its art collections and galleries, which continued to proliferate during the early modern period, reaching more than 125 in the city and its environs by 1700.[106] The insatiable acquisitions of rival ecclesiastic families, who hoarded assets and staged vast displays of antiquities, modern paintings, silver, drawings, coins, and religious objects in their grand palaces, guaranteed that Rome would remain a city of unparalleled cultural significance throughout the seventeenth century and thereafter. The excess of material wealth displayed in certain collections (as in the palace of the prince of Eggenberg) sometimes threatened visitors with a sensation of illness, but Rome's famous picture galleries, emulated by collectors across Europe, more often represented a quintessentially therapeutic space, promising curative and preservative effects for both body and mind. Well before the city had witnessed the full flowering of its gallery building, the English polymath Robert Burton remarked that the galleries of Roman cardinals, "richly stored with all modern paintings, old statues and antiquities," promised those suffering from melancholy a space where they might take delight and greatly "ease their grief."[107] How these spaces made good upon this promise, particularly through the display of landscape painting, will be explored in the following chapter.

3. FROM EXERCISE TO REPOSE

You may walk in Claude's pictures and
count the miles.

—RICHARD WILSON

Writing to Perini from Barcelona on 28 March 1626 (see letter no. 7 in the appendix), Agostino Oliveti, the barber-surgeon who bled Cardinal Francesco Barberini, declared that he had little occasion to write of "cheerful things." This was perfectly understandable in light of the epistle he had sent earlier that morning to Mancini and Perini jointly (see letter no. 6 in the appendix), informing them of the dire situation in which the cardinal's retinue found itself. Virtually all of them were sick. Cassiano dal Pozzo and Cardinal Sacchetti were suffering from continual fevers, while more violent headaches than usual were afflicting Barberini, so much so that a few days earlier, desperate to grant his brother relief, Taddeo Barberini had given him some rhubarb to chew as a purgative. The cardinal "does not have any more to serve him," Oliveti remarked, since the members of the *famiglia bassa* had either died or fallen so ill that they remained without hope of recovery. Oliveti, now addressing Perini alone, tried to resist the "melancholy" to which the others had given themselves over and suggested reasons to be hopeful—he had evidently thought better of leaving these out of his earlier letter. For one thing, he himself, remarkably, and "thanks to the grace of God, [was] most healthy." And in the few hours since he had last written, the cardinal had "retired" to a Franciscan convent, situated in a "beautiful site" outside the city, with "beautiful greenery" and a vista of the sea, and, what was more, in a locale enjoying excellent air. All of these features were "apt to restore us," he concluded, by which he suggested that they would be comforted mentally and renewed physically, though the word conveyed as well a sense of recompense for harm.

Oliveti was inscribing himself within a flourishing tradition, one rooted in classical literature and energetically perpetuated in early modern vernacular medical treatises, which held that the observation of nature produced therapeutic and preservative effects. Among several Italian medical practitioners to articulate the healing properties of a landscape view was Domenico Panaroli, a physician at Rome's Hospital of San Salvatore, who urged readers of his treatise on air, *Aërologia, cioè Discorso dell'Aria* (1642), to select an apartment with windows onto "an east-facing prospect opposite to a beautiful little hill, covered in forests or flowers," because this was the most healthful

accommodation in summer.[1] Writers describing the lifestyle of members of the Roman court noted, moreover, that prelates took pleasure in similar views at their country estates, which were often designed to set off landscape vistas to advantage. Cardinal Bernardino Spada, for example, regularly dined in an antechamber with a view onto a valley, with gardens and woodlands below.[2]

Oliveti's belief that the convent's location and view could "restore" the cardinal and his retinue might have been matched, given his remarks on their melancholy, by a sense that beholding such a vista had the power to cheer members of the legation. After all, diverting the soul was necessary to assist the sick when other remedies had failed, Petroni had declared, advice that was certainly applicable to the circumstances in Barcelona.[3] This idea of the healing and uplifting qualities of the landscape is fully consistent with contemporary conceptions of the effects of landscape painting as well. Indeed, Mancini had identified this genre in his precepts for collectors, in his early "Discorso di pittura," as a cheerful one, suitable to men with melancholic or choleric humors.[4] Supporting Mancini's conception of landscape painting were theoretical arguments advanced by Renaissance writers on art, including Leon Battista Alberti, who had declared in his *De re aedificatoria* (composed ca. 1450, published in 1486) that pictures of "pleasant landscapes" bring delight to the beholder.[5] Armenini and other sixteenth-century writers likewise identified landscape painting as a recreative genre whose beauty provides pleasure, delight, and joy.[6]

Documentation confirms that early modern men and women availed themselves of landscape views, much as theoretical prescriptions advised them to do, for the purpose of pleasure and health. So, too, recent archival discoveries confirm that the theoretical ideals Mancini and his predecessors expressed are no mere textual commonplaces. A letter of 1 May 1612, for instance, from Belisario di Francesco Vinta, secretary at the court of the grand duke in Florence, to Alessandro Beccheria in Milan, concerns twenty landscape paintings to be presented as gifts to the governor of Milan, Juan Fernández de Velasco y Trovar, and his wife, before they returned to Spain. The delight at the represented "greenery and countryside," said Vinta, would "be able to aid the health" of Velasco's wife, Juana de Córdoba y Aragón, for whom the paintings were to be produced.[7] Sadly, Vinta failed to elaborate, undoubtedly because the recipients would already have been familiar with the idea that the sight of both landscape and landscape painting was restorative and health giving.

Important analogies can thus be traced between early modern expectations of the recreative and healing effects of viewing landscape vistas and gardens, on one hand, and landscape painting, on the other. The poetic and philosophical ideals of pastoral and Arcadian landscape, as articulated in classical antiquity and revived in the Renaissance, informed both seventeenth-century landscape architecture in Rome and its environs and the canonical landscape paintings by Annibale Carracci, Domenichino, Nicolas Poussin, and Claude Lorrain.[8] Their common genealogy in classical and Renaissance literature and philosophy affirms the claim of the geographers Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels, in *The Iconography of Landscape,* that the "meaning or meanings" of landscape are constituted by textual and verbal representations of it, to which, of course, must be added visual representations as well.[9] There is inevitably significant overlap in their associations, meanings, and functions. The inevitability of this relationship is affirmed in Mancini's use, when writing about the pictorial genre,

of the term "paese" (meaning "region" or "province" and suggesting a state or political entity) instead of "paesaggio," a word that may initially confuse modern readers about whether he was referring to actual or represented landscape, though "paese" was the widely applied label in the seventeenth century for this genre of painting.[10] Despite the many coterminous meanings, however, there were recognized and important distinctions between actual landscape and landscape painting, among which are features specific to the latter's perceived healing capacity, as addressed by Mancini and by the critic and collector of landscape painting Cardinal Federico Borromeo, among others. These entail the relative proximity and permanence of the pictorial medium, its ability to unite in a single image carefully selected items that cannot otherwise be experienced together, and, most important, its compositional and coloristic qualities, which produce distinct psychological and behavioral responses.

Trees and Clear Springs

The sight of gardens, groves, meadows, woodlands, and mountains, among other natural elements, was understood to yield pleasure and delight, but trees and bodies of water were regarded as especially pleasant and healthful for the body, mind, and eye. In his letter, Oliveti, in fact, singled out the greenery and the view of the sea. The idea that the benefits of viewing landscape resided in observing greenery—particularly trees—and cool, fresh water originated in classical sources and was frequently expressed in medical, poetic, and artistic discourses in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Petroni counseled exercising in places "adorned with green trees and water; because these things, just as they delight the eyes, so do they please the soul."[11] (Petroni's advice provides a crucial link to Mancini's idea that landscape painting is recreative because it stimulates optical and mental exercise, an idea to which we shall return.) Panaroli, advising readers to view a landscape prospect during summer months, remarked upon the delight afforded by viewing saplings, perhaps hinting here that the sight of young trees with new growth might revive those enervated by seasonal heat.[12] Among writers on art, Alberti had described the pleasure afforded by "leafy views," while Lomazzo praised Giorgione's landscapes as exemplary in rendering "clear water" (through which one perceives fish), together with trees and fruit.[13] Trees and rivers are two of the four elements, Mancini remarked in the "Discorso di pittura," that landscape painters should represent in their foregrounds, while trees are foremost in his list of natural objects in his remarks on what constitutes "perfect landscape" in his *Considerazioni*.[14] The recreative potential of trees and water is likewise highlighted in Blaise de Vigenère's 1614 translation of Aelian's description of the Vale of Tempe, a central source for Poussin's *Greek Road (The Vale of Tempe)*.[15] The trees provide shade, while healthful, cool water is both "agreeable to drink" and suitable for bathing.

These theoretical conceptions bear close analogies to how the Carracci and their artistic heirs foreground trees, rivers, and other bodies of water in their landscape paintings, as in *River Landscape* (fig. 12). The enormous deciduous trees (unidentifiable, however) framing the compositions of Annibale's *Landscape with the Flight into Egypt* of circa 1604 (Galleria Doria Pamphilj, Rome) and *River Landscape with Citadel and Bridge* of circa 1600 (fig. 13) are a recurring feature of this genre. But artists working outside the tradition of the Carracci likewise concentrated upon "trees" and "the clear water of springs,"

FIG. 12
Annibale Carracci, *River Landscape,* ca. 1590. Oil on canvas, 88.3 × 148.1 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., inv. 1952.5.58. Photo courtesy of the National Gallery of Art.

as did the amateur painter Marcello Sacchetti, the apostolic treasurer and an important art patron.[16]

The significance of these natural elements in this pictorial genre is further illuminated by a consideration of Renaissance medical theories. In this period, physicians promoted the idea that the eye was comforted by the sight of green objects, as this color was consolatory. In the Aristotelian theory of color, green, falling halfway between black and white, exerted a unifying effect upon vision.[17] Other median colors, particularly blue, were also considered healthful. The English physician Walter Bailey (1529–1592) could recommend looking at "greene and sky colours," but no other color was so widely hailed for its beneficial effects as green.[18] So great was its healing potential that some physicians held that emeralds and green eyeglasses produced effects similar to those of nature.[19] But above all else it was to green trees, plants, and foliage that recreative and curative properties were most often attributed. In a long exposition in his *De vita libri tres* (in circulation by 1489), the physician and philosopher Marsilio Ficino, haunted by the

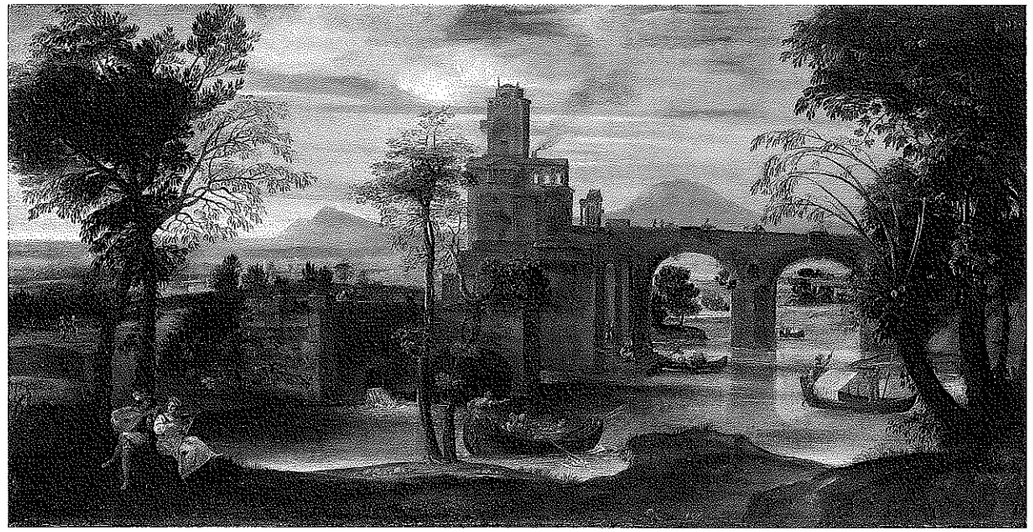

FIG. 13
Annibale Carracci, *River Landscape with Citadel and Bridge*, ca. 1600. Oil on canvas, 73 × 143 cm. Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. 372. Photo: bpk, Berlin / Gemäldegalerie / Jörg P. Anders / Art Resource, New York.

memory of the recent plague, addressed the subject of the health of learned men, considering how and why the green things of nature (*viridaria*) produce good health: as long as they remain green, their nature "is not only alive but even youthful and abounding with very salubrious humor and a lively spirit." For Ficino, greenery was synonymous with life and youthfulness. And although he made clear that man benefits from "the odor, sight, use, and frequent habitation of and in them [green things]," he lent special attention to their healing impact upon vision, which he explained in relation to the color's temperate quality.[20]

Later medical writers made similar observations. Mancini, surely familiar with Ficino's treatise (Ficino represented a crucial foundation for Mancini's theory of collecting), remarked that trees that remained green year-round might be cultivated for the "pleasure they give the eye and in being near them."[21] Similarly, introducing into a garden plants "that maintain their leaves in part during winter" is an important component in Vincenzo Giustiniani's advice on developing the grounds of an estate.[22] For Scipione Mercurio, "meadows and gardens comfort vision," while fruit trees and vines implicitly evoke a site's fertility and its life-giving character.[23] Indeed, for Mercurio, it was the presence of olive groves and vineyards (also prized by villa owners in antiquity) with abundant yields that rendered his own estate particularly pleasant.[24] Delight in greenery was even introduced in medical treatments, as, for example, in at least one of Rodrigo Fonseca's consultations, in

which *viridaria* were recommended to a melancholic man.[25]

This medico-philosophical tradition intersected with the cultural emulation of classical practices of *otium*, or productive leisure, for the purpose of recreating body and mind. Mancini inscribed himself within these conjoined traditions when he observed, in his chapter on agriculture in his unpublished treatise "Alcune considerationi del'honore," that growing fruit trees might constitute a recreative activity, whereas cultivating vines and olives, which produce the wine and oil "so necessary for the civil man," would yield "an excess of nobility."[26] In contrast to the ancients (who presumably raised crops for survival), he explained, gentlemen and noblemen these days engage in the manual activity of cultivation only for the purpose of "diversion and health," but knowledgeable practice of agriculture lends eminence and is thus honorable because it "induces health and length of life."[27] Seventeenth-century prelates made precisely this kind of double investment in health and honest *otium* in their practice of *villeggiatura*. Scipione Borghese's agricultural estate at Mondragone, Tracy Ehrlich demonstrates, provided a site where the cardinal-nephew could seek salubrious suburban air while emulating the ancient Roman elite's sponsorship of agricultural development.

The association of trees with salubrity, fertility, honorable cultivation, and ancient virtue undoubtedly motivated the program drawn up by Giovanni Battista Agucchi for *Erminia and the Shepherds* (Real Palacio de la Granja, San Ildefonso), a commission that the secretary and art critic presented to Ludovico Carracci in 1602.[28] In his guidelines, Agucchi stipulated the species of trees he sought, concluding that the artist should concentrate upon palms and plane trees (noted in antiquarian descriptions of ancient Rome), as well as fructiferous trees, including olives and laurels, inferring that these would appropriately characterize this pastoral setting even as they would be pleasing to behold. (The olive and laurel trees are not visible today, perhaps the result of early damage in transport of the painting to its patron.) Agucchi's selection of trees was not accidental; Ficino had praised the olive and laurel as particularly refreshing since they remained green longer into the winter season than other species.

Equally beneficial, from the perspective of early modern Italian writers of both Latin and vernacular medical treatises, was the sight of water, whether in vessels or fountains or as a natural body. Alongside advice to surround oneself with green plants, Ficino had promoted the observation of "shining water," an idea taken up by Mercurio, who argued that the sight of water exerted curative effects upon the ill, adding that it represented an important preservative element in daily rituals of hygiene.[29] Mercurio urged doctors, attendants, and a patient's family to counteract the warmth in a feverish body by introducing vessels of water into the furnishing of sickrooms. A bright, clean, and clear environment provisioned with fresh water (though not so much as to increase humidity) would evidently evoke a sense of coolness and cheerfulness in the ill.

In certain respects, Mercurio was echoing advice, undoubtedly widely diffused in early modern culture, articulated in Alberti's *De re aedificatoria*. The humanist architect had extolled the benefits of pictures of "springs and streams" for those stricken with fever, suggesting that the sight of a cool object would trigger the imagination to produce a somatic sensation, a phenomenon that Fonseca would effectively explain by stating that when the image of an entity such as fire enters the imagination, it still retains some of its properties (in that case, heat).[30] Although the curative and recreative associations with nature were very much alive as Alberti composed his treatise, they did not yet apply to landscape painting, which scarcely existed as an independent genre—one of the few exceptions being Paolo Uccello's *Hunt in the Forest* of circa 1470 (Ashmolean, Oxford), a painting that alludes to the intertwined delights of the hunt, natural beauty, and love, but not to health. A century would pass before a documented instance of a painting was produced for this purpose. A lost cycle of frescoes adorning one of the rooms in the infirmary of Rome's Jesuit novitiate at Sant'Andrea al Quirinale, dating to the 1590s, echoes in general terms Alberti's earlier recommendation, though with some significant modifications. The cycle, the program of which Gauvin Alexander Bailey attributes to the physician Marsilio Cagnati, represented thermal and medicinal baths (a common feature of early modern health care) and united the concepts of medical treatment and spiritual healing through baptism.[31]

Clear water was regarded as one of the most therapeutic and prophylactic elements in both landscape and landscape painting, because its transparency rendered it commensurate with the luminous substance of the crystalline humor, the most important component of the eye, according to Renaissance anatomy. Mercurio's preventive regimen included daily eye washing, after which, he declared, it was beneficial to "observe fixedly the clear water of fountains, rivers or the sea" (advice echoed later in the century by Domenico Auda), or, lacking direct access to a natural body of water, to contemplate water within a white or blue majolica vase.[32] Mercurio evidently believed that an individual would benefit from the observation of light-colored vessels and the interaction between a "fixed" gaze and the radiant ripples of water. Given

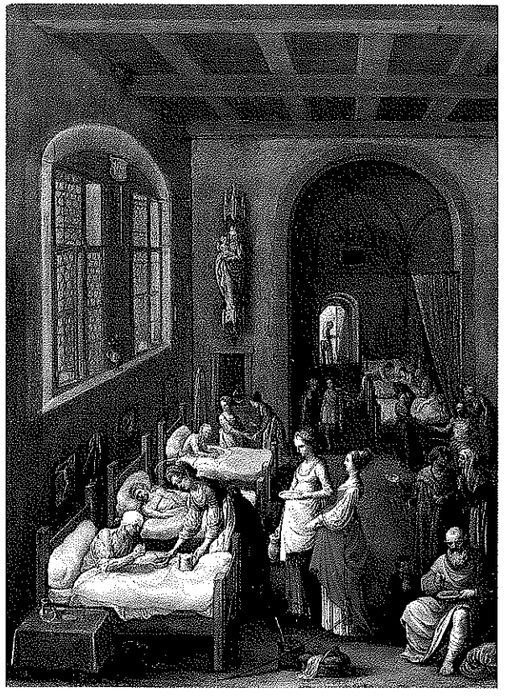

FIG. 14
Adam Elsheimer (1578–1610), *Saint Elizabeth Tending the Sick*, before 1597. Oil on copper, 27.8 × 20 cm. Wellcome Library, London. Photo courtesy of the Wellcome Library.

that he advocated the health benefits of hanging "beautiful paintings, particularly of saints" within the view of patients (as can be seen, for example, above the hospital beds in Adam Elsheimer's *Saint Elizabeth Tending the Sick*, fig. 14), it is likely that he would have also considered pictorial representations of water a potential curative mechanism against fever, healthful for the eyes and for general well-being as well.[33] Petroni

shared Mercurio's perspective, arguing that those suffering from the perturbations of the soul should avoid dark spaces and frequently feed the eyes upon fountains no less than on gardens.[34] These attitudes were current not only among medical practitioners. Bernini himself remarked on the benefits of observing water, particularly moving water, during his visit to France. Gazing at the Seine, he is said to have observed, "It is a beautiful view. I am a great friend of water; it does good for my temperament," which was all too hot and greatly in need of water's cooling effects.[35] In light of these attitudes, it is no surprise to see painters such as Orazio Gentileschi or Poussin represent luminous surfaces of water with such mastery in several of their landscapes, as in the former's *Saint Christopher* of circa 1605–15 and the latter's *Landscape with Saint Matthew and the Angel* of 1640 (both in the Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin), which belonged to Gian Maria Roscioli, a member of Francesco Barberini's household and a friend of Mancini's.[36]

Nature's Variety

For early modern physicians, nature's promise to effect healing was bound up with its infinite variety, which produced visual delight. André Du Laurens held that the sight of "varieties of flowers" was fundamentally preservative for the elderly, since, as with all delightful activities, it would "rouse them up and warme them a little" from their all too cold and melancholic natures.[37] Various plants and flowers were even employed by physicians to induce sensory pleasure in patients. Although this practice was better developed in Spain than on the Italian peninsula, Mercurio attested that he had often seen "the use of similar delights" ordered by physicians in the "principal cities of Italy."[38] This appears to be confirmed by Mercurio's own virtually ekphrastic approach to outlining the adornment of the sickroom of a fever patient; his pictorial conception attests to the importance of the physician's artistic sensibilities. After removing thick, heavy, or dark furnishings, Mercurio wrote, caretakers should cover a table with a very white tablecloth, thereby signaling cleanliness in a period in which dirty surroundings and illness were increasingly associated. (In fact, Mercurio reminded readers that even if they could not afford paintings, birds, and crystal vessels, they could preserve their health by maintaining the cleanliness of the sickroom and adorning it with the flowers of the meadows.)[39] On the white tablecloth should be placed leaves and flowers that do not offend the senses, as do more powerfully aromatic flowers like roses and lilies, Mercurio continued, suggesting a greater therapeutic benefit in mild aromas, such as those produced by jasmine, citron, and orange flowers, and white and yellow violets.[40] Next to them, silver or crystal vessels used in the patient's treatment should be set, instructions suggesting that Mercurio thought that the sight of a well-composed display of varied *naturalia* and *artificialia*, as found in contemporary *wunderkammern*, or cabinets of curiosities, would enhance the curative promise of visual delight. Jasmine, citron, and orange blossoms appear together in both Italian and Spanish still lifes, as in Giovanna Garzoni's *Still Life with Bowl of Citrons* of the late 1640s (J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles). But the conventions of this genre in Italy, where exotic flowers are typically set against a dark background, diverge from Mercurio's description, which comes much closer to Spanish still lifes such as Tomás Hiepes's *Delft Fruit Bowl and Two Vases of Flowers* of 1642, with its white tablecloth, ornamented vessels containing flowers, and sprig set on the table (fig. 15).

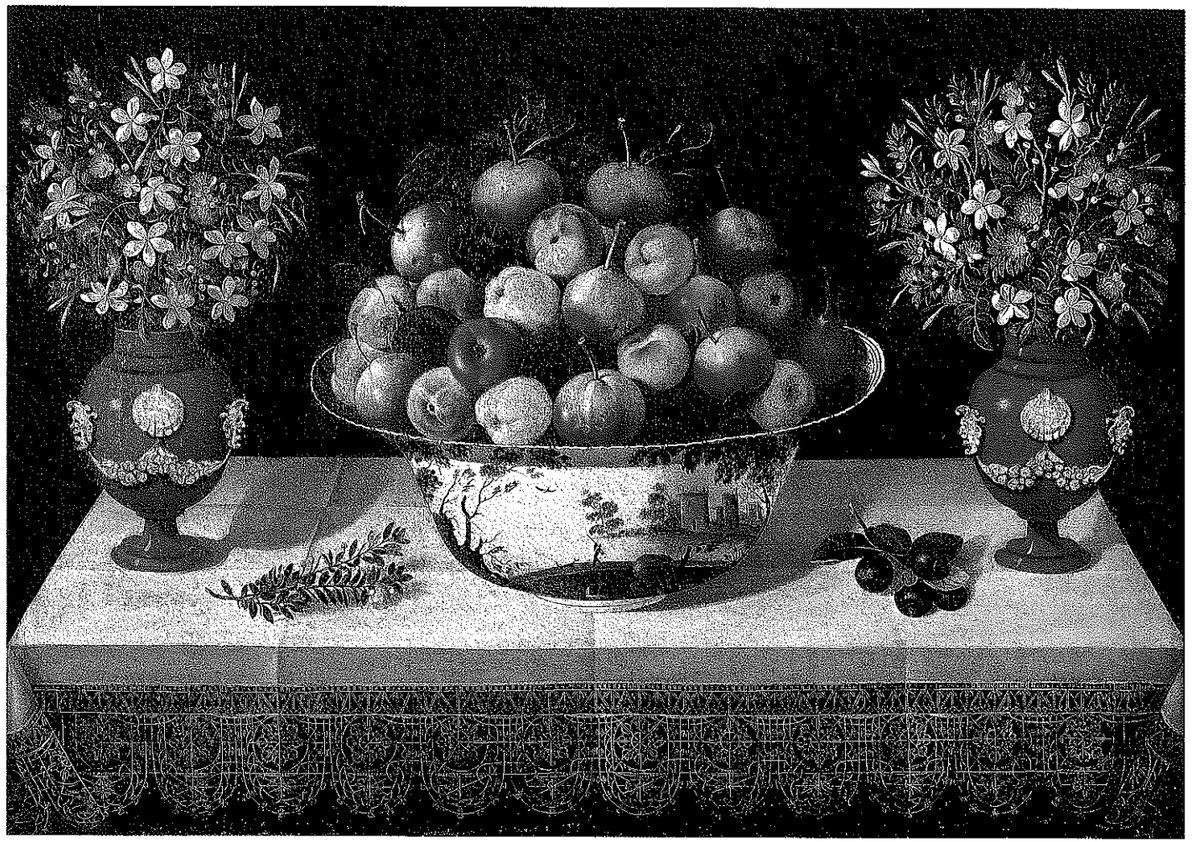

FIG. 15
Tomás Hiepes (ca. 1610–1674), *Delft Fruit Bowl and Two Vases of Flowers*, 1642. Oil on canvas, 67 × 96 cm. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, inv. P07909. Photo © Musco Nacional del Prado / Art Resource, New York.

Although the sight and scent of blossoms were considered delightful, the cultivation of flowers was not universally regarded as beneficial or noble, and Mancini and others expressed reservations concerning the recreative potential of this activity. Conceding that flowers were marvelous in their variety and in "such variety of form and color" within even a single specimen, Mancini nevertheless balked at the idea of cultivating them. This activity was "attended to and spent upon with . . . much lasciviousness," and was "an entertainment for day laborers, do-nothings, and melancholics," in his view, a pastime that turned out to be no more virtuous than collecting glass vessels that man inevitably destroys.[41] Giustiniani concurred, cautioning against devoting more than a limited area of an estate's garden to small herbs and flowers, for they require "exquisite care," constant attention, and great expense; "lasting ornaments" were preferable.[42] The implication of Mancini's argument is that health and recreation are achieved only through the pursuit of lasting pleasures; longevity is promised to a patron, collector, or observer when the objects themselves and the items they represent make claims to endure. (It is useful to recall here the gift to Mancini of Lucas van Leyden's drawing described in letter no. 9 in the appendix, which was intended to add years to his life and was evidently valued for its durability, in spite of the paper's fragility.) Mancini's interest in lasting pleasures is significant, for the landscapes in the tradition of the Carracci, with their grand old trees and evocations of antiquity, present a vision of nature in which harmony and beauty seemingly endure, even as it requires only minimal human intervention and promises an elite beholder the experience of repose rather than of labor.

Mancini illuminates a significant bifurcation in perceptions about the nobility of flowers, with their short-lived beauty, and "green things" in his assertions concerning the civic utility of plants, fruit trees, and vines, a division that corresponds to differences in the nature of the public gardens and parks attached to villas or estates that featured trees, on the one hand, and *giardini segreti*, or walled private gardens, devoted to flowering plants, on the other.[43] In the landscapes by the Carracci, Domenichino, and Poussin, flowers rarely make an appearance (in contrast to Jan Brueghel's landscapes, for example), and magnificent deciduous trees, such as Poussin's preferred oaks, lend the pictures grandeur and nobility and conjure up ideas of strength and might, notions associated with virtue.[44] These ideas place Mancini's attitude toward the therapeutic and prophylactic functions of both art and nature within the context of broad ethical considerations of nobility, longevity, honor, and civic health. He fully valorized only those objects and activities that ultimately promised "to conserve and augment" the civic community, reminding us that individual and civic health are fully integrated in his thought. So, too, are concepts of pleasure and utility: pleasure must advance claims to virtue.

Landscape and "Physic"

Although Mancini argued for the utility, delight, and nobility of nature, he did not, as did some of his contemporaries, explicitly frame his treatment of the healing effects of viewing landscape painting in relation to prevailing notions of nature as God's gift of "physic," though this notion is reflected in many seventeenth-century landscape paintings. The conception of nature as the source of medicine is eloquently embodied in the portable Giustiniani medicine chest,

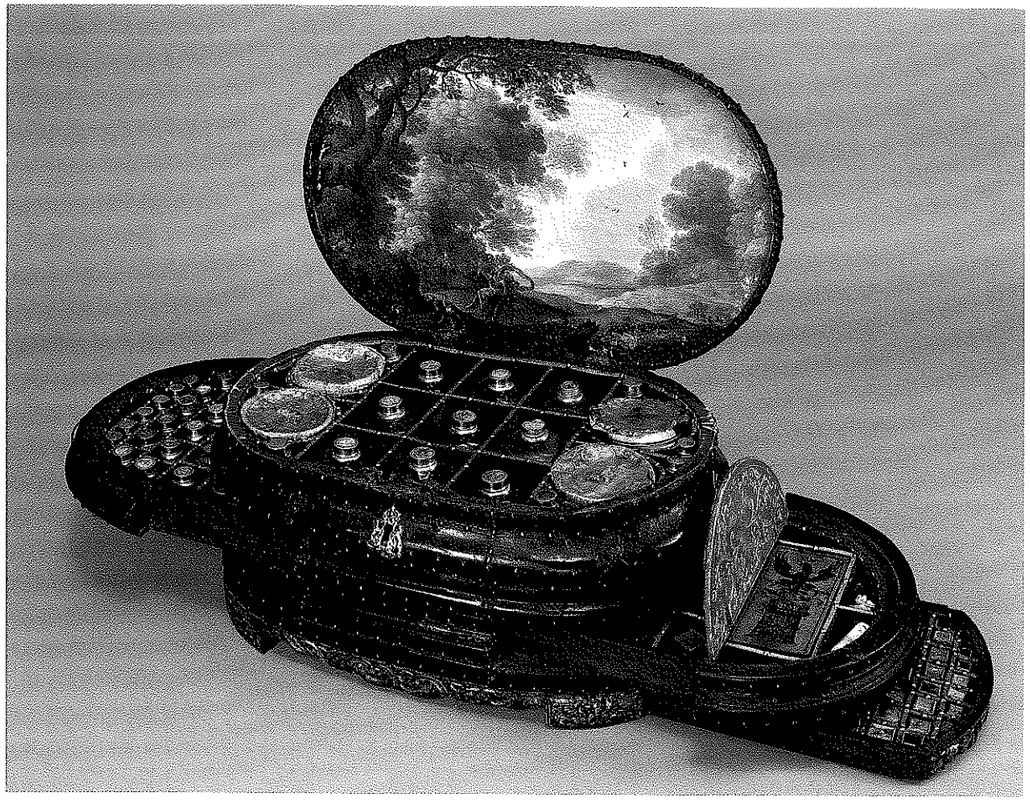

FIG. 16
Giustiniani medicine chest, ca. 1560–70 or early seventeenth century. The Science Museum, London, inv. A641515. Photo: The Science Museum / Science and Society Picture Library.

which has been dated to either circa 1560–70 or the early seventeenth century (fig. 16). This object lays claim to two modes by which nature may affect healing: in its provision of natural medicinal remedies, and in the aesthetic appeal of the pictorial landscape on the underside of its lid, through which it promises aid for body, mind, and spirit. Irene Baldriga and Giovanna Capitelli, who argue persuasively that this chest may have belonged to the collector Vincenzo Giustiniani because his "Istruzione per far viaggi" recommends that the traveler carry medicines to administer to himself and to offer charitably to others, speculate that the painting, which they regard as convincingly seventeenth-century, was therefore produced by a Flemish artist close to Giustiniani,

FIG. 17

Domenichino, *Landscape with Tobias Laying Hold of the Fish*, ca. 1610–13. Oil on copper, 45.1 × 33.9 cm. National Gallery, London. Holwell Carr Bequest, 1831 (NG48). Photo © National Gallery, London / Art Resource, New York.

possibly Herman van Swanevelt.[45] But a definitive attribution and iconographical interpretation pose significant difficulties, as the painting was evidently damaged before it entered the Wellcome Collection, particularly in the foreground zone by the chariot and the birds. Even so, it is remarkable that the female figure in the chariot appears to personify medicine, her attributes those outlined in Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* (1593, first illustrated edition 1603). The female figure holds up a caduceus—a baton around which a serpent coils. Her laurel wreath corresponds to one of Ripa's attributes, since this tree "aids against many infirmities and . . . was believed to confer health."[46] Moreover, the birds, possibly ibises, emerge in another of Ripa's personifications of medicine for their ability to purge themselves with their beaks. A personification of medicine would have certainly suited the Giustiniani medicine chest, and a source in Ripa would have been widely known to painters in seventeenth-century Rome.

The medicinal promise of nature was likewise depicted in the popular iconography of Tobias and the angel Raphael, a narrative that alludes to the healing of both physical and spiritual ills and is often set within a landscape. Examples of this subject appeared in major seventeenth-century collections, including those of the marquis Alessandrino-Bonello, Vincenzo Giustiniani, Pietro Aldobrandini, Antonio Barberini, Taddeo Barberini, and Giuseppe Pignatelli. Mancini himself claimed to have owned an example of this subject by Cavaliere d'Arpino, now lost (perhaps related to the drawing of this subject in the Witt Collection), which he gave to one of his patrons, probably a member of the Borghese family.[47] In Domenichino's version of circa 1610–13, the angel Raphael, whose name literally means "God heals," leads the youth to kill the fish; with its heart, liver, and gall he will exorcise the demon in Tobias's wife and cure his father's blindness (fig. 17). But it was Elsheimer, more than any other painter active in Rome in the early seventeenth century, who foregrounded the theme of nature's medicinal remedies

FIG. 18

Adam Elsheimer, *Tobias and the Angel ("The Small Tobias")*, ca. 1606. Oil on copper, 12.4 × 19.2 cm. Historisches Museum, Frankfurt, B0789. Photo © Historisches Museum, Frankfurt.

in the so-called large and small Tobias paintings. Incidentally, Elsheimer probably produced pharmaceutical preparations himself—documents refer to him as "apothecary and painter"—and Clemente Ghisoni sought one of Elsheimer's recipes through the mediation of the physician Johannes Faber.[48] The German physician is likewise significant because he acquired Elsheimer's *Tobias and the Angel ("The Small Tobias")*, a painting that made Elsheimer famous in Rome, according to the critic Joachim von Sandrart, and it is likely that Cassiano dal Pozzo acquired an engraving after it (fig. 18). By rendering the fish with relatively large proportions, Elsheimer called attention to the means of physical and spiritual healing. In certain features—the prominent trees and water—the Frankfurt picture reflects compositional strategies of contemporary Italian landscapes, but it does not render the air or water with the same clarity and lucidity found in French and Italian landscape paintings of the period. The emphasis is on God's divine revelation of nature's medicinal properties to the angel Raphael, and in turn to Tobias, a process Mercurio thought rendered this story an example of "natural magic."[49] Elsheimer's *Tobias and the Angel ("The Large Tobias")*, destroyed but known through the Copenhagen copy,

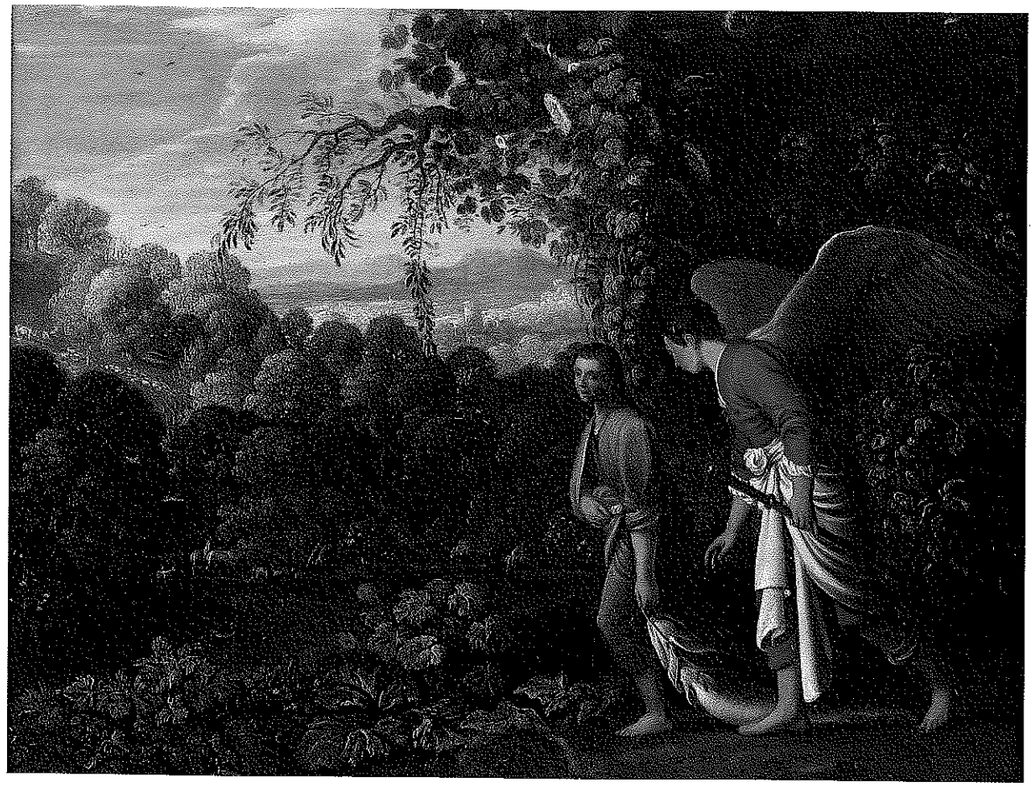

FIG. 19
Early seventeenth-century copy after Adam Elsheimer, *Tobias and the Angel ("The Large Tobias")*, ca. 1609. Oil on copper, 21 × 27 cm. Owned by Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen. Photo © SMK Photo.

argues even more vehemently, according to Rüdiger Klessmann, that the whole of God's creation abounds with physic, through its inclusion of various medicinal plants, including the poppy and possibly rhubarb and eucalyptus (fig. 19).[50] It was probably Faber, appointed Semplicista Apostolico in 1611 (a year after Elsheimer's death), who, Klessmann avers, was instrumental in providing some of the medicinal plants in the picture, such as the eucalyptus, the oil of which was thought to remedy fever.

Landscape and Movement

It is the power of landscape painting's compositional and aesthetic features to stimulate the imagination and move the passions, however, rather than the

presentation of nature as a pharmacological storehouse that constitutes Mancini's idea of the efficaciousness of this pictorial genre. In outlining his aesthetic expectations of "perfect landscape painting," in the chapter titled "Le specie della pittura nate dalla differenza delle cose imitate" in his *Considerazioni*, Mancini argues that among its most important features is its division into zones and the disposition of elements within them, both of which stimulate optical movement. Indeed, he considered this characteristic unique to this genre. The eye sequentially observes foreground, middle ground, and background—the last the zone where the eye "gradually finishes its action" and enjoys recreation.[51]

A few remarks about early modern theories of vision, largely informed by Aristotelian and Arabic optics, are crucial here. Aristotle, departing from both the atomistic theories of intromission (in which objects emit immaterial rays, or "species," that act upon the eye) and the Platonic notion of extramission (in which the eye sends forth rays), had argued that vision entailed the existence of an airy medium, between the object and the eye, that moves the color of the object to *act* upon the eye. Over time, an abundance of theories of vision came to circulate, though by the Renaissance the conception of intromission dominated, albeit integrated with other classical and medieval optical theories. Intromission can rightly be construed as lending agency to material objects, but the corresponding assumption that the eye was a passive recipient of the "species" they emitted, as Lee Palmer Wandel argues in her study of sixteenth-century iconoclasm, does not apply to Mancini, who, however, provided only minimal elaboration of the mechanics of vision in his writings.[52] Nevertheless, his overall intellectual bent suggests a debt to Aristotle, though he is far from articulating a pure Aristotelian theory of sight. When discussing the cognitive processes of the blind in his unpublished "Epistola al Papa sulla predizione," he employed the term "species," describing how immaterial images were first received by the external sense (*instrumento particolare*), transformed into vaporous spirits, and then transmitted to the *fantasia* or imagination in the brain.[53] All of this strongly suggests that he shared his contemporaries' predilection for intromission. In theorizing landscape painting, however, Mancini implicitly hearkened back to Aristotle, whose *De anima* he would have known from various Renaissance commentaries, in his idea that objects (here in pictorial representation) act upon the eye; this is a function of light and color, a subject to which we shall soon return. At the same time, Mancini established the beholding of landscape painting as an active, gradual, optical voyage from foreground to background. The eye is a perambulating body, a visual surrogate for corporeal motion through space.

The type of landscapes that Mancini regarded as paradigmatic—by Herri met de Bles, Titian, Tobias Verhaecht, Jan Brueghel, Paul Bril, Annibale Carracci, and Domenichino—all but demand an active eye. Those by Annibale and Domenichino (artists whose works Mancini knew well), which most closely emblematize the conventions he regarded as constitutive of the genre, apply strict compositional structures, typically positioning the beholder above the represented ground level and enabling him or her to survey a prospect of the landscape often unavailable to the pictorial figures.

As the eye moves sequentially through each pictorial zone, it experiences the recreative effects of having beheld and traversed varied terrain—one thinks again of contemporary medical regimens advising Roman churchmen to ascend the hills of Rome.

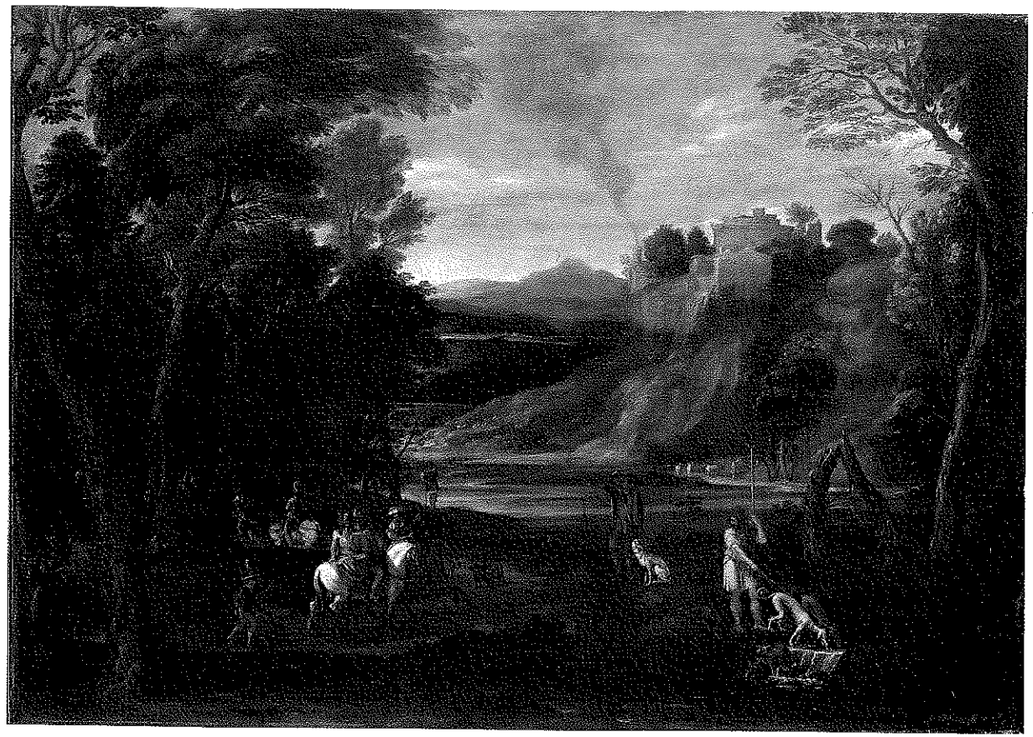

FIG. 20
Attributed to Giovanni Battista Viola (1576–1622), after Domenichino, *Wooded Landscape with Hunting Party*, early seventeenth century. Oil on canvas, 96.6 × 135.3 cm. National Gallery, London. Holwell Carr Bequest, 1831 (NG163). Photo © National Gallery, London / Art Resource, New York.

Many of the paintings produced by Domenichino and within his orbit construct pictorial space in a way that invites movement through it, often in the same direction that Mancini conceived of the eye as moving: from foreground to background. The figures themselves move or are conveyed in this direction, as in two related paintings, one attributed to Domenichino of circa 1603–4 and the other a copy attributed to Giovanni Battista Viola, *Wooded Landscape with Hunting Party* (fig. 20). The noble couple, astride horses, ride into the open space of the middle ground, while ahead of it and leading the eye into the picture are the dogs and a single figure on horseback heading toward the forest. A servant at right permits the hunting dogs to refresh themselves at the flowing stream. The deep valleys, open plateaus, and mountains channel the traveling figures, as they do the gaze of the beholder. In Domenichino's *Landscape with*

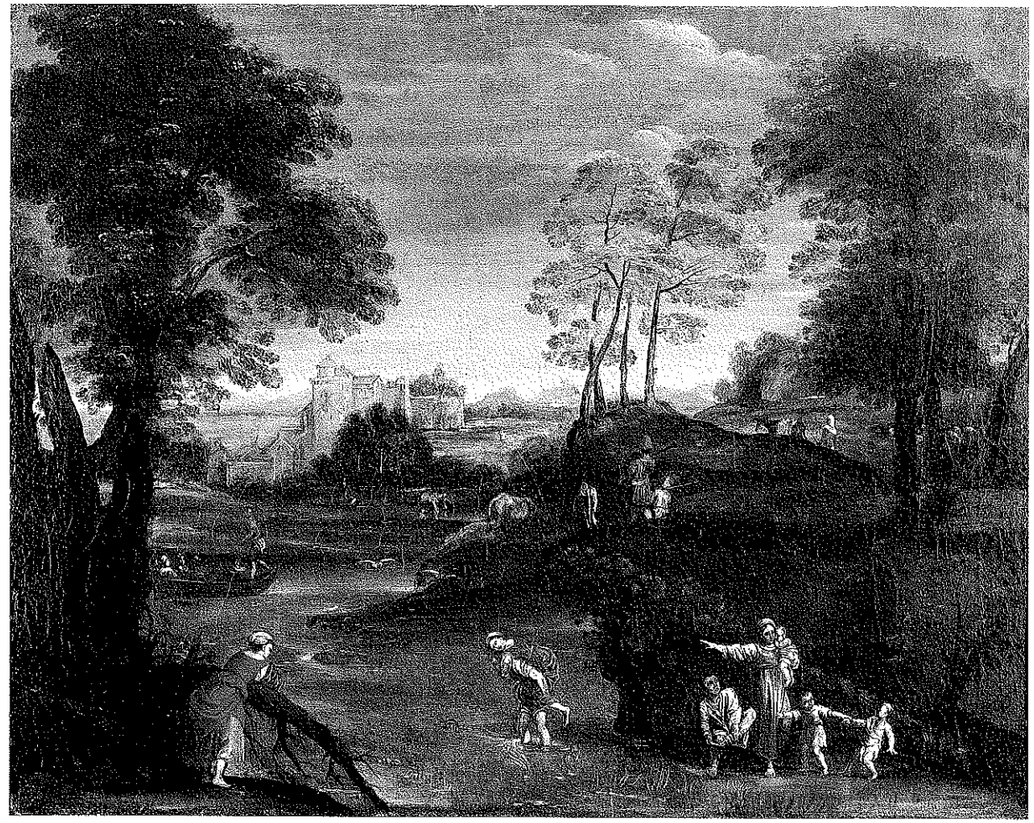

FIG. 21
Domenichino, *Landscape with Figures Who Cross a River (The Ford)*, ca. 1604–5. Oil on canvas, 47 × 59.5 cm. Galleria Doria Pamphilj, Rome. Photo: Album / Art Resource, New York.

Figures Who Cross a River (The Ford), of circa 1604–5, a man carrying a woman on his back moves into and across space, fording a narrow river (fig. 21). A second woman, accompanied by three children, points toward the man, compelling the actual beholder to do what the female bystander at left (a pictorial surrogate for the viewer) does, following the trajectory of the figures and then the winding river toward the distant horizon. Many Italian and Flemish landscape paintings with traveling figures moving from foreground to background invite the beholder to follow in this way. Poussin takes up this theme more than once, as in the possible pendants *Landscape with a Man Scooping Water from a Stream* of circa 1637 and

Landscape with Travellers Resting of circa 1638–39 (both in the National Gallery, London), where the winding dirt paths and the disposition of figures in foreground, middle ground, and background steer the viewer's optical trajectory into deep pictorial space. The pictorial device employed by many painters of embedding a river in the middle ground, from which its serpentine course disappears into the distance, suggests motion through vast space, an effect highlighted by the representation of the river as a means of conveyance for the purpose of pleasure or work.

Figures in seventeenth-century landscape painting often engage in precisely the recreational or curative activities that early modern physicians labeled exercise (a term that contemporary physicians extended to gestational exercises, or those propelled by another force) and recommended for their cheering or life-giving effects. In Annibale Carracci's *River Landscape* of circa 1590 (fig. 12), two well-dressed noble figures are conveyed in a boat moving virtually parallel to the picture plane. In Annibale's *River Landscape with Citadel and Bridge* (fig. 13), several boats cross the water, while a man and woman seated under a tree in the left foreground play lute and guitar. As we have seen, early moderns associated music with recreation; in landscape painting, this activity reinforces the perception of gentle rhythms and measured motion that the paintings themselves demand of the eye. In Viola's *Concert on the Water*, figures on the terrace in the middle ground engage in a variety of recreative activities—one runs while others converse and a group of music makers enjoys a boat ride (fig. 22). Although these figures enjoying leisure contrast with the laboring boatmen, straining with their poles, few early seventeenth-century Italian landscape paintings highlight this opposition, preferring to give the impression that the distinct social classes, some hard at work while others take their leisure, coexist harmoniously.

The delight yielded by observing landscapes, both actual and pictorial, is a function of the degree to which they stimulate movement through, into, or across space in such a way that the eye takes account of the beautiful disposition of varied natural features in a vast panorama. This idea finds an important parallel in Mercurio's model for selecting an estate, in which he enumerated the qualities of his own pleasant and salubrious grounds near Lake Garda. After considering the first and most fundamental requirement that it enjoy good air, for which reason he selected a "pleasant hillside" on which to build, he turned to a panoramic description of the vista from his estate, appropriately named Belviso. Here, Mercurio seems to be writing again in an ekphrastic mode, describing Monte Baldo as though situated in the center of a circumscribed and symmetrical image, "bathed by the clearest waves" of Lake Garda on the right and by the "rapid waves" of the Adige on the left. Strikingly, Mercurio returned to the model of Thessaly's Vale of Tempe, confirming its significance for both seventeenth-century Italian physicians and contemporary artists. In a manner corresponding to how Mancini or Borromeo (who, significantly, also noted this genre's healing properties) would undertake pictorial description, Mercurio outlined the contours of the pleasant coastline, remarking on how the landscape itself prompted the eye to follow topographical features: "As the eye runs to contemplate the said coastline of Lagise at right it arrives at the peninsula of San Vito, which forms in the middle an arc in the manner of a bay (*seno*), that I do not know whether within the Aegean there is a vista more beautiful."[54] Mercurio assimilates the beautiful vista to female anatomy, a receptive subject

FIG. 22
Giovanni Battista Viola, *Concert on the Water*, ca. 1600–1625. Oil on canvas, 40 × 52 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. 208. Photo © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, New York (Hervé Lewandowski).

to be beheld, reinforcing an association between the recreative pleasures yielded by the fairer sex and those of landscape, a linkage made strikingly explicit in the earliest examples of Italian landscape paintings, among them Giorgione's *Sleeping Venus* of ca. 1508 (Gemäldegalerie, Dresden), and thereafter in depictions, mythical or generic, of bathing women.[55]

Mercurio remarked that the eye "discovers on the left, as in a spacious theater, the major part of the aforementioned lake, which terminates at the most fertile shore of Salò," a bank distinguished by its fragrant flowers, oranges, and lemons. This reference to a spacious theater conjures up the grandeur of an ancient ruin, suggesting that Mercurio's thoughts have turned to the illustrious ancients who had traversed

FIG. 23
Giocondo Baluda (sixteenth–seventeenth century), illustration to chapter 86, "Del modo di caminare con regole," in "Trattato del modo di volteggiare e saltare il cavallo di legno," MS 2133, fol. 165r, Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna. Photo by concession of the Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna (Foto Roncaglia). Further reproduction prohibited.

that locale. It is as though a truly therapeutic vista would inevitably spur consideration of the ancients, even as it would contain reminders (such as a convent or religious building) that the beholder should praise God, who through his goodness "gave you the gift of health and a good complexion."[56] The preservation of health is implicitly framed here as an act of devotion, dependent upon God's intervention and the good works of man.

Visual Exercise and Recreation

Mercurio and Mancini both conceived of landscape and landscape painting as stimulating in the beholder a sense of movement, which Mancini explicitly described as a gradual optical motion from foreground to background. "From the background [the eye's] action comes to be finished with recreation," he wrote, reaffirming in the next breath that "the act of seeing comes to be finished in this quiet" and "so it finishes its action gradually."[57] Mancini's conception of landscape painting as a pictorial genre prompting a sensation of gradual movement is analogous in two distinct ways to contemporary exercise regimens. First, the gradual mental exercise that these paintings demand forms an apt counterpart to the kind of light or moderate exercise, namely, walking, increasingly recommended in contemporary health regimens as suitable for the aristocratic body. For the elite, avoiding overexertion and preserving a noble carriage and gait, as we see in the erect body and deliberately controlled posture portrayed by the gymnast Giocondo Baluda, was deemed essential (fig. 23). Walking likewise caused no corporeal deformation that might betray dishonor, required no excess robustness or labor, and risked no injury of the kind incurred in vigorous or violent sports. Second, Mancini's notion that landscape painting stimulates a sensation of bodily perambulation while exercising the sense of vision finds a parallel in contemporary medical advice to exercise the senses by singing, speaking, or gazing at tiny, luminous objects while walking or exercising.[58] Indeed, the optical motion that, according to Mancini, is stimulated by landscape painting corresponds to the moderate motion that Du Laurens recommended as the most healthful condition for the eyes, neither moving them "very suddainely" nor holding them "fixed a long time in one place."[59]

Together with gradual progress through different zones, distinct zones and imitative modes are necessary in this genre, Mancini argued: "for the recreation of vision and the enjoyment of the internal faculties . . . it [landscape painting] will have to have . . . a foreground, middle ground, and background, with the variety of things that it is imitating."[60] Each zone possessed a unique set of aesthetic criteria corresponding to a specific mode of perception performed by a perambulating eye. As the eye traveled gradually from foreground, through middle ground, and into background, it moved from one state to another, exercised in distinct ways (or, in the background, not at all), just as a body would move at different rates of speed and ease through varying types of terrain, beginning with moderately intense and "by degrees, with greater and lesser action, terminating and finishing" in the background.[61] The regular encounter with varied pictorial elements that exercise the eye at varying degrees of intensity forms yet another parallel to the advice compiled in medical literature concerning walking, which could be made more or less strenuous in order to benefit distinct parts of the body or different types of individuals, or to suit different seasons of the year.

The nature and quantity of objects imitated and the mode of their representation, especially the style of lighting and coloring employed, conditioned the viewing experience in each zone, Mancini explained. "From the foreground," he wrote, "the *fantasia* and the intellect take delight in the artifice of the things imitated and expressed [such as] a tree, fruit, animal, men, a building, or any other thing." These foreground objects are "expressed and imitated from life or from nearby [*d'appresso*]."[62] As his examples of artists who painted in this mode demonstrate, Mancini identified this manner of imitation most closely with the representation of natural forms, referring to drawings that Aldrovandi had received from Duke Francesco I of Tuscany in exchange for actual specimens, as though Jacopo Ligozzi's representations of plants, birds, and fish might function as substitutes for the natural objects themselves.[63] This manner of careful naturalistic imitation therefore demands that the beholder scrutinize the paintings as the artist had done the natural objects, and it recalls the advice of contemporary physicians to exercise while gazing at tiny objects. Significantly, Borromeo likewise singled out the variety of forms, closely imitated from nature, as one of the characteristics that made the genre of landscape painting so appealing, finding Jan Brueghel's rendering of naturalistic form and color particularly praiseworthy.[64]

Many seventeenth-century landscape paintings demand precisely this careful viewing of objects in the foreground. Domenichino's *Landscape with a Fortified Town* of circa 1634–35 takes up the theme of visual scrutiny in the figure of the youth gazing intently at a pair of fish in the left foreground (fig. 24). *Landscape with a Hermit*, circa 1605–6, a painting attributed to Domenichino, is significant here for the optical claims it makes upon beholders through the representation of small paintings set within the foreground (fig. 25).[65] Moreover, it argues that nature and art mutually enhance their healing potential. Two pilgrims walk across the flat bank of a river that meanders through

FIG. 24
Domenichino, *Landscape with a Fortified Town*, ca. 1634–35. Oil on canvas, 113.2 × 197 cm. National Gallery, London. Presented by the Trustees of Sir Denis Mahon's Charitable Trust through the Art Fund, 2013 (NG6629). Photo © National Gallery, London / Art Resource, New York.

a rocky and mountainous landscape. They approach a tree shrine adorned with *tavolette* and ex-votos commemorating instances of health restored. The pilgrims (one carries a characteristic wide-brimmed hat and staff) lift their hats to salute a man seated on the ground who has sought the refuge and companionship of nature. A large deciduous tree, positioned immediately outside the door of the man's humble thatched-roof dwelling, offers him protection. He is presumably the caretaker of the tree shrine immediately to his right, which contains a painting of an unidentified saint, several images hanging from nails, and four wax ex-votos—a hand, foot, and two heads. The shrine identifies this as a sacred site, a natural monument to miraculous episodes of healing, one not unlike that housing the *Madonna della Quercia*, a painting set within the branches of a tree in Renaissance Viterbo. With a few more steps, the pilgrims will be close enough to examine and venerate the saint's image in the shrine and possibly to add their own ex-votos. Indeed, the focal point of the entire panel lies in this area. The small size and dense configuration of man-made images adorning the tree demand the careful observation of the actual beholder, a process that makes him or her aware of the sacredness of the site and its promise of healing. As a consequence, the beholder recognizes the multiple possibilities for healing that nature promises: physical protection, mental refuge, and a home for divinely ordained spiritual and physical healing. The representation of greenery yields physical and mental renewal and consolation while delighting the eye.

When Mancini turned his theoretical treatment to the middle ground, he addressed the role of light and color in organizing the composition and in producing the affective responses of recreation and delight. The eye will arrive in this zone "slightly weakened,"

FIG. 25
Attributed to Domenichino, *Landscape with a Hermit*, ca. 1605–6. Oil on panel, 30 × 36.9 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. 211. Photo © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, New York (René-Gabriel Ojéda).

evidently by its foreground exercise of viewing objects from life, which possessed "vehemence and action" (though not so much as to endanger either the health or the recreation of the eye).[66] The objects imitated in the middle ground, "large things like cities, mountains, lakes, oceans, and other things, in small dimensions" (a feature Borromeo also admired in landscape painting), are rendered with "refracted color."[67] These objects act upon the eye more mildly than those in the foreground, so that in this zone

"the eye and the *fantasia* take recreation, not being offended by the vehemence of color" that would cause light to act upon the eye with greater force.[68] Instead, the forms in the middle ground will be refracted, Mancini remarked, employing a word defined in the 1623 edition of the *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca* as a type of seeing that is "broken up"; he clarified later that in this zone forms cannot be distinctly made out but are "abbagliato," or no longer clearly visible.[69] Repeatedly, Mancini insisted that in this zone the eye sees "without offense."[70] Recalling theories of vision, such as that articulated by the medieval Polish optician Witelo, that bright objects caused the eye pain and that seeing extremes of color or light and dark might be unhealthy, Mancini suggested that the massive forms in this zone would appear at a sufficient distance to create indistinct contours and unsaturated colors that do not strain the eye: "The mode of coloring, whether lighter or darker, is considered in accordance with how the objects happen to be coming closer or getting more distant and so have more or less force with their proper color, quantity, and form."[71]

These ideas find echoes in the guidelines compiled by the seventeenth-century physician Bartolomeo Pietragrassa for the healthful adornment of domestic chambers; he cautioned against painting walls in the most extreme colors, which he considered black and white. To be preferred, he suggested, are outdoor scenes painted in median or temperate colors, which are only "vaguely distinguished" between themselves. Significantly, the pictorial subgenres that Pietragrassa enumerated as healthful include those that "prick the genius of those who enjoy hunting or fishing, forests or caverns" and that would surely have been composed of the same kind of earth tones, greens, and blues used in seventeenth-century landscape paintings and considered healthful and consolatory.[72]

The imitative mode that Mancini sought in the background extends the process already developed in the middle ground of mitigating the vehemence of objects acting upon the eye by reducing chromatic and tonal intensity. This is simultaneously the zone where optical movement is arrested and where, Mancini declared, "the action of the eye terminates."[73] The type of objects to appear in this zone Mancini never mentions; they no longer possess aesthetic value as distinct objects but are represented as "so indistinct and refracted that . . . [they] will not have any action [upon the eye], not as a proper nor as a common object."[74] The mode of rendering appropriate to this zone is one of indistinct forms illuminated by reflected light. "In this quiet," where the eye delights without suffering discomfort and where there is neither chromatic intensity nor detail requiring scrutiny, the beholder's eyes are at last recreated.[75] A similar indistinctness in the distance, where objects appear "rather shadows of things than figures," is strikingly articulated by Agucchi in his program for *Erminia and the Shepherds*.[76] But the technique of blurring distant forms and softening background hues was not unique to Italian landscape painters, and an analogous expectation entered northern European traditions through the artist Paul Bril, who appears in Mancini's list of excellent landscape painters and whose paintings exemplify Mancini's recommended compositional strategies. Bril advocated a manner of rendering that endowed landscapes with airy forms, indistinct contours, and softened colors, stylistic qualities that produced a visual analogue to the softening and purifying effects that trees and foliage were understood to exert upon the air and upon the substances of the body in turn.[77]

Mancini's conception of a graduated mode of beholding landscape painting is a voyage from the

particular—in the forms painted *dal vero* in the foreground—to the general, from exercising the eyes in attentive observation of the particularities of nature and of human existence to utter detachment from similar cares. Optical and cognitive recreation is fully attainable only within a zone of abstracted forms and indistinct colors, which visualizes the purifying and sweetening effects of the "green things" of nature that promise to refine vision and purify the body. Landscape painting achieves its therapeutic and preservative ends through color, form, and composition, stimulating noble and healthful practices of conjoining mental and physical exercise that lead to repose.

Walking in the Gallery

Just as early seventeenth-century landscape paintings implied a perambulating beholder, long-standing medical traditions supported the notion that beauty, especially the beauty of nature, enhanced the positive effects of physical exercise. Picking up the arguments of classical authors, Mancini's mentor Girolamo Mercuriale declared that the stimulation of the eyes augmented the benefits of exercise. Mercuriale remarked that Vitruvius had asserted that the greatest benefit from walking was to be yielded in outdoor surroundings adorned with foliage.[78] Outdoor settings for walks were not only more pleasant but improved overall bodily health and sharpened and refined eyesight, Mercuriale wrote, for "the air is rendered subtle and refined by the green colour; as it is set in motion by the body's movement, it refines what is seen, and . . . it leaves one's vision perceptive and acute."[79] The idea that trees purify or sweeten ambient air was widely held in the early modern period and this process was understood to produce distinct health benefits, since trees helped dispose of excess humors that would otherwise upset the delicate balance that was the foundation of good health.

Members of the Roman elite frequently took their exercise in gardens, though galleries were also preferred spaces for exercise in seventeenth-century Rome, especially for walking, the exercise most often recommended and practiced by Roman prelates—Paul V and Urban VIII were both exemplary walkers—in order to offset the effects of sedentary lives. In fact, galleries had long been designed for recreative and curative purposes and as spaces in which exercise and sensual delight inscribed health, honor, and nobility on the body and mind. If Roman galleries possessed shorter and wider proportions than those in France, this by no means, as Christina Strunk has suggested, argues against their use for walking, which was practiced in rooms of all sizes.[80] By the time Mancini was recommending that wealthy men, whose painting collections already exhausted every available wall in their palaces, build picture galleries "in a place with good light and good air," the notion that the gallery was a space devoted to health and exercise was already well established.[81] Just how closely galleries might be associated with health and healing may be discerned in Guido Gualtieri's account of the sojourn of the Japanese ambassadors to the Holy See in 1585, in which Gualtieri frames their visit to the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche in the Vatican Palace with a discussion of the pope's concern for their health, particularly that of the young ambassador Don Giuliano Nachaora, who had been very ill upon arriving in Rome (fig. 26). "Often he [the pope] would ask how their health was and exhort them to take care of themselves," Gualtieri reported, adding that Gregory XIII demonstrated his affection for the Japanese visitors with a private audience,

followed by a personal invitation into his apartments and then to the gallery, adorned with "paintings of various cities and *paesi*."[82] This gallery also features landscapes by Matthijs and Paul Bril (produced under the supervision of Girolamo Muziano and Cesare Nebbia) on the vault and as the framing elements for the topographical paintings and maps. In this space, the ambassadors were hosted by the pope's *maestro di camera*, Monsignor Bianchetto, and Gualtieri emphasized the length of time the ambassadors spent in the gallery. They must have walked its length at least once, up and back, if not several times.

Walking in Rome's public gardens or streets, or ascending and descending its hills, might be beneficial, but drawbacks included the danger of unhealthy winds and bad air or simply foul weather and other unanticipated difficulties, which may have discouraged walking abroad or even in private gardens. There was considerable disagreement on the health benefits of different types of indoor spaces, however. Mattia Naldi, Mancini's protégé, explained that walking within a chamber (as Mancini did when convalescing from nausea and a worm in 1624) "aggravates the head" and does not fully "loosen the limbs."[83] Evidently, a more elongated space was preferable, for Naldi advised those suffering from kidney stones (or striving to avoid them) to walk either in a "gallery" or in a sequence of rooms—recalling "the most spacious rooms of his palace," through which Scipione Borghese was said to walk when viewing his art collection.[84] In a regimen Mancini drew up for an unidentified older man, he underscored the importance of exercise and recommended walking in the gallery when his patient "cannot leave the house," on account of either indisposition or unpleasant weather.[85] A very similar idea that the gallery accommodates a regimen of walking when it cannot be undertaken outdoors

FIG. 26
View of the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche, toward the Galleria degli Arazzi. Vatican Museums, Vatican City. Photo: Scala / Art Resource, New York.

emerges in Naldi's treatise on the stone; it is likely that Mancini's ideas informed those of his former assistant.[86] The frequency with which members of the Roman elite walked both indoors and out is confirmed in contemporary documents, which suggests that physicians' recommendations were widely followed.

Galleries were usually located in the most salubrious sections of a princely residence, near the courtyard or garden and away from the potential pollution of the street or piazza. Infused with good air and the healing sight of plants, these spaces were clearly dedicated to the pursuit of healthful activities. The *gallerie* at both Palazzo Farnese and Villa Medici, for example, faced onto extensive gardens. The health benefits of the sight of greenery and landscape on

those exercising in a gallery, even if this space fronted a garden, were redoubled by the adornment of the gallery's walls or ceiling with landscape paintings. Indeed, Mancini's stipulation that landscape paintings "be put in galleries" corresponds to trends in seventeenth-century Roman collecting.[87] As early as 1602 or 1603, Pietro Aldobrandini had selected scenes of the creation of the world, set in landscapes, for the ceiling of the *galleria* in his Villa Belvedere in Frascati. And the 1624 inventory of the *galleria* of the Sienese collector Costanzo Patrizi, whom Mancini surely knew, lists, among others, six landscape paintings by Bril, two by Cornelis van Poelenburg, and one by Pietro Paolo Bonzi, as well as several paintings "with landscapes," bringing the total number of images featuring landscapes to twenty-two.[88] This tendency would increase in the second half of the seventeenth century, as exemplified by the twenty-seven paintings of this genre in the gallery of Cardinal Camillo Massimi, one of the century's most notable collectors of landscape paintings.[89]

By adorning galleries with landscape paintings, patrons and collectors transposed outdoor conditions to indoor settings that could be used year round, creating an effective substitute, so Mancini and Naldi indicated, for an open outdoor space in which to exercise body, mind, and eyes. In an analogous manner, paintings of landscape were thought to provide many of the therapeutic or prophylactic properties of actual landscape. As Cardinal Federico Borromeo remarked of his own collection of landscape paintings, he received the same benefits from them as from observing nature, but without leaving his room: "I have had my room ornamented with paintings. . . . And the pleasure I take in looking at these painted views has always seemed to me as beautiful as open and wide views of nature. . . . Instead of them, when they are not had, paintings enclose in narrow places, the space of earth and the heavens, and we go wandering, and making long [spiritual] journeys standing still in our room."[90] The nature of Borromeo's beholding, though analogous in certain respects to the practices of viewing landscape painting that Mancini adumbrated, was geared to bodily stillness and mental quietude. It is more common, however, to find landscape paintings associated with movement, even if it is achieved through the imagination. The Dutch poet and playwright Joost van den Vondel observed that the landscape etchings by Herman Saftleven would permit one, even in his room, to "take the air" or enjoy a trip to the Rhine Valley.[91]

An alternative to an outdoor space, the gallery nevertheless offered notable benefits as a setting for physical, mental, and spiritual exercise. It enhanced exercise by providing even ground upon which to stroll, as well as shelter from strong and unhealthy winds and excess sun or rain, together with the most delightful, salubrious surroundings to exercise and recreate the eye and the mind. (The gallery also proved much more convenient than an outdoor space for the elderly or infirm.) In a similar vein, the beholding of landscape painting might function as a substitute for the observation of natural vistas, landscapes, prospects, or gardens, but it too provided distinct advantages, as noted by the abbé Le Blanc in the early eighteenth century: "There is a pleasure, which, I assert, can only be enjoyed by tranquil souls, that of considering the countryside, nature and all the riches which appear in it; there is still a greater one, that of finding an image of it within one's cabinet, and being able in the middle of the most sad winter to promenade one's gaze on all that of the most smiling and gay springtime."[92] Four decades earlier, Roger de Piles had argued that the artist enjoyed more "opportunities in landscape than in all the other genres to please himself in his choice of elements."[93] Landscape painting could transcend the delights of the outdoors.

Early seventeenth-century landscape paintings by Annibale, Domenichino, Viola, Poussin, and others do not represent just any view of nature, of course; the artists selected landscape elements widely associated with cheerfulness, recreation, healing, longevity, and nobility. Mancini stipulated that the perfect landscape must contain those features required to yield *giocondità*, that is, cheerfulness, joy, and contentment, while Agucchi, in his program for *Erminia and the Shepherds*, sought elements he equated with happiness, beauty, and tranquillity; the painting should portray "a quiet, and happy Arcadia" and a "tranquil day in the most beautiful season."[94] Seventeenth-century Italian landscape painting was not simply a virtual surrogate for nature but embodied deliberate compositional structures designed to engender health-giving, cheering, and recreative effects in its beholders. As such, it was to represent a single, permanent view of the most joyful and delightful natural features, fertile nature in the sweetest season.

Conclusion

Complementary ideas about the benefits of viewing landscape circulated in early modern Italy, but virtually all writers agreed on its fundamental healthfulness. Nature was regarded as at once a pharmacopoeia of herbal remedies for illness (sometimes revealed via divine intervention) and a setting that stimulated aesthetic pleasure and renewal through its God-given abundance and variety. Its benefits lay in the fact that the sight and proximity of natural forms—trees and bodies of water especially—were considered delightful and life-giving. Landscape painting therefore replicated many of the perceived therapeutic and preservative effects of actual landscape and could function as a substitute for the direct experience of nature. Beyond this, landscape painting in the tradition of the Carracci, with its grand trees evoking not only age but also strength, longevity, antiquity, and nobility, called to mind the values that classical writers ascribed to nature, which represented a seat of refuge from the pollution and corruption of the city and a setting for *otium*, or productive leisure. For Mancini and many of his contemporaries, landscape painting inevitably addressed questions of moral and civic virtue through the creation of a timeless vision of nature, the cultivation of which required little labor while promising wealth, abundance, and health. But through its compositional structures and varied depictions of nature's most desirable properties, landscape painting also promised a more completely healthful experience than did nature itself.

The conceptions that Mancini articulated in his *Considerazioni* concerning landscape painting, when considered next to the related passages in his "Del'honore" on the nobility and healthfulness of agricultural knowledge and practice, demonstrate just how fully Mancini shared ideas vital to broader social, medical, and artistic cultures. Yet the efficacy Mancini attributed to this pictorial genre resided most deeply in the compositional schemes of receding zones and accompanying coloristic structures that together generated a mobile eye and invited beholders to engage in healthy, noble, and elite behaviors, such as walking, and inscribed on the soul desirable states of mind such as cheerfulness, delight, and tranquillity. Traversing pictorial space, the eye encountered distinct imitative modalities that offered various

degrees of optical and mental stimulation, whether through naturalistic representation or the diminutive scale of the objects rendered. Throughout the eye's journey, a gradual reduction of the saturation of hues and the blurring of contours occurred together with a reduced optical claim to exercise the eye, which eventually arrives at a zone in which the forms no longer demand any optical activity whatsoever. This passage from optical exercise to rest corresponds to analogous corporeal and psychological states of stimulation and repose. Landscape painting exercises the eye and mind in an implied accompaniment to physical exercise in the gallery, encouraging rhythmic and measured motion of the body while enhancing this activity's health benefits and detaching the mind from specific cares and desires of the material world.

Mancini's proposed mode of beholding landscape painting came the closest of all his genres to operating in accordance with a temporal modality, an observation unfolding over time, much as poetry and narrative exist in time. But this conception of landscape painting works against or outside the instantaneity that he posited as the modality of the pictorial medium itself, which promises the "Christian prince" more effective recreation than even the reading of poetry or history.[95] Nowhere did Mancini suggest, as John Barrell argues with respect to Claude's landscapes, that this genre prompts the beholder to seize an initial and instantaneous view of the entire picture and only thereafter to proceed on an optical voyage through it.[96] For Mancini, viewing and voyage are perfectly united. The seeming competition between two possible and seemingly exclusive optical conditions that Mancini deemed recreative is never resolved. His conception of landscape as a healthful, cheerful genre generating a healthful and temperate optical exercise and a corresponding sensation of physical and optical perambulation, followed by optical and mental repose, nevertheless inheres in the very language of his criticism and is bound up in the genre's compositional devices, which are distinctly opposed, as we shall see, to those of history painting.

4. FOR BEAUTIFUL, HEALTHY CHILDREN

> The Lacedemonians . . . were also most desirous to beget handsome children, representing unto their great bellied wives, the images of Apollo and Bacchus, the fairest among the gods; as also the pictures of Castor and Pollux, Nireus, Narcissus, Hiacynthus, young men of perfect beauty.
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> —FRANCISCUS JUNIUS, *The Painting of the Ancients*

In Counter-Reformation Italy, a collector could not be too careful about keeping images of nude figures out of sight. During the pontificate of Clement VIII, the reformer Cesare Baronio took it upon himself to deface pictures belonging to the marchese Giovanni Michele Paravicino, judging them too lascivious.[1] And in 1612, Aurelio Recordati wrote to Giovanni Magni, secretary to the duke of Mantua, that visitors to Rome would no longer be invited to visit the casino of the Borghese. A scandal had erupted when a Flemish man, having seen lascivious paintings there, made inflammatory remarks that, upon reaching the ears of the pope, produced this order.[2] Similar injunctions limiting access to erotic images occur frequently in the seventeenth century. Mancini, outlining for his brother Deifebo the nature of the New Year's wishes he wanted sent to a patron, remarked on a gift of erotic drawings (one of which he had received from Annibale Carracci) and said that he would present them to the patron himself instead of sending them.[3] This letter indicates that erotic images circulated in post-Tridentine Rome, but they did so guardedly. Mancini himself expressed ambivalence about them. In an undated inventory, he confessed about one of Annibale's compositions of a "good manner" that "if it were not lascivious I would esteem it, [but] for all this it is desired" by another collector, and "I have a copy of it."[4]

Debate over what constituted lasciviousness in pictorial imagery, and how best to regulate it, was not new, but the urgency of these issues assumed added force in the century following the completion of Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* in 1541, about which Pietro Aretino could quip that it was so licentious, it would make even those in a brothel shut their eyes.[5] The 1563 Tridentine decree on images declared that "sensual appeal" and "seductive charm" must be avoided in religious art, and many sixteenth-century writers, including Lomazzo, advocated that artists should avoid nudity, though he accepted certain religious representations, such as Adam and Eve, that