Art on the line

Article

Finding Ovid through Raphael in the Schools of the Tombs

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Abstract

In 1674 a tomb decorated with murals was discovered on the Via Flaminia in Rome, which on the basis of inscriptions was wrongly identified as Ovid's tomb. Pietro Santi Bartoli, an ardent frequenter of the 'Schools of the Tombs', preserved the mural designs in prints published in 1680 as *Le pitture antiche del sepolcro de' Nasoni*. These prints form part of Bartoli's dual project to record the vestiges of Roman art and to recover the parergonal elements of Raphael's works; a dialogue between ancient and modern in which differences of historical context and artistic accomplishment were effaced by the bland reproductive style of the etchings. Bartoli's prints of the tomb paintings were accompanied by a remarkable iconographical exegesis by Giovanni Pietro Bellori, in which he identified Ovid's portrait and elucidated the pictorial cycle's concern with the soul's journey after death. The similarities with Bellori's readings of picture cycles by Raphael, Annibale Carracci and Nicolas Poussin are discussed here, together with the theme of the tomb in his writings.

In Nicolas Poussin's *Et in Arcadia Ego* (circa 1640, Paris, Musée du Louvre), a profound meditation on the message of the tomb, serious consideration is given to the interpretive problems posed by both image and text in the recovery of the past's meaning. The process of deciphering, apprehending and understanding the presence of the past in the present – of reading, in other words – is represented by the artist through a language of gesture whose legibility appears to derive from its foundation on a grammar of classical form.[1] This article will examine the interpretive procedures enacted before an ancient tomb, not by the Arcadian shepherds, but by two admirers of Poussin some 35 years after he painted his picture. The art historian Giovan Pietro Bellori and the printmaker Pietro Santi Bartoli were both inspired by Poussin's art, and also by the example of his artistic hero the Renaissance artist Raphael, to seek to learn from the ruins of ancient Rome a consistent artistic truth. In their different media, of critical writing and reproductive printmaking, they both practised parallel forms of selection and refinement in promul-

gating what Bellori termed the 'Idea'. In the case of the tomb of the Nasoni, discussed here, this was a process of critical and stylistic metamorphosis that led them to the discovery of the poet Ovid, the origin of many of the poetic inventions of Poussin's art.

In March 1674 workmen repairing the Via Flaminia outside Rome in preparation for the Holy Year of 1675 discovered an ancient mausoleum and forced open its seven coffins to find only bones (figure 1). The tomb's true treasure turned out to be the mural paintings decorating its vault, walls and niches. In the principal niche opposite the entrance door was painted a scene with a poet crowned with laurel, a muse, the messenger god Mercury and a veiled woman. The inscription below this picture identified it as the resting place of Quintus Nasonius Ambrosius, and his wife Nasonia Urbica (figure 2).[2]

According to Giovan Pietro Bellori (1613-1696)[3], art historian and theorist of the Idea, who published an interpretive account of the paintings to accompany a set of reproductive prints etched by a former pupil of Nicolas Poussin, Pietro Santi Bartoli (1635-1700)[4]:

> The fame of these ancient pictures, and the image of the poet, accompanied by the inscription of the Nasoni, spread rapidly through Rome, together with the name of Ovid, just as had happened in Syracuse when the monument of Archimedes was found, and the whole people, nobility, citizens and plebs, together with foreigners, all hurried to the Via Flaminia for many days in order to see the paintings, and the monument to so great a poet. Such is the power of the love of virtue, and the desire to witness the memorials, and read the names and titles of famous men.[5]

Figure 1 Pietro Santi Bartoli, 'Frontespitio con la scavatione, e facciata del sepolcro', etching, *Le pitture antiche del sepolcro de' Nasonii nella Via Flaminia*, Rome, 1702.

The love of virtue it seems had inspired the somewhat atavistic assumption that this was the tomb of Publius Ovidius Naso, one of the leading poets of the Augustan period of Latin literature, author of the *Ars Amatoria* and the *Metamorphoses*. The fact that Ovid had died in exile in Tomis on the Black Sea (probably in today's Romania) does not seem to have deflected wishful-thinking enthusiasts from identifying this as the poet's resting place. Indeed, the desire for a physical locale for the unlucky poet's tomb had fostered a number of legends throughout the Middle Ages, anticipated by the exiled Ovid's own concern with his last rites and tomb; as he writes in the *Tristia*, if at least his bones were brought back to Rome his soul would not be condemned to perpetual wandering in foreign lands. Ovid even wrote his own epitaph: 'I who lie here, with tender loves once played, Naso the bard, whose life his wit betrayed. Grudge not, O lover, as thou passest by, a prayer: "Soft may the bones of Naso lie!"'[6]

Jonathan Richardson was still referring to the tomb as Ovid's in 1722, in his guidebook for travellers taking the Grand Tour, while also bewailing the Italians' lack of care for their national treasures:

> Ovid's tomb is near the banks of the Tiber, about three quarters of a mile out of the town; but that noble treasury of antique painting (so well known by the prints of Peter Sancta

> Bartoli, to whom we are greatly beholden for this, and many other of his works) is now in a manner utterly lost; whether for want of care, or otherwise I will not say, but 'twas left open, and people were allowed to do what they pleased there. Tramontanes would have been reproached for this as mere Goths. Nor is this the only instance of this kind of carelessness by a great many; the like is frequently seen in Italy.[7]

Some of the tomb's paintings were detached from the walls to preserve them from the damage caused almost immediately by their exposure to humid air. Bellori recorded three pictures, including Oedipus and the Sphinx, being displayed at Villa Altiera in Rome. These are now lost, but six other pieces from the tomb are preserved in the British Museum (notably the scene of the Rape of Persephone), having been purchased in 1883 by the artist Sir George Richmond. However, our knowledge of the full cycle comes from Bartoli's drawings, made for the antiquarian Cardinal Camillo Massimi (also a patron of Bellori and Poussin), today in Windsor Castle and Glasgow University Library, and the prints which were first published together with Bellori's description and explanation in 1680.[8]

Bellori, who had been appointed the Roman Commissar for antiquities in 1670, was too good a scholar to accept that the tomb housed the remains of Ovid: 'but we ought to warn, that if this principal image belongs to Ovid, we should not however place any faith in the idea that his ashes were placed here, since he ended his life in Tomis'. With considerable acumen he also dated the paintings to the Antonine period, through an analysis of their style. However, in spite of these sensible conclusions, Bellori did cling doggedly to the idea that the tomb represented a memorial to the great poet made by his descendants and that, therefore, the picture cycle deserved, and was capable of sustaining, the most erudite iconographical analysis. He would celebrate it as the monument to an enduring idea, as a museum rather than a tomb, a 'Parnassus of the shadows', where the memory of one so beloved of Apollo transformed lamentations into noble songs. 'Following the images of this admirable monument', Bellori wrote, 'we will invoke the Muses themselves to the obsequies of their poet'.[9]

One particularly telling objection to the theory that the tomb was associated with Ovid, was that the Nasoni family commemorated in the inscription could not be Ovid's descendants since his family name, or *nomen gentis*, was Ovidius, and Naso was a *cognomen*, or nickname, meaning 'nosey'. Bellori's reply was that 'there is no doubt about the difference between the family names Ovidius and Nasonius; this difference derives from the mutation of names', whereby particular names changed into family names due to the brilliance of those who had ennobled the *cognomen*. In this way a constant and enduring fame is ensured through a process of renaming. Bellori gives the example, recorded by Macrobius, of how the *cognomen* Praetextatus had been given to

Figure 2 Pietro Santi Bartoli, 'IV Partimenti, & Pitture nella testa della Camera del sepolcro', etching, *Le pitture antiche del sepolcro de' Nasonii nella Via Flaminia*, Rome, 1702.

Papirius by the Roman Senate as a particular name of honour, and that his family had then adopted it as their *nomen gentis* (Praetextatus meaning 'wearing the toga', from praetexere 'to weave into the border' or 'to put forward a pretext').[10] So in order to maintain his view of the tomb as a 'Parnassus of the shadows', where a portrait of Ovid records the honour in which his descendants held him, Bellori employed the suitably Ovidian 'pretext' of metamorphosis, the instability of forms and their tendency to mutate. Given the value that Bellori attached to these re-emergent ancient forms as vehicles of eternal truths, it is curious to find his interpretation resting on a foundation as uncertain as this Ovidian metamorphosis of nomenclature.[11]

Having dealt with the objections to the tomb's association with Ovid, Bellori described the painting in the principal niche as showing Ovid, a laureate poet in purple tunic and yellow cloak, clean-shaven as appropriate for the Augustan period, turning towards Mercury and 'extending his right hand towards him … appearing to recite some prayer, or song, to make himself favourable to the God, reputed by the ancients to be very powerful in the realm of shades'. Ovid's song is accompanied by the muse Erato, so beloved of Ovid, who holds a lyre and flute. Ovid had invoked her in the *Ars amatoria*: 'If ever I needed support from Venus and Son, and Erato – the Muse Erotic by name – its now, for my too-ambitious project to relate some techniques that might restrain that fickle young globetrotter, Love'.[12] Bellori reminded the reader that Erato was according to Plato, the Muse most favourable to lovers, and like Erato, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* can also 'be called erotic since for the most part the stories deal with Love'. The veiled lady beside Mercury is identified by Bellori as Ovid's third wife Perilla, whom Ovid had educated in poetry.[13] Bellori saw that Mercury is responding favourably to Ovid's poetry, which has won him immortality, and the right to enter the Elysian Fields where, according to Virgil, deceased poets live in perpetual joy as witnessed by Aeneas in the sixth book of the *Aeneid*:

> Here an ampler air clothes the plains with brilliant light, and always they see a sun and stars which are theirs alone. Of these bright spirits, some were taking exercise at games together on the grass of a field of play, or wrestling on yellow sand. Others were treading a rhythmic dance and as they danced they sang. And there too was Orpheus the Thracian seer attired in his trailing gown, who answered their rhythm on seven intervals of notes, striking out the melody now with fingers and now, over again, with an ivory plectrum.[14]

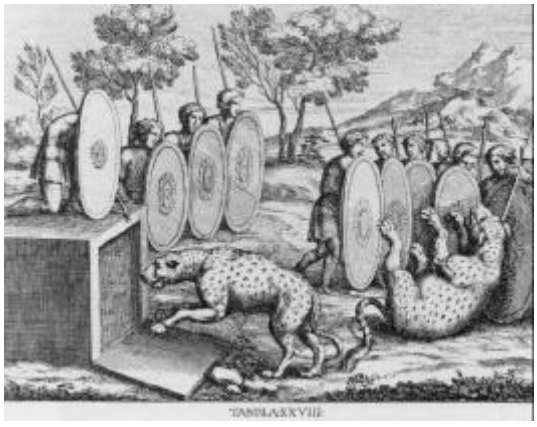

Figure 3 Pietro Santi Bartoli, 'XXVIII Caccia delle Tigri allo specchio', etching, *Le pitture antiche del sepolcro de' Nasonii nella Via Flaminia*, Rome, 1702.

The subject of the scene painted in the principal niche is now believed by archaeologists to represent Orpheus and Eurydice with Mercury.[15]

Taking his cue from the portrait of Ovid, Bellori interpreted the decoration of the tomb in a suitably poetic way, making sense of what is probably a loosely related set of images associated with the hope of life after death, in terms of the immortality won through the acquisition of fame through the exercise of heroic virtue, the passage of the seasons, the flux of the elements, their combination to produce the generative principle

of life, its analogy with love, the transmigration of souls into the bodies of animals for those who had led vicious lives, and the cyclical passage of time. These themes are all familiar from the *Metamorphoses*, but it is interesting to note that in his exegesis of particular pictures Bellori draws on Virgil, Plato, Claudian and Macrobius far more frequently than Ovid's writings. Some of the scenes represented in the tomb were familiar – the Judgement of Paris, the Labours of Hercules, the Rape of Europa – and much of their interest must have derived from comparing contemporary visualisations of poetic fables with these authentically antique versions. Some of the elements were more obscure, for example the hunting of tigers using a mirror (which had been described by Pliny). Bellori employed his great learning to connect apparently irreconcilable themes: the *Rape of Persephone*, for example, can be related to tiger hunts involving mirrors because in Claudian's poem about Persephone, her mother Ceres is described as furious like a tigress when she discovers her daughter's absence, but she is 'checked by the mirrored image of her own form' (figure 3).[16] An emblem for Bellori's process of interpretation can be found in the tomb's picture of Oedipus answering the Sphinx's riddle – a story which, appropriately enough, alludes to the inevitable transformations that occur in human life and was seen by Bellori as a most suitable subject for a tomb. Some aspects of the decoration defied even Bellori's scholarship, however: a picture of a horse wading in a river, followed by a man on the bank, and a sepulchral statue on a platform, was described as 'an obscure enigma, best left to a better Oedipus'.[17]

In its scope and learning, as well as in its themes, Bellori's analysis of the decoration of the tomb of the Nasoni recalls his iconographical readings of Annibale Carracci's Farnese Gallery as representing the struggle of celestial and earthly love, or of Raphael's frescoes in the Vatican palace's Stanza della Segnatura, which 'all derive from a sole principle, and a sole argument, which is the knowledge of divine things, as well as human, and the virtue which constitutes goodness, and that the happiness of this mortal life is to achieve an eternal one'.[18] In a similar way, in his biography of Poussin Bellori arranged the discussion of the artist's pictures thematically so that it begins with the Ovidian *Realm of Flora* (1631, Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Gemäldegalerie) and ends with the landscape of *Pyramus and Thisbe* painted for Cassiano dal Pozzo (1651, Frankfurt, Städelsches Kunstinstitut), another subject derived from the *Metamorphoses*. In his preface to the *Vite*, Bellori acknowledged that he was advised to follow his ekphrastic style of description of works of art by Poussin himself, building on an exposition of the over-all conception of a work by paying careful attention to how each particular figure acted out its role in the scheme.[19] In similar terms, Bellori described how the fables in the tomb of the Nasoni were very beautiful in invention, in the disposition of the figures, in their movement, expression, and their drapery, all of which conformed to the example of good antique sculpture. Bellori showed himself here to be keenly aware of issues of stylistic quality raised by the tomb paintings and there is a polemical edge to his defence of them against certain 'ignorant' contemporary critics.[20] A similar defensive tone can be detected in Bellori's argument for the learned quality of Raphael's art. In this critical essay on Raphael's frescoes in the Vatican he also identified the portrait of a poet: Raphael himself on Mount Parnassus.[21]

The primary purpose of Bartoli's set of prints after the pictures in the tomb of the Nasoni, was to preserve the rapidly decaying designs of the ancients so that they could continue to be enjoyed by connoisseurs and studied by antiquarians. Indeed, the effect of Bartoli's whole oeuvre as a printmaker was such that, as his biographer Lione Pascoli

put it, if the Barbarians were to return to Rome in order to destroy the city's marvels, they would find that he had already ensured their safety through copying them and dispersing them throughout the world in prints.[22] From this point of view the value of Bartoli's work is largely functional: the role of the 'exactly repeatable pictorial statement' in recording and transmitting visual information.[23] Compared to the more lively execution of printmakers like Etienne Dupérac or François Perrier, who also recorded the art of ancient Rome in their prints, Bartoli's etching style seems bland and inexpressive, and as a consequence the documentary worth of his prints would appear to be in inverse proportion to their aesthetic value as independent works of art. As his cycle of prints after the reliefs on the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius show, Bartoli was always very scrupulous about reproducing (and not restoring) areas of damage to the original work (figure 4).[24] If, however, Bartoli's prints do not achieve notable aesthetic merit, this does not mean that they are not doing aesthetic work and by implication critical work too. If we compare, for example, Bartoli's copies of the illustrations in the Vatican Virgil (c 400, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat Lat 3225) with the original manuscript, we find the gestures are clarified and made more decorous, the proportions and anatomy of the figures are enhanced and the legibility of the composition is improved in subtle ways. Bartoli is following Raphael's example here, since Raphael drew on the Vatican Virgil for his designs for prints (among them Raimondi's 'il Morbetto'). Even when copying the celebrated Aldobrandini marriage, Bartoli continued to refine and adjust his original, as the drawing at Eton college shows (1665–70, Eton College Library, Ms 354, fol 39).[25]

Figure 4 Pietro Santi Bartoli, 'Castra Romana in hostili solo posita', etching of damaged section of the spiral sculptural frieze on the Column of Marcus Aurelius, *Columna Antoniniana*, Rome, 1679.

The tamely Poussinesque style of Bartoli's reproductions, although scrupulously accurate in one sense, effectively disguised the differences of quality of execution that existed between the different images within the tomb of the Nasoni, and also with those associated images to be found in early illustrated manuscripts of Virgil's poetry, the margins and *basamenti* of Raphael's frescoes or Roman sculptural reliefs, all of which were translated into printed images by Bartoli. His oeuvre comprises a large and remarkably consistent sequence of prints which, in a sense, framed the reception of the re-emergent tomb murals.[26] In the context of the tomb of the Nasoni, reproduction could be seen as metamorphosis: transformation being a necessary consequence of preservation. The same tendency to overlook differences of quality in pursuit of stylistic (and theoretical) consistency, and to conflate ancient and modern, can be found in Bellori's writings: 'Wherefore, he who wants to see ancient paintings can still admire them in the ornaments in the loggie of the Vatican Palace, carried out by Giovanni da Udine and other disciples of Raphael, the modern Apelles'.[27]

Bartoli, who was a long-term collaborator with Bellori, described his motivation in reproducing the fragments of antiquity which were extant or had been discovered in Rome during his lifetime, in a compendium of his prints published in 1727: 'I fear that I could be described as buried among the tombs, almost disdainful of living among and conversing with the living. However, it should be said that I go to the tombs in order to revive them for the living, and to demonstrate to them their beautiful hidden treasures'. He had frequented the tombs with Bellori, and become enamoured of the beauty of their

designs and convinced of their nobility as models by the fact that 'Raphael, called the Divine, had frequented the schools of the tombs'.[28] Bellori had also stressed Raphael's role in learning from the evidence of antiquity, principally from the ancient statues, but also from the few vestiges of ancient painting to be found in the grottoes of Rome:

> Is it not the case that from these tombs within the shadows, some glimmers of light reach us, since it is certain that Raphael of Urbino, Restorer, and Prince of modern Painting, removed some remnants from the ruins, as if from the tomb, with which he made contemporary art illustrious, achieving the previously unobtainable elegance and heroic style of the Ancient Greeks.[29]

Interestingly, in an allegorical frontispiece for a series of prints by Pietro Aquila of Annibale Carracci's Farnese Gallery frescoes (c 1677), Carlo Maratta showed Annibale in the role of a successful Orpheus, leading painting out of the underworld into the light, and towards the home of Apollo and Athena (figure 5). However, it was not given to every artist to enter Hades, like Orpheus and Aeneas, and recover the buried secrets of antique art. The metaphor was one which artists themselves employed. Rubens for example, wrote to Franciscus Junius on reading his *De pictura veterum* in 1637, that the lost works of art of the ancients 'present themselves to us only in the imagination, like dreams, or so obscured by words that we try in vain to grasp them (as Orpheus the shade of Eurydice), but which often elude us and thwart our hopes'.[30] Similarly, Poussin wrote to M de Chambray in 1665, stating that:

> [The subject matter] must be chosen so as to be capable of taking on the most excellent form. The painter must begin with disposition, then ornament, decorum, beauty, grace, vivacity, *costume*, *vraisemblance*, and judgement in every part. These last qualities spring from the talent of the painter and cannot be learned. They are like Virgil's Golden Bough which none can find or pick, unless he is guided by destiny.[31]

Figure 5 Pietro Aquila, 'IACENTEM PICTVRAM ANNIBAL CARRACCIVS E TENEBRIS SVO LVMINE RESTITVIT ET AD APOLLINIS AC PALLADIS AEDEM PERDVXIT', etching after a design by Carlo Maratta, *Galeriae Farnesianae*, Rome, 1674.

Bellori justified his restricted choice of artists for his *Vite*, as opposed to the indiscriminate comprehensiveness of a Baglione, by referring to the same principle, which he defended by citing the words spoken by Augustus Caesar on visiting the tomb of Alexander the Great. On being asked if he now wanted to see the tombs of the Ptolomies, Augustus said that 'satisfied by gazing on a king, he had no desire to see the dead'. 'Those who through writing', Bellori stated, 'propose to open the tomb, and consecrate to the public the memory of men, should take notice of the response of this wise Prince, and represent to sight, not corpses or shadows, but the living images of the illustrious, worthy of enduring fame'.[32]

The idea of beauty that leads the artist to improve on nature 'does not descend into matter', wrote Poussin, 'unless it has been prepared as well as possible'.[33] In the essay on the Idea published with his artistic biographies in 1672, Bellori referred to Ovid's use of artistic metaphor – describing Andromeda as like a statue, for instance – to support the notion of ideal beauty only being attainable in the realm of art. He even suggested that the Trojan War had really been fought over a statue and not the necessarily imperfect beauty of Helen.[34] In making selective use of Ovid to support his theory of art, Bellori was following Poussin's approach to one of his favourite sources for mythical inventions – Poussin who had accompanied Bellori in his viewing of Raphael and who had encouraged him to develop his method of reading images. This interpretive method required a serious and restrained style for art to act as a vehicle for learned truths. Bartoli had preserved the most antique aspects of Raphael's art – his marginalia – and had then followed his lead through Rome, and finally underground into the tombs, to represent squarely and soberly the antique foundations of such a style. In the interpretive commentary added by Bellori to Bartoli's prints we even find approximated the method of reading the image which Poussin had envisaged for his pictures – 'read the story and the picture in order to see whether each thing is appropriate to the subject' as the artist had famously urged his patron Chantelou in 1639. The matter had been prepared as well as possible – even to the extent of Poussin anticipating the origin of poetic writing in the enigma of a tomb in Arcadia – and so all the factors were in place for the murals of the tomb of the Nasoni to be wrongly, if brilliantly, interpreted as Raphael leading to Ovid.

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1 Poussin's masterpiece has inspired a great deal of fine art historical writing, including: Panofsky, E, 'Et in Arcadia Ego: Poussin and the Elegiac Tradition' (1955) in *Meaning in the Visual Arts*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970: 340-367; Marin, L, *To Destroy Painting* (1977), trans Hjort, M, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995; Bätschmann, O, *Nicolas Poussin and the Dialectics of Painting*, London: Reaktion, 1990: 45-61; Cropper, E & Dempsey, C, *Nicolas Poussin. Friendship and The Love of Painting*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.

2 For a succinct account of the tomb of the Nasoni, with up to date bibliography, see *L'Idea del Bello. Viaggio per Roma nel Seicento con Giovan Pietro Bellori*, exhibition catalogue, vol 2, xxvii, 40, Rome, 2000: 664-667.

3 The standard biographical account of Bellori's life is Donahue, K, 'The Ingenious Bellori', *Marsyas*, III 1945: 781-789. On Bellori as an art historian, see Bell, J & Willette, T (eds), *Art History in the Age of Bellori*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. This volume, published after the completion of this essay, contains an excel-

lent article by Joyce, H E, 'From Darkness to Light: Annibale Carracci, Bellori, and Ancient Painting': 170-188, which covers some of the same material, and reaches a similar conclusion on Bellori's interpretation of the tomb of the Nasoni to that offered here. On the relationship between Bellori, Bartoli and prints after antiquities and Roman painting, see the essays in *L'Idea del Bello*, 2000, note 2, by Faedo, L, vol 1: 113-120; Borea, E, vol 1: 141-151; and de Lachenal, L, vol 2: 625-636; and also Borea, E, 'Giovan Pietro Bellori e la "commodità delle stampe"', in Cropper, E (ed), *Documentary Culture: Florence and Rome from Grand Duke Ferdinand I to Pope Alexander VII. Papers from a colloquium held at the Villa Spelman, Florence*, Bologna: Nuova Alfa Editoriale, 1990: 263-85; and Joyce, H E, 'Grasping at Shadows: Ancient Painting in Renaissance and Baroque Rome', *Art Bulletin* 74 (2) 1992: 219-46.

4 On Bartoli, see Pomponi, M, 'Alcune precisazioni sulla vita e la produzione artistica di Pietro Santi Bartoli', *Storia dell'Arte*, 75 1992: 195-225.

5 *Le Pitture Antiche delle Grotte di Roma, e del Sepolcro de' Nasoni, disegnate & intagliate alla similitudine degli Antichi Originali da Pietro Santi Bartoli, e Francesco Bartoli suo figliuolo, descritte, et illustrate da Gio: Pietro Bellori, e Michelangelo Causei dela Chausse*, Rome, 1706: 25. Bartoli's series of 35 prints, accompanied by Bellori's commentary, were first published in Rome in 1680 as *Le pitture antiche del sepolcro de' Nasonii nella Via Flaminia*. I have made use of the 1706 edition.

6 Ovid, *Tristia*, III, iii: 73-76: 'Hic ego qui iaceo tenerorum lusor amorum / ingenio perii Naso poeta meo / at tibi qui transis ne sit grave quisquis amasti / dicere Nasonis molliter ossa cubent'. For the various legends surrounding the site of Ovid's tomb see Trapp's excellent article: Trapp, J B, 'Ovid's Tomb: the growth of a legend from Eusebius to Laurence Sterne, Chateaubriand and George Richmond', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 36 1973: 35-76; Bellori's account of the tomb of the Nasoni is discussed from p61.

7 Richardson, J, *An Account of Some of the Statues, Bas-reliefs, Drawings and Pictures in Italy*, London, 1722: 288.

8 Another volume of drawings at Windsor Castle (album 196) has copies of the tomb of the Nasoni in another hand (Gaetano Piccini?). See Trapp 1973, note 6: 68-69 and Pace, C, 'Pietro Santi Bartoli: Drawings in Glasgow University Library after Roman Paintings and Mosaics', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 47 1979: 117-55.

9 *Le Pitture Antiche* 1706, note 5: 27: 'Ma fra le sue Pire, e Busti [ie, Rome, the eternal city] si rende celebre l'antico Sepolcro de' Nasoni, se pure così nobil monumento si dee chiamar sepolcro, ò non più tosto Museo, e Parnaso dell'ombre, e de gli Dei Mani. Imperocche nella vaghezza delle Pitture, nella rappresentazione delle immagini, e nella memoria di colui, che fu tanto grato ad Apolline, & alle Muse, l'antro funesto discacciando ogni orrore, in vece di atri Cipressi, spunta Lauri immortali, e risuona canore note più tosto che lamentevoli accenti… Ora noi seguitando l'immagini di cosi ammirando monumento, delineate in questi fogli, invochiamo le Muse istesse all'Essequie del loro Vate'.

10 Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, I, vi: 25-26. See also Trapp 1973, note 6: 64.

11 *Le Pitture Antiche* 1706 note 5: 30: 'A tale argomento si risponde, che non dee apportar dubbio la diversità de' nomi della famiglia Ovidia, e Nasonia, la quale diversità potè derivare dalla mutazione de' nomi, essendo stato solito, che alle volte i cognomi particolari si cangiavano in nomi Gentilizi per la chiarezza di quelli, che li nobilitavano, o per altro accidente. Ci giova a bastanza l'autorità di Macrobius ne' Saturnali, il quale parlando del cognome di Pretestato dal Senato Romano dato a Papirio per onore, divienne poi nome della famiglia de' Pretestati, come vien introdotto ad insegnarlo uno della medesima gente: hoc cognomen tum posteà familiae nostrae in nomen haesit; e più sotto: nec mirum si ex cognominibus nata sunt nomina. Cosi il cognome de' Nasoni proprio di Ovidio, per la sua fama potè derivare in alcun ramo de' suoi discendenti, i quali lasciato l'antico nome degli Ovidi, lo cangiassero in questo nuovo de' Nasoni, l'uno di essi fu Nasonio Ambrosio notato nell'inscrizzione.' Another factor supporting the theory of the tomb's association with Ovid's descendants was the presumed proximity of Ovid's gardens to the Via Flaminia.

12 *Le Pitture Antiche* 1706, note 5: 29-30; Ovid, *Ars amatoria*, II: 15-19.

13 Bellori identifies Perilla as Ovid's third wife whereas she is now thought to be his step-daughter; see *Tristia*, III, vii.

14 Virgil, *Aeneid*, VI: 637-647.

15 See Trapp 1973, note 6: 65.

16 Claudian, *De raptu Proserpinae*, iii: 267-268.

17 *Le Pitture Antiche* 1706, note 5, Tavola xxxv: 47: 'contuttociò per essere l'enigma oscuro, si lascia à migliore Edipo'.

18 Giovan Pietro Bellori, *Descrizzione delle imagini dipinte da Rafaelle d'Urbino*, Rome, 1695: 4: 'Conforme la mente di Rafaelle, dobbiamo intendere che le quattro imagini grandi da esso dipinte nello quattro pareti, ò faccie di questa camera, derivano tutte da un solo principio, e da un solo argomento, che è la sapienza delle cose divine, ed umane, e la virtù nella quale consiste il bene, e la felicità di questa Mortal Vita per conseguire l'eterna, come ora vedremo.'

19 Giovan Pietro Bellori, *Le vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti moderni*, ed Borea, E, Turin: Guilio Einaudi, 1976: 8. '…poiché havendo già descritto, l'immagini di Rafaelle nelle camere Vaticane, nell'impiegarmi dopo a scriver le vite, fu consiglio di Nicolò Pussino che io proseguissi nel modo istesso, e che oltre l'inventione universale, io sodisfacessi al concetto, e moto di ciascheduna particolar figura, & all'attioni che accompagnano gli affetti.'

20 *Le Pitture Antiche* 1706, note 5: 31. 'Le favole, come si può riconoscere ne' disegni espressi in questo libro, assai belle sono, per l'invenzione, e disposizione delle figure, per li moti, espressioni, & abbigliamenti di abiti, e modi, li quali in tutto si confanno con le buone scolture…' Bellori goes on to deplore 'l'ignoranza di alcuni Aristarchi moderni… li quali senza riguardare nè alle qualità stimabili, nè al senso erudito delle immagini, veniano a schemirle, per far onta a gli Antichi'.

21 Bellori 1695: note 18: 2. 'Mà quali pur siano questi miei scritti, rimuovo da essi chiunque biasima la Sapienza della Pittura, e pone tutto il suo pregio in un bel colore, e tratto di pennello; che pur si trovano di costoro non pochi male

instrutti, facile à condannare Rafaëlle, ed i suoi dipinti di troppo studio, e di quello che essi non fanno'. Ibid: 24: 'Dopo Virgilio si scuopre il volto d'un altro Poeta laureato, in cui è ritratto l'istesso Rafaëlle rivolto in placido sguardo; e ben qui degnamente è collocato in Parnaso, ove da primi anni gusto l'acque del fonte Ippocrene, e fù dale Grazie, e dale Muse nutrito'.

22 Lione Pascoli, *Vite de Pittori, Scultori ed Architetti Perugini*, Rome, 1732: 228: 'Di questo insigne valentuomo che cogli intagli suoi illustrò Roma, che trasse da' monumenti più riconditi le memorie più preziose, che rende immortali colle stampe sparse oggimai per tutto il Mondo le maraviglie sue più singolari ed antiche, e moderne; tantocchè, se mai per isventura tornassero a distruggerle i Barbari egli le mise già in salvo, e le preservò colle copie'.

23 I am influenced here by a reading of Ivins, W M, *Prints and Visual Communication*, Cambridge Mass, and London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1953, but see also Stephen Bann's discussion of the dynamics of reproduction in Bann, S, *Parallel Lines: Printmakers, Painters and Photographers in Nineteenth-Century France*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001.

24 Pietro Santi Bartoli, *Colonna Traiana* … Rome, 1677. See also Pomponi, M, 'La Colonna Traiana nelle incisioni di P S Bartoli: contributi allo studio del monumento nel XVII secolo', *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte*, III, xiv-xv 1991-92: 347-78.

25 Bartoli's drawings after the Vatican Virgil, made for Cardinal Massimi in 1677, are in the British Library, Lansdowne Codex, Ms 834. A set of 54 etchings, combining illustrations of Virgil from Vat Lat 3225 and the Codex Romanus Vat Lat 3867, was also produced by Bartoli, but which only circulated more widely after his death as *Antiquissimi Virgiliani codicis fragmenta et picturae* … Jonathan Richardson complained in 1722 that Bartoli had taken 'great liberties' in making the manuscript illustrations appear 'of the finest Antique' whereas they were in fact 'altogether Gothick' (Richardson 1772, note 4: 264). A comparison can be made by consulting *L'Idea del Bello* 2000, note 2, vol 2, 34 and 35: 660-61. For the cultural impact of the Vatican Virgil, see Wright, D H, 'The study of ancient Vergil illustrations from Raphael to Cardinal Massimi' in Jenkins, I (ed), *Cassiano dal Pozzo's Paper Museum*, Milan: Olivetti: Quaderni Puteani, 1992, vol 1: 137-53, and also Stevenson, T B, *Miniature Decoration in the Vatican Virgil*, Tübingen: Ernst Wasmuth, 1983. For an analysis of Bartoli's copying of antique painting, in particular the Ashmolean's 'Birth of Adonis', see Whitehouse, H, 'The Rebirth of Adonis', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 63, 1995: 215-43.

26 Bartoli's set of 44 prints after scenes in the *basamenti* and borders of Raphael's frescoes was published around 1670 as *Parerga, atq ornamenta, ex Raphaelis Sanctii prototypis* …, with a dedication to Cardinal Camillo Massimi. See Pezzini, G B et al (eds), *Raphael Invenit*, Rome: Edizione Quasar, 1985: 108-11. A set of 83 prints after Roman relief sculpture was published by Bartoli before 1677 as *Admiranda Romanarum Antiquitatum*, many of which reproduce images from Perrier's 1645 *Icones et Segmenta*. A sense of the scope of Bartoli's oeuvre, as well as how his work was marketed and classified, can be obtained from consulting the catalogues of the De' Rossi print shop: Grelle Iusco, A (ed), *Indice delle stampe De' Rossi*, Rome: Artemide, 1996. An English antiquarian who made extensive use of Bartoli's prints, and whose print collection exists intact at Worcester College, Oxford, is George Clarke. See Clayton, T, 'The Print Collection of George Clarke at Worcester College, Oxford', *Print Quarterly*, 9, 1992.

27 Giovan Pietro Bellori, *Nota delli Musei*, Rome, 1664: 65. 'Chi desidera vedere pitture antiche le ammiri pure negli ornamenti delle loggie del Palazzo Vaticano condotti da Giovanni da Udine e dagli altri discepoli di Raffaelle, L'Apelle moderno…' Cited by Borea in *L'Idea del Bello*, 2000, note 2, vol 1: 145.

28 Pietro Santi Bartoli, *Gli Antichi Sepolcri ovvero Mausolei Romani, ed Etruschi, trovati in Roma ed in altri luoghi celebri, nelli quail si contengono molte erudite Memorie*, Rome, 1727, p iii: 'E temo, che si dirà essermi io, per cosi dir, sepolto ne' sepolcri, quasi sdegnassi di viver' e conversar con i vivi. Anzi dovrebbe dirsi, che vado à sepolcri per ravvivarli à viventi, e manifestar loro i belli tesori nascosti'; p iv: '… Rafaele, sopranomato Divino, haver frequentato le scuole de' Sepolcri'.

29 *Le Pitture Antiche* 1706, note 5: 25. '… non è però, che tra quelli sepolcri fra l'ombre, non ne sia a noi scintillato qualche lume, essendo certo, che Raffaelle da Urbino Ristauratore, e Principe della moderna Pittura, alcune reliquie, quasi dalla tomba riportò fuore dalle rovine, con le quali a' nostri tempi egli illustrò l'arte all'eleganza, e stile eroico degl'Antichi Greci, al quale non era pervenuta avanti.' On the seventeenth-century appreciation of the 'greek manner', see most recently Lingo, E, 'The Greek Manner and a Christian Canon: François Duquesnoy's Saint Susanna', *Art Bulletin*, LXXXIV (1) 2002: 65-93.

30 Peter Paul Rubens to Franciscus Junius, 1 August 1637, Sanders Magurn, R (ed), *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens*, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1955: 407.

31 Nicolas Poussin to M de Chambray, 1 March 1665 in Blunt, A, *Nicolas Poussin* (first published 1967) London: Pallas Athene, 1995: 372. 'Ces dernières parties sont du Peintre et ne se peuvent aprendre. Cest le Rameau d'or de Virgile que nul ne peut trouver ny ceuillir sil n'est conduit par la Fatalité'.

32 Bellori, op cit, *Le vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti moderni*, note 19, p 5: 'Quelli certamente che col mezzo delle lettere, si propongono di toglier dal sepolcro e di consacrare al publico la memoria de gli uomini, debbono prendere insegnamento dalla risposta del saggio principe, e rappresentare alla vista non cadaveri ed ombre, ma le vive immagini di coloro che degni sono di durare celebri ed illlustri'. As a young man Bellori had eulogised Giovanni Baglione in a poem 'Alla pittura', published with Baglione's *Le vite* of 1642.

33 Bellori, op cit, note 19: 481. 'L'idea della bellezza non discende nella materia che non sia preparata il più che sia possibile…'

34 Bellori, op cit, note 19: 17. '… anzi si tiene ch'ella mai navigasse a Troia, ma che in suo luogo vi fosse portata la sua statua, per la cui bellezza si guerreggiò dieci anni'; p18: '… per questa cagione gli ottimi poeti ed oratori volendo celebrare qualche soprumana bellezza, ricorrono al paragone delle statue e delle pitture'. On Bellori's theory of the Idea, see Cropper, E, 'L'Idea di Bellori' in *L'Idea del Bello*, 2000, note 2, vol 1, pp 81-86; Pace, C, '"Semplice

traduttore": Bellori and the parallel between poetry and painting', *Word and Image*, 17 (3) 2001: 233-39 and also Panofsky, E, *Idea. A Concept in Art Theory*, New York: Harper and Row, 1968.