

THE ART AND INFLUENCE OF GIANLORENZO BERNINI (1598-1680)

A Colloquium Commemorating the Tricentennial
of the Artist's Death

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Edited by
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE

OPENING REMARKS

PART I. BERNINI AND HIS SOURCES

- P. 11 MATTHIAS WINNER: Bernini the Sculptor and the Classical Heritage in His Early Years
- P. 42 HOWARD HIBBARD: Bernini and Caravaggio
- P. 53 ITALO FALDI: An Unknown Painting by Gianlorenzo Bernini of 1636
- P. 62 URSULA SCHLEGEL: The Crucifixes of the Vatican Altars
- P. 69 MAURIZIO FAGIOLO: Bernini and Kircher at Piazza Navona: The End of the Great Flood
- P. 86 RUDOLF PREIMESBERGER: Bernini and Gaulli at Sant'Agnese in Agone
- P. 92 SANDRA BANDERA: Reading Bernini Texts: Some Discoveries and New Observations
- P. 130 HANS KAUFFMANN: Notes on the mise-en-scène of Bernini's Statuary
- P. 133 IRVING LAVIN: On Illusionism in the Vault of the Gesù
- PART II: BERNINI AND HIS INFLUENCE
- P. 142 ERICH HUBALA: The Baroque Apsidal Altar: Bernini or Palladio?
- P. 161 HENRY MILLON: Bernini in Piedmont
- P. 198 HELLMUT HAGER: Some Observations on Bernini's Architectural Legacy
- P. 229 ALLAN BRAHAM: Bernini's Influence on French Architecture
- P. 243 CECIL GOULD: Bernini's Influence on French Sculpture and Painting
- P. 254 JÖRG GARMS: Interest in Bernini in the mid-18th Century: Salvi and Vanvitelli

PART II: BERNINI AND HIS INFLUENCE (continued)

P.265 RUDOLF KUHN: Sculptures with Three Defined Views by Gianlorenzo
Bernini and Ignaz Günther

EPILOGUE

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

ILLUSTRATIONS

A NOTE ON THE TRANSLATIONS

I translated from Italian the articles by the following authors: Sandra Bandera, Maurizio Fagiolo, Italo Faldi, Jorg Garms, Rudolf Preimesberger, and Ursula Schlegel; and from the German, the articles by Erich Hubala and Hans Kauffmann. Particular thanks for assistance with the German translations go to Orrin W. Robinson, Stanford University, and for assistance with both Italian and German texts, Kurt W. Forster, Stanford University.

Diane Ghirardo

PREFACE

In the summer of 1979 John D'Arms, then Director of The American Academy in Rome, and his predecessor Henry Millon, were kind enough to invite me to organize a modest symposium at the Academy, to commemorate the three-hundredth anniversary of Bernini's death. I was pleased to accept the honor, partly because of the great affection and debt of gratitude toward the Academy I have acquired over many years, and partly because I felt this occasion and format would offer an appropriate opportunity to contribute to a surprisingly neglected aspect of Bernini studies, his influence. Bernini's vast legacy as a sculptor is evident to anyone who has a sense of the development of European art, but with a few exceptions his influence in other media is much less well understood. Accordingly, invitations were sent to a *group of* specialists, the sum of whose contributions might be expected to strike a balance between new ideas and material concerning Bernini's own works and their later repercussions. No honoraria or other expenses were offered, except that various foreign cultural institutions in Rome generously provided housing for the speakers from their respective countries. The response was gratifying in the extreme, as is evident from the present publication. The sessions were followed by animated discussions in which the audience joined; _____
_____ unfortunately, it has not been possible to reproduce these exchanges here, but I am sure the participants will long remember them as a particularly fruitful and enjoyable aspect of the occasion.

I wish to thank the contributors, as well as the audience, for their enthusiasm, cooperation and patience. We in turn, are greatly indebted

to John D'Arms and Henry Millon for their constant encouragement and helpfulness with the organization of the meeting and the preparation of this volume. Christine Young, Secretary to the Director of the Academy, Walter Cini, Assistant Director for Administration, and the staff of the Academy, spared no trouble to ensure the success of the enterprise in all its phases. James Bodnar, Andrea Brown, Barbara Kellum, John Scott and William Tronzo, Fellows of the Academy, rendered invaluable service throughout the meetings. For their hospitality, ^{to participants} we are most grateful to Professor Theodor Kraus, Director of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut in Rome, Professor Clemens Krause, Director of the Istituto Svizzero di Roma, Dr. David Whitehouse, Director of the British School at Rome, and Professor Matthias Winner, Director of the Bibliotheca Hertziana. ↑

Roger Conover of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press was cordially receptive and always cooperative in the matter of publishing the acts; and Diane ^hGirardo is to be warmly thanked and congratulated for her thoughtful and scrupulous fulfillment of the formidable task of translating, copyediting and typing the final manuscripts.

Irving Lavin
Princeton, New Jersey

September, 1980

/. Two works may be mentioned that deal generally with aspects of the historiography of Bernini and his art: L. Welcker, Die Beurteilung Berninis in Deutschland im Wandel der Zeiten, Diss., Cologne, 1957; G. C. Bauer, ed., Bernini in Perspective, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1976.

OPENING REMARKS

We are gathered to commemorate the death of Gianlorenzo Bernini, the leading Italian artist of the seventeenth century--the artist who, far more indelibly than any other, stamped the age with his own image, to the point where Bernini and the Baroque in Italy are almost synonymous. His contemporaries were well aware of his prodigal achievements, and according to his biographers, when he died at the age of 82, all Rome mourned the loss and crowded to the funeral at Santa Maria Maggiore.

Two facts concerning Bernini's own attitude toward death cast a shadow over this splendid picture of artistic triumph and apotheosis. One is that in contrast to most successful and important Italian artists since the Renaissance, Bernini planned no distinctive commemoration for himself. Unlike the great masters of the past whom he emulated in many other ways--Raphael, Titian, Michelangelo, for example, all of whom provided or intended to provide important funereal monuments of their own--Bernini chose to be simply interred in the family vault beneath the floor in a metal box inscribed with his name and the date of his death. ✓ In this context, evidently, Bernini's view of his own afterlife was quite different from theirs. The second fact is that Bernini had a premonition about his future reputation. He expressed his modest and melancholic feeling in terms at once metaphorical and astrological, saying that he owed his success to his guiding

star, whose ascendancy would cease after his death, leaving his reputation to decline or fall all at once. ²

In this respect, as in many others, Bernini was prophetic. I venture to say that if few artists reached the heights of admiration he did in his time, few have then become the subject of so much vituperation, both as a creator and as a man. By now, of course, our perception of Bernini's time and of Rome are so colored by his spirit that to think of commemorating him seems almost impertinent. If one visits today the Protomoteca Capitolina, the collection of portraits of famous men on the Campidoglio, Bernini's is one of the largest and most prominently displayed busts. Yet, it seems to me we have a great deal more to learn about the nature and meaning of his art if it is still possible for some people to argue whether Bernini or Borromini was the greater genius--as if the old antagonisms were relevant after 300 years. It also seems to me that the trajectory of Bernini's artistic legacy remains obscure, for there is still a tendency to think of him as marking the end, rather than the beginning of an epoch--the last great artist of the Renaissance, as he has been described.

For these reasons we are fortunate that the contributions we shall be hearing today and tomorrow will consider not only Bernini's art itself, but also its influence on the generations that followed. Let us therefore begin our reflections on and of that giant star which rose in Naples on December 7, 1598, and brightly illuminated the earth until it fell in Rome at midnight on November 27-8, 1680.

/. See the sources quoted in my "Bernini's Death," The Art Bulletin, LIV, 1972, 159ff. The relevant passage in Bernini's will, dated November 28, 1680, is as follows:
 "Il mio corpo, uoglio che sia sepellito nella Sacrosanta Basilica di S. Maria Maggiore, doue oltre hauere la sepoltura di casa mia, seruirà à Monsig.r Pietro Filippo mio figlio Canonico della medema Basilica per una quotidiana memoria di ricordarsi dell'anima mia. Li funerali rimetto ad arbitrio dell'infrascritti miei heredi alli quali raccordo, ch'a' poueri defonti sono più necessarij li suffragij di messe, ed orazioni, che di apparenze dell'esequie"(fol. 278f.; cf. ibid., 184, n. 81).

On Renaissance artists' tombs in Italy, see I. Lavin, "The Sculptor's 'Last Will and Testament,'" Allen Memorial Art Museum Bulletin, XXXV, 1977-8, 4-39; G. Schütz-Rautenberg, Künstlergrabmäler des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts in Italien. Ein Beitrag zur Sozialgeschichte der Künstler, Diss., Cologne and Vienna, 1978.

2. P. Fréart de Chantelou, Journal du voyage du Cavalier Bernin en France, ed. L. Lalanne, Paris, 1885, 62.

PART 1

BERNINI AND HIS SOURCES

Matthias Winner

BERNINI THE SCULPTOR AND THE CLASSICAL
HERITAGE IN HIS EARLY YEARS
Praxiteles', Bernini's and Lanfranco's
"Pluto and Proserpina"

The classical heritage as it appears in the early sculpture of Gian Lorenzo Bernini is far too vast a subject to be handled briefly. I shall confine my discussion to only one statue, the "Rape of Proserpina," which in some respects is the first work from the artist's mature period, and it is also the most classicizing (Fig. 1). Art historians have already isolated antique works of sculpture in Rome which could have stimulated Bernini when he chiselled this marble group.¹ Though inspired by some of the well known statues of the ancients, Bernini constantly avoided being nailed down to a specific model. The "Abduction of Proserpina" as known in contemporary Rome from reliefs on old sarcophagi had no parallel as a freestanding antique sculpture (Fig. 2).²

In the 17th century the artist first had to ponder on an invenzione of the whole group. Baldinucci later claimed that Bernini himself commenced his works by first devoting all his strength to the invenzione before turning his mind to the ordering of the parts.³ That the term invenzione belongs to the heritage of classical rhetoric Bernini knew quite well, since he refers in this context to the example of the orator. But he held, as indicated by other scattered remarks, the traditional conviction that the inventive faculties which produced both poetry and painting operated in the same way.⁴

How then could Bernini transform the ancient poetical invention of the mythological Rape of Proserpina into a sculptural one? His

achievement as a sculptor shall further be clarified when his effort to adapt the same ancient myth to a pictorial invenzione is compared with the treatment of the same theme by the contemporary painter Lanfranco.

It is unlikely that Bernini himself was free to choose his classical theme. The first payment by Cardinal Scipione Borghese, dating from 19 June 1621, is for a "Plutone che rapisce Proserpina" together with a memorial bust of Paul V.⁵ Italo Faldi also found decisive documentation that the Pluto was transported from Bernini's studio near S. Maria Maggiore to Scipione's Villa near Porta Pinciana on 23 September 1622.⁶ It can be assumed that the marble ^{had been} given already in 1623, before the death of Gregory XV, to the Cardinal Lodovico Ludovisi and installed in his adjacent villa. There a Latin distich conceived by Cardinal Maffeo Barberini, later Pope Urban VIII, was inscribed on its base:⁷ "Quisquis humi pronus flores legis, inspice, saevi me Ditis ad domum rapi." (Behold, whoever you are, if you stoop down to pick flowers, consider how I am abducted to the dwelling place of wild Dis.) Strangely enough, Cardinal Maffei used the Latin name Dis for Pluto, the Greek God of the Underworld who turns up in his italianized form "Plutone" in all the payment documents. The God Dis and Proserpina were venerated in the so-called cave of Terentus, which in the early seventeenth century view was located in the neighborhood of the present Piazza Nicosia near the banks of the Tiber.⁸ Censorinus and Suetonius have testified that the traditional "Ludi saeculares" (centenary festivals) were initiated here by Augustus in 17 B.C.

with a sacrifice for the Moires at the altar of the gods Dis (Pluto), Proserpina and Ceres.⁹ This was the only place in ancient Rome where an altar was consecrated to the subterranean deities Pluto and Proserpina. The serious seventeenth century descriptions of Roma antica mention the place extensively and even, as in Alessandro Donato's "Roma Vetus" from 1638, attempt to illustrate with an etching the topographical site of the venerated subterranean cave in the Campo Marzio (Fig. 3).¹⁰ An anonymous 1628 guide of Rome described the nearby Palazzo Borghese and extolled the building with the obligatory remark that it "non sia inferiore a quelli edifitij Imperiali antichi che furono in questo nobil Campo Marzo, et essendosi spente quelle belle meraviglie... hoggi si vedono ravvivate in memoria di questa nobil famiglia."¹¹ But the only relics of classical buildings referred to in Ancient literature in the neighborhood of the Borghese Palace were the tomb of Augustus and the cave of Terentus with the altar of Pluto and Proserpina. After the death of his uncle the Pope, in 1621 Scipione Borghese moved from his dwelling place in the Borgo, the Palazzo Giraud-Torlonia, to the Palazzo Borghese (in the Campo Marzio) owned by Marc-Antonio Borghese, Principe di Sulmona, the only living heir of the family.¹² Marc-Antonio had married Camilla Orsini in 1620 but their son Paolo was not born until 1624. The sudden death of the Pope had not only robbed the family of its leading member, it even threatened the future of the main branch of the family if the recently married couple Marc-Antonio and Camilla could not produce an heir. The site of the family's Palazzo in the neighborhood of Pluto's and Proserpina's sanctuary and the mourning over the death of the leading

Borghese, Pope Paul V, may have played a part in Scipione's choice of the pseudo-antique subject-matter for Bernini's group.¹³ Did Bernini himself pay tribute to such assumed allegorical implications in his invenzione?

Scholars have failed to remark on the fact that the hind-legs of the marble Cerberus are hidden by sprouting leaves. This plant on the back of the sculpture is obviously a laurel tree which had been chopped down (Fig. 4). The naked stump rests in the center of the foliage and bursts into leaves again. If Bernini's group illustrates only the mythical Rape of Proserpina as recounted in the poetry of Ovid and Claudian, we surely could expect some flowers in Proserpina's hands or on the ground.¹⁴ She was picking flowers when Pluto tore her away to his gloomy realm, **and** Cardinal Maffeo's moralizing inscription on the sculpture's base alludes to flowers. Instead of flowers, the laurel-trunk with foliage could refer to Cerberus who is understood by Natalie Comitis as Nature's engendering power.¹⁵ That Bernini wanted to hint at such a connotation of Cerberus becomes clear from the leaves and branches which encircle the dog's genitals and even hide his hind legs, so that the infernal animal seems to grow from the earth (Fig. 5). Some ancient authors even identified Cerberus with the earth.¹⁶ The evergreen laurel tree was the time-honored plant of Apollo. Apollo's Daphne, transformed into laurel, stands not only for virtue, triumph and glory, but also for eternity.¹⁷ A cut-off trunk with sprouting laurel branches stems from the bark of Bernini's Daphne who is on the verge of total transformation (Fig. 6).¹⁸ In Book VI of Virgil's

Aeneid, Aeneas is instructed by the Cumaean Sybil to pluck off the golden bough which is holy to Proserpina and to dedicate it to her if the hero wished to enter and leave the Elysian Fields in the Tartarus.¹⁹ In the words of the poet "Primo avolso non deficit alter - if the first branch has been plucked another will always grow." A scroll encircling a sprouting laurel stump quotes this Virgilian verse on Pontormo's posthumous portrait of Cosimo de' Medici (Fig. 7).²⁰ The offspring of the virtuous Medici family will never cease, is the pictorial message.

A similar idea of the renewing power of the bereft family tree of the Borghese may have been in Scipione's mind when he discussed with Bernini the erudite accessories of the "Rape of Proserpina." How important the myth of Proserpina for the Villa Borghese and its patron must have been emerges in a closer examination of Lanfranco's ceiling fresco in the Loggia upstairs (Fig. 8). As Howard Hibbard has documented, Lanfranco's painting dates from 1624, just one year after Bernini's group had been given to the Ludovisi.²¹ Though the painter Domenico Corvi extensively restored Lanfranco's original in the eighteenth century, we know from documents and from Pietro Aquila's earlier etchings that at least the quadro riportato in the center adheres meticulously to Lanfranco's original iconography.²² Giacomo Manilli named this quadro riportato in 1650 a "council of the gods", Conciglio degli Dei.²³ And to the best of my knowledge no one else has tried since to unveil more of the meaning.²⁴

Pluto and Proserpina are seated below Jove's cloudy chair in the vertical axis of the fresco (Fig. 9).²⁵ Proserpina alone looks

benevolently down on us. She caresses Cerberus, which may convey the idea that she is a specifically earthbound goddess and hence united more closely with us as the terrestrial beholders. It is obvious that the gods on Mount Olympus attend a final judgment of Jove who points his right hand towards the group of gods on his right, while Astraea--Justice--crowns him with stars.²⁶ Gods encircle women on either side of Jove, a young woman on the left and an old one on the right (Figs. 10-11). Since neither is supplied with a particular designation, we shall try to identify them according to the internal evidence of their interrelation with their neighbors.

In the far right twoheaded Janus as god of Chaos, the year, time and eternity introduces the picture (Fig. 10). Bacchus, grapes in hand, follows with his retinue, with Maenads and Priapus or Silenus close to him.²⁷ The presence of Faunus with ears pointed in front of him reveals that an Olympus of specifically Roman rustic deities has been assembled. Naked Apollo holds in his left hand an arrow as a sign of his warming and burning sunrays. His yellow halo refers to the sun, whereas the three Graces or Hours in the background and two Muses lower in the clouds are his usual followers.²⁸ Mercury with his trumpet as messenger leans downward, turning his head like Apollo-Sol to the elderly woman. She gesticulates with outstretched arms and looks towards the handsome girl at the opposite end of the fresco (Fig 11). The girl seems to stand submissively acquiescent to Jove's will as she crosses her hands above her chest and holds a laurel branch. The elderly woman summons something from Jove. And since she found her place in between Apollo-Sol and Bacchus she may either be Diana-

Luna or Ceres--or a possible combination of both deities.²⁹ She is indeed clad as mother Ceres when she was restlessly wandering day and night through the world and the skies in search of her lost daughter Proserpina.³⁰ The necessary torch in her hand is represented by Apollo's halo. Ovid tells us (Fasti IV, 580) that Ceres vainly implored the gods and her brother Jove, who himself was the father of Proserpina, to reveal to her the hiding place of her daughter. According to Ovid, the sympathetic Sun-Apollo, who sees all things committed by day, finally informed her that Proserpina ruled the third realm as the wife of Jove's brother Pluto. Indeed, the three brothers, Jove with Juno, Neptune with his mate--strangely enough Ceres--and Pluto with Proserpina sit in the center as representatives of the three realms of nature.³¹ Pluto had been living without a wife, and he threatened to ravage heaven with monsters from the depth if his brother Jove failed to supply him with a female mate.³² Jove therefore asked Venus to inflame Pluto with love for the beautiful Proserpina.³³ She promptly did so; here she sits near her lover Mars and points to Pluto and at the same time she looks across the fresco at the Virgin Proserpina who is flanked by Vulcan and Hercules with his club. Her rape took place in Cere's Sicily in the shadow of Aetna, Vulcan's forge, where Cupid's love arrows were produced. Consequently Cupid flutters with Vulcan's hammer around Proserpina. Hercules represents eternal virtue as Proserpina had been virtuous in defending her virginity against Pluto.³⁴ But why is Pan with his pipes, the god of nature in Arcady, looking towards Ceres? During her search for her daughter, Ceres came to

Arcady and was ravished against her will by Neptune.³⁵ Out of shame she hid in a dark cave and refused to see the light of heaven anymore, herewith causing the destruction of the crops and much evil for the human race. It was the wandering Pan who discovered the mourning Ceres and instantly informed Jove. Jove succeeded in reconciling Ceres. When she finally left her hiding-place the earth bore fruit again. Ovid explains in the Metamorphoses the means by which Jove appeased the wrath and the accusation of mother Ceres.³⁶ The text runs as follows: "But now Jove, holding the balance between his brother (Pluto) and his grieving sister (Ceres), divides the revolving year into two equal parts. Now the goddess (Proserpina), the common divinity of two realms, spends half the months of the year with her mother and half with her husband. Straightaway the bearing of her heart and face is changed. For she who but lately even to Dis seemed sad, now wears a joyful countenance; like the sun, which long concealed behind dark and misty clouds disperses the clouds and reveals his face."

The clue for the subject and invenzione of the fresco seems ^{to be} this Ovidian passage. Jove subdivides the revolving year into two equal halves. To complete a full sequence of one year's time, Proserpina has to appear twice, once with Pluto, once on the higher level of Ceres.

Since both Proserpina and Ceres appear twice in the fresco--the latter once on a lower level as "terra" with Neptune, and once with Apollo as "luna"--Lanfranco probably wanted to describe the two halves

of the revolving year.³⁷ The pair Ceres-Proserpina on the right side of Jove represent the first half of the year, winter (Proserpina in the Underworld with Pluto, the matronlike mother above claiming her right to know where her daughter is hiding). The pair Ceres-Proserpina on the left side of Jove shows the daughter risen to heaven happily united with the gods above her mother. Ceres as Terra crowned herself with the grains and was reconciled with Jove because she had recovered her daughter for half of the year as a result of Jove's partition of the year.

Janus initiates the cycle which we call a year. Apollo-Sol is likewise responsible for the revolution of hours, days and years. Saturn, Father Time, introduces the group which encircles Proserpina, and she too will represent another subdivision of time according to Jove's sentence. In this context the pair of gods on the outer frame behind her can only be explained as Vertumnus and Pomona. The ancient Romans had derived "Vertumnus" etymologically from "vertere" meaning "to revolve".³⁸ His task is to oversee the growing of grain and fruits as the year completes its cycle. As late as 1650, Manilli describes frescoes by a Flemish painter above the four doors of the Loggia representing the Four Seasons.³⁹

There are several possible readings of the Mars-Venus pair. Perhaps the position of Mars next to Venus refers to March as the first month of the Roman Calendar.⁴⁰ Or, perhaps Venus and Mars signify spring, while other divine couples represent the other three seasons. Maybe Mars and Venus got their prominent place because the divine lovers refer to peace and--more specifically--to the Pax Romana. It is even possible that painter and patron meant to

hint at the repetition of the "saecula aurea," the Golden Age which is bound to return after the Age of Iron. This repetition takes place in the same way that the shorter periods of time--minutes, hours, months and years--are eternally revolving. The rhapsodic words of Virgil's Fourth Eclogue are the basic text for all Renaissance and Baroque imagination about the Golden Age:⁴¹ "Now is come the last age... The great line of centuries begins anew. Now the Virgin returns, the reign of Saturn returns, now a new generation descends from heaven on high... Thine own Apollo is now king." Virgil alludes to the Virgin Astraea, or Justice, who turns up as a constellation in the Zodiac on the annual day when day and night are equally long. She sits above Jove in the fresco. Because she left the earth and went to heaven at the end of the Iron Age, her return to earth initiates the new Golden Age in which justice, peace and abundance may flourish.

De Magistris, a court-poet of the Borghese family, introduces his encomium "Aetodraconteum" with an interpretation of the family arms in 1616 to Cardinal Scipione.⁴² "The ancients dedicated the Eagle to Jove and the Dragon to Saturn and both of them express the idea of the Prince; ...these two together articulate the coat of arms of the Borghese. According to de Magistris, these arms express the reality of the ages: as Jove succeeded Saturn, so the eagle is superimposed on the dragon. The present age seems to renew the Golden Age, concludes the author, because the Eagle and the Dragon are happily united. Lanfranco's Mars bears on his helmet the golden Dragon which certainly will be seen together with Jove's nearby Eagle as a complement of the Borghese arms.

The god Faunus, smiling invitingly at us, lies on his fleece in the right corner, closer to the beholder than the other gods. The skin of a sheep that has been sacrificed to Faunus now bestows on those who lie on it dreams, visions and prophecies. Thus Faunus invites us to regard the picture as a heavenly vision of the turn towards a new Golden Age under the auspices of the Borghese Arms.

But still another passage of Claudian's "De raptu Proserpinae" Lib III may have excited Lanfranco's imagination.⁴³ When Pluto raped Proserpina, Jove gathered together all gods on Mount Olympus and decreed that nobody should tell Ceres the abode of her daughter or betray the name of the ravisher. In response to the steady complaint of Nature that the race of man had sunk in lethargy by reason of Saturn's sluggish rule, Jove ordered that the arts (artes) should give birth to civilization (sollertia). "And Ceres should wander over sea and land in anxious grief, until, in her joy at finding the traces of her lost daughter, she grant man the gift of corn." Lanfranco expresses Proserpina's innate nature of "creeping forth" (proserpare, as S Augustine etymologically explained her name) by the painted laurel branch in her hand.⁴⁴ Even Ceres had visions of her raped daughter, in form of a laurel as Claudian tells us: "... there stood a laurel, loved above all the grove, that used with maiden leaf to overshadow the virgin bower of Proserpina. This (Ceres) saw hewn down to the roots, its stragglng branches fouled with dust..."⁴⁵ And it is Vulcan's hammer carried by Cupid towards Proserpina's laurel that illustrates human Art refining Nature's

gifts for the duration of Ceres' wanderings in search of her daughter.

Hans Kauffmann suspected that Bernini's Proserpina should have been placed in the Sala terrena underneath the Loggia with Lanfranco's "conciglio degli dei".⁴⁶ He even thought that the idea of the Golden Age in Claudian's "Rape of Proserpina" was present in Bernini's mind while he was carving his group because Andrea Borboni had already mentioned in 1661 in his book "Delle Statue" that Bernini may have been guided by Claudian's text.⁴⁷ Nonetheless, the iconographic interpretation of the marble group reveals only a meager choice of firmly classical references. The basic idea was set forth in Pietro da Barga's Proserpina bronze in the Bargello.⁴⁸ This group had been cast in Rome in the 1580s for Ferdinando de Medici. Bernini clearly knew this work, since his own rendering of Pluto-Proserpina as a freestanding group with Cerberus as a support was a combination which da Barga had invented. But did the idea of a freestanding "raptus Proserpinae" really originate with da Barga? In fact Pliny reports that Praxiteles, renowned as the great marble sculptor of Antiquity, also produced bronzes, as testified by his "raptus Proserpinae."⁴⁹ Vasari's second edition of the Lives (1568) consequently lists Praxiteles as the greatest marble sculptor after Phidias. He mentions explicitly the Rape of Proserpina "Prassitele ancora avvenga che nel lavorare in marmo fusse tenuto maggios mastro nondimeno lavoro anche in bronzo molto eccessivamente: come ne fece fede la rapina di Proserpina."⁵⁰ Pietro da Barga's bronze could therefore be interpreted as a humanistic reconstruction of the lost Praxitelean

bronze group. It may be conjectured that Bernini was just as familiar with Pliny's text through Vasari as he was with Barga's bronze.

Praxiteles as a sculptor was more to Bernini than a literary tradition. As his remark in Chantelou's diary from June 1665 proves, Bernini even attributed the Roman Pasquino group to Phidias or Praxiteles, and described it as the most beautiful piece of antique sculpture (Fig. 12).⁵¹ Bernini interpreted the so-called Pasquino as the wounded Alexander the Great being carried away by his servant. This traditional assumption probably led Bernini to think of Praxiteles or Phidias as the sculptors responsible for the group. Since the middle ages, the names of these two artists had been associated with the monumental Dioscuri of the Quirinale.⁵² And in Bernini's youth the inscriptions, placed by Sixtus V. on their bases, defined both horse-breakers as portraits of Alexander the Great with his stallion Boukephalos. Phidias was supposed to have ^{sculpted} ~~cut~~ the left group and Praxiteles was said to have emulated his master in a competition (Fig. 13).⁵³ In 1638 this legend was destroyed on historical grounds by the Roman guidebook of Alessandro Donato who correctly interpreted the youths as the twin brothers of Dioscuri.⁵⁴ This also thoroughly discredited the authenticity of the artist's names. Bernini himself seemed occupied under Alexander VII with a new arrangement of the Cavalli which then, with the papal arms, served as a kind of prospect to the Via Pia (Fig 14).⁵⁵ Yet the old attribution of the Cavalli must have stuck in Bernini's mind, if he still mentioned Phidias as the sculptor of only one of the two youths in 1665, tacitly implying that the other one was by Praxiteles.⁵⁶

It would be silly to assume that Bernini wanted to emulate the stride of the youth allegedly by Praxiteles. But with Pluto's stride, could he not have tried to outdo an admittedly poor piece of work by a renowned ancient sculptor?

In the same way the group of the dying Niobides stood as Praxitelean marbles in the Villa Medici.⁵⁷ Since their discovery in 1583 they had been associated with Pliny's tradition of such a group by Praxiteles or Scopas in a Roman temple to Apollo. The different facial expressions of terror and pain may have prompted Bernini to surpass the Greek master in motion and emotion. We know from Pliny, repeated by Vasari, that Praxiteles made two statues expressing opposite emotions, a matron weeping and a merry courtesan.⁵⁸ Did Bernini hint at the Praxitelean "Weeping Woman" by means of Proserpina's marble tears on her cheek (Fig. 15)? The grin on Pluto's face is certainly the emotional complement to Proserpina's mourning. The old idea of Paragone powered Bernini's chisel when he tried to surpass the best ancient marble sculptor in one of his renowned groups, the "Raptus Proserpinae". The beauty of the Cnidian Venus by Praxiteles had become proverbial: the beauty of Proserpina and Daphne should also become proverbial. But how Bernini succeeded in modelling and carving a new ideal of beauty goes beyond his conception of invenzione and should be treated in another chapter.

FOOTNOTES

¹R. Wittkower, "The Role of Classical Models in Bernini's and Poussin's Preparatory Work", Studies in Western Art; Acts of the 20th International Congress of the History of Art, Vol. III, Princeton, 1963, 47 (Hercules and Hydragroup in the Capitoline Museum, which has been restored about 1630 in the Ludovisi Collection by A. Algardi); H. Kauffmann, Giovanni Lorenzo Bernini, Berlin 1970, 45, 47 (Laocoon, Torso si Belvedere); S. Howard, "Identity Formation and Image Reference in the Narrative Sculpture of Bernini's. Early Maturity--Hercules and Hydra & Eros Triumphant", Art Quarterly 1979, 140, 163 n. 6 (Group of Niobides; Gaul and his wife, formerly Coll. Ludovisi, Fig. 3; Mastiff, copy of a fourth-century Lysippic statue, Galleria degli Uffizi Fig. 7).

²C. Robert, Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs III, 3, Berlin 1919, 455ff, Pl. CXIX, Fig. 359; recently G. Koch, "The Walters Persephone Sarcophagus", The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery, XXXVII, 1978, 78.

³F. Baldinucci, Vita del Cavaliere Gio. Lorenzo Bernino, Florence 1682, 71. "Nel prepararsi all'opere usava di pensare ad una cosa per volta, e davolo per precetto a suoi Discepoli, cioè prima all'invenzione, e poi rifletteva all'ordinazione delle parti finalmente a dar loro perfezione di grazia, a tenerezza. Portava in ciò l'esempio dell'Oratore, il quale prima inventa, poi ordina, veste, a adorna, perchè diceva, che ciascheduna di quelle operazioni ricercava tutto l'uomo..."

⁴See Baldinucci, Vita, 75.

⁵For the dating, compare the documentation published by I. Faldi, "Note sulle sculture Borghesiane del Bernini", Bollettino d'Arte, 1953, 140 ff. and 310 ff.; H. Hibbard, "Nuove note sul Bernini", Bollettino d'Arte, 1958, 183. I. Faldi, Galleria Borghese, le Sculture dal Secolo XVI al XIX, Rome, 1954, no. 33.

⁶Faldi, "Note", 314 doc. no. II-VI "... una testa con busto di Paolo V felice memoria". C. d'Onofrio, Roma vista da Roma, Rome 1967, 277 ff. (regarding the identification of this bust).

⁷D'Onofrio, Roma, 273 ff, on the supposition that Maffei had already composed his "dodici distichi per una Galleria" in 1618/20, No. 7 "Proserpina rapta a Plutone et imposita quadrigis seorsum puellae sociae Proserpinae cum floribus e gremio proiectis, et prae metu pavidae..." "Quisquis humi pronus flores legis; inspice, saevi/me Ditis ad domum rapi". The Distich would thus have been earlier than the definite sculptural group; according to D'Onofrio, Maffei's poetry may have inspired the subject matter of the group. F. Martinelli, Roma ricercata nel suo sito, 2nd ed., Venice, 1650, 348 quotes Maffei's distich on the basis of the group.

⁸Today archeologists locate the ara Ditis Patris et Proserpinae under the Corso Vittorio Emanuele near Piazza Sforza. In 1890 some remnants of the ara were found here. H.A. Stützer, Das Antike Rom, Cologne 1979, pp. 270-272. L.G. Giraldis (1479-1552) located the ara Ditis in the Campo Marzio near the Tiber in his book De Sacrificiis (complete works, ed. Leiden, 1696, p.534). "Romae in Campo Martio Terenti locus fuit, ubi Ditis et Proserpina ara fuit: locum quidam dictum volunt, quod ibi Tiberis tereret". A. Donato (Roma vetus ac recens, Rome, 1648, [1st ed. 1638]) describes the cave of Tarentum as being close to the Tiber near S. Lorenzo in Lucina: "Templum S. Laurentii in Lucina ipso nimine indicat eiusdem Lucinae templum cum luco. Ibi et Terentus, locus eius nominis, quod ibi curvatus Tiberis sinisteriorem ripam attereret: sive quod ara Ditis partis sub terra ibi occultaretur, ad quam fiebant sacrificai anno ludisque secularibus." (Ovid, Fast. I; Martial Lib. 4, 1). E. Nardini (Roma antica, Rome, 1666, 354) describes the site of the ara Ditis as follows: "Il luogo, che Terento dicevasi, pur fù nel Campo presso 'l Tevere, di cui così Festo 'Terentum in Campo Martio locum Verrius ait ab eo dicendum fuisse, quod terra ibi per ludos seculares Ditis Patris ita leviter teratur ab eius quadrigariis, ut eorum levis mobilitas aequiparet motus rapidos velocis lunae; quod quam aniliter relatum sit, cuius manifestum est' ... Altri vi legge, 'Terentus locus in campo dictus, quod eo loco ara Ditis Patris occultaretur, vel quod profluentis Tiberis

ripas aquarum cursus tereret'. Dalla cui seconda etimologia inferirebbersi esser quella ripa del Campi Marzo, ch'è presso Piazza Nicosia e S. Lucia della Tenta dalla curvatura del Tevere sempre battuta; e ben alcuni credono il nome di Tenta da Terento derivato. Quivi esser uscito di nave Evandro nel venir d'Arcadia canta Ovidio nel primo de' Fasti. ... V'era l'altar di Dite, e Proserpina sotterraneo come a' Dij infernali si costumava; fù da Romani fatto (scrive Zosimo) nella guerra contro gli Albani, et acciò ad ogn'altro fuor ch'a Romani fosse incognito, fu ricoperto di terra; ne si scopriva, che ne' giuochi scolari; nel qual tempo vi si celebrava il Trinottio, al quale allude Ausonio nel'Idilio II ... Festo nel libro 18 ...Quindi Martiale ne I. epigramma del 4 libro, e nel 62. del 10. e Statio nel 1. delle Selve nella Soteria per Gallico accennano sotto la frase di Terento i giuochi Secolari. Questo altare come che sepolto fuori del tempo di que' giuochi et incognito, fù trovato venti piedi sotterra da Valerio Sabino, che celebrandovi il Trinottio n'ottenne la sanità de figli moribondi. La storia o favola ch'ella sia, si narra da Valerio nel 4. del libro 2.". C. Huelsen (Le chiese di Roma nel Medio Evo, Florence 1927, p. 303) says that the etymological derivation of the name of the church "S. Lucia della Tenta" (i.e. S. Luciae Quattuor Portarum) from the cave of Terentum is not justified.

⁹The best survey of the saeculares ludi is in Paulys, Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, vol. I A 2 col. 1716 ff.

¹⁰See note 8.

¹¹H. Hibbard, "The Architecture of the Palazzo Borghese", Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome, XXVII, 1962, 63.

¹²Hibbard, "Architecture", pp. 72-75, with subsequent literature. Scipione Borghese moved into the modern Ripetta wing of the family palace, which had been constructed at his expense. The most interesting feature of this wing according to Hibbard (67) is the combination of casino and hanging garden near the bank of the river.

Until 1625 the bulk of Scipione's collection of antique sculpture could still be found in the palazzo Borghese. 200 loads of statuary were transferred in the subsequent years to the Villa Pinciana (Hibbard, "Architecture", 74, note 8). It is not clear whether Scipione commissioned the Bernini group of Pluto and Proserpina at the outset

for the Villa Pinciana. It may be that he originally planned to install it in his new dwelling in the Palazzo Borghese where most of his sculptures were in 1621. A subterranean ambience similar to the mysterious antique sanctuary of Pluto and Proserpina was certainly conceivable under the hanging garden of the Ripetta wing. The map of Rome by M. Greuter (1618) gives a separate illustration of the Palazzo Borghese. Three female statues of antique goddesses are singled out as being especially beautiful in the Palace and appear on the etching in large scale ("Statue Antiche di rara beltà et grandezza in questo Palazzo"). One of them is clearly specified by her attributes as a Ceres. Should we suspect a Proserpina in one of the other two? For illustration see, Hibbard, "Architecture", Pl. 63.

¹³In this connection the augural meaning of the story of Pluto and Proserpina should be kept in mind.

¹⁴The iconographic connotations of Bernini's group have been studied only by Kauffmann, Bernini, 48 ff. The literary tradition of the story of Proserpina in Renaissance and Baroque poetry has been investigated by H. Anton, Der Raub der Proserpina- Literarische Tradition eines erotischen Sinnbildes und mythischen Symbols, Heidelberg 1967. The basic literary sources of the myth in antiquity are Ovid, Met. V, 376-571; Ovid, Fast. IV, 393-620; Claudian, Rapt. Pros. Libri III; St. Augustin, Civ. dei, Lib. VII, cap. XX-XXV.

¹⁵N. Comitis, Mythologiae, sive explicationis fabularum libri X, 1641 (1568, 1st edition), 201: "... nihil aliud erit Cerberus quam rerum naturalium generatio...".

¹⁶Comitis, Mythologiae, 202: "Qui terram Cerberum esse putarunt...".

¹⁷Recent literature on the symbolic meaning of laurel will be found in F.A. Giraud, La fable de Daphné, Geneva, 1968; still indispensable is G.B. Ladner, "Vegetation Symbolism and the Concept of Renaissance", Essays in Honor of E. Panofsky, New York 1961, 315 ff.

¹⁸No attention seems to have been paid to this special motif of the cut off trunk. The laurel (as such has always been interpreted) in Bernini's Apollo and Daphne group since Maffei composed his contemporary distich. H. Kaufmann, Bernini, p. 59 ff.; W. Stechow, "Apollo und Daphne," Studien der Bibliothek Warburg, Berlin-Leipzig, 1932.

¹⁹Aenei VI, 143.

²⁰M. Winner, "Pontormos Fresko in Poggio a Caiano", Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte 1972, 186.

²¹H. Hibbard, "The Date of Lanfranco's Fresco in the Villa Borghese and other chronological Problems", Miscellanea Bibliothecae Hertzianae, Munich 1961, 356.

²²Hibbard, "Date of Lanfranco's Fresco", Fig. 257, 364, note IV, the contract of Corvi's restoration: "Che d.^o Sig. re Corvi debba risarcire quelle Pitture tanto trattandosi de chiari scuri, quanto di colori al naturale nel quadro di mezzo, imitando la maniera del primo autore, e fedelmente secondo quel pensiero e disegno senza che sia lecito variarlo in minima parte ...".

²³Iacomo Manilli, Villa Borghese, Rome, 1650, 95. "La volta della loggia, con le Lunette di sotto, è opera del Cavaliere Giovanni Lanfranchi; il quale v'hà nel mezzo dipinto à fresco il Conciglio deglè Dei. Vien questa volta ornata da molte figure finte di pietra in atto di sostenerla; con vasi grandi in mezzo, finti di bronzo, e con medaglioni simili, dentro à cornici di stucco. Nelle Lunette son dipinti undici Fiumi, de' piu famosi del Mondo".

Even G.P. Bellori (Le vite de' pittori, scultori e architetti moderni [1672] Ed. E. Borea Turin 1976, 395) mentions only "gli Dei a fresco nella Loggia" as paintings by Lanfranco in the Villa Borghese.

²⁴Only Kauffmann (Bernini, 50) ingeniously tried to connect Claudian's "De Raptu Proserpinae" Lib. III with Lanfranco's ceiling fresco. He referred correctly to Claudian's Lib. III, 14 ff. in order to explain the presence of the river gods in the lunettes. But he could not solve the riddle of the central painting since he did not find names for the single deities and thus was unable to define the interrelation of the Gods.

I confine myself to the central painting alone. I will leave the question of the river gods in the lunettes, the stories according to Ovid's "Metamorphoses" in the roundels above them, and the four painted vases in the spandrels to a more detailed study of the loggia decoration.

That the prominent vases have something to do with the general context of time seems probable. Martianus Capella (De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii, I. 8) described four metallic vases with lids of Apollo which were interpreted by Renaissance mythographers as "varietà de' tempi". See V. Cartari, Le Imagini degle Dei degle Antichi, Venice, 1609, 57.

²⁵Lanfranco planned in his preparatory drawing (see A. Stix and A. Spitzmüller, "Die Schulen von Ferrara, Bologna, Parma etc.", Vol. VI, Beschreibender Kat. der Handzeichnungen in der Staatl. Graph. Slg. Albertina, Vienna 1941, No. 371 ill.), to place Pluto and Proserpina more to the left, where in the final version Neptune can be found. In the original sketch, the plot of the painted story would have been a dialogue between Jove and Pluto, who is wearing a crown. The concentration on the concept of "time" is already clear in this sketch all the more so since Saturn is standing and thus has a still more prominent place. But some decisive details are not yet defined in the drawing.

²⁶I want to thank Dr. K. Herrmann-Fiore for drawing my attention to St. Francucci (La Galleria dell'Ill.mo et Rev.mo Signor Scipione card. Borghese.; Ms. in the Fondo Borghese IV, 102 Arch. Stato Vat.), where already in 1613 the 42nd strophe describes a relief of the Astrea above the doorway of Scipione's palace in the Borgo (the present Palazzo Giraud-Torlonia): "La bell'Astrea sta sopra l'arco in piede/ che pur dal ciel fece alla fin ritorno/ l'amata Pace a destra man le siede,/ versa da l'altra la dea Copia il corno ...". See C. d'Onofrio, Roma, 218.

²⁷It makes even more sense to call the small fat man Priapus rather than Silenus, whose general attributes might also fit with those of the painting (fatness, grapes for wine and bowl in hand, grape leaves on the head, bareness of virile member). But since Priapus is the son of Bacchus and has always been regarded as representation of nature's engendering power, much the same way that his father Bacchus has been seen, small and childlike, may be better identified as Priapus. See Cartari, Imagini, 323-325: "Oltre di ciò, perchè Baccho era

anco creduto da alcuni de gli antichi essere quella virtù occulta, che à tutte le piante dà forza di produrre gli maturi frutti, scrive Herodoto, che egli fu Nume familiare alle Dee Eleusine, et che andava spesso con loro. Queste erano ... Cerere, et Proserpina le quali erano credute fare che lo sparso seme germogliasse. Et leggesi appresso di Pausania [See Pausanias, Description of Greece, ed. Jones, Loeb Library, London, Cambridge Mass., 1969 Lib I, II 4] parimente, che gli Atheniesi havevano nel tempio di Cerere fra gli altri simulacri quel di Baccho anchora, il quale porgeva con mano un ardente face. Da che venne forse, che le favole fingessero Priapo essere nato di Baccho, per mostrare la intera virtù seminale, che piglia sua forza dal Sole, così negli animali come nelle piante, e nelle altre cose prodotte dalla terra".

The two female heads looking in different directions in the center of this group may refer to the Roman goddesses Antevorta and Postvorta (see again Cartari, Imagini, 31: "... adoravano gli antichi Romani Antevorta, e Postvorta compagne della Divinità quella perchè sapeva l'avenire, questa il passato, intendendo per¹⁰ che la Divina sapienza sa tutto ..."). This explanation seems to me probable since in the painting they correspond to another couple of male heads which I would identify with the Dioscuri on the fresco's left. Obviously the Dioscuri allude to the division of the immortality of Pollux with his mortal brother. By decree of Jove, Pollux is alive for one day while his brother is dead, and the next day they reverse their positions (Hyginus, Fabulae 173). Cicero (De Natura Deorum Lib. III) even reports that they were born from Proserpina.

²⁸The three Graces are said to have stood on the right hand of the statue of Apollo. The three Graces, the Hours, and the Four Seasons are identified by some scholars, for example Cartari (Imagini, 409), as "Imagini delle Hore dette anco da alcuni Gratie, et di Apolline, intese per le quattro stagioni dell'anno, questo per il Sole che varia le stagioni..."; "Ma dice poi ancho il medesimo Pausania, che tutti quelli, li quali posero in Delo con le statue di Mercurio, di Baccho,

et di Apollo le Gratie, le fecero tre...". Lanfranco's fresco renders all of these interpretations possible. Three young women next to Apollo could be seen as the three Graces on his right hand. Since a fourth young woman, who is close to the couple of Mars and Venus, seems not necessarily separated from her other female companions, she may be taken as one of the four seasons. This could be Harmonia, the offspring of the two lovers Mars and Venus. In his Albertina-sketch Lanfranco still identified her with Diana by means of a crescent moon on her head. Since this crescent has been left out in the fresco, Diana or Luna must be identified with other female Deities.

²⁹The ancient identification of Ceres-Proserpina and Diana-Luna had been represented by Pontormo in Poggio a Caiano about 1520 (see M. Winner, "Pontormo's Fresko" p.162 ff.). See further J. Kliemann, "Vertumnus and Pomona", Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz, XVI, 1972, p. 313 ff.

³⁰In F. Perrier's volume of ancient statues in Rome from 1638 is illustrated as No. 77 a matronlike "Ceres in Hortis Burghesianis".

³¹Caravaggio's ceiling in the Casino of the Villa Ludovisi in Rome of about 1597/1600 must be considered in this context as a forerunner of Lanfranco's fresco. See N.C. Wallach, "An Iconographic Interpretation of a Ceiling Painting attributed to Caravaggio", Marsyas XVII, 1975, 101 ff., fig. 1, fig. 24. S. Cantarini's Etching associates the three brothers Jove, Neptune and Pluto with the Borghese arms. The gods are paying homage to the Borghese-arms by presenting their own crowns.

In his fresco, Lanfranco does not mate the seagod Pluto with his wife Amphitrite but with Ceres. Since Ceres had once been loved against her will by Neptune this combination seems possible (Pausanias, Description of Greece, Lib. VIII, XXV, 5). In Arcadia there is a sanctuary to Demeter (Ceres) in the city of Oncium, where there were two different images of Demeter (Ceres) paying tribute to her two surnames "Fury" and "Bather" (Lusia). The Fury-Ceres image held a torch in her right hand (in our case the halo of Apollo), while the image of Bather-Ceres was not further described by Pausanias, but seems to have been expressed by Lanfranco by matching his Ceres with Neptune. For the correct interpretation of the fresco, it may be important that both goddesses "Proserpina" correspond

to both goddesses "Ceres" on the two different levels.

³² Claudian, De raptu Proserpinae I, 65-115, ed. M. Platnauer, Loeb Classical Library London-Cambridge, Mass., 1963, 298 ff.

³³ Claudian, De. rapt. Proserp. I. 215 ff.

³⁴ In a sanctuary of Jove in Arcadia, according to Pausanias (Description of Greece VIII, XXXI; 1-3) there are two statues of Ceres (Demeter) and her daughter. "By the side of Demeter there is also a Heracles about a cubit high. ...Before it stands a table on which are carved in relief two seasons, Pan with pipes, and Apollo playing the harp". ^{It} maybe that the Hercules at the feet of Ceres' daughter derives from this passage.

³⁵ See note 31. Cartari, Imagini, 168-169: "Da che venne, che ella fu chiamata Cerere Nera appresso di certo antro à lei consecrato pure nell'Arcadia; perciocchè quivi era vestita di negro, parte dicono per dolore della rapita figliuola, parte per lo sdegno, che ella hebbe della forza fattale da Nettuno, onde nascostasi nell'antro... vi stette assai buon tempo, il perchè non produceva più la terra frutto alcuno... che mosse à pietà tutti gli Dei li quali non potevano però alla miseria humana, noⁿ sapendo ove fosse Cerere. Ma avvenne, che il Dio Pan errando, come era suo costume, et andando quà, e là per quei monti cacciando, capitò là dove ella stava tutta mesta: e trovatala subito ne diede avviso à Giove...". See Natalis Comitum, Mythologiae Lib. V., 517; L. Gregorii Gyraldi, Opera omnia, ed. J. Faes et P. Colomesi, Leyden, 1696, vol. I; Historia de Deis Gentium, 428 f.

³⁶ Ovid, Metamorphoses, V, 565 ed., translated by F.J. Miller, London-Cambridge Mass., Loeb Classical Library, 1960, 276: "At medias fratrisque sui maestaeque sororis/Juppiter ex aequo volventem dividit annum:/ nunc dea, regnorum numen commune duorum,/ cum matre est totidem, cum coniuge menses".

³⁷ Compare note 28. The identification of Ceres with Diana-Luna has an old tradition; see Winner, "Pontormo's Fresko", 162-163; Kliemann "Vertumnus und Pomona", 313 ff.

³⁸ See Winner, Pontormo's Fresko, 167 ff.

³⁹Manilli, Villa Borghese, 95: "Sopra le quattro porte, son dipinte à fresco le quattro Stagioni, opera Fiammenga". It is interesting to note that in between the two doors of the Loggia a statue of Ceres was found (see Manilli, Villa Borghese, 92).

⁴⁰It is highly probably that the strange juxtaposition of Venus and Proserpina refers to another cosmological passage of Macrobius (Saturnalia XXI) where the author relates Venus to the upper hemisphere of the earth and Proserpina to the lower: "...quod Sol annuo gressu per duodecim signorum ordinem pergens partem quoque hemisphaerii inferioris ingreditur; quia de duodecim signis Zodiaci sex superiora sex inferiora censentur: et cum est in inferioribus et ideo dies brevioris facit, lugere creditur dea (Venus) tamquam sole raptu mortis temporalis amisso a Proserpina retento..." in the understanding of the Assyrian religion that Adonis may be understood as Sol.

⁴¹Virgil transl. by H. Rushton Fairclough, Loeb Classical Library, London/Cambridge Mass., 1965, 29.

⁴²C. D'Onofrio, Roma, 218. "Come Giove successe a Saturno, e l'aquila sovrappose al drago, ed alle sorelle Irene ed Astrea [see our note 26], figlie di Saturno oppose le proprie sorelle Amaltea e Politica (cioè l'ordine civile), per l'industria e l'interessamento delle quali parve che i tempi si rinnovassero e risorgessero quelli antichi dell'oro; così in questi nostri giorni l'Aquila sta in dolce complotto col Drago, e restituisce con verità tutti i beni che un tempo i secole aurei di Saturno conferivano con splendida menzogna. Di ciò è conspaevole tutto l'Orbe terrestre..."/ For Astrea see note 26.

⁴³Claudian, De raptu Proserpinae, Loeb Classical Library, 345-351.

⁴⁴Saint Augustine, De civitate Dei, VII, XX ed. and transl. W.M. Green, Vol, II. London/Cambridge Mass., 1963, 445.

⁴⁵Claudian, De raptu Proserpinae Lib. III, 350.

⁴⁶Kauffmann, Bernini, 50.

⁴⁷Kauggmann, Bernini, 17 and 50; A. Borboni, Delle Statue, Rome, 1661, 81. "E per dire il vero, chi puo rappresentare la Proserpina rapita da Pluto che non la vegga più al vivo scolpita dallo scarpello del Bernino; che descritta dalla penna di Claudiano?"

⁴⁸Kauffmann, Bernini, 44; the group is mentioned in Ferdinando de Medici's Inventario Guardaroba 1587-91. See G. de Nicola, "Notes on the Museo Nazionale of Florence II, Burlington Magazine XIX, 1916, 363 ff.; I. Lavin, "Five New Youthful Sculptures by Gianlorenzo Bernini, Art Bulletin L, 1968, 242, note 126; illustrated in H. Anton, Raub der Proserpina, Fig. 32.

⁴⁹C. Plinii Secundi, Naturalis Historiae, XXXIV, 19, 20. "Praxiteles quoque marmore felicior: ideo et clarior fuit. Fecit tamen et ex aere pulcherrima opera: Proserpinae raptum: item Catagusam, et Liberum patrum et Ebrietatem, nobilemque una Satyrum, quem Graeci Periboeton cognominant."

⁵⁰Scritte da M. Giorgio Vasari, Parte I, ed. K. Frey München, 1911, . 283: "rapina da Proserpina, fatta da lui, e l'Ebrietà et uno Bacco et uno Satiro insieme di sì maravigliosa bellezza, che si chiamò Celebrato...".

⁵¹Chantelou, Journal du voyage en France du Cavalier Bernin, ed. Charensol, Paris, 1930, 34 (8 June 1665): "M. le nonce, ... a demandé au Cavalier laquelle des figures antiques il estimait davantage. Il a dit que c'était le Pasquin, et qu'un Cardinal lui ayant un jour fait la même demande, il lui avait répondu la même demande, il lui avait répondu la même chose, ce qu'il avait pris pour une raillerie qu'il faisait de lui et s'en était fâché; qu'il fallait bien qu'il n'eût pas lu ce qu'on en avait écrit, et que le Pasquin était une figure de Phidias ou de Praxitele et représentait le serviteur d'Alexandre, le soutenant quand il reçut un coup de Flèche au siège de Tyr! qu'à la vérité, mutilée et ruinée comme est cette figure, le reste de beauté qui y est n'est connu que des savants dans le dessin." That Bernini took the Pasquino for the most important sculpture of Antiquity has been noted even by Baldinucci (Vita, 72): "... diceva però che il Torso, e il Pasquino gli parevano di più perfetta maniera del Laocoonte stesso, ma che questo era intero, e gli altri nò. Fra il Pasquino e il Torso esser la differenza quasi impercettibile, nè potersi ravvisare se non da uomo grande, e più tosto migliore il Pasquino. Fu primo il Bernino, che mettesse questa statua in altissimo credito in Roma, e raccontasi, che essendogli una volta stato domandato da un Oltramontano qual fusse la più bella statua di quella Città, e rispondendo, che il Pasquino, il forestiero, che si credette burlato, fu per venir con lui a cimento." The same story is reported by Domenico Bernino, Vita del Cavalier Gio. Lorenzo Bernino,

Rome, 1713, 13-14.

It is open to question whether Bernini really was the first to lavish such praise on the Pasquino. Pompilio Totti (Ritratto di Roma Antica, 1st ed. 1627, Rome 1633, 365-66) in 1633 already compared the beauty of the Pasquino with the Torso Belvedere. He uses an etching to illustrate the position of the statue at the corner of the former Palazzo Orsini, at the time the home of Charles Duc de Crequi I., French ambassador to the Vatican. Since Totti's Roman guidebook obviously extols the Pasquino's sculptural quality in order to flatter the Duc de Créqui, possibly Bernini is adopting this tradition of political flattery. Charles Duc de Crequi II was to be French ambassador in Rome during the sixties and was present in Paris at some meetings between Bernini and Louis XIV (23 August 1665, Chantelou, Journal).

⁵²See the fundamental study of A. Michaelis, "Monte Cavallo", Römische Mittheilungen XIII, 1898, 248-274; P.G. Hübner, "Die Aufstellung der Dioskuren von Monte Cavallo", Römische Mittheilungen XXVI, 1911, 318 ff; H. Egger, Römische Veduten Vol. II, Vienna 1931, Fig. 79-84; V. De Feo, La piazza del Quirinale, Rome, 1973, 11-19 (with caution). See recently H. von Heintze, "Statuae quattuor pedestres, quarum basibus Constantini nomen inscriptum marmoreae est", Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Roemische Abteilung 86, 1979, 399 ff.

⁵³See R. Wittkower ed., Disegni de le Ruine di Roma e come anticamente erano, Milan, n. d., fol. 116; C. D'Onofrio, Gli Obelischi di Roma, 2nd ed., Rome, 1967, 256-258, who provides an interesting explanation of the curious assumptions of the antiquarians in the circle of Sixtus V.

⁵⁴A. Donato, Roma vetus ac recens, 1st ed. 1638, Rome 1648, 267-268; according to the diarist Giacinto Gigli published by C. D'Onofrio (Acque e Fontane di Roma, Rome 1977, 246 ff.) Pope Urban VIII in 1634 had already removed the erroneous inscriptions by Sixtus V on the bases of the Cavalli.

⁵⁵H. Brauer and R. Wittkower, Die Zeichnungen des Gianlorenzo Bernini, Berlin, 1931, 134 ff., Fig. 171 b; M. Winner, Zeichner sehen die Antike, Exhibition Ca., Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, 1967 No. 57.

⁵⁶M. de Chantelou, "Journal du voyage du Cavalier Bernin en France", ed. L. Lalanne, Gazette des Beaux-Arts XXIX, 1884, 461 (14.X. 1665)

"Il (Bernini) en a vu une d'Antinous qu'il a admirée et fait remarquer qu'elle est de très bas relief, et que c'est le profil de la figure de Phidias de Monte-Cavallo".

⁵⁷Plin. XXVI, 4, 16: "Par hesitatio est in templo Apollinis Sosiani, Niobae liberos morientes, Scopas an Praxiteles fecerit". See G. A. Mansuelli, Galleria degli Uffizi, Le sculture, Parte I, Rome, 1958, 101 ff. with illustrations and further bibliography concerning the discovery of the group.

A reconstruction of the complete group in the first half of the 17th Century was etched by F. Perrier, Icones et segmenta, Rome 1645, No. 87.

Guido Reni is reported by Bellori (Vite ed. Borea, 529) to have made an eager study of the statues of the Niobids allegedly by Scopas or Praxiteles. As Bernini always refers to Guido Reni with great respect, it seems highly possible that this interest in the expressive values of this group may have been mutual.

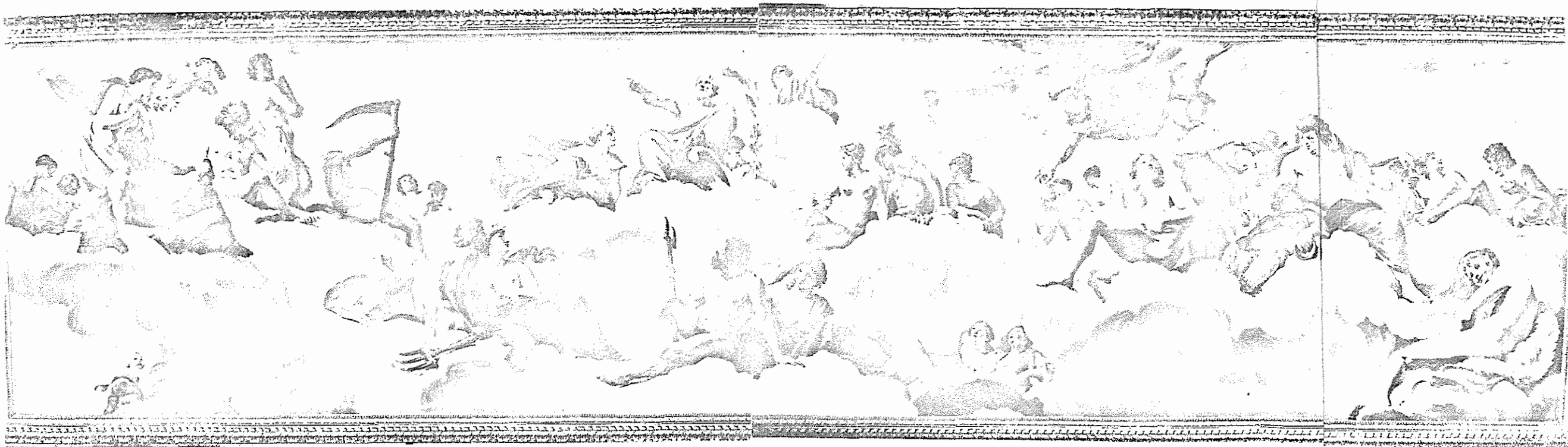
⁵⁸Plin. XXXIV, 19, 21: "Spectantur et duo signa ejus diversos affectus exprimentia, flentis matronae, et meretricis gaudentis. Hanc putant Phrynen fuisse, deprehenduntque in ea amorem artificis, et mercedem in vultu meretricis".

Vasari, Vite, ed. Frey, 284: "Vidonsi di lui parimente due bellissime figure: l'una rassembrante una honesta mogliera, che piangeva, e l'altra una femmina di mondo che rideva ...". The contrast of emotional expressions in Bernini's early sculptural groups deserve closer study from this point of view. H. Kaufmann (Bernini, 48) first drew attention to this problem.

Winner
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BERNINI AND CARAVAGGIO

Our modern view of Caravaggio makes him much more the counterpart to Annibale Carracci than his polar opposite, as was once the popular view. Both artists made use of what may be called classic compositions, and both made a notable return to nature by studying the model, a combination that signalled the end of Mannerism and provided the necessary background for the Baroque of Rubens and Bernini. Nevertheless, Bernini, for all his emotionality and novelty, preferred Annibale and indeed Guido Reni to Caravaggio; and in the lists of great painters that Bernini evidently loved to make, and to promulgate, Caravaggio's name never appears.

Both Baldinucci and Domenico Bernini tell us that Bernini valued Raphael above all, followed by Correggio, Titian, and Annibale Carracci; among contemporary painters he always singled out Guido Reni.¹ In Paris, when a shipment of paintings arrived from Prince Pamphilj as a gift to the royal court, Bernini preferred Guido's St. Francis to all others. And when Chantelou called Caravaggio's Gypsy Fortuneteller "un pauvre tableau, sans esprit ni invention," Bernini agreed.² Our records of Bernini's preferences and doctrines largely date from 1665 or even later; and consequently we have to imagine a very different Bernini growing up in Rome in the early years of the century, when Caravaggio and Caravaggism were together still a vital artistic force.

Thus we seem to see a kind of Caravaggism in the relatively early Anima Dannata (Fig. 1), which has qualities in common with Caravaggio's Boy Bitten by a Lizard, which was probably well known since it exists in several versions (Fig. 2).³ Both Mancini and Baglione mention the Boy Bitten, and we can probably assume that what they knew in the 1620's, Bernini

knew too. Still, when one tries to find a Caravaggesque source for the Scipione Borghese of 1632, it already becomes probable that Bernini's painted inspiration was a Bolognese intermediary like Domenichion: by 1632, Bernini's specific interest in Caravaggio had surely waned.⁴

Although Bernini did not value Caravaggio as highly as he did the more conventional and "classic" artists of Bologna, Bernini was himself one of the great assimilators-- like Raphael and Annibale and Rubens, he took what he wanted or needed from any source at all with impunity, while always painting his own sense of artistic decorum. When Bernini said of Raphael that he "assomigliava a un gran Mare, che raccoglieva in se l'acque di tutti i fiumi cioè il perfetto di tutti gli altri insieme," he was surely praising a quality that he had himself pursued.⁵ What, then, might have attracted Bernini among Caravaggio's pictures?

Several paintings by Caravaggio were in Cardinal Borghese's collection and perhaps even in the Villa itself when Bernini was working for the Cardinal. Caravaggio's David was framed for Borghese in 1613 and has the distinction of showing, supposedly, Caravaggio's horrific self-portrait as the severed, but perhaps still living head of Goliath (Fig. 3).⁶ Ten years later, when Bernini carved his own David for Borghese, it too contained a self-portrait (Fig. 4). There is, however, a great difference. Like Giorgione's famous painting, described by Vasari, Bernini showed himself as the youthful and soon to be victorious David: and of course David was later a king, and even the ancestor of Christ. Bernini's (and Giorgione's) point of view is characteristically optimistic and "healthy," and contrast starkly with Caravaggio's morbid work, however we choose to interpret it.

Bernini's David opened a new era in sculpture by focusing outward,

extending itself psychologically and even, in a sense, temporally into the space around it, making contact with the viewer in a novel and dynamic way. Caravaggio may have been one of Bernini's teachers here, and I assume that we all agree that Bernini was influenced by painting almost as much as he was by sculpture in the formation of his novel art. Caravaggio's Supper at Emmaus now in London (Fig. 5) was probably in the Borghese collection by c. 1613, although we cannot be sure.⁷ In it we first see Caravaggio's dramatic light and gesture used to join a painted religious image with the outside world-- with us, the viewers. Isolated in the darkness, and projected forward by it, the figures act out their sacred story so close to the picture plane that they seem to burst through it. The disciple's chair at the left, and most notably the outstretched arm of the pilgrim disciple at the right, link us to their drama and almost force us to participate.

Breaking down the picture plane, and linking fictive space with that of the viewer was nothing new. But in Mannerist pictures the spatial trickery was all too often done for its own sake, as an exhibition of self-conscious virtuosity: manner becomes matter. Caravaggio's painting, in its concentration, lighting, and drama, belongs to the different and more serious world of the Counter Reformation. It unites the mimetic gestures of the mature Raphael with a new, personal, and insistent religiosity.

This empathetic gesticulation, which goes beyond the work of art itself and its space to include the viewer, as it were, physically as well as emotionally, is of course one of Bernini's special contributions to sculpture. It is seen in the David, in the Longinus (Fig. 6), and in countless other works. Even against great odds, and amidst staggering competition, the Longinus manages to fill the entire crossing of St. Peter's

with his fervent drama of conversion, and his gestures may be in some sense related to a memory of Caravaggio's painting, or of another dramatic conversion, that of Paul in the Cerasi Chapel (Fig. 7).

One of the characteristic emotions in Bernini's sculpture is the portrayal of ecstasy: ecstatic conversion in the Longinus, ecstatic death in the Ludovica Albertoni, ecstatic love of God in the St. Teresa (Figs. 6, 8, 11). Caravaggio was perhaps not wholly comfortable with ecstasy but he portrayed St. Francis in such a state very early in his career (Fig. 9), and the painting was in Del Monte's collection until the sales of 1628. Bernini surely knew it or a copy.⁸ Without claiming an exclusive or primary role, I believe that the St. Francis is one of the images that would have to be invoked in a discussion of the antecedents of the Ludovica Albertoni. Moreover, the angel ministering to Francis also makes us think of the great Teresa group. But Caravaggio actually produced at least an indirect model for the figure of Teresa herself. This is his only other ecstatic figure, a Repentent Magdalen, which is apparently lost but known from many copies and versions (Fig. 10). It was extremely popular.⁹ The general aspects of the Magdalen and of St. Teresa are similar; and although Lanfranco's St. Margaret of Cortona is more obviously the source for Bernini's group, Caravaggio's unforgettable image with its abandoned pose, bathed in sharp highlighting, must lie behind them both.¹⁰

Caravaggio's brilliant spotlighting must have made its impression on the young Bernini, and it may well have been one of the sources of his even more innovative use of real light to illuminate three-dimensional images. Bernini usually tried to conceal his source of light in order to make it more magical, just as the brilliant heavenly light of Caravaggio's paintings

comes from a mysterious but obviously divine source outside the canvas, usually without heavenly adjuncts (cf. Figs. 7, 9).

In the Cerasi Chapel, and perhaps especially in the Cavalletti Chapel in Sant'Agostino (Figs. 7, 12), Caravaggio recreated stories of divine Faith and Grace in powerfully imagined images painted from real models--to create, as St. Paul said, "the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen" (Hebrews 11.1). It was in substantia rerum, the substance of things, that Caravaggio placed his ultimate artistic faith. Painters of the Renaissance had learned to create real-looking spaces in which believable actions took place. Caravaggio concentrated instead on real-looking people who, though painted, are seemingly thrust out into our own space and life by the darkness behind them. The artist who understood best what Caravaggio achieved in the Cerasi and Cavalletti Chapels was Bernini, who translated the dramatic immediacy of Caravaggio's paintings into statuary and ultimately into visual and emotional experiences framed by a chapel or even a church (cf. Figs. 8, 11).¹¹ But Bernini replaced Caravaggio's mundane people with idealized marble figures and, when he could, added real light to create an illusion of the penetration of the divine into what was always a consciously artistic ensemble.

The Madonna dei Pellegrini (Fig. 12) was one of the most conspicuous of Caravaggio's Roman paintings, in a church where Bernini had actually worked. The real Madonna was a statue venerated by pilgrims to Loreto, and Caravaggio in this commission had been asked specifically for a "Madonna di Loreto." What he actually shows is not the transformation of a statue into the actual Madonna and Child, however, but an apparition that seems to stand on the sill of the doorway of a contemporary Roman

palace. The reality of this miraculous presence is so great that only the kneeling pilgrims allow us to understand the figures of the Madonna and Child as apparitions--and indeed, we are still puzzled about what is actually the subject of the painting. Mary and Jesus have come to beautiful, palpable life to bless and protect these common and humble pilgrims. And they, in turn, are surely only surrogates for us who, in turn, kneel (at least figuratively) at the altar rail.

Bernini's greatness was to extend this profoundly serious and empathetic kind of painting into three dimensions, employing all of the arts as well as space and light, in place of a mere two-dimensional surface. But Bernini resisted the ultimate step that Caravaggio's paintings might have led him to take. No matter how empathetic and emotional an ensemble Bernini might create, it ultimately depends on an artistic core of white statuary, and never breaks out of the class of art objects into that of a petrified man--as Pierre Legros attempted with his St. Stanislas Kotska a generation after Bernini's death. It is here, I think, that Bernini and Caravaggio part ways: for no matter what influences we may find from Caravaggio, Bernini never allowed his statues to come to colored life. This classicism, which was overlooked by our grandfathers but which Bernini himself was careful to nurture, now seems one of the salient aspects of his manifold genius.

FOOTNOTES

¹Baldinucci wrote: "Fra' pittori più celebri poneva i seguenti con tal'ordine.

"Il primo e principalissimo diceva essere stato Raffaello, il quale chiamava un recipiente smisurato, che raccoglieva in sé l'acque di tutte l'altre fonti, cioè, ch'e' possedeva il più perfetto di tutti gli altri insieme. Dopo questi poneva il Correggio, poi Tiziano, ed in ultimo Anibale Caracci . . . Diceva che Guido Reni aveva avuto una maniera arricchita di sì belle idee, che le sue pitture recavan diletto non

meno ai professori dell'arte, che agli'ignoranti." (Filippo Baldinucci, Vita di Gian Lorenzo Bernini, ed. S. Samek-Ludovici, Milan, 1948, 145; first ed., Florence, 1682). The same remarks are found in different words in the life by Bernini's son Domenico (see below, and note 5). In France, in 1665, Bernini's remarks to Chantelou and others give the same impression, but in a richer context: Annibale, had he lived in Raphael's time, said Bernini, would have given Raphael himself cause for jealousy; on the other hand, Correggio, like all "Lombards" (as Bernini called the Venetians), lacked proportion: Paul Fréart, Sieur de Chantelou, Journal du voyage du Cav. Bernini en France, ed. L. Lalanne, Paris, 1885, 222; (cf. 45, 86-88, 155, 163, and passim). Bernini quoted Annibale approvingly as having said that if one had not painted in fresco, one could not be called a peintre (256). This remark may have been significant not only for Bernini's evaluation of Caravaggio, but also of his own significance as a painter, as Italo Faldi pointed out after my lecture. I am also grateful to Matthias Winner for mentioning the fact that Bernini

believed the "Lombards" to be inferior--although we must remember that for Bernini, Titian was the chief "Lombard" painter.

²Chantelou, 190; the arrival of the Pamphili paintings is described on 185.

³Alfred Moir, Caravaggio and his Copyists, New York, 1976, 104, no. 51, considers the extant versions to be all copies (including a fourth, known to him only from a photograph, that he called inferior). Other writers have believe^d now the Longhi version (Fig. 2), now the Korda version in London, to be the original. See Maurizio Marini, Io Michelangelo da Caravaggio, Rome, 1974, 94 f., no. 7, and 339 ff. All of the works by Caravaggio that I mention were catalogued by Marini, and will be cited henceforth in the notes by his catalog number.

⁴H. Hibbard, "Un nuovo documento sul busto del cardinale Scipione Borghese del Bernini," Bollettino d'arte, XLVI, 1961, 101-05; summarized in Hibbard, Bernini, New York, 1976, 93 ff. (first ed., 1965).

⁵Domenico Bernino, Vita del Cavalier Gio. Lorenzo Bernino, Rome, 1713, 29; see note 1 above. Bernini's remarks in France are rich with advice for painters to study the Venetians, despite their weaknesses--obviously he believed in taking what was valuable from any source.

⁶Marini, no. 92, with previous bibliography.

⁷Marini, no. 30. Supposedly painted for Ciriaco Mattei (Baglione) and cited as being there by Gaspare Celio c. 1620; but the Mattei inventories do not list it (Christoph L. Frommel, "Caravaggios Frühwerk und der Kardinal Francesco Maria Del Monte," Storia dell'arte, 9-10, 1971, 9,

note 31, citing notices from Dr. Gerda Panofsky). Bellori, on the other *hand*, thought that the painting was done for Borghese; and although that was chronologically impossible, it was surely in the Borghese collection by 1650 and is continuously catalogued there (it passed to the National Gallery in 1839). Since the painting was not listed in Ciriaco Mattei's inventory of 1613, I can only assume that it had passed into the Borghese collection at that time--and Scipione's appetite for paintings is notorious.

⁸Marini, no. 9; discussed more pertinently by Luigi Spezzaferro, "Ottavio Costa e Caravaggio: certezze e problemi," Novità sul Caravaggio, Regione lombarda, 1975, 114-18. (Since that publication is rare, the reader can consult Burlington Magazine, CXVI, 1974, 581-85, where he gives much of the same information.)

⁹Moir, Caravaggio and his Copyists, 111 ff., no. 69; Marini, no. 62, illustrates what he believes to be the original.

¹⁰For all of this, see now Irving Lavin, Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts, New York, 1980, 2 vols.

¹¹After I had given this talk I discovered that as long ago as 1956 Irving Lavin, reviewing Wittkower's Bernini, had written: "... Caravaggio poses a further problem. His influence evidently goes much beyond the early physiognomical studies. While the two artists of course achieve very different results, the intense "realism" directed toward inducing an immediate emotional rapport between the spectator and the subject represented is common to them both." (Art Bulletin, XXXVIII, 1956, 258). Other writers before and since have pointed to various

similarities, influences, and parallels, and I have made no effort to document the relationship as perceived by critics and historians of the last century or so.

AN UNKNOWN PAINTING BY GIAN LORENZO BERNINI OF 1636

Perhaps in no art historical field of ~~(western)~~ post-classical art has there been the kind of progress we have seen in the field of Bernini studies. The progress has been gounded upon ~~a multiplication~~ ^{new by} of discoveries ^{ed} of works, ~~a flowering of~~ newly published documentation, and certain chronological revisions. Additionally, there have been new and brilliant critical ~~apertures,~~ ^{insights} and especially the milestone of the catalog of Gian Lorenzo Bernini's designs edited by Brauer and Rudolf Wittkower in 1931, and the two subsequent editions of 1955 and 1966 of the volume on Bernini's sculpture by Wittkower. Without ^{Wittkower's} his fundamental activity as a Bernini scholar, knowledge of the great artist would not have progressed this far, ~~nor~~ would this conference have been possible.

And yet, at the same time, it should be noted that ~~this~~ ^{ese} rich ~~flowering of~~ ^{have} studies ^{Bernini's} has concerned ~~the~~ ^e sculptural and architectural ^e work far more than ~~the pictorial work.~~ ^{his paintings.} This reflects the quantitative and qualitative ~~rapport~~ ^{relationship} among the various manifestations of the artist's genius and the different degrees of interest that they ^{have} ~~excite~~ ^{d/} in critical thought, from his own time right up to the present day.

~~In the Bernini literature,~~ ^{ideal} the evaluation of ^{Bernini's} his ~~activities~~ as a painter has also been quite diverse. Although his biographers considered it ^a marginal ¹ activity, ^{his pictorial work has} Bernini's ~~painting have~~ ^{has} instead been held to be of first rank importance by some modern scholars, ~~and~~ ^{In this view,} not only ^{are the paintings} because ^{value d for} of their intrinsic qualities, ^{their ship} but above all in relation to ~~the pictorial~~ ^{his} ~~vision which is overshadowed by the artist's in the pre-eminent,~~ ^{work as a} ~~sculptures.~~ ^{ese}

Even ~~if~~ the view which his biographers held of Bernini's work as a painter

may be
~~is~~ correct, ~~it would seem that the scarcity of~~ ^{Few} paintings which have survived,¹
~~reached us, would~~ ^{which may} indicate that they were for the most part experimental
or occasional works, or, in any event, works on which he exerted
limited effort and, ^{which were} thus easily obliterated by, to put it in seventeenth
century language, the Envy of Time and the Adversity of Fortune.

The murals were entrusted to faithful, and modest, collaborators
because of the difficulties associated with the technique of the
~~including~~ ^{including} fresco, ~~the murals~~ ^{those} related to the sculptural-architectural
ensembles, such as the Raimondi or Cornaro chapels. ~~His~~ ^{Bernini's} direct partici-
pation in the execution of ^{large scale} paintings ~~at a grand scale~~ is limited to his
compositional ideals, ⁹⁰ although documents and sources attribute ^{to him} works

such as the cartoon of St. Bernard and the canvas of St. Maurizio, ^{only}
it is only in minor works that Gian Lorenzo exercised his talent, ^{although periodically} with
singular discontinuity ~~at periodic intervals~~. It is not surprising,
however, if we take into account our current knowledge of Gian Lorenzo
Bernini's paintings, ~~to notice how~~ ^{that} few authentic paintings have thus
far been recognized, despite many attempts to add new ones to the cata-
log by various scholars: attempts which have often turned out to be
ephemeral.

In order to examine the current ^{stat. s} ~~situation~~ of the corpus of Bernini's
paintings, I believe it is useful to reread the testimony of the sources
in relation to the very few works which have come down to us. Some are
documented, others are not, so that ^{what} we have ^{is} a body of works without
documents confronting a body of documents without works.

Baldinucci writes:

(Urbano VIII) "come quegli, che sin dal tempo, che dalla San^ttità di
Paolo V erag^l i questo nobile ingegno stato dato in custodia, aveva

cominciato a prevederme cose grandi; egli aveva concepito in se stesso una virtuosa ambizione, che Roma nel suo Pontificato, e per sua industria, giungesse a produrre un altro Michelangelo, tanto più, perchè già eragli sovenuto l'alto concetto dell'Altar Maggiore di S. Pietro, nel luogo che diciamo la Confessione; come ancora di far dipignere a lui tutta la Loggia della benedizione: il perchè gli significò esser gusto suo, che egli s'ingegnasse d'applicar molto del suo tempo in studi di Architettura a pittura al fine di congiugnere all'altre sue virtù in eminenza anche quelle belle facoltà. Non tardò il Giovane ad assecondare i consigli dell'amico Pontefice, a fecelo senz'altro maestro che delle statue e Fabbriche antiche di Roma, solito dire che quante di queste si trovano in quella città son tanti maestri pagati per li Giovanetti.

Per lo spazio di due anni continovi attese alla Pittura, voglio dire a far pratica di maneggiare il colore, atteso che egli già la gran difficoltà del disegno co' suoi grandissimi studi superate avesse. In questo tempo, senza lasciar gli studi di Architettura, fece egli gran quantità di Quadri grandi e piccoli e quali oggi nelle più celebri Gallerie di Roma, ed in altri degnissimi luoghi fanno pomposa mostra.

...quantunque egli al dipignere si sentisse molto inclinato, con tutto ciò non vi si volle fermare del tutto; e il suo dipignere, potiamo dire, che fusse per mero divertimento; fece egli perciò si gran progressi in

quell'Arte; che si vedono di sua mano, oltre a quelli che sono in pubblico, sopra 150 quadri, molti dei quali sono posseduti

dall' 'Eccellentissima Casa Barberina, e Chigi, e da quella de' suoi

figliuoli, e un bellissimo e vivo ritratto di sua persona si conserva

nella tanto rinomata stanza de' Ritratti di propria mano de' gran Maestri

nel Palazzo del Sereniss. Granduca.....

Domenico Bernini furnished the same ~~news; recalling moreover; in addition~~ ^{information, also mentioning}
~~to~~ the self-portrait in the Uffizi, the portrait of Costanza Bonarelli
 in the Bernini house, which has been lost ^{This brought} and ~~carrying~~ the number of
 paintings by Bernini from one-hundred and fifty to two hundred.¹

Various kinds of documents also alert us to a few other works which have not come down to us, such as the portraits of Fulvio Testi (1633), of Agostino Mascardi (before 1640), of Cardinal Rinaldo d'Este (1649), and of Alexander VII in the Casa Chigi.

As we have seen, not only are the specific references regarding individual paintings furnished by the two principal biographers very limited, the information about numerous paintings in the Casa Barberini and Casa Chigi also have ³ little basis in fact.

Of the paintings in the Casa Barberini today, the only ones which remain are the one ~~within~~ ^{half-} the ~~partial~~ figures of the apostles Thomas and Andrew, documented in 1637 and now in the National Gallery in London, and the painting of Urban VIII in the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica in the Palazzo Barberini.

At this point we should note that in the Barberini inventories published by Mrs. Aronberg-Lavin, except for the cartoon of St. Bernard, executed by Carlo Pellegrini, and the two paintings which I just mentioned, there are only another eight paintings, all of which are lost.²

Finally, of the Casa Chigi paintings there remain only the David with the head of Goliath, documented in an inventory of 1658 and from the collection of the late Marchese Giovanni Incisa della Rocchetta, and the painting of a boy in the Galleria Borghese.³ ~~Among~~ ^{As to} the other sources,⁴ there is almost nothing on Bernini's activity as a painter from the diary

of Chantelou other than the insignificant episode of the copy of a portrait in his hand executed by one of his students, but which he re-touched and then switched with the original. There are also some ^{other general} considerations, ~~of a general nature,~~ such as his declaration that he was born to be a painter rather than a sculptor because of a certain ease with which he produced paintings, ^{and his} ~~the~~ aphorism about painting and sculpture: ~~this~~ ^{that the one} is a truth, and therefore the work of God, and ~~that~~ ^{the other} is a deceit, and illusion, the work of the devil, ^{Bernini also repeated} ~~and the citation of~~ a saying from Annibale Carracci that anyone who had not painted a fresco could not call himself a painter. ⁹ The sum of our current knowledge of Bernini's paintings is thus quite modest: not counting the attributions which have not stood the test of time and which have not been fully assembled, we must admit that we know only about a dozen paintings. ^{of} Some of ^{them} ~~which~~ have controversial dates but ~~which~~ ^{for} the most part ^{they} date from 1625-1635. In this disheartening situation, I believe I am making a useful contribution ^{by} bringing to the attention of scholars a new painting by Gian Lorenzo Bernini to add to the tiny group known today.

It is a small (66 x 50 cm) canvas which I saw a number of years ago in a house in Rome, just in time to photograph it before I lost track of it completely. Since then, although I have done a great deal of research, I have not been able to track it down again. Therefore, I apologize for not being able to present a good color reproduction.

That this work is indeed by Bernini is attested by the writing on the reverse of the canvas, ^{which,} ~~If~~ not the signature which it appears to be, ^{It was} ~~it~~ is surely of the same time as the painting ^{discovered} during the

relining of the canvas itself, and is clearly legible: "Opus Equitis Joannis Laurentii Bernini 1636." All evidence indicates that it is a private work, and the measurements indicate that it was destined for the head-board of a bed rather than ^{for} above a domestic altar. ^{The work was} Executed with a rapid series of brushstrokes, which in many places on the background barely cover the canvas ^{even in reduced form the} painting has a monumental cast and a surprising emotional intensity. The small figure of Christ is contracted on the large, crudely carpentered cross, rising out imposingly from a low horizon against a stormy sky. The heavens are shot with lurid clouds and illuminated by violent raking lights ^{which falling} from the upper left corners--exactly the point toward which Christ directs his gaze ^{and} diagonally strike ^{the} figure ⁱⁿ an evocation of dramatic penumbra, and casting ^{into} high relief the face of Christ, the loincloth, and the clouds in the upper right hand corner. Lacking any graphic support, the image is realized entirely by the pictorial drafting, which gives the work an extraordinarily immediate, almost improvised character.

In the corpus of Bernini paintings, which until now has consisted of portraits or at least heads, this Crucifixion, ~~whose date falls~~ ^{which} probably ^{dates from around} ~~at the edges of~~ the best documented period of the artist's activity, is an unicum.

For thematic affinity, one could compare the idea of Sangue di Cristo, but it would not be a useful comparison because of the diversity as much in the iconographic motif as in the composition, ^{and} for span of time which separates the two ^{1631/2}.

I believe I can conclude with the affirmation that the painting which I have presented seems to confirm the extemporaneous and almost private character of Bernini's paintings, ^{his talent in painting} which he exercised either to demonstrate ^{an} ability in this field too, with the ambition of being considered the Michelangelo of the century ~~under the auspices of Urban VIII, or for particular occasions and purposes restricted to a~~ more immediate enjoyment, ^{on} as in the case of the portraits and self-portraits, ^{for} in general, ^{This of course} by contrast with his work as an architect, sculptor and stage designer, all of which address the larger public. ^{The} public ^{was} ~~did~~ not ^{solo} remain spectators but ^{itself} participated and became involved to varying degrees in the spectacle as critics have amply demonstrated.

The exception is the "Verità scoperta dal tempo" which, even if the only sculpture the artist executed himself without a patron, was certainly not a private work. On the contrary, it was so widely published even during the artist's life that it turned into a proverb: "La verità non è che presso il Cavaliere Bernini."

Ursula Schlegel

THE CRUCIFIXES OF THE VATICAN ALTARS

Despite their high artistic level, the crucifixes at St. Peter's virtually do not exist, not only for the general public, but also in large measure for scholars (Figs. 1,2). Only Roberto Battaglia in 1942 and Rudolf Wittkower in 1966 made them the object of serious consideration. Nonetheless, to date they have not found a precise placement among the masterpieces of the ~~ring~~ ^{period;} The fact that so far there has been no generally accepted attribution can be ascribed ^{in part} to some degree to the difficulty ^{is resulting} of ~~characterizing them because they are placed so high, but to a greater extent to the circumstance of Bernini and Ferrata's collaboration.~~ ^{from their high placement,} ^{larger} ^{ed on them} ¹

Between 1657 and 1661, Pope Alexander VII provided for new altar services for the Basilica. The documents concerning the commission and the ~~course~~ ^{progress} of work are preserved in the archives of the Reverenda Fabbrica di San Pietro, ~~and~~ ^{which} were published by Battaglia.² From these it appears that, among other things, the stanchions, crosses, and ~~crucifixes~~ ^{and were} were executed according to Bernini's designs, under his direct control. From June 1658 to March 1660 there were payments to Ercole Ferrata for executing models of the crucifixes and for cleaning waxes of the crucifixes³ cast in bronze by Paolo Carnieri from October 1658 to February 1661.⁴

Early on, in June 1658, ~~only~~ ^{and} the model of a crucifix that was to have portrayed the dead Christ was mentioned, ~~for~~ ^{vivo} only in May 1659 was it noted: "un altro modello d'un crocifisso ^{vivo} cosi'ordinato da S.S.ta." It followed that in outfitting the altars, ^{which were} conceived according to the same scheme, the crucifix also had to be repeated as one type, that of the dead Christ. Only at the express desire of the Pope and after nearly a year was the model of

the living Christ created. It seems that the Sacred Congregation did not entirely approve, since, as I have been able to ascertain, of the twenty-three crucifixes in the church, only five are of the living Christ. According to the documents, twenty-five crucifixes were cast.⁵ One of the two missing crucifixes is in storage at the basilica, as Prof. Pietrangeli has kindly informed me. It is shown in an old photograph by Alinari of the altar of Michelangelo's Pietà, and ^{represents} the dead Christ. Even if the missing one was the living Christ, the ratio nineteen to six would still be singularly unbalanced. The manufacturing process does not explain the imbalance, since Ferrata executed the last waxes only in March 1660.⁶

The issue ^{to address} here is not the arguments about ^{seventeenth century Roman} the judgment on and preference for the various crucifix typologies, ^{of} ~~seventeenth century~~ ^{Rome}, however important this may be for Bernini and a church such as St. Peter's. Rather we will confront a far more immediate and no less essential question: are these crucifixes to be seen as the work of Bernini or of Ercole Ferrata? Whose ideas do they reflect and whose imprint do they bear?

The slender sums paid to Ferrata for the models are clear evidence that the inspiration came from Bernini. The fact that Ferrata had the molds of the two crucifixes, as noted in the inventory for his will, does not reveal much, even if expressed in the following terms: Il cavo del Cristo vivo e morto del S.r Ercole".⁷ ^{Since} Ferrata, ^{who} had taken over the meticulous execution of the models, ^{he} must not have hesitated to derive from them forms to his own advantage. On the other hand we ^{cannot} ignore ^{the question of} how precise Bernini's directions may have been. Were there drawings? Or terracotta sketches? It is also conceivable--think of the angels on the bridge to Castel S. Angelo-- that Ferrata ^{was capable of} ~~had the ability to~~ interpret ^{ing} Bernini's directions. The elusive

connection in composition and style between Algardi's crucifixes at S. Marta and the one of the Palavicini type (Figs. 3,4) would seem to confirm a similar hypothesis; they are specifically mentioned by Wittkower, yet without arriving at a decisive attribution of the latter to Algardi.⁸ It should be noted that more than once Bernini drew upon formal schemes ^{from elsewhere,} ~~of others,~~ but he then achieved artistic results ~~unmistakably~~ ^{which ed unmistakably} ~~different,~~ from the model.

Ferrata (seems especially) to have fashioned the dead Christ by adopting features from the Algardian prototypes.⁹ Certainly, there is a correspondence ^{in the} of composition, attitude, and ^{the} formal solution of the girdle when we e ~~in comparing~~ the Christ and Algardi's Santa Marta.¹⁰ But in execution the contrasts could not have been greater. In Algardi, there is a soft, relaxed modeling ^{appropriate to} ~~fitting for~~ a lifeless body; the legs are limp and lifeless, with the right one lightly turned inward. From a frontal view, it is barely visible ^{protrusion of} that the thigh and knee ~~protrude~~. The mortal silence that issues from the body is attenuated by the inclined head (Fig. 5) ^{with} (soft, thick hair framing a face of perfect beauty. The smile hovering about the eyes and mouth recall the words of John the Evangelist: "consummatum est". The peace and silence of death are shown in such convincing guise here that one almost forgets the cruelty being shown.¹¹

There is nothing similar at St. Peter's. Here Christ has just expired. The tension of one who was just alive and--according to Mark 15:37 ^{who} ~~died~~ with a cry--remains in the entire body. The head, sharp and pointed, hangs on the breast (Fig. 6). The hair on the left shoulder still waves ^{is} in the air following the brusque movement. The body is like a sack hanging on the cross, with the arms strained and the knees bent forward. Even the edge of the freely falling girdle is connected with the body's last violent

movement; ~~so that~~ the hem is lightly raised. The girdle, ^{is of} is fashioned with no pretext of decorative autonomy, ^{is of} coarse fabric twisted energetically and with edges that fall in an apparently arbitrary manner. A large knot swells on the right hip while a small edge rests without particular articulation on the left hip. It would be hard to imagine a greater contrast between Algardi's finer clothes with its manifold movement, although the way they are tied ~~is~~ analogus.

Once ~~one has become aware of~~ ^{we realize} this quality of the dead Christ at the Vatican, let alone of the relational coherence of all of the figures, it is difficult to recognize interventions by Ferrata or even to speak, as Wittkower does, of "lessened vitality."¹² Already the fundamental quality ^{of} conceiving of the figure as rich with tension is missing in all of Ferrata's work. Unfortunately, not even one crucifix proven to be from his hand exists as an example.¹³ His manner is characterized by fluid composition, ^{for example} as in the details, ^{he} inserting Algardi's style into a context which is generically valid, ^{the fluid composition} undoubtedly ^{the reason} for its recurrence ^{among} a vast group of students. Ferrata's extraordinary capacity to identify himself with another made him an ideal collaborator for Algardi, and it also enabled him to translate Bernini's directions--which, we must suppose, were quite precise--convincingly into his language.

Wittkower found confirmation of Ferrata's hand in the modeling of the dead Christ at St. Peter's also ^{by} comparing it with ^{Bernini's} the bronze crucifix for Philip IV at the Escorial (Fig. 7) ^{by Bernini} about three years earlier.¹⁴ He thus ignored the fact that Bernini never repeated himself, since each work was conceived in relation to its destination, so that ~~an~~ intimate formal nexus had to be supported by ^{an} analogous premises ^f regarding

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The fluid composition the reason
undoubtedly for its recurrence among

the contents. The stiff body on the Escorial crucifix discloses maximum concentration, rendered more apparent by the nearly horizontal folds of the girdle, here too often ^{of} energetically twisted material, although in the body's central area. Just as the body is nothing if not the simulacrum of one who has passed away, neither does the beautiful head furnish a reflection on an earthly past nor ^a reference to a precise moment of suffering. This crucifix was destined for the funerary chapel of the Spanish Kings. It is an ideal representation of Christ triumphant in absolute perfection on the cross, comparable to the triumphal crosses of late Gothic Germany.¹⁵ On the vatican altars, however, the interpretation refers to the nexus between the sacrifice on the cross and the actual one on the altar table below.

As in all of Bernini's works and that of no other sculptor of his time, the determining criteria for ^{of} the crucifixes a fresh confirmation of his authorship was the intensity with which he revealed a certain moment, a certain thought. This was no less true of the bronze of the living Christ, which is fully accepted by Wittkower (second edition, 1966) and by Battaglia as Bernini's invention. The genesis, however, is identical with that of the dead Christ. In this case, too, Ferrata executed the model and again, it is instructive to compare this with Algardi's living Christ.¹⁶ It is immediately clear that Bernini transformed Algardi's divine image of a sweet figure of beauty into a dramatic assertion. Algardi's Christ (Fig. 8) evidences silent resignation: "Pater in manus tuas commendo spiritum meum" (Luke 23:46); Bernini's Christ reveals a ^motion of rebellion overflowing with sorrow. His cry: "My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken me" (Matt. 27:46) throbs through the entire body. The head falls to the side,

as in Algardi, ^{to other crucifixes,} with the throat raised in cry, an effort which displaces the body from the axis. As a result, the hips jut out from the other side, and the legs are bent in the same direction. The same ^{raising} appears in the edges of the girdle which tightly binds the hips: the drapery here cannot be called ^{as} beautiful as ~~is~~ that of Algardi. As with the other crucifixes, here too every detail is explained as a function of the whole and is thereby necessary. Algardi, however, does not hesitate to satisfy formal demands by letting the hair on the upper left flutter freely with no apparent cause. ¹⁷

As for the question of whether one of Algardi's students, that is, Ferrata, was capable of arriving at this extreme concentration of form and content of the vatican crucifixes, the answer can only be no. However, we are inclined to declare that both types follow Bernini's instructions down to the last detail, even though the models are from Ferrata's hands. Bernini was gifted with the art of making capable sculptors produce work ^{under his guidance} as if ^{he himself had done it} ~~it were his~~ under his guidance. This must be kept in mind when assessing the models which have been preserved. It should also be added that where there is such a division of labor, the search for absolute authenticity loses ^{importance} ~~importance~~.

Staatliche Museen, Berlin-Dahlem

Maurizio Fagiolo

BERNINI AND KIRCHER AT PIAZZA NAVONA:

The End of the Great Flood

There are ^{some} works whose global significance continues to escape us: one sensational example is the Fontana dei Fiumi in Rome, started by Borromini and then completed by Bernini and his shop between 1648 and 1651. Until the complete cultural fabric in which similar works are generated is clarified, their meaning will continue to elude us. Festivals and shows played a special role in that cultural fabric, for through them the powers that be spoke and the public understood their ^{meaning} ~~intentions~~. This essay emphasizes the importance of studying festivals for decoding important architectural sculptural works.¹

I will discuss several festivals: the ^{elevation to the papacy} ~~contraptions for the elevation~~ of Pope Innocent X, ^{to the papacy} (Piazza Navona is the ideal "court" for his family palace); the festival in honor of the Pontiff given by the Duke of Bracciano (1653); and finally the famous ^{flooding of} "Piazza Navona ^{lake}" which until now has only attracted the attention of journalists interested in folklore rather than art historians.

At the outset, it should be noted that rarely did Bernini give birth to works which lacked meaning; his biographer underlines that: "Sua opinione sempre fu che il buono architetto dovesse sempre dar loro [alle fontane] qualche significato vero ovvero alludere a cose nobili o vere o finte". On the Fontana dei Fiumi, in particular, on the base of the raised spire, there is a very precise declaration: *SITIENTIBUS POTUM/* *MEDITANTIBUS ESCAM* and again *INNOCENTIVS DECIMVS P.M. AMOENAM SALVBKITATEM* *CVM MAGNIFICA ERVDITONE LITERARVM HERMETICI AENIGMATIS LAPIDEM A QVAE*

VIRGINIS FONTI IMPOSUIT AD SEDANDAM CORPORUM ET ACUENDAM INGENIORUM

SITIM. In short, the water quenches the passerby's thirst, but it is also a pause which should make him reflect. In sum, it is still tightly linked to the image, this exponential esca per l'ingegno.

In the Fontana dei Fiumi, the "Holy Dove" (of the Pamphili, of "Innocent", of the Holy Spirit) confirms (recalling the ancient contrap-
^{of the spectacle}tions in which the dove was the high point) the global synthesis of the worlds (animal, vegetable, mineral, human) of elements, of temperaments.

In this vein, it must be added that in Bernini's work the roccia^{rocky base} has a particular meaning: it appears in the equestrian monument to Louis XIV, in Palazzo Montecitorio, in the Louvre, in the project for the Catafalco Beaufort, and it is always linked with the "mountain of virtue" on which Hercules or his human translation (pontiff, general, sovereign) triumphs.

On the other hand it is precisely Bernini who declared¹ in Paris: "Io sono molto amico dell'acqua." And in each of his fountains a concealed meaning can be traced, evidently clear enough to the families for whom the fountain was designed and also ~~for~~^{to} the public which was to enjoy the benefits of the water and the flavor of the sermon and the tale. But let us start at the beginning.

On 23 November 1644 representatives of foreign "nations" and some noble families gathered to celebrate Innocent X's elevation to the papacy, the beginning of what one source (Mariani)^C calls the Innocente secolo dell'Oro.² Pirotechnic displays were held the evening after the cortege

^{which they had literally took}
~~to take~~ possession of the Lateran Basilica. At Piazza Navona there was

a machine with Noah's Ark resting on the Ararat. In the Piazza of the French embassy there was an apparatus shaped like a mountain with a triumphal chariot pulled by two tigers and a woman as an allegorical representation of France. In Piazza di Spagna was a hill-shaped device with Caves from which dragons emerged, decorated with the Pamphily arms and also with a live bull sporting rockets and Catherine-wheels. At the Teatro di Marcello there was a ^{contraption} machine with Romulus, Remus and the she-wolf, with a ^{concluding} fire in which a pigeon emerged from Romulus. Finally, in front of Palazzo Borghese, there was a machine with a reconstruction of Rome triumphant, preceded by personifications of the four continents. L. Banck offers a precise description:

ante ipsum palatium structura quaedam satis magna erat erecta quae Arcam Noè, repraesentabat, cui in summitate columba erat affixa, qua significabatur, pacem jam Orbi & Urbi esse restitutam, nec unquam columbum illam sen INNOCENTIUM DECIMUM aliquos belli tumultus moliri velle, dum diluvium statui Romano, hactenus satis molestum fuerit. Cum vero facem structura, artificiosissime elaborata, ab omnibus satis esset visa, tela ignea missilia, pyrobolos, flammisque stupeas, in aerem supra modum emisit, donec tota consumpta & in fumum dissoluta esset. Nec deerant interim tympanistae, sclopetarii & tubicines qui quasi interscena, suo sonitu & strepitu, supplebant.

Sumptibus tamen & inventionis novitate, reliqua omnia superavit artis illud miraculum, nomine Christianissimi Regis Galliae, ante ejusdem legati extraordinarii Marchionis de S. Chamont, palatium erectum: Structura illa molem quandam prae se ferebat, quae Romam triumphantem repraesentaret, in cujus parte dextra insignia Papae, scilicet columba cum ramo Olivae &

tribus liliis affixa cernebantur; In parte vero sinistra, insignia Regis Galliae elaboratissimo modo fact^a, appensa erant. Ante eandem Romam, quator mundi partes Europo, Asia & America admirando & plane stupendo quodam artificio erant collocatae, eaeque omnes pulvere nitrato ac pyrobolis forinsecus vestitae & intrinsecus oppletae fuerant. Cum autem illa moles esset incensa, ipsa Roma Triumphans se aliquantis- per cum reliquis mundi partibus, movere & locum mutare incepit.

Inter quos Europa adeo eminebat, ut illa sola Caelum petere visa fuerit reliquis sese invicem minutatim consumentibus, donec ignis magis magisque per partes proreperet, tandem spatio ferme duarum horarum nihil praeter pyrobolos flammisque missiles cernere licuit: Postea demum tota illa structura simul erat incensa, unde lumen per totam ferme Urbem sparsum, reliqua Palatia, domos, & plateas, suis radiis illustravit...

From A. Gerardi's report:

In Piazza Madama furono le due sere suddette fatte due grandi girandole con tal artificio che vennero a cadere sopra la vicina Piazza Navona & a ricoprirla tutta con straordinaria vista.

L'Excellentiss. Signor Conte di Cirvella Ambasciatore Cattolico fece la prima sera comparir un Toro con una sopravesta piena tutta di razzi, e soffioni, allo sparar de' quali messosi in fuga il Toro, si faceva far piazza per tutto dove fuggiva, con gusto del Popolo, che non patì però danno alcuno. Fece in oltre alzar davanti al suo Palazzo una grin machina rappresentante l'Arca di Noè, con la Columba sopra e auro questa machina un hora grossa a gettar razzi (...).

L'Eccellentiss. Sig. Marchese di San-Chamont Ambasciatore Straor-
 dinario di Sua Maestà Christianissima, il Martedì fece buttar al Popolo
 dalle Finestre del suo Palazzo varie monete d'argento distinte in tre
 bacili in buona somma, ralleggrandolo insieme con una Fontana di buon-
 issimo vino. Et in luogo d'abbrugiar botti, fece alzar à drittura, com-
 iciando dalle Chiavica del Bufalo, fino alla Piazza de' Cruciferi, quattro
 altissimi travi ricoperti & addobati tutti di fascine, le quali sembra-
 vano tante Colonne ardenti: onde incredibile fu il gusto che per la novità
 ne senti il Popolo. Fece di più Sua Eccellenza la medesima sera del
 Martedì, alzar una gran machina di fuochi artificiali nella quale si
 scorgeva ROMA Trionfante, che nella destra portava l'arme di Sua Santità;
 e nella sinistra quella del Christianissimo Rè di Francia; & avanti à lei
 erano le quattro Parti del mondo, Europa, Asia, Africa & America, ciascuna
 con la sua Impresa; figure tutte più grandi del naturale. Questa machina
 similmente, come le fu date fuoco, fece bellissimo giuochi, durando gran
 tempo à sparare, e mandar fuori razzi, e soffioni, restando al fime tutta
 illuminata; il che rendeva bellissima vista...

(for these events)

Unfortunately there are few visual sources. In this case I know en-
 gravings of two ~~stage or concept art~~ machines carried only in Barick's celebratory book, and
 even at that only in the second edition which is stored in the Vatican
 Library (1656; in the first one of 1645 they are absent and for this
 reason escaped the attention of historians). There are two sources for
 the Fontana dei Fiumi which ~~derive from it~~ ^{stem from Barick's book}. The first is an allegorical
 vista of Rome before which rise the larger than life personification^s of
 the four continents, each one accompanied by an animal symbolic of its
 attributes: it is "Roma triumphans" over the universe. In the second

page from the first edition of 1645

is the mythical Ararat on which Noah's Ark rests and on which the Dove appears: at once of peace and of Innocent Pamphili's family. Here already are two sources for the most remarkable parts of the Fontana dei Fiumi: an allegorical transposition of the universe represented by the four Rivers in place of the continents, resting on a mountain which alludes to Ararat, ^{and} the first sign of the peace achieved between the heavens and men, on which the Dove rests (by means of the obelisk).

This is already a step toward explicating a work which appears, as the inscriptions on the base ^{indicate,} quite dense with meaning. But another festival seems to clarify the meaning of Bernini's operation: Innocent X, guest of the Duke of Bracciano, was feted on 27 October 1653 with this clamorous mis^e-en-scene:

Lungo la riva del lago da quella parte che guarda le finestre di S. S. a ogni due miglia si vedevano grandissimi, e la Terra di Trivignano situata alla riva di esso otto miglia distante da Bracciano dalla parte di scirocco, si vidde venire per esso una gran palomba di fuoco arma della S. S. che andava sparando razzi, che pareva, che uscissero dall'acqua stessa; e camminando per il lago, venne a riva sotto le finestre del pontefice, le quali soprastano ad esso quanto suole soprastare la cupola d'una chiesa alla piazza, ma con più distanza. Questa figura di fuoco nell'acqua rendeva una diletta vista, perchè mentre andava una columba sopra il lago, il riflesso faceva parere, che ne andasse un'altra sotto; siccome quando si spiccava un razzo, se ne vedeva uno in su, ed uno dentro all'acqua andare in giù, che quando di sopra tornava a basso, andava in su a congiungersi con l'altro giusto alla superficie dell'acqua.

In this fete, the two elements which contrast most with one another almost ~~arrive at~~ mirroring one another symbolically under the banner of a precise Baroque rhetorical figure: the oxymoron. A paradisiac inferno, or rather an infernal paradise.

But in my view the issue once again concerns a Biblical representation: the "gran palomba" is that mythical one that flew over the great flood in search of Noah's ark. All is in perfect harmony with the true nature.

Another step toward understanding Bernini's idea is found in his use of water. Apart from his clear and allegorical ~~intervention~~ in fountains, Bernini also gave an eloquent theatrical performance (1638). The following is a description from the sources:

*Più da vicino si vedeva il Tevere, il quale con modi fintⁱ, et con rara invenzione andava crescendo, volendo il Cavaliere dimostrare quegli efetti^f che l'anno passato pur troppo s'eran veduti quando il Tevere stette per inondar la Città. Più propinqua al Palco dove si recitava era Acqua vera sostenuta da certi ripari ch'erano stati distribuiti appostatamente per tutto il giro della scena; et si vedevano huomini reali i quali occupati i luoghi più bassi della Città, avesse impedito il commercio, come appunto successe l'anno antecedente. Mentre ogn'uno stava attonito per questo spettacolo, andavano diversi Ministri rivedendo l'argine, accomodando travi e ripari, affinché il fiume non sommergesse la Città. Ma all'improvviso cascò l'argine, e l'acqua sormontando sopra il palco, venne a correr furiosamente verso l'Auditorio, e quei ch'erano più vicini dubitando veramente che li rovinasse, si alzarono in piedi per fuggirsene; ma quando l'Acqua stava per caderli addosso si alzò all'improvviso un riparo nel finire del Palco et si disperse la medesima Acqua senza far danno a persona alcuna.*³

The exchange of water and fire can also be seen in a scenographic work by *Grimaldi* where the Tiber appears in a similar way in the foreground and Castel San^{to} Angelo ^{is} alight with fireworks in the background. But Bernini escalates the exchange between reality and make-believe by bringing into the stalls a true flood of real water (while sources such as Sabbatini had predicted it but in a more tranquil fashion, and Peruzzi and Borromini also experimented with ^{the same ideas, also} ~~it~~ with allegorical meanings). Taking an actual fact, the frequent flooding of the Tiber, Bernini made ^{was a fact} ~~the public frightened~~ because ~~of the truth of~~ the water's presence, just as the next year, a performance called "La fiera di Farfa," precipitated dismay because of a ^{actual} ~~true~~ fire.

The ^{motif} ~~idea~~ of water is part of his ^{theatrical} ~~mentality~~ as a man of the theater, then, beyond that of one who ^{deals with} ~~examines~~ complex allegorical problems in images. At this point we must ^{examine} ~~verify~~ the value of the ^{flooding of} "Piazza Navona ~~lake~~." Many have written about this periodic ceremony (Cancellieri even wrote a ^{study} ~~book~~ about it in 1811), but no one has linked it to Bernini's ~~mise-en-scene~~. The custom of inundating public squares is found at other sites (Piazza Farnese, via Giulia) but here it even finds an archaeological meaning (a collusion with the antique naumachia) and an enhanced popular interest. The custom of the ^{flooding} ~~"lake"~~, which had already been suspended by the time of Innocent XI for health and sanitation reasons, was periodically taken up and suspended again, always because of fears about epidemics, until the custom was finally abolished before the end of the temporal reign of the papacy.

With regard to ^{the association with} ~~an idea linked to~~ antique naumachie, it should be noted that there were already allegorical ships in Piazza Navona at the time of

the grandiose Giostfa del Saracino of 1634, beyond which there is another, not unimportant fact: Innocent X intended to give the piazza a "maestoso risoluzione," and to that end planned to use an obelisk found in the Circus of Maxentius. ¹⁾ The diarist Deone gives the following account: "*Giovedì doppo desinare il Papa fu a S. ^(Seb)astiano per vedere la Naumachia distrutta, sta rovinando per terra un obelisco grandissimo per farlo risarcire et erigerlo in mezzo Piazza Navona imittando in ciò li vestigi di Sisto V.*"

The pontiff's desire for grandeur would compete with Sixtus's recovery of the antique, but it was linked with far more ancient structures such as the naumachia.

The introduction of the Lake goes back to 1652: the first source is the diarist Gigli. Its story is analyzed by Cancellieri: Bernerì noⁿ fa alcun motto del Lago del Foro Agonale nel Mese di Agoste, che pur sappiamo di certo dalla testimonianza di Giacinto Gigli, essersi introdotto molto prima, benchè a suo tempo da molti anni fusse già stato intermesso. Poichè egli narra nel suo Diario. A'23 di Giugno nel 1652 in Piazza Navona a pie della Guglia, e delle Fontane, fu aggiustate l'Acqua, che a benepiatito formava un Lao sopra in Terra, et serviva per spasso delle Carrozze, che vi passavano sopra. Questa per altro e la sola Memoria, che, dopo moltissime ricerche, ho potuto rintracciare dell'introduzione di questo Soettacolo, di cui non ^{me} riuscito di trovare negli Archivi de' Tribunali delle Acque, e delle Strade veruna indicazione, o notizia. Questo Diver-timento, che si dà in tutti i Sabbati, e nelle Domeniche pomeridiane del Mese di Agosto, consiste nell' Allagamento della Piazza, nella meta, che resta fra 'l Palazzo Panfili, e la Chiesa di S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli.

Notico

✓

Siccome il Sito fa Conca, così l'Acqua Vergine, che si diffonde nella Piazza, fuori della Tazza della Fontana, chiudendosene gli Sbocchi, nel mezzo divien molto alta, e in qualche sito, arriva quasi all'altezza di un Vomo. Il Popolo sta affollato alle Sponde a rimirare, e particolarmente sulla Scalinata della Chiesa di S. Agnese. La Nobiltà, e la Cittadinanza in quei giorni, in vece di andare al Corso, o girava in Carrozza per questo lego o si distribuiva per le Loggie, e per le Fenestre de'Palazzi, e delle Abitazioni poste all'intorno per godere dello Spettacolo, molta gradito, e una volta piacevole, in quella calda Stagione.

Questo divertimento introdotto nel 1652 durò sequitamente per soli 24 Anni. Poichè fu sospeso nel 1676. Ma dopo ^o 27 anni, essend^osi affatto dismessi tutti gli altri Giuochi, e Spettacoli di sopra descritti, fu nuovamente introdotto ne' principj dello scorso Secolo, ed ha sequitato, come vedremo, ad esser di Moda, uno alla sua metà."4

Even if a precise document is missing, one can reasonably suppose that Bernini and his expert counselors were responsible for the introduction of the ^{flowing} "lake". It should be noted that the spectacle first appeared immediately after the inauguration of the fountain, and naturally during the most propitious season, after the systematization of the various levels of the Piazza. And it is also a rather sensational response to Borromini's doubts (the placement of the elliptical basin is probably due to him, ^{in addition to} beyond a first design now in the Vatican library which is in fact a bit sterile) about the possibility of bringing water into the piazza.

An anecdote told by Bernini's son Domenic is meaningful (and retold from Baldinucci to Cancellieri) regarding Bernini's ^{theatrical ability} ~~talent in stagecraft~~ (almost mosaic) ^{to} ~~fer~~, surprising ^{the viewer} through the use of water:

Erasi già condotta a fine quest'opera, quando volle andarvi il Papa a vederla, e dentro gli steccati, e tend^e, che la tenevano anco occulta agli occhj del pubblico, entrò Innocenzo col Cardinal Panzirolo suo Secretario di Stato, e con cinquanta della sua Corte i più confidenti. La vista di lei superò nel Pontefice l'aspettativa, e divenne maggiore della fama. La girò attorno notandone con ammirazione ogni part, e poi per mezz'ora fermòssi a vagheggiarne quel tutto, che da ogni banda rendeva ugualmente maestosa l'apparenz. (...) Due volte il Papa tentò di partirsi, e pur due volte di nuovo tornò a vagheggiarla, e finalmente richiese, 'Quando l'acqua si saria potuta veder cadere?' Rispose il Bernino a bella posta, 'Che non così presto, richiedendosi maggior tempo per preparar^{ar} la strada, ma che haverebbe procurato di servir Sua Santità con ogni sollecitudine.' Allora Innocenzo datagli la benedizione partìssi. Ma non fu giunto alla porta del vicino steccato, che havendo il Cavaliere con mirabil'arte, e secretezze concertato il modo, con cui ad ogni suo cenno dovesse l'acqua in gran copia sboccar per la fonte, che sentissene un mormoria altrettanto sonor^o, quanto meno aspettato, et al Papa che rivoltòssi indietro, comparve uno spettacolo, che lo fece del tutto rimanere estatico per la maraviglia.

As to the symbolism of Noah's Ark in the Pamphiliⁱ ambience, let me point out three other instances:

1) The commemorative medal for the foundation of the church of Sant' Andrea al Quirinal (1658) built by Bernini and requested by don Camillo Pamphiliⁱ contains on the back the peak of Mr. Ararat from which emerge two wooden beams (the cross of St. Andrew) while the dove flies above. The motto is Erit mihi Arca.⁵

2) One of the illustrations for Roccamora's book about the Apocalypse (and probably a reflection of forty-hour devotion ceremonies) published in 1668 and 1670 consists of a Barrière engraving. To the triumph of the Eucharist above a gigantic olive tree is counterposed the divine appearance on the rainbow, and Mt. Ararat upon which the ark sits, with the animals having partially descended.

3) For the Pamphili villa in San Pancrazio, Borromini conceived of a complicated encyclopedia of knowledge ("studio di matematica pratica"). The relevant passage from his memoria reads as follows:

"Direi, che tutti li viali e teatri del Giardino avessero i parapetti di muro, in maniera che dopo haver goduto il Giardino la mattina col passeggiarvi, mentre che coi Convitati si pranzasse, si potessero inondare tutti i predetti viali e Teatri le commodità e abbondanza delle acque dei vicini condotti, a segno che levatesi da tavola con piccole barchette si potesse andare per tutto, dove prima si andava a piede asciutto, il che rescirebbe meraviglioso, per la prestezza di inondare tutto il paese et alla Città porterebbe piccolissimo incomodo, non levandosi l'acqua che per un hora ne mancherebbe anche modo di non levarla neanche per detta hora. Chi volesse aggiungere una curiosità bizzarra, e di non molta spesa: Direi che si facesse un'Uccelliera o luogo per Animali in forma dell'Arca di Noè, di macchina tanto grande che divisa in tre ordini, com'era dell'Arca vi si potesse camminare per ciascun ordine per il mezzo di essa, con ritrovare dell'una e dall'altra parte le Celle distinte per gli Animali, conforme si desegna detta Arca dai Scritturali: e in dette celle vorrei riporre gli Animali veri di quella sorte, che si potessero avere. Se le dette cose appariranno al perfetto

giudizio di Vostra Eminenza spropositi, ne incolpi se medesima in havere domandato parere ad uno spropositato come son io."

For the continuity of Bernini's response to the problem, I will indicate two starting points:

1) The systematization of Piazza Colonna. Bernini wrote to Chantelou on 25 June 1665:

"Ha parlato in seguito di una sua proposta al papa per trasportare la Colonna Traiana nella piazza in cui è l'Antonina, e di fare due fontane che riempissero tutta la piazza: essa sarebbe stata la piu bella di Roma."

2) The continuity of the idea of the Ark in the design of Carlo Fontana, his right hand man wherever there was building in the Rome of Innocent and the Chigis. On the occasion of a fête ^{in honor of} ~~for~~ another peace treaty (Rijswick 1697, putting an end to the conflict between France and the countries which were adherents of the Augsburg League), he designed an allegorical boat built to resemble Noah's Ark, in which the Pope was to embark and plough through the waters of Anzio, a tangible allegory of the end of the Flood.⁶

^A~~The~~ relationship between Bernini and Kircher has been resolutely denied. And yet it surfaces again with the case of the erection of the obelisk of ^{ve} Minerva: the Barberini (Kircher was recalled to Rome from France precisely as an expert on hieroglyphics) wanted it erected on the grounds of the Palazzo Barberini around 1658, and Kircher published it in Oedipus Aegiptacus. As to the Fontana dei Fiumi, in the Oedipus Aegiptiacus (1652) Kircher explained that, "*illum resarcire fuit necassarium*"(...) "*Quod cum summo Architecti studio fuisse felicissime peractum . Dopo* ^{questo} *primo restauro l'obelisco*

appariva ancora 'deformis', "Architecto cum primis, uti et coeteris pendentis iudicio negotium ponderantibus, expedire visum fuit, ut eiusdem obelisce Oedipus Kircherus, pro sua sagacitate et peritia; mutilum et mancum hieroglyphicae literaturae contextum de suo suppleret".

In the Obeliscus Pamphilius:

"In Architectum vero seligitur Laurentius Berninus Eques, perspicacitate ingenij singularis, quem architectonicae artis sive sculptoriae Micheli Angelo Bonarote excellentiam spectes, uti nobilissimas eius, quibus urbem exornavit, opera satis demonstrant, paene supparem censeo; cui fidelem manum adhibuit Ludovicus Berninus frater."

restoration:

Bernini participated in the / (...) *ut in eorum loca fragmenta ex eodem lapide Pirite singulari industria inferta, obeliscum suae integritate restituerent*" (...) *"Illuxit praeterea in coagmentandis partibus singulare Architecti ingenium, dum partes partibus sine ullis ferreis retinaculis tam subtiliter connexit, ut ex unico saxo e minus intuentibus confectus videretur."*

Beyond the date of the ^{Hood's} ~~"spectacle"~~ appearance and the indirect arguments in favor of the hypothesis that Bernini designed the "spectacle," there is another fact.

The problem of the "consultant" is always important in a Baroque enterprise. Bernini, for example, was guided by Lelio Guidiccioni for the great undertaking of the Catafalco di Paolo V (the one which earned him the Cavalier's cross), and we know how important Elpidio Benedetti's role was (regarding ventures for France, and especially for the staircase of Trinità de' Monti in celebration of Louis XIV). In the case of the Fontana dei Fiumi, the program's ^{consultant} ~~author~~ has been identified (by E. Sestieri and N. Huse) as

Michelangelo Lualdi. ^{Before} ~~When~~ I had ^{definitively} ~~not yet~~ characterized the role of the true "consultant," the thesis did not seem solid enough, at which point the pages seemed one of the many laudatory descriptions (in prose and poetry) which accompanied the inauguration of the Fontana rather than indications of Bernini's program.

It is logical that Bernini was ^{assigned} ~~flanked~~ in the design precisely by the Jesuit Athanasius Kircher, an almost mythical figure of seventeenth century Rome (and who, with his difficult personality, remains largely unstudied); he applied himself to decoding the obelisk from the Circus of Maxentius (discovered in 1647).

During this period Father Kircher elaborated all of this allegorical knowledge, destined to be concretized in many books which tended to summarize human thought and the possibility of a universal language which would contain Truth. In particular, he worked up an allegorical Genesis tale, moving right from the problem of Noah's Ark--the image rendered by Bernini.

The book Arca Noe was published in Amsterdam in 1675. In reading the dedication to Charles II of Hapsburg and the preface to the reader, it is clear that his interpretation of Genesis went back at least twenty five years (and we are back at the Fontana dei Fiumi) and had already been preceded by various conferences. The structure of the Ark is presented in an unrelenting study, while Bernini's work is all accurately concealed: it is enough to compare Kircher's fables with what we can now call "the allegory of the Flood with Mt. Ararat encircled by the four continents and ^{or mountains} ~~ended~~ by the Dove" to see that basically, the real hermetic operation (immediately forgotten) was ~~the~~ the vulgar one by Bernini.

The global meaning of the appratuS in Piazza Navona is really related to the atmosphere of reconciliation after the Peace of Westphalia (concluded in 1648): the quiet that the Pamphili reign assures the world is confirmed by the end of the flood (in this sense my contribution complements that of Marcello Fagiolo on the symbolism of Borromini's building of the Lateran^{n 8}).

When Bernini and Kircher died (the same day, Pascoli tells us, their remains were on view at Santa Maria Maggiore and at the Gesù) they brought to the tomb that brotherhood conducted in enigmatic hieroglyphics. For perhaps in Piazza Navona there is yet something else, related to Kircher's "Egyptian" culture. The "lake" occurred between June and August, almost the same time as the mythical over^u flow of the Nile. That antique flood, meaning well-being, fecundity, and health, happened when the sun entered Leo and was in^o opposition to the "equus marinas", a symbol of destruction and evil. Is it only chance that these two animals are prominent in the fountain (and that the sources attribute them to Bernini himself)? Additionally, Kircher declared: Amat natura divina stare celata et abscondita , and also Nuda et aperta expositio Deo et Natura est inimica.

In the Baroque mentality, symbols and allegories coexisted, sometimes evenⁱⁿ contradictorily^{ion}, but it seems^{all the more probable} as reliable as ever that the learned egyptologist wanted to give ~~one more meaning to~~ this ephemeral apparatus which^{the original by him} proclaimed the "pax panfiliana" in a popular spectacular.

Rudolf Preimesberger

BERNINI AND GAULLI AT SANT 'AGNESE IN AGONE ¹

Upon the death of Prince Camillo Pamphili, in July, 1666, his widow, Olimpia Aldobrandini, Princess of Rossano, took over the patron's role ^{in the} for building ^{the} the family church, S. Agnese in Agone. Their under-age son, Giovanni Battista, first born and future heir, in the meantime began his "grand tour."² The princess's administrative style was quite different ^{than} that of her deceased husband. She entrusted all decision-making power to a Council which met weekly and over which she presided. The most important people involved in the undertaking took part, including the ^{family} house architect, the church's architect, and the steward. The minutes of these meetings are preserved in the "*Libro delle congregazioni tenute per gl'affari ed interessi dell'Ecc.mo Signor Principe Don Giovanni Battista Pamphilio durante la tutela e cura o amministrazione dell'Ecc.ma Sig.a Principessa Madre, Donna Olimpia Aldobrandini Pamphili*"³ which I found in the family archives some years ago. They allow us to follow the project's weekly progress ^{from} inside. In particular, they allow us to reconstruct with some accuracy the genesis of the frescoes in the pendentives, that is, the full and complicated story of the patron's participation, her administration, her architect, the person who conceived the iconographic program, the painter Giovanni Battista Gaulli, and finally one person who, in Lanzi's words, "era quasi l'arbitro de' lavori di Roma..." and that with "...istradar... Baciccio ed altri alla pittura, influiva anche in essa col suo stile..."⁴ that is, seventy-year old Gian Lorenzo Bernini. In fact, based upon the documents

in the Doria Pamphilj archives, Gaulli's frescoes in S. Agnese, which contemporary literature on the arts already declared "autant l'ouvrage du Bernin que le sien,"⁵ are worth considering as examples of the topic "Bernini and his influence".

As has been noted, Pope Innocent X initiated the work on S. Agnese. After having built the large family palazzo, constructing a gallery with a benediction loggia for its facade, restoring the shape of the antique arena to Piazza Navona, and erecting a fountain surmounted by an obelisk, the construction of a church constituted the final stage of the Pope's grand design for making his birthplace the "Forum Pamphilj."⁶ In July 1654 the Pope made his personal program clear, revealing his intention of accumulating palazzo, galleria, benediction loggia, obelisk and fountain on the largest piazza in Rome at the time. He contemplated transferring the Apostolic Palace and some sections of the Curia to Piazza Navona. He even wanted to take up residence in his family's palace, a truly unique intention in the modern history of the papacy.⁷ After his death his nephew Camillo Pamphilj, head of the family, had the financial and administrative honor of building S. Agnese, at first with Borromini, after he had been certified with a college of architects, and finally with his trusted architect, Giovanni Maria Baratta. When Camillo died in 1666, the facade and bell-tower were still incomplete, and the large external staircase had not been touched. The marble revetments were on the walls, and the sculptural decoration of the altars was under way. The entire upper part--pendentives, tambour, and cupola--was still unfinished.

These were the problems addressed at the Council's first meeting on 1 August 1666.⁹ Two weeks later, on 18 August, the Council discussed the

the pendentives. The name of the painter in the notes appears to have been undisputed: "...Per li quattro medaglioni il Bacciccia Pittore faccia il disegno..."¹⁰ As we know, Gaulli's artistic ^{origins} ~~beginnings~~ are obscure. After arriving in Rome from Genoa in 1653 or 1657, there is evidence of early activity in Rome for the Genoese art merchant Pellegrino Peri. We have information about contacts with Mario de' Fiori and of a collaboration with Abraham Brueghel. Some of the drawings from this period can be dated, but Gaulli's activity as a painter before 1666 is practically unknown.¹¹ One of the few pieces of evidence is the altarpiece at S. Rocco, ^{which although} ~~not dated~~ ^{is} surely prior to 1666.¹² Without a doubt, a crucial event for his career and artistic evolution was his encounter with Bernini which occurred at the latest in 1664.¹³ Bernini not only got the young painter monumental commissions, but the biographies even relate that he instructed Gaulli in how to draw the body. In Ratti's words, "Qualora poi venivagli occorrenza di dipingere quadre storiati; il Bernini stesso gliene formava i modelli..."¹⁴ In Mariette's words, Gaulli was an instrument which Bernini used only so as to translate his own ideas into paintings, his "hand that paints": "Le Bachiche étoit la main, dont le Bernin se servoit pour exprimer en peinture ses pensées neuves et piquantes..."¹⁵

From the earliest years of Urban VIII's pontificate, Bernini had **planned** pictorial works. This aspect of his activities gives rise to almost irresolvable critical problems, given the quantity of ^{ed} ~~production~~ and the complexity and diversity of personal relationships.¹⁶ Just think of Carlo Pellegrini, Guidobaldo Abbatini, perhaps the most faithful executor of Bernini's ideas, and of Guglielmo Cortese.¹⁸ During the '60s,

after Cortese, Gaulli became Bernini's preferred painter, ascribing to him the role of the "hand that paints". But it would seem that quite soon he was also assigned a new role: he became an important figure in Bernini's multiform political program for ensuring commissions. Because of his enormous talent as a colorist, the young artist played an important role in Bernini's attempts to influence and, so to speak, monopolize the artistic life of Rome. And in effect, we do not find him working only on the master's projects as ~~were~~^c Bernini's other painters, but we also see how he influenced highly significant ^mcommissions--that is, the frescoes for the Gesù. The procedure is clear here: Gaulli, with his talent, maneuvered by Bernini with his influence, sweeps away competitors and seizes the chance to make a name for himself.¹⁹ We can observe an analogous process for the first time several years earlier at S. Agnese.

In the spring of 1666 or a little earlier, Bernini presented his design to Prince Camillo Pamphilj²⁰ and managed to secure for the young painter, who as far as we know had never been put to the test working with frescoes, one of the most important commissions in Rome at the time, that is, the frescoes for the pendentives at S. Agnese. At the same time, by means of Gaulli, he sought to corner control of the building. By November of that year, exactly what one would expect had happened. Persuaded by Bernini's criticisms, or by those of third parties, or by intrigues, Princess Pamphilj suddenly lost all faith in Baratta's designs. Work was interrupted.²¹ The minutes of the meeting on 9 December 1666 laconically note a new supreme enterprise: "Il Baratta, quando siano aggiustate le cose con il Cardinale Azzolini ed il Bernini, non stringa..."²² Then

the direction of construction passed to Bernini with the cultivated and refined Cardinale Decio Azzolini, friend of Queen Christina of Sweden, as sponsor ^{both} of the project and ^{of} Bernini and closely tied to the Pamphili interests.²³

By means of the Cardinal and of Gaulli, then, Bernini managed to gain control over one of the largest Roman building projects of the time. He immediately made decisive interventions in the construction, modifying the center of the facade, eliminating the second tympanum and designing two large flying spirits. Inside he began a funerary monument for Innocent X which I have described elsewhere.²⁴ ^{interventions} One of Bernini's ~~actions~~ which was a determining factor in the interior involved the area of the pendentives. In its early form, the attic was not interrupted as it is now, but continued even beneath the pendentives. Here, in one of the aesthetic nerve centers of the building, Bernini moved in forcefully; he had the attic beneath the four ~~pendentives~~ knocked out. The first consequence was a different structural system for the entire space of the church, and the second was that the pendentives assumed a rhythmic and upright form. For the sake of effect, Bernini even altered the pendentives. In fact, they support the most important work he created for S. Agnese, even if to fulfill it he made use of Gaulli. In reality, a synopsis of the archival documents, stylistic and iconographic arguments, and ^{the comparison} ~~and~~ ^{analogy} with other works allow us to affirm ~~the thesis~~ that the frescoes of the Four Cardinal Virtues are in large measure the work of Bernini. This is a complex issue and merits full study on its own. Here I will only give a brief summary without the full critical apparatus.

From what we can reconstruct of the historical circumstances, it seems clear that Bernini exercised massive influence over the frescoes. He

brought Gaulli to figurative painting, procured the commission for him, enlarged the pendentives and designed the stucco cornices for the frescoes. The "Libro delle Congregazioni" clearly reflects the particular role he played in the genesis of the frescoes. From 9 December 1666 on, wherever there are references in the minutes to the execution of the frescoes, the stereotypical formula "Cavaliere Bernino" appears at the top, and only rarely that of Gaulli.²⁶ In fact, in the Bernini phase of the long story of the construction of S. Agnese, architects, plasterers, sculptors and painters were ^{all} limited to executing designs by only one person, Bernini. The way Bernini handled the process of building S. Agnese clearly ended up with Gaulli, like the other artists, simply executing Bernini's designs with ^{out} ~~the~~ ^{the} possibility of designing freely himself. The archival documents speak clearly: the frescoes were as much Bernini's as was the funeral monument of Innocent X designed during the same period.

We cannot establish with certainty whether Bernini communicated his ideas to Gaulli orally or with drawings, whether he intervened in Gaulli's sketches only ^{by} giving advice or ^{whether he} actually ^{ed} correcting them, that is, whether in part he ^{suggested} ~~only~~ ^{modifications} modified. In any event, however one must imagine the genesis of the frescoes, in particular how the collaboration between two very different artists may have varied from fresco to fresco, motif to motif, figure to figure, even a superficial analysis establishes the eminently Berninian character of the iconological concepts and of the composition.

I found the notes for the iconographic program of the frescoes in the archives,²⁷ written by the Pamphili's librarian and secretary, Doctor Niccolo Angelo Caferra.²⁸ They describe the program of the four cardinal virtues

proposed to the Council by the architect Baratta, but almost surely reflecting Camillo Pamphilj's decision, between 26 August and 4 September, 1666, when Gaulli received the first part.²⁹ This program, which merits separate analysis, provides an interesting ^{perspective on} ~~view of~~ the intellectual world of the author of an artistic program during the seventeenth century. Caferra mentions ^{ed} Cesare Ripa, Pierio Valeriano, he ^e knows Angeloni, Cornelius a Lapide, and naturally the allegorical Virgil of Ortensio Lambertini. His proposal to combine the four virtues with the four rivers of the world and of paradise is most interesting, a proposal which reveals a comprehensive vision of the monumental Pamphilj complex of piazza and church, ^{and which} relating ^{ed} Bernini's fountain of the four rivers to the interior of S. Agnese.³⁰

Comparing the program with the frescoes reveals a great disjunction ⁱⁿ ~~from~~ the iconological technique. The plan enumerates the virtues. The frescoes instead reveal surprisingly original "concepts" of a high intellectual level. Allegorical action takes the place of the isolated virtues. Let us take ^{an} ~~an~~ example: the fresco Fortitudo.³¹ Fortitude, with helmet and armor, is on her knees; at her shoulders is ^a ~~the~~ column as a symbol of her firmness. She is the constituent element of a "concept": with outstretched hands, she is in fact ready to receive the cross which an angel in flight delivers. The group is the visible equivalent of the famous Biblical metaphor: "Everyone has his own cross to bear." A metaphor translated into a figurative concept! ^{of nature of the} ~~What the~~ "cross" is which Fortitude takes on is clearly expressed: martyrdom. The instruments of martyrdom, in fact, are spilled on the ground.

But Christian Fortitude has triumphed over them: they are broken and she tramples ~~on~~ them. Paganism is also defeated. Fortitude has driven

back the pagan sacrifice: the pagan's brazier of incense is overturned. Idolatry is finished; the antique divinities collapse. Two putti are busy destroying statues. The metaphor is obvious: Christian fortitude kneels on the ruins of paganism. The motivation for martyrdom is also represented: the figure of Charity. The putto with the flaming heart and the one sleeping at her breast define her as the personification of the love of God and of ~~one's~~ neighbor. The figure points to the cross for Fortitude. The meaning of the fresco is the following: martyrdom, sacrifice for divine love.

Who then is the author of this complex poetic concept? Certainly not Doctor Caferri, ^{with} whose simple program we are familiar ^{with}. And certainly not Gaulli. By chance we know some of Gaulli's independent works from the same years, the frescoes at S. Marta al Collegio Romano.³² They are extremely simple allegories about the virtues which do not exceed Cesare Ripa's instructions; it is an ingenuous iconological style, far removed from the originality and intellectual content of the concepts at S. Agnese. My argument is that at S. Agnese, a third factor was introduced between the Conceptor of the program and the painter, namely Bernini. The complex iconological style is his--the same phenomenon is present in the fresco of Justice.³³ Here the new "concept" is an illustration of the psalm "Justice and Peace Kiss." I believe that Bernini's influence is also apparent in the composition. To be specific: Bernini imposed upon the painters who worked for him not only individual invenzioni, figures, or "foreshortenings," but also his pictorial conception. Without lingering on its history or its connections with contemporary painting, we will simply call it "sculptural painting."³⁴ We have Gaulli's drawing for Justice.³⁵ When compared with the fresco it is apparent that the

composition was rearranged. The grouping of the figures in the fresco is to be understood spatially: the principle of sotto in su is applied with complete coherence. I would see Bernini's corrections in this. Only the fresco is obedient to the demands of his "sculptural painting" principle, which Bernini ^{there} imposed on Gaulli. I believe we can discern a direct intervention by Bernini above all in one detail which is only in the fresco above Justice: a strongly foreshortened putto in flight and seen from below penetrates the painting, an illusionistic motif which altered the character of the fresco. Giving a composition a final plastic-spatial accent is a typical Bernini touch.

here

There are a number of other interesting issues which ^{here} I can only list. ~~rather than discuss~~ Among these are the extremely interesting chronological reconstruction of the cycle, ³⁶ ~~and~~ ^{with} Gaulli's trip to Parma and Modena to "study from Correggio" after painting the first fresco, Prudence. ³⁷ One could also discuss the coloristic and compositional difference between Prudence and the rest of the cycle, and the genetic relationship with Dominichino's frescoes in the adjacent church of S. Carlo ai Catinari. Last, there is the iconological analysis and the allusion to the family crest by the patrons and their "Panphilia" ethic, which made the frescoes in S. Agnese a real Pamphili monument. ³⁸

genetic?

I have tried to outline the complex relationship between the two artists and once again I would like to affirm that Gaulli was much more than Bernini's hand. He infused the frescoes with something Bernini could not: an enormous instinct for color--painting in the truest sense! Another example, then, of the limits of the phenomenon of "Bernini and his influence."

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READING BERNINI TEXTS:

Some Discoveries and New Observations

Bernini and his son Pietro Filippo gathered together a group of documents which are now in the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. Among them is a letter from Cardinal Antonio Barberini to Gian Lorenzo:

Molto Illustrissimo Signore,

Io non so ringraziar V.S. a bastanze che fa più in fatti che in parole che me n'ha di già gettato il Christo col quale io saprò pregarlo come dovere... Intendo ancora che la si accinga al 2° gettito della testa della S.^a Memoria di Papa Urbano. Da questa ella deve r. conoscere che io me lo stimi singolarmente venuto --- Di Parigi, li X Marzo 1656 ...

Affettuosissimo sempre,

Cardinal Antonio Barberini.¹

With these words, written ~~while~~^{earlier} in Genoa enroute to Paris, the nephew of Urban VIII repeated his request ~~of several months earlier~~^{earlier}² for a bronze portrait. ~~Most likely~~^{probably} this bust is the one on exhibit in the Louvre³ which has been part of the royal collection ~~at least~~^{since} 1683.⁴ It appeared in subsequent inventories (1707, 1722, 1729)⁵ along with the bronze crucifix ~~(which was already missing in 1788)~~ which had also been commissioned in Paris (Figs. 1,2). Close ties between Antonio Barberini and the French court dated from the era of Urban VIII, when Barberini served as Cardinal Protector of France.⁶ This suggests that the bronzes represented two of what we know were the numerous gifts Barberini gave to the sovereigns in exchange for the ~~tasks entrusted~~^{commissions they gave}

to him. When he and his brother Francesco took shelter in France in 1646 to ^{evade} the sanctions of the Pamphili Pope, Barberini was able to consolidate his ties with France even to the point of being ^{named} ~~appointed~~ Bishop of Poitiers in 1652, almoner of Anna of Austria in 1653, and Archbishop of Rheims in 1657. All of this was in addition to ^{having his} jurisdiction over the major pious and cultural works of the nation, the hospital at Quinz et Vingt in Paris, and his position as one of the judges charged with ^{appointing} ~~selecting~~ the docents ^{for} the Sorbonne. ⁷ ^{He called himself} Friend of Bernini, ¹¹ ^{as he called himself} ⁸ ^{and} Cardinal Antonio was certainly among those who helped spread ^{Bernini's} name in France. The Cardinal served as intermediary ^{to help secure} ~~for~~ the commission for Richelieu's bust between the 1630s and 1640s, and then for the Virgin with Child executed by Razzi for the Carmelite Church in Paris. He was also among the first (beginning in 1662 if not earlier in 1640, under pressure from Mazarino) ¹⁰ to insist that Bernini travel to France--recognizing, among other things, the possible ^{ity} ~~political benefits~~ of resolving the growing tension between the Vatican and France. ¹¹

Although ~~since~~ it has been lost since the eve of the French Revolution, ¹² ^{and} we can ^{thus} offer no hypotheses about the missing crucifix, ~~some~~ traces in French art ¹³ allow us to make some observations about the bust of Urban VIII: "It is

disconcerting in its free and loose execution and difficult but to comprehend in the context of Bernini's work before mid-century, ^{the} softness of the face is touching and the tone is accessible, approachable. ^{even}

The bust has not received adequate attention and has ^{been} considered a work from ^{the Bernini} school. ¹⁴ Only fairly recently did Valentino Martinelli and Rudolf Wittkower re-evaluate it, although they disagree on the dating ^{of execution}.

Until now,[^]
~~So far,~~ the death of Urban VIII (with the attendant hostilities against the Barberini family and the dead Pope)^{16 has} seemed to be the possible as latest dates for the bronze, as well as for the busts of Santa Maria a Corsini, Monte Santo, Palazzo: ^ and Prince Enrico Barberini.

In reality, we know that by 1648 the situation had so changed again that the Barberini were received by Innocent X, the Pope who had constrained them to flee^{only} two years earlier. The Barberini family once again received honorific posts, and, in the words of a contemporary:

*furono da papa Innocenzo fatti e dichiarati per suoi nepoti, e se ne dimostrò fuor di modo contento et disse che voleva che i Barberini vedessero che non era morto papa Urbano.*¹⁷

Baldinucci failed to include the Louvre bust in his list of works by Bernini. A careful examination of that list reveals how incomplete it is (a point to which I will return), for it is nothing but a more or less up-to-date version of one compiled by Carlo Cartari in 1674 and based upon contemporary guides, as documents at the Bibliothèque Nationale reveal. The Louvre bust of Urban VIII is noteworthy above all for the face, which has been underestimated even by those who, like Wittkower, understood how modern the work^{was} is in the richness of its breadth of the folds and in the contrapposto movement of the folds and in the ^ of the shoulders. Bernini rendered Urban's aged^{appearance} ^ with the touching involvement of one who had been in his company a great deal^{and} who had had an affectionate relationship with him which had brought^{the artist} him early and incredible good luck. Such liveliness and intensity of representation were possible only for someone who had known Pope Urban well while he

was alive, and it is yet more touching ~~the~~ ^{when} one thinks ~~about~~ ^{of} the bronze as a recollection ^{of} and a posthumous salute to the Pope.

In France ^{During this period} ~~the style was still~~ ^{was still in fashion} the gallery of portraits typical of the previous century, with the analytical and detached glorifications of Philip of Champagne and Robert Nanteuil,¹⁸ and the sculpture of Jacques Sarrazin, Francois Anguier, and Jean Warin.¹⁹

The influence ^{after 1656} ~~after 1656~~ on sculpture as well as painting ^{of Bernini's bronze} should not be underestimated, for it was a mature and fitting expression of Bernini's conception of the portrait.

~~In effect~~ Bernini, who was summoned to Paris to design the Louvre, must already have been known ^{to} French artists, ^{especially} largely ~~largely~~ for his portraits.

It was no coincidence that ~~there~~ ^{were many} portrait artists among those who followed his work after his arrival in 1665.²⁰

Robert Nanteuil, Jean Waring, Philippe de Bryster, Claude LeFebvre²⁰ are among the ^{most} frequently ^{mentioned} ~~named~~ in the ^{diary} of Chantelou, and the last ^{in particular admired Bernini, and must} two ~~must have nourished particular admiration and~~ have been singularly disposed to learning from ~~him~~.

Philippe de ^u Bryster ^{was} mentioned in the Journal under the ~~then~~ ^{name} and has thus ^{he was the author of the} ~~customary~~ name of Bistel ^{escaped} attention ^{also} ~~about~~ ^{about} Bernini's ^{esque} ciborium in Val-de-Grace, ^{and} ~~he~~ ^{helped} ~~to~~ ^{hustle} about to find a block of marble for Bernini which would be suitable ^{to use for} ~~to use for~~ the bust of the King.²¹ In light of this observation, we must ^{consider} ~~consider~~ this sculptor in a new way. Among other things, just a few months after the bronze of Urban VIII arrived in Paris, de ^u Bryster executed a series

of portraits (Fig. 3) for the Laubespain mausoleum in Bourges Cathedral.²² Although ^{still} traditionally, ^{in appearance} they ~~appear~~ ^{are} a good deal more free than the agitated and realistic masks common to French funerary sculpture and to his own work ^{of} the time. I wonder whether the intense vitality of the bronze of Urban VIII and ^{Bernini's} ~~the clear~~ ^{the clear} ~~evident~~ affirmation of ^{the pope's} ~~his~~ dignity do not find an immediate echo in this work.

But let us turn to the summer of 1665¹ with Bernini now in Paris. On the basis of a letter from Mattia de' Rossi in 1667, we can affirm that Bernini's project (designed in August 1665) for the transformation of the Parisian hôtel in rue Neuve des Petits Champs ^{for} Hugues de Lionne had been effectively completed.²³ On (January 4) ^{De'} Rossi, ^{had} ~~having~~ returned to France ^{in the} ~~the~~ ^{of 1666} ~~previous~~ autumn, to execute the models of the Louvre and ^{On 4 January 1667, de' Rossi} to direct the works on behalf of the master, ^{responded} to a series of questions from Bernini:

*Illustrissimo Signore Osservatissimo nella sua delli 13 ottobre passato sento che haverebbe accaro si la fabbrica di monsù di Lionne si è mai spedita conforme il disegno di V.S., si sono messe le colonne all'entrata della porta, si è ingrandita la porta, si è fatto la scala conforme il disegno di V.S., ma la balaustra sopra il tetto non si è fatta, perchè gli pare troppo spessa, ma dice Monsù Lionne che la farà poit con un poco di tempo; di quello che è fatto ne è soddisfatto grandemente.*²⁴

A diplomat of no little importance ^{who} ~~was~~ charged with important foreign missions, Hugues de Lionne had not suffered the repercussions of French political changes, ~~during his career~~. He had traveled to Rome a number of times: during the war against Castro he commissioned a family portrait from Pierre Mignard, and another time he managed to get

close to Queen Christina,

and in 1664 he escorted Cardinal Flavio Chigi to France.

Author of political texts, elected Grand Master of Ceremonies by Anna of Austria, Hugues de Lionne could consider himself a member of the most favored class, even though in 1665 he was deeply in debt.²⁵

Nonetheless, he was able to commission the Royal Architect LeVau to build a palatial residence for him in the ^{district} ~~quarter~~²⁶ which became fashionable after ~~the lots~~ ^{land} on the Ile St. Louis²⁷ had been exhausted⁽ⁱ⁾

Although a bright architect and not ~~without~~ ^{lacking in} ideas, LeVau had more than once brought projects to hasty conclusions, ~~which~~ ^{which} led to undeniable imperfections, technical defects and a tendency to ignore proportions. ⁽ⁱ⁾ He also overdid decorations to the point of straining the load-bearing capacity of the walls and the beams, ^{which} ~~causing~~ ^{ed} the criticism of Chantelou, Colbert,²⁸ and Hugues di Lionne.²⁹

Chantelou refers to three on-the-spot investigations by Bernini at Lionne's hotel (on the 17, 20, and 23 of August) pour remediera a beaucoup de defauts qui y sont.³⁰ The building, demolished in 1827, was designed by Louis Le Vau around 1662,³¹ and by 1665 it was already inhabited, even though the vestibule and ^{the} access to the staircase were still in the works.³²

Having identified a series of trouble spots, Bernini proposed the necessary additions and ^{alterations} ~~transformations~~, and even furnished the ^{plan} ~~designs~~ (drawn by Matthia de' Rossi in 1665) which were ^{adopted} ~~used~~ during the last half of 1666 after de' Rossi's return to Paris. We know Le Vau's

project on paper through Jean Marot's engravings (Figs 5,6,9), some plans drawn when it became the headquarters of the Contrôle Générale des Finances in 1756 (Fig. 7), ^{dating the time} plans from when it became headquarters for the Ministry of Finance in 1800 (Fig. 8), from descriptions in ancient guides,³³ and above all, from Chantelou's precise report.³⁴ A comparison of these various sources brings to light a previously unknown intervention by Bernini in France and, ^{because it indicates} ~~in indicat~~ ^{that he was also involved} ~~ing his presence~~ in the field of private residential architecture, ^{it} ~~is~~ clearly enlarged ^{the} range of his influence. By comparing LeVau's primitive project with this other evidence, then, we can attempt to isolate the modifications ^{which} ~~brought about by~~ ^{introduced} Bernini.

^{Although} ~~If~~ ^{at first} Bernini's observations and the changes ^{he} ~~proposed and~~ ^{which} ~~accomplished~~ appear superficial and merely technical interventions, ^{the can} ~~this is not so even~~ ^{even if we disregard} ~~if one does not fall back on~~ the unwritten laws that Blunt, Babelon³⁵ Braham, and Smith³⁶ ^{as the constants in the design of} ~~recognized in the character~~ of palatial residences.

In reality, Bernini's proposals bring into focus the absence of order and ^{sub} ~~grandiosity~~, the compliance with ^{dated} ~~methods and practices which had been surpassed by them~~, and the generally heavy effect which distinguished French bâtir (and especially Le Vau's buildings) from Roman architecture.

As the Journal makes clear, Bernini deplored the wretched proportion^{5/} of the principal entrance, as well as the absence of classical order and proportions in the parapet (Fig. 5,6). The portal was in fact enlarged ^{so as} (Fig. 7) on both sides laterally and raised ^{to} surpass the first floor fenestration level. It was also flanked by Doric columns, as was the French fashion especially in this new quarter, where, although completely

lacking in classical majesty, ~~it was~~ ^{the column} ~~were~~ added as a purely decorative ^{on} element ^{also in} (one thinks of the nearby ^A hotels of La Vrilliere and Bautru-Colbert).

Bernini did not even eliminate the recurrent leonine decorations which derived from sixteenth century Italian and especially Michelangeloesque schemes (as the numerous French engravings of the Porta Pia establish).

As the Journal indicates, ^{limit} Bernini limited himself to proposing a new design which we can imagine as similar to that of the fourth project for the Louvre's principal facade, ³⁷ in which numerous decorative elements, and above all large leonine masks, constitute an important addition ~~with respect~~ to the first three designs, which were keyed to the fashion of the time.

reference simply not clear = ✓

According to what Bernini said during his inspection trips, the still unexecuted balaustrade were not to be placed level with the trabeation (Fig. 9) as Le Vau proposed, but with the dormers, probably to hide the irregularity and elevation of the roof and to give the illusion of an Italian terrace. ³⁸ Bernini had also often lamented the absence in French architecture of what he recalled having executed in the Palazzo Barberini, that is, logge in front of the facade. A remedy was proposed here, too, as the eighteenth and nineteenth century plans seem to indicate, ^{in the form of} ~~placing~~ ^{placed} four projecting columns against the pilasters on the same line as the curved walls which closed the internal angles of the courtyard (Fig. 7). ³⁹

The interior of the house seemed (to Bernini extremely dark) ^{with the its} darkened vestibule and heavy open beams of the type used during the first half of the century, ^{a tradition which had} ~~and~~ not yet fully eclipsed by the fashion of stucco ceilings. ⁴⁰

With ^{been} shrewd ingenuity quite different ^{from of} than Blondel's, ⁴¹ Bernini indicated ^{suggestive}

the possibility of rounding the upper corners of the cross beams resting on the load bearing beams so as to insert plaster arch sections without weighing them down.

Bernini was ^{so} attentive ^{while} to the relationship between plan and elevation, ^{which} French treatises rarely placed ^{them} in a reciprocal relationship. ⁴²

He also offered suggestions for ^{the} pictorial decorations needed for the various rooms: the small and deep vestibule would have gained grandeur with fake balustrades and sober monochrome decorations of flower garlands. The chambre principale on the first floor, which was too high for its width, would have acquired greater equilibrium with ^{over} ~~larger than life~~ ^{size} painted figures. This ^{approach} ~~way of~~ ^{to} interpreting the problem was far ^{removed} from the polemics between Abraham

Bosse and Charles de Brun on the necessity of perspectival representation, ^{which} at the time ^{was} a particularly lively ^{topic} at the painting Academy. ⁴³ Bernini's interpretations introduced ^{to} France a new problematic for the decoration of ceilings, within which ^{Pierre Mignard worked} the frescoes of the cupola of Val-de-Grâce by ~~Pierre Mignard in 1665-1666~~ ⁴⁴ were promptly inserted, and then ^{followed by} the steeply foreshortened decoration executed in 1671 by the most famous specialist of the genre, Agostino Mitelli, right in ^{Hugues de Lionne's} the palatial dwelling ⁴⁵ of Hugues de Lionne. ⁴⁵

Finally, Bernini took special care with the poorly designed and poorly illuminated stairs. Initially he considered remedying the poor disposition of the three windows (Fig. 6) by opening a single source of light in front of the central flight of stairs. In the actual execution, he instead chose ^{of} two windows (Fig. 7) aligned with the lateral ramps so as to avoid the inconvenience ^{of} a direct light source, and also probably to

create the effect of raking ^{theatrical} diagonal light ^{falling in on the diagonal} dear to theatrical inven-

^{purpose;} Steps ^{brought} the full length of the vestibule had to serve the same end; with these steps Bernini transformed the lowest part of the stairs ^{and} bringing them considerably forward. The two columns Le Vau had placed in

the vestibule (Fig. 6) would now be situated on an elevated first floor (Fig. 7) and would ^{visibly} lessen the narrowness of the ascending ramp ~~visibly~~ upon entry, and the vestibule would be low and deep toward the steep and narrow staircase. These were concepts and solutions which Bernini had already studied two years earlier when he was designing the Royal Staircase.⁴⁶

^{although} The relations between Bernini and the city of Lyons ^{they} have so far been overlooked, which are ~~largely unknown~~ seem to have been close. Bernini

was greeted in May 1665 with the honors generally reserved for Principi grandi (as Cardinal Chigi had been honored a year earlier⁴⁷). Matthia de 'Rossi boasted ^{of} ~~about~~ Bernini's welcome, which included, in addition to the Italian colony and the local nobility, the artists of Lyons.⁴⁸

The city was very wealthy and well-known for its curieux and collectors, as scholars working on Poussin and Stella have shown,⁴⁹ and it was not ^{artist} unworthy of the attentions of the ^{who} transformed the face of Rome.

~~There is no room~~ ^{while this is not the place} to discuss the prevailing artistic directions in Lyons, but I will list what Bernini seems to have executed for Lyons; ^{he left a legacy} leaving ~~testimony~~ to which two local artists ^{of} were not to remain indifferent.⁵⁰

Thomas Blanchet⁵⁰ and the budding Antoine Coysevox

Upon his return to Rome, Bernini executed another copy of the bronze bust of Louis XIV which ^{Lyons} the city expressly requested (^{as had} others ^{had also requested} whom Bernini lumped under the generic term alcunni of it ^{of it}). He himself gave notice in a letter, probably to Colbert, where

Bernini sustains that "l'Idée di Qua Maesta" which he had "continuamente davanti l'occhi" and "sciolto nel core" would have allowed him to execute the portrait also without ^{having the sitter before him} ~~the forma~~. ⁵¹ ~~It is possible that~~ The bronze in the Kress Collection at the National Gallery in Washington, ~~which~~ as Ulrich Middeldorf indicated, is similar but not identical to the bust in Versailles, ^{so it may} ~~either refers to or~~ ^{derives from} the one mentioned in the letter. ⁵²

Additionally, if we want to believe a tradition ^{spread} ~~put about~~ by André Clapasson, the Lyons dilettante who wrote the best and most trustworthy guide (first published in 1741), Bernini executed the designs for the campanile of the Ospedale della Carità which still stands in the Place Bellecour, and for the imposing tabernacle for the ~~chief~~ ^{high} altar of the Carmelite Church which was destroyed during the Revolution (Fig. 10). ⁵³

~~For~~ the campanile (Fig. 11) ^{is} shown here in an old photograph which indicates ^{its} ~~the~~ relationship ^{with} the small and ^{modest} ~~simple~~ hospital church, ^{today,} and neither one is in existence ^{only the upper part} ~~was to be~~ ^{could have been} executed according to Bernini's ^{project} ~~designs~~. An octagonal structure with two orders of pilasters (doric and ionic), it is topped by a ^{cupola} ~~calotta~~ with a lantern. ~~and that~~ ^{lower} ~~does~~ not correspond with the ^{of the tower} ~~section~~ ^{trunk beneath}. ⁵⁴ Unfortunately neither the style of the construction nor even less the typically local vaulting

(from the two towers of Guillaume Ducellet at the Hôtel Dieu of 1637-45 up to Soufflot's cupolas) seem to verify André Clapasson's attribution, nor does there seem to be archival documentation to support or ^{invalidate} ~~deny~~ it. The fact remains, nonetheless, that there is an extraordinary

coincidence of dates, the campanile having been initiated in June of 1665 and completed a year later.⁵⁵

There is a possibility that, wanting to do a good turn, Bernini furnished the designs upon his return to Rome (and the Bernini archives in the Bibliothèque Nationale indicate another triumphal trip to Lyons in 1665) and that they were ~~transformed~~^{altered} and adapted to ^{the} local taste of the maçons of the Lyons hospital.

This would introduce a "minor" Bernini who furnished ^{general} designs and projects without charge and then withdrew from the execution. ~~According~~^{According} to what his earliest biographers had to say, such gestures must have been customary.⁵⁶ ~~as was~~^{This has} already been

confirmed ~~among other things~~ in an unpublished letter from Cardinal Santacroce which ^{noted} that Bernini was in effect the author--as Pacifici has already said--of the very simple and humble sacristy of the Tivoli duomo, designed as a gift for the Cardinal, and again without ^{involved in} ~~being concerned with~~ its realization.⁵⁷

The destroyed tabernacle that adorned the majestic high altar of the Carmelite church in Lyons must have been far richer. Whether or not it was Bernini's work, it was doubtlessly ^{an imposing} ensemble. ^{on} and ^{important} model for France ^{and would} ~~and would~~ ^{Regardless of its specific origins, the} ~~tends to confirm that~~ Bernini's ideas for ecclesiastical complexes were widely known.

Marcel Reymond⁵⁸ already noted and illustrated this, but limited the origins of this influence to the Val-de-Grâce altar.

According to André Clapasson's description, this was a tabernacle placed on a concave and convex plan, that is, more or less like the first design of the Louvre sent from Rome. In this case, ^{however,} the central part (in the form of a loggia is open) with an order of four Corinthian ^{corner} intertwined serpentine columns, on which rested ~~an~~ pediment

topped by a gilded bronze figure of the risen Christ. To the sides of the pediment were two kneeling angels, likewise ^{of} gilded metal. The interior of the central part carried a niche with pilasters in hard stone, disposed in such a way as to form a converging perspective containing the representation (we do not know whether in bas-relief or something else) of Christ's Supper at Emmaus with the Pilgrims. The wings of the tabernacle again contained serpentine columns, three for each part, with stone niches filled with statues of the four Evangelists and topped by angels carrying censers. The entire ensemble, finally, was standing on an agate pedestal resting on *breccia nera antica*.

The work was probably commissioned by the Marshal of Villeroy, pro-
 tector of the church and governor of Lyons who ^{as an admirer of Bernini,} ~~admired Bernini and~~ was present [?]
 during his sojourn in Paris ^{60.} ~~during his journey.~~

The work was to be executed between 1675 (a date for which neither Spon in 1673 nor Bom-
 bourg in 1675 mention a tabernacle in their meticulous accounts) ⁶¹ and 1680, a period during which Bernini continued to maintain relations with Lyons. An unpublished document dating from late 1669 attests to regular relations, exchanges, and letters of recommendation ^{between} of Bernini ⁶² ~~with~~ ^{and} people from Lyons.

If the plan had to be the Roman type (in fact it recalls Rainaldi's tabernacle in Santa Maria della Scala of 1645-1647) ⁶³ the grandeur of the ensemble, the precious materials, ^{and} the use of free-standing columns seem to be ideas worthy of someone who had designed the imposing tabernacle of the Sacramento chapel in St. Peter's. New documentation ⁶⁴ confirms its completion in 1675, that is, at exactly the same time (Fig. 12).

In a different ^{vein and} sphere, ^{tradition of} inspired by the ancient glorification of the ~~heroes~~
⁶⁵ heroes, Bernini designed the base of the bust of Louis XIV so as to

suggest a sculptural group of monumental scale. An attentive reading of the Journal and some lucky coincidences helped me discover what trophy was planned to decorate the globe which, as a symbol of Louis XIV's power, was to support the bust. According to Chantelou again, ⁶⁶ the project was to be an allegorical treatment of one of

the treasures in Louis XIV's collection, that is, the ornate armor of a bas-relief figure attributed to Giulio Romano and which was mistakenly believed to have been a gift of Francis I, Duke of Mantua. Although it has been ignored in Bernini studies, on the basis of the

first inventory Louis XIV ³ where it appears with a description entirely analogous to that of Chantelou) it ~~has been~~ ^{was} the object of research by specialists in ancient military armor, and ~~it was~~ ^{finally} identified. ^{It's} Currently on exhibit at the Louvre, ~~it has been claimed to date~~ ^{and claims have been made that it} ~~to date~~ ⁶⁷

back to Henry II and to have been the work of Etienne Delaume. The upper part of the dossière ^{consists of} two angels (Fig. 13) holding a crown, which was probably what inspired Bernini. An engraving by Cornelius Vermeeulen from Pierre Paul Sevin's design for the frontis piece of 'Tratto del diritto della guerra e della pace di H. Grotius', dedicated to Louis XIV

in 1687, ⁶⁸ gives an idea of what the base was to look like. Even though the frontispiece illustrated Antoine Coysevox's portrait of the king, it

presents the requisite features Bernini ^{planned for} ~~fore~~saw for the base of his bust (such as the great ^{globe} ~~map~~ of the world and the tapis resting between the former and the portrait of the king)

(Fig. 14), although here, as Lavin has noted, the Journal does not mention the presence of allegorical figures.

It was, then, a glorification, filtered through ancient classical heroes and the iconography of ancient busts--as Irving Lavin has already noted--not only of the moral qualities and military might of Louis XIV, but of his descent from ~~winners and~~ ^{a line of victorious} conquerors, to which the use of the armor mentioned above alludes. The combination of the figure of Louis XIV and the armor (which held a place of honor in the 1683 inventory) was a clear and customary symbol at the time. One thinks of a painting by Jean-Baptiste Blainde Fontenay where at the foot of Coysevox's bust of the king rested the corset of our armor seen from behind (Fig. 15).

One last word, finally, to present a ^{drawing} ~~design~~ (Fig. 16) from a private collection, surely by Bernini, ^{sheet} which can be linked to another ~~folio~~ ^{drawing} now in Leipzig. ⁷⁰ The latter was published by Brauer and Wittkower as

one from Bernini's own hand (Fig. 17), and they identified it as an early idea for the iconographically quite different composition of the Sangue di Cristo known through Spierre's engraving. The back ^{which} can be referred to the technique of the designs which Ann Sutherland Harris ⁷¹ has identified as preparatory drawings for San Longino, ^{which} seems to guarantee the authenticity of this new drawing.

As the owner indicated to me, attempts to ascertain ^{who} the artist ^{was} will be made by Peter Dreyer, who was able to see the design personally and who first formulated the theory that it came from Bernini's circle or from Bernini himself.

⁷² ^{since} If Irving Lavin, following K. Lanckoronska and F. Haskell, has already hypothesized that the Leipzig composition is in reality an early idea for the cupola of the Gesù painted by Gaulli, then it would seem to

be confirmed by this drawing, ^{It} ~~which~~ represents one definitive idea for the central part, even if it is lower and closer to the oculus (which is also indicated in the drawing) ^{to others} than in the completed fresco (Fig. 19).

Although I will leave [^] iconographic interpretations of the subject which Lavin, following Panovsky, calls the Intercessione della Vergine di Cristo, ⁷³ it should be noted that the claim that the ideas behind

Baciccio's frescoes for the Gesu [^] were Bernini's insistence. ⁷⁴ were made by contemporaries with great

Earlier, [^] in France, [^] the ~~realization~~ ^{Bernini advised Pierre Mignard on construction} of the cupola of Val-de-Grace

~~by Pierre Mignard during Bernini's visit to Paris, merited his advice.~~

Consistent with Mignard's work, which was always impeccably ⁷⁵ ~~legible~~ ^{legible, lucid,}

^{cupola} the ~~cap~~ (Fig. 20) of Val-de-Grace was executed from 1665-66, and not

in 1663. In the imposing center of the Trinity, seen from sotto in su, and surrounded by clouds, the ^{cupola} ~~cap~~ conforms to that grandiose machine

which Bernini suggested to the French painter as the center of the whole composition. ⁷⁶ ^{It seems clear that} Bernini's advice ^{was} ~~seems to have been the determin-~~ ^{part towards the} ing factor when we learn that precisely in the Trinity, ~~section~~

Mignard's work moves away from the iconographic ^{ic} simplicity and two-dimensional construction demanded in the detailed contract. ⁷⁷

The comparison, which seems persuasive, of Mignard's figure of the Eternal in Val-de-Grace and the one sculpted by Antonio Razzi based on the master's designs in San Tommaso di Villanova at Castelgandolfo (photograph reversed) (Fig. 21) after Mignard had left Rome ⁷⁸ is more evidence of the ^{novelty} ~~newness~~ and ^{impact} ~~good fortune~~ of the concepts introduced in France by Bernini.

Michelangelo's centralized structure and Maderno's nave were completed. Guglielmo della Porta's tomb for ~~the Farnese pope~~ (Paul III) had been conceded a place in the niche of the southeastern pier, a temporary collocation ^{was} vividly discussed with Michelangelo. When a decision was finally reached, ^{to place della Porta's memorial and in} ~~on the west niches for della Porta's memorial and on the~~ monument to the Barberini pope (which had been ^{in course of} ~~execution~~ ^{in the west niches} in the works since 1627), Bernini no doubt played a part in the decision, most likely with a mind to securing the better illuminated northwestern niche for his ^{tomb} ~~portrait~~ of Urban VIII. To be sure, the southwestern niche obscured the bronze figure of ^{Paul III} ~~the Farnese pope~~ even from a moderate distance. On the other hand, Bernini ^{was able} ~~acquired the means~~ to accommodate his papal figure by means of imperious gesticulation and heavy modeling to the special conditions of light and approach in the northwestern niche. He conceived a powerful, forward thrusting gesture of the arm raising the cope, whereas the left hand, with its barely perceptible arm, is reaching down to the throne. The artist shaped the figure with respect to the approach from the altar of St. Peter's and therefore turned the head to the left. One can gauge how ^{Bernini} ~~the artist~~ responded to the particular conditions in the church by comparing this statue with ^{that of} ~~the marble statue of the same~~ Pope at the Capitol (1635-40) as an autonomous monument of the territorial ruler in a frontal pose. Furthermore, Bernini also had to keep in mind the altar yet to be erected in the central niche. In May 1627, the congregation ^{to have} expected a representation of the Delivery of the Keys, ^{although there had been} ~~without having~~ ^{no decision as to} ~~decided~~, whether it should take the form of a painting or a relief. ^{might it have been} ~~Was there any way to~~ anticipate, ^d that the Cattedra Petri ^{would} ~~might~~ later ^{alter} ~~impinge upon~~ the tomb of Urban VIII? At any rate, a frontalized representation did not prevail in Bernini's solution for the project.

The two Virtues next to the sarcophagus were subject to the same calculations. Instead of being perspectively aligned, both have their left sides displaced backwards on a diagonal. Both of these richly formed marble statues can thus be fully seen and appreciated in a side view where they appear well-lit before a dark background. ^{In addition to} ~~With the exception of~~ the putto cowering by the scales at the feet of Justitia, the attributes are also given due consideration. Finally, Death, who is busy with his tablet, sits to the right and turns toward the cupola. From that position, the approaching viewer sees them in a kind of telescoped arrangement. We do not, for example, experience a change of view ^{such as} ~~in the~~ ~~fashion of~~ ² Mannerist torsion of the body, which adds interest through variety. In truth, the lateral approach merely heralds what the frontal view will confirm. ~~The view from afar conveys the essence.~~

One cannot tell what position the Fogg's beautiful statuette of Longinus had among the twenty-two bozzetti which Bernini showed Joachim von Sandrart in Rome in 1635. It must have been produced before 1632/3, when full-scale models were being tested ~~in the~~ ^{at} ~~niches of the piers in~~ St. Peter's. Just prior to or even during work on the marble statue (1634/5-38), the Sacred Congregation altered the placement of the four monumental figures which represent the most precious relics associated with the Crucifixion, and also of the four reliefs ^{which} glorifying these relics ~~above them~~. In the end, Bernini's Longinus was assigned to the northeastern rather than the southeastern pier. Duquesnoy felt himself at a disadvantage when his ^{St. Andrea} ~~S. Andrea~~ was moved from the northwestern to the southeastern niche: "mutargli il lume e la veduta". ³ ~~However~~ ^{But}

Bernini, who was in charge of safeguarding the artistic cohesion of the entire group of works, (acquired/thereby) the best lit niche for his own statue.⁴ In the Fogg's bozzetto, the expansive gestural quality of the Longinus is already essentially present, but it was to undergo further changes. The bozzetto confines the saint's gesture to the frontal plain rising over the edge of the plinth; in the marble, he advances his right foot and arm beyond this boundary and sharply raises his head. With its steeply slanted front, the executed marble addresses the viewer entering from the nave, so that the saint reveals himself at once. In the bozzetto, body and drapery are brought into dramatic counterplay. As long as the southeastern pier had been intended for Bernini's Longinus, the marble statue based on this bozzetto would have required such characterization. In the executed large marble statue, the ponderation all'antica yields to sudden arrest; Longinus gathers himself; both arms are spread in broader gesture and reflect the Crucified One on top of the tabernacle. In the brightly lit northeastern niche, the statue also symbolizes the conversion of Longinus and the fact that he was healed of the blindness he suffered after he pierced Christ's side with the lance--
~~which~~ he now displays in such exhaltation. } how?

Bernini found quite different circumstances in Raphael's Chigi Chapel in S. Maria del Popolo after 1652. Around 1520, only two of the four intended figures had been placed in the niches, Lorenzetti's Elias and Jonah (with an antique head of Antinous), prefigurations of the Resurrection. At the suggestion of Lukas Holsteinus, the custodian of the Vatican library and administrator of the Biblioteca Chigi, Alexander VII commissioned

* Suggested alternative.

The bright light of this niche also symbolizes the conversion of Longinus and his recovery of vision.

Bernini for the two missing statues of Daniel and Habakkuk. Con-
 trary to the initial plans, Daniel ^{was placed} ~~ended up~~ in the niche to the
 left of the entrance, and Habakkuk diagonally opposite next to
 the altar. ^{extent of} ~~Bernini respected the low height of the figure, seated~~
~~or in prayer, and he also included roughly carved rocky seats.~~
 Then ^{then added} Bernini completed the massive, dramatic and strikingly ani-
 mated images of the praying Daniel ^{praying} with his compassionate lion,
 and Habakkuk, who recoils from the imperious angel ^{but} ~~and yet~~ is ^{carried} ~~dir-~~
^{off} ~~ected~~ by him (installed 1661). Upon entrance to the chapel, then,
Daniel is immediately visible in the side view. We are fortunate
 in having two preliminary sketches of the Daniel, more advanced
 than the Vatican bozzetto and already quite close to the marble.⁵
 In these sketches, Bernini clarified for himself the same gestural
~~picture~~ ^{of the figure} ~~image~~ from two different ^{angles} ~~points of view~~: from the front
 and from the left, or the chapel entrance. The draftsman has re-
 corded two ^{phases} ~~faces~~ in the ^{shifting points} ~~change~~ of view. Furthermore, Bernini
 projected his figure farther beyond the niche. Daniel and Habakkuk
 have a mutual emotional rapport, and we see the back of the niche
 behind Daniel open to the threatening precipice of the lion's den.
 A landscape is visible behind, as if through a window of the Chigi
 chapel, conveying a locality beyond--remember that the Cornaro
 Chapel with the altar of St. Teresa had just preceded these works
 (164⁷~~4~~-1651).

Light is memorable as a distinctive value in the impression
 Bernini's sculptures make: centers of expression are brightly
 lit, ^{and} The artist enhanced the marble's brightness by polishing it
 to a high sheen. Although not in their original locations, the
 two early works of SS. Laurentius ^{wrence} and Sebastian are animated by
 lighting from above, which fully illuminates the faces ^{of} ~~Laurentius~~.

~~is wide-eyed and Sebastian's eyes are closed.~~ Along the same lines, the Anima beata holds her transfigured face up to the light. The virginal purity of the rigidly erect Daphne--in the same hall of the Galleria Borghese as it is today, but at that time against the wall⁶--is manifested in an almost shadowless physicality, brighter than neighboring tones in her hair and on Apollo's body, brighter than the encroaching bark or the sparkling and shadowy laurel leaves. Her unmodulated brightness clarifies an aspect of her personality. ~~Daphne was conceptually related to the Veritas (the most sublime virtue to Bernini);~~ ^{Veritas, the most sublime virtue according to Bernini, was} ~~figural representations of them could be exchanged--Veritas could take the form of Daphne.~~^{Daphne} ^{Veritas, the most sublime virtue according to Bernini, was} Bernini's study sheet (Leipzig, ca. 1650)⁸ with a couple of pen sketches for his Veritas (which has been in the Galleria Borghese since 1924) is testimony to his self-reliance and persistence at a time of dwindling reputation after the failure of the tower at St. Peter's; it presents only the undraped figure of Veritas without the subsequent additions of the revealing Kronos and without surrounding ruins. This rapid sketch puts great store in the bright appearance of the body without ^{interior modelling,} ~~detail,~~ which is reserved, ^{however,} for the drapery and ^{globe, once even a pure outline of exquisite} ~~thereby in one instance Bernini renders her in a~~ ^{most delicate silhouette.} The sculptor indeed abandoned his tools when he saw the ^{luminosity of his great, over life-size} ~~power of illumination on his larger than life-sized and larger than life~~ marble figure. In the former Bernini palace (via della Mercede), according to a drawing ascribed to G. Baciccio Gaulli (Fogg Art Museum), pure light lay over the figure ^{as if} looking soulfully upward and allowing herself to be carried aloft, ~~and here we have~~ ^t "la portana par l'air," as Bernini said.⁹ Emerging from a crevice in the rock, she leans to the side and counterbalances her gesture of offering the solar disc. The

richly curved marble glistens above the coarse grained orb between rough hewn rock and deeply furrowed drapery. One might ask whether Michelangelo captured similar contrasts of light and tone in his Pietà at St. Peter's and in the Bruges Madonna, or, even more so, in the figure of Night in the Medici Chapel, in order to give luster to his nudes, however ~~far~~ ^{much} the weight and intensity of ~~Michelangelo's~~ ^{his} figures may ~~depart~~ ^{differ} from the fluid and continuous curvatures of Bernini's Veritas.

Bernini returned to the theme of Veritas in the tomb of Pope Alexander VII, who had initiated work on the Cattedra Petri. This monument received its permanent place in St. Peter's only after some changes of plans. In the niche of the tomb, there is only indirect light, and a door leading to the outside and a winding staircase ^{case} ~~well~~. Bernini darkened the niche even further with flanking columns of somber color, and dark pillars, by installing projecting dark marble bases on which the Virtues stand, and by adding the billowing reddish yellow marble ^{drape} ~~carpet~~. He partially obscured the door, which is interpreted as the gate to the tomb, as Death emerges from it with the hourglass raised above the carpet. On the right Veritas, nude until 1678, leans back and holds the solar disc intently to her chest, immersed in reflection. She is the only one of the Virtues who turns toward the light, and the colored ^{drapery} ~~carpet~~ which partly envelopes her by contrast makes her appear even lighter.

Let us now turn to S. Maria della Vittoria. From the nave looking toward the altar of the Cornaro Chapel, one is first drawn

into the company of the four ecclesiastical patrons, but the eye falls immediately on the figure of St. Teresa as she rises from a cloud into the fully lit golden atmosphere towards the dove in the vault, her left arm and listless hand and the bare left foot dangling to the side. The order of pilasters with forcefully protruding entablature which line the interior of Maderno's church is interrupted where the left transept opens up by a fluted black marble pilaster: signs of a sepulchral chapel are confirmed by the skeletons in the floor mosaic. ~~Not long before this, Reubens (1630/32) had painted St. Teresa for her chapel in the Carmelite Church in Antwerp as intercessor for souls in Purgatory.~~ Inserted below the large order of pilasters is a smaller one linking the lateral walls with the altar wall of the Cornaro Chapel. This smaller order gathers strength as we move from the lateral doors of fictive tomb chambers to the extruded bases and twin columns of the altar shrine itself with its crowning gable. Here in the aedicula of the altar, the vertical axis predominates, and the small order of pilasters approximates human size by comparison to the altar space itself and the lateral figures of the patrons.

The Cornaro Chapel surrounds us with an ingenious gradation of light. Dark marble of subdued color covers the wall of the chapel. Red marble with splashes of white frames the entrance to the tomb chambers and the grey covers of the balustrades have broad, slate-colored ^{borders} fringes. The perspectively rendered galleries extend into grey depth, lit with restrained touches of gold. On the altar wall, dark and light revetments alternate, and the pilasters

and columns repeat a saturated green. The bright marble sculptures are united in a triad. Behind their ^{prayer stalls} balustrade, the members of the Cornaro family emerge into shallow relief with their heads alone fully rounded. Their modeling is given life by diffuse lighting from the transept and nave. By contrast, the figural group of the altar hovers fully rounded in its own elliptical space, and it is bathed in the light filtering in from outside through a hidden yellow glass at the top. Unlike the angel, St. Teresa turns her face toward the light, and unlike the other heads in the chapel, her head is without shadow. The marble group acquires an even more luminous presence because ~~the dress of~~ ¹³⁾ St. Teresa is shaped with only very few horizontal folds which might cast shadows under the light from above. The polished surface of the figure is enhanced by the rough and shadowy cloud and the agitated, almost hatched pleats of the angel's garment. Teresa experiences her vision as an illumination. The differing quality and intensity of light relate the lateral reliefs to the world of the beholder, as if we were able to look into adjacent spaces of the transept of S. Maria della Vittoria, and removes the event in the altar shrine into a sphere of golden sunlight. To the right and left we are engaged by tangible and measurable spatiality--in the manner of the Scala Regia. Perspectival space draws us in, and makes itself accessible from eye-level. ^{At center,} On the ~~altar, however,~~ a sphere of immeasurable ^{y intermingled} ~~and enhanced~~ luminousness ^{ity} and unearthly transfiguration opens up. In the altar shrine, transcendence is revealed.

With the Raimondi Chapel of S. Pietro in Montorio, the artist sets out in 1640 on the path which leads to the achieve-

ment of S. Maria della Vittoria; man in the presence of the divine.
 The Raimondi Chapel contains tombs of the patrons with portrait busts to the sides, and over the altar an externally lit relief of the transfiguration of St. Francis; over a high dado rises a columnar order. The oblong space of the chapel is tinted white, no touch of color heightens the illumination. By contrast with the Cornaro Chapel, the epitaphs are full round and the altar is in relief. ~~[Bernini reversed their relationship in the Cornaro chapel.]~~ ^{this} SCT
 Despite its daring concept, Bernini's Veritas is not confined to the illusion of a painting or relief, but instead possesses the three dimensional presence of a full marble figure. Her "sostanza" ¹⁰ assures the truth, represents real existence. This is what Bernini said in Paris in discussing the paragone between painting and sculpture: "...la sculpture est un vérité," ¹¹ and here he ^{followed a} ~~agreed with~~ sixteenth century opinion. * ~~[Was it this high degree of veracity that Bernini, who had treated Daphne's metamorphosis in marble, wished to convey in the vision of St. Teresa so that the miracle of her ascension on the cloud and her encounter with the angel would really occur in this sculptural embedment under a heavenly light?]~~ SCT
 Did he wish to render his images the more real the further their subject was removed from our common experience? By contrast, ~~we see~~ the eight members of the Cornaro ^{are} family in the fictional space of perspective similar to painting, so that we ^{view} ~~relate~~ them ^{on} ~~to~~ our horizon and consider them present with us.

If we look for antecedents for the use of light in the altar of St. Teresa, then an example of such mise-en-scenes ²⁾ from the 1620s

↳ Which 16th c. opinion? Leonardo claimed the exact opposite of this too —

emerges with Bernini's first altar statue of St. ^{Vivian}~~Bibiana~~. She stands above her own and her mother's tomb, surrounded by her attributes; the martyr ^{follows} joins in the motif of her stance and her drapery the Renaissance adaptations of the Aphrodite-Hygieia figure of Phidias. Bernini's sculptural refinement, richness, and brilliance far surpass the ability of his predecessors. The saint does not remain altogether independent; rather her soulful glance and raised hand connect with the ceiling fresco by Pietro da Cortona, in which God the Father, surrounded by putti, casts his glance down to her and extends his hand in benediction. Furthermore, Bernini opened the choir vault with a discreetly placed window which admits natural light and casts it directly on the altar statue, especially on her bust, face and raised right hand, [^](~~based on an ancient gesture of prayer~~), ^{which conveys} ~~the means of~~ her expression. From her earthly surroundings, the saint rises into a sphere of increasingly bright light flooding from a mysterious source. It transfigures her features miraculously; suffused with the vita beata, her gaze lifts toward the heavens and her gesture gives testimony to her faith. She is granted a vision, toward which she seems to reach.

Fifty years later, the monument of Blessed Lodovica Albertoni (1671-74), at once a memorial and an altar figure, returns to the same kinds of effects found in the Cornaro Chapel in a new type of scenic setting. Bernini had to contend with a ^{18th century} ~~Quattrocento~~ chapel in S. Francesco a Ripa. He changed the crossarm of the small domed chapel with its chiaroscuro lighting by cutting an oblique arch opening of a sort known from the Palazzo Barberini. It is comparable to the niche of the ^{Counless} ~~Marchioness~~ Mathilde, and even closer to the second project for the tomb of Alexander VII.¹² Behind the new

altar slab, this perspectively deepened arch extends the setting in the manner of a stage into a brightly lit depth. There rests the marble figure of the saint. Above her on the back wall is G. Baciccio/Gaulli's altar painting of St. Ann^e, the Virgin and Child, surrounded by marble cherubs and placed there for succor for the dying. Bright light floods the space from an invisible tall window, which may originally have had its complement in a window on the opposite side. This light ^{first} strikes the head, which is sharply thrown back, and the breast with the convulsively moving hand, ~~first~~. As it diminishes, the light throws the knees into relief and spends itself over the folds of the garment and marble carpet of reddish yellow hue, an attribute of the hour of death which frequently appears on tomb monuments and epitaphs. One is also reminded of Bernini's explanation to visitors at his Paris studio that a drapery in front of a sculpture such as the portrait bust of Louis XIV both distances and isolates. The marble drapery in front of Blessed Lodovica distances the white marble sculpture and, as in the tomb of Alexander VII, enhances by contrast ^{with} ~~to~~ its color the luminosity of the figure. ~~(Blessed Lodovica breathes transcendence under pure light)~~

Some years earlier, Bernini had summed up his expressive ^{powers} ~~means~~ in the figure of Constantine (1654; 1662-70) in order to realize a historical personality in its innermost and ^{most portentous} ~~consequential~~ experience. J.B. Colbert, in his correspondence with Bernini during the preparation of the equestrian monument of Louis XIV, proposed that the monument to the king resemble the figure of Constantine. On 30 December 1669, Bernini answered forcefully for the difference

between the two by explaining his concept of Constantine: "Questa Statua sarà del tutto diversa da quella di Costantino, perchè Costantino stà in atto d'ammirare la Croce che gl'apparve e questa del Rè starà in atto di Maestà e di comando..."¹⁴ a distinction which, with a grain of salt, may recall the differences between the two papal figures of Urban VIII, the one in St. Peter's and the other on the Capitol. If I am correct, it was an innovation to represent the Emperor on horseback beholding the vision of the Cross. * This ~~forceful~~^{expressive} idea took form only gradually in the artist's imagination. Preparatory studies (in Madrid and Leipzig) and a masterly but damaged bozzetto (in Leningrad), articulate only the sudden fright when horse and rider forcefully recoil. When the statue was expected to occupy a narrow niche in St. Peter's, Bernini reconsidered it and gave it the appearance of a soulful rapture. The Emperor is struck, more overcome than lordly and expansive--his glance is riveted on high, his mouth open, his face transfixed. Constantine ~~holds fast~~^{is caught} in an expression of highest tension like Longinus, and like the latter, does not speak^{only} through gesture. ~~In the same manner,~~ both are overcome by the experience of divine light. The marvelous chalk study of the head in profile (in the Corsiniana)--~~memorable~~^{notable} also because ~~of an en face,~~^{the frontal view is added, in which:} as the visitor sees ~~the emperor~~^{the emperor} upon entering from the piazza retta,^{and which is} repeated in the ~~pen sketch~~^{Leipzig} of the cross¹⁵--this deeply ~~moved~~^{expressive} face is barely more than a silhouette, all light, with hardly any modeling. This corresponds to the view of the whole (Leipzig) in which Bernini defines precisely how horse and rider were to appear: the marble

* Raphael painted the scene at Forte Michel with Constantine on horseback over a century earlier...

group was then already finished, and he wished to present it

bathed in light. And similar to the ^{figure} statue of St. ^{Vivian} Bibbiana, whose

^{with} chest, head, and hand are lit directly) the marble statue of Constantine was to rise (from shadowy areas) ^(the neck of the horse and drapery) to the most intense eastern light; ^{the} light ^{which} is channeled through a nearby partially hidden aperture in the entrance to the Scala Regia. The Emperor receives a mission emanating from the Cross ^{and} with his ^(raised eyes) ^{to the light,} he accepts it.

Bernini increased the expressive power of his statue beyond anything that might have been possible according to the original plan inside St. Peter's. The large drapery in stucco provides a dark foil shot through with gold thread, shaped in response to the tall socle and the diagonal, forward thrust of the horse. It provides a dark niche breached only by the raised glance of the rider who beholds the light. An accentuated play of light and shadow contrasts dramatically with the brightly lit figure of the Emperor. The drapery recalls the idea of a vellum from which, ever since Raphael, Veritas struggles to free herself, as do Elias and Jonah ⁱⁿ (the Chigi Chapel at S. Maria del Popolo) ^{as} a symbol of Revelation. Overall, the equestrian monument is most effective seen from a distance. The long atrium of St. Peter's channels the perspective approach through its shadowy northern bay towards the light anteroom at the foot of the Scala Regia, where the miracle of light occurs at the piano reale.

The relationships between siting and illumination suggest a careful consideration of Bernini's blurring of distinctions between sculpture and painting, for which he has sometimes been

criticized. The master's own words appear to offer a support for such a view, for example, his at once proud and cautious statement in Paris as recorded by his son Domenico that, in the hair and clothing of the equestrian statue of Louis XIV, he had won from the stone a degree of plasticity comparable only to wax.

with this method of handling

~~By treating~~ the statue in this manner, he claimed to have been able to "accoppiare in un certo modo la pittura e la scultura,"¹⁶ to blend, as it were, painting and sculpture. Independent of our approach and view, however interesting they may be to us, Bernini's figures and sculptural groups are always calculated for one dominant view. The form and placement of the plinth determines and betrays the orientation of the figures. Yet the general criterion admits of exceptions.

Neither Apollo and Daphne nor the tomb of Urban VIII address only one side, and the sketches for Daniel and Constantine attest to Bernini's fully rounded idea of the body, ~~however removed from Mannerist rotation~~. The concept of the "painterly" is not sufficient for the examples we have adduced as long as it simply means a surface quality or an atmospheric perception. The ideas of our Master place him much closer to the realm of scenography. We are dealing with effect and narrative purpose. His use of light initiates a chain of events in which the protagonist reacts visibly and psychologically to the light. At the Fontana dei Fiumi, the Rio della Plata and the Danube ^{gaze in amazement toward} ~~admire~~ the obelisk, solì sacer, ^{symbol} ~~image~~ of a ray of light. The former raises his hand and ^{glance} ~~gaze~~ in admiration, the latter greets the light with open arms. The

face of the Anima beata and of Constantine reflect the light as a divine phenomenon. Their physiognomies betray emotion, they respond as if by reflex. The divine light is experienced by St. ^{Viviana} ~~Bibiana~~ as a message from on high, by St. Teresa at the side of her angel, and by the Blessed Lodovica Albertoni as a spiritual experience ^{received and absorbed} ~~which has to be accepted~~. More powerfully than in a painting, this interplay can be realized in sculpture. Bertolini directs light ^{toward the sculpture} ~~across the setting~~ precisely, onto his figures, ^{miraculous in} ~~which~~ ^{as itself} detach themselves in a miraculous manner, so as to reveal the transcendental in the natural.

Notes on the mise-en-scène of Bernini's statuary

Hans Kauffmann

Unlike his marble and bronze portrait busts, many of which are no longer in their original sites, almost all of Bernini's figural works are still where the patrons wanted them or where Bernini recommended they be. A rare exception from his early period (other than the ^{under life-size} ~~smaller than life~~ marble figures of St. ~~Laurens~~ and St. Sebastian, which apparently were never installed ^{l.c.} in their intended location)¹ is the life-sized marble group of Neptune and Triton, ca. 1620, commissioned by Alessandro Cardinal Peretti for the garden at Villa Montalto. [After passing through the collections] of Sir Joshua Reynolds (1786) and Lord Yarborough (1950), it eventually ^{went to} ~~ended up~~ in the Victoria and Albert Museum. ^{l.c.} Since it was placed in the open, one need not reconstruct the particular conditions of its placement as one would have to do were it intended for an interior. Another ^{exception} ~~case in point~~ is offered ~~by~~ the two angels ^{which} originally were ^t destined for the bridge of the Castel Sant'Angelo, but ~~then, according to the wishes of the~~ ~~Rospigliosi pope in 1669,~~ ^{which} they were ^{never} ~~not~~ ~~emplaced~~ there so as to protect them from weathering. ^{However} ~~In whatever way~~ they may have been set up in Bernini's house (where they remained until 1729/31) and however much additional refinement Bernini may have given them, their removal by his grandson Prospero Bernini to S. Andrea delle Frate, the artist's parish church, deprived them of their intended impact and of the calculated oblique approach of the passer-by. Replicas fashioned under Bernini's supervision were erected on the bridge, ^{and} they convey how much has been lost by placing them in S. Andrea: the animation in the torsion and balance of the body, the brilliant play of light and shadow, the counter play

(earlier
man?)

of their lighting and the wind billowing their garments from below. All of this has been weakened by their emplacement in S. Andrea delle Frate.

MIT A drawing by G. Baciccio Gaulli captures how the Veritas was to be seen in Bernini's own residence (since 1924 it has been at the Galleria Borghese).

After St. Peter's and the Galleria Borghese in Rome, the Fogg Art Museum at Harvard boasts the largest collection of Bernini sculptures, with the significant difference that those at Harvard are bozzetti. They are in no way bound to particular sites, can be freely turned and lit. As a rule, they give no indication of what kind of larger context Bernini had in mind for them.

~~The main body~~ ^{Most} of his creations ^{are} ~~is~~ still to be found in the original sites. In contrast to a work like Giovanni Bologna's Rape of the Sabine, which is genuinely neutral to its surroundings, ~~even~~ ^{very} the subjects of Bernini's sculpture make it difficult to think of them in other than their original locations. In their original settings, we can observe how the artist ^{sometimes} integrated his work into given architectural settings, and ^{other times,} how ~~in other cases~~ he managed to adapt existing sculptures to his own. In every case he could feel challenged to do justice to his own postulate: "Chi vuol vedere qual che un huomo sa, bisogna metterlo in necessita". Following are a few examples.

The tombs of Paul III and Urban VIII were the first to be realized in the new church of St. Peter's, and for them the most dignified niches, those in the western tribuna, had been designated. This special distinction was reserved for the popes under whom

ON ILLUSIONISM IN THE VAULT OF THE GESÙ

Irving Lavin

In view of the dual aspect of our commemoration--
Bernini's art and its influence--it seemed to me appropriate
to reconsider briefly one of Bernini's latest and greatest, but
in some respects also most neglected works, the design of the
vault decoration of the Gesù (Fig. 1).[↓] As everyone knows, the
decoration was executed under the master's influence by his
protégé Giovanni Battista Gaulli, called il Baciccio, during
the last few years of Bernini's life (1676-9). The ^{basic} conception
of the Gesù vault must be regarded as Bernini's final impor-
tant achievement in this domain.² Its appropriateness for us
lies only partly in its date, however, for while it has always
been recognized as a crucial monument of Roman Baroque ceiling
decoration, discussions of its extraordinarily vivid effects
have dealt mainly with the tumultuous but unified composition
of massed figure groups, the ~~dramatic~~ ^{broad} contrasts between areas
of light and dark, the intermingling of architecture, sculpture
and painting. My purpose is to focus on certain other aspects
of its design that contribute in a limited yet, I think, sig-
nificant way to an understanding of its position in one of the
major traditions of Italian art.

The design may be said to incorporate three basic consti-
tuents, each of which had a long history prior to Bernini and
each of which he left in a very different state than he found
it. One of these was the imago clipeata, or framed image held
aloft by winged figures who thereby express its spiritual con-
tent. The motif was commonly used in antiquity for tomb por-

traits (Fig. 2) and with the transformation of pagan genii into angels, it became ³ a standard Christian emblem of sanctity. By the early seventeenth century, in the Cappella Paolina in Santa Maria Maggiore, it had been used as the centerpiece for a major altarpiece (Fig. 3). Bernini revolutionized this idea by eliminating the separate architectural framework for the altarpiece and setting the angel-borne image free, as it were; in the ^{Lopez} de Silva chapel in Sant'Isidoro of the early 1660s, he even exploited the veining of the colored marble on the back wall to suggest a cloud-filled space (Fig. 4).⁴ The altarpiece is thus no longer a static emblem of holiness, but a supernatural event. The picture within the frame is no longer the sole field of illusion, but the framed picture itself is seen as an object miraculously suspended in the real world, which has in turn become the vehicle for illusion.

The second ingredient of the Gesù vault was the conceit of the feigned picture, which provided a means of rationalizing the spatial content of narrative scenes placed overhead. The device developed in two complementary forms in the course of the sixteenth century. With the quadro riportato, or transferred picture--traceable at least to Raphael's Vatican Loggie (Fig. 5)--the narrative depicted on the vault was given a frame of its own and treated as if it were an easel painting, exempt from the perspective foreshortening required by the view from below. The converse of this result may also be an advantage, namely, that since the image is understood as a

"conventional," framed picture, its spatial content does not cut a hole in the vault. At the turn of the seventeenth century Annibale Carracci made these effects into a devilishly clever visual pun by combining the *quadro riportato* with its exact opposite. This is the quadro sfondato, or perforated picture, in which the scene is painted in perspective foreshortening against a receding aerial vista. In the Farnese Gallery he used variants of both types side by side--some subjects are seen head on, others more or less from below (Fig. 6). Since they have elaborate frames of their own, all are perceived as paintings attached to the vault, which remains intact behind them. ⁵

The thematic conceit of the *imago clipeata* and the visual conceit of the feigned picture were first united by Pietro da Cortona, Bernini's great rival in this field. In Cortona's vault of the Chiesa Nuova of the mid-1660s, an intervention of the Virgin during the construction of the church is represented as a sacred painting with its frame held aloft by God's messengers (Fig. 7). It is viewed from beneath, however, as if the miracle were taking place in the open air above the vault. On the one hand, it is presented as an object no deeper than the surface on which it is painted; on the other hand, it suggests an infinite extension of space beyond the surface. Carracci's pictorial game has been transformed into what can only be described as a divine illusion, an angelic *quadro sfondato*.

The third component of the Gesù vault was the familiar

tradition of open vault illusionism stemming from Correggio (Fig. 8). Here the building itself is represented as open to the sky and filled with a heavenly vision. The space is continuous and the figures, instead of remaining outside, pass freely between the interior and exterior.

It is evident that the principle of open vault illusionism is quite inimical to that of the framed picture: one denies, the other invokes the reality and solidity of the vault. In the Cornaro chapel of 1647ff., Bernini had taken an important step toward merging these two principles (Fig. 9). The space of the heavenly vision is continuous between the interior and exterior, but there is no opening in the vault. The result is a kind of "implosive" illusion in which the apparition seems literally to filter through the masonry. It was only in the Gesu' vault, however--and herein lies its great achievement in this context--that the seemingly incompatible fictions of the framed picture and the open vault were reconciled. The frame and supporting angels indicate that the visionary scene is a picture and that the vault is not a perforated structure. Yet, the figures appear inside as well as out, unaffected by the picture plane except that now some plunge headlong into the nave--as if suddenly seized by the earth's gravitational field as they pass through the surface. What the spectator perceives is a heaven-sent image whose space does not simply extend but is actually coextensive with his own space--not so much a divine illusion as a divine miracle. ⁶✓

The influence of the Gesù vault was as vast and complex as the design itself, but one of its most interesting legacies may be seen toward the middle of the eighteenth century in Tiepolo's destroyed fresco in the nave of Santa Maria di Nazareth (Chiesa degli Scalzi) in Venice (Fig. 10). There he omitted the frame with supporting angels and showed the vault open, but he adopted the idea of the miraculous event that seems to invade the space of the building, where also the tumbling figures respond to the laws of physics. ✓ Tiepolo thus suppressed the device Bernini used to distinguish between fiction and reality, while retaining the effect of the distinction. As a result, the miracle which in Bernini appears explicitly as a divine intervention, becomes in Tiepolo as easy and natural as the passing of a cloud. Perhaps it is the sign as well as the fate of great artists to be half accepted and half rejected by their great successors.

1. These observations are in the nature of a supplement to the comments on Bernini's early illusionistic vault decorations in my Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts, New York and London, 1980, 40-8, 54-7, 127-9, and General Index, s.v. Illusionism, vault.

2. The most important analysis of the Gesù vault is that of R. Enggass, The Painting of Baciccio. Giovanni Battista Gaulli 1639-1709, University Park, Pa., 1964, 43ff., with which the discussion here overlaps in part. See also the review of Enggass by F. H. Dowley, in The Art Bulletin, XLVII, 1965, 294-300; B. Canestro Chiovenda, "Cristina di Svezia, il Bernini, il Gaulli. Il libro di appunti di Nicodemo Tessin d. y. (1687-1688)," Commentari, XVII, 1966, 171-81, esp. 175f.; R. Wittkower, Art and Architecture in Italy 1600 to 1750, Harmondsworth, 1973, 174, 547, n. 29; F. Haskell, Patrons and Painters, New York, etc., 1971, 83. The doubts expressed by Dowley seem to me nugatory; even if the actual design was Baciccio's, he was clearly following Bernini's lead.

M. B. Mena Marqués, "Un dibujo de Giovanni Battista Gaulli para los frescos de la cupola del Gesù," in Per A. E. Popham, Parma, 1981, 205-11, points to Genoese antecedents; but the Gesù vault remains distinguished from them, notably by the use of overlapping stucco and the device of the angel-borne quadro riportato that is our chief concern here.

3 For the imago clipeata, its Christian legacy and aspects of Bernini's multifarious use of the motif, cf. R. Winkes, Clipeata imago. Studien zu einer römischen Bildnisform, Diss., Bonn, 1969, 88ff.; H. s'Jacob, Idealism and Realism. A Study of Sepulchral Symbolism, Leiden, 1954, 190ff., Lavin, Bernini, 69f., and the literature cited there, n. 14.

4 The basic idea of the independent, angel-borne altarpiece also appears in other works by Bernini of this period: Sant' Andrea al Quirinale, the Chigi chapel in Siena Cathedral, the Fonseca chapel in San Lorenzo in Lucina; the use of colored marble to simulate clouds had been adumbrated in the reliquary niches of the crossing of Saint Peter's.

5 The history of these and other comparable devices has yet to be written; for the terminology, see recently L. Grassi and M. Pepe, Dizionario della critica d'arte, 2 vols., Turin, 1978, II, 454f.

6 For background on other distinctive features of the Gesù vault--the absence of perspective orthogonals; "closed vault" illusionism; the use of real stucco ornament on the vault itself; the use of molded and painted stucco to extend the scene beyond its frame--see Lavin, Bernini, as cited in n. ¹3, above.

7. Tiepolo's portrayal of the figures as moving past the aperture and falling into the space of the building belies a recent dismissal of the Gesù vault as a source for the Santa Maria di Nazareth decoration; in none of the Venetian antecedents cited is this the case (cf. the otherwise excellent article by W. Barcham, "Giambattista Tiepolo's Ceiling for S. Maria di Nazareth in Venice: Legend, Traditions, and Devotions," The Art Bulletin, LXI, 1979, 439, n. 51).

PART II

BERNINI AND HIS INFLUENCE

The Apsidal Colonnaded Baroque Altar: Bernini or Palladio?

This paper addresses a typological problem in the history of altar architecture and its methodological implications. In my study on the influence of Bernini and Palladio during the 17th and 18th centuries in France and central Europe (presented at the Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura ANDREA PALLADIO in Vicenza for the first time in 1971), I minimized the influence of Bernini's baldachin so as to acknowledge a Palladian type of Baroque altar: the apsidal colonnaded altar, which until now has been confused with imitations or replicas of Berniniesque baldachins. I have been able to identify a blending of Palladian and Berniniesque motifs, especially in Franconian altars of the 18th century, and I can also demonstrate a unique example of a Baroque re-integration of the apsidal colonnade into the entire articulation of church architecture by Balthasar Neumann 1732-44. My answer to the question in the title--Bernini or Palladio--will thus be a threefold one. (1) Not Bernini, but Palladio with respect to the French solution of the 17th century; (2) Baroque, but nevertheless Palladian, with regard to altars in Belgium, England and Central Europe in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; but also (3) Bernini as well as Palladio, referring to a large group of Franconian altars of the eighteenth century.

On the whole, this rather unexpected result strengthens my conviction that Baroque was principally a synthetic style, and it also confirms the experience that genetic explanations in the history of art cannot be based on observations of character, but of structure. I should like to

recall for a moment the powerful work and personality of the late Rudolf Wittkower. As the author of "Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism," Wittkower dared to speak about SCENOGRAPHIC EFFECTS in Palladio's religious architecture. As biographer of Gianlorenzo Bernini, the Sculptor of the Roman Baroque, Wittkower emphasized the classical heritage in Bernini's Baroque art and architecture. Because of his fundamental guidance of my own studies in the Baroque, and as a token of my gratitude, I should like to devote these remarks to the memory of the late Rudolf Wittkower.

I.

The prominent role which Bernini's baldacchino at St. Peter's in Rome has played as a paradigm of Baroque altar architecture is obvious.¹ There is much evidence for this outside Italy--not only in Central Europe, but also in France. Marcel Raymond compiled an early list of French examples in 1911 and 1923² which Louis Hautecoeur enlarged in 1948.³ In 1949 Fiske Kimball called attention to a project for the high altar of Notre Dame in Paris as a Bernini replica,⁴ and there have been a number of other studies which have sought to establish the influence of the Roman sculptor and architect on French altar architecture.⁵

Bernini's influence has been deemed even greater on Central European Baroque altars which lacked paintings or reliefs in the center; art historians have ranked his influence here higher even than in France and surpassed only by the professed influence of Andrea Pozzo's "Theatrum sacrum".⁶ Werner Hegemann's view of the role of Bernini's baldacchino as a model for all columnar altar architecture of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries remains authoritative even today.⁷ Freestanding

columns as well as a crowning similar to the Roman prototype⁸ have been regarded as the decisive criteria for assessing Bernini's influence, which often involves the tacit assumption that by means of variation, elaboration, or stylistic association, practically all forms of the columnar Baroque altar originate in Bernini's concentrically composed Roman monument.⁹

In my view, the premises of this widespread supposition are methodologically untenable as well as historically objectionable, since it can be demonstrated that altar architecture, which until now has been considered "Berniniesque" ciborias, derives from not one but several prototypes, among them the type of apsidal altar which is of Palladian origin. The type which I refer to as the apsidal altar exists in two basic forms in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which I call the CONCH ALTAR and the COLONNADED ALTAR; here we will only consider the latter. For the conch altar, I mention only two examples, in the church of Saint Germain-des-Pres in Paris,¹⁰ and in the Jakobkirche in Lubeck.¹¹ The apsidal disposition is obvious, as is its central motif, a vaulted conch. Evident, too, is its ancient Roman model, the apsidal conchs in the Roman Pantheon, and their imitations in classical High Renaissance architecture in Rome after 1500. Conch altars invariably accommodate a statue or sculptural group in the center. Iconographic connections to memorial imagery rites are striking, connotations appropriate to the architectural motif of the conch.¹² Where this altar is recognized as an independent type, it is generally referred to as a "nich^e/retable" or "niche altar."¹³

The second basic type of apsidal altar, the colonnaded altar, is either typically misinterpreted as a modification of Bernini's Roman

ciborium or it is explained by the impressionistic metaphor "half a tempietto".¹⁴ Such associations are superfluous, since it can be demonstrated that both ciboria and apsidal altars originated contemporaneously in the late Baroque, and even met in Paris in the same place—namely, Val-de-Grace. Indeed, their encounter, after Bernini's 1665 visit to Paris, was patently ostentatious. Beneath the dome looms Le Duc's six-columned altar ciborium, while in the rear, in the form of the tabernacle completed in 1669, we find a perfect model of the apsidal Colonnade.¹⁵ Today there remains only the reconstruction of 1869/70 by Rupprich-Robert, also illustrated in his monograph on Val-de-Grace.¹⁶ For our purposes, his reconstruction is correct in all relevant points, as the descriptions of Brice in 1725 and Piganiol-de-la-Force in 1769 indicate.¹⁷ Brice wrote: "...ou milieu et derrière ces belles figures, qui sont grandes come nature il s'élève un tabernacle tout doré, en form de niche soutenu de douz colonnes" (of the Corinthian order, fluted, with plinths standing directly on the ground) - "posés sur un plan courbe, qui portant un demidôme; quatre de face, le reste dans l'enfoucement. C'est dans ce tabernacle que le Saint Sacrament est exposé les jours des grandes fêtes..." As far as it goes, Germain Brice's description clearly shows the typical structure of an apsidal colonnade, both in ground plan and elevation.¹⁸

It may be surprising that such an ambitious architectural program appears in a tabernacle, that is, in small scale architecture or ecclesiastical furniture, as it is often called. During the Italian Baroque, this was certainly not unusual. One need only recall two well-known examples, the tabernacle, in prospettiva on the altar of the Spada chapel

in San Paolo in Bologna, in front of Borromini's Tempietto,¹⁹ and Bernini's Sacrament tabernacle in St. Peter's in Rome.²⁰ Both are elaborate architecture en miniature, and they are also challenging representations of highly esteemed architectural leitmotifs,²¹ as is the one at Val-de-Grace.

The monumental apsidal colonnaded altars in Parisian churches have been destroyed. The example most well-known from descriptions and illustrations was in the former presbytery of the Augustinian canons.²² Designed by Charles LeBrun and demolished during the Revolution, the high altar in the Abbey church of the Grand Augustins was erected in 1675-78. In the Gothic presbytery,²³ where the chapter meetings of the Order of the Holy Spirit also took place, eight colossal freestanding columns on an apse-shaped soccel form a colonnade over a semicircular groundplan with two lateral wings in such a way, that the second and the seventh column formed a travée along with the first and the eighth column: thus the colonnaded apse was flanked by each with a colonnaded bay. The cross flanked by a pair of angels, crowned the powerfully formed archivolt of the halfdome. The fresco in the apse vault represented God the Father in heaven, with blessings flowing from him. At the summit of the entablature the dove of the Holy Spirit could be seen.²⁴

A similar altar begun in 1684 and designed by LeBrun, Severin in Paris, has also disappeared. Such altars also appear in Jean LePautre's "Nouveaux dessins d'Autels a la Romaine" (edited by Jombert 1752); one perfect example is on the title-page of this set of engravings. The high altar in the former abbey church of Bec, then in St. Croix in Bernay,

originally also seemed to belong to our group of apsidal colonnaded altars.²⁵

In summary, then, after 1665 there were numerous Berniniesque ciboria in French churches, several apsidal conch-retables, as well as several apsidal colonnaded altars, especially in Paris. The prototype for the latter is unquestionably Palladio's apse in the Venetian votive church *Il Redentore*, begun in 1576 and complete in 1593.²⁶ The reaction against Bernini's art and personality during his Parisian sojourn in 1665 probably brought about, through the agency of Palladio's colonnaded apse, the altar type described here.²⁷ This is even more likely since, for the few connoisseurs, Palladio's classical colonnade may have recalled a particular French monument of great political significance. I refer to the tomb architecture in Montmorency, designed by Jean Bullant for the Connetable Anne, and executed by Charles Bullant in 1577.²⁸ After the Revolution the expensive parts of the tomb were supposedly brought to Paris. The illustration is an early nineteenth century drawing with a view of the garden of the Petit Augustins, where Lenoir had laid out the stone monuments collected from former churches and convents.²⁹ An apsidal colonnade is discernable in this drawing. Even today in the courtyard of the Ecole des Beaux Arts fragments of the entablature of Bullant's tomb architecture are preserved, as professor Volker Hoffmann kindly informed me.

The fourth book of Palladio's Quattro Libri d'Architettura (1570), reveals that for the apse of Il Redentore, Palladio not only drew extensively from ancient Roman terme architecture, as has been often noted,³⁰ but he also perceived a direct correspondence in his reconstructions of Roman temple architecture, the importance of which he

clearly wished to acknowledge. Palladio repeatedly refers to the form of the interior of the Roman temple cellas as a freestanding colonnade beneath a halfdome, erected on a circular groundplan, as in the illustration of the temple of Jupiter Tonans, groundplan (page 74) Book IV, Chapter 19, and above all the Illustration of the temple of Mars Ultor, Book IV, Chapter . A comparison easily ascertains that the beautiful articulation of the Il Redentore Apse is therefore derived from temple architecture of ancient Rome, within the iconographic, that is, ideological framework of Palladio's view of sacred architecture ante legem and sub gratia, and is thereby justified by more than formal means.

The use of the antique for the apse of Il Redentore is no "discovery", no genuine invention of Palladio. As Erik Forssman noted in 1965,³² it derives from the Libro d'Architettura di Antonio Labacco, first published in Rome in 1552. As we know, the site of the Autustan temple ruins provided no archeological basis for such a reconstruction of the interior of the temple cella, as Palladio himself candidly admits. Our reference to Labacco is helpful only insofar as it indicates the true source for this beautiful architectural motif, namely, the fabbrica di San Pietro during the second decade of the sixteenth century, when the shaping of the colonnaded ambulatories in the tribunes was done. Here I can only refer to one of the projects (shown here on the left) and a copy after Baldassare Peruzzi from the so-called Sienese Sketch-book (on the right) indicate how the actual task of designing the colonnaded and transparent ambulatories of St. Peter's (which were ultimately unsuccessful) fired the fantasy and imagination of the Roman architects during the "classical" period of the Renaissance.³³ Here, then, we locate the true origin of

the motif which Jean Bullant and Andrea Palladio monumentalized at almost the same time, and to which the French architects reverted after 1665, perhaps to create an ideological counterpart to Bernini's columnar ciborium.

II.

Let us now turn to examples of apsidal colonnaded altars outside of France. The most important, although not the first, example of this altar type in Belgium is the high altar of the church of St. Jacques in Antwerp completed in 1698.³⁴ Artur Quellien the Younger designed the plan of 1685, and the apostolic protonotary H. Hillewerve was the donor of the altar. The Baroque character of the colossal columnar architecture has often been emphasized, in particular its decorative qualities.³⁵ The precise structure of the composition is neither arbitrary nor different from the "classical" Palladian prototypes in Paris. A comparison of the actual Antwerp altar with the engraving of J. Claude de Cock and with Millin's representation of the high altar in the Grand Augustins in Paris testifies to the direct derivation of the former from the latter.³⁶ Note, for instance, the way two piers (which replaced the two columns at the beginning and end of the apsidal colonnade) fulfill the intended illusion of oblique position, and also explain the diagonal position of the outer bays as well as the curvature of the transparent halfdome vault over the entablature. Although clearly Baroque in character, this remarkable altar is constructed in the decisively classical arrangement of an apsidal colonnade, based on the proposition that the beginning and the ending of the semicircle has been moved inside a bit.

As we have seen in the high altar of St. Jacques in Antwerp, classical composition and profuse Baroque ornamentation often go hand in hand. We must therefore go beyond impressionistic descriptions of altar architecture to acknowledge the underlying composition, which is often a pure and rationalistic design. This demands analysis of the groundplan, an often neglected requirement for which there is insufficient space here, but one thinks of the seventeenth and eighteenth century engravings of altars which never omit the groundplan.

The classical composition is not always concealed behind a richly elaborated ornamental design as in Antwerp. One thinks of an altar design of 1720 for a church in Sallapulka (Lower Austria), preserved in the archive of Herzogenburg Abbey and attributed to Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, one of the founders of Austrian Baroque architecture, who died in 1723.³⁷ As early as 1925, Hans Sedlmayr attempted to establish the genesis of this project. As a prototype, he cited the high altar of SS. Trinita dei Monti in Rome, which was designed by Jean de Champaign and in situ in 1675. Until now, scholars have accepted with Sedlmayr's explanation.³⁸ However, as J.J. De Rossi's engraving of the Roman altar clearly demonstrates, this genealogy is not convincing. The Sallapulka altar project flawlessly repeats all the features of the apsidal colonnaded altar type in the classical Parisian version, in particular the tabernacle in Val-de-Grace.

Such typological corrections can have far-ranging consequences regarding the attribution of authorship, too. As long as Sedlmayr's genetic explanation seemed to be correct, for example, the traditional attribution of the project to Fischer von Erlach the Father remained unchallenged,

although the design is unsigned and shows only the description "Vischers VE delin 1720". After having corrected the reading of the projected structure and re-evaluated the architectural sources, the question emerges again: Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, the Father or Josef Emanuel, the Son. The latter returned at that time to Vienna from his Parisian studies and helped his father with designs for engravings and with the building of Karlskirche in Vienna. It was Josef Emanuel who brought in from Paris fresh experience and new ideas (and a manifest inclination to the French gout). Although I cannot present all of the arguments and supporting documentation here, I believe that Josef Emanuel rather than Johann Bernhard inserted the rigid plan of an apsidal colonnaded altar in the Sallapulka project. There are two fine examples of the apsidal colonnaded altar from Bavaria. The most important one is the high altar of the parish church of St. Peter's in Munich constructed in 1730-33 after protracted planning and debate by the electoral authorities at the instigation of Dean Unertl. It is represented in an engraving by Nikolaus Stuber juxtaposed with the excellent reconstruction as it is today. The apsidal colonnade accommodates a seated figure of St. Peter from the early sixteenth century and the Baroque statues of four church fathers by Egid Quirin Asam. Because of its figural and iconographic program, the altar is always related to Bernini, but only justifiably so with reference to his Cathedra Petri is intended, and not to his Roman ciborium. There is ample documentary evidence that the Munich altar architecture, purely columnar as it is, derives from the colonnaded altar type as described above and not from a columnar baldacchino. The opponent to the intended adaptation of the Berniniesque ciborium-type was the Hofbaumeister Josef Effner, who received his training and early experience in and around

Paris. With respect to the long drawn-out planning for the altar, Effner wrote in 1726: "*es solle der Altar nicht einer Copia von St. Peters Kirch in Rom gleichsehen, sondern vielmehr als ein Original erkannt werden müssen.*"³⁹ He clearly *hinted* at another paradigm, which, although unknown in Munich at the time, and subsequently unrecognized, actually to dominate the structure.

The second Bavarian example, stood until World War II in the Franciscan church at Ingolstadt. The church's architect Johann Michael Fischer also seems to have designed the altar.⁴⁰ This high altar, erected in 1739 and still in situ compares very well with the high altar of the Grand Augustins in Paris. Only the flanking paired columns to the right and left placed somewhat obliquely.

Let me digress for a moment to suggest how the apsidal colonnade was a leitmotif in eighteenth century ceiling painting in Austria, Bohemia, Moravia, Slesia and Southern Germany. I will limit my observations to apsidal colonnades as an independent and outstanding piece of architecture, painted sotto in su as an obvious focus in a ceiling or vault painting. The only example I shall show is the magnificent bozzetto by Franz Anton Maulbertsch in the Stadtische Kunstsammlungen Augsburg, painted approximately before 1778.⁴¹ On both short sides of the rectangular bozzetto, Maulbertsch renders the apsidal colonnade as freestanding altars, each of which represents the altar ante legem and sub gratia, serving as stage and background for a scene from the Old and New Testament. The detail shown here represents St. Paul preaching the Gospel before the altar of the unknown God, an altar which is constructed as a Palladian apsidal colonnade. Maulbertsch

had already used the leitmotif in his design for the Library of Klosterbruck/Znaim, and already in his frescoes of 1752 in the Piaristenkirche of Vienna we detect the two apsidal colonnades⁴² with similar iconographical implications.

Although the current leitmotif obviously derives from the apsidal colonnaded altar type, and from the monumental colonnade in Palladio's church in Venice, it also incorporates another motif, mostly interpreted as a "typical Andrea Pozzo" motif. This emerges clearly in Maulbertsch's painting in the beginnings and endings of the half-circle in the form of four columns, organized as quadruples in crosslike position. But the form does not go back to Pozzo, although he often employed it, but rather to an older tradition which we find in the well-known high altar in SS. Giovanni e Paolo in Venice, certainly in situ in 1674 and maybe even constructed in 1652 according to designs furnished by Baldassare Longhena.⁴³ It goes without saying that Baroque ceiling painting took advantage of earlier models of the apsidal colonnade since the Italian Cinquecento wallpainting. One final reference is to J. Zucchi's well-known wall decoration in the apse of Sto. Spirito in Sassia in Rome, and here we turn from apsidal colonnaded altars in Franconia.

III.

We shall close our survey of apsidal colonnaded altars in Central Europe with examples from Franconia. Replicas of Bernini's Roman baldacchino were built here quite early in important places, and were repeated until the late eighteenth century: the cathedral of Bamberg

received two such ciboria in about 1650.⁴⁵ In the choir of the Wurzburg cathedral, the first Berniniesque ciborium was constructed in 1700 and restored in a somewhat different form by Balthasar Neumann in 1749. In 1700 a ciborium "in der form des Hochaltars in Sankt Peter (in Rome)" was explicitly requested. The Fulda high altar had also been fashioned as a Berniniesque ciborium in 1710.⁴⁷ One might say that the territories along the Main and the Rhein in Franconia represent the locus classicus for Berniniesque replicas.

Yet the history of altar architecture in Franconia cannot be explained exclusively on the grounds of a Bernini tradition, as Werner Hegemann would have us believe in his book of 1937. There are numerous and even more, remarkable examples of apsidal colonnaded altars in this region, particularly beginning in the fourth decade of the eighteenth century, among which the altars of Balthasar Neuman in Worms; Trier, Bruhl, Bruchsal and Maria Limbach must be taken into account.⁴⁸

The apsidal colonnaded Baroque altar in Franconia differs significantly from all the other previously discussed examples: instead of the half-dome over the entablature we find a crown composed of volutes, following Bernini's model of the Roman, baldacchino, thus representing a blending of Palladian and Berniniesque motifs. The example shown here, the former high altar by Maximilian von Welsch in St. Quentin in Mainz (1739-40) illustrates this most noteworthy fusion of motifs from Bernini and Palladio quite clearly, especially by comparison with the Roman Baldacchino as well as with Fischer von Erlach's Sallapulka design of 1720.⁴⁹

All of the above mentioned altars by Balthasar Neumann belong to this syncretistic type. This is true of the high altar in the cathedral of Worms, as the numerous designs by the Neumannatelier reveal.⁵⁰ And it also holds for the design of the high altar of the Wallfahrtskirche Maria Limbach bei Hassfurt, which was not built until after Neumann's death in 1753 by Johann Peter Wagner.⁵¹ The high altar of St. Paulin in Trier, designed by Neumann in 1745 and executed by Ferdinand Tietz after 1755, expands within the outer walls of the presbytery like a transparent gridlike structure, notwithstanding the fact that like all the other altars by Neumann it is an apsidal colonnade,⁵² screening the windows of the choir. This solemn but unsentimental appearance emphasizes a peculiarity of Neumann's transparent altar colonnades. Neumann apparently attempted to expand the flanking bays of the colonnade until they came into contact with the interior walls of the church itself, thus closing the gap between the altar as an isolated piece of columnar architecture and the architecture of the building itself. The tendency toward the integration of the altar into the entire Gliederung⁵³ is symptomatic of Neumann and cannot be explained by the alleged resemblance of the outer bays to the wings of late Gothic altarpieces, as Werner Hegemann proposed. Quite the reverse. This apparent attempt must be understood as a logical reflex of one of the most noteworthy achievements of Balthasar Neumann, that is his unique design of the Hofkirche in the Residenz in Wurzburg 1732, which is a successful integration of the apsidal colonnaded altar into the articulation of wall and space.

The two basic forms of apsidal Baroque altars are architectural fragments, taken out of their original context in order to form altar structures as such which function as an optical and iconographic focus, as a Blickfeld. Conceiving of apsidal colonnades as an architecture for independent altars demanded a kind of thinking characteristic of neither Palladio nor Bernini. It was hardly a coincidence that Jean Bullant, the reputed author of the open apse colonnade of the Montmorency tomb, and Charles LeBrun, to whom we may attribute the altar-projects in Paris, differentiated themselves as much as from Palladio as from Bernini in their comprehension of architectural articulation (Gliederung). They were the ones to establish a new tradition in altar-design.

Of course there were open colonnaded apses in churches before Neumann in both Italy and Austria, including Francesco Borromini's project for Sant Ivo della Sapienza in Rome in which the apse was to be shaped in the manner of Palladio's Il Redentore.⁵⁴ A similar idea can be traced in the oeuvre of J. Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, as his ground-plan for the Viennese Karlskirche proves in the second book of the Entwurf einer Historischen Arthitektur, 1723.⁵⁵ But such projects, all unexecuted, merely repeat the Palladian colonnade of Il Redentore as an isolated citation instead of creating a new architectural composition. In these cases the altar colonnade is artistically isolated, although physically integrated.

The case is different for Balthasar Neumann. He cannot be credited with introducing the motif and the iconography of the colonnade into his design for the church in the Wurtzburg residence. The laurels go to Maximilian von Welsch and chiefly to Lukas von Hildebrandt for having

done so.⁵⁶ However, it was Neumann who, after long and thorough studies, was able to integrate the motif into the entire design of space and wall articulation, as in his projects for the Residence-church (dated January 26, 1732 and preserved in the Kunstbibliothek Berlin) and the actual form of the church interior in Wurzburg.⁵⁷ The formulation of the three vaulted rotundas in the second story is in unbroken harmony with the colonnaded first story. This harmony is not simply an illusion, for it was retained throughout the construction.⁵⁸ Neumann established the position of the columns in strict accordance with the curvature of the three rotundas, which he embedded in the simple rectangular space destined to house the church. He succeeded in bringing together strange contrasts--the centrally contracted shells of the vaulted rotundas with the Defilee of the undulating colonnades, which close the interior in apsidal form but also open it in apsidal form.

It goes without saying that the church in Neumann's Wurtzburg Residence does not spontaneously call to mind Palladio's interior for the Il Redentore. This late Baroque architect in Franconia was no Palladianista; he did not imitate the Italian architect of the Cinquecento. However, in one important respect, which I emphasize here, the two interiors are comparable, and are more alike than the often literal citations of the open columnar screen.

In both the Palladian church and the Baroque church in Wurzburg, we find the scenographic motif of the transparent colonnade incorporated into the articulation of space and wall. It develops from a consistent scheme of Gliederung, making integral part of a sequence of columns, and culminates in the apse in Venice and at the entrance and altar in Wurzburg. I described this sequential articulation in the following way:

Zunächst befindet sich--im Langhaus--die Säule fest an die Mauer gebunden, mit den Eckpfeilern in ein Defilee gebracht, mit einem Minimum an Bewegungsmöglichkeit. Dann finden wir die Halbsäule am Triumphbogen und in der Kuppelverierung mit den Pfeilern, die übrigens eine Entasis zeigen, lockere zusammengruppiert und damit in einer Position, die mehr an Bewegungsmöglichkeit illusioniert als im Langhaus. Schliesslich und endlich sehen wir hinter dem Altartisch die Säule völlig frei gestellt und als transparente Kolonnade hervorgehoben und auch durch die Beleuchtung verklärt, ein Schluss--und Zielbild, das Ergebnis einer konsequenten, schrittweise formierten Folge (Sequenz) der Wandgliederung. Die "szenographische Wirkung," die Rudolf Wittkower⁵⁹ heraus hob⁵⁹ beinhaltet also eine stufen--und abschnittsweise Befreiung der Säule von der Wand, derjenigen Stammform aller Gliederungskünste der Renaissancebaukunst, der Palladio's ganze Liebe galt und deren Geschichte und Wirkungsmöglichkeit er unaufhörlich studierte und ausprobierte.⁶⁰

Returning to Neumann's Baroque church interior in Würzburg, we are now in a position to acknowledge what Palladio and Neumann hold in common, despite their fundamental stylistic differences, and to recognize that the architect from Franconia brought a motif of altar design back to its original architectural meaning.

Henry A. Millon

BERNINI IN PIEDMONT

Bernini visited Piedmont twice, and at least once he discussed architecture with Amedeo Castellamonte, the ducal architect. He certainly sent designs for a remodelling of the ducal castle at Mirafiori. He may also have sent drawings for the church of the Corpus Domini in Bra. It will be argued here, however, that his most profound and lasting effect in the 17th century on Piedmontese architecture was through the assimilation of aspects of his achievement by Guarino Guarini. Guarini's architecture is usually associated with that of Borromini, and rightly so. But Bernini's ideas, partially absorbed by Guarini while a student in Rome in the 1640s and more fully digested later, became integral to his thinking as he developed in the late 1660s and 1670s.

A full discussion of Bernini's influence in Piedmont would necessarily also dwell on Juvarra's achievement there from 1714 to 1736. Scholars signal Juvarra's debt to the study of Bernini during his training in Rome as well as his subsequent amalgam of the work of Bernini and Borromini.¹

Eighteenth-century Turin, the greatest urban and architectural achievement of the period in Italy and initially shaped by Juvarra, can be seen as an explicit triumph of Bernini's conception of the roman baroque, its most easily transferrable features. In the latter half of the preceding century Turin, with the work of Guarino Guarini, also contained the most direct continuation of Borromini's critical ideas, which were more personal and much less easily transmitted to succeeding generations.

No other city paid such tribute to Rome; no other city so fully grasped the urban implications of the work of Bernini, Borromini,

Cortona; no other city realized more fully the potential that lay in the achievements of 17th century Rome.

Bernini's indirect influence on Piedmont in the 18th century will be set aside to focus instead first on his direct involvement in piedmontese matters and secondly on his effect on Guarini, specifically on Guarini's development of the designs for the Palazzo Carignano in Turin.

Bernini's first brief visit to Piedmont in May 1665 on his way to Paris from Rome is mentioned by Baldinucci who says only "His Most Serene Highness the Duke of Savoy unceasingly gave the Cavalier proof of his generosity also "²--and well he might, after having spurned Bernini's offer to come to Turin in 1661 (as we shall see later). We know nothing of what he may have been shown on that first trip. In any case, Bernini is certain to have inquired about progress on the remodelling of the Mirafiori Castle for which he had sent designs in 1661.

The abandonment of that project and concentration on the construction of the Venaria Reale prompted Bernini's first question (as reported by Amedeo Castellamone in his account of a conversation he had with Bernini) during his visit to the Venaria Reale while en route to Rome from Paris in November 1665.³ The accounts by Chantelou and Castellamonte depict vastly different men: Castellamonte's Bernini mouths Castellamonte's observations and prepared questions; Chantelou's Bernini is opinionated, condescending, and haughty.⁴

As De Vesme noted,⁵ Castellamonte has Bernini ask why the duke was building a new castle in such an unsalubrious site when there were so many other unfinished castles around Turin that could be completed less expensively and made more rapidly available for enjoyment by the Duke. Castellamonte's reponse was that the working of a monarch's mind is un-

fathomable but that there were four possible reasons--two appear sound and two were rationalizations. According to Castellamonte, the duke was more attracted by a building of his own than to one begun by a predecessor; the duke had castles in the other quarters surrounding Turin but none to the north where the Venaria was situated; and the marshy, unsalubrious nature of the site was exaggerated if not incorrect, for troublesome areas were rendered innocuous by drainage, fill, and utilization of the water in the gardens; finally, large and small game abounded in the region. At no point in Castellamonte's account does he reveal why Carlo Emanuele II welched on his invitation to bring Bernini to Turin in 1661.

The circumstances surrounding the abandoned commission by Carlo Emanuele II from Bernini of designs for the Castle Mirafiori are recorded by De Vesme. He notes that in a letter of 18 May 1661 Carlo Emanuele stated his intention to send a large plan of the Castle Mirafiori to the Marchese Solar del Borgo, the Savoy Resident in Rome, in order to have the opinion of architects in Rome. On 3 October the plan and elevation of the facade were sent to Solaro Del Borgo in a large metal tube with a letter containing a specific request that the drawings be shown to Bernini and Borromini for their opinion. Further, when possible, they were to be asked to redesign the building or design another in its place. On 17 October Solaro del Borgo reported that he had spoken with Bernini but had not shown the drawings to Borromini. He wrote that Bernini was the more esteemed, and only after seeing what he had done would Solaro del Borgo talk to Borromini about the castle design. He added that the two were in direct opposition in everything.

Solaro del Borgo wrote again a week later on 24 October that Bernini had promised to make a design for Mirafiori, and again a week later on 31 October wrote that the design had been prepared. He added that Bernini wished to work on it further and that the pope wanted to see it. Cardinal Azzolini, del Borgo continued, had seen the design and reported to Solaro del Borgo that there was neither site nor building in Rome that compared with the beauty of the new design. On 7 November Solaro del Borgo reported that the design was finished, and he added that Bernini asked the pope for a release to work on the design. The pope granted his request, and commanded Bernini to stop working on everything else--including work underway for himself--in order to serve Carlo Emanuele. Del Borgo reports Bernini's statement that the pope had wished to see and diligently consider the design, had praised the site, and entirely approved of the concept.

There was apparently a change of mind shortly after the plans reached Turin. Were they too grand and costly? The Duke's desire to have a Roman architect come to Turin (expressly stated in his letter of 3 October) and Bernini's receipt of a release to go to Turin (as reported in the letter of 7 November) came to naught. On 23 November the duke wrote Solaro del Borgo acknowledging receipt of the drawings for Mirafiori with the accompanying letter from Bernini together with del Borgo's letter of 7 November. The duke enclosed a letter for Bernini and asked that Solaro del Borgo say the letter came with specific expressions of gratitude to the Cavalier for the courteous action that he took in devoting himself to the embellishment of Mirafiori. The correspondence breaks off at this point. The letters from Bernini to the duke and the duke's to him have not survived. Bernini

was not invited to come. The designs were not used and are presumed lost. The castle was only partially remodelled in succeeding years. The unexecuted large scheme with great oval forecourt reproduced in Plates 27/28 of the Theatrum Sabaudiae appears to reflect Castellamonte's ideas perhaps as influenced by contemporary roman models rather than Bernini's own.⁶

Yet another design, for the Church of the Corpus Domini--now S. Andrea Apostolo--in Bra (Figs. 1 and 2), was perhaps requested from Bernini at an unknown date after 1666. Antonio Mathis, when preparing a book which appeared in 1888 on the sacred architecture of Bra,⁷ consulted a manuscript, now lost, by an author of unknown origin named Ferreri. Mathis reports Ferreri's statement that at the request of a Padre Cattaneo the Church of the Corpus Domini was designed by Bernini, who sent the drawings to Guarini for execution since Guarini had been retained to direct construction. Later authors have repeated the tale as told by Mathis. Gaspare Burzio in his notes on Bra published in 1924 added that Padre Cattaneo knew Bernini in Rome.⁸

Edoardo Mosca has recently called the attribution of the design to Bernini into question. Mosca located an account of the church's construction in a manuscript dating from the mid-18th century by a dottor Vorgalle.⁹ It confirms that Padre Gerolamo Maria Cattaneo spent time in Rome, but says nothing about Bernini and the design. Vorgalle states simply that Buarini was asked to design the church. Mosca believes, therefore, the church to be by Guarini--which is no help since the facade and interior resemble the work of neither Bernini nor Guarini.

Burzio, even though prior of the church by 1907, as well as Mosca recently may have overlooked information published by Stefano Racca in a guide to Bra which appeared in 1907.¹⁰ The guide, although following Mathis in attributing the design of the building to Bernini, outlines the changes and additions made after 1817 when the parish church of S. Andrea was transferred to the incomplete Church of the Corpus Domini. Racca notes that when occupied by the parish of S. Andrea the church lacked a facade, cupola, organ and sacristy.

Three successive priors saw to the completion of the building. Racca tells the story. In 1835, Prior Amerano installed the organ. His successor, Prior Biacomo Priotto, built the canon's quarters, the sacristy (with a vault fresco by Paolo Emilio Morgari), embellished the altar of the Madonna del Rosario, the altar, niche and sculpture (by Roasio di Mondovi) of the Madonna del Carmine, installed new pavement and marble wainscoting, and began construction of the facade following a design by the otherwise unknown architect Martinengo. During the tenure of Prio Andrea Fiore, successor to Priotto in 1885, the facade was completed, the choir enlarged, the vaulting of the nave and choir painted, the main altar aedicule with alabaster columns was built, and the cupola at the crossing (following designs by architect Guiseppe Gallo) was vaulted. Prior Gaspare Burzio, who wrote about Bra and the church, repaired the organ, constructed the main altar (from designs by the architect Gallo) which includes the relief of S. Andrew (executed by Davide Calandra), began the work of incrustation of the wall (choir completed by 1907), installed the marble altar rail and pavement of the choir, and built the campanile.

What we see of S. Andrea today is, therefore, mostly 19th and 20th century construction and embellishment. With the new facade, crossing, dome, and extended choir, what remains of the 17th century design is the longitudinal plan and section of the nave and, perhaps, the plan of the crossing. The single nave is flanked by three rectangular chapels. Salient corinthian pilasters of the nave are continued upwards through ressauts in the entablature to an attic which supports a ribbed barrel vault with penetrations for the clerestory windows. The simple straightforward scheme with its modest crossing, common in Piedmont, does not bear the distinctive stamp of a plan by Buarini. Its simple rectilinearity might stem from Bernini but there is no known longitudinal church by Bernini for comparison. In the absence of documents and with a minimum of stylistic evidence the question of authorship of the design must remain open. In any case the plan and section are unlikely to have had anything to do with Guarini. If Bernini supplied the plan it was one of his most conservative and sober.

Of interest, however, is that Ferreri linked Bernini and Guarini, a connection that probably began as early as 1665 when both were in Paris as Guarini reached maturity.

David Coffin, Richard Pommer, Alan Boase, and George Cattai, have discussed Guarini's years and building activity in Paris.¹¹ Although the date of Guarini's arrival in Paris is unknown, he was there by the summer of 1662 when designs for the new Theatine church of S. Anne la Royale must have been prepared.¹² Land for the church had been purchased the previous June with funds from a legacy of Cardinal Mazarin. The cornerstone of the church was laid on 28 November

1662 by the Prince di Conti in the name of Louis XIV (figs. 3, and 4).¹³

The church was under construction when Bernini arrived in Paris on 2 June 1665 but had not yet been vaulted. Bernini visited the site on 14 June.¹⁴ Chantelou reports Bernini discussed the building with several Theatines. Guarini was probably not among them. The Theatines' statements may indicate they were concerned that their new church would appear too low and squat in section like the Gesu rather than taller like S. Andrea della Valle, the parent Theatine church in Rome. Bernini recounted, in his condescending manner, several anecdotes to confirm his dictum, that when S. Anne was vaulted it would appear larger than it would while under construction. The discussion, questions and answers seem to indicate Guarini was not present. He is unlikely to have thought the church section too low. Had he been there he would probably have said things about Bernini's comments that Chantelou would have reported.

Chantelou records only one other time, three-and-a-half months later, on 30 September that two unidentified Theatines came to Bernini's studio to see the bust of Louis XIV and the drawings of the Louvre.¹⁵

Guarini saw the drawings at this time but in any case he would have seen them in the succeeding year while Mattia de Rossi worked in Paris on the drawings and models for the Louvre. The sequence Guarini's drawings for the Palazzo Carignano make shows clearly that he had access to drawings of Louvre I and II as well as the final stages of the design.

Blunt has said Bernini's visit exercised no serious influence in France.¹⁶ The effect of Bernini's design on Guarini and consequently on palace design in Italy can be seen by referring Guarini's earlier design for a palace in Paris (Figs. 5 and 6) executed,¹⁷ I believe, in 1664 (as a design for the Louvre in an exercise parallel to the designs commissioned for the Louvre from a group of Italian architects including Rainaldi and Cortona) with Guarini's designs for the Palazzo Carignano over ten years later.¹⁸

David Coffin was the first, as far as I know, to call attention to the palace design.¹⁹ He noted the scale in palmi parigini and suggested that it must have been produced while Guarini was in Paris.²⁰ Coffin, however, thought that the palace suggested knowledge of Bernini's Louvre III/IV.²¹ It seems more likely that the walls without pilasters or any vertical articulation other than stacked windows, as well as the lack of any reflection on the exterior of interior curvilinear space with no emphasis on elements of massing in the roofline, indicate that Guarini had not even seen Rainaldi's or Cortona's designs that bear giant orders of columns and pilasters as would Bernini's later design.²² Guarini's palace exhibits the crisp austerity of the late 16th and early 17th centuries and nothing of the advances made in Rome by Cortona in his designs for the palace in Piazza Colonna or Bernini's for the Palazzo Odescalchi in Piazza SS Apostoli.²³ The transformation of Guarini's ideas about palace design apparently took place after seeing the Louvre designs submitted by the roman architects.

Bernini was also asked to submit a design for the Louvre in 1664. Hautecoeur, Josephson, and Brauer/Wittkower have studied the development of the design.²⁴ Louvre I was sent from Rome on 24 June 1664 and arrived in Paris on 25 July. Changes were suggested and a new design was sent from Rome on 17 February 1665 and arrived on 16 March. Bernini was asked to come to Paris to make final changes and while there, he produced Louvre III which was engraved by Marot in 1665.²⁵ Louvre III was further modified after Bernini left Paris on 20 October leaving Mattia de Rossi in charge. The changes resulted in Louvre IV which was completed by May of 1667. This final version included two models, one in stucco and one in wood, together with associated drawings. The project was abandoned by 30 September 1669.

Bernini's first design of June 1664 consisted of an oval concave central portion that both intersected and was enclosed by a symmetrical pair of sweeping concave arms, which in their turn were firmly enclosed between two flanking rectangular pavilions (Figs. 7 and 8). The reverse curves produced, within a framed space, a swelling arcaded central motif with two arcaded arms that curved outward until they became tangent to the flanking pavilions.

The plan of Louvre I derived from the plan of the Barberini palace. Both palaces have a similar transition from the central oval to the rectangular arcade, a rectangular stair to the left and a curved stair to the right, a forecourt from a 'U' shaped plan, and multiple stories of arcades set between enclosed flanking wings.

There are, however, features in Bernini's Louvre I not found in the Barberini plan. Bernini used curved arcades which produced two

trapezoidal shaped service courtyards hidden behind the arcades. In the oval atrium there were openings at either end of the long axis leading into two of the largest and most important rooms in the east wing of the Louvre through doorways that enter the rooms at corners. To reach the piano nobile one passed through the curved arcade into the oval atrium, out into the rectangular courtyard arcade, along the arcade to one of the grand stairs, up the stair, and after several antechambers arrived at the vaulted, clerestory-lighted oval main salon.

The elevation of the east wing of Louvre I consisted of two floors and an attic articulated by a giant order resting on a rusticated base. The walls of the oval grand salon projected above the general roof level and were pierced by circular openings giving clerestory light. The central oval and the convex-concave arcade formed a composition which had considerable vigor and breadth. The giant order was applied both to a curved, open, vaulted, arcaded system and to a flat, planar, closed, trabeated system in the flanking wings. At the corner where the two joined there was a folded pilaster that, on one side enclosed the open arcuated loggia, and on the other, enclosed the trabeated closed flanking wing.

With respect to Louvre I, Bernini's Louvre II (Fig. 9) added a basement story, discarded the clerestory-lit oval salon, retained the concave central portion, and reduced the open arcaded portion to nine bays in the center. No plan of the palace survives and it is, therefore, impossible to describe changes in the circulation pattern or space sequences within the building.

When Bernini made the curve of the central section and the wings merge into one, he altered the balance between the open arcaded portion and the enclosed wings of Louvre I and placed greater dramatic emphasis on the nine open bays in the center which deemphasized the separation of the wings. Louvre II is a more emphatically unified scheme.

Bernini's third and fourth designs (Figs. 10 and 11) mark a radical departure from the previous curvilinear solutions. In Louvre III he retained the basement and two story scheme, the giant order, the use of pilasters and half-columns, and the uniform cornice line, but discarded the curved central portion, the circular stair, and the oval room. All curved elements were eliminated.

By lengthening the atrium toward St. Germain de l'Auxerrois, Bernini increased the size of the palace and gained room for two small courtyards larger than those in Louvre I. It was these small courtyards that Francois Mansart praised for they made it possible to remove the service entrances of the bouche and goblet from the main courtyard (Chantelou, pp. 92-93). The small courtyards also enabled him to light the two main stairs at the east.

Louvre III was also criticized for the oft-mentioned oversights of placing the king's apartment in the noisy new wing, for using arcades in a northern climate, and for putting staircases in the four corners of the courtyard.²⁶ In addition, the increased size of the atrium meant a greater distance from the main entrance to the main stair.

The main facade of Louvre III was composed of an eleven-bay central section flanked on either side by a four-bay unit set back one bay from

the center section. A four-bay unit at either end projected forward from the set-back about one-half bay. Bernini made the strong center and two flanking pavilions into a simple triadic composition. The heirarchic division of the composition was reflected in the use of the orders. The least important and most distant set-back had no pilasters; the pavilions, of secondary importance, had pilasters; and the salient center section had half-round columns.

The rhythm also changed toward the center of the composition. Half-columns were placed between every other window for the first four bays of the central section. Moving toward the center there was a half-column between each window. Toward the center, the frequency increased and the relief was greater. In Louvre III there was correspondence between the location of the various units in plan, their functioning within the building, and the extent of their architectural embellishment. The third (and fourth with minor changes) solution lost some of the vigor and expansiveness of the previous two projects, but gained much in dignity and grandeur.

The history of Bernini's designs and the causes for eventual rejection have no bearing on the relation between the Louvre designs and Guarini's designs for the Carignano.²⁷ More pertinent is a comparison of the formal solutions offered by Bernini, and the bearing they had on Guarini's designs.²⁸

Guarini's Carignano I (Fig. 12), designed in 1679, contained parts taken from Bernini's Louvre I and II but was basically inspired Louvre III. In plan the Bernini facade was divided into three parts--two four-bay elements on either side of the center eleven-bay unit.

Guarini's plan was divided into three parts with two four-bay elements on either side of the center three-bay unit. The center unit in Carignano I was, naturally, much smaller since the frontage was only 60% that of the Louvre.²⁹

Bernini had a stepped-forward center section that contained half-round columns. The adjacent stepped-back portion had no columns or pilasters, while the flanking wings (stepped forward slightly) had only pilasters. In Carignano Guarini's center section was made salient by the use of full-round paired columns. As in Louvre III the stepped back portion had no architectural membering while the flanking wings (stepped forward slightly) had only pilasters. The basic ordering of the facade was clearly derived from Louvre I.

The direction of the long axis of the atrium in Bernini's Louvre III found a parallel in Carignano I. Both atria were three bays wide and both utilized paired columns. Bernini's entrance consisted of three arched openings with the center opening a bit wider than the others.³⁰ In Carignano I Guarini had only one entrance but the four pairs of freestanding columns were grouped to make the center bay the widest of the three.

For symmetry Bernini repeated, in Louvre III, in the old west wing, the three-bay atrium of the new east wing. Guarini also repeated, in a similar manner, his three-bay atrium at the rear of the palace which, in the Carignano, was to be an entrance pavilion to a garden.

Guarini also went to Louvre I and II for the articulation of the flanking pavilions. Bernini's scheme consisted of a unit of four bays enclosed at either corner by a single pilaster. Guarini's Carignano I

shows an identical arrangement. The stairs also show a conscious derivation from Louvre I and, through Louvre I, the Palazzo Barberini. In all three palaces (Carignano I, Louvre I and the Barberini) there were two main stairs of different shapes on either side of the main entrance atrium. In the Barberini and Louvre I the rectangular (or square) stair was to the left upon entering the circular (or oval) stair was to the right. Guarini keeps the configuration but reverses the position. Even though his oval stair is to the left its parentage is unmistakable.³¹

The location of the main stairs in Carignano I relied heavily on French precedent. The old Louvre, as well as many other French examples (Charleval, 1573, Vaux-le-Vicomte 1657-1661, etc), had stairs leading off small vestibules at either side of the atrium or entrance salon.³² The French plan made for a convenient circulation pattern that could, with proper care, be turned into a more gracious and impressive entrance system than could Italian models prior to Guarini. When Guarini made the main stairs immediately accessible on either side of the atrium he paid homage to a French development.

From the outset Guarini unequivocally rejected the arcaded solution for the courtyard. He may have been aware of the sound arguments made by French critics against the use of arcades in cold climates.

The main princely apartments were placed in the wings to the north and south on side streets instead of on the main piazza. Guarini may have recognized the criticism Bernini's Louvre received for having the king's apartments facing the noisy public square.

In Carignano II (Fig. 13) Guarini seemed to turn decisively towards a solution including curved forms and leaned more heavily on Louvre I and II than on Louvre III. The first and most obvious borrowing was the

central oval atrium and grand salon. Both Bernini and Guarini had oval salons oriented in the same manner. The atrium in Carignano II shows paired columns standing just clear of the atrium wall. The paired columns, and the relation of the columns to wall, were similar to the paired columns Bernini used in the atrium of Louvre I. Bernini's juxtaposition of vestibule and oval with resultant corner entrance was repeated, in Guarini's solution, in the piano nobile.

What had been for Guarini, in Carignano I, a rigidly rectangular facade configuration was modified, in Carignano II, by the suggested presence of the atrium oval seen in the convex curved section at the center of the facade. Both the concept and the convex curve were in Bernini's Louvre I.

The articulation of the facade of the flanking wings was the same in Carignano II as in Carignano I. Guarini retained the pilasters at the corners of the flanking wings and followed Bernini's scheme of Louvre I and II.

There are significant differences between Louvre I and Carignano II. For Guarini the oval shape dominates in plan as well as in elevation. The entire center section was moulded to fit the oval atrium and the external shape of the building reflected the internal configuration (though not so completely as it was to do later). The oval was accepted and integrated into the plan and the overall formal solution. Guarini exploited the consequences of the use of an oval form to a greater degree than did Bernini.

Bernini utilized the oval splendidly in the east (main) elevation. The oval was in fact the raison d'etre for the entire elevation. In

plan, however, Bernini did not express the western half of the oval in his grand overall scheme. In Louvre I, on the west, the oval led through a series of parallel passageways (unrelated to the geometry of the oval), to the rectangular court. The court did not reflect the grand main feature of the whole wing.

Secondly, on the long axis of the atrium, Guarini placed his two main stairs so that a logical sequence of spaces could be followed. One entered on the short axis, left on the long axis, went directly up the first flight of the main stairs. In contrast, Bernini's ground floor plan directed one into the oval on the short axis, out again on the short axis (or one of the parallel passageways), down the arcaded corridor to the main stair. The long axis of the oval led only into the ground floor apartments. The visual climax suggested by the oval form as seen in Bernini's elevation was not realized at the ground floor and is only fully appreciated upon reaching the main salon on the piano nobile.

As Guarini approached a specific solution to the requirements of the Caprignano, he moved more and more away from the precedents of the Louvre. In Carignano III (Fig. 14) by moving the oval atrium to the courtyard side and by bringing the stair to the front, he repeated Bernini's use of an exterior form surrounding one-half of the oval. But Guarini's insertion of the two vestibules leading to the main stairs was original.

As a consequence of the new stair-oval relation, virtually the entire central portion of the facade between the two flanking wings became active and non-rectilinear. The fluid central portion was

related to both Louvre I and II of Bernini, but Guarini's Carignano III seems primarily to record his struggle to integrate the stairs, oval and subsidiary spaces into harmonious unit.

In the flanking pavilions of Carignano III Guarini borrowed a treatment used By Bernini in the flanking wings of Louvre III. The four windows (in both Carignano III and IV) are grouped in a 1-2-1 pattern separated by single pilasters in a manner identical to Bernini's.

Guarini's Carignano III solution was quite different from Bernini's Louvre I and II in the predominant role given to the stairs (through their form) and in the role played by the stairs in determining the overall form of the building. Here Guarini began to exploit an architectural feature which, when integrated into the whole design, became one of the major sources for the composition of the facade. The smaller size of Carignano meant that the stairs would of necessity play a larger role, but it was Guarini's choice that made them become a dominant, rather than secondary visual element.

In Carignano Iv Guarini's solution (Figs. 15,16,17 and 18) presents, in plan, even greater affinities to Louvre I than did Darignano III. Bernini's system of a central concave portion that both intersected and was enclosed by two sweeping concave arms which were, in their turn, held firm by two flanking rectangular pavilions was repeated, with some variations, in Guarini's facade where two continuous reverse curves, which almost joined at the entrance, produced a continuously curved central portion composed of a convex center baying out from a tremendous concavity between the two flanking wings.

Bernini's plan showed the curved portions to be separate and intersecting. Guarini's plan showed a continuous curve without interruption that, as it flowed, changed from convex to concave.

In elevation the effect of the continuous curve would have been markedly different from Bernini's elevation. In Louvre I Bernini had an elevation that, in its effort to separate each element distinctly, had clearly defined junctures(oval to arcade--arcade to wings) and marked differentiations between arcuated and trabeated systems.

Guarini's facade treated the entire center section as a unit and, by unifying it, produced a fluidity of mass and continuity of overall form rather than Bernini's discrete but related elements.

The pilasters Guarini employed in the curved central portion were doubled and the rhythm quickened as the fracture approached. Bernini had also employed a similar quickening rhythm in the central portion of Louvre III in which the center three entrance bays each had half-round columns on either side of the windows. The remainder of the central section had half-round columns between every other window.³³

In Louvre III Bernini used solemn, grand, half-columns in a measured sequence that doubled towards the entrance, while in Carignano IV Guarini used pilasters to stabilize a fluid mass and doubled them (almost covering the wall) toward the entrance. Bernini produced the grand, dignified, and solemn--Guarini the massive, vigorous, and forceful solution.

In Carignano as finally constructed, the oval salon projected upward through the main roof system and had oval windows lighting the

salon from above.³⁴ Since the salon is above the oval atrium, the raised portion with oval windows projecting above the roof is also set back from the palace facade--just as Bernini's clerestory oval salon was set back from the facade. The derivation of Carignano IV from the Louvre I is obvious. The function is the same, but Guarini's handling of the form in the courtyard is original and shows an awareness of the architectural implications of the oval form for which there seems to be no precedent in Bernini. Guarini, while designing the Palazzo Carignano, both knew and leaned very heavily upon Bernini's designs for the Louvre.³⁵ The end result, although directed toward different goals and achieved by different means, owes a primary debt to Bernini.³⁶

In discussing Bernini's designs for the Louvre, the literature cites antecedents in the plan of the Palazzo Barberini,³⁷ the facade of S.M. della Pace,³⁸ Cortona's design for the Piazza Colonna,³⁹ Michelangelo's and Palladio's giant order,⁴⁰ and Bernini's own work on the Palazzo Odescalchi.⁴¹ These antecedents may well have played a role in determining aspects of the design in its various stages. While the sources cited may not yet have been definitively examined, I would like to draw attention briefly to the Palazzo Maggiore, the Palace of the Caesars, as an additional potential antecedent that might help to explain the fascination the Louvre designs had for Guarini.

The Palatine Palace and Hippodrome and the palace and Hippodrome at Constantinople may have been sources of inspiration for the design of the Palazzo Pamphili on Piazza Navona as suggested by R. Preimesberger.⁴² Bramante's intention to replicate the Palatine in the

cortile and palace at the Vatican has also been noted.⁴³ Maurizio and Marcello Fagiolo have suggested that the precedents Bernini had in mind when designing the Louvre may have been the Tabularium and the Colosseum.

Beginning in the 15th century, reconstructions of the imperial palace as preserved in drawings and prints chronicle changing opinion and developing knowledge. Reconstructed plans were less frequent than bird's-eye views of the Palatine. Reconstructions of portions or of the entire Palatine complex contain elements that suggest parallels with aspects of Bernini's four designs for the Louvre.

An early, and as far as I know, unique representation of the Palatine (Palazzo Maggiore) from the southwest by Cronaca may be reflected in Bernini's Louvre I. It shows a structure with, at the upper level, a convex, two-story central section crowned by a buttressed dome, drum and lantern, all projecting from a larger oval concave central portion (presumably the south exedra) which terminated in two rectilinear pavilions topped by segmented pediments.⁴⁴ Each level is articulated by paired or single pilasters. The two-story curved sections of this fanciful reconstruction rest on a rectilinear lower story and plain base of uncertain plan with a major axial entrance portico at the lower level. No other reconstruction shows a convex element on the south, but it does reappear on both the east and west elevations of the palace in Bianchini's restoration as the framed reverse of a pair of lateral hemicycles (Fig. 19).⁴⁵

All reconstructions of the Palatine show the exedra on the south, and some suggest the concave plan of Bernini's Louvre II.

Duperac, in one of his reconstructions in 1573,⁴⁶ shows the exedra facing a three story structure which is higher than the exedra, making the whole look rather like a theatre. Many reconstructions, most of which were dependent on that by O. Panvinio (Fig. 20),⁴⁷ whom H. Zerner reports used plates prepared by Duperac,⁴⁸ show a building the length of the Circus Maximus divided in a number of sections with the exedra facing out on the circus above one or two levels. The exedra is often flanked by pavilions the height of the exedra or higher.⁴⁹

A third version appears to originate with the view published in 1579 by Mario Cartaro,⁵⁰ where the entire length of the palace along the side of the Circus Maximus is shown three stories high with higher, salient pavilions at the ends and in the center. Stairs to either side rise to the central landing at the first level. The exedra is depicted as a theatre closed at its end as in the early Panvinio and Duperac representations. Louvre III and IV may possibly relate to these reconstructions. The various editions of Lauro (Fig. 21) and Filippo de Rossi follow Cartaro's rendering while adding another matching hippodrome in the west half of the palace.⁵¹

The plan of the palatine in L. Bufalini's map of Rome of 1551⁵² shows only grids of intersecting walls and omits the exedra.⁵³ Panvinio's plan (Fig. 22) shows a hemicycle to the east of the hippodrome and a large oval court to the west. Canina in 1850 includes a large hemicycle on the east side of the hippodrome⁵⁴ but none on the west. Earlier representations, bird's eye views, show a hemicycle to the west of the palace.

In these many representations up to the time Bernini began to work on the designs of the Louvre, the Palatine Palace complex seems to have been multi-level, with salient pavilions, a large exedra roughly in the center of the complex, hemicycles (which when seen from the outside or rear were convex structures), in plan extended in depth to the north forming one or more courtyards, containing one or more hippodromo-shaped structures, a central plan temple with surrounding colonnade (or pilasters), and often with a balustrade above the main cornice crowned with sculpted figures and trophies. Some of these elements appear in the designs for the Louvre and may have contributed to Bernini's conception as it evolved in 1664-1665.

Bernini's ideas for the Louvre may have influenced Francesco Bianchini's reconstructions of the Palatine. As published in 1738, the elevations of the south and east flanks of the Palatine palace (Figs. 23 and 19) appear to be related to Bernini's designs for the Louvre.⁵⁵ The tripartite composition, rusticated base crowning balustrade and figures pay homage to Bernini's Louvre III/IV. The east elevation--with its central section at the top of the stairs enclosing a convex central pavilion of two stories resting on a two story base--recalls somewhat Bernini's Louvre I, while the elevation toward the Circus Maximus with its two story concave central section may be related to Louvre II. The plan of the Palatine by Bianchini (Fig. 24) seems to owe something to the plans for Louvre III/IV (Fig. 11).⁵⁶ Bianchini apparently knew of these designs as well as earlier less accomplished reconstructions of the Palatine. A more detailed

study of reconstructions of the Palatine and other buildings of ancient Rome in the 17th century and comparison with Bernini's palace designs would most likely be fruitful.

Guarini perhaps understood that Bernini, when designing the main urban palace for the greatest monarch in Europe, drew his associations at least partially from contemporary conceptions of the original state of the palace of the greatest rulers of antiquity.

NOTES

¹R. Wittkower, Art and Architecture in Italy, 1600-1750, 3rd ed., New York, 1980, 564, n. 47; P. Portoghesi, Roma Barocca, Rome, 1966, 418; C. Brandi, Struttura e Architettura, Torino, 1967, 168-184; S. Boscarino, Juvarra architetto, Rome, 1973, 45-51. H. Millon, "The Antamoro chapel in S. Girolamo della Carità in Rome: Drawings by Juvarra and an Unknown Draftsman," in H. Millon, ed., Studies in Italian Art and Architecture 15th through 18th centuries, Rome/Cambridge, Mass., 1980, 274-275.

²F. Baldinucci, The Life of Bernini, translated from the Italian by Catherine Enggass, with a Foreward by Robert Enggass, University Park, Pa./London, 1966, 52. The text in Italian is as follows: "L'Altezza Serenissima del Duca di Savoia, non lasciò di fare anch'essa godere al Cavaliere effetti di sua liberalità, e tali appunto, quali si convenivano alla grandezza dell'animo suo," Vita del Cavaliere Gio. Lorenzo Bernino..., Florence, 1682, 46.

³A di Castellamonte, Venaria Reale Palazzo di Piacere e di Caccia ideato dall'Altezza Reale di Carlo Emanuel II Duca di Savoia Re di Cipro, disegnato et descritto dal Conte Amedeo di Castellamonte l'anno 1672, Turin, 1674, 1-4.

⁴P. de Fréart, Sieur de Chantelou, Journal du voyage du Cavalier Bernini en France, ed. L. Lalanne, Paris, 1885, passim.

⁵A. Baudi de Vesime, Schede Vessime, 3 vols., Turin, 1963-1968, vol. I, 125-6.

⁶Theatrum Statum Regiae Celsitudinis Sabaudiae Ducis, Amsterdam, (J. Blaeu), 1682 and C.M. Audiberti, Regiae villae poetice descriptae,

Turin, 1711, opposite 106.

⁷A. Mathis, Storia dei monumenti sacri e delle famiglie di Bra, Alba, 1888, 53.

⁸G. Burzio, Appunti di storia braidese, Alba, 1924, 64.

⁹E. Mosca, "Nota sul preteso disegno del Bernini della chiesa di S. Andrea Apostolo in Bra," Boll. soc. per studi Stor. archeol. art. Prov. Cuneo, 73 [1975], 81-82. The Vorgalle manuscript in the Museo di storia e d'arte di Bra, discussed by Mosca in his Cronache braidesi del '700, Turin, 1973, is entitled Teatro storico di tragiche scene, antiche, e moderne, strane, e curiose, successe in particolare, nel dominio, del real sovrano di Savoia, part terza, libro XII.

¹⁰S. Racca, Guida di Bra, 1907, 91-95.

¹¹D. Coffin, "Padre Guarino Guarini in Paris," JSAH XV [May 1956] 3-11; R. Pommer, Eighteenth-Century Architecture in Piedmont--The Open Structures of Juvarra, Alfieri, and Vittone, New York, 1967, 8 and n.26; A. Boase, "Sant'Anna Reale," in V. Viale (ed.), Guarino Guarini e l'internazionalità del Barocco, 2 vols., Turin, 1970, I, 345-358; G. Cattai, "Guarini e la France," vol. II, 511-521.

¹²Guarini may have been in Paris in 1661. Raymond Darricau, "Les Clercs Réguliers Théatins à Paris, Sainte Anne la Royale (1664-1793), II: La mort du Cardinal Mazarin d'après son confesseur théatin le Père Angelo Bissare (1661)," Regnum Dei, X [1955], 120-121, transcribes an account of a meeting with Cardinal Mazarin which includes a reference

to D. Camillo, a Theatine who joined padre Bissaro in opposing Colbert's view that the Theatine Convent should be attached to the college that Mazarin wanted built. Guarini's given name was Camillo. There is no available list of the Theatines in Paris in 1661. Guarini may have been in Paris as early as 1661. If so, his presence in Modena in the summer of 1662 presupposes a return trip. Hilary Ballon kindly pointed out the article by Darricau.

¹³Coffin cites A.M. Le Fevre (Calendrier historique et chronologique de l'eglise de Paris, Paris, 1947, 295-296) for the date of the cornerstone ceremony but also mentions (n. 17) that the foundation stone had been laid three weeks earlier by the Bishop of Lucon (J.B.M. Jaillot, Récherches critiques, historiques et topographiques sur la ville de Paris, depuis ses commencemens connus jusqu'à présent, Paris, 1775, V, 74.

¹⁴Chantelou, 33.

¹⁵Chantelou, 193.

¹⁶A. Blunt, Art and Architecture in France, 1500-1700, 2nd ed., Baltimore, 1970, 276, n. 4.

¹⁷Plates 23 and 24 from G. Guarini, Architettura Civile, Turin, 1737.

¹⁸Plate 31 in Guarini's Architettura Civile shows the arcade of the Palazzo Carignano in partial plan/elevation. Plate 32 shows the courtyard in partial plan/section/elevation. The plates were prepared from

drawings done in 1679. (See H. Millon, The Palazzo Carignano in Turin,) dissertation Harvard University, 1964, I, 103).

¹⁹D. Coffin, "Padre Guarino."

²⁰Inscribed on the plan at the top of the sheet. As far as I know there is no Parisian Palmo. The other sheet with the elevation contains two scales on the right, top and bottom, one inscribed "Pd Parigi 60," the other "Pi Parigi 60," intended to indicate, I believe, Piedi di Parigi. They also measure about one-half of the indicated scale of the plan inscribed "Palmi Parigini 120." It is likely the word "Palmi" on the plan is an error. It is worth noting, however, that the subdivisions in all three scales do not seem to agree with the units indicated.

²¹D. Coffin, "Padre Guarino," 10.

²²For designs by Italian architects other than Bernini see P. Portoghesi, "Gli architetti italiani per il Louvre," Saggi di Storia dell'architettura, Rome, 1961, 243-68 and K. Noehles, "Die Louvre-- Projekte von Pietro da Cortona und Carlo Rainaldi," Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte, XXX [1961], 40-74.

²³For Cortona's designs for the Chigi Palace in Piazza Colonna see Noehles, "Die Louvre," The Palazzo Chigi-Odescalchi by Bernini is discussed and reproduced in R. Wittkower, Art and Architecture in Italy 1600-1750, 3rd ed., New York, 1980, 186-7.

²⁴Hautecoeur, Le Louvre et les Tuileries de Louis XIV, Paris, 1927; R. Josephson, "Les maquettes du Bernini pour le Louvre," GBA, XVII *

(1928), 77-92; H. Brauer and R. Wittkower, Die Zeichnungen des Gianlorenzo Bernini, Berlin, 1931, 129-133 (the most detailed analysis of the four versions.) For documentation see L. Mirot, "Le Bernini en France," Memoires de la Societé de L'histoire de Paris et de L'Isle de France, XXXI (1904), 161-275; E. Esmonin, "Le Bernini et la Construction du Louvre," Bulletin de la Societé de l'Art Francais, 1911, 31.

²⁵Reproduced in J.F. Blondel, L'Architecture Francoise, Paris, 1756, IV, Book VI, no. 1, plan (pl. 3), east elevation (pl. 8), south elevation (pl. 12), west elevation (Pl. 15), section (pl. 19).

²⁶The criticisms are summarized in R. Wittkower, Art and Architecture in Italy 1600-1750, New York, 1938, 188-189. For the opposite view, i.e. that the French did not understand the inherent quality of Bernini's design, see R. Pane, Bernini architetto, Venice, 1953, 91-110.

²⁷For an analysis of the evolution of Bernini's four designs for the Louvre see Brauer/Wittkower, Die Zeichnungen, 129-133.

²⁸For a more extended analysis of the plans for the Carignano, and the relationship between the designs for the Louvre and Carignano, see H. Millon, Palazzo Carignano, I, 125-147.

²⁹The present facade of the Palazzo Carignano measure approximately 262 feet (c. 80 m.) in width. The plans for Louvre III show a facade about 430 feet (c. 131 m.) in width.

³⁰The plan, however, as engraved in J.F. Blondel, Architecture Francoise, Paris, 1756, vol IV, Book V, No. 1, pl. 8, does not distinguish any difference in width. The elevation drawing from the Tessin collection (Fig. 10) shows the wider and taller central arch.

³¹M. Passanti, Architettura in Piemonte, Turin, 1945, 182, felt that Guarini was merely trying out both stairs to see what they looked like and, if built, would have chosen one or the other. While Guarini may have intended to select only one of the stairs, a sequence of palace designs containing stairs with both shapes suggests otherwise.

³²See A. Blunt, Art and Architecture in France, 1500-1700, London, 1953. When only one grand stair was used it was usually placed 1) to one side immediately off the central vestibule (Hotel de Beauvais 1652-55, Hotel du Jars, 1648, etc.); 2) on the main axis entered from the main court (Hotel Lambert, 1642, Palais du Luxembourg, etc.); or 3) to one side, but entered directly from the main courtyard (Hotel de la Vrillière, 1635, Hotel de Liancourt, 1623, Hotel de Bretonvilliers, 1637-43, etc.). All examples cited are in Paris.

³³The similarity between the two palaces with respect to increased relief and quickened rhythm towards the center is cited because Bernini did not utilize alterations of this kind in Louvre I, Louvre II, Palazzo Montecitorio, Palazzo Chigi-Odescalchi, or in the complex at Ariccia. Guarini used these two changes only in Carignano IV and not in the Castello at Racconigi, the Castello at Govone, nor in the Paris Palace.

³⁴The oval clerestory projecting above the roof line does not appear in any of Guarini's drawings. For a discussion of the clerestory and the date of its construction see Millon, Palazzo Carignano, I, 153-156.

³⁵In elevation, however, Guarini's palace does not bear much relation to Bernini's projects for the Louvre. Bernini, in Louvre I, had two stories and attic on a rusticated base. In Louvre II and Louvre III Bernini had two main stories and attic on top of a basement story which

rested on a rusticated base. Marot's engravings showed, on the flanks, a rusticated base, a basement story, a piano nobile with mezzanine, and an upper floor. In all the schemes the piano nobile and upper floor act as a unit and were of such dimensions that they completely dominated a basement floor that was intended to be subsidiary.

Guarini divided the Palazzo Carignano into a lower and an upper floor, each articulated by pilasters. The lower section contained a basement story plus a mezzanine while the upper section contained a piano nobile, mezzanine and top floor. The two floors are nearly the same height. The ratio is roughly two to three while Bernini's Louvre III has a ratio of floor heights of roughly one to two. The height of the Louvre from the top of the rusticated base to the top of the main cornice was c. 96. feet. The Carignano from the ground to the top of the main cornice is approximately 76 feet.

³⁶A full account of influences absorbed by Guarini and reflected in his designs for the Carignano would necessarily include discussion of the work of Borromini and Pietro da Cortona. See Millon, Palazzo Carignano, 306-373.

³⁷R. Pane, Bernini architetto, Venice, 1953, 95; Millon, Palazzo Carignano, 126; Brauer/Wittkower, Die Zeichnungen, 133; R. Wittkower, Art and Architecture, 123 also cites Bernini's following in the facade of Louvre I "the theme of the Palazzo Barberini."

³⁸R. Wittkower, Art and Architecture, 123; Brauer/Wittkower, Die Zeichnungen, 133.

³⁹R. Wittkower, Art and Architecture, 123; Brauer/Wittkower, Die Zeichnungen, 133; R. Pane, Bernini, 95; M. and M. Fagiolo dell' Arco, Bernini, Rome, 1967, 162 (both with a general reference to Cortona).

⁴⁰Brauer/Wittkower, Die Zeichnungen, 133.

⁴¹H. Hibbard, Bernini, Baltimore, 1965, 180; Wittkower, Art and Architecture, 123.

⁴²"Obeliscus Pamphilius: Beitrage zu Vorgeschichte und Ikonographie des Vierströmebrunnens auf Piazza Navona," Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst, XXV [1974], 88. Preimesberger also cites the Pamphili claim to imperial ancestry on 84-5, and in "Pontifex Romanus per Aeneam Praesignatus: Die Galleria Pamphily und ihre Fresken," Römishes Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte, XVI [1976], 231.

⁴³J.S. Ackerman, "The Belvedere as a Classical Villa," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XIV, [1951], 88 and The Cortile del Belvedere, Vatican, 1954, 135-8. Ackerman cites among previous authors making the connection C. Elling, Villa Pia in Vaticano et Renaissance-anlaeg og dets Forhold til Antiken, Copenhagen, 1947, 39-41, and D. Frey, Michelangelo-Studien, Vienna, 1920, 36-39, who considers the ancient hippodrome the principal model for the Belvedere court. See also M.L. Gotherm, Geschichte der Gartenkunst, I, Jena, 1914, 242.

⁴⁴Reproduced in A. Bartoli, Monumenti antichi di Roma nei disegni degli Uffizi, Rome, 1914, pl. XI, fig. 24.

⁴⁵F. Bianchini, Del palazzo dei cesari, Verona, 1738, plan, pl. VIII, elevation, pl. XII. For Bianchini see W. Oechslin, "Storia e archeologia prima del Piranesi: Nota su Francesco Bianchini, : Piranesi nei luoghi di Piranesi, Rome, 1979, 107-111 and the entry by S. Rotta in the Dizionario biografico degli italiani, Rome, 1968, X, 187-194.

⁴⁶De Vestigits Urbis Antiquae, Rome 1573, reproduced in A.F. Frutaz, Le piante di Roma, Rome, 1962, II, plan XXI, pl. 36. The representation closely follows that of O. Panvinio done eight years earlier in his Antiquae Urbis Imago, Rome, 1565, reproduced in Frutaz, II, plan XX, pl. 35.

⁴⁷O. Panvinio, De Ludis Circensibus Libri II. Venice, 1600. H. Zerner notes there may have been an earlier illustrated edition of De Ludis published in Venice in 1580 (Zerner, "Observation on Dupérac and the Disegni de le ruine di Roma e come anticamente erono," Art Bulletin, XLVII [1965], 509). The 1580 edition may be that referred to in a letter from Gianvincenzo Pinelli to Fulvio Orsini on 27 July 1582, "mi scrisse già del libro De Ludis del P. Onofrio, che si stampava in Vinetia, et io non basto a rinvenire il stampatore" (P. de Nolhac, La bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini, Paris, 1887, 425).

⁴⁸H. Zerner, "Etienne Dupérac en Italie," École pratique des Hautes Etudes, IV^e section, sciences historiques et philologiques, Annuaire, 1963-4, 326, and "Observations," 509.

The view reproduced by Panvinio appears to depend on the earlier reconstruction by Duperac in his Urbis Romae Sciografia of 1574.

⁴⁹E. Dupérac, Sciographia, Rome, 1574, reproduced in Frutaz, II, plan XXII, pls. 37 and 43/44 (detail); Anon., Disegni de le ruine di Roma, Rome, 1575, original pagination 99v/100r, reproduced in the facsimile edition by R. Wittkower, Disegni, Milan, 1964; A. Donati, Roma vetus ac Recens utrusque Aedificiis Illustrata, Rome, 1662, 225, which reproduces the top portion of the plate from Panvinio De Ludis; and G. Blaeu, Theatrum civitatum et admirandorum Italiae, ad aevi veteris et praesentis temporis, Amsterdam, 1663, part II, pl. between pages 1 and 2.

Pirro Ligorio in his Antiquae Urbis Imago of 1561, reproduced in Frutaz, II, plan XVII, pls. 26 and 31 (details), shows a two-story colonnaded exedra above a one-story lower level with raking cornices over arched windows.

⁵⁰M. Cartaro, Celeberrimae Urbis Antiquae Fidelissima, Rome, 1579, reproduced in Frutaz, II, plan XXIII, pls. 51 and 53/55 (details).

⁵¹J. Lauro, Antiquae Urbis Splendor, Rome, 1612, Book II, unpaginated (later editions in 1630 and 1641 with page no. 98); F. de Rossi, Ritratto di Roma Antica, Rome, 1654, 86, pl. 27 (later edition in 1654).

⁵²Reproduced in Frutaz, II, plan CIX, pl. 203.

⁵³Attached to the north side of the palace, Bufalini shows a central plan structure resembling a Greek cross with four apses, each separated from the central space by a pair of columns. Something similar in approximately the same location at the rectangular end of the hippodrome

south of the monastery of S. Bonaventura appears in the plan of the palatine published by Panvinio (Fig. 23) and in L. Canina, Pianta Topographia..., Rome, 1850, where, however, in both cases, the east and west apses are rectangular. The area in more recent plans is less well delineated. See, for example, F. Lugli, Roma Antica--il Centro Monumentale, Rome, 1946, 514 where the building is described as of a "bizzare form," perhaps a nymphaeum. On pl. VIII the area is indicated as a "nymphaeum of the canopus type."

⁵⁴L. Canina, Pianta topographica, Rome 1850.

⁵⁵Dupérac Sciografia and Cartaro, Celeberrimae. F. Bianchini, Del palazzodei cesari, Verona, 1738 shows both hemicycles in pl. VIII.

⁵⁶Elizabeth Kieven has suggested in conversation that the grand hall with free-standing (or slightly engaged columns) in the center of the south wing of Louvre III/IV on the ground floor may be a reference to the Aula Regia Domitian, thought to have been roofed in the reconstruction of Bianchini.

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SOME OBSERVATIONS ON BERNINI'S ARCHITECTURAL LEGACY

The subject of the present paper, "Observations on Bernini's Architectural Legacy,"¹ is connected with my current research on the architects who were Bernini's assistants, and who are considered the heirs and administrators of his architectural heritage: Carlo Fontana, Giovanni Battista Contini, and Mattia de Rossi. It is, of course, in their works that Bernini's authority first becomes manifest. But the influence of Bernini's buildings was quick to spread in many different directions, and of course not always by means of the architects who were his principal disciples and followers. Therefore we will approach our subject by reviewing Bernini's architecture in chronological sequence and as far as possible in typological order, examining its influence in a limited number of specifically chosen examples. Strong inspirational qualities can be observed already in Paul V's model for the High Altar of St. Peter's, as we know it from the medal of 1617-18, which anticipated and influenced Bernini's baldacchino. Irving Lavin has shown that it was almost as high as the present baldacchino, and was in place as early as 1610.² More directly than Bernini, however, Carlo Fontana put the unexecuted project to use in his own design for the main altar of the church to be erected in the Colosseum. Although the concept of a superstructure with four angels carrying a canopy (Fig. 1) has been adopted almost precisely, the form of the altar itself is different. It was intended for the center of the prospective church and designed with a dual orientation, leaving two possible approaches: either from the entrance on the side of

the arena, the "atrium," or from the rear entrance, the Porta Libitinaris of the Colosseum. Fontana visualized his church crowded with pilgrims assembled around the altar to receive the Sacrament of the Eucharist and expecting special indulgences.³ The canopy would have stood on the pedestal block located between the two altar tables. In this way the interior of the church was to be provided with a very strong centralizing accent. Fontana's choice of models was therefore a very deliberate one, made with full awareness that Paul V's project--unsuitable for the vast crossing of St. Peter's because of the optical frailty of its structure--would have fulfilled its function in a more satisfying way in the more intimate interior of the church planned for the Colosseum. This latter measured only about 17 m. in diameter, almost exactly the size of Bernini's church in Ariccia, to which the planimetric scheme of Carlo Fontana's projected church is connected very closely. With a scenographic effect, Fontana's altar would have symbolized the connection between Heaven and earth through the presence of the almost life-sized angels. As Heavenly messengers, raised only by a relatively low pedestal, they would have been, so to speak, in direct touch with the pilgrims⁴ assembled in a church which Innocent XI planned to build, but which was never realized.

There is neither time nor space for even an approximate account of the effect of Bernini's baldacchino as it was finally executed.⁵ With its spiraled columns and the crowning part with ribs ending in scrolls, the baldacchino inspired numerous architects like Fontana and Sebastiano Cipriani, who had to design altars and catafalques.⁶ Indicative of the overwhelming impression Bernini's altar made is the replica reportedly commissioned of Andrea Pozzo for the main altar of the Cathedral in Foligno

(Fig. 2), dedicated to S. Feliciano (1698-1702), which repeats the original in reduced scale but otherwise true to its prototype, including the confessio in the front.⁷ The almost perplexing exactness of the reproduction gives the altar in Foligno a rather special though not necessarily very distinctive position among the sequels of one of Bernini's most frequently copied works.

When Bernini designed the facade for the medieval church of S. Bibiana he was twenty-six years old. Although it was his first church facade, it presents a number of features which have been recognized by Wittkower and others as novel, such as the loggia in the center of the upper storey, or the balustrades which appear above the side bays and are unusual for a church facade.⁸ About forty years later when Carlo Fontana was about the same age, he had to design the facade of S. Biagio in Campitelli (Fig. 4); what he came up with is almost as astounding within the tradition of Roman church facades as was Bernini's S. Bibiana. As I have demonstrated elsewhere, the originality of Fontana's design resides to a considerable extent in the ingenious combination of influences which derive from two works by Bernini fused in an unusual way to fit the requirements of a specific building situation.⁹ From S. Bibiana Fontana borrowed the scheme in general, but introduced the novel element of concavely receding side bays on the upper story, as a response to the fact that the facade, because of the narrowness of the street, mainly had to be viewed sideways. This much discussed but pertinent observation was made by Coudenhove-Erthal long ago.¹⁰ Instead of the traditional expedient--a front straight-lined also in the upper story, Fontana employed the already-mentioned eye-catching motif of the curved-in lateral compartments which have a precedent in Bernini's

unexecuted project for Doge Giovanni Cornaro's tomb of about 1655 at S. Nicola da Tolentino (Fig. 3).¹¹

Even though Borromini replaced Bernini's original chapel of the Palazzo di Propaganda Fide of 1634 by a building of his own, the earlier version's role as a source of inspiration was by no means totally extinguished. The plan of Bernini's transverse oval chapel opening at the terminal point of the long axis into two remarkably spacious chapels, recorded in two drawings by Borromini (Fig. 5),¹² was adopted by Gasparo Zuccalli (cousin and pupil of Enrico) for his church of St. Kajetan in Salzburg, constructed between 1685 and 1700 (Fig. 6).¹³

Preserved in a copy (Fig. 7),¹⁴ the facade of Bernini's lost chapel exerted a clearly detectable influence on an early project by Luigi Vanvitelli (Fig. 8). Jorg Gamrs once tentatively connected it with the church and convent of the Bambin Gesu which was later carried out differently by Ferdinando Fuga.¹⁵ Vanvitelli's drawing features the same characteristic combination of a high pedimented central portion with unusually low lateral compartments, with flanking side entrances surmounted by rather flat rectangular windows. It must be noted, however, that Vanvitelli also resorted to Bernini's facade for S. Andrea al Quirinale (Fig. 9), as is apparent in the employment of the great order of single pilasters framing the semicircular window above the entrance.¹⁶

It is not surprising that S. Andrea, as Bernini's most accomplished work in the category of church building, had an impact which extended well beyond the seventeenth century and Rome. For instance, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, a particularly direct connection is evident in the conformation of Carlo Cesare Scalatti's wooden model of S. Antonio Abate at Forli (Fig. 10).¹⁷ The exterior of Bernini's building, an oval cylinder articulated in the upper half by very powerful and decora-

scrolled buttresses for the dome, seems to be re-stated exactly in Scalatti's model. Scalatti's solution for the front recalls, though in a considerably refashioned form, the lateral walls of Bernini's facade, but Scalatti attempts to reconcile Berninian and Borrominian influences by designing it in a serpentine form.¹⁸

A good example of the long-term effect of S. Andrea al Quirinale's interior configuration is Luigi Vanvitelli's Chiesa della Missione in Naples, constructed about 1760.¹⁹ Though in plan a longitudinal oval, the opening leading into the room of the High Altar is in a very characteristic manner flanked by trabeated chapel or vestibule openings, above which coretti with particularly low rectangular apertures are located.

The best known successors of S. Andrea in Rome of the 1730's are of course Antonio Derizet's SS. Nome di Maria al Foro Trajano,²⁰ and Carlo De Dominicis's SS. Celso e Giuliano,²¹ both of which re-employ the transverse oval ground plan. However, neither of the two architects ventured to adopt the most innovative device which Bernini introduced into the tradition of oval church building, the famous piers instead of chapels at the end of the long axis of the oval. They are known as one of Bernini's most successful architectural inventions, meant to avoid distracting the spectator's attention from the major focal point, the altare maggiore.²²

The very conservative, almost retardataire composition of the facade of S. Tommaso di Villanova at Castelgandolfo turned up again soon after 1675 in Mattia de Rossi's now ruined church of San Bonaventura in Monterano, where it was enriched by twin towers with one-story belfries. A reconstruction and references to source material on which it was based can be found in my recent article in the 1978 volume of

the journal, Architectural History.²³ Of particular interest is a drawing by Bernini in a Roman private collection which can be identified as the original project for San Bonaventura.²⁴ Instead of Mattia de Rossi's vault covered by a roof, Bernini designed a dome on a high drum, congruous with the scenographic position of the church in a mountainous landscape. The most important detail of this project, the twin bell towers which measure the same height as the drum, seems to have been influential--along with other sources--in Carlo Fontana's project for a church in the Colosseum. Infrequently employed at that time, the motif soon afterwards became widespread, and its effect is most notable on Juvarra's Superga, as Nino Carboneri has recently re-emphasized in his monograph on this church.²⁵

The device of setting an ecclesiastical building within a panoramic landscape had already occupied Bernini at Ariccia, where his Assunta had to be erected on a sloping site in front of the Palazzo Chigi (Fig. 12). In resolving his extremely difficult task, however, Bernini appears to have been inspired by a painted source, Annibale Carracci's Flight Into Egypt of more than half a century earlier (Fig. 11).²⁶ In the background, on top of a mountain, one recognizes what looks like an ancient Roman palace and facing it is a circular structure which clearly emulates the Pantheon, a building also explicitly alluded to be Bernini in his Rotonda at Ariccia.²⁷ The affinity is such that one can hardly avoid the conclusion that the background scenery in Carracci's painting provided Bernini his point of departure.

To meet the requirements of the unpropitious situation at Arriccia, and to create a continuous front not interrupted by undesirable vistas,

as it were, "behind the scenes," Bernini used the device of a screening wall which surrounds the church on both sides and connects with the flanking porticoes (Fig. 13 and 15).²⁸ The Jesuit College in Loyola (Fig. 14), commissioned from Fontana about 1680²⁹ and revealing its Roman origin in many ways, points to a keen interest in this kind of scenographic expedient, even though the conditions for its employment were diverse. Because the view of the house where St. Ignatius was born--a cubic structure of medieval origin which had to be incorporated to the left of the church-- would have totally disrupted the unity of the college front, Fontana made it disappear behind the facade. The latter, where it covers the Santa Casa, consists of only a sham front (Fig. 16), a screening wall which continues the scheme of fenestration in conformity with the overall design. The audacity of this procedure is unmistakably in the manner of Bernini, who could hardly have invented a more fitting device himself, when one considers the unusual nature of Fontana's building task.

The scenic quality of Bernini's Piazza dell' Assunta was fully exploited much later by a prolific designer of stage sets in Turin, Fabrizio Galliari, follower of Filippo Juvarra. In 1775 Galliari used the motif of a centralized building surrounded by an annular passageway in his stage design for the "Piazza di Messene" for the tragic opera "Merope."³⁰

Bernini's most spectacular work, the scenographically conceived colonnades of St. Peter's was adopted as a motif--with the same proportional scheme--by Filippo Juvarra, who planned a subsidiary Piazza di S. Pietro around the southern apse of the basilica in his famous model of 1715 for

the New Sacristy of St. Peter's.³¹ Bernini's colonnades entered into the sphere of scenic design again in one of Fabrizio Galliar's stage set drawings of a "Great Piazza in Seleucia" for the opera "Demetrio" of 1762.³² In 1772 it was followed by a scenic design for "Andromeda" by his son Giovanni, which affords a view into a circular colonnaded piazza with a church front not unlike Bernini's Assunta at Ariccia as a backdrop.³³

It is not surprising that Bernini's colonnades, as a key monument of baroque classicism, soon afterwards experienced a true revival in "durable material" in the Neo-classical period in Pietro Bianchi's S. Francesco di Paola of 1816-36 (Fig. 18). Here the two wings which form a half circle are effectively appended to the colonnaded temple portico, reproducing almost to the letter that of the Roman Pantheon, which was also the model for the majestic Rotonda behind it.³⁴ But as the church also relates typologically to Bernini's Assunta in Ariccia, Pietro Bianchi's achievement might be considered an amalgamation of two Berninian prototypes. The difference in spirit, of course, is all too evident. Removing everything reminiscent of the High Baroque and aiming towards the establishment of a building complex in an "authentic" ancient Roman style, Bianchi loses contact with the vitality of the baroque tradition, and creates a monument which, like Thorvaldsen's contemporary sculpture, lacks any stimulating force whatsoever and confronts the spectator with a kind of frigidity characteristic of 19th century mausoleum architecture.

The influence of Bernini on the Accademia di San Luca in Rome, of which he was Principe in 1630,³⁵ deserves special study.³⁶ I will limit myself to a brief consideration of only one project, Pierre de Villeneuve's design for a grand staircase for an academy building, the

topic assigned to the First Class of Architecture in 1708 (Fig. 20).³⁷

The scheme of the elevation, with side walls partitioned by paired columns and the intervals of the landings engaged as indirect sources of light, is evidently derived from Bernini's Scala Regia (Fig. 19).³⁸

It appears in De Villeneuve's design in duplicated form and supplemented by a symmetrically disposed second ramp on the opposite side, which also ascends from the entrance vestibule in the center. Pierre de Villeneuve's project is perhaps one of the most informative examples among the numerous competition drawings, since it epitomizes the stimulating effect of Bernini's oeuvre on students of architecture who singled him out as a source of inspiration.

Even a short account of Bernini's influence would be fragmentary without at least passing consideration of the effect of his techniques for indirect and conducted lighting. He adopted them from Nicola Sabatini's treatise on stage design,³⁹ developing them to perfection in permanent architecture, most notably in his chapels. Carlo Fontana, for example, in his no longer extant Cappella dell' Assunta of the Collegio Clementino (1685-87), repeated Bernini's experiment with indirect lighting of the Capella Raimondi.⁴⁰ When Andrea Pozzo refurbished the interior of the Jesuit Church in Vienna (1703-05),⁴¹ he relied on the same principle, and added a luminous spatial unit behind the chapel of the High Altar for the painting of the Assunta. In his endeavor to create an effect as close as possible to that of Bernini, Pozzo went a step further by separating the room of the main altar from the nave by placing free standing columns at the entrance, sufficiently detached from the walls to allow for the same kind of optical permeability he had admired in Bernini's S. Andrea al Quirinale, which evidently served as his model.

One of Bernini's most influential secular buildings was the Palazzo Chigi in the Piazza SS. Apostoli of 1661-67.⁴² The innovative scheme of the facade, which quintessentially consists in the employment of the great order of pilasters for a central projection seven bays long, was carried to Vienna by Fontana's disciples, Comenico Martinelli and Fischer von Erlach. While both architects in certain instances adhered to their model rather strictly,⁴³ the approach of Carlo Fontana's son, Francesco, was more independent in the design of his customs house, the Dogana di Terra. The employment of the almost still intact colonnade of one of the long sides of the Hadrianic temple for the articulation of the central projection, led him--as compared to Bernini's Palazzo Chigi--to a considerable extension of the protruding portion of the facade which almost overwhelms the shrunken lateral parts (1694-1705).⁴⁴

The topic of the successors of Bernini's most important works in the category of palace architecture--the projects for the East Wing of the Louvre--is too complex to be traced within the context of this paper. It may therefore suffice to mention that its qualities were perhaps most congenially received by Bernini's Austrian follower, Fischer von Erlach, as has long since been observed by Sedlmayr and others.⁴⁵ But a certain reflection of Bernini's designs for the Royal Palace in Paris is also to be observed in Rome, specifically in Juvarra's model of 1715 for the New Sacristy of St. Peter's. For instance, while the great hall of the Sacristy, integrated into the front wing and rising much higher than the rest of the building complex, is a more or less direct regression to Bernini's first project, the inward-curving shape of the facade at least in plan suggests Bernini's second Louvre design.⁴⁶ Finally, the colonnade completes the synthesis of Berninian patterns and establishes the above-mentioned relationship with the portici of St. Peter's.

It is generally accepted that the eclipse of Bernini's career began with the decision in 1666 not to execute his final project for the Louvre, which almost coincided with the death of Alexander VII the following year. In the early 1670's Bernini again had to mourn the failure of one of his major projects when Rainaldi's more economical design for the rear front of S. Maria Maggiore was executed in 1673, in lieu of Bernini's model of 1669 which envisaged a peristyle to surround the medieval apse.⁴⁷ The project was discarded, but the idea as such was not lost. It was picked up not only by Vittone for his Concorse Clementino drawings of 1732,⁴⁸ but has survived in countless variations and many countries, even as far as the United States. One of these is on the campus of The Pennsylvania State University, where the motif has been adopted to serve as the portico of the Mineral Industries Building.⁴⁹

Although this review of Bernini's impact had to be incomplete, we can safely assume nonetheless that virtually no architectural work of the great master remained without a following.⁵⁰ Certainly it is symptomatic that this statement applies with equal validity to a building that "passed away" even sooner than its architect: the original chapel of the Palazzo di Propaganda Fide. The levels on which Bernini's influence was accepted inevitably varied considerably, and his inspirations were transformed into new accomplishments. For a merely imitative kind of adaptation, we need only remember the baldacchino in the Cathedral at Foligno. But fortunately often sophisticated modes of elaboration are more frequent. And it is in this category that the projects and buildings of Carlo Fontana, Filippo Juvarra, and in the north, Fischer von Erlach, first come to mind. The prototypes which

Bernini established continued to play their formative role as long as the norms of classically-oriented architecture remained unchallenged-- that is, to the beginning of our century.

NOTES

¹I would like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to the American Council of Learned Societies for a travel grant to Rome, and to the Institute for the Arts and Humanistic Studies, The Pennsylvania State University, for the continuous support of my research on Bernini and his followers.

²I. Lavin, Bernini and the Crossing of St. Peter's, New York, 1968, 6f.

³C. Fontana, L'Anfiteatro Flavio, The Hague, 1725, 160f, 167, 171; for details concerning the function of what Fontana called the "Altare, overo Ara doppia," see H. Hager, Carlo Fontana's Project for a Church in Honour of The 'Ecclesia Triumphans' in the Colosseum in Rome, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XXXVI, 1973, 328, n. 54.

⁴Evidently Fontana had such connotations in mind when he compared his baldacchino to the canopies used during processions to protect the Eucharist (Fontana, L'Anfiteatro Flavio, 171, n. 5).

⁵For the various planning phases and the realization of the definitive project, see bibliographical reference in note 2 and H. Thelen, Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Hochaltararchitektur von St. Peter in Rom, Berlin, 1967; Francesco Borromini. Die Handzeichnungen, I, Graz, 1967, 79-90; H. Kaufmann, Giovanni Lorenzo Bernini. Die figürlichen Kompositionen, Berlin, 1970, 85-96.

⁶O. Berendsen, "The Italian Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Catafalques," Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Fine Arts, New York University, 1961, Ann Arbor, 1961; M. Fagiolo dell'Arco and S. Carandini, L'Effimero Barocco, Strutture della festa nella Roma del '600, 2 vols., Rome, 1977-78; A. Braham and H. Hager, Carlo Fontana, The Drawings at Windsor Castle, London, 1977; H. Hager, Sebastiano Cipriani, in Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani (in course of publication),

⁷M. Michele Faloci Pulignani, Il Duomo di Foligno e l'Architettura di Piermarini, Memorie Storiche, Foligno, 1980, 66; "Il Baldacchino di S. Pietro e le sue imitazioni," L'Illustrazione Vaticana, II, no. 12, 1931, 23-26. Cfr. R. Wittkower, Art and Architecture in Italy, 1600-1750, 3rd ed., Baltimore-Harmondsworth, 1973, 116, 354, n. 58; H. Kaufmann, Giovanni Lorenzo Bernini, 86, n. 6; W. Oechslin, ed., Die Vorarlberger Barockbaumeister, Exhibition Catalogue, Einsiedeln, 1973, 238. It would seem that Bernini himself had recourse to his first monumental work when he made designs for the main altar of the church of Val-de-Grace during his sojourn in Paris of 1665 for Louis XIV, which, however, resulted in^a a considerably modified structure with eight twisted columns set on a circular plan, while Bernini had suggested the transverse oval plan. The modifications were due to the French architect in charge of the commission, Gabriel Le Duc (1663-67). See M. and M. Fagiolo dell'Arco, Bernini, Una introduzione al gran teatro del barocco, Rome, 1967, scheda 205. For the fortune of the twisted columns, see H.W. Schmidt, "Die gewunde Saule in der Architekturtheorie von 1500-1800." Diss. Ing. Karlsruhe, 1977 (Stuttgart, 1978).

⁸R. Wittkower, Art and Architecture, 115; G.C. Bauer, "Gian Lorenzo Bernini, The Development of An Architectural Iconography," Princeton University Dissertation, 1974, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1975, 11f.

⁹H. Hager, "Le Facciate dei SS. Faustino e Giovita e di S. Biagio in Campitelli (S. Rita) a Roma. A Proposito di due opere giovanili di Carlo Fontana, Commentari, XXIII, 1972, 266f.

¹⁰E. Coudenhove-Erthal, Carlo Fontana und die Architektur des römischen Spätsbarocks, Vienna, 1930, 21f; cf. H. Hager, Commentari, XXXIII, 266f.

¹¹For a discussion of this drawing, see R. Wittkower, Bernini: The Sculptor of the Roman Baroque, 2nd Ed., London, 1965, 216, no. 63; and M. and M. Fagiolo dell'Arco, Bernini, scheda 148.

¹²E Hempel, Francesco Borromini, Vienna, 1924, 158f, pls, 55f; P. Portoghesi, The Rome of Borromini, New York, London, 1968, pl. CXII; cf. diagram in M. and M. Fagiolo dell'Arco, Bernini, scheda 76.

¹³The Kajetanerkirche and the enclosing monastery were begun in 1685, but construction was interrupted in 1688 by order of the new Archbishop Johann Ernst Count Thun, although the building complex seemed almost finished. Work was resumed in 1696 and the church dedicated in 1700; see A. Eckardt, Die Baukunst in Salzburg während des XVII. Jahrhunderts, Strassburg, 1910, 87f, 90-93, 109, 135; R. A. E. Paulus, Der Baumeister Henrico Zuccalli, Strassburg, 1912, 94, 205f, n. 7; cfr. H. Keller, Salzburg, Munich, 1956, 30f 41pls. 55f. Eckhardt (Die Baukunst 93f)

pondered the reasons for Gasparo's usage of the transverse instead of the longitudinal groundplan and surmised that the architect intended to relate the structure of the church to that of the transverse rectangular monastery building. Eckhardt visualized it drowned by the dome, which, in fact, dominates the edifice in an imposing manner (see Paulus, Enrico Zuccalli, pl. 51, facade project, and Keller, Salzburg, pl. 59). Bernini's chapel was rather small, and the long axis of the oval measure only about 11 m.; 1 = 50 palmi romani, as compared to ca. 17m. of the Kajetan-church. Nonetheless the striking affinity of the ground plans presents us with the intriguing question of whether the Kajetanerkirche in Salzburg offers an idea of the interior of Bernini's lost chapel, at least in a very generic way. However, in Gasparo Zuccalli's church the dome rests on a drum, and drums are absent in Bernini's churches of a comparable type (S. Andrea al Quirinale, Assunta at Ariccia), and the interior elevation of the destroyed chapel of the Palazzo di Propaganda Fide (see below) almost certainly excludes the possibility of a drum in the present case. For an elevation of the interior of the church of St. Kajetan, see H. Tietze and F. Martin, Die kirchlichen Denkmale der Stadt Salzburg, Vienna, 1911-12, 113, pl. 144 (Oesterreichische Kunsttopographie, 9). The knowledge of the lost Bernini chapel might have been transmitted to Gasparo by Enrico Zuccalli, who was, for instance, very familiar with Bernini's first project for the Louvre and other drawings by the great master. See E. Hempel, Baroque Art and Architecture in Central Europe, Baltimore-Harmondsworth, 1965, 178; cfr. H. Lorenz, "Das 'Lustgartengebäude' Fischers von Erlach, Variationen eines architektonischen Themas," Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte, XXXII, 1979, 72.

¹⁴The drawing representing the facade of Bernini's former chapel in the Palazzo di Propaganda Fide was published by R. Pacini, "Alterazioni dei monumenti borrominiani e prospettive di restauro," Studi sul Borromini, Atti del Convegno promosso dall' Accademia Nazionale di San Luca, I. Rome, 1967, (1970), pl. 32.

¹⁵Disegni di Luigi Vanvitelli nelle Collezioni pubbliche di Napoli e di Caserta. Catalogo a cura di Jörg Garms, Naples, 1973-4, 107f, cat. 118. The presence of the coat of arms of Pope Clement XI (1700-1721) to which Garms has drawn our attention, makes the connection of this drawing with the Chiesa della Misericordia at Macerata problematical, as M. Rotili has suggested (Luigi Vanvitelli, Jr., Vita di Luigi Vanvitelli a cura di M. Rotili, Naples, 1975, 92f) since the latter church, under the age of the nobleman Gualtiero Marefoschi, was erected only between 1732 and 1742, considerably later than the pontificate of Clement XI. But also the dating of the drawing and its assignment to the church and convent of the Bambin Gesù leaves certain problems open. Dr. Garms (personal communication) therefore no longer insists on this identification and will explain the change of his opinion in his forthcoming monograph on this church.

¹⁶These features constitute a considerable improvement over the still very rigid scheme of Bernini's early work, which had even persisted into the early planning phases of his church on the Quirinal (i.e. the plan of the chirografo of Alexander VII of October 26th, 1658; see fig. in T. K. Kitao, "Bernini's church Facades: Method of Design and Contrapposti," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, XXIV, 1965, pl. 6 on p. 267). Incidentally, Kitao's reconstruction of the facade of S. Andrea

(pl. 22 on p. 276) is corroborated in the elevation drawing of the chapel's exterior in the Palazzo di Propaganda Fide only insofar as the inferior story, framed by a double order of pilasters, is concerned. Instead of an attic, which Kitao (p. 276) derived from S. Tommaso di Villanova at Castelgandolfo, it is more likely to imagine Bernini's early facade scheme for S. Andrea as a single story front in the fashion of his chapel dei Re Magi, which in typological and formal respects preceded the planning for S. Andrea al Quirinale.

¹⁷ A. M. Matteucci and D. Lenzi, Cosimo Morelli e L' Architettura delle Legazioni Pontificie, Bologna, 1977, 96 pl. 91, 98 n. 9 with further bibliographical references. The church of S. Antonio Abbate at Forlì was constructed with laterations of Scalatti's project by Giuseppe Merenda, Dizionario Enciclopedico di Architettura e Urbanistica, diretto da P. Portoghesi, IV, Rome, 1964, 17f; Bildungsgut und Antikenrezeption des fruhen Settecento in Rom. Studien zum römischen Aufenthalt Bernardo Antonio Vittones, Zürich, 1972, 192 n. 34. It should be noted that Giuseppe Merenda's project for the front of the Chiesa del Suffragio in Forlì (1723-48) has also been connected with Bernini's S. Andrea al Quirinale (A.M. Matteucci and D. Lenzi, Cosimo Morelli, 98, pl. 92), a comparison which is obviously valid for the design of the central part. However, the tempietto is absent, and the main portion of the facade is conjoined with rather narrow and low side bays which in the upper part lean towards the center with the habitual curvilinear buttressing walls. As such elements are also found in Bernini's front of S. Maria di Galloro near Ariccia of 1661-62 (see fig. in Fagiolo dell'Arco, Bernini, scheda 189), Merenda's project must also be seen, and perhaps primarily, in its relationship to Bernini's facade of the Sanctu-

ary at Galloro. Long before, about 1675, Carlo Fontana had already had recourse to this probably least original work by Bernini in his facade for the Collegiate Church of Lanuvio near Genzano (A. Braham and H. Hager, Carlo Fontana, 10).

¹⁸ Furthermore, the portions which reach towards the sides are in a much stricter sense part of the facade itself: they are the front walls of the rectangular structure which encases the inferior part of the church, quite unlike Bernini's screening walls of S. Andrea al Quirinale which are only attached to the facade proper. Filippo Juvarra, in a drawing dated 1706 (Fig. in L. Rovere, V. Viale, A.E. Brinckmann, Filippo Juvarra, 1937, pl. 64) employed Bernini's device again, which in the case of S. Andrea al Quirinale had been inspired by a stage design by G. F. Grimaldi of 1656 for the "Trionfo della Pietà," performed in the theatre of the Palazzo Barberini (see H. Hager, "Puntualizzazioni su disegni scenici teatrali e l' architettura scenografica del period barocco a Roma," Bollettino del Centro Internaionale di Studi di Architettura Andrea Palladio, XVII, 1975, 121, pls. 40,43). The most inspiring feature of the facade is without doubt the projecting tempietto. It had not only been taken over by Filippo Juvarra in one of his projects for S. Giovanni in Laterano, but had a successor as late as the 1760's in Clemente Orlandi's front of S. Paolo Eremita in Via de' Pretis. Because of the forward movement conceived as a contrast to the inward curve of the front wall, the convexity of the portico is a determining factor for the effect of this facade. In fact it has to be seen as a conscious attempt by Orlandi (who was also incited by the concave front of Giovanni Battista Nolli's

S. Dorotea in Trastevere which was then new: 1751-56) to enliven the scheme of Bernini's prospect of S. Andrea al Quirinale, by means of contrasting motifs, even though the result of his endeavours is somewhat moderate (Fagiolo dell'Arco, Bernini, 262 n. 12; H. Hager, "Il Modello di Ludovico Rusconi Sassi del Concorso per la Facciata di S. Giovanni in Laterano (1732) ed i Prospetti a Convessità centrale durante la prima metà del Settecento in Roma," Commentari, XXII, 1971, 57).

¹⁹The precise date when the church, dedicated to S. Vincenzo de Paoli, was begun is unknown. Its completion was made possible through a legacy made in 1761 by the Contessa di S. Elia (see Garms, Luigi Vanvitelli, 141, cat. 162; M. Rotili, Vita di Luigi Vanvitelli, 231). The affinity with S. Andrea al Quirinale is also evident in the decoration of the interior dome (pl. 228 in Rotili, Vita di Luigi Vanvitelli). Among the earliest and most informative examples which attest to the stimulating quality of the interior of Bernini's church on the Quirinal, are Enrico Zuccalli's projects of ca. 1674 for Altötting, which can almost be considered as precise copies (for the planning and building history, see Paulus, Enrico Zuccalli, 13-37; Hempel, Baroque Art and Architecture, 77).

At the beginning of the eighteenth century Giovanni Battista Contini had already followed Bernini in the choice of the transverse elliptical ground plan for his church at Macerata (1705-32), even though the concept of the main space, surrounded by arched chapels of equal height, is rather reminiscent of Bernini's Assunta at Ariccia, from where the twin bell towers of the unfinished facade had been carried over. For the very eventful building history, see L. Paci, Storia di Macerata a cura di

Aldo Arasi, Dante Cecchi, Liberio Paci, III, Macerata, 1973, 78-80;
 F.P. Fiore, "Francesco e Giovanni Battista Contini," Il Seicento,
Documenti e Ricerche di Storia dell'Arte, 1-2, 1976, 199.

²⁰In 1733 Cardinal Ludovico Pico had ruled that the outsider, Antonio Derizet, should be the architect of the new church, who, as has been established by A. Martini and M. L. Casanova (Le Chiese di Roma Illustrate, 70, Rome, 1962, 22-34, 61f) was imposed on the Arciconfraternita del SS. Nome di Maria, which had initiated a competition between Filippo Barrigioni, Francesco and Mauro Fontana (the foundation stone was laid in 1736 and the church was ready for the ceremony of dedication in 1741).

²¹For this church, which was constructed between 1733-1735, see G. Segui, C. Thoenes and L. Mortari, SS. Celso e Giuliano, Collegiata e Cappella Papale, Le Chiese di Roma Illustrate, 88, 1966 (for its planimetric relationship with S. Andrea al Quirinale, see 63f). ✕

Concerning the more complex configuration of Fuga's church of S. Maria dell'Orazione e Morte, for which the longitudinal oval form is essential, though not solely constituent, see the detailed analysis in my monograph on this church (Le Chiese di Roma Illustrate, 78, Rome, 1964).

²²Cfr. R. Wittkower, Art and Architecture in Italy, 119f.

²³H. Hager, "Bernini, Mattia de Rossi and the Church of San Bonaventura at Monterano," Architectural History, Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain, 21, 1978, 68f.

²⁴H. Hager, Architectural History, 70f.

²⁵N. Carboneri, La Reale Chiesa di Superga di Filippo Juvarra, Turin, 1979, 25, n. 7.

²⁶For the dating (ca. 1604) and a full discussion of Annibale Caracci's Flight into Egypt, which belongs to a cycle of six lunette paintings exe-

cuted for the Palazzo Aldobrandini, see D. Posner, Annibale Caracci, A Study in the Reform of Italian Painting, 2 vols., London, 1971, I, 121, II, 67; R. Wittkower, Art and Architecture in Italy, 40, 339f, n. 29. About Annibale Carracci's importance for Bernini's early development, see H. Brauer and R. Wittkower, Die Zeichnungen des GianLorenzo Bernini, Berlin, 1931, 2nd Ed., New York, 1969, 11, 14, 18; H. Hibbard, Bernini, 2nd Ed., Baltimore, 1966, 62f.

²⁷H. Brauer and R. Wittkower, Die Zeichnungen, 122f; R. Wittkower Art and Architecture, 118; H. Hibbard, Bernini 149.

²⁸The effect of the overall arrangement of the church front and its ancillary structures, exerted a strong influence on a project for a palace by Fischer von Erlach. And even the sketchy style of the drawing resembles that of Bernini rather closely. But Fischer was only interested in the scheme in general, and as his ground plan sketch indicates, did not intend to use the motif of the screening wall (H. Sedlmayr, Johann Bernard Fischer von Erlach, 2nd Ed., Vienna, 1973, 56, pl. 18.) Fontana, on the contrary (see below), was particularly attracted by this device, which Bernini had already used to greatest advantage for S. Andrea al Quirinale, though in a different situation.

²⁹For the planning and building history see R. M. de Hornedo, "La Basilica de Loyola," Miscelanea Comillas, XXV, 1956, 383-430; H. Hager, "Carlo Fontana and the Jesuit Sanctuary at Loyola," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XXXVII, 1974, 280-289.

³⁰Cf. M. V. Ferrero, La Scenografia del'700 e i Fratelli Galliari, Turin, 1963, 49, pl. 81; cfr. H. Hager, Bollettino, 1975, 123.

³¹Cfr. H. Hager, Filippo Juvarra ed il Concorso di Modelli del 1715 bandito da Clemente XI per la Nuova Sacrestia di S. Pietro, Quaderni di Commentari, 2, Rome, 1970. 21-24.

³²Cf. M.V. Ferrero, La Scenografia del '700, 41, pl. 56; H. Hager, Bollettino, 1975, 123. Fabrizio Galliari replaced the motif of the lateral fountains with an obelisk because he obviously deemed it more suitable for the illusion of a city in Asia Minor.

³³Cf. M.V. Ferrero, La Scenografia del '700, 59, pl. on p. 256.

³⁴G. Nobile, Descrizione della città di Napoli e delle sue vicinanze, Naples, 1863, I. 128f; C.G. Gattini, La Chiesa di S. Francesco di Paola in Napoli ed alcune lettere di artisti che vi lavorarono, Naples, 1907; P. Klopfer, Von Palladio bis Schinkel, Esslingen, 1911, 63f. For a summary of the events of the planning history and analytic description see C. Thoenes and T. Lorenz, Neapel und Umgebung, Stuttgart, 1971, 110f.

But the porticos of St. Peter's were also adopted as a model for secular purposes, and even shortly before Pietro Bianchi: the Roman architect Giuseppe Barberi also tried about 1790 to avail himself of Bernini's colonnades, when almost in the same vein as Bianchi--he attached a semicircular colonnade to a centralized building in the style of a high rising tower which was supposed to serve as a library (R. Berliner, "Zeichnungen des römischen Arthitekten Giuseppe Barberi," München Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst, XVII, 1966, 212). Though in the case of Barberi's project the resulting effect is still very dynamic, certain shortcomings in the concept are nevertheless evident: there is, for instance, no balance between the vertical and horizontal dimensions, and because of the overpowering building in the center, the colonnades shrink in proportion to almost aesthetically

meaningless covered passageways.

The point of total secularization is reached in the so called "Sferisterio" which Ireneo Aleandri erected between 1822-29 at Macerata as a place for games and open-air theatrical performances (see L. Paci, Storia di Macerata). Nevertheless it deserves mentioning as an example which testifies to the longstanding influence of Bernini's colonnades, even though it is, on the other hand, a reminder of the sad fact that even impulses which emanate from monument of the highest order are bound to fade away eventually and at times in a rather trivial fashion.

³⁵"Principi e Presidenti della Accademia di S. Luca," Annuario della Accademia Nazionale di San Luca, Roma, 1975, 108.

³⁶The complete title of the exhibit, open to the public at Penn State until November 22, 1981, is "Architectural Fantasy and Reality-- Drawings of the Architectural Competitions of the Accademia di San Luca in Rome, ca. 1700-1750." Many references to his work, which can be found in the competition drawings of the Concorsi Clementini, will be recorded in the catalogue of the exhibition "Architectural Fantasy and Reality," which is scheduled to open on September 27, 1981, in the Museum of Art of The Pennsylvania State University.

³⁷For Pierre de Villeneuve's project see P. Marconi, A. Cipriani, E. Valeriani, I Disegni di Architettura dell' Archivio Storico dell' Accademia Nazionale di San Luca, Rome, 1974, I. nos. 189-194.

³⁸Carlo Fontana, Il Tempio Vaticano e sua Origine, Rome, 1694, 233f, describes the difficulties of the construction of the Scala Regia in

detail, and mentions with great respect for Bernini's work the "abbondanza di lume ottenuto artificialmente dall Volta del secondo Tomo, a segno che rendesi la medesima luminosissima" Cf. H. Brauer and R. Wittkower, Die Zeichnungen, 93f; M. and M. Fagiolo dell' Arco, Bernini, 234, pl. 41, scheda, 197. ✕

Another prize-winning student of the Accademia di San Luca, Bernardo Antonio Vittone, was also drawn to Bernini's Scala Regia during his Roman sojourn (1731-33) and published its scheme in an engraving in his Istruzioni diverse concernente l'officio dell' Architetto Civile, Lugano, 1766, pl. XX. See W. Oechslin, Bildungsgut und Antikenrezeption, 144.

³⁹Nicola Sabatini, Pratica di Fabbricar Scene e Macchine ne Teatri, 2nd Ed., Ravenna, 1638, 20f.

⁴⁰H. Hager, "Un Riesame di Tre Cappelle di Carlo Fontana a Roma," Commentari, XXVII, 1976, 262. Giovanni Battista Contini's perfectly analogous employment of the same device can be observed in the Cappella Elci at S. Sabina (1671-1688) and in the chapel dedicated to S. Pietro di Alcantara at S. Maria in Aracoeli (1682-84). To these can be added as a further example the chapel of the High Altar of the church of S. Maria del Miracolo at Bolsena by Fontana's disciple Tommaso Mattei, for which Francesco Trevisani furnished the altar painting representing the "Mass of Bolsena." The situation of the chapel is reminiscent of Bernini's Cappella della Beata Ludovice Albertoni at San Francesco a Ripa in Rome (1671-74; see R. Wittkower, Bernini, 257f. no. 6). The construction of the church of S. Maria del Miracolo, which was supported by Innocent XII with a donation of Sc. 2,000, was begun in 1693 and terminated in raw stage by 1669. See A. Adami, Della Storia di Volseno Metropoli della Toscana, Rome, 1734, II, 487f; C. Ricci, S. Cristina e il Lago di Bolsena, Milan, 1928, 188. The altarpiece was placed in position in 1704 (F.R. DiFederico, Francesco Trevisani, Eighteenth Century Painter in Rome, A Catalogue Raisonné, Washington D.C., 1977, 16, 46f, no.31, pl. 25).

⁴¹N. Carboneri, Andrea Pozzo Architetto (1642-1709), Trento, 1961, 62f; B. Kerber, Andrea Pozzo, Berlin--New York, 1971, 84f.

⁴²For the building history of the Palazzo Chigi, where Carlo Fontana assisted Bernini in the elaboration of the formal designs, etc., see E. Coudenhove-Erthal, Carlo Fontana, 24f; H. Brauer and R. Wittkower, Die Zeichnungen, 127f; H. Hibbard, Carlo Maderno and Roman Architecture 1580-1630, University Park, Pennsylvania, and London, 1971, 213f.

⁴³Domenico Martinelli in the City Palace of Prince Liechtenstein (1692-1705) and Fischer von Erlach in the Palais Battyany Schonborn (1699-1717). Cf. B. Grimschitz, Wiener Barockpalaste, Vienna, 1947, 9f, 18f (pls. 13, 28); H. Sedlmayr, Fischer von Erlach, 64, 101f.

⁴⁴A. Braham and H. Hager, Carlo Fontana, 16, 114. The Dogana di Terra would have been even more easily recognizable as a derivative of the Palazzo Chigi, if the originally envisaged balustrade with statues, visible on the medal of 1696, had been executed, but it was replaced by an attic during construction. See E. Coudenhove-Erthal, Carlo Fontana, 69f.

⁴⁵H. Sedlmayr, Fischer von Erlach, 22, 43, 55f, 76, 86, 91, 115, 117, 128; G. Kunoth, Die Historische Architektur Fischers von Erlach, Dusseldorf, 1956, 153; H. Aurenhammer, Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, 1656-1723, Exhibition Catalogue, Vienna--Munich, 1956, 102f cat. 28; J.B. Fischer von Erlach, London, 1973, 98. H. Lorenz, Wiener Jahrbuch fur Kunstgeschichte, 63f. As for the model of Bernini's first

Louvre project, Antoine Le Pautre's engraved ideal plan for a castle (published in 1652), see R. W. Berger, "Antoine Le Pautre and the Motif of the Drum-without-dome," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, XXV, 1966, 170f.

⁴⁶H. Hager, Filippo Juvarra, 24.

⁴⁷Cf. H. Brauer and R. Wittkower, Die Zeichnungen, 163f; M. and M. Fagiolo dell Arco, Bernini, scheda 217.

⁴⁸W. Oechslin, Bildungsgut und Antikenrezeption, 144.

⁴⁹The construction of the building, which was erected in the so-called "Georgian style," took place between 1929 and 1931. Bernini might have been touched by this proof of the vitality of this architectural invention, which reached into reas so remote from Rome and have lived for so long beyond his own time. But whether or not he would have approved of this kind of adaptation is best left open to speculation.

⁵⁰This is even true for Bernini's last work of architecture, which is very small in scale: the tabernacle of the Holy Sacrament in S. Peter's (1673-74), where again the motif of the peristyle is used, now surrounding a completely cylindrical structure in the most traditional way. However, it is different from all its prototypes, such as Bramante's tempietto in S. Pietro in Montorio, and the form of the drum is more in the fashion of Montano's tempietti, entirely composed of concave compartments. Carlo Fontana must have recognized immediately the potential of this unusual composition, even before the tabernacle was completed, because it became one of the major sources for his dome of the Cathedral in Montefiascone (1670-74) where Fontana cut out concave niches in the already-existing drum--as he later reported--to reduce the exaggerated

weight and improve the conditions for lighting the interior. Cf.
P.Portoghesi, Roma Barocca, The History of an Architectonic Culture,
Cambridge, Mass., 1970, 459; H. Hager, "Die Kuppel des Domes in Monte-
fiascone. Zu einem borrominesken Experiment von Carlo Fontana,
Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte, 15, 1975, 147.

Allan Braham

BERNINI AND FRENCH ARCHITECTURE

It was less in architecture than in sculpture and painting that Bernini's supremacy manifested itself throughout Europe in the late 17th century.¹ His approach to architecture, as is well known, was not that of a professional, and though in Italy architecture had long been a legitimate field for the free expression of personal genius, elsewhere in Europe, and especially in France, much closer adherence to a narrow interpretation of antique precedent, itself related to a strict observance of social priorities (covered by the term convenance), was expected of the architect. Bernini's building and architectural projects evolved in much the same manner that his sculpture did, and though far simpler in articulation, they embody the same revolutionary principles of style. Nonetheless, they are relatively few in number, covering only a limited range of building types and usually designed to provide a forum for sculpture and sculptural decoration as an enhancement of the architecture's relative plainness.

Bernini himself was apprehensive about French reaction to his architecture, and remarked of his design for the Louvre that 'the architects of France would always criticize all that he did, and would be concerned to ensure that the project of an Italian was not carried out.'² His first scheme for the Louvre, with its central oval projection derived from the plan of the east wing initiated by Le Vau, was not acceptable in Paris, but the idiom of Bernini's architecture, reflecting the artist's awareness of the honor due

to the Crown of France, clearly gratified the young Louis XIV and Colbert. They arranged his visit to France in 1665 and encouraged the drafting of his third project for the Louvre (Figure 1).

Construction based upon this design (also engraved and represented in a model) was initiated, but little more than a course of masonry was laid--a wall recently uncovered in excavations at the east of the Louvre and subsequently demolished.³ The cost of the project and Bernini's reluctance to consider in exhaustive detail the functional demands of the palace, itself symptomatic of a far broader approach to design, puzzled and antagonized the French, and the King's interest in the Louvre at the same time dwindled as the prospect of Versailles grew in attractiveness.

The principle of centralization which Bernini so ingeniously manipulated in the east-front elevation by enclosing wall planes of varied widths with columns and pilasters, was one which the French had recently learned to contrive through accumulations of pavilions of differing value. Only in the recessed bays of Bernini's facade, reflecting the presence of courtyards behind, is there a brief acknowledgement of this important French principle of design. The rocky basement of the Louvre palace, while as in Bernini's scheme for the Palazzo di Montecitorio, recalls the primitive origins of the French moated castle, and, like the giant statues guarding the doorway, contributes to the notionally defensive character of the palace. Bernini expressed his pleasure when the King chose this variant of the Plinth design, though daunted by the work which sculpting the rocks entailed; he proceeded, though arguably with much less subtlety, to

use the pedestal of his bust of Louis XIV to embody the concetto of the sculpture, by suggesting the King's dominance of the world.⁴

During his visit to Paris Bernini's advice was sought on several other French buildings, and his simplified approach to the intricacies of planning emerged clearly in his proposals for the Hotel de Lionne, a recent building by Le Vau. A sketch at Stockholm drawn in chalk on an engraved plan of the hotel by Marot (Fig. 2)⁵ appears to show Bernini rapidly surveying the problem of creating a vestibule on the central axis of the court, adjacent to the staircase, as recorded in Chantelou's journal, and tackling the consequent difficulty of aligning the sequence of rooms on the garden side of the building.⁶

It was to be many years before regularity in planning and simplification in massing was admitted as a priority in French architecture, and if the King was not yet ready to dominate the world, his supremacy within his own kingdom was sufficient to ensure that no subject of his built on the scale and pattern suggested by Bernini for the Louvre. Though possible echoes of Bernini's project occur in French buildings of the late 17th century, in the simplified character of the pavilions at Marly, for example, or in the use of balustrades and statues to create a unified sky line, even very discordantly—at Versailles, court architects were able to approach the scale of Bernini's designs only in their work for foreign clients, as in de Cotte's schemes for Strasbourg and Madrid. The principle of using columns and pilasters for emphasis irrespective of the projection which they were to define appears to emerge only in the mid-18th century, in Gabriel's early designs for Versailles (Fig. 3). In the grand project of 1759 a giant order of Corinthian columns and

pilasters articulates the Court Royale and, as is evident from Gabriel's plans, the punctuation of the facade resides largely in the order rather than the wall surface.⁷

In addition to the artistic control exerted in France through the Academies and through the respect instinctively shown for the rules of convenance, which affected above all any costly building project, many French architects appear to have remained in relative ignorance of Bernini's architecture. Though painters and sculptors had been sent to Rome to complete their education since shortly after the foundation of the Academie Royale, they were not joined in Rome by promising French architects until after 1720. Similarly, among the many foreign, especially German, clients and pupils of Bernini's main architectural heir, Carlo Fontana, only one Frenchman is recorded, Cardinal de Forbin Janson, who commissioned from Fontana a modest building for France that was probably never executed.⁸

Compared with the enthusiasm shown for Bernini by French architects of the later 18th century, and the influence he was ~~mean~~while to exert on the course of painting and sculpture,⁹ the lack of direct response to his architecture before about 1750 is all the more striking. His chief apologist in late 17th century France was apparently the little-known Abbe de La Chambre,¹⁰ and the only building of the 'Rococo' period that clearly recalls a design of Bernini's is the portico of the chapel of the Irlandais (Fig. 4), (1734) and a transcription by the equally little-known Pierre Boscry of the portico of S. Andrea al Quirinale.¹¹ Though architecture in the early 18th century France, matching exuberance of decoration with feats of ingenious interior planning was not discordant

with its sister arts, the special influence of Bernini's architecture, as distinct from his general impact on the arts, is rarely apparent.

It might be expected that an architect like Boffrand, for example, whose elaborate architectural compositions frequently incorporate curved wall surfaces, would reveal some knowledge of Bernini's designs, although Bernini certainly held no monopoly on curves as such, nor were they indispensable in his buildings. Boffrand's chateau designs, however, were clearly modelled on the court architecture of Louis XIV, and only in some of his more modest buildings may an unexpected Roman inflection appear (Fig. 5). The Hotel Amelot de Gournay, the most ingenious of Boffrand's town houses, is centered upon a single 'pavilion' with a convex facade rising above the roofs of the flanking service buildings at the end of its oval courtyard. Although the order rises directly from the court, the composition distantly echoes the broken curves of Bernini's second Louvre project and the massing of the Palazzo Chigi-Odescalchi. Yet exteriors as inventive as Boffrand's Hotel Amelot were a rare phenomenon in early 18th-century Paris, where lower and more regular buildings had become fashionable, distinguished by liveliness in internal planning and in decoration.

It was paradoxically, with the decline of the 'Rococo' style, to which Bernini had so greatly contributed, that his architecture appears to have been fully appreciated in France. At a time when the French classical tradition was in decline and the principles of contrast and centralization on which Bernini's own work had been based were losing importance, some of the more personal characteristics of Bernini's archi-

ecture found an appreciative audience in France, and contributed significantly to the expressive character of architecture in the later 18th century.

One of the distinguishing features of Bernini's experimental approach to architecture which particularly recommended his work in mid-18th century France was his affection for free-standing columns and straight lintels, employed most conspicuously in the Piazza of St. Peter's, and also shown as part of a church interior in the perspectives behind the devotional portraits in the Cornaro chapel. The idea of St. Peter's itself being built in the style of Bernini's Piazza, and thus approximating a classical temple, was the dream of the Abbe de Cordemoy at the beginning of the 18th century. Later taken up by the Abbe Laugier with reference to the origins of architecture, deriving from Laugier's notion of the primitive hut, Soufflot embodied this proposition in his designs of 1757 for Ste-Genevieve.¹² St. Peter's itself had been intensively studied by Soufflot as a young architect in Rome, and many French architects who followed him to Rome felt the church's fascination. Soufflot's friend, Dumont even borrowed the plan of the church for a bizarre garden design (Fig. 6) with a stepped pedestal replacing the baldacchino, and fountains at the end of the choir and transepts.

If Soufflot's church was indirectly indebted to Bernini for the presence of its free-standing columns, much of the decoration of the church in the early projects was still within the tradition Bernini imposed on ecclesiastical decoration (Fig. 7). A drawing of the later

1750s for a transept shows a tableau, presumably representing a vision of St. Genevieve, which is a more patent derivation from Bernini than many such tableaux of the earlier 18th century, even though it is placed between two severely rectilinear wall monuments.¹³ With the later proposal to incorporate a reliquary of St. Genevieve in the center of the crossing (Fig. 8), framed by a burst of heavenly rays on the east wall of the church, Bernini's transformation of the interior of St. Peter's would finally have found a worthy rival in France.

Critics of Soufflot's generation were unrelenting in their hostility to Borromini and Guarini, but Bernini's buildings were exempted from the general condemnation of 17th-century Italian architecture; they even approached the works of Palladio in popularity. In Cochin's account of the works of art that he had seen in Italy when travelling with Soufflot and the Marquis de Marigny in 1750, the church at Ariccia, for example, was singled out for praise.¹⁴ The impact of this church was most apparent in French architecture in the projects of Jean-Laurent Legeay, who influenced the two great architectural draftsmen of the late 18th century in France, de Wailly and Boullée. Legeay's designs for the cathedral of St. Hedwig in Berlin obviously recall Ariccia, and in his late design of 1766 for a church for Paris dedicated to the Trinity (Fig. 9), though based in plan on Borromini's S. Ivo, the same derivation is indirectly apparent, especially in the design of the portico and its relation to the circular body of the church.¹⁵

De Wailly, Legeay's protegee, was the French architect most open to the full impact of Bernini's work, and as a pensionnaire at the French Academy in Rome he recorded in his virtuoso drawings many of Bernini's

achievements, including the Cathedra of St. Peter (Fig. 10). The memory of Bernini's masterpiece remained with him in the 1780s when he created the beautiful pulpit in St. Sulpice.¹⁶ In a series of drawings (Fig. 11) Bernini's Cathedra was gradually transformed and simplified, and in the final design (Fig. 12) little more than the idea of the suspension of the pulpit over a void is retained, with statues on the flanking piers. Without the survival of de Wally's drawings it would be unclear how far a work of Bernini had contributed to the expressive character of the design, a modest contribution to the architecture parlante of the period.

In addition to its significance for ecclesiastical architecture, the massive Piazza of St. Peter's, became equally relevant for secular architecture in France. Academic projects of the mid-century, including de Wally's Prix de Rome drawing of 1752 and the projects that his colleague Marie-Joseph Peyre designed in Rome, follow the Piazza in plan and in the use of free-standing columns, though neither de Wally nor Peyre was immediately to receive a commission that permitted the full development of these early fantasies. The same was not true of Victor Louis, who sketched Bernini's Piazza when he too was a pensionnaire in Rome (Fig. 13). Shortly thereafter, Louis was involved in the re-designing of the palace of Warsaw for King Stanislas Poniatowski, and he proposed a forecourt for the castle that in plan derives unmistakably from Bernini's Piazza (Fig. 14).¹⁷

In France no comparable projects for a royal palace were produced until the series of 'grand projects' of the 1780s for Versailles. The

chateau itself in these very late schemes, most of which are known only in plan, has inevitably the simplified and cubic appearance of Bernini's final Louvre project, a 'Roman' character that refers beyond the Renaissance to the architecture of classical Rome, but it is to Bernini that several of the projects for the forecourt refer, especially those of Antoine-Francois Peyre and Pierre-Adrien Paris, the architect of the Menus-Plaisirs du Roi (Fig. 15).¹⁸ In the plan of Paris a huge kidney-shaped development is proposed, largely dispersing the concentration of Bernini's Piazza, with fountains on the axes of the Avenues de Sceau and de St. Cloud flanked by semi-circular stables with facades of free-standing columns.

Like so many French architectural designs of the late 18th, century Paris project for Versailles is largely 'visionary' in character, drafted with little hope of eventual execution and all the more startling in design. There was, however, one imaginative element that Bernini, as a sculptor, had introduced into architecture which had a practical relevance to some of the most famous monuments of late 18th century in France. This was the use of naturalistic rocks in conjunction with architecture, an idea taken up most notably by Ledoux and others of his generation; for them a much closer relationship between a building and its setting was of supreme importance.

The use of sculpted rocks became widespread in the many so-called 'English' parks of late 18th-century France, and this taste was also expressed in sculpture, notably in Falconet's equestrian statue of Peter the Great which stands upon a block of granite embedded in the ground. Even a grandiose variant of Bernini's Four Rivers fountain,

of which de Wailly had made drawings, was projected for a site near the Louvre in 1777 as a monument to the beneficence of the young Louis XVI (Fig. 16). This is a little-known design by the Aube de Lubersac, recorded in an engraving which shows in the background Le Vau's College-des-Quatre-Nations and the newly completed Hotel des Monnaies by Antoine.

The expressive possibilities of juxtaposing rocks and architecture as developed in Bernini's final Louvre design were explored most evocatively in the later 18th century by Ledoux (Fig. 17). Where the context was appropriate, as in the entrance to his salt-works at Arc and Senans, the rustication seems hewn from the living rock rather than merely founded upon a base of stone. In later buildings by Ledoux the use of rock became more extensive and was introduced with a logic and consistency akin to that of Bernini. The principal salon of the house of Mme de Thelusson was perched upon a cliff overlooking a sunken garden at the front of the house, and yet more radical are the unexecuted designs for the Chateau of Eguiere (Fig. 18).¹⁹ This was to be a villa of obvious Palladian derivation, lying over a small river with arches of rock supporting two of the sides of the building. Like the pulpit of St. Sulpice, though in a quite different context, the expressive character of the design resides in the principle of unseen suspension, a building over a void supported on a cavern of natural rock.

NOTES

¹On the general theme of Bernini's influence on French architecture see Daniel Rabreau and Michel Gallet, "La Chaire de Saint-Sulpice. Sa création par Charles de Wailly et l'exemple du Bernin en France à la fin de l'Ancien Régime," Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France, 1971, 115 ff, especially part III, with further bibliography.

²Quoted by Ludovic Lalanne, "Journal du voyage du Cavalier Bernin en France," Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 1877, XV, 183.

³For Bernini's foundations see Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, Les fouilles du Louvre et les projets de Le Vau, La Vie Urbaine, 1964, 4, 241 ff, with reference to earlier literature on Bernini's Louvre projects.

⁴Rudolph Wittkower, Gian Lorenzo Bernini, 1966; 16, 246-247.

⁵National Museum, Stockholm, THC.6.288.

⁶See Chantelou's Journal, entry for 20 August 1665.

⁷This aspect of Gabriel's projects is fully analyzed, in relation to Blondel's criticism of Bernini's architecture, by Christopher Tadgell, Ange-Jacques Gabriel, 1978, 56-58.

⁸Allan Braham and Hellmut Hager, Carlo Fontana, The Drawings at Windsor Castle, 1977, 105-6.

⁹On the problems of distinguishing the influence of Bernini on painting and sculpture of this period, see the related paper in this

series by Cecil Gould.

¹⁰J. Vanusem, "Quelques témoignages français sur le Bernin et son art--l'abbé de La Chambre" in Actes des journées nationales de l'étude du Baroque à Montauban (1963), Toulouse, 1965, noted by Rabreau and Gallet, 127.

¹¹See E. Ybl, "Une chapelle berninesque a Paris," in Acta Historiae Artium, IV, 1956, 1-2; 143-44; and on Boscry see Michel Gallet, Paris Domestic Architecture of the 18th century, 1972; 145.

¹²On this aspect of Soufflot's church and the related ideas of Cordemoy and Laugier, see especially Robin Middleton, "The Abbé de Cordemoy and the Graeco-Gothic Ideal: a Prelude to Romantic Classicism," The Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 1962, 3-4; 278 ff.

¹³Allan Braham, "Drawings for Soufflot's Sainte-Geneviève," The Burlington Magazine, 1971, pp 582 ff.

¹⁴Charles-Nicolas Cochin, Voyage d'Italie, 1758.

¹⁵For the projects of Legeay, see Jean-Marie Pérouse de Montclos, Etienne-Louis Boullée, 1969, 39-46.

¹⁶Rabreau and Gallet, parts I and II.

¹⁷F.G. Pariset and S. Lorentz in Victor Louis et Varsovie, Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris, 1958.

¹⁸Pérouse de Montclos, op. cit., 143-46; Peyre's project is illustrated by Louis Hautecour, Histoire de l'architecture classique en France, V, 1953; 177.

¹⁹The project for the Château of Eguière, which Ledoux may have altered for publication in his Architecture (1804), is possibly of the 1780s, when Ledoux was at Aix-en-Provence. The relation between his work and Bernini's appears not to have been fully explored in the Ledoux literature.

BERNINI'S INFLUENCE ON FRENCH SCULPTURE AND PAINTING

Bernini's visit to Paris in the summer of 1665 was due in part to what would now be called "political" factors, and it was also the culmination of years of sporadic communication between Bernini and France. To the French, it was unlikely that the results of the journey justified the colossal expense and effort which had gone in to getting him to Paris and maintaining him there in princely fashion.

Though French sculptors who subsequently executed busts of Louis XIV and other male notables could not overlook Bernini's own bust of the King, or remain entirely unaffected by it, and though, as Rudolph Wittkower pointed out, his much maligned equestrian statue even exerted some influence on Le Brun,¹ Bernini's impact on the figurative arts in France remained very limited for nearly forty years after the visit. Bernini executed no paintings in France, but he did leave behind a number of finished drawings which he had given away as presents. I have yet to find evidence that French artists did painting from them.

When Bernini finally exercised a decisive influence on the figurative arts in France, it came from a direction independent of his French visit. At intervals during the first half of the 18th century certain French sculptors who had done a stint at the French academy in Rome showed themselves more drawn to the works of Bernini than to the Antique, while during the same period certain painters drew inspiration for their pictures from sculpture by him.

In principle this is not surprising. Part of the quid pro quo for the substantial pension which Bernini drew from the French crown after he returned from Paris was that he keep an eye on the new French academy in

Rome and exercise some guidance. We know that he did this during the last fifteen years of his life, and it would therefore be natural if the French students responded. What seems less natural is that they should have waited for ~~many~~ years before doing so, and should then have produced their most Berninⁱesque works long after their return to France.

One probable reason for this state of affairs was the virtual dictatorship over the figurative arts exercised by Charles Le Brun. Though Bernini's recorded remarks on the value of Antique art in the training of young artists were in line with orthodox academic dogma in the 17th century, most of his own work was not. And though most critics have detected a swing towards a kind of Baroque in the development of Le Brun's work at Versailles, his sympathies with Italian art do not seem to have extended much later than Annibale Carracci, and certainly not as far as Bernini. Nothing, it seems to me, supports this view so much as a consideration of the garden sculpture at Versailles executed during Le Brun's lifetime. Here, if anywhere, one would expect to find traces of Bernini's influence. But I see none. Though Le Brun lived until 1690, much of his influence had evaporated with Colbert's death in 1683. But it was not until the Rubénistes routed the Poussinistes in 1700 that French artists were able to look at Bernini with unprejudiced eyes, or, alternatively, to "come out" with the latent Berninism contracted during their student days in Rome.

The point of break-through can be identified precisely. It occurred in the most extensive decorative undertaking of the new century--the Versailles chapel--completed in 1710. After his death in 1708, Jules-Hardouin Mansart's place as architect came into the hands of his brother-in-law

and assistant, Robert de Cotte. He had done a spell in Rome and is likely to have had a good deal of say over the decoration.

Even the external decoration is unmistakably Berninⁱesque: a series of grandiloquent statues of sacred personages gesticulate on the parapet. The basic idea of the interior of the Versailles chapel whereby the King could enter the royal gallery on the level of his private apartments, while the rest of the Court were below, at ground floor level, itself derives from Bernini's plan for the Louvre chapel. This arrangement had been recommended in a memorandum from Colbert.² The prominence of the royal gallery encouraged the use of free-standing columns in the interior of the Versailles chapel, and this, too, had been a feature of Bernini's Louvre chapel, and for the same reason. Antoine Coypel's huge fresco on the ceiling of the nave is flanked by frescoes by de La Fosse and Jouvenet. Like de Cotte, Coypel had, many years earlier, "done a Rome", where, indeed, Bernini himself had commended him. His fresco, as is well known, derives from Baciccio's ceiling of the Gesù in Rome, which was itself a development from Bernini's Cathedra Petri. And the Cathedra evidently also directly inspired the sculpture relief altarpiece in the Versailles chapel, with its golden rays, and, at the sides, the kneeling angels derived from Bernini's in the Cappella del Sacramento at St. Peter's. This altar is the work of Corneille van Cleve (^{Fig.} 1) He too had studied Bernini during his student days in Rome more than thirty years earlier, but in the intervening years he had remained in Le Brun's iron grip. The Versailles altar in its turn produced some surprising progeny. A contributory factor was probably the success of Juste-Aurèle Meissonnier's engraved designs, some of which date from the 1720's. I

know of no evidence that Meissonnier visited Rome (though he was born in Turin), but some of his designs for sculpted altarpieces are intensely Berninesque in the Cathedra tradition.³

This kind of sculptural altarpiece with Berninesque gold rays and clouds quickly became the standard for revamping the choirs of French Gothic cathedrals throughout the 18th century-- to the speechless fury of the 19th, which removed some, but not all of them. An example is the high altar of Amiens cathedral (Fig.2) by Dupuis and Christophle. Whereas the Versailles altarpiece was restrained by the arch behind it, at Amiens, as in Bernini's Cathedra Petri, the rays appear to explode, concealing the pillars of the choir behind them. Here, far more than at Versailles, or even Chartres, we may recognise the apotheosis of the Berninesque sculpted altarpiece in France. Ultimately Berninesque gold rays and Berninesque clouds in low relief invaded the decorative arts-- clocks, coats of arms etc.--produced under Louis Quinze. They had already appeared behind Le Lorrain's celebrated Horses of the Sun at the Hotel de Rohan.

There was originally yet another instance in the Versailles chapel of Bernini's influence, and of a bizarre kind. According to d'Argenville, an altarpiece by the painter, J-B. Santerre, representing St Theresa in Ecstasy, had been set up in 1709.⁴ The picture was so erotic that the priests, being apprehensive lest it over-excite the congregation, had prudently declined to say Mass at that altar. The painting itself has disappeared, but Bénézit assumes it was inspired by Bernini's group in S. Maria della Vittoria.⁵ This was certainly the case with another altarpiece, Restout's Death of S. Scholastica of 1730, painted for a convent near Tours, and now in the museum there (Fig.3). As Restout's biographer, Jean Messelet,

observes, "it is difficult, when looking at this picture, not to think of a celebrated work--the St. Theresa of Bernini."⁶ It is indeed. Though Bernini's tormented draperies have been greatly simplified, and his smiling angel transformed into two more nuns, there is no mistaking the origin of the inert left arm of the principal figure in both works, nor the angle of the crucifix in Restout's picture, which is the same as that of the arrow which is just about to penetrate St. Theresa. An ecstatic vision in life has been transformed into an ecstatic death. Like (apparently) Santerre, Restout did not do a Rome, but Bernini's group was already well known from engravings.

As I have tried to show elsewhere,⁷ Bernini's St. Theresa owes a great deal to Correggio, and this is relevant to the further study of Bernini's influence in France. For around 1720, when the climate in France was at last fully favourable to Bernini's art, a number of superb Correggio works on mythological subjects arrived in Paris with the Odescalchi collection, and thereby affected the whole course of French 18th century painting. It is indeed difficult sometimes to isolate the Correggesque and the Berninesque strands in French art in the succeeding generations, so harmoniously and so inextricably are they intertwined on occasion. One example is Meissonnier, one of whose Berninesque sculpted altarpieces we have already seen. But in his engraved design for a ceiling fresco his Maria Assunta is a virtual copy of Correggio's at the Parma Duomo.⁸ A more complicated instance of the interplay of the Correggesque and the Berninesque is J.F. Detroy's allegory of Time revealing Truth, recently purchased by the National Gallery (pl. 4). The derivation of the central figure from Bernini's marble Verità is clear- even to the globe under

the woman's foot—and the parallel is even closer if we consider Bernini's preliminary drawings for the group, which include the figure of Chronos, which Bernini never got round to carving.⁹ It looks as though Detroy must have known these drawings, and this would not be improbable. As it was Bernini's heirs who retained the marble, they probably still had his drawings also. J-F. De Troy was in Italy from 1699 to 1706. The National Gallery picture is dated 1733, long after his return. Detroy was evidently deeply impressed with Bernini's *Verità*, as he used the pose again for his *Cleopatra* (Strasbourg, Musée)¹⁰, (pl. 5).

Yet the basic idea of Bernini's female was not his own invention. It comes straight out of Correggio, as Dr. Italo Falci, following Riegl, pointed out in 1954. Correggio had used it as the centre of his allegory of Virtue, of which the unfinished version, now in Palazzo Doria, was in Bernini's time in the Villa Aldobrandini in Rome.

There was one more term in this remarkable equation. Bernini, we have seen, drew on Correggio, and Jean-Francois Detroy drew on Bernini. But Detroy, in addition, drew from the fountain head. His central figure has the globe under her foot, as Bernini's does, and as Correggio's does not. But the supporting figures of Virtues on the left of Detroy's picture were not included by Bernini, but do figure in Correggio's picture. The precise meaning of the allegory in both paintings could be argued at length, but in this context we may merely note that Correggio's left hand figure has a lion's skin over her knees, a sword in one hand, a bridle in the other and a serpent in her hair. Three of these attributes are distributed among three of Detroy's four females. The one to the left leans against the lion. Her neighbor has a sword in one hand and scales

in the other and the one above has a serpent twined round her person. Now if Detroy knew both Bernini's *Verità* and also the drawings for it in Rome there would be no reason why he should not also know Correggio's unfinished picture in the Villa Aldobrandini. But the other version of the Correggio, the finished canvas now in the Louvre, had been in the French royal collection since the 1650's, and in 1722 the younger Richardson noted it among "the French King's Pictures in Coypel's House" in Paris.¹² I think at this point we may say "Q.E.D".

The influence of Bernini's sculpture on paintings by French artists such as Santerre, Restout and J-F. Detroy is one of the most significant instances of his impact on figurative art in France. But sculpture was his own first art and it is naturally there that his influence is most to be expected. In gilded relief we saw it exemplified by Corneille van Clève and his followers; in marble by Nicolas Coustous' *Apollo for Marly*, now in the Tuileries.¹³ Like Corneille van Clève, Coustou had made a special study of Bernini in Rome in his student days, which were likewise long since past by this time (1713). His debt to Bernini's Borghese group needs no emphasis. But it was not in free-standing sculpture of this kind so much as in fountain sculpture that Bernini's influence was most fruitful. In this field even Bouchardon, who seems by temperament to have been Bernini-resistant, made some essays. It is regrettable that Michel-Ange Slodtz, who is known to have paid particular attention to Bernini's works in Rome, does not seem to have been given an opportunity in this field. The same could not be said of Slodtz' contemporary, Lambert-Sigisbert Adam. The entry under his name in *Bénézit* says "Adam does not always succeed in

breaking away from the style of Bernini whose influence he had undergone during his residence in Italy."¹⁴ This would seem to put it mildly. In particular, Lambert-Sigisbert's success with his project for the Trevi fountain in Rome, as well as his work at Versailles--the central group of Neptune and Amphitrite in the Bassin de Neptune, which, unlike his Trevi design, was put into execution--gives the impression that a little of Bernini--the Bernini of the fountains--had been reborn in him. The same is true of Adam's cascade group of Seine et Marne at St-Cloud. His design for this--greatly superior to the executed group as it exists today--figures in the background of his self-portrait, which in its entirety constitutes virtually a hymn of praise to Bernini. Behind both Adam's St-Cloud and his Versailles groups there seems to me to be some recollection of a mysterious fountain project by Bernini for which there are drawings at Windsor.¹⁵ Two of them show Neptune and Amphitrite, another, Neptune alone. I also sense some descent from this project, probably indirect, in the Nîmes sculptor, Barthélemy Guibal's separate fountains of Neptune and Amphitrite in the Place Stanislas at Nancy.

Adam's morceau de réception at the Paris academy--the Neptune calming the Waves of 1737--is also included in the background of his self-portrait. It is a vivacious recreation of Bernini's early group, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum and then in the Villa Montalto in Rome. This time Bernini himself was looking back not to Correggio but ultimately to Leonardo, through intermediary stages which are not entirely clear, but may have included Stoldo Lorenzi's fountain in the Boboli Gardens.¹⁶ The lower portion of Adam's group differs from Bernini's. The triton does not blow a conch but ^{flies} vanquished between Neptune's legs. A third work of

art included in Adam's self-portrait is a drawing held in his left hand, representing a variation on Bernini's Apollo and Daphne.

The examples which I have shown are necessarily selective, but I hope they may indicate that Bernini's impact on young French sculptors in late 17th Century Rome, such as Corneille van Clève or Nicolas Coustou, was initially strong enough to remain intact in cold storage during the dictatorship of Le Brun and its aftermath. Rubens then opened the door to Bernini in France, and in the process some of the French painters climbed on to the sculptors bandwagon. In the 18th Century French students in Rome, such as Slodtz or L-S. Adam, could react to Bernini without feeling so guilty. Berninism in the figurative arts in France was thus not so much an independent force as rather a strand in the complex process which went to form what is loosely labelled as the Rococo. The fact that it has been hitherto minimized not only by French scholars but also by influential outsiders such as Fiske Kimball is hardly surprising. It is most apparent in fountain sculpture and in altarpieces, and both of these fields have themselves been minimized in this context.

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INTEREST IN BERNINI IN THE MID-EIGHTEENTH
CENTURY:- SALVI AND VANVITELLI, ETC.

The task before us is to ascertain the degree to which Bernini's ^{influence} was still--or was once again--present in Roman architecture ^{of} in the mid-eighteenth century. ^{I have chosen.} ~~We choose~~ Nicolo Salvi and Luigi Vanvitelli as ~~privileged but not the only~~ representatives of this period, ^{although there were certainly also others.}

The answer is neither easy nor univocal; it would be far simpler if we were considering Borromini. In the first half of the eighteenth century, Borromini's influence was omnipresent ^{not only} where decorative invention was concerned, but also with respect to the essence of being an artist itself: the rational method of design and the ^{intersection} ~~nexus~~ of structure ^{and} decoration. A process of elimination followed after the mid-century, ^{in which} ~~a repudiation of the~~ ^{had} legacy of Borromini's ~~was repudiated.~~

And yet Borromini ^{had} left no established school; at the time the artistic "genealogical tree" of our artists always wound back to Bernini, however one conceives the process ^{by} in which they developed; one need only mention Carlo Fontana and Valeri, Filippo Juvarra and Antonio Canevari. ¹

^{respect to} With the works that figure in this discussion, one never has the immediate and full sensation: "Here is Bernini." His legacy is nearly always mediated and ^{altered} transformed.

But before ^{turning} ~~passing~~ to the examples which illustrate this situation, I would like to offer ^{a few} further preliminary remarks. The ^y concern indications--highly external--of the continuity of the high Baroque into our period; quite simply, ^{through} ~~with~~ the influence of Bernini, Borromini, and Pietro da Cortona. There are only two relevant points here: the evidence of designs in which works by the three architects are copied

and evidence from Vanvitelli's letters.²

For the Clementine competitions, students in the third class of architecture at the ^CAcademia di San Luca were asked to present reliefs of a Roman architectural work chosen by the professors--^{one which} ~~and~~ thus would be certainly [^]a work deemed worthy of imitation. A partial list of the works chosen includes: 1704, the altar of the Cappella A la leona; 1706, the central part of the facade of San Andrea al Quirinale; 1707, the facade of the Palazzo Barberini; from then until 1725, works by Borromini and Cortona; 1732, the altar and tabernacle of the Cappella del Sacramento in St. Peter's; subsequently, works by Cortona and Borromini; in 1779, the Cappella Raimondi,[^] and in 1795, the altar of the Sacramento at St. Peter's again.³

In one of my articles I ^{tried} sought to establish that, ^{the practice of} copying classic examples was central to Vanvitelli's pedagogical idea, ^{and certainly} ~~as well as~~ also ^{in line with Fontana's} to those of Salvi (which corresponds to ^{the well-known counsel} ~~of Fontana~~ ^{advice} to the young Juvarra).⁴

Among the relevant designs of Piermarini (which can be dated between 1762 and 1764), we find ^{the} Palazzo Barberini and San Andrea, but Borromini appears more often, for example, via different aspects of S. Andrea della Valle. Among the numerous designs of Girolamo Toma in the drawing collection at Palazzo Braschi and the Busiri-Vici collection, there is S. Andrea al Quirinale again, but also ^{the} Palazzo Farnese and the Farnesina, Villa Madama and Palazzo Vidoni-Caffarelli, S. Carlino, and the Chigi and Cibo chapels. Toma, an unknown architect, was in the second class at the Accademia di San

Luca, as was Virginio Bracci, with whom Toma and Andrea Vici probably formed a group. Like Piermarini, they too were first with Carlo Murena in Rome (himself a disciple and successor of Salvi and Vanvitelli), and later during the 1760s they ~~took~~ ^{studied under} Vanvitelli's ~~course~~ in Caserta.

According to these criteria, Bernini ~~does~~ ^{did} not occupy a ~~privileged~~ ^{special} position within the Roman tradition, as he ~~was seen by~~ ^{later viewed him} the first reformers of the eighteenth century; in fact, quite the contrary.

~~Leafing through~~ Vanvitelli's letters while he ~~was in~~ ^{from} Naples to his brother Urbano (a recipient of benefices from St. Peter's in Rome), ~~we can begin to realize how~~ ^{suggest that his} beyond the continuous comparisons ^{of} between Rome and Naples (largely unfavorable to the latter), Vanvitelli

held a "certain idea" of Rome. Although difficult to grasp, this idea revolved around ^{notions about} the serious, ^{and dignified} and grand, in architecture, ~~its dignity~~;

that is, to fixed values connected with Rome and especially with the epicenter of St. Peter's, where Vanvitelli, like Bernini, had been chief architect. Here Bernini enters ^{ed} of necessity: "St. Peter's should not be nibbled on by just anyone,"⁵ ^{and} ^{the} baldachins for the reli-

quary niches in the piers executed by the foundryman Giardini are condemned also because ^{the} ~~one~~ artisan claimed to have adhered precisely to Bernini's model, but in reality he departed from it.⁶ Additionally, in Vanvitelli's letters ^{there are more} ~~the number of~~ references to Borromini and Cortona ^{and} is larger, especially to the latter, of whom Vanvitelli demanded details so as to make use of them in his own designs.⁷ As for Bernini, there

is only a detached "a delle cose belle, ma vi sono delle altre non imitabili; per altro il tutt' insieme è cosa degna del Bernini" with reference to designs for the Louvre, a recognition of a classic defense

against the French, nothing more.⁸

Let us turn to the testimony offered by the works themselves.
 In 1745, Salvi and Vanvitelli in collaboration, ^{on a project which brought them into direct} had concrete contact
 with a work by Bernini which they altered profoundly: ^{in 1745} Duke Odeschalchi's
 enlargement of the Palazzo Chigi. For our purposes, this fact is un-
 important, since obviously there was little ^{room} space for artistic choices.
 The task largely suggested its own solution, that is, the repetition
 of the elements of Bernini's elevation, which also ^{destroyed} damaged the character
 of the whole. The result, an only slightly inflected repetition of the
 larger order of the pilasters of the upper floors, becomes nothing less
 than ^a typically eighteenth century solution.⁹ It should be added that
^{an} one attempt was made to derive the contemporaneous Palazzo Cenci-Bolognetti
 (about 1745) of Ferdinando Fuga from the same Berniniesque model, but
 with such profound transformations that the relationship remained ^e too
 generic.¹⁰

Salvi initiated his career in 1728 with a pyrotechnic machine.
 Historians, who analyze the inventions of Fischer von Erlach ^{contraption} have
 that Bernini was the source of its combination of ^{spaces} volumes ^{has always}
 been hypothesized ^{that} in analyzing the inventions of Fischer von Erlach

("Lust gartenge bAUde," arch of foreign merchants of 1699)¹¹, but
 no ^{thing} objects of this type is known among Bernini's work, and the closest
 reference is still the ~~great mass~~ of the first design for the Louvre.

In 1737, the reconstruction of S. Maria dei Gradi in Viterbo--
 his only large church--began (Fig. 1). The combination of fasces
 and coffers, windows and festoons, for a rich and festive decoration
 of the cupola seems close enough to Bernini's ~~respective~~ formulations
 at S. Andrea, Ariccia and Castel gandolfo, even if the elements are

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also present in the work of Bernini's contemporaries.¹² For the -sail vault [cupola a vela] one could also think of Berniniesque chapels such as that of S. Lorenzo in Lucina, but in this case it is useful to refer to more monumental examples, such as the Lancellotti chapel at S. Giovanni in Laterano.

We find the same decorative elements in a particularly dense application in the vault of the S. ^G Giovanni Battista Chapel at San Rocco in Lisbon, executed in Rome in 1743 and based on the design of Salvi and Vanvitelli (Fig. 2). The altar of this chapel achieves a perspective effect by ^{the} beveling ^{of} the arch itself and ^{the} foreshortening of the coffering. Once again, this is not a solution which only Bernini hit upon,¹³ but surely in the work of no other artist does it seem so meaningful or is it applied with a power such as we find in the Alaleona and Altieri chapels. The motif recurs on different occasions in Vanvitelli, fully integrated into the architectural whole and not as an isolated form: S. Maria Maddalena in Pesano, SS. Annunziata in Naples, and various other designs (Cassⁱerta No. 217 & 324); and also with Fuga: S. Maria dell-Orazione e Morte, S. Apollinare.

The oval altar ^{piece} carried by angels, the major example of which is in the Fonseca Chapel, is an exquisitely Berniniesque idea. Oval frames proliferate in the first half of the eighteenth century, and even Bernini's idea was picked up again by his students. One unexecuted design for the Lisbon chapel, by contrast with the use of the oval in a decorative mode, can certainly be considered a return to Bernini's ^{ideas} ~~as a source~~. We find it again, in a less precise form, in one of Vanvitelli's projects for the Maddalena in Pesaro (1740-47), in the altar of S. Anna at S. Andrea delle Fratte (1749), and in Fuga's reconstruction

of S. Maria Maggiore (1743-49).¹⁴

The decorative scheme of Bernini's basin at S. Lorenzo in Damaso is an intermediate step between the cupola of the Clementine chapel at St. Peter's and Vanvitelli's basins in the same basilica.¹⁵

As we have already seen with the pyrotechnic machine of 1728, the reception of Bernini's ^{of} models ^{occurred in} of monumental architecture ~~took~~ place in a different ^{manner} ~~way~~ than happened with the ^{subordinate} ~~minor~~ elements. S. Andrea al Quirinale is not only his most perfect architectural creation, it is also the one which most frequently served as a model, as the list cited above indicates.

Vanvitelli was inspired by ^{it in} the little Ruffinella chapel in Frascati, when he was summoned to modify the villa for the Jesuits of the Collegio Romano. I would not go so far as to say that this is due to the fact that both had the same patron. There are many elements from the original: oval plan in transverse ^{position}, transverse blind axis (but not entirely in Frascati, since here there is a sacristy door on one side and a niche on the other), the articulation of the back wall of the little chapels with the gables of the altar's aedicule that ^{are silhouetted} ~~are~~ by the light falling through the open lunette.¹⁶ In spite of these ^{intellective} resemblances, in visible reality one does not feel ^{any} kinship: Vanvitelli's chapel is white and luminous, the little chapels are without depth, the vault continues ^{without} ~~uninterrupted~~ ⁱⁿ the articulation of the chapels and the vertical members.¹⁷

The longitudinal ^e ellipse of the Missione Church (Fig. 3)--a late work by Vanvitelli--^{falls} ~~steps~~ into a long line of churches of this type in Rome and Naples.¹⁸ Nonetheless, the possibility of a precise relationship with S. Maria in Montesanto should not be excluded: the articulation of the cupola, the choir as an entirely separate space,

and in both churches a motif which derives from S. Andrea, that is, the alteration of the arcade with small rectangular exedras to both sides of the major axis.

In a manner which parallels the transformation of S. Andrea's interior volume, the power of another typical Bernini motif is reduced when Vanvitelli appropriates it: a convex body within a concave one, as in the theme of the first project for the Louvre and for the Assunta of Ariccia. Here we have a chapel isolated in front of the rear of the cortile of the Caserma at Ponte della Maddalena (1754-57)--as at Ariccia--and of the Oratory of the Scala Santa integrated as the first ^{panel} stop between the minor and major courtyards of the monastery of SS. Marcellino and Festo (1772) in Naples.¹⁹

The effect is not monumental, for they are courtyards; one small convex body cannot counter balance the dominant concavity--the guiding form of the eighteenth century and especially of Vanvitelli. On the other hand, the restless game of small opposing movements has been surpassed.

So far, Caserta has been missing from the picture. One would expect to find some allusion to the designs for the Louvre, and Blunt sees in Caserta the echo of Bernini's concept of the palace-block, but, ^{in my view} this latter is useful only to the extent that it represents a typology which opposes that of Versailles. There is nothing but the formula of the colossal order raised on the socle of the ground floor, which had become canonical ^{primarily} (for primarily) palaces.²⁰ One could instead think of Rainaldi's designs for the tempietto and towers with

which Vanvitelli wanted to crown the building. With arms formed by barracks, the royal palace would have ~~had to submit to~~ ^{dominated} the city. The formula is that of the Vatican Basilica's colonnade ²¹ (there is also the rectangular piazza ^Q even if again the artistic elaboration differentiates it profoundly.

(error in the Italian prose)

In a final group of works the connections are more precise and substantial, and we return to the ~~cradle~~ ^{model} of St. Peter's. In his unfortunate throne for the bronze image of St. Peter, Vanvitelli proposes a variation on the theme of enshrining the cattedra of St. Peter's at the rear of the choir. ²² The idea of a great tabernacle-~~tempietto~~ ^Q was particularly important for Vanvitelli. ²³ Even if his solutions are closer to those of Rainaldi (S. Maria della Scala) and Juvarra (Chambery and numerous designs), the supreme example of Bernini's designs for St. Peter's was clearly impressed in Vanvitelli's mind in the choice of that theme in successive stages. For the primary altar of the monastery church of Monte Cassino (1727), Salvi was commissioned to execute and copy the tabernacle of S. Andrea al Quirinale, reputedly by Bernini. ²⁴

How are we to evaluate our evidence? Can we speak of a Bernini revival? Only in a highly limited ~~sense~~ ^Q. Little of a unitary character, of the remarkableness of Bernini's creations, remains.

But in the search for a serious and solemn architecture with a renewed dignity, Salvi and Vanvitelli turned to the past and to major Roman realizations. In this sense Bernini occupies a privileged position, even in relation to Borromini and Pietro da Contona.

However, Bernini's moment was brief--or indeed did not exist in the fullest sense of the term--since very quickly things passed far beyond him to the sixteenth century,²⁵ or toward a neoclassical purity, in which Bernini's simplicity no longer sufficed.

The return to Bernini occurred in 2 different ways: a relatively faithful revival of minor, more or less decorative forms, and the abstract manipulation of concepts of ^{large scale} architecture, ~~yet large.~~

Perhaps we draw closer to the spirit of the seventeenth century in a work where the intention of the patron was already partially retrospective and ~~carried an~~ ^{fully} ideology which ~~had at its center~~ ^{ed on} (the incomparable dignity of papal Rome and the Rome of the Basilica of the Prince of Apostles: the Chapel of the Jesuit Church in Lisbon, which the King wanted to be spectacularly splendid.

The spirit of Bernini, finally, is certainly present in that major work of eighteenth century Rome, the Trevi Fountain: the juxtaposition of art and nature, architecture and rock, united by flowing water.²⁷

Sculptures with Three Distinct Views by Gian Lorenzo

Bernini and Ignaz Günther*

dedicated to Wilhelm Messerer on his 60th birthday

Of the sculptures by Ignaz Günther¹ and Bernini to be discussed in the following article, one has three and only three views

when one views them first from half-left (at an angle about 45°), then from exactly front-on and finally from half-right (again at an angle of about 45°). Let us begin with one example: the *Pieta*² (1764) by Ignaz Günther in Weyarn. The frontal and primary view of the *Pieta* is insufficient on its own:³ Christ's head falls so far back

that the face cannot be seen at all. And this in an Andachtsbild!

In this group Ignaz Günther has indicated the main view by making the edge of the ground run more or less straight at the front: the correct standpoint lies perpendicular to this straight line. Such short, more or less straight sections also occur at half-left and half-right; opposite them lie the correct standpoints for the first and third views.

Each of the three views in sculptures by Ignaz Günther and Bernini has a different content; together they offer three thematically different aspects of the same subject. A parallel example emerges in a comparison of two older works in Munich: --the Patrona Bavariae⁴ by Hans Krumper on the facade of the Residenz in Munich (1616) and the statue of the Virgin⁵ by Hubert Gerhard on the Virgin's column in the Marienplatz (before 1598, from the Frauenkirche). The more recent work by Krumper also had three views, Gerhard's only one. But in Krumper's work there is no change of content in the three views; it is simply a matter of arrangement, of grouping, with no thematic differentiation and disposition. ^{But thematic differentiation} \wedge is precisely the issue with Günther and Bernini.

In the Pietà the first (or half-left) view shows violent pain, with Christ's body broken over the suffering Virgin's knee. The fold of the body reveals Christ's heart wound (as the folds of the loincloth divide at the right). Clearly these features aim to arouse the viewer's emotions. Additionally, only here are both legs and thereby the Virgin's sitting position visible; only here is the correspondence between the garment draped over the protruding leg of the Virgin, with its folds spread out near her foot, and Christ's arm^{and} broken, half-open hand apparent. From this view also Christ's outstretched arm, the part of the Virgin's garment which juts out, and the part of Christ's loincloth which flutters forward are visible and parallel; between them are the retreating leg of the Virgin and the retreating leg of Christ. Finally, only from the frontal position can one see how the sharp edges of the folds in the Virgin's garment and in Christ's loincloth isolate and accentuate Christ's limbs at the points of contact. The representation of pain which arouses pity and other feelings in the first view is followed in the main (or frontal) view by another subject with its own enhancement. The beholder is now offered the full view of the Corpus Domini as the object of the Virgin's mourning and in a manner to which one is accustomed from altarpieces (such as Rogier van der Weyden's Deposition). The width of the cross corresponds exactly to that of the group and emphasizes the thematic rapport between them. ^{It} becomes fully visible, as does the geometry of the wounds⁶--that is, the wounds in Christ's foot, the Virgin's heart and the end of the cross's horizontal beam are aligned on one line and the wounds in Christ's hand, in his side and in the virgin's heart on another. The final view in

Ignaz Günther's work is simple: it offers for our veneration both the wounds in Christ's feet and his hand, placing between them the putti, whose lament brings a resolution to the pain. Pain, mourning, and lamentation follow closely upon one another. A similar resolution of the beholder's agitation is known to us from Poussin's Lamentation of Christ⁷ which an inventory of 1748⁸ placed

in the Residenz at Munich. In a most general sense, Poussin uses separate figure-units--the upbeat figure of St. John and the closing group of putti --to achieve the same kind of upbeat conclusion which Günther integrates into the main group.

II.

Let us turn to triple views in Bernini's sculptures. The main view of his earliest monumental sculptures alone informs us that the group probably has distinct views. The primary view of the Aeneas group is insufficient for a complete grasp of the three figures, their relationship to one another, their moods and the pietas developed in them. Only the half-left view reveals Aeneas' face and the enthroned Penates; and from the front, one perceives Ascanius with his little oil lamp as form, motif, mood, and figure.

With the subsequent sculptures--the Pluto group, the figure of David, the Apollo and Daphne--Bernini's achievement with triple views and the direction in which he develops them becomes apparent. Comparing the profile and front of Apollo's head⁻⁻ the eyes and the hair⁻⁻ it becomes apparent that the expressions in two views are considerably different. The expression is found in the eyes and, as so often in the visual arts-- the hair. The arch of the upper eye lid is not positioned vertically

above the pupil, as one would expect from the profile view, rather the uppermost part of the eyelid is shifted towards the middle of the face. This small change makes it an expression of speechlessness. The pupil is not a bored hole, as one would expect from the profile view, but a piece of marble which has been left free and around which the iris has been hollowed out: the glance is fixed and staring. The locks of hair on the forehead part from one another to the left and the right, so that the glance lacks orientation. In profile the eye was carved sharply and precisely in even lines, the pupil a deepened hole; the glance was exalted and clear and open, and the backward movement of the 'blazing' locks lent it strength. But the expression is different and changing not only in Apollo's face: with the shifts in viewpoint the whole group emerges as a narrative progression. The profile of Apollo is part of the main view of the group and the front view belongs to the closing one. I shall attempt to characterize this narrative progression. (As is well known, the plinth was subsequently altered¹⁰ and the orientation of the group changed, so that today the first view is from front-on, perpendicular to the plinth, the main view from half-right, diagonally on the plinth, and the closing view¹¹ perpendicular to the right-hand side of the plinth). Originally, the first view portrayed Apollo approaching, hovering, seeking Daphne's glance, reaching her and tenderly drawing close. In the main view the drapery arching behind Apollo's back is not seen, but the inclination of his body and how he raises his right arm to one side are visible. In profile we see him, with his right arm at his side, gently halting and--looking at his head--proudly wondering, joyfully and openly awaiting her glance.

Daphne raises herself and bends backwards in order to escape him; he becomes thereby a string to her bow and the group as a whole a symbol of Apollo. This view discloses the narration's climax, with the narrative exposition provided by the first view and the conclusion by the final one. This closing view commences with the theme of metamorphosis, with the leaves, the roots and Daphne's foot. We see here, for the first and only time, how the tree's bark grows into her flesh beneath Apollo's left hand (this hand is visible only here). Her flesh fades into bark, and the metamorphosis clearly is guided by the hand of God. Of Apollo himself, to the left of Daphne, there remains little more than the speechless amazement which is now revealed in the front view of his face; he had fallen from those exalted heights of radiance and pride of the main view. Daphne stretches herself high above him (as Proserpina also stretches herself above Pluto) and, in a movement from her right foot up to her left arm, twists herself further and further out of his reach, rising from the earth and undergoing a metamorphosis. Bernini has accomplished the difficult task of achieving a narrative progression by exploiting the possibilities of changes in viewpoint.

III.

In demonstrating that there are differentiated views in Bernini's sculptures and revealing what these views achieve in context I have so far cited groups which he created before the turning point¹² in his life, religious beliefs, and art (1642/43) which I have elsewhere¹³ explained

in terms of the writings of Francis of Sales and their influence on his art. Let us now turn the statue of Daniel, created after this turning-point. Thanks to the fact that the studies for this statue have survived, we have evidence of how such views with differentiated contents could be produced. It goes without saying that designing and carving statues and groups with an eye to offering compositionally and thematically differentiated or changing views is extraordinarily difficult.

To begin with, let us examine the three views; Daniel is represented in entreating, hopeful prayer.¹⁴

The exposition view. The lion licks Daniel's foot, so Daniel is out of danger and not praying because of the lion. The leg, which comes forward and then retreats, leads to the drapery. At the point of transition the drapery is flattened, and then it winds over the body and continues, flaming up as a metaphor for prayer. The arms, held high and stretched wide apart with folded hands, overlap with the head as it inclines backwards. Daniel is raising himself up, his arms and his hands folded in prayer.

The main view. The arms no longer overlap with the head; they have shifted to the side. The head now appears to be above the arms. more precisely, framed by the upper and lower left arm. Daniel, raised up in prayer in the exposition view, now looks up to heaven in prayer and speaks.

The closing view. The connection between body and head is no longer visible; the head, with cheek rounded at the bottom, is raised above the round shoulder, in this way the head hovers, no longer held in place and no longer framed. Daniel, who was raised in prayer in the exposition view and looking heavenward and speaking in the main

view, in the closing view has been brought through prayer to a state of exaltation beyond his body.

According to the information provided by this work, these three moments are at the same time a representation of what prayer was to Bernini.

Among the surviving studies for the figure of Daniel, two in Leipzig show the following two views, the exposition and main views.

The study for the main view.¹⁵ The treatment of the arms and the position of the head above the bend in the arm correspond to that of the completed work. Smaller changes can be ignored, but the position of the legs shows conclusively that the intention is really to represent the figure in this view.

The study for the exposition view.¹⁶ A comparison of the executed work on several points--the raised and outstretched arms, the way they overlap with the head, the way they conceal the prayerful glance from view, and the position of the legs--reveals that the intention is to represent the figure in this view. This is not, then, a different, older conception that was later rejected.

In these two studies we have proof directly from Bernini that he really did distinguish between views and work out each one separately. In another foglio¹⁷ with three studies, the intensity of the chalk-strokes indicates that he is concerned with the neck and the transition from the head to the torso. Upon close examination of the center study we see that the problem concerned the inclination of the head towards the left shoulder; Bernini emphasized the curve for curve symmetry of the arch of the back with that of the shoulder. As already explained, the latter was important in the closing view and was made possible in the main view.

It would be impossible to produce a figure from the sum of such drawings, of such worked-out poses. Put another way, it would be impossible to take views that had first been worked out separately and then immediately merge them in the finished sculpture. The bozzetto provided an opportunity for uniting the three views and balancing them against one another. For this purpose the surviving clay bozzetto¹⁸ of the Daniel figure (which cannot be accepted as from Bernini's hand without reservations) is too finished; it is a later phase, more or less comparable with that of the drawn studies. Small clay figures could, however, be modelled until the body, head, limbs and drapery were different, ordered and intelligible from three viewpoints. ⁹ Once the views were sketched in this manner in the bozzetto, and the compositional context had been worked out, it was time to work through the separate views in drawn studies or further clay bozzetti¹⁹ (among these I rank the surviving bozzetto). As is well known, Bernini distinguished between clay and wax bozzetti, and naturally enough, none of the latter have survived. We might hypothetically assume that in the earlier years the more plastic material of wax served for the sketch-bozzetti, and the quickly drying material of clay for the study-bozzetti, until Bernini changed to wooden models for some of the larger objects (e.g. the Cathedra Petri). This hypothesis would make Joachim von Sandrart's²⁰ statement that Bernini had shown him in his studio no less than 22 wax bozzetti for the single figure of Longinus more plausible--opportunity enough, therefore, for sketching three views in their relation to one another. In view of such a gradual creative process, Irving Lavin has aptly remarked that "we are faced with the paradox that behind Bernini's revolutionary effects of freedom and spontaneity there lay

an equally unprecedented degree of conscious premeditation."²¹

IV.

Before I return to the sculptures of Ignaz Günther, there are two additional matters.

a) Concerning Wittkower. In the chapter on Bernini in his volume in the Pelican History of Art, Rudolf Wittkower devoted a major section to the problem of "sculpture with one and many views."²² Here he advances in no uncertain terms the thesis that Bernini's sculptures in particular have only one view, not many. On the strength of the drawings under consideration--namely the studies for the figure of Daniel in relation to the finished statue--and on the strength of the evidence provided by the sculptures themselves, I am forced to contradict this thesis. My proposition that there are triple views in Bernini's sculptures implies, however, a correspondingly emphatic agreement with two insights of Wittkower's. First, Wittkower himself recognized and insisted on the fact that Bernini's sculptures have fixed, picture-like views and cannot be viewed correctly from just any given point on their circumferences. And secondly, the viewpoint Wittkower identified has priority over the others: it is the main view and should be so named. The first and third views are subsidiary views; but as such and in the sequence of views they have their own, quite specific value. They are not totally insignificant and it is incorrect to say "that they reveal details without, however, contributing to a clarification of the overall design;"²³ on the contrary, all three views in Bernini's figures and groups have sequences in which they develop a meaning--which is also an iconographical

meaning that can be abstracted from the whole. Wittkower's perceptions can thus also be included in my thesis.

b) Concerning differences in the relation of the three views to one another and concerning tradition and innovation. One must distinguish between four kinds of triple view. First, purely formal triple views with no recognizable thematic differentiation engendered in the three views (our example: Krumper's Patrona Bavariae). Second, triple views which are formal as well as representational, wherein individual moments of content are isolated and formed into subsidiary views, which then complete the sum of the content (for example, Bernini's Aeneas group). The historical precedent for this group of Bernini's work is a work that has already been cited in this context: Michelangelo's statue of Christ in Sta. Maria sopra Minerva, where the beholder stands exactly opposite the instruments of the passion in the first view, exactly opposite the Herculean body in the second, and exactly opposite Christ's mild face in the third. None of these moments annuls the others. In Bernini's later work the role of the three views is accentuated insofar as the beholder is denied a view of, for example, the enthroned Penates and especially of Ascanius; this is not the case with Michelangelo's Christ. Third, those representational triple views in which--as in Ignaz Günther's Pietà--the three thematic aspects supersede one another. Another work by Michelangelo serves as a precedent: the Pietà in Florence cathedral. The beholder stands opposite the richly articulated body of the dead Christ, which crumples and sinks to the ground in the first view, followed in the main view by the dead Christ enclosed on all sides by human beings who take Him fully

into their circle as a symbol for reincarnation through death, and finally the rising and falling veneration of the human beings in the third view. Here, too, the later work by Günther accentuates the distinctness of the views insofar as the beholder is denied a view of Christ's head in the main view; this is not the case with Michelangelo's Pietà. Although Michelangelo's work is a precedent in some respects, there are significant stylistic differences which are also important for grasping the nature of the triple views. The subsidiary views in Michelangelo's works are set back further into the block (which remains perceptible), just as the altar in Noah's Offering stands at an angle in the midst of the figures, tightening the composition. Bernini and Günther allow the subsidiary views to protrude more, without reference to the block. Fourth, and most important, there is another type of triple view, once again representational, in which different aspects follow one another with no possibility of simultaneity, in which spiritual or existential processes are represented or narrated in their temporal succession. The examples discussed here are Bernini's Apollo group and the figure of Daniel. To the best of my knowledge, this type of triple view is without precedent; Bernini invented it. We encounter it in the Pluto group, in the figure of David, and in the Apollo group, and it is also decisive for his more important figures of saints.²⁴

V.

Let us return to Ignaz Günther and consider his Annunciation group²⁵ of 1764 in Weyarn and the group of the Guardian Angel²⁶ of

1763 for the Carmelite church and now in the Bürgersaal, both in Munich. Günther develops the fourth type of triple view in both of these works.

The Annunciation group. The first view is of the angel, drapery fluttering to the right, who enters and greets the Virgin bowing before him. She in turn bends as though pierced by the rays of the Holy Spirit behind her neck. In the main view (which like Gunther's Pieta is an enhancement) the dove of the Holy Spirit spreads its wings above the Annunciation, and the angel, who has drifted down between drapery folds which flutter apart, points at the Holy Spirit above. His wing seems to form a shade over the Virgin's head, and her extended right hand seems to be beneath the dove. In the third view, the Virgin closes herself off with both hands before her body and drawn towards her breast, conserving that which she has accepted. The angel now appears to have straightened up between the draperies at the front and the back, which from this view is now also fluttering. The Virgin, then, has three narrative moments: bowing, bending as though pierced; yielding to the Holy Spirit; and drawing back into herself. In turn, the angel too has three moments: greeting and entering; announcing while drifting down; and straightening up in parting; these stages are comparable to those described by St. Luke in his gospel.²⁷ The parallelism of the part of the Virgin's cloak which is drawn back over her thigh and the drapery fluttering in front of and behind the angel emphasizes the self-contained character of the final view, as does the correspondence between the Virgin's right arm and the angel's outer wing.

The group of the Guardian Angel. In the first view, the angel's breast is turned towards the front, and the drapery billows up; he has stepped between the snake on the ground and the child, thereby placing himself at the child's side so as to accompany him. He holds the child firmly by the hand and responds to the child's upwards glance with a call. In this view Günther has arranged correspondences between the billowing drapery and the leading arm of the angel, between the large wing at the left and the pointing finger, between the finger, hair and small wing to the right of the angel and the arches of the folds, neck, back and the cap of the child. In the main view, angel and child step towards the beholder. The child is now under the protective canopy of the angel's wing and is beside the angel who turns and speaks to the listening child. In the third view, the angel's swelling drapery is out of sight, but the fluttering point of the child's shirt is visible; and one sees the angel pointing straight to heaven and under his rustling wing the child, now aligned with the movement of the drapery over the angel's left leg, follows his words. The angel as earthly companion in time of need calls the child, the angel as guardian speaks to the listener; the angel as guide to heaven-- Günther here represents these three thematic manifestations which the angel conveys to his charge.²⁸

Gian Lorenzo Bernini invented his narrative type of triple view. When I cite Bernini as predecessor, I do so without considering the stylistic differences which separate him from Günther. For example, with Ignaz Günther, the self-contained character of the groups within the changing aspects^{is} not always due to the figures or the movement[^]

of their bodies, but--as repeatedly demonstrated--derives from, say, the parallelism of individual pieces of drapery. And logically so, for the center of Ignaz Günther's subject matter--however inadequate the investigation of his art still is in this respect--certainly does not lie in the continuous and unified movement of the figures (which with Bernini is always more deeply founded in emotion, passion and, finally, pathos),²⁹ but could perhaps be judged rather in terms of its distance from or proximity to the newly awakened religious sensibility.

Finally, the precise way in which transmission from Bernini to Günther took place cannot yet be determined with any certainty. There is no evidence that Gunther stayed in Rome, and a stay in Venice could as yet only be guessed at.³⁰ The personal connections between the artists Günther, Egell, Permoser and Bernini seem irrelevant to our question. So for the time being only reproductions in the form of engravings come into consideration; for example, Domenico de Rossi's Raccolta di statue antiche e moderne³¹, which Günther came to know at the latest during his studies at the Viennese Academy and which he would have looked at not with the dilettantish eye of an amateur but with the expert eye of a specialist.

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NOTES

¹Catalogue and reproductions of the works of Franz Ignaz Gunther (1725-1775): A. Schoenberger, Ignaz Günther, Munich 1954; G.P. Woeckel, Ignaz Günther, die Handzeichnungen des kurfürstl. bayer. Hofbildhauers Franz Ignaz Günther, Weissenhorn 1975, 2nd ed. 1976. Further important literature: A. Feulner, Ignaz Günther, kurfürstl. bayer. Hofbildhauer, Vienna 1920; A. Feulner, Ignaz Günther, der grosse Bildhauer des bayer. Rokoko, Munich 1947; G.P. Woeckel, "Studien zu Ignaz Gunther kurfurstl. bayer. hofbefreitem Bildhauer," unpublished Phd. thesis, Munich 1949; Th.Muller, Ignaz Günther, Bildwerke in Weyarn, Stuttgart, 1964.

²Pietà: Schoenberger, Günther, 48f.; Feulner, Günther, 1920, 17f.; Feulner, Günther, 1947,

³Feulner, Günther, 1920, 18: "Die Ansicht von vorne lässt zunächst unbefriedigt, bis sich der Beschauer durch Herumgehen die fehlenden Ergänzungen geholt hat; wichtige Teile wie der rechte Arm Mariens werden erst in der Seitenansicht sichtbar."

⁴Krumper's Patrona Bavariae: E. Hubala, Die Kunst des 17. Jahrhunderts (=Propyläen Kunstgeschichte, IX), Berlin 1970, 297 & fig. 340.

⁵Gerhard's statue of the Virgin: M. Schattenhofer, Die Mariensäule in München, Munich-Zurich 1970, 2nd ed. 1971; R.A. Pelzer, "Der Bildhauer Hubert Gerhard in München und Innsbruck," Kunst and Kunsthandwerk, XXI, 1918, 109ff., esp. 148ff.

⁶Schoenberger, Günther, 49.

⁷K. Badt, Die Kunst des Nicolas Poussin, Cologne 1969, passim.

⁸Alte Pinakothek München, Katalog IV: Französische und spanische Malerei, Munich 1972, 50.

⁹'Upbeat' and 'close' in paintings: K. Badt, 'Modell und Maler' von Vermeer, Probleme der Interpretation, Cologne 1961; R. Kuhn, Komposition und Rhythmus, Beiträge zur Neubegründung einer Historischen Kompositionslehre, Berlin 1979. In Poussin's Lamentation the still life functions as prelude.

¹⁰R. Wittkower, Gian Lorenzo Bernini, the Sculptor of the Roman Baroque, 2nd ed., London 1966, 183; P.A. Riedl, Gian Lorenzo Bernini, Apoll und Daphne, Stuttgart 1960, 12.

¹¹The closing view was used by Bernardo Bellotto in his Entrance to a Palace (Washington National Gallery), cited by H. Kauffmann, in Giovanni Lorenzo Bernini, die figürlichen Kompositionen, Berlin 1970, fig. 40.

¹²The turning-point: Bernini praised the writings of Francis of Sales to Chantelou (cf. Journal, 23 August 1665, concerning the Introduzione alla vera divozione or Philothea: "Le livre de Philotée est encore fort excellent, c'est le livre, que le Pape (i.e. Alexander VI) estime le plus"). Important for the turning-point in religious feelings and art: Francois de Sales, Traité de l'amour de Dieu, Lyon 1608; in Italian: Trattato dell'amor di Dio, Venice 1642; Oeuvres, édition complète, vols. IV & V. Annecy 1894.

The turning-point in Bernini's life and religious feelings was known to his contemporaries. Filippo Baldinucci and Domenico Bernini recognized it as such and dated it in retrospect to the years 1639/40("forty years before his death," "at the time of his marriage"). See the lives as compare^d by I. Lavin, "Bernini's Death," Art Bulletin, LIV, 1972, 160, 184f., 186.

The turning-point in Bernini's art is stylistically and compositionally evident in the Teresa, i.e. from 1644 onwards.

The time period 1639/44 is still too great. Baldinucci cites Bernini's marriage (1639) as the reason for the crisis. When he says, "we may truthfully say... that from that hour (viz. of his marriage) he began to behave more like a cleric than a layman" it sounds rather odd, as though obscured by the passing years. A crisis in life and, as a result, one in religion, is more likely to have been caused by the disaster of 1641 when the third story of the tower of St. Peter's had to be demolished and Bernini fell into disgrace with the Pope and suffered from a lack of public commissions. Connecting the resolution of the crisis with the publication in Italian of Francis of Sales' book in 1642 yields a date of 1641 for the crisis and one of 1642 for the resolution of the crisis; this is certainly more probable and, seen from the perspective of the end of his life, agrees with the statements "forty years before his death" and roughly "at the time of his marriage".

A connection between Bernini's recovery and Francis of Sales would also suggest a connection between the latter and Bernini's tomb of Urban VIII in the final version and would indicate a date for this final version later than 1642. This is compatible with Wittkower, Bernini, 198; cf. note 14.

The turning point can be recognized stylistically and compositionally in figures which are no longer unreservedly active and emotional (Pluto, David, Apollo), which try to escape in an unrestrictedly emotional manner (Proserpina), and which actually do escape (Daphne), which no longer stand directly and self-sufficiently before God (Bibiana) or place themselves before Him in passionate offering (Longinus), but which all recoil in shock (Constantine, Habakkuk) or shrink back into themselves, kneeling or standing in a collapsed, crumpled state (Daniel, Mary Magdalen, Jerome, not to mention Teresa and Ludovica), and which emerge in prayer only from such recoiling and shrinking positions. Together with this go garments and drapery which are no longer of a forthright plasticity, but which instead show only ridges, valleys and troughs of folds as a symbol of receptivity. And even the bodies appear more and more interspersed with troughs, down to the emaciated St. Jerome. A life experience is proffered here which makes the point of departure for religious elevation in prayer and the like a straightforward, active vitality which has been pierced, bent and repulsed. With Teresa this goes as far as a Unio mystica with God

¹³R. Kuhn, Die Entstehung des Bernini'schen Heiligenbildes, Dissertation über die Auffassung, den Stil und die Komposition der Skulpturen von 1621 bis in die fünfziger Jahre, Phd. thesis, Munich 1966, 2nd ed. Berlin 1967.

¹⁴Bernini sought commission after commission so as not to repeat himself thematically; instead, he sought each time to represent different internal conditions, which step for step approach the Unio mystica (Teresa)

and the love-death (Lodovica). To this Histoire du divin amour belong following figures: the initial shock and emotional stirring of divinity in Constantine (cf. Francis of Sales, Traité, Oeuvres, IV, 116f., 125); the faithful obedience to a divine directive in Habakkuk (cf. Sales, Oeuvres, V, 39ff., 101ff.); the hopeful prayer in Daniel (cf. Sales, Oeuvres, IV, 140ff.); the yearning, repentant love in Mary Magdalen (cf. Sales, Oeuvres, IV, 153ff.); the contemplative love which bends over Christ's suffering in Jerome (cf. Sales, Oeuvres, IV, 155, 272ff.); the Unio mystica in Teresa (cf. Sales, Oeuvres, IV, 335; V, 12, 18, 23-25, 112ff., 116ff.); and the love-death in Lodovica Albertoni (cf. Sales, Oeuvres, V 42). To these examples I add the tomb of Urban VIII in the final version and that of Alexander VII. (cf. Sales, Oeuvres, V, 36ff)

See R. Kuhn, "Gian Lorenzo Bernini und Ignatius von Loyola," Argo: Festschrift für Kurt Badt, Ed. M. Gosebruch & L. Dittmann, Cologne 1970, 309f, for the relation of this theme to Bernini's other subject matter, 310ff, for the contrast with the subject matter of the late works, and 308f, for the difference in the significance for Bernini of Ignatius of Loyola and Francis of Sales.

¹⁵H. Brauer & R. Wittkower, Die Zeichnungen des Gian Lorenzo Bernini, Berlin 1931, plate 45.

¹⁶Brauer & Wittkower, Zeichnungen, plate 46.

¹⁷Brauer & Wittkower, Zeichnungen, plate 47.

¹⁸Bozzetto, for the figure of Daniel in the Vatican; Wittkower, Bernini, 233.

¹⁹The distinction here between the functions of the sketch-bozzetti and the study-bozzetti is analogous to that between the drawn sketches and studies in K. Badt, Eugène Delacroix, Drawings, Oxford 1946, 33-44.

²⁰J. von Sandrart, Academie der Bau-, Bild-und Mahlerey-Kunst von 1675 Ed. A.R. Peltzer, Munich 1925, 286; Wittkower, Bernini, 197; I. Lavin, "Bozzetti and Modelli, Notes on sculptural Procedure from the early Renaissance through Bernini," Stil und Überlieferung in der Kunst des Abendlandes(=Akten des 21. internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte in Bonn 1964), Berlin 1967, III, 93ff., esp. 102.

²¹Lavin, Stil und Überlieferung, 103.

²²R. Wittkower, Art and Architecture in Italy 1600 to 1750, 3rd ed., Harmondsworth 1973, 100-103. R. Wittkower, "Le Bernin et le baroque Romain," Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 6^e période, XI, 1934, 327ff.: "Cette multiplicité des point de vue dans la sculpture est une caractéristique de la seconde moitié du XVI^e siècle. Pour la plastique de la Renaissance, l'unité de l'action va de soi. Presque toutes les sculptures, jusque vers 1525, sont faites pour être contemplées d'un seul point de vue... Lorsque le Bernin adopte un point de vue principal, il marque un retour aux principes de la plastique de la Renaissance, mais c'est là sa seule façon de réaliser l'unité d'action et de mouvement. Telle est donc la ligne de partage qui sépare le Bernin et Jean de Bologne: d'une part, unité de point de vue, de l'autre multiplicité de point de vue" (p.330). As Brinckmann had already argued: A.E. Brinckmann, Barockskulptur (= Handbuch der Kunstwissenschaft), Berlin-Neubabelsberg 1917, 230: "Bernini verzichtet damit bewusst auf jene nach allen Seiten

interessante Ansichten bietende Rundskulptur, die gegen Ausgang des 16. Jahrhunderts programmatisch war, und nähert sich dem malerischen Flächenbild." L.O. Larsson, Von allen Seiten gleich schön, Studien zum Begriff der Vielansichtigkeit in der europäischen Plastik von der Renaissance bis zum Klassizismus, Stockholm 1974.

²³Wittkower, Art and Architecture, 101.

²⁴Kuhn, Entstehung, 92-115.

²⁵Annunciation: Schoenberger, Günther, 49f.; Feulner, Günther, 1920, 17; Feulner, Günther, 1947, 91.

²⁶Schutzengel: Schoenberger, Günther, 44-46; Feulner, Günther, 1920, 30; Feulner, Günther, 1947, 94.

²⁷Luke I, 28-29, 30-37, 38.

²⁸Compare on the other hand the Schutzengel group in the Altarpiece of Mary Magdalen by Josef Götsch (Rott am Inn, former Benedictine monastery church), executed under the influence of Günther's group, but intended to be seen only from one viewpoint.

²⁹Kuhn, Entstehung, 81-86, 115-117.

³⁰Woeckel, Günther, Handzeichnungen, 23.

³¹D. de Rossi's Raccolta die Statue antiche e moderne, Rome 1704, made almost all of Bernini's Roman figures and groups known (Constantine plate 10, Pluto, plate 68; Neptune, plate 71; Apollo, plate 81; David, plate 82; the Rivergods from the Fountain of the Four Rivers, plates

97-100; Moro, plate 101; Verità, plate 142; Urban VIII from the Capitol, plate 152; Habakkuk, plate 156, Daniel, plate 157; Longinus, plate 159; Bibiana, plate 160) with the notable exception of Teresa, Ludovica and the angels for the Ponte S. Angelo. In contrast to the rendering of Michelangelo's statues the views reproduced are, as a rule, the main ones; in the present context the exception of the Pluto group is notable; it is reproduced in the first view.

Some of Gunther's early drawings after statues (Woeckel, Günther, Handzeichnungen, nos. 93-95) have been lost; reproductions have presumably not survived. H. Hohn (Die Handzeichnungen des Bildhauers Franz Ignaz Gunther, Anzeiger des Germanischen National Museums 1932/33, Nuremberg 1933, 162 ff., esp. 163) says nothing about their appearance; however, Feulner (Günther, 1947, 33) notes that the statues are "modelled nervously with cross-hatching" (mit gekreuzter Schraffur ängstlich modelliert) and that the movements are "clumsily reproduced" ("unbeholfen wiedergegeben"). Two of these statues - Meleager and Michelangelo's Bacchus (Woeckel, Günther, Handzeichnungen, nos. 93 and 95 respectively) --are reproduced in Rossi, Raccolta, in the first view (Meleager, plate 141) and the third view (Michelangelo's Bacchus, plate 46) respectively. Since cross-hatching is rather untypical of Günther but used extensively in the engravings and since movements are without exception clumsily reproduced in these engravings, it would be worth considering whether Günther's drawings were not copies after plaster casts, as has hitherto been assumed, but after engravings, and if he copied these statues, the Mnemnosyne and perhaps others from engravings that he was able to inspect.

EPILOGUE

To commemorate Bernini's death 300 years ago we have talked for two long days about his work and its influence, and we are all aware that we have only scratched the surface of a few selected aspects of both these subjects. In the face of his massive production and its massive importance for European culture, I fear we have neglected Bernini himself, the man responsible for it all. We could easily devote another colloquium to Bernini the human being, since he lived a long life, and we know a great deal about him. Yet, neglecting him personally is part of a long tradition. His contemporaries, too, astonished by his vast production, fantastic technical virtuosity and prodigious imagination, tended to think of him less as a person than as a superhuman prodigy who created by some sort of magic. One aspect of his brilliance, however, was the ability to find the right response, the mot juste, to those who misunderstood him. When one admirer expressed his amazement at the apparent ease and facility of his creativity, the mot juste he found was borrowed--as was often the case--from Michelangelo. He replied simply, "Nelle mie opere caco sangue." ✓

I.L.

/ P. Fréart de Chantelou, Journal du voyage du Cavalier Bernin en France, ed. L. Lalanne, Paris, 1885, 174.

ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Bernini, Pluto and Proserpina, Villa Borghese, Rome (GFN E 59451)
2. Roman Sarcophagus, with Rape of Proserpina, 2nd century AD (
3. Detail of Map of Campus Martius (after A. Donato, Roma Vetus ac Recens, Rome 1648, p. 284)
4. Bernini, Laurel tree stump on backside of Pluto and Proserpina, detail of Fig. 1 (
5. Bernini, Cerberus, detail of Fig. 1 (
6. Bernini, Apollo and Daphne, detail, Villa Borghese, Rome (GFN E 59594)
7. Jacopo Pontormo, Cosimo de' Medici il Vecchio, Florence, Uffizi (
8. Giovanni Lanfranco, Council of the Gods, fresco, Loggia, Villa Borghese, Rome (
9. Lanfranco, Council of the Gods, detail, center of Fig. 8, Villa Borghese, Rome (
10. Lanfranco, Council of the Gods, detail of right half of Fig. 8, Villa Borghese, Rome (
11. Lanfranco, Council of the Gods, detail of left half of Fig. 8, Villa Borghese, Rome (
12. The "Pasquino", etching (after P. Totti, Ritratto di Roma Antica, Rome 1633, p. 365)
13. "Dioscur" inscribed on the base "Praxiteles", Monte Cavallo, Rome (Anderson 2393)
14. Bernini, workshop, Project of the Piazza Quirinale, pen wash, Berlin Stiftung Preuss. Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett (
15. Bernini, Head of Proserpina, detail of Fig. 1, Villa Borghese, Rome (GFN E 59463)

ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Bernini, Anima Dannata, Palazzo di Spagna, Rome (Fototeca Unione 10112)
2. Caravaggio, Boy Bitten by a Lizard, Fondazione Roberto Longhi, Florence (Alinari 49883)
3. Caravaggio, David with the Head of Goliath, Galleria Borghese, Rome (GFN E 59360)
4. Bernini, David, Galleria Borghese, Rome (Anderson, 1922)
5. Caravaggio, Supper at Emmaus, National Gallery, London (National Gallery)
6. Bernini, St. Longinus, St. Peter's Rome (Anderson 20588)
7. Caravaggio, Conversion of St. Paul, Cerasi Chapel, Santa Maria del Popolo (GFN E 48474)
8. Bernini, The Death of the Beata Ludovica Albertoni, Altieri Chapel, S. Francesco a Ripa, Rome (Anderson 2385)
9. Caravaggio, The Ecstasy of St. Francis, Wadsworth Athenaeum, Hartford (Wadsworth Athenaeum)
10. Louis Finson, after Caravaggio, Repentent Magdalen, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Marseilles (Musée des Beaux-Arts)
11. Bernini, The Ecstasy of St. Teresa, Cornaro Chapel, Santa Maria della Vittoria, Rome (Anderson 2388)
12. Caravaggio, The "Madonna dei Pellegrini", Cavalletti Chapel, Sant' Agostino, Rome (GFN E 35407)

Illustrations

1. Bernini, Crucifixion, location unknown (author)
2. Writing on the back of the canvas of Fig. 1 (author)

ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Bernini, The Dead Christ, St. Peter's, Rome (Arte Fotografica, Rome)
2. Bernini, The Dying Christ, St. Peter's, Rome (Arte Fotografica, Rome)
3. Algardi, The Dead Christ, Chapel of the Palazzo del Governatorato, Vatican City (Arte Fotografica, Rome)
4. Algardi, The Dying Christ, S. Maria del Popolo, Rome (Arte Fotografica, Rome)
5. Algardi, detail of The Dead Christ, Chapel of the Palazzo del Governatorato, Vatican City (Arte Fotografica, Rome)
6. Bernini, detail of The Dead Christ, St. Peter's, Rome (Arte Fotografica, Rome)
7. Bernini, The Dead Christ, Collegio, Escoriale (after Wittkower, Bernini)
8. Algardi, detail of The Dying Christ, S. Maria del Popolo, Rome (Arte Fotografica, Rome)
9. Bernini, detail of The Dying Christ, St. Peter's, Rome (Arte Fotografica, Rome)
10. Attributed to Ferrata, The Dead Christ, Accademia delle Belle Arti, Bologna (Accademia Photo)
11. Attributed to Ferrata, The Dying Christ (private collection)

ILLUSTRATIONS

1. L. Cruyl, engraving of Piazza Navona flooded (Fagiolo Archives, Rome)
2. G. Vasi, engraving of Piazza Navona flooded (Fagiolo Archives, Rome)
3. Engraving of Piazza Navona flooded, after F. Cancellieri, Piazza Navona...Rome, 1811 (Fagiolo Archives, Rome)
4. One of the last floods in Piazza Navona in a photograph ca. 1860 (Fagiolo Archives, Rome)
5. Feast of the Resurrection in Piazza Navona, 1589. Note the galleon in the center (Fagiolo Archives, Rome)
6. Giostra del Saracino in Piazza Navona, 1634 (Fagiolo Archives, Rome)
7. Heraldic Pamphili elements connected to the Arc: medal for the foundation of Sant' Andrea al Quirinale, 1658 (Fagiolo Archives, Rome)
8. Heraldic Pamphili elements connected to the Arc: engraving from the Roccamora, with olive tree in/center and the Arc on Mt. Ararat (Fagiolo Archives, Rome)
- 9, 10: Two contraptions to celebrate the investiture of the Pope, with the four continents and the Arc on Mt. Ararat, after Banck, 1644 (Fagiolo Archives, Rome)
11. Frontispiece from A. Kircher, Obeliscus Pamphilius (Fagiolo Archives, Rome)
12. Frontispiece from A. Kircher, Arca Noe (Fagiolo Archives, Rome)
13. G. B. Grimaldi, Scenè with Castel Sant' Angelo and the Tiber, for Christina of Sweden, from one of Bernini's ideas (Fagiolo Archives, Rome)
14. Anonymous, Bernini on horseback and Innocent X in sedan visiting the Fontana dei Fiumi, Museo di Roma, Rome (Oscar Savio, Rome)

ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Bernini, Urban VIII, Louvre, Paris (Documentation Photographique, 79 EN 9122)
2. Bernini, Urban VIII, detail of Fig. 1, Louvre, Paris (Documentation Photographique, 79 EN 9124)
3. Ph. de Buyster, Laubespain Tomb, detail, Bourges Cathedral (Caisse Nationale, MH 162.800)
4. Turgot, Plan of Paris 1739 (1735), detail showing Hôtel of Hugues de Lionne (
5. Jean Marot, engraving of the design of Louis Le Vau for the Hôtel of Hugues de Lionne (
6. Jean Marot, engraving of the design of Louis Le Vau for the Hôtel of Hugues de Lionne (
7. Plan of the Hôtel de Lionne drawn around 1756, Paris (Archives Nationales, N. IV Seine 475)
8. Plan of the Hôtel de Lionne drawn around 1800, Paris (Archives Nationales N. III Seine 1207³)
9. Jean Marot, engraving of the design of Louis Le Vau for the Hôtel of Hugues de Lionne (
10. Bernini, or after Bernini, Louis XIV, Kress Collection, National Gallery, Washington (National Gallery)
11. Bernini (?), Campanile, Ospedale della carità, Lyons (Caisse Nationale, 1-FS-864)
12. Bernini, Tabernacle, bronze, in the Sacramento Chapel, St. Peter's, Rome (
13. E. Delaume, Armor of Henry II, Louvre, Paris (Caisse Nationale, 4-3790-001-IE1)
14. Pierre Paul Sevin, frontispiece for the Traité du droit de la Guerre

et de la Paix composé par H. Grotius, Paris, 1687 (engraving of Verneulen)

15. Blain de Fontenay, Still Life with the bust of Louis XIV (of Coysevox) and the armor of Henry II, Louvre, Paris (Louvre, 4464)
16. Bernini (?), Preparatory drawing for the fresco of the cupola of the Gesù, Rome, painted by Baciccio (Private collection)
17. Bernini, Preparatory study for the fresco of the cupola of the Gesù Rome, painted by Baciccio, Leipzig, National Museum (Leipzig, National Museum 8-18)
18. Bernini (?), Verso of Fig. 16 (Private collection)
19. Gaulli, Fresco of the Cupola of the Gesù, Rome (
20. Pierre Mignard, Fresco of the cupola of Val-de-Grâce, Paris (
21. A. Raggi, decoration based on the design of Bernini, Church of San Tommaso di Villanova, Castelgandolfo (

ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Giovanni Battista Gaulli, Triumph of the Name of Jesus, Gesù,
Rome (Alinari 27925)
2. Roman sarcophagus, Museo delle Terme, Rome (GFN E 26426)
3. Cappella Paolini, high altar, Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome
(Anderson, 132)
4. Bernini, Lopez de Silva chapel, Sant'Isidoro, Rome (Renzetti)
5. Raphael, Loggie, Vatican Palace, Rome (Alinari, 7810)
6. Annibale Carracci, Galleria Farnese, Palazzo Farnese, Rome
(GFN C 11396)
7. Pietro da Cortona, Vision of St. Philip Neri during construction
of the Church, Santa Maria in Vallicella, Rome (Alinari 28987)
8. Correggio, Assumption of the Virgin, Parma Cathedral (Alinari 15511)
detail of
9. Bernini, Cornaro Chapel, Santa Maria della Vittoria, Rome (GFN E
102930)
10. Giambattista Tiepolo, Translation of the Santa Casa of Loreto
[destroyed] Santa Maria di Nazareth, Venice (Anderson 13369)

Illustrations

1. Grand Augustins, main altar before destruction, Paris (Engraving by Millin)
2. Val-de-Grâce, Tabernacle of the main altar, Paris (Rupprich Robert)
3. Palladio, Detail of groundplan, Il Redentore, Venice (Univ. Würzburg)
4. Palladio, Apsidal colonnade in front of the choir, Il Redentore, Venice (Univ. Würzburg)
5. Palladio, Reconstruction of the cella of the Mars Altar Temple, Rome (Palladio, Quattro Libri IV, 19)
6. Josef Emanuel Fischer von Erlach, Design for a new main altar in the church of Sallapulka, Lower Austria 1720 (Herzogenburg, Archiv)
7. Main altar, former Franciscan Church, Ingoldstadt (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege, Munich)
8. Main Altar, Parish Church St. Peter, Munich (Univ. Würzburg)
9. Franz Anton Maulbertsch, Paulus in front of the altar of the Unknown God, detail of model, Städt. Kunstsammlungen, Augsburg (Museum)
10. Baltasar Neumann, Main altar, St. Paul's, Trier (Univ. Würzburg)
11. View of interior with main altar colonnade, Residence, Chapel, Würzburg (Univ. Würzburg)

ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Martinengo, façade of S. Andrea Apostolo, mid-19th-century, Bra
(Albaro, Bra)
2. Giuseppe Gallo, Interior of S. Andrea Apostolo, Bra. Altar aedicule
late 19th-century; main altar, early 20th-century. Relief of
S. Andrea by Davide Calandra (Albaro, Bra)
3. Plan of Ste. Anne-la-Royale, Paris, 1662 (G. Guarini, Architettura
Civile, pl. 9)
4. Section of Ste. Anne-la-Royale, Paris, 1662 (G. Guarini, Architettura
Civile, pl. 23)
5. Plan of palace (Louvre?), Paris, here dated 1664 (G. Guarini, Archi-
tettura Civile, pl. 23)
6. Elevation and section of palace (Louvre?), Paris, here dated 1664
(G. Guarini, Architettura Civile, pl. 24)
7. Bernini (?), partial perspective from the east, Louvre I, Paris, 1664
Coll. Margaret Whinney (The Courtauld Institute)
8. Plan, Louvre I, Paris, 1664 (Cabinet des Estampes, Paris)
9. Perspective from the east, Louvre II, Paris, 1665 (Tessin, Stockholm,
National Museum)
10. Partial elevation (from the model), Louvre IV, Paris, after 1667
(Tessin, Stockholm, National Museum)
11. Plan, Louvre III, Paris, 1665 (J. F. Blondel, L'Architecture françoise,
IV, Book VI, no. 1, pl. 3)
12. Guarini, plan of Palazzo Carignano I, Turin, 1679 (Archivio di Stato,
Turin)
13. Guarini, plan of Palazzo Carignano II, Turin, 1679 (Archivio di Stato,
Turin)
14. Guarini, plan of Palazzo Carignano III, Turin, 1679 (Archivio di Stato,
Turin)

15. Guarini, elevation and partial plan of west façade, Palazzo Carignano IVB, Turin, 1679 (G. Guarini, Architettura Civile, pl. 31)
16. Guarini, elevation, section, and partial plan, Palazzo Carignano IVB, Turin, 1679 (G. Guarini, Architettura Civile, pl. 32)
17. Guarini, ground floor plan showing portions constructed and planned, Palazzo Carignano IVC, Turin (drawing by author)
18. Guarini, view from the west, Palazzo Carignano, Turin (Cavaglia)
19. Reconstruction of Palatine Palace, east elevation, 1738 (Francesco Bianchini, Del Palazzo dei Cesari, pl. XII)
20. Reconstruction of Palatine Palace, view from the south, 1600 (Onofrio Panvinio, De Ludis Circensibus, 49)
21. Reconstruction of Palatine Palace, view from the south, 1612 (Giacomo Lauro, Antiquae Urbis Splendor, Book II, reproduced from the edition of 1641)
22. Plan of Palatine Palace, 1600 (O. Panvinio, De Ludis Circensibus, reproduced from the edition of J. G. Graevius, Thesaurus Romanarum Antiquitatum, Venice, 1735, Vol. IX, 54)
23. Reconstruction of Palatine Palace, south elevation, 1738 (F. Bianchini, Del Palazzo dei Cesari, Pl. XIII)
24. Reconstruction of Palatine Palace, plan, 1738 (F. Bianchini, Del Palazzo dei Cesari, pl. VIII)

PLAN GENERAL, AU PREMIER ETAGE, DES BATIMENS DU LOUVRE SELON LE PROJET DU CAVALIER BELLIN ET

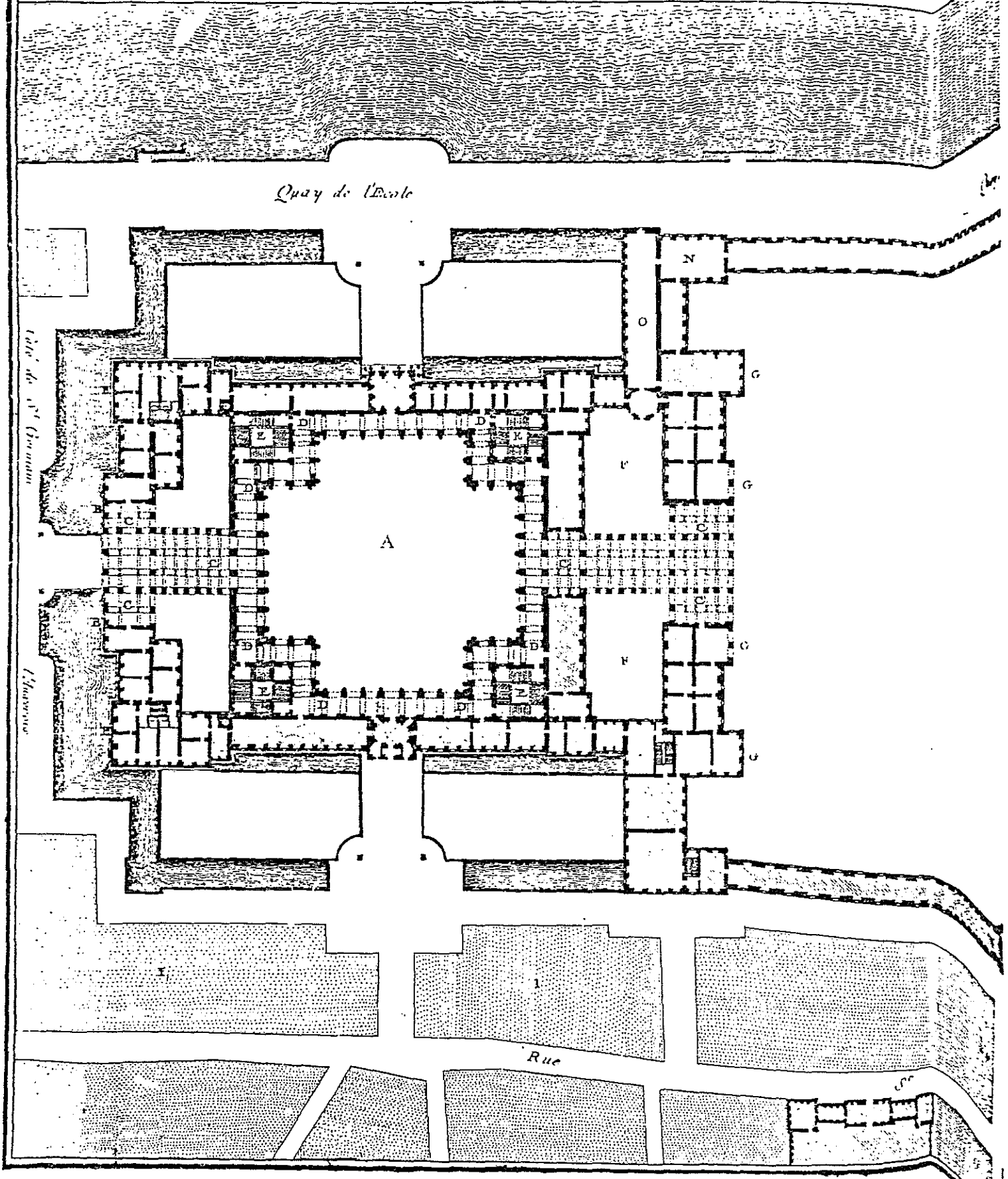


Fig 11

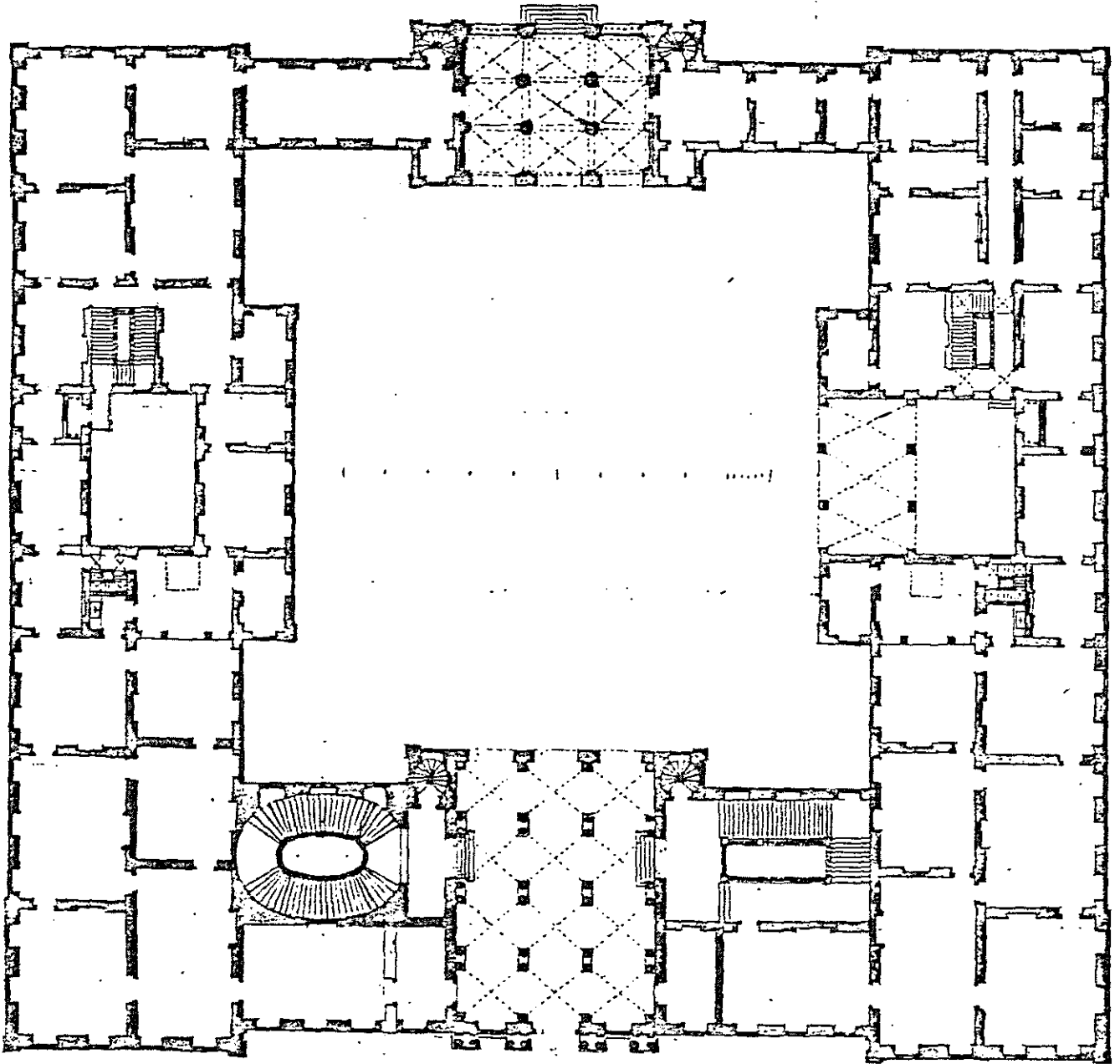
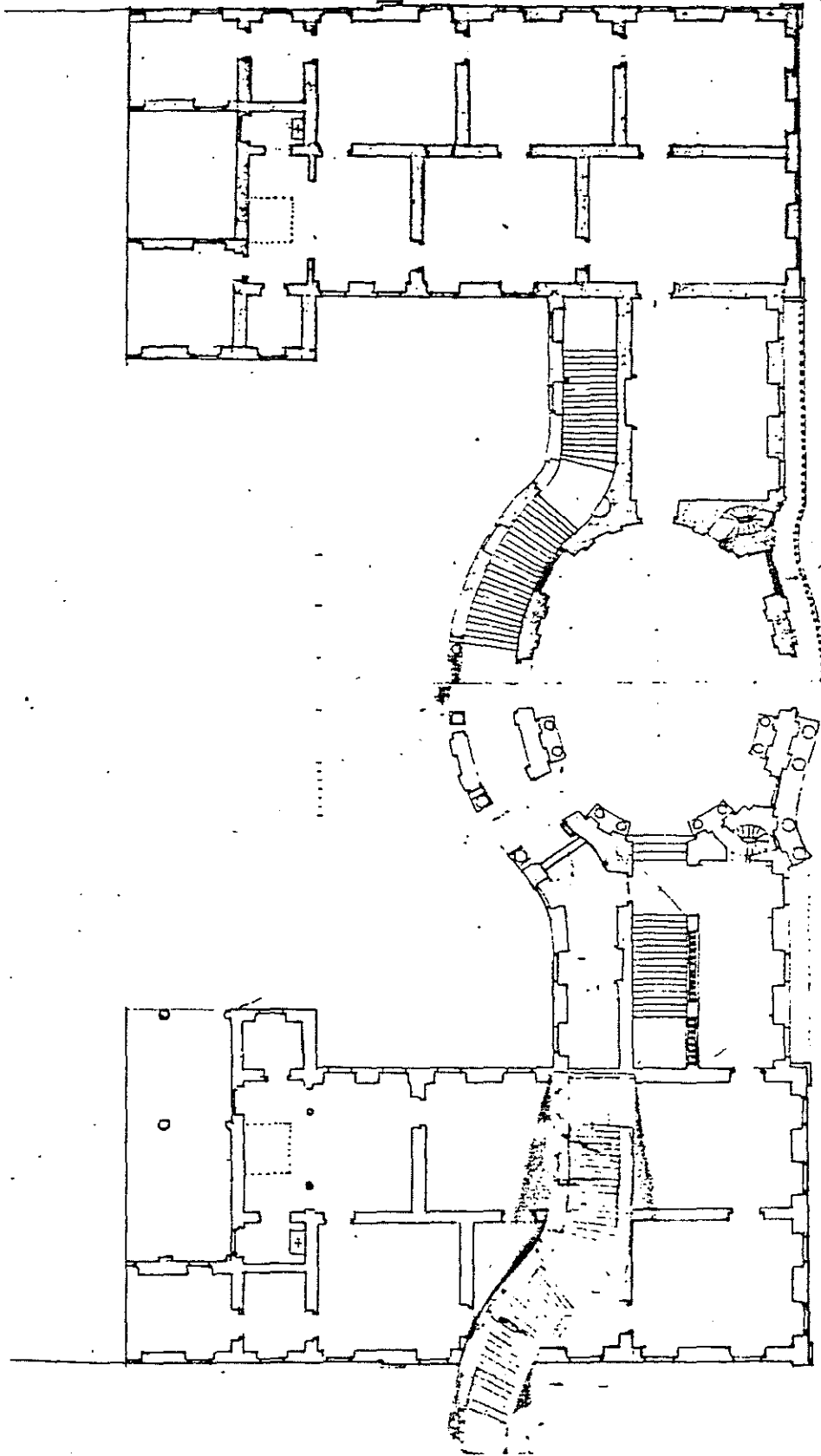


Fig 12



Fig 13



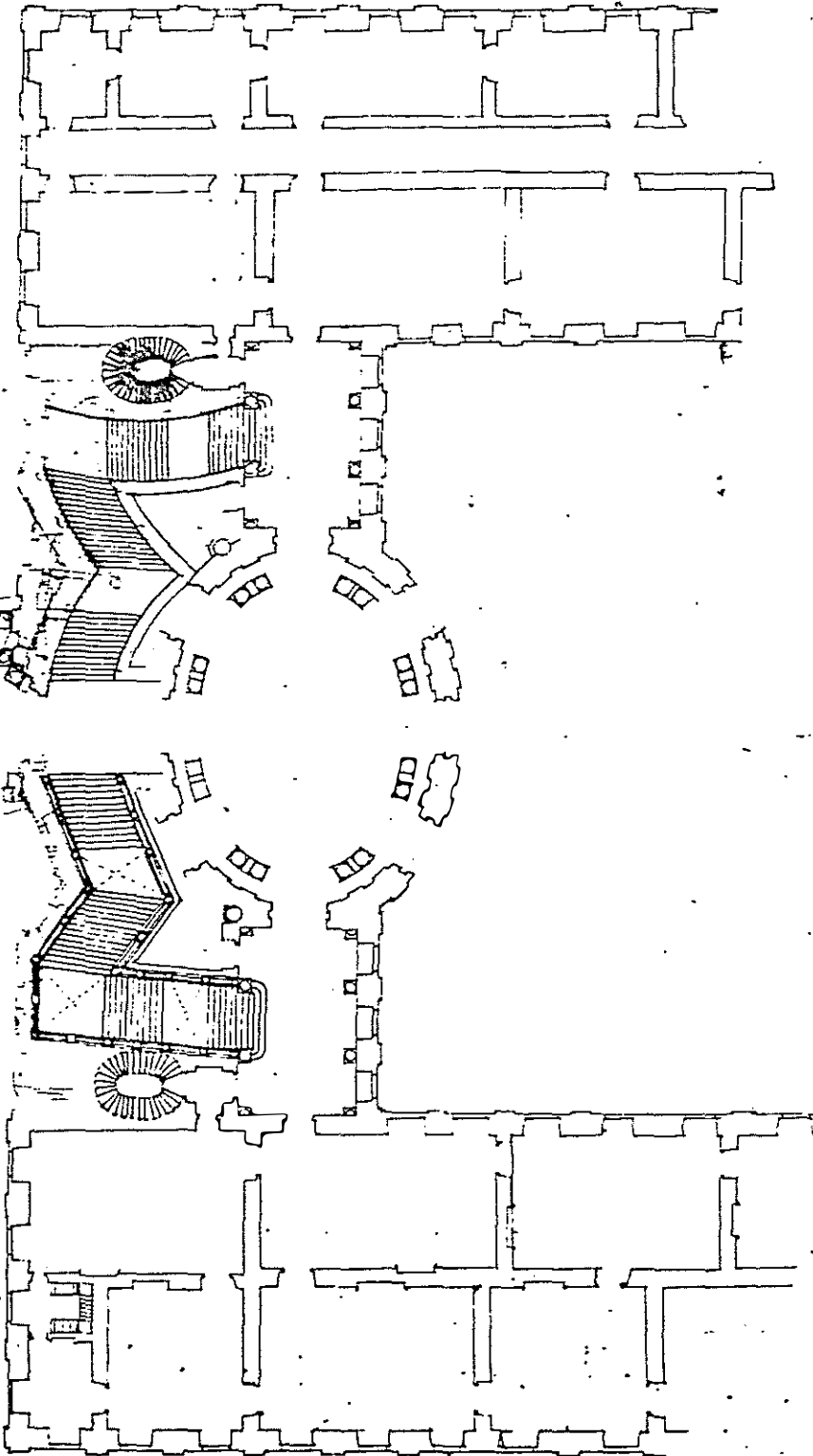


Fig 14

Illustrations

1. Carlo Fontana, Design for the High Altar of his church projected for the Colosseum, Rome (London, Sir John Soane's Museum)
2. Andrea Pozzo, Baldacchino, Cathedral, Foligno
3. Bernini, Project for a Tomb of the Doge Giovanni Cornaro (London, Collection of Anthony Blunt)
4. Carlo Fontana, façade of S. Biagio in Campitelli (S. Rita), Rome (after Architettura Minore in Italia)
5. Groundplan of Bernini's lost chapel in the Palazzo di Propaganda Fide, Rome, by Francesco Borromini (Detail, Vienna, Albertina)
6. Gasparo Zuccalli, groundplan for St. Kajetan, Salzburg (after H. Keller)
7. Bernini, elevation of façade of the lost chapel in the Palazzo di Propaganda Fide, Rome (Vienna, Albertina)
8. Luigi Vanvitelli, Project for a church façade (Caserta, Biblioteca Palatina)
9. Bernini, elevation of façade, S. Andrea al Quirinale, Rome (Florence, Uffizi)
10. Carlo Cesare Scalatti, model for S. Antonio Abate, Forlì
(
11. Annibale Carracci, Landscape with the Flight into Egypt, detail (Rome, Galleria Doria Pamphili)
12. Bernini, Assunta and the Palazzo Chigi in a 19th century engraving, Ariccia (Collection of the author)
13. Bernini, Entrance facade of the Assunta, Ariccia (Photo: Hager)

14. Carlo Fontana, Entrance Façade, Loyola, Jesuit College
(Photo: Hager)
15. Detail of the wall surrounding the church of the Assumption
of the Holy Virgin at Ariccia, on the right side (Photo: Hager)
16. Detail of the sham wall covering the house of St. Ignatius
at Loyola (Photo: Hager)
17. Fabrizio Gallinari, State set design for "Demetrio," Turin,
Biblioteca Reale, 1762 (After Ferrero, La Scenografia del
'700..., Turin, 1963, Fig. 56)
18. Pietro Bianchi, S. Francesco di Paola, Naples (
19. Bernini, Scala Regia, engraving by S. Specchi (after Carlo
Fontana, Il Tempio Vaticano)
20. Pierre de Villeneuve, section of project for an Academy of
Fine Arts, Rome, Accademia di S. Luca, Concorso Clementino
of 1708 (Rome, Accademia di San Luca)

ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Bernini, elevation of east façade, third Louvre project, 1665 (engraving by Marot)
2. Bernini (?), project for the Hôtel de Lionne, over engraved plan by Marot (Stockholm, National Museum)
3. Ange-Jacques Gabriel, elevation of main façade on Cour Royale, Grand Projet for Versailles, 1759 (Paris, Archives Nationales)
4. Pierre Boscry, porch of Irlandais Chapel, Paris, 1734 (after Blunt, Art and Architecture in France 1500-1700)
5. Boffrand, Hôtel Amelot de Gournay, Paris, 1712
6. G.-P.-M. Dumont, groundplan, project for a garden on the plan of St. Peter's [engraving by Taraval after Dumont] (after Blunt, Art and Architecture in France 1500-1700)
7. Soufflot, detail of transept section, project for Ste-Geneviève (Paris, Archives Nationales)
8. Soufflot, perspective of interior, project for Ste-Geneviève [detail of engraving by Poulleau] (private collection)
9. Legeay, elevation and section of project for a church dedicated to the Trinity (after J.M. Pérouse de Montclos, Boullée)
10. De Wailly, perspective view of the Cattedra Petri, 1755 (The Hermitage, Leningrad)
11. De Wailly, perspective view, project for the pulpit of St-Sulpice (The Hermitage, Leningrad)
12. De Wailly, pulpit of St-Sulpice, 1789 (Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de Paris)
13. Victor Louis, perspective view of Bernini's piazza (Bordeaux, Archives Municipales)

14. Victor Louis, plan, project for the Royal Palace of Warsaw (National Museum, Warsaw)
15. Pierre-Adrien Pâris, detail of plan showing forecourt of project for Versailles (Château de Versailles)
16. Abbé de Lubersac, perspective view of project for a monument in honor of Louis XVI, 1777[engraving by Laurent after Touzé and Bertaux] (Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale)
17. Ledoux, detail of main entrance to salt works of Arc and Senans (Photo: author)
18. Ledoux, perspective view of Château of Eguière (engraving from Ledoux's Architecture, 1804)

ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Corneille van Clive, High Altar, Versailles Chapel (Caisse Nationale, MH 172.969)
2. Dupuis & Christophle, High Altar, Amiens Cathedral (Caisse Nationale, MH 56122)
3. Jean Restout, Death of S. Scolastica, Tours Museum (Archives Photographiques, 1 PE 628)
4. J. F. Detroy, Time Revealing Truth, National Gallery, London (National Gallery 6454)
5. J. F. Detroy, Death of Cleopatra, Draguignan, Museum (Archives Photographiques D 2479 2)
6. L-S. Adam, Self Portrait, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (Ashmolean Museum)

ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Günther, Pietà, first view, St. Peter and Paul, Weyarn (Sowieja)
2. Günther, Pietà, main view, St. Peter and Paul, Weyarn (Sowieja)
3. Günther, Pietà, closing view, St. Peter and Paul, Weyarn (Sowieja)
4. Poussin, Lamentation of Christ, Alte Pinakothek, Munich (Alte Pinakothek)
5. Bernini, Aeneas, Anchises, and Ascanius, main view, Galleria Borghese, Rome (GFN E 55213)
6. Bernini, Head of Apollo, main view, Galleria Borghese, Rome (Anderson, 2175)
7. Bernini, Head of Apollo, closing view, Galleria Borghese, Rome (Anderson, 2174)
8. Bernini, Apollo and Daphne, exposition view, Galleria Borghese, Rome (Biblioteca Hertziana, Rome)
9. Bernini, Apollo and Daphne, main view, Galleria Borghese, Rome (Anderson, 1919)
10. Bernini, Apollo and Daphne, closing view, Galleria Borghese, Rome (Biblioteca Hertziana, Rome)
11. Bernini, Daniel, exposition view, Sta. Maria del Popolo, Rome (Neubauer)
12. Bernini, Daniel, main view, Sta. Maria del Popolo, Rome (Anderson, 1818)
13. Bernini, Daniel, closing view, Sta. Maria del Popolo, Rome (Neubauer)
14. Bernini, Study for the exposition view of the Daniel, Leipzig (after Brauer-Wittkower, Bernini, pl. 45)
15. Bernini, Study for the main view of the Daniel, Leipzig (after Brauer-Wittkower, Bernini, pl. 46)
16. Bernini, Studies for the Daniel, Leipzig (after Brauer-Wittkower, Bernini, pl. 47)
17. Günther, Annunciation, exposition view, St. Peter and Paul, Weyarn (Sowieja)
18. Günther, Annunciation, main view, St. Peter and Paul, Weyarn (Sowieja)

19. Günther, Annunciation, closing view, St. Peter and Paul, Weyarn
(Sowieja)
20. Günther, Guardian Angel, exposition view, Bürgersaal, Munich (Sowieja)
21. Günther, Guardian Angel, main view, Bürgersaal, Munich (Sowieja)
22. Günther, Guardian Angel, closing view, Bürgersaal, Munich (Sowieja)
23. Bernini, Pluto and Proserpina, exposition view (after de Rossi, Raccolta,
1704, pl. 68)