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a Forgotten *virtuoso* of Seicento Rome

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For R. P. Jean Coste, *in memoriam*

Over the course of his nearly seventy-year career, Gianlorenzo Bernini, arguably Italy's most famous seventeenth-century artist, distinguished himself as a highly inventive sculptor, painter, architect, engineer, scenographer, playwright, designer of fireworks displays, and more. It is not surprising, therefore, to read in his earliest biographies – those of Domenico Bernini and Filippo Baldinucci – that Bernini was considered to be an *ingegno* and a *virtuoso*¹. Such terms, after all, seem appropriate, if not expected, for an artist of Bernini's stature and accomplishments. But what of the hundreds of other, far less renowned artists, those who did not possess Bernini's universal talents, but who dominated, through their sheer numbers, the art world of Seicento Rome? How were they viewed in their time, and might they, too, have been considered *virtuosi*?

Insight into these questions is provided by Giovanni Baglione's *Le vite de' pittori scultori et architetti* (Rome 1642)², which comprises more than two hundred biographies that furnish a broad overview of artistic life in Rome from the time of Gregory XIII through the reign of Urban VIII. There, in the pages of the *Lives*, the reader discovers a remarkably large number of artists who, although virtually forgotten today, are identified as *virtuosi* by their seventeenth-century biographer. Among them is Paolo Sanquirico, to whom Baglione devoted one of his shorter *vite* (see *Appendix I*), an artist, it is safe to say, who is little known and even less studied. Indeed, subsequent to Baglione's biography he has received only the briefest of scholarly notice: a few scattered paragraphs, primarily in dictionaries of artists, that have repeated and depended directly upon the information in the artist's seventeenth-century biography³. Yet despite his having fallen into art-historical oblivion, in his own time Paolo Sanquirico was considered to be an *ingegno* and a *virtuoso* – the very same terms applied to the great Bernini.

Provoked both by his enduring obscurity and Baglione's praise for him, this essay takes up two

interrelated questions: Who was Paolo Sanquirico? Why was he considered a *virtuoso*? In posing these questions and attempting to answer them, my broader goal is to develop as complete a picture as possible of Paolo Sanquirico's career in order to arrive at a fuller understanding of artistic practice, patronage, cultural life, and the idea of the *virtuoso* in early baroque Rome. Drawing upon, probing, and expanding the information provided in Baglione's biography of the artist, this study reconstructs – as far as it is possible – Sanquirico's professional life as an artist. His relatively small, but not insignificant, body of works is considered, with special emphasis given to the sole monumental sculpture he designed and executed: his bronze statue of Pope Paul V in S. Maria Maggiore. Based on newly discovered documents, the process by which this work came to be commissioned and executed, its actual date of manufacture and installation, and its subsequent peripatetic history are established. And through a consideration of Sanquirico's other *personae* – such as canon of one of Rome's oldest churches, member of the *famiglia pontificia*, courtier to a cardinal and a cardinal prince, and academician – this study explores how an aspiring but less-than-brilliant artist could come to be considered a *virtuoso* and, through a complex web of patronage relations, find success in early baroque Rome.

1. *Sanquirico's Early Years*

Much about our sculptor's earliest years remains a mystery, including his actual family name. Sanquirico, the name by which he was and is known, is simply derived from Villa di San Quirico, a small Emilian town in the comune of Treccasali, where he was born, the son of a certain Giovanni Matteo, around 1565⁴. It is likely that he began his artistic education in his native Emilia, perhaps in nearby Parma (only fifteen kilometers south of Treccasali), although no evidence of this has come

to light. And while we know that he moved to Rome, exactly when has not been documented, and we are little helped by Baglione's vague statement that he transferred to the papal capital "at a young age".

Soon after his arrival in Rome, according to his biographer, Sanquirico struck up a friendship with the Vicentine sculptor Camillo Mariani, who became his teacher. Although not much older than his pupil, Mariani was a mature and highly respected artist by the time of his arrival in Rome in 1597⁵. His specialty was in modelling stucco sculpture, exemplified by the reliefs on the facade of S. Pietro, Vicenza (ca. 1595-97) and the life-size statues representing members of the Cornaro family in the main salon of Palladio's villa Cornaro in Piombino Dese (ca. 1596)⁶. In this same medium, too, are the masterpieces of his Roman period, the eight monumental figures of saints in the church of S. Bernardo alle Terme (1599-1600)⁷. Sanquirico may very well have been studying with Mariani during the time that he worked in S. Bernardo, and in addition to receiving instruction in "making models in relief," to which Baglione refers, he no doubt also learned from his master to model in the round – in clay, wax, and stucco. Of perhaps even greater significance to Sanquirico's development and later career was the fact that Mariani was a highly skilled medallist – as evidenced in a series of refined and delicately modelled medals he made in Vicenza⁸ – and it is reasonable to assume that Sanquirico, who would later distinguish himself as a maker of medals, learned this art from his Vicentine teacher. Indeed, that both Mariani and Sanquirico favored casting their medals, instead of the more common technique of striking them (that is, relying on wax models, not engraved dies), must certainly be more than a coincidence⁹.

In addition to, or, perhaps, as a result of his learning from Mariani how to make models in relief, Sanquirico's early career, Baglione informs us, was dedicated to "making small portraits in colored wax"¹⁰ – a specialized art form that seems to have been invented in the mid-sixteenth century and enjoyed great popularity throughout Europe. Although the precise origins of the miniature colored-wax portrait are uncertain, a mid-sixteenth-century date is suggested by Giorgio Vasari who, in the 1568 edition of his *Vite*, writes that

modern artists have discovered the way of working in wax of all sorts of colors, so that, in making portraits from the life in half-relief, they make the flesh tones, the hair, the clothes and all the other details so life-like that to such figures nothing lacks, in a certain way, except the spirit and the powers of speech¹¹.

By employing, for example, pink-colored wax for the skin, red for the lips, black or brown for the hair, and, on occasion, impressing the wax with different textures and incorporating tiny seed pearls and semi-precious stones, artists achieved the heightened illusionism, or life-likeness, that so captivated Vasari¹². It was this use of color that also distinguished the miniature colored-wax image from both portraits on medals and their preparatory wax models.

These small, painstakingly crafted works – the sculptural counterparts to painted miniature portraits – were produced at a number of European courts beginning in the second half of the sixteenth century¹³. One of the pioneers of this new form of portraiture was Antonio Abondio (1538-91), a medallist from Milan, who worked for the courts of Emperors Maximilian II in Vienna and Rudolph II in Prague¹⁴. For Abondio, a medallist, it would have been a relatively small step from making minutely finished preparatory wax models for medals to producing polychrome wax portraits as independent works of art. Paolo Sanquirico, however, appears to have taken the opposite course from Abondio, moving from miniature colored-wax portraits to medals.

No doubt owing to their novelty and beauty, as well as to the technical virtuosity evidently required in their making, colored-wax portraits were coveted by collectors, commissioned and exhibited in galleries and *Kunst- und Wunderkammern* alongside other precious objects and curiosities¹⁵. The demand for such portraits and their widespread popularity are attested to by the number of examples that survive – despite their extreme fragility – in European museums; furthermore, evidence of the vogue they enjoyed in Seicento Rome is provided by Baglione. About the little-known artist Lodovico Leoni, we learn that his colored-wax portraits were prized for their "likeness," and "to see them was a thing of amazement." "There was neither a prince ... nor princess, or Roman noblewoman", Baglione further notes, "who would not be portrayed" by the artist¹⁶. And Rosato Rosati, an artist from Macerata, also made "portraits in colored wax", which, his biographer describes, were "very exact and quite life-like; and for these ... works ... he was exceedingly well known, and esteemed above the other [practitioners]"¹⁷.

Notwithstanding the curious comment in an early-twentieth-century dictionary of medallists that Sanquirico's wax likenesses are "deserving of notice," no examples of his colored-wax portraits have been identified¹⁸. We may, however, gain some sense of what they looked like from two anonymous works in Berlin. The first example

dating from the beginning of the seventeenth century, is typical of the genre in its portrayal of the (unknown) sitter in a bust-length and profile format [1]¹⁹. Measuring 5.2 cm high, it is executed in low relief, and combines a variety of colored waxes: textured black for the body of the garment, white for the ruff, gold for the buttons, reddish-brown for the hair of the head and beard, golden-red for the moustache, and light pink for the flesh. Keen attention to detail is evident and there can be little doubt that, at least for the face, the portrait was observed from the life. Even more exceptional for its higher relief, format, and vivacity is another portrait of an unknown man [2]²⁰. Like the previous example, it combines a number of colored waxes – black, brown, pink, and red – and truncates the figure at the bust. The *en face* (rather than profile) presentation of the sitter is its most remarkable feature; and this format allowed the artist greater inventive possibilities – such as the slight, forward inclination of the figure's right shoulder and the subtle turn of the head, which account, to a large extent, for its vitality. No less impressive is the exquisite refinement of both face and bust, from the delicately incised beard and moustache to the projecting white collar and shoulder flaps.

Many features of this second portrait – its format, the way the eyes engage the viewer's, its naturalism and immediacy – call to mind the work of Ottavio Leoni, the early-seventeenth-century Roman artist who specialized in chalk portraits *alla macchia* (that is, executed in a seemingly spontaneous manner)²¹. With respect to costume and hair style, this wax portrait compares closely to Leoni's portrait of his fellow artist Tommaso Salini, in which we find the sitter with the same over-shirt, broad white collar, pointed beard, and upturned moustache; and the fact that the drawing is dated 1620 lends credence to Schlegel's suggestion that the wax portrait dates between 1620 and 1630²². Ottavio Leoni was, in fact, the son of Lodovico, who, as noted above, gained considerable fame for his colored-wax portraits of the Roman aristocracy. And according to Baglione, Lodovico, whose wax portraits, in addition to being executed "with great care", were "almost always made *alla macchia*", was responsible for encouraging his son to take up portraiture *alla macchia*²³. This is not to propose an attribution of the wax portrait under discussion to Lodovico Leoni – although this would not be impossible. Rather, it is to suggest that, based upon extant examples of early-Seicento colored-wax portraiture – all of which are anonymous and



1. Anon., *Portrait of a Man*, early seventeenth century. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Skulpturengalerie (Jörg P. Anders).



2. Anon., *Portrait of a Man*, ca. 1620/30. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Skulpturengalerie (Jörg P. Anders).

of which the two illustrated here are fairly representative – we may surmise what the works of Sanquirico, Lodovico Leoni, and Rosato Rosati in this genre looked like: vivid, highly naturalistic, and worked with great care, much akin to Ottavio Leoni's portrait drawings²⁴.

2. Sanquirico as a medallist

It seems strange, at first, that in his *Life of Sanquirico* Giovanni Baglione makes no mention of his papal medals, despite the fact that whatever little recognition the artist has received over the years has been for the medals he produced while in the employ of Pope Paul V (reigned 1605-21). But Baglione – unlike Vasari before him – ignored medals and medallists altogether in his *Vite*, apparently considering them to be of minor importance compared with painting, sculpture, and architecture and their practitioners²⁵. Medallists were not, however, insignificant in baroque Rome – especially to the popes who were their primary patrons – and although his career as a medallist was relatively short-lived, Sanquirico distinguished himself as a master of the papal medal.

Since the early fifteenth century medals were occasionally issued by popes to commemorate important events or building projects. But it was Paul V who was responsible for initiating a much wider and more systematic production of medals: in honor of his election and his taking possession of the Lateran as bishop of Rome (the *posse*); to mark Jubilee Years; to celebrate his yearly ritual of the Washing of the Feet on Holy Thursday (in imitation of Christ); and to record what was considered to be the single most important event of a given year – the annual medal (*annuale*) – issued every year on 29 June, the feast of Sts. Peter and Paul. So-called extraordinary medals were also produced to celebrate particular events, such as the laying of foundation stones of new buildings, the canonization of new saints, and the visits of foreign dignitaries (although in some instances these events became the subjects for annual medals)²⁶. Regardless of type, the responsibility for executing these various medals fell to the Papal Mint (the *Zecca*), the Master and other medallists of which were paid directly by the pope.

Paolo Sanquirico worked in the Papal Mint for five years, from 1608 to 1613. Exactly how he came to be employed in this capacity is unclear, although it is possible that he was recommended to Paul V by his teacher and friend Camillo Mariani, who from 1607 was engaged in carrying out a number of works for the pope at S. Maria Maggiore. His first project as a papal medallist came in 1608 in con-

nection with the laying of the foundation stone of the facade of new St. Peter's. Representing Paul V on the obverse and the facade of the basilica on the reverse, this foundation medal clearly exhibits Sanquirico's talents as both portraitist and recorder of architecture in the medallistic medium [3, 4]²⁷. He captured the pope's distinctive aquiline nose and heavy brow, as well as his grave, almost stern, countenance, and by subtly varying the depth of relief and giving the bust an irregular truncation, the artist conveyed a sense of the pope's considerable physical presence. The result is both a vivid likeness and a more sculptural portrayal than was common on medals at the time. No less impressive is his depiction of St. Peter's facade (as planned by Carlo Maderno in 1608), with its temple front rising before and between Michelangelo's transept arms and crowned by Giacomo della Porta's massive dome. As Whitman and Varriano have observed, through his skillful manipulation of the casting technique, Sanquirico captured a sense of the basilica's volume and unified structure. "There is a real spatial interplay" among the various parts of the structure, they write, and by extending the representation of the church "to its fullest limits both horizontally and vertically" the artist produced an "effect of monumental plasticity". Whitman and Varriano also observe that in its size, color, subject, and its having been cast, Sanquirico's medal corresponds exactly to Caradosso's famous foundation medal of St. Peter's of 1506. And there is no reason to doubt their suggestion that Sanquirico knew Caradosso's medal and endeavored to emulate it in his own production²⁸. With his St. Peter's medal Sanquirico revealed himself as a highly talented medallist, not only in his ability to fully exploit the possibilities of the casting process, but also in his innovative approach to what was a conservative and tradition-bound art form. And in the subsequent medals he made for Paul V he was no less inventive. His foundation medal of 1609, commemorating the initiation of construction of the Papal Fortress of Ferrara [5, 6], reveals many of the same qualities observed in the previous example²⁹. In depicting the pentagonal fortress with its series of bastions, ramparts, and inner walls, Sanquirico opted for an elevated, bird's-eye view, that enabled him to capture a sense of its monumentality and complexity. The composition is bold and simple, with the fortress symmetrically disposed within the medallistic field, resulting in an image that is at once coherent in its design and spatially convincing. Sanquirico took a very different approach in his next and final foundation medals – those of the Fountain of the Acqua Paola of 1610 and the Port of Fano of 1613³⁰. His depiction of the great fountain [7] that Giovanni Fontana and Flaminio



3. P. Sanquirico, *Medal of Paul V*, obverse with papal portrait, 1608. London, British Museum (Warburg Institute).



4. P. Sanquirico, *Medal of Paul V*, reverse with facade of St. Peter's, 1608. London, British Museum (Warburg Institute).



5. P. Sanquirico, *Medal of Paul V*, obverse with papal portrait, 1609. London, British Museum (Warburg Institute).



6. P. Sanquirico, *Medal of Paul V*, reverse with Fortress of Ferrara, 1608. London, British Museum (Warburg Institute).

Ponzio built for Paul V on the Gianicolo Hill is more conventional than that of the Fortress of Ferrara in that it is an *en face* elevation. The frontality of the monument, however, called for a simple elevation; and as he had done with the facade of St. Peter's, he captured the fountain's monumentality as well as the spatial interplay between its flat planes and deeply recessed niches. In representing Girolamo Rainaldi's Port of Fano [8], Sanquirico abandoned both the elevation and bird's-eye view for something much more complex. At the center of the medallion field the artist depicted, in low relief, a river, enlarged to form a harbor, flowing between two breakwaters. This view is from overhead, like a plan, and is rendered in a highly simplified fashion. But below the harbor is a crenellated wall and tower, in bold relief, that are rendered in two-point perspective. This highly unusual combination of viewpoints and modes of representation was, as far as I am aware, unprecedented in depictions of architectural monuments on papal medals. And, with respect to the wall and tower in the lower portion of the medal, Whitman and Varriano have convincingly argued that Sanquirico consciously revived fifteenth-century medallion conventions. Specifically they point to Matteo de' Pasti's 1444 medal of Sigismondo Malatesta with the towers of Rimini on the reverse depicted in much the same manner as Sanquirico's architecture. Noting that Sigismondo had been Lord of Fano, they posit that when portraying that same city, Sanquirico looked back to an artist who had been associated with it nearly two centuries before. Thus here, as with his foundation medal for St. Peter's, Sanquirico demonstrated his command of the history of medals as well as his sophistication as an artist³¹.

This overview of his papal medals is sufficient, I believe, to appreciate the inventiveness and originality he brought to this art form³². And we can be certain that these and other qualities did not go unnoticed, for Sanquirico achieved the position of Master of the Papal Mint in 1612, which he then relinquished one year later, for reasons unknown, to Giacomo Antonio Moro, a medallist from Milan³³. That he was able to translate what he had learned (about likeness, characterization, and conveying physical presence) from modelling polychrome wax portraits to making medallion portraits comes as no surprise. Given what we know, however, about his background and training, his talent for representing buildings of all kinds is not only unexpected, but it suggests a considerable knowledge of architecture and its history.

3. *Sanquirico as an architect*

To refer to Sanquirico as an architect, as the title of this subsection implies, is, in a way, misleading, for there is no evidence of his ever having built anything. But if he left us no buildings, he nevertheless appears to have had more than a passing interest in architecture, as Baglione, who certainly knew him personally, implies.

According to his biographer, Sanquirico "enjoyed designing fortifications, and gave lectures in this subject; and he also taught the rules of architecture". This statement, repeated by subsequent authors³⁴, is vague at best, and given that no fortification drawings or any lectures on architecture by Sanquirico have been identified, we lack any firm corroborating evidence for it. His medals do, however, provide circumstantial evidence, for they show, as already observed, the hand of an artist who clearly understood the fundamentals of architecture as well as its history. His Fortress of Ferrara medal [6], especially, supports Baglione's claim that Sanquirico was conversant with military architecture. From the bird's-eye view of the fortress, which was certainly adopted for the maximum recognition it affords of its geometric plan, to the



7. P. Sanquirico, *Medal of Paul V*, reverse with Fountain of the Acqua Paola, 1610. Private Collection (Author).

clear depiction of its complex system of ramparts, bastions, and enceinte, this medal argues strongly for its maker's conversance with fortification design. The same can be claimed for the Port of Fano medal [8], with its sharp delineation of the crenellated and fortified tower and walls; and the inventive depiction of the harbor with its breakwaters may well be attributable to his knowledge of hydraulic engineering³⁵.

Sanquirico demonstrated this knowledge most clearly in a treatise on how to remedy a problem that had long plagued Rome and the popes: the flooding of the Tiber³⁶. Following the devastating inundation of 1598, when the overflowing waters of the Tiber wrought unprecedented destruction, a resolution to this problem became a matter of urgency. In 1602 a special Congregation of engineers, architects, and cardinals was appointed by Clement VIII to address the situation, and after the unusually wet spring of 1606, when the river again flooded, Paul V turned to a number of experts for help. Several proposals to stem the flooding were submitted, and along with those of Giovanni Fontana, Giovan Paolo Maggi, Carlo Maderno, Flaminio Ponzio, and Pompeo Targone, all of whom were respected architects and engi-

neers, was Paolo Sanquirico's "Discorso sopra l'Inondatione del Tevere, et il modo da rimediarvi"³⁷. In his somewhat rambling text Sanquirico lists the numerous encumbrances to the flow of the river, such as the rising and narrowing of the river bed, floating mills, bridges, and refuse; and he points to the weakness of the Tiber's embankments, its irregular path, and numerous other factors as contributing to the flooding problem. As for solutions, he proposes to divert the river from the center of the city in order to create a more direct flow of water, to widen and deepen the Tiber's bed, to remove impediments (such as Ponte S. Maria) to its flow, and to construct higher embankments. None of this was revolutionary and, in fact, much of Sanquirico's "Discorso" replicates what is found in the other contemporary *discorsi* and earlier proposals addressing the problem. Yet notwithstanding this lack of originality, the text reveals Sanquirico's complete familiarity with the history and causes of the flooding and, at the same time, his ability to offer solutions no less practical and no more fantastic than those proposed by the well-known *ingegneri* of the time³⁸. The most revealing aspects of the "Discorso", however, are its numerous references to architectural history, from Pliny and Vitruvius to Leon Battista Alberti and Camillo Agrippa (Sixtus V's engineer), as well as to the engineering efforts of Tarquinius Priscus, the seventh-century B.C. king of Rome, and Nicolas V's modifications of the Ponte S. Angelo. The "Discorso" thus provides the clearest evidence for Sanquirico's having been a competent, if amateur, engineer and a man well-schooled in the history of Rome and its architecture.

Concerning his lectures on fortifications and teaching the principles of architecture, we are left to conjecture. One possibility is that he "lectured" and "taught" at the Academy of St. Luke, of which he is listed as a member in Missirini's history of the Academy of 1823, as has been assumed by two writers³⁹. The archives of the Academy unfortunately offer no help in this matter, as the documentation for the first third of the seventeenth century is fragmentary and incomplete, and I have been unable to find any reference to Sanquirico's active participation in academic meetings there⁴⁰. It is also conceivable that his lecturing and teaching were of a completely informal nature, offered, perhaps, to interested listeners in private settings. More will be said about this latter possibility below; for the present it is sufficient simply to conclude that from all the available evidence it appears that Sanquirico, if not an architect or engineer in the strictest sense of these terms, nevertheless possessed a fairly sophisticated knowledge of architecture and engineering which he clearly demonstrated in his medals and "Discorso".



8. P. Sanquirico, *Medal of Paul V*, reverse with Port of Fano, 1613. London, British Museum (Warburg Institute).

4. *Sanquirico's statue of Pope Paul V*

Sanquirico's bronze statue of Paul V [9], despite its imposing size and the importance of its subject, is a work known almost exclusively to specialists. Located on a dimly lit landing of the grand staircase within the canons' palace at the left side of S. Maria Maggiore's facade, the statue is virtually hidden from public view⁴¹. This was not always the case, however, for as we learn from the earliest published notice of the statue, in Paolo de Angelis' *Basilicae S. Mariae Maioris de Urbe* published in 1621, it originally stood in the vestibule of the summer choir (the present anteroom of the baptistry) opposite the door leading into the canons' sacristy⁴². It was placed, in other words, in one of the most prominent and conspicuous locations within the basilica – the entrance to the New Sacristy, which had been recently completed by Paul V, and was considered, as one early Seicento visitor exclaimed, "the most beautiful [sacristy] in all of Rome"⁴³. In contrast, then, to the impression given by its present location, the statue's original placement vividly expressed the importance attached to it by the basilica.

Paolo de Angelis, who was closely allied with Paul V, also indicated the general circumstances of the statue's creation: the chapter of S. Maria Maggiore, he wrote, had it made in gratitude for all the benefits bestowed on the basilica by the pope⁴⁴. And the statue's dedicatory inscription, which de Angelis also reproduced, provides further, and corroborating, information:

To Paul V, Supreme Pontiff, who, having built and furnished, in the most magnificent way, the chapel [of the Virgin], having raised the marble column in the piazza of the basilica, having constructed the sacristy and the palace of the canons, has enriched and adorned this basilica with works of eminent veneration towards the Mother of God and her most holy image, the canons have erected [this]⁴⁵.

The inscription thus confirms that the statue of Paul V was created to honor and thank the pope for his extraordinary generosity to S. Maria Maggiore, which took the form of the Cappella Paolina, the pope's burial chapel in which he placed the basilica's prized icon of the Virgin; the Column of the Virgin, a monumental column taken from the Basilica of Constantine and crowned with a statue of the Virgin and Child; and the canons' palace, at the right of the basilica's facade, which houses, inter alia, the New Sacristy and the canons' apartments⁴⁶. By placing the statue of the pope in front of the entrance to the sacristy he had just built for them, the canons of the basilica no doubt meant to

flatter their benefactor and to announce to all visitors the special bond between Paul V and S. Maria Maggiore.

The foregoing information about the statue has long been known; so, too, has Sanquirico's authorship of it, as it was listed as the Parmesan artist's work in seventeenth-century guidebooks⁴⁷. But several key questions remain to be answered, such as what are the precise dates and circumstances of the statue's commission and execution?; how did Sanquirico come to receive the commission?; why was the statue removed from its original location?; and how does the statue fit into Sanquirico's known corpus of works? These and related issues are my concern here.

The history of the statue of Paul V is intimately tied to that of the pope's projects in the basilica, particularly the New Sacristy, which was, in fact, (along with the palace) the only true gift to the canons – to be theirs in perpetuity – among the many works of Paul V at S. Maria Maggiore⁴⁸. Begun in late 1605, the New Sacristy's structure was complete by the end of 1607; the painters and *stuccatori* began working in its interior in early 1608; and in the second half of 1610 its decoration was finished. Late in 1609 Paul V issued the bull announcing the donation of the New Sacristy (and the entire canons' palace) to the chapter, but it was only on 9 November 1610 that the pope officially handed over the New Sacristy to S. Maria Maggiore⁴⁹.

In anticipation of receiving the New Sacristy and, apparently, in conjunction with the issuance of the bull, on 9 December 1609 the canons of the basilica declared in a capitular decree that they would erect a bronze statue of Paul V in gratitude to him for his "many favors," which would be duly recorded in an inscription⁵⁰. The site for the statue, the decree makes clear, would be determined at a later date, and the project would be directed by specially appointed "experts" among the canons.

It was in January 1615, more than five years after their initial decision to erect the statue, that the canons again discussed the project in a capitular meeting. On 23 January of that year, the chapter, as they had proposed to do in 1609, issued a decree appointing three of its members to oversee the work. It was at this time that the canons also announced where they intended to place the statue: opposite the "porta grande" of the New Sacristy⁵¹. Why the canons allowed so much time to elapse before taking any action toward the creation of the statue is not clear. That the basilica's prized icon of the Virgin had been given a sumptuous new setting in 1613, and that the Cappella Paolina (in which the icon was installed) was nearing completion in 1615, may have prompted the canons to



9. P. Sanquirico, *Paul V*, 1619/20. Rome, S. Maria Maggiore (Anderson/Art Resource, New York).

act on their decision. The most likely reason, however, is that the chapter needed that time to raise the necessary funds – perhaps to secure a sponsor to help pay for what certainly would be a costly work of art.

The three canons named to oversee the project were Marcello Vitelleschi, Lorenzo Amatorio, and Odoardo Santarelli – about two of whom we know a good deal. Marcello Vitelleschi (†1638) was born into a noble Roman family, and after taking his vows was named a canon of S. Maria Maggiore in 1591 by Gregory XIV. Along with his two brothers, Marc Antonio and Muzio, he was an intimate of Filippo Neri, spending much of his youth visiting the future saint on a daily basis and frequenting Neri's Oratory. He remained close to the future saint, often praying with him and the Oratorian scholar Antonio Gallonio, and later providing five depositions during Neri's canonization *processo*⁵². As canon of S. Maria Maggiore, Vitelleschi served in a variety of roles, among them choir master and secretary, and in his elegant hand he composed a number of works including a history of the chapels in the basilica⁵³. Vitelleschi was also well acquainted with matters relating to the visual arts: in addition to playing a role in overseeing the construction of the tomb of Cardinal Francisco de Toledo in the basilica, working with architects on the restructuring of one of the basilica's two medieval ciboria, and hiring painters to execute copies of the basilica's icon of the Virgin, he personally commissioned new reliquaries for S. Maria Maggiore's Tabernacle of the Relics⁵⁴.

Odoardo Santarelli (1549-1620) was made a canon of S. Maria Maggiore in 1603 by Clement VIII, a pope he served in a number of highly important functions, including those of *cameriero segreto* and *secretario de' memoriali*. He played an equally prominent role under Paul V, who appointed him secretary of three *congregazioni*: “dei Sgravi”, “sopra l'acque di Romagna, Bologna, e Ferrara”, and “sopra il Tevere”. Having declined Paul V's offer to assume the bishopric of Catanzaro, he remained a canon of S. Maria Maggiore and served as Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini's *prelato domestico* and, briefly, as Donna Olimpia Aldobrandini's major-domo⁵⁵. Much like Vitelleschi, with whom he enjoyed a close relationship, Santarelli had considerable experience with artistic projects: he advised Clement VIII on matters of artistic patronage at S. Maria Maggiore; he worked closely with architects and engineers in his capacity as secretary of the congregations listed above; and he served numerous times as the capitular “fabriceiros” (architectural expert)⁵⁶.

About Lorenzo Amatorio I have discovered almost nothing, other than that he was named a canon of

S. Maria Maggiore sometime between 1596 and 1606, and that he died in 1626⁵⁷. Despite this gap in our knowledge, it is evident that at least two of the three men appointed to oversee the statue were well suited to the task, bringing to it the expertise and experience that would have been required.

Almost seven months after the appointment of Vitelleschi, Santarelli, and Amatorio, on 13 August 1615 the chapter of the basilica formally contracted Paolo Sanquirico to design and execute the statue of Paul V⁵⁸. The contract (transcribed in *Appendix II*) called for the artist to execute the statue in bronze; it stipulated that the work should be 10 *palmi* high (or 2.234 meters) “more or less as will be determined by intelligent persons” (no doubt Vitelleschi, Santarelli, and Amatorio); and that it should be completed and erected upon its base by November 1616. For designing and casting the work, as well as for the cost of the bronze, Sanquirico would receive the sum of 1500 *scudi*, a reasonable price for a monumental bronze statue⁵⁹, which would be paid out in the following fashion: in addition to the 200 *scudi* he had already received, he would be paid 100 *scudi* upon agreeing to the contract (stipulated for the 30th of August) and 25 *scudi*, beginning on 1 November 1615, for five consecutive months, at which time (1 April 1616) he would be required to present a clay model of the statue. A wax (and presumably full-scale) model would then have to be presented and approved, whereupon the monthly payments of 25 *scudi* would continue. The chapter would issue payment for the bronze directly to the merchant “for greater security”, which would be charged against the artist's account of 1500 *scudi*. It may be assumed that Sanquirico would receive the balance owed to him upon the work's completion, which was set for 1 November 1616.

It is evident from the contract that the canons desired an imposing statue, nearly as large as the papal statues of Gregory XIII and Sixtus V then in the Campidoglio [10]⁶⁰. And not surprisingly, the iconography of the statue – insofar as it was prescribed in the contract – was to conform to the basic formula established in those and other honorific works, with the pope seated in his pontifical throne, wearing his cope and tiara. Not specifically called for in the contract, perhaps because it was standard in honorific papal statues, was for the artist to depict the pope, as indeed he did, in the act of blessing.

In accordance with the terms stipulated, Sanquirico received 200 *scudi* before the contract was drawn up, and an additional 100 *scudi* were paid on 30 August 1615, upon his official acceptance of the commission⁶¹. In a slight deviation from the contract's terms, he began receiving payments of

varying amounts in December of 1615, and by the end of April 1616 he had received 250 *scudi* (in addition to the 300 already paid him), or double the amount indicated⁶². Presumably Sanquirico submitted the clay model by April of 1616, for, although there is no confirmation of this in the documents, he continued to be paid at fairly regular intervals after that date. Lacunae in the documents prevent us from knowing both the total he received and for how long the payments continued; what documents do exist show that by the end of May 1617 he had received a total of 800 *scudi*⁶³.

The payment documents also reveal two additional and significant pieces of information – the source and total amount of the funds set aside for the project. The person responsible for providing the funds was a certain “sig. Pietro Feo Raimondo,” and the amount he furnished was 4000 *scudi*, which he had deposited in the bank of Francesco and Geronimo Ticci⁶⁴. With respect to the sum of 4000 *scudi*, 2500 *scudi* more than the amount mentioned in the contract, it is likely that a portion of it plus the interest it would generate was intended to cover the costs of the statue’s pedestal and installation, in addition to the statue itself. As for the sponsor – Pietro Raimondi – we know almost nothing, except that he was a nobleman originally from Savona, the brother of Girolamo Raimondi, the husband of Violante Riario, and the father of three sons, Francesco, Alessandro, and Marcello, the last of whom was the patron of the Raimondi family chapel in S. Pietro in Montorio⁶⁵. Neither his association with S. Maria Maggiore nor his relationship to Paul V is known, and so it remains a mystery why he would have offered to finance the papal statue.

On 5 May 1617, shortly before the final recorded payment to Sanquirico (of 27 May), the chapter of the basilica issued a decree charging the “Signori Deputati”, that is, Vitelleschi, Santarelli, and Amatorio, with the task of overseeing the making of the statue’s pedestal⁶⁶. On the basis of this document, and given the contract’s requirement that the statue be finished by 1 November 1616, it is tempting to assume that the statue had been modelled and cast by this time. But there is no indication that this was the case, and evidence that the work had, in fact, not yet been cast is provided by another document, dated 1618, which accounts for payments issued by the chapter for 2037 *libbre* of bronze for the statue, an amount most likely sufficient to cover its manufacture⁶⁷.

With the bronze purchased, Sanquirico could now proceed to cast the statue, and from an *avviso* dated 20 July 1619 we learn that he finally had done so four days earlier. It states:

Tuesday the statue of the seated pope in the act of blessing was cast, which the chapter of S. Maria Maggiore had made and will be located in that basilica opposite the door of the new sacristy as a sign of gratitude for the very splendid chapel, endowed with chaplains by His Holiness, [and] for the choir and very commodious canons’ palace, which His Holiness had built there, as one will see [in the inscription] over its niche [when it is erected] for the feast of the Snow on the 5th of August⁶⁸.

The *avviso* is a particularly revealing document, in that it underscores the fact that the casting of the statue was an event worthy of notice. It informs us, too, that the canons of S. Maria Maggiore hoped to have the work installed in time for the feast commemorating the miraculous founding of their basilica. And, finally, from the *avviso* we also learn that the statue would be accompanied by an inscription enumerating the pope’s gifts to S. Maria Maggiore.

The Feast of the Snow passed, however, and still the project remained to be finished. It was only in October of 1619, in fact, that the chapter issued a decree concerning the purchase of marble for the



10. T. Landini, *Sixtus V*, woodcut from F. Franzini, *Descrizione di Roma Antica e Moderna*, Rome 1643, p. 582 (Author).

statue's pedestal⁶⁹. And upon the acquisition of the marble, work began. The *scarpellino* Daniele Guidotti was entrusted with carving the pedestal, for which he received payments from January until May 1620⁷⁰. The *muratore* Battista Pozzo was given the tasks of excavating and preparing the niche in which the statue would be placed, as well as adding decorative stucco work to the statue's base, which the chapter's architect, Francesco Peparelli, evaluated (along with the pedestal), in August of 1620⁷¹. The documents that account for this work, although they are not explicit on this matter, nevertheless strongly suggest that Sanquirico cast and finished the statue late in 1619 or early in 1620⁷², and that it was erected in its niche in August of 1620, perhaps in time for the Feast of the Snow. Thus eleven years after the statue had first been proposed and five years after the contract had been issued, Paul V was finally honored by the canons of S. Maria Maggiore.

Prior to his making the statue of Paul V Sanquirico had had no experience in designing or executing a monumental bronze sculpture; how was it, then, that he came to receive the commission? Some light may be shed on this matter by the contract itself, in which Sanquirico is called "very expert in this art" (*huius artis admodum perito*), referring, presumably, to the "art" of portraiture and bronze-founding. And it is fair to assume that the experts among the canons whose task it was to oversee the project were familiar with the artist's considerable experience as a medallist and his skill as a founder, and appreciated his ability to capture Paul V's likeness. Sanquirico may also have been known personally by one of those experts, Odoardo Santarelli, who, as secretary of the *Congregazione sopra il Tevere*, most certainly had read his "Discorso" and may have consulted with him about ways of stopping the flooding of the Tiber – as he did with other architects and engineers, according to Santarelli's nephew's account of his uncle's duties⁷³. It is not unreasonable to suppose, too, that Sanquirico, eager to advance his career, offered his services to the canons at a fair price and with assurances that he possessed both the artistic and technical skills to carry out the commission. And still another possibility is that Paul V, having been impressed by Sanquirico's medals, recommended the artist to the canons.

While these factors may help to explain why Sanquirico was selected to carry out the statue, the very fact that the artist designed, modelled, and cast the work is worthy of comment. As Jennifer Montagu has observed, "while founders who could create their own models were rare, sculptors who cast their own models were even rarer" in Seicento

Rome. And she goes on to state that "throughout the seventeenth century there were, to my knowledge, only two sculptors in Rome capable of casting their own statues in bronze" – Domenico Guidi and Francesco Mochi⁷⁴. Indeed, whether one thinks of Nicolas Cordier's *Henry IV* in the Lateran or his *Paul V* in Rimini, Alessandro Algardi's *Innocent X* in the palazzo dei Conservatori, or Gianlorenzo Bernini's *Baldacchino* in St. Peter's, to cite only a few prominent examples of monumental bronzes, all were designed and, in most cases, modelled by the artists we know them by but cast by specialists in bronze-founding⁷⁵. The complete control Sanquirico had over the statue of Paul V thus stands out as highly unusual, a rare example in the seventeenth century of a single artist's assuming responsibility for all aspects of the design and manufacture of a monumental bronze sculpture. No less unusual is that, prior to undertaking this commission, his sole experience in designing and casting bronzes was as a medallist. And while it was not uncommon for sculptors to also make medals (such as Leone Leoni, Algardi, and Bernini), I know of no other medallist who also produced a large-scale bronze sculpture⁷⁶.

Sanquirico's inexperience in casting large-scale bronzes may well explain why, if we are to believe Baglione in his biography of the artist, he had to cast the statue twice. Having worked only on the relatively "safe" scale of medals, where mistakes or problems (such as cracks in the mould) could easily be remedied, the transition to a monumental bronze and to the many, complex stages involved in its casting process, must certainly have challenged his skills, and it is easy to believe that the first casting of the *Paul V* was unsuccessful. Even experienced bronze-founders frequently ran into problems in casting large bronze works; for example, according to the *avvisi*, Gregorio de Rossi's first attempt at casting Nicolas Cordier's *Henry IV* failed⁷⁷, as did the first casting of Algardi's *Innocent X*⁷⁸. And if, in fact, Sanquirico's first attempt at casting the statue was unsuccessful, it would help to explain the delay in his completion of the work⁷⁹.

As completed [11, 12], the statue of Paul V, if not an inspired work, is not without merit. Technically, Sanquirico achieved considerable success, with the surface of the bronze finished smoothly and, in most areas, finely worked. Details such as the meandering acanthus pattern on the stole and border of the cope are clean and sharply defined, as are the dragon heads – heraldic emblems of the Borghese family – at the back of the pontifical throne, the tassels of the cincture, and the papal keys. Less refined in execution are the drapery that cascades lava-like onto the statue's base and appears to

belong to none of the ecclesiastical garments worn by the pope, the strange tubular folds of the sleeves, and the pleated fabric of the rochet, which was rather crudely chiseled. Seen close-up [as in 12], additional flaws are noticeable, such as shallow pits and a patched area on the right shoulder⁸⁰.

While it cannot be claimed that Sanquirico's statue shares the power and nobility of Nicolas Cordier's slightly earlier bronze statue of the same pope in Rimini, or the grace and dignity of Ambrogio Bonvicino's nearly contemporary marble statue of Urban VII in S. Maria sopra Minerva [13]⁸¹, it does capture, albeit somewhat awkwardly, Paul's distinctive physiognomy and a sense of his robust physical presence. In light of contemporary descriptions of Paul as a stout, near-sighted man⁸², Sanquirico's image of the pope can be seen as being more truthful than Cordier's rather idealized depiction. The portrait may not have been made directly from life, however. A comparison of his earlier (medallic) portraits of Paul V [3, 5] with the statue's head in profile [12] suggests, in fact, that when designing the statue Sanquirico may well have relied on those earlier medallic portraits or, per-

haps, the life-studies of the pope he had made for them.

His background in working exclusively on a small scale, in making miniature colored-wax portraits and medals, may account for the awkward proportions and other weaknesses of the statue. This, at least, was Baglione's opinion when he remarked that "although it turned out very well in the little wax [*sic?*] model, in its full size in bronze it did not correspond". Almost all later writers on the statue have been unanimous in their criticism, repeating Baglione's assessment and, most insistently, ridiculing the statue's drapery as being "too lavish"; as "completely suffocat[ing] the poor pope, so that his body almost seems no longer to exist within [it]"; and as "forming a heavy, thick, [and] swollen mass that spills down in a pile of folds"⁸³. The statue did, however, find at least one appreciative viewer: Agostino Valentini saw it as "worthy of admiration for its very natural sense of movement, its likeness, and the truly animated expression of the face"⁸⁴ – words that may better have described the engraving of the statue in his book [14] than the statue itself.



11. P. Sanquirico, *Paul V*, 1619/20. Rome, S. Maria Maggiore (Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione, Rome).



12. P. Sanquirico, *Paul V*, detail of head in profile (Vasari, Rome).

Baglione's is the only near-contemporary reaction to the statue that has come down to us, and we can only guess at how it was received by the pope and the canons who commissioned it. What is certain is that it was not rejected by its patrons who, as we have seen, erected it opposite the New Sacristy. In describing the statue in his *Le nove chiese di Roma*, Baglione mentions that it stood "above a marble pedestal with its travertine decoration [all] around"⁸⁵, and a visual record of that original installation is preserved in an engraving [15] that appeared in Paolo de Angelis' large tome on S. Maria Maggiore, published in 1621. The statue was placed within an aedicular niche – its "ornamento di travertino" – atop a simple rectangular pedestal decorated at the front with the arms of the pope. There was a short inscription at the top of the niche, between the consoles flanking its frame, while the dedicatory inscription occupied the center of a pedimented attic. This "ornamento" was not created *ex novo* for the statue, however; it pre-existed its installation – directly opposite from, and forming the pendant to, the aedicular portal leading into the canons' sacristy [16]. All that remained to be done was to add the plaque bearing

the dedicatory inscription, to excavate the niche into the wall, and to remove the (presumably) false door⁸⁶.

After its installation in 1620, Sanquirico's statue enjoyed its prominent location in the basilica until 1825 when the architect Giuseppe Valadier was commissioned by Leo XII to transform the summer choir into a baptistry. This project, as well as additional work in the adjacent former chapel of S. Michele, into the wall of which the statue's niche had been excavated, resulted in the removal of the statue and its relocation⁸⁷. It was reinstalled close to its original site, but one far less visible – in the nearly ruined former chapel of S. Michele, which had been transformed into a sort of corridor leading to the canons' *cortile* along the northeast flank of the basilica. It is here that it is recorded by Agostino Valentini in his 1839 volume on S. Maria Maggiore and by Antonio Nibby in his guide to Rome published the same year⁸⁸. The statue's aedicular frame became the door into this "corridor," and it still functions as such – minus the dedicatory inscription, which was replaced by a nineteenth-century della Robbia-like, glazed terracotta relief of the Virgin and Child [17]. In con-



13. A. Bonvicino, *Urban VII*, 1614, Rome, S. Maria sopra Minerva (Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome).



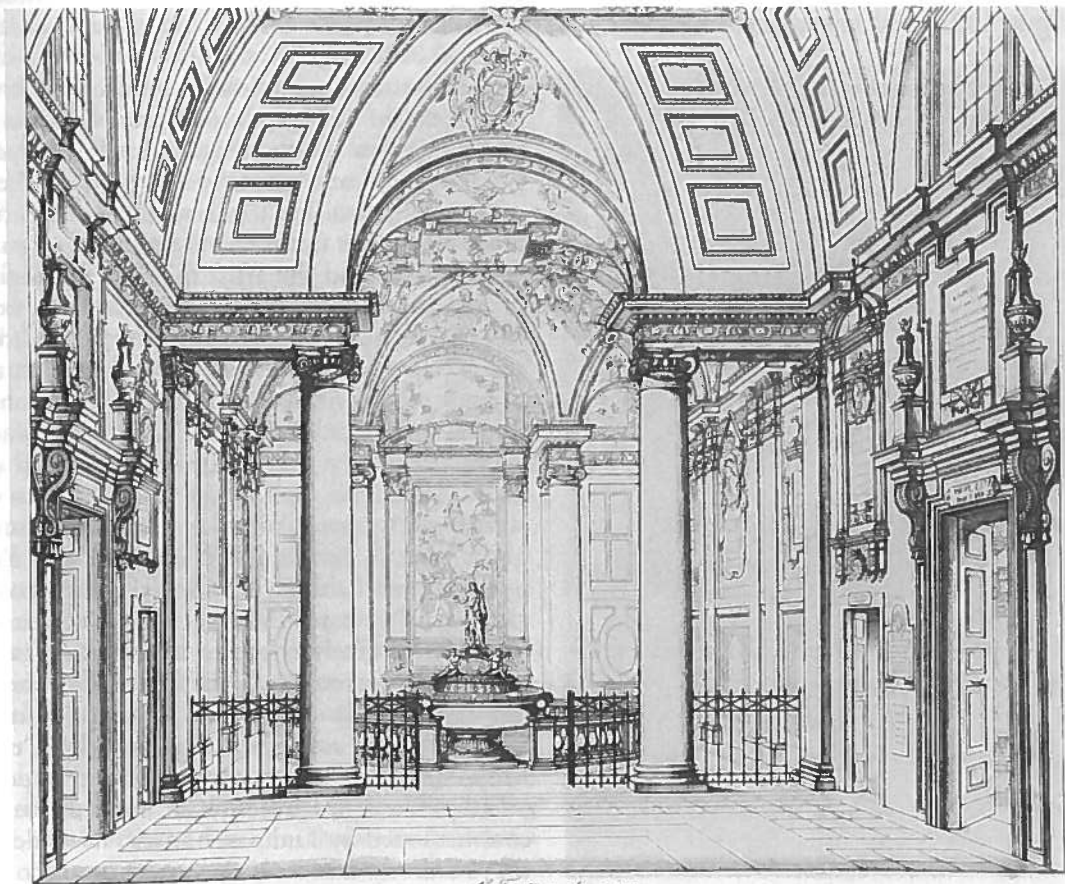
14. P. Sanquirico, *Paul V*, engraving from F. Valentini, *La Patriarcale Basilica Liberiana*, Rome 1839, pl. XVIII (Author).

junction with, or soon after, its relocation, the original rectangular marble pedestal was replaced by the one we see today, and its dedicatory inscription was copied onto the curving face of the new base⁸⁹.

For more than a century Sanquirico's *Paul V* stood in the dark and humid former chapel of S. Michele, hidden from public view. The canons, however, desired a more conspicuous location for the statue, which was, after all, one of the few major works of art in the basilica that their predecessors had directly commissioned⁹⁰. As a sign of their concern, in 1920, on the statue's three-hundredth anniversary, a new inscription, repeating the original one with the sole addition of the date "MDCXX," was carved into its base; the statue remained, however, in the same location⁹¹. Then, early in 1931, in conjunction with other work in the basilica initiated by Pius XI, the canons took up the matter of reconsecrating the ex-chapel in which the statue stood. The archpriest of S. Maria Maggiore appointed the capitular *fabbricieri* to discuss the matter with Monsignor Spirito Chiappetta, under whose direction the restoration of the basilica's transept was being carried out⁹². Nothing



15. P. Sanquirico, *Paul V*, engraving showing statue in its original aedicular frame, from P. de Angelis, *Basilicae S. Mariae Maioris de Urbe... Descriptio et Delineatio*, Rome 1621, p. 77 (Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome).



G. Valentini del. e inc.

16. Engraving of the Vestibule of the Summer Choir (now Baptistry) in S. Maria Maggiore, Rome, showing the matching aedicular portals at left and right, from F. Valentini, *La Patriarcale Basilica Liberiana*, Rome 1839, pl. XVI (Author).

came of the plan to reconsecrate the former chapel, but the statue was moved later that year to its present site on the landing of the staircase in the canons' palace⁹³. It was a great improvement over its previous location, although no more accessible to the public. But at least the canons of the basilica, in whose private domain Sanquirico's statue stood, could enjoy the monument that their predecessors had erected to one of S. Maria Maggiore's greatest benefactors.

5. Other Works

The statue of Paul V certainly marked the high point of Sanquirico's career, demanding more artistic ability and technical skill than any of his previous projects. Baglione's negative criticism notwithstanding, the *Paul V* was also his most important work, in terms of size and subject, and never again did he receive a commission that afforded greater public exposure and recognition.

Among the very few other works that we know Sanquirico to have made, all but one are lost, and no records of their appearance, other than written descriptions, exist. Two works are mentioned in a document of 1622 as silver statues of Sts. Peter and



17. Original aedicular frame of the *Paul V*, after its transformation into a portal leading into the ex-Chapel of S. Michele (Fotografia Vasari Roma).

Paul; and as that same document gives their combined weight as approximately 133 *libbre*, we know that they were relatively small, probably less than a meter in height⁹⁴. They were made for the "service of His Holiness," that is, Pope Gregory XV (reigned 1621-23), from which we can infer that they were intended to adorn an altar (most likely in St. Peter's), for statuettes of this kind, in silver or gilt bronze, were common features of Roman churches⁹⁵. It is unclear whether Sanquirico designed them or simply cast them from someone else's models; regardless, it is surprising to discover that the artist worked in silver at all, for although the technique of casting in this material was identical to that in bronze, the production of works in precious metals was, as Montagu has shown, almost exclusively done by members of the gold- and silversmiths' guild. "Effectively", she states, "silver-working was restricted to the members of the guild, and I know of no sculptor who actually cast in silver"⁹⁶. Thus, just as his modelling and casting of the statue of Paul V was exceptional for Seicento sculptors, so Sanquirico's casting of silver statuettes was a highly unusual occurrence.

Two works listed in three separate inventories of Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi's collection in his villa on the Pincian Hill are also no longer extant. Based on their description in the two later inventories (those of 1633 and 1641), as "two wax heads placed on two ebony octagons [and] covered with glass, one and one-quarter palmi high, by the hand of Paolo Sanquirico", one would be inclined to identify them as (unusually large) colored-wax portraits of the kind the artist made at the beginning of his Roman career. But from the inventory of 1623, the first to be made of Cardinal Ludovisi's collection, we learn that they were devotional images representing the heads of "St. John the Baptist in a basin" and "St. Catherine crowned"⁹⁷. As to when they were made we are left to speculate. It is possible that they were early works which subsequently entered the Ludovisi collection. But given what is known about the extensive Roman patronage of Ludovico Ludovisi after becoming Gregory XV's cardinal-nephew in 1621, it seems much more likely that they were commissioned directly by him to adorn the Stanza dei Metalli in the Casino of his villa, where (in the 1623 inventory) they are recorded, alongside other "exotic" works such as paintings on copper and jasper, and inlaid *pietra dura* landscapes. If, indeed, they were commissioned by Ludovisi himself, it would mean that relatively late in his career Sanquirico either returned to, or was still producing, wax images.

In regard to the only other known sculpture by the artist, we have a situation that is exactly the reverse

from that of the silver statuettes and wax reliefs of John the Baptist and Catherine: the work survives but we lack any specific documentation. It is the bronze *Crucifix* in the Sacchetti chapel in S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini [18], which Baglione, in his *Life of Sanquirico*, informs us was cast by the artist on the model of Prospero Bresciano. Additional information about this bronze is provided by the same author in his *Life of Bresciano*, where Baglione writes that Bresciano executed the life-size model of Christ on the cross for the Savelli, who intended to place it in the Gesù. Owing to the artist's death, however, the model was not cast until Sanquirico did so – presumably much later – for the Sacchetti chapel⁹⁸.

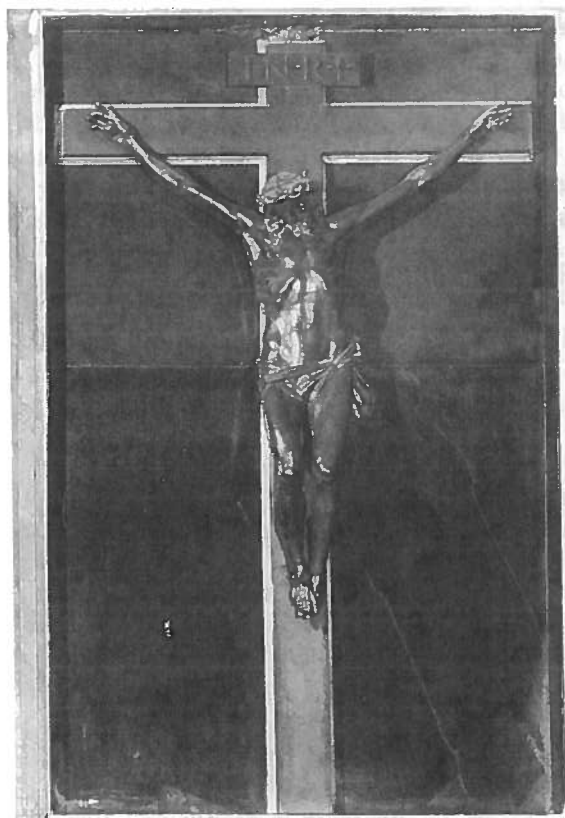
About Bresciano's *Crucifix*, we know that it was intended to be erected above the altar of the chapel of the Crucifixion in the left transept of the Gesù, which was being decorated under the direction of Giacomo della Porta for Cardinal Giacomo Savelli⁹⁹. Savelli died in 1587, but work on the chapel was carried forward by his heirs who, in 1593, following Bresciano's death, contracted Ludovico del Duca, one of Rome's best-known founders, to "perfect" the model and to cast it with a removable crown of thorns and a halo¹⁰⁰. Nothing seems to have come of this arrangement, however, for a description of the chapel made by della Porta in 1596 tells us that the *Crucifix*, which was to be executed in gilt bronze, had not been cast or put in place. Four years later, according to a guidebook published in 1600, it was still not to be seen¹⁰¹, and when, finally, it did make its appearance, it was not in the Gesù but in the Sacchetti chapel.

That the Savelli heirs were deeply in debt, resulting, in 1597, in their being absolved of any further responsibility for the completion of their family chapel in the Gesù¹⁰², explains why Bresciano's *Crucifix* never made it to its intended location. Less clear is how the sculptor's original model came to be cast by Sanquirico for the Sacchetti. Did the model remain in the hands of the Savelli only to be sold to the Sacchetti? Or did the model remain in Bresciano's studio and then change hands among the closely-knit group of Roman bronze-founders, finding its way, ultimately, to Sanquirico¹⁰³? It is tempting to suppose the latter, especially in light of the fact that the man responsible for procuring commissions for Bresciano, Orlando Orlandi, married the sister of the founder Gregorio de Rossi¹⁰⁴, who was involved in casting bronze-work for the Pauline chapel in S. Maria Maggiore; and from a document of 1617 we discover that Paolo Sanquirico provided de Rossi with bronze for his work in the chapel¹⁰⁵. De Rossi and Sanquirico were thus professionally linked and,

although we cannot ascertain this, it is possible that Bresciano's model passed through the former's hands to the latter's.

As for the patrons of Sanquirico's bronze *Crucifix*, Baglione tells us it was made for the "Signori Sacchetti," referring, of course, to one of the most eminent and wealthy families of Seicento Rome. Originally from Florence, its Roman branch began with Giovanni Battista Sacchetti (1540-1620), a businessman who moved to the papal capital at the end of the sixteenth century. He took up residence in the palazzo Sforza-Cesarini (on the present corso Vittorio Emanuele), near the Florentine national church of S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini, and married Francesca di Alessandro, a member of the Altoviti family. A number of sons resulted from this marriage, most notable among them the Marchese Marcello (1586-1629), a poet and dilettante painter who would become an important patron of the arts as well as Urban VIII's papal treasurer, and Giulio (1587-1663), who was made nunzio to Spain, bishop of Gravina, and soon after a cardinal of the Church¹⁰⁶.

In 1603 the chapel of the Crucifixion, which had been founded in S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini in 1532, was granted to Giovanni Battista Sacchetti¹⁰⁷. Nearly two decades passed, however, before



18. P. Sanquirico, *Crucifix* (bronze cast after model by P. Bresciano), 1624. Rome, S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini (Vasari, Rome).

the chapel's decoration was begun. Between ca. 1622 and 1624 Giovanni Lanfranco adorned the chapel with frescoes and lateral canvases, the latter representing the *Agony in the Garden* and *Christ Carrying the Cross*¹⁰⁸, and we can be certain that by 1624 Sanquirico had cast the *Crucifix* above the altar. This *terminus ante quem* is established by a papal brief, dated 26 August of that year, by which Urban VIII transferred to the chapel's new altar, "ad perpetuam", all of the privileges and indulgences that had been granted to the old altar. The brief speaks of the chapel as being gilt and decorated with pictures; it names the Sacchetti brothers as the patrons; and most important, at least for our purposes, it declares that: "on this altar ... has been erected a *new* image of the very holy Crucifix magnificently made in bronze"¹⁰⁹.

Leaving aside, for lack of evidence, the issue of why the Sacchetti commissioned Sanquirico to cast the *Crucifix*, it can be said that the work is, as the brief described it, "magnificently made," an exquisite example of bronze-casting equal in quality to Bresciano's powerfully expressive model. The surface of the bronze is finely modelled, cleaned, and finished, with the hair of Christ's head and beard delicately incised, the flesh taut and luminous. The gilding originally called for is absent, fortunately; instead, the rich, dark patina allows the light to gently play over its forms. With this work Sanquirico demonstrated not just his technical skills as a founder but also a real sensitivity to the aesthetic and psychological power of his model, and it is little wonder that Baglione called this *Crucifix* the "best" work he ever made¹¹⁰.

6. Sanquirico as Courtier, Canon, and Academician

In her very brief remarks about Paolo Sanquirico, Sylvia Pressouyre summarily dismissed him as "an amateur"¹¹¹. In fact, documentary evidence that he was paid for his works, as well as his proven mastery as a medallist and bronze-founder, belie the term. Nevertheless, that Sanquirico appears to have moved, in the course of his career, from wax portraiture to medals, then to bronze and silver sculpture and (as it seems) back to wax modelling, and that he produced – as far as we know – relatively few works in each of these genres and media, does suggest that, if not a "dabbler," he may have been a restless artist, not content to commit himself to any one particular activity; that once he mastered, or at least attempted to master, one art form, he was eager to try his hand at another; or that the making of art was only one aspect of his life. Although we can only speculate about the first two possibilities, we can be sure that Sanquirico was

more than an artist, for, as Baglione informs us, from early in his Roman career until the end of his life he served as a *bussolante de' Pontefici in Palazzo*. *Bussolanti* were members of the papal court, or, more specifically, of the pope's domestic household (or *famiglia*), who were provided with a small monetary stipend, food, and lodging in the papal palace. Their primary role was that of attendant – to control access to the pope from their position in the papal antechambers where they manned the *bussola*, the internal door from which the position's title derives. *Bussolanti* announced all visitors seeking a papal audience, especially ambassadors, who were then brought to the *maestro di camera* or *cameriere segreto* before being received by the pope. They also performed ceremonial functions, often travelled with the pope, and wore special attire consisting of a purple silk cassock and clerical collar, a large purple cloak, black socks and shoes, and an ecclesiastical hat¹¹². In short, the position was largely honorific, but it assured direct access to the pope and conferred prestige upon its holder.

Exactly when and how Sanquirico came to be a *bussolante* is unclear. That Baglione mentions the artist's serving in this role immediately after telling us about his studies with Mariani suggests that Sanquirico was named to this role at a relatively early point in his Roman period, perhaps during the latter part of Clement VIII's pontificate (reigned 1592-1605). As to how he obtained the position, the answer must lie in his having had a broker, or conduit, someone with considerable power and access to the pope who considered Sanquirico worthy of sponsorship¹¹³. This broker, I suspect, was Giovanni Battista Deti, a rather controversial figure in early Seicento Rome, who would later serve as Sanquirico's patron and sponsor.

G. B. Deti, born in Florence between 1577 and 1581, was a distant relative of Pope Clement VIII¹¹⁴. Summoned to Rome at a young age by the powerful cardinal nephew, Pietro Aldobrandini, he was educated in the Jesuit Collegio Romano and made a cardinal of the Church in 1599. Deti quickly gained notoriety for his profligacy – what Guido Bentivoglio, Clement's VIII's *cameriere segreto*, called his "vita libera" – which led to frequent censure from the pope and a severe case of "gout and other similar diseases"¹¹⁵. Nevertheless, he enjoyed the continued support of his protector, Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, in whose palace he was given an apartment, and was certainly capable of brokering Sanquirico's effort to gain a position at the papal court.

It remains unclear when Deti and Sanquirico first met, but an early source informs us that by 1611 the artist had become a *familiare* of the cardinal¹¹⁶.

And as an intimate of Deti's, Sanquirico no doubt witnessed the most interesting aspect of Deti's life: his co-founding of and presiding over the literary academy known as the Accademia degli Ordinati¹¹⁷. This academy, which he established together with the Florentine poet Giulio Strozzi in 1608, was relatively short-lived; it had ceased meeting by 1612. But during its roughly four years of existence it provided the context for lectures on and discussions about literature, science, philosophy, and the arts, as well as for theatrical performances, and it enjoyed remarkable popularity, being frequented by some of the most illustrious members of Roman society. An *avviso* of 29 March 1608, marking its founding, records:

In the house of Cardinal Deti an Academy of Latin and Greek letters and of other virtuous works was founded, in which ... many cardinals and a large number of prelates and gentlemen of this court took part¹¹⁸.

Subsequent *avvisi* record the presence of, among others, Cardinals Aldobrandini, Bandini, Bianchetto, Bevilacqua, Sforza, and Ginnasio, Prince Michele Peretti and the Marquis Giuseppe Malatesta, the antiquarian Pompeo Ugonio, and Giovanni Ciampoli, the Florentine poet and friend and patron of Galileo Galilei¹¹⁹. And in the spring of 1611 Galileo attended Deti's academy, as he recounted in a letter to his friend Virginio Orsini¹²⁰. Mario Biagioli has noted that in the reports of meetings of academies, "the topic and speaker are not always reported, but the *avvisi* invariably notice the host of those academic gatherings, in whose place (or palace) they occurred, and which cardi-

nals, aristocrats, ambassadors, and high prelates were present. ... Evidently, the importance of these gatherings was judged by the quality of hosts and guests more than by that of the speakers"¹²¹. Indeed, in all the *avvisi* that mention Deti's academy, only three speakers are identified by name and only two of their topics are specified. Assuming, therefore, that other unnamed individuals participated in the academy, the question arises: might Paolo Sanquirico have been among them? Baglione's biography of the artist offers a tantalizing clue, for there we read that Sanquirico was "pleasant in conversation, witty and clever with words, performed preeminently on stage, and imitated dialects", the very qualities and skills that were expected of members of and participants in academies. And it should also be recalled that his biographer tells us that he lectured on fortifications – which might well have taken place within the context of Deti's academy.

If we can only speculate about Sanquirico's participation in the Accademia degli Ordinati, we do know that he produced a medal for Deti directly related to the cardinal's academy [19, 20]. The obverse features a very fine bust-length portrait of Deti accompanied by an inscription that identifies him as the cardinal deacon of the church of S. Maria in Cosmedin, whose title he assumed shortly after being named to the cardinalate¹²²; it reads: IO. BAP. S. MARIAE. IN. COSM. S. R. E. DIAC. CARD. DETVS. Of far greater interest, however, is the reverse, with its *impresa* featuring the radiant sun above a segment of a globe with a variegated surface, and the motto: VALIDIOR. SI. TARDIOR¹²³. It is a remarkable medal, both in its execution and invention, and



19. P. Sanquirico, *Medal of Card. G. B. Deti*, obverse with portrait, ca. 1611/12. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung (Museum).



20. P. Sanquirico, *Medal of Card. G. B. Deti*, reverse with *impresa*, ca. 1611/12. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung (Museum).

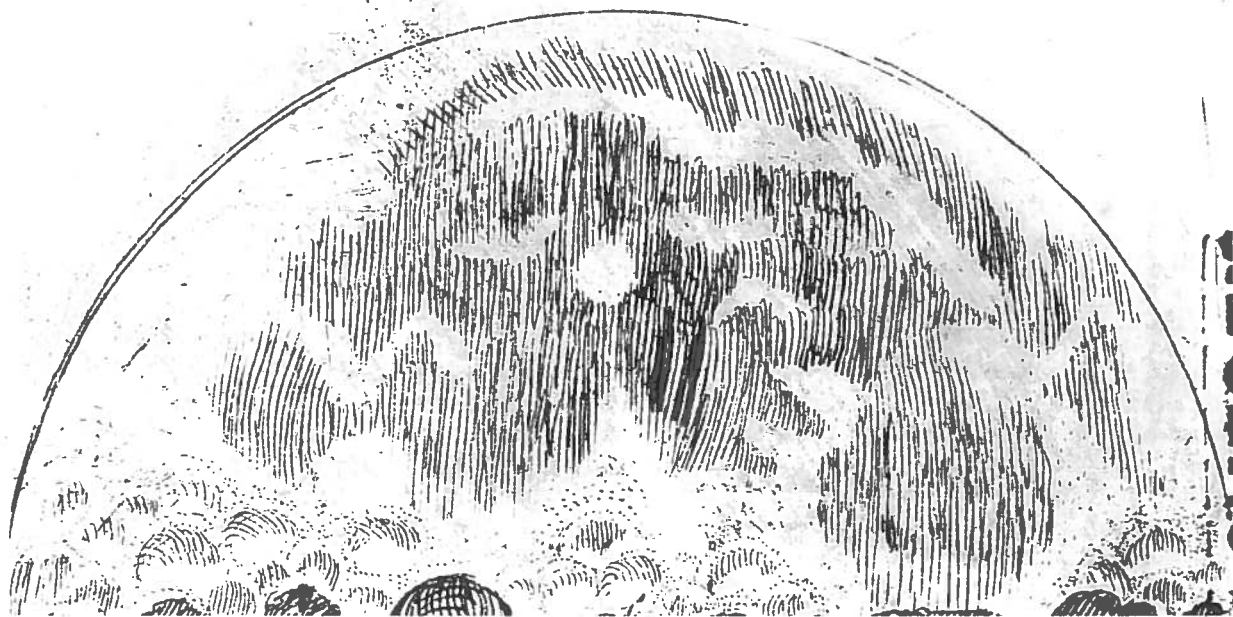
begs a number of questions that deserve our attention: when was it made?; what, exactly, does the segmented sphere represent?; how is the *impresa* to be interpreted?; who was responsible for its invention?

As to its date, taking the inscription on the obverse into account, a *terminus ante quem* of 1616 can be established, for in that year Deti relinquished the title of cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Cosmedin¹²⁴. And that the *impresa* can be related to the Accademia degli Ordinati, makes it almost certain that the medal dates between 1608 and 1612.

Concerning the segmented globe and what it represents, it was identified by one writer in the seventeenth century as the earth, the “terrestrial globe”¹²⁵; and the fact that depictions of the earth, with the sun shining upon it, are common among emblems and *imprese* of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries makes this a reasonable assumption¹²⁶. The globe on Deti’s medal, however, is rather ambiguous; its surface lacks any specific features – such as oceans and land forms – that would positively identify it as the earth. Rather, it appears to be cratered and pocked, more like the surface of the moon, in fact, as Galileo had discovered it to be in 1609 and as he had published it in his *Sidereus nuncius* of 1610 [21]. Could it then be the moon? I believe the answer is yes, for not only did Galileo, as

already noted, visit Deti’s academy in 1611, but in the following year the cardinal received from Galileo a copy of the *Sidereus nuncius*, the “beautiful and curious things” of which deeply impressed him¹²⁷. While I cannot prove that the globe *is* the moon, it would not be the first example of the moon in an *impresa*; indeed, the appearance of the sun and the moon in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century emblems is as common as that of the sun and the earth¹²⁸. But if it is the Galilean moon it would be, as far as I know, unique among Seicento *imprese* and one of only a very few examples in seventeenth-century art¹²⁹. Moreover, it would have distinguished Deti as a *cognoscente* versed in the latest scientific discoveries; it would have been understood only by the initiated; and it would have provided just the kind of learned intellectual puzzle so cherished by academicians¹³⁰.

Determining the meaning of the *impresa* poses a challenge, although we can be certain that it was intended to communicate something about Deti’s character and his relationship to his Accademia degli Ordinati¹³¹. Obviously, the *impresa* presents a view of the heavens, with the sun depicted in an emblematic way, personified with a face and schematically rendered rays, above that which is either the earth or the moon treated in a more objective fashion, with subtle surface modulations.



21. G. Galilei, Engraving of the Moon, det., from *Sidereus nuncius*, Venice, 1610 (Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze).

The lower sphere, whether it be the earth or the moon, is clearly subordinate to and illuminated by the sun; and if it is the moon, it no doubt makes reference to Deti's coat of arms on which appear three crescent moons [22]. But how are these signs to be read? Viewed together with the motto, which may be roughly translated as "stronger (or more powerful), if slower," the imagery may allude to the idea that just as the powerful rays of the sun – a traditional symbol of Christ and truth – slowly illuminate the sphere below it, so the cardinal gradually acquired greater power through his service to the Church and pursuit of wisdom. But if we can only speculate about the personal meanings of Deti's *impresa*, we can at least be more confident that it plays upon the *impresa* of Deti's academy: a filled salt-cellar with the motto: A SOLE – expressing the idea that the sun causes sea water to evaporate, leaving dry salt, a symbol of knowledge (like the sun), in reference to the wisdom of the members of the Accademia degli Ordinati¹³².

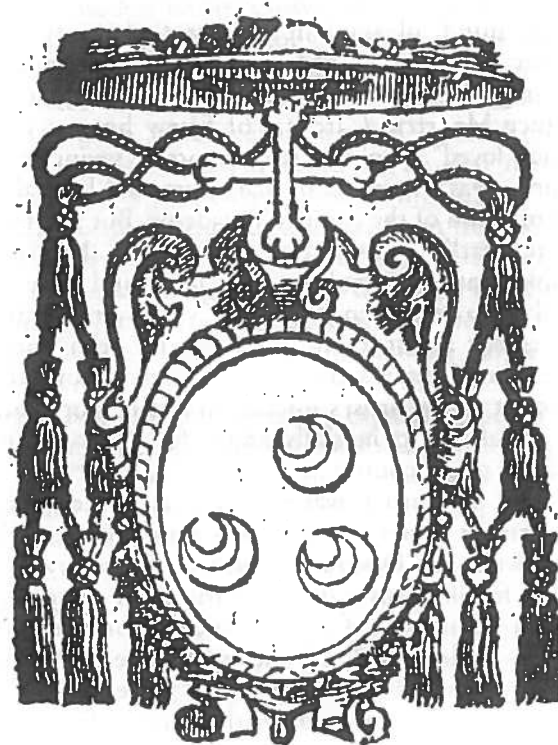
In answer to the final question – who was responsible for the *impresa*'s invention? – there is good reason to think that both patron and artist were involved, as was often the case with personal medals. Deti probably determined the basic conceit, providing directions to his artist, and Sanquirico then designed the image. And if the lower sphere depicts the Galilean moon, its inclusion was no doubt determined by the cardinal, who had met Galileo and read his treatise¹³³. As to who composed the motto, it is logical to assume that it was Deti's doing. Recalling, however, what Baglione wrote about Sanquirico, that he "havea belli moti" – which may be translated, somewhat loosely, as "witty and clever with words" – it is tempting to think that the artist may have played a role in formulating the motto as well.

Earlier in this discussion, in proposing that Giovanni Battista Deti assisted Sanquirico in obtaining the position of *bussolante*, I indicated that the cardinal later acted as the artist's patron and sponsor. The commissioning of the medal is the only known example of Deti's artistic patronage of Sanquirico. He did, however, serve his *familiare* in an additional way, by securing for him, in 1611, a canonship at his titular church of S. Maria in Cosmedin¹³⁴. And it is with this title – canon – that Baglione begins his *Life* of the artist, distinguishing Sanquirico as one of only two canon-artists in his entire *Vite*¹³⁵.

By the middle of the second decade of the seventeenth century Sanquirico had been richly rewarded by Rome's patronage system. Under the aegis of Deti he had acquired two virtual sinecures, those of *bussolante* and canon, and, presumably, through

his position in the papal court and with Deti's help he made additional connections, resulting in his work for the Papal Mint and the commission for the statue of Paul V. By the 1620s, however, Sanquirico's artistic career radically subsided, and after the *Crucifix* that he cast for the Sacchetti he produced, as far as we know, no other works of art¹³⁶. But he did go on to enjoy patronage of another kind, from the grand and courtly Cardinal Prince Maurizio of Savoy (1593-1657), to whom he may have been introduced by Deti, the vice-protector of the Duchy of Savoy.

The fourth son of Carlo Emanuele I, Duke of Savoy, Maurizio was educated in Turin by the Jesuit political philosopher and literary critic Giovanni Botero, who prepared the young prince for a life in the Church¹³⁷. His reward came in 1607, at the age of fourteen, when he was raised to the cardinalate, but it was not until 1621 that he took up permanent residence in the papal capital. There Maurizio was esteemed for his "piety and exemplary behavior," but he also lived the life of a prince characterized by "grand courtly magnificence and splendor"¹³⁸. He made his home in the palazzo Orsini di Montegiordano, which became a center of artistic and intellectual life. An extravagant spender – which ultimately led to his bankruptcy in 1627 and departure from Rome in 1630 – he



22. Coat of Arms of Card. G. B. Deti, from A. Ciacconius, *Vitae, et Res Gestae Pontificum Romanorum et S.R.E. Cardinalium...*, Rome 1677, IV, col. 343 (Author).

patronized a broad range of Rome's cultural elite, among them the writers Giovanni Ciampoli and Agostino Mascardi, the painters Francesco Albani and Domenichino, the sculptor François Duquesnoy, and the composers and musicians Michelangelo Rossi, Sigismondo d'India, and Stefano Landi¹³⁹. Maurizio's court was also notable for the academy he founded in 1626 – the Accademia dei Desiosi – in which some of the most influential and humanistically-oriented men in Rome participated¹⁴⁰. Cassiano dal Pozzo, Fabio Chigi, Giorgio Coneo, the aforementioned Ciampoli and Mascardi, as well as Cardinals Giulio Rospigliosi and Sforza Pallavicini were among those who frequented its meetings. Topics for discussion ranged from literature, history, music, emblematics, art, and architecture to philosophy, drama, dance, geometry, mathematics, and astronomy. The academy, of course, had its own *impresa* – one featuring a conical mirror and the motto: OMNIS IN UNUM – and as was common practice among such literary academies, its members all invented their own individual *imprese* as well as academic names¹⁴¹.

Towards the end of his *Life of Sanquirico*, Baglione turns from discussing the artist's works to describing his other activities and providing a short character-sketch. It is here that he tells us of Sanquirico's interest in fortifications and his teaching of the rules of architecture. "In short", the biographer then concludes, "he was a man with a gifted and lively mind, pleasant in conversation, witty and clever with words, [who] performed preeminently on stage, and imitated dialects: and in the Court of Prince Maurizio Cardinal of Savoy he was very much loved". Baglione stops short of saying Sanquirico was a member of that court, and he makes no mention of the cardinal's academy. But as I suggested earlier, this characterization of the artist implies, at the very least, that he would have fit easily into an academic context. Moreover, that the statement about Sanquirico's having been much loved in Maurizio's court immediately follows the account of the artist's interest in architecture, and his social and acting skills, argues for his close connection to the court.

In fact, Sanquirico was not only associated with Maurizio's court, he was also a member of his Accademia dei Desiosi. We lack documentary evidence for all of his activities at the court except for one: a document of 1627, which records a payment – a "donativo" – to the artist for teaching the cardinal's pages how to draw¹⁴². Whether these drawing lessons focused on the human figure or architecture is unknown; but if nothing else we can

now add drawing teacher to Sanquirico's list of credentials. It might also be assumed – if we take Baglione at his word – that Sanquirico gained Maurizio's affection by functioning as more than just a drawing teacher, serving, as well, as a courtier in all senses of the term: amusing the cardinal and his friends with his keen mind and wit, entertaining them with his acting and linguistic skills, and edifying them with discussions on art and architecture. As for Sanquirico's role in the cardinal's academy, we must again rely on only one piece of evidence: The *Diario dell' Accademia de' Desiosi* of 1626, which provides, in addition to the academy's statutes, a roster of its members. And there we find the name of Paolo Sanquirico listed among the officers of the academy – as the censor for Monday and Saturday meetings¹⁴³.

That Sanquirico was a member of the Accademia dei Desiosi is remarkable in itself, and that he was a censor is even more striking, for it was unusual in the seventeenth century for an artist to be received as a member of a literary academy and even more exceptional for an artist to hold an official position¹⁴⁴. Even Agostino Carracci, who participated in the influential Accademia de' Gelati in Bologna, was restricted to being an "accademico di secondo ordine" and was, by virtue of his profession, prohibited from being an officer, such as a censor or secretary. To be an *accademico*, an artist was expected not only to exercise his profession but also to lecture, compose poetry, perform plays, and to engage in intellectual debates; in short, an artist had to prove that he was a *letterato*. Baglione's characterization of Sanquirico, as well as what we know about him as an artist, *trattatista*, canon, *bus-solante*, and *familiare* of Cardinal Deti, give us every reason to believe that he met the definition of a *letterato*. And with the knowledge that the Accademia dei Desiosi often took up matters of architecture and astronomy, one might easily imagine Sanquirico lecturing to his fellow academicians about fortifications and amusing them with stories of having designed a medal that featured the Galilean moon¹⁴⁵.

Cardinal Maurizio of Savoy left Rome in 1630, retreating to Turin, thereafter making only occasional appearances in the papal capital. And it was perhaps in anticipation of the loss of his patron that in 1629 Sanquirico accepted an offer to return to his native Parma and assume a canonship that had been arranged by Pope Urban VIII. However in 1630, just prior to his taking possession of the new position, he died in Rome at the age of sixty-five¹⁴⁶.

At the beginning of this essay I stated that one of my goals was to provide as complete a picture as possible of Paolo Sanquirico's career, and if, in the end, I have been able to sketch in a fuller picture than previously existed, that picture nevertheless remains incomplete. We still know nothing about his pre-Roman days in Emilia and the date of his arrival in Rome has yet to be ascertained. His personal life – whether he ever married or was a religious and remained celibate – is completely unknown to us, and we have much more to learn about his relationship to Cardinals Deti and Maurizio of Savoy and his involvement in their academies. Wax portraits, drawings, and additional sculptural works by his hand await our discovery, as do the details of his life as a canon and papal attendant.

There can be little doubt, however, based on what we have been able to reconstruct, that Paolo Sanquirico was an intriguing and multi-talented figure. Sculptor, medallist, bronze-founder, architectural *trattatista*, canon, courtier, *bussolante*, and academician, he was a kind of Seicento jack-of-all-trades whose greatest talent seems to have been in exploiting his wit and intelligence in order to ingratiate himself with powerful individuals and, thereby, to secure patronage and a number of prestigious posts. He was, in Baglione's words, a *buon'ingegno*.

That his biographer also considered Sanquirico to be a *virtuoso* can certainly be attributed, at least in part, to the artist's numerous and varied professional activities. Indeed, from a careful reading of Baglione's *Vite* it is apparent that the greater the number of fields or categories of art in which one demonstrated skill, the more likely he was to be designated a "virtuoso". Thus, Giovanni Maggi, who, in addition to excelling in engravings, also designed architecture, painted, and wrote burlesque poetry, was a *virtuoso*, according to Baglione. So, too, were Federico Zuccari, a renowned painter as well as an accomplished sculptor, modeller, and architect, and Giovanni Valesio, who excelled at painting, drawing, and engraving¹⁴⁷. But equally important to being a *virtuoso*, it seems,

was to be closely associated with an important patron, whose *virtù* reflected upon the artist. On this basis, for example, Jacopo Zucchi, who was protected by Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici, Jacopo del Duca, who was "loved" by Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, Marzio di Cola Antonio, who was in the service of the Cardinal Prince of Savoy, and Giovanni Battista Crescenzi, who served Duke Ferdinand of Mantua, Pope Paul V, and later King Philip III of Spain, were all considered *virtuosi* by Baglione¹⁴⁸. And if, in addition to excellence in the visual arts, one possessed literary, musical, or dramaturgical skills, an artist was virtually assured of being designated a *virtuoso*. Accordingly, Baglione bestowed the "title" on Jacopo del Duca, Antiveduto Grammatica, and G. B. Ruggieri for their poetic talents; on Paolo Guidotti for his ability to compose poetry, to sing, and to play all sorts of musical instruments; on Marco Tullio for his expertise on the stage; and on Antonio Tempesta and Ludovico Stella for their interest in music¹⁴⁹. It comes as no surprise, then, that Baglione considered Paolo Sanquirico to be a *virtuoso* – for his skills as a sculptor and founder, *and* for being a man of literary talents who also performed on stage, imitated dialects, and was intimately associated with eminent patrons. Sanquirico was not, however, despite being dubbed a *virtuoso*, an artist of the first rank – quite the contrary. I have tried to underscore his (on the whole) modest artistic talents in order to illustrate the extent to which a strong patronage network, a successful career, and even being deemed a *virtuoso* in Seicento Rome depended on more than one's artistic gifts. Moreover, it was his "second-rate" ranking as an artist, I would argue, that makes Sanquirico a particularly interesting subject for study. For in contrast to what we learn from looking at the "great masters" such as Bernini and Algardi, examining the life of an artist like Sanquirico offers a truer, or at least more representative, picture of artistic life in baroque Rome, as there were many more Sanquiricos than there were Berninis or Algardis. And by expanding our field of inquiry beyond the narrow focus of the "great masters", we may, in the end, come away with a broader and more nuanced understanding of cultural life in Seicento Rome.

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¹ D. Bernini, *Vita del Cavalier Gio. Lorenzo Bernini* (Rome 1713), facsimile ed., Munich 1988, pp. 4, 27, 28, 50, 58, 59, 65, 104, 170, 171; F. Baldinucci, *Vita del Cavaliere Gio. Lorenzo Bernino* (Florence 1682), S. S. Ludovici, ed., Milan 1948, pp. 83, 94, 108, 117, 129.

² G. Baglione, *Le Vite de' Pittori Scultori et Architetti. Dal Pontificato di Gregorio XIII. del 1572. In fino à tempi di Papa Urbano Ottavo nel 1642* (Rome 1642), facsimile edition, V. Mariani, ed., Rome 1935.

³ See esp. L. Forrer, *Biographical Dictionary of Medallists Coin-Gem- and Seal-Engravers Mint-Masters & c. Ancient and Modern with References to Their Works B.C. 500 - A.D. 1900*, 8 vols., New York 1904-30, V, pp. 331-332; N. Pelicelli, s.v. "Sanquirico, Paolo", in *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, U. Thieme and F. Becker, eds., Leipzig, XXIX, 1935, p. 416; A. Venturi, *Storia dell'Arte Italiana, La Scultura del Cinquecento*, Milan, X, 3, 1937, pp. 678-680; A. Riccoboni, *Roma nell'Arte: La Scultura nell'Evo Moderno dal Quattrocento ad oggi*, Rome, I, 1942, pp. 134-135; E. J. Pyke, *Biographical Dictionary of Wax Modellers*, Oxford 1973, p. 127; E. Bénédit, *Dictionnaire des Peintres, Sculpteurs, Dessinateurs, et Gravures*, rev. ed, Paris, IX, 1976, p. 280.

⁴ His father's name appears as "Joannis Matthei Parmensis" in the contract Paolo signed for the statue of Paul V. See *Appendix II*.

⁵ On Mariani, see Baglione, *Le Vite*, cit., pp. 113-114; Venturi, cit., 349-377; G. Fiocco, *Camillo Mariani*, *Le Arti*, III, 1940-41, pp. 74-86; R. C. Burns, *Camillo Mariani: Catalyst of the Sculpture of the Roman Baroque*, Ph.D. thesis, Johns Hopkins University, 1979; S. F. Ostrow, s.v. "Mariani, Camillo," in *The Macmillan Dictionary of Art*, J.S. Turner, ed., London, XX, 1996, pp. 412-413 (with additional bibliography). Long thought to have been born in 1565, Mariani was most likely born in 1556.

⁶ See Fiocco, cit., pls. XXIV and XXV.

⁷ Fiocco, cit., pls. XXIX, XXXII, and XXXIII.

⁸ On Mariani as a medalist, see Fiocco, cit., pp. 78-80, 86 and pl. XXVI; Forrer, cit., III, p. 572. After his arrival in Rome, Mariani abandoned making medals.

⁹ Until the second half of the sixteenth century medals were almost always produced by casting. With the introduction and adaptation of machinery from the printing trade, striking replaced casting as the preferred method, as it assured standardization and allowed for the production of greater numbers of medals. See S. K. Scher, *The Currency of Fame: Portrait Medals of the Renaissance*, New York 1994, pp. 13-14 and J. L. Varriano, *An Introduction to Early Papal Medals*, in N. T. Whitman and J. L. Varriano, *Roma Resurgens: Papal Medals from the Age of the Baroque*, exhib. cat., Ann Arbor 1983, pp. 14-15.

¹⁰ On the basis of Baglione's statement exclusively, Sanquirico is included in Pyke's *Biographical Dictionary of Wax Modellers* (as in n. 3); the entry, however, contains no useful additional information.

¹¹ G. Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architetti*

nelle redazioni del 1550 e 1568, P. Barocchi and R. Bertarini, eds., Florence, I, 1966, p. 88. I quote, with minor revisions, the translation in *Vasari on Technique*, L. S. Maclehorse, trans., London 1907, p. 149. The passage quoted – from Vasari's essay *Della Scultura* – does not appear in the 1550 edition.

¹² See N. Penny, *The Materials of Sculpture*, New Haven and London 1993, p. 215, whose description of technique I follow here. Further on wax portraiture, see D. R. Reilly, *Portrait Waxes*, London 1953; T. R. Newman, *Wax as an Art Form*, South Brunswick, NJ and London 1966, pp. 93-98; and R. Büll, *Das grosse Buch vom Wachs: Geschichte Kultur Technik*, Munich, I, 1977, pp. 417-526, esp. pp. 443-451.

¹³ U. Schlegel, *Die italienische Bildwerke des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts in Stein, Holz, Ton, Wachs und Bronze mit Ausnahme der Plaketten und Meduillen (Die Bildwerke der Skulpturengalerie Berlin, I)*, Berlin 1978, p. 129. See also below, n. 15.

¹⁴ On Abondio, see F. Dworschak, *Antonio Abondio, Medaglia e Ceroplasta (1538-1591)*, Trent 1958; K. Schulz, *Antonio Abondio und seine Zeit*, exhib. cat., Münzkabinett, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna 1988. Five of Abondio's wax portraits (including those of Philip II of Spain and his son Don Carlos) are catalogued and illustrated in J. Pope-Hennessy, *Catalogue of Italian Sculpture in the Victoria and Albert Museum*, London, II, 1964, pp. 556-560, cat. nos. 594-98, and III, figs. 582-86. See also Penny cit., p. 215.

¹⁵ On the criteria for objects being included in such collections, see J. Kenseth, ed., *The Age of the Marvelous*, exhib. cat., Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH 1991, pp. 247-248. A number of polychrome wax portraits (some of them by Abondio) are recorded in the *Kunstammer of Emperor Rudolph II*, for which, see R. Bauer and H. Haupt, *Das Kunstammerinventar Kaiser Rudolfs II., 1607-1611*, JhbKhSmmlWien, LXXVII, 1976, *passim*. Further on their inclusion in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century European *Kunstammern*, see F. A. Dreier, *The Kunstammer of the Hessian Landgraves in Kassel, in The Origins of Museums: Cabinets of Curiosities in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe*, O. Impey and A. Macgregor, eds., Oxford 1985, pp. 102-109, esp. pp. 103-104, and H. S. Ackermann, *The Basel Cabinets of Art and Curiosities in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, in Impey and Macgregor, eds., cit., pp. 62-68.

¹⁶ Baglione, *Le Vite*, cit., pp. 144 and 145: "per la similitudine de' suoi ritratti era sopra tutti eccellente;" "Non vi fu Principe nel suo tempo, che dal Padovano [i.e., Lioni] non fusse ritratto; nè Principessa, o Dama Romana;" and "Facea le imagini di cera colorite, & a vedere quei ritratti, era cosa stupore".

¹⁷ Baglione, *Le Vite*, cit., p. 174: "fece alcuni ritratti di cera coloriti, molto aggiustati, & assai rassomiglianti; & in queste effigie, e lavori di cera grandemente seppe, e sopra gli altri valse".

¹⁸ Forrer, cit., V, p. 331. Penny (cit., p. 215) rightly notes, with respect to surviving examples, that "it is difficult to attribute them to specific artists".

¹⁹ Schlegel, *cit.*, pp. 162-163, cat. no. 52, identifies the work as Italian and dates it to the beginning of the seventeenth century. The gilt metal frame is not original.

²⁰ Schlegel, *cit.*, p. 163, cat. no. 53, 6.1 cm high. The Dutch wooden frame is a later addition.

²¹ On Ottavio Leoni, see Baglione, *Le Vite*, *cit.*, pp. 321-322; H.-W. Krufft, *Ein Album mit Porträtzeichnungen Ottavio Leonis*, Storia dell'arte, IV, 1969, pp. 447-458; J. T. Spike, *Ottavio Leoni's Portraits alla macchia*, in *Baroque Portraiture in Italy: Works from North American Collections*, exhib. cat., The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota 1984, pp. 12-16; and cat. nos. 32-39.

²² The Salini drawing (in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) is illustrated in Spike, *cit.*, p. 112, cat. no. 34.

²³ Baglione, *Le Vite*, *cit.*, pp. 144-145, 321. Krufft (*cit.*, fig. 21) reproduces Ottavio's portrait drawing of his father Lodovico.

²⁴ Ottavio Leoni's habitual use of black and red chalk with white heightening in his drawings may be likened to the use of black, red, and white colored waxes in their sculptural counterparts.

²⁵ Baglione does, however, include a number of Lives of bronze-founders, which, as J. Montagu (*Roman Baroque Sculpture: The Industry of Art*, New Haven and London 1989, p. 48) has pointed out, constitutes an unusual, if not unique, feature of his *Vite*.

²⁶ See F. Bertolotti, *La medaglia annuale dei romani pontefici da Paolo V a Paolo VI: 1605-1967*, Rimini 1967, pp. vii-x; Varriano *cit.*, p. 12; and J. Montagu, *Gold, Silver, and Bronze: Metal Sculpture of the Roman Baroque*, Princeton 1996, p. 74.

²⁷ See I. Weber, *Bauten Roms auf Münzen und Medaillen*, exhib. cat., Staatlichen Münzsammlung München, Munich 1973, pp. 217-218, cat. no. 348; A. S. Norris and I. Weber, *Medals and Plaquettes from the Molinari Collection at Bowdoin College*, Brunswick, ME 1976, p. 32, cat. no. 83; and Whitman and Varriano, *cit.*, pp. 52-53, cat. no. 34 (all with additional bibliography).

Sanquirico was commissioned to produce this medal in an edition of one hundred. See H. Hibbard, *Carlo Maderno and Roman Architecture 1580-1630*, London 1971, p. 171, for partial documentation.

²⁸ Whitman and Varriano, *cit.*, pp. 52-53.

²⁹ In addition to this foundation medal of 1609, Sanquirico produced an annual medal in 1610 of the Fortress of Ferrara in which he repeated (with minor variations) the earlier design. See Bertolotti, *cit.*, p. 7, cat. no. E. 610. Payments for an edition of 100 of the 1609 medal are cited in J. A. F. Orbaan, *Documenti sul Barocco in Roma*, Rome 1920, p. 303, and A. Bertolotti, *Artisti Modenesi, Parmensi e della Lunigiana in Roma nei secoli XV, XVI e XVII*, Modena 1883, p. 164.

³⁰ On the Acqua Paola medal, see E. Martinori, *Annali della Zecca di Roma*, Rome, II, 1919, p. 116. A payment for an edition of 50 of the medal is cited in Orbaan, *cit.*, p. 306, and Bertolotti, *cit.*, 1883, p. 164. On the Port of Fano medal, see Norris and Weber, *cit.*, p. 32, cat. no. 84, and Whitman and Varriano, *cit.*, pp. 63-64, cat. no. 45. A variant of this (Fano) medal is illustrated in A. Ciaconius, *Vitae, et Res Gestae Pontificum Romanorum et S.R.E. Cardinalium Ab initio nascentis Ecclesiae usque ad Clementem XI. P.O.M.* (A. Oldoino S. I. recognita), Rome, IV, 1677, col. 397/98.

³¹ Whitman and Varriano, *cit.*, p. 63, where it is also noted that Sanquirico's depiction of the harbor bears little resemblance to the actual site. For an illustration of Matteo de'

Pasti's medal, see Norris and Weber, *cit.*, fig. 5.

³² The four medals discussed above constitute the only surviving examples he made for Paul V. As to the "4 medaglie d'oro e otto d'argento," which the pope commissioned from him in late 1609 to present as gifts to the Persian ambassador, it is probable, as Bertolotti (*cit.*, 1883, p. 164) suggests, that they were more precious casts of the Fortress of Ferrara medal (of the same year). See Orbaan, *cit.*, p. 304 for payments for these works. Bertolotti, *cit.*, 1883, p. 164, also cites a payment of 1459 *scudi d'oro* and 483.75 *scudi in moneta* for 178 gold and 310 silver medals produced for the feast of Sts. Peter and Paul in 1610 – no doubt the annual medals of the Fortress of Ferrara cited above, n. 29.

³³ Bertolotti, *cit.*, p. 164; Martinori, *cit.*, p. 105; and G. C. Bascapè, *Introduzione alla medagliistica papale (parte seconda)*, Rivista italiana di numismatica e scienze affini, LXXII, 1970, p. 207. Sanquirico succeeded Giorgio Rancetti (or Roncetti) in this position. There is no evidence that Sanquirico ever studied with Moro, as has been stated by Pelicelli, *cit.*, p. 416, and Whitman and Varriano, *cit.*, p. 188. See A. Bertolotti, *Artisti subalpini in Roma nei secoli XV, XVI e XVII*, Mantua 1884, p. 215, for a transcription of the "breve di nomina" of Moro, dated 16 April 1613, in which it is stated that Sanquirico, along with Camillo Corradino, "dimiserunt et renunciaverunt" their positions at the Zecca.

Moro (†1624) worked at the Papal Mint from 1610 and served as its Master from 1613 until his death. See A. Bertolotti, *Artisti lombardi a Roma nei secoli XV, XVI e XVII*, Rome, II, 1881, pp. 184-189; Forrer, *cit.*, IV, 152-153; and Anon., s.v. "Moro, Giacomo Antonio," in ThB, XXV, p. 162. Although no longer officially attached to the Papal Mint after 1613, Sanquirico, along with Corradino, assisted Moro in reworking "trenta tre stampe grande," "trentacinque stampe mezzane," and "otto delle piccole" of the Agnus Dei of 1621. See Bertolotti, *cit.*, 1883, pp. 164-165.

³⁴ A. Valentini, *La Patriarcale Basilica Liberiana*, Rome 1839, p. 21, n. 68: "apprese l'architettura, dilettandosi in ispecie nel disegnare fortificazioni;" Martinori, *cit.*, p. 105, n. 1: "fu valentissimo scultore e modellatore, non che distinto architetto;" Forrer, *cit.*, V, p. 331: "Sanquirico, Paolo: Architect, Modeller in wax, and Medallist"; Pelicelli, *cit.*, p. 416: "Lieferte als Architekt Entwürfe für Befestigungen".

³⁵ As noted above (n. 31), Sanquirico's depiction of the port bears little resemblance to the actual harbor, which was not completed until 1619. It would seem, therefore, that the harbor as it appears on his medal reflects either an earlier design of the engineer or, more probably, an invention that was entirely his own.

³⁶ For what follows on the flooding of the Tiber, I have relied on L. von Pastor, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages*, 40 vols., St. Louis, 1893-1953, XXIV, pp. 406-413, XXV, pp. 97-99; C. D'Onofrio, *Il Tevere: L'Isola Tiberina, le Inondazioni, i Molini, i Porti, le Rive, i Muraglioni, i Ponti di Roma*, Rome 1980, *passim*; Hibbard, *cit.*, pp. 235-236; T. Magnuson, *Rome in the Age of Bernini*, Stockholm, I, 1982, pp. 121-122.

³⁷ Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica, Barb. lat. 4340, fols. 55r-62v (transcribed in D'Onofrio, *cit.*, pp. 342-346). The "Discorso" is preceded by "Alla Santità di N.S.;" it was originally accompanied by a drawing (now lost), as is made evident by the numerous references to the attached "disegno." Pastor, *cit.*, XXV, p. 98, n. 6, first cited this "Discorso" without indicating its source. This manuscript (fols. 47r-53v) also contains Tar-

gone's "Discorso ... sopra il rimedio da darsi all'inondationi del Tevere" as well as two additional *discorsi* by him on matters relating to ports. I am grateful to Jennifer Montagu for information on the full contents of this manuscript and verifying the pagination. D'Onofrio, *cit.*, pp. 346-348, transcribes another version of Targone's "Discorso" as well as those of Fontana, Maderno, and Ponzio in Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica, cod. Chigi H, II 43. See also Hibbard, *cit.*, p. 236.

³⁸ Sanquirico's text does include some amusing and original proposals, such as the filling up of the old river bed (from which the Tiber would be diverted) and the creation in this "sito aggiunto alla Città" of a public space for courtesans which "would be quite like a harem" (sarebbe proprio come un serraglio). The added benefits of dredging the river bed were not lost either; "Lascio di dire la speranza certa," he writes, "che si havrebbe nel nettare del fiume di trovar statue, sassi, et altre materie da cavarne denari, et forse anco gioe et thesori".

³⁹ M. Missirini, *Memorie per Servire alla Storia della Romana Accademia di S. Luca*, Rome 1823, p. 472 (listed as "scultore" in the "Catalogo generale dei professori accademici di S. Luca"). Pelicelli, *cit.*, p. 416: "Lehrte an der Akad. S. Luca;" and Riccoboni, *cit.*, p. 134: "Insegnante all'Accademia di San Luca".

⁴⁰ See A. S. Harris, *Andrea Sacchi*, Princeton 1977, pp. 39-40, n. 43, who has noted that "The appearance of an artist's name on the membership of the Academy is no guarantee of active participation in the affairs of the Academy".

⁴¹ Recently, in an effort to raise funds to support the restoration of S. Maria Maggiore, the basilica's administration has allowed tourists, for the sum of 4000 lire, to visit the loggia to see Filippo Rusuti's much-restored but still impressive late 13th-century mosaics. This, in turn, has provided access to the statue of Paul V, for in order to arrive at the loggia one must pass the landing where the statue is placed.

⁴² P. de Angelis, *Basilicae S. Mariae Maioris de Urbe a Liberio Papa I usque ad Paulum V Pont. Max. Descriptio et Delineatio*, Rome 1621, p. 76. The statue is also recorded in this location by Giovanni Baglione in his *Le Nove Chiese di Roma* (Rome 1639), L. Barroero, ed. and introduction, notes by M. Maggiorani and C. Pujia, Rome 1990, p. 169; as well as in a number of other seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century guidebooks: P. Totti, *Ritratto di Roma Moderna*, Rome 1638, p. 290; F. Martinelli, *Roma ornata dall' Architettura, Pittura e Scultura*, in C. D'Onofrio, *Roma nel Seicento*, Florence 1969, p. 107; G. B. Mola, *Breve Racconto delle miglior opere d'Architettura, Scultura et Pittura fatte in Roma et alcuni fuor di Roma descritto...l'anno 1663*, K. Noehles, ed., Berlin 1966, p. 75; F. Titi, *Nuovo Studio di Pittura, Scultura, et Architettura nelle chiese di Roma, Palazzo Vaticano, di Monte Cavallo, ed altri*, Roma 1721, pp. 268-69.

As K. Schwager (*Die architektonische Erneuerung von S. Maria Maggiore unter Paul V.*, Römische Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte, XX 1983, p. 250, n. 32) has shown, the vestibule was referred to in seventeenth-century documents relating to its construction as the "andito del coro," the "stanza del[l] ingresso," and the "vestibulum...ante chorum aestivum et Sacrarium".

⁴³ Quoted in Schwager, *cit.*, p. 249.

⁴⁴ De Angelis, *cit.*, p. 76.

⁴⁵ PAVLO V. PONTE MAX./ QVOD SACELLO MAGNIFICENTISSIME AEDIFICATO/ ATQVE EXTRVCTO/ COIVMNA MARMOREA/PRO FORIBVS BASILICAE COLLOCATA/ SACRARIO AEDIVSQUE CANONICORVM CONDITIS/ ATQVE

ALIS EXIMIAE VENERATIONIS/ IN DEI GENITRICEM/ HVISQVE SACRATISSIMAM IMAGINEM/ MONVMENTIS/ BASILICAM HANC MAXIME AVXERIT ET ORNAVERIT/ CANONICI POSVERE.

⁴⁶ For a carefully documented overview of Paul V's building program at S. Maria Maggiore, see Schwager, *cit.*, pp. 241-312; on the Cappella Paolina, see S. F. Ostrow, *Art and Spirituality in Counter-Reformation Rome: The Sistine and Pauline Chapels in S. Maria Maggiore*, Cambridge and New York 1996; and on the Column of the Virgin, see my forthcoming article.

⁴⁷ See above, n. 42.

⁴⁸ The Cappella Paolina, more or less completed by 1615, although built within the basilica, remained the property of the pope and his family. The Column of the Virgin, erected in 1614, stands outside of the basilica as an urban monument.

⁴⁹ See Schwager, *cit.*, esp. pp. 258-261, and A. M. Corbo, *I Pittori della Sagrestia Nuova di Santa Maria Maggiore*, *Commentari*, XIX, 1968, 320-226. The issuance of the bull in late 1609, and the canons' discussion of it, are recorded in Rome, Archivio Capitolare di S. Maria Maggiore (hereafter cited as ACSMM), Atti Capitolari 1596, 1606, 1609, 1610, fol. 90r-v.

⁵⁰ ACSMM, Atti Capitolari 1596, 1606, 1609, 1610, fol. 92v: "Die 15 Xbris 1609. Cu[m] autem Cap[itu]lum multris, et insignibus se beneficiis S.ri suae de vincu[m] agnosceret, ut ta[n]tis meritis aliquod grati animi monumentu[m] poneret, decrevit erigenda[m] esse in loco qu. Cap[itu]lo (?) peritoru[m] co[n]silio videbitur aptior S.ri suae aeneam effigiem decentior ornata[m] cui ad brevem beneficior[um] recensionem sequens Epigram[m]a subscribatur". A question mark in parentheses (?) indicates the omission of an undeciphered word. Cf. Registro degli Atti Capitolari dall'anno 1537 all'anno 1819, unpag., "In riconoscenza alla Santità di Nostro S. Paolo V. fu decretato erigergli a spese del Capitolo una Statua di Bronzo, dove si giudicherà più conveniente".

⁵¹ ACSMM 1611-1639, fol. 62: [23 Jan. 1615] "Si disputorono li SSri. Vitelleschi, Amatorio, et Santarelli ad haver cura, et soprintendenza all'opera, che il Cap[itu]lo ha decretato di fare incontro alla porta grande della Sacrestia per memoria di N[ost]ro S[igno]re Papa Paolo V^o".

⁵² See L. Ponelle, L. Bordet, *St. Philip Neri and the Roman Society of His Times*, R. F. Kerr, trans., London 1979 (1 ed. 1932), pp. 505-506, 556; G. Incisa della Rocchetta, G. N. Vian, and G. Gasbarri, eds., *Il primo processo per San Filippo Neri*, Vatican City, 1, 1957, pp. 269-70, n. 700.

⁵³ See A. M. Santarelli, *Memorie notabili della Basilica di Santa Maria Maggiore E di alcuni suoi Canonici nella Pontificati di Clemente VIII. Leone XI. Paolo V. e Gregorio XV. SS. mem.*, Rome 1647, pp. 19-20. His history of the chapels of S. Maria Maggiore is in ACSMM, Fondo dei Canonici, Miscellanea tom. 1, fasc. 9, "Nota delle Cappelle, che erano anticam[en]te nella chiesa di s[ant]a M[ari]a Maggiore".

⁵⁴ On his role in the tomb of Francisco de Toledo, see S. F. Ostrow, *The Tomb of Cardinal Francisco de Toledo at S. Maria Maggiore: A New Work by Giacomo della Porta and Egidio della Riviera*, RSAR, XXI, 1983, p. 88. On his work in conjunction with the ciborium and hiring painters, see ACSMM, Atti Capitolari 1611-1639, fols. 28, 46, 82. His commissioning of reliquaries is discussed in Santarelli, *cit.*, p. 20.

⁵⁵ Santarelli, *cit.*, pp. 21-43; the author was Odoardo's nephew. See also Schwager, *cit.*, pp. 298-299, n. 300.

⁵⁶ On his advising Clement VIII, see Ostrow, *Art and Spirituality*, pp. 130-132. Santarelli is commemorated with a memorial in the basilica executed long after his death by Alessandro

Algardi. See J. Montagu, *Alessandro Algardi*, New Haven and London, II, 1985, pp. 442-443, cat no. 174, fig. 146.

⁵⁷ This time frame is established on the basis of the lists of canons that precede the Capitular Acts for the years 1596 (in which his name does not appear) and that of 1606 (in which it does), the intervening years' lists being no longer extant. His burial is recorded in ACSMM, Libro de' Morti, fol. 10: "A di 16 Marzo 1626 fu portato a seppellire il Corpo del q. Sig.r Lorenzo Amatorio Can. di nostro Chiesa....".

⁵⁸ ACSMM Instrumentorum 1612-1621, vol. 22, fol. 97r-v.

⁵⁹ For comparison, in 1608-09, Nicolas Cordier received 1000 *scudi* for his statue of Henry IV for the Lateran. See B. Harwood, "Nicolo Cordieri: His Activity in Rome 1592-1612," Ph.D. thesis, Princeton University, 1979, pp. 359-360. The same sculptor was paid 2800 *scudi* for his bronze statue of Paul V in Rimini (of 1611-14), 800 *scudi* for his model and 2000 *scudi* for the bronze and casting by Sebastiano Sebastiani. See S. Pressouyre, *Nicolas Cordier: Recherches sur la Sculpture à Rome autour de 1600*, Rome, I, 1984, pp. 305-307. Doc. 220.

⁶⁰ On the statue of Gregory XIII by P. P. Olivieri, now in the church of S. Maria in Aracoeli, see W. Hager, *Die Ehrenstatuen der Päpste*, Leipzig 1929, p. 49, cat. no. 31, fig. 16, and M. Butzek, *Die kommunalen Repräsentationsstatuen der Päpste des 16. Jahrhunderts in Bologna, Perugia und Rom*, Bad Honnef 1978, pp. 280-294, 475-487; on the no longer extant statue of Sixtus V by Taddeo Landini, see Butzek, *cit.*, pp. 294-316, 488-503; and C. Benocci, *Taddeo Landini e la Statua di Sisto V in Campidoglio*, Storia della città, XXXVIII, 1989, pp. 115-132. Both measured ca. 2.7 meters tall.

⁶¹ ACSMM, Registro de Mandati 1614 bis, 1615bis, 1616, 1617, fols. 3v (20 March 1615, 50 *scudi*), 4v (16 April 1615, 25 *scudi*), 6v (29 May 1615, 75 *scudi*), unpag. (6 August 1615, 50 *scudi*); and unpag. (30 August 1615, 100 *scudi*). The first *mandato*, the language of which is almost identical to the others, reads: "Ill.ri SS.ri Ticci delli denari posti à conto à parte da investire, piacerà alle SS. VV. pagare al sig.r Paolo Sanquirico scudi cinquanta m[one]ta quali se li pagano à conto della statua di N[ost]ro S[ignore], cioè testa col busto di bronzo che fa fare il n[ost]ro Caplito]llo, et con sua ricevuta ---- Di S. M. M. li 20 di marzo 1615 ----- V 50". Duplicates of the first four payments are in Registro de' Mandati 1612, 1613, 1614, 1615, fols. 98, 99, 102, 104.

⁶² ACSMM, Registro de Mandati 1614 bis, 1615bis, 1616, 1617, unpag.: 50 *scudi* on 3 December 1615, 50 *scudi* on 16 January 1616, 50 *scudi* on 4 March 1616, 100 *scudi* on 28 April 1616. Beginning in January 1616, the *mandati* are listed as: "Mandati diretti al Banco delli SS.ri Ticci Camerlenghi quest'anno 1616 li ss.ri Marcello Vitelleschi e Gio. Batt.a Tedallino;" the latter was a canon of the basilica. A duplicate of the 3 December 1615 payment is in Registro de' Mandati 1612, 1613, 1614, 1615, fol. 108.

⁶³ Payments of 100 *scudi* on 31 May 1616, 50 *scudi* on 7 July 1616, 50 *scudi* on 19 May 1617, and 50 *scudi* on 27 May 1617 are accounted for in ACSMM, Registro de Mandati 1614 bis, 1615bis, 1616, 1617, unpag. Duplicates of the 28 April, 31 May, and 7 July (1616) payments are in Giustificazioni de' Mandati 1616-1617, unpag. Documentation for the period between August 1616 to April 1617 is missing, as is that for the second half of 1617 and all of 1618 and 1619.

⁶⁴ ACSMM, Registro de Mandati 1614 bis, 1615bis, 1616, 1617, fol. 6v: "Ill.ri SS.ri Ticci, delli scudi 4000 pigliati à conto del sig.r Pietro Feo Raimondo, posti costi à conto à

parte da investire, gli piacerà pagare al sig.r Paolo Sanquirico....". Francesco Ticci was depositario della Fabbrica di S. Pietro. See A. M. Corbo and M. Pomponi, *Fonti per la storia artistica romana al tempo di Paolo V*, Rome 1995, p. 46.

⁶⁵ In the will of Francesco Raimondi, drawn up in 1634, we read: "Io francesco Raimondo al presente Chierico di Camera, Protonotario Ap.l.co altre volte chiamato francesco feo Raimondo figlio della b.m. del Sig.re Pietro Raimondo, e della Sig.ra Violante Riaria nobili della citta di Savona....". I cite the transcription in I. Lavin, *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts*, New York and London, I, 1980, p. 191.

⁶⁶ ACSMM, Atti Capitolari 1611-1639, fol. 100: "Li V Maggio 1617. Che i SS.ri Deputati per la statua rappresentativa di n[ost]ro Sig.re Paolo V. facciano far il piedestallo di essa statua....".

⁶⁷ ACSMM, Giustificazioni de' Mandati 18-19, 1616-1621, unpag. At the top of the sheet is written: "Al S.r Marcello Vitellesco. Denari pagato per il metallo della Statua". Four payments (dated 23 July, 9 August, 4 September and 13 September 1618), totalling 285.18 *scudi* are listed. The price paid for the bronze was 14 *baiocchi* per *libbra*. At the bottom of the sheet is written: "Tutto il sopradetto denaro si è pagato al conto à parte da Investire". The *scudo* was divided into 100 *baiocchi*; the Roman *libbra* weighed 339.07 grams.

For comparison, the two large bronze angels that flank the tabernacle of the Sacrament in S. Maria in Vallicella weigh ca. 530 *libbre* each. See Montagu, *cit.*, 1996, p. 205 and pl. VII. Melchiorre Cafà's bronze bust of Alexander VII in the Duomo of Siena weighs 200 *libbre*. See Montagu, *cit.*, 1989, p. 206, n. 90 and fig. 81.

⁶⁸ Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica, Urb. lat 1087, fol. 397: "1619 luglio 20. Martedì fu gettata la statua di metallo del Pontefice sedente in atto di benedire, fatta fare dal capitolo di Santa Maria Maggiore, che si deve collocare in quella basilica incontro alla porta della sacrestia nuova per segno di gratitudine della cappella superbissima et dotata di cappellanie da Sua Santità, del coro et canonica commodissima fattevi fare da Sua Beatitudine, che si dovrà vedere sopra il suo nichio per la festa della Neve a di 5 d'agosto". Quoted in Orbaan, *cit.*, p. 259.

⁶⁹ ACSMM, Atti Capitolari 1611-1639, fol. 141: "Li XV d[et]to [i.e. October 1619]. Che si compri il marmo bianco pe'l piedestallo della statua di n[ost]ro Sig.re paolo V."

⁷⁰ ACSMM, Registro de Mandati dell'anno 1620, unpag.: 3 separate payments, dated 17 January, 5 April, and 15 May (for 25 *scudi*, 17.97 *scudi*, and 18 *scudi*) "a m.ro Danielle Guidotti Scarpellino...à buon conto de lavori fatti e da farsi nel Piedistallo della Statua di N[ost]ro S[ignore]" .

⁷¹ ACSMM, Giustificazioni de' Mandati 18, 1616-1617 unpag.: "Misura e stima di alcuni lavori di muro et altro fatti di tutta robba da M.ro Batt.ta Pozzo al Casale del Quarticiolo et il Piedestallo fatto per la Statua di N.S. per li Ill.mi et R.mi Canonici di S.ta M.a Maggiore misurati e stimati da me Fran.co Peperelli Architetto di d.o loco". Among the work accounted for: "M[isu]ra del Piedestallo fatto per la statua ... 6.32 scudi;" "Per haver rotto il m[u]ro nella Cappella Rouana per entrare dentro per poter levare la Porta che era dove sie fatto d[et]to Piedestallo ... -.40 scudi;" "Per ... abbozzat[u]ra et stuccat[u]ra della Cimasa di d[et]to Piedestallo fatto di matt[o]ni con sua Collarino ... 3.40 scudi;" "Per la stucc[atu]ra del zoccolo ... -.90 scudi;" "Per l'abbozzat[u]ra e stucc[atu]ra del Corpo di d[et]to Piedestallo ... 2.- scudi;" "Per ... stucc[atu]ra e mu[ratu]ra del zoccolo modinato ...

2.50 scudi". The date of August 1620 can be established on the basis of an unnumbered "conto del scarpellino", dated 29 April 1625, in Giustificazioni de' Mandati 21, 1624-1626, in which it is written: "la misura del Piedestallo fatta sotto li 2 di Agosto 1620" and signed "francesco Peperelli".

⁷² The various dates that have been proposed for the statue include: Hager, *cit.*, p. 58, "nach 1613;" Riccoboni, *cit.*, p. 134, "dopo il 1590;" Pastor, *cit.*, XXVI, p. 412, "erected in 1621;" A. Muñoz, *Roma Barocca*, II ed., Milan and Rome 1928, p. 85, "dopo il 1614;" Butzek, *cit.*, p. 547, "ca. 1617-19;" L. Barroero, *La Basilica dal Cinquecento all'Ottocento*, in *Santa Maria Maggiore a Roma*, C. Pietrangeli, ed., Florence 1988, p. 240, "alla fine del primo decennio del secolo [i.e., 17th century] o poco dopo".

⁷³ Santarelli, *cit.*, pp. 35-36.

⁷⁴ Montagu, *cit.*, 1989, pp. 62-63.

⁷⁵ *Ivi*, pp. 60-75 and figs. 68, 74, 75, and 82.

⁷⁶ With the exception of Girolamo Lucenti (ca. 1625-1698), on whom, see S. F. Ostrow, *Gianlorenzo Bernini, Girolamo Lucenti, and the Statue of Philip IV in S. Maria Maggiore: Patronage and Politics in Seicento Rome*, AB, LXIII, 1991, esp. pp. 98-104, with additional bibliography.

⁷⁷ See Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica, Urb. lat. 1076, fols. 826, 831, and 858; quoted in Orbaan, *cit.*, pp. 125-127.

⁷⁸ See Montagu, *cit.*, 1985, II, p. 428, cat. no. 152. The failure of the first cast is recounted by G. B. Passeri, *Die Künstlerbiographien von Giovanni Battista Passeri*, J. Hess, ed., Leipzig and Vienna 1934, pp. 201-202 and G. P. Bellori, *Le Vite de' Pittori, Scultori et Architetti Moderni*, E. Borea ed., Turin 1976, pp. 411-412.

⁷⁹ The *avviso* of 20 July 1619, cited above, as it makes no mention of the casting having failed, must refer (if we accept Baglione's words) to Sanquirico's second casting of the statue.

⁸⁰ Close-up examination of the statue also reveals that the outermost portions of the drapery (at the left and right) on the base were attached as separate pieces; these additions may well have been added when the statue was removed from its original location and placed on its new, present base (on which, see below).

⁸¹ On Cordier's work, see Pressouyre, *cit.*, II, 405-410, cat. no. 19; it is illustrated in Montagu, *cit.*, 1989, fig. 24. On Bonvicino's *Urban VII*, see J.-J. Berthier, *L'Église de la Minerve à Rome*, Rome 1910, p. 106; Hager, *cit.*, p. 56, cat. no. 42.

⁸² Pastor, *cit.*, XXV, p. 43, citing the *Pauli V. P. M. Vita compendio scripta* (Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica, Barb. lat. 2670) and other manuscript sources.

⁸³ O. Iozzi, *Storia della Basilica di S. Maria Maggiore*, Rome 1904, chap. 9, p. 9; Muñoz, *cit.*, 86; Venturi, *cit.*, p. 679, respectively. See also Hager, *cit.*, p. 58.

⁸⁴ Valentini, *cit.*, p. 21. Pressouyre, *cit.*, I, 197, offered a backhanded compliment, stating that Sanquirico "s'efforcera dans sa maladresse de répandre quelque onctuosité sur la visage pontifical".

While a detailed discussion of the statue's iconography lies outside the scope of this essay, it should be pointed out that Sanquirico seems to have taken Taddeo Landini's *Sixtus V* [10], then in the Capitoline Palace, as his model, both for the general attitude of the blessing pope and for the form of the papal throne, as noted by Hager, *cit.*, p. 58. As for the extended left foot, also borrowed from Landini's work, Valentini (*cit.*, p. 21) correctly noted that the pope "presenterlo al bacio de fedeli," on the significance of which, see G. Moroni, *Dizionario di Erudizione Storico-Ecclesiastica*, 103 vols., Venice,

1840-61, IV, pp. 15-17, s.v. "Bacio del Piede".

⁸⁵ Baglione, *Le Nove Chiese*, p. 169: "sopra un piedestallo di marmo con suo ornamento di travertino intorno".

⁸⁶ See the document in n. 71, above, which accounts for "haver rotto il m[u]ro nella Cappella Rouana per entrare dentro per poter levare la Porta che era dove sic fatto d[et]to Piedestallo". The Cappella Rouana was the name given to the adjacent fifteenth-century chapel of S. Michele Arcangelo, founded by Cardinal Guillaume d'Estouteville.

De Angelis' engraving [15] is misleading in one way, however, for the inscription immediately above the statue — PAVLVS QVINTVS PONT. MAX. — actually appears above the door leading into the sacristy; the inscription above the statue, which still exists [see 17] reads: AN. MDCV. PONTIFICI. I.

⁸⁷ See G. Anichini *Gli angeli del Bacci nella Basilica Liberiana*, L'illustrazione Vaticana, n. 19, II, 1931, p. 38; Barroero, *cit.*, p. 254.

⁸⁸ Valentini, *cit.*, p. 21: "Dal Battisterio per una porta rimpetto a quella della Sacrestia si esce in un andito, che mette nel cortile della Canonica. Ivi si vede la statua simicolossale di bronzo rappresentante Papa Paolo V"; A. Nibby, *Roma nell'Anno MDCCCXXXVIII*, Rome, III, 1839, p. 403: "Di rimpetto alla sacrestia è nel vestibolo un'altra porta che mette in una specie d'andito, ove sta collocata la statua in bronzo di Paolo V".

⁸⁹ This can be deduced from Valentini's (*cit.*) line engraving of the statue, which is reproduced above [14]. Valentini transcribes the inscription and describes it as being on the pedestal's front.

⁹⁰ Compare the checkered history of the bronze statue of Philip IV, which the canons commissioned later in the seventeenth-century, and which, like Sanquirico's work, went through a number of relocations. See Ostrow, *cit.*, 1991, esp. pp. 108-17.

⁹¹ Anichini, *cit.*, p. 38.

⁹² ACSMM, Atti Capitolari 1924-1932, fol. 305: [8 February 1931] "Circa la proposta di adattare a Cappella il locale dove trovarsi la Statua di Paolo V. l'E.^{mo} Cardinale Arciprete consiglia di parlarne a Mons. Chiappetta ed a ciò restano incaricati i R.^{mi} Canonici Fabbricieri". See also Barroero, *cit.*, pp. 256-258.

⁹³ Anichini, *cit.*, p. 38, whose article was published late in 1931, writes of the statue: "Questa notevole opera d'arte soltanto da pochi mesi si trova al posto attuale".

⁹⁴ Bertolotti, *cit.*, 1883, p. 165: "Si paghino al Sig. Paolo Sanquirico scudi 147 di moneta, quali se li fanno pagare per resto de scudi 2083 simili che importa l'argento e fattura delli doi Apostoli S. Pietro e S. Paolo di libbre 80 in circa fatti per servizio di Sua Santità compresovi otto zecchini per indorare lettere arme diademi et altro chi vi sono andato in detti Apostoli come pel suo conto dato e giurato in camera apostolica sotto il 30 luglio pross. passato saldato ... scudi 147 a dì 6 agosto 1622". Martinori, *cit.*, p. 105, n. 1, transcribes a portion of this same document and Pelicelli, *cit.*, p. 416, lists these silver statues among Sanquirico's works. Upon their completion, the silver statues' weight — of 133 libbre, 7 oncie — was verified by the silversmiths Pietro Spagna and Mastro Raffaello. See Bertolotti, *cit.*, 1883, p. 165.

⁹⁵ See, for example, the gilt bronze statuettes of Sts. Peter and Paul made by Bastiano Torrigiani for St. Peter's. *The Vatican Collections: The Papacy and Art*, exhib. cat., New York 1982, pp. 70-71, cat. no. 24; and P. Cannata, s.v. "Bastiano Torrigiani. San Pietro e San Paolo", in *Roma di Sisto V: Le arti e la*

cultura, M. L. Madonna ed., Rome 1993, pp. 437-438.

⁹⁶ Montagu, *cit.*, 1989, p. 64.

⁹⁷ For the entry in the inventory of 1633, see K. Garas, *The Ludovisi Collection of Pictures in 1633-II*, BurlM, CIX, 1967, p. 346: "Due Teste di cera poste in due ottangoli d'ebano colorite, coperte di cristallo alto p[al]mi uno, et un quarto di mano di Paolo san Chirico". For that of 1641, see Vaticano, Archivio Segreto, Archivio Boncompagni Ludovisi, Prot. 611, no. 56, fol. 10v: [28 April 1641] "Doi teste di cera poste in doi ottangoli d'Ebano coperti di Christallo alti p[al]mi uno 1/4 mano di Paolo san Chirico". I owe this reference to Jennifer Montagu. For the 1623 entry, see C. H. Wood, *The Ludovisi Collection of Paintings in 1623*, BurlM, CXXXIV, 1992, p. 519: "Dui Teste di cera, una di San Gio: Batta in un bacino, l'altra di Santa Caterina incoronata, fatti in ottangolo, con Cornice d'ebano, con il loro vetro sopra, et attaccaglie di metallo dorato, di mano di paolo san'Chierico".

⁹⁸ See *Appendix I*, n. 1.

⁹⁹ On the Savelli Chapel and Bresciano's *Crucifix*, see P. Pecchiai, *Il Gesù di Roma*, Rome 1952, p. 96, and E. Levy, "A Canonical Work of an Uncanonical Era: Re-reading the Chapel of Saint Ignatius (1695-1699) in the Gesù in Rome," Ph.D. thesis, Princeton University, 1993, pp. 44-53.

¹⁰⁰ Levy, *cit.*, p. 50; the contract is transcribed in Pecchiai, *cit.*, pp. 97-99. It is likely that Bresciano, who was a modeller and not a founder, originally intended del Duca to cast the *Crucifix*, for as Levy (*cit.*, pp. 50-51) points out, a document of 1592, concerning Bresciano and del Duca, reveals that the two "were fighting over a crucifix of Cardinal Savello". Moreover, the two had collaborated before, with Bresciano modelling and del Duca casting the four lions that support the Vatican obelisk.

¹⁰¹ P. M. Felini, *Le Cose Meravigliose dell'Alma Città di Roma*, Rome 1600, p. 68.

¹⁰² See Levy, *cit.*, pp. 52 and 386, doc. 5.

¹⁰³ Montagu, *cit.*, 1989, p. 49, has discussed the close relationships and intermarriage among Roman bronze-founders in the seventeenth century, citing Baglione (*Le Vite*, *cit.*, p. 326) who wrote: "So all these founders were united by blood ties, and under a variety of surnames they have demonstrated an inseparable union of artistic skill, and have perpetuated their names in metal". Translation hers.

¹⁰⁴ See Pressouyre, *cit.*, I, p. 97, n. 25, on the connections between Bresciano, Orlandi and de Rossi.

¹⁰⁵ Vaticano, Archivio Segreto, Archivio Borghese, b. 180, fasc. 23, "Conto dei metalli impiegato nella Cappella in S. Maria Maggiore", which, inter alia, records "e deve dare il Metallo che il Sig.re Paulo Sanquiricho haverli consegnato ----- lib. 800," and then "Il sud.o Gregorio [de Rossi Tragetatore] deve havere il metallo....".

¹⁰⁶ See G. Ceccarelli, *I Sacchetti*, Rome 1946; F. Haskell, *Patrons and Painters: A Study in the Relations Between Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque*, New York 1971, 38-39. On Marcello, see esp. J. N. Erythraeus (G. V. Rossi), *Pinacotheca imaginum illustrium*, Cologne, III, 1648, pp. 26-33.

¹⁰⁷ E. Rufini, *S. Giovanni de' Fiorentini* (Le chiese di Roma illustrate, no. 39), Rome 1957, p. 71. See also G. P. Bernini, *Giovanni Lanfranco (1582-1647)*, II ed., Parma 1985, p. 61. The chapel is situated at the left side of the high altar.

¹⁰⁸ On Lanfranco's work in the chapel, see Bernini, *cit.*, p. 61 and figs. 73-76; the frescoes depict the *Betrayal of Christ* and *Crowning with Thorns* in the lunettes, the *Evangelists* in the

pendentives, and the *Ascension of Christ* in the dome.

¹⁰⁹ The brief, from Protocollo degl'Indulti Privilegi e Concessioni Apostoliche, tom. 319, n. 21, transcribed in Rufini, *cit.*, pp. 103-104, reads: "Trasferisce in perpetuo il Privilegio dell'Antico Altare del SS. mo Crocefisso esistente nella Chiesa Parrocchiale e Nazione di S. Giovanni Batt.a detta dei Fiorentini al nuovo Altare similmente del SS. mo Crocefisso in detta chiesa nuovamente fabricato, ornato, e dotato dalli nobili Sig.ri Fratelli dei Marchesi Sacchetti coll'estensione del Privilegio pro omnibus utriusque sexus Christi fidelibus...Cum autem sicut accepimus in p.ta Eccl.ia una Capella per ven.lem fr.m Julium ep.um Gravinien nostrum et Sedis ap.licae apud Carissimum in X^o filium nostrum Philippum Hispaniarum Regem Catholicum Nuntium ac dilectos filios eius fratres natos quon. Joannis Baptistae de' Sacchettis Florentini noviter constructa variis gr. picturis ornata et dorata, et in illius Altari nova imago S.ctissimi Crucifixi e aere magnifico opere fabricata collocata fuerit". The emphasis, in the translation of the document, is mine.

¹¹⁰ It seems relevant here to make brief mention of two additional works erroneously attributed to Sanquirico. Little sense can be made of Pelicelli's (*cit.*, p. 416) listing of "Bronzeguß des über der Fontana Termini angebrachten Moses, nach Modell von Prospero Scavezzzi [i.e., Bresciano]", for the Moses, executed by Prospero Bresciano in collaboration with Leonardo Sormani, is a work of marble. Any minor work in bronze on the Fountain of the Acqua Felice was most likely cast by Lodovico del Duca or Bastiano Torrigiani, with whom Bresciano collaborated elsewhere. Furthermore, the work in question dates to 1587-88, before Sanquirico's likely arrival in Rome. Equally unconvincing is Riccoboni's (*cit.*, p. 135) attribution of the *St. Martha*, one of four over life-size stucco figures in the Bandini chapel in S. Silvestro al Quirinale, to Sanquirico (ca. 1625). Apart from the fact that there are no other works in stucco by the artist, the animated pose of the figure, its proportions, and the modelling of the limbs and drapery bear no resemblance to Sanquirico's style. Two of the stucco figures in the chapel, *St. John the Evangelist* and *St. Mary Magdalen*, are the work of Alessandro Algardi of ca. 1628. The attribution of the *St. Martha* and the fourth statue, a *St. Joseph*, to Francesco Mochi by V. Martinelli (*Contributi alla scultura del Seicento: I. Francesco Mochi a Roma*, Commentari, II, 1951, p. 226) has been rejected by Montagu, *cit.*, 1985, II, p. 358, cat. nos. 57 and 58).

¹¹¹ Pressouyre, *cit.*, I, p. 197, n. 42.

¹¹² Moroni, *cit.*, VI, pp. 173-183, s.v. "Bussolanti della Corte Pontificia".

¹¹³ On the role of brokers in seventeenth-century Italian patronage, see the insightful discussion in M. Biagioli, *Galileo, Courtier: The Prince of Science in the Culture of Absolutism*, Chicago and London 1993, esp. pp. 19-30, with additional bibliography.

¹¹⁴ On Deti, see Ciaconius, *cit.*, IV, cols. 343-344; R. Lefevre, *Un cardinale del Seicento G. B. Deti*, Archivio della società romana di storia patria, ser. 3, XCIV, 1971, pp. 183-208; M. Sanfilippo, s. v. "Deti, Giovanni Battista", in DBI, multiple vols., Rome, 1960-, XXXIX, pp. 460-461.

¹¹⁵ G. Bentivoglio, *Memorie e lettere*, C. Panigada, ed., Bari 1934, p. 82; Ciaconius, *cit.*, IV, col. 343, writes of him: "... natura violenter oppressa, molem corporis sustinere nequirit, sed laboretur in podagram, chiragram, similesque morbis..."

¹¹⁶ See below, n. 134.

¹¹⁷ On the Accademia degli Ordinati, see esp. M. Maylender,

Storia delle Accademie d'Italia, 5 vols, Bologna, 1926-30, IV, pp. 140-141; Lefevre, *cit.*, 188-190, with additional bibliography.

¹¹⁸ Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica, Urb. lat. 1076, fol. 239: "In casa del cardinal Detti si è instituita un'academia di lettere latine e greche e d'altre opere virtuose, nella quale martedì per la prima volta intervennero molti cardinali et gran numero di prelati et signori di questa corte". Quoted in Orbaan, *cit.*, p. 277, and cited in Lefevre, *cit.*, pp. 188-189.

¹¹⁹ See Orbaan, *cit.*, pp. 277-280, 284.

¹²⁰ G. Galilei, *Opere*, A. Favaro, ed., 20 vols., Florence, 1890-1909, XI, pp. 82-83, no. 510.

¹²¹ Biagioli, *cit.*, pp. 255-256.

¹²² His first titular church was S. Adriano. On his assumption of the title of S. Maria in Cosmedin, see G. M. Crescimbeni, *Serie cronologica dei cardinali diaconi, dei prelati vicarii, degli arcipreti e canonici e di altri componenti il capitolo della perinsigne basilica di S. Maria in Cosmedin*, (1715), with additions by T. Galli and G. Patroni, Naples 1899, p. 23.

¹²³ The medal, measuring 55 mm, is catalogued in M. Bernhart, *Nachträge zu Armand*, Archiv für Medaillen- und Plakettenkunde, V, 1925-26, p. 74. It is inscribed below the globe: P. SANQVIRIC. F.

¹²⁴ Although Deti was raised to the rank of cardinal priest in 1607, and given the title to the church of SS. Pietro e Marcellino, he retained his position at S. Maria in Cosmedin until 1616, when Alessandro Orsini replaced him there. See Lefevre, *cit.*, p. 188; and Crescimbeni, *cit.*, p. 23. Pelicelli, *cit.*, p. 416, who lists the Deti medal among Sanquirico's works, dates it 1599, presumably on the grounds that the cardinal assumed the title of S. Maria in Cosmedin in that year.

¹²⁵ Ciaconius, *cit.*, IV, col. 344. Bernhart, *cit.*, p. 74, calls it the earth, as does Lefevre, *cit.*, p. 205, n. 46.

¹²⁶ I cite only a few of numerous examples: the *impresa* of Clement VII (reigned 1523-34) featuring the sun shining upon the earth (on which, see G. de Tervarent, *Attributs et symboles dans l'art profane 1450-1600*, Geneva 1958-59, col. 357); a medal of Carlo Gonzaga (of 1628) on which we find the radiant sun above a segmented earthly globe (on which, see I. Lavin, "Bernini's Cosmic Eagle", in *Gianlorenzo Bernini: New Aspects of His Art and Thought*, I. Lavin ed., University Park and London 1985, fig. 7); the late seventeenth-century medal of Livio Odescalchi (by Giovanni Hamerani) depicting the sun rising over the earth, on which the Italian peninsula is clearly rendered (Los Angeles County Museum of Art, inv. no. 79.4.369). See also A. Henkel and A. Schöne, *Emblemata. Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart 1967, cols. 14, 15, 30-32, 36, 42.

¹²⁷ Galileo, *cit.*, XI, p. 338, no. 710; Deti's letter to Galileo, dated 23 June 1612: "Ill.re S.re. Ho veduto il trattato mandatomi da V. S. e con molto mio gusto, per tener cose belle e curiose: e com'io la ringratio della sua cortesia, così l'assicuro che le continuo la mia buona volontà per giovarle sempre. Et a V. S. mi raccomando. Come fratello Il Card. I Deti".

¹²⁸ See Henkel and Schöne, *cit.*, cols. 31-34, 36. Also, see Giovanni Pietro Travani's late seventeenth-century medal of Card. Felice Rospigliosi, which depicts the radiant sun above the moon (Los Angeles Museum of Art, inv. no. 79.4.401).

¹²⁹ See S. F. Ostrow, *Cigoli's Immacolata and Galileo's Moon: Astronomy and the Virgin in Early Seventeenth-Century Rome*, AB, LXXVII, 1996, pp. 218-235.

¹³⁰ It seems that Deti had a more than passing interest in

astronomy; Ciaconius, *cit.*, col. 344, notes that a certain Stephanus Bernetus dedicated an astronomical text to the cardinal, and he quotes an epigram, written to accompany a portrait of Deti, which likens the cardinal to the sun and refers to his "adspetum Syderis." That only the initiated would have recognized the sphere as the Galilean moon may explain why Ciaconius and others identified it as the earth.

¹³¹ On reading academic *impresa*, see the recent study by R. Ciardi, "A Knot of Words and Things': Some Clues for Interpreting the *Imprese* of Academies and Academicians", in *Italian Academies of the Sixteenth Century*, D. S. Chambers and F. Quiviger, eds., London 1995, pp. 37-54.

¹³² The meaning of the academy's *impresa* is discussed in Maylender, *cit.*, IV, p. 140, where he points out that the Ordinati and its *impresa* were conceived in direct opposition to the rival Accademia degli Umoristi. Lefevre, *cit.*, p. 205, n. 46, in reference to Deti's medal, erroneously speaks of the *impresa* as being that of the Accademia degli Ordinati. Ciaconius, *cit.*, IV, col. 344, correctly identified the *impresa* on the medal as Deti's personal "insigne".

¹³³ Assuming that it does represent the Galilean moon, the medal would most likely date to ca. 1611-12, or after Galileo had published his treatise and visited Rome. At precisely this time Lodovico Cigoli was depicting the Galilean moon in his fresco of the *Immacolata* in the Pauline chapel in S. Maria Maggiore, a work which Sanquirico certainly knew. See Ostrow, *Cigoli's Immacolata*.

¹³⁴ Crescimbeni, *cit.*, p. 69: citing a document in the church's archives: "Paolo Sanquirico, parmigiano, familiare del nostro Titolare Card. Deti, entrò in possesso il 6 febbraio 1611".

¹³⁵ The other is Rosato Rosati, the colored-wax portraitist discussed above, who was a canon of S. Lorenzo in Damaso. See Baglione, *Le Vite*, *cit.*, p. 174.

¹³⁶ Sanquirico did, however, continue to be involved in the artistic life of Rome, insofar as we can infer from a document of 27 February 1624: the inventory of works of art belonging to Costanzo Patrizi (†1623), Gregory XV's papal treasurer, which was signed by Sanquirico and Giuseppe Cesari. See Roma, Archivio Capitolino, Not. Ascanio Richetto, n. 592, fols. 175-220. Jennifer Montagu kindly provided this reference.

¹³⁷ My discussion of Maurizio is drawn from Ciaconius, *cit.*, IV, cols. 415-16; V. E. Gianazzo di Pamparato, *Il principe cardinale Maurizio di Savoia mecenate dei letterati e degli artisti*, Turin 1891; L. Randi, *Il principe cardinale Maurizio di Savoia*, Florence 1901.

¹³⁸ As stated in a *relazione* of 1623 written by the Venetian ambassador to Rome, quoted in Biagioli, *cit.*, p. 257, n. 49.

¹³⁹ Duquesnoy carved a fine portrait bust of the cardinal, now in the Galleria Sabauda, Turin. See *Diana trionfatrice*, exhib. cat., Turin 1989, 22-23, cat. no. 23. On Maurizio's musical patronage, see F. Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome: Barberini Patronage under Urban VIII*, New Haven and London 1994, pp. 81, 85, 106-108.

¹⁴⁰ For the academy, see esp. A. Mascardi, *Saggi accademici dati in Roma nell'Accademia del Serenissimo Principe Cardinal di Savoia*, Venice 1630; T. Vallauri, *Delle società letterarie del Piemonte*, Turin 1844, pp. 88-99; Gianazzo di Pamparato, *cit.*, pp. 65-71; Maylender, *cit.*, II, pp. 173-177. R. Spear, *Domenichino*, New Haven and London, I, 1982, pp. 259-260, cat. no. 90, provides a brief but excellent overview of the academy and its activities in connection with Domenichino's *Allegory of Architecture, Astronomy, and Agriculture*, which was painted for Maurizio.

¹⁴¹ Maurizio's *impresa* consisted of a laurel with young shoots and buds, and the motto: ET SPONTE ET SEMPER. His *nome academico* was Laurindo il Perseverante.

¹⁴² Torino, Archivio di Stato, Conti della Casa del ser.mo Principe card. Maurizio di Sav., 1619-1634, 1627: "Scudi 100 pagati al signor Paolo Sanquirico, che mostra a designare alli pagi del Ser.mo Principe Cardinale, per donativo fattoli da S. A.," transcribed in A. Baudi di Vesme, *Schede Vesme. L'arte in Piemonte dal XVI al XVIII secolo*, Turin, III, 1968, p. 963.

¹⁴³ The list of members is quoted in Vallauri, *cit.*, pp. 91-93, and Maylender, *cit.*, II, pp. 174-175.

¹⁴⁴ For this and what follows, see F. Quiviger, "The Presence of Artists in Literary Academies", in Chambers and Quiviger, eds., *cit.*, pp. 105-112.

¹⁴⁵ Among the subjects discussed at the academy's meeting on

2 November 1626, for example, was "le figure triangolare, quadrangolare e pentagona, e ... il modo di fortificarle in diverse maniere". Other meetings addressed, inter alia, palace designs and fortresses. Vallauri, *cit.*, p. 96. See also Spear *cit.*, pp. 259-260, who connects Domenichino's *Allegory of Architecture, Astronomy, and Agriculture* to the interests of Cardinal Maurizio and his academy. Pastor, *cit.*, XXIX, p. 47, records a meeting of the academy in which Aristotelian views of the cosmos were "severely castigated".

¹⁴⁶ G. M. Allodi, *Serie cronologica dei vescovi di Parma*, Parma, II, 1856, p. 204; Crescimbeni, *cit.*, p. 69.

¹⁴⁷ See Baglione, *Le Vite*, *cit.*, pp. 393-394, 121-125, and 354-355, respectively.

¹⁴⁸ Ivi, pp. 45, 55, 165, and 365-66, respectively.

¹⁴⁹ Ivi, pp. 55, 294, 361, 304, 93, 315, and 337, respectively.

Vita di Paolo S. Quirico, Scultore, Giovanni Baglione, Le Vite de' Pittori Scultori et Architetti dal Pontificato di Gregorio XII. del 1572 in fino à tempi di Papa Urbano Ottavo nel 1642, Rome 1642, pp. 322-323

Ritrovossi anche in questi tempi Paolo s. Quirico Parmeggiano, Canonico di s. Maria in Cosmedin, overo di Scuola Greca, alla bocca della Verità, presso il luogo, ove fu anticamente l'ara massima d'Hercole.

Fu egli virtuoso, & in età giovanile a Roma se ne venne, e diedesi a [p. 323] far ritratti di cera coloriti piccoli, e prese amicitia con Camillo Mariani Vicentino, maestro di scultura, il quale instruillo in far modelli di rilievo. Buon gusto egli n'acquistò, e misesi a servire in Corte, ove fece sua vita con esser bussolante de' Pontefici in Palazzo; & in tal guisa, fin'all'ultimo di sua vecchiezza si trattene.

Fece ad istanza del Capitolo di s. Maria maggiore, dentro la nuova Sagrestia la statua di Papa Paolo v. di metallo alla mano sinistra, quando vi s'entra, e sta sopra un piedestallo di pietra con sua iscrizione; & è in atto di benedire il Popolo. Questa statua due volte fu gettata; e benche nel piccolo modello di cera riuscisse buona, nella forma grande di metallo non ha corrisposto.

Et in s. Giovanni della Natione Fiorentina a strada Giulia, nella Cappella de' Signori Sacchetti, a man diritta dell'altar maggiore ha fatto un Christo in Croce di metallo, e si servì del Modello di Prospero Bresciano, il quale è venuta buona figura, e la miglior, ch'ella facesse ¹.

Quest'huomo si diletta di disegnare di fortificatione, e ne dava lettione; & anche ammaestrava con regole di architettura. In sommo era buon'ingegno, nella conversatione piacevole, havea belli motti, e per eccellenza rappresentava in scena, e contrafaceva linguaggi: e nella Corte del Principe Maurizio Cardinal di Savoia era grandissimamente amato.

Pativa egli d'infermità incurabili sì, che a poco a poco andò consumandosi infino al termine di 65. anni, nel quale, sotto Urbano VIII. felicissimo Pontefice, in Roma ultimamente se ne morì.

¹ In his *Vita* of Prospero Bresciano (p. 43), Baglione writes: «Per li Signori Savelli formò un modello grande, quanto è naturale, d'un Crocifisso, che andava al Giesù, per gettarlo di metallo, molto bello, e studioso; ma per impedimento di morte non fu gettato, e gli fu grandemente lodato dalli Professori. E questo medesimo modello è stato poi messo in opera, e gettato di metallo da Paolo S. Quirico Parmeggiano per la cappella de' Signori Sacchetti in s. Gio. de' Fiorentini come hora si vede».

Contract for the Statue of Paul V, ACSMM Instrumentorum 1612-1621, vol. 22, fols. 97r-v
 Antonius Locatellus, notarius, 1615, Capitula et conventiones cum Paulo Sanquirico

[fol. 97r]

Eisdem anno, indictione et Pontificatu quibus supra, die vero tricesima mensis Augusti. Cum sit, prout infrascripte partes asseruerunt, quod Reverendissimi Domini, Capitulum et Canonici Basilicae Sanctae Mariae Maioris de Urbe, ob immensa et insignia beneficia ac infinitas et singulares gratias per Sanctissimum Dominum Nostrum Paulum Papam Quintum eidem Basilice, Capitulo et Canonicis collatas decreverint pro aliquali eorum grati animi significatione, unam statuam eneam integram in sede, cum pliviali et regno, sedentem erigere et [?] e conspectu Sacristie collocare et ad hunc effectum tracteaverint cum Domino Paulo Sanquirico, huius artis admodum perito, et cum eo convenerint quod infra annum incipientem prima mensis Novembris proxime venturi et ut sequitur &, pro pretio scutorum mille quingentorum monete ac cum pactis capitulis infrascriptis, volentesque dicte partes de premissis instrumentum conficere. Hinc est quod nunc in mei notarii publici infrascripti testiumque infrascriptorum ad haec omnia et singula vocatorum, rogatorum et habitorum praesentia praesentes et personaliter constituti et capitulariter congregati ut moris est coram admodum Illustri et Reverendissimo Domino Paulo, episcopo de Curte, Vicario eiusdem Basilice, omnes infrascripti illustres et admodum Reverendissimi Canonici eiusdem Basilice, videlicet Joannes Dominicus Placidus, Marcellus Vitellescus, Laurentius Amatorius, Ascanius Sillanus, Joannes Baptista Vannus, Pompeus de Angelis, Robertus Cinquinus et Pompeus Pasqualinus, asserentes esse maiorem et saniozem partem ac ultra duas tertias partes ac totum Venerabile Capitulum representantes, & et pro aliis infirmis et absentibus quatenus opus sit, de rato &, in forma promittentes &, ita quod &, alias &, et Dominus Paulus, filius quondam Joannis Matthei Parmensis, canonicus Sanctae Mariae in Cosmati alias schola greca de Urbe et [blank space of approximately two inches] sponte &, omnibus &, mutua hinc inde stipulatione interveniente ad infrascripta capitula et conventiones devenerunt, videlicet:

Inprimis detto Signor Paulo promette et si obbliga di fare una statua intiera di metallo rappresentante la Santità di Nostro Signore Papa Paulo Quinto, sedente in sedia pontificale et con regno in testa, d'altezza di palmi dieci più et meno secondo sara giudicato proportionato da persone intelligenti et detta statua farla [?] finita et condotta sopra la sua base et piedestallo tra un anno da cominciarsi il primo Novembre prossimo davenire a tutte sue spese, risico et pericolo et all'incontro detto Capitolo et Canonici siano tenuti sicome si obbligano di pagarli per intiero prezzo et pagamento non solo della fattura di esso Signor Paulo ma della fonditura et d'ogni altra spesa che andrà sinche sia collocata in detto piedestallo, scudi mille et cinquecento moneta, in questo modo, cioè che oltre li doicento scudi pagatili in hora da esso Capitolo et Canonici per mezzo del Banco de Signori Ticci che restando in potere di esso [fol. 97v] Signor Paulo si contenta di menarli boni il denaro avuto a questo conto di cioche oltre li sudetti 200 scudi il Capitolo li paga al presente altri cento scudi et per cinque mesi continui da cominciarsi il primo di Novembre prossimo davenire gli si paghino 25 scudi ogni mese, dovendo per spatio di detti cinque mesi esser finito il modello di creta, dopo il quale doverà farsi il modello di cera et darseli altri dinari in modo che al Capitolo resti tanto in mano che basti per il prezzo del metallo che andrà in fondo di detta statua, il prezzo del quale il Capitolo per maggior sua sicurezza doverà pagare al mercante ma pero a conto del detto signor Paulo et delli 1500 scudi promessili come sopra.

Item che detto signor Paulo per osservanza delle cose predette fra 15 giorni prossimi dia sicurtà idonea ai canonici. Item che non eseguendo il detto signor Paulo le cose predette possa detto Capitolo a spese, risico e pericolo di lui trovar altri a sua elezione che compisca quel che mancasse a fare il tutto nella medesima stanza nel modo espresso di sopra e che per osservanza delle cose predette sia obbligato dar sicurtà franca fra 15 giorni prossimi a contentamento del Capitolo e di me notaio./

Que omnia &, partes presentes promiserunt habere rata &, contraque non facere &, alias omnia damna &, de quibus &, quidem &, pro quibus &, RR DD Canonici sive Capitulum &, bona, ac heredes &, jura, in forma Camere &, et non aliter, absque obligatione, reservatione consenten &, unica &, sicque tactis pectoribus in primis regulariter jurarunt super quibus omnibus et singulis petitum fuit a me notario publico infrascripto ut unum vel plura publicum sive publica conficere atque tradere instrumentum et instrumeta prout opus fuerit et requisitum. Actum Rome in regione Montium in sacristia eiusdem Basilice his partibus audientibus et intelligentibus his R.D. Domenico Brochettino Reverendissimo clerico beneficiato Sanctae Mariae Maioris et Franciscus fil [...] Peparelli, Architecto, testibus, ad praedicta vocatis habitis atque rogatis.