A Path to Détente? Reflections on the Bernini-Rosa Feud of 1639

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The recent exhibition *Salvator Rosa: Bandits, Wilderness, and Magic*, held at Dulwich Picture Gallery, London, and the Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, presents an opportune moment to reflect on one of the more colorful stories to come down to us regarding Rosa's earlier career: his spat with the sculptor Gian Lorenzo Bernini over issues of theater. Our source for the row is a particularly reliable one, Giovanni Battista Passeri, who claims to have been present when the controversy erupted in 1639. In his biography of Rosa, he provides a lengthy description of what happened, a description that has proven irresistible to art historians, who have repeatedly pointed to it as proof that, from the very beginning, Rosa's temperament was fiery, independent, and rash. The episode is also typically given as a major reason why Rosa fled soon after to Florence, that Bernini made life for him too difficult in Rome.[1]

Ten years after the move, Rosa returned to Rome, and if there were any lingering problems with Bernini, they are not reported - neither by Rosa's biographers nor by Rosa himself. Indeed, Bernini drops completely from Rosa's story, which is odd given Rosa's rising reputation and Bernini's continued dominance of the Roman art world. It is enough to make one go in search of links between the two artists and to attempt to characterize how they may have viewed one another. Did they ever move past their quarrel of 1639? Was it truly as contentious and personal as it is usually portrayed? A careful review of the evidence urges caution in seeing the rift as so incendiary as to have been irreparable. While they may never have become close friends, certainly not intimates, there are signs that an easing of tensions came over them and that, as the years passed by, they came to eye one another with respect-even if a guarded respect. In 1639, the year in which Rosa and Bernini reportedly first crossed paths, Rosa was approaching twenty-five years old, while Bernini was already forty. To the younger Rosa, the difference in age must have seemed a lot more, as Bernini had already attained unimaginable heights as a sculptor. In 1639, he had just finished putting his stamp on the crossing of St. Peter's with his giant statue of *Saint Longinus*, which added one more jewel to his professional crown, then already studded with such marvels of marble carving as the *Apollo and Daphne.* By comparison, Rosa was a virtual nobody. He had achieved some commercial success with genre scenes and landscapes but was still struggling to make a name for himself.[2] On his return to Rome in 1639 from provincial Viterbo, he hatched a grandiose plan to do just that-a plan centered on theater.

Since Rosa's earliest days, he had been attracted to the stage. In Naples, he had grown up alongside poets, musicians, and dramatists and learned quickly that public performance perfectly suited his exhibitionist personality.[3] At the Carnival of 1639, he introduced Rome to his talents. While most of the city paraded in masks and poked fun at neighbors, Rosa and his friends pretended to be quack doctors, offering fake medicines and reciting fantastic remedies that were the inven-

tion of the well-known playwright Giovanni Briccio.[4] Rosa named his character Formica, donning the traditional costume of Pasciarello, from the *commedia dell'arte*. Wherever the merry band went, reports Passeri, crowds always formed, and the attention heartened Rosa to no end. He could not stand the thought of having to shelve Formica once Carnival ended and thus hatched a plan to bring him out again during the summer, when he could perform Formica on a real stage before a proper audience.

Enter Bernini, who attended the second of these performances. According to Passeri, as summer came, Rosa asked some of his actor-friends to join him in improvising comedies. The celebrated preacher Niccolò Musso agreed to direct the young troupe, while Rosa secured the use of a vineyard outside the Porta del Popolo on which to erect a stage. Word of the performances evidently spread quickly. By the second one, Bernini was not the only important person in attendance. Passeri came, sitting on the same row as Bernini and the well-known painters Giovanni Francesco Romanelli and Guido Ubaldo Abbatini. The play opened with members of the cast lamenting the heat and remarking that a good comedy might ease the discomfort. Rosa, playing Formica, then came to the front and uttered the words that ignited the feud: «I do not want us to act comedies like certain people who spread dirt all about here and there because, in due course, you can see that the dirt spreads faster than the poet's ink. And I do not want us to bring on stage couriers, brandy-sellers, goatherds, and rubbish of that sort, which are the folly of an ass».[5]

Instantly, Passeri understood the reference, taking a sidewise glance at whom he assumed was its intended target, Bernini, who reportedly stayed calm, pretending to be unfazed. Earlier that summer, Bernini had put on a play of his own, and it is an aspect of this play, according to Passeri, that is at the center of the lines quoted above. As Passeri reports, in order to make one of the scenes look more realistic, the person charged with directing the play, Ottaviano Castelli, a longtime favorite of Bernini, decided to bring on stage all the things that Rosa condemned in his soliloquy: couriers, brandy-sellers, and goatherds. In Rosa's opinion, this constituted a major breach of theatrical decorum. Rosa subscribed to the school of thought, first articulated by Aristotle, that any element superfluous to a plot should not be allowed on stage.[6] Castelli, presumably with Bernini's consent, had violated this principle, and Rosa made sure that Bernini knew it.

If Bernini's initial response to Rosa was cool, he could not help but to fire back - or so suggests Passeri. Later that summer, Bernini produced another comedy with Castelli, and it opened with a pointed jab at Rosa. During the prologue, Castelli came on stage dressed as Formica and was joined by a fortune teller who proceeded to describe Formica's previous life in Naples. The discussion then turned to Formica's arrival in Rome and a series of thefts he reportedly committed in his patron's house. It was the next clue, however, that erased any doubts that Rosa was the person being targeted. The fortune teller proceeded to lambast the painter's profession - which proved decidedly unwise. Passeri rose in indignation and marched out of the theater, followed by Romanelli and Bernini himself. Realizing that he had overstepped, Castelli chased after Bernini, offering apologies and claiming that it had not been his intention to attack painters so broadly. The backfire was doubtless fortunate for Rosa, although it does not appear to have diffused the situation totally. Passeri indicates that Rosa faced suspicion from various quarters and that his standing in Rome remained unsettled. His strategy was to try to rise above the fray, which was reportedly successful. While his name was certainly sullied, no further escalations came, and he was able to return to painting, where he started to make appreciable gains once again. Passeri then passes on to the next major chapter in Rosa's life: his call from the Medici.

In Passeri's account of the quarrel, Bernini and Rosa are only two of the main players. The third is Castelli, inviting the question of whether or not we should locate the origins of the feud not in Rosa's bitterness toward Bernini but in his bitterness toward Castelli. This is possible, although it would require our assuming that Rosa blamed Castelli for the breach of theatrical decorum involving the couriers, brandy-sellers, and goatherds. There is

some basis for this line of thought. First, Passeri indicates that the play featuring the indecorous elements was Castelli's invention.[7] Secondly, he leads us to believe that, even when the play was Bernini's, Castelli was not afraid to take certain liberties in staging or acting it, as with his attack on painters.[8] Clearly, Castelli sat in a privileged position relative to Bernini, one he had earned during the 1630s with a string of successes as a librettist and a musician.[9] He was also a talented jurist and physician, as well as the personal secretary to the French ambassador in Rome, Cardinal Jules Mazarin. It was for Mazarin that, between 1638 and 1639, Castelli wrote and directed his two most famous operas: *La Sincerità trionfante* and *Il Favorito del principe ovvero L'Erculeo ardire.* These therefore came right at the moment Rosa's own theatrical career was ramping up, which makes it all the more probable that, as the summer of 1639 approached, Rosa had already made up his mind about Castelli: he was a threat, someone to be disparaged. Not helping their relationship, of course, was that Castelli's style of theater was closely aligned with Bernini's - and so ran opposite Rosa's.[10]

FIG. 1 After Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *Portrait of Ottaviano Castelli*

To say that Bernini practiced a particular style of theater is to focus on the great strides he took in breaking down the barrier between spectator and stage.[11] He was constantly trying to find ways to trick his audience into believing that the scene before it was real, which meant constructing sets and introducing effects that were illusory of the world it knew. In one famous play, Bernini reportedly went to such lengths as to allow water to rush on stage to simulate a flood.[12] Just at the moment the water looked as though it would spill into the audience, barriers rose up and diverted the water away. The revolution was not the water, which had featured in plays in the past, but the way in which Bernini used water to involve the spectators in the action.[13] As the audience recoiled in fear of becoming wet, it became participants in the drama and, if only for an instant, had the sensation that everything before its eyes was utterly real.

The 1630s was when Bernini was most active in theater. While he seems to have occasionally worked for the Barberini on their extravagant pro-

ductions of these years, he was mainly interested in putting on comedies of his own invention.[14] As I. Lavin has stressed, these were not elaborate affairs, although they did go against traditional commedia dell'arte in being carefully scripted and involving scenographic effects.[15] Here is where Rosa had problems, as he clearly took the purist's view that the commedia dell'arte should be improvised and center on the performer. To him, a good comedic actor such as himself should be able to go on stage and convey his or her point without any props or rehearsal. This view, as indicated above, had roots in Aristotle and appears to have colored his entire approach to theater, including opera, where Bernini's influence had been felt as recently as the Carnival of 1639.

During that season, the famous opera *Chi soffre speri* was performed at the Palazzo Barberini with a new intermezzo entitled *Fiera di Farfa*. According to payments, Bernini was responsible for the scenography, which, as it pertained to the intermezzo, was reported to have been particularly spectacular.[16] As one source describes, Bernini transformed the stage into a bustling country fair, complete with live animals, merchants, and coaches, which instantly calls to mind Rosa's soliloquy of that summer and the couriers, brandy-sellers, and goatherds that he singles out for criticism.[17] Traditionally, scholars have assumed that *Fiera di Farfa* lay behind Rosa's attack and that his one and only target was Bernini.[18] But Passeri allows for a broader interpretation. He specifically states that the offending play was staged during the summer of 1639 (thus not during Carnival) in the neighborhood of Rome known as the Borgo (thus not at the Palazzo Barberini).[19] Moreover, he connects Castelli with the play, and there is no evidence that he had anything to do with *Fiera di Farfa*, although he very well might have, being an occasional employ of the Barberini.[20] The larger point is that Bernini is not the only person who might have attracted Rosa's ire for bringing on stage couriers, brandy-sellers, and goatherds - things typical of a country fair. Rosa could well have had Castelli - in addition to Bernini - in his crosshairs.

That Rosa felt genuine antipathy toward Castelli is proven by a poem of 1645.[21] On learning that Castelli had died, Rosa put pen to paper and lit into him, calling him «a wretched poet» («*un Poeta meschin*»), wishing that he burned in the afterlife, and insinuating that he was a homosexual. Importantly, it must have been memories of the summer of 1639 that fueled his anger, as Rosa was now living in Florence, where he would not have had any substantive contact with Castelli for five or more years. This continues to suggest that, in Rosa's mind, the whole dueling soliloquies episode was as tightly bound up with Castelli as Bernini. This makes a certain amount of sense in that Castelli was standing front and center on stage as his companion, the fortune teller, savaged Rosa, and how could Rosa forget that Bernini had actually behaved in a way that conveyed some remorse over the ugly direction the affair had taken? The image of Bernini storming out of the theater in protest to Castelli's overly vicious attack on painters must have lodged favorably in Rosa's mind, perhaps even making him susceptible to one day liking the sculptor.

The trouble with thinking, however, that Rosa then and there absolved Bernini with any wrongdoing is that, according to Passeri, Rosa continued to be badmouthed by certain people.[22] Passeri does not state specifically who, but we can guess that they belonged to Bernini's camp, and we can also guess that, while Bernini may not have participated in the attacks, he did not try to stop them. Nor did he do the truly angelic and ask his principle patrons, the Barberini, to look past the quarrel and give Rosa commissions. As Rosa prepared to leave Rome during the summer of 1640, he cannot have thought too highly about Rome's artistic and theatrical power structure, which necessarily implicated Bernini.

For Bernini's part, the whole affair likely receded from the fore of his mind fairly quickly. By 1641, he had certainly patched things up with Castelli, as indicated by a little-known print of that year featuring Castelli's half-length portrait (FIG. 1).[23] The caption indicates that Bernini furnished the preparatory drawing for the portrait, which was to serve as part of the front matter for the publication in book form of Castelli's libretto for *La Sincerità trionfante*. That Bernini took time to

make the portrait drawing is clear evidence that he harbored no ill feelings toward Castelli for his earlier, wayward attack on painters. The two were back to being friends.

The 1640s ended up being a troubled time for Bernini, while it shaped up as one of the brightest for Rosa. Bernini had to deal with Pope Urban VIII's death, which left him temporarily bereft of papal backing, and he also faced questions about his architectural prowess following his failed bell towers for St. Peter's.[24] Rosa's fortunes, meanwhile, soared.[25] In Florence, he found a group of like-minded patrons and friends who put his art on a decidedly upward track. He also became a star of the Florentine literary and theater worlds. With both artists having so much going on in their lives, it is hard to imagine how either had time to stew over the events of 1639, although there has been one suggestion that Bernini was not done taunting Rosa. Sometime during the early 1640s, likely in preparation for the Carnival of 1644, Bernini wrote a comedy about a theater producer, Gratiano, who was renowned for his elaborate stage sets.[26] In the play, which is the only one by Bernini for which any part of the script survives, the protagonist runs up against an aspiring young playwright named Alidoro who wishes to learn his secrets. In a confusing turn of events, Gratiano is convinced to produce a play and hires a disguised

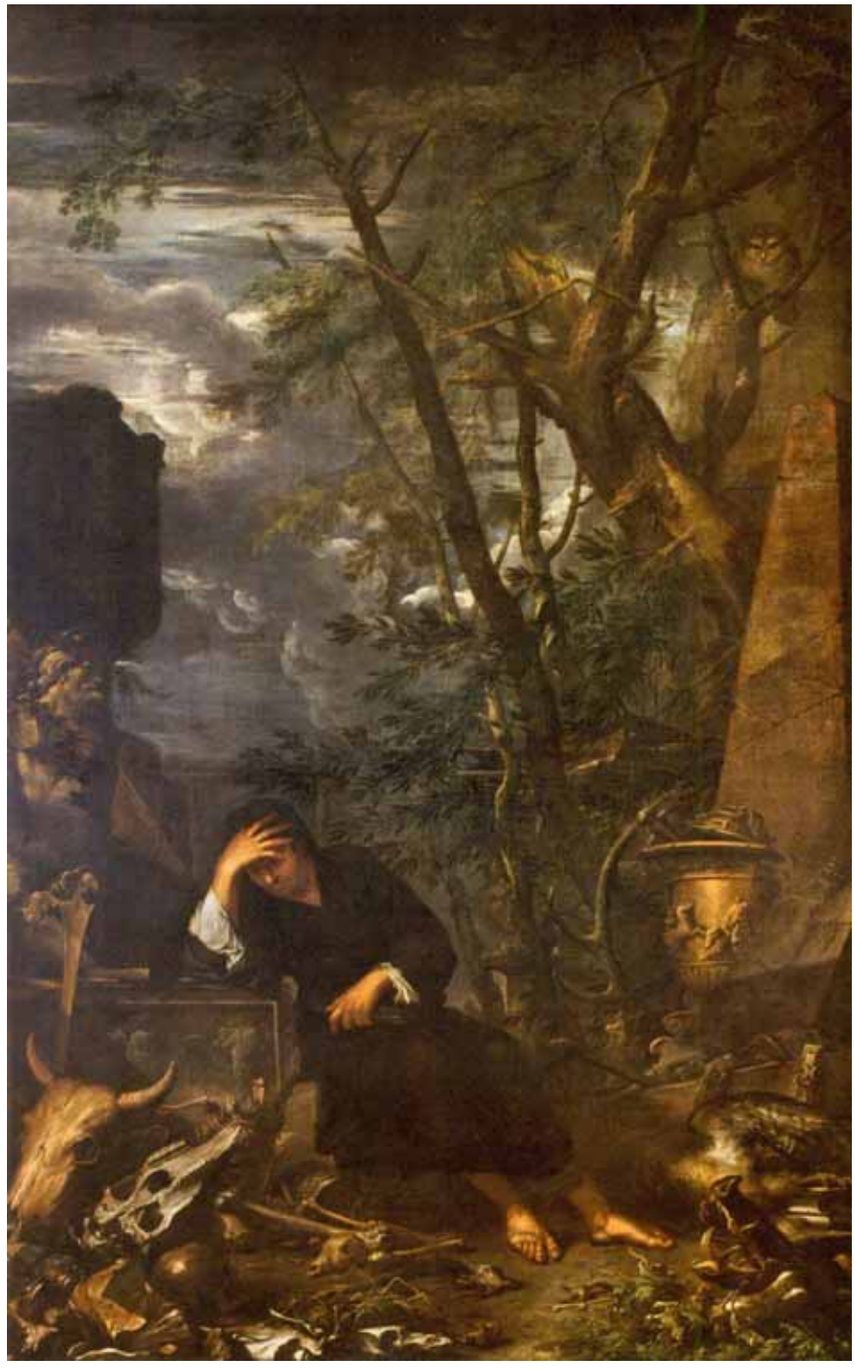

FIG. 2 Salvator Rosa, *Democritus in Meditation*. Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst

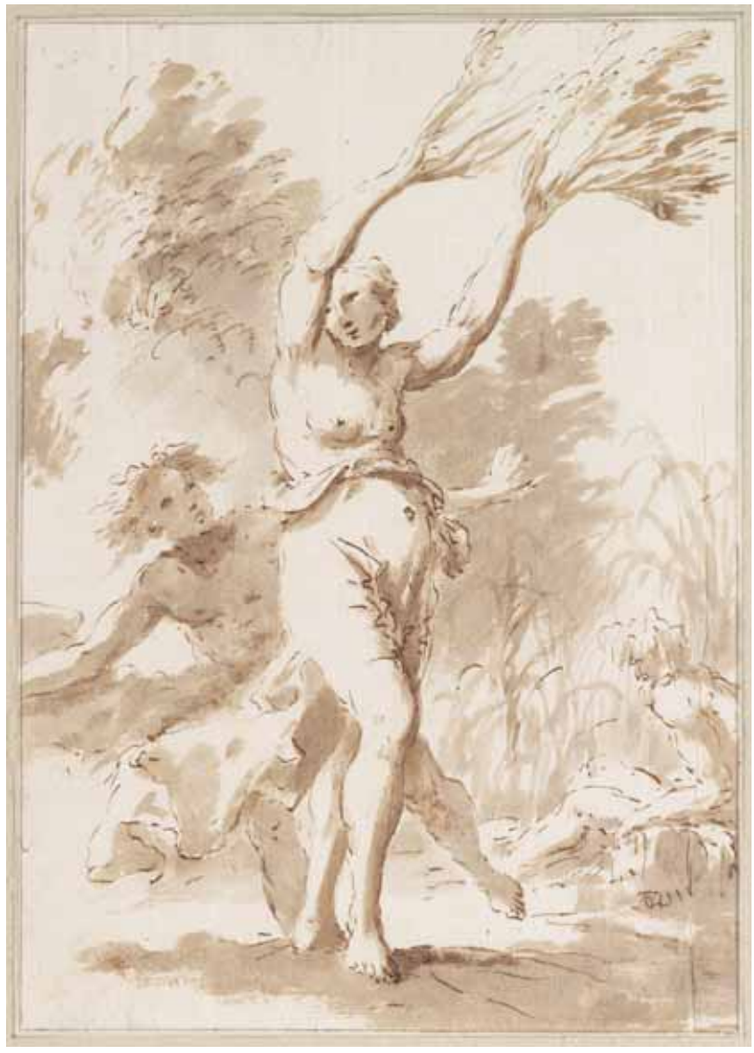

FIG. 3 S. Rosa, *Apollo and Daphne*. Haarlem, Teylers Museum

Alidoro to paint part of the scenes. There, the script cuts off, and we are left to wonder if Gratiano catches Alidoro or if Alidoro succeeds in becoming the new Gratiano.

Since the play was first published in 1964, scholars have rightly detected in Gratiano a strong autobiographical note of Bernini.[27] They are both men of genius, celebrated for theater, with large and devout followings. Moreover, there are many times in the comedy when Gratiano seems to speak for Bernini himself, as when Gratiano complains: «I can't possibly put on this play. Such projects require all a man's time and thought. I have other matters in hand».[28] (Domenico Bernini tell us that his father had to be persuaded at times to put on plays for important people such as Antonio Barberini).[29] Based on this and other clues, the Bernini-Gratiano identification seems indubitable, making it a fair question if any of the other characters in the play are to be identified with historical people. The widely held view is no. The lone dissenter is Jackson Cope, who has argued that Alidoro is Rosa and that the whole play is another chapter in the Bernini-Rosa feud.[30] There seems little support for the proposition. Granted, Alidoro is like Rosa in being a theatrical upstart who is clamoring for celebrity. But nowhere in the surviving parts of the play is Alidoro outwardly humiliated, which seems strange if the play was meant to needle Rosa with any effectiveness. Furthermore, the play is full of instances where Bernini, through his alter ego Gratiano, engages in self-mockery, which serves to keep the audience's attention focused squarely on the producer, or producers, of the play - both the fictive producer, Gratiano, as well as the real producer, Bernini. In the end, Alidoro's role in the play is that of a stock foil. He serves to highlight that Bernini-Gratiano had talents worth stealing. The play is about Bernini, and the tribute he pays himself does not come at the expense of others but through the play itself, which, as Lavin notes, is layered in illusions, thereby calling attention to Bernini's particular genius as a playwright and theater producer.[31] Relative to the play being an attack on Rosa, there is a final, practical consideration. Why would Bernini, knowing that Rosa was now living happily in far-off Florence, bother to revisit old history and to attack someone who was no longer a threat to him and, moreover, could not even attend the play to bear the full blow of the attack?

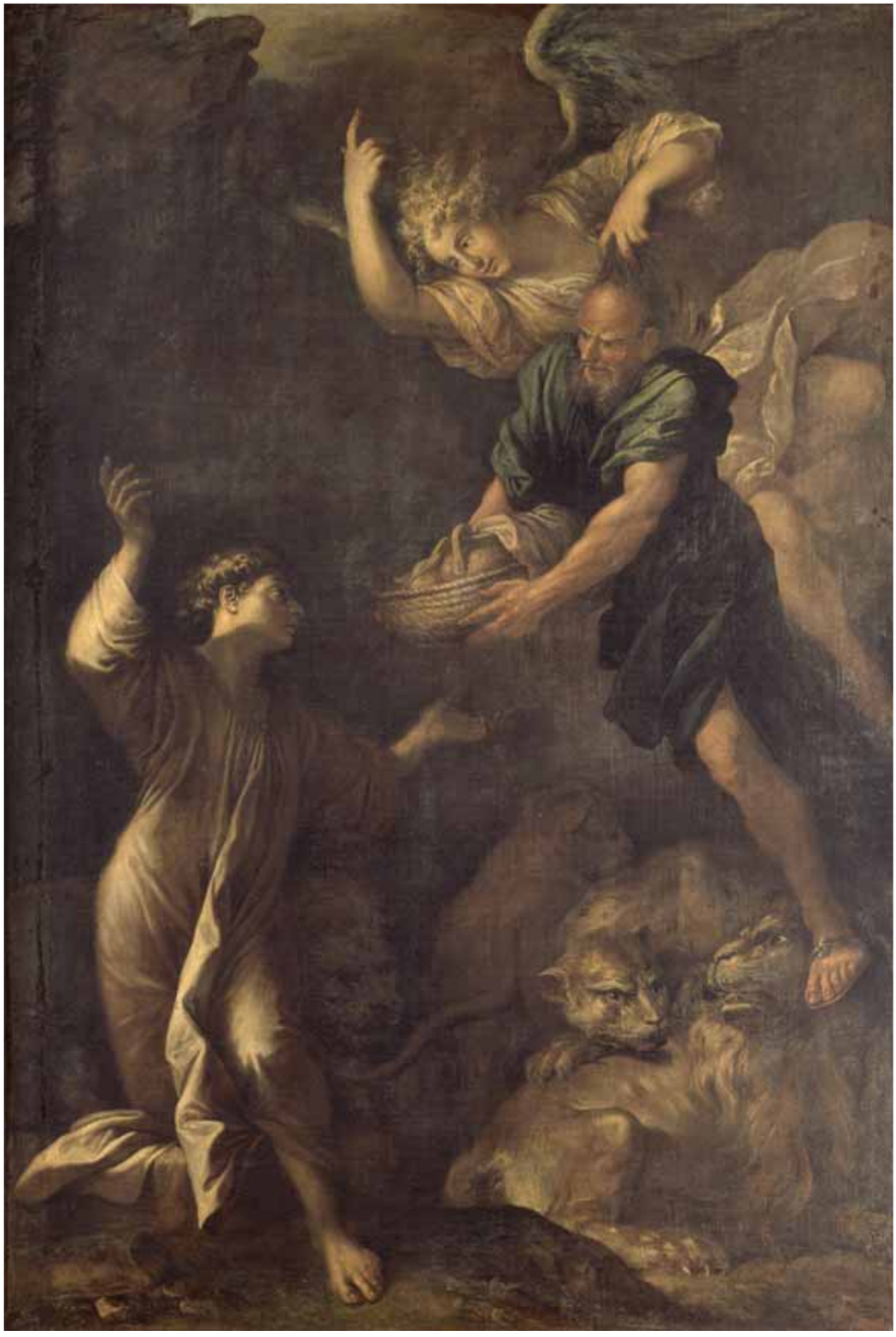

FIG. 4 S. Rosa, *Daniel in the Lions' Den*. Chantilly, Musée Condé

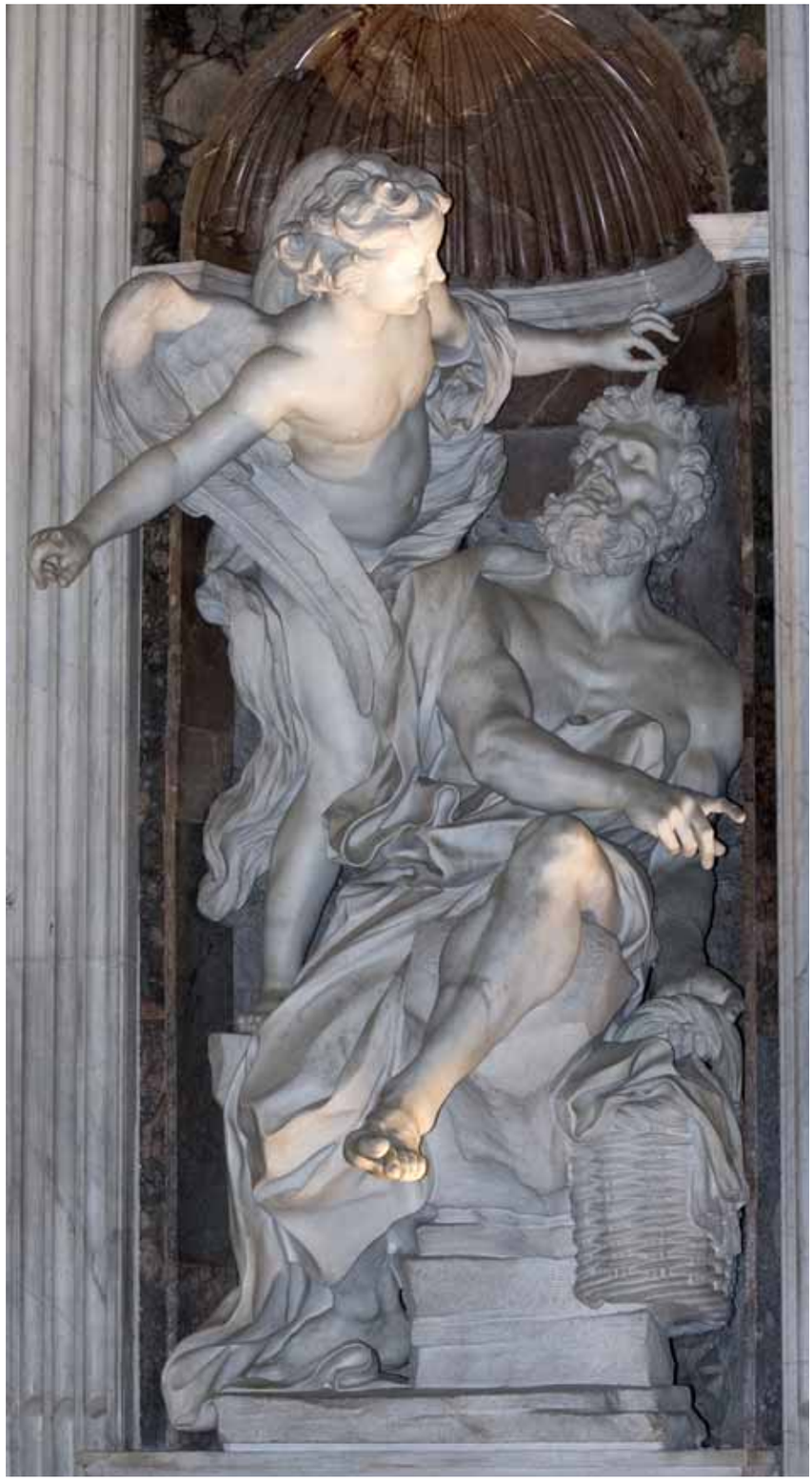

FIG. 5 G. L. Bernini, *Daniel in the Lions' Den*. Rome, S. Maria del Popolo

According to the available evidence, relations between Bernini and Rosa remained calm - if nonexistent - during the 1640s. With one in Florence, the other in Rome, their paths simply did not cross, and they were far too busy with more interesting things to care about the other. This necessarily changed in February 1649 when Rosa moved back to Rome and was forced to take stock of the changed arts scene.[32] Over the course of 1650, he formulated his initial response, a painting that he unveiled the following March at the annual exhibition held at the Pantheon.[33] The painting in question is his large *Democritus in Meditation*, whose composition features an element that touches on Bernini, the large obelisk on the right (FIG. 2). Its inclusion must be seen in relation to the giant obelisk towering over Bernini's Four Rivers Fountain, a work that was nearing completion during the very months Rosa was busy with his painting.[34] The fountain was officially inaugurated in June 1651; the *Democritus* had been unveiled just a couple of months before.

The Four Rivers Fountain was the greatest new embellishment to Rome since Rosa's departure, and he could not fail to appreciate that the man responsible for it was Bernini and that the family who had commissioned it was the new papal family, the Pamphilj. As much as Rosa may have hated to acknowledge it, if he was going to succeed at his new goal of rising to the top of the Roman art world, he had to be deferential to the powers-that-be, as these powers were the major art patrons or, in the case of Bernini, the conduits to the major art patrons. While the obelisk should not be interpreted as a straightforward homage to Bernini, it did signal more broadly that Rosa was now willing to work within the system. As Rosa well knew, with the success of the Four Rivers Fountain, the Pamphilj had adopted the obelisk as one of their chief symbols.[35] By including the familiar form in his painting, Rosa paid an obvious tribute to them. He also paid a tribute to the Jesuit scholar Athanasius Kircher, a central player in Pamphilj cultural politics.[36] Kircher was the leading expert on Egyptian hieroglyphs. In 1646, Pope Innocent X had named him his principal advisor on all matters related to the obelisk destined for Piazza Navona.[37] Importantly, in turning to Kircher, the Pope likely paved the way for Bernini's selection as the fountain's sculptor. As Tod Marder has recently explained, Kircher and Bernini

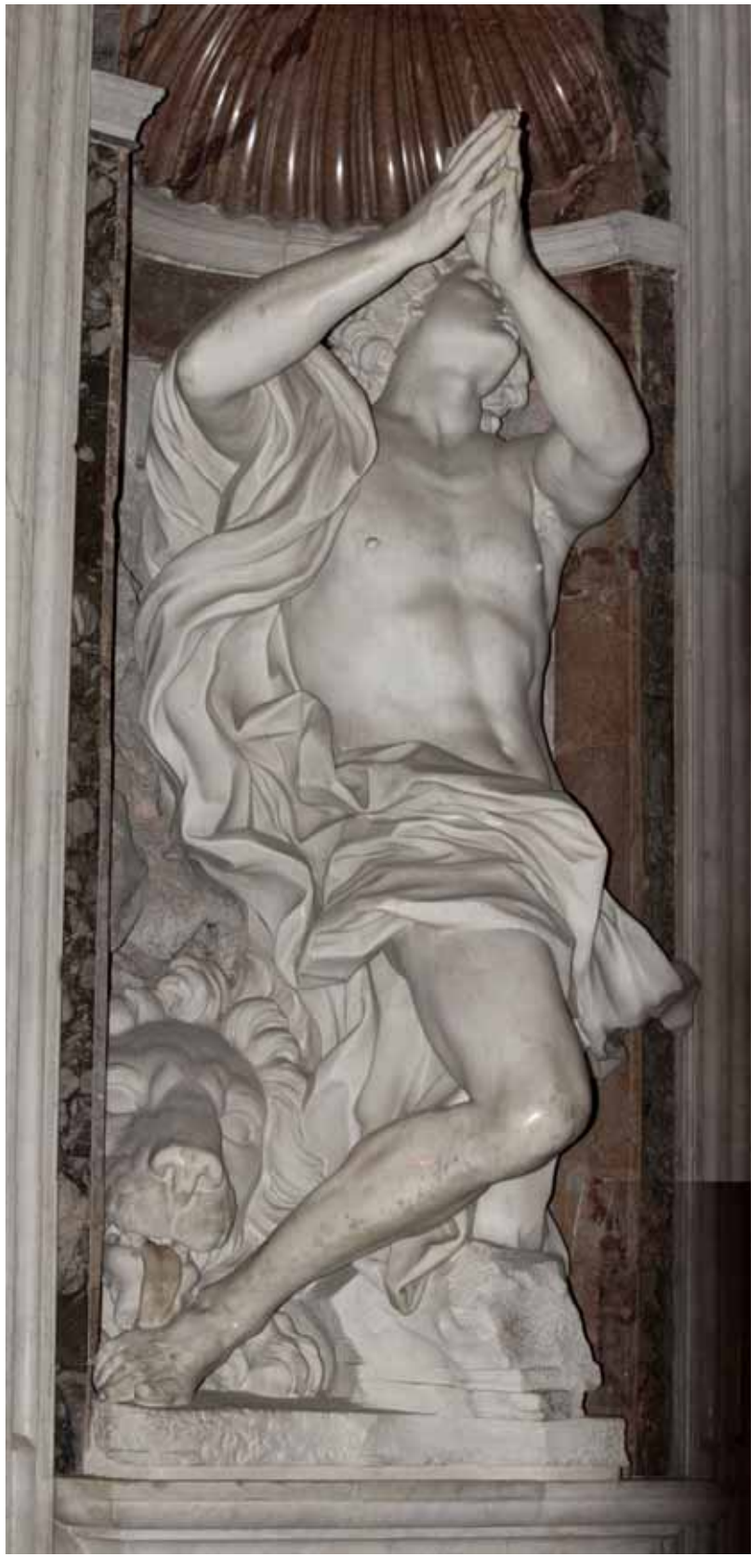

FIG. 6 G. L. Bernini, *Habakkuk and the Angel*. Rome, S. Maria del Popolo

were close friends from their years serving the Barberini, and it was almost certainly Kircher who convinced the pope to take the commission away from the court favorite, Francesco Borromini, and to hand it to Bernini.[38]

If Rosa ever succeeded in befriending Kircher, it is not documented. Yet, because the two shared common interests and moved in overlapping circles, there seems a distinct possibility that Rosa and Kircher were, at a minimum, on speaking terms - certainly so in later years.[39] Might Bernini have noticed and been encouraged to see his old antagonist in a slightly more collegial light? Possibly, but it must again be noted that Rosa did not place the obelisk in the *Democritus* to win over Bernini. Its importance lies in showing that Rosa was now open to dealing with the Pamphilj and the cast of characters that constituted the Pamphilj court - whether Kircher, Bernini, or others. In navigating the court, especially its innermost circles, Rosa had a valuable guide in his old friend Niccolò Simonelli, the *guardaroba* to Camillo Pamphilj, a nephew of the pope.[40] Like Kircher, Simonelli could well have acted as a bridge between Rosa and Bernini. As we will find, there would be many such individuals who could have helped the two artists to heal old wounds - if there were even still old wounds needing healing.

Before enumerating the growing list of patrons whom Bernini and Rosa had in common and who might have encouraged the two artists to take an enlightened view of the other, I first point out that, if Rosa was truly averse to Bernini, his art does not necessarily reflect it. On at least two occasions during the 1650s, Rosa took inspiration from sculptures by Bernini. The earliest pertains to a drawing in the Teylers Museum, Haarlem, of *Apollo and Daphne* (Fig. 3).[41] The source is clear: Bernini's famous sculpture of the group in the Galleria Borghese, Rome. The pose of Apollo is especially close to the statue, with his right hand outstretched and left leg countering the motion by kicking backward. Because the drawing does not appear to have resulted in a painting, questions remain as to when it should be dated. A. Stolzenberg has argued for the late 1640s on the basis of style and in consideration of the fact that Rosa is known to have painted a similar *Pan and Syrinx* just before returning to Rome.[42] I wonder, however, if a date around 1651 is not more appropriate, as this constitutes a likelier moment for Rosa to be dwelling on Bernini.

The second definite episode of Rosa looking to Bernini is somewhat easier to date. It concerns Rosa's large *Daniel in the Lions' Den*, which was almost certainly painted after about 1660 (Fig. 4).[43] The three figures in the painting bear close similarities to Bernini's treatment of the theme in the Chigi Chapel in Santa Maria del Popolo, his sculptures of *Daniel* and *Habakkuk and the Angel* (Figg. 5, 6). Indeed, Rosa has seemingly formed his painting by taking Bernini's pendants and merging them into a single composition. With respect to the *Habakkuk and the Angel*, Rosa has borrowed its basic configuration, where the angel floats above Habakkuk's right shoulder, pointing with his right hand and using his left to grab the prophet's hair. Rosa's Daniel also reflects the complementary Bernini. While the figure is not shown praying like the statue, Rosa adopts the position of the forward leg and the decided twist of the body.[44]

One factor in Rosa's decision to quote from the statues likely involved where the painting was going. It was destined for the private chapel of Carlo De Rossi in S. Maria in Montesanto, which stood opposite S. Maria del Popolo, the church housing Bernini's *Daniel* and *Habakkuk and the Angel*. Given the geographic proximity, Rosa would have had a hard time denying that he planned his painting with no awareness of the nearby Berninis. This raises the question of his broader motives. Seeing that the painting is not critical of the statues in any overt way, we must assume that he turned to them out of legitimate respect for their designs. This of course paid a compliment to Bernini, as well as to the statues' patrons, the papal family, the Chigi, a family that had given Rosa a fair amount of support since its rise to prominence in 1655, the year in which one of its members, Fabio Chigi, became Pope Alexander VII.

The story of Rosa and the Chigi is long and complicated.[45] Some days he resented them vehemently, while others he clamored for their patronage. It is usually his bitter side that is dis-

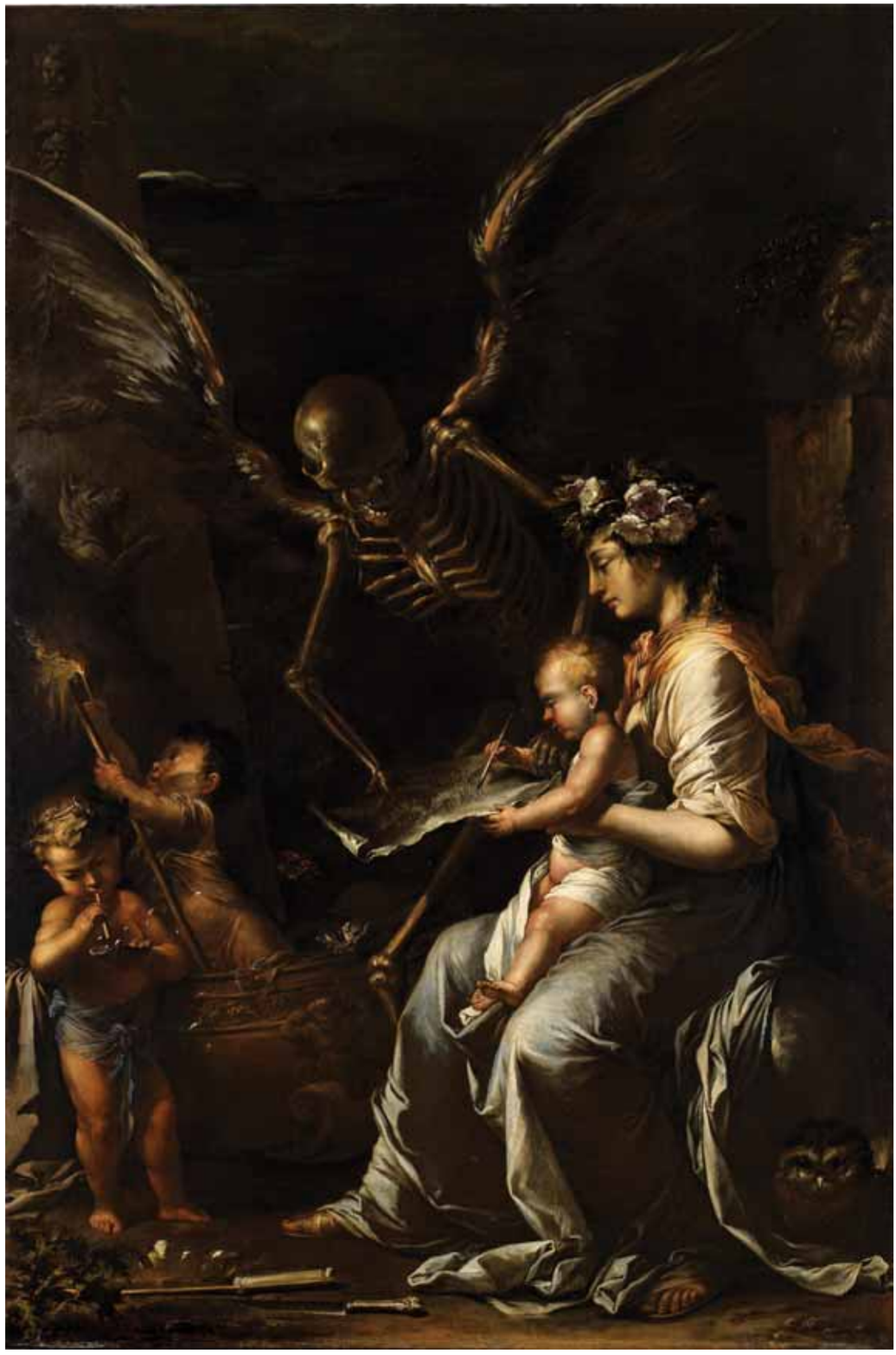

FIG. 7 S. Rosa, *Frailty of Human Life*. Cambridge, The Fitzwilliam Museum

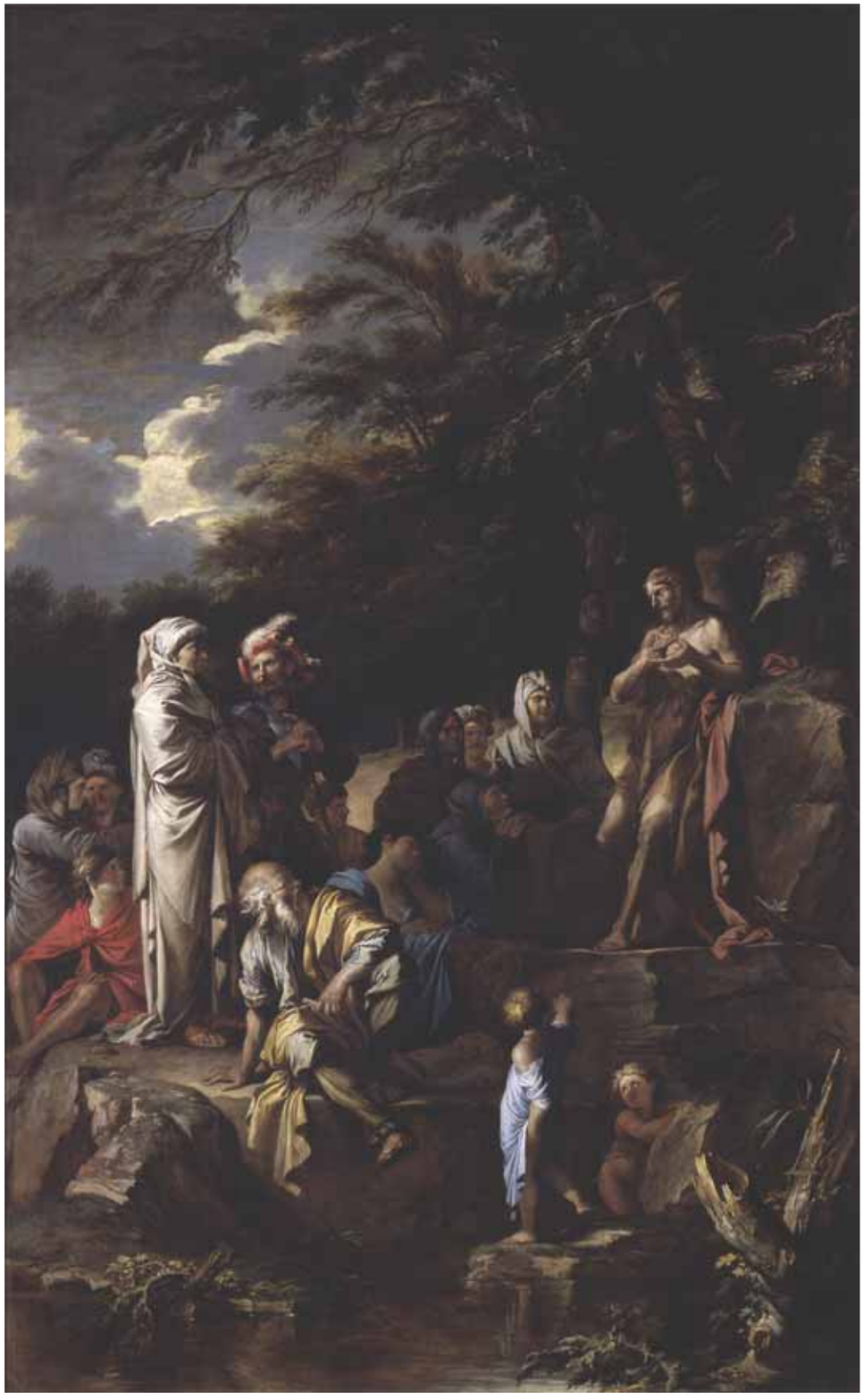

FIG. 8 S. Rosa, *Saint John the Baptist Preaching in the Wilderness*. St. Louis, St. Louis Art Museum

cussed, as it resulted in his two famous satires *La Babilonia*, written, and *Fortuna*, pictorial. The latter was the more damning and succeeded in stirring considerable public controversy.[46] Yet, the extent to which the Chigi truly cared is debatable. The pope's brother, Mario Chigi, who apparently found Rosa an intriguing and likeable character, defended the painting, and the matter was soon dropped. All Rosa was asked to do was to write an apology.

Helping to shield Rosa from any serious punishment was undoubtedly the fact that he had come to enjoy a promising artist-client relationship with the Chigi. His first major effort to win them over had come in the form of his masterful *Frailty of Human Life*, which was acquired sometime before 1658 by Flavio Chigi, Alexander VII's nephew (FIG. 7).[47] The painting, which employs traditional *memento mori* iconography, is deeply pessimistic, fitting neatly with Chigi tastes for the melancholic. Like Rosa, Flavio Chigi was enchanted by the bracing realism of Stoical thought, while Alexander VII spent many of his waking hours dwelling on issues of mortality.[48] (The first commission he dispensed as pope was for a marble skull and coffin from Bernini).[49] With *Frailty of Human Life*, Rosa proclaimed that he was the perfect Chigi artist, and it was surely a disappointment that more commissions for large philosophical paintings did not come. This is not to suggest, however, that the Chigi were by any means against him. They collected his landscapes faithfully; Flavio Chigi chose two of his paintings as gifts to King Louis XIV of France; they gave him a prize of a silver jar and basin in 1659; and there are indications that the pope kept regular tabs on his progress, taking special delight in his etchings.[50] While it is certainly going too far to suggest that Rosa was a Chigi intimate, he was on good enough terms with them that we may safely assume that he frequented their circles - circles that very much included Bernini.

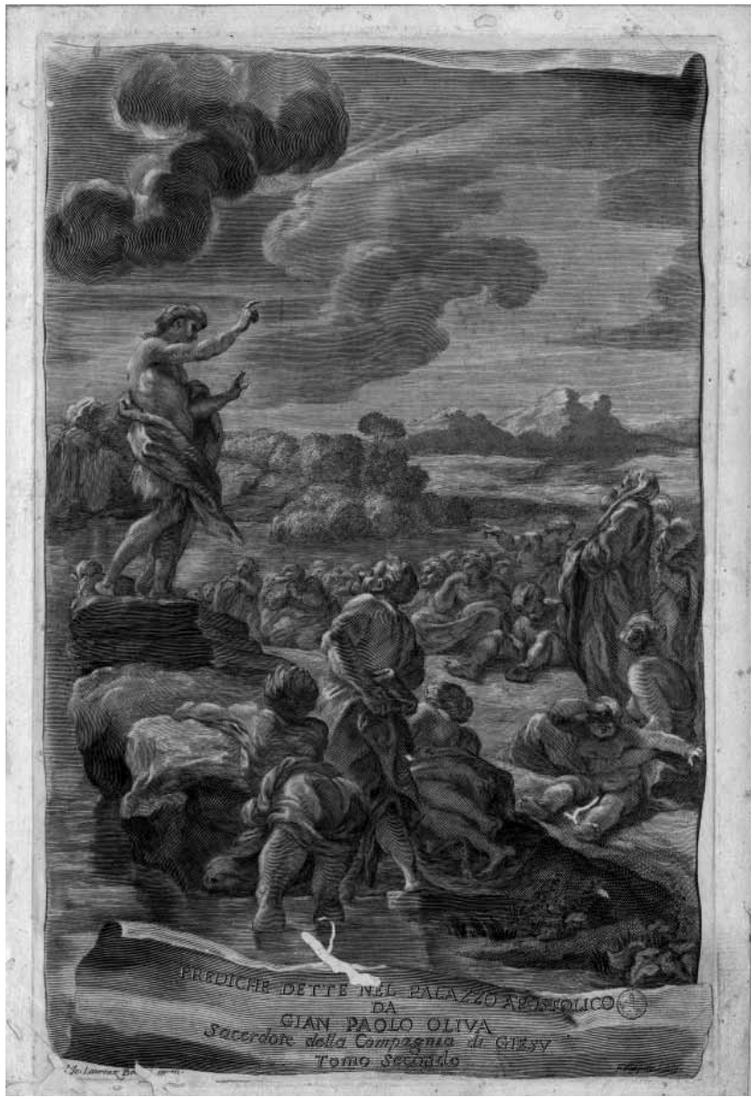

FIG. 9 G. L. Bernini, *Saint John the Baptist Preaching in the Wilderness*. Frintespicie to Gian Paolo Oliva's *Prediche*

If Rosa's relationship with the Chigi was up and down, Bernini's was only up. He was their Michelangelo, the one living artist who could give voice to Alexander VII's vision of a triumphant new Rome.[51] By all accounts, the pope

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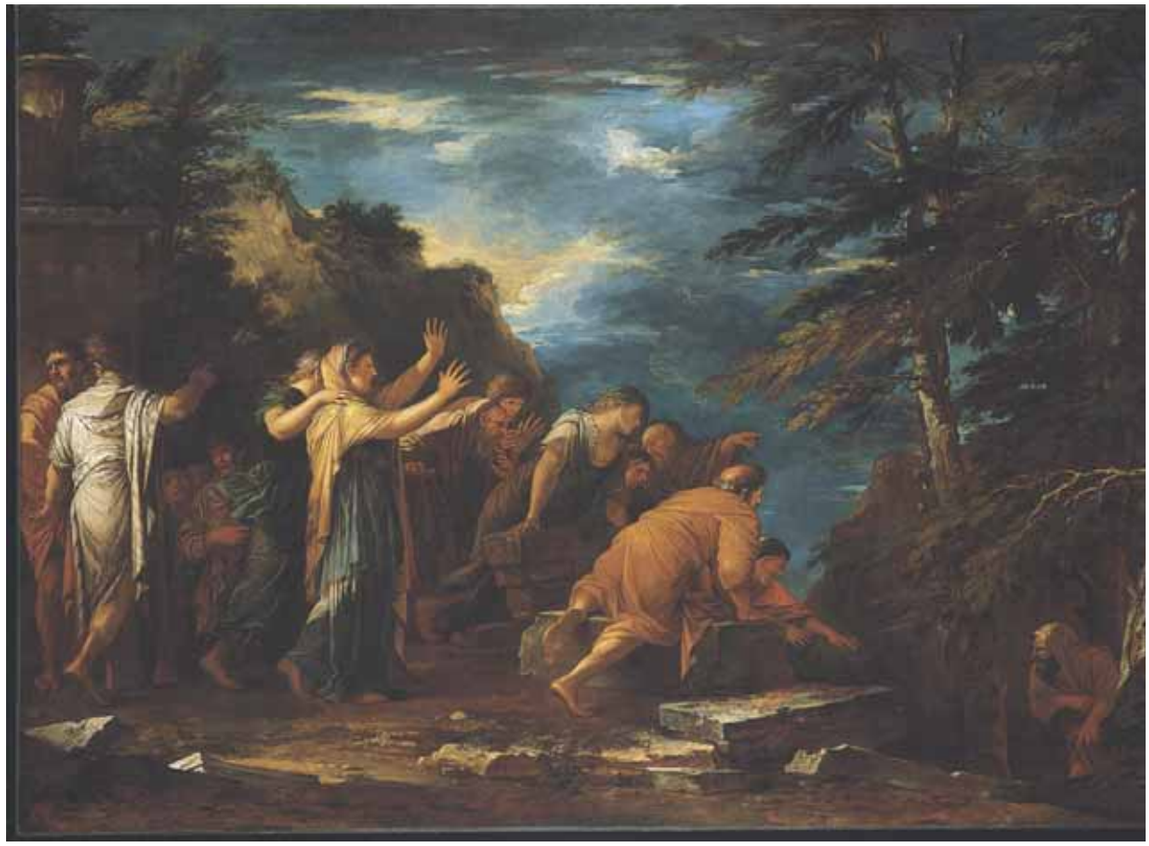

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FIG. 10 S. Rosa, *Pythagoras Emerging from the Underworld*. Fort Worth, Kimbell Art Museum

and Bernini were dear companions. They appreciated one another's company and chatted almost daily. The relationship galvanized Bernini, who delivered for the pope some of his very best work, including the *Cathedra Petri*, the oval piazza in front of St. Peter's, and the pope's own tomb. In addition to Alexander VII, Bernini was on intimate terms with Flavio Chigi, the man responsible for administering his uncle's projects.[52] In this role, Flavio was in constant contact with Bernini, who grew to see him as an enlightened patron and friend. With Flavio, we come to the Chigi who was most central to Rosa's life, as indicated above. While Rosa certainly did not enjoy the same unfettered access to the cardinal as Bernini, he was fortunate in having a close friend who did, Niccolò Simonelli, the same Simonelli who had been Camillo Pamphilj's guardaroba and would transfer after 1655 to being Flavio's.[53] How the connection paid off for Rosa cannot be said. It merely highlights that Rosa had a direct avenue to Flavio, which increases the likelihood that Rosa was more inside than outside Flavio's cultural world. If so, signals must have been sent to Bernini that he should not treat Rosa with automatic disdain - that if Flavio respected him, perhaps he should, too. Flavio becomes another person who, during the 1650s, could have had a mediatory effect on the once-sparring artists.

Whether relations between Rosa and Bernini ever truly improved returns us to their art. Signs of influence passing between them could be signs of a thaw - that they had reached a point where they could appreciate the other's achievements objectively and pay the highest form of compliment, imitation. We have reviewed two cases that pertain to Rosa: his drawing of *Apollo and Daphne* and painting of *Daniel and the Lions' Den*.[54] *Frailty of Human Life* may be a third. The

idea for the flying skeleton could well have come from Bernini, who had used the motif with great success on two earlier wall monuments: the Memorial to Alessandro Valtrini in S. Lorenzo in Damaso and the Memorial to Ippolito Merenda in S. Giacomo alla Lungara.[55] Rosa may also have been aware that Bernini was intending to place a flying skeleton on the Tomb of Alexander VII, although it is equally possible that the decision had yet to be made when Rosa began his painting.[56] If so, this could be an instance where Bernini was taking notice of Rosa, acknowledging the success of his *Frailty* among certain Chigi. At a minimum, the two artists were thinking along parallel paths.

There is perhaps only one time Bernini drew specifically from Rosa, and it also relates to the Chigi years. H. Langdon has suggested that Rosa's *Saint John the Baptist Preaching in the Wilderness* (FIG. 8), now in the Saint Louis Art Museum, was the model for Bernini's etching of the same subject, which formed the frontispiece to the second volume of the collected sermons of Gian Paola Oliva, called the *Prediche* (FIG. 9).[57] Frustratingly, we cannot be certain that the painting came first. While it is generally dated to the late 1650s, there is a possibility that it postdates the etching, which was first published in 1664.[58] (Bernini is assumed to have prepared his drawing for the etching at about the same time). Another concern is equally basic: the similarities between the two works are not so overwhelming as to ensure that Bernini knew the Rosa, although there are a couple of interesting links. First, they share the same fundamental arrangement, with Saint John the Baptist standing off to one side on a rock above a crowd. Secondly, Bernini, like Rosa, has built up his crowd by incorporating figures who are seen from interesting angles and who tend to sit and lean on the rocks as though they are filling a natural amphitheater. This does not mask, however, that the setting is still quite different from the painting. In the etching, no trees loom over Saint John, who is much more isolated in the composition. The landscape is more sparing, al-

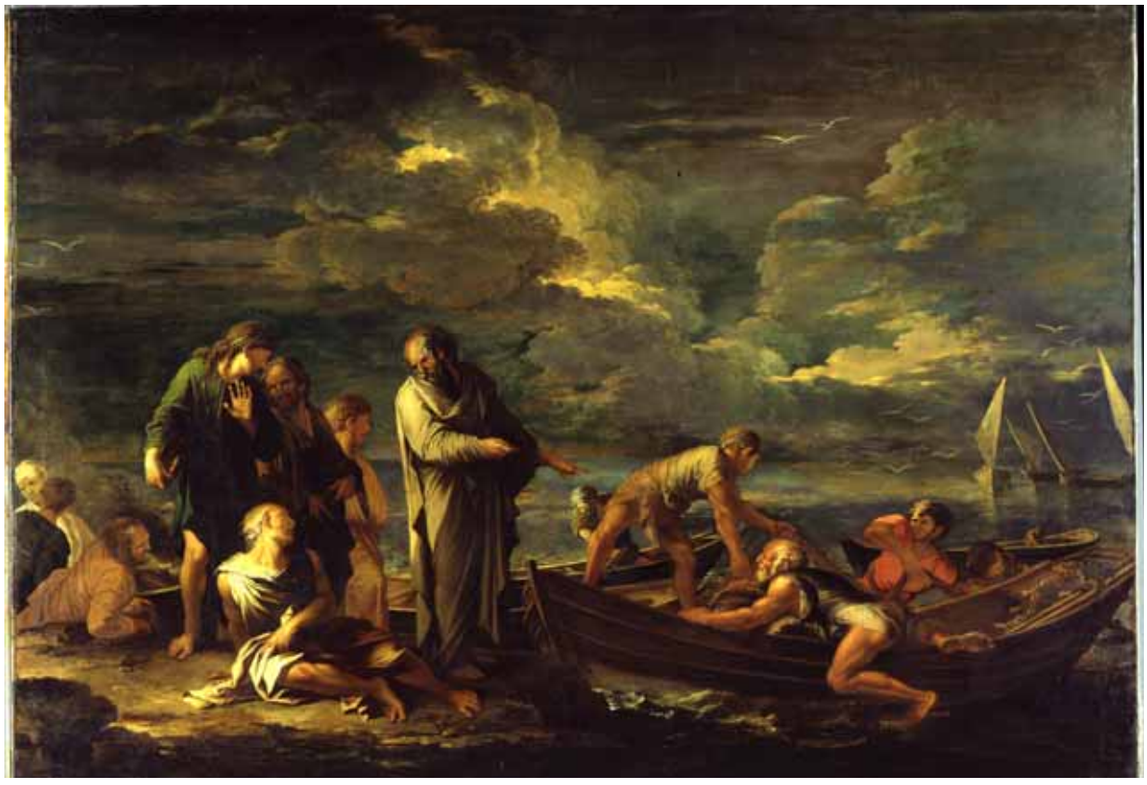

FIG. 11 S. Rosa, *Pythagoras and the Fishermen*. Berlin, Gemäldegalerie

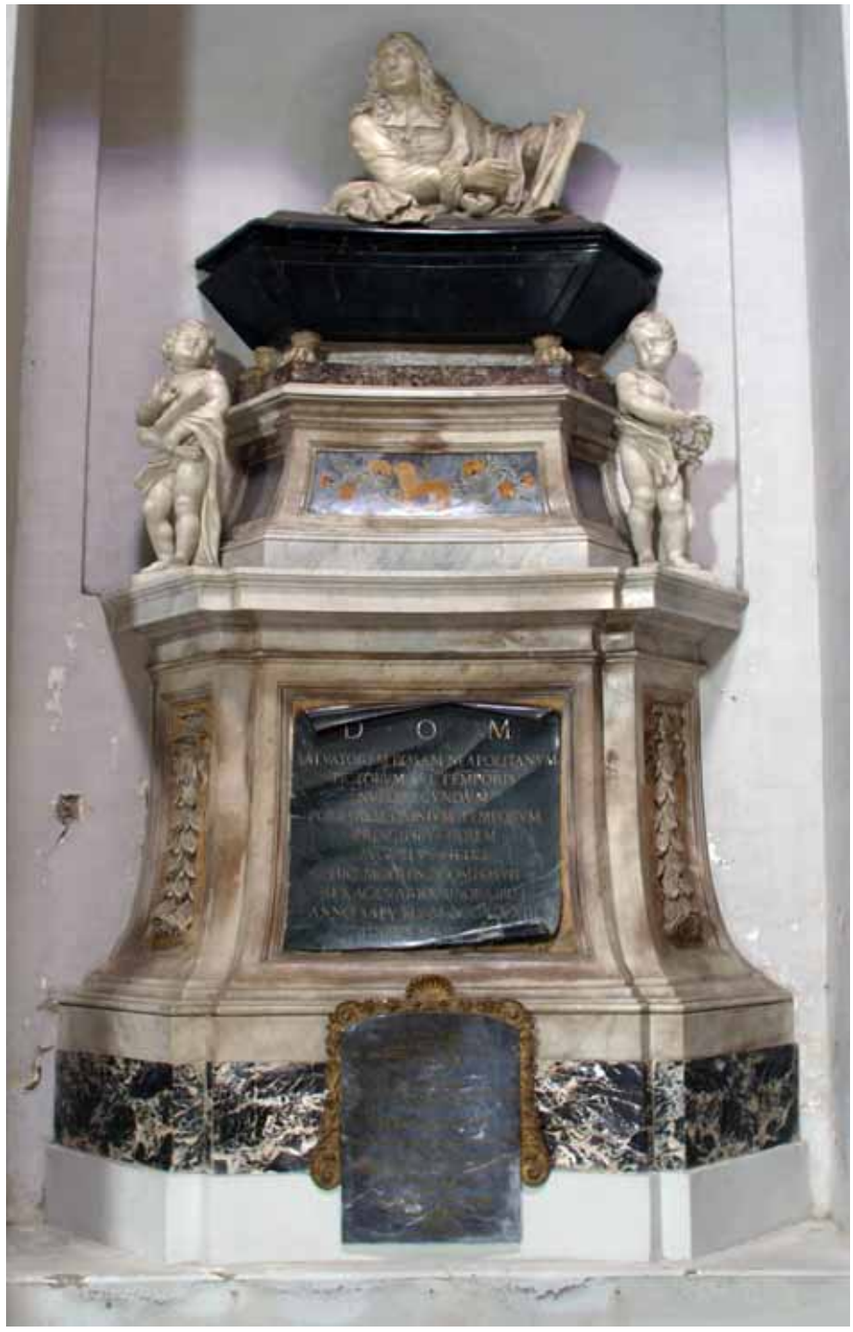

FIG. 12 Bernardo Fioriti, *Bust of Salvator Rosa*. Rome, S. Maria degli Angeli, on Rosa's tomb

though it does retain a feel of Rosa thanks to the clouds, which swirl over Saint John's head and help to give the scene a windswept, emotional force that recalls Rosa's mature landscape style. Perhaps if Bernini was thinking of Rosa, it was in these terms, as opposed to strictly compositional ones. As for the second possibility, that the painting followed the etching, this could well be another case of Rosa drawing from Bernini.

For all the paintings, sculptures, and drawings that Bernini and Rosa have left us, there is only one point of intersection between the two artists as unassailable as their feud of 1639. The Museum der Bildenden Künste in Leipzig is home not only to the largest and most important collection of Bernini drawings in the world but also to the largest and most important collection of Rosa drawings. This is not mere coincidence. The drawings share a common provenance that may go back as far as Queen Christina of Sweden, a person whom Bernini and Rosa jointly admired. The two groups of drawings came to Leipzig in 1714, acquired in Rome from the prior and collector Francesco Antonio Rensi.[59] They were part of a much larger acquisition that totaled over sixty albums. Three of the albums held drawings by Bernini (or his workshop), while two of the albums were filled with drawings by Rosa. Within only a few decades of their arrival in Leipzig, the Rensi albums began to be associated with Queen Christina.[60] The assumption that the albums had originally

belonged to her gained strength during the twentieth century, as scholars noted links between her and certain of the albums.[61] One album, for instance, consists of 108 drawings by Pietro da Cortona recording the intaglios in Queen Christina's collection. Regrettably, no such links have turn up with the Bernini and Rosa albums. Rensi could well have assembled them from sources other than the queen.

Despite all the signs urging caution, there are still gains to be made by viewing the Bernini and Rosa drawings at Leipzig from the perspective of a shared Queen Christina provenance. We do know that the queen had a sizeable collection of drawings, of which some were by Rosa and some were by Bernini.[62] Forty-six of the Rosas (such as the aforementioned *Apollo and Daphne*) can be traced to the Teylers Museum, Haarlem, while it is not known which drawings by Bernini she may have owned.[63] We are limited to a single report that he made regular gifts of drawings to her.[64] It is possible that she added to these sheets after his death in 1680, acquiring a large group from his heirs. Most of her Rosa drawings also likely came to her in that fashion, *en bloc* from the painter's heirs - which is not to suggest, however, that he was unknown to her during his lifetime. In fact, they were closely acquainted, although not in a traditional artist-patron sense. She never acquired any of his paintings. Nor was she a great customer of Bernini. While he and the queen were on particularly

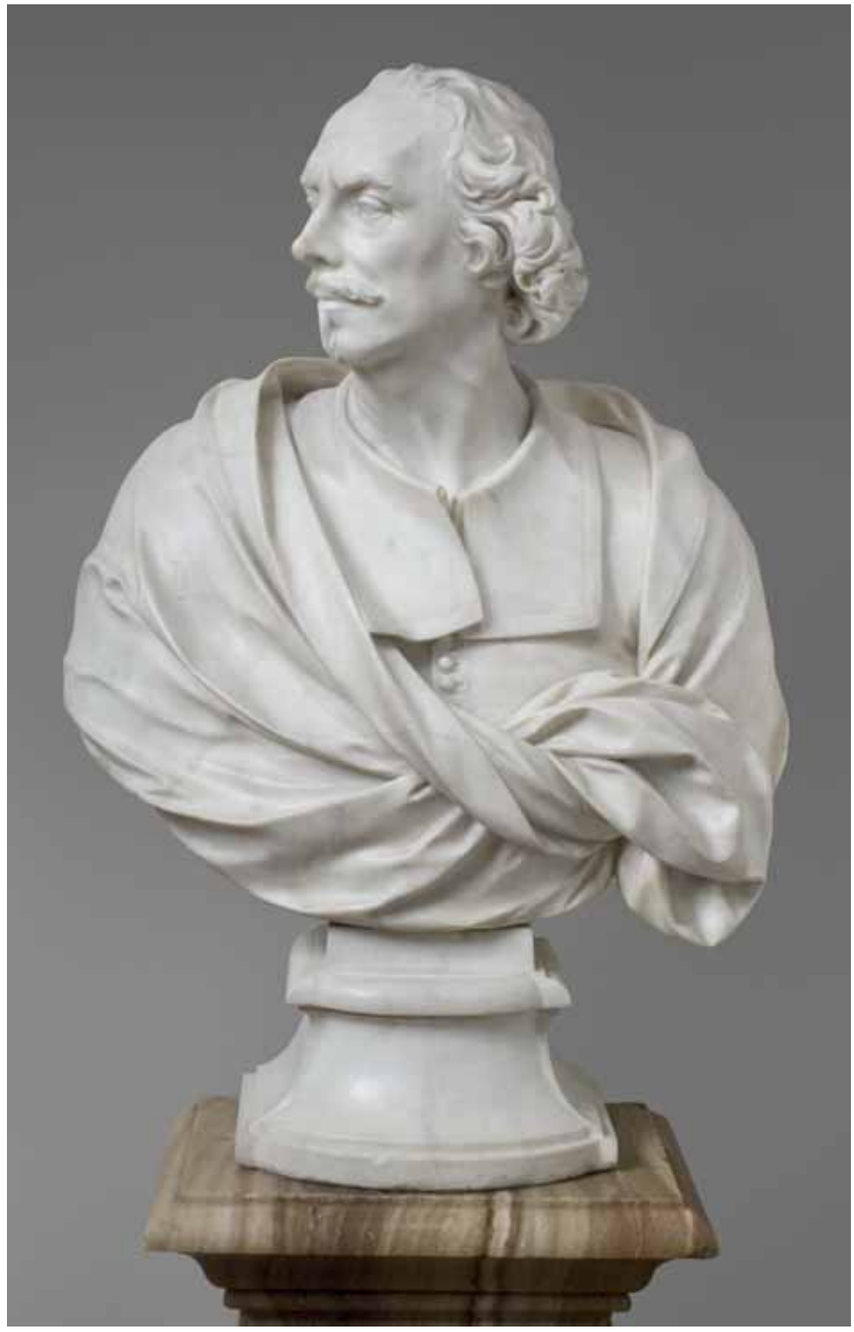

FIG. 13 B. Fioriti, *Bust of Bernini*. Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art

intimate terms, she only owned a few works by him, and only one is likely to have been an outright commission, an elaborate mirror with a frame representing Time.[65]

Whether or not the Bernini-Rosa drawings at Leipzig ever belonged to Queen Christina, they are helpful in introducing a crucial fact: both Bernini and Rosa enjoyed a special relationship with her, one born of mutual admiration. Bernini came to know the queen immediately after her arrival in Rome in 1655. He was the superstar artist, while she was the biggest and newest celebrity, making it inevitable that they should meet. What was not inevitable is that they should form a lasting friendship - and not just any friendship, but one that transcended normal concerns and centered on God.[66] On his deathbed, Bernini reportedly sent word to the queen to pray for him, claiming that she was blessed with special powers that enabled her to communicate with God like no one else.[67] She returned word that he must pray for her. To the queen, Bernini was a noble and virtuous man, feelings that ultimately persuaded her to take part in a vigorous defense of him. She promoted (and likely helped to plan) the highly favorable biography of the artist written by Filippo Baldinucci during the 1670s.[68]

As for Rosa and Queen Christina, their relationship rested on more intellectual foundations. They shared a fascination with the natural sciences and certain kinds of philosophy and were similarly disposed to anti-establishment stances and being the outsiders.[69] Interestingly, Rosa had first come to her attention even before she had left Sweden. As Rosa boasts in a letter of 1652, he had received an invitation to serve her at the Swedish court, an invitation prompted by the success of his recent *Diogenes Throwing Away His Bowl* (Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen), which the queen's agent in Rome had likely seen that March during the exhibition at the Pantheon.[70] The obscure subject, coupled with its Stoic undertones, would certainly have appealed to the free-thinking queen, and we can easily imagine that, within months of her arrival in Rome, she sent for Rosa, determined to find out who this painter was.

The details of what happened next can only be faintly sketched. An important clue resides in the inventory of the Sicilian collector Don Antonio Ruffo. According to a note concerning Rosa's two Pythagoras paintings, both acquired by Ruffo in 1664, *Pythagoras Emerging from the Underworld* (Fig. 9) and *Pythagoras and the Fisherman* (Fig. 11), Rosa had made them «on the recommendation of [or at the insistence of] the Queen of Sweden» («*ad istanza della regina di Svetia*»).[71] In her recent entry on the *Pythagoras Emerging from the Underworld*, H. Langdon argues persuasively that the queen must have instigated the paintings, noting that she had commissioned a commentary on the Pythagoreans in 1652 and remained deeply moved by elements of their thinking.[72] It is easy to imagine her, Rosa, and others (perhaps even the queen's great friend, Kircher, who admired Pythagoras and would have liked a painting that touched on aspects of the underworld, one of Kircher's many areas of expertise) sitting around a table, seminar style, discoursing at length on the subject.[73] Here, we glimpse the kind of intellectual intimacy that Rosa likely shared with the queen.

Why Queen Christina did not end up buying the Pythagoras paintings appears to be because Rosa grew obstinate over the price.[74] If this amounted to a low point in their relationship, the bad feelings did not last forever. In 1669, Rosa wrote jubilantly that he been awarded the immense distinction of being the only living painter invited to exhibit that year at S. Giovanni Decollato.[75] The exhibition was to focus on, as Rosa goes on to write, «the most beautiful paintings in Rome, and in particular the most famous paintings of the Queen of Sweden, which alone (with no other company) were enough to scare Hell itself».[76] Indeed, Rosa was about to find himself in the challenging situation of being on the same stage as such luminaries of Italian painting as Paola Veronese, who was strongly represented in the queen's collection.[77] In the end, Rosa responded impressively, although what matters to us is not the paintings he produced but whether the queen was involved in the decision to invite Rosa to participate. Although the official organizers of the exhibition are known to have been Camillo Rospigliosi and several of his sons, they are un-

likely to have excluded her from the planning, as they were counting on her loans and would not have wanted to risk upsetting her by making a bad decision.[78] If she did not propose the idea of Rosa, she must have approved it - and happily.
Signs that Queen Christina appreciated Rosa, however, do not translate into automatic proof that Bernini did, too. Regrettably, this proof remains elusive - if it exists at all. The most we can conclude is that Bernini and Rosa shared genuine admiration for Queen Christina, and she for them, which is normally the sort of atmosphere that breeds a circle of respect among all interested parties. This is especially true when the atmosphere is non-competitive, as it was with Bernini and Rosa by this date. In 1653, Rosa swore off comedy, eliminating the one artistic field on which he and Bernini had ever directly competed.[79] In effect, they were different men with different ambitions who had every reason to let bygones be bygones, particularly if pressure was coming from a figure they both held dear, such as Queen Christina.
Bernini ended up outliving Rosa by seven years. Immediately following Rosa's death, his heirs commissioned an attractive wall tomb for him in S. Maria degli Angeli, the crowning feature of which was a half-length portrait bust of the painter (FIG. 12).[80] To ask a final question, would Rosa have been honored if the sculptor chosen for the commission had been Bernini, whose talents as a portrait sculptor remained renowned? Even if certain prejudices lingered, we can at least assume that he would have taken some satisfaction in knowing that the sculptor who was ultimately selected for the job, Bernardo Fioriti, had been hired years earlier (perhaps by a member of the Chigi) to carve a portrait bust of Bernini, a bust now in the Philadelphia Museum of Art that remains one of our most commanding images of the sculptor (FIG. 13).[81]

Note:

[1] For example, J. Scott, *Salvator Rosa: His Life and Times*, New Haven 1995, p. 12; H. Langdon, *The Art and Life of Salvator Rosa*, in H. Langdon, X. Salomon, C. Volpi (eds.), *Salvator Rosa*, exhib. cat., London-Fort Worth 2010-2011, p. 17.

[2] Around this time, he was clearly having more success with his landscapes, as proven by his contribution to King Philip IV's Buen Retiro palace in Madrid. See Langdon, Salomon, Volpi, *cit.* (note 1), pp. 136-137, n. 9.

[3] For an overview, see C. Volpi, *The Great Theater of the World: Salvator Rosa and the Academies*, in Langdon, Salomon, Volpi, *cit.* (note 1), pp. 51-55.

[4] G. B. Passeri, *Vita di Salvator Rosa napoletano*, in G. Baglione, *Le vite de' pittori, scultori, architetti, ed intagliatori, dal pontificato di Gregorio XIII. del 1572 fino a tempi di papa Urbano VIII. nel 1642*, Naples 1733, pp. 292-294. Much of the relevant passage appears in an English translation in Scott, *cit.* (note 1), p. 21.

[5] As translated by Scott, *cit.* (note 1), p. 21. Passeri, *cit.* (note 4), p. 293.

[6] For the Aristotelian origins, see Aristotle's *Poetics* (esp. chs. 7-9). On Rosa's allegiance to Aristotle's views, see I. Molinari, *Il Teatro di Salvator Rosa*, in "Biblioteca teatrale", XLIX-LI, 1999, pp. 224-225.

[7] Passeri, *cit.* (note 4), p. 293: «*ed in quella stata medesima* [Bernini] *ne faceva recitare in borgo una delle sue, ma in prosa, Ottaviano Castelli, e per rappresentare un'alba, e per dare naturalezza al Opera, faceva comparire acquavitari, corrori, e caparari andar per la città*».

[8] *Ibidem*, p. 293: «*dopo alcuni giorni il Castelli, che già faceva la sua faldonata in borgo vecchio nel cortile del palazzo degli Sforza, a man sinistra per andare a S. Pietro, pensò con questa occasione vendicarsi di Salvatore, e credo, che il Bernini gli prestasse il consenso. La vendetta fu per verità spropositata, e senza spirito, perchè avendo introdotta una novità nel Prologo finse una gran quantità di popolo uditore di una commedia da recitarsi*».

[9] On Castelli, see E. Zanetti, *Ottaviano Castelli*, in *Enciclopedia dello Spettacolo*, III, 1956, pp. 198-199; Molinari, *cit.* (note 6), pp. 224-229; M. G. Bernardini, M. Fagiolo dell'Arco (eds.), *Gian Lorenzo Bernini: Regista del Barocco*, exhib. cat., Rome 1999, pp. 412-413, n. 169.

[10] Molinari, *cit.* (note 6), p. 225, who draws special attention to Castelli's *Dialogo sopra la poesia dramatica*, which appeared as the prologue to Castelli's *La Sincerità triofante*. See also E. Tamburini, *Per uno studio documentario delle forme sceniche: I Teatri dei Barberini e gli interventi berniniani*, in M. Chiabò, F. Doglio (eds.), *Tragedie dell'onore nell'Europa barocca: XXVI convegno internazionale: Roma, 12-15 settembre 2002*, Rome 2003, pp. 260-261.

[11] On Bernini and the theater, see I. Lavin, *Review of*

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Fontana di Trevi, Commedia inedita, in "The Art Bulletin", LXVI, 1964, pp. 568-572; Idem, *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual*, New York-London 1980, I, pp. 146-157.

[12] The play was performed in 1638 and described by F. Baldinucci, *The Life of Bernini*, Catherine Engass (trans.), University Park, Pennsylvania, 1966, p. 83.

[13] Lavin, *cit.* (note 11), 1980, I, p. 150.

[14] Bernini's name can only be firmly attached to two Barberini productions: *Fiera di Farfa* of 1639 (see note 16 below) and *L'innocenza difesa* of 1641. Lavin, *cit.* (note 11), 1980, I, p. 148.

[15] Lavin, *cit.* (note 11), 1980, I, pp. 149, 153-154.

[16] For the payments, see F. Hammond, *Bernini and the "Fiera di Farfa"*, in I. Lavin (ed.), *Gianlorenzo Bernini: New Aspects of His Art and Thought: A Commemorative Volume*, University Park, Pennsylvania, 1985, p. 117.

[17] See the *Avvisi di Roma*, March 5, 1639, reprinted in Hammond, *cit.* (note 16), p. 116. For other descriptions, see *Ibidem*, pp. 115-117.

[18] For example, Scott, *cit.* (note 1), p. 21.

[19] Lavin, *cit.* (note 11), 1980, I, p. 150.

[20] Two indications of his ties to the Barberini are the following: Castelli worked with Stefano Landi to provide choral music for a performance held at Pope Urban VIII's summer retreat in 1635. Secondly, he produced a work honoring Francesco Barberini entitled *Sopra la sontuosissima festa di santa Teodora reppresentata in Roma nel palazzo dell'eminentissimo e reverendissimo signor cardinal Francesco Barbernini l'anno 1635*. See M. Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court: 1631-1668,* Ph.D., University of Chicago, 1975, p. 204, n. 52, as well as Bernardini, Fagiolo dell'Arco, *cit.* (note 9), p. 412; Tamburini, *cit.* (note 10), p. 261.

[21] For a complete transcription of the poem, see Molinari, *cit*. (note 6), pp. 226-229. For an English translation of the second stanza, see Volpi, *cit.* (note 3), p. 55.

[22] Passeri, *cit.* (note 4), p. 294.

[23] Bernardini, Fagiolo dell'Arco, *cit.* (note 9), pp. 412-413, n. 169.

[24] For the episode with the bell towers and the damage it caused Bernini's reputation, see S. McPhee, *Bernini and the Bell Towers: Architecture and Politics at the Vatican*, New Haven-London 2002, esp. pp. 165-189.

[25] For an overview of this period in Rosa's life, see Langdon, *cit*. (note 1), pp. 18-29.

[26] For a complete transcription, along with an English translation, see D. Beecher. M. Ciavolella, *A Comedy by Bernini*, in Lavin (ed.), *cit.* (note 16), p. 117. For a useful summary of the plot, see Lavin, *cit.* (note 11), 1980, I, pp. 152-153. For the date of the comedy, see Lavin, *cit.* (note 11), 1980, I, p. 152, n. 18.

[27] For the original publication, see G. L. Bernini, *Fontana di Trevi: commedia inedita*, C. D'Onofrio (ed.), Rome 1963. On the autobiographical undertones, see Lavin, *cit.* (note 11), 1980, I, pp. 153-154; Beecher, Ciavolella, *cit.* (note 24), pp. 64-68.

[28] Beecher, Ciavolella, *cit.* (note 24), pp. 66, 83 (act 1, scene 5).

[29] D. Bernini, *Vita del Cavalier Gio. Lorenzo Bernino*, Rome 1713, pp. 53-54.

[30] J. Cope, *Bernini and Roman Commedie Ridicolose*, in "Modern Language Association", CII, 1987, pp. 182-185.

[31] Lavin, *cit.* (note 11), 1980, I, pp. 153-154.

[32] The earliest document for Rosa's return to Rome is a letter dated February 21, 1649. See S. Rosa, *Lettere*, G. G. Borrelli (ed.), Naples 2003, pp. 19-20, no. 23.

[33] The painting is signed and dated 1650. Proof that he exhibited it at the Pantheon is a letter dated March 10, 1651. Rosa, *cit.* (note 32), 2003, p. 86, no. 92.

[34] For the history of the fountain, see C. D'Onofrio, *Acque e fontane di Roma*, Rome 1977, pp. 450-502.

[35] For a good introduction to the topic, with relevant bibliography, see S. Leone, *The Palazzo Pamphilj in Piazza Navona: Constructing Identity in Early Modern Rome,* London 2008, pp. 262-263.

[36] As previously noted by C. Volpi, *Egypt in Baroque Painting: Nicolas Poussin and Salvator Rosa*, in E. Lo Sardo (ed.), *The She-Wolf and the Sphinx: Rome and Egypt from History to Myth*, exhib. cat., Rome 2008, pp. 164-171.

[37] For an excellent account of how Kircher influenced the Four Rivers Fountain, see I. Rowland, *"Th' United Sense of th' Universe": Athanasius Kircher in Piazza Navona,* in "Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome", XLVI, 2001, pp. 153-182.

[38] T. Marder, *Borromini e Bernini a piazza Navona*, in C. Frommel, E. Sladek (eds.), *Francesco Borromini: atti del convegno internazionale, Rome, 13-15 gennaio 2000*, Milan 2000, pp. 140-145.

[39] Volpi, *cit.* (note 36), pp. 167-171. A key intermediary is likely to have been Rosa's friend and patron, Francesco Maria Brancaccio. See C. Volpi, *Salvator Rosa e il cardinale Francesco Maria Brancaccio dal pontificato Barberini al pontificato Chigi*, in "Storia dell'arte", 112, 2005, pp. 127-128.

[40] On Simonelli, see L. Spezzaferro, *Pier Francesco Mola e il mercato artistico romano: atteggiamenti e valutazioni*, in M. Kahn-Rossi (ed.), *Pier Francesco Mola, 1612-1666*, exhib. cat., Lugano-Rome 1989-1990, pp. 44-51; A. Bayer, *A Note on Ribera's Drawing Niccolò Simonelli*, in "Metropolitan Museum Journal", XXX, 1995, pp. 73-80.

[41] A. Stolzenburg, *Apoll und Daphne*, in U. V. Fischer Pace, A. Stolzenburg, C. van Tuyll van Serooskerken (eds.), *Salvator Rosa: Genie der Zeichnung: Studien und Skizzen aus Leipzig und Haarlem*, exhib. cat., Leipzig-Haarlem 1999, pp. 110-111, no. 28.

[42] Stolzenburg, *cit.* (note 41), pp. 110-111, no. 28.

[43] Regarding the date, see C. Volpi, *Salvator Rosa e Carlo De Rossi*, in "Storia dell'arte", 93/94, 1998, pp.

359-360. The date should perhaps also reflect the fact that Bernini's *Habbakuk and the Angel* was not installed until November 1661. See V. Golzio, *Documenti artistici sul Seicento nell'archivio Chigi*, Rome 1939, p. 140.

[44] Langdon, *cit.* (note 1), p. 36.

[45] For an overview, see *Ibidem*, pp. 35-37.

[46] For a general discussion, see Langdon, Salomon, Volpi, *cit.* (note 1), p. 224, no. 37.

[47] *Ibidem*, p. 220.

[48] For Flavio Chigi's philosophical bent, see C. Volpi, *The Frailty of Human Life*, in Langdon, Salomon, Volpi, *cit.* (note 1), p. 222. For Alexander VII's, see T. Marder, *Bernini's Scala Regia at the Vatican Palace*, Cambridge-New York 1997, pp. 241-244.

[49] The commission is confirmed by the Florentine ambassador, writing on April 8, 1655, as well as two *avvisi*, one of April 10, 1655, and one of September 18, 1655. See L. Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*, Freiberg 1929, XIV, p. 313, n. 6; K. Zollikofer, *Berninis Grabmal für Alexander VII: Fiktion und Repräsentation*, Womrs 1994, p. 116. The skull (*Death*) was apparently paired at some point with a marble infant (*Life*). See F. Petrucci, *Gian Lorenzo Bernini per casa Chigi: precisazioni e nuove attribuzione*, in "Storia dell'arte", 90, 1997, pp. 181-187. Alexander VII is also reported to have owned a clock that signaled the hour with a walking figure of death holding a flaming sword. See Marder, *cit.* (note 48), p. 242.

[50] Langdon, *cit.* (note 1), p. 36.

[51] For an overview, see A. Angelini (ed.), *Gian Lorenzo Bernini e i Chigi tra Roma e Siena*, Siena 1998, pp. 23-128.

[52] *Ibidem*, pp. 129-184.

[53] On Simonelli's close ties to the Chigi, see Spezzaferro, *cit.* (note 40), pp. 45-49. Importantly for us, Bernini, in addition to Rosa, can be connected to Simonelli. See L. Grassi, *Gian Lorenzo Bernini e Fréart de Chantelou, Salvator Rosa e Nicolò Simonelli: due accademie e una caricatura*, in *Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Federico Zeri*, Milan 1984, II, p. 639, n. 24.

[54] C. Volpi has proposed one other case, the horseman holding a standard on the right of Rosa's *Death of Atilius Regulus* (Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond). She argues that his pose derives from Bernini's *Saint Longinus*, which is certainly possible, although I think that Rosa could well have invented the pose without Bernini's example, especially since Rosa's figure differs from Bernini's in being on horseback. See C. Volpi, *The Death of Atilius Regulus*, in Langdon, Salomon, Volpi, *cit.* (note 1), p. 202.

[55] J. E. Bernstock, *Bernini's Memorials to Ippolito Merenda and Alessandro Valtrini*, in "The Art Bulletin", LXIII, 1981, pp. 210-232.

[56] A skeleton was certainly envisioned for the tomb by January 26, 1660, as indicated by an entry of that date in Alexander VII's diary: R. Krautheimer, R. B. S. Jones, *The Diary of Alexander VII: Notes on Art, Artists and Buildings*, in "Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte", XV, 1975, p. 212, no. 383. It is difficult to know when the skeleton was introduced into the scheme. It does not appear to have been original. For a review of the design evolution, see M. Koortbojian, *Disegni for the Tomb of Alexander VII*, in "Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes", LIV, 1991, pp. 268-273.

[57] H. Langdon, *Salvator Rosa: His Ideas and His Development as an Artist*, Ph.D. diss., Courtauld Institute of Art, London 1974, p. 350. On Bernini's *Saint John the Baptist Preaching*, see I. Lavin, *Drawings by Gianlorenzo Bernini from the Museum der Bildenden Künste Leipzig, German Democratic Republic*, exhib. cat., Princeton-Cleveland-Los Angeles-Fort Worth-Indianapolis-Boston 1981-1982, pp. 254-261.

[58] In the recent exhibition, the painting is dated on the basis of style to the late 1650s. See Langdon, Salomon, Volpi, *cit.* (note 1), pp. 226-227, no. 38. No one has proposed a date much beyond 1660.

[59] For a recent and detailed analysis of the history, see U. V. Fischer Pace and A. Stolzenburg, *Zur Provenienz der Römischen Barockzeichnungen im Museum der bildenden Künste Leipzig*, in Fischer Pace, Stolzenburg, van Tuyll van Serooskerken, *cit.* (note 41), pp. 37-79. Essential bibliography also includes: M. Mahoney, *Salvator Rosa Provenance Studies: Prince Livio Odescalchi and Queen Christina*, in "Master Drawings", III, 1966, pp. 383-389; B. W. Meijer, *The Famous Italian Drawings at the Teyler Museum in Haarlem*, Milan 1984, pp. 7-82; M. Roethlisberger, *The Drawing Collection of Prince Livio Odescalchi*, in "Master Drawings", XXIII-XXIV, 1986, pp. 5-30; T. Montanari, *Precisazioni e nuovi documenti sulla collezione di disegni e stampe di Cristina di Svezia*, in "Prospettiva", LXXIX, 1995, pp. 62-77.

[60] The notion was first articulated in 1737 in the catalogue of manuscripts at Leipzig. Roethlisberger, *cit.* (note 59), p. 18.

[61] Meijer, *cit.* (note 59), pp. 48-54; Roethlisberger, *cit.* (note 59), pp. 17-19; Montanari, *cit.* (note 59), p. 73, n. 73.

[62] For evidence of her drawings collection, see esp. Montanari, *cit.* (note 59), pp. 65-68.

[63] Meijer, *cit.* (note 59), pp. 14-74; and Roethlisberger, *cit.* (note 59), pp. 16-17.

[64] P. Fréart de Chantelou, *Diary of the Cavaliere Bernini's Visit to France*, A. Blunt, G. Bauer (eds.), M. Corbett (trans.), Princeton 1985, p. 240: «[Bernini] told me that each year in Rome he made three drawings, one for the Pope, one for the Queen of Sweden, and one for Cardinal Chigi, and presented them on the same day».

[65] Proof of the mirror comes in the form of various drawings, including one in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle bearing the inscription: «*Disegno del Cavalier Gio Lorenzo Bernini per uno Specchio per la*

Regina di Svetia». See H. Brauer, R. Wittkower (eds.), *Die Zeichnungen des Gianlorenzo Bernini*, Berlin 1931, I, p. 151; *Christina: Queen of Sweden - A Personality of European Civilization*, exhib. cat., Stockholm 1966, p. 314, nos. 720-721; T. Montanari, *Bernini e Cristina di Svezia: Alle origini della storiografia Berniniana*, in Angelini (ed.), *cit.* (note 51), p. 373. Queen Christina also owned a *Bust of Christ* (*Salvator Mundi*) by Bernini now in the Chrysler Museum of Art, Norfolk. It was certainly uncommissioned, as indicated by Baldinucci, *cit.* (note 12), pp. 66-67. The final work by Bernini recorded in her collection is a female bust reportedly carved by Bernini during his youth. It was presumably also a gift. See Montanari, *cit.* (note 65), p. 369.

[66] On Bernini and Queen Christina, see Montanari, *cit.* (note 65), 1998, pp. 331-447.

[67] See the complementary accounts by Baldinucci, *cit.* (note 12), p. 69-72; Bernini, *cit.* (note 29), pp. 173-175.

[68] About her role in the biography, see Montanari, *cit.* (note 65), 1998, pp. 410-425.

[69] H. Langdon, *A Theater of Marvels: The Poetics of Salvator Rosa*, in "Konsthistorisk Tidskrift", LXXIII, 2004, pp. 185-191; Langdon, *cit.* (note 1), p. 43.

[70] Rosa, *cit.* (note 32), p. 143.

[71] R. De Gennaro, *Per il collezionismo del Seicento in Sicilia: l'inventario di Antonio Ruffo Principe della Scaletta*, Pisa 2003, p. X.

[72] H. Langdon, *Pythagoras Coming Out of the Cave*, in Langdon, Salomon, Volpi, *cit.* (note 1), p. 206, no. 31.

[73] An indication of Kircher's regard for Pythagoras is that he included an image of the philosopher on the frontispiece to his treatise on music, *Musurgia universalis*, of 1650. Together with Rosa and Queen Christina, Kircher shared a more general fascination with the pre-Socratics, which included Pythagoras. See Langdon, *cit.* (note 69), pp. 187-91. Another important link is the natural sciences, where Kircher's expertise was renowned. Rosa appears to have derived much inspiration from Kircher's treatise on the underworld, *Mundus Subterraneus* of 1664-1665. Queen Christina was also interested in this aspect of Kircher, visiting his museum, or *Wunderkammer*, in 1656. See C. Volpi, *L'ordine delle immagini e il disordine della ricera,* in S. Ross (ed.), *Scienza e miracoli nell'arte del '600*, exhib. cat., Milan 1998, pp. 74-81; Langdon, *cit.* (note 69), pp. 187-191; Volpi, *cit.* (note 3), p. 69. Finally, an important connection between Queen Christina, Kircher, and Rosa is James Alban Gibbes' *Carminum Iacobi Albani Ghibessii, Pars Lyrica* of 1668, which contains separate tributes to each of them, and for which Rosa also designed the cover. See H. Langdon, *Two Book Illustrations by Salvator Rosa*, in "The Burlington Magazine", CXVIII, 1976, pp. 698-699; Langdon, *cit.* (note 69), pp. 186-187.

[74] Concerning the price, see Langdon, *cit.* (note 1), pp. 39-40.

[75] Rosa, *cit.* (note 32), p. 378.

[76] As translated by X. Salomon, *"Ho Fatto Spiritar Roma": Salvator Rosa and Seventeenth-Century Exhibitions*, in Langdon, Salomon, Volpi *cit.* (note 19, p. 91.

[77] *Ibidem*, pp. 91-92.

[78] *Ibidem*, p. 92.

[79] See the letter of February 19, 1953; Rosa, *cit.* (note 32), p. 180. Bernini's own comedic pursuits seem to have slowed after the late 1640s. Documentation for them only pick up again during the 1660s. See D. Bernini, *The Life of Gian Lorenzo Bernini*, F. Mormando (trans. and ed.), University Park, Pennsylvania, 2011, pp. 263-264, n. 131.

[80] On the tomb, see J. Curzietti, *Il monumento funebre di Salvator Rosa in S. Maria degli Angeli: precisazioni documentarie sull'attività di Bernardo Fioriti e Filippo Carcani*, in S. Ebert-Schifferer, H. Langdon, C. Volpi (eds.), *Salvator Rosa e il suo tempo: 1615-1673*, Rome 2010, pp. 419-424.

[81] D. Walker, *A Portrait Bust of Gian Lorenzo Bernini, and Notes from the 'Fifties,* in "The Sculpture Journal", IV, 2000, pp. 65-71.