Two paintings from the Dal Pozzo Collection

offered for sale by

Robin Halwas Limited

Antonio Cinatti
fl. Rome 1609 – 1635

Two Landscapes with Exotic Birds

I. ‘L’alba’ (Dawn)
featuring Phoenicopterus roseus (Greater Flamingo), Vanellus vanellus (Common Lapwing), Porphyrio porphyrio (Purple Swamphen), Anas penelope (Wigeon), and unidentifiable ducks

II. ‘Il tramonto’ (Dusk)
featuring Numenius arquata (Curlew), Grus grus (Grey Crane), Ardeola ralloides (Squacco Heron), Vanellus vanellus (Common Lapwing), Anas eleyepeata (Shoveler), Platalea leucorodia (European Spoonbill), Phalacrocorax carbo sinensis (Southern Cormorant), Plegadis falcinellus (Glossy Ibis)

Oil on canvas (relined). Each painting 153 × 191 cm

PROVENANCE
commissioned circa 1630 by Cavaliere Cassiano dal Pozzo (1583–1657) and/or his younger brother, Carlo Antonio dal Pozzo (1606–1689), for the palace they shared in via dei Chiavari, Rome — transferred by fidecommesso to Carlo Antonio dal Pozzo1 — by inheritance to his second son, Gabriele dal Pozzo (d. 1695)2 — by inheritance to his widow (born Anna Teresa Benzoni, after her remarriage in 1697 the Marchesa Lancellotti de’Ginnetti; d. 1736), and held in custody for their son, Cosimo Antonio dal Pozzo, displayed in the Palazzo Lancellotti-Ginnetti, Rome3 — Cosimo Antonio dal Pozzo...

Abbreviated references are expanded in BIBLIOGRAPHY.
1 Probably the pictures designated ‘[303–304] Due quadri tela d’Imperatore grandi figurate di diversi ucellami con cornici color di noce filettata d’oro, non si sà l’Autore’ in the posthumous inventory prepared by Bernardinus Palumbus Perillus in 1689 (Archivio di Stato di Roma, Trenta Notai Capitolini, ufficio 25, vol. 419, 11 October 1689, fol. 222 verso); transcribed by SPARTI 1992 p.188.
3 Probably the pictures displayed in the ‘Sala’ of the Palazzo Lancellotti-Ginnetti and designated ‘Due altri Quadri compagni misura di palmi sette, e dodici in circa con diversi ucelli, e cornice color di noce
Pozzo (d. 20 February 1740), displayed in the Palazzo Lancellotti-Ginnetti, Rome—by inheritance circa 1739 to his daughter Maria Laura dal Pozzo—Maria Laura dal Pozzo (married 1728 Pietro Paolo Boccapaduli; d. 1771), displayed in the Palazzo Boccapaduli (later Guerrieri), via dei Falegnarni, Rome—by inheritance within the Boccapaduli family, Rome—consigned anonymously as ‘Escuela italiana, siglo XVII’ (and without provenance) to Sotheby’s España, S.A., ‘Pintura antigua, impresionista y moderna’, Madrid, 16 June 1992, lot 2—consigned anonymously as ‘Italian School, late 17th century’ (and without provenance) to Sotheby’s, ‘Old Master Paintings’, London, 21 April 1993, lot 181— the present owner

EXHIBITED
Rome, Galleria nazionale d’arte antica, Palazzo Barberini, 29 September–26 November 2000
Biella, Museo del territorio Biellese, 16 December 2001–16 March 2002

LITERATURE


Francesco Solinas, L’Uccelliera. Un libro di arte e di scienza nella Roma dei primi Lincei (Rariora et mirabilia, 2) (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2000), pp.103, 109–110 (both paintings reproduced, plate XXIX a–b)


Mina Gregori, ‘Divagazioni su un quadro di pesci di Antonio Tanari’ in Paragone / Arte 57 (2006), pp.33–34 (both paintings reproduced, figs. 32–33)

A NTONIO CINATTI is one of several artists who have lately come to notice through investigation of the inventories of the Dal Pozzo picture collection. Eight paintings are attributed to him therein, of which these two depicting large wading birds in marshlands at ‘Dawn’ and ‘Dusk’ are the only ones thus far linked to the documentary evidence. They expand our knowledge of Cassiano dal Pozzo’s prolific collecting and patronage, and indicate how his vast compendium of images on paper (‘Museo Cartaceo’) was exploited for the production of natural history paintings. Another six paintings on canvas and eleven oils on paper are attributed to Cinatti in other Roman inventories. Those works, commissioned by Monsignor Jules Mazarin (after 1641 Cardinal Mazarin), Paolo Maccarani, and Prince Camillo Pamphili, still await identification.

The Dal Pozzo Quadriera

The two earliest of the known Dal Pozzo inventories, taken in 1689 and 1695, were discovered in the Archivio di Stato di Roma and partially published in 1973 by Arnauld Brejon de Lavergnée, with a tight focus on the French pictures in the collection.5 In the mid-1980s, Timothy Standing and Donatella Sparti independently discovered in the Archivio Storico Capitolino (Fondo Boccapaduli) a series of later inventories, including one taken in 1740 by Antonio Maria Bozzolani, which incorporates the citations and attributions of individual pictures in the inventories of 1689 and 1695, with Bozzolani’s own attributions and observations, and is thus the most detailed inventory of the Dal Pozzo picture collection known.6

filettata d’oro’ in an inventory of 1729 (Rome, Archivio Storico Capitolino, Fondo Boccapaduli, Mazzo 1, fol. 1 recto); transcribed by SPARTI 1992 pp.234–235.
4 The pictures are described in ‘Osservazioni fatte dal. Sig. Perito pittore sopra all’Inventario da quadri ereditatij del Signore Commendore Cosimo Antonio dal Pozzo’, prepared before 30 April 1741 by Antonio Maria Bozzolani, as a deposition in litigation between Maria Laura dal Pozzo and her father Cosimo Antonio; see note 16 below.

1. ‘L’alba’ (Dawn), featuring Phoenicopterus roseus (Greater Flamingo), Vanellus vanellus (Common Lapwing), Porphyrio porphyrio (Purple Swamphen), Anas Penelope (Wigeon), and unidentifiable ducks (reduced from 153 × 191 cm)
II. ‘Il tramonto’ (Dusk), featuring Numenius arquata (Curlew), Grus grus (Grey Crane), Ardeola ralloides (Squacco Heron), Vanellus vanellus (Common Lapwing), Anas clypeata (Shoveler), Platalea leucorodia (European Spoonbill), Phalacrocorax carbo sinensis (Southern Cormorant), Plegadis falcinellus (Glossy Ibis) (reduced from 153 × 191 cm)
On the evidence of the inventories, entire galleries and corridors of Cassiano’s palace in via dei Chiavari were filled by paintings of birds or animals, interspersed by still-lifes of flowers, fruits and vegetables. Nearly all the pictures of this type have been lost, or else survive unrecognized. Of the numerous pictures commissioned by Cassiano from the young Nicolas Poussin (perhaps as many as fifty paintings), at least eight depicted birds, including one of an ostrich in large format and two of eagles; yet none of these remarkable paintings is known to survive.7 Also lost is a huge painting of an ostrich in a landscape by Pietro Testa, which was inscribed on the back ‘Strutto Camelus à Pietro Testa Lucese dipicutus’.8 The paintings by Cinatti in the Dal Pozzo collection narrowly escaped the same fate.

In the inventory taken in 1695, eight paintings are variously credited to Antonio Cinatti:

50. Quadro su la porta in tela d’Imperatore9 di diversi ucellami d’Antonio Cinanio (fol. 259 recto)
52. Altro [quadro] parimenti grande con vari ucelli del Cinato Fiorentino (fol. 259 recto)
58. Altro [quadro] di 4. palmi rappresentante un’Struzzo del Cinato (fol. 259 verso)
62. Un’quadro più grande d’Imperatore con vari Ucelli del Cinato (fol. 259 verso)
63. Altro [quadro] di 4. palmi con un’Ucello del Cinato (fol. 259 verso)
75. Altro [quadro] di 4 palmi con Aquila, Lepri, et altro del Cinato (fol. 260 recto)11

All were displayed in 1695 in the same ‘Stanza contigua al suddetto Gabinetto’ (i.e. the ‘Gabinetto sopra le Scale’), together with twenty-five paintings (most still-lifes of flowers and fruits) attributed by the notary to Pietro Paolo Bonzi, detto il Gobbo dei Frutti e dei Carracci; Mario Nuzzi, detto de’Fiori; Juan Van der Hamen y León; Vincenzo Leonardi; ‘Danara’; Tommaso Salini, detto Mao; or ‘d’incerto Autore’.12

Although the Dal Pozzo collection was protected by fidecommesso, a number of pictures were sold or given away while it under the control of Cosimo Antonio dal Pozzo, and Cosimo’s only child, Maria Laura, soon filed suit against her father to protect her inheritance. In 1740 the court ordered that an impartial inventory of the collection (by then installed in the Palazzo Lancellotti-Ginnetti) be drawn up to establish not only the value of the estate but also how much of it had been liquidated illegally. This is the aforementioned inventory by Bozzolani. Organised in two parts, it lists the paintings seen by Bozzolani, and then ‘Quadri che sonon nel Inventario di Gabrielle del Pozzo e non si sono trovati nel Eredita della donazione Cosimo Antonio dal Pozzo’.13 Bozzolani’s descriptions are quite exceptional: the subject, dimensions, and the frame of each painting are noted; and the corresponding citation and attribution (information recorded on the backs of the canvases) from the two preceding inventories are given, with corrections as necessary.14

It appears that only two of Cinatti’s paintings remained in the Dal Pozzo quadreria in 1740.14 Bozzolani identifies them as the two largest paintings by Cinatti recorded in the 1695 inventory (nos. 69, 71), corrects previous measurements, comments on their state of preservation, describes their frames, and transcribes inscriptions on the reverses:

---

8 STANDRING 2000 p.218.
9 A canvas of the size called ‘tela d’Imperatore’ is approximately 99 × 133 cm (either vertical or horizontal).
10 155 × 213 cm (one Roman palmo equals 22.5 cm; see STANDRING 1988 p.611).
13 At some time in the seventeenth century, inscriptions in Latin Roman capitals had been written on the backs of the canvases. These inscriptions (now usually covered by relining canvas) identify the artist and sometimes the subject or origin of the painting. Marius Clarici, the notary who took the inventory in 1695, made use of these inscriptions (and presumably others he found on the fronts of the canvases), as did Bozzolani for the inventory he prepared in 1740; see Denis Mahon, ‘Poussin in the dal Pozzo Collection’ in The Burlington Magazine 127 (1985), p.900; STANDRING 1988 p.613 note 32; and compare reproductions of inscriptions in Maurizio Fagiolo Dell’Arco, Jean Lemaire: pittore “antiquario” (Rome 1996), pp.146–148 figs. 9.13–9.24 (inscriptions on versos of five paintings by Poussin) and p.149 (note 19); ROME 2000 nos. 61, 62, 102. Our canvases have yet to be photographed with x-rays to confirm the inscriptions beneath the relining canvases.
14 The lost paintings are cited by Bozzolani according to the numeration of a copia simplex of the 1695 inventory in the family’s possession. The lost paintings by Cinatti are nos. 49, 57, 61, 69, 74 (i.e. nos 50, 58, 62, 63, 75 in the official version of the 1695 inventory, published by SPARTE 1992 pp.204–229); see STANDRING 1988 p.610 note 15; STANDRING 2000 pp.219–220. A third painting by Cinatti, entered in Bozzolani’s inventory (fol. 51 recto) without number or supplementary information, was doubtfully present in 1740: ‘[unnumbered entry] Questo e nel Inventario di Gabrielle al n 51 [i.e. 52] = Altro Parimente Grande con vari Ucelli parimente del Cinato fiorentino’ (STANDRING 2000 p.218). The collection remained thereafter ‘largely, though not wholly, intact’ until 1771, when another inventory was made by the Sienese artist Giovanni Sorbi (STANDRING 1988 p.610).
227 Altro quadro in tela di palmi otto e sei per traverso rappresentante un Lago con Varie sorte d’Uccelli indiani, un poco perduto di colore. Con Sua cornice fatta a cassa tinta Color di Noce et anetre che volano in aria ed altri animali Volatili Indiani, Sfondato, Scrostato, e Perduto di colore, et in partecchie le Rose del Lago sono inscritte. (i.e. 69; in the version of 1695 inventory cited under provenance) = Altro di 7 [palmi] E 9 [palmi] di vari Uccelli del Cinaiso.


The unusual subject of the first painting – male and female flamingos in a landscape – was noted in 1987 by Francesco Solinas, in a study of the scholarly interchange between Cassiano and the eminent French savant Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc (1580–1637). Their common interest in the flamingo is abundantly documented: the flamingo featured in Peiresc’s correspondence with Cassiano from March 1627 through May 1628, and again in October 1634 and January 1635; Peiresc commissioned drawings of flamingos captured in Provence, which were presented to Cassiano when he passed through Auch in 1625; and Peiresc also procured a flamingo’s skin, and possibly the live bird which Cassiano kept in the courtyard of his palace. In a letter to Cassiano dated 17 May 1629, Peiresc referred to the flamingo skin he had dispatched to Rome, and its potential use for a painting of flamingos in a landscape which Cassiano intended to commission. Solinas published the entry from Bozzolani’s inventory (no. 227), suggesting that it might document the very painting of flamingos anticipated in Peiresc’s letter.

In 1992, Solinas recognized two paintings that had been entered without attribution or provenance in an auction in Madrid, and reoffered in 1993 in London on the same terms, corresponded exactly with the descriptions of Cinatti’s paintings given in Bozzolani’s inventory (nos. 227, 231). The paintings were duly published by Solinas in 1996 with an attribution to Antonio Cinatti and Dal Pozzo provenance. Solinas noted analogies between the paintings and the studies of flamingos that Cassiano had obtained in 1625 and also with studies of birds drawn by Vincenzo Leonardi for Cassiano’s ‘Museo Cartaceo’. At the time, Solinas dated the two paintings circa 1628–1632 ‘par la présence de certains oiseaux et par l’absence de certains autres’; in 2000, when they were exhibited in the Galleria Nazionale d’Arte Antica di Palazzo Barberini, he revised their date to ‘attorno al 1635–6’, partly on the evidence of ‘un esemplare di fenicottero impagliato’ sent to Rome, and its potential use for a painting of flamingos anticipated in Peiresc’s letter.

Sotheby’s, ‘Property from the estate of James R. Herbert Boone’, New York, 16 September 1988, lot 160; also reproduced by SOLINAS 1989 p.103 fig. 7; McBurney, in QUADERNI PUTEANI 1993 p.170; GREGORI 2006 pl.35 fig. 8).

Sotheby’s España, S.A., ‘Pintura antigua, impresionista y moderna’, Madrid, 16 June 1992, lot 2: ‘Escuela italiana, siglo XVII. Aves exóticas en paisajes… una pareja’. The paintings were unsold at the auction, but sold afterwards by private treaty.


Sotheby’s, ‘Property from the estate of James R. Herbert Boone’, New York, 16 September 1988, lot 160; also reproduced by SOLINAS 1989 p.103 fig. 7; McBurney, in QUADERNI PUTEANI 1993 p.170; GREGORI 2006 pl.35 fig. 8).


Sotheby’s, ‘Property from the estate of James R. Herbert Boone’, New York, 16 September 1988, lot 160; also reproduced by SOLINAS 1989 p.103 fig. 7; McBurney, in QUADERNI PUTEANI 1993 p.170; GREGORI 2006 pl.35 fig. 8).


Sotheby’s, ‘Property from the estate of James R. Herbert Boone’, New York, 16 September 1988, lot 160; also reproduced by SOLINAS 1989 p.103 fig. 7; McBurney, in QUADERNI PUTEANI 1993 p.170; GREGORI 2006 pl.35 fig. 8).
woven in the Barberini factories, a project initiated about 1634 and evidently abandoned during Cassiano’s financial crisis in 1636–1637.28

Cinatti in other Roman inventories

In January and April 1635 ‘Antonio Cinattì [sic]’ was paid a total of thirteen scudi for three quadri di Animali.29

commissioned by Monsignor Jules Mazarin (after 1641 Cardinal Mazarin). The payments appear in the accounts of one of Mazarin’s agents in Rome, Paolo Maccarani. The first payment of eleven scudi (31 January) reached Cinatti by a circuitous route suggestive of a change in his circumstances. The painter Pietro Paolo Benincasa,30 who was owed six scudi for flower paintings supplied to Mazarin, was paid instead a total of seventeen scudi, and instructed to give the balance to Antonio Mariana della Corgna for the benefit of Cinatti. The second payment of two scudi (13 April), ‘per aver fatto rifare gli Campi del quadri di Animali’, evidently was made directly to Cinatti.31

Antonio della Corgna (or Cornia), himself a painter, served as an agent and appraiser for Cardinal Antonio Barberini, Mazarin, and others.32 He was the appraiser for the Ludovisi collection in 1633 and for the Vittorio Amedeo I Savoy collection in 1635. From 1631, Della Corgna lived in or near the Piazza degli Otto Cantoni (now absorbed by Piazza San Lorenzo in Lucina, sharing a house there with the painter Andrea Pancrazio. In 1635, Cinatti became a neighbour, moving to the Vicolo degli Otto Cantoni after a long period of residence in the parish of San Andrea delle Fratte.33 Cinatti’s change of accommodation may signify a new dependence on Della Corgna for patronage, a decline (or curtailment) of his work for Cassiano.

A posthumous inventory of the possessions of Paolo Maccarani records in the ‘Camera passata la Galleria’ of his palace on the Quirinale two large paintings of fowl by Cinatti, displayed in gilt frames:

Due quadri compagni tela d’Imperatore con diversi pollami e vitelli cornici dorate del Cinami [sic].34

An inventory of paintings kept by Prince Camillo Pamphili in via del Corso, taken circa 1648–1652, records

Un Quadro in tela d’imperatore con diversi animali, di mano del Cinatti, con sua cornice noce, et oro.35

30 See Godfried Joannes Hoogewerff, Nederlandsche kunstenaars te Rome (1600–1725): uittreksels uit de parochiale archieven (The Hague 1942), p.6, where Benincasa is identified as an Italian painter (not a ‘Bentveughel’) living in the parish of S. Maria del Popolo in 1623–1625.
31 One of Cinatti’s ‘tre quadri di Animali’ may be no. 879 in the post-mortem inventory of Mazarin’s collection, wrongly credited to Della Corgna: ‘Un autre [tableaux] faict par Anthoine de la Corne representant un paysage de figures d’animaux avecq une cabane garny de sa bordure de bois doré, hault d’un pied huict pouces [54 cm], prisé la somme de soixante livres cy’ (Inventaire dressé après le décès en 1661 du cardinal Mazarin, transcribed by Tomiko Yoshida-Takeda, Paris 2004, p.169). An animal subject is atypical of Della Corgna, a painter of mostly religious pictures; see Di Macco, op. cit. (note 29), pp.192–216, with post-mortem inventory of his studio contents (taken 27 April 1654).
36 ‘Nota di guardarobba del principe Camillo Pamphilj’ (Rome, Archivio Doria-Pamphilj, bancone 91/14, fol. 205 item 47); published by Giovanna Capitelli, ‘Una testimonianza documentaria per il primo nucleo della raccolta del principe Camillo Pamphilj’ in I capolavori della collezione Doria...
A post-mortem inventory of the same collection (7 August 1666) records eleven framed quadrelli in carta displayed in the ‘Stanze delle donne’:

Un quadro in carta con vari animali morti dipinti ad’oglio al naturale cioè Pico, Pizardella, due Frescioni, cornice tinta di nero, mano del Cinatti (fol. 48 recto)

Due quadri in carta coloriti ad’oglio misura di palmini 1 ½ in uno una Statua morta, e nell’altro vari pesci con una locusta, cornicetta nera. mano del Cinatti (fol. 48 recto)

Due quadri in carta, in uno un fogiano nell’altro una Gozzola pratarola misura da due palmini alti 2 ½ cornice nera. mano del Cinatti (interpolated entry on fol. 90 recto)

Un quadretto in carta d’una Gallina pratarola colorita in piedi, misura di due palmini scarsi mano del Cinatti (fol. 48 verso)

Tre quadri in carta misura di ½ palmo cornicette nere. Uno di una testa d’asino l’altro d’un Anatore e l’altro di due teste di Capre. mano del Cinatti (fol. 48 verso)

Un quadro in carta colorito con oglio misura di un palmo dentro d’una Granuola, con una Cocciola marina, cornice nera. mano del Cinatti (fol. 48 verso–49 recto)

Un quadro in carta con due Cotogni del Naturale d’acquarella misura d’un palmo mano di Cinatti (fol. 49 recto)

and raises to twenty-five the number of works by Cinatti which are known through documents.

Antonio Cinatti

This archival material tells us little about Cinatti; it does not explain how he was formed as a painter of natural history and landscape, and eventually came to work for Cassiano. Was Cinatti one of the young artists (‘giovani ben intendenti del disegno’) whom Cassiano engaged to work on the ‘Museo Cartaceo’, or was he more a beneficiary of the Paper Museum than a contributor to it, utilising its many drawings of birds in his own paintings in preference to studying nature? With what entry work did Cinatti gain admission to the Accademia di San Luca in Rome? These are just a few of many questions for which at present no answers can be provided.


“Inventario e descrizione di tutti e singoli beni trovati dopo la morte della chiara memoria dell’illustissimo e eccellentissimo Signor Principi Don Camillo Pamphili…” (Rome, Archivio Doria-Pamphili, scaffale 86, n. 23, folios 48 recto–49 recto, 90 recto); published by Jörg Garm, Quellen aus dem Archiv Doria-Pamphili zur Kunstätigkeit in Rom unter Innocenz x (Vienna, Cologne & Graz 1972), p.352.

The date of Cinatti’s admission is not given by SPARTI 1992 p.129 note 12, citing ‘Nota dei nomi et Cognomi dei Sig:ri Pittori Academici di San Luca et messi per Alfabeto’ (Rome, Accademia di San Luca, Archivio, busta no. 105, [unnumbered folio]). On 22 September 1619 Cinatti was appointed to the committee charged with organising the academy’s annual festival (Archivio di Stato di Roma, Trenta Notai Capitolini, ufficio 15, 1619, part iii, volume 81, fol. 742 recto); he is recorded in other notarial documents as present at meetings of the academy on 5 January 1620 (Archivio di Stato di Roma, Trenta Notai Capitolini, ufficio 15, 1620, part i, volume 83, fol. 48 recto) and 1 September 1624 (Archivio di Stato di Roma, Trenta Notai Capitolini, ufficio 15, 1624, part iii, volume 101, fol. 213 verso). These documents are digested: ‘The History of the Accademia di San Luca, c. 1590–1635: Documents from the Archivio di Stato di Roma’ (http://www.nga.gov/casva/accademia/index.shtml).


Maria Cecilia Fabbrri, ‘La sistemazione seicentesca dell’Oratorio di San Sebastiano nella Santissima Annunziata’ in Rivista d’arte, fourth series, 44 (1999) pp.71–152, especially pp.80–81 figs. 5–6 (illustrations of the cupola) and Documents 17, 20, 21, 23, 28 (records of payments to Cinatti, transcribed from Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Carte Riccardi). Despite being repeatedly named in these accounts as ‘Maestro Antonio Cinatti’, Cinatti does not appear in the registers of matriculates in the Florentine academy (Accademia delle arti del disegno); see Gli accademici del disegno: elenco cronologico, edited by Luigi Zangheri (Florence 1999).

The references to Cinatti in Ubaldini’s verse were first published by Domenico Maria Manni, ‘Notizie dalla vita di Agostino Bagiardini altrimenti Ubaldini, scultore e poeta fiorentino’ in Raccolta d’opuscoli scientifici, e filologici, XXXVIII, edited by Angelo Caloggera (Venice 1748), pp.333–334; the
Cinatti evidently departed Florence for Rome in late 1608 or early 1609. In thirty-one stanza
tozz of terza rime addressed ‘Al Mag.co Antonio Cinatti in Roma’ and subscribed 1 June
1609, Ubaldini reminisces about their adventures together in Florence, complains of his
long wait to receive news from Rome, requests Cinatti to convey warm regards to mutual
friends in Rome (including the Florentine sculptors Mariotto Tosini and Bernardino
Cennini), and entreats him to greet a ‘Signor Grazià mio padrone’ and – on behalf of the
sculptor Gherardo Silvani – the canon lawyer ‘Don Ser Francesco’. 42 The intimate tone of
these verses suggests that Cinatti, Ubaldini (1578–1623), and Silvani (1579–1675), were
more or less the same age.

In September 1609 Cinatti was working ‘nelle stantie della Rocca di Frascati’, together
with Valerio Orsini (Ursini), son of the Florentine painter Francesco Orsini, and reputedly a
former pupil of Domenico Passignano. 43 The ‘Rocca di Frascati’ (also known as the ‘Villa
di Frascati’ despite its location within the city walls, between Piazza Paolo iii and Piazza
San Rocco), was a medieval castle-like structure purchased from the Colonna family in

autograph manuscript (Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Fondo Moreniana, Ms. 34) is published by
41 Payments to Cinatti and Orsini for their work at Frascati are entered in the ‘Mandati de danari delle
fabbriche ordinarie spediti da monsignore Thesauriere generale alla depositeria della Camera, 1609–
1614’, Archivio di Stato di Roma, Camerale i, Fabbriche, Reg. 1537:
  fol. 89 verso: ‘A di 5 settembre 1609… A Antonio Cinatti e Valerio Orsino pittore d[anari] trenta
m[one]ta [pagati] a bon ... conto delle pitture che fa [sic] in Frascati. ... Scudi ... 30.’
  fol. 91 recto: ‘A di 19 sett[embre] 1609... A m[astri] Antonio Cinatti e Valerio Orsini pittori scudi
trenta di m[one]ta a bon conto delle pitture fatte e da farsi nelle stantie della Rocca di Frascati. ... Scudi ... 30.’
  fol. 95 verso: ‘A di 26 ott[obre] 1609... A m[astri] Antonio Cinatti et Valerio Orsini pittori scudi
quaranta m[one]ta [pagati] ... a bon conto delle pitture che fanno p[er] serv[ito] della Rocca di Frascati. ... Scudi ... 40.’
  fol. 107 recto: ‘A di 6 febbraio 1610... Ad Antonio di Francesco et Valerio Orsino pittori scudi
venticinque m[one]ta [pagati] a bon conto delle pitture fatte et da farsi nelle stantie della Rocca di Frascati. ... Scudi ... 25.’
  fol. 121 verso: ‘A di 12 giug[no] 1610... Ad Antonio di Fran[cesco] et Valerio Orsino pittori scudi
cinquant[a per resto di scudi 175 simili] che importa lavoro [sic] fatto tra di loro col $[?]$ giovanni
gatta [?] [a?] serv[ito] delle pitture che hanno fatti [sic] nelle stantie della rocca di Frascati.
These five payments are indexed by Anna Maria Corbo and Massimo Pomponi, Fonti per la Storia
Artistica Romana al tempo di Paolo V (Rome 1995), p.65. BERTOLOTTI 1876 p.222 transcribes the
payment dated 5 September 1609 from an unspecified ‘Registro Mandati’; he adds from the same
source a further payment ‘30 maggio. 1610. Ad Antonio di Francesco [Cinatti] e Valerio Orsini pittore
scudi 25 a buon conto delle pitture fatte e da farsi nelle stantie della rocca di Frascati’ which is not
indexed by Corbo & Pomponi.

1479 by Cardinal Guillaume d’Estouteville and refashioned into a palace. Owned by the
Apostolic Chamber, the rocca was the seat of Frascati’s governor, an office held by the
Maggiordomo Pontificio, then Cardinal Scipione Borghese, who used it from 1611 to 1624
to lodge guests when the Borghese palaces were full. 44 A plan of the ground floor drawn
circa 1600 may show rooms decorated in 1609–1610 by Cinatti and Orsini. 45

Cinatti worked simultaneously (18 September 1609–12 June 1610) in Rome on unspecified
decorative projects on the Quirinale (Monte Cavallo), presumably the residence of Scipione
Borghese. 46

In October 1612, Valerio Orsini gave a deposition in the trial of Agostino Tassi for the rape of
Artemisia Gentileschi. Orsini testified that he had been introduced to Tassi by Cinatti a few
years earlier (‘da due anni e più’), that he obtained some paintings for Tassi to sell in
Livorno, 47 and that he afterwards shared Tassi’s lodgings in via di Sant’ Onofrio, until
Easter 1611. 48 Although Cinatti’s name occurs at no other point in the trial proceedings, it

44 ‘Spese Andate Diverse da 1611 a 1624 … De Banchetti Diversi … Pranzi e Colazione Diversi da
1611 a 1622’ (Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Archivio Borghese, 3500bis); cited by Tracy L. Ehrlich,
Landscape and identity in early modern Rome: villa culture at Frascati in the Borghese era
45 The plan is annotated ‘di sopra son dieci stanze, et la Cappella Villa di Frascati’ (Archivio di Stato di
Firenze, Carte Strozziane, i, 233, fol. 135); reproduced by Ehrlich, op. cit. (note 44), p.167 fig. 113.
The rocca is mistaken by SOLINAS 1996 pp.328–329 note 70 as a garden pavilion situated in the park;
see also COTTINO 2005 p.CCV.
46 Payments to Cinatti are entered in a ‘Conto del signor Roberto Primi per li denari ricevuti e pagati
per le fabbriche ordinarie dalli palazzi Vaticano e Monte Cavallo dalli 6 di dicembre 1608 per tutto il 21
marzo 1615’, Archivio di Stato di Roma, Camerale i, Fabbriche, vol. 1542, Reg. 1:
  p.6 (later numeration 5 [recto]): ‘E a di d[ett]o [i.e. 18 September 1609] scudi trenta m[one]ta pagati
a Ant[oni]o Cinatti e pittore. ... Scudi ... 50.’
  p.7 (later numeration 5 [verso]): ‘E a di d[ett]o [i.e. 19 September 1609] scudi trenta m[one]ta
pagati a Ant[oni]o Cinatti e pittori. ... Scudi ... 30.’
  p.8 (later numeration 6 [recto]): ‘E a di d[ett]o [i.e. 24 October 1609] scudi quaranta m[one]ta pagati
ea Ant[oni]o Cinatti e pittore. ... Scudi ... 40.’
  p.10 (later numeration 7 [recto]): ‘E a di d[ett]o [i.e. 30 January 1610] scudi venticinque m[one]
ta pagati a Ant[oni]o Cinatti e pittori. ... Scudi ... 30.’
  p.12 (later numeration 8 [recto]): ‘E a di 12 giugno [1610] scudi cinquant[a per resto di scudi 175 simili]
These five payments are indexed by Anna Maria Corbo and Massimo Pomponi, Fonti per la Storia
Artistica Romana al tempo di Paolo V (Rome 1995), p.65. BERTOLOTTI 1876 p.222 transcribes the
payment dated 5 September 1609 from an unspecified ‘Registro Mandati’; he adds from the same
source a further payment ‘30 maggio. 1610. Ad Antonio di Francesco [Cinatti] e Valerio Orsini pittore
scudi 25 a buon conto delle pitture fatte e da farsi nelle stantie della rocca di Frascati’ which is not
indexed by Corbo & Pomponi.
47 Patrizia Cavazzini, Painting as business in early seventeenth-century Rome (University Park, PA
48 ‘Valerio figlio di Francesco Ursino fiorentino pittore abitante a Roma’ was deposed on 5 October
1612 as a witness in defence of Nicolò di Bernardino de Felice (known as Nicolò Bedino), who had
is speculated that he was then working in Tassi’s workshop, and that he may have evolved there into a painter of landscape and natural history.\(^{59}\)

Though Agostino Tassi exaggeratedly claimed to have a thousand assistants and collaborators, he certainly had many. They were engaged on major fresco cycles for palaces, including the Palazzo Quirinale (September 1611–February 1613), Villa Peretti-Montalto at Bagnia (June 1613–August 1614), Palazzo Lancellotti (1617–1623), and Villa Aldobrandini in Monte Magnanapoli (1625–1626); cartoon designs for tapestries; and ephemeral decorations for festivals. To achieve a harmonious result, Tassi strictly controlled the design, and disguised the different hands at work by allocating different tasks to different people. Thus one assistant might paint — often in tempera, not in true fresco — in the background, another buildings, a third small figures, while a specialist might execute large figures.\(^{49}\)

Apprentices went to Tassi to learn to draw and to ‘copy’ and sometimes paid him for instruction. For many middling artists, Tassi’s workshop provided a comfortable career, such that it was unusual to break out of the connection.

Cinatti is next documented in 1617–1619, working as a salaried assistant to Fra Paolo Novelli in the decoration of the Refectory of the Abbazia di Monteoliveto Maggiore, the mother house of the Olivetan order at Chiusure, about twenty miles South East of Siena.\(^{51}\) A scaffold was erected in late April 1617 and in September Novelli returned to Rome to recruit additional hands. Four assistants are identified in the subsequent accounts: a ‘Maestro Matteo’, ‘Pietro Antonio Piemontesi’, an unnamed ‘Francesco Pittore’, and ‘Maestro Antonio Cinati’\(^{51}\) (also referred to as ‘Antonio Fiorentino’).\(^{52}\) The patronage for this commission was in the hands of Cardinal Scipione Borghese and he (or the painter Giovanni Battista Crescenzio, the leading intermediary in the Borghese family’s artistic ventures) is a possible link between Cinatti’s employments.

---

\(^{49}\) SOLINAS 1996 p.329 note 70; Solinas in BIELLA 2001 p.269.


\(^{52}\) ‘Più piastre dua a maestro Antonio Cinati Pittore per mano del Padre Fatt. per suo salario – L 14’ (Siena, Archivio di Stato, Conventi, 240, volume 2, fol. 22); cited by Henry, *op. cit.* (note 51), p.175.

---

By Easter 1620, Cinatti was again in Rome.\(^{54}\) He was among a large group of painters and indoratori working in the Casino Ludovisi in 1621–1622. The celebrated vault frescoes on the ground floor and piano nobile were painted by Tassi in collaboration with Guercino and unnamed assistants; Domenichino, Pomerano, Giovanni Battista Viola, and Giovanni Luigi Valesio, together with unnamed assistants, painted other rooms. Cinatti is specifically credited in the accounts with the decoration of a small room on the second floor (now lost).\(^{55}\)

In 1622, Cinatti was lodging in the ‘Casa della S[igno]ra Virginia del Conte’ with the painters Filippo D’Angeli, detto Filippo Napoletano (1587–1629) and Francesco Berretta da Pavia.\(^{56}\) Filippo had recently returned from Florence, where for three years he had been painting landscapes, genre scenes, citrus fruit and shells for the Medici.

Cassiano began employing artists about 1620, but it is doubtful that Cinatti commenced work for him much before 1630. Although Cassiano is said to have employed thirty artists on the ‘Museo Cartaceo’ over a period of as many years or more,\(^{57}\) only about a dozen are recorded by documents, and half of these can be identified with specific drawings. Constrained by relatively modest means, Cassiano employed draughtsmen at the beginning of

---

\(^{54}\) Sonia Amadio ‘Artisti famosi e nomi senza opere nella parrocchia di Sant’Andrea delle Fratte’ in *Arte e immagine del papato Borghese (1605–1621)*, edited by Bruno Toscano (San Cisciano 2005), p.26; *Alla ricerca di ‘Ghiorgiatt*’, *op. cit.* (note 34), p.222.


their careers whose services were not as expensive as their established colleagues; for sentimental reasons, he preferred artists from Tuscany (although born in Piedmont, Cassiano lived from the age of about eight until 24 in Pisa). It is thus conceivable that Cinatti, although not mentioned in the documentary sources, was one of the anonymous hands contributing drawings to the ‘Museo Cartaceo’.

Both Cassiano and his brother, Carlo Antonio, were enthusiastic naturalists, with particular interest in exotic birds, and ornithology was a prominent theme of the ‘Museo Cartaceo’ from its inception.58 The first task of the first draughtsman Cassiano employed, Vincenzo Leonardi, was to prepare a suite of bird drawings for illustration in a book which Cassiano presented to the Accademia dei Lincei in 1622.59 Although Leonardi continued to provide Cassiano with drawings of birds for the next two decades – he was the principal copyist of natural history in the dal Pozzo ‘studio’ and drew also animals, citrus fruit, and other subjects, including antiquities – he could not have provided more than a fraction of the hundreds of drawings of birds once contained in the Museo Cartaceo.60 Pietro Testa is claimed as a contributor of ornithological drawings for the ‘Museo Cartaceo’;61 more names are likely to come to light.62

---

59 Giovanni Pietro Olina, Uccelliera o vero Discorso della natura, e proprietà di diversi uccelli, e in particolare di que’ qui cantan: con il modo di prenderli, conoscergli, allevargli, e mantenergli (Rome 1622). More is known than just a few years ago about Leonardi; see Silvia Danesi Squarzina and Luisa Capoduro, ‘Nuove date e nuovi nomi per le incisioni della “Galleria Giustiniana” ’ in Studi di storia dell’arte in onore di Denis Mahon, edited by Maria Grazia Bernardini (Milan 2000), pp.155, 161–162.
60 Five volumes of bird drawings were in the ‘Museo Cartaceo’ when it acquired by George III, of which one remains at Windsor (Royal Library 27599–27690), a small folio containing drawings mostly by Leonardi and connected with the illustrations in Olina’s Uccelliera; see MCBURNEY 1989 p.92; Solinas in ROME 2000 no. 109. The other four volumes were sold by the Royal Librarian sometime after the First World War and their contents (apparently 191 sheets) are now widely dispersed; see MCBURNEY 1989 p.88 nos. 23–26; FREEDBERG 2002 pp.18, 62–64, 419 note 17.
Cassiano valued stylistic consistency and imposed a ‘house style’ on his many draughtsmen, specifying carefully finished drawings in pen, ink and wash (rather than pen alone), the pen concentrating on recording minutiae, the wash subtly used to cast shadow and define the form. Drawings borrowed from other collections were copied in this ‘house style’ and some drawings that entered the ‘Museo Cartaceo’ from other sources – as gifts, by purchase, or bequest – were recopied in the same manner.

When Cinatti commenced painting ‘Dawn’, he could refer to the ‘Museo Cartaceo’ for the studies on vellum by ‘Monsieur Dupont’ of a male and female flamingo in flight, and standing in different positions, with anatomical details, which had been prepared for Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc and acquired by Cassiano in 1625. Also available to him were some drawings made to illustrate a projected treatise by Cassiano on the species. One of these shows details of the head, beak and tongue of a flamingo, the last regarded as a culinary delicacy, and discussed Peiresc-Cassiano correspondence. It could be a copy of a drawing by ‘Monsieur Dupont’ which is now lost, or else an original study (probably by Leonardi) from a dead specimen.

Altogether, fourteen birds are depicted in ‘Dawn’: five adults and one juvenile flamingo, a pair of ‘courting flamingos’, a lapwing, a small rail (black with red bill and eyering, too darkened to determine its affiliation more precisely), two purple swamphens, a widgeon, and two ducks (neither identifiable). All these birds presumably were painted from drawings in the ‘Museo Cartaceo’. One drawing Cinatti did not use – depicting a mallard (Anas platyrhynchos) and inscribed ‘Pozzuolo a Roma’ – reminds us that for verifying details and the accuracy of colours Cinatti had recourse also to Cassiano’s Gabinetto of stuffed birds and Voliera of live birds.

63 See above note 19.
64 Cassiano wrote discorsi on the toucan, bearded vulture, ruby-throated hummingbird, and pelican (the first was published and the other three survive in manuscript); see MCBURNEY 1992B. His projected discorso on the flamingo is indicated by a letter from Peiresc to Cassiano (28 February 1629; LHOTE & JOYAL 1989 p.59).
65 Watercolour 533 × 402 mm. Reproduced by FREEDBERG 2002 p.22 fig. 1.7 with an attribution to Vincenzo Leonardi and located in the collection of Sven Gahlin (p.422 note 73).
66 This sheet is one of four studies of ducks from the ‘Museo Cartaceo’ which reappeared in the Boone sale (see above note 19) and was again dispersed: lot 171, a pintail duck, watercolour 309 × 417 mm, inscribed Anas Caudacuta Pesn; lot 172, a female goldeneye duck, watercolour 302 × 315 mm, inscribed Anas Platyrinchos. Ald. | Pozzuolo a Roma; lot 181a, a hybrid duck (mallard and pintail cross), 332 × 434 mm; lot 181b, a merganser duck, watercolour 337 × 452, inscribed Lat. Boschas Maior, Sive Anas Torquata.
The painting designated ‘Dusk’ depicts another fourteen birds. Once again, the selection seems arbitrary. The principal bird, positioned in the centre of the canvas, is a squacco heron, a migratory bird from sub-Saharan Africa to marshlands in Italy, and derives from a watercolour by Leonardi commissioned for the ‘Museo Cartaceo’. Also represented are a cormorant, an ibis, two grey cranes, two spoonbills, a drake Shoveler, a sandpiper (unidentifiable), and several birds depicted in ‘Dawn’: two more lapwings, two more wigeons, and another purple swamphen.

Cinatti’s activities after about 1635 are unknown. Solinas speculated that he returned to Tuscany, and attributed to him four paintings in the Franceschi Marini–Frescobaldi collection of domesticated and wild birds in landscapes which appear to have been executed ‘alla fine del quarto decennio’. As in ‘L’alba’ and ‘Il tramonto’, the birds in those pictures appear to have been studied separately, and then placed together in the landscape. None is linked to an entry in the Dal Pozzo collection inventories; however, several birds are depicted with a degree of scientific exactitude, and thus could depend from drawings produced for the ‘Museo Cartaceo’ which are lost or have yet to be identified.

**Bibliography**

BERTOLOTTI 1876
Antonino Bertolotti, ‘Agostino Tassi suoi scolari e compagni pittori in Roma’ in Giornale di Erudizione Artistica 5 (July–August 1876), pp.198–223

BIELLA 2001

CAVAZZINI 2001

---


COTTINO 2005

FREEDBERG 2002

GREGORI 2006
Mina Gregori, ‘Divagazioni su un quadro di pesci di Antonio Tanari’ in Paragone / Arte, nos. 65–66, pp.3–48

JAFFÉ 1989

LHOTE & JOYAL 1989

MCBURNLEY 1989A

MCBURNLEY 1989B

MCBURNLEY 1992A

MCBURNLEY 1992B

PIZZORUSSO 1989
Claudio Pizzorusso, A Boboli e albove: sculture e scultori fiorentini del Seicento (Studi [Accademia toscana di scienze e lettere “La Colombaria”], 101) (Florence 1989)

PIZZORUSSO 1993

ROME 2000

SOLINAS 1989

SOLINAS 1996

SOLINAS 2000
Francesco Solinas, L’Uccelliera. Un libro di arte e di scienza nella Roma dei primi Lincei (Rarietà e mirabilia, 2) (Florence 2000)

SPARTI 1989

SPARTI 1990A

SPARTI 1992
Donatella Livia Sparti, Le collezioni dal Pozzo: storia di una famiglia e del suo museo nella Roma seicentesca (Collezionismo e storia dell’arte, 1; Studi e fonti) (Modena 1992)

STANDRING 1988

STANDRING 2000