

Social Bonds Nourished Through Paintings and Books: A Case Study of Artistic Circles in Seventeenth-Century Rome

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1. Introduction

This paper demonstrates that artworks made for individuals contribute to building up a sense of fellowship in humanist communities. In recent years, researchers have shown an increased interest in friendships between patrons and artists, which are not easy to define.¹ A number of examples of this can be found in relatively recent writings focused on art in the seventeenth-century. Bomford analyses *Justus Lipsius and His Pupils* (fig. 1), painted by Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640) from the viewpoint of the value of friendship. This painting depicts four members related to leading humanist Justus Lipsius (1547–1606). Shown here, from left to right, are a self-portrait of Rubens, posthumous representations of the artist's brother, Philip Rubens (1574–1611), and Lipsius himself; at the far right is Jan Woverius (1576–1636), a pupil of Lipsius. Bomford suggests: 'Rubens's combination of the themes of friendship and art in these images implies a relationship between friendship, theorised as love of virtue, and artistic creativity, so as to present an alternative motivation for painting than mere financial gain.'² Schütze examines the donations of drawings by Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598–1680) in terms of rituals involving friendship, familiarity and grand diplomacy (fig. 2).³ Notably, the posthumous inventory of Alexander VII (1599–1667), edited in 1692, includes 54 drawings of Bernini. At this time in Rome, sketches by such a great master seldom reached the open market. As Schütze points out, drawings donated as private gifts from Bernini had the critical function of expressing his affection and respect for the Pope. It thus can be understood that their relationship was one of mutual confidence, crossing the boundaries of social status.

While these examples illustrate the intimacy between patrons and painters, this study sets out to examine the various relationships from a broader perspective, as social bonds cultivated through sharing experiences in the appreciation of paintings. This chapter contextualises the research by providing background information on my dissertation titled *A Study of the Narrative Paintings of Nicolas Poussin and His Contemporaries in Rome*.⁴

Poussin (1594–1665), the French painter who was active in Rome from 1624, executed historical paintings in which viewers are invited to interpret motifs and ideal landscape paintings intellectually constructed. Since his works were extensively discussed during the founding period of the French Royal Academy, he has been considered as a founder of French Classicism.⁵ Even today, the connection between Poussin and France continues to be the subject of active research.⁶

On the other hand, Poussin settled in Rome in 1624 and spent the greater part of his next forty years there, with the exception of his relatively brief stay in Paris, from 1640 to 1642, in the service of Louis XIII (1601–43). Hence, it is also true that his art was nourished in the artistic environment of Rome. In the seventeenth century, various artists from all parts of Europe moved to Rome in an effort to obtain commissions; Poussin was one of these foreign painters.

Given these circumstances, my thesis analyses the paintings by Poussin from the end of the 1620s, when he was being forced into harsh competition with the other artists in Rome, to the first half of the 1630s, when he managed to acquire new customers in France. The main aim of this study is to investigate his pictures from two points of view—an emulation against his contemporaries and an elaboration for erudite connoisseurs—and clarify how Poussin established himself as a narrative painter in Rome. To be more specific, the author attempts to illuminate the iconographic characteristics of the works of Poussin, by comparing them with the collections of his patrons, celebrated precedent works by his contemporaries, pictures displayed in the same space, and other paintings included in a same series as Poussin's.

Based on these comparisons, my dissertation interprets Poussin's paintings by referring to literary sources and Italian criticisms and sheds light on the artistic intentions of the painter, while considering that his clients were the intellectuals of the age and well-acquainted with art and literature. Overall, results indicate that the success of Poussin's strategy is not confined to his stylistic development. As Fumaroli points out, the so-called art gallery established in Rome from the 1620s to 1630s and the private display chambers of collectors were becoming places of permanent exhibitions to introduce their taste.⁷ At the same time, the establishment of the art market in Rome around 1630 is another important factor to consider, as it enabled art lovers to acquire ready-made paintings at shops. Hence, it is reasonable to suppose that paintings intended for individual patrons were favourably received in their private galleries as works of cultural value much more than as simply decorations on the wall. Moreover, they might have functioned to foster a connection between artists, patrons and even visitors who came to explore their collections.

In order to test this hypothesis, this paper is divided into three main sections: The second section explains the growth of sales on the open market of artworks in Rome. The third analyses the high expectations of connoisseurs and art critics in their appreciation of paintings. The fourth argues the importance of books owned by artists and collectors. It is hoped that this research will contribute to a deeper understanding of the kind of social bond that existed within literary and artistic circles while taking account of the economic and cultural environment of Rome.

2. Establishment of Art Market in Rome

Rome in the seventeenth-century was enjoying an international reputation as the centre of the Catholic Church. In the area of economics, cities on the Italian peninsula had taken the lead in trade

and finance during the sixteenth century. However, during the early part of the seventeenth century, England began to assume that leadership role,⁸ threatening the prosperity of many of Italy's major cities. In contrast to other Italian cities, however, Rome did not suffer from widespread economic depression, since it had not depended on maritime trade nor agricultural production. Rome also held the residences of many noble Italian families, as well as those of ambassadors and merchants from many other countries. This meant that the economy of the city was largely driven by members of the service industry: artists, goldsmiths, lawyers, bankers, booksellers, tailors, innkeepers, officials of the Vatican, prostitutes, merchants, etc. Moreover, while the populations of many of Italy's largest cities, including Naples, Palermo, Milan and Venice, were declining because of repeated famines and plagues, Rome's population was expanding, from 102,000 in 1601 to 135,000 in 1700.⁹

The Roman population included numerous visitors and immigrants who came to the city throughout the seventeenth century. Millions of pilgrims rushed to Rome to celebrate Jubilee every five years. Indeed, the number of visitors to Rome in 1600 was nearly 500,000.¹⁰ In addition, the city welcomed 30,000 tourists each year, benefitting from their lodging expenses and donations to its churches, which helped stabilize the economy. The residences of Rome's noble families and churches were adorned with artwork. Given the intense demand for artwork, ambitious artists were moving to Rome from all over Europe.¹¹

Notably, some of the latest socio-economic studies shed light not only on the renowned artists but also on low-wage artists who were called *pittori grossi*. In 2008, Cavazzini showed that the art market for pictures had already been well-established by 1630.¹² Another recent book by Spear and Sohm (2010) examined the artistic activities of the period in five Italian cities: Rome, Naples, Bologna, Florence and Venice.¹³ In the first chapter, dedicated to Rome, topics such as the cost of living and painting, the numbers and varieties of painters, the hierarchy of genres, copy prices, and so on, are discussed with rich examples.

Spear points out an interesting fact regarding *pittori grossi*: 'One group of Roman inventories of 75 mostly middle-class households contains on average 23.5 pictures, many of which were religious and probably made by the *pittori grossi*, whose art customarily was priced under the threshold level of three scudi.'¹⁴ Interestingly, Salvator Rosa (1615–73) represented the *pittori grossi* in his drawing called *Painting as a Begger* (fig. 3).¹⁵ The art market in Rome was already mature by 1630, and there were many shops selling artwork. Some dealt only in very cheap paintings, while others sold expensive works. It is noteworthy that even princes and cardinals would acquire pictures at these shops.¹⁶ As Spear notes, even 100-scudo pictures were traded on the open market.¹⁷

In the case of Poussin, Cavazzini points out that until around 1627, he sold paintings through the art dealer, Giovanni Stefano Roccatagliata (dates unknown).¹⁸ He was then exploring the possibility of middle-sized canvas as a field for narrative paintings. As for the typical size of his paintings, Table 1 shows the sizes of 203 works, ordered according to the total height and width of

each canvas.¹⁹ There are only eight works measuring over 500 cm, and five of these are altarpieces for churches. This result indicates that, in general, Poussin used mainly mid-sized canvases, and the total height and width of which was less than 400 cm. This is consistent with the fact that the average price of Poussin's easel paintings was around 125 scudi.²⁰

Over a long period, Claude Lorrain (1604–82) flourished in Rome, where landscape paintings had become fashionable due in large part to the splendid works of northern and Bolognese artists. Remarkably, the average price of his landscapes was 108 scudi.²¹ Bearing in mind that the genre of landscapes was regarded as lower than those of allegory, mythology, religion, narrative and portraits according to humanistic art theory, the average price of 108 scudi indicated that his landscapes were highly appreciated in the seventeenth century.

The art market offered customers paintings of popular subjects such as the Holy Family, landscapes, still life and portraits of distinguished people. We can suppose, however, that art collectors must have been conscious of the distinction between items from the market and made-to-order paintings created for a particular individual. In order to examine this supposition, the next section discusses contemporary opinions regarding the increase in sales in the open market and collectors' expectations of made-to-order paintings by referring to art theories.

3. High Expectations of the Contemporary Connoisseurs and Art Critics

As the art market flourished in Rome, sales of paintings were becoming an economic threat to the Roman Accademia di San Luca. The Accademia, an institute for artists, was founded in 1577 under the protection of Gregorio XIII (1502–85) and sustained from 1593 by the contribution of director Federico Zuccari (1540/1541–1609).²² The organization attempted to restrict the increase in the number of retail shops in Rome and took a stand against artists who sold works by other artists in their homes or ateliers. According to Spear, 'Both positions were based on the premise that commerce was degrading to the profession and that to exhibit art in shops was to debase it, to treat it like cheap goods.'²³ The Accademia's precautions regarding free trade are understandable, since from the Renaissance era, painters, sculptors and architects had been striving to elevate their social status from craftsman to artist.

It is also useful to consider the comments of Giulio Mancini (1559–1630), a physician of Urban VIII and an ardent art collector. In 1612, he noted that the demand for high-priced paintings had increased, as opposed to the demand for works of mediocre quality that were being sold in the general market.²⁴ In (or around) 1621, he wrote a book of instructions for art lovers titled *Considerations on Painting* based on his own experience and friendship with contemporary artists. In its preface, he explains the purpose of his book.²⁵ In his view, the book offers to the non-painter—those who were not directly engaged in the practice of art— instruction in judging artworks and exhibiting them properly in galleries. The publication of this type of guide is itself an

indication of the expansion of the custom of art collecting that was occurring in Rome. However, although taking the position that even amateurs were capable of understanding artist techniques and the content of works, Mancini may well have had doubts about the discernment of the merchants who dealt in pictures:

In painting, just as in the other arts, judgement should be pronounced and prices set by the superior artisan and erudite expert in the manner described. He will judge and be able to judge well for the reasons given. It might be added that he cannot be deceived by the passions of self interest or hate because he is neither maker nor merchant of such merchandise. And so our expert will be the best possible judge, as we proposed to prove.²⁶

Further, he mentions the artists' abilities to judge or discriminate.

For paintings are not things of absolute necessity, but for pleasure, nor even less do they have any fixed standard of value. If there should happen to be some calculation in the circumstances under which these contracts are made, such as who is doing the buying and selling, the time and place and the thing imitated and painted, these details cannot be recognized by the individual artisan, but the prudent man, who considers the taste, means and requirements of the buyer, and not really the painter.²⁷

Here, Mancini points out the difficulty of fixing the value of an artwork and adds that not all artists are able to comprehend the conditions that influence prices. It is remarkable that, first of all, he mentions the relationship of buyers and sellers and then notes that the prudent artist makes a preliminary investigation to satisfy the taste, means and requirements of the client. Since the Renaissance, custom-made paintings had been a general phenomenon in the art world; however, in the seventeenth century, the open market offered items in a wide range of prices. To look at the matter from a different perspective, artists who were capable of conforming to the connoisseurs' expectations were entrusted with a particular commission. In this respect, we can generally assume three types of made-to-order paintings: normal orders from various customers, commissions from particular patrons under their protection in a broad sense, and paintings for which the artist intended to satisfy the client based on elaborate preparations for the work.²⁸

Regarding third point, my dissertation clarified that during the first half of the 1630s, Poussin expanded his market reach in and outside Rome by elaborating his works according to the taste of each client. For example, *The Massacre of the Innocents* (fig. 4), supposedly painted for Vincenzo Giustiniani (1564–1637), a distinguished art collector in Rome.²⁹ Unlike traditional iconography, this picture highlights only a pair of figures—a soldier and a mother with her child—in the

foreground. Previous studies indicate that a similar depiction can be found in a precedent work (fig. 5) by Cornelis Schut (1597–1655) that was already being exhibited at the Palazzo Giustiniani.³⁰ This fact suggests that Poussin while referring to the specific painting in possession of his patron, dared to introduce a new act by the soldier, who is shown trampling the infant. In addition, it is noteworthy that Poussin appears to have responded to a change in his client's taste. Although Giustiniani had been an ardent supporter of Caravaggio (1571–1610), he became, from the late 1620s, more interested in ancient art and published a book of engravings featuring antique sculptures in his palace. My dissertation points out that Poussin's depiction of the soldier in *The Massacre of the Innocents* likely reflects the statue known as *The Gladiator Killing the Lion* (fig. 6) in Giustiniani's collection, given the act of the gladiator holding his sword over his head.³¹ It can thus be assumed that Poussin represented the powerful male figure on a level with that appearing in the large-scale paintings favoured at the beginning of seventeenth century, and in the severe manner of the ancient art contained in the rich collection at the Palazzo Giustiniani.

Giustiniani was an experienced connoisseur at the age of sixty-four, while the painter of thirty-four years of age still struggled to establish his position. Even though it might not be appropriate to describe their relationship as a close friendship, Poussin must have visited the palace to examine his collection and had the honour of joining Giustiniani's artistic circle, whose members shared an interest in ancient art: scholars such as Cassiano Dal Pozzo (1588–1657) and Francesco Angeloni (1587–1652), and painters including Domenichino (1581–1641) and Giovanni Angelo Canini (c. 1609–1617–1666).³² In this context, pictures painted for individual collectors were also open to visitors, friends and fellows in the community, which provided topics for discussion about the subject and its interpretation.

The collection of Camillo Massimo (1620–77) is noteworthy in terms of the appreciation of visitors for the included works. In 2010, Beaven published her study about Camillo Massimo, who was active as a patron of Poussin, Claude Lorrain and Diego Velázquez (1599–1660).³³ The Cardinal Massimo was distantly related to the aforementioned Roman collector, Vincenzo Giustiniani, and belonged to his antiquarian circle. Paintings made for Massimo were also intended for those guests who had the honour of visiting his palace in person. For example, Claude received a commission to create *Coast View with Apollo and the Cumaean Sibyl* (fig. 7) for his young patron in 1646.³⁴ As Beaven argues, he included an identifiable ruin in the distance—namely, *Trophies of Marius* (fig. 8)—in order to allude to a great victory of one of Massimo's ancestors, Fabius Maximus Cunctator. It is exceptional for Claude to introduce such a personal motif in his pastoral landscapes featuring small figures from mythological subjects. It is reasonable to suppose that, in this case, Massimo had asked the painter to refer to his lineage in the expectation that his guests would recognize it, or he might have commented on it based on his scholarly interest in ancient history. Claude responded to Massimo's request under his protection.

As for the relationship with Poussin, Massimo was 26 years younger than the painter, from whom he took lessons on the art of drawing in the 1630s. Bellori reported an episode that is indicative of their relationship:

With this lord [Camillo Massimo] and other friends of his never discussed the price of his paintings, but when he had completed them he would mark it on the back of the canvas, and the amount would be sent to him at home, immediately, without any subtractions.³⁵

Although Poussin and Massimo were widely separated in age, Bellori describes them as friends. As for the determination of price, in reality, it might not always have been as described above. However, the topic is all the more interesting because the biographer seems to tell the story of the giving and receiving of cash with much admiration. Since the art market matured around 1630, trades of paintings through merchants became popular. As noted above, Mancini explained that not all the artists could understand how the values of artworks were decided in the particular circumstances related to buyers and sellers. In light of this, the episode in which Massimo bought Poussin's works at the price asked gives the impression that they reached a mutual understanding about the values of pictures. Around 1645–47, he commissioned Poussin to paint *The Infant Moses trampling Pharaoh's Crown* (fig. 9) and its pendant, *Moses changing Aaron's Rod into a Snake*. As Coates specifies, these paintings are based not on the Exodus, but on *Antiquities of the Jews* written by a Jewish historian, Flavius Josephus (37–c. 100), one of the literary sources favoured by Poussin. Coates also points out: 'Massimo's paintings can be interpreted as a reference to the patron's political activities at the time of this commission.'³⁶ In these paintings, the image of the young Moses is likened to Massimo, who had just begun his career in the papal administration. In this context, the artworks provided the learned viewers with the opportunity to interpret the significance of the programme based on the mutual interests of Poussin and Massimo.

It is also noteworthy that a patron's libraries must have functioned as the site of interaction between circle members.³⁷ Beaven points out that he supposed two types of visitors in his palace: 'those on ecclesiastical and other business who entered the official apartment, and the scholars, virtuosi, connoisseurs and artists who had direct access to the collection'.³⁸ It is evident that artists such as Poussin and Claude belonged to the latter. The plan of Palazzo Massimo (fig. 10) shows that the privileged visitors could enjoy walking from the Stanza Tonda to the Galleria, then stay in the Libreria and reach the Stanza Ultima dei Mosaici, systematically decorated with ancient wall paintings and statues. The inventory of his collection in 1677 shows that his library housed not only books on art, literature and history but also paintings and reproductive prints that would have served as a visual source for painters.³⁹ Massimo's palace reveals that erudition united the artist, the patron and visitors to the palace.

Nevertheless, there are obvious difficulties in demonstrating to what extent artists actually cultivated themselves. The analysis of this study suggests that research from a broader perspective is needed in order to comprehend the common view and educational level of members of the artistic circle who frequented the gallery, library or studio with one another. Accordingly, the next section approaches the question of artist erudition as linked to sophisticated viewers.

4. Books of Artists and Patrons

Regarding Roman art in the seventeenth century, Solinas examines the influence on artists from the world of letters and antiquarian circles, citing the case of Cassiano Dal Pozzo as an example.⁴⁰ Lukehart and other experts contribute to clarifying the history of the Accademia di San Luca in Rome, its theoretical background and the actual teaching and learning in the studio.⁴¹ Moreover, the monographs of so-called erudite painters such as Poussin, Jean Lemaire (c. 1601–59) and Pietro Testa (1611/12–50) are still indispensable in our understanding of each artist and their works.⁴² In recent years, researchers have shown an increased interest in the concept of “artist as reader”.⁴³ In particular, Damm, Thimann and Zittel suggest the importance of study in this field: ‘Taking stock of book titles from artists’ inventories, or reconstructing libraries that artists possibly had access to, promised enlightenment on complex iconographies and the work of the learned artist. In contrast, the larger perspective of a history of knowledge and education focusing on artists as readers remains a desideratum for further study.’⁴⁴ This view is highly suggestive of understanding the reading habits of artists from the viewpoint of their self-representation in the society.

Indebted to this suggestion, the author undertakes a new research project: A Comprehensive Survey of Book Inventories of Artists and Collectors in Seventeenth-Century Italy. Its purpose is not limited to specifying literary sources of paintings, rather it aims to grasp the extent of education and interests among artists, patrons and their colleagues. It requires gathering and analysing vast quantities of data, which is beyond the scope of this paper. Two perspectives for designing a plan and presenting an outline of future research are given below.

Firstly, the new project attaches weight to the classification of books. Returning to *Considerations on Painting* by Mancini, he left a suggestion concerning the erudition of artists:

Thus it appears that how mistaken Marino is in listing so many requirements for the painter in his *Deceria della Pittura*. Color, proportion, perspective, emotion and the like are enough. History, poetry, decorum and so on pertain to another superior profession and not to painting, which is instructed by its superiors. Painting does not require as much philosophy, astrology and so on as Marino says.⁴⁵

At first glance, this description denies the scholarship of artists. Already during the

Renaissance, there existed intellectual artists who were well acquainted with fields such as geometry, perspective, proportion and anatomy. In contrast, Mancini indicates that painters in the seventeenth century were allowed to cooperate with experts in other fields in establishing a concept, apart from applying their own practical skills for execution. At the same time, Mancini's comments offer a reason why learned artists like Poussin were given preferential treatment by collectors, for such artists had an advantage in reading not only history and literature related to the subject matter but also theoretical writings on epics and tragedy to investigate narrative techniques in paintings.⁴⁶ For that reason, the new research project suggests focusing both on literature and art theories.

The second point concerns the scope of inquiry. Interestingly, as books had become an item of commercial trade in the market, some artists collected and read books in order to distinguish themselves from those who produced paintings mainly for the open market.⁴⁷ Some artists had rich collections. For instance, Rubens possessed around 500 books, Pietro da Cortona (1596–1669) 222, Durante Alberti (1538–1613) around 100 and Andrea Sacchi (1599–1661) 54.⁴⁸ Excepting these examples, it is rare for artists to possess sizeable libraries.⁴⁹ Even though Poussin has been called a “peintre philosophe (painter philosopher)”, there remained only 19 printed books and manuscripts about the profession of painting in his house.⁵⁰ Considering that researchers have identified a broad range of textual sources for Poussin's paintings, it is highly probable that he might have visited his patrons' libraries and borrowed books from his fellow artists and intellectuals.

In this respect, the inventory of Bernini is also worth considering. Gian Lorenzo Bernini had a brother, Luigi Bernini (1612–81). Even though he was 14 years younger than Gian Lorenzo, he passed away in 1681, just one year after his brother. It is Luigi's inventory of books that McPhee published in 2000, which lists 169 titles.⁵¹ The author supports McPhee's suggestion that the inventory contains books once possessed by Gian Lorenzo. As discussed previously, since artists interact with men of letters and scholars within artistic circles, it is useful to examine the intellectual environment of Gian Lorenzo based on the inventory of Luigi, who lived with the former and supported his work. Expanding the investigative scope to the books of patrons will be necessary. However, a note of caution is due here. As Damm noted, ‘It is out of the question that we can ultimately conclude that artists who had access to such libraries automatically absorbed the whole intellectual cosmos surrounding the owners thereof.’⁵²

Based on the above, what follows is an outline of the future project: **A Comprehensive Survey of Book Inventories of Artists and Collectors in Seventeenth-Century Italy**

4-1. Data Entry and Analysis of Inventories of Books owned by Artists in Seventeenth-Century Italy

It has been noted that the number of books owned by an artist is not always a clear indicator of the artist's erudition. Building on this notion, it would be useful to develop an overview of the

standard level of education among artists based on quantitative research.

Previous researchers have published inventories of the properties of artists based on archival research.⁵³ This study enters descriptions of each book into an excel file in order to assemble a database on books available of artists at this period. In these entries, a number of categories are fixed: author, title, field, language, year and owner. The bibliographic information is then analysed by applying a filter to clarify the areas of interest of individual artists, to identify their tendencies in comparison with others, and to provide a comprehensive picture of artist literacy based on data accumulation. A classification of the books according to publication language is also planned. For instance, a repertoire of books written in the French language circulated in Rome would be helpful for case studies involving French artists living in Rome. Each item is first categorised into two groups, as described below.

4-1-1. Related Works Consulted to Interpret the Subjects Anew and Depict Them in a More Attractive Way

It is supposed that artists frequently referred to the mythology of the ancient Greeks and Romans translated into common languages, adapted tales from these works, studied various versions of the Old and New Testament, and so on. They also consulted the illustrated books of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and the Bible as visual sources. In addition to the analysis of overall trends, it would be informative to conduct a survey of the prevalence of history books, such as *Antiquities of the Jews* by Flavius Josephus.

4-1-2. Theoretical Writings on Epic and Tragedy to Investigate Narrative Techniques in Paintings

The second object of this research is literary theory that may shed light on the theoretical study of painters. An example is *Discorsi dell'arte poetica* (Venice, 1587) by Torquato Tasso (1544–95), author of the famous poem *Gerusalemme liberata*.

According to Unglaub, there was controversy in the Accademia di San Luca around 1636.⁵⁴ It is said that Pietro da Cortona would insist that a painting should be like an epic, while Sacchi preferred using tragedy as his model. However, despite the fact that this argument implies an interest in poetics, supporting primary materials no longer exist.⁵⁵ In *Discorsi dell'arte poetica*, Tasso recommends that in writing epics, one should choose great subjects, maintain a unity of plot and adapt an appropriate style for the sublime subject. This theory of the art of poetry may have provided guidance for painters who strove to represent narratives within a single pictorial space with a so-called *vraisemblance*. Through researching the book inventories of artists, this study aims to clarify the acceptance of literary theories among seventeenth-century painters as well as their degree of interest in the theoretical controversy.

4-2. Data Entry and Analysis of Inventories of Books Owned by Patrons and Academies in Seventeenth-Century Italy

Since artists were not only able to borrow and lend books with one another but also use the books of their patrons, the book inventories of art lovers need to be included. The inventories of collectors and art critics who maintained a close friendship and cultural exchange with contemporary artists are investigated on a priority basis.⁵⁶ The inventory of the library of the Accademia di San Luca in Rome will be added as a list of books available to students.⁵⁷

To sum up, the future research project has the following features: Based on exhaustive research on the book inventories of artists and collectors, the reading habits and theoretical studies of artists and their general level of erudition will be revealed. The aforementioned database on books available to artists in seventeenth century Italy is expected to become a useful tool in identifying the literary sources that were consulted by artists with the aim of reaching a common understanding with their viewers of the multi-layered meaning of their artworks.

5. Conclusion

This essay discussed the social bonds cultivated through sharing experiences in the appreciation of paintings by focusing on art galleries and libraries as the site of the interaction between artists, patrons and visitors. Based on the latest socio-economic studies and the comments of contemporaries, this paper has shown that as the open market matured in Italy, pictures that required high intelligence would have been considered a product with additional value and different from the ordinary works that were being mass-consumed. In this respect, the collections of Giustiniani and Massimo illustrated that collector's private display chambers were frequented by their friends, who formed a relatively homosocial community based on shared interests in art, literature, antiquity, natural science, etc.⁵⁸ In some cases, artists deliberately created equivocal works open to discussion in collectors' galleries and libraries, or by correspondence. It is, thus, reasonable to suppose that paintings for individuals functioned to strengthen the fellowship of artists and viewers by integrating them into a network of scholarly exchange.

Since art lovers at that time were well-acquainted with literature and active as art critics, painters often consulted written materials to satisfy their tastes and curiosities. A flourishing book market allowed artists to possess their own books, and they also borrowed documents from private libraries of their patrons. In terms of future work, a comprehensive survey of the book inventories of artists and collectors in seventeenth-century Italy would provide a better understanding of the intellectual exchange that created a sense of connectedness among artists, collectors and literary circles in a broader historical context.



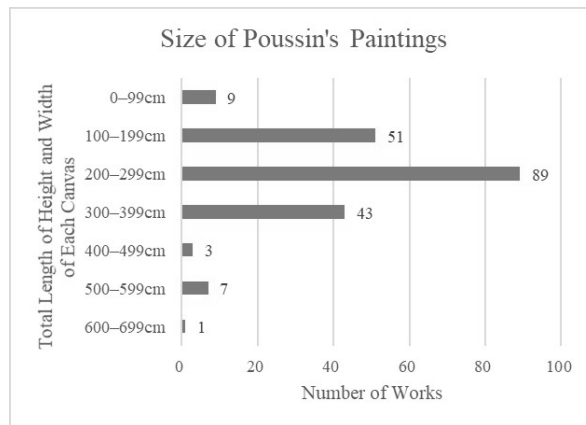
[Figure 1: Peter Paul Rubens, *Justus Lipsius and His Pupils*, c. 1611–12, oil on panel, 167 x 143 cm, Palazzo Pitti, Florence (Bass, M. (2007), p. 191, fig. 17.)]



[Figure 2: Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *St Jerome on His Knees Before a Crucifix*, 1665, Black chalk, pen and brown ink and brown wash on beige paper, 39.3 x 29.5 cm, Department of Prints and Drawings, Musée du Louvre, Paris (Schütze, S. (2017), p.170, fig. 6.)]



[Figure 3: Salvator Rosa, *Painting as a Begger*, c. 1646?, pen, brown ink, and brown wash, 30.4 x 22.1 cm, Royal Library, Windsor Castle (Spear, R. E. (2010), p. 42, fig. 9.)]



[Table 1:Size of Poussin’s Paintings]



[Figure 4: Poussin, *Massacre of the Innocents*, c. 1628–29, oil on canvas, 147 x 171 cm, Musée Condé, Chantilly (Exh. Cat. Chantilly (1994–95), p. 45, cat. 3.)]



[Figure 5: Cornelis Schut, *Massacre of the Innocents*, c. 1624–27, oil on canvas, 324 x 232 cm, Abbey of Sainte-Trinité, Caen Exh. Cat. Chantilly (2017–18), p. 35, cat. 4.)]



[Figure 6: *Gladiatore che uccide un Leone (The Gladiator Killing the Lion)*, from *La Galleria Giustiniana* (Rome, 1631, vol. 1, no. 117), engraving, 37 x 23.5 cm, Biblioteca Hertziana, Rome (Bartsch. (1987), p. 89, no. 073.)]



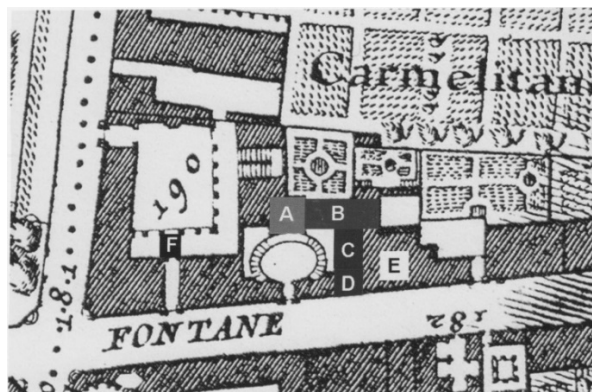
[Figure 7: Claude Lorrain, *Coast View with Apollo and the Cumaean Sibyl*, 1646, oil on canvas, 99 x 127 cm (extended by 9.5 cm), State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg (Beaven, L. (2010), p. 113, fig. 3.20.)]



[Figure 8: Étienne du Pérac, *The Trophies of Marius*, from the *Codex Du Pérac*, c. 1574–78, drawing, 25.0 x 20.0 cm, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, ms. 1106, pl. 38, f. 25r. (Beaven, L. (2010), p. 115, fig. 3.21.)]



[Figure 9: Poussin, *The Infant Moses Trampling Pharaoh's Crown*, c. 1645–47, oil on canvas, 92 x 128 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris (Wright, C. (2007), p. 188, fig. 136.)]



[Figure 10: Detail of Giambattista Nolli's map of Rome (1748), showing the Palazzo Massimo alle Quattro Fontane, with the main spaces indicated (A. Stanza tonda; B. Galleria; C. Libreria; D. Stanza Ultima dei Musaici; E. Palazzetto; F. Loggia) (Beaven, L. (2010), p. 257, fig. 6.17.)]

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Notes

- ¹ For the friendship, see Keller, V. (2011); Meganck, T. (2017).
- ² Bomford, K. (2004), p. 229. For the analysis of *Self-Portrait* (Musée du Louvre, Paris) by Poussin in terms of the friendship, see Cropper, E., & Dempsey, C. (1996).
- ³ Schütze, S. (2017).
- ⁴ Kuramochi, M. (2017). The author is preparing a translation of this thesis for publication.
- ⁵ Félibien, A. (1972), vol. 4, p. 291.
- ⁶ For example, see Bonfait, O. (2015), pp. 19–46, esp. p. 44–46.
- ⁷ Fumaroli, M. (1994–95), pp. 54–55.
- ⁸ Van Kessel, P. & Schulte E. (ed) (1997), p. 52.
- ⁹ Sonnino, E. (1997), p. 59.
- ¹⁰ Sonnino, E. (1997), p. 54.
- ¹¹ For the population of artists in Rome, see Pomponi, M (2011).
- ¹² Cavazzini, P. (2008), pp. 4–5. It corrects the former view by Haskell. Haskell, F. (1980) (1st ed. 1963), pp. 122–124.
- ¹³ Spear, R. E. & Sohm P. (ed.) (2010).
- ¹⁴ Spear, R. E. (2010), p. 41. For low-priced paintings, see Ago, R. (2002).
- ¹⁵ Spear, R. E. (2010), p. 42.
- ¹⁶ Cavazzini, P. (2008), pp. 4–5.
- ¹⁷ Spear, R. E. (2010), pp. 33–113, p. 42.
- ¹⁸ Cavazzini, P. (2013).
- ¹⁹ Table 1 is made by the author, based on the catalogue of Thuillier, J. (1994).
- ²⁰ Spear, R. E. (2010), pp. 33–113, p. 101.
- ²¹ Spear, R. E. (2010), p. 99.
- ²² Lukchart, P. M (ed.) (2009).
- ²³ Spear, R. E. (2010), pp. 33–113, p. 42.
- ²⁴ Letter del 28 aprile 1612: ASEPD, 168, c. 732r, Maccherini, M. (2005), p. 396; Spear, R. E. (2010), p. 42. For Mancini, see also Gage, F. (2009).
- ²⁵ Giulio Mancini, "Introduction", Butler, T. B. (1972), pp. 4–16, esp. p. 4 ; Mancini, G. (1956–57), p. 5.
- ²⁶ Butler, T. B. (1972), pp. 13–14; "Onde, come nell'altre arti vien messo il prezzo e giuditio dall'artefice superiore e perito erudito nel modo detto, quale giudicherà e potrà ben giudicare per le ragion dette, così anchor nella pittura doverà avvenire. Vi se aggiunge che non potrà esser abagliato dalla passione d'interesse o d'odio, poichè non è figolo nè mercante di tal merce, e così questo nostro perito sarà ottimo giudice, come ci eravam prosto di provare.", Mancini, G. (1956–57), p. 10.
- ²⁷ Butler, T. B. (1972), p. 12; "Perchè, non essendo le pitture cose di necessità assoluta, ma di diletto, nè meno hano misura necessaria di lor valore e, se vi casca qualche misura per le circostanze di chi le vende e compra, del tempo e del luogo e della cosa immitata e dipenta sopra la quale si fa questo contratto, queste circostanze non le puol riconoscer l'artefice particolare, ma il prudente, il quale considera il gusto, possibilità et necessità di chi compra, e non già il pittore, [...]". Mancini, G. (1956–57), pp. 9–10.
- ²⁸ I owe a debt of gratitude to Dr Fukaya Michiko, associate professor of the Kyoto City University of Arts, for calling my attention to these distinctions in the discussion at the workshop.
- ²⁹ Exh. Cat. Chantilly (1994–95), pp. 44–51, no. 3; Rosenberg, P. (2017).
- ³⁰ Squarzina, S. D. (2003).

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- ³¹ Kuramochi, M. (2017). Giustiniani, V. (1631), vol. 1, no. 117; Bartsch. (1987), pp. 77–91, esp. p. 79, p. 89, no. 073. For the Galleria Giustiniana, see Cropper E. (1996).
- ³² Beaven, L. (2010), p. 46.
- ³³ Beaven, L. (2010).
- ³⁴ Beaven, L. (2010), pp. 113–118.
- ³⁵ Bellori, G. P. (2005), p. 325; “Con questo signore e con altri suoi amici non trattò mai il prezzo de’ suoi quadri, ma quando li aveva forniti l’annotava dietro la tela, e senza detrarsi punto gli era subito mandato a casa.”, Bellori, G. P. (1976), p. 456.
- ³⁶ Coates, V. C. G. (2010), p. 186.
- ³⁷ Feigenbaum, G. (ed.) (2014).
- ³⁸ Beaven, L. (2010), p. 257, p. 312, p. note 83.
- ³⁹ Pomponi, M. (1996).
- ⁴⁰ Exh. Cat. Biella/Rome (2001–02). For altarpieces, see Jones, P. M. (2008).
- ⁴¹ Lukehart, P. M (ed.) (2009).
- ⁴² Fagiolo dell’ Arco, M. (1996); Exh. Cat. Philadelphia/Cambridge (1989).
- ⁴³ For the case study of Rembrant’s books, see Golahny, A. (2003).
- ⁴⁴ Damm, H. et al. (2013), p. 2.
- ⁴⁵ Butler, T. B. (1972), p. 8; “Onde appar quanto che il Marino s’inganni nella Diceria della Pittura, ponendo tanti requisiti nel pittore, bastandoli solo il color, la proportione, prospettiva, affetto et simili, che per l’historia, poesia, e decoro et altro, essendo d’altra peoffessione superiore et non di pittore, il quale da questa superiore ne viene ammaestrato, e pertanto non si ricerchi in esso tanta filosofia, astrologia et altro come dice il Marino”, Mancini, G. (1956–57), pp. 9–10.
- ⁴⁶ I want to express my gratitude to Professor Shih-che Tang of National Chung Cheng University for his question at the workshop concerning the presence of intellectual artists in the Renaissance.
- ⁴⁷ I am grateful to Professor Shih-che Tang for suggesting the importance of a flourishing book market. Nuovo, A. (2013).
- ⁴⁸ For Rubens, see Baudouin, F. (1999). For Cortona, Noehles, K. (1970). For Alberti, see Panofsky-Soergel, G. (1996).
- ⁴⁹ Białostocki, J (1988), p.152.
- ⁵⁰ Sparti, D. L. (1996), p. 56.
- ⁵¹ McPhee, S. (2002).
- ⁵² Damm, H. et al. (2013), p. 17.
- ⁵³ For the bibliography, see Damm, H. et al. (2013).
- ⁵⁴ Unglaub, J. W. (2006).
- ⁵⁵ Missirini, M. (1823).
- ⁵⁶ Pomponi, M. (1996) ; Romani, V. (1998).
- ⁵⁷ Appendix, Lukehart, P. M (ed.) (2009), pp. 368–380, esp pp. 373–380. As the next step, this study plans to analyse evaluations by contemporary viewers of the erudition of artists by accumulating descriptions from biographies and art theories published in during the period. I intend to use findings from such research on the erudition of artists and the expectations of viewers for my case studies of artworks.
- ⁵⁸ Biagioli, M. (1995).