

Collecting copper plates between Venice and Rome in the seventeenth century

Cardinal Alessandro Orsini, the Old Masters and the sciences

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Cardinal Alessandro Orsini is principally characterized by his passion for science and interest in the arts. New research has made it possible to reconstruct his biography and the dynamics that led to the formation of his art collection. Uniquely in Rome, it comprised numerous copper plates identified by the author as works by Albrecht Dürer, Lucas van Leyden and Hans Sebald Beham. The Cardinal was among the main patrons of the Stamperia Ducale at Bracciano; the author suggests that he purchased the copper plates in Venice from the merchant Daniel Nijs. This has made it possible to trace a hitherto unknown story involving the dissemination of art works, made possible by Orsini's constant journeys between Rome, Bracciano and the cities of Northern Europe, which allowed him to establish relationships with the period's most important thinkers, develop open-minded intellectual views and increase his own collection with a preference for Venetian painting.

ROSA URSINA SIVE SOL is the title of the astronomical treatise by the German Jesuit Christoph Scheiner published by the Stamperia Ducale at Bracciano in 1630 though, as stated at the bottom of the title page, printing actually began in 1626 (Fig. 1).¹ The work was dedicated to Duke Paolo Giordano II Orsini, and was generously funded by his brother Cardinal Alessandro Orsini, known for his devotion to the Jesuit Order, sufficiently strong that he expressed a desire to leave the cardinalate to enter the Company of Jesus and requested that his heart be buried near the tomb of Cardinal Bellarmine.² For him, the main attraction was the scientific research sponsored by the Roman College in an attempt to find a compromise between the new findings of the Accademia dei Lincei and Holy Scripture.³ Orsini openly supported Scheiner, who had also requested the assistance of Duke Paolo Savelli, a reliable point of reference for Germans,⁴ whilst at the same time interceding on behalf of his antagonist Galileo Galilei, with whom Scheiner was engaged in an open dispute; Galileo accused Scheiner of plagiarism and claimed precedence in the observation of solar phenomena.⁵ The cardinal's explicit interest in Copernicus and his theories is also attested.⁶ The traditional cosmological system had been called into question by the new scientific

discoveries and the aim of the Jesuit College, set out in Scheiner's text, was to preserve geocentrism unaltered, whilst at the same time adopting new research methods that proceeded by way of hypotheses.⁷

The title of the Jesuit scientist's treatise was probably suggested by Cardinal Orsini. The heraldic rose of the Orsini family is in effect compared to the sun which, as well as being the object of the observations described is also one of the emblems of the Papal Barberini family, promoters of the new scientific and philosophical culture. This is a union replete with encomiastic significance, to the same extent as the celebratory insertion of a portrait of Paolo Giordano II into the *antiporta* (Fig. 2). It is suggested here that the latter was based on an original by Ottavio Leoni, probably that for which he was paid in 1625 and which had been commissioned by Cardinal Alessandro who, in addition to this portrait and another of himself, commissioned that of his sister-in-law Isabella Appiani, Princess of Piombino, from this skilled painter.⁸

The emblem for the title page was engraved by Matthäus Greuter and depicts bears in their lairs, one of which is intent on observing sunspots on a sheet of paper on to which a ray of sunlight falls through an opening in the cave; it is followed by a full-page

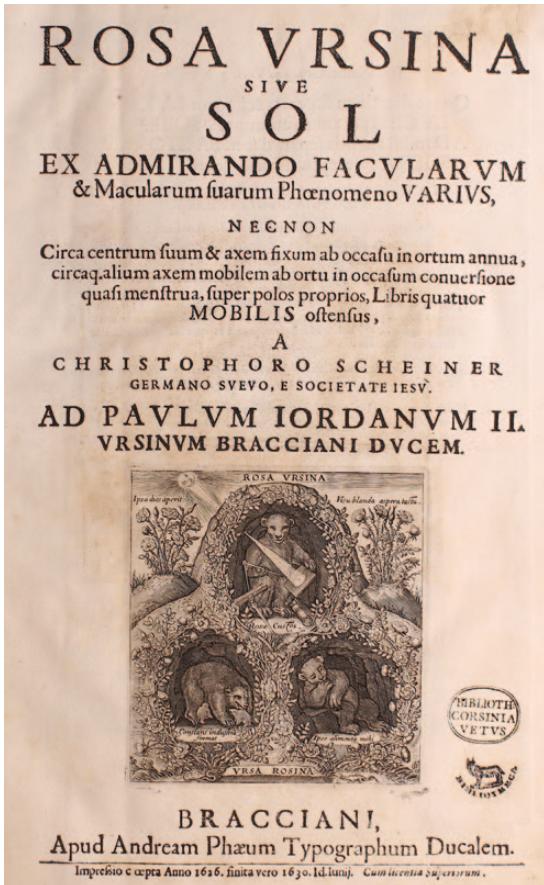


Fig. 1. Frontispiece of Christoph Scheiner's *Rosa Ursina sive Sol* (Bracciano, 1626–30). Rome, Biblioteca Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, 142 H 9.

engraving full of symbolic references to the Jesuits, to the theme of the book and to the Orsini family who wished to celebrate their own dynasty and their connections to France, of which Cardinal Alessandro was co-protector (Fig. 3). At the top, in the centre, beneath the monogram of Christ, ‘IHS’, was the portrait of St Bathild, wife of Clovis II, King of the Franks,⁹ a mythical woman who, it was claimed, was related to the Orsini family and who was of relevance to the subject of the book for exclusively ancestral reasons; the model for the portrait was probably a drawing by Giovanni Campagna, who in recent years had worked hard to give a face to the ancestors of the Orsini family.¹⁰ The complex allegory was engraved by Daniel Widmann, who signed the plate on page 150 presenting, in two separate scenes, the Jesuit Scheiner intent

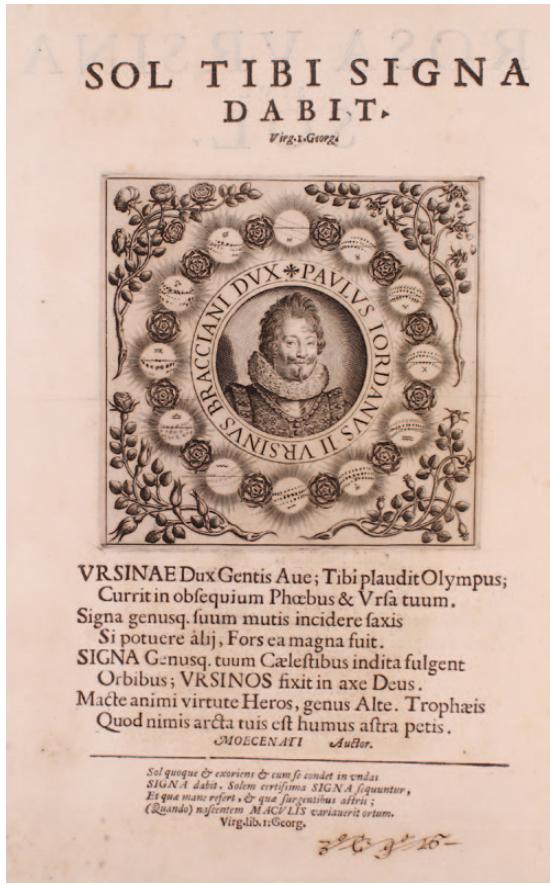


Fig. 2. Antiporta of Christoph Scheiner's *Rosa Ursina sive Sol* (Bracciano, 1626–30) with portrait of Paolo Giordano II Orsini after Ottavio Leoni. Rome, Biblioteca Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, 142 H 9.

on observing the sun in the open and in his study.¹¹ Widmann, born in Strasbourg in 1598,¹² was responsible for the numerous illustrations included in the book, as we know from the cardinal's accounts, which register payments to the engraver for a whole year, from 16 June 1625 to 16 June 1626.¹³ The copper plates were made by the coppersmith Cristoforo Anselmi and their number increased month-by-month until the cardinal's death.¹⁴ The schematic depictions of sunspots and the refraction of light were engraved by Widmann in Bracciano, where he was repeatedly sent ‘gesso da disegnare’ (drawing chalk) and printing ink.¹⁵ Within the timeframe established by the cardinal's accounts, he made 224 large and small copper plates. During his lifetime, which came to an end in Bracciano on 22 August 1626, Alessandro Orsini thus was able to see

the publication of Scheiner's work and to appreciate the translation into print of Widmann's plates.

Between 1621 and 1625, the cardinal was legate in Romagna;¹⁶ during this period, his political interests took him to various parts of Europe. Sent to visit the Emperor Ferdinand II in Prague, he travelled there with his Jesuit friend Niccolò Zucchi and had the opportunity to meet the scientist Johannes Kepler, with whom his protégé Scheiner was engaged in an open dispute. To reach the imperial court Orsini and Zucchi passed through numerous cities that had adhered to the Protestant Reformation and met some Jesuit fathers. As Daniello Bartoli tells us in his biography of Zucchi, the two learned travellers saw that in these areas Jesuits were represented in prints with the features of the devil.¹⁷ From these regions the cardinal brought back numerous chests full of objects, promptly recorded in the wardrobe inventory drawn up on 10 July 1623;¹⁸ among the

marvels with which he returned to his home country was an Arabian horse, a gift from the Emperor, the beauty of which was immortalized by Filippo Liagno, known as Filippo Napoletano, in an unusual painting on slate as shiny as glass.¹⁹ In the autumn of 1623, Cardinal Orsini made another short journey that included Trieste, whence some porters brought a painting back to Ravenna, where the cardinal was temporarily based.²⁰ After returning to Rome in winter for a brief stay, in March 1624 Orsini was preparing for another journey to Germany; he just had time to have his portrait drawn by Ottavio Leoni on paper, now in the collection of the Masters, Fellows and Scholars of Downing College at the University of Cambridge (Fig. 4), which was kept by the artist as a model for the oil painting. In May he was already in Vienna, where he was sent 500 medallions, twelve 'Uffici della Passione' and 200 lute songs as gifts for the court.²¹ Returning in December of the same year,



Fig. 3. Plate II of Christoph Scheiner's *Rosa Ursina sive Sol* (Bracciano, 1626–30), by Daniel Widmann. Rome, Biblioteca Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, 142 H 9.



Fig. 4. *Portrait of Cardinal Alessandro Orsini*, by Ottavio Leoni. Collection of the Masters, Fellows and Scholars of Downing College, University of Cambridge. Reproduced by the kind permission of the Masters, Fellows and Scholars of Downing College, Cambridge. © The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Orsini stopped off in Venice, the city where his father Virginio had lived for a long period at the end of the sixteenth century in memorable luxury;²² here he saw the famous collection of the unscrupulous Flemish agent and merchant Daniel Nijs.²³ An inventory of the possessions of Cardinal Alessandro drawn up in 1633, six years after his death, suggests that his time with the merchant was for him not just a moment of intellectual leisure but an excellent opportunity to conclude a major purchase. Among the items listed in the document, alongside paintings and the objects necessary for the public and private life of an aristocratic cardinal, we find a list of 137 engraved copper plates contained within a small basket.²⁴ The ‘guardaroba’ Filippo Albergati describes their iconographies, some of which are fairly rare. We can suggest an identification for these, recognizing three groups attributable respectively to the Dutch artist Lucas van Leyden and to the Germans Albrecht Dürer and Hans Sebald Beham. From Vincenzo Scamozzi’s description of the precious ebony cabinet of Daniel Nijs, we learn that it contained, among other treasures, ‘woodcuts, niello and enamel works and burin engravings: and all the drawings of Albrecht Dürer and Lucas van Leyden and a great number made by hand by the most famous masters’.²⁵ Scamozzi’s statement regarding the drawings by Dürer and Lucas van Leyden is anything but clear; the passage has been transcribed by scholars on several occasions and interpreted in such a way as to suggest that the historiographer was also referring to their engravings.²⁶ However, on a more attentive reading the structure of Scamozzi’s sentences suggests a different interpretation. The ‘Drawings by Albrecht Dürer and Lucas van Leyden’ actually refer to the ‘burin engravings’, in other words the copper plates made after the drawings of the two masters. The masculine noun ‘drawings’ should be linked to the following sentence, to be read as follows: a ‘great number’ of drawings ‘made by hand by the most famous masters’. Having thus clarified this passage, it is therefore possible that Cardinal Orsini obtained his copper plates from Nijs, who may not have wished to miss out on an opportunity to make an advantageous sale. In any case, the subsequent descriptions of the merchant’s cabinet no longer seem to list the copper plates recorded by Scamozzi, which would certainly not have gone unnoticed by the expert eyes of the valuers with whom Nijs came into contact to negotiate their sale, concluded in 1638.²⁷

We can thus identify various images that belonged to Nijs and, in my opinion, to Orsini. Lucas van Leyden, for example, is credited with the plate depicting a ‘Christo abbeverato’ (Christ being given a drink), corresponding to the composition in which a soldier behind Christ’s back offers him a drink whilst another holds a jug in his hand, dated around 1512 (Fig. 5).²⁸ Lucas was also responsible for that described as ‘Sansone e Alida’, in other words the print of around 1507 depicting the Jewish heroine Delilah intent on cutting the hair of Sampson as he sleeps in a landscape animated by soldiers (Fig. 6).²⁹ The Orsini ‘guardaroba’ Filippo Albergati also mentions ‘Doi con una borsa’ (Two people with a purse), an iconography corresponding to *A Fool and a Woman* of 1520,³⁰ where in the lower left foreground, between the two figures, we see a purse attached to the man’s belt (Fig. 7). The ‘S. Giovanni Battista’ corresponds to the print depicting *St John the Baptist in the Desert* of 1513 in which the figure is seated at the centre of a barren landscape with a lamb at his side.³¹



Fig. 5. *Soldier giving the Saviour a Drink*, by Lucas van Leyden. Engraving, 111 by 83 mm. New York, Metropolitan Museum, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1933. www.metmuseum.org



Fig. 6. *Sampson and Delilah*, by Lucas van Leyden. Engraving, 283 by 202 mm. New York, Metropolitan Museum, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1924. www.metmuseum.org

In the Orsini document, we read four entries whose main subjects are putti. Leaving aside the first generic entry ‘due putti’, we can attempt to identify the ‘doi putti con un cane’ (two putti with a dog), ‘doi putti con un passero’ (two putti with a sparrow) and ‘doi putti con celata’ (two putti with a helmet) with three compositions by Lucas van Leyden. The dog is depicted in the sheet of 1517 with three, rather than two, putti, engraved within two circular spaces.³² The sparrow tied by one leg with a ribbon held by a putto, depicted nude and kneeling, appears in the print with *Two Nude Children Supporting a Blank Shield* of about 1510 (Fig. 8).³³ The ‘celata’, or helmet, is held up by two putti in the sheet of 1527.³⁴ The ‘Lucretia’ can also be attributed to Lucas van Leyden, who in 1512 created a plate in which the Roman heroine is shown nude with her hair loose as she stabs her breast with a sword.³⁵ The ‘S. Domenico’ may be the plate for the 1514 engraving in which the saint, standing with the book and a pole with a processional crucifix, has a dog behind him with the lighted torch pointed towards



Fig. 7. *A Fool and a Woman*, by Lucas van Leyden. Engraving, 103 by 73 mm. New York, Metropolitan Museum, Rogers Fund, 192. www.metmuseum.org

a globe.³⁶ The ‘13 Apostoli in pezzi 13’ (13 Apostles in 13 pieces) described by Filippo Albergati seem to belong to the series executed in around 1510 and consisting of fourteen copperplates depicting Christ, St Paul and the Twelve Apostles.³⁷ In this case, the Christ shown blessing with his right hand as he looks at the cross on the globe held in his left hand can be identified as that described in the register a few lines earlier as ‘Christo che porta la croce’ (Christ carrying the Cross).³⁸ There is a copy of this series, mostly executed in reverse, in Vienna.³⁹

Of uncertain identification, since the subject seems to have been treated by both Lucas van Leyden and Albrecht Dürer, is the plate described as ‘La Madonna con santa Anna’ (Madonna and St Anne) corresponding to the engraving made by the Dutch artist in 1516 in which the Virgin with the Child in her arms meets her elderly mother Anne.⁴⁰ Dürer dedicated a plate engraved in 1500 to this subject although the position of the Virgin, seen from behind with her back partially uncovered and hair loose made

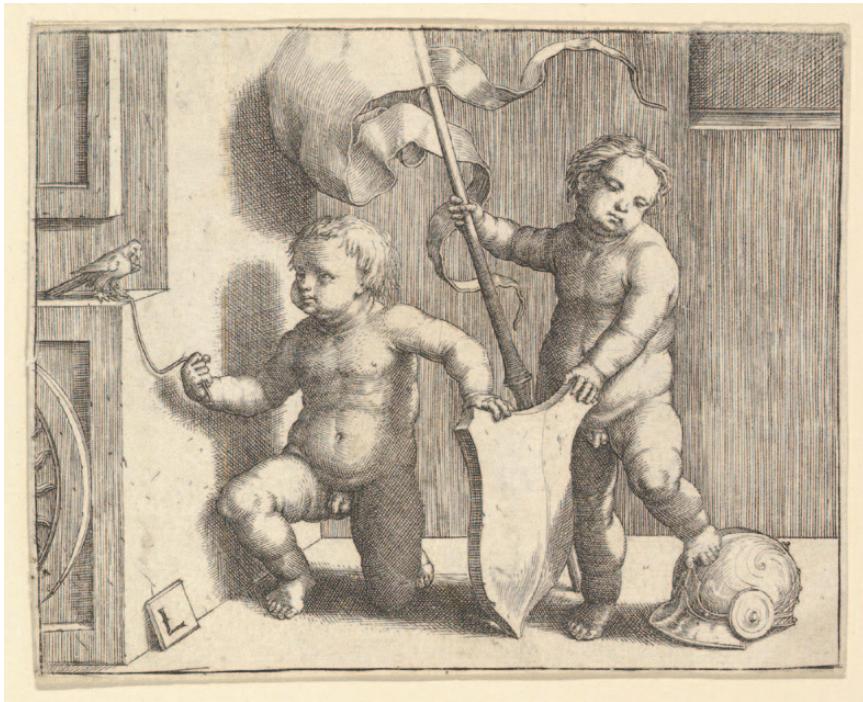


Fig. 8. *Two Nude Children Supporting a Blank Shield*, by Lucas van Leyden. Engraving, 84 by 106 mm. New York, Metropolitan Museum, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1933. www.metmuseum.org

the iconography difficult to recognize at the time. The same doubts are raised by the ‘S. Antonio’; the plate can be identified with a high degree of probability as the engraving executed by Lucas van Leyden in about 1521,⁴¹ given also the presence in the list of the aforementioned ‘S. Domenico’. In this context, it is worth remembering that Dürer dedicated a sheet of 1519 to this saint, in which he appears seated on a lawn with a townscape behind him.⁴² The copperplate described as ‘S. Bartiano’ – St Sebastian – can be attributed either to Lucas van Leyden with his sheet of 1510,⁴³ or to Dürer, the author of two plates in 1501, one in which Sebastian is tied to a tree,⁴⁴ the other in which he is martyred at a column.⁴⁵ The same is true of the ‘S. Christoforo’, which can be plausibly connected to the sheet by Lucas van Leyden of 1506,⁴⁶ in which the saint is shown in accordance with the customary iconography as he carries the Christ Child across a river, similarly treated by Dürer in two prints of 1521.⁴⁷

Ascribable with greater certainty to Dürer are the plates with ‘Malinconia’, a well-known composition of 1514 entitled *Melencolia I*,⁴⁸ and the ‘Villano e vilanetta, pezzi doi’ (peasant and peasant woman, two pieces), identifiable as the two engravings of 1496–7 in which two pairs of villagers are portrayed against a bare background, one of which is identified as *The*

*Cook and his Wife*⁴⁹ by the presence of some pans held in the man’s hand (Fig. 9). Six versions of the latter are known; a copper plate is mentioned in the inventory of the possessions of the merchant Gommer Spranger of Amsterdam in 1637,⁵⁰ proof that in the early decades of the seventeenth century various plates of the master’s engravings were in circulation.

The plate described in the Orsini document as ‘Moisé et Aron’ can be attributed to Hans Sebald Beham and corresponds to the engraving of 1526 (Fig. 10);⁵¹ in this composition, the two Old Testament figures appear next to one another with a landscape behind them. The ‘Donna con Traiano’ (Woman with Trajan) corresponds to the sheet portraying the *Justice of Trajan* of 1537,⁵² in which a widow with her dead son prostrates herself before the emperor on horseback, surrounded by soldiers with lances. Above, a long inscription describes the scene. The plates described as ‘Ragini quattro con Evangelisti’ (four little coppers with Evangelists) also correspond to the series of tiny dimensions made by the German artist in 1541 and depicting *St Mark, St Matthew, St John and St Luke*, all depicted full-length with wings.⁵³ Also attributable to Beham is the plate described as ‘Infortunio’, an unusual iconography corresponding to the print of around 1542 showing



Fig. 9. *The Cook and his Wife*, by Albrecht Dürer. Engraving 108 by 77 mm. New York, Metropolitan Museum, gift of Mrs William H. Osborn. www.metmuseum.org

misfortune personified as a winged woman advancing beneath a rain of sulphur in an arid landscape, with a devil and a crayfish at her feet.⁵⁴ Also in keeping with the work of this artist are the plates described as 'Pezzi sette, Christo con gli Apostoli' (seven pieces, Christ with the Apostles) perfectly corresponding to the series of 1520,⁵⁵ consisting of seven plates depicting Christ blessing, alone and full-length, and the twelve Apostles in pairs. Also drawn from this artist are the two series described as 'Pezzi sette, sono li sette pianeti' (seven pieces, the seven planets)⁵⁶ and 'Pezzi 12, Fatiche d'Ercole' (12 pieces, the Labours of Hercules),⁵⁷ although the iconography, employed by several artists, makes them difficult to identify.

These plates are accompanied by others that are less easy to identify and some wood blocks, including nineteen ascribed to Dürer, perhaps copies of originals by the artist. It is worth noting that at this period in Rome, Cardinal Francesco Maria Del Monte's

valuable art collection could boast 'ten copper plates engraved by hand by Dürer with ebony frames of about half a hand's breadth'⁵⁸ kept in a small room in his Ripetta palace. Unlike the latter, Alessandro Orsini did not display his copper plates as rare and valuable objects but kept them safe in a container, perhaps intending to exploit their potential through the Stamperia Ducale at Bracciano, then at the height of its activity.⁵⁹ In any case, one set of prints was made, as indicated by the inventory of the possessions of Paolo Giordano II which mentions, alongside the eleven volumes with engravings by Jacques Callot, a 'printed book with a leather cover and a leather pouch with all the works of Lucas van Leyden and some by Albrecht Dürer in fine prints'.⁶⁰

In the diverse Roman panorama, the situation emerging from the papers in the Orsini archives seems unique, as it sees a cardinal owning engraved plates not made to show off his own collection; such plates were usually the prerogative of publishers, engravers and printers,⁶¹ who avidly acquired a legacy of images and passed them down from father to son.⁶² Alessandro Orsini did not own copper plates for commercial purposes, although he possessed a print workshop and was interested in the subject,⁶³ but for their high cultural value as unique works by great masters. The importance of the copper plates was understood by the Flemish merchant Nijs, who had brought them from Northern Europe without making large numbers of prints from them, a process that would certainly have damaged them. As Giulio Mancini maintained, the task of the collector was to ensure the uniqueness of the work of art, in part to avoid its monetary devaluation.⁶⁴ Alessandro Orsini, who was inclined to artistic interests, made considered and careful choices, as indicated by the collection assembled with greater economic means after he was elected cardinal in 1615. He was interested in antiques, as indicated by a letter concerning the purchase and display of ancient sarcophagi sent to him by Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger, his trusted agent in Florence.⁶⁵ Thanks to his correspondence with the latter, we know that Orsini commissioned the *Judith and Holofernes* by Cristofano Allori, identified by the present author as the work now in the Princely Collection of the Palais Liechtenstein Vaduz-Vienna.⁶⁶ Today, newly discovered documents allow us to specify that the painting arrived

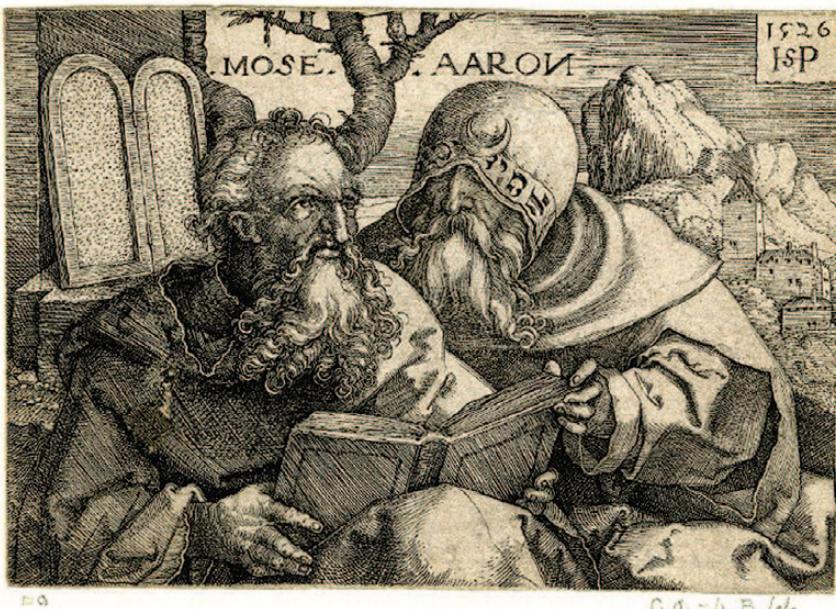


Fig. 10. *Moses and Aaron*, by Hans Sebald Beham. Engraving, 76 by 112 mm. London, British Museum. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

from Florence on 24 December 1616.⁶⁷ Allori was among the cardinal's favourite painters, as we know from the arrival in his collection of two small paintings on copper depicting *St Mary Magdalene* and *St Francis* on 1 December 1615. His faithful servant Pucci recollects that the works had been in the house for three years and they probably formed a group combining the representation of nature with the sentiments inspired by meditation before the crucifix, characterizing the iconography of both saints. The paintings were executed in around 1612, when the execution of another large *Magdalene* for Francesco de' Medici is documented;⁶⁸ the Orsini version on copper probably replicates this composition. The initial contacts between Orsini and the artist probably date to 1612, mediated by the Medici and by Cardinal Del Monte, who admired his work.⁶⁹ The *St Francis* may also be modelled on the painting made for Scipione Borghese (Rome, Galleria Borghese), and may be identified with the painting on copper (40 by 30 cm) held at the Ulster Museum in Belfast whose provenance is unknown.⁷⁰ In 1615 numerous works entered the painting collection, including the portraits of Cardinal Borghese and Paul V; they were scattered between the family palace at Montegiordano and the fief of Bracciano, and later, from the 1620s, the residence on the Lungara.⁷¹ In 1625, as already mentioned,

alongside the oil portraits commissioned from Ottavio Leoni, two valuable panels by Domenico Beccafumi donated by Monsignor Piccolomini in previous years arrived in Rome.

The connection with his fiefs appears fundamental during the years 1625–6 when the cardinal commissioned architectural works: on 6 March 1625 the architect Orazio Torriani travelled to Bracciano with his nephew to work on the lodge and garden owned by the cardinal outside the town, identifiable as the Orsini hunting lodge that still exists today, though its proportions have been altered,⁷² in the vicinity of Vicarello on the shores of the lake. Torriani also oversaw the project for the collegiate church in Bracciano dedicated to St Stephen.⁷³ The original idea for the façade designed by Torriani for the church can be identified in a drawing held in the Civico Gabinetto dei Disegni del Castello Sforzesco in Milan, part of the Martinelli collection (Fig. 11). This sheet, previously attributed tentatively to Giovanni Battista Montano and Francesco Maria Richino, presents a bust crowned with laurel above the portal, to be identified as the titular saint, and the family coat of arms on the pediment, with the rose and the eel over a barred (striped) half-shield.

On 30 October 1625, at the request of Alessandro Orsini, the famous *Glory of Paradise* by Tintoretto was moved from Ravenna to Bracciano (Fig. 12);⁷⁴ to

my mind, this is the painting brought from Trieste in October 1623. The newly identified document on the transportation allows us to identify the purchaser of the work and when it entered the family collections. After the cardinal's death, the large painting was taken from Bracciano to Rome where it is listed among the possessions of Ferdinando Orsini



Fig. 11. Project for Façade of the Church of St Stephen Martyr, by Orazio Torriani. Pen and ink, wash, over black chalk, 203 mm by 249 mm. Milano, Civico Gabinetto dei Disegni – Castello Sforzesco. © Municipality of Milan – all rights reserved.

in 1655–6.⁷⁵ Before 1664, when the painting was owned by the last Duke of Bracciano, Flavio Orsini, the work was seen by Giovan Pietro Bellori who described it in his *Nota delli Musei*.⁷⁶ Mentioned in Flavio's inventory of 1698,⁷⁷ Tintoretto's *Paradise* appears among the possessions of his wife Marie-Anne de la Trémouille, 'Princesse des Ursins' in 1724,⁷⁸ and it may be the painting now in the Thyssen-Bornemisza collection in Madrid, having previously spent over a century in the Lante collection.⁷⁹ The painting is representative of the aspirations to magnificence of the Orsini family, whose members had broadened and diversified their cultural interests through diplomatic relations with the courts of Northern Europe. Alessandro Orsini was for the family a privileged intermediary, a curious and enthusiastic intellectual, capable of appreciating cultural progress and a member of the Republic of Letters, which had in Rome its elected capital. Like many members of his generation, he was also interested in natural history, as indicated by the payment made on 27 February 1624 to the porters who brought to Rome the bones of the whale that had beached itself at Santa Severa on the Roman coast, not far from the Orsini estates at Bracciano and Palo, at the beginning of the month.⁸⁰ His last known commission is for a sculpture from the important Bernini workshop. On 2 June 1626, he paid 25 scudi to Francesco Bernini, brother of the more famous Gian Lorenzo, for the execution of a *St John*, of which no trace remains in the family inventories; like the engraved plates, it remains to be rediscovered.



Fig. 12. *Glory of Paradise*, by Jacopo Robusti, known as Tintoretto. Oil on canvas 169.5 by 494 cm. Madrid, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza. © Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid.

Supplementary information

Online appendices at <http://jhc.oxfordjournals.org> provide (i) a transcription of the Inventory of Cardinal Alessandro Orsini (1592–1626), compiled in 1633, and (ii) the text of the letter from Michaelangelo Buonarotti the Younger in ASC, Archivio Orsini, I series, vol. 352, n. 304.

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Notes and references

- 1 C. Scheiner, *Rosa Ursina sive Sol ex admirando facularum et macularum suarum phoenomeno varius, necnon circa centrum suum et axem fixum ab occasu in ortum annua, circaque alium axem mobilem ab ortu in occasum conversione quasi menstrua, super polos proprios libris quatuor mobilis ostensus* (Bracciano, 1626–30). For the work’s evolution see: A. von Braumnühl, ‘Originalbeobachtungen etc. aus der Zeit der Entdeckung der Sonnenflecken’, *Jahrbuch für Münchener Geschichte* 5 (1894), p. 57; F. Daxecker, *Das Hauptwerk des Astronomen: P. Christoph Scheiner SJ ‘Rosa Ursina sive Sol’ – eine Zusammenfassung* (Innsbruck, 1996), pp. 5–8. For an analysis of the topics dealt with in the volume see F. Daxecker, *The Physicist and Astronomer Christopher Scheiner: Biography, Letters, Works* (Innsbruck, 2004), pp. 124–53.
- 2 G. A. Patrignani, *Menologio di pie memorie d’alcuni religiosi della Compagnia di Gesù*, vol. II (Venice, 1728), p. 7. His relations with the Jesuits were in all likelihood mediated by his aunt Eleonora Orsini, who had left instructions in her will that she wished to be buried in the church of the Gesù in Rome, Archivio di Stato di Roma, Trenta Notai Capitolini, ufficio 18, notaio Grappolinus, vol. 225, fols 434r–446r.
- 3 His library included texts such as the *Alexandri ab Alexandro* by Alessandro Alessandri, the *Catalogus Glorie Mundi* by Barthélémy de Chasseneuz, the *Uccelliera* by Giovanni Pietro Olini, purchased on 25 February 1625, Rome, Archivio Storico Capitolino (henceforth ASC), Archivio Orsini, II series, 1311, fol. 8or.
- 4 Daxecker, op. cit. [The Physicist] (note 1), pp. 67–8. On Paolo Savelli see C. Mazzetti di Pietralata, ‘Paolo e Federico Savelli, ambasciatori dell’imperatore. Scambi artistici e musicali tra Roma e Vienna nella prima metà del Seicento’, in J. Martínez Millán and R. González Cuerva (eds), *La Dinastía de los Austria. Las relaciones entre la Monarquía Católica y el Imperio* (Madrid, 2011), vol. I, pp. 1837–66. C. Mazzetti di Pietralata, ‘Gli inventari Savelli: storia e stile di una antica famiglia alla sfida della modernità nella Roma del Seicento’, in C. Maria Sicca (ed.), *Inventari e cataloghi. Collezionismo e stili di vita negli stati italiani di antico regime* (Pisa, 2014), pp. 107–27.
- 5 B. Carrara, ‘L’unicuique suum nella scoperta delle macchie solari’, *Memorie della Pontificia Accademia dei Nuovi Lincei* 23 (1905), pp. 216–17.
- 6 G. Gabrielli, *Il Carteggio Linceo* (Rome, 1996), pp. 131–2, Letter from Mario Guiducci to Galileo Galilei of 18 April 1625.
- 7 L. Ingalo, ‘“Mater una vera, veritas una phaenomeni est”. La theorica Solis nella Rosa Ursina di Christoph Scheiner’, *Galileiana* 10 (2013), pp. 25–39.
- 8 ASC, Archivio Orsini, II series, 1311, fol. 88: ‘A spese di Guardaroba scudi cinquanta di moneta pagati d’ordine del Signor Cardinale al Signor Giovanni [sic per Ottavio] Lion Padovano Pittore per tre ritratti fatti et dati a Sua Signoria Illustrissima, cioè uno di Sua Signoria Illustrissima, uno del Signor Duca et l’altro della Signora Principessa come per ricevuta in filza a n. 93 – s. 50’. For the relations between Ottavio Leoni and the Orsini family see B. Sani, *Ottavio Leoni. La fatica virtuosa* (Turin, 2005), pp. 182–5; M. C. Terzaghi, ‘“Virtuosi illustri del suo tempo”. Novità e percipazioni per Ottavio Leoni, Caravaggio e i volti della Roma caravaggesca’, in M. C. Terzaghi (ed.), *Caravaggio. Mecenati e pittori*, exh. cat., Palazzo Gallavresi (Milan, 2010), pp. 15–57; P. G. Tordella, *Ottavio Leoni e la ritrattistica a disegno protobarocca* (Florence, 2011), pp. 24–44; F. Solinas (ed.), *Ottavio Leoni (1578–1630). Les portraits de Berlin* (Rome, 2013), pp. 26–8, 48–50.
- 9 O. Wimmer, *Kennzeichen und Attribute der Heiligen* (Innsbruck, 2000), p. 84.
- 10 On the relations between Cardinal Alessandro Orsini and Giovanni Campagna see B. Furlotti, ‘New considerations on a set of portrait drawings of the Orsini family by Giovanni Campagna’, *Getty Research Journal* 5 (2013), pp. 15–28.
- 11 Daxecker, op. cit. [The Physicist] (note 1), p. 133.
- 12 See M. B. Guerrieri Borsoi, ‘Greuter Matthäus’, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* vol. 59 (Rome, 2002), p. 343.
- 13 Payments to Daniele Widmann, referred to in the accounts as ‘Daniello Widman’, ‘Daniello palafreniere’, or ‘Daniello fiammingo staffiere’, are in ASC, Archivio Orsini, II series, 1311, fols 93v, 95v, 99–100, 101v, 103, 105, 108r–v, 109r, 114r, 116r–v, 119v, 126v, 132v. C. Benocci, *Paolo Giordano II Orsini nei ritratti di Bernini, Boselli, Leoni e Körmann* (Rome, 2006), p. 22, quoted the payment to ‘Daniele Staff’ for the engraving of the Bracciano’s estate map, but she does not identify Widman, mistaking the title of ‘staffiere’ (groom) with the artist’s surname.
- 14 Payments to the coppersmith Cristoforo Anselmi are in ASC, Archivio Orsini, II series, 1311, fols 93v, 95, 107v, 126v, 130.
- 15 ASC, Archivio Orsini, II series, 1311, fol. 128, 1 May 1626.
- 16 According to S. Bernicoli, *Governi di Ravenna e di Romagna dalla fine del secolo XII a tutto il secolo XIX* (Ravenna, 2013), p. 115, the cardinal held this office between 1621 and 1623. However, in this year his period of office was extended.
- 17 D. Bartoli, *Della vita del Padre Nicolo Zucchi della Compagnia di Gesù* (Rome, 1682), p. 27.

- 18 ASC, Archivio Orsini, II series, 1239, fols 114–15.
- 19 See M. Chiarini, *Teodoro Filippo di Liagno detto Filippo Napoletano 1589–1629. Vita e opere* (Florence, 2007), pp. 143–4, 304, n. 86; A. Amendola, *La collezione del principe Lelio Orsini nel palazzo di piazza Navona a Roma* (Rome, 2013), p. 47. R. Randolfi, ‘Un errore reiterato: il supporto de Il cavallo turco di Filippo Napoletano, già di Alessandro Orsini?’, *Strenna dei Romanisti* 74 (2013), pp. 531–44.
- 20 ASC, Archivio Orsini, II series, 1311, fol. 63v: ‘[26 ottobre 1623] A spese dette baciocchi 27½ pagati per portatura di un quadro da Triest – 27½’.
- 21 ASC, Archivio Orsini, II series, 1311, fol. 77r, 11 May 1624.
- 22 Z. Ważbiński, *Il cardinale Francesco Maria Del Monte 1549–1626* (Florence, 1994), vol. I, p. 167.
- 23 M. van Gelder, *Trading Places. The Netherlandish Merchants in Early Modern Venice* (Leiden and Boston, 2009), p. 117, note 32; M. van Gelder, ‘Acquiring artistic expertise: the agent Daniel Nijs and his contact with artists in Venice’, in M. Keblusek and B. V. Noldus (eds), *Double Agents. Cultural and Political Brokerage in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden and Boston, 2011), p. 119.
- 24 ‘... canestrella’; ASC, Archivio Orsini, I series, 414, fasc. 15. For this and the other citations see online Appendix I, nn. 83–138.
- 25 ‘... lavori di Cavo, & à Niello, e Smalti, & Intagli di Bullino: e tutti li Disegni di Alberto Durero, e Luca d’Olanda, e gran numero fatti à mano de’ più celebri maestri’; V. Scamozzi, *L’Idea della architettura universale . . . parte prima* (Venice, 1605), p. 306.
- 26 M. van Gelder, ‘Daniel Nijs’, in L. Borean and S. Mason (eds), *Il collezionismo d’arte a Venezia. Il Seicento* (Venice, 2011), p. 295. C. Anderson, ‘Daniel Nijs’s cabinet and its sale to Lord Arundel in 1636’, *Burlington Magazine* 154 (2012), p. 172.
- 27 Anderson, op. cit. (note 26), pp. 172–6.
- 28 Engraving, 111 by 83 mm, New York, Metropolitan Museum, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1933. See A. von Bartsch, *Le Peintre graveur* (Vienna, 1803–21), vol. VII, p. 380 n. 73. E. S. Jacobowitz (ed.), *The Illustrated Bartsch. Lucas van Leyden engravings and etchings* (New York, 1981), p. 205, n. 73. G. Luijten (ed.), *The New Hollstein. Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450–1700. Lucas van Leyden* (Rotterdam, 1996), p. 92 n. 73.
- 29 Engraving, 283 by 202 mm, New York, Metropolitan Museum, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1924. See Bartsch, op. cit. (note 28), vol. VII, p. 351 n. 25; Jacobowitz, op. cit. (note 28), p. 157 n. 25. Luijten, op. cit. (note 28), p. 55 n. 25.
- 30 Engraving, 103 by 73 mm, New York, Metropolitan Museum, Rogers Fund, 1922. See Bartsch, op. cit. (note 28), vol. VII, p. 419 n. 150. Jacobowitz, op. cit. (note 28), p. 284 n. 150. Luijten, op. cit. (note 28), p. 140 n. 150.
- 31 Engraving, 85 by 108, London, British Museum. See Bartsch, op. cit. (note 28), vol. VII, p. 419 n. 150. Jacobowitz, op. cit. (note 28), p. 284, n. 150. Luijten, op. cit. (note 28), p. 140, n. 150. Neither Dürer nor Hans Sebald Beham appear to have treated this subject in copper engravings, see W. L. Strauss (ed.), *The Illustrated Bartsch. Albrecht Dürer* (New York, 1981), p. 404 n. 325, p. 462 n. 407, p. 546 n. 527; R. A. Koch (ed.), *The Illustrated Bartsch. Early German Masters. Barthel Beham. Hans Sebald Beham* (New York, 1978).
- 32 *Two Putti in circles*, engraving, 76 by 117 mm, London, British Museum. See Bartsch, op. cit. (note 28), vol. VII, p. 431 n. 170; Jacobowitz, op. cit. (note 28), p. 305 n. 170; Luijten, op. cit. (note 28), p. 153 n. 170.
- 33 Engraving, 84 by 106 mm, New York, Metropolitan Museum, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1933. See Bartsch, op. cit. (note 28), vol. VII, p. 429 n. 166; Jacobowitz, op. cit. (note 28), p. 303 n. 166, dated about 1519; Luijten, op. cit. (note 28), p. 151 n. 166, dated about 1510.
- 34 *Two Boys with a Helmet and a Standard*, engraving, 117 by 76 mm, London, British Museum. Bartsch, op. cit. (note 28), vol. VII, p. 429 n. 165; Jacobowitz, op. cit. (note 28), p. 302 n. 165; Luijten, op. cit. (note 28), pp. 150–1 n. 165.
- 35 *The Suicide of Lucretia*, engraving, 115 by 70 mm, London, British Museum. Bartsch, op. cit. (note 28), vol. VII, p. 408 n. 134; Jacobowitz, op. cit. (note 28), p. 268 n. 134; Luijten, op. cit. (note 28), p. 129 n. 134.
- 36 *St Dominic*, engraving, 110 by 71 mm, London, British Museum. See Bartsch, op. cit. (note 28), vol. VII, p. 400, n. 118; Jacobowitz, op. cit. (note 28), p. 252 n. 118; Luijten, op. cit. (note 28), p. 120 n. 118.
- 37 *Christ, Paul and the Twelve Apostles*, engraving, 115 by 70 mm, London, British Museum. Bartsch, op. cit. (note 28), vol. VII, p. 387 nn. 86–99; Jacobowitz, op. cit. (note 28), pp. 219–32 nn. 86–99; Luijten, op. cit. (note 28), pp. 103–8 nn. 86–99.
- 38 The description does not seem in keeping with the engraving of *Christ carrying the Cross* by Lucas van Leyden of 1515 (?) in which Christ is flanked on the right by the young Veronica ready to wipe his face, 77 by 104 mm, London, British Museum. See Bartsch, op. cit. (note 28), vol. VII, p. 379 n. 72; Jacobowitz, op. cit. (note 28), p. 204 n. 72; Luijten, op. cit. (note 28), p. 91 n. 72.
- 39 Jacobowitz, op. cit. (note 28), pp. 219–32 nn. 86A–99A.
- 40 *The Virgin with Child and St Anne*, engraving, 111 by 89 mm, London, British Museum. See Bartsch, op. cit. (note 28), vol. VII, p. 384 n. 79; Jacobowitz, op. cit. (note 28), p. 212 n. 79; Luijten, op. cit. (note 28), p. 98 n. 79.
- 41 *St Anthony*, engraving, 113 by 75 mm, London, British Museum. See Bartsch, op. cit. (note 28), vol. VII, p. 399 n. 116; Jacobowitz, op. cit. (note 28), p. 250 n. 116; Luijten, op. cit. (note 28), p. 118 n. 116.
- 42 *St Anthony*, engraving, 96 by 143 mm, Vienna, Albertina; Bartsch, op. cit. (note 28), vol. VII, p. 74 n. 58; Strauss, op. cit. (note 31), pp. 132–3 n. 058.
- 43 Engraving, 105 by 72 mm, London, British Museum. See Bartsch, op. cit. (note 28), vol. VII, p. 398 n. 115; Jacobowitz, op. cit. (note 28), p. 249 n. 115; Luijten, op. cit. (note 28), p. 117 n. 115.
- 44 Engraving, 116 by 71 mm, London, British Museum. See Bartsch, op. cit. (note 28), vol. VII, p. 71 n. 55; C. Dodgson, *Albrecht Dürer* (London, 1926), p. 31 n. 24; J. Meder, *Dürer Katalog. Ein Handbuch über Albrecht Dürers Stiche, Radierungen, Hofschnitte, deren Zustände, Ausgaben und Wasserzeichen* (Vienna, 1932), p. 94 n. 62; Strauss, op. cit. (note 31), pp. 125–6 n. 55; R. Schoch et al. (eds), *Albrecht Dürer. Das druckgraphische Werk* (Munich, London and New York, 2001), vol. I, p. 89 n. 30.
- 45 Engraving, 108 by 75 mm, London, British Museum. See Bartsch, op. cit. (note 28), vol. VII, p. 72 n. 56; Dodgson, op. cit. (note 44), p. 30 n. 23; Meder, op. cit. (note 44), p. 94 n. 61;

- Strauss, op. cit. (note 31), pp. 127–8 n. 56; Schoch *et al.*, op. cit. (note 44), vol. I, p. 82 n. 25.
- 46 *St Christopher carrying the Infant Christ*, engraving, 110 by 84 mm, London, British Museum. See Bartsch, op. cit. (note 28), vol. VII, p. 395 n. 109; Luijten, op. cit. (note 28), pp. 113–14 n. 100.
- 47 *St Christopher facing to the left* and *St Christopher facing to the right*, engraving, 119 by 76 and 119 by 75 mm, London, British Museum. See Bartsch, op. cit. (note 28), vol. VII, pp. 68–9 nn. 51–2; Dodgson, op. cit. (note 44), pp. 125–6 nn. 95–6; Meder, op. cit. (note 44), p. 89 nn. 52–3; Strauss, op. cit. (note 31), pp. 117–19 nn. 051–2; Schoch *et al.*, op. cit. (note 44), vol. I, pp. 228–9 nn. 93–4.
- 48 Engraving, 239 by 186 mm, London, British Museum. Bartsch, op. cit. (note 28), vol. VII, pp. 87–9 n. 74; Dodgson, op. cit. (note 44), pp. 9–6 n. 73; Meder, op. cit. (note 44), pp. 100–1 n. 75; Strauss, op. cit. (note 31), pp. 163–6 n. 074; Schoch, op. cit. (note 44), vol. I, pp. 179–84 n. 71; P. Doorly, ‘Dürer’s Melencolia I: Plato’s abandoned search for the beautiful’, *Art Bulletin* 86 (2004), pp. 255–76.
- 49 *Rustic Couple* and *The Cook and his wife*, engraving, 108 by 77 mm, New York, Metropolitan Museum, gift of Mrs William H. Osborn. Bartsch, op. cit. (note 28), vol. VII, p. 96 n. 83; Dodgson, op. cit. (note 44), p. 23 n. 17; Meder, op. cit. (note 44), p. 105 nn. 84–5; Strauss, op. cit. (note 31), pp. 185–9 nn. 083–4.
- 50 F. W. H. Hollstein, *German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts c.1400–1700*, ed. K.G. Boon and R.W. Scheller (Amsterdam, 1962), vol. VII, n. 85.
- 51 *Moses and Aaron*, engraving, 77 by 112 mm, London, British Museum. See Bartsch, op. cit. (note 28), vol. VIII, p. 118 n. 8; G. Pauli, *Hans Sebald Beham: Ein kritisches Verzeichniss seiner Kupferstiche Radirungen und Holzschnitte* (Strasbourg, 1901), pp. 25–6 n. 9; Koch, op. cit. (note 31), p. 42 n. 8.
- 52 Engraving, 111 by 79 mm, London, British Museum. See Bartsch, op. cit. (note 28), vol. VIII, p. 149 n. 82; Pauli, op. cit. (note 51), pp. 96–8 n. 86; Koch, op. cit. (note 31), p. 68 n. 82.
- 53 *The Four Evangelists: St Mark* (44 by 28 mm), *St Matthew* (41 by 29 mm), *St John the Evangelist* (44 by 29 mm) and *St Luke* (44 by 29), engraving, London, British Museum. See Bartsch, op. cit. (note 28), vol. VIII, p. 138 nn. 55–8; Pauli, op. cit. (note 51), pp. 71–6 nn. 57–60; Koch, op. cit. (note 31), p. 58 nn. 55–8.
- 54 *Misfortune*, engraving, 78 by 50 mm, London, British Museum. See Bartsch, op. cit. (note 28), vol. VIII, p. 170 n. 141; Pauli, op. cit. (note 51), pp. 151–2 n. 144; Koch, op. cit. (note 31), p. 87 n. 141.
- 55 *Christ and the Apostles: Christ* (61 by 44 mm), *St Matthew and St John the Evangelist* (61 by 43 mm), *St Andrew and St Thomas* (62 by 45 mm), *St Philip and St James the Greater* (61 by 44 mm), *St Peter and St Paul* (61 by 45 mm), *St Bartholomew and St Matthias* (62 by 45 mm) and *St Simon and St Jude* (62 by 44 mm), engraving, London, British Museum. Bartsch, op. cit. (note 28), vol. VIII, pp. 133–4 nn. 36–42; Pauli, op. cit. (note 51), pp. 52–5 nn. 38–44; Koch, op. cit. (note 31), pp. 53–4 nn. 36–42.
- 56 *The Seven Planets: Jupiter* (45 by 30 mm), *Saturn* (44 by 29 mm), *Venus* (43 by 29 mm), *Mercury* (43 by 29 mm), *Sol* (44 by 29 mm), *Mars* (43 by 29 mm), *Luna* (44 by 29 mm), engraving, London, British Museum. Bartsch, op. cit. (note 28), vol. VIII, pp. 162–3 nn. 114–20; Pauli, op. cit. (note 51), pp. 120–31 nn. 115–22; Hollstein, op. cit. (note 50), vol. IV, p. 45 nn. 23–9; Koch, op. cit. (note 31), pp. 79–80 nn. 114–20.
- 57 *The Labours of Hercules: Hercules fighting the Trojans* (52 by 79 mm), *Hercules killing Cacus* (50 by 72 mm), *Hercules killing the Hydra* (54 by 78 mm), *Hercules killing the Nemean lion* (53 by 78 mm), *Hercules capturing Cerberus* (53 by 77 mm), *Hercules fighting the centaurs* (51 by 79 mm), *Hercules carrying the columns of Gades* (50 by 71 mm), *Hercules wrestling Antaeus* (50 by 71 mm), *Hercules abducting Iole* (52 by 79 mm), *Lichas presenting Hercules with the poisoned tunic* (53 by 79 mm), *Hercules killing Nessus* (50 by 78 mm), *The death of Hercules* (54 by 79 mm), engraving, London, British Museum. Bartsch, op. cit. (note 28), vol. VIII, pp. 157–9 nn. 96–107; Pauli, op. cit. (note 51), pp. 105–16 nn. 98–109; Koch, op. cit. (note 31), pp. 73–6 nn. 96–107.
- 58 ‘... Dieci Rami Intagliati di mano di Alberto Duro con Cornici d’Ebano di palmi mezzo in circa’; Ch. L. Frommel, ‘Caravaggios Frühwerk und der Kardinal Francesco Maria del Monte’, *Storia dell’Arte* 9–10 (1971), p. 37.
- 59 The Stamperia Ducale at Bracciano, entrusted to the printer Andrea Fei and later to his heir Giacomo, became a commercial enterprise. Between 1620 and 1675 it published 116 titles.
- 60 ‘... Libro con coperta di corame stampato con saccoccia di pelle con tutte le opere di Luca d’Olanda, e parte d’Alberto Duro di stampa fina’; G. Rubsamén, *The Orsini Inventories* (Malibu, 1980), p. 16, doc. II, n. 234.
- 61 M. Bury, *The Print in Italy 1550–1620* (London, 2001); A. Grelle, ‘Mercato e produzione delle stampe a Roma all’inizio del secolo XVII e alcuni problemi sugli inizi romani di Callot’, in *Le incisioni di Jacques Callot nelle collezioni italiane*, exh. cat., Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, Museo Nazionale di San Matteo and Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Filosofici (Milan, 1992), pp. 29–50.
- 62 L. Lorizzo, ‘Nicolas van Aelst’s will and a list of his plates’, *Print Quarterly* 31 (2014), pp. 3–20.
- 63 A payment (ASC, Archivio Orsini, II series, 1311, fol. 94r) records the commission from an ‘intagliatore a Ponte Sisto’ for a St Mary Magdalene made for his Eminence, perhaps based on the work on the same subject attributed to Guido Reni in the wardrobe inventory drawn up in 1621, ASC, Archivio Orsini, 1239, fol. 92: ‘Quadro grande di Santa Maria Magdalena di mano di Guido Bolognese con cornice dorata’.
- 64 M. Maccherini, ‘Caravaggio nel carteggio familiare di Giulio Mancini’, *Prospettiva* 86 (1997), pp. 71–82.
- 65 ASC, Archivio Orsini, I series, 352, n. 304. See Appendix II. On the Orsini and antiquities, see the study by F. Rausa, ‘Le collezioni di antichità Orsini nel palazzo di Monte Giordano’, *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma* 101 (2000), pp. 163–80. B. Furlotti, ‘Connecting people, connecting places: antiquarians as mediators in sixteenth-century Rome’, *Urban History* 37 (2010), pp. 386–98; B. Furlotti, ‘Collezionare antichità al tempo di Gregorio XIII: il caso di Paolo Giordano I Orsini’, in C. Cieri Via, I. D. Rowland and M. Ruffini (eds), *Unità e frammenti di modernità. Arte e scienza nella Roma di Gregorio XIII (Boncompagni 1572–1585)* (Pisa, 2012), pp. 197–216; B. Furlotti, *A Renaissance Baron and his Possessions. Paolo Giordano I Orsini, Duke of Bracciano (1541–1585)* (Turnhout, 2012), pp. 96–110. Other letter exchanges with the Tuscan artists Passignano, Cigoli and Rosselli are noted in the review by M. Nicolaci, of A. Amendola, ‘La collezione del principe Lelio Orsini nel palazzo di piazza Navona a Roma’, *Storia dell’Arte* 136 (2013), pp. 185–8.
- 66 Amendola, op. cit. (note 19), pp. 59–60.
- 67 ASC, Archivio Orsini, II series, 1233, fol. 13, n. 262.

- 68 H. Koritzer, *Cristofano Allori* (Leipzig, 1928), p. 73, doc. VII: Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Archivio Mediceo, Inventario della Guardaroba 261, Inventario della Galleria, fol. 64: ‘A di 23 maggio uno adornamento debano nero grande br. 3 in lungo, largo br. 2 fattura tedesca disse S.A. per una santa maddalena di Cristofano Allori’.
- 69 Ważbiński, op. cit. (note 22), vol. I, p. 107; vol. II, p. 364.
- 70 For the Borghese painting see C. Pizzorusso, *Ricerche su Cristofano Allori* (Florence, 1982), p. 47. For the painting on copper see C. McCorquodale (ed.), *Painting in Florence 1600–1700*, exh. cat., Royal Academy of Arts and Fitzwilliam Museum (London, 1979), p. 20 n. 3.
- 71 From the Lungara, for example, on 30 May 1625 two paintings were sent to San Salvatore in Lauro, perhaps for display; a few days previously, on 20 May, the arrival of some statues and books sent from Santa Maria Maggiore is recorded, cf. ASC, Archivio Orsini, II series, 1311, fols 90r, 91v.
- 72 Used as a residence for hunting parties, in 1692 the building became the property of the German-Hungarian Pontifical College and was renovated several times, including by Giuseppe Valadier. See S. D’Acchille, ‘Ville romane dominiziane sul lago di Bracciano’, *Quaderni dell’Istituto di Storia dell’Architettura* 42 (2003), pp. 5–7.
- 73 ASC, Archivio Orsini, II series, 1311, fol. 121v. In April of the same year, Gasparo Mola engraved a gold medallion with the cardinal’s coat of arms, inserted into the foundations of the building when the first stone was laid (fol. 124v).
- 74 ASC, Archivio Orsini, II series, 1311, fol. 107r: ‘[25 ottobre 1625] A spese dette baiochi 5 pagati a uno che aiutò a calare a terra il quadro grande della gloria del Tintoretto – 5 . . . [30 ottobre 1625] A spese di guardaroba baiochi 10 pagati per haver fatto legare la cassa del quadro della gloria del Tintoretto che si manda a Bracciano et il gravicembalo et haverle fatte portare di guardaroba a terreno.’
- 75 Rubsamens, op. cit. (note 60), p. 12, doc. II, n. 145.
- 76 G. P. Bellori, *Nota dell’ musei, librerie, galerie et ornamenti di statue e pitture ne’ palazzi, nelle case e ne’ giardini di Roma* (Rome, 1664), p. 36.
- 77 Rubsamens, op. cit. (note 60), p. 130, doc. IV, n. 130.
- 78 Ibid., p. 90, doc. VII, n. 253.
- 79 R. Randolfi, *Palazzo Lante in piazza dei Caprettari* (Rome, 2009), pp. 151, 193, 221. The history of the painting from Flavio Orsini to the Lante until its identification as the work in the Thyssen-Bornemisza collection has been traced again by R. Randolfi, ‘Altro “Paradiso” del Tintoretto appartenuto ai Lante. In margine alla mostra dell’artista’, *Lazio ieri e oggi* 48 (2012), pp. 204–7. For the four versions of the *Paradiso* (Paris, Musée du Louvre, 143 by 362 cm; Madrid, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, 152.4 by 490.2 cm; Madrid, Museo del Prado, 167 by 544 cm; Venice, Palazzo Sceriman 154 by 350 cm), see R. Pallucchini and P. Rossi (eds), *Jacopo Tintoretto* (Venice, 1974–82), vol. I, pp. 215–16 cat. 400; pp. 231–2 cat. 461; p. 247 cat. A61; p. 256 cat. A123.
- 80 On the occasion, the Stamperia Ducale at Bracciano published the text composed by the painter Giovanni Briccio, *Relatione della balena ritrovata morta vicino à Santa Severa, luogo di S. Spirito, circa il principio di febbraio 1624* (Bracciano 1624).