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# I BARBERINI E LA CULTURA EUROPEA DEL SEICENTO

*per cura di*

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DE LUCA EDITORI D'ARTE

# Urbanitas Urbana

## The Pope, the Artist, and the Genius of the Place

Irving Lavin

### Election - Name

Popes are elected by action of the Holy Spirit: Divine Wisdom inspires them to resolve their differences and make the right choice. The election of Urban VIII was, however, exceptional in this tradition, because the choice was accompanied by an extraordinary event that seemed to confirm the principle of divine intervention in concrete, visible, and unmistakably personal terms. It so happened that a swarm of bees passed through the open window of the conclave; it so happened that the bee, because of its perfectly organized *modus vivendi* and its deliciously beneficial product, had from time immemorial been taken as the earthly incarnation of the Divine Wisdom; and it so happened that the bee was the emblem of Cardinal Maffeo Barberini – three bees, as it so happened, easily understood in terms of the Trinity from whom the Holy Spirit descends (fig. 1)<sup>1</sup>.

The first action of the new Pope following his acceptance of the outcome of the election is to choose his new name. When Barberini was asked whether he accepted the election, he went down on his knees to pray for a while; he then declared that he accepted and that he would take the name of Urban VIII. There was no hesitation about the name: evidently Maffeo Barberini had himself foreseen, perhaps even long before, the action of Divine Wisdom in the choice of the cardinals, and perhaps even the action of Divine Wisdom in his own choice of his new name! The contemporary sources give essentially three reasons why Maffeo Barberini chose to call himself Urban: 1. because of his special affection for Rome, the *Urbs* par excellence. 2. because he wished his name to be a perpetual reminder that he must curb his own natural inclination toward sternness. 3. in memory of his early predecessors, full of holy zeal and far from worldly interests<sup>2</sup>.

The purpose of this essay is to try to comprehend the nature and relationship between these three prime themes of Maffeo Barberini's papacy, as I have come to believe he understood it, that is: his affection for Rome, his personal character, and his self-identification as Pope Urbanus. I shall discuss these ingredients in sequence, but my whole point is that they were conceived together, merging *Urbs* and *Urbanus* into one coherent *Persona* – as the embracing lovers merged into a single persona in Ingmar Bergman's great film of that name. The sense of urbanity to be considered here was surely rooted in the cultivated humanistic ambience of the villa of Cardinal Scipione Borghese, nephew of Paul V (1606-21), which the learned and literate Maffeo Barberini had frequented, and for which Bernini had made his most important early works<sup>3</sup>. Maffeo Barberini himself, who commissioned

one of the most famous of these works, was undoubtedly an inspiring participant. The concept was expressed explicitly in the famous inscription at the entrance to the villa's garden, which invited the people of Rome to enjoy its pleasures in accordance with the "golden laws of urbanity"<sup>4</sup>. This classically-minded and quasi-juridical conceit focused essentially on the sophisticated comportment associated with city life generally<sup>5</sup>. When Maffeo became pope the urbanity of Rome itself, the *urbs* par excellence, acquired a new, comprehensive metaphorical significance as an ideal of personal identity and conduct, as well as a universal code of moral, political, spiritual, and social concern.

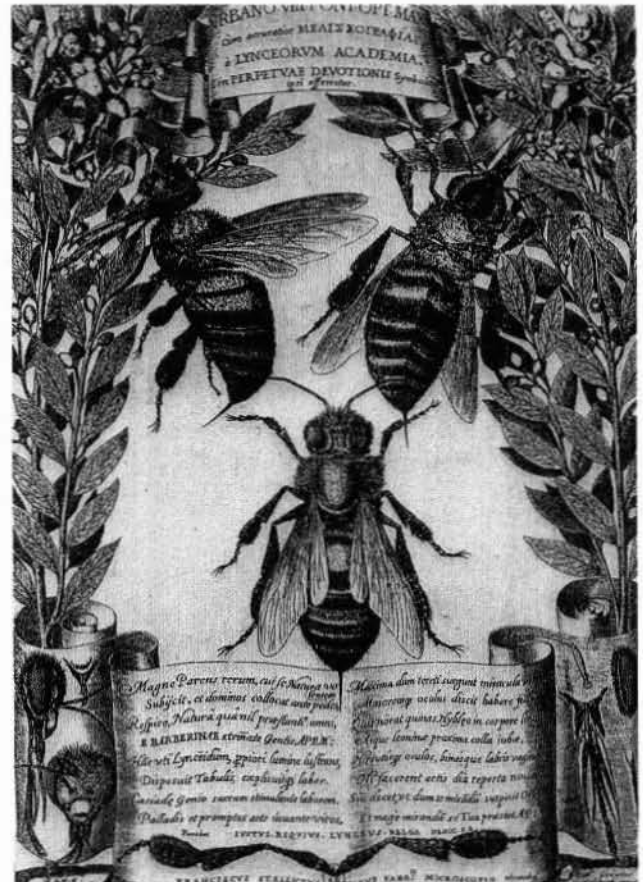


Fig. 1. Matthaeus Greuter, *Melissographia* (first illustration based on a compound microscope). Rome, 1625.

The special relationship Maffeo Barberini felt between himself and the city of Rome originated long before he was elected pope and chose the name that would convey that relationship *expressis verbis*, as it were. The relationship was probably encoded in his personal identity from the time he was named cardinal in 1606. And from the beginning the relationship appeared to be sanctioned by a higher authority than his own volition. Cardinals when elected become princes of the church, and hence are entitled to the armorial bearings of nobility. I suspect that this was the occasion when the famous and crucial transformation took place in which the three horseflies (tafani) that originally formed the Barberini family coat of arms were morphed into bees (fig. 2)<sup>6</sup>. Tafano was (and still is) the name of a locality in the vicinity of Barberino Val d'Elsa, whence derived the original family name, Tafani da Barberino, and coat of arms, which also included a pair of scissors representing the founder of the dynasty, a tailor who established the family fortune in an ever-expanding wool trade. But the horsefly is a menace that passes its entire life in an incessant mass attack on its victims, inflicting painful, blood-letting wounds with two powerful, sharp pincers that protrude from its head; hence also the emblem of the scissors that related the family's incisive and relentlessly aggressive business tactics to their toponym. Worker bees may also inflict a painful wound (not the queen or what was sometimes thought to be the king bee, which has no stinger), but only once and at great self-sacrifice, for the bee, which then dies, suffers even more than its enemy. Bees are also normally solitary creatures bumbling about haphazardly



Fig. 2. Coat of Arms of "De Barberino" with three horseflies (tafani) and trace of excised scissors. Florence, Santa Croce, south cloister.



Fig. 3. Hic domus, Barberini impresa. Ferro 1623, II, 72.

from flower to flower gathering their precious nectar hither and yon; they are marvelously of one mind, however, when they are at home in the hive, and when they swarm *en masse*, which they do only in self-defense for the common good when they are threatened, or when they decide to migrate to another territory and establish a new colony. The Barberini armorial metamorphosis is usually explained as a simple and obvious elevation or evolution of the lowly and pestiferous horsefly to the noble and useful bee. In 1636 Cardinal Francesco Barberini commissioned a Florentine client merchant to go to Barberino and revise the coats of arms by canceling the scissors and changing the horseflies to bees<sup>7</sup>. But there is surely more to the story if one considers what might be called the poetic mystique of the bee, which Maffeo must have had in mind from the outset.

This property of the bee to migrate *en famille*, as it were, and to have done so during the conclave was a God-send not only because the bee was the family symbol, but because shortly before he was elected pope Cardinal Maffeo had invented an impresa with an astonishing clairvoyance that was itself one of the many otherwise inexplicable coincidences testifying to



the divine providentiality that became the overriding leitmotif of his reign (fig. 3)<sup>8</sup>. The famous phrase *Hic Domus* with which Virgil announces the arrival of Aeneas in Latium, the foundation of Rome and the Golden Ages of Augustus, is illustrated by a swarm of the armorial bees alighting upon a laurel tree, symbol of eternity.

“Salve, fatis mihi debita tellus,  
vosque, ait, o fidi Troiae, salvere, Penates!  
Hic domus, haec patria est.”

“Hail, O land,” he cries, “destined as is my due! and hail to you, ye faithful gods of Troy! Here is our home, here our country!”<sup>9</sup>

The devastating invasion of Troy by the Trojan horse was thus superceded by the beneficial invasion of Rome by the Barberini bees. A much richer understanding of Maffeo’s conceit emerges when one considers that the same phrase, this time derived from Genesis, occurs in one of the most powerful texts of the Roman liturgy, specifically as the Introit of the common of the mass in celebration of the dedication of a church:

Terribilis est locus iste : hic domus Dei est, et porta caeli :  
et vocabitur aula Dei.



Fig. 4. *The Holy Spirit, St. Michael, and Pius V. Missale romanum*, Rome, 1570. Title Page.



Fig. 5. *St. Michael leading Urban VIII, Annual Medal, 1626.*

How terrible this place! It is the house of God and the gate of heaven, and it shall be called the court of God.<sup>10</sup>

The import of Maffeo’s brilliant metaphor was fully appreciated in Rome, even in the negative, later in his reign. Only in this light can one fully grasp Pasquino’s ironic inversion of the conceit with his famous lampoon on the appropriation of bronze from the Pantheon to create the baldachin at St. Peter’s: *quod non fecerunt barbari fecerunt Barberini*. The joke was not just a clever pun on the sounds of the two words barbari-Barberini, but an even cleverer inversion of the basic Virgilian conceit, now identifying the swarm of Barberini bees with the barbaric invasion that devastated ancient Rome. Similarly, the swarm of bees, representing not just the Cardinal’s device but his whole family, later became an allusion to Urban’s notorious nepotism as a barbarian invasion, when the number of bees arrogantly populating Rome and the papal states was facetiously estimated at more than ten thousand. One of the ten thousand must have been the beautifully poetic depiction of a bee sipping nectar from a flower in the garden of Paradise depicted in the apse mosaic of Sts. Cosmas and Damian, restored by Cardinal Francesco.

Following the choice of his name the pope’s affection for the city was expressed publicly by his devotion to the Archangel Michael, the weigher of souls. The Archangel was the patron of Castel Sant’Angelo and favorite and protector of the city of Rome since he had appeared above the Castello in a famous vision of Gregory the Great to alleviate a devastating attack of the plague; and had liberated the city from the scourge from the north at the Sack of Rome in 1527<sup>11</sup>. Following the Council of Trent Michael was invoked by Pius V as defender of the Faith, in the engraved title page of the new Missal published in 1570, where the archangel is shown appearing with scales and sword defeating the devil of heresy, before the kneeling pope, both figures looking up toward the radiant dove of the Holy Spirit (fig. 4)<sup>12</sup>. Urban established a distinctly new, personal relationship with the Archangel by choosing the saint’s feast day (September 29) for his coronation, making Michael the patron of his pontificate. This was a fundamental shift in meaning, which he signified early in his reign in a medal (1626) commemorating his coronation; Pius’s threatening image is transformed into one of benign protection, with Michael appearing cloud-borne to lead the kneeling pope who looks up to the Archangel for guidance, in fulfillment of the motto *Te Mane, Te Vespere* (you day, you night) (fig. 5). The text was based on a hymn that introduced the liturgy for the Feast of the Trinity, which invoked the sun, one of Urban’s primary emblems, as the ever-luminous Christ to replace the transient sun of fire. The personal reference became more explicit in a commemorative medal issued in 1640 with the same motto, in which

St. Michael as ever vigilant protector again descends from heaven in a radically new guise, without the sword and scales but as Divine messenger bearing the tiara to crown the pope, and so confirm the divinely ordained election. In the apse of St. Peter's the chief altar after the high altar, that of St. Peter himself, was dedicated to the Archangel and Bernini was commissioned to design the altarpiece (1626). The plan was never carried out, and there is no record of what, if anything, Bernini may have planned at this stage; but Bernini took up the theme again and actually combined the two dedications in an early project (1657) for the *Cathedra Petri* carried out in the same location later in the century under Alexander VII: the Archangel appears over the reliquary throne of St. Peter shouldered by the fathers of the church, bearing the keys (one of which opens, the other closes the gateway to heaven) and the papal tiara, symbols of the pope's God-given, sovereign jurisdiction over Christ's legacy on earth (*fig. 6*)<sup>13</sup>.

The full import of the concept can only be grasped from the liturgical context of the text, which is derived from a famous Ambrosian hymn revised by Urban VIII himself. Recited at evening prayer, on the Feast of the Holy Trinity, the hymn invokes the Trinity to replace the setting sun.



Del. Gualliere Gio: Lorenzo Bernino

Fig. 6. Bernini workshop, *Project for the Cathedra Petri*, drawing. Windsor Castle, Royal Library.

O Trinity of blessed light,  
O Unity of princely might,  
The fiery sun now goes his way,  
Shed thou within our hearts thy ray.

To thee our morning song of praise,  
To thee our evening prayer we raise;  
Thy glory suppliant we adore,  
For ever and for evermore.<sup>14</sup>

The hymn follows immediately upon the Little Chapter, from Romans 11:13

11:33 Oh the depth of the riches of the wisdom and of the knowledge of God! How incomprehensible are his judgments, and how unsearchable his ways!<sup>15</sup>

In other words, the entire conceit falls under the heading of Divine Wisdom. Michael is in effect the sun – Urban's emblem – bestowing Divine Wisdom's dominion (tiara) and judgment (keys) on the pope-papacy. Hence the aureole of rays surrounding Michael in the second coronation medal, succeeded by the brilliant burst of light behind the Archangel in the *Cathedra Petri* drawing, where also the Holy Spirit, evoked in the hymn, appears on the back of the throne; the light and the dove were fused in the famous window of the Holy Spirit of the final work.

In these papal images Michael is shown in an entirely unprecedented role, not as weigher of souls or avenging angel, but as Divine messenger, conveying the authority and power of Christ on earth. In this way, Urban's personal invocation of St. Michael, enforcer of God's will, served also to extend the Archangel's special surveillance of Rome to the church at large. Finally, it becomes especially significant of Urban's self-identification with Rome, that the coronation imagery has its counterpart, and may have originated in Pietro da Cortona's vault fresco in the salone of the Palazzo Barberini (1633-9)<sup>16</sup>: the glorious flight of bees swooping up through the empyrean at the command of Divine Providence below, is crowned at the apex with the papal tiara borne by a personification of Rome (*fig. 7*). Rome enacts in the secular domain the role of Michael in the church.

#### *Urban humor - Public wit*

I have no doubt that the history of the papacy is full of pontiffs who enjoyed a good joke, but none to my knowledge had ever made good humor and wit a matter of public policy (*fig. 8*). The *Barcaccia* (1627-9) is absolutely the first monumental, public fountain in Rome, in the very heart of the city, to suggest a wholly organic, quasi-natural shape; and it is certainly the first public monument that is truly, sublimely, amusing<sup>17</sup>. It was undoubtedly set low because of the feeble water pressure of the *Aqua Vergine* at that location, but this disadvantage made the *Barcaccia* a prime illustration of one of Bernini's basic principles of design, "The highest praise of art consists in knowing how to make use of the little, and the bad, and the unsuitable for the purpose, to make beautiful things, so that the defect becomes useful, and if it did not exist it would have been made"<sup>18</sup>.

And if Bernini in that which was not his profession showed such ability, how much must we believe him to be in that

in which consisted his proper talent, refined by study, and art? And as he was wont to say, that "The good artifact was the one who knew how to invent methods to make use of the little, and the bad, to make beautiful things", he was truly marvelous in demonstrating it in fact. Under the Pincio in the Piazza called di Spagna, there had been made a lead from the Acqua Vergine to create a fountain to adorn the place. But the limited elevation above the surface did not permit a work that would give richness and majesty to that most delightful site. Urban asked him to demonstrate also on this occasion the vivacity of his imagination, and find a way with a certain artful slope, to make the water rise higher. The Cavaliere responded acutely, that in that case it would be better to think that the work and the fountain should conform to the water, than the water to the fountain. And so he conceived the idea of a beautiful and noble object for which it would be necessary, if need be, to restrict the height of the water. And he explained that he would remove enough earth to create a large basin which, being filled with water the fountain would represent at ground level an ocean, in the midst of which he intended to float a noble, and appropriate stone boat, which at several points as if from artillery cannons would spout water in abundance. The thought greatly pleased the pope, and without ado he gave order to carry out the project, which he designed to ennoble himself with the following verses:

The papal warship does not pour forth flames,  
But sweet water to extinguish the fire of war.<sup>19</sup>

Everyone praised the ingenuity of the novelty of this fountain, and the above two verses were received by the literati with such applause that one of them, either truly convinced by the vivacity of the concept that seemed to him impossible to have originated so appropriately for the purpose, or else disposed to think the worst, thinking it to believe it, and believing it to publish it, responded ingeniously but boldly with the following distich:

He made the fountain for the verses,  
not the verses for the fountain.  
Urban the poet; thus may anyone take pleasure.<sup>20</sup>

Military ships had often appeared in garden fountains, and

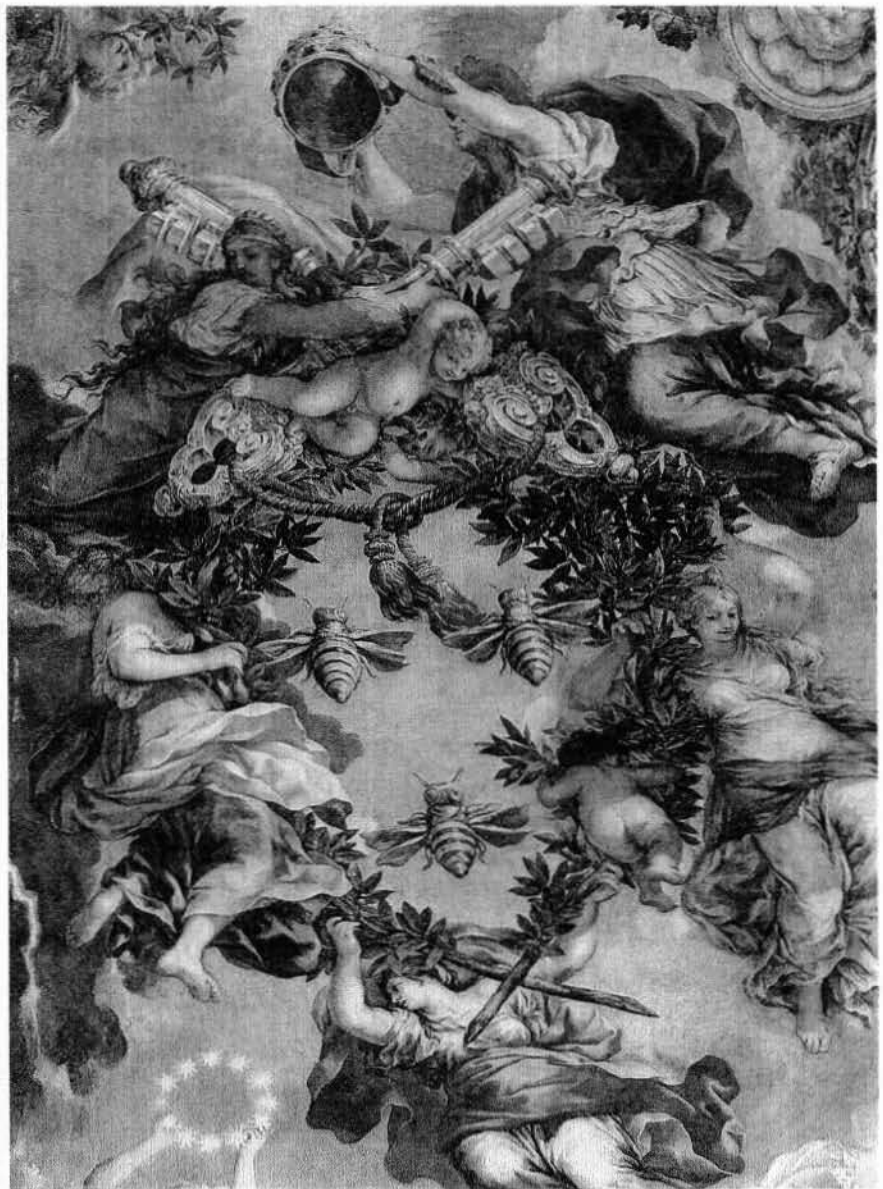


Fig. 7. Pietro da Cortona, *Divine Providence*, vault fresco, detail. Rome, Palazzo Barberini.

the church was of course conceived as the ship of state<sup>21</sup>. St. Peter's humble fisherman's boat was unimaginable as an isolated public monument<sup>22</sup>. In Bernini's fountain all three types are combined. The workaday "barcaccia", as this strange object has been called since the seventeenth century, is clearly equipped fore and aft with canon, and what is more, despite claims to the contrary, the ship is obviously and emphatically sinking: the guns fire gentle streams of water and water gushes from gaping holes within to spill over the gunwales. The Man-o'-War / the Ship-of-State / St. Peter's work-boat, is foundering – in the overwhelming flood of its own delightful, liquid superabundance.

Lest there be any doubt that it was perceived in this way by contemporaries, the fountain was described in an extraordinary book by a now obscure but then well-known polymath, Pietro Lasena (1590-1636), published in Rome in 1637, dedicated to Cardinal Francesco Barberini: *Cleombrotus* [the name of an ancient Greek philosopher], or, a *Philological Dissertation on Those who have Died in the Water*<sup>23</sup>. Described in *The Transactions of the Royal Humane Society* in London



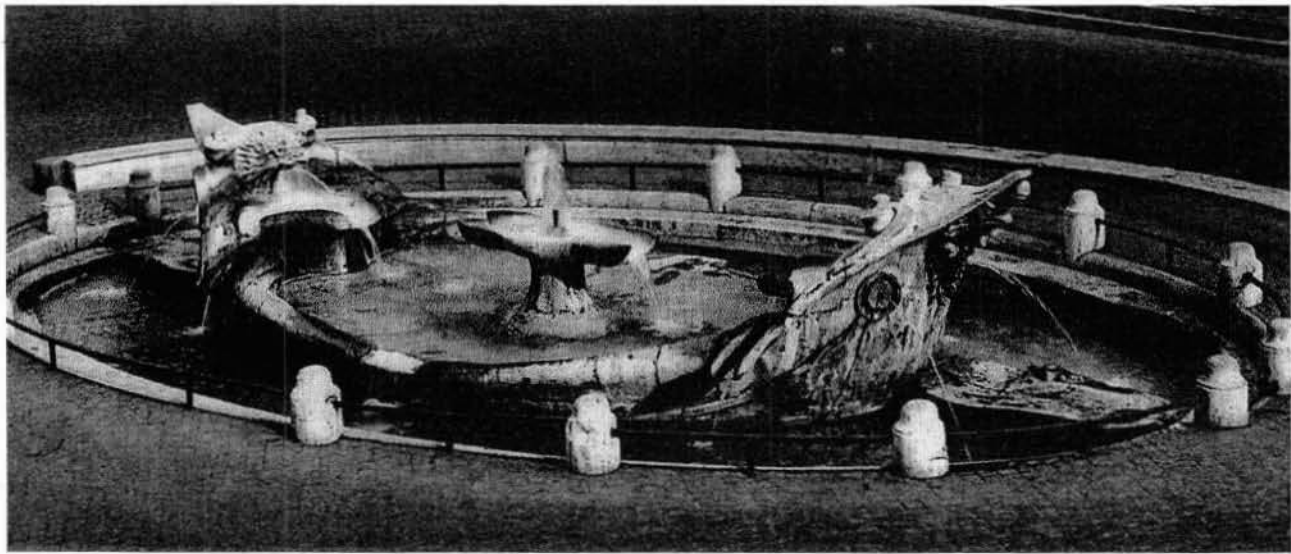


Fig. 8. Bernini, *Barcaccia*, Rome, Piazza di Spagna.

for 1756 as the first work devoted to the awful theme of shipwreck and drowning, Lasena's treatise contains the first known illustration of the *Barcaccia*, by Matthias Greuter, along with a discussion and various epigrams, including one in Greek by Leone Allacci (fig. 9). The point of it all, following the pope's own epigram, is to interpret the fountain with its mellifluous waters as an emblem of apian peace:

The Golden Peace of Pharia, once torn from the keel,  
Immerses the ships of war in Hyblaeon honey.

And now, O Prince, the ship brings new omens  
From which your bee sends forth honeyed liquids.<sup>24</sup>

Under the beneficent sun and the vessels of redemption all meld in a kind of self-immersion in the salvific waters of the church. The *Barcaccia* is eternally flooded but it never sinks. On the contrary, it may also be rising if, as I suppose, it also suggests a gigantic, open-mouthed fish, disgorging the thirst- and fire-quenching waters of baptism as the Whale disgorged Jonah.

Baldinucci says unequivocally that Bernini made the fountain at the Pope's behest, and I have no doubt that in this case as in others where Bernini himself attributes to the pope ideas that he has carried out, however ingeniously, the basic conceit did indeed spring from Maffeo Barberini's imagination; after which the two men, like swarming bees, were of a single mind<sup>25</sup>. The reason I say so in this case is the location of the fountain, which was the pope's wish: it is located between the two pre-natural enemies, Spain on one side of the piazza, France up the hill on the other. The papacy was often caught uncomfortably in the middle, and in this light it is an emblem not only of the pope's diplomacy but of the pope's diplomatic method. An essential part of my argument in this paper is that Urban's effort to mitigate asperity and mediate peace under the aegis of the church was as much a part of his Urbanity as were the daring informality, charm and wit, that have indeed made the fountain an eternal symbol of what it means to be Roman. Another of Bernini's dicta concerning the design of fountains was that "the good architect had always to give them some real significance, or alluding to something noble, whether real or imagined"<sup>26</sup>. In the case of the *Barcaccia*, Urban's own distich pro-

vided the key to the fountain's significance in its context. But the same kind of open-mouthed sea-creature fun populates the Piazza Barberini itself, in the "natural" form of gigantic, splayed out conch-shells displaying the unimaginable treasures offered by their patron<sup>27</sup>.

The element of humor and wit also informs another instance cited by the biographers of Bernini's ingenious cooptation of refractory conditions to his own advantage. This is the huge commemorative inscription decreed by the Roman Senate in 1634 on the inner facade of S. Maria in Aracoeli, where two winged figures of fame unfurl a long scroll that seems to billow out and envelop the space of the nave. The pope's numerous urban benefactions are inscribed, ending, significantly in our context, with an acclamation of his "just, tempered and truly paternal rule", and his "vigilant care for the benefits of the people"<sup>28</sup>. Immediately above, as if to confirm the divine intervention, a pre-existent window was replaced by a stained glass version of the papal escutcheon (figs. 10-11)<sup>29</sup>. Here, the conceit made a special reference to the pope's self-conflation - love affair, one is tempted to say - with his adopted city. The virginal church on the Capitoline hill recalls the Emperor Augustus who, disturbed by rumors that the Senate was about to honor him as a God, consulted the Tiburtine Sibyl, prophetess par excellence of the Tiber and Rome, who foretold the descent from the skies of "the King of the Ages". As the prophetess spoke, Augustus beheld a marvelous vision of the Virgin standing on an altar in a dazzling light holding the baby Jesus in her arms, and heard a voice that said, "This is the altar of the Son of God", following which the Emperor dedicated the Altar of Heaven. Passing through the window, Urban's emblematic sun recreates the miraculous apian invasion of the conclave that elected him. The device became universal - transferred from *urbi* to *orbi*, as it were - in Bernini's cooptation for the Cathedra Petri of Michelangelo's window in the apse of St. Peter's<sup>30</sup>.

#### *Personal urbanity*

Urban's choice of his name as a reminder to himself to mitigate a certain natural tendency to austerity has a personal psychological resonance that evokes the way *urbanus* - as opposed



to rusticus – was used by the ancient writers on style, like Cicero and Horace, for whom it conveyed, a relaxed, congenial, and open-minded *modus agendi*, associated especially with sophisticated city life. In a bust of Urban VIII from the beginning of his reign, about 1624, Bernini departed radically from the formulae for papal portraits laid down in the 16th century (fig. 12)<sup>31</sup>. To begin with, the ends of the shoulders are cut off and the torso is amputated at the breast. To show so little of the figure was extraordinary in a life-size papal bust<sup>32</sup>. Secondly, Bernini defied the normal convention in such works that Popes be shown wearing the pontifical robe, or pluvial, and either bare-headed or wearing the papal tiara; instead, he shows Urban wearing only the *mozzetta*, a short cape, and the papal cap, or *camauro*. The *mozzetta* and *camauro* are specifically non-liturgical garments, so that the pope is shown as he would appear on ordinary occasions. Finally, the gentle smile that graces Urban's face, retained soon thereafter even in Bernini's first monumental sculpture of him with pluvial, was quite unprecedented in papal bust portraiture. In sum, Bernini in these works presents us with a new kind of human being: an unimposing, ordinary, cheerful pope.

Later, as Urban ages and clouds begin to form over his reign, the psychology becomes more complex but not less human and humane (fig. 13). This is how Lelio Guidiccioni, one of the leading letterati of the day, described the bust Bernini executed in the summer of 1632:

For ten years you have attentively observed the face of this most urbane Prince (*principe urbanissimo*), who opens to you not only the joy of his countenance, but also the intimacy of his feelings<sup>33</sup>. And with your bold imagination you have seen only the living inward harmony (*il vivo consenso interno*). You have succeeded in expressing those airs and attitudes which in ten years of observation you found to be



Fig. 9. Matthias Greuter, *Barcaccia*, engraving. Lasena 1637, p. 78.

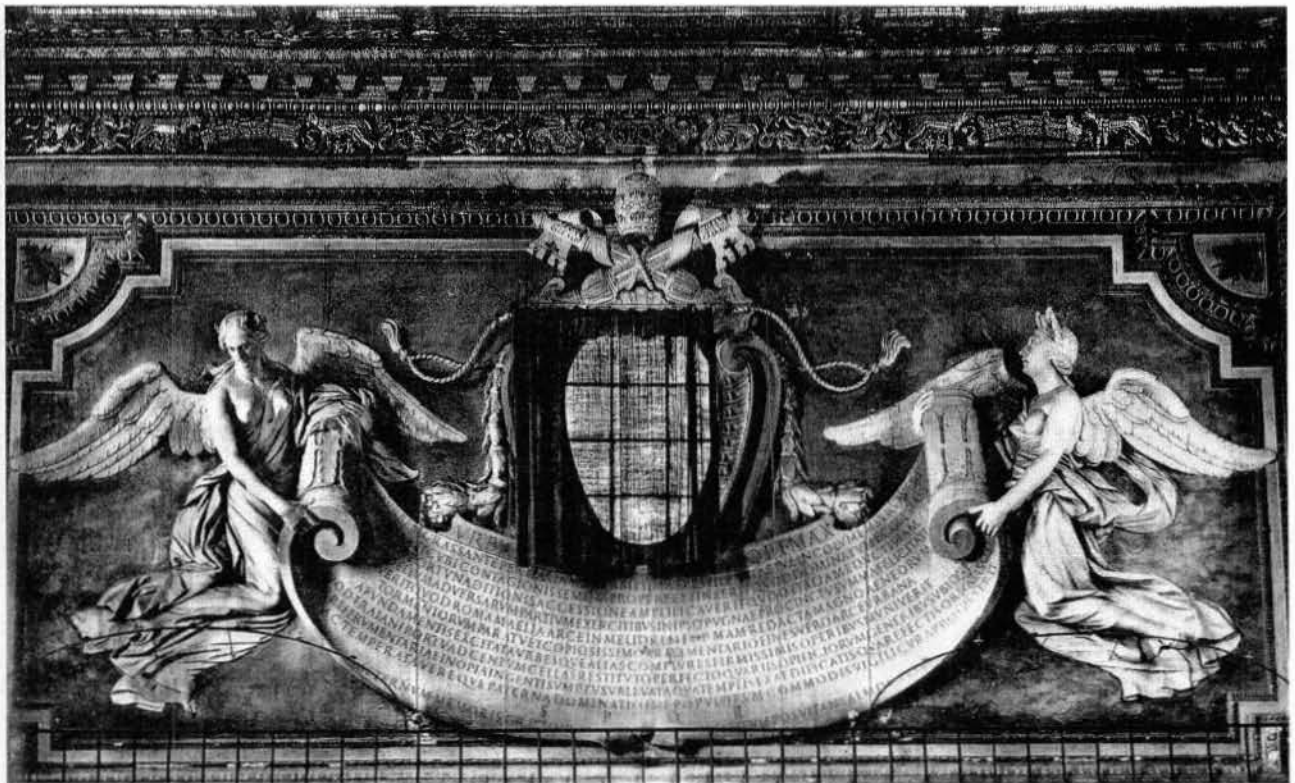


Fig. 10. Bernini, *Memorial inscription for Urban VIII*. Rome, S. Maria in Araceli.

most noble in that face, whose name [i.e. Urban] we see expressed in an open book. Thus one sees the portrait pensive with lightheartedness, gentle with majesty, spirited with gravity; it is benign and it is venerable. This image of His Holiness has no arms; yet by a faint movement of the right shoulder and a lifting of the *mozzetta*, together with a turn of the head (which serves a variety of purposes) and also an inclination of the brow, it clearly shows the action of gesturing with the arm to someone to rise to his feet.<sup>34</sup>

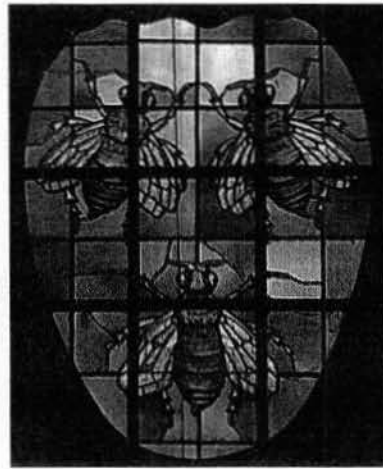


Fig. 11. Detail of fig. 10 (photo: SIP Rete di Roma, 1993/94, front cover).

Apart from the subtlety of Bernini's (and Guidiccioni's) psychological analysis, the bust is revolutionary in two particular respects: Bernini introduced here a motif unprecedented in the history of papal bust portraiture: the third button of the *camaura* is only half buttoned. Bernini had introduced the motif in his portrait of the Cardinal Agostino Valier (ca. 1624-5), where one button is missing or undone, a second only half done; Valier was Venetian and therefore perhaps somewhat independent from the more rigid ecclesiastical traditions of Rome. In the case of Urban the device suggests only a minor, scarcely noticeable inadvertency, but in traditional terms the pope is practically undressed; in modern terms he is physically, psychologically and socially "unbuttoned" (*sbottonato* – an expression whose resonance stretches back to antiquity). This sartorial evidence of personal laxity effectively mitigates the sense of austerity that is inherent in the papal presence. Equally unprecedented in papal bust portraiture was the action of the right arm, as if beckoning – so Guidiccioni observes – to the approaching visitor to rise and greet the pontiff (fig. 14). This open gesture introduces a kind of narrative, breaching the formal and psychological facade and extending the intimacy of Urban's glance to a veritable dialogue between the pope and the outside world.

The portraits express the pope's openness in a personal sense, but it was also expressed publicly, as it were, in his family residence. In the context of Roman domestic architecture, Palazzo Barberini is a suburban villa type turned completely around (1625-33; figs. 15, 16). What is usually the garden façade, with protruding wings that flank three stories of open loggias, now reaches out to embrace the city, in the direction of St. Peter's, effectively destroying the traditional, closed Renaissance palace facade as an awesome and forbidding legacy of the Middle Ages. The most conspicuous prototype in Rome was, of course, the Villa Farnesina<sup>35</sup>. But equally striking is the great dwelling of the "Most Powerful Prince and King", resting on a rustic foundation, envisioned in an emblem that celebrated the encompassing dragon device and celestial and earthly dominion of Gregory XIII (fig. 17); the design of the facade reflects that of the inner courtyard of Gregory's summer palace on the Quirinal hill<sup>36</sup>. The Barberini palace is a stone's throw distant from the Quirinal, and Urban VIII surely knew the emblem, since early in his reign, while the Barberini palace was being designed, he carried out important additions and restorations on Gregory's works at both the Vatican and Quirinal palaces<sup>37</sup>. Bernini himself also took cognizance of the emblem, especially its "naturalistic" foundation, in his subsequent palace designs for Innocent X and Louis

XIV. The wide-spread, completely permeable ground floor entrance foyer – no forbidding portals! – is also an astonishingly bold revolution in palace architecture. The genial new openness embodied in the Barberini facade affected not only the palace: with the fountains in the nearby piazza, the whole neighborhood was invited to share its precious and effusive bounty. The design theme of arms opening from a central core announced in the Barberini palace sounded a leitmotif that echoed through Bernini's entire life, in the Aracoeli inscription, at St. Peter's, Sant'Andrea al Quirinale, Santa Maria Assunta in Ariccia, in his original project for the rebuilding of Louis XIV's Louvre (fig. 18)<sup>38</sup>. Later in the century the anomalous, hybrid, urban-suburban innovation of the Palazzo Barberini was

literally codified at the Accademia di San Luca in a new, quasi-oxymoronic architectural type called "Palazzo in Villa": a central, open facade screening an oval salone, flanked by projecting wings. Developed from Bernini's studio in Rome the theme was patented – explicitly, since he claimed credit for the invention of his version of the concept – and disseminated throughout Europe by Fischer von Erlach with his famous Lustgartengebäude, in which the open and embracing gesture was repeated on both sides of the building, with perfect, bi-axial symmetry (figs. 19, 20)<sup>39</sup>.

#### Political and social urbanity

In 1635 the Senators of Rome, in recognition of Urban's benefactions, revived after a lapse of nearly half a century a long-standing tradition by commissioning from Bernini a monumental commemorative statue of the pope for the Capitol, completed in 1640 (fig. 21). I am not aware of any prior example of a papal monument, whether a tomb effigy or a commemorative portrait, in which the seated, enthroned figure gestures with his left hand; the left hand either rests empty-handed, as it were, or holds immobile some object emblematic of the pontiff's office or character<sup>40</sup>. To be sure, Urban's gesture is also emblematic, alluding to the left side as the sinister side of perdition and evoking the Pope's role as earthly vicar of the judging Savior at the Last Judgment. But here the hand is turned up suggestive of elevating grace rather than repressive wrath. This simple, subtle action transformed the ideological heritage of papal statues on the Campidoglio, which since the early sixteenth century sought to impose the will of the pope on the senate and people of Rome through images of austerity and even intimidation. I feel sure that both Bernini and Urban had in mind the famous exchange reported by Vasari between Julius II and Michelangelo while the sculptor was executing a great bronze statue of that pope to be placed over the entrance to the Duomo of Bologna:

... the question was raised of what to put in the left hand, the right being held up with such a proud gesture that the Pope asked if it was giving a blessing or a curse. Michelagnolo answered that he was admonishing the people of Bologna to be prudent. When he asked the Pope whether he should put a book in his left hand, the pontiff replied, "Give me a sword; I am not a man of letters".



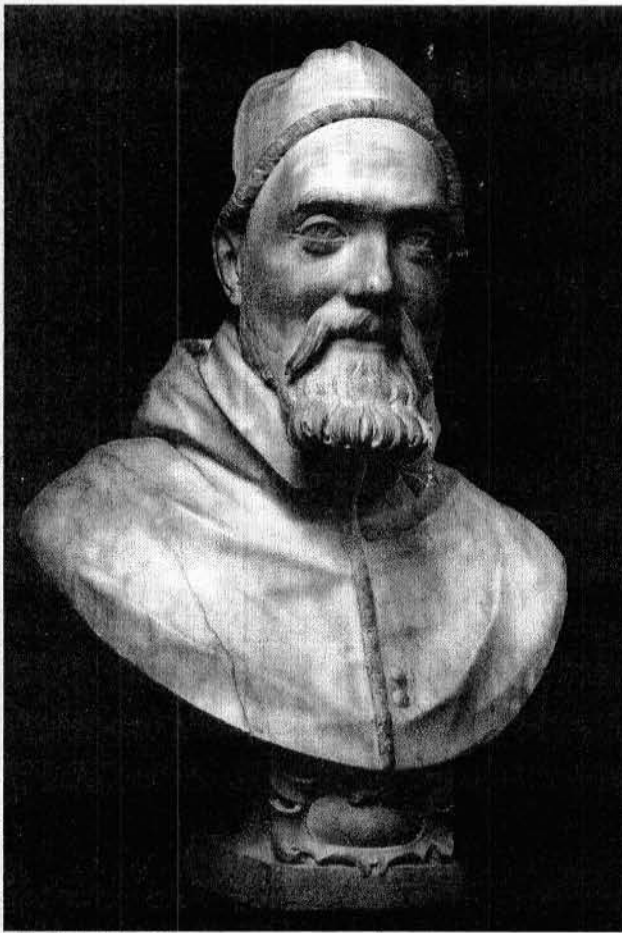


Fig. 12. Bernini, *Urban VIII*. Rome, Collection of Augusto Barberini.

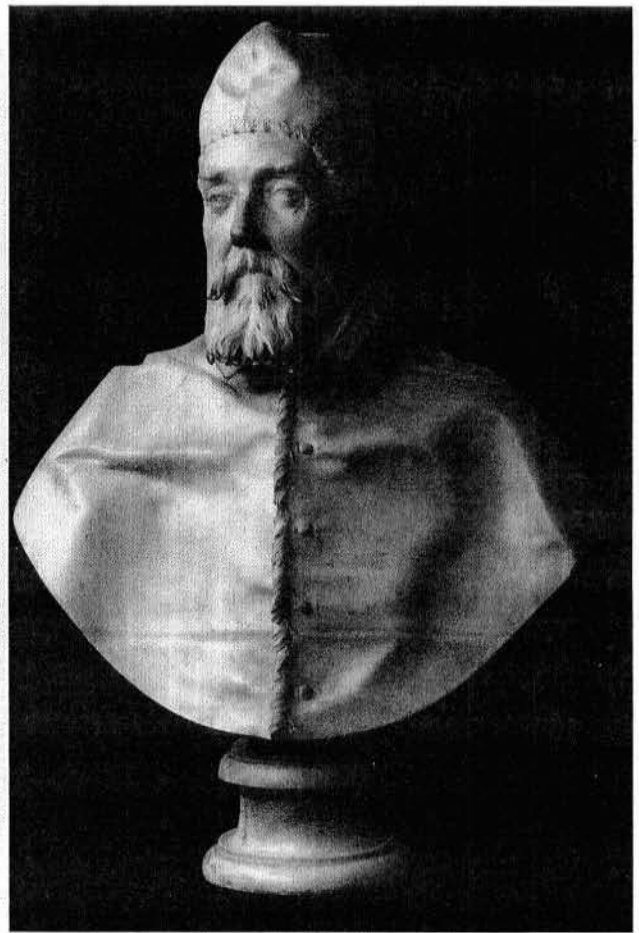


Fig. 13. Bernini, *Urban VIII*. Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica.

Michelangelo's statue was made in a military context, to commemorate Julius's triumph over the Bentivoglio masters of the city and serve as a warning to their followers, who destroyed it a few years later when they briefly recaptured the city<sup>41</sup>. But its austere, menacing aspect was reflected in all the subsequent honorific statues of the popes on the Campidoglio. It was not by accident that the fearsome statue of Moses that Michelangelo made for Julius's tomb in turn became the model for the Capitoline statue of Gregory XIII<sup>42</sup>. Bernini's *Urban VIII*, with his benign expression, arms flung open, mantle cast aside, displays (I use that word advisedly) a radically different, even diametrically opposed attitude. The prototype in this case was Urban's primary namesake, Pope Urban I, who had been portrayed in almost exactly the same way in the frescoes of the Sala di Costantino in the Vatican. As the first pope (222-230) to identify himself literally with the capital of the empire, he would have been the embodiment par excellence of the virtues with which the Church exercised its dominion Rome. Flanked by personifications of Justice and Charity, the import of the pope's gestures is obvious: he raises a measured hand toward the balance of Justice while pointing insistently to Charity, not only a Moral but the chief Cardinal virtue<sup>43</sup>. The inspiration and aspiration implicit here were illustrated in a spectacular pair of paintings by the Muti brothers, which the Barberini's acquired 1627, 1630, the *Apotheosis of Urban I* and the *Allegory of Peace* (figs. 22, 23)<sup>44</sup>. There are striking analogies between Bernini's sculptured portrait and Muti's painted apotheosis, and between the composition of the Muti's allegorical picture and the portrayal of Urban I with flanking allegories in the Sala di Costantino. There is also surely a recollection

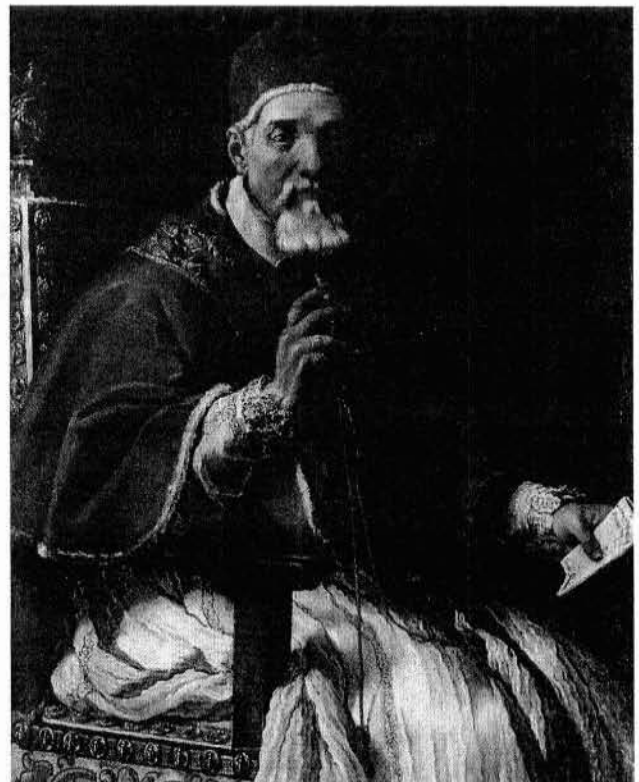


Fig. 14. Giovanni Battista Abbatini, *Urban VIII*. Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Palazzo Corsini.



tion of another great and zealous predecessor, Urban II, Roman born, who was portrayed with the same virtues. Urban II was famous as the promoter of the first crusade, and may have inspired Urban VIII's adoption of the same cause, as well as his support for foreign missions and the Propaganda Fide. Urban II was equally famous for having accepted the office only reluctantly, as was Barberini when he insisted that a recount of the votes be taken to confirm his election, after an error had been discovered in the first scrutiny<sup>45</sup>. The same allegories reappear in the frame of an engraved portrait of Urban VII, by Cherubino Alberti.

The expansive and inclusive embrace suggested by the Campidoglio figure was embodied in an important but neglected enterprise in what might be called spiritual-demographics. I refer to Urban's massive effort to ensure adequate care for the spiritual needs of the populace through the system of apostolic visits, initiated soon after his election and continued throughout his reign<sup>46</sup>. The visitations required detailed reports on the current status of all the churches and dioceses of Rome, as regarded both their physical condition and the pastoral care they provided. Such surveys were a long-standing tradition, but nothing before compared with the scope, depth and systematic coverage envisioned by Urban. It is important to emphasize, moreover, that the purview of the visitations was by no means confined to matters pertaining to religion. Much attention was also paid to the often execrable physical and moral conditions in which many people lived, conditions that instigated far-reaching reforms in the church's mode of ministering to the poor and unfortunate. This concrete measure of Urban's religio-social urbanity thereafter became the fundamental utility for public policy and social planning both in Rome itself, and as a model for others to follow in the future.

#### *Urbanity in extremis*

The ideology expressed in the secular context of the Campidoglio, had its counterpart in the pope's ecclesiastical domain at St. Peter's, where Bernini executed Urban's tomb 1627-47 (fig. 24)<sup>47</sup>. I want to make just three brief comments that seem particularly relevant in the present context. The first is that it can be shown in a variety of ways that the allegories of Charity and Justice (the reversal of the arrangement in the Sala di Costantino is significant – Charity is now on the dexter side, Justice on the sinister) do not refer, as is commonly assumed,



Fig. 15. Palazzo Barberini. Rome.

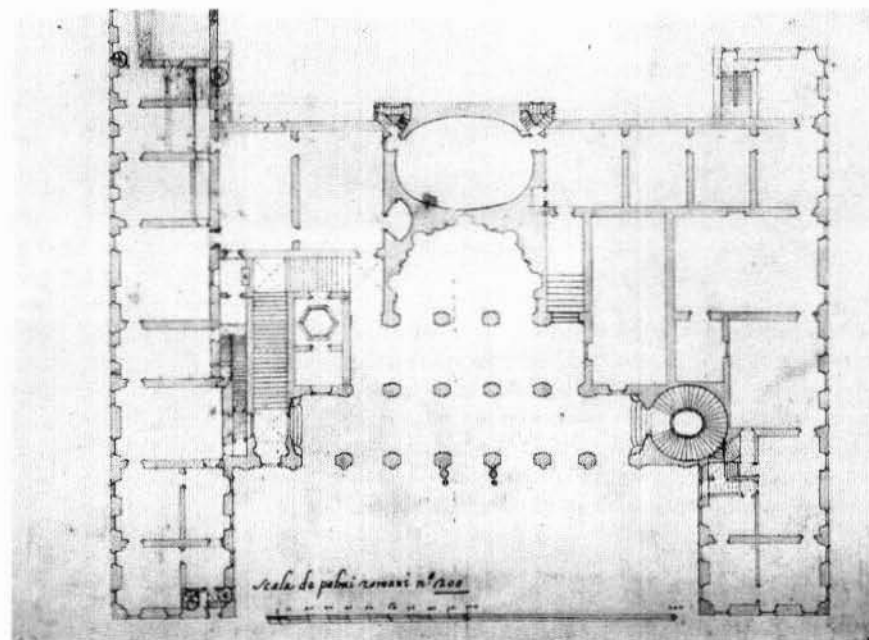


Fig. 16. Palazzo Barberini, ground floor plan, drawing (after Howard Hibbard, "Carlo Maderno and Roman architecture, 1580-1630", University Park, PA, 1971, pl. 94b).

to the personal, moral virtues of Maffeo Barberini; rather, they follow a long tradition of righteous governance according to which these are Divine Virtues that descend from Divine Providence upon all the successors of Peter as vicars of Christ and magistrates of the church's material and spiritual domains. The attributes were those attributed to God in the Second Book of Machabees, 1:24:

And the prayer of Nehemias was after this manner: O Lord God, Creator of all things, dreadful and strong, just and merciful, who alone art the good king.<sup>48</sup>

The allegories do not flatter Urban VIII – to my mind notions of flattery and sycophantism are grossly overworked in



Fig. 17. Emblematic dwelling of the "Most Powerful Prince and King", engraving. (From Fabrizio 1588, 308).

the historiography of the Baroque – but represent his conception of the role he sought to fulfill in the long tradition of Christ's ministers on earth. Maffeo Barberini's phenomenal rise in the church hierarchy was due to two fundamental and complementary aspects of his exemplary service, as diplomat on behalf of his predecessors, and in his administration of justice as Prefect of the papal Segnatura (Ministry) di Giustizia.

The animated figure of Charity has two infants rather than

the usual three, one of whom sleeps blissfully at her bosom, while the other, repentant sinner, bawls miserably reaching up for the salvation that her radiant smile promises. The figure of Justice is not mourning but leans in calm repose against the sarcophagus, feet crossed to emphasize her immobility as she looks heavenward in calm contemplation. She clearly reflects the tradition expressed by Vincenzo Cartari that "Divine Goodness does not run quickly or noisily to castigate error, but belatedly and slowly, so that the sinner is unaware before he feels the pain". Under the heading precisely of Divine Justice Cesare Ripa describes the fasces with the ax, carried by the licitors before the consuls and the Tribune of the People, as signifying that in the execution of justice overzealous castigation is unwarranted, and that justice should never be precipitous but have time to mature judgment while unbinding the rods that cover the ax. The cross leg pose and the fasces occur together in a painting of Justice attributed to Battista Dossi.

The Divine Virtues of salvific mercy and reluctant retribution have a long tradition in the history of Christian jurisprudence [until recently the judicial authority in Italy was still called the Ministero di Grazia e Giustizia], but never had they been portrayed so explicitly and so movingly. What are indeed personal references in the monument, apart from the portrait of the pope, are the bees. They swarm to and alight all over the sarcophagus – as did the bees that flocked to the tomb of the great Greek poet, Archilochus, who invented the epode, one of Urban's favorite verse forms (fig. 25)<sup>49</sup>. Considered in this light the seemingly casual, bumbling placement of the three big Barberini bees becomes charged with meaning. They all face upward and seem to rise in an ascending march past the skeletal figure of death, as if in response to the resurrecting command of the pope – appropriated, as Kauffmann first noticed, from the gesture of St. Peter himself in the Sala di Costantino series – enthroned on his seat of wisdom, itself ornamented with bees. The upper two worker bees, as if resurrected, proceed in their rise to the very border between death, commemoration, and life (fig. 26). The lowermost bee, at the rim of the sarcophagus basin beneath the cover, has no stinger – it is not broken off, it never had one (fig. 27). In a kind of punning witticism *in extremis*, the image conflates the quintessential principles of classical moral political philosophy and Christian eschatology. Urban's choice of his name as a cautionary reminder to temper his natural tendency to austerity, was evidently inspired by Seneca's invocation, in his treatise *On Clemency*, of the stingless king bee as a metaphor for the beneficent ruler,

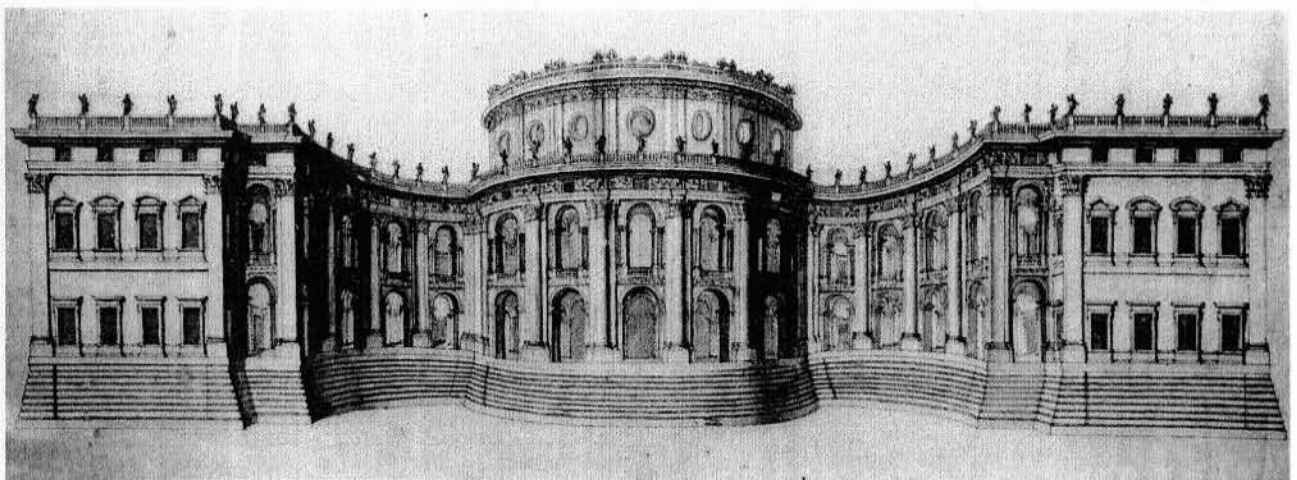


Fig. 18. Bernini, project for the Louvre, drawing. Paris, Musée du Louvre.

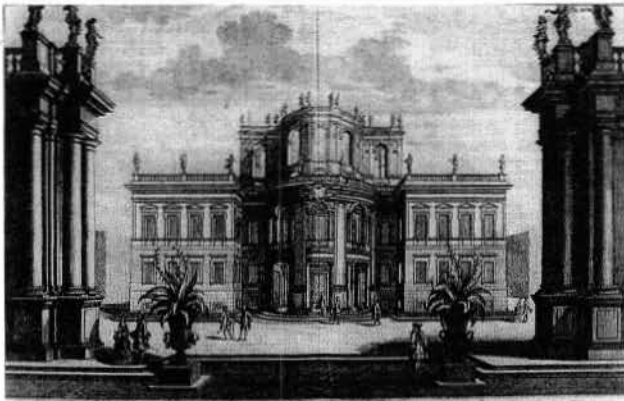


Fig. 19. Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, "Lust-Garten-Gebäu", engraving (from Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, *Entwurf einer historischen Architektur*, Vienna, 1721, IV, pl. XVIII).

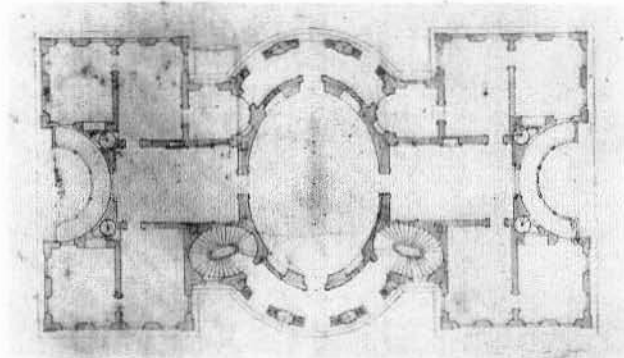


Fig. 20. Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, *plan of the Pleasure Garden Building*, drawing. Vienna, Albertina.

"the king himself has no sting. Nature did not wish him to be cruel or to seek a revenge that would be so costly, and so she removed his weapon, and left his anger unarmed" (all three of the majestic bees in Cortona's ceiling fresco are stingless!); and St. Paul alluded to the same apian menace, disarmed by faith, in his celebrated invocation of the Resurrection, "O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?!", which in this case refers not only to Urban VIII and all humankind, but to the Church itself through the eternal succession of popes<sup>9</sup>. The gentle, loving bee seeks its master – attracted no doubt by



Fig. 21. Bernini, *Memorial statue of Urban VIII*. Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori.

the sweet odor of sanctity<sup>10</sup> – while its siblings rise, as if reborn whole, to the resurrection above.

Such a profound and touching public display of urbanity has no equal, I think, and I think there is, and can be, only one conclusion. Urban VIII, with Bernini at his side, gave to the papacy, to the church, to Rome, and to the world at large, a new face – more personal, more intimate, more accessible, more sophisticated, more gracious, more expansive, more humane – more urbane, in sum – *urbi et orbi*. And in the end the new face has only one name, modern.

<sup>9</sup> On this famous engraving see now Giuseppe Finocchiaro, "Dall'Apiarium alla Melissographia. Una vicenda editoriale tra propaganda scientifica e strategia culturale", *Rendiconti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, ser. 9, XV, 2004, 611-40.

<sup>10</sup> "Egli dice haver preso il nome di Urbano per due cause, la prima per amar egli molto questa città, che s'appella Urbs per autonomia, la seconda perchè conoscendo egli la sua natura tirar alquanto al rigidetto le fusse continuo raccordo di dover temperarla" (Ludwig von Pastor, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages*, 40 vols., London, 1923-53, XXVIII, 25, n. 1) "...dal qual nome ha voluto egli insignirsi, come ha detto, per venerare la memoria degli antichi Urbani predecessori suoi, che pieni di santo zelo, ed alieni agli interessi del mondo, tentarono imprese gloriose." (Nicolò Barozzi, and Guglielmo Berchet, *Le relazioni della corte di Roma lette al senato dagli ambasciatori veneti nel secolo decimosettimo*, 2 vols., Venice, 1877-8, I, 225). On the Urban predecessors in particular p. 23 and n. 43.

<sup>11</sup> See the fine essay by Ulrike Müller Hofstede, *Künstlerischer Witz und verborgene Ironie*, in Christine Göttler and Ulrike Müller Hofstede, eds., *Diletto e Maraviglia. Ausdruck und Wirkung in der Kunst von der Renaissance bis zum Barock. Rudolf Preimesberger zum 60. Geburtstag*, Emsdetten, 1998, 102-27, and the references, especially to studies cited there, p. 122 n. 1, by Rudolf

Preimesberger. Neither Preimesberger nor Müller Hofstede relates the concept of urbanity to Urban himself.

<sup>12</sup> "Whoever thou art, so long as thou art a free man, fear not here the bonds of the laws! Go where thou wilt, ask whatever thou desirest, go away whenever thou wishest. More is here provided for the stranger than for the owner. In this golden age, which holds the promise of universal security, the master of the house wishes to lay no iron laws upon the well-bred. Let seemly enjoyment be the guest's only law. But let him who with malice aforethought offends against the golden law of urbanity fear lest the irate custodian burn for him the sacred emblems of hospitality". Pastor 1923-53, XXVI, 453f. Christoph H. Heilmann, *Die Entstehungsgeschichte der Villa Borghese in Rom*, "Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst", XXIV, 1973, 97-158, 115ff., gives the inscription but notes that other Roman villas of the period were also open to the public.

<sup>13</sup> This generic, rather than specifically Roman notion of urbanity, as opposed to rusticity, is evident in Cicero's frequent use of the concept, see Auguste Hauray, *L'ironie et l'humour chez Cicéron*, Leiden, 1955, s.v. *urbanitas*. For a perceptive discussion of the significance and development of the concept in antiquity, including Roman humor, see Eugène de Saint-Denis, *Evolution sémantique de urbanus-urbanitas*, "Latomus", III, 1939, 5-25. A broad-ranging





Fig. 22. "Cavaliere Muti", *Apotheosis of Urban I*. Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica.

study of Ciceronian urbanity will be found in Karl Heinz Heuer, *Comitas-facilitas-liberalitas. Studien zur gesellschaftlichen Kultur der ciceronischen Zeit*, Ph.D. Diss, Lengerich, 1941.

<sup>6</sup> On the vicissitudes of the Barberini coat of arms see Pio Pecchiai, *Un assassinio politico a Roma nel Cinquecento*, "Archivi", quaderno n. 2, Rome, 1956, 76f, 231, and *I Barberini*, Rome, 1959, 85-92; Giuseppe Valdarni, *Semifonte e l'antica comunità di Barberino in Val d'Elsa. L'antica comunità di Barberino in Val d'Elsa*, Barberino Val d'Elsa, 1968, 31; Luigi Zangheri, *I Barberini di Barberino*, in Alessandro Vezzosi, ed., *Terra di Semifonte*, Florence, 1990, 30f., and Sergio Marzocchi, *Urbano VIII Barberini, and Meccenatismo barberiniano a Roma*, in Massimo Tosi, ed., *Barberino. Memoria millenaria fra Valdelsa e Chianti*, Certaldo, 1998, No. 16, both with illustrations.

<sup>7</sup> Zanobi Radicchi, aromataro, writes to Cardinal Francesco 9 November 1636 reporting that, stealthily, at night, the mission had been carried out. (Pecchiai 1956, 89ff. cf. p. 91).

<sup>8</sup> Giovanni Ferro, *Teatro d'impresie*, 2 vols., Venice 1623, II, 72.

<sup>9</sup> *Aeneid* VII, 120-3, H. Rushton Fairclough, *Virgil with an English Translation*, Cambridge, MA, 1986, II, 10-11.

<sup>10</sup> Francis Xavier Lasance, and Francis Augustine Walsh, eds., *The New Roman Missal in Latin and English*, New York, etc., 1945, 1388f. Genesis 28:17: Pavensque, quam terribilis est inquit locus iste non est hic aliud nisi domus dei et porta coeli.

And he was afraid, and said, How dreadful is this place! this is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven.

The terribilis passage does not occur in the breviary liturgy, where instead the hymn at first Vespers begins *Caelestis urbs Ierusalem*. This hymn was radically changed by Urban VIII, who participated actively in a major "correction" of the breviary hymns for a more classical Latin. The second stanza in the revised breviary begins "O sorte nupta prospera, / Dotata Patris gloria, / Respensa Sponsi gratia, / Regina formosissima" (Hours of the Divine Office, vol. I, 922, Common of the Dedication of a Church). This was also a drastic expurgation: the original passage (in the 1570 Breviary of Pius V), was as follows: "Nova veniens e caelo, nuptiali thalamo / Praeparata, ut sponsata copuletur Domino". *Copuletur* is the word used by St. Bernard. The point is that the dedication of a church is the consummation of the Marriage of Christ to Ecclesia. On Urban's revision of the hymns: Clemens Blume, "Rhythmische Hymnen in metrischer Schmiede", *Stimmen aus Maria = Laach*, LXXVIII, 1910, 245-61, Pastor 1923-53, XXIX, 13-18.

<sup>11</sup> The importance of the Archangel Michael for Urban VIII and the early plans for decorating St. Peter's has been recuperated by Louise Rice, *The Altars and Altarpieces of New St. Peter's. Outfitting the Basilica, 1621-1666*, Cambridge,

etc., 1997; cf. Index, s.v. "Saints". See also Irving Lavin, *The Angel and the City. Baccio Bandinelli's Project for the Castel Sant'Angelo in Rome*, in Peta Motture, ed., *Large Bronzes in the Renaissance* (National Gallery of Art. Studies in the History of Art 64), Washington, 2003, 308-29 and Bernini at *Saint Peter's: singularis in singulis, in omnibus unicus*, in W. Tronzo, ed., *St. Peter's in the Vatican*, Cambridge and New York, 2005, 182-94.

<sup>12</sup> Manlio Sodi, and Achille Maria Triacca, eds., *Missale Romanum: editio princeps, 1570*, Vatican City, 1998.

<sup>13</sup> On the medal and Bernini's drawing see Louise Rice, *Urban VIII, the Archangel Michael, and a Forgotten Project for the Apse Altar of St. Peter's*, "The Burlington Magazine", CXXXIV, 1992; 1997, 89f., 267.

<sup>14</sup> Hours of the Divine Office, II, 1420f.

Jam sol recedit igneus;  
Tu, lux perennis, Unitas,  
Nostris, beata Trinitas,  
Infunde lumen cordibus.  
Te mane laudum carmine,  
Te deprecamur vespere;  
Digneris ut te supplices  
Laudemus inter caelites.

<sup>15</sup> O altitudo divitiarum sapientiae et scientiae Dei quam inconprehensibilia sunt iudicia eius et investigabiles viae eius.

<sup>16</sup> On this point see Rice 1992, 429f.

<sup>17</sup> The most important studies of the fountain are Howard Hibbard and Irma Jaffe, *Bernini's Barcaccia*, "The Burlington Magazine", CVI, 1964, 159-70, Cesare D'Onofrio, *Roma vista da Roma*, Rome, 1967, 356-71, and *Le fontane di Roma*, Rome, 1986, 319-98; for a recent summary, Hans-Ulrich Kessler, *Pietro Bernini (1562-1629)*, Munich, 2005, 405-9. The fountain was called Barcaccia in a guidebook of 1693; the term first appears in a poem by Berni 1555 (Hibbard and Jaffe 1964, 160 n. 2).

<sup>18</sup> Anzi il sommo pregio dell'Arte consistere in sapersi servire del poco, e del cattivo, e del male atto al bisogno, per far cose belle, e far sì, che sia utile ciò, che fù difetto, e che se non fusse, bisognerebbe farlo. Domenico Bernini, *Vita del cavalier Gio. Lorenzo Bernino*, Rome, 1713, 32.

<sup>19</sup> I have borrowed the translation of the distich from Hibbard and Jaffe 1964, 164.

<sup>20</sup> Bernini 1713, 57-9:

Hor se il Bernino in quel, che non era professione sua, si dimostrava tanto valente, quanto dobbiam credere, che fosse in ciò, in cui consisteva il suo proprio talento raffinato dallo studio, e dall'arte? E come che soleva dire,



Fig. 23. "Brother of Cavaliere Muti", *Allegory of Peace*. Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica.

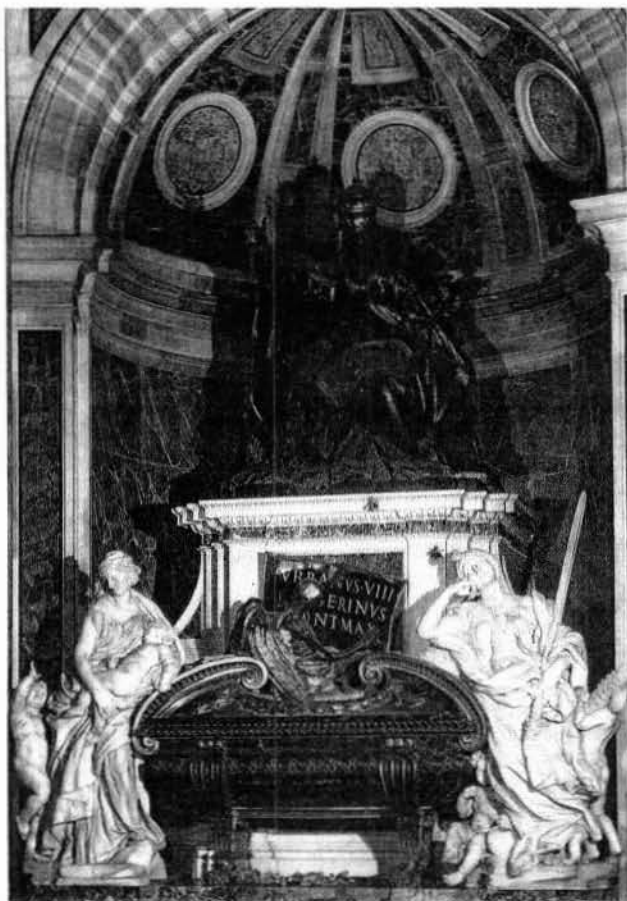


Fig. 24. Bernini, *Tomb of Urban VIII*. Rome, St. Peter's.

che il buon' Artefice era quello, che sapeva inventar maniere, per servirsi del poco, e del cattivo, per far cose belle, egli veramente fù mara / viglioso a provarlo con gli effetti. Sotto il Pincio in Piazza detta di Spagna era stato condotto un capo di *Acqua Vergine* per doverne formare una Fontana in abbellimento di quel luogo: Mà la pochissima alzata, ch'ella aveva dal suolo non dava comodo di poter condurre un lavoro, che recasse ricchezza e maestà a quel delizioso sito. Urbano richiese lui, acciò al suo solito facesse spiccare in quest'occasione la vivacità del suo ingegno, e trovasse modo con qualche artificiosa pendenza, che quell'acqua venisse maggiormente a sollevarsi: Rispose acutamente il Cavaliere, che in quel caso dovevasi più tosto pensare, che l'Opera, e la Fonte si confacesse all'Acqua, che l'acqua alla Fonte; E per ciò concepì un' Idea di Machina vaga, e nobile per cui bisognerebbe, se non fusse, restringer all'acqua l'altezza. E gli espose, che havrebbe scavato tanto di terra, quanto in essa si venisse a formare una gran Vasca, che empendosi dell'acqua di quella Fontana rappresentasse al piano del suolo un Mare, nel cui mezzo voleva, che natasse nobile, e confacevole barca di sasso, che da più parti quasi da tanti Cannoni di Artiglieria gittasse acqua in abbondanza. Piacque il pensiero incredibilmente al Papa, e senza più diè ordine, che si desse esecuzione al disegno, quale egli medesimo non isdegnò di nobilitar con questi versi:

*Bellica Pontificum non fundit Machina flammam,  
Sed dulcern, belli qua perit ignis, aquam.*

Fù lodata da tutti l'ingegnosa invenzione di questa Fontana, e li due sopra citati versi con tanto applauso furono ricevuti da' Letterati, che un d'essi ò persuaso veramente dalla vivacità del concetto, che gli paresse impossibile farlo nascere tanto confacevole al proposito, ò pur disposto a pensare il peggio, e pensandolo crederlo, e credendolo pubblicarlo, rispose ingegnosamente mà arditamente col seguente Distico.

*Carminibus Fontem, non Fonti Carmina fecit  
Urbanus Vates: sic sibi quisque placet.*

See also the equivalent account in Filippo Baldinucci, *Vita del Cavaliere Gio. Lorenzo Bernini, scultore, architetto e pittore*, ed. Sergio Samek Ludovici, Milan, 1948, 83f.

<sup>21</sup> The antecedents from antiquity on were studied by Hibbard and Jaffe 1964, D'Onofrio 1967, and 1986 (as in n. 16).

<sup>22</sup> The Tiber work boats were cited by D'Onofrio 1967, 354-61; 1986, 363, 368.

<sup>23</sup> *Cleombrotus, sive de iis, qui in aquis pereunt, philologica dissertatio*, Rome: Facciotti, 1637. The following description of the work was provided by the bookseller, F. Thomas Heller, of Swarthmore, PA.:

"LASENA. Pietro. *Cleombrotus, sive de iis, qui in aquis pereunt, philologica dissertatio*. Rome, Jacobo Facciotti, 1637.

8vo. Orig. limp vellum; rebacked. [8]. 192. [16] pp. With the engraved Barberini arms on the title page, engraved portrait of the author, 3 folding engraved plates, 2 text engravings, and 5 woodcuts. Scattered light foxing, else fine. First and only edition and very rare. A distinguished Neapolitan jurist and polymath. Lasena (1590-1636) came to Rome in 1634 to serve the Pope, Urban VIII, and his brother, the cardinal Francesco Barberini, to whom the book is jointly dedicated. He was received with honor and lodged in the Vatican, but soon died of malaria and was buried in S. Andrea della Valle. *Cleombrotus* is an extended series of essays occasioned by the catastrophic shipwreck of a flotilla of Spanish galleons lost in the Gulf of Genoa in 1635, the passengers of which included Lasena's parents. The work was read before a Roman literary society but published posthumously, in tribute to its author. A discussion of the theme of shipwrecks and drowning, largely with reference to antiquity, the work is, in fact, the first book on drowning and has long been recognized as such in the literature on resuscitation - see page XVI of *The Transactions of the Royal Humane Society*, London [1796]. Hitherto unnoticed, however, is an engraving and several pages of analysis of Bernini's famous "shipwrecked" fountain, the Barcaccia, a celebrated work, Bernini's first fountain, the archetypal Roman fountain, and traditionally considered to be the first fountain in what would come to be called the Baroque style (see Wittkower, *Bernini*, 80a for the relevant bibliography). This engraving is the first depiction of the fountain, predating by one year the illustration that has hitherto been considered to be the earliest representation of the work, a view found in the guidebook *Ritratto di Roma Moderna* published by Pompilio Totti in 1638 (see Cesare D'Onofrio, *Roma Vista da Roma*, Rome, 1967, pt. III, fig. 250). Lasena's analysis is also of considerable interest for its emphasis on Egyptian (i.e. hermetic, neoplatonic) symbolism, and contains several epigrams relating to the fountain, including a lengthy quatrain in Greek by Leone Alacci, Graesse, IV 113".

A brief eulogy of Lasena appears in Giovanni Vittorio Rossi (Iani Nicii Erythraei), *Pinacotheca imaginum illustrium, doctrinae vel ingenii laude, virorum, qui, auctore superstite, diem suum obierunt*, Leipzig, 1692 (first ed. Egmond, 1643), 106-8.

<sup>24</sup> Lasena 1637, 77:

*Aurea Pax Phariae quondam detracta carina,  
Imbuit Hyblaeis bellica rostra fauis:  
Et noua nunc pacis, PRINCEPS, fert omnia  
Puppis,  
Mellitos latices qua tua promit Apis.*

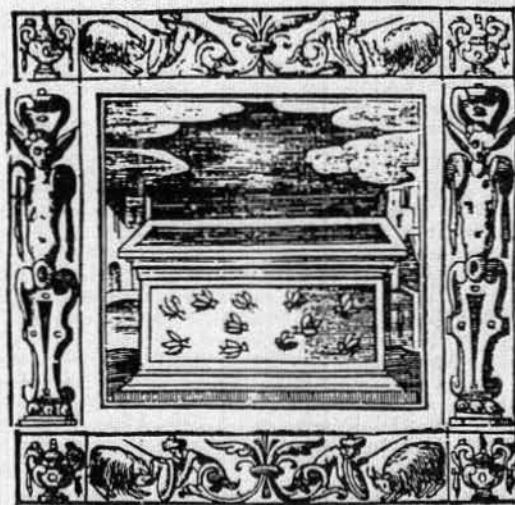
Isis, Egyptian goddess of peace, was called Pharia from the lighthouse - pharos - of Alexandria;

Hybla, from Mount Hybla in Sicily, famous for its honey.

<sup>25</sup> On Urban's patronage see Pastor 1923-53, XXIX, 408-44; his patronage of Bernini has been surveyed more recently by Peter Hirschfeld, *Mözene: die Rolle des Auftragebers in der Kunst*, Munich, 1968, 156-70.

<sup>26</sup> "sua opinione sempre fu che il buono architetto nel disegnar fontane dovesse sempre dar loro qualche significato vero o pure alludente a cosa nobile o vera o finta". Baldinucci-Ludovici 1948, 84.

## Maledicentia. EMBLEMA LI.



**A** R C H I L O C H I tumulo insculptas de marmore vespas  
Esse ferunt, lingua certa sigilla mala.

Fig. 25. *Malediction, Tomb of Archilochus*, engraving. Alciati 1621, *Emblema LI*.



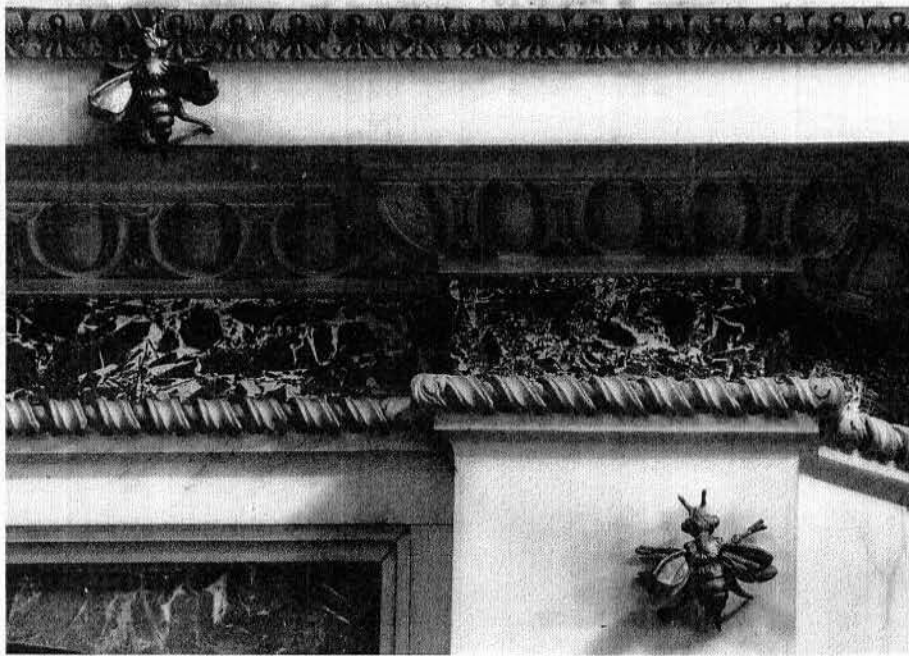


Fig. 26. Bernini, *Tomb of Urban VIII*, detail. Rome, St. Peter's.

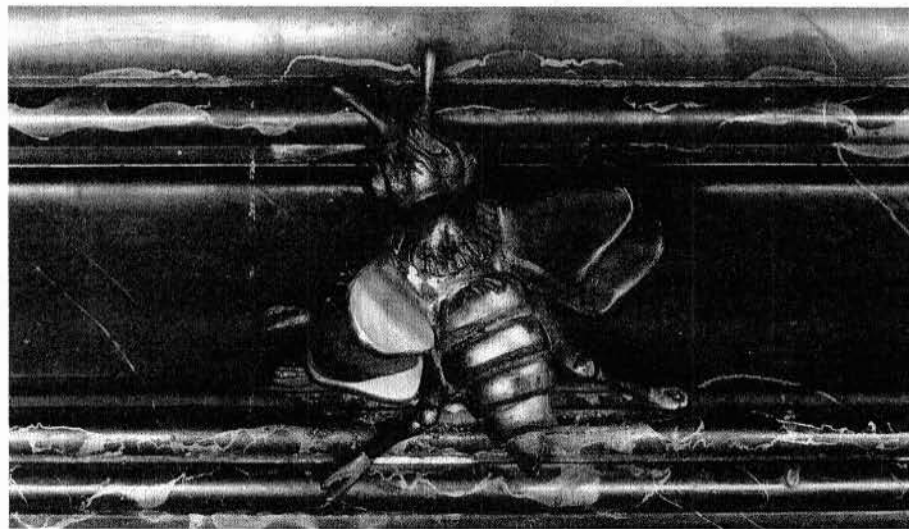


Fig. 27. Bernini, *Tomb of Urban VIII*, detail. Rome, St. Peter's.

<sup>27</sup> The present Fountain of the Bees is a modern reconstruction; cf. D'Onofrio 1986, 385-9.

<sup>28</sup> "iusta ac temperata vereque paterna dominatioine (sic) populorum commodis vigili cura prospexerit". For the full text see Vincenzo Forcella, *Iscrizioni delle chiese e d'altri edifici di Roma dal secolo XI fino ai giorni nostri*, 14 vols., Rome, 1869-84, I, 232, No. 902.

<sup>29</sup> The present window is a modern replacement (Stanislao Frascchetti, *Il Bernini. La sua vita, sua opera, il suo tempo*, Milan, 1900, 100).

<sup>30</sup> Balduino reports Bernini's precept and its application in the windows: "Nell'architettura dava bellissimi precetti: primieramente diceva non essere il sommo pregio dell'artefice il far bellissimi e comodi edifici, ma il sapere inventar maniere per servirsi del poco, del cattivo e male adattato al bisogno per far cose belle e far sì, che sia utile quel che fu difetto e che, se non fusse, bisognerebbe farlo. Che poi il valor suo giugnesse a questo segno, conobbesi in molte sue opere, particolarmente / nell'arme d'Urbano in Araceli che, per mancanza del luogo, ove situarla, che veniva occupato da una gran finestra, egli colori di azzurro il finestrone invetriato e in esso figurò le tre api, quasi volando per aria, e sopra collocò il regno. Similmente nel sepolcro di Alessandro; nella situazione della Cattedra, ove fece che il finestrone, che pure - Ira d'impedimento le tornasse in aiuto, perché intorno a esso rappresentò la gloria del paradiso e nel bel mezzo del vetro, quasi in luogo di luce inaccessibile fece vedere lo Spirito Santo in sembianza di colomba, che dà compimento a tutta l'opera" (Balduino-Ludovici 1948, 146f.).

<sup>31</sup> Phillip Zitzlsperger, *Gianlorenzo Bernini. Die Papst- und Herrscherporträts. Zum Verhältnis von Bildnis und Macht*, Munich, 2002, has published a fine study of Bernini's papal and ruler portraits, but his effort (87-9) to date this bust a decade later and attribute it to another artist is misguided; everything about the form, psychology, and provenance of the work in the Barberini family, speaks to the contrary.

<sup>32</sup> 68 cm high with base. The chief precedent was Bernini's own miniature bust of Paul V wearing the pluvial, in the Borghese Gallery, 1616-7, 44 cm high with base.

<sup>33</sup> The expressive relationship between Urban's name and character and Bernini's portrait of the pope, is explicit in the theme of a punning epigram, titled "Since Urbanity cannot turn to Stone, the Stone must put on Urbanity", that Guidiccioni appended to his epic poem on the baldachin of St. Peter's, *Ara Maxima Vaticana*, published in 1633 (John Kevin Newman and Frances Stickney Newman, *Letto Guidiccioni. Latin Poems. Rome 1633 and 1639*, Hildesheim, 1922, 174f.).

<sup>34</sup> Ha ella osservato in dieci anni attentamente il volto di un Principe Urbanissimo, che apre a lei non solo la giocondità del suo volto, ma la soavità degli affetti. Hora com'ella è di gagliardissima fantasia, nel fare il ritratto, ha solo veduto il vivo consenso interno, et non altrimenti con gli occhi. Ha potuto esprimere et quelle arie, et posture, che in dieci anni è venuta osservando più nobili in quella faccia; il cui nome [i.e. Urbano] in libro aperto, si veggono espressi... Così si vede quel ritratto pensoso con allegria, dolce con maestà, spiritoso con gravità; ride et è venerando.



Parve il sudetto ritratto di Nostro Signore che non ha braccia, con un poco di motivo di spalla destra et alzato di mozzetta, aggiunto alla pendentia della testa, che serve a più cose, come anco il chinare della fronte, dimostra chiara l'attione di accennar col braccio ad alcuno che si levi in piedi. (D'Onofrio 1967, 382).

<sup>11</sup> Patricia Waddy has emphasized the importance of the palace's orientation toward the heart of the city and St. Peter's (*Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces. Use and the Art of the Plan*, Cambridge, MA, 1990, 176, 212, 218f., 223f., 231). Waddy aptly refers to the type of the Paris hôtel, which Urban certainly knew well from his early years there, and which may have contributed to the reprise of the Roman model.

<sup>12</sup> Principio Fabrizio, *Delle allusioni, imprese, et emblemi... sopra la vita, opere, et attioni di Gregorio XIII... nei quali, sotto l'allegoria del Drago, Arme del detto Pontefice, si descrive anco la vera forma d'un principe Cristiano...*, Rome, 1588, 308. On this emblem and its significance, see Irving Lavin, *Past-Present. Essays on Historicism in Art from Donatello to Picasso*, Berkeley, 1993, 167f., and Nicola Courtright, *The Papacy and the Art of Reform in Sixteenth-Century Rome. Gregory XIII's Tower of the Winds in the Vatican*, Cambridge and New York, 2003, 178f.

<sup>13</sup> Courtright 2003, 79, 260 n. 1.

<sup>14</sup> See the discussion of these relationships in Lavin 1993, 191f.

<sup>15</sup> I have traced this trajectory in Irving Lavin, *Fischer von Erlach, Tiepolo, and the Unity of the Visual Arts*, in H. A. Millon and S. S. Munshower, eds., *An Architectural Progress in the Renaissance and Baroque. Sojourns In and Out of Italy. Essays in Architectural History Presented to Hellmut Hager on his Sixty-Sixth Birthday* (Papers in Art History from the Pennsylvania State University, VIII), University Park, PA, 1992, Part 2, 498-525.

<sup>16</sup> The standard work on honorific papal monuments is Werner Hager, *Die Ehrenstatuen der Päpste*, Leipzig, 1929. A full account of the Capitoline statues will be found in Monika Butzek, *Die kommunalen Repräsentationsstatuen der Päpste des 16. Jahrhunderts in Bologna, Perugia und Rom*, Bad Honnef, 1978.

<sup>17</sup> Michelangelo's bronze Julius II has been comprehensively studied by Michael Rohmann, *Michelangelos Bronzestatue von Julius II. Zur Geschichte und Bedeutung päpstlicher Ehrentore in Bologna und Ascoli*, "Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana", XXXI, 1996, pp. 187-206.

<sup>18</sup> This relationship was noted in a brilliant paper by Jack Freiberg, *Gregory XIII, Constantine, and the Law*, to be published in the acts of a conference, *Unità e frammenti di modernità. Arte e scienza nella Roma di Gregorio XIII Boncompagni (1572-1585)*, Rome, June, 2004.

<sup>19</sup> No doubt Barberini was also aware that, according to the *Golden Legend* Urban I, who played a central role in the life of St. Cecilia, used the most familiar of all bee clichés to describe the Roman martyr's works in the service of Christ: "...Lord Jesus Christ, sower of chaste counsel, accept the fruit of the seeds that you sowed in Cecilia! Lord Jesus Christ, good shepherd, Cecilia your handmaid has served you like a busy bee (apis tibi argumentosa): the spouse whom she received as a fierce lion, she has sent to you as a gentle lamb!" (Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, eds., Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger, New York, etc., 1948, 691; "...Caecilia famula tua quasi apis tibi argumentosa deservit; nam sponsum, quem quasi leonem ferocem accepit, ad te quasi agnum mansuetissimum destinavit". Voragine 1850, 772).

<sup>20</sup> On these paintings see Erich Schleier, *Charles Mellin and the Marchesi Muti*, "The Burlington Magazine", CXVIII, 1976, 836-45, followed by Jacques Thuillier, et al., *Vouet*, Paris, 1990, 30-3. Only Urban I is saint. Urban II and V are beatified.

<sup>21</sup> According to Paolo Negri, *Urbano VIII e l'Italia*, "Nuova rivista storica", VI, 1922, 174, "Narranto taluni peneiristi e biografi che Maffeo Barberini, all'assunzione sua al pontificato, assumesse il nome di Urbano per ricordare quell'Urbano II che primo aveva suscitato le turbe cristiane alla liberazione del Santo Sepolcro". In fact, I suspect Negri was extrapolating from the zealous and otherworldly "antichi predecessori" who nevertheless undertook "imprese gloriose" (see n. 2 above). Urban II described himself in a letter, as "renitente" (Gaetano Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-artistico da S. Pietro sino ai nostri giorni*, 103 vols., 1840-61, LXXXVI, 4 col. b). On Urban VIII's ballot recount, see Scott 1991, 183.

<sup>22</sup> See the extraordinarily rich and perspicacious study by Luigi Fiorani, *Le visite apostoliche del cinque-seicento e la società religiosa di Roma*, "Ricerche per la storia religiosa di Roma", IV, 1980, 53-148, esp. 112-27. Urban's visitations in turn inspired the even more ambitious efforts of Alexander VII (Fiorani 1980, 127ff.; also Lavin 2004).

<sup>23</sup> For what follows here see Irving Lavin, *Bernini's Bumbling Barberini Bees*, in Joseph Imorde, et al., eds., *Barocke Inszenierung*, Zurich, 1999, 50-71, and Lavin 2005, 131-7.

<sup>24</sup> Et Neemiae erat oratio hunc habens modum Domine Deus omnium creator terribilis et fortis iustus et misericors qui solus es rex bonus.

<sup>25</sup> Andrea Alciati, *Emblemata*, Padua, 1621, Emblema LI.

<sup>26</sup> *De Clementia* I. XIX. 3; 1 Cor. 15:55.

<sup>27</sup> We owe this poetic observation to Howard McP. Davis, *Bees on the Tomb of Urban VIII*, "Source. Notes in the History of Art", VIII-IX, 1989, 42.