

*From Hebrew and gardens to oranges and lemons  
Giovanni Battista Ferrari and Cassiano dal Pozzo* \*

Some of the most vivid recollections of Cassiano dal Pozzo are preserved in the works and correspondence of Giovanni Battista Ferrari. The writings, both published and unpublished<sup>1</sup>, of the almost forgotten Jesuit Father (1582-1655)<sup>2</sup> provide a more than usually affectionate account of the scholarly intimacies shared amongst those who frequented the library and collections of the house on the Via dei Chiavari. For example.

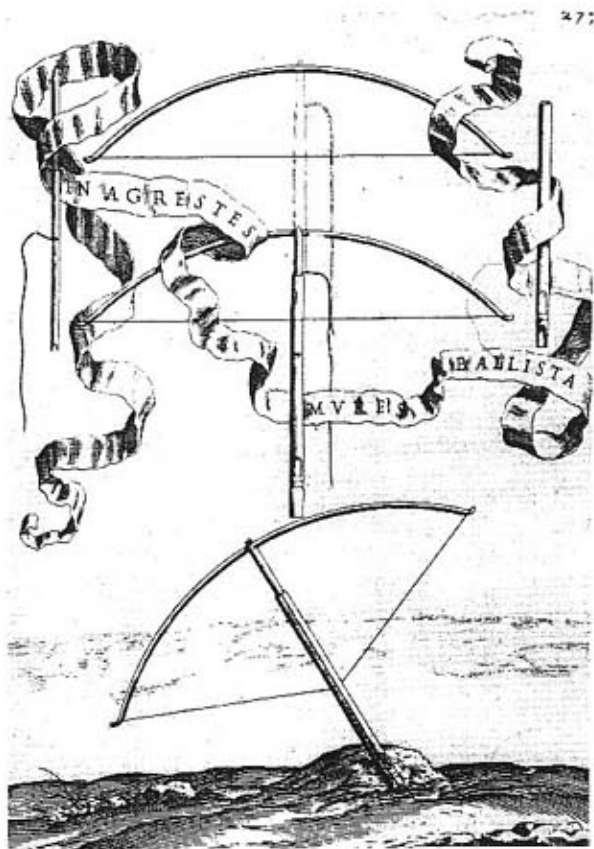
*One day, as I often used to do, I met my friend Cassiano dal Pozzo at his home. In his accustomed way he received me most cordially, and warmly taking me by the hand, drew me into the domestic Parnassus that is his library. In this wonderful choice of books I saw included most graphically nothing less than the whole of antiquity, not only in Rome, but also elsewhere. For miraculously contained in these one hundred large volumes were the ancient rites and sacrifices, the wedding and funeral ceremonies, the hunts, wars, triumphs, and everything else pertaining to human life that remains either in pictorial or sculpted monuments, which he left to instruct the eyes and minds of posterity. And when we sat down together, he said "I congratulate you on the hugely successful public appearance of your golden apples, which have now at last matured in your cultivated pages. Now tell me, what projects do you have in hand, and for what are your preparing your pen?"*<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For the published material, see the inevitable entry in the *Biographie Universelle* (XIII, p. 614), and the scattered locations in DE BACKER-SOMMERVOGEL (II, cols. 1390-1391, s.v. "Conti, Sébastien"; Supplément Rivière, fasc. V, col. 1061; LX, Supplément Casalicchio-Zweissig, cols. 331-2), are also to be consulted; but none of these are complete (cf., for example, note 42 below). See also the references to two orations or discourses by Ferrari entitled *De Lauretana Domo* and *De Joanne Berchmansio* amongst the *censores librorum* in ARSI, *Fondo Gesuitico* 666, fol. 218 recto. In collaboration with Francesco Solinas I hope to publish the correspondence between Ferrari and Cassiano dal Pozzo preserved in the Biblioteca dell'Accademia dei Lincei, *Carteggio Puteano* (henceforward CP) VI, *Lettere di varii letterati a Cassiano dal Pozzo*.

<sup>2</sup> That he was born between January and 24 April, 1582 (and not 1580, as in the *Universelle* (and in L. Ferrari's *Onomasticon* cited below and in several other writers), or on 1 May, 1585, as in DE BACKER-SOMMERVOGEL, Supplément Rivière, fasc. V, col. 1061) is clear from the *Catalogi Breves* of the Jesuit College in Rome (ARSI, *Cat. Breves*, Rom. 79, fol. 157 r. Cf. *Cat. Trienn.* Rom. 54, fol. 153r. I am greatly indebted to Ugo Baldini, who exceeded all bounds of scholarly generosity in putting me on the track of these documents and transcribing some of them for me at a time when I was unable to view them in Rome myself. Although it is possible that Ferrari died some time after April 1655, ARSI, *Historia Societatis* 80 ("Liber defunctorum in Socetate ab anno Iubilaei 1650"), fol. 70 recto, just as the *Biographie Universelle*, p. 614, gives the date as 1 February. See also L. FERRARI, *Onomasticon* (*Repertorio bio-biografico degli scrittori italiani dal 150 al 1850*) Milan, 1947, p. 303, with further bio- and bibliographical references, from LEONE ALLACI's 1633 *Apes Urbanae* (p. 276) onwards.

<sup>3</sup> I.B. FERRARI, *Collocutiones*, Siena (Apud Bonettos Typis Publicis), 1652, pp. 1-2.

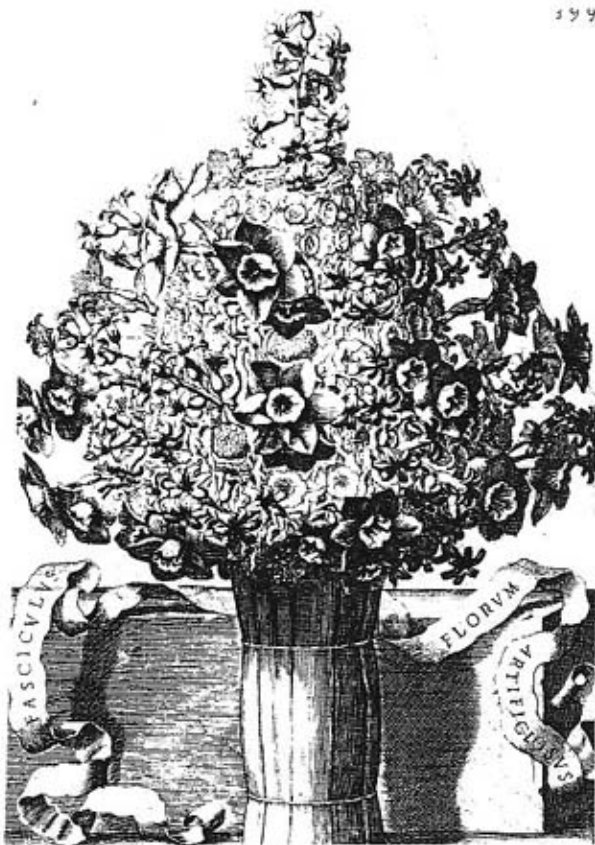


399

1. Giovan Battista Ferrari, *Flora*, 1633 p. 275: *In agrestes mures ballista*.

2. Anna Maria Vaiana, *Vase of Flowers* (*Idem vas* [i.e. *Vas operculo multiforo ad flores ordinate contentos*] *ordinatus floribus conspicuum*), from Giovan Battista Ferrari, *Flora*, 1633, p. 399.

3. Giovan Battista Ferrari, *Flora*, 1633, p. 275: *Fasciculus florum artificiosus*.



The conversation goes on for several pages in this manner <sup>4</sup>. It is entirely typical of the kind of genial talk and the domestic and antiquarian vignettes that occur frequently in Ferrari's little-known and rare *Collocutiones* of 1652 <sup>5</sup>. Although none of his books have received more than passing attention, the *Collocutiones* have been completely neglected <sup>6</sup>. It is one of the last works of the Jesuit Gardener and Professor of Hebrew <sup>7</sup> who was so close a friend of Cassiano's before he retired to his beloved Siena in 1650 <sup>8</sup>. Two years later the work was published in Siena, with a frontispiece by Livio Mehus after Rafael Vanni, and about which Ferrari writes a characteristically worried letter to Cassiano on 9 April 1652, in which he expresses the hope that he will be able to have it engraved "senza spesa o da Stefano della Bella, od a un certo Livio suo scolare, delicatissimo disegnatore, pittore et intagliatore" <sup>9</sup>.

The golden apples to which Cassiano refers are, of course, the citrus fruits of Ferrari's great book called the *Hesperides*, finally published after years of struggles for subvention, in 1646. They represent the two great fruits of a collaboration between the famous antiquarian and a Jesuit who has been too much overlooked in favour of the more worldly and international of Cassiano's friends. Everyone has known about Ferrari, but no one, as far as I know, has traced the closeness of his relationship with Cassiano <sup>10</sup>, nor fully assessed his key role in the important relations between Jesuits and antiquarians, both libertine and otherwise, in Urbinate Rome <sup>11</sup>. Like much else in the *Carteggio Puteano*, the unpublished letters from Ferrari to Cassiano, lasting from 1632 (at the latest) to 1654, deserve to enter the annals of Italian literature. His prose style, both in Latin and Italian, is stylish yet intimate; above all it qualifies as *doctus et humanissimus*. And his involvement with the patronage of the greatest Roman artists of his day has barely been examined.

The initial conversation of the *Collocutiones* opens a learned discussion about the Roman *Lapidatio* and various other Roman games <sup>12</sup>. Before going on to discuss the Roman horse, donkey, and buffalo races, it describes, in great detail, the elaborate Jewish races held on the day in which they were let out of the Ghetto <sup>13</sup>. The account is of extraordinary interest

<sup>4</sup> It will obviously feature at greater length in the biography of Ferrari that I am in the course of writing.

<sup>5</sup> As in note 3 above. I have not been able to find the Siense edition of 1646 referred to by the *Biographie Universelle* on p. 614; but the existence of such a work is unlikely, and there is no sign in the correspondence I have read (in which he makes constant reference to his literary projects, as will appear from the following notes) that he had anything of this order ready for the press at so early a date.

<sup>6</sup> Even Lombroso simply referred to it as "un suo libretto in ottavo" (Lombroso, p. 259) when he published the letter, cited at the end of this paragraph and in note 9 below, on the frontispiece designed by Vanni.

<sup>7</sup> It appears from the *Catalogi Triennales* in the Jesuit Archives that he was Professor of Hebrew from 1618 to 1647, when he retired to Tivoli (see pp. 60 and 61 below). The length of this incumbency is greater than that of any other incumbent before the suppression of 1773. It was, in any case a quite uncharacteristically long period for any professorship at the Collegio Romano – particularly at this time. For the dates of the Professorship, see I. IPARRAGUIRRE, S.I., "Elenco dei Rettori e Professori" in R.G. VILLOSLADA, S.I., *Storia del Collegio Romano dal suo inizio (1551) alla soppressione della Compagnia di Gesù* (Analecta Gregoriana, LXVI, Series Facultatis Historiae Ecclesiasticae, Sectio A, no. 2), Rome, 1954, p. 323.

<sup>8</sup> For the date of his arrival in Siena, see C.P. VI, fol. 386 (Letter of 20 December, 1650, and Appendix below).

<sup>9</sup> CIP VI, fol. 398 (Siena, 9 April, 1652), published by Lombroso, pp. 258-9. He had in fact already written about the frontispiece to Cassiano a fortnight earlier (C.P. VI, fol. 396; Siena, 27 March, 1652). See also Ferrari's own description and explanation of the frontispiece in the letter to the *Intronati* published at the head of the *Collocutiones*, \*5 - \*6.

<sup>10</sup> Although (needless to say) it was briefly suggested by Lombroso in his pathfinding and still indispensable book on Cassiano. He also published two rather uncharacteristic letters (uncharacteristic, at least, from the literary point of view) and referred to the *Agrumi* manuscript discussed in the second part of this article (Lombroso, especially pp. 163-4 and letters on pp. 258-60).

<sup>11</sup> He is only mentioned very briefly in P. SANTUCCI, *Poussin. Tradizione Ermetica e Classicismo Gesuita*, Salerno, 1985, p. 47.

<sup>12</sup> *Collocutiones*, pp. 1-25.

<sup>13</sup> *Collocutiones*, pp. 14-20, especially, pp. 19-20.

for the ethnography of Rome. But since the present article is intended only to be a sketch of possible avenues of research, this is not the place to examine the full implications of this "conversation" between Cassiano and Ferrari in greater detail. The next *Collocutio* between Cassiano and Ferrari begins even more engagingly.

*On the next day I bump into Cassiano alighting from his carriage at the Porta Flaminia. "Where are you going on foot?" I ask. "But", says Cassiano, "such a straight and broad road, such a famous and really regal one, absolutely invites you to go for a walk on it. Would you like to join me? In case our feet get tired, my carriage will follow behind..."*<sup>14</sup>.

And so, after this charming beginning (even if it were purely literary, as *Collocutiones* traditionally demand, it gives the reader the clearest idea of what conversation with Cassiano must have been like, or seemed like, to his friends), they go on to discuss the Sieneese boxing matches and other games, amongst the fullest available accounts we have<sup>15</sup>. The third *Collocutio* is about the *Calcio* in Florence<sup>16</sup>. Of course they need a good Florentine source for this; so whom should they meet, as they walk along, but Giovanni Battista Doni, "vir in primis eruditus, deque re musica & veteri & recenti"<sup>17</sup>.

The conversation is wonderfully full, with details of the clothes everyone at the games wore, the ages of the participants, the various rules, and so on and forth. At the Ponte Milvio they meet Francesco Rosermini, sitting by the wayside on a stone, contemplating the structure of the bridge. "Salve, O tiberine Pontane" says Ferrari – and barely is the pun on *pons* and Pontanus explained, with much joking, when the discussion turns to the Pisan games, the *Ponte*<sup>18</sup>.

While the literary style and form in which all these descriptions are couched seem entirely due to Ferrari, his dependence on Cassiano for much of the material is constantly and generously acknowledged, in the book itself and again in several letters<sup>19</sup>. In characteristic fashion, Ferrari self-slightly refers to his book as his *bagatelle*<sup>20</sup> or his *ricreationi*<sup>21</sup> while Cassiano – just as characteristically – in turn plays down the extent of his own help and involvement in its preparation<sup>22</sup>. But from the fifth *collocutio* on, Ferrari is much less dependent on Cassiano for his material. At this point the *Collocutiones* take a different turn altogether. After four highly rhetorical literary exercises and *laudationes*, he recalls his days at the Jesuit College in Rome, and describes some of the less religious pursuits of the Jesuits, some of their holidays and, above all, their theatrical performances<sup>23</sup>. Indeed, several of the later *collocutiones* (especially the tenth one) give very vivid accounts of the literary activity and the kinds of discussions he and his colleagues – like Giovanni Battista Giattini, Leo Santi, Bernardo Stefonio, Giovanni Battista Andriani, Terenzio Alciati, Vincenzo Guiniggi

<sup>14</sup> *Collocutiones*, p. 26.

<sup>15</sup> *Collocutiones*, pp. 27-34.

<sup>16</sup> *Collocutiones*, pp. 35-49.

<sup>17</sup> *Collocutiones*, p. 35.

<sup>18</sup> *Collocutiones*, pp. 50-56. Cf. also notes 138-139 below for Cassiano's contribution to the details of this discussion.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. pp. 46 and 61, and notes 82-83 and 125, 138, 139 etc. below.

<sup>20</sup> "Alcune mie bagatelle" *CP VI*, fol. 38 (Siena 19 October, 1615); for other self-deprecatory positions, see, for example, the letters cited in the two following notes.

<sup>21</sup> *CP VI*, fol. 358 (Tivoli, 27 February, 1648).

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Cassiano's letter to Ferrari of 15 November, 1652 in *CP VI*, fol. 437. Just five days earlier Ferrari had written to Cassiano in which he noted that it was Cassiano's name that had elevated "la viltà e la povertà del mio stile" (*CP VI*, fol. 406); while a fortnight later he referred to the many imperfections of his work (*CP VI*, fol. 408, Siena, 29 November, 1652).

<sup>23</sup> Especially in the tragedies of *Remus Captivus* and *Romulus Fundator* (*Collocutiones IX and X*), pp. 126-214.



(Guinisius), Muzio Vitelleschi, and, of course, Famiano Strada – might have had as they sat in the audience of their other colleagues' plays<sup>24</sup>. There is much, for example, on stage-directions and on the literary structure of the plays, as well as one delightful account of a conversation during the interval of one of the performances<sup>25</sup>. The book concludes with a eulogy of the famous Jesuit *Praepositus*, Muzio Vitelleschi, by Ferrari and his friends (notably Famiano Strada, Guinigi and Alciati). It is entitled "Virtutum Pictura sive Mutius Vitellescus suis laudibus coloratus"<sup>26</sup>.

The *Collocutiones* are not quite the last production of Ferrari, since he was substantially to contribute to a volume edited by the *Intronati* on famous Siennese religious figures. This was written under the fitting name by which he was known to his fellow academicians, *L'Ameno*<sup>27</sup>. The name suits the man, given the benignity of his style (especially in Latin) and what the books reveal of his nature. The tone, in all his writings, is consistently charming, benevolent and extremely relaxed – perhaps too much so, since it often takes rather a long time to get to the point. But however long it takes it is always entertaining, since it is so full of jokes and pleasant surprises. The energetic literary and rhetorical activity of the early years of the Collegio Romano produced many charming and delightful writers, and so too did the patronage of the Barberini; but of them all, Ferrari must surely count amongst the wittiest and sweetest. The charm of the others was sometimes rough and sometimes over-polished; but his was perhaps the most suave and most polished of all. Altogether characteristic is the multiplication of diminutives, and nowhere more so than in the *Hesperides* of 1646<sup>28</sup>. But before turning to this book, a brief account of his earlier days at the still young College might be in order<sup>29</sup>.

It is not hard to imagine that our gardener and Professor of Hebrew would have exasperated his superiors at the College; and this indeed seems to have been the case, if we read just a little between the lines of the various reports on him between 1603 and 1651. He en-

<sup>24</sup> The rich literary activity of the Roman Jesuits remains to be fully explored from Famiano Strada's *Prolesiones* to the abundant plays and poems of men like Stefonio and Guinigi (above all). M. FUMAROLI "Cicero Pontifex Romanus: La tradition rhétorique du Collège Romain et les principes inspireurs du mécénat des Barberini". *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome*, XC, 1978, 2, pp. 797-835 gives some sense of this activity, but an insufficient idea of its range, depth and scope. For the basic information about all these figures, see Villoslada, as cited in note 7 above.

<sup>25</sup> Eg. in *Collocutiones*, pp. 199-205.

<sup>26</sup> *Collocutio XI, Collocutiones*, pp. 215-220.

<sup>27</sup> *Fasti Senenses ab Academia Intronatorum Editi*, s.l. et s.d. See DE BACKER-SOMMERVOGEL II, p. 1391, for a discussion of the possibility of Siena as the place of publication and 1659 as the date. Cf. the *Fasti Senenses Altera editio auctior*, Siena (Apud Bonettos. Typis Publicis), 1669 (DE BACKER-SOMMERVOGEL II, 1390-1391, s.v. "Conti, Sébastien"). In the introduction to the reader of the first edition, the book is referred to as "opus aliquorum ex nostro coetu industria et labore perfectum"; but in the second edition the reference is much more specific. Here the book is said to be "magna ex parte elaboratum ab academico *L'Ameno* [i.e. Ferrari]...ad hunc quem vides terminum accurate perduxit academicus *Il Composto* [ie. Sebastiano Conti]. Thus the letters "A" and "C", in the second edition, indicate who wrote which article. There is a useful manuscript summary of the collaboration beside the first page (\*\*2 verso) of the *Index Nominum* in the copy of the first edition in the British Library. It not only identifies Ferrari as "*L'Ameno*" and Conti as "*Il Composto*", it also identifies Ferrari as the author of the 80 articles in the book. Furthermore, it seems likely to me that the title page of this edition, engraved by Guillaume Valet after a design by Maratta, was conceived by Ferrari – at any rate on the basis of its similarity with the title page of the 1652 *Collocutiones* and several of the other scattered allegorical conceits by Ferrari. Cf. p. 000 and note 9 above.

<sup>28</sup> There were plenty of signs of this proclivity earlier on too: one has only to consider the reference to the benign "punctiunculae" of the Orsini thorns in the overly sweet dedication of the *Orationes* to Cardinal Alessandro Orsini; or, in the charming address to the Winds in the *Oratio* on the *Aetas Florea*: "Insusurratum praeconis ventuli murmurillum ubique audiunt..." etc. (*Orationes*, 1657, p. 186; or the "vagulae aurarum animulae... blandumque murmurillum" that waft "per florem Elysium", in *Flora*, 1633, p. 516.

<sup>29</sup> See note 2 above for a record of my indebtedness to Ugo Baldini for putting me on the track of the documents in the Collegio Romano that form the basis of my account here.

tered the College at the age of 19 in April 1602<sup>30</sup>. After studying metaphysics, logic and natural philosophy with Giuseppe Agostini (and after the usual four years of theology)<sup>31</sup>, he was sent to the Maronite college in Rome in 1615/16<sup>32</sup> – where we know he learnt Syriac. By the schoolyear of 1619-20 he was teaching Arabic and Hebrew back at the Collegio Romano<sup>33</sup>. Already at the time of his entry his health had been described as *mediocris*; by 1616 he was described as having a reasonably good intelligence, but weakish in theology, of mediocre judgment, prudence and experience; and of melancholic humor. He was obviously a little sickly too, since one early report describes him as *aptus ad docendum humaniores litteras si valetudo sufficiat, et ad confessiones*<sup>34</sup>. In the next few years he is consistently characterized as melancholic or phlegmatic, and once also as choleric. In 1619, the year of his appointment, and again in 1622, his melancholic nature is emphasized, but his suitability for teaching Hebrew and Syriac reiterated<sup>35</sup>. In short, these reports do not testify to much enthusiasm for Ferrari on the part of his superiors, although they acknowledge the strength of his *ingenium*.

On the basis of the Jesuit reports alone, Ugo Baldini has characterized him as a “shy somewhat repressed person, who as it happens, concealed a problematic temper under an outer calmness, interrupted by outbursts”<sup>36</sup>. This, in fact, is exactly what a psychoanalytically-minded reader would deduce from the long tales which Ferrari himself made up for his two famous books, the *Flora* and the *Hesperides*. In any event, it is perhaps not hard to see why Ferrari might have lost his own enthusiasm for the kinds of things Jesuit professors were normally supposed to be interested in. Indeed, the Syriac Dictionary, or *Nomenclator*, which he published in 1622<sup>37</sup> (but with an approval from Muzio Vitelleschi and Francesco Donati of 1619) was not a very successful effort, and has not enjoyed much esteem in the subsequent literature (Bochart was especially cutting in his judgment)<sup>38</sup>. It is, however, interesting for its introduction, with its long list of profuse acknowledgements to various members of the Maronite college, especially Petrus Metoscita, and for its brief insight into the working procedures and resources of a Syriac scholar of those days<sup>39</sup>. It also has an entirely characteristic dedicatory epistle to Alessandro Orsini, with much play on the business of thorns. “Quid enim ursinae aptius Rose, quam spinarum obsequium dedicarem” and so on<sup>40</sup>. It is terribly wordy, despite the reference to himself, in the *Isagoge*, as one “qui verborum non amo”<sup>41</sup>.

Soon his interests were to turn elsewhere, and one can only assume that they had been growing for some time. Already in the first edition of his *Orationes*, which appeared in

<sup>30</sup> ARSI *Catalogi Breves*, Rom. 79, fol. 157 r.; Cf. *Cat. Trienn.* Rom. 54, fol. 153 r., which gives the specific date of 24 April, 1602 as the date of entry into the society. Ferrari must therefore have been born between January and 24 April, 1582.

<sup>31</sup> ARSI *Cat. Brev.*, Rom. 79, fol. 216v. Cf. *Cat. Brev.* Rom. 78, I, fol. 3 v.

<sup>32</sup> ARSI *Cat. Brev.*, 266v Cf. *Cat. Brev.* 78, I, fol. 46 v and Rom 55 fol. 28 r.

<sup>33</sup> ARSI *Cat. Brev.*, Rom. 80, fol. 15 r.

<sup>34</sup> ARSI *Cat. Trienn.*, Rom. 55, fol. 65 r.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. ARSI *Cat. Trienn.*, Rom. 55, fols. 162 r., 234 v. and 279 r.

<sup>36</sup> Letter of 23 November, 1985.

<sup>37</sup> *Nomenclator Syriacus*, Rome (Apud Stephanum Paulinum), 1622.

<sup>38</sup> According to the *Biographie Universelle*, p. 614, “Bochart faisait peu de cas de cet ouvrage et accuse l’auteur de ne point connaître le syriaque, ce qui l’a conduit à mal traduire les mots syriaques...”. I have not yet been able to trace the reference to a particular passage in Bochart’s all too dense and voluminous *Opera Omnia*.

<sup>39</sup> Eg.: “Accessit ingens manuscriptorum copia librorum, quos e Syria pridem comportatos non Maronitarum Collegium tantum, verum etiam Vaticana, & Medicea bibliotheca suppeditarunt: inde lectissima mihi vocum supellex comparata est. Quoniam vero Tyronibus etiam in peregrina, & perdifficili hac lingua consultum volui; quae incidere, nomenclatorum excepta & duo genera, numerosque apposui: defectivorum, ut vocant, verborum mutilas reliquae collegi: inflexiones nonnullas a communi regula abhorrentes adscripsi: incertae notae verba certas ad classes, Georgij Amiraie eodem iam olim in Collegio...revocavi” etc., etc. (*Nomenclator, Isagoge*, a - a verso).

<sup>40</sup> *Nomenclator*, a i. It continues: Quis e mei spineto ingenij fructus existeret alius, quam nostratem pungentis aurem orationis asperitas? Ut igitur mollius atque iucundius hae spinae pungant: Rosae apposite protegantur”.

<sup>41</sup> *Nomenclator*, a recto.

1625<sup>42</sup>, there is plenty of evidence of an active interest in gardening and natural history (and much punning, as always, about both Orsini and Barberini attributes)<sup>43</sup>. Perhaps not so much gardening but plants and flowers in particular. He cannot resist bringing in floral metaphors at every stage in his discourse<sup>44</sup>, but there is one notable *oratio*, in which he makes brief reference to the gardens of Rome and Florence, from the Villa Farnese to the Villa Medici, from the orange gardens of Scipione Borghese, to those of the Villa Ludovisi, the Villa Mattei and many others, including those of the slightly lesser nobility, such as those of the Esquiline triumvirate Domenico Fedini, Pompeo Pasqualini and Pompeo de Angelis<sup>45</sup>. In each case it is clear that Ferrari's real love is flowers. But one of the chief areas of interest in the *Orationes* – which were obviously popular and reprinted many times, including two London editions in the 1650s and 1660s, each time with a few further ones added<sup>46</sup> – lie not in the somewhat sugary panegyrics on the boy saints Aloysius Gonzaga and Stanislas Kostka and Johan Berchmans<sup>47</sup> (rather like the panegyrics by the Polish Horace, Matthias Casimir Sarbievski, of only a few years later)<sup>48</sup>, but in the four very remarkable orations on the subject of Hebrew language and Hebrew literary style. In the oration on *Hebraicae linguae suavitas* he asserts the stylistic capabilities of Hebrew, and defends it against charges that it was limited and coarse; in the chapters *Hebraicae Musae sive de Disciplinarum omnium Hebraica origine* and *Hebraicae litteraturae securitas, sive De arguto dicendi genere usurpando* he justifies the difficulties of learning the language, and puts forward the case for studying it<sup>49</sup>.

But by the time of the second edition of the *Orationes*, Ferrari must have been working seriously on the first of his great natural historical projects, the *De Florum Cultura*. It first appeared – with the financial assistance of Francesco Barberini – in 1633<sup>50</sup>, and was quickly

<sup>42</sup> *Orationes XXV*, Lyon (Sumptibus Ludovici Prost. heredis Rouille 1625) with a frontispiece by F. Greuter after Domenichino. Later editions include ones in Rome (Francesco Corbelletti), 1627; Rome (Typis Petri Antonij Faciotti), 1635 with a frontispiece by F. Cimi after Romanelli, and three new orations; Venice (Apud Balconium) 1644; Cologne (Apud Cornelium ab Egmont), 1650, with a frontispiece by P. Troschel after Romanelli (reversed); London (Ex officina Rogeri Danielis), 1657; and London (Ex officina Ioannis Redmayne), 1668. On the frontispieces see B. KERBER, "Ergänzungen zu Romanelli", *Giessener Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte*, 6 (1983), p. 34-5 and notes 11-14, with fig. 2 showing the frontispiece by F. Cimi after Romanelli to the fourth edition of Rome, 1635. I have not been able to discover anything about the edition that, according to the *Biographie Universelle*, p. 614, appeared in Milan in 1627 with nine new orations. The London editions both have Seven *Pleiades* ("orationes varii argumenti") appended to them: their frontispieces are also copies of the Romanelli design.

<sup>43</sup> The dedicatory epistle to Alessandro Orsini begins: "Ursinae iterum Rosae spinas addo deddicoque" and continues in much the same vein as the dedicatory epistle of the *Nomenclator Syriacus*, as cited in note 40 above (*Orationes*, 1657, A3). For word-play on the Barberini bees, see *Orationes*, 1625, p. 291, and *Orationes*, 1657, p. 181.

<sup>44</sup> He does already in the first *oratio* entitled "Virgo tota pulchra sive De incontaminato B. Virginis Conceptu", but especially in the important oration (the thirty-fourth in the later editions) entitled "Aetas Florea, sive De toto anno cultis floribus vernante", in which this real avocation emerges with great clarity.

<sup>45</sup> *Orationes*, 1657, pp. 189-90. For the title of the oration, see the previous note.

<sup>46</sup> Details in note 42 above.

<sup>47</sup> *Orationes XXVI-XXVIII* (*Orationes*, 1650, pp. 166-195).

<sup>48</sup> M.C. SARBIEVUS, *Lyricorum Libri IV*, Antwerp (Plantin-Moretus), 1632.

<sup>49</sup> *Orationes XXX-XXXIII*. The fourth oration dealing with Hebrew issues is entitled *Stylus Hebraicus. Sive in hostes brevitatis* (*Orationes*, 1650, pp. 195-239; *Orationes*, 1657, pp. 148-180).

<sup>50</sup> I.B. FERRARI, *De Florum Cultura*, Rome (apud Stephanum Paulinum), 1633. For references to financial subsidies, see, for example, M.A. LAVIN, *Seventeenth Century Barberini Documents and Inventories of Art*, New York, 1977, pp. 12, 15, 20; Documents 98 (January 1632, payment to Greuter for his engraving of Pietro da Cortona's *Convito dei Dei*, ie. *Flora*, p. 97); 121 (20 July, 1633, forty-eight plates for the *Flora*), 160 (payments to Greuter in December 1630, to Marrucelli – for the designs of the parterres in *Flora*, pp. 25-37 and 219 – in May 1631, and again to Greuter in August 1633). See also *Flora* 1633, p. 11 for Ferrari's own gratitude for the patronage of Francesco. Cf. also O. POLLAK, *Die Kunsttätigkeit unter Urban VIII*, Vienna and Augsburg, 1928-31, I, p. 338 for a January, 1631 payment to Greuter for the engraving of the designs for the parterres.



translated into Italian, with a dedication to Anna Colonna in 1638<sup>31</sup>; while Latin editions appeared with Jan Janssen in Amsterdam in 1646 and again in 1664<sup>32</sup>. The British Library possesses John Evelyn's copy bought in Rome on the 17 March 1644<sup>33</sup>, while the Morgan Library in New York has Anna Colonna's copy, in a most beautiful binding evidently made specially for her<sup>34</sup>. The book is justly known to historians of gardens<sup>35</sup>, but it has not, as far as I know, been fully dealt with in the literature<sup>36</sup>. In a sense it is not so much a gardening book, despite the fascinating designs for parterres (seven imaginary and one real) on pages 25-37 and 219<sup>37</sup>, and the utterly charming illustrations of garden tools such as the *ballista* for catching field mice (fig. 1)<sup>38</sup>. It is, in fact, a book on flowers, how to cultivate them and how to use them. Thus, aside from the specific details of manuring, irrigation and ways of protecting flowers against pests, it also has careful instructions on how to dry flowers, and how to make pastilles and perfumes. It deals at length with problems of nomenclature and taxonomy, and provides valuable information on public uses, such as the great annual flower mosaics of the Vatican. Ferrari claims – slightly inaccurately, but with justifiable pride – that the book was the first

<sup>31</sup> G.B. FERRARI, *Flora ovvero Cultura dei fiori. ...E trasportata dalla lingua Latina nell'Italiana da Lodovico Aurelio Perugino* [i.e. Lodovico Aurelio], Rome (Pier Antonio Facciotti), 1638. Some – but by no means all – of the copies of this edition have a plate by Lanfranco of the *Council of the Gods* beneath an open and vaulted loggia replacing the plate by Pietro da Cortona of the same subject that generally appears as the second allegorical plate (aside from the frontispiece) in all the copies of the other editions I have seen (cf. figs. 7 and 8). The Lanfranco, like the Cortona, was engraved by F. Gruter. It appears as p. 99 of the 1638 edition, while the Cortona generally appears as plate 97. It also illustrates the accompanying text by Ferrari rather more closely than Cortona's illustration – which presumably accounts for its occasional use in copies of this edition.

<sup>32</sup> *Flora seu De florum Cultura, Lib. IV. Editio Nova, Accurate Bernhard Rottendorffio*, Amsterdam (Ioannes Ianssen), 1646. Nissen 620. Rottendorf was also responsible for the 1650 Cologne edition of the *Orationes* referred to in note 42 above.

<sup>33</sup> British Library, Ev.a.142. Inscribed on the folding (front) endpaper: "E. Libris J. Evelyni emptus Romae 17: Mart: 1644. Meliora Retinere. Dominus Providebit". Evelyn's original vellum binding has now been enclosed in a new vellum binding made by the British Library.

<sup>34</sup> New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, 33421. A richly tooled red morocco binding *à l'éventail*, on the front and back an *ombrellino* with the arms of Anna Colonna (three bees impaling a column, with the insignia of the gonfaloniership on a pale over all. Coronet), a bee in each angle; on the spine, between each raised band, a column between two bees. On the title-page, the ownership inscription of the Monastery of the Regina Celi. Cf. also CP VI, p. 336 (29 March, 1636) for Ferrari's own concerns with the binding of the *Flora* and on Aurelio's edition.

<sup>35</sup> Eg. the characteristically useful and engaging pages in G. MASSON, *Italian Gardens*, London, 1961 pp. 182-5, and S. COGGIATTI, "Giardinaggio a Roma nel '600", in *Strenna dei Romanisti, Società Romana di Storia Patria*, 1978, pp. 96-101. The most substantial modern study, however, is that by ISA BELLI BARSALI, *Una Fonte per i giardini del Seicento: Il Trattato di Giovan Battista Ferrari*, in G. RAGIONIERI, ed., *Il Giardino Storico Italiano* (Atti del Convegno di Studi Siena-San Quirico d'Orcia, 1978), Florence 1981, pp. 221-234.

<sup>36</sup> Nor, for that matter, have the Vatican manuscripts on the Barberini gardens (MS. *Barb. Lat.* 4265, headed *Giardino secreto del em. sig. card. Barberini*, and MS. *Barb. Lat.* 1950 headed *Horti Barberini Quir. Illus*) or any of the botanical manuscripts referred to in L. VON PASTOR, *History of the Popes*, XXIX, London, 1955, p. 438 (note especially Mingucci's two treatises on flowers, MSS. *Barb. Lat.* 4326 and *Barb. Lat.* 4327). Dr E. MacDougall has been preparing the garden manuscripts for publication. I should add here that the relationship between Ferrari's treatise and the floral decoration on several of Borromini's altarpieces is examined by my colleague Joseph Connors in a chapter on the altarpieces in his forthcoming monograph on Borromini, while Sebastian Schutze has been preparing a more specific study of the influence of Ferrari's work on Borromini's Filomarino Chapel in Naples.

<sup>37</sup> The seven plates on pp. 25-37 are Ferrari's proposals for gardens that vary from one which is supposed to parallel the Celestial City, through one based on the Roman Circus, to labyrinths and designs for awkward spaces (though we must assume that they were designed in collaboration with an architect – perhaps Filippo Gagliardi?); while the design on p. 219, labelled "Horti Cisterniani quadrans" is that of the garden of Francesco Gaetani, duke of Sermoneta, at Cisterna – as p. 217 makes clear. For some indication of the subsidized payment for these plates see note 50 above. A very brief discussion of these designs is in I.B. BARSALI, *Ville di Roma, Lazio I*, Milan, 1970, pp. 57-8.

<sup>38</sup> *Flora*, 1673, p. 275. In *agrestes mures ballista*. For other tools see the *Rastrum Gallicum* on p. 59, the *Tubus Ferreus ad Plantas transferendas* (p. 67), and the *Imbrex Ferreus Extractoris* (p. 71), as well as Book I, Chapter 5, entitled "Arma Hortensia".



to be wholly dedicated to flowers (and not to their herbal and medicinal uses)<sup>59</sup>; but it was certainly the first to have extensive sections on flower-arranging, which he recommends as a worthy pursuit for young noblemen<sup>60</sup>. It also contains much of value on contemporary Roman garden practices, notably those instituted by Tranquillo Romauli, whose gardens and gardening techniques are frequently praised, in the highest terms<sup>61</sup>. At least one of the splendid bouquets of flowers, which rival those of any Fleming or Dutchman, are by Galileo's correspondent, Anna Maria Vaiani (fig. 2, cf. fig. 3)<sup>62</sup>. The interest in devising new ways of transporting<sup>63</sup>, arranging, and showing flowers is testified by letters such as those in the correspondence between himself and Cassiano in which he expresses his concern about Francesco Barberini's "macchina di fiori"<sup>64</sup>. And he consults everyone, from his fellow Jesuit Orazio Grassi (for information about his special many-chambered vases for keeping flowers fresh), or Benedetto and Pietro Paolo Drei (about flower mosaics), to Johannes Faber and his fellow Lincei. There can hardly have been a horticultural or botanical work he did not know, from the great treatises of antiquity to the famous sixteenth century herbals of Dodonaeus and Clusius, and then on to the *Hortus Eystattensis* and the *Tesoro Messicano*.

The areas in which the *Flora* is of substantial importance for the history of art and the history of science have not received sufficient attention so far. These, too, are the areas in which it paves the way for the *Hesperides* of 1646. Firstly with regard to the whole concept and format of the book: Ferrari makes it plain on several occasions that he was concerned

<sup>59</sup> Cf. *Flora*, 1633, pp. 12-13. But a similar claim for the distinctiveness of *his* book on gardening had already been made in 1592 by the all too frequently overlooked Gregorio de los Rios. See GREGORIO DE LOS RIOS *Agricultura de Jardines, que trata de la manera que se ha de criar, gobernar, y conservar las plantas* [Madrid, P. Madrigal, 1592] ed A.G. de Madrid, (Sociedad de bibliófilos Españoles, Segunda Época, XXVII), 1951, p. 21 "Y así, por estas razones y otras muchas, he querido tomar este trabajo, para que todos se aprovechen dél y se sepan y entiendan todas las maneras de plantas comunes que se ponen en los jardines, no metiendome en las medicinales, sino en aquellas que tienen buena flor y vista; porque en los jardines, por ser pequeños, no se requieren plantas medicinales, porque no los ahoguen, sino las de flores agradables a la vista. Y cuando se quisieren tener medicinales, se ha de hacer un rejarón para tenerlas; y así, no tratarse de ellas, sino de las que comunmente requieren los jardines, y no de las propiedades de ellas, porque esto se queda y toca a los herbolarios". *Ed. cit.*, p. 21. See too, just previously, another reflection that might be said to bear on Ferrari: "Y si se dixere que a un clérigo, como yo, o religioso o principe, rey o emperador, no es permitido este exercicio, se responde que, por ser tan bueno, lo usaron personas tan graves, cuyos tenemos en todos los estados (*Ed. cit.* p. 20); and Rios goes on to cite the example of several illustrious imperial and religious precedents. Later on, in the chapter entitled "Lo que requiere el jardín", he notes that "los jardines no requieren sino arboles de flores que tengan olor y vista (*Ed. cit.* p. 27). Not surprisingly this pleasant Spanish writer reveals other similarities with Ferrari as well – although his is evidently a slighter and considerably less ambitious work.

<sup>60</sup> Aside from the significantly sweet passage in *Flora* 1633, p. 48, see also pp. 395-6. But the whole of Book IV, chapter 1, entitled "Florum structura multiplex" ("Componimenti vari di fiori" in the Italian edition of 1638) is devoted to the subject, in considerable detail.

<sup>61</sup> *Flora*, 1633, pp. 125, 169, 194, 207, 214, 311, 327 and 401 (the latter on his inspired invention of two *calathi floriferes*). Cf. also *CP, MS.* 39, fol. 95 ("Pomo Paradiso havuto del S.<sup>r</sup> Tranquillo Romauli., Si può ancor dir limone tutta scorza"; further explained in the index, along with the reference to Romauli, as being "in forma di un limoncello", *CP, MS.* 39, fol. 127). The other Roman garden much admired by Ferrari was that of Giovanni Battista Martelletti on the Janiculum (cf. *Flora* 1633, pp. 50 and 335).

<sup>62</sup> *Flora*, 1633, p. 421; cf. pp. 399, 405, 411, 415 and accompanying text.

<sup>63</sup> See especially, for the transportation of flowers (so that they remain fresh and intact), the "Capsula ambulatoria assere flores transferens" illustrated on p. 431, and the text on pp. 427-430. The inventor of this latter machine was Fabrizio Sbardoni, who is mentioned several times in connection with *macchine di fiori* too (cf. the following note).

<sup>64</sup> On several varieties of "macchina" see *Flora*, 1633, pp. 403-420, as well as the evidently complex one referred to in *CP VI*, fol. 325 (Rome 15 March, 1632): "Restai hiersera in appuntamento co' l' Sig.<sup>r</sup> Card.<sup>le</sup> che giovedì mattina dovesse presentare la canestra de' fiori. S'Applicò per tanto VS III<sup>ma</sup> a voler questo anno continuare il favore dell'anno passato, e contentasti ch'io per mezzo suo sia ammesso sicché verrò a casa verso le sedici fiori per essere la machina di maggior manifattura, e, se riuscirà, di vago componimento". Cf. *CP VI*, fol. 332 (Rome 21 March, 1634): "Haviamo quasi in ordine la machine de' fiori per l'emin.<sup>to</sup> Card. Padrone...".

that too detailed a discussion of the flowers, and a pure diet of botanical illustration would tire the reader; so in order to leaven this diet – in good classical tradition – he decides to vary the descriptive fare, both visual and literary. The basic principle of the book, therefore, is that the botanical and natural historical information is interspersed with rather long stories made up by Ferrari himself.

These stories either account for the origins of particular plants, or illustrate an aspect of gardening (such as the change of the lazy gardener *Limax* into a snail, and the flower thief *Brucas* into a caterpillar, illustrated by Sacchi (figs. 4 & 5))<sup>65</sup>. The relevance of the allegorical plates demonstrating the origins of floral diversity to Poussin's two great pictures of the late 1620s and early 1630s is a topic I hope to examine elsewhere. The stories were illustrated by the best Roman artists: Pietro da Cortona did the title-page and four other pages<sup>66</sup>, Guido Reni showed the seeds of Indian plants being handed to Neptune who would transport them to the *Horti Barberini* (fig. 6)<sup>67</sup>, while in some copies of the 1638 Italian edition a rather splendid *fešta* of the Gods by Lanfranco replaces an earlier design by Cortona (figs. 7 and 8)<sup>68</sup>. The engravings are chiefly by Greuter (to whom payments are recorded in the Barberini accounts)<sup>69</sup>, but they are by others too, such as Claude Mellan (who engraved one of Cortona's designs)<sup>70</sup>. It is, in short, a book that is most suavely written and spectacularly illustrated. Its importance for the study of Barberini art and patronage can hardly be underestimated. Most of the preparatory drawings for the allegorical plates (eg. fig. 5) and at least some of the accounts seem to survive<sup>71</sup>; more are likely to follow.

The importance for the history of science evidently lies in the system of classification<sup>72</sup>. What one wants know in this connection is its place in the history and conception of pre-Linnaean systems of botanical classification, and how it relates to the incipient systems of

<sup>65</sup> For the illustration itself, see *Flora*, 1633, p. 55. For the preparatory drawing in the British Museum, see now A.S. HARRIS, *Andrea Sacchi, Complete Edition of the Paintings with a Critical Catalogue*, Oxford, 1977, Cat. No. 83, p. 101.

<sup>66</sup> In addition to the frontispiece, see pp. 97, 231, 477 and 519 for the designs after Cortona. For a payment see note 69 below. Geissler reproduces and briefly discusses a preparatory drawing probably by Greuter for the frontispiece after Cortona (Geissler, fig. 8 and pp. 30-31, with copies), the drawing for *Cybele before the Council of the Gods* on p. 97 is in the P. and N. de Boer collection in Amsterdam; for *The Triumph of Nature over Art* on p. 477 in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (J. BEAN, *17th Century Italian Drawings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, 1979, No. 134, pp. 101-102; for the *Apollo and Melissa being changed into a Swarm of Bees* on p. 519 in the Prado, Madrid (see A. BLUNT and H.L. COOKE, *The Roman Drawings of the XVII and XVIII Centuries in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen at Windsor Castle*, London, 1960, p. 76 and fig. 57. Nicholas Turner brought to my attention a magnificent nude study by Cortona in the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe (inv. F.C. 125389) which was certainly used for the figure of Jupiter in the "Convinto dei Dei" on p. 97. The study was illustrated and discussed in M. GIANNATHENPO, *Disegni di Pietro da Cortona e Ciro Ferri*, Rome, 1977, Cat. No. 3, p. 14, where it was dated to 1632-5 and related to the painting of Hercules and Omphale in Berlin).

<sup>67</sup> Reni's design, engraved by Greuter is on p. 376. See also the important and unpublished reference to Reni in the letter from Ferrari to Cassiano of 17 April, 1632: A drawing – for the *Flora*? – has been lost: "le confesso che temo, dall'indugio di qualche disgrazia: e più mi rincrescerebbe dello scapito del disegno, che d'un grosso regalo, che in ogni modo bisognerà fare al Sig.<sup>o</sup> Guido..." etc. (CP VI, fol. 327).

<sup>68</sup> Cf. note 51 above.

<sup>69</sup> Eg., the January 1632 payment to Greuter for the "convito di Dei del S. Pietro da Cortona" (i.e. *Flora*, 1633, p. 97) transcribed by M. Lavin, op. cit., p. 12 (doc. 98); and the 10 scudi already paid in December 1630 for the engraving of the "spartimenti di Giardini et altre storie che fa per il libro del P. Ferrari", and finally the payment of 30 scudi as late as August 1633 "per resto dell'Intaglio che ha fatto d'ord.e. del Pre' Ferrari" (*Ibid.*, p. 20). See also O. POLLAK, *Die Kunsttätigkeit unter Urban VIII*, Vienna and Augsburg, 1928-31, I, p. 338 for a payment to Greuter of 31 January, 1631, for garden designs.

<sup>70</sup> I.e. the beautiful design of *Flora consulting with the Moon* on p. 231. The importance of Claude Mellan as an engraver and draughtsman for Cassiano has begun to emerge very recently in studies by David Jaffé and Maxime Préaud.

<sup>71</sup> See notes 65 and 66 above for the Sacchi, Cortona and Greuter (?) drawings, and notes 50 and 69 for the accounts.

<sup>72</sup> See especially Book II, entitled "Florum Notae" (*Flora*, 1633, pp. 99ff.).



4



6



Andrea Sacchi

5

4. Cornelis Bloemaert after Andrea Sacchi, *Limax transformed into a Caterpillar*, from Giovan Battista Ferrari, *Flora*, 1633, p. 55.

5. Andrea Sacchi, *Limax transformed into a Snail and Brucus into a Caterpillar*, drawing, red chalk on cream paper, mm. 193 × 133, London The British Museum.

6. Frederick Greuter after Guido Reni, *India presents Neptune with seeds of the choicest indian flowers to take back to the Barberini*, from Giovan Battista Ferrari, *Flora*, 1633, p. 376.



Federico Cesi and the other Lincei. What understanding of botany and nascent microscopy is revealed, for example, by the splendid plates of bulbs and seeds (figs. 9 and 10)<sup>71</sup>, which parallel the similar studies in the recently rediscovered natural history drawings from the paper museum of Cassiano dal Pozzo (figs. 11 and 12)<sup>72</sup>? It would be hard to overestimate the significance of these issues, which are even more clearly and pressingly exemplified in the *Hesperides*.

But before moving on to this work, the two short references to Cassiano in the *Flora* merit comment. The first is about a flower that features more than once in Cassiano's correspondence, the *Gelsomino giallo*, the *Gelsominum indicum*, as Ferrari calls it (fig. 13)<sup>73</sup>. It grew, of course, in the Barberini gardens, introduced there by Cassiano, who had had cuttings sent to him from Aix by none other than Claude Fabri de Peiresc<sup>74</sup>. In the short passage in the *Flora* Ferrari not only manages to praise Cassiano in the usual way<sup>75</sup>, but also Peiresc, a man whose involvements with public affairs, he says, were frequently "temperate e raddolcite da un lodevole piacere, ch'ei si prende dalla cultura de' fiori", as the 1638 edition puts it<sup>76</sup>. It is hardly surprising that in a letter from Peiresc to Francesco Barberini in the British Library, in which the *gelsomino giallo* is further discussed, Peiresc should express his mild embarrassment at the rather effusive praise bestowed on him in this very passage – Peiresc seems to think, ever so slightly – that it is out of place in a botanical and horticultural work of this kind<sup>77</sup>. There is also a long letter from Peiresc to Cassiano on the subject of the famous jasmine in the Montpellier *carteggio*<sup>78</sup>.

Much later on in the book, after noting a small picture of flowers made with flower petals and illuminated in gold belonging to Cassiano<sup>79</sup>, Ferrari goes on to mention his copious library and thanks him not only for allowing him to draw on it – "Da lui questa mia opera", he says – but also, and above all, for introducing him to the patronage of the *Api regnanti*. Further punning on the Barberini attributes follows<sup>80</sup>. Ferrari makes it clear that he owes a great deal to Cassiano not only for this, but also for revealing to him his "bellissimi segreti in materia di fiori..."<sup>81</sup>. How exactly, one is tempted to ask, did Cassiano help him with the scientific side of his book? The question arises even more crucially, and even more puzzlingly,

<sup>71</sup> Aside from magnificent plates such as those of "narcissus" bulbs, roots, and seeds on pp. 125, 135 and 141, see especially that of the seed of the *Rosa Sinensis* examined under a microscope on p. 499.

<sup>72</sup> Examples of this kind of drawing include Windsor, Royal Library, Nos. 19347 (seeds of oranges) 19414 (bulb and roots of hyacinth, here reproduced as fig. 11) and 19397 (calyx, here reproduced as fig. 12); Institut de France, MS. 974, fol. 55 (cauliflower floret under microscope); 976, fols 642 and 652 (seeds through microscope), etc. etc.; and in the fungus manuscripts, eg. MS. 968, fols. 41, 42, 44 etc. On the rediscovery of the Windsor Drawings see also pp. 50-51 here and the article by H. McBurney in the present volume.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. B.E.M., MS. H 271, II, fols. 51-51 verso and 54 (Peiresc to Cassiano, 19 March and 30 September, 1631), as well as the twenty-fourth oration in *Orationes*, 1657, p. 188.

<sup>74</sup> *Flora*, 1633, p. 389 and plate 393. For Peiresc's propagation of the yellow Indian jasmine, see now DAVID JAFFÉ, "Peiresc, Rubens and the Barberini Circle", *forthcoming*. I am grateful to Dr Jaffé for letting me read a typescript of his excellent article. See also the letter from Peiresc to Cassiano cited in the previous note, as well as P. GASSENDI, *Vita Peiresckii*, in *Opera Omnia*, *Miscellanea*, V, Lyon, 1658, p. 304, for Peiresc's importation of the Indian jasmine and his botanical experiments involving it.

<sup>75</sup> "Ad quem cumulatissime ornandum & animi, & generis, opum decora difficili alioqui foedere conspilarunt" (*Flora*, 1633, p. 389).

<sup>76</sup> *Flora*, 1633 and 1638, p. 389. For other references to the *Gelsominum giallum indicum*, see, pp. 390-393.

<sup>77</sup> London, British Library, *Add.MS. 6503*, fols. 66-66 verso.

<sup>78</sup> B.E.M., MS. H 271, fols. 54-55 (30 September, 1631).

<sup>79</sup> *Flora*, 1633, p. 440; but cf. also the passage in Lumbroso, pp. 133-4.

<sup>80</sup> *Flora*, 1633, pp. 440-441. The letters too are full of his gratitude for just this, and there are constant references to it (cf., for example, CP VI, fol. 360, written from Tivoli on 26 March, 1648, and – especially – the marvellous letter (CP VI, fol. 386) of 20 December, 1650, written on his arrival in Siena).

<sup>81</sup> *Flora*, 1638, p. 440.



7. Frederick Greuter, after Giovanni Lanfranco, *Flora holds a Banquet of the Gods*, from Giovan Battista Ferrari, *Flora*, 1638, p. 99.



8. Frederick Greuter, after Pietro da Cortona, *Flora holds a Banquet of the Gods*, from Giovan Battista Ferrari, *Flora*, 1633, p. 97.

in the case of the *Hesperides*<sup>84</sup>. So does the problem of his assistance with patronage for the book.

The *Hesperides* contains a two-page tribute to Poussin, which Thuillier published in his very useful *Corpus Pussinianum* of 1960<sup>85</sup>. The art historical interest of the book has, by and large, not been further commented on. But it also includes extensive tributes to the other artists who contributed to the book, from Cortona (who did the frontispiece) through Albani, Sacchi, Romanelli, Reni, Domenichino and Lanfranco<sup>86</sup>; and shorter encomia on Francesco Ubaldini, François Perrier and the perspectival talents of Filippo Gagliardi<sup>87</sup>. None of these passages, surprisingly, seem to have been discussed in the literature on these artists. If they do not reveal much that is new in the way of biographical information, they are of considerable critical interest, and provide insight into the mind of an aware and sensitive thinker about art and literature. They alone merit further investigation.

But there is considerably more to the *Hesperides* than this. The system of classification, here much more fully-fledged than in the *Flora*, is quite extraordinary. It is a brave attempt to classify the whole citrological world in a way that now seems utterly strange. The chief divisions are *mala citrea*, lemons, and oranges. Each division, given the name of one of the three Hesperidean nymphs, includes fruits such as we would not now include amongst citruses<sup>88</sup>. As so often, both to the non-botanical and the botanical eye, what seems similar is made dissimilar, and whole sequences of fruits that seem very like each other are minutely distinguished (as too, say, with the birds in Olinia's *Uccelliera* of 1622, also prepared with the aid of Cassiano)<sup>89</sup>. The difficulties presented by the historical classifications and taxonomy were not underestimated by Ferrari. At the beginning of the third book, on lemons, he observes that "limonum quidem genera scriptores varii varie parceque numerant et nominant. Tria Pontanus canit. Paulo liberalior Clusius quattuor indulget, Duplo quam hic videri possit augustior Porta, qui duo tantum depromit. Idem tamen uterque innumerabilis in species, cultus & insitionis artificio inventas, generatim nec ita distincta partitur...."<sup>90</sup>. He utilizes every possible source – including obscure or unreliable etymological ones, like Goropius Becanus<sup>91</sup> –

<sup>84</sup> *Hesperides sive de Malorum Aureorum Cultura et usu Libri Quatuor*, Rome (Herman Scheus), 1646. Engraved title page; title page; four unnumbered leaves, pp. 1-480, 8 unnumbered leaves, pp. 205 and 207 reversed, and pp. 291 and 293 reversed). 6 leaves, a<sup>+</sup> · Z<sup>+</sup>, Aa<sup>+</sup> · Zz<sup>+</sup>, AAA<sup>+</sup> · QQq<sup>+</sup> (including the engraved plates). 100 engraved plate (of which 79 are botanical), by C. Bloemaert, F. Greuter, C. Cungi, P. Goyrand and D. Barrière.

<sup>85</sup> J. THUILLIER, "Pour un 'Corpus Pussinianum'", in [Colloque] *Nicolas Poussin*, ed. A. Chastel, Paris, 1960, pp. 77-8, reproducing (and briefly commenting on) *Hesperides*, p. 99.

<sup>86</sup> On Cortona, see *Hesperides*, p. 2 (Cortona, of course, had already received considerable praise in the 1633 *Flora*, to which he was the major artistic contributor); on Albani, pp. 53-4; Sacchi, pp. 91-2; Romanelli, p. 279; Reni, pp. 245-6; Domenichino, p. 422 and Lanfranco, pp. 449-50. The surviving preparatory drawings by Sacchi, Domenichino and Poussin are cited in notes 94, 95 and 115 below. Cortona's drawing for the frontispiece, showing the Hesperides Presenting Hercules with the Fruit of their Garden, is in Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz (P. DREYER, *Ausstellungskatalog Römische Barockzeichnungen aus dem Berliner Kupferstichkabinett*, Berlin, 1969, No. 52; Geissler, p. 32 and note 43); the drawing for the Hesperides Bringing Orange trees to Naples on the plate facing p. 446 by Lanfranco and his studio is also in Berlin (see E. SCHLEIER, "François Perrier a Roma", *Paragone*, XIX, 1968, pp. 44-5 and note 7, figure 24b, and Geissler, p. 32 and note 42); while the two preparatory designs by Reni in Christchurch and the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford are reproduced and discussed (with earlier literature) by Geissler, pp. 33-37 and figs. 15 and 16 (Geissler also reproduced what he assumes to be Greuter's preparatory drawing for the engraving after Reni as fig. 17 and discusses it on pp. 36-7. I have not so far been able to locate the drawing by Albani for the plate facing p. 50, or Romanelli's drawing for the plate facing p. 276 (discussed in note 96 below).

<sup>87</sup> For Ubaldini see *Hesperides*, p. 17; Perrier, p. 29 and Gagliardi, p. 133.

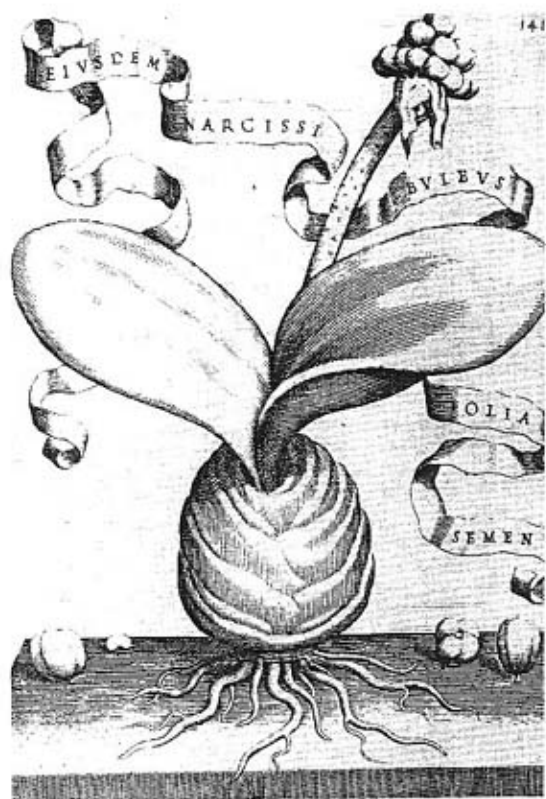
<sup>88</sup> The individual books are called *Hercules sive Aditus ad Hesperides*; *Aegle sive Malum Citreum*; *Arethusa sive Malum Limonium*; and *Hesperthusa sive Malum Aurantium*.

<sup>89</sup> Reference in note 122 below.

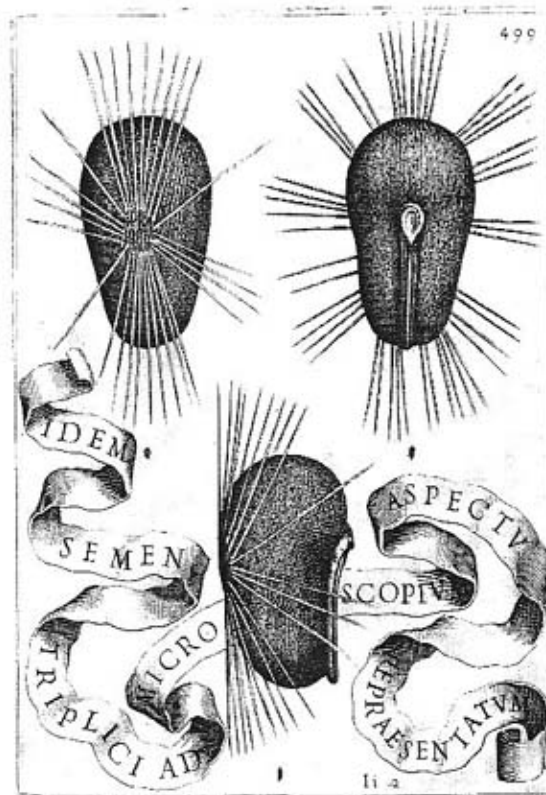
<sup>90</sup> *Hesperides* p. 187.

<sup>91</sup> Eg. *Hesperides*, p. 45.

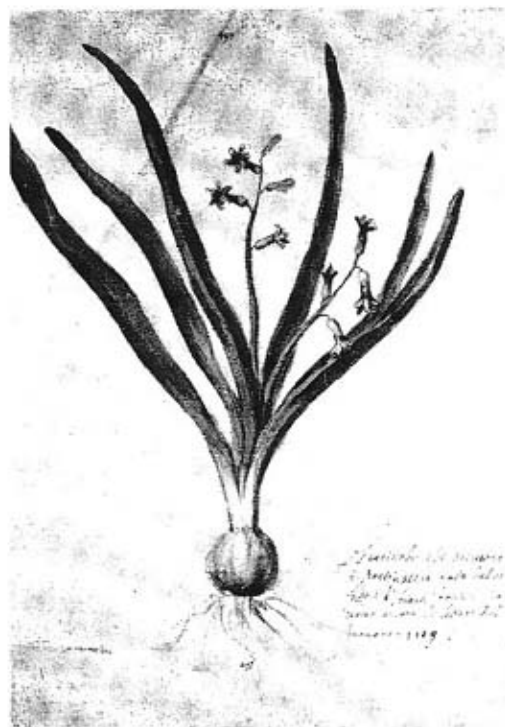




9. Giovan Battista Ferrari, *Flora*, 1633, p. 139, *Eiusdem Narcisi* (i.e. *Narcissus indicus punicensis*) *Bulbus folia (et) semen*.



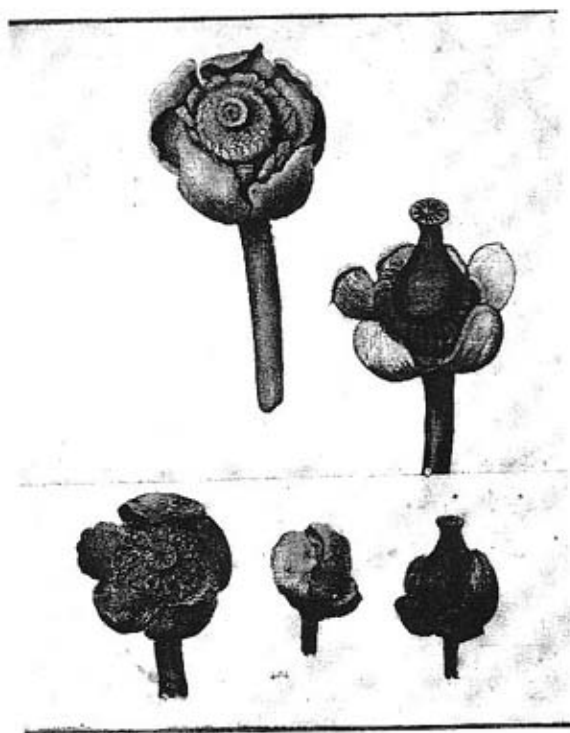
10. Giovan Battista Ferrari, *Flora*, 1633, p. 499: *Idem Semem (Rosa Sinensi) triplici ad microscopium aspectu repraesentatum*.



11. *Hyacinth*. Watercolour, gouache, black chalk underdrawing, mm. 370 × 262 on white paper. Windsor Castle, Royal Library, n. 19414.



13. Giovan Battista Ferrari, *Flora*, 1633, p. 393: *Gelsiminum Indicum Flavum Odoratissimum*.



12. *Yellow Water-lily*. Watercolour, gouache, black hulk underdrawing, mm. 279 × 252 on white paper. Windsor Castle Royal Library, n. 19397.

to establish terminology; while for classification he cuts up the fruits and keenly observes cortex, seeds, membranes and colours<sup>92</sup>. Much classificatory energy is devoted – as no one who has seen Cassiano's Natural History drawings will be surprised to hear – to the varieties of malformations of cortex, fruit and peel: here are cancerous fruit, tuberous ones, double and multiple fruits, finger-shaped ones and so on and so forth (eg. figs. 19-21), all playing an important rôle in issues of classification and taxonomy. The book is certainly not about the *diseases* of citrus fruits, as Anthony Blunt once claimed in the course of an unfortunately misleading note, in which he also described this huge effort in prose as a poem<sup>93</sup>. It is about everything related to citrus fruits: their origins, their terminology, their cultivation (from manuring to sheltering), and their use, in Italy and without, from making pills and pastilles to the manufacture of fruit juices and sweet-smelling scents. It is a vast endeavour, all done along the lines laid out in the *Flora*. But in its efforts to cover the use of citrus fruits in every region of the earth and amongst many peoples (from Arabs and Jews to Indians and Africans), it also provides a rich ethnography; while mythology combines with ethnography in many an astonishing syncretistic *tour de force*.

As with the *Flora* the now very substantial botanical material is wonderfully leavened by the stories Ferrari made up. They are all metamorphoses of one kind or another, but endless entertainment is to be derived from stories such as the ones which account for the origins of the *mala digitata* and the *aurantia distorta*, illustrated by the plates designed by Sacchi and Domenichino. In the Sacchi one sees Harmonillus's old tutor rushing to embrace him as he is turned into the tree of the *malum citreum multiforme* or *digitatum* (fig. 14)<sup>94</sup>, while the Domenichino shows Leonilla rushing to embrace Tirsenia, the mother of Harmonillus<sup>95</sup> (who had already herself turned into a *Limon Citratus* in the plate by Romanelli)<sup>96</sup> and transformed into an *Aurantium distortum* (figs. 15 and 16)<sup>97</sup>. It does not show, as Pope-Hennessy once claimed, the transformation of Myrrha<sup>98</sup>. They are written, now, with a compelling affectiveness, and they provide rich fruit for the psychobiographer.

Take the case of the expansive Harmonillus story, illustrated by Sacchi (fig. 14). In its sympathy for the boy whose tuneful and beautiful songs are suppressed by two wicked old women temporarily appointed by the comic muse as guardians of Apollo's Ephebeum on Parnassus (where the best and most promising male singers were assembled by Apollo himself) there seems to be a poignant sense of a calling missed; while in the sequel, where the former tutor, Cleomedes, just fails to reach and embrace his erstwhile pupil (who in sadness weeps and turns to an orange tree) there is more than a faint intimation of longing for a past about which we do not yet know much. It is a story about singing and the suppression of song (in these passages the most overworked adjective is *canorus*); about harsh old women, deceit-

<sup>92</sup> Cf. the important passage about taxonomic and classificatory problems on p. 46.

<sup>93</sup> "Un poème assez pédant sur la botanique, ou plus exactement sur les maladies des plantes", [A. BLUNT, ed.], *Nicholas Poussin. Lettres et propos sur l'art*, Paris, 1964, p. 52, note 22.

<sup>94</sup> *Hesperides*, facing p. 88. For the drawing in the Louvre see now A.S. HARRIS, *Andrea Sacchi* (reference in note 65 above), Cat. 86, pp. 102-3, as well J. BEAN, *Dessins Romains du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Artistes italiens contemporains de Poussin. XXXIII<sup>e</sup> Exposition du Cabinet des Dessins*, Paris (Musées Nationaux, 1959), No. 28, p. 26. Bean's catalogue of this exhibition, with its brief discussion of the *Hesperides* and Poussin's drawing for it in the Louvre, stands as a milestone in research on the topics to which this paper is devoted; cf. his pages 5-11 and 26-27.

<sup>95</sup> *Hesperides*, facing p. 418. Drawing in Windsor Castle, wrongly catalogued by J. POPE-HENNESSY, *The Drawings of Domenichino in the Collection of His Majesty the King at Windsor Castle*, London, 1948, p. 105, No. 1271 (1340) and plate 69 as *The Transformation of Myrrha*. The mistake was repeated by R. SPEAR, *Domenichino*, 2 volumes, New Haven and London, 1982, p. 323 (the only reference in the book to Ferrari).

<sup>96</sup> *Hesperides*, plate facing p. 276. The design was discussed by B. KERBER, "Kupferstiche nach Gianfrancesco Romanelli", *Giessener Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte*, II, 1973, p. 146-147 and note 52. I have not been able to find any trace of Romanelli's preparatory drawing.

<sup>97</sup> On the *Aurantium Distortum* see also Book IV, chapter 11, pp. 413-417 and plate facing p. 415.

<sup>98</sup> See note 95 above for reference.





14



15

14. Cornelis Bloemaert after Andrea Sacchi, *The Transformation of Harmonillus into a Lime tree*, from Giovan Battista Ferrari, *Hesperides*, 1646, p. 89.

15. Cornelis Bloemaert after Romanelli, *The Transformation of Tirsenia into a Limon Citratus*, from Giovan Battista Ferrari, *Hesperides*, 1646, p. 277.



16

16. Cornelis Bloemaert after Domenichino, *Leonilla rushing to embrace Tirsenia and herself being transformed into an Aurantium Distortum*, from Giovan Battista Ferrari, *Hesperides*, 1646, p. 418.

ful male friends, and a handsome boy. The details of affection and of suppressed sexual intensity, along with Ferrari's sweet, almost intolerably tender style, and the consistently mellifluous phrasing, with its plethora of pleasing epithets and diminutives<sup>99</sup>, all these aspects of the tale (and several of the others) insist on this kind of reading, and yield themselves to unusually close analysis. So, it seems to me, does the very detail of the metamorphoses themselves, always much more explicit about the actual mechanics of change than in Ovid himself.

Already from around the mid-30s Ferrari went in search of the best artists to illustrate his stories, and both the illustrations that resulted and the botanical and architectural prints mostly by Cornelis Bloemaert (but many by Greuter and some by Doménique Barrière, Camillo Cungi and Claude Goyrand)<sup>100</sup>, were engraved with such great skill that they prompted John Evelyn's remark in the *Sculptura* of 1662 that "now that we mention Blomaert... There is at Rome a cousin of his named Cornelius, who in that St Francis after Guido Reni, and those other pieces after the designs of those great masters Monsieur Pousine, Pietro Cortone &c to be seen in the books set forth by the Jesuit Ferrarius, his *Hesperides*, *Flora*, *Aedes Barberini* etc. hath given ample testimony how great his abilities are; for certainly he has in some of these stamps arrived to the utmost perfection of the *Bolino*..." and so on<sup>101</sup>. Needless to say there are several plates of horticultural instruments and four impressive architectural and horticultural plates after Filippo Gagliardi and two after Girolamo Rainaldi (eg. figs. 17 and 18)<sup>102</sup>.

But perhaps this is to move too swiftly. My initial examination of the *Hesperides* made it clear to me that, aside from the important *kulturwissenschaftliches* research that it demanded, there was much basic work to be done simply in terms of finding the relevant documentation for the genesis of the work. That has been emerging in some abundance; but also in a way that raises several further puzzles.

After a rather adventurous fate in recent years – the story must be told elsewhere – large numbers of citrological drawings, in full colours, appeared in Windsor and elsewhere<sup>103</sup>. It was almost immediately clear that these drawings – and the even larger and more spectacular body of associated natural history material that reemerged at the same time – came from the less-explored part of Cassiano's Paper Museum<sup>104</sup>. The oranges and lemons in Windsor are

<sup>99</sup> *Hesperides*, pp. 81-9. The impulse to make diminutives is altogether telling. For example, when the sweet young boy suffers *tot inter augustias*, Ferrari cannot resist writing "agrescebat corculum Harmonilli" (*Hesperides*, p. 83).

<sup>100</sup> Cungi was largely responsible for the architectural plates after Gagliardi and Rainaldi (although Goyrand engraved the view of the Palazzo Barberini with gardening tools in the foreground, here reproduced as fig. 18), while Doménique Barrière did pp. 11, 59 and 189.

<sup>101</sup> J. EVELYN, *Sculptura, or the History and Art of Chalcography and Engraving in Copper*, London, 1662, p. 78.

<sup>102</sup> After Gagliardi: *Hesperides*, plates facing pp. 130, 146, 152 and 456; after Rainaldi, plates facing pp. 460 and 462.

<sup>103</sup> Amongst the further citrological drawings that I have been able to locate are several which were sold from the Royal Collections in this century (see the following note), including a few in private hands in Florence and in the United States. Six citrological sheets are also to be found in one of the 8 natural historical volumes in the Institut de France, MS 976, fols. 84 *vers* – 85 *quinquies*.

<sup>104</sup> The first to notice this was Francesco Solinas. The citrological and natural history drawings entered the Royal Collections – along with the already known antiquarian material, notably the 10 volumes labelled *bassi relievi antichi* – in 1762, in 17 volumes, bought from the Albani family by George III through the agency of James Adam. For the descent of the volumes from the dal Pozzo Family see C.C. VERMEULE III, "The dal Pozzo Albani Drawings of Classical Antiquities. Notes on their Contents and Arrangement", *Art Bulletin*, XXXVIII, 1956, pp. 31-46 (with the important earlier references), especially pp. 34-8, and the article by H. MCBURNEY in the present volume. On the antiquarian material in Windsor, see chiefly C.C. VERMEULE III, "The Dal Pozzo-Albani Drawings of Classical Antiquities in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle", *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, LVI, part 2, 1966, and the previous article by Vermeule just cited. For the antiquarian and other material from the *Museum Chartaceum* that entered the British Museum (also from the Albani) see C.C. VERMEULE III, "The Dal Pozzo-Albani Drawings of Classical Antiquities in the British Museum", *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, L, part 5, 1960, and now the important additions by I. JENKINS. Many of the volumes were

especially notable, since it is unusual to encounter such an extensive array of coloured preparatory drawings. Not all were used, in the end, as the basis for the engravings in the *Hesperides*, but a considerable number were (cf. figs. 20-26). Over the years there has been much discussion and much surmise about the possible identities of the artists Cassiano employed to do the drawings for his Paper Museum. It is not my intention to enter into these debates here, other than to put forward the name of the one artist we must suppose to have done at least some of the citrological drawings in Windsor. In a completely overlooked passage in the *Hesperides*, Ferrari hails (in a typically rhetorical and clever way) the Vincenzo who "painted" the fruit in his book: "Natura arte geminas, Vincenti, dum vera fingis, quae volumini huic appingis poma: novoque prorsus miraculo efficis, ut aequae in papyro ac in solo nascantur. Quare cum volumine hoc grande pomarium levi labore circumfertur. Alterum hic miraculum est, ut, quae leguntur poma, non avellantur. Soli enim oculi pregustant..."; and then, in the margin, he identifies the artist as Vincenzo Leonardi<sup>105</sup>.

In any event, several of the Windsor drawings of oranges and lemons, despite the fact that they are coloured, heightened, and varnished, are incised for transfer (figs. 19-23). Some are in poorer condition than others, especially the intriguing digitated group that clearly interested Ferrari so much (cf. figs. 19 and 20). Others, such as the ones now filed under Toeput in the Witt library have banderoles in back chalk below them, just as in the final illustrations, while still further ones are bound in one of the natural historical volumes in the Institut de France<sup>106</sup>. Of all the vast abundance of natural historical material in Cassiano's museum, the citrological drawings (and those of fungi, now chiefly preserved in the Institut de France)<sup>107</sup> are perhaps the most remarkable. Certainly they provide evidence of the most single-minded and energetic pursuit of a single topic. But by whom exactly?

The drawings are clearly from Cassiano's Paper Museum; but the concept of the book seems to have been Ferrari's entirely. Certainly the style is distinctively his own, and so are the stories, with their characteristic emphasis on metamorphosis and song. How then did they work together, and who could have paid for so ambitious a project? Cassiano may have provided the botanical drawings, but who paid the engravers? And the prestigious designers of the allegorical and architectural plates? There is a fair amount of evidence to show that the issue of funding was quite a headache, from the late 30s on. In August 1641, when Pietro da Cortona wrote one of his periodic letters to Cassiano, it is clear that he was a little worried about what seemed to him the slightly overambitious project of the Jesuit. After discussing the drawings and engravings for Teti's book, he notes "Circa l'opera del P. Ferrari io ne sono informato, e dubito che tenga il piede in più staffe, e credo che cerchi quello che possa far maggiore spesa, ne compirla per esserci molti pezzi da intagliare"<sup>108</sup>. Less than five months later Poussin acknowledged to Cassiano receipt of the frontispiece and four drawings of citrus fruit "rappresentanti un cedro tagliato in diverse maniere con la dichiarazione del sudeto frutto"<sup>109</sup> (and several drawings showing a variety of sections of individual fruits do indeed survive in Windsor, and are represented in the final volume).

A number of writers have referred to the correspondence that ensued between January and June 1642, between Cassiano and Poussin (and between Poussin and Chantelou), in

broken up and dispersed in the first part of the present century; some have returned, but Jane Roberts calculated that there are still a total of 178 birds, 52 fishes and around 300 plates in private hands which were originally part of the Cassiano holdings in the Royal Collection.

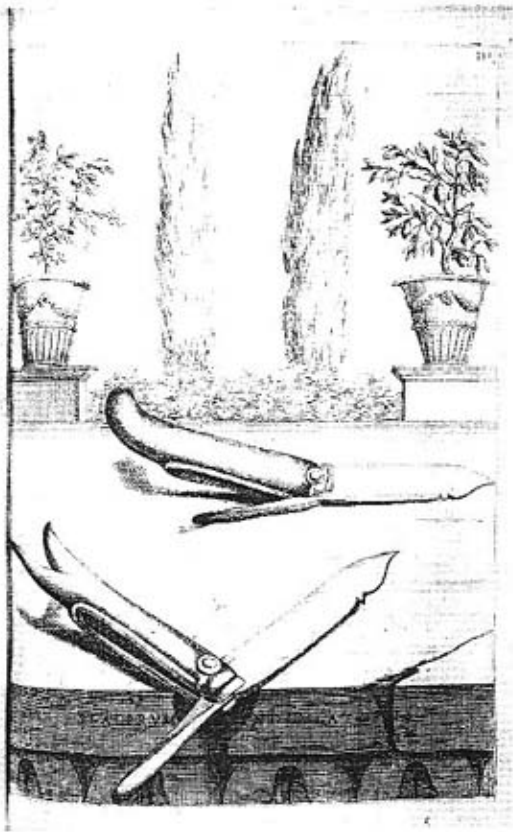
<sup>105</sup> *Hesperides*, p. 69.

<sup>106</sup> For the appropriate reference see note 103 above, as well as the following note.

<sup>107</sup> Institut de France, MSS. 968-70 (entitled *Fungorum Genera et Species*). Cf. the five volumes of *Plantae et flores*, Institut de France, MSS. 974-78. They include drawings of birds, bugs, animals and a variety of prodigies and natural historical curiosities.

<sup>108</sup> G. BOTTARI and S. TICÓZZI, *Raccolta di Lettere...*, I, Milan, 1822, pp. 415-16 (from Florence, 17 August, 1641).

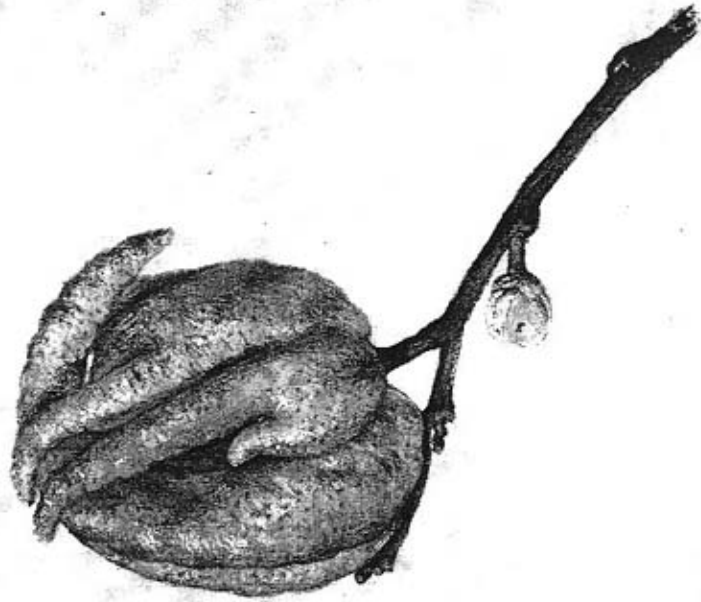
<sup>109</sup> JOUANNY, p. 110 (Poussin to Cassiano, Paris, 17 January, 1642).



17

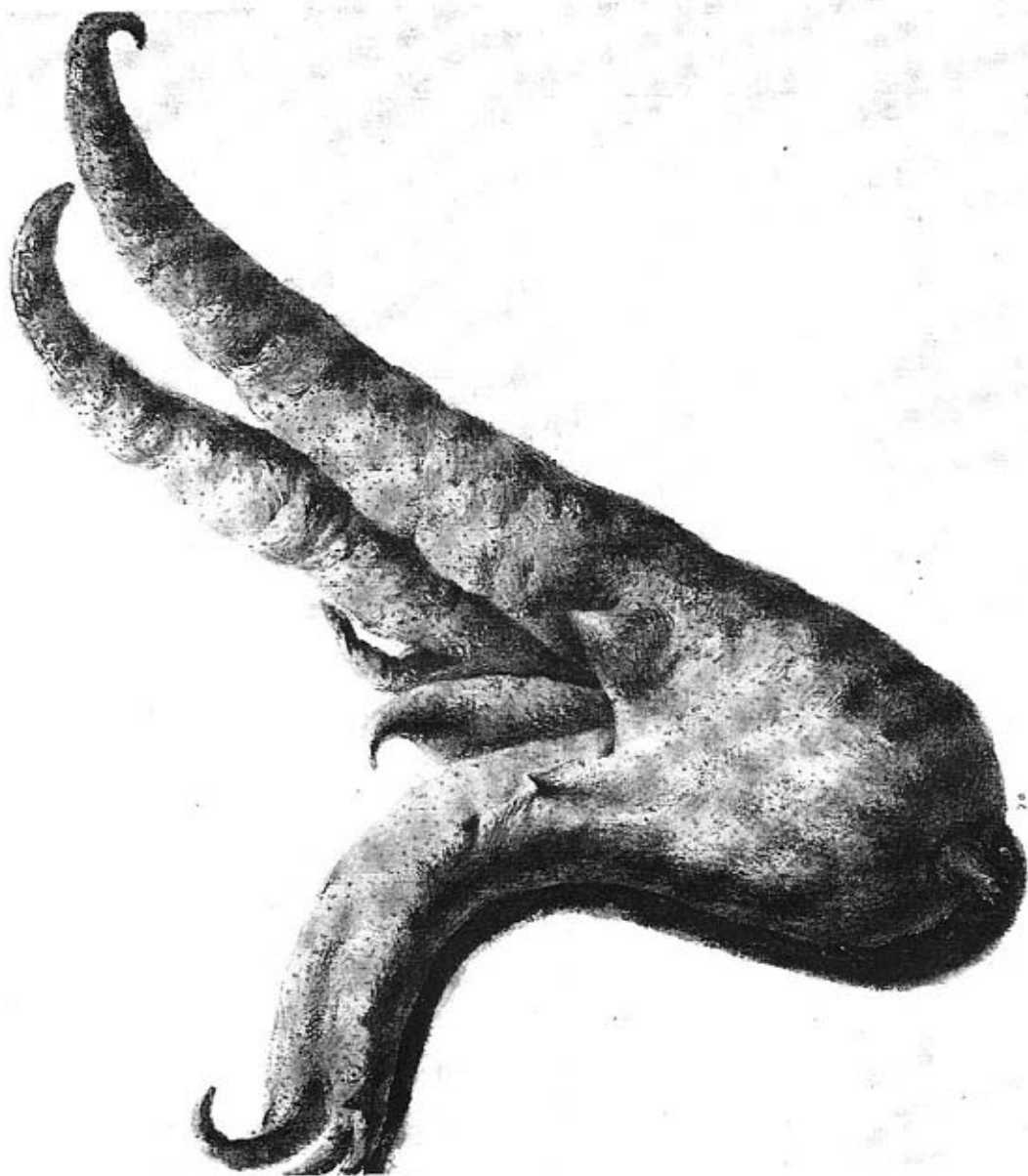


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17. Giovan Battista Ferrari, *Hesperides*, p. 111, *Scalprum Inoculatoris*.

18. Claude Goyrand after Filippo Gagliardi, *A vaulted garden loggia with pruning tools and a view of a Palazzo and gardens beyond*, from Giovan Battista Ferrari, *Hesperides*, 1646, p. 131.

19. Vincenzo Leonardi (?), *Digitated lemon*. Watercolour, gouache, black chalk underdrawing, mm. 248 × 256 on white paper. Windsor Castle, Royal Library, n. 19358.

20. Vincenzo Leonardi (?), drawing for *Limon a Rivo seu Rivo* in Giovan Battista Ferrari, *Hesperides*, 1646, p. 215. Watercolour, gouache, black chalk underdrawing, mm. 117 × 138 on white paper. Windsor Castle, Royal Library, n. 19379.

which repeated reference is made to the painter's efforts to get Chantelou to get Sublet de Noyers to elicit a subvention from the King for the publication of the *Hesperides* (in return, of course, for a dedication to him)<sup>110</sup>; but it does not appear to have been asked why the matter is always referred to in such clandestine terms. Already in the first letter, Poussin writes that "dopo haver trattato secretamente il sudetto negozio del padre Ferrari con l'istesso di Chantelou è datogli ad intender ogni cosa, lo pregai di pensare qualche mezzo di farlo gentilmente intendere al Sig<sup>r</sup> de Noyers senza che nessun altro lo sapessi..."<sup>111</sup>; and again and again the matter is referred to as having been handled in the utmost secrecy. In any event, the affairs of the king always seem to be at critical point, or Sublet somehow thinks that to raise the matter would be inappropriate<sup>112</sup>; and so, just when it seems as everything has been set up, with Ferrari agreeing to dedicate the book to the King, everything collapses. Poussin shifts responsibility and says that Chantelou can deal with the matter in the course of his imminent visit to Rome<sup>113</sup>.

No one could say that Cassiano did not try, and although Poussin never seemed to be putting his best foot forward entirely, there can be no question of the effort that he put into designing his allegorical plate for the work showing the Hesperidean nymphs presenting citrons to the tutelary deities of Lake Garda. In addition to the preparatory drawing in the Louvre, with its important inscription on the verso<sup>114</sup>, at least three other drawings survive, all of which bear a closer if still not precisely defined relationship with the final engraving by Cornelis Bloemaert (figs. 28-29)<sup>115</sup>. It is perhaps not surprising that one of the two meager

<sup>110</sup> JOUANNY, pp. 110-66; letters 53-4, 57-60, 63-66. See especially the explicit statement in Jouanny, p. 136 on the matter of the dedication: "Le bon Père Ferrari est attendans les commandments de Monseigneur touchans la dédication de son livre des Hesperides au Roy vous en avés donné des espérances assés grandes pour oser vous en souvenir" (Poussin to Chantelou, Paris, 7 April, 1642).

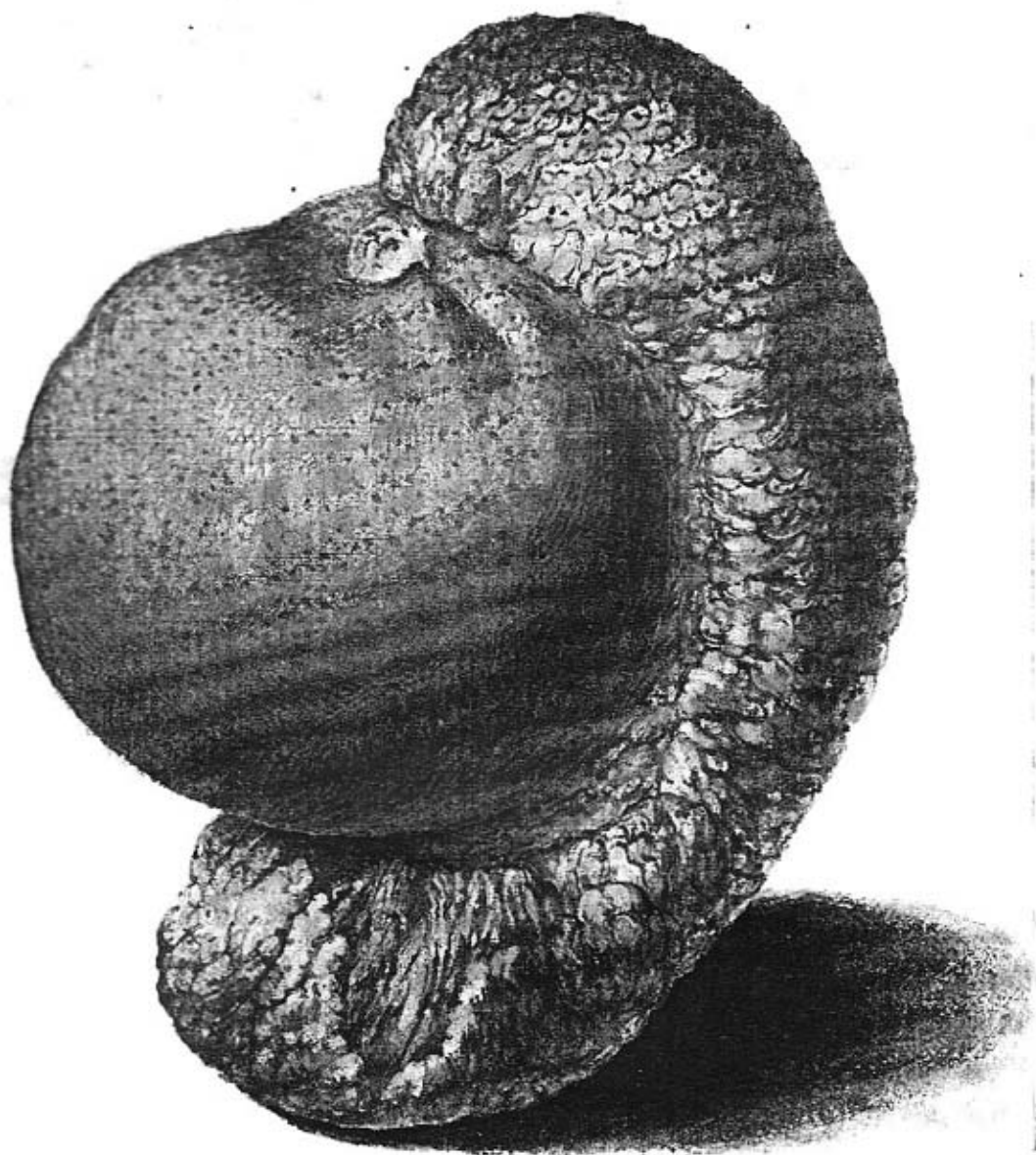
<sup>111</sup> JOUANNY, p. 111.

<sup>112</sup> JOUANNY, pp. 154-5.

<sup>113</sup> JOUANNY, p. 165 (Poussin to Cassiano Paris, 27 June, 1642); but see already the letter of 9 May, 1642, JOUANNY, p. 150.

<sup>114</sup> Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, No. 32.442. First mentioned as the preparatory design for Poussin's plate in the *Hesperides* by Jacob Bean in his discussion of the drawing by Sacchi referred to in note 94 above, in [Musée du Louvre] *Dessins Romains du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Artistes italiens contemporains de Poussin. XXIII<sup>e</sup> Exposition du Cabinet des Dessins*. Editions des Musées nationaux, 1959. Although the drawing is now pasted down, one can just make out on the verso the beginning of the line "Donde tre Ninfe ne coglieranno...". The rest of the inscription is only known in the following translation of it in one of Morel D'Arleux's manuscript inventories (VII, No. 9484): "On fera sur le rivage d'un grand lac une petite forêt de citronico, dont 3 Nimphes cueilleront les fruits et une d'entre elles en presentera dans une belle corbeille avec respect au fleuve Benalus qui sera assis sur les bords du lac. Le fleuve sera vieux majestueux et sera assis sur un poisson monstrueux et tiendra un trident. Ce vieillart paraîtra recevoir ce don avec plaisir. On pourra encore faire un satyr ou deux lesquels assis sur une roche ou sur quelque autre lieu s'émerveilleront de la beauté de ces fruits et de la beauté du jardin. Pur le cortège du fleuve Benalus il y aura 2 autres fleuves d'une mondre taille qui estant aussi assis sur des poissons monstrueux verseront l'eau de leurs urnes dans le lac". See J.D. DRAPER, *Letter-Master Drawings*, VI, 1968, p. 42. The design is also specifically referred to in CP, MS. 39, fol. 1, in the contract between Ferrari and his printer Herman Scheus, which notes of it "che dovrà esser cavato da un disegno del Lago Benaco di mano di Monsú Pousino di gia fatto, avanti questa compilatone e che e stato fatto fare dal S<sup>r</sup> Cavaliere dal Pozzo sopradetto, si prestirà il Disegno al Sr. Hermanno, et esso la dovrà fare intagliare dall'intagliatore Bloemart, con la diligenza che conviene...e detto disegno doppo intagliato si renderà al supradetto S<sup>r</sup> Cavaliere dal Pozzo che lo presta senza promissione di cosa alcuna".

<sup>115</sup> For these drawings, in the Louvre (W. FRIEDLÄNDER and A. BLUNT, *The Drawings of Nicolas Poussin, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, No. A. 44, pl. 128), Windsor (FRIEDLÄNDER-BLUNT No. A 45, pl. 128) and in the Hermitage, see especially T. KAMENSKAYA, "Some Unpublished Drawings of Poussin and his Studio in the Hermitage", *Master Drawings* V. 1967, pp. 394-5. Kamenskaya notes that the "studio" drawing in Windsor, done on pale blue paper and heightened with yellow and white, is closest to Bloemaert's engraving. While none of these drawings are by Poussin himself, it may be misleading to refer to them all, as Kamenskaya does, as studio drawings – though the Windsor drawing is perhaps, as she notes, the one that comes closest to qualifying as a production of the still too little known Poussin shop.



21. Vincenzo Leonardi (?), drawing for *Aurantium Callosum*, in Giovan Battista Ferrari, *Hesperides*, 1646, p. 411. Watercolour and gouache, mm. 130 × 129 on white paper. Windsor Castle, Royal Library, n. 19329.

references to Cassiano in the *Hesperides* itself should come precisely in the passage that Ferrari devotes to Poussin, immediately after the plate designed by him and the long description of what it showed. Entirely predictably, after the usual eulogy of Cassiano's learning, generosity, and connoisseurship, Ferrari refers to his patronage of Poussin and the great collection of his paintings<sup>116</sup>.

The only other reference to Cassiano is perhaps even less substantial, but it occurs in a context that is so indicative of the approach and style of the book as a whole that it is impossible to resist giving a slightly longer account of it. It occurs in the third book, named *Arethusa*, on lemons (*Malum limonium*). The opening chapter, as always, deals with the origins and variety of the fruit. With the aid of the plates it describes a huge variety of lemons, from San Remo down to Amalfi, Calabria, and beyond (eg. fig. 29). It goes on to deal with the cultivation and diseases of each type. The allegorical tales are continued and illustrated with the plates by Romanelli and Guido Reni (figs. 15 and 30). It discusses Spanish and Asian lemons; and resolves problems both of taxonomy and classification, as in chapters such as the one headed "Limon qui lima nuncupatur", and the long discussion of the Adam's apple and the *Limon Ponzinus*. It deals with pruning and propagation, manuring, irrigation, shelter, picking, and preservation. In the chapter on its local use, there are wonderful recipes for dissolving pearls and for making lemon preserves, and finally for making various pills and pastilles<sup>117</sup>. Indeed when he comes to the recipe for making pills against kidney stones, he even gives exact instructions on how to take them: "Take one in the morning, on an empty stomach, a quarter of an hour before food"<sup>118</sup>. Then he tells how to make pastilles in the shape of letters<sup>119</sup>.

The final chapter is on the *Utilitas apud exteros*. It opens with an extended discussion of the Arabic origins of the word sherbet; and then, very swiftly, it gets down to the more important question of how to make lemon sherbet in particular. One recipe Ferrari got from Francesco Bolognini; and another from Cassiano dal Pozzo, "cuius aequae animus ac domus Musarum omnium Parnassus est"<sup>120</sup>. That is practically all, before Ferrari hastens on to give an incredibly detailed account of the obviously better one he got from Pietro della Valle, who had it written down for him at his own request<sup>121</sup>. The recipe is so detailed and so carefully spelt out that it could easily be followed today – as with all Ferrari's instructions, from flower arrangements to perfumes to pills. But the summary nature of the reference to Cassiano, the last one in this huge book, is astonishing.

We are thus left with two problems: why is the obviously important role of Cassiano in the preparation and production of the book so undermentioned, indeed so unacknowledged; and who *did* subsidize the work in the end? The first question is a more general one, since it arises not only here but also (quite probably) in the case of the *Flora* and (very definitely) with Olina's *Uccelliera* of 1622, Cassiano's entry piece into the Lincei<sup>122</sup>. There is no

<sup>116</sup> "Sed nullum habet [Pusinus] admiratorem laudatoremque liberaliorem, quam Equitem Cassianum a Puteo, cum eruditione universa, tum aestimandae picturae prudentia clarissimum & alienae virtutis praeconio ac patrocinio decora cumulantem. Neque vero solum commendat pictorem praestantissimum, sed etiam compluribus eiusdem picturis domum suam perornat, eximiorum, omnique alia elegantissima suppellectile instructissimam". *Hesperides*, p. 99.

<sup>117</sup> *Hesperides*, pp. 353-359, Lib. III, cap. XXXIV, *Utilitas apud nostrates*.

<sup>118</sup> "[Pastilli rerum arenis pellendis]. mane iciunus quarta ante cibum hora unum sume", *Hesperides*, p. 356.

<sup>119</sup> *Hesperides*, pp. 356-357.

<sup>120</sup> *Hesperides*, p. 360.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>122</sup> GIOVANNI PIETRO OLINA, *Uccelliera ovvero Discorso della Natura e Proprietà di diversi Uccelli e in particolare di que' cantano, con il modo di Prendergli, conoscergli, alleargli, e Mantenergli. E con le figure cavate dal vero, e diligentemente intagliate in Rame dal Tempesta e dal Villamena*...Rome (Andrea Fei), 1622. On Cassiano's role in the preparation and production of this book – which was his presentation piece on his entry into the Accademia



question about who actually wrote the book: it was Ferrari, whose inimitably winsome style breathes through on every page. No wonder that the eminent stylist Sforza Pallavicino should have written in his approbation that he regarded Ferrari as second to none, not even the ancients "qui soluta oratione rem rusticam persecuti sunt"<sup>121</sup>. But this cannot be enough to account for the near-suppression of Cassiano's role. There is in fact a document that provides even further evidence of this rôle, and goes some way to answering the question about who covered the costs.

Before introducing it, however, a brief assessment of the other documentary evidence relating to Cassiano and Ferrari, and to the *Hesperides* in particular, may be in order. The most important body of material is provided by the fifty-seven letters written by Ferrari to Cassiano in Italian, and the three copies of replies by Cassiano to Ferrari, now in the Library of the Accademia dei Lincei<sup>122</sup>. Dating from 1631/2 until shortly before his death in 1655, they tell much more about the relations between Cassiano and Ferrari. They are written in Ferrari's characteristically affectionate way, in one sweet and well-turned phrase after another. And they substantially flesh out the biography. Aside from anything else they account for the move to Tivoli in 1647, the brief sojourn in Frascati in 1649-50, and the final retirement to Siena in 1650. Indeed, the Christmas letter of that year, written just after his arrival in Siena, is one of his most typical and moving letters, in its vivid description of the winter climate, his generosity towards his new compatriots, his longing for old friends in Rome, and – above all – his devotion to Cassiano<sup>123</sup>.

The letters also substantiate the hints of poor health in the *annuae* of the Roman College. On 27 February 1648, for example, Ferrari complains in a letter from Tivoli that "ancora mi seguita nella mano e nel braccio il catarro, che cagiona lo stupore", but adds optimistically that "il medico spera che alli caldi partirà"<sup>124</sup>. But writing from Siena three and a half years later he sounds much worse. He refers to the fact that has continuously been afflicted by "[il] solito mio male, quando più, e quando meno: ma sempre di modo, che difficilmente, e non senza senso di dolore posso camminare fuor di casa, ne cavalcare senza gabella di sangue. I medici hanno giudicato, che io non potessi venire alla congregazione come mi toccava", and so on<sup>125</sup>.

But at no stage in this whole correspondence is there any sign of abatement in his literary activity. There is constant interchange about the *Flora*, the *Hesperides*, and, to a lesser extent, the *Collocutiones*. Ferrari follows the printing of each of the editions of the *Flora* – including the Amsterdam one of 1646 which was immediately dispatched to the Frankfurt Book Fair<sup>126</sup> – and rejoices in the success of the *Hesperides* in France<sup>127</sup>. He records with great satisfaction the pleasure taken in it by Ippolito and Borso d'Este when they passed through Tivoli in

de' Lincei in the year of its publication – see both the dedicatory epistle to Cassiano on A2 – A2 verso, and LUMBROSO, pp. 142-3.

<sup>121</sup> *Hesperides*, a 4 verso.

<sup>122</sup> Rome, B.A.L. *Carteggio Puteano*, VI. Ga - Gio, *Lettere di varii letterati a Cassiano dal Pozzo* (on the spine of the vellum binding is an old shelf mark A.III.6), fols. 332-434 and 438. It should perhaps be noted here that the Ferrari letters, like those of most of Cassiano's other correspondents, were already signalled by Lumbroso in 1874 when they were in the collection of the Duchess of Aosta in Turin (Lumbroso p. 152, with two letters from Ferrari published on pp. 258-60). I am grateful to Anna Nicolò for her help in facilitating my use of this and other volumes in the *Carteggio Puteano*.

<sup>123</sup> CP VI, fol. 386 (Siena, 20 December, 1650).

<sup>124</sup> CP VI, fol. 358 (Tivoli, 27 February, 1648).

<sup>125</sup> CP VI, fol. 388 (Siena, 19 October, 1651).

<sup>126</sup> Cf. the very telling letter from Tivoli on 14 April 1647 (CP VI, fol. 340) as well as that of 21 July, 1648 (CP VI, fol. 372) on the Amsterdam edition. The letter of 26 March, 1648 has some interesting details about printruns and pricing for both the *Hesperides* and the *Flora*.

<sup>127</sup> CP VI, fol. 356 (Tivoli, 1 February, 1648).



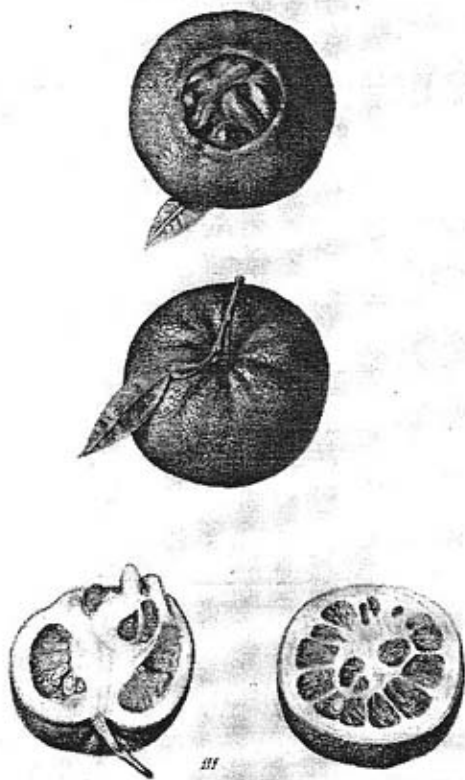
22. Vincenzo Leonardi (?), drawing for *Limon Citratus Silvestris*, in Giovan Battista Ferrari, *Hesperides*, 1646, p. 287. Watercolour, gouache, black chalk underdrawing, mm. 258 × 174 on white paper. Windsor Castle, Royal Library, n. 19372.

23. Vincenzo Leonardi (?), drawing for *Aurantium Foetiferum*, in Giovan Battista Ferrari, *Hesperides*, 1646, p. 405. Watercolour, gouache, black chalk underdrawing, mm. 320 × 202, on white paper. Windsor Castle, Royal Library, n. 21146.

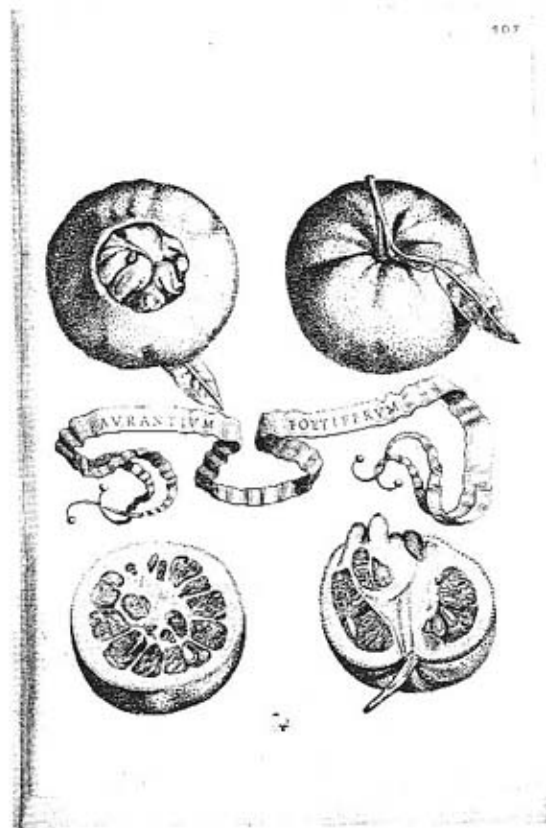
24. Cornelis Bloemaert or Friederich Greuter, *Aurantium Foetiferum*, from Giovan Battista Ferrari, *Hesperides*, 1646, p. 405.

25. Cornelis Bloemaert or Friederich Greuter, *Limon a Rio seu Rivo*, from Giovan Battista Ferrari, *Hesperides*, 1646, p. 215.

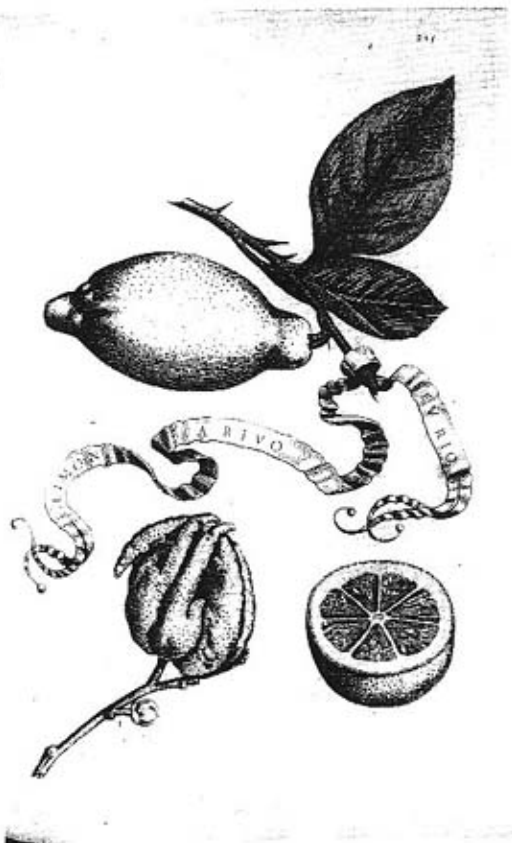
26. Giovan Battista Ferrari, *Hesperides*, 1646, p. 211: *Limon Pusillus Calabriae Duplex*.



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27. Nicolas Poussin, *The Hesperides present Citrons to the Deities of Lake Garda*. Pen and brown wash, mm. 305 × 206 on white paper. Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, no. 32.442.

28. Cornelis Bloemaert (?) after Nicolas Poussin, *The Hesperides present Citrons to the Deities of Lake Garda*. Pen and dark brown ink, brown wash, gouache, mm. 305 × 212 on pale blue paper. Royal Library, Windsor Castle, no. 11950.

29. Cornelis Bloemaert after Nicolas Poussin, *The Hesperides present Citrons to the Deities of Lake Garda*, from Giovan Battista Ferrari, *Hesperides*, 1646, p. 97.





30. Friederich Greuter after Guido Reni, *Arethusa speaks to Genoa while the remaining Hesperides help the construction of the Genoese Garden*, from Giovan Battista Ferrari, *Hesperides*, 1646, p. 343.

1647<sup>130</sup>. I have already mentioned Ferrari's slighting references to his *bagatelle*, the *Collocutiones*<sup>131</sup>; but it is also worth noting that already in the letter of arrival in Siena in 1650, Ferrari announces his plan to write the "Fasti Sacri Sanesi", which he intends, characteristically, to tell "con qualche vivezza... per dilettere o non attediare"<sup>132</sup>; while on 23 October 1652 he thanks Cassiano for "l'involto delle stampe delli documenti d'amore"<sup>133</sup>. He pays close attention to the fate of the drawings and plates for each book, and in the late 1640s has to make almost desperate attempts to get the plates of the *Flora* back from Filippo Rossi, who had apparently reneged on an agreement to print them up<sup>134</sup>. At every stage he has to write to Cassiano for help. There is hardly a page in which the need for consultation, advice or further information is not evident. When he needs Ulisse Aldrovandi's *De Serpentibus* to help him in completing research on the *Hesperides* and its illustrations, he asks Cassiano to send it to him<sup>135</sup>. Later on, in Tivoli and Siena, he even has to ask Cassiano to send him copies of his own books, as they are unavailable in those towns<sup>136</sup>. From Tivoli in 1648 he writes with a keen complaint about his poverty and of the fact that he had left all his books behind in Rome<sup>137</sup>. In March 1650 he implores Cassiano to favour him by sending him some information about the "giuoco di Pisa"<sup>138</sup>, presumably to be used in the *Collocutiones*, while a few weeks later he writes to thank him for two poems, but notes that he would prefer to have "qualche informazione più distinta in prosa"<sup>139</sup>. He asks Cassiano for a print of the Piazza Navona<sup>140</sup>, which they proceed to discuss, just as Cassiano did at even greater length in his *Memoriale*<sup>141</sup>. And of course he never quite gives up his connections with Poussin. There is an important sequence of letters in which he attempts – through, needless to say, the medium of Cassiano – to set up a commission to Poussin from Pandolfo Savini, *gentiluomo* of Siena<sup>142</sup>.

Then there are the smaller and more personal aspects of the correspondence. We have

<sup>130</sup> CP VI, fol. 340 (Tivoli, 14 April, 1647): "L'altra settimana fu qui il Sig<sup>r</sup> Prencipe Card. d'Este, con il Sig<sup>r</sup> D. Borso suo zio et appena arivato mando a prendere il libro delli Agrumi per trattenersi quella sera. Ho poi saputo, che ne ho gustato e l'uno e l'altro prencipe sommam. et ancorche egli ha tornato a Roma, il libro e restato in camera sua: perche che presto ritorna in qua, e vorra forse vederlo di nuovo".

<sup>131</sup> Cf. p. 37 above and notes 20-22 above for references.

<sup>132</sup> CP VI, fol. 386 (Siena, 20 December, 1650). It is amusing to note that when he writes of this intention he begins to write "brevem."; but then, with nice self-awareness, scratches it out. The reference is, of course, to the *Fasti Senenses ab Accademia Intronatorum Editi*, ?Siena, ?1659 (see note 27 above), and Siena 1669, with contributions by Sebastiano Conti as well. It is possible that the title page by Maratta in the first edition was also conceived by Ferrari, just as in the case of the not dissimilar title page of the *Collocutiones*.

<sup>133</sup> CP VI, fol. 404 (Siena, 23 October, 1652). Here the reference is presumably to the publication edited by Federico Ubaldini of the poems by the distinguished fourteenth-century ancestor of the Barberini, FRANCESCO BARBERINO (*Documenti d'Amore di M. Francesco Barberino*, Rome (Mascardi), 1640).

<sup>134</sup> Eg. the letter from Tivoli of 24 February and 16 April, 1647 and 1 February, 1648 (CP VI, fols. 338, 340, 356 etc. etc.).

<sup>135</sup> CP VI, fol. 352 (Rome, 25 February, 1641).

<sup>136</sup> Eg. CP VI, fol. 360, (Tivoli, 26 March, 1648) and CP VI, fol. 406 (Siena, 10 November, 1652).

<sup>137</sup> CP VI, fols. 360-361 (Tivoli, 26 March, 1648).

<sup>138</sup> In a letter which begins "Tra le delitie ancora di Frascati riverisco V.S. Ill<sup>mo</sup>", CP VI, fol. 382 (Frascati 20 March, 1650). Cf. also CP VI, fol. 380 and CP XX, fol. 104 (as also noted by Lumbroso, p. 160, in commenting on the way in which Cassiano supplied Ferrari with information on the *Calcio* of Florence and the *Ponte* of Pisa). On 1 April, 1650 Cassiano wrote to Ferrari in Frascati specifically on the subjects of the *Giuco dei Ponte* and the *Calcio di Firenze* (CP VI, fol. 435).

<sup>139</sup> CP VI, fol. 384 (Siena, 4 April, 1650).

<sup>140</sup> "Che intendo esser bene stampata" (CP VI, fol. 388 verso, Siena, 19 October, 1651); cf. Cassiano's reply of 28 September, 1652, CP VI, fol. 436. An earlier request for this print had already been made on 9 April of that year (CP VI, fol. 398), "...Le raccomando, quando sia stampata, la fontana di piazza Navona qui desideratissima".

<sup>141</sup> Lumbroso, pp. 194-5: "...È effettivamente la più nobile e straordinaria fontana, che fin'hora si sia vista in Italia...".

<sup>142</sup> CP VI, fols. 388, 390, 392, 396, 398 (19 October, 1651 and 6 February, 24 February, 27 March, and 9 April, 1652). Only the last letter was published by LUMBROSO, pp. 258-259; the rest have gone unremarked.

already seen some of these. Barely in Tivoli, he began to lament the loss of his Roman friends – his greetings to them grow ever more affectionate – while in Siena he felt his absence from them even more keenly. He sends Cassiano white and red wine<sup>141</sup>, marzipan and mountain prunes<sup>142</sup>. He asks him to arrange for the binding of a copy of the *Collocutiones* for Cardinal Chigi, as there is no suitable binder in Siena<sup>143</sup>. The two men discuss flower arrangements for Francesco Barberini, and many other aspects of gardening and botany<sup>144</sup>. Someone sends him a package of medical books from France “in lingua molta buona latina”, written with the aid of Guy Patin – but the sender left no name, so Ferrari rather despondently notes that he cannot write to send him thanks<sup>145</sup>. He writes letters of reference for Eugenio Sebastiani “parente del Cav. Gaspare Celio”<sup>146</sup>, and for a Siennese lady “per stare in casa del S<sup>r</sup> Panfilio e per servire alla principessa”<sup>147</sup>. And of course there is constant correspondence about oranges and lemons, from the early 1630s onwards. Cardinal Antonio Barberini sends “il limone del agro dolce di Spagna con il suo ramo, foglie e fiori”, from his own garden, and Ferrari asks Cassiano to have it painted as soon as possible “intero e smezzato” – in just the manner we know from the plates of the *Hesperides*<sup>148</sup>. Even as he is in the process of the very final revisions of the book, Ferrari continues to think of things to ask Cassiano about; and he does so on what must have been the brink of the manuscript’s despatch to the printers – as with his request for the Lombard remedy against orangeworm “perché devo aggiungendo all’ultimo capitolo, che adesso rescrivo”; and he goes on: “Se le occorera qualche altra cosa intorno agli aranci, che adesso non possa mandarla, me la dara poi, e quanto prima”<sup>149</sup>.

In addition to the main body of correspondence in the library of the Lincei, there are also several isolated references to the *Hesperides* in the Montpellier manuscript 271<sup>150</sup>, and a letter of 22 April 1636 from Cassiano in the Peiresc correspondence in the Bibliothèque Nationale<sup>151</sup>. Happily, too, more drawings are coming to light. Some, for example, are bound in one of the botanical volumes in the Institut de France, but others remain lost in private collections or misfiled in places like the Witt Library under names like Ludowijck Toeput. One can only hope that the remaining owners will still come forward, since several of the known owners of the drawings formerly in Windsor only purchased them in the 1930s or later.

But the chief piece of evidence is the collection of notes preserved as MS. 39 in the li-

<sup>141</sup> He sends two *mostre* of white wine, and one of red from Frascati on 4 April, 1650, and notes that “il bianco vale sedici scudi la botte, e quattordici il rosso. La botte è di otto barili. Vedra se è di suo gusto” (CP VI, fol. 384).

<sup>142</sup> Cf. CP VI, fols. 390 and 414 (Siena, 6 February, 1652 and 10 January, 1653).

<sup>143</sup> CP VI, fol. 406 (Siena, 10 November, 1652); cf. Cassiano’s reply to him of 15 November, 1652 (CP VI, fol. 437).

<sup>144</sup> Eg. CP VI, fols. 325 and 332 (Rome, 15 March, 1632 and 21 March, 1634).

<sup>145</sup> CP VI, fol. 359 (Tivoli, 27 February, 1648).

<sup>146</sup> CP VI, fol. 362 (Tivoli, 6 March, 1648).

<sup>147</sup> CP VI, fol. 414 (Siena, 10 January, 1653).

<sup>148</sup> CP VI, fol. 350 (Rome, 4 June, 1637).

<sup>149</sup> CP VI, fol. 354 (Rome, 21 May, 1644).

<sup>150</sup> As, for example, in M.B.E., MS. H 271, II, fol. 54 (Peiresc to Cassiano, 30 September, 1631) and fols. 184-185 (Peiresc to Cassiano, 31 January, 1636). Could Peiresc have sent Cassiano the drawings of *agrion* he commissioned from Frédeau mentioned in P. TAMIZEY DE LARROQUE, *Lettres de Peiresc*, Paris, 1888-1893, IV, p. 23? There are several other references in Peiresc’s correspondence to his interest in oranges and lemons, as, for example, in the letter written in midsummer from Boisgency to Du Puy of 27 August, 1632: “...jay recouvre cette année une espèce de citronnier venue des Indes (et comme l’on m’assure de la cochinchine) qui faict la feuille fort pareille aux autres citronniers, et seulement un peu plus pointue, mais il faict la fleur double comme une petit rose d’une odeur très excellente, et le fruit semblable a un citron, de mesme couleur, et d’un goust fort approchant, mais plus suave et come musque...”. The approach is exactly that of Cassiano, and of Ferrari himself... For further relevant references to citrus, see the forthcoming publication of the Peiresc-Cassiano carteggio by F. Solinas and A. Nicolò.

<sup>151</sup> B.N.P., F.F. 9542, fol. 46, providing the guidelines for the collecting of information about citrus fruit – cf. p. 70 and note 169 below.



brary of the Accademia dei Lincei in Rome. It was mentioned by Lumbroso, and is entitled *Notizie diverse del Sig. Abb. Cav. Cassiano dal Pozzo originale spettante a Agrumi et Historie d'essi, stampata in Roma del P. Gio. Batta. Ferrari della Compagnia di Gesù sotto titolo d'Hesperides con il disegno della Veduta della Riviera di Salò*<sup>154</sup>. The drawing is the rather splendid one by Cornelis de Wael of Nervi<sup>155</sup>, showing a region which frequently featured in the *Hesperides* as the source of a whole variety of citrus fruits. The manuscript – or rather, the collection of notes – also has one other drawing appended to it, a still-life of fruit and a parrot, with many of the specimens numbered in a way that was presumably to be correlated with an accompanying note<sup>156</sup>; but I have not been unable to find whatever was supposed to go with it in this extraordinarily rich body of material on 190 pages. Much of the material is indeed repetitive, but it does reveal with the utmost clarity the energy with which Cassiano garnered reports that might serve in the compilation of the great book. It consists largely of reports sent to Cassiano from all parts of Italy about the local oranges, as well as a substantial amount of taxonomic ordering and summary – and plenty of rough drafts for chapters and headings, all dating from between 1629 already<sup>157</sup> and 1644. The whole assemblage has a characteristically full index, in a swift but unusually untidy hand<sup>158</sup>.

The manuscript also contains much on the cultivation of oranges and lemons, as well as a number of recipes for the making of essences, perfumes, pastilles and pills, some but not all of which are used in the *Hesperides*. Its special interest, however, is for the history of botany and horticulture, particularly when taken in conjunction with the published version of the book itself. But in the context of the issues raised in the present paper, what these pages do make clear is the great energy with which Cassiano set out to collect information “spertanti ai agrumi”, and the extent, therefore, to which Ferrari was indebted to him. What we only suspect from the pages of Cassiano’s *Memoriale*<sup>159</sup> and the account of the Barberini legation to France<sup>160</sup> is now abundantly confirmed by the Lincean manuscript of the *Agrumi*. Once again we are confronted with the haunting question of why his contribution was so little acknowledged. Perhaps it was because everyone at the time would have known of it; but such suppression of credit has hardly helped lift Cassiano, in the eyes of Posterity, beyond the comparatively restricted fame he acquired as an antiquarian. He does not feature at all in the history of botany; and he certainly should. The kind of work he did that surfaces, perhaps only superficially, in the two books by Ferrari, but is now beginning to appear from the newly rediscovered natural history drawings and the abundant documentary material being published by Francesco Solinas and Anna Nicolò, should at least begin to redress the balance.

<sup>154</sup> B.A.L. CP. MS. 39, Bound in vellum, yapp edges. Inscribed above on the spine CASS/POZZO/AGRUMI; below, in another ink, “52”; below this inscribed on a paper label “39”. Volume size 282 : 210 mm. Average page size 275 : 206 mm. Pages numbered from 1 - 132, with a title page as above and signed “Visto a forma del contemporaneo mio rogito: Roma 12 Dicembre 1856/Domenico Bartoli Not. di Collegio”.

<sup>155</sup> Black chalk, brown ink and brown wash. 288 : 429 mm. Signed, tower right: “Cornelis de Valle Fecit”. On the reverse an inscription in black chalk, in a late seventeenth century hand “Veduta di Nervi in Riviera di Genova fu mandato dal S. Cattaneo Cataneo. Per servirsi nel libro degl’Agrumi”. Cf. p. 66 above for Cattaneo Cataneo’s citrological reports to Cassiano dal Pozzo.

<sup>156</sup> Black chalk, 220 : 325 mm.

<sup>157</sup> CP. MS. 39, fol. 45 (report from the Dominican fathers of Santa Sabina in Rome).

<sup>158</sup> As in the case of several of the other indices to Cassiano’s volumes – and many of the drawings – the pages on which they are written (folios numbered 116 to 132) are pasted into the bound volumes with great skill; but unlike many of the others these are written by a rather swifter and untidier hand than usual.

<sup>159</sup> Cf. LUMBROSO, p. 191: “S’introdusse l’arancio di Lisbona... dal’ambasciator di Spagna... e essendo venuto in sommo appresso alcuni cardinali e principi il diletto de giardini e in essi de fiori e degli agrumi, fece venir tre sorti di piante cioè un arancio assai stimato in Lisbona, un cedro dolce et un limone pur dolce che era spetie di Lima il tutto di Lisbona e ne donò alcune piante al sign. cardinal Francesco Barberino...” Cf. CP. MS. 39, fols. 50-51.

<sup>160</sup> Cf. LUMBROSO, pp. 143-4 on Cassiano’s diligent recording of citrus fruits on this trip, as on his return through Florence, where he was elected member of the Accademia della Crusca (Cf. the reference to oranges and lemons in the Riccardi Gardens in Florence in MS. 39, fols. 23-23 verso).



But if, in the end, the exact extent of Cassiano's contribution to books like Ferrari's and Olina's must remain difficult to describe, or if it was subject to some kind of wilful contemporary suppression – not necessarily for bad motives – we can at least now resolve some of the questions relating to the subvention of the *Hesperides*. Some but not all. The *Notizie diverse* begin with a marvellously detailed contract between the printer and Ferrari<sup>161</sup>; it is followed by several pages in which more details of production and publication are set out; and then come a series of instructions for what it is to contain, and a series of outlines of how the book is to be divided – real outline schemes of the kind one generally draws up before writing a long book or dissertation. The schemes are to be read in exactly that spirit; but both the contract of April 1644 and the ensuing instructions are worth examining in slightly greater detail.

They immediately resolve the problem of subvention. The contract itself begins by declaring: “havendo il Reverendo Padre Giovanni Battista Ferrari composto un opera latina intitolata Horti Hesperides... et havendo stimato che questa non potesse da alcuno mettersi in luce più accuratamente che per mezzo del Sig.<sup>r</sup> Hermanno Scheus”, in other words the great German printer of Rome<sup>162</sup>. But it also makes perfectly plain that the preliminary plans for publication had in fact been made in the course of discussions between Cassiano and Scheus. It was they, for example, who seem to have settled that in addition to the plates of *agrumi* the book was to have eight plates after designs by the most excellent painters (although the initial conception was evidently Ferrari's, as we may deduce from the published versions of both the *Flora* and the *Hesperides*). Scheus was to print the whole book at his own expense. Ferrari undertook to supply the drawings for the plates that had to be engraved (although the contract later makes it clear that Cassiano owned them all, and singles out for specific mention the Poussin design which he was to lend to the printer)<sup>163</sup>; and these were not to be Scheus's responsibility. But since Ferrari had thought of having the work printed himself he had already had four of the plates engraved, which had cost him one hundred and fifty eight *scudi*, and so the printer was either to reimburse him in cash or give him the equivalent number of books, at a rate of 2 *scudi* each. In other words, Ferrari (that is, Cassiano) would remain with the financial responsibility for the commissioning of the drawings; but the printer was responsible for all engraving as well as printing. The contract then goes on to stipulate that Cornelis Bloemaert would have to engrave the drawing by Poussin and another by Albani, and that once they were engraved the drawings should be returned to Cassiano. Padre Ferrari would do the corrections and proof-reading, as well as prepare the table of contents and the index – and do a list of the Italian names of the *agrumi* (which unfortunately did not appear in the final version)<sup>164</sup>. His recompense simply seems to have been fifty free copies of the printed work and fifty further ones of the allegorical plates alone<sup>165</sup>. Perhaps the splendid series of plates printed in red ink that survive in the Metropolitan Museum – or some other similar set – was one of these free sets<sup>166</sup>.

If this detailed contract rivals even modern ones in terms of precision and complexity, then it is exceeded by the subsequent *istruzioni* to “Signor Ermanno”. There is much debate here and in the appended notes not only about the typeface and the quality of the paper, but also about where best to put the plates; and whether to bunch them together<sup>167</sup>. The careful

<sup>161</sup> CP, MS. 39, fols. 1-1 verso.

<sup>162</sup> CP, MS. 39, fol. 1 verso.

<sup>163</sup> For this part of the text of the contract, see note 114 above.

<sup>164</sup> CP, MS. 39, fols. 1-2 verso.

<sup>165</sup> CP, MS. 39, fol. 1 verso.

<sup>166</sup> Metropolitan Museum of Art, Department of Prints and Photographs (Italian Oversize Book Illustrations).

<sup>167</sup> Cf. the very detailed discussion of just these issues in CP, MS. 39, fols. 2-4.

recommendations here were pretty much strictly followed in the published version, with the extremely successful results that one can still appreciate – for example the sequences of plates after the discussion of individual fruits or groups of fruits; the allegorical plates immediately after the relevant story, and immediately preceding the panegyric on each painter. The book, as a result, is a marvel of technical planning and of book production in general, and in the pages of manuscript 39 we see these matters thrashed out with persistence and great attentiveness. It is a document that could usefully be given to the technical department of any large publisher of art books, for here are not only the solutions, but also the kinds of problems posed by inferior paper, by the wrong placement of illustrations, and so on and so forth.

There follows an outline of how the title page should look <sup>168</sup>, and then, finally, come the *capi d'informazione* – the guidelines for which are also to be found in the unpublished letter from Cassiano to Peiresc in the Bibliothèque Nationale <sup>169</sup>. They describe not only the structure of the book as a whole, but also the *agrumi* from particular regions. They were sent from Santa Sabina in Rome <sup>170</sup>, from the Riviera of San Remo <sup>171</sup>, from the famous Riccardi gardens in Via Valfonda in Florence <sup>172</sup>, from the Lago di Salò (sent by the Bishop of Treviso) <sup>173</sup>, from Sicily (sent by Alessandro Gaetani) <sup>174</sup>, from Sorrento, collected by the Padri Cappucini of Naples <sup>175</sup> (later on the Capuchin father Bonaventure writes about the *ponzino* he has procured for Cassiano) <sup>176</sup>, and from a remarkable variety of other places, from Toscanello to Reggio in Calabria, and even – but not so surprisingly – the Holy Land <sup>177</sup>. Amongst the fullest notices are the four pages sent by Cattaneo Cataneo from Genoa <sup>178</sup>, who apparently also sent the drawing by Cornelis de Wael <sup>179</sup>. On folios 50-51 there is even a note about the orange that came from Lisbon to Francesco Barberini, “con una scatoletta di frutta”, sent from Livorno, where the *Stella Dorata* had just berthed. As usual, plant and *scatoletta di frutta* are accompanied by further horticultural and botanic notes <sup>180</sup>.

Occasionally the descriptions are accompanied by small drawings in the text, as with the drawing of a leaf on fol. 52. There are, of course, many references to ways in which to make ointments, how to protect the trees, how to use the peels, how to make perfumes – and all the other things we know from the final book <sup>181</sup>.

Cassiano himself supplies the kind of information that we know, from the earlier book on flowers, that Ferrari was interested in. In proposing a remedy against ants, he gives an amazingly minute account of an invention that could be seen “nel giardino segreto del Belvedere da M. Egidio alle piante de’ melangoli di scorza dolce che divengono grossi di tre libre l’uno” <sup>182</sup>. Just how much Ferrari depended on Cassiano for this kind of detail – both botanical and horticultural – is further supplemented by the letter to Cassiano, just as Ferrari is re-

<sup>168</sup> CP, MS. 39, fol. 5.

<sup>169</sup> B.N.P., F.F. 9542, fol. 46; cf. CP, MS. 39, fol. 6.

<sup>170</sup> CP, MS. 39, fol. 45.

<sup>171</sup> CP, MS. 39, fols. 14-19.

<sup>172</sup> CP, MS. 39, fols. 23-23 verso. Cf. note 160 above.

<sup>173</sup> CP, MS. 39, fol. 24.

<sup>174</sup> CP, MS. 39, fols. 27-30.

<sup>175</sup> CP, MS. 39, fols. 36-7.

<sup>176</sup> CP, MS. 39, fol. 108.

<sup>177</sup> Cf. CP, MS. 39, fol. 66.

<sup>178</sup> CP, MS. 39, fols. 114-115 verso.

<sup>179</sup> Cf. note 155 above.

<sup>180</sup> CP, MS. 39, fols. 50-51. Cf. note 159 above for the related passage in Cassiano’s *Memoriale*.

<sup>181</sup> On liquors, scents, perfumes, ointments, distillations, and so on, see, for example, the compact details and recipes on fols. 7-12, 20-22, *et passim*.

<sup>182</sup> CP, MS. 39, fol. 6 (in Cassiano’s hand). He goes on to provide another remedy “per impedire i sorci che non vi risaghino” which could be seen especially at the Padri della Scala and those of Sant’Onofrio.

vising his final chapter in May 1644, requesting further information on the Lombard method against orangeworm, "che mi disse una volta a boccha" <sup>183</sup>. The whole letter is very characteristic and gives a charming sense of the last stages of a book: "se le occurrera qualche altra cosa intorno agli aranci, che adesso non possa mandarla, me la dara poi, e quanto prima; ma questa particolare resto favorito di haverlo adesso" <sup>184</sup>.

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It would be wrong to conclude without referring, however briefly, both to the tradition into which the book fits and to its extraordinary *Nachleben*. Not only does it provide powerful testimony to some of the more inventive byroads of Baroque iconography, and to an untold story in the history of seventeenth century patronage, it also ranges widely over the whole expanse of botanical and citrological writing. With possibly predictable sophistication and ease Ferrari absorbed and then brought forward the fruits of earlier writers, from Varro and Columella and Palladius to Pontanus, Dodonaeus, and Clusius (all of whom, and many others, he constantly cites and acknowledges). But this stupendous assembly of information is in fact a kind of *summa* of everything that anyone could possibly have wanted to know about citrus fruits in the seventeenth century, if not today as well. It is by means surprising that the contents of the *Hesperides* should be reflected in a number of seventeenth-century works. Both contents and plates emerge again in the sumptuous publications of Commelijn, the *Nederlantze Hesperides* of 1676 <sup>185</sup>, and of Volckamer, the *Nürnbergische Hesperides* of 1713 <sup>186</sup>. Here we see the same kinds of illustrations, with their warts, wrinkles, and deformations, their little descriptive banderoles and cartouches, and the details of seeds and segments. Commelijn's book has Ferrari's citrus fruits shown above delightful town panoramas, while Volckamer's show the fruits suspended in the air above both town and garden views. It is true that the citrus had become something of a craze by mid-century – even Carlo Dati was to write about them <sup>187</sup> – but there are few productions, if any, that can match in thoroughness and charm the most illustrious, prestigious and influential of all citrus books, the *Hesperides* of Giovanni Battista Ferrari and Cassiano dal Pozzo. In coupling these two names, I hope to have brought to the fore a Jesuit professor and gardener whose contributions to cultural history and the history of science have unjustifiably been overlooked; and to have recorded an aspect of the work of the illustrious antiquarian which enables us to see his researches in a more complete light, and which will perhaps turn out to be at least as significant as his tireless contribution to the history of classical culture.

<sup>183</sup> CP VI, fol. 354, Rome, 21 May, 1644.

<sup>184</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>185</sup> J. COMMELYN, *Nederlantze Hesperides, Dat is Oeffening en Gebruik van de Limoen en Oranje-Bomen: Gestelt na den Aardt, en Climaat der Nederlanden*, Amsterdam (M. Doornick), 1676. See too the much less ambitious and unillustrated translation of this work called *The Belgick or Netherlandish Hesperides... made English by G.V. N.*, which appeared in London (J. Holford), in 1683.

<sup>186</sup> J.C. VOLCKAMER, *Hesperidum Norimbergensium, sive de Malorum Citreorum Limonum Aurantiorumque Cultura et Usu Libri III* ... Nürnberg (Heirs of J.A. Endter), s.d. (1713). Also published as the *Nürnbergische Hesperides*, Nürnberg, Frankfurt and Leipzig (Heirs of J.A. Endter), 1708-14.

<sup>187</sup> For the publication of DATI's *Veglia* (which, of course, is not just about citrus fruits), see *Il Cedrarancio, Veglia, di Carlo Roberto Dati. Accademico della Crusca*, ed. Francesco Grazzini, Florence, 1813.

#### ABBREVIATIONS

ARSI: Rome, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu.

*Collocutiones*: Ioannes Baptista Ferrarius, *Collocutiones*, Siena (Apud Bonettos Typis Publicis), 1652.

CP: Rome, Palazzo Corsini, Biblioteca dell'Accademia dei Lincei e Corsiniana, *Carteggio Puteano*.

DE BACKER-SOMMERVOGEL: A. and A. DE BACKER and C. SOMMERVOGEL, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Paris and Brussels, 1892 ff.

*Flora*, 1633: IOANNES BAPTISTA FERRARIUS, *De Florum Cultura*, Rome (apud Stephanum Paulinum), 1633.

*Flora*, 1638: G.B. FERRARI, *Flora ovvero Cultura dei fiori, ... E trasportata dalla lingua Latina nell'Italiana da Lodovico Aureli Perugino* [i.e. Lodovico Aurelio] Rome (Pier Antonio Faciotti), 1638.

GEISSLER: H. GEISSLER, "Die Stichvorbereitung für Giovanni Battista Ferraris Botanische Werke", in: H. GEISSLER and V. SCHAUZ, "Zur Stich-Vorzeichnung bei Pietro da Cortona und seinem Kreis", *Jahrbuch der Staatliche Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg*, XV, 1978, pp. 28-42.

*Hesperides*: IOANNES BAPTISTA FERRARIUS, *Hesperides sive de Malorum Aureorum Cultura et usu Libri Quatuor*, Rome (Herman Scheus), 1646.

JOUANNY: P. JOUANNY, ed. "Correspondance de Poussin", *Archives de l'art français* nouv. pér. V, 1911.

LUMBROSO: "Notizie sulla vita di Cassiano dal Pozzo", *Miscellanea di Storia Italiana* XV, 1874.