Art, Site and Spectacle
Studies in Early Modern Visual Culture

Edited by David R. Marshall

THE FINE ARTS NETWORK
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Preface

This book grew out of the research activities of art historians associated with both Melbourne and Rome, and who are affiliated variously with the University of Melbourne, La Trobe University, The British School at Rome, The Biblioteca Hertziana, the University of Amsterdam and the National Gallery of Victoria. It deals with art historical topics in Italian and French art under three headings: 'Art', 'Site' and 'Spectacle'.

An introductory essay by Robert W. Gaston raises some general methodological issues, passing from visual culture theory to the importance of the concept of 'place' for understanding how Florentine Renaissance churches were theorised by their users.

The section on 'Art' deals with issues of attribution, patronage, and context. Hugh Hudson discusses a number of problemae works associated with Paolo Uccello and Fra Angelico in terms of their attribution and the nature of the early career of Uccello. Pieter Bax-Bates looks at the Spanish context of the commission for a Pietà by Sebastiano del Piazzo from Ferrante Gonzaga as a gift for Francisco de los Cobos, Secretary of State for Emperor Charles V. Kazim Wolf explores in depth one of the lesser known gerns of the National Gallery of Victoria, Francesco Tievianisi's Joseph Sold into Slavery, in the light of new documentary evidence for Tievianisi's early career in Rome.

The section on 'Site' deals with works in relation to their physical context. Robert W. Gaston investigates the chapel decorated for the use of Duchessa Eleonora of Toledo by Agnolo Bronzino in the Palazzo deSignori in Florence in terms of the way this chapel would have been used by the young Eleonora for her private devotions arising from the religious practices she had acquired from the Spanish and Florentine sides of her family. Christina Strunc reconstructs the history of the design of the greatest of Roman Baroque galleries, Bernini's unknown masterpiece, the Galleria Colonna, and elucidates the aesthetic, political and social factors that contributed to the process of shaping its architectural form and pictorial programme. Arnold Wette investigates the social function of the aristocratic hermitage, or monasterio, in late seventeenth-century Rome as a place of solace and retreat from the constraints of courtly life for both men and women. David R. Marshall explores the attitudes of the architect and painter Giovanni Paolo Pannini to questions of architectural style and the legacy of Borromini revealed by his critiques of competition projects for the façade of S. Giovanni in Laterano in 1732.

The third section, 'Spectacle', deals with the relationship between works of art and performance cultures. Lisa Beaton sets Claude Lorrai's harbour scenes in the context of the religious and secular theatres and scientific interests of the court of Urban VIII Barberini and the controversy surrounding the heliocentric views of Galileo. Katrina Grant explores the phenomenon of the hedge theatre in seventeenth-century Lucca and the ways in which such theatres may have been used as performance spaces. Mark Shephard investigates a portrait in the National Gallery of Victoria traditionally identified as representation the eighteenth-century cellist and composer Luigi Boccherini in terms of other putative portraits of the musician and the likely origins and purpose of the painting. Finally, Ted Gott discusses Emmanuel Fremiet's statues and statuettes representing gorillas abducting women in relation to nineteenth-century debates on evolution following the publication of Charles Darwin's Origin of the Species and their absorption into popular culture in twentieth-century cinema, culminating in the 1933 movie King Kong.

Taken together, these essays provide a compendious of art historical approaches to visual culture from the fifteenth to the twentieth centuries.

This publication would not have been possible without the financial support provided by the membership, and the energies of the committee, of the Fine Arts Network (FAN), a society supported by the School of Culture and Communication, the University of Melbourne. It is devoted to promoting the study of the visual arts and the communication of art historical research through public lectures, including the Joseph Burle Lecture and the Margaret Manion Lecture (where two of the articles published here originated), frottadis, seminars, sympo-sia, social events and publications such as this. Generous donations have been provided by Anne McComish, Jane Morley and Francis Ebury, as well as by the Art History Chapter of the Alumni of La Trobe University. Generous sponsorship has been provided by Christie's International, Australians Studying Abroad, a long-time supporter of Melbourne Art Journal, has provided in-kind support with sales and marketing.

The editor would particularly like to thank the contributors for providing the choicest fruits of their labours, the anonymous referees for their time and attention to detail, and the volunteer copy editors, Stephanie Morrow and Tara Rawlins, for their tireless efforts. He would also like to thank Andrew Wallace-Hadrill and Susan Russell, Director and Assistant Director of the British School at Rome, for providing a sympathetic setting for collabora-tion and exchange between many of the contributors, and a home away from home for Australian researchers on Italian art history.

David R. Marshall
Dalesford, June 2007
Katrina Grant

Teatri di Verzura: Hedge Theatres in Baroque Lucca

The garden theatre can take many forms: it can erupt forth as an explosion of water and sound as in the teatro d'acqua; it can appear carved into a hedge as a teatro di verdura; or it can calmly wait to be filled with performers as in a teatro suivi il palazzo. The garden theatre was first a feature of the Baroque garden in Italy, before finding its way into the gardens of France, appearing in the treatises of Dassai d'Argenville and the Encyclopédie of Diderot and d'Alembert, with examples eventually appearing in a variety of forms in the gardens of Germany, England and beyond.

From the turn of the seventeenth century the terms 'theatre', 'teatro' or 'théâtre' appear on many illustrations and within written descriptions of gardens, labelling anything from a hedge theatre to a fountain display, a flower bed, a piazza, or a courtyard. The frequent appearance of the term in the captions of sets of printed views, such as those by Giambattista Falda (1643–1678), would seem to indicate that the word teatro was becoming a ubiquitous term for various garden structures and spaces and even for human activity in general. The use of the term 'theatre' and its derivatives to describe gardens demonstrates that Baroque gardens were understood in relation to the theatre. A piazza in the Baroque came to be understood as a stage on which visitors performed, while the fountains and symphonie of Renaissance and Mannerist gardens became teatri d'acqua. Although these teatri d'acqua might now incorporate such overtly theatrical forms as exedras, they were not essentially different from their earlier incarnations: only the way they were perceived and used had changed. There is, however, one type of garden theatre which is a true theatre, which cannot be described as anything other than a theatre and did not have roots in any earlier garden structure: the teatri di verzura or hedge theatre.

Garden theatres in Lucca

The earliest hedge theatres are found in gardens clustered around the city of Lucca. These gardens represent high points of seventeenth and eighteenth-century garden design, each with their own distinct style. The villas were generally built upon the colline di Lucca (the hills of Lucca) that surround the city, but unlike the gardens of Frascati or Tivoli near Rome the villa and its gardens were usually laid out upon a level area at the foot of the hills (Fig. 3), with the notable exception of the Villa Garzoni at Collodi (Fig. 6). The gardens were generally divided into a series of garden rooms, usually square in shape and enclosed by walls of stone or vegetation (Fig. 2). These rooms would include hedges employed architecturally (such as garden theatres and labyrinths), fishponds (pocheire) (Figs 14, 15), and flower displays.

At first glance the teatro di verzura, or green theatre, appears to be a straightforward concept. It is a version of a wing theatre, the type of theatre structure pioneered by Giovanni Battista Alcutti (1546–1636) at the Teatro dell'Accademia degli Intronati in 1606, made permanent at the Teatro Farnese in Parma in 1618–1619, and

Fig. 1. Villa Reale, Mafra, View of the Hedge theatre (10 David H. Marshall)
Fig. 2. Villa Reale, Mafra, 1774, Engraving, From Caraci, Piglole and Giusti, 1905.
commonplace thereafter. Although hedge theatres vary in size, they are fairly consistent in form. They typically consist of a raised section of grass, with flat angled wings made from rectilinear blocks of hedging arranged upon it (Figs 1, 4–5). The backdrop is formed either by a further hedge or a laboratory wall. Some theatres include fountains or sculpture upon the stage, and others include a proscenium arch constructed of stone. This definition fits well the main theatres near Lucca that are still extant: the Villa Reale (previously Osservi) at Maetz, the Villa Terrai Vagnoli (formerly Piccolomini) at Castelnuovo Berardenga, the Villa Cenami at Salcuccio, the Villa Mansi at Segromigno, and the Villa Garzoni at Colli di (actually in the neighboring province of Pisola). A late variation upon the theme exists in the form of a hedge amphitheatre at the Villa Bernardini at Vicopelago. It also fits those found nearer Siena, such as the theatres of the Villa Gori at Marciano, the Villa Bianchi Bandinelli at Geggiano (Fig. 9) and the Villa Salesi at Torre Fiorentina. Although a number of early records of these theatres exist, none states explicitly whether they were performance spaces, nor do these sources provide interpretations of their place within the larger program of the garden. There is, in fact, very little evidence as to why these hedge theatres were built.

To date modern scholarship has preferred to emphasise the overall theatricality of the Baroque garden as sufficient explanation for these, such as these. Gardens are frequently described as being a stage and every action that takes place within these spaces is read as a type of performance: a performance of social status, a display of wealth, and so on. We have become so focussed upon the idea that the Baroque era was theatrical in all of its aspects, it is easy to miss the differences between these different types of garden features and the distinct types of performance that accrued to each. In her study of the eighteenth-century gardens of Lombardy, Diane Harris has gone so far as to suggest that small outdoor theatres formed of clipped vegetation seem redundant within the villa complexes that were themselves enormous theatres for the display of wealth, production, and culture. The one study that has looked at the phenomenon of the garden theatre in depth presents a similar interpretation. Maria Adriana Giusti reads the teatro di vertice as a symbolic form that alludes to the role of garden as a whole being a theatre, or a stage set come alive. She concentrates on the garden theatre of the Villa Garzoni, describing it as a ‘masque’ or ‘synecdoche’ of the greater garden theatre. She writes that

nel teatro di vertice lo spazio è reso in maniera effimerale, creato con una sostanza vivente che si trasforma e muore.

Fig. 6, 5. Villa Reale. Multiple views of the hedge theatre. (© David P. Marshall.)
mentre l'azione teatrale, quasi inafferrabile, è perpetuata nelle misiche figure statuarie.

In the case of the theatre the space was constructed in an ephemeral manner, created with a living substance that changes and dies, while the theatrical action, almost ungraspable, is perpetuated in the statues of mythical figures.14

Such theatres are imitations of permanent structures rendered in an impermanent material, and conversely living performers are frozen in stone or terracotta. According to this reading, the green theatre is symbolic or representational rather than functional. But can we be sure that this was so? For their owners, gardens were spaces to be experienced, rather than analytically read. Although the modern viewer may read hedge theatres as signifiers of the theatricality of the Baroque garden, for the Baroque viewer it would have been the experience that mattered. We must therefore ask the question: how were these gardens used and experienced by their owners and visitors?

The function of hedge theatres
Among the scanty early references to hedge theatres there are some hints that they may have been used as performance spaces. For example, an inventory description of the Villa Garzoni (Figs 6–8, 11) made in 1670 describes the theatre as

un teatro a giorno, con scenari di Verdi, suoi passaggi, e gabinetti, con grotticella graviosamente eseguita di rustici di fumo in fondo alla scena, dall'incantevole spettacolo acque, con sottosuolo che si manifesta e scompare, con statua rappresentante la Tragedia a destra dello scenario, ed altra statua della Commedia a sinistra; con due candelabri di pietra e con sedesi di pietram lava loro in prospetto del proscenio, per comodo degli spettatori.

The garden was to the right of the stage. Water gushes out from the grotto, and below it is a small basin and a jet of water, with a statue representing Tragedy at the right of the stage and another statue of Comedy on the left. There are two more

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candelabra and a seat of worked stone with a view of a stage for the convenience of the spectators.13

The use of the term 'day theatre' (teatro a giorno) and the reference to accommodation for spectators on stone seats (Fig. 10) suggests that the theatre was used for performances. Similarly, a description of the theatre at the Villa Reale at Marlia by the traveller Georg Christoph Martini notes that there is

a teatro per la commedia chiuso da siepi; le scene sono realizzate con piante così elegante man mano da sembrare postiche.

Martini's description suggests that this theatre was to be used for performances of comedies or more generally, plays.14

Records of performances in hedge theatres exist only from the middle of the eighteenth century. By this time the hedge theatre had entered the mainstream of garden design, and variations were appearing in many Venetian and Lombard gardens, as well as further afield in Austria and elsewhere. The hedge theatre of the Villa Bianchi Bandinelli (Fig. 9), for example, was constructed on the occasion of a wedding between the Bianchi Bandinelli and the Chigi Zondadari in 1768 and was apparently used for performances to celebrate their nuptials.15 There are also records of its use for a performance of a tragedy by Vittorio Alfieri in 1783.16 Similarly, at the nearby Villa Serpardi at Torre Fierentina there are records of a performance of a 'Cantata Boschereccia' performed in the 'teatro campestre' in the garden on 19 August 1804.17 In Lucca there are also a few records of theatrical activities taking place in villas. For example, the opera Il Conte d'Alburno was performed at the Villa Santini (now Torrigiani) at Camigliano in 1692, although this was held not in the garden but in the small theatre within the villa itself.18

In the absence of clear evidence of how these garden theatres were used in the seventeenth century, how are we
to reach a conclusion about their purpose. The answer may be to look at the way analogous features functioned. Both the sunken garden at the Villa Torrigiani (Fig. 12) and the grotto at the Villa Garzoni (Fig. 13) contained water tricks designed to wet the unwary visitor. Fishponds (peschiera) were not only ornamental but were often used for boating, as is shown in a painting of the garden at the Villa Manzi at Segromigno (Fig. 15), as well as for their original purpose which was to provide fish for the table. Similarly, the labyrinths found at the Villa Reale and the Villa Garzoni were meant to be engaged with actively: they were places for alternately losing and finding oneself, rather than patterns to be viewed. Miniature woods called selvaggi or vignaire were stocked with exotic birds and animals to be hunted as much as to be admired. These examples make clear that many features of such gardens were not simply ornamental, but were used actively. It seems likely, therefore, that hedge theatres, even those of small scale, were intended to be used for performances of some kind.

If the precise nature of these performances is uncertain, they must surely have reflected the active musical life of Lucca. In a single year, 1653, the year after the construction of the first of the hedge theatres, at the Villa Reale, the Lucchini were treated to numerous performances of opera, plays, cantatas and poetry recitations. These included a number of opere per musica in the Palazzo de' Borghi, a cantata performed in the middle of June entitled Applausi d'Elisione, and comedy performances by troupes of actors such as that for the festival of S. Croce. Typically at least two operas were performed for Carnival, and other spectacles included performances by acrobatic troupes, and plays by travelling companies such as the Fendi Armonici.

The patrons of the garden theatres were also patrons of theatre in the city of Lucca. A contract of 5 June 1674 stipulates that four citizens, amongst them Lelio Orsetti and Niccolò Santini, who owned respectively the gardens of the Villa Reale at Marlia and the Villa Santini (now Torrigiani) at Camigliano (which, as was noted above, did not have a hedge theatre but rather a theatre inside the palazzo), made an application to the Uffizio sull' entrata for 'the theatre made for Comedies' (Il Teatro fabbricato per servizio delle Commedie) in which they asked for permission to collect the rent, that is the price of the stanze (boxes), situated in that theatre from those persons or persons to whom they will be allocated by the said Office on the occasion of comedies or other public entertainments (risoquere affitto, o prezzo della stanze, esistenti in detto Teatro da quelli, o quello a quali saranno destributi da detto M.to Ill. Uffico nell'occasione di Commedie o altri pubblici trattenimenti). A second contract, requesting the use of a theatre for the performance of a commedia placed near the church of St Jerome (posto vicino alla Chiesa S. Girolamo) for the whole period of Carnival in the following year, bears the name of another Orsetti and that of Carlo Manzi of the Villa Manzi at Segromigno, where a hedge theatre would be constructed in the early eighteenth century. If these members of the Lucchese aristocracy were so closely involved in sponsoring and paying for theatrical productions it is not difficult to imagine that such activities were transposed to their villas and the green theatres within them.

The designation of the Garzoni and Marlia theatres respectively as 'teatro di giorno' and 'teatro per commedia' might encompass any number of theatrical genres, ranging from a fully staged play to poetry readings. The statuary that decorates these theatres is generally theatrical, and ranges from representations of the muses of tragedy and poetry to commedia dell'arte figures. One thing, however, is certain: these theatres were hardly suitable for the performance of opera, which in the seventeenth century was a large scale enterprise requiring an orchestra, sets and expensive singers. The hedge theatres were clearly better adapted to intimate, small-scale performances. The best documented performances set in gardens that fit this description are the poetry readings and orations held in the final decade of the seventeenth and first decades of the eighteenth century in the Accademia degli Arcadi (Arcadian academy) in Rome. The garden performances of the Arcadian academy may well be the best model we have for what went on in the hedge theatres of Lucca.
The academy in the garden

A number of members of the Lucchese nobility would become members of the Arcadian academy, but the formation of that academy in 1691 postdates the first garden theatres by at least twenty years. The Roman academy would create a permanent garden space for its activities when it constructed the Bosco Parrasio on the Janiculum in 1725 to a design by Antonio Canaletti. The Arcadian academy was one of a number of informal intellectual groups that often conducted their meetings within garden spaces. In the first decades of the sixteenth century, a garden theatre for intellectual pursuits had been planned for the Villa Madama. In 1619 an amphitheatre was constructed around Tasso’s Oak on the Janiculum in Rome to a design by Marsilio Onorati, where it was intended that the Oratorians could recite sermons and hold discussions. The informal academy of Queen Christina, the most immediate antecedent of the Arcadian academy, met outdoors, and the Queen often hosted garden performances in her own gardens in the Palazzo Riaziro on the Janiculum (later incorporated into the Palazzo Corsini), as well as in other gardens.

In Lucca there were comparable academies. The most prominent of these was the Accademia degli Oscuri founded by Giovanni Lorenzo Malpiglii in 1584, with meetings of the academicians held within his villa at Loppreglia. Of the various patrons of the gardens that contained hedge theatres near Lucca, almost all were members of this academy, including the Corsini, the Garzoni, the Bernarzini, the Orsetti, and the Mansi. (Also a member was Niccolò Santini, and although his garden at Camigliano did not have a hedge theatre, it was probably because his villa had an indoor theatre.) Another noteworthy member was the poet Francesco Sforza who composed a poem about the

Villa Garzoni entitled Le Pompe di Collodi Deliziosissima Villa del Signor Cavaliere Romano Garzoni.

The Accademia degli Oscuri, although ostensibly a literary academy, was closely involved with music and theatre. Many of the members were poets and composed libretti for plays and dramma per musica. Its members would assist in organising the celebrations for Carnival and sponsor opera productions. For example, in 1628 the academy put on a performance of the tragical comedy Alìfà with the intermezzi Esìone. Singers were procured from outside Lucca with financial support from Romano Garzoni, who was nominated to the academy on 12 January 1628. The sets were designed by the engineer and architect Muzio Oddi, who would later produce plans for the renovation of the Garzoni properties at Collodi.

The academy also produced a number of dispute on poems, which were usually interspersed between the acts of plays, and performed within the Palazzo Buonvisi ‘al Giardino’ where the academy had constructed its own indoor theatre.

Hedge theatres would seem to be particularly suited for small pieces such as these poetic disputae. In addition to their city base at the Palazzo Buonvisi ‘al Giardino’, the Oscuri held meetings in the countryside residences of its members. That these country gardens were associated with poetry is supported by the presence of a ‘poets’ grove’ at the Villa Garzoni (Fig. 16). The poet Francesco Sforza, as well as composing the poem about the Villa Garzoni mentioned above (Le Pompe di Collodi), also composed at least one sonnet and one madrigal in praise of the beauties of the Villa Garzoni. These would have been perfectly adapted to being performed in the small garden theatre. Several decades later the Arcadians would be performing just such madrigals and poems as these in their various teatri in the gardens of Rome.

The tradition of literary academies using villas and gardens as meeting places, combined with the fact that the owners of Lucchese gardens were also members of the Accademia degli Oscuri, points to a link between the hedge theatres in these gardens and the activities of the Oscuri. The idea that such theatres were mere signifiers or a result of the comprehensive ‘theatricalisation’ of the Baroque garden, while perhaps sufficient to explain such phenomena as the re-labelling of nympheas as teatri d’acqua, is insufficient to explain why such a particular type of structure as the teatri di versi suddenly appeared in a particular location, Lucca. But it is not difficult to imagine that a patron like Romano Garzoni, closely involved with the Academy and with theatre generally, would want a space within the garden where he could conduct his own intimate gatherings of academicians, or of other like-minded visitors, to hear recitations of poetry or the singing of madrigals that celebrated the beauty of his garden.

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27 The libretto (Riv. 545) reads as follows: "Sant'Ilario, Camerini, Ospedale Universitario nel Settecento". The libretto has been lost, but the music remains. The libretto was written by Pietro Marchetti, a composer of the late 18th century.
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Arnold Witte studied art history at the Catholic University Nijmegen, and wrote his PhD thesis on Giovanni Lanfranco’s Camerino degli Eremiti at the University of Amsterdam (2004). He received scholarships from the Royal Dutch Institute in Rome and Italian Foreign Ministry, and was a Fulbright visiting scholar at the Johns Hopkins University in 2000. He has published articles on Lanfranco and Domenichino in The Burlington Magazine, contributed essays to the Lanfranco exhibition catalogue of 2001 and the forthcoming publication Adam Elsheimer in Rome, Werk–Kontext–Wirkung. Also forthcoming is a chapter on Annibale Carracci’s failed project for the Sala Grande in Palazzo Farnese. He is Assistant Professor in the Department of the Cultural History of Europe at the University of Amsterdam.

Karen Wolfe is a Research Fellow at the British School at Rome. She did her PhD at the Courtauld Institute on Cardinal Antonio Barberini, and specialises in Roman seventeenth and eighteenth-century patronage, painting and architecture. She has taught at John Cabot University and Temple University and has published on Caravaggio, Andrea Sacchi, Francesco Borromini, and Cardinal Antonio Barberini and Francesco Trevisani. She is co-author (with Michael Jacobs) of the entries on Italian drawings in the catalogue of architecture, design and ornament drawings in the Venice A. Rothschild Bequest at Waddesdon Manor (2006), and is a co-editor of the forthcoming proceedings of the conference at the British School at Rome, Roma Britannica: Britain and Rome in the eighteenth century. She is currently preparing a monograph on Trevisani.
Abstracts

ROBERT W. GASTON
Introduction: Some Meditations on Space and Place in Recent Florentine Art History
The tenions existing between current research methodologies and the evidence from the past they seek to utilize is highlighted in the case of research into the multiple attributes to the phenomenon of space in early modern Europe. It is argued that while we ought to pay close attention to research paradigms arising in visual culture theory and related disciplines, we should nevertheless be committed to adjusting (or abandoning) a given paradigm when we find counter-evidence emerging in the research process. The neglected significance of 'place' in a contemporary research culture obsessed with 'space' is discussed here in the context of how Florentine Renaissance spaces were theorised by their users.

HUGH HUDSON
Paolo Uccello and Fra Angelico in the Early Quattrocento
This article examines the still little-understood nature of the early career of Paolo Uccello (1397–1475), proposing that a common characteristic of the earliest paintings now securely attributed to him—as well as a few earlier, more tentatively attributed ones—is their stylistic proximity to the paintings of Fra Angelico (c. 1395–1455). In particular, two quadrifoil panels of the Annunciation from the early quattrocento that have been attributed to Angelico exhibit distinctive characteristics in their execution also found in a number of Uccello’s paintings, confirming that Uccello was very familiar with Angelico’s early work. The suggestion is also advanced tentatively that they might indeed have collaborated on these works as young artists.

PIERS BAKER-BATES
Sebastiano del Piombo’s Uveda Pietà: Between Italy and Spain
This article explores the circumstances surrounding the commission of the Pietà requested in 1533 from Sebastiano del Piombo (1485–1547) by Ferrante Gonzaga (1507–1537) and intended as a gift for Francisco de los Cobos (1777–1547), Secretary of State to the Emperor Charles V. The investigation begins with the process of the commission before exploring ways in which the Pietà mirrors the career of Sebastiano at Rome. It examines the intended location of the work and the ‘Spanshness’ of the painting and how this throws new light on Sebastiano’s later work.

KARIN WOLFE
Francesco Tresiviani and Landscape: Joseph Sold into Slavery in the National Gallery of Victoria
Joseph Sold into Slavery in the National Gallery of Victoria
This article traces the beginnings in the seventeenth century of a well-known eighteenth-century phenomenon: the gilded hermitage. Members of the ruling families of the city of Rome disposed of so-called remissioni in their private apartments. Most of these were designed and executed by Johann Paul Schor (1615–1674), decorator and assistant to Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598–1680). After a discussion of the appearance of these retreats and their occupants, it will be argued that they reflected certain changes in Roman society. These changes introduced the influence of foreign, especially French, etiquette, which was much less restrictive than the Roman etiquette, and called for social meetings outside of courtyards restrained. These changes were introduced by the rebellious but influential Mariaマンツァレ（1640–1706）after her marriage to the Contesstable Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna (1637–1689), and eagerly taken up by other, even male, members of the Roman nobility.

ROBERT W. GASTON
Untangling the Mannerist Narrative: Bronzino, Moses, and Eleonora of Toledo in the Palazzo de’ Signori, Florence
The chapel decorated for the use of Duchesse Eleonora of Toledo (1522–1621) by Agnolo Bronzino (1503–1572) in the Palazzo de’ Signori, Florence (1541–1545), has been much studied from the viewpoints of connoisseurship, formal structure and Medicean iconography. This article explores how the young Spanish Eleonora would have used her chapel and its narratives of the story of Moses for specific private devotions arising from the religious practices she acquired from both sides of her family. It is argued that such ‘Mannerist’ pictorial narratives were not necessarily resistant to her patron’s comprehension or to modern interpretation, as has been alleged by some formalist historians of Mannerism.

CHRISTINA STIRNICK
The Marvel Not Only of Rome, But of All Italy: The Galleria Colonna, Its Design History and Pictorial Programme 1661–1700
Due to the inaccessibility of the Colonna family archive, the complex mechanisms leading to the creation of the Galleria Colonna, Rome’s most splendid gallery building, have remained in the dark for centuries. Recently discovered documents necessitate a complete revision of our understanding of the design process. The involvement of artists not hitherto associated with the project—such as Marta de Rossis (1637–1699), Carlo Fontana (1638–1714) and Luca Giordano (1634–1705)—can now be documented. Chief among these was Giacalone Bernini (1598–1680), who created his ‘unknown masterpiece’ in the Galleria Colonna. The present article reconstructs the history of the gallery’s design and seeks to elucidate the aesthetic, political and social factors that contributed to the process of shaping its architectural form and pictorial programme.

ARNOLOD WITTE
Hermit in High Society: Private Retreats in Late Seventeenth-Century
This article traces the beginnings in the seventeenth century of a well-known eighteenth-century phenomenon: the gilded hermitage. Members of the ruling families of the city of Rome disposed of so-called remissioni in their private apartments. Most of these were designed and executed by Johann Paul Schor (1615–1674), decorator and assistant to Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598–1680). After a discussion of the appearance of these retreats and their occupants, it will be argued that they reflected certain changes in Roman society. These changes introduced the influence of foreign, especially French, etiquette, which was much less restrictive than the Roman etiquette, and called for social meetings outside of courtyards restrained. These changes were introduced by the rebellious but influential Maria Manzi (1640–1706) after her marriage to the Contesstable Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna (1637–1689), eagerly taken up by other, even male, members of the Roman nobility.

KATRINA GRANT
Teatro di Verona: Hedge Theatres in Baroque Lucca
This article examines the origins of the teatro di verona or hedge theatre in the early examples of which appear in the gardens and only the scattered records exist to suggest how they were used. However, an examination of the wider cultural life of the city suggests that these theatres were some of the earliest to be built for public entertainment spaces for literary; academies, Rome by several decades.

MARK D. SHEPHERD
Will the Real Boccherini Please Stand Up?: New Light on an Eighteenth-Century Portrait in the National Gallery of Victoria
In the National Gallery of Victoria is an anonymous eighteenth-century portrait of a castrato, traditionally identified as the composer Luigi Boccherini (1743–1805). In the early 1990s a portrait thought to be of Boccherini and attributed to Gian Lorenzo Lattard (1702–1789) came to light in a private collection in Germany. This is said to have been definitively confirmed that the National Gallery of Victoria’s portrait is indeed the composer, but the identification of the Lattard portrait is still based on comparison with the Melbourne portrait. This article re-examines the portrait to see whether it is, in fact, of the sitter in both paintings, confirms the identity as Boccherini, and argues that the Melbourne portrait dates from Boccherini’s early years in Lucca.

TED GORKA
‘It is Lovely to be a Gorilla, Sometimes’: The Art and Influence of Emmanuel Fremiet as Gorilla Sculptor
In 1859, the year in which Charles Darwin published his landmark On the Origin of Species By Means of Natural Selection, the French sculptor Emmanuel Fremiet (1824–1910) allied the jury of the Paris Salon with a larger than life-size plaster composition, Génie de l’Histoire. Fremiet’s sculpture, which was destroyed in 1861, was the first major representation in Western art of the primate that would soon be claimed as ‘men’s brothers’ in the evolutionary and religious debates that erupted in the wake of Darwin’s publication. In 1887 a new life-size plaster sculpture by Fremiet, Gorille Carrying Off a Woman, carried off the Paris Salon’s Medal of Honour. Fremiet received permission from the French State to produce bronze versions of the Génie de l’Histoire and the Inquisition for arguing the earth revolved around the sun while the Pope for its also had great personal significance.