

FRANCESCO SALVIATI AND THE 'MARKGRAFEN' CHAPEL IN S. MARIA DELL'ANIMA

by *Alessandro Nova*

The history of the 'Markgrafen' Chapel in S. Maria dell'Anima in Rome — also known as the Chapel of the Centurion or the Chapel of the Cross — is both easy to follow and intricate at the same time. On the one hand, the original documents preserved in the archives of the church give a full account of the negotiations between the brotherhood and the painter Francesco Salviati; on the other hand, this documentary evidence must be read and interpreted with care.¹

The scholars who have recently paid attention to this chapel postdated the completion of the altarpiece, because they followed the summary of the documents given by the earliest guides of the church written by Schmidlin and Lohninger in 1906 and in 1909 respectively. The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate through the available sources that Salviati finished this cycle of frescoes and the altarpiece² by 13th August 1550, and to emend the many slips and mistakes one can find in the old and recent literature.

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The 'Markgrafen' Chapel and its altar were consecrated on 23rd November 1510.³ It is not clear if the date 1515, placed above the *Resurrection* (Fig. 1), points to the year in which the building of the chapel was begun, as it is generally believed, or when it was carried out, as I should prefer to think. In any case, the iconographic programme was certainly planned as early as 1513. In that year Johann Albrecht of Brandenburg, the patron of the chapel, was appointed Bishop of Halberstadt and Archbishop of Magdeburg. The two saints placed in the niches flanking the *Resurrection* are, on the spectator's right, St. Stephen (Fig. 2), the patron saint of Halberstadt Cathedral, and on the left, St. Mauritius (Fig. 3), the patron saint of Magdeburg Cathedral. One year later, in 1514, Uriel von Gemmingen, the Archbishop of Mainz, died. Thanks to the good offices of the Emperor Maximilian I and, above all, to the money of Jacob Fugger, who advanced 10,000 ducats⁴, Johann Albrecht obtained the archbishopric of Mainz, which entailed the electorship. Yet, notwithstanding this newly won prestige, nothing in this cycle seems to celebrate the event.⁵ No doubt, the project of building the chapel and its iconographic programme were planned in 1513. The walling was completed two years later, but probably there was no money immediately available for the decoration of the chapel. Later, the 95 articles posted by Luther on the church doors at Wittenberg and the dramatic events of the following years, for which the Cardinal was partly responsible, must have caused a postponement.

Whatever the reason, we know that Quirinus Galler, the agent of the Fugger in Rome who was charged by Johann Albrecht with taking care of the completion of the decoration,

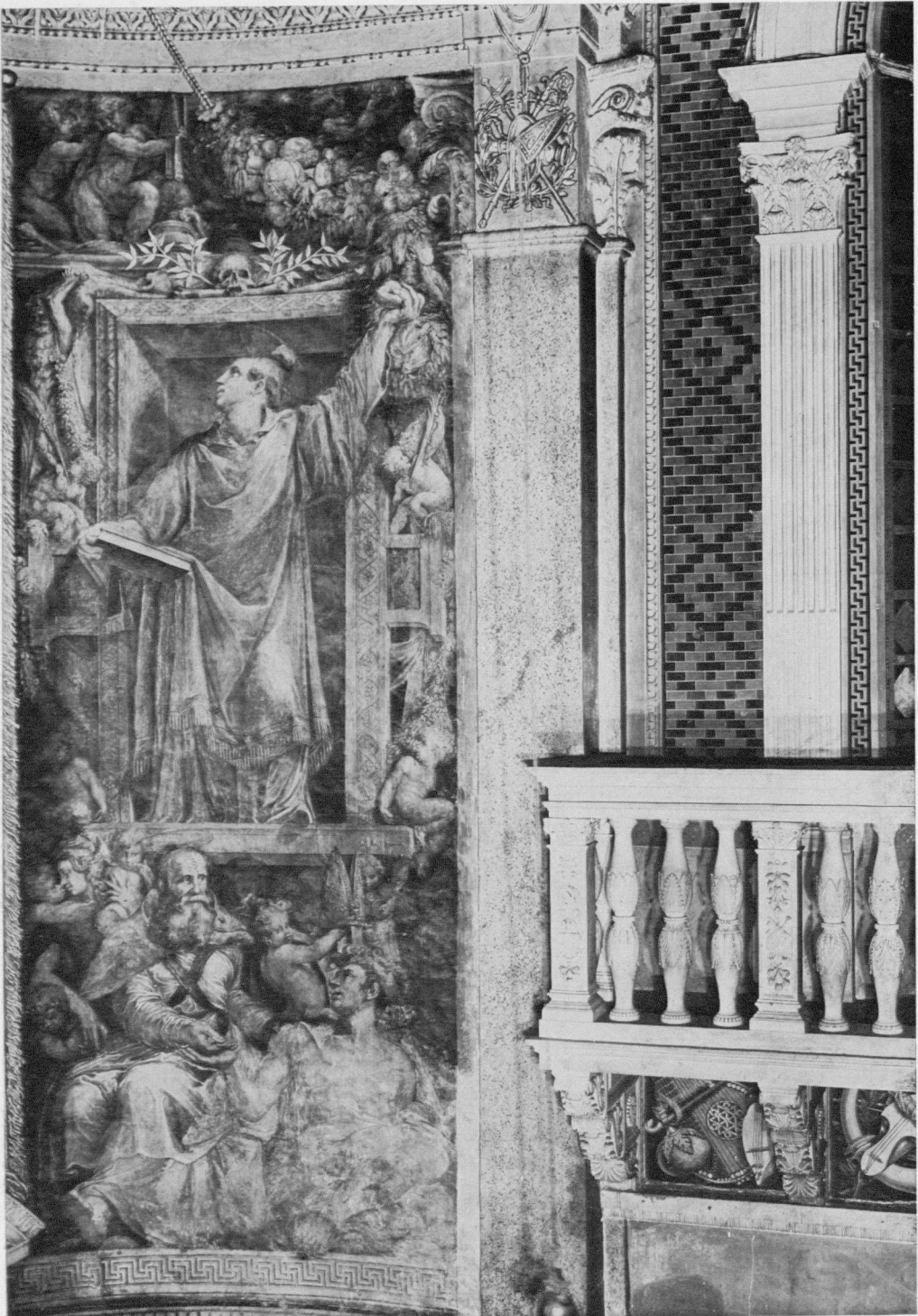
contacted several artists for this purpose as late as the early 1540s.⁶ In the meantime Salviati, after his stay in Venice, had returned to Rome in 1541. According to Vasari, Salviati "se ne tornò a Roma, e vi giunse l'anno 1541. *Qui vi posatosi alquanto, le prime opere che fece furono il ritratto di messer Giovanni Gaddi e quello di messer Anniballe Caro, suoi amicissimi: e quelli finiti, fece per la cappella de' cherici di camera nel palazzo del papa una molto bella tavola: e nella chiesa de' Tedeschi cominciò una cappella a fresco per un mercante di quella nazione, . . .*"⁷ This passage reveals that Vasari considered Galler as the patron of the enterprise, and also indicates that Salviati began the work only towards the end of 1541 or even later. This was one of the most gloomy periods in the life of the melancholic artist. He was the court painter of Pierluigi Farnese, but the relationship with his patron was so stormy that Francesco was even arrested.⁸ This great offence must have been particularly humiliating for his proud temperament and induced him to leave Rome; moreover, Galler having died in 1543, Salviati did not feel under an obligation to anybody, and left the city. This is an interesting detail, as the patron was still alive.⁹ The first phase of the decoration was not very prolific: as demonstrated by Iris Cheney, the artist painted only the *Pentecost* in the vault of the chapel, now in very poor condition, and the Christ of the *Resurrection*. In August 1543 Salviati was in Florence¹⁰, where he served Cosimo I for several years.

The history of the chapel and that of the painter run parallel. Francesco, disillusioned by the half-hearted treatment received at the court of the Duke of Tuscany, went back to Rome in autumn 1548.¹¹ Meanwhile, the members of the brotherhood, notwithstanding the death of Johann Albrecht of Brandenburg, decided to complete the chapel.¹² In April 1549 Josephus Cincius¹³ was entrusted by the brotherhood with investigating Salviati's desire to finish the chapel (Doc. 1). On 2nd May 1549 the artist appeared in front of the members and offered himself to complete the work in its entirety in four months for a fee of 100 'scudi'.¹⁴ On the same day, De Palude, Drolshagen, and Derp, three members of the brotherhood, were charged with checking that Lemmeken, the administrator, paid the 100 'scudi' asked by Salviati (Doc. 3). We do not know why, but two weeks later the members decided to give the painter '80 scutos de moneta', which were to be paid by Lemmeken, who had previously offered 'scutos 100 in auro' (Doc. 4). One week later Salviati went back to S. Maria dell'Anima and availed himself of "many things". Finally, a definite contract was signed, and Lemmeken engaged himself to give immediately 40 'scudi' to the painter and to deposit in a bank a further 40 'scudi' until Salviati had executed the work (Doc. 5). It is probable that the artist needed money, maybe for the house which he had just bought "vicina al palazzo del cardinale Farnese".¹⁵ Another possibility is that he had found new evidence of a previous agreement, thus forcing Lemmeken to give him immediately a certain amount of money.

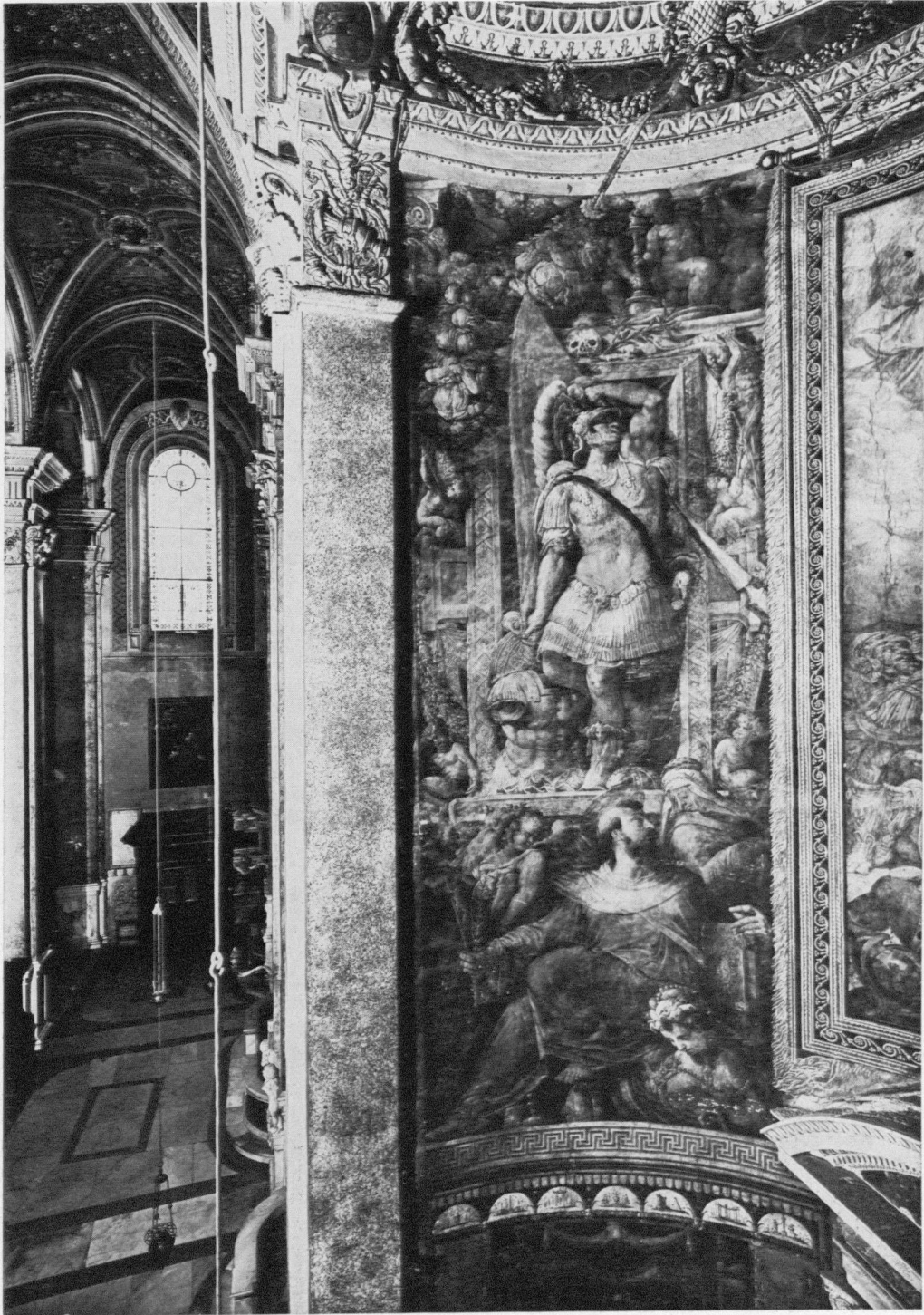
The two parties kept silent for over a year. On 13th August 1550 Salviati left via Giulia, where he was living, and went to S. Maria dell'Anima. He told the members that he had completed the decoration, and that he would be ready to paint again those parts which would not appear satisfactory.¹⁶ The members were content with the work, and Lemmeken promised to pay the painter. The decoration was completed in its entirety and Salviati was no more recorded in the documents of the church. I should like to underline this detail because many scholars have written that Salviati painted the altarpiece only in late 1550/early 1551¹⁷ or even in 1557¹⁸, either because they did not have the opportunity of reading the original documents, or because they were misled by the second part of our document number 6 (see Appendix). This document mentions that there was an altercation among the members of the brotherhood because the administrator outspokenly refused to pay



1 Francesco Salviati, Resurrection. Rome, S. Maria dell'Anima, 'Markgrafen' Chapel.



2 F. Salviati, Upper zone of the right wall of the 'Markgrafen' Chapel with the figures of St. Stephen and St. John the Almoner.



3 F. Salviati, Upper zone of the left wall of the 'Markgrafen' Chapel with the figures of St. Mauritius and St. Albert the Carmelite.

for the altar and the floor of the chapel "at least as far as the bricklayer is concerned". This last statement must have given rise to an erroneous interpretation of the whole document based on the identification of altarpiece with altar. According to this interpretation Lemmeken was ready to pay the painter for the altarpiece but not the mason for the altar itself. This reading, however, is in conflict with the first part of the document, in which Salviati clearly affirms to have finished his work; but there is no contradiction if we interpret that Lemmeken was ready to pay for the materials and not for the actual work of the bricklayer. He had received from Quirinus Galler only a certain amount of money, of which he was ready to show the receipts, but the administrator did not want to pay anything more. We do not know from the documentary evidence what exactly happened, but it is clear from our document number 7 (see Appendix) that part of the money disappeared; this fact provoked mutual accusations among the members of the brotherhood. It is not surprising inasmuch as both Galler and Johann Albrecht had died many years before. The documents tell us that Joaçhim de Latorff, '*canonicus Magdeburgensis*'¹⁹ and future administrator of the brotherhood, read some letters of the Cardinal; Lemmeken exhibited his receipts; and also Salviati had "many things" and coupons to show. We do not know where the money destined for the chapel ended up, but we know that Gaspar de Morcho, the bricklayer, was paid with the money of the hospital of the brotherhood.

Thanks to the available sources we can state with certainty that the altar and the floor were finished by 22nd September 1550 (see Doc. 7), and that Salviati had completed his work in the August of the same year.

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Another kind of documentary evidence concerning the chapel is made up of preparatory drawings. Unfortunately, they are as difficult to read and interpret as the written sources. The most intricate problem concerns the *Resurrection* (Fig. 1). It is possible to connect with this fresco at least three drawings preserved in three different private collections²⁰, even if none of them precisely corresponds with the composition painted by Salviati.

The study in the Ian Woodner Collection was surely designed for a chisel work, but the soldier at the right bottom of the sheet was reused by the artist in the fresco of S. Maria dell'Anima. The other two drawings were certainly executed for the '*Markgrafen*' Chapel.²¹ Chronologically, the first was the one preserved in a private collection in Paris.²² As noticed by Catherine Monbeig-Goguel this is a preparatory drawing. Salviati must have been dissatisfied by this first solution, and he invented a new scheme, the drawing in the Clifford Collection. We can tentatively reconstruct what really happened. The drawing in the French collection must have been the first idea of Salviati, soon after abandoned in favour of the Clifford version. The artist painted the Christ according to the second drawing, but we know that he left off the work at this point. Salviati probably intended to leave Rome for good: at that time he could not know that the young Pierluigi Farnese, his persecutor, would be killed only four years later. This could be a reason why in Florence Francesco felt free to partly reuse the drawings destined for S. Maria dell'Anima in the cartoon of the tapestry representing a Resurrection executed for the Cardinal of Ravenna.²³ The idea of the soldier protecting himself with the shield at the right bottom corner of the Clifford drawing was a source of inspiration for the two soldiers at the foot of the Christ in the tapestry: in turn, the Faith woven on the border of the tapestry was reused by Salviati as a model for the Faith flanking the portrait of Quirinus Galler (Fig. 4).

When six years later he was commissioned to carry out the work in S. Maria dell'Anima, Francesco went back to his first idea for the soldiers on the left of the fresco, while the other one in the foreground was derived, even if inverted, from the Ian Woodner drawing. The



4 F. Salviati, Middle zone of the left wall of the 'Markgrafen' Chapel with the portrait of Quirinus Galler.



5 F. Salviati, Pietà. Rome, S. Maria dell'Anima, 'Markgrafen' Chapel.



6 F. Salviati, Study of a soldier. Paris, Louvre.



7 Detail of Fig. 3: St. Mauritius.

soldier in the right background is instead a reverse copy of the Night of the Medici Tombs that Salviati could have studied at ease during his long stay in Florence.

The result of this '*pastiche*' is unsatisfactory and certainly unworthy of such a talented artist as Salviati. Notwithstanding the uneven quality of this fresco, which is also heavily restored, its history is of considerable interest. It testifies to the working method of the painter, who was accustomed to utilize his drawings for different works of art. This is also true for the drawing in the Biblioteca Reale in Turin related to the dead Christ of the *Pietà* in S. Maria dell'Anima²⁴, and for the one representing a draped female figure in the Louvre (Fig. 8). The last one was tentatively connected with the Charity flanking St. John the Almoner (Fig. 2).²⁵ There is no doubt that either the drawing in the Louvre was reused by Cecchino, or that a lost study for S. Maria dell'Anima was the starting point for the sheet in the Louvre, but it is obviously not a preparatory drawing for the allegorical figure in S. Maria dell'Anima, because this highly finished drawing simply does not represent a Charity.

These reflections on his working method are necessary to introduce a new drawing into the history of the chapel. The '*Study of a soldier*' in the Louvre (Fig. 6)²⁶ can be connected with the St. Mauritius (Fig. 7) in more than one respect. This is a typical drawing from the



8 F. Salviati, Drawing of a draped female figure. Paris, Louvre.

mature period of the artist and must be dated around 1550 when Salviati seems to have been influenced by the young Tibaldi.²⁷ Moreover, the soldier is looking upwards, just as St. Mauritius, who is staring at the Resurrection. Notwithstanding these positive observations, it is impossible to consider it a preparatory drawing. It is not my purpose to add a new drawing to the '*corpus*' of S. Maria dell'Anima, but to show that we do not know any preparatory study related to these frescoes, except for the two drawings, belonging to the first phase of the decoration, connected with the Resurrection.

Instead the thesis advanced by Harprath, according to which Salviati was accustomed to make the best of the same drawing for different iconographic purposes, is reinforced. This fact is remarkable, because it could explain why scholars are not able to find any preparatory drawing for the most important commission carried out by Salviati in Rome, the history of David in the Palazzo Ricci-Sacchetti.²⁸



9 F. Salviati, Middle zone of the right wall of the 'Markgrafen' Chapel.

It is also necessary to clear up the iconography of the chapel. Vasari is responsible for many slips, partly rectified and partly worsened by old and recent contributions. After having described the *Pentecost* and the *Resurrection*, he thus continues: "Da una banda (Salviati) fece Santo Stefano e dall'altra San Giorgio in due nicchie; da basso fece San Giovanni Limosinario che dà la limosina a un poverello nudo, ed ha accanto la Carità; e dall'altro lato Santo Alberto, frate carmelitano, in mezzo alla Loica ed alla Prudenza; e nella tavola grande fece ultimamente a fresco Cristo morto, con le Marie".²⁹ As told by Vasari, Salviati painted on the right wall St. Stephen and St. John the Almoner (Fig. 2), the latter hinting at the first name of the patron.³⁰ It is worth noting that the naked beggar and the Charity flanking St. John must be intended as attributes related to the saint, like the women flanking St. Albert on the other side. On the left wall of the chapel Francesco frescoed St. Mauritius³¹ and St. Albert the Carmelite (Fig. 3) hinting at the second name of the Cardinal. The latter saint is characterized by his typical attribute, a crucifix between two lilies.³²

St. Albert is flanked by two allegorical figures: a female devil³³ and an image of purity. The devil at the foot of St. Albert is a symbol of female vanity. In fact, as the beggar is complementary to Charity, so the female devil is complementary to the other allegorical figure. Since Vasari, she was identified as Prudence³⁴, but she represents Pudency (PUDICITIA) as indicated by the tortoise placed on her head and by her veiled face suggesting an image of chastity and purity.³⁵

The skulls, the bones, the putti holding palms of martyrdom and burning candles, alluding to the transience of life, are all well suited symbols for a funerary chapel.

There is also uncertainty as regards the identities of the two oval portraits painted at the bottom of the lateral walls (Figs. 4, 9). In this case, however, nearly all scholars think that on the left-hand side Salviati painted a portrait of Quirinus Galler flanked by Faith and Hope, while on the other wall he depicted Lemmeken flanked by Justice and Charity.

The young man is certainly Galler. He played a great role in the history of the chapel. Even Vasari considered him the patron of the enterprise. Moreover, this could explain why this painting lacks the character of a portrait: Galler, when Salviati painted this oval, had died seven years before; therefore, Francesco must have painted a portrait based on his memory.

The portrait on the right, rather than being Lemmeken, who cut a poor figure during this story, could represent Joachim de Latorff, canon of Magdeburg.³⁶ On the other hand, one must admit that the part played by Lemmeken was very important, and that the possibility that we are looking at his portrait cannot be disregarded.

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The '*Markgrafen*' Chapel is certainly a minor work in the *oeuvre* of Salviati, at least qualitatively speaking; but we have to take into account the narrowness of this very tall chapel, the unfavourable light, and the bad restorations.

The overall result is not exciting, but single passages, like the marvellous head of St. Joseph of Arimathea (Fig. 10), St. John the Almoner, and St. Albert are all of a very high quality, even if in a sorry state.

The critical intelligence of Vasari has already pointed out the most remarkable aspect of this work, noticing how the soldiers asleep around the sepulchre "scortano con gagliarda e bella maniera" (Fig. 1). Our photograph is unfortunately taken from an angle which eliminates the effect created by foreshortening. In actuality the bodies of the soldiers in the foreground create two converging diagonals, like two threatical wings, leading the observer's eye towards the crux of the representation. The large, too large, limbs of the soldiers are



10 Detail of Fig. 5: Head of Joseph of Arimathea.

placed at a distance of circa five metres from the observer's eye. This distance further increases if one kneels down on the step of the chapel: only in this way does the foreshortening acquire a correct proportion. Given such a narrow space, a lowering of circa 50 cm. involves a considerable optical change, giving to the fresco more realistic proportions.

Salviati determined a very low point of observation. This choice forces the observer to kneel down, thus imparting to the Christ a sensation of lightness and ascent. It emphasizes the devotional character of the fresco, also expressed by the pincers and bloodstained nails placed on purpose in the foreground of the *Pietà* (Fig. 5).

Salviati preferred great decorative cycles to altarpieces; however the *Pietà* is one of his best achievements in this field and one of his major contributions to the development of devotional art of the Renaissance.

APPENDIX

I wish to thank Franz Wasner, the rector of S. Maria dell'Anima, who was kind enough to allow me to check and transcribe the original documents in the archives of the church.

All the documents are in the book with the press mark 'Decret. FI' in the Archives of S. Maria dell'Anima, Rome.

Document No. 1 (page 27)

Die martis* aprilis 1549, congregatio
Deputatio
Domini deputarunt dominum Iosephum Cincium ut velit inquirere de pictore Francisco Salviatis quo possit perfici capella marchionis illustrissimi et reverendissimi archiepiscopi Magdeburgensis.
[* The day of the month is not indicated.]

Document No. 2 (page 28)

Die iovis 2 maii 1549, in congregatione.
De pictura capellae illustrissimorum dominorum marchionum Brandeburgensium.
Comparuit coram dominis dominus Franciscus Salviatis pictor, et exhibuit cedulam contractus super pictura capelle illustrissimorum dominorum marchionum Brandeburgensium. Cuius cedulae retinui copiam; et ex gratia speciali (nostra?) dominus Franciscus obtulit quod pro 100 scutis vellet in totum dictam capellam perficere infra 4.^{or} menses etcetera, obligando se et dando bannum.

Document No. 3 (page 28)

Die iovis 2 maii 1549, in congregatione.
Deputatio circa capellam illustrissimorum dominorum marchionum.
Domini deputarunt dominum Iosephum Cincium comprovisorem, Theodericum de Palude, Ioannem Drolshagen et Wilhelmum Derp ad loquendum cum domino doctore Ioanne Lemmeken ad solvendum huiusmodi 100 scutos etcetera, sicut alias idem dominus doctor Ioannes Lemmeken in plena congregatione obtulit 100 scutos ex (solutione?), licet uti redituri maiorem summam ad eandem capellam habuerit a bo. me. Quirino Galler.

Document No. 4 (page 29)

Die mercurii XV maii 1549, congregatio.
Super capella illustrissimi domini marchionis.
Comparuit dominus Franciscus de Salviatis pictor cum quo domini concluderunt nomine totius Confraternitatis ut perficiat totum opus capelle, promittentes eidem domino Francisco pro residuo 80 scutos de moneta quos dominus Ioannes Lemmeken doctor solvere debet sicut antea obtulit scutos 100 in auro.*
Et domini deputarunt dominum Ioannem hominis et Theodericum de Palude presentes et onus sollicitandi ...eptantes** ut sollicitent ipsum dominum Ioannem Lemmeken doctorem ut solvat huiusmodi pecuniam aut det pignus. Et ipse Franciscus se obliget opus picture adsolvere et totaliter complere.
* 100 golden *scudi* were equivalent to 110 *scudi* in *moneta*.
** A blot prevents me from reading the first two letters.]

Document No. 5 (page 30)

Die martis 21 maii 1549, congregatio.
Super capella illustrissimi domini marchionis Brandeburgensis. Comparuit dominus Franciscus de Salviatis pictor qui in presentia domini Ioannis Lemmeken doctoris multa allegavit. Et tandem conclusum fuit quod ipse dominus Ioannes Lemmeken doctor deberet ex nunc solvere 40 scutos et alia 40 deponere in aliquo banco donec opus picture totaliter esset finitum.

Document No. 6 (page 41)

Die mercurii 13 augusti 1550, congregatio.

Super capella illustrissimorum marchionum Brandeburgensium.

Comparuit dominus Franciscus de Salviatis pictor dicens se complevisse opus picture in capella marchionum illustrissimorum Brandeburgensium, et, si quid deesset, hoc velit complere. Et domini ipso dimisso votarunt et ipsi Francisco revocato dixerunt se esse contentos de huiusmodi opera et pictura, Et doctor Ioannes Lemmeken promisit ipsum dominum Franciscum velle reddere contentum pro dicto opere picture. Sed de residuo scilicet circa altare et pavementum diu fuit inter infrascriptos altercatum et dominus doctor Ioannes Lemmeken omnino negavit se velle pro illo opere solvere quoad muratorem duntaxat. Offerens se velle exhibere cedulas et computum de hiis que ad dictam capellam et ornatum habuerit, et exposuerit postquam dominus Ioachim de Latorff legerat litteras bo. me. reverendissimi et illustrissimi domini Ioannis Alberti marchionis ad ipsum scriptas, scilicet, quod mille scuta auri in auro bo. me. Quirino Galler consignaverat ad huiusmodi capellam et ornatum.

Document No. 7 (page 42v.)

Die lunae 22 septembris 1550, congregatio.

Ordinatio solutionis pecunie pro capella marchionis Brandeburgensis.

Sub finem [*sic*] dicte congregationis, postquam aliqui confratres abierunt, comparuit magister Gaspar de Morcho murator, petens sibi solutionem fieri pro opere facto in capella illustrissimorum marchionum Brandeburgensium quia dominus Ioannes Lemmeken doctor denegaret solvere. Domini ordinarunt ut ego solvere ponendo ad computum hospitalis ut postea possit repeti pecunia ab eodem doctore domino Ioanne Lemmeken vel quibusvis aliis qui pecuniam a bo. me. Ioanne Alberto marchione archiepiscopo Magdeburgensis etcetera habuerint pro fabrica dicte capelle etcetera. Et solvi die 27 septembris 1550.

[*The last words after "etcetera" are written with a different ink. In fact, the bricklayer was paid five days later. Five lines follow. They are probably the receipt of payment, as one reads again the date 27 September, but they are written by a different hand and are virtually illegible. Perhaps the writer is Gaspar de Morcho who signs a receipt for the money received in payment.*]

NOTES

¹ A large bibliography concerns this chapel. Here follows a list of the foremost books and articles quoted in this paper:

J. Schmidlin, Geschichte der deutschen Nationalkirche in Rom, S. Maria dell'Anima, Freiburg-Vienna 1906; *J. Lohninger*, S. Maria dell'Anima, die Deutsche Nationalkirche in Rom, Rome 1909; *H. Voss*, Die Malerei der Spätrenaissance in Rom und Florenz, Berlin 1920, 2 vols.; *I. Cheney Hofmeister*, Francesco Salviati (1510-1563), University Microfilms Inc., Ann Arbor/Mich. 1963, 4 vols.; *R. Harp-rath*, Eine unerkannte Zeichnung Francesco Salviatis zum Altarbild der Markgrafenkapelle in S. Maria dell'Anima, in: *Flor. Mitt.*, XVII, 1973, pp. 159-165; *C. Monbeig-Goguel*, Francesco Salviati e il tema della resurrezione di Cristo, in: *Prospettiva*, N. 13, April 1978, pp. 7-23; *G. Knopp W. Hansmann*, S. Maria dell'Anima. Die Deutsche Nationalkirche in Rom, Mönchengladbach 1979.

² The altarpiece is painted in oils on the wall surface, prepared with a layer of plaster.

³ *Lohninger*, op. cit. (see n. 1), p. 92.

⁴ *Roland H. Bainton*, Here I Stand. A Life of Martin Luther, London 1951, pp. 74-76.

⁵ The only memento of this appointment is the small stucco escutcheon of Mainz, which decorates, together with those of Halberstadt and Magdeburg, the cornice running just below the vault of the chapel. It is a later addition, like the stucco cardinal's hat, which was added to the overall iconographic scheme after 1518 when Leo X raised Johann Albrecht to the purple.

⁶ I was not able to find the document quoted by *Lohninger* (op. cit. [see n. 1], p. 92, note 6), but it sounds reasonable.

⁷ My italics. *Vasari - Milanesi*, VII, p. 20.

- ⁸ We know this detail from a letter of Annibale Caro addressed to Salviati and dated 29th February 1544; *Annibale Caro*, *Lettere familiari*, ed. A. Greco, Florence 1957, I, pp. 294-296.
- ⁹ Johann Albrecht died on 24th September 1545; *Knopp Hansmann*, op. cit. (see n. 1), p. 48.
- ¹⁰ This is proved by two documents discovered by Edward H. Sanchez in the archives of the Salviati family, and published by *Cheney Hofmeister*, op. cit. (see n. 1), vol. IV, p. 644, Appendix, Docs. 12 and 13.
- ¹¹ We know that Salviati went to Rome the previous autumn, immediately after the death of Perino del Vaga, hoping to obtain the commission of bringing the Sala Regia to an end, but the Pope was too busy and Salviati was already back in Florence the following winter. In autumn 1548 Francesco was again in Rome, since a document tells us that he was proposed as a member of the *Virtuosi al Pantheon* on 14th October 1548. See *J. A. F. Orbaan*, *Virtuosi al Pantheon: Archivalische Beiträge zur römischen Kunstgeschichte*, in: *Rep. f. Kwiss.*, XXXVII (1914), p. 24.
- ¹² The Cardinal had given to Galler 1,000 *scudi* for this purpose. According to the most recent guide of the church (*Knopp Hansmann*, op. cit. [see n. 1], p. 49) the merchant received this money in 1526, but no document confirms this fact. I suspect that this news comes from an erroneous speedy reading of Lohninger, who had written that Galler, enrolled as member of the brotherhood in 1526, had received 1,000 *scudi* from Johann Albrecht in order to pay the works necessary to finish the chapel. The only evidence related to this sum is Doc. 6 (see Appendix).
- ¹³ "Artium et medicine doctor", cfr. Rome, Archives of S. Maria dell'Anima, Liber Confraternitatis Beatae Mariae de Anima, no. 29. Ioseffo Cincio, as Vasari calls him, was the physician of Madama d'Austria and the son-in-law of Perino del Vaga (Vasari-Milanesi, V, p. 630). Cincio was well-established in the Farnese entourage as demonstrated by the many letters sent to him by Claudio Tolomei (see *C. Tolomei*, *Delle lettere*, Venice 1581, c. 62r, 64r, 68v-70r, 73v-77r, 139r-v, 179r-180v.). He was chosen to contact Salviati probably because of his Farnese connections.
- ¹⁴ See Doc. 2. "Dando bannum" is probably a legal expression.
- ¹⁵ *Vasari-Milanesi*, VII, p. 30.
- ¹⁶ The verb *desum* indicates something not completely satisfactory. This specification is necessary because in the past *desum* was interpreted to mean 'something lacking'. In this case the verb *absum* would have been used.
- ¹⁷ *Cheney Hofmeister*, op. cit. (see n. 1), pp. 227-237, 386-389; *Harprath*, op. cit. (see n. 1), p. 164.
- ¹⁸ *Voss*, op. cit. (see n. 1), I, p. 236; *W. Stechow*, s.v. 'Salviati, Francesco', in: *Thieme-Becker*, XXIX p. 365.
- ¹⁹ Liber Confraternitatis (see n. 13), no. 102.
- ²⁰ They are in a private collection in Paris, in the Ian Woodner Collection in New York, and in the T. Clifford Collection in Manchester. The last one was for the first time related to this fresco by *M. Hirst* (see the catalogue of the exhibition 'Italian 16th-Century Drawings from British Collections'. An exhibition sponsored by the Edinburgh Festival Society and arranged by the Scottish Arts Council, Edinburgh, 23rd Aug.-13th Sept. 1969, no. 76, fig. 21). The drawing in the Woodner Collection was once attributed to Nicolò dell'Abate. It was given to Salviati by *A. Hyatt-Mayor* (catalogue of the exhibition 'XVth and XVIth Century European Drawings', Washington D.C., National Gallery of Art, 1967-68, no. 17). This attribution was confirmed by *S. M. Béguin* (exhibition catalogue 'L'Ecole de Fontainebleau, Paris, Grand Palais, 1972-73, no. 220). The three drawings are all published by *Monbeig-Goguel*, op. cit. (see n. 1), figs. 2, 15 and 16.
- ²¹ According to *Monbeig-Goguel* (op. cit. [see n. 1], pp. 19-20) also the T. Clifford drawing was executed for a chisel work; but the correspondence between the Christ of S. Maria dell'Anima and the Christ of the sheet is so close that it seems to be difficult to accept her reasons.
- ²² It must be dated c. 1540.
- ²³ Three versions of this tapestry are known. The one in the Uffizi is illustrated by *Monbeig-Goguel*, op. cit. (see n. 1), fig. 14.
- ²⁴ *Harprath*, op. cit. (see n. 1), p. 160, fig. 1; *E. Hoffmann* (A Szépművészeti Múzeum: Nehány Olasz Rajzáról, in: *Szépművészeti Múzeum Évkönyvei*, IV, 1924-1926 [1927], p. 124 and fig. 6) related to the *Pietà* a drawing preserved in the Budapest Museum. As already pointed out by *H. Bussmann* (*Vorzeichnungen Francesco Salviatis. Studien zum zeichnerischen Werk des Künstlers*, Diss. Freie Universität Berlin 1969, p. 132, note 42) it is not possible to give a stylistic judgement through a feeble photograph.
- ²⁵ *Bussmann*, op. cit. (see n. 24), p. 50; *C. Monbeig-Goguel* (*Musée du Louvre. Inventaire général des dessins italiens — I*): Vasari et son temps, Paris 1972, p. 133, fig. 156.
- ²⁶ *Monbeig-Goguel*, op. cit. (see n. 25) pp. 131-133, fig. 154.
- ²⁷ *Monbeig-Goguel* (ibidem) gives the same date and connects the soldier in a niche with one of the allegorical figures painted by Salviati both in the Palazzo Vecchio and in the Palazzo Farnese. Salviati decorated the Sala dell'Udienza of Cosimo I between October 1543 and 1547-8. According to Doni (*Anton Francesco Doni*, *Lettere*, Florence 1547, pp. 68-9) these frescoes were unfinished in 1547 (see *J. Fletcher*, Francesco Salviati and Remigio Fiorentino, in: *Burl. Mag.*, CXXI, p. 793, note 10). The cycle for the Farnese family, which he left unfinished, was one of his last works. *Cheney Hofmeister* (op. cit. [see n. 1]) proposed to date the starting point in the

Palazzo Farnese 1551-52, and *Freedberg* (I, p. 335) even c. 1549. Both these hypotheses must be rejected. On stylistic grounds, one has to place this cycle between the end of the 1550s and 1563. *Freedberg* (p. 335) had already noticed that "the Sala dei Fasti Farnesi ... engaged Salviati ... until his death in 1563."

It is possible to notice a stylistic relationship between these frescoes and those painted by Francesco in the Grifoni Chapel in S. Marcello al Corso in Rome. As suggested by *B. Davidson* (*Early Drawings* by Perino del Vaga, in: *Master Drawings*, I, n° 3, 1963, p. 7) Salviati was commissioned to fresco this chapel in the last two years of his career.

Monbeig-Goguel (op. cit. [see n. 25], pp. 131-13) also noticed the Tibaldesque character of this drawing. The relationship between these two artists must be further explored, because it is one of the cruxes of the history of Italian art during the second half of the XVI century. An influence of the older painter on Tibaldi would seem more plausible, but the latter was one of the most gifted artists of the second half of the century. Pellegrino was already a mature artist at this time, and we cannot discard the hypothesis of a mutual exchange, or even of an influence of the younger artist on Salviati. After all, Tibaldi was the artistic heir of del Vaga's last work, the Sala Paolina in the Castel Sant'Angelo, where Perino and Pellegrino realized the happy alliance of *Rafaellesque 'sprezzatura'* and *Michelangeloesque 'terribilità'*. However, I think that the role played by Tibaldi in the Sala Paolina has been overrated. For an analysis of the relationship between Perino, Tibaldi, and Siciolante see my Ph.D. thesis: *The Artistic Patronage of Pope Julius III (1550-55). Profane Imagery and Buildings for the Del Monte Family in Rome*. Courtauld Institute of Art (to be discussed in 1982). See now *F. M. Aliberti Gaudio* and *E. Gaudio*. *Gli affreschi di Paolo III a Castel Sant'Angelo* (exhibition cat.), Rome 16th Nov. 1981-31th Jan. 1982.

²⁸ The only drawing specifically related to this cycle concerns one of the small Ricci imprese running under the main frescoes (Uffizi; 614 F; see *Bussmann*, op. cit. [see n. 24], p. 69).

²⁹ *Vasari-Milanesi*, VII, p. 20. The three Maries are three angels. It is worth noting that the adverb '*ultimamente*' cannot be read as 'recently'. Salviati died in 1563 and Vasari published the second edition of his *Vite* in 1568. Therefore '*ultimamente*' in this case must be interpreted as 'finally'. Vasari's passage simply tells us that the altarpiece was the last work executed in the chapel.

³⁰ All the scholars agree. Only *Lohninger* (op. cit. [see note 1], p. 95) identified Charity as Love because, according to him, "beside (St. John the Almoner) Love is symbolized through a mother with her sons" (!).

³¹ Already *Lohninger* (op. cit. [see n. 1], p. 95) emended Vasari, but both *Schmidlin* (op. cit. [see n. 1], p. 240) and *Cheney Hofmeister* (op. cit. [see n. 1], p. 227-237) identified the saint as St. George. Three considerations seem to reject this hypothesis: there is no trace of a dragon, the spear is not broken, finally the standard is not decorated with a cross. Instead St. Mauritius is often represented as holding a lance which supports a banner, leaning on a shield, just as in the 'Markgrafen' Chapel (see *Louis Reau*, *Iconographie de l'Art Chrétien*, Paris 1955-1959, Part III, Vol. II, pp. 935-939). St. Mauritius is usually crowned; the object, heavily repainted, on which the saint rests his right foot, appears to be a crown. Moreover, we must remember that St. Mauritius was the patron saint of Magdeburg Cathedral.

³² Notwithstanding this clear evidence, *Schmidlin* (op. cit. [see n. 1], p. 240) thought he represented St. Albert Magnus. *Schmidlin* was followed by *Lohninger*, (op. cit. [see n. 1], p. 95), and by *Knopp Hansmann*, op. cit. (see n. 1) p. 49; *Cheney Hofmeister* (op. cit. [see n. 1], p. 227-237) justly went back to Vasari and noticed that the allegorical figure trampled down by the saint is not Logic, but a female devil.

³³ St. Albert is often represented as treading on a chained devil since he was invoked to free those possessed by the devil. The iconographic choice of St. Albert and St. John the Almoner was determined by the fact that they could represent at the same time both the name of the patron and the functions of the hospital of S. Maria dell'Anima: charity and assistance.

³⁴ See *Schmidlin*, *Cheney Hofmeister*, *Knopp Hansmann*. *Lohninger* identified her as Wisdom; cfr. note 32.

³⁵ The tortoise in religious art is an emblem of marriage (see *K. A. Wirth*, s.v. 'Ehe', in: *RDK*, IV, col. 781). It is worth mentioning that St. Albert was the patron of childless marriages. In *Cesare Ripa's* 'Iconologia' (ed. G. Zarattino Castellini, Padua 1625, pp. 538-540) Pudency is a veiled girl, holding in her right hand a lily (which is also the attribute of St. Albert), and resting her right foot on a tortoise: "VNA giouanetta vestita di bianco, in testa habbia vn velo dell'istesso colore, che le cuopra la faccia fino alla cinta, con la destra mano tenghi vn giglio parimente bianco, & sotto il piede destro una testuggine. ... Sotto al destro piede tiene la testuggine, per dimostrare, che le donne publiche deouono stare assidue nelle case loro come fa la tartaruca. *This shows that in the language of the Italian Renaissance 'tortoise' and 'turtle' were equivalent* nella sua casa datale dalla natura, pensiero di Fidia in quella sua statua, perciò che'l nome, & la persona d'vna donna da bene non bisogna che esca delle mura di casa. Sentenza di Tucidide presso Plutarco, de curis Mulieribus, Probac mulieris nomen itidem ac corpus domesticis parietibus contineri oportet".

This description is of the greatest interest because it shows the transformation of a pagan image into a religious one. The tortoise, once the symbol of Domestic Venus, has now become the symbol of Pudency. Plutarch in his 'Conjugalia praecepta' indicates the tortoise as an attribute of Domestic

Venus, because it was the attribute of the Venus sculpted by Phidias. It symbolizes the task of women, that is, according to Plutarch, to stay at home and to hold their tongues. One must bear in mind that according to Pliny it was the turtle that has no tongue: "Testudini marinae lingua nulla" (*Pliny the Elder, Naturalis historia*, Book XI, chapter LXVIII, paragraph 180, ed. by H. Rackham, The Loeb Classical Library, London-Cambridge/Mass., Vol III, 1940, p. 544).

In *Andrea Alciati's 'Emblematum libellus'*, (Paris 1535, p. 106) there is a woodcut of Domestic Venus executed according to Plutarch's description of the statue by Phidias.

The 'Conjugalia praecepta' were well known in Italy during the Renaissance. They were translated into Italian by Marc'Antonio Gandino (*Ammaestramenti Matrimoniali di Plutarco Filosofo & Historico Eccellentissimo. Nuovamente tradotti in lingua Italiana da Marc'Antonio Gandino*, Venice 1586, p. 9): "Fidia scolpi la Venere de gli Elei sopra de vna testudine significar volendo, che'l debito della donna era di starsi in casa, e tacere". From his preface we know that it was previously translated by Giovanni Tarcagnola.

³⁸ This matches the news transmitted by Brutius (quoted by *Lohninger*, op. cit. [see n. 1], p. 95, note 2): "Duo hic tumuli, quibus conditi familiares duo Cardinalis Brandenburgens electoris, cum suis imaginibus". In fact, Lemmeken does not seem to have been a "familiar" of the Cardinal.

RIASSUNTO

In questo articolo si pubblicano i documenti conservati presso l'archivio di S. Maria dell'Anima a Roma concernenti la cappella dei Margravi affrescata da Francesco Salviati. Oltre ad illustrare le tormentate vicende che accompagnano questa commissione, essi ci permettono di datare con precisione la fine dei lavori: 13 agosto 1550. Segue una discussione dei disegni che possono essere messi in rapporto con quest'opera, e l'analisi dell'iconografia richiesta dal committente Giovanni Alberto di Brandeburgo e dal suo agente a Roma Quirinus Galler.

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