

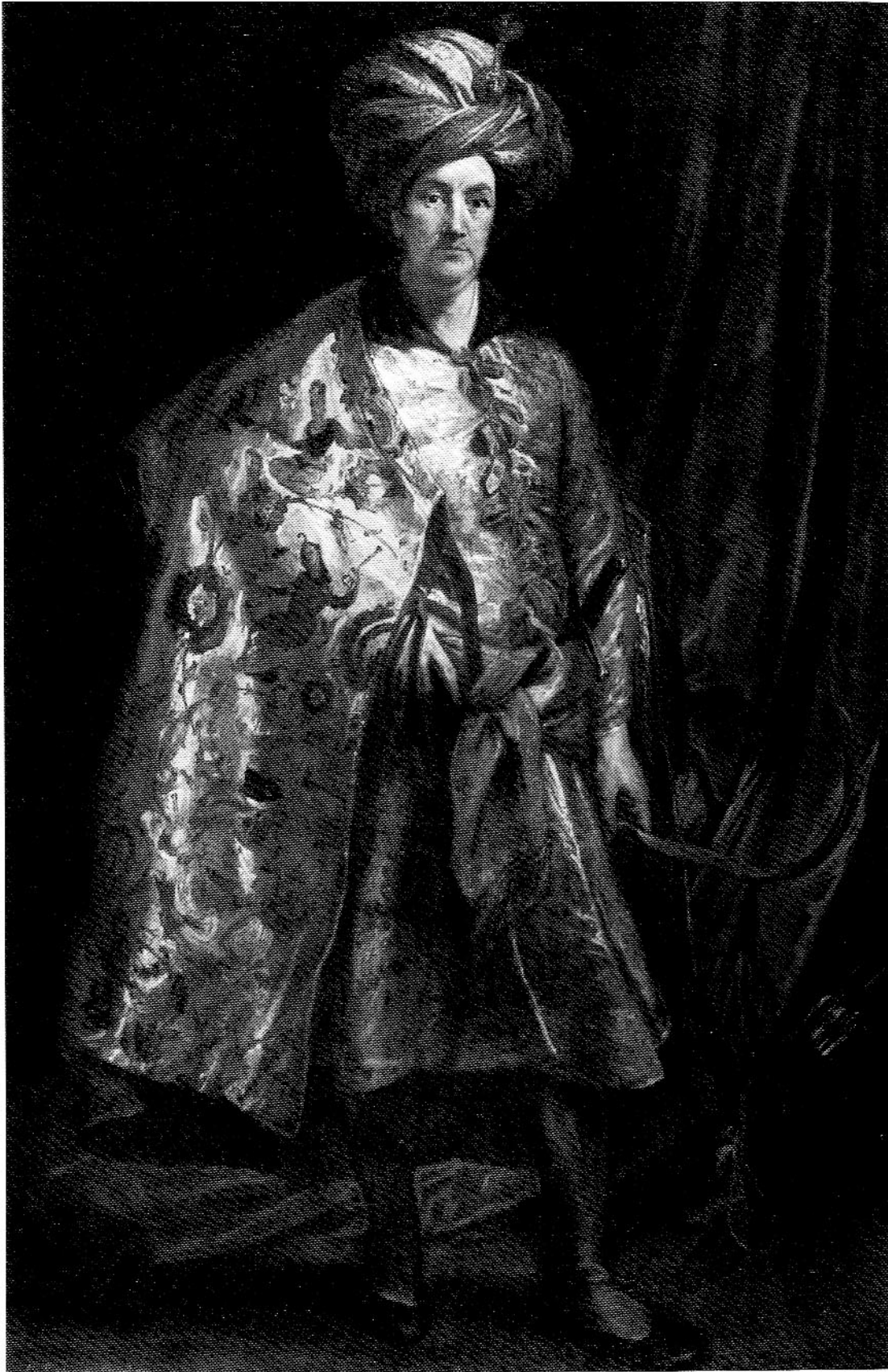
Van Dyck and Virginio Cesarini: A Contribution to the Study of Van Dyck's Roman Sojourns

Van Dyck was in Rome between February and August 1622,¹ and again between March and October or November 1623.² A small group of half- or near three-quarter-length portraits, each one tinged with melancholy and each representing someone Van Dyck probably knew intimately, has been assigned to one or the other of these sojourns. The portraits are painted in a restricted, almost monochromatic range of colors that seems at complete odds with the great coloristic performances of the first Roman stay, namely the incomparable, shimmering portraits of Sir Robert (fig. 1) and Teresia Lady Shirley,³ and the wistful, searching splendor of the picture of Cardinal Guido Bentivoglio (fig. 8).⁴

Like the self-portrait that has justly been dated to the Roman years (fig. 2),⁵ the half- and three-quarter-lengths are pictures in which elegance is accompanied by a certain neurasthenic refinement. They include the portraits of Dudley Carleton's agent, George Gage (which I believe can only date from the first Roman stay; fig. 3),⁶ the German sculptor Georg Petel (fig. 4),⁷ and the underestimated painting said to be of the French painter and engraver Jean Leclerc (fig. 5).⁸ The portraits of the art dealer Lucas van Uffel in Braunschweig and New York (fig. 6) were certainly done in 1622–1623, but whether they were painted in Genoa, Venice, or Rome has not yet been established with certainty.⁹ It has recently been suggested that the Brussels portrait of a sculptor (fig. 7) is neither of François Duquesnoy, as it has

traditionally been said to be (following the inscription of the 1751 engraving by Pieter van Bleek), nor a work of the Roman years, as has always seemed plausible.¹⁰ But whatever the identity of the sitter, Duquesnoy is the one sculptor, as we shall see, with whom Van Dyck is likely to have enjoyed a particularly close association from his earliest days in Rome.¹¹ Finally, there is the picture (fig. 9) that is perhaps the quietest and most compelling in this whole group, but which has so far eluded identification.¹² It has always been called a portrait of a Roman cleric, someone perhaps only a few years older than Van Dyck; and it is painted in such a way—to speak generally and impressionistically—as to seem to reflect a peculiar sympathy between the sitter and the painter.

The formats of this picture and the Hermitage self-portrait of Van Dyck are unusually close. Both sitters have a similarly casual coif, and both have their hands disposed so as to suggest a combination of languor, elegance, and significance, as if some telling part of the character of each were invested in the gesture of the hand that is not simply allowed to fall over chair or pedestal. I believe that the young man, once erroneously said to be an Antwerp doctor known as "Lazarus Maharkyzus" (on the basis of the inscription on a late seventeenth-century engraving by Sebastian Barras),¹³ can now be identified, and that the new identification casts considerable light on the range of Van Dyck's friends, associates, and patrons during his Roman period.



1. Anthony van Dyck,
Sir Robert Shirley, 1622,
oil on canvas
Petworth House

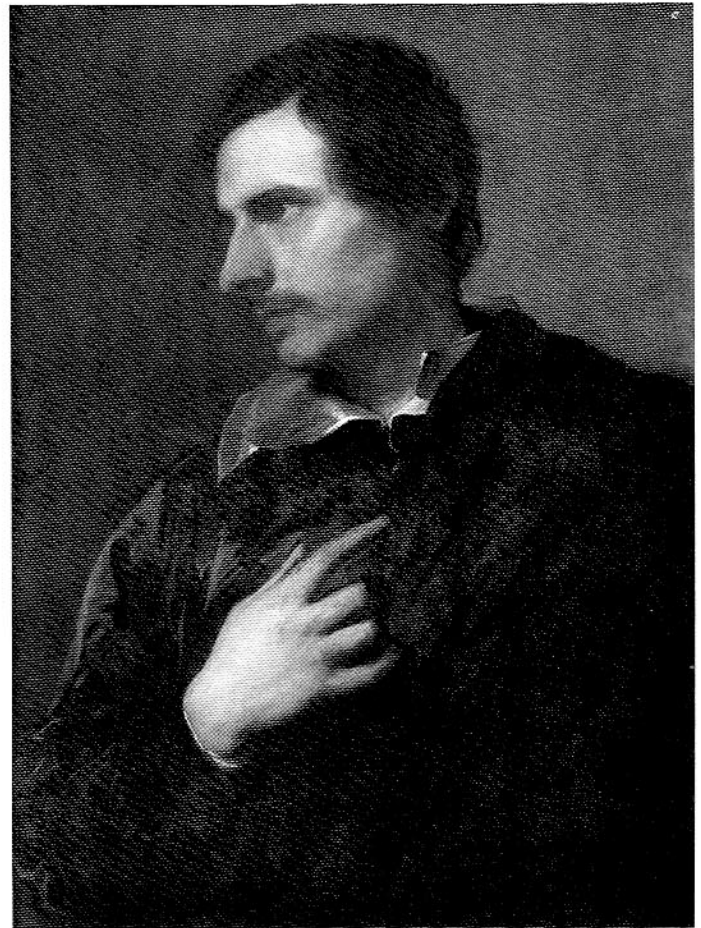
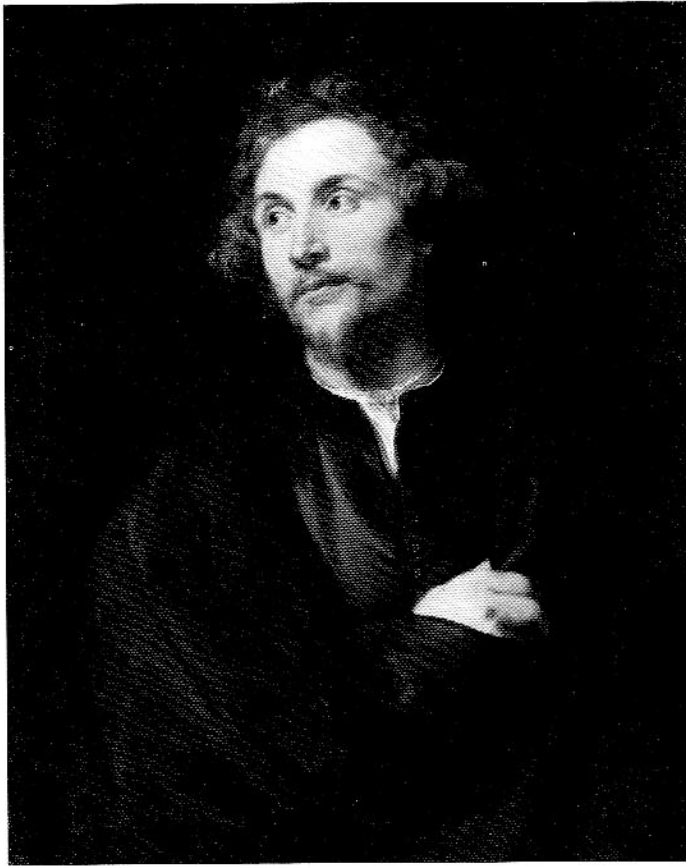
2. Anthony van Dyck,
Self-Portrait, c. 1623,
oil on canvas
Hermitage, St. Petersburg

3. Anthony van Dyck,
George Gage with Two Men,
1622/1623, oil on canvas
National Gallery, London



A certain amount has long been known (or plausibly surmised) about the circles in which Van Dyck mixed in Rome. Given the closeness of Van Dyck's association with his Genoese hosts and friends Lucas and Cornelis de Wael (particularly Cornelis), we can be fairly sure that it was through them that he had an introduction to the group of Flemish artists who gathered round the Flemish hospice of San Giuliano dei Fiamminghi.¹⁴ Most significant in this group was the young and promising sculptor François Duquesnoy, whom Passeri recalls having seen in the company of his Flemish compatriots at the hospice.¹⁵ Passeri also notes that Duquesnoy's earliest protector in Rome was the rich Flemish merchant Pietro Pescatore,¹⁶ treasurer of the hospice of San Giuliano in the very years Van Dyck was in Rome,¹⁷ and the chief Roman patron of another ex-student of Hendrik van Balen's, Cornelis Schut,¹⁸ whom Van Dyck later portrayed for the series of portrait engravings known as the *Iconography*.¹⁹ Pescatore would remain a consistent patron of Duquesnoy from the time he commissioned Duquesnoy's first major work, the *Venus Nourishing Amor*.²⁰ All in all there is no reason to doubt the report of Van Dyck's friendship with Duquesnoy given in the eighteenth-century manuscript life of Van Dyck now preserved in the Musée du Louvre.²¹ The evidence for this friendship, and for many others, would also, presumably, emerge from the regrettably lost correspondence between Cornelis de Wael and the Antwerp dealer resident in Venice, Lucas van Uffel.²²

Through Duquesnoy and his roommate and early supporter, the sculptor Claude Lorrain,²³ Van Dyck could not have failed to meet the members of the French colony in Rome.²⁴ Indeed, if he had stayed in Rome just a few more months after the autumn of 1623, he might have encountered Nicholas Poussin, the young French painter who would soon become Duquesnoy's close friend, roommate, and neighbor, who arrived in Rome in March 1624.²⁵ Very shortly after this date Duquesnoy is known to have begun receiving commissions from the Barberini family—from both Urban VIII, elected in August 1623, and his nephew Cardinal Francesco—and their circle, including the famous collector, scientist, and antiquarian Cassiano dal Pozzo.²⁶ It is not surprising,



both in light of circles such as these and from what we can only guess of the character of the young painter from the almost overly refined self-portraits, that Van Dyck shunned the company of the well-known rougher elements of the Flemish colony in Rome, and that they shunned him.²⁷

But how much did Van Dyck have to do with the richer Flemings of Rome and its environs, such as the merchants who gathered round the more prestigious church of Santa Maria dell'Anima? It was through Pietro Pescatore that Duquesnoy received the orders for some of his most moving creations, the funeral monuments for the Northern merchants Adriaen Vrijburch (1628-1629) and Ferdinand van der Eynden (1633-1640);²⁸ but at the time Van Dyck was in Rome he seems to have had very little to do with them or their circle. The reason was probably that he was too busy with the portraits of his friends or of friends of friends, and of some of the most distinguished Romans of his day. Chief of these would have been the two por-

traits recorded in the eighteenth-century biography in the Musée du Louvre.²⁹ No trace, unfortunately, remains of the portrait Van Dyck is supposed to have painted of Maffeo Barberini, but we do at least have the great painting, now in the Pitti Palace, of Cardinal Guido Bentivoglio (fig. 8). Even more than several other of Van Dyck's Roman sitters, Bentivoglio, who was elevated to the cardinalate in 1621, had significant connections with Flanders. His portrait by Van Dyck is one of the greatest essays in reds and scarlets ever painted, even more so than Philippe de Champagne's *Omer Talon*, 1649 (National Gallery of Art, Washington). In the Bentivoglio portrait the high forehead, keen and searching gaze, and delicate features are all testimony to a refinement and honesty of spirit that emerge with great clarity in the literary works of the cardinal, above all in his *Memorie*,³⁰ in the letters and *Relationi* he wrote at the time of his nunciature in Brussels from 1607 to 1615,³¹ and in his great history of the Revolt of the Netherlands, the

4. Anthony van Dyck, *Georg Petel*, 1622-1623, oil on canvas
Alte Pinakothek, Munich

5. Anthony van Dyck, *"Jean Le Clerc,"* 1622-1623, oil on canvas
Private collection

67 Anthony van Dyck,
Lucas van Uffel, 1622–1623,
oil on canvas
Metropolitan Museum of Art,
New York



Della Guerra di Fiandra, first published in 1632.³² Bentivoglio knew the regents of the Netherlands, Albert and Isabella, well; in short, no Roman prelate knew Flanders better. He had also known Galileo ever since his student days at Padua, when Galileo had instructed him in the use of the sphere.³³

Even if Bentivoglio had not met the already promising Flemish painter at the time of his Flemish missions, what could have

been more natural than that this great lover and historian of Flanders—"amorevole della nazione fiamminga" says Bellori³⁴—should have commissioned his portrait from the promising young Flemish painter, albeit only twenty-three or twenty-four years old, newly arrived in Rome? After all, Van Dyck had already proved his mettle in the Genoese portraits. There was a fine (though in comparison wholly staid) precedent in the portrait of

Agostino Pallavicini (J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu),³⁵ but nothing Van Dyck did in Rome ever matched the brilliance of the Bentivoglio picture, or that of the pendant portraits of the Shirleys, fresh from the East, perhaps introduced to Van Dyck by George Gage or through one or other of his English connections.³⁶

Apart from these, Van Dyck seems to have concentrated all his attention on the more sober group of half- or three-quarter-length pictures. If there is one among them that matches—possibly even outstrips—the Bentivoglio in terms of the penetrating and scarching gaze of the sitter, it is the portrait of the unknown young man in clerical garb (fig. 9). If we imagine this portrait and the Bentivoglio together, the two sitters seem almost to respond to each other, not by word but by the very manner of their gaze. Indeed, the young man's gaze seems even more intense, even more visionary than that of the calmer and more self-contained Bentivoglio. Bentivoglio gives the impression of someone at peace with himself, the young man of someone still restless, anxious, and striving. But who is the young man? Unlike the sitters shown in a state of repose, such as Bentivoglio or Lucas van Uffel, he is someone who seems both visionary and almost morbidly afflicted. His is an elegant but febrile personality, a man with sunken cheeks, wan complexion, and a gaze that for all its intensity seems abstract and distant, as if he were lost in some world beyond this one, or exhausted by labor and illness.

In the Sala dei Capitani in the Capitoline Museum there is the tomb and funerary bust, long attributed to François Duquesnoy, of Virginio Cesarini, one of the most distinguished and talented young Romans of his day (figs. 10, 11).³⁷ Van Dyck's portrait is of the same young man. Cesarini was only four years older than Van Dyck, and would thus have been twenty-seven or twenty-eight when Van Dyck painted him. Even if one takes into account the fact that physiognomic similarities are not always easy to detect across such different media, still one may discern in the sculpture several of the same emotional and physical characteristics as are in the sitter in the painting. In both works the flesh is drawn tightly over sunken cheeks. The two men have the same mustache, hairstyle, and fragile, incipient beard



(even though it is a little fuller in the sculpture). Even the part in the hair is the same. One instantly recognizes the large and distinguished nose, a feature still more evident in the engravings made for Cesarini's funeral eulogy and for the posthumous publication of his literary remains (figs. 12, 13). The bust on the tomb also has slightly fleshy lips, large ears (more clearly visible when viewed from the side, in the corner of the Sala dei Capitani), and clearly swollen eyes. And beneath the great swath of fur that seems to protect the sitter are exactly the same garments as in the painting: the long, buttoned clerical robe known as the *zimarra*, and the open-necked white collar that protrudes from it. (Although often lost in reproduction, the buttons are clearly visible in the picture itself.) Above all, however, it is the drawn expression, visionary but evidently very sick,

7. Anthony van Dyck, *François Duquesnoy*, 1622-1623, oil on canvas. Musée Royal des Beaux-Arts, Brussels

that both portraits share, and that points to exactly what we know about Virginio Cesarini in these years. That none of these similarities is coincidental or haphazard emerges when one compares Van Dyck's picture with other tomb busts by the sculptor of the monument in the Capitoline, such as those of Bernardo Guglielmi in San Lorenzo fuori le Mura (fig. 16), 1627/1628; John Barclay in Sant'Onofrio, 1627/1628; and George Conn in San Lorenzo in Damaso, 1640.³⁸

It was in the very years that Van Dyck was in Rome that the still very young Cesarini (he was born on 23 October 1595)³⁹ occupied a pivotal position in the cultural, scientific, and political life of the city. He was the editor and defender of Galileo, and the favorite of Maffeo Barberini. Related on his mother's side to the Orsini family, he had close connections with several of the most powerful and interesting Roman families of his day, ranging from the troubled Cesi family to the Farnese and the Aldobrandini. He was loved by many, from the great Cardinal Bellarmine to a host of other intellectuals and literati; and his friendships were just as wide. He was noted for his severe morality, but in his heart he found space for a number of the best-known freethinkers and libertines of his day.

Cesarini died on 1 April 1624, at age twenty-eight. For eight years he had been tormented by a terrible pleuritic illness, quite probably tuberculosis. Despite the pain, he worked stoically, unremittingly, and wholly devotedly on his poetry, philosophy, and science.⁴⁰ Such was his fame in all of these areas, from boyhood on, that no one could have been surprised when in 1618 he was asked to join the first modern scientific academy, the Accademia dei Lincei, founded in 1603 by that other great prodigy of the age, the eighteen-year-old Federico Cesi. Galileo was the academy's sixth member, having been elected in 1611.⁴¹ Soon Cesarini was befriended by the man who would go on to become one of the most renowned virtuosi and patrons of the arts and sciences in Rome, Cassiano dal Pozzo.⁴² Together with Cassiano, Cesarini's own best friend Giovanni Ciampoli,⁴³ and Rubens' old friend and doctor, Johannes Faber (all members of the Accademia dei Lincei themselves), Cesarini encouraged Galileo to reply to his Jesuit critics and helped in the preparation of Galileo's epoch-making response to his opponents.

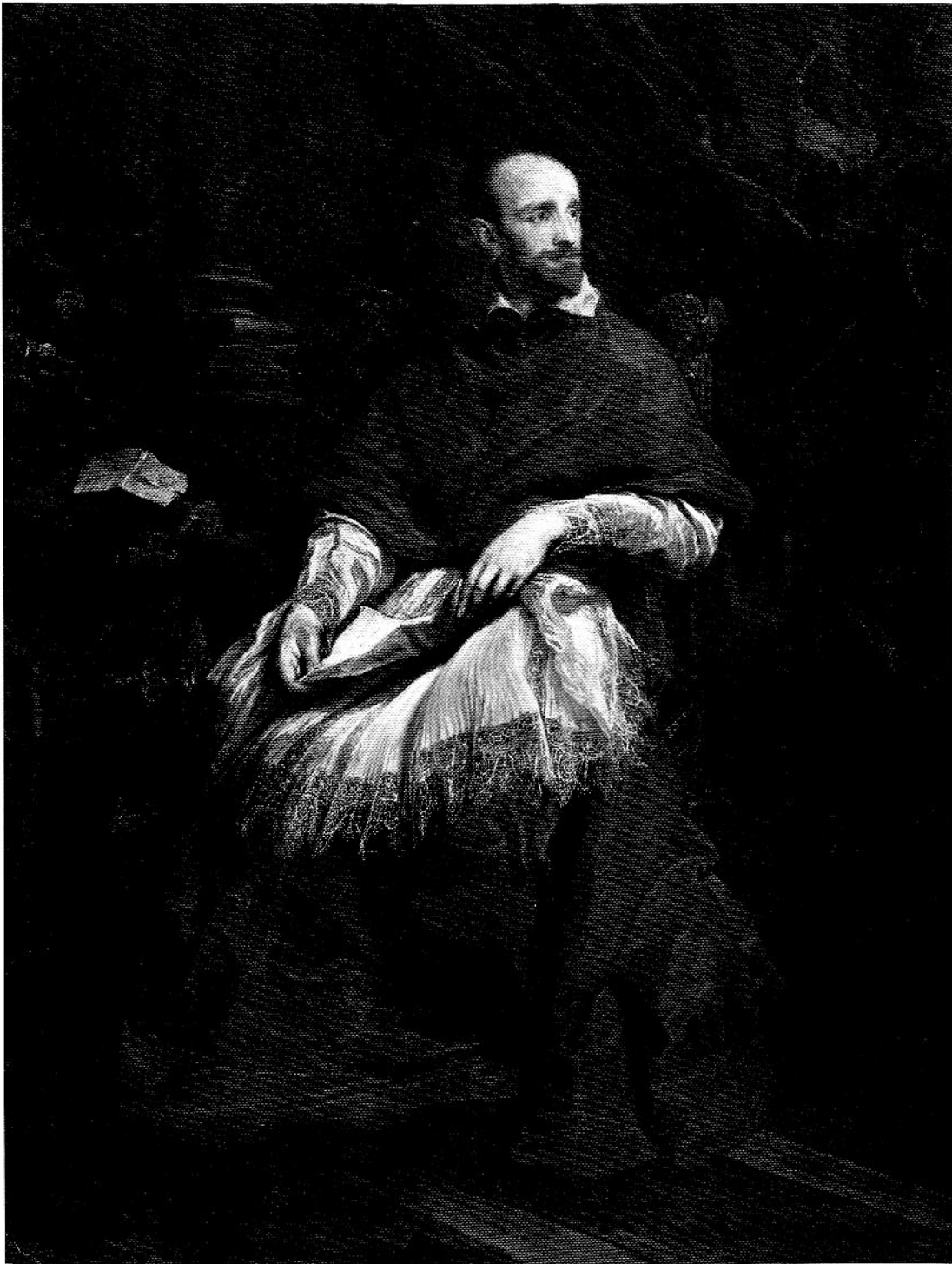
This was the heroic work known as the *Saggiatore*, published in the very year in which Van Dyck probably painted Cesarini.⁴⁴ In fact, the *Saggiatore* took the form of a letter to Cesarini himself, as the title page (fig. 14) makes clear. The title also shows the insignia of the Accademia dei Lincei, the sharp-eyed astute lynx itself, and reveals that the work was still produced under the patronage of the Barberini, who before the decade was out would turn their backs on Galileo.

For the whole period in which Cesarini worked on the publication of the *Saggiatore* (together, above all, with Cassiano), he continued to suffer. His illness was described by many of his contemporaries,⁴⁵ but perhaps never with such dolor as in the funeral oration delivered for him by his Jesuit friend Alessandro Gottifredi (fig. 15):

*You would see the wretched relic of a man in the flower of his youth and manhood, bloodless and emaciated, deprived of all his strength, cast down and obviously oppressed by the sheer burden of his pain, a living cadaver, the shadow of a man, without blood, or juice, or color. You'd say he was simply the guest of calamity. And yet he never, in such great distress, felt sorry for himself, or lost his spirit; but with constant expression and clear eyes looked upon his own wreckage, unsinkable despite the waves that battered him, an immobile rock [of Marpessa] in the face of adversity.*⁴⁶

The illness affected both Cesarini's chest and throat. From his own letters and from his friends Ciampoli and Cesi we know of the constant torment of his catarrh and *flussioni*.⁴⁷ There are also several letters from Cesarini to Cassiano, in which Cesarini describes some of his distress about his illness and his anxiousness to go to Bologna to meet the famous French doctor Pierre Potier, who had already sent him—via Cassiano—a number of herbal remedies.⁴⁸ Indeed, the correspondence with Cassiano is full of references, characteristically, to experimentation with cures and simples.⁴⁹ Cesarini worries constantly about the weather, since the cold was evidently very bad for him. Thus on 19 January 1620 he writes from Nettuno that:

until now the rain and the warm winds have confined me to my house. The change of air particularly in these torrid times has given me a chill. Since then my throat has become in-



8. Anthony van Dyck,
Cardinal Guido Bentivoglio,
1623, oil on canvas
Palazzo Pitti, Florence

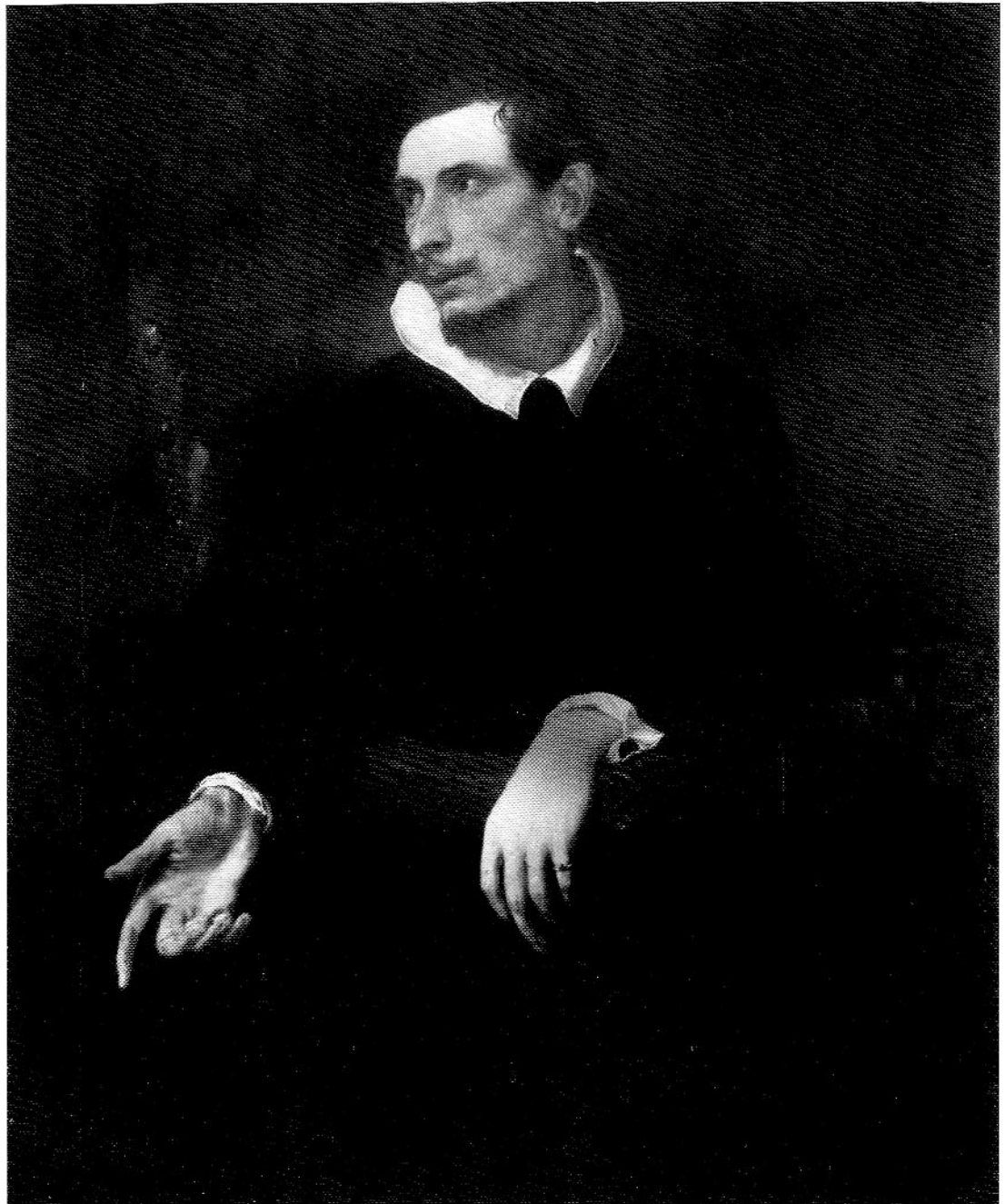
*flamed with the usual catarrh, which seems to want to accompany me all the time. But still I have some confidence in Sr Potier. . . .*⁵⁰

Five days later things are looking up, and he writes that for two days he has felt much less weak and out of breath, and is waiting hope-

fully for better weather.⁵¹ No wonder the sculptor who portrayed him in the Capitoline showed him swathed in a fur wrap.

Cesarini's literary work, too, is full of references to his illness.⁵² He suffered constantly, and we are left with the image of a wasted visionary, a new Pico, as he was

9. Anthony van Dyck,
"A Roman Cletic,"
here identified as Virginio
Cesarini, 1623, oil on canvas
Hermitage, St. Petersburg



called by all his eulogists, including Gottifredi (see fig. 15),⁵³ Robert Bellarmine,⁵⁴ and the still too little-known canon from Ghent, Justus Riquius, perhaps the most important Fleming in the Lincean circles in these years.⁵⁵ Riquius corresponded with almost everyone in the republic of letters in these years, from Cassiano to Cesi, from Gaspar Scioppius to Rubens,⁵⁶ and barely let slip an opportunity to refer to the brilliant young man in their midst who was tormented by an

inexorable illness. It is from Riquius' eulogy that we may glean still further details of Cesarini's illness and his legendary fortitude in bearing it.⁵⁷

When Antonia Nava Cellini published the tomb of Cesarini as by Duquesnoy, she commented on "gli occhi perduti in una strana fissità, che seguono un interno pensiero o si dilatino per il terrore della morte sempre presente."⁵⁸ These are words that apply even more precisely to Van Dyck's portrait. So,

too, does Nava Cellini's further description of the way in which the sculpture shows the elevated humanity of Cesarini reflected in the drawn face: "che la origine di così spirituale estenuazione si vorrebbe vedere in una malinconia del tutto poetica; invece un morbo procurato forse da studi logoranti, poi scongiurato invano e continuamente temuto; morbo di cui conosciamo le fasi."⁵⁹ In one of the many lines of his poetry alluding to his illness Cesarini writes: "Me dolor adsiduus vicino funere terret."⁶⁰ From his biographers and eulogists, and from his poems both in Latin and the vernacular, we know about the phases of his malady.⁶¹ He periodically lost his voice; his eyes were in constant pain; and his breathing, impeded by increasingly severe catarrh, grew more and more difficult. Death was ever near.

There can be little doubt that the sculptor of the Cesarini tomb was the young François Duquesnoy, as Nava Cellini claimed in 1955,⁶² and not, as Ann Harris recently suggested, the young Bernini.⁶³ First of all the style, as Nava Cellini convincingly showed, is perfectly consistent with Duquesnoy's work. It may indeed be more refined than portraits such as those of Bernardo Guglielmi of 1627-1628 (fig. 16) or of George Conn of 1640;⁶⁴ but its elegiac tone points forward to the beautiful tombs of Adriaen Vrijburch and Ferdinand van der Eynde in the grander Flemish and German church of Santa Maria dell'Anima. Indeed, the great swath of fur that protects Cesarini from the cold seems to have provided the idea for the tooling on the extraordinary texture of the swath behind the putti in the Vrijburch monument (fig. 17) of a few years later.

As we have seen, Duquesnoy was the leading Flemish artist in the circle that gathered around San Giuliano dei Fiamminghi. By April 1624 he had entered the orbit of Cassiano, who lived a few steps away in the via dei Chiavari. Along the street in the other direction was the Cesarini palace. Duquesnoy would soon begin to work (if he had not already begun to do so) for the two most prominent members of the Barberini family, Maffeo and Francesco. Cesarini was Cassiano's closest friend at the time, and the absolute favorite of Maffeo Barberini, created Pope Urban VIII eight months before Cesarini's death. Surely the Cesarini bust is the work with which Duquesnoy showed his mettle to



the new pope and the pope's artistically inclined nephew, Francesco. For it was immediately after the execution of the Cesarini tomb that Duquesnoy began working for them in earnest, from the ivory crucifix and the Saint Sebastian (whereabouts unknown) done for Urban VIII⁶⁵ to the funerary busts of John Barclay in Sant'Onofrio and Bernardo Guglielmi in San Lorenzo fuori le Mura (fig. 16), paid for by Francesco Barberini in 1628.⁶⁶ Duquesnoy would then work on Bernini's great Baldacchino and the soon famous statue of Saint Andrew in Saint Peter's.⁶⁷

If the similarities between the painting and sculpture of Cesarini still give rise to skepti-

10. François Duquesnoy, Upper Portion of Tomb of Virginio Cesarini, 1624, marble
Musci Capitolini, Rome

11. François Duquesnoy,
Bust of Virginio Cesarini,
1624, marble
Musci Capitolini, Rome



cism, and it is thought that features such as the hairstyle, the beard, and the part are all common enough in seventeenth-century portrait busts, one has only to compare the painting with the other sculptures by Duquesnoy, say that of George Conn, the Scotsman so beloved by Urban, his nephew Francesco, and Cassiano, but so hated by all good Englishmen for his later proselytizing of a num-

ber of ladies from the circle of Henrietta Maria, including the wife of Endymion Porter.⁶⁸ To make this sort of comparison, whether with secure works by Duquesnoy or by anyone else, is to be even more certain of the identity between the bust of Cesarini on the Capitoline and the painting by Van Dyck.

The eighteenth-century manuscript biog-

rAPHY of Van Dyck records that in addition to the portrait of Bentivoglio, Van Dyck also painted a portrait of Maffeo Barberini, which "lui attrira les plus grands applaudissements."⁶⁹ Whether or not this is the case—*prima facie*, perfectly plausible—it is worth remembering that the elevation of Maffeo to the papacy in August 1623 occurred while Van Dyck was still in Rome. Maffeo, too, had been a friend of Galileo; and he, too, was a deeply talented Latin poet. He was the uncle of Cassiano's good friend and patron, Francesco Barberini, who was also patron of several promising young artists from the North. Furthermore, Maffeo was close to Bentivoglio, whose portrait has survived, and the bonds between the two men are movingly recorded by Bentivoglio himself, in his memoirs. In fact, Bentivoglio refers to Maffeo in the same breath as he names the third member of their trio:

*... incontro egli [Bentivoglio] specialmente una somma felicità in partecipare i suoi studij con due rarissimi ingegni di somma riputazione in materia di lettere; e questi furono il Cardinale Maffeo Barberino, regnante hora Papa Urbano VIII, e Don Virginio Cesarini. . . .*⁷⁰

This is the nexus to remember when one considers the sketch that survives beneath the portrait of the man here identified as Cesarini. Even now one can see that there must have been another picture beneath the unusually thickly painted surface; and the X-rays taken in 1955 unequivocally reveal that beneath the picture we now see was a preliminary oil sketch for the great Bentivoglio portrait (figs. 18–20; compare fig. 9).⁷¹ It is impossible not to recall that the very first thing Bellori notes about Van Dyck's move to Rome is that "fu trattenuto in corte del Card. Bentivogli amorevole della nazione fiamminga, per essere egli dimorato in Fiandra e per avere scritto quella istoria che vive immortale."⁷²

In addition, we know that Cesarini was the closest favorite of Maffeo, that he was made Maffeo's *Maestro di Camera* on Maffeo's elevation to the papacy, and that he would have been made a cardinal himself had a premature death not snatched him away. Urban loved and appreciated him so much that he ordered a funeral for him on the Capitoline, and had his tomb placed in the most prestigious room of all there, the Sala dei Capi-





12. Claude Mellan after Pomarancio, engraved frontispiece (detail of head of Virginio Cesarini)
From A. Gottifredi, *In funere V. Cesarini Oratio* (Rome, 1624)

13. Giovanni Battista Bonacina, engraved portrait of Virginio Cesarini
From V. Cesarini, *Carmine* (Rome, 1658)

14. Francesco Villamena, engraved frontispiece
From Galileo Galilei, *Il Saggiatore* (Rome, 1623)

tani.⁷³ What could have been more appropriate than that Van Dyck should have been commissioned to do a portrait of Cesarini at the same time as he undertook the portraits of Maffeo Barberini and Guido Bentivoglio? Or at the time of one of those meetings so affectionately remembered by Bentivoglio? Perhaps first it was through Cesarini that Van Dyck was introduced into these elevated circles. This could be the case, since there is one other piece of evidence that strongly supports the identification proposed here. The Flemish church and hospice of San Giuliano, being so close to the Cesarini palace, was generally known in those days as *San Giuliano ai Cesarini*.⁷⁴ What more natural than for the sensitive young poet and scientist to have himself portrayed by the most talented

and sensitive of the Flemish painters then clustering around the church hard by his palace?

There remains the question of Cesarini's "clerical" garb. It is not, strictly speaking, clerical. It is the garb of a Jesuit. Why should the young prince be wearing this? It would appear that as his illness became worse, Cesarini grew ever closer to the Jesuits in Rome. The irony of his affection for the order could escape no one, for in the very years in which he was encouraging Galileo to respond to his Jesuit critics, most notably the talented member of the Collegio Romano Orazio Grassi, the mathematician, astronomer, and designer of Sant'Ignazio, Cesarini was applying to join the order.⁷⁵ He had many Jesuit friends, in particular Tarquinio Galluzzi, well-known professor of Greek, and Famiano Strada, professor of rhetoric at the Collegio Romano and the author of the other great history of the revolt of the Netherlands, the *De Bello Belgico*.⁷⁶ Cesarini was also close to the man who was to deliver the funerary eulogy on the Capitoline in 1624 (fig. 15), Alessandro Gottifredi, who later became the general of the Jesuit order. It is from Gottifredi that we learn of Cesarini's affection for the order and of his wish to be buried in full Jesuit garb.⁷⁷ This is a wish that the young man had already expressed in 1620, at the age of twenty-five, when he drew up his will and testament at the house of his friend Federico Cesi in Acquasparta:

*I wish to be buried in the habit of a religious of the Order of Jesus, in recognition of the fact that the Father General of the Order has already graciously accepted me into the said Order at my request. Therefore I wish to have my body honoured by the said habit . . . and if I die in Rome I wish to be buried in the Church of the Gesu in the same tomb where my mother the duchess is buried; and if I die elsewhere I wish to be buried in a church of the Order.*⁷⁸

Only part of this request could be fulfilled, as we now know. Cesarini was interred in the habit we see him wear in Van Dyck's picture; but his great protector, by then Urban VIII, wanted him buried in civic splendor in the great room adorned by the statues of members of his own and other illustrious Roman families, such as the Farnese. Fittingly, the most restrained monument in this splendid room, which adjoins the stupendous

15. Claude Mellan after Pomarancio, engraved frontispiece
From Gottifredi 1624



room with the great statues by Bernini and Algardi of Urban himself and of his successor Innocent X, is that of Virginio Cesarini. The monument is in the far corner, a modest bust atop a flat wall tomb with a long eulogistic

inscription composed by Giovanni Ciampoli.⁷⁹ This was indeed an honor for the young man, but an appropriate one for the close friend and defender of Galileo, to whom the great Florentine scientist dedicated one of the



16. François Duquesnoy,
Funerary Bust of Bernardo
Guglielmi, 1627/1628,
marble
San Lorenzo fuori le Mura, Rome

most famous of all his works committed to proving that the sun and the planets did not revolve round the earth.

Such is the extraordinary milieu on whose periphery we must now set Van Dyck. Whether the artist painted Cesarini in 1622 or 1623—and I incline to the latter date—these were the very years in which Cesarini was ruining his health still further, but remained tireless in his work on behalf of what he knew to be the truth.

It was on the occasion that Cesarini drew up his last will and testament at the Cesi Palace in Acquasparta in July 1620 that he, Cesi, and Ciampoli (himself a close friend of Bentivoglio and much favored by him)⁸⁰ de-

ecided that Galileo's reply to his critics was to be dedicated to Cesarini. Why? Because, as Pietro Redondi has plausibly pointed out,⁸¹ with his extraordinary range of friends and protectors, from Maffeo Barberini to the great cardinal protectors of the Jesuits themselves, Robert Bellarmine and Ludovico Ludovisi, Cesarini offered the best cover for this audacious effort, the effort that would establish once and for all the heliocentric system of the universe.

Throughout 1622 Cesarini was working on the text of Galileo's so-called "letter" to him. Assisting him in this task were two other men: his constant friend Ciampoli, and above all Cassiano dal Pozzo, who united in his person love of art and love of science and already then was in correspondence with everyone who was anybody in the learned society of his time. This was the trio that brought the crusade against Lotario Sarsi (as Orazio Grassi called himself) to its conclusion. By the time Van Dyck returned to Rome in March the three men had already made arrangements with the printer, the manuscript had been submitted, very swiftly, to the censor, and Rubens' old friend Johannes Faber was working on the feverish final preparation of the manuscript. By May or June 1623 the *Saggiatore* was already being printed.⁸² By the end of the first week of August Maffeo Barberini was pope. Was it during this period that Van Dyck painted the brilliant and much-loved young man who had been at the center of the efforts to encourage Galileo and prepare his great work for publication? He is shown here (fig. 9) worn out by all his labors, his eyes swollen and red-rimmed, as everyone commented, by his incessant nocturnal lucubrations, his cheeks sunken as a result of wasting disease, his thin hair unusually disheveled even for a sitter to Van Dyck. But in the gesture of his left hand one detects something assured, almost assertive, a sense of decisiveness that reminds one, yet again, of the effectiveness with which Van Dyck so regularly combined the elegant and the demonstrative. The gesture is elegant enough; but there is no hesitancy here, just as there is none in the gesture of the hand placed against the hip in the self-portrait (fig. 2) of these years.⁸³ In the picture of Cesarini the eyes, though tired, gaze into the distance, heavenward. They seem to be scanning the heavens for the

truth, but they also carry in them the signs of imminent death. Perhaps they imply the presence of some interlocutor, if not Bentivoglio or Maffeo Barberini, then perhaps Cesarini's beloved Giovanni Ciampoli. The picture is all the more poignant for the fact that the sitter was evidently so young, only twenty-eight at the most, when the picture was painted, less than a year before he died.

Something still more moving emerges when one turns again to the Van Dyck self-portrait (fig. 2). The artist is little more than a boy—indeed, no more than twenty-four at this time—and yet the pictures he produced are testimony to an insight into the soul that one can only imagine coming from some graver and more experienced being. This stripling was capable of the supreme subtleties of gesture and gaze that characterize all his portraits, and above all the deceptively subdued yet infinitely artful oncs of his Roman years.

Era egli ancor giovine, spuntando di poco la barba, ma la giovinezza sua veniva accompagnata da grave modestia di animo e da nobiltà di aspetto, ancorchè piccolo di persona. Erano le sue maniere signorili più tosto che di uomo privato. . . .

says Bellori.⁸⁴ No wonder that the young painter was so swiftly taken up by the great cardinals Bentivoglio and Barberini. What maturity was it, though, that made Van Dyck capable of investing even his more modest pictures, even those of his friends, with the signs of their deepest character and their most profound emotions? The question cannot, of course, be answered in a scholarly paper, for, as the ancients said of the very best portraits: it is the works themselves that speak.



17. François Duquesnoy,
Tomb of Adriaen Vrijburch,
1633-1640, marble
Santa Maria dell'Anima, Rome

18. X-radiograph of "A Roman Cleric," here identified as Virginio Cesarini (detail)
Hermitage, St. Petersburg



19. X-radiograph of "A Roman Cleric," here identified as Virginio Cesarini (detail)
Hermitage, St. Petersburg



20. X-radiograph of "A Roman Cleric," here identified as Virginio Cesarini (detail)
Hermitage, St. Petersburg

NOTES

1. For the evidence see Maurice Vacs, "Corneille de Wael (1592-1667)," *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome* 5 (1924), 201-205, 224-225; Erik Larsen, ed., *La Vie, les ouvrages et les élèves de Van Dyck. Manuscrit inédit des Archives du Louvre par un auteur anonyme. Académie Royale de Belgique. Mémoires de la classe des beaux-arts*, 2d ser., vol. 14, fasc. 2 (Brussels, 1975), fols. 38-43.

2. Vacs 1924, 211, 214.

3. Gustav Glück, *Van Dyck. Des Meisters Gemälde*, *Klassiker der Kunst*, vol. 13, 2d ed. (Berlin and Stuttgart, 1931), 510, 511; Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr., et al., *Anthony van Dyck* [exh. cat., National Gallery of Art] (Washington, 1990), nos. 28, 29.

4. Glück 1931, 180. Although the dating of this work has sometimes wavered between 1622 and 1623, I see no reason to doubt the evidence of Jean Morin's 1644 engraving, which bore the inscription "Ant. van Dyck pinxit anno 1623," a date corroborated both by Smith's statement that the picture itself was signed and dated 1623 (John Smith, *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch, Flemish and French Painters*, vol. 3 [London, 1831], 70, no. 158), and by the picture's stylistic and documentary affinities with other works that were presumably painted in the second Roman stay. *La Vie* 1975, fol. 41, also suggests that the picture was painted in 1623. Although this information could simply be taken from Morin's engraving, we are reminded of the need to take the Louvre manuscript seriously as a source for the life of Van Dyck.

5. Glück 1931, 122; Washington 1990, no. 33. The arguments in favor of a Roman dating are well summarized by Susan Barnes in Washington 1990, 167-168.

6. Glück 1931, 129; Washington 1990, no. 30. For arguments in favor of the Roman date see Susan Barnes in Washington 1990, 158-160. Compare also Maurice Vacs, "Le Séjour de Van Dyck en Italie (mi-Novembre 1621-Automne 1627)," *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome* 4 (1924), 203.

7. Glück 1931, 158.

8. Private collection; sold Sotheby's, New York, 17 January 1985, no. 116. Glück 1931, 159. For the tenuous basis for the identification of the sitter simply on the grounds of a drawing owned by Lord Palmerston inscribed "Leclerc the painter" see Susan J. Barnes, "Van Dyck in Italy: 1621-1628," 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 1986), 1:228, no. 31. If the painting is indeed of Jean Le Clerc, then it would be one of the earliest Van Dyck painted in Rome, since Le Clerc is recorded as being back in Nancy on 22 April 1622 (see *Claude Lorrain e i pittori lorenesi in Italia nel XVII secolo* [exh. cat., Accademia di Francia a Roma] [Rome, 1982], 77).

9. Glück 1931, 126, 127, respectively; Washington 1990, no. 31 (Braunschweig only).

10. Glück 1931, 158. See Nora de Poorter, "Antoon van Dyck. Portret van Frans du Quesnoy (?)," *Openbaar Kunstbezit in Vlaanderen* 7 (1969), 17a-b. I be-

lieve that De Poorter is too hasty in dismissing the possible resemblance between the painting by Van Dyck and the engraved portrait in J. von Sandrart, *L'academia tedesca della architettura scultura et pictura. Oder teutsche Academie der Edlen Bau-Bild- und Mahlerey-Künste . . .*, 1675, ed. A. R. Peltzer (Munich, 1925), 201. Nor am I convinced that the portrait is to be dated to the beginning of the second Antwerp period, as De Poorter suggests.

11. See, for example, *La Vie* 1975, fol. 38; Vacs 1924, 202-203; Emile Dony, "François Duquesnoy (1594-1643)," *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome* 2 (1922), 95, for the meager documentary but very substantial circumstantial evidence, as well as for the evidence presented in the course of the present article.

12. Glück 1931, 281; Washington 1990, no. 32.

13. Since "Maharkyzus" can only have been painted in Antwerp, the picture was traditionally assigned to the years immediately following the return from Rome; but as soon as the X-radiographs revealed the underlying sketch of Cardinal Bentivoglio (see O. I. Paniflowa, "Eskis Van-Dijka k portretu Kardinala Bentivoglio," *Bulletin du Musée de l'Hermitage* 8 [1955], 36-37) it became clear that the picture could only date from the Roman years, as first noted by V. F. Lewinsohn Lessing in *Meisterwerke der Hermitage* (Leningrad, 1962).

14. See Maurice Vacs, "Les Fondations hospitalières flamandes à Rome du XVe au XVIIIe siècle," *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome* 1 (1919), 205-210; Vacs 1924, 182-183; see also *Die Künstlerbiographien von Giovanni Battista Passeri. Nach den Handschriften des Autors Herausgegeben und mit Anmerkungen versehen von Jacob Hess* (Leipzig and Vienna, 1934), 104. (Quoted in note 15.)

15. "[Duquesnoy] si godeva spesso la ricreazione delli Fiammeng[h]i suoi compatrioti dentro l'ospizio di quella Nazione alla chiesa di San Giuliano alli Cesarini, ed io che abitavo incontro, benchè fossi assai giovinetto, ce lo vedevo ivi spesse volte a banchettare con molti;" *Passeri* 1934, 104.

16. *Passeri* 1934, 103-104; Vacs 1919, 286-287; Vacs 1925, 287-290; Dony 1922, 98; Mariette Fransolet, "François du Quesnoy sculpteur d'Urbain VIII 1597-1643," *Mémoires de l'Académie Royale de Belgique. Classe des beaux-arts*, 4th ser., 9 (1941), 41-42; Noelle de la Blanchardière and Didier Bodart, "Pietro Pescatore e gli affreschi di Cornelis Schut e di Timan Craft al Casino Pescatore di Frascati," *Arte Illustrata* 7 (1974), 179-190.

17. G. J. Hoogewerff, *Bescheiden in Italië omtrent Nederlandsche kunstenaars en geleerden (Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicationen. Kleine serie, 12)*, vol. 2 (The Hague, 1913), 144-145, 150.

18. On Pescatore and Schut see de la Blanchardière and Bodart 1974, 179-190; I. G. Wilmers, "The Paintings of Cornelis Schut the Elder 1597-1655" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1990), 29-30, 130-134. For the most thorough and up-to-date biography of

Schut see Wilmers 1990, 20–49.

19. Marie Mauquoy-Hendrickx, *L'Iconographie d'Antoine van Dyck* (Brussels, 1956), no. 91.

20. Passeri 1934, 103–104; Giovan Pietro Bellori, *Le vite de' pittori, scultori e architetti moderni* (Rome, 1672), 270; Dony 1922, 97–98; Fransolet 1941, 41–42, 179.

21. *La Vie* 1975, fol. 38; Vaes 1924, 201.

22. On this correspondence and on De Wael's relations with Van Uffel see Vaes 1924, 182–183, 201–203; Vaes 1925, 161–164.

23. As Bellori called him. He is not to be confused with the painter Claude Lorrain, to whom Duquesnoy was later to be close. On the sculptor whom Passeri simply called "Lorenese" and Bellori "Claudio Lorenese" see Passeri 1934, 103; Bellori 1672, 270. Of course the possibility must remain that knowing of Duquesnoy's later friendship with the painter, Bellori simply mistakenly gave the name of Claude to the *intagliatore* from Lorraine who initially helped Duquesnoy in Rome.

24. In addition to the possibility of an acquaintanceship with Jean Le Clerc and the sculptor Claude, one has also to remember that painters ranging from Vouet to Jean Lemaire, Charles Mellin, and Claude Mellan (see also note 52) were all in Rome at this time. For a summary see Jacques Bousquet, "Les Relations de Poussin avec le milieu romain," in A. Chastel, ed., *Actes du colloque Poussin* (Paris, 1960), 1:2–3.

25. For the relations between Duquesnoy and Poussin see, among others, Passeri 1934, 105–106; Bellori 1672, 411–412. See also Bousquet 1960, 2–3.

26. On Duquesnoy's early commissions for the Barberini see Fransolet 1941, 164–165, 176, 179; Passeri 1934, 104–106; Bellori 1672, 271–272. Karl Noehles, "Francesco Duquesnoy: Un busto ignoto e la cronologia delle sue opere," *Arte Antica e Moderna* (1964), 88, raises, albeit very tentatively, the possibility that Francesco Barberini may already have been thinking of Duquesnoy as the possible sculptor of the tomb monument of William Barclay (d. 1621) in Sant'Onofrio as early as 1623 (even though the monument was only executed in 1627–1628). On Cassiano himself see note 42. See also Francis Haskell, *Patrons and Painters* (London and New York, 1963), 104: "The sculptor who really appealed to Cassiano's tastes and whose wax and terracotta *modelli* he collected was Bernini's Flemish rival, François Duquesnoy" (compare also Passeri 1934, 107).

27. Bellori 1672, 256.

28. Passeri 1934, 111–112; Bellori 1672, 276; Fransolet 1941, 118–120, 183–184. For good color illustrations see also Antonia Nava Cellini, *Duquesnoy [I Maestri della Scultura]*, 83, (Milan, 1966), pls. viii, xii, xiii.

29. *La Vie* 1975, fol. 41; Bellori 1672, 255 (on Bentivoglio portrait only). On the close friendship between Bentivoglio and Barberini see text and note 70.

30. Guido Bentivoglio, *Memorie del Cardinale Bentivoglio, con le quali descrive la sua vita, e non solo le cose a lui successe nel corso di essa, ma insieme le più notabili ancora occorse nella città di Roma, in Italia, et altrove* (Venice, 1648). In the previous year there were two editions, in Venice and in Amsterdam.

31. Guido Bentivoglio, *Raccolta di lettere scritte in tempo delle sue nuntiate di Fiandra, e di Francia* (Cologne [?], 1631), and many subsequent editions (Paris, 1635; Venice, 1636; Paris, 1642). The *Relationi* were, if anything, still more popular, first appearing in 1629 (Guido Bentivoglio, *Relationi fatte in tempo delle sue nuntiate di Fiandra e di Francia. Date in luce da Erycio Puteano* [Anversa [sic?], 1629; Colonia [sic?], 1629]). Imprints are recorded in Cologne in 1630, Paris in 1631, Brussels in 1632, Venice in 1633, Liège in 1635, and Venice in 1636. The *Lettere* and the *Relationi* were also published together, often also with the *Guerra di Fiandra* (see note 32). These books may be said to have been the best-sellers of the 1630s.

32. Guido Bentivoglio, *Della guerra di Fiandra* (Cologne [?], 1632); subsequent editions: in Cologne (or with Cologne as place of publication), 1633, 1634, 1633–1639, 1635 (Leiden?); in Venice: 1637, 1640, 1645; Spanish editions, from 1643 on; French ones, from 1634; English, from 1652; Dutch, from 1674. The work appeared together with the letters and the *Relationi* in the several editions of the *Opere* published in Paris in the second half of the 1640s. Compare note 75 for the rival work on more or less exactly the same topic, Famiano Strada's *De Bello Belgico*, which enjoyed a similar vogue in more or less the same years.

33. In addition to the previously cited literary material see also the useful article by A. Merola in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (Rome, 1980), 24:634–638.

34. Bellori 1672, 255.

35. Glück 1937, 204; Washington 1990, no. 25.

36. The importance of the visit of the Shirleys for circles close to Van Dyck should not be underestimated. In addition to his probable relations with agents such as George Gage, with Sir Kenelm Digby, English resident in Rome, and possibly with Lucas van Uffel (all of whom Van Dyck knew well), Robert Shirley may well have provided a number of members of the Accademia dei Lincei—including the soon-to-be-elected Cassiano dal Pozzo—with valuable information about the East. In this respect, and in many others, there is a remarkable parallel with that other intrepid traveler to the East, Pietro della Valle, who also married the daughter of an oriental nobleman (in this case a Mesopotamian) and returned to Rome in 1626, having just been invited to become a Linceo himself (compare Giuseppe Gabrieli *Contributi alla Storia della Accademia dei Lincei*, 2 vols. [Rome, 1989], 1:467).

Robert Shirley died in 1628, but his wife stayed on in Rome, living among the nuns of Santa Maria della Scala in Trastevere until her death almost forty years later. On the Shirleys (both this pair and Robert's al-

most equally enterprising and adventurous brother) see the useful bibliographic references in Washington 1990, 154–155.

37. On the tomb see Nava Cellini 1966; Ann Sutherland Harris, "Bernini and Virginio Cesarini," *Burlington Magazine* 131 (1989), 17–23. On Cesarini himself see also note 39.

38. See notes 66, 68. In this context one might also compare the bust of a cardinal attributed to Duquesnoy by Steffi and Herwarth Röttgen (*Connoisseur* 167 [1968], 94–99) and proposed by them to be none other than Guido Bentivoglio himself.

39. The date is given in Justus Riquius, *De vita viri praestantissimi Virginii Caesarini Lyncei, Juliani Civitatis Novae Ducis Baronis romani f. Liber. Auctore Justo Riquio Belga Canonico Gandavensi Cive romano*, Patavii Antenoris: Johannes Thuillius, 3, as "diem X ex ante Kal. Nov., horam dici XV 1595." The basic biographical material on Cesarini is to be found in the typically rich and indispensable articles by Gabrieli, "Duc prelate lincei in Roma alla corte di Urbano VIII: Virginio Cesarini e Giovanni Ciampoli" and "Virginio Cesarini e Giovanni Ciampoli con documenti inediti," now usefully brought together in Gabrieli 1989, 763–818. Besides N. Conigliani, *Virginio Cesarini* (Piacenza, 1928), there is also the article by C. Mutini in the *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 8 (Rome, 1980), 199–207. These are nevertheless to be supplemented by the much too seldom consulted seventeenth-century eulogies and biographies, such as those by Gottifredi and Riquius, and the slightly later biography by Riquius' editor Agostino Favoriti, given in *Virginio Cesarini Carmina* [Rome, 1658].

40. Aside from the references in all the biographical works to his fortitude and renunciation of frivolous pleasures in pursuit of literature and science, his abstinence and stoicism emerges even from his intensely moralizing vernacular poetry, as in the poems headed "L'infermità del corpo esser desiderabile," "Che i lussi, e le delitie fanno la vita infelice," "L'avversità esser desiderabili," and "I piaceri del sesso esser noiosi" (Virginio Cesarini, *Poesie liriche toscane* [Rome, 1664], 66, 131, 136, 141, respectively).

41. See Giuseppe Gabrieli, "Galileo in Acquasparta," "La prima Accademia dei Lincei (1603–1630) nella luce della recente documentazione," "Il carteggio scientifico ed accademico tra i primi Lincci," and "Verballi delle adunanze e cronaca della prima Accademia Lincea (1603–1630)" in Gabrieli 1989, 1:195–224, 225–242, 399–478, 497–550, respectively. See also Gabrieli's edition of the correspondence between Galileo, Cesi, and the other early Lincci, "Il carteggio Linceo della vecchia accademia di Federico Cesi (1603–1630)," *Memorie dell'Accademia dei Lincei, classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, 6th–7th ser., 7 (1938–1942), 1–1446. For Galileo himself the basic reference work is Galileo Galilei, *Le Opere di Galileo Galilei*, 20 vols. in 21 (Florence, 1929–1939). For a useful summary of pertinent material see also Ada Alessandrini, *Documenti*

Lincei e Cimeli Galileiani [exh. cat., Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei] (Rome, 1965) [*Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Indici e Sussidi Bibliografici della Biblioteca*, 4].

42. Cassiano's activities as an artistic Maccenas and collector of drawings after the antique are well known (see, for example, Haskell 1963, 98–114; Cornelis C. Vermeule, "The dal Pozzo-Albani Drawings of Classical Antiquities. Notes on Their Contents and Arrangement," *Art Bulletin* 38 [1956], 31–46; Cornelis C. Vermeule, "The dal Pozzo-Albani Drawings of Classical Antiquities in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, n.s., 56, pt. 2 [1966]). It has only been in the last few years that Cassiano's scientific activities and patronage have come to the fore again, although they were perfectly obvious from the many references to his activities in works such as the great book known as the *Tesoro Messicano* and from the way in which, for example, he was referred to when he was first proposed (by Cesarini) as a prospective Linco in 1621: "hic industria chymica sua iam multis principibus et viris doctis notissimus est, et in corrohendis [?] plurimis rerum naturalium secretis magnas impensas fecit" [cited by Giuseppe Gabrieli, "Verballi delle adunanze e cronaca della prima Accademia Lincea [1603–1630]," in Gabrieli 1989, 1:540; for a summary see David Freedberg, "Cassiano, Natural Historian," *Quaderni Puteani* 1 [1989], 10–16].

43. Much evidence for the friendship is brought together in "Duc Prelati" and "Cesarini and Ciampoli," in Gabrieli 1989; C. Mutini in *Dizionario biografico*, 199–200; see also Bentivoglio 1648, 96; Riquius, 10, in which Cesarini's other friends are also listed. But in some ways the best evidence comes from Ciampoli himself, in the letter in which he describes to Galileo how he went to stay with Cesarini in 1616: "Venni per alloggiar dal signor don Virginio due giorni e la cortesia di questo Signore non mi vuol lasciar partire," he continues to describe at some length the personal gifts of Cesarini in the closest and most affectionate terms. Ciampoli recalls how he was received "con sì affettuosa insistenza che non mi par lecito il ricusarla, anzi al genio mio è desiderabilissima, particolarmente seguendo ciò senza una minima diminutione della mia solita libertà" (Galilei 1929–1939, 12:300, cited by Mutini in *Dizionario biografico*, 199).

44. For Cesarini's role and the extraordinary events surrounding the preparation and editing of the manuscript see Pietro Redondi, *Galileo Fretico* (Turin, 1983), especially 53–60; see also Galilei 1929–1939, 20: *Indice dei nomi* (125) and *Indice biografico* (416), for the references (including the earlier ones) to Cesarini in Galileo's correspondence. For the relationship between Galileo and Ciampoli see also "Due Prelati," in Gabrieli 1989, 769–773.

45. As, for example, in Riquius, 12–14, 18; but see also the letters by Ciampoli and to Cesi, Maffeo Barberini, and Cassiano dal Pozzo cited in notes 47–51.

46. "Vidisses ex illo aetatis ac formae flore miseras reliquias, exanguem atque emaciatum, viribus defec-tissimum, demersum, ac plane oppressum dolorum mole, spirans cadaver, hominis simulacrum, sine succo, sine sanguine, sine colore, hospitium plane dixisses calamitatis. Neque tamen in tanta doloris materia indoluit, ipse unquam, aut animum deiicit humiliter; sed stante vultu & siccis oculis sua spectans naufragia adversis rerum immersabilis undis, Marpesia veluti cautes stetit immobilis" [Alessandro Gottifredi, *In funere Virginii Cesarini Oratio ad S.P.Q.R. dum ei in aede Virginis Capitolinae publico sumptu parentaret* (Rome, 1624), 25]. Gabrieli's description (Gabrieli 1989, 1:788) of Gottifredi's work as "poco piu di una chiaccherata" seems unduly harsh, not only in light of the useful information Gottifredi provides, but above all in the context of passages such as the one cited above.
47. See, for example, the letter from Cesarini to Maffeo Barberini, 24 March 1619, in which he explains "Non ho potuto sfuggire gli assalti del male in coteste parti perchè è troppo difficile il riparo dai nemici interni. . . ." And he goes on to describe a number of remedies, such as essences of citrons, lemons, and jasmine (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City [hereinafter BAV], MS Barb. Lat. 6461, fols. 125-125v). Compare the letter from Ciampoli to Cesi, 24 May 1618: "Il Sr Virginio non ha goduto mai intera sanità in quest'estate; e se bene egli studia tutta via più che ordinariamente, pure rispetto all sua consuetudine si e temperato pur assai. . . ." [Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, Rome [hereinafter BLC], Archivio Linceo, MS 12, fols. 338-339] and the letters from Cesarini to Cassiano cited in the present text and in notes 49 and 50. See also the autograph manuscript written by Cesi himself immediately after Cesarini's death, BLC, Archivio Linceo, MS 4, fols. 310-312, reproduced in Gabrieli 1989, 1:783-785.
48. For example BLC, Archivio dal Pozzo, MS XII (10), fols. 546-563; MS XXXVI (33), as well as the pas-sages from several letters between Cesarini and Cas-siano cited in Gabrieli 1989, 1:802-804. On Potier see Gabrieli 1989, 1:803, n. 5.
49. As, for example, the "oglio dai fiori di naranti e con li semi di pere" mentioned in BLC, Archivio dal Pozzo, MS XII (10), fol. 555. Compare the extract of citrons described at great length in BAV, MS Barb. Lat. 6461, fol. 125, and cited in Gabrieli 1989, 1:800.
50. "Fino a qui la pioggia, e gli scirocchi mi hanno confinato in casa. La mutatione dell'aria fatta parti-colarmente in tempi torbidi mi ha fatto infreddare: di poi mi tiene infiammata la gola con le solite flus-sioni, che mi vogliono accompagnar per tutto. Mi resta non poco di confidenza nel Sr Potier; e sono quasi risoluto, che a nuovo tempo o egli venga a Roma, o io vada a trovarlo a Bologna;" BLC, Archivio dal Pozzo, MS XII (10), fol. 561.
51. "Scrivo a lungo a P. Potier, dandoli distinta rela-tione della mia infirmità. . . da due giorni in quà mi sento meno affannato: però sto à gloria aspettando il tempo buono" (24 January 1620); BLC, Archivio dal Pozzo, MS XII (10), fol. 550.
52. As in note 61.
53. Gottifredi 1624, 20, 29. See also the frontispiece to this work by Mellan after Pomarancio, in which the medallion showing Pico della Mirandola at bot-tom center of the page balances that of Cesarini at the top; and the pair of profile medallions in *Carmina* 1658, in the biography edited by Agostino Favoriti (see note 55).
54. See, for example, Gottifredi 1624, 20; Janus Nicius Erythraeus, *Pinacotheca* (Cologne, 1645), 59, noting that it was none other than the renownedly severe Robert Bellarmine who called Cesarini a modern Pico.
55. See Riquius, 10-11. The parallel is also drawn in the biography of Cesarini by Agostino Favoriti, the editor of the posthumous edition of Cesarini's liter-ary remains [*Carmina* 1658; *Poesie* 1664]. See also the pair of engraved medallions showing the ideal-ized profiles of the two young philosophers facing each other in *Carmina* 1658, n.p. On Riquius see Giuseppe Gabrieli, "Giusto Ricchio Belga: I suoi scritti editi ed inediti," *Atti dell' Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Rendiconti della classe di scienze morali*, 6th ser., 9 (1933), 142-185, reprinted in Gabrieli 1989, 1:1133-1164; "Ancora di Josse Rycke [Giusto Ricchio] Panegirista o Encomiatore Ufficiale dei Lincei Defunti nella Prima Accademia," *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome* 21 (1941), 71-83, reprinted in Gabrieli 1989, 1:1165-1175.
56. A useful list of Riquius' correspondents is given in Gabrieli 1989, 1:1146-1162, on the basis of the let-ters published in the extremely rare *Primitiae Epis-tolicae* (Cologne, 1610), the *Epistolarum selectarum centuria altera* (Louvain, 1615), and the "Episto-larum selectarum tertia," ed. R. van den Berghe, in R. van den Berghe, "Justus Riquius," *Messenger des sci-ences historiques* (1881), 166-185, 457-477.
57. For example Riquius, 12-14, 18, where he refers to the last year of Cesarini's life "adco consumptus fuerat [in the winter of 1623-1624], ut àδυνάτων quivis crederet, in tam imbecilli corpusculo aliquid vitalis spiritus deinceps posse residere. Sic tamen convaluerat e periculosissimo & atrocissimo morbo, ut ad vitae officia, ac studiorum labores subinde & intervallo rediret."
58. Antonia Nava Cellini "Aggiunte alla ritrattistica Berniniana e Algardiana," *Paragone* 6 (1955), 27.
59. Nava Cellini 1955, 27.
60. *Carmina* 1658, 58, in the poem dedicated to Fulvio Testi (see also note 61, with further references).
61. Besides the many details in Gottifredi and Riquius (see note 57). In the Latin poetry see, for example, the poem to Fulvio Testi, "Queritur se loquendi usum morbo amisisse," (*Carmina* 1658, 56), the long lament to Ciampoli, "Morbo recrudescente" (*Carmina* 1658, 81), and the whole of the affectionate, plaintive ode to Famiano Strada (*Carmina* 1658, 64).
62. Nava Cellini 1955, 27-28. The attribution is also

supported by Claudia Freytag, "Neuentdeckte Werke des François du Quesnoy," *Pantheon* 34 (1976), 199.

63. Harris 1989, 17–23.

64. On the Guglielmi tomb in San Lorenzo fuori le Mura see Karl Noehles, "Francesco Duquesnoy: Un busto ignoto e la cronologia delle sue opere," *Arte Antica e Moderna* (1964), 86–96; on that of George Conn in San Lorenzo in Damaso see Freytag 1976, 207–209.

65. A *terminus ante quem* for the ivory crucifix and the Saint Sebastian is provided by the papal chirograph of 4 April 1626 first published by A. Bertolotti, *Giunte agli artisti belgi e olandesi in Roma nei secoli XVI e XVII* (Rome, 1885), 30.

66. For the documents regarding the payments by Francesco Barberini for these tombs in 1628 see Noehles 1964. Although the tombs of Barclay (d. 1621) and Guglielmi (d. 1623) were only paid for in 1628 [Noehles 1964, 96], it is not impossible, as Noehles himself implies (87–88), that Duquesnoy was chosen as their sculptor several years earlier—perhaps just after the evident success of the Cesarini tomb? It is worth noting that in the very year of his death Barclay was proposed to become a member of the Accademia dei Lincei by none other than Virginio Cesarini (Gabrieli 1989, 1:459).

67. The many documents on all these papal commissions are summarized in Fransolet 1941, 164–165, 176–179. Compare also Oskar Pollak, *Die Kunsttätigkeit unter Urban VIII.*, 2 vols. (Vienna, 1931), 2:93, 355–359, 429–436, 451. For the other works done for the Barberini see also Bellori 1672, 271–272; Freytag 1976, 199–207; Irving and Marilyn Lavin, "Duquesnoy's 'Nano di Créqui' and Two Busts by Francesco Mochi," *Art Bulletin* 52 (1970), 132–149.

68. On Conn and the Conn tomb (commissioned by Francesco Barberini and dated 1640) see Freytag 1976, 207–211.

69. "Earned him the greatest applause," *La Vie* 1975, fol. 41.

70. "In particular he [Bentivoglio] derived the greatest pleasure in sharing his studies with two of the rarest talents of the highest repute in the field of letters; and these were Cardinal Maffeo Barberini, now Pope Urban VIII, and Don Virginio Cesarini." Bentivoglio 1648, 95–96.

71. See also Panifilowa 1955, 36–37.

72. "He was entertained in the house of Cardinal Bentivoglio, who was a lover of the Flemish nation, as a result of having lived in Flanders and having written that history [of the Flemish Wars] which will live forever." Bellori 1672, 255.

73. In addition to Bentivoglio 1648, 95–96, and the *Epistola Dedicatoria* to Urban in Gottifredi 1624, 3–5, see also the description of Urban's affection for Cesarini in Riquius, 16 (on the Capitoline funeral see also 23–24).

74. Compare Passeri 1934, 104: "si godeva spesso la ricreazione delli fiammeng[h]i suoi Compatrioti den-

tro l'Ospizio di quella Nazione nella Chiesa di San Giuliano alli Cesarini. . . ."

75. In addition to the evidence of his own testament (cited in note 78) see also Gottifredi 1624, 29; Riquius, 16. Redondi 1983, 49–60, has an important discussion of the role of Grassi in these years, as well as the relationship with Cesarini.

76. Famianus Strada, *De Bello Belgico Decas Prima ab excessu Caroli V Imp. usque ad initia Praefecturae Alexandri Farnesii* (Antwerp, 1635; Rome, 1637); the *Decas Secunda (ab initio praefecturae Alexandri Farnesii . . . an. MDLXXXVIII usque ad an. MDXC)* was published by the heirs of Francesco Corbellotti in Rome, 1647. Further editions of the first decade appeared in Rome in 1640 and in Leyden in 1643, while both decades appeared together in Frankfurt in 1651 (preceded by Scheus' combined imprint of 1638–1649 of the Italian translation). I do not mention the several later editions of this work, whose publication history is, if anything, even more complicated than that of Bentivoglio's *Della guerra di Fiandra* (see note 32). While it does not seem to have been quite as popular as Bentivoglio's history, it was certainly an important competitor, and provides further indication of the extraordinary interest in the Revolt of the Netherlands in Rome during the 1630s, 1640s, and 1650s. An important list of Cesarini's friends is given in Riquius, 15 (including both Strada and Galluzzi); see also the revealing poem about Cesarini's illness addressed to Strada in the *Poesie* 1664, 64–66.

77. Gottifredi 1624, 29; see also Riquius, 16, as well as note 78.

78. "Lascio di essere portato a seppellire con l'habito di religioso della Compagnia di Gesù havendomi il R.mo P.dre Generale fatta grazia di accettarmi in detta religione conforme alla istanza fattagliene da me. Però supplico S.P. R.ma a fare honorare il corpo mio del detto habito, et ad aiutare la anima mia con li suffraggi soliti farsi per morte di alcuni Padri. Morendo in Roma, lascio di essere sepolto nella chiesa del Gesù in quella sepoltura ove è sepolta la signora Duchessa mia Madre, e se morisse altrove ove sieno i Padri de detta Compagnia, lascio di essere sepolto nella chiesa loro;" Archivio Notarile del Comune, Acquasparta, *Rogiti* del Notaio Cesarini (1624), 12–13; reprinted in Gabrieli 1989, 1:804–805.

79. The full inscription is given in the unpaginated biography of Cesarini by Favoriti in *Carmina* 1658.

80. See Bentivoglio 1648, 96–97.

81. Redondi 1983, 53.

82. Redondi 1983, 54–55.

83. See note 5.

84. "He was still young, with his beard just beginning to show, but his youth was accompanied by a grave modesty in his soul and by a nobility of aspect that belied his small size. His manners were those of an aristocrat rather than of a private person. . . ." Bellori 1672, 255.