



Ludovico Carracci's *Vision of St Francis:* Inspiration and Influence *

• DUNCAN BULL •

Representations of male saints ecstatically cuddling the infant Jesus, scarcely known before the 1590s, become so common during the seventeenth century that Louis Réau justly dubs the conceit 'un des clichés de l'hagiographie mystique de la Contre-Réforme'.¹ Ludovico Carracci's hauntingly beautiful painting of a nimbed, unstigmatized Franciscan friar embracing the Christ Child in the presence of a descended Virgin and observed by a monk in the background, is one of the earliest – possibly the first – in this tradition (fig. 1). Together with Annibale's small canvases of St Francis at his devotions (figs. 2 and 3) it also initiates a succession of Franciscan images by the Carracci cousins and members of their Bolognese academy that have long been recognised as fundamental to the development of the expression of spiritual emotions in post-Tridentine art – and, indeed, of the formation of the 'baroque' style in general.² Its sources of inspiration and immediate influence are therefore of interest.

Whose Vision?

All modern critics convincingly date the painting between 1582 and 1586 on stylistic grounds,³ but its history is unknown before its purchase at Florence in 1787 by Sir Abraham Hume, presumably with the title under which

Fig. 1
LUDOVICO CARRACCI,
*Apparition of the
Virgin to St Francis
of Assisi, who
Holds the Christ
Child in his Arms*,
c. 1583–85.
Oil on canvas,
103 x 102 cm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum,
inv. no. SK-A-3992.

he later catalogued it: 'The Vision of St Felice'.⁴ This can refer only to St Felix of Cantalice, premier saint of the Capuchin order, who died in 1587, was beatified in 1625 and canonized in 1712, and whose principal iconography involves an apparition of the Virgin who gave him the Christ Child to hold (see fig. 26).⁵ Given these dates, however, this identification is most improbable, though it is perfectly understandable for the time: the friar's patched habit, hood, bare foot, and beard are all hallmarks of the Capuchins, who remained a common sight in the streets of Italy until the end of the eighteenth century.

When Hume's collections were dispersed in 1923 this title was retained; but the auctioneer, evidently out of ignorance, assumed 'Felice' to be the distant, witnessing monk: 'Vision of S. Felice. St. Anthony, in Franciscan habit kneeling with the Infant Saviour in his arms; the Virgin stands behind him; St. Felice in the background on the right [*sic*]'.⁶ This, too, is unsurprising. Saccharine images of St Anthony of Padua embracing the Christ Child have enjoyed immense popularity over the past three centuries, and the *motif* inevitably became associated with him. But, once again, the subject hardly appears in the visual arts before the first decade of the seventeenth century, when it begins



to supersede the thitherto standard iconography of Anthony with the Christ Child perched on an open book (see fig. 4). If Ludovico Carracci had intended to show St Anthony actively embracing the infant – which is possible, but again unlikely – it would be strange that he should, in what would be one of the earliest such

depictions, depart so radically from the textual accounts. These specify an indoor setting with no Virgin present and the witness – not always included in visual representations – placed at a window or keyhole (fig. 5).⁷ Nevertheless, it was as the *Vision of St Anthony* that Ludovico's painting came to public attention in the 1934 exhibition of Italian paintings from Dutch collections,⁸ entered the Rijksmuseum in 1952,⁹ was exhibited at the *Mostra dei Carracci* of 1956¹⁰ and was discussed in the extensive subsequent literature.

It was not until 1975 that the composition's close correspondence to a passage concerning St Francis of Assisi in Luke Wadding's massive scholarly history of the Franciscan order was recognized.¹¹ And indeed, Wadding's account of a friar who followed Francis into a deserted wood and witnessed the Virgin handing the Christ Child to him is so strikingly similar to Ludovico's image that the identity of the saint seemed to be established beyond any



Fig. 2

ANNIBALE CARRACCI,
St Francis in Ecstasy,
c. 1584. Oil on canvas,
91 x 73 cm.
Venice, Gallerie dell'
Accademia, inv. no. 767.
Granted by the Ministry
of National Heritage
and Culture.

Fig. 3

ANNIBALE CARRACCI,
St Francis Meditating,
c. 1584. Oil on canvas,
75 x 57 cm. Rome,
Musei Capitolini,
inv. no. PC 51.

Fig. 4

PIER FRANCESCO
MAZZUCHELLI,
called il Morazzone,
*Apparition of the Christ
Child to St Anthony
of Padua*, c. 1615.
Oil on canvas,
87,5 x 76,5 cm. Dresden,
Gemäldegalerie,
inv. no. Gal.-Nr. 647.
Photo: bpk/Staatliche
Kunstsammlungen
Dresden/Ursula
Maria Hoffmann.

doubt (see the Appendix below, v).¹² Furthermore, Wadding places the event in 1215, long before Francis's stigmatization (1224), which would explain the absence of the saint's essential and defining attributes from his prominent crossed hands. But, as has often puzzled commentators, the first volume of Wadding's *Annales Minorum* came out only in 1625, well after Ludovico's death, and no such vision appeared to be recorded in the accepted hagiographies or established legends concerning St Francis. In these, the only occasion on which Francis was observed actually handling the Christ Child was at the crib at Greccio, an entirely other order of apparition.¹³ Nor, as we have seen, does there seem much possibility of confusion with St Anthony of Padua, although adulteration certainly occurs in the visual arts after about 1620 (see fig. 29). Ludovico and Wadding must have used a common source that postdates the received Franciscan documents.

Mark of Lisbon

A potentially promising text had been signalled in 1958 by Berenice Davidson who, presenting a picture by Francesco Vanni (fig. 14), briefly noted that such an apparition is attributed to St Francis in Mark of Lisbon's Portuguese 'Chronicles of the Franciscan order, published in 1557'.¹⁴ This refers to Part I of Mark's *Crônicas da Ordem dos Frades Menores*, later supplemented by Parts II and III and soon translated into Castilian. An Italian version of Part I, translated from the Spanish by a certain 'Horatio Diola bolognese', was published in two volumes at Parma in 1581 and dedicated (with permission) to Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti, bishop of Bologna.¹⁵ This dedication to the man who, above all others, was concerned with the reform of visual imagery following the Council of Trent and the first two volumes of whose *Discorso intorno alle immagini sacre e profane* were to

appear, albeit in an experimental edition, the following year, is in itself enough to arouse interest.¹⁶ As, too, is the book's phenomenal success: in 1582 alone four more editions of Diola's translation of Part I were published, at Brescia, Casalmaggiore, Parma and Venice; and by 1600 no fewer than seventeen had appeared, mostly at Venice. In addition, Diola's translations of Parts II and III came out in 1586 and 1591 respectively, and also went through many printings.¹⁷ Given the fact that it conveniently assembles all legends and anecdotes, both 'official' and 'unofficial', about St Francis and his early followers, presenting them thematically within a narrative framework, the usefulness of Part I of Mark's *Chronicles* as an iconographical handbook for late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century painters of Franciscan subjects speaks for itself.¹⁸ And because Mark was one of the first Franciscan scholars to attempt to assemble a complete collection of early Franciscan records, his work is informed by many texts that were only much later 'rediscovered' by the nineteenth- and twentieth-century philologists on whose work modern scholars tend to rely.¹⁹



Fig. 5
SIMONE CANTARINI,
St Anthony of Padua, c. 1640.
Etching, 8.1 x 6.1 cm.
London,
British Museum,
inv. no. PD U,3.155.

Even if Ludovico's painting were to date from as early as 1582, Part 1 of Mark's *Chronicles* would have been available to him in his mother tongue in more than one edition, and, as is amply apparent from the passage quoted below, Wadding later also made use of Mark's text. The *Chronicles* is less a history of the Franciscan order than a series of biographies of its more prominent members, starting with the founder whose life and after-life occupy the first three (of a total of ten) Books in Part 1 – that is to say the whole of the first volume of Diola's translation. Book 1 consists of a hundred chapters leading up to the Portiuncula Indulgence, which opens Book 2 and which Mark and Wadding date to 1223. Unlike Wadding, Mark is not overly concerned with chronology and rarely gives dates: in his life of St Francis he follows the standard sequence established by St Bonaventura, interspersing the canonical episodes with the more folkloric types of miracles, visions and myths with which early Franciscan literature abounds as well as bringing his own strain of Iberian mysticism to his often highly-embroidered embellishments of the plethora of texts he consulted.

The relevant apparition occurs in one such intermezzo occupying Chapters 83 to 85 of Book 1 (see the Appendix, IV).²⁰ It is the last in a group of similar visions adapted from diverse sources; but Mark's introduction in Chapter 83 cannot be omitted here:

Concerning several apparitions made to St Francis in his contemplations. Chapter LXXXIII.

Father St Francis was always seeking out solitary places in which he could more freely converse with God and with his angels; and there, having made his cell from the branches of trees, far from any other dwellings of the Friars, he ordered his companion brother Leo not to come and visit him except once a day, and to bring only

bread and water to him; and [also at] another time at night at the hour of Matins, and when arriving [Leo] would say: 'O Lord, open thou my lips'; and if [Francis] responded: 'O Lord make haste to help me' he would enter to say Matins with him; but in the case that [Francis] did not reply, he would simply go away because on such occasion[s Francis] was in such ecstasy that he could not speak, neither by day nor by night. ...

Concerning another vision.

Chapter LXXXV.

Going once between one Monastery and another, Francis was given for company a young Friar, not very fearing of god; and it so happened that, after they had restored themselves in the monastery where they had gone, the saint went before all the others to rest so as to be able to get up to pray during the first sleep of the others, as it was his custom to do; and the companion stayed with the other Brothers to whisper about the blessed Father, saying that he ate, drank and slept very well, but was still reputed a Saint. And so he decided to go and see, if [Francis] arose during the night (as those Friars had told him) to pray; and to this end he did not go to sleep at all that night when, behold! he heard the Father get up at the second vigil, and start off towards the wood, whither he followed him secretly. And when the Saint was come to the place which seemed to him the best, kneeling, he began to send forth his passionate sighs, and his holy ardent words, magniloquently beseeching the Madonna that she show him her sweet son, even as she had brought him into the world. This prayer being over, the Friar saw the Madonna appear in a brilliant effulgence of light, and, having arrived where the saint was kneeling, she gave him her baby son into his arms with marvellous benevolence, which the saint took, thanking her, and embraced it tenderly and cuddled

and kissed it, and this continued to the infinite happiness of the saint until the dawn appeared; when, considering it now time, he gave it back to her who had given it him, bowing to the ground with the deepest humility and reverence, and thus the whole vision disappeared. The Friar was so edified by this miracle, that he went into the presence of the saint, asked pardon, and changed his life.

Tempting though it may be to conclude at once that Ludovico Carracci must have been illustrating this very paragraph, there are two further texts that need consideration.

Mark of Lisbon assiduously gives citations to his sources, even when they amount to no more than a generic 'Croniche antiche'. In the Iberian editions of the *Chronicles*, 'Conformidades' and 'Floretum' stand in the margin at the head of Chapter 85. The first refers to Bartholomew of Pisa's *Liber Conformitatum vitae beati, ac seraphici patris Francisci ad vitam Jesu Christi*, written toward the end of the fourteenth century. This does contain a similar, though considerably leaner, account of the apparition (see the Appendix, below, 111),²¹ and in theory it may also have been available to Ludovico, having appeared in print, in Latin, at Milan in 1510 and 1513.²² But in Diola's translation every reference to the *Liber conformitatum*, liberally sprinkled through Mark's margins in all earlier editions, has been omitted. Diola, who retains all Mark's other citations, also drops it from the bibliography provided in the Proemium. The *Liber Conformitatum* had been ridiculed by Lutherans in the mid-sixteenth century, but it was never placed on the Index. Its suppression from Diola's translation may, perhaps, have been recommended by Cardinal Paleotti. When a third edition of the *Liber Conformitatum*, prepared in the Conventual Franciscan monastery at Bologna, was published there, again

in Latin, in 1590, the episode of this apparition was among the many items excised.²³ It would thus seem unlikely that Ludovico, who in 1584 was executing frescoes commissioned by Paleotti in Bologna cathedral,²⁴ would have seen, or at any rate used, the *Liber Conformitatum* for the picture now in Amsterdam.

I Fioretti di San Francesco

Mark's second citation, retained by Diola, is to *I Fioretti di San Francesco*, that charming and well-known anthology of Franciscan legend and anecdote paraphrased into Tuscan in the 1390s from a Latin compilation dating from before 1337 known as the *Actus Beati Francisci et Sociorum eius*.²⁵ After its appearance in print in 1476, the *Fioretti* became a best-seller, and, more than any other publication, was responsible for the popular perception of Francis and his followers in the Cinquecento – and again after its revival in the nineteenth century. It went through numerous editions until the 1550s, after which production appears to have slowed considerably.²⁶ It would seem, in fact, that in Italy it was superseded by Diola's translation of Part 1 of Mark's *Chronicles* during the 1580s as the standard vernacular hagiography. Given the *Fioretti*'s previous ubiquity, however, there is every reason to assume that Ludovico Carracci would have known it.

Both the *Fioretti* and its predecessor, the *Actus*, describe an apparition almost identical to that detailed above; but they accredit it not to St Francis but to Brother Conrad of Offida who had lived, together with his close companion, Brother Peter of Treia, in a Franciscan house in the woods at Forano in the March of Ancona towards the end of the thirteenth century.²⁷ Once again the text must be quoted in full (see the Appendix, I and II), here translated from a sixteenth-century edition of the *Fioretti*:

Concerning many perfect friars who lived in the province of the March. Chapter 41.

At the time of this holy brother Peter, there was also the holy brother Conrad of Offida, they being together in the community at [Forano] in the province of Ancona.²⁸ The said brother Conrad went out one day into the wood to muse upon God, and brother Peter secretly followed behind him to see what would happen to him. And having entered the wood [brother Conrad] began his orations and to pray most devoutly to the glorious Virgin madonna saint Mary with great piety that she grant him this grace from her blessed son Jesus Christ, that he might feel for a while that sweetness which St Simeon felt on the day of the Purification when he carried Jesus Christ in his blessed arms. And after he had made this prayer, the glorious Virgin Mary granted it: and behold! how the Queen of the heaven appeared with her son in her arms, in a great blaze of light; and approaching nigh to brother Conrad she placed in his arms that blessed baby son, which he received, most devotedly embracing him, kissing him, and squeezing him to his breast; and he completely melted and was consumed with divine love and ineffable consolation. And so it was too with brother Peter, who, seeing everything from his hiding-place, felt in his soul his great sweetness and consolation. And as the Virgin Mary was leaving brother Conrad, [brother Peter] returned to the monastery in haste so as not to be seen by him. But when brother Conrad returned all joyful and cheerful, brother Peter said to him: 'Oh heavenly one, what great consolation you have had today!' Brother Conrad replied: 'What you are saying, brother Peter, is that you know what I have experienced.' 'I know it well, I know well how the glorious Virgin Mary with her blessed son has visited

you'. Then brother Conrad, who as a truly humble being wished to be secret about the graces of God, begged him not to say a word to anyone. And the love between the two of them was thenceforth so great, that these two seemed to possess one soul and one heart between them in every thing.

As far as the substance of the vision is concerned, it is evident that, textually, the early fourteenth-century *Actus* (Appendix 1) takes precedence, and that the visions of St Francis, St Anthony and St Felix of Cantalice as well as those of a subsequent host of saints and *beati*, by no means exclusively Franciscan, are all likely to derive, directly or indirectly, from this episode concerning Conrad.

In the case of Ludovico Carracci, it is the *Fioretti* and Diola's translation of Mark – both readily available to him (and his patrons) at the bookseller – that are the strongest candidates for providing the stimulus to his pictorial imagination. And that being so, the balance is weighted toward Diola and Mark. It is the *Chronicles* that emphasize, more explicitly and in a different, more conscious, way than the *Fioretti*, Francis's love of forests and deserted places; and it is Ludovico's sylvan setting, masterfully reinterpreting that of Titian's *St Peter Martyr*, which is one of the picture's principal glories. Ludovico's beardless boy in the background accords well with Diola's specification of the witness as a 'Frate giovanetto'; whereas Brother Peter, the *Fioretti* implies, was a contemporary of Conrad's and would surely have been shown both older and bearded – the wearing of beards, like the renunciation of sandals, having been revived by the Capuchins as part of their aim to return to the original simplicity of Francis's earliest followers, particularly those in the Marches and the Abruzzi.²⁹ One of the most beautiful passages in the painting is the subtle

pink in the sky on the left, announcing the approach of the dawn that is specified in the *Chronicles* ('vicino all'alba') but not by the *Fioretti* ('un di') – though it would be pedantically positivistic to deny Ludovico's imagination the addition of such a touch to a scene in which illumination, both celestial and terrestrial, plays so important a role and in which, as has repetitiously been remarked, his study of Correggio first reaches fruition.

The different endings to the story are also worth considering. Wadding, the historian, uses the event to establish Francis's ascendancy over his followers, something alien to his sources but relevant to his account of subsequent schisms. In the *Fioretti* Conrad's consolation is shared by the friend who witnesses the scene, and the apparition serves not only to underline Conrad's piety but to deepen the fraternal bond between him and Brother Peter. In Mark's *Chronicles*, however, the emphasis is completely different: here there is no injunction to secrecy, nor does the observer participate in Francis's consolation or ecstasy. He merely observes: it is the good fortune of witnessing the apparition that leads the insufficiently God-fearing *giovanetto* to change his life. This, significantly, is also the experience that Ludovico offers the viewers of his picture in the clear, simple and naturalistic way that Cardinal Paleotti recommends in his *Discorso*.

While it would seem probable, then, that Ludovico was reacting to Diola's newly published translation, that would not, of course, preclude him from also consulting the *Fioretti* as cited in its margin. The silvery highlights on the witnessing friar, which provide such a contrast to the golden effulgence on the right, emanate from a crescent moon surrounded by a cluster of stars. The representation of stars is unusual in paintings of this period unless in a circle around the head of an

Immacolata.³⁰ Ludovico's are very prominent, and it has been suggested that the configuration may be that of Sagittarius and that if so the head of Christ would be 'precisely in the position of the astronomical sun'.³¹ Be that as it may, what Ludovico has painted cannot be observed in nature, for many of the closer stars would be obscured or dimmed by the moon's aureole. It may, then, not be entirely coincidental that the *Fioretti* introduces Conrad and his companions by likening them to stars (Appendix, I and II): 'In olden times the province of the March of Ancona was adorned, just as the sky is with stars, by saints and exemplary friars who illuminated and adorned, just as stars do the sky, the Order of St Francis and the world with their exemplary behaviour and doctrine.' This sidereal simile becomes a metaphor a few chapters later: 'During the time when they lived together in the custody of Ancona at the community of Forano, brother Conrad and brother Peter were two shining stars in the province of the March and two celestial men.' With the moon's obvious allusion to the Virgin, Ludovico's inclusion of the stars may then allude to those exemplary Marchigian friars whose devotion she enjoys. Neither in Mark's biography of Conrad, where the apparition is taken more or less verbatim from the *Fioretti*, nor in his accounts of other early Marchigian friars, is there any mention of stars, which are equally absent from his account of the Vision of St Francis.³²

It thus seems more than possible that Ludovico Carracci may have had recourse to both books when planning his painting, and if that is the case one may infer that they were also available to other members of his Accademia dei Desiderosi. Annibale's early Franciscan canvases certainly show a similar interest, relatively new in the visual arts, in the ecstatic and sylvan side of primitive Franciscanism (figs. 2 and 3).³³



Fig. 6

ANNIBALE CARRACCI,
St Francis in Ecstasy,
 1585.
 Engraving,
 14.2 x 10.1 cm.
 Amsterdam,
 Rijksmuseum,
 inv. no. RP-P-OB-782.

And his poignant print of 1585 (fig. 6)³⁴ chimes well with the *Chronicles'* emphasis at the beginning of Chapter 83 (Appendix III) on Francis's love of solitary places where, to brother Leo's frustration, 'alle volte era talmente in ecstasi, che non poteva parlare, nè di di, nè di notte'. But it is difficult to link these with any specific passage in the *Chronicles* – or for that matter the *Fioretti* – and it may be that the availability of Mark's text simply served to stimulate a fresh interest in Franciscan subjects.³⁵

On the other hand, if the inclusion of stars in Ludovico's painting does derive from the *Fioretti*, the possibility that its subject might be the Virgin's appearance not to Francis himself but to the (unstigmatized) Blessed Conrad of Offida cannot be discounted – especially if the painting had, for



Fig. 7

FRANCESCO VANNI,
*Apparition of the
 Virgin to St Francis
 of Assisi, who Holds
 the Christ Child in
 his Arms*, c. 1590-95.
 Pen and brown ink
 with white body-
 colour over traces of
 black chalk on tinted
 paper, varnished,
 28.1 x 23.8 cm.
 Florence, Galleria
 degli Uffizi,
 inv. no. 19165F.
 Photo: © Polo
 Museale Fiorentino
 Gabinetto
 Fotografico.

example, been requested by a patron from the March of Ancona. Sixteenth-century Franciscan scholars seem to have been aware of a tradition that a panel painting of the Virgin's apparition to Conrad had been placed in the rustic oratory at Forano shortly after Conrad's death in 1306 and also that, when the oratory was rebuilt in 1403 and the same scene was painted in fresco, the Virgin's face was completed by angelic intervention.³⁶ Franciscus Gonzaga refers to this in his *De origine Seraphicae Religionis Franciscanae* of 1587,³⁷ a book that catalogues all Franciscan houses worldwide. The Carracci must have been at least aware of this publication as Agostino was engraving illustrations for it perhaps as early as 1581.³⁸ Nevertheless, there would appear to be no other images of Conrad of

Offida until the nineteenth-century revival of the *Fioretti* and the advent of Pre-Raphaelitism.³⁹

Early Influence and Dissemination

There is concrete evidence that Ludovico's composition was accepted as showing St Francis shortly after it was painted, and that it was pressed into Franciscan service by painters who were either his pupils or otherwise associated with his academy. The first indication of this occurs in a sequence of drawings and paintings by Francesco Vanni (1563-1610), who worked principally from Siena but maintained Bolognese links, specifically with the Carracci, after a youthful period in Bartolomeo Passarotti's studio.⁴⁰ A chiaroscuro drawing in the Uffizi and a squared one in black chalk over traces of red in the Louvre, both bearing old attributions to Vanni, are, although upright in format, obviously related to Ludovico's composition (figs. 7 and 8). The Uffizi sheet has variously been interpreted as a bozzetto by Ludovico himself, as an adaptation by Vanni of Ludovico's composition or as reflecting a Barroccesque source known to both.⁴¹

X-radiography of the Rijksmuseum's canvas (fig. 9) shows only one significant pentimento: as initially sketched in, the fingers of the Virgin's left hand were curled to clutch the drapery, exactly as Vanni shows them in both drawings. The only preparatory drawing by Ludovico for the painting to have survived, a double-sided sheet also in the Louvre studying the protagonist's (unstigmatized) hands on the recto (fig. 11) and those of the Virgin on the verso (fig. 10), shows the latter as they appear in the finished painting and must have been drawn specifically for this alteration.⁴² It is thus clear enough that what Vanni probably had before him was a now-lost composition drawing by Ludovico made at a stage when his

Fig. 8
FRANCESCO VANNI,
*Apparition of the
Virgin to St Francis
of Assisi, who Holds
the Christ Child in
his Arms*, c. 1590-95.
Black chalk over traces
of red, squared,
26.7 x 20.6 cm.
Paris, Musée du
Louvre, inv. no.
2008-recto.
Photo: RMN/
Adrien Didierjean.





Fig. 9
X-radiograph of the
painting reproduced
in fig. 1 (detail).



visual idea was fairly far advanced, but when the format and the relative size and pose of the witness in the background were not yet fixed.⁴³ Vanni may indeed have altered various elements, showing a much older St Francis and the friar in the background as bearded; and in a third, much larger drawing in red and black chalk, heightened with white, we see him developing the *concetto* for his own purposes (fig. 12).



Figs. 10 and 11
LUDOVICO CARRACCI,
*Studies for the hands
of St Francis and the
Virgin in the painting
reproduced as fig. 1,*
1583-85.
Black and white
chalk, 18.7 x 13.5 cm.
Paris, Musée du
Louvre, inv. no. 9106
recto and verso.
Photos: RMN/Michèle
Bellot.

Fig. 12

FRANCESCO VANNI,
*Apparition of the
 Virgin to St Francis
 of Assisi, who Holds
 the Christ Child in
 his Arms*, c. 1590-95.
 Red and black chalk,
 heightened with
 white, 44 x 30.1 cm.
 Paris, Musée du
 Louvre, inv. no.
 2011-recto.
 Photo: RMN/
 Adrien Didierjean.



Here he omits the witness altogether and clarifies what is ambiguous in the previous two: by using red chalk to designate the stigmata on the kneeling saint's hands Vanni seems to have felt it necessary to supply the attributes that his model presumably lacked.

There are two surviving altarpieces by Vanni with this subject. That now in S. Paolino, Lucca, for which there is a preparatory drawing in the Rijksmuseum (fig. 13),⁴⁴ was probably made for the church of S. Maria Corteorlandini in the same town, which was being refashioned for the Congregation of

the Mother of God between 1583 and 1593.⁴⁵ The other was commissioned in 1599 by Cardinal Bonvisi for the magnificent new chapel constructed by the Lucchese community in the Franciscan Observant church at Lyon, and is now at Providence, Rhode Island (fig. 14).⁴⁶ There can be no doubt whatsoever that Francis is portrayed, for both works show him with stigmata – in the Providence picture an extremely exaggerated one, out of which a massive nail curves. Curiously enough, Vanni also includes a shower of stars below his crescent moon in this painting – once again signalling his dependence

on Ludovico's example – but this offers no help in identifying the sleeping friar on the left who has usurped the wakeful witness that is so important a part of the story. He has a faint halo, but his purpose is obscure – unless he is generically intended for the long-suffering Leo waiting for Francis to come out of an ecstasy.⁴⁷ Whatever the case, it would appear that by 1599 Ludovico's invention – whether initially intended as Francis or Conrad – had developed into an independent, self-sufficient Franciscan trope. One further drawing, recently on the art market and evidently for an altarpiece,



Fig. 13
FRANCESCO VANNI,
*Design for an
Altarpiece with the
Virgin and Child,
St Francis, St Antony
of Padua, ?St Paolino
of Lucca and
St Joseph, c. 1590-95.*
Pen and brown ink
and brown wash
over black chalk,
squared in red chalk,
21.4 x 13.4 cm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-T-1887-A-1413.



Fig. 14
FRANCESCO VANNI,
The Virgin Appearing to St Francis, who Holds the Christ Child in his Arms, and a Sleeping Friar, 1599. Oil on canvas, 267 x 183 cm. Providence, Museum of the Rhode Island School of Design, inv. no. 57.227.

confirms this: in it a stigmatized Francis holding the child in the presence of the Virgin is balanced by a female saint, most probably Clare, with the donors for whom they intercede placed *in abisso* below (fig. 15).⁴⁸ Whereas in Vanni's Rijksmuseum drawing (fig. 13) the image of Francis receiving the Christ Child has been absorbed into

a *sacra conversazione*, in fig. 15 his holding of the infant is little more than an attribute that serves to anchor the trope.

Vanni drew an elaborate *ricordo* (fig. 16) of his Lyon painting which the Sienese publisher Matteo Florimi consigned to Cornelis Galle to be engraved (fig. 17).⁴⁹ Neither drawing



Fig. 15

FRANCESCO VANNI,
*Design for an
Altarpiece with the
Virgin, St Francis
holding the Christ
Child, a Female
Saint and Two
Donors, c. 1590-95.*
Red and black
chalk, 31 x 23.5 cm.
London, formerly
J.-L. Baroni Ltd.

nor print shows stigmata, and in both the stars are again very prominent, with Galle interpreting Vanni's dabs of white body-colour as pointed polygons. It is probable that Rubens knew this print – or the copy after it published at Antwerp by Theodore Galle (fig. 18) – when he painted the subject in two large altarpieces for the Capuchin churches at Lille and at Antwerp (fig. 19);⁵⁰ and he may perhaps also have had a more direct knowledge of Ludovico's composition, as the print engraved by Michel Lasne under his supervision would seem to suggest (fig. 20). In any case, with the Galles' prints Ludovico's invention, decisively if dilutedly, entered the mainstream of Counter-Reformation imagery on both sides of the Alps.

Another indication of the dissemination of Ludovico's *conchetto* as St Francis is provided by Pietro Faccini (1562-1602) who, as a pupil at the Carracci academy, would both have had access to the reference material there and have participated in drawing



Fig. 16

FRANCESCO VANNI,
*Ricordo of the
painting reproduced
in fig. 14 above, 1599.*
Red chalk heightened
with partially oxidized
white body-colour
on buff paper,
26.4 x 21.3 cm.
London, Victoria
and Albert Museum,
inv. no. Dyce 182;
bequeathed by Rev.
Alexander Dyce.

Fig. 19

PETER PAUL RUBENS,
*Apparition of the
Virgin and Child to
St Francis, before
1617.* Oil on canvas,
234 x 184 cm. Lille,
Palais des Beaux-
Arts, inv. no. 310.
Photo: RMN/René-
Gabriel Ojéda.



Fig. 17
CORNELIS GALLE,
Engraving after the
drawing reproduced
in fig. 16.

27.8 x 21.2 cm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum,
inv. no. RP-P-OB-6591.



Fig. 18
Theodoor Galle
(publisher), Copy
after the engraving
in fig. 17.

Engraving, 27.8 x
21 cm. Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-1904-446.



Fig. 20
MICHEL LASNE after
PETER PAUL RUBENS,
*Apparition of the
Virgin and Child
to St Francis*, 1617.

Engraving,
33.1 x 24.9 cm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum,
inv. no. RP-P-H-H-961.



Fig. 21

PIETRO FACCINI,
*Study of a
Franciscan Friar*,
c. 1595. Red chalk,
35.2 x 22.6 cm.
Inscribed 'gli piace
esser soldato'.
London,
British Museum,
inv. no. 1946,0713.84.



Fig. 22

PIETRO FACCINI,
*Apparition of the
Virgin to St Francis,
who Holds the
Christ Child in his
Arms*, before 1600.
Oil on paper,
33.6 x 24.2 cm.
London,
British Museum,
inv. no. Ff,2.125.

figures from the life – including studio boys dressed up as friars (fig. 21), many examples of which by his hand survive. In an extensive sequence of drawings, also clearly indebted to Ludovico's example though not following his composition as closely as Vanni, Faccini explored the subject further, and with a much greater emphasis on Francis's rapport with the Virgin than with the Child.⁵¹ They can almost certainly be dated to before 1600, for that is the year inscribed by its owner, together with Faccini's name, on the canvas backing of the most elaborate of them (fig. 22) – also in chiaroscuro, and more a painting on paper than a drawing.⁵² This shows the hands as stigmatized; but Faccini's related etching does not (fig. 23). The drawings are probably connected to one of a pair of lost laterals by Faccini, described by Malvasia as showing 'St Francis receiving the Christ Child in his arms' and 'the same fainting at the sound of the celestial music', that flanked Guido

Reni's *Crucifixion* in the Bolognese Capuchin church of S. Maria della Concezione a Montecalvario.⁵³ The pairing of a canvas of the musical consolation of St Francis with one of Conrad of Offida would be odd, and Faccini's print was certainly interpreted as a St Francis by its viewers. It was used by, among others, Orazio Borgianni when he painted his huge and now largely destroyed *Vision of St Francis* in 1608 (fig. 24), by which time, as we have seen, the subject had firmly established itself within Francis's iconography.⁵⁴

Fig. 23

PIETRO FACCINI,
*Apparition of the
Virgin to St Francis,
who Holds the Christ
Child in his Arms*,
c. 1600. Etching,
33.6 x 24.4 cm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-08-36.017.





Fig. 24

ORAZIO BORGIANNI,
*Apparition of the
 Virgin to St Francis,
 who Holds the Christ
 Child in his Arms*,
 1608. Oil on canvas,
 380 x 250 cm.
 Formerly Sezze
 Romano, now mostly
 destroyed.

From *Concetto* to *Cliché*

It is now difficult – especially in the absence of any information about its genesis – to judge to what extent Ludovico's Rijksmuseum picture may have anticipated or started a trend, or whether it was the increasing popularity and ready availability of Diola's translation of Mark of Lisbon's *Chronicles* that led to a demand for such images in Italy. In his dedication to Paleotti, Diola expresses the hope that the 'frutto spirituale' he had enjoyed from reading them could now be communicated widely 'per accender ogni gelato cuore al desiderio di virtù e della beata vita'; and his audience was evidently ready for it. St Francis's mystic vision became not only the subject of paintings and prints, but also an experience that could be shared by Francis's followers, as the canonization of Brother Felix of Cantalice confirms. Following the mass hysteria

occasioned by Felix's death at Rome in May 1587, when his corpse was plucked bare and despoiled of its digits, the Franciscan pope Sixtus v initiated a fast-track canonization process, ready to recognize Felix's sanctity as established by popular proclamation rather than post-mortem miracles. Among the witnesses was a certain Costanza Cotta who on 18 September 1587 testified that the Virgin had appeared to Felix on Christmas night while he was praying at the high altar of the church of S. Bonaventura (where he lived), and put the Christ Child into his arms.⁵⁵ This became the principal element of Felix's iconography – though how soon after his death images of it began to be produced is difficult to establish.⁵⁶ The *processus* lost momentum after Sixtus's death in 1590, being eclipsed in the Vatican bureaucracy by those for Charles Borromeo (ob. 1584; beat. 1602) and Philip Neri (ob. 1595; beat. 1615), but Felix's cult had already become well established throughout Italy and beyond, and what has been described as the first large-scale altarpiece of his apparition – by another Carracci associate, Alessandro Tiarini – appears to have been painted for a church at Mirandola in 1612.⁵⁷

Felix's *processus* was revived in 1614, and on 13 October 1618 a certain Matteo da Posta testified that an eye-witness had told him of just such an apparition to Felix which, he added, had taken place in the same way as shown on the painting above Felix's tomb in the church of S. Bonaventura.⁵⁸ This probably refers to Fra Semplice da Verona's large and ungainly altarpiece now at Ronciglione (fig. 25), which is later recorded as having been on the high altar when Felix's beatification was celebrated at S. Bonaventura in 1625;⁵⁹ if so, it also provides a *terminus ante quem* for what must be one of the earliest large-scale works by this intriguing Capuchin painter. When Felix's remains were transferred



Fig. 25
FRA SEMPLICE
DA VERONA,
*Apparition of the
Virgin to St Felix
of Cantalice*,

before 1518.
Oil on canvas,
377 x 251 cm.
Ronciglione, Chiesa
dei Capuccini.

to the newly-built church of S. Maria della Concezione in 1631 they were placed below a new altarpiece that Cardinal Antonio Barberini had commissioned from Alessandro Turchi and which still remains *in situ* (fig. 26).⁶⁰

It is worth recalling that Annibale Carracci was in Rome from 1595, a period when, notwithstanding the stagnation of the *processus*, Felix's cult, centred on his tomb at S. Bonaventura, was in a very vigorous state. Annibale's exquisite small copper now at Ottawa was undoubtedly painted during his Roman years, probably around 1597-98, for it includes an architectural



Fig. 26
ALESSANDRO
TURCHI, called
L'ORBETTO,
*Apparition of the
Virgin to St Felix
of Cantalice, who
Holds the Christ
Child in his Arms*,
1630-31.
Oil on canvas,
200 x 235 cm.
Rome, S. Maria
della Concezione.
Photo: Archivio
Fotografico, Polo
Museale della città
di Roma.

feature from Palazzo Farnese in which he was then working (fig. 27).⁶¹ Bellori describes it as the Christ-child blessing St Francis;⁶² but there would seem to be no certainty about the identity of the unhaloed, unstigmatized friar. The witnessing figure, standard for such scenes, is shown in the right background with an ass, attribute of both Anthony of Padua (who had caused one to kneel before the sacrament) and Felix of Cantalice (who continually referred to himself as 'the ass of the friars'). This figure has also been interpreted as St Joseph, implying that the incident is taking place during a rest on the Flight into Egypt.⁶³



Fig. 27

ANNIBALE CARRACCI,
*The Virgin and
Child Appearing
to a Swooning
Franciscan Friar
Supported by an*

Angel, c. 1595-97.
Oil on copper,
46.8 x 37.2 cm.
Ottawa, National
Gallery of Canada,
inv. no. 18905.

Whatever the case, it is not easy to find, either in Mark's *Chronicles* or other Franciscan sources, an apparition in which a swooning St Francis, supported by an angel, is blessed by an infant Jesus held by a seated Madonna; and it is quite possible that by this time artists and their patrons were free to imagine for themselves the 'multi altri simili visioni' that Mark of Lisbon reports Francis having had of the Madonna and various saints.⁶⁴ Furthermore, Parts II and III of Mark's *Chronicles*, of which Diola's translations appeared in 1586 and 1591, contain the biographies of hundreds of Franciscan friars up to about 1520, most of whom experienced visions and apparitions either involving St Francis or based on those that had occurred to him.

The marked differences between the Ottawa copper and Annibale's earlier Franciscan canvases (figs. 2 and 3) are not just of style but of sentiment. A similar shift can be observed in Ludovico's art. It was probably during or shortly after his brief trip to Rome in 1602 that he painted, also on copper, the small reprise of his Amsterdam *Vision of St Francis* recently acquired by the Art Institute of Chicago (fig. 28).⁶⁵ In it he retains the basic schema and many details from the earlier composition – including the crescent moon,



Fig. 28

LUDOVICO CARRACCI,
*Apparition of the
Virgin to ?St Francis,
who Holds the Christ
Child in his Arms*,
c. 1602.

Oil on copper,
37.2 x 28.6 cm.
Art Institute of
Chicago, Lacy
Armour Fund,
inv. no. 2010.274.

though not the stars. But the differences are enormous. Gone is the emphatically sylvan setting, and gone, too, the emphasis on differing qualities of light. The whole scene has not only been simplified and sweetened, but is embellished with a group of beautifully executed but iconographically empty *angioletti*. Most notably, the Virgin has not descended to the ground, but remains enthroned on her cloud; and it is she, not the Christ Child, who is the focus of Francis's attention. That is a semantic shift that begins in Vanni's Louvre drawings (figs. 8 and 12), in which he shows Mary's gaze turned towards St Francis, whereas in Ludovico's Rijksmuseum canvas she is both passive and detached; and, as we have seen, the mutual engagement of saint and Virgin was further developed by Faccini. If the Chicago copper lacks the excitement of invention that is so thrilling in the Rijksmuseum canvas, it also turns the narrative of the apparition into a moment of Mariolatry in which the saint's holding of the infant has become largely incidental and in which the witnessing friar, now standing, emphatically shares in the ecstasy. Here too, the identity of the kneeling friar is ambiguous: he no longer wears a recognisably Capuchin habit, and although it is cleaner and neater it cannot with certainty be recognized as that of a Conventual or an Observant. Furthermore, Ludovico's positioning of the Christ Child's forearm conceals the area where a stigma may or may not be present, and he has introduced a book on the grassy knoll on which the friar kneels.

This last, may, perhaps, be a signal that the friar is intended to be the scholarly St Anthony. But it scarcely matters! In the twenty or so years since Ludovico first turned his attention to the subject, what was then a very particular apparition – whether to Brother Conrad or to St Francis – has evolved into a generalised Franciscan experience open to 'ogni gelato cuore'.



By the time of Van Dyck's magnificent painting in the Brera of around 1629 (fig. 29), always considered to show St Anthony,⁶⁶ not only is it impossible to be sure who is represented in the extensive landscape, but even whether it was intended as an altarpiece, as is usually assumed. Here the individualized features of the protagonist, perhaps those of Van Dyck himself, give the impression that this may even be an early example of a pietistical *portrait historié* in which the specific apparition to Brother Conrad of Offida and St Francis of Assisi has become a generalized religious manifestation available to all.

Postscriptum

The only record of Ludovico's Amsterdam *Vision of St Francis* before 1787 is a print by Giovanni Maria Viani (1637-1700) which, given his birthdate, must date from the second half of the

Fig. 29
ANTHONY VAN DYCK,
*Apparition of the
Virgin and Child to
a Franciscan Friar*,
c. 1629. Oil on canvas,
185 x 157 cm. Milan,
Pinacoteca di Brera,
inv. no. 701.

seventeenth century (fig. 30). It identifies Ludovico as *inventor*, but does not give the subject. The print's dedication to Conte Ugo Gioseffo Pepoli (d. 1685) has often been taken to imply not only that he was the owner of the painting but even that it had been commissioned by a member of that well-known Bolognese family.⁶⁷ Fascinatingly, there is a fourth print after Vanni's Lyon altarpiece (fig. 31) – obviously pirated from one of the Galle productions (figs. 17 and 18) and signed by the otherwise unknown Francesco Salini – that is dedicated, in similar script, to Marchese Guido Pepoli (d. 1691). This presumably dates from much the same time as Viani's print, and may suggest that the Pepoli may have had some particular interest in the subject.⁶⁸



Fig. 30
GIOVANNI MARIA
VIANI, Etching
after the painting
reproduced in fig. 1
above, before 1685.
26.7 x 26.7 cm.
Bologna, Biblioteca
di S. Giorgio
in Poggiale,
inv. no. 4974.



Fig. 31
FRANCESCO SALINI,
Etching after one of
the prints reproduced
in figs. 17 and 18
above, before 1691.
London, Victoria and
Albert Museum,
inv. no. Dyce 1516;
bequeathed by Rev.
Alexander Dyce.

APPENDIX

Texts pertinent to Ludovico Carracci's painting

I. *Actus beati Francisci et Sociorum eius, compiled 1328-1337*; here cited from M. Bigaroni and G. Boccali (eds.), *Actus beati Francisci et Sociorum eius. Nuova edizione postuma di Jacques Campbell con testo dei Fioretti a fronte*, Assisi 1988, pp. 446-554.

Caput XLVIII – Mirabilia de quibusdam fratribus provincie Marchie, et quomodo b. Virgo apparuit fr. Corrado in silva Forani.

Provincia Marchie Anconitane quasi quoddam celum stellatum fuit stellis notabilibus et decoratum, sanctis scilicet fratribus Minoribus, qui sursum et deorsum, coram Deo et proximo radiosis virtutibus relucebant, quorum memoria est vere in benedictione divina. Inter quos fuerunt aliqui tanquam maiora sidera, clariora pre ceteris. ... [p. 446]

...

Tempore insuper huius fr. Petri, vere sancti, fuit fr. Corradus de Offida predictus. Cum ergo isti starent de familia simul in loco Forani, de Anconitana custodia, fr. Corradus accessit in silvam ad meditando divina; frater autem Petrus clanculo perrexit post ipsum, ut videret quid illi accideret. Fr. vero Corradus incepit beatissimam Virginem devotissimis lacrimis exorare, ut sibi hanc gratiam a benedicto suo Filio impetraret, ut de illa dulcedine quam s. Simeon in die Purificationis persensit, cum Christum Salvatorem benedictum gestaret in ulnis aliquantulum sentire valeret. Qui exauditus ab illa misericordissima Domina, ecce Regina glorie cum Filio suo benedicto et cum tanta luminis claritate quod, non solum tenebras effugabat, sed etiam cuncta lumina superabat. Et appropinquans ad fr. Corradum, puerum illum speciosum pre filiis hominum posuit in ulnis eius. Quem fr. Corradus devotissime accipiens et labia labiis imprimens et pectori pectus astringens, totus liquefiebat in amplexibus et oculis caritatis. Fr. vero Petrus hec omnia clara luce cernebat et insuper consolationem mirabilem sentiebat. Qui latenter manebat in silva. B. vero Maria virgine cum Filio recedente, fr. Petrus festinanter repedavit ad locum. Frater vero Corradus, cum rediisset totus festivus et gaudens, vocabatur a fr. Petro: 'O celibecose, multam consolationem hodie habuisti!' Dicebat fr. Corradus: 'Quid est quod dicis, fr. Petre? Quid scis tu quod ego habuerim?' Respondebat fr. Petrus: 'Bene scio, celibecose, bene scio qualiter te Virgo beatissima et eius benedictus Filius visitavit.' Quod audiens, fr. Corradus, quia sicut vere humilis optabat secretum, rogavit quod nemini diceret. Erat autem tantus amor inter hos duos, quod quasi cor unum et anima una videbantur. [pp. 452-54]

Caput LXIII – Qualiter fr. Petrus et fr. Corradus fuerunt due stelle prefulgide.

Venerabilis sacerdos Dei, fr. Petrus de Monticulo, et fr. Corradus de Offida, vite mirabilis coram Deo et hominibus, isti duo, tanquam due stelle prefulgide provincie Marchie, homines celestes angelique terrestres, dum simul morarentur in Anconitana custodia, forte in loco Forani. ... [p. 554]

II. I Fioretti di San Francesco, compiled c. 1380-90, and first published 1487; here cited from *Fioretti de Santo Francesco neliquali se contiene la vita & li miracoli che lui fece in vita. Nuovamente stampati, & con diligentia corretti*. [Venice, no publisher specified] M DXXXVI, pp. 49v-52r (with typographical errors silently corrected and abbreviations expanded; see note 28).

De molti frati che furono ne la provincia de la Marcha perfetti. Capitolo 41.

La provincia de la Marcha d'Ancona fu antiquamente, a modo che de le stelle, adornata de santi huomini & santi frati: li quali a modo de luminari del ciel hanno illuminato & adornato l'ordine de santo Francesco & el mondo con essempli & con dottrine. Tra li altri fu ...

...

Al tempo [p. 50v] di questo frate Pietro, fu frate Curato d'Offida, lo quale essendo insieme de famiglia nello loco di fuera de la custodia d'Ancona lo ditto frate Curato se ne andò uno di nella selva a contemplare con Dio, & frate Pietro se n'andò secretamente dietro lui per vedere ciò che gli advenisse: & entrato cominciò a stare in oratione e pregare divotissimamente la gloriosa vergine madonna santa Maria con grande pietà che lei li catasse questa gratia dal suo benedetto figliolo Iesu Christo ch'el sentisse un poco di quella dolcezza laquale senti santo Simone nel dì de la purificatione quando lui portò Iesu Christo nelle sue braccia benedette. Et fatta questa oratione, la gloriosa vergine Maria se lo essaudi: eccoli ch'appare la Regina del cielo col figliolo in braccio, con grandissima clarità de lume & e approssimandose a frate Curato si le pose in bracio quello benedetto figliolo loqual lui recevendo, devotissimamente & abbraciandolo & baciandolo & strignendolo al petto tutto si struggia e resolveva in amore divino & inesplicabile consolatione: & frate Pietro similmente, loquale stava in ascosto vedeva ogni cosa, & senti nel anima sua grande dolceza e consolatione. Et partendosi la vergine Maria da frate Curato frate Pietro se ne tornò alo loco in pressa per non essere veduto da lui. Ma poi quando frate Curato tornava tutto allegro & iocondo, et frate Pietro li disse. O celico, grande consolatione hai havuta hoggi. Disse frate Curato, che è quello che tu dici frate Pietro che sai tu quello ch'io m'habbia havuto. Ben so io, ben so come la gloriosa vergine Maria con suo benedetto figliolo t'ha visitato, allhora frate Curato come veramente humile lo qule se curava d'essere secreto ne la gratie di Dio, si lo pregò che non lo dicesse a persona & fu così grande amore dalhora innanzi tra loro che una anima & uno core pareva che fusse loro doi in ogni cosa.

...

Come frate Pietro & frate Curato se amavano. Capitolo 43. Al tempo che dimoravano insieme nela custodia d'Ancona nel loco de Forano, frate Curato e frate Pietro erano due stelle lucente nela provincia dela Marcha & doi homini celestiali. Impercoche tra loro era tanto amore, & tanta carità che uno medesimo core & una medesima anima pareva in loro doi. ...

III. Bartholomew of Pisa [Bartolomeo de Rinonichi], *De conformitate vitae beati Francisci ad vitam Domini Jesu*, composed c. 1385-90; here cited from *Liber Conformitatum*, Milan (Gottardo de Ponte) 1510, p. 201r (Liber II, fructus XI, pars 2; with abbreviations expanded).

Virgo Maria cum filio parvulo quem gerebat in ulnis vice alia apparuit beato Francisco. Ipse enim beatus Franciscus cum de quodam loco ad alium perrexisset cum socio non multum devoto: & de sero ipse pater post cenam dormitum ivisset: socius eius cum fratre alio incepit murmurare de beato Francisco dicens: quod ipse

erat ut ceteri quia comedebat & dormiebat. Post quae verba divina inspiratione proposuit observare beatum Franciscum. Beatus Franciscus vero cum crederet socium et ceteros dormire: cum silentio surgens ad quodam nemus vicinum ad orandum perrexit. Quem frater socius subsequitur: ipso beato Francisco ignorante. Beatus autem Franciscus poplites in terram figendo, cepit alta voce clamare & dicere: socio ipso audiente. O beata virgo, ostende mihi filium tuum. Cuius desiderio annuens beata virgo: fratre praefato vidente cum summa claritate & sui pulchritudine de celo cum filio descendit atque ad beatum Franciscum perveniens filium suum in ulnis posuit ipsius beati Francisci. Quem tenens beatus Franciscus amplexans et osculans a dicta hora usque prope diem cum indicibili consolatione: tandem beatae virgini regratiando restituit: et beata Virgo post haec a beato Francisco recessit. Frate autem qui hoc vidit de indevoto effectus devotus: et ad beatum Franciscum reverentiam summam ex tunc habuit: et vitam in melius commutate sanctissime de cetero vixit. Et quia ad beatam Mariam precipua ferebatur devotione: in ipsam post christum omnem suam fiduciam ponens: credendum est a dicta domina mirabiles recepisse visitationes & consolationes & si omnia non sint scripta.

iv. Mark of Lisbon, *Chronicles of the Orders Instituted by St Francis, first published at Lisbon, 1557, and translated into Italian by Orazio Diola in an edition first published at Parma, 1581*; here cited from *Croniche de gli ordini instituiti dal Padre San Francesco che contengono la sua vita, la sua morte, i suoi miracoli, e di tutto i suoi s. discepoli, et compagni. Composte prima dal R.P.F. Marco da Lisbona, in lingua Portuguese: Poi ridotte in Castigliana dal R.P.F. Diego Navarro. Et hora nella nostra Italiana da Horatio Diola Bolognese. L'opera è divisa in due Volumi, & in dieci Libri, con nove Tavole distinte, & copiose. In Venetia. Appreso Antonio de Ferrari, MDLXXII, vol. 1, pp. 157-60 (Part 1, Book 1, chapters 83-85, with abbreviations expanded).*

D'alcune apparitioni fatte à S. Francesco nella sua Contemplatione.

Cap. LXXXIII.

[p. 157] Cercava sempre il Padre S. Francesco luoghi solitarii, ne i quali potesse più liberamente conversare con Dio, & con gli Angioli suoi, et ivi fattasi la sua Cella di rami d'alberi lungi da ogn'altra habitatione de Frati, ordinava a Fra Leone suo compagno, che non l'andasse a visitare, se non una volta il giorno, & solo pane, & acqua gli portasse; et un'altra volta di notte nell'ora del Matutino, e che nell'arrivar ei dicesse. Domine labia mea aperies, et che s'ei rispondeva, Domine ad adiuvandum me festina, entrasse per dir seco il Matutino; ma in caso che non gli rispondesse, se n'andasse con Dio, perche alle volte era talmente in Estasi, che non potea parlare, nè di di, nè di notte. Osservava benissimo Fra Leone il comandamento del Padre; ma non già che tal volta nol guaitasse per sua consolatione; ond'egli lo vedeva spesse volte esser levato in aria. ...

Cap. LXXXV D'un'altra visione

[p. 159] Andando una volta da un Monastero ad un'altro, gli [Francesco] fu dato per compagno un Frate giovanetto non molto timorato di Dio; a tal che ricreati che furono nel Monastero ove andorno, se n' andò il Santo prima de gli altri tutti a riposare, per potersi levar poi a orar nel primo sonno de gl'altri, si come era suo solito di fare, e il compagno restò con gli altri Frati, a mormorar del benedetto Padre; dicendo, che mangiava, beveva, & dormia molto bene, & ch'era poi riputato Santo. Et però si risolse di andar a vedere, se si levava la notte (come quei Frati gli risposero) ad orare, e a questo fine, non dormì mai la notte; quando ecco che sente il Padre nella seconda vigilia levarsi, & avviarsi al bosco, la dov'egli il seguì dietro pian piano. Et giunto che fu il Santo al luogo, che migliore gli parve, postosi

in ginocchioni, cominciò mandar fuori i suoi accesi sospiri, & le sue sante infocate parole, pregando grandemente la Madonna, che gli mostrasse il suo dolce Figliuolo, tale quale ella al mondo il partori. Qual oratione fatta, vidde il Frate che apparve la Madonna, in un chiarissimo lampo, & arrivata là, dove era il Santo, gli diede con meravigliosa benignità il suo figliuolo in braccio; qual il santo pigliando (& ringratiandola) teneramente l'abbracciava, & stregeva, & basciava, & durò questo con infinito contento, & contemplatione del Santo, infin vicino all'alba; quando parendogli già hora, ei lo restituì a chi gliel diede, inchinandosi in terra con profondissima humiltà, & riverenza, & così sparse tutta la visione. Per il qual miracolo restò quel Frate tanto edificato, che andando alla presentia del Santo, gli dimandò perdono, & mutò vita.

Queste e molte altre simili visitationi havea il Santo dalla gloriosa vergine Maria, da i Beatissimi Apostoli Pietro, e Paolo, e dall' Archangelo [p. 160] glorioso S. Michele, per la spetiale devotione, ch'egli havea loro; consolandolo tutti grandemente, si come molte volte sentì, e vidde il suo confessore, & compagno fra Leone, e poi lo referì.

v. L. Wadding: *Annales Minorum*, vol. 1, Lyon 1625, pp. 159-60 (Anno 1215, cap. XXIX).

XXIX In eodem itinere adiunctus est ei quidam socius, apud quem non erat æqua viri sancti [Francisci] æstimatio, neque digna de eius sanctitate opinio, ut plerumque fit, non omnibus omnes sanctos probari. In quodam ergo ex eis locellis, quos iam possidebant Minores in prædicta provincia, ad quem declinavit vir sanctus, alium sibi similem invenit hic modicæ fidei socius, qui invicem murmurantes dicebant: Unde fratri Francisco tanta hominum veneratio & sanctitatis opinio? Quid plus cæteris præstat? nonne cum cæteris edit, bibit, dormit? Eadem lacerna vestimur, iisdem vescimur cibis, eadem omnes agimus vitam, eiusdem sumus conditionis: unde ergo hic potius reputandus pro sancto? Unde adeo respiciendus in populo? Dumque hæc & alia inter se profferrent, statuerunt maiori sollicitudine sancti viri observare actiones. Nocte ergo illa, dum post refectionem post brevem initum cum Fratribus collationem, in cellulam se recepit, ut breviusculo somno refectis artibus liberius ad orandum consurgeret; unus ex his vitæ sancti viri exploratoribus, curiosius observans quatenus ante cæteros fratres iverit cubitum Franciscus, rediens ad socium, irrisoriè inquit: Qualis est hic frater Franciscus, qui adeo opportunè indulget somno! hicne ille adeo admirandæ sanctitatis, & superexcellens virtutis homo? Sed dum circa hæc per aliquantulum temporis spatium confabularentur, denuo rediit explorator ad cubiculum observaturus an adhuc vir sanctus dormiret, altòque sterteret somno. Invenit autem patens ostiolum & lectum absque decumbente, proposuitque proinde serius investigare, quò se contulerit vir sanctus. Perlustratis frustra ædiculæ angulis, inventoque reserato ostio, quo tendebatur ad nemus, cœnobiolo contiguum, illuc suspicatus est perrexisse: audivit enim id Francisco familiare orare in nemoribus, silvis, abditisque recessibus, & locis idoneis libera cum Deo colloquia ineundo. Dum itaque interiora nemoris penetraret, audivit virum Dei fervorosius pro hominum salute clamantem, vocesque suas cœlo inserentem, dulcia tandem suspiria ad sacratissimam virginem emittentem ogantemque humiliter, ut filium suum dilectum ei vellet ostendere. Vidit deinde lucem magnam universum locum circumdedisse & in miro splendore ineffabilique pulchritudine sanctissimam virginem filium in ulnis gestantem è cœlo descendisse, & Francisci brachiis amicè et familiariter tradidisse; quem ille tenerrimè amplexans, et velut alter Simeon summa cum reverentia & lætitia in brachiis, tamquam in ara tenens, interpellabat modis omnibus pro peccatorum conversione, universique

orbis salute, dulces intermiscens casti amoris blanditias. Ad hæc territus socius animoque & corpore consternatus, iacebat veluti exanimis in semita, per quam ad ædiculam erat redeundum, donec pulsantibus fratribus ad matutinum, restituto sacratissimæ matri dilecto filiolo, regrederetur vir sanctus, videretque iacentem in terra. Cui sublevato, & ad se reverso, præcepit ut nulli dum ipse viveret, quæ vel vidit, vel audivit referret. Ille è contrario putans non esse bonum, talentum Regis abscondere, sed ad maiorem Dei gloriam excelsa huiusmodi opera esse manifestanda, fratribus omnibus secretò rem narravit, conceptaque iam altera de viro Dei opinione, temerarii sui iudicij dignam egit cum socio murmuratore pœnitentiam, et deinceps tamquam angelum Dei sanctum veneratus est patriarcham.

NOTES

- * This article germinated during the tenure of a Craig Hugh Smyth Fellowship at the Harvard Center for Italian Renaissance Studies (Villa I Tatti), Florence, in 2010; and has been nurtured by the Warburg Institute, London, the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, and the Universiteitsbibliotheek, Utrecht. Michael Bury and Carel van Tuyl van Serooskerken kindly commented on an early draught, but any errors, omissions and misemphases are my own. I am also grateful to Babette Bohn, Suzanne Boorsch, Hugo Chapman, Donal Cooper, Andrea Gattini, Andrew Hopkins, Machtelt Israëls, Peter Knox-Shaw, Thomas Michie, Maureen O'Reilly, Henk van Os, Frits Scholten, Marja Stijkel, Carl Strehlke, Eve Straussman-Pflanzer, Matthias Ubl, Pia van de Wiel, and Martha Wolff for help in various ways.
- 1 L. Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, vol. 3, Paris 1955-59, part 1, p. 491.
 - 2 See, in particular, A. Boschloo, *Annibale Carracci in Bologna. Visible Reality in Art after the Council of Trent*, The Hague 1974; C. Dempsey, *Annibale Carracci and the Beginning of Baroque Style*, Glückstadt 1977; and S. J. Freedberg, *Circa 1600. A Revolution of Style in Italian Painting*, Cambridge Massachusetts 1983. The fundamental study of post-Tridentine Franciscan iconography, to which the present article is much indebted, is P. Askew, 'The Angelic Consolation of St. Francis of Assisi in Post-Tridentine Italian Painting', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 32 (1969), pp. 280-306.
 - 3 For a summary of the opinions and arguments, see A. Brogi, *Ludovico Carracci (1555-1619)*, Bologna 2001, pp. 117-18, cat. no. 13; and A. Emiliani and G. Feigenbaum, *Ludovico Carracci*, exh. cat. Bologna/Fort Worth (Museo Civico Archeologico-Pinacoteca Nazionale/Kimbell Art Museum) 1993, p. 30, cat. no. 14.
 - 4 [A. Hume], *Descriptive Catalogue of Pictures Comprehending Specimens of all the Various Schools of Painting Belonging to [Sir Abraham Hume]*, London 1824, pp. 22-23, no. 67. See also L. Borean (ed.), *Lettere artistiche del Settecento veneziano 2. Il carteggio Giovanni Maria Sasso – Abraham Hume*, Venice 2004, esp. p. 271; and note 67 below.
 - 5 *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Rome 1960-, s.v. Felice da Cantalice; Marianus of Alatri, *Fra Felice da Cantalice il santo del popolo Romano*, Rome 1958, pp. 46-47; idem and S. Gieben, *S. Felice da Cantalice nella devozione popolare*, Rome 1987, pp. 38-48.
 - 6 Sale London (Christie's), 4 May 1923, lot 20.
 - 7 It first appears in the *Liber miraculorum* of c. 1365; see V. Gamboso (ed.), *Fonti agiografiche antoniane V. Liber miraculorum e altri testi medievali*, Padua 1997, pp. 218-20: 'Intuitus [hospes] autem sollicitus et devote locum, ubi orabat sanctus Antonius solus, vidit per fenestram comparentem latenter quendam puerum, in brachiis beati Antonii, pulcherrimum et iocundum: quem sanctus amplexabatur et osculabatur, indesinenter in eius faciem contemplando. Burgensis vero stupefactus et alteratus de pulcritudine pueri illius, intra se unde venisset ille tam gratus parvulus cogitabat.' Mark of Lisbon more romantically places Anthony's host at the keyhole (part 1, book 5, chapter 12; vol. 2, p. 49 of the edition cited in Appendix IV below).
 - 8 *Italiaansche kunst in Nederlandsch bezit*, exh. cat. Amsterdam (Stedelijk Museum) 1934, p. 57, no. 75.
 - 9 After the 1923 sale it was purchased in 1926 from Captain Robert Langton Douglas by Professor Otto Lanz, Amsterdam, whose heirs sold it in 1941 to the Führermuseum, Linz. It was restituted to the Netherlands in 1945, placed on loan to the Rijksmuseum in 1952 and definitively transferred in 1960.
 - 10 C. Gnudi et al., *Mostra dei Carracci*, exh. cat.

- Bologna (Palazzo dell'Archiginnasio) 1956, p. 109, cat. no. 5.
- 11 T. Graas, 'Een nieuwe interpretatie van Lodovico Carracci's Visioen van Antonius van Padua', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 23 (1975), pp. 173-75.
- 12 L. Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, Lyon 1625, pp. 159-60 (Anno 1215, cap. 24). Wadding is describing a peregrination Francis allegedly made in the March of Ancona in 1215. After detailing places visited and people met, Wadding describes how, in an unidentified monastery, Francis's reputed sanctity became the subject of postprandial mutterings among a group of friars, one of whom decided to investigate how deeply and how snoringly the *vir sanctus* might be enjoying his sleep: 'However [the unnamed investigator] found the door [of Francis's cell] open; and, the bed being empty, he proceeded to investigate more carefully where the holy man might have betaken himself. Having explored all corners of the building in vain and having found an unlocked door which led to a wood next to the little monastery, he was wary of going further; for he [had] heard from an associate of Francis's [habit of] going to pray in woods, forests and hidden places, locations suitable for conducting a free conversation with God. And so it was; as he entered further into the interior of the wood, he heard the man of God crying aloud fervently for the welfare of mankind, raising his utterances to heaven and at last emitting sweet sighs to the most holy virgin, and beseeching humbly that she might be willing to show her delightful son to him. He then saw a great light envelop the whole place, and in a splendid, wonderful and ineffable beauty the most holy virgin descending from heaven, carrying her son in her arms, whom she handed into the arms of Francis in a friendly and familiar manner; Francis, embracing him most tenderly, like another Simeon when he held him with reverence and happiness in his arms at the altar, appealed in every way for the conversion of sinners, for the universal safety of the globe, interspersing [his discourse] with sweet caresses of chaste love. At this the terrified companion, overcome in body and soul, fell down as if dead in the path on which he was returning to the building, while the Friars were rushing to Matins; the Holy man, having given back the delightful Son to his most holy Mother, turned back and saw him lying on the ground. Having raised him up, and brought him to himself, he beseeched him to say nothing while he lived of what he had seen or heard. But the man, believing it not good to hide the talent of the King but that such exalted works should be made manifest to the greater glory of god, secretly told the tale to all the brothers; and conceiving now another opinion about the man of God, he became, along with his fellow mutterers, repentant of his rash judgements and thenceforth venerated the patriarch as a holy angel of God.'
- 13 Francis's holding the infant, rather than its simple appearance in the crib, is a refinement first introduced in St Bonaventura's canonical *Vita Maior*; see R.J. Armstrong et al. (eds.), *Francis of Assisi. Early Documents*, 3 vols., New York/London/Manila, 1999-2002, vol. 2, p. 610.
- 14 B. Davidson, 'A Painting and a Drawing by Francesco Vanni', *Bulletin of the Rhode Island School of Design* 45 (1958), pp. 4-8.
- 15 *Croniche de gli Ordini instituiti dal p. s. Francesco, che contengono la sua vita la sua morte, i suoi miracoli, e di tutti i suoi santi discepoli, & compagni, composte prima dal r.p.f. Marco da Lisbona in lingua portuguese: poi ridotte in castigliana dal r.p.f. Diego Navarro. Et hora nella nostra italiana da Horatio Diola bolognese. L'opera è divisa in due Volume & in dieci Libri con nove Tavole distinte, & copiose*, 2 vols., Parma 1581. I have seen only vol. 2 of this edition, and have relied for this article on that published at Venice by Antonio Ferrari in 1582 (see Appendix IV; judging by vol. 2 this edition appears to have been printed from the same formes as the Parma one, with only minor typographical amendments and a new title-page). The unpaginated dedication to Paleotti opens the book.
- 16 Paleotti's significance for the Carracci's reform of painting is stressed in Boschloo, op. cit. (note 2), chapters 6 and 7. Recent accounts include I. Bianchi, *La politica delle immagini nell'età della Controriforma*. Gabriele Paleotti teorico e committente, Bologna 2008; and G. Perini, 'Ludovico Carracci and the beginnings of the Carracci reform of painting – A.D. 1584', in U. Pfisterer and G. Wimböck (eds.), 'Novità'. *Neuheitskonzepte in den Bildkünsten um 1600*, Zurich 2011, pp. 295-310.
- 17 See F. Leite de Faria, 'Frei Marcos de Lisboa, ca 1511-1591 e as muitas edições das suas Crónicas da Ordem de São Francisco', *Revista da Biblioteca Nacional* 6 (1991), no. 2, pp. 98-100. Diola's translation of Part 1 went through a further eight editions after 1600, with the last appearing in 1625 (apart from an eccentric one published at Naples

- in 1680). Part 2 went through eight editions, at Venice and Milan, up to 1616, and Part 3 through seven, up to 1612. I have been unable to discover anything about Diola; G. Fantuzzi, *Notizie degli scrittori bolognese*, vol. 3, Bologna 1783, p. 254, lists him only as the translator of the *Chronicles*.
- 18 M. Gallo, 'Tematiche di *caritas e conversione* nell'iconografia della *Visione di san Francesco* di Orazio Borgianni: modelli figurative e fonti testuali', in C. Crescentini (ed.), *Arte francescana e pauperismo dalla Valle dell'Aniene: l'exemplum di Subiaco; atti delle giornate di studio*, Subiaco 1997, pp. 130-51, seems to be one of the few art historians to have explored Davidson's reference: he considers Mark's account of the vision as the endpoint of a process of textual 'contamination' (pp. 135-38) rather than a possible exemplum for painters or their patrons. See also, with no mention of Mark, M. Pupillo, 'I "San Francesco in meditazione" del Caravaggio di Crema e di Carpineto Romano: appunti sul iconografia', in S. Ebert Schifferer et al. (eds.), *Caravaggio e il suo ambiente. Studi della Biblioteca Heriziana* 3, Cinisello Balsamo 2007, pp. 99-110. Diola's translation was used to plan the Franciscan fresco cycle by Ligozzi and others at Ognissanti, Florence, see A. Amonacci, 'Per una ricostruzione della storia del primo chiostro del convento di San Salvatore di Ognissanti a Firenze, II', *Archivum Franciscum Historicum* 82 (1989), pp. 56-57 and 87-94; the cycle includes a lunette of the relevant apparition executed by Giovanni da San Giovanni in 1619.
- 19 Mark's *Chronicles* were unknown to Askew, loc. cit. (note 2); much of what she and subsequent scholars have sought to explain by reference to recondite texts may well derive from the cocktail of Mark's prose. Nor is Mark's *Chronicles* mentioned in the useful thesis, F.A. Heap, *The Impact of Written Sources on the Development of the Franciscan Theme in Italian Painting Leading to Changes in Iconography in Depictions of St Francis of Assisi in the Late Sixteenth Century* (doctoral dissertation University of Michigan), Ann Arbor 1974.
- 20 A comparable grouping, dealing with Francis's use and practice of prayer, occupies chapters 76 to 79, including, out of historical sequence, the incident of the crib at Greccio.
- 21 'Father Francis then went from a certain place to another with a companion who was not very devout, and later after the father went to bed after dinner, his companion began muttering with another brother about the blessed Francis, saying that he was as others are, in that he ate and he slept. After these words divine inspiration prompted him to watch the blessed Francis. The truly blessed Francis, when he believed that the companion and the others were asleep, rose in silence and went to the nearby wood to pray; and the companion brother followed him without Francis's knowledge. Having walked there and knelt on the ground, Father Francis began, as the companion heard, to cry aloud in a high voice: "O blessed virgin, show me your Son". Granting this desire, the blessed Virgin, as the said brother saw, descended with great brightness and with beauty from heaven with her son, and drawing close to the blessed Francis placed her son in brother Francis's arms. Holding him the blessed Francis, embracing and kissing him from that time up to the break of day with ineffable consolation, finally, giving thanks to the blessed Virgin, gave him back; and after this the Virgin went away from the blessed Francis. The brother who saw this, however, was changed from being impious to devout, and had the greatest reverence for the Blessed Francis from this time, and changed his life for the better, becoming more holy than the others.' (For the source of this source, see Gallo, loc. cit. (note 18), p. 137, and p. 147 note 35.)
- 22 For the publishing history, see *Analecta Franciscana*, Quaracchi 1906-12, vol. 4, pp. lx-lxxi, and vol. 5, pp. lx-lxx. In most mss and in the 1510 and 1513 editions the apparition is described in Liber II, fructus xi, part 2.
- 23 *Liber aureus, inscriptus Liber conformitatum vitae beati, ac seraphici patris Francisci ad vitam Jesu Christi*, Bologna 1590. See also *Analecta*, vol. 5 (cited above), p. 250, where the apparition's omission from the 1590 edition is recorded in the *apparatus criticus*.
- 24 Bianchi, op. cit. (note 16), pp. 179-80, citing R. Greco Grassilli, 'Da Annibale e Ludovico Carracci a Lazzaro Casari. I pagamenti agli artisti della cappella Paleotti nella cattedrale di S. Pietro a Bologna', in *Atti e memorie della Deputazione di Storia patria delle Province di Romagna*, n.s. LVI, 2005, pp. 331-407. The documents are summarized in Perini, loc. cit. (note 16), pp. 298-302.
- 25 For a succinct account of the genesis of the *Actus* and the *Fioretti* and their relationship, see Armstrong et al., ed. cit. (note 13), vol. 3, pp. 429-34. It should be noted that Wadding also provides two marginal citations in his account of the apparition. One is to Marianus of Florence's late fifteenth-century *Compendium Chronicarum Fratrum Minorum*

- [*Extractum ex Periodico Archivum Franciscanum Historicum 1-IV*, Quaracchi 1911] which has no mention of the apparition, but does place Francis in the March of Ancona in 1215. The other is to Ugolino de Monte S. Maria [Ugolino Boniscambi di Monte S. Giorgio]'s 'Tractatus de Provincia Picensi', by which Wadding clearly means those chapters of the *Actus* concerning Francis's early followers in the March of Assisi, all of which recur in the *Fioretti*.
- 26 F. Fascetti, 'La vicenda editoriale dei "Fioretti di San Francesco" in Italia', *Studi Francescani*, 107 (2010), nos. 1-2, pp. 165-84, discusses only incunabula and nineteenth-century editions. Twelve sixteenth-century editions are listed in L. Manzoni, *Di una nuova edizione dei Fioretti di san Francesco secondo la lezione di Amaretto Mannelli*, Bologna 1887, pp. 128-30. The on-line search engine of the 'EDIT16 (Censimento nazionale delle edizioni italiane del XVI secolo)' project of the Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo Unico delle Biblioteche Italiane, turns up sixteen, omitting four known to Manzoni. Of this (probably incomplete) total of twenty, only four were published after 1570, all at Venice (1576, 1581, 1585 and 1588).
- 27 As was noted by Davidson, loc. cit. (note 14); and independently observed in A.C. Blume, 'A Vision of St. Francis by Guercino in the Wadsworth Atheneum', *Master Drawings* 29 (1991), pp. 52-55.
- 28 For 'nello loco di fuori de la custodia d'Ancona'; this recurs in most sixteenth-century editions of the *Fioretti*, and is typical of the many errors corrected in the nineteenth-century editions. The 1546 edition is used here only because it is the most convenient one available, and I have silently corrected its typographical infelicities in line with the beautifully printed edition published by Orazio Landucci at Venice in 1600.
- 29 Heap, dissertation cited in note 19 above, pp. 170-75.
- 30 D. Howard, 'Elsheimer's Flight into Egypt and the Night Sky in the Renaissance', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 55 (1992), p. 212-24.
- 31 Emiliani and Feigenbaum, loc. cit. (note 3).
- 32 Part II, book 6, chapter 27 (Diola's translation of Part II was first published in 1586; see note 17 above). There is equally no mention of stars in the *Liber Conformitatum*, either in the passage describing Francis's vision (see Appendix III) or in that describing Conrad's (*Analecta* cited in note 23, vol. 4, p. 233; Liber II, fructus viii, pars 2).
- 33 They have precedents in works from the mid-1570s by Brill, Muziano and Passarotti.
- 34 For the print, see D. De Grazia Bohlin, *Prints and Related Drawings by the Carracci Family*, Washington 1979, p. 434, no. 7, and B. Bohn, *The Illustrated Bartsch, 39 Commentary, Part II, Italian Masters of the Sixteenth Century*, New York 1996, pp. 173-74.
- 35 The Spanish and Portuguese editions of Mark's *Chronicles* would have been available to Italian artists from the 1560s; and it should also be noted that Barocci's 'Perdono d'Assisi' print was published in 1581.
- 36 A. Canaletti Gaudenti, 'Il beato Pietro da Treja nella storia e nella legenda, cap. v', *Miscellanea francescana* 37 (1937), p. 77-87. The panel apparently still existed in the cathedral at Treja in 1937.
- 37 F. Gonzaga, *De Origine seraphicae religionis franciscanae*, 2 vols., Rome 1587, vol. I, p. 210.
- 38 See A. Nova, 'Postille al giovane Cerano: la data di nascita, un committente, e alcune incisioni inedite di Agostino Carracci', *Paragone* 34 (1983), no. 397, pp. 52-56; and B. Bohn, *The Illustrated Bartsch 39. Commentary Part I, Agostino Carracci*, New York 1995, pp. 185-202.
- 39 See Marie Stillman Spartali's picture (National Trust, Wightwick Manor, Wolverhampton) repr. in D.B. Elliott, *A Pre-Raphaelite Marriage. The Lives and Works of Marie Spartali Stillman and William James Stillman*, Woodbridge 2006, pp. 184-85.
- 40 For recent accounts of Vanni, see C. Garofalo, 'Francesco Vanni (Siena, 1563-1610)', in A.M. Ambrosini Massari and M. Cellini (eds.), *Nel Segno di Barocci*, Milan 2005, pp. 346-69; and L. Bonelli, 'Francesco Vanni e la maniera di Barocci: colore, artificio, devozione', in *Federico Barocci*, exh. cat. Siena (S. Maria della Scala) 2009, pp. 104-11.
- 41 P.A. Riedl, *Disegni dei barocceschi senesi. Francesco Vanni e Ventura Salimbeni*, exh. cat. Florence (Uffizi) 1976, p. 32, cat. no. 25; idem, 'Francesco Vanni als Zeichner', *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 30 (1979), no. 3, pp. 91-92; F. Viatte, *Musée du Louvre. Inventaire général des dessins italiens. Dessins toscans xvie - xviiiè siècles*, vol. 1, Paris 1988, pp. 248-51, nos. 518-19;
- 42 C. Loisel, *Musée du Louvre. Inventaire général des dessins italiens. Ludovico, Agostino, Annibale Carracci*, Paris 2004, pp. 97-98, cat. no. 6.
- 43 The unusual, almost square, format, of the painting is original: although it has lost its tacking edges the pronounced cusping of the canvas on all four sides indicates that it has not been cut down, and this is confirmed by Viani's print (fig. 30).
- 44 L. Frerichs, *Italiaanse tekeningen [van het*

- Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam] 2: *de 15de en 16de eeuw*, exh. cat. Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum) 1981, p. 72, cat. no. 153. Another is in the Louvre; F. Viatte, op. cit. (note 41), vol. 1, p. 253, cat. no. 532. Both are dated c. 1595 on stylistic grounds.
- 45 I. Ugurgieri Azzolini, *Le Pompe Sanese*, vol. 2, Pistoia 1649, p. 372, speaks of 'un S. Francesco, che riceve Cristo bambino dalla Madonna' as one of three paintings by Vanni in the 'Chiesa de' Padri dalla Madre di Dio', i.e. S. Maria Corteorlandini. For the refurbishment, see M.A. Giusti, 'Il cantiere barocco e la preesistenza medievale: le chiese di San Giusto, San Romano, Santa Maria Corteorlandini a Lucca', *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura*. N.S. XXXIV, 34-39, 2002, p. 288 and note 18 (the church was once again completely refashioned from 1682 onwards). Unless there were two pictures of the subject by Vanni in Luccese churches, the one described by Ugurgieri is likely to be that now in S. Paolino, for which see Riedl, loc. cit. (note 41), pp. 93, 99, and notes 74 and 112; Garofalo, loc. cit. (note 40), pp. 366-67.
- 46 Davidson, loc. cit. (note 14).
- 47 Gallo, loc. cit. (note 18), p. 135, suggests that the sleeping friar is having a vision or dream of St Francis receiving the child, perhaps recalling one that he had witnessed in the past.
- 48 J.-L. Baroni, *An Exhibition of Master Drawings and Paintings*, exh. cat. London (Thomas Williams Gallery) 2009, cat. no. 8.
- 49 See P. Ward-Jackson, *Victoria and Albert Museum Catalogues. Italian Drawings*, vol. 1, London 1979, p. 183, no. 402. Cornelis Galle's print is Hollstein, VII.57.166. See also P. de Chennevières and A. de Montaignon (eds.), *Abecedario de P.J. Mariette et autres notes inédites de cet amateur sur les arts et les artistes*, 6 vols., Paris 1851-60, vol. 6, p. 29. Florimi dedicates the print to a certain Filippo Pinitesio, prior of the now demolished church of S. Pietro Maggiore, Lucca, and it is possible that the inscription may provide some clue as to the sleeping friar's identity: 'Divitias alias, alios sibi quaerat honores / Quis quis, et immunda lumina figat humo. / Ipse Deum quaeram, cunquo mini vivere dulce, / Dulce mori: hae mihi sint divitiae, hic sit honos.' Cornelis Galle was in Rome from 1598/99 and may also have gone to Siena (S. Boorsch, 'Cornelis Galle I and Francesco Vanni', in E. Leuschner (ed.), *Ein privilegiertes Medium und die Bildkulturen Europas. Deutsche, Französische und Niederländische Kupferstecher und Graphikverleger in Rom von 1590 bis 1630. Römische Studien der Bibliotheca Hertziana xxxii*, Munich 2012, pp. 174-75). It is probable that he sent an impression of his print to Antwerp, where Theodore Galle published the copy (retaining the poem but not the dedication). There is another early copy, omitting the sleeping friar and the landscape (British Museum, inv. no. PD v,3,45), as well as a later one by Francesco Salini (fig. 31).
- 50 H. Vlieghe, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard VII. Saints I*, vol. 1, Brussels 1972, pp. 145-50, cat. nos. 94-96, though without mentioning sources.
- 51 They are discussed, and for the most part reproduced, by D. Benati, in idem (ed.), *Disegni emiliani del Sei-Settecento. Come nascono i dipinti*, Milan 1991, pp. 64-70, cat. no. 13. See also V. Birke, *The Illustrated Bartsch, 40 Commentary, Part 1: Italian Masters of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, New York 1987, pp. 269-74.
- 52 The inscription reads 'M. BERNARDINO MAZZA PETR. FACIN. FECIT. M.D.C.'
- 53 Benati and Birke, both as cited (note 51).
- 54 Gallo, loc. cit. (note 18), does not mention Faccini's print in his account of this picture; but it is surely relevant.
- 55 Marianus of Alatri, *Processus Sixtinus Fratris Felicis a Cantalice*, Rome 1964, p. 212: 'Che la notte di Natale la Madonna gli apparse stando esso in chiesa a far oratione, et gli messe in braccio il suo Figliuolo.'
- 56 See Marianus and Gieben, op. cit. (note 5), and R. Branca, *L'asino dei frati. Fra Felice da Cantalice*, Poggio Mirtele 1963.
- 57 S. Winckelmann in V. Erlindo (ed.), *Arte a Mirandola al temp dei Pico*, exh. cat. Mirandola (Centro Internazionale di Cultura 'Giovanni Pico della Mirandola') 1994, pp. 134-37, cat. no. 17.
- 58 Marianus of Alatri, op. cit. (note 55), pp. 353-54: '[Fra Felice] essendo venuto [nella chiesa], fece secondo il suo costume la cerca per la chiesa, con un lume, per veder se vi era nessuno; né ritrovandovi alcuno, si pose in oratione avanti l'altare grande, dove era il santissimo sacramento con un quadro della santissima Vergine. Et continuando fra Felice nell'oratione per buon spatio di tempo, il detto fra [Alfonso] Lupo dal pulpito osservava; et così osservando, per quanto con gran meraviglia mi disse, vidde una donna vestita di bianco, che diede in braccio a fra Felice un bambino in quel medesimo modo che si vede hogggi dipinto nella nostra chiesa di Roma sopra la sepultura di detto fra Felice. Et il detto fra Lupo, siccome me disse, stimò che fosse la beata Vergine quella donna che li dette il putto in

- braccio, il quale similmente fosse Christo.
 Et me disse di più che quella notte che vedde questo, fu la notte di Natale, in tempo che la chisea era serrata et non vi era alcuno. Et me disse inoltre detto fra Lupo che fra Felice tenne il detto putto in braccio per tanto spatio quando anderebbe a dire un Pater et un'Ave, adorandolo; et che poi la medesima Donna se lo ripigliò et sparve.'
- 59 L. Manzatto, *Fra Semplice da Verona, pittore del Seicento*, Padua 1973, cat. no. 15. See also, most recently, G. Cesarini (ed.), *I Cappuccini nella Tuscia 1535-1779. Frati pittori e opere d'arte per le chiese cappuccine*, exh. cat. Viterbo (Palazzo dei Papi) 2010, pp. 74-75.
- 60 D. Scaglietti Kelescian, *Alessandro Turchi, detto l'Orbetto*, exh. cat. Verona (Museo del Castelvecchio) 1999, p. 31.
- 61 D. Posner, *Annibale Carracci. A Study in the Reform of Italian Painting around 1590*, vol. 2, New York/London 1971, p. 193, cat. no. 80.
- 62 G.P. Bellori, *Le Vite de' pittori, scultori ed architetti moderni*, Rome 1672, p. 84.
- 63 S. Schütze in D. Franklin (ed.), *From Raphael to Carracci, Art in Papal Rome*, exh. cat. Ottawa (National Gallery of Canada) 2009, p. 409, cat. no. 135.
- 64 See Appendix v [p. 159].
- 65 Brogi, op. cit. (note 3), p. 193, cat. no. 80.
- 66 S. Barnes et al., *Van Dyck. A Complete Catalogue of the Paintings*, New Haven/London, 2004, p. 274, cat. no. III.38.
- 67 Hume's ms catalogue (London, Victoria and Albert Museum, National Art Library, RC.v.19, p. 19) of his pictures records: 'I purchased this capital picture at Florence in 1787, where I was assured it was painted for the Pepoli family at Bologna.' It is likely that this assurance was derived from, and not independent of, the dedication on Viani's print, which provides no evidence of the picture's provenance.
- 68 G. Gaeta Bertelà (ed.), *Incisori Bolognesi ed Emiliani del secolo XVII*, Bologna 1993, does not mention Salini, and does not transcribe dedications.

