

Predella journal of visual arts, n°41-42, 2017 - www.predella.it - Miscellanea / *Miscellany* ■

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Predella pubblica ogni anno due numeri online e due numeri monografici a stampa /
Predella publishes two online issues and two monographic print issues each year

Tutti gli articoli sono sottoposti alla peer-review anonima / All articles are subject to anonymous peer-review

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Predella journal of visual arts - ISSN 1827-8655

The article analyzes two decorations by the Lucchese artist Michele Grechi in mid-sixteenth-century Rome. The publication of the artist's previously inedited testament provides the opportunity to deeper evaluate an oft-stated but unconfirmed attribution to Michele Grechi of a painted frieze in the first room of Clement VII in Castel Sant'Angelo (1533). The evaluation of Michele Grechi's artistic models is further discussed through analysis of the decoration of the Guidiccioni Chapel in the Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia (1550–1552), which, as far as is known, is the only work that can be certainly attributed to the artist's design.

The personality of Michele Grechi has been progressively outlined, starting from a preliminary 1964 study by Bernice Davidson¹ that contextualized the activity of the artist as an engraver and a painter in mid-Sixteenth-century Rome. A series of documents first allowed for the recognition of the presence of Michele Grechi in some payments for decorative works related to papal commissions, in which the artist was cited as alternately Michele Crechi, Crecchi, Greco, Grechi, Lucchese, da Lucca, *Lucano* or *lucensis*. Between 1541 and 1547, he was paid, independently or coupled with Perino del Vaga, for painting some banners in Castel Sant'Angelo². In 1543, he worked on the ornamentation of stools, with grotesques, in the Palace of Paul III at the Aracoeli³. In 1549, he received payments, together with Pellegrino Tibaldi, for the arms and other temporary furnishing for the funeral of Paul III⁴, and he was employed for an analogous work upon the death of Julius III⁵.

These decorative works have been lost, and until few years ago the only document of the artistic activity of Michele Grechi was represented by a series of engravings, marked by the monograms M.L. and MI.LV, which had been placed under the attribution to “Michele Lucchese” since the 18th century⁶. The first known engravings were reproductions after Polidoro da Caravaggio (fig. 1), Raphael, Giulio Romano, and Michelangelo⁷. A significant document of the printing activity of the artist was then constituted by a book of architectural representations, the *Prospettive et Antichità di Roma*, which included re-elaborations of the analogous French series entitled *Vue d'optique*, published in 1551 in Orléans⁸. According to Bernice Davidson, these prints revealed «an eccentric personality, vigorous,

expressive, and peculiarly ignorant of skills then considered fundamental»⁹. The scholar especially highlighted Michele's disregard for anatomy and perspective, as well as his tendency «to exaggerate in his struggle to communicate»¹⁰. Consequently, in his works, «gestures, expressions, facial types, even lightening are empathic to the point that they become bizarre» and the «environment assumes oddly warped forms», with «the perspective lines of his centralized architectural sets» that «shoot off widely in every direction»¹¹.

This negative evaluation of the artist found a correspondence in Sixteenth-century sources, which underlined the engraver's stylistic and technical inadequacy. In a letter to Giorgio Vasari, written from Liège on 25 April 1565, the Flemish literate Dominique Lampson harshly criticized two prints by the Lucchese that reproduced Michelangelo's *Crucifixion of St Peter* and *Last Judgement*¹². Shortly after, in 1570, Lampson described to the miniaturist Giulio Clovio another rude copy of the *Last Judgement* that he ascribed to either Michele Lucchese or Giulio Bonasone¹³.

Based on the stylistic analysis of the engravings, Davidson proposed to attribute to Michele Grechi some paintings, which he would have executed after Perino del Vaga's models. Among the other works, the scholar identified the following: the *Madonna and Child between St Catherine of Alexandria and St Apollonia*, in the Church of Santa Caterina della Ruota; the frescos of the Marciac Chapel in the Church of the Santissima Trinità dei Monti; the scenes of the *Battle of Tolbiac* and the *Assault to Soissons* of the Dupré Chapel, in the Church of San Luigi dei Francesi; the *Dido and Aeneas* frieze in Palazzo Massimo; and the frieze of the Perseus room in Castel Sant'Angelo¹⁴.

Moving from Davidson's analysis, studies have gradually defined the catalogue of the artist. In this regard, Licia Collobi Ragghianti, in 1975, attributed to Michele Grechi a drawing with putti, labelled as «Michele da Lucca», that was included in Vasari's *Book of Drawings*¹⁵. On the other hand, Alessandro Angelini reconsidered Davidson's attribution to Michele Lucchese of some paintings, which he recognized as a homogenous group and ascribed to the painter Pompeo Cesura: the altarpiece in Santa Caterina della Ruota, the scenes of the *Battle of Tolbiac* and the *Assault to Soissons* of the Dupré Chapel, and the frescos of the Marciac Chapel¹⁶. Based on documents, these latter works have been recently attributed to the French artist Guillaume Bonoyseau, thus confirming the non-involvement of Michele Lucchese in their execution¹⁷. The newly discovered attribution of the Marciac Chapel has also led to exclusion of the presence of the Lucchese in the stylistically related paintings: the altarpiece in Santa Caterina della Ruota and the scenes of the Dupré Chapel.

At the same time, analysis of the printed production of the artist, expanding the number of known works, has confirmed the centrality of the reproductions after Polidoro da Caravaggio, Raphael, and Giulio Romano, as well as underlined the importance of the inspiration from Michelangelo. Works after Michelangelo not only include engravings of the *Battle of Cascina* (1540), the Sistine vault and the *Last Judgement*, but also reproductions of Michelangelo's presentation drawings¹⁸ (fig. 2). In addition, the catalogue of the artist has revealed the presence of personal compositions, such as the print of the *Asinara* (1553), and inventive re-elaborations of original models, such as a copy of Dürer's *Man of Sorrows*¹⁹. Furthermore, Michele Grechi has been found to have been active not only as a printer but also as a merchant of prints and a restorer of types by other engravers²⁰.

An essential contribution to the study of Michele Grechi has come from the discovery of the name of the artist in the documents related to the execution of the frescos in the Palace of Paul III in Campidoglio, dated 1543, and by the re-discovery of the frescos themselves²¹. As Paola Picardi has remarked, this important decoration was certainly assigned to Perino del Vaga, who was at that time the main artist working for the Farnese family. Perino's numerous commissions seem to have determined the temporary association between the master and Michele Lucchese: a workshop, in which Michele had the role of directing an équipe of collaborators who worked following Perino's models²². This system of organization finds a correspondence in the remaining frescos, which are clearly inspired by Perino's prototypes and contain stylistic differences showing the collaboration of different hands²³. In this regard, Paola Picardi has underlined the similarities between the figure-types of these paintings – specifically of the group of putti dancing in a circle and of the women with unicorns – and some representations of the room of Perseus in Castel Sant'Angelo, which Davidson had attributed to Michele Grechi before successive studies instead ascribed them to Domenico Zaga (Perino's successor in the direction of the workshop of Castel Sant'Angelo)²⁴.

At the same time, analysis of the documents of the Università dei Pittori, Miniatori and Ricamatori has highlighted the presence of Michele Lucchese in the institution since 1534, firstly as a simple «Pictor» and then as a «magister»²⁵. The increasing authority of the artist is confirmed by his rising in 1557 to the prestigious position of «Consul» of the Università²⁶, which Michele attended until 1559²⁷. This data, in its entirety, allows for an understanding of the presence of Michele Grechi in mid-sixteenth-century Rome, as an artist acting as both a painter and an engraver, mainly active in Farnese commissions, and associated with Perino del Vaga.

The room of Clement VII in Castel Sant'Angelo

The last documentation related to the artist is his will, dated 24 May 1567 (doc. 1) and revised on 9 June 1570, with the modification of some instructions that he had previously defined²⁸. The testament, other than offering some chronological orientation for the activity of Michele Grechi²⁹, is the only known document to present the complete name of the artist, who is there recalled as «Michael Bartolomeo Grechi lucensis Pictor»³⁰. This information, never noted, provides the opportunity to deeper analyze an oft-stated but unconfirmed attribution of a particular work to Michele Grechi.

The oldest document referring to Michele Lucchese is a notary deed of 1533, which mentions a certain «Magister Michael Barth. de Lucca» together with Matteo Crassetti da Terranova for a «pictura palcorum et frisorum duorum cubiculorum sive camerarum pontificis...in dicto S.ti Angeli»³¹. The work has been recognized as the frieze with acanthus leaves and putti in the first room of Clement VII in Castel Sant'Angelo (fig. 3a, b, c). Studies have mainly identified the «Michele» mentioned in the document as Michele Lucchese, while also remarking upon the strange circumstance that the deed refers to the artist as «Bartholomeus», which is a name by which he was never mentioned in any other document³². The discovery of the testament in which Michele is named as «Bartholomei Grechi» allows for a more certain identification of the artist as the painter recalled in the document for the fresco of Castel Sant'Angelo. Stylistic analysis of the frieze can help to determine this attribution.

The frieze runs around the four walls of Clement VII's room: it represents putti emerging from and sitting on acanthus leaves, bearing, alternately, the sign «Clement VII P.M.», a garland including the Medici's emblem of the ring and three feathers (completed by the *motto* «Semper»), and the Pope's emblem «Candor Illusus». On the east wall, the painting is interrupted by the opening of a window: at both sides, the window is decorated by highly deteriorated frescos, showing the Medici's crest and the Pope's name, whereas in the ceiling, two angels, represented with a highly illusive perspective from below, sustain Clement VII's pontifical coat of arms³³. Over the frieze, another painted band runs on a continuous line, showing the Medici's emblem of the falcon bearing a ring with the three feathers. The schematic representations of this band are in contrast with the more articulated style of the lower frieze, which seems to be characterized by a re-elaboration of the language of Michelangelo through the main model of Perino del Vaga³⁴. The dynamic and plastic configuration of the putti carrying Clement VII's sign and emerging from acanthus leaves (fig. 3a) appears to be similar to Perino's composi-

tions, such as the putti on the arch of the Pucci Chapel in the Church of Santissima Trinità dei Monti³⁵ (fig. 4). Another example is the drawing of the Evangelists Mark and John in the Chapel of the Crucifix in the Church of San Marcello al Corso, which Perino painted before the Sack of Rome³⁶. Moreover, the anatomical outlining of the putti and their dynamic position looks highly similar to the Child of the unfinished *Madonna* of the Courtauld Institute: a painting characterized by a controversial dating but mainly associated with the composition of the *Madonna with St. Francis*, dated to Perino's Genoese period³⁷. While working in Genoa, Perino was also occupied with the decoration of the Cathedral of Pisa: a commission today attested to by the remains of another frieze with putti³⁸ (fig. 5a, 5b) that can, in turn, be compared with the stylistic features of the fresco in Castel Sant'Angelo. Specifically, the facial types and the soft plastic construction of Perino's putti in Pisa (fig. 5a) recall the traits of the putti standing on the acanthus leaves in the Roman frieze (fig. 3b), and Perino's illusive solution of the putto coming out from the frame, in the Pisan work (fig. 5b), can be compared with the illusory flight of the two angels projecting false shadows upon the window of Clement VII's room (fig. 3c). Moreover, the decorative solutions of the frieze of Castel Sant'Angelo, with putti emerging from acanthus leaves, even if well diffused³⁹, find an analogous formulation in the stuccos of the vaults of the Loggia degli Eroi in Palazzo Doria (fig. 6). Here, also the construction of the putti in the lunettes, certainly executed by Perino's collaborators, looks very similar to the Roman fresco, in both the complicated poses and tridimensional articulation⁴⁰ (fig. 7). In conclusion, the fresco of Castel Sant'Angelo can be especially compared with a series of works that Perino executed during his Genoese sojourn, when he also moved to Pisa and Lucca, as well as with the works that the artist had realized in Rome before the sack of 1527.

Michele Grechi certainly moved to Rome after the Sack, as he paid two *scudi* for admission to the Università dei Pittori in 1534⁴¹. As Missirini recalls, this sum had to be paid by artists who arrived in Rome after 1527, whereas artists who had already paid before the Sack of Rome, and had lost their licence in that tumultuous episode, had to pay half the amount⁴². The Lucchese origin of the artist cannot be contested, as it is consistently recalled in the documents and even in the monograms⁴³. Hence, the strong inspiration by Perino's style that characterizes the frieze of Castel Sant'Angelo, and that is confirmed by the successive production of the Lucchese, might be explained by a first contact between Michele and Perino del Vaga outside of the Roman context. Indeed, it is difficult to consider the close reference to Perino's models, as well as the similarities with Perino's works executed during the artist's Genoese sojourn, as being merely the result of Michele's imitation of Perino's works executed in Rome before 1527. A likely solution is

the hypothesis of a collaboration between Michele Lucchese and Perino del Vaga (who might also have been in Lucca) in the decorations of Palazzo Doria or the Cathedral of Pisa. Furthermore, the repetition of the same motif along the frieze of Castel Sant'Angelo shows the certain use of models that, in the strong inspiration by Perino, were possibly given to collaborators by the master himself, at that time occupied by the works in Genoa and Pisa and not able to personally satisfy a papal commission. In this context, it is possible to recall the hypothesis concerning a possible sojourn by Perino to Rome in 1532, which might have offered the opportunity for direct contact between the Florentine master and the Lucchese collaborator for this papal commission⁴⁴.

The artist's will and the inspiration by Perino's models that characterizes the frieze support the attribution of the work to Michele Lucchese, although it is not possible to exclude the possibility that the fresco was executed by a homonymous painter. In fact, the evaluation of the frieze is complicated by the collaboration of Matteo Crassetti da Terranova, who cannot be definitively identified, in its realization⁴⁵. Moreover, in the document relating to this commission, Michele is recalled as «magister», which indicates an established artist, while the following year he will be designated as a simple «Pictor» in the document of admission to the Università. Even if the use of these definitions actually changed according to the circumstances⁴⁶, the lack of information about the artist's birth date complicates the evaluation of his possible first known work. In addition, the good quality of the frieze seems to contrast with the inferior stylistic level of the engravings that Bernice Davidson has highlighted.

As a further element of evaluation, it must be observed that the frieze can be compared both with works attributed to Michele Grechi, such as the drawing with putti in Vasari's *Book of Drawings*, and with the (high-quality) frescos in the Palace of Paul III in Campidoglio. The dynamic composition and expressive interpretation of Perino's models that characterizes the putti dancing in a circle, or around the female figures with unicorns, in the frescos of the palace⁴⁷, look especially similar to the articulation of the figures of Castel Sant'Angelo, despite the more accentuated sculptural representation of the latter. In this context, the evaluation of Michele as a painter can be clarified by the analysis of the frescos of the Guidiccioni Chapel in the Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia in Rome, which, as far as is known, are the only paintings that can be certainly attributed to the artist's design.

The Guidiccioni Chapel in the Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia

When, in 1547, the Lucchese Alessandro Guidiccioni (1489-1552), once *maestro di casa* of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese and papal nuncio to France, took up the office of Commendator of the Church and of the Hospital of Santo Spirito in Sassia, he immediately started a rich and ambitious programme of decoration⁴⁸. This led him to renovate the interiors of the church and of the hospital that he had been asked to administer. In a few months, in 1547 and 1548, he commissioned the realization of an outstanding organ, as well as (probably) the nave ceiling and a new ciborium for the church. At the same time, he ordered a new ceiling and (probably) a ciborium for the *Corsia Sistina*, the large aisle of the hospital that had been commissioned by Pope Sixtus IV nearly a century before⁴⁹. Shortly thereafter, Alessandro commissioned the Lucchese Michele Grechi with the decoration of the chapel that he had chosen as a sepulchre for himself, his brother Girolamo, and one of his closest friends, Antonio Foderato (fig. 8). Apart from the episode of the Guidiccioni Chapel – the third chapel on the left nave of Santo Spirito in Sassia – no more is known of the relationship between Alessandro Guidiccioni and Michele Lucchese, and it is only possible to suppose a promotion of the artist at the Farnese Court by the Guidiccioni. The common origin of the patron and the artist, as well as their activity for the Farnese family, certainly makes the decoration of the Guidiccioni Chapel a unique case of Lucchese patronage in mid-Sixteenth-century Rome.

According to the contract for the ornamentation of the chapel, which Alessandro Guidiccioni concluded on 14 October 1550⁵⁰, Michele Grechi committed himself to designing the entire decoration and to painting the altarpiece with a Crucifixion and the patron's portrait⁵¹. The contract specifies that the decoration of the chapel, which had to include paintings and gilded stuccos, should have been «more beautiful and adorned» and with a «more outstanding appearance», than the chapel of Guidiccioni's predecessor in the role of Commendator of Santo Spirito, Francesco De Landis⁵².

Indeed, the general organization of the Guidiccioni Chapel's decoration resembles that of De Landis' Chapel⁵³, which is generally assigned to Perino del Vaga's school⁵⁴. The soffit of the arch, including the arms of Alessandro Guidiccioni in the centre, is ornamented with a combination of panels filled with stuccos and frescos⁵⁵. Stucco reliefs, representing *grotesque* ornamentations and rosettes, divide the vault into horizontal and vertical ribs. Under a depiction of the *Dove of the Holy Spirit* at top of the vault, oval and octagonal stucco frameworks in the upper part and rectangular frameworks in the lower part of the semi-dome comprise frescos illustrating Christ's Passion⁵⁶ (fig. 9, 10, 11), which alternate with angels' heads in the upper frieze and prophets in the lower frieze, while four painted prophets

adorn the chapel's pilasters (fig. 12). A band decorated by stuccoed putti, angels with musical instruments, garlands, and small painted allegorical figures, divides the two main levels of the vault. The lower section of the chapel is decorated by frescoes imitating marble panels and cameos with allegorical figures (fig. 11). The monumental altar, which has retained its original carved, painted and gilded framework⁵⁷, is today filled with a wooden Crucifix⁵⁸, which substituted the original altarpiece. The side walls are occupied by the memorials of Alessandro Guidiccioni, on the left, and Antonio Foderato, on the right (fig. 11). They display analogous aedicular structures, but the Foderato memorial, unlike Guidiccioni's aedicule, is completed by a stucco relief depicting the *Pietà* (fig. 13). This latter piece is an example of the numerous reproductions of Michelangelo's composition for Vittoria Colonna on this subject, today attested to by the drawing in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston⁵⁹ (fig. 14).

Compared with the chapel of Francesco De Landis, the stucco decoration of the Guidiccioni Chapel (which is in poor condition, as are the frescos) has a more evident ornamental character. As Louise Smith Bross has noted⁶⁰, the entire surface is encrusted with stucco ornaments, which appear to be high classicizing. In fact, the stucco reliefs of the vault display a series of motifs taken from the ancient, such as grotesques, rosettes, and garlands, which in the lower frieze are repeated in the fresco decoration. Michele Grechi reproduced grotesques in a series of prints, whose models are identified, in the prints' labels, with Raphael's works «in pontificis domo»⁶¹. Michele's engravings replicate the decorations that Giovanni da Udine had realized in the Loggetta of Cardinal Bibiena and in the Sala dei Pontefici, where Perino had also worked. The imitation of these prototypes is quite inventive, as the engraver introduced innovations due to the influence of different models⁶². A free re-elaboration of models can be observed in other prints by the artist, including the aforementioned Dürer's *Man of Sorrows*. In the case of the grotesques, it has been supposed that Michele might have examined, possibly through Perino, copies already modified: re-elaborations of the originals to be used for other decorative projects and diffused among Perino's collaborators⁶³. In any case, prints attest to a familiarity with the ancient decoration, as developed within Raphael's circle, which is also displayed in the frescos of the Palace of Paul III⁶⁴.

The stucco reliefs indicate the certain participation of different collaborators in the decoration of the Guidiccioni Chapel. The intervention of several artists is also shown by the differences between the paintings of the various parts of the chapel⁶⁵, the evaluation of which is nevertheless problematic due to the frescos' poor condition of preservation. The frescos of the upper level of the vault – certainly re-

painted – are characterized by a schematic body configuration and pronounced contour lines. Among the frescos of the lower section, the episodes of *Christ before Pilate* (fig. 9) and the *Way to Calvary* (fig. 11) display a much softer colouring and a more naturalistic representation of movement. Prophets can be assigned to the same artist: they are characterized by fluid brushstrokes as well as by an accentuated plastic configuration and expressive faces⁶⁶ (fig. 12). The allegorical figures in the painted cameos are characterized by a slightly different style, marked by a rapid, almost classicizing, coloring. In addition, the collaboration of different artists is suggested by the contract for the decoration of the chapel. It specifies that Michele Grechi had to paint the altarpiece and “design” the decoration. Therefore, the document seems to imply that system of organization of work, certainly employed in Perino’s workshop, and also adopted in the Palace of Paul III, based on the master’s drawings being executed by several collaborators⁶⁷.

A common trait of the frescos is the antiquarian inspiration, which clearly results from the ancient costumes and the architectural settings of the scenes. Some figures belong to a classicistic typology that is repeated in contemporary decorations related to Perino del Vaga. In this regard, Gonzalo Redín Michaus has remarked upon the repetition of a figure of a warrior, seen from the back, represented in the episode of *Christ before Pilate* (fig. 9) in the chapel, and, with an analogous aspect, in the scene of the *Apparition of Aeneas and Achates* in the frieze of Palazzo Massimo⁶⁸, which Davidson had assigned to Michele Grechi⁶⁹. The attribution of the frieze of Palazzo Massimo, where Redín Michaus, in turn, saw the possible presence of Michele Lucchese, remains a debated problem⁷⁰. The analogies with the paintings of the Guidiccioni Chapel certainly confirm an inspiration by Perino’s inventions that is suggested by at least one other piece of evidence. The figure of the elder with a long white beard in the left foreground of the *Crowning of Thorns* (fig. 10) is a quotation from ancient sculpture, as it comes from a Hellenistic relief representing *Dionysus Visiting a Tragic Poet*, which is supported in different versions⁷¹. The relief had been present in the Maffei collection in Rome since the beginning of the sixteenth century⁷². It was reproduced in several drawings⁷³ and in an engraving of Antonio Lafréry’s *Speculum*⁷⁴ (fig. 15), which show the success and the diffusion of this iconographic subject – and of the figure of Dionysus in particular. The figure of the Guidiccioni Chapel presents the iconographic variation of the right hand placed on the chest, which had been employed in the fresco showing the sequence of dancers in the Palace of Paul III in Campidoglio⁷⁵. This seems to confirm the exchange of drawings in the artistic circle of Perino, who had, in turn, quoted the same figure, with some changes, in the *Creation of Eve* of the Chapel of the Crucifixion in the Church of St. Marcello al Corso⁷⁶.

The architectural settings of the paintings can be closely compared with Michele Lucchese's engravings, especially the *Prospettive et Antichità di Roma*. As has been noted, this series reflects the antiquarian taste that characterized the Roman context in the 1540s, and the contemporary architectural debate, in a circulation of models between Italy and France⁷⁷. Compared with their French prototypes, Michele's reproductions show a less effective perspective construction, because of the substitution of the round format of the original prints with a rectangular frame⁷⁸. Indeed, Michele Grechi's engravings are generally characterized, as Davidson first remarked⁷⁹, by non-rigorous spatial configuration, which often determines a multiplication of figures on the same planes (fig. 1). An analogous uncertainty in the outline of the perspective planes can be observed in the frescos of the Guidiccioni Chapel, especially in the scenes of *Christ before Pilate* (fig. 9) and the *Way to Calvary* (fig. 11), which can also be compared with the artist's prints for the analogous figure-types. The latter are characterized by a colossal configuration, which is even more emphasized in the prophets⁸⁰ (fig. 12). The prophets, because of their expressiveness, can, in turn, be compared to Michele's engraving production. The illusionistic solutions associated with these figures, such as the foot and drapery of the prophet in the lower part of the left pilaster hanging down from the frame (fig. 12), find a correspondence in the illusive representation of the flying angels in the room of Clement VII (fig. 3c).

The monumental configuration of the figures of the Guidiccioni Chapel has been explained by the influence, on Michele's style, of Pellegrino Tibaldi, who had worked with the Lucchese on the furnishing of Paul III's funeral in 1549⁸¹. However, the reference to Michelangelo's art appears to be an inner component of the figurative language of Michele Grechi, who not only looked at the Michelangelo through the mediation of Perino del Vaga, but also completed several reproductions of Michelangelo's works, including copies of the artist's presentation drawings. As Alessia Alberti has highlighted, Michele's prints of *The Fall of Phaeton* and *The Dream* (after the drawings for Tommaso de' Cavalieri) and the *Madonna of Silence* (after the drawing for Vittoria Colonna, fig. 2) are very similar to the originals and should be consequently dated not far from Michelangelo's compositions⁸². It can be observed that Michele's closeness to Michelangelo's art was certainly also mediated by the artist's protectors and patrons.

In a document of the Università dei Pittori, dated 6 October 1549, the Lucchese is recalled as «Micael de Lucca, pictor in domo Reverendissimi Sancta Flora»⁸³, that is as the painter of the cardinal of Santa Fiora Guido Ascanio Sforza (1518-1564), the son of Count Bosio of Santa Fiora and Costanza Farnese, the natural daughter of Pope Paul III⁸⁴. The relationship between the artist and the Pope's

nephew should date back to 1545ca., when in the previously mentioned documents for the decorations in Castel Sant'Angelo, Michele was defined as «magister Michaeli Grechi pictori lucano familiare nostro» by Guido Ascanio Sforza who, as *camerlengo*, signed the payments⁸⁵. Furthermore, in a notary deed of 1557, the painter was recalled as «pittore del cardinale Santa Fiora»⁸⁶, and a reference to the «good memory» of Guido Ascanio Sforza appears in the artist's testament (doc. 1). Michele Grechi dedicated to Guido Ascanio Sforza the *Prospettive et Antichità di Roma*⁸⁷, as well as two engravings of the works that Paul III had commissioned to Michelangelo, the *Last Judgement* and the *Crucifixion of St. Peter* in the Pauline Chapel⁸⁸. In addition, the Cardinal himself commissioned Michelangelo with the project of his family chapel in the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore, where he held the position of Archpriest⁸⁹.

Michele's engraving of the *Fugger Altarpiece* by Giulio Romano shows a dedication to another personality related to the Farnese family who came from the Sforza of Santa Fiora on his mother's side: Giuliano Cesarini (1491-1566)⁹⁰. Cesarini was also associated with the circle of Michelangelo's familiars, as the Roman noble was married to Giulia Colonna, the cousin of Vittoria Colonna, whom Cesarini hosted in his Roman Palace, at the end of her life.

Michele Grechi's connections with a circle of patrons not only close to Michelangelo but also to the "spiritual" movement seem to be confirmed by the artist's engraving of the *Madonna of Silence* (fig. 2). As has been noted, this print is completed by some verses from the *Song of Songs* that emphasize the interpretation of the image in "spiritual" terms⁹¹. Moreover, Alessandro Guidiccioni was himself acquainted with personalities, such as his cousin Giovanni Guidiccioni and Paolo Giovio, who were closely associated with some of the most important representatives of Italian Evangelism, with Vittoria Colonna in particular⁹².

These circumstances support the hypothesis that Michele Lucchese might have designed, in the context of the Guidiccioni Chapel, the relief of the *Pietà* of the Foderato Memorial (fig. 13), the attribution of which is still debated⁹³. Considering both the patron's and the artist's connections with the "spiritual" movement, this reproduction of Michelangelo's *Pietà* for Vittoria Colonna would not only attest to the contemporary wide diffusion of this iconographic invention in different media and materials, including the monumental decoration, but it would also be a precise iconographic choice, certainly aware of the authentic "spiritual" meaning of Michelangelo's composition⁹⁴. In the Guidiccioni Chapel, the reference to Michelangelo's presentation drawings elaborated in context of the "spiritual" circle gathering around Vittoria Colonna is attested by the fresco decoration as well. In the scene of *Christ before Pilate* (fig. 9), the man in the right

foreground, leaning on a marble base and putting his right hand over his mouth, comes from Michelangelo's *Madonna of Silence*⁹⁵, which, as has already been said, Michele Grechi reproduced in an engraving (fig. 2). These quotations confirm the use of Michelangelo's presentation drawings in the Guidiccioni Chapel as a conscious and specific solution. At the same time, they attest the varied artistic culture – moving between the antiquarian taste developed within Perino del Vaga's circle and the different components of Michelangelo's artistic production – that Michele Grechi displayed in his monumental decorations.

Abbreviations

ASAL: Archivio Storico dell'Accademia di San Luca

ASC: Archivio Storico Capitolino

ASR: Archivio di Stato di Roma

Document 1

ASR, Notai Auditor Camerae, vol. 6470, f. 497

Testament of Michele Grechi, 24 maggio 1567,

Die 24 Maii 1567

In margine: Vide codicillum sub die 9 Iunii 1570

Dominus Michael Bartholomei Grechi, lucensis, pictor, sanus Dei gratia mente et intellectu licet corpore, languens, considerans nihil certius morte hora autem eius nihil incertius eius, nolens ab intestato decedere, sponte suum nuncupatum testamentum, quod de iure civili sine scriptis dicitur, condidit et fecit in hunc qui sequetur modum, verum:

In primis commendavit animam suam altissimo eiusque filio unigenito Domino nostro, Iesu Christo, et eius matri gloriosissime virgini Marie totique curie celesti, deprecans humiliter divinam maiestatem quatenus sibi peccata sua que non sine dolore et in hoc seculo commisse condonare dignetur.

Item dum et quando Deo placuit ipsem mori, voluit eius cadaver humanus in ecclesia Sancti Blasii vel alibi ubi venerari placuerit illustrissimo et reverendissimo domino Carli Sfortie, eius domino.

Item ex suis rebus et bonis mobilibus tam utensilibus domus ac persone sue et pecuniis et bonis concernentibus artem pictoris et aliis quibuslibet in Urbe existentibus ac ex suis creditis quibuscunmque sibi ratione locorum mortuum per-

sonum annuarum ac hereditatis bone memorie illustrissimi et reverendissimi domini Guidonis Ascanii Sfortie dum vixit suprascripti reverendissimi eminentissimi Carlis camerarii et aliusquam de causa et occasione Rome debiti set in futurum debendis legavit et iure legati reliquit videlicet ser Nicolao Lancilotti Iuccensi scusta centum monete, et alia scuta centum similia Ioannino filio magistri Iohannis fabri, et domine Ttelene, ipsius testatoris sororis, et alia scuta triginta heredibus quondam Reineri pisani pictoris multorum et multorum, Luce defuncti.

Reliquum vero supradictorum rerum, honorum, pecuniarum et creditorum rerum, voluit et vult distribui et distribui debere per dictum illustrissimum et reverendissimum Don Carlem Sfortiam cui et quibus ipsi illustrissimo videbitur et placuerit vel per alium seu alios ab eodem illustrissimo deputatos pro refrigerio anime ipsius testatoris.

In omnibus autem aliis suis rebus et bonis, iuribus et condicionibus ubique sitis et positis ac res quocumque modo pto veris ulterius, heredes suos universales instituit et in proprio nominavit Lucam Grechi, eius fratrem germanum.

Executorem vel executores huius testamenti et ultime voluntatis, constituit et essere voluit illum vel illos quem vel quos dicto illustrissimo Don Carli Sfortie benemeritum fuerit deputati cuius deputationem faciendi omni modo tribuit facultatem et auctoritatem qui deputatus vel deputati possint crediti exigere debita si que erunt pro solutione demandare cum facultatibus necessariis et opportunis.

Et hinc asseruit esse et esse velle suam ultimam voluntatem et ultimum testamentum quam et quod est, cassatum est, supradictis quibus est.

Actum Rome in palatio dicti illustrissimi Carlis Sfortie et in stantiis de camera dicti testatoris presentibus ibidem:

Don Vincenzo Bonanno, Brixienensis diocesis, cappellano dicti illustrissimi reverendissimi

Don Antonio Bonanno, Brixienensis diocesis

Frate Teophilo Brambilla, Cremonensis ordinis carmelitani

Iohanne Antonio Bonzono de Castro Guffredo, Brixienensis diocesis

Heronimo quondam Sanctis castri Chiusini, Pientine diocesis dominii Senarum

Guglielmo Perier quondam Guillelmi, Petragoricensis diocesis, gallo, coquo et

Rinaldo, filio magistri Baptiste de Ferrariis de Castro, intra Mediolanensem diocesem.

- * This article is based on material from my Ph.D. thesis, *The Guidiccioni Family between Lucca and Rome: Artistic Patronage and Cultural Production 1530-1550 ca.*, IMT School for Advanced Studies Lucca, 2017. I am grateful to Prof. Silvia Ginzburg, Emanuele Pellegrini and Barbara Agosti for their essential advice. I also thank Dr. Guido Rebecchini and Simonetta Adorni Braccesi for helpful comments and criticism. I am indebted too to Valentina Balzarotti, who shared with me the results of her research on the Guidiccioni in Rome.
- 1 B.F. Davidson, *Introducing Michaeli Grechi Lucchese*, in «The Art Bulletin», 46, 1964, pp. 550-552. On the artist, see also: L. Ragghianti Collobi, *Il Libro de' disegni del Vasari*, Firenze, 1974, vol. 1, p. 174; vol. 2, p. 534; L. Ragghianti Collobi, *Michele da Lucca, Polidoro e Rubens*, in «Critica d'Arte», 21, 1975, pp. 11-20; E. Gaudio, *I lavori farnesiani a Castel Sant'Angelo. Precitazioni ed ipotesi*, in «Bollettino d'arte», 1-2, 1976, pp. 21-42; C. Strinati, *La tavola Pellucchi di Livio Agresti*, in «Prospettiva», 9, 1977, pp. 69-72; *Gli affreschi di Paolo III a Castel Sant'Angelo, Progetto ed esecuzione 1543-1548*, exhibition catalog, Rome, 1981-1982, edited by F.M. Aliberti Gaudio and E. Gaudio, Roma, 1981, vol. 1, p. 57 and vol. 2, pp. 78-80, 86, 114, 190; R. Guerrini, *Artisti senesi – ed alcuni altri del secolo XVI in Roma (dall'Archivio dell'Accademia Nazionale di San Luca)*, in «Bollettino Senese di Storia Patria», 90, 1983, pp. 152-168; E. Borelli, *Nel segno di Fra Bartolomeo. Pittori del Cinquecento a Lucca*. Lucca, 1984, pp. 40-41; *Raphael Invenit. Stampe di Raffaello nelle collezioni dell'Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica. Catalogo*, edited by G. Bernini Pezzini, S. Massari and S. Prosperi Valenti Rodinò, Roma, 1985, p. 64; *La Sistina riprodotta. Gli affreschi di Michelangelo dalle stampe del Cinquecento alle campagne fotografiche Anderson*, exhibition catalogue, Roma, 1991, ed. by A. Moltedo, Roma, 1991, pp. 37-39; L. Calzona, «La Gloria de' Prencipi». *Gli Sforza di Santafiore da Proceno a Segni*, Roma, 1996; A. Angelini, *Pompeo Cesura tra Roma e L'Aquila*, in «Prospettiva», 97, 2000, pp. 104-144; M. Bury, *The Print in Italy, 1550-1620*, London, 2001, p. 228; P. Picardi, *Gli affreschi del Palazzo di Paolo III al Campidoglio: un salvataggio anomalo*, in «Paragone. Arte», 54, 2004, pp. 3-26; C.L.C.E. Witcombe, *Copyright in the Renaissance. Prints and the Privilegio in Sixteenth-Century Venice and Rome*, Leiden-Boston, 2004, *ad ind.*; G. Redin Michaus, *Pedro Rubiales, Gaspar Becerra y los pintores españoles en Roma, 1527-1600*, Madrid, 2007, *ad ind.*; *Michelangelo's Dream*, exhibition catalogue, London, 2010, ed. by S. Buck, London, 2010, p. 67; M. Goi, *Le grottesche nelle stampe del Cinquecento tra Italia e Francia: il caso di Michele Greco*, in *Dal testo alla rete*, conference proceedings, Budapest, 2010, ed. by E. Székárosi and J. Nagy, Budapest, 2010, pp. 260-270; B. Agosti, *Intorno alla cappella Guidiccioni*, in «Conosco un ottimo storico dell'arte...» *Per Enrico Castelnuovo. Scritti di allievi e amici pisani*, Pisa, 2012, pp. 259-265; P. Picardi, *Perino del Vaga, Michele Lucchese e il Palazzo di Paolo III al Campidoglio. Circolazione e uso dei modelli dell'antico nelle decorazioni farnesiane a Roma*, Roma, 2012; I. Salvagni, «da Universitas ad Academia.» *La corporazione dei Pittori nella chiesa di san Luca a Roma. 1478-1588*, Roma, 2012, vol. I, in particular pp. 83-84 and note 177, pp. 180-181; A. Alberti, *Contributi per Michele Grechi Lucchese incisore*, in «Rassegna di studi e di notizie», 41, 2014/2015, pp. 35-77; *D'Après Michelangelo*, exhibition catalogue, Milano, 2015-2016, ed. by A. Alberti, A. Rovetta, C. Salsi, Venezia, 2015; G. Saporì, *Maestri, botteghe, équipes nei palazzi romani: Perino del Vaga, Salviati, Vasari e Zuccari*, in «Palazzi del Cinquecento a Roma», ed. by C. Conforti and G. Saporì, Roma, 2016, pp. 1-52; P. Picardi, *La decorazione dei palazzi farnesiani alla metà del Cinquecento*, in «Palazzi del Cinquecento a Roma», ed. by C. Conforti and G. Saporì, Roma, 2016, pp. 67-82.
- 2 ASR, Camerale I, Mandati, vol. 872, c. 117r; vol. 882, c. 18r, c. 110v, c. 103r, 112rv. Davidson, *Introducing Michaeli Grechi*, cit., p. 550. On these documents, see also Calzona, «La Gloria de' Prencipi», cit., p. 72, note 55; Picardi, *Perino del Vaga*, cit. pp. 26 and 170, n. 13; Alberti,

Contributi per Michele Grechi, cit., p. 38.

- 3 ASR, Camerale I, Tesoreria Segreta, reg. 1291, libro II, c. 2, payment dated 16 November 1543. Davidson, *Introducing Michaeli Grechi*, cit., p. 550. On these documents, see also Picardi, *Perino del Vaga*, cit., pp. 13 and 26; Alberti, *Contributi per Michele Grechi*, cit., p. 38.
- 4 Davidson, *Introducing Michaeli Grechi*, cit., p. 550; V. Romani, *Primaticcio, Tibaldi e la questione delle "cose del cielo"*, Padova, 1997, p. 19; Picardi, *Perino del Vaga*, cit., p. 26; Alberti, *Contributi per Michele Grechi*, cit., p. 38.
- 5 Davidson, *Introducing Michaeli Grechi*, cit., p. 550; Calzona, "La Gloria de' Prencipi", cit., p. 57; Picardi, *Perino del Vaga*, cit., p. 26.
- 6 Alberti, *Contributi per Michele Grechi*, cit., pp. 35-36. On the main works that in eighteenth and nineteenth century give information on Michele Grechi's engravings, see *ivi*, note 5, pp. 52-53. It is interesting to observe the reference to Michele Grechi by Lucchese authors. In particular, Michele Grechi is recalled by Tommaso Trenta, who celebrates the engraver: «se le sue opere non possono andar del pari con quelle dei pochi più eccellenti maestri italiani dell'età sua, pur non ostante si tengono in pregio presso tutti gli amatori delle antiche incisioni». T. Trenta, *Memorie e documenti per servire all'istoria del ducato di Lucca*, Lucca, 1822, vol. VIII, pp. 114-117. He is also recalled, together with Pietro Testa, as one of the best engraver of Lucca, in *Opere del marchese Antonio Mazzarosa*, Lucca, 1831, vol. 1, p. 176. Several prints by the artist were also in the collection of Alessandro Ottolini in Lucca.
- 7 Davidson, *Introducing Michaeli Grechi*, cit.
- 8 For the analysis of these works, see in particular, Picardi, *Perino del Vaga*, cit., pp. 89-101.
- 9 Davidson, *Introducing Michaeli Grechi*, cit., p. 551.
- 10 *Ibidem*
- 11 *Ibidem*
- 12 «Come anco ultimamente ha fatto un certo Luchese della crocifissione di San Pietro et del Giudicio Universale. Dove non v'è nulla che pur accenni una minima particella della maesta et perfettione delle cose di Michelangelo; e credo che in fine mi faranno arrabbiar questi intagliatoruzzi di tre quattrini, ignoranti e nati per vituperio non solamente degli eccellenti artefici (l'opera delli quali guastano e storpiano sì fieramente,) ma eziandio di tutta l'Italia». Picardi, *Perino del Vaga*, cit., p. 102; Alberti, *Contributi per Michele Grechi*, cit., p. 35. The letter is transcribed in K. Frey, *Der literarische Nachlass Giorgio Vasaris*, München, 1930, vol. II, pp. 159-160.
- 13 «Chè del passato è stata dedicata a S.S. Ill.ma [Alessandro Farnese] una certa stampa del giudizio di Michelangelo di figure piccole dell'intaglio di qualche Michele di Lucca o d'un Giulio Bonasone, la quale opra arreca sì poco onore a S.S. Ill.ma et R.ma, a Michelangelo, et ad Intagliatore». Because of the dedication to Alessandro Farnese, the work has been identified with the print by Giulio Bonasone. Alberti, *Contributi per Michele Grechi*, cit., pp. 35 and 52, note 2. The letter is transcribed in *Da van Eyck a Brueghel. Scritti sulle arti di Domenico Lampsonio*, edited by G.C. Sciolla and C. Volpi, Torino, 2001, p. 129, note 1.
- 14 Davidson, *Introducing Michaeli Grechi*, cit., pp. 551-552.
- 15 Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts graphiques, inv. 1326. In a first moment, the scholar had attributed the drawing to a fifteenth-century «Michele Lucchese» (Ragghianti Collobi, *Il Libro de' disegni*, cit., vol. 1, p. 174; vol. 2, p. 534). Later, she modified the attribution and assigned the drawing to Michele Grechi (Ragghianti Collobi, *Michele da Lucca*, cit.).

- 16 Angelini, *Pompeo Cesura tra Roma e L'Aquila*, cit., pp. 126-133.
- 17 For the attribution of the frescos of the Marciac Chapel to Guillaume Bonoyseau, see P. Tosini, *Un mistero risolto: il "Maestro della Cappella Marciac" a Trinità dei Monti, alias Guillaume Bonoyseau "Gallico"*, in *La chiesa e il convento della Trinità dei Monti. Ricerche, nuove letture, restauri*, ed. by C. Di Matteo and S. Roberto, Roma, 2016, pp. 162-168.
- 18 The most updated catalogue of the artist is in Alberti, *Contributi per Michele Grechi*, cit., pp. 58-77. On the copies of Michelangelo's presentation drawings, see *D'Après Michelangelo*, cit., pp. 169-172 and 347-349.
- 19 On these prints, see Picardi, *Perino del Vaga*, cit., p. 104 and Alberti, *Contributi per Michele Grechi*, cit., pp. 48-50.
- 20 Bury, *The Print in Italy*, cit., p. 288 and Idem, in *Michelangelo's Dream*, cit., pp. 67-68 and 167-170. See also Picardi, *Perino del Vaga, Michele Lucchese*, cit., pp. 101-105 and Alberti, *Contributi per Michele Grechi*, cit., p. 37.
- 21 The frescos were located in the "Tower" of Paul III on the Campidoglio Hill. In 1585, Sixtus V transferred the ownership of the building to the Order of the Friars Minor Observants of the Convent of Santa Maria in Aracoeli. In 1873, after the suppression of the religious corporations, the delegates of the Italian government took possession of the properties of the Minor Observants, including the Palace of Paul III. In that occasion, they registered the presence of detached frescos in the building. In 1882, because of the construction of the Monument dedicated to Vittorio Emanuele II, the Palace of Paul III was demolished. The detached frescos were preserved thanks to the intervention of the director of the Istituto delle Belle Arti, and became a property of the Institute. At the end of 20th century, they were found in the storage of the Institute, and, since that moment, they have been analyzed and studied. The presence of the name of Michele Grechi in the documents related to the decoration of the Palace of Paul III was known since, at least, the 1960s. After the re-discovery of the frescos, the engraving production of the artist has been compared to the paintings, in order to identify his hand in their execution. A detailed description of the re-discovery of the frescos is in Picardi, *Gli affreschi del Palazzo di Paolo III*, cit., and Eadem, *Perino del Vaga, Michele Lucchese*, cit. On the original location of the frescos, see also M. Brancia di Apricena, *La committenza edilizia di Paolo III Farnese sul Campidoglio*, in «Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana», 32, 1997-1998, p. 435 and Eadem, *Il complesso dell'Aracoeli sul Colle Capitolino (IX - XIX secolo)*, Roma, 2000, pp. 174 and 188, note 165.
- 22 Picardi, *Perino del Vaga*, cit., pp. 25-31.
- 23 *Ibidem*
- 24 *Ibidem*. For the attribution of these figures of the room of Perseus to Domenico Zaga, see *Gli affreschi di Paolo III a Castel Sant'Angelo*, cit., vol. 2, pp. 77-79.
- 25 In January 1534, he is recalled as «pictor» in the document of admission to the congregation. ASAL, vol. 42, c. 4v. In a document dated 25 July 1548, he is recalled as «magister». G. M. Leproux, *La Corporation Romaine des Peintres 'et Autres' de 1548 à 1574*, in «Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes», 149, 2, 1991, p. 303. On these documents see also Picardi, *Perino del Vaga*, cit., p. 83 and Salvagni, «*da Universitas ad Academia*», cit. Anyway, in the documents for the decoration of the Palace of Paul III, in 1543, Michele had already been mentioned as «magister». See Picardi, *Perino del Vaga*, cit., doc. 11, p. 169.
- 26 ASAL, vol. 41, c. 6r. Leproux, *La Corporation Romaine des Peintres*, cit., p. 321. See also Picardi, *Perino del Vaga*, cit., p. 84.

- 27 The last presence of the artist in the congregation is dated 8 October 1559. Leproux, *La Corporation Romaine des Peintres*, cit., p. 325. See also Picardi, *Perino del Vaga, Michele Lucchese*, cit., p. 85. Starting from June 1561, the documents of the institution mention a certain «magister Michele Grecchus Pictor» or «Grecus». This artist must be identified with another unknown painter, who, in 1561, had to pay the two *scudi* for the admission to the Università. In fact, Michele Lucchese had already paid the amount in 1534. *Ibidem*. See also Guerrini, *Artisti senesi*, cit., pp. 164-165; Calzona, “*La Gloria de’ Prencipi*”, cit., p. 57; Salvagni, “*da Universitas ad Academia*”, cit., note 177, pp. 180-181. On 27 May 1565, a «magister Michael Pictor» is cited in the documents, but it is not possible to ascertain his identity. Picardi, *Perino del Vaga*, cit., p. 85.
- 28 ASR, Notai AC, vol. 6470, 24 May 1567, f. 497 and vol. 6251, 9 June 1570, f. 467r. The document is unpublished. It is cited in Redín Michaus, *Pedro Rubiales*, cit., p. 79, note 282; Alberti, *Contributi per Michele Grechi*, cit., pp. 40 and 54-55, notes 26 and 27; Picardi, *La decorazione dei palazzi farnesiani*, cit., pp. 74 and 81, note 49. Alessia Alberti makes reference to some contents of the testament: specifically, she hypothesizes that the Church of St. Biagio mentioned in the document might be identified with the Church of St. Biagio degli Orefici, where the musician Giulio Signo from Modena, a familiar of Cardinal Guido Ascanio Sforza, the artist’s main protector, had been buried. Alberti, *Contributi per Michele Grechi*, cit., note 26, pp. 54-55. The scholar also recalls that, in the *codicillo* of 1570, the artist revokes the instructions concerning the heirs of the Lucchese Nicola Lancillotti and of the painter Reinerio from Pisa. *Ibidem*, p. 55, note 27.
- 29 Michael Bury had already noted that the year 1604 was often erroneously indicated as the last term for the engraving activity of the artist, on the basis of the date on a late state of the engraving of Giulio Romano’s altarpiece in Santa Maria dell’Anima. See Bury in *Michelangelo’s Dream*, cit., p. 73.
- 30 ASR, Notai AC, vol. 6470, 24 May 1567, f. 497. See also Alberti, *Contributi per Michele Grechi*, cit. p. 40. Alberti mentions the name of the artist but does not discuss the following implications.
- 31 ASC, *Diversorum antiquorum I*, 894. See *Gli affreschi di Paolo III*, cit., vol. I, p. 57 and Picardi, *Perino del Vaga*, cit., pp. 82 and 172, doc. 15.
- 32 Gaudio, *I lavori farnesiani*, cit., pp. 26 and 39, note 39; *Gli affreschi di Paolo III*, cit., vol. I, p. 57 and vol. II, p. 79; Picardi, *Perino del Vaga*, cit., pp. 82 and 172, doc. 15. Alessia Alberti and Isabella Salvagni also recall the attribution of the work to Michele Grechi, without discussing the problem of the name, which both scholars report in its complete form. Alberti, *Contributi per Michele Grechi*, p. 38 and Salvagni, “*da Universitas ad Academia*”, cit., pp. 83-84 and 180-181.
- 33 On the south wall, the frieze is very deteriorated as well. The paintings have been restored in 1964, 1968, and 2002.
- 34 Paola Picardi has noted the inspiration by Michelangelo’s plastic construction that characterizes the putti of the painting, according to an interpretation of Michelangelo’s style that recalls the young Daniele da Volterra. Picardi, *Perino del Vaga*, cit., pp. 82-83. For the traditional attribution of the frieze to Giulio Romano, see M. Borgatti, *Il Mausoleo d’Adriano e Castello Sant’Angelo in Roma*, Roma, 1929, p. 97.
- 35 See in particular E. Parma Armani, *Perino del Vaga. L’anello mancante. Studi sul Manierismo*, Genova, 1986, pp. 55-62 and 258-260.
- 36 E. Parma, *Perino del Vaga: tra Raffaello e Michelangelo*, exhibition catalogue, Mantova, 2001,

Milano, 2001, pp. 165-167.

- 37 Parma Armani, *Perin del Vaga. L'anello mancante*, cit., pp. 163-164 and 316. On the Madonna of the Courtauld Institute see also Parma, *Perino del Vaga: tra Raffaello e Michelangelo*, cit., p. 78. The painting, in its inspiration to Fra Bartolomeo's altarpiece in the Cathedral of Lucca, might suggest the possibility of a Lucchese sojourn of the artist, as Bernice Davidson has proposed. B. Davidson, *Mostra di disegni di Perino del Vaga e la sua cerchia. Catalogo critico*, Firenze, 1966, n. 34, pp. 38-39.
- 38 Parma Armani, *Perin del Vaga. L'anello mancante*, cit., pp. 153-155 and 323-326. On this commission see also, A.E. Popham, *Sogliani and Perino del Vaga at Pisa*, in «The Burlington Magazine», 86, 52, 1945, pp. 85-90. On Perino's Genoese sojourn see A. Geremicca, "Sarebbe riuscita insieme un'opera molto onorata". *Per Perino del Vaga a Pisa*, in «Studi di Storia dell'arte», XXVII, 2016/2017, pp. 93-104.
- 39 Paola Picardi notes that Michele Grechi uses this motif in the engravings of the *Prospettive et Antichità*, where it seems to have been copied from a print of Agostino Veneziano. Picardi, *Perino del Vaga*, cit., pp. 98-99.
- 40 Parma Armani, *Perin del Vaga. L'anello mancante*, cit., pp. 99-130; P. Boccardo, *Andrea Doria e le Arti. Committenza e Mecenatismo a Genova*, Roma, 1989, pp. 51-59; M. Campigli, *Silvio Cosini. Scultore di marmo tra la Toscana e il Veneto*, tesi di dottorato, Università degli Studi di Udine, 2005/2006, pp. 153-195; Idem., *Girolamo da Treviso, Perin del Vaga, Pordenone e Beccafumi: quattro artisti per un ciclo di affreschi genovese*, in «Nuovi studi», 16, 2011, pp. 37-50; Idem., *Silvio Cosini, Niccolò da Corte e la scultura a Palazzo Doria*, in «Nuovi studi», 19, 2014, pp. 83-104.
- 41 Picardi, *Perino del Vaga, Michele Lucchese*, cit., p. 81 and Salvagni, "da Universitas ad Academia", cit., pp. 83 and 350.
- 42 M. Missirini, *Memorie per servire alla storia della Romana Accademia di S. Luca fino alla morte di Antonio Canova*, Roma, 1823, pp. 13-14. See also G. M. Leproux, *Les peintres romains devant le tribunal du sénateur 1544 - 1564*, in «Monuments et mémoires de la Fondation Eugène Piot», 72, 1991, p. 115, note 3; Calzona, "La Gloria de' Principi", cit., p. 57; Picardi, *Perino del Vaga*, cit., p. 81.
- 43 The information on the Roman origin of the painter, mentioned by Nagler and Passavant, must be considered wrong. The two scholars also indicate, respectively, 1529 and 1539 as the years of birth of the artist, but these dates are inconsistent with the information about the artist's life. G.K. Nagler, *Neues allgemeines Künstler-Lexicon oder Nachrichten von dem Leben und den Werken der Maler, Bildhauer, Baumeister, Kupferstecher, Formschneider, Lithographen, Zeichner, Medailleure, Elfenbeinarbeiter, etc.*, München, 1839, vol. 8, p. 94; J.D. Passavant, *Le peintre-graveur. Contenant l'Histoire de la gravure sur bois, sur métal et au burin jusque vers la fin du XVI siècle; l'histoire du nielle avec complément de la partie descriptive de l'Essai sur les nielles de Duchesne aîné et un Catalogue supplémentaire aux estampes du XV et XVI siècle du Peintre-graveur de Adam Bartsch*, Leipzig, 1864, vol. V, p. 166. The information is mentioned also in A.M. Hind, *Storia dell'incisione. Dal XV secolo al 1914*, Torino, 1998, p. 236 and *Raphael Invenit*, cit., p. 872. For a discussion of the problem, see also Picardi, *Perino del Vaga*, cit., p. 81 and Alberti, *Contributi per Michele Grechi*, cit., p. 38. Ernesto Borelli, in order to support the Lucchese origin of the artist, also notes that the surname "Del Greco" is widely diffused in Lucca. Borelli, *Nel segno di Fra Bartolomeo*, cit., note 70, p. 40. It can be added that the artist is recalled by the Lucchese historiography (see note 6).
- 44 On the hypothesis concerning Perino del Vaga's Roman sojourn in 1532, see Parma, *Perino*

del Vaga: tra Raffaello e Michelangelo, cit., pp. 142-144. See also Geremicca, "Sarebbe riuscita insieme un'opera molto onorata", cit., p. 96.

- 45 Eraldo Gaudio identified Matteo Crassetti da Terranova with the homonymous miniator, who is attested in Rome since 1519, and worked to the decoration of some codex in the monasteries of Montecassino and San Pietro in Perugia until 1529. Gaudio attributed to Matteo Crassetti the decoration of the ceiling of the room of Clement VII, whereas he considered Michele Lucchese the author of the painted frieze. See Gaudio, *I lavori farnesiani*, cit., p. 39, note 39. Anyway, Matteo Crassetti da Terranova, whose personality as a miniator must be clarified, is not attested as a painter in monumental decorations. Moreover, as a miniator, he is not known after 1529. On Matteo Crassetti da Terranova, see F. Sricchia Santoro, *Appunti per i corali cinquecenteschi dell'Abbazia di Montecassino. Il maestro del retablo di Bolea e un'ipotesi per "Loyse da Napoli"*, in *Napoli, l'Europa. Ricerche di storia dell'arte in onore di Ferdinando Bologna*, ed. by F. Abbate and F. Sricchia Santoro, Catanzaro, 1995, pp. 137-140; C. Pasqualetti, *ad vocem* «Matteo da Terranova», in *Dizionario Biografico dei Miniatori Italiani. Secoli IX-XVI*, ed. by M. Bollati, Milano, pp. 746-747; S. Giacomelli, *L'abbazia di San Pietro in Perugia e i suoi codici miniati*, in «Rivista di storia della miniatura», 9/10, 2005/2006, pp. 103-118; F. Frezzato, "Matteo da Terra Nuova miniatore fiorentino": contributi ad una biografia a lungo discussa, in «Bollettino d'arte», 95, 2010, pp. 87-88; T. D'Urso, *Nel circuito cassinese: Matteo da Terranova, Aloyse da Napoli e Francesco Boccardi*, in «Rivista di storia della miniatura», 15, 2011, pp. 142-155; C. Pasqualetti, *I "Segreti d'arti diverse" della Biblioteca Marciana di Venezia, Matteo da Terranova e fra' Vincenzo Pontano da Fondi: contributi sulla miniatura meridionale del Cinquecento*, in «Rivista di storia della miniatura», 18, 2014, pp. 146-159. Isabella Salvagni, in turn, identified the artist recalled in the payment for the frieze in Castel Sant'Angelo with the homonymous miniator. Matteo Crassetti da Terranova was Consul of the Accademia dei pittori e miniatori between 1542 and 1543. Salvagni, "da Universitas ad Academia", cit., pp. 83-84 and 443.
- 46 For a discussion of the varied use of these definitions in relation to Piero della Francesca, see J.R. Banker, *The Culture of San Sepolcro during the Youth of Piero della Francesca*, Ann Arbor, 2003, p. 104, note 18.
- 47 Reproduced in Picardi, *Perino del Vaga*, cit., tav. VI and XIV.
- 48 The representative of one of the most powerful families of sixteenth-century Lucca, Alessandro Guidiccioni was born in 1489. His religious and diplomatic career was fostered by his uncle Bartolomeo Guidiccioni. Thanks to the good offices of Bartolomeo Guidiccioni, on 21 August 1535 Alessandro entered the Papal Chancellery, which had been assigned to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese only a few days previously. In 1541, he was nominated Bishop of Ajaccio, a position that he held until 1548. In 1544, he was appointed papal nuncio to France. In this important diplomatic position, he mainly acted as an informer at the Court of Rome about relevant political events, although he did not play an active role in these. Discouraged by failure in his diplomatic tasks, Alessandro expressed the desire to be recalled to Rome. He returned to Rome in July 1546 and, a few months later, he succeeded Francesco De Landis in the prestigious position of Commendator of the Order of Santo Spirito and Governor of the Church and of the Hospital of Santo Spirito in Sassia, that he officially took up on 7 January 1547. He died in Rome in 1552 and was buried in the Church of Santo Spirito, as he had established in his will. The main studies on Alessandro Guidiccioni are: F. Marti and M. Giustiniani, *Historia ampliata di Tivoli scritta dal canonico Francesco Marti, nobile e giureconsulto tiburtino. Con due libri De' vescovi e de' governatori di Tivoli, scritti dall'illustrissimo abate Michele Giustiniani, patritio genovese de' signori di Scio*, Roma, 1665, pp.

143-145; C. Guasti, *I manoscritti Torrigiani donati al R. Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Descrizione e saggio*, Firenze, 1877, p. 424; *Concilium Tridentinum. Diariorum, actorum, epistularum, tractatum. Nova collectio*, ed. by Societas Goerresiana, Friburgi Brisgoviae, 1904, vol. 4, *ad ind.*; A. M. Boselli, *Il carteggio del card. Alessandro Farnese conservato nella "Palatina" di Parma*, in «Archivio storico per le provincie parmensi», 21, 1921, p. 126; K. Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica. Medii et Recentioris Aevi*, Monasterii Librariae Regensbergianae, 1923, vol. III, p. 94; L. von Pastor, *Storia dei Papi. Dalla fine del Medio Evo. Vol. V. Paolo III (1534-1549)*, Roma, 1914, *ad ind.*; *Correspondance des nonces en France. Capodiferro, Dandino et Guidiccione 1541-1546. Légations des cardinaux Farnèse et Sadolet et missions d'Ardinghello, de Grimani et de Hieronimo da Correggio*, ed. by J. Lestocquoy, Rome-Paris, 1963, pp. 336-442; M. Berengo, *Nobili e Mercanti nella Lucca del Cinquecento*. Torino, 1974, *ad ind.*; G. Guidiccioni, *Le lettere*, ed. by M. T. Graziosi, 2 Vol., Roma, 1979. *ad ind.*; S. Adorni Braccesi, «Una città infetta». *La Repubblica di Lucca nella crisi religiosa del Cinquecento*, Firenze, 1994, *ad ind.*; L. Smith Bross, *The Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia: a Study in the Development of Art, Architecture and Patronage in Counter Reformation Rome*, Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Chicago, 1994, Ann Arbor, Michigan, Vol. I-IV; C. Weber, *Legati e governatori dello Stato Pontificio (1550-1809)*, Roma, 1994, p. 719; A. Tallon, *La France et le Concile de Trente (1518-1563)*, Rome, 1997, *ad ind.*; S. Feci, *ad vocem* «Guidiccioni, Alessandro», in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Roma, 2003, vol. 61, pp. 313-315; Agosti, *Intorno alla cappella Guidiccioni*, cit.; V. Balzarotti, *Una nota su Pietro Bembo e la Compagnia del Corpo di Cristo*, in «Bollettino d'arte», 30, 2016, pp. 81-84.

- 49 The Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia and the related hospital were founded in the 12th century, on a place that, since the 9th century, had been characterized by the presence of the *Schola Saxonum*, an institution hosting Saxon pilgrims in Rome. The church was a popular stopping point along the pilgrimage route and the hospital was, in turn, a favorite destination for travelers, who were attracted by its reputation as the grandest hospital in Rome. In 1471, the hospital was damaged by an extended fire. Soon afterwards, Pope Sixtus IV ordered its reconstruction. The Sistine Ward was the main building of the hospital, which was composed by several constructions. This big aisle is a single hall, divided in two main branches by a dome cladding. In 1478, the walls of the *Corsia* were decorated with a frieze depicting the origins of the hospital and the most important episodes of the life of Sixtus IV. The bibliography on the hospital and on the painted cycle of the *Corsia Sistina* is extended. See, in particular, E. D. Howe, *The Hospital of Santo Spirito and Pope Sixtus IV*, New York, 1978; *L'antico ospedale di Santo Spirito dall'istituzione papale alla sanità del terzo millennio*, atti del convegno, Roma, 2001, ed. by V. Cappelletti and others, Roma, 2001-2002, 2 voll.; E.D. Howe, *Art and Culture at the Sistine Court. Platina's "Life of Sixtus IV" and the Frescoes of the Hospital of Santo Spirito*, Città del Vaticano, 2005. The essential study on the art and architecture of the church is Smith Bross, *The Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia*, cit. See also E. Lavagnino, *La Chiesa di Santo Spirito in Sassia. E il mutare del gusto a Roma al tempo del Concilio di Trento*, Torino, 1962; S. Alloisi and L. Cardilli, *Santo Spirito in Saxia. Le chiese di Roma illustrate*, n.s. 34, Roma, 2002. On the organ and the ciboria of Santo Spirito in Sassia, see respectively E. Howe, *Architecture for 'Divine Hymns': The Organ of Antonio da Sangallo the Younger for the Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia*, in *Art and Music in the Early Modern Period. Essays in honor of Franca Trinchieri Camiz*, ed. by K.A. Mc Iver, Hants and Burlington, 2003, pp. 57-90; A. Bruschi, *Palladio architetto a Roma e la sua attività per l'ospedale di Santo Spirito* and F. Colonna, *Il ciborio della corsia sistina, l'organo e il ciborio della chiesa di Santo Spirito in Sassia: nota storico-cronologica*, in *Studi in onore di Renato Cevese*, ed. by G. Beltramini and others, Vicenza, 2000, pp. 61-81 and 515-525; E. Howe, *The Authority of Tradition. Palladio and the Altar of the Hospital of Santo Spirito*, in «Storia dell'Arte», 111, 2005, pp. 97-118.

- 50 ASR, Ospedale di Santo Spirito (from now on OSS), b. 208, f. 117. The contract was discovered and published by Gonzalo Redín Michaus. See Redín Michaus, *Pedro Rubiales, Gaspar Becerra y los pintores españoles*, cit., pp. 77 and 335, document II.
- 51 Louise Smith Bross described the original lost altarpiece as «a large stucco relief of the Crucifixion with a portrait of Alessandro Guidiccioni in a corner». Smith Bross, *The Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia*, cit., p. 137. Her hypothesis was based on the description of the chapel included in a Visitation of 1658 (Biblioteca Vaticana, Lat. 7941, ff. 237r-239r). The text of the Visitation, which Smith Bross transcribed (Smith Bross, *The Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia*, cit., document n. 42, pp. 566-569), exactly defines the altarpiece «a big Crucifixion in relief, with works in stuccos and figures, which was commissioned by Alessandro Guidiccioni from Lucca...his portrait is at the bottom of the Crucifixion»: «la terza [cappella] è sotto il titolo del crocifisso et ha per...un crocifisso grande di rilievo fu fatto fare con alcuni lavoretti di stucco et figurate dalla bona memoria di monsignore Alessandro Guidiccione Luchese nel tempo che fu precettore di questa santa casa fatto dalla santa memoria di papa Paolo 3. Vi è il suo ritratto a pie del crocifiso ne si sa che vi sia obligatione alcuna come anco è certo che non è dotata». The word “relief” very likely refers to a sculpted altarpiece, similar to the one today visible, rather than to a stucco relief, as Smith Bross hypothesized. Indeed, in 1595 a Crucifixion on the altar was gilded by Angelo Materi. See ASR, OSS, Libri Mastri, reg. 2792, 29 May 1595. It is not possible to certainly identify the altarpiece gilded in 1595 with the original altarpiece, which, according to the contract of 1550, should have been a painting. Possibly, the original painted altarpiece was replaced, before 1595, with a sculpted Crucifixion, which was accompanied by a painted portrait of Alessandro Guidiccioni. According to Antonella Pampalone, the original portrait was substituted by another portrait, in oil on copper, which is today preserved in the Accademia Lancisiana. A. Pampalone, «*Sedente Sisto V*». *Arte e committenza a Roma in S. Spirito in Sassia*, in «Rassegna degli Archivi di Stato», LV, 2-3, maggio-dicembre 1995, p. 270, note 5. This painting, which Pampalone dated at the 19th century (*ibidem*), is dated at the 16th century in the modern inventory of the goods of the hospital. *Pio Istituto di S. Spirito ed Ospedali riuniti di Roma. Inventario dei dipinti e di altre opere d'arte*, Roma, 1973, p. 53, n. 349. Another portrait of Alessandro Guidiccioni, dated at the 16th century, is in the antechamber of the President's office of the palace. *Ivi*, p. 20, n. 201. In the Palace of the Commendator of Santo Spirito is also preserved a third portrait of Alessandro Guidiccioni, dated at the 19th century. *Il palazzo del commendatore di Santo Spirito. Le collezioni storico-artistiche*, ed. by L. Cardilli, Roma, 1998, p. 178.
- 52 «Item [maestro Michele] promette fare dicta cappella de stucco bello et bono recipiente et biancho et farci varie figure de stucco, o vero de rilievo dove bisognerà, et quelle indorarle et pingere dicta cappella de varie figure et de colori perfetti et boni, et mettere l'oro bello et bono dove bisognerà, adeo che sia più bella et più ornata, et di più l'apparenza de quella del quondam Francesco de Landis commendatore de dicto ospedale». ASR, OSS, b. 208, f. 117r. See also Redín Michaus, *Pedro Rubiales, Gaspar Becerra y los pintores españoles*, cit., p. 335.
- 53 Smith Bross, *The Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia*, cit., p. 136.
- 54 The chapel of Francesco De Landis – the first chapel on the left nave of Santo Spirito in Sassia – is characterized by a combination of stucco reliefs and frescos in the vault and on the side walls. The chapel, dedicated to St. John the Evangelist, was altered in the 19th century and the remaining paintings are preserved in poor condition, which makes stylistic analysis problematic. Several studies have recently recalled the hypothesis – sustained by Vasari's and Baglione's accounts – that the chapel was a project of Perino del Vaga, who would

have employed different “hands” in its execution. The identification of Perino’s collaborators remains an open critical problem, as stylistic considerations have led many to question the hypotheses concerning the participation of Marco Pino and Pedro de Rubiales, who approximately in the same years were active in the realization of the paintings on the counter-façade of the church. Further case for skepticism is the intervention of Marcello Venusti, which is supported by the contemporary testament of Vasari. For a recent overview of the chapel’s critical history see A. Geremicca, *Venusti creato di Perino del Vaga*, in *Intorno a Marcello Venusti*, ed. by B. Agosti and G. Leone, Soveria Mannelli, Catanzaro, 2016, pp. 25-29.

- 55 Frescos in the arch are extremely degraded and their depictions are no longer visible.
- 56 Measures of the frames are indicated by Smith Bross, *The Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia*, cit., p. 138, notes 87 and 88.
- 57 *Ivi*, p. 137.
- 58 Louise Smith Bross described the work as a modern Crucifixion. *Ibidem*. In the monography on the Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia by Sivigliano Alloisi and Luisa Cardilli, the Crucifixion is defined as contemporary to the chapel. This interpretation cannot be accepted, according to the stylistic features of the work. Moreover, the original altarpiece was likely a painting (see note 51). Alloisi and Cardilli, *Santo Spirito in Saxia*, cit., p. 140.
- 59 Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, inv. 1.2.o.16. The bibliography on the drawing is extended. See: C. de Tolnay, *Michelangelo’s Pietà Composition for Vittoria Colonna*, in «Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University», 12, 2, 1953, pp. 44-62; *Idem.*, *Michelangelo. V. The Final Period*, Princeton, 1960, pp. 60-64; F. Hartt, *The drawings of Michelangelo*, London, 1971, p. 323, n. 455; C. de Tolnay, *Corpus dei disegni di Michelangelo*, Novara, 1978, vol. III, 426r, pp. 76-78; M. Hirst, *Michelangelo and his Drawings*, New Haven, 1988, p. 117; E. Campi, *Michelangelo e Vittoria Colonna. Un dialogo artistico-teologico ispirato da Bernardino Ochino, e altri saggi di storia della riforma*, Torino, 1994, in particular pp. 15-20 and 65-76; *Idem.*, «Non vi si pensa quanto sangue costa». *Michelangelo, Vittoria Colonna e Bernardino Ochino*, in *Dall’Accademia neoplatonica fiorentina alla Riforma*. Convegno di studi (Firenze, Palazzo Strozzi, 30 ottobre 1992), Firenze, 1996, pp. 67-135; A. Nagel, *Observations on Michelangelo’s Late Pietà Drawings and Sculptures*, in «Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte», 59. Bd., H. 4, 1996, pp. 548-572; S. Ferino Pagden, *Vittoria Colonna. Dichterin und Muse Michelangelos*, exhibition catalogue, Wien, 1997, Milano, 1997, pp. 426-427, n. IV.36; A. Nagel, *Gifts for Michelangelo and Vittoria Colonna*, in «The Art Bulletin», 79, 4, 1997, pp. 647-668; *Vittoria Colonna e Michelangelo*, catalogo della mostra, Firenze, 2005, ed. by P. Ragionieri, Firenze, 2005, pp. 152-153; M. Forcellino, *Michelangelo, Vittoria Colonna e gli spirituali. Religiosità e vita artistica a Roma negli anni Quaranta*, Roma, 2009, in particular pp. 64-76; *D’Après Michelangelo*, cit., pp. 279-284; M. Forcellino, *Vittoria Colonna and Michelangelo: Drawings and Paintings*, in *A Companion to Vittoria Colonna*, ed. by A. Brundin and others, Leiden, 2016, pp. 270-313. On the relief of the Guidiccioni Chapel, see C. de Tolnay, *ad vocem* «Michelangelo», in *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. by U. Thieme and F. Becker, Leipzig, 1930, pp. 515-526, in particular 523; *id.*, *Michelangelo’s Pietà Composition*, cit., note 22, pp. 46-47 and 60; *Idem.*, *Michelangelo. V. The Final Period*, cit., p. 132, *Idem.*, *Corpus dei disegni di Michelangelo*, cit., pp. 76-77. See also: A. Venturi, *Storia dell’arte italiana. X. La scultura del Cinquecento. Parte II*, Milano, 1936, p. 177; M. D’Orsi, *Gallerie di Roma*, in «Bollettino d’Arte», 34, 1954, pp. 365-366; Lavagnino, *La Chiesa di Santo Spirito in Sassia*, cit., pp. 19-21; Smith Bross, *The Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia*, cit., pp. 141-144; Ferino Pagden, *Vittoria Colonna. Dichterin und Muse*, cit., n. IV.41, p. 435; P. Berardi, *La Pietà Dusmet*, in *Jacopo Del Duca «nell’hombra di Missere». La Croce di Vallecupola del Duomo*

di Rieti e la Pietà Dusmet della Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica di Palazzo Barberini, ed. by C. Strinati and others, Firenze, 2002, pp. 17-19; Alloisi and Cardilli, *Santo Spirito in Saxia*, cit., p. 141; B. Kusch-Arnhold, *Pierino da Vinci*, Münster, 2008, p. 275, note 814; Agosti, *Intorno alla cappella Guidiccioni*, cit.

- 60 Smith Bross, *The Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia*, cit., pp. 140-141.
- 61 See in the catalogue of Michele's work published by Alessia Alberti, n. 27, 28 and 29. Alberti, *Contributi per Michele Grechi*, cit., pp. 45 and 64-65. See also *Raphael Invenit*, cit., p. 64; Goi, *Le grottesche nelle stampe del Cinquecento*, cit.; Picardi, *Perino del Vaga*, cit., pp. 104-105.
- 62 Goi, *Le grottesche nelle stampe del Cinquecento*, cit.
- 63 Alberti, *Contributi per Michele Grechi*, cit., pp. 54-55, note 34.
- 64 For the use of ancient decorative motifs in the Palace of Paul III in Campidoglio, see in particular, Picardi, *Perino del Vaga, Michele Lucchese*, cit., especially pp. 31-42.
- 65 These stylistic differences are not highlighted by Louise Smith Bross, but are remarked by Gonzalo Redín Michaus. See Redín Michaus *Pedro Rubiales, Gaspar Becerra y los pintores españoles*, cit., pp. 78-79.
- 66 The evaluation of Gonzalo Redín Michaus, who considers the prophets as the expression of an artistic culture completely different from the Tosco-Roman tradition, seems to be contradicted by the evident inspiration of these figures to Michelangelo's plastic configuration. *Ibid.* On the prophets of the Guidiccioni Chapel, see also Saponi, *Maestri, botteghe, équipes*, cit., pp. 9-12.
- 67 Redín Michaus *Pedro Rubiales, Gaspar Becerra y los pintores españoles*, cit., pp. 78-79.
- 68 *Ivi*, pp. 138-139.
- 69 Davidson, *Introducing Michaeli Grechi*, cit., p. 551.
- 70 The intervention of Michele Grechi has been refused by Elena Parma Armani. Simonetta Prosperi Valenti Rodinò assigned the frieze – mainly the stuccos – to Luzio Luzzi. See Parma Armani, *Perino del Vaga. L'anello mancante*, cit., pp. 177-188 and 283-284 and S. Prosperi Valenti Rodinò, *Addenda a Luzio Luzzi disegnatore*, in «Bollettino d'arte», 116, 2001, pp. 39-78.
- 71 C. Picard, *Observations sur la date et l'origine des reliefs dits de la "Visite chez Ikarios"*, in «American Journal of Archaeology», 38, 1, 1934, pp. 137-152. See also Nicole Dacos, *Le Logge di Raffaello. Maestro e bottega di fronte all'antico*, Roma, 1977, p. 155; Picardi, *Perino del Vaga, Michele Lucchese*, cit., p. 38.
- 72 P. Pray Bober and R. Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists & Antique Sculpture. A Handbook of Sources*, London, 1986, p. 122. See also Picardi, *Perino del Vaga, Michele Lucchese*, cit., p. 39.
- 73 C.C. Vermeuhle III, *The Dal Pozzo-Albani Drawings of Classical Antiquities in the British Museum*, Philadelphia, 1960, pp. 35, 63, 155, n. 8488, fig. 100 and n. 8023, fig. 101; Dacos, *Le Logge di Raffaello*, cit., p. 155; Pray Bober and Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists & Antique Sculpture*, cit., p. 123, figg. 90b, 90a; Picardi, *Perino del Vaga, Michele Lucchese*, cit., p. 39.
- 74 C. Hülsen, *Das Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae des Antonio Lafreri*, s.l., 1921, p. 152, n. 46. Picardi, *Perino del Vaga*, cit., p. 39.
- 75 On this fresco see Picardi, *Perino del Vaga*, cit., tav. V.
- 76 *Ivi*, p. 39, note 111. See also P. Joannides, *Michelangelo and His Influence. Drawings from Windsor Castle*, exhibition catalogue, Washington, 1996-1997; Fort Worth, 1997; Chicago, 1997; Cambridge, 1997; London, 1998, Washington, 1996, p. 152, fig. 90.

- 77 On this series, see in particular Picardi, *Perino del Vaga*, cit., pp. 89-101.
- 78 *Ivi*, p. 96.
- 79 Davidson, *Introducing Michaeli Grechi*, cit.
- 80 Redín Michaus Pedro *Rubiales, Gaspar Becerra y los pintores españoles*, cit., p. 79.
- 81 *Ibidem*.
- 82 *D'Après Michelangelo*, cit., pp. 169-172.
- 83 Leproux, *La Corporation Romaine des Peintres 'et Autres'*, cit., p. 306. See also Picardi, *Perino del Vaga*, cit., p. 83 and Alberti, *Contributi per Michele Grechi*, cit., p. 39.
- 84 On Guido Ascanio Sforza, see N. Ratti, *Della famiglia Sforza. Parte I*, Roma, 1794, pp. 233-252; G. Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica*, Venezia, 1854, vol. 65, pp. 93-95; Calzona, "La Gloria de' Prencipi", cit.; F. Pace, *Notizie sulla famiglia Sforza Cesarini di Roma*, in *Palazzo Sforza Cesarini*, Roma, 2008, p. 118; *Gli Sforza di Santa Fiora*, Arcidosso, 2009; C. Benocci, *La Roma degli Sforza sfida il Granducato mediceo: la Sforzesca dei cardinali di Santa Fiora Guido Ascanio e Alessandro*, in «Studi Romani», LVIII, 2010, pp. 247-275; Picardi, *Perino del Vaga, Michele Lucchese*, cit., pp. 86-89. On Costanza Farnese, see R. Zapperi, *ad vocem* «Farnese, Costanza», in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Roma, 1995, vol. 45, pp. 81-82.
- 85 ASR, Camerale I, Mandati, b. 881, c. 85v, payment of 27 November 1545 and b. 882, c. 101v, payment of 3 February 1546. Picardi, *Perino del Vaga*, cit., p. 86, note 160 and Alberti, *Contributi per Michele Grechi*, cit., p. 39.
- 86 Davidson, *Introducing Michaeli Grechi*, cit., p. 550; Picardi, *Perino del Vaga*, cit., pp. 86 and 172-173, doc. 16.
- 87 The dedication of the work has been published by Picardi, *Perino del Vaga*, cit., pp. 173-174, doc. 18 and Alberti, *Contributi per Michele Grechi*, cit., p. 39.
- 88 Picardi, *Perino del Vaga, Michele Lucchese*, cit., pp. 102-103 and Alberti, *Contributi per Michele Grechi*, cit., p. 39.
- 89 On this commission, see G. Satzinger, *Michelangelos Cappella Sforza*, in «Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana», 35, 2003-2004, pp. 327-424 and id., *Cappella Sforza in Santa Maria Maggiore*, in *Michelangelo architetto a Roma*, catalogo della mostra, Roma, 6 ottobre 2009 - 7 febbraio 2010, edited by M. Mussolin, Cinisello Balsamo, Milano, 2009, pp. 214-225.
- 90 Alberti, *Contributi per Michele Grechi*, cit., p. 40. On Giuliano Cesarini, see Ratti, *Della famiglia Sforza. Parte I*, cit., *ad ind.*; A. Galieti, *Per la storia della famiglia Cesarini*, Roma, 1914, *ad ind.*; G. Fragnito, *Storia di Clelia Farnese. Amori, potere, violenza nella Roma della Controriforma*, Bologna, 2013, in particular pp. 47-49; G. Rebecchini, *After the Medici. The New Rome of Pope Paul III Farnese*, in «I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance», 11, 2007, pp. 147-200; P. Rosini, *Famiglia Cesarini. Ricerche e documenti*, s.l., 2016, *ad ind.*
- 91 *D'Après Michelangelo*, cit., pp. 347-348.
- 92 On Alessandro Guidiccioni's acquaintance with Paolo Giovio see Agosti, *Intorno alla cappella Guidiccioni*, cit. The intimacy between Alessandro and Giovanni Guidiccioni is documented by Giovanni's letters, in which Alessandro is often mentioned as the administrator of the economic rents of his younger cousin. Guidiccioni, *Le lettere*, cit., *ad ind.* Giovanni Guidiccioni (1500-1541) was introduced by Bartolomeo Guidiccioni into the household of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (the future Pope Paul III), into whose service Giovanni entered in 1527. When Cardinal Farnese was elected Pope Paul III in 1534, Giovanni was raised to prestigious positions: he was appointed Governor of Rome, Bishop of Fossombrone and

Apostolic Nuncio at the Court of Charles V. In 1538, he accompanied Paul III in Nice, where Francis I and Charles V concluded a peace agreement. In 1539, the Pope trusted Guidiccioni with the office of Governor of Romagna. Soon afterwards, he was appointed the Governor of Marche. However, he was unable to fulfill this office, as he died in Macerata in 1541 because of an ague. On Giovanni Guidiccioni see in particular S. Mammana, *ad vocem* «Guidiccioni, Giovanni», in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Roma, 2003, vol. 61, pp. 324-329 and the bibliography there cited. Giovanni was an important poet. He was acquainted with some of the most significant literates of his time, such as Pietro Bembo, Trifone Gabriele, Claudio Tolomei and Annibal Caro. He was also familiar with some of the most important representatives of Italian Evangelism. This was especially true of Vittoria Colonna, to whom he dedicated some poems and who was his correspondent in the letters. On Giovanni Guidiccioni's religious positions see in particular, G. Guidiccioni, *Orazione ai nobili di Lucca*, ed. by C. Dionisotti, Milano, 1994.

93 Tolnay has described the relief as being characterized by an «almost pictorial technique» and by «elegant and slender figure types», which, in his opinion, were reminiscent of Pierino da Vinci's style. Tolnay, *Michelangelo's Pietà Composition*, cit., p. 60 and id., *Michelangelo. V. The Final Period*, cit., p. 132. Tolnay's interpretation has been recalled by Louise Smith Bross. Smith Bross, *The Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia*, cit., p. 144. On the other hand, the attribution to Pierino has been refuted by recent studies of the artist, which have reasonably remarked upon the differences between the work of the Guidiccioni Chapel and the sculptor's formal language. See in particular, Kusch-Arnhold, *Pierino da Vinci*, cit., p. 275, note 814. The attributions of the *Pietà Foderato* to Jacopo del Duca have remarked upon the acquaintance between Michelangelo and the artist, who had worked at the tomb of Julius II and would be employed in the execution of some of the most important architectural projects of the master, starting from Porta Pia. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana. X*, cit., p. 177; *Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon, XXX*, München-Leipzig, 2001, pp. 143-146. The coexistence of a soft modelling with an unbalanced spatial construction and a simplified and rigid conformation of details, such as the eyes and the hands of the figures, that characterizes the Guidiccioni relief, can be compared with the sculptural language of some works of Jacopo, such as the reliefs of the ciborium of the Certosa of Padula (1572-1574), although these are dated much later. In this work, the artist would have looked at Vittoria Colonna's *Pietà* composition for the figure of the Virgin in the analogous scene, which, despite some similarities with the formal solutions of the *Pietà Foderato*, is characterized by a much more dramatic and expressive interpretation of the sacred event. On the other hand, the similarities between the *Pietà Foderato* and the work of Jacopo del Duca do not allow the certain attribution of the relief to this artist, who is not attested in the Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia.

94 Agosti, *Intorno alla cappella Guidiccioni*, cit.

95 I thank Dr. Guido Rebecchini for this observation.



Fig. 1: Michele Lucchese, *History of Niobes-II*, after Polidoro da Caravaggio, Istituto Centrale per la Grafica, Rome, inv. FC31594 (Roma, Istituto Centrale per la Grafica, per gentile concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali)

Fig. 2: Michele Lucchese, *The Madonna of Silence*, Istituto Centrale per la Grafica, Rome, inv. FN1256 (Roma, Istituto Centrale per la Grafica, per gentile concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali)



Fig. 3a, b, c: Michele Lucchese, *frieze with putti*, Room of Clement VII, Castel Sant'Angelo, Rome (Per gentile concessione del Polo Museale del Lazio – Archivio Fotografico, Museo Nazionale di Castel S. Angelo)

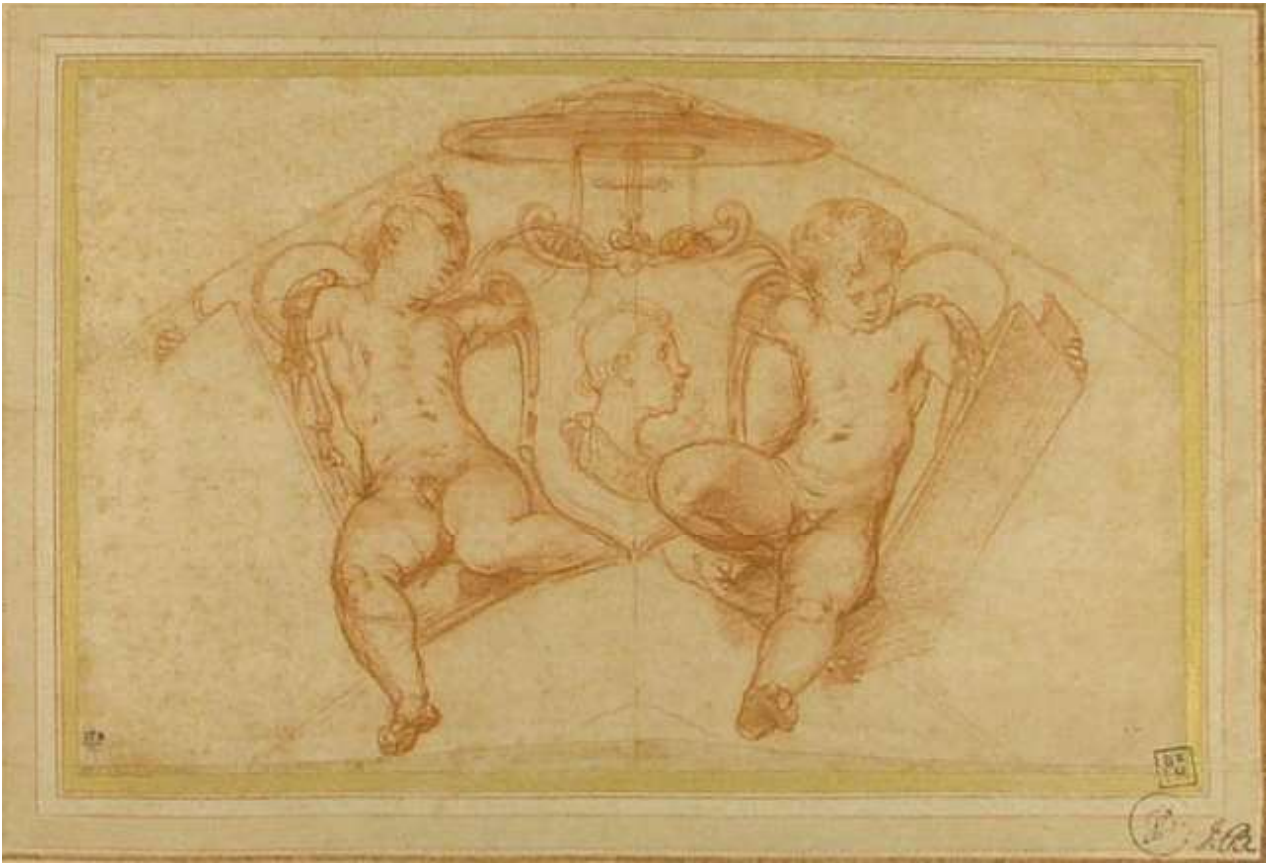


Fig. 4: Perino del Vaga, *A Coat of Arms supported by Putti*, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, inv. WA1936.179 (Image © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford)

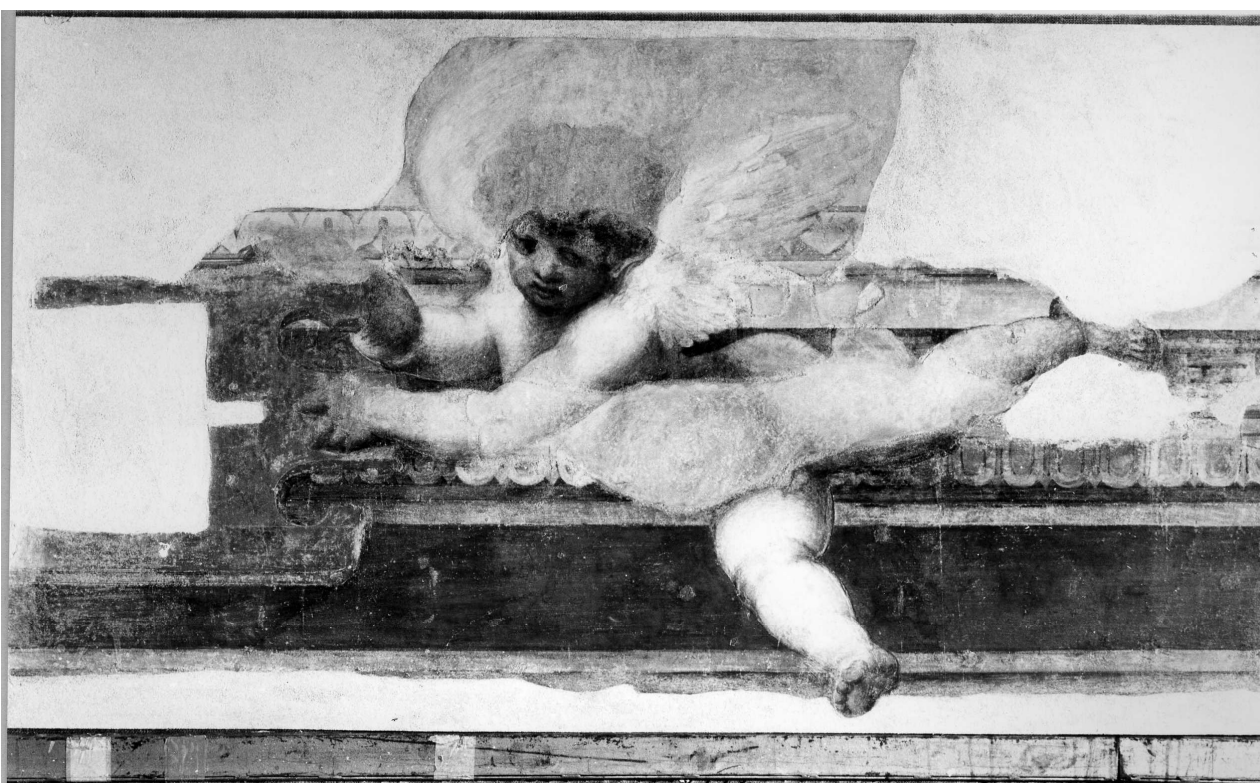


Fig. 5a and b: Perino del Vaga, *putti* from the Cathedral of Pisa, Soprintendenza per i Beni Ambientali, Architettonici, Artistici e Storici, Pisa (AFSPI, su concessione del MIBAC/Soprintendenza Pisa)



Fig. 6: Detail of a vault, Loggia degli Eroi, Palazzo Doria, Genoa (Photo Taddeo, per gentile concessione di Amministrazione Doria Pamphilj s.r.l.)

Fig. 7: Perino del Vaga and collaborators, lunette with putti, Loggia degli Eroi, Palazzo Doria, Genoa (Archivi Alinari, Firenze)

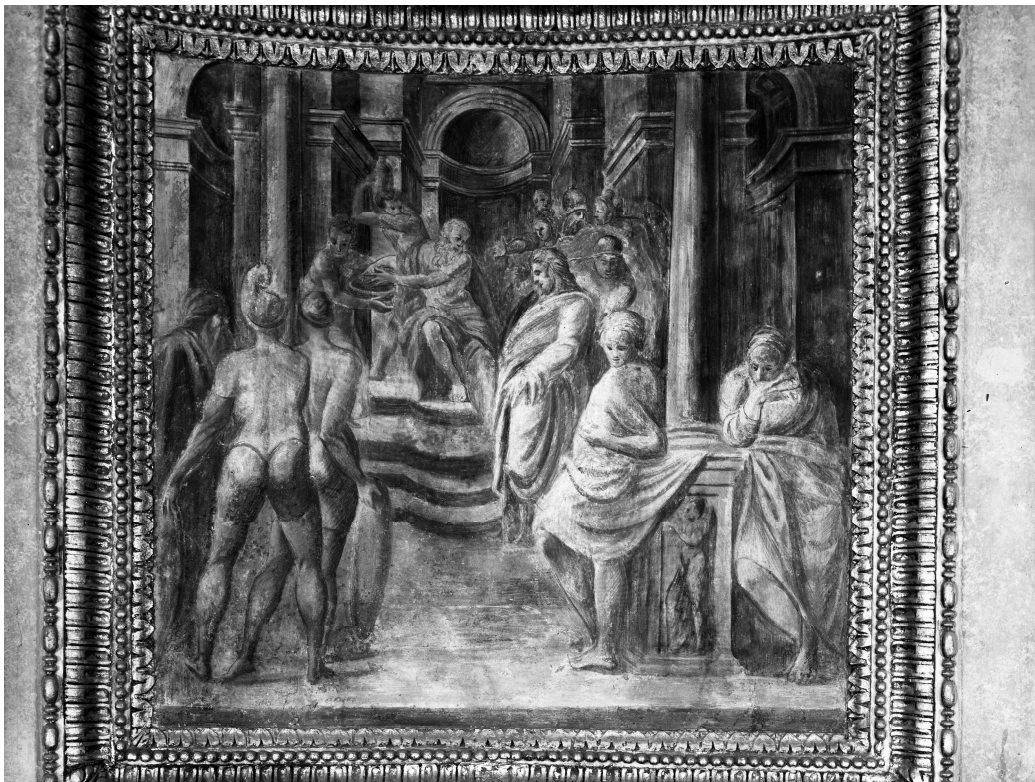


Fig. 8: Guidiccioni Chapel, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome (Su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali)

Fig. 9: Michele Lucchese, *Christ before Pilate*, Guidiccioni Chapel, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome (Photo Hertziana)

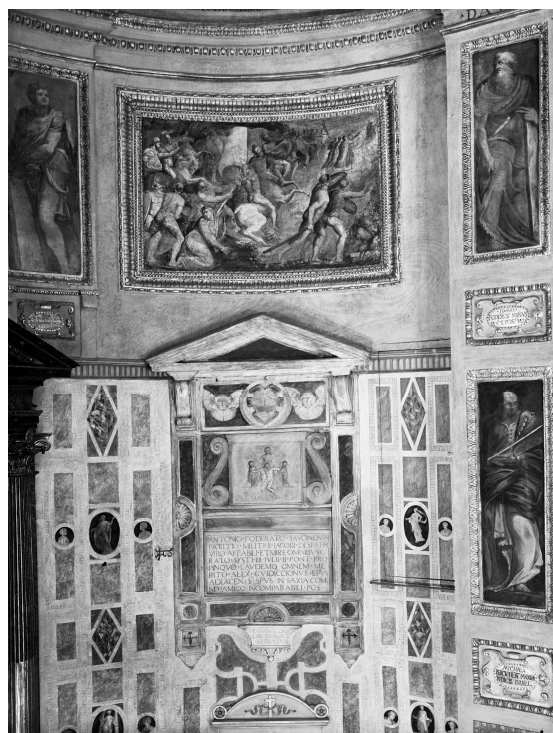


Fig. 10: Michele Lucchese, the *Crowning of Thorns*, Guidiccioni Chapel, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome (Photo Hertziana)

Fig. 11: Michele Lucchese, the *Way to Calvary* - Foderato Memorial, Guidiccioni Chapel, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome (Photo Hertziana)



Fig. 12: Michele Lucchese, *Prophet* of the left-low pilaster, Guidiccioni Chapel, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome (Su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali)

Fig. 13: *Pietà Foderato*, Guidiccioni Chapel, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome (Su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali)

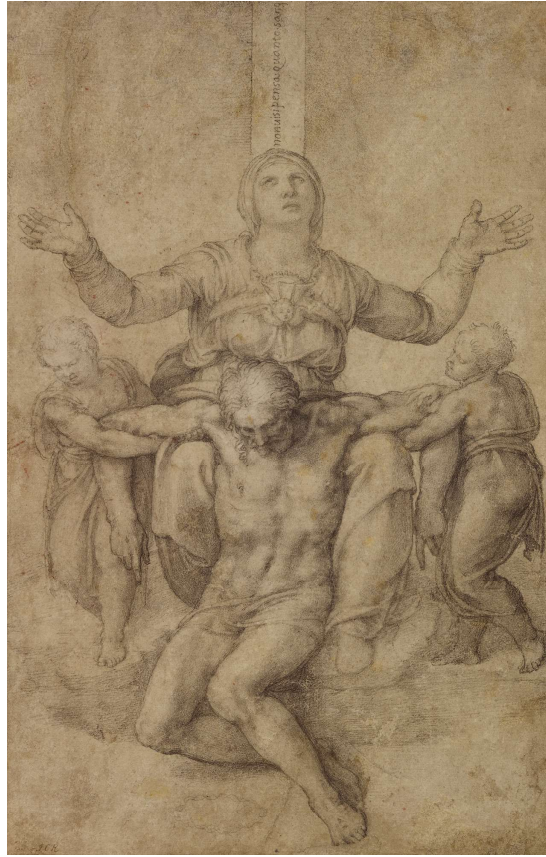


Fig. 14: Michelangelo, *Pietà*, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston, inv. 1.2.o.16

Fig. 15: Antoine Lafréry, *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*, engraving (1549), The British Museum, London, inv. 2010,5006.1877.12 (© The Trustees of the British Museum)