

Poised for Flight: Levitating Figures and the Resurrection Theme in Rosa's Oeuvre

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Levitating figures, poised in the air or flying, have always stirred a lot of attention. The ability to defy gravitation is traditionally connected with divine inspiration or sanctity, such as was the case with San Giuseppe di Copertino, whose frequent exercises in levitation were generally regarded as the strongest argument in favour of his divine nature¹. Needless to say, the prototype of these successful interventions against the laws of physics in church history is Christ himself. The resurrection theme, indeed, is a hallmark of Christian iconography whose tradition stretches as far as to the initial sequence of Federico Fellini's film "La Dolce Vita", where a helicopter carries a statue of the Risen Christ from the outskirts of Rome over the city centre to the Vatican².

One should assume that depicting a well-known Christian subject such as the *Resurrection of Christ* was a standard task for Seicento artists, and that Salvator Rosa had developed some skill in dealing with it. A closer inspection of the circumstantial evidence, however, conveys a different impression. As will become clear in what follows, Rosa's struggle with the Resurrection theme can be attributed to the artist's tendency to revise traditional iconographies as well as to the special requirements of his best known *Risen Christ* (fig. 1), the painting today in the Musée Condé in Chantilly³.

Several drawings by Rosa are known in which he attempted to get to grips with the subject of the Resurrection. While some may have served to prepare paintings that remained unachieved or have since been lost⁴, there can be little doubt that most of them are related to the "Christ" in Chantilly. The sheet in the British Museum (fig. 2) is the largest and most elaborate.

Rosa's *Resurrection* drawing can serve as a good starting point for the present study⁵. In the London drawing, Rosa tried out a variety of solutions for the representation of a risen and triumphant Christ. He appears to have started his composition from below and then moved upward with his pen. This *modus operandi* implies that he first designed the contextual elements by placing a number of guardian soldiers next to the sarcophagus of Christ. Two of the guards are shown asleep (one is sleeping while sitting on the sarcophagus), while the other two are staring in amazement at what is going on and the third draws his sword. The lid of the sarcophagus has been thrown open and partly fallen to the ground. The risen Christ holds his flag of triumph and appears to be performing a kind of wild dance on the lid or on the sarcophagus itself.



1. Salvator Rosa, *Risen Christ*, Chantilly, Musée Condé



2. Salvator Rosa, *Study for a Resurrection of Christ*, London, The British Museum.
3. Salvator Rosa, *Study for a Resurrection of Christ*, Leipzig, Museum der Bildenden Künste
4. Salvator Rosa, *Study for a Resurrection of Christ*, Leipzig, Museum der Bildenden Künste
5. Salvator Rosa, *Study for a Resurrection of Christ*, Paris, Musée du Louvre

Rosa tried out different postures for Christ's arms, legs and head. These range from a figure standing on the sarcophagus to someone who has already started to levitate or to move upward⁶. In the sheet's top left corner, Rosa visualised yet another variant, an image of a risen Christ who has already moved far away from his grave and who – holding the flag in his hand – stands on top of some clouds and raises his right arm in a gesture of triumph or blessing⁷. The sheer number of corrections and variations make this pen drawing a fascinating testimony of Rosa's inventive genius.

A Rosa drawing in Leipzig (fig. 3) appears to have resulted from a different concept: Christ is represented in the act of stepping out of his open sarcophagus⁸. He is stretching out his right arm and holding the flag with his left hand, but his eyes are cast downwards. As is also indicated by a detail study in the same sheet representing Christ's legs and feet (next to the soldier on the right), Rosa intended to show Christ with one foot inside and one outside the sarcophagus. In a second Leipzig drawing (fig. 4), Rosa had already moved away from the concept of Christ stepping out of the sarcophagus or standing on top of it. Instead, he elaborated on the idea of a Christ positioned amid the clouds with a flag in his right hand and looking down (on his empty grave?). He also experimented with different gestures of Christ's left arm⁹. A Resurrection drawing in the Louvre (fig. 5) appears to have been produced between the two Leipzig sheets, as it was started as a representation of Christ stepping out of his tomb: one can sense the front side of the sarcophagus, and Rosa included the face of a guard in the background¹⁰. In the next phase, however, the artist eliminated Christ's flag of victory and decided to represent God's Son with both arms raised and looking down (from the clouds?). Despite the traces of the artist's *prima idea* of representing the sarcophagus, Rosa's figure of Christ in this drawing is especially close to the Chantilly painting, where no indication of a tomb can be found.

It is well known that the Chantilly painting was part of a group of five pictures (all of which are now in the Musée Condé) that Rosa painted for his patron and friend Carlo De Rossi, the other four being *Jeremiah Freed from the Pit* (presented at the festival of S. Giovanni Decollato in 1662), *Daniel in the Lions' Den*, *The Raising of Lazarus* and *The Angel leaving the House of Tobias*. According to Rosa's wishes, the pictures were installed in the De Rossi chapel (Cappella del Crocefisso) of Santa Maria di Montesanto, but this happened only after the artist's death. The fact that the *Resurrection* is the only picture in the group that was painted on wood rather than on canvas might seem puzzling, but this choice may have been related to the work's planned inclusion into the frame of the main altar of the De Rossi chapel. Jonathan Scott has called the iconographic associations between these four paintings «not very close»¹¹, but he suggested that the subjects may derive from the sermons of a Lenten preacher and that Rosa would have appreciated the rather far fetched analogies». He was right insofar as all four subjects are mentioned in a long list of typological themes from the Old Testament «per ornamento della Cappella del crocefisso» composed by an unknown theological advisor of Rosa at



6. François Poilly after Salvator Rosa, *Mercury*, Parma, Biblioteca Palatina

an early stage of the planning process for the decoration of the chapel¹². In the four paintings, the iconographic analogy is clearly that of an escape from seemingly hopeless situations, ill health or death by divine intervention. And in all paintings, the source of salvation, God, is indicated by persons pointing upward. In the fifth picture, the *Resurrection*, which Filippo Baldinucci mentioned as «una figura di Cristo risurgente»¹³, Christ is looking downward – triumphantly, but with a rather grim face. His blond curly hair grows out into a kind of nimbus. On his raised hands, the stigmata are clearly visible.

Apart from the “Resurrection”, there are few levitating persons in Rosa’s œuvre. His figures, with a few exceptions, are quite earthbound. All in all, his manner was not especially qualified to express levitation or flight, let alone rapid motion in the air. But whenever faced with such a task, he appears to have borrowed the effects of fluttering clothes or hair moved by the wind from artists such as Pietro da Cortona, whose ceiling paintings in the Salone Barberini are major examples of that kind of illusionism in Rome (Rosa, characteristically, never painted a ceiling). Leaving aside a few flying angels and the *Assumption of the Virgin*¹⁴, figures sitting, kneeling or standing on clouds in Rosa’s paintings usually represent allegorical characters, such as the *Fortuna* or the *Astraea*¹⁵.

One of the few other levitating or flying figures in Rosa’s oeuvre can be found in an engraving by François Poilly after a design by our artist: this flying *Mercury* (fig. 6) served as the frontispiece of Francisco Serra’s *Synonymorum apparatus* published in Venice by Francesco Baba in 1654 with a dedication to Carlo Barberini (1630–1704), the grand-nephew of Pope Urban VIII¹⁶. Rosa’s composition is not as conventional as it may look, since Mercury not only carries his habitual caduceus, but also a cornucopia, thus symbolising the plenty of inspiration that readers would derive from Serra’s book: a copia of synonyms that alone can be enough to dispel all clouds of scholarly uncertainty (while the bees, naturally, point to the book’s dedicatee, Carlo Barberini). The association of a sky-high flight of the mind made possibly by Serra is conveyed by the addition of a segment of the globe under Mercury.

Returning to the representations of the Resurrection of Christ in Rosa’s oeuvre, we are faced with the fact that the painting in Chantilly is one of the most unusual representations of the theme in the second half of the *Seicento*. This observation calls for a closer analysis of the way in which the painter dealt with the literary and artistic traditions of the subject.

The bible contains no description of the Resurrection of Christ¹⁷. Matthew, for example, only mentions that, as the three Maries approached the tomb (28.1–15), an angel appeared and moved away the stone from the entrance. The angel then demonstrated to them and to the guards that the tomb was empty, pointing out that Christ was not there any more but had risen. Authors of the catholic *riforma* such as Johannes Molanus (1570) took these lines seriously and required that painted representations of the Resurrection should show the tomb in its closed and undisturbed state¹⁸. Federico Borromeo went even further and demanded that no representation be made of the confused reactions



7. Ugo da Carpi after Raphael, *The Resurrection of Christ*

of the soldiers at the moment when Christ leaves the tomb – because, according to Matthew, none of the guards realised that the body of Christ was actually missing prior to the arrival of the Maries and the angel¹⁹.

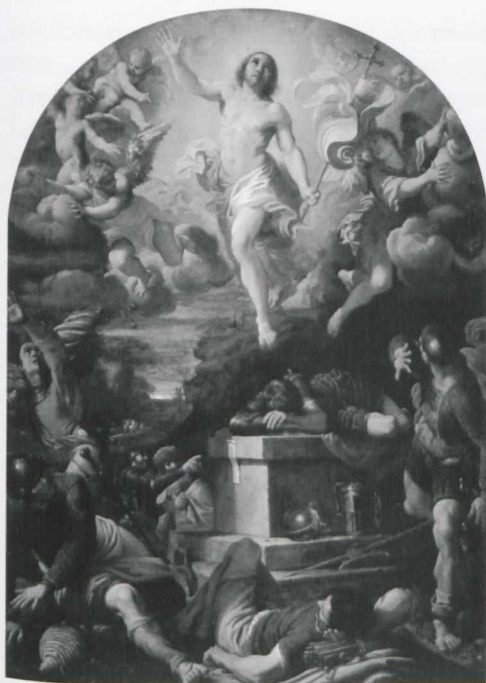
Such literal or pedantic understanding of biblical texts had little to do with the visual practice of medieval and sixteenth century art. It is enough to mention Piero della Francesca's Risen Christ in Borgo Sansepolcro who is represented as standing inside his open tomb and placing his left foot on the rim of the sarcophagus²⁰. Much the same goes for Raphael's representation of the event as reproduced by Ugo da Carpi (fig. 7), where Christ leaves his sarcophagus as well as his tomb, placing one foot inside, one foot outside the sarcophagus, in the presence of both the terrified soldiers and the three Maries²¹. The biblical sequence of events must have been clear to every beholder, but artists coordinated them visually in order to create a more convincing image. The visual tradition of a risen Christ represented as leaving the open tomb by just walking out (rather than moving upward) was alive until the late Cinquecento, as can be seen in a painting by Prospero Fontana of ca. 1570²². Artists and patrons may also have clung to this scheme because new visual alternatives were not really convincing – Tomaso Laureti's *Resurrection* for S. Giacomo in Bologna is an ambitious but rather unpleasant example of a Christ poised for flight in a proto-cartoon style, a kind of Cinquecento Superman – not to mention the fact that Laureti continued to combine the resurrection with the turbulent reactions of the guards²³.

It is also well known that the visual standards of the Resurrection changed fundamentally after Annibale Carracci's so-called *Pala Lucchini* of 1593 (fig. 8), today in the Louvre²⁴. In this picture, the sarcophagus is closed and sealed; further in the background, a military official is pointing at the seal. The soldiers are either sleeping (one of them is actually stretched out on the sarcophagus) or they show signs of panic or self-defence in reaction to what they see in the upper part of the picture. Up there the figure of Christ is poised in the air and appears to be slowly moving upwards. Angels are pushing away clouds in order to facilitate his upward motion. He is shown looking upward and pre-

senting his stigmatised right hand – according to Bellori²⁵, this is the gesture of the “pacificatore” –, while his left hand holds the flag of victory. Having painted all this, Annibale not only managed to convey the dramatic action of a crucial biblical event, he also stayed more or less within the limits of what current theology prescribed for works of art representing this subject. His picture was to become a paradigm of the Resurrection of Christ in seventeenth and eighteenth century Bologna and far beyond²⁶. But even with artists who did not know Annibale’s composition, a tendency towards more “dignified” representations of the Resurrection prevailed. This means that images of Christ stepping out of his sarcophagus disappeared, while pictures representing the Resurrection with a closed sarcophagus and Christ triumphantly poised in the air became the standard. The same was also true for the Roman art scene, where Giovanni Baglione’s large *Resurrection of Christ* for the Gesù (of which only the grisaille oil sketch has been preserved in the Louvre) is the most conspicuous example²⁷. It should be noted, however, that – unlike in Bologna – the representation of the open tomb in connection with the ongoing resurrection and the panicking soldiers was never seen as a problem in *Seicento* Rome. As proof of this, one can even cite a papal art project, the *Resurrection* by Ciro Ferri for the Missal of Alexander VII (fig. 9) first published in 1662, i. e. at a moment when Rosa was preparing his series of paintings for De Rossi²⁸. It should be noted that there is a close resemblance between the gestures of Christ’s raised right hand in the engraving and in Rosa’s Chantilly painting – but Ferri’s composition can hardly be made responsible for the more unusual aspects of Rosa’s representations of the Resurrection.

As Ferdinando Bologna and others have demonstrated, the only artist who dared to totally ignore the new *Seicento* standard shape of the Resurrection was Caravaggio, whose *Resurrection of Christ* of ca. 1609-1610 for the Fenaroli Chapel of S. Anna dei Lombardi in Naples was destroyed in the late eighteenth century, but is documented in several written descriptions²⁹. Whereas the painting’s quality had always been admired, there was a growing criticism of the way Caravaggio had represented the risen Christ. For example, Guido Reni’s student Luigi Scaramuccia wrote that Caravaggio had pictured Christ not according to current standards, i.e. «agile, e trionfante per l’aria», but, rather, «con un piede dentro, e l’altro fuori del Sepolcro posando in terra»³⁰. The painter – according to Scaramuccia – had aimed at artistic novelty (*novità*), but ignored the demands of religious decorum. Bernardo de Dominici criticised Caravaggio for the low and indecent idea of representing Christ as someone who is leaving the tomb in a state of fear³¹. And Charles-Nicolas Cochin remarked that Christ was passing by the soldiers as if he was a prisoner who was trying to escape from his guards. «D’ailleurs le caractère de la nature est d’un homme maigre, & qui a souffert»³².

Caravaggio’s *Risen Christ* for Alfonso Fenaroli was clearly not poised for flight nor levitating. He was trying to get the hell out of his grave, placing one foot in the sarcophagus and the other outside on the ground, thus moving frontally towards the spectator. He was meagre, timid and carried all the signs



8. Annibale Carracci, *The Lucchini Resurrection*, Paris, Musée du Louvre

9. Cornelis Bloemaert after Ciro Ferri, *Resurrection of Christ*

of the passion. He may or may not have carried a flag (he probably did not), but he must have cast his eyes down, blinded by the light as he was after having spent several days in a sarcophagus. There were almost certainly no angels of glory nor any other element of a triumphant mise-en-scene. And Christ – just as in Caravaggio's *Doubting Thomas* today in Potsdam – would not have had a nimbus.

Characteristically, no exact copy of Caravaggio's lost Fenaroli picture has ever been found. And the pictures that are considered to have been influenced by this painting do not contain more than certain aspects of it. A *Resurrection* by Francesco Guarino in Sant'Andrea di Solofra near Naples represents Christ standing with both feet on the ground in front of his tomb and holding the usual flag³³. The famous *Resurrection* by Peter Paul Rubens in the Cathedral of Antwerp (1612) follows the anti-levitating approach of Caravaggio, but does everything to represent Christ as a shining star issuing forth from his tomb whose heavenly superpowers literally blind his guards³⁴. Luca Giordano's *Risen Christ* in the Tempio dell'Incoronata a Capodimonte of ca. 1665 appears to imitate the swift motion and the extreme close-up adopted by Caravaggio's lost picture³⁵. Christ, however, is not shown stepping out of his tomb, and the heavenly glory over his head is much too opulent. What strikes one as somewhat peculiar is Giordano's decision not to give his Christ the usual flag but, rather, to let him stretch out his hands in a gesture that must be

intended to express dedication to his heavenly father. A related scenario, including the outstretched arms presenting the stigmata of the crucifixion, can be found in a much later painting by the artist³⁶ – but here we are back to levitation from the open tomb and, in addition to that, find ourselves confronted with a rare degree of passivity in Christ's body language not unlike that of Maria in an Assumption of the Virgin.

Where do all these observations leave us with Salvator Rosa's studies in London, Leipzig and Paris and, most notably, with the painting in Chantilly (figg. 2-5). In spite of the Church's efforts directed at unifying the iconography of the Resurrection of Christ during the *riforma* (of which Carracci's *Pala Lucchini* is the most characteristic example), various models or options remained in *Seicento* art for painters who wanted to represent the subject. Rosa, as an artist active in Naples, Florence and Rome, must have been acquainted with both the traditional and current visual standards of the subject, including the more radical solutions such as Caravaggio's picture in S. Anna dei Lombardi, and he probably also consulted biblical and theological sources. Not unlike Caravaggio, he decided to find a personal visual formula for the Resurrection theme. Characteristically, his previous *Flying Mercury* (fig. 6) may have had some inspiring effect on the Chantilly Christ in that it not only suggested much of the latter's pose, but also the omission of the grave and/or other indications of an earthly setting. Only the raised arms of the De Rossi Christ can be described as a private "Pathosformel" of Rosa³⁷ and, in this case, as a personal reinterpretation of High-Renaissance depictions of the Saviour presenting his stigmata such as Raphael's Christ in the Vatican *Disputa*.

In the light of his compositional decisions it is now clear that Rosa was confronted with the choice between different concepts of the risen Son of God: a Christ who returns to the physical world by stepping out of the sarcophagus – «con un piede dentro, e l'altro fuori del Sepolcro posando in terra» – into a kind of renewed physical existence (including the triumph over his former enemies), and another, quite different risen Christ who is out of this world, whose resurrection signifies some kind of ascent to a non-corporeal and non-material existence, a Christ whose distance from all things earthly visualises the true dimension of his victory over death. As things were, Rosa moved from the first option, a literal and "earthly" image of a return to life, to the second, a more metaphysical or abstract representation of the Resurrection – yet his search for a dignified and divine image of the risen Christ came at a price, as it meant to isolate visually the Son of God in a heavenly space far removed from all human experience. The time of day implied in Rosa's Chantilly painting may well be that of early morning or dawn – i.e. the moment implied in the bible and depicted in the *Pala Lucchini* by Annibale Carracci. However, in the Rosa no other indications of the biblical setting or the subject's visual traditions such as the tomb, the flag, or the soldiers remain. It is probable that the painting today in Chantilly was stripped of all these details because it was intended to be integrated into the frame of a retable at the De Rossi Chapel that contained a crucifix or the image of a crucifixion – that

is to say: the liturgical context of the painting was planned to provide visual clues that would have made the image of Christ look less radical and "super-human" than it does today in the gallery space. This explanation, however, cannot completely neutralise the unusual appearance of Rosa's picture and the studies that served to prepare it. These works deserve more attention than they have received so far, as they represent a rare, perhaps the most important attempt at a revision of the iconography of the Resurrection of Christ in the second half of the *Seicento*.

NOTE

¹ On San Giuseppe di Copertino as the "highest flyer" of all saints cfr. C. Santing, *Tirami sù: Pope Benedict XIV and the Beatification of the Flying Saint Giuseppe da Copertino*, in O.P. Grell and A. Cunningham (ed.), *Medicine and Religion in Enlightenment Europe*, Ashgate 2007, pp. 79-100.

² Cfr. E. Leuschner, *Der Himmel über Rom - Zur Anfangssequenz von Federico Fellinis Film 'La Dolce Vita'*, in W. Augustyn and E. Leuschner (ed.), *Kunst und Humanismus. Festschrift für Gosbert Schüßler zum 60. Geburtstag*, Passau 2007, pp. 663-686.

³ Oil on panel, 1,09×0,96 cm. Cfr. M. Mahoney, *The Drawings of Salvator Rosa*, New York and London 1977, vol. I, p. 99, cat. n. 176, and E. de Boissard and V. Lavergne-Durey, *Chantilly, Musée Condé Peintures de l'École Italienne*, Paris 1988, pp. 142-143, cat. n. 74.

⁴ A. Stolzenburg, in *Salvator Rosa. Genie der Zeichnung. Studien und Skizzen aus Leipzig und Haarlem*, Exb. Cat. ed. by H. Guratzsch, (Leipzig, Museum der Bildenen Künste, 24. June - 8. August 1999; Haarlem, Teylers Museum, 4. September - 31. October 1999), Köln 1999, p. 176, note 2, draws attention to a picture by Rosa representing «soldiers at the grave of Christ» mentioned in the inventory of Carlo De Rossi. This description hardly fits the painting today in Chantilly that is known to have come from De Rossi's collection.

⁵ M. Mahoney, *The Drawings...*, cit., vol. I, p. 585, n. 66.13.

⁶ The variants for the position of Christ's legs make this drawing a close parallel to Rosa's pen study for the *Death of Empedocles* in Copenhagen (M. Mahoney, *The Drawings...*, cit., vol. I, p. 683, n. 80.1).

⁷ For a Christ poised in the air and looking down at the empty grave and the panicking guards in a similar manner see the *Resurrection* by Cecco del Caravaggio in the Art Institute of Chicago; G. Papi, *Cecco del Caravaggio*, Soncino 2001, pp. 132-135, n. 16, and E. Leuschner, *Antonio Tempesta. Ein Bahnbrecher des römischen Barock und seine europäische Wirkung*, Petersberg 2005, pp. 497-500.

⁸ Cfr. *Salvator Rosa. Genie der Zeichnung...*, cit., p. 177, 255, n. 157.

⁹ Cfr. *Ibid.*, p. 255, n. 156.

¹⁰ Inv. n. 9728, M. Mahoney, *The Drawings...*, cit., p. 587, cat. n. 66.16.

¹¹ J. Scott, *Salvator Rosa. His Life and Times*, New Haven and London 1995, p. 143.

¹² C. Volpi, *Salvator Rosa e Carlo De Rossi*, in «Storia dell'Arte», 93/94, (1998), pp. 356-373, here 372-373.

¹³ F. Baldinucci, *Notizie dei Professori del disegno da Cimabue in qua*, ed. by F. Ranalli, Firenze 1847 [Firenze 1681], anast. rep. Firenze 1974, vol. V, p. 465.

¹⁴ L. Salerno, *L'opera completa...*, cit., p. 97, cat. n. 156.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 95, cat. n. 126, 98, cat. n. 159.

¹⁶ F. Serra, *Synonymorum apparatus*, Venezia: Baba 1654; the book is dedicated «Ad eminentissimum ac reverendissimum D. Carolum Barberinum».

¹⁷ For the iconography of the Resurrection of Christ cfr. H. Schrader, *Iconographie der christlichen Kunst. Die Sinngehalte und Gestaltungsformen*, vol. 1: *Die Auferstehung Christi*, Berlin/Leipzig 1932; G. Schiller, *Iconographie der christlichen Kunst*, vol. 3: *Die Auferstehung und Erhöhung Christi*, Gütersloh 1971; see also the case study by H. Damm, *Victimae Paschali: Bilder der Auferstehung Christi von Giorgio Vasari und Santi di Tito*, in E. Leuschner and M.R. Hesslinger (ed.), *Das Bild Gottes in Judentum, Christentum und Islam. Vom Alten Testament bis zum Karikaturenstreit*, Petersberg 2009, pp. 180-202.

¹⁸ J. Molanus, *De historia SS. Imaginum et Picturarum*, Louvain: Wellaeus 1570, p. 411.

¹⁹ F. Borromeo, *Della Pittura Sacra Libri Due*, ed. by B. Agosti, Pisa 1994, p. 83.

²⁰ On Piero della Francesca's *Risen Christ* in Borgo San Sepolcro see H. Schrader, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst...*, cit., pp. 238-241, and M. Baxandall, *Piero della Francesca's The Resurrection of Christ*, in Idem, *Words for Pictures. Seven Papers on Renaissance Art and Criticism*, New Haven and London 2003, pp. 117-169.

²¹ On Ugo da Carpi's print see *Roma e lo stile classico di Raffaello*, Exb. Cat. ed. by K. Oberhuber and A. Gnann, (Mantova, Galleria Civica di Palazzo Te, 20. March - 30. Mai 1999; Wien, Graphische Sammlung Albertina, 23. June - 5. September 1999), Milano 1999, pp. 176-177.

²² On Prospero Fontana's *Resurrection of Christ* see *Il Cinquecento a Bologna. Disegni dal Louvre e dipinti a confronto*, Exb. Cat. ed. by M. Faietti, (Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale 18. Mai - 18. August 2002), Bologna 2002, pp. 235-237.

²³ Cfr. L. Leinweber, *Bologna nach dem Tridentinum. Private Stiftungen und Kunstaufträge im Kontext der katholischen Konfessionalisierung: das Beispiel San Giacomo Maggiore*, Hildesheim 2000, pp. 126-139.

²⁴ Cfr. S. Loire, *Musée du Louvre. Département des Peintures. École italienne, XVIIe siècle. 1. Bologne*, Paris 1996, pp. 139-142.

²⁵ G.P. Bellori, *Le vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti moderni*, Roma 1672, pp. 27-28.

²⁶ See, e.g., the *Resurrection* by Il Mastelletta in S. Salvatore in Bologna (A. Coliva, *Il Mastelletta Giovanni Andrea Donducci 1575-1655*, Roma 1980, pp. 131-132, cat. n. 91). Carracci's model can still be identified in a *Resurrection* by Giuseppe Maria Crespi (H. Schrader, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst...*, cit., tav. 44, fig. 172).

²⁷ S. Loire, *Musée du Louvre. Peintures italiennes du XVIIe siècle du musée du Louvre. Florence, Gênes, Lombardie, Naples, Rome et Venise*, Paris 2006, pp. 40-42.

²⁸ For Bloemaert's print after Ciro Ferri see *Hollstein Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts*, vol. II, Amsterdam 1950, p. 72, n. 34, and *Pietro da Cortona e il disegno*, Exb. Cat. ed. by S. Prosperi Valenti Rodinò (Roma, Accademia Nazionale di San Luca e Istituto nazionale per la Grafica 30. October 1997 - 10. Februar 1998), Milano 1997, p. 241. Bloemaert also reproduced a closely related *Resurrection* by Paolo Veronese, cfr. H. Schrader, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst...*, cit., tav. 43, fig. 169.

²⁹ F. Bologna, *L'incredulità di Caravaggio. Nuova edizione accresciuta*, Torino 2006, pp. 96-107, 342, cat. n. 86; V. Pacelli, *L'ultimo Caravaggio dalla Maddalena a mezza figura ai due san Giovanni (1606-1610)*, Todi 1994, pp. 66-69.

³⁰ L. Scaramuccia, *Le finenze de' pennelli italiani*, Pavia 1674, p. 75: «E dopo ciò haver veduto si tragittarono di bel nuovo della sodetta chiesa di S. Anna a rimirar più curiosamente l'altra e quando osservavano il Christo, non come d'ordinario far si suole, agile, e trionfante per l'aria; ma con quella sua fierissima maniera di colorire, con un piede dentro, e l'altro fuori del Sepolcro posando in terra. Con qualche apprensione, tanto che richiese Girupeno al Genio suo Maestro se potea immaginarsi per che ciò avesse fatto il Caravaggio. A che rispose il Genio: Quantunque questo pittore habbi dato in tal bizzarria, e che per esso ne sia stato gradito, piacendo ad ognuno la novità dell'inventioni, non resta però ch'ei non ne possa venire (da coloro, che sanno) alquanto biasimato, essendo uscito assai dal decoro, che si conviene alla persona di Christo Signor Nostro».

³¹ B. De Dominici, *Vite dei pittori scultori ed architetti napoletani*, Napoli 1742-1745, vol. II (1743), p. 275: «Caravaggio fece per la chiesa di sant'Anna della nazione Lombarda [...] la Resurrezione del Signore, che quasi con ispavento esce dal sepolcro; idea bassa, ed indecente al rappresentato».

³² C. N. Cochin, *Voyage d'Italie ou recueil de notes sur les ouvrages de peinture et de sculpture qu'on voit dans les principales villes d'Italie*, Paris 1758, vol. I, pp. 171-172.

³³ See V. Pacelli, *L'ultimo Caravaggio...*, cit., p. 66, fig. 34.

³⁴ See *Rubens. A Master in the Making*, Exb. Cat. ed. by D. Jaffé (London, The National Gallery, 26. October 2005 - 15. Januar 2006), London 2005, p. 13.

³⁵ Cfr. O. Ferrari and G. Scavizzi, *Luca Giordano. L'opera completa*, Napoli 1994, vol. I, p. 278, cat. n. A174a.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 278, cat. n. A174b.

³⁷ Cfr., e.g., Rosa's *Empedocles* drawing mentioned above (note 6) and the soldier standing on the right of the *Job* painting in the Uffizi (L. Salerno, *L'opera completa...*, cit., p. 102, cat. n. 222; *Salvator Rosa tra mito e magia*, Exb. Cat. (Napoli, Museo di Capodimonte, 18. April - 29. June 2008), Napoli 2008, p. 241, cat. n. 83 (M. Chiarini).