Caravaggio and His Copyists

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To the memory of
Pat Martin

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Preface

SO MUCH WAS Walter Friedlaender's respect for the reliability of Caravaggio's seventeenth-century literary sources—particularly Mancini, Baglione, and Bellori—that he restricted his *catalogue raisonné* of the master's oeuvre[1] to the paintings that they and a few other contemporary literary sources mentioned. This method has been justified by time, and by the recent publication of a number of inventories which might have changed our understanding of the oeuvre substantially, but have not. For Friedlander's method not only excluded questionable works, which are fairly numerous, but also seems to have produced a remarkably complete catalogue. Thus, the literary sources were demonstrated to have been authoritative, particularly in respect to Caravaggio's Roman oeuvre, in what they ignored and comprehensive in what they included.

A similar methodical device has been proposed by Michael Kitson in his very useful and generally reliable book on Caravaggio. Questioning the authenticity of the *Christ on the Mount of Olives* (no. 32), he refers not only to the style of the painting and the lack of any reference to it in seventeenth-century sources but also to "the absence of copies . . . of a work by a painter so famous and so widely imitated."[2] The implication is that copies, which hitherto have not been considered with much care or detail, might provide evidence as to the authenticity of paintings, and that this evidence might be comparable in reliability with that of the literary sources. If this implication is correct, copies (or the lack of them) should

form an important aid to attribution, and one which has up to now been seriously neglected.

But does, in fact, the presence or absence of copies of any painting by Caravaggio have any meaning? Kitson's passing reference to the lack of copies of the *Christ on the Mount of Olives* (no. 32) demonstrates his belief that it does; but his remark contains a number of unacknowledged assumptions, so that it seems to be less an answer than a question itself. Specifically, we may ask: Were all of Caravaggio's paintings copied? How many copies were made? How many copies have survived to 1973? When were the copies made? Who made them? How reliable were the copyists as judges of the authenticity of the paintings that they copied? How scrupulous were they in marking their copies as copies? What disposition did they make of them? Was the practice of copying and its frequency dependent only on the authenticity of the original, or was it conditioned also by such other variables as the original's geographical location, its accessibility, its size, or its subject? If there was some correlation of the number of copies with the authenticity of the original, was there also any correlation with the popularity of the original or its prominence? A number of peripheral questions might also be considered, particularly relating to paintings derivative from Caravaggio's originals but not replicas of them, to the dissemination of paintings (both the originals and the derivatives) from the centers of culture to the more remote corners of the civilized world, and to the accuracy of the attributions in seventeenth-century sources, notably in inventories and lesser or regional writers.

Most students of Caravaggio have not been unaware of these questions and have formulated tentative answers to them without systematic analysis of the problem of copies after Caravaggio. I had given it some thought before publishing *The Italian Followers of Caravaggio* in 1967, and I included some remarks on it in the text;[3] but not until the book had gone to press did I recognize its complexity and seriousness and address myself to it in detail.

This study is the result.[4] It is based on a survey, made over several years, of painted and drawn copies and of prints after Caravaggio's pictures. This survey is as comprehensive as I can at present make it. I believe that it includes all seventeenth-century prints and all, or almost all, prints of the eighteenth century. Because nineteenth-century prints evolve into photographic reproductions and include text-, history-, and guide-book illustrations as if they were photographs, only those of particular importance (such as Landon's illustrations of the Giustiniani Collection) have been included. I am certain that my survey does *not* include all

drawings and paintings of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, but I believe it does include a sufficiently substantial proportion, so as to change in numbers but not in significance as more appear. Specifically: (1) I assume that I may have missed a few painted copies in the storerooms of public collections; (2) I surmise that in provincial churches and in the hands of dealers and private collectors there are many painted copies unknown to me; and finally (3) I suspect that quite a few drawn copies, particularly with attributions to French, Flemish, and Dutch masters, remain unidentified in public collections and that numbers more exist in private possession, in quantities sufficient to indicate a much more extensive corpus of drawings after Caravaggio than is now known.

This study consists of a text-essay and three appendices. In the essay I have attempted to formulate answers to the questions posed above and to establish the principles underlying the practice and dissemination of copies after Caravaggio. Appendix I incorporates the raw findings of the survey of the copies, and might almost be considered the body of the study rather than an appendage to it. In outline form, this appendix includes copies after both existent and lost works by Caravaggio; by necessity it has had to include also some questionable works and some which I do not believe are Caravaggio's own, and the copies after them. It is accompanied by extensive notes, including comments on the copies and on the originals, and presenting much correlative material, some relevant to the literary sources and some relevant to paintings that are not copies of the originals but are derivative from them. In Appendix II the raw findings have been tabulated for all three media according to the geographical location and the accessibility of the originals, and the century and frequency of the copies. The dimensions of the painted copies in relation to those of the originals have been tabulated in Appendix III.

Most of the illustrations have been chosen for simple documentary reasons, with preference for unpublished copies and variants, and for works demonstrating hitherto unrecognized relations. Because they are available in any number of widely distributed books on Caravaggio, I have kept illustrations of his own paintings at a minimum. I have not included illustrations of many of the copy-drawings, because most of them can be seen in my article on them in *Art Quarterly* (1972). And I have not duplicated illustrations in my *Italian Followers of Caravaggio* or similar standard reference works; in the notes I have given a reference to an illustration of each work, except for those works in major museums with illustrated catalogues.

I did not intend this study to be about Caravaggio. Rather, I meant it to be primarily about copies after Caravaggio; secondarily about the copyists; and finally about our understanding of copies, copyists, and the practice of copying. Obviously, however, the shadows can hardly be understood without examining the object; and often enough, rather than concealing it, they reveal aspects of it that might otherwise be hidden or overlooked. Thus, Caravaggio himself and his oeuvre are basic, providing the structural framework of the study, and also serving as its beginning and in a double sense its end—that is, it returns always to them, and its objective is a better understanding of them.

The year 1973 marks not only the four hundredth anniversary of Caravaggio's birth but also the thirtieth anniversary of Roberto Longhi's fundamental study on Caravaggio and his followers,[5] which was the first modern attempt at a synthetic treatment of the master and his followers and successors. A number of further steps in this process have been taken, notably in the exhibitions in Milan (1951), Naples (1963), Florence (1970), Cleveland (1971), and most recently Seville (1973) and Rome-Paris (1973–74). I hope it is not immodest to offer this study as still another; but with the essential disclaimer that it is intended and must be recognized only as part of a process, and is in process itself. It is incomplete not only in the lack of those copies that have escaped me but also in the hypotheses necessary to fill in unknown facts and to re-create past events and situations; it is offered as a progress report rather than as the final word.

Obviously, a project of this sort is utterly dependent on the goodwill and cooperation of friends and colleagues beyond number. Most of my work has been done in University of California libraries at Berkeley and Santa Barbara, in New York at the Frick Art Reference Library, in London at the Witt Collection and the Warburg Institute, in Amsterdam at the library and print cabinet of the Rijksmuseum, in the Hague at the Netherlands Institute of Art History, in Rome at the Herziana and the American Academy, and in the print and drawing collections in Stockholm, Copenhagen, Hamburg, Berlin, Haarlem, Rotterdam, the British Museum, the Louvre, Düsseldorf, Munich, Dresden, Leipzig, Budapest, Basel, Venice, Milan, Turin, Florence, Rome, and Naples in Europe, and in Boston, New York, Baltimore, Cleveland, Chicago, San Francisco, and Los Angeles in the United States. I cannot acknowledge my debt to each institution and to each staff member sufficiently, but I must acknowledge specific debts to Mr. Donald Bradford for drawing figure 122, to Mrs. Brigitta Sloan, Mrs. Connie Martinez and Miss Anne Littleworth for efficient clerical assistance, and to the following for

generously providing me with photographs or information or both: Lady Dorothy Lygon, Dr. Rolf Kultzen, M. Pierre Rosenberg, Dr. Miles Chappell, Mr. George Sabatella, Mr. Donald McGlone, Professor Luigi Salerno, Professor Michael Kitson, Dr. Basil Skinner, Dr. Konrad Oberhuber, Dr. Marilyn Aronberg Lavin, Dr. Bernice Davidson, Mrs. Beverly Jackson, Professor Leonard Slatkes, Dr. Jennifer Montagu, Mr. Burton Frederickson, Dr. Myra Rosenfeld, Mr. David Carter, Mr. Pinckney Near, Mr. Richard Finnegan, Mr. Fred Brown, Mr. Mark Turner, Mr. Alastair Smith, Ms. Anne Donald, Mr. Darryl Isley, Mr. Raymond De Nawski, Dr. A. S. Ciechanowiecki, Mr. Julius Weitzner, Mr. Julien Stock, Mr. W. Mostyn Owen, Mr. Clovis Whitfield, Mr. David Thistlethwaite, Mr. Ronald Kuchta, Professor David Kunzle, Professor and Mrs. Richard Spear, Professor Gary Brown, Arch. Maurizio Marini, Dr. Angelo Walter, Dr. Harold Marx, Dr. Andries Baart, Dr. John Maxon, Ms. Eunice Williams, Dr. Carol Winslow Brentano, Professor Kathleen Weil-Garris, Dr. Evelina Borea, Dr. René Taylor, Professor Ward Bissell, Mr. John Gere, Professor Quentin Bell, Mr. Rupert Hodge, Mr. Christopher Wright, Mr. Benedict Nicolson, Dr. Hugo Wagner, Professor Seymour Slive, Mr. Martin Peterson, Professor Wallace Tomassini, Dr. Frances Follin Jones, Mr. J. H. van Borssum Buisman, Ms. Eleanor Sayre, Mrs. Sue Reed, Ms. Ruth Magurn, Mr. Janos Scholz, Signor Franco di Castro, Mr. Samuel Kadish, Mrs. Ruth Olsen Carlucci, Dr. Richard P. Wunder, Mrs. Sally Turner, Professor Donald Posner, Dr. Klara Garas, and the late Walter Vitzthum.

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University of California
Santa Barbara
Autumn 1973

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Except for the portraits which follow everything else, illustrations are arranged as much as possible according to the chronological sequence of the Caravaggio originals, lost or still existent, to which they refer.

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21. Anonymous, *Sacrifice of Isaac,* Rapp Collection, Stockholm, photo Courtauld Institute (no. 15*v*).

22. Copy of Caravaggio, *Judith Beheading Holofernes,* engraving, Collection of author, photo Audio-Visual Services, UCSB, (no. 13a).

23. Le Vasseur, copy of lost *Sacrifice of Isaac,* attributed to Caravaggio, engraving. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, photo courtesy of Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (no. 15*iv*).

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Note that measurements are given with width *preceding* height. Unless otherwise specified, all paintings are in oil on canvas or the medium is not known. "Figure" refers to an illustration in this book; "fig." to an illustration elsewhere.

I When, Where, How and Why Copies after Caravaggio Came into Being, Who Made Them, and What Happened to Them

I DEFINE A COPY as an exact and literal reproduction of its original. However, the term must be recognized as imprecise. For although near-perfect examples of this relationship do exist (for example, the two versions of the *Youth with a Ram* in Rome in the Capitoline Museum [no. 16] and the Doria Collection [no. 16c]), they are quite rare; and on careful examination they reveal subtle differences in detail. In practice, most copies, be they painted, drawn, engraved, or photographed, differ quite obviously from their originals. For instance, the anonymous engraver of the *Judith Beheading Holofernes* (no. 13a; figure 22) preserved

the value relations of the original oil painting in his print of it; but he lost the effects of hue and intensity and thus changed the color, just as he changed the scale and the medium. Usually color, scale, and surface, or *fattura,* effects are quite different in drawn or engraved copies from those of their original, and scale and surface effects at least are quite different in photographic reproductions. They are almost as likely to be somewhat different in painted copies, although less obviously, and rarely so extremely as in the postcard-sized *Bari* (no. 52aa; figure 9) or in the *Ecce Homo* (no. 34a), with its surface as if of enameled wood. Most painted copies differ from their originals subtly but discernibly in surface and color. Many differ in minor details, like the Hispanic physiognomy of Christ in the three copies of the London *Emmaus* attributed to Alonzo Rodriquez (nos. 17f and 17g) and Maino (no. 17j; figure 54), which register the personal idiosyncrasies of the copyists. Very often the copyist lacks the assurance of the master, as is evident in the ineptitude of Bassetti's *Incredulity of St. Thomas* (no. 18f), which is also smaller than the original, or in the clumsy replicas of the *Ecstasy of St. Francis* (nos. 3b, 3c; figure 14), which duplicate their original's size.

Each of these copies maintains the composition and format of the original, although often ambiguously, and thus can be defined as "reproducing" it. However, many other works of art, while openly acknowledging their derivation from an original composition, change it by deletion, addition, and rearrangement; these derivatives I define as variants. The painter of a variant is less respectful of his model's identity than is a copyist, and more in pursuit of his own; he does not repeat the original, but adopts and transforms it. Some variants are quite close to their original, like Georges de La Tour's *Cheats* (versions in the Louvre and in Geneva), which, despite the change of subject matter, is still recognizably derivative in composition from the London *Emmaus* (no. 17). Others, like Ter Brugghen's *Calling of St. Matthew* (versions in the Le Havre and Utrecht museums), maintain only a tenuous relation to their originals, in this instance Caravaggio's painting of the same subject (no. 21). A single variant can amalgamate two or more paintings; for example, Lanfranco composed his *Inspiration of St. Luke* (in the Collegio Notarile, Piacenza) out of both of Caravaggio's versions of the *Inspiration of St. Matthew* (nos. 19 and 22) without much apparent response to the formal characteristics of the originals. Other variants show their makers intensely aware of the form of the originals, like Strozzi's *Calling of St. Matthew* (in the Worcester, Mass., Museum) although less in its similar but augmented figure arrangement than in its reversal of the source of light from the right to the left.

Variants far outnumber copies, but are not central to this chapter, and will be considered elsewhere.[6] I recognize a third type of derivative painting, which neither reproduces its original exactly nor changes it very drastically; this type I define as a variant-copy. Basically, it is a free copy, with such variations of detail as those in the clothing, gestures, and physiognomies of the Capitoline version of the *Buona Ventura* (no. 4e) or in the iconography of some of the versions of the *Mary and Martha* (no. 56) or the *Fainting Magdalen* (no. 69). Makers of variant-copies also add figures, as in Bloemaerts' *Crucifixion of St. Peter* (no. 24v; figure 73) or in Mrs. Brand's *Bari* (no. 52bb; figure 10); they add landscapes, as in the Correa *Entombment* (no. 25ee) and the Marcucci *Sleeping Cupid* engraving (no. 42b; figure 102), which might incidentally be taken as a warning against much reliance on the authority of late-eighteenth and nineteenth-century prints; they transform the space, expanding it as in the inferior copy of the *Youth with a Ram* (no. 16f; figure 61) or reducing it as in the *Calling of St. Matthew* (nos. 21g, 21i); and they make various other minor changes. Because they preserve their model, modifying it without transforming it (as a variant would), I include them in this study with the copies that are its primary concern.

When artists first began to make copies after Caravaggio is not precisely known. Mancini states[7] quite definitely that Caravaggio himself made copies of devotional images for his protector, "Monsignore Insalata" Pucci, and the possibility that the young artist copied himself—that is, made copies of his own works—is not to be excluded. However contradictory it may seem of his personality when he was mature and of what is reported of his adult life and of his working procedures, it would be consistent not only with his work for Monsignore Pucci but also with his employment by Lorenzo the Sicilian[8] and with the Cavaliere d'Arpino's studio practice. Perhaps the version (the second?) of the *Ecstasy of St. Francis* (no. 3) recently documented in the Del Monte inventory might be such an autograph copy. More likely, however, Cardinal Del Monte's version was unique, identifiable as the original now in Hartford, and the Abbot Tritonio's version was a copy, sent to him by Ottavio Costa, for whom we know at least one other good copy[9] was made during the earliest years of the seventeenth century. Could this copy have been the one now in Udine (no. 3a), which is old enough, and although clearly not by Caravaggio himself, is recognizable through the layers of grime covering it as by a skilled hand? Could this hand possibly be Minniti's or that of some other friend or associate of Caravaggio's making a copy under the young master's super-

vision to satisfy the needs of an exigent and important patron or even a dealer? Might not some of the multiple versions of the lost *Boy Peeling Fruit* (no. 50) be the result of the same process, even by the same hand?

Obviously, such proposals are highly speculative, but they are quite consistent with the literary and documentary evidence respecting Caravaggio's earliest Roman years, and with what is known of his situation. However, when Caravaggio began to receive commissions for larger paintings in public locations, specifically from the Contarelli and Cerasi chapel cycles onward, his situation and perhaps his procedures changed. Minniti left him and was apparently not replaced.[10] The evidence of the 1603 hearing clearly indicates that Caravaggio discouraged imitators. And he himself had changed. No longer was he a youngster making his way by doing charming little paintings for private connoisseurs; he had become one of Rome's leading public painters, whose work was much sought after and presumably proudly displayed by those few fortunate enough to possess examples. Correspondingly, his oeuvre changed, becoming larger in scale and less intimate in quality, so that the process of making replicas would necessarily have been less casual. At the same time, he quite surely did not maintain the kind of settled life and established atelier that would seem to be requisite to the production of replicas. Presumably, therefore, as long as Caravaggio remained in Rome—which was after all a brief period, ending precipitously in July 1606—relatively few copies must have been made. He didn't want other artists to make them; he didn't have the desire (or the time?) to make them himself; and he lacked the facilities to set up production of them.[11]

A few must have been made nonetheless: the only one that we can be sure was produced before Caravaggio's flight from Rome is the *Incredulity of St. Thomas* in Genoa[12] (no. 18x), although possibly there was already another in Bologna[13] during 1606. Of others made by 1606 there is no record. Soon after, however, consequent not only to Caravaggio's departure from the city but also to the rising flood of young visitors arriving in the city, the number began to increase. If Giovanni Bilivert did in fact make the Capodimonte drawing of the *Calling of St. Matthew* (no. 21c), as I propose, it must have been made by 1608, when he returned to Florence. Similarly, if Alonzo Rodriquez did paint the two versions of the London *Supper at Emmaus* (nos. 17f and 17g), then they may antedate 1610 and must have been done by 1614.[14] During the second decade of the century, copying had become common: by 1611 the silver relief version of the *Burial of St. Lucy* (no. 43d) had been made, probably Garbieri's *Incredulity of St. Thomas* (no. 18w) and perhaps two other anonymous versions of the same original (nos. 18u and 18v),

and certainly a version of the *Crucifixion of St. Peter* in Valencia (no. 24o); by 1612, Maino's copy of the London *Emmaus* (no. 17j; figure 54); in 1613, at least one of Finson's *Fainting Mary Magdalens* (no. 69c); probably in 1614, Ribalta's version of the *Crucifixion of St. Peter* (no. 24s); in 1616, Honthorst's drawing of the same painting (no. 24c) and, if the attributions are correct, by that date Tanzio's[15] two drawings (nos. 24a and 24b), the drawing (no. 24g) and the little oil sketch (no. 24t), for both which I propose Fetti as author,[16] and possibly the pen-and-ink sketch (no. 24d) by Ribera.[17] Other copies that can be dated as early are the Bononi *Entombment* (no. 25t) and perhaps the version attributed to Guerrieri (no. 25u), the Bassetti *Incredulity of St. Thomas* (no. 18f), the Gentiletti *Calling of St. Matthew* (no. 21k), the lost Finson *Madonna of the Rosary* (no. 36d) and his *Crucifixion of St. Andrew* (no. 73f); and probably most of the copies[18] attributed to Caroselli (nos. 18aa; 42d; 69g, figure 97), Finson (nos. 13c; 69b, figure 96), Minniti (no. 43a; figure 110), Moyaert[19] (nos. 21d and 21g), and Regnier (nos. 57a and 69e, figure 98), the lost Saraceni *Mary and Martha* (no. 56f), and the hypothetical lost *David* (no. 54).

Because only a few works actually bear dates,[20] most chronological placement of copies is dependent on stylistic analysis or on identification of the copyist, by means either of a signature, which is very rare,[21] or of documentary evidence,[22] which is equally rare and usually only approximate. Hence, it is reasonable to assume that those copies datable by 1616 or earlier, and those that can be precisely dated as after 1616 (like the De Geest *Fainting Mary Magdalen* [no. 69d] of 1620 or the Bloemaerts *Crucifixion of St. Peter* [no. 24v; figure 73] of 1650), reflect many others that are contemporary but are unsigned, undated, unidentifiable as to maker, and therefore cannot be placed chronologically with any more precision than as of the seventeenth century. Direct responses to Caravaggio's style had with few exceptions come to an end by midcentury, so presumably most of these seventeenth-century copies were made earlier rather than later in the century. The fact that five of the seven seventeenth-century prints[23] after Caravaggio paintings date from the first half of the century (and probably before 1635) confirms this assumption; whatever effective contribution these prints made to the dissemination of Caravaggio's style (and it was small) had also come to an end by midcentury. Two-thirds of the total number of painted and drawn copies after Caravaggio —209 out of 307—originated in the seventeenth century; probably it is justifiable not only to take that number as a minimum (three-fourths is a more likely and still conservative estimate) but also to assume that most drawn and painted copies were done during the period from 1610 to 1640.

The practice of copying Caravaggio's paintings did not, however, cease after the seventeenth century. His style was no longer viable, and he was cast in a villain's role by most critical-historical writers. Yet Fragonard and Saint-Non recorded three of his Roman works in prints (nos. 8a, 17c, and 25b), and in 1765 Fuseli informs[24] us that students in Rome were copying paintings by Batoni, Pietro da Cortona, Raphael, and (strange company!) Caravaggio. David Allan copied the *Fortune-Teller* (no. 4h) and the *Bari* (no. 52gg) in Rome and conceivably created something of a vogue for the latter theme when he went home to Scotland.[25] Certainly nineteenth-century copies after the *Entombment* (no. 25) are numerous, partly no doubt as a novelty (no. 25cc and perhaps 25z) because it was one of the paintings singled out for importation into France and inclusion in Napoleon's Musée Français, but also as a model in Rome for eager students there (e.g., nos. 25aa, 25bb, and 25kk). Significantly, the number of prints relative to the number of painted and drawn copies increased drastically, from no more than seven prints as against 209 painted and drawn copies in the seventeenth century, to 48 prints as against only 27 painted and drawn copies in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. To some extent this reversed proportion is the result simply of the number of engravings illustrating Landon's *Galerie Giustiniani* and *Anales du Musée,* Filhol's *Musée,* and similar Napoleonic publications. But the inclusion of works after Caravaggio (and, incidentally, after such of his followers as Saraceni, Manfredi, and Valentin) in these Napoleonic collections is in itself significant; and anyhow they account for less than one-third of the total number of later prints.[26] One other difference between the seventeenth-century prints and those of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries should be noted: the seventeenth-century prints were made separately, but most of the later prints were part of collections—the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century predecessors of the post-World War II cocktail table-art luxury edition—not only Landon's and Filhol's but also (earlier) Crozat's, Basan's, and Metz's and (later) such museum guides as the *Galerie du Palais Pitti* (no. 42b; figure 102). Evidently, during the eighteenth century the engraved copy ceased to have whatever minimal significance it had earlier as a means of dissemination of the style, and came to be regarded as a souvenir. As such, it was superseded and became obsolete in the nineteenth century as soon as the art photograph came into general usage.

Who made the painted and drawn copies after Caravaggio is usually difficult to ascertain specifically because so few of them are signed or documented and because by definition a copy conceals rather than reveals the maker's hand. Literary

sources mention several of Caravaggio's followers as having made replicas of his work.[27] The practice is confirmed by the signed Finson, Honthorst, Ribalta, and De Geest copies (significantly, all foreigners), by a few documentary references such as the Giustiniani inventory reference to a now lost Caravaggio full-length *Mary Magdalen* (no. 57) and a now lost Regnier duplicate (no. 57a) of it, and by some fairly firm attributions—those, for example, to Bononi (no. 25t), Rodriquez (nos. 17f, 17g), Maino (no. 17j; figure 54), Bassetti (no. 18f), Ribera (no. 24d), Tanzio (nos. 24a, 24b), Caroselli (nos. 42d; 69g, figure 97), and Regnier (nos. 56m, 69e; figures 32 and 98). Such specific information is almost as rare as signatures; ordinarily only tentative general attributions are possible, on the basis of casual statements like Pacheco's reference[28] to a copy in Seville or Susinno's[29] to many copies of the *Burial of St. Lucy* in Messina and other Sicilian cities, and by means of stylistic analysis; for the overwhelming preponderance of copies is anonymous.

However, on the basis of stylistic analysis a few copies can be attributed; and fairly detailed and comprehensive hypotheses can be developed as to how the anonymous works came into being. The range of quality is wide, as the various versions of the *Fainting Magdalen* (no. 69) demonstrate: apart from the three signed replicas, a number are of sufficiently high quality as to invite attribution to significant artists (e.g., nos. 69e, 69g, 69o), most are at least competent, and only one or two (e.g., nos. 69h, 69i) are actually inept. Thus, it is clear that copies were made by accomplished artists as well as by struggling novices or by hacks and clumsy provincials and that the majority of them was made by adequately trained painters accustomed to fairly sophisticated and demanding criticism and patronage.

The greatest, or at least the most interesting and tantalizing, problem is the authorship of the best copies,[30] of those few like the Doria *Youth with the Ram* (no. 16c) that are capable of passing as autograph originals.[31] Presumably the name of a copyist capable of painting so well might be already known to us from the circle of Caravaggio's successors in the 1610s and 1620s, if only we could recognize his hand (in this instance, apparently Caroselli's) on the basis of style. Common sense would tell us to look among Caravaggio's immediate followers to find an artist having the understanding of the master and sufficient technical skill to make so effective a counterfeit; and contemporary literary and documentary sources actually do provide us with a few names, specifically, Caroselli, Rodriquez, Regnier, Caracciolo, and Vaccaro, as artists who were, or should have been, capable of just this feat. Except in a few instances, however, like Bassetti's *Incredulity of St. Thomas* (no. 18f) where the eccentricity of the copyist's personal manner

betrays his hand, or the Caracciolo-Vaccaro *Flagellation* (no. 38a) where there is both literary evidence to suggest the attribution and a long tradition to confirm its appositeness, a proposal to associate one of these paintings with a specific name requires discrimination so fine and produces attributions so speculative as to discourage any attempt. Nonetheless, in a few instances I am convinced of the feasibility of the attempt.[32]

Of these, only one, that of the Sabin *Supper at Emmaus* (no. 17j; figure 54), is to an artist, J. B. Maino, who is not mentioned somewhere in seventeenth-century literature as practicing the art of copying; the *fattura* of the copy is so close to the characteristic manner of the painter as to justify the attribution. For all the others some correlation with written evidence can be found; and some are supported additionally by geographic considerations or by tradition. Thus, the attributions to Caroselli of the Clowes *Sleeping Cupid* (no. 42d) and the Klain *Fainting Magdalen* (no. 69g; figure 97) gain some confirmation not only by Baldinucci's admiration of his exceptional ability as a copyist but also by his visits to Florence and to Naples, with which cities the originals can be associated. So also the attributions to Rodriquez of the two copies of the London *Supper at Emmaus* (nos. 17f, 17g): he was reported to be a skilled copyist; he would have seen the original and have made at least one of the copies in Rome; and the copies are now in Sicily, where he lived, and in Leon in Spain, from whence his father came. Correspondingly, Minniti, wretched a technician as he may have been, was Caravaggio's friend and was in Syracuse when the *Burial of St. Lucy* was painted; he was the leading local painter, known for his mass production, so even the impoverishment of style of his replica (no. 43a; figure 110) still in Syracuse, of the *St. Lucy,* may be appropriate. So finally the Bordeaux *Fainting Magdalen* (no. 69e; figure 98), which does not have any close geographical connection with Regnier, to whom I propose attribution; the theme was a favorite throughout his early career and indeed was the subject of the single documentary reference we have to the artist as a copyist of Caravaggio. Obviously, such written, geographical, and iconographic evidence is in itself insufficient; combined with the polished surfaces characteristic of Caroselli's panel paintings (for example, his two versions of the *Vanitas* in the Corsini Gallery in Rome, or the third version in Longhi's collection), with Rodriquez's predilection for Hispanic physiognomies, with the cliché of pencil folds into which Minniti transformed most draperies, and with Regnier's characteristic treatment of patterns of light and dark on drapery folds in his early works (like the *Magdalen* in the Detroit Art Institute; figure 39), it supplies objective evidence in support of the necessarily hypothetical stylistic basis for the attributions.[33]

I believe that these works are by artists who were active part-time as professional copyists[34] and who were established in some urban center, normally Rome or Naples.[35] Confirmation can be found in the oeuvre of Finson, whose known copies include not only the two *Fainting Magdalens* that he signed (nos. 69b, figure 96; 69c) but probably also the *Crucifixion of St. Andrew* (no. 73f), the *Judith* (no. 13c), and the *Madonna of the Rosary* (no. 36d), all of which were part of his estate. These replicas are numerous enough to suggest that Finson was more professionally involved as a copyist than has hitherto been realized.[36] By extension, it seems reasonable to assume comparable engagement of Caroselli, Regnier, and Rodriquez (all of whom are recorded as having made replicas after Caravaggio) as part-time professional copyists; and it seems possible that others like them, Valentin, for example, who were not recorded as copyists but who were as close to the master in time and place and capable to reproducing his originals as convincingly, may have been similarly engaged. Obviously, whatever importance their activity as copyists may have had in their careers, they did not cease to function as independent and original masters. In addition there were probably substantial numbers of other artists in the cities who were not in any sense copyists by profession but who nonetheless did occasionally make copies. Many of these were foreigners and most of them only visitors, although in Rome sometimes their visits endured as long as a decade. The examples of the Bononi *Entombment* (no. 25t), the Ribalta painting (no. 24s) and the Honthorst drawing (no. 24c) of the *Crucifixion of St. Peter,* and perhaps a few others that are known as by identified masters,[37] indicate convincingly that mature artists visiting in Rome (or in Naples or anywhere else that Caravaggio's paintings were to be seen[38]) were not too proud to copy the master's works, presumably primarily for their own edification. They made themselves students once again, that is, long after they had set themselves up and been recognized as mature masters.

Most copyists were not so exalted in personality, or capable of performing on so high a level. Probably many of them were more conventional students, still working in ateliers or at least under the aegis of established artists. Identification of these students as individuals is complicated by the lapses in their handling of drapery, the superficial anatomy, and the inconsistent and insensitive *fattura,* all of which tend to be characteristic of their work. These same features are also to be found in the works of provincial artists and of the kind of urban hacks—Minniti underground in Rome rather than on top of Syracuse—who might grind out large numbers of inferior copies as their principal trade. Thus, not only do the numerous copies of the *Mary and Martha* (no. 56) betray the intervention of the three

masters (Valentin, Saraceni, and Vouet or Regnier) and their works and shops between the lost original and the replicas, but also their fairly consistent mediocrity suggests these other kinds of copyists. Although the original of the Saraceni type of copy (actually, variant-copy) must have been the first made (probably by 1610), the Valentin type seems quite consistently to reproduce the lost Caravaggio most accurately and with the least variation in detail among its different versions. Thus, replicas of the Valentin type seem likely to have been made closest together in time and place, as if they all came out of the same Roman studio as part of a production system. They differ from the Vouet-Regnier type not only in their similarity to each other but also in their wider range of quality, from the competence of the Detroit version (no. 56a; figure 31) to the clumsiness of the Simonetti version (no. 56e). This range confirms the source as Valentin's studio and seems also to point to several copyist-members rather than only one. That is, Valentin's associates appear not only to have helped him with his own paintings but also to have made replicas of his and others; their replicas show different levels of maturity and of ability, ranging from those done with real skill by semi-independent assistant collaborators[39] (notably, no. 56a), down to the weaker efforts of students (e.g., no. 56e) who may have been simultaneously learning the trade and earning their keep by producing copies for sale out of the shop by the master. The Vouet-Regnier type of replica (nos. 56k; 56l; 56m, figure 32), on the other hand, contrasts not only by greater variation in detail of one from another but also by a consistently higher level of quality and by such ambiguity of manner as to make impossible division of responsibility for them between Vouet and Regnier—they are not skilled enough for the former, but the one closest to the latter (the Smithsonian version; no. 56m, figure 32) combines features of both styles. I conclude that they are not student works made in the master's studio but works by young painters who were very much under his shadow, that is, by the kind of immature or mediocre professional who has not yet created, or is incapable of creating, his own independent style. We know that Vouet (and Poussin after him) was surrounded in Rome by these minor professionals. It may well be that some of them—of the sort of Pierre Daret or Jacques Stella—actually used their reproductive skills on Caravaggio's oeuvre or Vouet's version of it; the relative lack of reproductive prints after Caravaggio would seem, however, to indicate less unremitting activity than that trailing either French master. Perhaps the French nationality of so many of these hangers-on is relevant also to the Saraceni type, for which the French seem to have had a predilection. Its exemplars (nos. 56f–56j) differ from those of the other two types by showing the greatest variations in detail, both

apparently from the lost original and of one copy from another; at the same time, they are clearly conditioned by geographical factors in style and provenience, as is particularly evident in the wooden and archaistic Vaulchier version (no. 56h). My assumption is, therefore, that at least some of the Saraceni type of copies were not necessarily made in a shop or enclave in Rome (extensive as Saraceni's was) but rather were made in distant regions by provincial artists.[40]

Altogether, this corpus of replicas of the *Mary and Martha* indicates that the activity of copyists in Rome after 1610 was extensive, and that it provided a means by which Caravaggio's now lost original was preserved and propagated in a form modified by the styles of the shops and circles of his close followers.[41] This corpus also suggests a rather complex set of additional relationships and participants, in which Caravaggio, Valentin, Saraceni, and Vouet and Regnier were joined by a corps of anonymous students, minor imitators, and distant provincials.[42]

Finson probably made his copies in both Rome and in Naples, and it seems appropriate to note the likelihood that other traveling artists (and not only those who settled in one city and stayed for several years) made copies as they went. Sandrart, who was certainly well traveled, hints[43] of this possibility, and there is other evidence: in the corpus of variants and suspected copies by such artists as Biagio Manzoni (i.e., nos. 34a; 65a, figure 76) or Valentin (i.e., nos. 56a–56e, figure 31; 101, figure 113; 106), whose oeuvres provide internal evidence of their familiarity with Caravaggio's works in Naples as well as in Rome; in copies of the Maltese-Sicilian oeuvre, specifically of the *Execution of St. John the Baptist* (no. 39) and of the *Burial of St. Lucy* (no. 43); in the Bramer drawing of the *Entombment* (no. 25o) and the notebook (in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, print room) with which I associate it; in the Fragonard-Saint Non drawings and prints (nos. 8a, 8e, 17c,17e, 19b, 19c, 22a 25b, 25r; figures 65, 66, 67) and in David Allan's replicas of the *Fortune-Teller* and the *Bari* (nos. 4h, 52gg) during the eighteenth century, and during the nineteenth perhaps in such works as Gericault's *Entombment*[44] (no. 25z).

Thus, the anonymous copyists can be divided into four classifications: students (either young or mature), provincials, professionals, and travelers; many of them are identifiable with two, or in some instances with three (and conceivably with all four), classifications, simultaneously or sequentially. Correspondingly, they made several different kinds of copies and for several purposes. The most elementary was the simple study, quick and unpretentious, made by an artist for himself, like either the Morelli and the Cézanne *Entombments* (nos. 25aa, 25s), which boldly

summarize the composition of the original, or the Tanzio drawing of a detail of the *Crucifixion of St. Peter* (no. 24a), which singles out just one figure for analysis.[45] Naturally, drawing was the preferred medium for such studies as these and for the rare preparatory studies that some copyists made, like the *Bari* pen-and-ink with color notes in the McCrindle Collection (no. 52e) and Conca's crayon drawing for the engraving of the *Judith* (nos. 13b; 13a, figure 22; and 13). Because of their fragility, personal nature, and relatively minor economic value, such drawings were easily lost or discarded or destroyed; so the rarity of these studies should not be surprising.[46] Similar in procedure and purpose must have been some of the surviving small oil sketches like the Uffizi copper *Madonna of Loreto* (no. 29k), a little copy that Sussino reports Andrea Suppa made after the *Resurrection of Lazarus* (no. 44a), or perhaps the lost Camuccini *Entombment* (no. 25ll).[47] However, the more elaborate and enduring medium tended to give these small oils a slightly different character, not, or not only, as private lessons or *aides-mèmoires,* but also as souvenirs, documents, the prephotographic equivalent of the modern color postcard. Thus, the Neapolitan student Tommaso de Vivo's lost study of the *Entombment* (no. 25kk) was converted to the purpose of showing his family and friends in Naples how well he was doing in Rome, just as today a contemporary art student sends color slides or photos home from New York or London to show his achievements. The act of signing, particularly, indicates an awareness of some public significance of a little copy and thus turns it into something of a document: "I, Gerard van Honhorst, in Rome in 1616, saw there Caravaggio's *Crucifixion of St. Peter,* and this is what it looks like" (no. 24c).

Most copies in oil were either approximately the same scale as the original or on a fairly large scale, so they lost the small copy's privacy. They served a variety of purposes: as studies, souvenirs, replacements, substitutes, or duplicates, or as fakes; in some instances, they served more than one purpose simultaneously or sequentially. It seems very possible, for example, that some of the *Mary and Martha* copies (specifically, the Valentin-type Oxford version [no. 56b]) were made in the studio by apprentices learning their trade, but were then sold as duplicates of the original; and perhaps, eventually exported into the provinces far from sophisticated eyes, they may have been passed off as originals by either Caravaggio or Valentin.

Only rarely, as in De Vivo's lost copy of the *Entombment* or the surviving large-scale copy of the same painting by the nineteenth-century Spaniard Saez y Garcia (nos. 25kk; 25bb, figure 75), is it possible to identify these works as specifically student studies.[48] If they were painted in large scale, they were readily convertible

to other purposes, and they often were. Thus, Bononi's replica of the *Entombment* (no. 25t) was installed as an altarpiece in the Church of Santo Spirito in Ferrara as soon as he brought it back from Rome; and by the eighteenth century it was identified as by Caravaggio himself to no less a connoisseur than Sir Joshua Reynolds,[49] who apparently accepted the false attribution unquestioningly. So also the rather inept replica attributed to Guerrieri (no. 25u), which some time after its fabrication was situated in the Church of San Francesco at Sassoferrato; in 1811 it was transported by Napoleon's collectors to Milan, where presumably sharper eyes recognized it as a copy, and where it has remained to this day, not as a study but as a devotional altarpiece now in the metropolitan Church of San Francesco. In the course of its travels, it has left behind its Oratorian origin and become Franciscan, just as the original has left its Oratorian home for the larger world of the Vatican, leaving Michael Köck's copy (no. 25x) in its old place in the Chiesa Nuova.

Köck's replica belongs to a different class: that of a replacement copy, made (usually by a highly competent painter) specifically to occupy the position vacated by an original which, for one reason or another, has been removed. The other most obvious example of the replacement copy is A. B. de Guertenmont's *Madonna of Rosary* (no. 36e), which is still in the Dominican church in Antwerp for which it was made in 1786 when Joseph II took the original to Vienna. Conceivably the same process took place with a few other paintings, notably the *Ecstasy of St. Francis* (no. 3)[50] and the Capitoline *Fortune-Teller* (no. 4e). The latter variant-copy may have already been painted by 1627 and certainly had been by 1665, when the original was sent to Paris, so it cannot have been made as a replacement; but it might well have served the purpose of one by filling the breach left in Prince Pamphili's collection by his gift of the Louvre version to Louis XIV. Possibly the two portraits of Pope Paul V in Rome, one with the Borghese family, the other in the Galleria Borghese, can also be related correspondingly to a lost Caravaggio original (no. 99), of which they may be copies; that is, these two copies may have duplicated the original, although less to replace it than to disseminate its image among members of the family or their possessions. In the same way, the Costa family had a duplicate (no. 27b) of their *St. John the Baptist* made in Rome for their family estate in Liguria, and it would appear that Cardinal Benedetto Giustiniani left at least one copy (no. 18w) of the *Incredulity of St. Thomas* in Bologna in 1611, when he completed his term there as papal legate—if, in fact, the version he had taken with him from Rome to Bologna was not actually itself a copy of the original, which would then have stayed in Rome with the bulk of the family collection in hands of the Marchese Vincenzo. In this context should be men-

tioned Benedict Nicolson's suggestion[51] that if a painting or a set of paintings is made for one house of an order, copies may be made for some of the others; he was speaking specifically of Georges de La Tour, but the principle seems generally applicable, in respect not only to orders (of which I know of no relevant example in Caravaggio's oeuvre and its copies) but also to members of families and to different family holdings, like those of the Borghese and the Costa.

Probably few painted copies were done specifically as altarpieces. Nonetheless, at least thirty-five[52] found their way into churches, almost without exception in relatively obscure locations in the Mediterranean and Roman Catholic world or in its Latin American colonies. And in a much looser sense, these, too, served this purpose of duplication. For by bringing to the remotest areas to which western European civilization had spread, the religious images that were being made and venerated in the center of Roman Catholic Christendom, they spread not only the message of the Universal Church but also one of its (however brief-lived and -tolerated) means; and for the very reason that they were not local products, they must have gained authority. Presumably this authority was not only doctrinal but also stylistic, introducing what even secondhandedly through copies must have appeared to be a highly sophisticated manner of representation, and bringing forth echoes in the forms of provincial copies after copies and of modified local styles of painting.

The painted copy of a copy is as significant in this respect as it is difficult absolutely to identify. But certainly they were made, and in greater numbers probably than the few fairly secure examples of the *Mary and Martha* (nos. 56h, 56i), the *Fainting Magdalen* (no. 69h), the *Taking of Christ* (no. 60d; figure 48), and the *Calling of SS. Peter and Andrew* (nos. 61a; 61d, figure 47; 61e; 61f) can in themselves prove.[53] The combination of circumstances surrounding the English versions of the *Calling of SS. Peter and Andrew* makes possible fairly positive identification of at least some of them as copies of it. We know that the Hampton Court canvas (no. 61b) was in the collection of Charles I at Whitehall by 1639, when it was recognized in van der Doort's inventory as a copy. Many Englishmen would find such a painting in the royal collection of interest and worthy of repetition, particularly if (as seems very likely) the political and other confusions of the mid-seventeenth century in Great Britain caused them to forget van der Doort's cautious acknowledgment of it as a copy, and it came to be identified more ambitiously as an autograph work by the master himself. This apparently is what took place with Vorsterman's engraving (no. 29a; figure 84) after the copy of the *Madonna of Loreto* in the royal collection—that is, nothing on the engraving indi-

cates that it was made after a copy in England rather than the original in Rome, and either knowingly or innocently Vorsterman seems to have presented the king's copy as the original.[54] The Vaulchier *Mary and Martha* (no. 56h) and the Budapest *Taking of Christ* (no. 60d; figure 48) seem also to be provincial copies of copies; but they introduce another characteristic of the type by revealing the intervention between them and Caravaggio's originals of the hands of his followers—Saraceni's in the former and Honthorst's in the latter—so that they might more accurately be described as copies of the Caravaggesque masters' paintings than of Caravaggio's originals.

I have already suggested that the Valentin and Vouet-Regnier types of *Mary and Martha* copies were made in Rome, probably at least partly to satisfy the demand for Caravaggio's works or for paintings in his style after his departure from the city and his death. The Vaulchier, Budapest, and a number of other copies seem instead to have been made elsewhere. Quite apart from the French connections of the other Saraceni-type copies (nos. 56g, 56i) and the well-known associations of Saraceni with France, particularly through his chief assistant, Le Clerc, the Vaulchier *Mary and Martha* demonstrates very clear evidence of a provincial late Mannerist French style overlaid on its Saracenesque source—in the stiff and inarticulate anatomy, in the physiognomies (particularly Mary's), and in the bouquet, which is still very northern and of the sixteenth century—so much so that there seems little possibility of doubting its place of origin. The Budapest *Taking* cannot be localized so exactly, although the fact that it is one of four middle-European replicas (nos. 60a; 60c, figure 46; 60d, figure 48; 60f) may well be significant, particularly because one of them, the Czechoslovakian version (no. 60f), shows physiognomies suggestively transformed to hint of middle-European models. But the heavy-handed *fattura* of the Budapest version and its treatment of color and light betray almost as profound a debt to Honthorst for the manner as to Caravaggio for the original motif.

All but one of the known versions of the subject are smaller than the Sannini canvas[55] (no. 60b), and all are more restricted in the space around the figures and use the same model for Judas.[56] So it seems quite possible that they are all derived not directly from Caravaggio's lost original, as is the Sannini painting, but rather from a lost copy of it. The physiognomy of the young man on the far right tempts me to identify this lost master copy as by Valentin; and might it not have been taken home by some Bohemian or Hungarian follower of Honthorst early enough to inspire not only his own copy now in Budapest but at least the Czechoslovakian replica as well? Obviously, this hypothesis is highly speculative; but it is suffi-

ciently analogous to what seems most likely to have been the actual practice in respect to the Bradford copy of the *Calling,* (no. 61d), the Vaulchier *Mary and Martha,* (no. 56h) and the Cutolo variant on the *Fainting Magdalen* (no. 69h), as to be worthy of consideration.

However that may be, evidently copies of copies were made, both in the centers of Caravaggesque activity and far from them, and at least some betray themselves stylistically. There are even two instances where copies were apparently made from prints after Caravaggio, judging from the reversal of the original by the Goldschmidt *Madonna of Loreto* (no. 29n; figure 87), which was made from the Vorsterman engraving (no. 29a; figure 84), and the Volpi sale *Wignancourt* (no. 40d; figure 109), which was made from Larmessin's print (no. 40a; figure 108). In the instance of the Metz *Loreto* (no. 29b; figure 85), a print was made after a drawn copy that itself may well have been made after a painted copy, the royal version at Whitehall, so compounding the mistake of Vorsterman's print (no. 29a; figure 84) after the same painted copy of the *Madonna.* Finally, the colors of the Vicenza *Execution of St. John* (no. 39d) seem to betray the intervention of a monochrome drawing between it and the original, because its hues are so different (and apparently arbitrarily) from those of the original.

Thus, the copy can serve as the original's surrogate in distant lands. Needless to say, neither so pretentious an effect nor any deception was necessarily intended or achieved, by either the copyist or his patron. For just as the drawing or sketch on small oil might serve the traveling painter as an *aide-mèmoire* of his Italian visit and his exposure to Caravaggio's style, and as the engraving functioned as the prephotographic equivalent of the picture postcards that some contemporary artists and amateurs collect and save, so the more ambitious painting, particularly of a secular (or apparently secular) subject, might serve the traveling patron as a souvenir. This was evidently the motivation for the importation into Germany before 1666 of the Herdringen version of the *Youth with a Ram* (no. 16d); and it would seem the likeliest explanation for the wide diffusion, particularly in northern (Protestant?) countries, of copies of the *Boy Peeling Fruit* (nos. 50a; 50c; 50d; 50e; 50h; 50i, figure 2), the *Bari* (nos. 52g–52p; 52t–52hh, figures 9, 10), apparently a very popular "Grand Tour" painting in the eighteenth century; the *Mary and Martha* (nos. 56b; 56c; 56g; 56h; 56i; 56k–56m, figure 32; 56p, figure 33); and the *Fainting Mary Magdalen* (nos. 69a–69c, 69e, 69f, 69i–69k, 69q, 69s; figures 96–98); and perhaps for the popularity of the relatively genrelike London *Supper at Emmaus* (no. 17), *Taking of Christ* (no. 60), and *Calling of SS. Peter and Andrew* (no. 61).

Sixteen copies can still be traced to the English and Spanish royal collections and to German imperial or princely collections, and about fifty can be located as having been in private collections before the nineteenth century (mainly in England, France, and Germany). This distribution would seem indicative of considerable nonclerical taste for Caravaggio during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, however much critics may have scorned him. As Margot Cutter long ago observed,[57] a Caravaggio was almost essential to any well-informed seventeenth-century collection, and evidently when an original was not available, then either the patron or his supplier made a copy do, as was apparently the case with the Orleans *Sacrifice of Isaac* (no. 105).[58] Significantly, the majority of copies in the royal collections, even the English, was of sacred subject matter, which in that context must have taken on value other than perfectly religious, even despite the Stuart Roman Catholic sympathies. Not unexpectedly, the private collections included more secular or only perfunctorily sacred than unambiguously devotional and religious subjects. The customarily larger scale of Caravaggio's religious paintings (and correspondingly, of many of their copies) may have imposed a limiting condition on at least some private collectors. Nonetheless, they seem clearly to have been motivated more by connoisseurship and perhaps the pure joys of acquisition and possession than by religious fervor.

Finally, we would be naive not to recognize a deliberate and extensive commerce in fakes. Mancini[59] makes very clear that the business was not only extensive but also highly skilled, and there is no evidence against an assumption that Caravaggio's followers were involved. To the contrary, there is good reason to assume that they were, particularly considering his short life, his limited production, his absence from Rome during the last years of his life, and his international reputation. The demand for his work during the first three decades of the seventeenth century must have far surpassed the supply, and his followers must have found it both tempting and quite easy to pass off copies of his paintings as originals, particularly at a distance from south Italy where the great majority of his own pictures could be seen. Finson, in signing his two replicas of the *Fainting Magdalen* (nos. 69b, figure 96; 69c), seems to have been unusually scrupulous,[60] apparently even to the point of identifying his copies of the *Judith* (no. 13c), the *Madonna of the Rosary* (no. 36d), and the *Crucifixion of St. Andrew* (no. 73f) as such. But not all of his successors behaved with such nicety; by the time two years after his death in 1617 that his *St. Andrew* had passed through the hands of the Amsterdam painter-dealer-faker Abraham Vinck,[61] it had become an autograph Caravaggio, authenticated by Pieter Lastman. The Caravaggio literature contains a

number of hints of similar transformations: Caroselli's copy of a *Christ at the Column* that was so perfectly made, according to Passeri,[62] as to deceive Borgianni; Alonzo Rodriquez's "difficulties" in Venice, where he was apparently caught red-handed at faking;[63] the ambiguity as to which if any of the various versions of the *Incredulity of St. Thomas* in Bologna was the original; the rapidity with which Magnone's copy of the *Lute-Player* (no. 8f; figure 19) became an original in the Barberini inventories; De Dominici's unapologetic account[64] of how his father passed off some Vaccaro drawings on a French Knight of Malta as autograph Caravaggios; the evolution of the Ferrara *Entombment* (no. 25t) from a copy by Bononi to the autograph Caravaggio noted by Reynolds; the Orleans *Sacrifice of Isaac,* only one of many Caravaggesque paintings promoted to be by Caravaggio himself and recorded as such in an eighteenth-century print; in fact, most eighteenth-century reproductive prints attributing paintings to Caravaggio;[65] the Crozat and Mariette drawings attributed to Caravaggio (nos. 21d, 24b, 24d, 24e, 24f, 29c), all but one of which (and that one [no. 21e] lost) turn out to be by other hands; and so on. Obviously, a number of these transformations must have been wrought by the uninformed *campanilismo* of ignorant guides and the undiscriminating enthusiasm of collectors[66] and their sycophants. Some of these mistakes may be charged to the occasional acceptance of unreliable information by writers ordinarily so careful as Bellori, and to the frequent utilization of similar reports by writers who were usually not so dependable as he. But a part must also have been the responsibility of some of the copyists themselves; and a considerable part must have been the accomplishment of dealers, particularly at increasing distance in time and place from the originals, and most particularly in respect to originals in relatively closed or obscure private collections.[67] Thus I suspect can be explained the large number of replicas of the *Boy Peeling Fruit* (no. 50), the *Fainting Magdalen* (no. 69), and the *Mary and Martha* (no. 56), of none of which is there any trace after Caravaggio's arrival in Naples except copies; and so also the number of replicas of the *Taking of Christ* (no. 60) and the *Calling of SS. Peter and Andrew* (no. 61), both of which may have been relatively forgotten or inaccessible (or both) in their owners' collections. This is not to say that all copies of these paintings were made as fakes. Once they had been made, however, they certainly could be put to quite different use from that originally intended. In one instance, that of the *Holy Family with St. John the Baptist* (no. 104), I believe the "original" itself was fraudulent; the copies, even the print (although I doubt it particularly), may, however, have been made in good faith as to the authenticity of their source. The first version of the *Holy Family* might be classified as an "imitation," that is,

as a painting original in conception, nearly equal in quality to that of Caravaggio's own oeuvre, and almost literally re-creating his style.[68] Thus, it would be a "real" counterfeit; but it is too unconvincing to be given serious consideration as an autograph Caravaggio. Certainly in the twentieth century, we have enough difficulty in separating the dubious from the authentic even with the assistance of photography and of rapid, cheap, efficient, and dependable transportation of both ourselves and objects. How much greater difficulty a seventeenth-, eighteenth-, or nineteenth-century patron (or his dealer) in, for example, Quito, must have had when confronted with the same problem. And when so miserable and obvious a fraud as the little reversed *Wignancourt* panel (no. 40d; figure 109) not only could be offered in Rome but could actually find a buyer there as a "preparatory study" for the original, obviously there were not only confidence men but also willing and gullible victims!

That most copies were made in Rome would seem natural, because there Caravaggio spent the longest active period of his adult life and left the largest group of paintings both in public locations and private collections; and Rome during the crucial period of 1605 to 1625 was not only the center of Caravaggesque painting but also the center of art in western Europe, to which artists from all over the civilized world came to study.[69] Their number included not only painters but also printmakers, and the fairly complex facilities for production and distribution of prints already existent in the city during the later sixteenth century were given considerable further development. Rome naturally also developed as a center of patronage, not only by the papal and aristocratic establishment settled there, but also by visitors and by the agents of distant collectors, like Masetti for the Duke of Modena or Sebastian Füll for the Bavarian court.

Secondary centers in north Italy are of little relevance to our subject because there were so few paintings by Caravaggio north of Rome to be copied: of those that were in Tuscany, only the *Sleeping Cupid* (no. 42) was certainly copied; in Emilia, only the *Incredulity of St. Thomas* (no. 18, if the original was in fact ever in Bologna), and significantly apparently not the *Death of the Virgin* (no. 33) while it was in Mantua; and farther north there were only the Ambrosiana *Basket of Fruit* (no. 11), of which no copy is known, and the *Ecstasy of St. Francis* (no. 3), some of the copies of which are as likely to have been made in Rome before it was shipped north as in Piedmont or Friuli afterward.

To the south, however, the situation was quite different. The principal urban and cultural center was Naples. An art center in its own right, it was geographically

medial between Spain and Rome, but independent artistically. It possessed its own corpus of autograph Caravaggio canvases, its own flourishing group of contemporary painters, and its own patronage, both from within the city and from the provinces to the east and the south on the Italian mainland, from Sicily, and from Spain. The evidence indicates considerable activity of copyists in Naples. De Dominici specifically states that both Caracciolo and Vaccaro made replicas of Caravaggio's paintings, and it is likely that other visitors, like Caroselli, emulated Finson's example of reproducing Caravaggio's compositions.[70] As for copies themselves, among the many of the *Fainting Magdalen* a few can be specifically associated with Naples (nos. 69g, figure 97; 69h; and perhaps 69b, figure 96); probably some of the copies of the *Crucifixion of St. Andrew* (no. 73) were Neapolitan in origin; and there is at least one copy each of the *Flagellation* (no. 38a), the *Salome* (no. 48a, in a convent in the environs of Naples), and of the *David* (no. 47). But there are some puzzling limitations on copyists' Neapolitan activities. Most striking is the total absence of copies after the *Seven Works of Mercy* (no. 37), the lost *Resurrection* (no. 70), and the lost *Stigmatization of St. Francis* (no. 71). Furthermore, inasmuch as a journey to Naples by visitors to (or natives of) Rome seems to have been almost customary—Alonzo Rodriquez, Finson, Tanzio da Varallo, Spada, Caroselli, Grammatica, Vouet, Spadarino, Sandrart, and Mathias Stomer as well as Artemisia Gentileschi, Ribera and his many foreign protégés, and the young and eventually the mature Preti, were all there, and probably Ter Brugghen, Honthorst, Valentin, Manzoni, and Borgianni as well. Presumably most of their visits were too brief to allow them to make more than quick-drawn sketches and relatively small easel-scaled painted copies, which could be carried out without elaborate equipment or large studio space that no passing visitor in Naples (except possibly Finson) is likely to have had. But even limited expectations of these visits are disappointed, for apart from the painted copies of the *Fainting Magdalen,* no small oil paintings are known and only one drawing, the pen, ink, and wash *Fainting Magdalen* (no. 69a), which is not necessarily Neapolitan in origin. As for prints, Naples was not a center of reproductive printmaking, and there are none of the seventeenth century after Caravaggio's oeuvre in the city except for Vosterman's reversed engraving of the *Madonnna of the Rosary* (no. 36a; figures 88, 89), which must be excluded, not having been made until the painting had found its way to the Netherlands.

Not many painters ventured farther south, but a few are known to have, and perhaps others made visits to Malta or Sicily that went unrecorded. During the early seventeenth century, long before Preti had settled in La Valletta, several

artists were in Malta: Spada in the 1610s; Filippo Paladino; Sandrart in the early 1630s; Pierre Fatoure in time to die there in 1629; probably Mario Minniti, visiting from Syracuse any time between ca. 1600 and 1640; Lukas Kilian (1579–1637), a German trained in Venice by whom some engravings survive; and the recently rediscovered Cassarino[71]—all visited there for varying periods of time. On the island contemporareously with Preti or later were his Spanish assistant, Pedro Munoz de Villaviciencio (1635/1644–1700) from Seville; De Dominici's father, Raimondo, who was Maltese by birth; and another native, Stefano Erardi, who was active into the early eighteenth century. All of these artists might have made copies after Caravaggio, and Minniti, Fatoure, Sandrart, Spada, and De Dominici *padre* are likely to have done so.

Fewer relevant visitors seem to have found their way to Sicily, perhaps because there was nothing comparable to the Knights of Malta to attract them. But at least three painters—Minniti, Rodriquez, and Stomer—settled there for long periods of time, and probably made copies. The demand for copies surely existed, because the area is large but was too poor to have supported many original local artists or to have afforded much importation. There is literary or documentary evidence—in respect to Minniti's[72] and Rodriquez's[73] activities as copyists, and to Andrea Suppa's copies of the *Lazarus,*[74] none of which is now known; to another otherwise unknown copyist, Paolo Geraci (no. 46a); and in Susinno's reference to many copies of the *Burial of St. Lucy* (no. 43)—that copying was endemic. Thus, it seems quite possible that the copies made in Sicily were not so much made by visitors for souvenirs as they were made by local painters to be used for devotional purposes in local churches. Susinno's remarks concerning Rodriquez's copies, the number of copies of the *Burial of St. Lucy* in Syracuse and perhaps more importantly the fact that they are still there, would seem to confirm this idea, as would also the copies of the *Ecce Homo* (no. 34), which may have been on the island early in the seventeenth century.

Despite this fairly substantial body of historical, literary, and documentary evidence of copying activity in Malta and Sicily, the number of surviving copies is disappointingly small, with some crucial gaps. Althought Pierre Fatoure was a printmaker, the only prints after Maltese-Sicilian paintings were done elsewhere, after the pictures had been exported from the islands.[75] One relevant drawing (no. 39a) is known to exist but it is unique, the single other (no. 42c) after a Maltese-Sicilian work having been made in Florence. Two major existent works, the *Resurrection of Lazarus* (no. 44), painted for the main chapel of the church of the Crociferi in Messina, and the *Adoration of the Shepherds* (no. 45), which was carried

out for the Capuchin church in the same city, were as accessible in Sicily as the *Seven Works of Mercy* (no. 37) was in Naples, but apparently were almost as neglected by copyists, excepting Susinno's reports of Suppa's activity. One painting, the *Sleeping Cupid* (no. 42), was shipped away from Malta to Florence so soon—at least by 1620—as hardly to belong in the area; the same may be true of a second painting, the Wignancourt portrait (no. 40). None of the known copies of either painting was made in the islands. Among the lost works, the di Giacomo *Via Crucis* (no. 76) is convincingly documented and is likely to have existed, but is completely lost. Most of the other "lost" Maltese and Sicilian works are of doubtful significance because of the questions that can be raised as to whether they ever actually existed;[76] what remains is six paintings (nos. 39, 41, 43, 44, 45, and 46), of which only three, the *Execution of St. John the Baptist* (no. 39), the *St. Jerome Writing* (no. 41), and the *Burial of St. Lucy* (no. 43), are recorded in still-existent seventeenth-century copies. Thus, the situation of the response to Caravaggio's oeuvre in Malta and Sicily seems analogous to that in Naples, except for even less documentation through copies of lost originals comparable to the *Fainting Magdalen* (no. 69) and the *Crucifixion of St. Andrew* (no. 73).

The number of copies in Sicily of the *Ecce Homo* (nos. 34a–34c, 34e) and the lack of any elsewhere suggested to Longhi[77] that the original was once there, just as the path of the *Fainting Magdalen* might be traceable by the number of its copies from Naples (nos. 69g, figure 97; 69h; and originally presumably 69b, figure 96) to southern France (nos. 69b, 69c, 69k) and then north (nos. 69e, figure 98; 69f; 69i; 69j; and perhaps even 69s), with a second trail blazed in Rome (nos. 69l; 69m; 69o; and perhaps 69p). The number of national copies in Great Britain (nos. 61a; 61d, figure 47; 61e; 61f) would localize some very appealing version of the *Calling of SS. Peter and Andrew* there, even if we did not know of the presumptive master version at Hampton Court (no. 61b); and similar local sources may be indicated for the *Taking of Christ* in eastern or middle Europe (nos. 60a; 60d, figure 48; 60f), and for the Castellamare-Di Bona *Sacrifice of Isaac* in Spain (nos. 105d–105p; figure 25). This national multiplication of copies cannot be taken as an absolute indication of the presence of the original, because in several instances such as those of the *Crucifixion of St. Peter* in Spain (nos. 24k–24s) or the *Bari* in Great Britain (nos. 52x–52hh), the location of the original is known to have been elsewhere. But this multiplication must be indicative of some penchant for the original (as for the *Crucifixion of St. Peter* in Spain), or perhaps the influence of a single copyist (as of David Allan in Scotland), or finally of the practice of making copies of copies, as in the case of some of the *Fainting Magdalen* (no. 69), *Bari* (no. 52),

Calling of SS. Peter and Andrew (no. 61), the Castellamare-Di Bona *Sacrifice of Isaac* (no. 105), and other replicas. A concentration of copies of a lost painting in one country or area or region may offer some evidence as to the location of the original, although it does not necessarily; in a negative sense, the lack of any copies of a lost original in a country, area, or region is strong evidence of the original's having been unknown there. Thus, it would be as hopeless to look for the original of the *Taking of Christ* (no. 60) in Spain as it is reasonable to expect to recognize there someday the Conde de Villa Mediana's *David* (no. 54); and if chances of the reappearance of the original *Fainting Magdalen* in France seem slim, the number of copies there or reported there (nos. 69b, figure 96; 69c; 69e, figure 98; 69f; 69i–69k) at least offers a little more hope than does the total lack of copies in Germany.

This negative evidence takes on some significance because of the few prints after Caravaggio that were made in the seventeenth century and because apparently those made in Italy were made only in Rome.[78] The scarcity of prints should not be difficult to understand. The printmaker needs extensive shop and distribution facilities, which in turn require that he be relatively stabilized, settled, and established in the largest, most prosperous, and most cosmopolitan urban centers. Naturally, Rome was the most appropriate Italian center for Caravaggio's followers. But the principal activity of reproductive printmaking there seems to have been under the control of Italians, particularly those derivative from the Carracci, who were oriented away from Caravaggio's manner rather than toward it. This monopolistic tendency is demonstrated clearly enough by the contrast between the few plates made after Caravaggio's oeuvre before 1650 with the many made after Annibale Carracci's, and by the fact that during the entire seventeenth century no Italian is known ever to have made a print after Caravaggio. Among the visitors in Rome who were attracted to Caravaggio's manner were many from those north European centers where reproductive printmaking flourished, and a number of them were capable of making engravings after his oeuvre. But as visitors in the city, their access to the necessary printmaking facilities may have been limited or nonexistent, with the result that they were in jeopardy of double frustration: they were excluded from *making* prints by the lack of facilities; and if they were not excluded from *buying* prints, almost none were being made. In fact, of the five or six or seven prints after Caravaggio (or reputed to be) made during the entire seventeenth century, only two (Robillart's *Incredulity of St. Thomas* [no. 18a, figure 57] and van Baburen's *Entombment* [no. 25a, figure 74], incidentally, his only at-

tempt at printmaking) were conceivably relevant to the needs of their artist-contemporaries.

So it would appear that prints had almost no influence in making Caravaggio's works known and that what little effect they did have was limited to Roman paintings. Furthermore, the relative lack of prints confirms what should already be suspected: that the spread of Caravaggio's style was not accomplished by prints but by two other means. Specifically, it was spread by painters who had visited Rome and Naples and studied his paintings there, adopting his style in whole or in part and either temporarily or more enduringly, and who had then taken it home with them to Siena or Messina or Le Puy or Utrecht or wherever; or by means of traveling paintings. Even if the few prints after Caravaggio had been more numerous and had had greater effect, it would still have been minimal, for Caravaggio's principal influence was less as an inventor of motifs than as the creator of an integral style.[79] No seventeenth-century print (or drawing[80]) succeeds in re-creating the quality of his paintings; in fact, most of the prints and drawings are hardly more than tracings of outlines with touches of shading. Even the most popular of his motifs, the *Bari,* the *Mary and Martha,* the *Incredulity of St. Thomas,* the *Crucifixion of St. Peter,* the *Entombment,* the *Fainting Magdalen,* seem to have been almost inseparable as compositions from his manner of realizing them, as the very few exceptions to this rule (like the Bloemaerts *Crucifixion of St. Peter* [no. 24v, figure 73], which significantly was not made until 1650) demonstrate. The rarity of prints may have resulted from a general understanding of this inseparableness and the apparently widespread hesitancy, or technical inability, to make etchings or engravings with chiaroscuro effects equivalent to those in Caravaggio's paintings.[81] Of course, artists who were familiar with Caravaggio's whole style may well have found primarily linear prints and drawings helpful reminders of his motifs. Within the very limited context of repeating the composition and locating the areas of light and of dark in relation to each other, experienced Caravaggists may have been able to make some use of such drawings as the Honthorst (no. 24c) or the Ribera (no. 24d) of the *Crucifixion of St. Peter,* or even of the Fatoure (no. 17a; figure 53), the Robillart (no. 18a; figure 57), and the van Baburen (no. 25a; figure 74) prints. But this use would be limited only to those painters already in command of the equivalent of the whole style and would be impossible to those not familiar with Caravaggio's manner of painting. Finally, of course, basically linear prints and drawings may have had utility for artists making variant or derivative paintings, and did;[82] this utility either was limited to artists experienced in a Caravaggesque style of painting or was beyond the context of Caravaggism.

It is relevant in connection with prints and drawings, which are customarily small, to consider the relation of scale to the practice of copying. Two principal factors must be taken into account: the scale of the copies, and the scale of the originals. The former can be easily reduced to consideration of painted copies primarily. For while obviously small-scale copies are more convenient to make and transport, they are less valuable or valued and more liable to loss or destruction than larger ones; and relatively few small-scale copies survive. Most small-scale copies would appear to have been drawings and prints, although little paintings were also made. As I observed in the first pages of this essay, no doubt more drawings made after Caravaggio's paintings have disappeared than have survived, to a considerable extent (if not primarily) precisely because they were small in scale, easily moved, and relatively fragile, so that they were dangerously subject to mishap. Excepting only Vorsterman's, the few seventeenth-century prints were made by obscure artists lacking in assurance (not to say competence) and presumably in editions as limited in number as in desirability. Many more were made in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but their potential significance was much less. Since Caravaggism had ceased to be a practiced style, they lost what seminal influence earlier prints might have had and became simple curiosities; their primary significance is not in themselves or their influence on other artists but in what they record.

Surprisingly, graphic artists neglected Caravaggio's smallest paintings:[83] of the 49 seventeenth-, eighteenth-, and nineteenth-century prints tabulated, 24 represent his largest paintings (those over 400 cm. in combined vertical and horizontal dimensions), 21 represent paintings of medium size (i.e., between 200 and 400 cm. in combined dimensions), and only four were made of his smallest paintings (i.e., those of less than 200 cm. in combined dimensions); of the 39 drawings (including those lost but recorded), only two were of the smallest paintings, seven were of the medium-sized canvases, and 30 were after his largest works. Why the small paintings should have been neglected is difficult to determine. Except for the Uffizi *Bacchus* (no. 9), the location of which before the twentieth century is unknown, they were all in collections that must have been readily accessible. Yet in addition to the three recorded in prints (nos. 10a; 14a; 42a; 42b, figure 102) and the two in drawings (nos. 2a, 42c), only one was copied in paintings (nos. 42d and 42e). So it is tempting to read some value judgment into copyists' neglect of them —not necessarily that they were inferior in quality but perhaps only that they were less important than the larger paintings.

Of small painted copies, only a very few turn Caravaggio's canvases into minia-

tures; that is, only nine (nos. 24t; 24u; 25z; 25nn; 29i; 29j; 29k; 29n, figure 87; 40d, figure 109) are known to have or to have had overall dimensions of less than 100 cm., although two others (nos. 21h, figure 63; 25aa) measure only a few centimeters over 100 and two others (nos. 21j, 39b) were probably under. Nonetheless, whether because of the loss or destruction of smaller copies or because they were infrequently made, most painted copies measure well over 100 cm. in their combined dimensions. If the small lost paintings like the *Boy Peeling Fruit* (no. 50), the *Boy Bitten by a Lizard* (no. 51), and the *Fainting Mary Magdalen* (no. 69) are included at their estimated dimensions, some tendency toward copying the small- and medium-sized paintings at scale might be assumed; for there are eight replicas (nos. 50a; 50c; 50d; 50e; 50i, figure 2; 51a; 51b; 51c, figure 3; 69c; 69d; 69e, figure 98; 69g, figure 97) of small lost paintings that seem likely to be at scale, together with one of an existent small painting (no. 42d) and 13 of medium-sized paintings.

Nine replicas (nos. 24h, 24i, 24k, 25u, 25w, 25x, 29l, 29m, 36e) maintain the scale of the largest originals. Most painted copies of these large pictures are, however, reduced in size—in 32 of the copies, to be exact, although only eight of them are under 100 cm. in combined dimensions. Interestingly, all of the copies in oil of the *Calling of St. Matthew* for which exact dimensions are known (nos. 21f, 21g, 21h, 21i) not only are smaller than the original but reduce the height more than proportionately, perhaps to save canvas; the result is that the sense of spaciousness above the figures is reduced or lost entirely, to the detriment of Caravaggio's conception. This tendency to change the proportions between the vertical and horizontal dimensions makes an appearance in other painted replicas as well: one of the copies of the *Crucifixion of St. Peter* (no. 24l) is almost square, as is the Munich *Incredulity of St. Thomas* (no. 18q; figure 60) the same width as the original (146 cm.) but 38 cm. higher; the Munich *Loreto* (no. 29o; figure 86) is proportionately more than half again as wide as the original; and the Messina *Ecce Homo* (no. 34a) is proportionately almost half again as high as the original.[84] I do not believe that any system is discernible in these changes of proportion; probably they were either caprices of the copyists or determined by the intended site for the copy.

Similarly arbitrary and surprising changes appear in six other copies (nos. 4e; 6a; 7a, figure 17; 7b, figure 18; and 16f, figure 61; 16k) all of which are significantly *larger* than their originals.[85] I see no trace of an added section of canvas above the heads in the Messina *Ecce Homo,* although there is clearly a larger space there than in the original. I suspect this indicates that the original was once somewhat higher;

the piece of canvas added at the bottom is apparently in the copy alone rather than reflective of the original. The two copies of the *Bacchic Musical* (nos. 7a, 7b; figures 17, 18), one of which is larger than the other or the original, demonstrate that it once was larger. The same cannot be said of the poor copy of the Doria *Youth with a Ram* (no. 16f, figure 61; not no. 16c) which is 115 × 165 cm. as against dimensions of 97 x 132 cm. of the Capitoline original; for the good Doria replica (no. 16c) is almost identical in its dimensions (95 × 132 cm.) to the Capitoline version, and evidently the poor copyist took other liberties with the original as well, adding a dove and a landscape and making a few other changes. As for the Boscarelli *Magdalen* (no. 6a; 121 × 136 cm. vs. 97 × 106 cm. of the Doria original) and the Capitoline *Fortune-Teller* (no. 4e; 150 × 115 cm. vs. 131 × 99 cm. in the original), they both probably reveal an arbitrary expansion of the space, by means of which the copyists thought to "improve" on the originals by making them more spacious.[86] If so, they were exceptional revisions, for ordinarily it appears that copies were made consistently on the same or smaller scale than the original; copies larger than an existent original normally show that it has been cut down.[87]

Obviously, reduction in a copy of the scale of a big original must have been a matter of convenience and perhaps thrift, and relatively rarely were replicas of very large originals made on the same grand scale. However, we can perhaps observe some tendency to preserve the impact of large paintings by making the oil copies of them fairly sizable. The factor determining the scale of the replica might have been the use intended for it; some correlation between fairly large scale and the use of copies as altarpieces in churches might be made, although whether as cause or effect of the scale is impossible to determine. But probably few copies on canvas were made for a specific purpose or placement; thus, it would seem reasonable to suggest that the scale of the copy was more often determined by a sense of the original's importance. An apparent exception to this general rule, the 22 still-existent drawings after the largest paintings (out of a total of only 30 drawn copies), is, I believe, simply a manifestation of students' and travelers' activities as copyists. Lacking the time and the studio facilities to paint copies worthy of the originals, they dashed off drawings for their own pleasure and edification. The very fact that they made proportionately so many drawings after large paintings seems indicative of their sense of the significance of the originals.

The scale of the lost works is not difficult to estimate in general, but despite the numbers of copies of some of them, the exact dimensions are unknown—except paradoxically for the full-length *Penitent Magdalen* (no. 57), of which the measurements are given approximately in the 1638 inventory of the Giustiniani Collection,

but the copy is also lost. Most groups of copies are ineffective in establishing the exact original dimensions because of so much variation among them, even among the small paintings, which might be expected to duplicate their sources exactly. Thus, the range of known dimensions of the *Boy Peeling Fruit* (no. 50) copies is from 48.3 × 61 cm. (no. 50a) to 67.5 × 68 cm. (no. 50b) and of those of the *Fainting Mary Magdalen* (no. 69) from 73.5 × 92 cm. (no. 69f) to 100 × 126 cm. (no. 69b; figure 96); of these paintings, however, some standard dimension is hinted by a prevalence (not an average) among the copies. Thus, it seems likely that the original *Boy Peeling Fruit* (nos. 50a; 50c; 50d; 50i, figure 2) may have been about 52 × 65 cm. and the lost *Fainting Magdalen* about 90 × 110 cm., although one of Finson's copies (no. 69b; figure 96) is slightly larger. Correspondingly, the largest number of *Bari* copies (nos. 52g, 52t, 52u, 52x, 52z, 52cc, and 52hh) is about 135 × 100 cm. or 50 × 40 inches; the Duke of Hamilton's little panel (no. 52aa; 8½ × 5¾ inches; figure 9) is obviously something of an exception, almost literally a kind of hand-painted postcard, and thus not really relevant. Considering the number of hands involved, the different types, and the likelihood of copies of copies, the different *Mary and Martha* (no. 56) canvases also seem remarkably similar in dimensions. Of the *Taking of Christ* (no. 60) the range of scale of the replicas is much wider, from 132 × 100 cm. (no. 60c; figure 46) to 245 × 165 cm. (nos. 60b; 60g, figure 45)—and is only partly explicable by the reduction of the space around the figures. This reduction might appear to clarify a progression from the Sannini painting (no. 60b) with proportionately the most peripheral space, to the Riverdale (no. 60e) with less, the Hartveld (no. 60g; figure 45) with still less, the Odessa (no. 60a) with least, and to the Berlin version (no. 60c; figure 46), which is simply a fragment with an entire figure missing. In fact, the reduction is a complication; for the two largest copies, the Sannini and Hartveld versions, although equal in dimensions, are different in the extent of space around the figures. Otherwise the Sannini version, which of all the replicas allows the most space, would seem not only to reflect the whole composition of the lost original most exactly but also to establish the original dimensions. The comparison with the Hartveld version, however, seems to indicate that it is smaller than the lost original, which would have provided the same relative space for the figures as the Sannini picture but on the scale of the Hartveld canvas. If this assumption is correct, then the original must have been something of a phenomenon—showing three-quarter-length figures but larger than the *Christ on the Mount of Olives* (no. 32; 222 × 154 cm.) or any of the Roman works except the two Contarelli Chapel wall paintings and the monumental full-length altarpieces. Whatever the scale of

the original, its whole composition seems likeliest to be recorded in the Sannini version. The reduction in scale of the copies together with the progressive reduction of space around their figures (even uncorrelated to scale) would seem to suggest, as pointed out above, that all or most of them are like Lord Bradford's *Calling of SS. Peter and Andrew* (no. 61d; figure 47), copies of copies rather than of the original.

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II Copies as a Means of Authentication

A REFERENCE BY Mancini or Baglione or Bellori to a painting, particularly one in Rome, as by Caravaggio, is telling evidence of its authenticity.[88] Correspondingly, the number of more or less contemporary copies after a painting would seem also to bear on its authenticity. For it seems reasonable to assume that a large number of copies of a painting would register its fame and therefore would tend to authenticate it, and that a lack of copies might be taken as indicative of doubts concerning the original, whether it was autograph or not and whether it (or a replica of it) was worthy of preservation. It appears, however, that this supposition is not, in fact, true in respect to Caravaggio's oeuvre; that although some of his paintings were copied, others were not; and that no certain correlation exists between the number of known copies after a painting and its popularity or its authenticity.

Some of Caravaggio's Roman paintings that are most praised in the literary sources were copied numerous times. Both Bellori and Scannelli wrote approvingly of the *Bari* (no. 52; figures 8–10); it was copied repeatedly in paintings, probably as much in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as in the seventeenth, when at least nine contemporary or near-contemporary copies were made (the earliest

recorded in 1621 [no. 52r]); and two drawings (nos. 52e and 52f) survive as well. The *Incredulity of St. Thomas,* (no. 18; figures 57–60) documented as early as 1606 in what must have been a copy (in Genoa, [no. 18x]) and mentioned not only by Baglione, Bellori, and Sandrart but also by Malvasia (and, surprisingly enough, as admired and copied in Bologna [nos. 18u, 18v, 18w]), was recorded very early in one of the five seventeenth-century prints certain to be after Caravaggio (Robillart's [no. 18a; figure 57]). A second print (van Baburen's, no 25a; figure 74), made in the late 1610s or early 1620s,[89] recorded the *Entombment,* which was mentioned favorably not only by Scannelli and Bellori but even by Baglione, although grudgingly to be sure. At least one early drawing of the painting still exists (no. 25o, probably by Bramer); a second (no. 25n, attributed to Fetti) was destroyed in the Spanish civil war; and I believe that Rubens must have made a third (no. 25q) when he was in Rome. The *Entombment* was also copied in oils, by Bononi (no. 25t) when he was in Rome in the early 1600s, perhaps by Guerrieri (no. 25u), and by at least two other anonymous painters (nos. 25v, 25w). Baglione certainly did not admire the *Madonna of Loreto* (no. 29; figures 84–87); Scannelli found himself of two minds about it;[90] Mancini simply reported its existence; and Bellori was detached and neutral about it. But it was copied in paintings several times during the seventeenth century—perhaps as early as 1605 by Richard Tassel (no. 29i), perhaps by Theodoor van Loon[91] (no. 29h), and certainly for Charles I (no. 29r)—and it was the subject of a third print, Vorsterman's (no. 29a; figure 84), which, however, was not made after the original in Rome where Vorsterman apparently never set foot, but rather after a copy, presumably the one in Whitehall. Several other Roman works which, like the *Madonna of Loreto,* did not inspire much contemporary literary praise, were also frequently copied, notably the *Youth with the Ram* (no. 16; figures 61, 62, 64), the *Calling of St. Matthew* (no. 21, figure 63), and the *Crucifixion of St. Peter* (no. 24; figures 72, 73).

However, copyists inexplicably neglected as many other of Caravaggio's Roman works, including several major works, among them several that the seventeenth-century historians described most favorably. For example, even such unfriendly critics as Baglione could find virtue in Caravaggio's early style. But no replica of the *Sick Bacchus* (no. 1) is known, and not until the nineteenth century did Gremito make the only existent copy of the *Boy with a Basket of Fruit* (no. 2a), although both paintings have been in the Borghese Collection since 1607 and thus were presumably readily accessible to copyists. The Uffizi *Bacchus* (no. 9) may have been somehow sequestered and inaccessible, so that its lack of copies may be understandable. But the early paintings in other private Roman collections that

must have been as open to interested professionals as the Borghese were also neglected: no copies at all are known of the *Rest on the Flight* (no. 5) or of the lost *Carafe with Flowers* (no. 53), mentioned by Bellori as so charming; and only one each of the Doria *Magdalen* (no. 6), the *Sacrifice of Isaac* (no. 15), and the *St. Catherine* (no. 12). Caravaggio's later Roman works from the Contarelli and Cerasi chapel commissions onward could not depend on critical response so friendly as that given his earlier works. But if the Mantuan ambassador tactfully reserved his own personal judgment on the *Death of the Virgin* (no. 33; figure 91), the enthusiasm of Rubens and other professionals was sufficient to bring him to recommend it to the Duke of Mantua, and to require that he put it on display for a week before shipping it off to north Italy. The ambassador wrote that they "flocked" to see it; why, then, did they make so few copies (no. 33h, which is lost; and no. 33g, which is somewhat doubtful as to date), particularly when the painting was so soon to disappear from the Roman scene into the provinces? If there was not time enough for an oil sketch, why were no drawings made, or in the possibility that the Pelzold watercolor (no. 33g) dates from that moment in the painting's history, why only that one? This omission is particularly surprising considering the combination of painters' enthusiasm for the picture and its imminent loss to the city; but it is by no means a unique or even an exceptional oversight. A substantial number of other paintings of Caravaggio's Roman maturity was similarly neglected. Once again the Borghese paintings seem to have been virtually ignored: quite apart from the two boys (nos. 1 and 2), there are no copies of the *St. Jerome* (no. 28), which Bellori tells us was actually painted for Scipione Borghese; of the *Madonna of the Snake* (no. 30), which Scipione must have obtained shortly after 1605 when the Society of the Palafrenieri lost its old altar in St. Peter's to make way for the building of the new nave; or of the *St. John the Baptist* (no. 31), which was probably in the gallery by 1613. The Giustiniani pictures suffered no less from inexplicable neglect; the lack of copies of the portraits is perhaps not entirely difficult to understand, but why are there none of the famous and controversial first *Inspiration of St. Matthew* (no. 19) until Fragonard's drawings of 1760–61 (nos. 19b, 19c; figures 66, 67), or of the *Victorious Earthly Love* (no. 26) and of the *Christ on the Mount of Olives* (no. 32) until Landon's miserable illustrations to the Giustiniani catalogue in 1812? Both the Borghese and the Giustiniani collections were open to copyists, as we know from the numerous replicas of the London *Supper at Emmaus* (no. 17; figures 53–56), which Scipione acquired for his collection,[92] and of the *Incredulity of St. Thomas* (no. 18; figures 57–60), which belonged to the Giustiniani as early as 1606, when Cardinal Benedetto, going to Bologna as

papal legate, took it or (more likely) a copy of it with him.[93] Even more surprising than the absence of copies of some paintings in private collections, however, is the neglect of several paintings in public locations. If the Cerasi and Contarelli chapels were not too dark for copyists to reproduce the *Crucifixion of St. Peter* (no. 24; figures 72, 73) and the *Calling of St. Matthew* (no. 21; figure 63), they were not too dark to permit copying the matching *Conversion of St. Paul* (no. 23), the second *Inspiration* (no. 22), and the *Martyrdom of St. Matthew* (no. 20). Yet the only known copies of these canvases are Fragonard's drawing (no. 22a; figure 65) of the angel of the second *Inspiration* and three minor modern replicas, one of the *Martyrdom* (no. 20) and two of the *Conversion* (nos. 23a and 23b), both of which are lost.

If the choices Caravaggio's copyists made of subjects from his Roman paintings seem inexplicable, nonetheless in at least one respect his copyists are owed a great deal. For, as if in compensation for not reproducing still-existent paintings that we admire, they were generous in duplicating some of the lost paintings that would otherwise be known to us only through literary or documentary references. Excluding the probable original *Bari* (no. 52), which has disappeared within human memory (although just barely) and is known through an excellent old photograph, this group still includes as many as eight works. Five of these, all from Rome and its environs, seem certain to have once existed in the form of images made known to us through the copies: the *Boy Peeling Fruit* (no. 50; figure 2), the *Taking of Christ* (no. 60; figures 45, 46, 48), the *Calling of SS. Peter and Andrew* (no. 61; figures 47, 49), the *Crown of Thorns* (no. 65; figure 76), and the *Fainting Magdalen* (no. 69; figures 96–98). Of these five originals, no less than forty-five painted copies now exist, together with one drawing (no. 69a) and one eighteenth-century mezzotint (no. 61a). All five originals are recorded in multiple identical or nearly identical versions of the seventeenth century.[94] Thus, the copies have substantial authority, both as confirmation of the literary references to the lost originals and as accurately reflecting their appearance. Few if any Caravaggio scholars who are now active do not acknowledge this authority by accepting the attribution of the lost originals to Caravaggio. Three other paintings that I believe might be added to the group inspire less universal agreement. Apparently, I am alone in considering the original of the *Boy Bitten by a Lizard* (no. 51; figure 3) as lost; but no one would deny that it once existed, and in the form revealed to us by the three versions now known. My hypothesis that the copies of the Prado *David* type (no. 54; figure 37) may reflect the lost Spanish version of the subject, despite the discrepancies between them and Bellori's description of the original is based on

the assumption that Bellori never saw either the original or the copies and was therefore less reliable than usual. Thus, I give greater weight to the copies of the *David* than to Bellori's description of the original, and I believe that their authority supersedes his. Finally, our knowledge of the first *Crucifixion of St. Peter* (nos. 62 and 114) suffers both from the lack of any detail in Baglione's description of the lost original (if it ever existed) and from the absence of multiple copies. Conceivably the Leningrad version of the subject (no. 114) is in fact an exact replica, as Friedlaender suggested; but because it is unique, we cannot tell certainly and may suspect that it is only one of several variants (figures 68–71) on the lost original, which is therefore accessible to us only in approximate form.

Speculation as to the appearance and attribution of lost paintings becomes even less reliable when it is based on replicas of what is clearly a lost Caravaggesque original, without the confirmation of a reliable literary reference to identify the lost work as by Caravaggio himself. Quite apart from faking, copying was a very common practice in the seventeenth century, as is demonstrated by the numerous versions of Saraceni's *Death of the Virgin* and his *Ecstasy of St. Francis,* of Cavarozzi's *Mystical Marriage of St. Catherine* and his *Holy Family,* and of Turchi's *Rest on the Flight to Egypt,* examples that could be multiplied many times. Clearly, not only major masters like Caravaggio but also lesser figures were the objects of copyists' attentions. Hence, replicas without literary authentication require very critical examination for consistency with Caravaggio's characteristic manner and for other evidence indicative of an original by the master's own hand rather than some skillful imitator's. Of the several groups of purported copies after lost Caravaggesque originals, notably numbers 103 through 107 together with the two versions of the *Sacrifice of Isaac* (the so-called Castellamare-Di Bona [figure 25] and the Orleans [figure 23] versions; see nos. 15, 64, and 105), I believe only one is acceptable as reflecting a lost autograph Caravaggio. This exception, the *Mary and Martha* (no. 56), is known through as many as fifteen copies and variant-copies (figures 31–34), most of them clearly of the seventeenth century; furthermore, there is good internal stylistic and external historical justification for attribution of the lost original to Caravaggio himself.

Finally, note should be taken of the considerable number of paintings attributed to Caravaggio in ordinarily reliable seventeenth-century literary sources or in detailed professionally made inventories, of which there is no other clear trace. At least half of these attributions—those citing the *Carafe with Flowers* (no. 53), the *Penitent Magdalen* (no. 57) in the Giustiniani Collection together with Regnier's copy of it (no. 57a), Cardinal del Monte's *Divine Love* (no. 58), the Giustiniani *St.*

Augustine (no. 66) and *St. Jerome* (no. 67), the Costa *Way to Emmaus* (no. 68) and the two Ludovisi paintings of the *Via Crucis* (no. 82) and *Christ Among the Doctors* (no. 83)—seem conceivably to refer to actual lost originals by Caravaggio. Others are less likely: the *Boy Bitten by a Frog* is a Mancini manuscript misquotation for the *Boy Bitten by a Lizard* (no. 51), as the *St. John the Evangelist* (no. 59) may be for a *St. John the Baptist;* perhaps the Balbi *Conversion of St. Paul* (no. 115) is in fact Caravaggio's lost original, as an increasing number of Caravaggio specialists tend to believe despite the stylistic evidence to the contrary in the image itself; and conceivably the Uffizi *Sacrifice of Isaac* (no. 15) was actually painted in 1603–4, so that it is Cardinal Barberini's version of the subject (no. 64), which then is not lost but only misplaced in our reconstruction of Caravaggio's oeuvre.[95] Whether likely or not, such literary references cannot readily be dismissed on the basis of a lack of copies of the lost original alone. Copyists were so erratic in their choice of models (and perhaps history has lost and destroyed so many of their works) as to conceal from us any pattern of correlation that might exist between the number of copies of existent or lost pictures attributed to Caravaggio and their authenticity. The fact that many of his most famous paintings in Rome were copied does not eliminate the contradictory facts: that others equally prominent, accessible, and well documented were not copied (or at least that no record remains of their having been) and that multiple copies were made not only of originals by Caravaggio but also of originals by other hands working in Caravaggio's style, not to say counterfeiting it. So we must recognize that the absence (or the existence) of known copies is not necessarily relevant to the authenticity of lost works.

Recognized copies may alert us to the probable appearance of the lost originals, as for example the Messina *Ecce Homo* (no. 34a) did twenty years ago; or as the replicas of the *Boy Peeling Fruit* (nos. 50a–50i; figure 2) and the *Taking of Christ* (nos. 60a–60i; figures 45, 46, 48), both of which are mentioned in literary sources, or of the *Mary and Martha* (nos. 56a–56p; figures 31–34), which is not with any certainty, do now. However, most major recent recoveries of lost originals—notably, of the *Bacchic Musical* (no. 7; figures 17, 18), the *Judith Beheading Holofernes* (no. 13; figure 22), the *Jove, Neptune and Pluto* (no. 49), and probably of the *Maffeo Barberini* portrait (no. 98)—have been made without such advance notice; so it is evident that although copies may be helpful, they are by no means indispensable either to the finding or the authentication of lost originals. And they may mislead us, as I believe they do, for example, in the *Holy Family with St. John* (no. 104), the *Flagellation* (no. 106), and the *Christ at the Column* (no. 107; figure 120).

If copies are not dependable gauges of authenticity, their utility in conjunction

with literary and documentary sources as a means of establishing the appearance of lost originals is demonstrated all too well by the insufficiency of replicas of Caravaggio's post-Roman oeuvre. For alas, once Mancini and Bellori, our principal informants as to Caravaggio's complete career, leave Rome and its environs, they become less comprehensive and reliable.[96] And the uncertainty resultant from their omissions and apparent mistakes is compounded by the reduced number of copies. Thus, any attempt to reconstruct the appearance of most of the reported lost originals, much less to assess their authenticity, must be hypothetical, based on brief literary references and on presumed variants derivative from the lost original.

The copies of the *Fainting Magdalen* (no. 69; figures 96–98) are numerous enough to establish the general appearance of the lost original, although with some ambiguity.[97] Copies of the *Crucifixion of St. Andrew* (no. 73; figure 94) are not so numerous, but they, too, preserve what must have been the original image.[98] The situation of a third "lost" Neapolitan painting, the *Denial of St. Peter* (no. 72), is somewhat different. For although a few Caravaggesque works (figures 51, 100, 101, 103) do correspond with considerable precision to Bellori's detailed description,[99] they do not present so convincing a case for the existence of a lost original by Caravaggio. At least they do present *some* evidence, even though it is not irresistibly convincing. Otherwise, and despite the written and visual evidence of considerable activity by copyists in Naples,[100] Malta, and Sicily, the surviving corpus of replicas is frustratingly incomplete. In Naples, the most serious lack is of identifiable copies of the *Resurrection* (no. 70) and *Stigmatization of St. Francis* (no. 71), both reported by Mancini's annotator as in Sant'Anna dei Lombardi. The detailed descriptions by Celano, Scaramuccia, Cochin, and De Dominici of the former are somewhat contradictory of each other, but leave no doubt that the altarpiece actually existed and make the attribution to Caravaggio a serious possibility. They also have led me to suggest a group of paintings as conceivable variants derivative from the *Resurrection;* but these variants provide no more than hints that emphasize the frustrating lack of secure copies hardly less than the loss of the original itself. As for the *Stigmatization,* it was described so inadequately by Mancini's annotator and other sources that we can neither imagine its appearance nor recognize related works. So we cannot theorize how it should be placed in Caravaggio's oeuvre, nor even that it can be.

The situation in respect to Malta and Sicily is even more obscure. All the relevant existent copies (nos. 39a–39d, 41a, 41b, 43a–43d) duplicate existent paintings of unquestionable attribution; no copy of any of the several lost works mentioned by Bellori or the local Sicilian historian Susinno has even been convincingly

identified.[101] I believe there is good reason to doubt the authenticity of at least one of these reports, that of the *Mary Magdalen* (no. 75),[102] and some reason to doubt the *Seated Alof de Wignancourt* (no. 100) as well. Without any means of testing Bellori's other attributions of the two *St. Jeromes*[103] (nos. 74 and 77), they, too, must remain hypothetical, inasmuch as even his knowledge of them was secondhand. Finally, even though the most important Maltese-Sicilian lost work, the *Via Crucis* (no. 76), is described quite fully in the notarial records of the patron, Nicolao di Giacomo of Messina, it is not mentioned in any other written source, nor has it been recognized as reproduced in a copy or reflected in any variant. The documentation seems convincing; but without any confirmation by visual evidence, it cannot be accepted without reservation. The problem is exacerbated by the number of years that have passed since the documentation was published, without any further progress toward some form of rediscovery of the original. Presumably its location in an obscure private collection deprived it of copyists' attentions; as a late work possibly made under stress, its appearance may have been exceptional or even eccentric. However that may be, my attempts[104] through conceivably derivative works like Caracciolo's *Via Crucis* to suggest how it may have looked demonstrate too clearly how completely it is lost and how inadequate our reconstruction of it must be until more compelling visual evidence is found.[105]

III Copies as a Mark of Taste

LONG AGO[106] in one of his characteristically provocative asides, Roberto Longhi noted that taste was recorded not only by the writings of critics but also by the copies other artists made, and even by the paintings imperialists—be they Vasa, Buonaparte, or Schickelgruber—stole. Other nonliterary gauges of popularity—principally inventories of collections and sales prices—have often been overlooked, except in a few instances such as Ann Sutherland Harris's acute analysis[107] of the reflection in the Windsor and a few other collections of drawings of the taste of the eighteenth century. In respect to Caravaggio and his following, these clues have consistently[108] been neglected or treated superficially.

Beyond the observation that from seventeenth-century critics to nineteenth-century copyists there is much evidence of the continuing popularity of Caravaggio's *Entombment* (no. 25), almost no attempt has been made to appraise copies as registering popular judgment either of his oeuvre as a whole or of single paintings. Analysis of copies is more complex than a simple computation of their numbers; weight must be given to a number of other factors. For instance, accessibility is a key: the fewer copies of the *Burial of St. Lucy* (nos. 43a–43d; figures 110, 111) may be reflective more of its remoteness in the southernmost tip of Sicily than of any lack of appreciation of it by those few artists who had geographical access to it; the claim might be made that its copies are surprisingly numerous considering its isolation and therefore demonstrate that it had relatively great popularity, which

was potentially even greater if only it had been as accessible as the *Entombment.* It should also be noted that both in Rome and briefly in Paris the *Entombment* was always available to the public, particularly after it had been removed from the Chiesa Nuova and from the restriction that such a functioning religious setting imposes on the copyist. The need to maintain the sacred atmosphere and to celebrate divine services are not the only hindrances in a church, either. Usually churches were poorly lit; in the Contarelli or Cerasi chapels and the like, Caravaggio's pictures must have been almost invisible without artificial light.[109] Conducive as this dim religious gloom was to such minor mistakes as can be seen, for example, in Bilivert's drawing of the *Calling* (no. 21c), evidently it did not deter the determined copyist, as the number of replicas of the *Calling of St. Matthew* (nos. 21a–21k; figure 63) and the *Crucifixion of St. Peter* (nos. 24a–24y; figures 72, 73) prove, particularly in contrast to the *Martyrdom of St. Matthew* (no. 20), of which no copies were made, or the *Conversion of St. Paul* (no. 23), which was neglected until the latest eighteenth or the early nineteenth century; clearly, whatever the problems of illumination, the *Calling* and the *Crucifixion* were more popular than their companion paintings.

The Borghese Caravaggios present a special problem in respect to accessibility and visibility. The collection was famous and open, and its pictures were exceptionally well lighted. The many versions of the first *Supper at Emmaus* (no. 17; figures 53–56), which was in the gallery until 1798, and several if not all of the versions of the *David* (no. 47), prove that there was no prohibition on copyists. Furthermore, two of the Borghese Caravaggios (nos. 1 and 2) were of the early daylight type so much admired by seventeenth-century writers. Yet of these two and the three other Caravaggios in the collection (nos. 28, 30, and 31), only one copy is known (no. 2a), and that single exception is a drawing of the nineteenth century. This neglect is puzzling; in comparison to the lost *Mary and Martha* (no. 56; figures 31–34) and the *Fainting Magdalen* (no. 69; figures 96–98), it becomes inexplicable. Neither lost painting was on public display, and neither is recorded as in private possession. Both can, therefore, be assumed either to have been passing from hand to hand or to have been in obscure or distant collections and not readily accessible to copyists. Yet both were reproduced repeatedly, one can only assume in response to a popular demand sufficient to overcome the inaccessibility of the originals, and perhaps to compensate for their unavailability.

Possibly one or more of these copies was passed off as an autograph work by Caravaggio or by some other artist, in the absence of the original. Certainly some of them were made after other copies rather than after the lost original, as has

been observed above. The practice of making copies of copies is a significant register of taste, although also subject to qualification of accessibility or convenience. That is, the practice of copying copies depends on the availability of the master copy, and thus gauges the artist's popularity only within this context. Hence, the number of copies of the *Crucifixion of St. Peter* (nos. 24k–24s[110]) in Spain does suggest that Caravaggio's treatment of the subject was acceptable, even appealing, to Spanish taste; it does not in itself suggest that any other subject was intentionally rejected by the Spaniards, at least in Spain. We know that a copy (no. 24o) of the original was in Valencia by 1611 and Ribalta's signed version (no. 24s) only slightly later, and thus that the motif was available to Spaniards who never saw the original in Italy. But we do *not* know that a copy of any other Caravaggio original, for example, of the *Conversion of St. Paul* (no. 23), was also available to them, so we cannot assume that the repeated copies of the *Crucifixion of St. Peter* mark a deliberate choice by provincial Spaniards of it in preference to the *Conversion.* It is unlikely that a copy of the *Conversion* was ever in Spain; therefore, local artists had no opportunity to choose it in preference to any other treatment of the same subject or to any other subject, or to accept or reject it in itself. Thus, the lack of versions of the subject in Spain is not necessarily indicative of any lack of appreciation there of Caravaggio's conception of it.

Ordinarily the positive critical significance of the act of making copies after the original or after another copy is explicit in the practice itself. Thus, the generally favorable written response of critics and historians to Caravaggio's early daylight paintings is confirmed by the number of copies of the *Boy Peeling Fruit* (no. 50; figure 2), the *Bari* (no. 52; figure 8–10), and the *Mary and Martha* (no. 56; figures 31–34), just as their praise of the *Entombment* is echoed by the number of copies after it (figures 74, 75). Their unfavorable judgment of his whole oeuvre and of his manner of painting in general is, however, contradicted by the large total number of copies after his pictures. Critical disparagement of specific works can be similarly contradicted, as for example the eighteen printed, drawn, and painted copies of the *Madonna of Loreto* (nos. 29a–r; figures 84–87) seem to answer Baglione's scornful comments. In this context, the number of copies takes on critical significance comparable visually to the decibels of applause; frequently it registers a substantial divergence between theoretical and popular judgment and provides an empirical gauge of the popular taste for Caravaggio's style in general and for specific paintings. Many qualifying factors must be taken into consideration: as has already been noted, the visibility of the originals, and their accessibility to young neophytes as well as to established masters, in public or private collections, in

urban centers, or in remote or isolated situations; the availability in the provinces of master copies, or the lack of them; conditioning by patronage, subject matter, medium, scale; and so forth. The numbers of copies in secular collections[111] seems indicative of a taste for Caravaggio's oeuvre in nonreligious contexts, and correspondingly an appreciation of secular subjects like the *Bari* (no. 52) or the only nominally religious *Mary and Martha* (no. 56). Even among religious subjects, preferences for some over others are detectable through the quantity of replicas: Peter was demonstrably a more popular saint than Paul, and often-repeated anecdotes like the *Calling of St. Matthew* (no. 21) or the *Denial of St. Peter* (nos. 72, 124) were clearly more appealing than the commonly ignored devotional or didactic themes like the *Madonna of the Snake* (no. 30) or the *Seven Works of Mercy* (no. 37). Even the prevalence of the use of oil on canvas (rather than drawing or printmaking) by Caravaggio's copyists can be interpreted as marking their recognition of his adherence to the tradition of intuitive and expressive Venetian colorism, and their choice of its living, fully visual world in preference to the abstract ideal world of *disegno.* Conceivably the discovery of a quantity of unknown copies may yet take place and demonstrate a hitherto unsuspected popularity of some specific painting, but this does not seem very likely. In any case, the evaluation of taste made on the basis of the number of copies must be hesitant and affirmative; there were too many reasons other than simple disapproval of a painting to prevent copies having been made of it. Thus, negative judgment of a picture on the basis only of the lack of replicas is imprudent. Nonetheless, in some instances, principally of paintings that were readily accessible in Rome or Naples—notably the two *Inspirations* (nos. 19 and 22) and the *Martyrdom of St. Matthew* (no. 20), the *Conversion of St. Paul* (no. 23), the *Madonna of the Snake* (no. 30), and the *Seven Works of Mercy* (no. 37)—some presumption of unpopularity or at least lack of public response may be implied by the total or relative absence of copies.[112] For instance, the failure of potential copyists in Spain to acknowledge the *Conversion of St. Paul* can be explained by their lack of access to the original or to a copy. But painters in Rome could have seen the original daily; and yet they showed little more awareness of it than their Spanish confreres. They made no copies during the seventeenth and most of the eighteenth centuries and only two, minor and small-scaled, during the Napoleonic era. Perhaps the power of Raphael's and of Michelangelo's prototypes, with their throngs of figures and their revelation of divine intervention, was too great, and its appeal too irresistible, to be superseded by Caravaggio's highly simplified and subtle conception, even reinforced as it was by good north Italian antecedants. However that may be, painters' neglect of the

Cerasi Chapel canvas implies a response to the painting hardly less negative than Bellori's insensitive formalistic criticism of it as "entirely without action"[113] and can be taken as indicative of a lack of interest in Caravaggio's conception of the subject, if not actual disapproval of it. In fact, the conception was so universally rejected that it inspired no more variants than it did copies.

If some variants did exist, our interpretation of the response of Caravaggio's contemporaries to the *Conversion of St. Paul* (no. 23) and to the other similarly neglected pictures would have to be revised. For copies do not by themselves give a full accounting of the master's impact, which is also manifested in variants. They can indicate as effectively as copies the accessibility of an original and the extent to which it stimulated popular admiration; it can be claimed with some justice that they register more tellingly the specific response to the original. A case in point is the paradoxical *Sacrifice of Isaac* (no. 15), which may or may not have been the Barberini version of 1603–4. If it did belong to the Barberini, it may well have been much less in public evidence than has been previously supposed. I have discovered only one copy of it; yet the variants (figures 21, 23, 25) indicate that, like the Barberinis' often-copied *Bari* (no. 52; figures 8–10), access to it was not difficult. These variants, particularly of the often repeated Castellamare-Di Bona type (nos. 105a–105p; figure 25), are so numerous as to demonstrate substantial popular response both to the subject itself and to Caravaggio's conception of it. The solution of the paradox of a painting that was popular yet was not copied lies in the replacement of copies by variants, with the effect of partial acceptance of Caravaggio's conception but "improvement" on it, as Guido Reni apparently did in his *Crucifixion of St. Peter* (Vatican Pinacoteca) for the Church of the Tre Fontane. This process of improvement[114] strikingly exemplifies the influence of contemporary taste. For simultaneously with its adoption of Caravaggio's formulation of a subject, the process made it more decorous, like Guido, or "modernized" it, as did the originator of the Castellamare-Di Bona composition (figure 25). Modifying the violence of the action, withdrawing the figures from the viewer both physically and psychologically, introducing a colorful Venetian lyrical landscape, and even giving a kind of linear grace to St. Peter's arms, Guido made his version of the subject much less compelling than Caravaggio's and partially removed it from a quotidian to the more ideal world dear to contemporary art theory. The anonymous inventor of the Castellamare-Di Bona composition reduced the compelling melodrama of the Uffizi original, but he also replaced Caravaggio's friezelike arrangement of the figures (characteristic of the last years of the 1590s) with a more "modern" three-dimensional grouping of the figures around the spatial center of the knife and

Abraham's foreshortened arm, like Roman Caravaggesque paintings of the 1610s. Such adaptations[115] seem clearly responsive to changing public taste and indeed are, I believe, essential to the character of Caravaggesque painting as an entity derivative but different from Caravaggio's own style. In this context, it is conceivable that the Spanish copyists of the Castellamare-Di Bona variant on the *Sacrifice of Isaac* would have preferred the variant over the original composition, if the choice had been offered to them, or actually did so; for this modernized version presumably would be more appealing to their taste than Caravaggio's own, becoming slightly archaistic by 1610.

This evolutionary attitude toward the master's works appears also in the choice of originals from which copies were made. Although most existent copies have relatively short histories and must therefore be dated basically on stylistic grounds,[116] at least two-thirds were certainly carried out during the seventeenth century, and it is likely that as many as three-fourths were—and probably 90 percent of those between 1605 and 1640. If prints and drawings are excluded, the number of painted copies done during the seventeenth century would probably amount to three-fourths of the total. However, as has already been observed, the practice of copying did not come to an end in the seventeenth century but continued well into the nineteenth century.[117] And apart from the *Entombment* (no. 25; figures 74, 75) and the *Bari* (no. 52; figures 8–10), interest in both of which appears to have been continuous, predilection for certain Caravaggio originals and for certain types of paintings can be observed, particularly in conjunction with the increase of reproductive printmaking during the later eighteenth century, climaxing in the Napoleonic era and continuing until the print was superseded by the photograph. Not surprisingly, there is a correlation between the number of prints made and the location of the painted original. Presumably mainly because of patronage (and perhaps convenience), most reproductive printmakers recorded groups of pictures in public or semipublic royal or noble collections in preference to single paintings in churches. Most of the large religious paintings of Caravaggio's maturity were in churches, and therefore they were not often recorded in prints. But paintings in collections were reproduced; the majority of them represented the genre subjects of the smaller early paintings of Caravaggio's youth. It would appear, therefore, that the slight numerical prevalence of such paintings as the *Fortune-Teller* (no. 4), the *Lute-Player* (no. 8), and the *Sleeping Cupid* (no. 42; figure 102) in the late-eighteenth- and nineteenth-century reproductive prints might be the mark not necessarily of a particular taste for them or their type of subject, but rather of their location in public or near-public collections.[118] If the

Death of the Virgin (no. 33; figure 91) makes a striking exception to this rule in its subject matter, it confirms it in respect to its location in the Louvre;[119] and although Fragonard traveling with Saint-Non in Italy had recorded[120] the *Entombment* (no. 25) in the Chiesa Nuova for an engraving (no. 25b), not until the painting was transported to Paris and installed in the Musée Français did it become the object of the attention of most of its reproductive printmakers (nos. 25d–25g).

Reproductive printmakers of the era did not, however, limit their activities to recording authentic paintings by Caravaggio, but instead more than doubled their number by misattribution. If the engravings after false Caravaggios are included in our calculations, as they might be as manifesting the late-eighteenth–early-nineteenth-century judgment of his style and oeuvre, then predilections for genre subjects and for relatively small paintings of three or less figures are demonstrated. The proof is in a simple survey of the prints and their subjects;[121] numerous exceptions can be cited, but in general one or both of those two rules seems applicable. Thus, taste had evolved toward playful or sentimental genre, even in nominally religious subjects, and for easel-scaled paintings.

The note that has already been taken of geographical factors, both as to the availability of master copies like the *Crucifixion of St. Peter* (no. 24) in Spain or the *Bari* (no. 52) in Great Britain, is also applicable to these later reproductive prints. In general, reproductive prints of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were made primarily in countries north of the Alps, and by non-Italian engravers like those of the seventeenth century. Even many of the exceptions to this rule are in some respect north European, like the Saint-Non prints of Roman paintings, (nos. 8a, 17c, 25b), or Wicar's of the royal collections in Florence (which were made, incidentally, after the ducal coronet had passed out of Italian into Austrian hands). The implication seems to be not only that northern reproductive printmakers were more likely to work from Caravaggios or from Caravaggesque originals but also that the Caravaggesque style was favored in the north, which, considering the trend toward relatively small-scale genre, is not at all surprising historically.[122]

Finally, attention should be called once again to the surprising and frustrating lack of evidence provided by prints of lost works. With the exception of the portraits, however, surprisingly few Caravaggios appear in written records without some visual documentation, principally in paintings—the originals themselves, copies, variants, or all three. Even those images like the *Resurrection* (no. 70) that apparently were not copied may have left traces in variants and derivatives. This fact suggests to me that probably relatively few originals are missing except for small-scale and private pictures[123] and thus that popular taste compensated for the

general critical devaluation of Caravaggio's oeuvre by preserving it. Painters and graphic artists preserved its images by making derivatives; patrons, the clergy, the populace preserved its physical form by valuing it enough to keep it. By buying painted copies of it in the seventeenth century, and prints later, and by keeping it instead of neglecting, mutilating, losing, or destroying it, they betrayed an enduring taste for it.[124] It may well be that so few portraits remain because they were permitted to disappear by the Italian aristocracy or intelligentsia that inherited them and that, at least in its published opinions, disliked or despised or loathed them. That so much of Caravaggio's public oeuvre survives seems likely to be a classic example of the redeeming effect of silent but long-term popular interest and perhaps even approval.

IV Variants

COPIES ARE FAR outnumbered by variants. Rather than simply repeating the original (as by definition a copy does), the variant adapts and absorbs it with other elements into a new form. Thus, if the primary characteristic of copies in relation to their originals is similarity, that of variants is difference. Although generally the variants' differences are unique to individual masters and single paintings, certain patterns of differences can also be discerned. Some of these patterns, particularly those involving the evolution of space, light, and the conception of subject matter, I attempted to define in *The Italian Followers of Caravaggio;*[125] in this present study, directed as it is primarily to copies and thus to the specific morphology of compositions, some additional observations can be made. Preliminary definitions have already been made in Chapter I, and the variants related to each single composition in Caravaggio's oeuvre are discussed in the notes to Appendix I. Here my analysis is broader, concerning practices involving several compositions. Specifically, I am concerned with reversal of compositions, matching compositions, transference of a composition from one subject to another, establishment of formulaic compositions according to the number of figures rather than the subject, and similar corollary problems concerning the influence of pre-Caravaggesque prototypes, and different kinds and degrees of response to Caravaggio's compositions.

Soon after I began systematic study of copies and variants, I became aware of a

pronounced tendency on the part of the Caravaggists to reverse Caravaggio's compositions, as are for example a number of versions of the *Mary and Martha* (see figures 32, 34, 36). As a result of these observations, I looked for appropriate prints, which might have provided the medium for the reversal of one painted image by another. None of the *Mary and Martha* exists. But an analogus use of a print, the apparent role of Annibale Carracci's 1606 *Mocking of Christ* engraving as a source for the many Caravaggesque versions of that subject (see figures 79, 81), at first seemed to confirm my expectation of finding other intermediary reversed prints. Soon, however, it became evident that the relations among the lost Caravaggio original, Annibale's print, and the many Caravaggesque variant-paintings, were so ambiguous to provide no satisfactory explantation, and certainly none so simple as that which I first believed—that the compositions with Christ facing left were based on Annibale's or some other print, and that those with him facing to the right were derived directly from the lost original. The misgiving engendered by this ambiguity was confirmed both by my lack of success in discovering any other prints—of the *Salome* (no. 48), the *David* (no. 47), or the lost *Crown of Thorns* (no. 65)—and by my recognition of a number of other printless reversals, notably of the *Calling of St. Matthew* (no. 21), *Judith* (no. 13), *Mary and Martha* (no. 56), and *Sacrifice of Isaac* (no. 15) compositions. And whatever the straws at which I have grasped—notably, counterproof drawings, matching compositions, and whole lost editions of prints—I have not as yet found any comprehensive convincing explanation, except that the ingenuity, skill, and control of the well-trained seventeenth-century painter permitted him to reverse compositions at will. My conclusion is that reversals such as these were standard Caravaggesque practice, without any print or any other intermediary.

Ter Brugghen's reversals of the *Calling of St. Matthew* transform the image in so many other ways that doubts have been expressed as to his owing any debt at all to Caravaggio's composition for his. I believe that the presence of the apostle at Christ's side proves some debt at least, and I take the number of other paintings that reverse the Contarelli Chapel motif as further confirmation. Most of them are much closer to Caravaggio's arrangement of the figures than Ter Brugghen's; but significantly most of them represent not the *Calling of St. Matthew* but rather the *Denial of St. Peter.* So many Caravaggesque treatments of this second subject are based on a reversal of the *Calling* composition that I have seriously considered the possibility that Caravaggio actually did paint a *Denial of St. Peter* (no. 72), as Bellori (and De Dominici after him) reported. This "lost" *Denial* could not have been that now at the Certosa of San Martino, which is by a close follower of Valentin, but

would have to be another painting that has disappeared.[126] Judging from such derivatives of the *Calling* as the Basan engraving of Valentin's *Denial of St Peter* (figure 100), it would have reversed the composition, replaced Christ with St. Peter standing alone, and eliminated much of the space overhead, as significantly did so many of the copies of the *Calling.* Obviously, the placement of the *Calling* in the Contarelli Chapel precludes the possibility of the *Denial of St. Peter* as a matching companion, as does also the reduction of its height. So if the *Denial* did exist, it would have been an independent reworking by Caravaggio himself of the stabilized and effective *Calling* composition, in a kind of self-imitating relation like that between the *Judith* (no. 13) and the *Sacrifice of Isaac* (no. 15) or the *Salome* (no. 48) and the *David* (no. 47). The ambiguity of documentary reference argues against the possibility of such a lost *Denial*'s having existed, although I find myself unable to put it entirely out of my mind. The composition is, in fact, as much north European as it is Caravaggio's own, and with only one standing figure (instead of the two of Christ and his apostle-companion) has pre-Caravaggesque antecedents—probably the same that Caravaggio himself used for the *Calling.*

Whether there was a lost *Denial of St. Peter* or not, it is evident that Caravaggio's followers not only reversed his compositions almost at random but also exchanged subject matters as readily, utilizing the same composition for different themes. The arrangement of the *Calling of St. Matthew,* for example, with its contrast between one or two standing figures vertically oriented on the left or right of the picture and a horizontally settled cluster of seated figures occupying the center and most of the rest of the space, appears not only as the *Denial of St. Peter* but also as the *Memento Mori* (for example, in the painting in the New Orleans Museum of Art, most recently attributed to Jean Ducamps), as the *Expulsion of the Merchants from the Temple* (in Manfredi's lost painting known through Jean Haussart's print and through various copies of variants), and much modified as *St. John the Baptist Before Herod* (in Mattia Preti's canvas in the museum at Seville[127]). The same process is repeated in respect to the *Judith* (no. 13; figures 22, 24, 26, 28, 29), *Mary and Martha* (no. 69; figures 31–36), and *Bari* (no. 52; figures 8–11) compositions, and perhaps the *Supper at Emmaus* (no. 17; figures 53–56), although the relations between this subject and the composition seem to have been unusually binding.[128] One type of interchange of subjects and compositions was matching by reversing, whereby the same composition was used for two different but related subjects painted on identical-sized canvases and made into a symmetrical pair by the reversal of one of the compositions. Conceivably something of this sort explains the surprising affinity of Caravaggio's *Judith* (no. 13; figures 22, 24, 26) and

the *Sacrifice of Isaac* (no. 15; figures 21, 23, 25), although the latter is considerably smaller than the former and not exactly proportionate, and the placement of the two victims is at variance; the fraternal relation between the Prado *David* (no. 54; figure 37) and the *Narcissus* (no. 116; figure 38) is more exact and convincing. Much more frequent was the translation of the same composition from one subject to another in a different painting, either with or without reversal. In fact, the *Mary and Martha* (see figures 35, 36) and the *Bari* (see figure 11) appear in so great a variety of guises as to suggest that they developed into, and were accepted and used as, stock compositional formulas. If this was, in fact, a conscious practice, it demonstrates a formal analytical awareness rarely revealed so openly in the seventeenth century, either by critics and documentary evidence or by painters and paintings themselves. Undoubtedly, formal qualities were carefully considered in the seventeenth century; but in written form they tended to be expressed in such abstract and ideal terms as that of *disegno,* and in actual artistic practice they seem to have been more intuitive and habitual acts of the hand than deliberately calculated verbalizations. Such irony as that implicit in the use by Caroselli (or a follower) of the *Judith* composition for an *Allegory of Love* (in Downton Castle; figure 29), however, seems too apposite not to be fully conscious, although in some instances the new subjects suffer from association with the old. For example, the ambiguity, at least to modern eyes, inherited by Manetti's *Prophets* (figure 35) from their antecedent *Mary and Martha* seems so inappropriate in subject (although not necessarily in form) as to be naive and unthinking. Such an inappropriate transformation may have resulted from student or provincial inexperience and unsophistication; comparable but more appropriate transformations appear often enough to suggest that standarization of compositions according to the number of figures was common practice. Thus, the *Mary and Martha* composition was utilized in some form or another for two-figure arrangements; the *Bari* for three figures (figure 11); the *Emmaus,* the *Incredulity,* or the St. Matthew group from the *Calling* for arrangements of four or more figures at a table; the *Judith-Isaac* (figure 28) or the *Calling of S.S. Peter and Andrew* (see figures 50, 51, 52), compositions for friezelike multifigure arrangements; and the *St. Jeromes* (nos. 28, 41) and *St. John* (no. 27) of Caravaggio's maturity for single-figure images.

Although the same process, or something very like it, may have been involved in the *Flagellation* (no. 38), *Ecce Homo* (no. 34), *Salome* (no. 48), and the *Crown of Thorns* (no. 65) compositions, they present a special problem. Unquestionably, Caravaggio's formulation of these subjects did have considerable influence on his successors. But specifying it precisely is made difficult, if not impossible, by the

ambiguity of relations among Caravaggio and his sources and the Caravaggists and theirs. Thus obviously Titian's *Mocking of Christ* in the Staatsgemäldesammlung, Munich, is lurking behind what I believe to be the lost Caravaggio composition. It is also evident behind Caravaggio's followers' variants on the subject, and not only through the means of Caravaggio's lost painting but also directly from the Titian original. A striking example of this ambiguity and perhaps of what might be called double-derivation is Rembrandt's *Lucrezia* (the version in the Minneapolis Art Institute). Michael Hirst has noted convincingly that Rembrandt's formulation of its composition seems derivative from that of the Borghese *David,* although the original has never left Italy and there is no print of it. I have suggested that the copy of the *David* in Kassel (no. 47b), which has been recorded there since early in the eighteenth century, might well have been Rembrandt's source. But note should also be taken of Marcantonio Raimondi's print after a lost *David* attributed to Raphael, and of the younger Vorsterman's print of the lost Giorgione *David* once in the Archduke Leopold William's collection. I believe that Caravaggio based his composition on one or perhaps both of the early *Davids,* Raphael's presumably through the Marcantonio and Giorgione's either directly or through some painted, drawn, or printed copy or variant-copy. Rembrandt is likely to have seen the Giorgione original when it was in the Low Countries, and could have been familiar with the Marcantonio just as well; and thus he could have conceived of his *Lucrezia* without the intervention of this specific Caravaggio composition but direct from them, within the broad context of his general consciousness of, and responsiveness to, Caravaggio's style and those of the Netherlandish Caravaggists. Probably he did know a Caravaggio replica as well as one or both of the pre-Caravaggesque sources; but the alternative possibility must be recognized and acknowledged. The *Ecce Homo* might seem to present the same type of problem, particularly if credence is given Longhi's theory that there is a lost version reflected in copies, in addition to and somewhat different from, the version in Genoa (no. 34). However, in this instance I believe that the evident indebtedness of the so-called copies to Titian obviates any need for explanation as derivative from Caravaggio and, in fact, demonstrates that no such lost painting ever existed. This situation appears to be reversed by the many Caravaggesque *Callings of St. Matthew* and *Denials of St. Peter* and others; for, amply as the pre-Caravaggesque mostly northern prototypes appear to explain the development of the composition and the themes independently of Caravaggio's *Calling* (which itself is mainly derivative from north European sources[129]), nonetheless it is the first example to give Christ a companion (an afterthought, as we know from the X rays). Thus, any

post-Contarelli Chapel version of the composition that includes a second figure grouped with Christ, seems to betray at least that specific debt to the Caravaggio composition, and must be recognized as responsive to it, however many other pre-Caravaggesque sources there may be, potentially or in fact.

One final observation to be made about variants concerns those like the *Taking of Christ* (no. 60; figures 45, 46, 48), which were often copied, but had little further influence and thus are counterparts to the *Judith* (no. 13) and the *Sacrifice of Isaac* (no. 15), which were copied little or not at all but had very extensive influence through variants (see figures 21–29). Presumably the dramatic friezelike lopsidedness of Caravaggio's conception of the *Taking of Christ* (no. 60) was recognized as highly original; but if its expressiveness encouraged repetition, it prevented adaptation, with the result that the traditional centralized arrangement of the subject was hardly displaced by it, much less supplanted. An even more extreme instance of popular hesitancy to accept an innovative conception of a subject is that of the *Christ on the Mount of Olives* (no. 32). No copies of the painting are known to me, except the print (no. 32a) used as an illustration for the *Galerie Giustiniani.* Two of the three variants change the subject of the composition to the *Liberation of St. Peter* (figure 82) and all three transform the conception by introducing an angel. Essential as such a divine apparition is to the new subject, it is totally contradictory of Caravaggio's inventive conception of the original composition and indeed of the whole of his mature Roman style after the second *Inspiration of St. Matthew* (no. 22). Thus, however brilliant a feat of imagination Caravaggio's formulation of a new *Mount of Olives* composition may seem to us, it apparently was too radical a break with tradition to achieve popular acceptance.

V Literary Sources

IN GENERAL, seventeenth-century writers have little to say about copies after Caravaggio. Although Malvasia, Baldinucci, Passeri, Sandrart, Susinno, and Pacheco do mention a few specifically, either naming the copyist or exactly locating the copy, these references[130] are relatively rare, particularly considering the large number of copies that were made. Furthermore, Caravaggio's chief biographers, Mancini, Baglione, and Bellori, make no reference[131] at all to any copy specifically, or to the practice of copying his works[132] widespread as it was. Nonetheless, in a discussion of copyists' activities, it seems important to consider these and the few other principal relevant sources, their comprehensiveness, and the accuracy of their attributions.

Unsurprisingly, the lesser sources are not very comprehensive[133] in their catalogues of Caravaggio's oeuvre, either because of their superficiality and brevity or because of the *campanilismo* that caused Malvasia, for example, to write mainly about works relevant to Bologna and Bolognese painters and to neglect others. As for the principal sources, they are much more comprehensive,[134] they make few errors of attribution, and they are notable in their discretion (particularly Baglione's[135]) in respect of works of which they were not likely to have had firsthand experience. It is striking to observe that neither Mancini nor Baglione made any certain errors of attribution[136] even though they both cited more than half the number of Caravaggio's surviving works; and that of the fifty-eight paintings listed

by Bellori, the *Mary Magdalen* (no. 75) seems to be the one certain mistake, and only seven others are in doubt.[137] So good a record should lend credence to those few paintings that they mention (like the lost portraits), which are not identifiable either in the original or through copies and which might otherwise be questioned.[138]

A large part of this precision can be credited to the limited number of works that they listed outside of Rome. Both Mancini and Baglione mention the *Fainting Magdalen* (no. 69) as done in the Alban hills, to which Mancini added the *Way to Emmaus* (no. 68), which was probably not a mistake in attribution but in identification of the subject. Otherwise, Baglione mentions "many paintings" in Naples but specifically names none there or in Malta or Sicily except the *Wignancourt* portrait (no. 40); and Mancini's annotator (but not Mancini himself) lists four Neapolitan paintings, at least one in error, but none elsewhere south of Rome.[139] Bellori was less discreet; he listed twice as many paintings as Mancini and Baglione, including sixteen in Naples, Malta, and Sicily, and five elsewhere. In this attempt to be more comprehensive, he probably made more mistakes. For not only did he not publish until 1672, more than sixty years after Caravaggio's death, but also he stayed in Rome rather than traveling. Thus, while in respect to the Roman oeuvre he was an exemplary art historian—he clearly had a good eye, had entrée to the leading local colections, and did his homework so carefully as to know Caravaggio's work there thoroughly—his information about Caravaggio's oeuvre elsewhere was derived from informants, who were less dependable. In fact, however, they were not bad either.[140] They added the *Flagellation* (no. 38) and the *Salome* (no. 48, wherever it may have been by 1672) to the Mancini list of Neapolitan works and did not make Gallacini's mistake of including the second Monte di Pietà picture.[141] Out of the nine Maltese and Sicilian works now surviving, they overlooked only the *Sleeping Cupid* (no. 42), which by then had been in the royal collections in Florence for almost three generations. Their actual, and possible, mistakes are comparatively numerous—out of the twenty-one works listed by Bellori as Neapolitan, Maltese, Sicilian, or elsewhere, one-third seem to me suspect for one reason or another. But most of these "errors" are not absolute, referring as they do to works that are now lost or have not been identified;[142] and there is no evidence to indicate that any major work, except the di Giacomo *Via Crucis* (no. 76), was overlooked. These mistakes were the informants', not Bellori's, although he made himself responsible for them by accepting and publishing them. He made no absolute errors[143] in respect to the Roman oeuvre which he knew firsthand; although his inclusion of the Casino Ludovisi ceiling has not yet gained universal acceptance, he

himself was doubtful of it and cited it only hesitantly without forthright attribution.[144] In sum, although I believe that trust in Bellori may be misplaced in respect to Caravaggio's oeuvre outside of Rome, his judgment of works in Rome is no less reliable than Mancini's and Baglione's—which is to say that it is trustworthy—and has the additional virtue of greater comprehensiveness.[145] In other words, each of the three was a dependable judge of the authenticity of paintings attributed to Caravaggio, and Bellori gives some indication of the quantity of Caravaggio's Roman oeuvre as well.

Skepticism of Bellori's references to paintings outside of Rome is less necessary when their existence or the attribution of them to Caravaggio is supported by other independent sources. I make the qualification "independent" because Bellori's authority was already recognized and utilized sufficiently by his contemporaries in the late seventeenth century and by eighteenth-century historians and connoisseurs as to provide an important source for their writings. The result was that much of what such a local or regional historian as Susinno wrote was taken directly from Bellori, and is therefore merely repetition of his commentary rather than confirmation of it.[146] Sometimes this reiteration may have had the effect of establishing traditional errors.[147] An example is De Dominici's reference to a Caravaggio *Denial of St. Peter,* which was taken as confirming Bellori's attribution of such a painting to Caravaggio and as referring to the picture still in the monastery, a mistake passed on until the twentieth century, when the canvas in the monastery has been recognized as neither corresponding to Bellori's description nor by Caravaggio.[148] A less straightforward case in point as Susinno's report of a *Seated Wignancourt* portrait in mufti (no. 100), which despite the conviction lent by a fairly detailed description, is at best doubtful because the Sicilian historian's report on Caravaggio's activities on Malta[149] was not firsthand but was based on Bellori. On the other hand, the cumulative effect of the references of the Mancini annotator, of Bellori (both relying on informants), of Scaramuccia, and of other later references to the lost *Resurrection* (no. 70) in the Church of Sant'Anna de'Lombardi is to affirm that it once did actually exist. Disappointingly, however, only six lost works are cited by more than one of the leading seventeenth-century historians, although there are a few other written allusions;[150] just how important such cross-references might be is suggested by imagining the weight Sandrart's description of the *Madonna of the Rosary* (no. 36) would have to be given, if by some historical catastrophe the painting and all trace of it—Vorsterman's print, the documents relevant to its purchase, and so forth—except only Bellori's passing mention of it, had disappeared.[151]

Unhappily, Sandrart is not ordinarily a very reliable reporter, despite the length of his stay in Italy, the extent of his travels there, and his association with the Marchese Giustiniani. No doubt justifiably he complained that the Roman churches were too dark for him to see the paintings very well;[152] but he did not recognize his own failings: reliance on van Mander, who was the poorest seventeenth-century source for Caravaggio; apparent ignorance of Baglione[153] and of most of the other published seventeenth-century historians,[154] and a tendency to garble what he did know; sycophancy of Marchese Giustiniani;[155] and, probably worst of all, publication at too great a distance in time and place from his subject. Such failings, and others, are characteristic of most of the lesser writers, so none is really comprehensive or very reliable. Scannelli, for example, who also complained about the lack of light in the Contarelli Chapel, failed to mention the *Inspiration of St. Matthew* (nos. 19, 22) along with the *Calling* (no. 21) and the *Martyrdom* (no. 20), which at least he unlike Sandrart, identified correctly; he is reported to have visited Naples in 1654 but makes no reference to Caravaggio's oeuvre there; in the grand ducal collection in Florence he cites as by Caravaggio a painting of a *Dentist* which is, in fact, by some follower of Ribera,[156] and in the Duke's collection in Modena he cites two half-length paintings of saints, of which there is no other trace except a vague reference by Scaramuccia. Because Scannelli served as a buyer for the Duke of Modena, such presumed misattributions raise questions not only of his competence but also of his disinterestedness as a writer and his scrupulousness as a man of affairs. The Cavalier Marino has been similarly questioned;[157] and in another context[158] De Dominici actually boasts of very sharp business practice. De Dominici, like Malvasia and Susinno, tends more usually to err in the direction of *campanilismo,* a fault characteristic of local and regional historians.

One final observation relevant to written sources that must be made, but in respect to inventories rather than to commentaries, is that they are not entirely reliable. Some were compiled by professionals whose attitude toward paintings was so limited as not even to attempt any attribution; this is the case, very disappointingly, of the Salviati inventory[159] of 1634, which must surely have included at least some important paintings by historically significant artists but which identifies them only by subject and dimensions. Other inventories were compiled by experts in art, either unidentified as in the case of the Giustiniani Collection,[160] or known as in the Antonio della Corgna (or Corna or Cornia) inventories of the ducal collection in Turin[161] and of the Ludovisi Collection,[162] and in van der Doort's inventory of the English royal collection.[163] These four inventories were made

with expert knowledge, care, and scrupulousness.[164] Even so, as the Giustiniani inventory demonstrates, with its cautious "si crede di mano del . . ." and with such attributions as that of the Gismondo Todesco portrait to Caravaggio, uncertainties and outright errors did creep into them. If such flaws exist in cosmopolitan inventories made by knowing experts, it is reasonable to assume that provincial inventories are all the more imperfect and therefore all the more unreliable—hence my suspiciousness of the reported seventeenth-century inventory attributions of the Nancy *Annunciation* (no. 101), and my impression that many (if not most) of the paintings in the provinces attributed to Caravaggio during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were, in fact, copies after the master, or variants derivative from his oeuvre.[165]

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VI Concluding Remarks

THE ROLE OF connoisseurship in Caravaggio studies has been essential in the past, because of the relative lack of archival research and because of the centuries of neglect that caused even the broadest outlines, to say nothing of the details, of the Caravaggesque movement to be obscured. It continues to be of ultimate importance as more documentary evidence is gathered and as definitions of the general framework permit and require constantly more refined discrimination. If after the 1951 exhibition it was easy to recognize the Messina *Ecce Homo* (no. 34a) as a copy even before the finding of the original, apparently differentiation of Alonzo Rodriquez's few most Caravaggesque paintings from those of the master himself, or choice of the original of the two best versions of the *Youth with a Ram* (no. 16), was not so effortless. In fact, some fundamental problems of attribution remain in dispute today. I have the impression that few authorities continue to attribute the Clowes Collection *Sleeping Cupid* (no. 42a) to Caravaggio, or the Atlanta *Boy with a Vase of Roses* (no. 103); but the Rouen *Christ at the Column* (no. 107; figure 120) and the Odescalchi Balbi *Conversion of St. Paul* (no. 115) still have their detractors (myself included), no definite decision has been made between the Longhi (no. 51a) and Korda (no. 51b) versions of the *Boy Bitten by a Lizard,*[166] the London *Salome* (no. 48) is now labeled "Attributed to Caravaggio" in the National Gallery, and some authorities persist in accepting the lost original (if there is any) of the *Holy Family with St. John the Baptist* (no. 104) as an autograph Caravaggio. Obviously, some lost originals re-

main to be found; conceivably two or three, notably the *Bari* (no. 52), the *Fainting Mary Magdalen* (no. 69), the *Crucifixion of St. Andrew* (no. 73), or the *St. John at the Spring* (no. 123) already have been. If so, they have yet to be universally recognized and acknowledged. It is more likely that the best candidates that have been put forward for identification as the originals are not actually the lost paintings but rather only the best copies of them[167] and that the lost works wait rediscovery.

Although Caravaggio's principal chroniclers covered his oeuvre comprehensively, apparently a few works, like the lost *Crown of Thorns* (no. 65), did escape their notice. Long recognized hypothetically on the basis of the copy or variant-copy (no. 65a) in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna and of the countless derivatives, the existence of the painting now has been confirmed as once in the Giustiniani Collection. The publication of the long-lost Giustiniani inventory, together with the recent discovery of that of the Ludovisi Collection (1633) and perhaps others,[168] have added a number of "new" lost works to the list of those already known. Obviously, much caution in identifying these works or supposed copies of them is necessary, because of the proliferation during the first half of the seventeenth century of paintings in Caravaggio's style and the natural tendency on the part of owners of collections and makers of inventories toward optimistic attributions. Nonetheless, it seems reasonable now to add the Ludovisi paintings (nos. 82, 83, 86) and various individual saints like the Giustiniani *St. Jerome* (no. 67) and perhaps some of the portraits (nos. 87–90) to the list of possibly missing pictures, both those cited by Mancini, Baglione, and Bellori, and those they overlooked.

It is not unlikely that one or more of these works will turn up or be recognized. Short of that happy occurrence, the only means of establishing their appearance is through replicas of them or, in want of these replicas, of variants. The degree of accuracy potential in such connoisseurship of lost works is demonstrated by the anticipation of the *Ecce Homo* (no. 34) by its copy; and no one now seriously questions the origin of the multiple versions of the *Boy Peeling Fruit* (no. 50) in a lost Caravaggio, or even of the *Mary and Martha* (no. 56), despite the persistence with which I believe the original continues to elude us and even despite the lack of any unambiguous seventeenth-century written reference to it.[169]

A few other pictures have not revealed themselves so clearly. Although the copies of the *Calling of SS. Peter and Andrew* (no. 61; figures 47, 49) offer some temptation to attribute the lost original to one of Caravaggio's leading followers,[170] probably they do actually reflect an autograph Caravaggio. Its problem is its rela-

tion to the *Way to Emmaus* (no. 68), the subject actually mentioned in the literature. For a long time thought to be reproduced in the *Calling* paintings, the *Way to Emmaus* was identified with them incorrectly, both as to subject and as to chronological position in Caravaggio's stylistic evolution. I believe Caravaggio carried out one painting only, the *Calling of SS. Peter and Andrew,* which we know quite exactly from the copies. Although the *Way to Emmaus* survives in literary sources alone, it is mentioned in enough of the most reliable of them to require explanation. Obviously, if we had two or three copies of the *Way,* there would be scarcely more doubt as to its existence and appearance than there are of the lost *Taking of Christ* (no. 60) or the *Fainting Magdalen* (no. 69). In the lack of any recognized copies we could attempt to reconstruct it on the basis of works identifiable at least potentially as variants, utilizing the process followed in the tentative re-creation of the *Resurrection* (no. 70). But no variants have been recognized either, even hypothetically. In fact, the *Way* probably is unique in Caravaggio studies, by the disproof of its existence offered, paradoxically, by the combination of literary without visual documentation. For we cannot doubt that Mancini, Baglione, and Bellori saw a painting that they identified as the *Way.* At the same time, the lack of any visual evidence of such a painting, particularly in a well-known Roman private collection, is disconcerting. Thus, the hypothesis that the painting existed, but was misidentified as to subject, can be advanced. Inasmuch as the figures in the *Calling* are arranged like those traditionally representing the *Way* (as Friedlaender observed), the possibility that the seventeenth-century writers mistook the *Calling* for the *Way,* doubtful as it may at first seem, becomes quite likely. And in this context, the literary documentation of the *Way,* combined on one hand with the absence of any visual documentation for such a painting and on the other hand with ample visual documentation for an iconographically related *Calling,* seems to prove that the *Way* never existed but that the *Calling* did.[171]

Whether a missing original itself appears, or only some derivative, identification of a lost picture and establishment of its authorship require careful and precise connoisseurship, not only lest a copy be mistaken for an original (as was the case of the Doria *Youth with a Ram* [no. 16c] but also lest an able follower's original work be mistaken for one of the master's (as was the case of Maino's *St. John the Baptist* [no. 113] in Basel). Obviously, identification of a lost original through surviving copies is perilous and lays the connoisseur open to such errors as the now generally discredited ascription of the source of the Castellamare-Di Bona *Sacrifice of Isaac* (no. 105) to Caravaggio, or the acceptance of the Macerata-Catania-Camuccini *Flagellations* (nos. 106a, b, and c) as duplicating a missing Nea-

politan Caravaggio. In fact, these *Flagellation* replicas do derive from a powerful original, but by Valentin, I believe, rather than by Caravaggio. Such a follower as Valentin was entirely capable of conceiving so strong an image in a style simultaneously his own and derived from Caravaggio's; and such effective paintings by preeminent followers were often much copied.[172] The *St. Francis with Two Angels* (no. 3*ii*) by Baglione and Orazio Gentileschi's related *St. Francis with an Angel* (no. 3*iii*) appear to reflect an analogous source, but as variants rather than copies. Neither Baglione nor Gentileschi is likely to have based a painting on a composition originated by the other; and both refer back to Peterzano. So it seems feasible to hypothesize a lost Caravaggio, derived from Peterzano and providing a sufficiently authoritative model, even as early as 1601 (the date of Baglione's canvas), for both Caravaggesque paintings. But, reasonable as it might appear to be, this hypothesis lacks not only documentation but also such straightforward visual evidence as is provided by the copies of the *Flagellation* and thus cannot be advanced as anything more than indicative of an area of interest and potential discovery.[173]

The original of this *Flagellation* cannot have been one of those few works that I have defined[174] as "imitations" of Caravaggio, that is, original works so skillfully conceived and carried out in the master's style as to invite consideration of them as possibly from his own hand. For, however high the quality of the *Flagellation* may have been, its copies reveal so evidently the presence of an originating hand different from Caravaggio's as to preclude identification of it as an imitation. I would, in fact, make very few changes in the list of imitations I proposed in *The Italian Followers of Caravaggio* six years ago. The only painting which at present stands any chance of rehabilitation seems to be the Cappuccini *St. Francis* (no. 122a), and that as a copy at best, and quite likely as copy of an imitation rather than of an autograph Caravaggio. I would add to the list the Nancy *Annunciation* (no. 101; figure 113), the Worcester *St. Jerome,* the Atlanta *Boy with a Vase of Roses* (no. 103), the *Holy Family with St. John the Baptist* (no. 104), and the *Christ at the Column* (no. 107; figure 120), although these last two are in my eyes so contradictory of Caravaggio's manner as to be less imitations than, like the *Flagellation,* independent though somewhat related conceptions.[175] Probably most or all of these paintings were the work of Caravaggio's leading followers, some of whom must have been among his most skillful copyists and, whether by intention or not, his most successful fakers.[176] One might even suggest that their imitations would have been made for a local Roman (or Neapolitan) clientele that was too knowing to accept mere copies, which could be sold more advantageously at a greater distance from the originals. Scattered through the text, the text notes, and the

notes on Appendix I are a sufficient number of proposed attributions, most of them admittedly speculative and tentative, to compile for a few of these followers quite substantial "secret" oeuvres: for Valentin (about whom no suggestion of clandestine activity has been to my knowledge made, nor do I mean necessarily to imply any), for example, not only are there the *Mary and Martha* copies (nos. 56a–56e; figure 31) and the original of the Macerata-Catania *Flagellation* (no. 106; from ca. 1625?), but also the *Annunciation* (no. 101; figure 113 from his youth?), and the hypothetical lost *Taking of Christ.*[177] As time passes probably more copies and questionable works will be convincingly attributed and these secret oeuvres brought out into the open. In the meantime, it seems prudent to err in the direction of exclusiveness rather than inclusiveness in the further development of the Caravaggio canon. Exclusiveness is encouraged by our knowledge that Caravaggio's work was popular during his lifetime and for a decade or two after his death; that his paintings were in short supply; that his successors were numerous and skillful as copyists, imitators, and even fakers; and that they made use of their skills. But there are grounds for inclusiveness as well. Caravaggio did not live very long by modern standards, his manner of living was irregular and improvident, and he used few if any assistants; even so, his present total oeuvre of (as I count it) about one hundred paintings both lost and still existent, is small for an active professional career spanning no less than fifteen years and probably more. Furthermore, his biographers are imprecise as to his early years, and were perhaps ill-informed as to his career for the four years between his departure from Rome and his death. Thus, it would also seem reasonable to remain open to the possibility of additional, sometimes surprising discoveries, not only those recorded in the literature and by Caravaggesque copies and variants, but also unexpected finds of works concealed from the eyes of his biographers and the hands of his copyists by the continuing obscurity of earliest and latest phases of his career.[178]

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Addenda

SINCE COMPLETION OF this manuscript in 1973, Caravaggio's birthdate has been revised by the discovery of a document demonstrating that he was born in 1571 rather than two years later (see Mina Cinotti, Gian Alberto Dell'Acqua and others, exhibition catalogue, *Immagine del Caravaggio,* Milan, 1974, p.29). Three other new studies have appeared: Gian Alberto dell'Acqua's *Il Caravaggio e le sue grandi opere da San Luigi dei Francesi,* Milan, 1972; Maurizio Marini's *Io Michaelangelo da Caravaggio,* Rome, 1974; and Herwarth Röttgen's long-promised volume, which I have not as yet seen. Marini's book includes a substantial number of copies, many of which are illustrated and several of which are not listed in Appendix I; and I am told that Röttgen has published at least one hitherto unknown drawn copy.

I have the following copies to add:

+23c. By Charles-Nicolas Cochin II, *Conversion of St. Paul,* PC, Zürich; black crayon; 122 × 150 mm.

*24z. *Crucifixion of St. Peter,* Sotheby's, 29 May 1974 (lot 110); pen, brown ink, wash.

*24aa. *Crucifixion of St. Peter,* Weinmüller, Munich, 18 September 1974 (lot 1050; oil on copper; 17 × 22 cm.

×25pp. By an anon French artist, *Entombment,* Coll. Miles Lamdin, Cobham, Surrey; oil on canvas, 20 × 30 cm.

+29s. By Edmé Bouchardon, *Madonna of Loreto,* Louvre, Paris, no. 23985; red chalk; 243 × 365 mm.; inscr. "A. S.Augustin de Caravage."

*29t. Attrib to Sebastian Ricci, *Madonna of Loreto,* Antiquarian Pietro Scarpa, Venice; oil on canvas; 62 × 108 cm.; *Apollo,* Sept. 1975, p. 33, as ptd. in Rome ca. 1692.

35b. *Supper at Emmaus,* Talton Park, Cheshire (National Trust); oil on canvas; var-copy.

*52oo. *The Card-Sharks,* Dorotheum, Vienna, 9 June 1970 (lot 131); oil on copper; 34 × 27.5 cm.

56q. *Mary and Martha,* Hunterian Coll., University of Glasgow; oil on copper; 26 × 19 cm.; var-copy of Washington version (no. 56m).

The October 1974 issue of the *Burlington Magazine* CXVI was devoted to Caravaggio and the *Caravaggisti,* and is a rich source for new visual and documentary information and speculation. Particularly to be mentioned from the series of articles relating to the Detroit *Mary and Martha* (no. 56a which, following Frederick Cummings's article "The Meaning of Caravaggio's 'Conversion of the Magdalen' " [pp. 572–578], should now be retitled) is Luigi Spezzaferro's study of Ottavio Costa ("The Documentary Findings: Ottavio Costa as a Patron of Caravaggio" [pp. 579–586]). Spezzaferro demonstrates (pp. 579–580) that the date of 1597 previously accepted as providing a *terminus ante quem* for the *Ecstasy of St. Francis* (no. 3) must now be revised to 1607. He cites (n. 51 p. 586) evidence confirming the attribution of the lost *Portrait of Bernardino Cesari* (no. 85) to Caravaggio. And he publishes (pp. 584–586) the posthumous inventory made in January 1639 of Ottavio Costa's collection: the *Judith* (no. 13), the Kansas City *St. John the Baptist* (no. 27), and a *St. Francis* (nos. 3, 3c, 3*vii*, 120, 122, or still another?) are specifically identified as by Caravaggio; a fourth is tantalizingly described only as "altro quadro delli tre giuocatori [a version of the *Bari* (no. 52)?] compagno d'uno che fece il Caravaggio"; and three paintings, an *Incredulity of St. Thomas,* a large *Christ on the Mount of Olives,* and a "quadro grande quando N.ro S.re si dette a cognoscere alli doi discepoli [the *Way to Emmaus* or *Calling of SS. Peter and Andrew?*]," are included without designation of the artist or as to whether original or copy.

The same issue of the *Burlington Magazine* presents some new attributions:

1. the three-quarter-length *Portrait of Alof de Wignancourt* in the Palazzo Pitti (see my note 220), as by Caravaggio himself (Mina Gregori, "A New Painting and Some Observations on Caravaggio's Journey to Malta," pp. 594–603);

2. the seated *Portrait of Alof de Wignancourt* (see my note 271) as a copy of the lost original (no. 100) (Gregori, ibid.);

3. the version of the *Crucifixion of St. Andrew* (no. 73b) formerly in the Arnalz Collection and now in the hands of a London art dealer, as the lost original by Caravaggio himself (Benedict Nicolson, "Caravaggio and the Caravaggesques: Some Recent Research," pp. 607–608, figs. 54, 55).

Professor Gregori also refers (ibid. n. 26) to some additional copies of the Louvre *Wignancourt* portrait (no. 40) in Sicily. And Professor Lee Johnson has kindly reminded me of Delacroix's drawing of the page-boy, published in his article "The Delacroix Centenary in France I," *Burlington Magazine* CV, 1963, p. 300, fig. 7.

London, 4 September 1975

P.S. At page-proof stage Professor Miles Chappell informs me of another copy:

×25qq. By John Vanderlyn? *Entombment,* American Academy, New York; either painted or purchased by Vanderlyn in Paris in 1803. See Lillian B. Miller *Patrons and Patriotism: The Encouragement of the Fine Arts in the United States, 1790-1860,* Chicago, 1966, pp. 92-93.

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Text Notes

1. In *Caravaggio Studies,* 1955.
2. Kitson, 1967, no. 66, p. 102. Apparently Kitson does not credit the Giustiniani inventories which in my opinion authenticate the painting quite adequately. See Salerno, 1960, III, p. 135, no. 2; see also note 213.
3. Notably on pp. 19–20, but also en passant throughout.
4. Parts of it were anticipated by my two articles, "Did Caravaggio Draw?" *Art Quarterly,* XXXII, 1969, pp. 354–372, and "Drawings after Caravaggio," *Art Quarterly,* XXXV, 1972, pp. 121–142.
5. "Ultimi studi sul Caravaggio" and "Ultimissimi sul Caravaggio" in *I Proporzioni,* I, 1943, pp. 5–63; 99–102.
6. See Chapter IV and the notes to Appendix I.
7. Mancini, 1956–57, I, p. 224.
8. "to turn out three heads a day," reports Baglione, 1642, p. 136.
9. The *St. John the Baptist* (no. 27b), which is still in the Ligurian Costa family chapel, for which it was made. See also note 67.
10. If he was, it was by an even greater nonentity than himself: apart from the Bartolomeo whom I have guessed at as Manfredi, no name is known to us; and the literary sources deny the existence of any collaborator or assistant at all, with the exception possibly only of Spada, who seems not to have been in Rome at the appropriate time (see Moir, 1967, I, pp. 16, n. 20; 40–41; 236–237).
11. However, note should be taken of the suggestions that the Doria and Capitoline *Youths with a Ram* (nos. 16c and 16) are both autograph (see Mahon, 1953, p. 213, n. 7) and that the Clowes Collection version (no. 42d) of the *Sleeping Cupid* is also autograph (see Friedlaender, 1955, p. 212). If they are (and I don't believe it), they would indicate continuation into Caravaggio's maturity of the practice of making replicas which I restrict as conceivable only during his youth.
12. Where it was seen by the Marchese Giustiniani in his travels during that year. Whether it had been left there by Caravaggio when he was in Genoa in 1605, whether the Costa brothers had sent it there, or whether it had arrived in Genoa by some other means is unknown.
13. Brought by Cardinal Giustiniani, arriving in the city as papal legate; see note 190.
14. Rodriguez had probably returned to Messina by the earlier date and certainly had by the later; see Moir, 1967, I, p. 188, n. 29.
15. Tanzio was back home in Varallo by then, at the latest; see Moir, 1967, I, p. 261, no. 28–29.
16. Fetti left Rome for Mantua in 1613 and never returned.

17. Who was in Naples by 1616, although he may have returned to Rome during the 1620s.
18. Including the copy of a *Christ at the Column* that was so good as to deceive Borgianni, who died in 1616 (Passeri, 1772, p. 190).
19. Who was probably in Italy during the 1610s.
20. The Finson (no. 69c) and De Geest (no. 69d) *Fainting Magdalens,* the Ribalta and Bloemaert *Crucifixions of St. Peter* (nos. 24s; 24v, figure 73), and the Honthorst drawing of the same *Crucifixion* (no. 24c).
21. I count only ten as actually signed of the 307 painted and drawn copies listed in Appendix I.
22. such as that provided by Finson's will (see nos. 13c, 36d, and 73f) or by the Barberini archives (see no. 8f).
23. Since the sixth print, Vaillant's of the London *Supper at Emmaus* (no. 17b), is known only through a reference in Meyer's *Künstlerlexikon* in 1872, it cannot have had very wide dissemination or much effect, if it ever actually existed. A seventh print, Daret's of the *Holy Family* (no. 104a), is not, I believe, derivative from a lost Caravaggio and thus is irrelevant; but probably it, too, antedated ca. 1650.
24. Quoted by Anthony Clark, Lucca, 1967, p. 23.
25. Allan's copies of the two paintings were included in his estate sale in 1797; he is reported to have brought copies and sketches back from Italy in the 1770's; see Skinner, 1973.
26. I make no more than 15 of these Napoleonic engravings out of a total of 48 listed eighteenth- and nineteenth-century engraved copies; all the Landon and Filhol prints have been included and tabulated, but probably some others have not.
27. Baldinucci (1808, X, p. 276) specifies Caroselli; De Dominici (1742, II, p. 276), Caracciolo and Vaccaro; Susinno (1960), Alonzo Rodriquez (p. 134) and Andrea Suppa (p. 214); Malvasia (1678, II, p. 305, if he is to be trusted), Garbieri and perhaps other Bolognese painters; Soprani (1674, p. 83), Saltarello; Pascoli (1730, II p. 105), Preti; and Passeri (1772, pp. 8–81, very dubiously), Guido Reni. The annotater of Walpole's *Anecdotes* (1888, II, p. 7, n. 2) describes Sandrart as an excellent copyist who so devoted himself to making copies when he was in England that none of his own original paintings are in the royal collections; but this report is too long after the fact to be taken very seriously, although Sandrart himself hints that he copied the *Entombment* (no. 25jj).
28. 1956, II, p. 13.
29. 1960, p. 110.
30. I write of existent copies only, because such attributions must be based on stylistic analysis. Attributions of lost works on the basis of inventories, and so forth, are only as reliable as the inventory itself, i.e., quite convincing like the Giustiniani Regnier *Magdalen* (no. 57a) or quite doubtful like the Fagnani Collection Caroselli *Incredulity of St. Thomas* (no. 18aa).
31. Other copies of similarly high quality would appear to be the Longhi *Boy Frightened by a Lizard* (no. 51a), which I believe is by a skilled member of Saraceni's shop; the Barberini *Lute-Player* (no. 8f; figure 19), which is by Carlo Magnone and was passing as autograph just two years after he painted it in 1642; and perhaps the Boscarelli *Magdalen* (no. 6a), which I know only through photos.
32. Some often-restated attributions seem to be accepted simply because no one is sufficiently interested to bother to question them—for instance, the attribution to Guerrieri of the San Marco *Entombment* (no. 25u).
33. For more detailed analysis of the evidence supporting these attributions, see the notes relevant to each painting in Appendix I.
34. See note 177 for compilation of their proposed oeuvres as copyists.
35. Obviously, Minniti was not on the level of the others, and the key to his success was his isolation in Sicily; in Rome he would be considered as an anonymous hack, and only in distant and provincial Syracuse could he achieve any distinction, and that dependent on the even greater impoverishment of ability of his competitors.
36. Note should be taken of the fact that the two *Magdalens* were not part of his estate, had presumably been sold by him, and therefore may have been copied for sale. In Aix, he apparently presented himself as something of an alter ego for Caravaggio; at least Peiresc wrote on 13 January 1614 to Meri de Vic that Finson "a toute la manière de Michel Ange Caravaggio et s'est nourri longtemps avec lui" (quoted by Boyer, 1971, p. 119). Very possibly the source for Peiresc's comment was Finson himself.
37. Notably Rubens's presumed lost drawing of

the *Entombment* (no. 25q), made *in situ* in the Chiesa Nuova in Rome and providing the basis for his ca. 1614 oil sketch (in the National Gallery of Canada) of the subject.

38. Or even staying at home and responding to the first impact of Caravaggio's style through a traveling painting, as Malvasia reported Garbieri did when he made his replica of the *Incredulity of St. Thomas* (no. 18w).
39. One might speculate as to some commercial relation between Valentin and Jean Lhomme, who is known to have earned his living as a professional copyist, and who was recorded in 1629 as Valentin's neighbor.
40. The Vaulchier *Mary and Martha* (no. 56h), which appears to have been made from a copy, supports this supposition; see p. 15.
41. The multiplicity of copies of Saraceni's *Judith, Rest on the Flight to Egypt,* and *Ecstasy of St. Francis* make clear that the members of his shop, several of whom are known by name (see Moir, 1967, I, pp. 80, n. 36; 81, n. 38; 277, n. 5; 279, n. 12), were very active as copyists. Less precise information is available in respect to Valentin's circle; but a number of painters have been associated with him in one respect or another, and the multitude of near-Valentin canvases indicates that they were active in making copies of his work and variants in his style. As for Vouet, he is known to have had a large and active circle (see Crelly, 1962, pp. 7–10); and Regnier is on record as having dealt in paintings later in his career when in 1643 he sold some Poussins to the English ambassador to Venice (see Waterhouse, 1960, p. 284).
42. Similar observations could be made, I believe, about Honthorst (e.g., the Budapest *Taking of Christ* [no. 60d]) and Preti (e.g., the Uffizi *Incredulity* [no. 18g] and the Riverdale *Taking of Christ* [no. 60e]), and probably about other followers of Caravaggio.
43. 1675, p. 276, referring to a "good copy" (no. 25jj) by himself? after the *Entombment.* See also note 27.
44. Although his copy may have been made when the painting traveled to him in Paris rather than he to it in Rome.
45. Or the paintings of details that Susinno (1960, p. 214) reports Andrea Suppa made of the *Resurrection of Lazarus.*
46. Fragonard's lost wash drawings (nos. 8e, 17e, 25r) are another example, as would also be Rubens's presumed drawing after the *Entombment* (no. 25q). Note also Ann Sutherland Harris's observation (1971, p. 405) that more compositional sketches than finished drawings have disappeared because of the greater sophistication required of collectors to appreciate the former.
47. Others of these small copies are the Ribalta (no. 24s) and Fetti (no. 24t) *Crucifixions of St. Peter,* the Gericault (no. 25z) and presumably the Tommaso De Vivo (no. 25kk) *Entombment,* the Richard Tassel? *Madonna of Loreto* (no. 29), and perhaps the Malta (no. 39b) and the Vicenza (no. 39d) *Executions of St. John the Baptist.*
48. The following larger-scale copies may possibly have had their origins as in some sense student studies: *St. Catherine* (no. 12a), *Incredulity of St. Thomas* (nos. 18f, 18g, 18w), *Calling of St. Matthew* (no. 21g), *Crucifixion of St. Peter* (nos. 24i; 24k; 24w, figure 72), *Entombment* (nos. 25t; 25u; 25v; 25cc), *Loreto* (nos. 29h, 29p), *Ecce Homo* (no. 34a), and *Taking of Christ* (nos. 60d, figure 48; 60e).
49. Quoted from Reynolds's *Voyage in Italy* by Longhi, 1951*a,* no. 21, p. 47. The painting was then in the Church of the Santo Spirito.
50. See p. 3 above and note 180.
51. Made at the Caravaggio symposium in Cleveland in autumn 1971.
52. This is a minimum number of only those now in churches or known once to have been; presumably, if an exact total number were available, it would be much larger.
53. Presumably the copy that Allesandro Bazzicalma made, or intended to make, in 1621 after the Sannesio version of the *Bari* (no. 52r) would have been a copy of a copy. See Bertolotti, 1881, II, pp. 76f. and note 230.
54. Van der Doort in 1639–40 knew that the royal *Loreto* was a copy; similarly, Fatoure's print of the London *Emmaus* (no. 17a; figure 53) was also made after a copy rather than the original, whether in Rome or elsewhere is unknown.
55. See pp. 27–28.
56. This model is nearly identical to the St. Thomas in Caravaggio's *Incredulity* (no. 18) and, unlike the Sannini Judas, is unquestionably bald.
57. 1941, p. 20.
58. See note 187.
59. 1956–57, I, pp. 134–135.

60. There are few other instances of such candor. Ribalta's and Bloemaert's paintings of the *Crucifixion of St. Peter* (nos. 24s; 24v, figure 73), Honthorst's drawing (no. 24c) of the same subject, and the De Geest *Fainting Magdalen* (no. 69d) are the only other signed copies of the seventeenth century, although some other painted replicas are known to have been identified as such: Cardinal Del Monte's copy of the *Incredulity of St. Thomas* (no. 18y) and the several versions in Bologna (nos. 18u, 18v, 18w), the Archbishop of Valencia's *Crucifixion of St. Peter* (no. 24o), the Whitehall *Madonna of Loreto* (no. 29r), the Naples *Flagellation* (no. 38a), and the Giustiniani full-length *Magdalen* by Regnier (no. 57a).
61. Who is reported to have been notorious as a dealer in fakes; see De Roever, 1885, pp. 182–187.
62. 1772, p. 190.
63. Susinno, 1960, p. 131. Susinno also mentions his copies of Caravaggio made in Messina and "in oggi stimabilissime queste copie al par degli originali medesimi" (p. 134).
64. De Dominici, 1743, III, p. 136. His father made the sale he says "senza il minimo scrupolo di coscienza, dapoiché il valore del Vaccaro non è punto inferiore a quello dell'Amerigi."
65. The number of such prints during the century with wrong attributions to Caravaggio is substantially greater than of those giving correct attributions to him.
66. For instance, Susinno's report (1960, p. 121) of the Knight of Malta who mistook Minniti's clumsy *Decapitation of St. John the Baptist* (then in a chapel in Messina and now in the Museo Nazionale there) for a Caravaggio.
67. Despite Hess (1958, p. 142), "[Ottavio Costa] may not necessarily be considered an art dealer since he was clearly a nobleman," I have my suspicions of the Costa brothers, which have not been at all allayed by the discovery of the other *St. Francis* in Cardinal Del Monte's inventory (see note 180). They did dabble in the art business; their collection was relatively inaccessible and seems to have undergone some movement between Rome and Liguria-Piedmont (and perhaps to or from Malta?); and, apart from the variant-copy of the *St. John* (no. 27b) that we know they had made and the copy of the *St. Francis* that we might suspect, I observe that a copy of the *Incredulity* (no. 18x) was in Genoa during 1606 and that there are several copies of the *Calling of SS. Peter and Andrew–Way to Emmaus* (nos. 61, 68) that they are reported to have owned; and I note Bertolotti's observation that Ottavio Costa shipped numerous works north to Liguria between 1604 and 1627 and ask how many of these were copies and how long it took them to lose their identities as copies. See also Salerno in Mancini, 1956–57; II, p. 124, n. 901.

    We might also wonder if Bellori did not fall victim to a similar confusion in respect to the *St. Sebastian Bound to a Tree* (no. 79). If the original (by Saraceni or someone under his influence) had been shipped away from Rome long before Bellori's writing so that he knew it only through a copy that had been left behind, he might naturally mistake the author of the distant original.
68. See Moir, 1967, I, p. 19, n. 27, and pp. 62–63 below.
69. That copies continue to the present to focus on cosmopolitan centers is evident by the number that find their way to London and to New York, not only to dealers, but also into collections. The process is now reversed in respect to attribution, however, the copies that might have passed as originals in the provinces regaining their identity as copies in the urban centers.
70. Probably Finson's lost copies of the *Judith* (no. 13c) and the *Madonna of the Rosary* (no. 36d) were also made in Naples while the original canvases were in the city, as they were according to Pourbus's report to the Duke of Mantua (quoted in Friedlaender, 1955, p. 314); his copy of the *Crucifixion of St. Andrew* (no. 73f) was also made there. If the Rouen *Christ at the Column* (no. 107; figure 120) is by Caravaggio, it should probably be included among paintings copied in Naples; and indeed even if it is not by Caravaggio, it may still have been made, and copied, in Naples.
71. See the exhibition catalogue for the 1970 Council of Europe exhibition of the Knights of Malta.
72. See Susinno, 1960, p. 119.
73. Ibid., p. 134.
74. Ibid., p. 214.
75. See note 78.
76. In these remarks, no consideration is taken of the *St. John the Baptist* (no. 78) because there

is nothing to identify or trace it beyond the letter referring to it after Caravaggio's death.

77. 1954, p. 4.
78. Conceivably but very doubtfully Fatoure's *Supper at Emmaus* (no. 17a) is the exception to this rule—*if* Fatoure went to Sicily, and *if* a copy of the *Emmaus* with the bearded Christ (by Rodriquez) was then in Sicily, and *if* Fatoure made his print from that painting in Sicily rather than from it or Maino's in Rome.
79. See my *Italian Followers of Caravaggio* for an elaboration of this point of view. Failure to understand it results in misinterpretation of the whole process of dissemination of Caravaggism. It is a mistake to see this process as involving only the spread of compositional forms because, in fact, it consisted of the adoption of a manner of conceiving and painting subjects in characteristic narrative, space, color, chiaroscuro, texture, scale, and so forth, so as to create a visually and expressively convincing image.
80. See my article, "Drawings after Caravaggio," *Art Quarterly,* 1972, pp. 126–127.
81. Even so great a printmaker as Callot seems to have experienced difficulty in making nocturnal prints; the hesitancy of such of his early light-against-dark engravings as the *Crowning of Thorns* (Lieure 284) from the *Large Passion* show his youthful adherence to the tradition of the print as basically delineated. However, his mature works demonstrate his mastery of the problem. In fact, as early as 1609 Claes Lastman was capable of engraving nocturnal scenes convincingly, as is evident in his *Liberation of St. Peter* after Jan Pynas. Bernardino Capitelli's engravings after Manetti and the "Le Clerc" *Liberation of St. Peter* show that this skill was not limited to Lastman and the mature Callot alone. However, the only prints after Caravaggio that seem to be at all effective in suggesting the chiaroscuro of his paintings are Vorsterman's, which is to say the only prints by an important professional reproductive engraver.
82. One of the few instances may be La Tour's *Cheats,* which derived its composition from the London *Supper at Emmaus,* probably via Fatoure's print (no. 17a; figure 53).
83. These figures refer of course only to still-existent paintings, because of the impossibility of determining with any precision the dimensions of the lost works.
84. At the bottom of the Messina copy (no. 34a) is a section of canvas about one-quarter of the total height of the painting, which is an addition, presumably sewed on some time after the copy was made (ill., Moir, 1967, II, fig. 16, with the stitched joint of the two pieces of canvas evident); the original was augmented with about 7 cm. on the sides and 10 cm. at the top and the bottom when it was restored in the 1950s on the assumption that it had previously been cut down (see Pico Cellini's note in Longhi, 1954, p. 14). The proportions of the Messina copy provided the basis for the restorer's additions to the original; but the copy still is larger (112 × 194 cm. [or about 146 cm. high without the added section]) than the restored original (103 × 128 cm); is more spacious above, below, and to the sides; and is proportionately slightly higher.
85. Care must be taken because the measurement of paintings is often so haphazard as to permit errors of more than a few centimeters.
86. But note Arslan's interpretation of the greater spaciousness of the Boscarelli version as indicative of it as closer than the Doria version to the (for Arslan) still-lost original.
87. Cf. Röttgen's convincing demonstration (1969, pp. 149–152, figs. 5–6) that the first *Inspiration of St. Matthew* (no. 19) had been cut down from its original size; cf. also the difference in size between the Prado *David* (no. 54a; figure 37) and the two other versions (nos. 54b, 54c) of the same original.

    An exception to this rule is the Munich *Incredulity of St. Thomas* (no. 18q; figure 60), which is higher than the original (146 × 145 cm. vs. 146 × 107 cm.). The other copies of the painting indicate, however, that the original has not been changed; several of them being approximately identical in dimensions or proportions (i.e., nos. 18a, figure 57; 18b; 18d; 18f; 18g; 18n) and one (no. 18o; figure 59) clearly being reduced. Probably the added canvas at the bottom of the Messina *Ecce Homo* (no. 34a) was also exceptional.
88. See Chapter V below.
89. The artist went home to Utrecht in 1621 or 1622 and died there in 1624.
90. "The spirit of the pilgrims is well rendered, and shows their firm faith as they pray to the image in the pure simplicity of their hearts," he wrote, but "the painting lacks proper deco-

rum, grace and devotion" (translation from Friedlaender, 1955, p. 198).

91. In either 1602–08 or 1628–29, during one of his two visits to Rome.
92. The Borghese *David* (no. 47) was also copied at least twice in the seventeenth century, and although conceivably these copies were made before Scipione acquired the painting, they are at least as likely to have been made afterward.
93. Other paintings in Rome private collections that were neglected by copyists are the Brera *Supper at Emmaus* (no. 35), of which there is only one copy; the *Judith* (no. 13), the seventeenth-century location of which is unknown and the only painted copy of which (no. 13c) is lost; and Cardinal Del Monte's *St. Catherine* (no. 12), and his *Carafe with Flowers* (no. 53) and *Divine Love* (no. 58), both of which are lost. Significantly, all the other paintings known to have been in the Del Monte Collection were copied, as well as two of the Costa brothers' paintings, the *Ecstasy of St. Francis* (no. 3) and the *St. John* (no. 27).
94. Except for the *Crown of Thorns* (no. 65), of which I recognize only one reliable copy, although there are myriad variants.
95. See note 187.
96. See Chapter V.
97. Specifically as to whether the original included the cross and the skull or not.
98. Although they differ from each other slightly and from the first documentation of them in 1653; see note 252.
99. See note 251.
100. Copies are recorded of 12 or 13 of the 23 or 24 paintings attributed to Caravaggio after his departure from Rome.
101. Marini's attempt (1971, p. 56) to identify a copy of the *Seated Alof de Wignancourt* (no. 100) is no exception.
102. See Hess, 1958.
103. Susinno's description of two other *St. Jeromes* in Messina seems to preclude ascription of them to Caravaggio; see n. 256.
104. See note 255.
105. No consideration has been taken of the *St. John the Baptist* (no. 78) because there is nothing to trace it beyond the letter inquiring about it after Caravaggio's death; see note 289.
106. Longhi, 1951, no. 21, p. 55.
107. 1971, p. 405.
108. Except, notably, for Margot Cutter's article, "Caravaggio in the Seventeenth Century," *Marsyas,* I, 1941, pp. 89–115.
109. As both Scannelli, and Sandrart complained.
110. Presumably the Xochimilico version (no. 24x) should also be included.
111. See p. 16.
112. The *Death of the Virgin* (no. 33) and the *Madonna of the Rosary* (no. 36) are excluded from this list, to which they might apparently be added, because they were away from Rome and at least the former from Naples, the two centers of copyists' activities, at the crucial period when most copies were probably made.
113. Friedlaender's translation, 1955, p. 249.
114. See Moir, 1967, I, pp. 301–305.
115. There are a number of other similar adaptations, like (very strikingly) those of the *Ecce Homo* (see note 215) and of the *Judith* (see note 186). Other Roman and Neapolitan paintings which were accessible and which demonstrate impact primarily through variants rather than copies are the *Victorious Earthly Love* (no. 26; see figures 41–44), the *St. Jerome Writing* (no. 28; see figure 90), the second *Emmaus* (no. 35), the *Flagellation* (no. 38; see figure 93), and perhaps the *Christ on the Mount of Olives* (no. 32; see figure 82) and the lost *Resurrection* (no. 70). For analysis and enumeration of the variants on each painting, see the appropriate notes on Appendix I.
116. Unless there is quite convincing evidence to date a copy in one century rather than another, I have not attempted to do so but have left it without chronological designation. Not more than 10 percent of the dating has been done from photographs; the remainder has been done from study of the paintings themselves.
117. And continues into the twentieth century, with the recent reawakening of not only art historians' but also of artists' interest in Caravaggio's work.
118. Hence Metz's print (no. 29b; figure 85) of the drawing after the *Madonna of Loreto* in Sir Joshua Reynolds's collection, reproduced as a mark of appreciation less (if at all) of the original painting in Sant'Agostino in Rome than of the smaller, precious, and more intimate work in (or once in) a famous collection.
119. As does the Wignancourt portrait (no. 40; figures 108, 109).
120. As had Guattani (no. 25c).

121. The most complete is in J. Meyer's *Künstlerlexikon* of 1872, which is useful but quite undiscriminating in the light of present knowledge.
122. Perhaps the relative infrequency of the representation of the Virgin Mary and of saints can also be taken as hints of some Protestant orientation of the printmakers' activities.
123. Particularly works from Caravaggio's youth and perhaps a few made for and unrecorded in private collections south of Rome.
124. Even the frequency with which Caravaggio was cited as a horrid example of what a painter should not be can be taken as acknowledgment of his force and superiority over more decorous and correct but less interesting masters.
125. Particularly in pp. 56–66, 110–127, and in the Conclusion.
126. Nor could the *Denial* (no. 124, figure 114) recently discovered in Naples have been it, having only three figures.
127. See Perez Sanchez, 1970, no. 140, p. 432.
128. As was demonstrated by Creighton Gilbert's exhibition *Figures at a Table* in Sarasota during 1960.
129. See note 195. Possibly Sandrart's imprecise description (1675, p. 276) resulted not only from the murkiness of the Contarelli Chapel but also from his confusing Caravaggio's *Calling* with one of these northern prototypes.
130. A few also are mentioned in inventories (i.e., the lost *Penitent Mary Magdalen* [no. 57] and the lost *Crown of Thorns* [no. 65] in the Giustiniani inventory of 1638) and a few in later literary sources (i.e., De Dominici's reference to copies of the *Denial of St. Peter* [no. 72] and of the *Flagellation* [no. 38*a*]).
131. The only exception to this statement is Mancini's description of Cardinal Sannesio's paintings (presumably the *Crucifixion of St. Peter* and the *Conversion of St. Paul* [nos. 62, 63]) as "copiati e ritoccati" after the Cerasi Chapel paintings; see Marucci-Salerno, 1956–57, I, p. 225, note on line 2; II, pp. 121–122, n. 898, and notes 244 and 283.
132. Mancini (1956–57, I, pp. 134–135) does write at some length about copies in general, but without specifically mentioning any after Caravaggio's work.
133. For example, of Caravaggio's complete oeuvre, Scanelli mentions only 19 works (including three misattributions), Scaramuccia only eight, and Sandrart and Susinno 13 each. Although Susinno's manuscript is dated 1724, its information dates back to Sampieri, who died in 1654, and its compilation was begun as early as 1680, according to Borla, 1967, p. 4; thus, it is appropriate for inclusion. Excluded from tabulation are such writers as van Mander, Marino, and Celio, who mention only a few paintings; Manilli, who is limited in scope to just one collection; Trotti, Mola, Titi, and the like, who were writing guidebooks; and such local historians as Boschini, Malvasia, and Baldinucci, in whose commentary Caravaggio and his oeuvre appear (if at all) only as incidental to other artists or to a local tradition.
134. Mancini lists 31 paintings in all; Baglione, 26; and Bellori, 58.
135. He mentions no works that he could not himself have seen in Rome, except for the *Portrait of Alof de Wignancourt* (no. 40).
136. This statement must be qualified in several respects: the identification of a second painting in the Monte de Pietà in Naples as by Caravaggio was due not to Mancini himself but to his anonymous annotator's informant, Dr. Teofilo Gallacini (1564–1641); Mancini's citation of a *St. John the Evangelist* (no. 59) refers probably to one of the *St. John the Baptists* misidentified by a slip of the tongue or pen, although conceivably to a lost work; the supposed *Boy Bitten by a Frog* has been demonstrated convincingly by Luigi Salerno (1970, pp. 235–236 to be not Mancini's mistake but one of some of his twentieth-century readers unfamiliar with his colloquialisms.
137. The *St. Sebastian* (no. 79), the *Denial of St. Peter* (no. 72), the *St. Jerome* (no. 74), the *St. Jerome Writing* (no. 77), the *Youth with Blossom* (no. 97), and the *Seated Wignancourt* (no. 100), to which the half-length *David* (no. 54) must necessarily be added, having never been identified with any certainty; any one, or even all (!), of these may yet itself appear or be recognized through a copy.
138. Correspondingly, the indefinite number of copies of devotional paintings the young Caravaggio made for Monsignore Pucci called Insalada, which Mancini mentioned as sent to Recanati, where they have completely disappeared; the paintings for the Prior of the Ospedale della Consolazione; Cardinal Del Monte's *Divine Love* (no. 58), the existence of which is not confirmed in the del Monte inventory;

and the *Carafe of Flowers* (no. 53), mentioned by Bellori and confirmed by the inventory, all seem likely actually to have existed at one time if no longer.

139. Not included are the unidentified paintings that Caravaggio did for the Prior of the Ospedale della Consolazione, who sent them to Sicily.
140. Although the acceptance as an autograph Caravaggio of the *Mary Magdalen* still in the Cathedral at La Valletta does not speak very well for the accuracy of the informant's information or connoisseurship.
141. The *Crucifixion of St. Andrew* (no. 73) and the *David* (no. 47) Bellori naturally listed in Spain and Rome, respectively, where they had been since shortly after they were painted in Naples. The *Madonna of the Rosary* (no. 36) had certainly once been in Naples, as Pourbus's letter proves; but Bellori properly mentioned it as in Antwerp, where conceivably it had been made known to him by means of Vorsterman's engraving.
142. See note 137.
143. Longhi (1954, p. 9) has demonstrated that he did make the mistake of sending to Spain instead of to Sicily the pictures Caravaggio painted when he was hospitalized.
144. Friedlaender (1955, p. 226) translated the relevant passage as *"It is said* that in Rome there is a painting of the hand of Caravaggio of *Jove, Neptune and Pluto . . ."* (*"Tiensi* ancora in Roma essere di sua mano Giove, Nettuno e Plutone . . .") (italics mine).
145. Without Bellori, we would have no seventeenth-century literary source for the *Portrait of Maffeo Barberini* (no. 98), the *Carafe of Flowers* (no. 53), and the *Marino* (no. 96) and *Crescenzi* (nos. 94, 95) portraits, although there are some documentary sources. Documentary sources establish the *Crown of Thorns* (no. 65) and the *Sacrifice of Isaac* (no. 15), although not without some ambiguity in connection with the latter; Celio mentioned the *Taking of Christ* (no. 60) and Manilli lists most of the Borghese pictures. Otherwise only Bellori mentions these works.
146. Comparably, Sandrart's reference to Caravaggio's supposed attack on the Cavaliere d'Arpino by means of a painting in San Lorenzo in Damaso confirms neither the legend nor the authenticity of the painting, but only Sandrart's debt to van Mander.
147. Other potential instances of such traditional errors would seem to be the repetition of van Mander by Sandrart mentioned in the preceding note, and Scaramuccia's reference to an unspecified Caravaggio in the royal collection at Modena, which apparently is based on Scannelli's attribution of the *St. Augustine* (no. 81) and the *St. Sebastian* (no. 80).
148. But see pp. 48–49 and note 251 for another *Denial of St. Peter* that may have been an autograph Caravaggio.
149. That Susinno was not writing from actual examination of the paintings in Malta seems indicated by his failure to include the *St. Jerome Writing* (no. 41), which still is in the Cathedral at La Valletta.
150. In addition to the two paintings in Sant'Anna dei Lombardi in Naples mentioned in Mancini, Bellori, and Scaramuccia, there are the following cross-references: *Boy and Lizard* (no. 51), (Mancini, Sandrart), *Bacchus-Sick Bacchus* (no. 1?) (Mancini, Baglione), *Fainting Magdalen* (no. 69) and *Way to Emmaus* (no. 68) (Mancini, Bellori); the *Seated Wignancourt* (no. 100), *St. Jeromes* (nos. 74, 77), and the Sannesio pictures (nos. 62, 63) are discussed elsewhere. Furthermore, Celio confirms Bellori's reference to the *Taking of Christ* (no. 60) and Baglione's to the *Way to Emmaus* (which I interpret as actually meaning the *Calling of SS. Peter and Andrew*); Marino mentions his own portrait (no. 96) (Bellori); inventory listings confirm the *Crown of Thorns* (no. 65) (Bellori) and the *Carafe with Flowers* (no. 53) (Baglione); Murtola and Manilli refer or seem to refer to other paintings; and there is some documentary evidence for the Crescenzi portraits (nos. 94, 95) (Bellori).
151. Unfortunately, Susinno's reference to two *St. Jeromes* in Count Adonnino's collection in Messina cannot be taken as comparable evidence of the existence and authenticity of the *St. Jerome Writing* (no. 77) described by Bellori as in the Capuchin Monastery in Messina, for the descriptions of the paintings are contradictory. Similarly the (lost?) *Denial of St. Peter* (no. 72) that Bellori placed at San Martino in Naples is not necessarily confirmed by De Dominici's statement that Caracciolo or Vaccaro copied it, although there is no actual contradiction between the two reports. The dual references by Mancini and Baglione to Cardinal Sannesio's versions of the Cerasi Chapel paint-

ings seem to me to have an effect opposite from that of the dual references to the *Madonna of the Rosary,* for I read Mancini as possibly casting doubt on Baglione's account and on the supposedly surviving paintings (see note 283).

152. In fact, he misidentified the *Martyrdom of St. Matthew* (no. 20) as an *Expulsion of the Merchants from the Temple,* and his description of the *Calling* (no. 21) is inaccurate.
153. Hence his confused version of Caravaggio's fight with Tomassoni, his flight to refuge in the Alban hills and Giustiniani's patronage of him, and his adventures in Malta.
154. Mancini's work of course existed only in manuscript and was therefore probably unknown to him.
155. Presumably his account of Caravaggio's relations with the Giustiniani was intended to be flattering to them.
156. Exhibited in Florence, 1970 (see Borea, 1970, no. 6, pp. 12–13); it is perhaps by a member of the Fracanzano family.
157. Friedlaender, 1955 p. 218; Samek Ludovici, 1956, p. 124.
158. See p. 18 and note 64.
159. Published by della Pergola, 1960, pp. 196–197. Some of the paintings can be identified on the basis of names in the earlier (1612) inventory (pp. 194–195).
160. Published by Salerno, 1960.
161. Published by Campori, 1870, pp. 76–104.
162. Published by Garas, 1967, pp. 339–348.
163. Published by Millar, 1960.
164. To the point where van der Doort dutifully specified the royal versions of the *Madonna of Loreto* (no. 29r) and the *Calling of SS. Peter and Andrew* (no. 61b) both as copies.
165. For example, Frommel (1971, p. 9, n. 31) quotes a reference to a large painting of "san pietro con il gallo di mano del Caravaggio" in a 1624 inventory of the Medici collections at Poggio Imperiale. It is possible that this painting was the original from which a copy attributed to Tiarini in the Church of San Domenico at Chieti (figure 99) was made. If so, then the inventory attribution was mistaken, for the copy does not derive from a lost Caravaggio; the composition seems somehow related to Georges de La Tour. The *fattura* rather clumsily echoes Mattia Stomer, so it seems possible to attribute the copy to his follower who painted the five canvases of the *Senses* in the Cathedral in Caccamo, Sicily, and whom Negri Arnoldi (1968) identifies as Jan van Houbracken.
166. Nor is one likely until it becomes possible to see the Korda painting, if even then; see note 229 below for a new proposed solution to this problem.
167. As Pierre Rosenberg pointed out in another context, at the Caravaggio symposium in Cleveland during October 1971. A case in point would seem to be the *St. Francis in Meditation* (no. 122), which is now known to us in two identical paintings, the one recently discovered clearly better than the other but still not necessarily the original, or an original by Caravaggio.
168. Notably one picture each in the Patrizi inventory of 1624 and in van der Doort's inventory of the collection of Charles I (nos. 85 and 91, respectively).
169. Paradoxically, the only written references to the composition mention other painters' versions—Saraceni's (no. 56f), Turchi's and Paolini's—rather than the lost original by Caravaggio; the Costa will of 1606 mentions no artist at all (Cummings, 1973, p. 7). See n. 237 below.
170. Benedict Nicolson has tentatively proposed Saraceni and I have inclined toward Alessandro Turchi. See note 243.
171. The opposite situation pertains to the *Denial of St. Peter* (no. 72), the original of which seems recoverable through the proliferation of derivatives, despite confusing documentary evidence.
172. See p. 35 and note 41.
173. Some other comparably speculatively hypotheses might be made for the *Penitent Magdalen* (no. 57), the *Divine Love* (no. 58), the *Crucifixion of St. Peter* (no. 62), and the newly reported Ludovisi paintings (nos. 82 and 83).
174. Moir, 1967, I, p. 19, n. 27.
175. In this context should be noted the utility of the syntactical criticism that observes the narrative inconsistencies of the *St. Sebastian Bound* (figure 92) or the *Christ at the Column* (no. 107; figure 120) or the Worcester *St. Jerome* (where the objects the saint has just been using are out of reach of his hands!) and such inconsistencies in *fattura* as the combination in the Vienna *David* (no. 108) of the manners of painting of two different phases of Caravaggio's career.
176. See pp. 17–19.

177. I have the temerity to put forward the following comparable proposed oeuvres:

for Caracciolo, the *Flagellation* (no. 38a), a lost *Denial of St. Peter* (no. 72a), the original of the Castellamare-Di Bona *Sacrifice of Isaac* (no. 105), and perhaps the Palacio Oriente *Salome* (no. 102);

for Caroselli, the Doria *Youth with a Ram* (no. 16c), the Clowes *Sleeping Cupid* (no. 42d), the Klain *Fainting Magdalen* (no. 69g; figure 97), a lost *Incredulity of St. Thomas* (no. 18aa) and a lost *Christ at the Column* (perhaps no. 107a), and perhaps the Prado *David* (no. 54a; figure 37) and the *Holy Family* (no. 104d or 104e, but as an imitation rather than a copy);

for Finson, see p. 9 above;

for Manfredi, *Narcissus* (no. 116; figure 38), *Crown of Thorns* (no. 65*v*), and the lost original of another *Crown of Thorns* (no. 65 *vi;* figure 83)

for Manzoni, the Messina *Ecce Homo* (no. 34a) and the Vienna *Crown of Thorns* (no. 65a; figure 76);

for Minniti, the *Burial of St. Lucy* (no. 43a; figure 110) and perhaps a *Boy Peeling Fruit* (no. 50a) and the Udine *Ecstasy of St. Francis* (no. 3a);

for Preti (all shop-work), the Uffizi *Incredulity of St. Thomas* (no. 18g), the Riverdale *Taking of Christ* (no. 60e), and the Uffizi *Concert* (after Manfredi) (Borea, 1970, no. 11; formerly I suggested [1967, I, p. 86] Tournier as the copyist); and the Fogg Museum *Crown of Thorns* (no. 65*iii;* figure 79) which may be autograph;

for Regnier, versions of *Mary and Martha* (no. 56m; figure 32), the lost copy of Caravaggio's *Penitent Magdalen* (no. 57a), the Bordeaux *Fainting Magdalen* (no. 69e; figure 98), and perhaps the Toledo *St. John the Baptist* (no. 111);

for Saraceni, versions of *Mary and Martha* (nos. 56f–56j), and the original of *St. Sebastian* (figure 92).

178. Presumably all, or almost all, of Caravaggio's Roman works that are not recognizable through reliable copies were reported by his biographers (e.g., nos. 54, 55, 58, 59, 62, 63, 64, 68, 79, 80, and 81) or recorded in inventories (nos. 57, 66, 67, 82, and 83) or in both (nos. 53 and 65); and presumably these paintings if rediscovered will coincide with our understanding of his oeuvre roughly from 1595 to 1606, as also will the lost Neapolitan church paintings (nos. 70, 71, and 72). But we really do not know the number of his very earliest works, of the portraits and of the genre paintings preceding the original of the *Boy Peeling Fruit* (no. 50), of the various paintings done for Lorenzo the Sicilian and for Pucci, or in collaboration with Minniti, or under the influence of the Cavaliere d'Arpino or Prosperino delle Grotteschi, or sent to Recanati, or even those presented to the Prior of the Ospedale della Consolazione. If found and recognized, these earliest works might be no less surprising in appearance than in number. Correspondingly, although a large majority of Caravaggio's Roman paintings were commissioned by individual collectors, we have no record of any works carried out for private patrons during the more than two years that Caravaggio spent in Naples and in Malta, and little of his months in Sicily. Probably the style of the mature artist would not be subject to great change, so the appearance of any missing late paintings should not take us by surprise; but the number might be unexpected—is it reasonable to assume that Caravaggio painted only two or three paintings for private patrons during the last four years of his life, however unsettled they were?

[Notes 179–290 refer to Appendix I and are to be found on pp. 121–161 below.]

APPENDIX I
Caravaggio's Oeuvre and its Copies

LISTED ARE ALL paintings, both lost and still existent, that (1) are attributed to Caravaggio by reliable seventeenth-century sources, or (2) in my opinion have any possible claim to Caravaggio's authorship, or (3) have been seriously considered by post-World War II scholarship as possibly autograph.

Each initial reference is followed by a list in a self-explanatory sequence of all prephotographic replicas of Caravaggio's oeuvre that are known to me. They include prints and drawings as well as paintings, and one relief sculpture. Most of them are literal and exact copies within the limitations of their medium. But a few fragments (reproducing only a part of the original painting) and a few variant-copies (incorporating minor changes from the original) have also been included; each is specifically identified as a fragment or a variant-copy.

Works of art are numbered in Appendix I and its notes as follows:

Arabic numerals alone (e.g., 1, 2, 3, etc.): paintings by or seriously attributed to Caravaggio;

Arabic numerals followed by lower-case letters of the alphabet (e.g., 1a, 1b, 2a, 2b, etc.): copies or variant-copies.
Arabic numerals followed by italicized lower-case roman numerals (e.g., 1*i*, 1*ii*, 2*i*, 2*ii*, etc.): variants (in the notes only).

References are of two sorts:

1. Name of an author followed by a date of publication; if the publication involves more than the single work of art, then the relevant page and/or illustration numbers are given;
2. The name of the photographic archive or photographer (e.g., Witt or NIAH or Ruiz Vernacci).

Breadth *precedes* height in dimensions. If no medium is given for a painting, it is either in oil on canvas or else the medium is unknown.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN APPENDIX I

?	copy cited on the basis of a dubious reference
*	17th-century copy
+	18th-century copy
×	19th-century copy
Albert	Albertina, Vienna
anon	anonymous
attrib	attributed
B-A	Beaux-Arts
BMFA	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
BNP	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
Br Mus	British Museum, London
Burl	Burlington Magazine
Ch	Church
Cini	Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice (photographic archive)
Coll	Collection
Conn	*Connoisseur* (the periodical)
FARL	Frick Art Reference Library, New York
Fol	follower
fr	from
Gal	Gallery or Galerie or Galleria
Gal Naz	Galleria Nazionale
GNSR	Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, Rome
Herz	Biblioteca Herziana, Rome (photographic archive)

inscr	inscribed
inv	inventory
KH	Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna
Le Bl	see Le Blanc in Bibliography
M	see Meyer in Bibliography
Met Mus	Metropolitan Museum, New York
Munich	Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich
Mus	Museum or Musée or Museo
Mus Civ	Museo Civico
N	see Nagler in Bibliography
NG	National Gallery
NIAH	Netherlands Institute of Art History, The Hague (photographic archive)
Pal	Palazzo
PC	private collection
Pin	Pinacoteca
RD	see Robert-Dumesnil in Bibliography
Rev	reversed
RPA	Rijksmuseum Print Room, Amsterdam
s/	signed
var	variant
w	with
w/o	without

Appendix I

PART A: EXISTING AUTOGRAPH PAINTINGS

1. *Sick Bacchus,*[179] Gal Borghese, Rome (52 × 66 cm.)

   No prints, drawn or painted copies known.

2. *Boy with a Basket of Fruit,* Gal Borghese, Rome (67 × 70 cm.)

   No prints or painted copies known.

   Drawn copy: ×2a. By V. Gremito, Treccani Coll, Milan. Maltese, 1956, p. 44, fig. 4 on Pl. VII. Var-copy w sky and clouds

3. *Ecstasy of St. Francis,*[180] Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Conn. (128.4 × 92.5 cm.)

   No prints or drawn copies known.

   Painted copies:

   *3a. Mus Civ, Udine (129 × 93 cm.). Friedlaender, 1955, p. 149.

   *3b. Munich no. 11158 (132.8 × 96.8 cm.); recorded 1804 in Residenz, Passau.

*3c. Coll Donald McGlone and George Sabatella, New York (131 × 94 cm.). Spear, 1971, p. 69, n. 9. (figure 14).

4. *Fortune-Teller,*[181] Louvre, Paris (131 × 99 cm.)

No 17 C. prints or drawn copies known.

18 C.—19 C. prints:

+4a. Benoit Audran in Basan's *Recueil* (306 × 211 mm.). Rev. Le B1, I, 79. 41. BNP, Bd. 8, no. 28; Albert, HB XIV, 160/256 or J, II, 43, fol. 44.

+4b. Magnani, Perini (306 × 237 mm.). Le B1, III, 171.25. GNSR, 40 H33 (a copy of no. 4e).

×4c. Gregy, Ribaut, Leroy (1816). BNP, Bd. 8, no. 72.

×4d. Le Roy, Levillain, in Filhol's *Musée,* VIII, pl. 537 (142 × 104 mm.) M, I, 625, no. 68. RPA as Manfredi.

Painted copies:

*4e. Gal Capitolina, Rome (150 × 115 cm.); var-copy w numerous changes in details.

4f. Coll Michael Kitson, London.

?4g. *Lost?* Vente X . . . , 6 Oct. 1723, Amsterdam: Mireur, I, pp. 33-34, sold for 2560 fr.

+4h. *Lost?* by David Allan, lot 18 Allan Sale (1797) (2′ × 1½′). Skinner, 1973.

5. *Rest on the Flight to Egypt,* Doria Coll, Rome (160 × 130 cm.)

No prints, drawn or painted copies known.

6. *Mary Magdalen,*[182] Doria Coll, Rome (97 × 106 cm.)

No prints or drawn copies known.

Painted copy:

*6a. Boscarelli Coll, Milan (121 × 136 cm.); var-copy w more space left, right, and above the saint. Bossaglia, 1961.

7. *Bacchic Musical,*[183] Met Mus, New York (118.5 × 106 cm.)

No prints or drawn copies known.

Painted copies:

*7a. Lepke, Berlin, lot 74, 17 Apr. 1901, as Nicolo dell'Abate; fr Valdrighi Gal, Modena; space extended left, right, above, and below the figures; slightly different physiognomies, left background youth winged. Photo NIAH. (figure 17).

*7b. PC London; Chelsea Antique Fair, 1955; space extended left and top; left background youth winged. Volpe, 1971, p. 61. Photo Newberry N78485. (figure 18).

8. *Lute-Player,*[184] Hermitage, Leningrad (119 × 94 cm.)

No 17 C. prints known.

18 C.–19 C. prints:

+8a. St.-Non and Fragonard as in Pal Giustiniani (135 × 91 mm.) BNP, Bd. 8, no. 32.

×8b. Robillard, Petit, in *Gal Imperiale* (1842/55) (270 × 214.5 mm.) M, 1872, I, p. 625, no. 62. Br Mus, C61, 1849-10-8-42.

×8c. Delangle, Gagniet, in *Hist. des Peintres* (128 × 101.5 cm.) BNP, folio BA, XVI siècle.

×8d. Podolinski, Lubienky, in *Gal de l'Ermitage,* II, 71. RPA, no. 31.

Drawn copy: +8e. *Lost:* by Fragonard, pen, ink, and wash, preparatory for St.-Non print (no. 8a).

Painted copies:

*8f. By Carlo Magnone (1620-53), Wildenstein, London (1960; now New York) as Saraceni, *ex* Barberini Coll, Rome (129.5 × 101.5 cm.); documented 1642; var-copy w/o flowers or fruit but w virginal, recorder, and bird in cage upper left background. *Conn,* Apr. 1960, p. 203. (figure 19).

8g. Coll Duke of Beaufort, Badminton (120 × 96.5 cm.), (Witt photo B60/1375) (figure 20).

9. *Bacchus,* Uffizi, Florence (85 × 95 cm.)

No prints, drawn or painted copies known.

10. *The Courtesan Phyllis,* formerly Kaiser-Friedrich Mus, Berlin (53 × 66 cm.); destroyed 1945. (figure 124).

No drawn or painted copies known.

19 C. print: ×10a. Mme Soyer in Landon, 1812, pl. 65 (46 × 62 mm.).

11. *Basket of Fruit,*[185] Ambrosiana, Milan (64.5 × 46 cm.)

No prints, drawn or painted copies known.

12. *St. Catherine of Alexandria,* Thyssen Coll, Lugano (133 × 173 cm.)

No prints or drawn copies known.

Painted copy: *12a. Sacristy, S. Jeromino, Madrid (128 × 166 cm.). Perez Sanchez, 1970, p. 124, no. 24.

13. *Judith Beheading Holofernes,*[186] Gal Naz dell'Arte Antica, Pal Barberini, Rome (195 × 144 cm.)

No 17 C. or 18 C. prints known.

19 C. print: ×13a. Calcografia Nazionale, Rome, engraving (no. 320). Moir, 1972, p. 128. (figure 22).

Drawn copy: ×13b. Calcografia Nazionale, Rome, black chalk (458 × 373 mm.); s/"Conca disegno"; preparatory for no. 13a, Moir, ibid.

Painted copy: *13c. *Lost:* by Louis Finson, listed in his will (1617). Bredius, 1918, pp. 198–199.

14. *Head of Medusa,* Uffizi, Florence (55 × 60 cm.)

No drawn or painted copies known.

19 C. print: ×14a. In *Gal di Firenze illustrata* (1819). M, I, p. 625, no. 63.

15. *Sacrifice of Isaac,*[187] Uffizi, Florence (135 × 104 cm.)

No prints or drawn copies known.

Painted copy: *15a. PC, London (1974); clumsy, w a few minor changes in detail.

16. *Youth with a Ram,*[188] Gal Capitolina, Rome (97 × 132 cm.)

No prints known.

Drawn copies:

*16a. Oppé Coll, London, brush and wash (172 × 210 cm.); inscr/ "Mathia Stomer" *(verso);* var-copy w cross, landscape, other new details, and extended space. Moir, 1972, pp. 127–128. (figure 64).

*16b. By Jean Boucher (1568—after 1618), Mus Bourges inv. 900. 13.13; red and black chalk (190 × 290 mm.) Julian, 1961, p. 223.

Painted copies:

*16c. Attrib to Angelo Caroselli, Doria Coll, Rome (95 × 132 cm.)

*16d. Coll Graf von Fürstenberg, Herdringen (1940); acquired in Rome by Wilhelm von Fürstenberg (1623–99); described as an original in 1666 when it was restored by Ferdinand Voet (1639–1700), a member of Maratta's studio. Baumgart, 1939/40, pp. 488–489.

*16e. Coll Graf von Schönborn, Schloss Pommersfelden. Longhi, 1961, I, p. 482.

*16f. Doria Coll, Rome (115 × 165 cm.); var-copy w dove upper right. GFN photo E41438 (figure 61).

*16g. Glasgow Mus, McLellan bequest (85.1 × 115.4 cm.); var-copy w extended space left, right, and above; related to 16a? Witt photo. (figure 62).

*16h. Akademie, Vienna, attrib to Schidone; var-copy w space slightly extended left and reduced at bottom. Bodmer archive photo. Warburg Institute.

*16i. Dealer, London (1973).

*16j. Marseilles. Friedlaender, 1955, p. 170.

*16k. Mus and Art Gal, Bolton, Lancs. (106.5 × 160 cm.)

17. *Supper at Emmaus,*[189] NG London (195 × 139 cm.)

17 C. prints:

*17a. By Pierre Fatoure (1584?–1629), engraving (301 × 200 mm.);

var-copy, w goateed Christ, probably after no. 17j. RD, VI, pp. 143–144; M, I, p. 627, no. 37. BNP, Bd. 8, no. 16; Albert HB XIV 152/247; and J. II, 43, fol. 24. (figure 53).

?*17b. By B. Vaillant (1632–98). M, I, p. 624, no. 37. Mistaken citation? No other reference; no known exemplar.

18 C.–19 C. prints.

+17c. St.-Non and Fragonard (1771) (172 × 118 mm.). Rev. BNP, Bd. 8, no. 17.

×17d. A. Testa. M, I, p. 624, no. 37. GNSR 40.H.25.

Drawn copy: +17e: *Lost:* by Fragonard, pen, ink, and wash preparatory for no. 17c. Friedlaender, 1955, p. 167.

Painted copies:

*17f. Attrib to Alonzo Rodriguez, Cathedral Museum, Leon. Moir, 1962, p. 209, n. 47, fig. 5.

*17g. Attrib to Alonzo Rodriguez, Pal Arcivescovale, Monreale. Moir, 1962, p. 209, n. 47.

*17h. Papal Palace, Castel Gandolfo (Vatican *deposito* no. 1465). Photo Fototeca. (figure 55).

*17i. Formerly Coll J. Waldron Gillespie, Santa Barbara, Calif., acquired fr Ehrich Gal, New York (1920 ff.) (200.5 × 145 cm.); var-copy w goateed Christ. Previously Coll Sir Stephen Lakemeir Bart. FARL photo.

*17j. By J. B. Maino, Frank Sabin Gal, London (1950s), formerly Netherlands Gallery, London (1922). Identified by Morassi (1958) as by an anonymous Spaniard and as the source of Fatoure's print (no. 17a). Friedlaender, 1955, p. 167. (figure 54).

*17k. Anon Dutch artist, Cini photo; var-copy w different poses, faces, and costumes. (figure 56).

?17l. Ferdinandeum, Innsbruck, no. 565. Witting, 1916, p. 70.

17m. St. George's School, Middletown, Conn.

18. *Incredulity of St. Thomas,*[190] Bildergalerie, Sanssouci, Potsdam (146 × 107 cm.)

17 C. print: *18a. By Robillart, engraving[191] (282 × 207 mm.); 3 states, the 1st unsigned. Di Vesme, 3.3; Le B1, I, 34.2. Met Mus 20.70.3 (13) and 51.501; Albert HB XIV 152/248 (1st state) and J. II, 43, fol. 25. (figure 57).

18 C.–19 C. prints:

×18b. E. Lingée in Landon, 1812, pl. 44 (94 × 67 mm.).

×18c. Devilliers, catalogue Dufourny Coll (1817). RPA.

Drawn copies:

*18d. Destroyed 1936, formerly Real Instituto de Jovellanos, Gijon, as Stanzione; pen, sepia on dark paper (140 × 100 mm.); ruined, reworked by later hand. Perez Sanchez, 1969, p. 34, no. 152, pl. 59.

?18e. *Lost:* Mireur, I, p. 34, sold 1859; pen, bister, wash.

Painted copies:

*18f. By Marcantonio Bassetti, Castelvecchio, Verona (62 × 52 cm.). Ottani, 1964, p. 159, fig. 54a.

*18g. Fr Mattia Preti shop?[192] Uffizi, Florence (146 × 107 cm.); Coll Card. Carlo de Medici (1666). Borea, 1970, pp. 4–5.

*18h. Sacristy, Sta. Maria la Mayor, Toro, Zamora; in 1585 retable. Ainaud, 1957, p. 89, as old but "imprecise."

*18i. PC, Madrid. Ainaud, 1947, no. 27.

*18j. PC, Madrid. Perez Sanchez, 1973, no. 6.

*18k. Ch of San Francisco, Palencia. Perez Sanchez, ibid.

*18l. Ch of SS. Justo y Pastor, Granada. Perez Sanchez, ibid., as "mediocre."

*18m. Rome, 18 Dec. 1948 (149 × 112 cm.) NIAH photo.

18n. Cini photo (100 × 75 cm.).

*18o. Coll Mrs. Hanna Fahlnaes, Göteborg, Sweden. (figure 59).

*18p. Ch of St. Mary the Virgin, Thrisk, Yorkshire. (145 × 110 cm.) Witt photo.

*18q. PC, Munich 1970, formerly in Paris (146 × 145 cm.) (figure 60).

*18r. Mus Philadelphia no. 38-1-34 (155 × 115.5 cm.), bought by Isaac Lea in Florence, 1852. (figure 58).

18s. Coll Prince G. Eristoff, Paris. Ivanoff, 1972, p. 71; Perez Sanchez, 1973, no. 6.

Lost painted copies:

?18t. Voss, 1924, p. 442, as at Scheissheim; now disappeared.

*18u. Casa Lambertini, Bologna. Malvasia, 1678, II, p. 305.

*18v. Casa Legnani, Bologna. Malvasia, 1678, II, p. 208.

*18w. By Lorenzo Garbieri, Coll Card. Benedetto Giustiniani, Bologna (1606–11). Malvasia, 1678, II, p. 217.

*18x. Casa Orazio Del Negro, Genoa (1606). Friedlaender, 1955, p. 162.

*18y. Del Monte Coll (1627). Frommel and Kirwin, 1971.

*18z. Coll Duke of Savoy (1635). Di Vesme, 1897, no. 538.

*18aa. By Caroselli? Fagnani Coll, Rome (1739) (4 × 5 *palmi*). Moir, 1967, II, p. 64.

?18bb. Comte Franla sale, Brussels (1738) (3′9″ × 2′10″). Mireur, I, pp. 33–34.

?18cc. Coll M. Pomard, Avignon (18 C.). Isarlov, 1941, p. 93.

?18dd. Coll R. Gower, Marseille (1861). Isarlov, 1941, p. 94.

?18ee. Coll Prof. Corsy, Jas de Bouffan. Isarlov, 1941, p. 94.

*18ff. Ludovisi Coll, Rome. Scanelli, 1657, p. 199.

19. *Inspiration of St. Matthew* (1st version),[193] formerly Kaiser-Friedrich Mus, Berlin (183 × 232 cm.); destroyed 1945.

No. 17 C.–18 C. prints or painted copies known.

19 C. print: ×19a. Le Bas in Landon, 1812, pl. 11 (89.5 × 111.5 mm.).

Drawn copies:

+19b. By Fragonard,[194] Albertina, Vienna; black chalk (176 × 185 mm.). Rev. s/"Fragonard del"; insc. "Dominiquin [sic] pinxit/Palais Justinian a Rome." (figure 67).

+19c. By Fragonard, Norton Simon Coll, Los Angeles; black chalk (330 × 215 mm.); insc "Du Caravage. Palais Justinian." (figure 66).

20. *Martyrdom of St. Matthew,* San Luigi dei Francesi, Rome (343 × 322 cm.) (figure 125).

No prints, drawn or 17 C.–18 C. painted copies known.

Painted copy: ×20a. Junk-shop, Santa Barbara, Ca. (1973), s/"Gregor/ Johann Steide[r?]/cop."

21. *Calling of St. Matthew,*[195] San Luigi dei Francesi, Rome (340 × 322 cm.)

No prints known.

Drawn copies:

*21a. Uffizi, Florence, no. 689E; pen, brown ink, brown wash on dark cream paper (183.5 × 157 mm.); St. Matthew group only, w some changes. Moir, 1972, pp. 128–129.

*21b. Uffizi, Florence, no. 2036F; black chalk, brown wash, yellowed white on tan paper (214 × 223 mm.). Moir, 1972, pp. 129–130, by an anonymous Neapolitan.

*21c. By Giovanni Bilivert? Capodimonte, Naples, no. 46, as Corenzio; black chalk (207 × 127 mm.). Moir, 1972, p. 130.

*21d. Nicholas Moyaert? Louvre, Paris, no. F6034 (fr Mariette Coll); black chalk on tan paper (336 × 232 mm.); slightly reduced top and right and extended left. Moir, 1972, pp. 130–135, as related to no. 21g?

*21e. *Lost:* by Caravaggio himself? Mariette sale, Paris (1775), p. 22, lot 123, as Caravaggio; black chalk touched w white; lacking St. Peter (so for 1st version?); known through St. Aubin marginal sketch in sales cat BMFA. Moir, 1972, pp. 135–136.

Painted copies:

*21f. Canons' Sacristy Cathedral, Padua (197 × 147 cm.).

*21g. Nicholas Moyaert? PC, Milan (183 × 97 cm.); reduced top and bottom, other minor changes of details. Cini photo. Related to no. 21d?

*21h. Antiquarian Abels, Cologne (1934) (74 × 54 cm.); reduced at top. NIAH no. L4221. (figure 63).

*21i. Gal Accademia Albertina, Turin no. 153 (ca. 300 × 150 cm.); reduced at top.

*21j. Gal Tadini, Lovere, no. 261 (small). Longhi, 1928, p. 25.

*21k. By D. Faustina Gentiletti?[196] Mus Civ Spoleto (large); var-copy w 2 figures each added right and left. Maltese, 1955, pp. 111–113.

22. *Inspiration of St. Matthew* (2nd version),[197] San Luigi dei Francesi, Rome (189 × 296.5 cm.)

No prints or painted copies known.

Drawn copy: +22a. By Fragonard, PC, London, black chalk (180 × 250 mm.); insc. "Du Caravaggio"; fragment of angel only. (figure 65).

23. *Conversion of St. Paul* (2nd version),[198] Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome (175 × 230 cm.) (see also no. 115).

No prints known.

Drawn copy: ×23a. *Lost?* by F. Giani?, formerly Coll Janos Scholz, N.Y. (ca. 1936). Moir, 1972, p. 141.

Painted copy: ×23b. *Lost:* by Vincenzo Camuccini (small). Falconieri, 1875, p. 31.

24. *Crucifixion of St. Peter* (2nd version), Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome (175 × 230 cm.) (see also no. 114).

No prints known.

Drawn copies:

*24a. By Tanzio da Varallo, PC, Milan; black chalk; squatting executioner only. Moir, 1972, p. 136.

*24b. By Tanzio da Varallo, Louvre, Paris, no. F6039 (fr Baldinucci Coll); black chalk; wash, white (237 × 324 mm.) Moir, ibid., p. 136.

*24c. By Gerard van Honthorst, NG, Oslo; pen, brown ink, wash (265 × 380 mm.) s/ and dated 1616. Moir, ibid.

*24d. By Jusepe Ribera, Louvre, Paris, no. F6038 (probably fr Mariette Coll); pen, ink wash, faded and torn (165 × 199 mm.). Moir, ibid.; pp. 136–137.

*24e. By Mattia Preti? Louvre, Paris, no. F9725 (perhaps fr Mariette Coll); pen, ink, wash (159 × 220 mm.). Moir, ibid., p. 137.

*24f. By anon. Genoese, Louvre, Paris, no. F6032 (fr Mariette Coll); pen, ink, wash (286 × 437 mm.). Moir, ibid.

*24g. *Lost:* by Domenico Fetti? Mariette sale, Paris (1775), p. 64, lot 402, as Fetti; black chalk; kneeling executioner only; drawn by St. Aubin in the margin of the sales catalogue (BMFA). Moir, ibid.

Painted copies:

*24h. Sto. Stefano, Abbazia Novalicense, Val di Susa (170 × 223 cm.); presented to the prior w 4 other canvases by Napoleon. Bariola, 1899. FARL photo 26341.

*24i. Uffizio Staccato, Sestri Levante (Genoa) (177 cm. wide).[199]

*24j. *Lost?* Del Monte Coll (1627). Frommel, 1971, p. 30

*24k. By Ribalta?, Colegio del Corpus Cristi (or del Patriaca), Valencia (170 × 235 cm.). Ainaud, 1957, p. 89. Mas photo 16749-C.

*241. Diocesan Mus Valencia (until 1936) (190 × 196 cm.); formerly in the parish chapel of S. Pedro in the cathedral. Ainaud, 1947, p. 383.

*24m. Aula del Moral, El Escorial. Ainaud, ibid., as "mediocre."

?*24n. *Lost?* Sacristia del coro o sala de capas, El Escorial. Ainaud, 1947, pp. 383–384, n. 64.

*24o. *Lost?* Coll Archbishop Juan de Ribera, Valencia (1611). Pacheco, 1956, II, p. 13. Perhaps either 24k or 241 above.

*24p. Academia de Bellas Artes de S. Jorge, Barcelona. Ainaud, ibid., as "poor Italian work."

*24q. *Lost?* S. Felipe Neri, Seville.[200] Ponz (1787), 1947, p. 791 (as "a good copy"); Ainaud, 1947, pp. 382–383.

?*24r. *Lost?* formerly S. Pedro, Seville. Longhi, 1927, p. 10.

*24s. s/by Francisco Ribalta, Coll Prince Pio, Mombello, Imbersago (78 × 93 cm.). Ainaud, 1957, p. 89, as painted in Italy and taken by the artist to Spain, where it served as the model for larger copies like 24k above.

*24t. By Domenico Fetti?, Storerooms, Gemäldegalerie, Dresden (very small).

*24u. Coll Graf von Schönborn, Schloss Pommersfelden, panel (29.5 × 38.5 cm.)

*24v. s/"A. [Adrian] Bloemaerts 1650,"[201] Crol sale, van Marle, de Sille and Baan, Rotterdam lot 72, 22–23 Dec. 1953; var-copy in landscape w 2 added figures. NIAH photo no. L43024). (figure 73).

*24w. By anon Frenchman? PC, Chicago (98 × 110 cm.) (figure 72).

*24x. Monastic ch, Xochimilco, Mexico D.F. (in a retable).

24y. *Lost:* Bertrand sale (1802), for 2402 fr. Mireur, I, pp. 33–34.

25. *Entombment*,[202] Vatican Pin (203 × 300 cm.)

17 C. print: *25a. By Dirck van Baburen, etching w engraving (210 × 253 mm.). rev. Nagler, *Mon,* V, 561.667; di Vesme. BMFA 61.606; Albert J. II, 43, fol. 21. (figure 74).

18 C.–19 C. prints:

+25b. St.-Non (1771?). Rev. M, I, p. 624, no. 32; Friedlaender, 1955, p. 189.

+25c. Guattani (1784). Friedlaender, 1955, p. 187.

+25d. Tommaso Piroli, engraving (300 ×409 mm.). Le B1, III, 208.1; M, I, p. 624, no. 27. Met Mus 51.501.4822; Albert HB XIV 155/251 and J. II, 43, fol. 19.

×25e. Bourdon, Pauquet, E. Bovinet in Filhol, II (1804), no. 97.8 (106 × 148 mm.) M, I, p. 624, no. 29. BNP, Bd. 8, no. 12. Made (like 25f and 25t) while the painting was in France (1797–1815).

×25f. Normand in Landon, *Annales IV* (1803), pl. 59, p. 125, (103.5 × 146.5 mm.) BNP, Bd. 8, no. 13; Albert J. II, 43, fol. 20.

×25g. Pierre Audouin in *Musée Français.* M, I, p. 624, no. 28. BNP, Bd. 8, no. 14.

×25h. I. Bonaiuti, engraving (1817) (318 × 486 mm.) M, I, p. 624, no. 34. Met Mus 41.97.88.

?×25i. Maffeo Verona (1818). M, I, p. 624, no. 33.

×25j. G. Craffonara, G. A. Guattani in *I più celebri quadri* (1820). M, I, p. 624, no. 31. Br Mus C61* 1864-11-14-70.

×25k. P. and A. Dupont, engraving (1839) (197 × 230 mm.) BNP, Ba 1 (XVIs)

×25l. P. Fontana. M, I, p. 624, no. 30.

×25m. J. J. Friedhoff. M, I, p. 624, no. 35.

Drawn copies:

*25n. By D. Fetti?, destroyed 1936, formerly Real Instituto de Jovellanos, Gijon; red chalk (290 × 250 mm.) Moir, 1972, pp. 137–138.

*25o. By Leonard Bramer?[203] Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, no. 7238; pen and ink, chalk (195 × 257 mm.); var-copy w/o Mary Cleophas. Moir, 1972, p. 138.

25p. Albert no. 813; pen, ink, brown wash on tan paper (272 × 347 mm.). Moir, ibid.

?*25q. *Lost,* by Rubens? for 1614 painting?[204]

+25r. *Lost?* by Fragonard, pen, ink, and wash for St.-Non print (no. 25b).

×25s. By Paul Cézanne, Hahnloser Coll, Berne; formerly Bernheim Jeune, Paris; watercolor.[205] Longhi, 1968, fig. 192.

Painted copies:

*25t. By Carlo Bononi, Pin Naz, originally at Sto. Spirito Ferrara; in ruin. Emiliani, 1962.

*25u. By Gianfrancesco Guerrieri?[206] S. Marco, Milan (196 × 293 cm.); fr S. Francesco, Sassoferrato.

*25v. Fogg Mus., Cambridge, Mass. (148 × 228 cm.); acquired 1928 in Italy.

*25w. Fol of Rubens? PC, Texas, fr PC, Guatemala; before relining inscr on back in old hand as the original.

+25x. By Michael Köck (1760–1825), Chiesa Nuova, Rome; replacing the original; mosaic.

+25y. Mus, Cuenca. Ponz (1787), 1947, p. 258; Ainaud, 1957, p. 89.

×25z. By Gericault, H. E. Böhler Coll, Berg am Inchel (35 × 55 cm.);[207] Del Guercino, 1966.

×25aa. S/by Domenico Morelli, PC, Rome; tempera on paper (48 × 68 cm.) Bellonzi, 1962, pp. 299–300.

×25bb. Benito Saez y Garcia (a student), Academia de San Fernando, Madrid (153 × 224 cm.) Photo Ruiz Vernacci. (figure 75).

×25cc. Mus B-A, Rouen, no. 835-1 (125 × 183 cm.) Rosenberg, 1966, p. 176, as made fr the original in Paris.

×25dd. Sacristy, Mdina Cathedral, Malta; in a gallery of copies of famous paintings w no. 41b.

×25ee. C. Correa, N.Y. (1922) ex Marignoli Coll (79 × 114 cm.); var-copy w landscape upper left. Photo FARL.

25ff. Colonial Mus, Quito, Ecuador.

25gg. La Campania (Jesuit ch), Quito.

25hh. South Transept, S. Francisco, Quito.

?25ii. S. Bavo, Ghent (facing Ghent altarpiece).

Lost painted copies:

*25jj. By Joachim van Sandrart? Sandrart, 1675, p. 276, as in his possession, by whom not stated.

×25kk. By Tommaso de Vivo, in 1824 sent home to Naples by the artist, a student in Rome, "come documento dei suoi progressi." Bellonzi, 1962, pp. 299–300.

×25ll. By V. Camuccini (1829); mentioned by Stendhal, *Promenades,* 1853, p. 18. Falconieri, 1875, p. 29.

25mm. Munich no. 7096 (107 × 157 cm.); documented since 1822; disappeared during World War II.

?25nn. Chevalier A.D. . . . sale, Turin, 1860 (37 × 47 cm.). Mireur, I, Suppl.

25oo. Prado, Madrid (1885) (119 × 137 cm.) Ainaud, 1947, no. 24.

26. *Victorious Earthly Love,*[208] Staatliche Mus, Berlin-Dahlem (110 × 230 cm.)

No 17 C–18 C. prints, and no drawn or painted copies known.

19 C. print: ×26a. Mme Soyer in Landon, 1812, pl. 13 (90 × 125.5 mm.)

27. *St. John the Baptist,*[209] Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Mo. (132.5 × 172.5 cm.).

No prints or drawn copies known.

Painted copies:

*27a. Capodimonte Mus, Naples (132 × 172 cm.); to Naples 1802 from Rome; formerly attrib to Manfredi and to Orazio Riminaldi.

*27b. S. Giovanni Battista, Cosciente (Liguria) (ca. 107 × 170 cm.); var-copy, made for the chapel (ca. 1588) of the Costa family estate. Matthiesen, 1970.

28. *St. Jerome Writing,*[210] Gal Borghese, Rome (157 × 112 cm.)

No prints, drawn or painted copies known.

29. *Madonna of Loreto,*[211] Sant'Agostino, Rome (150 × 260 cm.)

17 C. print: *29a. By Lucas Vorsterman, engraving (216 × 297 mm.). Rev. M, I, p. 623, no. 13; Nagler, 102, 2 states. GNSR 36.H.16; Met Mus 51.501.4850. (figure 84).

18 C. print: +29b. By C. M. Metz, aquatint (217 × 365 mm.); based on (lost?) drawing (no. 29f); in *Imitations of Ancient and Modern Drawings,* London (1798). Rev. M, I, p. 623, no. 14. Br Mus ERC 4; Albert J. II. 43, fol. 11. (figure 85).

Drawn copies:

*29c. Louvre, Paris, no. F6031 (fr Crozat Coll); black chalk, white, on gray paper (175 × 264 mm.) Moir, 1972, p. 139.

*29d. Louvre, Paris, no. F6036, gray wash (208 × 320 mm.); Madonna and child only. Moir, ibid.

29e. Uffizi, Florence, no. 9047S; black chalk (179 × 246 mm.); busts of Madonna and child only. Moir, 1972, ibid.

29f. *Lost?* ex colls Sir Joshua Reynolds and E. Knight, pen, ink, wash; known through Metz's print (no. 29b). Moir, 1972, p. 139.

?29g. *Lost?* Vente X . . . 18 Dec. 1771, pen and ink; a "pelerin à genoux et les mains joins"; sold for 5 frs. Mireur, I, p. 34.

Painted copies:

*29h. By Theodoor van Loon?[212] St. Paul's Ch. Yellow Springs, Ohio (since mid-XIX C). Photo Fogg Mus 375V325/34(a).

*29i. By Richard Tassel? Cathedral, Langres (small); assumed to date fr before the artist's return fr Rome in 1607.

*29j. Mus Tours, ex Richelieu Coll (small). Jullian, 1961, p. 156, no. 45.

*29k. Pal Pitti, Florence; copper (ca. 17.2 × 23 cm.). Exhibited Florence, 1970, ex catalogue. Nicolson, 1970, p. 641, as fr Elsheimer circle 1600–1610, perhaps by Saraceni.

*29l. Coll Marchese Paolo Sersale, Rome (146 × 250 cm.), Spear, 1972, fig. 18.

*29m. Mus Lazaro Galliano, Madrid (148 × 239 cm.). Perez Sanchez, 1973, no. 5.

*29n. Goldschmidt Coll, Frankfurt (33 × 41 cm.) Rev.; apparently derived fr Vorsterman's print (no. 29a). Witt photo. (figure 87).

*29o. By Jean Tassel? Munich no. 230 (118 × 135 cm.); recorded since 1799; var-copy w putti upper right corner; painted when Tassel *fils* was in Rome 1634f.? (figure 86).

×29p. By Fortunato Duranti? Sanctuario dell'Ambro near Montefortino (Ascoli Piceno) (121 × 191 cm.); gift ca. 1850 of Duranti to the sanctuary. Calzini, 1903, pp. 391–392.

29q. Formerly PC, Paris. Jullian, 1961, p. 157.

*29r. *Lost?* Coll Charles I, Whitehall (1639). Millar, 1960, p. 228.

30. *Madonna of the Snake,* Gal Borghese, Rome (211 × 292 cm.)

No prints or drawn or painted copies known.

31. *St. John the Baptist,* Gal Borghese, Rome (124 × 159 cm.)

No prints or drawn or painted copies known.

32. *Christ on the Mount of Olives,*[213] Kaiser-Friedrich Mus, Berlin (222 × 154 cm.); destroyed 1945.

No 17 C.–18 C. prints, drawn or painted copies known.

19 C. print: ×32a. Le Bas in Landon, 1812, pl. 12 (130 × 92.5 mm.).

33. *Death of the Virgin,*[214] Louvre, Paris (245 × 369 cm.)

No 17 C. prints known.

18 C.–19 C. prints:

+33a. S. Vallée, engraving in Crozat, 1715, no. 91 (282 × 434 mm.). Rev. M, I, p. 624, no. 45; Met Mus 51.501.4832; Albert HB XIV 162/259 and J. II. 43 fol. 28. (figure 91).

×33b. Normand in Landon, *Annales,* IV (1803), pl. 32, p. 71 (105 × 127 mm.). Rev. BNP, Bd. 8, no. 22.

×33c. P. J. H. Laurent in *Musée Français.* M, I, p. 624, no. 46.

×33d. LeRoy, Oortman in Filhol VII, no. 476 (106 × 164 mm.). M, I, p. 624, no. 47. BNP Bd. 8, no. 23.

×33e. Desenne, Laurent, Claessens in *Musée Royal* I. M, I. p. 624, no. 48. BNP Bd. 8, no. 20; Albert J. II. 43 fol. 29.

×33f. Landon, 1821. M, I, p. 624, no. 49.

Drawn Copy: *33g. *Lost?* Pelzold sale, Gilhofer and Rauschburg, Vienna, lot 33, 16 Mar. 1908; watercolor (190 × 286 mm.); sold Berlin, 12 May 1930 as by van Dyck. Moir, 1972, pp. 139–140.

Painted Copy: *33h. *Lost?* Dominican Ch, Antwerp. Sandrart, 1675, p. 276.

34. *Ecce Homo,*[215] Raccolte Civiche, Genoa (103 × 128 cm.).

No prints or drawn copies.

Painted copies:

*34a. Mus Naz Messina (112 × 194 cm.); fr Ch of Sant'Andrea, Avellino; in Messina by 1730 and perhaps earlier.

*34b. PC Palermo. Longhi, 1954, p. 4.

*34c. PC Palermo. Longhi, 1954, p. 4.

*34d. PC Genoa.

*34e. Ch of S. Francesco di Paola, Messina; destroyed World War II.

35. *Supper at Emmaus,* Brera, Milan (175 × 141 cm.).

No prints or drawn copies known.

Painted copy: *35a. Dealer O. Klein, New York. Cini photo.

36. *Madonna of the Rosary,* Kunsthistorisches Mus, Vienna (249 × 364 cm.).

17 C. print: *36a. By Vorsterman,[216] engraving (306 × 526 mm.). Rev. 4 states, Hymans, 1893, pp. 91–92, no. 47. Br Mus, V, 9–75; Met Mus 51.501.4851; Fogg Mus Randall Coll no. 4695; BNP Bd. 8 no. 25. (figures 88, 89).

18 C.–19 C. print: ×36b. Von Perger, Bl. Höfel, engraving (134 × 176 mm.). BNP fol Ba 1 (XIV s.).

Drawn copy: *36c. Louvre, Paris, no. F6035, wash over chalk on heavy tan paper (286 × 426 mm.); w the same patron as in the original.[217] Moir, 1972, p. 140.

Painted copies:

*36d. *Lost?* by Finson, in his testament (1617); sold 1630 for fl. 300. Bredius, 1918, pp. 198–199; Friedlaender, 1955, p. 201.

+36e. By A. B. de Guertenmont, Dominican Ch Antwerp (1786), replacing the original. Friedlaender, 1955, p. 198.

?36f. *Lost:* "Madonna w the Infant Savior; called the Distribution of the Pater Nosters," sold Christie's 2 Mar. 1820, lot 129 to Kellett for 13 gns.

37. *Seven Works of Mercy,* Monte della Misericordia, Naples (260 × 390 cm.) (figure 126).

No prints or drawn or painted copies known.

38. *Flagellation,*[218] San Domenico, Naples (213 × 286 cm.).

No prints or drawn copies known.

Painted Copy: *38a. By Caracciolo or Vaccaro? San Domenico, Naples, ex SS. Trinità degli Spagnuoli. Moir, 1967, I, pp. 19, 20, 158.

39. *Execution of St. John the Baptist,*[219] Cathedral, La Valletta, Malta (520 × 361 cm.).

No prints known.

Drawn copy: *39a. Louvre, Paris, no. F6037; pen, ink, wash, white, on brown paper (562 × 376 mm.). Moir, 1972, p. 140.

Painted copies:

?*39b. Malta (small). Gendel, 1956.

*39c. Capilla del Cardenal, Cathedral, Zamora, Ainaud, 1957, p. 89.

*39d. By Heinrich Schönfeld, Mus Civ Vicenza (110 × 92 cm.); var-copy w/o architecture and w 4 figures added.

39e. *Lost?* S. Fidele, Milan (1739). de Brosses, I, p. 73.

40. *Portrait of Alof de Wignancourt,*[220] Louvre, Paris (134 × 195 cm.).

No 17 C. prints and no drawn copies.

18 C.–19 C. prints:

+40a. Larmessin in *Receuil* (1729–42), engraving (251 × 363 mm.). Rev. M, I, p. 625 no. 79. BNP, Bd. 8, no. 35; Albert HB XIV 164/260. (figure 108).

×40b. Normand for Landon *Annales,* IV (1803), pl. 15 (100 × 142.5 mm.). Rev. BNP, Bd. 8, no. 36.

×40c. Boudet for Filhol, XI (1828), pl. 31 (101 × 151 mm.), M, I, p. 625, no. 80. Br Mus C-61.

Painted copy: +40d. Volpi sale, Jandolo e Tanazzi, Rome; lot 486, 25 Apr.-2 May 1910; panel (33 × 41 cm.). Rev. w landscape; based on Larmessin engraving (no. 40a) (figure 109).

41. *St. Jerome Writing,*[221] Cathedral, La Valletta, Malta (157 × 117 cm.) (figure 123).

No prints or drawn copies.

Painted copies:

*41a. Perhaps by Giovanni Domenico Corso, Coll Marchese. Alfio Testaferrata, Mdina. Marini, 1971, p. 58, n. 5.

×41b. Sacristy, Cathedral, Mdina; in the gallery of copies of famous paintings w no. 25dd.

42. *Sleeping Cupid,*[222] Pal Pitti, Florence (105 × 71 cm.).

No 17 C. prints.

18 C.–19 C. prints:

+42a. Vercruys, Sacconi, engraving (ca. 1778) (311 × 256 mm.). Rev. M, I, p. 624 no. 60. BMFA (Babcock bequest) no. 1104; Albert, HB XIV 165/261.

×42b. Marcucci in *Galerie du Palais Pitti* (1842), II, pl. 65, with landscape. M, I, p. 625, no. 59. GNSR 40.H.25. (figure 102).

Drawn copy: *42c. By Giovanni da San Giovanni, Uffizi, Florence, detail of no. 1088E, watercolor (ca. 1620) (165 × 93 mm.); study for no. 42e. Moir, 1972, p. 140.

Painted copies:

*42d. By Caroselli, Clowes Coll, Art Mus, Indianapolis, Ind. (105.4 × 65.4 cm.).

*42e. *Lost:* by Giovanni da San Giovanni, façade fresco, Pal dell'Antella, Florence.

43. *Burial of St. Lucy,*[223] S. Lucia, Syracuse (Sicily) (300 × 408 cm.).

No prints or drawn copies.

Painted copies:

*43a. Probably by Mario Minniti, S. Giuseppe, Syracuse. (figure 110).

*43b. Sant'Antonio Abate, Palestrina (ca. 100 × 150 cm.) (figure 111).

43c. Jesuit College, Syracuse, Kitson, 1967, no. 87 as "old."

*43d. Cathedral, Syracuse; silver relief (44 × 27 cm.) 1611; var-copy w reduced space above and w landscape elements. Agnello, 1928, pp. 3–15.

44. *Resurrection of Lazarus,*[224] Museo Nazionale, Messina (275 × 380 cm.).

No prints or drawn copies.

Painted copy: *44a. *Lost:* by Andrea Suppa (small). Susinno, 1724, p. 214.

45. *Adoration of the Shepherds,* Museo Nazionale, Messina (211 × 314 cm).

No prints, or painted or drawn copies.

46. *Nativity with SS. Francis and Lawrence,* Oratorio di San Lorenzo, Palermo (197 × 268 cm.).

No prints or drawn copies.

Painted copy: *46a. *Lost:* by Paolo Geraci, PC, Palermo (1627). Meli, 1929, pp. 205–206.

47. *David with the Head of Goliath,*[225] Gal Borghese, Rome (100 × 125 cm.).

No prints or drawn copies.

Painted copies:

*47a. Coll Patrizio Patrizi, Rome (1922). Alinari photo 183.

*47b. Gemäldegalerie, Kassel (96 × 129 cm.); in Kassel since 1730.

*47c. PC Florence.

48. *Salome with the Head of St. John the Baptist,*[226] NG London (167 × 90.5 cm.).

No prints or drawn copies.

Painted copy: *48a. Abbey of Montevergine near Naples (165 × 92 cm.). Scavizzi, 1963, no. 9.

49. *Jove, Neptune and Pluto,*[227] oil on stucco, Casino Ludovisi, Rome.

No prints or drawn or painted copies. Zandri, 1969.

PART B: LOST PAINTINGS

50. *Boy Peeling Fruit*[228] (Mancini)

No prints or drawn copies.

Painted copies.

*50a. Perhaps by Minniti, Hampton Court (48.3 × 61 cm.), ex Coll James II. Levey, 1964, p. 69.

*50b. Longhi Coll, Florence (67.5 × 68 cm.), Longhi, 1943, p. 10

*50c. Formerly dealer Frank T. Sabin, London (52 × 65 cm.), fr the Reynolds Coll. Hart sale, Christie's 28 Nov. 1927, lot 125 as "Attrib to Le Nain." Hinks, 1953, p. 93 as the original.

*50d. PC Berlin (51 × 67 cm.). Kitson, 1967, p. 85.

*50e. Coll Leonard Slatkes, New York (47 × 61 cm.), var-copy w window, landscape, brick wall in background.

*50f. Known to Roberto Longhi (1960, p. 1, no. 1).

*50g. Known to Maurizio Marini (1970).

*50h. Another coarser version at Frank Sabin's. Hinks ibid.

*50i. Christie's, 25 Apr. 1958, lot 152 (52 × 61 cm.) (figure 2).

51. *Boy Bitten by a Lizard*[229] (Baglione).

No prints or drawn copies.

Painted copies:

*51a. Longhi Coll, Florence (59.5 × 65.8 cm.).

*51b. Korda Coll, London (56.75 × 70 cm.), ex colls Sir Paul Metheun and Bishop of Kildare; Fitzwilliam sale, Christie's, London, lot 97, 11 June 1948. Waagen, 1854, Supp. p. 349.

*51c. Dealer Katz, Dieren, Holland (50 × 70 cm.); then lot 109, van Marle De Sille and Baan, Rotterdam, 28 Feb. 1951. NIAH. (figure 3).

*51d. Cini archive labeled "F. Arte 1929"; inferior in quality.

52. *The Card-Sharks* ("I Bari"),[230] Del Monte and Barberini colls, Rome (Bellori); Sciarra Coll, Rome (until ca. 1896); 1899 sold to a Baron Rothschild, Paris, and since disappeared.

No 17 C. prints known.

18–19 C. prints:

+52a. Volpato in Hamilton's *Schola Italica Picturae,* 1772, no. 40 (305 × 236 mm.), Met Mus 42.16.84, Albert HB, XIV 167/263.

+52b. Sacconi, Vercruys (ca. 1778) M, I, p. 625, no. 71.

×52c. Bettelini, Montagnini (321 × 289 mm.), GNSR 40.H.9; Albert J. II., 43, fol 47.

×52d. Rosini, 1852, IV, pl. 158; M, I, p. 625 no. 70.

Drawn copies:

*52e. Coll Joseph McCrindle, N.Y., formerly Thomas Lloyd Coll, Lockinge House, Wantage, (Berks); pen and ink; inscr w color notes in Italian hence certainly made for a painting; physiognomies very similar to these in no. 52ii. Moir, 1972, p. 127.

*52f. Teylers Mus, Haarlem, no. C 19a; pen and brown ink w sepia wash (89 × 62 mm.); head of *bravo* only. Moir ibid.

Painted copies:

In the United States

*52g. Formerly Knoedler N.Y., ex Coll Antoine Rothschild (137 × 99 cm.) Venturi, 1950, pp. 41–42 as the original.

*52h. Coll Mr. and Mrs. Milton Gorran, New York (ca. 1960).

+52i. Art Mus, Princeton (124.5 × 92.5 cm.), gift (1961) of Mr. and Mrs. Barklie Juckee Henry; according to family tradition, a gift to Mr. Henry's great-grandparents from the Bonaparte family, early 19 C.

×52j. Attrib to Galliardi, Fogg Mus, Cambridge, Mass. (128 × 103.5 cm.), gift (1957) of the Cabot family which reportedly commissioned it in 1832. Briggs, 1927, II, p. 661.

52k. Kende sale, New York, lot 41, 3–4 Oct. 1951 (105 × 74 cm.). Witt photo.

52l. Coll G.P.A. Healy, Kanakee State Hospital, Kanakee, Ill. FARL.

52m. Algonquin Club, Boston, Mass.

52n. Faculty Club, New York University, N.Y.

52o. Herbert Institute, Augusta, Ga. (128 × 106 cm.).

52p. Coll Leonard Greenberg, Bloomfield, Conn. (101.5 × 76 cm.).

In Italy

*52q. Caravaggio exhibit, Milan (1951) not in catalogue.

*52r. *Lost:* Marchese Sannesio, Rome.[231] Bertolotti, 1881, II, p. 76 f. as stolen in 1621 and taken to Milan.

*52s. *Lost?* by Carlo Magnone,[232] Barberini Coll, Rome (1642).

In Germany

*52t. PC (137 × 99 cm.), Schudt, 1942, p. 45, no. 13.

*52u. PC Hanover (137 × 99 cm.). Despite the dimensions, not identical to no. 52t. Baumgart, 1939/40, p. 482f. Herz photo no. 5998.

52v. Ed. Hünerberg, Brunswick, 8–9 Mar. 1956 (141 × 122 cm.). NIAH.

52w. *Lost?* Bangel's *Katalog* 1870 no. 8. NIAH.

In Great Britain

*52x. J. W. Irving-Fortescu Coll, Kingcausie, Kincaidineshire (ca. 50″ × 40″). Witt photo B9522.

*52y. W. G. Thwaytes Coll, Westmoreland (1953), ex H. D. Shields Coll; var-copy w face of old man added right.

*52z. PC London (134 × 96 cm.) *Burl,* Aug. 1969, p. vi.

+52aa. Coll Duke of Hamilton, Byvra, North Berwick (panel, 21.5 × 14.5 cm.) Witt photo B8842. (figure 9).

+52bb. By anon Englishman, Coll Mrs. Brand, Glynde Place, Sussex; var-copy w 4th figure left, a dog and 18 C. wigs; portraits probably of members of the Trevor family.[233] (figure 10).

×52cc. St. Mary's Training College, Twickenham (ca. 137 cm. wide).

52dd. Coll J. R. Wylde, 5 Highfield Rd, Derby; the same as no. 52g above?

52ee. Coll P. K. Jenkins, North Harrow, Middx.

+52ff. Coll Major W. H. Burn-Callander, Preston Hall, Ford, Midlothian (127 × 101.5 cm.). Witt photo B 7158.

+52gg. *Lost?* By David Allan, Rome, lot 17, Allan sale (1797) (2′ × 1½′), Skinner, 1973.

×52hh. Christie's, London, 26 Sept. 1974, lot 140 (137.1 × 99.1 cm.).

Elsewhere:

*52ii. Attrib to C. Cignani, Maison Antique sale, Prague, lot 213, 18–19 Mar. 1927 (128 × 95 cm.); perhaps derived fr no. 52e. Witt photo. (figure 8).

*52jj. Coll M. van Sloten, Bussum, Holland (130 × 110 cm.) (1962); photo insc "G. Dubois," NIAH.

+52kk. PC Sudbury, Ont. (ca. 127 × 101.5 cm.).

5211. Rev. Herz photo no. 4440.

52mm. Coll Siegfried H. W. Hassenstein, Bern.

*52nn. Lot 156, Musée de Balaine sale, Paris, 7–8 Dec. 1923 (125 × 95 cm.).

53. *Carafe w Flowers,*[234] Del Monte Coll, Rome (2 *palmi*) (Bellori).

No prints or drawn or painted copies known.

54. *David* (half-length),[235] Conde de Villa Mediana, Spain (Bellori).

No prints or drawn copies known.

Painted copies:

*54a. Prado, Madrid (91 × 110 cm.), Spear, 1971, no. 19. (figure 37).

*54b. G. de Hahn Coll, Spain (110 × 97 cm.), extended to right, photo NIAH fr Max Friedlaender archive.

*54c. Medina-Daza Coll, Madrid; also wider. Longhi, 1951*e*, p. 21.

55. *Susanna,*[236] Coll Cavaliere Marino, Rome (Samek Ludovici, 1956, p. 123).

No prints or drawn or painted copies known.

56. *Mary and Martha,*[237] Costa Coll, Rome? (perhaps documented in Ottavio Costa's will of 1606).

No prints or drawn copies known.

Painted copies:

"Valentin" type:

*56a. Detroit Institute of Arts,[238] ex Alzaga Coll, Buenos Aires; 18 C. insc on relining canvas referring to the Panzani family of Arezzo; exported fr Italy, 1897, to Argentina, 1909; bought in at Christie's, lot 21, 25 Jun. 1971. Cummings, 1973 as the original. (figure 31).

*56b. Christ Church Gal, Oxford (133 × 95 cm.), Byam Shaw, 1967, no. 137.

*56c. Coll Sir William Dugdale, Merevale Hall, England, FARL.

*56d. Coll F. Manzella, Rome. Longhi, 1943, p. 11. (Same as 56a?)

*56e. Antiquary Simonetti, Rome. Longhi, ibid.

"Saraceni" type:

*56f. *Lost:* by Carlo Saraceni, Roomer Coll, Naples (1630). Moir, 1967, I, p. 156.

*56g. Mus Nantes (130 × 97 cm.) Ottani, 1968, no. 102 as shop-copy.

*56h. Coll Vicomte Vaulchier, Savigny-les-Beaune; var-copy, w a box replacing the mirror, a bouquet in a carafe, and a straw-covered fiasco; patterned table-cover like Vouet-Regnier types; very distinctive Mary physiognomy. Benoist, 1958, pp. 209–212.

*56i. ex Coll Julius Weitzner (1960) (132 × 94 cm.); ex Coll Princess Anastasia; sale, Paris, 1921; replica of no. 56h? Gilbert, 1960, no. 1. FARL; NIAH photo.

*56j. Rizzoli Coll, Venice; w/o vase of flowers. Ottani, 1968, pl. 128.

"Vouet-Regnier" type:

*56k. KH, formerly attrib to Elisabetta Sirani (140 × 110 cm.). Crelly, 1962, no. 152 as Vouet; Dargent, 1965, no. D 11 as a copy.

*56l. Opava, Czechoslovakia. Voss, 1924, pp. 65–66 as Regnier.

*56m. Perhaps by Nicolas Regnier, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C., lent by Mrs. Harris Taylor; formerly attrib to E. Sirani (174 × 122 cm.) Rev. (figure 32).

Mixed types:

*56o. Formerly dealer, Rome, as Caroselli (ca. 94 cm. wide); acquired in London (ca. 1970).

56p. Indiana University Mus, Bloomington as Paolini (140 × 107 cm.), ex Coll Duke of Leeds. (figure 33).

57. *Penitent Mary Magdalen* (full-length),[239] Giustiniani Coll, Rome (1638) (7 × 10 *palmi*) Salerno, 1960, II, p. 135, no. 7.

No prints or drawn copies known.

Painted copy: *57a. *Lost:* by Regnier, Giustiniani Coll (1638) (7 × 10 *palmi*), Salerno, 1960, I, p. 101, no. 155.

58. *Divine Love Conquering Profane Love,*[240] for Cardinal Del Monte (Baglione).

No prints or drawn or painted copies known.

59. *St. John the Evangelist*[241] (Mancini).

No prints or drawn or painted copies known.

60. *Taking of Christ,*[242] Coll Asdrubale Mattei, Rome (Bellori).

No prints or drawn copies known.

Painted copies:

*60a. Mus of Eastern-Western Art, Odessa (175 × 134 cm.), Lasareff, 1963 (as the original).

*60b. Sannini Coll, Florence (245 × 165 cm.), Longhi, 1951c, no. 55.

*60c. PC Berlin (132 × 100 cm.); w/o far right figure. Lossow, 1956, pp. 206–210. (figure 46).

*60d. By a follower of Honthorst? Storeroom, Mus of Fine Arts, Budapest (167 × 119.5 cm.), Czobor, 1957. (figure 48).

*60e. Manhattan College, Riverdale, N.Y. Longhi, 1961, pp. 28–30. In New York Roman Catholic institutions since ca. 1871 when it was brought to the U.S. fr Rome.

*60f. Schloss Opočno, Czechoslovakia, no. 129. Herz photo no. 165476.

*60g. Formerly dealer S. Hartveld, Antwerp (1940) (245 × 165 cm.); Longhi, ibid. FARL (disappeared World War II) (figure 45).

*60h. Dealer Tass, Brompton Rd, London (1930), Longhi, 1943, pp. 13-14, fig. 16.

*60i. *Lost:* Coll Prince Giuliano Colonna, Naples (1688), Moir, 1967, I, p. 159.

61. *Calling of SS. Peter and Andrew,*[243] Coll Ciriaco Mattei, Rome (Baglione, Mancini and perhaps Bellori, misidentified as *Way to Emmaus*).

No 17 C. prints or drawn copies known.

18 C. print: +61a. Murphy, Boydell (1782), mezzotint (528 × 408 mm.), Le Bl, III, p. 73, no. 10. Met Mus, 51.501.4818.

Painted copies:

*61b. Hampton Court, acquired by Charles I in 1637 (162.5 × 132 cm.). Inventoried by van der Doort (1639) as a copy; sold in 1651 but at Whitehall again by 1665. Levey, 1964, pp. 69–70.

*61c. Coll Dr. Ansoldi, Rome (103 × 88 cm.); Scavizzi, 1963, no. 5a; Nicolson, 1963, p. 210.

*61d. Coll Earl Bradford, Weston Park, Shifnal (65 × 50 cm.). Witt photo B60/1186. (figure 47).

?*61e. Chatsworth. Scavizzi, 1963, no. 5a.

*61f. Anon sale, Sotheby's lot 109, 19 Dec. 1956 as by Vouet. Levey ibid. as "small" and "late" (same as 61d?).

*61g. Formerly Coll Prof. M. Chiaserotti, Rome. Longhi, 1943, p. 39, n. 25.

*61h. PC Bergamo. Longhi, ibid.

61i. PC Rome. Ivanoff, 1964.

×61j. Ferré Mus, Ponce, Puerto Rico, no. 57.0016.

+61k. Coll Dr. Bruce Vardon, N.Y. (figure 49).

61l. *Lost?* Crozat Coll, Paris (1740); sold 1751 as by Preti (111 × 73.1 cm.). Stuffman, 1968, p. 81, no. 189.

?61m. Rutley sale, Christie's, 28 Feb. 1835, lot 99.

62. *Crucifixion of St. Peter* (1st version),[244] Coll Cardinal Sannesio, Rome (on cypress, 8 × 10 *palmi*) (Mancini and Baglione).

No prints or drawn or painted copies known.

63. *Conversion of St. Paul* (1st version), Coll Cardinal Sannesio, Rome (on cypress, 8 × 10 *palmi*) (Mancini and Baglione) (see no. 115).

No prints or drawn or painted copies known.

64. *Sacrifice of Isaac,* Coll Cardinal Maffeo Barberini, Rome (1603–4) (Bellori) (see note 187).

No prints or drawn or painted copies known.

65. *Crown of Thorns,*[245] Giustiniani Coll, Rome (7½ × 5½ *palmi*) (Bellori).

No prints or drawn copies known.

Painted copy: *65a. Perhaps by Biagio Manzoni, KH (165.5 × 127 cm.) (figure 76).

66. *St. Augustine* (half-length)[246] (ca. 4½ × 5½ *palmi*), Giustiniani Coll, Rome (Salerno, 1960, III, p. 135, no. 4).

No prints or drawn or painted copies known.

67. *St. Jerome,*[246] Giustiniani Coll, Rome, (half-length) (ca. 4½ × 5½ *palmi*) (Salerno, 1960, III, p. 135 no. 5).

No prints or drawn or painted copies known.

68. *The Way to Emmaus,* Costa Coll, Rome (1606) (Mancini and Bellori) (see note 243).

No prints or drawn or painted copies known.

69. *Fainting Mary Magdalen,*[247] Sabine hills (Mancini, Baglione, Bellori)

No prints known.

Drawn copy: *69a. Statens Mus, Copenhagen, no. MAG VII G.I.L.34; pen, brown ink, wash on tan paper (125 × 135 mm.), Moir, 1972, p. 140.

Painted copies:

Cited by Bodart, 1966:

*69b. s/by Louis Finson, Mus des B-A, Marseilles (100 × 126 cm.) (figure 96).

*69c. s/by Finson w date 1613, PC St. Remy de Provence, formerly in Palais Ravanas (86.5 × 112 cm.).

*69d. s/by Wilbrandt de Geest w date 1620, Alorda Coll, Barcelona (87 × 110 cm.).

*69e. By Regnier? Mus des B-A Bordeaux (93 × 109 cm.) (figure 98).

*69f. Mus des B-A, Poitiers (73.5 × 92 cm.).

*69g. By Caroselli? Giuseppe Klain Coll, Naples (90 × 105 cm.), Scavizzi, 1963, no. 7 (figure 97).

*69h. Attrib to Francesco Guarino or Nicolo de Simone; Cutolo Coll, Naples (60 × 76 cm.); var-copy fr Solofra. Scavizzi ibid. no. 8.

69i. Formerly Carvalho Coll, Villandry. Photo F. Giraudon no. 27744.

69j. Coll J. Dutay (1946); var-copy wider than high. Photo Charles Sterling.

69k. *Lost?* Provence (1847) seen by Chennevières.

Cited by Longhi, 1943, pp. 16–17:

69l. Mus Civ, Velletri.

69m. Sili Coll, Rome.

69n. Cecconi Coll, Florence.

Cited elsewhere:

*69o. Formerly Savio Coll, Rome. Longhi, 1951*b*, pp. 16–17, pl. 3. as disappeared and as perhaps the original.

?69p. Gal Borghese, Rome. Pariset, 1948, p. 378, n. 9.

?69q. Windsor Castle; ibid.

69r. Spain? FARL Mas photo no. 35404

?69s. *Lost:* Adrian Paets sale, Rotterdam, 1713. Mireur, I, pp. 33–34 as sold for 770 fr.

?69t. *Lost:* Cittadella Coll, Florence (18 C.).

?69u. *Lost:* Hon. William Hill sale, Christie's, 30 March 1824, lot 86.[248]

70. *Resurrection,*[249] Sant'Anna dei Lombardi, Naples (Mancini, Bellori, Scaramuccia).

No prints or drawn or painted copies known.

71. *Stigmatization of St. Francis,*[250] Sant'Anna dei Lombardi, Naples (Mancini).

No prints or drawn or painted copies known.

72. *Denial of St. Peter,*[251] Certosa di San Martino, Naples (Bellori).

No prints or drawn copies known

Painted copy: *72a. *Lost:* by G. B. Caracciolo. De Dominici, 1841, III, p. 41.

73. *Crucifixion of St. Andrew,*[252] Coll Conde de Benavente, Valladolid (1653) (Bellori).

No prints or drawn copies known.

Painted copies:

*73a. Mus Provincial, Toledo (160 × 232.5 cm.) Ainaud, 1947, no. 2.

*73b. Coll Arnaiz, Madrid (152 × 254 cm.) Perez Sanchez, 1973, no. 4.

*73c. Back-Vega Coll, Vienna (1958); ex Enyedy sale, Ernst-Mus, Budapest, 15 Feb. 1923 as Ribera (150 × 200 cm.); Back-Vega, 1958, as the original; Longhi, 1960, p. 35 as Finson's copy (no. 73f.) (figure 94).

*73d. Mus B-A, Dijon (159 × 208 cm.).

*73e. Fischer Gallery, Lucerne, sale no. 160, Nov. 1963, no. 1106 (150 × 200 cm.).

*73f. *Lost?* by Finson, sale of his estate by Abraham Vinck, Amsterdam, 1619. Friedlaender, 1955, p. 210; Longhi, 1960, p. 35 as no. 73c.

74. *St. Jerome Meditating,*[253] Grand Master's Palace, La Valletta, Malta (Bellori).

No prints or drawn or painted copies known.

75. *Mary Magdalen,*[254] Cathedral of San Giovanni, Malta (a companion to no. 41 above?) (Bellori).

No prints or drawn or painted copies known.

76. *Via Crucis,*[255] Commissioned by Nicolao di Giacomo in Messina (Saccà, 1907, p. 64).

No prints or drawn or painted copies known.

77. *St. Jerome Writing,*[256] Capuchin Monastery, Messina, (Bellori).

No prints or drawn or painted copies known.

78. *St. John the Baptist,* Caravaggio in Porto Ercole (Mahon-Green 1951) (see no. 123).

No prints or drawn or painted copies known.

79. *St. Sebastian Bound to a Tree,*[257] Paris (Bellori).

No prints or drawn or painted copies known.

80. *St. Sebastian*[258] (half-length), Royal Coll, Modena (Scannelli).

No prints or drawn or painted copies known.

81. *St. Augustine with Pen in Hand*[259] (half-length), Royal Coll, Modena (Scannelli).

No prints or drawn or painted copies known.

82. *Christ Bearing the Cross*[260] (half-length; 5 *palmi* high), Coll Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi, Villa Ludovisi, Rome (1633) (Garas, 1967, II, no. 42).

No prints or drawn or painted copies known.

83. *Christ Among the Doctors*[261] (6 × 5 *palmi*). Coll Cardinal Ludovisi, Rome (1633) (Garas, 1967, II, no. 116).

No prints or drawn or painted copies known.

LOST PORTRAITS:[262] *No prints or drawn or painted copies of any known.*

84. *An Innkeeper.*[263] Mancini (ca. 1621), 1956–57, I, p. 224, II, nn. 884–885.

85. *Bernardino Cesari,* brother of the Cavaliere d'Arpino. Patrizi inventory (1624); Frommel, 1971, p. 6, n. 8, p. 9, n. 31, as perhaps an early work and small; valued at only 25 ducats.

86. *Head*[264] (3 *palmi* high framed). Ludovisi inventory (1633); Garas, 1967, II, no. 106.

In the Giustiniani inventory[265] (1638); Salerno, 1960, III:

87. *Card Benedetto Giustiniani,* three-quarter length *(tela d'Imperatore),* p. 136, no. 13.

88. *A Matron with a White Head Veil,* insc Marsilia Sicca, (2 × 2½ *palmi*), p. 138, no. 74, as believed to be an early work.

89. *A Famous Courtesan* (half-figure, unfinished?) (3½ × 4½ *palmi*), p. 136, no. 11.

90. *Prospero Farinacci,* "Criminalista" *(tela di testa),* p. 141, no. 89, as full-face showing the model (who died in 1618) lacking one eye.

91. *Woman w a Book in Her Hand* (life-size in oval frame, 1′1″ × 1′6″), Charles I inventory (1639/40) as fr Mantua (p. 88) and "black complexion'd" (p. 210); Millar, 1960.

In the testament of Martino Longhi Jr.[266] (1656); Bertolotti, 1881*a,* II, p. 26:

92. *Onorio Longhi*

93. *His Wife, Caterina Campani.*

Cited by Bellori (1672):

94. *Melchiorre Crescenzi,*[267] p. 205.

95. *Virgilio Crescenzi,*[267] p. 205.

96. *G. B. Marino,*[268] p. 205.

97. *Young Man w Orange Blossom,* Coll Conde de Villa Mediana, Valladolid, p. 204.

98. *Maffeo Barberini,*[269] p. 208.

99. *Pope Paul V,*[270] p. 208.

100. *Alof de Wignancourt,*[271] seated without armor, in the Grand Master's robe, Malta, p. 209.

PART C: DOUBTFUL ATTRIBUTIONS

101. *Annunciation,*[272] Mus des B-A, Nancy (205 × 285 cm.) (1609?) (figure 113).

No prints or drawn or painted copies known.

102. *Salome with the Head of St. John,*[273] Pal Real, Madrid (140 × 116 cm.) (Bellori? and 1686 inventory).

No prints or drawn or painted copies known.

PART D: PAINTINGS NOT BY CARAVAGGIO

I. Works Recorded in Seventeenth-century Copies but Without Written Documentation.

103. *Boy with a Vase of Roses.*[274]

No prints or drawn copies known.

Painted copies:

*103a. Art Association, Atlanta, Georgia, now as School of Caravaggio (51.8 × 67.3 cm.) ex. Moussali Coll, Paris.

*103b. Wronker sale, Sotheby's, London, 7 June 1950, (50.8 × 66 cm.) ex. Coll Tancred Borenius. Spear 1971a. (figure 1).

104. *Holy Family w St. John the Baptist.*[275]

Seventeenth-Century print:

*104a. By Pierre? Daret,[276] engraving (205 × 285 mm.), Le Bl II 94.11; M, I, p. 623, no. 12; III, 275. BMFA No. 5505; Met Mus 51.501.4808; Albert HB XIV 153/249.

No later prints or drawn copies known,

Painted copies:

*104b. Mus Berlin-Dahlem no. 1908 (92 × 114 cm.) ex Oldenburg Gallery as by Pietro Novelli. Voss, 1923, p. 81 f.

*104c. Mus des B-A, Tours, ex Richelieu Coll.

*104d. PC South America, ex Acquavella Galleries, N.Y. (94 × 116 cm.) Longhi, 1960, p. 34.

*104e. PC Montevideo, ex. Pierre d'Atri Coll, Paris (92.5 × 114 cm.).

*104f. *Lost?* PC Flanders, in a cabinet-painting by Cornelis Baellieur. Longhi, 1943, p. 38, n. 25.

105. *Sacrifice of Isaac*[277] (see no. 15).

No prints or drawn copies known.

Painted copies:

*105a. Formerly Di Bona Coll, Como (110 × 160 cm.), Kitson, 1967, no. 30.

*105b. Sacristy, Cathedral, Castellamare di Stabia (128 × 155 cm.) Scavizzi, 1963, p. 19, no. 6.

105c. Boal Coll, Boalsbury. (figure 25).

Cited by Ainaud, 1947, pp. 385–387:

*105d. Parish Ch Pennafiel (Valladolid), ex. Coll Dukes of Osuña.

105e. PC Madrid (now Conferación de Cajas de Ahorro).

105f. Dealer, Madrid-Barcelona as by anon Spaniard. Ruiz Vernacci photo no. 52220.

*105g. By Pedro Orrente or Estaban March, Mus de San Carlos, Valencia, no. 410; disappeared or destroyed 1936.

105h. *Lost:* Dowry of Doña Antonia Cecilia Hernandez di Hijar, early 18 C.

Cited by Perez Sanchez, 1973, no. 7 (all except no. 105i as "inferior"):

105i. Mus Lisbon.

105j. La Guardia (Toledo); disappeared, 1936.

105k. Parish Ch Torrijos (Toledo).

105l. Parish Ch Torrijos (Toledo), another copy.

105m. Ermita del Cristo, Toledo.

105n. Convento de las Ursulas, Alcalá de Henares.

105o. Cathedral, Zamora.

105p. Ch San Roque, Seville.

106. By Valentin? *Flagellation*[278] (Naples).

No prints or drawn copies known.

Painted copies:

*106a. Pin Civica Macerata (100 × 150 cm.).

*106b. Pin Comunale Catania (100 × 150 cm.).

106c. By Vincenzo Camuccini (1772–1844) Camuccini heirs, Cantalupo. Longhi, 1960, pp. 30–31.

107. *Christ at the Column,*[279] Mus des B-A, Rouen (174.5 × 134.5 cm.). Longhi, 1960, pp. 23 ff. (figure 120).

No prints or drawn copies known.

Painted copies:

*107a. Formerly, PC Lucca; disappeared during World War II.

*107b. Wildenstein and Company, London (171 × 132 cm.).

II. Work Not Recorded in the Seventeenth Century but Copied Later.

108. *David with Head of Goliath,*[280] KH (panel, 116.5 × 90.5 cm.).

No seventeenth- or eighteenth-century prints and no drawn or painted copies known.

Nineteenth-century print: ×108a. von Perger and J. Beaschke (1821 ff.).

III. Works Not Recorded in the Seventeenth Century; No Copies Known

109. By the Pensionante del Saraceni, *Still-life,* NG Washington (72 × 51 cm.), Spear, 1971*a*, p. 473.

110. *Infant St. John the Baptist w a Lamb,*[281] PC, Rome (76 × 105 cm.).

111. *St. John the Baptist,*[282] Cathedral, Toledo (112 × 169 cm.) Ponz 1787/1947, p. 133 as given to the Cathedral by a Canon Santamaria.

112. *Lute-Player,* Munich (81 × 110 cm.).

113. By Maino, *St. John the Baptist,* Oeffentliche Kunstsammlung, Basel (83 × 102.5 cm.), Perez Sanchez, 1965, p. 317, pl. 266. (see note 188).

114. *Crucifixion of St. Peter,* Hermitage, Leningrad (201 × 232 cm.) (see no. 62).

115. *Conversion of St. Paul,*[285] Odescalchi Balbi di Piovera Coll, Rome (189 × 237 cm.), (see no. 63).

116. By Manfredi? *Narcissus,* Gal Naz dell'Arte Antica, Rome (92 × 110 cm.) (see note 235) (figure 38).

117. *Madonna and Child,* Gal Naz dell'Arte Antica, Rome (91 × 131 cm.).

118. *St. John the Baptist,*[284] Gal Naz dell'Arte Antica, Rome (134 × 99 cm.)

119. *St. Jerome Meditating,*[258] Monastery of Monserrat, Barcelona (81 × 110 cm.).

120. *Ecstasy of St. Francis,*[286] Pin Comunale, Cremona (90 × 103 cm.) (see also note 180).

121. *Via Crucis,*[287] KH (173 × 138 cm.) (see also note 255).

PART E: WORKS NOT CONSIDERED

122. *St. Francis in Meditation,*[288] S. Pietro, Carpineto (Romano) (93 × 125 cm.) Brugnoli, 1968. (see also note 180).

No prints or drawn copies known.

Painted copy:

*122a. Cappuccini, Rome (94 × 128 cm.).

123. *St. John the Baptist at the Spring,*[289] Bonello-Coll, La Valletta, Malta (73 × 100 cm.)

No prints or drawn copies known.

Painted copy:

*123a. PC Rome; var-copy w space reduced around the figure. Porcella n.d. (1969?).

124. *Denial of St. Peter,*[290] Private Collection, Switzerland. (figure 114).

No prints or drawn or painted copies known.

Notes on Appendix I

[Notes 1–178, on the text, are to be found on pp. 69–78 above]

179. *Sick Bacchus* (no. 1). Arslan (1951, p. 445) saw this as an "apocrifo" work of the eighteenth century, despite its apparent existence in the Borghese collections since 1607. Donald Posner (1971, pp. 314–315) notes its attribution to Caravaggio in 1693 and acknowledges its unbroken history in the collection since 1607, but doubts the attribution to Caravaggio; he reminds us that Mancini reported Caravaggio hospitalized from having been kicked by a horse, and thus dismisses as a fable Longhi's explanation of the strange flesh color as that of a self-portrait done while the artist was hospitalized with malaria. Slatkes (1969, p. 24) suggests that the figure may represent the melancholic temperament.

    The fact remains that the Borghese painting fits Baglione's description of a boy with several kinds of grapes and that it could well be a mirror image of the artist. Calvesi (1971, pp. 98–99) explains the iconography as symbolizing Christ as Redeemer with the symbols of death, resurrection, and eternal life.

180. *Ecstasy of St. Francis* (no. 3). The recent discovery by Frommel (1971, p. 34, fol. 580r) of a reference in the inventory of Cardinal Del Monte's collection need not raise any new question as to the authenticity of the Hartford painting. It does call into question the version which Ottavio Costa had sent by 1597 to the Abbot Ruggero Tritonio of Pinerolo in Piedmont, who in turn bequeathed it to his nephew in Udine. After Tritonio's death in 1612 no notice of his painting appears until 1852, when it or a copy of it was given by the heir, Count Francesco Fistalario, to the Church of San Giacomo at Fagagna near Udine. Frommel (1971, pp. 8–9) believes the Del Monte version was surely the original and earlier than the Tritonio painting. The possibility that the latter work was a copy (possibly the one in the Museo Civico, Udine [no. 3a]?) is worthy of serious consideration; I doubt that it was a different composition because of its apparently uninterrupted history in the Friuli and because the other conceptions of the subject (all of them, incidentally, vertically oriented) reflect a later phase of Caravaggio's stylistic evolution.

    In fact, quite apart from the new reference to the subject and the questions that have been raised concerning the authenticity of the

Hartford painting (now generally accepted, but see Kitson, 1967, no. 7, for the summary of the dispute), the theme has a history of ambiguity in association with Caravaggio. Another *St. Francis* (no. 71) specified as a *Stigmatization* for the Church of Sant'Anna dei Lombardi in Naples is recorded as his, but it seems to have disappeared without trace; see note 250. The following versions of *St. Francis* can be related:

i. St. Francis in Meditation (Cremona); see no. 120.

ii. by Giovanni Baglione, *St. Francis between Two Angels,* private collection, Chicago (112 × 154 cm.); signed with the initials MC and dated 1601; ex. Borghese and Cardinal Fesch collections; Moir, 1967, I, p. 31, n. 30, II, fig. 29. Despite the more upright position of the saint and the addition of the second angel and the skull, some reminiscence of the Hartford painting is evident. Recorded in an engraving (291 × 396 mm.) by François Basan, inscribed "Michel Ange de Caravage Pinx/F. Basan excud/La Mort de Saint François" (M, 1872, p. 624, no. 57, as from a painting formerly in the Gemäldegalerie at Dresden but by 1872 disappeared; GNSR 36. H. 19; BMFA Babcock Coll, no. 409). The composition of Baglione's painting reappears in Manetti's *Samson and Delilah* (112 × 176 cm.) in the Museo Bellas Artes, Mexico, D.F. (Spear, 1971, no. 43, pp. 126–127). It is reversed with many variations (including the deletion of the second angel) in a painting attributed to:

iii. Orazio Gentileschi, *St. Francis with an Angel,* Galleria Nazionale dell'Arte Antica, Rome (98 × 133 cm.). What is more striking about this painting, however, is the pose of the angel, which is identical to that of the drawing by Simone Peterzano in the Castello Sforzesco in Milan (Moir, 1969, p. 363, fig. 4). The relation of this painting to the Baglione (and the Manetti) just preceding it, to the Peterzano drawing, and to Caravaggio himself is undetermined. Presumably the Baglione provides a *terminus ante quem* for the original, whatever it may have been; and could this cassock and these wings be those mentioned in the 1603 process as exchanged between Caravaggio and Gentileschi? I know of no instance of Gentileschi's taking a pose or compositional motif direct from Caravaggio, but his taking from Baglione or Baglione from him is even less likely, and serious consideration should be given to the possibility that this painting reflects a lost Caravaggio, comparable in its flattened space to the Berlin *Victorious Love* (no. 26), intervening between Peterzano and Gentileschi and Baglione, and perhaps even recorded—as Cardinal Del Monte's *St. Francis,* as the Neapolitan *St. Francis* (no. 71), or even as Marshall Soult's version (no. 3*vii*).

iv. Orazio Gentileschi, *St. Francis with an Angel,* Prado, Madrid (98 × 126 cm.) Perez Sanchez, 1970, p. 278, no. 85; a copy in the Museum at Gerona. This second version of the subject by Orazio rearranges the figures somewhat so that the debt to the Peterzano drawing is slight if any.

v. St. Francis in Meditation (Carpineto); see no. 122.

vi. by Pieter Soutman (1580–1657), *St. Francis in Meditation,* etching (237.5 × 320 mm.) inscribed "Cum Privil Michael Agnolo Caravaggio, Pinxit P. Soutman Effigiavit et excud." (M, 1872, p. 624, no. 55; BMFA no. 7492; Met Mus 51.50.4849) (figure 13). Miles Chappell has pointed out to me its source in a painting by Francesco Bassano in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

vii. Lost work, Death of St. Francis (149 × 190 cm.), sold in the Marshall Soult auction (1852) as a Caravaggio. Judging from the dimensions (higher than wide) this painting was not a version of the Hartford *St. Francis* but another. Presumably the fact that both Count Fistalario's gift of his *St. Francis* to the church at Fagagna and Marshall's auction took place in 1852 is merest coincidence.

Finally, note should be taken of the Cavallino-school *St. Agatha* (at the University of Leeds; a copy in the Prado is attributed to Antonio Barbalunga; figure 16), which is based on the figure of the Hartford *St. Francis,* as is Saraceni's *St. Sebastian* (versions in Prague and Glasgow; figure 15).

181. *Fortune-Teller* (no. 4). Kitson (1967, p. 86) correctly reemphasizes the fact that the Capito-

line version (no. 4e) of the subject is not a literal copy but at variance with the original in the physiognomies and a number of details (the gloves, shoulder drapery, hat plumage, tunic opening, sleeve, and other minor features of the *bravo*; the tilt of the head of the gypsy and the relations among the different parts of her costume). It is recorded in 1750 when it was purchased by the pope from the Pio Collection in Rome. Frommel, in his publication (1971) of the Del Monte inventory, suggests (p. 16) that it was the one listed in the Cardinal's inventory of 1627 and assumes that both the Louvre and the Capitoline versions are autograph originals. The former proposal is more convincing than the latter, and I continue to believe that the Capitoline version is a variant-copy, probably by a Frenchman. In 1968 a Roman dealer had an excellent variant (136 x 96 cm.; figure 7) with different costumes, physiognomies, and gestures but otherwise very similar to the Capitoline version; it appears to be by the same hand as the San Martino *Denial of St. Peter* (no. 72*i*; figure 101).

See Thuillier, 1972, pp. 2–4, figs. 1–6, for some of the seventeenth-century variations, all but one (his fig. 1) French, some clearly derivative from Caravaggio's treatment of the theme, others (notably the prints) not.

182. *Mary Magdalen* (Doria) (no. 6). Bossaglia, following Arslan (1951, p. 445; and 1959, p. 193), believes the Doria painting is an eighteenth-century copy of a lost original. She believes that the Boscarelli painting (no. 6a) is also a copy of the lost original but that the expanded space is more exactly reflective of it. Arslan's arguments, based on study of the X rays of the underpainting and on the greater spaciousness of the Boscarelli copy, seem adequately answered by the very high quality of the Doria painting.

183. *Bacchic Musical* (no. 7). The Metropolitan Museum painting is in ruin. The Lepke and London (figures 17, 18) variant-copies (nos. 7a, 7b) indicate that it was originally somewhat larger. Theodore Rousseau (1953, p. 45) noted that on the occasion of its second relining (during the nineteenth century?) the painting was cut down "slightly at top and bottom and about two inches on the left side . . ." and that the (restored) wings had been removed in London before the Metropolitan acquired the painting. Apparently the boy in the left background actually was originally winged and had a quiver of arrows over his right shoulder; wings and arrow tips appear in both copies. Described as "A Concert of three figures, with Cupid pressing grapes in the background; a capital picture in Guido's manner," the New York painting was sold (to Norton for £24.3.0) at Christie's, 20 June 1834, lot 94, in the sale of H. (=Henry) Fulton, deceased, as a Caravaggio. Perhaps it can also be recognized in the description of lot 57 of Christie's sale, 3 June 1815: "Love and Harmony, a beautiful group of four figures, painted with great sweetness and delicacy." Also attributed to Caravaggio, this painting did not make its reserve of £80 and was bought in at 50 gns.

As Richard Spear has observed (1971, pp. 70–71), the theme is certainly an allegory of love, as would be indicated by identification of the winged boy as Eros and by the presence of the musical instruments, which presumably also satisfied Cardinal Del Monte's well-known interest in music.

184. *Lute-Player* (no. 8). Marilyn Lavin has discovered payments in 1642 on behalf of Cardinal Antonio Barberini to Carlo Magnone for two copies, one of the *Bari* and the other of the *Lute-Player*. Both subjects belonged to Cardinal Del Monte; in 1644 they begin already to appear in the Barberini inventories as autograph works by Caravaggio. However, the original of the *Lute-Player* was in the Giustiniani Collection from the 1638 inventory until 1808, when it was sold in Paris and went to Russia. Mrs. Lavin supposes therefore that the Barberini *Lute-Player* (no. 8f; figure 19) was actually Magnone's copy rather than the original. It is described in the 1644 inventory, which she tells me was highly accurate, as including musical instruments but without any reference to the fruit or flowers of the original which are also lacking from the Wildenstein painting, to which presumably the bird cage was added later.

Magnone (or Magnoni) was a pupil of Sacchi's and carried out a number of copies, including several others for Cardinal Barberini. He was obviously very highly skilled.

185. *Basket of Fruit* (no. 11). Note should be taken of the findings of the most recent X ray, which revealed *rinceaux* with two *putti* underneath the still-life (Salerno, 1966, p. 107). It is

with some chagrin that I now observe that in Arslan's reproduction of the old X ray (1959, fig. 95c) part of the *rinceaux* is clearly visible. The painting underneath is upside down and apparently was the right end of a friezelike composition, of the same height as the Ambrosiana *Basket of Fruit* but indefinitely longer. It would seem very possible that Caravaggio utilized a secondhand canvas, perhaps obtained from his friend Prosperino delle Grottesche (as Salerno has reasonably suggested) or perhaps left over from his assistance of the Cavaliere d'Arpino as a painter of flowers and fruit (following Waterhouse's hints in *Italian Baroque Painting,* 1962, p. 5). Mrs. Hope Werness has identified the *putto-rinceau* motif as a copy of the base of a candelabrum in the Lateran Museum.

Mrs. Lavin informs me of a reference in the 1671 inventory (no. 354) of the Barberini Collection to a *Basket of Fruit on a Stone Table* attributed to Caravaggio. It was 4 × 3 palmi and valued at 50 scudi; the late date of the inventory makes the attribution suspect, but obviously the subject and size are appropriate to Caravaggio.

186. *Judith Beheading Holofernes* (no. 13). Although Valentin's *(i.)* version of the subject (in the museum at La Valletta, Malta, ill. Brejon, 1973/74, pl. II) is very close to Caravaggio's original, it is characteristic in being a variant rather than a copy. It can be taken as the first step in a sequence of variants and derivations: *(ii.)* the Windsor drawing (no. 5141, pen and brown wash, 337 × 215 mm., attributed to Caroselli by Blunt and Cooke, 1960, no. 106, p. 31, pl. I.) with Judith dropping the head into the bag held open by the old servant might be considered the second step, and *(iii.)* the Manfredi in the Staatsgemäldesammlung in Munich the third (no. 2221; 169 × 117 cm.; published by Ivanoff, 1965, p. 14 as Regnier; figure 24) with *Judith* now turning to the right in the pose of the Borghese *David* (no. 47) as she drops the head into the bag held by the servant, who is no longer caricatured and who has been liberated from Caravaggio's frozen profile; this composition is then reversed in a *(iv.) Judith* attributed quite convincingly to Caroselli and shown in the Wertheim exhibition in Berlin in 1927 (figure 26), which brings the theme into compositional conjunction with the Uffizi *Sacrifice of Isaac* and such of its derivants as that in the Rapp Collection, Stockholm (see note 187, no. 15 *v*; figure 21). Finally, the composition seems to have been fused with the *Mary and Martha* and transformed comically by *(v.)* Caroselli or a follower into an *Allegory of Love* (oil on a panel, 30½" x 21½"; collection of Major W. M. P. Kincaid-Lennox; Downton Castle, Herefordshire; figure 29); and perhaps it was intended symbolically in its use by Saraceni or someone close to him (Finson?) for the *(vi.) Madonna and Child with St. Ann and an Angel,* of which the original was apparently much admired, judging from the number of copies, but seems to have been lost (see Ottani, 1968; figure 28). Other derivants are *(vii.)* Cavallino's version at Capodimonte (Moir, 1967, II, fig. 223); the figures of Judith and Holofernes in *(viii.)* Artemisia Gentileschi's painting in the Uffizi (Moir, 1967, II, fig. 159) and in its *(ix.)* derivant by Trophime Bigot in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore (ill. Nicolson, 1964, fig. 29); very distantly *(x.)* Jacques Blanchard's *Death of Cleopatra* at Chatswoth (ill. *Art de France I,* 1961, p. 79); *(xi.)* the Luca Giordano school *Judith* belonging to the Banco di Napoli but in 1966 at Capodimonte (ill. Molajoli catalogue of the bank collection, 1953, pl. 62); and ultimately *(xii.)* Piazzetta's *Judith* known through Pietro Monaco's print of 1740 and in several painted versions (A. Morassi, 1949, pp. 70–75).

Président de Brosses described a *Judith Beheading Holofernes* that he saw about 1740 in the Palazzo Zambeccari in Bologna as by Caravaggio; but this surely was the copy of Artemisia's Uffizi painting which is now in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna.

Although apparently listed in Finson's will as the original, his *Judith* (no. 13c) seems certainly to have been a copy, presumably made from the original in Naples where it was reported by Pourbus in 1607 (see Friedlaender, 1955, p. 314).

187. *Sacrifice of Isaac* (no. 15). The documents published by Marilyn Lavin (1967, pp. 470, 473) fixed the dates of June 1603 to January 1604 for the *Sacrifice of Isaac* mentioned by Bellori as painted for Maffeo Barberini. These dates are upsetting to all current chronologies of Caravaggio's career if the Uffizi version of the subject is taken, as it usually has been, as either the original Barberini painting or an ex-

cellent copy of it. However, the certain provenience of the painting goes back only to 1917, when it was given to the Uffizi, reportedly from the Sciarra Collection; and there is no necessity to identify it as the Barberini picture, since the theme was very popular and Bellori's description of it might fit a dozen or more different contemporary versions. At the same time, the quality of the Uffizi picture seems to me to guarantee its authenticity, as do such details as the knife which is clearly painted over Isaac's arm, despite some good arguments against its authenticity (Friedlaender, 1955, p. 160). It might be a somewhat earlier version of the subject, antedating the one that Bellori located (and Mrs. Lavin has documented) in the Barberini Collection. If this is so, the question then arises which (if any) of the many other versions was the Barberini painting; and obviously the original (no. 105) of the Castellamare-Di Bona copies should be seriously considered, despite quite convincing evidence that they do not reflect a lost Caravaggio but rather an original by one of his followers (see note 277).

The many other versions of the subject are apparently about evenly divided between those representing the angel running to the rescue and those showing him flying. Bellori does not describe the angel; so there is no documentary reason to look for the former in preference to the latter type as the figure in the lost Barberini composition. The flying angel does appear in a number of paintings of the subject by Caravaggisti—for example, apparently *(i.)* in Valentin's in the Museum of Fine Arts in Montreal (181.5 × 97 cm.; see Carter, 1968, p. 4; figure 27); *(ii.)* in Tanzio's fresco in Santa Maria della Pace in Milan (ill. W. Arslan, 1948); and *(iii.)* in a canvas (122.5 × 162.5 cm.; figure 30) close to Valentin which was recently bought in at Bonham's in London (lot 107, 27 June 1974) and which has appeared itself or through copies in the Wertheim exhibit at Berlin (1927) as belonging to E. Lang, in the Adler Collection at Asch in Czechoslovakia (Zahn, 1928, p. 38), and in the Feigl sale at Prague, 13–14 December 1935. But the frequency of versions like the Uffizi and Castellamare paintings, reversing the composition of the *Judith Beheading Holofernes* with the angel (both feet apparently on the ground) taking the servant's place, suggests that this may have been Caravaggio's own conception. It appears in *(iv.)* the Duc d'Orléans' version, known to us through Le Vasseur's 1786 engraving (201 × 170 mm.) (figure 23) where it is identified as a Caravaggio in the Palais Royal; it was, in fact, a variant, perhaps by G. A. De Ferrari or someone similar, on the Uffizi painting. The version closest to the Uffizi picture in composition is in *(v.)* the Nils Rapp Collection in Stockholm (149 × 105 cm; figure 21); stylistically, it is only peripherally Caravaggesque, like the work of Fiasella after 1630.

188. *Youth with a Ram* (no. 16). The original, mentioned in ca. 1622 by Celio as a "Pastor Friso" (=Phryxis?) in the Mattei Collection, was bequeathed by Giovanni Battista Mattei to Cardinal Del Monte in 1623–24 (Frommel, 1971, p. 9, n. 31, citing Dr. Gerda Panofsky's archival finds). A very careful examination of the Capitoline and Doria Collection (no. 16c) versions made during 1970 has convinced me that the former is this autograph original and the latter a superior contemporary copy, presumably by an artist who was very close to Caravaggio and very nearly his peer. Could it be one of Caroselli's fakes, as described by Baldinucci and Passeri (Moir, 1967, I, p. 53, no. 129)? The Fürstenberg copy (no. 16d) came from the collection made in Rome by the Freiherr Wilhelm von Fürstenberg (1623–99) and was already passing as an original in 1666. Presumably it had been painted considerably earlier because in that year it was restored by Ferdinand Voet, a member of Maratta's studio.

The similarity of the Glasgow version (no. 16g; figure 62) to the drawing (no. 16a, figure 64) appears not only in the augmented space but also in the cross in the foreground. However, the style is different from Stomer's, and if the drawing and the painting are by the same hand, it cannot have been his. The painted *St. John* wears an exceptional costume, fur trimmed, and as tight over the torso and thighs as BVDs. Incidentally, in both these works and a number of others, Slatkes's provocative proposals (in 1969 passim and 1972 passim to identify the subject as the shepherd Phryxis as symbolic of the month of March, the sign of Aries, and the sanguine temperament) have been resolved by the copyists' adding the attributes to make clear that St.

John the Baptist is the subject at least of their paintings. In this respect it should be noted that the original was already identified as representing *St. John the Baptist* by 1613 (see Stechow, 1956, p. 60).

Caravaggio's adaptation of the Sistine ceiling *ignudo* that inspired the pose of the figure was perhaps facilitated by his friend Cherubino Alberti's print (B. 149, of 1585). In addition to having inspired *(i.)* Baglione's *St. John* (in the National Painting Gallery, Athens; first published by Spear, 1971, p. 48, fig. 10), Caravaggio's Capitoline version of the subject seems in turn to have mediated between Michelangelo and several later versions:

ii. not surprisingly Biagio Manzoni's *St. John* in Faenza Cathedral (ill. Moir, 1967, II, fig. 340);

iii. the reversed and bowlderized version (95 × 120 cm.) very nearly transformed into a swastika that was sold as lot 87 in the Bille-Brahe sale, at Winkel and Magnussen, Copenhagen, 6 February 1936; Witt photo;

iv. the heavy-limbed, sluggish, adenoidal adolescent known through several versions of the composition: *a.* in the Louvre (114 × 178 cm.) as by Cagnacci; perhaps the original and by some north European—I think of Bijlert or Gysbert van der Kuyl, for example; attributed by Longhi (1943, p. 48, n. 41) to Saraceni, which Ottani denies (1968, p. 138, no. 140); Emiliani (1962, fig. 7) attributes it to Carlo Bononi; *b.* in the suburban Parisian church of Marly-le-Roi, badly damaged and repainted; suggested by Pierre Rosenberg (1966, p. 176, no. 196) as the original, possibly an autograph Caravaggio of ca. 1595; *c.* in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen, as "d'après Le Caravage (?)" (65 × 81 cm.); according to Rosenberg (ibid.), a mediocre replica of the Louvre and Marly-le-Roi paintings; *d.* in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva; Schleier (1969, p. 421) describes it as an autograph replica of the Louvre version, and gives both to Bononi;

v. perhaps the reversed painting (no. 110) in a private collection in Rome, which is close in style to Domenico Piola but for some reason beyond my ken continues from time to time to appear attributed to Caravaggio himself; and finally

vi. astonishingly the Baciccio that was at Colnaghi's in 1968 (*Burlington Magazine*, CX, May 1968, fig. 82).

The idea of the *St. John with a Ram* in Basel (no. 113) may have been derived from the Capitoline painting, but the composition is not only reversed but also so transformed as to make an entirely new conception of the subject. The same is true of the Toledo version (no. 111).

189. *Supper at Emmaus* (no. 17). The painting was in the Borghese Collection from shortly after completion until ca. 1798, when it entered English possession. Unsold (for 115 gns.) at the Hon. G. J. Vernon sale at Christie's, 16 April 1831, it was given to the National Gallery in 1839.

If my attribution of the Leon and Monreale copies (nos. 17f and 17g) to Rodriquez is correct, they must have been painted by as early as 1610–14, when Rodriquez had returned from Rome to Messina.

The attribution of the Sabin *Supper at Emmaus* (no. 17j; figure 54) to Juan Bautista Maino is based on my recognition of the striking similarities of the copy to his early work, specifically to the *Adoration of the Shepherds* and the *Resurrection,* both painted 1612–13 for the high altar of San Pedro Martir in Toledo (and now in the Museo Balaguer, Barcelona; see Spear, 1971, pp. 123-125, pl. 42 and fig. 30). Particularly striking are the sharp outlines, hard glossy surfaces, and such almost identical details as the headdresses of the innkeeper and the turbaned man sleeping at Christ's feet. Maino was in Italy in 1611 and carried out the cycle at San Pedro Martir just after his return to Spain. Spear has noted his close ties to Caravaggio, and Morassi anticipated identification of him as author of the Sabin copy by attributing it to an unknown Spaniard.

Either Fatoure, who according to Basan (1791, Supplement III, p. 68) was born in Venice in 1584, made the print (figure 53) in Rome or else in Sicily (from the Leon copy?) before going to Malta, where he died in 1629; it surely was made from one of the copies rather than the other way around.

Bellori noted that Caravaggio's Christ was clean-shaven; obviously, Rodriquez, Maino, Fa-

toure, and the Gillespie copyist "corrected" Caravaggio's Christ by giving him a beard. Probably the Innsbruck "copy" (no. 171) was, in fact, a variant like the version (figure 56) presumably by an Italianate northerner, known to me only through a photo in the Cini archive.

The variants on this and the Brera *Supper at Emmaus* are quite literally too numerous to mention, but at least one is irresistible, Georges de La Tour's *Cheaters* (Louvre, Paris; formerly Pierre Landry Collection), the composition of which (including such exact correspondence as of the figures in the lower left corners of the two paintings) is unmistakably derived from the London version, probably through the print.

190. *Incredulity of St. Thomas* (no. 18). Despite repeated references to it as lost or as a copy, Caravaggio's original is alive and well in Potsdam and is documented in the Giustiniani inventory. Presumably the original or a copy accompanied Cardinal Benedetto Giustiniani when he went to Bologna in 1606 as papal legate, and inspired the responses described by Malvasia and productive of Garbieri's copy (no. 18w) (Moir, 1967, I, p. 228, n. 8); Malvasia's references to the other copies (nos. 18u, 18v) may have been to Garbieri's or to one or two others made then or later.

Probably Baglione's reference to an *Incredulity of St. Thomas* painted for Ciriaco Mattei was a mistake for the Giustiniani painting, which Baglione does not mention otherwise.

Note should be taken of Ivanoff, 1961, discussing the iconographic impact of Caravaggio's treatment of the subject.

191. Robillart's engraving (figure 57) is clumsy, characteristic of mediocre French reproductive printmaking of the time. The unsigned first state has given rise to some confusion.

192. The attribution to Preti is based on stylistic grounds; comparison should be made to such works as Preti's *Christ and the Tribute Money* (in the Brera; ill. Moir, 1967, II, fig. 174), where lighted flesh is modeled as large simplified areas in which the quality of the pigment impasto replaces detailed anatomy, wrinkles (as in the brows) are given a slightly crude linear definition, and color is as much decorative areas as it is local tones.

193. *Contarelli Chapel* (nos. 19–22). Frommel (1971, pp. 9–10, 30) has just published a painting listed in the Del Monte 1627 inventory as "Un quadro di San Matteo di Palmi quattro copia del Caravaggio." Although it is tempting to identify this copy as of one of the two versions of the *Inspiration,* it could conceivably have been of one of the versions of the other two subjects painted for the chapel walls. There is no compelling reason to suggest that Caravaggio himself made this copy or even that it was made while he was under Cardinal Del Monte's protection.

194. Reversed but not a counterproof; therefore, presumably drawn in preparation for a print which was apparently never made.

195. *Calling of St. Matthew* (no. 21). The complexity of the problems of the sources of, and the derivants from, the painting are such as to require a separate study, which I intend eventually to publish. Suffice it to say at this point that Caravaggio's unique contribution to the *composition* appears to be the afterthought of St. Peter, and all paintings (like [*i.*] the Ter Brugghen in the Centraal Museum at Utrecht [ill. Nicolson, 1958, fig. 27] and [*ii.*] the Strozzi at Worcester [ill. Moir, 1967, II, fig. 255]) including this figure must *ipso facto* owe some debt to Caravaggio's; that *stylistically* a number of other versions of the subject without St. Peter (like [*iii.*] the Tornioli in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen [ill. Rosenberg, 1966 fig. 232]) appear also to be derivative from the San Luigi de' Francesi painting; that many of the derivants (like the Ter Brugghen, the Tornioli, and [*iv.*] a Luca Giordano that was at French and Company in New York during 1966) are reversed, the lack of any prints making this reversal notable; and that the composition, often reversed, became something of a commonplace for different subjects, most notably the *Denial of St. Peter* (like [*v.*] the Rombouts in the Liechtenstein Collection; ill. von Schneider, 1933, fig. 42a), the *Expulsion of the Merchants from the Temple* (like [*vi.*] the lost Manfredi from the French Royal Collection known through the Jean Haussart print of 1715 [ill. Nicolson, 1967, fig. 1]), and *(vii.)* the *Memento Mori* (in the Isaac Delgado Museum, New Orleans, wrongly attributed to Jean Leclerc and recently proposed for Jean Ducamps [see Spear, 1971, pp. 88–89, no. 24]).

196. The attribution is based on an inscription on the painting; the name, however, does not ap-

pear elsewhere, and it occurs to me as quite possibly the donor's not the artist's. In fact, the painting seems close to late sixteenth-century French Mannerism. Attention should be paid also to the two figures on the left who appear in an Elsheimer drawing (Maltese, 1955, fig. 4, as Oppenheim Coll, London). Calvesi (1971, pp. 118–121) offers an ingenious and complex iconographical explanation for these two figures.

197. *Inspiration of St. Matthew* (2nd version) (no. 22). An eighteenth-century black chalk drawing (234 × 368 mm.) in the National Museum, Stockholm (no. 3009/1863 from the Pio Collection) represents Caravaggio drawing a rather distorted version of the second *Inspiration;* see Moir, 1972, p. 141.

198. *Conversion of St. Paul* (no. 23). Falconieri's reference to Camuccini's little copy (23b) does not specify which version so the presumption of the Cerasi Chapel canvas seems reasonable. Camuccini's own original version of the subject (ca. 1830 for San Paolo fuori le Mura, Rome) followed the more traditional iconography with God the Father and other figures.

199. The brown color and the lack of vines seem to indicate that this copy was actually made *in situ* at Santa Maria del Popolo; the hand might possibly have been Fiasella's. Alternatively, could the copy of the first version credited by Soprani (1674, p. 83) to Saltarello have been a mistaken reference to the second, and could this then be Saltarello's copy? In any case, the copyist seems quite surely to have been seventeenth-century Genoese.

200. Note should be taken of Pacheco's citation (1956, II, p. 13) of *several* copies known to him, presumably in Seville.

201. Although "A. Bloemaert" could identify the father Abraham (1564–1651), the son Adrian (1609–66) seems likelier.

202. *Entombment* (no. 25). All but one of the seventeenth-century prints purporting to be after the painting, notably those by J. Suydenhoef (1621), Pieter Soutman, Peter Aubry, Charles Allard, and Jan Sadeler, are in fact after Rubens's *Entombment* of ca. 1614; the only print actually after Caravaggio's painting is van Baburen's (no. 25a, figure 74). It demonstrates clearly that Mary Cleophas was included in the original, and thus should once and for all discredit Argan's hypothesis that her figure was a later addition, even though she was eliminated from the Madrid drawing (no. 25o).

The variants and derivants are numerous, the most famous Rubens's (now in the National Gallery, Ottawa, from the Liechtenstein Collection) and van Baburen's (in San Pietro in Montorio, Rome, for which it was painted; [ill. Slatkes, 1965, fig. 1]). Van Baburen's painting itself inspired many copies and variants.

203. My attribution of this drawing to Bramer is based on its similarity to the drawings in the notebook attributed to him in the Rijksmuseum Print Cabinet in Amsterdam.

204. This drawing is hypothecated as having been made from the original *in situ* in Rome, taken home to the Netherlands, and used as the basis for Rubens's 1614 painting of the subject. Rubens could of course have used another artist's drawing or an early painted copy as his source; no print had been made by 1614.

205. Cézanne was never in Rome, so this watercolor must have been made from a copy or from a photo.

206. Emiliani has hypothecated the attribution of this rather uncertain copy to Guerrieri; the painting arrived in Milan from Sassoferrato in 1811 during Napoleonic transportation of works of art.

207. Presumably made in Paris while the painting was there, although conceivably carried out in Rome (to which it had been returned) after Gericault's arrival there in autumn 1816.

208. *Victorious Earthly Love* (no. 26). As Friedlaender (1955, p. 222) made clear, Caravaggio painted two related subjects of *Love Victorious:* the earlier, reported by Baglione as for Cardinal Del Monte, represented *Divine Love Conquering Profane Love* (no. 58) and is lost; the other *Victorious Earthly Love,* painted before 1603 for the Marchese Giustiniani, is now in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin-Dahlem. Mentioned in Orazio Gentileschi's testimony in the 1603 hearing, this latter painting apparently was not copied but inspired a number of variants. These appear to be generally of three types.

The first is derived more or less directly from the Berlin painting:

i. closest is a variant (48 × 67 cm.) in the collection of Captain Patrick Drury-Lowe at Locko Park, with the boy's right arm raised slightly and the accessories rearranged (figure 41);

ii. very similar, but somewhat larger (52½ × 73 inches) and more spacious, is a version which was in the E. von Loewenstern Collection, as Riminaldi, sold at Christie's 19 March 1965 (lot 57); the arm has now been raised further, so that it is in the same pose as that of *Sacred Love* in the two Baglione versions of that subject;

iii. by Jan van Bijlert?: attributed to Orazio Gentileschi in the Castle Gallery at Prague (122.4 × 168.2 cm), where it has been since 1685, when it was called a copy of Guido Reni; it represents a different model, older, with the limbs now spread-eagled into a swastikalike pose; quite similar in *fattura* to Bijlert's *Orpheus* in the Palazzo Reale, Naples; ill. *Burlington Magazine,* CIX, June 1967, Advertisement Supplement, pl. X, where it appears with

iv. a variant-copy, misidentified as representing *Orpheus,* then in the Armagh Gallery, Broadway, Worcs.;

v. attributed to Riminaldi: with a dealer in Munich, formerly in Zurich (Voss, 1962, pp. 32–35, fig. 4); the attribution is Voss's and seems questionable, although a Tuscan origin for the painting seems likely; the setting is more spacious, the objects somewhat rearranged, and the pose of the boy twisted but still recognizably derived from Caravaggio's; might this painting be the *Amour with Instruments of the Liberal Arts* by Astolfo Petrazzi, which was listed in the 1644 inventory (in the Chigi archive, Vatican Library, Armadio CCCLI) of the Estate of Cavaliere Agostino Chigi of Siena? The Cavaliere, who was rector of the Spedale di Santa Maria della Scala in Siena, left his possessions to his Roman relations;

vi. attributed to Carlo Bononi: called *Genius of the Arts* at the dealer Fischer in Lucerne in 1962 (102 × 122 cm.); published by Voss, ibid., pp. 32–33, as in the hands of a Munich dealer; an unidentified reversed print of this painting is in the Rijksmuseum Print Cabinet in Amsterdam and has been suggested to be by Michel Dorigny after Vouet (figure 44); and Voss published a variant-copy of the painting in the storerooms of the Pinacoteca Nazionale in Bologna. The pose reverses the head, right arm, and upper torso of the angel in Orazio Gentileschi's *St. Francis* (no. 3*iii*) set on the also-reversed legs of Caravaggio's *Victorious Earthly Love;*

vii. by Giovanni Baglione? his so-called third version in a private collection, Rome (Moir, 1967, I, pp. 31–32; II, fig. 31; Spear, 1971, pp. 46–49), which is not at all a third version of the *Divine Love Conquering the Profane* that Baglione painted twice for Cardinal Giustiniani, but like Caravaggio's painting in Berlin is a representation of *Omnia Vincit Amor* (see de Mirimonde, 1967, pp. 320–321); the dimensions (111 × 152 cm.) are almost identical to those of the Berlin painting (110 × 154 cm.). Taken in conjunction with the two poses which reverse each other, these dimensions suggest the possibility that Baglione's painting was designed as a pendant (or an answer?) to Caravaggio's, but not of the entirely different subject implied in Gentileschi's testimony.

The second type of painting derivative from the *Victorious Earthly Love* combines the subject with a pose similar to that of the *Youth with a Ram* (no. 16):

viii. attributed to Baglione: private collection, Rome (97.5 × 130.5 cm.), first published by Salerno (1960, p. 135) and Venturi (1963, pp. 56–57, fig. 20) as by Caravaggio himself, and recently identified by Spear (1971, pp. 46–48, fig. 8) as Baglione's "third" version instead of no. 26*vii* just above; the similarity of the pose to the *Youth with a Ram* is emphasized by a painting in the Pinacotheque Nationale in Athens, which is also attributed to Baglione but represents St. John the Baptist (ill. Spear *ibid.,* fig. 10);

ix. a similar painting, nearly identical in dimensions (96.5 × 133.5 cm.), was sold at Christie's 16 January 1970 (lot 149) as a *Victorious Love,* attributed to Riminaldi; it is, I believe, closer to Cavarozzi (figure 42);

x. Riminaldi's *Victorious Love* (formerly called *Amor Artificier*) in the Pitti (112 × 142 cm.; ill. Borea, 1970, no. 16).

The third group includes two paintings which are unrelated compositionally but repre-

sent the same theme, and are unmistakably derived stylistically from Caravaggio:

xi. attributed doubtfully to Riminaldi: National Gallery, Dublin (122 × 178 cm.), where the child is younger and is standing among a greater clutter (figure 43);

xii. the extraordinary canvas (127.6 × 90.3 cm.; figure 107) in a private collection, London, which is close to Pietro Paolini; it combines the recumbent pose of Caravaggio's *Sleeping Cupid* (no. 42) with the iconography of the *Victorious Earthly Love.*

Finally note should be taken of a painting attributed to Riminaldi sold as an *Allegory of the Arts* (134.5 × 96.5 cm.) at Christie's 24 July 1970 (lot 311) described as "a cherub seated amidst books, musical instruments, and other emblems of the arts, with the Mother and Child appearing to a prophet above—unframed. . . ."

209. *St. John the Baptist* (Kansas City) (no. 27). Because the Capodimonte copy (no. 27a) was in Rome until 1802, it cannot have been the *St. John the Baptist* reported by Cochin as at Sant'-Anna dei Lombardi in Naples in 1763 and attributed by him together with the *Resurrection* (no. 70) and the *St. Francis* (no. 71). Note should be taken of the *St. John the Baptist in the Desert* attributed to Caravaggio in the estate of Martino Longhi the Younger (the son of Caravaggio's friend Onorio Longhi); see note 266 below. It is not known which of the *St. Johns* by Caravaggio the Longhi version might have been, if indeed it was by the master himself rather than by a copyist or an imitator.

210. *St. Jerome Writing* (Borghese) (no. 28). There are innumerable variants on and derivants from this theme, particularly in the oeuvres of Ribera and his school. Hitherto unnoted is the debt Serodine owed to the Borghese painting for the compacted composition of his *St. Peter in Prison* (Züst Collection, Rancate; figure 90).

211. *The Madonna of Loreto* (no. 29). Because Caravaggio's painting has never left Sant'Agostino in Rome and because Vorsterman is not known to have visited the Holy City, his print (figure 84) can be assumed to have been made from a copy, presumably King Charles's (no. 29r) during Vorsterman's visit to England (1624–30). The royal painting was described by van der Doort in his 1639/40 inventory of the king's collection as "after . . . Carvagio [sic]," so evidently it was known to be a copy, perhaps brought to England by Orazio Gentileschi or even Honthorst. Vorsterman's print in turn apparently served as the source for another copy (no. 29n; figure 87) which, like the engraving, is reversed. Metz's print (no. 29b; figure 85) is also reversed, although whether of itself (which is more likely) or because of having been made from a reversed drawing (which is possible) cannot be ascertained.

Note should be taken of Poussin's variant drawing at Windsor Castle (Posner, 1965, pp. 130–133) and of Cantarini's in the Brera (inv. no. 98; signed; ill. Roli, 1969, fig. 46).

212. The suggested attribution is based on the similarity of the names (particularly with the likely Italian mispronunciation of "Loon") and on the greater possibility of van Loon as a copyist of Caravaggio than either van Loo. Jacob van Loo (1614–70) did, however, visit Rome, so the traditional attribution should not be discarded entirely.

213. *Christ on the Mount of Olives* (no. 32). The doubts that have been expressed as to the authenticity of the painting (summarized by Kitson, 1967, no. 67), should I believe be dispelled by the inclusion of it as by Caravaggio in the Giustiniani inventory of 1638 (which admittedly does include mistakes). The quite exceptional conception of the subject—quiet, lonely, and intimate without any divine apparition—suggests origin by an independent and innovative imagination, though some distant formal source may be recognizable in the lost *Medoro and Angelica* by Caravaggio's master, Simone Peterzano (ill. Arslan, 1949, figure 98b); and such motifs as the relation between Christ's gentle rebuke and the drowsy, resistant, and obtuse St. Peter, particularly taken in conjunction with their poses—Christ's frontal, open, and almost out of balance, opposed to St. Peter's rigid profile—seem syntactically entirely convincing as Caravaggio's.

Variants:

i. an inept *Deliverance of St. Peter* (170 × 128.5 cm., ill. *Art News,* Feb. 1972, p. 40, as by Caravaggio himself) from the estate of Lucien Baszanger. The painting, which is probably Genoese and close to Borzone's

Caravaggesque phase, reflects the *Christ in the Garden* in the poses of St. Peter which is almost identical in the two canvases, of the delivering angel which is quite close to Christ in pose, and of the sleeping soldier which is the reverse of the drowsy St. John.

ii. by Dirck van Baburen, *Agony in the Garden* (330 × 155 cm.), lunette, San Pietro in Montorio, Rome; see Slatkes, 1965, pp. 108–110, fig. 6. Caravaggio's conception of the subject is transformed by the (re-) introduction of the traditional angel.

iii. by Nicolas Regnier, *Liberation of St. Peter* (240 × 170 cm.; published in *Rivista di Venezia,* VII, 1928, no. 9, p. 397, as Valentin; figure 82). Collection of Ingegnere de Vito, Milan; derivative only very distantly but still unmistakably.

214. *Death of the Virgin* (no. 33). Note should be made of Guercino's responsiveness to Caravaggio's painting (then in Mantua) in his *St. Peter Resurrecting Tabitha* (Palazzo Pitti, Florence; ill. Moir, 1967, II, fig. 316). In his inventory of the collections of King Charles I of England, van der Doort describes the painting as "a great Peece of our Ladie with the Apostles bewailing" (see Millar, 1960, p. 228).

215. *Ecce Homo* (no. 34). At one time, following Longhi, I hypothecated (1967, I, p. 184, n. 7) a second *Ecce Homo,* lost but known through several peripherally Caravaggesque paintings like the Fetti in the Uffizi (ill. Moir, 1967, II, fig. 56) or the two paintings published by Longhi, 1954, figs. 13a, 13b, as close to Mario Minniti, one of which (in Rome in 1970) was republished by Calvesi, 1971, p. 123, together with a third version also in private hands in Rome.

This lost version would have been a more conventional representation of the theme, with Christ flanked by Pilate on one side and the executioner on the other. I identified it as that painted for the Massimi competition, and the Genoa painting as that commissioned of Caravaggio by Nicolao di Giacomo in Messina. But the documents relevant to the Messina commission (published by Saccà, 1907, p. 64) are ambiguous and give no assurance that the painting actually was an *Ecce Homo,* or that it was ever carried out; the Genoa painting, which is acceptable as a work of Caravaggio's last few years in Rome, is difficult to explain stylistically as a Sicilian work; and the versions put forth by Longhi as reflecting the "lost" Caravaggio are in fact based on Titian's *Ecce Homo* in the Escorial, which provides more than adequate explanation for the repetition of the subject. Therefore, I now accept the Genoa painting as that done for the Massimi and as Caravaggio's only representation of the subject. Calvesi (ibid.) instead proposes the lost painting as the original done for the Massimi and doubts the authenticity of the Genoa painting.

There is no particular reason why the original could not have gone to Sicily, as Longhi (correcting Bellori's "Spain") suggested, to provide the source for nos. 34a through 34c, and 34d, and thence to Genoa. When it might have gone to Genoa is unknown; the Genoese version (no. 34d, which I have never seen) probably provides a *terminus ante quem* for its arrival.

Note should be taken of three paintings utilizing its asymmetrical composition:

i. and *ii.* two were shown in the Genoese seicento painting exhibit in autumn 1969: no. 19 with Caravaggio's composition reversed and a fourth figure added on the right; and no. 22 attributed to Orazio De Ferrari (see Marcenaro, 1969; Manzitti, 1969, p. 221, would revise the attribution to Borzone);

iii. the third, in ruin, belonged at the same time to an antiquary in Genoa.

These three would indicate familiarity with the source in Genoa during the first half of the seventeenth century; no. 19 in the Genoese painting exhibition quite clearly shows that the artist was familiar with both Caravaggio and Cigoli versions, and not only through Strozzi's composition (Mortari, 1966, figs. 75 and 77). I cannot ignore (*iv.*) the Van Dyck version, of which there is a copy in the Palazzo Bianco showing Christ, the cloak, and the jailer in almost the same positions as in Caravaggio's painting, but with only these two figures (see Manzitti, 1972, pp. 252 and 254, fig. 5).

Tentatively an attribution of the Messina copy (no. 34a) to Biagio Manzoni might be considered, on the basis of stylistic similarities to the *Martyrdom of St. Sebastian* in the

Louvre; quite possibly these similarities result from the same level of incompetence of two provincials, but they are sufficiently idiosyncratic to suggest the same hand (see also no. 65a). If Manzoni was responsible for the Messina copy, then presumably he saw the original in Rome ca. 1610–20. If the Messina copy was exported to Sicily early enough, it could well have served in place of the original as the source for the Sicilian copies.

216. Of the four states of Vorsterman's engraving (no. 36a), the unique impression of the first (in the British Museum; figure 88) bears the monogram but is incomplete, without the details of the Virgin's head and the Child and perhaps most interestingly without the donor portrait. The second state (figure 89) completes it, and the third identifies the donor as D. Antonio Triest (1576-1642). Triest was Bishop of Ghent (1622) and Bruges (ca. 1617). Although he was in Rome from 1596 to 1599 and was something of an art patron (in relation to Rubens, Van Dyck, and the brothers Duquesnoy), Triest is clearly not the man portrayed as patron in Caravaggio's painting.

    The incompletion of the first state might seem to support Friedlaender's hypothesis (1955, pp., 201–202) that the upper part of the painting was completed by another hand—he mentions the drapery and the Virgin's face specifically. But Pourbus's letter of September 1607 (Friedlaender, ibid., p. 314) indicates unambiguously that the painting had been completed by then, certainly long before it was shipped north and Vorsterman saw it.

217. I note a perhaps significant similarity of the Virgin's physiognomy to that in Vorsterman's completed states, which might indicate that the drawing is by Vorsterman, done after the painting but before the prints and before the replacement of Caravaggio's donor by Triest. If so, it surely would refute Stechow's ingenious proposals (1956, p. 62).

218. *Flagellation* (no. 38). Borla (1967, pp. 8–10) suggests that this painting was not done during Caravaggio's first visit to Naples as is usually believed but during his second visit shortly before his death in July 1610. The attribution of the copy was made by De Dominici (1742, II, p. 246) and is acceptable. In July 1609 the Duca di Scognano paid Caracciolo 50 ducats for a *Flagellation of Christ* (d'Addosio, 1913, p. 39); could this be the San Domenico copy? Di Rinaldis, apparently on stylistic grounds, denied (1928/29, p. 54, n. 1) the possibility of Caracciolo as the copyist but accepted Vaccaro hypothetically. Consideration should also be given to Alonzo Rodriquez as the copyist.

    The subject was naturally enough much repeated in variants, such as Vaccaro's in the Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich; figure 93), or the canvas by an anonymous follower of Valentin in the Church of Santa Maria in Via, Camerino (ill. Zampetti, 1967, pl. 45) or ultimately even by Trevisani in his *Flagellation* at San Silvestro in Capite in Rome (Di Federico, 1971, pp. 56–59).

219. The painting in Vicenza (no. 39d, ill. Moir, 1967, II, fig. 393), formerly attributed to Maffei, is now given more convincingly to Schönfeld. He added a helmeted figure left middle, two figures right middle, and upper left an angel quite similar to that handing down the martyr's palm to St. Matthew in the San Luigi dei Francesi painting. The light effects, color, and details are sufficiently changed to indicate that the copyist was not working direct from the original but from an intermediary work, quite possibly a monochromatic drawing rather than a painting. A drawing in the Albertina (no. 14.457) by Johann Spillenberger (1628–79) is identified in the Stix catalogue as a copy of Caravaggio's picture; it is not, and is entirely unrelated to the composition of the painting.

220. *Portrait of Alof de Wignancourt* (no. 40). Kitson (1967, no. 83) summarizes the objections that have been raised to the portrait by Longhi and others. Admittedly battered by three centuries of damage and restoration, the painting (and particularly Wignancourt's head) seems to me canonical for Caravaggio's portraiture (see nos. 84–100). No one denies the likeness to Alof de Wignancourt (known through other portraits, notably the portrait still in the Armory at La Valletta [ill. Moir, 1967, II fig. 304], recently—in the 1969 Council of Europe show of the Knights of Malta—reattributed from Leonello Spada to an unknown called Cassarino) or the appropriateness of the age of the model, who was fifty-nine in 1608. But no one seems also to confront the problem of, if not by Caravaggio, by whom? Usually this argument seems to me meaningless; in this case, recognizing Malta's isolation

and the lack of painters there of Caravaggio's stature (his only conceivable rival, Mattia Preti, did not arrive on the island until the late 1650s), it seems unanswerable. Apropos, note should be taken of another portrait of Wignancourt included in the 1970 exhibition at the Palazzo Pitti (Borea, 1970, no. 23, pp. 38–39); the likeness is unmistakable as is the similarity to Caravaggio's style, but the quality is not commensurate to his.

221. *St. Jerome Writing* (Malta) (no. 41). Probably a portrait of Alof de Wignancourt (cf. no. 40; and see Hess, 1958, p. 147; figure 123). See nos. 74 and 77 for the other *St. Jeromes* reported in Malta and Sicily.

222. *Sleeping Cupid* (no. 42). Although the Indianapolis copy (no. 42d) is of very high quality, it seems to me stylistically incompatible with Caravaggio's late work, since it is characterized by very smooth even glossy *fattura,* rather than the rougher, looser, impasto handling of the Pitti and contemporary paintings. Friedlaender (1955, p. 212) accepted it as autograph, noting the numerous *pentimenti* and "traces of a face . . . similar to the head of St. Lucy in her *Martyrdom*" (no. 43) and suggesting that it "was painted on commission of one of the knights of Malta and . . . a duplicate . . . ordered from Caravaggio to be sent to the Duke of Tuscany." This ingenious explanation does not take into consideration the fact that the *fattura* is contradictory of the date (of 1608, known from an old inscription on the back). The likeliest explanation would seem to be that the Clowes painting is a copy made in Florence, but the same hand as the technically very similar *Mary and Martha* in the Pallavicini Collection, Rome. I believe this hand belonged to Angelo Caroselli, who according to Baldinucci was in Florence about 1610; Dr. Ottani identifies the painting with one by Caroselli's pupil, Pietro Paolini, mentioned in Sardini's unpublished life of Paolini (see Moir, 1967, I, pp. 55, n. 139, 56, II, fig. 111).

The theme was appealing to Caravaggio's followers; among the increasingly distant variants:

i. by Caracciolo: a slightly older boy (perhaps one of the artist's own children); Benedictine Monastery, Monreale (figure 105; GFN photo D7607).

ii. by Caracciolo, repainted by Largillière: *Sleeping Cupid;* Hampton Court (Levey, 1964, pp. 68–69), with copies: *a.* by J. G. Coghels: collection of Duke of Grafton, Euston (134.5 × 94 cm.; figure 104; Witt photo 1354/769): *b.* attributed to Orazio Gentileschi: Sabin Galleries, London (138.5 × 101.5 cm., ill. *Connoisseur,* June, 1956, p. LI), with landscape added; *c.* anonymous, nineteenth century: collection of Miss E. H. Bayard, Baltimore (Md.) (109 × 98 cm.; Witt photo), also with landscape but a different one; *d.* Levey, ibid., p. 69: "Another version . . . is said to be in the Evelyn collection."

iii. by Orazio Gentileschi: Keddleston Hall (Pepper, 1972, p. 171, fig. 9, who suggests that the landscape may be by Tassi or Antonio Carracci).

iv. by Cavarozzi: *Christ Child Sleeping on the Cross,* Prado, Madrid (100 × 75 cm.); given by Perez Sanchez (1965, p. 503, and 1970, p. 276, no. 84) to Orazio Gentileschi.

v. Anonymous, perhaps the young Maino or even Brébiette?: *Adolescent Bacchus* (reversed) Staedel Institute, Frankfurt-am-Main (ill. Joffroy, 1959, pl. LXXIII).

vi. by Orazio Riminaldi?: an adolescent *Amor* (reversed), in private hands in Los Angeles, ca. 1965 (figure 106).

vii. by Orazio Gentileschi: *Infant Christ on His Mother's Lap,* Contini Bonacossi Collection, Florence (85 × 100 cm.; Moir, 1967, I, pp. 39, 57–58; II, fig. 36).

And finally the pose appears in the extraordinary London *Sleeping Victorious Earthly Love* (figure 107) (no. 26 *xii*).

223. *Burial of St. Lucy* (no. 43). Having been subjected to the violence of the Syracusan sirocco for three and a half centuries and to ruthless "restorations," the painting, despite expert treatment recently by the Istituto Centrale per Restauro in Rome, is in severely damaged condition; it seems possible also that Caravaggio had some assistance from his former friend and associate Mario Minniti in carrying it out, which may explain the weaknesses in the drawing of some of the figures, notably the heads of the executioner on the right and of the profiled old woman in the back rank of mourners. Although the draperies in the somewhat smaller San Giuseppe copy (no. 43a; figure 110) with the pencil folds characteristic of

Minniti's work indicate his hand in that copy at least, the unconvincing profile of the old woman's head that appears in its background and in Caravaggio's is not quite the same in the Palestrina copy (no. 43b, figure 111), which may then reflect the original a little more accurately. This second copy, like the silver relief (no. 43d, ill. Agnello, 1928), shows small rocks in the foreground, the results of the gravediggers' labors; these rocks do not appear now in the original or in the San Giuseppe version and presumably have been lost from the former and are concealed by the dirt and deterioration of the latter. The San Giuseppe copy shows very faint transverse arches at the right top in addition to the apselike construction in the left background of it and the original; and quite possibly these arches also appeared in the original, as seems indicated by the fall of light.

Finally, Susinno reported (1960, p. 110) that many copies were made after Caravaggio's original painting. However, Kitson (1967, no. 88) errs (following De Logu) in placing a copy at "San Pietro *di* Palestrina in Syracuse;" Longhi's original reference (1952, p. 42) clearly reads "San Pietro *a* Palestrina" (my italic) and thus presumably refers to no. 43b which is still in Palestrina, although in the Church of Sant'Antonio Abate rather than of San Pietro.

224. *Resurrection of Lazarus* (no. 44). Sussino reports (1960, p. 219) that Andrea Suppa (1628–71), at best a mediocre painter, restored the painting about 1671.

225. *David with Head of Goliath.* (Borghese) (no. 47). I believe Longhi (1959, pp. 30–32) was correct in redating this painting for stylistic reasons from the usual ca. 1605 to 1607–9, probably during Caravaggio's second Neapolitan visit. Goliath's head is a self-portrait, and shows the artist's face as older and much thinner than in the *Seven Works of Mercy,* presumably because of the vissicitudes through which he had passed in Malta and Sicily; and surely the disquieting mood of the painting is in keeping with the latest phase of Caravaggio's career. The painting must have been acquired by Scipione Borghese almost immediately, because Francucci's 1613 poem mentioned it as in his collection.

Quite apart from Caravaggio's borrowing from himself for the reversed executioner in the *Salome* in the National Gallery of London (no. 48), it seems possible that the Kassel copy (no. 47b) was in Amsterdam to serve as the model for Rembrandt's *Lucrezia* (Hirst, 1968, p. 221). Variants on the Borghese *David* by Caravaggio's followers are innumerable; specific mention might be made of:

i. Tanzio's at the Pinacoteca of Varallo (ill. Moir, 1967, II, fig. 348);

ii. Vouet's in the Palazzo Bianco (ill. Brejon, 1973/74, no. 65);

iii. Finson's in the Oates sale at Sotheby's, 9 June 1937 (panel; 32″ × 45″; lot 135 from "various properties" section); signed "Ludovikus Finsonius," this painting adds two soldiers in the left and right upper corners; apparently from late in Finson's Italian career, possibly painted in Naples; figure 112; Witt photo W 8949);

iv.-vi. Guido Reni's in the Louvre (ill. Moir, 1967, II, fig. 295), in the Ringling Museum, and in the Pitti storerooms (ill. Borea, 1970, fig. 40);

vii-viii. the anonymous paintings in the Galleria Borghese (inv. no. 2, once attributed to Borgianni but more likely by Guido Cagnacci) and the Kunsthistorisches Museum (no. 108 below), as well as the Abraham in the Castellamare *Sacrifice of Isaac* (no. 105b);

ix. Note also might be taken of the lost *David* with a gigantic head of Goliath (4 × 3 palmi) by Antiveduto Grammatica that was in the Giustiniani Collection (no. 102; see Salerno, 1960, II, p. 98).

x. lot 137, 13 Dec. 1957, at Christie's (99 × 119.5 cm.);

xi. Caroselli's *Judith* (figure 26) in the Wertheim show in Berlin in 1927 is posed like *David* (but seen from a three-quarters view to the right) and the head of Goliath is Caravaggio's translated into Caroselli's terms;

xii. the Vaccaro *Judith with the Head of Holofernes* in the J. Paul Getty Museum in Malibu, California;

xiii. and finally in Cristofano Allori's *Judith* of 1617 (in the Palazzo Pitti, inv. no. 96), the painter has portrayed himself in Holofernes' head, his mistress as Judith and her mother as the old servant woman.

226. *Salome* (London) (no. 48). Bellori's report that a *Herodias* was done for the Grand Master of

the Knights of Malta during Caravaggio's second visit to Naples does not seem to refer to this painting, because the head is held by the executioner rather than (as he writes) by "Herodias . . . in a basin."

Now exhibited in the National Gallery as "Attributed to Caravaggio," the painting contains enough lapses in *fattura* as to raise questions as to whether it is an autograph Caravaggio or a near-contemporary copy or variant-copy. These lapses may well be explained however by the unsettled condition of the last months of the artist's life in Naples. The *fattura* does surely seem to be of this last phase of his style, as the correspondence to the Borghese *David* (no. 47) indicates. The picture is an amalgam of that figure, reversed, with Titian's *Salome* (then in the Salviati, and now in the Doria Collections in Rome), which incidentally also inspired the Cavaliere d'Arpino's *Salome* of ca. 1610–20 (in the University Museum at Berkeley; see Röttgen, 1973, no. 42). This effect of pastiche is as suspicious as the *fattura,* but may be the result of the same conditions. Despite the unquestioned age of the copy at Montevergine (no. 48a), serious consideration should be given to the possibility that the painting has been somewhat cut down, particularly on the left, reducing the spaciousness characteristic of most of Caravaggio's late works and of the number of derivant *Salomes.* So many of these are by artists native to, or known to have visited, Naples as (like the *fattura*) to locate the painting there; specifically:

i. by Caracciolo: the so-called Peltzer painting, formerly in that collection in Cologne and last reported to me during 1970 as in the hands of a Milanese antiquary (see Moir, 1967, I, p. 164); perhaps Cardinal Del Monte's painting (Frommel, 1971, p. 30, fol. 575r) (figure 118);

ii. by Caracciolo or copied from him: Museo di Bellas Artes, Seville (reversed; 150 × 110 cm; figure 117);

iii. by Caracciolo: Uffizi, Florence (reversed; 148 × 123 cm.; Moir, 1967, I, pp. 161, 164, II, fig. 188);

iv. by Leonello Spada: Pinacoteca Nazionale, Parma (reversed; 153 × 116 cm.; Moir, 1967, I, pp. 238–239, II, fig. 303);

v. by Finson: Landesmuseum, Brunswick (reversed, full-length figures; 152 × 201 cm.; Moir, 1967, I, pp. 58, 63, II, fig. 57);

vi. attributed to Finson but more likely by a later Neapolitan: vertical variant on no. 48 *iii* above (and like it reversed), in 1869 belonging to a Barcelona family, FARL photo no. 403d;

vii. by Antiveduto Grammatica (Art Gallery, Aschaffenburg; ill. Longhi, 1968, fig. 198), which may also have belonged to Cardinal Del Monte (Frommel, 1971, p. 30, fol. 574v);

viii. by Andrea Vaccaro (178 × 150.5 cm.; signed with monogram), in the Hazlitt Galleries, London, 1962. Herodias is moved to the left and replaced in the center by Herod; illustrated in the *Burlington Magazine* advertisers' supplement, December 1962 plate XII.

ix. by Guido Reni, no. 488, Collection of the Duke of Devonshire, Chatsworth (pen and ink, 100 × 114 mm; signed); three-quarter length with the executioner costumed as a *bravo;*

x. attributed to Artemisia Gentileschi, lot 144, Guidi sale, Sangiorgi Galleries, Rome, April, 1902 (90 × 85 cm.; figure 116); an identical, or very similar painting, acquired in spring 1970 by the National Museum in Budapest;

xi. by Jan Bijlert?, antiquary, Rome, in sequestration at the MPI (Spring, 1970) (109 × 89 cm.; figure 115).

Finally, the Escorial *Salome* (no. 102) should be added to this list, if I am correct in my refusal to include it among Caravaggio's oeuvre.

227. *Jove, Neptune and Pluto* (no. 49). Published by Zandri, 1969, pp. 338–343. My first reaction on seeing this ceiling decoration was disbelief, and Bellori's uncertainty in attributing the painting to him (together with the silence in respect to it of all other seventeenth-century historians) is sufficient to cast doubt on it. However, I am convinced partially by the seriousness with which Bellori obviously took it and the consequent detail in which he described it, but mainly by recognizing in it details of Caravaggio's manner of easel painting translated into a different scale and medium. Particularly convincing for example is a comparison of Pluto's right arm with that of the

Uffizi *Bacchus* (no. 9) or of Poseidon's right hand with Bacchus's left holding the wine glass, or of Zeus' white drapery with that under Bacchus's elbow or even with that spiraling around the angel in the second *St. Matthew* (no. 22). These similarities indicate also an early date for the painting, about contemporary to the *Bacchic Musical* (no. 7).

228. *Boy Peeling Fruit* (no. 50). Note should be taken of the quite different *fattura* of the nearly identical patterns of drapery folds in the Hampton Court (no. 50a), Sabin (no. 50c), and Longhi (no. 50b) versions: that of the Hampton Court painting appears to me to be closest to such early autograph paintings as the *Boy with a Basket of Fruit* (no. 2) and, incidentally, to Caravaggio's north Italian teachers; the similarity of the *fattura* of the drapery in the Sabin version to that of the right sleeve of the Atlanta *Boy with a Vase of Roses* (no. 103) seems most possibly the result of modern restoration, particularly because of the contrast between the incisive delineation of outlines in the latter and the more blurred and tentative outlines of the former.

Friedlaender (1955, p. 145) points out the "remarkable resemblance" of this model to the angel in the *Ecstasy of St. Francis* (no. 3) and the boy on the left in the *Bacchic Musical* (no. 7); it is suggestive also to observe that this boy appears to be clearly younger by a year or two or three than those.

229. *Boy Bitten by a Lizard* (no. 51). For years debate raged as to whether the Longhi (no. 51a) or the Korda (no. 51b) version was the original. The appearance of the hitherto unpublished Dutch version (no. 51c, figure 3), which seems (as much as it can be judged from a less than perfect photograph) to be better in respect to the modeling and the light effects than either of the others, suggests the possibility that none is autograph and that the original has yet to be found. This hypothesis, already hinted at by Samek Ludovici (1956, p. 85), would explain satisfactorily for the first time the clumsiness of the reflected lights on the chests of the Longhi-Korda figures and their consistently poor integration of reflections into shadows and of shadows with lights—failings that may be characteristic of Saraceni's *Judith* but which appear nowhere in Caravaggio's authentic oeuvre. The similarity of the Longhi version to the often-repeated Saraceni theme (of which Ottani [1968, pp. 125–127] lists seven, with two or three more that appear in other sources; still another is in a private collection in Milan) is so great, particularly in the treatment of light and shadows and of reflected lights, as to suggest that it too might have been a product of the Saraceni shop. The Korda and Dutch versions seem to me clearly by different hands, not related to Saraceni.

Slatkes (1969, p. 24) suggests the subject to signify the choleric temperament. The lost original evidently had a substantial impact, made apparent also by several derivative works, of which the most notable is the Atlanta *Boy with a Vase of Roses* (no. 103); it might be recognized as the *Boy Bitten by a Lizard* before the fact—everything is there except the lizard and the boy's response.

The Atlanta variant seems to be the only picture that found the source for its form in the lost original, but at least four derivants can be traced to the conception of the *Boy Bitten by a Lizard:*

i.–ii. the *Boy Bitten by a Crayfish* of which there are two slightly different versions, one which is a little more spacious in the Strasbourg Museum (Mayer, 1945, pp. 91–92, fig. 11 wrongly attributing it to Serodine) and the other (73.7 × 97 cm.) in a Roman sale during 1955 (Kitson, 1967, no. 6); the subject was mentioned by Manilli as in the Stanza di Daphne of the Galleria Borghese in 1650. The two paintings show very considerable likeness to the *Boy Eating Pulse* (no. 770 in the National Museum, Warsaw; 72 × 93.5 cm.) signed in Italian by the Dutch genre and portrait painter Jan van der Meer (ca. 1640 to after 1692), who traveled in Italy;

iii. the *Boy Bitten by a Mouse* in the collection of V. Mameli (spelling?) in Rome in 1954 (Cini archive; figure 6);

iv. a painting belonging to Dr. and Mrs. James Lasry in La Jolla, California (figure 4), representing a *Frightened Young Man* and including (like the Longhi, Korda, and Atlanta paintings) the carafe with reflecting water, although not the reflected window described by Bellori (see n. 234);

v. A Boy Frightening a Girl with a Crab, once in the Joseph Kaplan collection in Chicago (figure 5); approximately a reversal

of Sophonisba Anguisciola's drawing that Friedlaender (1955, p. 56) published as Caravaggio's source.

The fact that the *Boy Bitten by a Mouse* and the Lasry pictures both show affinity to Emilian painting (the former to Leonello Spada, the latter to some successor of Ludovico Carracci like Giacomo Cavedone) is in keeping with Caravaggio's own source for the theme but does not, I believe, eliminate their makers' debts to Caravaggio.

The proposal to recognize Mancini's mention (1956–57, I, p. 224 note on line 11) of a "putto" bitten by a "ragano," as referring to another lost but related Caravaggio painting representing a boy bitten by a frog, ought once and for all to be refuted by Professor Salerno's most recent comments on the subject (1970, pp. 235–236).

230. *The Card Sharks* (no. 52). The popularity of the painting is evident in the number of copies. Apparently it was particularly appealing to the British, perhaps as a souvenir of the Grand Tour; the number of versions in Scotland can perhaps be explained by the copy (no. 52gg) or copies that David Allan (1744–96) made while he was living at the Palazzo Zuccaro in Rome during the 1760s and 1770s and by the possibility that he took one (or more) home with him in 1780.

While there are numerous Venetian prototypes, particularly for the composition of three figures at a table, the theme of the cheats is, as Friedlaender pointed out, basically northern in such paintings as the Wilton House *Card-Players* by Lucas van Leyden or the various representations of the misadventures of the prodigal son. Thus, the response to the *Bari* by north Europeans in Rome should not be surprising. Honthorst seems to have remembered it in the gay-life scenes that he did on his return to Holland (particularly those representing only a few figures, like the *Evening Concert* in the Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Copenhagen; signed and dated 1623; ill. Judson, 1959, fig. 25), and he must surely have done others earlier in Italy (see Moir, 1967, I, p. 120, no. 138). Valentin rearranged the same three figures in his *Gamblers* (in the Gemäldegalerie, Dresden; ill. Brejon, 1973–74, pl. VII; recorded in R. Lowrie's reversed mezzotint of 1772 attributed to Caravaggio; figure 12); in his *Pick-Pocket* (in the Louvre, ill. Brejon, 1973–74, no. 42) he posed and composed them as in the *Bari* again, but changed their activities, transformed the central figure into a girl, and added a fourth figure, a young gypsy girl. And the French and Netherlandish followers of Honthorst and Valentin used it no less.

But Italians, too, were responsive, presumably in some of the copies, and in variants and derivants made either directly from Caravaggio or through the mediation of Manfredi and Honthorst and Valentin. The theme seems continuous from the anonymous Fogg Museum *Card-Players* (ill. Kitson, 1967, p. 86) with the grotesque central figure eliminated and the costumes changed, to Manfredi's own *Card-Players* reversing the Caravaggio composition (see Moir, 1967, I, p. 42, n. 84; figure 11), to Mattia Preti's *Gamblers* (in the Sili Collection, Rome, in 1922; see Moir, 1967, I, p. 147). The composition appears reversed in the *Mary and Martha* (no. 56) with the mirror replacing the third figure. Probably also the various *Guard-Room, Fortune-Teller,* and *Denial of St. Peter* compositions of the Manfredi-Valentin school owe something to the *Bari,* expanded as it were on the inspiration of the *Calling of St. Matthew* and in the tradition of such northern paintings as Pieter Aertsen's bordellos. The popularity of the composition and of the theme was demonstrated in the *Figures at a Table* exhibition at Sarasota in 1960; obviously not all of the pictures in the show were derivative from the *Bari,* but its theme or composition or both appear to have had some influence on the majority.

231. Because the original according to Bellori was acquired by Cardinal Del Monte just after Caravaggio painted it and still belonged to the Cardinal at the time of his death, the Sannesio version (no. 52r) must have been a copy, or else a different original of which all trace has been lost.

232. For knowledge of this copy (no. 52s) also, payment for which is recorded in the Barberini archives, I am indebted to Mrs. Lavin. See n. 184 above for Carlo Magnone as a Barberini copyist. It seems likely that one of the copies listed is Magnone's, but few are up to his level of quality and those that are (notably nos. 52g and 52x) do not show any very compelling similarity to his *Lute-Player.*

Apparently the Barberini family acquired

the original *Bari* from Cardinal Del Monte's heirs, and it passed into the Sciarra Collection after 1772, when Volpato's print (no. 52a) recorded it as in the Palazzo Barberini. However, the disquieting hypothesis that Magnone's copy may have been substituted for the original and passed along to the Sciarra Collection should also be considered. If this were true, the Braun photo, hitherto considered to be of the original, would be only of Magnone's copy, and Caravaggio's original would be long-since lost.

233. Benedict Nicolson informed me of the existence of this painting (no. 52bb). Certainly the portraits are of members of the patron-family and friends, although Mr. Nicolson has not been able to identify them; very possibly they are to be associated with the Trevor family.

234. *Carafe of Flowers* (no. 53). Frommel (1971, p. 31) has confirmed the existence of this painting in his publication of the Del Monte inventory (fol. 575r): "Un Quadretto nel quale vi è una Caraffa di mano del Caravaggio di Palmi dua." This reference surely can be equated to Bellori's reference to a carafe of flowers, particularly inasmuch as the painting appears in the records of the sale (published by Kirwin, 1971, p. 53) as "una Caraffa di fiori del Caravaggio."

Numerous paintings by or derivative from Caravaggio include a carafe like that described by Bellori as "painted . . . with the transparencies of the water and of the glass and with the reflections of the window of the room, the flowers sprinkled with the freshest dew . . ." both coordinated with figures, as in Caravaggio's *Lute-Player* (no. 8), and independently, as in the *Still-Life* attributed to Fede Galizia in the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Conn. (ill. Moir, 1967, II, fig. 24).

In addition the carafe also appears with the reflection but without the flowers as in the *Bacchus* (no. 9), the *Mary Magdalen* (no. 6), the *Still-Life* called "Dessert" (no. 109), and the *Supper at Emmaus* (no. 17) and its many variants and derivants. The theme was very popular and ran through many changes, from the reflection of a frightened face, upside down, in the *Frightened Young Man* (Lasry Collection, La Jolla, figure 4), to the mirror in the lost *Mary and Martha* (no. 56; figure 31), and several reflecting objects in Caroselli's *Vanitas* (in the Longhi Collection; ill. Longhi, 1951*c*, no. 82).

235. *David* (no. 54). Note should be taken of Bellori's reference to this painting as "*la* mezza figura di Davide . . ." [italics mine] rather than "una . . ." or "un'altra mezza figura . . ."; and consideration should be given to the possibility that he was not writing of a second *David* in addition to the Borghese version (no. 47), but rather of one of the several copies of it.

Generally, Caravaggio specialists have assumed that he was writing of a second version. The Vienna picture (no. 108, recorded in Vienna since 1718) more closely approximates Bellori's description of the Conde de Villa Mediana's painting as a "mezza figura" than the Prado painting; but because of the two or three copies of the kneeling *David* in Spain and because it is documented there from 1686, it should be given more serious consideration as the Count's painting than it has in the past. For his knowledge of the painting, Bellori had to rely on an informant, so his usual accuracy may have been compromised. There may, in fact, be more copies in Spain than those listed, for Longhi with his usual insouciance added the comment to his 1951 publication ". . . io stesso ne vidi parecchi e buone copie seicentesche in varie collezioni di Madrid . . ." without further specification.

One feature of the de Haen (no. 54b) and Medina Daza (no. 54c) copies, which has been incomprehensibly overlooked or ignored, is that both are extended to the left by as much as a tenth of the width of the Prado painting. So whether the Prado *David* is only a copy or something better, the original seems likely to have been somewhat wider and more spacious.

The question is complicated by the fact, hitherto not specifically noted, that the dimensions of the Prado painting (91 × 110 cm.) are in essence identical to those of the *Narcissus* (no. 116; 92 × 110 cm.; figure 38) and the two paintings match provocatively in composition and in a number of other respects—the models, the colors, and the handling of such details as Goliath's right shoulder and Narcissus's left knee. There seems even the possibility that the *Narcissus* has been reduced on the right to correspond with reduction of the *David* on the left—at least Narcissus's left hand is cut off by the edge of the painting just

as Goliath's right hand is cut off by the opposite edge.

This observation is not necessarily meant to suggest that if the paintings were a matched pair, they were carried out by the same hand. Previously, I have suggested attribution of the *Narcissus* to Manfredi (of about the time of the Uffizi *Musical* [ill. Borea, 1970, fig. 9], i.e., ca. 1615) and this proposal still seems reasonable to me. The *David* however seems to be in more direct relation with Caravaggio, as either an autograph work or a faithful replica of his conception by a highly skilled contemporary. The paintings reflect slightly different phases of Caravaggio's career: the *Narcissus* is typical of the *Manfredi Manier* in its kinship to the *bravi* in the *Calling of St. Matthew,* and the *David* is a little earlier, contemporary to the Capitoline *Youth with a Ram* (if, to my eyes at least, slightly less refined in the *fattura* of its delineation and modeling).

Thus, I would propose these events in this sequence:

(1) ca. 1598, contemporaneously with the Capitoline *Youth with a Ram,* Caravaggio paints the slightly wider original of the Prado *David;*
(2) before or ca. 1615, an excellent copy of this *David* is made, standing in the same relation to is as the Doria *Youth* replica to Capitoline original—and perhaps even by the same copyist (i.e., Caroselli);
(3) ca. 1615 Manfredi, or a close associate, perhaps on commission of the Conde de Villa Mediana or another patron, paints the then slightly wider *Narcissus* as a pendant for the *David;*
(4) 1617, the second Conde de Villa Mediana (Don Juan de Tarsis y Peralta) takes the *Narcissus* and the copy of the *David* home with him to Spain;
(5) the original of the David is left in Rome and fairly soon lost (presumably well before 1672);
(6) then, the Medina Daza and de Haen copies are made in Spain;
(7) then, the pair—the Prado *David* and the *Narcissus* still together in Spain—is symmetrically reduced in size;
(8) before 1672, Bellori's informant misinforms him of the *David* as half-length;
(9) by 1686, the Prado *David* enters the Alcazar Collection;
(10) perhaps in 1686 (and surely after step 7 above) the pair is separated and the *Narcissus* submerges until its reappearance in a Milanese private collection during the first years of the twentieth century.

It can be observed that this sequence would be unchanged if the Prado *David* were autograph, except that step 2 would be eliminated. The Medina Daza copy can probably be excluded from consideration as the lost original because of the certainty that Longhi would have identified it as such if it had been; the de Haen copy is known to me only through a photo but seems unmistakably by a lesser hand than Caravaggio's own.

Final note should be taken of a *David Beheading Goliath* (once in the Molesworth Collection in London) (ill. Longhi, 1967, II, fig. 251), attributed dubiously to Borgianni or to Bassetti, in which the poses are more agitated than those of the Prado painting but Goliath's position and head are almost identical.

236. *Susanna* (no. 55). Despite Marini's effort (1970, pp. 74–75) to establish the Wildenstein painting (which is based on the composition of Annibale's print [B.1] of 1592) as reflective of a lost original, I believe we should be skeptical of the Cavaliere Marino's attribution of his painting to Caravaggio. Although the subject was painted by several other Caravaggists, they seem consistently to have used Annibale's conception of it as their source and their versions show no sign of intervention by another composition by Caravaggio himself.

237. *Mary and Martha* (no. 56). The sources for this hypothetically lost original are north Italian, as is evident in the several versions of the "Sciarra" *Modesty and Vanity* by Luini. Could it be that one of these was the *Martha and Magdalen* in the Del Monte Collection attributed to Leonardo (Frommel, 1971, p. 37, fol. 584v) and that it specifically was Caravaggio's model?

When I began to analyze the copies of the lost original, I realized that they fell into three quite distinct types, and thus they have been divided on the chart. (The Indiana University [no. 56p; figure 33] and Roman [no. 56o] paintings combine the Valentin and Saraceni types). As is evident from the nomenclature, these groupings are based primarily on stylistic considerations, each referring to one of Caravaggio's leading followers in Rome, and each

including a kind of prototype painting. Thus, the "Valentin" type can be defined by reference to the Detroit version (no. 56a; figure 31) with Mary's characteristic physiognomy, the simplified but full and almost sculptural modeling of her head and of other flesh areas in light, the relatively simple drapery, the clearly defined light system, and what may be recognized as the standard equipment props: particularly the mirror and the flower but also perhaps the jar and the comb. The Saraceni type also gives Mary a distinctive physiognomy, introduces a new kind of sleeve drapery, poses the figures quite stiffly, and while including some familiar iconographic details, eliminates the objects on the table and the mirror (replacing it in one instance [no. 56j] with a kind of homoculus) and in two of the paintings adds a floral still-life. Finally, the Vouet-Regnier type seems to be defined by the unpublished version (no. 56m; figure 32) in the Smithsonian Institution, where it carries a traditional attribution to "Elizabeth Sirani after Caravaggio" but might better be identified as Regnier profoundly under Vouet's influence; characteristically it is reversed: the two women quite stocky with the broad foreheads, Roman noses, and solid forms typical of Vouet's earliest Roman paintings and of Regnier's pre-Venetian paintings, with the new iconographic detail of a string of pearls overflowing a jewel box, and most strikingly a great elaboration of Mary's drapery (intensified in the even richer stuffs of the Vienna version).

Within these three general types there are further variations in pose, gesture, prop, costume, composition, color, and so forth, some within a single type like the Saraceni floral still-life and others like the ivory comb appearing irregularly in some, but not all, examples of two or three types. If any one of the copies seems most exactly to reproduce the lost Caravaggio original, it must be the copy in Detroit, not only for its similarity to unquestioned Caravaggios and its quality (rivaled only by the Smithsonian and Vienna versions) but also for its consistency—it seems an integrated whole while most of the other copies are awkward accumulations of more or less disparate parts.

In fact, recognizing the relatively unevocative theme—or at least the treatment of the theme—the reliance on props to give the copies interest, and the tendency to turn the two women into clothes dummies, one is tempted to imagine a lost original not by Caravaggio himself but by Valentin or Saraceni or Vouet; or by Turchi (who is mentioned as author of a *Mary and Martha* in the 1631 inventory of the Asdrubale Mattei Collection); or by Orazio Gentileschi (whose 1609 Madonna [ill. Moir, 1967, II, fig. 36] in the Contini Bonacossi Collection is a comparable drapery mannequin); or even by Caroselli (who might have had a particular penchant for the subject). Furthermore, considering the fifteen copies or variant-copies I have listed and the extent of the roster of Caravaggio's followers who were involved, it seems incredible that there is no literary reference to Caravaggio's treatment of the theme and that there are no prints—so incredible that I once looked for a print attributed to another source, to Vouet for example, but found none.

Nor will any appear, I now believe, for the lost original was surely by Caravaggio. The earliest of all the copies would have been Saraceni's, judging from the Nantes variant-copy (no. 56g) which reflects his style of ca. 1610. The Valentin, Vouet, and Regnier versions could not be that early, because their makers had not yet arrived in Rome and were still too young to have invented a composition for their senior to copy. In fact, the variety of the copies (and of the derivants) would seem to preclude any but a major, and early, source as the original. Caravaggio's *Mary and Martha* must have been painted in the later 1590s, judging from the composition, which is very loosely related to the *Bari;* Mary's pose and her gesture with the flower are appropriately Phyllis's (no. 10), her embroidered blouse, satin skirt, and fall of shawl drapery are borrowed from her less appropriate kinswoman *St. Catherine* (no. 12) as would appear to be the (reversed) system of illumination on her face, the reflected light along the jaw, and perhaps her physiognomy; and the complexity of the drapery rivals that of the *Judith and Holofernes* (no. 13). All of these features were taken from paintings made that early in the master's career—and incidentally all within a period of a year or two and all therefore fairly consistent with each other and assembled naturally, even unconsciously. If the conception is

not particularly moving, neither is the subject; but as Longhi observed, Caravaggio did his best by it and exercised in it his usual subtleness. Such details as the contrast of Martha's shadowed face with her brightly lit hands, as the sequence from those hands to Mary's, and as the radiance with which Mary's face is illuminated—all are telling and worthy of Caravaggio.

The extent of minor variations from the original in the replicas might seem to deny its authority, even though it was so much copied and inspired so many derivatives. The explanation of this apparent contradiction must be that the original was in some private collection and difficult of access, or that it had been exported from Rome early in the 1600s. Hence, it was not recorded in the literature or reproduced in prints and was forgotten and has been lost, and its preservation and dissemination are due primarily to Valentin, Saraceni, and Vouet or Regnier. The number of copies would seem to attest not only to the popularity of the theme but also to the prevalence of the custom of such studio copies, executed for sale as much as for the instruction of apprentices. If the original had already disappeared from Mancini's knowledge (i.e., by ca. 1620), it may well have made possible the sale of these copies or variant-copies deceitfully as original Caravaggios or as the original ideas of his followers—the Vouet-Regnier variant-copies might well have been of the second type, as the Nantes painting (or its lost original) might also have been.

Is the frequency of French (and English) associations only by accident or coincidence? The names associated with the copies make evident a northern even a specifically French penchant for the theme, which Vouet and Regnier at least seem to have taken as their own; and the presence of a (or the) Saraceni version in France seems indicated by the two copies there, at least one (no. 56h) by a provincial French seventeenth-century hand, and by the Parisian provenience of the Weitzner painting (no. 56i). The supposition of the lost Saraceni's being in France is reinforced by recognition that the Vaulchier version (no. 56h) is not actually a copy of the Nantes painting, and that it utilizes the motif of Mary's caressing the mirror which does not appear in either the Nantes or the Rizzoli (no. 56j) versions. The motif does appear in the Detroit painting (and the other Valentin types) and therefore can be assumed to have appeared in the original Caravaggio, from which presumably a lost Saraceni would have been made. This lost Saraceni may have been Roomer's painting (no. 56f), but there is nothing known at present to place it in France, so it must be left hypothetical.

Parenthetically at this point particular note should be taken of three other representations of *Mary and Martha,* mentioned in documentary or literary sources, all of which may have been copies after the lost Caravaggio but are apparently lost without trace and thus are not demonstrably anything but original conceptions:

i. by Giovanni Baglione, listed the 1627 inventory of the Royal Collection in Mantua (see d'Arco, 1857, II, p. 158); this painting does not appear in van der Doort's inventory of the Charles I Collection, so presumably it was not included in the sale;

ii. by Alessandro Turchi: inventory of the Asdrubale Mattei Collection (1631); because Turchi was then living in Rome, and was well known with his own distinctive style, it seems doubtful that this painting was misidentified in 1631; therefore, it is presumably none of those listed (Panofsky-Soergel, 1967/68, pp. 184–185);

iii. by Pietro Paolini: a "Martha che escorta Maddalena alla conversione" is cited by Sardini (in his unpublished life of the artist) as in the Palazzo Cenami, Lucca (Ottani, 1963, pp. 23, 34, n. 10; but see Moir, 1967, I, p. 55 and below).

Finally, I cannot fail to point out the truly extraordinary influence of the composition as a source for contemporary variants and derivants by known masters, often of different subjects and in general of better quality than most of the copies. It is as if the composition had been adopted as a standard Caravagesque formula for the arrangement of two figures in an interior. Perhaps, considering the subject and the artists, we should not be surprised by the indebtedness of (*iv.*) Orazio Gentileschi's derivant *Mary and Martha* (in the Staatsgemäldesammlung, Munich; partially reversed, close to the Vouet-Regnier type; figure 34) although rarely if ever was Orazio in so close rapport

with a Caravaggio composition; of (*v.*) Antiveduto Grammatica's *Mary and Martha* (in the Galleria dell'Arte Antica, Turin; reversed; ill. Longhi, 1968, fig. 203); or of (*vi.*) the *Mary and Martha* that I attribute to Angelo Caroselli (in the Pallavicini Collection, Rome; also partially reversed; with mirror, pearls, and ivory comb, ill. Moir, 1967, II, fig. 111). Nor should we be surprised by the famous and appropriate Vouet(?) *Lovers* (also in the Pallavicini Collection [see Dargent, 1965, p. 41, no. A4] recorded in the [*vii.*] Vignon print of 1618) and its compositional derivative (*viii.*) the *Judith* (in the Louvre deposit; see Dargent, ibid., p. 52, no. V9); or by (*ix.*) the *Hypocrisy* attributed to Tournier in the Palazzo Pitti (128 × 100 cm.; figure 36). From his atelier, Caroselli reversed the composition to use it (and even Martha's gestures) again (*x.*) in a *Fortune-Teller* (76 × 62 cm) sold in the Dorotheum, 13 March 1958 and again at Sotheby's 15 July 1970, lot 104; and even (*ix.*) the *Education of the Virgin* or *Madonna with St. Ann* attributed to Spadarino (in the Galleria Spada, Rome, ill. Moir, 1967, II, fig. 124) seems a highly satisfactory use of the composition, revising the subject as well as the form, perhaps even intentionally capitalizing on the contrasting meaning of the new subject. However faint the memories of the original subject may have become, they remain to hint of transvestitism, haunting (*xii.*) the anonymous northern *SS. Peter and Paul* (in the Art Gallery of the University of Nebraska; reversed; ill. *Art Journal* cover, vol. XXIV, Autumn 1964) and (*xiii.*) Trophîme Bigot's canvas of the same subject (at Burghley House; ill. Nicolson, 1964, fig. 1) with a faint ambiguity that (*xiv.*) Caracciolo's *Saints Cosmas and Damian* (in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin-Dahlem; partially reversed, ill. Moir, 1967, II, fig. 189) and (*xv.*) Manetti's *Prophets* in the Barberini (figure 35) somehow avoid, perhaps by taking on character almost as pendants of the *Mary and Martha.* The frequency with which these variants reverse the original composition once again seems to demand a medial print; superficially the Vignon 1618 etching of Vouet's *Lovers* might fill this need but it cannot, for it is not reversed. Even without a print, it seems possible that some of these derivant compositions were made without any knowledge or awareness of Caravaggio's original; such older painters as Grammatica and Spadarino and such luminaries as Vouet can be assumed to have known what they were doing, but foreign outsiders like the Nebraska painter or Bigot may very well have made their derivants after copies, variants, or other derivants quite oblivious of Caravaggio's utilization of the composition.

238. As already observed, the best of the Valentin (and of all?) the copies and presumably that most exactly recreating the original; among other virtues, it is the only one of the Valentin style in which the shiny satin of Mary's proper right sleeve is painted convincingly. I have considered an attribution to Valentin, as his earliest known work, done when he had just arrived in Rome; but the quality (particularly in Mary's face) is insufficient, and the hand of a close collaborator, perhaps a professional copyist like Jean Lhomme, seems likelier.

    All of the preceding had been written before this version was acquired by the Detroit Institute of Arts as the lost Caravaggio; and I see no reason, despite extensive cleaning and restoration, to change what I have already written except the location from "bought in at Christie's Summer 1971" to "Detroit," which change I have made. The provenience of the Detroit version is recently the Alzaga family in the Argentine, to which it was taken from Paris about 1909. Previously, it had been exported from Italy in 1897; there is evidence to indicate that it belonged to the Panzani family of Arezzo in the eighteenth century, and possibly earlier. The authorities at Detroit identify it with a 1606 will of Ottavio Costa in which there is a reference to a painting of *Martha and the Magdalen;* the painter is not named in the will. Costa bequeathed a choice between this painting and a *St. Francis* to the same Abbot Ruggiero Tritonio to whom he had given a *St. Francis,* usually identified with the Hartford painting (no. 3), by 1597. Inasmuch as there is considerable evidence to suggest that the 1597 *St. Francis* was in fact not the Hartford original but a copy, all of this hypothesis may be true in respect to the Detroit painting without its being more than still another Costa copy, if it is in fact the same painting, which seems precluded by the traces of Valentin's style evident in it.

239. *Penitent Mary Magdalen* (no. 57). Not to be confused with the *Fainting Magdalen* (no. 69)

done in the Sabine hills, which was not full-length. Comparison obviously is invited to the Doria *Magdalen* (no. 6) which is the same subject but smaller and differently proportioned, to the Thyssen *St. Catherine* (no. 12), which might well be similar in pose, and to the several versions of the subject by Regnier, particularly that in the Art Institute in Detroit (figure 39) which has some similarity in pose to the *St. Catherine* but is three-quarter rather than full-length. Regnier's copy must have been done before 1626, when he went to Venice for the rest of his life. Conceivably also Andrea Vaccaro's full-length *Mary Magdalen* (versions in the Prado [no. 466, 128 × 179 cm.; ill. Perez Sanchez, 1965, pl. 186A], the National Museum, Warsaw [no. 126463, 106 × 154 cm.], and a painting in Munich, reversed and signed with Stanzione's monogram EQ. MX. F., but very close to Vaccaro [no. 1319, 146 × 188 cm.] figure 40) may reflect the lost original.

240. *Divine Love* (no. 58). This painting would be related to, but a different subject from, the *Victorious Love* (no. 26) that Caravaggio painted for Marchese Giustiniani. However, I look in vain for a reference to it in the Del Monte inventory (Frommel, 1971, pp. 30–49); had it gone out of the collection by 1627 when the inventory was made, or was Baglione's citation of it a mistake?

There are several apparent derivatives:

i.-ii. in Baglione's two versions of the subject (the first, lost from the Italian Embassy in Berlin during World War II, has recently been recovered and returned to Italy; the second is in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin-Dahlem, ill. Moir, 1967, II, fig. 30);

iii. in Arch. Busiri Vici's beautiful *Divine Love Conquering Profane Love* (usually attributed, I believe very dubiously, to Orazio Riminaldi; ill. Moir, 1967, II, fig. 286);

iv. in Manfredi's *Mars Punishing Amor* (Art Institute, Chicago; perhaps reversing Caravaggio's lost painting; ill. Moir, 1967, II, fig. 47).

The painting probably by Baglione that was published by Salerno and Venturi as the lost Caravaggio (see Spear, 1971, pp. 46–49, fig. 46), does not correspond to Baglione's description of a "Divine Love who overcomes the Profane" but instead represents *Victorious Earthly Love* (see n. 208).

241. *St. John the Evangelist* (no. 59). Described by Mancini (1956–57, I, p. 224) as done about contemporaneously with the *Buona Ventura* (no. 4), the *Flight to Egypt* (no. 5), and the Doria *Magdalen* (no. 6) this painting has generally been ignored by later writers; Salerno (see Mancini, 1956–57, II, p. 115, n. 891) refers to it as probably a mistake for *St. John the Baptist* and Friedlaender (1955, p. 170) suggested that the reference was probably to the Doria-Capitoline version of *Youth with a Ram* as a *St. John the Baptist.* However, because Mancini was generally accurate in his references to Roman works, the possibility of a lost *Evangelist* cannot be absolutely excluded.

242. *Taking of Christ* (no. 60). The largest and most spacious of the eight copies known to me in actuality or through photographs, is that in the Sannini Collection, Florence (no. 60b), which although qualitatively inferior to several of the others (notably the Odessa and Antwerp versions, nos. 60a and 60g, respectively) seems most fully and accurately to record Caravaggio's lost original. Because the others are all consistently cut down on the left and right, and because the Odessa, Riverdale, Antwerp, and perhaps the Budapest (no. 60d; figure 48) versions all give the young man on the far right (in whom Longhi thought to recognize a self-portrait of Caravaggio) the same features, which are different from those in the Sannini Collection and Schloss Opočno versions, the possibility occurs to me of the intervention of another, lost copy between Caravaggio's original and the Odessa, Riverdale, Antwerp, and Budapest type. Because of the striking similarity of this type to such paintings by Valentin as the *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery* (220 × 168 cm; in a private collection in Rome in 1958 when Longhi published it in his study on Valentin, p. 65, fig. 4) in composition, *fattura,* and a characteristic young male physiognomy (of Valentin's Christ and of the young man on the far right on the *Taking*), this hypothetical lost copy might be proposed for Valentin. The Budapest version, which is rather heavy-handed, is clearly (particularly in its color and light effects) by an artist who was very responsive to Honthorst. In the Riverdale copy, the treatment of drapery, which is assured but angular and sharply con-

trasting between light and dark, and of the modeling of the heads, with pronounced highlights floating on shadow and half-light areas, is similar to the early works of Mattia Preti (e.g., the *Aeneas and Anchises* in the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica in Rome, ill. di Carpegna, 1958, fig. 40); although the quality is too poor to make an attribution to him, conceivably it came out of his studio.

Surprisingly, Caravaggio's conception of the subject seems to have had relatively little influence, apart from the copies; I know of no other painting that is clearly derivative, though perhaps some faint traces of its influence can be detected in Jordaens's *Taking of Christ* in the Royal Museum of Fine Arts in Copenhagen (no. 1638; 66.2 × 46.5 cm.) and in the two figures on the right of Christ in Guercino's painting in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge.

243. *Calling of SS. Peter and Andrew* (no. 61). As is evident, I believe that the Hampton Court and the other copies listed are all derived from the lost Caravaggio reported by Baglione (1642, p. 137) and apparently by Celio as in the Mattei Collection but misidentified by them as the *Way to Emmaus.* Considering the number of modern scholars who have also made this mistake, it is understandable, particularly because the painting was based on the composition traditional to the mistaken rather than the actual subject, which was more customarily represented as by the sea. But it has proved confusing, primarily because of the possibility that there was another lost picture which actually did represent the *Way to Emmaus* (no. 68). According to Mancini, Caravaggio painted such a work in the Sabine hills (i.e., in 1606) and then sold it to the Costa brothers; Bellori seems also to refer to it but ambiguously as to the subject. The original of the *Calling of SS. Peter and Andrew* was about contemporaneous in style with the *Incredulity of St. Thomas,* as Friedlaender observed (1955, p. 168) while mistaking its subject, and so must have been painted considerably earlier. Although this second lost original is conceivable, it does not seem likely. Presumably all the literary references are to the same lost picture, which might have belonged to the Costa family when Mancini wrote, and then have passed from them to the Mattei in time for Celio to see it about 1622; alternatively one family (the Mattei?) may have owned the original and the other (the Costa?) a copy.

Nicolson, definitely establishing the subject as the *Calling of SS. Peter and Andrew* (1963, p. 120), hints that the original may not have been by Caravaggio at all, and very tentatively suggests Saraceni as a possibility; conceivably the reference to a *Way of Emmaus,* thought to be by Saraceni in the Giustiniani Collection, might be relevant (no. 127, Salerno, 1960, II, p. 10). Alessandro Turchi would seem to me a somewhat more convincing alternate because of the similarity of the composition, the drapery style, and Christ's physiognomy to his work (e.g., the *Liberation of St. Peter* in the Este Gallery, Modena). But unless very convincing contrary evidence appears, the attribution of the lost original to Caravaggio seems acceptable.

The geographical distribution of the copies might suggest that the four other English versions (nos. 61d, e, f, and m) as well as Murphy's print (no. 61a) were made from the Hampton Court painting (no. 61b), and the four Italian copies plus Crozat's (nos. 61c, 61g–61i, and 61l) were made from the lost original.

N. B. the possibility of redundancy among the listed copies, which may well include two references to the same painting.

The utilization of the composition for different subjects was hardly less than that of the *Mary and Martha.* Specifically, the composition (usually reversed) was transformed into:

i. the three-figure *Denial of St. Peter* attributed to Spadarino (Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna; ill. Moir, 1967, II, fig. 122); and known also through another version (see n. 251; figure 52)

ii. the full-length figures of St. Peter, the soldier, and the serving woman in Tournier's multifigure *Denial of St. Peter* in the Prado (ill. Moir 1967, II, fig. 106 as Valentin), and such of its variants as the painting in the Toulouse Museum (figure 51) or as Sir Alec Martin's little version (see n. 251);

iii. Caracciolo's *Via Crucis* in Naples (ill. Moir, 1967, II, fig. 187);

iv. the *Buona Ventura* in the Galleria Nazionale dell'Arte Antica in Rome, where it is attributed to Manfredi or to Grammatica (ill. di Carpegna, 1955, fig. 15);

v. the full-length *Lot and His Daughters* by G. F. Guerrieri in the Borghese Gallery;
vi. the full-length *Christ and St. Francis and Brother Leo* by a Carracci follower in the art gallery at Budrio; and even ultimately, with only two figures, in
vii. the *Liberation of St. Peter* attributed to Caracciolo in the museum at Nantes (no. 30; 154 × 139 cm.); and
viii. the anonymous *Tobias and the Angel* in the Methuen Collection at Corsham Hall near Bath (figure 50).

244. *Crucifixion of St. Peter* (first version) (no. 62). Both Longhi and Friedlaender (1955, p. 185) accepted Baglione's report of this first version (but see note 283) and suggested (*i.*) the Hermitage version of this subject as reflective of the lost Caravaggio. It is unquestionably Caravaggesque. Saint Peter's head is very close to Mathias Stomer, the man leaning over the left arm of the cross recalls the *Church Father* (in the Este Gallery, Modena), and the *bravo* pulling the rope on the right hints of some relation to Leonello Spada. However, the chaotically crowded composition seems contradictory of Caravaggio's usual concentration and simplification.

Quite apart from Friedlaender's hint of Rubens's indebtedness to a lost first version in his altarpiece at St. Peter's in Cologne, a number of other paintings of the theme, a print, and three drawings are as likely to reflect Caravaggio's original. The paintings are:

ii. Ventura Salimbeni's of ca. 1610 at the Galleria dell'Arte Antica in Rome (Moir, 1967, I, p. 198, II, fig. 246);
iii. Marzio di Colantonio's fresco of as early as 1605–7 or as late as 1618 at Santa Maria della Consolazione also in Rome; (see Fehl, 1971, p. 342; figure 70);
iv. Antonio Nardi's of ca. 1619–20 in the Convento de las Bernardas, Alcala de Henares (see Perez Sanchez, 1965, p. 33; pl. 27); and
v. Genovesino's little canvas (35 × 40 cm., one of a set of ten Martyrdoms) of ca. 1640 at the Academia de San Fernando in Madrid (see Perez Sanchez, 1965, p. 354, fig. 109).

One drawing is (*vi.*) a preparatory study of before 1617 by Giovanni Battista Ricci of Novara for a fresco in Santa Maria in Trastina, Rome, which was shown in London during autumn 1971 (red chalk, pen and brown ink and wash; 360 × 233 mm.; Tan Bunzl, 1971, no. 41; figure 69); the second is:

vii. a pen, ink, and wash (13½″ × 14″) attributed to Caravaggio in an old Parsons sale, and recorded in a Witt Collection photo; and the third is
viii. a pen, ink, and wash drawing attributed to Federico Zuccaro once in the Certani Collection in Bologna and sold at Sotheby's in 1968 (figure 68).

The print (*ix.*) is Giovanni Pietro Ligari's signed etching of his painting of the subject at the Convent of Sondria (Achenbach Foundation for Graphic Arts, San Francisco, California; figure 71).

None of these works is identical to any of the others, to the Hermitage painting or Caravaggio's canvas still in the Cerasi Chapel (or, for that matter, to Michaelangelo's fresco in the Cappella Paolina, and least of all to the Reni canvas in the Vatican Pinacoteca). But Genovesino's seems to be a reversed elaboration of Salimbeni's; the left sides of Salimbeni's and the Hermitage painting are very close to each other; the head and upper torso of St. Peter are nearly identical in Marzio's fresco and Ricci's drawing, which in turn seems almost exactly to reverse the St. Peter and the two executioners at his feet and beside his legs in the Hermitage painting; and the man wrapping his arms around the left arm of the cross is almost identical in the Hermitage and Cerasi Chapel versions, which also share uniquely with the print the man pulling a rope to raise the cross (who appears, much revised, in Guido's painting, where he is pulling to raise the saint's body on the cross).

I conclude that all the paintings, the print and the drawings (including the Cerasi Chapel canvas and Guido's picture, although least of all), are reflections of a lost original, presumably by Caravaggio, but that none of them reflects it exactly. I would guess that the executioners with hands actually on the cross in the Hermitage painting appeared in the lost original (which was likely to be very strongly indebted to the Cavaliere d'Arpino, as the Ricci drawing hints), as did the pull-

ing man in some form; that St. Peter and his cross were composed on a diagonal roughly parallel to and only slightly recessive from the picture plane, possibly with the head in the lower right but not certainly; that the details of St. Peter's pose, his physiognomy, whether or not his head was turning, his legs bent, his torso twisted, and so forth cannot be determined; and that the presence or absence of background and peripheral figures and their poses is uncertain.

Perhaps additional evidence in support of this proposal is contained in Marzio's fresco in Santa Maria della Consolazione in Rome (figure 70), painted shortly after Caravaggio's pictures. The horse is close to Caravaggio's canvas of the *Conversion of St. Paul* still in the Cerasi Chapel, as if guaranteeing the frescoist's awareness of this prototype. But St. Peter on the cross and the composition are unlike Caravaggio's second version, thus encouraging the assumption that the fresco reflects another version, i.e., conceivably Caravaggio's lost first painting.

Finally, note should be taken of the close relation between Tiberio Cerasi and the Confraternity of the Consolazione, which was his heir and was required to complete the work at Santa Maria del Popolo.

245. *Crown of Thorns* (Giustiniani) (no. 65). Bellori's reference (1672, p. 207) to a *Crown of Thorns* painted for the Marchese Giustiniani is confirmed by the 1637 inventory of the collection, which lists one with four half-length figures (Salerno, 1960, III, p. 135, no. 3). A *terminus ante quem* for the painting may be supplied by Annibale Carracci's engraving of the subject which is signed and dated 1606, at least if Friedlaender (1955, p. 76, fig. 50) was correct in inferring that the print was derivative from the lost Caravaggio.

Among the numerous Caravaggesque treatments of the theme, the painting in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (no. 65a; Moir, 1967 I, pp. 42, 158; figure 76) seems likely to repeat the lost Caravaggio most exactly: horizontal in format, it includes four half- or three-quarter-length figures, the central three (excluding the armored spectator) posed similarly to those in Annibale's reversed print. The identification of it with the lost original seems confirmed by the other repetitions of the composition:

i. most strikingly perhaps by Giovanni Antonio Molineri's, with a soldier's head added left, in the Galleria Sabauda in Turin (175 × 115cm.; Moir, 1967, I, p. 266, II, fig. 356);

ii. but also by a version by a good follower of Valentin with a fifth, armored figure added in the right foreground (once in the Palazzo Altieri, Rome; known to me only through GFN photo F 5186; figure 77);

iii. the version attributed to Preti in the Fogg Museum, Cambridge (196.5 × 147 cm.; figure 79);

iv. and by the several versions in the *Manfredi Manier* with four or five extra figures, mostly *bravi,* e.g., a version known through copies in the Museum at Le Mans (figure 78) and once in the collection of Baronesse Rengers-Van Pallandt in Belgium (see Nicolson, 1967, p. 112, fig. 9).

Other variants reduced rather than increasing the number of figures:

v. notably the one with just three figures in the Staatsgemäldesammlungen in Munich (no. 1234, 135 × 118 cm.; Moir, 1967, I, pp. 42–43, 89, II, fig. 46 as the young Manfredi; Slatkes, 1965, p. 63, no. 33, fig. 53; has suggested an attribution to David de Haen);

vi. and another, probably a lost original by Manfredi, including only the reversed image of Christ and one jailer, known through four versions: *a*) at Christ Church, Oxford (108.1 × 88.5 cm.; Byam Shaw, 1967, p. 86, no. 138, pl. 102, as a copy, perhaps by Manfredi, of a lost Caravaggio); *(b)* a photograph in Agnew's archives of an unidentified painting (113 × 82 cm.) of good quality; (*c*) in a sale at the American Art Galleries, New York, 21–22 March 1922, lot 26, sold to R. Pearsons (115.5 × 80 cm.); either ruined or ruinously repainted, judging from the Frick Collection photograph); and (*d*) at the Bennington (Vermont) Museum (114 × 79 cm.) (figure 83).

The reversal of the composition in this last version makes it appear, like Orazio Gentileschi's *Crown of Thorns,* formerly in the Lizza-Bassi Collection (152 × 135 cm.; Moir, 1967,

I, pp. 70–71, II, fig. 70), to be based on the Annibale print; if so, it is Annibale in Caravaggio's clothing, for the style is unmistakably Caravaggesque. Other variants on the lost Caravaggio seem to be:

vii. by Manfredi (146 × 122 cm.; Palazzo Pitti, Florence; ill. Borea, 1972, fig. 7); also reversed (with Christ facing to the left) and conceivably simply the Fogg Museum version (no. 65*iii*.) reduced on the right where two more figures are needed to balance those on the left and with other figures also removed; a copy *(vii a)* was once in the Goetz Collection in New York, and a photo of *(vii b)* another of high quality is the Bodmer archive at the Warburg Institute in London;

viii. by the Master of the Vienna *Denial of St. Peter* (232 × 151 cm.; in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Bordeaux; Waddington, 1961, p. 314, pl. 140a);

ix. by an anonymous follower of Valentin (200 × 150 cm.; reversed; in a private collection, Milan; see Bottari, 1965, p. 57, fig. 23a, as Manfredi), reversed;

x. by Dirck van Baburen (signed; 136 × 106 cm.; in the Provincialaat der Minderbroeders, Weert, the Netherlands; Slatkes, 1965, p. 121, fig. 16), with Christ facing left, and with an extra figure left;

xi. by an unknown northern Caravaggist (in the Uffizio Esportazione, Rome, in 1963 and last seen in private possession in New York during 1968; photo GFN E 52159), vertical in format (figure 80);

xii. by or after Orazio Gentileschi (165 × 122 cm.; collection of Professor Jose Pijoán, Lucerne), three-quarter length, with the three figures standing and rehearsing a *Flagellation* as much as a *Crown of Thorns* (figure 81);

xiii. by Assereto (144 × 181 cm.; Palazzo Bianco, Genoa; Marcenaro, 1969, no. 48), with three additional figures;

xiv. by Bonito (130 × 180 cm.; Museo di San Martino, Naples; Moir, 1967, I, p. 80); and even ultimately,

xv. by Traversi (184 × 148 cm.; Museo del Castell'Arquato, Emilia; Moir, 1967, I, p. 180, II, fig. 231).

There is no seventeenth century literary reference to any but the Giustiniani *Crown of Thorns,* but Longhi's hypothesis of a Neapolitan version of the subject has gained some acceptance. The key painting again seems that in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, in which the spotty light effect is suggestive of Caravaggio's Neapolitan paintings, as is the *repoussoir.* But *repoussoirs* appear throughout his oeuvre, and the light effect is comparable to those in his late Roman paintings such as the Brera *Supper at Emmaus.* In fact, as the entirely different light system in Molineri's *Crown of Thorns* suggests, this light may not be Caravaggio's own but rather the imitator's, to whom is also owing the contrast between the rather hard surface of Christ's body (comparable to the Christ in the *Ecce Homo*) and the looser handling of the jailors' bodies. The superficiality of their anatomy, patched together without any real understanding of the underlying structure, is recollective of the fumbling treatment of the executioners in the Faentino Biagio Manzoni's *Martyrdom of St. Sebastian* in the Louvre (125 × 176 cm.; Moir, 1967, I, p. 254. II, fig. 341) where the saint's anatomy has the same hard glossy surface as Christ's in the Vienna *Crown of Thorns,* so an attribution of the Vienna picture to Manzoni might be considered (see also n. 215).

Longhi's hypothesis of a third lost *Crown of Thorns,* vertical in format, seems no more convincing than that of the "Neapolitan" version. Focused on an anonymous Caravaggesque painting in the Cecconi Collection, Florence (125 × 178 cm.), this group includes also a vertical canvas of the subject by Valentin, in the Staatsgemäldesammlung, Munich (95 × 128 cm.) and the Bigot picture at Santa Maria dell'Aquiro, Rome. This version is in fact basically a simple reversal of the Titian in the Louvre, and does not seem to me to necessitate the invention of still another lost Caravaggio.

246. *St. Augustine* (no. 66); *St. Jerome* (no. 67). If these two paintings actually were by Caravaggio, they have disappeared without trace, except for a reference to the former by Silos (1673). Could they have formed part of a series of church fathers, proposed, begun, and never completed? Could they have been related to Valentin's series of the *Four Evangelists* at Versailles, or even to one of his *St.*

Jeromes, either that in the Galleria Sabauda in Turin (ill. Brejon, 1973–74, no. 39) of which the proportions are wrong, or the version in Santa Maria in Via at Camerino (ill. Brejon, ibid., no. 50) which is, however, three-quarter rather than half-length?

247. *Fainting Mary Magdalen* (no. 69). Bodart, 1966, has studied the many copies and variant-copies of the theme thoroughly and intelligently. He sees two general types of the replicas: the *"oscuro"* (the Finson copies [nos. 69b, figure 96; 69c] and others) and the *"chiaro,"* which *"si distingue per gli accessori particulari e soprattutto per il modellato più dolce"* and to which the key seems to be the de Geest version of 1620 (no. 69d). He notes also the similarity between the photograph of the Longhi "original" (no. 69o) and the Klain painting (no. 69g; figure 97), to which I add a hypothetical attribution to Angelo Caroselli (who was in Naples ca. 1615) on the basis of the close similarity (particularly in the finesse of the modeling of the flesh) to the Clowes copy of the *Sleeping Cupid* (no. 42d). He notes Regnier's transformation of the theme in such paintings as the *Magdalen* in the Detroit Art Institute (figure 39), to which I would add the suggestion of an attribution to Regnier of the Bordeaux version (no. 69e; figure 98), in which the suave materialism of the handling of the drapery and the waxen modeling of the flesh duplicate the same effects in not only the Detroit Regnier but also Regnier's *St. Sebastian* in the Gemäldegalerie at Dresden (note also no. 57a).

The different versions show some variations: with a skull, or without; with a cross, or without. The most important variation in the standard types seems to be the amount of space above the saint, and this is most considerable in the Finson in the Marseilles Museum (no. 69b), in the Regnier? (no. 69e), and in the former Carvalho collection (no. 69i) paintings; the Finson and the Regnier also seem quite generous of space to the left and right of the figure, and both have the cross and skull (as does the de Geest [no. 69d]). Hence, they probably reflect the original most exactly.

The question of where that lost painting might have been is complex. The number of copies having Neapolitan associations would indicate that it probably went with Caravaggio to Naples. But did it then stay in Naples or did it, perhaps, go to France with Finson? Considering the number of copies in France, the latter would at first seem likely. But a large number of copies are reported in Italy, too, and Finson could just as well have taken only his two copies home to Aix-en-Provence with him, leaving the original in Naples. There Caroselli could have seen it about 1615, and two or more decades later whatever provincial from Solofra carried out the Cutolo version (no. 69h). But there is also evidence that the composition was known in Rome as early as ca. 1610, when Saraceni painted his versions of *St. Sebastian* in Glasgow (figure 15) and in the Castle Museum in Prague (ill. Ottani, 1968, no. 51), with the head posed like the fainting *Magdalen's* and the body a combination of her pose with a slightly more upright version of the Hartford *St. Francis's* (no. 3). Saraceni could have used a copy as his source; but it seems likely that the original itself was in Rome in time for Regnier to have made his copy there and for de Geest to have signed and dated his there in 1620.

248. The Hill version (no. 69u), catalogued simply as a *Magdalen* by Caravaggio, would not be included in this list except for Hill's Neapolitan connections (he was British Ambassador there 1824–33) and the relatively high price (£12.1.6, on a reserve of £5) brought by the painting.

249. *Resurrection* (no. 70). First mentioned in a postscript to Mancini, probably by the informant Gallacini (Mancini, 1956–57, II, n. 1664) and described in considerable detail by Scaramuccia in 1674, this painting is believed to have been destroyed in the earthquake of 1805 (Longhi, 1952, p. 42) without any recognized trace. In 1763 still in the Fenaroli Chapel, the third on the left of the church, it was described by Cochin (I, pp. 171–172) as "une imaginaire singulière, le Christ n'est point en l'air, et passe en marchant au travers les gardes; ce qui donne une idée basse et le fait ressembler à un coupable qui s'échappe de ses gardes .... Il est fort noirci." The painting was also mentioned by De Dominici (1742–43, II, p. 276) and by Celano (1758–5 9, II, p. 10), who describes it as "mancante nel costume . . ." and who seems to contradict the other descriptions by reporting that Christ ". . . salta dal Sepolchro" and "par ch'esca dal quadro."

The only attempt to identify the painting that I know of was made in 1917 when A. Pinetti published (1917, p. 136) (*i.*) a large *Resurrection* (231 × 335 cm.) in private possession in Milan, reporting that at the time of the Napoleonic suppression of the church, it had been rescued from Sant'Anna by a collector Gregorio Fidanza and it had passed from him to his son Antonio, who was director of the Pinacoteca of San Luca in Rome, and since the latter died about 1850 had been in the hands of his heirs in Milan. Judging from the poor illustration of Pinetti's article, the Milanese *Resurrection* was by Vaccaro rather than Caravaggio; it clearly was not the Sant'Anna painting, for its Christ was floating rather than walking. Nonetheless, it may give some faint hint of the appearance of the lost Caravaggio *Resurrection.* Less elusive hints can be recognized in several other Caravaggesque paintings: (*ii.*) the *Resurrection* by Louis Finson of 1610 in the church of St. Jean in Aix-en-Provence (noted by Joffroy, 1959, p. 345; ill. Boyer, 1971, p. 17); (*iii.*) another *Resurrection* by Juan Bautista Maino (who may have passed through Naples on his trip from Spain to Italy) painted in 1611–12 for San Pedro Martir in Toledo and now in the Museo Balaguer in Barcelona (ill. Spear, 1971, p. 125); and in two paintings by Caracciolo, both done ca. 1615–20 and both still in Naples, (*iv.*) the *Liberation of St. Peter* in the Monte della Misericordia, and (*v.*) the *Immaculate Conception* in the Sacristy of Santa Maria della Stella (ill. Moir, 1967, II, figs. 183 and 181 resp.).

Not surprisingly, Finson's painting is the closest to Scaramuccia's and Cochin's descriptions and presumably therefore to the lost original; Maino's repeats the arrangement of the two soldiers in the left foreground although changing their costumes and the gestures of the standing soldier on the right; the foreground left figure reappears profiled in Caracciolo's *Liberation of St. Peter,* in which the pose of the head of the helmeted soldier on the right is identical, even though he is now seated; except for their proper left arms, Maino's bare-chested Christ and Caracciolo's draped Virgin have taken exactly the same pose, with the heads looking up, the proper right arm bent upward at the elbow, and the weight of the body carried principally on the proper left leg; Finson's Christ seems to do exactly what Cochin describes, although in a fairly static pose with his arms outstretched in a horizontal line rather than bent at the elbows; and the seminude *repoussoir* figure who occupies the lower right corner of both Maino *Resurrection* and Caracciolo *Liberation* (and who probably took the same place in the lost Caravaggio) was replaced by Finson with a drastically and awkwardly foreshortened soldier like the St. John the Baptist in his painting in Brunswick.

My suspicion is that none of these paintings exactly repeats Caravaggio's but that the foreground soldiers (excepting Finson's foreshortened guard) repeat his quite closely and that his Christ was close to Caracciolo's Virgin Mary. The imaginary transformation of the Virgin into the resurrected Christ (even the step that she seems to take) and of Adam and some of the other fore- and middle-ground figures into sleeping or marveling soldiers is easily accomplished, although the Virgin's position in relation to most of the other figures is so high as to suggest the customary floating Christ rather than "with one foot in and the other outside the sepulchre on the ground . . ." as Scaramuccia complains (Friedlaender's translation, 1955, p. 224). The crowded and somewhat jumbled composition of the *Immaculata* is close to that of Caravaggio's *Seven Works of Mercy* (in the Misericordia, for which the *Liberation* was painted about contemporaneously); and it is surely the most earthbound *Immaculate Conception* in seventeenth-century Italy, which is exactly the quality in the *Resurrection* to which Scaramuccia took exception.

An alternative compositional scheme, even further emphasizing Christ as human rather than triumphant, is tempting: to see Caracciolo's St. Peter passing through the sleeping guards as a re-creation of Cochin's description of Christ's passage "en marchant au travers les gardes." But the supporting evidence is sketchy.

250. *Stigmatization of St. Francis* (no. 71). See n. 180, particularly no. *3iii.* This lost painting can not be associated with the Cremona picture (no. 120) of the *Ecstasy of St. Francis* because of the different subject. The citation of the painting was not Mancini's own but was by the informant Gallacini (Salerno-Marucchi, 1957, II, p. 217, n. 1664), and is partially confirmed in the references by Scaramuccia and

De Dominici to another painting by Caravaggio (without specification of the subject) in the church, and by Cochin to two others. Could Gallacini's informant have mistaken the subject or the artist of the Sant'Anna dei Lombardi painting? If he mistook the subject, could it have been *St. Francis in Meditation,* and therefore identifiable with the Cremona or Carpineto paintings (nos. 120 and 122)? Friedlaender observed that the Hartford painting does represent the stigmatization of the saint; thus this painting could have been a copy of the Hartford version (no. 3) or of the original (whatever it may have been) of Orazio Gentileschi's *St. Francis with an Angel* (no. 3*iii*).

251. *Denial of St. Peter* (no. 72). See pp. 48–49 in the text. As indicated there, the Caravaggesque representations of the subject are sufficiently numerous to encourage more serious consideration of Bellori's report of an autograph version by Caravaggio at San Martino than most authorities on Caravaggio give it. There is at least no doubt that the painting [*i.*] now in the monastery (figure 101)—is not by the master himself. Although there are other Caravaggesque treatments of the theme, like the painting by the Pensionante del Saraceni in the Vatican, all or almost all of those that correspond to Bellori's description seem to be variants on the *Calling of St. Matthew.* Often they are reversed, with St. Peter and the questioning woman who replace the Christ and St. Peter of the *Calling,* on the left rather than the right. The empty space overhead is invariably reduced (although more than in most of the copies or variant-copies of the *Calling*) and a fire-brazier appears in the foreground, following Bellori's description of the theme. Several of the *Denial* variants (like for example [*ii.*] that of the Master of the Judgment of Solomon in the Galleria dell'Arte Antica, Rome, which is not reversed and although rather compressed is quite similar to the *Calling*) are disqualified from consideration because of the lack of this fire. In fact, even those that do include the fire rarely correspond exactly to Bellori's description, either like [*iii.*] the Tournier in the Prado which does not show any one actually warming himself at the fire (ill. Moir, 1967, II, fig. 106) or like (*iv.*) the reversed La Tour of 1650 at the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Nantes, in which St. Peter is posed without his hands being apart. Most of the possible derivatives are by North European artists like (*v.*) the Seghers in the collection of the Earl of Mansfield at Scone Palace (80 × 60 cm.; engraved in reverse by G. A. Bolswert; a copy is in the North Carolina Museum of Art at Raleigh) which lacks the brazier, the (*vi.*) lost Valentin once in Count Bruhl's collection and known through a Basan print (figure 100) or the (*vii.*) anonymous little painting on copper (in the Museum of the Archepiscopal Palace in Narbonne; see Nicolson, 1958, p. 117, no. D 91, pl. 36a) which is reflective of Ter Brugghen. Neapolitan painters do not seem to have utilized the composition to any extent; apart from the copy (no. 72a) De Dominici says (1841, III, p. 41) that Caracciolo made of the original, only one version known to me, a (*viii*) painting by Cesare Fracanzano that was once in a private collection in Paris (197 × 144 cm., published as by Gerard Seghers by Roblot-Delondre, 1930, p. 190, fig. 1), can be localized in Naples, and it is only barely conceivable as derivative from the same lost original.

My conclusion is that a lost master original comparable to the *Mary and Martha* (no. 56) and the *Sacrifice of Isaac* (no. 105) did probably once exist, whether by Caravaggio or not. It corresponded roughly to Bellori's description of it, although perhaps without any figures whose primary activity was warming their hands over the fire. Its composition was somehow derived from the *Calling of St. Matthew* either reversed or not. It is at least as likely to have been by Manfredi or Valentin or some one in their circle as by Caravaggio himself, and it was not necessarily painted in Naples. The argument that most of the variants are by minor artists (like the *ix.* Tournier of which there are versions in the Musée des Augustins in Toulouse [figure 51], a private collection in Munich [240 × 160 cm.], and a little copy on a panel [52 × 34 cm.] in the collection of Sir Alec Martin), who simply reworked the *Calling* with a pastiche of Caravaggesque elements can be answered by such dramatically effective paintings as the Master of the Judgment of Solomon's (no. 72 *ii.*) or (*x.*) the Manfredi in Brunswick (232 × 166 cm.; Moir, 1967, I, pp. 222–223, I, fig. 105), which are distantly derivative from the San Luigi dei Francesi *Calling* but transform it into a new narrative and psy-

chological situation. A lost Manfredi version *(xi.)* may appear in a pen, ink, and wash drawing by Bramer in the Witt Collection, London (figure 103).

If Bellori (or his informant) had not located the painting in San Martino and thus facilitated the mistaken identification of it with the painting now there, we would hardly question the existence of a lost master original; and I suspect we would be much more inclined to accept the attribution of it to Caravaggio. For we have not only Bellori's detailed description of the *Denial* and many variants or variant-copies or even possibly copies of it, but also De Dominici's reference to a copy by Caracciolo, which may have been based on firsthand knowledge of both paintings. Although Caracciolo might have made the copy during his visit to Rome, he is more likely to have painted it in Naples. Thus, probably both Caravaggio's original and Caracciolo's copy were in Naples by the time of the latter's death in the 1630s. Furthermore, there is documentation for the entry into San Martino of " . . . un quadro della negation di Pietro di mano de Caravaggio, quale stà hoggi posto sopra la porta della Sacristia . . ." in 1655; it was sold to the monastery in that year by the Bergamask architect, Cosmo Fanzaga, who since 1623 had been responsible for the remodeling of the interior (see Spinazzola, 1902, p. 170). Whether this *Denial* was by Caravaggio, we do not know; it is likely to have been the one seen by Bellori's informant and described in *Le Vite* . . . and thus the lost "original" (who ever its maker was) but not the painting now on display in the monastery. It is perhaps significant that Celano discusses San Martino at length in his first edition of 1692 (Sixth day, III, pp. 21–35) without mentioning any Caravaggesque *Denial of St. Peter* but that De Dominici, published half a century later (in 1742), does refer to such a painting. Frustratingly De Dominici does not describe it.

Few if any Caravaggio scholars accept the attribution to him of an etched *Denial of St. Peter,* despite its signature "Caravagio [sic]/ Roma/1603" (Le B1.I 34). But it can remind us that a three-figure version of the subject was almost as popular among the Caravaggisti as Bellori's multifigure composition. An effective version of this three-figure type is the one attributed to G. A. Galli called Spadarino in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna (see Moir, 1967, I, p. 95 and II, fig. 122), which repeats the composition of a painting sold at Christie's in 1925 (53 × 38½ inches; lot 129, sale of Sir Edward Oswald Every Collection and others, 17 July 1925) and at Agnew's in 1926, known to me only through a photograph (A. C. Cooper W 2001) (figure 52). The Every Collection *Denial* was apparently better than that in Bologna; just as evidently it is not by Caraaggio but by a French artist close to Regnier. It (and other versions of the type) might very well reflect a lost Caravaggio, not that one described by Bellori which had many more figures, and not a Neapolitan work (like no. 124) but rather one contemporaneous with the *Incredulity of St. Thomas* (no. 18) or the lost *Calling of SS. Peter and Andrew* (no. 61) which it reverses, so that the possibility of a lost pair of paintings must be considered. Particularly notable to me is the use of Caravaggio's language of hands to convey the psychological contacts among the figures.

252. *Crucifixion of St. Andrew* (no. 73). Despite the variation from the description in the 1653 inventory of the Conde de Benavente's Collection in Valladolid, which probably mistakenly mentions only three onlookers instead of four, the existent copies must reproduce the lost original fairly exactly. However, there are some differences between the Toledo (no. 73a) and the Back-Vega (no. 73c; figure 94) versions: in the latter, the left arm of the executioner on a ladder is more bent at the elbow and the space to the right and above the saint is somewhat reduced (and not to its betterment), so the original is likely to have been a little larger.

Possibly the painting in Finson's estate was the original (as Lastman certified in 1619) in which case he would have made a copy in Naples, sold it to the Count as the original, and taken the original home with him. The Toledo painting might be this copy, somehow acquired from Valladolid. Considering the danger of attempting to deceive so powerful a man as the viceroy in a city so gossip-prone as Naples, it is much more likely that his was the original, that Finson took a copy home with him, and that the "experts" of 1619 either through poor connoisseurship, charity toward Finson's heirs, or some other reason erroneously authenticated it as the original.

253. *St. Jerome Meditating* (no. 74). The Monserrat painting (no. 119) does match Bellori's description of the Grand Master's *St. Jerome,* but its style precludes its having been painted in Malta as Bellori specifically states.
254. *Mary Magdalen* (no. 75). Bellori's attribution of this painting to Caravaggio is almost certainly wrong. As Hess pointed out (1958, p. 145), his informant was probably referring to the *Mary Magdalen* still in place in the chapel facing the *St. Jerome Writing* (no. 41) and like it bearing the coat of arms of the patron Ippolito Malaspina (1544–1624); and this painting, after Correggio, is clearly not by Caravaggio. In the unlikely alternative that the original was not this painting but a lost work, as a "sopraporta" it must have been horizontally oriented (like the Cavallino school *St. Agatha;* figure 16) and thus not simply another version of the Sabine hills picture (no. 69; figures 96–98).
255. *Via Crucis* (no. 76). See Borla (1967, p. 6) for comments on the documentation of the painting which describes it: " . . . Cristo colla Croce in spalla, la Vergine Addolorata e dui manigoldi uno sona la tromba riusci veramente una bellissima opera e pagata oz. 46" (quoted from Saccà, 1907, p. 64). My reading of Saccà sees nothing to prove that Caravaggio completed the three other paintings commissioned by Nicolao di Giacomo but leaves no doubt as to the completion of the *Via Crucis.* Evidently it has no relation to the *Via Crucis* (no. 121) attributed to Caravaggio in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. Nor does Dirck van Baburen's version at San Pietro in Montorio seem likely to be reflective of it, either. However, Caravaggio's conception of the subject with only four figures would be exceptional if not unique, and some connection might be considered between the lost work and the four-figure Stomer once in Budapest (but without the Virgin or a trumpeteer) (ill. von Schneider, 1933, fig. 37b), or Caracciolo's three-figure *Via Crucis* (in the Church of Santa Maria del Popolo agli Incurabili, Naples; Moir, 1967, II, fig. 167) representing Christ, the Virgin, and St. John the Beloved without any executioners, although Caracciolo's composition is probably only another variant on the *Calling of SS. Peter and Andrew.* Possibly Alonzo Rodriquez's *Meeting of SS. Peter and Paul* (Museo Nazionale, Messina, from the Church of San Rocco; Moir, 1967, II, fig. 240), which does include a trumpeter, might reflect the lost Caravaggio; it could be translated into a *Via Crucis* without stretching the imagination very far.
256. *St. Jerome Writing* (no. 77). For stylistic reasons, I doubt Marini's attempt (1971, pp. 56–67) to identify the fine *St. Jerome* in the Worcester (Mass.) Museum (97.5 × 73cm.) as this Caravaggio. The painting seems instead to be by an anonymous north European; the subject is the *Inspiration* of the saint who looks up distracted from his writing; see Spear, 1971, pp. 192–193. Note should be taken of Susinno's reference (1960, p. 114) to two half-length *St. Jeromes* in Count Adonnino's Collection. One "di buon gusto . . ." shows him writing but is described as "buona senza quelle ombre" so as to preclude attribution of it to Caravaggio. The other cannot be the same as Bellori's, for it represented the saint in meditation with a skull in his hands; the description of it as *"di maniera secca"* seems to preclude Caravaggio's authorship.
257. *St. Sebastian Bound to a Tree* (no. 79). There is no reason to reject out of hand Bellori's citation of a lost *St. Sebastian* in Paris; but the painting (120 × 170cm.; figure 92) included in the 1951 Milan exhibition as from a Roman private collection (Foresti?), previously in the collection of the Duca di Galliera (Anderson photo no. 4242), and later in the Montpensier Collection, Bologna, Alinari photo no. 16182, is not acceptable as a copy of an autograph Caravaggio. The basis for this rejection is best demonstrated by the difficulty in explaining the subject: although the executioners are just tying the saint to the tree (and why are they so tender to him?), he has already an arrow in his chest. Longhi first (1951, pp. 32–33) attempted to explain this anomaly by describing the men as untying the saint, which does not accord either with Bellori or with the painting; later (1960, p. 35) he explained that they were really tying the saint but an impatient archer had impetuously let the arrow fly prematurely. The truth seems to be that the motif is not worthy of Caravaggio; the painter conceived of Sebastian as a venerated saint rather than a helpless human victim, identified him symbolically with the arrow, and caused his executioners to treat him with the care of which a saint is deserving. Other discrepancies are concealment of the saint's hands, his body

type, and his stance firm on both legs; and the composition is too shallow and friezelike.

The Foresti painting is in fact a variant-copy of a lost original which was certainly not by Caravaggio; it is by an anonymous painter, perhaps a Neapolitan who was understandably familiar with the details, drapery and so forth, of Caravaggio's latest works. This lost work is revealed through another copy or variant-copy (110 × 162 cm.) which appears to be superior in quality, in a private collection in the Vosges. Bearing the date of 1628, it was published by Pariset (1958, pp. 69–70) as by Jean Le Clerc, an attribution at which Longhi 1960, ibid., scoffed. Apparently it is a copy of, or derivative from, a lost Saraceni; the combination of a Caravaggesque with a more conventional conception is consistent with his style particularly in Le Clerc's hands, as are the details of physiognomy and drapery, the relatively small scale, and the slightly sentimental intimacy. A third copy is in the Cathedral of Como.

A distant variant on the theme was sold at a Christie's sale at the Villa d'Este (Como) in 1971 (152 × 240 cm.; lot 359, 31 March to 1 June). It is in general reversed, with three background heads added and a sky, but hints of a Neapolitan origin also, in the style of Mattia Preti.

A St. Sebastian "nel martire con tre [sic] soldati, figure grandi in piedi" was attributed to Caravaggio in the Fagnani inventory (ca. 1739). I have suggested (Moir, 1967, I, pp. 53–54, n. 134) the possibility that this painting may have been by Caroselli; and despite the extra soldier (Bellori specifies only two in his "Caravaggio") it may also have reflected the same lost original.

All of this leaves Bellori's Parisian painting without any substantiation; even Manzoni's *St. Sebastian* in the Louvre can be explained without recourse to a lost Caravaggio as a combination of the San Domenico *Flagellation* (no. 38) with the lost original from which the three copies derived. To be noted, however, is the reiteration of Naples in this discussion. It is not altogether impossible that Caravaggio did make a late *St. Sebastian,* close to the *Flagellation.* But the anomalies of the copies of the lost painting make much more likely an origin in lesser hands—Saraceni, or some one in his circle who was in Naples about 1610 and familiar with both the *Flagellation* and the *Crucifixion of St. Andrew.*

There are other references in art literature to a number of *St. Sebastians* attributed to Caravaggio but without substantiation: one with arrows in hand, in a Barberini inventory shortly to be published by Mrs. Lavin; Scanelli's in 1657, of a half-length in the Royal Collection in Modena (no. 80); a Mireur (I, pp. 33–34) reference to "Saint Sebastien lié par les borreaux" (Gros sale, 1835, 120 francs), and another simply as "Martyr de Saint Sebastien" that went for 260 francs in the Demidorf sale of 1839; and numerous misattributions early in this century (e.g., Witting, 1916), but no apparent consistency among them.

258. *St. Sebastian* (half-length) (no. 80). I know of no evidence of the existence of this painting.

259. *St. Augustine* (no. 81). Possibly related to no. 66?

260. *Christ Bearing Cross* (no. 82). Listed in Antonio della Corna's 1633 inventory of Cardinal Ludovisi's Collection, which was kept at his villa at the Porta Pinciana. The painting is described as "un quadro con Cristo con la croce in spalla messa figura alto palmi cinque [= 111.7 cm.] cornice dorata di mano del Caravaggio." It is not identifiable with the Vienna painting (no. 121; 138 cm. high) or the di Giacomo painting (no. 76), both of which had several figures in addition to Christ. Dr. Garas (ibid., I, pp. 287–289) points out that the Ludovisi Collection was gradually dispersed, with some paintings going to Spain as gifts to the king, some to Mazarin, Jabach, and Colbert, and some to Queen Christina and to the Tuscan ducal collection. Président de Brosses (1931, II, p. 426) saw paintings of this subject and of *Christ Among the Doctors* (no. 83) in the Giustiniani Collection in 1739–40. Could they be the same? Perhaps Président de Brosses mistook the Francesco Casale *Porta Croce* (Salerno, 1960, I, no. 164) for a Caravaggio.

261. *Christ and the Doctors* (no. 83). Described in the inventory as "Un Xpo, che disputa fra Dottori alto pmi cinque longo p.mi sei [= 111.7 × 134.04 cm.] cornice di noce. . . ." It cannot be a mistake for the painting in Naples attributed to Spadarino (Moir, 1967, II, fig. 123) which is 117 cm. high and 195.5 cm. wide without its frame. It occurs to me that some reflection of the lost original might be seen in

the painting attributed to Finson in the Bowes Museum at Barnard Castle (142 × 99 cm.; also attributed to Spada; figure 95) and the Bartolomeo Passante in the Musée des Beaux-Arts at Nantes (no. 332 formerly attributed to Ribera; 127 × 97.5 cm.). In these paintings the two principal figures, the young Christ and his chief adversary, are similar in pose, as they are also (although full rather than three-quarter length) in the Stomer in Munich (no. 1796; 146 × 200 cm.; Longhi, 1951*c*, no. 165); the old man on the far right of the Spadarino strains forward like his brothers in the Finson, the Passante, and the Stomer. In other respects the paintings are dissimilar; but combined with the *Incredulity*-like cluster, these details hint of a common source, possibly in Caravaggio. Possibly Président de Brosses mistook for Caravaggio the *Christ and the Doctors* attributed to Ribera in the Giustiniani Collection (Salerno, 1960, I, no. 46).

262. *Lost Portraits* (nos. 84–100). Although Pacheco (1956, II, p. 140) wrote in 1638 that Caravaggio did not paint portraits, obviously he did, and no less than 19 are recorded in fairly well informed seventeenth-century sources. But they present a vexing problem, for although at least half of them appear in convincingly contemporary or near-contemporary records and although the range of sitters seems to be what Caravaggio might have expected, most of them have disappeared as images and are traceable only through literary or documentary references. The loss of the early works of anonymous sitters and perhaps of the Longhi paintings might be understandable; but the total disappearance of the Giustiniani, Crescenzi, and Marino portraits seems inexplicable. The rest of Caravaggio's oeuvre has survived, relatively speaking, much better, either in the original or in copies or variants; and it would seem that the owners (and their immediate heirs) of the likenesses of such distinguished and well-known sitters would have preserved them carefully, certainly no less so than the private owners of subject-paintings. It has been suggested (see, for example, Kitson, 1967, pp. 88 and 100) that Caravaggio was ill-at-ease with a sitter (and particularly a princely or papal one) rather than a mere model before him, and thus painted portraits of so much less than his usual quality as to be unrecognizable; and what is seen as stiffness of the *Wignancourt* (no. 40) and *Paul V* (no. 99) compositions might be cited in support. But I see this "stiffness" as commanding, an effect entirely consistent with the power of the subjects; and the quality of the handling of Wignancourt's face and armor seems to me to leave nothing to be desired, just as the quality of the handling of the *Paul V* makes very clear that it can be no better than a copy. Correspondingly, if "il vero" *Maffeo Barberini* (see n. 269), battered as it may be, is autograph, it surely is a fluent combination of a *prepotente* sitter with the lifelike even momentary conception natural to Caravaggio; so also the apparent portrait of Wignancourt as the Malta *St. Jerome* (no. 41; figure 123), where the formidable model has been treated informally however flattering the association. The suggestion that Caravaggio considered portraiture to be potboiling and thus unworthy of the effort necessary to produce work on a qualitative level recognizable as his seems precluded by the importance of most of his sitters, which should surely have brought out the best in him. Just how good this best could be is revealed by the *Courtesan Phyllis* (no. 10; figure 124) of his youth, the self-portraits in the *Martyrdom of St. Matthew* (no. 20; figure 125), *David* (no. 47), and the *Seven Works of Mercy* (no. 37; figure 126); and the Wignancourt as *St. Jerome* (no. 41; figure 123) of his maturity — all of which demonstrate that he was a highly skilled and perceptive realistic portraitist.

The conclusion I draw is that Caravaggio's portraits were probably so little remembered, recognized, or esteemed during the later seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, as to be neglected into oblivion: if not actually destroyed, at least buried under layers of grime, varnish and repainting, shunted into dark corners of obscure back rooms, and forgotten to the point of loss of identity, both of the maker and the sitters. The corollary would seem to be that at least some of them may be (like "il vero" *Maffeo Barberini?*) waiting to be recognized, restored, and recovered, presumably in Italy and probably mostly in Rome or its environs.

263. *An Innkeeper* (no. 84). Immediately following this citation is an illegible reference to another portrait read by Salerno (in Mancini 1956–57, II, p. 112, n. 885) as "un vilico" with a suggested identification as the *Fruttaiuolo* (no. 2).

264. *A Head* (no. 86). This portrait is described only as "una testa" but there is a detailed description of the frame as "un adornamento vecchio di legno intagliato con due colonne lato p.mi tre. . . ." Conceivably it may have been one of the other lost portraits purchased by Cardinal Ludovisi.

265. Giustiniani portraits (nos. 87–90). Also listed in the Giustiniani inventory were the *Portrait of the Courtesan Phyllis* (no. 10; figure 124) and the *Portrait of Gismondo Todesco Pittore* (Salerno, 1960, p. 135, no. 6) attributed to Caravaggio. Representing the painter Sigismondo Laire, this second likeness is still existent in the West German national collections and clearly is not by Caravaggio. Note should also be taken of the attributions in the inventory of the portraits of Marsilia Sicca (p. 138) and Farinaccio Criminalista (p. 141) only to "si crede di Michelangelo da Caravaggio"; evidently the two paintings were already suspect in 1637.

266. Longhi portraits (nos. 92–93). Martino Longhi the younger (the Roman architect, son of the sitters) moved in 1659 from Rome back to his family's native place in Viggiù in Lombardy and died there in 1660. When his widow remarried (in Rome or in Lombardy?), his estate passed to his cousins named Jucci, and presumably it included Caravaggio's portraits of his parents. The inventory of the estate lists also a *St. John the Baptist in the Desert* by Caravaggio (see note 209) and a number of other paintings, some with very impressive attributions; not only the *Judith* by Saraceni without which no seventeenth-century collection seems to have been complete, but also an *Herodias* by Titian, a *Trinity* by Michaelangelo, an unidentified subject attributed to Raphael, and two paintings by Perino del Vaga, one a *St. John the Baptist.*

267. Crescenzi portraits (nos. 94–95). Some of Friedlaender's doubts (1955, p. 218) that the "alleged" Crescenzi portraits ever existed would have been allayed by the publication by Carderi (in 1968) of the testament dated 14 February 1641 of a "Dominus Crescentius de Crescentius de Urbe" leaving a portrait of himself and another of G. B. Marino, both by Caravaggio, to his *nipote* and heir Count Francesco Crescenzi. The will is in the archives of the notary of Montorio di Vomaro, a Crescenzi possession in the Abruzzi. Because Virgilio Crescenzi died in 1592, the reference to a portrait of him by Caravaggio is dubious.

268. *Portrait of G. B. Marino* (no. 96). See the preceding note. Marino, who was associated admiringly with the Caravaggisti, did not arrive in Rome until 1600, so Caravaggio's portrait of him would have had to be in the artist's mature style.

In the Hon. G. J. Vernon sale at Christie's 16 April 1831, lot 23 by Caravaggio was described as a "Portrait of the poet Marini, his head encircled by a wreath of bays, full of character and richly coloured, from the collection of the Marchese Benvenuti at Rome, for whom it was painted. It is described by Bellori." The painting had a reserve price of 50 gns. and was unsold at 40 gns. It did not appear in any other Vernon sale at Christie's between 1831 and 1920, was not included in Sudbury when it was taken over by the National Trust, and has apparently disappeared without any other trace.

Samek Ludovici (1956, p. 122) reports that a portrait of Marino by Caravaggio was listed in an 1845 guidebook of Naples as in the gallery of the Principe di Fondi.

Because Marino's very distinctive features are fairly well known through the Ottavio Leoni portrait drawing (in the Biblioteca Marucelliana in Florence; see Kruft, 1968, fig. 27) and through painted portraits in the Uffizi and the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon (see Jullian, 1959, passim), Caravaggio's portrayal of him should be easily recognizable, if it were to turn up.

269. *Maffeo Barberini* (no. 98). I suspect that the portrait (in a private collection in Florence) published by Longhi in 1963 as "il vero *'Maffeo Barberini'* " is in fact the long-lost original; but I have never seen it, and some wariness is counseled by reports that it has been very extensively repainted. The former pretender (95 × 121 cm.) in the collection of Prince Corsini in Florence, from the Barberini Collection, was attributed to Scipione Pulzone until the twentieth century; I have suggested (1967, I, p. 26, n. 14) an attribution to Antiveduto Grammatica.

270. *Paul V.* (no. 99). The painting of the pope (119 × 203 cm.) in the Borghese family collection is not of sufficiently high quality to justify an attribution to Caravaggio himself, although it is similar enough to the Alof de Wignan-

court portrait in conception to suggest that it may be a replica of the lost original. The copy of it in the Galleria Borghese (142 × 123 cm.) is recorded as early as 1650 as a Caravaggio; clearly it is not, although it seems reasonable to assume it was made at the time of Cardinal Scipione Borghese's death in 1633, when the Palazzo Borghese painting was separated from the main part of the collection in the gallery and returned to the Borghese family, already with an attribution to Caravaggio (see Kitson, 1967, no. 62). Conceivably this painting is the original known to Bellori, but actually by a lesser hand rather than Caravaggio's own. It is difficult however to imagine so discriminating and knowledgeable a critic as Bellori (whose very specific account of the circumstances of the commission indicates an intimate acquaintance with the portrait) mistaking the rather inept *fattura* of the Palazzo Borghese painting for Caravaggio's, even despite its impressive provenience. Presumably therefore the original is lost; and the Palazzo Borghese *Paul V* may, or may not, be a copy of it.

271. *Seated Alof de Wignancourt* (no. 100). Despite references by both Bellori and Susinno to a second likeness of the Grand Master by Caravaggio, Marini's proposal (1971, p. 56, fig. 2, n. 5) to recognize a portrait in the Collegio dei Canonici della Grotta di San Paolo at Rabat in Malta as a copy of a lost work by the master, is unconvincing. I see no reason not to accept the inscription on the portrait with the date of 1617 as perfectly straightforward, and to assume that some local hack carried it out then on commission, and as an original not a copy. We should however consider the possibility that Bellori's informant (and Susinno after him) was so inexpert as to mistake this portrait for the Caravaggio original that he reported back to Rome, and that therefore we should give up the search for the missing seated portrait "in abito di pompa."

272. *Annunciation* (no. 101). Ruinously damaged during centuries of neglect, the painting has been resurrected by a recent restoration carried out by the Istituto Centrale per Restauro in Rome. Previously it was attributed to Caracciolo (Longhi, 1921; in 1959, p. 29, revised to Caravaggio) and to Jacques Bellange (Pariset, 1936, pp. 237–238, on the basis of Bellange's reversed print of the same subject; according to Longhi, Pariset later rejected this proposal in favor of the attribution to Caravaggio). In the museum, it was catalogued as Guido Reni and exhibited as "Bolognese school." Pariset wrote that it had been in the Primatiale of Nancy, the gift of Duke Henri II, who reigned from 1608 to 1624; in 1645 it was over the high altar of the Nancy Cathedral (of the Annunciation), as Michelangelo. It was shown in Bordeaux in 1955 as by an unknown Caravaggist. Despite a report that the painting appears in an inventory of 1609 as by "Michelangelo da Roma" and in a church in Nancy, the 1645 inventory appears to be the earliest documentation. The reference to "Michelangelo" was probably to Buonarotti rather than Merisi, with the inflation of attribution characteristic of the provinces in the seventeenth century. The quality of the picture seems worthy of Caravaggio, but the lack in Italy of any notice of so large and important a painting by him is suspicious, although the Duchess of Lorraine was a Gonzaga and presumably the commission could have been entirely private. However the subject seems foreign to Caravaggio, the composition is typically French, and such details as the angel's green sash do not ring true. The style seems closer to that of Valentin, to whom the painting might perhaps be attributed more convincingly, as can be seen, I believe, by a comparison with such a work as the Montreal *Sacrifice of Isaac* (figure 27).

The figure arrangement of La Tour's *Liberation of St. Peter* in the museum at Epinal is derived from this *Annunciation.*

273. *Salome* (no. 102). This painting has always puzzled me. It has been in Spain since before 1686, and corresponds better than the London painting (no. 48) to Bellori's description of the *Herodias* sent by Caravaggio from Naples as a peace offering to the Grand Master of the Knights of Malta. Furthermore, just as the Montevergine copy and the derivants confirm the London *Salome*'s provenience from Naples, so the lack of copies and derivants of the Spanish version might suggest it to have been less accessible, specifically in Malta. Despite almost universal acceptance of it, I find it questionable and believe that Arslan's suggestion (1951, p. 447) that only Herodias's head is by Caravaggio himself and that the rest is by an unidentified follower should (like many other of his proposals) be given more serious consid-

eration than it has. Certainly of very high quality, the painting does nonetheless seem strangely inarticulate both spatially and psychologically, so that however much it may during its history have been modified by damage and reworking (as it is reported to have been), still I cannot conceive of its origin as wholly under Caravaggio's hand.

Herodias's head can hardly be faulted as by Caravaggio or by an extraordinarily able counterfeiter. But Salome's drapery resembles none so much as that of the excluded Monserrat *St. Jerome* (no. 119); her face is too pasty in the lighted areas, and it shares with her hand and St. John's head a viscosity in transitional half-light areas (perhaps partly resultant from restoration) identical to that in the *Young St. John* (90 × 160 cm.; exhibition catalogue, Heim Gallery, Paris, 1955 no. 2, fig. 5) in the National Gallery of Rhodesia as a Caracciolo. The pose, the type, and the emphatic contour-line of the executioner also could be taken as indicative of Caracciolo's hand although the figure has greater solidity and substance than most of his. The handling and details, as well as the mood of mute melancholy, the slightly disrupted relations among the figures, and the effect of a sharp light on the figures rather than within the whole space, all point to an alternative attribution. Conceivably Caracciolo might have carried out the painting as its sole author or as successor to a canvas that the master had barely begun. De Dominici informs us that Battistello copied Caravaggio, and surely such an imitation as I believe the *Salome* may be should not be surprising in Caracciolo's oeuvre, particularly early in his career when he was most under Caravaggio's influence; he painted the subject at least two other times, and was capable of a level of quality second only to the master's own.

274. *Boy with a Vase of Roses* (no. 103). Spear's conclusions that the Atlanta and Wronker paintings derive from a lost original and that this original was intimately related to the original of the *Boy Bitten by a Lizard* coincide with mine, reached independently (see note 229). He would specify this lost original as by Caravaggio, which does not seem to me necessary but cannot be excluded, particularly because the pose of the head is repeated in Tanzio da Varallo's *St. John the Baptist* in the Philbrook Art Center at Tulsa, Oklahoma (ill. *Art Quarterly,* 1964, p. 526). He adds the ingenious suggestion that the *Boy with the Vase of Roses* and the *Boy Bitten by a Lizard* might be from an allegorical series.

275. *Holy Family with St. John the Baptist* (no. 104). The Baellieurs, father (1607–71) and son (1642–87), both named Cornelis, were painters of picture galleries, and in one of their representations of a *cabinet* (no. 104f) in the museum at Dijon, Longhi recognized what he proposed as the lost original but ". . . alquanto più ampia che nella copia berlinese." Apparently he overcame the difficulty involved in this publication, when in 1951 (pp. 29 ff., fig. 12) he published the Acquavella version (no. 104d), which is slightly more spacious than the print, as possibly the lost original. Conceivably it is the original; but it is not by Caravaggio.

In fact none of the versions listed is convincing as an autograph Caravaggio, and the theme not only is not mentioned anywhere in seventeenth-century literature but also does not fit happily anywhere in his oeuvre. It seems likely then that Daret's attribution to Caravaggio is in error, either inadvertently or by intention in hope of increasing sales of the print. The wistful sentimentality of the treatment of the subject suggests some not very stringent Caravaggist like Angelo Caroselli as its originator, presumably ca. 1615.

By whomever the original, the source may perhaps be reflected in G. B. Caracciolo's reversed *Madonna and Child with St. John the Baptist,* published by Causa (1951, p. 23) as in the "Casa Borghese," Naples; a quite similar St. John appears in Caracciolo's *Christ and the Man of Cyrene* (in the University, Turin; ill. Moir, 1967, II, fig. 186), and reversed in Stanzione's *St. John Taking Leave of His Parents* (in the Prado; ill. Perez Sanchez, 1970, no. 176). So the original was evidently early influencial in Naples, although it might have been known to Caracciolo and Stanzione in Rome where both visited during the decade of 1615 ff.

A full-length variant is in the Museum at Brest, attributed to Saraceni but apparently by Guy François (ill. *Revue de l'Art,* 1971, no. 2, fig. 2).

276. According to Andresen (1870, I, p. 325) the print was made by Pierre Daret (1610–84),

who worked with Vouet in Rome and in Paris. One state of the print (otherwise unknown to me) gave Vignon's address and the second was inscribed "Vignon excud." Crelly (1962, p. 143) had no reason to list the print and did not, but did write that Pierre Daret was born in 1610, died ca. 1675, and collaborated with Vouet in Paris from 1637 to 1652; Crelly does not mention him in Rome. Kitson (1967, p. 97) calls the printmaker "F. Daret (1610–1678)," presumably by mistake. Conceivably "Daret" might also be Jean Daret, who was born in 1613 or 1615 in Brussels, spent some time studying in Bologna, died in Aix-en-Provence in 1668, and was a printmaker as well as a painter.

277. *Sacrifice of Isaac* (no. 105). See note 187. Kitson (1967, no. 30) rightly doubts that the original was in fact an autograph Caravaggio. Noting "the rather slack, linear figure style, scattered pools of light and totally undramatic treatment of the subject . . .," he suggests Caracciolo as possibly its author. The near identity of the pose of Isaac to that of Adam in Caracciolo's *Immaculate Conception* (Santa Maria della Stella, Naples; ill. Moir, 1967, II, fig. 181) and other similarities to details of that painting and of Caracciolo's *Miracle of St. Anthony* (San Giorgio dei Genovesi, Naples; ill. Moir, 1967, II, fig. 179), would seem to support this attribution, although note should be taken of its formal similarity (particularly in the light effects) to Orazio Borgianni's *David* (in the Accademia de San Fernando, Madrid; ill. Moir, 1967, II, fig. 52). A Neapolitan origin of this type of the subject is also suggested by the similarity of the pose of Abraham's arms and body to those of the Borghese *David* (no. 47), which was probably painted in Naples, and by the number of copies in Spain. It would have been normal for the Duke of Osuña (who was Viceroy of Naples from 1616 to 1620) to have taken home with him the original of the Castellamare type *Sacrifice of Isaac,* or even the copy (no. 105d) which is in the parish church at Peñafiel with a provenience from the Osuña family.

Perez Sanchez (1973, no. 7) cites still more copies of the theme in unspecified Spanish private collections.

278. *Flagellation* (no. 106). The three copies of this painting are identical or nearly so, and obviously repeat a powerful original close to the Naples *Crown of Thorns* (no. 65) and *Flagellation* (no. 38). The attribution of the lost painting to Caravaggio himself would therefore seem reasonable. But the Valentin of the vertical *Crown of Thorns* in the Staatsgemäldesammlung in Munich seems more satisfactory, not only for the strange torturer on the right noted by Kitson (1967, p. 106), but also for the heavily impasto almost glittering drapery, which would be as unique in Caravaggio's oeuvre as it is in keeping with Valentin's. Manilli's description (1650, p. 64) of a *Christ at the Column* with two executioners in the Borghese Gallery could be applicable to the original of this composition whether the attribution to Caravaggio was correct or not.

The possibility that Camuccini really did own the lost original and sold it after making the copy still in his heirs' collection should not be discounted. His biographer, Falconieri, in 1875 (p. 292, note 1) mentioned the original (as Caravaggio) as still in the gallery, but presumably this was the copy which is still there.

279. *Christ at the Column* (no. 107). Despite the two copies after the Rouen painting, the presence within it (in most of the contours of the executioner on the right and of the head of the central figure) of the incised channel outlines characteristic of some of Caravaggio's *fattura,* and apparently the extensive repainting of Christ's torso, the attribution of it to the master has always been incomprehensible to me. Granted that the executioner on the far right may be acceptable in pose, type, and *fattura* as his, almost nothing else is: the relief-like composition of three figures, recollective of those just preceding the San Luigi dei Francesi cycle, but thus contradictory of most of the *fattura,* which is typical of almost a decade later in Caravaggio's oeuvre; the dabs of pigment incoherently forming the face of the center figure, and the tedious repetitiousness of the folds in his drapery; the flatness of Christ's drapery, the peculiarly tentative handling, the metallic modeling and the static anatomy of his body, the obscurity of his hands, and the conventionality of his features. Perhaps most strikingly of all, the action is unconvincingly conceived: the spatial relation among Christ, the man with a hat, and the column is impossible, the action of the man on the right nominally tightening Christ's bonds is inexplicable, and the action begun by the

(left-handed!) man in the center cannot be completed—in fact the actions of two executioners appear to have been cribbed from those in the Naples *Flagellation* but garbled.

Spear (1971, no. 18, p. 76) compares the figure of Christ to that in a free copy (in the Borghese Gallery no. 187) after Sebastiano del Piombo's *Flagellation,* and a number of scholars (notably Baumgart, 1955, p. 112) have observed the debt to Ludovico Carracci for Christ's physiognomy and perhaps to Annibale for the composition. The center figure is Titian's Tarquin, reversed, from the *Tarquin and Lucrezia* (in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge), where the pose does represent a moment in a sequence of conceivable actions.

The possibility that the painting might be cut down from an originally full-length form with a vertical rather than the present horizontal orientation has never been suggested (figure 122). It should be considered, however, not only as a means of explaining the foreground swatch of drapery (which would then be arranged falling over a *repoussoir* ledge concealing Christ's legs from the viewer) but also on the basis of the prototypes cited above (all of which are full-length) and the first three of the apparent derivatives:

i. Stomer's reversed *Flagellation* in the Oratorio del Rosario, Palermo (figure 119);
ii. Saraceni's lost *Flagellation* once in the Piscicelli Collection, Rome, which is full-length but reverses the motif and adds four more figures in a vast interior (Ottani, 1968, fig. 124);
iii. a Saraceni shop-work in the Accademia, Venice, which is also reversed and apparently derivative directly from the Carracci painting (Ottani, 1968, figs. 131–132);
iv. Manzoni's reversed version in the Cathedral of Faenza (ill. *Paragone,* 1957, no. 89, p. 49);
v. Caracciolo's *Via Crucis* in Santa Maria del Popolo agli Incurabili, Naples (ill. Moir, 1967, II, fig. 187).

The motif was also transformed, inappropriately enough, into *Joseph Fleeing Potiphar's Wife:*

vi. by Padovanino (no. 607, Museo Civico, Padua; reversed);
vii. by Turchi, Ellesmere sale, Christie's, 18 October 1946 lot 169 (19½ × 15½ inches, on marble); once in the Duc de Bourbon Collection; engraved in the Orleans Collection, *Galerie du Palais Royal,* Paris, 1786, vol. I, dessiné par Borel, commencé par Simonet et terminé par Viel, BMFA no. 91, photo no. 17723 (figure 121);
viii. by Jacob van Loo (47 × 35.5 cm.; collection of Col. Frank W. Chesrow, Chicago);
ix. by an imitator of Caracciolo (131 × 97 cm., collection of Franz R. Friedl, Berlin-Wilmersdorf [1962] (NIAH);
x. and very faintly in a painting related to Ruschi, belonging to Professor Sidney Freedberg in Cambridge (Mass.).

The Rouen canvas may well be the original from which the Lucca and Swiss versions were made, after it had been cut down; but just who might have painted it, I cannot specify. The possibility that Caravaggio might have carried out most of the executioner on the right, leaving the rest of the painting for completion by someone else, has never been suggested so far as I know but might be considered. It would be appropriate with Caravaggio's very unsettled second visit to Naples (to which the manner of the right executioner is exactly consistent) and perhaps with his misadventures there and his eager departure. But who could have been his collaborator or successor? Finson would be a natural, but he seems to have been only marginally competent, although perhaps he mastered the late style by copying the *Mary Magdalen* (no. 69b, figure 96; 69c) and the *Crucifixion of St. Andrew* (no. 73f). The static modeling of Christ's torso is similar to St. Andrew's in the Fischer version (no. 73e), and the central executioner's face is painted like the face of the Herodias in Finson's *Execution of St. John the Baptist* in Brunswick, just as the pencil folds in the drapery of the executioner on the right are similar to those in Finson's *Salome* at Tournai. If not Finson, then the painter might have been any of the innumerable visitors to Naples, such as Grammatica with whose work some affinity is recognizable; probably he was a north Italian, or an Italianate north European, late Mannerist, equally influenced it would appear by the Carracci and by Caravaggio. I observe so close a similarity between the *fattura* of Christ's head and body

in the Wildenstein version (no. 107b; ill. Mahon, 1956, p. 220) and that of the faces and flesh of the Odessa copy (no. 60a) of the lost *Taking of Christ* (see particularly Longhi, 1960, fig. 15a) as to suggest the possibility of the two copies being by the same hand.

Manilli's reference (1650, p. 64) to a Borghese *Christ at the Column* see (note 278) might apply to this composition. De Vesme (1906, 3, 1) mentions an etching (149 × 101 mm.) listed as no. 23375 in Rudolf Weigel's *Kunstager-Catalogue* no. 13 (Leipzig, 1861, p. 70). Weigel describes it as "Der gegeisselte Heiland oder ein Heiliger am Boden neben der Martersäule, fast kriechend. In Michiel Ang. Amerighi da Caravaggios Manier." De Vesme interprets this description as ". . . le Sauveur . . . tombe affaissé près de la colonne . . ." and adds "Il n'est pas dit s'il y a d'autres figures."

280. *David with the Head of Goliath* (no. 108). A painting of high quality (despite Friedlaender and Kitson) which is derived from the Borghese *David* (no. 47); combining in the compact, opaque, impasto modeling of the flesh areas and the more fluid, thin, scumbled handling of the drapery, the *fattura* is characteristic of different—respectively the middle and the late—stages of Caravaggio's career; it reveals itself by internal anomalies to be an imitation.

281. *Infant St. John the Baptist with a Lamb* (no. 110). How this painting ever came seriously to be considered as by Caravaggio surpasses the imagination. There is a closely related drawing (275 × 408 mm.; pen, ink, and wash) in the Museo Civico of Pavia, convincingly attributed to Domenico Piola (see Soriga, 1911, no. 40) to whom this painting might also be credited.

282. *St. John the Baptist* (Toledo) (no. 111). Rather surprisingly it is not included in Kitson's otherwise very complete survey of Caravaggio's oeuvre. Although the spray of leaves is close to Caravaggio's earliest works, the physiognomy is not his at all (the type is reminiscent of G. A. De Ferrari) and the *morbidezza* of the handling of the flesh and the light is subtly but unmistakably contradictory of his manner. The drapery is sufficiently similar to the early Regnier as to make a tentative attribution to him appealing.

In the Corsini Gallery in Rome is another *St. John in the Desert* (113 × 78 cm., acquired 1951, and badly in need of cleaning) by an unidentified Caravaggist; allowing for some modification as required by its horizontal format and a completely different light system, it is very close in pose to the Toledo painting, though the position of the arms is changed and the model is older and stockier; the pose is also very similar to that of the Malta *St. Jerome.*

283. *Conversion of St. Paul* (first version) (no. 115). Président de Brosses reported the painting as in the Palazzo Balbi in Genoa when he was there during 1739–40, attributed to Caravaggio, and "très beau." It is of the same width as the version now in the Cerasi Chapel but 12 cm. less high. Kitson (1967, p. 94) accurately sums up the difficulties involving the Odescalchi picture: "It is the one painting [in Caravaggio's oeuvre] that seems almost wholly out of character but for which there is strong external evidence."

I would ask if we can indeed trust Baglione's word that the two proposed first versions on cypress were in fact carried out and then rejected. Baglione was surely full of ill will, and had good reason to write maliciously about Caravaggio. Why was he alone to write about these two "refused" paintings? Mancini did cite (1956–57, I, p. 225, II, n. 898) paintings by Caravaggio in Cardinal Sannesio's Collection—" che sono copiati e ritoccati da quelli che sono nella Madonna del Popolo . . ." —a statement, which if taken as written, implies that the Cardinal's paintings were copies (not even by Caravaggio himself?) or at least were much closer to the paintings in the Cesari Chapel than the Odescalchi picture; Mancini did not mention any first versions, nor did Bellori. Does Bellori's avoidance of the subject in his own text not mean that he took or knew the whole story to be a hoax, that is, Baglione paying off an old grudge for posterity?

I would call attention not only to the Procaccini of the same subject in San Giacomo Maggiore, Bologna (published by Biatostocki, 1955, p. 37) but also to the Strozzi, *Christ before Caiphas* (Proprietà Severino Crosa, Genoa; 150 × 110 cm.; published in Mortari, 1966, p. 123, fig. 117); the former painting is close to the Odescalchi painting in the figure of St. Paul and some other details, and the latter resembles it quite strikingly in *fattura* and composition and less strikingly in the

Christ types and in Caiphas's similarity to the soldier with the plumed helmet.

284. *St. John the Baptist* (Corsini) (no. 118). After first (1951, p. 445) dismissing it as not a copy but an eighteenth-century "parafasi molto libero da Caravaggio; congeniale a un Piazzetta," Arslan (1959, p. 194) observed that the X rays of this painting demonstrate it to have been made by means of the process established as characteristic of Caravaggio in the X rays of the *Bacchic Musical* (no. 7) and the *Rest on the Flight* (no. 5), and concluded therefore that if it was not actually by Caravaggio himself, it must be contemporary.

285. *St. Jerome* (Monserrat) (no. 119). The Kansas City *St. John the Baptist* (no. 27) in middle-age, this painting is by a highly skilled hand, thoroughly familiar with Caravaggio's oeuvre. Arslan's suggested attribution (1951, p. 446) to Ribera seems reasonable; could this not be his earliest surviving work, done before he went to Naples in 1616?

286. *St. Francis in Meditation* (Cremona) (no. 120). Longhi and some other scholars (most recently Röttgen in lectures) have interpreted this as a late self-portrait. It has been fifteen years since I have seen the painting, too long for me to dispute Puerari's (1951, p. 169) judgment of it as done in imitation of Caravaggio, which when I last saw the painting seemed quite correct.

287. *Via Crucis* (no. 121). I find it almost as difficult to understand the continued association of this painting with Caracciolo's name as with Caravaggio's. The composition of the three foreground figures is derived from Cesare Nebbia's fresco at the Church of Trinità dei Monti in Rome (ill. in *Arte antica & moderna* 1964, #27, fig. 201d, facing p. 321).

I see strong evidence of contact with Orazio Gentileschi in the figure on the left, of borrowing from Ludovico Carracci for Christ's physiognomy, and of contact with Emilian painting in the Mary Magdalen and the youth behind her.

288. *St. Francis in Meditation* (Carpineto) (no. 122). Surely the quality of the Carpineto painting is better than that of the Cappuccini in Rome. The questions remain however as to whether or not the Carpineto painting is the original and, if it is, whether it is by Caravaggio himself or by some close follower. The argument put forth by Dr. Brugnoli in favor of a date during Caravaggio's sojourn in the Sabine hills is more convincing in respect to the composition of the painting and the history of the site than it is to the *fattura,* which, as she observes, has considerable affinity to the works at the Contarelli (and Cerasi) chapels. I note with some disappointment that the Carpineto painting appears from a photograph to be no more effective in suggesting the existence of a solid three-dimensional body under the drapery than does the copy in the Cappuccini.

289. *St. John the Baptist at the Spring* (Malta) (no. 123). The documentary evidence of a lost St. John the Baptist (no. 78) in Caravaggio's possession at the time of his death does not indicate any more than the saint's name, so there is no necessary connection between this painting and the document. It is perhaps significant however that the document was Spanish and that one of the copies of the painting (actually a variant, with changed proportions, an older St. John, a lamb in the foreground, and no landscape in the background) is attributed to Pedro Orrente in the Kunsthistorisches Museum; I know of no publication noting its relation to the Bonello painting. On the other hand, Porcella (n.d. [1969], p. 13) has published (as in a private collection in Rome) what appears to be an exact replica of the figure of the young St. John but without any of the surrounding space or the landscape. Porcella's illustration of the painting is not very good; but the painting is evidently from the inner circle of Caravaggio's followers (Valentin or Caracciolo or their ateliers) and could conceivably be a drastically damaged (and reduced?) and clumsily repainted original. I have never seen the Bonello painting and know it only through poor photos; Longhi, Mahon, and Joffroy all accept it as autograph. Incidently, after publishing the whole painting (1951, no. 21, p. 34, fig. 14), Longhi (1952, p. 46, fig. 35) reproduced what I assume must have been a detail of it—almost square and without the landscape—without identification of the illustration as a detail; this would be matter of no importance were it not for the similarity of this supposed "detail" to the painting Porcella has recently published.

Joffroy (1959, p. 328) has pointed out the similarity of the "motif figuratif" to that of the *Narcissus* (no. 116; figure 38).

290. *Denial of St. Peter* (no. 124; figure 114). I have not seen this painting, a three-figure composition first reported by Rosenberg, 1970, p. 104 and Volpe, 1972, p. 71 and until recently the object of controversy as to the legitimacy of its exportation from Italy. Judging from good photographs, it is close to the *Salome* in the National Gallery, London (no. 48) but looser in handling, and thus conceivable as by Caravaggio during the last months of his life. Its provenience, from the collection of a princely branch of the Caracciolo family in Naples where it is reported to have been since the seventeenth century, would bear this supposition out. The similarity of the physiognomies, handling, and composition to the early works of Giovanni Serodine, notably the *Miracle of St. Margaret* in the Prado and the *Meeting at Emmaus* in the Parocchiale at Ascona (ill. Moir, 1967, II, figs. 165 and 167, resp.), is striking, but seems to confirm rather than cast doubt on Caravaggio's authorship, as does the evident debt owed it by other Caravaggesque works like van Baburen's *Procuress* (ill. Slatkes, 1965, no. A19).

APPENDIX II
Numbers of Originals
Copied (or not)
Numbers of Copies
Media of Copies
Centuries of Copies
Locations of Originals
Accessibility of Originals

APPENDIX II

Numbers of Original Paintings Copied and of Copies* According to Medium, Century, Location, and Accessibility

	EXISTENT WORKS (49)				LOST WORKS (51)				SUMMARY (100)			
	In Prints	*In Drawings*	*In Paintings*	*All Media*	*In Prints*	*Drawings*	*Paintings*	*All Media*	*Prints*	*Drawings*	*Paintings*	*All Media*
1. Number of originals copied:	16	17	30	39	2	2	12	12	18	19	42	51
a. 17 C. only:		9	24	18		2	10	10		11	34	28
b. 18 C. -19 C. only:	11	7	3	10	2				13	7	3	10
c. both 17 C. and 18–19 C.:	5	1	5	11			2	2	5	1	7	13
2. Orig. *not* copied:	23	23	16	10	49	49	39	39	72	84	55	49
3. Orig. copied once only:	4	2	8	14	1	1	3	3	5	3	11	17
4. Orig. copied twice only:			3	4		1		1		1	3	5
5. Roman[+] originals copied:	11	13	20	26	2	1	6	6	13	14	26	32
6. Neapolitan originals copied:			3	3		1	3	3		1	6	6
7. Maltese originals copied:		1	2	2						1	2	2
8. Sicilian originals copied:			3	3							3	3
9. Other originals copied: (including unknown locations)	5	3	4	5			3	3	5	3	7	8
10. Total number of copies:	49	39	150	238	5	3	115	123	54	42	265	361
a. 17 C.:	6	24	107	137		3	75	78	6	27	182	215
b. 18 C.-19 C.:	43	10	17	70	5		11	16	48	10	28	86
c. uncertain date (incl. lost)		5	26	31			29	29		5	55	60
11. Locations of copied originals:												
a. Accessible (in churches and open collections):	14	12	21	28	1	1	4	4	15	13	25	32
b. Inaccessible (in private collections):		1	4	5	1		4	4	1	1	8	9
c. Unknown:	2	3	6	6		1	4	4	2	4	10	10
12. Number of originals not copied in any medium:				10				39				49
13. Number of originals copied once only in any of the 3 media:	4	2	8	14			3	3	4	2	11	17
14. Number of originals copied twice only in any of the 3 media:			3	4		1		1			4	5

* Reference is only to copies known now to exist or known through literary or documentary sources once to have existed.

[+] The location given is that of 1610 if known; because all copies of nos. 40 and 42 were probably made in Paris and Florence, they are therefore included as "other."

APPENDIX III
Scale of Originals Numbers and Scale of Copies

APPENDIX III

Scale of Originals
Numbers and Scale of Copies

ORIGINAL[a]	*COPIES*									
	Printed	*Drawn*	*Painted*							
			Total	*Exact Size unknown*	*Size <100 cm.*	*Size >100 cm.*	*Size approx. same*	*Size larger*	*Size smaller*	*Proportions changed*
I. Under 200 cm.[b] (nos. 1, 2, 9, 10, 11, 14, 42) = 7	4	2	2	1		1	1			
II. 200-400 cm.[b] (nos. 3-8, 12, 13, 15-18, 26-28, 31, 32, 34, 35, 40, 41, 47, 48) = 23	21	7	73	40	1 (40d)	48	13	10[c]	8[d]	2[e]
III. Over 400 cm.[b] (nos. 19-25, 29, 30, 33, 36-39, 43-46, 49) = 19	24	30	75	39	8	34	9		32	8[f]
TOTALS[g]	49	39	150	80	9	83	23	10	40	10

Notes:

a. Only existent originals are tabulated because of the uncertainty as to the exact dimensions of the lost originals.
b. Dimensions of the originals are breadth plus height combined.
c. nos. 4e, 6a, 7a, 7b, 8f, 16f, 16k, 18q, 18r, 34a.
d. 4h, 16q, 18f, 18n, 18aa, 18bb, 27b, 40d.
e. nos. 18q, 34a.
f. nos. 21f–21i, 21k, 24l, 24v, 29n. Perhaps nos. 39d and 43b might be added to this group.
g. Totals do not tally exactly because twenty-two works are included in both "Exact Size Unknown" and either the "Size < 100 cm." or the "Size > 100 cm." columns, on the basis of dimensions that are approximate only.

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Illustrations

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1. Anonymous, *Boy with Roses,* formerly Collection of Tancred Borenius, London (no. 103b).

2. Copy of lost Caravaggio, *Boy Peeling Fruit,* Christie's, London (1958) (no. 50i).

3. Copy of lost Caravaggio, *Boy Frightened by a Lizard,* formerly Dealer Katz, Dieren, Holland (no. 51c).

4. Anonymous, *Frightened Youth,* Collection Dr. and Mrs. James Lasry, La Jolla, California (no. 51*iv*).

5. Anonymous, *Boy Frightening Girl with a Crab,* formerly Joseph Kaplan Collection, Chicago (no. 51*v*).

6. Anonymous, *Boy Bitten by a Mouse,* Collection V. Mameli, Rome (1954) (no. 51*iii*).

7. Anonymous, *Buona Ventura,* Private Collection (note 181).

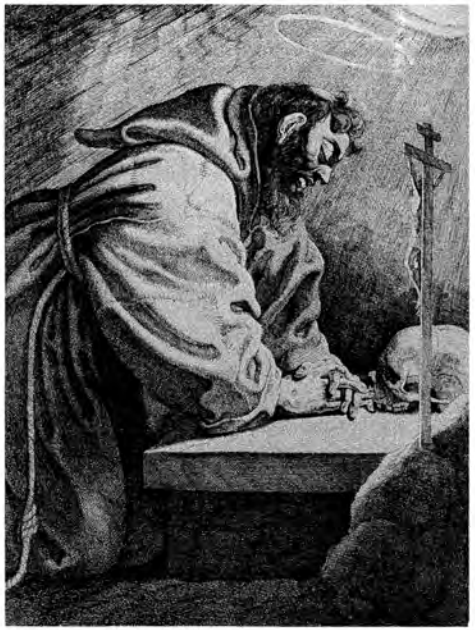
8. Attributed to Carlo Cignani, copy of Caravaggio, *I Bari,* Maison Antique, Prague (1927) (no. 52ii).

9. Variant-copy of Caravaggio, *I Bari,* panel, Collection of Duke of Hamilton, Byvra, North Berwick, Scotland (no. 52aa).

10. Anonymous Englishman, variant-copy of Caravaggio's lost *I Bari,* Collection of Mrs. Brand, Glynde Place, Sussex (no. 52bb)

11. Bartolomeo Manfredi, *Gamblers,* formerly Rothman Collection, Berlin (note 230).

12. R. Lowie, mezzotint, copy of Valentin, *I Bari,* Albertina, Vienna (note 230).



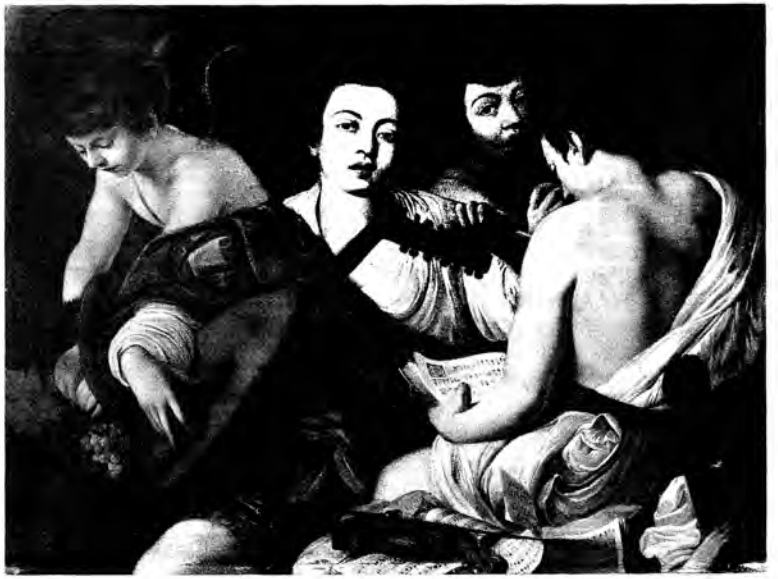
13. Pieter Soutman, *St. Francis in Ecstasy,* etching, Collection of author (no. 3*vi*).

14. Copy of Caravaggio, *Ecstasy of St. Francis,* Collection of George Sabatella, Brooklyn, New York (no. 3c).

15. Copy of Saraceni, *St. Sebastian,* copper, Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum (notes 180 and 247).

16. Circle of Bernardo Cavallino, *St. Agatha,* University of Leeds (notes 180 and 254).

17. Copy of Caravaggio, *Bacchic Musical,* Lepke, Berlin (1901) (no. 7a).

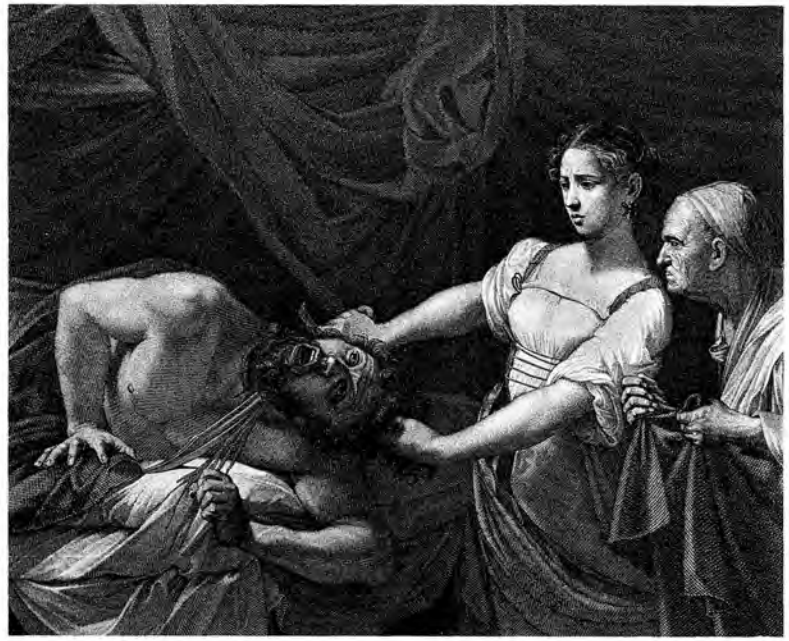


18. Copy of Caravaggio, *Bacchic Musical,* formerly Private Collection, London (1955) (no. 7b).

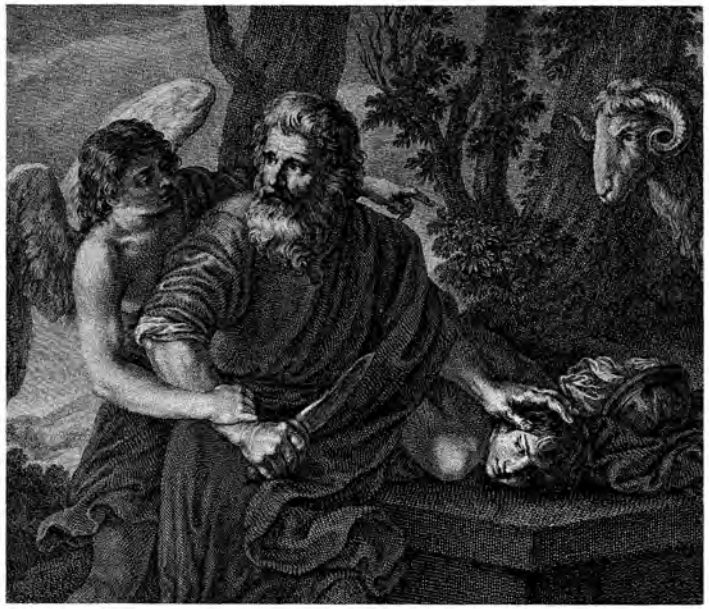
19. Carlo Magnone, copy of Caravaggio, *Lute-Player,* Wildenstein, New York (no. 8f).

20. Copy of Caravaggio, *Lute-Player,* Collection Duke of Beaufort, Badminton, (no. 8g).

21. Anonymous, *Sacrifice of Isaac,* Rapp Collection, Stockholm (no. 15*v*).



22. Copy of Caravaggio, *Judith Beheading Holofernes,* engraving, Collection of author (no. 13a).



23. Le Vasseur, copy of lost *Sacrifice of Isaac,* attributed to Caravaggio, engraving. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (no. 15*iv*).

24. Bartolomeo Manfredi, *Judith with the Head of Holofernes,* Staatsgemäldesammlung, Munich (no. 13*iii*).

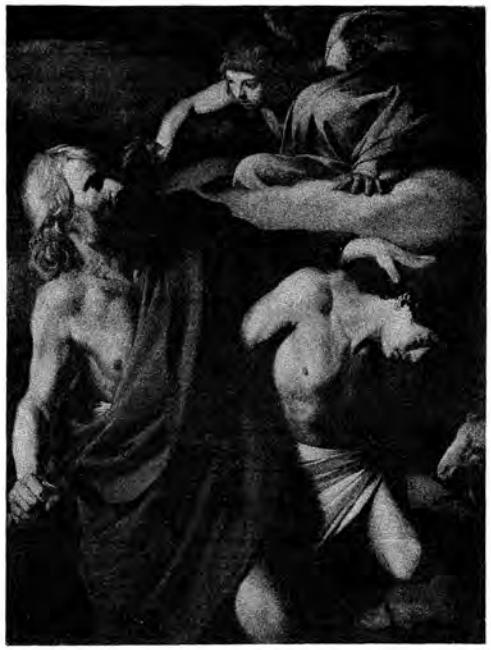
25. Anonymous, copy of lost *Sacrifice of Isaac,* attributed to Caravaggio, Boal Collection, Boalsbury (no. 105c).

26. Angelo Caroselli, *Judith with the Head of Holofernes,* Wertheim Exhibition, Berlin (1927) (no. 13*iv*).

27. Valentin, *Sacrifice of Isaac,* The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts (no. 15i).

28. Copy of Saraceni, *Madonna and Child with St. Anne,* location unknown (no. 13*vi*).

29. Angelo Caroselli?, *Allegory of Love,* Collection of Major W. M. P. Kincaid-Lennox, Downton Castle, Herefordshire (no. 13*v*).



30. Anonymous, *Sacrifice of Isaac,* Bonham's, London (1974) (no. 15*iii*).

31. Circle of Valentin, copy of Caravaggio's lost *Mary and Martha,* Detroit Institute of Arts (no. 56a).

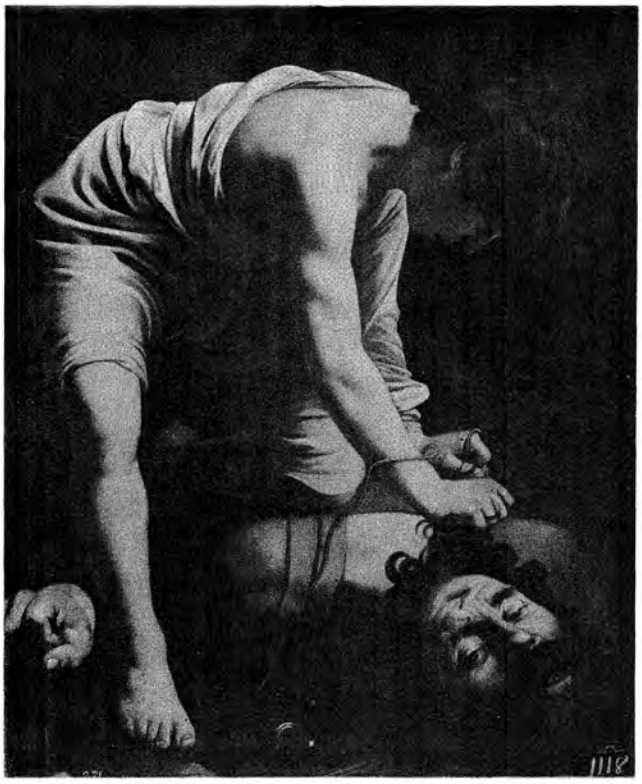
32. Circle of Vouet-Regnier, variant-copy of Caravaggio's lost *Mary and Martha,* Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. (no. 56m).

33. Variant-copy of lost Caravaggio, *Mary and Martha,* Indiana University Art Museum (Hope Fund) (no. 56p).

34. Orazio Gentileschi, *Mary and Martha,* Staatsgemäldesammlung, Munich (no. 56*iv*).

35. Rutilio Manetti, *Prophets,* Galleria Nazionale dell'Arte Antica, Rome (no. 56*xv*).

36. Attributed to Nicolas Tournier, *Hypocrisy,* Galleria Palatina, Florence (no. 56*ix*).



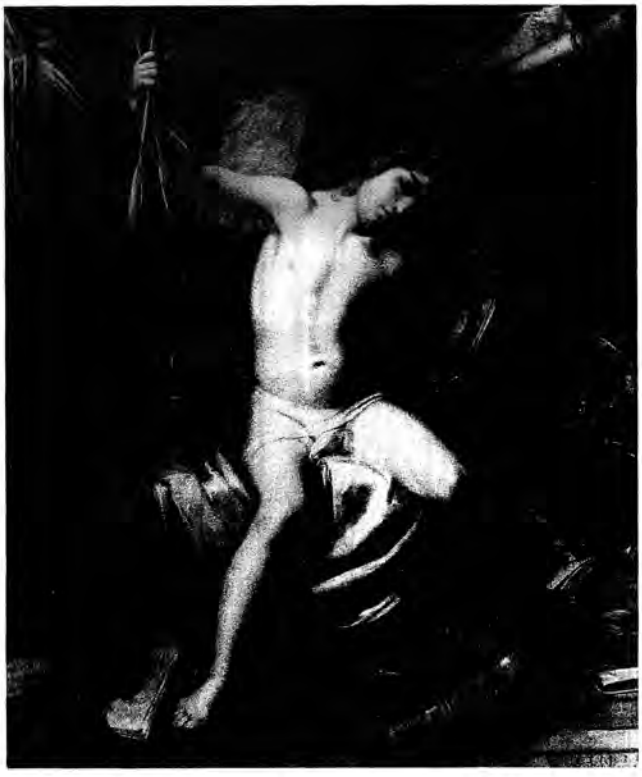
37. Copy of lost Caravaggio?, *David,* Prado, Madrid (no. 54a).

38. Bartolomeo Manfredi?, *Narcissus,* Galleria Nazionale dell'Arte Antica, Rome (no. 116).

39. Nicolas Regnier, *Mary Magdalen,* The Detroit Institute of Arts (note 239).

40. Attributed to Andrea Vaccaro, *Mary Magdalen,* Staatsgemäldesammlung, Munich (note 239).

41. Anonymous, *Victorious Earthly Love,* collection of Captain Patrick Drury-Lowe, Locko Park (no. 26*i*).



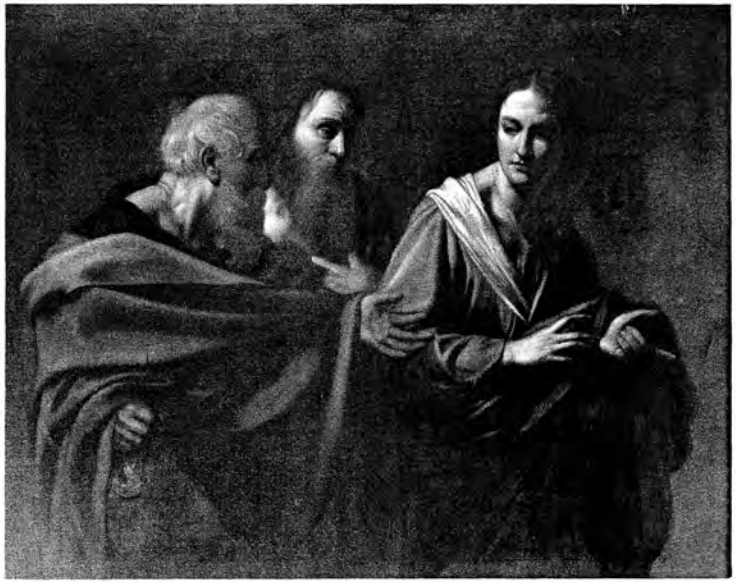
42. Bartolomeo Cavarozzi?, *Victorious Earthly Love,* Christie's (1970) (no. 26*ix*).

43. Attributed to Orazio Riminaldi, *Victorious Earthly Love,* National Gallery, Dublin (no. 26*xi*).

44. Anonymous, *Genius of the Arts,* engraving, Print Cabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (no. 26*vi*).

45. Copy of lost Caravaggio, *Taking of Christ,* formerly Dealer Hartveld, Antwerp (1940) (no. 60g).

46. Copy of lost Caravaggio, *Taking of Christ,* Private Collection, Berlin (no. 60c).



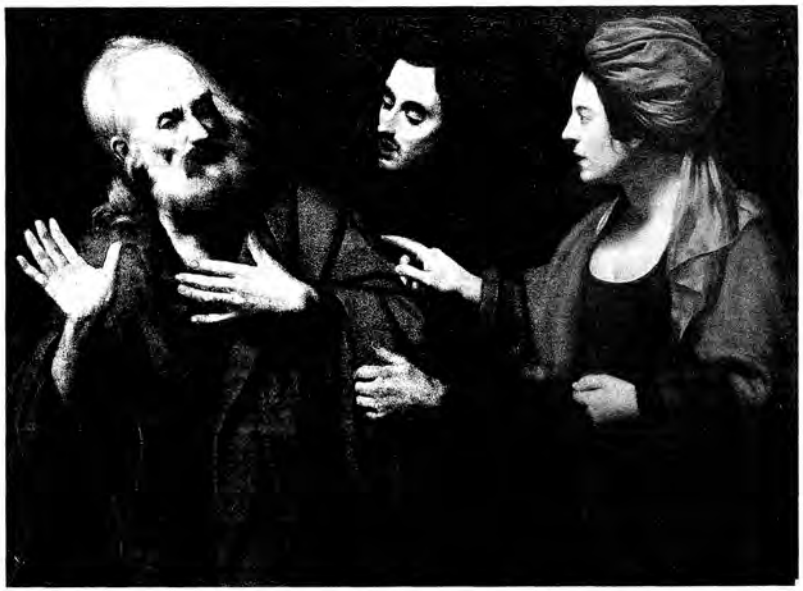
47. Copy of lost Caravaggio, *Calling of SS. Peter and Andrew,* Collection of Lord Bradford, Weston, Salop, England (no. 61d).

48. Copy of lost Caravaggio, *Taking of Christ,* Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest (no. 60d).

49. Copy of lost Caravaggio, *Calling of SS. Peter and Andrew,* Collection of Dr. Bruce Vardon, New York (no. 61k).

50. Anonymous, *Tobias and the Angel,* Methuen Collection, Corsham Hall near Bath (no. 61*viii*).

51. Robert Tournier, copy of Valentin, *Denial of St. Peter,* Musée des Augustins, Toulouse (no. 72*ix*).



52. Attributed to G. A. Galli, called Spadarino, *Denial of St. Peter,* sold at Christie's (1925) (no. 61*i*) (note 251).

53. Pierre Fatoure, copy of Caravaggio, *Supper at Emmaus,* etching, Albertina, Vienna (no. 17a).

54. J. B. Maino, copy of Caravaggio, *Supper at Emmaus,* Frank T. Sabin, London (ca. 1955) (no. 17j).

55. Copy of Caravaggio, *Supper at Emmaus,* Papal Palace, Castel Gandolfo (no. 17h).

56. Anonymous, *Supper at Emmaus,* location unknown (no. 17k).

57. Robillart, copy of Caravaggio, *Incredulity of St. Thomas,* engraving, Print Cabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (no. 18a).

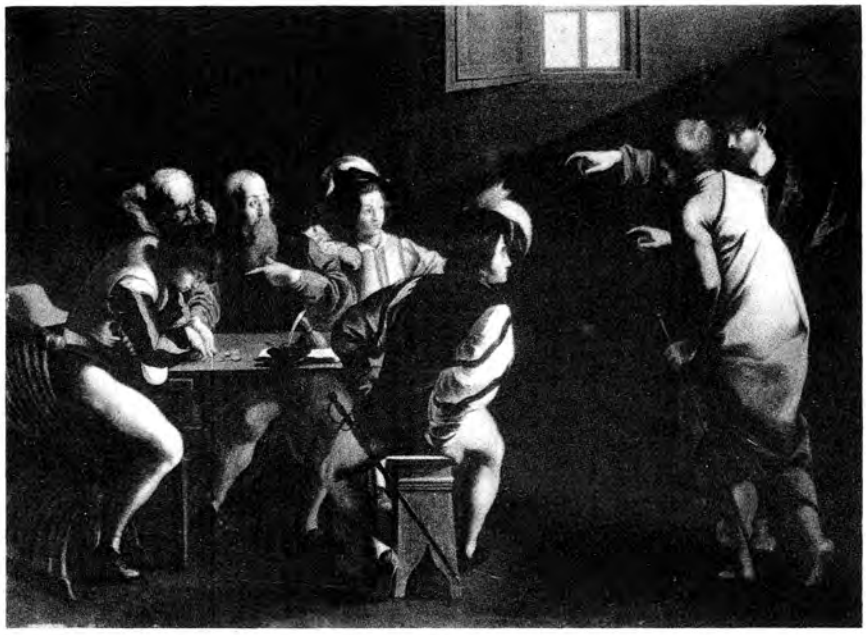
58. Copy of Caravaggio, *Incredulity of St. Thomas,* Philadelphia Museum of Art (no. 18r).

59. Copy of Caravaggio, *Incredulity of St. Thomas,* Collection of Mrs. Hanna Fahlnaes, Göteborg, Sweden (1959) (no. 18o).

60. Copy of Caravaggio, *Incredulity of St. Thomas,* Private Collection, Munich (no. 18q).

61. Variant-copy of Caravaggio, *Youth with a Ram,* Doria Collection, Rome (no. 16f).

62. Variant-copy of Caravaggio, *St. John the Baptist,* Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum (no. 16g).



63. Copy of Caravaggio's *Calling of St. Mathew,* Antiquary Abels, Cologne (1934) (no. 21h).

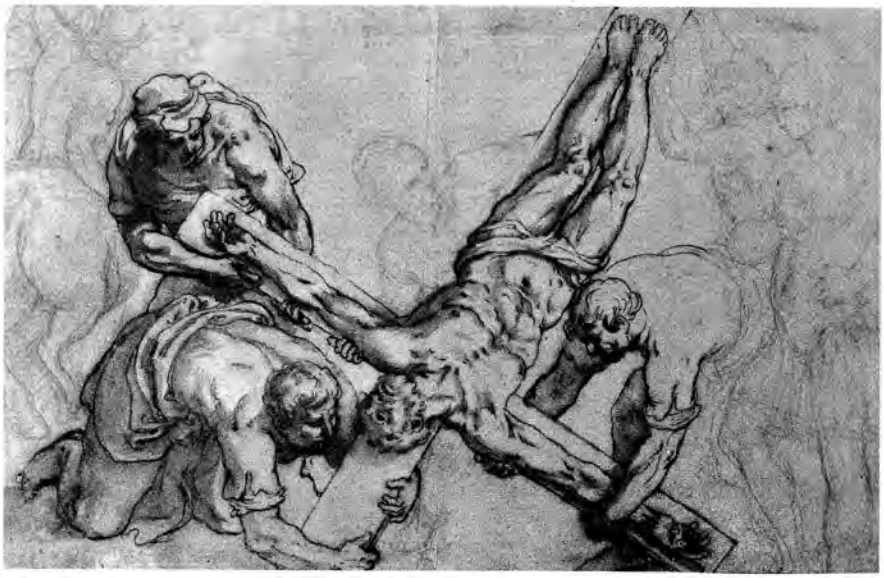
64. Attributed to Mathias Stomer?, variant-copy of Caravaggio, *St. John the Baptist,* drawing, Oppé Collection, London (no. 16a).

65. Fragonard, copy of Angel in Carravaggio's second *Inspiration of St. Matthew,* drawing, Private Collection, London (no. 22a).

66. Fragonard, copy of Caravaggio, first *Inspiration of St. Matthew,* drawing, The Norton Simon Foundation, Los Angeles (no. 19c).

67. Fragonard, copy of Caravaggio, first *Inspiration of St. Matthew* (reversed), drawing, Albertina, Vienna (no. 19b).

68. Attributed to Federico Zuccaro, *Crucifixion of St. Peter,* Sotheby's (1968) (no. 62*viii*).



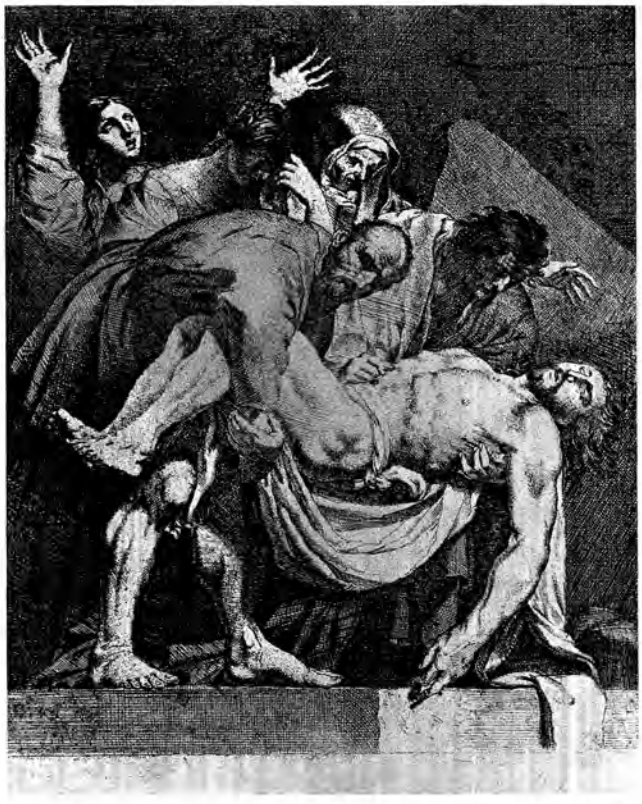
69. Ricci da Novara, *Crucifixion of St. Peter,* drawing, formerly Yvonne Tan Bunzl, London (no. 62 *vi*).

70. Marzio Colantonio, *Crucifixion of St. Peter,* Church of Santa Maria della Consolazione, Rome (no. 62*iii*).

71. Giovanni Pietro Ligari, *Crucifixion of St. Peter,* etching, Achenbach Foundation for Graphic Arts, San Francisco (no. 62*ix*).

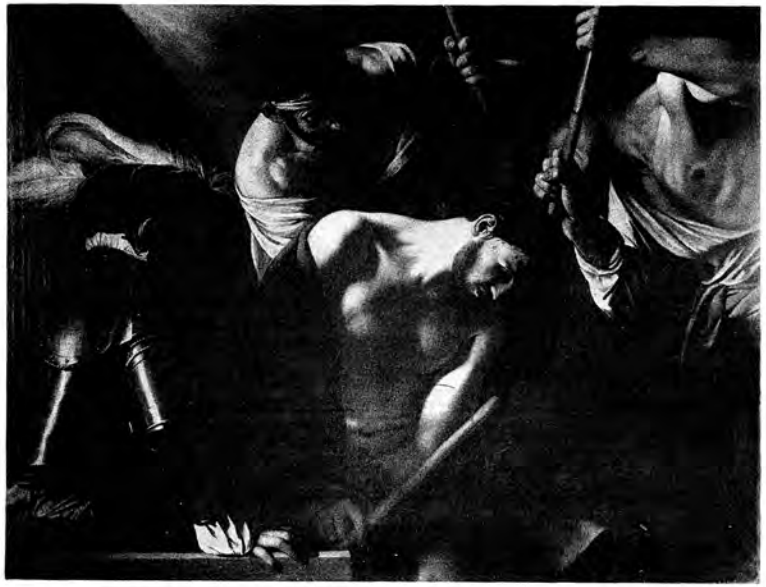
72. Anonymous French artist?, copy of Caravaggio, *Crucifixion of St. Peter,* Private Collection, Chicago (no. 24w).

73. Adrian Bloemaerts, variant copy of Caravaggio, *Crucifixion of St. Peter,* Crol sale, Rotterdam (1953) (no. 24v).



74. Dirck van Baburen, copy of Caravaggio, *Entombment,* engraving, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (no. 25a).

75. Benito Saez y Garcia, copy of Caravaggio, *Entombment,* Academia de San Fernando, Madrid (no. 25bb).



76. Copy of lost Caravaggio, *Crown of Thorns,* Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (no. 65a).

77. Variant-copy of lost Caravaggio, *Crown of Thorns,* Palazzo Altieri, Rome (no. 65*ii*).

78. Bartolomeo Manfredi, *Crown of Thorns,* Musée, Le Mans (no. 65 *iv*).

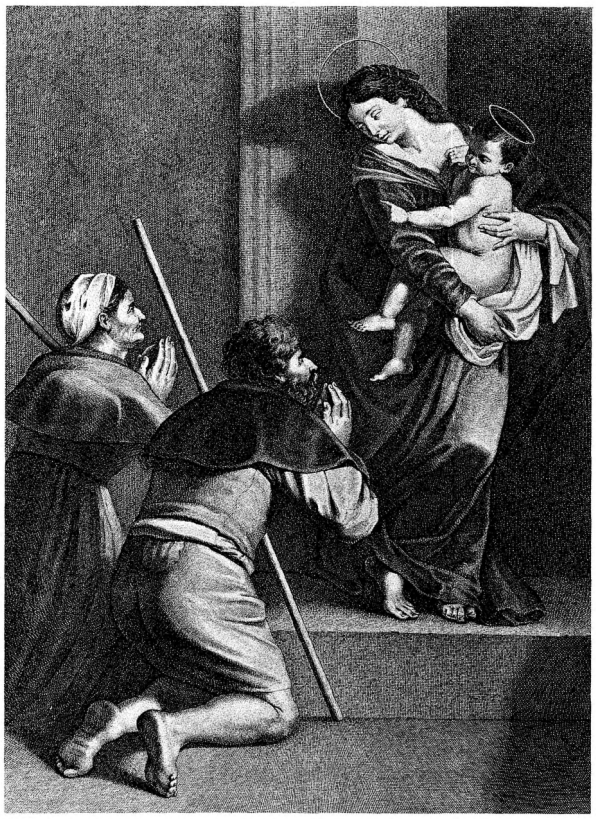
79. Mattia Preti, *Crown of Thorns,* Gift of Dr. Arthur K. Solomon, Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass. (no. 65 *iii*).

80. Anonymous, *Crown of Thorns,* Uffizio Esportazione, Rome (1963) (no. 65*xi*).

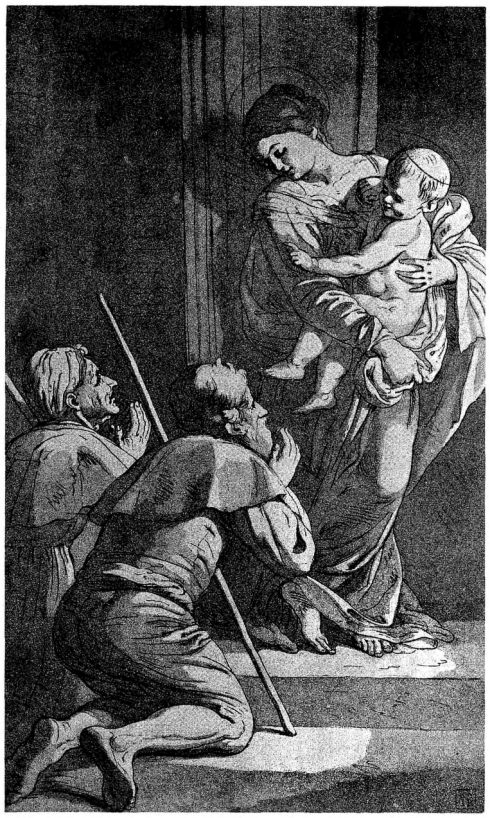
81. Orazio Gentileschi or his circle, *Crown of Thorns* or *Flagellation,* Collection of Professor Jose Pijoán, Lucerne (no. 65*xii*).

82. Nicolas Regnier, *Liberation of St. Peter,* Collection of Ingegnere de Vito, Milan (no. 32*iii*).

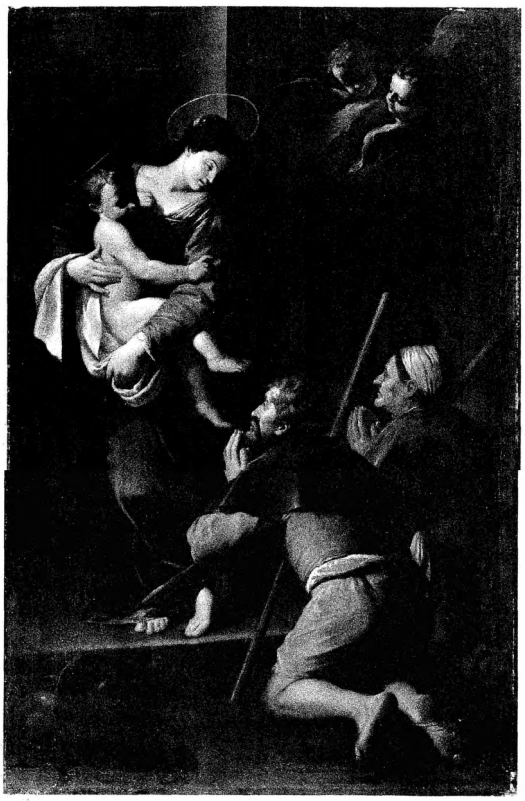
83. Copy of Bartolomeo Manfredi, *Crown of Thorns,* Historical Museum and Art Gallery Collection, Bennington, Vt. (no. 65*vid*).



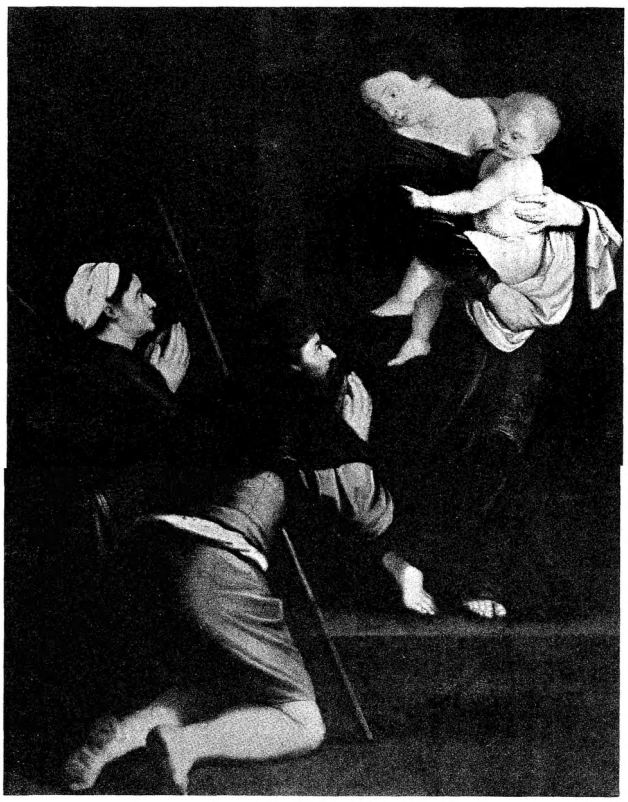
84. Lucas Vorsterman, copy of Caravaggio, *Madonna of Loreto* (reversed), engraving. Albertina, Vienna (no 29a).



85. C. M. Metz, copy of Caravaggio, *Madonna of Loreto* (reversed), Albertina, Vienna (no. 29b).



86. Jean Tassel?, variant-copy of Caravaggio, *Madonna of Loreto,* Staatsgemäldesammlung, Munich (no. 29o).



87. Copy of Caravaggio, *Madonna of Loreto* (reversed), Goldschmidt Collection, Munich (no. 29n).

88. Lucas Vorsterman, copy of Caravaggio, *Madonna of the Rosary* (I State) (reversed), engraving, British Museum, London (no. 36a).

89. Lucas Vorsterman, copy of Caravaggio, *Madonna of the Rosary* (II State) (reversed), engraving, British Museum, London (no. 36a).

90. Giovanni Serodine, *St. Jerome,* Züst Collection, Rancate (note 210).

91. Simon Vallée, copy of Caravaggio, *Death of the Virgin* (reversed), engraving, Albertina, Vienna (no. 33a).

92. Anonymous, *St. Sebastian,* Private Collection, Bologna (no. 79) (note 257).

93. Andrea Vaccaro, *Flagellation,* Staatsgemäldesammlung, Munich (note 218).

94. Copy of lost Caravaggio, *Crucifixion of St. Andrew,* Enyedy Sale, Budapest (1923) (no. 73c).

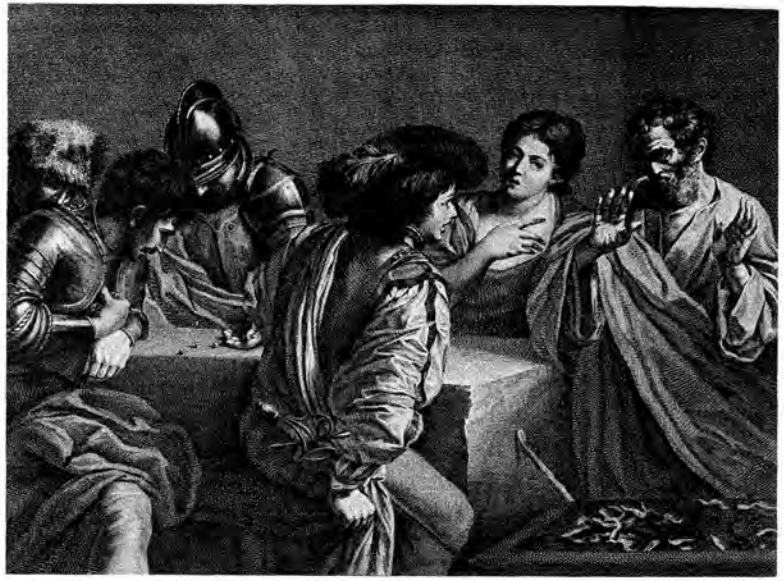
95. Louis Finson, *Christ and the Doctors,* The Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle, County Durham (no. 261).

96. Louis Finson, copy of lost Caravaggio, *Fainting Mary Magdalen,* Musée des Beaux-Arts, Marseille (no. 69b).

97. Angelo Caroselli?, copy of lost Caravaggio, *Fainting Mary Magdalen,* Collection of Avvocato Giuseppe Klain, Naples (no. 69g).

98. Nicolas Regnier?, copy of lost Caravaggio, *Fainting Mary Magdalen,* Musée des Beaux-Arts, Bordeaux (no. 69e).

99. Jan van Houbracken?, *St. Peter and the Rooster,* Museum, Chieti (note 165).



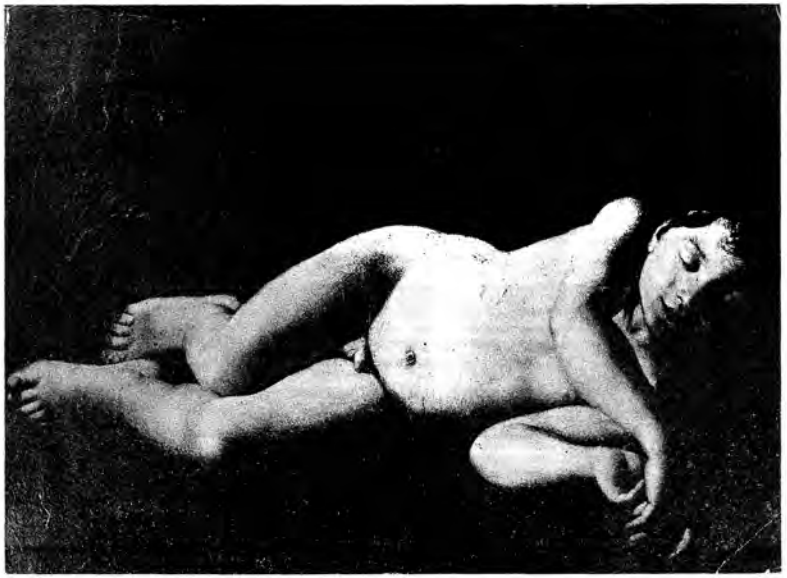
100. François Basan, copy of Valentin, *Denial of St. Peter,* engraving, Prentkabinett, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (no. 72*vi*).

101. Anonymous, *Denial of St. Peter,* Sacristy, Certosa di San Martino, Naples (no. 72*i*).

102. G. Marcucci, copy of Caravaggio, *Sleeping Cupid,* engraving, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (no. 42b).

103. Leonard Bramer, *Denial of St. Peter,* Witt Collection (no. 4049), London (no. 72*xi*).

104. J. G. Coghels, *Sleeping Cupid,* Collection of the Duke of Grafton, Euston (no. 42*iia*).



105. G. B. Caracciolo, *Sleeping Child,* Benedictine Monastery, Monreale, (no. 42*i*).

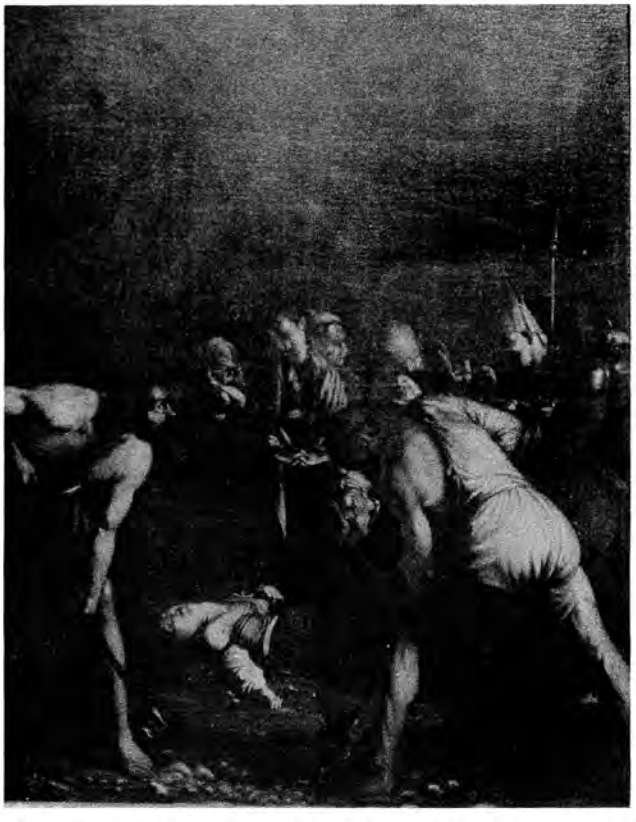
106. Orazio Riminaldi?, *Sleeping Amor,* Private Collection, Los Angeles (1965) (no. 42*vi*).

107. Pietro Paolini?, *Sleeping Victorious Earthly Love,* Private Collection, London (no. 26*xii*).

108. Larmessin, copy of Caravaggio, *Portrait of Alof de Wignancourt* (reversed), engraving, Albertina, Vienna (no. 40a).

109. Anonymous, copy of Larmessin engraving of Caravaggio's *Portrait of Alof de Wignancourt,* Volpi sale, Rome (1910) (no. 40d).

110. Mario Minniti?, copy of Caravaggio, *Burial of St. Lucy,* Church of San Giuseppe, Syracuse, Sicily (no. 43a).



111. Copy of Caravaggio, *Burial of St. Lucy,* Church of Sant'Antonio Abate, Palestrina (no. 43b).

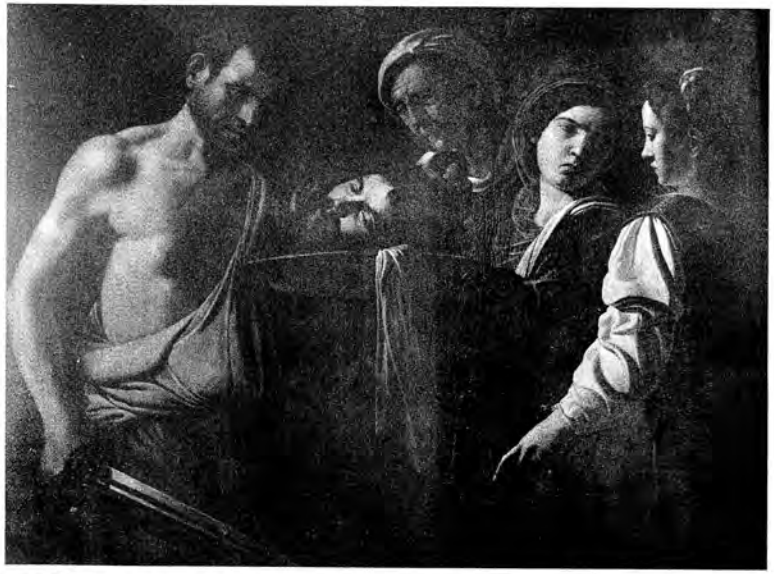
112. Louis Finson, *David,* Sotheby's (1937) (no. 47*iii*).

113. Attributed to Caravaggio, *Annunciation,* Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nancy (no. 101).

114. Caravaggio, *Denial of St. Peter,* Private Collection, Switzerland (no. 124).

115. Attributed to Jan Bijlert, *Salome,* Art Market, Rome (1970) (no. 48*xi*).

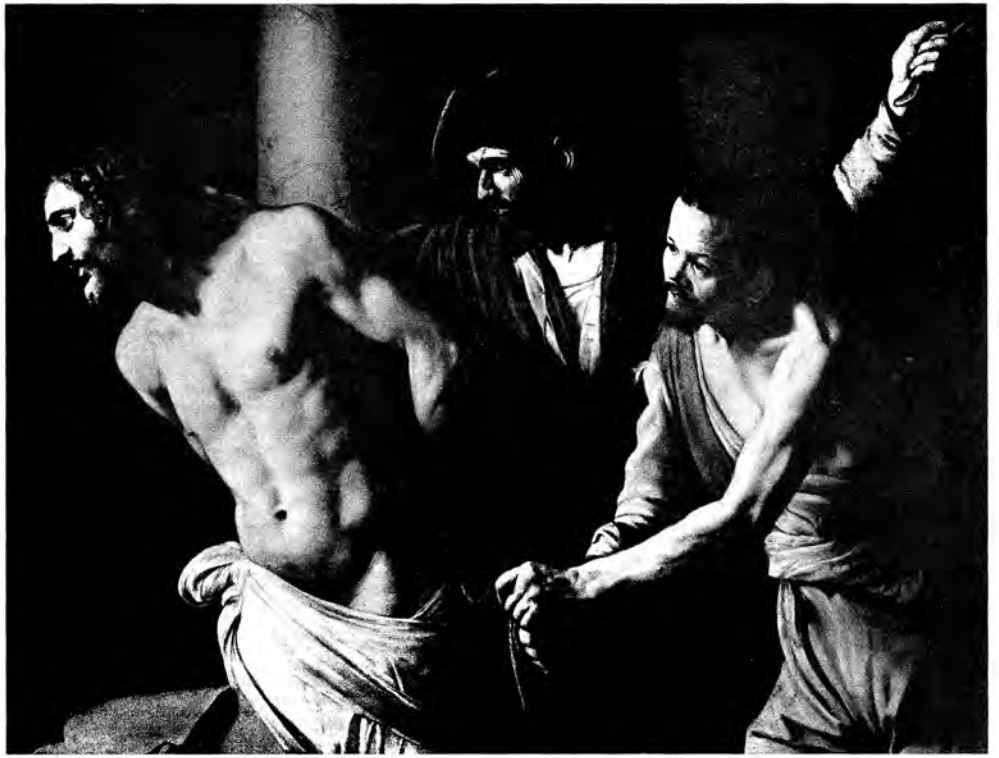
116. Attributed to Artemisia Gentileschi, *Salome,* Guidi sale, Rome (1902) (no. 48*x*).



117. Circle of G. B. Caracciolo, *Salome,* Museum, Seville (no. 48*ii*).

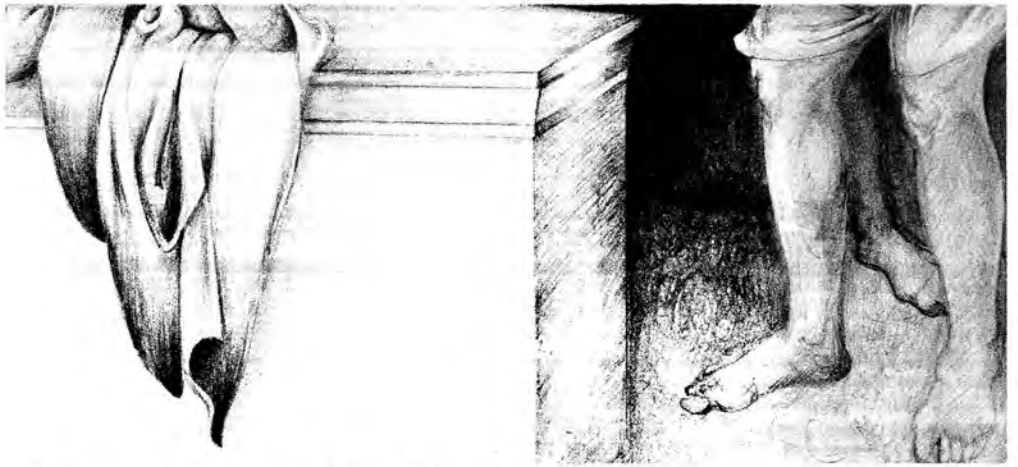
118. G. B. Caracciolo, *Salome,* formerly Peltzer Collection, Berlin (no. 48*i*).

119. Mattias Stomer, *Flagellation,* Oratorio del Rosario, Palermo (no. 107*i*).

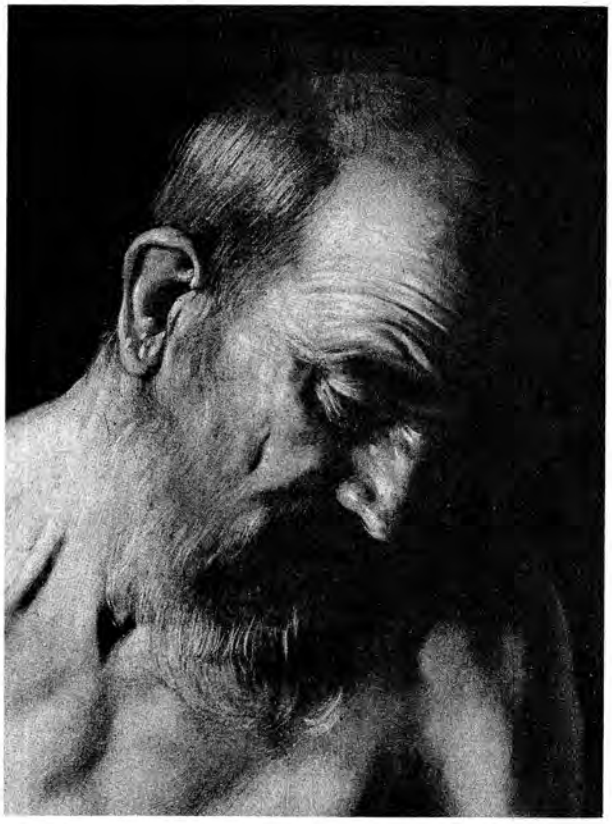


120. Attributed to Caravaggio, *Christ at the Column,* Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen (no. 107).

121. Simonet and Viel, copy of lost Turchi, *Chastity of Joseph,* engraving, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (no. 107*vi*).



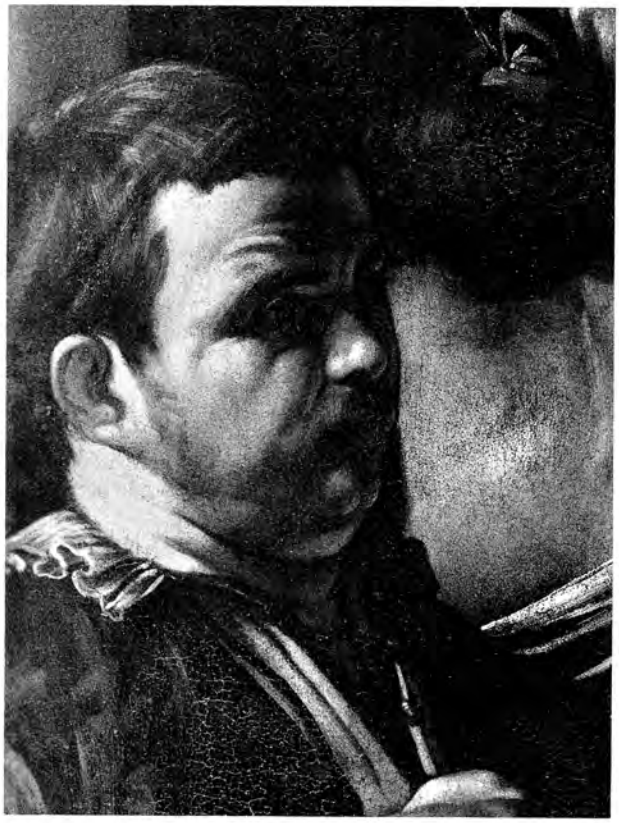
122. Reconstruction of original lower half of the Rouen painting (drawing by Donald Bradford) (note 279).



123. Caravaggio, Portrait of Alof de Wignancourt, detail from *St. Jerome Writing,* Cathedral, La Valletta, Malta (no. 41).

124. Caravaggio, detail, *Portrait of the Courtesan Phyllis,* formerly Kaiser-Friedrich Museum, Berlin (destroyed 1945) (no. 10).

125. Caravaggio, Self-Portrait, detail from *Martyrdom of St. Matthew,* Church of S. Luigi dei Francesi, Rome (no. 20).



126. Caravaggio, Self-Portrait, detail from *Seven Acts of Mercy,* Monte della Misericordia, Naples (no. 37).