

The Importance of Filippo Napoletano for Claude's Early Formation

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ALTHOUGH FILIPPO NAPOLETANO'S death is known to have occurred between the third and seventeenth of November 1629,¹ the date of his birth still remains uncertain. Considering, however, that Mancini stated c. 1619-1621 that Filippo was between thirty and thirty-four years old,² we may deduce that he was born between 1585 and 1591. This dating would agree with both his appearance in his self-portrait of c. 1617-1621 in the *Fair at Impruneta*, Pitti Palace, and Baglione's statement that the artist died when still a young man, soon after he had married.³

Nothing as yet is known of the artist's activity in the years between his birth and his alleged presence in Rome in 1614, except for a document of 1613 relating to a commission of paintings for the Principe of Sansevero in Naples.⁴ There are no certain works by him either in Naples or in Rome, nor is his name associated with any of the decorative enterprises in Roman palaces or villas commissioned from Agostino Tassi. Nevertheless, it would seem logical that Filippo, like many other young artists of his day who were interested in landscape painting, should have worked with or for Tassi.

This may find confirmation in the frescoed frieze with eight *Scenes from the Life of Saint Paul* in the Quirinal Palace. Although this frieze has always been given to Tassi, I propose to attribute it to Napoletano. In fact, despite Passeri's statement that the frieze is by Tassi and the documentary evidence that Tassi was paid for the decoration in 1617,⁵ I am convinced that Filippo was responsible for the landscape scenes of Saint Paul. The style of the putti supporting coats of arms and garlands of fruit is, however, typical of Tassi.⁶ The eight oblong scenes, of which *Saint Paul on Malta* is reproduced here (fig. 1), are characterized by a far more

Fig. 1. Attributed to Filippo Napoletano, *Saint Paul on Malta*, 1616-1617, fresco, Rome, Quirinal Palace (photo: De Antonis, Rome).

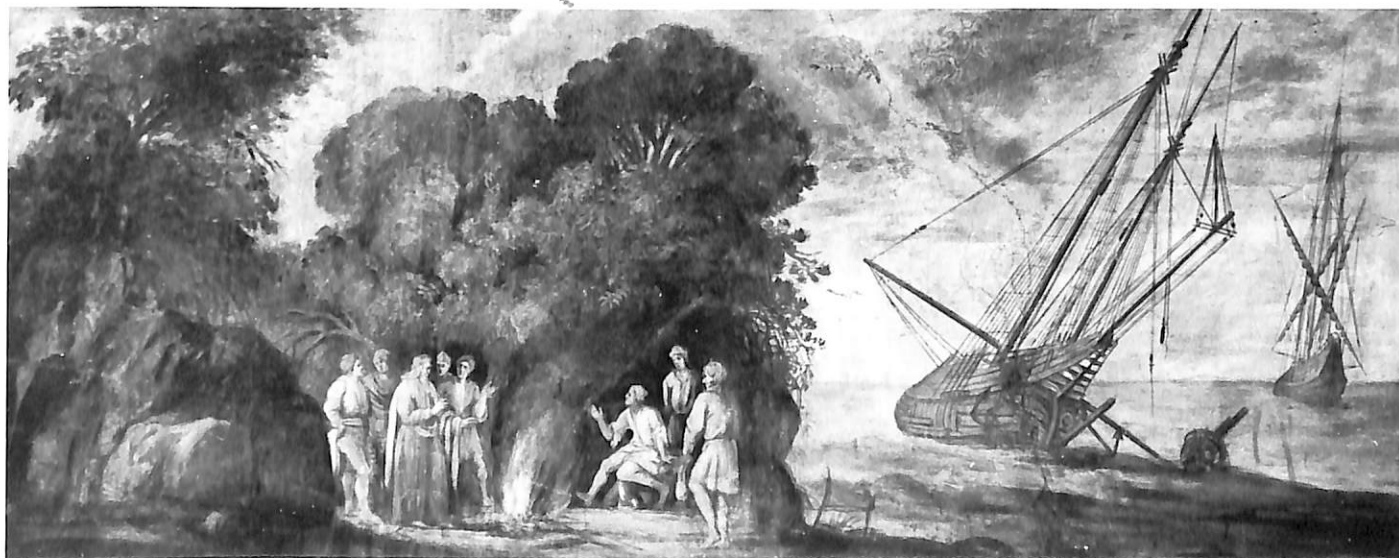




Fig. 2. Attributed to Filippo Napoletano, *The Sibyl Leading Aeneas into the Underworld*, c. 1614-1617, oil on copper, 32.5 x 40.2 cm., Rome, Galleria Doria Pamphilj (photo: Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Rome).

complex and articulated landscape than that which Tassi was producing at that date.⁷ They are, moreover, predominantly Elsheimerian in character, while Tassi's landscapes always reveal the strong influence of his teacher, Paul Bril.⁸

As has recently been remarked,⁹ the Quirinal landscapes are unparalleled in Tassi's work for their richness of color and vivid effects of light and atmosphere combined with a search for reality. In addition to the landscapes, the figures and animals are also represented with an anatomical precision whose counterpart is to be found in Filippo's etchings of military costumes and animal skeletons.¹⁰ In the present context, however, we are primarily interested in the impact that these landscapes may have had on the young Claude Lorrain, who was soon to appear on the Roman scene. Certainly Claude must have looked at them, for he was to

undertake similar decorations in Roman palaces. Even though it is not possible to claim any exact correspondences between the Quirinal scenes and frescos executed by Claude,¹¹ the former are characterized by repoussoirs of trees and bushes which, in my opinion, were important for Claude's early compositions.

Filippo's activity in Rome in the brief period from c. 1614 to 1617, before he moved to Florence in 1617 at the invitation of Grand Duke Cosimo II de' Medici cannot have been limited to his work on this frieze alone. Mancini, who was apparently well informed about Filippo's early activity, described the subjects for which he was already famous (as far as we know, Mancini was not acquainted with the works painted by Filippo in Florence between 1617 and 1621, which were destined for the court and the grand duke's



Fig. 3. Filippo Napoletano, *Ships in a Storm near a Lighthouse*, 1620, oil on copper, 49 x 61 cm., Florence, Villa del Poggio Imperiale (photo: Gabinetto Fotografico della Soprintendenza per i Beni artistici e storici, Florence).



Fig. 4. Attributed to Filippo Napoletano, *Ships in a Storm*, c. 1620, drawing, 125 x 190 mm., Florence, Gabinetto dei disegni degli Uffizi (photo: Gabinetto Fotografico della Soprintendenza per i Beni artistici e storici, Florence).

private apartments and villas). These included battle scenes, fires, mythological and religious subjects, and marine paintings,¹² no doubt animated by small lively figures, which were admired for their naturalism and sense of movement.

In this period, apart from the well-known series of etchings of military costumes, I propose to include a small painting on copper in the Doria Pamphilj Gallery in Rome, *The Sibyl Leading Aeneas into the Underworld* (fig. 2). Virgil and Dante are included as spectators on the right. Of the various attributions given to this work,¹³ Faldi's suggestion of Swanenburgh is supported by such works as his *Hades with Aeneas and Sibyl* in Gdansk.¹⁴ But favoring an attribution to Filippo are the animal skeletons, which are painted versions of those in his etchings of c. 1621–1622 (for instance, the turtle, the large standing bird and the *pesce-cappone* appear in some of the etchings) and the fantastic setting inspired by the ruins of the Colosseum.¹⁵ A similar spirit is to be found in another painting belonging to the Uffizi Gallery in Florence, *Dante and Virgil in Hell*, which also represents the underworld with arches in ruins, lit by fires.¹⁶ This type of scene, although inspired by earlier painters such as Jan Velvet Brueghel or by contemporary artists such as Swanenburgh, was entirely novel in effect and must have deeply impressed Claude when he painted the fantastic background of his *Temptation of Saint Anthony* for the palace of the Buen

Retiro in Madrid (LV 32). Not surprisingly, Filippo had already represented this subject in one of his paintings.¹⁷

By the spring or summer of 1617 Filippo was in Florence,¹⁸ where his activity for Grand Duke Cosimo II has only recently been established thanks to the identification of a number of documented works.¹⁹ In Florence he seems to have developed fully the themes for which, according to Mancini, he was already renowned. There he came into contact with the artists Giovanni da San Giovanni and Jacques Callot, with whom he collaborated, and produced some of his most successful and imaginative paintings for the personal amusement, Baldinucci relates, of Cosimo II.²⁰ He developed the study of natural phenomena, evident in *Ships in a Storm Near a Lighthouse*, Villa del Poggio Imperiale (fig. 3),²¹ in which the fury of wind and water and flashes of lightning are perfectly described. Studies drawn from nature of ships tossed by waves occur among Filippo's drawings in the Uffizi (fig. 4).²² Slightly later, possibly on his return to Rome and Naples, he was to take up this theme again in a drawing in the Louvre, and in a fresco in the Rospigliosi-Pallavicini Palace, for which a related drawing is also known.²³ These examples of Filippo's work must have been of interest to Claude, since there are a few similar compositions in the *Liber Veritatis*, although the corresponding paintings are still missing (LV 33, 72, 74).²⁴

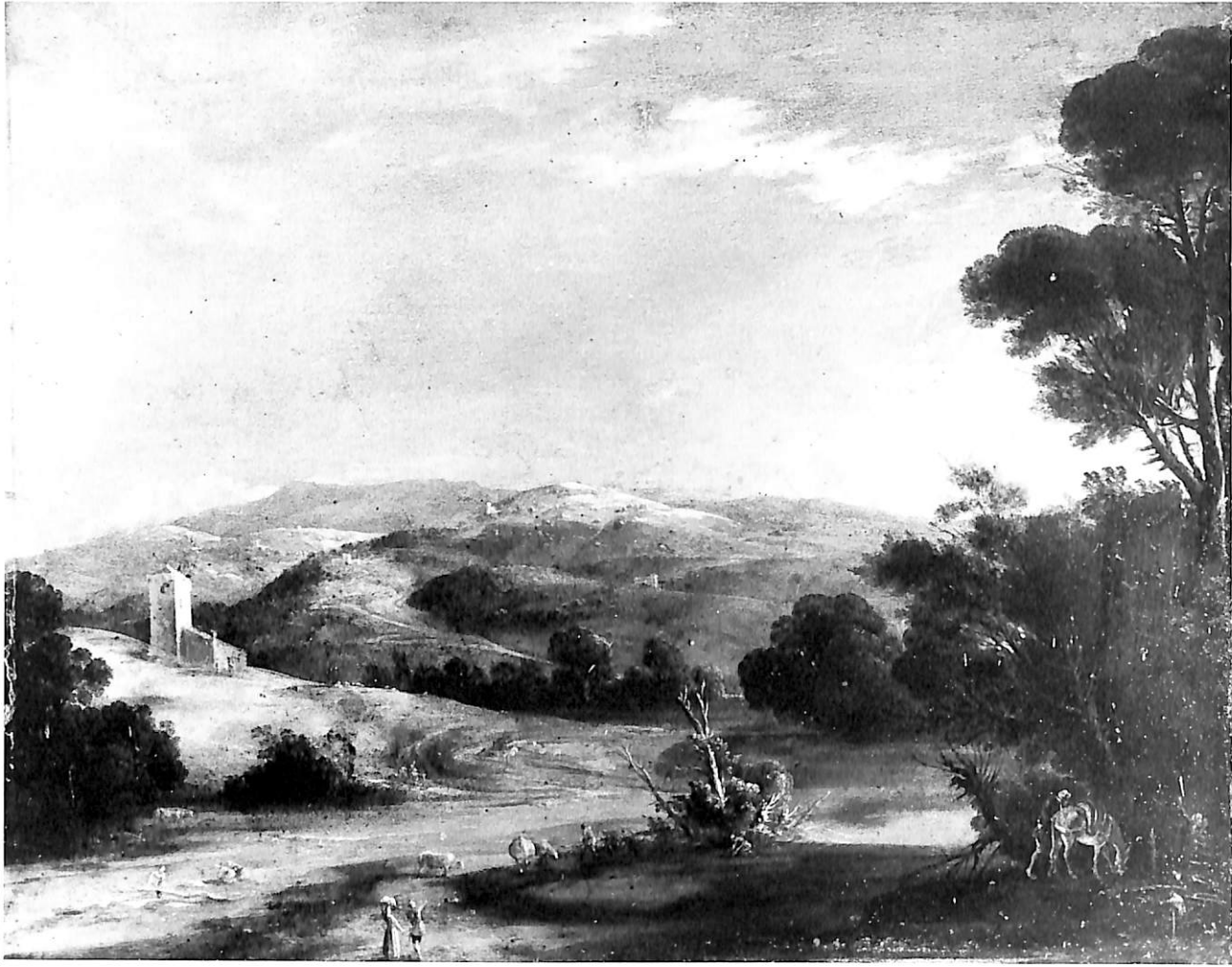


Fig. 5. Filippo Napoletano, *Sunrise*, 1620, oil on copper, Florence, Palazzo Pitti, Galleria Palatina (photo: "Arte Fotografica" S.r.l., Rome).

Filippo's contact with the art of Jacques Callot and with a new kind of landscape—that of Tuscany—seems to have stimulated his observation of reality. In the series of landscape drawings in the Uffizi,²⁵ he examined the Tuscan countryside, farm buildings, and ruins with a sharp eye, and sensitively captured the play of sunlight without making any concessions to the artificial vision of nature typical of Bolognese landscape painting of the period. The objectivity of these drawings anticipates, in fact, the style of the "Macchiaioli" artists working more than two centuries later. The same spirit is discernible in some of Filippo's paintings of this period, of which a small copper, *Sunrise*, Pitti (fig. 5), gives a particularly clear idea of the path pursued by the artist. While the source of inspiration for *Sunrise* seems to be Elsheimer's celebrated *Aurora* in the Herzog-Anton-Ulrich Museum, Brunswick, Filippo's interpretation of nature is based in a new realism which Claude would later

develop fully. The most striking feature of the painting is the atmospheric handling of light, which dominates the whole composition and underlines the realism and solidity of the hills, trees, and bushes. Particularly original is the way the distant cirrus clouds reflect the sunlight and set off the tall pine trees closing the composition on the right. This device of framing the scene on both sides with trees and bushes seen against the light had already been extensively used by Bril in his landscapes and was to become typical of Claude's paintings from his early years onward. What is extraordinary, however, is the link between Filippo's and Claude's method of working, evident in their similar use of light to achieve a strong impression of atmosphere and recession.²⁶

During his Florentine period, from 1617 to 1621, Filippo also perfected other aspects of his art, extending his range of subjects from landscapes, seascapes, and still lifes to include figure compositions and animal studies. Concurrently, he

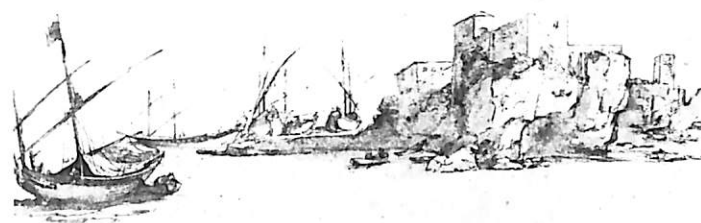


Fig. 6. Attributed to Filippo Napoletano, *Peasant Dance*, c. 1617-1621, oil on canvas, 99 x 179 cm., London, P. & D. Colnaghi, Ltd. (photo: courtesy P. & D. Colnaghi, Ltd.).

expanded his technical means, executing paintings on semiprecious stones, a practice peculiar to the Florentine school. In his larger canvases, the representations of nature became more majestic as he fused elements drawn from Elsheimer with ideas of Bolognese inspiration, along with his own predilection for the wit and spirit of the Florentine *ambiente*, as exemplified by Callot and Giovanni da San Giovanni. In the now well-known paintings in the Uffizi, *Picnic by a River* and *Peasant Dance*,²⁷ painted as pendants (a practice he seems to have adopted regularly, as Claude was later to do), Filippo reveals his skill in developing an idealized kind of landscape which is, nonetheless, based on natural surroundings familiar to him. The tonal use of light; the importance given to the huge trees which distinguish his compositions; and the sense of spatial recession into depth, underlined by the atmospheric rendering of luminous clouds as well as by accentuated diagonals which give the impression of an expanding space and unlimited horizon, follow much the same pattern as that of Claude's early paintings.²⁸ A comparison of *Picnic by a River* with Claude's *Pastoral Landscape* of 1629 in the Philadelphia Museum of Art,²⁹ or with two similar compositions, *Landscape with Merchants*, National

Gallery of Art, Washington,³⁰ and *The Mill*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston,³¹ or even with the beautiful drawing *Landscape by Moonlight* (LV 59) reveals strong affinities between them, which must be more than coincidental. This is especially noteworthy in the use of tall trees framing the composition and of reflections in the water—an idea introduced by Elsheimer. The composition of Filippo's *Peasant Dance* (fig. 6),³² would seem almost to anticipate some of Claude's early paintings of the same subject, for instance, *Villagers Dancing* in the St. Louis Art Museum.³³ Filippo's painting of reflections in water, his way of highlighting tree branches and leaves, and his predilection for rounded masses of vegetation are constant features in Claude's early works (for example, *The Landscape with the Journey to Emmaus*, Col. W. J. Sterling Collection).³⁴ Details in certain drawings by Filippo in this period—an isolated tree in the countryside,³⁵ the strong contrast between a dark foreground and luminous background,³⁶ or the vertical rhythm given by a clump of trees³⁷—also anticipate the effects of Claude.

The technique of Filippo's painted works varies considerably from the small, usually copper paintings to his larger canvases, in which we find a freer, more pictorial brushwork;



Upper left: Fig. 7. Attributed to Filippo Napoletano, *Landscape with Large Rock*, c. 1621-1629, drawing, 249 x 270 mm., Washington, National Gallery of Art, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fund.

Upper right: Fig. 8. Attributed to Filippo Napoletano, *Coastal View*, c. 1627, drawing, 156 x 406 mm., Paris, Ecole des Beaux-Arts (photo: Giraudon, Paris).

Below: Fig. 9. Filippo Napoletano, *Ships near a Coast*, c. 1627, fresco, Rome, Palazzo Rospigliosi Pallavicini (photo: courtesy of the Istituto di Storia dell'Arte, Facoltà di Magistero, Rome).



stronger contrasts of light and shade; and a more solid and constructive handling of color, which enhances the realism of the setting. This new approach to nature was noticed by Lanzi who wrote: "I paesi di questa età . . . dal Baldinucci son chiamati dell' antica maniera. La nuova cominciò in Firenze da Filippo d'Angeli, o Filippo Napoletano. . ."³⁸

Once back in Rome after Cosimo's death in February 1621, Filippo may also have returned for a time to Naples where he probably pursued his interest in marine subjects, taking inspiration directly from the picturesque coastline nearby.³⁹ This may be deduced from the series of drawings of coastal and shipyard scenes now in the Louvre,⁴⁰ and from the friezes he painted in collaboration with Giovanni da San Giovanni in the Bentivoglio Palace (now Rospigliosi-Pallavicini) on the Quirinal Hill, Rome.⁴¹ The degree of maturity reached by Filippo is apparent in drawings which can be attributed to his later Roman-Neapolitan period, such as the beautiful sheet with a view of a beach at the foot of a cliff, *Landscape with Large Rock* (attributed to Breenbergh), National Gallery of Art, Washington (fig. 7), or that

in the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris, *Coastal View* (fig. 8), which has an old attribution to Claude.⁴² The latter, as Roethlisberger has already observed, cannot be by Claude despite its beauty and its similarity to some of his drawings (for instance, *Ripa Grande*, The British Museum, London).⁴³ He has suggested an artist near Filippo and Tassi, active in the 1620s.⁴⁴ Finding myself in complete agreement, I would propose relating it to one of the marine scenes painted by Filippo in the frieze of the Bentivoglio Palace (fig. 9),⁴⁵ in which the motif of the drawing, evidently observed from nature, has been adapted to the horizontally elongated shape of the field. The careful observation of reality and attention to detail that are typical of the artist from the beginning of his career yield to a more pictorial and atmospheric quality, attaining a subtlety in the play of light, which explains why some of his drawings have been misattributed to Claude. In subject matter these drawings must have been important for the young Claude in the period following his return to Rome from Lorraine in 1626-1627. The analogies between Filippo's studies of ships and those drawn by Claude, almost all of



Fig. 10. Attributed to Filippo Napoletano, *The Falls of Tivoli*, c. 1621-1629, oil on canvas, 35 x 47 cm., Venice, Ca' d'Oro (photo: courtesy of the Soprintendenza per i Beni artistici e storici, Venice).



Fig. 11. Attributed to Filippo Napoletano, *View of Tivoli*, c. 1621-1629, oil on copper, 24.1 x 33.3 cm., Munich, Alte Pinakothek (photo: courtesy of the Direktion der Bayerischen Staatsgemäldesammlungen).

which date from his early period,⁴⁶ are clear.

According to Baglione, Filippo, once back in Rome: andossene a Tivoli una state per suo diporto, e fecevi alcuni pezzi di paesi piccoli imitati dal naturale, e ritratti da quelle vedute con vaghissime cascate di acque (opere veramente a vedersi degne di maraviglia, tanto erano bene, e diligentemente fatte) con buona maniera, con bellezza naturale, e con accompagnamenti di figurine, che mirabilmente vi operavano. In somma al suo tempo in questo genere non ebbe eguale. . . .⁴⁷

I can think of no paintings to which Baglione's words could

better apply than those here attributed to Filippo Napoletano. This is especially true of the landscape of *The Falls of Tivoli* in the Ca' d'Oro, Venice (fig. 10).⁴⁸ It corresponds exactly to Baglione's description, as does also the *View of Tivoli*, Alte Pinakothek, Munich (fig. 11), attributed to Poelenburgh.⁴⁹ All the stylistic characteristics of these paintings are typical of Filippo's minute and clear description of nature. One finds the same feeling for the nuances of atmosphere, and the same vividly colorful little figures that were present in his Florentine works.⁵⁰ The quality of these paintings and their originality in establishing a new kind of *veduta* are undeniable, and justify Baglione's words of admiration in describing



Fig. 12. Attributed to Filippo Napoletano, *Landscape with Ruins*, c. 1621-1629, oil on canvas, 29 x 45.7 cm., Private Collection.

Filippo as the foremost painter of his day in the representation of nature. These works clearly show how closely akin Filippo was to the Dutch Italianate painters, particularly to Breenbergh. Another painting, *Landscape with Ruins*, private collection (fig. 12),⁵¹ previously attributed to the Dutch artist, shows how close their affinities are.⁵²

Filippo's originality, however, lies in his more informal attitude toward his subject matter and in his romantic approach to the theme of classical ruins. Although Breenbergh and Poelenburgh often represented classical ruins, especially in their drawings, they presented them in greater isolation from the natural context to which they belonged, and their interpretation of them was more descriptive. By contrast, there is an evident affinity between *Landscape with Ruins* and the very early *Landscape with an Artist Drawing in the Roman Campagna* by Claude in the Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas, Lawrence.⁵³ Filippo's romantic attitude is also apparent in some of his studies which probably date from this phase of his activity. An example is his study of *Porta Pinciana*, Louvre,⁵⁴ in which the free handling of the wash and strong play of light and shade are comparable to some of Claude's earliest drawings.⁵⁵ To my mind, there exists an undeniable link between Filippo's later works and those of Claude at various stages of his career. If one considers Filippo's beautiful drawing of *Ponte Molle* in the Albertina (fig. 13),⁵⁶ one feels that it is the type of drawing that might have inspired Claude at more than one moment in the course of his development. The transparency of the wash, the atmospheric rendering of the structural masses of the architecture, the contrast between the foreground in shadow and the effect of sunshine on the



Fig. 13. Filippo Napoletano, *Ponte Molle*, c. 1621-1629, drawing, 178 x 254 mm., Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina.

water, the idea of shadows cast by clouds onto distant ground, and the small figures animating the landscape but giving a sense of intimacy are all features which constantly recur in Claude's drawings and early paintings.⁵⁷ Although Breenbergh also interpreted the same themes with subtle variations, he differs, especially in his drawings, from Filippo and from Claude in that he tends to isolate his structures. Filippo's attitude toward the representation of reality is, perhaps, more intimate than that of Breenbergh and Poelenburgh, particularly in his drawings of simple rural buildings in the Roman Campagna.⁵⁸ They have the same handling of light and shade, and of the effects of sunshine on old bricks, trees, and objects that distinguish the studies of his Florentine



Fig. 14. Attributed to Filippo Napoletano, *Landscape with a Farm*, c. 1621-1629, drawing, 208 x 282 mm., Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des dessins (photo: Documentation photographique de la Réunion des Musées nationaux).

period. In a fine drawing in the Louvre, *Landscape with a Farm* (fig. 14),⁵⁹ the majestic appearance of the old ruin becomes part of the description of rural life, and the figures near the haystack contribute to an atmosphere of rustic charm that was also to pervade Claude's early paintings and drawings. At the same time, the composition is carefully studied in relation to the sheet. The forms are clearly and logically disposed in a diagonal interplay of lines enhanced by the contrasts of light and shade on the ground. The impression of depth produced by the play of light on the fields and buildings in the distance reminds one of identical devices used by Claude.⁶⁰ Also, Filippo's predilection for pen drawing, resulting in a precision comparable to that of his paintings, can be seen in the remarkable *Study of Ruins* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (fig. 15),⁶¹ which seems to anticipate some of Claude's most carefully drawn sheets of the 1640s.

Compared with the spontaneity of his Florentine works, the landscape paintings which we can surmise to belong to the final period of Filippo's life reveal a growing classicizing tendency. In a copper representing *Latona and the Shepherds* in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn (fig. 16), attributed to Breenbergh,⁶² the elements of the composition are carefully considered. The foreground space is contained between tall trees on the left and a tent and smaller trees on

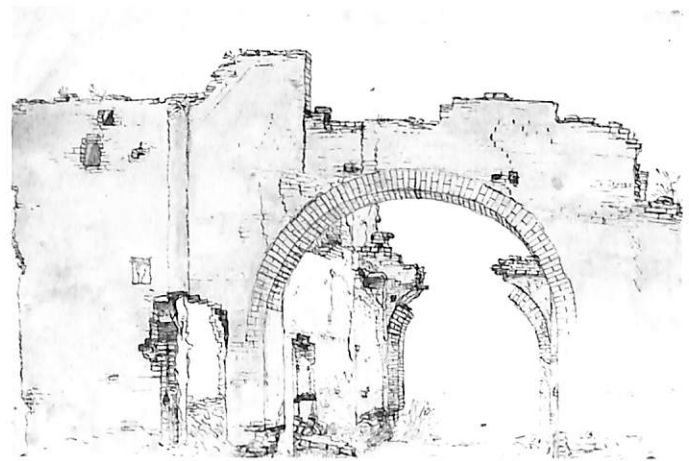


Fig. 15. Attributed to Filippo Napoletano, *Study of Ruins*, c. 1621-1629, drawing, 208 x 314 mm., New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Department of Prints, Gift of Harry G. Friedman, 1957.

the right. Beyond them the eye is free to wander through the vast open space of the middle distance to the hills extending toward the horizon and to linger on the houses and trees, the lofty clouds caught by the sunshine, or the birds as they break the stillness of the air. All these features find parallels in Claude's paintings from the beginning of his career onward. The painting in Bonn, unlike any other works by Filippo that I know, has extremely delicate, classicizing figures.

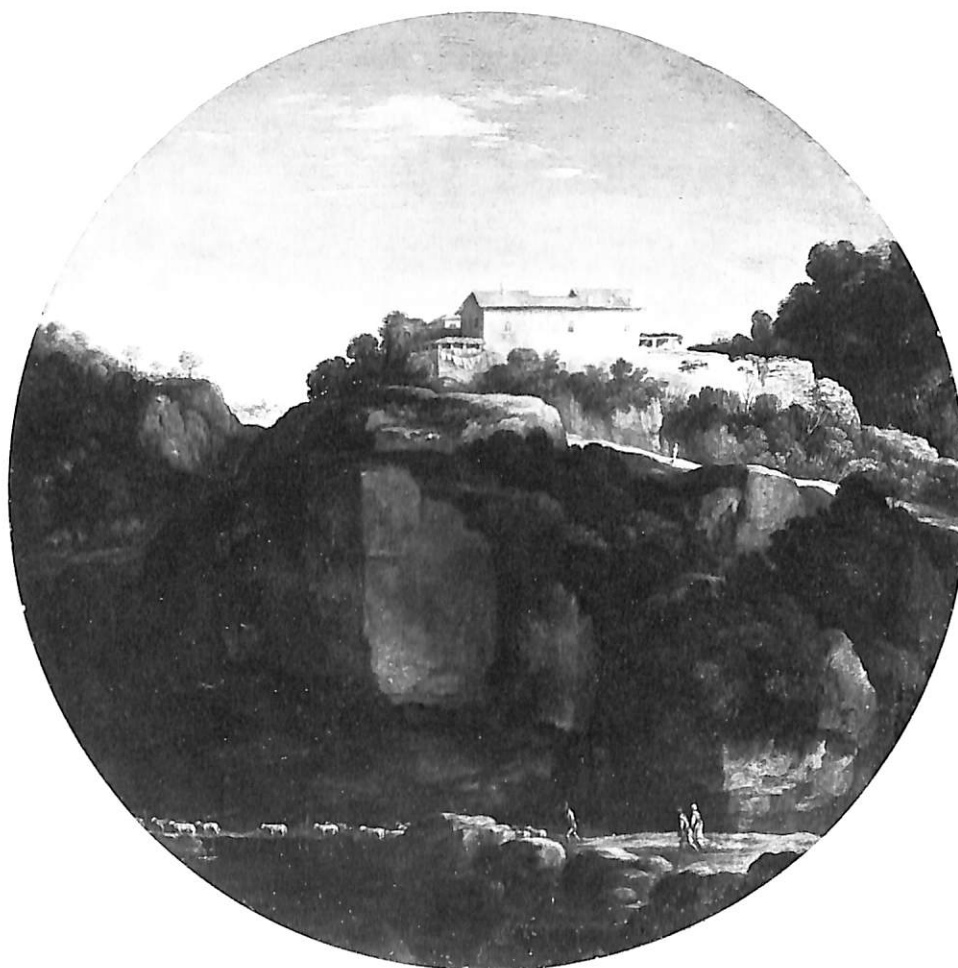


Left: Fig. 16. Attributed to Filippo Napoletano, *Latona and the Shepherds*, c. 1621-1629, oil on copper, 48.4 x 61.7 cm., Bonn, Rheinisches Landesmuseum.

Opposite page: Fig. 17. Attributed to Filippo Napoletano, *The House on the Mountain*, c. 1621-1629, 235 cm. diameter, Bremen, Kunsthalle.



Fig. 18. Attributed to Filippo Napoletano, *The Temple of the Sibyl*, c. 1621-1629, oil on copper, 24 x 33.5 cm., Prague, Národní Gallery.



They are clothed, however, in the brightly colored garments typical of Filippo's style. In particular, the group of Latona and her two children recalls figures by Claude that appear in both his paintings and drawings.⁶³

Two other paintings, until recently attributed to Elsheimer, have the same type of balanced composition and are executed in the same meticulous style. I would like to propose that these are both works by Filippo, painted in his last phase when his renewed contact with Rome and the circle of artists then active there again brought him under the influence of Elsheimer's powerful legacy. In *The House on the Mountain*, Kunsthalle, Bremen (fig. 17),⁶⁴ we find the same lucid and intense study of reality that was present in some of Filippo's Florentine works (see fig. 5), as well as his usual play of strong diagonals and effects of reflected light. At the same time, he makes dramatic use of the dark mass of rocks in the center to give greater emphasis to the pastoral scene in the foreground. The shepherds wandering through the landscape, a motif borrowed from Elsheimer, can be linked to Claude's typical use of this theme.

The bridge that Filippo's art provided between that of Elsheimer and Claude is even more directly apparent in *The Temple of the Sibyl*, Národní Gallery, Prague (fig. 18).⁶⁵ As Roethlisberger has pointed out, this composition must have appealed to Claude's sense of fantasy. It may well have inspired such works as his painting of the same subject in the National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne.⁶⁶ The classicizing emphasis, the majestic tree in the center of the composition, the neatly described ruined temple, and the small, lively figures are familiar aspects of Filippo's style. So, too, is the clear light of dawn which accompanies his constant observation of reality, a feature which cannot have failed to impress the young Claude, together with the mysterious stillness of the atmosphere.

Filippo Napoletano is certainly not the only artist who contributed to the formation of Claude's style, but considering the drawings and paintings here attributed to his last period, his art must have had a decisive influence on Claude, comparable even to that of Tassi, Poelenburgh, and Breenbergh.

1. Sheila Rinehart, "Cassiano dal Pozzo (1588-1657): Some Unknown Letters," *Italian Studies* 16 (1961), 52-53. See also Jennifer Fletcher, "Filippo Napoletano's Museum," *The Burlington Magazine* 121 (October 1979), 649-650.
2. Giulio Mancini, *Considerazioni sulla pittura*, 2 vols., ed. Adriana Marucchi with commentary by Luigi Salerno (vol. 1, Rome, 1956; vol. 2, Rome, 1957), 1:255, 2:156.
3. Filippo's self-portrait is visible at the left in the painting of the *Fair at Impruneta* (reproduced by Luigi Salerno, "Il dissenso nella pittura: Intorno a Filippo Napoletano, Caroselli, Salvator Rosa e altri," *Storia dell'Arte* No. 5 [1970], fig. 5), beside a peasant figure of the kind often found in Callot's and Filippo's drawings and etchings. Filippo's face appears more aged and heavier in Ottavio Leoni's portrait drawing in the Marucelliana album in Florence (see Roberto Longhi, "Volte della Roma caravaggesca," *Paragone* 2, no. 21 [1951], 35-39, fig. 21). This fact would endorse Baglione's statement concerning Filippo's rapidly declining health after his return from Florence (see Giovanni Baglione, *Le Vite de' Pittori, Scultori, Architetti, ed Intagliatori dal Pontificato di Gregorio XIII del 1572 fino a' tempi di Papa Urbano VIII nel 1642* [Naples, 1733], 221-222).
4. Mancini *Considerazioni*, 1:255, states that Filippo lived in Naples from 1600 to 1614. This would seem to be confirmed by the recent discovery of a document concerning a payment to the artist dated 28 September 1613 (see Ferdinando Bologna, Raffaello Causa, et al., *Mostra didattica di Carlo Sellitto, primo caravaggesco napoletano* [exh. cat., Museo e Gallerie Nazionali di Capodimonte] [Naples, 1977], 135, no. 42). When in Naples, Filippo was apparently associated in some way with Carlo Sellitto, but there is no stylistic evidence of his having collaborated on any of Sellitto's paintings despite the hypothesis advanced by Bologna, Causa, et al., *Mostra didattica di Carlo Sellitto*, 88-92, no. 9a.
5. *Die Künstlerbiographien von Giovanni Battista Passeri*, ed. Jacob Hess (Leipzig and Vienna, 1934), 123. For the documents of payment, see Marco Chiarini, "Documenti sui pittori Tassi, Saraceni, Lanfranco e Antonio Carracci," *Bollettino d'Arte* 45 (1960), 367.
6. Until now, the frieze in the Quirinal palace has always been regarded as by Tassi (see Luigi Salerno, "Il vero Filippo Napoletano e il vero Tassi," *Storia dell'arte* No. 6 [1970], 141; and Teresa Pugliatti, *Agostino Tassi tra conformismo e libertà* [Rome, 1977], 39-41, who reproduces the entire decoration [figs. 42-48]). This is not the place to discuss the attribution which is based on stylistic factors. I shall just mention the connections with other works by Filippo Napoletano, for example, the *Battle* drawing in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, which is reminiscent of the *Conversion of Paul*, its figures recalling those in *The Flagellation of Saint Paul*, which are also very close to the figures in the Uffizi *Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian* (see *Gli Uffizi: Catalogo Generale* [Florence, 1979], 134 no. P 87). The kind of landscape, for which Briganti has pointed out the strong influence of Elsheimer (Giuliano Briganti, *Il Palazzo del Quirinale* [Rome, 1962], 41), is also reflected in some drawings by Filippo (see Marco Chiarini, *I disegni italiani di paesaggio dal 1600 al 1750* [Treviso, 1972], figs. 28-29). I am indebted to Teresa Pugliatti for kindly lending me the photograph of *Saint Paul on Malta* reproduced here.
7. For paintings by Tassi datable to about 1610-1615, see Pugliatti, *Tassi*, figs. 5-6; and Marco Chiarini, "Agostino Tassi: Some New Attributions," *The Burlington Magazine* 121 (October 1979), figs. 2-5, 11-12, in which the influence of Bril is particularly evident. If the landscapes of the Old Testament scenes in the Casino Montalto of the Villa Lante at Bagnaia are indeed by Tassi, as Pugliatti suggests (*Tassi*, 25, figs. 7-16), they are stylistically very different from those of the *Life of Saint Paul* in the Quirinal, not least in view of their dating to the immediately preceding years.
8. An evocation of Bril is always present in Tassi's landscapes, whereas it is absent in Filippo's paintings. Tassi's interest in his master's art never ceased, as is shown by the well-known drawing in Frankfurt, derived from Bril's painting in Berlin (see Pugliatti, *Tassi*, figs. 227-228).
9. By Pugliatti, *Tassi*, 39: "Negli otto riquadri con le Storie di S. Paolo il Tassi appare particolarmente elsheimeriano. ... E sotto l'influsso dell' Elsheimer, in questi paesaggi il pittore mostra inoltre un uso maturo del colore che non gli si potrà riconoscere in opere posteriori. ... In seguito il Tassi non raggiungerà (e non richiederà) più tali effetti. ..."
10. For a more recent discussion, also from the chronological point of view, of the two series of etchings by Filippo Napoletano, see Simonetta Prosperi Valenti Rodinò, et al., *Incisori napoletani del '600* [exh. cat., Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe] (Rome, 1981), 4-12, nos. 2-9: 13-31, nos. 10-28.
11. Marcel Röthlisberger, *Claude Lorrain: The Paintings*, 2 vols. (New Haven, 1961; rpt. New York, 1979), 1:89-91, draws attention to the connection between Claude's frescos (2: figs. 5-11) and those by Bril, Gobbo, and Filippo Napoletano in the Rospigliosi Palace (2: figs. 421, 422). For further reproductions of the frescos in the Rospigliosi Palace, see Pugliatti, *Tassi*, figs. 129-138.
12. Mancini, *Considerazioni*, 1:255.
13. The painting was formerly attributed, not surprisingly, to Peter Brueghel the Younger, but Marlier (George Marlier, *Pierre Brueghel Le Jeune*, posthumous edition, completed and annotated by Jacqueline Folie [Brussels, 1969], 32) has rejected this and subsequent attributions, not finding any alternative sufficiently satisfactory to propose. Italo Faldi (*Catalogo sommario della Galleria Doria Pamphilj in Roma* [Rome, 1963], 24, no. 262) attributed it to J. I. van Swanenburgh. More recently, Helen Langdon reproduced the painting, again as by Swanenburgh, rejecting my (verbal) attribution to Filippo (see Helen Langdon, "Salvator Rosa in Florence 1640-1649," *Apollo* 100 [September 1974] 195).
14. See Jan Bialostocki, et al., *Narodziny Krajobrazu Nowozytnego 1550-1650* [exh. cat., Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie] (Warsaw, 1972), 117-118, no. 93, fig. 29. J. G. van Gelder, in his review of the exhibition (*The Burlington Magazine* 114 [July 1972], 500), believes it to have been painted during Swanenburgh's stay in Naples. On Swanenburgh see also Wolfgang Wegner, "Werke deutscher und niederländischer Künstler in Rom und Neapel um 1600," *Pantheon* 31 (1973), 40-45.
15. The connection between the skeletons in the painting and in the etchings could imply a date after Filippo's stay in Florence. But the figures do not have much in common with those of Filippo's Florentine period and come closer to those of the Quirinal frieze. I would, therefore, tend to date the Doria painting prior to Filippo's departure for Florence.
16. Filippo's *Dante and Virgil in Hell*, Uffizi, might also have been painted in Rome and taken to Florence by the artist. See *Gli Uffizi: Catalogo Generale*, 132, no. P 80.
17. Sylvie Béguin ("Une Adoration des Bergers de Filippo Napoletano," *La Revue du Louvre* 11 (1961), 57, note 4) published a listing in the inventory of the collection of Cardinal Mazarin (1661) of a painting by Filippo representing *The Temptation of Saint Anthony*, which still remains to be traced. Another painting by Filippo of the same subject, executed on stone, in the Florentine Collections, is a documented work (see Marco Chiarini, et al., *Pittura su pietra* [exh. cat., Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti] [Florence, 1970], no. 9).
18. The date may be deduced from a payment made by the grand-ducal administration to the artist for a first lot of five paintings delivered in September 1617. Firenze, Archivio di Stato, Guard. mediceo 355 (1617-1618) c. XVI: "Filippo Liagnio Pittore Napoletano di contro havere adi 28 di settembre seudi quattrocento e quaranta di moneta tanti se li fanno buoni per l'amtore di no. 5 opere, che parte in rame et parte in tela di più grandezze. ..."
19. The first certain group of works by Filippo Napoletano was included in the exhibition of artists at the grand-ducal court. See Marco Chiarini, *Artisti alla corte granducale* [exh. cat., Palazzo Pitti] (Florence, 1969), 24-25, nos. 24-30. Later, it became clear that other paintings exhibited under the traditional attribution to Agostino Tassi were also by the same hand; this was confirmed by payments for many of them to Filippo which were subsequently discovered in the Florentine Archives. The payments for the group of paintings which interest us are in Archivio di Stato, Firenze, Guard. mediceo 373 (1618), cc. 29 and 148.
20. Filippo Baldinucci, *Notizie de' Professori del disegno da Cimabue in qua* ... ed. F. Ranalli, 5 vols. (Florence, 1845-1847), 4:207, 478. For this group of paintings, see Chiarini, *Artisti alla corte granducale*, cited above. To it should be added the *Fair at Impruneta*, Pitti (see note 3 above), and several other paintings that have since reemerged, which I intend to include in a monograph on the artist.
21. Already published in Chiarini, *Artisti*, 24, no. 25.
22. Uffizi no. 8294S: pen and brown wash, 23.5 x 18.5 mm., attributed to "Monsù Montagna." Another drawing of the same subject is Uffizi no. 8293S (also attributed to "Monsù Montagna").
23. Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, no. 9676: *Sea Tempest with a Castle* (pen and brown wash, 125 x 190 mm.). This attribution is not accepted by Catherine Monbeig-Goguel and Walter Vitzthum, *Le dessin à Naples du XVIe au XVIIIe Siècle* [exh. cat., Musée du Louvre] (Paris,

1967). 10. The drawing relating to the fresco in the Rospigliosi palace is published in Marco Chiarini, *I disegni*, 22, no. 34, fig. 34.

24. There is an evident similarity between both Filippo's *Sea Storm* in Florence and his drawing no. 9676 in the Louvre, and the drawing LV 33 by Claude (see H. Diane Russell, *Claude Lorrain 1600-1682* [exh. cat., National Gallery of Art] [Washington, 1982], 207, D 9). A painting of similar subject and composition belonged to the Barberini family in Rome in 1631 (see Roberto Longhi, "Una traccia per Filippo Napoletano," *Paragone* 8, no. 95 [1957], 58).

25. All published for the first time by Longhi, "Una traccia," figs. 29-35.

26. I have in mind particularly his early *Landscape*, now in the Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena, first published by Marcel Röthlisberger, "Additions to Claude," *The Burlington Magazine* 110 (March 1968), fig. 6.

27. I should like to point out that E. Knab was the first to publish *The Picnic* and to recognize its importance for Claude Lorrain's early formation (see Eckhart Knab, "Die Anfänge des Claude Lorrain," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 56 [1960], 139, figs. 22-23); *The Peasant Dance* was first published by Marco Chiarini, *Artisti*, 17-18, no. 14 (as Tassi). Both paintings are datable from payments to Filippo Napoletano of 1618 and 1619 (see note 19).

28. On this point, see Marco Chiarini, "Filippo Napoletano, Poelenburgh, Breenbergh e la nascita del paesaggio realistico in Italia," *Paragone* 23, no. 269 (1972), 18-34.

29. Röthlisberger, *Claude Lorrain: The Paintings*, 2: fig. 344.

30. Röthlisberger, *Claude Lorrain: The Paintings*, 2: fig. 345.

31. Röthlisberger, *Claude Lorrain: The Paintings*, 2: fig. 66.

32. Clovis Whitfield and Jane Martineau, ed., *Painting in Naples 1606-1705: From Caravaggio to Giordano* [exh. cat., Royal Academy of Arts] (London, 1982), 156-157, no. 46. I am indebted to C. Whitfield for the photograph.

33. Russell, *Claude Lorrain*, 121, P 14.

34. Röthlisberger, *Claude Lorrain: The Paintings*, 2: fig. 13.

35. See Nicola Ivanoff, *I disegni italiani del Seicento: Scuole veneta, lombarda, figure, napoletana* (Venice, n.d. [1959]), no. 86.

36. See Eckhart Knab, *Jacques Callot und sein Kreis* [exh. cat., Graphische Sammlung Albertina: *Die Kunst der Graphik V*] (Vienna, 1968), no. 784, reproduced plate 51. The drawing, *River by a Wood*, Uffizi, traditionally attributed to Tassi, and to Callot by Knab, is clearly by Filippo Napoletano. It can be compared, for instance, with Claude's drawing, *A River Landscape* (Russell, *Claude Lorrain*, 205, D 8).

37. Chiarini, *I disegni*, fig. 28.

38. Luigi Lanzi, *Storia pittorica della Italia dal risorgimento delle belle arti fin presso al fine del XVIII secolo*, 3 vols., ed. Martino Capucci (Florence, 1968-1974), 1:186.

39. Following Baglione's statement (*Le Vite de' Pittori*, 222), M. Nappi (in Whitfield and Martineau, *Painting in Naples*, 155) surmised that this second stay in Naples would have taken place between 1624 and 1626, but no evidence is cited.

40. See Monbeig-Goguel and Vitzthum, *Le dessin à Naples*, 10. One of the Louvre drawings representing *River Landscape with Boats and Figures* (no. 9665; reproduced in Chiarini, *I disegni*, fig. 31), recalls another of Claude's compositions, the small painting on copper in the Chrysler Museum, Norfolk, Virginia (see Russell, *Claude Lorrain*, 100, P 1).

41. Apparently the decoration of the ground-floor rooms by Giovanni da San Giovanni in the Bentivoglio palace should be dated after July 1627 (see Edoardo H. Giglioli, *Giovanni da San Giovanni* [Florence, 1949], 65-67, and Anna Banti, *Giovanni da San Giovanni* [Florence, 1977], 61, no. 29), thus providing a terminus post quem for the parts of the decoration for which Filippo Napoletano was responsible.

42. For the drawing in Washington, see *Recent Acquisitions and Promised Gifts: Sculpture, Drawings, Prints* [exh. cat., National Gallery of Art] (Washington, 1974), 87, no. 46 (Bartholomeus Breenbergh, *Landscape with Large Rock*, pen and brown ink and wash, 249 x 270); the Paris drawing is no. 944 of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts (pen and brown wash, 156 x 406). I am indebted to Marcel Roethlisberger for the photograph.

43. Marcel Roethlisberger, *Claude Lorrain: The Drawings*, 2 vols (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1968), 2: fig. 286.

44. See Roethlisberger, *Claude Lorrain: The Drawings*, 1:7, no. 1207: "There are points of contact with Filippo Napoletano . . . and the ambient of Tassi. . . . But is it not rather the work of an accomplished master working in the 1620s?" Now that Filippo Napoletano's oeuvre is better known, we can confidently attribute the Paris drawing to him and accept Roethlisberger's

dating.

45. Another drawing by Filippo connected with this decoration is the one already mentioned in note 23. I am indebted to Giorgio Falcidia, of the Facoltà di Magistero in Rome, for kindly obtaining for me the photograph of the fresco in Palazzo Rospigliosi Pallavicini reproduced here.

46. See the drawings by Claude in Roethlisberger, *Claude Lorrain: The Drawings*, 2: figs. 159, 281, 282, 397-399, etc. The first drawing of the so-called Wildenstein Album representing *A Shipyard* is very close to the series of drawings by Filippo in the Louvre. Marcel Roethlisberger (*The Claude Lorrain Album in the Norton Simon, Inc. Museum of Art* [Los Angeles, 1971], 13, no. 1, plate 1), thought that the drawing might be by Claude. Personally, I am now convinced that it must be by Filippo because of its similarity to another drawing of ships, undoubtedly by him, which was brought to my attention by Simonetta Prosperi Valenti Rodinò in the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, Rome (F. C. no. 128323). The fact that Claude included this drawing in one of his albums is in itself significant.

47. Baglione, *Le Vite de' Pittori*, 222.

48. See Sandra Moschini-Marconi, *Opere d'arte dei secoli XVII, XVIII, XIX*, vol. 3 of *Gallerie dell'Accademia di Venezia* (Rome, 1970), 161, no. 361 (cerchia di A. Elsheimer). I am indebted to Francesco Valcanover for the photograph.

49. Munich, Alte Pinakothek; copper, 24.1 x 33.3 (attributed to Cornelis van Poelenburgh; see Halldor Soehner, ed., *Deutsche und Niederländische Malerei zwischen Renaissance und Barock* [Alte Pinakothek München] [2d ed. Munich, 1963], 47, no. 5272). I thank Dr. Rolf Kultzen for kindly sending me the photograph and for permission to publish it.

50. I would like to point out the strong stylistic affinities between the Munich painting and the *Preaching of Saint John the Baptist* in the Louvre, which is a documented work by Filippo Napoletano (see Marco Chiarini, "Deux Tableaux de Filippo Napoletano ayant appartenu aux Collections Royales Françaises," *La Revue du Louvre* 23 (1973), 237-240).

51. Canvas, 29 x 45.7 (Private collection, Florence). On the stretcher, in a nineteenth-century French hand, the inscription: "Attribué à B. Breenbergh."

52. For a discussion of this problem and the connections among Filippo Napoletano, Breenbergh, and Poelenburgh, see the recent important book by Marcel Roethlisberger, *Bartholomeus Breenbergh: The Paintings* (Berlin-New York, 1981).

53. See Pierre Rosenberg, *La peinture française du XVIIe siècle dans les collections américaines* [exh. cat., Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais] (Paris, 1982), 277, no. 57.

54. See Chiarini, *I disegni*, 21, no. 33, fig. 33.

55. For instance Roethlisberger, *The Claude Lorrain Album*, 14, no. 2, plate 2, *A Ruin on the Palatine*; or the well-known series of early drawings of Roman monuments in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle (Roethlisberger, *Claude Lorrain: The Drawings*, 2: figs. 8-23).

56. The attribution is traditional; see Alfred Stix and Anna Spitzmüller, *Die Schulen von Ferrara, Bologna, Parma und Modena, der Lombardei, Genuas, Neapels und Siziliens*, vol. 4 of *Beschreibender Katalog der Handzeichnungen in der Staatlichen Graphischen Sammlung Albertina* (Vienna, 1941), 129, no. 217. I am indebted to Dr. Knab for kindly sending me the photograph and for permission to publish it.

57. An interesting connection can also be made between Claude's drawing of *Ponte Salaris* (see Roethlisberger, *Claude Lorrain: The Drawings*, 1:127-128, no. 166; 2: fig. 166, and Didier Bodart, *Dessins de la Collection Thomas Ashby à la Bibliothèque Vaticane* [Vatican City, 1975], 63, no. 182, plate LXXXVIII), and *Tivoli* (Roethlisberger, *Claude Lorrain: The Drawings*, 2: fig. 429), and the drawings by Filippo reproduced here. From the technical point of view, they are very similar in the handling of pen and wash and in the use of dotted lines to enhance luministic effects.

58. Filippo's different attitude when treating Breenbergh's favorite motifs is illustrated by the drawing *The Baths of Caracalla*, in the Vatican Library (Ashby Collection), recently attributed to the Dutch artist by Bodart, *Dessins de la Collection Ashby*, 31, no. 107, plate XXIII, but which, to my mind, is a typical product of Filippo's last phase.

59. Cabinet des Dessins, Inv. no. 21289 (Anonymous), pen and gray ink, brown wash, 208 x 282. I thank Roseline Bacou for having kindly given me permission to publish the drawing.

60. See especially Roethlisberger, *Claude Lorrain: The Drawings*, 2: figs. 385, 392, 429, 490, 542, etc.

61. Department of Drawings, Inv. no. 57.658.283. Pen and black ink, gray wash, 205 x 314. I am grateful to Jacob Bean for sending me the photograph.

62. Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn, Inv. no. 56.54. Copper, 48.4 x 61.7

(see Franz Rademacher, *Reinisches Landesmuseum in Bonn: Verzeichnis der Gemälde* [Cologne-Graz, 1959], 13). Not included in Roethlisberger, *Breenbergh*. I am indebted to Dr. Ingeborg Krüger, Director of the Rheinisches Landesmuseum in Bonn, for having kindly given me permission to publish the painting. My attribution has been accepted in the recent catalogue of the paintings (see Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn, *Gemälde bis 1900* [Köln-Bonn 1982] 382).

63. See especially, Roethlisberger, "Claude Lorrain in the National Gallery of Art," *Report and Studies in the History of Art 1969* (Washington, 1970), fig. 17; Roethlisberger, *Claude Lorrain: The Drawings*, 2: fig. 651; Russell, *Claude Lorrain*, 242, D 39.

64. Kunsthalle, Bremen, Inv. no. 747; copper, 23.5 diam. For the various

attributions proposed for this well-known painting, see Luigi Salerno, *Pittori di paesaggio del Seicento a Roma*, 3 vols. (Milan, 1977-1980), 3:1026-1027, note 44. I thank Dr. Gerhard Gerkens, of the Kunsthalle Bremen, for his kind permission to publish the painting.

65. Inv. no. 0-195; copper, 24 x 33.5. For this painting, until recently attributed to Adam Elsheimer, see Salerno, *Pittori di paesaggio*, 3:1101, note 14. Keith Andrews, *Adam Elsheimer: Paintings-Drawings-Prints* (Oxford, 1977), 166, A5, agrees with my attribution.

66. See Roethlisberger, "Additions to Claude," 119: "The setting ultimately derives from such works by Elsheimer as the Prague copper. . . ." I am grateful to Dr. Olga Puymanová for sending me the photograph and for permission to publish it.



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