FEDERICO BAROCCI'S TALE OF TWO TROYS:

AENEAS IN PRAGUE AND ROME

by

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(Under the Direction of Shelley Zuraw)

ABSTRACT

Two paintings of *Aeneas Fleeing Troy* were commissioned by the della Rovere from Federico Barocci in order to further their social and political connections. The original was given to the Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II and then a variant, the only extant version, was presented to Cardinal Scipione Borghese. Although it has long been assumed that they replicated one another closely, a full scale cartoon with a landscape strikingly unlike the Borghese painting suggests that Barocci may have conceived the two versions differently. The first illustrated the scene in the *Aeneid*, the second with explicitly Roman architecture, was altered to appeal to its Roman recipient. Together the patron and the painter chose a scene that would complement the recipients' ancestral claims and their interest in Aeneas' piety. *Aeneas Fleeing Troy* reveals both the role of the painter in the creation of these diplomatic gifts and how he applied his draughtsmanship and replication process in their execution.

INDEX WORDS: Federico Barocci, Aeneas, Troy, Rudolf II, della Rovere, copies, Borghese, Aeneid, Hapsburg.

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DEDICATION

To my mother and father, who gave me a love of knowledge and the will to pursue it.

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AENEAS IN PRAGUE AND ROME

Federico Barocci's *Aeneas Fleeing Troy* is an intriguing anomaly in the artist's oeuvre. His single attempt at an historical narrative, this scene was commissioned twice by the della Rovere family as gifts to further their social connection. The first, now lost, painting was intended for the Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II. The second was given to Cardinal Scipione Borghese, adapting an imperial allegory as a scene of spiritual piety for a Roman cardinal. Barocci's *Aeneas* reveals how the motivations of his patrons are integrated within his process. Although the two versions of the *Aeneas* have long been thought to replicate one another, a full scale cartoon with a strikingly dissimilar landscape than the extant painting suggests that Barocci may have conceived the first version differently. This consideration explores the problems of patronage and gift exchange and how Barocci applied his draughtsmanship and replication process to the greatest effect.

In his *Il Libro dell'Arte,* Cennino Cennini articulated the importance of drawing and copying for all those who endeavor to be artists.[1] Two centuries later, the preservation of drawings from celebrated artists elucidated how integral the practice of drawing was to the artistic process, and how copying shaped the most famous of these talented individuals. As a student progressed in his apprenticeship, the practice of copying transformed from an

[1] Cennino Cennini, *The Craftsman's Handbook*, trans. Daniel V. Thompson Jr. (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1960), 14-15. Cennini enumerates the advantages of copying from the best masters available and how by choosing a select few, artists can emulate something of the master's style. Through constant practice of this kind, an artist's skill can only grow.

instructional tool for refining skills to a technique to preserve and develop existing works. Artists such as Raphael and Titian used copying to preserve compositions they liked and intended to reuse or rework for future commissions.[2] For Federico Barocci copying was a device of paramount importance due to his persistent ill health and the demand for his works. As an artist in the service of Duke Francesco Maria II of Urbino, Barocci was frequently called upon to paint works throughout the duchy.[3] His vibrantly colored paintings, which softened the sensuality of the popular Mannerist aesthetic and made them more appropriate for devotional themes, gained the artist many admirers, who requested versions of Barocci's paintings for themselves. It was for commissions such as this that Barocci employed the use of copies. He often reused drawings of figures for new compositions, inserting them into their new context in order to quicken his sometimes laborious process. Patronage played an integral role in Barocci's reuse of images. Aware of his artist's limitations, Duke Francesco Maria II della Rovere commissioned paintings of subjects Barocci was already working on, thereby accelerating the completion of the artist's work. Rather than generating identical copies, Barocci altered these reproductions to create

[2] Lisa Pon explains Raphael's extensive drawing process from his initial repetition of figures to establish a composition to recording the finished work for future use, as well as his use of Marcantonio Raimondi to circulate his work to a wider audience. Lisa Pon, "Raphael's Graphic Intelligence," in *Raphael, Dürer, and Marcantonio Raimondi: Copying and the Italian Renaissance Print* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004): 95-136. In David Rosand's discussion of Titian's *Venus of Urbino* and his *Danäe,* he notes how the artist would preserve earlier compositions on newly begun canvases, allowing him to modify them for new purposes. This can be seen in an x-radiography of the *Danäe* which preserves a record of the *Venus of Urbino.* David Rosand, "So-and-so Reclining on Her Couch," in *Titian's "Venus of Urbino",* ed. Rona Goffen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 51-52.
[3] Stuart Lingo, "Francesco Maria della Rovere and Federico Barocci: Some Notes on Distinctive Strategies in Patronage and the Position of the Artist at Court," in *Patronage and Dynasty: The Rise of the della Rovere in Renaissance Italy*, ed. Ian F. Verstegen, Vol. 77 of *Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies Series,* ed. Elaine Beilin et al., (Kirksville: Truman State University Press, 2007): 179-196. Lingo discusses Barocci's role as a "pseudo-court painter" for the duke and traces the development of their relationship.

distinct works for their recipients, providing the duke with gifts that were simultaneously exclusive to his beneficiary and recognizable versions from the distinguished Federico Barocci.[4]

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries gift exchange was a standard practice among the nobility who were in constant pursuit of higher social status as a way to establish a reciprocal and longstanding relationship. The nobility would provide their sovereigns with art objects, the promise of arms, or books as desired, and they would receive gifts of land, titles, status and favors in return as part of an understood mutual obligation. Thus members of the nobility would often commission gifts for monarchs or the pope in the hopes of cementing their position.[5] In the sixteenth century, the della Rovere family utilized this conventional practice to further their political and social agenda. Barocci's ability to satisfy patrons by copying his own works aided in the exposure of his art despite largely remaining in his native Urbino, while at the same time the ducal court's status was elevated because it was the home to such an impressive artist whose fame was spreading throughout Europe.[6] Through his patronage of Federico Barocci, Francesco Maria II della Rovere used the demand for works produced by Barocci as diplomatic currency. Rather than adorning his own court with the prized paintings, Francesco Maria instead sent them

[4] Duke Francesco Maria II ruled from 1574 until his death in 1631.

[5] For more on the role of gift exchange in the early seventeenth century, specifically in the context of relations between Spain and the Papacy, please see Hillard von Thiessen, "Exchange of Gifts and Ethos of Patronage in the Relations between Spain and the Papal States in the Early Seventeenth Century," *L'arte del dono. Scambi artistici e diplomazia tra Italia e Spagna, 1550-1650,* (Milan: Silvana Editoriale S.p.A., 2013), 27-32. Almudena Pérez de Tudela specifically discusses this type of relationship between the della Rovere family and the Spanish monarchy, focusing on Duke Francesco Maria II and King Philip II in, "I doni dei Della Rovere per Filippo II," *L'arte del dono*, 89-102. Alexander Nagel has a more general discourse on the notion of gift-giving in the Renaissance in "Art as Gift: Liberal Art and Religious Reform in the Renaissance," in *Negotiating the Gift: Pre-Modern Figurations of Exchange*, ed. by Gadi Algazi, Valentin Groebner, and Bernhard Jussen (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), 319-360.

[6] For a discussion on the mutually beneficial relationship between the duke and Federico Barocci, see Stuart Lingo, *Patronage and Dynasty,* 179-199. See also Raffaella Morselli, "In the Service of Francesco Maria II della Rovere in Pesaro and Urbino (1540-1670)", in *The Court Artist in Seventeenth Century Italy*, ed. Elena Fumagalli and Raffaella Morselli, (Rome: Viella, 2014), 49-93.

as gifts to the King of Spain, the Medici, the Holy Roman Emperor, the Pope, and to several important religious institutions.

Barocci was born in Urbino in 1535, the son of Ambrogio Barocci. After receiving drawing lessons from his father, Barocci was then tutored by three local artists: his relative Bartolomeo Genga, Battista Franco, and Pierleone Genga of Acqualagna.[7] As the architect for the current Duke of Urbino, Guidobaldo II della Rovere, Bartolomeo's brief instruction of Barocci led to subsequent lessons with Battista Franco through Bartolomeo's recommendation. Working with both the duke's architect and the painter responsible for the vaults of the Urbino Cathedral made the young Barocci known to the duke at a very early age.[8] While working with Battista, Barocci was encouraged to draw from reliefs and casts of ancient statues, providing him with one of the foundations of artistic instruction in the Renaissance. Following Battista's departure from Urbino, Barocci resumed his education with Bartolomeo and soon left for Pesaro, where the architect was working on the expansion and renovation of the della Rovere's palaces in the city. There Barocci was able to study the works of Titian in the duke's collection—an

[7]According to Bellori, Barocci's uncle, Bartolomeo Genga, introduced the aspiring artist to Battista Veneziano while they were both working for Duke Guidobaldo II. Giovan Pietro Bellori, "Life of Federico Barocci," *The Lives of the Modern Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, translated by Alice Sedgwick Wohl, (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 159-175. In Nicholas Turner's annotations to his own translation of the text, he identifies Pierleone of Acqualagna as the same Pierleone di Giulio Genga who worked on the interior of the Casino of Pius IV with Barocci, making much of Barocci's early activity within his extended family. Nicholas Turner, "Federico Barocci", *A Touch of the Divine: Drawings by Federico Barocci in British Collections*, ed. David Scrase (Cambridge: The Fitzwilliam Museum, 2006), 17-49.

[8] Timothy Clifford and J. V. G. Mallet, "Battista Franco as Designer for Maiolica,"*The Burlington Magazine* 118 (1976): 386-410. Clifford and Mallet briefly discuss Franco's tenure as the painter of the vaults in their consideration of Franco as the designer of majolica created during his employ by the duke. They enumerate Genga's involvement in securing the commission for Franco and Vasari's description of the duke's disappointment that Franco's work lacked originality, merely repeating his ill-adapted forms of Michelangelo and Raphael. Although perhaps unhelpful to Franco, who was already an established artist, Barocci's exposure to Franco's apparent mimicry likely aided his early instruction in copying the masters, as advised by Cennini, and led to his desire to go to Rome, to see the works for themselves.

influence that would become vital to Barocci's pursuit of della Rovere patronage.[9] Jeffrey Fontana asserts that with so much of Barocci's early instruction shaped by artists in the service of Duke Guidobaldo della Rovere, Francesco Maria II's father, Barocci likely sought a way to endear himself to the duke and secure his patronage. By 1555, Barocci was able to go to Rome and see the works of the masters firsthand, notably the works of Raphael, who Barocci surely admired as a fellow artist from Urbino. Thus Barocci accompanied Pierleone of Acqualagna to Rome, where this interest in della Rovere patronage may have extended to the Cardinal Giulio della Rovere, the duke's brother, whose portrait he painted.[10] Although Guidobaldo gave the young Federico few commissions, his early exposure to the duke's tastes resulted in a shift of Barocci's style, from the Michelangesque forms of Battista Franco's influence to the vibrant colors and soft lines indebted to Titian.[11] Barocci's emulation of Titian may have been in an effort to present himself as a substitute for the duke. In one of Barocci's earliest independent works, *The Martyrdom of St. Sebastian,* the artist deliberately reveals the multiplicity of his sources (Fig. 1).[12] The figure of Saint Sebastian walks towards the viewer in an adaptation of the *contrapposto* position with his arm outstretched, evoking the familiar form of the *Apollo*

[9] For an inventory of Titian's works in the della Rovere collection see Gronau, *Documenti artistici urbinati (*Florence: G.C. Sasoni, 1935), 62-70. See also Carlo Bo, Pietro Zampetti, and Dante Bernini, *Tiziano per I Duchi di Urbino, exh. cat.,* (Urbino: Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, 1976). See also Jeffrey Fontana, "Duke Guidobaldo II della Rovere, Federico Barocci, and the Taste for Titian at the Court of Urbino," in *Patronage and Dynasty,* 161-178. Fontana argues that Barocci shaped his early style on Titian in order to catch the attention of Duke Guidobaldo, an attempt that ultimately failed as Guidobaldo instead patronized the Venetian artist Jacopo Palma il Giovane. He stresses that Barocci's attempts at emulating Titian were likely only partially due to Guidobaldo's tastes, but also motivated by Barocci's own pursuit of fame.

[10] Bellori writes that Barocci was introduced to the cardinal through his uncle, who was master of the cardinal's household in Rome. Bellori, *Lives*, 160-162.

[11] Inheriting his father's taste for the Venetian's work, Duke Guidobaldo II continued to request commissions from Titian. Barocci's early apprenticeships with artists in the duke's service would have allowed him to see the preference for Titian's aesthetic. Jeffrey Fontana, "Duke Guidobaldo II, Federico Barocci, and the taste for Titian at the Court of Urbino," 161-178.

[12] Nicholas Turner, *Federico Barocci*, exh. cat. (Paris: Vilo International, 2000), 17-19.

Belvedere. In front of the saint, the archer that draws his bow mirrors this same pose, the allusion to sculpture emphasized by the dais he steps from, as though he is a stone figure brought to life. Barocci's demonstration of his classical knowledge can be seen in the frieze at the bottom of the Emperor Diocletian's throne and in the architecture behind the gathered figures. In contrast, the Madonna and Child who hover above the saint are an obvious adaptation of Titian's *Gozzi Altarpiece* (Fig. 2).[13] Yet while the Christ Child in Titian's painting appears to squirm away from his mother's grasp, Barocci's young Christ reaches for the Virgin as he surveys the unfolding events below. Both Madonnas lean over their heavenly domain, the clouds that separate their realm from the saints' create stepped thrones that encompass them. By reference both to his extensive knowledge of classical art and to Titian, Barocci establishes a *paragone* to prove his talent.[14] He simultaneously refers to the work of the masters and makes it his own, surpassing the limitations of his teacher, Battista Franco; while his use of the antique shows his ability to compete with ancient sculpture. Exhibiting this acquisition of skill in a work that would undoubtedly be seen by Duke Guidobaldo might have been Barocci's way of demonstrating that while Titian himself was fully occupied by the Hapsburg king of Spain, Philip II, Barocci was close, available, and an artist of growing talents.

Perhaps in response to Guidobaldo's apparent indifference and the urge for grander challenges, Barocci travelled to Rome a second time in 1560. He and a team of artists, including his friend Federico Zuccaro, whom he had met during his previous visit, were commissioned to

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[13] For the commission history and discussion of influences in Titian's altarpiece, see Sheila Hale, *Titian: His Life* (New York: Harper Collins, 2012), 178-9. Significantly, Turner points out that the Gozzi Altarpiece was once in the collection in Pesaro, making it possible that Barocci saw the painting with Bartolomeo Genga, making the decision to adapt his figures from that particular source a deliberate and calculated choice.

[14] Peter Gillgren, *Siting Federico Barocci and the Renaissance Aesthetic*, (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2011): 74-91. Peter Gillgren's text on Barocci's early works enumerates the artist's combined styles through Battista Franco and others' influence emphasizing how Barocci utilized and evolved them.

decorate the Casino of the Bosco di Belvedere for Pope Pius IV. Barocci is responsible for designing the ceiling decoration which combines stucco work with fresco to complement the antique style of the Casino as a whole. Barocci's *Holy Family* is the central panel of the ceiling decor. There he creates a domestic scene with the figures of Joseph and Elizabeth acting as repoussoir figures (Fig. 3). The family is gathered in a space that is both ancient and modern. Joseph reclines against the ruins of classical architecture while the view from the window shows further examples of the antique, bringing the glorious Roman past into the interior of the Roman present.[15] During this time in Rome, according to Bellori, Barocci was poisoned by envious rivals and forced to withdraw from the Casino project and return home to benefit from his 'native air.'[16] Bellori goes on to explain that Barocci's pain was so pronounced that the artist was entirely incapable of holding a brush for nearly four years. The pain only subsided enough for him to continue his work after he prayed to the Virgin for an abatement of his illness.[17] If Bellori's timeline is to be believed, Barocci's illness may have coincided with the duke's decision to patronize another artist in his stead, the Venetian painter Jacopo Palma il Giovane.[18] Although Guidobaldo did not offer Barocci the patron relationship he may have sought, works

[15] Nicholas Turner discusses Barocci and the team of painters who worked on the Casino in *Barocci,* 24-27. Gillgren also goes into depth on the overall design of the Casino's program and Barocci's involvement in *Siting Federico Barocci*, 93-105. For a general discussion of the Casino's history and early bibliography, see Louis Cellauro, "The Casino of Pius IV in the Vatican," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 63 (1995): 183-214. See also Graham Smith, *The Casino of Pius IV* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976.)

[16] Barocci's poisoning may have been a dramatization of the artist's illness, which is mentioned repeatedly in letters from Duke Francesco Maria II to patrons, citing Barocci's ill health for an explanation of missed deadlines throughout his career. Although we do not know the exact nature of Barocci's illness, symptoms mentioned by Bellori suggests he was plagued by a hernia. David Scrase, "Introduction," *A Touch of the Divine*, 11-12.

[17] Barocci recovered enough to continue working, but was plagued by illness for the rest of his life, supposedly making him slow to complete commissions. Bellori, *Lives,* 161-2.

[18] Fontana, "Taste for Titian at the Court of Urbino," 175-6.

commissioned from him and his brother, Cardinal Guilio della Rovere, established him at the Urbino court and laid the foundation for his future role with Francesco Maria II.[19]

Once recuperated enough to apply paint to canvas, Barocci spent the next few years working slowly on commissions, some received from Rome before he was taken ill. In this early period of his career in Urbino, he completed works for churches in the Marches and continued to be patronized by the della Rovere family—painting a *Crucifixion with the Virgin and St. John the Evangelist* for the chapel of Conte Pietro Bonarelli della Rovere in the Chiesa del Crocifisso Miracoloso in Urbino, and now in the Galleria Nazionale delle Marche.[20] Among the works commissioned by Duke Guidobaldo II are a *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (Fig. 4) ordered as a gift for Lucrezia d'Este, in honor of her marriage to his son, Francesco Maria II. Although a familial gift, the commission established a precedent of replicating Barocci's works that continued throughout his career. After Lucrezia's death in 1598, her painting passed into the collection of Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini and by the end of the nineteenth century it was lost. Her painting from 1571 was later replicated by Barocci for two other patrons, the versions distinguishable only by small differences.[21] The Anastagi version of the painting is displayed in the Vatican and the Brancaleoni in the church of S. Stefano in Piobbico. According to Bellori, admiration for Lucrezia's wedding gift inspired both Count Antonio II Brancaleoni and

[19] Cardinal Giulio della Rovere commissioned a portrait from Barocci during his first visit to Rome, discussed above. Duke Guidobaldo commissioned at least two works from Barocci, known from inventories of the ducal collection, a *Rest on the Flight* to be discussed below, and a possible copy after a Titian known through a letter from Barocci, concerning a *Madonna and Child with Two Angels,* to the duke's secretary in 1567. Giorgio Gronau, ed., *Documenti artistici urbinati*, 67, 71, 110.
[20] Nicholas Turner looks in depth at the works from this early period, *Federico Barocci*, 34-47.
[21] The version commissioned by Guidobaldo for Lucrezia was the first of three versions, the other two versions commissioned because the original was so admired. Turner briefly discusses the version now in S. Stefano and the history of the original version in Turner, *Barocci,* 52-3. Judith Mann delves further into the history of all three versions and the prints made after them, focusing on the Vatican version for the catalogue. Judith W. Mann, "Rest on the Return from Egypt," *Federico Barocci: Master of Color and Line*, exh. cat. ed. Judith W. Mann, Babette Bohn, and Carol Plazzotta, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2012), cat. no. 4, 109-119.

Simonetto Anastagi to commission their own versions of the painting, the former in distemper and the latter in oil on canvas.[22] Barocci made subtle changes to each of the versions, altering the posture or position of the Christ Child, the orientation of the hat in the left of the foreground, and even the fruit clutched between the fingers of Christ. Thus working with the same basic composition, it is clear Barocci distinguished each version for their recipients. Although the original version for Lucrezia d'Este has been lost, an etching by Antonio Capellan records what the painting looked like (Fig. 5). In this version, the Christ Child holds a round fruit in one hand as he reaches for the branch proffered by Joseph with the other. The branch extended by Joseph in the Capellan etching sprouts an abundance of leaves compared to the sparse twig extended in the Anastagi painting. Along with the child's posture, the orientation of the hand grasping the thin tree limb has reversed. The Madonna's bodice has also been altered. In the Capellan, her girdle is tied at the front and lacks the ornamentation of the collar seen in the Anastagi version. The Brancaleoni painting retains many of the characteristics of the Anastagi painting (Fig. 6). This version preserves the addition of the pillow the Christ Child sits on from the Anastagi, but the space between Joseph and the Child is slightly lower and the hat in the bottom left corner is top up, unlike the previous two versions. The demand for these subsequent paintings indicates the popularity of Barocci's work and his ability to satisfy those requests. In his discussion of the scene, Nicholas Turner recognizes the figures of the Virgin and the Christ Child as reversals of those in Barocci's earlier *Madonna di San Giovanni* from 1565 (Fig. 7).[23] His reuse of figures from this earlier work reveals how he used his drawings to aid in creating his reproductions or in

[22] Bellori, *Lives*, 170-73. Ian Verstegen also discusses these works in his larger analysis of Barocci's copies and his workshop. Ian Verstegen, "Barocci, Cartoons, and the Workshop: A Mechanical Means for Satisfying Demand," *Notizie da Palazzo Albani* 34/35 (2005-2006): 101-123.
[23] Turner, *Federico Barocci*, 34-35. This was the first painting Barocci executed after falling ill in Rome and later gifted to the church of the Capuchin Fathers at Crocicchia.

the adaptation of figures for new narratives such as these. As seen in the above works, rather than generating exact replicas, Barocci's subtle alterations individualizes each version, fulfilling the recipient's desire and providing them with a version distinct from its predecessors. This practice becomes important in considering some of his later works.

Duke Guidobaldo may not have lavished commissions on Barocci, but his son, who succeeded him in 1574, Francesco Maria II, did. He saw the artist's talent and inclination to stay in Urbino as an opportunity. Upon ascending to the dukedom, Francesco Maria inherited the considerable debt accrued by his father. Forced to immediately placate his citizens, the first years of the new duke's tenure stood on shaky ground in the aftermath of a revolt against his father. Francesco Maria was compelled to focus his efforts on the restoration of the duchy's finances and ensure the loyalty of Urbino under his new rule.[24] Thus it was not until the 1580s that Francesco began his relationship with Barocci. Rather than use Barocci's skills to beautify his own palaces, the new duke utilized him to embellish the public sphere of his domain with works commissioned for the major churches throughout the area. Barocci's continued illness compelled him to remain in Urbino, leaving only briefly to investigate sites for his commissions.[25] With the relative isolation of Barocci as an artist essentially confined to Urbino, the duke took advantage of the 'rarity' of a work by the artist. Although he received requests directly from patrons and

[24] James Dennistoun, *Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino, illustrating the Arms, Arts, and Literature of Italy, from 1440-1630* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1851), 3:140-1. Dennistoun reviews text written by the duke and by Venetian nobleman Antonio Donato on the history of the duchy, and is the first and only English translation of these memoirs. See also Raffaella Morselli "In the Service of Francesco Maria II della Rovere," *The Court Artist in Seventeen-Century Italy*, 49-93, for an additional account of this history, focusing particularly on the duke's relationship with artists at his court. Lingo also utilizes Dennistoun's translation of the memoirs in conjunction with the duke's diaries. Stuart Lingo, "The Taste for Titian at the Court of Urbino*,"* 179-199.

[25] As an example, Barocci was persuaded to accompany his *Madonna del Popolo* to Arezzo to oversee its installation despite insisting to remain in Urbino during early negotiations. Andrea Emiliani quotes a letter from the brotherhood of the Archivio Comunale at Arezzo, imploring Barocci to visit the chapel and see for himself the light conditions for the painting. Andrea Emiliani, *Federico Barocci: Urbino, 1535-1612*, (Bologna: Nuova Alfa, 1985), 1:129. Also discussed by Turner, *Barocci*, 69.

religious institutions, often Francesco Maria II operated as intercessor between Barocci and patrons, allowing the duke to make the artist's excuses, citing his health, if a commission took longer than expected. He had a reputation for being difficult, and the duke, as intermediary, would persuade and secure works from Barocci, simultaneously indebting the patron to the duke for his negotiations with the irascible painter, and earning Barocci a commission without having to deal with the patrons themselves.

Francesco Maria's initial difficulties upon succeeding to the ducal seat prevented the duke from immediately employing Barocci. The first major commissions from the ducal court under Francesco Maria II were for two altarpieces—an *Annunciation* and the *Calling of St. Andrew*, both of which were completed in 1584.[26] The *Calling of St. Andrew* was requested by his duchess, Lucrezia d'Este, for Sant'Andrea in Pesaro and the *Annunciation* by the duke himself for his chapel at the Basilica of Santa Maria di Loreto. The Duke later requested Barocci paint another version of the *St. Andrew* to send as a gift to the king of Spain, Philip II.[27] This latter request is particularly revealing of the duke's diplomatic motivations. Having spent a few years in his youth at the court of Spain, the duke worked to maintain the relationship he fostered with the king for social, political, and economic reasons. The duke's precarious ascension to power in the wake of revolt following his father's death was exacerbated by the continued absence of an heir, a fact particularly noticed by the papacy, who could or would take possession

[26]A letter from the duke to Simone Fortuna, the ambassador to Florence, mentioning the *Annuniciation* can be found in Francesco Maria II to Simone Fortuna, October 8th 1583, in *Documenti artistici urbinati*, 154. Bellori writes that the duchess wrote to the artist requesting the *St. Andrew* and paid Barocci two hundred scudi for the work. Bellori, *Lives*, 165.

[27] This version arrived in Spain in July of 1588 and is recorded in a letter. Francesco Maria to Bernardo Maschi, July 15 1588, in *Documenti artistici urbinati*, 160-1. It is also discussed by Almudena Pérez de Tudela, "I doni dei Della Rovere per Filippo II," *L'arte del dono*, 89-102.

of the duchy's assets without an heir to inherit.[28] Spain's assistance had already proven crucial to the maintenance of the ducal states with the reception of Francesco's military *condotta* aiding in the economic revival of Urbino.[29] The duke's relationship with Spain provided him with protection from the papacy, economic stability for his domain, and elevated status through such honors as a membership to the king's Order of the Golden Fleece. Saint Andrew was named protector of Philip II's order, thus the *Calling of Saint Andrew* was likely Francesco's response to receiving the honor, or made in expectation of receiving his membership to the order. The decision to send this particular painting furthermore was deliberately flattering to the king. Philip II believed that it was his divine right to receive the title of Holy Roman Emperor and reunite the Spanish and Austrian halves of the Hapsburg dynasty through the Eastern and Western Empires. As the patron saint of the Order of the Golden Fleece, Saint Andrew's cross represented the Eastern and Western unity Philip II wanted to achieve.[30] Solidifying a relationship with Philip II, a monarch and an influential member of the Hapsburg family, was a wise move for a duke on tenuous ground.

Through gifts and services to the Spanish crown, Francesco Maria helped solidify his status with Philip II. The duke even took steps to curry favor with the king's son, Philip III, by commissioning small gifts that flattered the prince's interests in the hope of creating a foundation

[28] Dennistoun, *Memoirs*, 3:145. Lingo, *Patronage and Dynasty*, 179-199.
[29] Lingo, *Patronage and Dynasty*, 189-91. The duke noted in his diary that the *condotta*, the duke's pledge of arms in service to the Spanish, came with 12,000 scudi a year and protection for "me e delle cose mie." Fert Sangiorgi, *Diario di Francesco Maria II della Rovere*, (Urbino: Edizioni QuattroVenti, 1989), 1.
[30] In Marie Tanner's consideration of Philip II's imperial aspirations, she explains the combined interpretations of the Burgundian-Hapsburg dynasty for the prophetic title of the Last World Emperor, tracing their ancestry through Aeneas and as the Elect in Christ's second coming. The Golden Fleece represents Christ as the Lamb of God, combining the ancient and Christian connotations. Marie Tanner, "Order of the Golden Fleece," *The Last Descendant of Aeneas: the Hapburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 146-151.

for a future relationship.[31] In dealing with the Spanish court, the duke established ties with one half of the Hapsburg line, and in 1586 he gained the opportunity to establish a friendship with the Austrian line through the Holy Roman Emperor, Rudolf II. The duke and the emperor were already acquainted, having met at the Spanish court when they were both young.[32] The emperor's interest in a painting by Barocci was made known to the duke through Rudolf's Venetian ambassadors, who sought out Francesco's agent, Girolamo Nucci. In correspondence between one of the emperor's ambassadors, Grazioso Grazioso, and Francesco Maria, Rudolf II's desire for a secular subject, not a devotional work, was established.[33] The emperor's preference for classically-inspired and allegorical works of art was well-known.[34] In his nearly eight years at the Madrid court, from 1563 to 1571, the emperor developed a taste for the masters seen in the Spanish collections— especially Titian, Parmigianino, and Correggio. Rudolf II was an avid collector and patron of artists throughout Europe, but he was particularly fond of Correggio, whose Ovidian *Amori* he sought for more than fifteen years.[35] Barocci's own interest in Correggio's rare pastel cartoons began early in his career and lead to his use of a similar technique for which he, too, was renowned.[36] Barocci's paintings emulated the soft, sensuous forms of Correggio which likely inspired the emperor's interest in commissioning a painting from Barocci. Rudolf's predilection for Correggio was acknowledged by his court artists in

[31] Interestingly, the duke also patronized Barocci's brother, Simone, to produce gifts for the young prince. Almudena Pérez de Tudela, "I doni dei Della Rovere per Filippo II," *L'arte del dono*, 89-102.
[32] When Francesco Maria II arrived at the court in Madrid he met the two sons of Maximilian II, including Rudolf II. Dennistoun, *Memoirs*, 123-4.
[33] The correspondence regarding the painting between Francesco Maria II to Grazioso Grazioso, November 28th 1586, in *Documenti Artistici Urbinati*, 163-4, in which the duke is made aware that the emperor would like a picture "not of devotion but of other taste," which is often interpreted as a secular subject rather than Barocci's religious oeuvre.
[34] Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *The School of Prague:Painting in the Court of Rudolf II*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988), 7-26.
[35] Ibid, 18.
[36] Bellori, *Lives*, 161.

Prague. One of his favorite artists at court, Bartholomeus Spranger, as well as the print-maker and painter Hendrick Goltzius, both imitated Barocci's style in some of their own work for Rudolf II, thereby evoking Correggio's manner through the Urbinate artist. Both artists probably knew Barocci's work second-hand, through the widely popular prints made of his paintings produced both by Barocci and by others.[37] As an ardent collector, Rudolf II continued a long-established Hapsburg tradition of patronage which the emperor used in his own diplomatic relationships. By inviting important dignitaries into his *Kunstkammer*, Rudolf utilized his treasured possessions as political and social capital, the scope of his collection full of symbolic significance of the emperor's majesty.

Barocci's addition to Rudolf's collection achieved this imperial flattery through the artist's first attempt at an historical narrative. It was through this initial version of *Aeneas Fleeing Troy* that Barocci created a scene intended to deliberately complement Rudolf's imperial virtues and ancestral claims. To add to Rudolf's ever-growing collection, the duke paid for the commission of the *Aeneas* in four installments through 1587-88, securing the painting as a gift in fulfillment of the emperor's wishes.[38] The painting was delivered to Prague in 1589 and, though Bellori states that the emperor was so taken with the work he repeatedly invited Barocci to his court, the duke wrote later in 1589 expressing his displeasure after receiving no response from the emperor.[39] Despite Rudolf's perceived indifference towards Barocci's painting, it appears in the Prague inventories until the city was sacked by Swedish troops in 1648. It then joined the

[37] Kaufmann, *School of Prague*, 63. Louise Richards discusses Barocci specifically as a printmaker, as well as prints made from his works by others in the catalogue focusing on Barocci as a graphic artist. Pillsbury and Richards, *The Graphic Art of Federico Barocci*, exh. cat. (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1978), 93-109.
[38] The payments made by the duke are noted in his diary. Sangiorgi, *Diario*, 18.
[39] Bellori, *Lives*, 170. The duke comments to the ambassador that though he sent the emperor a most beautiful painting, he has yet to hear from the emperor. Francesco Maria II to Grazioso Graziosi, December 14th 1589, in *Documenti artistici urbinati*, 164.

collection of Queen Christina of Sweden. By 1692, the painting is cited in the collection of Lovi Odescalchi where in 1722, it is described as being in poor condition.[40] In 1800, the painting was put up for auction in London and after that all record of the work ceases.[41]

An approximation of the work is preserved in an autographed version executed for Monsignor Giuliano della Rovere in 1598 (Fig. 8), likely as a gift for the then Cardinal Camillo Borghese, which passed to Cardinal Scipione Borghese upon his uncle's ascent to the papal throne.[42] The first known record of this second work, in an inventory of the Borghese Collection, is from 1613, fifteen years after it was finished.[43] The painting depicts a scene from Vergil's *Aeneid*, with a quartet of figures fleeing the burning city of Troy. To the left, Aeneas carries Anchises over his shoulder, ensuring that his father and the household gods, cradled in the old man's arms, are not left behind. Aeneas' son Ascanius stays close to his father's side, gripping his leg to ease his climb.[44] To the right is Aeneas' wife Creusa; disconnected from her family, her isolation foreshadowing her separation from them and resulting death. They flee over the clutter of rubble towards a staircase to the left of the painting, where on the bottom step Barocci has prominently signed his name and date: "FED. BAR. URB. / FAC. MDXCVIII." The flowing drapery that envelopes the form of Creusa provides a visual balance to the group of three who flee before her. Aeneas is clothed in deep green and silver armor, contrasting with the pale pink

[40] Jonathan Richardson, *Traité de la peintre et de la sculpture*, (Amsterdam: Chez Herman Uytwerf, 1728), 282-3.
[41] Documents enumerating the painting's provenance cited by Babette Bohn, cat. 16, "Aeneas Fleeing Troy," *Barocci*, 272-281.
[42] It is important to note that evidence of this commission comes from Bellori's biography of Barocci. As the duke's cousin, Monsignor Giuliano della Rovere's commissioning of the second version is significant as a della Rovere commission and the family's motivations for gifting a painting of this scene to the Borghese. At this juncture, nothing is known about Monsignor Giuliano della Rovere. Bellori, *Lives*, 170.
[43] Emiliani, vol. 2, *Barocci*, 230-7.
[44] In some sources, Ascanius is also referred to as Iulius, evoking the Latin origins and linking the ancestry of the Julio-Claudian line with that of Aeneas. Tanner, *Last Descendant*, 13.

and gold fabrics that envelope him in the form of his father and the household gods. The opulence of each figure's costume is at odds with the murky tones of the background colored only by the fires that signal the Greeks' destruction of Troy. Crowds of fighting, fleeing and looting figures fill the space left behind by Aeneas and his family. The green of Aeneas' tunic is quoted to the right in the banner embellished with golden brocade, just as Ascanius is clothed in the same rich red hues as his mother, balancing the colorful quartet against the cast shadow of the arch behind them. The burning Trojan buildings highlighted by the flames resemble Bramante's *Tempietto* and Trajan's Column, alluding to Aeneas' destiny as the founder of Rome.[45] The figures on the wall just beyond the arch reach down to unseen individuals, evoking Raphael's *Fire in the Borgo* where a similar configuration of a young man carrying his elder can also be seen in the left corner (Fig. 9). It must be recalled that Barocci's famous painting, prominently hanging in the Galleria Borghese, is the second version. The first, now lost, was done by the artist nearly a decade earlier.[46]

The fundamental problem with two recorded versions of Barocci's *Aeneas* is the question of whether the extant version in the Galleria Borghese is an exact replica of its predecessor. It is often assumed that the Borghese version and Barocci's original painting were identical, but Barocci's practice of making distinct changes to distinguish separate versions would call this into question. This is further suggested by a drawing at the Louvre (Fig. 10) of the scene with a

[45] Jack Freiberg briefly discusses Barocci's painting in his examination of the significance of the Tempietto to the Spanish monarchy. Barocci's choice to use the Tempietto and Trajan's Column, reaffirms the connection between the della Rovere and the Spanish monarchy and will be discussed below. Furthermore, it should be noted that Freiberg's analysis applies to Rudolf II's version of the painting, through his familial link to the Spanish monarchy. Jack Freiberg, *Bramante's Tempietto*. Jack Freiberg, *Bramante's Tempietto, the Roman Renaissance, and the Spanish Crown* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 159-160.

[46] For the most recent catalogue entry on the *Aeneas*, see Babette Bohn, *Barocci*, 272-281. See also Nicolas Turner, *Federico Barocci*, 109-11.

comparatively simpler background than the extant painting. The Louvre drawing presses the cluster of figures closer to the viewer, focusing on their composition rather than the destruction they leave behind in their flight. As Aeneas and his family flee from their ill-fated homeland, in the Louvre drawing they head for an undisclosed space to the left of the viewer. The Borghese painting provides a staircase, a glimmer of hope for the hero who leaves Troy to found the great city of Rome. Instead of the burning city and battling enemies that flank the Borghese painting, the Louvre drawing depicts what is often identified as a belfry on the right side while in the distance what appears to be a small temple sits atop a hill. Although the drawing does not make the temple's form easily legible, its basic construction recalls the form of what Vitruvius called "hybrid temples" in which the walls of the building were removed to create a more spacious cella.[47] Significantly, the difference between the generalized classical architecture seen in the Louvre cartoon and the recognizable, iconic buildings in the surviving painting implies that Barocci's original conception of the scene read as a literal illustration of the text—the background alluding to the Temple of Ceres where the men reach safety, only to discover the loss of Creusa.[48] The distinct differences in the backgrounds depicted in the Louvre cartoon and the extant version of the painting relates specifically to their intended recipients. The generalized landscape in the Louvre cartoon shows that Barocci may have conceived Rudolf's *Aeneas* as an illustration, its simplification allowing it to be read as Prague as a new Rome in the emperor's domain, while the deliberately Roman architecture in the Borghese painting explicitly relates to

[47] Vitruvius, *Ten Books on Architecture*, trans. Ingrid D. Roland, with commentary by Thomas Noble Howe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999): 61-62, 238-239.
[48] When Aeneas reached the safety of the temple of Ceres, their party noticed that Creusa had somehow been left behind. Leaving Anchises and Ascanius with his companions, Aeneas ventured back into the city in search of his wife. In his pursuit, Creusa's ghost appears to him, eases his mind, and reveals the journey he must take to found a new home. Vergil, *The Aeneid,* trans. by C. Day Lewis (1952, repr., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), *59*-60. For the Latin, see Vergil, *The Aeneid,* ed. Giles Lauén (US: Sophron Imprimit, 2012), *2*.714-746. See Appendix for full text of their flight.

the Roman cardinals for which it was made. The Temple of Ceres itself as the foreshadowed sanctuary for Aeneas' fleeing family has its own imperial allusions. Roman emperors in antiquity were represented wearing the corona spicea of Ceres, signaling their ability to provide food for their people. Through the Temple of Ceres, Aeneas' role as proto-emperor and provider extends beyond this usual connotation of Ceres' support in the pursuit of a new and fertile land for the remaining Trojans to flourish in his founding of Rome.[49] Aeneas' quest for his people resonates as an imperial allegory for Rudolf who strives to emulate the imperial virtues of Aeneas and his lineage.

Barocci made extensive figural and compositional studies for his works, resulting in nearly two thousand surviving drawings. Yet there are relatively few preparatory drawings for the *Aeneas*, only twenty three, and these are mostly heads and gesture studies. The extant works connected with the two *Aeneas* versions include a *cartoncino per il chiaroscuro*, one of his most complete full scale cartoons—the Louvre drawing discussed above—sketches of arms, hands, legs, feet, and heads, architectural studies of Bramante's *Tempietto* and the Column of Trajan, compositional studies for the fighting figures in the background and the main group, and drapery studies (Figs. 11-15).[50] No consensus exists as to which version of the painting these drawings were originally intended, though they are often linked to the first version to support the

[49] Barbette Stanley Spaeth, *The Roman Goddess Ceres* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996), 47-48. Spaeth discusses the use of the goddess in imperial propaganda for both the emperors and their wives and mothers.

[50] Babette Bohn details the most up-to-date list of drawings associated with the painting, including drawings overlooked in preceding volumes on Barocci. Bohn, *Barocci*, 272-281. Additionally, she discusses the *cartoncino per il chiaroscuro*'s previous attribution to Agostino Carracci and its new attribution to Barocci himself. She conjectures that the *cartoncino* may be the model Barocci sent to Agostino to aid in designing the engraving. The drawing includes the braided detail on the base of the column, for instance.

hypothesis that the two paintings were much the same.[51] Barocci often reused drawings for figural compositions to speed up his process, and would incise full scale cartoons and figure studies when generating copies.[52] This process of incision is typically the reasoning behind the assumption that the *Aeneas* versions had the same background, though the existing Louvre cartoon discussed above is only incised on the figures, and the backgrounds are radically different. While we have these preparatory drawings for the scene, they are not dated, creating difficulty in the construction of Barocci's process for the initial scene. With the decade-long range between versions, Barocci's tendency to work slowly, and his reuse of cartoons, the drawings could feasibly be for either work. The Louvre cartoon suggests that the commission for the emperor may not have depicted the classically modelled city of Troy, distinguishing the two paintings for their recipients. Thus the cartoon may preserve Barocci's different conception of the version executed for the emperor.

An engraving done by Agostino Carracci in 1595 predates the Borghese version of the painting by at least three years and has further complicated scholars' discussion of the paintings (Fig. 16). With the first painting away in Prague, and the second version supposedly not completed until 1598, scholars often assert that the print must have been modeled after the first version of the painting.[53] However, presuming the Louvre drawing is an indication of the original

[51] Pillsbury asserts in his discussion of the Aeneas that while the Louvre cartoon was likely for the first version of the painting, Barocci changed the background after using it, making the two paintings identical. *Graphic Art*, 77-8. Bohn briefly suggests that the differing backgrounds imply that the lost picture corresponded to a different background. Bohn, *Barocci*, 278.

[52] Barocci's method of incision was through tracing the contours of his compositions onto the panel of the painting, creating indentations to guide his hand. This process allowed Barocci to reuse drawings for other works, which he did throughout his career. An in-depth discussion of artists' methods of transfer in the Renaissance workshop is provided by Carmen C. Bambach, *Drawing and Painting in the Italian Renaissance Workshop: Theory and Practice, 1300-1600,* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999): 1-32.

[53] Bohn, *Barocci*, 278.

composition, Agostino's print would show that Barocci had already begun work on his second version of the *Aeneas,* a theory already suggested by Rudolf Wittkower in his consideration of the print in 1952.[54] When Cornelis Cort reproduced engravings of Barocci's paintings such as the Madonna of the Cat, the painter provided him with sketches to adapt, often with small deviations from the original composition (Fig. 18).[55] This precedent indicates that Barocci could have similarly provided a sketch of his painting for Agostino, who created the existing print. Knowing that Agostino's print was destined for the Cardinal Farnese, the artist surely created the alterations in the landscape to deliberately appeal to a Roman cardinal, transforming the small temple on a hilltop to the elaborate Roman cityscape seen in the engraving and the Borghese painting.

Agostino's print is inscribed at the bottom, "ODOARDO FARNESIO / *Cardinali Amplissimo / Te canit ecce Orbis, carus es et superis / Augustus Carracci*." The inclusion of the dedication to the Cardinal Farnese suggests that he requested an engraving be made after Barocci's first painting or that Agostino dedicated the print to him in hopes of reward. Following his and Annibale Carracci's brief visit to Rome in 1594 and Annibale's subsequent commission in the *camerino* of the Palazzo Farnese, it is likely that Agostino sought to endear himself to the cardinal with Barocci's scene—a historic narrative alluding to the founding of Rome as the perfect gift for a Roman cardinal.[56] Although Agostino executed the print, Barocci, as with Cort,

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[54] Edmund Pillsbury suggests that it is based on a now lost *modello* for the first version, as it was unlikely that Agostino would have seen the painting before its departure to Prague. Edmund Pillsbury and Louise Richards, cats. 54 and 55, *The Graphic Art*, 77-78. However, Rudolf Wittkower believed the Borghese version of the painting was finished before it was dated, allowing for a process where Barocci could have provided drawings based on the second version of the painting. Rudolf Wittkower, *The Drawings of the Carracci*, 99-100. Also see Diane DeGrazia Bohlin, *Prints and Drawings by the Carracci Family: A Catalogue Raisonné*, (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1979), 326-328.

[55] Carol Plazzotta, cat. 7, "La Madonna del Gatto (The Madonna of the Cat)," *Barocci,* 145-57.

[56] Adam Bartsch, *The Illustrated Bartsch*, ed. Babette Bohn (New York: Abaris Books, 1995), 39:326-328. Agostino followed Annibale to Rome in 1597, supposedly after Ludovico prevailed upon the duke of

must have provided Agostino with a personalized rendition of his original *Aeneas,* often assumed to be the *cartoncino* in the Windsor Castle Collection (Fig. 11).[57] By creating a background with classical architecture, Barocci simultaneously alludes to Rome's ancient past and the illustrious present, evoking both iconic Renaissance architecture and the past the Renaissance strove to resurrect.[58] Barocci had used this manipulation of the background before in his works, most famously by including views of the Palazzo Ducale of Urbino to establish the work's place of origin, such as in the Anastagi version of the *Rest on the Flight,* and to glorify the duke as Barocci's patron (Fig. 4). Additionally, Barocci used classical architecture to complement a patron in his ceiling painting in the Casino of Pius IV. He repeats this same conscientious decision using the Tempietto later in his career when executing a painting for an ambassador to Rome in the *Madonna Albani* (Fig. 20).[59]

To return to the Borghese painting and Agostino's print, the two works have subtle differences in the composition. In the painting, the translucent cloth grasped in Creusa's hand extends slightly further around her body, and does not have the prominent tassels depicted in Agostino's engraving. In the foreground corner of the engraving, a glove, helmet, and little stone litter the space with the other debris, while Barocci's foreground is enveloped by a silken cloth banner, elaborately embroidered in golden thread, an embellishment lacking in Agostino's print. The column to Aeneas' right is decorated with braided ornament on its base. Assuming Barocci envisaged the Rudolf and Borghese paintings in altered settings as suggested, the new question

Parma, the cardinal's brother, to allow him to work with Annibale in the Galleria. Malvasia, trans. by Anne Summerscale, *Malvasia's Life of the Carracci: Commentary and Translation*, (University Park: Pennsylvania University Press, 2000): 165-166, 169-171.

[57] Bohn, *Barocci*, 278-80.

[58] Freiberg also argues that the Tempietto represents a synthesis of the triumph of Christianity and classical traditions by fusing sacred elements of both traditions. Freiberg, *Bramante's Tempietto,* 63-101.

[59] Emiliani, Barocci, 420-427.

to ask is how these differences work within the overarching significance of the scene for each recipient.

For the emperor, the painting was a visual representation of his dynastical concerns, his semi-divine lineage, and an allusion to the Emperor Augustus, whose imperial virtues Rudolf II wished to evoke. The Hapsburg dynasty took great pride in their genealogical tree, the etymology of their name referring to their Trojan roots and the foundation of the great Roman Empire.[60] This idea can notionally be seen in the painting's relationship with the emperor and his recently born son. Albeit illegitimate, shortly before Barocci's painting was commissioned in 1586, Rudolf's first son was born to his mistress. He was named Julius as an allusion to Julius Caesar, who, significantly, is said to descend from Aeneas' line through Ascanius, who was also known as Iulius.[61] In choosing this scene, Francesco Maria II and Barocci complemented both the emperor's ancestral pride and his present progeny. Hapsburg rulers were great patrons of the arts, often using their display of works to symbolize the power of their rule and their divine claim to that rule. Images such as Bartholomäus Spranger's *Allegory of the Reign of Rudolf II* (Fig. 17) underscores the Hapsburg claim to the world empire. The central figure astride the globe can be read as Roma—standing in for the Holy Roman Empire. The figures of Abundance, Love, and Wisdom suggest the virtues a ruler should have, here implicating that Rudolf II embodies these qualities. The diadem in the inscription has been identified as an allusion to the Eastern crown of

[60] Hapsburg is related to Aventine, derived from a descendent of Aeneas named Aventinus and one of the hills of Rome. Tanner, *Last Descendant*, 99-100.
[61] Christian Sapper presents a detailed account of the illegitimate children of the emperor and their lives. Christian Sapper, "Kinder des Geblüts—die Bastarde Kaiser Rudolfs II," *Mitteilungen des Osterreichischen Staatsarchivs* 48 (1999): 1-116.

Constantinople—whose seizure would fulfill the prophetic vision the Hapsburg line imagined for itself.[62]

It was with these things in mind that Duke Francesco Maria II likely advised Barocci on the subject-matter of the emperor's gift, perhaps inspired by tapestries in the ducal collection of the history of Troy.[63] When approached by Rudolf's ambassadors for a painting by Barocci, the only documentation regarding subject merely states that the emperor would prefer a painting of 'other tastes,' referring to Barocci's usual works of religious piety and the emperor's preference for a different sort.[64] The emperor was renowned for having a lascivious taste in works of art. His longest standing court painter, Bartholomäus Spranger, complemented the emperor's taste for Italian art gained from his time at the Spanish court. Spranger's training was extremely varied, which would aid him in the courts of the Holy Roman Emperors.[65] While in Italy, Spranger followed the cues of other artists, but in Rudolf's service his Italianate style provided the inspiration and instruction that would fuel the school of art in the Prague court.[66] Rudolf took advantage of the artist's Italian training and commissioned works from him reminiscent of those

[62] Kaufmann, cat. 20.54, *School of Prague*, 267-268. Charles V and Philip II believed that defeating the Turks and recapturing of Jerusalem would lead to the second coming of Christ, with the Hapsburg dynasty as the Elect. Tanner, *Descendant*, 181.
[63] The tapestries were bought by Federigo da Montefeltro and are cited in the collection of the Urbino duchy at the time of Francesco Maria II's death. The tapestries may have inspired the idea of the scene, but they lack the specific narrative of Aeneas' flight for any direct reference. Scot McKendrick, "The Great History of Troy: A Reassessment of the Development of a Secular Theme in Late Medieval Art," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 54 (1991): 43-82.
[64] The correspondence regarding the painting between Francesco Maria to Grazioso Grazioso, on November 28th 1586, in *Documenti artistici urbinati*, 163-164.
[65]Spranger was first the court painter to Rudolf's father, Maximilian II. Sally Metzler, *Bartholomeus Spranger: Splendor and Eroticism in Imperial Prague*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 35-41. Spranger went through tutors quickly in his early apprenticeships with three Antwerp landscape artists, one, Jan Mandyn, a follower of Bosch. By the age of seventeen he left for Paris where his was trained as a miniaturist and later travelled to Italy where he became interested in the aesthetic of the Mannerists. Giambologna, Parmigianino, and Correggio made a profound impact on the young artist, who admired the style of their works.
[66] Ibid.

in the Spanish collection—in the styles of Titian or Correggio. Images of couples entwined in suggestive manners comprised the majority of Spranger's work for the emperor. In a series based on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, scenes such as *Jupiter and Antiope* recall the Loves of Jupiter produced by Correggio by the Duke of Mantua for Charles V.[67] The emperor's commissions were not, however, always of an erotic nature. Spranger did produce religious works for the sovereign such as his *Noli Me Tangere* (Fig. 18), which the emperor displayed in his *Kunstkammer*. The more muted tones of the painting and pious expression of the Magdalen differs greatly from the elaborately elegant and sumptuous forms of his other works, evoking the spiritual piety so present in Barocci's images—so much so that this painting was incorrectly attributed to Barocci until it was cleaned in 1956.[68] Rudolf's inclusion of the *Noli Me Tangere* in his *Kunstkammer* suggests that the emperor had no issue with works more spiritual than salacious, begging the question of why the emperor would desire a work by Barocci that the artist would not ordinarily compose. But in doing so, Rudolf received a painting that complemented the Hapsburg ideal of ancestral virtue, in which their claim to dominion over the world derived from *virtus* and piety, which Aeneas embodies.[69]

The scene that began as secular propaganda for the emperor becomes one of piety and devotion for the cardinals in Agostino's print for Cardinal Odoardo Farnese and the della Rovere's painting for the Borghese. Although there is no commission history supporting that the painting was deliberately intended for the Borghese, the scene certainly appealed to them more fully through their own ancestral claims, their competition with the Farnese, and through spiritual piety. For the Borghese, the scene's pious connotations combine with an allusion to

[67] Metzler, cat. 64, *Bartholomeus Spranger*, 136-137.
[68] Metzler, cat. 59, *Bartholomeus Spranger*, 131-132.
[69] Tanner, *Last Descendant*, 183-184.

their noble lineage, also claimed through Aeneas.[70] While the second version of Barocci's painting can be read as illustrating the Borghese's illustrious family ties to the founder of Rome, it can also be interpreted as praising the piety Aeneas displays in his escape, invoking the classical interpretation of Aeneas' flight where his duty to his father, his progeny, and his ancestral gods took precedence over his devotion to his own wife. For the Borghese, it is the third of these, Aeneas as a representative of religious piety that was fundamental. For them, Aeneas links Rome's classical past with its spiritual present, an idea that is underscored by the changes made for the second version of the painting, where Barocci modelled the *all'antica* cityscape of Troy on an adapted version of Bramante's Tempietto.[71] In doing so, Barocci simultaneously creates the classical atmosphere required for the subject and conflates it with the rebirth of ancient architecture in the present. As a commission likely originally intended for Cardinal Camillo Borghese, who would later become Pope Paul V, what better gift to give the future pontiff than one that ties together the moment that led to the foundation of Rome with its flourishing present.

Although the Borghese version of the *Aeneas* is the extant painting, there are few documents pertaining to its commission. In the della Rovere's attempt to maintain advantageous relationships with the Spanish court and both halves of the Hapsburg line, the inclusion of a model of the Tempietto in the painting reinforces the della Rovere's support of Spanish interest in Italy. As a Spanish commission, through the patronage of Ferdinand and Isabella, the Tempietto acts as a symbol of both Christianity and the Spanish's crown's prophetic

[70] Carole Paul, *Making a Prince's Museum: Drawings for the Late Eighteenth Century Redecoration of the Villa Borghese,* exh. cat., (Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute, 2000): 44. Paul cites an anonymous panegyric addressing Paul V asking "Who would deny that Camillus descended from the great line of Aeneas?"
[71] Stuart Lingo, "Other Vaghezze," *Federico Barocci: Allure and Devotion in Late Renaissance Painting,* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008), 177-180.

expectations to unite the Christian world.[72] Befriending the Borghese offered an opportunity to form ties within the papal court that also advocated Spanish interests. Although Monsignor della Rovere had no way of knowing that Cardinal Camillo Borghese would ascend to the papal throne, the two families' ties to the Spanish court presented an excellent chance to further the interests of both the della Rovere and the Spanish monarchy they served.[73] The Borghese family already established a tradition of advocating Spanish interests, indebted in part to Marcantonio Borghese, Camillo's father, who was a supporter of both the emperor and the Spanish king within Rome. Camillo inherited his father's predilection for Spanish interests after he was sent as a *nuncio* in 1594 to Madrid, where he met the king and his son. When Camillo became a cardinal in 1596, he was compelled to transfer his Spanish pensions and gifts in order to maintain a guise of neutrality—a feat he would utterly fail to accomplish with the obvious nepotism and concessions to the Spanish crown throughout his pontificate—passing them to his cardinal-nephew, Scipione Borghese.[74] In giving the *Aeneas* to the Borghese, the della Rovere complemented the Borghese's roles as significant figures presiding over Rome, their claimed ancestry through Aeneas, and the Borghese and della Rovere's shared tie to the Spanish crown.

Regardless of whether the recipient of the painting was Camillo or Scipione Borghese, Barocci's *Aeneas* was emblematic of the virtues required of a cardinal or a prince. Aeneas' disregard for his own happiness—in unknowingly sacrificing marital love—to rescue his father and preserve the household gods is an exemplary scene of heroic virtue, and the foundation of the city of Rome. Cardinal Scipione Borghese found this heroic image of religious and familial piety so appealing he commissioned a marble version of the same subject twenty years later from

[72] Freiberg, *Bramante's Tempietto,* 155-157.
[73] The painting was completed in 1598, but Camillo Borghese was not made pope until 1605.
[74] Hillard von Thiessen, "Exchange of Gifts and Ethos of Patronage in the Relations between Spain and the Papal States in the Early Seventeenth Century," *L'arte del dono*, 27-32.

Gianlorenzo Bernini (Fig. 19). Bernini's statue sacrifices the whirling activity of Barocci's *Flight* for a more pensive hero. The cardinal nephew's interest in connoisseurship encouraged him to create a discourse of *paragone,* a motif which largely structured Borghese's collection.[75] Thus as it was presented in the seventeenth century, Bernini's tower of twisting limbs appeared to have walked out of Barocci's painting, leaving Creusa behind.[76] Aeneas' expression appears daunted by the task ahead and his sacrifice, but holds his father prominently atop his shoulders, emphasizing the things he saved—his father and his gods.

[75] Genevieve Warwick, *Bernini: Art as Theatre*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2012): 108-109. Warwick discusses Borghese's use of the *paragone* in regards to Bernini's works and their interaction with the collection. There is an extensive literature on Borghese as a patron and how he structured his collection in this way that is not delved into here.
[76] Paul discusses the two works displayed together. Carole Paul, *Making a Prince's Museum,* 44.

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APPENDIX

As you go out of the city, you come to a mound with an ancient Temple of Ceres upon it, secluded; nearby, an old cypress Stands, which for many years our fathers preserved in reverence. Let this be our rendevous: we'll get there by different routes. Do you, my father, carry the sacred relics and home-gods: Sinful for me to touch them, when I have just withdrawn from battle, with blood on my hands, until in running water I am purified.

Est urbe egressis tumulus templumque vetustum desertae Cereris, iuxtaque antiqua cupressus religione patrum multos servata per annos; hanc ex diverso sedem veniemus in unam. Tu, genitor, cape sacra manu patriosque penatis; me bello e tanto digressum et caede recenti attrectare nefas, donec me flumine vivo abluero.

With these words, I laid the pelt of a tawny lion for covering my broad shoulders and bowed neck; then stooped to lift my burden: Ascanius twined his fingers in mine, hurrying to keep up with his father's longer stride. My wife came on behind. We fared on, hugging the shadows. I, who just now had faced the enemy volleys, the Greeks' concentrated attack, without turning a hair—I was scared by every breeze, alarmed by every sound, so strung up was I with anxiety for my burden and my companion.

Haec fatus latos umeros subiectaque colla veste super fulvique insternor pelle leonis, succedoque oneri; dextrae se parvus Iulus implicuit sequiturque patrem non passibus aequis; pone subit coniunx. Ferimur per opaca locorum, et me, quem dudum non ulla iniecta movebant tela omnes terrent aurae, sonus excitat omnis suspensum et pariter comitique onerique timentem.

And now I was nearing the gates and thinking that we had made it, when on a sudden there came to my ears the sound of many footsteps—or so it seemed: Run! They're upon us! Run, Aeneas! I can see the shine of their shields and the bronze accoutrements winking. Well, I panicked. My wits were fuddled, were snatched away by malignant prompting. For even as I darted off into by-ways, off my course among streets I knew not—O god, the anguish of it!—my wife Creusa, fate took her—did she stop there? Or lose her way? Did she sink down in her exhaustion? We never knew. We never set eyes on her again. I did not look back for the lost one. I did not give her a thought. Until we had reached the mound, the ancient, hallowed place of Ceres. Here at last, when all were assembled, one was missing, one had denied husband and son her company.

Iamque propinquabam portis omnemque videbar evasisse viam, subito cum creber ad auris visus adesse pedum sonitus, genitorque per umbram prospiciens 'nate' exclamat 'fuge, nate; propinquant. Ardentis clipeos atque aera micantia cerno.' Hic mihi nescio quod trepido male numen amicum confusam eripuit mentem. Namque avia cursu dum sequor et nota excedo regione viarum heu misero coniunx fatone erepta Creusa substitit, erravitne via seu lassa resedit, incertum; nec post oculis est reddita nostris. Nec prius amissam respexi animumve reflexi quam tumulum antiquae Cereris sedemque sacratam venimus: hic demum collectis omnibus una defuit, et comites natumque virumque fefellit.

FIGURES

Figure 1. Federico Barocci, *The Martyrdom of St. Sebastian*, 1557-58. Oil on canvas. Urbino Cathedral.

Figure 2. Titian, *Madonna and Child with Saints (The Gozzi Altarpiece)*, 1520. Oil on canvas. Ancona, Museo Civico.

Figure 3. Barocci, *Holy Family*, 1561-3. Fresco, Casino of Pius IV, Vatican.

Figure 4. Barocci, *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, 1570-73. Oil on canvas, 52 3/8 x 43 5/16 in. (133 x 110 cm). Vatican Museum, Vatican City.

Figure 5. Antonio Capellan after Barocci, *Rest on the Return from Egypt*, 1772. Etching and engraving. London, British Museum.

Figure 6. Barocci, *Rest on the Return from Egypt (Brancaleoni Version)*, 1575-76. Distemper and oil on canvas. Piobbico, Church of San Stefano.

Figure 7. Barocci, *Madonna di San Giovanni*, 1565. Oil on canvas. Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino.

Figure 8. Barocci, *Aeneas Fleeing Troy*, 1598. Oil on canvas, 70 ½ x 99 5/8 in. (179 x 253 cm).

Galleria Borghese, Rome.

Figure 9. Raphael, *Fire in the Borgo, Stanza dell'Incendio di Borgo,* 1514-17. Fresco. Palazzi Pontifici, Vatican.

Figure 10. Barocci, *Cartoon*. Charcoal and white chalk, incised, on twenty-five sheets, joined together, 58 ¼ x 74 3/16 in. (148 x 190 cm). Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, Paris.

Figure 11. Barocci, *Cartoncino per il chiaroscuro*. Pen and ink over black chalk, with brown oil paint heightened with white. 13 7/16 x 17 15/16 in. (34.2 x 45.5 cm). The Royal Collection, Windsor Castle.

Figure 12. Barocci, study of Bramante's Tempietto (possibly for the *Aeneas*). Pen, wash, chalk, and white heightening on paper. Florence, Galleria Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni.

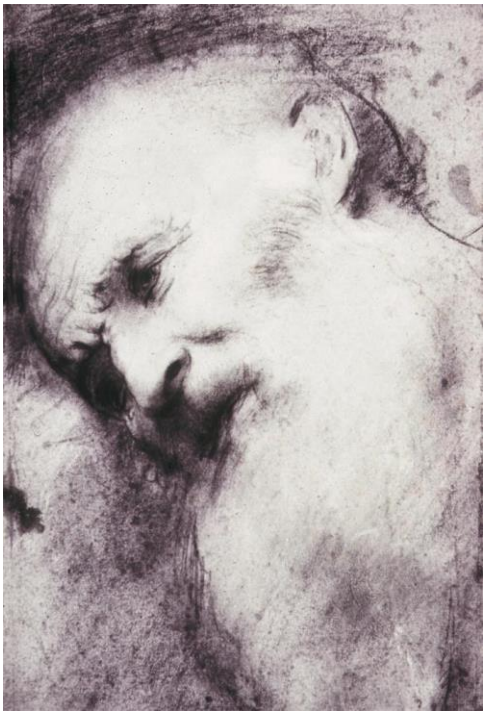

Figure 13. Barocci, *Head of Anchises*. Black, red, and white chalk with peach and yellow pastel, incised, on blue paper, laid down. The Royal Collection, Windsor Castle.

Figure 14. Barocci, *Studies for Aeneas and Anchises*. Black, white, and some red chalk on grey (faded blue) paper. Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

Figure 15. Agostino Carracci, *Aeneas and His Family Fleeing Troy,* 1595. Engraving.

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Figure 16. Cornelis Cort after Federico Barocci, *La Madonna del Gatto,* 1577. Engraving. The British Museum, London.

Figure 17. Bartholomäus Spranger. *Allegory on the Reign of Rudolf II*. Oil on copper, 23 x 17 cm., monogrammed and dated BS 1592. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

Figure 18. Bartholomäus Spranger. *Noli Me Tangere*. Oil on canvas, 50 5/8 x 38 3/8 in. (128.5 x 97.3 cm), Muzeul National de Arta al Romaniei, Bucharest.

Figure 19. Gianlorenzo Bernini. *Aeneas, Anchises and Ascanius*. 1618-1619. Marble. Galleria Borghese, Rome.

Figure 20. Barocci, *Madonna Albani,* 1612, Oil on canvas. Banca Nazionale del Lavoro, Rome.