

“Caravaggio’s Roman Madonnas,” presented in a symposium held in conjunction with *The Age of Caravaggio* exhibition, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, April 1, 1985

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CARAVAGGIO'S ROMAN MADONNAS

The Age of Caravaggio, Symposium, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

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I originally intended my talk this afternoon to serve two incidental purposes, in both of which I fear it is more or less a failure. By focusing on some of the major Roman altarpieces I thought I might compensate a little for their absence from the otherwise splendid exhibition we are celebrating; you will see that the result is rather badly out of focus. Secondly, I had planned to give a thumbnail sketch of a longer study I have been plotting for years on Caravaggio's Mariolatry; but I was carried away just you might imagine, at the beginning; so you will hear perhaps too much about the first in the series, the *Rest on the Flight to Egypt*, and nothing at all about the last, the *Madonna of the Rosary*.

The essence of what I have to say is very simple. We are abundantly familiar with the phenomenon of the artist coming to Rome from elsewhere and being overwhelmed by the grandeur of the city's ancient monuments and the monumental achievements of the great masters of the High Renaissance. The same may certainly be said of Caravaggio, but I believe that he discovered something else in Rome, as well—the Church. That is what I *really* hope, or rather hoped before I failed, to convey this afternoon. I should say at the outset that except for the *Rest on the Flight*, which is generally dated early in Caravaggio's Roman period, the other works I shall discuss were all made in a veritable paroxysm of creativity during the years 1604-07, in what must have an overlapping sequence that is not all clear.

Rest on the Flight into Egypt

It has often been pointed out that there is a close similarity between the angel playing the violin in Caravaggio's *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* and the figure of Vice in Annibale Carracci's depiction of the *Choice of Hercules* from the Farnese Palace in Rome (**Fig. 1**, **Fig. 2**). The paintings must be nearly contemporary (about 1596), but neither is dated precisely so we cannot be certain which way the influence went, if in fact there is a relationship at all. I believe there is, and that Caravaggio appropriated Annibale's figure with a certain sense of irony, transforming the spectacular Amazonia personification of worldly pleasures, whose back view expresses her guile, into a vision of nubile fragility and innocence, whose back view invites the spectator to share in the musical offering. Apart from the similarity of these figures, one of the main reasons I think Caravaggio was alluding to Annibale's picture seems not to have been observed, namely, that the whole composition is also closely analogous. It was common to have a single tree in the center of depictions of the rest on the flight, but quite uncommon to a symmetrical disposition with Joseph and his donkey on one side, the Virgin and Christ child on the other. The landscape is similar to Carracci's in that one side is closed and near the picture plane, while the other side opens to a distant view. Furthermore one side is rocky and bare, while the other is lush and green. Such a disposition is normal for

depictions of Hercules, but unprecedented in the flight to Egypt. It is clear to me, at least, that Caravaggio deliberately transposed Annibale's moral allegory from the secular to the religious realm, assimilating the grand manner of Rome to the homely lyricism of his native Lombard heritage.

The key to the significance of Caravaggio's moral allegory is provided by the musical score the angel plays (**Fig. 3**). The music has only recently been identified as a transcription of part of a motet published in 1526 by a Flemish composer, Noel Bauldeweyn, who worked in Rome early in the sixteenth century. It was, in other words, a quite old-fashioned and probably *recherché* composition by the time Caravaggio adopted it for his picture. The reason he searched it out is apparent from the text of the motet, which comes from Canticles, the Old Testament love song universally understood in Christian times as a celebration of the wedding of Christ to his mother church. Virtually any passage from the Song of Solomon would have had this general significance, but it is clear that Caravaggio chose this one, which had often been set to music since the middle ages, for its particular relevance to a depiction of the rest on the flight. The words are in part:

How fair and pleasant art thou, O love, for delights!
 This thy stature is like a palm tree, and thy breasts to clusters of grapes.
 Thy head upon thee is like Carmel, thy neck is a tower of ivory.
 Come, my beloved, let us go forth into the field; let us see whether the tender
 grape appear, and the pomegranates bud forth; there will I give my
 loves. Amen.

Here is the tree, famous in legend, that provided sustenance to the Holy Family on their journey, and here is the fruitful landscape conceived as paradisiac goal of salvation. Caravaggio omitted the actual words from his transcription of the part book, as though he assumed they would be understood, if only by the deity to whom the prayer is offered. Joseph thus holds the music for a celebration of the marriage of his wife to God (**Fig. 4**). Viewed in this way the motif evokes the fundamental nature of the incarnation and Joseph's role in the divine plan for redemption. In a sense, it can be said that the entire mystery of salvation centers on the figure of Joseph, a role that ultimately earned him the official title of Patron of the Universal Church.

The character of Joseph is replete with, one might almost say consists of, paradoxes that parallel the mysterious paradox of faith itself. In the millennial tradition of church explications of Joseph's role, one point stands above the others for being chosen for the husband of Mary, his royal lineage. The Gospel of St. Matthew, the first gospel, and the Gospel of the Incarnation, begins with the famous recitation of the generations of Christ's parentage, from Abraham through Jesse and David to Joseph. It was through Joseph that Christ became the fulfillment of the line of the prophets. On the other hand, Joseph was poor and humble, so this conspicuous heritage was kept hidden, frustrating the efforts of darkness to spoil the divine plan. According to St. Bernard of Clairvaux, who wrote perhaps the most famous encomium of the Virgin, Joseph provided "the secret designs of God ...with a witness, while yet the enemy was excluded from the knowledge of them."

One of these devilish plots was of course the massacre of the innocents, and it was in order to save the Christ Child from precisely that threat that Joseph's angel appeared to him in the second of his fateful dreams and urged him to embark upon the flight into Egypt. Joseph's mission now, and this was another reason given for his marriage to the Virgin, was to guard and provide sustenance for the precious pair until the prophecies could be fulfilled. Joseph often performed this role in depictions of the flight by offering food and other comforts to the Virgin and child; Caravaggio also evokes this role of Joseph as provider in the physical sense by including the sack and the flask at his side. More conspicuously, however, Caravaggio gives him the spiritual job of literally sustaining the heavenly music. Ultimately, Joseph's role as provider was a metaphor for his spiritual role in the conspiracy of salvation. For Joseph had been doubtful and bewildered by the discovery of his wife's pregnancy, but he accepted God's scheme for salvation when his angel announced it to him in his first dream—which made him, incidentally, the first person after Mary to acknowledge and accept Christ, and so the foremost among the saints. It was this utter acquiescence on the part of the humble carpenter—his spiritual enlightenment—that enabled the divine plan to take its course. Hence Caravaggio's sublime irony in showing Joseph helping the angel to celebrate his wife's marriage to another man. It was Joseph's knowledge and understanding above all that won for him over and over again the words quoted in the gospel of Luke that Christ later spoke to the Apostles. These words could well have been Caravaggio's main inspiration in devising his visual, moral allegory for the benefit of those who would follow Joseph from the aridity of doubt to the fecundity of belief. Christ said to the Apostles:

“Blessed are eyes which see the things which you see! For I tell you that many prophets and kings desired to see the things that you see, and did not see them, and to hear the things that you hear and did not hear them. “

Joseph's wonderful donkey seems to share what one might describe, if one is careful to preserve the contradiction of terms, as his state of unsophisticated wisdom. The animal listens devoutly and its dark, fathomless eye speaks volumes. There was an old and widespread tradition, especially connected with the medieval Feast of Fools, in which everything was turned upside down, for treating Joseph as a real simpleton. He became the gullible victim of all sorts of pranks and miscellaneous abuse, on the principle that the more foolish he seemed the more the devil would be beguiled by the divine strategy. Part of the feeling of Caravaggio's image stems from this tradition, I suspect, especially Joseph's expression—one would be tempted to call it slightly sheepish if Caravaggio had not so directly and obviously related to that of the ass. The Flight into Egypt was often part of the celebrations of the Feast of Fools, and the donkey played a very prominent part. It was paraded through the church—being for once cooperative and eager to participate, as its contribution to the topsy-turvy world of the festival—with a young maiden on its back. The procession was accompanied by liturgical chants, in which the ass actually brayed forth its joyous acclamation of the promise of salvation:

Out from lands of Orient
Was the ass divinely sent.

Strong and very fair was he,
 Bearing burdens gallantly.
 Heigh, sir ass, oh heigh.

...
 Stuffed with grass, yet speak and say
 Amen, ass, with every bray:
 Amen, amen, say again:
 Ancient sins hold in disdain.
 Heigh ho, heigh ho, heigh ho, heigh
 Fair Sir Ass, you trot all day:
 Fair your mouth, and loud your bray.

This tradition certainly lay behind the braying ass in a composition by the painter Bernadino Passari recorded in an engraving by Agostino Carracci, and feel sure it contributed to Caravaggio's shattering vision of the dumbest, the most asinine of beasts, preternaturally aware and comprehending of the most profound mysteries (**Fig. 5**). The subject of the mystery appears at the left where the animal trumpets its salvific message to the world, under the over-arching branches of an apple tree, while below Joseph offers the fateful fruit, symbol of the fall from grace, from which the infant Christ seeks eagerly to redeem mankind.

The sleeping Christ child held in the Virgin's arms is a common proleptic allusion to his sacrifice, in particular to the lamentation, when the Virgin takes him back on her lap and grieves for him. The great difference from this traditional motive is that the sleeping child is proleptic of the resurrection as well. I know of no previous instance of the Rest on the Flight into Egypt in which the Virgin joins the child in his slumber. One precedent instance of the sleeping Virgin and Child that Caravaggio certainly knew is a small, exquisitely sentimental picture by Correggio now in Naples but in Caravaggio's time in Milan; he must have seen it there, or known it from a copy, of which there are several versions, or an engraving, of which there are many, since it was a very famous picture, known today, as it was in Caravaggio's day, as *La Zingarella*, the Gypsy (**Fig. 6**). The title is very apt, not only because of the Virgin's rather elaborate turbaned headdress, commonly worn by the Gypsies who were then immigrating to Europe in great numbers. They brought with them many tales of their origin and purpose for immigrating, some of which coincide, not coincidentally, I think, with the themes we are exploring here. Already in the fifteenth century, the Gypsies claimed that they came from Egypt, the ancient source of all occult knowledge (hence the name Gypsy, hence the fantastic "brow of Egypt" in Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*), where, because their ancestors had failed to give succor to the Holy Family during their exile, they were condemned to wander as pilgrims for seven years to expiate their sin. They claimed and often were given letters patent that assured their rights of sojourn as pilgrims (that is, until their wayward ways made them unwelcome guests). One of the trades they plied (they were also famous metal workers, hence the "tinkers," the itinerant utensil makers of Ireland) was, of course, that of fortune teller and in one of the folk tales a gypsy tells the Virgin's fortune; another actually identifies the Virgin as a gypsy. Hence it is not coincidental that many images of gypsies in their encampments bear strong similarities to

the Flight into Egypt (the mother seated on the ground nourishing her child), and conversely the Flight was often “gypsyized,” with a view to suggesting both its exotic and its proleptic content. Correggio’s painting is a case in point, especially as it was before it was brutally cleaned by a restorer in the 1930’s who simply removed portions that he evidently thought inappropriate, namely a flight of angels carrying palm fronds (with the same allusions to nourishment and martyrdom we have seen), and a rabbit that watched from the foliage at the left (a well known symbol of the elusiveness and hidden nature God revealed to Moses on Sinai before he led his people back to Jerusalem, Exodus 33:22-23)(**Fig. 7**). Clearly Correggio fused in one image these traditions of the Flight into Egypt with the theme of the Madonna of Humility, the virgin and child seated on the ground in isolation in a landscape setting that often alludes to the Garden of Eden. Caravaggio grasped the sense of Correggio’s meaning, referring to it in the Virgin’s stylish coiffeur, as well as in the composition of the figures. But he changed the group in a subtle, yet portentous way, by actually converging the head of the Virgin with that of her son (**Fig. 8**). The exile of the Jews in Egypt was an obvious prototype, often compared to that of the Holy Family. Joseph was identified with Moses who led his people *out* of Egypt, over the river Jordan to the Promised Land, where the promise of salvation will be fulfilled.

The image evokes their perfect communality, completing the symmetry of Caravaggio’s picture. Joseph is paired with his donkey in their foreknowledge of redemption, as the Virgin is paired with Christ in their achievement of redemption. This latter merging of the two personas was rooted specifically in the nature of the Virgin’s fundamental role in the process of salvation. The conception, which received great emphasis in the period of the Counter Reformation and especially at the Council of Trent, was that of Mary as co-redemptress with Christ. She was the *mediatrix par excellence*, not only because she assisted the scheme of atonement by bearing Christ in her womb and offering him to the cross, but also because she shared his suffering to the utmost, in all respects and degrees. Her assimilation to her son was ultimately fulfilled when she joined him bodily in heaven at the Assumption, having passed through what was officially referred to not as her death but her dormition, or falling asleep.

The link between all these ideas again appears at the center of the picture (**Fig. 9**). Behind the angel intoning the celebration of the marriage, is a massive oak tree, whose melancholy, autumnal leaves contrast with the verdant laurel that seems to sprout from the Virgin’s body below. Of all the plants that inhabit the realm of salvation the oak and the laurel are among the most redolent with meaning. The oak was the Tree of Life beneath which Adam was buried, it was the Tree of Jesse whose branches entwined the genealogies of both Joseph and Mary, and it provided the wood for the cross on which Christ was sacrificed. “Ye shall be as an oak whose leaf fadeth” (Isaiah 1:30). The laurel, because it is ever green and immune to lightning, was the primary sign of Mary’s virginity and of triumph and immortality. The marriage of Christ to his church announced by the musical angel in the foreground, is consummated on the oak and fructified in the laurel just behind.

Madonna di Loreto

In the altarpiece Caravaggio painted for the chapel dedicated to the Madonna di Loreto in the church of S. Agostino, he merged three aspects of what had become one of

the greatest shrines in all Christendom (**Fig. 10**). First and foremost it was the site to which the humble house of the Virgin where the Annunciation had taken place, had been miraculously transported from Bethlehem by the angels (**Fig. 11**). The standard image for this aspect of the shrine was a little house with Virgin and a child shown emblematically of its roof (**Fig. 12**). The second feature of the shrine was a statue of the Madonna in blackened cedar wood that was supposed to have carved by St. Luke and to have been brought to Loreto along with the house (hence the emblematic image that combined the two relics. The statue performed many miracles from the niche at the back of the holy house in which it was displayed (**Fig. 13**).

The important point about Loreto, based on the other two, was its outstanding significance as a pilgrimage site. It was by far the greatest shrine in Europe, visited annually by thousands of devotees. All three of these aspects of Loreto had been vehemently attacked by the Protestants, the holy house and the statue were dismissed as later fabrications, and the pilgrimage as the worst form of modern idolatry. As far as I know, Caravaggio was the first to incorporate all three aspects of the Loretan tradition into the theme of a major altarpiece. The pilgrims become a major component of his design and they worship a Virgin and child of flesh and blood but whose efficacy as an image is invoked by a clear reference to classical statuary (**Fig. 14**). The Virgin and child appear in an entrance, whether to a house or a church is not clear—a real, Roman doorway, however, old and slightly decrepit, yet also very grand. The doorway is a reference to one of the key images in the famous litany of Loreto that recites the various epithets of the Virgin in an enchanting chant. By virtue of her virginal womb, Mary is the *Janua Coeli*, the portal to heaven, and it is the epithet above all that relates her to the Church as an earthly and a heavenly institution, *Mater Ecclesia*. This is the import of what must have been one of the most important inspirations for Caravaggio's conception. I refer to a fresco decoration in a chapel dedicated to the Immaculate Conception in the church of S. Maria in Araceli in Rome, executed half a century earlier by an otherwise unknown painter, Francesco Pichi (**Fig. 15**). The virgin appears in a doorway to receive the homage of her devotees, including what are evidently male and female pilgrims who mount the stairs in front. The Virgin is the universal mediator, and it is through her and through the Church alone that salvation may be achieved.

Palafrenieri Madonna (Madonna with the Serpent)

In the Madonna painted for the Palafrenieri, the pope's ceremonial horseguards, Caravaggio also brought together two related but heretofore independent traditions of thought concerning the Virgin (**Fig. 16**). One was concerned with the matriarchal genealogy of Christ and focused on the Virgin's immaculate conception in the womb of her mother, St. Anne, who was the patron saint of the Palafrenieri. This was the theme of the altarpiece in St Peter's by Leonardo da Pistoia and Jacopino del Conte that Caravaggio's picture was intended to replace (**Fig. 17**). Following a common tradition the figures are placed one behind the other to convey the idea of lineal descent, and the group is here accompanied by Saints Peter and Paul as representatives of the institution of the Church they founded and of the building than contains their remains. The other aspect of the Virgin Caravaggio included was her role as co-redemptrix with Christ in the process of salvation. This was also a doctrine the Protestants bitterly attacked, the

battle now turning on a neat problem of Biblical philology. At issue was the interpretation of a crucial pronoun in a crucial passage in Genesis following the account of the fall of Adam and Eve, when God places his curse on the serpent—the famous *ipse-ipsa* problem of the protoevangelium, as the passage is called because it predicted the coming of Mary and Christ. The text is rendered as follows in the Douay translation of Jerome’s Vulgate:

“I will put enmities between thee and the woman,
and thy seed and her seed; she shall crush thy
head, and though shalt lie in wait for her heel.”

According to Jerome’s version the prophesy was that the Virgin would squash the serpent. But Jerome was surely wrong, as had been realized already in the 15th century, and as the Protestants protested vehemently in their campaign against the Immaculate Conception and against the church itself. The pronoun is properly “it,” and the reference I not to Mary but to her seed, that is, Jesus. The Catholics dealt with the problem by reaffirming the validity of the Vulgate despite philological arguments. But a sort of compromise was adopted that is reflected in a remarkable painting by Ambrogio Figino in Milan, which Caravaggio may have known before he came to Rome (**Fig. 18**). The Virgin is shown with her foot on the serpent, but the force is supplied from above, as it were, by Christ. The motif nicely expresses the role of the Virgin and hence that of the Mother Church as Co-Redemptress. Caravaggio quoted this formulation explicitly, and the redemptive power of the Church it implied obviated the need to portray Peter and Paul. But Caravaggio also transformed Figino’s genteel ballet into an awesome prefiguration of the Last Judgment). Mary graciously (**Fig. 19**) intermediates between the sinner and the irate judge (**Fig. 20**) who with his right hand, points to the wound in his side, and with his left toward eternal damnation (**Fig. 21**).

Caravaggio merged this idea with that of the genealogy by adapting for the latter an alternate type in which St. Anne is placed beside, rather than behind the Virgin and Child (**Fig. 22**). Caravaggio also transformed St. Anne (**Fig. 23**). She is no longer present simply in view of her motherhood but performs her anticipatory function in a radically new and wholly spiritual way—she has become a veritable prophetess who bears witness to the process of atonement by meditating, like the ancient Philosopher Demosthenes, on its culminating event (**Fig. 24**).

Death of the Virgin

Finally, I want to comment only momentarily on the Death of the Virgin painted for Santa Maria della Scala, the mother church of the Discalced Carmelites in Rome (**Fig. 25**). Virtually no attention has been paid to a seemingly innocent yet also conspicuous detail that is absolutely critical to an understanding of the work’s significance. I refer to the swath of brown cloth cast over the body of the Virgin. This piece of drapery represents one of the most famous, and in some quarters infamous, emblems of the Christian world, the brown Scapular of the Carmelite order. The scapular was a protective garment worn originally by monks to protect their regular habit during their manual labor. Tied at the waist, it came to be thought of a sign of the Cross, which the

wearer had taken up in imitation of Christ. The Scapular of the Carmelites became famous and infamous when, in the thirteenth century, the Virgin appeared to the British Carmelite, St. Simon Stock, wearing the brown scapular of his order. She handed it to him promising that whosoever died wearing the garment would be saved from damnation on the first Saturday after death. Since the Virgin did not say one actually had to be a member of the order, non-members wearing the scapular might also win the same indulgence—a privilege that gave rise to the Confraternity of the Scapular, which has been described as the most numerous association in the world after the Church itself. As may be imagined, both the Scapular and the Sabbatine Indulgence, as the Saturday promise is termed, gave rise to bitter controversy, both within and, *a fortiori*, outside the Church. The matter was very much in the air in Rome when Caravaggio painted his picture. A revision of the liturgy of the Carmelite Order, including the parts pertaining to the vision and the indulgence, was then in progress and, upon the recommendation of Cardinal Bellarmine, was approved by the Congregation of Rights in 1609. Probably at the very same moment that Caravaggio was at work, the very next chapel in the church was being provided with an altarpiece by Cristoforo Roncalli that represented the scapular miracle in the presence of the prophet Elijah, from whom the Carmelites traced the origin of their order (Fig. 26). Elijah, it will be remembered, did not die, but was spirited up to heaven in a fiery chariot. Caravaggio's *Dormition of the Virgin* was doubtless conceived in specific reference to this salvific tradition of the order, and in wearing the scapular at her own death she displays the promise of redemption offered through the mediation of the Church to all who believe. The promise is displayed not only by her vestment but also by her seemingly enigmatic pose, one hand alluding to her breast, as an analogue of Christ's chest wound, the other gesturing out toward the repentant sinner. Her attitude, mirroring the gestures of Christ, echoes that which she often assumed to express her intercessory role in the scheme of salvation, especially in depictions that explicitly describe the partnership, the double intercession, the Duplex Intercessio, of Christ and the Virgin Mother whom he espoused (Fig. 27).

My chief purpose in offering this rather breathless survey of some of the content in Caravaggio's *Madonna* images is simply to suggest that they represent the work of a single mind; they reflect a coherent way of thinking comparable to the style of painting through which the ideas are bodied forth. In my view the light shed by such considerations of meaning helps to illuminate the significance of the way pictures look. Fortunately, I can convey what I feel in this respect in very few words because the words seem to have been chosen especially for me by the historian Peter Brown, in a single sentence devoted to works of art of a totally different period and kind, early medieval icons. "The icon," he said, "was a hole in the dike separating the visible from the divine, and through this hole oozed precious dribbles from the great sea of God's mercy." Caravaggio's Roman *Madonnas* are icons of a new species; humane and accessible, yet also full of dignity and grace, they give new sense to the ancient conundrum linking Mary as a woman to the Church as an institution. They really *look* like holes in the dike. What oozes through in Caravaggio's case is perhaps Christianity's oldest, deepest, most revolutionary, and most elusive irony—which is what I believe he came to understand in Rome—that the humble and the sublime are extremes that touch.



Fig. 1 Caravaggio, Rest on the Flight into Egypt, ca. 1596. Doria Pamphilj Gallery, Rome.



Fig. 2 Annibale Carracci, *The Choice of Hercules*, ca. 1596. Capodimonte Gallery, Naples.



Fig. 3 Caravaggio, Rest on the Flight into Egypt, det., ca. 1596. Doria Pamphilj Gallery, Rome.



Fig. 4 Caravaggio, Rest on the Flight into Egypt, det., ca. 1596. Doria Pamphilj Gallery, Rome.

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Fig. 5 Agostino Carracci engraving after Bernardino Passari, Rest on the Flight to Egypt.



Fig. 6 Correggio, La Zingarella. Museo di Capodimonte, Naples

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Fig. 7 Correggio, La Zingarella (before restoration). Museo di Capodimonte, Naples

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Fig. 8 Caravaggio, Rest on the Flight into Egypt, det., ca. 1596. Doria Pamphilj Gallery, Rome.

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Fig. 9 Caravaggio, Rest on the Flight into Egypt, det., ca. 1596. Doria Pamphilj Gallery, Rome.

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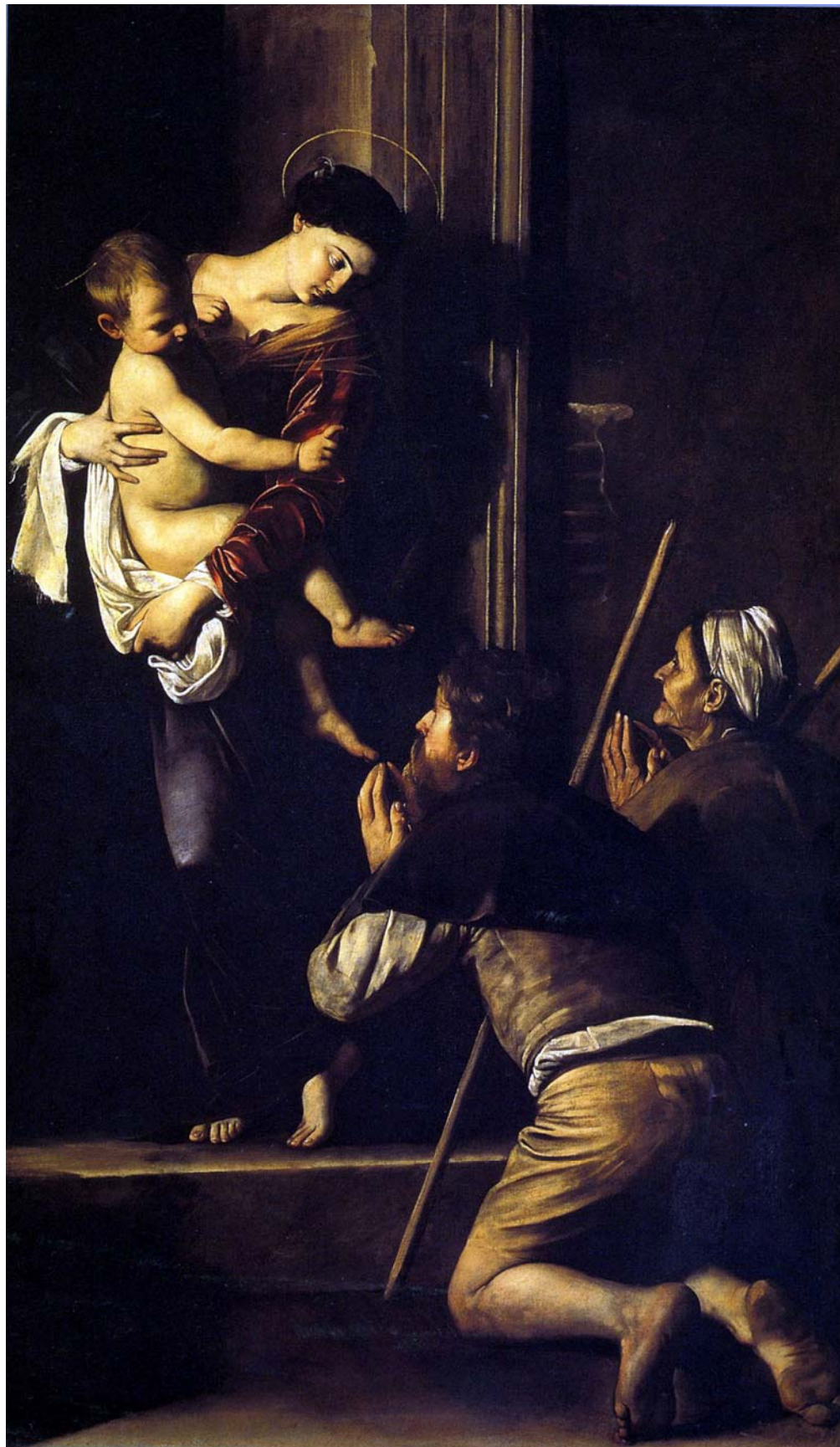


Fig. 10 Caravaggio, Madonna di Loreto, 1603-05. S. Agostino, Rome.

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Fig. 11 Domenichino, Madonna di Loreto. S. Onofrio, Rome.

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Fig. 12 Seal of the Collegio di Cavalieri Lauretani (Bascapé).

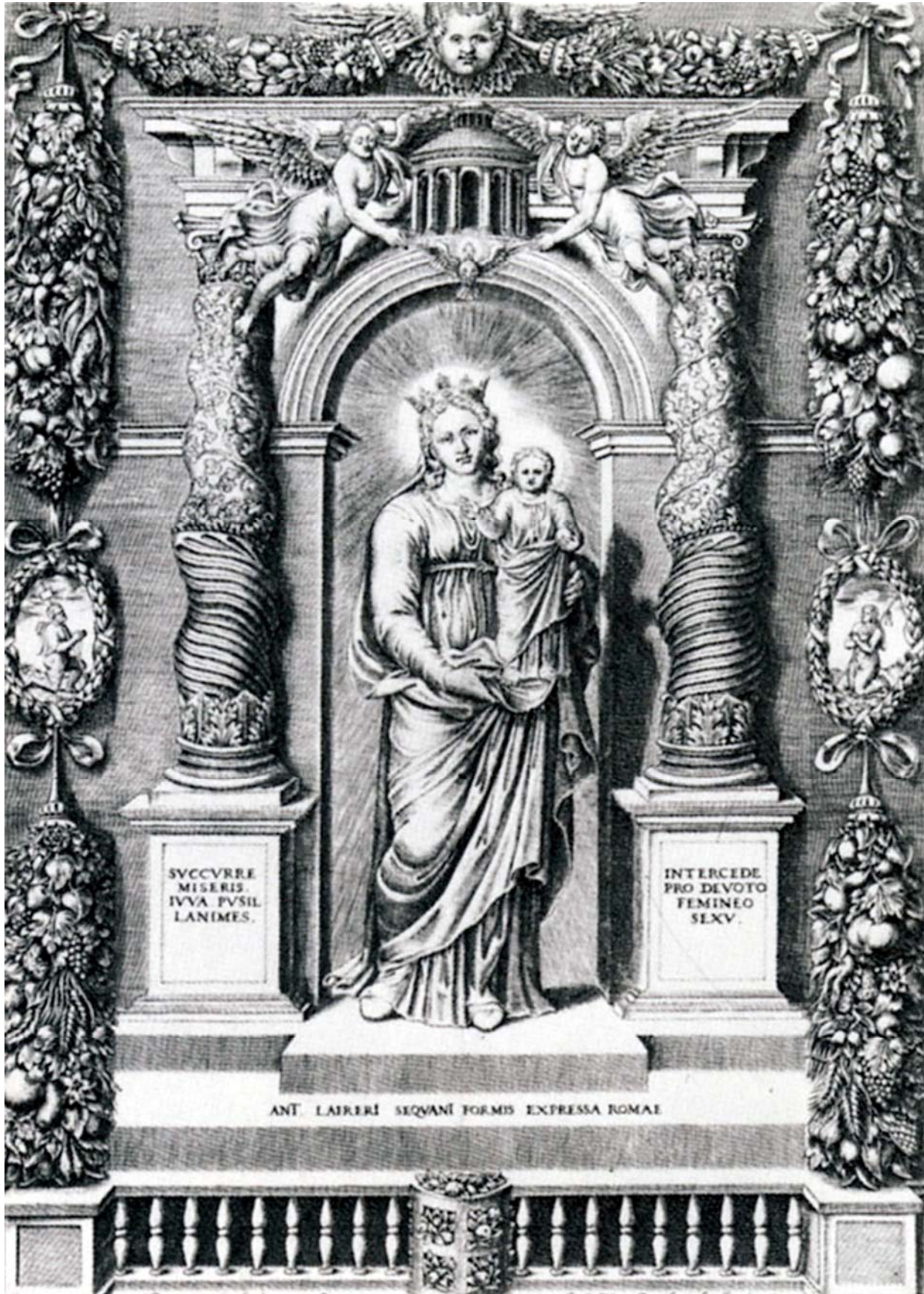


Fig. 13 Santa Maria di Loreto. Engraving of the Madonna of Loreto by Antonio Lafreri.

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Fig. 14 Thusnelda, Loggia di Lanzi, Florence.

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Fig. 15 Francesco Pichi, Adoration of the Virgin, fresco. Chapel of the Immaculate Conception, S. Maria in Aracoeli, Rome.



Fig. 16 Caravaggio, Madonna dei Palafrenieri (Madonna with the Serpent), 1606. Galleria Borghese, Rome.

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Fig. 17 Leonardo da Pistoia and Jacopino del Conte, Madonna dei Palafrenieri. Sacristy of St. Peter's, Rome.



Fig. 18 Giovanni Ambrogio Figino, *Virgin and Child Crushing the Serpent's Head*, ca. 1590. S. Antonio Abate, Milan.

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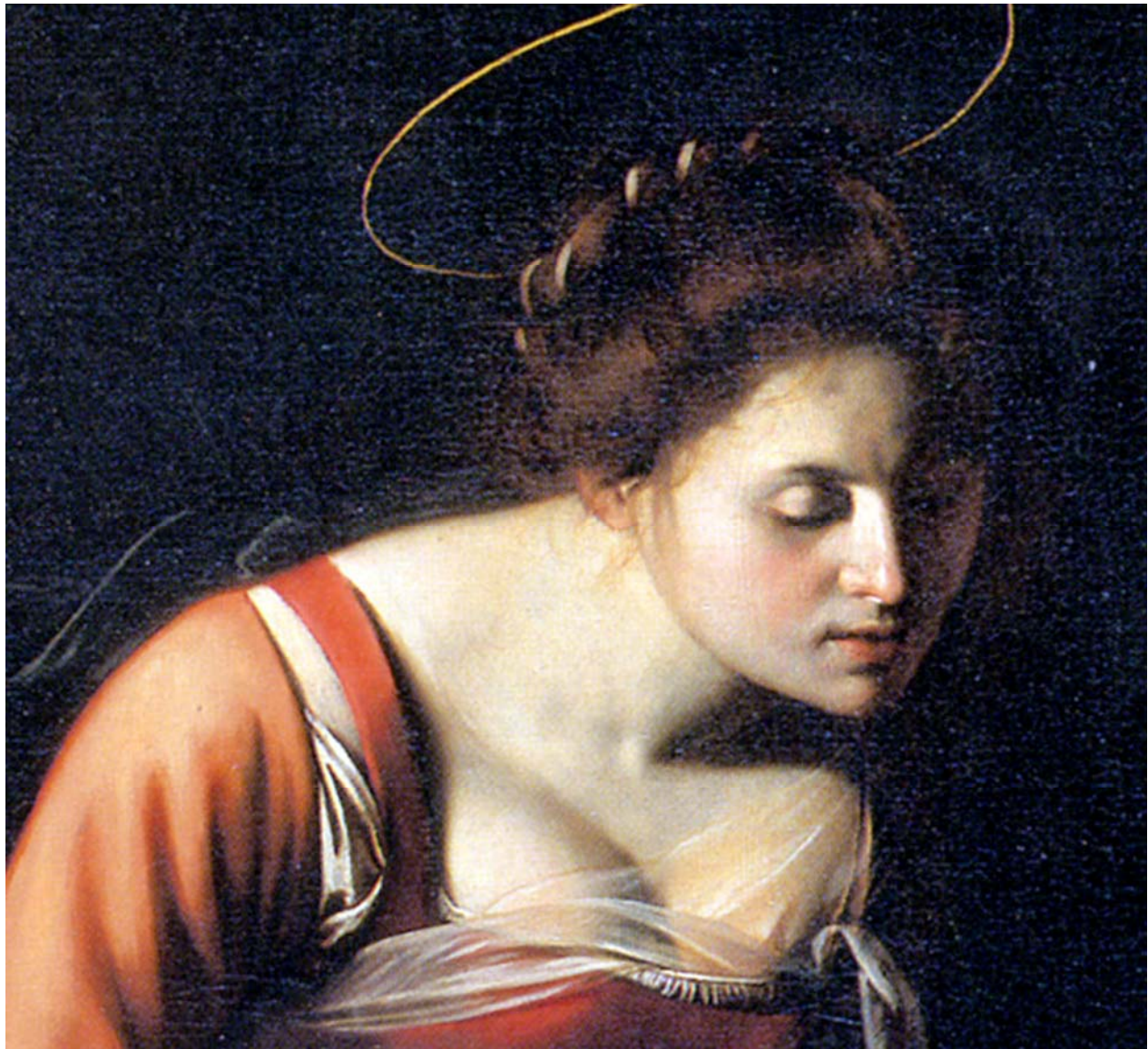


Fig. 19 Caravaggio, Madonna dei Palafrenieri (Madonna with the Serpent), det., 1606. Galleria Borghese, Rome.



Fig. 20 Caravaggio, *Madonna dei Palafrenieri* (*Madonna with the Serpent*), det., 1606. Galleria Borghese, Rome.

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Fig. 21 Caravaggio, *Madonna dei Palafrenieri* (*Madonna with the Serpent*), det., 1606. Galleria Borghese, Rome.



Fig. 22 Andrea Sansovino, Madonna with Child and St. Anne, 1512. S. Agostino, Rome.

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Fig. 23 Caravaggio, Madonna dei Palafrenieri (Madonna with the Serpent), det., 1606. Galleria Borghese, Rome.

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Fig. 24 Demosthenes, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen.

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Fig. 25 Caravaggio, *The Death of the Virgin*, 1602-06. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

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Fig. 26 Christoforo Roncalli, altarpiece, Santa Maria della Scala, Rome.

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Fig. 27 Filippo Lippi, Intercession of Christ and the Virgin, Alte Pinakothek, Munich.

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