was a familiar sixteenth-century form. Images of figures in the act of prayer can be found north of the Alps in later medieval times, and in Spain and Naples in the early modern period. This iconography was, however, unusual in Bernini’s oeuvre, and only reoccurred once, several decades later, in the monument to Pimentel. With the decisive adoption of this traditional form, Bernini introduced into the Roman context the deceased in the act of prayer, and added the suggestion of bodily movement that reflected interior motion. Instead of a frozen image, this bust became a living example for the beholder of how to attain spiritual perfection.

Bellarmino’s monument was not the first of this kind in Rome, however, and it is significant that a similar example was executed only three years earlier: the funeral monument of Paolo Emilio Sfondrato. An Avviso of 1602 mentioned that the cardinal intended to be buried in front of the monument erected to the titular saint of Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, of which church he was titular cardinal: his testament of 1618 repeated this intention. A simple marble slab directly in front of the sculpture of the female saint was to cover his coffin. In addition to this, the executors of his testament, Agostino Pacinelli and Odoardo Farnese, also decided to erect an independent funeral monument against the wall of the nave of the church (fig.80). The design of the monument has been ascribed to various artists, among whom the names of again Girolamo Rainaldi, Pietro Bernini, and that of Angelo Pellegrini have been suggested. The contract for the execution of the funeral monument, however, only referred to Clemente Gargioli, the ‘scalpellino’ hired to execute the architectural structure in stone.

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14 The recent exhibition on Bernini included this bust; see Bernini 1999 cat.no.38, pp.322-333.
15 The term ‘ewiger Anbetung’ was coined and linked to Bernini’s bust by Bruhn in 1940, p.315.
16 Wittkower 1981, cat.no.15. Silla Longhi and Nicolas Corder used a similar form in the Cappella Paolina in Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, where the full-length-figure of Paul V is shown holding his hands in prayer and gazing towards the altar; see Ostrow 1996, p.172.
17 Bondini 1855, p.139. Bruhn 1940, pp.313-314; Matthias 1970, p.48 supposed that Baglione had ascribed the design to Carlo Maderno. However, Baglione 1642 did not mention this monument in the life of Maderno. On its recent restoration, see Marchetti 1999, p.43.
19 During the eighteenth-century redecoration, this monument was moved to the portico of Santa Cecilia.
20 Economopoulos 2001, pp.38, 45; the contract dated 23 May 1623, is in ASC, Archivio Urbano, ser. L.t.414, fols.329r-330r. 355r-355v. This contract contained a drawing for the monument without reference to an author. Harris 1999, p.193 n.27 regarded Rainaldi as the architect of the tomb on the basis of the contract as published in Bertolotti Atti di settenzi a Roma, p.192, however, the edition 1886-1974 of this book does not refer to Rainaldi or the tomb in question.
Sfondrato’s monument in many respects resembled Bernini’s project in the Gesù: a marble plaque with inscription, in this case praising the efforts undertaken by Sfondrato in embellishing the church and his general virtues such as piety and charity, surmounted by a round niche with the actual bust; on either side niches crowned by triangular pediments house the Saints Cecilia and Agnes. The sarcophagus was the only element lacking in the Bellarmino monument; the total design and the details were nearly identical. While Sfondrato’s image (fig.81) could be described as rather stiff and Bernini’s bust (fig.79) much more lively, they both represented the deceased in the act of prayer and turned in the direction the altar, the liturgical and devotional focus of the church. They both visually joined the visitors in their daily prayers and seemed to exhort to this exemplary behaviour.

The iconography of prayer adopted in the monuments of Sfondrato and Bellarmino did not merely herald individual characteristics of the two devout ecclesiastics. Instead, this decoration reflected the spiritual intentions of a political faction in the Sacred College of Cardinals, which shared a predilection for devotional retreats and the exercise of meditation and contemplation. The Farnese family tradition, as announced in the funeral oration and the letter of 1675 cited at the beginning of this chapter, was thus not the only factor that determined Odoardo’s interest in having special apartments for spiritual retreat linked to convents of Monks as well as confraternities. It was, on the contrary, a sign of spiritual zeal of several cardinals belonging to the same political faction as Farnese, and which determined not only their life, but also their (posthumous) public image.

All of Farnese’s apartments fulfilled the requirement of undisturbed prayer and meditation: the apartment in the Casa Professa and the Palazzina in Caprarola were physically autonomous from their architectural surroundings. However, the devotional practice was in each case related to the regular community in the adjacent monasteries to which these apartments were attached. In the apartment of the Casa Professa, the decoration of the small Cappellina referred to the act of prayer. In Grottaferrata and Camaldoli, separate rooms were available to him from which Farnese was able to join the regulars in their daily liturgical and individual devotions. Even the Camerino degli Eremiti belonged to this phenomenon: Bellori’s words that Farnese ‘was

155 The inscription reads: "O DOARDO UNO PAOLO SFOND RATO CARD. EPISC. ATAN ORAT. GREG. VEX. FR. BON.\n\n16 F 1 2 7 19 4 1 1 0 8 2 7 5 5 5 6 1 7 5"
used to retreat to this room, for his devotion fits perfectly into the described pattern. He was able to participate in Mass, and possible other religious events, as the original contract of 1611 stated. Thus, for Farnese, this kind of room fitted into a series of related objects. And just as the other cardinals, his posthumous fame was partly based on this characteristic. Bentivoglio's *Memorie* of 1688 stated about Farnese that he "too often enjoyed the [act of] retreat."

The situation and use of the Camerino within the Palazzetto also accords with the kind of retreat to which other cardinals devoted a part of their time. Paolo Emilio Sfondrato also sojourned with the monks he was cardinal protector of; Roberto Bellarmine habitually went to Sant'Andrea where a comparable situation of a room near a garden could be found, and the landscape backgrounds were related to the intentions that Federico Borromeo had indicated in his letters, and in the choice for such themes in the paintings he had ordered from Paul Bril and Pieter Brueghel. In many respects, Farnese's Camerino contained elements that could be found in other objects and similar situations, where the theme of landscape played a particular role. How was the subject of nature considered by the group of cardinals around Farnese?

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172 See note 1 above

Bellori 1672, 2000, p. 467: "essendo solito ... ritirarsi in quella camera, per sua divotione..."

Bentivoglio 1668, p. 44: "Giudicavasi, che egli amasse troppo la retiratezza alle volte..."
In 1615, when Lanfranco will have started his work on the decoration in the Camerino, Cardinal Roberto Bellarmino published a book called *Scala di salire con la mente a Dio per mezo delle cose create*, a 'Ladder to ascend with the mind to God by means of the created things' (fig. 82). This treatise explained that the elements of visible nature were a series of steps leading to a spiritual understanding of the Creator. The book's dedication to Pietro Aldobrandini emphatically indicated that this work was to be a helpful manual for ecclesiastics with many obligations and busy schedules:

Because if one could hope for any use of this work of mine, that will be particularly applicable to the persons occupied in public affairs, especially Ecclesiastical Princes.

According to this dedication, the *Scala di salire* was aimed at cardinals and Odoardo Farnese was one of its intended readers, as he belonged to the same faction of cardinals as Aldobrandini and Bellarmino. That he was supposed to take notice of this book is also indicated by the dedication to him of the sequel (in time as well as in subject) to the *Scala*, Bellarmino's *De aeterna felicitate sanctorum*, 'Of the eternal happiness of the Saints', of 1616.

Apart from this external evidence, the choice of words in the above citation also implied Farnese as one of its recipients. The term 'Ecclesiastical Prince' was coined by Albergati in his treatise of 1592 on the life of the cardinal and reflected a contemporary discussion on the political dignity and modes of address for cardinals. This book, dedicated to Farnese upon his nomination as a cardinal, discussed the double social position of the 'Cardinal born a Prince', and devoted an entire chapter to the primacy of ecclesiastical over secular dignity. Moreover, following Bellarmino in the above citation, so too Albergati alluded to the time-consuming duties of the

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1. It originally appeared in Latin, both in Rome and Antwerp, in 1615 under the title *De ascensione mentis in Deum per scalas rerum creatarum*... and in an Italian edition. Several editions were printed, as well as numerous translations into other languages well into the nineteenth century. See Sommervogel 1960 vol.1, cols.1231-1236.

2. Bellarmino 1615, preface: 'Perché se utilita alcuna può sperarsi da questa mia fatica, questa ridondará particolarmente ne gli uomini occupati ne pubblici affari, come sono per lo più i Principe Ecclesiastici.'

3. BAV Boncompagni C.20, fol 98v.

4. Although reports between 1600 and 1605 indicate that the friendship between Farnese and Aldobrandini had been disrupted, other sources suggest that after 1605 recommenced their contact; see BAV Boncompagni C.20, 'Discorso de Card.i viventi in tempo di Papa Paulo Vo', fol 191v, about Farnese: 'Con Aldobrandino sta un pezzo male, hora sta bene.' For the publication history of *De aeterna felicitate sanctorum*, see Sommervogel 1960 vol.1, cols.1236-1238.

5. Albergati 1598, p.3. Prodi 1987, pp.84-85 described the new position of the Cardinal after the Tridentine reforms and his position under the new papal power, as the 'ecclesiastical prince'; treatises and dedications only begin to use this term after the 1620's. Albergati was the first to investigate and define the meaning of the double nature of the prince-cardinal.
cardinal-prince, and formulated the concept of nature as a ladder to reach the Divine as one of the recommendable devotions for a cardinal. The natural component of Lanfranco’s decoration of the Camerino, and indeed the concept of nature in the decoration of the Palazzetto, can be grasped through Bellarmino’s book on the devotional interpretation of the visible world. As he was one of the influential authors of spiritual treatises in early modern Rome, his views were widely accepted by church-authorities and the general public as well.

**Bellarmino’s ‘Ladder of Nature’**

As the book’s title stated, Roberto Bellarmino’s treatise described a ‘stairway’ from this world to Heaven. By looking at the individual elements of nature and, through this act of contemplation, understanding the universe as God’s creation, the reader would gain an understanding of the qualities of the Divine. This implied a dual interpretation of the visible world as a valley of tears and as a reflection of its Maker. To explain the relation between the two, Bellarmino utilised the didactic concept that it was in fact the mind of the beholder which turned the treacherous side of the natural world into a positive perception of its Creator:

> So thus, my soul, what you see before your eyes, and in your mind that seems marvellous and worthy to you, becomes a staircase for you to ascend to the knowledge of the perfection of the Creator, which is, without any comparison, the best. Thus it will occur that the created things, which at the feet of the stupid have turned into pitfalls, will not deceive you, nor do they throw you back, but they will instruct you, and confirm the steps towards better, and more sublime things.  

The text of the *Scala* pointed out a spiritual path, divided into three degrees, each of them subdivided into five chapters, leading from the consideration of man as a microcosm, through the description of the macrocosm and its constituting elements, to the discussion of the Virtues. In other words, the argument progressed from the immediate and corporal to the invisible and ethereal components of Creation. After an initial examination of the human body (‘First step:  

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1. Albergati 1598, p.181: ‘E, perche alla cognizione delle cose divine invisibili, & insensibili, l’uomo agevolmente s’inalza con la scala de i sensi; perche, riguardando l’ordine maraviglioso della natura, e gli stupedi effetti prodotti dalle cause seconde, veniamo in esquisita certezza del primo motore, e dell’ineffabili sapienza, potenza, e bontà di Dio, vera, e prima cagion di tutte le cose. Però alla scienza della Theologia deve precedere la Filosofia naturale, e Metafisica d’Aristotele, come quella, che per l’uniformità, per la sodezza, e metodo viene dal comun consentimento di tutte le scuole anteposta ad ogni altra.’

2. Bellarmino 1615 p.32: ‘Siche, anima mia; quanto ti si para avanti a’occhi, & al pensiero, che ti paia maraviglioso, e riguardevole, fa che ti sia scala per salire alla conoscenza della perfezione del Creatore, la quale senza paragone alcuno è di gran lunga maggiore. Quindi avverrà che le cose create, che sono d’apri delli scioeci divenuti lacci, non ti ingannaranno, ne ti ributtaranno indietro, ma ti istruiranno, & assodaranno il passo per salire a cose migliori, e più sublime.’
Man is considered as a microcosm), through the contemplation on the earth ('Second step: The entire world is considered') and its four elements: Earth, Water, Air and Fire (Steps three to six). Bellarmino discussed the celestial bodies of the sun, moon and stars (Step seven) and proceeded to the contemplation of the immaterial aspects of Creation. He examined the angels and the soul (Step eight: Our soul is considered; Step nine: The Angels are considered) and further informed the reader of the virtues to be discovered and brought into one's own life for the attainment of spiritual perfection. Bellarmino concluded with a number of meditations about the divine qualities and eternal wisdom ('Step ten: The Essence of God'; 'Step eleven: The Almightyness of God'; 'Step twelve: Theoretical Wisdom of God'; 'Step thirteen: Practical Wisdom of God.') The book ended with chapters on the mercy and the justice of God (Steps fourteen and fifteen).

Especially in the first part of the book, the consideration of the natural world was held to be an important incentive towards the spiritual ideal; this practice of observing the visible functioned as introduction to the more advanced steps. In the preface this is supported by a number of citations from Saint Augustine and the Apostle Paul, who both believed that it was possible to understand God through observation of this world. Bellarmino even stated that other means of reaching an understanding of the Divine in saeculum - and here he alluded to the mystical method by which the initiative had been transferred from man to God⁹ - were exceptions to the rule:

But that man can rise up [to God] by means of the creatures, and can come to the understanding and love of the Creator as taught by the Book of wisdom, and the Apostle writing to the Romans, and this is confirmed by reason itself; while through the effects one can come to acknowledge the original cause, and by the figure to its example. And one cannot doubt that all created things are works of God, and that man and the Angels are not merely works, but also images of God, as Scripture teaches us.¹⁰

According to Bellarmino, the multitude of creatures reflected the infinite beauties of God and His perfections; each of them contained a spark of this ideal - like a scudo is worth a great many

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¹ For the difference between mystical and ascetic forms of prayer, see DS 1937-1994 vol. 10, cols. 1934-1936.
² Bellarmino 1615, p.5: 'Che l'uomo per mezzo delle creature possa salire, e giungere alla cognizione, & amore del Creatore, l'insegna il libro della sapienza, e l'Apostolo scrivendo al Romani, e la ragione stessa il conferma; mentre da gli effetti si può conoscere la cagione fattrice, e dalla figura l'esemplare. E non si può dubbiare, che tutte le cose create non sieno opere di Dio, e che l'uomo, e l'Angelo non solamente sieno opere, ma ancora imagini di Dio, la Scrittura ce l'insegna.' With this last remark Bellarmino alluded especially to the Psalms, which contained a number of references to this principle. In the Commentary to the Psalms, published in Latin in 1611, a number of them have been explained in connection with the vision of God through nature. See Brodrick 1961 p.382.
The reader should thus not turn from the world, but understand how to ‘read’ this second revelation, and add all these detailed perfections found in Creation into a concise idea of one sublime Perfection, which is an image of the Creator. This notion presupposed the idea that outward perfection was an image of God’s Wisdom, and for that reason beauty was considered a Divine quality. At this supreme stage of his method, Bellarmino reverted back to his first chapter with the analogy of the human body, thus making his argumentation turn full circle.

In other words, according to Bellarmino his method was not a one-directional system of ascetic prayer, but instead the insight gained at the end would reinvest the early stages with new significance; it might be compared to the modern concept of the hermeneutic circle. The goal of the book was twofold: circular and ascending. Firstly, the visible world was not to be left behind during the course of meditation, but should be returned to with a new understanding, and would gradually become a transparent screen to reveal the image of God. Secondly, by continually reflecting upon the visible world, one would be able to rise above it until the vision of true and incorporate beauties was reached. These two directions together constituted the process of contemplation: the continuous reflection upon all aspects of one theme until true understanding was reached.

Bellarmino had not invented all this by himself, as he regularly reminded his reader both directly and indirectly. His text contained numerous references to biblical and Patristic texts, of which Saints Paul and Augustine have already been mentioned, and many later authors who had touched upon the relation between the earthly and divine realms. The *Scala* fitted into a tradition of considering the natural world as a reflection of the Creator, the origins of which went back to the Apostle Paul. In his letter to the Romans, Paul had suggested that one way in which God had revealed Himself to man was through Creation. Saint Augustine took up this idea and sustained it with biblical arguments: in his discourse on the relation between the physical and metaphysical, Creation was considered a condition for the Redemption of Man. In the thirteenth century, Hugh of Saint Victor, Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventura discussed this concept of the world as the Second Book of Revelation in greater depth, and turned the scholastic issue into a subject for

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"Bellarmino 1615, p 37: "Perché l’Idolo ha potuto esser conosciuto dall’Uomo in quella guisa, che s’è potuto migliore per mezzo delle sue creature e perchè non v’era creatura alcuna, che rappresentasse potesse l’infinita perfezione del Creatore, ha egli moltiplicate le creature, e dato a ciascuna nell’esser suo, qualche perfezione, accio da queste si venisse in cognizione della bona, & infinita perfezione del Creatore, il quale sotto la perfezione d’una semplicissima essenza, ha perfezioni infinite, appunto con uno scudo d’oro contiene in se valore di molti quattrini.”

"Romans 19-20."
prayer and contemplation.\textsuperscript{14}

In particular, Bonaventura's work was an important example to Bellarmino. Already the title of the *Scala di salire* echoed that of the earlier treatise, which was known as *Itinerarium Mentis in Deum* - the 'Pilgrimage of the Mind to God'. Secondly, their systematic approaches were very similar. Bonaventura had divided the ascension of the soul into three stages each consisting of a number of steps, in which, as the Seraphic Doctor explained,

the totality of the things is the ladder to ascend to God, and among the created beings, some have a connection with God as traces, others as images, some are corporeal and others spiritual, some are temporal and others are eternal, and for that reason some are within us and others outside of us...\textsuperscript{15}

Although the course sketched out by Bonaventura differed from that prescribed by Bellarmino, it also followed a logical progression in six steps from the external and phenomenological world to the image of God inside man himself, and from there ascending to the divine Trinity and Christ. The difference lay in the reversal of the first and second stages: the *Scala* started with man as an image of God. Only in one other important detail did Bellarmino's book differ from that of his predecessor: his work was contemporaneously published in Italian and soon also in other vernacular languages.\textsuperscript{16} It offered itself to a much wider audience.

Although the preface of Bellarmino's *Scala di salire* addressed a very small public of Cardinals, the paratext of the publication enlarged this to encompass a vast group of readers. Initially, Bellarmino's book was intended as a reminder for himself; only after circulating - in manuscript - in Jesuit houses and finding praise for its contents and composition, did the Cardinal become convinced that its method was useful to others and should appear in print.\textsuperscript{17} At that point, he dedicated it to another cardinal, and described it as apt for 'ecclesiastical Princes' with little time to devote to the practice of meditation. Numerous editions and translations testify to the popularity of the *Scala di salire*: the relatively small format secured a wide diffusion.

Although Bellarmino suggested that he had hesitated to give his manuscript to the printer, this was more a literary topos to underline his humility, rather than an expression of doubt about


\textsuperscript{15} See Zählten 1979, esp. pp.112f and 181 for the influence of Bonaventura's cosmological ideas in relation to the beginning of Genesis and the Creation upon the medieval arts.

\textsuperscript{16} Bonaventura 1961, ch.1.2.

\textsuperscript{17} For the editions of the *Scala*, see Sommervogel 1960 vol.1, cols 1231-1236.
the proposed method of devotion. On the contrary, he followed an approved model, and he had actively promoted the use of the natural world as a means to spiritual edification in an earlier book. This very idea of the visible world as the Book of God was described in Bellarmino’s *Explanatio in Psalmos* of 1611, a textbook for preachers that was used for the instruction of the general public. In the commentary on the eighteenth Psalm, the heavenly bodies are seen as invested with cogency - for they ‘speak’ an alternative language of symbols, in which God wrote his Second Revelation. For example, the verse ‘Day to day utters speech, and night to night shows knowledge’ from Psalm 19:2 was interpreted as the sun and moon perpetually announcing the glory of the Lord: the rounds they made on the celestial globe were regarded as heavenly music to their hymn of praise.” By thus representing the celestial bodies as being invested with the ability to speak and sing, Bellarmino turned nature itself into the active preaching authority for the instructed observer.

Presented in this light, nature itself became an active agent in the Catholic cause. With the right impetus, the beholder of real or imaginary landscapes, in paint, fresco or print, would be drawn up to the first step of prayer and meditation by merely looking at natural specimens. But before this method could be adopted by the public at large, they must be taught the method, and this was done around 1600 by means of booklets, oral explanation, and instruction ‘on the spot’. The *Scala di salire* itself alluded to such a direct link between place and devotional method; in his preface Bellarmino described that the booklet - indicated in the original title which was altered in the final printed version - was the ‘product’ of one of his regular devotional retreats:

The past month of September, with the help of God I wrote as well as I could a booklet, *Della Scala*, which conducts the mind to God by means of the stairs of created things: having chosen this month (with the good grace of His Holiness Our Lord) for complete occupation with prayer, having put all other affairs aside.”

17Bellarmino 1615, *Introduction*: ‘E ancorché io l’ho scritto per mio uso proprio, spinto tuttavia dal consiglio e dall’esortazione de’ signori a lasciarlo pubblicare, ho voluto, che comparisse sotto il nome di V. S. Illustrissima. ’

18Bellarmino 1611, p.73. ‘Il Dies dies creavit verbum, & nos nocti indicat scientiam. Admirabilis plane est praedicatio, qua enarrant gloriham dei... In hoc versiculo declaratur praedicatio sine intermissione; & quia caelum praedicat per dies & noctes, cum interdui conspicatur pulchritudo Solis, & noctu pulchritudo stellaram; & quia dies ac noches non permanent, sed labuntur, ac sibi succedunt; idem postremo artifice fingit: Propheita, unum dicit peracto curro & praedicatione sua, tradere dies sequentem verba praedicatinonis, & noctem quoque peracto curro, & quasi hymno cantato, tradere nocti sequentis munus canendi... A sinistra nulla intermissione dies, & noches quasi chores ducent, & Dei laudibus celebrant.’ See also the rest of this psalm-exegesis, where the symbolism of nature is widely used. For the *Explanations in Psalms* see Dollinger *Reuiseh 1887*, p.69; Brodick 1961, p.382, and *JS 1937-1994* vol.13, col.716.

17Bellarmino 1615, *Introduction*: ‘Il passato Mese di Settembre, come potrei il meglio, composi con l’aiuto di Dio, un libro, *Della Scala*, che fa la mente a Dio, per le scale delle cose create: havendomi (con buona gratia della Santità di Nostro Signore) eletto quel Mese per occuparvi tutto nell’orazione, passato in disparte ogni altro affare.’
As already discussed in the third chapter, the place where Bellarmino sojourned each year for his spiritual exercises was the noviciate of Sant'Andrea. This was not only a set of buildings, but it also contained a large garden that occupied much of the block. It was here that, from around 1600, the concept used by Bellarmino had been put into practice by the novices, explaining to the public the allegorical and mystical significance of the Creation. Bellarmino had not only based his own text upon the writings of others, but he was also inspired by the contemporary practice he could observe in his immediate vicinity. The Scala di salire constituted only one of the media through which the ascetic practice of allegorically reading nature was promoted as a popular method of spiritual improvement. The Jesuit Order played an active part in all those forms, and most conspicuously in the garden of the San Vitale in Rome.

The garden of Sant'Andrea al Quirinale

On the southern slope of the Quirinal Hill, a large complex of Jesuit possessions gradually came into being during the last decades of the sixteenth century. Its nucleus, the church of Sant'Andrea al Quirinale, was donated to the Society in 1566 by Gianandrea Croce, Bishop of Tivoli, and in that same year the adjacent house and vigna were given to the Jesuits by Giovanna d'Aragona, Duchess of Tagliacozza.\(^{20}\) The ruinous state of the church as well as the house, and the urgent need for a noviciate independent from the Jesuit Casa Professa led almost immediately to plans for restoration and rebuilding. Extensions were added to the back and sides of these buildings, unifying the various parts.\(^{21}\)

In 1598 this complex was enlarged with another church, San Vitale, given to the Jesuits by express papal approval. This church was an early Christian basilica dating from the fifth century and in desperate need of repair.\(^{22}\) Work started almost immediately, with private funding from Isabella della Rovere, Principessa di Bisignano.\(^{23}\) The aisles were partly torn down and the colonnade walled up to provide structural support; these new walls were decorated between 1599 and 1603 under the supervision of the painter Giovanni Battista Fiammeri, himself a professed Jesuit. The frescoes in the apse and tribuna were executed by Andrea Commodi and Agostino Ciampelli; the walls of the nave were done by Tarquinio Ligustri.\(^ {24}\) This interior decoration

\(^{4}\) Valone 1994.
\(^{5}\) Huetter Golzio 1935, Kuhn-Forte 1997 pp.201-226; for Ciampelli (1565-1630) see Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon 1992-present vol.19, pp.132-134; for Commodi (1560-1638) and his frescoes see Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon
reflected the official requirements of the Order, as the plans had been approved by the general in 1599 before their execution; the financial patronage by various nobles did not affect either the theme or form of the decoration. The general subject of the frescoes, surrounded by painted architecture, was the theme of martyrdom. All these early Christian episodes were set within conspicuous landscape settings.

Landscape was also present outside the church in the form of real nature. Between the noviciate of Sant'Andrea and the church of San Vitale, on the slope of the Quirinal hill, was a garden. Its nucleus was the *vigna* donated in 1566 by Giovanna d'Aragona, and pieces of land were added to this throughout the later sixteenth and seventeenth century. Contemporary accounts and sources document these gifts and acquisitions and the works subsequently undertaken to transform these parts into one large garden. The grounds were rearranged and new buttressing walls were built to support three terraces. Walls were put up around the premises to secure privacy for the novices. Accounts and drawings also mentioned the acquisition in 1588 of water from the aqueduct feeding the Moses Fountain on the Quirinal Hill, and the construction of drainage-pipes for the cultivation of the plants in the garden (fig.83).

At the end of the seventeenth century, the Jesuits owned almost the entire *isola*. The expansion of this garden can be followed through a number of visual sources. On the map by Du Pera of 1577, the area between the two churches consisted of several walled premises in a larger uninhabited space. Antonio Tempesta's map of 1593 shows the facade of the old Sant'Andrea, and behind it a number of separate vineyards, divided up by walls; what was directly behind the noviciate is hidden by the buildings. Giovanni Maggi presented both the façade of the Sant'Andrea and the apse of the San Vitale surrounded by an irregular zone in his map of 1625 (fig.84). Greuters' map of 1618 indicated that the grounds between the two churches was divided into three levels, but the location of this detail on the border of two plates hinders its legibility. In 1662, the subdivisions of the area can be recognised in the Tempesta-Rossi map, and only from Nolli's map of 1748 (fig.85), does a concise idea of the garden between the San Vitale and

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1992-present, vol.20, p.457 and Papi 1994: for Ligustri (around 1580-after 1618) in the San Vitale, see Guerrieri Borsoi 2000, pp.92-95. Ligustri was called in when Annibale Priori, who had started the decoration, renounced the commission.

30 A number of accounts for the project of the garden between San Vitale and Sant'Andrea can be found in ARSI Fondo Gesuitico, 867-2, Tabbrich lattice in giardino 1593-1680.
31 ARSI Fondo Gesuitico 867-2, "iura diversa quáad Viridarium Funtum a DD Caponis & quáad ad Mantuamini aquaqui", contains juridical contracts for the supply of water between 1588 and 1742.

Frutaz 1962 vol.2, plate 284.
Frutaz 1962 vol.2, plate 266.
Frutaz 1963 vol.2, plate 787.

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Sant'Andrea emerge. Between the two churches the sloping ground was divided into terraces and the large area to the east of the churches was used for agriculture.

A print of 1611, probably made by Greuter, represented the general organisation as well as many details of the garden located between the two churches of San Vitale and Sant'Andrea al Quirinale (fig.87). The upper half of the etching shows the back facade of the noviciate marked A. with the apse of the old church of Sant'Andrea to the right. Immediately behind this, a formal garden had been laid out on the first terrace in the form of six squares, with a fountain to the left of the centre. Against the wall on the left, a pergola for viniculture was constructed and pot-plants, presumably oranges, were positioned on the buttressing wall. This wall contained three fountains.

The middle terrace, marked F. was used largely as an orchard and housed another small fountain with a basin; on the left side was another pergola with vines. A flight of stairs ran through this area, alongside which stood a shed; another revetment separated this middle section from the lower garden. This last terrace, marked H, as again an open area with paths dividing this into six sections. By the representation of foliage, the print seems to suggest that in each section of this garden a specific variety of plant or herb was cultivated. Beehives were placed against the buttressing wall next to three further fountains. In the middle of this section, an obelisk with painted decoration could be admired. At this end of the garden a porch gave onto the public road.

This print of the garden was inserted into a book entitled *La peinture spirituelle ou l'Art d'admirer et louer dieu en toutes ses oeuvres, et tirer de toutes profit salutere,* or *The spiritual painting or the Art of admiring and praising God in all his works, and drawing healthy profit from all this* (fig.86), which provided a lengthy description of the noviciate complex at Sant'Andrea. Its author was Louis Richeome (1544-1625), a French Jesuit who was the master of the novices at Sant'Andrea for a number of years until at least 1618. The text of the *Peinture Spirituelle* proceeded along the line of the actual buildings, discussing in each chapter a section of the noviciate, beginning with the description of the church of Sant'Andrea, continuing with the paintings in the refectory and dormitories and, after an account of the garden, it concluded with a chapter on the church of San Vitale, situated at the other end of the premises.

During this virtual guided tour, Richeome discussed the symbolic interpretation given to the decoration and organisation of the complex and the intermediate garden. The title and the

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introduction suggest an allegorical reading of the world, as a kind of visual sermon or an image for prayer:

I called it *Spiritual Painting*, as she is prince of various spiritual images (*Tableaux*) of Grace and nature, which are to be seen in this house; those, and by means of those, speaking to the novices, I try to help all these to be useful to their eyes and simple hearts, and to become gloriously great in the face of God, and wise in a Christian manner in their youth, teaching them through my small industry the way to philosophise well without great difficulty, and and the art to recognise and admire God in all His works...¹³

Walking in the gardens down the slope of the Quirinal Hill, an encyclopaedic account in the tradition of natural histories linked all the plants, trees and flowers to the account of Creation and the qualities of the Creator. This didactic explanation of nature was attuned to the education of the novices.¹⁵ The garden offered them not only the simple enjoyment of the outdoors, but nature's allegorical meaning as a reflection of the Divine.

**Spiritual Paintings of the Universe**

Book six of the *Peinture spirituelle* described an imaginary walk through the three terraces of the garden, and provided a religious exemplification for each element encountered as well as for the whole. Richeome began with a description of the lintel above the entrance on the upper side, next to Sant'Andrea, which contained a relief representing a virgin on the outside, while the inner side showed the figure of Christ. The accompanying inscription, a citation from Canticle 5:1: 'That my beloved will come into his garden', linked the two sides of this arch.³⁰ The citation also related the lintel to the physical garden situated behind the door, a traditional image of Mary, who had conceived the Christ Child in her Virginity.³¹ On a third level, it provided a clear reference to the soul of the devout that should be prepared by a virtuous life for the coming of Christ, and the spiritual illumination He would bring into the garden of the human soul.³² These biblical connotations prepared the visitor to the garden for a spiritual rather than a literal enjoyment and

¹³ Richeome 1611, 'Introduction': 'Je l'appelle la Peinture Spirituelle, parce qu'elle est prime de divers Tableaux spirituels de grace & de nature, qui se voyent en icelle maison; esquels, & par lesquels, parlant aux Novices, ie tasche d'ayder tous ceux qui voudront estre utilement petits devant leurs yeux & simples de coeur, & devenir glorieusement grands devant Dieu, & Chrestiennement savans des leur jeunesse; leur apprenant selon ma petite industrie, la maniere de bien philosoper sans grande dificulte, & l'art de cognoistre & admirer Dieu et ses oeuvres....'

¹⁵ Coffin 1991, pp.100-102. Macioce 1990, p.122 regarded the iconography of the garden as a reference to martyrdom. Erasmus of Rotterdam gave in his *Continent Religiosum* an earlier literary example of the allegorical reading of nature where nature, painting, and the Creator were discussed as comparable entities; see Schütler 1995, pp.50, 109 and 159-161.

³⁰ Richeome 1611, p.473. 'Que mon bien aime vicie en son jardins.'

invoked a programmatic concept of the garden between the San Vitale and Sant'Andrea.

Inside the uppermost geometrical garden (the subject of the first *Tableau*), was a paraphrase of Paradise, the first garden made by God. Numerous flowers in multiple colours, perfuming the air and bearing delicious fruits, alluded to familiar representations of Paradise. The fountain in the middle was a reference to the Fountain of Life, a familiar motif in paintings of the paradisiacal theme.\(^3\) According to Richeome, behind all the elements of this garden the Presence of the Creator should be perceived, and Gods' goodness should be reflected upon. He had given all this to mankind, and in return man should thank and praise Him for it.\(^4\)

The argument of the next *Tableau* was the copiousness of creation, in which a great variety of grasses and flowers illustrated the excellence of the Creator, as well as the frailty of human life and its vanity. These paragraphs form a paraphrase of learned treatises on plants and animals, such as that by Ulisse Aldrovandi who expanded Aristotle's system with newly discovered plants and animals from the East and West.\(^5\) Richeome's own text read like a herbarium attuned to the idea that all this could not have come into existence without a higher authority. This should, as the last paragraph of this section recommended, 'stupefy' the reader and the viewers of these marvels of nature.

The third *Tableau* illustrated, by means of two sun-dials designed by the Jesuit mathematician Christopher Clavius (one on a pillar in the first garden, and the other against the wall of the noviciate-building itself, and marked with the letters B and C in the print), the aspect of time as a quality of terrestrial life. Human existence could end at any hour, as God decided. The measurement of time was also an aspect of the cosmos, by means of the Sun illuminating sun-dials; this concept confronted the longevity of celestial time with the brevity of existence on earth.\(^6\) On another level, the Sun was also an image of Christ who illuminated man's spiritual life.

The description of the buttressing wall between the first and second terrace took the reader from an anagogic to a typological reading by means of three fountains embellished with reliefs of scenes from the Old and New Testaments, linked through the element of water. The

\(^3\) Richeome 1611, p.473: 'cette vierge figurée sur le linteau, voilée d'un crepe bleu, sene de croix blanches, & de roses d'or, c'est l'ame devote, qui desire de voir son espoix HI JSUS CHRIST en son iardin...'

\(^4\) Schiller 1966-1991 vol.4.1, p.63: the fountain could also be a symbol for either Christ, Divine Wisdom, the Virgin Mary or the Church itself.

\(^5\) Richeome 1611, p.475: 'Donc autant de creatures, & de pieces d'art, que vous y voyez, autant d'obligations tenez vous d'honorer le Creatur, qui vous a tout donne; autant de de livres avez vous, a lire, a mediter, & autant de fleurs, & de fruits spirituels a cueillir pour le reflection de vos ames, ayse seulement bon oeil, bon entendement, & bonne main, pour s bien voir, bien concevoir, & bien apprester le presens de Dieu ... C'est un des exercises des grands serviteurs de Dieu.'

first fountain presented Moses striking the rock, the second showed Rebecca at the well, and a third one depicted the Rest on the Flight to Egypt with the young Christ. All of these episodes formally fitted into the garden, as they had taken place in the landscape. Richeome allegorically explained that the waters flowing through these basins as the life-giving Water of the Divine Love through Old-Testament references, by means of the Gospels likened them to the water of Baptism, and thus explained the fountains as illustrating one of the Sacraments of the Catholic Church.

The middle level of the garden offered the visitor contemplation on a more detailed level, with particular attention to the force of the Creator present in this universe and working in all its particulars. Richeome illustrated this by describing the fruit trees in the middle terrace - almonds, laurel, cherry-trees, apricots, pears, etc: they instructed the reader about the recurrence of the seasons and the organisation of the cosmos, and exemplified the subservience of creation to mankind. He also compared these fruit-trees with Christians as trees planted by God to sustain His Church.

The sixth Tableau discussed the revetment at the other end of this partition: the only sculpture described here depicted the figure of the Samaritan woman at Jacob's well, which was a reference to Baptism and to the act of conversion. The other two fountains were apparently devoid of sculptural embellishments. In this case, Richeome likened water to the virtue of humility, because this element was able, by lowering itself, to reach high up in the fountain. Water could also signify God's vengeance and misericorde - as expressed in the biblical stories of the Flood, the Israelites crossing the Red Sea, and of course the act of Baptism. A last analogy linked water with Paradise and the four rivers Eufrate, Tygris, Gehon and Phison, which all sprang from the Fountain of Life, which signified among other things the Divine Wisdom and the four Cardinal Virtues, and formed a reference to the Christian mission.

44 Richeome 1611, pp.499-501: 'Tableau Troisiéme des Jardins: Les horloges, ou quadrans.'
48 Richeome 1611, p.540: 'Iles montent ainsi haut, parce qu'elles ont autant descendu en bas, & c'est leur nature de monter, autant qu'elles descendent. Il est de mystique, pour vous apprendre, que de tant plus que vous descendrez par l'humilité, & vous abaisser en vostre neant devant Dieu & devant les hommes, de târ plus vous vous guideriez haut vers le ciel, à la perfection & à la gloire éternelle.'
49 Richeome 1611, p.551. The comparison of the fountain and the four rivers with Wisdom and Virtues comes from patristic literature, on the iconography of the paradisiacal rivers and the missionary theme, see Jul 1968-1976 vol.3, cols.382-384 and Schiller 1966-1991 vol.4.1, pp.63-64.
The basins of these fountains also offered, here and in a later Tableau, a moment of reflection on the birds coming there to bathe. Richeome assumed on the physical level, that feathers had been made out of the element of water; the animals themselves were interpreted metaphysically as images of the good Christian, for they strove towards heaven. Also the fish living in the basins of these fountains were seen as references to the good Christian, who lived in this world without taking it in.

The Tableau Septiesme: De la Vigne, & autres arbres was not precisely located by Richeome; on the engraving it seems to have been a section of the middle terrace, possibly the pergola on the left hand side. It discussed a vigna or vineyard which produced the wine for the Sacrifice of the Mass, and was thus related to Christian liturgy; it also led the mind of the author to the various regions of the world and to the topic of geographical difference. According to the place where wine was produced, the harvest of the grapes would either fall in January to March (in Peru), or between April and June (in Ethiopia), or between July and September (in northern Europe), or even, in some places, in still other times of the year. This led Richeome back to the level of strict natural history, in the variety of produce that agriculture brought - from olive-oil to honey, the latter acquired from a miraculous tree named Occus, in Hircanie.

After a detailed description of all the elements of trees - roots, branches, leaves, flowers and seeds, all allegorically explained as references to the Christian in the guise of the Divine tree whose fruit consisted of Good Works, and which came from the seeds sown by Christ - Richeome then turned to the presence of animals in the garden in the thirteenth and fourteenth Tableaux. First he discussed a number of bird-species - the nightingale, the dove, the swallow, and the peacock - and then the insects. Ants, flies, grasshoppers, and even snakes and scorpions were presented as examples of good and bad behaviour, but also discussed in their varieties as

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48 Richeome 1611, p.542 likened the effect of rays of light falling through birds' feather with the rainbow, a 'hieroglyphe' of water, and and took that 'la marque de leur origine'.
49 Richeome 1611, p.543: 'Les bons poissons sont notes de gens de bien, utiles & vivans comme petits poissons en la mer de ce monde sans la boire, & sans s'abysmer es volup't d'iceluy. Ainsi tous le Chrestiens appellez poissons, & S. Pierre, & les Apostres Patrons de telle pesche...'
50 Richeome 1611, p.556-572.
51 Richeome 1611, pp.557-558 probably had this information from Acosta who described the (not very successful) introduction of viticulture in Peru, see Acosta 1880 vol.1, pp.267-268.
52 Richeome 1611, p.571, referring to Pliny 1.12 c.8. It is also possible that Richeome referred to a tree in Peru producing a liquid that could be turned into honey by cooking, which is described in Acosta 1880 vol.1, p.247.
53 Richeome 1611, p.599: 'Les Chretiens, arbres divins. Les fruits d'un bon Chretien sont les bonnes oeuvres.' Ibidem, p.602: 'La troisieme, en ce qu'elle est semblable à la parole de Dieu, qui est par luy appelee Semence...' and 'Les paroles de l'Escripture, Semence de vertu.' Richeome goes on likening the seeds as the origins of the social order of this world, and especially the noviciate as the place where the seeds are sown for the mission by the education of young missionaries.
54 Richeome 1611, pp.612-660.
found in the diverse parts of the world, and as described by Pliny, Aristotle and Cicero.

The final part of Richeome’s description - Tableau des Allées, & Pyramides du bas jardin - discussed the lowest, third terrace of the garden. Murals on the walls along the alleys depicted three scenes connected with the theme of spiritual gardening. The first painting illustrated the parable of the sterile fig tree that is burned by its gardener when it refuses to produce figs; it exemplified that being a Christian was not enough to bear fruit. The second allegorical painting depicted the biblical comparison of the Sower, and the third showed the workers in the Lord’s vineyard. All three murals allegorised the works that the Christian should undertake to help God’s garden - an allegory of the Catholic Church - to flourish.

In the centre of this last garden, the visitor encountered a white marble ‘pyramid’, as Richeome described it, which better resembled a obelisk, with a Cross on top, and embellished with painted figures on all sides. By its position, decoration and inscriptions on its basis, this ‘pyramid’ indicated the four points of the compass. On the east side, Christ was depicted accompanied by a sun and lilies. An inscription from Zechariah 'The Orient is His name' and from the Song of Songs ‘I am the flower of the field, and the lily of the valleys’ commented upon these images. On both the north and south sides two virgin were represented, of which the printed view of the garden showed the one on the south side as barely recognisable. A citation from the Song of Songs was inscribed below the figure on the north side: ‘Awake, O north wind, and blow through my garden’. The south side bore the same inscription, but was adapted to the southern direction. The west side depicted the crowned king Salomon, who regarded his riches

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54 Richeome 1611, pp.666-671.
57 Richeome 1611, p.668: 'ces paroles graveres au pied-dela en deux rouleaux, en l’un, L’Orient est son nom. En l’autre, il est la fleur des champs, & le Lys des vallees.' The first citation is from Zechariah 6:12. That no wind was represented here will have had to do with the negative Biblical connotations of the east-wind as destroying crops and flowers; see Caliver Biblelexikon 1973, col.996. The substitution with Christ is another reference to the Garden of Eden, as the east-direction in the Old Testament was often a reference to Paradise. See the Anchor Bible Dictionary 1992 vol.2, p.218. The latter citation is from the Song of Songs 2.1-2.
58 Richeome 1611, p.669: 'lonctu Aquilon, & souffle a mon iardin: Au ceste opposé, qui regarde le Midi, est la meme vergue habillee d’une robe d’or essclantant, sensee d’Esmeraudes & Escurboucles, coronnee d’un diademe tissu de plusieurs belles fleurs & fruits, & dit ces mots, Vien ton auster, & souffle en mon iardin, & sebonnes odeurs contenant.' The citation is actually an adaptation from Canticle, 4:16: 'Awake, o north wind, and come, south wind blow upon my garden that its perfume may pour forth'. With this citation, Richeome returned again to the beginning of his description as the inscription on the lintel above the entrance of the first garden followed directly upon this verse calling the winds.
and foretold that all his possessions would be idle in the light of the Heavenly Kingdom; the citation from Ecclesiastics 2.4 mentioned them as 'vanity and waywardness of spirit'.

At the lower end of the garden, Richome thus returned to the metaphor of the human soul as a spiritual garden, with which he had started his description of the lintel above the entrance of the first terrace. The murals and obelisk in this section underlined the necessary efforts of maintenance and upkeep of this spiritual garden. This was as much a reference to the attention paid to one's own spiritual health, as it was taken as an exhortation of the missionary zeal to save the souls of others from eternal damnation.

**Scenes of martyrdom in San Vitale**

After this instructing walk through the open air, the reader was introduced to the church of San Vitale, located to the right of the lower garden. The Seventh Book of the *Peinture spirituelle* continued with an ample description of the church interior, which was primarily adorned with scenes of martyrdom. Judging from the order in which the church was described, one entered the building directly from the gardens, on the left-hand side of the choir. The theme of martyrdom was envisaged in the apse with frescoed scenes from the lives of Christ and Saints Vitale, Protasius and Gervasius to whom the church was dedicated and whose relics were kept there. The subject was also allegorised by two adjacent scenes of Samson finding honey in the mouth of a dead lion, and Gideon victorious over the Madianites. The latter two frescoes were explained as a reference to the reward awaiting the martyrs: Samson prefigured Christ, who had found the celestial sweetness that the saints would taste after their death, and Gideon's trick with lights showed the moral enlightenment of Christ for the martyrs. Then followed an image of Christ in the Garden of Olives, for whom the martyrs had been prepared to offer their lives.

This theme of martyrdom continued on the walls of the nave with four depictions of cruel forms of dying on each side, and two more on the entrance wall on either side of the main door. The presence of landscape was conspicuous in these scenes; the dimension of the figures seemed to reduce them to mere staffage, until the inscription giving the name of the martyr underneath these frescoes pointed the viewer towards the human presence in these natural settings. Most of

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1. Richome 1611, p.669: 'Au costé de l'Occident ... est peint Salomon ... & dit ces paroles gravées au pied-descal: L'ay édifié des palais, plante des vignes, des jardins & vergers, & en tout l'ayue vanité, & affliction d'esprit.'
3. The landscapes have been taken as a means to tone down the cruelty of these scenes, as well as giving preference to the figure of Christ in the center of the apse; see Malè 1932, p.114, who supposed that the landscapes had been enlarged in the middle of the seventeenth century. Abromson 1981, p.243, regarded the landscapes as veiling the impact of cruelty: 'Ligustri's paintings are of expansive landscapes populated by tiny figures. His narratives are not only subsidiary to the lush greenery, but they also lack the graphically violent realism of Cignarini's martyrdoms.' The same was supposed by Zaccari 1984, p.142: 'Nei paesi le tinte sono intenzionalmente smorzate per stemperare i
these martyrs were unfamiliar to the Romans, and almost all scenes depict saints who had begun wandering out voluntarily or against their will, to spread the Faith. For this zeal, they all had suffered martyrdom.

Richome led the viewer’s attention directly to the tortures represented in these frescoes. He described the scenes according to their location on the walls; alternating with the scenes of martyrdom were images of Confessors and popes, who had testified to their Faith not with their fearful death, but with their virtuous lives. It was thus not solely the fact of dying as a Christian, but the active life in the service of the Faith preceding it, which counted in the decorative scheme of San Vitale.

The first scene of martyrdom was that of the death of Pope Clement I (fig.88). This disciple of the Apostle Paul was exiled to the Black Sea because of his conversion of the Roman governor Sisinius. Two thousand other exiles had been sent to work there under harsh circumstances in the marble quarries. After miraculously finding a well to provide these exiles with a source of fresh water, Clement converted many others to Christianity; according to some sources, as many as ‘fifty a day’ were baptised. The fresco depicted the death of Saint Clement, being punished for having converted so many people.

The next fresco depicted the massacre of Saint Gennaro, Bishop of Benevent, together with a number of pagans he had converted to Christianity. They were beheaded in Naples on the command of the city’s Roman governor Timothy. The following scene of martyrdom depicted forty Cappadocian soldiers, paying with their life for their newly acquired Christian beliefs while on duty in Armenia, which according to Richome presented an instance of pagans taking the place of Christian apostles; the next scene showed Saints Martian and Saturnian dying in exile in the African desert as a result of their missionary zeal. Next came the scene of martyrdom of Saint Ignatius, bishop of Antioch. At his trial for not worshipping the Roman deities, he declared
his belief in the one God who had created heaven and earth. In other words, he answered the exhortation to idolatry with the first sentence of the Catholic Credo. Although the saint was a personal friend of the Emperor, this did not save him from conviction, and being thrown into the lions' den, the moment depicted in the fresco.

The following scene illustrated the death of Saints Marcellinus and Peter, both well-known for having converted many people. They were decapitated and buried in the woods near the city of Rome, so that their graves would never be found; but before they were killed, they converted many fellow-prisoners.

The hagiographic account on which the next fresco of Saint Paphnutius was based, illustrated this saint's courage in the defence of the Christian Faith, as he decided to leave the desert where he was hiding and turn himself in to the Roman governor of Egypt. During the following torture and imprisonment, the many miracles he performed led to the conversion of soldiers, officials and magistrates. These were all put to death, but Paphnutius himself escaped conviction and set forth his missionary activities, leading all new converts immediately to the Roman tribunal and thus to their inevitable martyrdom. In the end, Paphnutius himself was condemned by emperor Diocletian to death by crucifixion.

The next scene showed the Roman tribune Saint Andrew martyred with his soldiers by the Antiochans, after having called on Christ during a battle against the Persians. Andrew had heard of Christ and his powers, and his proposition to place their cohort under His protection was accepted by the other soldiers. In other words, Andrew converted them to Christianity. This fact caused them to be arrested by Antioch, their superior, but they were released from the army awaiting their further punishment, baptised, and finally massacred.

The last two frescoes of this cycle, on the entrance wall on either side of the door, depicted the death of an anonymous martyr and that of Saints Victor and Corona respectively. The former was covered in honey and exposed to the burning sun, to be tortured and killed by the insects that were attracted by the sweet smell. In the background of this same scene, another story depicted a man whose chastity was threatened by the lust of the flesh in the form of the

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70 Richeome 1611, p. 748. 'A quoy a respondu le Sainct vieillard en peu de paroles, qu'il ne reconnoissoit autre Dieu que celui qui avoit cree le cieel e la terre... ' For the hagiography of Saint Ignatius of Antioch, see RS 1961-1970 Vol. 7, cols. 654-665.
73 Richeome 1611, pp. 773-776. See also RS 1961-1970 Vol. 1, cols. 1127-1129, and LN 1968-1976 Vol. 5, col. 159; Andrew is also known as Andrea Stratelates. Their liturgical feast is celebrated on August 19, according to the Martyrologium Romanum 1593, p. 371.
devil in a woman's guise - he circumvented this by biting off his tongue and spitting it out towards her. Neither of these stories seems to have been historically or hagiographically founded: all exemplified the horrors put upon man by the Devil. On the opposite side of the entrance, the cruel deaths in Syria of Saints Victor and Corona (also called Stefania), was depicted; the former had converted the latter to the Christian faith. While the first was butchered to pieces, the second was torn apart by the force of four trees.74

In the Peinture Spirituelle, Rieheome offered his audience an allegorical tour through real nature on two levels of abstraction, both subdivided into three stages, with the aim of inspiring them to follow the example of the saints depicted in San Vitale to spread the Word of the Lord even at the cost of risking their own lives; they would gain eternal happiness for their souls, however. From the consideration of the visible world, Rieheome led his audience to consider their own role in Creation.

In the context of natural philosophy, the tour started with the macrocosmic consideration of the world, followed by a microcosmic explanation of its details, and ended with a discussion of man as a miniature reflection of this cosmos. In its basic ordination, this was comparable to the order in Thomas Aquinas' Itinerarium, and in an altered order, also with Bellarmino's Scala. On the metaphysical level, Rieheome showed that God, as the Old Testament had proclaimed, was the Creator of the Universe and each specimen reflected His image as well as His power; this was typologically set forth in the Old Testament prophecies of the Life of Christ as allegorised in the element of water, and ended with the New Testament notion that Christ had recreated Paradise with his death on the Cross. Through Redemption, man could see the world as it had been intended by its Creator and seen by Adam and Eve prior to the Fall.

Being the only creature with reason, man should desire, and was obliged to admire God through his creatures and thank Him for life, by being a good Christian. Good works - especially the instruction of other Christians - were the means to do so.75 One of the main Good Works was illustrated in the Book describing the interior of San Vitale: it was an obligation of the Good

74 Rieheome 1611, pp.779-783.
75 See Martyrologium Romanum 1593, p.217, May 14, and BS 1961-1970 vol.12, cols.1290-1293. There is uncertainty with respect to the sources; some suppose that the martyrdom was suffered in Damascus, others suggested Antioch, Alexandria, Egypt, or even Sicily and Marseille. Rieheome simply stated it to have been Syria evidently concentrating on this story for edification rather than for hagiographic purposes.
Rieheome 1611, pp.480-481. "Sur quoi vous noterez de sens mystique, que les creatures mutuelles ne peuvent pas berner Dieu, ny le remercier proprement. C'est a lire a la seule creature raisonnable, dotée d'intelligence, & de force arbitre, neantmoins le profete les minime toutes a ce devoir, m6 par meegarde, mais a dessein: pour deux raisons. La premiere, pour montrer ce desir, qu'il a, & que chacun doit avoir, que Dieu soit magnifie, & glorifie en toutes, & par toutes ses oeuvres; la seconde pour enseigner a l'homme, qu'il a obligation de louer Dieu, & lay rendre graces non seulement pour les biens, qu'il a reeues de Dieu en sa personne, mais encore de ceux, qu'il voit avoir este faits aux autres creatures pour son regard..."
Christian to restore and maintain the spiritual health of himself and others, and this was done by conversion and spiritual instruction. This would save their souls from the devil and provide entrance to the Heavenly Jerusalem, of which this world functioned as a spiritual image. The landscapes behind the martyrs thus were not meant to veil the atrociousness of the scenes, but illustrated the world that should be Christianised by missionaries, and at the same time it offered them the tools to convince pagans and heathens.

Functions of the Sant'Andrea complex

The primary goal of the noviciate complex of Sant'Andrea and San Vitale was the education of Jesuit novices, whose principal task would be, according to the Constitutions of the Society, that of evangelisation and mission. Ministry was placed above other regular duties and this should begin during the noviciate. This activity was not restricted to Rome or Italy, but should be undertaken in the entire world. The noviciate was a training ground for an internationally oriented group of Jesuits; its populace came from all over Europe. Richeome alluded to this in the conclusion of his book, where he addressed the novices in the first person plural, and indicated that his preceding account should function for them as a source of inspiration. The novices should take these zealous examples of itinerant missionaries and martyrs in the San Vitale to heart, and should even identify with them. Richeome exclaimed about these saints after his description of the scenes of cruelty:

Oh my dearly beloved brothers, you are still happy, and happy will be the course of your education, when in some way you will be able to imitate the works of these saints, to participate in their glory! It is the house of probation of the Lord, where all the children of his descent should be formed, and where they should proceed to perfection and possession of immortal glory.

With the ‘works’ Richeome did not intend the martyrdom the saints had suffered; he referred to their success in converting pagans to Christianity. ‘Immortal glory’ was thus attained by their actions during life, for which they were rewarded after death, not by the way they died. As Richeome had explained to them, the novices should also use pictures - which alluded to the

7 O'Malley 1993, p.80, citing a letter by Nadal to saint Carlo Borromeo.
7 Richeome 1611, pp.783-784: ‘O mes bien-aimez freres, heureux vous encore, & heureux la course de vostre escole, si en quelque façon vous s pourez imiter les travaux de ces Saintes, pour avoir part à leur gloire! ... C'est la grande maison de probation de Dieu, où tous les enfants de son heritage doivent estre formez, & ou ils doivent passer à la perfection & possession de la gloire immortelle.’
natural world, because that had been 'painted by God' - in their explanations to the visitors. The young Jesuits were thus impelled to follow the example given by their master, and use the arguments with which he had furnished them in the guided tour they had just concluded:

These are the teachings that the sacred walls of this church of San Vitale give to you, by the words of the silent pictures (Tableaux muets) ... For the crowning and fulfilment of this celestial and spiritual picture that I have sketched out for you, it only remains to say a word to you about the talking pictures (Tableaux parlans), that you will paint every Wednesday in the souls of the people that come here, and lend you their ears... Here, once a week, you will show to numerous people the Christian Doctrine: which is to say, Paradise, and the correct route that should be followed to arrive there at the right time and place, and for that reason you will make Italians, Poles, Bohemians, Hungarians, the Flemish, Walloons, the Irish, Scots, English, Greek, Spanish, French and other nations of Christianity, and each and every one of them will be taught in their native language ... a German among you will address in German: a Polish man in Polish, and likewise for all the others... At the turn of the seventeenth century, some travel-accounts mentioned visits to San Vitale and its gardens. These documented the effectiveness of the propaganda undertaken by the Jesuits and the reception of this Doctrinal explanation of nature. These dairies also attested that the Peinture Spirituelle by Richeome was a record of an already existing situation. The French pilgrim Florisal de Claveson, being in Rome in the years 1608-1609, just prior to the publication of Richeome's book, described his experience of the visit as follows:

San Vitale, a church depending on the noviciate of the Jesuit Fathers, in which each Wednesday great Charity is done for the needy pilgrims of all countries; some twenty young religious are employed for catechising and instructing those poor beggars in the Christian religion, and having fulfilled them spiritually, they are being given good alms.¹

¹ Richeome himself also wrote a treatise entitled La peinture de l'Univers, published in his Œuvres of 1628. The terminology refers to the concept of 'Deus artifex'.

² Richeome 1628, pp.522-523: "Ce sont les enseignements que vous donnet les sacre murs de ceste Eglise de S. Vital, par les paroles des Tableaux muets qu'ils portent... Reste pour le couronnement, & pour la fin de la celeste, & spirielle peinture, que ie vous ay insues icy crayonnée, de vous dire en mot des Tableaux parlans, que vous peignez icy tous les Mercredis, en l'ame ft ceux qui y veulent venir, & vous prester l'oreille... Vous monstrez icy a plusieurs Peuples ve l fois la septmaine la Doctrine Chrétienne, C'est a dire le Paradis, & la route, qu'il faut tenir pour y arriver par beau chemin, & a bonne heure, & a ceste fin vous viennent voir les Italiens, les Alleman, les Polonais, les Bohemiens, les Hongrois, les Flamans, les Wallons, les Hibernois, les Anglais, le Greces, les Espagnols, les François, & autres Natioes de la Chrétienté, & toutes sont enseignées en leur langue Patriote... Un Alleman choisi d'entre vous parle aux Alleman; un Polonais, aux Polonais, & ainsi de d'autres..."
Precisely this kind of guided tour was suggested in the views of the interior of San Vitale and of the adjacent garden (figs 87 and 89). On the first and third terraces one can see small groups of people shown around by Jesuits, recognisable by their typical head-dress. The etching of San Vitale showed its interior with a small crowd gathered in it. In the foreground near the entrance alms are being distributed to beggars and cripples, after first having been instructed in Christian Doctrine by other Jesuits, and in the background a preacher is standing on a pulpit surrounded by listeners, and to the right hand side a father seems to be hearing confession.

The complex of San Vitale functioned as a training-ground for apostolic work, in the Roman as well as in the international context. Young novices were being taught how to fulfil their duties as parishioners and missionaries, for which they could practice on the weekly Italian and foreign visitors. The primary aim was to teach the Christian Doctrine according to the Catholic church, either with the aim of strengthening the Faith, or of converting pagans in Protestant countries or faraway regions. Allegorical, symbolic and biblical readings of nature played an important role as a means to convey this message. As exemplified in the Peinture Spirituelle, the tour of the premises of San Vitale and Sant'Andrea was a form of instruction in Christian Doctrine with the help of 'mute' images. These would only turn into 'speaking' images, when the 'language' they 'spoke' was properly explained. This didactic method was applied in the three contexts where the Jesuits were employed: Schools of Catechism, the assistance of pilgrims, and the mission.

**Christian Doctrine and the argument of nature**

Catechism teachings from the late sixteenth century onwards used nature to prove the Christian Doctrine of the one and triune God who had created the world, and it was to this that Richeome referred in his Peinture Spirituelle. The first occasion on which the devout in the Seicento would be familiarised with regarding nature as symbol or 'image' of its Creator was in the Credo of the Catholic Church, which began with the sentence 'I believe in God the Father and Omnipotent Creator...' In several instruction books of the late sixteenth century this phrase was explained by means of visible nature; these had a particular influence on the time around 1600, and on the Roman context in particular. The Jesuits took up a tradition of Catechism-teaching that had evolved earlier, especially in Spain. Not only the choice, but also the order of the arguments was followed in the later treatises by Richeome and Bellammino.

In 1585 the *Della Introdottione al simbolo della Fede* appeared from the pen of the Religious pour Catechiser et instruire ces pauvres mendians, a la Religion Chréstienne, et, les ayant repues spirituellement, leur font une forte bourse Aumosine. For these weekly tours in the noviciate, see also Huetter–Golzio.
Spanish Dominican Luis de Granada, which offered a profound explanation of the mysteries of the Faith for the use of Catechism-instruction. Its text followed the intentions of the Credo, and made ample use of the relation between creation and Creator:

These two important works are the principal fundamentals of the Articles of our Faith. For that reason in the first of those the initial part of the Credo is explained, which refers to the figure of the Father: which is I believe in God the Father almighty, Creator of the Heavens, and the World. From this point on, by means of observation of the created world the first book of De Granada’s treatise led the reader to knowledge of the Creator. In his introduction, he used Christian as well as pagan philosophers (especially Aristotle) to argue that only by means of this meditation over the visible world could knowledge of the Divine be obtained in this life. The subsequent description of the universe followed the order of Creation in Genesis: the Sun, moon, stars and the celestial bodies; the four elements, the plants, the animals - the latter two of which were discussed not only in their different varieties, but most of all as life-sustaining substances for humans. More amply discussed were specimens such as the small animals, because ‘the wisdom and providence of God resplends as much in the small things as in the great.’ Particularly bees and ants were considered moral examples for the human spectator, as their way of living peacefully in groups and their sense of co-operation were exemplary.

The conclusion of this first book described the human body and mind, both created in resemblance of the Creator; and for this reason, God has special attention for the welfare of Mankind; all the things in this world have been made for man. But humans were often ignorant of the symbolic meaning of nature; they should be instructed in this method as a step towards the knowledge of the Creator, as De Granada exemplified with an example taken from the Book of Job:

Although Saint Job by special revelation knew the mystery of our Redemption, and that of the general Resurrection, nonetheless the friends with which he discussed [these things] did not understand this mystery, and for that reason they proceeded with the

1935, p. 18.
22 Granada 1585, 'Al Cristiano lettore: 'Queste due opere tanto notabili sono i principali fondamenti de gli Articoli della nostra fede. Perché per la prima di loro si dichiara la parte primiera del Credo, che appartiene alla persona del padre: che è credo in Dio Padre tutto possente, Creatore del Cielo, & della Terra.'
23 De Granada 1585, the author’s love for nature has been discussed in Peers 1951-1960 vol. I, pp. 50-56.
24 De Granada 1585 Chapter XVIII, p. 115.

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consideration, that we have called of the created things.86

De Granada's book was meant to offer the reader a course to follow in reading and prayers, and should thus take him towards a better devotional life. Three other voluminous books followed this first part, in which the principles of Christian life, the mystery of Redemption, and the other miracles of the Catholic Faith were explained.

In 1598, Roberto Bellarmino published a booklet for the use of parishioners, the *Dichiaratione piu copiosa della Dottrina Christiana*, that in spite of the suggestion of its title, was much shorter than Granada's large volume.87 It was meant to be useful for the context of group teaching. It explained in a brief text the significance and meaning of the Catholic dogmas in strict relation to the texts of the Credo and several prayers. Again, the first words of the Credo were explained in connection with visible nature, now in the form of a dialogue that evoked the situation in confirmation class:

D. Why does one say Creator of Heaven and Earth? Has not God also created the air, the waters, the stones, the trees, mankind, and all other things?

M. By means of Heaven and Earth are also indicated all that which is in the Heavens, and on the earth. Like one says, that man has a body, and soul, it is also meant that he contains all that is found in the body, like the veins, blood, bones, nerves, etcetera: and all things, that are found in the soul, like intellect, will, memory, interior and exterior sentiments, etcetera. As for the Heavens, this also means the air, where the birds are, and all the higher things, where the clouds are, and the stars. So one says the birds of the sky, the clouds in the sky, the stars in the sky, and finally the Angels ... Thus it is said, 'God creator of the heavens and the earth': because these two are the principal parts of this world, the one up above, in which the Angels live, and the other down below, in which man lives, which are the two most noble creatures of all, which all the others serve: since they are obliged to serve God, who has made them out of nothing, and placed in such a high state.88

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87 For the numerous editions of this treatise, see Sommervogel 1960 vol.1, cols.1182-1183 and vol.8, col.1797. For this study, use has been made of the edition that appeared with Zanetti in Rome in 1600.

88 Bellarmino 1600, pp.21-22: 'D. Perche si dice Creatore del Cielo & della terra? Non ha fatto Dio anco l'aria, l'aqua, le pietre, gli alberi, gli uomini, & ogni altra cosa? M. Per Cielo & terra s'intende anco tutto quello, che e nel Cielo, & nella terra. Come chi dice, che l'uomo ha corpo, & anima, intende ancora, ch'egli ha tutte le cose, le quali
By means of a game of questions and answers, the parishioner would open the eyes of the candidates for confirmation to the hidden significance of visible nature. After a successful conclusion of Sunday School, these Catholics would be able to see behind the surface of nature and perceive its Creator.

In a new edition of this treatise published in 1604 under the new title *Dichiarazione del simbolo*, aimed at the parish priests of Capua where he had become Bishop, Bellarmino expanded this concept and discussed the six days of creation one by one, instead of dealing with this matter with only one answer. He explained the function of all the elements of Creation in sustaining life, going from the detail to the whole, from plants and animals to the system of the universe. He also wrote a counterpart to the *Dichiarazione*, the *Dottrina Christiana*: it was intended for reading and consultation by the devout and appeared in many languages - Spanish, German, Polish, and many more. It also contained images with short captions to improve understanding and support memorisation. The first line of the Credo was illustrated here by Eve taken from Adams' side; the last episode from the Creation as given in Genesis 2. The choice for this image will have evoked in the mind of the viewer the preceding six days of Creation, of which the Creation of Eve was the conclusion, and established again a link between the visual world and its primary Cause.

Around 1600, books by Bellarmino and Granada for Sunday School were institutionally promulgated: reading nature allegorically as a sign of the Creator was divulged in an active way by parish priests and ecclesiastical organisations. Throughout Italy so-called Schools of Christian doctrine were founded in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, many with the support of religious orders or confraternities. Although the contents and the duration of this kind of religious education could vary from school to school, the involvement of the Jesuits in this field secured Bellarmino's books a certain familiarity with the general public.

Indeed, within the Roman sphere, Bellarmino's books on Christian Doctrine became the main instrument for the classes organised by the Confraternity of the Christian Doctrine. This
brotherhood even took the trouble to produce their own editions of the *Dottrina Christiana*, in Italian and a number of other languages. Through the network of associated brotherhoods, they secured the propagation of this booklet in Schools of Christian Doctrine. The use of nature as an argument to explain the Credo can thus be assumed to have been a familiar concept with the general public in early Baroque Rome, thanks to the edifying efforts of Jesuit authors, preachers and institutions.

**Pilgrimage and the real world**

A second context in which the allegorical reading of nature was promoted was that of pilgrimage. Novices at San Vitale trained their skills on foreign visitors who came in ever-increasing numbers to Rome and its churches after the Council of Trent and the reinvigorated tradition of the Jubilees. As a result of the growing popularity of pilgrimage, the market for pilgrim-guides began to flourish, and many of these were written for travellers to Rome. Devotional exercises, not surprisingly, played a conspicuous role in these booklets. A practical treatise was the *Trattato delle Sante Peregrinationi, Dove s'insegna il modo delle Stationi* of 1575, written by the Jesuit Gaspar Loarte († 1578), and aimed at pilgrims coming to Rome for the special occasion of the Holy Year. In his booklet the moment of actual travelling was designated a moment of devotional reflection upon the world. The mind of the pilgrim should not remain idle, and in this context perceiving landscape and nature plays a role. Loarte's text even evoked in the future traveller the gaze upon the landscape:

> So, my brother, you can taste a little of this divine food, as much as suffices to distract you and to relieve the fatigue and tiredness of the pilgrimage, and helpful with the following considerations. Firstly, when you have walked for a while and feel exhausted, stop for a moment to view the vastness of the countryside, or the mountains, woods or meadows through which you are walking; the agreeableness of the trees, the beauty of the roses, lilies, flowers and other grasses, with so much variation in colour and scent which you perceive, and when you will have seen all the creatures, apply yourself a while to their Creator, and consider what his powers are, that so much and such admirable things as are to be seen in this world. He has done with one word only. How great is the beauty of the one that has created such beautiful creatures, because all the beauty that is to be seen in them is but a small particle, that is derived from that infinite see of all the beauty

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91 See Black 1989, p.226.
92 On the Jubilees of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, see Alfani 1725 and Andretta 1997b.
and perfection, so much is His goodness, a part of which has been distributed to these creatures, and above all there is the unutterable love, that he conveys to mankind, in whose service he has wanted to create this magnificent machine of the world, so that man will dedicate oneself to serve and love the one that has given those things to him. So raise your eyes, and look at the heavens, the sun, the moon, and the stars, and their greatness, beauty and splendours; they will help you to understand the same power, goodness, beauty and love we have explained, and how the royal Prophet has stated. The heavens recount the glory of God, and the stars announce and demonstrate what the powers are of His hands that have made this work, and what should be our gratitude towards our Creator, who has wanted to create all this for our sake. See there how the creatures serve as a stairway to raise through them towards understanding and consideration of the Creator, from which you can draw great refreshment and recreation."

Loarte thus preceded Bellarmino in the use of this concept of the 'Ladder of nature' as religious exercise, and applied the lessons that the reader might have learnt in Catechism-school in another context. This kind of consideration was not confined to the moment of repose, for Loarte recommended that the reader kept on paying attention to his surroundings while travelling, with the same goal of foretasting the Divine. A roadside fountain would evoke the consideration of the birds gathering there to drink and bathe - similar to the episode in Richeome's Peinture Spirituelle - and convey an understanding of the essence of God as the Creator of this world. Realising that God was omnipresent would fix the mind of the pilgrim not upon his geographical, but on his spiritual goal. The rest of Loarte's book contained more pragmatic information, on the preparations before going and the roads to follow. An important part of the book described how,


Loarte 1575, pp 70-73: 'Potrai adunque tu fratello mio assaggiare un poco di questa divina riflessione, tanto che basti raccoglierti, & alleggerire il fastidio, & stranezza della tua peregrinazione, aiutando in essa delle seguenti considerazioni. Prima quando havendo caminato un pezzo ti sentirai straccio, fermati un poco a risguardare la grandezza della campagna, a monti, a boschi, o prati per il quali cammini, la vaghezza de gli arbori, la bellezza delle rose, gigli, fiori, & altre herbe, con tanta diversita di colori, & ordin, che vederti, & poi che harai riguardato tutte queste creature, voltati un poco al Creatore loro, & considera quale e la potentia di colui, che tante, & si mirabili cose quante nel mondo si veggono, ha fatto con una sola parola. quanta è la bellezza di chi ha create così belle creature, poi che tutta la bellezza che in esse si vede non e altro che una minima particella, che deriva da quell infinito mare di ogni bellezza, & perfezione, quantal e la bontà sua, dalla quale procede che s'è voluto diffondersi & comunicarsi a queste creature, & sopra tutto quale è inefabilib amore, che portà a gli uomini, per serviro dell quali ha voluto creare questa gran machina del mondo, accio che loro s'impieghino in servire & amare che gli l'hai dato. Alza dopo gli occhi, e risguarda il cielo, il Sole, la Luna, le stelle, & la lor grandezza, bellezza, & splendore, ti tara più conoscer la medesima potentia, bonità, bellezza, & amore, che dicevamo, poi che come dice il Regio Profeta, Li Cieli narrano la gloria di Dio, & le stelle annunciano, & dimostrano qual sia la potentia delle mani che tale opera hanno fatto, & quale devebbe essere la gratitudine nostra verso il Creatore, per che noi ha voluto creare tutte queste cose. Poco come le creature ti serviranno di scalini come dice il Savio per montare per essi alla cognizione, & considerazione del creatore, della quale potrai cavare gran reingiorno & regevazione.'
after arrival in the Eternal City, the pilgrim could obtain as many indulgences as possible. Loarte thus directed his reader to see the physical and the metaphysical goals of the pilgrimage as complementing each other.

In 1604 the arguments and devotional methods collected by Loarte were repeated in Louis Richeome's manual for pilgrims to the basilica in Loreto, his *Pelerin de Lorete*. This book, however, did not only offer practical and spiritual advice on the necessary preparations, the route to be followed, and an appetiser of the Holy place to be visited, but it prescribed a meticulous day-to-day calendar. Part of the preparation was teaching the pilgrim how to take care of his spiritual health, by instructing him in the methods and subjects for spiritual exercise: prayer, meditation and contemplation. The first was 'a turning of the mind to God', as Richeome cited Saint Augustine; the second was 'a discourse in the mind of a divine subject, of the Creation of the world...'. Meditation could be done by means of a didactical query on the visible world, and Richeome provided the reader with the clues:

noting the causes and the effects, and reaching conclusions adequate to the honour of God, and to our own profit; for example, meditating upon the Creation of the world, I will notice how God is the supreme cause of all things, which he made everything out of nothing with one word, that the sky, the earth, and the creatures which are between the two are works of his power, wisdom, and goodness; from which I conclude that he is almighty, having produced so many beautiful effects out of nothing; all wisdom, having ordered them so divinely; all goodness, having given them all to me; I conclude that I should believe in him as the sovereign Lord, adore him as supreme Wisdom, love him as Infinite Goodness, and serve him with all my heart, and all my powers, like my Creator, my King, my Maker, my Father and my All.  

Richeome concluded that this would enlighten the knowledge of the pilgrim on the marvels of God, that he would be inspired to communicate with Him by means of prayer and meditation while travelling. Under the recurrent spiritual obligations of each day, Richeome returned to the

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1 Richeome 1628 vol.2, p.217: 'Or mediter en Christien, c'est discourir en son esprit de quelque divin subiect, de la Creation du monde, de la nativitie du Fils de Dieu...'
2 Richeome 1628 vol.2, p.217: 'Ce discours se fait en notant les causes, & les effects, & tirant des conclusions convenables à l'honneur de Dieu & à nostre profit; par exemple, medit de la Creation du monde, je remarque comment Dieu est la supreme cause de toutes choses, qui a fait tout de rien par sa seule parole, que le ciel, la terre, & les creatures qui sont entre-deux, sont oeuvres de sa puissance, sagesse, & bonté; de la io ecoutes qu'il est tout-puissant, ayant produit tant de beaux effects de rien; tout sage, les ayant si divinement ordonnez; tout bon, me les ayant tous donnez; le conclus que ie le dois croindre comme souverain Seigneur, adorer comme supreme sagesse; aymer comme infinie bonté; & le servir de tout mon coeur, & de toutes mes forces, comme mon Createur, mon Roy, mon Plasmateur, mon Pere, & mon Tout.'

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regard of visible nature, occurring on every day of the voyage, and that could be practised for a number of hours. He now turned from the details to the whole:

Being in the fields he will take the subject of praising God according to the occasion which the things he passes will give him: looking at the sky, he will admire God in these bodies and the immortal lights; looking at the mountains, the plains, the rivers, the plants, the animals, and other creatures, he will render Grace for all to the Creator, as these have been made for the good and use of man and his own being; and he invites them to praise this same Creator in imitation of the wise and valiant Jews, who said in the middle of the furnace. *Praise the Lord, Lord of all things. Carry his name sung in the celestial spaces.*

Regarding the metaphysics of visible nature in the context of travelling was thus highly recommended in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century and the foreign pilgrims paying a visit to the garden of Sant'Andrea must have recognised the kind of argumentation used by the Jesuit novices.

But Louis Richeome meant his *Pelerin de Lorele* to be more than a mere manual for travellers; pilgrimage was not only an act of geographical movement, it was a state of mind. For this reason, his book was meant to be more than a mere travel-guide, it was meant to be a manual 'for life', and the text itself underlined this by inserting an allegorical story about a city, told by a hermit to three travellers returning from Loreto. He explained to them, that the goal of each pilgrimage was not the geographical destination but the Heavenly Jerusalem; and the road to that is constructed with prayer and meditation. This was the concept of the 'pilgrimage of life', also discussed in another treatise by Richeome. In his *Défense des peleringes* of 1605, he stated that life was a spiritual pilgrimage through this earthly realm towards celestial Paradise, and that thus not the physical act, but the pilgrim's spiritual intentions counted. The journey in this world was full of dangers - for which real pilgrimage was considered an act of penitence and purification - preparing the soul for the transition into the heavenly Paradise. During this voyage, natural surroundings turned a double face to the devout: on the one hand of the valley of tears, and on the

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7 Richeome 1628 vol.2, p.222: 'Avec ces méditations il en aura d'autres qui lui sont cy-après données pour chaque journée de son voyage, qu'il fera en même tour soubs diverses heures. Istant aux champs, il prendra subjec de louer Dieu selon les occasions que les choses qu'il verrà lui donneront; regardant au ciel, il admettra Dieu en ces corps & lumières immortelles, voyant les montagnes, les plaines, les rivières, les plantes, les bestes, & autres creatures, il rendra graces de toutes au Creator, comme façées pour le bien & utilité de l'homme & le sien propre; & les invitera à louer celuy Creator à imitacion de ces sages & vaillans Hebrieux, qui disoient au milieu de la fournaise. Bénissez le Seigneur, du Seigneur cueuix toutes. Porez son nom chanté sur les celestes voûtes.' The biblical citation is a paraphrase from Daniel 3:52-90.

8 Richeome 1628 vol.2, pp.326-328.

9 See Trefers 1997 for the concept of spiritual pilgrimage in Richeome's *Défense* and in the work of Canavaggio.
other hand prefiguring the Heavenly paradise. Richeome explained, that it was the mind of the beholder to see either the one or the other:

The third point touches the point why man is a Pilgrim in this life, regarding the visible world as made for him; why his pilgrimage is so full of anguish. The reason for the first is the excellence of man consisting in his primary functions; knowing in the soul, eternal and heavenly being, carrying in himself the image and likeness of supreme beauty; for which reason he has been given an eternal home attuned to his dignity, and more noble than the earth, common abode of the beasts, and creatures of vile condition; even though he has not yet sinned, this mean world notwithstanding has been assigned to him as place of pilgrimage, not troublesome and futile, that which it is at present, but gracious and honourable; where standing delighted for some time in the contemplation of the Creator and his marvellous works, and in the action of good Graces received by this supreme Goodness, without intervention of death, and without application of any effort, he has taken the flight to Heaven, his real home, to reign here for ever in the company of the Angels his compatriots and fellow townsmen: the earth is thus given to him like a wonderful residence, but not in perpetuity, but as passing and temporary: for which he is there a Pilgrim, and not citizen, for reason of his superiority.100

Much more explicit than in his own *Peinture Spirituelle* or Bellarmino's *Scala di salire*, Richeome argued in his *Défense des Pelerinages* that it was in the eye of the beholder to see the good or bad side of nature and that the valley of tears could turn into a vision of the Heavenly Paradise through the act of faith. Nature was an image of the Creator to whom the pilgrim was travelling - in the flesh or in the mind - and provided the building-blocks for the spiritual road.101 Concurrently, in the above citation Richeome turned the world into an *ambiente* for the pilgrimage of life. The physical road and the spiritual path became mirror images.

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100 Richeome 1628 vol.2, p.223: 'Le troisieme point contiendra la cause pourquoi l'homme est Pelerin en ceste vie, vue que le monde visible est fait pour luy; pourquoi aussi son Pelerinage est si plein d'angoisses. La cause du premier, c'est l'excellence de l'homme consistant en sa principale partie, savoir en l'ame, essence immortelle & celeste, portant en soi l'image & semblance de la supreme beaute; a raison de quoi il luy estoit donne une habitation perpetuelle proportionnee a sa dignite. & plus noble que la terre commun seigneur des bestes, & creatures de vile condition; si bien qu'encor qu'il n'ete peche, ce monde has neantmoins luy estoit assigne seulement comme une terre de Pelerinage, non penible & chetit, tel qu'il est a present, mais gracieus & honorable; ou s'estant delicié quelque temps en la contemplation du Createur & de ses belles oeuvres, & en actions de graces des biens recues de ceste supreme beote, sans entremise de mort, & sans commerce d'aucun peche, il eut avec son corps pour le vol au Ciel sa vraye patrie, pour y regner a jamais en la compagnie des Anges ses compatriotes & concitoyens: La terre donc luy estoit donnee comme demeure deliciouse voirement, mais non perpetuelle, ains passagere & pour de temps; parquo y il estoit Pelerin & non cittoy, a raison de sa preeminence.'

101 Significant is the fact that the chapter entitled *L'Allee du Pelerin* only described methods of prayer and meditation, clearly taking the significance of *Allee* to be the spiritual road.
Missionary theory and natural philosophy

The third aim of the Jesuit complex of San Vitale was the education of future missionaries who were sent out to the Americas and Asia to spread Catholicism. Missionary practice was subject to co-ordination and control after the Council of Trent; this led in 1622 to the institution of the Propaganda Fide. Similar progress was made in the field of missionary theory: during the first quarter of the seventeenth century, systematic ideas were developed in this field. The appearance of treatises on the subject of 'how to convert pagans' was one of the outcomes, and as in the related context of catechism, the concept of Creation played a significant part in it. The theories current in the Jesuit Order reflected general ideas on the conversion of heretics and useful didactic arguments to attain this.

The first book on missionary practice was written by the Italian Jesuit Giuseppe Acosta (1540-1600), published under the title De procuranda Indorum salute in 1588. Acosta had spent a couple of decades as a missionary in Peru and his local experiences formed the basis of this book. These were backed by theoretical expositions to help future missionaries, but most of all Acosta tried to convince his reader that missions to the Americas were necessary and worthwhile: pagans were in need of spiritual edification by Catholic regulars. The first edition of the De Procuranda also contained his De Natura Novi Orbis Libri duo, a study on the habitat and lifestyle of the people in the New World. These anthropological and biological additions would lead to a better understanding of its inhabitants, and thus to greater success in delivering the Christian message. Knowledge of botanical particularities and the way of life of the indigenous people would support the missionary in the practical side of his work.

On missionary methods Acosta held the opinion that, when converting the Indians in Peru, it should lead to understanding of the Christian message of the New Testament, and not merely the biblical story of God's Creation. Thus, as he stated in a chapter on the pitfalls of conversion, although the Apostle Paul had recommended the knowledge of God through his creatures, the missionary should be cautious with this kind of reasoning. God did not so much reveal Himself to mankind only through the visible world, but more importantly through his Spiritual self, for which reason Christ had sacrificed himself. These cautious remarks meant that even before 1576, when Acosta wrote the major part...
of his treatise, referring to nature as the image of its Creator was already en vogue in missionary praxis. Although he continued to warn his readers against too much confidence in this method, he refined his opinion in 1596 when he published the *Historia morale. e naturale delle Indie* in 1596, a profound study on the flora, fauna and original inhabitants of Peru, an extension to the chapter added to the first edition of 1588. In the preface of this book Acosta now explicitly stated that nature was useful as a step towards understanding the otherwise invisible Divinity:

The things made by the Creator, and among them the things of man, who wants to go closer and arrive at the understanding of the causes and the effects, will make the effort to things belonging to philosophy, [and] when someone gets the inspiration to try and raise his thoughts to the highest and first artifice of those marvellous things, he will enjoy the fruits of his knowledge, and will discuss an important part of theology. This positive turn notwithstanding, in his missionary treatise no clearly defined method was given for conversion, and it is thus hard to pinpoint just to what extent Acosta taught the indigenous people to regard nature as the Creator imprinting Himself onto the creatures. His book however clearly related the natural history of the world to the mission; knowledge of the botany and zoology would at least help the missionaries themselves to improve the effectiveness of their actions. Richene had as has been explained above, used this kind of knowledge in his tour through the garden, by pointing out the exotic specimens at San Vitale as marvels of creation.

Soon after Acosta's publication, the need for a more structured and generally applicable theory was felt. The Discalced Carmelite Tomas de Jesus filled in this omission. His *De procuranda salute omnium gentium* of 1613 (fig.53) offered a veritable encyclopaedic view of missionary theory and theology. Although it was highly theoretical in approach, and dependant upon scholastic reasoning, it would function as a *vade-mecum* for missionaries for two centuries to come. In the first six books, Tomas discussed the involvement of ecclesiastics and regular orders in the mission, and the election and education of future missionaries; the second half of the work discussed various classes of atheists that were to receive the Catholic message, from the Greeks, Jews and Muslims to the pagans on the new continents. For each of those groups,

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116 Ford 1998 discussed Acosta's theory of natural history. For the numerous editions see Sommervogel 1960 vol.1, cols.34-36.
117 Acosta 1596 p.35: "Le cose fatte dal creatore, et in quelle le cose degli huomini, chi vuole andare più innanzi, et arrivare ad intendere le ragioni della effetti, si attacherà in cosa pertinente a buona filosofia, se ad alcuno verrà nell'anno, di voler alzare i suoi pensieri al sommo, et primo artifice di queste cose maravigliose, godera il frutto del suo sapere, et tratterà una parte eccellente della Teologia."
specially adjusted strategies for conversion were offered.

The eleventh book on the conversion of American natives entitled *De ethnicorum conversione procuranda* argued that the example of nature was crucial to convince the Indians of the existence of the Christian God. Because, as Thomas Aquinas had stated, the fault of 'natural races' was that they ignored the existence of something surpassing visible nature, it was necessary to show these supernatural levels to them. Especially the doctrine of Creation would relieve their ignorance; according to Catholic belief God was the Supreme Being who was the beginning and the end of everything in this universe, the prime mover and the principle of all created things. Tomas de Jesus suggested three themes to convince the pagans of their wrongs, before the solution in the form of the Christian view of the world was to be explained to them.

First of all, the world was full of various races and nations who, notwithstanding their different ways of life, all had a notion of divinity and a name for God. This must be the effect of a higher entity that had fixed this idea in the human mind. Secondly, the movement of all things had a cause, either internal - such as the human mind that steered the body - or external - such as a ship moved by the wind. Of these external influences traces should be found, such as the sail that billowed. The internal movements of all earthly objects and animals should have their origin outside the bodies themselves, and that origin could only be the Christian God. Thirdly, all created things were aimed towards one goal, often without rational knowledge, such as the trees that first made leaves, then flowers, and finally fruit and semen to procreate. An outside power was the cause of this aim, and this was the invisible God who had organised the universe according to His plans in which all creatures played their assigned role. The following chapters subsequently explained that although God is One, at the same time he was omnipresent in all creatures of this world, and that the goal of our lives lies in the recognition and adoration of God.

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8 Peers 1951-1960 vol.2, p.223 and Hoffman 1960 described the request made in the mid-seventeenth century by the Propaganda Fide to the Carmelites for a new edition of the *De procuranda*.

9 Tomas de Jesus 1613, p.716: 'D. Thom.lib.2. contra Gentes c.3 referentur: Primus, inquit, est eorum erro qui creaturam naturam ignorantium, nihil supra corporalem creaturam existimantes, diversum creaturam, primam causam & Deum constituere....'

10 Tomas de Jesus 1613, p.777: 'Primii igitur fundamenti ex instintu humano sumitur. Nam cum innumerae sint in tuto orbis nationes, nullam inueniit tam barbaram que non habeat aliquam Dei notitiam diuinamque esse aliquam vim caq; aliquo cultus generere non honorat; etsi ferte nesciat quis verbis Deus sit, & quis modus illi honorandi certi sit. Huius rei ratio est, quia idem Deus qui cordibus hominum impressit quandam reverentiam naturalum, & amorem erga parentes, qui eos generavit, & erga Principes & Dominos, qui eos regunt & gubernant....'

11 Tomas de Jesus 1613, p 777: 'Secunda ratio est a rerum naturalium motu, omne enim quod moveret, vel moveret ab interna aliqua causa, vel corpus humanum ab anima: vel ab externa, vel naui m in mari, quam cum contemplatur pantis velis mani festis superatis periculis, certum tenere cursum: statur iudicamus, cum aliquo Rectore moderari....'

12 Tomas de Jesus 1613, p.778: 'Tertia ratio desumitur, ex eo quod res omnes videamus tam recto rigore & linea per certa media ad suos fines dirigite; quae cum partim sensu, partim ratione carcat, certum est, ipsas ex se non intelligere suos fines: quis enim dixerit plantas & arbores consulto per se ipsas alimentum ex terra imbibit: & primo folia, mox flores, deinde fructus statutis temporibus emittere?"
Almighty.

From this triple conclusion, arguments were extracted to convert the pagans to Christianity, by explaining to them the six Truths in the Christian view on the world. The first of these was the origin and goal of man in his Creator; the second was that there is but one God in this world, and Truth number three explained that mankind should love God. The fourth truth logically explained the adoration and veneration of God as an obligation, and for this reason the fifth Truth was that God revealed himself in various ways to his believers - the natural world provided mankind with the initial information on the Creator. The sixth and last Truth culminated in the acceptance of the Christian belief as the cult of the one and only God, and the True knowledge of the Divine through the first and the second Book of Revelation.\(^{113}\)

In the approach sketched out by Tomas de Jesus, the first encounter of pagans with Christendom would be a new perception of nature, and recognising that this was not a collection of smaller individual divinities, but a system obeying and praising the one and only Christian God. When this initial understanding had been communicated to the Indians, the missionaries would be able to take up where the books on the Christian Doctrine started. Thus, by taking the ever present natural surroundings as example, the Tridentine *Professio Fidei* as issued by Pius IV in 1564 was proven by experience, reading 'I believe in one God the Father Almighty, creator of heaven and earth, of all things visible and invisible...\(^{114}\) This formula explained the Creation as a Christian Dogma, visible to all, and for that reason regarded as one of the prime arguments of the missionaries.

**Allegorical gardens in Seicento Rome**

The design of the garden at San Vitale (fig.87) reckoned with the three aims of teaching the Christian Doctrine, receiving pilgrims and educating missionaries, by providing the clues for the necessary arguments. Next to that, the garden also alluded to the link between macrocosm and microcosm: it contained specimens of plants from all over the world, ordered as in a herbarium, alluding to the endless variety and copiousness of Creation. In this sense, it constituted a *musaeum* in the open air.\(^{115}\) The three sorts of subjects considered in Richeome's description - the exotic plant, the flower and the sculpture - were however standard elements of the pleasure-garden in early seventeenth century Rome. In many respects, the Jesuit garden was similar to the generic garden, and to the *giardino segreto* behind the Palazzetto Farnese.

\(^{113}\) Tomas de Jesus 1613, pp.800-804: 'Capvt XIV: Brevis forma proponendi Gentibus Sanctum Evangelium'.


\(^{115}\) Findlen 1994, pp.256-257 termed early modern botanical gardens as 'living museums'.
Rare and exotic botanical specimens, sent to Rome by the Jesuit overseas missionaries, had been planted in the garden at San Vitale. This collection of (sub)tropical plants served plural goals: they would excite wonder in the average visitor, while they would also help prepare the Jesuit novices for their mission on other continents. For this reason, not only the seeds were provided, but also information about these varieties, and this was communicated to the younger Jesuits in the garden at San Vitale. In his description of a Brazilian grass sown in the upper terrace of the garden, Richeome used the information provided by Giuseppe Acosta, and added to this his own Christian explanation for the necessary religious instruction:

From Brazil comes a grass, that has feeling: Because it shuts its leaves when someone approaches it, and it unfolds them when they have gone away; the Brazilians name it for that reason the LIVING GRASS for this perception, and also because it is evergreen, fearing heat no more than cold, showing in this the semblance of the pious and just man, while leaves and good works are always verdant, whether in the ice of adversity, or the warmth of prosperity.116

Richeome also mentioned other variants discovered in the New World that had been sent to Rome and cultivated on the slope of the Quirinal Hill. Many other owners of gardens in early seventeenth-century Rome strove to obtain seeds of rare plants, and Farnese was among the more important figures in the circles of botanical collectors.117 The Exactissima descriptio rariorum quarundam plantarum of 1625 inventoried his proud possession of American and Asian species in the Farnese garden on the Palatine Hill, and other sources indicate him as an esteemed supplier of seeds and beans.118

Flowers formed another recurrent theme in Richeome's text and in the garden itself. The many species described in the second Tableau - roses, violets, jasmine, and many others - belonged to the regular inventory of gardens in the rest of Europe and could be found in France and Italy, where horticulture had become an important aspect of early-modern court-culture. The inclusion of rare, and thus valuable bulbs, turned these gardens into prestigious objects and led to a lively trade in these commodities among the upper classes.119 Farnese's secret garden also was embellished with flowers and agricultural plants: from lilies to citrus-trees, arranged in

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116 Richeome 1628 vol.2, p.463: "Le brésil donne une herbe, qui a sentiment: Car elle serre ses feuilles, si quelqu'un s'approche d'elle, & les dit que s'il s'en est alle; les Brésiliens l'appellent par prérogative L'HOMME VIVant pour ce sentiment, par ce aussi qu'elle est toujours verdoyante, ne craignant non plus le chaud que le froid, portant en ceste qualité la semblance de l'homme pieux, & simple, dont la feuille, & belles œuvres sont toujours en verdure aussi bié en la glace de l'adversité, qu'en la chaleur de la prosperité."
117 On exotic plants in Roman gardens, see Chapter 1, pp.70-71. See also MacDougall 1994, p.248.
118 Aldini Castelli 1625.
119 Masson 1972 and MacDougall 1994, pp.219-249
rectangular beds and pots, and doubtless these were avidly collected and cherished. The presence of Castelli as a special gardener for the extensive Horti Farnesiani on the Palatine Hill (fig.90) indicated that care for the gardens was considered an important enough task to hire specialised people.

The appearance of books in which the holdings of precious flowers were discussed and analysed on the botanical, classical, mythological and biblical levels, illustrated the quest for this kind of encyclopaedic knowledge among members of the Roman nobility. The Descriptio exactissima by Pietro Castelli was just one of the first projects that set the tone for others. An important example published in 1633 was the Flora, sive De florum cultura Libri IV, by the Jesuit Father Giovanni Battista Ferrari. This work, dedicated to Cardinal Barberini, discussed the precious flowers in the giardino segreto next to the Barberini palace, it discussed in its introduction the familiar topos of Christ in the guise of the Gardener, and paraphrased the words that He was the lily of the valley and the flower of the field.

Lastly, the artificial element of sculpture embellishing the garden was widespread in early seventeenth-century Italy; in Seicento Rome the outdoor display of antique and modern statues and reliefs had become a real vogue. The location and use of the fountains at San Vitale reflected the contemporary fascination with these furnishings that no respectable villa in early modern Rome could possibly do without. The only difference at San Vitale was the presence of religious instead of antique themes; but the harmonisation of the sculptural iconography with the theme of the garden was habitual. The garden behind the Palazzetto Farnese was an example of this trend; when the bridge was constructed the new building itself was indicated as 'statuario', and thus intended for the exhibition of the rich holdings of antique sculpture owned by the Farnese family. In conjunction with the flowers in the secret garden, the classical statues


118 Payments to gardeners belonged to the regular costs in the accountbooks of the Farnese household; these can be found among other places in ASN, Fondo Farnesiano.

119 On Castelli see chapter 1, p.70.


121 Ferrari 1646, p.8: 'Christus redivivus hortulan i specie'; and 'florum campi, liliumq; convallium...'


123 For the fountain in sixteenth-century Roman gardens, see Coffin 1991, pp.28-57 and MacDougall 1994, pp.57-88.

alluded to floral themes, just like Domenichino's decorative frescoes in the vault of the loggia.\footnote{Spear 1967, Whitfield 1981, pp.321-322, Spear 1982 vol.1, pp.132-133, and Hochmann in Domenichino 1996, pp.173-177.} This thematic coherence was set forth even inside the Palazzetto, in the cosmological themes of the paintings in the five Camerini.

In short, Richeome's book made clear that the world was regarded by the seventeenth-century public as an allegorical picture painted by God, and that this devotional exercise was especially apt for the cultivated microcosm of the urban villa of which the garden at San Vitale was but a modest example. The typical garden in early seventeenth-century Rome contained all the elements described by Richeome and often in even greater abundance: the agricultural species, the rare and exotic examples, and the beds with flowers. The place where nature was explained to the common public intentionally reflected the generic roman villa as owned by an Ecclesiastical Prince. These parks were often open to the general public - and thus offered more opportunities to practice Richeome's didactic arguments than the weekly visits to San Vitale and Sant'Andrea. Although Mario Praz intended something quite different, his statement that the cinquecento villa constituted a 'breviary of the proud cardinal ... a Bible of the rich' is very apt to describe the function of these gardens.\footnote{Praz 1975, p.82.}

**The Palazzetto as metaphorical Scala**

The lessons from Richeome's treatise could be enjoyed in any given princely garden, just as was implied in Bellarmino's *Scala di salire* of 1615. But although both treatises used nature as a subject for devout considerations, the extensiveness of their respective methods distinguished the *Peinture Spirituelle* from the *Scala*. While the former was an introduction to the spiritual painting of the world and Christian Doctrine for an audience with basic knowledge - children, pilgrims and pagans - the latter went beyond this first stage. The *Scala* constructed a course of meditation on this concept that led to a deeper understanding of the cosmos as a reflection of its Creator. In other words, while Richeome offered a first introduction using a static image of the world, Bellarmino's book aimed at a higher level of understanding. It was for this reason that the *Scala* was considered apt for Cardinals - as this kind of reader was assumed to have already received the proper introduction into the Catholic Faith.

Just like Richeome, Bellarmino had written his treatise in the garden of San Vitale - which in a sense constituted his 'own' villa for regular retreats. In this sense, it was comparable not only in form but even in function to the villa of other Ecclesiastical Princes, where they were supposed
to relax after their ecclesiastical duties. The allusion to the devotional retreat in the garden was thus meant to evoke recognition in the mind of the intended reader. The dedication to Pietro Aldobrandini was, apart from the personal links between the author and the recipient, also related to the fact of the villa. In 1600, Pietro had been donated the Villa Aldobrandini by his uncle Clement VIII, which was located close to San Vitale, on Monte Magnanapoli on the southwestern slope of the Quirinal Hill. In a description of the late 1590s, it was still described as horto - often meaning an agricultural garden or suburban estate - while in the subsequent decade the refurbishing of the casino and garden would turn it into one of the most admired urban villas of the day (fig.91). These works included the cultivation of many flowers and plants in vases and beds.

The relation between the geographical site and spiritual aims of Bellarmino’s *Scala di salire* of 1615 was thus more significant than at first appeared; Aldobrandini could take the book in hand when he walked around his own villa, as it was similar in arrangement to the garden at San Vitale. After all, the elements described were found in any garden of the time, for they were constituent elements of the world-view. For that reason, Odoardo Farnese was able to do the same in his secret garden behind the Palazzetto, where flowers, exotic plants, fountain with fish-pond and sculptures reflected a microcosm comparable to the macrocosmic ideas as expressed in the *Scala di salire* and the *Peinture Spirituelle*.

The devotional lesson did not stop when Farnese went inside the Palazzetto: after considering the *tableaux parlants* in the garden, he was able to perceive the praise to the Lord in the elements of the cosmic cycle in the five camerini, and in the landscapes and saints in the Camerino degli Eremiti. By means of these real steps, he would be able to transcend with his mind the mere physical world, to approach its divine cause. While in Richeome’s description these saints had been martyrs, Bellarmino named in his book a number of hermits, which were depicted in the paintings of the Camerino. They functioned as examples of the practice of considering in solitude the Divine countenance of the visible world, and ultimately transcending it:

How great the beauty of God is one can know just the same, because the beauty of all the creatures together one finds collected in Him in a higher and more excellent manner; but also because, being invisible to us, while we pilgrimage towards him, solely with the

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means of faith, the Scriptures and through the mirror of created things he becomes better
know to us: still many saints have so ardently loved God, that many of them, to be free
and liberated from thoughts, and from the affairs of the world, and to dedicate themselves
to the sole contemplation of Him, they have hidden themselves in abandoned and solitary
places, like Saint Mary Magdalene, Paul the First Hermit, Anthony the Great, and other
innumerable [saints], whom you will find in Theodoretus in the religious History.113

In this citation Bellarminio presented the solitary saints as admirable students reaching the highest
level, having surpassed the consideration of this world, but still plucking the fruits from this
initial exercise to become familiar with their Creator. They had mastered the course starting from
the microcosm, through the macrocosm, to the immaterial aspects of Creation, exactly the course
Bellarminio had shown in his Scala. After all, his subtitle, *per mezo delle cose create*, indicated
that the reader would not stop at Creation, but proceed to the Creator. By climbing the stairs from
his secret garden to the Camerino in a literal manner, Odoardo Farnese could ascend in his mind
from a literal to a metaphysical consideration of the Divine. Through the earthly Garden of Eden
laid out behind the Palazzetto, he would enter the Heavenly Paradise of divine contemplation.

The same principle was reflected in the sonnet praising Paolo Bozzi's stories of the
ancient hermits turned into modern examples, in his *Tebaide Sacra* of 1621-1625, a publication
nearly contemporary with Lanfranco's decoration of the Camerino. The poem presented Saint
Paul the first hermit as the subject with which to explain the change in perception as a result of
the spiritual renewal attained:

Horrid cliffs, ancient stones, and broken
Demolished mountains, alpine divagations.
Solitary plants in lonely horrors.
Shingles long since broken, and corroded.

To flee the frighteningly dark night
Of the world, the hard ambushes, and the vain honours.
Paul lived, which is between celestial choruses
The prime glory of the woods, and the grottoes

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113 See 'Relazione delle qualita del giardino di Monte Magnanapoli' in Archivio Aldobrandini, tomo 3, 'Fabbricati',
and the accountbooks, cited by Benocci 1992, pp.29, 32.
Bellarminio 1615, pp.13-44: 'Quanta poi sia la bellezza di Dio, non meno si può conoscere, perché la bellezza di
tutte le creature insieme, con modo più alto, ed eccellente si trova raccolta in lui. ma anchora perché essendoci egli
insolubile, mentre stiamo peregirando da lui, e solamente, col mezo di della fede, delle Scritture, e nello specchio
delle cose create venga al meglio, che potessi conoscitore, hanno tuttavia molti santi amato così ardentemente Iddio.
che molti di loro per esser liberi, e sciolti d'ipensieri, e da tutti gli affari del mondo, e darsi alla sola contemplazione
di lui: si sono ascosti in luoghi abbandonati, e solitarii, come santa Maria Maddalena, Paolo il primo eremita, Antonio
il grande, & altri innovrabilii, i quali appresso Theodoretto nella religiosa Istoria trovarai.'
And behold, a new Paul to the sacred voices,
A new hermit, changes the desert
Horrid before, into Paradise itself

Fortunate Thebaid, to which was conceded
By chance, that to the pious people
The two great Pauls opened your great merit.\textsuperscript{134}

\textsuperscript{134} Bozzi 1621-1625, vol.1, 'introduction': 'Horride balze, antiche pietre, e rotte: Diroccate montagne, alpestri errari;/ Romite piante in solitari horrori: Selci dal lungo di guaste, e corotte: Per fuggir la dubbiosa oscura notte: Del Mondo, i duri lacci, e i vani honorì: Paolo habitò, ch'è tra celesti chori: Prima gloria de'boschi, e de le grotte;... Et ecco, un novo Paolo à i sacri accenti: 'Frenita novel, cangi a i deserto: 'Horrido pria, nel Paradiso istesso: 'Fortunata Tepaide, a cui concesso: In sorte fa, ch'è le pietose genti: Aprisser duo gran Paoli il tuo gran merto.' The poem was signed by Alessandro Gatti, otherwise unknown, who published in 1619 one other poetical work entitled La caccia... Poema heroico, nel qual si tratta pienamente della natura, e de gli affetti d'ogni sorte di fiere, con modo di cacciarle, et prenderle.

Roberto Bellarmino’s devotional method as set out in the *Scala di salire* used visible nature as a ladder to pass from the visible world to the invisible, from the physical to the metaphysical: and in contemporary literature on the hermit, this topic of transcendence was equally common. Also Giovanni Battista Passeri’s description of Lanfranco’s works from the Camerino degli Eremiti echoed this concept of ascension, but then through the means of painting. He stressed the artist’s ability to depict landscapes - nowadays little appreciated - and hinted at the functionality of painted nature in relation to the saintly figures. According to Passeri, the landscapes were to transport the viewer from his real surroundings to another reality, namely that of the *staffage*:

He painted in them some holy hermits living in solitary and savage places, and he represented those deserts as being so mountainous, horrid and disastrous, that they contained in that horridness so much loneliness that in looking at them, the viewers would be invited to transport themselves to this slope to enjoy such charming loneliness, and although he always seemed to have little inclination towards landscape, these he did with so much taste and flavour that they were worthy of imitation.

Passeri’s description presupposed the knowledge of Bellarmino’s method of prayer: through regard of the landscape one was invited to follow in the footsteps of the hermits placed in them. While according to the religious treatise, nature was a means of aspiring to the level where the saints lived by following the path they had pointed out, according to the chronicler of Roman painting the visual example was supposed to result in the same ascent that had been described in words. In short, Lanfranco’s works helped cardinal Odoardo to elevate his thoughts to the Creator hidden in nature thanks to the example of the hermits depicted in them. The figures and the landscapes were interrelated components: while nature should result in the viewer’s identification with solitary saints, the *staffage* taught one how to regard nature as the stairway to heaven.

Passeri’s *ekphrasis* also indicated the reality of solitary religious life. Seated within the Camerino degli Eremiti, the cardinal should identify himself with, and even turn into, a temporary hermit by regarding and contemplating the landscape-depictions. This implies on the one hand, that life as a hermit belonged to the range of possibilities for the *Seicento*-observer, but
on the other, it also suggested that this was not truly serious option. In fact, the depiction of hermits in art in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century touches upon a paradoxical relation between ideal and reality that was triggered by the Council of Trent.

**Images of hermits**

Throughout the history of art, paintings of hermits were more than a reminder of a historical ideal; they referred to a reality that persisted from the early Christian era until well into the seventeenth century. Anchorite and eremetic strategies were not uniform; over the course of history a large variety of solitary existences developed in various regions, which is partly reflected in the terminology. The basic element, however, consisted in the distance from human society - the word hermit was derived from the Greek ἐρήμος which means 'to be left lonely', which in Latin became *eremus*; anchorite comes from *anaqagrapheō* that can be translated as 'to go away, to withdraw'. This solitary existence was in the Christian tradition accompanied by ascetic forms of penitence and the perpetual dedication to prayer. The combination of the two would lead to a purification of the heart, and an ascent of the soul to its Creator.

The first Christian hermits could be encountered in the first centuries AD., as far as hagiographic accounts confirmed, in the zone of upper Egypt called the Thebaid. The image of Saint Anthony Abbot devised in the fourth century by Athanasius proved a model for most later solitary monks. Main characteristics of his biography consisted in the radical conversion, the extended period of penitence in the Egyptian desert in total isolation from the world, earning a living by means of humble work, and the continuous study of the Bible resulting in the fervent defence of the Faith against heretics. Demons played an important role in these stories, functioning as a symbolic representation of the hermit's struggle against his own innate sins. Other possible forms of desert life also sprang up in these first centuries, such as *stylites* or pillar-saints, and *gyrovagi* or itinerant devout. These other forms of solitary devotional life were, however, not widely followed in the European context.

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Due to diverse natural, cultural and political circumstances, the adoption of the anchorite lifestyle in Europe during the early and high Middle Ages resulted in significant changes to its form. The most important new requirement was that of organisation and supervision, and for that reason solitary religious were constrained to accept the coenobite, or (in modern terms) monastic lifestyle. They had to follow a written rule, and were subject to an elected prior, a general or other forms of institutional control. From devout laymen, who stood at the basis of the anchorite movement, the hermit was turned into a monk.

During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, new eremitic movements sprang up all over Europe, especially in France and Italy. Stories abounded about monks who were unsatisfied with the laxity of their communal life, the accumulation of riches spoiling devotional zeal, and laymen who abhorred the traditional monastic context for its deprivation. This all led to a crisis and subsequent renewal in monasticism. It also meant that aside from the positive choice for strict isolation and contemplation that had informed the early forms of anchorite life, it often sprang from negative feelings about the existing situation, whether this was directed against society at large or at the Church as an institution. In this same period, a noteworthy increase in hermit-iconography - for example the depiction of Saint Jerome in the desert, which played such an important role in the development of the genre of landscape - showed the general interest in and recognition of this religious phenomenon.

Some individual cases of hermits led to public recognition of their role in society as a moral example, and this was reflected in the arts. In early fourteenth-century Pisa, a funeral monument was erected in the Campo Santo for Giovanni Cini, which expressed the popular reverence for this holy hermit: fresco-painting was used to represent his edifying solitary life to the contemporary viewer. Shortly afterwards, between 1330 and 1345, the original pictorial embellishment around the tomb was extended to the entire wall, offering the viewer a sample sheet of virtues and religious zeal to be imitated (fig.92). Not by chance, this 'Thebaid', in the form of an ample landscape, was situated adjacent to representations of death overcoming three

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Footnotes:

2. 'Coenobite' comes from the Greek koyovh, which means 'living in community; monastery'. This diversification between solitary and communal religious life had begun in the Egyptian desert; Bauch 1975 discussed this process as a chronologic succession from eremitism to cenobitism. On the other hand, this has however been reconsidered as two alternatives that only in the course of the fourth and fifth centuries became considered as rivalling possibilities; see Rousseau 1978, pp.33-55-67.
soldiers, the Last Judgement and Hell, as the ending of earthly life. This juxtaposition between the two frescoes implied that the life of the hermit was a victory over death because, by ascending the stairway to heaven with the help of prayer, the soul could not die.

Such a positive image of the hermit was also constructed in contemporary literature. In the years between 1320 and 1340, contemporary to the fresco in the Campo Santo, in the same town of Pisa, new translations into the vernacular were made of the stories of the Desert Fathers by the Dominican friar Domenico Cavalca. These were originally intended as sermons, but were also widely read by the laity. Another writer in this field was the Franciscan Angelo Clareno, who translated the Scala Paradisi, an ascetic devotional treatise probably written in the sixth century by the Greek monk Giovanni Climaco; this text was often accompanied by hagiographic accounts of hermits. These popularisations resulted in an even more heightened sense reality of the life as solitary saint. The hermit became a widely known figure, leading to widespread imitation in reality and the arts.

In most cases this medieval anchorite movement led to the foundation of new orders, or in other cases to the reform of existing ones in accordance with solitary ideals: this meant the encapsulation of the potentially segregational movements within the body of the church. The Augustinian hermits were formed by the forced congregation of individual hermits; in this case the arts helped to construct an image of the supposed 'founder'; their contemplative ideal was however replaced by a mendicant rule. In other instances, an identifiable founder attracted followers, which led to the foundation of a new monastic institution. In these circumstances, the arts and literature sketched out an image of the founder in solitary retreat, such as in the case of Saint Francis and Saint Romuald.

Apart from triggering iconographic changes, this renewal of the anchorite life also led to the creation of specific architectural conditions for the solitary life. Depending on the order, the 'monks' lived in separate cells around a communal cloister (the Cistercians and Carthusians) or

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5 On St Romuald, see DBI 1960-present, vol.18, pp.234-235, and Callmann 1975.
6 For the Franciscan and Camaldolese orders, see the entries in the LdM 1980-1999, and Anson 1964; for the changes in the monastic landscape and its relation to the heremitical movement, see L'eremitismo in Occidente 1965.
7 For the early iconography of Saint
they had their own individual 'hermitage' within a walled-in compound, and only gathered in the
adjacent church for the celebration of the Mass (the Camaldolese). In each case, the
architectural setting was devised to sustain the concepts of isolation and contemplation, which
formed the basis of the anchorite ideal that these orders sought to revive within the limitations of
monastic regulation.

Cinquecento realities of solitary life

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, social upheavals, war, bad harvest and diseases led to
renewed inspiration on the ideals of desert saints. It is significant that again in this case, as it had
been in the Middle Ages, the positive choice was overshadowed by negative reasons. Firstly,
people were deeply dissatisfied with laxity of life within the existing Orders, which led, for
example, to the creation of the Capuchin Order as a corrective movement within the Franciscan
family. Many other Orders were incapable, as a result of the fundamental critique expressed by
the Reformation, to reflect upon a new direction, as the basis of regular life was called into
doubt. Secondly, financial and social barriers to enter a religious Order could lead to hermitism:
when financial requirements or a problematic past prohibited a person from taking the habit,
anchorite status was the only alternative. As a result, the phenomenon of the unassociated hermit,
not bound to a Rule by means of monastic vows, was more common in the sixteenth century than
in earlier times. It also took more time to reincorporate these subversive movements, as the
Catholic response to the Reformation was formulated only after 1545 at the Council of Trent.

Social criticism played a conspicuous role in the image of the hermit around 1500. A
person refused admittance to a monastic institution would direct his wrath towards the institution
of the Church; monks zealous for regular reform would criticise the institution for its slowness in
introducing regular observance. This kind of hermit was the most visible, as they expressed
their discontent in public, mostly in the form of prophecies about the coming end of the world -
or, on the other hand, would tell their audience the story of their own sinful past and penitence as


On Cistercenser architecture, see Dictionnaire d'Art 1996 vol.7, pp.346-353, esp. pp.350-351, and Ferguson 1984,
pp.1-23 on the relation between their Rule and the form of their monasteries; for the Carthusians, see Dictionnaire d'Art


On the critique upon the monastic tradition in the Reformation, see Jedl 1966 vol.2, pp.360-397, Jedl 1949-1975
vol.4.2, pp.172-175; Rice 1985, p.139, and Partridge 1995, pp.149-150, and 'On monastic vows' by Martin Luther, in
Luther 1966.

an example. This turned the anchorite into a critic of society as a whole.

Accounts from the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries mentioned the appearance of itinerant hermits going around predicting the end of the world, urging people to repent. In a poem on the signs of nearing the end, one hermit was identified with the Old Testament prophet Elijah for reasons of appearance as well as his sudden disappearing: 'An old hermit with a long beard and hair goes crying 'peace, peace' through Rome, then when he pleases, invisibly, he goes away, and many firmly believe that he is Elijah.' Other prophetic hermits dressed in accordance with the iconography of Saint John the Baptist or other desert Fathers, to add more weight to their divine inspirations and their call for penitence. It even led to ascribing saintly powers to people dressed in this way. This phenomenon was most effective with the lower classes in society, as a Roman diary of 1485 explicitly mentioned that 'the men of wealth esteem these things, but without the intemperance of the common people.' Such solitary and itinerant persons encountered in diaries were not always real hermits; for example, Franciscan or Capuchin friars were often referred to as 'hermits'.

By the middle of the sixteenth century, public opinion began to turn against these figures: references to itinerant hermits illustrate the opprobrium of the people for their poor and dirty appearance. Even more important is the fact that the subversive element in the image of the hermit, the individual call for penitence and the implicit critique of the ecclesiastical authorities were considered anticlerical, and a threat to society and the institution of the Catholic Church in particular. The way out of religious turmoil that they represented, by turning their backs on corrupted human society alike became unacceptable, and unworthy of imitation. This type of hermit had become an anti-social and almost devilish character. Appropriate action should be taken against them, predominantly by ecclesiastical authorities, which had been called by the Tridentine Council to control and supervise all forms of religious life in their diocese. As a result, the unassociated and unprofessed hermit became a persona non grata.

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26 Niccoli 1990, pp. 91-98.
27 Niccoli 1990, pp. 93-94, citing Memoria della monsignori e spaventosi prodigi, s.d.s.s., fol. 1v: 'Un antico remitto Cun barba longa e chioma. Va gridando per Roma: 'pace, pace' poi quando che lì piace invisibil va via e multi ch'el sia Fia credon fermo.'
28 De Vasco, Il diario di della città di Roma, cited after Niccoli 1990, p. 96: 'gli uomini da bene stimavano queste cose ma non con tanta vehemenza come il volgo'. On the public image of sanctity and ascetic practices in relation to class, see also Weinstein Bell 1994, pp. 210-211.
29 On the use of the hermit as anticlerical type in Ariosto's Orlando Furioso, see Mayer 1993, p. 287.
The case of Fra Pelagio

Under pressure from ecclesiastical authorities and secular governments, around the middle of the sixteenth century individual hermits were watched-over closely and, if necessary, their behaviour was corrected. In 1559, troubles revolving around an independent hermit living in Rome led to juridical steps, of which the court-case records offer an interesting example of how popular reverence for these solitary men contrasted with institutional action raised against them. This case also reveals which elements of solitary life had become unacceptable to the ecclesiastical authorities.

The particular hermit who was sequestered, Fra Pelagio, lived as a recluse behind Saint Peter's on the Vatican Hill in the middle of the sixteenth century this was still a largely uninhabited spot and he was interrogated in a preliminary police-hearing. He told his interrogators that he was a child born out of the illegitimate affair of a married woman from Cosenza. After a period in his life which he only referred to as a time of luxury, he went to live near Vicenza, where he took the habit of a hermit and changed his name into Fra Pelagio. From there he wandered through Italy and France, made a pilgrimage to the cave of the Magdalene at St. Maximin, and proceeded to Barcelona in Spain. There he claimed to have been living in the palace of the future archbishop, Jacob Cassador, and subsequently at the monastery of Sor Maria, Cassadors' mother. During the following sojourn in Valencia he received protection from the influential Francisco Borja.

Ultimately in 1545 he returned to his native Cosenza. There he dwelled on the Monte Cucuzzo, where his prophetic and healing gifts came to the fore. This attracted a 'pupil', whom he adopted, and renamed Fra Serva Maria. When he finally returned to Rome after a failed attempt to visit the Holy Land, his first dwelling was at the Porta Portese, a desolated area where according to his testimony 'they throw garbage and dead horses'. He also lived for a while in the palace of the Cardinal Du Bellay in the Borgo.

After the death of Julius III Del Monte, he built himself a dwelling – probably a kind of shack or recluse – behind Saint Peter's with the financial and practical help of many high-ranked persons, both ecclesiastics and nobles. These persons frequented him in the years preceding 1559, asking his advice on spiritual as well as political matters. The names mentioned by Pelagio

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1 For a modern account of this process, see Cohen 1992: the acts of this process are to be found in ASR. Governatore, Tribunale Criminale, Processi (XVI sec.) b.48 caso 14, fol.673f.
2 Cohen 1992, p.235
3 Cohen 1992, p.215
4 Cohen 1992, p.215
include the Colonna family, barone Giuliano Cesarini, the Caraffa, Lippomani, and even bishops and regulars, and even a Jesuit Father called Barbardilla. These people he told prophecies like the coming death of the reigning pope, and claimed that the new pontiff would grant him a cardinal's hat; he cured visitors or advised them on spiritual and practical matters.

Although Fra Pelagio's prophetic pretensions and increasing popularity might seem to be the cause of this legal action, it was another aspect that explains the interest of the clerics in his case. In his testimony, it was explicitly mentioned that although he took the habit of a hermit, he did not conform to any Rule or accept Holy Orders from the appropriate ecclesiastical authorities. He thus did not have any supervision, institutional context or spiritual regulation to obey. In various testimonies this was explained in connection with Communion - by some witnesses it was stated that he had not been going to church or receiving the consecrated Host, and one said that he outright refused to receive it, or go to Mass. When these persons had asked him about this, he started to insult them, fulminating against the institution of the Church, and calling them names.

Interestingly enough, other witnesses declared exactly the opposite: they were of the opinion that the spiritual innocence of Fra Pelagio exempted him from these obligations. The important fact is that most people in this group, clearly in favour of the hermit, were monks: a Hieronymite friar and the already mentioned Jesuit Barbardilla. It must have been the latter's commitment to Fra Pelagio that aroused the suspicion of Society's general Lainez, and led to the preliminary hearing laid down in these acts.

In the light of regular reforms, it must be concluded that the latter aspects were the particular interest of the authorities, rather than the fact that he had foretold the future. During his testimony Pelagio repeatedly swore obedience, submission and loyalty to the Church, which almost reads as an alternative monastic vow. The reason for Lainez and two other Jesuits to follow the tracks of Fra Pelagio was founded on the very aspect of his heretical beliefs.

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3 Cohen 1992, p.236, listing contacts of Fra Pelagio with Dominicans, Hætines, and other religious.
4 Cohen 1992 erroneously supposed that Pelagio was questioned about his prophecies on the death of the pope, whereas this aspect played only an insignificant role in the written acts.
5 For example in ASR, Governatore, Tribunale Criminaie, Processi (XVI sec.) b.48 fol.595r-v: 'Et p[e]r[ch]e haveva inteso da m[esser] Jacomo Hercolani altarista che cura de sacramenti, che costui non si comunicava et che non adiva messa, io andai da lui co questa intenzione a trovarlo la in quella casa, per intendere da lui come si governava in nò pigliar sacramento et no odir messa, ... io nò mi ricordo bene, ma mi pare che mi dicesse che io ero puto ad interrogarlo di queste cose et cominciò a gridare, et mi ricordo che quasi co' spirito profettico comincio a voltarsi verso la chiesa et disse questa Babilonia sedestruera un giorno, vera uno che l'estirparà et altre parole simile contro la chiesa santa.' See also Cohen 1992, p.233. The case of Fra Pelagio also relates to mental illness which in this period
concerning the Sacraments. As mentioned in the acts, the Jesuit Father Babadilla often had been frequenting Pelagio, and might have considered leaving his Order to associate himself with the independent recluse. This would have turned a regular Catholic into a potential apostate. It was out of fear of this that Lainez handed the case over to the secular juridical authorities. How it ended, however, is not known as a regular court case did not ensue, probably because it was more a case for the ecclesiastical authorities than a worldly court. As the example of Fra Pelagio illustrated, individual hermits violating the new Tridentine decrees on observance of the Rule and spiritual supervision ran the risk of transgressing the strict rules on religious conduct. For this reason, these forms of religious life were suppressed in the latter part of the Cinquecento.

De-historicising the hermit

Still, the figure of the hermit remained a familiar sight on the streets of Italian cities, and a popular subject in the arts. In the Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca, a Florentine linguistic project initiated around the middle of the sixteenth century but not published until 1612, the explanation of the words 'Romito' and 'Lremita', were identical in significance, and reflected the general contemporaneous reality of the hermit:

ROMITO. From eremo. Hermit, man, who lives in the desert. Gr[eeK] ἐρέμων which is translated in Lat[in] eremita, solitarius. G.V.2.4.5. And in a vision he saw a saintly hermit. The entry on the synonym 'romito' simply referred back to 'eremita', but the word 'Romitaggio', i.e. hermitage, was wryly explained as 'the place where hermits live'. From these examples and definitions it can be gauged that the hermit was a contemporary figure who did not break with the historical past; in fact, it suggests that the hermits were perceived in the early Baroque as identical to their predecessors of the first centuries AD.

was considered as a form of divine infusion; see Foucault 1975 pp.45-46; for the relation between signs of holiness and psychological characteristics, see the case-study on Ignatius of Loyola in Meissner 1992.

A similar case is that of Fra Ludovico di Monte Faito in Calabria; after gaining fame as hermit and itinerant preacher in the 1570s, he was accused of demonic possession and imprisoned in 1586 in the Certosa of Naples. In 1588, he was transferred to Rome to be questioned by the Congregazione del Sant'Uffizio. One of the important accusations against him was that of sacramental error: he advised people to confess in front of an image, thereby ignoring the function of the priest. Apart from this, Fra Ludovico had also gathered a number of disciples who had sworn obedience to him, probably without any ecclesiastical approval of a regular Rule or his position as 'prior'. Another accusation raised against him concerned sexual promiscuity with these disciples. In contrast to Pelagio, Ludovico was found guilty by the religious court and imprisoned for the rest of his life. See Sallmann 1996, pp.237-247 for this case.

Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca 1612, p.317: 'FREMITA. da Eremito. romito. huomo. che vive nell'eremo. Gr. 'ermites' che viene traslato in lat. * eremita, solitarius. G.V.2.5.4 E in visione vede uno santo eremita'.

Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca 1612, p.734: 'ROMITORIO. Luogo dove abitano i romiti.'
Contemporary paintings conveyed an analogous message of timelessness. Guglielmo Sirleto's iconographic programme for the Stanza della Penitenza in Caprarola was based upon this particular view of historicity.\textsuperscript{39} He had corresponded with and certainly knew personally Cardinal Cesare Baronio, the leading figure in the emerging field of ecclesiastical history; and Sirleto was one of the main Roman exponents of the programme of ecclesiastic and monastic renewal.\textsuperscript{40} He linked historical awareness to the Tridentine reforms of the Catholic church, according to which the early Christian past was the example on which the present should be remodelled. One of the recommendations of the twenty-fifth session of the Council had been that in monasteries "the ancient and regular discipline may be the more easily and promptly restored."\textsuperscript{41} The use of the words 'ancient' and 'regular' in this phrase signified that not merely the written Rules, but the historical foundations, the first version of these rules, should be taken to heart. Books on church history were thus not meant to be a description of time gone by; these were to revivify the spiritual ideal to which the regulars should return.\textsuperscript{42} In ecclesiastical historiography since Trent, the chronological progression of time was subservient to Catholic ideology.

An important example of a chronological discussion of the anchorite ideal in the service of regular observance was closely related in time and context to the two Stanze in Caprarola: the Historiarum Camaldulensium of 1575, which discussed the background and history of the Camaldolese Order. The author Agostino Fortunio belonged to this Order, the Rules of which had reintroduced the anchorite ideal within the context of a monastic institution on the basis of the Benedictine Rule.\textsuperscript{43} However, the Camaldolese Order had only been founded in the twelfth century and needed to point out the direct relation between their own Rule and the eremetic life of early Christianity. To defend this position with historical arguments, Fortunio discussed the history of monasticism, and positioned the Camaldolese as direct heirs to the desert Fathers. In other words, there was a direct link between past and present, as there was between hermit and monk. Fortunio used the etymology of the word 'monk' to prove this: 'The Greek word for monk is ὄσον τοῦ μοναχοῦ, which means living life in solitude.'\textsuperscript{44}

After an exposition on the Vestalian Virgins and the Nazarenes, the introductory chapters

\textsuperscript{39} Denzler 1964, pp.32, 145.
\textsuperscript{41} Waterworth 1848, p.237. For regular observance, see Jedlin 1966 vol.2, pp.360-361, and Feis 1979.
\textsuperscript{43} On the Camaldolese Order and its specific interpretation of the solitary life, see DN 1937-1994 vol.2, cols.50-60.
of the *Historiarum Camaldulensium* examined the Gymnosophists, Hyperboreans, Druids and Essenes as pagan forerunners of the Christian tradition - the groups in the four roundels in the Stanza della Solitudine.\(^{45}\) Fortunio continued with a chapter on the origins of monastic life in the examples of Elijah and Saint John the Baptist, predecessors of Christ; then he went on to discuss the first monastic communities formed in Egypt, and stated that from the hiding-place of the *Eremo* the first communities of monks, bishops, pastors and indeed the entire ecclesiastic community had come forth.\(^{46}\) Desert-fathers were thus the founders of the first coenobite communities; and from this basis, the various religious orders sprang up. This facilitated the Camaldolese monks to take these hermit-saints as exemplars for their own life, and copy the historical ideal to their own practice. In doing so, they annihilated the historical changes that had occurred in monastic life since the sixth century. Regarding this theme in relation to the two Stanze, the subject of the iconography of the Stanza della Solitudine preceded that of the Stanza della Penitenza: Christ as the centre of the former was related to the Cross in the latter room. But the iconography within the rooms was governed by a will to return to the spiritual ideal. In this sense, the influence of Tridentine concepts of history, as expressed in Fortunio’s book, also influenced the decoration at Caprarola.

Not only does the text of the *Historiarum Camaldulensium* show striking similarities with the iconography in the two Stanze, there are also arguments that relate its author to the circle of Alessandro Farnese. Fortunio belonged to the Camaldolese Order of which Alessandro Farnese became cardinal protector in 1565 after the death of his brother, Cardinal Ranuccio Farnese (1530-1565).\(^{47}\) It is plausible that direct contacts existed between the Camaldolese and the *letterati* at Farnese’s court, possibly even directly between Fortunio and Panvinio.\(^{48}\) The *Historiarum Camaldulensium* documented the interpretation of early Christian history both as a continuation of the classical era, and as a moment in time, which represented a timeless ideal. It

\(^{45}\) Fortunio 1575, p.13: *Monachus grecie dicitur res movaceae, quod est in solitudine vitae degere.\(^{\mathrm{4}}\)*

\(^{46}\) Fortunio 1575, pp.18-21 discussed the *Brachmanarum, seu Salmoecorum Gymnosophistarum apud Indios, Druidam apud Gallos, Sacerdotum Augypti, Essenorum apud Iudcos, Magorum apud Persas, Sacrosancta Nazareorum, Virginum Vestalium apud Romanos.\(^{\mathrm{4}}\)*

\(^{47}\) Fortunio 1575, p.27: *Quod factum est divina clementia at Monasticus ordo, qui magis deprimit posse videetur, aequae magis etiam atq; etiam spendescere coeperit, & caput altius attolleree. Quod videlicet ex Eremis, Monachoria; cogregationibus Episcopis, atq; animarum Pastores legi, acirqui coepit sunt, qui vel etiam invississimi ad omnes amphores gradus, dignitatesq; Ecclesiae per longissimam annorum curricula evenerunt.\(^{\mathrm{4}}\)*

\(^{48}\) Fortunio 1575, p.311 mentioned Ranuccio Farnese, in his annals of 1557: *Per eos dicti cum in fatis concessisset Robertus Pucius Cardinalis Ordinis Protector, Raynvius Farnescus tituli s. Angeli Praebyster Cardinalis, & summus pontificius Camaldulenses accepare in clientelam.\(^{\mathrm{4}}\)* Mittarelli 1764 vol.8, p.124-125 described how Alessandro was asked by the Camaldolese Order to replace Ranuccio as protector in 1565.

\(^{4}\) For Fortunio, in secular called Agostino Fiorentino, see DBI 1960-present, vol.49, p.256-257 and Cochran 1981, p.449-450; for Alessandro Farnese’s protectorate over the Camaldolese Order which started in 1565 after the death of his brother cardinal Ranuccio, see Mittarelli 1764 vol.8, pp.124-125
was written to serve as the basis for spiritual and monastic reform in the late sixteenth century; the aim was a revival of the historical ideal in the present, and therefore an abolition of time. In the Stanza della Penitenza, the informed viewer should relate these past examples to his own religious reality, and take the abstinence and penitence practiced by the hermits as inspiration for his own spiritual ascent. The old anchorite examples were relived in the present and painting facilitated this goal.

The room at Isola del Liri which repeated the idea of the Caprarola Stanza della Penitenza, used another device to convey the same message of the timelessness of the eremitic ideal. In this Stanza, the saints had been deprived of their attributes and therefore were made anonymous and de-historicised. Around 1600, the series of penitent saints ordered by Federico Borromeo from Paul Bril indicated another 'actualisation' of the theme with the same device. The panels executed by Bril copied almost literally the compositions engraved by Sadeler after the designs from Maerten de Vos, except for the omission of the characteristic attributes of the saints. For example, Saint Anthony Abbot was 'robbed' of his little piglet and the bell, and thus of his identity. Through the absence of historical distance the actuality of these solitary religious figures was emphasised. They were recognisable as hermits by their dress, attire, and setting, but remained nameless, and were thus open to identification by the onlooker. How did these 'realities' compare to the repression of real hermits from the late sixteenth century onwards?

After the close of the Tridentine Council, a phenomenon comparable to the encapsulation of anchorite movements in the later Middle Ages occurred: hermits were turned into monks. The resulting crossover between monastic and anchorite life is confirmed by the way these figures were described in seventeenth century diaries. In August 1648, the roman lawyer Giacinto Gigli mentioned an interesting but at first sight puzzling example of hermits resident within the walls of Rome. The small chapel of Santa Maria del Buon Aiuto, situated near San Giovanni in Laterano (fig.93), was the site of a murder which involved two hermits:

In those days a strange event occurred, that a Hermit killed another hermit, his companion, and then went to the Cardinal Vicar, and said that he had murdered his companion, because he had been told to do so by the Holy Spirit, and he showed a handwritten note by the deceased which said that he left him as heir to all his belongings, because he had done him the favour of killing him. This case happened in a chapel located

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49 For the room in Isola del Liri, see chapter 1, pp.52-55.
50 For the series of hermits by Paul Bril commissioned by Borromeo, see Jones 1988b, and Jones 1993, p.78.
near the wall of Rome between San Giovanni in Laterano and Santa Croce in Gerusalemme. where the body was found in the midst of lots of blood. He was put in jail, but was cleared of the charge because of being mad.\textsuperscript{22}

Although Gigli used the word \textit{romito}, in reality the church of Santa Maria del Buon Aiuto was part of the larger monastic community of Santa Croce, situated directly behind it. This complex had been inhabited since the later Middle Ages by the Cistercian Order, an offspring of the Benedictine Rule striving after a more severe and secluded interpretation of monastic life.\textsuperscript{53} Thus, the two religious belonged to a regular Order and lived a life dedicated to incessant prayer and contemplation.\textsuperscript{54} The main reason why Gigli used the word 'hermit' will have been rooted in the appearance of these monks, their relative isolation, and their daily occupations: their habit and rule reflecting their life of severity and penitence (Fig.94). Tridentine reforms and the call for observance led the Cistercians back to their anchorite origins, which was noticed and interpreted as such by lay observers.\textsuperscript{61}

\textbf{Itinerant hermits in and around Rome}

Next to these 'domesticated' or coenobitic hermits, individual, or, if one prefers, 'real' hermits continued to be present in Rome and its \textit{campagna}. Although the phenomenon was restrained in the late sixteenth century by regulations and prohibitions, it was not rooted out completely.\textsuperscript{62} Accounts in the Episcopal archives of Tivoli recorded the existence of independent hermits in the direct surroundings of the town until well into the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{63} They had to request the bishop's consent on their residence as well as on their autonomous status, for which licences were given. In most cases, they were assigned the care over a rural chapel or church, where they had to assist in Mass and keep the place tidy. The rest of their time was supposed to be spent in prayer, or reading edifying publications.

\textsuperscript{22} For Giacinto Gigli, see Nussdorfer 1992, pp.109-114, and \textit{DBI} 1960-present, vol.54, pp.673-674.
\textsuperscript{23} Gigli 1994, vol.2, p.552: 'In questi giorni occorse un caso strano, che un Romito ammazzò un'altro Romito suo compagno, e poi andò subito a trovare il Cardinale Vicario, e disse, che lui aveva ammazzato quel suo Compagno, perché gli l'aveva comandato lo Spirito Santo, e mostrò una Scrittura di mano del morto, che diceva, che lo lasciava herede di tutta la sua Robba, perché gli aveva fatto carità di ammazzarlo. Occorse questo caso in una Cappella, che stà nelle Mura di Roma tra S. Giovanni Laterano, e Santa Croce in Gerusalem, dove fu trovato il morto con molto sangue sparso. Fu costui messo prigione, ma si giudica, che sarà scusato per pazzo.'
\textsuperscript{24} On the Cistercienser Order, see Helyot 1721 vol.5, pp.388-400 and \textit{DIP} 1974-1997 vol.2, cols.1059-1098.
\textsuperscript{25} For the church (or Oratory) of Santa Maria del Buon Aiuto, see Bachowiecki 1967-1974 vol.2, pp.521-523; see Armettini 1942, p.989 and \textit{Guide riomali di Roma} 1967-present, vol.15.1, p.18 for the dependence of this edifice on the Cistercienser Order.
\textsuperscript{28} See Ferrero 1970, esp. p.709 for a list of hermits in Tivoli based on the Episcopal archives.
While in Tivoli and other dioceses Episcopal supervision over these hermits was considered enough to curtail the phenomenon of solitary religious, the attraction of Rome for hermits on pilgrimage posed a more complex problem which was addressed at several synods. As religious without monastic or confraternal affiliation were deprived of their customary shelter, they wandered around town begging for alms, a phenomenon that hindered secular and religious government alike. The institution in 1587 of a special hospital for these hermits was the solution proposed and realised by pope Sixtus V Peretti. The papal brief *Cum nostrae orde* ordered the Italian hermit Albentio del Cetraro from Calabria to institute a refuge for the hermits visiting the city of Rome on pilgrimage. The aim was to 'avoid with zeal the danger for the health of the souls, and the bad example and the scandal' which the vagabond solitaries represented. In 1591 this was confirmed with the donation of a piece of land in the Borgo Pio near the Vatican, where, with the financial help of a number of Roman citizens, Albentio was able to build a small chapel and an adjacent house. The situation of this complex close to the Porta Angelica, one of the gates to the Vatican, led to the naming of this society as the Hermits of Porta Angelica.

The choice for Albentio as head of this community was by no means coincidental; as the documents stated, he was a 'cleric hermit', or, in other words, a solitary religious who was ordained a priest, and thus obedient to the ecclesiastical authorities. It also meant that he could receive other members into his congregation. In this way, control was regained over those religious who had cultivated the escape from ecclesiastical supervision. In other words, the hermits were remodelled into something comparable to a regular Order, be it in this case only during the time they spent in the Holy City.

According to the aforementioned papal brief of 1591, the primary task of this new religious community was to feed and lodge 'foreign hermits' for the period of eight days which these anchorites were allowed to spend in Rome. After this period, they were constrained to return home. Moreover, they had to carry a letter from the bishop or vicar of their place of origin to attest to the fact that they had asked prior permission to undertake the pilgrimage. That

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1 The rules of conduct for hermits in the diocese of Sabina instituted during the episcopate of Gabriele Paleotti in 1594 can be found in *Constitutiones Synodales* 1737, p.87f. See also *Dictionnaire de droit canonique* 1935-1965 vol.5, cols.420-421, and Sallmann 1992, p.187.
2 *Ferrero 1969* p.292: 'ad animarum salutis periculum, ac perniciosum exemplum et scandalum enixe evitandum...'
3 *Ferrero 1969* p.294 gives the full text of this donation.
5 *Dictionnaire de droit canonique* 1935-1965 vol.5, col.419.
6 *Ferrero 1969*, p.294: 'la quale potra accrescersi et ampliare secondo il bisogno dell'esercito suo, alloggiare per otto giorni soli, et non piu. Romitì forastieri, i quali vengono a Roma per visitare questi santì luoghi, purchè portino lettere..."
these requirements and restrictions were not always obeyed can be concluded from the edict issued by Paul V in 1606, which forbade hermits to stay anywhere else in the city of Rome, or beg for alms without written permission from the prior of the Santa Maria delle Grazie a Porta Angelica. Any hermit present in the city of Rome was moreover constrained to go and stay in the house erected by Albentio del Cetraro, or otherwise was thrown in prison and subsequently banished from the city. To restrict them even further, the maximum stay was reduced from eight to seven days.²⁴

Probably as a result of these papal decisions, the Congregation of Porta Angelica proved a success: hermits continued to flock to Rome during the early years of the seventeenth century and were temporarily lodged by the congregation. In 1618, Angelo Maria da Genova was permitted to found a second hermitage, for stricter cultivation of the anchorite ideal: whether and where this was realised is unknown. A few years before, abundant alms had facilitated a reconstruction of the simple chapel into a veritable church. This had been dedicated to Our Lady of Graces, a reference to the miraculous image of the Virgin that Albentio had brought from the Holy Land, which was placed on the altar of the new church.²⁵

At the same time, these papal briefs signalled problems arising with respect to the hermit's juridical position in relation to their attire.²⁶ In 1638, for example, Urban VIII issued an edict which forbade hermits to wear the habit of the Third Franciscan Order without express permission by the Superior of that Order.²⁷ This generic Franciscan tertiary habit consisted of a simple brown tunic with or without a cloak, obviously much resembling the usual clothing of the solitary religious.²⁸ Apart from coincidental similarity, itinerant hermits probably dressed intentionally in this way to deceive authorities and the general public in order to obtain permission to beg for alms.²⁹ In any case, the problem continued to exist, as a papal decision of 1669 stated that the many hermits who had taken a habit without explicit permission were considered breaking the rules. This latter decree ordered all hermits in Rome to either lay down their habit, request sojourn in the convent at Porta Angelica, or, as was required at the end of the testimonial del suo Vescovo, a Vicario, ne si possa prolongare il detto termine di otto giorni senza licenza scritta di Monsignore Vicirente."³⁰


For the church and convent, see Armellini 1942, pp.975-976 and Lombardi 1996, pp.360-361.


This edict of October 5, 1638 is in Bulgarium Romanum 1857-1885 vol.14, pp.671-672. It was followed only one month later by an edict issued by Antonio Barberini on November 27, 1638, in which disobedience to the former edict was connected with severe punishment; see Ferrero 1969 p.297-299 for the texts of both edicts.

³³ For the habit of the Franciscan Third Order, see Heliot 1721 vol.7, p.217.

eighteenth century in the case of permanent hermits - enter a Third Order, and thus become a lay-brother. In all options, some kind of profession was to be made, whether simple or solemn.

These papal directives and prohibitions on dress suggest that the image of the solitary religious was constituted for a large part by his clothing, and indicated that this was a reasonably constant factor during the seventeenth century. Almost throughout the entire Christian era the hermit possessed certain visual characteristics, which made him immediately recognisable. He was a man of mature age and often of a robust constitution but emaciated body, and walked on bare feet, or else on sandals. He had a long (i.e. uncut) beard and hair, dressed in a habit of rough fabric of poor quality or even made of leaves or other natural materials, which expressed the highest ideal of poverty. In all cases, this covering would be held together by an equally rough cord or a leather strap. Sometimes this dress was supplemented by a scapular, or a cloak, or a capuccio similar to that of pilgrims - even though such additions were explicitly forbidden in papal decrees between 1638 and the end of the eighteenth century, as these were considered characteristics of the Franciscan and the Carmelite habits respectively. Descriptions of the itinerant preachers at the beginning of the sixteenth century also referred to these characteristics, in the first place the dress of sackcloth or even animal skin, pelle selvatica. In other respects, elements of the hermit’s clothing were also linked to the pilgrim: the uncouth appearance and the protective mantle: as has been argued above, many hermits were in fact pilgrims, in the spiritual but often also in the real sense of the word.

Objects would heighten aspects of this image: the hermit could carry a stick referring to the element of travelling or spiritual pilgrimage; a book, a wooden cross, or a rosary would point at devotional practices; or he could hold things that reminded one of mortification and penitence such as a skull, a whip, or chains. These themes were most apparent in the imagery of the hermit in literature and the visual arts, as they represented exemplary qualities. For the general

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73 Female hermits were relatively few; women wanting to live a solitary religious life usually had themselves walled in: on the difference in asceticism between men and women, see Weinstein Bell 1994, pp.155, 220-238. The ideal of the desert was often used in the writings of female saints; see Petroff 1994, pp.110-136 on the influence of the Imitation on thirteen-century women mystics. During the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, religious women were not allowed to live alone; too strict asceticism was dissuaded; see Sensi 1992, pp.20-21. An example of a late medieval female saint turning her back to the monastic community and living a solitary life on her own is the Augustinian nun Rita da Cascia. She was beatified in 1628; see Scaraffia 1986, pp.184-185 for details on solitary life in her hagiography.
75 See the various decrees transcribed and published by Ferrero 1969, pp.298, 300, 319, 323.
76 Niccoli 1990, p.94.
77 Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte 1933-present, vol.4, cols.1020-1023.
public, the combined symbols of mortification, detachment from this world and incessant prayer, were exclusive signs of hermits, whether saints or still alive. The popular image of the solitary religious held the middle between the mendicant monk, the itinerant preacher and the pilgrim.\textsuperscript{75}

**Sant’Onofrio: the monk redressing as hermit**

Tridentine rules led to a ‘domestication’ of the hermit in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, but also to monastic observance to the pristine Rules. These two tendencies could conflict, when the Order in question had been the product of an earlier eremitic movement: this would imply that the monks should return to the status of solitaries - which was impossible in reality. The monastic community of Sant’Onofrio in Rome is a clear example of this phenomenon. The anchorite life had been promoted by Pietro Gambacorta da Pisa, founder of the community, but the Hieronymite Rule later adopted by this group turned the group into a monastic community.\textsuperscript{77} To resolve the paradox which had arisen with the Tridentine call for observance, a fresco-cycle in the cloister of Sant’Onofrio presented the monastic sojourn as the necessary preliminary phase of eremitism.

The convent of Sant’Onofrio in Rome was built in the first half of the fifteenth century on the eastern slope of the Janiculum Hill for the Hieronymites of Pietro Gambacorta (fig.95).\textsuperscript{78} This Italian Congregation of the Hieronymite Order originated from a loose community of devout men around a Piemontese hermit, living in premises comprising the church of San Salvatore in Termis, in the centre of Rome.\textsuperscript{79} Notwithstanding this urban location, these devout, not being bound by an approved Rule, were considered hermits. In 1404 they were joined by Nicolo da Forca Palena who organised them into a monastic community, obtained approval of their Rule in 1446 and linked them to the Congregation of Pietro Gambacorta, and arranged a new convent on the Janiculum, just outside of the city. Between 1439 and 1449 the old church, now the Chapel of Sant’Onofrio to the right of the church, was built.\textsuperscript{80} This first settlement probably consisted of a loose conglomeration of buildings, still resembling hermitages. In the next half-century, when the monastic rule was introduced, this complex was remodelled into a real monastery, with an enlarged church, two cloisters, and communal refectory and dormitories. The history of this

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\textsuperscript{75} DIP 1974-1997 vol.3, col.1256-1257.
\textsuperscript{76} Compare the *Constitutioni dell’Ordine Eremiti di S. Giovanni, Congregazione del Beato Pietro da Pisa Revista, e correte in Roma all’anno 1614.*
\textsuperscript{78} For San Salvatore in Termis, see Huelsen 1975, pp.455-456, cat.no.42.
\textsuperscript{79} See Milana Natili 1987 for a recent restoration-report on Sant’Onofrio and the oldest structures of the complex.
community reflects the changes and restrictions on anchorite life, reorganised to resemble or become a normal monastic community.

In accordance with the dedication of the church to Onuphrius, the lunettes of the cloister directly adjacent to the church were decorated with twenty-seven scenes that document his life (fig.96). Painters of this cycle were Vespasiano Strada and Claudio Ridolfi. The dating of these frescoes is between 1599 and 1601 on the basis of the inscription in the first lunette. This is confirmed by archival material recording payments for the scaffolding. A payment to Vespasiano Strada was recorded in April 1601, but only for the angels between the scenes.

The subject of the frescoes was, as the introductory inscription stated in Latin and Italian, the 'life, death and miracles' of the hermit Saint Onuphrius, a descendant of the Persian Kings who lived in the Egyptian desert for sixty years (fig.97). The following scenes depicted in chronological sequence the birth of the infant until the saint's death and burial in the desert. It began with the devil's suggestion that the child carried by the queen was illegitimate, the following trial by fire to test this assumption, and the Christian Baptism of the newborn, who was carried by his father to the monastery in the Egyptian desert to be raised and instructed by the monks (fig.98).

Only after this introductory section was the solitary life of Onuphrius in the desert depicted. This showed the saint being instructed in the eremitic life by Hermæus and led to the grotto where he could live (fig.99), and where he was fed for the first thirty years by an angel bringing him loaves of bread, and subsequently by the fruits of a palm-tree. The last quarter of the cycle depicted how Onuphrius was found by the monk Paphnutius during his travels through the desert.

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82 For Strada see Thieme-Becker 1907-1950 vol.32, p.148, for Ridolfi see Thieme-Becker 1907-1950 vol.28, pp.312-313.
83 On the attribution of this cycle much has been written; Tití Bottari 1763, p.29 suggested that Cesare d’Arpino co-operated in this cycle, or that Paul Bril was involved have been rebutted; see Abromson 1981, pp.200-207 and Kühn-Forte 1997, p.917. The suggestion made in 1638 by Celio that it had been 'Vespasiano dello Spagnuolo Romano' was followed by Baglione and Tití, and in recent publications, see Celio 1638 1967, p.43. Roettgen 1973, p.52 suggested that the first four scenes had not been done by d’Arpino but instead by Mario Gannassini; a suggestion that has until now not been accepted. For the payments see ASR, Ord REL, Masc Gerolamini, Conv di S. Onofrio, b.3197: ‘Entrate e Uscite’, fol. 211
84 ASR, Ord REL, Masc Gerolamini, Conv di S. Onofrio, b.3197, fol.269 recto [April e 1601]: ‘A di 8 ho pagato sei giulli a M. o D. nico l’incollatura degli cherubini, che sono fra li quadri, ne quli e dipinta la Vita di s. Honofrio nel Claustro d. qo nd. Mon.rio, e doi scudi ho pagato a m. Vespasiano Strada Romano, cha dipinto d. Cherubini per quattro scudi, de quali si ha pagato do i fra Tiberio sagghione da castello delle feretranie sagistani o lo nato in abbaeco solani te la spera da me fatta.’
Egyptian desert. After having been told the story of the saints’ life, Paphnutius took care of his burial, witnessed the divinely ordered destruction of Onuphrius’ cave and well, and was told by an angel to go back to his monastery to disclose this edifying account to his fellow-monks (fig. 100).

Although these frescoes seemed to follow a predictable chronological account of Onuphrius’ life, their order and content was not based on an established hagiographic tradition. The entry in the Acta Sanctorum of 12 June, published at the end of the seventeenth century, included three quite different versions, while the introduction by the editors negated outright the initial part on the saints’ royal ancestry, birth and childhood, which was so prominently included in the frescoes. One reason for this vagueness might be found in the late arrival, at the end of the thirteenth century, of hagiographic accounts on Onuphrius in the West. The Legenda Aurea, the medieval standard for artists and writers until the seventeenth century, did not contain his life; not even Cavalcas’ Vite de’Santi Padri offered the reader a life of this saint. No uniform version was arrived at in the early modern period, due to the variations in the Greek manuscripts and the different translations. Notwithstanding this variety, the episode of Onuphrius was always the main part of a frame-story, which had as its main character the monk Paphnutius, who travelled through the Egyptian desert in search of the best form of religious life. Onuphrius was only one of several hermits Paphnutius encountered along the way.

The hagiographies of Onuphrius that appeared in print during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries continued to provide variations on the basic version, a number of which (especially the descent from the Persian kings) were integrated in the painted cycle in the Sant’Onofrio. However, one particular detail does not accord with any of the published accounts, and that is the representation of the young saint being nursed by a hind after the presentation of the child to the monks (fig. 101). According to the known sources, this deer fed the baby during the trip through the desert until the arrival at the monastery, which means that the order of the frescoes in Sant’Onofrio contradicted these accounts, as well as being contrary to logic. There is however one source that contained this very order and this was a fifteenth-century

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85. Cassian praised Paphnutius as the progress from coenobitism to eremitism, see Rousseau 1978, p. 179.
86. Lives of Onuphrius were included in the publications of Lippomano 1558 vol. 6, fol. 58r–58v, and other sixteenth-century collections such as Suris: examples of separately published hagiographies of Onuphrius from the seventeenth century are Regio 1604, Coppola 1643, and Raoli 1705.
This hand-written volume with the title *Vita mors miracula* *S*° *Homuphrij Regis Persarum Fili* has been composed in a Renaissance hand, but also shows early-seventeenth century interventions. The concordance between the inscription in the first lunette of the cloister and the title of this manuscript already points out their interdependence. In the text itself (written in Latin), a number of brackets indicating the beginning of each new episode exactly match the first four scenes of the painted cycle. In *Seicento* handwriting, letters were retraced in brown ink; alterations were introduced to heighten the legibility of the fifteenth-century text for seventeenth-century eyes.

On the narrative level, the manuscript diverged from the hagiographic tradition. Firstly, the account in the *Vita mors miracula* began immediately with the birth and miraculous childhood of Onuphrius, postponing the framing history of Paphnutius to the last third. In this way, the narration was given a straightforward chronological order in which the theme of the search for perfection was replaced by an exemplary account of the saint's life. Secondly, the manuscript version described how *after* the acceptance of the child by the abbot, the hind continued to feed the child with its milk - the very element that distinguished the fresco-cycle from all other known sources. This change of order was however not an arbitrary choice, as the author stated, because 'For this reason, the child ate not the meals of humans but almost yielded completely to the food of angels.' In other words, this scene heightened Onuphrius' ascetic and saintly status by stressing his abstinence from the common food of man already during his younger years.

Neither were the narrative differences with the other known hagiographies coincidental; they were introduced with a clear concept in mind. The added importance given to the introductory part, on Onuphrius' childhood and his first years in the monastery, can be explained by regarding the entire life of the saint as an exemplary process consisting of three steps. In the

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11 A 1598 inventory of the library of Sant'Onofrio is in BAV.Lat.11292, fols.69r-75v; it only recorded printed editions, however, not manuscripts. The same goes for two inventories of the monastery's library of 1784 and 1793, in BNC.Mss.Fondi Minori.S.Onofrio.29 and 29 respectively. The inclusion of the manuscript in this same BNC.Fondi Minori.S.Onofrio indicates that it formed part of the monastery's holdings at the end of the nineteenth century. On the grounds of the striking coherence of this text with the fresco-cycle, it will be upheld here that it was already in S. Onofrio by 1599.

12 "Vita mors miracula . . . Quam Horatius Nardus inter Monast' . monumenta ad inventam in bibliotheca asservari C. . . .

13 "Vita mors miracula" , fol.3v.

14 "Vita mors miracula" , fol.3v: 'Puer quidem homofrius non humanis nutritus sed quasi angelicis pastus cunctis obedies.'
first, the protagonist leaves his worldly possessions behind, to enter a monastery and dedicate his life to God. In the second, he is taught the means and ends of the regular life, consisting of prayers, obedience and the acquisition of virtues; the period of 'apprenticeship' with the hermit was a sequence to this. Finally the apex of spiritual life, the solitary part, is depicted, culminating in the soul leaving this world to join its Creator.56

This kind of compositional structure can be found in many Lives of the Fathers, but the manuscript as well as the frescoes at Sant'Onofrio simplified and highlighted these stages even more.57 The additions to the traditional story in the original Greek sources - childhood and monastic life - and alterations in the narrative - sequential instead of a frame - balanced the first two parts with the third, the sojourn in the desert. The new form adapted the source to the Catholic monastic concept, as well as to the ideals of ascetic prayer and mystical contemplation.

All three steps were clearly illustrated in the cloister of Sant'Onofrio, one wall dedicated to each stage, and a fourth wall to conclude the story with Paphnutius' visit. The six scenes on the first wall narrated the miraculous birth and baptism until the arrival at the monastery; the second wall depicted the years of spiritual formation. The scenes in the monastery - the miracle of the bread. Onuphrius listening to the elder monks telling edifying stories - indicated the acquisition of virtues and ascetic practice. The stories of Elijah and John the Baptist which were part of his spiritual education (fig.98) inspired him to leave the monastery at night, following a illuminated column in the sky that guided him through the desert to the cave of the (possibly archetypal) hermit Hermeus, who would teach him the rules of solitary life.57 The third wall showed how, after this apprenticeship, Onuphrius was ready to live in the desert on his own and taste the divine fruits. The ultimate state, found on the same third wall, was that of the angel handing him the Host every Sunday.

After reaching this spiritual apex Paphnutius appeared on the scene, at the beginning of the fourth wall. He was told the edifying story of Onuphrius' life, buried him with the help of two

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56 This analogy of the monastic life to the stepped ascent on the ascetic road was the subject of the treatise Scala Paradisi by John Climacus, which traditionally was accompanied by the hagiography of Onuphrius; in fact, the latter was introduced into Western Europe as a result of the reception of the former. Many editions of the Scala Paradisi appeared in the sixteenth century. See Gribomont 1966 and Peers 1981-1960 vol 3 p.259.
57 See Elliot 1987, pp. 51-58 for the form of the Vita of Onuphrius.
It is significant that the caption under the scene representing the sermon to Onuphrius about the desert saints uses 'ammaestrate', signifying teaching: 'Honuphrirus de vita solitaria sermone bandem ampesti decidit S. hammaaestato detta vita solitaria quella si risolve abbracciac'. The name of Hermeus is encountered twice in the 4th, and both times unrelated to Onuphrius; firstly in the hagiography of Saint Firmus and other martyrs on April 6 as one in a long list of names, and secondly in the Praefermissio of May 13; the derivation of the name from the word 'hermit' seems to indicate his archetypal role.
lions, and was forced to return home after the death of Onuphrius, because the cave and the palm-tree were destroyed by divine intervention (fig.100). Although he had found the perfect spiritual life, he had to return to his monastery to prepare himself for the solitary life. This last scene also explicated that Paphnutius was to spread this edifying and exemplary story among his fellow-monks, as an angel appearing to him pointed him the way home.

Both the text and the frescoes introduced a number of scenes that illustrated how Onuphrius had not simply been a solitary saint, but had to go through the necessary stages to become a hermit. This was also the message to the viewer: the anchorite is the apex of a road to spiritual perfection that can only be entered through the monastic gates. Hence, the monks living at that moment in Sant'Onofrio were not simply coenobitic dwellers, but aspired to a spiritual goal beyond this world. Concentration on the spiritual aspect also intended that the hermit was a state of mind: it was ultimately realised in the act of prayer. One could live in a monastery, and still reside in the desert.

When in 1595, the sick poet Torquato Tasso (1544-1595) fled the papal court to Sant'Onofrio to try and cure his mental and physical turbulence, he stated as his reason for doing so not simply the fresh and healthy air on the slope of the hill. In a letter, he stressed this place as a spiritual retreat suitable for preparing for his coming death:

I had myself transferred to this monastery of Sant'Onofrio not only because of the air which is recommended by the doctors more than any other in Rome, but almost to begin my conversation with Heaven from this eminent place through conversation with these devout Fathers.

The geographic setting of the Sant'Onofrio, outside of the walls of Rome on the Janiculum Hill, mirrored the spiritual ideal of isolation and elevation. In 1600, Pancirolì explicitly wrote in his description of the monastery that the location seemed to have been made by nature to resemble a hermitage. This external situation was a reflection of interior perfection; the decoration in the cloister made clear to the beholder that these monks lived in a context that recreated as far as possible the real anchorite life, but still retained within it the limitations set by the Tridentine

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98 The detail of the lions digging the saint's grave is a familiar motif in the Lives of desert-saints: it occurred for the first time in Athanasius' Life of Anthony Abbot when Saint Paul the First Hermit was buried, and can also be found in the hagiography of Saint Mary of Egypt, and elsewhere.

99 Tasso 1855, vol.5 nr.1535, to Antonio Costantini, March 1595: 'Mi sono fatto condurre in questo monastero di Sant'Onofrio, non solo perché l'aria è lodata dai medici, più che d'alcan altra parte di Roma, ma quasi per compiacere da questo luogo eminente, e con la conversazione di questi divoti padri, la mia conversazione in cielo.'
Council and the Catholic ecclesiastic reforms. One could be a hermit in the mind, as long as the monastic context and ecclesiastical supervision were respected.

**Ephemeral landscapes and theatrical hermits**

Apart from being real or imaginary, hermits could also be impersonated - in the manner that characteristics of their appearance and lifestyle might be copied not only for spiritual reasons, but with other intentions as well. In the latter case, preachers to impress their audience used the exemplary function of the hermit. This was a more general phenomenon among Capuchins and Franciscans, than in the other Orders.\(^1\) This was caused by their double inspiration from Saint Francis: he had combined eremitic life with apostolic mission; and in imitation of him sixteenth- and seventeenth-century preachers appeared in public in the guise of hermits.

The Franciscan monk Bartolomeo Cambi da Salutio (1557-1617) was a famous preacher in his early years, and an important author of religious treatises in his later life.\(^2\) Like Bellarmino, Cambi wrote books on the practice of meditation and contemplation during his spiritual retreats, some of which were semi-permanent, lasting in some cases for a number of years. These were not only undertaken out of his own free will; troubles with the ecclesiastical authorities necessitated that he withdrew from society at least twice. Notwithstanding the forced character of his seclusion, his life in these circumstances was obviously modelled upon the anchorite life and for this and his books he became known among his contemporaries as 'il grande contemplativo'.

Cambi's sermons were so popular with the general public that the Inquisition and other authorities started to follow his tracks. After the incriminating discovery of a musical instrument in his cell, Cambi retreated for a while to repent. Subsequently, he started to appear at the pulpit with a large cross as a sign of penitence, which only increased public curiosity, and again caused suspicion among ecclesiastical officials.\(^3\) A second retreat to Fonte Colombo was undertaken in a grotto consisting of two spaces, one of which functioned as chapel and was dedicated to Saint John the Baptist, while the other was called Paradisetto or 'small Paradise', and served as a place for his few moments of sleep and the more frequent acts of physical penitence. This grotto was only accessible by way of a rough ladder of oak-tree branches, heightening the effect of Cambi's

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\(^1\) Pancheri 1600, p.639; Poi l'anno 1446 in Roma sopra di questo monte, ch'è parte del Gianicolo, come più xonomodamente si dira alla vicina Chiesa di S. Pietro in Montorio, e che dalla natura par fatto per un Iremo..."

\(^2\) Niccoli 1990, p.99.


\(^4\) Treffers 1995, p.50.
isolation and remoteness from society. On the top of the mountain he also had a chapel constructed that was dedicated to Mary Magdalene, and where he could retreat even further from the inhabited world. There, and in general during the three years of his solitary sojourn, Cambi experienced regular raptures, which at a certain moment were evoked by the mere sight of the crucifix, or any other visual representation of a holy subject, such as prints of a saint.

It also was here that Bartolomeo's prophetic gifts became apparent, and he discovered his ability to read hearts. This brought him once again into conflict with the Inquisition, leading to his final retreat to the convent of San Pietro in Montorio on the Janiculain Hill in Rome. Here, Cambi organised another hermitage, this time consisting of a chapel situated in the garden of the monastery that he only left to celebrate Mass in the conventual church. After his death, his body was buried in the Church of San Francesco a Ripa, further down the hill, first in the communal tomb and from 1620 in a separate grave (fig.102). The site of his grave was adorned with a marble plaque with inscription paid for by Odoardo Farnese, and preliminary hearings for a process of beatification were started.

In his appearance as preacher, Cambi had consciously utilised elements from the concept of the solitary saint: physical appearance, solitary life, fervent acts of meditation, and grottoes set in gardens or real nature. During his retreats to these hermitages, Cambi started to write devotional treatises on penitence and contemplation, in which these elements were promoted as elements of the ideal devotional life. Like his sermons, these books were written to disseminate the exercises of contemplation and prayer among the general public. The spiritual perfection he had reached by permanent seclusion and dedication to prayer, fasting and mortification made him, in the eyes of his contemporaries, an ideal spiritual guide, securing his success in oratory and writing alike. His most famous book, the Paradiso dei Contemplativi of 1607 led the soul of the reader to spiritual union with its Creator by means of a dialogue between the guardian angel and the soul. This conversation took place during an imaginary pilgrimage along the 'road of contemplation' to a city on top of a mountain, the latter a clear analogy for the Heavenly

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105 Sarri 1925, p.94: 'Fece costruire sopra un monte, di faccia al Convento, una cappellaccia in onore di S. Maria Maddalena, da dove spesso, sul colmo della notte, nel fervore dell'estasi 'colla sua tonante e terribile voce' faceva risuonare le sottostanti valli, e feco sperdevasi nei piani della città di Rieti. Non usciva mai dal suo tugurio, altro che quando l'obbedienza glielo comandava. Il trionfo della sua dimora a Fonte Colomba si può chiamare il periodo misticco di preferenza della vita del Nostro. Gli bastava vedere (p.98) l'immagine di un crocifisso o di qualche santo, a cui si sentiva piu devoto, per essere astratto dai sensi per delle ore intere ...'

106 Sarri 1925, p.97; and Treffer 1995, pp.49-51. This site in the garden of San Pietro in Montorio had earlier served as hermitage for Angelo del Pas, who died in 1596 in the odour of sanctity: see Treffer 1989 and Treffer 1995, pp.36, 52.
Jerusalem. Analogous with the material discussed in the previous chapter, real nature was presented by Cambi as a point of departure, visualising the concepts of beauty and order in this world, which reflected divine omnipotence, providence and love.

Cambi had many followers and admirers—not just from the Roman upper classes, also among the clerics. Farnese was one of them. The foundation of the funeral monument in the San Francesco a Ripa by Cardinal Odoardo, the dedication of the Paradiso dei Contemplativi to him, and contemporary accounts reporting their meetings clearly attest to the warm relations between the Franciscan monk and the cardinal. These contacts indicate that not only had Bellarmino’s ideas as expressed in the Scala di salire of 1615 played a role in the concept of the Camerino degli Eremiti, but that these ideas had a much wider basis in the devotional reality of the early Seicento. Cambi’s example of retreating to hermitages, the exemplary image of the hermit as the apex of spiritual perfection, and the spiritual road through this world to the next were followed by Farnese on a temporary basis in his own artificial desert. As Cambi’s books had been composed during periods of divine inspiration in a hermitage, this was also the designated place to read them.

Giacinto da Casale in Piacenza

The image of the hermit and the concept of the temporary hermitage were further developed by another famous preacher in the early Seicento, Giacinto da Casale. In 1617, when Lanfranco was painting the Camerino degli Eremiti, this Capuchin Father, famous for his rhetorical abilities, preached the Quaresima in the city of Piacenza, part of the Farnese duchy, with great success.

Indeed, Giacinto’s popularity was so great that, according to the ample description of a supposed eye-witness that was published the following year (fig. 103), the inhabitants of the city implored him to come back for the celebration of the Quarat’Ore as well, when he had suggested this to

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103 Cambi 1607, p.105: ‘La prima via di caminare a questa contemplazione, è l’andare considerando tutte le cose create che si vedono, odono, odorano, gustano, & toccano, con questi senso esteriori di questo tuo corpo, & così ridurre ogni cosa in Dio, & di tutto laudarlo, benedirlo, & ringraziarlo sempre, & a questo modo ascende l’anima alla contemplatione di Dio.’
104 On the contacts between Cambi and Farnese see Sarri 1925, pp.94-95: ‘L’ambasciatore Arigoni, nella relazione alla Corte di Mantova dell’arrivo del P. Bartolomeo a Roma, riferiva che fra i prelati andati a visitare il Padre, fu notato l’elettissimo Mons. Farnese, ‘cosa, egli scrive, che la dato materia di ragionare, pondersando alla Corte che Son Signoria Illustissima gli si sia inclinata molto.’ Odoardo probably met with Cambi because of his brother’s dedication to the preacher.
106 Casale’s preaching in Piacenza is amply described in Marchetti 1617, and in Poggioli 1757-1766 vol.11, pp.6-9.
them. They might have heard about the many conversions he had worked in the city of Brescia\textsuperscript{112} - or in other Italian cities such as Venice, Bergamo and Rome - and wished that their own town also be re-christianised.\textsuperscript{113}

By then, Giacinto had already proved to them the effectiveness of his sermons; during the Lenten period his words and example had turned the Piacentini into zealous devout, walking barefoot through the streets in order to pay for their sins, punishing their flesh by means of flagellation, or with weighty chains impeding their steps and hurting their ankles and feet. Many of them carried heavy crosses on their shoulders or had crowns of thorns on their heads, making the city look like a new Jerusalem with hundreds of Christ look-alikes. No-one was able to hold back their tears at the sight of this, cleaning their souls, as the flow of blood cleansed the streets of the many sins which they had previously witnessed.\textsuperscript{114}

This forthright display of religious zeal moved even the most hesitant spectators. Nobles started to dress in sackcloth as a sign of humility and offered their riches to Giacinto to be redistributed to the poor. The report mentioned that even the hardest hearts were weakened by this call for spiritual renewal; not even the Devil himself might be able to withstand this miraculous preacher. To exemplify this, the author of the account drew on the comparison with the solitary saints who had successfully combatted Satan:

And I would really rather call them rather Devil than man, who were not moved at the appearance in the pulpit of this face so devout and emaciated, that he seemed one of those ancient hermits who came from the desert, or the woods; who would not have changed his mind upon seeing this pious scene, upon the weakening of hearts, and so frightful detestations of sin, upon criticising the vices, and the menace of rigorous castigation by God; who, finally, would not be healed by hearing this clear, sonorous and penetrating voice, upon those real and meaningful words, upon this stream of eloquence, this fulminating tone, upon those vivid reasons, which convinced each and every intellect.

\textsuperscript{112} This was described in the booklet entitled \textit{Le penezze di Brescia et i frutti ammirabili operati da Dio Nostro Signore in quella Città. Per le Prediche e Sermoni fatti la Settimana Santa all'Orazione delle Quarant'ore in quella Cathedrale l'anno 1615. Dal reverendo Padre Fra Giacinto da Casale Predicatore Capuccino. Dedicata alli Serenissimi di Baviera.} Milan 1615.

\textsuperscript{113} A number of accounts and sources on Giacinto da Casale's preaching can be found in \textit{I Frati Cappuccini} 1988 vol.2, pp.477-480 on his success in Rimini in 1618, p.485 for an account of 1615 in Brescia, and pp.499-503 on his preaching in Venice in 1614.

\textsuperscript{114} A long description of this is given in Marchetti 1617, fols.3v.-4r.
vested in the zeal of God, animated by the ardour of the Holy Spirit...  

The above description clearly pointed out that Fra Giacinto worked upon his audience not only by means of words but just as much through his appearance. The anchoritie characteristics transmitted to his audience the penitent kind of life that these figures were supposed to lead, and by means of which they were victorious over the Devil and his temptations. This example was to be followed by the citizens of Piacenza, who, as indicated above, appeared in sackcloth and barefoot as an external sign of their inward conversion and penitence. Penitence by means of flagellation was not to be done in public, however, as this was considered discreet. Penance applied to the members of the lower and middle classes was done in the choir of the church, and young nobles could gather together three times a week in a salone of the Episcopal palace, where they would ‘discipline’ themselves after a short edifying talk by Casale. In other words, each social group was offered a suitable ‘retreat’ for the act of penitence, in accordance with decorum.

When the decision was made that Giacinto would remain in Piacenza for the celebration of the Quart’Ore, he urged all citizens to prepare themselves spiritually for this occasion by means of the Sacraments of Confession and Communion, because ‘in a very clear mirror the rays of Divine Grace would impress themselves the most.’ For Piacenza to divert the wrath of God, like a second Ninive, it would be required to show outward signs of its pious intentions; the way in which the devout would come to the Adoration of the Host would not be prescribed, but should be inspired by the Holy Ghost and by all means express sobriety and modesty. The perfect form expressed the deepest humility; thus, many nobles appeared dressed in sackcloth, in imitation of the preacher and his own example, the hermit.

Apart from these admonitions to individuals, Casale spurred the citizens into action for the necessary preparations for the ceremony of the Quarant’Ore. Brotherhoods would organise
processions going to and from the church at fixed hours. For each of those groups the friar would hold a sermon to inspire the necessary zeal in the audience that was kneeling in front of the ciborium with the consecrated Eucharist, the Body of Christ. The setting of this reliquary would moreover be decorated at the expense of the canons of the cathedral, and constructed with some haste. Obviously, shortcomings in quality did not affect efficacy.

The nave of the church was hung with dark draperies along the walls to heighten the visual impact of the apparatus itself that was located on the side of the entrance, opposite the altar. The chronicle suggested the all-pervasive impression of the ephemeral display within the environment of the church. In comparison with other known apparati for the Forty-Hours prayer in Rome, the use and significance of biblical landscape in Piacenza might be called a strikingly new invention. The eye-witness account discussed the relation between its appearance and function at length:

It was a devout, beautiful and very noble apparato: but that which counts the most, was that it envisaged materially that which it should express spiritually. Thus, in all the breadth and width of the nave of the lower part were certain mountains and hills, above which the castle of Bethlehem could be discovered on the one side and that of Nazareth on the other; furthermore in the middle, which was left free immediately above the Altar, the city of Jerusalem was found, where it seemed that Heaven was united with the earth, and God descended to unite Himself piously with us. This Glory was so beautifully situated in perspective, that for the splendour of the hidden lights, which were more than a thousand, the artistry, as well as for its proportions, it resembled the Heavenly Reign itself. Gradually one discovered within the Heavens the distinct choirs of Angels, the Seraphs, the Cherubs, etcetera. Penultimate ... were the Angels with the Sacred mysteries of the Passion. And in the last ... together with other angels, on the right hand side the Glorious Saint Carlo [Borromeo], and on the other side the seraphic Saint Francis, lifesize, turned in the act of adoration towards the Holy Sacrament. The King of Heaven was displayed in the midst of all the heavens, with great majesty, held up by two Angels

Marchetti 1617, fol.6v.: 'la diligenza di vinti Cavalieri principali, Marchesi, Conti, e Gentiluomini della Citta, quali (eletti dal Padre) vestiti di sacco...'

Such assistance by lesser brotherhoods in the celebration, rather than taking up the entire organisation, was also usual in other occasions: see Black 1989, p.99.

Prati Cappuccini 1988 vol.2, pp.185-186 reports about the re-use of the ephemeral theatre made in Rimini in 1615; these were probably related to the memory of this important event in the history of Piacenza, and the reverence that the Piacentini kept for Giacinto at least until 1621; see Poggiali 1757-1766 vol.11, pp.7-9.
above a small painting, of which one could not discover where it was fastened, they showed it [the Host] holding it up in the air, and sustaining it with the utmost reverence in their hands, in the act of handing it over to us, and inviting us to run towards Him, and be secure of His divine Mercy. In the lower part, where the city of Jerusalem ended, was the Altar ... all together it represented Mount Tabor during the Transfiguration of the Lord, and where the earth matched the Heavens, it demonstrated a most serene face of Paradise.\footnote{122}

In other words, the \textit{apparato} showed an extensive landscape with three cities placed in a triangle: on the lower side that of Bethlehem and Nazareth, the sites of Christ's life on earth, and above it that of the Heavenly Jerusalem, where he went after his Resurrection. Inbetween, the image of His death on the Cross, the Host, functioned as centre and link between them.

This evocation of the theatrical ensemble not merely evoked the overwhelming effect upon the beholder, but it also stressed that the viewer was supposed to become involved in the action by the very effectiveness of the design. He was invited to enter the landscape with their eyes and thoughts, in order to become a witness to the Transfiguration of the Lord - which was an argument for the defence of the Dogma of the Transubstantiation of the Eucharist. In that landscape, angels advanced towards the beholder with the intention of handing it over to him. The beholder should not wait to receive it, however, but should 'run towards it' - in other words, enter the landscape with eyes and mind.

By this act of spiritual conversion expressed in painting and sculpture, the Piacentini

\footnote{1. See Weil 1974, Imorde 1997, pp.89-109, and Fagiolo dell'Arco 1997, for comparative material on the Roman stage-designs for the \textit{Quaresim'Orce} in the seventeenth century; see especially, Fagiolo dell'Arco 1997, pp.101-102 for the use of natural settings in church, which only came about around the middle of the seventeenth century.}

\footnote{2. Marchetti 1617, fol.7r: 'In tanto il Capitolo de' Signori Canonicì del Duomo, con prontezza, e liberalita singolare, a sue spese, e di motivo proprio haveva nel fine della Chiesa, alla porta maggiore, in prospettiva del Choro fatto fabbricare un spazioso palco con sontuoso apparato, ove havessa da collocarsi il Santissimo Sacramento, e trattenersi da una parte il Padre Predicatore per far i Sermoni, e dall'altra la musica. Era divoto, vago, e nobilissimo l'apparato. ma quel che piu importa, situato in modo tale, che a punto materialmente figurava, quel che spiritualmente seguir doveva. Era duche in tutta l'ampiezza, e larghezza della nave parte inferiore con certe montagne, e colline, sopra delle quali si scoprivano il Castello di Bellemme da una parte, e dall'altra quello di Nazarette; nel mezzo poi, che restava immediata sopra l'Altare, si scopriva la Città di Giurusalemme, onde pareva, che il Cielo fosse unito con la terra, e Dio discendesse ad unirsi pietosamente con noi. Questa Gloria era in si bella prospettiva situata, che, e per i splendori de lumi nascosti, che piu di mille erano, e per l'arte, e proporzion, rassembrava l'Fstesso Cielo Eimpere. Gradatamente no'Celi si scoprivano i Chori Angelici distinti, i Serafini, i Cherubini, &c. Nel penultimo ... stavano gli Angeli con i santissimi misterij della passione E nell'ultimo ... insieme con alt'Angeli, dalla parte destra il Glorioso S. Carlo, e dalla sinistra i Serafico Padre San Francesco, grandi al naturale, che in atto d'adoratione erano rivolti verso il Santissimo Sacramento. Stava il Re del Cielo esposto nel mezzo de' quali Celi tutti, con gran maestà, sostentato da due Angelini, che sopra d'un quadrattino, che non si scopriva punto, ove fosse appoggiato, mostravano di tenerlo in aria, e di sostentarlo con grandissima riverenza nelle lor mani, in atto di purgerlo a noi, e d'invitare a correr a lui, e farci arditi, e sicuri della sua divina misericordia: A basso poi, ove terminava la Città di Giurusalemme...}
would behold the real world as the spot where the body of Christ had been transfigured into its Divine appearance, and at the same time perceiving it as Paradise located at the intersection of the real and the Heavenly world. The Host was placed here to stress its function as intermediate between heaven and earth, the link between Christ and the Church. His donation to the devout, and as proof of his double Presence. Or, stated otherwise, the landscape turned into Paradise by intervention of the Host coming down from Heaven, granting spiritual enlightenment to the receptive audience as well.

The concept of uniting the material world with Heaven was also stressed in the liturgical and oratorical events. After the Eucharistic Mass - at which Giacinto appeared with a rope around his neck and a crown of thorns on his head, signs of penitence and mortification - the Host was carried in procession to its allocated place in the ephemeral apparatus, and the Adoration started with a sermon by Fra Giacinto. His appearance was, as in the earlier occasion of the Quaresima, calculated to be at least as impressive as his words. One detail had intentionally been left out of the above description of the apparatus, which suggests that it was intended to create an effect of surprise for the viewer as well as for the reader. The account of the start of the Adoration related that

on the right side a beautiful and devout music began, and when this was ended, the Father left from the left side, where, in between some slopes of the above mentioned scenery, was a lifelike horrid grotto, with a Crucifix in his hands.

Casale's appearance resembled contemporary paintings of hermits and drew upon the familiar iconography of the cave in the landscape and the hermit with the crucifix. Indeed, the perception of the chronicler was that the Father now appeared to be more an Angel than a human being, and the heaven-sent quality of his sermon was no doubt increased by this visual trick. The fact that this Capuchin seemed to live in a cave made his admonitions about the forth-coming end of the world and the advice on a better spiritual life the more authoritative to his audience, as much as his anchorite image during the preparatory sermons of the Quaresima inspired his audience to acts of penitence and prayer.

era l'Altare, [... ] tutto insieme rassembrava il monte Tabor nella Trasfigurazione del Signore, dove la terra accordata co'l Cielo, mostrò una serenissima faccia di Paradiso.

Marchetti 1617, fol.7v: 'Il giorno delle Palme dunque su le 21. Hore, levò Monsignor Illustissimo dalla Capella solita il Santissimo Sacramento, e seguito prima dal Padre Predicatore scalzo, con grossa fune al collo, coronato di spine in testa, & una grà Croce in mano (vivo ritratto di mortificazione, e di penitèza).'

Marchetti 1617, fol.7v: 'dalla parte destra s'incomincio una bella, e divota musica, laqual finita usci il Padre dalla banda sinistra, ov'era al vivo, tra certi dirupi aspri, un'horrida grotta, nell'habito sudetto, con un (morfisso in mano),'

Marchetti 1617, fol.7v: 'con aspetto più Angelico, che humano...'

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As the account of these miraculous weeks in the history of Piacenza claimed, this impression was consciously developed by Casale, and derived from the Capuchin Order to which he belonged. Their simple brown habit, the sandals in which they walked, and the rigid prescriptions on food, morals and devotional exercises were inspired by the image of the solitary Saint Francis. As has been discussed before, the general public took these characteristics as constituents of the hermit’s image, especially in conjunction with the setting created for the Quarant’Ore in Piacenza. In this ephemeral setting, landscape was recreated as the place for penitence, the act which would turn the hostile natural surroundings into a new Paradise. The hermit present in it spoke to the people, admonishing them to do the same: turn the world into a reflection of its creator, and recreate through the act of prayer this valley of tears into a spiritual Paradise.

Casale’s grotto and the Camerino degli Eremiti

Cardinal Odoardo Farnese was aware of this episode in Piacenza, its preacher and the ephemeral landscape, and for this reason it can be assumed that the concept of the Camerino degli Eremiti, decorated in the very year of the Piacentine event, was related to it. Firstly, he was cardinal protector of the Capuchin Order to which Casale belonged, and the troubles into which the monk ran during these same years must have been communicated to the cardinal. Other preachers of the same Order, such as Mattia Bellintani da Salò, were held in great esteem by Cardinal Odoardo and protected by him. Secondly, Odoardo’s brother Ranuccio was Duke of Piacenza, and for that reason will have been informed of the impact of Casale upon its citizens; apart from this administrative connection, the Duke and his wife Margherita Aldobrandini had a special veneration for Casale and built a new convent for the Capuchins in Fontevivo. Marchetti’s description even mentioned the prior approval of the event by the Duke as expressed by sending soldiers to Piacenza to organise the crowds of people in the town. After his brother’s death in 1621, Odoardo became regent of the duchy and might have seen the structure built for the

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126 Helyot 1721 vol.7, lbs.13, 14.
127 Farnese is called protector of the Capuchin Order in a letter of 1623 from general Michele da Bologna to the cardinal, in ASP Cart.Farnesiano e Borbonico Esterno, b.419. For the troubles, often with political overtones, into which Casale ran as preacher, see I fratelli Cappuccini, 1988 vol.2, pp.499-503 and Campagnola 1969, p.84.
128 On the relation between Mattia Bellintani and the circle of Odoardo Farnese, see IN 1937-1994 vol.1, cols.1555-1557.
130 Marchetti 1617, fol.6v: ‘& accioche per la continua calca di gente, e il gran concorso del popolo, non succedesse male alcuno; otto giorni inanzi haveva Sua Altezza Serenissima, con molto zelo ordinato, che nella piazza del Duomo stesse un corpo di guardia di trecento soldati co[n]finamente.’
occasion, as it might very well have been preserved in the cathedral. Thirdly, the publication of the eye-witnesses' account was dedicated to cardinal Odoardo by the publisher (fig. 104). The ephemeral grotto built in the cathedral of Piacenza early in 1617 was most probably an important source of inspiration for the Camerino degli Eremiti, either through the written account of it, or possibly by means of the apparato itself.

The three elements combined in the Piacenza apparato - the Quarant'Ore, the landscape, and the hermit - all coincided with the themes of decoration in the Camerino as constructed for Cardinal Odoardo. Firstly, Saint Paul the first Hermit and Saint Anthony Abbot receiving the heavenly Bread, Benedict in his cave, and Saint Mary Magdalene pointed towards the Eucharist; and in the centre of the ceiling, Christ himself turned earthly bread into His Body after his retreat into the Desert and the Temptation of the Devil. As in Piacenza cathedral, in the Roman Camerino the Saviour himself was centrally positioned as mediator between Heaven and earth, and in the double form of His human and Eucharistic guise. These two levels coincided, when the brotherhood of the Orazione e Morte staged the monthly Quarant'Ore. The image of the Saviour in Lanfranco's decoration was then enhanced by with His real presence on the altar.

Secondly, in concordance with the description of the Piacenza theatre, the natural setting in the Camerino helped Farnese to transport his mind from this world to the next. Analogous to the road of meditation described by Bellarmino in his Scala di salire, the natural setting in Piacenza was devised as a real location that should be transgressed mentally by the beholder, in the form of a spiritual pilgrimage. But where Bellarmino had refrained from presenting the ultimate goal, the Triune God, in the form of a tangible or even visible simile, Giacinto da Casale placed the Host centrally as destination of the voyage, where the soul of the devout would be transformed. It was the double nature of the Body of Christ as present in the Eucharist which helped turn the world into the semblance of Paradise, the recreation of the Valley of tears after the Fall of Man into the Heavenly Jerusalem.

Thirdly, the hermit in Casale's landscape took on added significance in comparison with

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1 The Frati Cappuccini 1988 vol.2, p.485, indicates that such ephemeral structures were indeed often preserved and reused: 1619.24 marzo. Fu in mezzo alla rotonda del duomo vecchio fatta l'esposizione del Venerabile per le Quarantore, dal Padre fra Paolo Maria d'Asti cappuccino predicatore famoso, all'istessa maniera che fe pur il padre fra Giacinto Natta l'anno 1615: e con l'istesso richissimo e nobilissimo apparato, facendo esso pure li sermoni a tutte l'ore...'

Bellarmino's use of the figure in his *Scala di Saiire*; where the latter took the type as an example that personified the apex of contemplation, the former turned it into a person directed towards and advising his audience. The hermit was, for his very perfection, also the perfect teacher. In doing so, Casale obviously drew on the image of the anchorite as a prophetic and spiritual advisor. He also elaborated upon literary sources, for example in Richeome's *Le pelerin de Lorete*. In an aside to the main argument of Richeome's manual, a hermit told the three travellers a story of a city situated in the midst of the earth and its counterpart in Heaven, as a comparison of the choice between the two roads of life. Casale, Cambi da Salutio and many others exploited this double image of the hermit as spiritual advisor and living example in their writings and in their public appearances, and in the context of the Camerino degli Eremiti the hermits functioned not only as images of the destination, but as incentives of the road to take.

On a fourth and last level, Casale and Cambi toyed with the relation between the real and the imaginary: they were not factual, but simulated hermits. Although they posed as solitaries, they still belonged to monastic orders. As has been argued above, in the sixteenth century the anchorite had become an ideal at odds with contemporary reality. While the solitary religious figure was held in general esteem for reason of his ultimate choice of leaving this world in preparation for the next by the complete dedication to prayer, the result of this retreat was often antisocial, and in glaring contrast to the Tridentine regulations on supervision. While at Sant’Onofrio the cycle of paintings was used to resolve this paradox by postponing the anchorite stage to an almost unattainable future, the hermitages set up by Casale, and to a lesser extent also by Cambi, were structures intended for limited periods of retreat.

The decoration of the Camerino degli Eremiti transformed these retreats into a temporary practice lasting no more than a number of hours and done at convenient moments. Such limited duration necessitated a maximum of effectiveness, which was attained by Lanfranco's artistic ingenuity. To paraphrase the words used by Passeri, upon entering the Camerino, Farnese would be temporarily shifted into another reality. There, he would be able to imitate the example of the hermits in attaining spiritual perfection, by turning this world into an image of celestial Paradise. By looking at the landscapes, he was mentally transported to these places, finding himself in ultimate seclusion that offered him the perfect place for the practice of meditation.

The theme of the *Quaranta Ore* fitted into this context for the same reason: it presented the
Divine not only in the form of nature, but also directly in the guise of the consecrated Host. The Camerino degli Eremiti presented the Eucharistic presence as the second focus for the part-time solitary, and the recipient of his prayers. Lanfranco's decoration directed the contemplative person along the road of allegory, consisting of several stages, towards a visibly attainable aim, the physical presence of God on this earth and the ultimate conversion of the soul in its Creator. The goal was thus fixed from the start. By means of ephemeral evocation, the pitfalls of eremitic reality were avoided while the positive aspects could be preserved and imitated. In the Palazzetto Farnese, one room was especially created to direct the mind and thoughts of the beholder to an approved devotional practice by means of ingenious artifice. Through the application of art, the hermit was domesticated and the hermitage had become a part of urban dwellings.
7. LATER SEICENTO HERMITAGES

Anchorite reality at Monte Virginio

When Farnese had the Camerino turned into a temporary hermitage within Rome, 'real' solitary monasteries were also founded. In 1614, Virginio Orsini (1575-1615), Duke of Bracciano, offered a tract of his land near Lake Bracciano to the Servite Order with the express intention founding a hermitage on the spot, dedicated to the Holy Virgin. It consisted of a tract of barren land on the slope of a hilltop, formerly called Monte Sassano or 'stony hill', near the village of Oriolo Romano. The donation was accepted in 1615 by Father Ricciolini, head of the Servite observance begun in 1593 at the monastery of Monte Senario; the gift was officially concluded in a notarial act of 10 January 1616, in which the site was renamed Monte Virginio in honour of the recently deceased Duke. Finding funding for buildings proved to be a more difficult task than obtaining the lands. In 1616 a loan of 1600 scudi was obtained from the monastery of Santa Cecilia in Rome, but this was only sufficient for provisional dwellings; during subsequent years, attempts to obtain enough money to construct a church, monastic buildings, chapels, and the sixteen hermitages as originally foreseen proved virtually impossible. After the death of Father Ricciolini in 1623, debts had grown to 6000 scudi and the project had to be renounced. By then, only two small hermitages and a chapel seem to have been built.

After the official restitution of the land in 1633 to the original owners, Virginio's son Paolo Giordano II Orsini donated the premises to the Discalced Carmelites of the Italian Congregation, again with the aim of establishing a hermitage. This second initiative was sustained particularly by the Duke's brother, Giovanni Battista di Gesù Maria, known secularly as Virginio Orsini (1600-1646). After rendering military services to the Papal States and the Venetian Republic, he decided to enter the Discalced Order in 1626 in search of a life dedicated to contemplation. He lamented the fact that the Roman province of the Discalced Carmelites did not have a place for spiritual retreat and started to collect funds for such an institution. Although he resigned his own hereditary claims, he reserved a part of it for a future hermitage and also obtained gifts from his sister in support of the plan. When the existing hermitage belonging to the Servite Order ran into financial problems, upon which the lands were returned to the Duke.

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2 On the eremitic movement at Monte Senario, see Ricciolini 1967; see also Montecenario 1876 and Dal Pino 1997, pp.573-577; for the donation of the land, see Sturm 2002, pp.31-32.
3 Sturm 2002, p.32.
4 For Paolo Giordano II Orsini, see Brunner and Kämpf in Die Kreuzer der Nippen 2001, pp.179-202 and 329-358.
virginio proposed to cede it to the discalced carmelites instead. he would not see his ideal realised as he died in 1646.

the legal agreement between the duke of bracciano and the discalced order was finalised on 20 april 1648 with a contract and a map (fig.105), but the financial problems inherited from the servites delayed the realisation of the new project for another three years. on 2 october 1651, cardinal virginio orsini (1615-1676), nephew of the deceased carmelite friar, placed the first stone. as some sources suggest, the carmelites retained parts of the buildings erected by the servites. a copy of the 1648 measurement of the grounds stated 'hermitages built formerly by the father hermits of monte senario' (fig.106). between 1651 and 1675, the complex was however thoroughly changed in its aspect by interventions in the vegetation and the addition of new buildings.

the first and most important intervention was the foundation of a centrally placed coenobite structure. this complex was built according to guidelines set out by the carmelite order. a design was made for this building and sent for approval to the discalced general in rome - the legend reads 'scale of 200 palmi according to our constitutions', and the inscription above this plan stated 'design of the desert of monte virginio of the discalced carmelites of the roman province, approved by the definit[itor] general/ 18 may 1649' (fig.107). these two captions suggest that the internal organisation had to respond to particular requirements as prescribed in the carmelite constitutions. the plan itself also indicated that this 'monastery' was different from the urban ones, in this case inspired upon the carthusian abbey; each cell consisted of a chapel, study and cell, and had its own walled garden to provide maximum privacy and seclusion.

these individual units were grouped around a cloister, in the centre of which the church was situated. by means of four covered passageways, this church and the adjacent sacristy and oratory were connected to the surrounding ambulatory. a second cloister, with a fountain in the middle, was foreseen for the communal spaces, such as the library, refectory, hospice, and kitchens. this ideal was far too ambitious; only half the upper cloister was actually built, with the church, in a simplified version, forming the fourth and upper side of the square plan. the
connecting corridors were abolished, and the fountain was placed in the centre of this cloister.11

Around 1670, the two smaller Servite hermitages were restored and enlarged.12 In this case an upper storey was built on top of an existing ground floor. A drawing (fig.108) shows the interior organisation of the building: it comprised two levels with utilitarian spaces and a chapel on the ground floor, and a kitchen with furnace, a bedroom and another chapel or study on the first floor. The study contained a niche in the wall where, according to the plan, a writing-desk should be positioned. The façade, approximately 8.5 meters high, was preceded by a porch, and on top a small bell was surmounted by a cross (fig.109). Other hermitages, such as the one dedicated to San Carlo Borromeo, were constructed according to the same basic plan. Funds for this building were made available by Fra Carlo Felice di Santa Teresa, and members of his family Slavata, in 1668: again private support proved crucial for the realisation of this institutional project.13

The entire premise was surrounded by a wall, to ensure silence and seclusion from the outside world, turning the hermitage into a paradisiacal garden. In a print dated 1668 (fig.111), the whole area was depicted as fenced off and completely covered with vegetation with neat paths and completed buildings. The closure of the wall, however, was protracted until 1674 at least, and some buildings had not even been begun by then: the garden took even longer to cultivate, as this only became possible with the construction of the aqueduct in 1669.14 Therefore, the print represented an ideal rather than reality when it was published. Accounts prove that large parts of the gardens were only realised during the eighteenth century. It took the Discalced Carmelites rather a long time to turn the hill into a habitable place. In its planning and organisation, Monte Virginio reflected a general seventeenth-century desire by the Discalced Carmelite Order to found hermitages; at the same time it was an exception to the rule, for it was built, inaugurated and functioning within less than two decades.

The Italian Discalced Congregation of Sant'Iliia started planning eremitical convents around 1600, but encountered serious problems in the realisation of their plans, similar to those described in the history of Monte Virginio. In each case, the core problem was to be found in patronage and funding, often complicated by the issue of finding the right site.

Attempts undertaken in 1605-1606 by Dominique de Jesus-Maria (1559-1630), former prior of the Spanish Desierto de Bolarque and at that time superior-general of the Italian

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1 The fountain was constructed in 1669 when the aqueduct was concluded; see Sturm 2002, pp.168-169.
2 Extracts of the accounts in the Archivio di Monte Virginio were published in Sturm 2002, pp.175-178; for a description of the project of adding a storey to the old hermitages, see pp.81-82.
4 Sturm 2002, pp.63-64.
Discalced Congregation, failed for lack of funds. In 1615, the Discalced General Chapter held in Rome decided on the erection of a hermitage at Varazzo, near Genoa. By 1614, several pieces of land had been offered to the Carmelites by private patrons, but all of these premises were deemed unsuitable for a life of seclusion, so acquisition of a site by the Congregation itself was considered the best option. This was obtained in 1615 with the help of several individuals and the commune of Varazzo; the deserto dedicated to Giovanni Battista de Monte Dei was inaugurated on the feast of Our Lady of Carmel in 1618. In 1620, princess Doria, belonging to the ruling dynasty of Genoa, donated a large sum to support the functioning of the hermitage in the future.

A second Italian deserto was planned near the Lombard town of Varese, and again the support from seculars was crucial for its realisation. In this case, Ippolita Cicogni Crivella and members of the Sabiano family donated money and property for the foundation of this solitary convent. The first stone was laid in 1635, but the first Mass was read there only twenty years later, in 1655. A third hermitage in Calabria, at Massa Lubrense, for which preparatory action had been undertaken by 1616, took until 1682 before it could house monks. During these same decades the Roman province, notwithstanding the Constitutional decree that every province should dispose of its own hermitage, did not have a place for spiritual retreat.

The lack of a deserto was felt dearly by the Roman Discalced province. Prior to the 1630s, temporary solutions had been sought to resolve this need. The garden of the monastery of San Silvestro at Montecompatri, in the vicinity of Rome, was turned provisionally into a place for spiritual retreat directly after the complex had been donation to the Order in 1605. The main building was left the way it was and retained its original conventual character. In the garden behind it, on the slope of the hill, a little edifice was erected in 1606 for temporary spiritual retreats. It was called the Cappella del Castagno, dedicated to the Madonna, and consisted of a chapel with adjacent room: again it was thanks to the generosity of a private patron - Marquis de

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17 Acta Definatorii Generalis 1985, pp.28 and 71; see also Cecconi 1970.
18 Brambilla 1874, pp.159-160.
20 See for example the Constituuntes fratrum Discalceatorum 1631, pp.98-105.
21 Fusiardi 1929, pp.67-103, Migliosi Tantillo 1990, pp.55-68.
Villenas - that it was possible to erect this retreat. However, architectural disposition and size precluded longer sojourns in this 'hermitage'.

In the end, the necessity to have a noviciate proved to be a more general problem for the Roman province, and Montecompatri's function as provisional *deserto* was concluded. When in 1616 the general chapter again proposed the conversion of this convent into a hermitage this led to nothing: it remained a coenobitic convent. Thus, when in the late 1620s Virginio Orsini offered the possibility to adopt and transform the existing hermitage in Oriolo Romano into a Discalced *Eremo*, this was accepted. Its location within a day's journey from Rome kept it accessible for the province, and at the same time its isolated location made it apt for its specific purposes.

**Regulations and function of Discalced hermitages**

The interventions in the grounds of Monte Virgino and all other Discalced hermitages show that these complexes reflected and fulfilled the requirements of contemplative prayer. This renewed importance attached to the act of prayer as part of the Carmelite regular life was a result of the Carmelite reforms after the Council of Trent, and the resulting separation of the Discalced from the Calced branch. The Tridentine decrees had called for regular observance, meaning a strict interpretation of the first and original monastic Rule. In the Carmelite context, however, several versions of the Rule existed, which complicated obedience to the Tridentine prescription. The supposed founder of the Carmelite community, the prophet Elijah, had left no written regulations, but through the unbroken line of superiors of the monastery on Mount Carmel he was supposed to have 'inspired' the set of Rules that were written down between 1206 and 1214 by Albert of...
Vercelli, patriarch of Jerusalem. These 'first' regulations, defining the Order as a contemplative community, were officially approved by Pope Honorius III in 1226. A crucial change was introduced by Innocentius IV in 1247, forcing the Carmelites (by then transferred to Europe) to adopt a mendicant life and abolish perpetual prayer. The result was that the life of contemplation was replaced by a life of active defence of the Christian Faith through preaching.

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, this mendicant status was challenged a number of times by several Carmelite friars, but to no avail. In all writings arguing for the contemplative life as the first and most important obligation of the Carmelite Rule, this was defended with the biblical citation of Elijah 'I live in the Lord in whose countenance I stand' (1 Kings 17,1), which had been included in Vercelli’s first written Rule. On this basis, Theresa of Avila (1515-1582) and John of the Cross (1542-1591), founders of the Spanish reform movement, formulated the contemplative ideal of the Discalced Order. Discalced life was focussed primarily on perpetual prayer, putting the monk in the Presence of God through meditation and contemplation.

However, the existence and function of these special eremitic convents were not only the result of changes in the act of prayer or a contemplative turn in itself, but also reflected the active faith in the form of added responsibilities of the Discalced monks: the American and Asian mission. Soon after 1600, the Discalced started arguing about the reintroduction of pastoral activities with special attention to missionary activities in non-European countries. Theresa of Avila had herself sustained missionary duties as part of the Discalced life, which were however suppressed in 1585 by general Niccolò Doria di Gesu Maria. Paul V proposed to found a third congregation of Discalced Carmelites in addition to the existing Italian and Spanish Congregations, dedicated especially to missionary activities outside of Europe, and called Tomas de Jesus to Rome in 1608, and received confirmation of this new branch with the Bull Omne

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27 Cicconetti 1973, pp.130-207.
28 See Cicconetti 1973, p.70-84 on the Rule of Vercelli. One of the main defenders of the contemplative turn of the Carmelite Order was the fifteenth-century Carmelite general Giovanni Soreth, for the discussion within the Carmelite Order on the mendicant versus the contemplative status, see Cateni 1968.
30 On the importance of prayer in the first decades of the Discalced Order, see for example the Rules issued between 1567 and 1600, in Constitutiones 1968, where the practice of prayer is treated at length in every new version.
31 DIP vol.2, pp.524-602.
Pastoralis Officij of 22 July of the same year.17

This papal decision caused complaints from members of the Discalced congregation and the plan was finally cancelled, but this did not end the missionary project altogether. With his departure to Flanders, where Tomas was sent by pope Paul V to found new monasteries, his practical involvement with the mission ended. However, he wrote the pamphlet entitled Stimulus Missionum to convince the members of the Italian Discalced Congregation to accept the missionary task, which was the leg-up for the veritably encyclopaedic De procuranda salute omnium gentium of 1613 (fig.53).18 Both treatises sustained the responsibility of the monks in the active defence of the Catholic faith in Asia and America, and thus implicitly threatened the contemplative ideal of the Discalced Carmelites.

Notwithstanding this urge to organise the mission, Tomas de Jesus was also deeply concerned about the effects of these pastoral activities upon the spirit of the Carmelite Order. He had been initially opposed to missionary activities as this went against the contemplative ideal, but after 1608 changed his mind. From then on, Tomas intended to integrate both the contemplative and the active by allocating time for both: he proposed to allow the monks one year of spiritual retreat in a deserto prior to being send abroad. The mendicant and the contemplative sides of the Carmelite Rule were in this way reconciled, without sacrificing either of the two principles. Tomas had already founded one deserto while living in Spain, in Bolarque (1592): he also tried to found one near Namur in Flanders, an attempt which faltered.19

The main innovations in the situation of existing hermitages were the temporary sojourn in solitude and its educational character. In the preceding centuries a number of Orders, including the Carmelites, had founded solitary convents where professed monks would remain indefinitely.20 For example, the Carmelite convent of Le Selv in the vicinity of Florence had functioned as a hermitage since its foundation in 1343; also the Franciscans and Augustinians had their specific locations for the eremitic life.21 In the new situation of the seventeenth century, the solitary sojourn was limited in time, and at the same time the anchorite ideal was made an integral part of Discalced Carmelite life, as opposed to the privileged situation in hermitages prior to that date.

2 Zimmermann 1927, pp.32-38.
4 Zimmermann 1927, pp.46-51.
These innovative aspects asked for new and special regulations for deserti, which were included in the Constitutions of the Italian congregation of Discalced Carmelites in 1623. These regulations were re-approved in 1631. In 1669, regulations concerning liturgical schedule, layout of and conduct within the hermitage were published separately under the title Instructiones Eremitarum discalceatorum (fig. 110), which reflected the growing importance of these kind of institutions. The general introduction to the 1631 edition gave the historical development of the Carmelite Order, explicitly linking the primitive Rule of Alberto Vercelli with the recent interpretations, and thereby providing a historical justification for these 'new' hermitages and the dedication of the Carmelite to contemplative prayer.

The rules stated that every province should have its own hermitage to provide spiritual retreat to all its members at regular intervals. The maximum number of monks in these hermitages was set at twenty. The first paragraph on hermitages stated that isolation from society for the complete dedication to devotional exercises was the purpose of these institutions, by means of the 'yoke of oratione', and acts of mortification and other pious works. Perpetual alternation of liturgical and mental prayer was to occupy the soul of the Carmelite during his stay in the hermitage. At least eight hours a day should be spent in the private cell, in the service of solitary prayer. It was stated that 'the goal of the eremitic life is the union of the soul with God, for the Divine liberation of which orationi and laudibus should be firmly held... To obtain this complete dedication to prayers, life in the hermitage followed a highly structured form. From the entry of the new hermit his reception by the community that guided him in procession to his cell and handing him the bastone, through the acts of silence, obedience and mortification, until the departure of the monk after his stay of at least one and at the maximum three years, everything was ritualised. A spiritual path was also planned, beginning with penitence to cleanse the soul, and ending with a solitary stay in a separate hermitage dedicated to the alternation of liturgical and mental prayer.

17 Constitutiones fratrum Discalceatorum 1631, p.98: chapter IX: 'De Eremi Monasterijs, ac eoram fine.'
18 Instructiones Eremita 1669, Another edition appeared in Louvain in 1698, probably in conjunction with the institution of hermitages in Flanders.
20 Constitutiones fratrum Discalceatorum 1631, p.98: IX: De Eremi Monasterijs, ac eoram fine... 2. Finis potissimum eremitice Institutionis nostrae est, ut Fratres in Eremis commorantes iugi orationis, precum, ac vigiliorum studio, assidua corporis mortificatione, alij sq; piis operibus omnibus fidelibus, totique Ecclesiae maxime profini...
21 Recchia 1976, p.43.
22 Instructiones Eremita 1669, p.31: 'Cum vitae Eremitico finis sit unio animae cum Deo, ad quam orationi, laudibusq, Divinis vacando tempore est...'
Furthermore, a ban existed on written communication except for administrative reasons, and absolute silence (*perenne silentium*) was imposed on all. This strict ban on talking was only lifted at the feasts of Easter and Christmas. Isolation from the outside world was arrived at by closing off the terrain; no-one would be allowed inside without prior permission, and women were completely forbidden to enter at all times. Visitors were sometimes allowed on the premises, however, as the existence of the *hospitium* in Monte Virginio and regulations on this matter in the 1669 constitutions indicate. Entering the zone of solitary hermitages and the convent itself was however strictly forbidden; visitors were only allowed to access the church and the sacristy. All these precautions ought to result in the highest concentration on meditative exercises, so that exterior solitude would incite interior concentration.

According to these regulations, the plan of a hermitage should reflect the different levels of perfection in contemplative life. The complex was to consist of a central monastic building, which included the church and the refectory for regular gatherings once every fortnight. In the central building, those newly arrived would be trained in abstinence and discipline: after solid preparation they would be allowed to live in complete solitude in the smaller isolated dwellings for the rest of their sojourn in the *deserto*. But not even there was the Discalced Carmelite left to his own devices; the prior would pay weekly visits, and the daily liturgical order would be indicated by the ringing of bells, calling all to the choir or chapel at the same time. In short, Monte Virginio reflected in all its details the general requirements on spatial and architectural organisation of grounds and buildings formulated in the *Instructiones Eremi*.

**The mystical language of nature: Saint Theresa of Avila**

Apart from reflecting the historical situation of the Discalced Order in the early seventeenth century, the institution of hermitages was also a result of inspiration from the examples of their two founders, John of the Cross and Theresa of Avila. Both saints advocated the hermitage as the place most apt for frequent and almost uninterrupted prayer, and infused the surrounding countryside with allegorical and symbolic meaning. In doing so, they took up and combined Elijah’s two maxims taken from the Bible: ‘I stand before the Lord who lives’, and ‘Go up the Mount to see the Lord’.

Already in her youth, Saint Theresa of Avila had turned the garden of her parental house
into a place to live out her ideal of being an anchorress.\textsuperscript{45} In later life, she had hermitages made in several of the places where she lived, to dedicate herself to prayer in solitude when time allowed. Most of these, however, were metaphorical, in the form of secluded rooms.\textsuperscript{46} She explicitly called them hermitages, however, as in a letter of February 1574 where she discussed the view over the river from one of these 'hermitages'. Although the place itself might not have been completely isolated, the proximity to nature did count for her, affording the desired effect of mental isolation.\textsuperscript{47}

For Theresa the quality of a monastic building relied heavily on the aesthetic qualities of its surrounding nature; on several occasions she was prone to refuse a site for its unsuitability in this respect.\textsuperscript{48} She wrote in 1576 regarding requirements for the foundation of a monastery: 'The site is a matter of such importance that it would be folly to merely look at the price. For the water and the view, I would gladly give elsewhere much more than the monastery itself has cost.'\textsuperscript{49} Four years later she required a visual representation of the gardens of a property she was considering acquiring: 'About the house that they want to sell you, it would be of great importance to my eyes to have it represented in views and a garden: that point is, in the end, very important for our kind of life.'\textsuperscript{50}

In Theresa's writings nature played a role on two symbolical levels. On the one hand, it functioned as a comparison to explain to the reader the stages of the mystical way of prayer. Because of a lack of terminology for this kind of subject, she reverted to images of nature close at hand and available to all her readers. Communication on mystical subjects requires metaphor as a vehicle for the simple reason that it discusses otherworldly things.\textsuperscript{51} Either the visible world plays the role of direct simile between the process of nature and the mystical road, or nature becomes a

\textsuperscript{45} Peers 1951-1960 vol.1, pp.109-110, citing from the Vida: 'When I saw that it was impossible for me to go to any place where they would put me to death for God's sake, we decided to become hermits, and we used to build hermitages, as well as we could, in an orchard which we had at home.'

\textsuperscript{46} E. Allison Peers remarked in a footnote to the text in Theresa of Avila 1946 vol.1, p 270: 'Anxious to make the life of the Reform as similar as possible to that of the primitive Carmelites, St. Theresa had a number of hermitages made at St. Joseph's, Avila and her other foundations. At the time of her Beatification there were four of these in the garden of St. Joseph's and one within the convent itself. Today, also, there are four, but in the shape of divisions of a single building.'

\textsuperscript{47} Florisone 1956, p.17 cited from this letter: 'J'ai un hermitage d'où l'on voit la rivière et une cellule où, même de mon lit, je puis contempler ce spectacle, ce qui est très agréable pour moi.'

\textsuperscript{48} Florisone 1956, pp.18-22.

\textsuperscript{49} Florisone 1956, p.19, citing letter 99: 'Le site est un chose tellement importante pour une monastère que ce serait folie de regarder au prix. Pour l'eau et la vue, je donnerais très volontiers ailleurs beaucoup plus que n'a coûté ce monastère.'

\textsuperscript{50} Letter 324, cited after Florisone 1956, p.21: 'Quant à la maison qu'on veut vous vendre, c'est lui donner une grande valeur à mes yeux que de me la représenter avec des belles vues et un jardin; ce point est, en effet, très important pour notre genre de vie.'
metaphor or symbol. For Theresa, animals often stood for the soul striving to approximate its Creator: the eagle, according to biblical and medieval bestiaries, flew to the sun when it was going blind, to regain its sight; the silkworm would, after spinning its cocoon and living there in seclusion, turn into a moth and fly into the flame to be consumed there. All these flying animals represented the soul, which, after seeing God at the end of the mystical road, was ready to die before the world and live eternally.

The most important image used by Theresa in her writings was that of the garden, both in the form of a simile and in the form of a metaphor. In the former, the activities in the garden were analogies of the process of meditation. In the latter case, the garden was an analogy for the human soul, derived from the old metaphor of the hortus conclusus. Taking care of this garden thus stood for the care taken over one's own soul by means of prayer and devotional exercises. In Theresa's view, this 'gardening' was done only partially by the contemplative person, in preparation for the arrival of the Gardener. This was a combined reference to Christ appearing to Mary Magdalene and the image of Christ praying in the Garden of Gethsemane: while in the first he was the active gardener appearing to His disciples, in the second the garden was the setting for conversing with His Father. Prayer, as taught in the second episode, would turn the wild interior garden into the paradisiacal Garden, the locus amoenus. When properly done, the Gardener would honour this pleasant site with His visits, and come to live there, as in the first episode.

Apart from this imagery derived from biblical sources, Saint Theresa also alluded to real nature in her writings, but only with the greatest reticence. In the Mansions she called to mind natural phenomena and animals to explain the principle of God's omnipresence to the reader. In this context, she drew upon the same kind of natural-history works that the Jesuit used in the context of the garden at San Vitale. In the fourth Mansion, Theresa referred to the ant: 'I am sure, that the least of the animals of God, the small ant, for example, contains more marvels than our minds are able to understand.' These marvels would also function in the process of prayer, as she gave beginners experiencing difficulties the following advice:

4 This metaphor is most explicitly worked out in the Life of saint Theresa; see Peers 1951-1960 vol.1, pp 122-124.
5 For the hortus conclusus and its influence on Theresa of Avila, see DS 1937-1994 vol.7.1 col 767, 772-775 and 775-776; for the influence of this concept on the visual arts and the depiction of landscape from the Middle Ages onwards, see Reau 1955-1959 vol.2.2, pp 100-102, Schiller 1966-1991 vol.4.2, pp 207, Pochat 1971, pp 227-230 and Timmers 1978, pp 132-133.
When, therefore, the aforementioned fire is not kindled in the will, and the Presence of God is not felt, we must needs seek it, since this is His Majesty's desire, as the Bride sought it in the Songs. Let us ask the creatures...\(^{58}\)

Not only beginners, but also experts might perceive nature as a reflection of His Presence, or see the elements of this world as a reflection of God. Plants and animals were made by Him to praise Him, and this enticed the 'reader' of nature to do the same. Turning from the interior voyage to the outside world at the end of the *Spiritual Castle*, Theresa ended one of the final chapters of the seventh *Mansion* with words in which she evoked the reader as one of the creatures praising the omnipotence and omnipresence of the Creator.\(^{59}\)

**John of the Cross and the allegory of nature**

Saint John of the Cross, assistant and friend of Theresa of Avila and, together with her, founder of the Discalced Carmelite Order, expanded the use of nature from a mere symbol to a proper place for prayer.\(^{60}\) This might be related to the fact that as a monk, he enjoyed more freedom than nuns who were supposed to live in *clausura* according to the Trinitarian decrees. John in his *Ascent of Mount Carmel* thus recommended to his readers to go to the countryside to pray: 'The first kind is typified by the dispositions of land and place. In a natural way they incite prayer by the pleasant view of its variety, by the orientation of the land or the disposition of the trees or by the solitary quiet.'\(^{61}\) He was also the first to institute a solitary monastery in Spain for the Discalced monks, the *Calvario*. Saint John considered the surroundings of this place as particularly apt for the act of contemplation, to understand the Creator by means of his creatures, as it offered silence and seclusion, as well as a wide range of natural beauties to take into consideration.\(^{62}\)

\(^{57}\) Theresa of Avila 1946 vol.2, p.236 (*Mansions* IV.2).

\(^{58}\) Theresa of Avila 1946 vol.2, p.306 (*Mansions* VI.7).

\(^{59}\) Theresa of Avila 1946 vol.2, p.343 (*Mansions* VII.3).


\(^{61}\) *Ascent of Mount Carmel* Bk III ch.42.1, in *John of the Cross 1982*, p.529: 'La primera es algunas disposiciones de tierras y sitios, que con la agradable experiencia de sus diferencias, ahora er disposición de tierra, ahora de arboles, ahora de solitaria quietad, naturalmente despertan la devoción.'

\(^{62}\) José di Jesús María 1638, pp.465-466: 'Era il deserto del Calvario molto a proposito per i spiriti contemplativi, & invitava alla contemplazione si per la comodita del sito, essendo molto solitario, come per la varietà delle cose, che si scoprivano con la vista rendendo quella solitudine più divota, come rapidi torrenti, monti, rupi, sassi, valli, & il fiume Guadalquivir, il quale passa circondando i fondamenti di quel scoglio, sopra il quale è fondato il Monasterio: e tutte queste cose erano al nostro Venerabile Padre come una musica celeste, che lo receeva, come al Profeta Davide, per mezzo della considerazione del Creatore, che scopriva nelle creature, nel laqual cognizione il Signore lo illuminava tanto, come in altro luogo habbiam visto: Si che non solamente riceveva diletto spirituale vedendo la magnificenza di Dio, che si manifestava nelle sue creature, Parmonia, e mirabil consonanza, che si scopriva tra esse, & il loro Creatore, ma ancora salendo dalli effetti alla causa si augmentava molto in li la cognizione, e l'amore di esso,
This admiration for nature as the image of God was also taught to others. John's hagiography written in the 1620s described how he recommended and taught his disciples to use the natural surroundings of the Calvario by his own explicit example. The biography written shortly after his death recounted how he went along to impress the minds of his disciples with the imagery of mysticism:

And although he could enjoy from the window of his cell all the variety of these things [i.e. the landscape] and the consolation that they brought to his mind, nonetheless he led [the monks] a number of times through these mountains to some delightful well to enjoy this banquet even more to his taste, which his spirit found in the university of the creatures, and also to yield the souls of his religious to solitude. After having stirred and roused them with benefit and delight by means of some short spiritual discourse, serving them as a lecture and as the commencement of prayer, he distributed them over that mountain so that they could talk to God in solitude, and dispose themselves to receive the spiritual meal of divine infusion, and he likewise hid himself where he could do his own exercises. This was habitually done in place of the joint oratione during the evening. They later returned to the Convent not only recreated, but also passionate; having before them such a heroic example of all the virtues, they advanced in them in such a way, that the acquisitions they made there they could spend in all the rest of their lives, and which could be shared with others in the convents where they reside.64

In his writings, Saint John converted profane themes quite directly into religious comparisons. This imagery functions on the compositional as well as on detailed levels. His Spiritual Canticle has for these reasons been compared to a bucolic poem in which natural beauty frequently is admired.65

Creatore. See also Blomme's Huls Waaıijn 2000 for the concept of nature in relation to contemplation in John's discussion of the Song of Songs.

65 Josè di Jesus Maria 1638, pp.466-467: 'Il benèche dalla finestra della sua Cella godesse della varietà di tutte le dette cose, e della consolazione, che apportavano al suo spirito, nondimeno alcune volte per godere più à suo gusto di questo convito, che il suo spirito trovava nella università delle creature, & anco per inclinar alla solitudine gli animal de suoi Religiosi. Li conduceva per quaì mòi verso qualche piacevol fonte, e dopo dò haverlo raviavati, e rallegrati alquantò con frutto, e obietto di qualche breve ragionamento spirituale, il quale potesse servirli di lettione per comminciare ad orare, li divideva fra quel monte, accioché in solitudine parlassero con Dio, e si disponessero per ricevere la relazione spirituale della divina influenza. & egli puramente si riaccondeva dove potesse fare la parte sua: Questo accostumava in luogo dell'orazione comune della sera, e ritornavan poi al Convento non solamente recreati, ma intervrati: Et havendo innanzi a se un esemplare così heroso di tutte le virtù si avanzavan in quelle di maniera, che dell'acquisto, che ivi fecero, hebbero assai da spendere per loro in tutto il tempo della vita loro, e da parteciparne ad altri nelle Conventi, dove residevano.' See also Florisone 1956, p.28 on this episode, and Alibani 1998, pp.56-57 n.30, for this biography.
Creatures and plants reflected the beauty of God; they contained in themselves the Beloved, as Christ is often called in mystical language. Identification of the visual world with this concept can be found in the passages of the *Canticle* in which the soul wanders around searching for Christ:

My Beloved, the mountains.
Lonely wooded valleys,
Strange islands,
Resounding rivers.
The whistling of breezes in love

The tranquil night,
Close to the rising dawn.
Sounding rivers,
The banquet that refreshes and enamours.66

In this long poem on Divine love, the Beloved is not *like* nature. He is nature itself, quenching and inspiring the onlooker. Nature is the Face of God.67 It is this phenomenon - the omnipresence of God in the visible world - that functioned as an incitement to prayer, to love Him, and out of this love to go and search for Him.

**Nature within the hermitage**

In both Theresa's and John's writings, the inadequacy of language was solved by using the alphabet of nature that God himself had created; as a result, they invested the real world with mystical images. The prescriptions regarding hermitages in the Disalced Constitutions explicitly referred to nature: according to the paragraph on the hermitages in the Constitutions of 1631, trees should be planted not only for reasons of agricultural activities, but also with religious functions in mind:

Inside the *clausura* of the hermitage, if there are no plants nor trees, two or three centuries of maintenance are required, or the work of the Donors will not have been sufficient; however, the Prior should take care to plant each year some trees, so that the place will be more lovely, and apt for *oratione*.68

From this advice the fact that the gardens of hermitages were consciously designed to excite the devotional reading of nature can be ascertained. The *Deserto* of Monte Virginio was a case in point. The transformations made to the grounds between 1651 and the end of the seventeenth

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66 Tavard 1988, p.156.
68 *Constitutiones* 1631, p.105: 'Intra Freni clausaram, neque agri, neque arbores sint, quibus colendis duorum, vel trium sacellarium, vel Donatorum labor non sufficit; Prior autem quisque annis singulis sylvestres arbores plantari faciet, ut locus amemor, & orationem aptior fiat.'
century are traceable through a number of accounts and maps. The effect of these interventions was that horrid nature was turned into a cultivated garden, although the presentation of the hermitage in a print of 1668 (fig. 11) was probably more the ideal than the reality at that time.

Prior to the changes introduced by the Servites and Carmelites, the hill was familiarly called ‘Monte Sassano’, or stony hill, suggesting that it was barren land unfit for agriculture. Improvement was made possible by the construction of an aqueduct in 1669. Subsequently, to the left of the hill vegetable gardens were laid out for olive trees and vineyards (see fig. 106). Part of the terrain was used for the production of grain. Each of the dwellings in the central coenobite structure and the smaller hermitages also had their own gardens, including a vegetable garden. By the planning of these utilitarian grounds, the deserto as a whole and the individual monks became largely independent of food supplies from outside, another guarantee for relative seclusion.

Apart from nutrition, green spaces were also adapted for the practice of prayer, sometimes with a clear reference to Biblical symbolism. Trees were planted in small wooded areas, and along the paths laid out in the grounds, connecting the various edifices. These elements were considered incitements to devotional thought: the road that led from the central coenobitic dwelling to the new hermitage of Monte Calvario on the top of the hill was called ‘Viale della Contemplazione’. Wandering up this path, the thoughts of the monks could wander over nature as a symbol and a sign of God. At the same time, the climb up the steep hill now became a means of following the Passion of Christ. Along the path, nine ediculae were erected with the stations of the Cross, to form a miniature Sacro Monte. Halfway, a ‘Scena d’acque’ was planned, expressing the idea of the Cross as the ‘fons vitae’, the lifegiving water of Christ. This conscious evocation of the biblical world was set forth inside the new hermitage with a number of chapels dedicated to the Stations; behind the complex an olive grove was planted to invoke the Garden of Olives. In other words, nature became the setting for devotional exercises where the writings of Theresa and Saint John would be studied, and one of its subjects as well.

The aim of the physical hermitage was to teach the monk a devotional exercise that would continue to function outside the walls of the hermitage. Natural surroundings within the

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73 Sturm 2002, p. 175, citing ACM, Cart.31: ‘Per opere a fare le forme dello condotti per l’aquaa p le 6...’
74 Sturm 2002, pp. 65-66
75 Recchia 1976, p. 28.
1 For this interpretation of the fountain, see Sturm 2002, p. 131. On the importance of the image of water for saint Theresa, see Peers 1951-1960 vol. 1, pp. 177-179.
Sturm 2002, pp. 82-85. 92.
hermitage helped the Discalced Carmelite to find metaphors for their own relationship with God, and investing nature with religious symbolism would turn it into the image nearest to hand in each and every situation. With this turn, the *eremo* became a state of mind, which could help the monk to continue his spiritual obligations even while far away from the convent in non-European countries. In the end, the Carmelite monk should create in his mind the counterpart to the solitary place in which he lived, to be dedicated completely to the devotional practice he had been taught - the simile of the Garden that Theresa had used for the human soul. Nature would then reflect in the real world the spiritual path that the regular was to undertake in his own soul, and it was for this reason that it played such a dominant part in Carmelite hermitages.

**Private hermitages for cardinals**

Around the 1640s, an autonomous *romitorio* was designed and built for Cardinal Francesco Barberini (1597-1679).76 Nothing remains of it today, except for a number of drawings made at the end of the seventeenth century. The architect of the hermitage was Francesco Borromini, and its location was the Cardinal's *vigna* on the slope of Monte Mario, the hill north of the Vatican.77 Indications for the dating of this project can be found in the accounts on the acquisition of the terrain, the nucleus of which was bought in 1639 and subsequently enlarged.78 Soon afterwards, Borromini must have received the commission to design a *casino*, consisting of three levels, which constituted an autonomous edifice with kitchen, bedroom, study and chapel (fig.112).79 Its interior organisation was very close to that of the Discalced hermitages and just as independent from its surroundings: in contrast, however, it probably only served for shorter sojourns.80

One of the most conspicuous commissioners of spiritual retreats in the form of hermitages, on a scale that was comparable to or even greater than that of Odoardo Farnese earlier in the century, was cardinal Flavio I Chigi (1631-1693; see fig. 118).81 During his lifetime

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78 Accounts for the acquisition of the *vigna* and subsequent works are in BAV, Archivio Barberini 176, 'Conto de Denari pagati nella Compra della vigna a Monte Mario, e di spese fattevi dal Card. Francesco Barberini l'Anno 1639'. Wolfe 2000, p.83 dated the construction to 1639-1641; Sturm 2002, p.106 assumed that the building was only completely finished by 1751.
79 Sturm 2002, pp.106-107 compared the Barberini-hermitage on Monte Mario to the individual *romitorii* in Monti Virginio and suggested direct influences from Borromini on the presumed architect of the Carmelite hermitages. Interestingly, Francesco Barberini also showed a predilection for landscapes with hermits, he commissioned between 1630 and 1636 a number of seventeen works with this subject from the (Flemish?) painter Giovanni Francione; see Aronberg Levin 1975, pp.17, 82-82 and 246.
he managed to construct three *romitortii* - as the term generally used by then denoted them - all of them different in form, but with the same concept: the temporary dedication to contemplation, in real or artificially natural surroundings. This function can be deduced from way these spaces were furnished and decorated.

The first of those ephemeral hermitages was situated in Rome, in a corner of the Chigi villa near Quattro Fontane. The grounds situated at the corner of the present Via Depretis and Via Nazionale were bought in 1660 by Don Mario Chigi, who donated it to his son Flavio in 1664, who added other grounds to it in 1669.2 The project to embellish this garden with several fountains and terraces around a central *casino* had been initiated by 1668, as the architect Carlo Fontana was paid for his designs that year.3 In the same year a first reception – described as 'festa gastronomico musicale' – was staged there for the Roman nobility in honour of the family of the reigning pope Clement IX Rospigliosi (1667-1669): a number of prints and descriptions were made to commemorate the event (fig.113).4

None of these images depicted the *romitorio* itself, as it was situated at the back of the grounds, and consisted of nothing more than a walled-in part of the gardens planted with laurels and an oak tree. One of its walls was decorated with a frescoed scene of a solitary religious figure. This painting has been attributed to Giuseppe Chiari on the basis of a payment to him in 1675, for the execution of a Venus and a 'hermit'.5 From this source can be deduced that on the opposite wall the lascivious goddess was represented. This painted decoration, in combination with *giochi d'acqua* or sprinklers installed in the pavement in front of the Venus, seems to have meant to teach visitors a moral lesson.6 In the *Viaggio curioso de'Palazzi e Ville più notabili di Roma* of 1683, the abstinence of the hermit was contrasted with the attraction of the beautiful woman: too great an interest in the latter was punished with unexpected spurs of water, to teach the visitor a lesson of moral restraint:

The well arranged and well painted hermitage, which teaches temperance in the beauties

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of this world. On the other side one sees the figure of a beautiful woman, where the too eager will find themselves deceived by jets of water. 87

Although at first sight this might suggest a playful but rather meaningless use of the theme, other projects indicate that Flavio I Chigi must have considered more seriously the anchorite ideal as worthy of imitation. The palace on Piazza Santi Apostoli where the cardinal lived from 1661 onwards, the present Palazzo Odeschalchi (fig.114), contained a small hermitage directly connected to his private apartment, located in the mezzanine of the building. 88 It was relatively small, measuring 3.35 by 6.25 meters, which is slightly less than the 4 by 8 meters of the Camerino degli Eremiti. It overlooked the elevated walled garden at the back of the palace, and enjoyed the quiet and calm necessary for the dedication to prayer and contemplation (probably room C 16 on the plan in fig.115). 89

The walls of Chigi's hermitage - made of timber - were hung with painted landscapes populated with hermits, and the furniture consisted of two tables, a prie-dieu and a turn-box. 90 The latter functioned as a means through which the victuals of the hermit were furnished, obviously a reference to restricted nutrition as part of mortification, but also a sign of the utmost separation from human society. From the presence of this device it can be gauged that Cardinal Chigi intended to spend more than the occasional hour there, as he might need food after some time. Exactly which artists were responsible for the invention and execution of this project is not known; payments were made to several artists who specialised in landscape-painting, such as Francesco Mola in 1663. 91 The hermitage was probably decorated by the painter Vincenzo Coralli with a team of assistants. Coralli was exclusively active in the service of Flavio Chigi,

87 On the water tricks, and the planning of water-conduits in this garden around 1674, see Coffin 1991, p.138.

88 Cited after Golzi 1939 p.190: 'L'Eremo ben disposto, e ben dipinto, che insegna la temperanza nelle delizie di questo mondo. Dall'altra parte si vede una figura di vaga Donna, che i troppo arditi si trovano ingannati dalla furia di acqua.'


90 Tessin 2002b,p.314 wrote about a fire in the back part of the palace which had occurred shortly before his visit to it: 'Dieses ganze palais ist vom Cav. Bernin gehuert worden, undt ist dass hinder theil vor ein jaer gantz abgebrandt fast gewesen, an der stelle, wo amitzo der reiche meubeel ist.' This fire must also have destroyed the romitorio, as Tessin makes no mention of it in his description of the palace. An account of 1687 for the restoration of a number of rooms sustains this; see Golzo 1939, p.78: 'in ristaurare il suo Palazzo incontr i Sf. Apostoli quale si guasto a causa dell'incendio'.

91 See Waddy 1990, p.313 and idem in Ambiente Barocco 1999, pp.31 and 37 n.79. As Waddy points out, the exact location of the hermitage is difficult to ascertain; the puzzling fact is that the stima of Palazzo Chigi-Odescalchi in BAV Arch.Chigi 516, made up in 1669, refers to both a 'stanza detto il Romitorio' on fols.11r and 49r, located near to the 'scala lamuca', a fugia and above the stables, and thus probably at the rear of the building, and a room described as 'stanzino del Romitorio' on fols.15r and 73r-v, which was close to the guardaroba, on the piano nobile. Where thus the hermitage should be located remains unsolved; it might have been close to the stanza, maybe even connected by interior stairs. The stanza was decorated with wooden wainscoting; stanzino was more properly furnished, with an 'Ingegnocchiatore di noce venata ...' a table, and again a complete wainscoting in wood. For the original designs by Fontana for the palazzo Chigi-Odescalchi, see BAV Chigi PA II.10, fols.61r-62r.
and was a specialist in the genre of landscape.  

The last and most conspicuous hermitage for Cardinal Flavio was not found in Rome, but in the Cardinals' native Siene countryside: instead of largely consisting of artificially natural settings as did the preceding two, it was placed within a real, but nonetheless planned and organised countryside. Near the Tuscan village of Ancaiano, the Chigi family had possessed a small villa with casino since the mid-seventeenth century, the nucleus of which was acquired by Flavio's father, Don Mario Chigi. Around 1676, during Flavio's cardinalate, a project was started to enlarge, unify and embellish the property. This was not concluded until the first decades of the eighteenth century.  

The co-ordinating architect was again Carlo Fontana.

The original casino of the villa, largely left untouched, was located between two hilltops that were unified by Fontana into one grand design (fig.116). One summit became the location of a large statue of Hercules by the sculptor Mazzuoli; the other one was crowned by a small building (fig.117). The façade of this latter structure contained a large patriarchal cross with two crossbeams. Inserted at the ends of these three beams were medallions showing the figures of Christ and the four Evangelists. Its outside decoration, near-contemporary descriptions and post-mortem inventory of the possessions of Flavio Chigi, prove that this building functioned as a real hermitage. In the concept of the garden, it was the religious counterpart to the Hercules figure, which should be interpreted here as a symbol of Virtue.

What makes this particular hermitage in Cetinale especially interesting is both the context created around it, and its internal disposition. The two hundred steps leading to the summit of the hill (at the base flanked by the triple monti or 'mountains' from the Chigi-stemma) clearly referred to the metaphor of spiritual ascent of the soul to heaven. This was not the only intervention turning the landscape into a metaphor for the spiritual pilgrimage. After inheriting the villa from his uncle Flavio, Bonaventura Chigi Zondadari added a garden in the form of a 'Thebaid' to this

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2 See Golzio 1939, pp.13 and 70
3 Di Castro 1999, p.227 suggested that the painter of these landscapes was Vincenzo Coralli, who worked almost exclusively as artistic entrepreneur for Flavio I Chigi, with a predominance of projects involving landscape-painting; see also Mignosi Tantillo 2000, p.341 on the cooperation between Giovanni Paolo Schor and Coralli. Whether he was one and the same as Francesco Coralli, mentioned in more or less the same role, remains unclear, see Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon 1999-present vol.21 p.117. For the patronage of Coralli by Flavio I Chigi, see Golzi 1939, where it is frequently mentioned in payments for Palazzo at Piazza SS. Apostoli and the garden at the Quattro Fontane.
5 On the statue, see Angelini Montanari 1998, pp.236-238. For a contemporary biography on Giuseppe Mazzuoli, see Pasco 1992, p.931-935.
villa, in which the concept of the hermitage was extended to incorporate the rest of the park. The oration held at Flavio’s funeral however suggests that the plan for this bosco, comparable to a sacro monte, had already been devised before his death in 1693, begun around 1680, and completed by his heirs.96

This religious theme-park contained a number of diverse motifs, constituting a spiritual route through nature.97 At the entrance stood an arch with the painted figures of Elijah and Saints Paul, Anthony Abbot, Mary Magdalene, Francis, and others famous examples of solitary life. An inscription on the same arch derived from Saint Jerome referred to these saints as ‘Christ’s flowers’ in the desert, leading the thoughts of the wanderer from the real to the spiritual garden.98 Then followed a lingering path with statues of praying monks along the way and chapels with frescoed scenes from the life of Christ. At the other end of the path through this Sacro Bosco, a number of monsters were executed in sculpture, representing the customary temptations that tormented the real hermit.99 Thus, at the entrance the visitor would at first have indicated to him the historical predecessors of the solitary life, then the Life of Christ, which inspired them and their devotions. The statues showed the ‘modern’ form of the spiritual life in the form of solitary monks, and the path ended with the test that only the firm believers, who had put their faith in Christ, would be able to surpass.

The Cetinale hermitage seems to have been more than a mere showcase or ‘courtly hermitage’. The inventories written in 1692 and in 1705-1706 mentioned the spaces and furnishings of the hermitage, pointing it out as a location for devotional pastimes. The order of the rooms described in both inventories enlisted a Church, sacristy, room on the ground-floor of the hermitage, the room above on the left-hand side of [is] E[menence], the room of the Hermit, the room of the Palchetto [presumably a terrace from which a view over the park and countryside could be admired100] above, kitchen.101

Just as the Sacro Bosco resembled the Sacro Monte in Monte Virginio, the organisation of the edifice showed a striking similarity with the smaller hermitages built in exactly the same


97 For a discussion of the Tebaid at Cetinale, see Bach-Nielsen 1997, pp.119-122.


100 GiBb vol.12, pp.388-389.

101 BAV. Arch. Chigi 700, fol.286r: ‘Chiesa, Sagrestia, Stanza a Pianterreno del Romitorio, Stanza di sopra mano manca di S. E., Stanza del Romito, Stanza del Palchetto di sopra, cucina.’
period in the Carmelite desert (compare fig. 108). The presence of a bed and two mattresses in his private room suggest that it was possible for the cardinal to stay for more then a few spare hours. In the chapel of the hermitage, all the necessary utensils for Mass were present (in 1686 liturgical utensils for the 'chiesa del Romitorio' were acquired), while a number of prie-dieu's, several crosses and religious books in other rooms point to the religious aim of the entire building.

The mention of the 'room of the Hermit' in the inventory also suggests that a solitary religious looked after the church and was able to stay overnight, to keep it prepared for the liturgical demands of the cardinal, similar to the tasks delegated to independent hermits at the end of the seventeenth century in Tivoli. In fact, Chigi sustained such solitary religious in the campagna of Siena. Between 1672 and 1687, several payments were made in natura by the enterprise of the Villa to a hermit in the 'romitorio of Motrano', situated close to Cetinale, for masses celebrated in honour of Saint Macarius. Similar payments to a 'hermit' in the Villa of Cetinale are not traceable in these account-books, but it is possible that cardinal Chigi asked the hermit of Motrano, or else monks of a religious Order to take care of the hermitage's chapel on a temporary basis.

But there is also the possibility that an anchorite was permanently affiliated to Cetinale. Chigi's position as protector of the Vallombrosiani and the Minimi of San Francesco di Paola, both of them dedicated to the solitary and contemplative life, might have facilitated such special arrangements. Nineteenth-century sources even suggest that the hermitage was inhabited by as many as twelve monks who took care of the sick, officiated weekly in the church of Sant'Eustachio near the Villa itself, and assisted the inhabitants in the surroundings of the

13 BAV, Arch. Chigi 700, fol. 28r described the contents of the room of Flavio Chigi as such: 'Un letto, con Banchi, e Lavoli da letto d'Albuccio, con due materazzi di lana fina, con due traversiere, e tre cuscini. Un Lavolino d'Albuccio con sua scanalata sopra da libri. Un trabacca di tela bianca, con suo Velo, sei Bandinelle, quattro guarda colonne, coperta, e tornaletto, con francette di filo bianco.'

14 BAV, Arch. Chigi 1818, payments made in 1686: 'fattura d'un Armario, e diversi utensili sacri p[er] la Chiesa del romitorio d'5.6.-'


The mention in the Diario Scevo di Gigi vol. 2 p. 215 of Chigi: 'fondandovi [in Cetinale] un romitaggio, e ordine di romit... ' seems to suggest that there was a group of regular hermits affiliated to Cetinale; see Angelini Montanari 1992, p. 246 n. 35.

16 Ciacconi 1677 vol. 4, p. 727 and Cardella 1792-1797 vol. 7, p. 211.
village. In the seventeenth century, however, the use of the hermitage will have been restricted to the owners of the villa, to procure them the isolation and rest to concentrate on their devotional practices.

**Hermits in high society**

Around the same time as the projects undertaken by cardinal Flavio I Chigi, other hermitages were commissioned by noble Roman families, and constructed in the privacy of their palaces. In many respects, these hermitages in the palaces of Roman noble families resembled the projects of Flavio Chigi; their functions seem however to have been slightly different. Three will be discussed here; one in the palazzo Pallavicini-Rospigliosi, one in palazzo Altieri, and one in palazzo Colonna.

The present palazzo Pallavicini-Rospigliosi was inhabited at the end of the seventeenth century by the Mancini family, and then rented out in the late 1680s to Giovanni Battista Rospigliosi and Maria Camilla Pallavicini; in 1704 their relatives finally bought it. According to the inventories of 1708 and 1710, this edifice contained a *romitorio*. The furniture of this room, situated in a mezzanine on the second floor of the palace, consisted of a *prie-dieu*, chairs, a bed and table, designed to look as if they were constructed out of rustic tree-stumps or hewn out of the rocks, and painted fabrics were applied to the walls to simulate woodland-surroundings. One adjacent room contained a collection of landscape-paintings evoking outdoor-scenery and a second room was furnished with book-cases, suggesting that this small apartment was a place for study of the arts, letters and devotion. In this context, the hermitage offered the place for spiritual exercises similar to the private retreats made for Farnese and Chigi. However, in this case the users were female members of the family: according to the descriptions, the room was first at the disposal of the Duchess Maria Camilla Pallavicini Rospigliosi, and after 1710 was refurbished for her daughter Maria Candida, by the painter Monsu Leandro. Whether this hermitage was expressly made for Maria Camilla herself remains uncertain without further information on the dating and attribution of the original project. It might very well have been constructed during the

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157 Bach-Nielsen 1997, p.117. "In return for books, the necessary furniture and provisions, they performed various kinds of monastic, charitable work; they nursed the sick, comforted the dying, and once a week celebrated mass in the chapel of the villa below."  
159 Di Castro Pedrocchi Waddy 1999, p.227 describes the room on account of these two inventories of 1704 and 1710.
inhabitation of the palace by the Mancini-family, who, as will be discussed below, had a family preference for the anchorite theme. In that case, the romitorio should be dated to around 1670.

More insight into this cultural and artistic phenomenon can be obtained by means of two further hermitages in Rome, located in the Colonna and Altieri palaces respectively. The interior of both rooms was constructed with ephemeral materials - painted draperies and wood - and their fragility has left nothing but descriptions and drawings of its interiors. The romitorio in Palazzo Altieri (fig. 119) was designed by one of Bernini's assistants, Johann Paul Schor (1615-1674), a furniture-maker and interior decorator of German origin. The Colonna room was also been attributed to him in an eighteenth-century guidebook, which is further supported by the similarity in concept and realisation to the Altieri project. Schor was also paid for works in the Palazzo Chigi in 1662 and 1667, which suggests his influence also in the case of this hermitage, discussed above, which probably functioned as inspiration for the other two examples.

During his visit to Rome in 1687-1688, the Swedish architect Nicodemus Tessin the Younger (1654-1728) visited the hermitages in the Palazzo Colonna and in Palazzo Altieri, both only recently finished. Sometime between 1670 and his death in 1674, Schor executed a romitorio in a two-room apartment in a mezzanine of the Altieri palace: it had a cave-like appearance, which according to Tessin evoked in the visitor a 'bizarre and pleasing' impression: he even used the word attrice several times to describe its psychological effect on the beholder. The drawing made to record this room underlined its visual extravagance (fig. 120), and documented the furniture. It contained a bed, a number of chairs, a fountain between the windows, and a mirror, all in the guise of raw materials such as pieces of rock and tree-trunks, but actually made out of wood covered with fabrics painted to look like stone or straw; the walls and ceiling were irregular and covered by painted plants. The ceiling was, according to Tessin,


Roma ampliata e rinnovata 1725, p. 118, on the interior of Palazzo Colonna: 'e una Camera dipinta in guisa di Romitorio con disegno di Gio. Paolo Scor.' This information is not confirmed by accounts in the Colonna archive. The payments to Schor for works in the Palazzo Chigi are published in Golzi 1939, pp. 70 and 73.

11 Tessin 2002b, p. 318: 'Von hier wurden wir hinunter geführt, undt passirten erstens unten durch ein zimber so mit bünstt erniet wahr... undt kahmen so in einem andern, dass sie eine ermittt sehr bizzare undt auffallig von Gian Paolo Tedesco wahr ausgeführt: The project of enlarging the palace was began in 1670 and Schor died in 1674. For the edifice and its successive phases see Schiavone 1963, p. 52-70.

11 Tessin 2002b, p. 318: 'dass ganzt gewölb, undt die wände wahr alls gantz irregulär undt attrice representireit, undt auf gewissen gerieten von dümmen hölzern mit einwandt überkleidet. undt so mit gelbraune tarbe überstrücken, undt gehöhet an dhenen stellen, wor der das kulte darauf fallen; die fenster wahren auf der einen seiten gantz unten beim flur undt mit gegitter vor. an der anderen seiten wahren sie höher hinauf; einer wesen hinter der klippen wahr wie ein Spiegel im Felsen darin; in der zehen stunde wie ein aparter pfeiler von der klippen, da man kunte herumbgehen ... vorne zwischen den fenster wahr eine fontaine zwischen kleine klippen: dass bext wahr
Notwithstanding its ephemeral cave-like character, the Altieri hermitage contained an array of rich materials, such as a mirror actually made out of rock-crystal mounted on gold, and surrounded by diamonds and sapphires - its value was estimated by Tessin at the enormous amount of 60,000 scudi. With a keen eye he also noted that the fabrics used for the walls and furniture were satins and silks of the highest quality. It was probably because of its very preciousness and costliness that in 1725 this hermitage or grotta still existed.

The second commission to Johann Paul Schor for a hermitage, part of a three-room mezzanine-apartment in the middle wing of Palazzo Colonna, represented the same idea with slight variations in form; it offered the visitor an equal display of sumptuous wealth. This hermitage was also part of a small apartment, which also contained a room decorated with mythological scenes showing Apollo and Diana, the four seasons, and fruits, and the second room had at the centre of its ceiling the 'triumphing Truth' surrounded by the 'Four Monarchies', and herms as decoration on the walls. In 1668-1669, the painter Giovanni Maria Mariani was recompensed for his work in these rooms. The hermitage itself was also under way in 1668, as in that year the intagliatore Francesco Bergamo was paid for his work in the romitorio. He delivered 'six stools carved as rocks and trunks [decorated] with leaves and animals, and a small
table and prayer-stool and a day-bed with cloth painted with the same kind of work. According to Tessin's description, these pieces of furniture were covered in fine fabrics looking like humble materials such as straw. The one difference with the Altieri grotto consisted in the paintings used in the Colonna example, which formed small openings in the rocky walls and represented different kinds of animals and shepherds. These are also visible in the drawing made for Tessin to document this romitorio (fig. 121).

By their style of decoration, the Rospigliosi, Colonna and Altieri hermitages displayed concepts quite similar to the Camerino degli Eremiti and the various Chigi romitorii. All consisted of a small number of rooms contained in one apartment, and all had the same kind of furniture. The (day-)bed, the chairs, and the prayer-stool were stock-elements of such rooms. This seems to indicate that the function of these apartments as places for retreat was also comparable. The main difference between the hermitages for cardinals and the later romitorii lay in the secluded character of the decoration of the latter which instead of looking out onto a real or feigned landscape, largely blocked communication with the outdoors by the choice for cave-like walls, and small openings - whether barred windows or paintings. As mentioned before, the paintings in the Colonna-romitorio did not contain hermit-saints, as would be expected in the case of the other hermitages for cardinals, but showed pastoral imagery. In other words, the hermits had disappeared from a number of these hermitages.

Another factor is that in both the Altieri and Colonna romitorii alien elements, deduced from the traditional attributes of the hermit, were introduced. Mirrors, plain beds, and a number of chairs pointed more towards a life of sociability than towards harsh penitence and the frequent practice of prayer. Should these private 'hermitages' for secular patrons than be interpreted as deprived of their original function and meaning, and early examples of the courtly hermitage as a

1 These payments are in the Archivio Colonna, Libro mastro I. B. 28, fols. 146, 150, 163; see Strunck 2000 for the decoration of Palazzo Colonna and these payments to Mariani and Bergamo. I am indebted to Christina Strunck for so kindly sharing with me this information on the romitorio Colonna.
2 Archivio Colonna, I. A. 49, payment of 150 scudi to Francesco Bergamo, 1668: 'per avere fatto l'intaglio del romitorio che sono sei sgabelli intagliati a scogli e a tronchi con foglie et animali con un tavolino et un inginocchiatore et una lettiera con il telaro fiuto con detto lavoro'.
3 Tessin 2002a, pp.94-95: 'Au Palais du grand Connestable Colonna à Rome l'on voyoit encore un parcell suijet dans l'Intresolle, mais moins spacieux; on le nommoit aussi un Fremitage, où toute la Voute ressembloit à une roche, perce en certaint endroits: le jour y entroit aussi fort irrégulierement, mais avec tout cela, quoiqu'il aie luy quelque chos d'affreux, il ne faisoit pas d'estre fort agréable par rapport à sa fraîcheur. Du hit et de Chaises il se façoit parler dans la troisieme Partie. Tessin 2002a, p.251: 'MFrémitage de l'Intresolle, au Palais du Connestable Colonna, cy dessus mentionné, le hit paraistroit être fait dela roche mème de l'Frémitage, dont on luy aivoit aussi donné la couleur, et la couverture paraistroit estre faite de parille.'
4 Tessin 2002b, pp.311-312: 'In den mezzaninchen untem wahr eine alcove wie eine eremitage gemathlet, mit eitel grossen felsen über dem ganzen gewelb, undt darzwischen bis undt dar einsticht, dass bett herum unb vort holz
playful conceit?

**Locations and users of romitorii**

Not only were the artistic concepts of the Colonna and Altieri hermitages very similar due to the probable intervention of Schor in both of them, but the social context of these commissions also formed a coherent network. In late seventeenth-century Rome, the Chigi, Altieri, and Colonna families belonged to the highest social echelons of the city. Moreover, the correspondence of Maria Mancini Colonna (1639-1716) documented the intimate contacts between Flavio Chigi, Giulio Rospigliosi and the Altieri and Colonna families. In fact, Maria Mancini, niece of cardinal Mazarin, was married to the Grand Constable or Contestabile Colonna, and was a regular guest of cardinal Chigi - who was their neighbour on the opposite side of Piazza Santi Apostoli. The Altieri and Colonna families were united by the marriage between Egidio Colonna and Tarquinia Altieri, and after her death, with Altiera Altieri.123 And finally, Cardinal Paluzzo Albertoni Altieri remained in life-long contact with Flavio Chigi, both in the context of the papal Curia and in more familiar situations.124 These bonds were also displayed by means of festivities: the 1668 reception in the villa Chigi at Quattro Fontane, mentioned above, was staged for members of the Rospigliosi family to celebrate the election the previous year of Giulio Rospigliosi to the papal See (fig.113).125 Giulio Rospigliosi himself was, before and even during his papacy, popular as a playwright, producing theatrical texts that were staged in the Colonna and Altieri palaces during Carnival or religious festivities.126

These contacts probably led to visits to the respective hermitages. Maria Mancini Colonna was received and entertained by Cardinal Flavio Chigi at his Sieneese properties in 1668, shortly before the hermitage was added to the villa of Cetinale.127 Mancini could at some time have seen the hermitage in the present palazzo Pallavicini-Rospigliosi, which her family owned until the sale to the Rospigliosi in 1704, who before acquiring the building had rented it for some time. The Altieri had peripherally been involved with hermitages: when they bought the town of Oriolo Romano from the Orsini family in 1671, this included the Carmelite hermitage of Monte Virginio.128 But the first person to have anything resembling a hermitage was Cardinal Flavio Chigi: the romitorio in his Roman palace probably dated from the middle or late 1660s, and thus

wie von einem felsenn gemacht undt braunartig angestrichen, ingleichen die stühle, undt die bettdecke wahr wie von stroo gelocht, beim fenster wahr das gewelb gantz irregular."

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predated the others. It might very well be assumed that the cardinals’ examples influenced members of the noble families, at least on the typological level of these hermitages.

For which members of the noble families were these hermitages intended? A Roman noble palace was habitually inhabited by numerous members of a family; each person or couple had his, her or their own apartment within the larger building. This meant that these hermitages had their particular users. Palazzo Altieri was around 1670 inhabited by the cardinal nipote of Pope Clement X. Palazzo Albertoni Altieri, who lived on one side of the building; his brother Gaspare Altieri lived with his wife Laura Caterina in the other half. It was for her that the romitorio must have been intended; Tessin specifically mentioned that the solitary room was accessed directly through the audience room of the Princess. This also accords with the lack of specific religious furniture, which one would have surely expected in the retreat of a cardinal.

When the Colonna romitorio was decorated between 1668 and 1674, cardinal Girolamo I (1604-1666) had already died. The cardinal’s nephew, Contabile Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna (1637-1689; fig.123), had his apartments on the south-western part of the edifice, on the right hand side in the middle tract, close to where his wife Maria Mancini had her rooms (see the plan on fig.122). Lorenzo Onofrio had frequently commissioned Schor to design stage-settings for theatrical happenings during the 1660s; in 1663 he also ordered a state bed from Schor for Maria Mancini Colonna, for the presentation of the newly-born Colonna heir to the public. After this happy event, however, Maria Mancini set a bad example early in 1672 by fleeing from her husband to France, to Louis XIV whose mistress she had been before her marriage to Colonna in 1661. Her departure to France (where she was presumably not even received by Louis XIV) led to political troubles between the Pope and the French king, and to a public outcry against her behaviour. Later that same year, she returned from France back to her husband in Rome. For whom had the hermitage in Palazzo Colonna been furnished?

Although Tessin did not indicate how or through which rooms he entered the Colonna-hermitage, the location of the apartment in the middle wing of the palace makes it clear that it belonged to the apartment of Lorenzo Onofrio (fig.122). After all, he was named after Saint...
Onuphrius, and he had a predilection for privacy and seclusion even before the departure of Maria Mancini to France. In other words, a preference for escaping society, albeit for diverse reasons, can be observed in his life and patronage. The secluded character and rich display of the Colonna and Altieri hermitages perfectly suited this function and requirements: it protected members of high-society families from social display by suggesting them a convenient shelter from the outside world.

**Noble anchorites and anchoresses**

Concurrent with the growing popularity of the noble hermitage, the literature for this type of reader also developed in new directions. Especially for members of the higher classes, seventeenth century authors produced works that popularised the ideal of the hermit while stressing the aspect of seclusion. As has been discussed in the previous chapter, the possibility of living as a hermit in real life was severely limited or almost impossible, and the example of the ancient hermits was thus adapted - or stripped - to fit the reality of this particular group of secular readers. As a result, the element of prayer was severely reduced in these books, and the practice of social and religious virtues was expanded.

Examples of this popularisation of the anchorite qualities of life appeared from the 1620s onwards, and a gradual turn from the regular to the secular reader can be observed in these books. Between 1621 and 1625, Paolo Bozzi published his two volume *Tebaide Sacra*, which used hermits to exemplify a number of important virtues for all sorts of readers. Although he coined his public as 'especially the regulars', the introduction and contents opened the possibility for all devout persons to take the lessons in the *Tebaide* to heart. Its text did not offer any guidelines for prayer, but consisted of a story about a number of hermits gathering in the desert to discuss the Christian Virtues guiding their lives.

Another example of such a book was the *Eroine della Solitudine Sacra ovvero Vite d'alcune pii illustre Romite*, written by the Dominican Father Girolamo Ercolani. A first impression of 1654 was followed by many later editions, attesting to its popularity. The book, in quarto, was divided into two volumes and illustrated with engravings, representing the appropriate saint at the beginning of each chapter. Already these exterior characteristics indicate, that Ercolani's intended audience were women of the higher classes. This is supported by the persons to whom the dedicatory letters were directed, and by the arguments that Ercolani used to

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111 Bozzi 1621-1625.

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bring home his message of virtue and restraint. Moreover, all the saints discussed were female, who probably had few worldly ornaments - as Ercolani expressed it - but therefore were virtuous and pious, and the most worthy position for a woman was that of the widow or virgin.

The dedication of the 1664 edition of the *Eroinc della Solitudine* to Marieta Contarini described her native city of Venice as a metropolis of vices, in the midst of which she was able to lead a penitent life that was more severe than in the desert of Egypt thanks to her incessant retreat from this depraved urban society. The following introduction explained that the reader should derive from these edifying examples the virtues to guide her own life. With an interesting parallel between his words and the accompanying prints, Ercolani says the following about the female virtues, counting the very act of retreat as one of the main qualities:

> I wanted to signal these pages with only images of Women; because I have really admired and bowed to the glory of that sex, who although credited as being of glass, I find them constructed of steel, or rather with strokes of the hammer, more solid than diamond itself; to the confusion of us men, who are defeated by women in piety, and in the virtues, as much as we defeat them in wickedness and in vices. I have satisfied myself in only portraying Solitary [women], to make this clear; that the retreat is the most noble ornament [frieze] of a woman.

In what follows, Ercolani sketched out the life of female hermits, most of whom were of noble descent, but who gave up their worldly positions for a life in the service of Christ; and by renouncing their worldly ornaments, they neared heaven. Most elements in his stories thus appealed to noblewomen, and guided them towards the seclusion of the *romitorio*, either physically, or in their social attitude. Notwithstanding these clear intentions of the author, the 1688 edition of this book was dedicated to Giovanni Carlo Visconti, which suggests that later publishers though the contents also fit for male readers. Obviously they too might profit from the examples of virtue and social restraint.

Yet another book, the *Santa Solitudine Omero* Soliloquii dell'anima intorno a quelle verità Cristiane, che piu dell'altre vagliono per alleitar l'anime all'ossequio di DIO* by the French Jesuit

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11 Ercolani 1664, 'dedication': 'per appunto posso chiamare Venezia, col mezzo d'una singolare ritiratezza, praticare le più infospitali & inoltre solitudini dell'Egitto.'

12 Ercolani 1664, unpaginated introduction [*asterisks signal unreadable words as a result of paper-damage*]: '...ho voluto segnare questi miei fogli **immagini, che di Donne; perché vera*** ho sempre ammirato, & inchinato le glorie di questo sesso; che benché porti il nome d'esser di vetro, lo trovo in fatti di tempera acciaio, anzi a colpi di martello, più saldo dello stesso Diamante; a confusione di noi altri uomini, che tanto ci lasciamo vincere dalle Donne nella pietà, et nelle virtù, quanto le avanziamo nell'empietà, et ne vizii. Mi sono compiaciuto solo de ritratte delle Solitarie, per dar a vedere, che la ritiratezza è il più nobil fregio d'una Dama.'
Pierre Marie, published in an Italian translation in 1658, contained an introduction to the secular reader which set out the main requirements for this acquisition of virtue: chastity, mortification, patience and humility.\(^{137}\) In contrast to the former examples, however, this book did not contain a selection of edifying stories on female or male solitary saints, but discussed simple methods for acquiring the four main qualities. The title and the proposed strategies were, however, most fitting for the context of the noble hermitage: the devotions were simple, short and mild, and thus accessible to the dilettante public engaging in religious improvement.

Pierre Marie's book was well received in Roman noble circles, thanks to its dedication by the Italian printer to Anna Maria Mazarin, prioress of the monastery of Santa Maria in Campo Marzio and niece of cardinal Jules Mazarin.\(^{138}\) Until her death in 1669, Anna Maria played a pivotal role in the Mazarin and Mancini families, and held a salon where Maria Mancini Colonna, Anna Maria's niece, came to visit, just like many other members of the Roman high society in late seventeenth-century Rome.\(^{139}\) Anna Maria was, moreover, famous for her contacts with zealous monks and nuns and her own religious life. Through her, Pierre Marie's *Santa Solitudine* will therefore have found a most ready reception in these noble circles.

Another popularisation of the hermit-theme for the noble laity was offered by Francesco Antonio Dolcetti in his *Vite de'padri, ovvero istoria eremitica delle vite, e detti degli antichi solitarii* of 1679, which was another collection of eremitic lives.\(^{140}\) He mixed the two genres: that of instructive examples and uncomplicated practices. The introduction was aimed at readers looking for diversion, being led by the author towards moral edification. This reference to the genre of the chivalric novel, and the choice to dedicate this book to Cecilia Acquaviva Gaetana d'Aragona, reveals that again women were a conspicuous part of his intended public.\(^{141}\) Dolcetti suggested however to a more general readership the following.

But if it pleases you in novels and in other vain books to see represented new and unusual things, or bravura, the valour and strength of a *Cavaliere*, or pitched battles and siege of cities, or the political finesses, and inventions and strategies and surprises and unexpected

\(^{137}\) For Pierre Marie (1589-1645) and the editions of the *Sainte Solitude* see Sommervogel 1960 vol.5, cols.575-577; the French original of this book appeared in 1636, with many reprints until at least 1675; apart from the Italian translation of 1658, a Dutch version was published in 1657.

\(^{138}\) See Dethan 1981, pp.30-32 for a short biography of Anna Maria Mazarin.

\(^{139}\) Dethan 1981, p.42. Queen Christina of Sweden and others were known to have frequented Anna Maria.

\(^{140}\) In 1700, a second edition appeared of this book in Rome, under the title *Istorie degli eremi solitarii cioè Vite, e successi memorabili de vs. padri eremiti e di sante vergini ... In questa impressione corretta, ordinata, notabilmente accresciuta, e restituita alli suoi veri autori.*

\(^{141}\) During the Catholic Reformation there was a polemic about the moral threat of the chivalric romance, offering only diversion and no education; see Fumaroli 1985.
assaults, or finally the amorous stories; all these elements can be found in this work. You will see souls so fortified by divine Grace, moved into open and professed war against themselves, to conquer in themselves the vanity of this world, and the powers of the Inferno. And will not our enemies use those finesses, and cunning to distract us from this noble undertaking? Those surprises and attacks do not tempt? With those strategies they do not try to mislead us? But those inflamed by divine Love ... and enlightened and invigorated by it, withstand with admirable strength these assaults, discover the things insidious, chase away the set-up conspiracies, and inflict irreparable damage to all their phalanxes ... Put thus in those things your diversion, and I hope that you take this enticement, divine Grace being superabundant with you, that often you will be so able with these means to attract to it the souls, and you will enter in the Evangelic net, and you will open up in yourself the way to the Spirit, that will illuminate you, inspire you, and which will elevate you to obtain this glorious end, for which God has created you.¹⁴²

From both the books and the decorations of the noble hermitages, it can be gauged that they served a different aim than the romitorii of cardinals: the act of social restraint and the practice of virtues had taken the place of prayer and contemplation. Instead of turning the inhabitant of the solitary space into an anchorite by means of word and image, the visitor would come there to play a role in an appropriate and elaborate setting.

**Hermits on the Roman stage**

By the end of the seventeenth century, impersonating the contemplative anchorite in a private romitorio had been superseded by historical developments, especially by the negative image that the movement of Quietism had lent to incessant prayer.¹⁴³ The excesses indulged in by monks and nuns, under the guise of spiritual unity with God, forced the Catholic authorities to take

¹⁴² Dolcetti 1679, fol. 2r-v: 'Perche se piace mettromanzi, & in altri libri vani il vederti rappresentate cose nuove, & insolite, o la bravura, il valore, e la forza e d'un Cavaliere, o le battaglie campali, o gli assediij delle Citta, o le finizioni politiche, o le invenzioni, e le stratagemme, o le sorprese, e gli attacchi improvvosi, o finalmente gli amori; tutte queste cose si trovaranno in quest'Opera. Voi vedrete anime così fortificate dalla grazia divina, mossero aperta, e professata guerra a se stessi, per vincere in se stessi la vanita del Mondo, e le potenze d'Inferno. E quali finizioni, & astuzie non usarono i nemici per distornerla dalla generosa impreza? quali sorprese, & attacchi non tentarono? con quali stratagemme non cercarono d'impannarla? Ma esse infiammate del Divino amore ... c da quello illustre & invigorite, con maravigliosa forza [sic] resistevano a gli assalti, scoprivano l'insidie, dissipavano le machinate congiurate, e davano tutte irreparabili a tutte le loro falso ... In questi dunque ponete il vostro dileto, & io spero, che presi a quest'esca, soprabbandendo con voi la Divinita grazia, che spesse state si vale di questi mezzi per tirare a se le anime, entrare nella reta Evangelica, & apririle in voi la strada allo spirito, che v'ilumini, v'infiasmi, e v'inalzi a ottenere quel beato fine, per il quale Dio v'ha creati.'

¹⁴³ For Quietism and the process against its most important representative Molinos, see Heppe 1875, esp. pp. 260f. Petrocchi 1948, and IMP 19/4-1997, vol. 3, cols. 1160-1173. Around mid-century, quietism was also related to the phenomenon of the hermitage, see Bendiscioli 1964, p. 20.
action, and in 1690 the spiritual movement was finally forbidden. By then, prayer and contemplation had become contaminated terms. Some qualities of the hermit might still be imitated, but copying the example in real life was dissuaded, as it would lead to diabolical temptations. From the middle of the seventeenth century onwards, the hermit on the stage often began to incorporate vices instead of virtues as characteristics. The audience was now confronted with the idea that rigorous abstinence could lead inexperienced anchorites astray, to lose their soul. In the ultimate consequence, the hermit was considered the devil in disguise.

The character of such a possessed hermit was described in the musical opera *Sant'Alessio*, staged in 1631 and subsequent years by the Barberini on the occasion of Carnival, and at receptions of important ambassadors or nobles. Its music was composed by Stefano Landi. The libretto was from the hand of Giulio Rospighi, later pope Clement IX, who favoured the theme of hermits also in all his other plays, with the same intentions. In this case, the 'urban' anchorite Alessio (of Roman patrician descent) was tempted by the devil in the form of a hermit, but refused to believe the lies he was told by this false prophet, upon which the latter disappeared. The real hermit, Alessio, could then continue his spiritual pilgrimage in solitude under the stairs to his family's palace, until after his death his soul was carried up to heaven by angels who discovered his real identity to his family.

Another major success on the stage for Rospighi was the musical play entitled *La commedia del Cielo o la Baldassarra* of 1668; the musical accompaniment was composed in this case by Antonio Maria Abbatini, and the stage-design was made by Bernini and an équipe of other artists, among whom was probably also Giovanni Francesco Grimaldi. The main character of the play, the comic actress Baldassarre, repented her former life on the stage and decided to retreat into a cave to live as an anchorress: from there she was taken up to Heaven by the Virgin. In the first act of the play, during her theatrical appearance as Clorinda in the
In act two, Baldassarra retreated into a cave in the desert, and was visited by her former lover Alverro and a companion. Biscotto, to attempted to persuade her to return to the stage. They caught Baldassarra reading in a book that taught her that all worldly things are vain. Biscotto and his lover Lisa were so impressed by Baldassarra's example, that they decided to become hermits themselves; but Alverro on the other hand despaired about the loss of her love for him. When he ran off with the intention to commit suicide, Baldassarra's way out was blocked in that very moment by a large stone rolling before the entrance of her cave.

The end of the second act contained a number of intrigues in which Biscotto as a costumed hermit came to repent for his devilish infatuation, and decided to become a real solitary, which was doubled by an appearance of the devil himself, turning the horrid desert into a garden of pleasures. However, his aim to lead Baldassarra away from her original aim by means of this image failed. Finally, in the third act, the personification of Penitence appeared - not coincidentally again in the guise of a hermit - to Baldassarra. It was through this figure that redemption was being offered, while Baldassarra represented the incorporation of this Virtue. Singing a duet, they expressed the belief that this road opened the way to eternal life, after which Baldassarra returned to her cave. The play ended with the other characters finding Baldassarra in her grotto, having exchanged this life for the next; the duet in the preceding scene was thus a death-scene in disguise, and the end of the spiritual pilgrimage for Baldassarra.

After an initial spectacle with real actors, a puppet version of the *Comica del Cielo* was put on stage in Palazzo Ludovisi - then the residence of the Rospigliosi family - on a number of consecutive days during Carnival of 1668, and seen by a great number of Roman citizens. Evidently, Bernini designed the set of this event together with Johann Paul Schor, although

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*Gerusalemme Liberata* (staged as a play within a play, and a theatre in a theatre), she heard a voice reminding her of the vanity of life, and as a result she decided to leave this world for the search of another, higher goal. At the end of this act, the spectators of this 'theatre within a theatre' praised her decision, and it was announced to the real spectators that 'the comedy is finished', to indicate that the serious part now began.

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whether this was for one or both versions remains unclear. However that may have been organised, the play, the music and the visual artistry impressed itself so much on the mind of a young girl that she longed herself to experience the reality of the hermitage. The diary of a Venetian representative at the Roman court explained what happened as a result of the performance:

The young lady who fled from the House of Signora Donna Caterina was found alone in Castelnuovo dressed as a man, inspired to become a hermit in imitation of Santa Baldassarre, whose life was represented a number of times in Palazzo Rospigliosi this Carnival.

The tone of this account clearly implied the incredulous reaction to the event; it suggested that the young girl was considered ignorant, as everyone knew that becoming a hermit had little to do with living alone in the woods. Being a hermit, for the seventeenth-century general public, was a state of mind preferably recreated in the safe context of the monastery, the private palace or the villa. In all cases, art was the means to create the setting, which inserted the devout into horrid nature without so much as leaving the premises - or having having to submit to clerical supervision. Moreover, the general public was not to follow the life of extreme penitence, but incorporate the moral lesson presented thereby into their daily life in a moderate form. For the general public, the hermitage was a place to dwell, combining diversion with instruction on the Christian virtues. Strict contemplation, for which the predecessors of these romitorii had been intended, was strongly dissuaded, and the first step towards the decorative hermitage had been taken.

In the Seicento, the cultural phenomenon of the hermitage followed diverging courses under the influence of historical circumstances. The real hermitage for the solitary dweller had disappeared under the pressure of papal authorities, and three alternatives were developed. The first was the place where real monks dedicated their time to prayer and contemplation, under the

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\begin{itemize}
\item Canevazzi 1900, p.146-147 cited from the Avvenimenti di Roma, where Bernini’s design was mentioned in relation to the theatrical version staged in Palazzo Ludovisi. Tamburini 1997, p.282 n.335 mentioned the payments to Schor and De Rossi in 1668 for a staging in Palazzo Rospigliosi; according to these accounts, Grimaldi was only in charge of the costumes. Pascoli 1992, pp.109, 115 n.15 refers to the scenic designs made by Giovan Francesco Grimaldi in exactly the same period, rivaling with Bernini for commissions from Chigi, "Inventò per li nipoti di S.S. [Alexander VII] molte macchine per le belle commedie, che facevan rappresentare, ma non andaron in iscena, perché si servirono poi del Bernini."
\item On the design for this play, see Fusconi 1985, pp.169-170, 179.
\item Ademollo 1969, p.105, citing from the diary of Ferdinando Raggi (ns. in ASGenova, Lettere ministri, maz.33): ‘La donzella che fuggì di Casa la Signora Donna Caterina si è trovata in Castelnuovo sola vestita da uomo
\end{itemize}
strict guidance of superiors and regulations. Carmelite *deserti* were the most conspicuous examples of these monastic institutions, intended to revive the ideal of the early Christian saints in a new form.\(^\text{155}\) The architecture, planning and functioning of these hermitages were adjusted to the religious aims. While the monks in such a 'desert' would be completely isolated for a longer period of time, their surroundings, daily rhythm and occupations all obeyed preconceived ideas. The risk of error had by these means been annihilated: no tales of heresy were connected to these cultivated deserts.

In the middle of the scale, the cardinal's hermitage prolonged the concept of the Camerino degli Iremiti. This had been conceived as a place for temporary immersion in devotional exercises, preferably under the guidance or supervision of monks. The examples in the Chigi palace in Rome, but especially at the Villa Cetinale near Siena, indicate that natural setting and isolation had remained key elements of this sort of hermitage. For this kind of occupant, landscape painting and gardens continued to be invested with the meanings Bellarmine had so successfully described in his *Scala di salire*.

At the farther end of the scale, the third type of hermitage or *romitorio* had become a role-play for the higher classes, in which particular virtues of modesty, restraint and penitence were located. Here, the act of prayer was probably dissuaded for fear of digressions, such as occurred during the latter half of the seventeenth century within the Quietist movement. With the disappearance of contemplation from the public sphere, the role of nature as incitement to it decreased in importance. In the later seventeenth century, the grotto and the ideal of social isolation became the leading concept behind the *romitorio* intended for the layman. Bernini, Schor and Coralli transformed this ideal into private rooms for noble patrons, with the help of ephemeral materials.\(^\text{158}\) The anchorite, and indeed the hermitage, became a social play for which art and imagination furnished the set-pieces and the properties, and in which the owner would be the main character. The ideal and the real had become separated by art.

Unless one was bound by religious vows, real life and the hermitage had finally been

\(^{155}\) Many other noble hermitages or *romitori* existed in late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century Rome, for example, the *Villa Patrizi* outside of Porta Pia, built in 1719, contained one; see Marshall 2003, p. 35. There is a hermitage *orto chapel* still visible in the Villa Chigi at the Via Salaria, dating from the 1700s; see Frinchetti 1955, Incisa della Rocchetta 1961 and Bustri Vici 1976, pp. 101-156. In Marino, the *Villa Colonna* (destroyed in WW II,
allocated their own place, without the possibility of crossing the boundaries. In the prologue to Rospigliosi’s *Baldassarre*, the figure of Thalia, muse and personification of the theatre, fittingly stated that the stage was only remaining place where the desert could really be turned into a garden for the soul:

[Baldassarre] changed the scenes in woods,  
the theatre into the desert,  
loosened her tresses, naked the foot on the heat, the cold,  
preserved against the Inferno her heart unconquered,  
an emulation on earth, and then companion in Heaven,  
of Mary of Magdala and of Egypt.154

and formerly also known as Villa Baldacchina or Maldaechina) probably contained a hermitage dating from the late seventeenth century; see Belli Barsali Branchetti 1975, pp.77 and 299-301.

154 Cited after Canevasci 1900, p.150: ”[Baltassarra] cangiò le scene in boschi, i teatri in deserti, scioltò i trecce, il piede al caldo, al gelo; serbo contro l’Inferno il core invitto, emula in terra, e poi compagna in cielo della Maria di Magdala e di Egitto.”
CONCLUSION

The recently discovered original lease-contract of the Camerino degli Eremiti, signed and dated 9 January 1611, furnished new and important information on the rooms’ exact location and function. From this point a new discussion of the iconography and function of Giovanni Lanfranco’s paintings could start. Investigating artistic, spatial, religious and cultural contexts of this object has enabled a better understanding of the role that landscape painting played in this particular case. Also more general insights touching upon patronage, iconography and the allocation of meaning by different beholders can be drawn from this case-study. The conclusion should now be drawn that the art of landscape around 1600 does not fit into modern iconographic categories based on unambiguous and singular meaning, but was an expression of the encyclopaedic world-view of the early modern period which around 1600 became dominated by the new religious orientation of the Catholic Reformation. Baroque painting, including landscapes, transmitted several meanings at the same time to a variety of beholders. The significance of these artworks was not primarily grounded in aesthetic beauty, but in functional, socio-political and religious contexts.

Apart from clarifying the legal situation of the Camerino — owned by the confraternity of the Orazione e Morte, and rented by cardinal Odoardo Farnese — the contract documented the relations between the two parties concerned. Farnese was protector of the brotherhood, involved in its government and acting as their representative with the pope. He was also expected to participate in their devotional gatherings and liturgical celebrations. In this context, the Camerino degli Eremiti with its two windows opening onto the church and oratory of the sodality served as a place from which the duties of the cardinal protector could be exerted: from this room Odoardo was supposed to attend at the celebration of the Quarant’Ore, the forty hours prayer, the main obligation of the brothers; at the same time he was expected to ‘supervise’ the confraternities’ actions as papal representative. Thus, the Camerino degli Eremiti architecturally expressed for both Farnese and the brotherhood the particulars of ecclesiastical patronage.

The paintings and frescoes inside the Camerino served to point out the obligations and duties of religious patronage on two different levels. In this case, Farnese was the intended viewer and thus the ‘public’ assigning meaning to these works of art. The first level of meaning was constituted by the Eucharistic symbolism conjured up by Lanfranco’s Christ served by angels in the centre of the ceiling, and by the various scenes of saints either receiving bread or the Host from heavenly messengers. This level pointed out Farnese’s spiritual obligation of
participating in the Quarant' Ore, the forty hours Adoration of the Host that was staged monthly by the brotherhood. On a second level, each of these solitary saints also stood for a religious order, church or brotherhood, or a country represented by Farnese at the papal court: the Camaldolese and Carthusian Orders, the abbey of Grottaferrata, the church of Saint Eustace and the country of Portugal. Farnese was involved with all of these institutions, and archival sources corroborate the suggestion of the Camerino's decoration that Farnese took his ecclesiastical obligations utterly serious. In other words, the subjects of these paintings utilised several layers of iconographic meaning to reflect his ample network as cardinal protector and the loyalty that Farnese observed towards his clients. The intended public that understood these allusions consisted of the members of the higher ecclesiastic circles, who might have been invited by Farnese into the semi-private context of the Palazzetto.

That Lanfranco's canvases and frescoes in the Camerino were devised to form a detailed reflection of the various networks of ecclesiastical patronage was the result of recent changes in the Catholic church, especially those touching upon the cardinal protector. Clement VIII Aldobrandini decided in 1592 to do away with this position, but in 1605 Paul V Borghese initiated the reversal of that process, resulting in a political strengthening of the protectorate. Odoardo Farnese's activities as protector were the direct result of these changes. His increasing involvement with the brotherhood of the Orazione e Morte and other institutions was the outcome of a growing awareness of the duties these obligations brought with them. Odoardo's artistic patronage resulted from this development as well. Donations of works of art commissioned from Carracci, Lanfranco, Domenichino, and Girolamo Rainaldi, among others – to these respective institutions in all cases served to cement and maintain the relations between patron and client.

This functional attitude towards art also applied to the choice of iconography for the works exchanged in the context of patronage; in each case, the meaning of these artistic products stressed the mutual interests of both parties. Again, this was not done by singling out one particular iconographic significance, but by employing several meanings at the same time. On one level, the works of art visualised the political and organisational bonds by the choice of particular saints; on another level, they invariably stressed the religious aims of both parties. Around 1600, the latter aspect was determined by the confessionalisation as part of the Catholic Reformation. From this can be concluded that the Council of Trent and the Catholic Reformation not only influenced the choice and depiction of iconographic themes, as has been suggested in numerous studies on the influence of the decrees and the manuals written in the latter half of the sixteenth
century, but Tridentine recommendations also altered the sociological and historical context in which these works of art functioned. In other words, artistic patronage of early modern cardinals resulted in works of art in which each and every detail can be explained in the light of the patron-client relationship within larger social and ecclesiastical networks. Iconographic readings can for this reason not stop on one level, that of conspicuous consumption and the prestige of the patron, but should investigate the social, religious and historical contexts as well.

Also the spatial context controlled and determined significances, and this applies in particular to the genre of landscape painting. The Palazzetto Farnese was not, as has been supposed in earlier studies, a more or less coincidental addition to the Palazzo Farnese, but constituted a carefully planned new wing allowing access from the palace proper to the garden on the bank of the Tiber. It was a suburban villa inspired by classical examples. Up to the smallest architectural details, Pliny the Younger’s description of his villa in Laurentum, especially his account of the diaeta or extended study, were followed in the design of the Palazzetto. This building offered cardinal Odoardo a place to study the arts, literature and learning, and enjoy the garden and its encyclopaedic natural beauties. The secret garden behind the Palazzetto thus extended the studio-lo-function of the interior: it constituted an outdoor musaeum of exotic plants and flowers, to be studied along the lines of contemporary learning. This meant that each plant, just as each painting in the Palazzetto itself, harboured multiple meanings, ranging from literal and mythological significances to botanical, medical and cosmological knowledge.

The collection of landscape paintings in the Palazzetto generated particular meanings to constitute a coherent iconographic programme on this encyclopaedic level. It is into this broader context, which should be considered common knowledge to the early-Seicento beholder, that the religious thematic of the Camerino degli Eremiti fitted. Each of the four camerini was dedicated to a cosmological theme, either of the times of the day, or the seasons, by means of its pictorial decoration. Lanfranco’s Camerino degli Eremiti prolonged the concept of this flight of rooms in stylistic sense—the use of canvases in a wooden coffered ceiling—and in an iconographic sense as well, constituting the third, religious, level of meaning. Within the Palazzetto representing cosmological learning in a visual form, the Camerino degli Eremiti presented the visible world as a reflection of its Creator. The landscapes were images of the presence of God on earth, and functioned as ladder to Heaven.

Within this context, the saints acquired yet a third level of meaning apart from their reference to Farnese’s ecclesiastical patronage and the devotion of the Quattordi. These
figures were not mere additions to Lanfranco’s compositions or excuses for the depiction of landscape; they were an integral part of the composition and bearers of a particular meaning in relation to it. In this case, they functioned as ‘indices’ pointing out the direction in which the meaning of the landscapes should be sought. In the early seventeenth century, hermits and anchorites were no mere remnants from a distant past, but living examples of spiritual perfection. In the public opinion, these saints were able to be in this world in a bodily sense, while at the same time dwelling in Heaven with their souls. On this level of meaning, recognisable for the general seventeenth-century beholder, the saints in Lanfranco’s paintings were chosen with regard to their devotional exemplarity.

The third and last level of meaning of the Camerino’s decoration related the ‘secular’ purpose of the Palazzetto with the ‘devotional’ function of the room as intended by the brotherhood of the Orazione e Morte. Pagan and religious iconography did not dialectically exclude each other, but were perceived by the seventeenth-century public as complementary. One could transcend from the classical and worldly knowledge to divine revelation by studying Creation in all its variety. Instead of selecting one, the early modern beholder would add up these various messages to form an encyclopaedic iconographic compendium that enclosed the knowledge of this world on various levels.

The multiplicity of meanings in Lanfranco’s paintings necessitates a redefinition of the relation between background and staffage in the context of anchorite landscapes. The traditional interpretation that in seventeenth century landscape painting the staffage was additional to the natural setting needs to be reversed. It is not the landscape that determined the significance; any painted view of landscape could support a number of different meanings – from an allusion to villeggiatura, botanical interests, or the place of religious narrative. These possibilities were channelled by the staffage. The range of meanings was moreover dependent upon the spatial context and historical circumstances. In a villa, the secular and antique meaning would come to the fore, whereas in a liturgical or religious setting, the connotation of Creation would be more obvious to the beholder. By adding a hermit or anchorite to the landscape, the painter would provide the beholder with the clue to its meaning.

Moreover, during the first decades of the Catholic Reformation, the religious interpretation of the visible world became dominant over all other possible meanings as a result of the pedagogic actions of various orders; and this was especially the case when landscape paintings were applied to churches or in palaces of ecclesiastical princes. And it was precisely in
these two contexts that the art of landscape began to flourish from the 1570s onwards. For the early modern period in Italy, it should thus be concluded that depictions of nature in art carried multiple significances, but the religious connotations constituted the dominant way of reading and interpreting the visible world.

When over the course of time the figures diminished in size or disappeared altogether from the composition, this does not mean that the religious meaning of landscape was annulled. To the contrary: the devotional significance of painted and real landscapes had become so all-pervading that the help of staffage to point this out to the beholder was no longer necessary. Without the help of indices in the form of anchorite staffage, the seventeenth-century beholder was able to interpret the world around him as the second Book of Revelation, the expression of God’s creation. Seen in this light, the absence of religious figures in northern landscape-paintings is not a sign that a secular gaze on the world had evolved: it was merely the exemplary nature of saints that had lost its importance in the Protestant religion. The religious message of the painted landscape was no different north and south of the Alps; it both was part of an encyclopaedic gaze, in which plural meanings existed alongside each other.

The first and second premises of Goethe’s theory of landscape-painting, and thus the modernist view on the genre - the painter’s influence on the development of the genre and its meaninglessness - can be dismissed as a result of this study. Goethe’s third premise that hermits and background constituted remnants of traditional signifiers and setting respectively for a given story, has also been proven incorrect in two ways. First, figures of solitary saints did not provide a narrative element, but handed the observer the key to understand the meaning of the natural setting. Second, this relation of signifier and setting was never reversed, but remained the same even when the figure had been reduced to, in modern eyes, compositional insignificance. Reduction in size had no effect on meaning but signalled the domination of the religious over other significances. Thus, interpretations of painted landscape around 1600 as an exclusive sign of the nascent modern gaze can thus be dismissed, and the continuing superiority of the religious world-view over the pagan significance, without annulling these levels, should be accepted. The case-study of the Palazzetto Farnese and Camerino degli Eremiti has enabled a view beyond the epistemology of Goethe’s time onto the ideas of the seventeenth century, and provided a deeper understanding of the multiplicity of meanings, all part of the Christian concept of Creation, that nature carried for the early modern beholder.
SAMENVATTING

Sinds het begin van de negentiende eeuw bestaat er een discussie in de kunstgeschiedenis omtrent de iconografie of betekenis van het landschap in de schilderkunst. Droeg de natuurlijke setting een betekenis voor de zeventiende-eeuwse beschouwer, zo ja wat, en op welke wijze droeg de staffage, of de figuurtjes in het landschap, daaraan bij? Daaraan gerelateerd is de vraag waar de groeiende belangstelling voor het genre gedurende de zestiende eeuw vandaan kwam. Waren het de schilders die een nieuw thema ontdekten, zoals is verondersteld, of waren het de opdrachtgevers die de mode van landschapschilderkunst in gang zetten? Verbonden met deze kwestie is die van de toekenning van betekenis: lag die primair bij de kunstenaar, de opdrachtgever of de beschouwer?

In dit kunsthistorische kader gaat het onderhavige proefschrift in op één casus, die een paradoxale combinatie lijkt tussen verschillende elkaar uitsluitende interpretaties: het vermeende onderscheid tussen het Vlaamse en Italiaanse landschap, en de profane versus religieuze betekenis van zowel setting als figuurlijke staffage. Deze casus is de zogeheten Camerino degli Eremiti, onderdeel van het Palazzetto Farnese, een tussen 1601 en 1604 gebouwde vleugel van het Palazzo Farnese te Rome. In het Palazzetto werd aan het begin van de zeventiende eeuw door kardinaal Odoardo Farnese (1573-1626) een verzameling landschappen van diverse kunstenaars bijeengebracht. Hieronder bevonden zich zowel landschappen zonder narratieve elementen, schilderijen voorzien van mythologische scenes als werken met een religieuze staffage.

De hoofdvraag is de betekenis van de Camerino degli Eremiti binnen het Palazzetto en in relatie tot de naastgelegen kerk Santa Maria dell'Orazione e Morte, en de verschillende betekenislagen van de schilderkunstige decoratie van deze ruimte. Is er sprake van een tegenstelling profaan-religieus, en bestond er een inhoudelijke of een formele relatie tussen de diverse onderdelen van het decoratieprogramma van het Palazzetto? Op welke wijze waren het landschap en de staffage in de Camerino degli Eremiti drager van iconografische of cultuurhistorische betekenis? Functieerden deze op één nivo, of waren er meerdere interpretaties mogelijk? Deze vragen wordt uitgewerkt door steeds een ander deelaspect onder de loep te nemen. Door aldus de context steeds meer te verruimen, kan een logische relatie gelegd worden tussen een objectgerichte kunsthistorische benadering en een algemene cultuurhistorische invalshoek.

De Camerino kwam in 1609 door middel van een huurovereenkomst ter beschikking van Odoardo Farnese en zich bevond in een naast het Palazzetto gelegen gebouw van de broederschap van de Orazione e Morte (zie fig.34 en 35). Door twee ramen bood de ruimte uitzicht op de kerk en het oratorium van deze organisatie. Voor het einde van 1617 werd de Camerino door Giovanni Lanfranco (1582-1647) van decoratie voorzien. Tegen de wanden zaten vier fresco’s, en het plafond bestond uit een verguld houten cassettenstructuur met negen olieverfschilderijen. In 1662 werden deze schilderijen naar Parma verstuurd, in 1732 werd de ruimte afgebroken om plaats te maken voor nieuwbouw van de naastgelegen kerk, Santa
Maria dell'Orazione e Morte. De oorspronkelijke fresco's werden in 1734 aangebracht in de nieuwe kerk. Daarvan zijn er nu nog twee te zien: de Heilige Paudios de Eerste Heremiet op bezoek bij Antonius Abt (fig.7), en Simon de Pisaarheilige (fig.8). Het derde, niet zichtbare, fresco stelt het Bezoek van hertog Rogier aan de Heilige Bruno voor (fig.9). Het vierde fresco is in 1910 vernietigd. In Napels zijn nog twee doeken te zien: Christus door de engelen gevoed (fig.4) en Maria Magdalena van hemel rijzend (fig.5). De overige zeven schilderijen zijn verloren gegaan, en stelden Benedictus, Antonius van Padua, Eustachius (vgl. fig.6), Maria van Egypte, Onufrius, en Franciscus voor.

Tussen 1565 en 1610 genoot het thema van heremieten een toenemende populariteit in de kunsten. Het Palazzo Farnese te Caprarola, buitenverblijf van kardinaal Alessandro Farnese nabij Viterbo, bevatte twee ruimtes die als voorlopers van de Camerino beschouwd kunnen worden: de Stanza della Solitudine en de Stanza della Penitenza (fig.16 en 17). Terwijl in de eerste ruimte, de Stanza della Solitudine, nog een juxtapositië van profane en Christelijke anachoreten werd afgebeeld (fig.18-20), verschoof het accent in de tweede ruimte volledig naar de traditie van Christelijke heremieten (fig.21-23). Navolgingen van deze ruimtes zijn te vinden in pauselijke gebouwen en privésalons in Rome. Uit vorm en context van deze decoratiecycel blijkt weliswaar dat dit soort thematiek populariteit genoot, maar dat er geen eenduidige relatie tussen de functie van de ruimte en haar decoratie te leggen is. In de meeste gevallen maakten heremieten slechts een deel van de thematiek uit. Alleen de ruimtes in Caprarola zijn direct met de Camerino vergelijkbaar, door de duidelijke relatie tussen de functie van de kamers - door contemporaine bronnen omschreven als studiolo - en de thematiek van de decoratie. Er blijkt dus een relatie tussen de twee factoren te bestaan die door tijdgenoten samengevat werd met de begrippen studie, contemplatie en eenzaamheid.

Archiefmateriaal, plattegronden van Rome en latere tekeningen leidden tot een nieuwe reconstructie en typologie van het Palazzetto (fig.34 en 35). Dit gebouw bevond zich tussen de Via Giulia en de Tiber en was verbonden met het Palazzo Farnese door middel van een privé-brug. Op de eerste verdieping bevonden zich vijf kamers, die gedecoreerd waren met schilderijen, deels in cassettenplafonds geïnstalleerd. In de eerste kamer ging in het centrum van het plafond een werk van Annibale Carracci voorstellende Apollo. Daaromheen waren negentien kleinere schilderijen met landschapsvoorstellingen gerangschikt. De tweede ruimte was een provisorisch ingerichte kapel waarin een altaar en twee kastjes stonden die waren gedecoreerd met landschapsvoorstellingen. Het plafond van de tweede camerino was voorzien van een voorstelling van Aurora (fig.44), omringd door prospettive en afbeeldingen van bloemensstrooiende putti. De derde camerino verbeeldde de Nacht in een allegorisch centraal doek (fig.46), en daaromheen vier nacht-landschappen en acht slaperige putti. De vierde en laatste camerino was voorzien van een plafondecoratie bestaande uit scènes van spelenende putti. Samengenomen verbeeldden deze ruimtes de cyclus van de tijden van de dag en de seizoenen, en daarmee ook cosmológische kennis.
De begane grond bestond uit drie ruimtes. Op de plafonds daarvan waren door Domenichino drie Ovidiaanse thema's, verwijzend naar de oorsprong van bloemen, afgebeeld: de Dood van Adonis, de Stervende Narcissus en Apollo en Hyacinthus (fig.36-38). Twee ruimtes lagen aan de zijde van de Via Giulia, en de derde was de loggia waarin een antiek beeld van Hora was opgesteld, en welke toegang gaf tot de achter het Palazzetto gelegen tuin. Deze giardino segreto bevatte een aantal bloemen die aansloten bij de fresco's van Domenichino, die tevens verwezen naar het familiewapen van de Farnese's (de lelie), en naar de positie van Odoardo als kardinaal (de kleur paars; zie fig.39).

Het Palazzetto was een studeerruimte geïnspireerd op beschrijvingen van Plinius de Jongere van diens villa's, met name de Villa Laurentina. Daaraan was een vleugel gebouwd, aangeduid met de Griekse term διαέτα, in het latijn diaeta, die zich op enige afstand bevond van het hoofdgebouw, daaraan verbonden door een cryptoporticus. Deze diaeta bood de gebruiker enkele ruimtes gericht op studie en rust, en gaf aan alle zijden uitzicht op het omringende landschap en de zee. Sinds de zestiende eeuw ondernamen romaanse opdrachtgevers pogingen om dit architectonische type opnieuw vorm te geven. Het Palazzetto Farnese voldeed tot in de details aan Plinius' architectonische beschrijving. Ook de toepassing van landschapschilderkunst in het Palazzetto was een integraal onderdeel van het diaeta-concept en de rol van de natuur daarin. Daar ooit aan dat de Camerino degli Eremiti in zowel decoratieve opzet als iconografisch thema het decoratieprogramma van het Palazzetto voorzette, een decennium nadat dat gereed was gekomen: landschap, vorm van de decoratie en de omschrijving van 'terugtrekken' lijken daar op aan te sluiten. Alleen de heremieten weken op het eerste gezicht hiervan af.

De betrekkingen tussen Odoardo Farnese en de broederschap van de Orazione e Morte waren een duidelijk voorbeeld van institutionele en kerkelijke patronage. De confraaternita diende twee religieuze doelen: het begraven van anonieme doden en het maandelijks organiseren van de Quarant'Ore. Dit laatste was een gebedsdienst waarin de hostie, na consacratie, op het altaar werd geëxposeerd gedurende een periode van veertig aaneengesloten uren, en leden van de broederschap bij toerbeurt in gebed verzonken dit 'lichaam van Christus' aanbaden. Odoardo Farnese werd in 1599 tot protector gekozen door deze organisatie.

Rond 1610 nam Farnese's hernoemis met deze broederschap sterk toe als gevolg van een contemporaine discussie over het protectoraat. Dit systeem van toezicht op religieuze ordes werd door Clemens VIII beschouwd als een hindernis voor religieuze hervormingen, zodat hij besloot de functie af te schaffen. Zijn opvolger Paulus V was daarentegen de mening toegedaan dat hervormingen in de religieuze ordes juist gebaat zouden zijn bij interventie van buitenaf, en meende dat vernieuwing van het systeem van kardinaal-protectors een belangrijke bijdrage kon leveren aan de verbeteringen in het religieuze leven. Om dat te bewerkstelligen liet hij een memorandum schrijven dat nieuwe eisen aan en verwachtingen van de kardinaalprotector onder woorden bracht.

De invulling die Odoardo aan zijn functie als protector gaf is een aanwijzing dat hij deze nieuwe
aanbevelingen ter harte nam. Hij bekleedde de positie voor een aantal verschillende instituten waaronder broederschappen, ordes en verschillende landen. Niet alleen profiteerden de betreffende instellingen van Farnese's positie, maar vice versa genoot Farnese ook aanzien vanwege het aantal protectoraten dat hij vervulde. Dit systeem van patronage werkte dus in het voordeel van zowel de patroon als de cliënt. Het betekende ook, dat Farnese zich in de religieuze activiteiten van de betreffende religieuze instituten diende te verdiepen, en dat gebeurde via de ruimtes die hij bij een aantal van deze instituten had. Met andere woorden, de Camerino was een architectonische uitdrukking van zijn institutionele netwerk, meer in het bijzonder van zijn relatie met de broederschap van de Orazione e Morte.

Tegelijkertijd bevatte de Camerino een schilderkunstige uitdrukking van Farnese's kerkelijke verplichtingen: elk van de heiligen in Lanfranco's fresco's en schilderijen stond voor een protectoraat, in de vorm van de stichter, allusie of herkomst van de betreffende heilige. Daarnaast waren alle heiligen afgebeeld in een situatie die verwees naar de Hostie, communie, of de context geestelijk versus spiritueel voedsel, en aldus refererend aan de maandelijksse Quam omnes in de Santa Maria dell'Orazione. Uiteindelijk verwees de decoratie zo op twee niveaus naar de positie van de opdrachtgever: diens institutionele verplichtingen, en de daaruit voortvloeiende spirituele deelname aan deze organisaties.

Farnese beschikte niet alleen beschikte over de Camerino om zich terug te trekken; hij beschikte maar liefst over vier vergelijkbare plekken: het appartement in de Casa Professa te Rome (hoofdkwartier van de Jezuïetenorde, zie fig.58-62); het Palazzina Farnese naast het klooster van Santa Teresa e Silvestro in Caprarola (fig.51 en 71); een appartement in de abdij van Grottaferrata (fig.56 en 72); en een cel in de hermitage van Camaldoli (fig.73), nabij Arezzo. In deze plaatsen werd onder begeleiding van monniken aan contemplatie gedaan. De Casa Professa is daarvan het meest duidelijke voorbeeld; in de daarin gelegen Cappellina wezen de daarin aangebrachte schilderijen iconografisch op het voorbeeldige karakter van de gebedsmethode van Ignatius van Loyola, en diens goddelijke inspiratie waarop deze methode berustte (fig.63-69). Met andere woorden, elk van deze appartementen was bedoeld om aan de specifieke religieuze oefeningen van de naburige kloostergemeenschap deel te nemen.

Het ondernemen van retraites was een traditie: de kring van hervormingsgezinde kardinalen waartoe Farnese behoorde zocht regelmatig zijn toevlucht in kloosters of de vrije natuur. Paolo Emilio Sfondrato (fig.76), Federico Borromeo (fig.75) en de later heilig verklaarde Roberto Bellarmino (fig.74) streedden naar een perfect spiritueel leven door middel van dergelijke regelmatige retraites. Landschapsafbeeldingen en tuinen werden benut om retraites in de natuur te kunnen genieten, als men door verplichtingen niet in staat was om zich buiten de stad te begeven. Devotie was ook onderdeel van het publieke imago van deze kardinalen. De grafmonumenten voor Sfondrato en Bellarmino - die beide door Odoardo Farnese in opdracht werden gegeven - lieten de kardinalen in gebedshouding zien, als exemplarisch in hun geestelijk leven (fig.78-81).

Wat betekende het geschilderde landschap, en in ruimere zin ook de natuur, in cultuurhistorisch
opzicht? Bellarmino schreef een traktaat getiteld Scala per salire con la mente a dio per mezzo delle cose create, oftewel een ladder om met de geest door middel van het geschapene tot God op te stijgen. In dit traktaat gaf hij een eenvoudige en praktische uitleg van de zichtbare natuur, toegankelijk voor een groot publiek, maar in het bijzonder voor kardinalen met een drukbezet leven. Ook op andere wijze werd de idee van de natuur als afbeelding van de Schepper gepopulariseerd. In het catechismusonderwijs werden de eerste regels van het Credo via beschouwing van de zichtbare natuur uitgelegd; tevens kwam dit thema in preken voor, en werd dit idee in pelgrimage-handleidingen gebruikt om de reiziger op de relatie tussen de wereld en haar Schepper te wijzen. Tenslotte werd het concept ook in de missie gebruikt. Het handboek De procuranda salute omnium gentium uit 1613 raadde het gebruik van de zichtbare wereld als een van de methodes aan om de Indianen te overtuigen van het bestaan van God.

Jezuïeten gebruikten dit thema van natuur-devotie niet alleen in de koloniën, maar ook in Rome zelf. De tuin tussen de kerken San Vitale en Sant'Andrea al Quirinale, vanaf 1588 aangelegd, functioneerde als oefenterrein voor toekomstige missionarissen (fig.87). De novicen kregen er uitgelegd hoe natuur als afbeelding van de Schepper en diens plan gelezen kon worden, vanuit allegorische, historische, religieuze en botanische invalshoek. Elke woensdag dienden deze novicen dit uit te leggen aan pelgrims. Uit reisbeschrijvingen blijkt dat dit inderdaad gebeurde. Niet alleen Romeinen, maar alle katholieken werd duidelijk gemaakt dat wanneer men naar de natuur, of dit nu in de vorm van een plant, een tuin, de gehele zichtbare wereld of zelfs een afbeelding daarvan was, men aan de Schepper diende te denken. De tuin achter het Palazzetto Farnese ondersteunde deze meditatieve praktijk die voor een voorbeeldig kardinaal zo onontbeerlijk was. Het model van de heremiet verbeeldde het eindpunt van deze methode; deze was door zijn geestelijke perfectie in staat om de woestijn als een tuin, en die tuin als een metafoor voor God waar te nemen.

Afbeeldingen van solitaire heiligen in de zeventiende-eeuwse schilderkunst waren niet alleen een verwijzing naar het verleden: in de zeventiende eeuw konden dergelijke religieuze op straat aangetroffen worden. Deze waren enerzijds maatschappelijk gemarginaliseerd en werden door de kerkelijke autoriteiten gedwongen zich aan te sluiten bij religieuze instellingen. Anderzijds representeerden zij de spirituele perfectie van de vroege Christenen. Om deze voorbeeldfunctie niet te laten ontaarden in oncontroleerbaarheid, werden beeldende kunsten ingezet. Door de gebedspрактиk plaats te laten vinden in ruimtes die isolatie in een landschappelijke omgeving simuleerden door middel van landschapschilderkunst, kon de beschouwer in de geest, en op tijdelijke basis, het ideaal van de heremiet volgen, zonder de negatieve consequenties die de werkelijkheid met zich meebracht.

Lanfranco's Camerino degli Eremiti markeert de opkomende traditie van de hermitage, vertaald naar de context van het privépaleis. De decoratie van de ruimte bewoog, precies zoals Bellori verwoordde in zijn biografie van de schilder, dat 'door naar [deze landschappen] te kijken, de beschouwers uitgenodigd [werden] om zichzelf naar deze helling te verplaatsen om zulk een heerlijke eenzaamheid te genieten...'.

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Schilderijen ondersteunden, en spoorden aan tot het doen van devotieele oefeningen. De Camerino vond op haar beurt navolging in de latere zeventiende eeuw in Rome. Daarin valt een onderscheid te maken tussen drie soorten hermitages: die, welke door religieuze ordes werden gesticht, die door kardinalen waren gebruikt, en die voor seculiere adellijke gebruiikers. Deserti van Ongeschoeiide Karmelieten waren een voorbeeld van het eerste type: buiten de steden gelezen terreinen waarbinnen een strikte organisatie architectuur en levensritme bepaalde (fig.111). Het type voor kardinalen volgde het voorbeeld van de Camerino direct na: deze ruimtes waren bedoeld voor gebedsoefeningen, en voorzien van landschappelijke decoratie. Kardinaal Flavio Chigi beschikte rond 1670 over een hermitage in het romeinse Palazzo Chigi; tevens liet hij een hermitage in zijn villa Cetinale bij Siena aanleggen (fig.116-117). Ten derde werd de privé-hermitage, _romitorio_ ook populair in palazzi van Romeinse adel families. Tussen 1660 en 1675 werden dit soort ruimtes gemaakt in Palazzo Rospigliosi-Pallavicini, Palazzo Colonna (fig.121) en Palazzo Altieri (fig.120). Elk van deze hermitages bevond zich in een klein privé-appartement bedoeld om zich af te zonderen van het publieke leven. Literatuur gericht op de gebruiker van deze ruimtes toont echter aan dat strikte contemplatie daar geen deel meer van uitmaakte: populariseringen van de Levens van Heilige Vaders raadden de lezer juist aan om door kuisheid, geduld, bescheidenheid en mortificatie tot een deugdzaam leven te komen. Gebed was dus niet meer de hoofdfunctie van dit laatste type hermitage.

Tegelijkertijd liet de heremiet op het toneel het afnemende belang van gebedspraktijk voor de seculiere gelovige zien. Enerzijds werd de heremiet voorgesteld als ten prooi gevallen aan de duivel of de duivel in persoon, anderzijds was de heremiet het voorbeeld van een deugdzaam leven waarin het aandeel gebed niet meer expliciet werd aangeprezen. Het model van de heremiet was een rollenspel geworden, en de hermitage verwerd tot een modeverschijnsel. Het geschilderde landschap werd, met het verdwijnen van de aan de _romitorio_ verbonden meditatiepraktijk, tot een decoratief onderdeel.

Palazzetto Farnese en Camerino degli Eremiti waren dus niet een toevallige constellatie van architectuur en schilderkunst, maar vormden een samenhangend iconografisch concept waarin landschap een cruciale rol speelde. Iconografie was daarin meerdere: niet één, maar meerdere betekenislagen werden tegelijk ingezet voor verschillende soorten publiek. Het Palazzetto was enerzijds een verbeelding van natuurhistorische inzichten, en anderzijds een devotieel parcours, analoog aan Bellarmino’s _Scala di salire_. In de _giardino segreto_ kon Farnese bloemen en planten bewonderen als onderdelen van de schepping en reflectie van de Schepper. Binnen in het Palazzetto stelden de fresco’s in de loggia de genese van de natuur, de krachten van God werkend in de afzonderlijke elementen, voor; de schilderijen in de _camerini_ op de eerste etage representeerden cosmológische aspecten. Als laatste stap verbeeldde de Camerino degli Eremiti de spirituele blik op de natuur: heremieten zagen God zelf door de stoffelijke wereld heen. Via een letterlijk klimmen van de tuin naar de Camerino was Odoardo Farnese in staat om ook geestelijk los te komen van de aardse omstandigheden en zich te concentreren op het Goddelijke. Geschilderde en werkelijke natuur waren een ladder tot God, en daarmee drager van religieuze betekenis.
Op grond van deze casus kunnen conclusies getrokken worden omtrent het ontstaan van het genre landschap in de Italiaanse schilderkunst en de relatie tussen landschap en staffage. Autonomie van de kunstenaar en artistieke belangstelling voor de afbeelding van de omringende natuur vormen geen afdoende verklaring voor de snel toenemende populariteit van landschapschilderijen. Het ontstaan van het genre valt beter te begrijpen met behulp van institutionele patronage en religieus reveil rond 1600. Kardinalen en kerkbestuurders kozen voor het landschap als thema omdat het de politiek van confessionalisering ondersteunde. Daarbij maakten zij gebruik van de encyclopedische traditie waarin de natuur een veelvoud aan betekenisstrijden droeg. Religieus en profaan functioneerden daarbij in elkaars verlengde. Het gebruik van mythologische staffage was geen bezwaar voor een religieus begrip van het geschilderde landschap; terwijl profane werken voor de macrocosmos en de natuurlijke cyclus, was de religieuze invulling een Christelijke verklaring van diezelfde wereldorde. Er was sprake van analogie en continuïteit tussen deze verschillende betekenislagen, zoals ook in de Middeleeuwse teksten van de Ovid moralisée. De dialectische visie op de verschillende iconografische betekenissen blijkt dus anachronistisch te zijn, en een juist begrip van de betekenis van de schilderkunst voor de zeventiende-eeuwse beschouwer te blokkeren.

De verhouding tussen setting en staffage is daarmee ook omgekeerd ten opzichte van wat tot nu toe in de kunstgeschiedenis is verondersteld. De figuren waren niet een latere toevoeging aan het ‘moderne’ landschap, of een excuus voor de toepassing van het nieuwe genre in een religieuze context, maar vormden een integraal onderdeel van de compositie. Heremieten en andere heiligen wezen de beschouwer op de manier waarop het landschap diende te worden geïnterpreteerd: als ladder der scheepselen naar God. Uit de verschillende latente betekenislagen van het landschap werd door de aanwezigheid van de anachoreet een specifieke religieuze interpretatie naar voren gehaald, die door de katholieke Reformatie werd gestimuleerd. Staffage verwees dus als ‘index’ naar de door de opdrachtgever geïntendeerde betekenis. Ook het kleiner worden en uiteindelijk verdwijnen van de solitaire heilige uit het geschilderde landschap in de loop van de zeventiende eeuw is geen aanwijzing van een zich ontwikkelend secular wereldbeeld, maar reflecteert juist het succes van de Katholieke confessionalisering. De zeventiende-eeuwse beschouwer had steeds minder aanwijzingen nodig om de zichtbare wereld als afbeelding van de Schepper te zien. Daarmee ligt het onderscheid tussen de landschapschilderkunst benoorden en bezuiden de Alpen ligt dus ook niet in de religieuze connotaties, maar slechts in de afwezigheid van ‘lees-instructies’ in de vorm van exemplarische heiligen in de Nederlandse landschappen.

Tenslotte vormt de bestudering van cardinaal Odoardo Farnese aanleiding om de kunsthistorische interpretatie van patronage in het vroegmoderne Rome kritisch te bezoeken. Kunstpatronage is een onderdeel van een sociaal-historisch fenomeen, waarin patronen en cliënten complexe netwerken ontsloten. De relatie tussen deze partijen was daarin van langere duur, en ondersteunde wederzijdse belangen. In dit systeem leidt de traditionele kunsthistorische identificatie van de client met de kunstenaar tot een vertekening van de historische praktijk; het kunstwerk was geen doel op zich, maar functioneerde als
visuele uitdrukking van de relatie tussen patroon en client – in dit geval vaak een religieuze orde of een hoogwaardigheidsbekleder. Het kunstwerk drukte de wederzijdse loyaliteit uit, en de rol van de kunstenaar was vergelijkbaar met die van de hofschilder.

De theorie van 'public patronage' zoals die door Francis Haskell is voorgesteld, vormt daarom een geschikt model voor de rol van kunst in een web van clientelisme. Kunstwerken waren niet alleen maar een uiting van 'conspicuous consumption': iconografie speelde juist een sleutelrol in het functioneren van deze kunstwerken. Elk onderdeel van een kunstwerk in dit netwerk van patronage is dus ook verklarbaar vanuit de context. De Camerino degli Eremiti is daarvan een perfect voorbeeld. Hier liet Farnese zich wijzen op zijn diverse verplichtingen die hem zo'n belangrijke positie gaven in de kerkelijke hiërarchie. De landschappen wezen hem op het belang van religieuze en devotiele vernieuwing in de Katholieke kerk, waarvoor deze relaties ingezet dienden te worden, en de heiligen in die landschappen stonden op verschillende nivo's voor de aard van deze verplichtingen.

De decoratie van het Palazzetto Farnese biedt dus inzicht in het wereldbeeld van de vroege zeventiende eeuw, waarin de natuur meerdere betekenissen droeg. In deze encyclopedische ordening waren de verschillende betekenissen complementair, en vulden elkaar aan. Al deze lagen waren echter, als gevolg van de Katholieke Reformatie, ondergeschikt aan een dominant religieus wereldbeeld. Context en religieuze status van de geschilderde landschappen hielpen de beschouwer bovendien deze religieuze betekenis te selecteren uit het scala aan mogelijke interpretaties. De visie op de Zuideuropese landschapschilderkunst zoals die in de vroege negentiende eeuw ontwikkeld werd, en die de huidige kunstgeschiedenis nog steeds diepgaand beïnvloedt, dient daarom bijgesteld te worden. De zienswijze zoals recentelijk naar voren gebracht met betrekking tot de Vlaamse en Nederlandse landschapschilderkunst – het landschap als allegorie van de pelgrimage van het leven, en als afbeelding van de Schepper – kan dus geëxtrapolleerd worden naar Italië. Het geschilderde landschap was voor de zeventiende-eeuwse Italiaanse beschouwer geen spiegel voor de menselijke ziel of haar emotionele toestand, maar een afbeelding van het Tweede Boek der Openbaring en een middel op weg naar spirituele perfectie. Kennis en mystieke ervaring vormden daarin methodische stappen op weg naar een juiste interpretatie van de zichtbare wereld, of deze nu direct of via afbeeldingen werd waargenomen.
APPENDIX

The contract between Odoardo Farnese and the Archiconfraternity of the Orazione e Morte in Rome, 1611

In ASN. Fondo Farnesiano 8.1346 fasc.37; a contemporary copy can be found in the archive of the brotherhood of the Orazione e Morte, in ASVR, ASMOM 59, Libro degli decreti.

Title on cover: Concessio III° D. Card° Odoardii Farnesij a Ven. Archiconfraternitate mortis et orationis de Urbe fabricandi una mura atque forandi in eo una fenestra prospiciente Intra Eccu da Archiconfraternitis, co alia In[..] Illius oratorioe che [...] ad vita III°° D.S. una con donatione p. ipsu S. Card° fact. de Archiconfraternit.
ABBREVIATIONS

Archives:

ARS I - Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu, Rome
ASC - Archivio Storico Capitolino, Rome
ASMGr - Archivio Badia Santa Maria, Grottaferrata
ASMOM - Archivio Santa Maria dell'Orazione e Morte
( in ASVR)
ASN - Archivio di Stato, Naples
AS PP - Archivio di Stato, Parma
AS RR - Archivio di Stato, Rome
AS VV - Archivio Segreto del Vicariato, Rome
AS VR - Archivio Segreto Ordinis Carmelitarum
ASMO MM - Archivio Santa Maria dell'Orazione e Morte
ASVR - Archivio Segreto Ordinis Carmelitarum

Libraries:

BAV - Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City
BNC - Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele II, Rome
BNN - Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, Naples
Teresianum - Biblioteca del Pontificia Facolta Teologica Teresianum, Rome

Encyclopedic works:

AS - Acta Sanctorum quotquot tota orbe coluntur, vel a catholicis scriptoribus celebrantur ... Paris 1863-present
DBI - Dizionario biografico degli Italiam. Eds. Alberto Ghisalberti et al. Rome 1960-present
DNP - Der Neue Pauly - Enzyklopädie der Antike. 15 vols. Stuttgart etc. 1996-present.
Journals

AB  Art Bulletin
BA  Bollettino d’Arte
BM  The Burlington Magazine
JHC  Journal of the History of Collections
JWCJ  Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes
GdBA  Gazette des beaux Arts

KI  -  Kunsthistorisk Tidskrift
RJK  -  Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte
RSRR  -  Ricerche per la Storia Religiosa di Roma
RQ  -  Römische Quartalschrift
SCJ  -  Sixteenth-Century Journal
SDA  -  Storia dell’Arte
ZK  -  Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte
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Dall'altra parte stavano scritte queste parole.

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La trasformazione di Piacenza
operata da Dio
Col mezzo delle Prediche Quaresimali,
Sermoni della settimana Santa all’Orazione delle
Quarant’Ore fatti nel Duomo
l’anno 1617.
Dal R. P. G. GIACINTO da Casale
Predicatore Capuccino;

A voluto la mia buona forza, che conal-
tri miei compagni, partiti da Brescia à
palsa, io mi sia trovatò a Piacenza ne-
gli ultimi giorni della Quaresima, pa-
sta, dove con gli occhi miei hò veduto e marau-
gle operate da Santo Sig., in quella terra de quali-
arendomi non inferiori à quelle che già tre anni
aggiù in Brescia, hò giudicato esser ragione non re-
line priu à de la luce, che haver già quelle coi mez-
o della flampa, Per tanto hò procurato con molta
iligènza e fatica de trovare, chi hà avuto tenuto
zioni: e finalmente, coi mezzo di certo Sacerdoor
mio amico, hò àvuto venuta de vedere, e copiar.

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