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IV
Censorship and the Market.
Antonio Tempesta's "New" Subjects in the Context of Roman Printmaking ca. 1600

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If asked to name censorship issues in sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Italian art, most art-historians would refer to Marcantonio Raimondi and the suppression of his series of erotic engravings[1], the repainting of Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* in the Sistine Chapel[2], and to Paolo Veronese's famous encounter with Tridentine ideas about art following the condemnation of his painting *The Feast of Levi*[3]. Few people, if indeed anyone, would think of Antonio Tempesta (ca. 1555-1630), one of the most prolific and influential printmakers and draftsmen active in Rome during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

Tempesta, admittedly, is not an obvious choice for the study of censorship, since he is known as an important and, apparently, reliable supplier of religious and propagandistic imagery to the Tridentine Church, its congregations and political allies. However, in the 1590's Tempesta not only significantly changed his repertory by adding entirely different subjects, for example hunting scenes, landscapes, battles, animals and grotesques, but he also explored the artistic potential of a comparably new medium, etching (*acquaforte*), and tried to reproduce his personal drawing style in prints. Antonio Tempesta, in fact, can be described as the first Roman *peintre-graveur* who was to exclusively employ etching, a technique that was easier to handle than engraving but that had previously been largely confined to guidebooks and cheap pilgrim souvenirs. Combining the new technique with "artistic", non-reproductive printmaking, Tempesta established a new style which not only enabled him to react quickly to changes in the art market, but also allowed him to introduce and create a demand for new subjects. An original etching by Tempesta simply could not be mistaken for someone else's work.

Surprisingly, Tempesta's experiments took place in a climate of extreme bureaucratic restriction. At perhaps no other time did the local authorities do more to regulate and influence the city's artistic production. From 1599, papal edicts explicitly demanded that not only every book but also every print be approved, before publication, by the Master of the Sacred Palace (Maestro del Sacro Palazzo)[4]. This fact demonstrates how important prints had become to the Church. Since they were inexpensive and portable, prints were the best medium to diffuse Tridentine values widely: especially the veneration of saints, the sacraments and the new congregations. Understandably, the Church was interested in a correct and efficient diffusion of its imagery and in a suppression of heretical or otherwise unwanted religious subjects. Little is known, however, about the actual practice of "image control" in Rome around 1600. How did the censoring of prints work and what effect did it have on the market for engravings, etchings and woodcuts?

The term "censorship" as used in this paper requires definition. While the word is regularly applied to administrative interdictions of texts or images already published, circulating or otherwise publicly accessible, it can also include efforts at keeping authors or artists from producing unwanted works ("preventive censoring"). Preventive censoring, moreover, is often connected with generous patronage of "loyal" or "legal" authors and artists at the expense of those who did not practise such self-censorship. Indeed, although not a censorship phenomenon in the narrowest sense of the word, the

rise of a high quality production and market for religious prints in late sixteenth-century Rome is clearly indebted to the contemporary control of printed images and of the local printmaking industry. In what follows, I will explore this more nuanced definition of censorship.

The production and sale of prints in late sixteenth-century Rome was closely connected with the book trade. As we can infer from the evidence of publisher's addresses (*excudits*), many Roman publishers of books were also active in the production and sale of printed images, and vice-versa. Image and text were, needless to say, often combined to create illustrated books. In fact, the papal edict of 1599 that demanded the control not only of books, but also of prints, was an enlarged version of an earlier censorship edict for books and pamphlets[5]. Therefore, while the bulk of scholarship on censorship issues has so far been dedicated to the letterpress, the nexus between images and text can help to draw analogies regarding the influence of administrative control on the local market for printed images.

One fact, however, needs to be stated: although the correct use of images was an important issue during and after the Council of Trent and although authors such as Pietro Aretino, in his invective against Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* (1545), called for the introduction of an Image Index[6], there never was such an official list of forbidden images such as the one established for books in 1559. This fact is perhaps best explained by the comparably small amount of prints produced in Rome in the middle of the sixteenth century, when the massive production of religious images had not yet started and serious interest in etchings and engravings as collectibles was limited to a tiny upper-class clientele. Therefore, unwelcome as the first Cinquecento reproductions of Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* may have been to the Roman Church, apparently few other images printed in Rome in the middle of the Cinquecento were considered as politically dangerous, morally unacceptable or heretical.

In the 1550's and 1560's, publishers such as Salamanca and Lafréry, perhaps following the example of Northern publishers, built up big printing enterprises with large print runs, thus increasing the publishing capacities (and the potential danger) of Roman printmaking. Salamanca and Lafréry subcontracted anonymous engravers and etchers, while they concentrated on the publishing side of the business. In 1572 (relatively late in his career), Lafrery published a catalog of prints on sale at his shop, the first of its kind in the history of European printmaking[7]. As this catalog makes clear, Lafréry concentrated on views of ancient and modern Rome, portraits of famous personalities, reproductions of antique statues and of works by High Renaissance artists such as Raphael. Lafréry's catalog (which regrettably contains no prices) is arranged by subject matter and size. While the artists of some of the Renaissance paintings reproduced are mentioned, no names of engravers or etchers are given. Only in Andrea Vaccari's catalog of 1614, the second known stock-list of a Roman print publisher, do the names of engravers such as Marcantonio Raimondi or Enea Vico appear, while there are also "original" etchers such as Parmigianino and Antonio Tempesta. This new (or, according to Landau and Parshall in *The Renaissance Print*[8], renewed) attention paid to the artistic quality of engravers appears to be due to changes in the Roman print market between the publication of the two stock-lists of 1572 and 1614.

The working conditions of Roman printmakers during the pontificate of Sixtus V (1585-90) and Clement VIII (1592-1605) were characterized by the Church's double strategy of tight administrative supervision and generous support for loyal artists and publishers. On the one hand, the Master of the Sacred Palace (traditionally a Dominican)

was expected to act as the central agent responsible for the censoring of all visual materials to be published in Rome. As the papal edicts show, the Master's *licenza* or authorization not only depended on the moral, political or theological correctness of the publication in question, it also demanded the fulfillment of elementary standards such as giving the publisher's name and refraining from subsequent alterations of the product. On the other hand, the papal administration also developed a system of remunerations and assistance to loyal publishers that included privileges and copyrights.

At present, any scholar who wants to study the actual working of the Roman censorship system will need to derive evidence from the prints themselves, and from the control system concerned with privileges, since few documents from the Sacred Palace pertaining to the control of printed images have as yet been found, not even in the recently opened Archives of the Inquisition. If the censorship documents of the Sacred Palace still exist, they have either not been located or not been made accessible by the Vatican[9]. However, the great number of extant requests by Roman print publishers for copyrights and similar privileges contain constant references to the Master of the Sacred Palace, leaving no doubt that both the censoring and the granting of privileges actually took place and were closely related.

Papal printing privileges (basically a protection against unauthorized copies for a period of ten to twenty years) were for the most part granted for the entire future production of a publisher or engraver, although many requests mention only one work that the publisher considered especially important. Presenting this work as an example of the rest of his production, the publisher stressed his loyalty and his devotion to the Church, usually pointing out that the print in question had already been approved by the Master of the Sacred Palace. The papal printing privilege was thus granted as a reward to faithful servants of the church. Not surprisingly, most of the prints mentioned in the requests are religious, some are portraits of political celebrities and – not to be underrated in their ideological implications – maps of Rome and other cities. Additional details sometimes helped to make a request successful. For example, the publisher Giovanni Antonio de Paoli in 1599 combined his request for a privilege with the announcement that he would soon publish a portrait of the ruling Pope together with several of his most memorable deeds. De Paoli's privilege was exceptionally granted within three weeks[10].

Due to the lack of written documentation, we are unable to tell if the Roman administration demanded a copy or proof-state of every forthcoming print, a kind of *dépôt légal*, to be stored in an image-archive for future reference. This praxis is known to have been introduced in Venice in the 1560's and in Paris in 1613, when Rubens was required to furnish impressions of the (forthcoming) prints after his paintings in order to obtain a privilege or copyright on them[11]. Such problems connected with picture printing privileges appear nonetheless relatively limited when compared with the problem of understanding the complex functioning of the censorship system itself. The criteria of the Roman *licenza* as granted by the Master of the Sacred Palace or other institutions such as the Sant'Ufficio are still quite nebulous: for example, it is known that Pope Clement VIII had an aversion against swift canonizations as advocated by the Jesuits and Oratorians, who wanted to add their founders to the ranks of the saints as soon as possible. In 1599 the Pope even put a stop to the visual propaganda of the Jesuits, interdicting the production of printed images of their beatified members[12]. Camillo Cungi's image of the Blessed Franciscus Xaverius, a print that makes the not yet *Santo* appear as a real saint, is dated 1600, that is after the edict. Although the engraving must have been unwelcome to the Pope and his circle, the sheet carries the official *Superiorum Permissu*. Did the

Sacred Palace not realize the importance of the print's subject? Or did the censors simply not manage to control every single print produced in the city, thus making it relatively easy for printers to fake the *permesso*?

Apart from these obvious malfunctions of the system, other problems arose from the rivalry of different institutions. The second half of the Cinquecento saw constant disagreements between the Sant'Ufficio and the Congregation of the Index about how many publications should be banned (with the Maestro del Sacro Palazzo apparently acting as mediator between the two institutions[13]). In the Seicento, several book publications by the Roman congregations such as the Jesuits bear *licenze*, not of the Maestro del Sacro Palazzo but by the orders themselves. Therefore, the censoring of printed images in Rome may not have been as functional and monolithic as the papal edicts of the late Cinquecento make us believe. In fact, a petition by the Roman printers addressed to Pope Paul V (circa 1610) gives us the impression of an almost chaotic organization of the censoring system. Different religious and political institutions were claiming a right to have a hand in the censorship business, while some even asked money for permission to print. However, the printing permission of one institution did not guarantee the consent of another institution. Ironically, the Roman printers, who had to bear the consequences of these undefined partitions of juridical competence, went so far as to suggest they would pay themselves the censoring of their products – if only there would be one central censorship institution they could turn to in the future[14].

Most of the requests for printing privileges were brought to the Pope's attention by a cardinal or other clerics who acted on behalf of a publisher. Although some of these requests appear to be lost, the extant examples from the times of Sixtus V and Clement VIII not only demonstrate how closely the local printing business was observed by the Roman administration, they also document a growing concern with quality. A request of 1604 by a cleric on behalf of the engraver and publisher Matthaeus Greuter runs as follows[15].

> Ten years ago Matthaeus Greuter of Strasbourg left the heresy of the Lutherans and embraced the truth of the Catholic belief, and in order to live more safely in said catholic religion he left his hometown and went with his three children, two boys and a girl, over to the Catholic territory, where – mostly in Avignon – he lived with great spiritual consolation, making a living from his profession (*arte*) as an engraver. With his art he not only acquired money, but also great fame and reputation. Now he finds himself in the city of Rome, making a living here by his work for eighteen months. Many people come to him and ask him to engrave things for them, and he has already drawn them of his own invention, because his *intaglio* is extremely fine and above the standard of this city. However, he fears that others of the same profession will copy his works (as they do often and easily), from which he would have great damage and would be bereft of his merited profit. Wherefore he humbly asks his Holiness for a privilege of ten years etc.

The request on behalf of Greuter expresses an acute awareness of the engraver's artistic merits, as he presents him as "fresh blood" for the local printmaking business. A rise in artistic quality is indeed a general characteristic of the Roman print production at the end of the Cinquecento. The active support of orthodox print publishers who insisted on a high standard of quality became an instrument of control that was considered almost equally important as the house-to-house searches, bookstore visitations and

denunciations that characterized the 1560's, 1570's and 1580's[16]. While there can be no doubt about the fact that the free sale of "immoral" and openly heretic texts and images in Rome had long since been successfully blocked, in the 1590's, unlike the first years of Tridentine image production, publishers of prints were expected to do more than to simply make devout images and to refrain from "artistic experiments". Many religious prints produced in Rome in the 1570's and 1580's were indeed intentionally simple, sometimes almost crude. This impression of crudeness is also related to the introduction of a new graphic standard. As etching was a relatively quick medium and now much easier to handle than in the days of Parmigianino, it was employed to accelerate print production and to satisfy the Church's hunger for devotional images. Characteristically, few of these religious prints carry artist's names or monograms. Among the etchers whose names are extant, Giovanni Battista Cavalieri is perhaps the best known – his *Martyrdom Scenes* of 1583 after Pomarancio's frescos in S. Stefano Rotondo[17] are the most characteristic examples of this "inartistic style".

Around 1580 Tempesta, a pupil of Giovanni Stradano, started his career in Rome. Having at first made drawings for other engravers, about 1589 he began to work as an etcher. Some of his earliest prints appear to continue Cavalieri's tradition of "inartistic" prints, for example Tempesta's series of *Martyrdom Scenes* after designs by Giovanni Guerra (Fig. 1). Tempesta's early prints, partly commissioned by religious institutions, partly made for direct sale, clearly met the Church's standards for what printmakers were supposed to produce: lives of Saints, Apostles, enthroned Madonnas. He even managed to oust Giovanni Battista Cavalieri as a supplier of prints to one of the most important authors of illustrated religious books in Rome, Giulio Roscio. As a previously unpublished set of drawings by Tempesta for Roscio's *Life of the Blessed Filippo Benizi* demonstrates, the artist carefully translated the episodes of Benizi's life chosen by Roscio into images, sometimes introducing changes (Figs. 2 and 3) that clearly derive from direct contact with his patron[18]. Roscio's booklet carries the Sacred Palace's *Superiorum permissu*, and the preparatory drawings may even have been presented to the censor for his consent before Tempesta actually set to work on the plates. This would explain why some of the drawings were not used for prints and were eventually substituted by other scenes, because most of the discarded scenes represent miracles of Filippo Benizi that happened to people who invoked the saint's assistance after his death. These discarded scenes were substituted by occurrences from the saint's lifetime, which changes appear to be due to the Tridentine aversion against unattested miracles of potential saints and a sharpened sense of the demands of decorum. For example, the image of a priest holding up Filippo's sandals in order to extinguish a fire in his monastery (Fig. 4) must have appeared almost comical. There is no corresponding etching.

In the early 1590's, Tempesta added "new" subjects such as landscapes, animals and hunting scenes to his repertory, some of which had never before been introduced to the Roman public. Although not always "new" in the sense that these subjects had previously not been represented anywhere else, Tempesta's prints were innovative in several ways. For example, while a number of battle-scenes were available in reproductive engravings after Giulio Romano and others, Tempesta was the first artist to represent the battle theme in original etchings. Over the years, his battle etchings became more and more sketchy and atmospheric (Fig. 5). They were praised by Giambattista Marino, who is known to have had a complete collection of all of Tempesta's etchings. While Tempesta's teacher Stradano sent his drawings of hunting scenes (most of which reproduce his *arazzi* for the Medici) to Antwerp to be engraved by Philips Galle,

Tempesta etched his hunting scenes directly into the plate, not referring to any existing painting. Although his etching style can be described as influenced by the late Florentine *maniera*, Tempesta managed to cultivate an entirely personal graphic manner of strong contrasts of light and shadow and to establish a continuously high standard of artistic quality. As he almost always added his signature or monogram, the Tempesta style became a market factor. Ironically, even the weakest among the many unauthorized copies after his prints that began to circulate around 1600 and continued to be published in the seventeeth and eighteenth centuries faithfully reproduce Tempesta's monogram.

Tempesta's project to create a clientele of collectors for his works and to respond to its demands is not contradicted by the fact that the artist, after an early attempt to be his own publisher, sold most of his plates to more professional publishers such as Niccolò van Aelst or the Vaccari brothers. In fact, he sought the collaboration of publishers, which can be demonstrated by the fact that there are few, if any, early impressions of his prints made after 1593 without the address of a Roman publisher. The publishing side of the business is vital to understanding the printmaking culture of Tempesta's era. The papal cultivation of the Roman print production, concentrated as the Vatican's interests were on religious subjects, had the side effect of creating a flourishing print culture whose protagonists met the Church's demands, but additionally experimented with new techniques and new subjects for a growing clientele of "art on paper" collectors. As a new graphic technique, etching not only enlarged the number of prints that one artist could produce, it also increased the number of artists who concentrated on printmaking. During a first phase, Roman print publishers made use of the growing army of anonymous etchers to diversify the subject range of their assortments, always paying attention to new demands or even trying to create such demands. The "discovery" of individual etching styles (including the artist's signature or monogram) can be described as a second phase in the development of the Roman printing business in the second half of the sixteenth century. This new stress on "individuality" must have been devised jointly by Antonio Tempesta and his publishers. In my opinion, there is little doubt that already in the time of Tempesta there was an active collaboration between publishers and artists in the definition of new market strategies (including the publication of stocklists and catalogues) – a praxis that was imitated (but not invented) by the members of the De Rossi dynasty in the later Seicento[19].

Tempesta's immense oeuvre of more than 1600 etchings (not counting the engravings after his designs) prepared the way for entirely new subjects in Baroque art; for example, monumental hunting scenes (Rubens[20]) or portraits of nobility on horseback *en levade* (Velazquez[21]). It is interesting to note that, while most of Tempesta's religious prints carry the *licenza* and a privilege, few of his "new" subjects have a *Superiorum Permissu*. If this fact can be interpreted as an indication of the Sacred Palace's lack of interest in landscapes, hunting scenes etc., this institution must have had a highly selective censorship approach to "secular" subjects. However, the exact definition of "secular" and "profane" subjects around 1600 is extremely hazy – it is enough to mention that in many of Tempesta's sketchy and seemingly purely "artistic" battlescenes Christian knights can be seen fighting against hordes of Arabs.

The Sacred Palace's attitude of disinterest in non-religious subjects apparently also applied to Tempesta's contemporary Agostino Carracci, whose erotic subjects sold well and did not suffer from bureaucratic measures comparable to those that led to the almost complete extinction of Raimondi's famous *Modi*. The mythological disguise of Carracci's prints must have opened them up to a wide field of interpretation. This is also

indicated by the new *Index* of Clement VIII, published in 1596, where the method to cope with erotic materials (books) is described as follows: "Books that contain lascivious or obscene things are forbidden, because one not only has to take care of the Faith, but also of morality, which is easily corrupted by reading these books; and those who are found to possess these books should be punished severely. The ancient books, however, that were written by the pagans, are allowed because of their elegant style; but they should never be read to children"[22]. Therefore, if presented as the products of ancient erudition and poetry, even potentially scandalous themes were more or less exempted from sanctions.

Due to the lack of archival research on Roman printmaking around 1600, we have little information regarding print-runs, prices and retailing. Little is known about the locations in which the sale of printed imagery took place in the days of Tempesta, but it can be safely assumed that publishers such as Niccolò van Aelst, who had their own shops (plus a net of agents elsewhere in Europe), must have been beyond the level of sending out the occasional "ragazzo che [...] sta in Piazza Navona a vendere l'historie"[23]. There can be no doubt that the last third of the Cinquecento saw an extreme diversification of the Roman print production and market: On the one hand, religious subjects were produced in unprecedented numbers and in vastly different quality, ranging from crude devotional imagery to luxury prints for collectors[24]. On the other hand, "new" subjects such as those created by Tempesta were not only directed at those groups of the population whose particular interests they met (such as horses and hunting scenes as typical *passatempi* of the nobility), but the connection of a new graphic technique (etching) with the concept of individual style also gave Roman printmaking a reputation for artistic finesse and originality.

Given the increase in production capacities all over Europe (Venice, Antwerp, Amsterdam, Frankfurt, Augsburg, Lyon, Paris) and the internationalization of the print market, Pope Clement VIII's censorship of images (especially if intended to cover every existing genre of prints) was never fully effective. Even if he had managed to control the Roman printers (which he apparently did not manage), he could not have closed Rome off from the rest of the world. The readiness of European print publishers to satisfy the demand, in distant regions, for certain subjects officially considered undesireable made any efficient "image control" more and more difficult. As an Augsburg printer who defended his incriminated publishing project before the local censorship council put it a few years later: "If we are forbidden to publish these things here, somebody else will publish them elsewhere"[25].

In the seventeenth century Tempesta himself chose to let large parts of his production be printed not in Rome, but in Antwerp[26]. The influence of his compositions thus extended all over Europe[27]. For example, Rembrandt's inventory of 1656 contains three albums with prints by Tempesta and quotations from Tempesta can be detected in many of his paintings. Just like another work conceived and first printed in Rome in the late Cinquecento – Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* – Tempesta made a visual imprint on an entire epoch. While the elaborate censorship measures of Clement VIII were doomed to fail in the long run, the practical neglect of censorship in non-religious subjects and the active support for professional engravers and publishers were paradoxically quite successful, and can be credited with having brought about a Golden Age of Roman printmaking.

NOTES

[1] For Marcantonio Raimondi's erotic engravings and their reception in Rome and elsewhere see, most recently, BETTE TALVACCHIA, *Taking Positions. On the Erotic in Renaissance Culture* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1999).

[2] On the controversies regarding Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*, cf. BERNARDINE BARNES, "Aretino, the Public, and the Censorship of Michelangelo's Last Judgment," in *Suspended License. Censorship and the Visual Arts*, ed. ELIZABETH C. CHILDS (Seattle/London: University of Washington Press, 1997), pp. 59-84, and MARCIA HALL, *After Raphael. Painting in Central Italy in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 189-93.

[3] For Veronese's picture see PAUL H. D. KAPLAN, "Veronese and the Inquisition: The Geopolitical Context," in CHILDS (1997), pp. 85-124.

[4] For an introduction to the various (and sometimes competing) institutions which played a role in the censoring of printed matter in late sixteenth-century Rome see GIGLIOLA FRAGNITO, "La censura libraria tra Congregazione dell'Indice, Congregazione dell'Inquisizione e Maestro del Sacro Palazzo (1571-1596)," in *La censura libraria nell'Europa del secolo XVI*, Convegno internazionale di Studi, Cividale del Friuli 9/10 Novembre 1995, ed. UGO ROZZO (Udine: Edizioni Forum, 1997), pp. 163-75.

[5] Cf. ECKHARD LEUSCHNER, "The Papal Printing Privilege," *Print Quarterly* 15 (1998), pp. 359-70.

[6] See HALL (1999), p. 189. Aretino knew Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* only from an engraving.

[7] For Lafréry's catalog see FRANZ EHRLE, *Roma prima di Sisto V* (Rome, 1908), pp. 11ff.

[8] DAVID LANDAU and PETER PARSHALL, *The Renaissance Print 1470-1550* (New Haven and London, 1994), pp. 99ff.

[9] However, several documents pertaining to the censoring of printed imagery in Rome appear to have found their way to France during the Napoleonic era. Many of these must have been among the papers destroyed after the end of the Empire (1815-17), when the Church declared that it was unwilling or unable to finance the re-transportation to Rome of all materials which had been brought to Paris and thus decided to get rid of the "unimportant" pieces. Extant papers from the Vatican Archives appear to have survived in Paris by pure chance (see R. RITZLER, "Die Verschleppung der päpstlichen Archive nach Paris unter Napoleon I. und deren Rückführung nach Rom in den Jahren 1815-1817," *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 6-7 (1962-64), pp. 144-90). For example, a dossier on the engraver and publisher Philippe Thomassin is in the *Fonds latin* of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris: see EDMOND BRUWAERT, *La vie et les oeuvres de Philippe Thomassin graveur troyen 1562-1622* (Troyes 1914), pp. 26-31. These papers demonstrate that Thomassin was charged and arrested in 1590 for having printed and sold portraits of King Henry IV of France, whose protestantism made him an enemy of the Catholic church until his conversion in 1593. Nonetheless, after a few years (having adopted a more orthodox publishing policy), Thomassin was re-integrated into the Roman privilege system. His later prints all carry the typical 10-year copyright that was granted by the papal administration.

[10] Cf. LEUSCHNER (1998), p. 369.

[11] On the French *dépot légal* system and the date of its introduction see KONRAD RENGER, "Rubens Dedit Dedicavitque," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* N.S. 16 (1974), pp. 125-26. Rubens made use of his privilege in the 1630's when he charged several French publishers for circulating unauthorized prints after his inventions.

[12] Cf. U. KÖNIG-NORDHOFF, *Ignatius von Loyola. Studien zur Entwicklung einer neuen Heiligen-Ikonographie im Rahmen einer Kanonisationskampagne um 1600* (Berlin, 1982), p. 101.

[13] Cf. FRAGNITO (1997).

[14] *Discorso breve sopra un modo facile et securo per levar gli abusi della Stampa et riformarla in perpetuo in tutta la Christianità A Nostro Signore Papa Paolo Quinto* (Archivio Segreto Vaticano [ASV], Archivio Borghese, Ser. I, n. 198 – a full transcription of this document will be published in my forthcoming book on Tempesta and Roman printmaking in his age): "La mercede si caverà dall'arte della stampa, essendo per l'arte molto utile, et utilissima si faria pigliando credito dall'auttorità di V.S.tà, et dalla sopraintendenza di huomini religiosi, et virtuosi, et dalla città istessa di Roma, et il pagamento seguirà punto et sicuro, perchè alcuni stampatori, di primi d'Italia, di Francia, et di Germania, zelanti dell'honor di Dio et desiderosi di riforma, et d'havere indorso et appoggio fermo dalla Santa Sede Apostolica si offriscono pagare una honesta tassa à tutti coloro, che V.S.tà deputasse a emendare, et purgare quello, che si havesse da stampare, et à coloro che sopraintendessero et correggessero i fogli delle loro stampe, et si contentariano che la tassa si calcolasse o à tanto per foglio o à tanto per materia di libri [...] poichè non si possono più assicurare che da gl'Inquisitori, et Ordinari non venghino sospese, et prohibite le cose che stampano, et perchè conoscono, che sariano più vendibili, come corretti et più usati, et più necessari, massime stampati in Roma, con l'auttorità del Papa; però abbracciando V.S.tà l'offerta di Stampatori, et deputando huomini pii et dotti alla emendatione, come di sopra, cosa detta è, che formaria in Roma un'arte nobilissima."

[15] ASV, Sec.Brev. 352, fol. 354 (December 1604): "Beatissimo Padre. Sono intorno à 10 anni che Mattheo Greuter Argentinense lassò l'heresia luterana, et abbracciò la verità della fede cattolica et acciò potesse più sicuramente vivere in detta religione Cattolica abbandonò la patria, et con trè suoi figlioli, cioè doi maschi et una femina, venne in parte de Cattoli, dove, et massimamente in Avignone, hà vissuto alcuni anni con molta sua spiritual consolatione, vivendo della sua arte, quale è d'Intagliatore in Rame, nel quale s'è acquistato, oltre il suo guadagno, molta fama et riputatione. Hora si ritrova in questa Città di Roma, et già sono 18 mesi che col suo lavorare si và mantenendo in essa, et da molte persone viene ricercato di voler intagliare alcune cose, che già lui ha dissegnate, de sua inventione, perche il suo intaglio è finissimo, et non usato in questa città; ma dubita, che altri della medesima arte non contrafacciano le sue opere (come spesse volte sogliono et con facilità) del che ne riceverebbe gran danno, et verrebbe frustrato della sua giusta mercede, quale altri senza fatica loro goderebbono. Per ciò, supplica humilmente la S.ta V. degnarli di concederli privilegio per 10 anni, che nessuno possa contrafare, vendere, ne stampare li suoi intagli senza sua licenza, sotto le pene solite. Che lo riceverà per gratia singolare della S.ta V. Quam Deus v."

[16] Cf. Paul F. Grendler, *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press 1540-1605* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), p. 62.

[17] On Pomarancio's frescos and their reproductions by Cavalieri see Lydia Salviucci Insolera, "Gli affreschi del ciclo dei martiri commissionati al Pomarancio in rapporto alla situazione religiosa ed artistica della seconda metà del Cinquecento," in *Santo Stefano Rotondo in Roma. Archeologia, storia dell'arte, restauro. Atti del convegno internazionale Roma 10-13 ottobre 1996*, ed. Hugo Brandenburg and József Pál (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2000), pp. 129-37.

[18] The complete set of Tempesta's preparatory drawings for the *Life of Filippo Benizi* will be published in my *Illustrated Bartsch Commentary, vol. 35: Antonio Tempesta, part 1* (New York: Abaris Books, 2003).

[19] On the collaboration of the De Rossi family with particular artists see Francesca Consagra, "De Rossi and Falda: A Successful Collaboration in the Print Industry of Seventeenth-Century Rome", in *The Craft of Art, Originality and Industry in the Italian Renaissance and Baroque Workshop*, ed. Andrew Ladis and Caroline H. Wood (Athens/Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1995), pp. 187-203.

[20] On Tempesta and Rubens see Arnaut Balis, *Rubens' Hunting Scenes*, Corpus Rubenianum, vol. xviii, 2 (London: Miller, 1986), pp. 52-63.

[21] For the influence of Tempesta on Spanish artists and artisans cf. Fernando A. Martin, "La obra del grabador Antonio Tempesta en los Reales Sitios," *Reales Sitios* 23 (1986), pp. 11-16.

[22] *Index librorum prohibitorum cum regulis confectis Per Patres a Tridentina Synodo delectos Auctoritate Pii IV. primum editus, Postea vero a Syxto V. auctus, et nunc demum S. D. N. Clementis Papae VIII. iussu recognitus, & publicatus* (Rome: Apud Impressores Camerales, 1596), p. 14.

[23] Contemporary self-description of a print-retailer active in Rome: Antonio Bertolotti, "Le Tipografie Orientali e gli orientalisti a Roma nei secoli xvi e xvii," *Rivista europea* 9 (1878), p. 226.

[24] It should be added that towards the end of the sixteenth century many of the cheaper devotional prints were probably not made for retail sale, but as commissions for religious institutions which distributed them as free gifts or remunerations. Cf. Jan van der Stock, *Printing Images in Antwerp. The Introduction of Printmaking in a City. Fifteenth Century to 1585* (Rotterdam: Sound & Vision Interactive, 1998), p. 134.

[25] Wolfgang Wüst, "Censur und Censurcollegien im frühmodernen Konfessionsstaat," in *Augsburger Buchdruck und Verlagswesen. Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Helmut Gier and Johannes Janota (Wiesbaden: Harassowitz, 1997), pp. 569-86.

[26] Tempesta's personal contacts with Flemish publishers and his reasons for sending his plates to be printed (and sold) in the North will be explored in a forthcoming article by Jan van der Stock and Eckhardt Leuschner.

[27] In the early seventeenth century etchings by Tempesta were exported from Rome to the Netherlands (if they had been printed *in urbe*) as well as from Antwerp to Rome (if they had been printed in Antwerp). Print dealers active in both countries around 1600 had a stock of his works that, in terms of sheer numbers of prints, was unsurpassed by any other contemporary artist (see Ann Diels, "De insolvente boedelkamer van de Antwerpese prent-handelaar Jan-Baptist Vrients," *delineavit & sculpsit* 21 (2000), pp. 1-22).

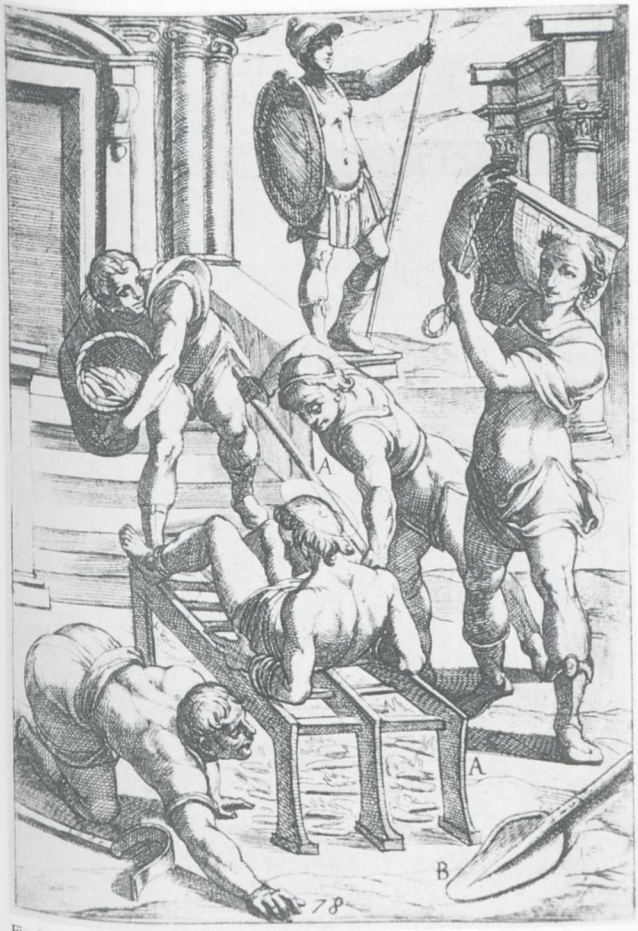

Fig. IV-1

Fig. IV-1: ANTONIO TEMPESTA after GIOVANNI GUERRA, *Scene of Martyrdom*, etching, 194 x 135 mm, 1590-91. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.

Fig. IV-2: ANTONIO TEMPESTA, *A Miracle of Filippo Benizi*, drawing, 75 x 94 mm, ca. 1589. Paris, École Nationale Superieure des Beaux-Arts.

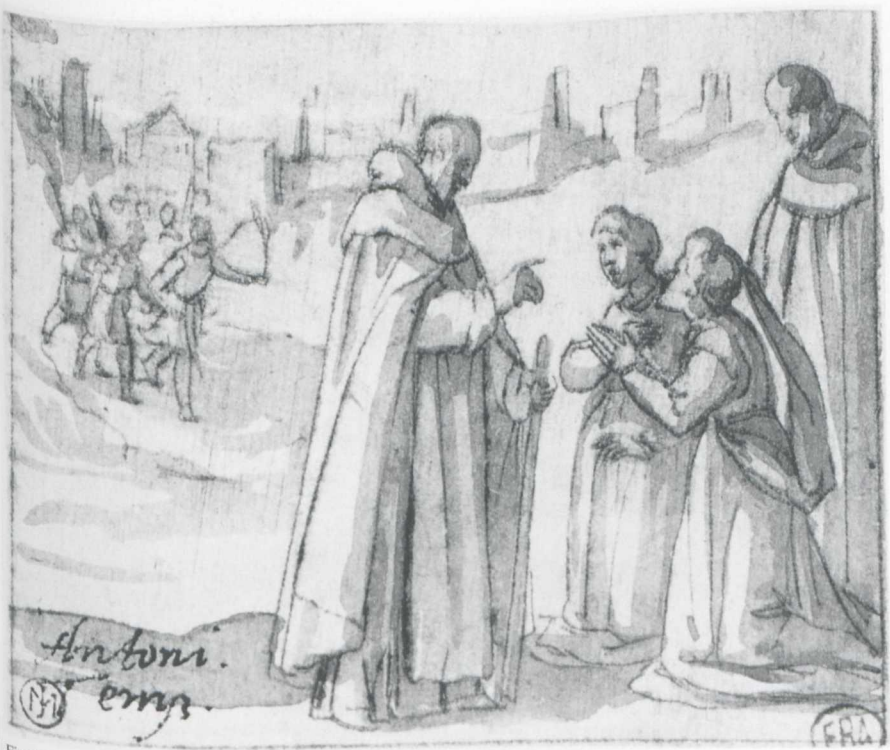

Fig. IV-2

Fig. IV-3: Antonio Tempesta, *A Miracle of Filippo Benizi*, etching, 99 x 77 mm (lower margin: 16 mm), 1590. Vienna, Albertina.

Fig. IV-4: Antonio Tempesta, *The Miracle of Filippo Benizi's Sandals*, drawing, 75 x 95 mm, ca. 1589. Paris, École Nationale Superieure des Beaux-Arts.

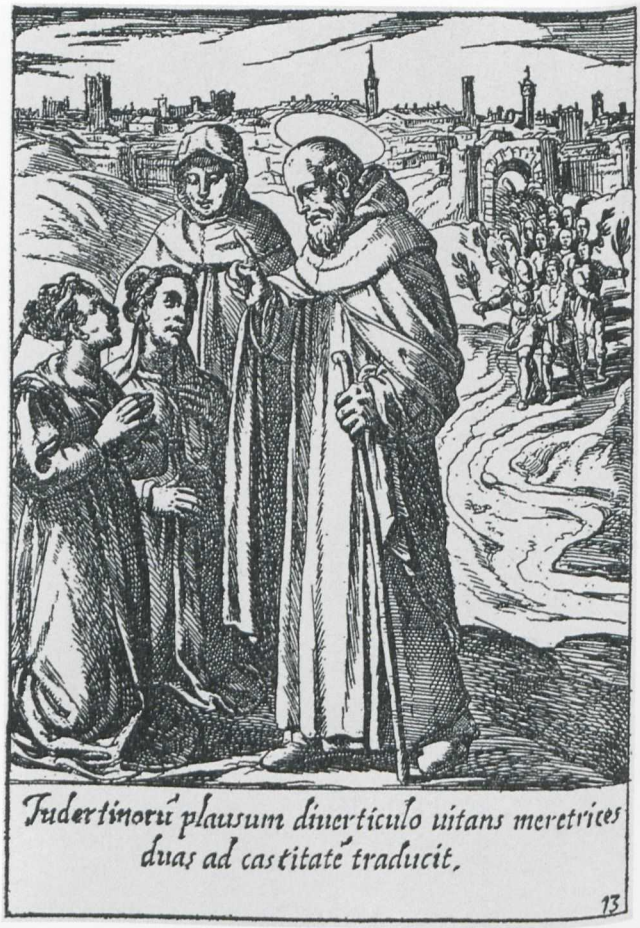

Fig. IV-3

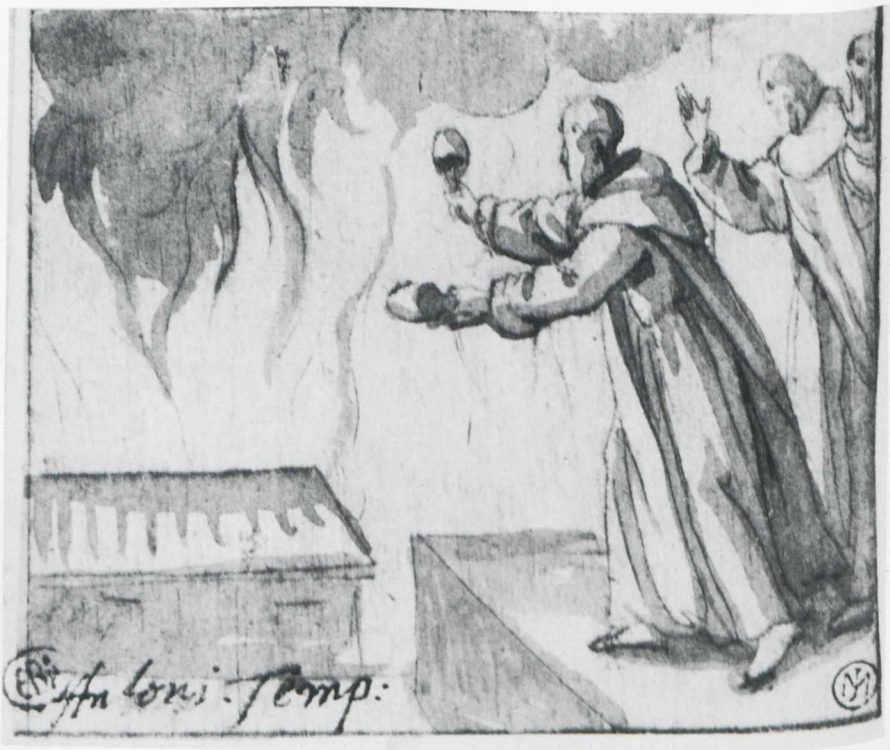

Fig. IV-4

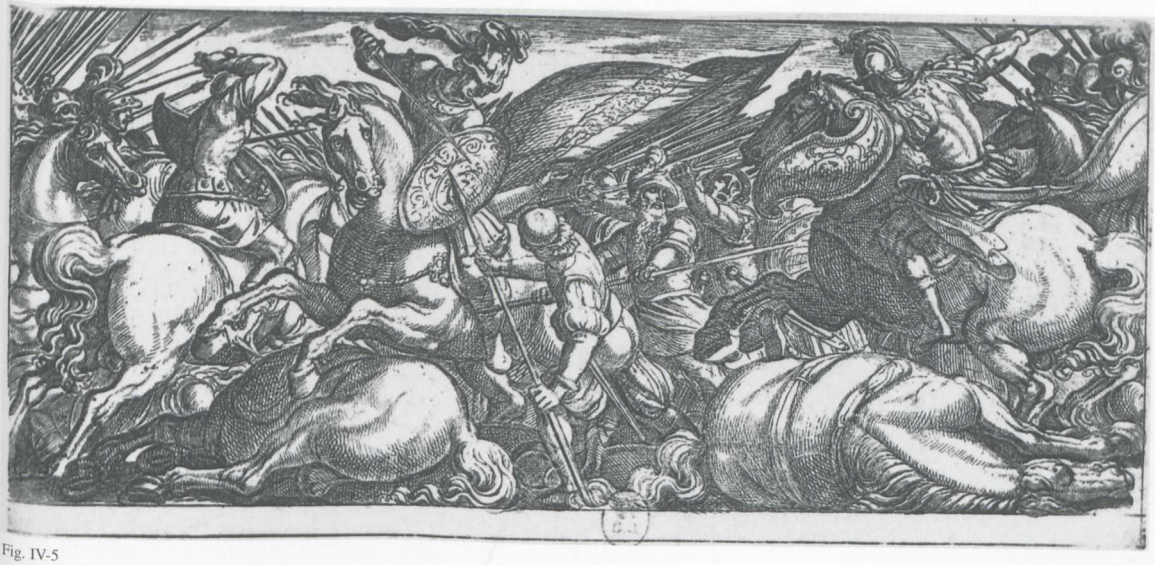

Fig. IV-5

Fig. IV-5: ANTONIO TEMPESTA, *Battle scene*, etching, 95 x 210 mm (lower margin: 7 mm), ca. 1610.
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.