

Drawings by Gianlorenzo Bernini

*from the Museum der Bildenden Künste
Leipzig, German Democratic Republic*

Exhibition and catalogue prepared in a graduate
seminar, Department of Art and Archaeology,
Princeton University

By IRVING LAVIN

And Pamela Gordon, Linda Klinger, Steven Ostrow
Sharon Cather, Nicola Courtright, Ilana Dreyer



THE ART MUSEUM, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

Contents

<i>List of Comparative Illustrations</i>	ix
<i>Foreword</i>	xv
<i>Preface</i>	xvii
<i>Introduction</i>	3
<i>ON FUNCTION AND STYLE IN BERNINI'S DRAWINGS</i>	7
I. FUNCTION	
Pamela Gordon and Steven Ostrow with a contribution from Sharon Cather	9
II. STYLE	
Linda Klinger with contributions from Nicola Courtright and Ilana Dreyer	17
<i>BERNINI AND THE ART OF SOCIAL SATIRE</i>	
Irving Lavin	25
<i>CATALOGUE OF THE EXHIBITION</i>	
<i>Number</i>	
1	<i>Pluto and Proserpina</i> 56
2–5	<i>Tomb of Urban VIII</i> 62
6	<i>Memorial to Carlo Barberini</i> 72
7–9	<i>Feed My Sheep</i> 78
10–13	<i>Ecstasy of St. Teresa</i> 86
14–16	<i>Time and Truth</i> 95
17–18	<i>Two Saints</i> 104
19–20	<i>Four Rivers Fountain</i> 108
21–22	<i>Pluto</i> 120
23–24	<i>Tomb of Cardinal Domenico Pimentel</i> 126
25–27	<i>Constantine</i> 136
28–30	<i>S. Maria del Popolo</i> 149
31	<i>Study after the Laocoön</i> 158
32–36	<i>Daniel</i> 164
37–44	<i>Cathedra Petri</i> 174
45–48	<i>S. Andrea al Quirinale</i> 194

49–55	<i>Saints for the Colonnade of St. Peter's</i>	208
56–58	<i>Fireworks Display Honoring the Birth of the French Dauphin</i>	219
59–62	<i>SS. Jerome and Mary Magdalene</i>	228
63	<i>Scala Regia</i>	241
64	<i>Statue of Philip IV of Spain</i>	248
65–77	<i>St. John the Baptist Preaching</i>	254
78–80	<i>A Pair of Andirons</i>	275
81	<i>Elephant and Obelisk</i>	282
82	<i>Angel with the Crown of Thorns</i>	288
83–85	<i>Portrait of Clement X</i>	294
86–87	<i>Beata Lodovica Albertoni</i>	302
88	<i>Intercession of Christ and the Virgin</i>	310
89–98	<i>Sacrament Altar</i>	316
99	<i>Caricature of Innocent XI</i>	336
APPENDIX I		
	A Statistical Survey of Bernini's Drawings	339
APPENDIX II		
	Photomontage Reconstructions of Divided Drawings in the Exhibition	341
	<i>Concordance</i>	345
	<i>Bibliography</i>	349
	<i>Index of Names</i>	357
	<i>Index of Bernini's Works by Location</i>	361



Bernini and the Art of Social Satire

Irving Lavin

My purpose in this paper is to offer some comments on Bernini's caricature of Innocent XI (No. 99), one of the few traces of the artist's handiwork that have come down to us from the very last years of his life. Bernini was seventy-eight and had only four years to live when Benedetto Odescalchi was elected pope, at the age of sixty-five, in 1676. As a work of art the drawing is slight enough—a few tremulous, if devastating, pen lines sketched in a moment of diversion on a wisp of paper measuring barely $4\frac{1}{2} \times 7$ inches.¹ Despite its modest pretensions—in part actually because of them, as we shall see—the work represents a monumental watershed in the history of art: it is the first caricature that has come down to us of so exalted a personage as a pope. Signifying as it does that *no one* is beyond ridicule, it marks a critical step in the development, perhaps the beginning, of what can properly be called the art of social satire.

By and large, before Bernini there were two chief methods of ridiculing people in a work of art. The artist might poke fun at a particular individual, independently of any setting or ideological context, if the victim occupied a relatively modest station in life. Such evidently were the informal little comic sketches of friends and relatives by Agostino and Annibale Carracci, described in the sources but now lost; these “*ritrattini carichi*,” or charged portraits, as the Carracci called them, were certainly among the primary inspirations of Bernini's caricatures (Fig. 4). Alternatively, the victim might be grand, but he would be represented in a context that reflected his position in society. The artists of the Reformation had made almost a specialty of satirizing the popes, as representatives of a hated institution and its vices (Fig. 5). In the former case the individuality of the victim was important, but *he* was not; in the latter case the opposite was true.²

The differences between Bernini's drawing and these antecedents have to do, on the one hand, with the form of the work—a particular kind of drawing that we immediately recognize and refer to as a caricature—and, on the other, with its content—the peculiar appearance and character of a specific individual who might even be the supreme pontiff of the Roman Catholic church. I shall offer my remarks under those general headings.³

Much of what I shall have to say was already said, at least implicitly, in the accounts of Bernini's caricatures given by his early biographers, who were well aware of the significance of his achievement in this domain. Filippo Baldinucci reports that Bernini's “boldness of touch” (*franchezza di tocco*) in drawing was “truly miraculous; and I could not say who in his time was his equal in this ability. An effect of this boldness was his singular work in the kind of drawing we call caricature, or exaggerated sketches, wittily malicious deformations of people's appearance, which do not destroy their resemblance or dignity, though often they were great princes who enjoyed the joke with him, even regarding their own faces, and showed the drawings to others of

Opposite:

Fig. 4 Attributed to Annibale Carracci: caricatures and a portrait, pen and ink. Windsor, Royal Library



Fig. 5 Lucas Cranach: Pope Leo X as Antichrist, woodcut



Fig. 6 Michelangelo: *Fall of Phaeton*, black chalk. Windsor, Royal Library



Fig. 7 Ottavio Leoni: portrait of Gianlorenzo Bernini, red and black chalk heightened with white. Florence, Biblioteca Marucelliana

equal rank.”⁴ Domenico Bernini, the artist’s son, gives the following formulation: “at that time [under Urban VIII] and afterwards he worked singularly in the kind of drawing commonly referred to as caricature. This was a singular effect of his spirit, in which as a joke he deformed some natural defect in people’s appearance, without destroying the resemblance, recording them on paper as they were in substance, although in part obviously altered. The invention was rarely practiced by other artists, it being no easy matter to derive beauty from the deformed, symmetry from the ill-proportioned. He made many such drawings, and he mostly took pleasure in exaggerating the features of princes and important personages, since they in turn enjoyed recognizing themselves and others, admiring the great inventiveness of the artist and enjoying the game.”

The explicit definition of caricature given in these passages—a comic exaggeration of the natural defects of the sitter’s features—focuses on what might be called the mimetic nature of the genre. It is essential that an individual, preferably of high rank, be represented, and that with all the distortion he remain individually identifiable. The

Fig. 8 Bernini: caricature of Cardinal Scipione Borghese, pen and ink. Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana

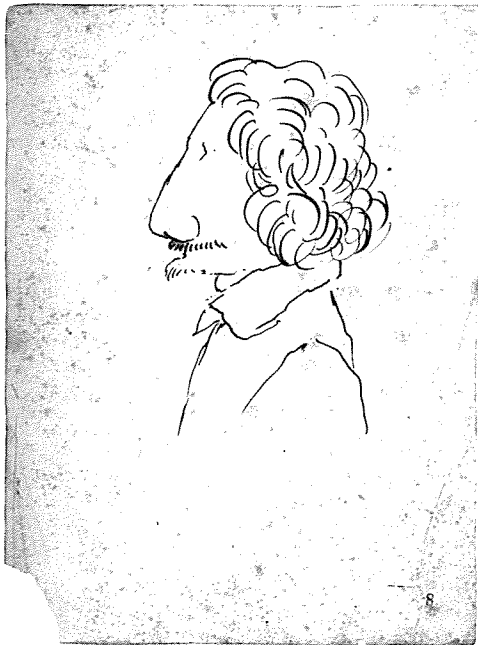


Fig. 9 Bernini: caricature of an unknown man, pen and ink. Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana

formal qualities are expressed implicitly: the drawings were independent works of art, conceived as ends in themselves and appreciated as such; they were also true or pure portraits, in that they depicted a single individual, isolated from any setting or narrative context; and they were graphically distinctive, in that they were drawn in a singular manner (reflecting Bernini's *franchezza di tocco*), specifically adapted to their purpose.⁶

It is well known that in the course of the sixteenth century drawing had achieved the status of an independent art—that is, serving neither as an exercise, nor a documentary record, nor a preparatory design—in a limited variety of forms. One was what may be called the presentation drawing, which the artist prepared expressly for a given person or occasion. Michelangelo's drawings for his friend, Tommaso Cavalieri, are among the earliest such works that have come down to us (Fig. 6).⁷ Another category, especially relevant in our context, was the portrait drawing, which by Bernini's time had also become a genre unto itself. In the early seventeenth century there was a specialist in this field in Rome, Ottavio Leoni; he portrayed many notables of the period, including Bernini himself (Fig. 7), who also made "regular" portrait drawings of this sort.⁸ A common characteristic of these types is that they were highly finished, and the draftsman tended to invent or adopt special devices—Michelangelo's famous stippling and rubbing, Ottavio Leoni's mixture of colored chalks—which distinguish them from other kinds of drawings.⁹ They are carefully executed, rich in detail and complex in technique. The artist, in one way or another, created an independent form midway between a sketch and a painting or sculpture. We shall explore the peculiar graphic qualities of Bernini's caricatures presently. For the moment it is important to note that they incorporate two interrelated innovations with respect to this prior history of drawing as an end in itself. Bernini's are the first such independent drawings in which the technique is purely graphic, i.e., the medium is exclusively pen and ink, the forms being outlined without internal modelling; and in them the rapidity, freshness and spontaneity usually associated with the informal sketch become an essential feature of the final work of art.¹⁰

Within the specific context of the autonomous portrait drawing, Bernini's caricatures also stand apart. The prevalent convention in this genre, and indeed in that of the painted portrait generally since the early Renaissance, was to show the sitter in three-quarter view, whereas Bernini's caricatures are invariably either full-face or profile (Figs. 8 and 9). The effect seems deliberately archaic, but this preference may also be seen in the light of another, equally striking fact: among Bernini's own portrait drawings (other than caricatures) those that are independent are three-quarter views, while those that can be identified as studies for sculptured portraits are in strict profile (Figs. 10 and 11).¹¹ We know that the very first studies he made from life for the famous bust of Louis XIV were two drawings, one full-face, the other in profile.¹² Bernini of course astonished his contemporaries by also making many sketches of the sitter moving and talking, and these must have been extremely various.¹³ In actually preparing the sculpture, however, the full face and profile were evidently primary, perhaps because the sculptor began by tracing them on the sides and front



Fig. 10 Bernini: portrait of Sisinio Poli, black and red chalk with white heightening. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library

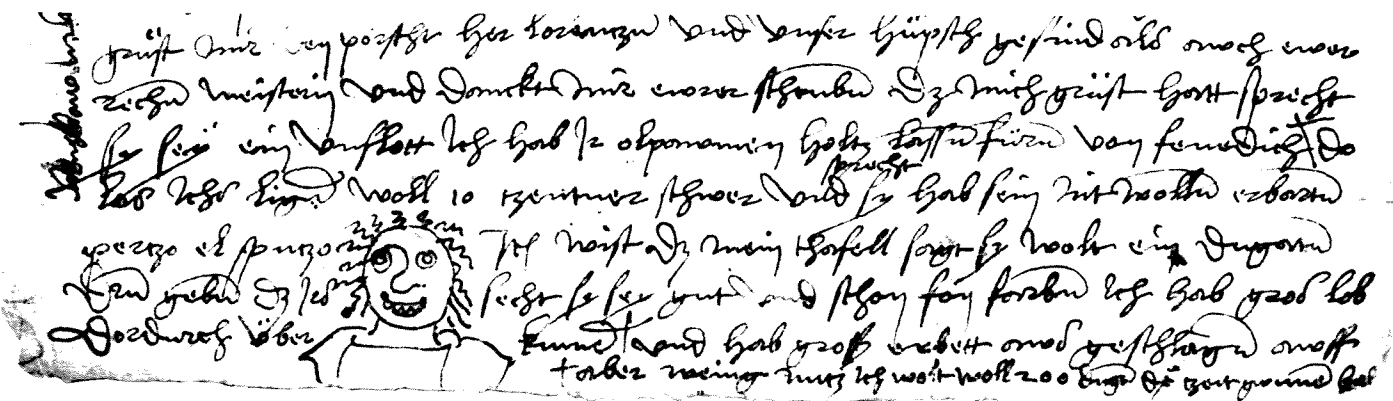


Fig. 11 Bernini: portrait of Cardinal Scipione Borghese, red chalk and graphite. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library

of the block.¹⁴ We shall see that other factors were involved, as well, but it seems clear that in this respect Bernini's caricatures transfer to the final work conventions proper to a preliminary stage.

Bernini's caricatures have a distinct graphic style which marks them as caricatures quite apart from what they represent. They consist, as we have noted, entirely of outlines, from which hatching, shading and modelling have been eliminated in favor of an extreme, even exaggerated simplicity. The lines are also often patently inept, suggesting either bold, muscle-bound attacks on the paper, or a tremulous hesitancy. In other words, Bernini adopted (or rather created) a kind of lowbrow or everyman's graphic mode in which tradi-

Fig. 12 Albrecht Dürer: letter to Willibald Pirckheimer, detail. Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek



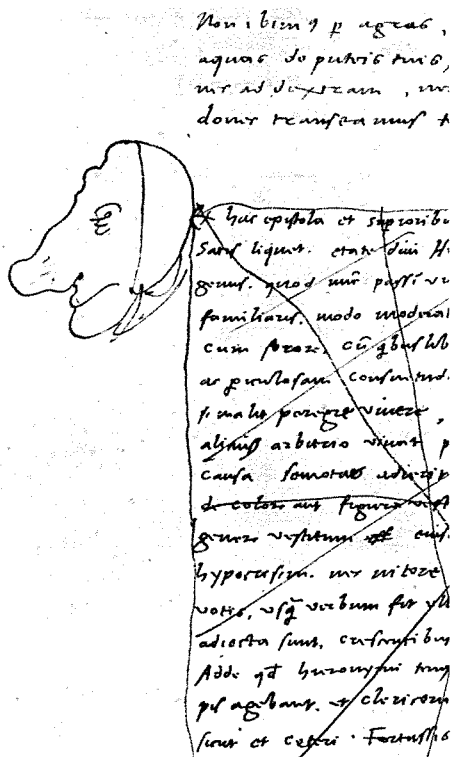


Fig. 13 Erasmus: manuscript page. Basel, Universitäts-Bibliothek

tional methods of sophisticated draughtsmanship are travestied just as the sitters themselves are.¹⁵

If one speculates on possible antecedents of Bernini's caricature technique, two art forms—if they can be called that—immediately spring to mind, in which the inept and untutored form part of the timeless and anonymous heritage of human creativity: children's drawings and graffiti. It is not altogether far-fetched to imagine that Bernini might have taken such things seriously, as it were, in making his comic drawings, for he would certainly not have been the first to do so. Albrecht Dürer drew a deliberately crude and childish sketch of a woman with scraggly hair and prominent nose in a letter he wrote from Venice in 1506 to his friend Willibald Pirckheimer (Fig. 12). The drawing illustrates a famous passage in which Dürer describes the Italians' favorable reaction to his *Rosenkranz Madonna*. He reports that the new picture had silenced all the painters who admired his graphic work but said he could not handle colors.¹⁶ The clumsy-looking sketch is thus an ironic response to his critics, as if to say, "Here is my Madonna, reduced to the form these fools can appreciate."

Something similar appears in certain manuscripts of Dürer's friend and admirer, Erasmus of Rotterdam (Fig. 13). Here and there he introduced sketches—one might almost call them doodles, except they are much too self-conscious—that include repeated portrayals of himself with exaggerated features, in what Panofsky described as the sharply observant, humorous spirit that animated his *Praise of Folly*.¹⁷ It might be added that the crude style of the drawings also matches the ironic exaltation of ignorance that is the fundamental theme of the *Praise of Folly*. Although Erasmus was an amateur, it should not be assumed that the sketches are simply inept. He did know better, for he had practiced painting in his youth, and he had a discriminating art-historical eye that even encompassed what he called a "rustic" style that he associated with early medieval art.¹⁸

A child's drawing plays a leading role in a portrait by the Veronese painter Giovanni Francesco Caroto (Fig. 14).¹⁹ Perhaps the drawing is the work of the young man who shows it to the spectator. He seems rather too old, however, and a much more correctly drawn eye (the eye of the painter?) appears at the lower right of the sheet.²⁰ The suggestive smile and glance with which the youth confronts the viewer certainly convey a deeper sense of the ironic contrast between the drawing and the painting itself.²¹

Graffiti have a particular relevance to our context because while stylistic naiveté may be constant the sorts of things they represent are not. Historically speaking, portrait graffiti are far rarer than one might suppose. Considering the role of portraiture in antiquity, it is certainly significant that many comic graffiti portraying identifiable individuals—they are often accompanied by inscriptions—decorate the walls of Roman buildings at Pompeii and Rome (Fig. 15).²² I feel sure Bernini was aware of such drawings, if only because we know he was acutely aware of the wall as a graphic field. It was his habit, he said, to stroll about his house while excogitating his first ideas for a project, tracing them upon the wall with charcoal.²³ Two extant wall compositions by him, though not preliminary sketches, are in fact drawings (see Fig. 16).²⁴

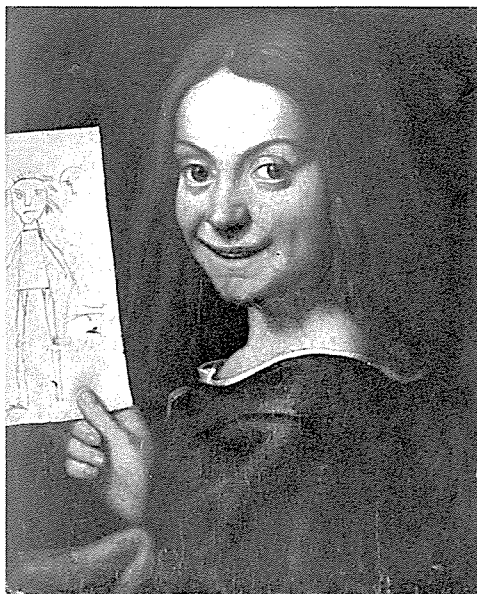


Fig. 14 Giovanni Francesco Caroto: *Boy with Drawing*, oil on panel. Verona, Museo del Castelvecchio



Fig. 15 Ancient graffiti on walls of buildings at Rome and Pompeii

The term graffiti, of course, refers etymologically to the technique of incised drawing. The beginning of its modern association with popular satirical representations can be traced to the Renaissance, notably to Vasari's time when 'sgraffito' was used for a kind of mural decoration that often included grotesque and chimaeric forms with amusing distortions and transformations of nature, based on classical models (Fig. 17).²⁵

It is also in the Renaissance that we begin to find allusions to popular mural art by sophisticated artists. Michelangelo, who was full of references, serious as well as ironic, to the relations among various



Fig. 16 Bernini: wall drawing of Urban VIII, black and red chalk (much restored). Muccia, Villa della Maddalena

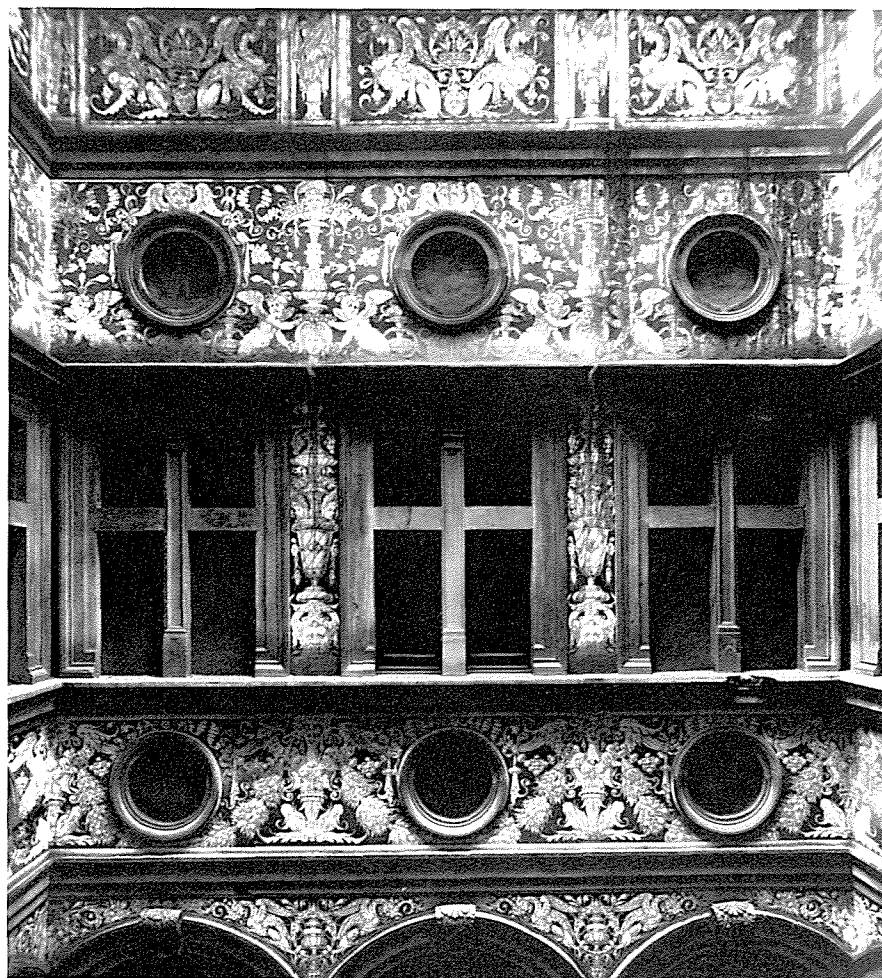


Fig. 17 Sgraffito decorations. Florence, Palazzo Bartolini-Salimbeni, courtyard



Fig. 18 Michelangelo and assistants: wall drawings, charcoal. Florence, S. Lorenzo, New Sacristy

kinds of art, was a key figure in the development. By way of illustrating Michelangelo's prodigious visual memory, Vasari tells an anecdote that also sheds light on this aspect of the master's stylistic sensibility. On an occasion during his youth when Michelangelo was dining with some of his colleagues, they held an informal contest to see who could "best" draw a figure without design, awkward, Vasari says, as the doll-like creatures (*fantocci*) made by the ignorant who deface the walls of buildings. Michelangelo won the game by reproducing as if it were still before him such a scrawl (*gofferia*), which he had seen long before. Vasari's comment, that this was a difficult achievement for one of discriminating taste and steeped in design, shows that he was well aware of the underlying significance of such an interplay between high and low style.²⁶ Juxtapositions of this kind may actually be seen among the spectacular series of charcoal sketches attributed to Michelangelo and his assistants, discovered a few years ago on the walls of chambers adjacent to and beneath the Medici chapel in Florence (Fig. 18).²⁷



Fig. 19 Michelangelo: sonnet on the Sistine Ceiling. Florence, Archivio Buonarroti

An even more remarkable instance, and as it happens almost exactly contemporary with the Dürer letter, involves one of Michelangelo's early sonnets (Fig. 19). The poem parodies Michelangelo's own work on the Sistine ceiling, its gist being that the agonizing physical conditions of the work impair his judgment (*giudizio*), that is, the noblest part of art, so that he is not a true painter; he begs indulgence:

My belly's pushed by force beneath my chin.

 My brush, above my face continually,
 Makes it a splendid floor by dripping down.

 And I am bending like a Syrian bow.
 And judgment, hence, must grow,
 Borne in mind, peculiar and untrue;
 You cannot shoot well when the gun's askew.
 John, come to the rescue
 Of my dead painting now, and of my honor;
 I'm not in a good place, and I'm no painter.²⁸

In the margin of the manuscript page he drew a sketch depicting his twisted body as the bow, his right arm holding the brush as the arrow, and a figure on the ceiling as the target. Of particular interest in our context is the striking contrast in style between the two parts of the sketch: the figure of the artist is contorted but elegantly drawn in a normal way; that on the ceiling is grotesquely deformed and drawn with amateurish, even child-like crudity. Michelangelo transforms the Sistine ceiling itself into a kind of graffito, deliberately adopting a sub-normal mode to satirize high art—in this case his own. If, as I suspect, the grotesque figure on the vault alludes to God the Father (Fig. 20), Michelangelo's thought may reach further still: referring to the traditional analogy between the artist's creation and God's, the graffito style would express his sense of inadequacy.²⁹

Two further examples bring us to Bernini's own time. In a view of the interior of a church in Utrecht by the great Dutch architectural painter Pieter Saenredam, a graffito of four men wearing curious armor and riding a horse appears conspicuously on a pier at the lower right (Figs. 21 and 22).³⁰ The drawing represents a well-known episode from a medieval French romance, which had a wide popular appeal. Although the meaning of the subject in the context of Saenredam's picture is unclear, the style of the drawing may have been intended not only to suggest the hand of an untrained graffito artist generally; it may also be a deliberate archaism to evoke the medieval origin of the story and, incidentally, of the building itself. Perhaps the boy standing nearby and about to draw on the wall refers ironically to Saenredam himself; perhaps the companion group, a boy seated with a schoolchild's box at his side and teaching a dog to sit up, refers to the mastery of art achieved by instruction and practice. In any event, the drawing must have had a special significance for Saenredam, since he added his own signature and the date immediately below.³¹

Our final example is from Rome, in the form of a drawing by Pieter van Laer, nicknamed "il Bamboccio"; he was the physically deformed leader of a notorious group of Flemish artists in Rome in the seven-

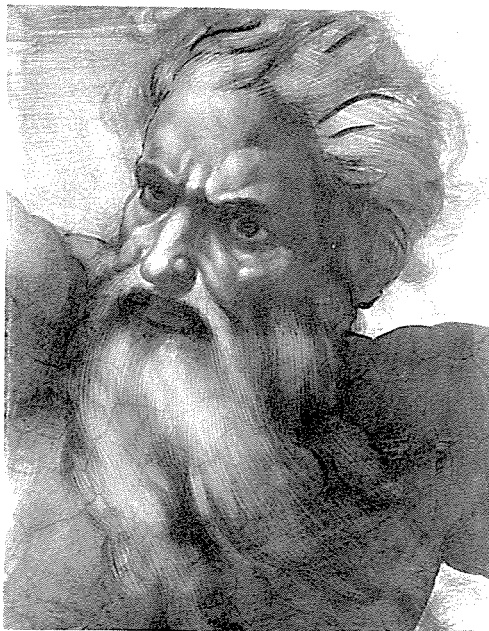


Fig. 20 Michelangelo: *Creation of the Sun and Moon*, fresco, detail. Rome, Vatican Palace, Sistine Chapel



Fig. 21 Pieter Saenredam: *Interior of the Buurkerck, Utrecht*, oil on panel. London, National Gallery

teenth century called *i bamboccianti* (the painters of dolls), a contemporary term that refers derisively to the awkward figures and low-life subject matter of their paintings. The members of the group formed a loose-knit organization, the *Bentvueghel*, and were notorious for their unruly lifestyle that made a mockery of the noble Renaissance ideal of the gentleman artist. The drawing (Fig. 23) shows the interior of a tavern filled with carousing patrons; the back wall is covered with all manner of crude and grotesque designs, including a caricature-like head shown in profile.³² Many works by the *bamboccianti* are reflections on the nature of art, both in theory and practice, and van Laer's drawing is surely also an ironic exaltation of the kind of satirical and popular art held in contempt by the grand and often grandiloquent humanist tradition. We are invited to contemplate this irony by the figures who draw attention to the word "Bambo[ts]" scrawled beneath a doll-like figure, seen from behind, and the profile head—the latter certainly a self-portrait of Van Laer. The subtlety of the conceit may be inferred from the fact that "bamboccio," like its synonym "fantoccio" used by Vasari in the anecdote about Michelangelo, was specifically applied to the crude mural drawings of the inept.³³

Fig. 22 Pieter Saenredam: *Interior of the Buurkerck, Utrecht*, detail



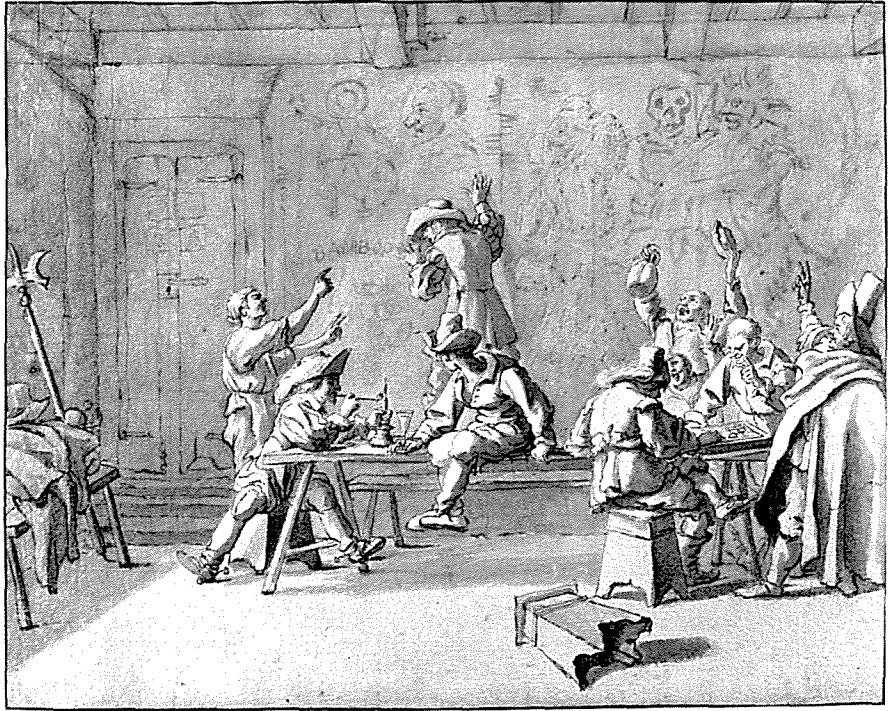


Fig. 23 Pieter van Laer: *Artists' Tavern in Rome*, pen with brown ink and brown wash. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett

One point emerges clearly from our consideration of the pre-history of Bernini's deliberate and explicit exploitation of aesthetic vulgarity. The artists who displayed this unexpected sensibility generally did so in order to make some statement about the nature of art or of their profession. The statements were, in the end, deeply personal and had to do with the relation between ordinary or common creativity and what is usually called art. No doubt there is an art-theoretical, or even art-philosophical element in Bernini's attitude, as well, but with him the emphasis shifts. His everyman's style is not a vehicle for comment about art or being an artist, but about people, or rather being a person. His visual lampoons are strictly *ad hominem*, and it is for this reason, I think, that in the case of Bernini one can speak for the first time of caricature drawing not only as art, but as an art of social satire.

With respect to the context of Bernini's caricatures outside the visual arts, it is important to note that we can date the beginning of his production as a caricaturist fairly precisely. It must have coincided with the earliest datable example that has come down to us, the famous drawing of Cardinal Scipione Borghese, nephew of Pope Paul V and Bernini's greatest early patron (Fig. 8). A *terminus ante quem* is provided by Scipione's death at age 57 on October 2, 1633, but most likely the sketch was made during the sittings for the even more famous pair of marble portrait busts of the cardinal that are known to have been executed in the summer of 1632 (Fig. 24).³⁴ It can scarcely be coincidental, moreover, that probably in November of the same year Lelio Guidiccioni, one of Rome's literary lights and a close friend and admirer of Bernini, acquired an important album of drawings of genre figures, now lost, by Annibale Carracci.³⁵ What especially suggests that Bernini started making caricatures at this time is the fact that he

then also developed a passionate interest in the comic theater. Beginning in February 1633, and very frequently thereafter at carnival time, he would produce a comedy of his own invention, often in an improvised theater in his own house, with himself, his family and his studio assistants as the performers.³⁶ His plays were extremely successful and we have many references to them in the early biographies and contemporary sources, which report that the audiences included some of the highest members of Roman society. The significance of this parallel with the theater is not simply that Bernini's interest in caricature and comedy coincided, for it is evident from what we learn about his plays that they stood in an analogous relation to their predecessors as did his caricatures to theirs.

Bernini's comedies stemmed largely from the popular tradition of the *commedia dell'arte*, in which troupes of professional actors assumed stock character roles and performed largely conventional plots. The comic effect depended heavily on the contrast of social strata achieved through the interplay of representative types, portrayed through stereotyped costumes, gestures and dialects. The actors were so versed in their craft and its conventions were so ingrained that the plays were recorded only in the form of brief plot summaries. The recitations were thus extemporaneous, but bound to a tradition of virtuosity born of familiarity and repetition.

By way of contrast, I shall quote first Domenico Bernini's account of Bernini's plays, and then just one contemporary description.³⁷ Domenico says: "The beauty and wonder [of his comedies] consisted for the greatest and best part in the facetious and satiric jokes, and in the scenic inventions: the former were so meaningful [*significanti*], spirited and close to the truth [*fondati sul vero*], that many experts attributed the plays to Plautus or Terence or other writers, whom the cavaliere had never read, but did them all by sheer force of wit. A most remarkable thing is that each night the theater was filled with the highest nobility of Rome, ecclesiastic as well as secular, and those who were targets of his jibes not only took no offense but, considering their truth and honesty, almost took pride in being subjected to Bernini's acute and ingenious remarks. These then circulated throughout Rome and often the same evening reached even the ears of the pope, who seeing Bernini the next day took pleasure in having him repeat them. Bernini not only labored to compose them, but also took great pains to see that the actors, who were mostly members of his entourage and not experienced in the theater, would give natural and lively performances. In so doing, he served as everyone's teacher and the result was that they performed like long-time professionals in the art."³⁸

To savor the description that follows, which dates from February 1634, it must be understood that Cardinal Gaspare Borgia was the Spanish Ambassador to the Holy See, that his coat of arms included a striding bull, and that he was notoriously overbearing and tactless in pursuing his country's interests at the court of Urban VIII, who was strongly pro-French.³⁹ "Borgia is absolutely furious because, to everyone's delight, Bernini in his comedy introduced a bull being beaten on the stage; he is quite aware it referred to him since he was a bull in arms and was called that by the pope. Borgia was also upset because

Fig. 24 Bernini: bust of Cardinal Scipione Borghese. Rome, Galleria Borghese





elsewhere in the comedy a Spaniard argues with a servant who, having been told by a Frenchman not to let himself be bullied, beats up the Spaniard to the amusement of all. Borgia understands without gloss the recondite allusions in the actions and words, and considers the king and the whole Spanish nation offended by the pope himself, who knows perfectly well all the scenes of the comedy before they are performed. Borgia is also angry about other jibes, though these are the worst, and heaven protect Bernini from a bitter penance in the future, for Borgia is not one easily to forget offenses."⁴⁰

It is clear that Bernini's plays broke with the *commedia dell'arte* conventions in various ways, of which three are especially important here. One is that Bernini introduced all sorts of illusionistic tricks—houses collapse, the theater threatens to catch fire, the audience is almost inundated—tricks that not only added a kind of visual scenographic interest that had been confined mainly to court spectacles, but also communicated with the spectator directly and in a way that seemed, at least at first glance, quite *uncontrived*. Furthermore, Bernini's comedies were not enacted extemporaneously by professional actors but by amateurs who had been carefully instructed and mercilessly rehearsed and who recited parts which—as we know from the manuscript of one of his plays that has come down to us—might be completely written out, as in the regular theater. His productions combined the technique of raw talent with the conception of high art. Finally, Bernini introduced topical allusions to current events and real people; with unexampled boldness, he poked fun at some of the highest members of Roman society, who might even be present in the audience. Bernini's comedies thus included what can only be described as "living caricatures," witty distortions of the political allegiance or moral character of individuals, who remain readily identifiable. In general, his plays may be said to have involved a dual breach of decorum, treating low comedy performed by amateurs as if it were legitimate theater, and treating exalted personages as if they were ordinary people.

Although Bernini may be said to have introduced an element of social satire to the stage, there was one literary tradition in Rome to which it was, so to speak, endemic. This was the so-called pasquinade, or satire in verse or prose, which poked fun, often in very bitter terms, at the religious and civic authorities for their personal foibles or for whatever of the city's current ills could be attributed to their greed or ineptitude. The diatribes were occasionally gathered together and published, so that the pasquinade became a veritable genre of popular literary satire. It was the custom to write a pasquinade in Latin or Italian on a scrap of paper and attach it to one of several more or less fragmentary ancient statues that were to be seen about town. These "talking statues," as they were sometimes called, became the loud-speakers through which the *vox populi* expressed its wit and discontent. The genre derives its name from the most infamous of the sculptures (Fig. 25), nicknamed Pasquino, according to one version of the legend, after a clever and malicious hunchbacked tailor who lived nearby in the Piazza Orsini, considered the heart of Rome, and started the custom early in the sixteenth century.⁴¹ It is no accident, of course, that the speaking statues of Rome were all antiques. From biblical

Opposite:
Fig. 25 Pasquino. Rome, Piazza di Pasquino

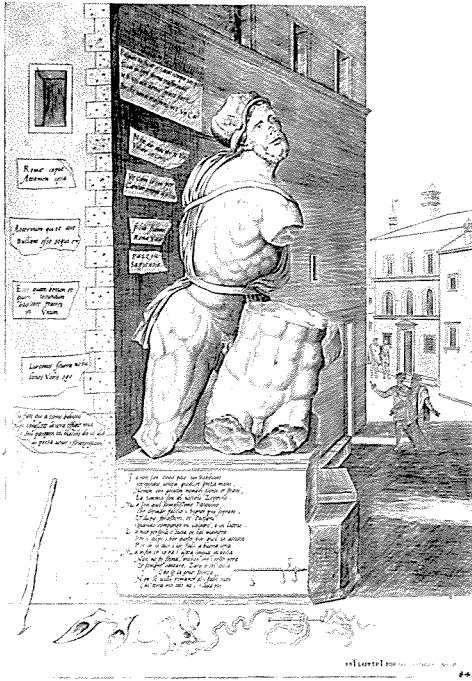


Fig. 26 Antonio Lafreri: *Pasquino*, engraving, 1550, in *Speculum romanae magnificentiae*

times the issue of idolatry was focused chiefly on sculpture, the three-dimensionality of which gave it special status in the hierarchy of representation. The early Christians regarded pagan statuary as literally the work of the devil, and endowed with demonic powers, notably the power of speech. Indeed, Pasquino's irreverent and malicious comments were often downright diabolic.

As a literary genre the pasquinade might well be described as something like a verbal graffito in that, by contrast with the high art of satire, it tended to be more topical in content and more informal in style and, though well-known writers such as Pietro Aretino often joined in the sport, it was characteristically anonymous. Indeed, this popular and rather underprivileged element lies at the very heart of the tradition, for there is a remarkable and surely not accidental consonance between the character of Pasquino the tailor, a lowly artisan and man of the people, grotesquely deformed yet pungently articulate, and the character of the sculpture itself—pathetically worn and mutilated, yet also pathetically expressive. The fundamental irony of the group's brutish appearance and caustic eloquence was perfectly explicit: in the eloquent engraving of the group signed and dated 1550 by Antonio Lafreri (Fig. 26), Pasquino says of himself: "I am not, though I seem so, a mutilated Baboon, without feet and hands . . . but rather that famous Pasquino who terrifies the most powerful . . . when I compose in Italian or Latin. I owe my physique to the blows of those whose faults I faithfully recount."⁴²

If the pasquinade is something like a verbal graffito, Bernini's caricatures can be thought of as visual pasquinades, almost literally so if one considers Bernini's very special relationship to the statue itself. The group is mentioned in the biographies as well as in Chantelou's diary, always with the same point illustrated by an anecdote: asked by a cardinal which was his favorite ancient statue, Bernini named the *Pasquino*, of which he said that "mutilated and ruined as it is, the remnant of beauty it embodies is perceptible only to those knowledgeable in design."⁴³ Indeed, he regarded it as a work of Phidias or Praxiteles. The cardinal thought his leg was being pulled and was infuriated. Bernini was said to have been the first to place the highest value on the *Pasquino* as a work of art.⁴⁴ The appreciation of antique fragments was by now nothing new, so that whether true or not, the claim—and likewise the cardinal's anger—only makes sense in view of the satirical tradition with which the *Pasquino* was primarily associated; Bernini even said that one must disregard what had been written about the sculpture. No less remarkable is the reason he gave for his esteem—that the work contains "the highest perfection of nature *without the affectation of art* [*italics mine*]."

The drawing of Innocent XI is unique among the preserved caricatures by Bernini because it is the only one datable to the very end of his life, and because it represents the most exalted personage of all. The skeletal figure with gargantuan nose and cavernous eyes is immediately recognizable (cf. Figs. 27 and 31).⁴⁵ What makes the characterization so trenchant, however, is not only the treatment of the pope's physical features, but also the fact that he is shown incongruously wearing the regalia of the bishop of Rome and bestowing his blessing, while reclining in bed, propped up by huge pillows. The pope is thus



Fig. 27 Bernini (?): profile of Innocent XI, red chalk. Rome, Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe

ridiculed on two levels at once, both of which reflect aspects of his personality and conduct that were notorious.⁴⁶ This remarkable man was by far the most irascible and ascetic individual to occupy the papal throne since the heyday of the Counter-Reformation a century before. He was utterly indifferent to the amenities of life himself, and lived in monastic austerity. He was indefatigable in his efforts to purify the church of its abuses, the boldest and best known of which was his war on nepotism. He rigorously excluded his family from church affairs and sought to ensure that his successors would do likewise. He was equally staunch in his defense of the church against the heretics and against attempts to curtail the prerogatives of the Holy See. His financial contributions to the war against the Turks, made possible by a fiscal policy of absolute parsimony, were a major factor in the victory at Vienna in 1683 that saved Europe from the infidel. The process of sanctification was initiated soon after his death, and is still in progress; he was beatified in 1953.

Although his virtues may indeed have been heroic, Innocent XI was not without his faults. He demanded the same kind of austerity from his subjects that he practiced himself. Public entertainments were

banned, and with edict after edict he sought to rule the lives of his people down to the most petty details of personal dress and conduct. He suffered the consequences of his disagreeableness, which won him the epithet The Big No Pope—"Papa Mingone," from the word *minga*, meaning "no" in his native Lombard dialect; a notice of 1679 reports that several people were jailed for circulating a manifesto with the punning and alliterative title, "Roma assassinata dalla Santità"—"Rome Assassinated by Sanctity" (*Santità* in Italian means both holiness and "His Holiness").⁴⁷

In addition, Innocent XI was a sick man, plagued by gout and gallstones.⁴⁸ These sufferings—real and imagined, for he was certainly a hypochondriac—must have exacerbated the harshness of an inherently acerbic personality. His ailments often conspired with a natural tendency to reclusiveness to keep the pope confined to his room and to his bed. For days, weeks, months on end he would remain closeted, refusing to see anyone and procrastinating in matters of state—conduct that elicited a brilliant pasquinade, reported in July 1677: "Saturday night there was attached to Pasquino a beautiful placard with a painted poppy [*papavero* in Italian—the opium flower] and the following legend [like a medicinal prescription] beneath: *Papa Vero = Per dormire* [true Pope = to sleep]; next morning it provided a field day for the wags, including the whole court, which is fed up with the current delays and cannot bear such irresolution."⁴⁹ On rare occasions during these periods, when his condition improved or in matters of special importance, visitors might be admitted to his chamber, where he received them in bed. Bernini's drawing captures the irony of this spectacle of the Supreme Roman Pontiff conducting the most dignified affairs of state in most undignified circumstances.

The character of the portrait itself has no less significant implications than its appurtenances. In a quite remarkable way, as we know from many descriptions and other depictions, the pope's appearance matched his personality. He was exceedingly tall and gaunt, with a huge aquiline nose and protruding chin. These features are glossed over in many "straight" portraits of Innocent, but we have a drawing, perhaps by Bernini himself, in which his crabbed and rather chilling aspect appears unmitigated (Fig. 27). The profile of the pope, also wearing the bishop's miter, may have been made in preparation for a sculptured portrait, and the caricature may have originated in one of Bernini's sessions sketching the man in action—repeating the process we suggested in connection with the Scipione Borghese portraits of nearly fifty years before.⁵⁰

Bernini certainly had reason enough to take an unsympathetic view of the pope, whose indifference, if not actual hostility, to art was notorious. It was Innocent who in January of 1679 refused to permit the execution of the final block of the portico in front of Saint Peter's, thus dooming to incompleteness the greatest architectural project of Bernini's life. It was he who prudishly forced the artist to cover the bosom of the figure of Truth on the tomb of Alexander VII. It was Innocent who ordered an inquiry into the stability of the dome of Saint Peter's, where cracks had appeared which some of Bernini's critics falsely attributed to his work on the supporting piers many years before.⁵¹



Fig. 28 Romeyn de Hooghe: *The Death of Moriens*, engraving in David de la Vigne, *Spiegel van een saalighe Doodt*

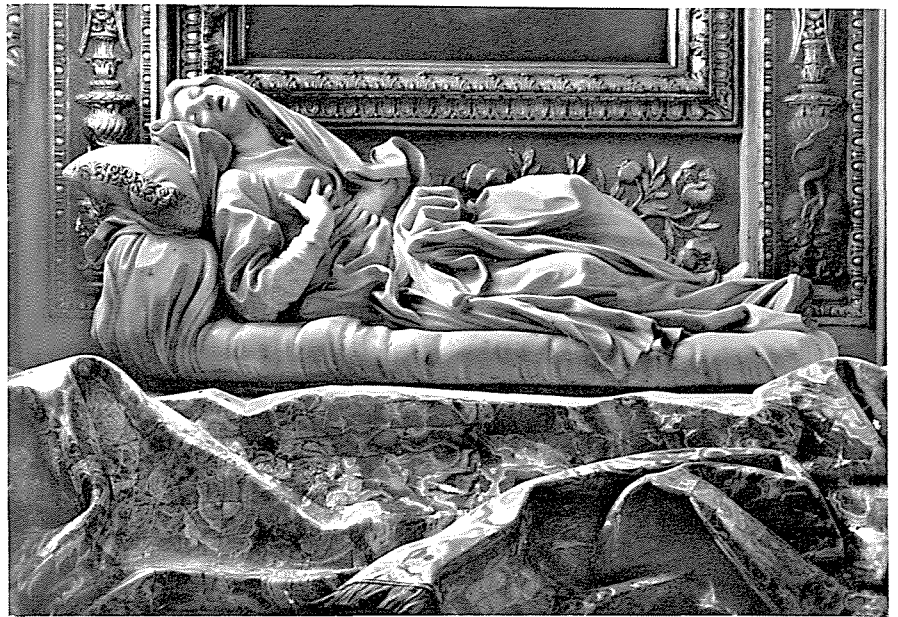


Fig. 29 Bernini: *Beata Lodovica Albertoni*. Rome, S. Francesco a Ripa, Altieri chapel

It would be a mistake, however, to think of the drawing simply as an exercise of Bernini's spleen upon Innocent's character and appearance. The basic design and the specific deformations it embodies are rife with reminiscences and allusions that augment its meaning. The reclining figure performing an official act recalls those most peculiar and regal ceremonies Bernini must have become aware of on his visit to the court of Louis XIV in 1665, the *lit de justice* and the *lever* and *coucher du roi*, in which the sun king received homage as he arose in the morning and retired in the evening.⁵² The image also reflects the tradition of the reclining effigy on tomb monuments and the reclining *Moriens* in the innumerable illustrated versions of the *Ars Moriendi*, the *Art of Dying Well* (Fig. 28); the latter genre had an important role in the devotions of the Confraternity of the Bona Mors at the Gesù, in which Bernini and the pope himself, when he was cardinal, participated regularly.⁵³ Bernini had only recently adapted this convention for his portrayal of Blessed Lodovica Albertoni in a state of ecstatic expiration in her burial chapel in San Francesco a Ripa in Rome (Fig. 29). He may even have recalled a sixteenth-century Flemish tomb, an engraving of which there are other reasons to suppose he knew, where a beckoning skeleton replaced the figure of the deceased (Fig. 30).⁵⁴ The somewhat lugubrious irony of this conflation of regal pomp and funeral decrepitude was surely deliberate.



Fig. 30 Tomb of Erard de la Marck (formerly in Liège cathedral), engraving in J. J. Boissard, *Romanae urbis topographiae et antiquitatum*

So too, were aspects of the rendering of the pope's physiognomy and gesture. Innocent followed like a chill wind after the florid exuberance of the long, Baroque summer of the Church Triumphant. He was, as we have noted, a veritable throwback to the rigorous pietism of the Counter-Reformation, and quite consciously so, for he took as his model for all his actions the most austere pontiff of that whole period, Pius V, who had also been unrelenting in his zeal to cleanse the church of its vices, including nepotism, and protect it from its enemies (the Turks were defeated in the momentous naval battle at Lepanto during his reign).⁵⁵ He had been beatified in 1672, shortly before Innocent XI took office, and was canonized in 1712. It happened



Fig. 31 Medal of Innocent XI with Pius V on the reverse. London, British Museum

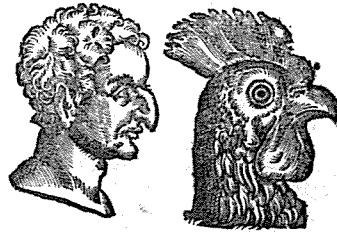


Fig. 32 Medal of Pius V. London, British Museum

that Innocent also bore a striking physical resemblance to Pius, whose dessicated and otherworldly features seem perfectly to embody the spiritual fervor of his time. Innocent actually had himself portrayed as a kind of reincarnation of his saintly idol, on a very unusual medal where portraits of the two men appear on the two faces (Fig. 31).⁵⁶ Bernini must have had the analogy in mind when drawing his caricature: the emaciated figure with spidery hand raised in blessing distinctly recalls a particular medal type issued by Pius himself, which is one of the most penetrating of all the portrayals of the great reformer (Fig. 32).⁵⁷ In this way Bernini assimilated both Innocent and his prototype into a composite image of the pontifical arch zealot.

In some respects the drawing of Innocent reaches beyond the limits of portraiture; the exaggeration is so extreme that the figure scarcely resembles a human being at all, but rather some monstrous insect, with pillows for wings and bishop's miter for antennae, masquerading

416 IO. BAPTISTÆ PORTÆ
Hæc fœderate galli nasus inuenit, cum cornuæ circumlati frontis super-
ficie e quiritur, cum humano ad eiusmodi formato et jgg. 49, nisi q
dij. ribendo.



Vacuus nasus ante frontem, rotundus, & supereminens rotundum.

Ve se habet antiqua translatio Aristotelis in Physiognomonicis; Qui nasum concauum habent, ante frontem rotundum, & supereminens rotundum, & ad gallos referuntur. Nos, cum eiusmodi nasum ignoraremus, tum Aristotelici textus corruptione, tum interpretis translatione, gallos consulimus, atque diligenti eorum inspectione, ita textu & sensum verbis accommodauimus, habet enim gallinaceus gallus ante frontem in coasino valleculam quandam, vel incauum quoddam, & pars ea nasi ante frontem rotunda, & inde frons a naso ad capillorum radicem, velut circuli circumferentia est. Vt verba textus translata dicant: Qui ante nasum habet incauum, & partes, quæ ante frontem rotundas, eorum ferentiam vero supra assurgentem, &c. hoc ego etiam pueraxios indicarem: ab utroque enim Venere galli

DE HVM. PHYSIOG. LIB. II. 117
gallinacii, perdices, & coturnices; quæ fore similem nasum habent. Cum enim feminar ouis incubant, in res dimicant pugnantque inter se conferunt, quos cæcibes vocant: qui victus in pugna fuerit, victoris Venerem patitur, nec nisi a suo victore lubigitur, ex Aristotele: & multos amicos cognoui eiusmodi naso præditos, huic enormi luxurie generi obnoxios. Fingunt Poætæ Iouem aquilæ forma Ganymedem rapuisse, subtrali figmento id fortasse inuentes. Alianus etiam iclucumonem huic turpitudini obnoxium dixit. Tali naso Satyri & Sileni ab antiquis effigiati sunt, & tali naso etiam Socrates ipse præditus fuit: nam Xenopho. Socratem Silenis similem iuide, & pressis naribus, scribit.

Latus in medio nasus.

Nasus in medio latus, declinans ad summitatem, demonstrat mendacem & verbosum. Aristoteles ad Alexandrum.

Si bonis nasum inflexerimus, & hominem similem effigiamus, nos ab hac quæ hic cernitur figura, longe abest, ita affabile in animo crispum deducimus.



H 3

Fig. 33 Physiognomical types, woodcuts in G. B. della Porta, *De humana physiognomonia*

as a person. Again, I doubt that the analogy is fortuitous. One of the traditions often cited as part of the pre-history of caricature is the study of physiognomics, which had its roots in antiquity and enjoyed a great florescence in the Renaissance. The first modern comprehensive tract on the subject was published in 1586 by Giambattista della Porta. A major part of the tradition was to relate human and animal features on the theory that the analogies revealed common psychological qualities. This led to character studies in which human physiognomical traits were assimilated to those of various animal species to bring out the supposed characterological resemblance (Fig. 33).⁵⁸ To be sure, insects in general were not a very important part of this tradition, but one insect in particular, or at least the name for it, played a considerable role in the history of comic monstrosities in western art—namely, the cricket. In a famous passage Pliny says that the Greek artist Antiphilos established a new genre of painting by a comic portrayal of a man called Gryllos in a ridiculous costume, from which, Pliny says, all such pictures are called *grylloi*.⁵⁹ Although the exact meaning of the passage is in dispute, it is generally agreed that Pliny must be referring to amusing depictions of cavorting dwarfs and hybrid and humanoid creatures, of which numerous examples are known. No doubt this interpretation dates from the Renaissance and is based in part on the happenstance that the word when spelled with a



Fig. 34 Hieronymus Bosch (shop of Hieronymus Cock): drollery, engraving. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Elisha Whittelsey Collection, Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1960

**Carmina apposita Grillo
Monoculo: ad Pasquilli
M. B. XVI.**



Fig. 35 Title page, *Carmina apposita Grillo Monoculo: ad Pasquilli*

lambda in Greek means “pig,” and with two *l*'s in Latin means “cricket.”⁶⁰ As early as the mid-sixteenth century the works of Hieronymus Bosch, which contain all manner of mixed human-animal forms, were called *grylloi* (Fig. 34); so too were Arcimboldo's polymorphous transmutations of traditional frontal and profile portrait types.⁶¹ Bernini's caricature of Innocent looks like nothing so much as a great cricket, and I have no doubt that this novel assimilation of insect and human likenesses was made in deliberate reference to, and emulation of, the new art of comic portraiture invented by the ancient master. I suspect, moreover, that the analogy reached beyond physical appearances to a moral and psychological level, as well, through another remarkable word play of the sort that always fascinated Bernini. In Italian, *grillo* would refer not only to the classical prototype of the comic portrait, but also to the character or personality of the insect itself. Owing to the creature's peculiar life style, the word *grillo* has a meaning roughly equivalent to “whim” or “caprice” in English. The term appears frequently in the art literature of the period in reference to the artist's inventiveness or even his personal stylistic idiosyncracies.⁶² More generally, to have a cricket in one's head (*avere un grillo in testa*) is to have a bee in one's bonnet—an expression that seems to suit Innocent XI as if it were tailored for him. In Bernini's sketch, the pope's appearance and character merged with the invention of comic portraiture in a grandiose pun linking antiquity to the present under the aspect of satire. The chain turns full circle, as it were, when two additional links are added that pertain to the *Pasquino*. In the early sixteenth century there had been a one-eyed barber named Grillo who had written pasquinades that were actually called *grilli*, which he was said to have had in his head. The frontispiece of a volume of the poems he attached to Pasquino shows him chasing after crickets in the field (Fig. 35).⁶³ Perhaps Grillo's memory was still alive in Bernini's time. In any case, Bernini seems not to have been the only one to apply an image of this sort to Innocent. One is tempted to imagine that his drawing may have inspired the following verses from a vicious pasquinade occasioned by the pope's death in 1689:

I've not found in the annals of ancient things
A worse beast, who beneath hypocrisy clings
And tinges in others' blood his beak and wings.⁶⁴

We have so far discussed rather specific aspects of the form, sources and significance of Bernini's caricatures. Insofar as they are documents of social comment, however, we should also consider certain more general features of the context in which they were produced. With hindsight it seems inevitable that the true caricature should have emerged in Rome and nowhere else.⁶⁵ Rome was then, as it still is, unlike any other major European city. From the point of view of commerce and industry it was insignificant; its only reasons for being were administrative and symbolic. It was the capital of a great state which, though of diminished political and military importance, retained a spiritual force that made it a focal point of international relations, secular as well as ecclesiastical. There was nothing in Rome to match the growth of the bourgeoisie in the urban centers of the north, but in the bosom of the church men could, and very often did, rise from the

humblest circumstances to the heights of power and wealth. As the headquarters of the Catholic hierarchy, and especially of the religious orders, the city was filled with people who, like Bernini, had broken through the barriers of traditional class hierarchy. Social irony was almost a natural byproduct of this extraordinary environment, wherein moral pretense and cosmopolitan reality were extremes that touched.

It is also evident that the birth of caricature was integrally related to the rise in status for which artists had been struggling since the Renaissance, and of which Bernini was in some respects the epitome. A major theme of the biographies by Baldinucci (written at the behest of Bernini's close friend, Queen Christina of Sweden) and by his son Domenico, was precisely his acceptance by the great people of his day, even at a certain risk to themselves. This could easily be dismissed as mere propaganda, but I think their wonderment at Bernini's social achievement was genuine. The point is vividly illustrated in the matter of caricature by a satirical poem published in 1648 by the duke of Bracciano, one of the leading figures of the day, of whom Bernini did a bust, preserved in a marble copy, that some critics have regarded as a sort of formal caricature (Fig. 36).⁶⁶ The duke describes a merry gathering at his villa at Bracciano of the cream of Roman nobility, at which he and Bernini, whom he lists among the guests as "animator of marbles," joined in making comic drawings of the participants.⁶⁷

Fig. 36 Copy after a model by Bernini: bust of the duke of Bracciano. Bracciano, Castello Orsini-Odescalchi



Bernini's career, in fact, would indeed be difficult to match by that of any other artist—not Velasquez, whose aspiration to nobility was a central factor in his life; not Rubens, whose position in the world was inseparable from his activity as a diplomat. Bernini never lost touch with the humble craft origins of his profession. He became early on a member of the marble workers' guild, to which he remained very attached and contributed generously later in life;⁶⁸ and although much indebted to the humanist tradition, he laid no claim to recondite learning or theoretical speculation. His freedom of wit and satire and his ability to consort on equal terms with the high and mighty were based solely on the quality of his mind and art. In this sense he fulfilled the Renaissance ideal, while helping to create a new role for the artist in society.

In the end, however, the caricatures must be thought of as a deeply personal expression of Bernini's creative genius, for two reasons in particular. One is that—and this is true of his comedies as well—although he circulated them among his friends, there is no evidence he ever intended to publish his drawings in the form of prints. We owe the caricature as an instrument of social reform in this sense to eighteenth-century England. They sprang from a deep well within, however, and were far from mere trifles to him. Both points emerge from the last document I shall quote. This is a charming letter Bernini wrote to a friend accompanying two such sketches, now lost:

As a *cavaliere*, I swear I'll never send you any more drawings because having these two portraits you can say you have all that bumbler Bernini can do. But since I doubt your dim wit can recognize them I'll tell you the longer one is Don Giberti and the shorter one is Bona Ventura [a proper name meaning "Good Fortune" in Italian] Believe me, you've had Good Fortune, because I've never had greater satisfaction than in these two caricatures, and I've made them with my heart. When I visit you I'll see if you appreciate them.

Rome, 15 March 1652.
Your True Friend
G. L. Bern.

This is, incidentally, the first time the word *caricature* is used as we use it today, as the name for a certain kind of drawing.⁶⁹

NOTES

1. For a description and bibliography, see No. 99. The paper has been cut and traces of further drawing appear at the upper right. In this case, evidently, the sheet was not devoted exclusively to the caricature, which Bernini may have drawn for his personal satisfaction and kept for himself. Twenty-five caricatures are mentioned in a 1706 inventory of Bernini's household; Frascchetti, 1900, p. 247.

2. For a general account of social criticism in post-medieval art, see Shikes, 1969. A fine analysis of the nature of the Carracci's *ritrattini carichi*, with the attribution to Annibale of the drawing reproduced here, will be found in Posner, 1971, pp. 65–70, fig. 59 (cf. fig. 60, certainly cut from a larger sheet), but see also Bohlin, 1979, pp. 48, 67, nn. 83 f.; so far as can be determined, Carracci's drawings displayed neither the social content nor the distinctive draftsmanship of Bernini's caricatures, nor is it clear that they were autonomous sheets. On the papal satires of the Reformation, see Grisar and Heege, 1921–23; Koeplin and Falk, 1974–76, vol. 2, pp. 498–522.

3. For caricature generally, and bibliography, see Becatti et al., 1960. For a useful recent survey of caricature since the Renaissance, see Providence, 1971. On the development in Italy the fundamental treatment is that of Juynboll, 1934; important observations will be found in a chapter by E. Kris and E. H. Gombrich in Kris, 1952, 189–203. The pages on Bernini's caricatures in Brauer and Wittkower, 1931, pp. 180–84, remain unsurpassed, but see also Boeck, 1949. Harris, 1975, p. 158, and 1977, p. xviii, nos. 40–41, has questioned whether the caricatures in the Vatican Library and the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe in Rome, attributed to Bernini by Brauer and Wittkower, are autographs or close copies; the issue, however, does not affect the general argument presented here. Caricature drawings attributed to Bernini other than those noted by Brauer and Wittkower and by Harris, 1977, will be found in Cooke, 1955; Sotheby, 1963, Lot 18; Stampfle and Bean, 1967, vol. 2, pp. 54 f. Incidentally, Professor Frederick Hammond, in a forthcoming monograph on the composer and musician Girolamo Frescobaldi, will suggest that Frescobaldi may be the subject of the drawing in Fig. 9.

4. In Bernini's drawings "si scorge simmetria maravigliosa, maestà grande, e una tal franchezza di tocco, che è propriamente un miracolo; ed io non saprei dire chi mai nel suo tempo gli fusse stato eguale in tal facoltà. Effetto di questa franchezza è stato l'aver egli operato singolarmente in quella sorte di disegno, che noi diciamo caricatura o di colpi caricati, deformando per ischerzo a mal modo l'effigie altrui, senza togliere loro la somiglianza, e la maestà, se talvolta eran principi grandi, come bene spesso accadeva per lo gusto, che avevano tali personaggi di sollazzarsi con lui in sì fatto trattenimento, anche intorno a' propri volti, dando poi a vedere i disegni ad altri di non minore affare" (Baldinucci, 1682 [1948], p. 140).

5. "Ne devesi passar sotto silenzio l'havere ei in quel tempo, & appresso ancora, singolarmente operato in quella sorte di Disegno, che communemente chiamasi col nome di *Caricatura*. Fù questo un'effetto singolare del suo spirito, poichè in essi veniva a deformare, come per ischerzo, l'altrui effigie in quelle parti però, dove la natura haveva in qualche modo difettato, e senza toglier loro la somiglianza, li rendeva su le Carte similissimi, e quali in sostanza essi erano, benche se ne scorgesse notabilmente alterata, e caricata una parte; Invenzione rare volte praticata da altri Artefici, non essendo giuoco da tutti, ricavare il bello dal deforme, e dalla sproporzione la simetria. Ne fece egli dunque parecchi, e per lo più si diletta di caricare l'effigie de' Principi, e Personaggi grandi, per lo gusto, che essi poi ne ricevono in rimirarsi que' medesimi, pur d'essi, e non essi, ammirando eglino in un tempo l'Ingegno grande dell'Artefice, e solazzandosi con sì fatto trattenimento" (Bernini, 1713, 28).

6. For the foregoing, see Lavin, 1970, p. 144, n. 75.

7. Cf. Wilde, 1978, pp. 147 ff.

8. For portrait drawing generally see Meder, 1978, pp. 335 ff.; for drawings by Leoni, Kruft, 1969.

9. It is interesting that in both cases contemporaries were already aware of the distinctive techniques used in these drawings (Vasari, 1550, 1568 [1962], vol. 1, pp. 118, 121 f., vol. 4, pp. 1898 ff.; Baglione, 1642 [1935], p. 321).

10. There was one class of sixteenth-century works, incidentally, in which the loose sketch might become a sort of presentation drawing, namely the German autograph album (*album amicorum*, or *Stammbuch*); see, for example, Thöne, 1940, pp. 55 f., figs. 17–19; *Drawings* [1964], p. 23, nos. 33, 35.

11. For Bernini's portrait drawings generally, see Brauer and Wittkower, 1931, pp. 11, 15, 29 f., 156 f.; Harris, 1977, *passim*. It happens that the two preserved and certainly authentic profile drawings by Bernini represent sitters of whom he also made sculptured portraits, i.e., Scipione Borghese (Fig. 24) and Pope Clement X (No. 83); see also above, p. 42. Conversely, no sculptured portraits are recorded of the sitters of whom we have drawings by him in three-quarter view.

It is interesting in this context to tabulate the views provided by painters for sculptured busts to be executed *in absentia*—by Van Dyck for portraits of Charles I and Henrietta Maria, by Philippe de Champaigne for Richelieu, and by Sustermans and Boulanger for Francesco I of Modena; cf. Wittkower, 1966, pp. 207 f., 209 f., 224.

	Right profile	Full face	¾ to left	Left profile
CHARLES I	X	X	X	
HENRIETTA MARIA	X	X		X
RICHELIEU	X		X	X
FRANCESCO I	X	X		X

"Portraits," otherwise unspecified, were also sent from Paris to Rome for the equestrian Louis XIV (Wittkower, 1961, p. 525, no. 47).

12. The first studies for the bust mentioned in Chantelou's diary, June 23, 1665: "Le Cavalier a dessiné d'après le Roi une tête de face, une de profil" (Chantelou, p. 37); cf. a letter of June 26 from Paris by Bernini's assistant Mattia de' Rossi, "doppo che hebbe fenito il retratto in faccia, lo fece in profilo" (Miroto, 1904, p. 218 n.) and Domenico Bernini, 1713, p. 133, "Onde a S. Germano fê ritorno per ritrarre in disegno la Regia effigie, e due formòne, una di profilo, l'altro in faccia. . . ." Charles Perrault in his *Memoires* also mentions Bernini's profile sketches of the king: "[Bernini] se contenta de dessiner en pastel deux ou trois profils du visage du Roi" (Perrault, p. 61).

13. For the references to this aspect of Bernini's procedure, see Brauer and Wittkower, 1931, p. 29, and Wittkower, 1951.

14. Interesting in this context are Michelangelo's frontal and profile sketches for the marble block of one of the Medici chapel river gods; De Tolnay, 1943-60, vol. 3, pl. 131. Cellini, 1971, p. 789, speaks of Michelangelo's method of drawing the principal view on the block and commencing carving on that side.

15. It is significant that Bernini employed a comparable technique when he portrayed nature in what might be called a "primitive" or formless state, as in the sketches for fireworks in our exhibition, Nos. 56-58, or a project for a fountain with a great display of gushing water (Brauer and Wittkower, 1931, pl. 101a; cf. Harris, 1977, p. xxi, no. 70).

16. Cf. Rupprich, 1956-69, vol. 1, pp. 54 f. "Item: know that my picture says it would give a ducat for you to see it; it is good and beautifully colored. I have earned great praise for it, but little profit. I could well have earned 200 ducats in the time and have refused much work, so that I may come home. I have also silenced all the painters who said I was good at engraving, but that in painting I did not know how to handle colors. Now they all say they have never seen more beautiful colors." Dürer made the drawing immediately before he wrote this passage, which surrounds the figure. Lange and Fuhse, 1893, p. 35, n. 1, noted long ago that the sketch must refer to this, rather than the preceding portion of the letter.

17. Panofsky, 1969, p. 203. On Erasmus' self-mocking sketches, see Heckscher, 1967, pp. 135 f., n. 23, and the bibliography cited there.

18. Erasmus speaks of marveling and laughing at the extreme crudity of artists a century or two earlier ("admiraberis et ridebis nimiam artificum rusticitatem"); see Panofsky (1969, pp. 200, 202 f.), who also discusses Erasmus' early interest in and practice of painting and drawing.

19. Franco Fiorio, 1971, pp. 47 f., 100; for a suggestive analysis of the painting, cf. Almgren, 1971, pp. 71-73.

20. On the eye of Painting, see Posner, 1967, pp. 201 f.

21. What may be a deliberately crude head appears among the test drawings and scratches on the back of one of Annibale Carracci's engraved plates; Posner, 1971, p. 70, fig. 68; Bohlin, 1979, p. 437.

22. Both ancient graffiti and *grylloi* (discussed below) are often considered in the literature on comic art (e.g. Champfleury, 1865, pp. 57-65, 186-203), but I am not aware that they have hitherto been treated seriously as specific progenitors of the modern caricature. For ancient graffiti generally, see Lollini, Zancani Montuoro, and Della Corte, 1960. For a recent survey of the figural graffiti at Pompeii, Cèbe, 1966, pp. 375f.; for those on the Palatine in Rome, Väänänen, 1966, 1970.

23. Il m'a dit qu'à Rome il en avait une [a gallery] dans sa maison, laquelle est presque toute pareille; que c'est là qu'il fait, en se promenant, la plupart de ses compositions; qu'il marquait sur la muraille, avec du charbon, les idées des choses à mesure qu'elles lui venaient dans l'esprit"; Chantelou, p. 19. The idea recalls the ancient tales of the invention of painting by tracing shadows cast on the wall; cf. Kris and Kurz, 1979, p. 74 and n. 10.

24. I refer to the well-known *St. Joseph holding the Christ Child* at Ariccia (Brauer and Wittkower, 1931, pp. 154–56, pl. 115), and a (much restored) portrait of Urban VIII in black and red chalk, in the villa La Maddelena of Cardinal Giori, Bernini's friend and patron, at Muccia near Camerino (Fig. 16). The attribution of the latter work, reproduced here, I believe, for the first time, stems from an inventory of 1712; Brauer and Wittkower, 1931, p. 151; cf. Feliciangeli, 1917, pp. 9f. I am indebted to Professors Italo Faldi and Oreste Ferrari for their assistance in obtaining photographs. Cf. also a portrait drawing in black and red chalk in the Chigi palace at Formello; Martinelli, 1950, p. 182, fig. 193.

25. The association between *sgraffiti* and *grottesche* is clear from Vasari's description and account of their invention; *Vite*, 1550, 1568 [1966–], vol. 1, *Testo*, pp. 142–45, *Commento*, p. 212; vol. 4, *Testo*, pp. 517–23; cf. Maclehorse and Brown, 1907, pp. 243–45, 298–303. On *sgraffiti* and *grottesche*, see Thiem, 1964, and Dacos, 1969.

26. "È stato Michelagnolo di una tenace e profonda memoria, che nel vedere le cose altrui una sol volta l'ha ritenute sì fattamente e servitose in una maniera che nessuna se n'è mai quasi accorto; né ha mai fatto cosa nessuna delle sue che riscontri l'una con l'altra, perché si ricordava di tutto quello che aveva fatto. Nella sua gioventù, sendo con gli amici sua pittori, giucorno una cena a chi faceva una figura che non avessi niente di disegno, che fussi goffa, simile a que' fantocci che fanno coloro che non sanno e imbrattano le mura. Qui se valse della memoria; perché, ricordatosi aver visto in un muro una di queste gofferie, la fece come se l'avesse avuta dinanzi di tutto punto, e superò tutti que' pittori: cosa difficile in uno uomo tanto pieno di disegno, avvezzo a cose scelte, che ne potessi uscir netto" (Vasari, *Vita*, 1550, 1568 [1962], vol. 1, p. 124; see also vol. 4, pp. 2074 f.).

27. Dal Poggetto, 1979, p. 267, no. 71, and p. 272, nos. 154, 156, p. 272. The latter two (visible at left edge of Fig. 18) are particularly noteworthy because they may show one beneath the other the "straight" and the travestied version of the same head with plumed helmet. A remarkable precedent for these drawings are those attributed to Mino da Fiesole, discovered on a wall in his house in Florence (see Sciolla, 1970, p. 113 with bibliography).

28. c'a forza 'l ventre appicca sotto 'l mento,	Però fallace e strano
.....	surge il iudizio che la mente porta,
e 'l pennel sopra 'l viso tuttavia	chè mal si tra' per cerbottana torta.
mel fa, gocciando, un ricco pavimento.	La mia pittura morta
.....	difendi orma', Giovanni, e 'l mio onore,
e tendomi come arco soriano.	non sendo in loco bon, né io pittore.

Girardi, 1960, pp. 4 f.; translation from Gilbert and Linscott, 1963, pp. 5 f. The sheet has most recently been dated 1511–12 by De Tolnay, 1975–80, vol. 1, p. 126, who also notes the disjunction between the two parts of the drawing.

29. On the analogy, cf. Lavin, 1980, p. 156.

30. A similarly crude drawing in white of a woman appears on the adjacent face of the pier.

31. The inscription, in white except for the artist's signature, which is in black, reads: "de buer Kerck binnen utrecht / aldus geschildert int iaer 1644 / van / Pieter Saenredam" (the Buur church in Utrecht thus painted in the year 1644 by Pieter Saenredam). Cf. Maclaren, 1960, pp. 379–81; Utrecht, 1961, pp. 185 f. For assistance in identifying the object at the seated boy's side I am indebted to Dr. Jean Fraikin, Curator of the Musée de la Vie Wallone at Liège, who cites the following bibliography on children's school boxes: Dewez, 1956, pp. 362–71; *L'Art*, 1970, pp. 372 ff. Crude drawings—two women (one of them virtually identical with the one mentioned above), a tree, and a bird—also appear on a pier at the right, surrounding an inscription with the artist's signature and the date, 1641, in one of Saenredam's views of the

Mariakerk at Utrecht; Utrecht, 1961, p. 212 f. On this painting see Schwartz, 1966–67, who notes the association between such drawings and the artist's signature (p. 91, n. 43). Saenredam's sensitivity to, and deliberate manipulation of stylistic differences, is evident in the relationship between Gothic and Roman architecture in his paintings (for which see now the thoughtful article by Connell, 1980).

32. For this drawing, see Janeck, 1968, pp. 122 f. The figure shown from the back on the wall recurs among other graffiti in a painting attributed to Van Laer in Munich; Janeck, 1968, pp. 137 f.; see also Kren, 1980, p. 68.

33. Cf. Malvasia, 1678 (1841), vol. 2, p. 67, with regard to the youthful wall scribbles of the painter Mastelletta. For this reference I am indebted to Mr. David Levine, whose nearly completed Princeton dissertation on the *bamboccianti* will deal with their art-theoretical paintings and the Berlin drawing.

34. The precise dating of the Borghese busts emerges from a letter of the following year written by Lelio Guidiccioni (cf. D'Onofrio, 1967, pp. 381–86). I plan to discuss the letter at greater length in another context.

35. On this and the following point, see Lavin, 1970, p. 144, n. 75.

36. On Bernini and the theater, see Lavin, 1980, pp. 146–57.

37. A convenient, but not complete, collection of early sources on Bernini's theatrical activities will be found in D'Onofrio, 1963, pp. 91–110.

38. Bernini, 1713, pp. 54 f.

39. On Borgia, see Pastor, 1940, vol. 28, pp. 281–94, for example.

40. Letter to the duke of Modena from his agent in Rome, February 23, 1634 (Fraschetti, 1900, pp. 261 f., n. 4; see also the description of comedies in 1638, pp. 264 f., and 1646, pp. 268–70).

41. The bibliography on Pasquino and the pasquinade is vast. For a recent survey, see Silenzi, 1968. The best orientation within the literary context remains that of Ciani, 1945, vol. 2, pp. 81–107, 321–37. On the sculpture, see now Haskell and Penny, 1981, pp. 291–96. For a valuable study of the "high" and "low" traditions of satire with respect to Bernini's rival, Salvator Rosa, see Roworth, 1977.

42. From the inscription on the base:

Io non son (come paio) un Babbuino
stroppiato, senz piedi, et senza mani,

.....
Ma son quel famosissimo Pasquino
Che tremar faccio i Signor piu soprani,

.....
Quando compongo in volgare, o in latino.

La mia persona è fatta in tal maniera

Per i colpi ch'hor questo hor quel m'accocca

Per ch'io dico i lor falli a buona cera

Our transcription is based on a corrected but unsigned and undated version of the print in a copy of Lafreri in the Marquand Library, Princeton University; Fig. 26 is reproduced from Lafreri, 1575, Beinecke Library, Yale University.

43. It is inespacially interesting that Bernini distinguished between complete and incomplete statues, and among the latter noted the subtle differences between the Belvedere torso and the *Pasquino*, ranking the *Pasquino* highest of all. The passages referred to are:

M. le nonce, changeant de matière, 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 meme 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'eut pas lu ce qu'on en avait écrit, et que le *Pasquin* était une figure de Phidias ou de Praxitèle et représentait le serviteur d'Alexandre, le soutenant quand il recut 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 (Chantelou, pp. 25 f.);

Diceva che il Laocoonte e il Pasquino nell'antico avevano in sé tutto il buono dell'arte, perché vi si scorgeva imitato tutto il più perfetto della natura, senza affettazione dell'arte. Che le più belle statue che fossero in Roma eran quelle di Belvedere e fra quelle dico fra le intere, il Laocoonte per l'espressione dell'affetto, ed in particolare per l'intelligenza che si scorge in quella gamba, la quale per esser già arrivato il veleno, apparisce intrizzita; diceva però, che il Torso ed il Pasquino gli parevano di più perfetta maniera del Laocoonte stesso, ma che questo era intero e gli altri no. Fra il Pasquino ed il Torso esser la differenza quasi impercettibile, né potersi ravvisare se non da uomo grande e più tosto migliore essere il Pasquino. Fu il 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 (Baldinucci, 1682 [1948], p. 146);

Con uguale attenzione pose il suo studio ancora in ammirar le parti di quei due celebri Torsi di Hercole, e di Pasquino, quegli riconosciuto per suo Maestro dal Buonarota, questi dal Bernino, che fù il primo, che ponesse in alto concetto in Roma questa nobilissima Statua; Anzi avvenne, che richiesto una volta da un Nobile forastiere Oltramontano, *Quale fosse la Statua più riguardevole in Roma?* e rispostogli, *Che il Pasquino*, quello diè sù le furie, stimandosi burlato, e poco mancò, che non ne venisse a cimento con lui; E di questi due Torsi era solito dire, che contenevano in se tutto il più perfetto della Natura senza affettazione dell'Arte (Bernini, 1713, pp. 13 f.).

44. The Pasquino had long been esteemed (cf. Haskell and Penny, 1981, p. 292), but I have not found precedent for Bernini's placing it foremost.
45. A photograph of Innocent's death mask will be found in Lippi, 1889, frontispiece.
46. For Innocent generally, and bibliography, see Gini, 1966; for most of what follows, see Pastor, 1940, vol. 32, pp. 13–37, 153–67.
47. "E poi stato mandato in Galera quel libraro francese Bernardoni che faceva venir libri contro Card.li, e ministri della chiesa, sendo anco stati carcerati alcuni copisti p. essersi veduto un Manifesto intitolato: Roma assassinata dalla santità"; unpublished *avviso di Roma*, July 8, 1679, Vatican Library, MS Barb. lat. 6838, fol. 154 v. For collections of pasquinades on Innocent XI, cf. Lafon, 1876, p. 287; Pastor, 1940, vol. 32, p. 30 n. 8; Besso, 1904, p. 308; Romano, 1932, pp. 72–74; Silenzi, 1933, pp. 251 f. (=Silenzi, 1968, pp. 278 f.); Cian, 1945, vol. 2, pp. 260 f., 516, n. 228–30.
48. On the pope's health, Pastor, 1940, vol. 32, pp. 515–19; Michaud, 1882–83, vol. 1, pp. 158 f.
49. "Sabbato à notte fu fatto a Pasquino un bellissimo Cartello con un Papauero dipinto, e sotto la presente Inscrittione = *Papa Vero = Per dormire*, il che la mattina non pochi motivi di discorso diede à gli otiosi, nel cui numero ni si comprende la corte tutta, la quale attediata dalle lunghezze correnti non può soffrire tante irresolutioni"; unpublished *avviso di Roma*, July 5, 1677, Vatican Library, MS Barb. lat. 6384, fol. 200.
50. The drawing, in red chalk, conforms in type to Bernini's studies for sculptured portraits (see above, p. 29), and its plastic modeling led Brauer and Wittkower, 1931, p. 157, to consider it a copy after a lost original; I suspect it is original, overworked by another hand. No sculptured portrait of Innocent by Bernini is recorded, unless he made the model for a bronze, datable 1678, by a certain Travani, once in S. Maria in Montesanto; Martinelli, 1956, p. 47 n. 95.
51. On the foregoing, Pastor, 1940, vol. 32, p. 35; Wittkower, 1966, p. 260.
52. See the classic study by Kantorowicz, 1963, pp. 162–77.
53. For Bernini and the *Ars Moriendi* see Lavin, 1972, pp. 159–71; on Innocent and the Bona Mors, Pastor, 1940, vol. 32, p. 14.
54. For this tomb cf. Lavin, 1980, p. 136 n. 10, and below, Nos. 2–5, n. 13.
55. For Pius V, see Iszak and Silli, 1968. Innocent's emulation of Pius is attested in the sources, e.g., a letter to Paris from the French agent in Rome, May 11, 1678: "On travaille icy en bon lieu pour inspirer le dessein au pape de profiter de sa fortune en imitant seulement Pie v^e que sa Sainteté paroît s'estre proposée pour le modèle de ses

actions" (Paris, Ministère des affaires étrangères, Correspondance de Rome, vol. 256, fol. 141 [modern foliation], quoted in part by Michaud, 1882–83, vol. 1, pp. 152 f.; cf. Pastor, 1940, vol. 32, pp. 184, 518, 523).

56. Cf. Trésor, 1834–58, vol. 6, p. 38 and pl. xxxvi, no. 8; Patrignani, 1953, p. 78, no. 2. There are also plaques on which the two popes' portraits are paired, and Innocent struck a medal and coins to celebrate the victory at Vienna with the same inscription used by Pius on a medal celebrating the victory at Lepanto (cf. Hiesinger and Percy, 1980, pp. 130 f.; Venuti, 1744, pp. 125 f., no. VII, 299, no. XXVIII; Serafini, 1964–65, vol. 2, pp. 298 f.).

57. Venuti, 1744, p. 125, nos. V, VI.

58. Della Porta, 1586 [1650], pp. 116 f. For a general bibliography on physiognomics, see Bialostocki, 1960. The physiognomical tradition is often cited among the antecedents of caricature, but its importance in this respect can be exaggerated; physiognomical analysis tends to emphasize the ideal and stereotypical rather than the particular and individual.

59. "Idem iocosis nomine Gryllum deridiculi habitus pinxit, unde id genus picturae grylli vocantur" (Jex-Blake and Sellers, 1975, pp. 146 f.). For the ancient genre see Becatti, 1960.

60. On the modern use of the term see the basic contributions in the journal *Proef*, 1974, by Miedema, Bruyn, and Ruurs (kindly called to my attention by Mr. David Levine); cf. Alpers, 1975–76, p. 119 and n. 15; Miedema, 1977, p. 211 n. 29. See further Wind, 1974, pp. 28 f., and the references given in the next footnote.

61. For Bosch see the remarks by Felipe de Guevara, translated in De Tolnay, 1966, p. 401; cf. Gombrich, 1966, pp. 113, 115 n. 30, Posner, 1971, pp. 69, 164 n. 94. For Arcimboldo, Kaufmann, 1975, pp. 280–82. The word was also applied to the kind of grotesque decorations discussed above, by Lomazzo, 1584 [1973–74], p. 367, and Tesauro, 1670 [1968], p. 85.

62. See the passages noted in the index to Lomazzo, 1584 [1973–74], p. 672, s.v. "Grillo."

63. Silenzi, 1933, pp. 17, ill. opp. p. 100, 339 f., 343.

64. "Io non ritrovo ancor nei vecchi annali
Bestia peggior, che sotto hipocrasia
Col sangue altrui tingesse e 'l becco e l'ali" (Silenzi, 1968, p. 279).

65. There is no comprehensive social history of Rome at this period. For a recent general survey with useful bibliographical indications, see Petrocchi, 1975.

66. On the portrait, see Wittkower, 1966, p. 204 ff. A document recently published by Rubsamen, 1980, p. 45, no. 72, makes it clear that this bust is a copy after a (lost) model by Bernini, as had been suggested by Martinelli.

67. Frà questi v'è Paol' Emilio Orsino, Hor mentre battagliauano costoro,
Il Duca Sforza, & ambi i Mignanelli Bernino, & io sopra un buffetto à parte
Animator di marmi euui il Bernino, Presemo à caricare alcun di loro
.....
(Orsini, 1648, pp. 63, 65; first published by Muñoz, 1919, pp. 369 f.)

68. See Lavin, 1968, pp. 236 f.

69. . . . mio sig.re

Da chavalere vi giuro di non mandarvi più disegni perchè avendo voi questi dui ritratti potete dire d'aver tutto quel che può fare quel baldino di bernino, ma perchè dubito che il Vostro corto ingegno non sapia conoscerli per non vi fare arrossire vi dico che quel più lungo è Don Giberti e quel più basso è Bona Ventura. Credetemi che a voi è toccato aver la buona Ventura perchè mai mi sono più sodisfatto che in queste due caricature e lo fatte di cuore. Quando verrò costi vedrò se ne tenete conto.

Roma li 15 Marzo 1652

Vero Amico

G. L. Bern.

(Ozzola, 1906, p. 205; cf. Lavin, 1970, p. 144, n. 75)

Caricature of Innocent XI

99 Caricature of Pope Innocent XI

Pen and ink on white paper. 114 × 182 mm., trimmed at top, right side, and bottom. The pope is shown wearing the miter of the Bishop of Rome, reclining in bed, propped up by pillows. Traces of further drawing appear at the upper right edge.

Bibliography: Brauer and Wittkower, 1931, pp. 181, 184, pl. 148; Juynboll, 1934, p. 155; Boeck, 1949, p. 298, fig. 3; Revel, 1964, p. 19, fig. 21; Stockholm, 1966, p. 465, no. 1151; Fagiolo dell'Arco, 1967, p. 308, fig. 112; Harris, 1977, p. xxiv, pl. 100.

Leipzig 7849

The drawing, made between the Pope's accession to the throne in 1676 and Bernini's death in 1680, is discussed in its art historical and social context, above, pp. 27–54.

I.L.



No. 99